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The Arabic Dialect  
of the Jews  
of Tripoli (Libya)  
Grammar, Text and Glossary

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Sumikazu Yoda

## 0. Introduction

### 0.1. General

#### 0.1.1. Main problems in the field of study

One of the great streams of Arabic-speaking Jewish immigrants from Arabic countries, especially from Northwest African (Maghribi) countries, to Israel took place immediately after its foundation in 1948. Because of their acquisition of Hebrew as their daily language in their new country, the Arabic vernaculars of these immigrants which they had spoken in their original homes have gradually ceased to be used. The extent of the retention of their Arabic vernaculars nowadays depending almost entirely on the age of the speakers, it is obvious that the more the years pass, the more the number of native speakers of these Arabic vernaculars decreases, so that within a generation or two almost all these Jewish Arabic vernaculars will disappear.

From the beginning of the 20th century a number of studies on Jewish Arabic dialects have been carried out. In a large number of Jewish dialects we can observe many points of difference from the Muslim dialect co-existing with the former in the same region. These differences affect not only the vocabulary (for example the technical vocabulary of Jewish ritual), but also language type (such as sedentary vs. bedouin), phonology, morphology and syntax. In other words, Jewish dialects have obtained a certain measure of autonomy by differentiating themselves from Muslim dialects. Considering the fact that the Jews often lived in a distinct Jewish quarter of the town, separated, but not completely, from the Muslim quarter, it is likely that Jewish dialects escaped certain linguistic developments which Muslim dialects underwent, that is, the Jewish dialects may preserve more archaic elements which the Muslim dialects have already lost, and that, on the contrary, Jewish dialects, being comparatively free from the influence of literary Arabic, introduced linguistic innovations unknown in Muslim dialects. Since such innovative phenomena as well as the conservative retention of older features may be a key to basic questions of the history of the Arabic language in general, and of Arabic dialectology in particular, research into Jewish dialects is able to make valuable contributions to these fields.

As to the Maghribi area, there have been published descriptive grammars, of or texts in, modern Jewish dialects, such as Algiers (Cohen, *Alger*), Bāzu (Rosenhouse, *Moroccan*), Constantine (Tirosh-Becker, *Constantine*), Debdou (Pellat, *Debdou*).

Djerba (Behnstedt, *Djerba I. II*), Fez (Brunot, *NFès* and Brunot & Malka, *TextFès, PFès* and *TFès*), Gafsa (Singer, in Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, pp. 272-276), Sefrou (Stillman, *NSefrou* and *Sefrou*), Tafilalt (Heath & Bar-Asher, *Tafilalt*) and Tunis (Cohen, *Tunis I, II*), but Libya is a region for which the number of studies on Arabic dialects is scantier than for any other North African country; in fact no comprehensive investigation of any Libyan Jewish dialect has been carried out until now. In this respect an investigation of Tripolitanian (and any other Libyan Jewish dialects) is very desirable, and is required very urgently because the imminent extinction of the Jewish dialects is, as stated above, inevitable.

The main object of my thesis is focused on the Jewish dialect of the city of Tripoli, and thus I shall not treat dialects outside Tripoli; besides in Tripoli itself, Jews were living in small towns or villages in the environs of the city. According to Goldberg, *Tripolitaniya*, pp. 144-147, and also to my informants, there are some differences between the dialect of TJ itself and those of the small towns.

### 0.1.2. The state of research until now

For TJ no grammatical description exists. A very few references to it have been included in some works on Arabic dialects or on ethnography. Mordechai Ha-Cohen, born in Tripoli in 1856 to a family of Italian descent, though he was not a linguist, wrote in Hebrew an ethnographic document entitled *Higgid Mordechai*, in which he listed certain differences of vocabulary between TM and TJ. Although this is not a linguistic work, Ha-Cohen's information about the vocabulary of his Jewish contemporaries in Tripoli is precious (Ha-Cohen, *Higgid*, pp. 232-233). Stumme, in his collection of texts with a brief grammar of TM, indicated the difference in the pronunciation of Classical Arabic *qāf* between TM (voiced *g*) and TJ (voiceless *q*) (Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 200). Cesàro, in his grammar of TM, mentioned a phonological difference and two morphological ones between the Muslim and Jewish dialects (Cesàro, *Tripoli*, pp. 24, 46 and 244). Goldberg discussed the linguistic situation of Tripolitanian Jewry in general; he mentioned some phonological, morphological and lexical differences between the Muslim dialect and the Jewish dialect, and also among the Jewish dialects themselves in Tripolitanian regions, and in addition he showed the dialectal boundary between the mountains and the plain (Goldberg, *Tripolitaniya*, pp. 137-147).

### 0.2. Sources

The sources of this study comprise recordings amounting about 35 hours (including questions about texts) with 9 informants from Tripoli city, five males and four females. The interviews were carried out during 1996-1998 and 1999-2000. Seven informants immigrated to Israel in the first massive immigration (1948-1951) and two informants immigrated in 1967 in the second massive immigration.

### 0.3. Method of the study

In order to describe the dialect we adopt the traditional way of the description of Arabic dialects. The analysis therefore is mainly focused on the phonology and the morphology, but also some syntactic phenomena (like the agreement between the adjective and the pseudo-dual noun) are included. The work is descriptive rather than theoretical and aims to give full coverage of the phonology and morphology of TJ together with a sample text and glossary. For the transcription, we adopt a phonemic transcription, not the narrow phonetic one. There are some descriptions of dialects which, though excellently done, lack a glossary; this sometimes makes utilization of the material inconvenient. We therefore annex to the work a glossary of TJ which will contain at least all the vocabulary appearing in the work.

Besides the synchronic description of the dialect, we include some historical considerations. For this purpose, together with the oral materials, published descriptions of other Jewish and Muslim dialects of North Africa (mainly Tunis-Muslim and Tunis-Jewish) are referred to.

The treatment of the words of Hebrew origin is a considerable problem. Like other Jewish languages, TJ contains many Hebrew words which were arabicized, in other words were adapted (in Tripoli) to the phonological system of TJ. We can consider these as part of the genuine vocabulary of the dialect. On the other hand, many Hebrew words are mingled in Arabic sentences in unaltered Israeli Hebrew pronunciation; after the immigration of the speakers new concepts which they acquired in Israel are often not expressed in Arabic, but exclusively in Hebrew. TJ is no longer a productive dialect, i.e. recent Hebrew loans are no longer adapted to Arabic phonology. If one carries out, for example, a purely synchronic investigation on the manner and the extent of the influence of Hebrew on an Arabic dialect, the modern Hebrew words should of course be considered as indispensable elements of the language. However, the purpose of our research is not purely synchronic, but aims to describe the language as a coherent system in which foreign words are

adapted to its phonological system when they are introduced. Therefore in principle we do not treat as materials of the description modern Israeli Hebrew words which have not been arabicized.

#### 0.4. Short history of Tripoli and the Jews<sup>1</sup>

Tripoli is situated in the middle part of the Mediterranean coast of the African continent about 100 km from the Tunisian border. References to Jews in Tripoli are generally very scarce. The first mention of Jews in the Tripoli region goes back to the fourth century A.D. A Roman road map indicates a Jewish locality named Scina (or Iscina) near by Oea (Roman name of Tripoli). The existence of Jews in Tripoli itself goes back to the fifth century.

After the Arab conquest relatively detailed information is at our disposal only from the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century the Jewish community of Tripoli was strengthened by the influx of Jews from Leghorn. During the reign of the Turkish Qaramanli dynasty, Tripoli became a haven for Jewish refugees from Tunis and Algiers. In 1835, Tripoli once more came under the direct rule of Turkey. During the Italian control which continued from 1911 to 1943, the Jews of Tripoli enjoyed complete emancipation and engaged in the crafts and commerce.

In 1948 the Jews of Tripoli numbered about 20,000. After the second riots broke out in 1948 (the first riots were in 1945), more precisely during 1948 - 1952, about 14,000 Tripolitanian Jews immigrated massively to Israel or Italy. Afterwards 6,228 Jews remained in Tripoli. And most of these Jews immigrated to Israel after the riots that occurred during the Six-Day War in 1967. In 1970 there were only several dozen Jews living in the town. After 1970 no formal data about the situation of Jews in Tripoli are available.

### 0.5. Transcription and symbols

#### 0.5.1. Phonemic transcription

In this study, except for cases where the phonetic transcription is required, e.g. section 1.1. and 1.2. where the distribution of allophones of consonants and vowels is dealt with, we use the phonemic transcription (in italic, e.g. TJ *raʒəl*, CA *raɟul*).

<sup>1</sup> Extract from Encyclopaedia Judaica "Libya" and "Tripoli".

#### 0.5.2. Transcription symbols

The transcription symbols we use in this work correspond to IPA symbols as follows. In each correspondence, the left member is the transcription used in this study, and the right that of the IPA.

(1) Consonants (letters with ♦ are used only in the phonetic transcription).

ʔ = [ʔ], ʕ = [ʕ], b = [b], ɸ = [ɸ], č = [tʃ], d = [d], ɗ = [dʲ], ɗ = [ɗ], ɗ = [ɗʲ] (ظ), ɗ = [ɗ], f = [f], ♦f = [fʲ], g = [g], ġ = [ɣʲ, ʁʲ], ġ = [ɟ], ♦g = [gʲ], h = [h], ɸ = [ɸ], k = [k], ♦k = [kʲ], l = [l], l = [lʲ], m = [m], m = [mʲ], n = [n], n = [nʲ], ♦n = [nʲ], p = [p], ♦p = [pʲ], q = [q], r = [r, ʁ], r = [rʲ, ʁʲ], s = [s], š = [sʲ], š = [ʃ], t = [t], t = [tʲ], t = [θ], v = [v], ♦v = [vʲ], w = [w], ♦w = [wʲ], x = [x], y = [j], z = [z], ʒ = [ʒʲ], ž = [ʒ]

#### REMARK

1. ɗ: this symbol is used only to transliterate the Arabic letter ض, which is assumed to have been pronounced with lateral articulation.<sup>2</sup>
2. ʔ: this is not an independent phoneme of TJ, but is used for TJ words in some special cases in the phonology (see 1.2.3. and 1.4.1.1.).

#### (2) Vowels

a [æ], ɑ [ɑ], ʌ [ʌ], ʔ [ʔ], e [e], é [ɛ], ê [ɛ̃], ə [ə], ɛ [ɛ̃], i [i], o [o], u [u]

#### (3) Stress, vowel length and vowel devoicing.

[v̄] = unstressed long vowel, e.g. [kãčbîn] "writing (pl.)". This symbol may be used for Italian words which have not yet been arabicized, e.g. *žörnālē* "newspaper" (see 0.5.3. below).

[v̂] = stressed long vowel, e.g. [kãčbîn] "writing (pl.)".

uew

[v̆] = stressed short vowel, e.g. [yákcəɸ] "he writes". This symbol may be used for phonemic transcription; for TJ words the accentuation of which does not follow the general stress rule (see 1.4.3.), the stress is marked with this symbol, e.g. *kassár* "he broke", *ħamrâ* "red (f.)".

<sup>2</sup> Cantineau, *Études*, pp. 17-21.

$\bar{v}$  = short vowel. This symbol is used for the transcription of CA words (when necessary), e.g. CA *kātāb* "he wrote" or of Italian words which have not yet been arabicized, e.g. *žōrnālē* "newspaper" (see 0.5.3. below).

[y] = devoiced vowel.

(4) Order of the phonemes, including CA phonemes.

ʔ, ʕ, a, b, ċ, d, ḍ, ḍ, ḍ, ḍ, ʔ, f, g, ħ, h, i, k, l, l, m, ṃ, n, ṣ, p, q, r, ṣ, s, š, t, t, t, u, v, w, x, y, z, z, ž

### 0.5.3. The transcription of foreign words

Many Italian words have been introduced into the TJ vocabulary and in some cases they are indispensable elements to express concepts of daily life. However, recent loanwords have not been completely adapted to TJ phonological system, thus some foreign sounds are attested; e.g. v, p, e, o etc. We consider that Italian words containing these sounds have not been *phonologically* arabicized. For such words we use letters as e, ē, o, ō, p, v, ie, uo etc. which do not occur in Arabic words. Therefore we must distinguish short and long (as to Italian, the length of the vowel is not phonemic, but a stressed vowel is articulated rather long), thus vowels articulated as short are marked with  $\bar{\text{~}}$  and phonetically long vowels are marked with  $\bar{\text{~}}$ ; e.g. *ā, ā*. For example *žōrnālē* "newspaper", *bāndīērā* "flag". Even these phonologically non-Arabicized words take Arabic plural endings, and in this case the ending is immediately attached to them: *žōrnāliyač* "newspapers" etc. The Arabic ending is not marked with any diacritic mark. Likewise Hebrew words acquired in Israel are transcribed in the same way as the above-mentioned Italian words; e.g. *āvāl* "but", *tāmīd* "always", *sīr* "pot".

### 0.5.4. Abbreviations

a.p. = active participle  
 C = any consonant  
 CA = Classical Arabic  
 coll. = collective noun  
 def art. = definite article  
 du. = dual  
 Fr. = French  
 f. = feminine

Gr. = Greek  
 gem. = geminated verb  
 Heb. = Hebrew  
 It. = Italian  
 i.v. = imperative verb  
 Lat. = Latin  
 m. = masculine  
 N.P. = noun phrase  
 Pers. = Persian  
 p. = participle  
 p.du. = pseudo dual  
 p.p. = passive participle  
 p.v. = pseudo verb  
 perf. = perfect (see REMARK 2 below)  
 pl. = plural  
 pron.suff. = pronoun suffix  
 Q = quadrilateral verb (e.g. Q-Form I = Form I verb of the quadrilateral root)  
 Sic. = Sicilian  
 sg. = singular  
 st.abs. = absolute state  
 st.cstr. = construct state  
 str. = strong verb  
 T = archiphoneme for t, t, d, ċ. This is used for the historical reflex of CA t and t (including the formative affix for Form V, VI, VIII of the trilateral verb and Form II of the quadrilateral verb and the construct state of the feminine ending -a (-at, -at, -ad, -ač)).  
 TJ = Tripoli-Jewish dialect  
 TM = Tripoli-Muslim dialect  
 Turk. = Turkish  
 V = any vowel (irrespective of length)  
 $\bar{v}$  = any long vowel  
 $\bar{v}$  = any short vowel  
 v.i. = intransitive verb  
 v.t. = transitive verb  
 # = word boundary  
 \* = theoretical, reconstructed form

- = syllable boundary

~ = or

∅ = none

< , > = the historical correspondence of a word, i.e. developed from, developing into...

[lulād] = phonetic transcription

*lulād* (in italic) = phonemic transcription

//lwlad// = morphophonemic transcription

#### REMARK

1. Since the pronoun and verb do not distinguish gender in the plural, we do not put the abbreviation "sg." to indicate the singular persons, thus the abbreviation 3.m., 3.f., 2.m., 2.f. indicate the singular. And the plural is marked as 3.pl. 2.pl. and 1.pl. Likewise for the noun morphology we use only m., f., and pl.; m. and f. imply m.sg. and f.sg. respectively. However, in necessary cases the gender may be distinguished as m.pl., f.pl.
2. If we use the expression for example "TJ *X* corresponds to CA *Y*" or CA *X* > TJ *Y*, we do not necessarily intend that the dialectal form originates directly from the form of CA. Thus the above mentioned expression would be paraphrased as "in TJ *Y* appears in place of CA *X*".
3. Perfect and Imperfect: these are terms used to indicate two types of conjugational systems of CA, which denote the aspect rather than the tense. Although in modern dialects these two systems tend to indicate much more the tense, in this study we will use these conventional terms, since we are not primarily interested in whether the verbs mark aspect or tense but in their form.
4. In this work the historical development of morphological forms starts from CA forms without final vowels and/or *n* of *tanwīn* for nouns. Thus forms as *waladun* "boy" or *kataba* "he wrote" etc. are not used, but *walad* and *katab*.

## 1. Phonology

1.1. and 1.2. deal only with synchronic phenomena and historical comments will be restricted to a minimum.

The historical aspects of the phonology, i.e. the relations of TJ consonants and vowels to CA ones, are mentioned later in 1.3.

### 1.1. Consonants

#### 1.1.1. Phonemes

The following consonant phonemes are attested in TJ.

Labials	<i>b, ḅ, m, ṁ, f</i>
Dental plosives	<i>t, ṭ, d, ḏ</i>
Dental affricate	<i>č</i>
Alveolar fricatives	<i>s, š, z, ž</i>
Postalveolar fricatives	<i>š, ž</i>
Liquids	<i>l, ḷ, n, ṅ</i>
Velar plosives	<i>k, g</i>
Uvular plosive	<i>q</i>
Uvular fricatives	<i>x, ġ</i>
Uvular trills	<i>r, ṛ</i>
Pharyngeal fricatives	<i>h, ʕ</i>
Semi-vowels	<i>w, y</i>

Among these phonemes, *b, m, ḷ, ḏ, č, ž, g* and *r* are absent in CA.

(1) *b, m, ḷ, z, ṅ* and *r* are the emphatic counterparts of *b, m, l, z, n* and *r* respectively. *ḏ* will be mentioned below in (3). In most cases these appear in the proximity of other emphatic consonants. Although they have acquired the status of independent phonemes of TJ, their appearance without the adjacency of other emphatic consonant is still relatively rare (except for *r*), and hence it is difficult to attest convincing minimal pairs.

<sup>1</sup> At least in the CA orthography the autonomy of *l* as a phoneme is not represented although the traditional reading of the Qur'ān requires the pronunciation of *l* in *'allah* (= *'allah*) in certain cases, see Ferguson, *L.* p. 446.

(2) *č* and *t*.

*č* is the voiceless affricated dental (IPA [tʃ]). In many Maghribi dialects, especially in sedentary dialects of various parts of northern Algeria and Morocco, CA *t* and *ṭ* are usually represented as [t] (= IPA [ts]), i.e. a voiceless dental affricate.<sup>2</sup> In some descriptions and/or texts of these dialects, the occurrence of non-affricated allophones and their conditions are mentioned.<sup>3</sup> Indeed the conditions of each dialect vary, but they show an analogous tendency: the non-affricated [t] remains before *l*, *n*, *s* or *š*, and [d] before *z* and *ž*.

The parallel phenomenon is attested in TJ, where [č] appears instead of [t]. In the eastern part of the Maghrib, besides TJ, only some dialects in eastern Algeria<sup>4</sup> and Benghazi-Jewish<sup>5</sup> dialect have the realization of [č] for CA *t* and *ṭ*.<sup>6</sup>

As far as I know, no one has stated until now that the affricate [t] or [č] of these dialects is an independent phoneme. When one takes a historical consideration, it is obvious that the distribution of [t] and [č] is complementary (see 1.3.2.4.). But in a pure synchronical analysis we have to admit them as independent phonemes. For example, in TJ historical *d* and *ḍ* are devoiced before a voiceless stop or a fricative: TJ *tkər* "masculine" < CA *dakar*, TJ *tkakən* < CA *dakākīn*. As far as I have observed, the CA root of the first word  $\sqrt{d-k-r}$  is used in TJ only this word. Since we know the etymology of this word, we can assert that *t* of *tkər* originates from *d* which has been devoiced assimilating to the following voiceless *k*. However, syn-

2 For details, see Brunot, *Introduction*, p. 37, Marçais, *TDjidjelli*, pp. 5-6 and Marçais, *Tlemcen*, pp. 13-14.

3 Only Fischer, *Sprichwörter*, Brunot, *NFès* and Stillman, *Sefrou*, as far as I know, mention the conditions for the non-affrication of *t*: Fischer p. 190 states "Vor nachfolgenden *l*, gelegentlich auch vor *r* und *n* sowie unmittelbar nach (!) Sibilanten, spricht Sch. gern *t* für *ṭ*. Die Verbindungen *ṭs ṭš ṭz ṭž* werden zu *ts ṭš ṭz ṭž*"; Brunot pp. 3-4 enumerates conditions under which the ancient *t* does not undergo affrication: (1) "en complexe consonantique avec *l* comme second élément, (2) en complexe consonantique avec *n* comme second élément, (3) devant *n* avec qui il forme syllabe, (4) en présence de *s* ou *š* subséquent, (5) à la place de  $\sqrt{t}$  emphatique, (6) dans les emprunts au roman, (7) à la place de  $\sqrt{d}$  par assimilation à une sourde subséquent"; Stillman p. 31. says "The exceptions are before *l*, when *t* replaces *d*, and in French and Spanish loan words where hard *t* is pronounced".

The texts of Marçais, *Tanger* reveal that in Tlemcen [t] appears not only before sibilants and dental plosives, but even before [l], [n]. From the glossary of Brunot, *TRabat*, we can find in Rabat quite similar conditions of the realization of [t] to those of [č] of TJ (the unique difference is the appearance of [t] before [l]).

4 Ostova-Delmas, *Philippeville*, p. 67.

5 By the observation of Yoda.

6 In the dialects of the western oases of Egypt, which principally belong to the Maghribi group but show curious mixing of Eastern and Maghribi elements, the affrication of *t* > [t] is observed, see Woidich, *Oasen*, p. 343.

chronically we obtain only [tkər] and we do not have any other cognate word which can prove the original *d*. And this *tkər* is opposed, though not perfectly, to *čkərr* "she carries". Consequently in this study *t* and *č* are regarded as independent phonemes (for minimal pairs, see 1.1.2.2.(1)).

(3) *ḍ* is the emphatic counterpart of *d*. CA *ض* is merged with *ظ* and both are reflected as *ḍ* in TJ.

(4) *ž* (IPA [ʒ]) is the voiced counterpart of *š*.

(5) *g* is the voiced counterpart of *k*.

(6) *r*, *ṛ* and *ḡ*.

*ṛ* is an emphatic counterpart of *r*.

(a) The sound of *r* and *ṛ*.

For the majority of Jewish speakers from Tripoli city, these are not an apical trill, but a uvular trill (or fricative).<sup>7</sup> Although in the above list these are defined as uvular trills (IPA [R] for *r* and [Ṛ] for *ṛ*), *r* and *ṛ* may be in fact realized also as uvular fricatives (IPA [ʁ], [ʁ̣] respectively, see below), i.e. *r* = [R] ~ [ʁ] and *ṛ* = [Ṛ] ~ [ʁ̣]. Indeed it is unusual to have a phonemic contrast "veralized : non-velarized" in uvular sounds, but the opposition as *ħžər* [ħžəR] "lap" : *ħžər* [ħžəṚ] "stone" (see 1.1.2.7.(4)) proves this contrast.

(b) The sound of *ṛ* and *ḡ*.

In the above list, *ḡ* is defined as a uvular fricative, but this may be realized as uvular trill as well: [Ṛ] or [ʁ̣] (free variants), e.g. *ḡali* [ḡāli] ~ [ʁ̣āli] "expensive", namely *ḡ* possesses the same phonetical value as *ṛ*, and thus there is no phonetic difference between *ṛ* and *ḡ*, or at least the difference is quite small to be distinguished.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless in this study *ṛ* and *ḡ* (and therefore *r* as well) are treated as different phonemes (see 1.1.2.7.(3)), because the phonological behaviour of *ḡ* is different from that of *ṛ* in the following cases.

7 In the Maghribi area the pronunciation of *r* as an uvular trill is normally reported as a personal habit, not as social or dialectal variation; see Cohen, *Alger*, p. 27, Marçais, *PDjidjelli*, p. 16, Singer, *Tetuan*, p. 109 and Singer, *Tunis*, pp. 110-111.

8 Marçais, *PDjidjelli*, p. 17.

(α) *g* can be devoiced before a voiceless plosive or fricative, but *r* and *r̥* have no devoiced allophone. In this case the devoiced counterpart of [ʀ] and [ʁ] is [x] (seemingly not [χ]).

*baḡa* [bāʀa] ~ [bāʁa] "slipper" : *blaḡcu* [blāx̥cu] "his slipper". But *hara* [hāʀa] ~ [hāʁa] "four (eggs)" : *harcin* [hāʁcīn] ~ [hāʁcīn] "eight (eggs)", *mra* [mʀā] ~ [mʁā] "wife" : *mərču* [mēʀcu] ~ [mēʁcu] "his wife".

(β) When *č* stands before *g*, it may be realized as voiced [ǰ]. On the other hand, before *r* and *r̥*, *č* is realized always as voiceless [č] (see 1.3.2.4.).

*čganni* [čǰānni] (~ [čʀānni]) ~ [čǰānni] (~ [čʁānni]) "she sings". But *čradda* [čʀādda] ~ [čʁādda] "she gives it (f.) back" (not \*[čǰādda] ~ [čʁādda]), *črəwwəh* [čʀówwəh] ~ [čʁówwəh] "she goes back" (not \*[čǰówwəh] or \*[čʁówwəh]).

(γ) The realization of *ə* differs in the adjacency of *g*, *r* or *r̥*, though the difference is slight (see 1.2.3.3.1.1.).

*mərču* [mēʀcu] "his wife" : *məgrəb* [māʀʀəb] "time of sunset". But *čradda* [čʀādda] ~ [čʁādda] "she gives it (f.) back" : *čgaddá* [čʀāddá] ~ [čʁāddá] "he had lunch", *šbər* [šbēʀ] ~ [šbēʁ] "he was patient" : *šbəḡ* [šbāʀ] ~ [šbāʁ] "he dyed".

(δ) The definite article is assimilated to *r*, *r̥* but not to *g* (see 2.3.1. REMARK 3).

Although [ʀ] and [ʁ] are usually free variants, when *r* and *g* (or vice versa) occur successively (not necessarily immediately adjacent), the order of trill-fricative [ʀ - ʁ] is avoided, but any other order is possible.

*rəḡwa* [ʀāʀwā] ~ [ʁāʀwā] ~ [ʁāʁwā] "bubble", *grəq* [ʀʀāq] ~ [ʁʀāq] ~ [ʁʁāq] "he dived", *nəḡru* [nāʀru] ~ [nāʁru] ~ [nāʁru] "they envied".

For a minority of Jewish speakers from Tripoli city *r* and *r̥* are apical trills (= IPA [r], [r̥] respectively).

Beside the absence of *h* in TJ, this uvular character of *r* and *r̥* are one of the conspicuous differences between TJ and TM.<sup>9</sup> In TM *r* and *r̥* are pronounced exclusively as apical trills: IPA [r], [r̥].

<sup>9</sup> In Iraqi *qeltu* dialects as in Baghdad Jewish, Baghdad Christian and in Mossul etc., the pronunciation of *r* as an uvular is rather normal (see Blanc, *Baghdad*, pp. 20-25, Jastrow, *Mossul*, p. 38 and Jastrow, *Arbil*, p. 52). For Baghdad Jewish, [ʀ] and [r̥] have in effect different function: [r̥] is used for words of Hebrew, Persian and Turkish origin, and words recently borrowed from CA or the Muslim dialect. In TJ no such difference exists and therefore, for the majority, *r* of Hebrew words and even recently borrowed Italian words are pronounced with [ʀ]. On the contrary, for the minority, *r* in Hebrew and Italian words is always pronounced [r̥]. In addition it is reported that in Baghdad Jewish-Christian [ʀ] is assimilated in contact with *q* or *x* (*qqətu* < \**qrətu* "I've read", *axxas* < \**axras* "dumb") and especially in Mossul the sequence of *arb* changes into *ōb* (*ōbā'a* < \**arbā'a* "Wednesday"). In TJ no such features occur.

## REMARK

In this study *r* and *r̥* are defined as a uvular trill and *g* as a uvular fricative in order to differentiate between them theoretically as independent phonemes.

## 1.1.2. Minimal (and contrasting) pairs

1.1.2.1. Labials: *b*, *b̥*, *m*, *m̥*, *f*

(1) Phoneme *b*.

*b* : *b̥*

*baba* "its (f.) door" : *ḡaba* "papa".

*rabbi* "rabbi" : *ṛabbi* "God".

*b* : *m*

*bač* "he passed the night" : *mač* "he died".

*qbəl* "before" : *qməl* "louse".

*b* : *m̥*

*ba* "he wanted" : *ma* "mama".

*b* : *f*

*kčəb* "he wrote" : *kčəf* "shoulder".

*b* : *w*

*žab* "he brought" : *žaw* "they came".

(2) Phoneme *b̥*.

This phoneme appears usually in the proximity of another emphatic consonant and its occurrence without the coexistence of another emphatic consonant in the same word is very rare. Therefore it is very difficult to find convincing minimal pairs.

*b̥* : *b*

See above *b* : *b̥*.

*b̥* : *m*

Not attested.

*b̥* : *m̥*

*ḡərra* "outside" : *mərra* "time (Fr. fois)".

*ḡəyya* "shoe polish" : *məyya* "water".

*b̥* : *f*

Not attested.



(3) Phoneme *m*.*m* : *b*See above *b* : *m*.*m* : *ḥ*See above *ḥ* : *m* (not attested).*m* : *ṁ**əmm* "grief" : *əmm* "mother".*ma* "water" : *ma* "mama".*m* : *f**mač* "he died" : *fač* "it (m.) passed".*m* : *n**smin* "fat" : *snin* "years".*m* : *w**klam* "words" : *klaw* "they ate".(4) Phoneme *m*.

Like *ḥ*, this phoneme appears usually in the proximity of another emphatic consonant and its occurrence without the coexistence of another emphatic consonant in the same word is very rare. Therefore it is very difficult to find convincing minimal pairs.

*m* : *b*See above *b* : *m*.*m* : *ḥ*See above *ḥ* : *m*.*m* : *m*See above *m* : *m*.*m* : *f*

Not attested.

*m* : *w**mərrá* "bitter (f.)" : *wərrá* "he showed".(5) Phoneme *f*.*f* : *b*See above *b* : *f*.*f* : *ḥ*See above *ḥ* : *f* (not attested).*f* : *m*See above *m* : *f*.*f* : *ṁ*See above *ṁ* : *f* (not attested).*f* : *w**xəffəf* "he lightened" : *xəwwəf* "he frightened".1.1.2.2. Dentals: *t*, *ṭ*, *d*, *ḏ*, *č*(1) Phoneme *t*.*t* : *ṭ*

Not attested.

*t* : *d**wətnin* "and two" : *wədnin* "ears".*tlaqá* "he met" : *dlala* "auction".*t* : *ḏ*

Not attested.

*t* : *č**tkər* "masculine" : *čkəl* "he trusted".*tkər* "masculine" : *čkərr* "she carries".*tqiq* "flour" : *čqil* "heavy".*t* : *n**tləwwəḥ* "you (m.) throw" : *nləwwəḥ* "I throw".*t* : *ṇ*

Not attested.

(2) Phoneme *ṭ*.*ṭ* : *t*See above *t* : *ṭ* (not attested).*ṭ* : *d**šəṭṭ* "coast" : *šədd* "he seized".*ṭ* : *ḏ**ṭar* "it (m.) flew" : *ḏar* "family".*ṭ* : *č**yṭib* "it (m.) is cooked" : *yčib* "he repents".

*t* : *ʃ*

*ʃab* "it (m.) was cooked" : *ʃab* "he found".

*t* : *n*

*ɣəʃti* "he gives" : *ɣəʃni* "it (m.) means".

*t* : *n*

*ʃar* "it (m.) flew" : *nar* "fire, day".

(3) Phoneme *d*.

*d* : *t*

See above *t* : *d*.

*d* : *ʃ*

See above *t* : *d*.

*d* : *ɖ*

*daq* "he tasted" : *daq* "it (m.) became narrow".

*d* : *č*

*zid* "add (m.)!" : *zič* "oil".

*d* : *z*

*rədd* "he returned" : *rəzz* "rice".

*d* : *n*

*ʃid* "feast" : *ʃin* "eye".

(4) Phoneme *d*.

*d* : *t*

See above *t* : *d* (not attested).

*d* : *ʃ*

See above *t* : *d*.

*d* : *d*

See above *d* : *d*.

*d* : *č*

*fad* "it (m.) overflowed" : *fač* "it (m.) passed".

*d* : *ʃ*

*dar* "family" : *ʃar* "it (m.) happened".

*d* : *n*

*radi* "agreeing" : *rani* "he saw me".

*d* : *n*

*dar* "family" : *nar* "fire, day".

(5) Phoneme *č*.

*č* : *t*

See above *t* : *č*.

*č* : *ʃ*

See above *t* : *č*.

*č* : *d*

See above *d* : *č*.

*č* : *ɖ*

See above *d* : *č*.

*č* : *s*

*čanya* "second (f.)" : *sanya* "field".

*č* : *š*

*bač* "he passed the night" : *baš* "in order to".

*č* : *ž*

*čab* "he repented" : *žab* "he brought".

*č* : *n*

*čəkčəb* "you (m.) write" : *nəkčəb* "I write".

*č* : *ŋ*

*čara* "you (m.) see" : *naŋa* "I see".

*č* : *k*

*čabda* "she begins" : *kabda* "liver".

REMARK

When *č* is geminated, we transcribe it as *tč*, not *čč*.<sup>10</sup>

1.1.2.3. Alveolars: *s*, *ʃ*, *z*, *ʒ*

(1) Phoneme *s*.

*s* : *ʃ*

*sif* "sword" : *ʃif* "summer".

*s* : *z*

*mus* "clasp knife" : *muz* "bananas".

<sup>10</sup> Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 14, states "Enfin, il faut remarquer que lorsque *t* doit être redoublé, l'élément dental *t* est en fait seul redoublé; l'élément sifflant continu reste simple *تت* *six* doit être transcrit *sétta* mieux que *sétta*".

*s* : *z*

Not attested.

*s* : *š*

*nsa* "women" : *nša* "starch".

*s* : *ž*

*sābba* "reason" : *žābba* "outer garment".

*s* : *č*

See above *č* : *s*.

### (2) Phoneme *ʃ*

*ʃ* : *s*

See above *s* : *ʃ*.

*ʃ* : *z*

*ʃid* "lion" : *zid* "add (m.)!".

*ʃ* : *ʒ*

*ʃar* "it (m.) happened" : *zar* "he visited".

*ʃ* : *š*

*ʃur* "wall" : *šur* "months".

*ʃ* : *ž*

*ʃar* "it (m.) happened" : *žar* "neighbour".

*ʃ* : *ʧ*

See above *ʧ* : *ʃ*.

*ʃ* : *d*

See above *d* : *ʃ*.

### (3) Phoneme *z*

*z* : *s*

See above *s* : *z*.

*z* : *ʃ*

See above *ʃ* : *z*.

*z* : *z*

Not attested.

*z* : *š*

*mu:z* "bananas" : *muš* "not".

*z* : *ž*

*zbal* "rubbish" : *žbal* "mountain".

*z* : *d*

See above *d* : *z*.

### (4) Phoneme *z*

*z* appears independently in only a few words, e.g. *zawali* "poor", *zguḡu* "pine seed powder", *zawya* "Zawya (place name)" etc. As far as I have observed, in other cases *z* appears in the proximity of another emphatic consonant. Therefore it is very difficult to find convincing minimal pairs, and practically no perfect pair with *z* is attested. The reason that we admit *z* as a phoneme is that all Jewish speakers from Tripoli city always use *z* when they articulate these words, thus this emphatic articulation of *z* is not a stylistic variant.<sup>11</sup>

*z* : *z*

See above *z* : *z* (not attested).

*z* : *s*

See above *s* : *z* (not attested).

*z* : *ʃ*

*zammāḡ* "he blew a music instrument" : *šammāḡ* "he nailed".

*z* : *š*

*zəḡḡ* "orange water" : *šəḡḡ* "month".

*z* : *ž*

Not attested.

*z* : *d*

*zəḡḡ* "orange water" : *dəḡḡ* "back; afternoon".

#### 1.1.2.4. Postalveolars: *š*, *ž*

##### (1) Phoneme *š*

*š* : *s*

See above *s* : *š*.

*š* : *ʃ*

See above *ʃ* : *š*.

*š* : *z*

See above *z* : *š*.

*š* : *ž*

*šra* "he bought" : *žra* "he ran".

*š* : *č*

See above *č* : *š*.

<sup>11</sup> Ferguson, *L.*, pp. 446-447.

(2) Phoneme *ž*.*ž* : *s*See above *s* : *ž*.*ž* : *š*See above *š* : *ž*.*ž* : *z*See above *z* : *ž*.*ž* : *ẓ*See above *ẓ* : *ž* (not attested).*ž* : *ṣ̌*See above *ṣ̌* : *ž*.*ž* : *č*See above *č* : *ž*.1.1.2.5. Liquids: *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ŋ*(1) Phoneme *l*.*l* : *ḷ**walla* "or" : *walla* "by God".*l* : *n**daxxál* "he made s.o. enter" : *daxxán* "he smoked".*l* : *ṇ*

Not attested.

*l* : *r**liya* "fatty tail of sheep" : *riya* "lung"(2) Phoneme *ḷ*.<sup>12</sup>

*ḷ* appears independently, as far as I have observed, only in the word *alla* "God". In other cases *ḷ* appears in the proximity of another emphatic consonant, therefore it is quite difficult to find convincing minimal pairs. However we admit *ḷ* as a phoneme for the same reason with which we justified the autonomy of *ẓ* (see 1.1.2.3.(4)).

*ḷ* : *ḷ*See above *ḷ* : *ḷ*.

<sup>12</sup> Ferguson. *L.* pp. 446-447.

*l* : *n*

Not attested.

*l* : *ŋ*

Not attested.

*l* : *r**walla* "by God" : *warrá* "he showed".(3) Phoneme *n*.*n* : *l*See above *l* : *n*.*n* : *ḷ*See above *ḷ* : *n* (not attested).*n* : *m*See above *m* : *n*.*n* : *t*See above *t* : *n*.*n* : *ṭ*See above *ṭ* : *n*.*n* : *d*See above *d* : *n*.*n* : *ḍ*See above *ḍ* : *n*.*n* : *č*See above *č* : *n*.*n* : *ŋ*

Not attested.

(4) Phoneme *ŋ*.

*ŋ* appears independently, as far as I have observed, only in the word *ŋanna* "grandmother". In other cases *ŋ* appears in the proximity of another emphatic consonant, therefore no minimal pair with *n* has been attested until now. However, we admit *n* as a phoneme for the same reason with which we justified the autonomy of *ẓ* (see 1.1.2.3.(4)).

*ŋ* : *n*See above *n* : *ŋ* (not attested).

*n* : *l*

See above *l* : *n* (not attested).

*n* : *l*

See above *l* : *n* (not attested).

*n* : *t*

See above *t* : *n* (not attested).

*n* : *ʔ*

See above *ʔ* : *n*.

*n* : *d*

See above *d* : *n*.

*n* : *č*

See above *č* : *n*.

#### 1.1.2.6. Velars: *k*, *g*

(1) Phoneme *k*.

*k* : *g*

*karkár* "he limped along" : *gargár* "he grumbled".

*kuša* "public oven" : *guča* "(proper name)".

*k* : *q*

*kəlb* "dog" : *qəlb* "heart".

*k* : *x*

*kla* "he ate" : *xla* "desert".

*k* : *ǵ*

*kla* "he ate" : *ǵla* "it (m.) boiled".

*k* : *č*

See above *č* : *k*.

(2) Phoneme *g*.

*g* : *k*

See above *k* : *g*.

*g* : *q*

*gdəm* "he bit" : *qdəm* "it (m.) became old".

*g* : *x*

*gdəm* "he bit" : *xdəm* "he worked".

*g* : *ǵ*

*gərgár* "he grumbled" : *ǵərgár* "he gargled".

*gəšš* "junk" : *ǵəšš* "he deceived".

#### 1.1.2.7. Uvulars: *q*, *x*, *ǵ*, *r*, *ʔ*

(1) Phoneme *q*.

*q* : *x*

*qdəm* "it (m.) became old" : *xdəm* "he worked".

*q* : *ǵ*

*šbəq* "he preceded" : *šbəǵ* "he dyed".

*q* : *r*

*saq* "leg" : *sar* "it (m) flowed".

*q* : *ʔ*

*faq* "he noticed" : *faʔ* "mouse".

*q* : *k*

See above *k* : *q*.

*q* : *g*

See above *g* : *q*.

*q* : *h*

*qbəl* "before" : *hbəl* "rope".

*q* : *ʕ*

*qam* "he woke up" : *ʕam* "year".

(2) Phoneme *x*.

*x* : *q*

See above *q* : *x*.

*x* : *ǵ*

*xəllá* "he left" : *ǵəllá* "he boiled".

*x* : *r*

*xədd* "cheek" : *rədd* "he brought back".

*x* : *ʔ*

*xʔəb* "he asked s.o.'s hand" : *ʔʔəb* "wet".

*x* : *k*

See above *k* : *x*.

*x* : *g*

See above *g* : *x*.

$x : h$

*xəll* "vinegar" : *həll* "he opened".

$x : ʕ$

*xəyyáʔ* "he sewed" : *ʕəyyáʔ* "it (m.) hooted".

(3) Phoneme  $g$ .

$g : q$

See above  $q : g$ .

$g : x$

See above  $x : g$ .

$g : k$

See above  $k : g$ .

$g : g$

See above  $g : g$ .

$g : h$

*gəlla* "fruit" : *həlla* "open (m.) it (f.)!".

$g : ʕ$

*gali* "expensive" : *ʕali* "high".

$g : r$  (see 1.1.1.(6b))

*čəǵədda* [čǵǵádda ~ čǵǵádda] "have (m.) lunch!" : *črədda* [črǵádda ~ čkǵádda] "she brings it (f.) back".

$g : r$  (see 1.1.1.(6b))

*šbəǵ* [šbǵǵ ~ šbǵǵ] "he dyed" : *šbəʔ* [šbǵǵ ~ šbǵǵ] "he was patient".

(4) Phoneme  $r$ .

$r : r$  (see 1.1.1.(6a))

*zari* "running" : *zari* "my neighbour".

*hizər* "lap" : *hizər* "stone".

$r : q$

See above  $q : r$ .

$r : x$

See above  $x : r$ .

$r : g$

See above  $g : r$ .

$r : l$

See above  $l : r$ .

(5) Phoneme  $r$ .

$r : r$

See above  $r : r$ .

$r : l$

See above  $l : r$ .

$r : q$

See above  $q : r$ .

$r : x$

See above  $x : r$ .

$r : g$

See above  $g : r$ .

1.1.2.8. Pharyngeals:  $h, ʕ$

(1) Phoneme  $h$ .

$h : ʕ$

*hali* "my condition" : *ʕali* "high".

$h : q$

See above  $q : h$ .

$h : x$

*rha* "he ground" : *rxə* "it (m) weakened (v.i.)".

$h : g$

See above  $g : h$ .

(2) Phoneme  $ʕ$ .

$ʕ : h$

See above  $h : ʕ$ .

$ʕ : q$

See above  $q : ʕ$ .

$ʕ : x$

See above  $x : ʕ$ .

$ʕ : g$

See above  $g : ʕ$ .

1.1.2.9. Semi-vowels: *w*, *y*(1) Phoneme *w**w* : *b*See above *b* : *w*.*w* : *m*See above *m* : *w*.*w* : *m̥*See above *m̥* : *w*.*w* : *f*See above *f* : *w*.*w* : *y**waxəd* "taking" : *yaxəd* "he takes".(2) Phoneme *y*.*y* : *w*See above *w* : *y*.

## 1.1.3. Allophones

Allophones are mostly caused by partial assimilation (voicing, devoicing, emphasisization etc., see below for details) to neighbouring consonants (see 1.3.2.1.1. for details). Among them voicing and devoicing may take place not only inside a word but also across word boundaries; thus a given consonant terminating one word may undergo assimilation to the initial consonant of the following word.

In this study we mainly use the phonemic transcription which does not consider any etymological or morphological feature. Thus if a given sound is a interpretable as an allophone of a certain phoneme, its etymology is not reflected in the transcription, as long as that sound can be represented with a TJ phoneme. For example, CA *daxal* "he entered" corresponds to TJ *txəl* where *t* is historically a devoiced allophone of *d* due to the following voiceless *x* (see 1.1.1.(2)). However *t* being an independent phoneme of TJ, this *t*, though indeed etymologically *d*, is transcribed as *t* (but CA *daxalū* "they entered" is reflected in TJ as *daxlu* where the original *d* has not undergone devoicing) (see 1.3.2.1.1.1.(2a)).

On the other hand, in TJ *btən* [pt̪ɛn] "belly" (< CA *batn*), the first consonant is pronounced on the phonetic level as an emphatic voiceless labial stop [p̪] which is

not a TJ phoneme. In this case we have no choice to transcribe it phonemically as *b̪*. In this section we only treat allophones which can be represented on the phonetic level. Note that phenomena concerning *č* are treated in 1.3.2.4.

TJ consonants which have allophones are: *b*, *b̪*, *m*, *f*, *č*, *n*, *ŋ*, *k*, *g*, *w* and *y*.

## REMARK

From this section onward, *r* and *ɾ* are transcribed in bracket as [R] and [ɾ] respectively, and their free variants [ʁ] and [ɣ] are omitted.

1.1.3.1. *b* [b, p]

(1) [b]: Normal realization.

*bič* [bič] "room", *bəkkay* [bək̪k̪ay] "tearful".(2) [p]: Devoiced allophone. This appears when *b* immediately precedes a voiceless plosive or fricative, seemingly without restriction.*bħər* [pħər] "sea", *bka* [pkā] "he cried".1.1.3.2. *b̪* [b̪, p̪, b̪ʷ]

(1) [b̪]: Normal realization.

*bāba* [b̪ābā] "papa", *b̪əmb̪ər* [b̪ɛ̃mb̪ɛ̃r] "almond biscuits", *b̪əsla* [b̪ɛ̃sla] "onion", *b̪ətm̪i* [b̪ɛ̃tm̪o] "his belly".(2) [p̪]: Devoiced allophone. This appears when *b̪* immediately precedes a voiceless plosive or fricative, seemingly without restriction.*btən* [pt̪ɛn] "belly", *b̪saɾ* [p̪s̪āɾ] "carpet", *b̪səl* [p̪s̪əl] "onions", *t̪əb̪ʂu* [t̪ɛ̃pp̪s̪o] "they bowed down".(3) [b̪ʷ]: Labialised allophone. This appears when *b̪* immediately precedes *ay*, or *i*.*b̪ayya* [b̪ʷɛ̃yya] "shoe polish", *w̪əyy* [w̪b̪ʷɛ̃yy] "papa" (dim. of *bu*), *čərbi* [č̪ər̪b̪ʷe] "Arabic", *ɾəbbi* [ɾ̪ɛ̃bb̪ʷe] "God", *t̪s̪ərbi* [t̪s̪ər̪b̪ʷe] "you (f.) drink"1.1.3.3. *m* [m, m̪ʷ]

(1) [m]: Normal realization.

*əm̪mu* [ɛ̃mmo] "his mother", *b̪əmb̪ər* [b̪ɛ̃mb̪ɛ̃r] "almond biscuits".(2) [m̪ʷ]: Labialised allophone. This appears when *m* precedes *ay* or *i*.*əm̪mi* [ɛ̃mm̪ʷe] "my mother", *m̪ayya* [m̪ʷɛ̃yya] "water".

1.1.3.4. *f* [f, f̥, v, v̥]

(1) [f]: Normal realization.

*fi* [fī] "in it (m.)", *čaffah* [čəffāh] "apple", *kčəf* [kčəf] "shoulder", *kif* [kīf] "as, when, like".(2) [f̥]: Emphasized allophone. This appears when *f* coexists with another emphatic consonant in a word, except when *i* or *y* intervenes between them (see 1.3.2.1.1.2.).

(a) After an emphatic consonant.

*tfər* [tf̥ɛr] "nail", *nəsf* [n̥ɛsf] "half", *ndafa* [nd̥āfa] "cleanliness".

(b) Before an emphatic consonant.

*ftər* [ft̥ɛr] "he had breakfast", *f̥r̥arəž* [f̥r̥āṛəž] "cocks", *faṛ* [f̥āṛ] "mouse", *f̥əmm* [f̥əmm] "mouth", *f̥ərtaš* [f̥ɛrt̥aš] "bald", *hfəḍ* [hf̥ɛḍ] "he protected" (but [f] with intervention of *i* or *y*; *šif* [šɛf] (not \*[š̥ɛf]) "summer", *trif* [tr̥ɛf] (not \*[tr̥ɛf̥]) "non-kosher (food)", *dyuf* [dy̥uf] (not \*[dy̥uf̥]) "guests".(3) [v]: Voiced allophone. This appears when *f* immediately precedes a voiced fricative or plosive (*f* before a voiced plosive is not attested).*kif žič* [kīv žič] "when I ~ you (m.) came", *fžəl* [vžəl] "radish".(4) [v̥]: Voiced and emphasized allophone. This appears when *f* immediately precedes a voiced emphatic plosive (= *d*).*yhaḍu* [yh̥əḍu] "they protect", *kif daru* [kīv d̥āru] "as his family".1.1.3.5. *č* [č, ǰ]

See 1.3.2.4.

1.1.3.6. *n* [n, ŋ]

(1) [n]: Normal realization.

*nas* [nās] "people", *bənc* [b̥ənc̥] "girl", *sāčīn* [s̥āčīn] "two hours".(2) [ŋ]: Velarized allophone. This appears when *n* stands before a velar / uvular plosive (*k*, *g*, *q*) but in the word initial [ŋ] may appear.*yənkčəb* [y̥əŋkčəb] "it (m.) will be written", *čəngiz* [č̥əŋgiz] "jumping", *zəŋqa* [z̥əŋqa] "blind-alley", *nqullək* [ŋq̥ollək ~ nq̥ollək] "I said to you", *nkəčbu* [ŋk̥əčbu ~ nk̥əčbu] "we write", *ngərgər* [ŋg̥ərgər ~ ng̥ərgər] "I grumble".1.1.3.7. *ŋ* [ŋ, ŋ̥]

(1) [ŋ]: Normal realization.

*nara* [n̥āra] "I see", *nanna* [n̥ānna] "grandmother".(2) [ŋ̥]: Velarized allophone. This appears when *ŋ* stands before a velar / uvular plosive (*q*, *k* [k̥]) inside a word (cases before *g* are not attested), but in the word initial [ŋ] may appear.*hanka* [h̥āŋka] "bank", *yəŋqəšš* [y̥əŋq̥āšš] "it (m.) is cut off", *nqul* [ŋq̥ol ~ nq̥ol] "I say".1.1.3.8. *k* [k, k̥]

(1) [k]: Normal realization.

*kəlb* [k̥əlb] "dog", *yəkčəb* [y̥əkčəb] "he writes".(2) [k̥]: Emphasized allophone. This appears when *k* coexists with an emphatic consonant in a word, except when *i* intervenes between them (example of the intervention by *y* is not attested) (see 1.3.2.1.1.2.).

(a) After an emphatic consonant.

*drəbkəm* [dr̥ɛbk̥ɛm] "he hit you (pl.)", *ʕak* [ʕ̥āk] "he gave to you (m.)".

(b) Before an emphatic consonant.

*kbar* [k̥bār] "big (pl.)", *kəbbər* [k̥ɛbb̥ɛr] "he made s.th. bigger", *karaba* [k̥ārāba] "car" (but [k] with intervention of *i*: *yəʕtik* [y̥aʕ̥t̥ɛk] (not \*[y̥aʕ̥t̥ɛk]) "he gives to you (m.)").1.1.3.9. *g* [g, ǰ]

(1) [g]: Normal realization.

*gərgər* [g̥ərg̥ər] "he grumbled", *gəšš* [g̥əšš] "junk".(2) [ǰ]: Emphasized allophone. This appears when *g* coexists with an emphatic consonant in a word, except when *i* intervenes between them (example of the intervention by *y* is not attested) (see 1.3.2.1.1.2.). As far as I have observed only cases where *g* stands before an emphatic consonant are attested.*gəbša* [ǰɛp̥ša] "handful".1.1.3.10. *w* [w, u] and *y* [y, i]These two phonemes, *w* and *y*, are distinguished from other consonants in that they are realized without occlusion or frication, therefore they possess both consonantal



and vocalic character, but they should be considered as consonants for their morphological role.

(1) Their consonantal character is obvious when they precede a vowel.

*wahad* [wáħad] "one", *wərda* [wóɾɖa] "rose", *yabəs* [yábəɟs] "dry", *yəmna* [yámna] "right (f.)".

(2) However, in other positions their character is obscure.

*wšə!* [wšé!] ~ [ušél] "he arrived", *mšawħa* [mšáwħa] ~ [mšáuwħa] "neat (f.)", *klaw* [klāw] ~ [kláu] "they ate", *yəmšiw* [yəmšíw] ~ [yəmšíu] "they go", *dzəwwáz* [dzuwwóz] ~ [dzuuwóz (= dzūwóz)] "he got married", *yħəs* [yħəɟs] ~ [ibəɟs] "it (m.) dried", *bayča* [báyča] ~ [báiča] "having passed (f.) the night", *čəstənnay* [čəstənnáy] ~ [čəstənnái] "you (f.) wait", *kləyyəb* [kliyyəb] ~ [kliiyəb (= klíyəb)] "small dog".

In such cases the difference between [w] and [u], [y] and [i] does not give any semantic difference, therefore, e.g. *dzəwwáz* and *kləyyəb* can be interpreted as *dzuwwáz* and *kliiyəb* respectively. However as long as a realization with geminated semi-vowel ([dzuwwóz] and [kliiyəb])) exists, we treat such words as containing a geminated semi-vowel.

## 1.2. Vowels

### 1.2.1. Phonemes

Short vowel	ə
Long vowels	a, i, u

#### 1.2.1.1. Short vowel

The most striking fact of TJ vocalism is the existence of only one short vowel, viz. the phoneme ə.

Such an extreme reduction of the short vowel system has been attested, until now, in only three Maghribi dialects: Algiers-Jewish,<sup>13</sup> Djidjelli<sup>14</sup> and Constantine-Jewish.<sup>15</sup> As to Djidjelli the uniqueness of the short vowel phoneme is suspect. Indeed, Marçais, *PDjidjelli*, p. 35 suggests that the timbre of the short vowel of Djidjelli is determined only by the consonantal environment (but he does not assert explicitly that Djidjelli has *only* one short vowel phoneme<sup>16</sup>), but at the same time he lists few words opposing each other by the difference of the timbre of short vowel.<sup>17</sup> According to him, the occurrence of a certain timbre in an unexpected environment is caused by the influence of the vocalization of CA. On the other hand, from the data of Cohen, *Alger* we can recognize the singleness of the short vowel of Algiers-Jewish more clearly, although he does not make use the concept of "phoneme" which had not yet been discovered in his time.<sup>18</sup>

The uniqueness of the short vowel phoneme in TJ does not mean that any short vowel is always pronounced with the same timbre. On the contrary we can recognize a large number of timbres in normal utterance. But when we examine these timbres closely, we notice that they are not phonologically distinctive but are deter-

13 Cohen, *Voyelles*, p. 175.

14 Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 32.

15 Tirosh-Becker, *Constantine*, p. 107.

16 Cohen, *Voyelles*, p. 175 keeps carefully silent on the matter of Djidjelli, although he mentions the singleness of the short vowel phoneme of Algiers-Jewish.

17 Marçais, *PDjidjelli*, pp. 165-166. In the verb list of the perfect of the hollow verbs, three pairs of verbs contrast in the difference of the vowel: 'udt, 1. sg. of 'ād "être sur le point" : 'idt, 1. sg. of 'ād "médire de", 'umt, 1. sg. of 'ām "nager" : 'imt, 1. sg. of 'ām "lever". silt, 1. sg. of sāl "couler" : salt, 1. sg. of sāl "demander des nouvelles".

18 For example, two passages from Cohen, *Alger*, p. 116. "elles (voyelles brèves de l'arabe classique ā, ī, ū) sont régulièrement représentées par une voyelle unique" and "Des nuances variées sont amenées par le voisinage consonantique".

mined simply by consonantal environments, as in the cases of Djidjelli and Algiers-Jewish; in other words they are mere allophones of *a*.

It is, however, very difficult to define strictly which environment prefers which timbre, because (1) the timbre is determined by the nature of both the preceding and following consonants, (2) it can be also influenced by remote (namely not immediately adjacent) consonants.

It is impossible to distinguish *all* timbres which would exist in TJ and it is not necessary to do so since the present work does not aim at a laboratory phonetic analysis of TJ, but at a grammatical description. We shall, however, distinguish some characteristic timbres as allophones of *a*. In this study we identify 10 allophones, the distribution of which will be treated in 1.2.3.3.1. Note that these allophones are somewhat abstract, therefore they do not reproduce the reality exactly.

#### 1.2.1.2. Long vowels

The modern Maghribi dialects can be divided as to the number of long vowel phonemes into two groups: (1) dialects with three long vowels;  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$ . (2) dialects with five long vowels;  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{u}$ . This division is caused by the different development of CA diphthongs *ay* and *aw*. In the first group these diphthongs correspond to  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  respectively, and in the second group, to  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$ . Broadly speaking in almost all cases the sedentary dialects belong to group (1) and the bedouin dialects to group (2). The bedouin dialects which retain the diphthongs, as Bou-Saâda, Hassaniya and Saida etc., have, therefore, three long vowels.<sup>19</sup>

Conforming to this general division, TJ, which is one of the sedentary dialects, has three phonemic long vowels: *a*, *i*, *u* (without a bar over the letter, see below). These long vowels are opposed to the single short vowel *a*, both in their quantity and in their quality. *a* is always realized short, and except for some restricted cases it is deleted when it stands in an open syllable by a morphophonological process (see 1.4.2.1.), whilst long vowels may be realized semi-long (or even short) when they are unstressed (see 1.2.5.1.1.), but they are not deleted, except for cases mentioned in 1.2.6.1.(2b).

<sup>19</sup> In Bou Saâda, CA diphthongs are preserved very well: *'itpit* "j'ai donné" (< CA *'ataytu*), *faug* "sur" (< CA *faug*) etc. see Marçais, *Bou Saâda*, pp. 25, 40 and 42. Hassaniya has  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  and their variations as diphthongs, but even  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  are rarely attested, see Cohen, *Hassaniya*, pp. 53-54. A similar situation is found in Saida and according to Marçais, *Saida*, p. 32, these compound forms are the result of a secondary iotacism and the monophthongized  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  are original.

For the phonemic description, therefore, there is no inconvenience in marking long vowels without a special diacritic sign (normally a bar marking length is put above vowel letters as  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ ), since it is redundant as long as there is no short vowel phoneme represented as *a*, *i* or *u* which may be opposed in the transcription to  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$ . Nevertheless, in the phonetic transcription, long vowels are marked with the appropriate diacritic sign.

As in the case of short vowels, a number of long vowel allophones, especially of *i* and *u*, are attested. The distribution of long vowel allophones is shown in 1.2.3.3.2. below.

#### 1.2.2. Minimal pairs

*a* : *a*

*smən* [smən] "clarified butter" : *smān* [smān] "he became fat".

*'əmna* [ʻámna] "we swam" : *'amna* [ʻámna] "our year"

*a* : *i*

*smən* [smən] "clarified butter" : *smīn* [smīn] "fat".

*kčəba* [kčəba] "he wrote it (f.)" : *kčība* [kčība] "her writing".

*a* : *u*

*zərna* [zÉRna] ~ [zĕrna] "we visited" : *zūrna* [zÓrna] ~ [zÓrna] "visit (m.) us!".

*a* : *i*

*žab* [žāb] "he brought" : *žīb* [žīb] "bring (m.)!".

*a* : *u*

*mač* [māč] "he died" : *muč* [mūč] "die (m.)!; death".

*i* : *u*

*qim* [qēm] "raise (m.)!" : *qum* [qōm] "wake up (m.)!".

#### 1.2.3. Allophones

##### 1.2.3.1. Determining factors of vowel allophones

The distribution of allophones depends on the nature of the adjacent consonants and sometimes also on that of a remote phonological element, namely not an adjacent one (see 1.2.3.3.1.2. for the short vowel and 1.2.3.3.2.4. for the long vowels). Stress does not seem to influence timbres. A point which we have to mind is that the following distribution defined by the phonological environments is not absolute

but rather representing an average realization, then practically there may appear sporadic irregularity which cannot be explained by simple phonological factors.

In the following we divide the TJ consonant phonemes into nine categories according to their phonological features in order to establish the phonological conditions which determine the allophones of vowel phonemes.<sup>20</sup> Each consonant category is represented in italic capital letters:

*P* (= pharyngeals): *ħ, ʕ*

*H* (= historical *h* which is mere historical entity and not actually pronounced (see 1.3.2.6.), and in this section *H* concerns only the definition of the allophone of *i*).

*U* (= uvulars): *q, x, ġ*.

*E* (= emphatics): *t, d, s, z, l, n, r*.<sup>21</sup>

*L* (= labials): *b, m, f*.

*L* (= labial emphatics): *b, m*.

*K* (= plain consonants): *č, t, d, s, z, š, ž, l, n, k, g, r*.<sup>22</sup>

*W*: (1) *w* (only after a short vowel: *xəwwáf* "he frightened", *ʕəwwad* "lute player"), (2) *w* (in other cases: *mšaw* "they went", *wald* "boy", *waqaf* "standing").

*Y*: (1) *y* (only after a short vowel: *qəyyád* "he registered", *bəyya* "vendor"), (2) *y* (in other cases: *təstannay* "you (f.) wait", *yəbsu* "they dried (v.i.)", *yabəs* "dry").

#### REMARK

(1) An emphatic consonant which has been produced by synchronic emphasization does not affect the timbre of the vowels, e.g. for *qətləʔ əššəltān* [qətləʔ əššəltān] (< *qətləč əššəltān* [qətləč əššəltān] "she killed the Sultan" ə before the emphasized *t* should be realized as [é] (see 1.2.3.3.1.1.(4)), but in fact the original timbre [ə] remains. On the emphasization *č* > *t*, see 1.3.2.4.(4).

(2) The phonological conditions which decide the timbre of the vowels are represented in the combination of a vowel and surrounding consonants. The timbres of the short vowel are conditioned by the preceding and following consonants, thus the

<sup>20</sup> Cohen, *Alger*, pp. 118-128 distinguishes eight categories of consonants (*ħ, ʕ*, emphatiques, laryngales, arrière-velaires, labiales, liquides, semi-voyelles); Marçais, *Tlemcen*, pp. 40-42 four categories (emphatiques, *ħ* and *ʕ*, *n*, semi-voyelles) and Marçais, *PDjidjelli*, pp. 37-39 nine categories (indifférentes, labialisantes, ouvrantes, palatalisantes, vélarisantes, angoisantes, emphatisantes, nasalisantes and semi-voyelles) according to the influence on the adjacent vowel.

<sup>21</sup> Although *r* and *r* are uvular consonants, they do not share the influential nature to the timbre with other uvular consonants (see 1.1.1.(6b)).

<sup>22</sup> ʔ = *hamza* is in fact not a real phoneme of TJ, but is posited in this study as a hypothetical entity to explain various phonological and morphological phenomena.

combinations are indicated as "consonant + vowel phoneme + consonant", e.g. *KəL*, *PəY* etc. On the other hand, for the long vowel the conditions are indicated only by a preceding or a following consonant; thus "consonant + vowel phoneme" or "vowel phoneme + consonant", e.g. *Ka*, *Li*, *uE* etc. The vowel in word initial is, in this section, considered as following ʔ which belongs to *K*. The vowel in word final is naturally affected only by a preceding consonant. Logically we can obtain, for example, 72 combinations for the short vowel phoneme. Practically, however, a number of combinations have not been attested mainly because of phonotactical reasons, thus the number of real combinations is considerably reduced.

As stated above, not only the adjacent consonants, but also phonological segments found at a distance can affect the timbre of the phoneme. In the following we will first deal with normal combinations in which the timbre is determined only by the adjacent consonants, and then with the influence of remote segments.

#### 1.2.3.2. Articulation zone of TJ vowels

All vowel allophones (either short and long) are included in this scheme.

i		u
	e	
	ə / ə̣	o
		é / ẹ́
		â / ậ
	a	ə

#### REMARK

- Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a more rounded vowel.
- From this section onward, *r* and *r* are transcribed in bracket as [R] and [R] respectively, and their free variants [ʁ] and [ʁ] are omitted.

#### 1.2.3.3. Distribution of the allophones

##### 1.2.3.3.1. Allophones of the short vowel ə [a, â, ậ, é, ẹ́, ə, ə̣, i, o, u]

##### 1.2.3.3.1.1. Normal combinations

(1) [a]: After or before *P*.

*PəU*: *ħəqqani* [ħəqqāni] "true".

- PəE:* *hətt* [hətt] "he put", *ʿərbi* [ʿárβ<sup>w</sup>e] "Arabic (language)".  
*PəL:* *stħəm* [stħəm]<sup>23</sup> "he bathed".  
*PəL:* *ʿəmri* [ʿámre] "my age".  
*PəK:* *hətča* [hátča] "also", *ħəssán* [ħassán] "he cut hair".  
*PəW:* *ʿəwwad* [ʿawwád] "lute player", *ħəwwál* [ħawwúl] (~ [ħawwól]) "he moved (house)".  
*PəY:* *whəyyəd* [wháyýəd] (~ [wháyýid]) "one (f.)", *ʿəyyətci* [ʿayyéti] "you (f.) called".  
*UəP:* *yqədu* [yqádu] "they sit".  
*EəP:* *dəhya* [dáhya] "egg".  
*LəP:* *bəčəm* [báčəm] "he sent them".  
*KəP:* *čəhləm* [čáhləm] "she dreams", *bəčd* [bačd] "after", *ʿəti* [áte] "give (m. ~ f.)!".  
*WəP:* *ləwwəħħə* [luwwáhħə] (~ [lowwáhħə]) "throw (m.) it(f.)!".  
*YəP:* *yəčər* [yáčər] "he stumbled".

(2) [á]: After or before *U*, except cases where *P* and *L* is concerned.

- UəE:* *xəqra* [xáqra] "vegetables", *čəwəxxər* [čwoxxár] "he was late".  
*UəK:* *qəlč* [qálč] "I ~ you (m.) said", *gədwə* [gádwa] "tomorrow".  
*EəU:* *təqs* [táqs] "weather", *rəgwa* [rárwa] "bubble".  
*KəU:* *ddəxli* [ddáxli] "you (f.) enter", *nəqqaš* [náqqáš] "coppersmith", *ləgwa* [lárwa] "language", *ʿəqra* [áqra] "read (m.)!", *əxdəm* [áxdəm] "work (m.)!".  
*YəU:* (For this combination also [é] is possible as a free variant) *yəxdəm* [yáxdəm] (~ [yéxdəm]) "he works", *yəqli* [yáqli] (~ [yéqli]) "he fries".

(3) [ə]: Between *U* and *L* / *L* or vice versa, or between *L* and *U*.

- UəL:* *qəffa* [qáffa] "large basket", *xəmsə* [xámsə] "five", *xəbz* [xábz] "bread".  
*LəU:* *məxx* [máxx] "bone marrow", *məqbul* [máqbul] "accepted".  
*LəU:* *šbəg* [šbár] "he dyed".

23 This corresponds to CA *ʿistahamm* with geminated *m* (see 2.2.4.3.(10)).

(4) [é]: Usually after and/or before *E*, except cases where *P* is concerned.

- EəE:* *lētəš* [létəš] "thirteen", *la xətər* [la-xátər] "because", *šərna* [šérna] "we became", *yšəlliw* [yšélléw] "they pray", *nəddəf* [néddef] "he cleaned", *yžədmu* [yžédmo] "they attack".  
*EəK:* *rəbtəč* [rétəč] "she tied".  
*EəY:* *təyybəč* [téyybəč] "she cooked".  
*KəE:* *čədrəb* [čédreč] "she hits ~ you (m.) hit", *ʿərmi* [érme] "throw (m. ~ f.)!", *ʿətləč* [étlač] "go out (m.)!".  
*YəU:* (For this combination also [ā] is possible as a free variant) *yəxdəm* [yéxdəm] (~ [yáxdəm]) "he works", *yəqli* [yéqli] (~ [yáqli]) "he fries".  
*YəE:* *yətləč* [yétləč] "he goes out", *ʿəyyətci* [ʿayyéti] "you (f.) called".  
*UəY:* *qəyyəd* [qéyyəd] (~ [qéyyid]) "he registered", *zəyyər* [zréyyər] "small".

(5) [é]: Usually after or before *L*, or between *E* and *L*, and vice versa, except cases where *P* and *U* are concerned.

- EəL:* *rəbbi* [rétbe] "God", *čədrəb* [čédreč] "she hits ~ you (m.) hit", *nəbxu* [nétbxó] "we cook it (m.)", *nəddəf* [néddef] "he cleaned", *kəbru* [kétbro] "they grew up".  
*LəE:* *mərdə* [mértə] "sick (pl.)", *bərrəq* [bérreč] "he looked", *mətrəh* [métráh] "place", *fərrəš* [férreš] "he spread", *fərq* [férq] "difference", *əmmək* [émmeč] "your mother".  
*LəL:* *bəmbər* [bémbe] "almond biscuits", *fəmm* [fém] "mouth".  
*LəY:* *məyyə* [méyyə] "water", *bəyyə* [béyyə] "shoe polish".  
*KəL:* *əmmək* [émmeč] "your mother".

(6) [ə]: After or before *K* and/or *Y*, except cases where *P*, *U*, *E* and *L* are concerned.

- KəL:* (For this combination also [ə] is possible as a free variant) *ləmm* [ləmm] (~ [ləmm]) "he gathered", *nəfs* [nəfs] (~ [nəfs]) "spirit", *čəffəh* [čəffáh] (~ [čəffáh]) "apples", *rəbbi* [rəbbi] (~ [rəbbi]) "rabbi",<sup>24</sup> *kəmsə* [kəmsə] (~ [kəmsə]) "handful", *yəxdəm* [yəxdəm] (~ [yəxdəm]) "he works", *əmsi* [əmsi] (~ [əmsi]) "go (m. ~ f.)!", *əffəm* [əffəm] (~ [əffəm]) "understand (m.)!".

24 Cf. *rəbbi* [rétbe] "God".

- KəK:* *dənyə* [dányə] "world", *čəwəléd* [čwāléd] "he was born", *kəlma* [kálma] "word", *kəčbəč* [káčbəč] "she wrote", *ʔəkčəb* [ákčəb] "write (m.)!".
- KəY:* (For this combination also [i] is possible as a free variant) *ʔəyyə* [áyya] (~ [iyya]) "(interjection to remind s.o. to start s.th.)", *səyyəb* [səyyáb] (~ [siyyáb]) "he let go".
- LəK:* (For this combination also [ə] is possible as a free variant) *məss* [məss] (~ [məss]) "he touched", *zəbəl* [zbəl] (~ [zbəl]) "rubbish", *bəss* [bəss] (~ [bəss]) "only", *čəbəddəl* [čbəddəl] (~ [čbəddəl]) "it (m.) changed (intr.)", *bətšišə* [bətšišə] (~ [bətšišə]) "slowly".
- LəY:* (For this combination also [i] is possible as a free variant) *bəyyəč* [bəyyáč] (~ [biyyáč]) "vendor", *bəyyəč* [bəyyəč] (~ [biyyəč]) "put (m.) (s.o.) up (for the night)!".
- WəY:* (For this combination also [i] is possible as a free variant) *rəwəyyəs* [rəwəyyəs] (~ [rəwəyyəs]) "small head".
- YəL:* (For this combination also [i] is possible as a free variant) *yəmšə* [yámšə] (~ [yímšə]) "he goes".
- YəK:* (For this combination also [i] is possible as a free variant) *whəyyəd* [whəyyəd] (~ [whəyyəd]) "unique", *yədd* [yədd] (~ [yidd]) "hand", *yərcədd* [yərčədd] (~ [yirčədd]) "he returns".

(7) [ə]: After or before *L*, except cases where *P*, *U*, *E* and *L* are concerned.

- LəL:* *məblul* [məblúl] "wet", *məffum* [məffúm] "understood".
- LəK:* (For this combination also [ə] is possible as a free variant) *məss* [məss] (~ [məss]) "he touched", *zəbəl* [zbəl] (~ [zbəl]) "rubbish", *bəss* [bəss] (~ [bəss]) "only", *čəbəddəl* [čbəddəl] (~ [čbəddəl]) "it (m.) changed (intr.)", *bətšišə* [bətšišə] (~ [bətšišə]) "slowly".
- KəL:* (For this combination also [ə] is possible as a free variant) *ləmm* [ləmm] (~ [ləmm]) "he gathered", *nəfs* [nəfs] (~ [nəfs]) "spirit", *čəffəh* [čəffāh] (~ [čəffāh]) "apples", *rəbbi* [rəbbi] (~ [rəbbi]) "rabbi", *kəmsə* [kəmsə] (~ [kəmsə]) "handful", *yəxdəm* [yáxdəm] (~ [yáxdəm]) "he works", *ʔəmšə* [əmsə] (~ [əmsə]) "go (m. ~ f.)!", *ʔəffəm* [əffəm] (~ [əffəm]) "understand (m.)!".

(8) [i]: Usually before *Y*, except cases where *P*, *U*, *E* and *L* are not concerned.

- LəY:* (For this combination also [ə] is possible as a free variant) *bəyyəč* [biyyáč] (~ [bəyyáč]) "vendor", *bəyyəč* [biyyəč] (~ [bəyyəč]) "put (m.) (s.o.) up (for the night)!".
- KəY:* (For this combination also [ə] is possible as a free variant) *ʔəyyə* [iyya] (~ [áyya]) "(interjection to remind s.o. to start s.th.)", *səyyəb* [siyyáb] (~ [səyyáb]) "he let go".
- WəY:* (For this combination also [ə] is possible as a free variant) *rəwəyyəs* [rəwəyyəs] (~ [rəwəyyəs]) "small head".
- YəL:* (For this combination also [ə] is possible as a free variant) *yəmšə* [yímšə] (~ [yámšə]) "he goes".
- YəK:* (For this combination also [ə] is possible as a free variant) *whəyyəd* [whəyyəd] (~ [whəyyəd]) "unique", *yədd* [yidd] (~ [yədd]) "hand", *yərcədd* [yirčədd] (~ [yərčədd]) "he returns".

(9) [o]: Usually between *W* and *U*, *E* or *L* and vice versa, except cases where *P*, *K* and *Y* are concerned.

- UəW:* *xəwwəf* [xowwúf] "he frightened", *yqəwwi* [yqówwi] "it (m.) strengthens".
- EəW:* *dəwwər* [dowwór] "he looked for", *šəwwər* [šowwór] "take (m.) a photo!".
- LəW:* *fəwwəd* [fowwód] "he poured (tr.)".
- KəW:* (For this combination also [u] is possible as a free variant) *dzəwwəz* [dzowwúz] (~ [dzowwúz]) "he got married", *əwwəl* [ówwul] (~ [úwwul]) "first".
- WəU:* *wəqtli* [wóqtli] "when (conj.)", *čəwəxxər* [čwoxxár] "he was late".
- WəE:* *wərqə* [wórqə] "paper", *dəwwər* [dowwór] "he looked for", *fəwwəd* [fowwód] "he poured (tr.)", *wərrə* [worrə] "he showed".

(10) [u]: Usually after or before *W*, except cases where *P*, *U*, *E*, *L* and *Y* are concerned.

- WəL:* *wəffə* [wuffā] "it (m.) passed".
- WəK:* *wətčə* [wutčā] "he prepared", *wəld* [wuld] "boy".
- KəW:* (For this combination also [o] is possible as a free variant) *dzəwwəz* [dzowwúz] (~ [dzowwúz]) "he got married", *əwwəl* [úwwul] (~ [ówwul]) "first".

## REMARK

Because of the disappearance of *h*, there are cases where two vowels stand successively. When the second vowel is short, the timbre is determined by that of the preceding vowel and the nature of the following consonant. These cases are discussed separately in 1.2.6.2.

Table of consonant combinations

	<u>P</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>Y</u>
<u>P</u>	-	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
<u>U</u>	a	-	â	â	-	â	o	é ~ â
<u>E</u>	a	â	é	é	é	é	o	é
<u>L</u>	a	â	-	ə	-	ə ~ ə	o	ə ~ i
<u>L</u>	-	â	é	-	é	-	-	é
<u>K</u>	a	â	é	ə ~ ə	é	ə	u ~ o	ə ~ i
<u>W</u>	a	o	o	u	-	u	-	ə ~ i
<u>Y</u>	a	â	é	ə ~ i	-	ə ~ i	-	-

- indicates "not attested".

## 1.2.3.3.1.2. Influence of remote elements

In some cases the realizations of certain allophones do not agree with the above-mentioned conditions; this is because of a remote element which is not immediately adjacent to *ə*, and these may influence the timbre of *ə* beyond a syllable or word boundary. These elements consist of *P*, *U*, *L*, *L*, *w* and *u*. In the following we will show examples where the remote elements influence the timbre of *ə*. Here also the timbre alteration is not absolute, thus also realizations matching to the basic conditions may be attested.

(1) *P*

This causes opening and unrounding.

[é] > [a]: *yərĥāma* [yərĥāma] (< \*[yĕrĥāma]) "may (God) have mercy upon her", *yšāṭhu* [yšāṭhu] (< \*[yšĕṭhu]) "they dance".

(2) *U*

Also *U* causes opening and unrounding but the extent of the opening is less than *P*.  
[ə] ~ [a]: *yərqəd* [yərqəd] (~ [yərqəd]) "he sleeps".

(3) *L*, *L*, *w* and *u*

These cause rounding: [a] > [o], [â] > [â] ~ [o], [â] > [o], [ə] > [ə], [ə] > [u], [ə] > [o], [é] > [é].

(a) [a] > [o]: *xāmsa u ʿəšrīn* [xāmsa w-ʿošrīn] (< \*[xāmsa w-ʿašrīn]) "twenty five".

(b) [â] > [â] ~ [o]: *ḥərrāq* [ḥĕrrāq] (< \*[ḥĕrrāq]) "he looked", *məwəxxəṛ* [məwəxxāṛ] (~ [məwəxxāṛ]) "late", *w xəllia* [u xollĕa] (< \*[u xāllĕa]) "and leave (m.) her alone!", *səmʿu ləxwəč* [səmʿo loxwāč] (< \*[lāxwāč]) "the sisters heard".

(c) [â] > [o]: *yūqəf* [yōqəf] (not \*[yōqāf]) "he stands" (cf. [wāqāf] "standing (m.)").

(d) [ə] > [ə]: *yziḇulək* [yziḇulək] (< \*[yziḇulək]) "they bring to you", *nəʿtiulək* [naʿtĕulək] (< \*[naʿtĕulək]) "I'll give it you".

(e) [ə] > [u]: *aḏik əlwəzra* [aḏok ulwūzra] (< \*[aḏok əlwūzra]) "those ministers".

(f) [ə] > [o]: *wəšškəm* [wūšškəm] (~ [wūšškəm]) "your face" (cf. *bənčəkəm* [bənčəkəm] "your (pl.) daughter").

(g) [é] > [é]: *yəmṛəd* [yĕmṛəd] (< \*[yĕmṛəd]) "he becomes sick", *yəftər* [yĕftĕr] (< \*[yĕftĕr]) "he has breakfast", *fərrəš* [fĕrĕš] (< \*[fĕrĕš]) "he spread", *byəd* [byĕd] (< \*[byĕd]) "white (m. ~ pl.)".

1.2.3.3.1.3. Devoicing of *ə*

The short vowel *ə*, even if stressed, may be devoiced (not compulsorily) when it occurs between voiceless fricative (or affricate) (*č*, *s*, *š*, *ḥ*) and voiceless plosive (*t*, *k*, *q*) (or vice versa). If *ə* is not audible, we can perceive time blank between the preceding and following consonant, thus *ḥətča* [ḥātča] (~ [ḥātča]) "also" must be distinguished from *\*ḥča* [ḥtča]. The devoiced *ə* is marked with ̣ put under a vowel symbol in the phonetic transcription, but retained as *ə* in the phonemic transcription: *ḥətča* [ḥātča] "also", *sətča* [sātča] "six", *čəqčəla* [čāqčəla] "you (m.) kill her", *gəllət əsszər* [rāllət əsszər] "the fruit of the tree", *xdiṭ əššəṭān* [xdit ĕššĕṭān] "I got married the Sultan", *bukəššəš* [bukĕššāš] "chameleon".

## 1.2.3.3.2. Allophones of the long vowels

In the sections 1.2.3.3.2.1. to 1.2.3.3.2.3. we will treat allophones of the normal combinations. As to the influence of the remote elements, see 1.2.3.3.2.4.

An unstressed long vowel may be realized as short(ened) without alteration of its original timbre. In this section, however, such short(ened) vowels are not marked as allophones of the long vowel phonemes, and we shall cite examples irrespective of length. This problem will be discussed separately in 1.2.5.1.1.

1.2.3.3.2.1. Allophones of *a* [ā, ā]

(1) [ā]: After or before *U, E, L* or *W*, except cases where *P* is concerned.

- Ua*: *qam* [qām] "he stood up", *ġali* [ġāli] "expensive", *xad* [xād] "he took".  
*aU*: *daq* [dāq] "he tasted".  
*Ea*: *ṭab* [ṭāb] "it (m.) was cooked", *qburac* [qḃōrāc] "graves", *ṭrablaš* [ṭrābliš] "Tripoli", *yarḃa* [yérḃa] "he agrees".  
*aE*: *žar* [žār] "neighbour".  
*Lā*: *ma* [mā] "mama".  
*aL*: Not attested (in, for example, *ḃaba* [ḃāḃa] "papa", [ā] in the first syllable is rather due to the preceding (the first) *ḃ*).  
*Wa*: *žwab* [žwāb] "letter", *waqaf* [wāqāf] "standing", *ṭwal* [ṭwāl] "long (pl.)", *duwa* [dūwa] "speech", *yaswa* [yāswa] "it (m.) costs".  
*aW*: *žaw* [žāw] "they came", *xallawkam* [xāllāwkām] "they left you (pl.)".

(2) [ā]: in positions other than in those of (1).

- am* [ām] "year", *bab* [bāb] "door", *vasaq* [yāsāq] "prohibited", *mša* [mšā] "he went", *yabda* [yābda] "he begins".

1.2.3.3.2.2. Allophones of *i* [ī, ē]

(1) [ē]: (a) After or before *P, U, E, L*, (b) after *W* or (c) before *H*.

- Pi*: *in* [ēn] "eye", *nəḥḥiw* [nəḥḥēw] "take (pl.) off!", *brī* [brē] "sell (f.) it (m.)!", *qdi* [qdē] "housekeeping", *yarḃi* [yérḃi] "he throws".  
*iP*: *riḥa* [rēḥa] "smell", *brī* [brē] "sell!(m.)".  
*iH*: *bia* [béa] "by her", *lia* [léa] "on her", *džia* [džēa] "she comes to her".  
*Ui*: *xir* [xēr] "better", *dəqqi* [dāqqē] "knock (f.) it (m.)!", *yləqqi* [ylāqqe] "he catches".  
*iU*: *brīq* [brēq] "jar with a handle and a spout".  
*Ei*: *yəḥḥiw* [yḥḥēw] "they pray", *šid* [šēd] "lion", *rič* [rēč] "I saw", *ʔarṭi* [arṭē] "give (m.) it (m.)!", *ʔarṭi* [yārṭe] "he gives".  
*iE*: *šitan* [šētān] "naughty", *biḃa* [béda] "white(f.)".  
*Li*: *čəḃiya* [čəḃéya] "hide-and-seek", *ʔəšəḃi* [əšəḃē] "drink (f.) it (m.)!", *ʔəšəḃi* [əšəḃe] "drink (f.)!".  
*iL*: *biḃaš* [bēḃāš ~ (beḃāš)] "priest (Christian)" (see 1.2.5.2.(1b)).  
*Wi*: *yqəwwik* [yqəwwék] "it (m.) strengthens you", *win* [wēn] "where?", *qəwwi* [qəwwé] "strengthen (m.)!", *yəḃiw* [yəḃēw] "they speak".

(2) [ī]: in positions other than in those of (1).

- bič* [bič] "room", *biban* [bībān] "doors", *yəmsiww* [yəmsīw] ~ [yimsīw] "he goes".

1.2.3.3.2.3. Allophones of *u* [ū, ō]

(1) [ō]: After or before *P, U, E, L*.

- Pu*: *huš* [hōš] "house", *ud* [ūd] "lute", *rəf u* [rāf u] "they carried".  
*uP*: *čfuḥa* [čfōḥā] "tasty (f.)".  
*Uu*: *qum* [qōm] "get up!(m.)", *xuna* [xōna] "our brother", *ḥarqu* [ḥārqu] "they burned".  
*uU*: *fuq* [fōq] "above", *yūqaf* [yūqof] "he stands up".  
*Eu*: *šaḃun* [šāḃōn] "soap", *məḃrum* [məḃrōm] "(name of a dish)", *fuṭ* [fōṭ] "breakfast".  
*uE*: *šur* [šōr] "months".  
*Lu*: *yəḃu* [yḃō] "they hit".  
*uL*: Not attested.

(2) [ū]: in positions other than in those of (1).

- skula* [skūla] "school", *čunəs* [čūnəs] "Tunis", *kuli* [kūli] "eat (f.) it (m.)!", *čdu* [čdū] "enemy", *kəčbu* [kəčbu] "they wrote".

## 1.2.3.3.2.4. Influence of remote elements

In 1.2.3.3.1.2. we observed the irregular realization of short vowel allophones caused by a remote element. As to the long vowels, the same phenomenon applies although the extent of its influence is considerably less than in the case of the short vowels.

(1) *a*: *a* is not influenced by remote elements.

(2) *i*: *i* undergoes lowering ([ī] > [ē]) caused by *P* and *U*.

- xfif* [xfēf] (not \*[xfīf]) "light".

(3) *u*: *u* undergoes lowering ([ū] > [ō]) caused by *P* and *U*.

- qlub* [qlōb] (not \*[qlūb]) "sunflower seeds: hearts".

### 1.2.3.3.3. The phonological effect of each consonantal group

From the above observations we can sum up the phonological effect of each consonant category on the timbres.

*P*: retraction and opening.

*U*: retraction and semi-opening.

*E*: retraction and semi-closing.

*L*: slight rounding.

*L*: retraction, semi-closing and rounding.

*K*: no effect.

*W*: rounding (to [u] or [o]).

*Y*: unrounding.

We can establish a hierarchy for each category, as a general tendency, according to the extent of the influence on the vowel: when a vowel, either short or long, is found between two consonants from different categories, its timbre is determined by the consonant of the stronger category.

(1) Among the consonant categories, the effect of *P* is strongest; thus a vowel between *P* and any other consonant is influenced only by *P*.

(2) The degree of the influence of *W* on the vowel ranks next to that of *P*. This means that when a vowel is found between *P* and *W*, it is influenced by *P*.

(3) And then the degree of the influence is reduced in order of *U* - *E* - *K* / *Y* (no difference of the effective degree between *K* and *Y*).

(4) *L* has rounding effect. Only the vowel found between *L* and *U*, *E*, *K* / *Y* and vice versa can be rounded, and that between *L* and *P* or *W* and vice versa is not rounded.

### 1.2.4. Diphthongs

The diphthongs of CA can be analysed as the combination of short vowel *a* + semi-vowel *y* or *w*. Thus for example in the CA words as *bayt* "house" or *mašaytu* "I walked", *ay* is the equivalent to, e.g. *ar* in *barq* "flash" or to *al* in *qataltu* "I killed". In this respect, the alleged diphthongs of CA can be phonologically divided into two

elements, and are therefore not diphthongs in the strict sense.<sup>25</sup> In TJ the situation is the same. Thus in this section we do not treat the alleged diphthongs as a special category of the vocalism.

#### REMARK

CA diphthongs are reflected as long vowels in TJ: CA *aw*, *ay* > *u*, *i* respectively, except when the semi-vowel element is geminated, as *ayy* and *aww* (see 1.3.4.2.).

### 1.2.5. Quantitative reduction and quantitative metathesis of long vowels

#### 1.2.5.1. Quantitative reduction

##### 1.2.5.1.1. Unstressed long vowel

Unstressed long vowels *may* reduce their phonetic length while keeping their original quality. This phenomenon is widespread in many modern dialects.<sup>26</sup> In the following we will observe this phenomenon according to the position of the long vowel.

(1) Inside a word.

The length of the long vowel varies freely from long to short in the utterance of even one and the same speaker.

*arəb* [arəḅ] ~ [ārəḅ] "he fled" (cf. *arəb* [ārəḅ] "flee (m.)!"), *abəl* [abəl] ~ [ābəl] "he became mad" (cf. *abəl* [ābəl] "be (m.) mad!"), *alaf* [aláf] ~ [āláf] "thousands", *baṭata* [baṭáṭa] ~ [bāṭáṭa] "potato", *lulad* [lulád] ~ [lūlád] "the boys", *ruzaṭa* [rōzátā] ~ [rōzātā] "almond syrup", *šitān* [šetān] ~ [šētān] "devil", *zičun* [zičūn] ~ [zīčūn] "olive".

This shortened long vowel cannot be confused with a pure short vowel phoneme because of the difference of the timbre in a given phonological situation. For example in *arəb* [arəḅ], the vowel of the first syllable [a] is an allophone of *a* which takes place under the condition  $\_E$  (see 1.2.3.3.2.1.(1)), but when *a* stands in the same situation, it must be realized as [é] (see 1.2.3.3.1.1.(4)).

(2) In pausal position.

In this position the unstressed long vowels are realized as phonetically short

*kəhla* [kähla] "(name of a fish)", *kərsi* [kərsi] "chair", *dərhu* [dérḅo] "they hit".

<sup>25</sup> Cantineau, *Études*, p. 104.

<sup>26</sup> Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 57, Cohen, *Alger*, p. 135 and Cantineau, *Études*, p. 96.



## REMARK

We use the term "pausal position" and not "word final", because a word final long vowel is realized as long when followed by a word which does not begin with a geminated consonant, to form a speech unit.

*huša lkbira* [hōšā lkbīra] "her big house" (< *huša*# [hōša]), *dwiču lbarəh* [dwiču lbārah] "you (pl.) spoke last night" (< *dwiču*# [dwiču]), *čakli nči* [čākli nči] "you eat" (< *čakli*# [čākli]), *kan u ma kan* [kân ū mā kân] "once upon a time" (< *w*# [u]), *qalu ada...* [qālū āda...] "they said 'this is...'" (< *qalu*# [qālu]), *əxči adi* [əxči ādi] "this sister of mine" (< *əxči*# [əxči]), *m'a əmmi* [m'a əmmi] "with my mother" (< *m'a*# [m'a]).

When the following word begins with a geminated consonant, the preceding long vowel is realized as short: *čaxdi ttebbəx* [čaxdi ttebbəx] "you (f.) marry the cook", *yhaṭtu lluzac* [yhaṭtu lluzac] "they put the almonds", *haža lli* [hāža lli] "things which...".

## 1.2.5.1.2. Stressed long vowel

In the following cases, even the stressed long vowel may be realized as short.

(1) For the verb *qal* "to say", the stem vowel *a* in the perfect and *u* in the imperfect *yqul* / imperative *qul* may be realized as short when these stems precede the enclitic indirect object marker *-l-* + pron.suff. (see 2.1.1.3.). This is a phenomenon particular to this root.

*qalu* [qāllu] ~ [qāllu] "he said to him", *qulli* [qōlli] ~ [qōlli] "say (m.) to me!", *nqullək* [nqōllək] ~ [nqōllək] "I say to you".

(2) When a sequence  $\acute{v}hhV$  is produced by the combination of  $c/h$  + historical *h*, the long vowel  $\acute{v}$  is realized phonetically short (see 1.3.2.6.(6)).

*nčahha* [nčāhha] < \**nčaha* "hers", *biḥham* [biḥham] < \**biḥam* "sell them!", *bruhham* [brōhham] < \**bruhham* "by themselves".

## 1.2.5.2. Quantitative metathesis

(1) In the noun morphology, when a long vowel, irrespective of the stress, in an open syllable precedes *wa* or *ya* inside a word, two facultative realizations are possible.

(a) The long vowel retains its length.

(b) The long vowel reduces its length to short and the semi vowel is instead geminated.<sup>27</sup> In such cases *u* and *i* tend to lose their tension when their length is reduced.<sup>28</sup>

*qawa* [qāwa] ~ [qāwwa] "coffee", *zawali* [zāwāli] ~ [zāwwāli] "poor" (< Turk. *zavalli*),<sup>29</sup> *anaya* [ānāya] ~ [ānāyya] "here", *čəxbiya* [čəxbiēya] ~ [čəxbiēyya] "hide-and-peek", *quwa* [qōwa] ~ [qōwwa] "power", *duwa* [dūwa] ~ [dōwwa] "speech", *čuwa* [čūwa] ~ [čōwwa] "now".

Though [əw] in [qāwwa] and [ay] in [anāyya] etc. are indeed phonetically diphthongs, phonologically they are not considered as diphthongs, i.e. short vowel + *w* *y*, because the timbre of the short vowel of these phonetic diphthongs does not follow the above-mentioned conditions of the allophones. For example if we regard [ay] of [anāyya] as a phonological diphthong, i.e. *anāyya*, its phonetic realization should be [aniyya] or [anāyya] (in *KəY*, ə = [ə ~ i] (see 1.2.3.3.1.1.(6 and 8)), but not [anāyya]. In some cases the timbre seems to agree with the conditions, but it should be asserted that such cases are accidental results, e.g. in [qōwwa] (in *UəW*, ə = [o]) and [čōwwa] (in *KəW*, ə = [u ~ o]).

*biḥas* [bēḥās ~ bebḥās] "priest (Christian)" (< Turk. *papaz*),<sup>30</sup> and *ḥalaš* [ḥālās ~ ḥallās] "high building" (< It. *palazzo*), both loanwords, are the exceptional cases where consonants other than semi-vowels may be geminated and the preceding long vowel shortened.

(2) When a historical *h* stands between a long vowel and *y*, it is realized as *ə* or *y*.

CA *bahiya* > \**bahya* > *baəya* ~ *bayya* "good (f.)".

27 On this tendency, see Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 59.

28 Singer, *Tunis*, pp. 174-175 points out the diphthongisation of [i] to [ay] and that of [ū] to [ow] as well, and see Marçais & Guiga, *Takrouna II* vol. 8, p. 4403.

29 In many dialects a form with geminated *w* is usual: Aquilina, *Dictionary*, p. 1593, *zawwāli* "miserable, wretched, unfortunate"; Boris, *Marazig*, p. 257, *zawwāli* "pauvre"; Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 179, *zawwāli* "pauvre"; Marçais & Guiga, *Takrouna II* vol. 2, p. 1715, *zawwāli* "pauvre, miséreux"; Serracino-Inglott, *Miklem* vol. 9, p. 134 *zawwāli*, *zewwieli* "h jsta jikecca" in which is quoted an example: "Gesü twieled zewwieli f'maxtura"; Singer, *Tunis*, p. 88 *zawwāli* "Armer". Beside TJ, a form with a long vowel is attested in Djidjelli: Marçais, *TDjidjelli*, p. 211 *zāwāle* "pauvre".

30 Singer, *Tunis*, p. 536. *babbās*.

### 1.2.6. Assimilation and elimination of vowels

When a long vowel or the conjunction *w* "and" is followed by another vowel (long or short), between two words or inside a word, the second vowel undergoes some qualitative alteration.

#### 1.2.6.1 Between two words (Sandhi)

##### (1) Assimilation.

(a) When a stressed *š* follows a long Auslaut vowel, the timbre of *š* is harmonized to the latter.

*m<sup>c</sup>a šm<sup>i</sup>* [m<sup>c</sup>ā šm<sup>i</sup>e] (not \*[m<sup>c</sup>ā šm<sup>i</sup>e]) "with my mother", *qallu škčəb* [qállū škčəb] (not \*[qállū škčəb]) "he said to him 'write!'", *qallu šyya* [qállū šyya] (not \*[qallū šyya]) "he said to him 'let's...'", *čuwa šxtna džib bənc* [čúwā šxtna džib bənc] (not \*[čúwā šxtna...]) "now our sister gives birth to a girl", *qallu šrmi* [qállū šrmi] "he told him 'throw!'".

(b) After *w* "and", *š* is realized as [o].

*w šrmi* [wórm<sup>i</sup>e] "and throw (m.)!"

##### (2) Elimination.

When an unstressed *ə* or an unstressed long vowel follows a long Auslaut vowel, they are eliminated. The eliminated vowel is marked with -.

(a) *v̄ + ə* (unstressed).

\**li tsám<sup>c</sup>u əkəčbu* > *li tsám<sup>c</sup>u-kəčbu* [li tsám<sup>c</sup>ū-kəčbu] (not \*[li tsám<sup>c</sup>ū əkəčbu]) "write (m.) down what you hear", \**qalula əsám<sup>c</sup>i* > *qalula-sám<sup>c</sup>i* [qālúlā-sám<sup>c</sup>e] (not \*[qālúlā əsám<sup>c</sup>i]) "they told her 'listen!'", \**qallu əqčənni* > *qallu-qčənni* [qállū-qčənni] (not \*[qállū əqčənni]) "he told him 'kill me!'".

(b) *v̄ + v̄* (unstressed).

\**yəkčəb lili aná* > *yəkčəb lili-ná* [yəkčəb līlī-nā] (not \*[yəkčəb līlī ānā]) "he writes to me", \**nči qəda anáya* > *nči qəda-náya* [nčī qā-dā-nāya] (not \*[nčī qā-dā ānāya]) "you are here".

#### 1.2.6.2. Inside a word.

##### (1) Assimilation.

The disappearance of CA *h* in TJ may cause the meeting of two vowels inside a word (see 1.3.2.6.). In such a case the timbre of the vowel after the historical *h* is

determined by that of the preceding vowel and the nature of the following consonant.

Except for the combination of a word + pron.suff. *-a* for the 3.f. (< CA *-hā*) or *-əm* for the 3.pl. (< CA *-hum*), examples of words containing such sequences are not so abundantly attested.

(a) The assimilation of *ə* after a long vowel (*v̄ + ə*).

(α) *ə* = [ā] in the combination of [ā] + *ə* + C: *ṭaṭṭ* [ṭāṭṭ] "he circumcised", *wraəm* [wṛāām] "behind them".

(β) *ə* = [a] ~ [ə] in the combination of [ā] + *ə* + L or K: *čfaəm* [čfāām] ~ [čfāám] "he understood (mutually with some one)", *šaəd* [šāād] ~ [šāad] "witness", *m<sup>c</sup>aəm* [m<sup>c</sup>āām] ~ [m<sup>c</sup>āəm] "with them".

(γ) *ə* = [ə] in the combination of [ī] + *ə* + K: *zīəčkəm* [zīāčkəm] "your (pl.) side".

(δ) *ə* = [ə] in the combination of [ī] + *ə* + L: *fiəm* [fīəm] "in them".

(ε) # = [ə] in the combination of [ē] + *ə* + L: *m<sup>m</sup>alīəm* [m<sup>m</sup>ālīēm] "their parents".

(ζ) *ə* = [o] in the combination of

(i) [ō] + *ə* + L: *xuəm* [xóom] "their brother", *dəṛḥuəm* [dərḥóom] "they hit them".

(ii) [ū] + *ə* + L: *qəthuəm* [qátluóm] "they killed them", *buəm* [búom] "their father".

(b) The assimilation of a long vowel after another long vowel.

(α) *i* = [ē] in the combination of [ō] + *i*C: *məkrūin* [məkṛōēn] "hated", *muil* [mōēl] "circumciser" (< Heb. מורה).

(β) *u* = [ō] in the combination of [ā] + *u* + E: *ṭaur* [ṭāōr] "kosher" (< Heb. טהור).

##### (2) Elimination

When *ə* is an element of the pronoun suffix of the 3.pl. *-əm* (< CA *-hum*), it may be eliminated.

*m<sup>c</sup>am* [m<sup>c</sup>ām] ~ *m<sup>c</sup>aəm* [m<sup>c</sup>āəm] "with them", *fi* [fī] ~ *fiəm* [fīəm] "in them", *ḥum* [ḥōm] ~ *ḥuəm* [ḥóom] "their father", *m<sup>m</sup>alim* [m<sup>m</sup>ālēm] ~ *m<sup>m</sup>alīəm* [m<sup>m</sup>ālīēm] "their parents", *xum* [xōm] ~ *xuəm* [xóom] "their brother", *qəthum* [qátlūm] ~ *qəthuəm* [qátluóm] "they killed them", *rəzlim* [rəzlim] ~ *rəzliəm* [rəzliəm] "their legs".

### 1.3. Historical - combinatory phonology

In this section we will deal with the historical development and synchronic sound change of each TJ phoneme.

#### 1.3.1. Origin of TJ consonants

In the following the origin of each TJ consonant are represented. In (1) the correspondence of TJ consonants to CA ones is put and those to foreign ones is put in (2).

##### 1.3.1.1. *b*

TJ *b* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *b* > TJ *b*: CA *bāb* > *bab* "door", CA *kabīr* > *kbir* "big", CA *sabb* > *sabb* "he insulted".

(b) CA *m* > TJ *b*: CA *laqmī* > *lagbi* "date wine" (see 1.3.2.2.(5b)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *p* > TJ *b*: Heb. פורים > *burim* "Purim".

##### 1.3.1.2. *ḥ*

TJ *ḥ* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *b* > TJ *ḥ*: CA *baṭn* > *ḥṭan* "belly", CA *biṭṭix* > *ḥṭṭix* "melons", CA *bisāt* > *ḥṣaṭ* "carpet", \**abīya* > *ḥuya* "my father".

(b) CA *w* > TJ *ḥ*: CA *bawāqīl* > \**bwāqal* > *ḥḥaqal* "cups (with two handles)" (see 1.3.2.1.3.(1a)).

(2) Foreign elements.

(a) Foreign *p* > TJ *ḥ*: (Gr. > *pappās* >) Turk. *papaz* > *biḥaṣ* "priest (Christian)", It. *pacco* > *ḥakku* "box", It. *palazzo* > *ḥalaṣ* "building", It. *porto* > *ḥurṭu* "harbour".

(b) Foreign *b* > TJ *ḥ*: Turk. *boya* > *ḥayya* "shoe polish", It. *borsa* > *ḥurza* "bag", It. *roba* > *ḥubḥa* "dress", It. *bagaglio* > *ḥagalyu* "luggage", It. *lapis* > *ḥaḥṣ* "pencil".

(c) Foreign *v* > TJ *ḥ*: Fr. *vapeur* > *ḥaḥur* "steamship".

(3) Uncertain origin.

\**ḥambḥar* "almond biscuits".

##### 1.3.1.3. *m*

TJ *m* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *m* = TJ *m*: CA *mass* > *māss* "he touched", CA *kammal* > *kammāl* "he finished", CA *qām* > *qam* "he woke up".

(b) CA *n* > TJ *m*: CA *yanbaḥ* > *yambḥ* "it (m.) barks".

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *m* > TJ *m*: It. *machina* > *makina* "machine; car", Heb. פורים > *burim* "Purim".

##### 1.3.1.4. *ṣ*

TJ *ṣ* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *m* > TJ *ṣ*: CA *maṣṣ* > *maṣṣ* "he sucked", CA *mar'ah* > \**mara* > *ṣra* "woman", CA *'aḥmar / ḥumr* > *ḥmaṣ* "red (m. ~ pl.)", CA *'aḍm* > *'daṣm* "bone", CA *mi'axxar* > \**mwaxxar* > *ṣwaxxar* (~ *ṣṣaxxar*) (see (b) below) "late", CA *'umm* > *ṣmm* "mother", CA *hum* > *ṣmma* "they", CA *fam* > *fṣmm* "mouth".

(b) CA *w* > TJ *ṣ*: CA *mawālī* > \**mwālī* > *ṣmālī* "parents", CA *mi'axxar* > \**mwaxxar* > *ṣṣaxxar* (~ *ṣwaxxar*) "late" (see 1.3.2.1.3.(1b)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *m* > TJ *ṣ*: Fr. *madame* > *maḍam* "Madame", It. *marrone* > *maṣṣuni* "maroon".

##### 1.3.1.5. *f*

TJ *f* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *f* > TJ *f*: CA *fam* > *fṣmm* "mouth", CA *ḥafar* > *ḥfaṣ* "he dug", CA *katif* > *kḥaṣf* "shoulder".

(b) CA *w* > TJ *f*: CA *fuwaṭ* > \**fwāṭ* > *ffaṭ* "towels", CA *fi'ād* > \**fiwād* > \**fwād* > *ffaḍ* "intestines" (see 1.3.2.1.2.(1a)).

(2) Foreign elements.

(a) Foreign *f* > TJ *f*: It. *famiglia* > *famiya* "family".

(b) Foreign *v* > TJ *f*: It. *valigia* > *faliḥa* "suitcase".

1.3.1.6. *t* (see 1.3.2.4.)

TJ *t* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *t* > TJ *t*: CA *ʔistaʕzal* > *stʕʕal* "he hurried", CA *ʔistaḥamm* > *stḥam* "he bathed", CA *talāqā* > *tlaqā* "he met".

(b) CA *ʔ* > TJ *t*: CA *ʔalāṭah* > *tlača* "three", CA *ʔtṇayn* > *tṇin* "two" (see also 1.3.2.3.).

(c) CA *d* > TJ *t*: CA *daqīqah* > *tqiqa* "minute", *dafīnah* > *tḥina* "cholent".

(d) CA *ḏ* > TJ *t*: CA *ḏakar* > *tkar* "masculine" (see also 1.3.2.3.).

(2) Foreign elements.

Not attested.

1.3.1.7. *ʔ*

*ʔ* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *ʔ* > TJ *ʔ*: CA *ʔabax* > *ʔbax* "he cooked", CA *ʔaṭab* > *ḥṭab* "firewood", CA *ʔatt* > *ḥatt* "he put".

(b) CA *t* > TJ *ʔ*: This correspondence is attested in

(α) some numerals (9 and 13 ~ 19): CA *tisʕah* > *ʔəʕa* "nine"<sup>31</sup>, CA *xamsat* 'ašar > *xamṣtaš* "fifteen", CA *tamāniyat* 'ašar > *čmənṭaš* "eighteen".

(β) other cases: CA *tašarraḥ* > *ʔšarṣḥ* "he was freed", CA *mastūr* > *məštur* "depressed".

(c) CA *ʔ* > TJ *ʔ*: CA *ʔalāṭat* 'ašar > *ʔlṭtaš* "thirteen".

(d) CA *ḏ* > TJ *ʔ*: CA *maqrūd* > *məqrut* "(name of a sweet)".

(e) CA *ḏ* > TJ *ʔ*: CA *ḏufur* > *ʔfər* "nail".

(2) Foreign elements.

(a) Foreign *t* (especially in Italian or Romance origin words) > TJ *ʔ*: Sp. *patata* > *ḥaṭata* "potato", It. *Italiano* > *ʔalyan* "Italian", It. *frutta* > *fruṭṭa* "fruit".

(b) Foreign *ʔ* (in Hebrew words) > TJ *ʔ*: Heb. טהור > *ṭaur* "legitimate (food)", Heb. טריף > *ʔrif* "not legitimate (food)".

<sup>31</sup> *ʔ* would have been triggered by the influence of *ʕ* which had been emphasized by *ʕ*. See Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 169.

1.3.1.8. *d*

TJ *d* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *d* > TJ *d*: CA *dukkān* > *dakkan* "shop", CA *nadim* > *ndam* "he regretted", CA *radd* > *rədd* "he returned".

(b) CA *ḏ* > TJ *d*: CA *ḏīb* > *dīb* "jackal", CA *ḏahab* > *dəbb* ~ *ddəb* "gold", CA *kaḏab* > *gdəb* "he told a lie".

(c) CA *t* > TJ *d*: CA *taḡṭ* > \**tzī* > *dzi* "you (m. ~ f.) come", CA *tazīd* > \**tzīd* > *dzid* "you (m.) add", CA *tadḫulū* > \**tdəxlu* > *ddəxlu* "you (pl.) enter".

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *d* > TJ *d*: Heb. דרש > *drəš* "he preached".

1.3.1.9. *ḏ*

TJ *ḏ* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *ḏ* > TJ *ḏ*: CA *ḏarab* > *ḏrəb* "he hit", CA *ʔaxḏar* : *xudr* > *xḏar* "green (m. ~ pl.)", CA *ʔard* > *ərḏ* "earth".

(b) CA *ḏ* > TJ *ḏ*: CA *ḏahr* : *ḏuhr* > *ḏarṛ* ~ *ḏḏar* "back, noon", CA *naḏḏaf* > *nəddəf* "he cleaned", CA *ḡalīḏ* > *ḡliḏ* "thick".

(c) CA *d* > TJ *ḏ*: CA *šadam* > *zḏəm* "he attacked", CA *šadaf* > *zḏaf* "pearl oyster" (see 1.3.2.1.3.(2b)).

(d) CA *t* > TJ *ḏ*: CA *tadribū* > \**tḏarḃu* > *ḏḏarḃu* "you (pl.) hit".

(e) CA *ʔ* > TJ *ḏ*: CA *ḡalḥah* > *ḡəlḏa* "mistake", CA *ʔiṣāḏ* > *zḏad* "he hunted" (see 1.3.2.1.3.(2a)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *d* > TJ *ḏ*: Fr. *madame* > *maḏam* "Madame", Fr. *poudre* > *ḥudra* "powder", Heb. צדקה > *zḏaqā* "charity", Heb. סידור > *šəḏḏur* "Hebrew prayer book".

1.3.1.10. *č*

TJ *č* is the reflection of following elements (see also 1.3.2.3. and 1.3.2.4.)

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *t* > TJ *č*: CA *taqrīb* > *čəqrīb* "almost", CA *qatal* > *qčal* "he killed", CA *ḥāt* > *bač* "he passed the night".

- (b) CA *t* > TJ *č*: CA *tamma* > *čamma* "there is", CA *‘aṭar* > *‘čar* "he stumbled", CA *ḥarat* > *ḥrəč* "he ploughed".
- (2) Foreign elements.
- (a) Foreign *t* > TJ *č*: Sic. *spital* > *šbičal* "hospital", It. *mercante* > *markanči* "rich", Heb. שבת > *šabbāč* "Sabbath", Heb. התורה > *atčurá* "Torah".
- (b) Foreign *č* (It. *c(i)*) > TJ *č*: It. *cinema* > *činna* "cinema".

### 1.3.1.11. s

TJ *s* is the reflection of the following elements.

- (1) CA elements.
- (a) CA *s* > TJ *s*: CA *sāniyah* > *sanya* "field", CA *nisā* > *nsa* "women", *xāmis* > *xaməs* "fifth".
- (b) CA *š* > TJ *s*: CA *šams* > *səms* "sun", CA *šağarah* > *səzra* "tree" (see 1.3.2.5.).
- (c) CA *z* > TJ *s*: CA *rizq* > *rəsq* "property".
- (2) Foreign elements.
- Foreign *s* > TJ *s*: It. *securus* > *sikur* ~ *sigur* "sure", Heb. סכנה > *səkkaná* "danger".

### 1.3.1.12. š

TJ *š* is the reflection of the following elements.

- (1) CA elements.
- (a) CA *š* > TJ *š*: CA *šallā* > *šallá* "he prayed", CA *qašš* > *qəšš* "he cut".
- (b) CA *s* > TJ *š*: CA *sulṭān* > *šəlṭan* "Sultan", CA *raʿs* > *raš* "head", CA *tisʿah* > *rašʿa* "nine" (see 1.3.1.7. (1ba)), CA *sittat ʿašar* > *šəlṭaš* "sixteen".
- On CA *tisʿah* > *rašʿa*, see 1.3.1.7. (1ba) above. In this case the emphaticization of *š* would have been triggered by *ʿ*. The emphatic *š* in *šəlṭaš* would be due to *ʿ*.<sup>32</sup>
- (c) CA *ğ* > TJ *š*: CA *ğazzār* > *šəzzaṛ* "butcher" (see 1.3.2.5.).
- (2) Foreign elements.
- (a) Foreign *s* > TJ *š*: Heb. סידור > *šəḏḏur* "Hebrew prayer book", Heb. פסח > *bišəḥ* "Passover".
- (b) Foreign *ts* (It. *z*) > TJ *š*: It. *calza* > *qəliša* "sock".

32 Ferguson, *Koine*, p. 626.

### 1.3.1.13. z

TJ *z* is the reflection of the following elements.

- (1) CA elements.
- (a) CA *z* > TJ *z*: CA *zanaqah* > *zənqa* "blind-alley", CA *ruzz* > *rəzz* "rice".
- (b) CA *s* > TJ *z*: CA *mihrās* > *maraza* "mortar" (1.3.2.6.(3a)).
- (c) CA *ğ* > TJ *z*: CA *šağarah* > *səzra* "tree", CA *zawğ* > *zuz* "two", CA *mağlis* > *məzlas* "council meeting", CA *ğins* > *zəns* "kind" (see 1.3.2.5.).
- (2) Foreign elements
- Not attested.

### 1.3.1.14. z

TJ *z* is the reflection of the following elements.

- (1) CA elements.
- (a) CA *z* > TJ *z*: CA *zahr* > *zəṛṛ* ~ *zzəṛ* "orange water", CA *malzūm* > *məlzum* "necessary",<sup>33</sup> CA *ğazzār* > *šəzzaṛ* "butcher".
- (b) CA *š* > TJ *z*: CA *šadam* > *zəḏəm* "he attacked" (see 1.3.2.1.3.(2b)). CA *ʿiğğāš* > *ʿiṅğāš* > *nəzəz* "pears" (see 1.3.2.5.).
- (c) CA *ğ* > TJ *z*: CA *ʿiğğāš* > *ʿiṅğāš* > *nəzəz* "pears"
- (2) Foreign elements.
- (a) Foreign *š* (in Hebrew words) > TJ *z*: Heb. צדקה > *zədaqá* "charity".
- (b) Foreign *z* > *z*: It. *borsa* > *ḥurza* "handbag", Turk. *zavallı* > *zawali*.
- (3) Uncertain origin.
- zgugu* "ground pine kernels".

### 1.3.1.15. š

TJ *š* is the reflection of the following elements.

- (1) CA elements.
- (a) CA *š* > TJ *š*: CA *šadd* > *šədd* "he seized", CA *mašā* > *mša* "he went", CA *ʿaṭiš* > *ʿəṭš* "he became thirsty".
- (2) Foreign elements.
- (a) Foreign *s* > TJ *š*: It. *fresca* > *friška* (inv.) "fresh", It. *festa* > *fišta* "feast".
- (b) Foreign *č* (It. *c(i)*) > TJ *š*: It. *bicicletta* > *bəškliṭta* "bicycle".

33 A cognate form of the same root *lazəm* "necessary" is not emphatic

1.3.1.16. *ž*

TJ *ž* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *ğ* > TJ *ž*: CA *ğabal* > *žbəl* "mountain", CA *hāğah* > *haža* "thing", CA *hāğ* > *až* "it (m.) became rough (sea)".

(b) CA *š* > TJ *ž*: CA *nišdah* > *nəžda* (~ *nəšda*) "question", CA *mašğūl* > *məžgul* (~ *məšgul*) "worried".

(2) Foreign elements.

(a) Foreign *ğ* (It. *g(i)*) > TJ *ž*: It. *valigia* > *faliža* "suitcase".

(b) Foreign *č* (It. *c(i)*) > TJ *ž*: It. *cucina* > *kužina* "kitchen".

1.3.1.17. *l*

TJ *l* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *l* > TJ *l*: CA *lā* > *la* "no", CA *kalimah* > *kəlma* "word", CA *kull* > *kəll* "all".

(b) CA *n* > TJ *n*: CA *qulnā* > *qənnā* "we said" (see 1.3.2.1.2.(2a)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *l* > CA *l*: Heb. תפילין > *čəllin* "Bar Mitzvah", It. *famiglia* > *familya* "family".

1.3.1.18. *l*

TJ *l* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *l* > TJ *l*: CA *sultān* > *šəltan* "Sultan", CA *qulm* > *qləm* "darkness", CA *šalāh* > *šla* "synagogue", CA *ʿallāh* > *əllā* "God".

(b) CA *n* > TJ *l*: CA *wa-ʿayn al-maṭraḥ* > *\*wīn əlməṭraḥ* > *wi(l)-lməṭraḥ* "where is the place?" (see 1.3.2.1.2.(2b)).

(2) Foreign elements.

(a) Foreign *l* > TJ *l*: Sic. *spital* > *šbičal* "hospital", It. *ballo* > *baḷlu* "dance", It. *palazzo* > *baḷaš* "high building".

1.3.1.19. *n*

TJ *n* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *n* > TJ *n*: CA *nadim* > *ndəm* "he regretted", CA *zanaqah* > *zanqa* "blind-alley", CA *baṭn* > *ḫṭəṇ* "belly".

(b) CA *m* > TJ *n*: CA *miftāḥ* > *\*məfčāḥ* > *nəfčəḥ* "key" (see 1.3.2.2.(1b)).

(c) CA *l* > TJ *n*: CA *silsilah* > *sənsla* "necklace" (see 1.3.2.2.(1a)), CA *naḥab* > *\*nləbū* > *lləbu* "we play" (see 1.3.2.1.2.(2b)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *n* > TJ *n*: It. *panini* > *banini* "sandwiches", Heb. תפילין > *čəllin* "Bar Mitzvah".

1.3.1.20. *ŋ*

TJ *ŋ* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *n* > TJ *ŋ*: CA *ʾiğgās* > *ʾiŋgās* > *nəzəz* "pears", CA *yandərib* > *yəndrəb* "he is hit".

(b) CA *l* > TJ *ŋ*: CA *wašalnā* > *wəšəŋnā* "we arrived" (see 1.3.2.1.2.(2a)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *n* > TJ *ŋ*: It. *nonna* > *ŋənnə* "grandmother".

This is the sole case where *ŋ* occurs independently, out of the proximity of any other emphatic consonant.

1.3.1.21. *k*

TJ *k* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *k* > TJ *k*: CA *katab* > *kəčəb* "he wrote", CA *sakkar* > *səkkār* "he closed", CA *kabīr* > *kḫīr* "big".

(b) CA *\*g* > TJ *k*: CA *\*gṭuṭ* (sg. *gəṭṭ*) > *kṭuṭ* "cats", CA *\*gšuš* (sg. *gəšš*) > *kšuš* "junk".

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *k* > TJ *k*: It. *mercante* > *mərkanči* "rich", It. *securο* > *sikur* ~ *sigur* "sure".

Heb. סוכה > *səkkā* "Sukkah", Heb. סכנה > *səkkənā*.

1.3.1.22. *g*

TJ *g* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

- (a) CA *k* > TJ *g*: CA *kadam*<sup>34</sup> > *gdəm* "he bit", CA *kaḍab* > *gdəb* "he told a lie".  
 (b) CA *q* > TJ *g*: CA *naqqaz* > *nəggəz* "he jumped", CA *qišš* > *gəšš* "junk", CA *qiṭṭ* > *gəṭṭ* "male cat".

As for *g* corresponding to CA *q*, it is likely that it has been introduced from bedouin dialects. The occurrence of *g* in TJ seems to be less frequent than in other Maghribi sedentary dialects. In TJ *qəmṛa* "moon" and *bəqra* "calf" have *q* which correspond to *g* in Tunis-Muslim *gamra*, *bağra* and in Tunis-Jewish: *gamra*, *bəgrā*.

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *g*: It. *regalo* > *rigalu* "gift", It. *gas* > *gaz* "petroleum".

(3) Uncertain origin

*gərżuma* "throat", *grabəz* "eating utensils, tableware", *magi* "vase".

1.3.1.23. *q*

TJ *q* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

- (a) CA *q* > TJ *q*: CA *qāl* > *qal* "he said", CA *baqarah* > *bəqra* "cow", CA *haqq* > *həqq* "truth".  
 (b) CA *k* > TJ *q*: CA *fawqakum* > *fuqqəm* "above you (pl.)" (see 1.3.2.1.2.(3b)).

(2) Foreign elements.

(a) Foreign *q* (in Hebrew words) > TJ *q*: Heb. צדקה > *zdaqá* "charity".

(b) Foreign *k* > TJ *q*: It. *calza* > *qəṣa* "socks".

1.3.1.24. *x*

TJ *x* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

- (a) CA *x* > TJ *x*: CA *xāf* > *xaf* "he was afraid", CA *saxānah* > *sxana* "fever", CA *ṭabax* > *ṭəx* "he cooked".  
 (b) CA *ḡ* > TJ *x*: CA *ḡasal* > *xsəl* "he washed", CA *ḡiṭā* > *xṭa* "cover".

In *xsəl* the voiceless sound is fixed in every case, e.g. *yxəslu* "they wash" (see 1.3.2.1.1.1.(2) REMARK).

34 Singer, *Tunis*, p. 126.

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *g* > TJ *x*: Heb. גנב > *xənnab* "robber", Heb. גנב > *xnəb* "to steal".

In TJ the root is fixed as  $\sqrt{x-n-b}$  and other cognate forms are realized with *x*. Also in TM the root  $\sqrt{x-n-b}$  is used,<sup>35</sup> but in other Eastern Maghribi dialects  $\sqrt{g-n-b}$  is usual<sup>36</sup>.

1.3.1.25. *ḡ*

(1) CA elements.

- (a) CA *ḡ* > TJ *ḡ*: CA *ḡaṭṭā* > *ḡəṭṭá* "he covered", CA *ṣaḡīr* > *zḡir* "small", CA *ṣabaḡ* > *ṣəbəḡ* "he dyed".  
 (b) CA *x* > TJ *ḡ*: CA *xizānah* > *ḡzana* (~ *xzana*) "warehouse".

(2) Foreign elements.

Not attested.

1.3.1.26. *r*

TJ *r* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

- (a) CA *r* > TJ *r*: CA *raqad* > *rəqəd* "he slept", CA *ḡārī* > *žari* "running", CA *biʾr* > *bir* "well".  
 (b) CA *n* > TJ *r*: CA *min rizqihī* > *mər-rəsqu* "from his property" (see 1.3.2.1.2.(2c)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *r* > TJ *r*: It. *firma* > *firma* "signature", Heb. פורים > *burim* "Passover", Heb. התורה > *ətčurá* "Torah".

1.3.1.27. *r*

TJ *r* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

- (a) CA *r* > TJ *r*: CA *marīḍ* > *mṛəḍ* "he became sick", CA *šarī* > *šəṛī* "condition", CA *ʾaxḡar / xiḡr* > *xḡər* "green (m. ~ pl.)", CA *raʾā* > *ra* "he saw", CA *warāʾ* > *wṛa* "behind", CA *ḡārī* > *žari* "my neighbour".  
 (b) CA *n* > TJ *r*: CA *min ražulika* > *mər-ṛəžlək* "from your husband" (see 1.3.2.1.2.(2d)).

35 Stumme, *Tripoli*, p.296

36 Cf. *ḡāmmāb* in Cohen, *Tunis-II*, p.163 and *مُنْب* in Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 830.

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *r* > TJ *r*: It. *roba* > *ruḅḅa* "dress". It. *zero* > *ziru* "zero". Heb. סידור > *ṣaddur* "Hebrew prayer book", Heb. טהור > *ṭaur* "legitimate (food)".

### 1.3.1.28. *ḥ*

TJ *ḥ* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *ḥ* > TJ *ḥ*: CA *ḥubb* > *ḥabb* "love", CA *nūḥās* > *nḥas* "copper", CA *dabāḥ* > *dbāḥ* "he slaughtered".

(b) CA *ḥ* > TJ *ḥ*: CA *matāḥā* > *\*nčāḥa* > *nčahḥa* "hers" (see 1.3.2.6.(6b)), CA *ḥismāḥ* *ḥiss* > *\*asmāḥ* *ḥass* > *asmāḥ-ḥass* "listen (m.) to the voice!" (see 1.3.2.1.2.(4b)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *ḥ* (in Hebrew words) > TJ *ḥ*: Heb. פסח > *biṣḥ* "Passover".

### 1.3.1.29. *ʿ*

TJ *ʿ* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

CA *ʿ* > TJ *ʿ*: CA *ʿayn* > *ʿin* "eye", CA *bāʿat* > *bʿač* "he sent", CA *rafāʿ* > *rfač* "he carried".

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *ʿ* (in Hebrew words) > TJ *ʿ*: Heb. עשיר > *ʿsir* "rich", Heb. עין הרע > *ʿinarʿ* "the evil eye".

### 1.3.1.30. *w*

TJ *w* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *w* > TJ *w*: CA *waṣal* > *wṣal* "he arrived", CA *walad* > *wlad* "boy", CA *xawwaf* > *xawwāf* "he frightened".

The diphthong *aw* is retained only when *w* is geminated; otherwise CA *aw* is reduced to the long vowel *u* (see 1.3.4.2.).

(b) CA *w* > TJ *w*: CA *\*muʿawwar* > *mawwar* (~ *mmawwar*) "late" (see 1.3.2.7.(5ba)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign *v* > TJ *w*: Turk. *zavallı* > *zawali* "poor".

### 1.3.1.31. *y*

TJ *y* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) CA *y* > TJ *y*: CA *yawm* > *yum* "day", CA *ʿayyat* > *ʿayyāt* "he cried".

The diphthong *ay* is retained only when *y* is geminated; otherwise CA *ay* is reduced to the long vowel *i* (see 1.3.4.2.).

(b) CA *y* > TJ *y*: CA *ḥawāʾiḡ* > *ḥwayāž* "clothes" (see 1.3.2.7.(6aa)).

(2) Foreign elements.

Foreign [ʎ] (in Italian words) > TJ *ly*: It. *famiglia* > *familya* "family", It. *bagaglio* > *bagalyu* "luggage".

This Italian sound represented in IPA [ʎ] is interpreted in TJ as *ly*.

### 1.3.1.32. Table of consonantal correspondences

Following is the table which indicates the correspondence of TJ consonants to those of CA and loan-words.

TJ sounds are arranged under the column TJ. The column (a) under (1) (= CA elements) includes CA consonants which directly correspond to TJ ones, and the column (b) under (1) includes CA consonants which have undergone some sound change (voicing, devoicing, emphasization etc.) to correspond to TJ consonants. The column (2) indicates sound of loan-words and that of uncertain origin (which is put under (3) in 1.3.1.1 ~ 1.3.1.31.).

TJ	(1)		(2)	TJ	(1)		(2)	TJ	(1)		(2)	TJ	(1)		(2)
	(a)	(b)			(a)	(b)			(a)	(b)			(a)	(b)	
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>ḏ</i>		<i>d, d, d, t, t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>x</i>	
<i>ḥ</i>		<i>b, w</i>	<i>b, p</i>	<i>č</i>		<i>t, t</i>	<i>č, t</i>	<i>l</i>		<i>l, n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>b, n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š, z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m, d, l</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>		<i>r, n</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>m</i>		<i>m, w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>s, g</i>	<i>s, ts</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>n, l</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>f, v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s, g</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>		<i>č</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t, d, d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>š, z, g</i>	<i>z, š</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>		
<i>t</i>	<i>ḏ</i>	<i>t, t, d, d</i>	<i>t, t</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>s, č</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q, k</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>		<i>q, t</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d, t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>ž, č</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>g</i>					



### 1.3.2. Sound changes

In this section sound changes caused by various phenomena (assimilation, emphasisization, dissimilation etc.) are treated. All phenomena concerning CA *t* and *ʔ*, are treated in 1.3.2.4.

#### 1.3.2.1. Assimilation

##### 1.3.2.1.1. Partial assimilation

###### 1.3.2.1.1.1. Voicing and devoicing

(1) Voicing.

(a) Voicing may take place when a voiceless fricative stands before a voiced plosive or fricative, and voiced and devoiced forms are attested as free variants.

CA *yanšidū* > *ynāždu* ~ *ynāšdu* "they ask", CA *xizānah* > *gzana* ~ *xzana* "warehouse", CA *mašgūl* > *māšgūl* ~ *māžgūl* "worried", √*š-d-r* (cf. Heb. סִידוּר > *šdadər* ~ *šdadər* "Hebrew prayer books").

(b) Cases where the reason for the voicing is not clear.

CA *mihrās* > *maraza* "mortar",<sup>37</sup> CA *gaḷṭah* > *gəḷḏa* "mistake".<sup>38</sup>

#### REMARK

In the following cases a historical voiceless plosive had been voiced before a voiced plosive, and then the voiced consonant has been fixed as a radical, i.e. even when a vowel intervenes between the former and the latter, the former is reflected as voiced.

CA √*k-d-m* > TJ √*g-d-m*: *gdəm* "he bit", *gədmu* "they bit"; CA √*g-d-b* > TJ √*k-d-b* > TJ √*g-d-b*: *gdəb* "he told a lie", *ygədmu* "they bite", *gəddab* "liar", *gəddāb* "to call s.o. a liar" etc.

(2) Devoicing

(a) Devoicing takes place when a voiced plosive stands before a voiceless plosive or fricative.

CA *dakar* > \**dkər* (see 1.3.2.3.) > *tkər* "masculine", CA *ḏufur* > \**dfər* (see 1.3.2.3.) > *ʔfər* "nail", CA *rizq* > *rəsq* "property", CA *gīṭā* > *xṭa* "cover", CA *daxal* > *txəl* "he entered" (but *daxlu* "they entered"), Heb. בָּדַק > *bəṭqu* "they checked" (but *bḏəq* "he checked").

<sup>37</sup> *s* of this word corresponds to a voiced sound also in Tunis-Jewish: *mārāz* (Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 167), and Tunis-Muslim: *mehráz* (Singer, *Tunis*, p. 569).

<sup>38</sup> The corresponding verb has *ʔ*: *gləʔ* "he made a mistake".

(b) Cases where the reason for the devoicing is not clear.

CA *maqrūd* > *məqrūt* "(name of a sweet)".<sup>39</sup>

#### REMARK

In the following case a historical voiced fricative had been devoiced before a devoiced fricative, and then the voiced consonant has been fixed as a radical, i.e. even when a vowel intervenes between the former and the latter, the former is reflected as voiced.

CA √*g-s-l* > TJ √*x-s-l*: *xsəl* "he washed", *yxəslu* "they wash", *xasəl* "washing" etc.

##### 1.3.2.1.1.2. Emphasisization

There are nine emphatic phonemes in TJ: *b*, *m*, *ʔ*, *d*, *ʃ*, *z*, *l*, *n* and *r*. Among them *ʔ*, *d*, *ʃ* are direct descendents from CA (*d* from CA *ḍ* and *d̥*), namely primary emphatic consonants. These can occur independently, whereas *b*, *m*, *z*, *l* and *n* mostly occur in the proximity of the primary emphatics, e.g. CA *baṭn* > TJ *bṭən* "belly", CA *laššaq* > TJ *laššáq* "it (m.) stuck (together)", CA *mašš* > TJ *māšš* "he sucked" etc. Unlike *b*, *m*, *z*, *l* and *n*, in many cases *r* stands independently though it is not counted as an independent phoneme in CA, e.g. *ra* "he saw", *ražəl* "man". In this respect we treat it as a primary emphatic consonant like *ʔ*, *d* and *ʃ*, and we suppose that, for example, *m* or *b* in words as *mra* "woman", *bərrá* "outside" have been emphasized by *r* rather than *r* emphasized by *b* or *m*. Though *f*, *k*, *g* can be (phonetically) emphasized as [f, k, g]: as stated in 1.1.3., these are not phonemes but mere allophones. On the other hand, *č*, *š*, *ž*, *q*, *x*, *g*, *h*, *č*, *w* and *y* have no emphatic counterpart in both phonemic and phonetic levels.

From these facts, we can assert five consonant groups from the emphatic point of view.

[A] Primary emphatics: *ʔ*, *d*, *ʃ*, *r*.

[B] Secondary emphatics (phonemic): *b*, *m*, *z*, *l*, *n*.

[C] Secondary emphatics (phonetic): [f, k, g].

[D] Emphasizable consonants: *b*, *m*, *f*, *t*, *d*, *s*, *z*, *l*, *n*, *r*.

[E] Never emphatics: *č*, *š*, *ž*, *q*, *x*, *g*, *h*, *č*, *w*, *y*.

<sup>39</sup> Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 15.

Formulation of the emphasization rule (for the realization of a CA plain consonant as a TJ emphatic) is not so easy because a number of independent exceptions is attested. Then the following formulation should be regarded as a general tendency.

(1) Emphasization takes place when an emphatic consonant exists in the same word.

CA *ḍarab* > *ḍrəb* "he hit", CA *rabaṭ* > *rḅaṭ* "he tied", CA *ʿarṣaḥ* > *ʿarṣa* "column", CA *naddaf* > *naddāf* "he cleaned", CA *baṭn* > *ḅṭn* "belly", CA *ʾindarab* > *nḍrəb* "he was hit".

(2) The definite article *l*, prepositions *b-*, *l-*, *mən*, and the imperfect conjugational prefix for the 1st person (sg. and pl.) *n-* are realized as emphatic when attached to an emphatic consonant.

*ḅrəḅḅək* "by your God (= please)", *lammali* "the parents", *nḍdrəb* "I hit", *mən-əlla* "from God", *lrasī* "to my head" etc.

(3) *f*, *k* and *g* do not have corresponding emphatic phonemes, but in the proximity of another emphatic consonant these are emphasized on the phonetic level; [f, k, g]. Thus the above-mentioned elements (*l-* (def.art.), *b-*, *l-* (prep.), *mən*, *n-*) are realized as emphatic when attached to [f, k, g].

*ḅkaraba* [ḅkārāba] "with a car", *ləkṭut* [ləkṭōt] "the cats", *lgətt* [lḡətt] "the cat", *nəkra* [nəkra] "I hate".

But emphasization tends not to take place in the following cases (*E* = emphatic consonant).

(1) In the combination of two syllables *E(C)v̄-CV(C)*, *C'(s)* of the second syllable is (are) not emphasized.

*ša-bu* "they found" (cf. *ṣaḅ* "he found"), *ṭra-bəl-si* "Tripolitanian" (cf. *ṭrabləs* "Tripoli"), *ka-ṭa-ba* "car" (< CA *kahrabā*), *ṣḥa-bi* "my friends" (cf. *ṣḥab* "friend").

(2) When a consonant of the above-mentioned group [E] (except *q*, *x*, *g*) intervenes between a primary emphatic consonant and a secondary emphatic consonant, the secondary emphatic one is realized as a plain consonant. And in this case even the primary emphatic consonant may undergo de-emphasization. Here some examples are cited.

*č*: *nəčrā* "it (m.) was seen" (\**nəčra*).

*š*: *ʿəṭšan* "thirsty" (\**ʿəṭšan*).

*č*: (*mš*) *ḅšd* "each other" (\**ḅšd*).

*ḥ*: *ḅḥar* "sea" (\**ḅḥar*).

*w*: *ṭawla* "table" (\**ṭawla*).

*y*: *zyara* "visit" (\**zyara*) (but *zar* "he visited"), *byəd* "white (m.) ~ (pl.)" (\**byəd*).

Also *i* serves as a de-emphasization factor:

*kbir* "big (m.)" (but *kḅar* "big (pl.)"), *zgir* "small (m.)" (but *zḡar* "small (pl.)"), but many exceptional cases are attested; *ṭḅiḅ* "doctor", *mriḍ* "sick", *rič* (~ *rič*) "I ~ you (m.) saw" (but *ra* "he saw").

#### REMARK

The plain counterpart of *ṭ* is not *č* (< CA *t. ṭ*) but *t*. *č* does not undergo emphasization except for cases mentioned in 1.3.2.4.

#### 1.3.2.1.1.3. Labialisation and dentalisation

Here labialisation and dentalisation are concerned to the alternation of *m* and *n* before particular consonants: labialisation *n* > *m*, dentalisation *m* > *n*.

(1) Labialisation: *n* is realized as *m* before *b*, *m* or *f*.

*ʿamfqa* "nape of the neck" (cf. *ʿnafəq* "napes of the neck"), *mbəḥ* "it (m.) barked" (cf. *nəḅḥu* "they barked").

(2) Dentalisation: *m* is realized as *n* before *d*.

*ndəndən* "giving a splitting headache" < CA *mdandin*, *ndas* ~ *mdas* "sandal" < CA *madās*.

This dentalisation is rather sporadically attested, thus for example in *mḅnaddaf* "cleaned" and *mdəlləl* "auctioning" no assimilated forms (\**mḅnaddaf*, \**ndəlləl*) are attested. If the assimilated form is attested at all, the non-assimilated form usually exists as a free variant, e.g. *ndas* ~ *mdas*.

#### 1.3.2.1.2. Total assimilation

When the assimilation is relevant to two words, - is put between them.

(1) The first element is a labial.<sup>40</sup>

(a) *fw-* > *ff-*.

CA *fṭād* > \**fṭwād* > \**fṭwād* > *ffad* "intestines".

40 Singer, *Tunis*, p. 99 and Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 18.

(b) *fm-* > *ff-*.

CA *ʔafmām* > *ffam* "mouths".

(2) The first element is a liquid.

(a) *l + n* > *nn*, *l + n*, *l + ŋ* > *nn*.

*ʕawalna* (*ʕaw* + *-a* (< CA *-hā*) + *l* + *na*) > *ʕawanna* "they gave it (f.) to us", *qalna* > *qanna* "we said", *malna* > *manna* "we did", *wʕalna* > *wʕanna* "we arrived", *ša hal nannačək?* > *ša han-nannačək?* "how is your grandmother?", *kall nar* > *\*kann-nar* > *kən-nar* "everyday".

For *kən-nar*, *nnn* in the estimated form is reduced into *nn*.<sup>41</sup>

#### REMARK

1. As for the assimilation of the definite article, see 2.3.1.

2. When *l* is the preposition denoting "to, for" (< CA *li-*), the assimilation never takes place, e.g. *lnaʕsi* "to my spirit" (cf. *annaʕs* "the spirit"), *lnannači* "to my grandmother" (cf. *annanna* "the grandmother").

(b) *n + l* > *ll*, *ŋ + l*, *n + l* > *ll*.

*nləbu* > *lləbu* "we play", *aɖun li* > *aɖul-li* "those who".

When an auxiliary vowel might be expected between *-n*, *-ŋ* and *l*-, *l*- it is eliminated and assimilation takes place. And when the combination of *n + l* etc. is followed by another consonant (=C), a sequence of *nlC* > *llC* may be reduced to *lC* (see 1.4.2.2.(2d) REMARK 1).

*dəkkan əlbəqqal* > *dəkka(l)-ləbəqqal* "grocery shop", *mmaɖin əlhuš* > *mmaɖi(l)-lhuš* "proprietors", *nčə škun əlbəɖiɖila lli ɖadi?* > *nčə əšku(l)-ləbəɖiɖila lli ɖadi?* "whose is the hat there?", *win əlməɖraħ* > *wi(l)-ləməɖraħ* "where is the place?".

(c) *n + r* > *rr*.

*mən rəsqu* > *mər-rəsqu* "from his property".

(d) *n + r* > *rr*.

*mən ražlak* > *mər-ražlak* "from your husband".

(3) The first element is a velar / uvular.

(a) *k + q* > *qq*.

*adaq qəʕəd yəʕməɖ* > *adaq-qəʕəd yəʕməɖ* "that one is doing".

41 Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 65.

(b) *q + k* > *qq*.

*fuqkəm* > *fuqqəm* "above you (pl.)".

(4) The first element is a pharyngeal.

(a) *ħ + ʕ* > *ħħ*.

*ħəbħəħ əlluzir* > *ħəbħəħ-ħəlluzir* "he called the minister".

(b) *ʕ + ħ* > *ħħ*.

*asməʕ həss ədduwa* > *asməħ-ħəss ədduwa* "listen (m.) to the sound of the speech!".

#### REMARK.

On total assimilation in the combination of *ħ* + historical *h* is mentioned in 1.3.2.6.(6a).

#### 1.3.2.1.3. Reciprocal assimilation

In the following cases reciprocal assimilation is attested.

(1) In the combination of a voiced labial and *w*.<sup>42</sup>

(a) *\*bwV-* > *\*bwV-* > *bḅV-*.

CA *bawāqīl* > *bḅaqal* "cups (with two handles)".<sup>43</sup>

(b) *\*mwV-* > *mwV-* > *mmV-*.

CA *mūʔaxxar* > *mməxxər* "late".

In these cases it is probably *w* that triggers the emphasization of the labial consonant. Then *w* is in turn assimilated to the labial (see 1.3.2.7.(5ba)). Note that *mwəxxər* is attested as a free variant of *mməxxər*.

(2) In other cases.

(a) CA *ʔištād* > *zɖad* "he hunted".

It is likely that the emphasization of CA *d* took place, then *ʕ* and *t* in turn were voiced.<sup>44</sup>

(b) CA *šadam* > *zɖəm* "he attacked". CA *šadaf* > *zɖaf* "pearl oyster".

We can assume that *zɖəm* underwent following phonological processes: (α) the dropping of the short vowel of the open syllable *šadam* > *\*šdam*. (β) the voicing of

42 Singer, *Tunis*, p. 99 and Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 18.

43 CA plural *CvCāCīC* is mostly reflected as *CCaCəC* in TJ (see 2.3.4.2.1.) and other Maghribi sedentary dialects, see Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 260.

44 Singer, *Tunis*, p. 109.

š: \*šdam > \*zdam. (γ) the emphasization of *d* and *m*: \*zdam > zdam. And šadaf > zdaf [zɔdɛf] would undergo the very same process as šadam > zdam.

## REMARK

On reciprocal assimilation in the combination of *ʿ* + historical *h* is mentioned in 1.3.2.6.(6b).

## 1.3.2.2. Other sound changes

(1) Dissimilation.

(a) CA *l* > *n*.

CA *silsilah* > *sənsla* "necklace".

(b) CA *m* > *n*.

CA *miftāh* > \**məfčāh* > *nəfčah* "key".<sup>45</sup>

(2) Deletion.

Some cases of deletion are attested in TJ, but these occur rather sporadically and short forms with deletion are usually free variants of a non-deleted form.

(a) *nčā* ~ *čā* ~ *ča* ~ *č-* "of (possession)" (see 2.5.2.(17)).

*əssənfaz nčā əššəltaŋ* ~ *čā əššəltaŋ* ~ *čə-ššəltaŋ* "the doughnut-maker of the Sultan".

(b) *kif* ~ *k* "like" (see 2.5.2.(12)).

*wəžžu yəčbəddəl kəlbukəššaš* ~ *kif əlbukəššaš* "his face changes (in colour) like a chameleon".

(b') *kif* ~ *ki* "as, when" (see 2.7.(11)).

*kif* ~ *ki yšir əššəbah* "when morning comes", *qalləm kima* ~ *kif ma qal lləwwəl* "they said to him as he said to the first one".

(c) *mkan* (< CA *ʿin kān*) ~ *kan* ~ *ka* "if" (see 2.7.(10)), *kan* ~ *ka* "only; if" (see 2.6.3.(14)).

*mkan* ~ *kan* ~ *ka kənna n'ərfu, kənna nqululu* "if we knew, we should say to him", *ma nəšrəb šəyy kan əlqawa* ~ *ka lqawa* "I drink nothing but coffee".

(c') (*a*)šku ~ (*a*)šku "who?" (see 2.1.7.(3) and 2.1.8.2.).

*čəmma škun* ~ *šku li yəč'alləm bzayəd*, "there is one who studies much".

<sup>45</sup> A parallel form is attested in Tunis-Jewish, see Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 44.

Variants with *a* stands mainly in the sentence initial or after the preposition *l* (> *lašku(n)*).

## REMARK

*kif* of (b) and (b') is etymologically identical, but the result of the deletion differs between them: for the preposition *k-*, and for the conjunction *ki*.

(3) Metathesis.

Metathesis is attested in only a few examples.

CA *nisf* > *nəfs* "half" (also *nəsf* exists as free variant, but its plural is only *nfaš*).

CA *l'ən* > *n'əl* "he cursed", CA *ğadab* > *žbad* "he pulled",<sup>46</sup> CA *qabqāb* > *bəqbaq* "wooden sandal".

(4) Haplology.

(a) *čəč-* > *č-*.

When the imperfect conjugational prefix for the 2.m., 2.f., 2.pl. or 3.f. *čə-* is attached to the verb stem of Form V or VI, it is eliminated in normal articulation.<sup>47</sup>

*čabda čfəkkər* (< *čəčfəkkər*) *bəšiša* "you (m.) begin to remember little by little".  
*bnadəm li čakəl m'á w čğadda* (< *čəčğadda*) *m'á w čəfəb m'á w č'əšša* (< *čəč'əšša*) *m'á* "a person with whom you eat and have lunch and play and dine".  
*fəššif 'əndək č'alləm* (< *čəč'alləm*) "in summer you have to study", *haža lli ma čhərrəkš* (< *čəčhərrəkš*) "a thing which does not move", *ma čhəššəmš* (< *čəčhəššəmš*) "do take one! (lit. do not be ashamed)".

(b) *ləl-* > *l-*.

This haplology is attested in the combination of the preposition *l-* + a noun with the definite article *l* + a noun beginning with *C*: *ləlC* > *lC* (see 2.5.1.(2a)). And when the definite article is assimilated to *C*, the same is applied: *ləlC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>* > (*ə*)*C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>*. In both cases the haplology is facultative.

*bəčətna əxtna lqməžža li čğənni* (~ *ləlqməžža*) "our sister sent us for the shirt that...", *kəll hədd yəwəwhu lhuš* (~ *ləlhuš*) "everyone goes home", *əmma yəhəbbu yəməšiw tčinma* (~ *ləlčinma*)<sup>48</sup> *məš bəč'd* "they want to go to the cinema together".

<sup>46</sup> Already in CA, see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 394.

<sup>47</sup> Wright, *Grammar* vol. 1, p. 65.

<sup>48</sup> Not *ləlčinma*.

(c) In *qaləč*, *qalč* + *l-*.

When *qaləč* "she said" and *qalč* "I ~ you (m.) said" are followed by an enclitic dative marker for the 3.m. (-*lu*), 3.f. (-*la*, -*šla*, -*əlla*), 3.pl. (-*ləm*, -*šləm*, -*əlləm*), 2.sg. (-*lək*), 1.sg. (-*li*) (see 2.1.1.3.), the following variants are attested.

(α) *qaləč* > *qat-* ~ *qalt-* ~ *qalət-*.

*qatlu* ~ *qalətlu* ~ *qaltlu* "she said to him".

*qatla* ~ *qalətla* ~ *qaltəla* ~ *qaltəlla* "she said to her".

*qatləm* ~ *qalətləm* ~ *qaltələm* ~ *qaltəlləm* "she said to them".

*qatlək* ~ *qalətlək* "she said to you (sg.)".

*qatli* ~ *qalətli* "she said to me".

(β) *qalč* > *qət-* ~ *qəlt-*.

*qətlu* ~ *qəltlu* "I ~ you (m.) said to him".

*qətla* ~ *qəltla* ~ *qəltəla* ~ *qəltəlla* "I ~ you (m.) said to her".

*qətləm* ~ *qətləm* ~ *qəltələm* ~ *qəltəlləm* "I ~ you (m.) said to them".

*qətlək* ~ *qətlək* "I said to you (sg.)".

*qətli* ~ *qəltli* "you (sg.) said to me".

(5) Isolated cases.

(a) \**b* > *m*.

\**bqabəq* > *mqabəq* "wooden sandals".

The singular of *mqabəq* is *bəqbaq* which has undergone metathesis from CA *qabqāb*. The emphatic *m* corresponds thus to the first *b* of the singular form.

(b) CA *m* > *b*.

CA *lāqmī*, *laqmī* > *lagbi* "palm wine".

### 1.3.2.3. Reflex of CA interdentals

CA interdentals regularly correspond to TJ plosives (*t* > *t*, *d* > *d*, *ḏ* > *ḏ*) or an affricate (only in the case of *t* > *t* > *č*). CA *ḏ* corresponds to TJ *ḏ* (CA *ḏ* was not an interdental, but considering the fact that this consonant is realized in most of the bedouin dialects as interdental emphatic fricative [ḏ], we treat it as an interdental for a working hypothesis). The plosive realization of the interdentals is attested also in many sedentary dialects of the Maghrib, e.g. Maltese, Tunis-Jewish, Djerba-Jewish and Algerian and Moroccan urban dialects etc. (and also in TM, which is a bedouin or bedouinized dialect). The exception is the sedentary Muslim dialects of Tunisia (Tunis-Muslim, Sousse-Muslim etc.).

### 1.3.2.4. Reflex of CA *t* and *ṭ*

CA *t* or *ṭ* are reflected variously in TJ according to their phonological position. In the following we analyse the historical distribution of these reflections. We establish an archiphoneme *T* (therefore *t*, *ṭ*, *d*, *ḏ* and *č* are considered as allophones of *T*) to represent them.

The distribution of *t*, *ṭ*, *d*, *ḏ* and *č* (which has two allophones [č] and [ǧ]) is determined according to the following phonological conditions.<sup>49</sup>

(1) *č*.

(a) [č]: Normal realization of *T*.

*čəffah* (*Təffah*) [čəffāh] "apples", *kčəb* (*kTəb*) [kčəb] "he wrote", *bənč* (*bənT*) [bənč] "daughter".

(b) *č* [ǧ]: Voiced allophone of *č*. This may appear when *T* precedes *g* or *ǧ*. [č] is a free variant in this position.

— *g*: *čǧədbu* (*Tǧədbu*) [ǧǧədbu ~ čǧədbu] "you (pl.) tell a lie", *čǧərrəč* (*Tǧərrəč*) [ǧǧərrəč ~ čǧərrəč] "he belched".

— *ǧ*: *čǧənni* (*Tǧənni*) [ǧǧənni ~ čǧənni] "she sings", *čǧəddič* (*Tǧəddič*) [ǧǧəddič ~ čǧəddič] "I ~ you (m.) had lunch".

#### REMARK

1. The voiced allophone [ǧ] is one of the criteria to distinguish phonologically *ṭ* (*r*) and *ǧ*. [ǧ] may appear only before *ǧ*, but never before *r* or *r*, e.g. *čǧənni* [ǧǧənni] (~ [čǧənni]) "she sings": *črəddi* [črəddi] "you (f.) bring back" (see 1.1.1.(6bβ)).

2. *č*, which is a palatalised consonant, does not have an emphatic allophone. The fact that an original emphatic consonant undergoes the de-emphaticization in the proximity of *y* and sometimes *i* because of the palatal character of these corroborates the absence of the emphatic *č* (see 1.3.2.1.1.2. REMARK above).

(2) *t*: Non-affricated allophone. Original *t* is preserved:

(a) when *T* precedes *T*, *s*, *š*, *l*, *n*.

— *T*: *bətč* (*bəTT*) [bətč] "I passed the night" (not *bəčč*, see 1.1.2.2.(5) REMARK).

49 Pace Goldberg, *Tripolitaniya*, p. 140 n. 23 who states that "before *m*, *l* and *n*, *t* is realized with [t]", it is [č] that comes before [m], e.g. *čmanin* [čmānin] "eighty", *čmədd* [čmədd] "she stretches", *čmərdū* [čmərdū] "you(pl.) become sick" etc.

- *s*: *tsákkər* (*Tsákkər*) [tsákkər] "she closes", *həttit sákkər* (*həttit sákkər*) [həttét sákkər] "I put sugar".
- *š*: *tšərɸu* (*Tšərɸu*) [tšérɸo] "you (pl.) drink", *ma hrətš* (*ma hrətš*) [ma-hrátš] "he didn't plough", *lilət šəbbəč* (*lilət šəbbəč*) [lilət šəbbáč] "evening before the Sabbath".
- *l*: *tlača* (*Tlača*) [tláča] "three", *rit lulad* (*riT lulad*) [rīt lulád] "I saw the children".
- *n*: *tnin* (*Tnin*) [tnīn] "two", *bətna* (*bəTna*) [bətna] "we passed the night", *rit nas* (*riT nas*) [rīt nās] "I ~ you (m.) saw people".
- (b) when *T* precedes *əs*, *əz*, *əš*, *əž*, *əl*, *ən* (*ə* = auxiliary vowel, see 1.4.1.2.), namely *ə* + dental liquid or dental fricative.
- *əs*: *čəht əssma* (*Təht əssma*) [čəht əssmá] "under the sky".
- *əz*: *kənt əzgir* (*kənt əzgir*) [kənt əzǧér] "I was young", *sətt əzgar* (*səTT əzgar*) [sətt əzǧār] "six children".<sup>50</sup>
- *əš*: *čəht əššisma* (*Təht əššisma*) [čəht əššišma] "under the water tap".
- *əž*: *!lət əžbəl* (= *!lət əžbəl*) [!lət əžbəl] "I climbed a mountain".
- *əl*: *nadat əlkəlb* (*nadaT əlkəlb*) [nādát əlkəlb] "she called the dog".
- *ən*: *dərəbt ənnsa* (*dərəbT ənnsa*) [dérébt ənnsá] "I hit the women".

## REMARK

1. In *sətt* of *sətt əzgar*, the first *t* is the realization of *T* before *t*, and the second *t* is the realization before *əz*.

2. Before *ət* and *əd* (plosives), *T* is realized as *č*.

*xtač əttəzin* (*xtaT əttəzin*) [xtáč əttəzīn] "the cover of the pot".

*dərəbč əddərr* (*dərəbT əddərr*) [dérébč əddérr] "I hit the back".

On cases before *t* and *d*, see below (4a) and (5).

(3) *d*: Voiced non-affricated emphasized allophone. This appears when *T* immediately precedes *d*, *z* or *ž*.

- *d*: *dduq* (*Tduq*) [ddūq] "she tastes", *həbləd dik əlmra* (*həblədT dik əlmra*) [həbləd dīk əlmrā] "that woman became pregnant".
- *z*: *dzəwwəz* (*Tzəwwəz*) [dzuwwúz] "he got married".
- *ž*: *džib* (*Tžib*) [džīb] "she brings".

<sup>50</sup> Also *sətča zgar* exists as a free variant (see 2.4.1.3).

(4) *t*: Non-affricated emphasized allophone. This appears:

(a) when *T* immediately precedes *s*, *t*, *l*, *n*.

- *s*: *tšib* (*Tšib*) [tšēb] "you (sg.m.) find", *šrit šəbbət* (*šriT šəbbət*) [šrīt šəbbát] "I bought a shoe".
- *t*: *ttəfu* (*Ttəfu*) [ttáfʊ] "you (pl.) go out".
- *l*: *mən čəht !tučá* (*čəhtT !tučá*) [mən čəht lōtá] "from under the ground".
- *n*: *kliT nəfša* (*kliT nəfša*) [klīt nəfša] "I ate half of it (f.)".

(b) when *T* precedes *əs*, *əz*, *əl*, *ən* (but not *ət*, see above).

- *əs*: *mərt əššəltən* (*mərt əššəltən*) [mərt əššəltán] "the Sultan's wife" (cf. *mərči* "my wife").
- *əz*: *makəlt əzzawali* (*makəT əzzawali*) [mākəlt əzzāwāli] "the food of a poor man".
- *əl*: *šərbət əlməyya* (*šərbət əlməyya*) [šérɸét əlm<sup>w</sup>əyya] "she drunk the water".
- *ən*: *nətfət ənnar* (*nətfət ənnar*) [nətfát ənnár] "the fire is extinguished".

(5) *d*: Voiced non-affricated emphasized allophone. This appears when *T* immediately precedes *d* or *z*.

- *d*: *ddərbu* (*Tdərbu*) [ddérɸo] "you (pl.) hit".
- *z*: *dzədmu* (*Tzədmu*) [dzédmo] "they attacked".

The above observations reveal that the allomorphs of *T* can be divided into two groups; affricated *č* [č and ǧ] and plosive *t*, *d*, *t*, *d*. A plosive allophone occurs when *T* stands before a dental or an alveolar consonant whether inside the word or across the word boundary even in cases where an auxiliary vowel intervenes. It is noteworthy that the conditions of the assimilation of the definite article are similar to those for the plosive realization of *T* except before *r* and *ʕ* (see 2.3.1.).

The conditions explained above are valid even inside a word. The alternation of the allophones is strictly observed, especially in verb morphemes in which the sequence of vowel and consonant varies according to the person and/or number. For example *qTəl* "to kill", the realization of *T*, which can stand before *l* or before *ə*, follows the above-mentioned conditions: *qčəl* (*qTəl*) [qčəl] "he killed", *qətləč* (*qəTlət*) [qátləč] "she killed", *yqətlu* (*yqəTlu*) [yqátlu] "they kill".

In addition, for example, when *qəlč* (= *qəlT*) [qəlč] "I said", which ends in [-č], is followed by an enclitic *lu* "to him", *qətlu* (*qəlTlu*) [qátlu] is obtained, because of its position before *l*.

When *T* is in the combination of *sT* for the preformative of Form X verb (< CA *ʔista-*), this is always realized as [t].

*stanna* (*sTanna*) [stónna] "wait (m.)!" (hybrid of Form V × Form X, see 2.2.4.3.(11)), *stərəríf* (*sTərəríf*) [staʔrəʔf] "he got to know s.o."

Table of distribution of allophones of *T*:

č [č] before *b, ħ, m, m, f, k, g, q, x, (ǧ), r, r, ħ, ʕ, w, y, ə, a, i, u*.

č [č̣] before (*ǧ, g*).

*t* before *t, č, s, š, l, n*, assimilated definite article *ətt, ədd əll, ənn, əss, əšš, əzz, əžž* and the formative *st*.

*t* before *š, t*, and assimilated definite article *ətt, ədd əšš, əzz, əll, ənn*.

*d* before *d, z, ž*.

*d* before *d, z*.

### 1.3.2.5. Reflex of CA *š* and *ǧ*

The conditioned alteration of *chuintant-sifflant*<sup>51</sup> is a well known, and broadly observed phenomenon in Maghribi dialects.<sup>52</sup> CA *ǧ*, which is in fact not a *chuintant*, is reflected usually as *ž* in TJ.

In TJ, when a word historically contains a *chuintant* and a *sifflant*, or two *chuintants*, unless they are identical, irrespective of their order, the *chuintant(s)* is (are) altered into (a) *sifflant(s)*. In some cases also voicing or devoicing is observed, but because of the lack of materials, it is quite difficult to fix voicing / devoicing rules.

(1) *Sifflant + chuintant*.

CA *zawǧ* > \**zawž* > *zuz* "two", CA *ʔisfunǧ* > \**sfənž* > *sfənz* "doughnut".

(2) *Chuintant + sifflant*.

CA *šams* > \**šəms* > *səms* "sun", CA *maǧlis* > \**məžləs* > *məzləs* "council meeting", CA *ǧins* > \**žəns* > *zəns* "kind", CA *ʔinǧāš* > \**nžāš* > *nzaz* "pears", CA *ǧazzār* > \**žəzzār* > *šəzzār* "butcher", CA *maǧzarah* > \**məžzara* > *məzra* "slaughterhouse".

51 *Chuintant* is a term borrowed from French which indicates *š* and *ž*. Likewise *sifflant* indicates, in this study, *s, š, z* and *ž*. We dare use these French terms for in English there exists no convenient parallel term distinguishing *š* and *ž* from *s, š, z* and *ž*.

52 Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, pp. 252-253 and Taine-Cheikh, *Altération*.

### REMARK

1. In *nzaz* CA *š* is voiced. We can assume that this word underwent the following phonological development after the alteration of *ǧ* into *ž*: (1) the alteration *ž* > *z*, (2) the emphasization *z* > *z* by *š*, (3) the voicing of *š*.

2. For *məzra*, after *ǧ* of CA *maǧzarah* became *sifflant* and *a* in the open syllable was eliminated \**məžzra* > \**məzzra* has been obtained, and the geminated *zz* is rendered into a single *z* (see 1.4.2.2.(2d) REMARK 1).

*ħ*

(3) *Chuintant + chuintant*.

CA *šaǧarah* > \**šəžra* > *səzra* "tree".

But *šuša* "tassel of fez", *nəšmiša* "cute child", *džaža* "hen", *ħəžžəž lihuf* "(proper name)" etc. which contain two (or three) identical *chuintants* are exempt from the alteration.

### 1.3.2.6. Reflex of CA *h*

One of the crucial differences between TJ and TM in the domain of phonology is the absence of *h* (voiceless glottal fricative) as phoneme in TJ.<sup>53</sup> But many speakers are conscious of the etymological existence of *h*, and in careful and slow utterances *h* is pronounced sporadically.

The disappearance of *h* means the elimination of one of the radical consonants which constitute a word. In order to maintain morphophonological quantity, the loss of *h* is accompanied by various phonological processes, e.g. compensatory gemination of a consonant around *h*, compensatory lengthening of a vowel around *h* etc.

We assume that the disappearance of *h* took place in a relatively recent period, after other characteristic sound changes (e.g. the elimination of a short vowel in an open syllable (see 1.4.2.1.), the elimination of *ʔ* (see 1.3.2.7.), and the alteration of short vowel quality (see 1.3.3.1.) etc.) had been achieved. For example CA *ǧāhrī* "my back" corresponds to TJ *ǧarī*. In this case CA *āh* is replaced by a long *ā*. From this we suppose that CA *ǧāhr* "back" should be TJ \**ǧar* *ǧāhrī* : *ǧarī* : *ǧāhr* : *x, x* = \**ǧar*, but the actual form is *ǧarī*. The fact that many CA words of the pattern *Cv̄CC* correspond to TJ *CCəC* (see 1.4.2.4.2) suggests that CA *ǧāhr* would

53 Also Tunis-Jewish, Algiers-Jewish and Maltese do not possess *h* as a phoneme. On Tunis-Jewish and Algiers-Jewish, see Cohen, *Tunis II*, pp. 35-36, Cohen, *Alger*, pp. 32-35 and for Maltese, Aquilina, *Maltese*, p. 13.

have been once TJ \**dhər*, (cf. CA *lāhm* : TJ *lhəm*) (here we do not discuss the shift *ḏ* > *d* and *r* > *r*). If we suppose that the disappearance of *h* took place at the stage of \**dhər*, not at that of CA *ḏāhr*, we can well explain the morphological doublet *ḏar-* : *ḏər*. When *h* was eliminated from \**dhər*, the root lost apparently one of its radicals: \**ḏər*, and in order to compensate for loss of *h*, *r* is geminated (for a word of the same pattern the first radical of which is fricative, the fricative may be geminated: CA *šāhr* > \**šhər* > TJ *šər* ~ *ššər* "month"). On the other hand, the elimination of *h* from CA *ḏāhrī* is compensated for by the lengthening of the preceding short vowel.

In the following we classify the phonological processes concerning loss of historical *h*. The process involved is decided by the position of *h* in the posited word form which precedes the present TJ form.

In this section the short vowels of CA forms are marked with  $\bar{\phantom{a}}$  ( $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ ) in order not to be confused with TJ long vowels.

(1) Simple elimination of *h*.

(a) In word initial: #*hV* > *V*.

#*hā* >  $\bar{a}$ :

CA *hāmm* > \**hāmm* >  $\bar{a}mm$  "grief", CA *hīm* > \**hāmma* >  $\bar{a}mma$  "they", CA *hīndīy* > \**hāndī* >  $\bar{a}ndī$  "prickly pear".

#*hv* >  $\bar{v}$ :

CA *hādā* > \**hādā* >  $\bar{a}da$  "this (m.)", CA \**hākīdā* (cf. CA *hākaḏā*)<sup>54</sup> > \**hāyidā* > \**hāydā* >  $\bar{a}yda$  "so", CA *hāḡ* > \**hāz* >  $\bar{a}z$  "it (m.) became rough (sea)", CA *hā'īsāh* > \**hāyša* >  $\bar{a}yša$  "animal", CA *hiya* > \**hīyā* >  $\bar{i}ya$  "she".

(b) Inside a word.

(α) *Cv̄hV* > *Cv̄V*.

CA *mītāfāhīm* > \**mātfāhām* >  $\bar{m}āḏfā\bar{a}m$  "understanding (m.) (with someone)", CA *ḡāwhār* > \**zūhār* >  $\bar{z}u\bar{a}r$  "pearl", CA \**kārāhīb* > \**kṛāhāb* >  $\bar{k}ṛ\bar{a}\bar{a}b$  "cars", CA *bāhīn* > \**bāhīn* >  $\bar{b}a\bar{i}n$  "good (pl.)", CA *ḡihāh* > \**zīha* >  $\bar{z}i\bar{a}$  "side".

(β) *Cv̄ChV* : *CāCChV* > *Cv̄CV* : *CāCCV* (when *hV* consists of the pronoun suffix -*a* (3.f.) or -*am* (3.pl.)) and when *C* before *h* is not  $\bar{c}$ ,  $\bar{h}$ ) (see (6) and (7) below).

CA *hānātūhā* > \**bnāčhā* >  $\bar{b}n\bar{a}\bar{c}\bar{a}$  "her daughters", CA *ḡārūhūm* > \**zārham* >  $\bar{z}a\bar{r}\bar{a}m$  "their neighbours", CA *bīntūhūm* > \**bānčham* >  $\bar{b}\bar{a}n\bar{c}\bar{a}m$  "their daughter", CA *ḏīrsūhā* > \**ḏārshā* >  $\bar{d}\bar{a}r\bar{s}\bar{a}$  "her molar tooth".

54 Fischer, *Demonstrativen*, p. 139.

(c) In word final: *Cv̄h#* > *Cv̄#*.

CA *wīḡūh* > \**wzūh* >  $\bar{w}zū$  "faces", CA *mākrūh* > \**mākrūh* >  $\bar{m}\bar{a}k\bar{r}ū$  "hated", CA *kātābūhū*<sup>55</sup> > \**kāčbūh* >  $\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{c}bū$  "they wrote it".

(2) Elimination of *h* and (optional) compensatory gemination of a consonant around *h*.

(a) *C<sub>1</sub>hV* > *C<sub>1</sub>V* (~ *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>V*) (except for the cases of (1bβ) and (2b)). The gemination does not take place when the sequence stands in the word initial and *C<sub>1</sub>* is plosive (e.g. \**dhānč* >  $\bar{d}\bar{a}n\bar{c}$ ) or when *C<sub>1</sub>*, which stands before *h*, is plosive and follows another consonant (e.g. \**yāndhər* >  $\bar{y}\bar{a}n\bar{d}\bar{a}r$ ).

This occurs in the following sequences.

(α) #*Chā*:

CA *dāhānt* > \**dhānč* >  $\bar{d}\bar{a}n\bar{c}$  "I anointed", CA *tāhānnā'* > \**čhānna* >  $\bar{c}\bar{a}nna$  ~  $\bar{t}\bar{c}\bar{a}nna$  "he felt at ease", CA *fāhūmt* > \**fhamč* >  $\bar{f}\bar{a}m\bar{c}$  ~  $\bar{f}\bar{f}\bar{a}m\bar{c}$  "I ~ you (m.) understood", CA *šāhīdt* > \**šhādč* >  $\bar{s}\bar{a}d\bar{c}$  ~  $\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{a}d\bar{c}$  "I ~ you (m.) witnessed". CA *'inhāzz* > \**nhāzz* >  $\bar{n}\bar{a}zz$  ~  $\bar{nn}\bar{a}zz$  "it (m.) was swung".

(β) #*Chv̄*:

CA *šāhādāh* > \**shāda* >  $\bar{s}\bar{a}da$  ~  $\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{a}da$  "testimony", CA *šūhūd* > \**shūd* >  $\bar{s}\bar{u}d$  ~  $\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{u}d$  "witnesses", CA *yāhūdīyy* > \**yhūdī* >  $\bar{y}u\bar{d}i$  "Jew", CA *yāhīḡ* > \**yhīz* >  $\bar{y}i\bar{z}$  "it (m.) becomes rough (sea)", CA *'ishāll* (see 2.2.1.1.1.(2)) > \**shāl* >  $\bar{s}\bar{a}l$  ~  $\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{a}l$  "it (m.) became easy".

(γ) -#*Chā*, -*CChā*:

CA *'īfhām* > \**āfhām* >  $\bar{a}f\bar{a}m$  ~  $\bar{ā}f\bar{f}\bar{a}m$  "understand (m.)!", CA *ḏārābāhūm* > \**ḏrābhām* >  $\bar{d}\bar{r}\bar{a}b\bar{h}\bar{a}m$  ~  $\bar{d}\bar{r}\bar{a}b\bar{b}\bar{h}\bar{a}m$  "he hit them", CA *ḡābālūhūm* > \**zballām* >  $\bar{z}\bar{b}\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$  ~  $\bar{z}\bar{b}\bar{a}ll\bar{a}m$  "their mountain", CA *'infāhāmt* > \**nāfhāmč* >  $\bar{n}\bar{a}f\bar{a}m\bar{c}$  ~  $\bar{n}\bar{ā}f\bar{f}\bar{a}m\bar{c}$  "I was ~ you (m.) were understood", CA *yānhāzzū* > \**yānhāzzu* >  $\bar{y}\bar{a}n\bar{h}\bar{a}zzu$  ~  $\bar{y}\bar{a}n\bar{n}\bar{h}\bar{a}zzu$  "they are swung", CA *tātāhānnā'* > \**čāčhānna* >  $\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{c}\bar{a}nna$  ~  $\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{c}\bar{a}nna$  "you (m.) ~ she feels at ease", CA *yānḡāhīr* > \**yāndhər* >  $\bar{y}\bar{a}n\bar{d}\bar{a}r$  "it (m.) seems", CA *yānfāhīm* > \**yānshām* >  $\bar{y}\bar{a}n\bar{s}\bar{a}m$  ~  $\bar{y}\bar{a}n\bar{f}\bar{f}\bar{a}m$  "he is understood".

(δ) -*CāChv̄*:

CA *mādhūn* > \**mādhūn* >  $\bar{m}\bar{a}d\bar{u}n$  ~  $\bar{m}\bar{a}d\bar{d}\bar{u}n$  "anointed (m.)", CA *māshūm* > \**māshūm* >  $\bar{m}\bar{a}f\bar{u}m$  ~  $\bar{m}\bar{ā}f\bar{f}\bar{u}m$  "understood (m.)", CA *yāshāll* > \**yāshal* >  $\bar{y}\bar{a}s\bar{a}l$  ~  $\bar{y}\bar{a}s\bar{s}\bar{a}l$  "it (m.) becomes easy", CA *māšāyt lāhā* > \**mšāčālhā* >  $\bar{m}\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{a}l\bar{h}\bar{a}$  ~  $\bar{m}\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{a}ll\bar{a}$  "I ~ you (m.sg.) went to her", CA *bā'ātāhā* > \**b'āčhā* >  $\bar{b}'\bar{a}\bar{c}\bar{a}$  ~  $\bar{b}'\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{c}\bar{a}$  "he sent it (f.)", CA *kātūfūhā* > \**kāšhā* >  $\bar{k}\bar{c}\bar{a}f\bar{a}$  ~  $\bar{k}\bar{c}\bar{c}\bar{a}f\bar{a}$  "her shoulder".

55 On the pronoun suffix for the 3.m., see 2.1.1.2.1.1.(1)



(b)  $\#(C_1\partial)C_2h\acute{a}C_3 > \#(C_1\partial)C_2\acute{\delta}C_3C_3 \sim \#(C_1\partial)C_2C_2\acute{\delta}C_3$ .

(a)  $\#Ch\acute{a}C\#$ :

CA *dāhāb* > \**dhāb* > *dabb* ~ *ddab* "gold", CA *dāhīs* > \**dhāš* > *dāšš* ~ *ddāš* "he fainted", CA *dāhr*, *ḏūhr* > \**dhār* > *dār* ~ *ḏdār* "back, afternoon", CA *dāhān* > \**dhān* > *dānn* ~ *ddān* "he anointed", CA *šāhr* > \**shār* > *šār* ~ *ššār* "month", CA *fāhim* > \**fham* > *fāmm* ~ *ffām* "he understood", CA *šāhīd* > \**shād* > *šādd* ~ *ššād* "he witnessed".

(β)  $\#C\acute{a}Ch\acute{a}C\#$ :

CA *ʾinfāhām* > \**nāfhām* > *nāfāmm* ~ *nāffām* "he was understood", CA *ʾinḏāhār* > \**nāḏhār* > *nāḏār* ~ *nāḏḏār* "it (m.) seemed".

(c)  $C_1\partial C_2h\# > C_1\partial C_2C_2\#$ .

CA *wāgh* > \**wāzh* > *wāžž* "face".

This form is attested broadly in many modern Arabic dialects. *wāžž* and *wā* ((3b) below) are free variants.

(3) Elimination of *h* and the lengthening of the preceding short vowel:  $\acute{a}h > a$ .

(a) Inside a word.

CA *ʾihrūb* > \**ahṛāb* > *ārāb* "flee (m.)!", CA *ʾāhbīlī* > \**ahbīlī* > *ābli* "be (f.) mad!", CA *ḏāhrī* > \**ḏahrī* > *ḏarī* "my back", CA *kāhrābā*<sup>56</sup> > \**kahrāba* > *karāba* "car", Judaeo-Arabic קליל<sup>57</sup> with the definit article *l-* > \**lahliq* > *laliq* "haroset", CA *māhbūl* > \**māhbūl* > *mabul* "mad", CA *mīhrās* > \**māhrāza* > *marāza* "mortar", CA *yāhrūb* > \**yahrāb* > *yarāb* "he flees", CA *yāfhāmū* > \**yfahmu* > *yfamū* "they understand", CA *yāshādū* > \**yshādu* > *yšadu* "they witness".

(b) In word final:  $\acute{a}h\# > a\#$ .

CA *wāgh* > \**wāzh* > *wā* (~ *wāžž*) (see above) "face", CA *kārih* > \**krāh* > *kra* "he hated".

In *kra*, no trace of CA *h* is left and it conjugates now just as Form I IIIy verb: *kra*, *krač*, *krič*: *yākra*, *yākraw*, and *yākranī* "he hates me", with a pronoun suffix (see 2.2.4.1.1.5.(2) REMARK).

56 In Tunis-Muslim *kārḥ*<sup>56</sup>*bā*. Singer, *Tunis*, p. 574 gives to this word only the meaning "Elektrizität", but nowadays this word means rather "car", as in TJ.

57 Avishur, *Aramaic*, p. 14 gives Aramaic word for "haroset" חילק-הילק (hilleq - hilleq) in Judaeo-Arabic of the Middle Ages in Iraq and their Arabicized form חלק-הילק. The present TJ form *laliq* should be formed by the combination of the definite article *l* and חילק: \**lahliq*. Thereafter along with the elimination of *h*, *ā* was lengthened: \**lahliq* > *laliq*.

(4) Elimination of *h* and the appearance of *a*.

$\#hCV > \#aCV$ .

The stress remains in the original syllable.

CA *ʾāhbāl* > \**hbāl* > *abāl* "he became mad", CA *hīlāl*<sup>58</sup> > \**hlāl* > *alāl* "crescent", CA *hārāb* > \**hrāb* > *arāb* "he fled", CA *hāwā* > \**hwā* > *awā*, CA *hāwāšī* > \**hwāšī* > *awašī* "animals", CA *hāḡāḡil* > \**hžāžal* > *ažāžal* "widows".

It is probably that the ancient *h* is realized as *a* in order to keep the trilaterality of these words, since if *h* is to be eliminated together with *ā*, these words lose completely one of the radicals, e.g. CA *hawā* > \**wa*. And *h* should have undergone vocalization to be altered into *a* [*h* > *h̄* > *ā*].

(5) Substitution of *h* by a short vowel #.

$CvhCV > v\acute{a}CV$ .

CA *mūtāfāhīmīn* > \**mācfāhmīn* > *mācfāmin* [mātfāmín] "understanding (pl.) each other", CA *ḡihātūhū* > \**ḡihatu* > \**zīhcu* > *zīcu* [žīcu] "his side", CA *bāhīyāh* > \**bāhya* > *baḡya* [bāya] (~ *baḡya* [bāya]) "good (f.)" (see 1.2.5.2.(2)).

It is probably that the substitution of *h* by *ā* should be interpreted rather as that *h* has been vocalized and obtained a vocalic character after the elimination of *ā* in an open syllable (see 1.4.2.1.). The existence of *ā* is proved on the opposition *zīcu* "you (pl.) came" : *zīācu* "his side". The present case is one of the exceptional cases of the existence of *ā* in an open syllable (see 1.4.2.2.(1c)).

(6) Assimilation of the historical *h* to the preceding *h*.

This process is restricted to the combination of a noun or a verb ending with *h* and the pronoun suffix *-a* (3.f.) or *-am* (3.pl.) which contain the historical *h* (< \**-ha*, \**-hām*).

(a) Total assimilation:  $h + -a$  or  $-am > hhV$ .

CA *bī-rūhīhā* > \**brūhha* > *brūhha* "by herself", CA *lāw-wāhā* > \**lawwāhām* > *lawwāhām* "throw (m.) them!", CA *tūsārrīhā* > \**tsārrāhha* > *tsārrāhha* "release (m.) it (f.)!".

(b) Reciprocal assimilation of  $h + h > hh$ .

This process is restricted to the combination of a noun or a verb and the pronoun suffix *-a* (3.f.) or *-am* (3.pl.) which contain the historical *h* (< \**-ha*, \**-hām*) (see 1.2.5.1.2.(2)).

58 Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 48.

(α)  $v^c + -a$  or  $-am > v^c h V \sim v^c V$  (free variants).<sup>59</sup>

CA  $māṭā'ūhūm > *nēā'hām > nēā'hām \sim nēā'am$  "theirs", CA  $hā'āhā > *hā'hā > bahha \sim bā'a$  "he sold it (f.)".

(β)  $\#c + -a$  or  $-am$  (pronoun suffixes)  $> \partial h V$ .

CA  $'iṣbā'ūhā > *ṣbā'hā > ṣbā'hā$  "her finger", CA  $'āwzā'āhūm > *wzā'hām > wzā'hām$  "he pained them".

(7) Combination of two processes.

A sequence of CA  $CvhhvC$  is realized as  $Ca\partial C$  in TJ, and to obtain the latter two processes (1.3.2.6.(3a) and then 1.3.2.6.(1b $\alpha$ )) are required.

CA  $fāhhām > *fāhhām > *fāhām > faām$  "he made s.o. understand", CA  $'āhhār > *'āhhār > 'āhār$  "he circumcised".

In this study these verbs are treated as Form III (see 2.2.4.1.3.4.(2)). A parallel case is attested also in Maltese *fiheh* "he made s.o. understand": this is also Form III.

(8) Reflexes of *h* in the same word.

When the position of *h* is altered in the same word, e.g. a conjugated verb or, a noun with a pronoun suffix, different measures are taken according to the position of *h*.

(a) Verbs.

(α)  $dāšš \sim ddāšš$  "he fainted".

Perfect.

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	$dāšš \sim ddāš < *dhāš$		$dāšu < *dāhšu$
3.f.	$dāšāč < *dāhšāč$		
2.m.	$dāšč < *dhāšt$		$dāšču < *dhāštu$ etc.

Imperfect.

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	$yāddāš \sim yāddāš < *yādhāš$		$yādašu < *yādhāšu$
3.f.	$čāddāš \sim čāddāš < *tādhāš$ etc.		

<sup>59</sup> Cohen, *Tunis I*, p. 48, fn.2.

(β)  $čfaām$  "he understood (with someone)".

Perfect.

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	$čfaām < *čfāhām$		$čfāamu < *čfāhmu$
3.f.	$čfāāmāč < *čfāhāmāč$		
2.m.	$čfaāmč < *čfāhāmč$ etc.		

(b) Nouns.

$dār$  "back" + pronoun suffixes.

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	$dāru < *dāhru$		$dārām \sim ddārām < *dārham$
3.f.	$dārā \sim ddārā < *dārha$		
2.c.	$dārāk < *dāhrāk$		$dārākām \sim ddārākām < *dārham$
1.c.	$dāri < *dāhri$		$dārāna \sim ddārāna < *dārna$

(9) Classification according to the positions of *h*.

To sum up, we add here a classification according to the positions of *h*. The number of the end of each example indicates the sub-sections.

[1] In word initial:

[a]  $\#hV > V$ : CA  $hāmm > *hāmm > amm$ , CA  $hādā > *hādā > ada$  (1a).

[b]  $\#hCV > \#aCV$ : CA  $hāwā' > *hāwā' > awā$  (4).

[2] Inside a word.

[a]  $\partial h > a$ : CA  $yāshāmū > *yāshāmū > *yāshāmū > yfamu$  (3a).

[b]  $(C)v^c h V > (C)v^c V$ : CA  $gāwhār > *zūhār > zuar$  (1b).

[c]  $Cv^c h V / C\partial CC_1 h V > Cv^c V / C\partial CC_1 V$  ( $hV = -a, -am, C_1 \neq c, h$ ): CA  $bānātūhūm > *bnāčhām > bnačām$ , CA  $bīntūhūm > *bānčhām > bānčām$  (1b $\beta$ ).

[d]  $Cv^c h CV > Cv^c CV$ : CA  $mūtāfāhūm > *māčfāhūm > māčfāhūm$  (5).

[e]  $C_1 h V > C_1 V \sim C_1 C_1 V$ : CA  $fāhīm > *fāhīm > fāmč \sim ffāmč$ , CA  $sāhādāh > *šhāda > šada \sim ššada$ , CA  $yāshām > *yāshām > yāšām \sim yāffām$ , CA  $māshūm > *māshūm > māšūm \sim māffūm$ , CA  $yānfāhūm > *yānfāhūm > yānfām \sim yānffām$  (2a).

[f]  $\#(C_1\partial)C_2 h \partial C \# > \#(C_1\partial)C_2 \partial CC \# \sim \#(C_1\partial)C_2 C_2 \partial C \#$ : CA  $sāhār > *šhār > šār \sim ššār$ , CA  $'īnfāhām > *nāshām > *nāšām \sim nāffām$  (2b).

[g $\alpha$ ]  $hhV > hV$ : CA  $lāwwāhā > *lāwwāhā > lāwwāhā$  (6a).

[g $\beta$ ]  $hV > hV$ : CA  $'iṣbā'ūhā > *ṣbā'hā > ṣbā'hā$  (6b).

[3] In word final.

[a]  $C\acute{a}h\# > C\#$ : CA  $w\grave{a}gh > *w\grave{z}ah > w\grave{z}a$  (3b).

[b]  $C\acute{v}h\# > C\acute{v}\#$ : CA  $w\grave{r}i\grave{g}\acute{u}h > *w\grave{z}\acute{u}h > w\grave{z}u$  (1d).

[c]  $Ch\# > CC\#$ : CA  $w\grave{a}gh > *w\grave{a}zh > w\grave{a}zz$  (2c).

[4] Combined processes: CA  $C\acute{v}hh\acute{v}C > C\acute{a}C$ : e.g. CA  $fahham > *f\acute{a}ham > fa\acute{a}m$  (7).

### 1.3.2.7. Reflex of CA ʾ (hamza)

TJ does not have ʾ as a phoneme. However we admit it as a hypothetical entity and mark it with ʾ when necessary, e.g. in 1.2.3.1. ʾ is one of the determining factors of allophones of the short vowel *a*, and in 1.4.1. it is a constituent element of syllables.

The eliminated ʾ is usually compensated for by various phonological measures, e.g. the lengthening of adjacent short vowels etc., but in some cases no compensation takes place.

In the following we classify the phonological measures concerning ʾ. Unlike the case of *h*, we assume that the elimination of ʾ took place at an early stage, i.e. immediately after the stage of CA and this assumption is corroborated by Hopkins, *Studies*, p.19 ff. who analyses the papyri documents of the 1st and 2nd century of Hijra.

In this section, as in the preceding one, the short vowels of CA forms are marked with  $\grave{}$  ( $\grave{a}$ ,  $\grave{i}$ ,  $\grave{u}$ ) in order not to be confused with TJ long vowels.

$\# \acute{v} CC$

(1) Simple elimination of ʾ.

(a) In word initial.

CA  $\# \acute{v} CC > TJ \# \acute{a} CC$ .

CA  $\acute{r}i\acute{k}t\acute{u}b > \acute{a}k\acute{c}\acute{a}b$  "write (m.)!", CA  $\acute{u}mm > \acute{a}mm$  "mother", CA  $\acute{a}rn\acute{a}b > \acute{a}rn\acute{a}b$  "rabbit", CA  $\acute{a}rd > \acute{a}rd$  "earth", CA  $\acute{a}ww\acute{a}l > \acute{a}ww\acute{a}l$  "first".

This applies to the following cases where *a* is unstressed.

CA  $\acute{r}i\acute{r}\acute{a}b\acute{u} > \acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{r}\acute{b}\acute{u}$  "drink (pl.)!", CA  $\acute{a}dd\acute{a}n > \acute{a}dd\acute{a}n$  "it (m.) crowded", CA  $\acute{a}mm\acute{a}n > \acute{a}mm\acute{a}n$  "he believed".

For  $\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{r}\acute{b}\acute{u}$  the analogy with  $\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{r}\acute{a}b$  "drink (m.)!" causes the preservation of the unstressed *a*. And for  $\acute{a}dd\acute{a}n$  and  $\acute{a}mm\acute{a}n$ , the preservation of the unstressed *a* should be also the analogy with other Form II verbs, e.g.  $\acute{s}\acute{a}kk\acute{a}r$  "he closed",  $\acute{b}\acute{a}dd\acute{a}l$  "he changed". On cases where ʾ and the following  $\acute{v}$  are eliminated, see (3) below.

(b) Inside a word.

CA  $C\acute{v} > TJ C\acute{v}$ .

CA  $m\acute{r}\acute{a}t > *m\acute{r}\acute{a}t\acute{a} > m\acute{r}\acute{a}t$  "mirror", CA  $m\acute{a}r\acute{a}h > *m\acute{a}r\acute{a} > m\acute{r}\acute{a}$  "woman".

(c) In word final.

CA  $C\acute{v}\# > TJ C\acute{v}\#$ .

CA  $\acute{s}\acute{t}\acute{a} > \acute{s}\acute{c}\acute{a}$  "winter", CA  $\acute{x}\acute{a}d\acute{r}\acute{a} > \acute{x}\acute{a}d\acute{r}\acute{a}$  "green (f.)", CA  $\acute{s}\acute{a}h\acute{r}\acute{a} > \acute{s}\acute{a}h\acute{r}\acute{a}$  "desert".

(2) Elimination of ʾ and the compensatory lengthening of  $\acute{v}$  around ʾ.

(a) In word initial.

(α) CA  $\# \acute{v} CV > TJ \# \acute{v} CV$ .

CA  $\acute{a}b\acute{a}d\acute{a}n > \acute{a}b\acute{a}d\acute{a}n$  "never", CA  $\acute{a}m\acute{a}n > \acute{a}m\acute{a}n$  "trust", CA  $\acute{a}n\acute{a} > \acute{a}n\acute{a}$  "I", CA  $\acute{a}r\acute{a}d\acute{u} > \acute{a}r\acute{a}d\acute{u}$  "soils", CA  $\acute{a}r\acute{a}n\acute{u}b > \acute{a}r\acute{a}n\acute{u}b$  "rabbits".

The unstressed *a*- of  $\acute{a}n\acute{a}$  "I" may be eliminated when another long vowel precedes it:  $*\acute{y}\acute{a}k\acute{c}\acute{a}b \acute{l}\acute{u}l\acute{u} \acute{a}n\acute{a} > \acute{y}\acute{a}k\acute{c}\acute{a}b \acute{l}\acute{u}l\acute{u}-\acute{n}\acute{a}$  [ $\acute{y}\acute{a}k\acute{c}\acute{a}b \acute{l}\acute{u}l\acute{u}-\acute{n}\acute{a}$ ] (not  $*[\acute{y}\acute{a}k\acute{c}\acute{a}b \acute{l}\acute{u}l\acute{u} \acute{a}n\acute{a}]$ ) "he writes to me" (see 1.2.6.1.(2b)).

(β) Particular cases.

CA  $\acute{a}lf > \acute{a}l\acute{f}$  "thousand" (see 2.4.1.7.), CA  $\acute{a}m\acute{s}\acute{u} > *\acute{a}m\acute{s}\acute{u} > \acute{a}m\acute{s}\acute{u}$  "yesterday".

CA  $\acute{a}mm\acute{a} > \acute{a}m\acute{a}$  "but".

(b) Inside a word.

CA  $C\acute{v}\acute{v}C > TJ C\acute{v}C$ .<sup>60</sup>

CA  $\acute{r}\acute{a}\acute{s} > \acute{r}\acute{a}\acute{s}$  "head", CA  $\acute{r}\acute{u}\acute{s}\acute{t}\acute{a}n\acute{a}\acute{s} > \acute{s}\acute{t}\acute{a}n\acute{a}\acute{s}$  "he was acclimatised", CA  $\acute{y}\acute{a}r\acute{x}\acute{u}d > \acute{y}\acute{a}x\acute{a}d$  "he takes", CA  $\acute{b}\acute{r} > \acute{b}\acute{r}$  "well", CA  $\acute{d}\acute{r}\acute{b} > \acute{d}\acute{r}\acute{b}$  "jackal".

(c) In word final.

CA  $C\acute{v}\# > TJ C\acute{v}\#$ .<sup>61</sup>

CA  $\acute{b}\acute{a}d\acute{a} > *b\acute{a}d\acute{a} > \acute{b}\acute{a}d\acute{a}$  "he began", CA  $\acute{q}\acute{a}r\acute{a} > *q\acute{a}r\acute{a} > \acute{q}\acute{r}\acute{a}$  "he read", CA  $\acute{d}\acute{a}w\acute{w}\acute{a} > \acute{d}\acute{a}w\acute{w}\acute{a}$  "he lit", CA  $\acute{m}\acute{a}l\acute{a} > \acute{m}\acute{a}l\acute{a}$  "he filled".

(3) Elimination of ʾ together with the following short vowel.

In word initial: CA  $\# \acute{v}C > TJ \# C$ .

<sup>60</sup> The process itself is parallel to  $\acute{v}hC > \acute{v}C$  (see 1.3.2.6.(3a)).

<sup>61</sup> The process itself is parallel to  $\acute{v}h\# > \acute{v}C$  (see 1.3.2.6.(3b)).

This is applied for the unstressed *v̄* (except for cases mentioned above in 1.3.2.7.(1a).

CA *ʔibrāh* > *ḥra* "needle", CA *ʔāḥmār* > *ḥmər* "red (m.)", CA *ʔābū* > *bu* "father", *\*ʔāntā* > *nca* "you (m.)", CA *ʔūnīā* > *ncaya* "feminine", CA *ʔāntūm* > *ncaṃ* "you (pl.)", CA *ʔistāʔgāl* > *stəʔəl* "he hurried", CA *ʔiṣbāʔ* > *ṣbəʔ* "finger", CA *ʔāxū* > *xu* "brother", CA *ʔāxāwāt* > *xwac* "sisters", CA *ʔāṭibbāʔ* > *ṭəbbə* "doctors", CA *ʔālzām* > *lzām* "to oblige (v.t.)".

As a general tendency, an unstressed short vowel in word initial is elided. According to this we can assume that e.g. *ḥmər*, *ḥra*, *lzām* etc. would have had the stress in the ultimate syllable (*\*ʔāḥmār*, *\*ʔibrāh*, *\*ʔālzām* etc.).<sup>62</sup>

As for *bu* "father" and *xu* "brother" < CA *ʔābū* / *ʔāxū*, it is likely that the frequent use of the construct state *ʔābū* with pronoun suffixes fixed the stress on *ū*, e.g. CA *ʔābūkā* "your father", *ʔābūhū* "his father", *ʔābūnā* "our father" etc. Then the unstressed *ʔā* was eliminated.

(4) Elimination of *ʔ* and monophthongisation.

CA *Cāʔi* > *\*āy* > *\*ay* > TJ *Cī*.

CA *māʔidah* > *midā* "low table", CA *ḥāʔit* > *ḥit* "wall".

(5) Substitution of *ʔ* by *w*.

(a) In word initial: CA *#ʔ* > TJ *#w*.

CA *ʔākkāl*<sup>63</sup> > *\*wakkal* > *wəkkəl* "he fed", CA *ʔāxxār* > *\*waxxar* > *wəxxər* "he was late".

These forms are derived by analogy from the imperfect CA *yīʔākkīl* / *yīʔāxxīr* > *yīwākkīl* / *yīwāxxīr* respectively (see below (2a)).<sup>64</sup>

REMARK

In *əddān* "it (m.) crowed (cock)" and *əmmān* "he believed" ((1a) above), CA *ʔ* is not substituted by *w*, but simply eliminated. The distribution of the substitution and the elimination is not clear. In the participle of these verbs, *w* appears: *mwəddən*, *mwəmmən* (see 2.2.4.1.2.3.).

CA *ʔākīl* > *wakəl* "eating", CA *ʔāxīd* > *waxəd* "taking", CA *māʔkūl* > *\*māwkūl* > *mukul* "eaten", CA *māʔxūd* > *\*māwxūd* > *muxud* "taken".

62 Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 91.

63 Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 47.

64 Singer, *Tunis*, p. 135.

*w* in *wakəl* and *mukul* < *\*māwkūl* can be assumed to be formed by analogy with *w* of *wəkkəl*. And *w* in *waxəd* and *muxud* < *\*māwxūd* is applied in turn by analogy with *wakəl*, since the verb *xda* ~ *xad* "to take" does not have a corresponding Form II *\*wəxxəd* from which *w* could be taken (on *āw* > *ū*, see 1.3.4.2.).

The morphological behaviour of *xda* ~ *xad* "to take" is identical to *kla* ~ *kal*. For example, both have two variants for the perfect form (*IIw/y kal*, *xad* and *IIIy kla*, *xda*), in the imperfect they conjugate as *P yakəl*, *yaxəd*, and in the imperative they take a *IIw* root, *kul*, *xud*: thus it is quite reasonable that the *w* of *kla* ~ *kal* was extended to *xda* ~ *xad* as well.<sup>65</sup>

(b) Inside a word:

(a) CA *CvʔāC* > TJ *CwəC*.

CA *mīʔāxxār* > *\*mīwāxxār* > *məwəxxər* "late", CA *mīʔāddīn* > *\*mīwāddīn* > *məwəddən* "muezzin", CA *tāʔāxxār* > *\*tawāwwār* > *čwəxxər* "he was late". *məwəxxər* has a variant *məwəxxər* where *mḥw-* becomes *mḥm-* (see 1.3.2.1.3.(1b)). We infer that *ʔ* in *tāʔāxxār* is substituted by *w* by analogy with Form II of the same root *wəxxər* "to be late; to postpone" (see (5a) above).

(β) CA *Cʔv* > TJ *Cwv*.

CA *nābʔāh* (or *nūbīʔāh*) > *\*nəbʔa* > *nəbwa* "prophecy".  
Semantically the development from *nūbīʔāh* is more likely.

(c) In word final: CA *Cvʔ#* > TJ *Cəw#*.

CA *ḍāwʔ*<sup>66</sup> > *ḍəww* "light".

This alteration has been caused by assimilation of *ʔ* to the preceding *w*.

(6) Substitution of *ʔ* by *y*.

(a) Inside a word

(a) CA *VʔV* > TJ *VyV* (one of *V*'s is CA *ī* or *ī*).

CA *ḥāwāʔīg* > *ḥwayəz* "things", CA *xāʔif* > *xayəf* "afraid (m.)", CA *ḥṙār* > *\*ḥīyār* > *byar* "wells", CA *mīʔah* > *\*mīya* > *miya* "hundred", CA *rāʔīs* > *\*rāyīs* > *rayəs* "leader".

65 Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 47.

66 Blau, *Diqduq*, p. 32.

In *miya* not only ʔ is substituted by *y*, but also the short vowel is lengthened: CA *i* > TJ *i*, maybe because of the stress on the first syllable, otherwise the short vowel must be elided: *mṗah* > \**miya* > \**mya*.<sup>67</sup> And in *rayəs* the lengthening of *a* took place by analogy with the pattern *CaCəC*,<sup>68</sup> and CA root  $\sqrt{r-ʔ-s}$  has been altered into  $\sqrt{r-y-s}$  in TJ.

(β) CA *VʔV* > TJ *VyV* (one of *V*'s is not CA *i* or *ī*).

CA *qīrāʔāh* > *qrāya* "reading", CA *rīʔūs* > \**rīyūs* > *ryūs* "heads".

(b) In word final: CA *Cvʔ#* > TJ *Cəyy#*.

CA *šāyʔ*<sup>69</sup> > *šəyy* "nothing".

This alteration has been caused by assimilation of ʔ to the preceding *y*.

(7) Other particular cases.

(a) CA *bāʔ* > \**bādw* > \**bādu* > \**bədu* > TJ *bdu* "beginning" (see 2.3.3.3.1. (1eγ(iii))).

(b) CA *ʔāxīr* > TJ *əxxəʔ* "last". This form is yielded by analogy with *əwwəl* "first".

(c) CA *ʔāhad* > TJ *hədd* "no one". The elimination of unstressed ʔa resulted in biliteral \**had*, but *d* was geminated, so that its triliterality was preserved, as in the case of CA *fām* "mouth", *dām* "blood" > TJ *fəmm*, *dəmm* (see 2.3.3.2.).

(d) CA *ʔərbāʔāh* > TJ *ʔəbʔa* "four". It seems that *ʔəbʔa* has been formed by analogy with other number on the pattern *CəCCa*, e.g. *xəmsa* "five", *səṭʕa* "six" etc.

(e) CA *ʔāxād* > *xad* "he took", CA *ʔākāl* > *kal* "he ate". TJ The elimination of unstressed ʔa resulted in biliteral \**kāl* and \**xād*, but *ā* was lengthened and adapted to the pattern of Form I *Ilwʔy*.

(f) CA *ʔūšūl* > \**wšūl* > TJ *wšul* "origins", CA *ʔūdn* > \**wūdn* > \**wdn* > *wdən* "ear". ʔu of these cases, after the elimination of ʔ, has been interpreted as /w/ (see 1.4.1.3.).

\**wūdn* underwent the Umspringen (see 1.4.2.1.) and is reflected as TJ *wdən*. *wədnin* "ears", the plural of *wdən* (< CA *ʔudnāyn*), would have been formed by analogy with its singular *wdən* with *w* as a radical.

(8) Classification according to the positions of ʔ.

To sum up, we add here a classification according to the positions of ʔ. The number of the end of each example indicates the sub-sections.

67 Cf. Tunis-Jewish *myā* and Tlemcen *miyá*, *mya*.

68 Blau, *Diqduq*, p. 20.

69 Blau, *Diqduq*, p. 32.

[1] In word initial.

[a] CA #ʔ- > #w-: CA *ʔakkāl* > \**wakkāl* > *wakkāl* (5a).

[b] CA #ʔC

[α] (unstressed *v̄*) > #C: CA *ʔəhmār* > \**əhmār* > *hmər* (m.) (3).

[β] (stressed *v̄*) > #əC: CA *ʔərd* > *ərd*, CA *ʔiktūb* > *əkkəb* (but CA *ʔāmmān* > *əmmān*) (1a).

[c] CA #ʔCV > *v̄*CV: CA *ʔāmān* > *aman* (2aα).

[d] Particular cases:

[α] CA *ʔālf* > *aləf*, CA *ʔāmsī* > *aməs*, CA *ʔāmmā* > *ama* (2aβ).

[β] CA *ʔāxīr* > *əxxəʔ*, CA *ʔākāl* / *ʔāxād* > *xad* / *kal*, CA *ʔāhād* > *hədd*, CA *ʔərbāʔāh* > *ʔəbʔa*, CA *ʔūšūl* > *wšūl* (7).

[2] Inside a word.

[a] CA *Cʔv* >

[α] *Cv̄*: CA *mīrʔāt* > *mraya* (1b).

[β] *Cwv̄*: CA *nābʔāh* > *nəbwa* (5bβ).

[b] CA *CvʔC* > *Cv̄C*: CA *rāʔs* > *raş* (2b).

[c] CA *CVʔV*

[α] CA *CvʔV* > *CyV*, CA *CvʔV* > *Cv̄yV*: CA *bṗār* > *byar*, CA *hāwāʔīg* > *hwayəž* (6aα).

[β] CA *CvʔV* > *Cv̄yV*: CA *mṗāh* > *miya* (6aβ).

[d] CA *Cīʔā* > *Cwā*: CA *mīʔāxxār* > \**mīwāxxār* > *mwəxxəʔ* (5ba).

[e] CA *Cāʔi* > *Cī*: CA *māʔidāh* > *midā* (4).

[f] Particular cases: CA *rāʔīs* > *rayəs*, CA *qīrāʔāh* > *qrāya*, CA *rīʔūs* > *ryūs* (6aγ).

[3] In word final.

[a] CA *Cvʔ#* >

[α] *v̄#*: CA *xāqdrāʔ* > *xəqdrā* (1c).

[β] *Cv̄#*: CA *bādāʔ* > *bda* (2c).

[b] CA *Cv̄#* > *Cəw#*: CA *dāwʔ* > *dəww* (5c).

[c] CA *Cv̄#* > *Cəyy#*: CA *šāyʔ* > *šəyy* (6b).

[d] Particular case: CA *bāʔ* > *bdu* (7).

### 1.3.2.8. Consonants of Italian loan-words

Generally *b. t. d. s. z. l. n. r* (*m* excluded) of Italian words tend to be reflected as emphatic consonants when they are in the proximity of a back vowel, i.e. *a. o. u*.

For example *ḥurḥa* "hand bag" < It. *borsa*, *ballun* "aeroplane" < It. *pallone* etc. Nevertheless in the proximity of a front vowel, i.e. *i* or *e*, they tend to be realized as a plain consonant, e.g. *faliḥa* "suitcase" < It. *valigia*, where though the existence of *a* before *l*, this is reflected as a plain *l* because of the following *i*. Note that Italian *t* is reflected in TJ as emphatic *ṭ* or *ṭ̣* but not as *t*.

### 1.3.3. Vowels

#### 1.3.3.1. *a*

TJ *a* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) Short vowels (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*) in a closed syllable.

(α) CA *ā* > TJ *a*: CA *kālb* > *kəlb* "dog", CA *mārkāb* > *mərkəb* "ship", CA *bāṭṭ* > *bəṭṭ* "duck".

(β) CA *ī* > TJ *a*: CA *sākīn* > *sakən* "living", CA *bīnt* > *bənč* "girl", CA *mīnqār* > *mənqar* "beak", CA *ʔibʕaq* > *əbʕəč* "send (m.)!".

(γ) CA *ū* > TJ *a*: CA *kūll* > *kəll* "all", CA *mūrr* > *mərṛ* "bitter", CA *būndūq* > *bəndəq* "pine seeds", CA *ʔuktub* > *əkčəb* "write (m.)!".

(b) Long vowel.

(α) CA *ā* > TJ *a*: CA *ʔāmānīyah* > *čmənya* "eight", CA *wāḥidah*<sup>70</sup> > *wəḥda* "one (f.)", CA *ḡanāḥ* > *ḡnəḥ* "wing", CA *dirāč* > *drəč* "front leg of an animal", CA *kurāč*<sup>71</sup> > *krəč* "back leg of an animal" (see 1.4.2.4.2.2.).

For *čmənya*, short *a* would be brought about by analogy with other numerals on the pattern *CəCCa*, e.g. *səbʕa* "seven", *ʔəšʕa* "nine" etc.

(β) CA *ī* > TJ *a*: CA *qawāṭīn* > *qwaṭən* "tents", CA *dawālib* > *dwaləb* "closets".

CA *ī* in the plural pattern of CA *CāCāCīC* is shortened in TJ and generally in Maghribi sedentary dialects (see 2.3.4.2.1.), but CA *masākīn* corresponds to TJ *msakin* with a long *i*.

(2) Foreign elements.

Short *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū* in loan-words (*ō* > *a* is not attested):

Foreign *ā* > TJ *a*: It. *Italiano* > *ʔəlyan* "Italian", Heb. *שבת* > *šəbbəč* "Sabbath".

<sup>70</sup> It seems that this form is a hybrid of CA *wāḥid* × *ʔiḥdā*.

<sup>71</sup> Blau, *Diqduq*, p. 23.

Foreign *ē* > TJ *a*: It. *lapes* > *ləbəš* "pencil", Heb. *ארץ* > *irəš* "Eretz Israel".

Foreign *ī* > TJ *a*: It. *biscotto* > *bəškūtṭa* "biscuit".

Foreign *ū* > TJ *a*: Heb. *חנוכה* > *ḥnəkəkā* "Hanukka".

#### 1.3.3.2. *a*

TJ *a* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) In word initial:

(α) CA *ʔā* > TJ *a*: CA *ʔālāf* > *alaf* "thousands".

(β) CA *ʔā* > TJ *a*: CA *ʔamān* > *aman* "trust" (see 1.3.2.7.(2α)), *ʔālf* > *alaf* "thousand" (see 1.3.2.7.(2αβ)).

(γ) CA *hā* > TJ *a*: CA *hādā* > *ada* "this (m.)" (see 1.3.2.6.(1a)).

(δ) CA *hā* > TJ *a*: CA *harab* > *\*hṛəb* > *aṛəb* "he fled" (see 1.3.2.6.(4)).

(b) Inside a word.

(α) CA *ā* > TJ *a*: CA *sākin* > *sakən* "living", CA *wāṭīʔ* > *waṭī* "low", *bībān* > *biban* "doors".

(β) CA *ā* > TJ *a*: CA *raʕs* > *raš* "head", CA *yaʕxud* > *yaxəd* "he takes".

(γ) CA *hā* > TJ *a*: CA *šahādah* > *šada* (~ *ššada*) "testimony".

(δ) CA *ṣḥ* > TJ *a*: CA *qahwah* > *qawa* "coffee".

(c) In word final.

(α) CA *ā* > TJ *a*: CA *dunyā* > *dənya* "this world".

(β) CA *ā* (<L), *āh* (<L), *ā* (<L, ʔ), *āʔ*, *āh* (<S) > TJ *a*: CA *badaʔ* > *bda* "he begun" (see 1.3.2.7.(2c)), CA *bayḏāʔ* > *biḏā* "white (f.)", *šitāʔ* > *šča* "rain", *xalāʔ* > *xla* "desert", CA *mixlāh* > *məxla* "nose bag", CA *mānā* > *mənā* "meaning", CA *ʕašā* > *ʕa* "stick", CA *kalimah* > *kəlma* "word".

CA polysyllabic words ending with *-ā* are reflected in two ways: with or without stressed *-a*. When an feminine adjective is involved, this *-a* is stressed and otherwise unstressed (see 1.4.3.2.2.).

*biḏā* "white (f.)" (stressed *-ā*): *šāḥṛa* "desert" (unstressed *-a*).

(γ) CA *ih* > TJ *a*: CA *karih* > *kra* "he hated" (see 1.3.2.6.(3b)).

(2) Foreign elements: Foreign *ā* > TJ *a*.

It. *panini* > *banini* "sandwiches", It. *palazzo* > *ħalaş* "building", (Gr. *pappas* > Turk. *papaz* > *biħaş* "priest (Christian)").

### 1.3.3.3. *i*

TJ *i* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) In word initial:

(α) CA *ʔī* > TJ *i*: CA *ʔibas* > *ibas* "dry (m.)! (v.i.)".

(β) CA *hī* > TJ *i*: CA *hiya* > *iya* "she".

(γ) CA *hī* > TJ *i*: CA *hīġ* > *iġ* "become rough (sea)!".

(b) Inside a word.

(α) CA *ī* > TJ *i*: CA *kabīr* > *kbir* "big", CA *ʕīd* > *ʕid* "feast".

(β) CA *āy* > TJ *i*: CA *bayt* > *bič* "room", CA *şayf* > *şif* "summer" (see 1.3.4.2.).

(γ) CA *āʔ* > TJ *i*: CA *māʔidah* > *midá* "low table" (see 1.3.2.7.(4)).

(δ) CA *ī* > TJ *i*: CA *ġihah* > *žia* "direction" (see 1.3.2.6.(1bα)), CA *miʔah* > *miya* "hundred" (see 1.3.2.7.(6αα)).

(ε) CA *ʔ* > TJ *i*: CA *biʔr* > *bir* "well", CA *diʔb* > *dib* "jackal" (see 1.3.2.7.(2b)).

(c) In word final.

(α) CA *īy* > TJ *i*: CA *yahūdiyy* > *yudi* "Jew", CA *ʕarabiyy* > *ʕarbi* "Arabic", CA *yabkī* > *yabki* "he cries".

(β) CA *ī* (ending for *IIIy* root) > TJ *i*: CA *qādī* > *qadi* "judge", CA *bāqī* > *baqi* "rest".

### REMARK

CA *wādī* is reflected as *wad* "river" without the ending *-i*.

(2) Foreign elements.

(a) Foreign *i* > TJ *i*: It. *panini* > *banini* "sandwiches", Heb. פורים > *burim* "Purim"

(b) Foreign *e* > TJ *i*: It. *regalo* > *rigalu* "gift", It. *mercante* > *markanči* "rich".

(c) Foreign *a* > TJ *i*: (Gr. *pappas* >) Turk. *papaz* > *biħaş* "priest (Christian)".

Foreign *a* > TJ *i* is attested only in this case.

### 1.3.3.4. *u*

TJ *u* is the reflection of the following elements.

(1) CA elements.

(a) In word initial:

CA *hu* > TJ *u*: CA *huwa* > *uwa* "he".

(b) Inside a word.

(α) CA *ū* > TJ *u*: CA *yahūdiyy* > *yudi* "Jew", CA *fūtah* > *fuča* "towel".

(β) CA *ū* > TJ *u*: CA *mūḏāharah* > *mūḏaħa* "demonstration".

(γ) CA *aw* > TJ *u*: CA *mawt* > *muč* "death", CA *fawq* > *fuq* "above" (see 1.3.4.2.).

(c) In word final:

(α) CA *ū* > TJ *u*: CA *yadrabū* > *yḏarbu* "they hit".

(β) CA *ūw* > TJ *u*: CA *ʕadūw* > *ʕdu* "enemy", CA *ʕulūw* > *ʕlu* "height" (see 2.3.3.3.1.(1eγ(ii))).

(γ) CA *ūh* > TJ *u*: CA *makrūh* > *məkrū* "hated", CA *wuġūh* > *wzu* "faces".

(δ) CA *vhu* > TJ *u*: CA *ḏarabahu* > *ḏarbu* "he hit him", *ḏarabtuhu* > *ḏarbuču* "I hit him".

(ε) Other cases: CA *badʔ* > *bdu* "beginning" (see 2.3.3.3.1.(1eγ(iii))), CA *ħilw* > *ħlu* "sweet" (see 2.3.3.3.1.(1eγ(i))).

(2) Foreign elements:

(a) Foreign *u* > TJ *u*: Heb. פורים > *burim* "Purim", It. *cucina* > *kužina* "kitchen".

(b) Foreign *o* > TJ *u*: It. *pacco* > *ħakku* "box", It. *regalo* > *rigalu* "gift", It. *borsa* > *ħurza* "handbag".

(c) Foreign *uo* > *u*: It. *scuola* > *skula* "school".

(d) Foreign [œ] (Fr. *eu*) > *u*: Fr. *vapeur* > *ħaħur* "ship".

### 1.3.4. Various reflexes of CA vowels in TJ

#### 1.3.4.1. CA short vowel in an open syllable (elimination of *v̄*)

Mostly a CA short vowel in an open syllable is realized in TJ as  $\emptyset$  (zero), i.e. eliminated. But there are attested a few exceptional cases, e.g. CA short *ā* in the word initial is lengthened (see 1.3.2.7.(2a)) or a short vowel appears in an open syllable (see 1.4.2.2.(1)).

Examples of elimination of *v̄*.

(a) Inside a word.

CA *katab* > *kčəb* "he wrote", CA *walad* > *wləd* "boy". CA *yugannī* > *yğanni* "he sings", CA *mīʿallim* > *mʿəlləm* "teacher". CA *mīʿallimīn* > *mʿəllimīn* "teachers".

(b) In word final.

CA *kataba* > *kčəb* "he wrote", CA *ʾalwadalu a i* > *lwəld* "the boy".

#### 1.3.4.2. CA diphthongs *aw* and *ay*

The CA diphthongs *aw* and *ay* shift to TJ monophthongs *u* and *i* respectively.

CA *hawš* > *huš* "house", CA *bayt* > *bič* "room", CA *bayḍāʾ* > *biḍā* "white (f.)".

But when the semi-vowel is geminated, i.e. CA *aww* and *ayy*, the diphthongs are preserved as *əww* and *əyy*.

CA *ʾawwal* > *əwwəl* "first", CA *dawwar* > *ḍəwwəṛ* "he looked for", CA *ʿayyaṭ* > *ʿəyyəṭ* "he cried", CA *šayyād* > *šəyyad* "fisherman", CA *ḡudayy* > *ždəyy* "small goat".

Also CA final *awʾ*, *ayʾ* which have been altered into *aww* and *ayy* at a certain stage are reflected in TJ as *əww* and *əyy* respectively (see 1.3.2.7.(5c) and (6b)).

CA *dawʾ* > *ḍəww* "light", CA *šayʾ* > *šəyy* "nothing".

#### REMARK

As the reflection of CA *šayʾ*, there is *ši* "thing" beside *šəyy* "nothing". For *šəyy*, the disappeared *hamza* is compensated for by geminating *y*, whilst for *ši* no compensation took place (*šayʾ* > \**šay*) and the diphthong has been monophthongized (\**šay* > *ši*).

#### 1.3.4.3. Vowels of loan-words and vowels of recently introduced CA words

When loan-words are introduced in TJ and as far as they are Arabicized, the original short vowel in an open syllable is interpreted as long, so that this need not be eliminated. And the foreign vowels *e* and *o* are interpreted as *i* and *u* respectively.

It. *famiglia* > *familya* "family", It. *pacco* > *ḥakku* "box", It. *mobiglia* > *mubilya* "furniture".

A short vowel in a closed syllable may be realized as *ə*, unless it is stressed in the original language, e.g. It. *mercante* > *mərkānci*. In this word both *e* in the first syllable and *a* in the following one stand in closed syllables, but the first is realized as *ə* and the second is as long *a*. These different realizations should be attributed to the existence of the stress. The stressed *a* in Italian is realized in TJ as long *a*.

The same rule is applied to CA words recently introduced in TJ. TJ *baladiya* "city hall" corresponds to CA *bālādiyyah* where CA short *ā* is rendered as long *a* in TJ. It is likely that when this word is introduced into TJ, the speakers of TJ interpreted two short *a*'s as long because in TJ a vowel in an open syllable must be long. If this word had undergone the regular phonological development, \**bāldiya* would have resulted, a word which already exists in TJ in the meaning of "native (f.)". CA *mūḍāharah* > *muḍaəṛa* "demonstration" is another example. The first syllable *mū-* is interpreted as a long vowel.

This phenomenon, which can be considered as hypercorrection, is attested also in Damascus<sup>72</sup> and in the whole Maghrib, especially in Moroccan urban dialects where the loan-words from CA undergo the same treatment.

CA *nāḡāḥ* > Moroccan urban dialects *nāžāḥ* "success",<sup>73</sup> CA *mūdīr* > Moroccan urban dialects *mūdīr* "director".<sup>74</sup>

72 Grotzfeld, *Damas*, pp. 33 and 119.

73 Caubet, *Marocain*, p. 90.

74 Brunot, *Introduction*, p. 264.



## 1.4. Syllable structure and stress

### 1.4.1. Syllable structure

#### 1.4.1.1. Syllable patterns

In this section a hypothetical word-initial entity  $\text{ʔ}$  and historical  $h$  are used to simplify the explanation of syllable structure.

##### 1.4.1.1.1. Open syllables

Syllable patterns.

$C\text{ə}$ :  $\text{ʔ}\text{ə-k}\text{ə}\text{č-bu}$  "write (pl.)!".

$CC\text{ə}$ :  $\text{m}\text{š}\text{ə-}\text{ʔ}\text{ul}$  "lighted",  $\text{s}\text{b}\text{ə-}\text{ʔ}\text{in}$  "seventy"

$C\text{v}$ :  $\text{m}\text{á-}\text{š}\text{í}$  "going (m.)",  $\text{ʔ}\text{a-ná} \sim \text{ʔ}\text{á-na}$  "I",  $\text{g}\text{ád-wa}$  "tomorrow",  $\text{kál-ma}$  "word",  $\text{b}\text{a-}(h)\text{in}$  "good (pl.)",  $\text{nsa-}(h)\text{a}$  "he forgot her".

$CC\text{v}$ :  $\text{m}\text{ša}$  "he went",  $\text{ʔ}\text{du}$  "enemy",  $\text{kra-si}$  "chairs".

Although as other sedentary Maghribi dialects TJ does not in principle allow a short vowel in an open syllable, there are attested some exceptional cases (see 1.4.2.2.(1) for details).

##### 1.4.1.1.2. Closed syllables

Syllable patterns.

$C\text{ə}C$ :  $\text{ʔ}\text{á-k-}\text{č}\text{əb}$  "write (m.)!",  $\text{m}\text{ə}\text{č-f}\text{á-}(h)\text{ə}\text{m}$  "understanding (m.)",  $\text{b}\text{í-}(h)\text{ə}\text{m}$  "their father",  $\text{ʔ}\text{ád-}(h)\text{ə}\text{š}$  "he faints".

$C\text{ə}CC$ :  $\text{k}\text{ə}\text{lb}$  "dog",  $\text{q}\text{ə}\text{ł}\text{č}$  "I said",  $\text{ə}\text{rd}$  "earth",  $\text{š}\text{ə}\text{dd}$  "he seized".

$C\text{ə}CCC$ :  $\text{ma q}\text{ə}\text{ł}\text{š}$  "I did not say".

$CC\text{ə}C$ :  $\text{k}\text{č}\text{əb}$  "he wrote",  $\text{ff}\text{ə}\text{ł}$  "towels".

$CC\text{ə}CC$ :  $\text{q}\text{č}\text{ə}\text{ł}\text{č}$  "I killed",  $\text{k}\text{r}\text{ə}\text{m}\text{b}$  "cabbage".

$CCC\text{ə}C$ :  $\text{st}\text{h}\text{ə}\text{m}$  "he bathed".

$CCC\text{ə}CC$ :  $\text{st}\text{h}\text{ə}\text{q}\text{q}$  "he needed".<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup>  $\text{st}\text{h}\text{ə}\text{m}$  corresponds to CA  $\text{ʔ}\text{istahamm}$  (Form X gem.). In TJ, however, the original geminated  $m$  has been rendered into a single  $m$ , and in the conjugation the gemination never occurs, e.g.  $\text{st}\text{h}\text{ə}\text{m}\text{č}$  "I bathed",  $\text{y}\text{ə}\text{st}\text{h}\text{ə}\text{mu}$  "they bathe" etc. (see 2.2.4.3.(10)). On the other hand,  $\text{st}\text{h}\text{ə}\text{q}\text{q}$  retains the geminated  $q$  in the conjugation, e.g.  $\text{st}\text{h}\text{ə}\text{q}\text{q}\text{č}$  "I needed",  $\text{y}\text{ə}\text{st}\text{h}\text{ə}\text{q}\text{qu}$  "they need". From this morphological fact, we consider these two verbs as having different syllabic structure.

$C\text{v}C$ :  $\text{qal}$  "he said",  $\text{sak-nin}$  "living (pl.)",  $\text{ba-}(h)\text{in}$  "good (pl.)".

$C\text{v}CC$ :  $\text{ma d}\text{á}\text{q}\text{š}$  "he did not taste",  $\text{qal}\text{-lu}$  ( $\sim$   $\text{qal}\text{át-lu}$ ) "she said to him".

$CC\text{v}C$ :  $\text{sman}$  "he became fat",  $\text{m}\text{ša}\text{č}$  "she went",  $\text{zlab-ya}$  "(name of a sweet)".

$C\text{v}CC$  cannot stand in pausal position except when the last consonant is the negative participle  $\text{-š}$ .

#### 1.4.1.2. Consonant sequences and auxiliary vowel

In this study the auxiliary vowel is defined as a vowel which is inserted to avoid certain sequences of consonants in word initial, word final or between two words.<sup>76</sup> It has no morphological value and does not attract the stress. The auxiliary vowel is a synchronic entity. Its insertion is determined by phonological and/or morphological factors. In the following we formulate the insertion of the auxiliary vowel in various sequences. The auxiliary vowel is marked with  $\text{ə}$ , and is not distinguished from the etymological  $\text{ə}$ .

In this section we use, when necessary, a symbol  $L$  to indicate the definite article, since the definite article shows particular morphophonological behaviour.

(1) In the word initial.

(a)  $\#C_1C_2V-$

( $\alpha$ ) =  $C_1C_2V-$  (with no auxiliary vowel)

When  $C_1$  is the imperfect conjugational prefix or semi-vowels  $w$ ,  $y$ , no auxiliary vowel is inserted.

$\text{nh}\text{ə}\text{bb}$  "I like",  $\text{tt}\text{ə}\text{ku}$  "you (pl.) go out",  $\text{dd}\text{ə}\text{xli}$  "you (f.) enter",  $\text{č}\text{k}\text{ə}\text{čbi}$  "you (f.) write",  $\text{yr}\text{ə}\text{ddu}$  "they give back",  $\text{wz}\text{ir}$  "minister",  $\text{yčim}$  "orphan".

( $\beta$ )  $> \text{ə}C_1C_2V- \sim C_1C_2V-$  (auxiliary vowel can be inserted before  $C_1$ , two forms are free variants)

In other cases the insertion of an auxiliary vowel before  $C_1$  is, though in fact rather infrequent, facultative.

$\text{klab} \sim \text{əklab}$  "dogs",  $\text{bnač} \sim \text{əbnač}$  "daughters",  $\text{mša} \sim \text{əmša}$  "he went",  $\text{m}\text{mə}\text{li} \sim \text{ə}\text{m}\text{mə}\text{li}$  "parents",  $\text{ffad} \sim \text{əffad}$  "intestines",  $\text{čxəbbá} \sim \text{əčxəbbá}$  "he hid himself".

<sup>76</sup> Here "word" means also a bundle of morphemes which consists of the combination of, for example, the definite article and a noun, or a preposition and a noun.

(b)  $\#C_1C_2C_3\partial = \#C_1C_2C_3\partial$  (with no auxiliary vowel)

This sequence is attested only in *sthām* "he bathed" and *sthāqq* "he needed".<sup>77</sup>

(2) In the word final.

(a)  $-\check{v}C_1C_2\# > -\check{v}C_1C_2\# \sim -\check{v}C_1\partial C_2\#$  (auxiliary vowel can be inserted before  $C_2$ , two forms are free variants)

This sequence is restricted to cases where  $C_1$  is the third radical of a *IIw/y* verb and  $C_2$  is the negative particle  $\check{s}$ . The insertion of the auxiliary vowel between  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  is facultative.

*ma qalš ~ ma qalāš* "he did not say", *ma žabš ~ ma žabāš* "he did not bring".

(b)  $-\partial C_1C_2C_3\# > -\partial C_1C_2C_3\# \sim -\partial C_1C_2\partial C_3\#$  (auxiliary vowel can be inserted before  $C_3$ , two forms are free variants)

The sequence  $-\partial C_1C_2C_3$  occurs when  $C_1$  is the third radical of a verb of the perfect,  $C_2$  is the conjugational suffix  $-\check{c}$  (1.sg., 2.m.) and  $C_3$  is the negative particle  $\check{s}$  ( $-\check{c}$  is realized as *t* before  $\check{s}$ , see 1.3.2.4.(2a)). The insertion of the auxiliary vowel between  $C_2$  and  $C_3$  is facultative.

*ma dṛabṭš ~ ma dṛbtāš* "I ~ you (m.) did not hit", *ma qaltš ~ ma qaltāš* "I ~ you (m.) did not say".

This example proves that *tš* is not identical with  $\check{c}$ , though both represent [ʃ].

(c)  $-\partial C_1C_2\# = -\partial C_1C_2\#$

In other cases no auxiliary vowel is inserted.

*bānč* "girl", *kālb* "dog", *wāʕr* "difficult".

(3) Between two words.

As far as the insertion of an auxiliary vowel is required, it is inserted between the words. On the insertion of the auxiliary vowel before nouns with the definite article (see REMARK below). For cases where the prepositions *b-* "with, by etc.", *f-* "in etc." and *l-* "to etc." are concerned (see also 2.5.1.(1) for *b-*, 2.5.1.(2) for *l-* and 2.5.2.(7) for *f-*).

<sup>77</sup> For verbs of Form VII and VIII str., *IIy*, e.g. *nāqčāl* "to be killed", *nāšrā* "to be bought", *rāččād* "to tremble", *rāčrā* "to soften (v.i.)",  $\partial$  between the initial and the second consonant of these verbs should be considered as originated from an auxiliary vowel. For example *nāqčāl* and *rāččād* which correspond to CA *ʔinqatal* and *ʔirtāʕad* respectively would have undergone the following development: *ʔinqatal* > *\*nqatal* > *\*nqtal* > *nāqčāl* and *ʔirtāʕad* > *\*rtāʕad* > *\*rrāʕad* > *rāččād*. At the third stage a sequence of three consonants appears, which has been avoided by insertion of an auxiliary vowel between the first and the second consonant.

(a)  $\#C_1 + C_2V-$

(α) >  $\#C_1\partial CC_2V-$

When  $C_1$  is the preposition *f-* or *l-*, and  $C_2V$  consists of  $L\check{v}$ , an auxiliary vowel is inserted before  $L$ , and  $L$  is geminated.

*l- + luzir* > *lālluzir* "to the minister", *l- + limin* > *lāllimin* "to the right", *f- + luzir* > *fālluzir* (in *qa nāstanna fāllulad* "I wait for the sons", *f- + limin* > *fāllimin* "in the right".

(β) When  $C_1$  is  $L$ , there are attested two positions for the auxiliary vowel.

(i) >  $\#C_1C_2V- \sim \partial C_1C_2V-$

When the article is unassimilated (=  $l-$ ), an auxiliary vowel may be inserted before  $C_1$  (facultative).

*lbānč ~ ālbānč* "the girl", *lhuš ~ ālhuš* "the house", *lkālb ~ ālkālb* "the dog", *lqadi* ~ *ālqadi* "the judge".

(ii) >  $\# \partial C_1C_2V-$

When  $L$  is assimilated to the following consonant, an auxiliary vowel is inserted before  $C_1$ .

*l- + taša* > *\*tāša* > *ātāša* "the cup", *l- + dābb* > *\*ddābb* > *addābb* "the gold".

(γ) >  $\#C_1C_2V-$

In other cases no auxiliary vowel is inserted.

*bšiša* "with a bottle", *brūhi* "by myself", *fbiču* "in his room", *lhušu* "to his house", *lbānči* "for my daughter".

(b)  $\#C_1 + C_2C_3V-$

(α) >  $\#C_1\partial C_2C_3V-$

When  $C_1$  is prepositions *b-*, *f-*, *l-* or  $L-$  (unassimilated), an auxiliary vowel is inserted before  $C_2$ .

*b- + qmāžža* > *bāqmāžža* "with a shirt", *b- + twaši* > *bātwāši* "with cups", *f- + bladna* > *fābladna* "in our town", *f- + twaši* > *fātwāši* "in cups", *l- + bladna* > *lābladna* "to our town", *l- + klabu* > *lāklabu* "to his dogs"; (with the article) *l- + qmāžža* > *lāqmāžža* "the shirt", *l- + ʕyad* > *lāʕyad* "the festivals", *l- + bnāč* > *lābnāč* "the daughters".

(β) >  $\# \partial C_1C_2C_3V-$

When  $C_1$  is  $L$  assimilated to the following consonant, an auxiliary vowel is inserted before  $C_1$ .

*l- + twaši* > *\*ltwāši* > *\*tātwāši* > *ātātwāši* "the cups", *l- + ržal* > *\*lržal* > *\*rržal* > *ārržal* "the men".

(γ) > # $\partial C_1 + C_2 C_3 V$ - ~  $C_1 \partial C_2 C_3 V$ -

When  $C_1$  is  $L$  and  $C_3$  is  $l$  (=  $LCIV$ -), an auxiliary vowel is inserted before or after  $C_1$  (free variants).

$l$ - + *blad* > *əblad* ~ *ləblad* "the town",  $l$ - + *klab* > *əklab* ~ *ləklab* "the dogs",  $l$ - + *qləm* > *əqləm* ~ *ləqləm* "the pen".

(δ) > # $C_1 \bar{v} C_3 V$ -

When  $C_2$  is  $w$  or  $y$ , these are realized as  $u$  and  $i$  respectively after the definite article.

*mač* + *wziru* > *mač uziru* "his minister died",  $l$ - + *wlad* > *lulad* "the boys ~ to boys",  $b$ - + *yčim* > *bičim* "by orphan" (see 1.4.1.3.).

(e)  $\bar{v} C_1 + C_2 C_3 V$ -

(α) >  $\bar{v} C_1 + C_2 C_3 V$ -

(i) When  $C_1$  or is  $w$  or  $y$ , no auxiliary vowel is inserted.

*klaw ksəksu* "they ate couscous", *čəray klab* "you (f.) see dogs", *raw mmalıya* "they see my parents".

(ii) When  $C_2$  is  $w$  or  $y$ , no auxiliary vowel is inserted and these are realized as  $u$  and  $i$  respectively.

*mač wziru* > *mač uziru* "his minister died", *ərržal yqulu* > *ərržal iqulu* "the men say".

(β) >  $\bar{v} C_1 + \partial C_2 C_3 V$ -

When  $C_2$  is  $L$  (unassimilated) or  $C_1$  is  $\zeta$ , an auxiliary vowel is inserted.

(i)  $C_2 = L$ : *šrič əlkəlb* "I bought the dog", *əmm əlbənc* "the girl's mother", *klam əlqadi* "the judge's word".

(ii)  $C_1 = \zeta$ : *nčə əškun* "whose?", *bə əklab* "he sold dogs".

(γ) >  $\bar{v} C_1 + C_2 C_3 V$ - ~ >  $\bar{v} C_1 + \partial C_2 C_3 V$ -

In other cases the insertion of the auxiliary vowel is facultative.

*huš kbira* ~ *huš əkbira* "a big house", *faṛ zḡir* ~ *faṛ əzḡir* "a small mouse", *tlač hyaš* ~ *tlač əhyaš* "three houses".

(d)  $\partial C_1 + C_2 C_3 V$ -

(α) >  $\partial C_1 + C_2 C_3 V$ -

When the short vowel before  $C_1$  is unstressed, no auxiliary vowel is inserted.

*ṛəžəl qšir* "a small man", *yəkkəb žwab* "he writes a letter".

(βi) >  $\partial C_1 + C_2 C_3 V$ -

When (with stressed  $\partial$ ): When  $C_1$  is  $\zeta$ , or  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  are homorganic, no auxiliary vowel is inserted.

*sməṣ klami* "he listened to my words", *drəṣ ṛwila* "a long front leg (of animal)", *ḍrəbḥ bnači* "he hit my daughters", *lhəm bai* "good meat"

(βii) >  $\partial C_1 C_1 + \partial C_2 C_3 V$ -

In other cases,  $C_1$  is geminated and the auxiliary vowel is inserted.

*ṣṭə! + kbir* > *ṣṭə!! əkbir* "a big bucket" (see 1.4.2.3.1.(2d)).

(e)  $\partial C_1 C_2 + C_3 C_4 V$ - ( $\partial C_1 C_2 C_3 + C_4 C_5 V$ - ( $C_2 C_3 = tš$ )).

(α) >  $\partial C_1 C_2 + \partial C_3 C_4 V$ -

When  $C_3 = C_4$  (or  $C_4 = C_5$  in the latter case) the insertion of the auxiliary vowel is compulsory.

*kəlb əmmaliya* "my parents' dog", *ma xərrəžtš əffad* "I did not pull out intestines".

(β) >  $\partial VC_1 C_2 + C_3 C_4 V$ - ~  $\partial VC_1 C_2 + \partial C_3 C_4 V$ -

In other cases the insertion of the auxiliary vowel is facultative.

*bənc zḡira* ~ *bənc əzḡira* "a small girl", *həll tkakən* ~ *həll ətkakən* "he opened shops", *ma sməṣtš klamu* ~ *ma sməṣtš əklamu* (~ *ma sməṣtš klamu*) "I ~ you (m.) did not listen to his word", *ma žabš klab* ~ *ma žabš əklab* (~ *ma žabš klab*) "he did not bring a dog".

(f) In cases other than (a) - (e), no auxiliary vowel is inserted.

(α)  $\partial VC + CV$ -: *ḍəṛḥəč bənci* "she hit my daughter", *klab məṛči* "my wife's dogs".

(β)  $\partial VC + CCCV$ -: *dak əṛṛəžəl sthəm* "that man bathed"

(γ)  $\partial CC + CV$ -: *hətt makla* "he put food", *bənc baəya* "a good girl", *ma ḍrəbḥtš bənci* "I did not hit my daughter".

#### REMARK

1. When a word ending with (a) consonant(s) (excluding  $w$ ,  $y$  or prepositions  $b$ -,  $f$ -  $l$ -) precedes  $L\partial CCV$ -, this is substituted by  $\partial LCCV$ -. e.g. *qəttəṣt əlqməžžə* (< *ləqməžžə*) "I cut off the shirt", *šrit əlhwayəž adun* (< *ləhwayəž*) "I bought these things", *čəndif əlkṛəəb* (< *ləkṛəəb*) "car cleaning", *xərrəft əlxrafa* (< *ləxrafa*) "I told the fairy tale".

2. When  $L\partial C_1 C_2 V$ - follows a word ending with a long vowel.  $-w$  or  $-y$ .  $L\partial C_1 C_2 V$ - may be realized as  $L\partial C_1 C_2 V$ - or  $LC_1 C_2 V$ - (free variants). e.g. *šra lqməžžə* ~ *ləqməžžə* "he bought the shirt", *bdu lxrəfa* ~ *ləxrəfa* "the beginning of the fairy tale", *šra lhlh* ~ *ləhlh* "he bought the milk", *yəstənnaw lklab* ~ *ləklab* "they wait for the dogs".

3. When a noun beginning with  $\partial C_1 C_2$  ( $\partial$  = auxiliary vowel and  $C_1$  may be  $L$ ) follows a vowel,  $-w$  or  $-y$ , the auxiliary vowel is eliminated, e.g. *šra ttaša adi* (< *əttaša*) "he bought this cup", *šraw dlabbb* "he bought the gold" (< *əddlabbb*), *čəstənnay ššhab* "you (f.) wait for the friends" (< *əššhab*). And when the noun has two variants (with and without auxiliary vowel, e.g. *lhuš ~ əlhuš*), the latter is selected, e.g. *qra lbašuq* "he read the verse", *yəšri lhuš* "he buys the house".

#### 1.4.1.3. The alternation of $u$ - $w$ and $i$ - $y$ .

When  $w$  or  $y$  stand between two consonants ( $C_w C$  and  $C_y C$ ), they are realized as the long vowels  $u$  or  $i$  respectively.

*wzir* [wzīr] "minister" : *luzir* [luzīr] ~ [lūzīr] "the minister" < *\*lwzir*.

*ymin* [ymīn] "right" : *limin* [limīn] ~ [līmīn] "the right" < *\*lymin*.

*wšəl* [wšəl] "he arrived" : *nušəl* [nōšəl] "I arrive" < *\*nwšəl*.

*ybəs* [ybəs] "it (m.) dried" : *čibəs* [čībəs] "it (f.) dries" < *\*čybəs*.

$w$  [w] "and" : *kan u ma kan* [kān-ū-mā-kān] "once upon a time" < *\*kan w ma kan*.

A sequence of three consonant is usually avoided by insertion of an auxiliary vowel (see 1.4.2.1. below). When the auxiliary vowel is inserted before a semi-vowel, a diphthong is yielded, i.e.  $\partial + w > \partial w$ ,  $\partial + y > \partial y$ . Considering the fact that CA diphthongs  $aw$  and  $ay$  correspond to TJ  $u$  and  $i$  respectively unless the semi-vowel is geminated, we can assume that  $u$  and  $i$  in  $C_u C$  and  $C_i C$  would be the result of the monophthongization of  $\partial w$  and  $\partial y$  (see 1.3.4.2.). This suggests that the monophthongisation of the diphthong takes place not only diachronically but also synchronically.

#### 1.4.2. Syllabic alteration

As far as the syllable structure is concerned, TJ tends to avoid (1) a short vowel in an open syllable and (2) a sequence  $CCC$  or  $CCCC$  inside a word. And when these would arise, various phonological measures are taken to annul them, and consequently the syllable structure of a word may be altered. In this section we analyse the system of syllabic alteration caused by such measures.

#### 1.4.2.1. Aufsprengen and Umspringen

Before all, we will make clear the process of syllabic alteration (the occurrence and the annulment of these sequences).

When a word such as *məsləm* "Muslim", which ends with  $-C\partial C$ , is followed by a plural suffix  $-in$ , which begins with a vowel,  $\partial$  stands in an open syllable: *məsləm + -in > \*məslə-min*. Thus  $\partial$  between  $l$  and  $m$  is eliminated: *\*məsləmin > \*məslmin* (the actual form is *msəlmin*); here occurs a sequence of  $CCC$ . And in particular cases even  $CCCC$  is yielded (*sənsləč-* "necklace (st.estr.)" (< *sənslə*; for  $CCC$  in this word, see 1.4.2.2.(2b)) +  $i$  "my" > *\*sənsləči > \*sənsləči*: the actual form is *sənsəlči*). In Maghribi dialects, when  $CCC$  or  $CCCC$  arises by the elimination of  $\partial$ , it tends to be annulled in various ways.<sup>78</sup> Stumme termed this phenomenon "Aufsprengen".<sup>79</sup> In TJ not every  $CCC$  yielded in such way is avoided, whilst  $CCCC$  is always necessarily avoided. When these sequences are avoided, a short vowel is inserted between the 2nd and the 3rd consonants from the end:  $CCC > C\partial CC$ ,  $CCCC > CC\partial CC$ . In this study we propose to call this short vowel "Aufsprengung vowel". Unlike the auxiliary vowel mentioned above in 1.4.1.2., the Aufsprengung vowel has a morphophonemical value and may attract the stress. Then  $CCC$  of *\*məslmin* is divided by the Aufsprengung vowel: *\*məslmin > \*məsəlmin*. However the latter is not yet a real form, since  $\partial$  between  $m$  and  $s$  stands now in an open syllable: *\*mə-səl-min*. Here further elimination of  $\partial$  occurs: *\*məsəlmin > msəlmin* "Muslims", then the real form is obtained.

In the whole Maghrib region phenomena of syllabic alteration such as  $CC\check{v}C > C\check{v}CC$  as seen above in *məsləm + -in > msəlmin* or  $C\check{v}CC > CC\check{v}C$ , e.g. CA *bahr* : TJ *bħər*, are attested. These phenomena are termed also by Stumme Umspringen.<sup>80</sup> The latter Umspringen, which occurs only historically, will be mentioned in 1.4.2.4.2. In this section we will discuss only on the former Umspringen which takes place synchronically by adding a morpheme beginning with a vowel to  $-C\partial C$ . In the synchronic context, "Umspringen" is the result of the complex process of the above-mentioned "elimination of  $\partial$ " and "Aufsprengen".

In short, the Umspringen consists of the following processes.

[1] When  $-VCC\partial C$  is followed by a vowel:  $-VCC\partial C + V$ .

78 Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, pp.255-256. Pace *ibid.* Maltese allows  $CCC$ : *jiktbu* "they write", except when the 2nd radical is a liquid ( $l, r$ ) or pharyngeal  $gh$ : *ixorbu* "they drink", *jilaghbu* "they play" etc.

79 Stumme, *Timis*, pp. 5-6.

80 Stumme, *Timis*, pp. 5-6, and also Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 254.

- [2] ə stands in an open syllable and then this is eliminated:  $-VCCəCV > -VCCCV$ .  
 [3] CCC is divided by the Aufsprengung vowel:  $-VCCCV > -VCəCCV$ .

As seen in the example of *māsləm* + *-in* > *msəlmin*, when *V* follows  $CəCCəC$ , the elimination of *ə* takes place twice, at  $*māsləmin > *māslmin$  and at  $*māslmin > msəlmin$ . In this manner, these processes can be repeated until a real form is obtained.

The elimination of *ə* from the sequence  $CəC$  takes place in the following cases.

- (1) In final syllables, in combination with a suffix beginning with a vowel (short or long); *māsləm* + *in* >  $*māsləmin > *māslmin > msəlmin$  "Muslims", *ražəl* + *ək* >  $*ražələk > ražlək$  "your husband".
- (2) In final syllables, in combination with a word beginning with a short vowel. For example when *yakəl* "he eats" is followed by *ərnəb* "a rabbit", *ə* of *yakəl* stands in an open syllable ( $ya-kə-lər-nəb$ ), then this is eliminated: *yakl ərnəb* (=  $ya-k-lər-nəb$ ). In this case variants which retain *ə* exist (see 1.4.2.3.1.(2c)). But when the vowel following  $-CəC$  is long, the elimination does not occur, e.g. *yakəl aranəb* "he eats rabbits" (see 1.4.2.3.1.(3b)).
- (3) Inside a word, *ə* in an open syllable produced by Aufsprengen ( $*māsləmin > msəlmin$ ).
- (4) When a verb beginning with  $C_1əC$  ( $C_1$  is *n-*, i.e. the conjugational prefix for the 1st person (sg. and pl.), or the formative prefix of Form VII) or *y-* (the conjugational prefix for the 3rd person (m. and pl.) (not with *ē-* for 2nd person and 3.f.), and *ə* is unstressed) is preceded by *ma* (negative particle), *qa* (verbal prefix, see 2.2.5.1.(1)), or *ša* "what?", *ə* may be eliminated (facultative). In this case CCC brought about by the elimination of *ə* is retained (see 1.4.2.2.(2)).

*ma ndwiš ~ ma nədwiš* "I do not talk", *ma ykčəbš ~ ma yəkčəbš* "he does not write", *qa ndwiw ~ qa nədwiw* "we are talking", *ša ybniw ~ yəbniw?* "what are they building?" *ma nqčəlš ~ ma nəqčəlš* "he was not killed".

Note that "suffix" includes also the conjugational suffixes for verbs, e.g. *-u* (3.pl. of the perfect), *-na* (1.pl. of the perfect) etc.

In this section *C* may be accompanied with a small number,  $C_1, C_2$ , etc., which indicates that, for example,  $C_1$  is different from  $C_2$ . Thus the geminated consonant is marked as  $C_1C_1$ .

#### 1.4.2.2. Retention of *ə* in an open syllable and retention of CCC

Despite the general tendency of the elimination of *ə* in an open syllable and the avoidance of CCC, these may appear in the following particular cases.

(1) The retention of *ə* in an open syllable.

(a) In the word initial of the imperative (f. and pl.) of Form I str.

*ʔəkəčbi* "write (f.)!", *ʔəkəčbu* "write (pl.)!" etc. (see 2.2.2.1.3.).

(b) In the sequence of  $C_2CV$  when *V* follows a historical *h*:  $*CəC-hV$ .

*kčəfa* <  $*kčəfha$  "her shoulder", *yəqčəlam* <  $*yəqčəlhəm$  "he kills them", *yədəš* <  $*yədəhəš$  "he faints".

In this case the historical *h* behaves as if it still remains and influences the syllable structure. On the other hand, the consonant after *ə* may be geminated, so that *ə* stands in a closed syllable, e.g. *kčəffa*, *yəqčəlləm*, *yəddaš* which are free variants of *kčəfa*, *yəqčəlləm* and *yədəš* respectively. In this case the disappeared *h* is substituted by the geminated consonant (see 1.3.2.6.(2a)).

(c) In the sequence of  $C_1V_2CV$  where *ə* is the reflexion of a historical *h*.

*məčfaəmin* "understanding (pl.) each other", *čfaəmu* "they understood each other".

Such a sequence occurs also when a word ending with  $C_1V_2č$  (here *-č* is the construct state of the feminine ending *-a* (see 2.3.2.1.3.)) is followed by a word beginning with a short vowel or a suffix beginning with a vowel (see 1.3.2.6.(5)).

*žiəč əmmu* "his mother's side".

(d) When Form II and V gem. verbs take a *V*-suffix, a sequence of three identical consonants occurs, e.g. *dəlləl* + *-u* (pl. ending) >  $*dəlllu$ . In TJ such a sequence is not allowed, and is avoided either by eliminating one of the *l*, or by retaining *ə* in an open syllable:  $*dəlllu > dəlləlu \sim dəllu$  "they auctioned" (see (2d) REMARK below).

(e) In the sequence of  $CCəV$  (see 1.4.2.4.2.2.).

*lšə'in* "ninety", *šbə'in* "two fingers", *sbə'in* "seventy", *mšə'ul* "lighted", *drə'in* "arms of animal", *krə'in* "back legs of animal".

(f) In some cases where word final syllable  $CəC$  is followed by a word beginning with a short vowel which is mentioned in 1.4.2.3.1.(2).

(g) When a verb ending with  $-Cəč$  (3.f.) is combined with *-əlkəm* "to you", *-ənna* "to us": *kəčbəčəlkəm* "she wrote to you (pl.)" (see 2.1.1.3.).

## REMARK

1. Among these cases, (d) is triggered by Aufsprengen, and (e), (f) and (g) are triggered by Umspringen.
2. In some cases the last *C* of  $-C\bar{C}$  is geminated before a vowel to close the syllable, so that  $\bar{a}$  is not eliminated (see 1.4.2.3.1.(2b, c, d) and (3a)).

(2) The retention of *CCC*.

*CCC* is retained in the following cases.

(a) When a word ending with  $-CC$  precedes a pronoun suffix beginning with a consonant,  $-k\bar{a}m$ ,  $-na$ .

*k\bar{a}l\bar{b}k\bar{a}m* "your (pl.) dog", *x\bar{a}bzna* "our bread".

(b) When the sequence *CCC* consists of part of a quadriliteral or quinqueliteral root.  
*d\bar{a}r\bar{b}k\bar{u}* "they hit the drum", *y\bar{a}c\bar{f}\bar{a}r\bar{s}k\bar{u}* "they amuse themselves", *b\bar{a}r\bar{c}\bar{q}al* "oranges", *s\bar{a}nsla* "necklace".

(c) In the imperfect and the imperative of Form VII, VIII, X str. verbs.

*y\bar{a}nq\bar{c}\bar{a}l* "he will be killed" (Form VII), *y\bar{a}r\bar{c}\bar{a}d* "he trembles" (Form VIII), *y\bar{a}st\bar{a}zbu* "they are astonished".

(d) When the first and second *C* are identical.

*y\bar{a}llmu* "they teach", *m\bar{s}akkrin* "closed (pl.)", *q\bar{a}llqu* "they bored".

In this case, the geminated consonant may be reduced to a single consonant, e.g. *q\bar{a}llqu* ~ *q\bar{a}lqu* (free variants). The latter variant is thus identical with *q\bar{a}lqu* "they were bored".

## REMARK

1. In the cases of (d), the geminated consonant may be reduced to a single consonant, e.g. *q\bar{a}llqu* ~ *q\bar{a}lqu* (free variants). The latter variant is thus identical with *q\bar{a}lqu* "they were bored".

2. When all the *C*'s are identical (except for verbs mentioned (1b) above), one of the *C*'s is eliminated.

*k\bar{a}ll nar* > *\*k\bar{a}nnnar* > *k\bar{a}nnar* "every day", *qal* + *ll\bar{a}ww\bar{a}l* > *\*qal ll\bar{a}ww\bar{a}l* > *qal ll\bar{a}ww\bar{a}l* "the first one said".

On the assimilation *k\bar{a}ll nar* > *\*k\bar{a}nnar*, see 1.3.2.1.2.(2a).

(e) When the first *C* is the unassimilated definite article *l* (see 1.4.1.2.(3) REMARK 1).

*b\bar{a}lmq\bar{a}ss* "with the scissors", *b\bar{a}lkra\bar{a}b* "by cars".

(f) When the third *C* is  $\bar{c}$ , a part of the feminine ending  $-a$  in the construct state  $-\bar{a}\bar{c}$ .

*k\bar{a}lm\bar{c}in* "two words" (< *k\bar{a}lma*), *m\bar{g}\bar{a}r\bar{f}\bar{c}in* "two spoons" (< *m\bar{g}\bar{a}r\bar{f}\bar{a}*).

(g) When the third *C* is *l*.

*m\bar{a}škla* "problem", *m\bar{a}zbla* "rubbish tip" (as against *m\bar{h}\bar{a}rma* "handkerchief" and *m\bar{g}\bar{a}rfa* "spoon").

(h) When the third *C* is  $\bar{c}$ .

*m\bar{a}l\bar{b}\bar{c}a* "printing house", *n\bar{a}r l\bar{a}r\bar{b}\bar{c}a* "Wednesday".

(i) When  $\bar{a}$  in an open syllable is eliminated by adding an  $\bar{a}$ -word (see 1.4.2.3.1.(2a)) or by adding the enclitic dative marker  $-\bar{s}la$ ,  $-\bar{s}lla$ ,  $-\bar{s}l\bar{a}m$ ,  $-\bar{s}ll\bar{a}m$  (see 2.1.1.3.(2)).

*y\bar{a}d\bar{r}\bar{b} \bar{a}r\bar{a}z\bar{a}l* "he hits the man", *g\bar{s}dmk \bar{a}lk\bar{a}l\bar{b}* "the dog bit you", *y\bar{f}\bar{a}r\bar{s}k \bar{a}r\bar{a}z\bar{a}l* "he relaxes the man", *y\bar{a}k\bar{c}\bar{b}\bar{s}la* "he writes to her", *y\bar{a}b\bar{c}\bar{a}ll\bar{a}m* "he sends to them".

(j) In the case mentioned in 1.4.2.1.(4) above.

*ma ndwiš* "I do not talk", *ma yk\bar{c}\bar{a}b\bar{s}* "he does not write", *qa ndwiw* "we are talking", *ša ybniw?* "what are they building?".

## 1.4.2.3. Word final syllable

As stated above, syllabic alteration is usually triggered by a following vowel, thus the discussion is focused on the situations of the word final.

The following syllables can stand in word final.

(1)  $-C\bar{v}$  (including the feminine ending  $-a$ ):

*mša* "he went", *y\bar{a}bda* "he begins", *nbi* "prophet", *y\bar{a}mši* "he goes", *bdu* "beginning", *k\bar{a}c\bar{b}u* "they wrote", *mra* "woman", *haža* "thing", *makla* "food", *ša* "sick".

(2)  $-v\bar{C}$ :

*bnač* "daughter", *mšač* "she went", *šač-* "stick (st.cstr. of *ša*)", *k\bar{b}ir* "big", *qlub* "hearts", *mšaw* "they went", *y\bar{a}mšiw* "they go", *č\bar{a}bd\bar{a}y* "you (f.) begin".

(3)  $-V\bar{C}C$ :

*b\bar{a}nč* "daughter, girl", *m\bar{a}rč-* "woman (st.cstr. of *mra*)", *k\bar{c}\bar{a}bč* "I wrote", *q\bar{a}lb* "heart", *ma mšatš* "she did not go", *ma mšawš* "they did not go", *ma y\bar{a}mšiwš* "they do not go", *ma č\bar{a}bd\bar{a}yš* "she does not begin".

(4)  $-\bar{a}CCC$ :

*ma q\bar{a}l\bar{t}š* "I did not say" (see 1.4.1.2.(2b) above).

## (5) -CəC:

*kəb* "he wrote", *nədrəb* "he was hit", *yəkčəb* "he writes", *yakəl* "he eats", *kəčbəč* "she wrote", *hažəč*- "thing (st.cstr. of *haža*)",<sup>81</sup> *makləč*- "food (st.cstr. of *makla*)", *bladkəm* "your (pl.) town", *dərhək* "he hit you (sg.)".

Among these, the ending syllable (5) -C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub> may undergo syllabic alteration (elimination of ə, which may cause the Umspringen, or gemination of C<sub>2</sub>) before a following vowel. And in some cases no alteration takes place. The distribution of these variations depends on the syllabic pattern of the word ending with -C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub> and the kind of the following vowel. Words ending with -C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub> are classified as follows.

- [A] Words of the pattern CvCəC: *zarəč* "she visited", *qawəč*- (st.cstr.) "coffee (shop)", *xəčəm* "ring", *yakəl* "he eats".
- [B] Words of the pattern CəCCəC which consists of a geminated root (except for *Ill*y) or a quadriliteral root: *əlləm* "he taught", *m'əlləm* "teacher", *fərsək* "he relaxed", *ərnəb* "rabbit".
- [C] Words of the pattern -CCəč, -əč of which consists of the perfect conjugational suffix for the 3.f. or the construct state of the feminine ending -a, e.g. *dərhəč* "she hit", *nəxləč*- "palm tree (st.cstr.)", *fərsəkəč* "she relaxed".
- [D] Words of the pattern (C)əCCCəC which consists of the imperative or the imperfect of Form VII, VIII str. verbs, e.g. *yəndrəb* "he will be hit", *ərcəd* "tremble (m.)!".
- [E] Words of the pattern #(Cə)CCəC#, e.g. *dəb* "he hit", *qžər* "drawer", *nədrəb* "he will be hit", *rəčəd* "he trembled".
- [F] Words of the pattern CəCCəC which does not belong to any above-mentioned group, e.g. *yədrəb* "he hits", *məsləm* "Muslim", *gədmək* "he bit you (sg.)", *dərhəkəm* "he hit you (pl.)".

And the following vowels are classified as follows.

- (a) V-suffix: suffixes beginning with a vowel irrespective of length, e.g. -u "his, him", -ək "your, you (acc.)", -a "(feminine suffix)" etc.
- (b) ə-word: for a free morpheme beginning with a short vowel (ə may be an auxiliary vowel), e.g. *əmm* "mother", *ərnəb* "rabbit", *əttəša* "the cup" etc.
- (c) v̄-word: for a free morpheme beginning with a long vowel (including u, i which originate from w, y, see 1.4.1.3.), e.g. *aranəb* "rabbits", *ada* "this (m.)", *-uzir* (< *uzir*) "minister", *-ičim* (< *yčim*) "orphan" etc.

81 On the construct status, see 2.3.2.1.3.

## REMARK

1. Nouns ending with -Cya and -Cwa have their construct state before ə-word -Cyač- and -Cwəč-, e.g. *sanya(t)t əşşəltan* "the field of the Sultan", *xərwə(t)č ərrəžəl* "the step of the man", but before V-suffix they are realized as -Ciyč- and -Ciwč- respectively, e.g. *saniyəu* "his field", *xtuwēi* "my step" (see 2.3.2.1.3. REMARK 3).

2. The pronoun suffixes -a (3.f.) and -əm (3.pl.) are not considered as V-suffix because of their history and phonological behaviour (see 1.4.2.2.(1b)).

## 1.4.2.3.1. Alteration variants

The following are variants of the ending -C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub> (group [A] ~ [F] above) according to the following vowels.

In this section we will make use of -u (pronoun suffix for the 3.sg. or the perfect conjugational suffix for the 3.pl.) as the representative of V-suffix.

- (1) -C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub> + V-suffix > -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>: for all groups, e.g. [A] *zarəč* + -u > *zarčeu* "she visited him", *qawčeu* "his coffee", *xəčəm* + -u > *xəčmu* "his ring", *yakəl* + -u > *yaklu* "he eat it (m.)"; [B] *əlləm* + -u > *əl(l)mu* "he taught him",<sup>82</sup> *ərnəb* + -u > *ərnbu* "his rabbit"; [C] *dərhəč* + -u > *dərhčeu* "she hit him", *nəxləč*- + -u > *nəxlčeu* "his palm tree"; [D] *yəndrəb* + -u > *yəndərbu* "they will be hit"; [E] *dəb* + -u > *dərbu* "he hit him", *qžər* + -u > *qžru* "his drawer"; [F] *yədrəb* + -u > *ydrəbu* "he hits him", *məsləm* + -in > *msəlmin* "Muslims".

## REMARK

Among words belonging to the group [C], verbs ending with the perfect conjugational suffix for the 3.f. (-Cəč) have a special feature before ə-suffix.

- [1] Before -əlkəm "to you (pl.)" and -ənna "to us" (see 2.1.1.3.), -C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub> remains as it is, e.g. *kəčbəčəlkəm* "she wrote to you (pl.)", *bəčəčənna* "she sent to us".
- [2] Before other V-suffix, beside -CC (*dərhəč* "she hit", *fərsəkəč* "she relaxed", etc.), another variant with -C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub> (gemination of C<sub>2</sub>) is attested: *dərhəč* + -u > *dərhəčeu* "she hit him", *fərsəkəč* + -u > *fərsəkəčeu* "she relaxed him".

(2) -C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub> + ə-word.

- (a) > -C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub> ~ -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>: group [B] and [F], e.g. *ərnəb əmmu* ~ *ərnəb əmmu* "his mother's rabbit"; *yədrəb əmmu* ~ *yədrəb əmmu* "he hits his mother", *mərkəb əmmu* ~ *mərkəb əmmu* "his mother's ship".

82 For the variants *əllmu* ~ *əlmu*, see 1.4.2.2.(2d) above.

- (b) >  $-C_1\partial C_2 \sim -C_1\partial C_2 C_2$ : group [C] and [D], e.g. *ḍarḥāc* ~ *ḍarḥāc* *amma* "she hit her mother", *naxlāc* ~ *naxlāc* *ammu* "his mother's palm tree", *yandṛarḥ* ~ *yandṛarḥ* *arrazal* "the man will be hit", *sanyāc* ~ *sanyāc* *aššālatan* "the Sultan's field"
- (c) >  $-C_1\partial C_2 \sim -C_1\partial C_2 C_2 \sim -C_1 C_2$ : group [A], e.g. *zarāc* ~ *zarāc* ~ *zarāc* *amma* "she visited her mother", *xācām* ~ *xācām* ~ *xācām* *ammu* "his mother's ring", *yakāl* ~ *yakāl* ~ *yakl* *arnāb* "he eats rabbit".
- (d) >  $-C_1\partial C_2 C_2$ : group [E], e.g. *ḍarḥḥ* *ammu* "he hit his mother", *qzarr* *ammu* "his mother's drawer", *nadrarḥḥ* *arrazal* "this man was hit".

(3)  $-C\partial C + \bar{v}$ -word.

- (a) >  $-C_1\partial C_2 C_2$ : group [E], e.g. *ḍarḥḥ* *uladu* "he hit his sons", *qzarr* *uladu* "his sons' drawer", *nadrarḥḥ* *uziru* "his minister was hit".
- (b) >  $-C_1\partial C_2$ : other groups, e.g. [A] *zarāc* *ulada* "she visited her sons", *xācām* *uladu* "his sons' ring", *yakāl* *aranāb* "he eats rabbits"; [B] *ʿallām* *uladu* "he taught his sons", *arnāb* *uladu* "his sons' rabbit"; [C] *ḍarḥāc* *ulada* "she hit her sons", *naxlāc* *uladu* "his sons' palm tree"; [D] *yandṛarḥḥ* *uladu* "his sons will be hit"; [F] *yadrarḥ* *uladu* "he hits his sons", *mārḥāb* *uladu* "his sons' ship".

#### 1.4.2.4. Historical syllabic alteration

##### 1.4.2.4.1. Annulment of the sequence of two open syllables

When two open syllables with a short vowel succeed each other, the short vowel of the second syllable is eliminated.

CA *katabat* > *kācḥāc* "she wrote", *yataʿallam* > *yācʿallām* "he learns".

##### 1.4.2.4.2. Historical Umspringen

In 1.4.2.1. we mentioned the Umspringen which occurs synchronically, and in this section the historical Umspringen is dealt with.

In the whole Maghrib region, a phenomenon of the syllable alteration as CA  $C\bar{v}CC$  > TJ  $CC\bar{v}C$ , e.g. CA *baḥr* > TJ *bḥar* "sea", is attested.

This alteration should have been brought about by the following process: (1) an auxiliary vowel is inserted between the second and third *C*, in order to avoid two consonant cluster in the word final:  $C\bar{v}CC > C\bar{v}C^{\prime}C$  (CA *baḥr* > \**baḥʾr*), (2) the auxiliary vowel is stressed and then is considered as a phoneme:  $C\bar{v}C^{\prime}C > C\bar{v}C\acute{\partial}C$  (\**baḥʾr* > \**baḥār*), (3) the first syllable is now open, and the original vowel is eliminated:  $C\bar{v}C\acute{\partial}C > CC\acute{\partial}C$  (\**baḥār* > TJ *bḥar*).

CA nouns on the pattern  $C\bar{v}C\bar{v}C$  are usually reflected as TJ  $CC\acute{\partial}C$ , e.g. CA *ḡabal* > TJ *žbāl*. In this case the first vowel is eliminated since it is in an open syllable.

In some cases CA  $C\bar{v}CC$  is reflected as it is, without syllabic alteration, i.e. TJ  $C\acute{\partial}CC$ , e.g. CA *taʿb* > TJ *čāʿb* "tiredness".

##### 1.4.2.4.2.1. Distribution of $C_1\partial C_2 C_3$ and $C_1 C_2\partial C_3$ .

The distribution of  $C\acute{\partial}CC$  and  $CC\acute{\partial}C$  is for the most part decided according to the following conditions concerning both the phonology and the morphology.<sup>83</sup> Note that "liquid" indicates *l*, *l*, *n* and *ŋ* (see 1.1.1.).

(1) Morphological conditions.

(a) The TJ pattern  $C\acute{\partial}CC$  consists of:

(α) Nouns formally corresponding to CA verbal nouns of Form I str. verbs or nouns semantically developed from them: *čāʿb* "tiredness", *ḍarḥ* "beating", *farḥ* "wedding party".

(β) Nouns from geminated roots: *ʿāšš* "nest" *ḥarḥ* "wilderness", *ḥass* "sound", *ḥayy* "living", *kaff* "palm of hand", *kall* "all", *marr* "bitter".

(b) The TJ pattern  $CC\acute{\partial}C$  consists of nouns corresponding to CA  $\partial ACCaC$  and  $CuCC$  (m. and pl. of a noun denoting colours or physical defects): *byaḍ* "white (m. ~ pl.)", *ḥmar* "red (m. ~ pl.)", *khāl* "black (m. ~ pl.)", *šfar* "yellow (m. ~ pl.)", *trāš* "deaf (m. ~ pl.)", *xḍar* "green (m. ~ pl.)".

(2) Phonological conditions.

(a) The TJ pattern  $C_1\partial C_2 C_3$  consists of:

(α) Nouns in which  $C_1$  is historical ? (not transcribed): *arḍ* "earth", *axc* "sister".

(β) Nouns in which  $C_2$  is liquid, *r* or *ʾ*, except when both  $C_2$  and  $C_3$  are liquid, *r* or *ʾ* (see (ba) below): *ʿanq* "neck", *čālž* "snow", *ḥarḥ* "war", *kālb* "dog", *mālḥ* "salt", *qālb* "heart", *qard* "monkey", *zāns* "kind", *žald* "skin".

(γ) Nouns in which  $C_2$  is labial and  $C_3$  is *sifflant* or *chuintant*: *kābš* "sheep", *nāfs* "spirit", *nāfš* "half", *sāms* "sun", *xābz* "bread".

(b) The TJ pattern  $C_1 C_2\partial C_3$  consists of

(α) Nouns in which both  $C_2$  and  $C_3$  are liquid, *r* or *ʾ*: *mār* "age", *dlām* "darkness", *glām* "flock", *qlām* "pen", *smān* "clarified butter", *xmār* "dirt", *žmāl* "camel"

<sup>83</sup> Singer *Tunis*, p. 165 and Cohen *Tunis II*, p. 78-83 and p. 140-141



(β) Nouns in which  $C_2$  is liquid,  $r$  or  $ʕ$ , and  $C_3$  is pharyngeal or uvular: *qrəʕ* "pumpkin", *šməʕ* "candle", *wʕəq* "papers".

Nouns which do not come under any these rubrics belong to  $CCəC$ .

(c) Exceptions.

The following nouns do not fit the above mentioned conditions:

(α)  $CCəC$  in place of  $CəCC$ : *ħnəš* "snake".

(β)  $CəCC$  in place of  $CCəC$ : *ʕəbd* "black servant", *kəʕk* "(name of sweet)", *məšʕ* "comb", *məšʕ* "Egypt", *wəʕr* "difficult", *wəqə* "time" *wəšʕ* "middle".

#### 1.4.2.4.2.2. The sequence $CA C_1\check{C}_2\check{C}_3 > TJ C_1C_2\check{C}_3$

In this sequence a short vowel between  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  undergoes the Umspringen, i.e. it is eliminated and another short vowel occurs between  $C_2$  and  $\check{C}_3$ . For example  $CA\ məšʕul$  "lit" is in TJ reflected as *mšəʕul*. It is likely that an helping vowel, which facilitates the pronunciation of  $\check{C}_3$  had been first inserted before  $\check{C}_3$ , and thereafter obtained phonemic value. The original short vowel now stood in an open syllable and was eliminated:  $CA\ məšʕul > *məšʕul > *məšʕul [məšʕul] > mšəʕul$ .

This type of Umspringen is attested in the following nouns: *ʕəšʕin* "ninety", *šəbʕin* "two fingers", *šəbʕin* "seventy", *mšəʕul* "lit", *drəʕin* "front legs of animal", *krəʕin* "back legs of animal".

*drəʕin* "front legs of an animal" and *krəʕin* "back legs of an animal" are synchronically on the same pattern as the above-mentioned words. However *drəʕin* and *krəʕin* would have been formed not by the Umspringen, since these correspond to  $CA\ dīrāʕayn$  and *kurāʕayn* which have a long vowel before  $\check{C}_3$ . We can assert that the long  $\bar{a}$  of the pseudo-dual form has been phonetically shortened at some point, because it is not stressed (see 1.2.5.1.1.(1)):  $CA\ dīrāʕayn > *drāʕin [dṛāʕin > drāʕin]$ , and then the phonetical short vowel became a phonemic short vowel:  $*drāʕin [dṛāʕin] > drəʕin [dṛəʕin]$  (TJ  $\check{C}_3$  is realized as [a] before  $\check{C}_3$ , see 1.2.3.3.1.1.(1)). And these forms with the short vowel correspond to their singular form *drəʕ* and *krəʕ* with the short vowel, which has already been attested in the medieval Judaeo-Arabic of the Maghrib (מגריב).<sup>84</sup> Usually a short vowel in an open syllable is eliminated but in the present case  $\check{C}_3$  escaped elimination because this fits the pattern  $CCəC$ .

<sup>84</sup> Blau, *Diqduq*, p. 23.

### 1.4.3. Stress

#### 1.4.3.1. General rule

The stress position is determined by following one general rule. See below as for exceptional cases.

(1) In polysyllabic words, the stress falls on  $\check{C}CC$  or  $\check{C}$ <sup>85</sup> (not syllable but a mere sequence of phonemes) nearest the end of the word.

*ʕəʕalləmč* "I learnt", *ma kəčbātš* "she did not write" *saknin* "living (pl.)", *yəčkəssar* "it (m.) is broken", *ykəčbilī* "they write to me", *bāi* (< *\*bāhi*) "good", *yəfəm* (< *\*yəfham*) "he understands", *məkrū* (< *\*məkrūh*) "hated", *kəčbū* (< *\*kəčbūh*) "they wrote it (m.)".

(2) Monosyllabic words (free morphemes) always bear the stress.

*bənč* [bənč] "girl", *mra* [mṛā] "woman", *šī* [šī] "thing".

But bound morphemes, e.g. *ma* "(negative particle)", *qa* "(preverb for the present)", *ša* "what?" do not bear the stress.

In the phonemic transcription, the stress of a monosyllabic word is not marked, but when a monosyllabic word ending with a vowel takes a pronoun suffix of the 3.m., (unless  $\check{C}$  appears in the construct state), the stress is marked, e.g. *xu* "a brother" : *xū* "his brother" (but *ʕa* "a stick" : *ʕačū* "his stick" where the stress position is obvious), though the pronunciation of *xu* "a brother" and *xū* "his brother" is identical: [xó]. On the pronoun suffix for 3.m.sg. marked only with the stress, see 2.1.1.2.1.1.(1a).

#### 1.4.3.2. Exceptional cases

Following are the exceptional cases of the stress rule formulated above.

##### 1.4.3.2.1. Verbs

All perfect verbs of the 3.m. have ultimate stress, e.g. *ʕəbḥəḥ* "he called", *ʕəgəddə* "he had lunch", *ʕəšəšək* "he relaxed" etc.

<sup>85</sup>  $\check{C}$  may be historical *h*.

## REMARK

But in the imperfect and imperative the stress falls on the penultimate syllable (see 1.4.3.2.3.(1a) below).

*ʔabbəh* "call (m.)!", *ʕgədda* "have lunch (m.)!" etc.

## 1.4.3.2.2. Nouns etc.

(1) Dissyllabic feminine nouns functioning as adjectives on the following patterns bear the stress on the ultimate syllable.

(a) *CəCCá*.

To this pattern belong

(α) Nouns denoting colours or physical defects (< CA *CəCCā*)

*ʔurá* "one-eyed (f.)" (m. *ʕwər*), *biḏá* "white (f.)" (m. *byəd*), *həmrá* "red (f.)" (m. *hmər*), *kəhlá* "black (f.)" (m. *kḥəl*), *ʕəfrá* "red (f.)" (m. *ʕfər*), *ʔəršá* "deaf (f.)" (m. *ʔrəš*), *zərǵá* "blue (f.)" (m. *zrəǵ*).

And to this category belongs *həblá* "pregnant (f.)" (< CA. *hublā*), too (see RE-MARK 3 below).

## REMARK

1. In other Maghribi dialects, this type of accentuation is, as far as I know, attested only in el-Ḥamma.<sup>86</sup>

2. *ʕəhṛa* "desert", *bəḥṛa* "ferry-boat" which are on the same pattern in CA *fəḥlā* are substantives and paroxytone.

3. *həblá*, which corresponds to CA *hublā* (with *ʔalif maqṣūrah*, the reflection of which in TJ does not bear the stress, e.g. TJ *māna* < CA *mānā*), is oxytone.

(β) geminated nouns: *CəC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>á*.

*həyyá* "living (f.)", *nəyyá* "row (f.)", *hərrá* "hot (taste) (f.)", *mərrá* "bitter (f.)".

(b) *CCuCá*.

*ʕfiḥá* "tasty (f.)", *ḥliwá* "sweet (f.)".

As far as I have observed, only these two nouns on this pattern are attested.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. *baḏá* "white (f.)", *hamrā* "red (f.)", but *ḥliwāh* "sweet (f.)", see Marçais el-Ḥamma.

(2) Hebrew words in מלרע (oxytone).

*ətʕurá* "Torah" (< התורה), *zdaqá* "charity" (< צדקה), *ihulá* "feast for saint's death day" (< הילולה), *kširá* "legitimate (food) (f.)" (< כשרה) etc.

(3) Isolated example.

*abadán* "never",<sup>87</sup> *midá* "low table".

## 1.4.3.2.3. Phonemic function of stress

In TJ the stress has, in relatively broad domains of the morphology, a phonemic function.<sup>88</sup>

(1) Verbs.

(a) The perfect of the 3.m.sg. of the derived verbs and the quadrilateral verbs is opposed necessarily to the imperative for the m.

*səkkár* "he closed" : *səkkər* "close (m.)!".

*ʕəád* "he helped" : *ʕəəd* "help (m.)!".

*ʕəállám* "he learnt" : *ʕəálləm* "learn (m.)!".

*fəřšək* "he relaxed" : *fəřšək* "relax (m.)!".

(b) The perfect of the 3.m.sg. of Form VII str. is opposed to the imperfect of 1 sg. of Form I str.

*nəkčəb* "it (m.) is written" (Form VII) : *nəkčəb* "I write" (Form I).

*nəqčəl* "he was killed" (Form VII) : *nəqčəl* "I kill" (Form I).

(c) The perfect of the 3.m.sg. of Form I *Ih* verb is opposed to the active participle of the same verb or the imperative for the m.sg.

*arəb* "he fled" : *arəb* "fleeing ~ flee (m.)!".

(d) Verb vs. noun.

*ǵallá* "he boiled" : *ǵállá* "fruit".

<sup>87</sup> Also in Tunis-Muslim *abadán* with the stress in the ultimate syllable, see Singer, *Tunis*, p. 646.

<sup>88</sup> Except for cases as *dərḅu* "they hit" : *dərḅu* "they hit him" in which the stress functions as phoneme, which is attested relatively broadly, the phonemic function of the stress is reported in Fayyūm, see Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 58.

## (2) Nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

*luṭá* "the floor" (< *l* + *wṭa*) : *luṭa* "downwards".<sup>89</sup>

*kəḥlá* "black (f.)" : *kəḥla* "a kind of fish".

*məṛṛá* "bitter (f.)" : *məṛṛa* "time (Fr. fois)".

## (3) Nouns / verbs ending with a long vowel: with and without the pronoun suffix for the 3.sg. (see 2.1.1.2.1.1.(1a)).

*yānsa* "he forgets" : *yānsá* "he forgets him".

*kārsi* "a chair" : *kārsí* "his chair".

*yāṭi* "he gives" : *yāṭí* "he gives it (m.)".

## (4) Hebrew proper nouns. The oxytone nouns are used for historical-religious persons, whilst paroxytone nouns for contemporary persons.

*mūši* "Moshe" : *muši* "the prophet Moses".

*dāwid* "David" : *dawid* "King David".

Also in the opposition *yūsəf* "Yūsuf" : *yusif* "the prophet Joseph" with difference of the length of the second syllable vowel.

<sup>89</sup> This opposition is due to the different origin of the words. *luṭá* corresponds to CA *ʾalwaṭāʾ* "the low ground" with the definite article: *ʾalwaṭāʾ* > \**əlwṭā* > \**lṭwṭā* > *luṭá*. In the last process, the sequence of ə (auxiliary vowel) + w (stem consonant) is interpreted as a long vowel in combination with *l* (the definite article) (see 1.4.1.3.). On such long vowel synchronically yielded the stress does not fall. On the other hand the adverb *luṭa* seems to correspond to CA *ʾalʾawṭaʾ* : \**əlūṭa* > *luṭa*.

## 2. Morphology

## 2.1. Pronouns

## 2.1.1. Personal pronouns

## 2.1.1.1. Independent pronouns

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>uwa</i>	<i>əmma</i>
3.f.	<i>iya</i>	
2.m.	<i>nča</i>	<i>nčəm</i>
2.f.	<i>nči</i>	
1.	<i>aná</i> ~ <i>ána</i>	<i>ḥnan</i>

## REMARK

The unstressed vowel of the first syllable *a* of *aná* is eliminated when it stands after a word ending with a vowel (see 1.2.6.1.(2b)).

*ʿtəəm lili-ná* "he gave them to me".

## 2.1.1.2. Pronoun suffixes

## 2.1.1.2.1. Forms

	Sg.			Pl.
	After <i>C</i>	After $\bar{v}$	After semi-vowel	
3.m.	<i>-u</i>	(1) + stress and length (2) <i>-u</i> (followed by <i>C</i> )	<i>-(w)ú</i> , <i>-(y)i</i>	<i>-əm</i>
3.f.	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>		
2.c.	<i>-ək</i>	<i>-k</i>		<i>-kəm</i>
1.c.	<i>-i (-ni)</i>	<i>-ya (-ni)</i>		<i>-na</i>

## REMARK

Beside a word in the usual meaning, in this study also a bundle of morphemes, e.g. a verb + pron.suff. + enclitic dative marker (see below) is considered as a word. Such a bundle forms a phonological unit and the stress falls on a syllable of the unit following the stress rule, e.g. *yəbʿəčəmləm* "he sends them to them".

## 2.1.1.2.1.1. The 3rd person

(1) 3.m.sg.

Three variants exist according to the phonological environment.

(a) Stressing of the ending long vowel of the word (-a: &gt; -á:, -i: &gt; -í:, -u: &gt; -ú:).

The mark of the pronoun suffix for the 3.m. with a word ending with a unstressed long vowel (phonetically short) is the stressing of the vowel (which causes phonetic lengthening).

*stánna* [stánna] "wait (m.)!" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *stánná* [stánná] "wait (m.) for him!", *dárhu* [dérhu] "they hit" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *dárbu* [dərbu] "they hit him", *yáti* [yáti] "he gives" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *yáti* [yáti] "he gives it", *kársi* [kársi] "chair" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *kársi* [kársi] "his chair".

When a word already ends with a stressed long vowel, no phonological difference is made between forms with and without the pronoun, and only the context may decide the existence of the pronoun (on the stress in general see 1.4.3.).

*stánná* [stánná] "he waited" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" = *stánná* [stánná] "he waited for him", *ʕá* [ʕá] "he gave" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" = *ʕá* [ʕá] "he gave to him", *du* [dū] "enemy" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" = *du* [dū] "his enemy".

Such homonymy therefore takes place in

(α) monosyllabic words (both noun and verb) ending with a stressed vowel, (excluding *a* which is altered to *-č* in the construct state, e.g. *ʕa* "stick", *mra* "woman" for which *-č* appears when a pronoun suffix is attached, e.g. *ʕaču* "his stick", *mərču* "his wife" etc. (see 2.3.2.1.3.)).

(β) *IIIy* verbs in the perfect where the stress falls on the ultimate syllable. One of the extreme examples of homonymy is *stánná* [stánná] which designates three meanings: "he waited", "he waited for him" (*stánná* + pron.suff. 3.m.) and "wait (m.) for him!" (*stánna* + pron.suff. 3.m.).

A parallel case is observed also in e.g. Damascene Arabic,<sup>1</sup> and what happens in TJ is precisely the same as happens in Damascus. The stressing and the lengthening of the word final vowel can be explained only by diachronic considerations, namely even after the disappearance of *h* as a phoneme, its phonological influence still remains (see 1.3.2.6.(1c)).

<sup>1</sup> Grotzfeld, *Damas*, p. 42.

(b) *-i:* after *y* (with verbs ending with *-ay* or *-iy*).

*častánnáy* "you (f.) wait" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *častánnayi* "you (f.) wait for him", *čármí* "you (f.) throw" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *čármíyí* "you (f.) throw it (m.)" (cf. *ma čármíyílámš* "don't throw (f.) it (m.) for them!").

(c) *-u:*

(α) After a consonant.

*žab* "he brought" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *žábu* "he brought it (m.)" (cf. *žabíla* "he brought it (m.) for her"), *rač* "she saw" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *raču* "she saw him", *qəčal* "he killed" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *qəču* "he killed him".<sup>2</sup>

## REMARK

When *-u*, is suffixed to a verb in the perfect 3.f. *CəCCəč*, the syllable structure is altered by Umsprungen (see 1.4.2.1.): *dərḥəč* "she hit" + *-u* > *\*dərḥəču* > *\*dərḥču* > *\*dərḥču* > *dərḥču* "she hit him".

(β) Between a long vowel and a consonant.

When a verb ending with *á*, *i* or *ú* containing the pronoun suffix of the 3.m. (except for *-yí* mentioned in (b) above) is followed by a negative particle or an enclitic dative marker (see below), *-u-* is inserted between the verb and the following element. The accentuation follows the stress rule.

- (i) *yəqrá* "he reads it (m.)" + *-š* "(negative)" > *ma yəqráiš* "he does not read it (m.)".<sup>3</sup>
- (ii) *yəqrá* "he reads it (m.)" + *-lak* "to you (sg.)" > *yəqráilak* "he reads it (m.) to you (sg.)".
- (iii) *čəʕí* "you (m.) give it (m.)" + *-š* "(negative)" > *ma čəʕíiš* "you (m.) do not give it (m.)".
- (iv) *čəʕí* "you (m.) give it (m.)" + *-li* "to me" > *čəʕíli* "you (m.) give me it (m.)".
- (v) *džibi* "you (f.) bring it (m.)" + *-š* "(negative)" > *ma džibiiš* "do not bring (f.) it (m.)".
- (vi) *džibi* "you (f.) bring it (m.)" + *-ma* "to us" > *džibiinna* "you (f.) bring it to us".
- (vii) *həčú* "they sent it (m.)" + *-š* "(negative)" > *ma həčúiš* "they did not send it (m.)".
- (viii) *həčú* "they sent it (m.)" + *-lu* "to him" > *həčúilu* "they sent it (m.) to him".

<sup>2</sup> On the alteration of the syllable structure, see 1.4.2.1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ma yəqráiš* "they do not read".

## REMARK

After *-yi* nothing is inserted: *čəʔʔiyi* "you (f.) give it (m.)" + *-š* "(negative)" > *ma čəʔʔiyiš* "you (m.) do not give it (m.)", *čəʔʔiyi* "you (f.) give it (m.)" + *-li* "to me" > *čəʔʔiyili* "you (m.) give me it (m.)".

(γ) After *w* (with verbs ending with *-aw*, *-iw*).

*yəstənnāw* "they wait" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *yəstənnawū* "they wait for him",  
*yəʔʔiw* "they give" + "(pron.suff. 3.m.)" > *yəʔʔiwū* "they give it (m.)" (cf. *ma yəʔʔiwulīš* "they don't give it (m.) to me").

Comparing the parallel form from the Tunis-Muslim dialect, it seems that this formation does not reflect the expected historical development.

In Tunis-Muslim, for example, "they wait for him" is *yistənnāwuh*. The stress falls, by the stress rule of Tunis-Muslim<sup>4</sup>, on *ā*, not on *-wuh*<sup>5</sup> which corresponds to *-ū* in TJ. We assume that the Tunis-Muslim form *yistənnāwuh* developed from *\*yistənnāwh*, which is composed by the stem + plural marker *w* + the pronoun suffix *h*. On the other hand, we can infer from the case of TJ *ḍəʔʔū* "they hit him" < *\*ḍəʔʔūh* (see above the case (β)) that the TJ *yəstənnawū* developed from *\*yəstənnawūh* [-wūh].

Likewise TJ *čəstənnayī* "you (f.) wait for him" should be considered thus as developed from *\*čəstənnayih*.

Let us return to Tunis-Muslim *yistənnāwuh* [-wuh], and assume that in TJ a parallel form *\*yəstənnāwəh* would have been attested at some point. The ground of this assumption is provided by the present TJ form *yəstənnāwək* [yəstənnāwuk] "they wait for you (sg.)" in which *k* stands instead of *h*. After the disappearance of *h* from the TJ phoneme inventory, *\*yəstənnāwəh* [yəstənnāwuh] "he waits for him" is altered into *\*yəstənnāwu* [-nāwu]. Here the alteration *wəh* > *wu* reflects phonetic reality. And to designate the pronoun for the 3.m., this *u* is stressed: *\*yəstənnāwu* > *yəstənnawū*, parallel to *ḍəʔʔū* "they hit" : *ḍəʔʔū* "they hit him". For *čəstənnayī* "you (f.) wait for him", the same would apply: *\*čəstənnayəh* [-yih] > *\*čəstənnayī* [-yi] > *čəstənnayī*.

<sup>4</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, p. 245-249.

<sup>5</sup> The short vowel *u* between *w* and *h* is an auxiliary vowel.

(2) 3.f. *-a* and 3.pl. *-əm*.

*-a* corresponds to CA *-hā* and *-əm* to CA *-hum*. These pronoun suffixes now begin with a vowel, but they behave as if they still begin with a consonant. When they are attached to a word ending with the sequence of *əC*, *ə* is not eliminated though it stands in a synchronically open syllable, and on the other hand *C* may be geminated to close the syllable, e.g. *kčəʔfa* ~ *kčəʔffa* "her shoulder" (see 1.3.2.6.(2aδ) and 1.4.2.2.(1b)).

Even if a preceding word ends with a vowel, these suffixes are attached immediately and no glide element intervenes between them. *kərsiə* "her chair" and not, for example, *\*kərsiyə*, which in fact means "my chair". Likewise *xuəm* "their father", and not *\*xuwəm*. The distinction is obvious from the phonetic point of view, e.g. *fiə* [fēə] (*i* is realized as [ē] before the historical *h* (see 1.2.3.3.2.2.(1)) : *fiya* [fīya].

## 2.1.1.2.1.2. The 2nd person

(1) 2.sg. *-k* and *-ək*.

Although gender is distinguished in the independent pronoun of the 2nd person, the pronoun suffix does not mark it. *-k* is used after a vowel and *-ək* is after a consonant.

*huš-ək* "your (sg.) house", *čədu-k* "your (sg.) enemy", *ḍəʔʔ-ək* "he hit you (sg.)",  
*čəta-k* "he gave (to) you (sg.)".

## REMARK

When *-ək* is suffixed to a verb in the perfect 3.f. *CəCCəč*, the syllable structure is altered by Umsprungen (see 1.4.2.1.): *ḍəʔʔəč* "she hit" + *-ək* > *\*ḍəʔʔəčək* > *\*ḍəʔʔčək* > *\*ḍəʔʔčək* > *ḍəʔʔčək* "she hit you".

(2) 2.pl. *-kəm*

For 2.pl. *-kəm* is always used.

*huš-kəm* "your (pl.) house", *čəta-kəm* "he gave to you (pl.)".

## 2.1.1.2.1.3. The 1st person

(1) 1.sg. *-i*, *-ya* and *-ni*.

(a) *-i* and *-ya* are used with nouns and prepositions. *-ya* comes after a vowel and *-i* after a consonant.

With nouns: *bənc-i* "my daughter", *xu-ya* "my brother".

With prepositions: *ʕənd-i* "by me", *wra-ya* "behind me".

(b) *-ni* is used with verbs.

With verbs: *drəb-ni* "he hit me", *nsa-ni* "he forgot me".

(2) 1. pl. *-na*

For 1. pl. *-na* is always used.

*huš-na* "our house", *ʕta-na* "he gave to us".

#### 2.1.1.2.1.4. Pronoun suffixes with pseudo-dual / external masculine plural

(1) Pseudo-dual: Pseudo-dual nouns (see 2.3.2.2.1.2.) eliminate the ending *-n* when the suffix is added.

*ʕinin* "eyes" + *-k* "your (sg.)" > *ʕinik* "your eyes", *ražlin* "legs" + *-ya* "my" > *ražliya* "my legs".

Note that dual nouns (see 2.3.2.2.1.1.) cannot take the pronoun suffix.

(2) External masculine plural (including participles): Unlike CA and unlike the pseudo-dual, the ending *-n* of the external masculine plural noun is not eliminated. *mʕallmin* "teacher" + *-ək* "your (sg.)" > *mʕallminək* "your (sg.) teacher", *mʕaddbin* "torturing" + *-u* "him" > *mʕaddbinu* "torturing him".

#### 2.1.1.2.2. Examples

We cite here examples showing alterations in the phonology and morphology of the stems.

(1) Pronoun suffixes with nouns.

(a) Nouns without *tā' marbūtah*.

(α) *kəlb* "dog" (-CC)

	Sg.	Pl.
3. m.	<i>kəlbu</i>	<i>kəlbəm</i>
3. f.	<i>kəlba</i>	
2. c.	<i>kəlbək</i>	<i>kəlbəkəm</i>
1. c.	<i>kəlbi</i>	<i>kəlbna</i>

(β) *ʕdər* "breast" (-CəC)

	Sg.	Pl.
	<i>ʕədru</i>	<i>ʕdərəm</i>
	<i>ʕdəra</i>	
	<i>ʕədrək</i>	<i>ʕdərkəm</i>
	<i>dədrī</i>	<i>ʕdərna</i>

(γ) *ğda* "lunch" (-a)

	Sg.	Pl.
3. m.	<i>ğda</i>	<i>ğdəəm</i>
3. f.	<i>ğdəa</i>	
2. c.	<i>ğdak</i>	<i>ğdəkəm</i>
1. c.	<i>ğdəya</i>	<i>ğdəna</i>

(δ) *kərsi* "chair" (-i)

	Sg.	Pl.
	<i>kərsi</i>	<i>kərsiəm</i>
	<i>kərsia</i>	
	<i>kərsik</i>	<i>kərsikəm</i>
	<i>kərsiya</i>	<i>kərsina</i>

(ε) *xu* "brother" (-u)

	Sg.	Pl.
3. m.	<i>xu</i>	<i>xuəm</i>
3. f.	<i>xuia</i>	
2. c.	<i>xuk</i>	<i>xukəm</i>
1. c.	<i>xuya</i>	<i>xina</i>

(ζ) *dər* "back" (< \**dhər*) (III)<sup>6</sup>

	Sg.	Pl.
	<i>dəru</i>	<i>dərəm ~ dđərəm</i>
	<i>dərri</i>	<i>dđrri ~ dđrri</i>
	<i>dərək</i>	<i>dərəkəm ~ dđrəkəm</i>
	<i>dəri</i>	<i>dđrri ~ dđrri</i>

(b) Nouns with an ending *-č* (the construct state of the feminine ending *-a*).

(α) *haža* "thing" (*hažəč-*)

	Sg.	Pl.
3. m.	<i>hašču</i>	<i>hažəčəm ~ hažətčəm</i>
3. f.	<i>hažəča ~ hažətča</i>	
2. c.	<i>haščək</i>	<i>hažəčkəm</i>
1. c.	<i>hašči</i>	<i>hažətna</i>

(β) *məda* "stomach" (*mədəč-*)

	Sg.	Pl.
3. m.	<i>mətču</i>	<i>mədəčəm ~ mədətčəm</i>
3. f.	<i>mədəča ~ mədətča</i>	
2. c.	<i>mətčək</i>	<i>mədəčkəm</i>
1. c.	<i>mətči</i>	<i>mədətna</i>

(γ) *məhma* "handkerchief" (*məhməč-*)

	Sg.	Pl.
3. m.	<i>məhməču</i>	<i>məhməčəm ~ məhmətčəm</i>
3. f.	<i>məhməča ~ məhmətča</i>	
2. c.	<i>məhməčək</i>	<i>məhməčkəm</i>
1. c.	<i>məhməči</i>	<i>məhmətna</i>

<sup>6</sup> See 1.3.2.6.(2b) and (3a).

(δ) 'ša "stick" ('šač-)

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	'šáču	'šáčəm
3.f.	'šáča	
2.c.	'šáčək	'šáčəkəm
1.c.	'šáči	'šátna

(2) Pronoun suffixes with verbs.

(a) qčəl "he killed" (-əC)

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	qátlu	qčələm
3.f.	qčála	
2.c.	qátlək	qčələkəm
1.c.	qčánni	qčánna <sup>7</sup>

(c) qəčləč "she killed" (-Cəč)

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	qčəlču	qəčləčəm
3.f.	qəčləča	
2.c.	qčəlčək	qəčləčəkəm
1.c.	qəčlətini	qəčlətina

(e) yərmi "he throws" (-i)

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	yərmi	yərmiəm
3.f.	yərmiə	
2.c.	yərmiək	yərmiəkəm
1.c.	yərmini	yərmina

(g) nsaw "they forgot" (-aw)

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	nsawti	nsawəm
3.f.	nsawa	
2.c.	nsawək	nsawəkəm -
1.c.	nsawni	nsawna

(b) žac "she came" (-iC)

	Sg.	Pl.
	žáču	žáčəm
	žáča	
	žáčək	žáčəkəm
	žátini	žátina

(d) nsa "he forgot" (-a)

	Sg.	Pl.
	nsá	nsáəm
	nsáa	
	nsák	nsákəm
	nsáni	nsána

(f) bəču "they sent" (-i)

	Sg.	Pl.
	bəču	bəčuəm
	bəčuia	
	bəčük	bəčükəm
	bəčüini	bəčüina

(h) čənsay "you (f.) forget" (-ay)

	Sg.	Pl.
	čənsayi	čənsayəm
	čənsaya	
	-	-
	čənsáyini	čənsáyina

(i) čərmi "you (f.) throw" (\*-iy)

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	čərmiyi	čərmiyəm
3.f.	čərmiya	
2.c.	-	-
1.c.	čərmiyni	čərmiyna

## 2.1.1.3. Enclitic dative marker + pronoun suffixes

In this work we give a special term "enclitic dative marker" (or simply "enclitic" for abbreviation) to *l-* with a pronoun suffix which follows a verb. This *l-* corresponds to the CA preposition *li-*, but when this is in a combination with a verb, the verb and the enclitic compose a single phonological unit. In this work, therefore, the verb and the enclitic are always transcribed as one word, e.g. *kčəblu* "he wrote to him", *nəmsiləm* "I go to them" etc.

Table of the enclitic dative.

	Sg.		Pl.	
	After C	After $\bar{v}$	After C	After $\bar{v}$
3.m.	-lu	-lu	-ləm ~ -ələm ~ -əlləm	-ləm
3.f.	-la ~ -ála ~ -əlla	-la	-	-
2.c.	-lək	-lək	-ləkəm	-ləkəm
1.c.	-li	-li	-ənnə	-nna

(1) In *-ənnə* and *-nna* for the 1.pl., the enclitic *l* is assimilated to the following *n* (see 1.3.2.1.2.(2a)). The theoretical forms *\*-əlna* and *\*-lna* are never attested.

(2) 3.f.sg. *-la ~ -ála ~ -əlla* and 3.pl. *-ləm ~ -ələm ~ -əlləm* originate from *\*-lhā*, *\*-lhəm* respectively. In *-ála ~ -əlla* and *-ələm ~ -əlləm*, the effect of the disappeared *h* still remains (see 1.3.2.6.(2a)).<sup>8</sup> But in *-la* and *-ləm* it is no longer felt.

When *-ála*, *-ələm*, *-əlla*, *-əlləm* are attached to a syllable *-CəC*, the following syllable alterations take place (see 1.3.2.6.(2a) and 1.4.2.2.(1b)).

<sup>7</sup> On the assimilation *ln > mn*, see 1.3.2.1.2.(2a).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Tunis-Muslim *zəbəlħā* "he brought to her", *zəbəlħum* "he brought to them", see Singer, *Tunis*, p. 254.

(a) After  $-CəC$  (unstressed ə): ə is eliminated (see Example (5) below).  
Note that after  $-Cəč$  of a verb of the perfect 3.f., e.g. *kəčbəč* "she wrote" (see Example (2)), variants with  $-əla$ ,  $-əlla$ ,  $-əlam$ ,  $-əllam$  are not used, but  $-la$ ,  $-lam$ , and for 2.pl.,  $-əlkəm$  is used.

(b) After  $-C_1əC_2$  (stressed ə):  $C_2$  is geminated (see Example (1) below).

## Examples.

(1) *kəčəb* "he wrote" ( $-CəC$ ).

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>kəčəblu</i>	<i>kəčəbləm ~ kəčəbbələm</i>
3.f.	<i>kəčəbla ~ kəčəbbəla ~ kəčəbbəlla</i>	<i>~ kəčəbbəlləm</i>
2.c.	<i>kəčəblək</i>	<i>kəčəbbələkəm</i>
1.c.	<i>kəčəbli</i>	<i>kəčəbbənnə</i>

(2) *kəčbəč* "she wrote" ( $-Cəč$ ).

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>kəčbətlu</i>	<i>kəčbətəm</i>
3.f.	<i>kəčbətla</i>	
2.c.	<i>kəčbətək</i>	<i>kəčbəčələkəm<sup>9</sup></i>
1.c.	<i>kəčbətli</i>	<i>kəčbəčənnə</i>

(3) *kəčəbč* "you (m.) ~ I wrote" ( $-CC$ ).

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>kəčəbtlu</i>	<i>kəčəbtləm ~ kəčəbčələm</i>
3.f.	<i>kəčəbtla ~ kəčəbčəla ~ kəčəbčəlla</i>	<i>~ kəčəbčəlləm</i>
2.c.	<i>kəčəbtək</i>	<i>kəčəbčələkəm</i>
1.c.	<i>kəčəbtli</i>	<i>kəčəbčənnə</i>

(4) *kəčbu* "they wrote" ( $-C_u$ ).

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>kəčbūlu</i>	<i>kəčbūləm</i>
3.f.	<i>kəčbūla</i>	
2.c.	<i>kəčbūlək</i>	<i>kəčbūləkəm</i>
1.c.	<i>kəčbūli</i>	<i>kəčbūnnə</i>

<sup>9</sup> On ə in an open syllable, see 1.4.2.2. (1g) and 1.4.2.3.1. REMARK.

(5) *yəkčəb* "he writes" ( $-CəC$ )

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>yəkčəblu</i>	<i>yəkčəbləm ~ yəkčəbələm</i>
3.f.	<i>yəkčəbla ~ yəkčəbəla ~ yəkčəbəlla</i>	<i>~ yəkčəbəlləm</i>
2.c.	<i>yəkčəblək</i>	<i>yəkčəbələkəm</i>
1.c.	<i>yəkčəbli</i>	<i>yəkčəbənnə</i>

(6) *šra* "he bought" ( $-Ca$ ).

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>šrālu</i>	<i>šrāləm</i>	<i>yəšrīlu</i>	<i>yəšrīləm</i>
3.f.	<i>šrāla</i>		<i>yəšrīla</i>	
2.c.	<i>šrālək</i>	<i>šrāləkəm</i>	<i>yəšrīlək</i>	<i>yəšrīləkəm</i>
1.c.	<i>šrāli</i>	<i>šrānnə</i>	<i>yəšrīli</i>	<i>yəšrīnnə</i>

(7) *yəšri* "he buys" ( $-Ci$ ).

(8) *žab* "he brought" ( $-iC$ ).

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>žāblu</i>	<i>žābləm ~ žābbələm</i>
3.f.	<i>žābla ~ žābəla ~ žābəlla</i>	<i>~ žābbəlləm</i>
2.c.	<i>žāblək</i>	<i>žābələkəm</i>
1.c.	<i>žābli</i>	<i>žābənnə</i>

## 2.1.1.4. Independent dative marker + pronoun suffixes

Beside the enclitic dative marker, there is another series to mark the dative which is used independently. This series is used to emphasize the indirect object or after a verb with a 1st or 2nd person pronoun suffix for the accusative (see 2.1.1.5. below).

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>lilu</i>	<i>liləm</i>
3.f.	<i>lila</i>	
2.c.	<i>lilək</i>	<i>lilkəm</i>
1.c.	<i>lili</i>	<i>linna</i>

Unlike the enclitic, this series does not form a single phonological unit with the preceding verb.

*kəčb linna žwab* "he wrote a letter to us", *kənt nəʕi nəfšəm ləmmaliya. nəfšəm lili-na* "I used to give half of them to my family and another half to me myself", *nəa qčəlt lili ləhmar nəʕi* "you killed my donkey for me!", *bəyynu řwahkəm lila* "identify yourselves to her!", *xuk bʕətna lilək* "your brother sent us to you yourself", *xudəm lilək nəa* "take them for you".



### 2.1.1.5. Combination of the pronoun suffix and the enclitic dative marker

When a transitive verb takes two objects, the verb stem may be followed by a pronoun suffix and an enclitic dative marker at the same time. The combinations of these three elements are actually restricted to cases where the 3rd person is accusative; in other cases dative is expressed by the independent dative marker.

*žabulu* "he brought it (m.) to him"<sup>10</sup>

*žabula* "he brought it (m.) to her"

*žabulək* "he brought it (m.) to you (sg.)"

*žabuli* "he brought it (m.) to me"

*žabuləm* "he brought it (m.) to them"

*žabulkəm* "he brought it (m.) to you (pl.)"

*žabunna* "he brought it (m.) to us"

But,

*bəčək lili* "he sent you (sg.) to him" (not \**bəčəklu* etc.)

*bəčək lila* "he sent you (sg.) to her"

*bəčək lili* "he sent you (sg.) to me"

*bəčək liləm* "he sent you (sg.) to them"

*bəčək linna* "he sent you (sg.) to us"

*bəətmi lili* "he sent me to him"

*bəətmi lila* "he sent me to her"

*bəətmi lilək* "he sent me to you (m.)"

*bəətmi liləm* "he sent me to them"

*bəətmi lilkəm* "he sent me to you (pl.)"

<sup>10</sup> *žabulu* means also "they brought to him". And "they brought it (m.) to him" is expressed as *žabuulu*.

### 2.1.2. Demonstrative pronouns

#### 2.1.2.1. Near reference

	Sg.		Pl.	
m.	<i>ada</i>	<i>ad</i>	<i>ađun ~ ađuni</i>	<i>ad</i>
f.	<i>adi</i>	<i>ad</i>		

#### 2.1.2.2. Far reference

	Sg.		Pl.	
m.	<i>adak ~ dak</i>		<i>ađuk ~ đuk</i>	
f.	<i>adik ~ dik</i>			

#### 2.1.2.3. Position of the demonstrative pronouns

##### (1) Substantival usage.

When the demonstrative pronoun (except for *ad* which is not used substantivally) is used independently, it means "this one", "that (woman)" etc.

*yži dak* "that one comes", *ada qčəl wəldu* "this one killed his son", *familyəč ada* "the family of this one", *adak məaš čamma* "that no longer exists".

In combination with the relative pronoun, one can express "he who, she who, those who".

*ađul-li*<sup>11</sup> *ma čəndəmš šku yqim bim* "these who do not have any one to assist them", *ađuk li čəndəm fhus* "those who have money".

##### (2) Adjectival usage.

To modify a noun, three ways are attested.

(a) *ad*, (*a*)*dak*, (*a*)*dik*, (*a*)*đuk* + noun with the definite article.

*ad əkiša* "this life", *ad əlwəld* "this boy", *ad əlbənč* "this girl", *ad əkklab* "these dogs", *ad əlbnač ləkčər məzyanin fəlblad* "these girls are the most beautiful in the town": *adak əşşəltan kan čəndu bənč* "that Sultan had a daughter", *ađuk ənnas ləxšan* "those powerful people", *ađuk əzzuz zğar kəbrü* "those two boys grew".

<sup>11</sup> *ađun li* > *ađul-li*, see 1.3.2.1.2.(2b).

## REMARK

The combination of *ada*, *adi*, or *ađun* + noun with a definite noun can be interpreted as a sentence; or a phrase.

Sentence: *ada lbækri*, *ada lwəşti w ada zzgír* "this is the eldest son, this is the middle one and this is the youngest", *ađun bnači* "these are my daughters".

Phrase: *ada şşəltan* "that one is the Sultan".

(b) Definite noun + *ada*, *adi*, *ađun*, *ađuni*, (*a*)*dak*, (*a*)*dik*, (*a*)*đuk*.

*lfamilya adi* "this family", *ma nə'rəşš mnin əlkəlmə adi* "I don't know where this word comes from", *yəmšiw ynəşdu adi*, *lə'zuza adi* "they go to ask her, this old woman", *muš məddənya adi* "it is not from this world", *ləhwayəž ađun* "these affairs", *bə'din yaxəd əlmhərm adik* "afterwards he takes that handkerchief off", *adi*, *lmakla adi čqimli qəlbi* "this one, this food cheers me", *wəldi ada* "this son of mine".

This way can modify a noun phrase which consists of two words.

*rašəč qawa adi* "this cup of coffee", *šišəč kōkə adi* "this bottle of Coca-Cola", *nar əttin ada* "this Monday", *nar lərb'a adi* "this Wednesday", *šərr nisan ada* "this month of Nisan".

(c) *ad* + definite noun + pronoun.

*yəqra ad əlbşuqim ađun* "he reads these verses", *nəbb ad əlhaža adi* "I want this thing".

#### 2.1.2.4. A special use of the demonstrative pronoun.

*ma da b-* + pron.suff. + imperfect verb: "how I etc. would like to" (on the preposition *b-* with pronoun suffixes, see 2.5.1.(1)). This is a fixed expression with *da < dā* which should originate from a form of the demonstrative pronoun. When the person of the verb differs from that of the pronoun suffix of *b-*, *baš* may intervene between them.

*ma da biya yaxədni ssənfaz č-əşşəltan* "I would like the Sultan's doughnut maker to marry me". *əlfus li kənt nərbəhha*, *ma da biya nəşrəffəm fisə* "as for the money I earned I would like to spent it quickly", *ma da biya nəmši narəa* "I would like to go to see it (f.)", *nča ma da bik baš yəqəd šlik* "you would like him to invite you", *ma da biya yəqəd šliya* "I would like him to invite me".

#### 2.1.3. The reflexive pronoun

*ruh-* with a pronoun suffix serves as a reflexive pronoun.

*bəyynu rwaħkəm* "introduce yourselves!", *qčəl ruhu* "he killed himself", *hsəb ruhu* "he was careful about his appearance (lit. he reckoned himself)", *ada uwa fi ruhu* "it is he himself", *əməli ruħək mriđa* "pretend (f.) to be sick!", *fi mərəəč bnad-miya yəməlu ləħkuma 'li ruħəm* "sometimes people judge themselves".

Expression for "by oneself, alone to oneself".

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>bruhu</i> "by himself"	<i>bruhəm</i> "by themselves"
3.f.	<i>bruhə</i> "by herself"	
2.c.	<i>bruhək</i> "by yourself"	<i>bruhkəm</i> "by yourselves"
1.c.	<i>bruhi</i> "by myself"	<i>bruhna</i> "by ourselves"

On the forms of the 3.f.sg. and the 3.pl., see 1.3.2.6.(6a).

*za bruhu* "he came by himself", *qə'dəč məskina fi bič bruhə* "she stayed. poor girl, in a room alone"

Also in the plural *bruh-* is used and not \**bərwah-*.

*bnaw hušəm bruhəm* "they built their house by themselves".

#### 2.1.4. The reciprocal pronoun

*bə'd* + pron.suff., *mə bə'd* "with each other".

*yəqəbu bə'dəm* "they hit each other", *nəfamu bə'dna bai bzayəd* "we understand each other very well", *čəmma hwayəž li kčər kəbar məlləmhəbba adi nčə ə'is mə bə'd* "there are things that are greater than this affection for life together", *nakhu lkəll mə bə'd* "we eat together", *əmma yəhəbbu yəmšiw tčinna mə bə'd* "they want to go to the cinema together".

#### 2.1.5. Presentative particles

##### 2.1.5.1. *wada* (m.), *wadi* (f.), *wəđun* (pl.)

This series is used to denote the actual presence of a person or to emphasize that a person is in progress of a certain action. This particle precedes the perfect, the imperfect or the participle of a verb. With the imperfect, *wada*, *wadi* and *wəđun*

indicate speaker's strong intention to fulfil an action desired of him. The use of the participle seems to be restricted to verbs indicating movement.

*wada žay* "here he is coming", *wada žičək* "here I came to you (sg.)"; *wadi žaya* "here I (f.) am ~ she is coming", *wadi nəkčəb* "(don't worry) I shall (certainly) write"; *waḏun žayin* "here they are coming".

### 2.1.5.2. *čra*<sup>12</sup>

This is used to remind someone to perform an action and it normally precedes a verb in the imperative. It can be used independently when the request of the speaker is obvious.

*čra wərrini* "come on, show me!", *čra žibili kək* "I say, bring some biscuits!".

### 2.1.6. The demonstrative sentence-introducing particle

	Sg.	Pl.
m.	<i>aṛa</i>	<i>aṛaw</i>
f.	<i>aṛi</i>	

This series functions as a particle "behold!" to introduce a sentence calling the attention of the addressee. Formally this series of the particle is similar to the imperative of *ra* "to see": m. *aṛa*, f. *aṛay*, pl. *aṛaw*, though for the feminine the particle takes a different form *aṛi*. In this respect the functional boundary of the conjugated *ra* as a real verb or as a particle is not clear.<sup>13</sup>

*aṛaṛa* (= *aṛa aṛa*) *yhətt* 'lia *yəddu adak* "look here, that one put his hand on her!", *aṛi bənči čkəh* "here my daughter is coughing", *člaš ma žitš? aṛa-ná žičək w ma šəbčəkš* "why didn't you come? Look I came to you, but I didn't find you", *aṛa qəddaš hašəb ruhu* "see how he is careful about his appearance!", *aṛi žəbilək, ma ričias?* "now I brought (it) for you (f.), didn't you (f.) see it (f.)?", *aṛi ša šəbč* "look here, what did I find?".

<sup>12</sup> Fischer, *Demonstrativen*, pp. 195-198. This participle originates from the verb *ra* as in the case of *aṛa*, and *č* is from the conjugational prefix for the 2.m.sg.

<sup>13</sup> Fischer, *Demonstrativen*, p. 187 argues that "die Entwicklung von *rā* zur demonstrativen Interjektion und Satzeinleitungspartikel wurde begünstigt dadurch, daß die übrigen Formen von *ra'ā* in den meisten Dialekten dieses Gebietes (= Northafrica, by Y.S) nicht mehr vorhanden sind...", but TJ has whole series of the conjugation of *ra* (see 2.2.4.3.(2)), also see Blau, *Emergence*, p. 14 fn. 2.

### 2.1.7. Relative pronouns

(1) *əlli* ~ *li*.

Though there is a tendency to use *əlli* after a consonant, both *əlli* and *li* can in fact stand in any environment.

*aḏul-li ma čəndəməš šku yqim bim* "those who do not have anyone to assist them", *š'ṭiam əlli yḥəbbu* "give (m.) them what they want!".

Without antecedent, *əlli* can express "that which, that who, a thing which", and in this case the relative pronoun is considered as containing a antecedent, so that when it designates an object of the verb, it may have a pronoun agreeing with it. In this case *əlli* can be preceded by a preposition.

*li č'auinna lla* (*č'au* "he gave" + *-u* "him" + *-nna* < *-lna* "for us") "he whom God gave us", *li tsəm'ə-káčbu* (*tsəm'* (< *təsmə'*) "you hear" + *-u* "it" -*káčb-* (< *əkčəb*) "write!" + *-u* "it") "write down what you hear!", *ləlli yb'ə nqulu qəddaš čəswa* "we ask him who sells it (f.) how much it costs": *li yži* "a thing which comes" can indicate "anything (whatever)"; *aná nakəl li yži* "I eat anything (that comes)", *ḥən-nəxdəm xədma əlli dži* "I will work any work", *nəqdər nədwi m'ə nas əlli yžiw* "I can speak with any people".

#### REMARK

*kəlli* (< *kəll əlli*) indicates "everyone who" (see 2.1.10.(1e)).

(2) *š, šawa* "what; what which" (see also 2.1.8.1.(2) below).

*ayda š šar* "thus is what happened", *nča čəffəm č'la ~ č'li šawa dwina* "you understand what we talked about".

#### REMARK

*šawa* (as relative pronoun) is always used in the combination of a preposition.

(3) (*a*)*škun* ~ (*a*)*šku* (*li*) "(some)one who" (see 2.1.8.2. and as to variants see 1.3.2.2.(2c')).

*ma yḥəbbuš škun li yəxnəb* "they don't like whoever steals", *qa yḏəwru škun y'awənəm* "they are looking for someone to help them", *aḏul-li ma čəndəməš šku yqim bim* "those who do not have anyone to assist them", *čəmma šku li yəč'əlləm bzayəd* "there is one who studies much"; *škun li yži* "whoever comes" can indicate "anyone (at all)", *škun li yži ana nqəblu* "I accept whoever it is (= I accept anyone)".

(4) *ma* "what; what which".

*ayda ma šar w ada ma kan* "thus is what happened and this is what was", *ʿandi ma naʿmal* "I have something to do (= I am busy)", *ada ma ʿamlu xwača* "this is what her sisters did", *ada ma ʿamlət əlqabla* "this is what the midwife did".

(5) *win* "where, the place which" (see 2.6.2.(10)).

*mərī əššəlītan žrač fi žarrəč ərražəl lməskin həčə lwīn yəskən* "the Sultan's wife followed the pitiful man to where he was living", *ma ʿandaš win čəħəttə* "she doesn't have anywhere to put it".

(6) *win ma* "where, wherever".

*wim ma čamma ʾahuna* "where there is a mill", *win ma čqulli nəmši nəziba* "I'll go to bring it wherever you tell me", *nəħətt əlkaš win ma čamma lməħraħ* "I put the cup wherever there is place".

### 2.1.8. Interrogative pronouns

#### 2.1.8.1. Interrogative for things "what?"

(1) *ša, šawa*.

*ša* is used as subject or object.

*ša šar?* "what happened?", *ša čamma* "what is there?", *ša ʿandək?* "what do you have?", *ša klič əhyum?* "what did you eat today?", *ša nəqʿəd mgir xədma?* "what am I doing without work?", *ša ykun uwa?* "what is he (what will be his occupation?)", *ša hələk?* "how are you? (lit. what is your condition?)", *ša ssəʿa* "what time is it?", *ša əmma lkəlməč?* "what are the words?", *ba, šuwa ykəmmhu?* "well, what do they finish?".

#### REMARK

In the combination of *ša* and pronouns *uwa, iya* or *əmma*, combined forms *šuwa, šiya, šamma* may be used as free variants of *ša uwa, ša iya* and *ša əmma*.

*šawa* is used

(a) in nominal sentences meaning "what is this?".

*əyya nəčəbbʿu ttīraqa w naraw dđəww ada šawa uwa* "let's follow the way and see what this light is!", *šawa ada?* "what is this?".

(b) in combination with a preposition.

*bšawa mačtu?* "what did they die of?", *bšawa qa čqəšš əllhəm?* "what are you cutting the meat with?", *fi šawa čəħətt əzzbəl?* "what do you put the rubbish in?", *wra šawa təyyəħč flusək* "what did you drop your money behind?".

#### REMARK

*bšawa, ʿla ~ ʿli šawa, fi šawa, mən šawa* alternate with *baš, ʿlaš, faš, mnaš* (see below) but with other prepositions, e.g. *wra* "behind", *qəddam* "in front of" etc. *šawa* is used.

(c) to ask to the speaker to repeat what he has said, either because of the incredibility of his remark or the difficulty of hearing it.

*šawa? qulli mərī čanya* "what? Tell me once again!".

(2) (*aš*) (see 2.1.7.(2)).

This is usually used in the following expressions.

(a) *š ~ aš bi-* "what about...?".

*(a)š bik, ša šarlək?* "what about you? What happened?".

In this case *ša* is not used.

(b) In combination with the prepositions *b-, f-, mən-* and *ʿla-* (with other prepositions *šawa* is used) etc., *aš* is used as a bound suffixed form (*ʿlaš* may alternate with *ʿla šawa*): *baš* "with what?", *faš* "in what?", *ʿlaš* "on what?; why?" (see 2.6.3.(1c)).

*baš qa čqəšš əllhəm?* "what are you cutting the meat with?", *baš məmul ləħəmbəħ?* "what is *ħəmbəħ* made with?", *mnaš məmul ada?* "what is this made from?", *faš čərmi zzbəl?* "what do you throw the rubbish in?", *ʿlaš (ʿla šawa) həttič əžzəwəb?* "what did you (m.) put the letter on?".

(c) In combination with *kif > kifəš* "how?" and with *qədd > qəddaš* "how much / many?" (see 2.6.3.(17) and (25) respectively).

#### REMARK

From these examples we notice that for the interrogative "what?" there are two series: *aš* and *ša*. The *aš* series, which is in TJ used mainly in combination with prepositions, is observed broadly in many modern Arabic dialects, Maghribi and

non-Maghribi,<sup>14</sup> but *ša* has been reported only in Ouargha.<sup>15</sup> According to Singer, W.Fischer once remarked to him that *ša* is "eine Analogiebildung nach den vielen Partikeln mit adverbialer ā-Endung wie z.B. *dābā* "jetzt", *ḡorkā* (und Varianten) "jetzt", *ḡammā* "dort"<sup>16</sup>. Lévi-Provençal himself assumes *ša* is a metathesis of *āš*,<sup>17</sup> which Singer does not uphold<sup>18</sup> and nor would we.

### 2.1.8.2. Interrogative for persons "who?"

"Who?" is expressed by (a)*škun* ~ *škun*. On the relative usage, see 2.1.7.(3) above, and on the variants, see 1.3.2.2.(2c').

*škun* 'mall ada? "who did this?", *škun* rič? "whom did you see?", *škun* nča? "who are you?"; *baškun* ~ *baškun* laaya? "who are you (f.) looking after?", *laškun* ~ *laškun* 'tit alxabza nčaf ammak? "who did you give your mother's bread to?", *fi škun* qa častanna? "who are you waiting for?", *nčaf aškul-lbərtila*<sup>19</sup> lli gadi? "whose is the hat there?", *ada nčaf aškun*? "whose is this?", *mə škun* dwič fəlfərḡ? "who did you talk with at the wedding party?", *mn aškun* xdit əlflus aḡuni? "who did you take this money from?", 'la ~ 'li *škun* qa čədwi? "who are you talking about?", *ada wald aškun*? "whose son is this?", *adi mərḡ aškun*? "whose wife is this?"

#### REMARK

*Nomen regens* of *škun* tends to be limited to human beings and domestic animals, thus *kəlb* "dog" and *džaža* "chicken" etc. frequently appears as *nomen regens*, but, for example, 'əšfir "bird" in a lesser degree. In such cases the preposition *nčaf* (see 2.5.2.(17)) is used: 'əšfir *škun* ~ 'əšfir *nčaf aškun*? "whose bird is this?"

14 Singer, *Fragewörter*, p.204 ff.

15 Lévi-Provençal, *Ouargha*, p. 36.

16 Singer, *Fragewörter*, p.231.

17 Lévi-Provençal, *Ouargha*, p. 223.

18 Singer, *Fragewörter*, p. 231.

19 *škul-lbərtila* < *škun* *əlbərtila*. On the assimilation of *n* + *əl* > *ll*, see 1.3.2.1.2.(2b).

### 2.1.8.3. *ami* ~ *amim* "which?"

(1) With a noun.

*ami* is followed by a singular or a plural noun when the relevant object is of one kind.

*ami* ləḡwat č'alləmč? "which languages did you learn?", *ami* hyaš saknin fim msəlmin? "which houses are Muslims living in?", *ami* bit čḡəbb? "which room do you like?", *amim* ləḡwat čədwi? "which languages (which we are talking about) do you speak?", *əḡwaši aḡuni žəbčəm malliḡalya - amim*? "I brought these cups from Italy - Which of them?", *famim* ləhyač ysəknu lmsəlmin? "which of the houses do the Muslims live in?"

#### REMARK

*kəll ami* wəqč indicates "how often?", e.g. *kəll ami* wəqč yaḡlḡ luḡubuš əliəl əvīv? "how often does the bus to Tel-Aviv start?"

(2) Independent usage.

*ami* may be used independently, e.g. when different (kinds of) objects are involved, and the chosen objects put separately.

*ami* čḡəbb kčər, čəffah, lima? "which do you like best, apple or lemon?"

(3) In combination with preposition.

*bami* ləḡwa qa čədwi? "in which language are you speaking?", *fami* hyaš ysəknu lmsəlmin "in which houses do the Muslims live?"

### 2.1.9. Indefinite pronouns

(1) *waḡəd* (m.), *wəḡda* (f.).

Both *waḡəd* and *wəḡda* by themselves serve as nouns.

(a) *waḡəd*.

(α) Denoting an unspecified person when only his existence as human being (masculine or feminine), but not his identity, is important.

čamma *waḡəd* yəməl qaḡlač "there is someone who organizes robber band". *waḡəd* ybīf əlqmayəž, *waḡəd* ybīf əššəbəḡ! "someone sells shirts, another sells shoes", *waḡəd* qal əqčəla *waḡəd* qal tərḡəda *waḡəd* qal ma čḡərrəqš fia "one said 'kill her!', another said 'drive her out!', another said 'don't deal with her!'", *žami* *waḡəd* li yaxdəm m'a m'allmi "there came to me someone who worked with my boss", *waḡəd* li xšin bzayəd, li sakən fi bəlaḡ "one who is very powerful who lives in a high building".

This *wahəd* can take an adjective, and in such cases it may be used, though very rarely, for an inanimate object.

*anā, qəllək, m'a wahəd čani* "I was, as I said, with someone else", *ma čəndəmš wahəd wəʔ baš yəč'ayšu mə bə'd* "there is nothing difficult in them living together (lit. they do not have anything difficult...)".

(β) Denoting an unspecified person or thing irrespective of the gender especially when the speaker cannot remember his / her / its name.

*kəll hədd yətləb wahəd... sfənza bəddəhya* "everyone orders a... doughnut with egg", *yə'bu bwahəd.. fətləbəl* "they play that... football", *m'əmlu wahəd, fišta* "we have a... a feast".

In the first sentence the speaker would say *sfənza*, but he could not at a moment remember how to say "doughnut" in Arabic, so instead of *sfənza*, he said *wahəd*. In this case *wahəd* is not "something", because the speaker certainly knows what "everyone ordered". In this case *wahəd* can take a definite article according to the context where the forgotten noun should be definite.

*kif ma kanu, yə'ni čəmma məkčubin fəlwahəd, fəč'urā* "as they are, namely, written in the... in the Bible", *kənt nəxdəm fəlwahəd, fəddabəč* "I used to work in the... in the jewellery", *w yəkriw lwahəd, ləbəraka* "and they lent the... the hut", *w fəššəbəl naklu dak əlwahəd makla nəč' əššəbəl* "and in the morning we eat that one... (the) food of the morning".

(γ) *wahəd* + indefinite singular noun "a (certain) ...": Also this combination denotes an unspecified masculine person as in (α), but the range of the indefiniteness is narrower than in the latter. In the present case the indefiniteness of *wahəd* is restricted within a certain semantic category which is indicated by the singular noun.

*kan u ma kan č'la wahət šəltaŋ* "once upon a time there was a (certain) Sultan", *hətt wahəd č'əssas š'liəm* "he placed a certain guardsman for them", *naxdu wahəd məsləm, səwwaq məsləm* "we employ a certain Muslim, a Muslim driver".

(δ) In the negative sentence, in combination with *hətčə*, *wahəd* denotes "(no) one" (see 3.3.(1b)).

*hətčə wahəd ma ža* "no one came", *hətčə wahəd ma thək* "no one laughed".

(b) *wəhda* (f.).

Compared with *wahəd*, the use of *wəhda* is quite restricted since this specifies the gender, so that the indefiniteness is reduced. *wəhda* denotes someone whose identity is unknown but only the fact that this person is a feminine is obvious.

*čəmma wəhda sakna fəlxla* "there was someone (f.) living in the desert".

(2) *hədd*.

The use of *hədd* is restricted to the negative sentence (see 3.3.(1b)) or in combination with *kəll*, i.e. *kəll hədd* "everyone" (see below 2.1.10.(1a)).

*ma ža hədd* "no one came", *hətčə hədd ma ža* "not anybody came", *kəll hədd yətləb sfənza bəddəhya* "everyone orders a doughnut with egg", *kəll hədd yəll dəkkən* "everyone opens a shop".

(3) *šəyy* (see 3.3.(1b)).

This is used only in the negative sentence and denotes "nothing".

*šəyy ma šar* "nothing has happened", *ma klit šəyy* "I ate nothing", *muš lazəm čəxəlšəš šəyy* "you (m.) do not have to pay anything", *šəyy!* "nothing!".

(4) *həža* "something".

*əš'rili həža* "buy (m.) me something!".

*həža* means "nothing" in combination with *hətčə* in the negative sentence (see 3.3.(1b)).

(5) *bnadəm* (pl. *bnadmiya*) "human being, one".

This denotes the human being as a general entity or a group of people who have the same nature or the same patterns of behaviour.

*məzyan bzayəd li nəč'əkkər əyyamač č'a xačər bnadəm yənsa* "it is very good that I remember (past) days because people forget (them)", *bnadəm li yə'tik mən qəlbū* "one who gives from the heart", *fi mərrəč bnadmiya y'əmlu ləhkuma č'li ručəm* "sometimes people judge themselves".

(6) *f(u)lan u f(u)lani* "so and so" (f. & pl. *f(u)lana w f(u)laniya*).

*adak flan u flani č'tak č'inarš* "this is so-and-so who put the evil eye on you", *flana w flaniya kəčbuli žwabač* "so-and-so (people) have written me letters".

## 2.1.10. Expressions of quantity

(1) *kəll*.(a) *kəll hədd* "every one" (treated as sg.).

*kəll hədd yətləb sfənza bəddəhya* "everyone orders doughnut with egg", *kəll hədd yhall dəkkən* "every one opens a shop", *kəll hədd həkəmm fəlia lun* "everyone judged her differently", *kəll hədd yhabb ynəggəz kčər ʿali, kčər xir baš ywərrī ruhu ləbnat li uwa faləh* "every one wants to jump higher and better to show the girls that he is able".

(b) *kəll šəyy* ~ *kəll həza* "everything" (usually treated as sg. but also as pl.).

*kəll šəyy məkčub mn əlla* "everything is written (ordained) by God", *w kəll həza nəč ʿəllmua mə bəq* "we learn everything together", *kəll həza nsəm ʿuəm nxaftu* (concord in pl.) "we fear everything which we hear".

(c) *lkəll* "all of them, every one, every thing" (usually treated as pl. but also as sg.).

*čəqrib əlkəll talyan* "almost all are Italians", *lkəll yžibu w ydəbhəm bəruhəm fəššarə* "they all bring and slaughter them (the sheep) themselves in the street", *muš əlkəll yʿərfu yxədmu həlhənkə* "not all of them know how to use the bank", *lkəll yhabbua* "everybody loves her", *bdaw lkəll yaklu* "all began to eat", *iyə hət-čəməl lkəll məqlub mənna hnan* "she is going to do everything contrary to us".

(d) Definite article + noun + *lkəll* "the whole, all" (synonym of *bəlli f-* (see (2) below).

*uwa šrəbb əššišə lkəll* "he drunk the whole bottle", *əblad əlkəll məʿəbbyə čəlž* "the whole city is covered with snow", *ənnas əlkəll yʿərfu* "all people know", *w buyə ma yəqdərš yʿtini lhwayəž lkəll ađun* "my father cannot give me all these things", *ʿəndi nəxdəm bəruhi baš nəšri lhwayəž lkəll* "I have to work to buy all these things".

(e) *kəlli* (< *kəll əlli*) "everyone who..." (see 2.1.7.(1) REMARK).

*kəlli yʿməl məfun* "everyone who does evil".

## REMARK

Expression by *kəll* + definite noun, e.g. *\*kəll əlhuš* "the whole house" is not used.

(2) Noun + *bəlli fi-* + pron.suff. concordant with the noun "whole".

This is put after a definite noun and a pronoun suffix indicating that noun is added to *fi-*. This expression is a synonym of (1d) above.

*uwa šrəbb əššišə bəlli fia* "he drunk the whole bottle", *uwa kčəbb əzwab wəhəd kam bəlli fi* "he wrote (only) one letter in a whole year", *əblad bəlli fia məʿəbbyə čəlž* "the whole city is covered with snow", *nnaš bəlli fim yʿərfu* "all people know", *hnan nərcədu bəlli fina bəlxuf* "we tremble from head to foot out of fear (not "we all tremble")".

## 2.2. Verb

The verb morphology of TJ is not significantly different from that of other sedentary Maghribi dialects; the categories of the dual and the feminine plural are absent, the internal-passive, the distinction of the moods, the distinction of the active and the passive participle of the derived verbs have all disappeared,<sup>20</sup> and CA Form IX has been replaced formally by dialectal Form XI.

Among these dialects the particularity of TJ in the verb morphology is represented by (1) the distinction of the gender in the 2.sg. both in the perfect and the imperfect (see 2.2.2.1. below), whereas most of the sedentary Maghribi dialects have lost this difference, (2) the absence of the sub-classification of Form I verb stems by stem vowel (see 2.2.1.1.1.(1) below), and (3) the existence of the weak verbs with *h* (historical *h*) as a distinct category. Because of the absence of *h* in TJ, a TJ verb containing a historical *h* especially as the 1st or the 2nd radical shows formal irregularity (*IIIh* has merged with *IIIy*) and cannot be adequately classified in any existing conjugational pattern, so that we provide new conjugational patterns for them. i.e. *Ih*, *Ih*.

### REMARK

In this chapter the verb stem is, in case of necessity, underlined, and the gloss of each verb is given in English infinitive, e.g. *mša* "to go" (not "he went").

### 2.2.1. *Binyan* (simple form and derived forms)

The term *Binyan* means the classification of the simple and derived Forms (Form I ~ Form XI). The formational system of TJ derived forms is basically identical to CA and other modern Arabic dialects. TJ possesses the simple form (Form I) and derived forms (Form II ~ XI except Form IV and IX).

#### 2.2.1.1. Stem patterns of the simple and derived forms

##### 2.2.1.1.1. Finite verb

TJ verb forms are classified following those of CA. In the following list the perfect stems of the strong verb are represented.

#### Trilateral verbs

Form I	<i>CCəC</i>
Form II	<i>CəC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>əC</i>
Form III	<i>CaCəC</i>
Form V	<i>TCəC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>əC</i>
Form VI	<i>TCaCəC</i>
Form VII	<i>nəCCəC</i>
Form VIII	<i>CəTCəC</i>
Form X	<i>stəCCəC</i>
Form XI	<i>CCaC</i>

#### Quadrilateral verbs

Form I	<i>CəCCəC</i>
Form II	<i>TCəCCəC</i>

#### (1) Form I

Whilst in CA and most of the modern dialects Form I verbs are sub-classified according to the stem vowel, TJ does not know such sub-classification of them because it has only one short vowel phoneme.

#### CA:<sup>21</sup>

[A] *CaCaC* - *yaCCiC* or *yaCCuC*: *ḍarab* - *yaḍrib* "to hit", *katab* - *yaktub* "to write".<sup>22</sup>

[B] *CaCiC* - *yaCCaC*: *labas* - *yalbas* "to wear".

[C] *CaCuC* - *yaCCuC*: *kabur* - *yakbur* "to be large".

The relation between the perfect stem vowel (the vowel of the second syllable) and the imperfect one is mostly fixed in the following manner<sup>23</sup>:

Perfect	Imperfect
<i>a</i>	<i>i, u</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>

21 Also the inner-passive pattern *CuCiC* - *yuCCaC* has fixed stem vowels.

22 Many verbs have the correspondence *CaCaC* - *yaCCaC* due to a guttural consonant as the 2nd or 3rd radical, see Wright, *Grammar* vol. 1, p. 57. Also a few exceptional correspondences are attested as *CaCiC* - *yaCCiC*, *CaCiC* - *yaCCuC*, see Fleisch, *ibid*.

23 Wright, *Grammar* vol. 1, p. 57 ff., Fleisch, *Traité* vol. 2, p. 227 ff., and Bloch, *Imperfect*, p. 27.

20 Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 60.



In TJ, which has only one short vowel phoneme, needless to say, the perfect stem and the imperfect one is identical in any case.

*dbāḥ* - *yadbāḥ* "to slaughter" (CA *dabāḥ* - *yadbāḥ*).

*ḍrāb* - *yadrāb* "to hit" (CA *ḍarab* - *yadrīb*).

*kčāb* - *yākčāb* "to write" (CA *katab* - *yaktub*).

*lāb* - *yalāb* "to play" (CA *lāib* - *yalāb*).

*qdam* - *yāqdam* "to become old" (CA *qadam* - *yaqdam*).

## (2) Derived Forms

The reduction of the number of the short vowel phoneme in TJ influences the system of the derived verbs. In CA the perfect stem and the imperfect / imperative stem are distinguished by the difference of the stem vowel, e.g. *ʿallam* "he taught" : *yalʿallim* "he teaches" / *ʿallim* "teach (m.sg.)!". As long as TJ has only one short vowel phoneme, such a distinction is impossible, hence all these stems unanimously take *a* as the stem vowel, *ʿallam* "he taught" : *yʿallam* "he teaches" / *ʿallam* "teach (m.)!". The fixed vowel of the derived verb stem is a phenomenon widespread in the sedentary Maghribi dialects; although Tunis-Muslim distinguishes three short vowels *a*, *i* and *u*, the perfect stem and the imperfect / imperative stem of the derived verbs are not distinguished by the stem vowel.<sup>24</sup>

A phenomenon particular to TJ is the distinction between the perfect and the imperfect / imperative stems by the stress position, the perfect stem bears the stress on the ultimate whilst the imperfect / imperative stem on the penultimate, *ʿallam* "he taught" : *yʿallam* "he teaches" / *ʿallam* "teach (m.)!" (see 1.4.3.2.3.(1a)).

Form IV and IX are absent in TJ. CA Form IV is substituted formally by TJ Form I or functionally by Form II.<sup>25</sup> The formal substitution by Form I is due to the general tendency of the elimination of the short vowel in word initial (see 1.3.2.7.(3)) and the reduction of the number of the short vowel phonemes of TJ.

For example, TJ *lzam* "to oblige (v.t.)" should originate from CA Form IV *ʿal-zam*, but the elimination of *ʾa* brings about its assimilation to Form I. And in the imperfect, CA *yulzim* is distinguished from CA *yalzam* "it is necessary" by the short vowel quality, but in TJ all CA *a*, *i* and *u* having been reduced into *a*, such a distinction has become null.

<sup>24</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, p. 368.

<sup>25</sup> Holes, *Arabic*, p. 113.

Functionally both CA Form II and IV convey the factitive or causative signification. When a given CA Form IV causative verb which is opposed to a Form I in transitivity is formally reduced to Form I in TJ, the distinction of these two verbs becomes null. Then the function of Form IV is transferred to Form II, e.g. CA *qaliq* "to be disturbed" : *ʾaqlaq* "to disturb" > TJ *qlaq* "to get weary" : *qallāq* "to disturb".

There exist, however, some traces of CA Form IV. For example, *maslam* "Muslim" is a noun from the active participle of Form IV *ʾaslam*. And TJ *tfa* "to extinguish", which has its participle *mətfi*, which can serve as both passive "extinguishing" and active "extinguished", corresponds to CA Form IV *ʾatfaʾ* because if *tfa* corresponds to CA Form I the imperfect should be *\*yətfa*, but the actual form is *yətfi*, in addition *tfa* is a transitive verb (see 2.2.4.1.5.(2) REMARK) and its intransitive counterpart is represented in Form VII *ḥətfā*.

In TJ there are only a few descendants of CA Form VIII: only one example of strong verb *raʿāʾad* "to tremble", and some examples of gem., *Ilw/y* and *Illy* verbs (see 2.2.4.1.7.)

CA Form IX is substituted by Form XI *CCaC*. CA Form XI is on the pattern *ʾiC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>āC<sub>3</sub>C<sub>3</sub>*, with a long vowel and geminated 3rd radical, but not only in TJ but also broadly in the Maghrib the 3rd radical is not geminated (see Cohen *Tunis II*, p. 122).

## REMARK

TJ has following irregular verbs: *ža* "to come", *ra* "to see", *xad*, *xda* "to take", *kal*, *kla* "to eat", *ba* "to want", *ḥallā* "to dance", *stənnā* "to wait", *sthəm* "to bathe" which are discussed in 2.2.4.3. Besides two isolated imperative verbs are attested: *ač* "bring!" and *ḥərra* "go out!" (see 2.2.4.4.).

### 2.2.1.1.2. Participle

In the following list the participle stems of the strong verb are represented.

Trilateral verb		Quadrilateral verb
Form I	<i>CaCəC</i> (active) <i>məCCuC</i> (passive)	Form I <i>mCəCCəC</i>
Form II	<i>mCəC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>əC</i>	Form II <i>məTCəCCəC</i>
Form III	<i>mCaCəC</i>	
Form V	<i>məTCəC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>əC</i>	

Form VI	<i>məTCaCəC</i>
Form VII	∅
Form VIII	<i>məCTCəC</i>
Form X	<i>məstəCCəC</i>
Form XI	<i>(məCCaC)</i>

The dichotomy of the active and passive participles is attested only in Form I. The active participle of Form I verbs is formed on the pattern *CaCəC*, and the passive participle in the pattern *məCCuC*.

The participle of derived verbs of the trilateral and Form I and II of the quadrilateral is formed by attaching the prefix *m(ə)-* to the imperfect stem (*ə* appears when the stem begins with *CC-*).

In the derived forms active and passive are not distinguished formally because the opposition of CA short vowel *i* : *a* with which they were distinguished is in TJ reduced into one phoneme *ə*, and for *IIIy* verbs. Thus each derived verb has only one participle form, the function (active or passive) of which depends on the transitivity or the meaning of the verb.<sup>26</sup>

The participle of a transitive verb may serve as active or passive; *mnəddəf* the participle of Form II *nəddəf* "to clean" can denote both "cleaning" and "cleaned", e.g. *riču mnəttf əlbič*<sup>27</sup> "I saw him cleaning the room" and *lbič əmnəttfa* "the room has been cleaned". But not all participles of transitive verbs can express both active and passive meaning. For example, *məlləq*, the participle of *qəlləq* "to bore" bears only the active meaning "boring", not passive "bored", e.g. *ləxrafa lməlləq* "the boring story". The passive meaning "bored" is expressed by the participle of Form V *məčqəlləq*. As to *IIIy* verbs, only a form corresponding to the CA active participle is preserved and functions as both active and passive, e.g. *məttti* < CA *mugəttī* "covering, covered" (\**məttta*).

It is difficult to establish a decisive conclusion for the choice of the function of the participle, but it seems that when a Form II verb does not have its corresponding Form V or Form I, the participle of the Form II verb serves as active and passive.

On the other hand, the participle of the intransitive verb serves, naturally, as an active participle.

<sup>26</sup> Holes, *Arabic*, p. 125.

<sup>27</sup> On the elimination of *ə* before *f* in *mnəddfV* > *mnəttfV*, see 1.4.2.3.1.(1) and on the devoicing of *d* > *t*, see 1.3.2.1.1.1.(2a).

Form VII does not have its own participle. The function of the Form VII participle is carried out by the passive participle of the cognate Form I; *nšədd* "to be seized" : *məšədd* "seized"

#### REMARK

*məzyan* "beautiful" is the sole example of the participle of Form XI, and as far as I have observed no other participle of this pattern is attested. Form XI being rather a denominative form, most Form XI verbs are formed from corresponding adjectives, e.g. *rqiḡ* "thin" > *rqaḡ* "to become thin", *smin* "fat" > *sman* "to become fat" etc. Since the meaning of a participle is quite close to that of the original adjective itself, the need for a participle from a Form XI verb is limited.<sup>28</sup>

#### 2.2.1.1.3. Verbal noun

In TJ the range of the use of the verbal noun is very much more restricted than in CA. For example, a phrase consisting of verbal noun + pron.suff. (indicating the subject of the verbal noun) + noun (acc.), e.g. CA *qatluhu raḡulan* "his killing a man", is unknown in TJ as in other many modern dialects, whereas the use as a verbal noun in combination with another noun serving as an object or an subject is attested: TJ *ḡəlyan əlməyya* "boiling the water", *həllan əlbab* "opening the door". Besides expressions as *stəʕəbč mən tihču məssqəf* "I am surprised at his falling from the roof" are possible. But such use is quite restricted and it seems that nouns on the patterns *CəCCan* or *CCiCa* are employed for this purpose. Thus at present we admit these patterns as verbal nouns of Form I. Other nouns formally corresponding to CA verbal nouns are merely used as common nouns.

In CA each derived verb has its particular form(s) of the verbal nouns, whereas in TJ only Form II and III do (and perhaps also Form X).

In the following, therefore, we will not provide a special section for the verbal noun except for Form I, II and III. The verbal nouns of Form II and III may serve as those of Form V and VI. For example *čəʕlim* conveys meanings "teaching (from Form II *ʕəlləm*)" and "learning (from Form V *čəʕləm*)", e.g. *čəʕlimi nəžəh* "my study (lit. learning) has succeeded", *čəʕlimu ma nəfamuš* "I do not understand his teaching".

Trilateral		Quadrilateral
Form I	<i>CəCCan, CCiCa</i>	Form I / II <i>TCəCCiC</i>
Form II (V)	<i>TəCCiC</i>	
Form III (VI)	<i>TCaCiC, mCaCCA</i>	
Form X	<i>stəCCiC</i>	

## 2.2.2. Inflexion

### 2.2.2.1. Finite verb

In the following we discuss the conjugational affixes of the perfect, the imperfect and the imperative.

#### 2.2.2.1.1. Perfect

The perfect conjugation is formed exclusively by attaching a conjugational suffix to a verb stem.

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	-∅	-u (-w)
3.f.	-əč (-č)	
2.m.	-č	-ču
2.f.	-či	
1.c.	-č	-na

#### Examples.

	(1) <i>kčəb</i> "to write" (Form I str.)	(2) <i>mša</i> "to go" (Form I <i>IIIy</i> )		
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>kčəb</i>	<i>kčəbu</i>	<i>mša</i>	<i>mšaw</i>
3.f.	<i>kčəbəč</i>		<i>mšač</i>	
2.m.	<i>kčəbč</i>	<i>kčəbču</i>	<i>mšič</i>	<i>mšiču</i>
2.f.	<i>kčəbči</i>		<i>mšiči</i>	
1.c.	<i>kčəbč</i>	<i>kčəbna</i>	<i>mšič</i>	<i>mšina</i>

	(3) <i>šədd</i> "to seize" (Form I gem.)	(4) <i>sman</i> "to become fat" (Form XI)		
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>šədd</i>	<i>šəddu</i>	<i>sman</i>	<i>smanu</i>
3.f.	<i>šəddəč</i>		<i>smanəč</i>	
2.m.	<i>šəddič</i>	<i>šəddiču</i>	<i>smanič</i>	<i>smaniču</i>
2.f.	<i>šəddiči</i>		<i>smaniči</i>	
1.c.	<i>šəddič</i>	<i>šəddina</i>	<i>smanič</i>	<i>smanina</i>

(a) Variants *-u / -w* and *-əč / -č*.

Forms in parentheses (*-w*) of the 3.pl. and (*-č*) of the 3.f. are variants of *-u* and *-əč* respectively and attached to a stem ending with a vowel (in practice only with *a*).

(b) Linking vowel *i*.

In the 2nd and the 1st persons of (3) *šədd* "to seize" and (4) *sman* "to become fat", *i* appears between the stem and the conjugational suffixes. Historically this *i* belongs neither to the stem nor the suffix, but is inserted to link the verb stem and a conjugational suffix, therefore in this study we call *i* a linking vowel. The linking vowel is used for verb stems ending with *-CəC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>* or *CCaC*.

In standard CA, a geminated verb such as *šədd-* has an uncontracted stem *šədad-* for the perfect before conjugational suffix beginning with a consonant, e.g. *šədadta* "you (m.sg.) seized", *šədadtu* "I seized". In modern dialects unanimously, and also in those of the Middle Ages frequently, the stem with additional *ay* (which corresponds to the present TJ linking vowel *i*) is attested.<sup>29</sup> It is likely that this *ay* had been adopted to the geminated verb by analogy with *IIIy* verbs, *mašā : mašaytu = šədd : x, x = šəddaytu > TJ šəddič*, maybe because of "the structural tendency towards reserving in the geminate verb the stem terminating in the geminate radical".<sup>30</sup>

29 Wright, in his *Grammar* vol. 1, p. 69, cites examples in which the 2nd and 3rd radical are contracted in 1st / 2nd persons of the perfect *qaššayta* for *qaššata*, *ʔistasarayta* for *ʔistasarta* etc. He further states that such a form is "the usual one in modern Arabic, but in N. Africa *ai* becomes *i*, as *reddit* for *raddaytu*", to which *i* in our case corresponds exactly. And the medieval grammarians observed several ways of the contraction of the geminated consonant, see Grandhenry, *Verbes géminés*, p. 101.

30 Blau, *Studies*, p. 371.

The use of the linking vowel penetrates also to Form XI. The characteristic of CA Form XI is the long stem vowel and the geminated 3rd radical *ʔiṣfārr* "to be yellow", whereas TJ Form XI has lost the gemination: *ṣfaṛ*.<sup>31</sup> Beside the geminated verb and Form XI verb, also Form VII *Ilwʔy*, e.g. *nban* "to look like" and Form VIII *Ilwʔy*, e.g. *rcaḥ* "to rest", which are likewise patterned as *CCaC*, take the linking vowel.

### 2.2.2.1.2. Imperfect

The imperfect is formed by attaching a conjugational prefix (and suffix) to a verb stem.

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>y(ə)-</i>	<i>y(ə)-... -u / -w</i>
3.f.	<i>č(ə)-</i>	
2.m.	<i>č(ə)-</i>	<i>č(ə)-... -u / -w</i>
2.f.	<i>č(ə)-... -i, -Ø, (-y)</i>	
1.c.	<i>n(ə)-</i>	<i>n(ə)-... -u / -w</i>

#### Examples

(1) <i>šədd</i> "to seize" (Form I gem.)		(2) <i>kčəb</i> "to write" (Form I str.)	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>yšədd</i>	<i>yəkčəb</i>	<i>ykəčbu</i>
3.f.	<i>čšədd</i>	<i>čəkčəb</i>	
2.m.	<i>čšədd</i>	<i>čəkčəb</i>	<i>čkəčbu</i>
2.f.	<i>čšəddi</i>	<i>čkəčbi</i>	
1.c.	<i>nšədd</i>	<i>nəkčəb</i>	<i>nkəčbu</i>

  

(3) <i>bda</i> "to begin" (Form I IIIy)		(4) <i>bka</i> "to cry" (Form I IIIy)	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>yəbda</i>	<i>yəbki</i>	<i>yəbkiw</i>
3.f.	<i>čəbda</i>	<i>čəbki</i>	
2.m.	<i>čəbda</i>	<i>čəbki</i>	<i>čəbkiw</i>
2.f.	<i>čəbdav</i>	<i>čəbki</i>	
1.c.	<i>nəbda</i>	<i>nəbki</i>	<i>nəbkiw</i>

<sup>31</sup> Brunot, *ſ' al*, p. 55: "la consonne gémée du classique a été réduite à une consonne simple comme c'est de règle à peu près constante en finale, tout particulièrement après une voyelle longue".

	(5) <i>wžəʕ</i> "to pain" (Form <i>Iw</i> )		(6) <i>ybəʕ</i> "to dry (v.i.)" (Form I <i>Iy</i> )	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>ywžəʕ</i>	<i>ywžəʕu</i>	<i>yibəʕ</i>	<i>yibəʕu</i>
3.f.	<i>čwžəʕ</i>		<i>čibəʕ</i>	
2.m.	<i>čwžəʕ</i>	<i>čwžəʕu</i>	<i>čibəʕ</i>	<i>čibəʕu</i>
2.f.	<i>čwžəʕi</i>		<i>čibəʕi</i>	
1.c.	<i>mwžəʕ</i>	<i>mwžəʕu</i>	<i>nibəʕ</i>	<i>nibəʕu</i>

On the stem alteration of (5) and (6) *wžəʕ* (perfect) -*wžəʕ* (imperfect), *ybəʕ* (perfect) -*ybəʕ* (imperfect), see 1.4.1.3.

	(7) <i>abəl</i> "to become mad" (Form I <i>Ih</i> )		(8) <i>čə alləm</i> "to learn" (Form V str.)	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>yabəl</i>	<i>yablu</i>	<i>yəčə alləm</i>	<i>yəčə allmu</i>
3.f.	<i>čabəl</i>		<i>čəčə alləm</i>	
2.m.	<i>čabəl</i>	<i>čablu</i>	<i>čəčə alləm</i>	<i>čəčə allmu</i>
2.f.	<i>čabli</i>		<i>čəčə allmi</i>	
1.c.	<i>nabəl</i>	<i>nablu</i>	<i>nəčə alləm</i>	<i>nəčə allmu</i>

(9) *nəqčəl* "to be killed" (Form VII str.)

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>yənqčəl</i>	<i>yənqətlu</i>
3.f.	<i>čənqčəl</i>	
2.m.	<i>čənqčəl</i>	<i>čənqətlu</i>
2.f.	<i>čənqčəli</i>	
1.c.	<i>nənqčəl</i>	<i>nənqətlu</i>

The distribution of the variants of the prefixes and the suffixes are decided by the phonological factors as follows.

(a) The prefixes have two variants.

(α) A variant with *ə*: this is used when the stem begins with *CC-* as in (2), (3), (4), (8) and (9), in other words, the historical short vowel of the prefix (CA *ya-*, *ta-*, *yu-*, *mu-* etc.) is preserved in a closed syllable.

(β) A variant without *ə*: this is used when the stem begins with *v-* as in (5), (6) and (7), or with *CV-* as in (1).

(b) The plural suffix has two variants.

(α) *-u* after a consonant: (1), (2), (5), (6), (7), (8) and (9).

(β) *-w* after a long vowel: (3) and (4).

(c) The suffix of the 2.f. has three variants.

(α) *-i* after a consonant: (1), (2), (5), (6), (7), (8) and (9).

(β) *-y* after *a*: (3).

(γ) Ø after *i*: (4).

The 2.f. of a verb ending with *-i* (= *IIIy* verbs) is apparently the same as the 2.m., i.e. with no special suffix indicating the feminine, e.g. *čərmi* "you (m. ~ f.) throw". But when such a verb of the 2.f. is followed by any other suffix, *y* appears after *-i*.

*čərmi* "you (f.) throw" + "(pron.suff. 3.sg.)" > *čərmiyi* "you (f.) throw it (m.)" (cf. *čərmi* "you (m.) throw it (m.)" (see 2.1.1.2.1.1.(1b)), *čərmi* "you (f.) throw + *-na* "us" > *čərmiyna* "you (f.) throw us" (cf. *čərmina* "you (m.) throw us"), *čəʔi* "you (f.) give" + *li* "to me" > *čəʔiyli* "you (f.) give to me" (cf. *čəʔili* "you (m.) give to me"), *čəxəbbi* "you (f.) hide" + *-š* "(negative particle)" > *ma čəxəbbiy(ə)š* "you (f.) do not hide" (cf. *ma čəxəbbiš* "you (m.) do not hide").<sup>32</sup>

We treat this additional *y* as an underlying entity which does not appear in the word final position but does in the internal position. If this is a real entity as in \**čərmiy* "you (f.) throw", the stress must fall on *i*, *čərmiy*, but in fact on *ə*, *čərmi*.

### 2.2.2.1.3. Imperative

	sg.		pl.
m.	(ə) -		(ə)-...-u / -w
f.	(ə)-...-i / -Ø / -y		

Examples.

	(1) <i>šədd</i> "to seize" (Form I gem.)		(2) <i>kčəb</i> "to write" (Form I str.)	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
m.	<i>šədd</i>	<i>šəddu</i>	<i>əkčəb</i>	<i>əkčəbu</i>
f.	<i>šəddi</i>		<i>əkčəbi</i>	

<sup>32</sup> On *ə* between *y* and *š*, see 1.4.1.2.(2a).

	(3) <i>bda</i> "to begin" (Form I <i>IIIy</i> )		(4) <i>bka</i> "to cry" (Form I <i>IIIy</i> )	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
m.	<i>əbda</i>	<i>əbdaw</i>	<i>əbki</i>	<i>əbkiw</i>
f.	<i>əbday</i>		<i>əbki</i>	
	(5) <i>wžəʔ</i> "to pain" (Form I <i>Iw</i> )		(6) <i>ybaş</i> "to become dry" (Form I <i>Iy</i> )	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
m.	<i>užəʔ</i>	<i>užəʔu</i>	<i>ibəs</i>	<i>ibsu</i>
f.	<i>užəʔi</i>		<i>ibsi</i>	
	(7) <i>abəl</i> "to become mad" (Form I <i>Ih</i> )		(8) <i>čə alləm</i> "to learn" (Form V str.)	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
m.	<i>əbəl</i>	<i>əblu</i>	<i>čə alləm</i>	<i>čə allmu</i>
f.	<i>əbli</i>		<i>čə allmi</i>	
	(9) <i>nəqčəl</i> "to be killed" (Form VII str.)			
	Sg.	Pl.		
m.	<i>ənqčəl</i>	<i>ənqətlu</i>		
f.	<i>ənqətli</i>			

The imperative is formed by removing whole or a part of the conjugational prefix of the imperfect for the 2.m.

There are two kinds of formation.

(a) When the imperfect prefix of the 2.m. consists of the stressed *čə-* or *čv-*, only *č* is removed, e.g. in (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7) and (9).

(b) When the imperfect prefix of the 2.sg. consists of *č-* or unstressed *čə-*, these are removed, e.g. in (1) and (8) respectively.

The imperative forms obtained by (a) contain *ə-* before the stem. We can consider it as an imperative prefix. For (2), this prefix *ə-* always remains even if it stands in an open syllable by attaching a *V*-suffix, e.g. *əkəčbi* "write (f.)!", *əkəčbu* "write (pl.)!".

## REMARK

When an unstressed prefix *a-* follows a word ending with a long vowel, *a* is eliminated: *qalula-sám'i* "they said to her "listen"! (< \**qalula asám'i*), *li tsám'u-káčbu* "write (m.) down what you (m.) hear" (< \**li tsám'u akáčbu*). And on the phonetic level when a stressed prefix *a* follows a word ending with a vowel, or the conjunction *w* "and", the timbre of *a* is assimilated to the preceding elements: *w ármi* [wórm<sup>w</sup>e] "and throw (m.)!" (not \*[wérm<sup>w</sup>e]), *qallu ákčəb* [qállū úkčəb] "he said to him "write!" (not \*[qállū ákčəb]) (see 1.2.6.1.(1)).

## 2.2.2.2. Participle

The participle inflects according to gender and the number. For the feminine the ending *-a* is added to the stem and for the plural *-in* (see 2.3.2.2.2.1.(1a)). Nouns which take the form of a participle, but do not preserve the fundamental verbal value, and now express a specific nominal meaning, cannot be formally distinguished from the participle, e.g. *m'allam* (f. *m'allma*, pl. *m'allmin*) "teacher (noun with specific nominal meaning)": *m'allam* (f. *m'allma*, pl. *m'allmin*) "teaching (participle with fundamental verbal value)".<sup>33</sup> However the difference between them becomes clear when the feminine form of each of them is followed by a pronoun suffix. In this state, the feminine ending *-a* of the noun *m'allma* "teacher (f.)" is altered into *-əč*: *m'allmáčkam* "your (pl.) teacher (f.)", *m'allmáč wəldi* "my son's teacher (f.)" etc. On the other hand, that of the participle *m'allma* "teaching" remains as it is, *m'allmákam* "(she is) teaching you (pl.)", *m'allma wəldi* "(she is) teaching my son". In the masculine and the plural, this distinction does not exist.

	Participle	+ pron.suff.		+ noun
		(+ <i>-na</i> "us")	(+ <i>-u</i> "him")	
m.	<i>m'allam</i>	<i>m'allamna</i>	<i>m'allmu</i>	<i>m'allam wəldi</i>
f.	<i>m'allma</i>	<i>m'allmana</i>	<i>m'allmá</i>	<i>m'allma wəldi</i>
pl.	<i>m'allmin</i>	<i>m'allminna</i>	<i>m'allminu</i>	<i>m'allmin wəldi</i>

  

	Noun	+ pron.suff.		+ noun
		(+ <i>-na</i> "our")	(+ <i>-u</i> "his")	
m.	<i>m'allam</i>	<i>m'allamna</i>	<i>m'allmu</i>	<i>m'allam wəldi</i>
f.	<i>m'allma</i>	<i>m'allmätna</i>	<i>m'allmáču</i>	<i>m'allmáč wəldi</i>
pl.	<i>m'allmin</i>	<i>m'allminna</i>	<i>m'allminu</i>	<i>m'allmin wəldi</i>

33 Beeston, *Arabic*, pp. 35-36.

Unlike CA, the ending *-n* of the plural is not eliminated, neither in the participle nor the noun (see 2.1.1.2.1.4.(2)).

The formation of the feminine and the plural of the participle of *IIIy* verbs (ending with *-i*) is twofold.

(1) For the passive participle of Form I *IIIy* and the participle of Form VIII *IIIy* (i.e. when the participle stem consists of two syllable and the ending *i* stands after two consonants (except geminated one)), *-y* intervenes between the ending *-i* and *-a* (f.) or *-in* (pl.).

*mərmi* - *mərmiya* "thrown (f.)" (p.p. Form I *IIIy*), *mərčxi* - *mərčxiyin* "softened (pl.)" (Form VIII *IIIy*) (< CA *-iyy*).

(2) Otherwise the ending *-i* (< CA *-ī*) is replaced by *-y* and the feminine ending *-a* or the plural ending *-in* is added.

*maši* - *mašya* "going" (a.p. Form I *IIIy*), *mərəbhi* - *mərəbbya* "educated" (Form II *IIIy*), *mlaqi* - *mlaqya* "meeting" (Form III *IIIy*), *məčxəbhi* - *məčxəbbya* "hidden" (Form V *IIIy*), *məstəhli* - *məstəhlya* "found sweet" (Form X *IIIy*).

## 2.2.3. Stem structure (stem class)

In this section, we will classify verb stems according to their morphological variants. The distribution of these variants is mainly decided by phonological factors, i.e. the kind of conjugational suffixes (suffix beginning with a vowel (=V-suffix),<sup>34</sup> suffix beginning with a consonant only in the perfect (=C-suffix) or without suffix (=Ø-suffix)) which follows the stem, or by morphological factors, i.e. perfect stem or imperfect stem.

## (1) Class A

To this class belong verb stems which have only one morphological stem form. In many cases the stems of this class seem to have some variants, but such variants are brought about by phonological reasons and not morphological one.

34 The perfect conjugational suffixes *-əč* for 3.f. and *-u* for 3.pl. are realized after a vowel as *-č* and *-w* respectively, but they are considered as V-suffix (see 2.2.2.1.1.(a)).

	Ø-suffix	V-suffix	C-suffix
(aα)			
Perfect	<i>šadd</i>	<i>šaddu</i>	<i>šadd-i-č</i>
Imperfect	<i>yšadd</i>	<i>yšaddu</i>	
(aβ)			
Perfect	<i>faəm</i>	<i>faəmu</i>	<i>faəməč</i>
Imperfect	<i>yfaəm</i>	<i>yfaəmu</i>	

In any case no formal alteration takes place. (aα) type takes the linking vowel before C-suffix.

(aα) type consists of

Form I: gem. *šadd* "to seize", (*Ih*) *əzz* "to swing".

Form VII: gem. *nhətt* "to be put"; *Iw/y nzad* "to be born".

Form VIII: gem. *rčadd* "to return"; *Iw/y xčar* "to choose".

Form XI: str. *xđar* "to become green"; gem. *rqaq* "to become thin"; *Iw wsač* "to become wide"; *Iw/y zyən* "to become beautiful"; *Ih sal* "to become easy".

(aβ) type consists of

Form III *Ih*: *faəm* "to make s.o. understand".

Form VI *Ih*: *čfaəm* "to understand each other".

#### REMARK

1. For *Ih* stems *faəm* "to make s.o. understand", *čfaəm* "to understand each other" *faəm* "understanding" (a.p. of *fəmm* (~ *ffəm*)), ə of the second syllable, representing vanished *h*, is retained even if it stands in an open syllable, so that no stem variant is yielded. This is one of the cases where a short vowel in an open syllable is not eliminated (see 1.4.2.2.(1c)).

2. *sal* "to become easy" (Form XI *Ih*) is formally identical with *CaC* of the class B below. This form is, however, the result of the disappearance of 2nd radical *h*, i.e. *CaC* < \**ChaC* (see 1.3.2.6.(2aβ)) and the distribution of the stem variants is of the class A.

	Ø-suffix	V-suffix	C-suffix
Perfect	<i>sal</i> (~ <i>ssal</i> )	<i>salu</i> (~ <i>ssalu</i> )	<i>sal-i-č</i> (~ <i>ssal-i-č</i> )
Imperfect	<i>yasal</i> (~ <i>yəssal</i> )	<i>yəsalu</i> (~ <i>yəssalu</i> )	Ø

*sal* is the sole example of Form XI *Ih* (see 2.2.4.1.9.4.). Because of variants with geminated *s* (*ssal*, *yəssal*), ə in an open syllable in the imperfect variant without the gemination (*yəsal*) and the attaching of the linking vowel before C-suffix, it is obvious that this is not a verb of Form I *Iw/y*.

	Ø-suffix	V-suffix	C-suffix
(b)			
Perfect	<i>əlləm</i>	<i>əl(l)mu</i>	<i>əlləmč</i>
Imperfect	<i>yəlləm</i>	<i>yəl(l)mu</i>	Ø

With V-suffix ə in an open syllable is eliminated (see 1.4.2.3.1.(1)). On the variants *əl(l)m-*, see 1.4.2.2.(2d) REMARK 1.

This type consists of

Form I: *Ih arəb* "to flee".

Form II: str., *əlləm* "to teach"; gem. *xəmməm* "to think"; *Iw wəkkəl* "to feed"; *Iy yəbbəs* "to make dry"; *P əddən* "to call prayer"; *Iw xəwwəf* "to frighten"; *Ily təyyəb* "to cook".

Form III: str. *saməh* "to allow"; *Iw wafəq* "to agree"; *Iw əwən* "to help".

Form V: str., *čəlləm* "to learn"; gem. *tsəmməm* "to be poisoned"; *Iw čwəxxər* "to be late"; *Iw dzəwwəz* "to get marry"; *Ily dđəyyəq* "to become narrow".

Form VI str.: *čəarək* "to quarrel"; *Iw čwaləd* "to be born"; *Iw tčawəb* "to yawn"; *Ily čəayəš* "to live together".

Form X: str. *stəžəb* "to be surprised"; *P stanəs* "to get accustomed".

Q-Form I: str. *zəlbəh* "to make fool out of"; *Iw zuzəq* "to chirp"; *Ily fišək* "to mock".

Q-Form II: str. *čfəršək* "to amuse oneself".

#### REMARK

As for Form II and V gem., a special treatment of ə in an open syllable which occurs when V-suffix is attached is required (see 1.4.2.2.(1d)).

	Ø-suffix	V-suffix	C-suffix
(cα)			
Perfect	<i>kəčəb</i>	<i>kəčbu</i>	<i>kəčəč</i>
Imperfect	<i>yəkəčəb</i>	<i>yəkəčbu</i>	Ø

	Ø-suffix	V-suffix	C-suffix
(cβ)			
Perfect	<i>wžəč</i>	<i>wəžəu</i>	<i>wžəč</i>
Imperfect	<i>yūžəč</i>	<i>yūžəu</i>	Ø

With *V*-suffix the syllable structure is altered by Umspringen (see 1.4.2.1.). As for (cβ), the semi-vowel which consists of the 1st radical alternates with the corresponding long vowel (see 1.4.1.3.).

Type (cα) consists of

Form I str.: *kčəb* "to write".

Form VII str.: *nəkšəf* "to be discovered".

Form VIII str.: *rəčəd* "to tremble".

Type (cβ) consists of

Form I *Iw y*: *wšə!* "to arrive", *ybas* "to dry (v.i.)".

	Ø-suffix	V-suffix	C-suffix
(d)			
Perfect	<i>fəmm ~ ffəm</i>	<i>famu</i>	<i>fəməč</i>
Imperfect	<i>yəfəm ~ yəffəm</i>	<i>yfamu</i>	Ø

The stem of this type shows various phonological variants because the 2nd radical is the historical *h* which has disappeared in TJ.

This type consists of

Form I *Ih*: *fəmm ~ ffəm* "to understand", *dənn ~ ddən* "to anoint" (see 1.3.2.6.(2bα)).

Form VII *Ih*: *nəfəmm ~ nəffəm* "to be understood", *nəđəřř ~ nəđđəřř* "to look like" (see 1.3.2.6.(2bβ)).

## (2) Class B

To this class belong Form I *Iw y* verbs the stem of which has two or three morphological forms. In the imperfect and in the perfect with Ø-suffix and *V*-suffix, the stem vowel is long but with *C*-suffix in the perfect it is represented as short.

	Ø-suffix	V-suffix	C-suffix
(α)			
Perfect	<i>bas</i>	<i>basu</i>	<i>bəsc</i>
Imperfect	<i>ybus</i>	<i>ybusu</i>	Ø
(β)			
Perfect	<i>žab</i>	<i>žabu</i>	<i>žəbč</i>
Imperfect	<i>yžib</i>	<i>yžibu</i>	Ø
(γ)			
Perfect	<i>bač</i>	<i>baču</i>	<i>bətč</i>
Imperfect	<i>ybač</i>	<i>ybaču</i>	Ø

According to the distribution of the long vowel, there are three types: (α) *a* (perfect) - *u* (imperfect), (β) *a* (perfect) - *i* (imperfect) and (γ) *a* (perfect) - *a* (imperfect). Generally speaking, the type (α) has *w* as 2nd radical and the type (β) *y* and the type (γ) either *w* or *y*. As far as I have observed, three verbs belong to the type (γ): *bač* "to pass the night", *ban* "to look like" and *xaf* "to be frightened". From their actual forms we cannot predict the 2nd radical, but it is revealed by the derived verbs: *bač*: *bəyyəč* (Form II) "to make s.o. pass the night" = *Ily*, *ban*: *bəyyən* (Form II) "to make clear" = *Ily*, *xaf*: *xəwwəf* (Form II) "to frighten" = *Iw*. Historically verbs taking the stem *CaC* in the imperfect have the stem vowel *a*, e.g. \**yaxwaf* > CA *yaxəf* > TJ *yxaf*.

This type consists of Form I *Iw y* verbs.

*Iw*: *zar* "to visit", *xaf* (*y xaf*) "to be frightened".

*Ily*: *žab* "to bring", *ban* (*yban*) "to look like", *bač* (*ybač*) "to pass the night", *až* (*yiz*) "to become rough (sea)".

## (3) Class C.

To this class belong *IIIy* verbs the stem of which have two morphological forms.

	Ø-suffix	V-suffix	C-suffix
(α)			
Perfect	<i>nsa</i>	<i>nsaw</i>	<i>nsič</i>
Imperfect	<i>yənsa</i>	<i>yənsaw</i>	Ø



	Ø-suffix	V-suffix	C'-suffix
Perfect	<i>šra</i>	<i>šraw</i>	<i>šrič</i>
Imperfect	<i>yašri</i>	<i>yašriw</i>	Ø

The type (α) and (β) are distinguished by the distribution of the ending vowel. In (α) -a appears before Ø-suffix and V-suffix in the perfect and before V-suffix in the perfect, whereas in (β) -a appears only before Ø-suffix and V-suffix in the perfect.

The type (α) consists of

Form I *IIIy*: *nsa* "to forget", *wfa* "to be used up", *swa* "to cost".

Form V *IIIy*: *č'addá* "to pass", *čwaffá* "to be full to the brim", *čqawwá* "to become strong", *čqayyá* "to vomit", (*Ih*) *čanná* "to be at ease".

Form VI *IIIy*: *tlaqá* "to meet".

Form VII *IIIy*: *nəkwá* "to be burned".

Form VIII *IIIy*: *rəčxá* "to soften (v.i)".

Form X *IIIy*: *stəhlá* "to feel sweet".

The type (β) consists of

Form I *IIIy*: *čta* "to give", *dwa* "to speak", *hya* "to revive", (+*Ih*) *adá* "to become calm".

Form II *IIIy*: *xallá* "to leave", *wərrá* "to show", *dəwwá* "to light up", *čayyá* "to tire".

Form III *IIIy*: *laqá* "to meet", *wafá* "to put amply", *dawá* "to cure".

## 2.2.4. Paradigms

In the following we present the paradigms of all kind of verbs attested in TJ. The order of the conjugated forms is as follows: (i) Perfect and Imperfect; from 3.m.sg. to 1.sg. and then 3.pl. to 1.pl. A semi-colon divides the singular forms and the plural forms, and so forth. (ii) Imperative: sg.m., sg.f.; pl. (iii) Participle: m.sg., f.sg.; pl. The stress is marked for each conjugated forms except for monosyllable ones. "Not attested" merely means that a form could not be attested in the field-works carried out by the author.

### 2.2.4.1. Trilateral Verbs

#### 2.2.4.1.1. Form I (simple form)

##### 2.2.4.1.1.1. Strong verb

*kčəb* "to write" etc.

Perfect: *kčəb*, *káčbəč*, *kčəbč*, *kčəbči*, *kčəbč*; *káčbu*, *kčəbčü*, *kčəbna*

Imperfect: *yáččəb*, *čáččəb*, *čáččəb*, *čáččəbi*, *náččəb*; *ykáččbu*, *čkáččbu*, *nkáččbu*

Imperative: *áččəb*, *áčáčbi*; *áčáčbu*<sup>35</sup>

Active participle: *káčəb*, *káčəba*; *kačbin*

Passive participle: *máččüb*, *máččüba*; *máččübin*

Examples (verbs with ♦ are referred to in the REMARK): *čməl* "to do", *čraf* "to know", *čzəb* "to surprise", *bdaq* "to check" (< Heb. *קבד*), *braq* "to get cold", ♦ *čkal* "to trust", *draš* "to preach" (< Heb. *שרד*), *draz* "to chat", *fđəl* "to be left", *gdəb* "to lie", *gdəm* "to bite", *kħər* "to become big", *kməl* "to be completed", *kəb* "to play", *lbəs* "to wear", *mbəh* (*√n-b-h*) "to bark", *mrəd* "to crawl (a baby)", *mraq* "to become sick", *nčəl* "to curse", ♦ *ngər* "to envy (*mən* s.o.)", *nšəd* "to ask", *nzəl* "to go down", *qčəd* "to stay; to be durable", *qčəl* "to kill", *qdar* "to be able", *qləq* "to be bored", *rčə* "to carry", ♦ *rčəš* "to get angry", *skəč* "to be silent", *skən* "to dwell", *skər* "to get drunk", *šbəğ* "to dye", *šbəř* "to be patient", *šřəb* "to drink", *tfən* "to bury", *thək* "to laugh", *!lč* "to go out", *!lčb* "to demand", *xdəm* "to work", *xləq* "to create", ♦ *xnəb* "to steal" (< Heb. *גנב*), *zđəm* "to attack", *žbəd* "to pull".

#### REMARK

1. *čkal* "to trust s.o. (čla)" (*čkal*, *čəkləč*, *čkalč*, *čkalči*, *čkalč*; *čəklu*, *čkalčü*, *čkalna*; *yəčkal*, *čəčkal*, *čəčkal*, *tčakli*, *nəčkal*; *yčəklu*, *tčəklu*, *nčəklu*; *əčkal*, *əčakli*; *əčəklu*; *čakəl*, *čakla*; *čaklin*: *məčkul*, *məčkula*; *məčkulin*). This verb corresponds to CA Form VIII *Iw* *ittakal*: \**ittakal* > \**ttakal* > \**ttkal* > \**tkal* > TJ *čkal*, and has been completely adapted to the conjugation of Form I str. of the root *č-k-l*, thus it has active participle *čakəl*. Parallel forms are attested in some other modern dialects

35 On ə in the open syllable, see 2.2.2.1.3. above.

and even in ancient dialects: *tahid* "to take for himself" (Hudail),<sup>36</sup> *taqā* < *ʔittaqā* "to fear God",<sup>37</sup> *tafaq* "to agree" < *ʔittafaq* (Dafina).<sup>38</sup> Cf. *ʕamm* "to accuse" < CA *ʔittaham* below in 2.2.4.1.1.4.(3) REMARK

2. *ngar* "to envy". According to Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 315, this corresponds to CA Form VII *\*ingār*.

3. *rʕš* "to be angry" has its active participle in Form IX, *mərʕaš* "angry".

#### 2.2.4.1.1.2. Geminated verb

*hətt* "to put"

Perfect: *hətt, həttəč, həttič, həttiči, həttiči, həttič; həttu, həttiču, həttina*

Imperfect: *yhətt, čhətt, čhətt, čhətti, nhətt; yhəttu, čhəttu, nhəttu*

Imperative: *hətt, hətti, həttu*

Active participle: *həttə, hətta; həttin*

Passive participle: *məhətt, məhətta; məhəttin*

Examples: *ʕədd* "to count", *dəqq* "to knock", *dəmm* "to bind", *dərr* "to harm", *gəšš* "to deceive", *həbb* "to like", *həll* "to open", *həss* "to feel", *kərr* "to carry", *mədd* "to extend", *məss* "to touch", *məšš* "to suck", *qəšš* "to cut", *rədd* "to bring back", *səbb* "to insult", *šəbb* "to pour", *šədd* "to seize".

#### 2.2.4.1.1.3. 1st radical weak verb

The conjugation of the 1st radical weak verb (except *Ih*) is fundamentally identical with the strong verb. On the long vowel in the imperfect, see 2.2.3.(1cβ).

(1) *Iw*:

*wqəf* "to stop", *wrəč* "to inherit"

Perfect: *wqəf, wəqəč, wqəfč, wqəfči, wqəfč; wəqfu, wqəfču, wqəfna*

Imperfect: *yūqəf, čūqəf, čūqəf, čūqfi, niqəf; yūqfu, čūqfu, niqfu*

Imperative: *ūqəf, ūqfi; ūqfu*

Active participle: *wəqəf, wəqfa; wəqfin*

Passive participle: *murič, muriča; muručin*

Examples: *wəšəl* "to arrive", *wəəd* "to swear".

<sup>36</sup> Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 589.

<sup>37</sup> Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 597.

<sup>38</sup> Grand'henry, *Réfléchi*, p. 445.

(2) *Iy*:

*ybas* "to dry (v.i)".

Perfect: *ybas, yəbsəč, ybasč, ybasči, ybasč; yəbsu, yəbsču, yəbsna*

Imperfect: *yibas, čibas, čibas, čibsi, nibas; yibsu, čibsu, nibsu*

Imperative: *ibas, ibsi; ibsu*

Active participle: *yəbas, yəbsa; yabsin*

Passive participle: Not attested.

Example: *ybas* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

(3) *Ih*:

*arəb* "to flee", *abəl* "to become mad"

Perfect: *arəb, arəbəč, arəbč, arəbči, arəbč; arəbu, arəbču, arəbna*

Imperfect: *yərəb, čərəb, čərəb, čərəbi, nərəb; yərəbu, čərəbu, nərəbu*

Imperative: *ərəb, ərəbi; ərəbu*

Active participle: *ərəb, ərəba; ərəbin*

Passive participle: *mabul, mabula; mabulin*

Examples: Only *abəl* "to become mad" and *arəb* "to flee" are attested for this paradigm.<sup>39</sup>

#### REMARK

The initial phonologically long *a* is the result for the substitution of the disappeared *h*. The fact that these are oxytone suggests that the stress had been already fixed on the ultimate syllable before the disappearance of *h*. The formal similarity of *arəb* and *abəl* to Form III str., e.g. *qabəl* "to meet" is thus a historical accident. The opposition *arəb* "he fled" : *ərəb* "fleeing; flee (m.)!" is good evidence for the phonemic function of the stress (see 1.4.3.2.3.(1c)).

<sup>39</sup> In Tunis-Jewish *abəl, arəb* (Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 109) and in Algiers-Jewish *abəl, arəb* (Cohen, *Alger*, p. 178).

## 2.2.4.1.1.4. 2nd radical weak verb

(1) *Iw*.(a) *CaC - yCuC*.*bas* "to kiss"Perfect: *bas, básəč, básč, básči, básč; básu, básču, básna*Imperfect: *ybus, čbus, čbus, čbúsi, nbu; ybúsu, čbúsu, nbúsu*Imperative: *bus, búsi; búsu*Active participle: *báyas, báysa; baymin*Passive participle: *məbyus, məbyusa; məbyusin*Examples: *am* "to swim", *bal* "to urinate", *daq* "to taste", *mač* "to die", *naš* "to touch", ♦ *qal* "to say", *qam* "to wake up", *zar* "to visit".

## REMARK

The passive participle of *qal* is not the expected \**məqyul* but *muqul* which is on the pattern *muCuC*, i.e. the passive participle of *Iw*.(b) *CaC - yCaC*.*xaf* "to be frightened"Perfect: *xaf, xáfəč, xəfč, xáfči, xəfč; xáfu, xáfču, xáfna*Imperfect: *yxaf, čxaf, čxaf, čxáfi, nxaf; yxáfu, čxáfu, nxáfu*Imperative: *xaf, xáfi; xáfu*Active participle: *xáyaf, xáyfa; xayfin*

Passive participle: Not attested.

Example: *xaf* is the sole example attested for this paradigm (see 2.2.3.(2)).(2) *Ily*.(a) *CaC - yCiC*.*žab* "to bring"Perfect: *žab, žábəč, žəbč, žábči, žəbč; žábu, žábču, žábna*Imperfect: *yžib, džib, džib, džibi, nžib; yžibu, džibu, nžibu*Imperative: *žib, žibi; žibu*Active participle: *žáyəb, žáyba; žaybin*Passive participle: *məžyúb, məžyúba; məžyubin*Examples: *bač* "to sell", *čab* "to repent", *daq* "to become narrow", *fač* "to overflow", *faq* "to notice, to get up", *qam* "to rise", *qas* "to measure", *šab* "to find", *sar* "to flow", *šar* "to happen, to become", *tab* "to be cooked", *taḥ* "to fall", *tar* "to fly", *zad* "to add".(b) *CaC - yCaC*.*bač* "to pass a night"Perfect: *bač, báčəč, bəčč, bátči, bəčč; báču, bátču, bátna*Imperfect: *ybač, čbač, čbač, čbáci, nbač; ybáču, čbáču, nbáču*Imperative: *bač, báči; báču*Active participle: *báyəč, báyča; bayčín*

Passive participle: Not attested.

Examples: Only *bač* and *ban* "to look like" are attested for this paradigm (see 2.2.3.(2γ)).(3) *Ih*.<sup>40</sup>*fəmm* ~ *ffəm* "to understand"Perfect: *fəmm ~ ffəm, fáməč, fəməč, fámči, fəməč; fámu, f(f)ámču, f(f)ámna*Imperfect: *yá(f)fəm, čá(f)fəm, čá(f)fəm, čfámi, ná(f)fəm; yfámu, čfámu, nfámu*Imperative: *á(f)fəm, əfámi; əfámu*Active participle: *fáəm, fáəma; faəmin*Passive participle: *mə(f)fím, mə(f)fíma; mə(f)fímin*On the variants *CəCC* ~ *CCəC*, see 1.3.2.6.(2ba).Examples: ♦ *čəmm* ~ *tčəm* "to accuse", *dənn* ~ *ddən* "to anoint", *dəšš* ~ *ddəš* "to faint", *šədd* ~ *ššəd* "to witness".Verbs of this paradigm correspond to CA verbs the 2nd radical of which is *h*. CA *dahan* > \**dhən* > TJ *dənn* ~ *ddən*, CA *dahiš* > \**dhəš* > TJ *dəšš* ~ *ddəš*, CA *fahim* > \**fhəm* > TJ *fəmm* ~ *ffəm*, CA *šahid* > \**šhad* > TJ *šədd* ~ *ššəd*.

## REMARK

*čamm* ~ *tčam* "to accuse" (*čamm* ~ *tčam*, *čaməč*, *čamč*, *čəmči*, *čəmč*; *čámu*, *čámču*, *čámna*: *yə(t)čam*, *tə(t)čam*, *tə(t)čəm*, *tčámi*, *nə(t)čamm*; *yə(t)čámu*, *tə(t)čámu*, *nə(t)čámu*: *ə(t)čəm*, *ə(t)čámi*; *ə(t)čámu*: *čám*, *čáma*; *čámin*: *mə(t)čúm*, *mə(t)čúma*; *mə(t)čúmin*). Following historical development from CA Form VIII *Ilw* *ʔittaham* can be assumed, CA *ʔittaham* > \**ttaham* > \**ttham* > \**tham* > \**thəm* > TJ *čamm* (see 2.2.4.1.1.4.(3) REMARK).

## 2.2.4.1.1.5. 3rd radical weak verb

(1) *CCa* - *yəCCa*.

*bda* "to begin", *řda* "to agree", *nsa* "to forget"

Perfect: *bda*, *bdač*, *bdič*, *bdiči*, *bdič*; *bdaw*, *bdiču*, *bdina*

Imperfect: *yəbda*, *čəbda*, *čəbdá*, *čəbdáy*, *nəbda*; *yəbdáw*, *čəbdáw*, *nəbdáw*

Imperative: *əbda*, *əbdáy*; *əbdáw*

Active participle: *řádi*, *řádyá*; *řadyin*

Passive participle: *mánsi*, *mənsiya*; *mənsiyin*

Examples: *čla* "to become high", *ħra* "to recover", *♦kra* "to hate", *♦lča* "to look after", *mła* "to fill", *qra* "to read", *sna* "to hate" (< Heb. נשׁו), *xra* "to defecate".

## REMARK

1. CA *Ilw* verbs have been formally merged into TJ *Illy*. This development is broadly attested in many modern dialects.<sup>41</sup> In both Tunis-Muslim and Tunis-Jewish, however, only one example of *Ilw* is reported: Tunis-Muslim *ħ<sup>a</sup>bā - yəħbu* "to crawl (baby)", Tunis-Jewish *ħbā - yəħbu* "to crawl (baby)".<sup>42</sup> As far as I have observed, TJ does not know a verb of *CCa* - *yəCCu*. For "to crawl (baby)", *mrad* is used in TJ.

2. *kra* "to hate" (*kra*, *krač*, *krič*, *kriči*, *krič*; *kraw*, *kriču*, *křina*: *yákra*, *čákra*, *čákra*, *čákřáy*, *nákra*; *yəkráw*, *čəkráw*, *nəkráw*: *ákra*, *əkráy*; *əkráw*: *məkrú*, *məkrúa*; *məkrúin*). This corresponds to CA *karih*. Because of the disappearance of *h*, the ending *-rih* became *-ra* (see 1.3.2.6.(3b)). Now this verb follows completely the conjugation of the *Illy* verb, but in its passive participle the trace of the strong verb remains: *məkrú* (m.), *məkrúa* (f.), *məkrúin* (pl.) (see 1.3.2.6.(1c)).

41 Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 620 and Ferguson, *Koine*, p. 622.

42 Singer, *Tunis*, p. 360 and Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 104.

3. *lča* "to take care" (*lča*, *lčač*, *lčič*, *lčiči*, *lčič*; *lčaw*, *lčiču*, *lčina*: *yálča*, *čálča*, *čálča*, *čálčáy*, *nəlča*; *yəlčáw*, *čəlčáw*, *nəlčáw* (not \**yəlči* etc. (!)): *álča*, *əlčáy*; *əlčáw*: *məlči*, *məlčiya*; *məlčiyin*). This corresponds to CA Form VIII *Illy* *ʔiltahā* (*ʔl-h-y*), but since the disappearance of *h*, this has been assimilated to Form I. The active participle of *lča* is not \**lači*, but *lai* < \**lāhī* (an active participle of Form I \**lha* which is now obsolete).<sup>43</sup>

(2) *CCa* - *yəCCi*.

*řma* "to throw"

Perfect: *řma*, *řmač*, *řmič*, *řmiči*, *řmič*; *řmaw*, *řmiču*, *řmina*

Imperfect: *yəřmi*, *čəřmi*, *čəřmi*, *čəřmi*, *nəřmi*; *yəřmíw*, *čəřmíw*, *nəřmíw*

Imperative: *əřmi*, *əřmi*; *əřmíw*

Active participle: *řámi*, *řámya*; *řamyin*

Passive participle: *məřmi*, *məřmiya*; *məřmiyin*

Examples: *čma* "to render blind", *čta* "to give", *bná* "to build", *čfa* "to curse", *gla* "to boil (v.i.); to rise in price", *kra* "to hire", *ksa* "to lay tefillin", *mša* "to go", *qla* "to fry", *šqa* "to become miserable", *řha* "to grind", *ška* "to complain", *šra* "to buy", *♦tfa* "to extinguish".

## REMARK

*tfa* corresponds to CA Form IV *ʔatfaʔ*. Its participle *mətfa* serves as both active and passive.

The following formally doubly weak verbs are included here, because in these cases *Ilw* and *Illy* do not influence the conjugational system. (a) and (i) indicates the stem vowel in the imperfect.

*Ilw* + *Illy*: *čwa* "to mew" (a), *dwa* "to speak" (i), *swa* "to cost" (a), *zwa* "to hum (insect)" (i).

*Illy* + *Illy*: *čya* "to be tired" (a), *hya* "to revive (v.t.)" (i).

43 Also in Djidjelli *Itá - yəlti* "s'occupier", see Marçais, *PDjidjelli*, p. 173.

**2.2.4.1.1.6. Gem. + weak radical**Gem. + *Ih*.*əzz* "to swing" (< CA *hazz*)Perfect: *əzz. əzzəč. əzzič. əzziči. əzzič; əzzu. əzziču. əzzina*Imperfect: *yəzz. čəzz. čəzz. čəzzi. nəzz; yəzzu. čəzzu. nəzzu*Imperative: *əzz. əzzi; əzzi*Active participle: *əzəz. əzza; əzzin*Passive participle: *mazúz. mazúza; mazuzin*Example: *əzz* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.**2.2.4.1.1.7. Doubly weak verb**(1) *Ih* + *Ily*.*až* "to become rough (sea)" (< CA *hāğ*)Perfect: *až. ažəč. əžč. əžči. əžč; ažu. ažču. ažna*Imperfect: *yaž. čaž. čaž. čaži. naž; yážu. čážu. nážu*Imperative: *iž. iži; ižu*Active participle: *áyəž. áyža; ayžin*

Passive participle: Not attested.

Example: *až* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.(2) *Ih* + *IIIy*.*azá* "to insult" (< CA *hazaʿ*)Perfect: *azá. azáč. azič. aziči. azič; azáw. aziču. azína*Imperfect: *yázi. čázi. čázi. čázi. názi; yaziw. čaziw. nazíw*Imperative: *ázi. azi; aziw*Active participle: *ázi. ázya; azyin*Passive participle: *mázi. mázya; mazyin*Example: *azá* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.(3) *Iw* + *IIIy*.*wfa* "to be used up" (< CA *wafā*)Perfect: *wfa. wfač. ∅, ∅, ∅; wfaw. ∅, ∅*Imperfect: *yúfa. čúfa, ∅, ∅, ∅; yufáw, ∅, ∅*

Imperative: Not attested

Active participle: *wáfi. wáfya; wafyin*

Passive participle: Not attested

Example: *wfa* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.**2.2.4.1.1.8. Verbal noun**

As stated above in 2.2.1.1.3., the number of verbal nouns and their use are considerably reduced in TJ. Although many TJ nouns formally correspond to CA verbal nouns, they do not still function as verbal nouns, but as mere common nouns. Here we cite nouns functioning (though not completely as in CA) as verbal nouns.

*CCiCa*: str. *kēiba* "writing", *qčila* "killing", *štiha* "dancing", *wžra* "feeling pain", *xniba* "stealing"; *Ilyy* *ʿiša* "living", *tiha* "falling".

*CaCCan*: gem. *həllan* "opening", *həttan* "putting", *məddan* "stretching", *rəddan* "giving back", *šəddan* "seizing"; *Iw* *bisan* "kissing"; *IIIy* *gəlyan* "boiling".

**2.2.4.1.2. Form II****2.2.4.1.2.1. Strong verb***qəlləq* "to bore"Perfect: *qəlləq. qəl(l)qəč. qəlləqč. qəlləqči. qəlləqč; qəl(l)qu. qəlləqču. qəlləqna*Imperfect: *yqəlləq. čqəlləq. čqəlləq. čqəl(l)qi. nqəlləq; yqəl(l)qu. čqəl(l)qu. nqəl(l)qu*Imperative: *qəlləq. qəl(l)qi; qəl(l)qu*Participle: *mqəlləq. mqəl(l)qa; mqəl(l)qin*On the variants *qəlləqč* ~ *qəl(l)qəč* etc. see 1.4.2.2.(2d) REMARK 1.

Examples: *ʿaddāb* "to torture", *baddāl* "to change", *ḥarraq* "to look at", *bazzā* "to water", *ʿabbāc* "to verify, to be careful, to consider carefully", *ʿazzār* "to trade in", *daxxāl* "to make s.o. / s.th. enter", *daxxāf* "to weaken", *farrān* "to bake in the oven", *fassār* "to explain", *fassāl* "to cut out (dress)", *farrār* "to bake *fayār*", *fazzāh* "to show off", *gaddāb* "to call a liar", *gammāz* "to spread (butter, honey)", *ḥaqqār* "to suppose", *ḥassān* "to cut hair", *kammāl* "to complete", *labbān* "to paint white", *labbās*, "to dress s.o.", *naggāz* "to jump", *naqqār* "to peck", *nazzām* "to be able", *qassām* "to divide", *sakkār* "to close", *sallām* "to greet", *šaxxār* "to snore", *šayyāt* "to polish", *xallās* "to pay; to comb", *xallāt* "to mix", *xannāb* "to call s.o. a thief", *xarrāt* "to chop", *xarrāf* "to tale", *zammār* "to blow".

For the derived verbs (Form II ~ Form XI), except for *IIIy* of Form II, III and VII, the 3.m. of the perfect and m. of the imperative are distinguished by the stress position, e.g. *daxxāl* "he made (s.o.) enter" : *daxxal* "make (m.) (s.o.) enter!" (see 1.4.3.2.3.(1a)).

The following formally weak verbs are included here as strong verbs, because the weak consonants *ʿ*, *w* and *y* do not influence the conjugational system.

- (1) *P*: *addān* "to crow (cock)".  
 (2) *Iw*: *wakkāl* "to feed", *wāqqāf* "to stop", *warrād* "make cheerful", *wassāl* "to make s.o. arrive", *waxxār* "to be late", *wassā* "to widen".  
 (3) *Iy*: *yabbās* "to dry (v.t.)".  
 (4) *IIw*: *ḍawwār* "to look for", *ḥawwāc* "to fish", *šawwār* "to draw (a picture)", *ṭawwāl* "to prolong".  
 (5) *IIy*: *ʿayyāt* "to hoot (owl)", *qayyād* "to register", *qayyām* "to awaken".

## REMARK

*wakkāl* and *waxxār* correspond to CA Form II *P*, *ʿakkal*, *ʿaxxar* (see 1.3.2.7.(5a)).

## 2.2.4.1.2.2. Geminated verb

*xammām* "to think"

Perfect: *xammām*, *xamm(ām)āc*, *xammāmč*, *xammāmčī*, *xammāmčē*; *xamm(ām)u*,  
*xammāmčū*, *xammāmna*

Imperfect: *yxammām*, *čxammām*, *čxammām*, *čxamm(ām)i*, *nxammām*; *yxamm(ām)u*,  
*čxamm(ām)u*, *nxamm(ām)u*

Imperative: *xammām*, *xamm(ām)i*; *xamm(ām)u*

Participle: *mxammām*, *mxamm(ām)a*; *mxamm(ām)in*

On the variants *xammāmāc* ~ *xammāc* etc, see 1.4.2.2.(1d) and (2d) REMARK.

Examples: *dallāl* "to auction", *sammām* "to poison".

## 2.2.4.1.2.3. 1st radical weak verb

*P*

*ammān* "believe", *addān* "to crow (cock), to call prayer"

Perfect: *ammān*, *ām(m)nāc*, *ammānč*, *ammānčī*, *ammānčē*; *ām(m)nu*, *ammānčū*,  
*ammānna*

Imperfect: *yammān*, *čammān*, *čammān*, *čām(m)ni*, *nammān*; *yām(m)nu*, *čām(m)nu*,  
*nām(m)nu*

Imperative: *ammān*, *ām(m)ni*; *ām(m)nu*

Participle: *mwāddān*, *mwād(d)na*; *mwād(d)nin*

On the variants *āmmnāc* ~ *āmnač*, see 1.4.2.2.(2d).

Example: Only *addān* and *ammān* are attested for this paradigm.

## REMARK

1. In the participle *w* appears (see 1.3.2.7.(5b)).

2. Other CA Form II *P* verbs are reflected in TJ as Form II *Iw*, CA *ʿakkal* > TJ *wakkāl* "to feed", CA *ʿaxxar* > TJ *waxxār* "to be late" (see above).

## 2.2.4.1.2.4. 2nd radical weak verb

See above 2.2.4.1.2.1.

## REMARK

Historical *IIIh* verbs are in TJ mingled into Form III, CA *fahham* > TJ *faām* "to understand", CA *ṭahhar* > TJ *ṭāḥr* "to circumcise" (see 2.2.4.1.3.4.(2). below).

## 2.2.4.1.2.5. 3rd radical weak verb

ʿabbá "to fill"

Perfect: ʿabbá, ʿabbác, ʿabbíc, ʿabbíci, ʿabbíci, ʿabbáw, ʿabbícu, ʿabbína

Imperfect: yʿabbí, ʿabbí, ʿabbí, ʿabbí, nʿabbí; yʿabbíw, ʿabbíw, nʿabbíw

Imperative: ʿabbí, ʿabbí; ʿabbíw

Participle: mʿabbí, mʿabbíya; mʿabbyin

The following doubly weak verbs are included here, because the 1st or the 2nd weak radicals do not influence the conjugational system.

(1) *Iw* + *IIIy*: wərrá "to show", wəššá "to advise", wəffá "to pass (time)".

(2) *Iw* + *IIIy*: dəwwá "to light up".

(3) *Ily* + *IIIy*: ʿəyyá "to tire (v.t)".

## 2.2.4.1.2.6. Doubly weak verb

See 2.2.4.1.2.5. above.

## 2.2.4.1.2.7. Verbal noun

(1) *TəCCiC*:

(a) Strong radicals: ʿəlim "teaching" (see 2.2.1.1.3), ʿəbṭil "cancelling", ʿəfkir "re-minding", ʿəksir "breaking", ʿəhšil "overtaking", ʿəhšin "haircut", ʿəkmil "completion", ʿəlbin "painting white", ʿəlbis "dressing", ʿəngiz "jumping", ʿəqšir "peeling", ʿəṭḥix "cooking", ʿəskir "closing", ʿəṭṭir "removing s.o. out", ʿəxliṭ "mixture", ʿədxil "making s.o. enter".

(b) Geminated verb: ʿəxmim "thinking".

(c) *Iw*: ʿuqif "making s.o. stand up, ʿuṣil "send-off".

(d) *Iw y*: ʿəṭyib "cooking", ʿəzwiz "marrying".

(2) *TəCCiCa*:

(a) *Iw*: ʿučiya "preparing".

(b) *IIIy*: ʿəsmiya "naming", ʿəḡtiya "covering", ʿəxḥiya "hiding", ʿəṭḥiya "education".

## 2.2.4.1.3. Form III

## 2.2.4.1.3.1. Strong verb

qabál "to meet incidentally"

Perfect: qabál, qáblāč, qabálč, qabálči, qabálč; qáblu, qabálču, qabálnna<sup>44</sup>

Imperfect: yqábəl, ʿqábəl, ʿqábəl, ʿqábli, nqábəl; yqáblu, ʿqáblu, nqáblu

Imperative: qábəl, qábli; qáblu

Participle: mqábəl, mqábla; mqáblin

Examples: barák "to bless", ḥasáb "to consider", saʿád "to help", samáḥ "to allow", šafár "to travel" xaṭát "to harass".

The following weak verbs are included here, because the weak radical *w* does not influence the conjugational system.

(1) *Iw*: wafáq "to agree".

(2) *Iw*: ʿawád "to narrate", ʿawán "to help", šawáḥ "to arrange", šawár "to consult", žawáb "to answer".

## 2.2.4.1.3.2. Geminated verb

Not attested.

## 2.2.4.1.3.3. 1st radical weak verb

See 2.2.4.1.3.1.(1) above.

## 2.2.4.1.3.4. 2nd radical weak verb

(1) *Iw*:

See 2.2.4.1.3.1.(2) above.

(2) *IIIh*:

faám "to make s.o. understand"

Perfect: faám, fáámāč, faámč, faámči, faámč; fáamu, fáámču, fáámna

Imperfect: yfáam, ʿfáam, ʿfáam, ʿfáami, nʿfáam; yfáamu, ʿfáamu, nʿfáamu

Imperative: fáam, fáami; fáamu

Participle: mfáam, mfáama; mfaámín

44 On the assimilation *l + n > m*, see 1.3.2.1.2.(2a).

Example: Only *faám* and *taár* "to circumcise" are attested for this paradigm. These verbs corresponds to CA Form II *fahham*, *tahhar*. On the development from CA Form II to TJ Form III, see 1.3.2.6.(7).

#### 2.2.4.1.3.5. 3rd radical weak verb

*nadá* "to call"

Perfect: *nadá*, *nadáč*, *nadič*, *nadiči*, *nadič*; *nadáw*, *nadiču*, *nadína*

Imperfect: *ynádi*, *tnádi*, *tnádi*, *nnádi*; *ynadiw*, *tnadiw*, *nnadiw*

Imperative: *nádi*, *nádi*; *nadiw*

Participle: *mnádi*, *mnádyá*; *mnadyin*

Examples: *laqá* "to meet incidentally", ♦ *qaqá* "to cackle", *qasá* "to suffer", ♦ *sasá* "to beg".

#### REMARK

*qaqá* "to cackle" and *sasá* "to beg": The roots of these verbs are not obvious, but in TJ they conjugate exactly as Form III *IIIy* of the trilateral, therefore we classify them here. As for *sasa*, Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 453 classifies it at the entry  $\sqrt{s-? -s-?}$ , whilst Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 301 assumes that *sasa* is a dialectal variant of *saqsá* attested in Morocco. The existence of a verb *saqsá* in Maltese may corroborate this assumption.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, *qaqa* is classified as Form III in Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 819 at the entry  $\sqrt{q-q-y}$ .

The following doubly weak verbs are included here, because the 1st weak radical *w* does not influence the conjugational system.

(1) *Iw* + *IIIy*: *wafá* "to put amply".

(2) *IIw* + *IIIy*: *dawá* "to cure".

#### 2.2.4.1.3.6. Doubly weak verb

See 2.2.4.1.3.5. above.

<sup>45</sup> Aquilina, *Dictionary* vol. 2, p. 1271.

#### 2.2.4.1.3.7. Verbal noun

*TCaCiC*: *čbarik* "blessing", *čhasib* "thinking", *č<sup>c</sup>awin* "help".

*TCaCiya*: *tlaqiya* "meeting".

*mCaCCa*: *mqšawba* "arrangement".

#### 2.2.4.1.4. Form V

##### 2.2.4.1.4.1. Strong verb

*čfakkár* "to remember"

Perfect: *čfakkár*, *čfák(k)ráč*, *čfakkárč*, *čfakkárči*, *čfakkárč*; *čfák(k)ru*, *čfakkárču*.

*čfakkárna*

Imperfect: *yáčfákkar*, *čáčfákkar*, *čáčfákkar*, *čáčfák(k)ri*, *náčfákkar*; *yáčfák(k)ru*.

*čáčfák(k)ru*, *náčfák(k)ru*

Imperative: *čfákkar*, *čfák(k)ri*; *čfák(k)ru*

Participle: *máčfákkar*, *máčfák(k)ra*; *máčfák(k)rin*

On the variants in the parentheses, see 1.4.2.2.(2d).

Examples: *č<sup>c</sup>allám* "to learn", *čbakkám* "to become dumb", *čbazzš* "to overflow", *čfanndáq* "to be spoiled" (< Heb. קנח), *čfarráz* "to watch", *čgarrš* "to belch", *čháššám* "to be ashamed", *čharrák* "to move", *tlazzám* "to be necessary", *čqaddám* "to develop", *čqálláq* "to annoy oneself", *čšannáč* "to listen", *čšaqqá!* "to be closed with a bar", *čšarráh* "to be freed", *čxállá!* "to be mixed", *čxannáb* "to steal into", *čxatčál* "to walk stealthily".

The following weak verbs are included here, because the weak radicals *w* and *y* do not influence the conjugational system.

(1) *Iw*: *čwáhháš* "to yearn after", *čwássš* "to become wide", *čwáxxár* "to be late".

#### REMARK

*čwáxxár* corresponds to CA Form V *P ta'axxar*, where ' has been altered into *w* (see 1.3.2.7.(5ba)).

(2) *IIw*: *čkawnán* "to intend to ('la)" (< Heb. התכוון), *čwáwáz* "to get married", *čdáyýáq* "to become narrow".



## 2.2.4.1.4.2. Geminated verb

*tsammám* "to be poisoned"

Perfect: *tsammám*, *tsámm(ə)m*əč, *tsammámč*, *tsammámč*i, *tsammámč*; *tsámm(ə)m*u, *tsammámč*u, *tsammámna*

Imperfect: *yátsámməm*, *čátsámməm*, *čátsámməm*, *čátsámm(ə)m*i, *nátsámməm*; *yátsámm(ə)m*u, *čátsámm(ə)m*u, *nátsámm(ə)m*u

Imperative: *tsámməm*, *tsámm(ə)m*i; *tsámm(ə)m*u

Participle: *mátsámməm*, *mátsámm(ə)m*a; *mátsəmm(ə)m*in

On the variants *tsámməməč* ~ *tsámməč* etc, see 1.4.2.2.(1d) and (2d).

Example: *tsammám* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

## 2.2.4.1.4.3. 1st radical weak verb

See 2.2.4.1.4.1.(1) above.

## 2.2.4.1.4.4. 2nd radical weak verb

See 2.2.4.1.4.1.(2) above.

## 2.2.4.1.4.5. 3rd radical weak verb

*čxəbbá* "to be hidden"

Perfect: *čxəbbá*, *čxəbbá*č, *čxəbbí*č, *čxəbbí*č*i*, *čxəbbí*č; *čxəbbáw*, *čxəbbí*č*u*, *čxəbbina*

Imperfect: *yəčxəbbə*, *čəčxəbbə*, *čəčxəbbə*, *čəčxəbbəy*, *nəčxəbbə*; *yəčxəbbáw*, *čəčxəbbáw*, *nəčxəbbáw*

Imperative: *čxəbbə*, *čxəbbəy*; *čxəbbáw*

Participle: *məčxəbbi*, *məčxəbbya*; *məčxəbbiyin*

Examples: *č'əddá* "to pass", *č'əššá* "to have dinner", *č'gəddá* "to have lunch", *tnəssá* "to be forgotten", *tsəmmá* "to be named".

The following doubly weak verbs are included here, because the 1st and the 2nd weak radicals do not influence the conjugational system.

(1) *Iw + IIIy*: *čqəwwá* "to become strong".

(2) *Ily + IIIy*: *čqəyyá* "to vomit".

(3) *Iw + IIIy*: *čwəffá* "to be full in the brim".

## 2.2.4.1.4.6. Doubly weak verb

(1) *Ih + IIIy*:

(*t*)*čənná* "to be at ease" < CA *tahanna*<sup>2</sup>

Perfect: (*t*)*čənná*, (*t*)*čənná*č, (*t*)*čənní*č, (*t*)*čənní*č*i*, *čənní*č; (*t*)*čənnáw*, (*t*)*čənní*č*u*, (*t*)*čənnina*

Imperfect: *yə(t)čənnə*, *čə(t)čənnə*, *čə(t)čənnə*, *čə(t)čənnəy*, *nə(t)čənnə*; *yə(t)čənnáw*, *čə(t)čənnáw*, *nə(t)čənnáw*

Imperative: *čənnə*, *čənnəy*; *čənnáw*

Participle: *mə(t)čənni*, *mə(t)čənnya*; *mə(t)čənniyin*

Examples: (*t*)*čəddá* "to become calm" < CA *tahadda*<sup>2</sup>.

These verbs corresponds to CA *tahanna*<sup>2</sup> and *tahadda*<sup>2</sup> respectively. On the variants *yətčənnə* ~ *yəčənnə*, see 1.3.2.6.(2aγ).

## 2.2.4.1.4.7. Verbal noun

The proper verbal noun on the pattern of CA *taCaCCuC* is never used in TJ, but the verbal noun of Form II substitutes it.<sup>46</sup>

*čəCCiC*: *čəfkir* "remembering; thinking", *čəlim* "learning" (see 2.2.1.1.3.).

## 2.2.4.1.5. Form VI

## 2.2.4.1.5.1. Strong verb

*čqabál* "to meet"

Perfect: *čqabál*, *čqáblə*č, *čqabál*č, *čqabál*č*i*, *čqabál*č; *čqáblu*, *čqabál*č*u*, *čqabánna*

Imperfect: *yəčqábəl*, *čəčqábəl*, *čəčqábəl*, *čəčqábli*, *nəčqábəl*; *yəčqáblu*, *čəčqáblu*, *nəčqáblu*

Imperative: *čqábəl*, *čqábli*; *čqáblu*

Participle: *məčqábəl*, *məčqábli*; *məčqáblin*

Examples: *č'arák* "to quarrel", *č'bačád* "to go away", *inaqár* "to collide", *čqafád* "to be repaired", *tsafád* "to put in order, to manage".

46 The substitution of the verbal noun of Form V by that of Form II is attested also in Tunis-Muslim, see Singer, *Tunis*, pp. 425-426.

The following weak verbs are included here, because the weak radicals *w* and *y* do not influence the conjugational system.

- (1) *Iw*: *čwalǎd* "to be born".
- (2) *Ilw*: *tčawǎb* "to yawn".
- (3) *Ily*: *č'ayǎš* "to live together".

#### 2.2.4.1.5.2. Geminated verb

Not attested.

#### 2.2.4.1.5.3. 1st radical weak verb

*Ih*.

*čfaǎm* "to understand each other"

Perfect: *čfaǎm*, *čfaǎmǎč*, *čfaǎmč*, *čfaǎmči*, *čfaǎmč*; *čfaǎmu*, *čfaǎmču*, *čfaǎmna*

Imperfect: *yǎčfaǎm*, *čǎčfaǎm*, *čǎčfaǎm*, *čǎčfaǎmi*, *nǎčfaǎm*; *yǎčfaǎmu*, *čǎčfaǎmu*, *nǎčfaǎmu*

Imperative: *čfaǎm*, *čfaǎmi*; *čfaǎmu*

Participle: *mǎčfaǎm*, *mǎčfaǎma*; *mǎčfaǎmin*

Example: *čfaǎm* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

#### 2.2.4.1.5.4. 2nd radical weak verb

Not attested.

#### 2.2.4.1.5.5. 3rd radical weak verb

*tlaqá* "to meet"

Perfect: *tlaqá*, *tlaqáč*, *tlaqič*, *tlaqiči*, *tlaqič*; *tlaqáw*, *tlaqiču*, *tlaqina*

Imperfect: *yǎtláqa*, *čǎtláqa*, *čǎtláqa*, *čǎtlaqáy*, *nǎtláqa*; *yǎtlaqáw*, *čǎtlaqáw*, *nǎtlaqáw*

Imperative: *tlaqá*, *tlaqáy*; *tlaqáw*

Participle: *mǎtláqi*, *mǎtláqya*; *mǎtlaqyin*

Example: *tlaqá* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

#### 2.2.4.1.5.6. Verbal noun

The proper verbal noun on the pattern of CA *taCāCuC* is never used in TJ, but the verbal noun on the pattern *mCaCCa* or *TCaCiC* of Form III substitutes it.

*mCaCCa*: *mǎqabla* "meeting".

*TCaCiCa*: *tlaqiya* "meeting".

#### 2.2.4.1.6. Form VII

Form VII verbs do not possess their proper participle, but the passive participle of the corresponding Form I verbs serve as the participle of Form VII<sup>47</sup>: *nǎqčǎl* "to be killed" : *mǎqčul* "killed", *nšǎdd* "to be seized" : *mǎšdud* "seized", *nbǎll* "to get wet" : *mǎblul* "wet" etc.

#### 2.2.4.1.6.1. Strong verb

*nǎqčǎl* "to be killed"

Perfect: *nǎqčǎl*, *nǎqčǎlč*, *nǎqčǎlči*, *nǎqčǎlč*; *nǎqčǎl*, *nǎqčǎlču*, *nǎqčǎlna*

Imperfect: *yǎnqčǎl*, *čǎnqčǎl*, *čǎnqčǎl*, *čǎnqčǎl*, *nǎnqčǎl*; *yǎnqčǎl*, *čǎnqčǎl*, *nǎnqčǎl*

Imperative: *ǎnqčǎl*, *ǎnqčǎl*; *ǎnqčǎl*

Participle: ∅

Examples: *nǎčlǎf* "to disappear (a person)", *nǎdǎrǎb* "to be hit", *nǎfsǎx* "to be cancelled, to be abandoned", *nǎxsǎr* "to be astonished" ( $\sqrt{g-s-r}$ ), *nǎhrǎq* "to be burned", *nǎkčǎb* "to be written", *nǎkšǎf* "to be found (lost thing)", *nǎqlǎb* "to become upset", *nǎšnǎq* "to be strangled", *nǎlǎš* "to be printed", *nǎlǎš* "to become deaf", *nǎxlǎš* "to be frightened", *nǎxlǎq* "to be created".

#### 2.2.4.1.6.2. Geminated verb

*nbǎll* "to get wet"

Perfect: *nbǎll*, *nbǎllǎč*, *nbǎllič*, *nbǎlliči*, *nbǎllič*; *nbǎllu*, *nbǎllču*, *nbǎllina*

Imperfect: *yǎnbǎll*, *čǎnbǎll*, *čǎnbǎll*, *čǎnbǎll*, *nǎnbǎll*; *yǎnbǎllu*, *čǎnbǎllu*, *nǎnbǎllu*

Imperative: *nbǎll*, *nbǎlli*; *nbǎllu*

Participle: ∅

Examples: *nšǎdd* "to be seized", *nǎll* "to be opened", *nǎqšš* "to be cut".

47 The same applies in Tlemcen, see Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 80.

## 2.2.4.1.6.3. 1st radical weak verb

Not attested.

## 2.2.4.1.6.4. 2nd radical weak verb

(1) *Ily*.

*nban* "to look like"

Perfect: *nban, nbánəč, nbanič, nbaniči, nbanič; nbánu, nbaniču, nbanína*

Imperfect: *yənbán, čənbán, čənbáni, čənbáni, nənbán; yənbánu, čənbánu, nənbánu*

Imperative: *nbán, nbáni; nbánu*

Participle: ∅

Examples: *nbač* "to be sold", *nšaqb* "to be found", *nzar* "to be visited", *nzad* "to be born, to increase", *nžab* "to be brought".

(2) *Ilh*.

*nəfám* ~ *nəffám* "to be understood"

Perfect: *nəfám* ~ *nəffám, nfáməč, nəf(f)ámč, nəf(f)ámči, nəf(f)ámč; nfánu, nəf(f)ámču, nəf(f)ámna*

Imperfect: *yənf(f)ám, čənf(f)ám, čənf(f)ám, čənfámi, nənf(f)ám; yənfánu, čənfánu, nənfánu*

Imperative: *ənf(f)ám, ənfámi; ənfánu*

Participle: ∅

On variants *nəfám* ~ *nəffám*, *nəfámč* ~ *nəffámč* and *ənfám* ~ *ənfám*, see 1.3.2.6.(2aγ) and (2bβ).

Example: Only *nəfám* ~ *nəffám* and *nəčám* ~ *nəčám* "to be accused" are attested for this paradigm.

## 2.2.4.1.6.5. 3rd radical weak verb

*nəmə* "to become blind"

Perfect: *nəmə, nəməč, nəmič, nəmiči, nəmič; nəmáw, nəmiču, nəmína*

Imperfect: *yənmə, čənmə, čənmáy, čənmáy, nənmə; yənmáw, čənmáw, nənmáw*

Imperative: *ənmə, ənmáy; ənmáw*

Participle: ∅

Examples: *nəkrá* "to be hated", *nəkwá* "to get burned", *nəqrá* "to be read", *nəšrá* "to be bought", *nəfá* "to be extinguished".

## REMARK

For the imperfect, the ending vowel is *-a*, not *-i* which is expected from CA form. This phenomenon is attested broadly in the Maghrib.<sup>48</sup>

## 2.2.4.1.6.6. Gem. + weak radical

Gem. + *Ih*.

(*n*)*nəzz* "to be swung"

Perfect: (*n*)*nəzz, (n)nəzzəč, (n)nəzzič, (n)nəzziči, (n)nəzzič; (n)nəzzu, (n)nəzziču, (n)nəzzina*

Imperfect: *yən(n)əzz, čən(n)əzz, čən(n)əzzi, čən(n)əzzi, nən(n)əzz; yən(n)əzzu, čən(n)əzzu, nən(n)əzzu*

Imperative: *nən(n)əzz, nən(n)əzzi; nən(n)əzzu*

Participle: ∅

On the variation *yənəzz* ~ *yənnəzz* etc., see 1.3.2.6.(2aγ).

Example: (*n*)*nəzz* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

## 2.2.4.1.7. Form VIII

## 2.2.4.1.7.1. Strong verb

*rəčəd* "to tremble"

Perfect: *rəčəd, rčədəč, rčədč, rčədči, rčədč; rčəd, rčədču, rčədna*

Imperfect: *yərčəd, čərčəd, čərčədi, nərčəd; yərčəd, čərčəd, nərčəd*

Imperative: *ərčəd, ərčədi; ərčəd*

Participle: *mərčəd, mərčədi; mərčəd*

Examples: *rəčəd* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

48 TM: (forms ending with *-a* and *-i* are attested) *nīlā - jantīlā* (*jēntly*) "bestrichen werden" (Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 244), Algiers-Jewish: *nəfā - tənīfā* "s'êteindre" (Cohen, *Alger*, p. 220), Tlemcen: *nksā - yēnksā* "être habillé" (Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 81), Cherchell: *nəfā - yənīfā* "s'êteindre" (Grand'henry, *Cherchell*, p. 62), Djidjelli: *nksā - yēnksā* "être habillé" (Marçais, *PDjidjelli*, p. 192), Maltese: *inqara - jinqara* "to be read" (Aquilina, *Maltese*, p. 184).

## 2.2.4.1.7.2. Geminated verb

*rċadd* "to return"

Perfect: *rċadd, rċáddāč, rċáddič, rċáddiči, rċáddič; rċáddu, rċáddiċu, rċáddina*

Imperfect: *yarċádd, ċarċádd, ċarċádd, ċarċáddi, narċádd; yarċáddu, ċarċáddu, narċáddu*

Imperative: *rċadd, rċáddi; rċáddu*

Participle: *mārċádd, mārċádda; mārċáddin*

Examples: *lċaff* "to be wrapped", *lċamm* "to come together".

## 2.2.4.1.7.3. 1st radical weak verb

Not attested.

## 2.2.4.1.7.4. 2nd radical weak verb

*xċar* "to choose"

Perfect: *xċar, xċáráč, xċárič, xċáriči, xċárič; xċáru, xċáriċu, xċárina*

Imperfect: *yaxċár, ċaxċár, ċaxċár, ċaxċári, naxċár; yaxċáru, ċaxċáru, naxċáru*

Imperfect: *xċár, xċári; xċáru*

Participle: *māxċár, māxċára; māxċárin*

Examples: *hċaž* "to need", *rċah* "to rest", *šċaq* "to long", *zċad* "to hunt".

Form VIII *Ilw*y verbs conjugates as Form XI str. (see 2.2.4.1.9.1. below and 2.2.1.1.1.(2) above).

## 2.2.4.1.7.5. 3rd radical weak verb

*rāċxá* "to soften (v.i.), to calm down"

Perfect: *rāċxá, rāċxáč, rāċxič, rāċxiči, rāċxič; rāċxáw, rāċxiċu, rāċxina*

Imperfect: *yárċxa, ċárċxa, ċárċxa, ċárċxáy, nárċxa; yarċxáw, ċarċxáw, narċxáw*

Imperative: *árċxa, arċxáy; arċxáw*

Participle: *márċxi, mārċxiya; mārċxiyin*

Example: *rāċxá* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

## REMARK

For the imperfect, the ending vowel is *-a*, not *-i* which is expected from CA form. This phenomenon is attested broadly in the Maghrib.<sup>49</sup>

## 2.2.4.1.8. Form X

## 2.2.4.1.8.1. Strong verb

*stā'žáb* "to wonder"

Perfect: *stā'žáb, stā'žábč, stā'žábč, stā'žábči, stā'žábč; stā'žbu, stā'žábċu, stā'žábna*

Imperfect: *yastā'žab, ċastā'žab, ċastā'žab, ċastā'žbi, nastā'žab; yastā'žbu, ċastā'žbu, nastā'žbu*

Imperative: *stā'žab, stā'žbi; stā'žbu*

Participle: *mastā'žab, mastā'žba; mastā'žbin*

Examples: *staxbár* "to ask", *stā'žál* "to hurry up", *stā'ráf* "to acknowledge".

## 2.2.4.1.8.2. Geminated verb

*sthāqq* "to need"

Perfect: *sthāqq, sthāqqč, sthāqqič, sthāqqiči, sthāqqič; sthāqqu, sthāqqiċu,*

*sthāqqina*

Imperfect: *yasthāqq, ċasthāqq, ċasthāqq, ċasthāqqi, nasthāqq; yasthāqqu, ċasthāqqu,*

*nasthāqqu*

Imperative: *sthāqq, sthāqqi; sthāqqqu*

Participle: *masthāqq, masthāqqa; masthāqqin*

Example: *sthāqq* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

## REMARK

Although TJ *sthāqq* < CA *ʔistahaqq* preserves the geminated *q*, CA *ʔistahamm* "to bathe" is reflected in TJ as *sthām* with non-geminated *m*; this cannot be classified into any regular verb class, so that in this study it is regarded as an irregular verb (see 2.2.4.3.(10)).

49 TM: (forms ending with *-a* and *-i* are attested) *nthā - jerthā (jérthi)* "schlapp werden" (Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 245), Algiers-Jewish: *irthā* "il s'affaiblit" (Cohen, *Alger*, p. 224), Tlemcen: *rjhā - yerjha* "se relâcher" (but *šjká - yešjki* "se plaindre") (Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 82), Maltese: *imtela - jimtela* "to be filled" (Aquilina, *Maltese*, p. 184).

## 2.2.4.1.8.3. 1st radical weak verb

P

*stanás* "to be accustomed"Perfect: *stanás, stánsač, stanásč, stanásči, stanásč; stánsu, stanásču, stanásna*Imperfect: *yastánas, častánas, častánas, častánsi, nastánas; yastánsu, častánsu, nastánsu*Imperative: *stánas, stánsi; stánsu*Participle: *mastánas, mastánsa; mastánsin*Example: *stanás* is the sole example of Form X P.

## 2.2.4.1.8.4. 2nd radical weak verb

Not attested.

## 2.2.4.1.8.5. 3rd radical weak verb

*stəhlá* "to find sweet, to enjoy"Perfect: *stəhlá, stəhláč, stəhlič, stəhliči, stəhlič; stəhláw, stəhliču, stəhlina*Imperfect: *yastəhla, častəhla, častəhla, častəhláy, nastəhla; yastəhláw, častəhláw, nastəhláw*Imperative: *stəhla, stəhláy; stəhláw*Participle: *mastəhli, mastəhlya; mastəhlyin*Example: *stəhlá* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

## REMARK

For the imperfect, the ending vowel is *-a*, not *-i* which is expected from CA form. This phenomenon is attested broadly in the Maghrib.<sup>50</sup>

50 TM: (forms ending with *-a* and *-i* are attested) *stágnā - jestágnā (jestagni)* "reich werden" (Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 245), Tunis-Muslim: *stágnā - yistágnā* "sich bereichern" (Singer, *Tunis*, p. 391), Algiers-Jewish: *'istəhla* "il trouve bon" (Cohen, *Alger*, p. 234), Tlemcen *ssenwá - yessénwa* "conjecturer" (Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 84), Maltese: *stahba - jistahba* "to hide oneself" (Aquilina, *Maltese*, p. 184). For Tunis-Jewish Cohen states that "l'inaccompli est en *a* sur le modèle des réfléchis en *t*" (Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 131).

## 2.2.4.1.8.6. Verbal noun

*stəCCiC*.*stəzil* "hurrying up".

## 2.2.4.1.9. Form XI

## 2.2.4.1.9.1. Strong verb

*sman* "to become fat", *zyan* "to become beautiful"Perfect: *sman, smánáč, smanič, smaniči, smanič; smánu, smaniču, smanina*Imperfect: *yasmán, časmán, časmán časmáni, nasmán; yasmánu, časmánu, nasmánu*Imperfect: *smán, smáni; smánu*Participle: *mazyán, mazyána; mazyanin*

Examples: *čqal* "to become heavy", *hsab* "to imagine, to think, to expect", *hmar* "to become red", *kčar* "to increase", *khal* "to become black", *qbaḥ* "to become impudent", *qsaḥ* "to become hard", *qsaḥ* "to become short", *šbal* "to resemble", *šfar* "to become yellow", *xdaḥ* "to become green", *zgar* "to become small".

## REMARK

*šbal* "to resemble": This verb originates from CA *ʿašbah*, the normal TJ development of which may be assumed to be *ʿašbah* > \**šbah* > \**šbəh* > \**šba* (see 1.3.2.6.(3b)). It is safe to say that the final *l* of *šbal* is the reflection of the preposition *l-*. Since \**šbah* had always been used with the preposition *l-*, the latter came to be considered, after the loss of *h*, as a root consonant. Thus *šbal* now conjugates as Form XI verb without leaving any trace of *h* and takes a pronoun suffix: *uwa yəšbalək* "he is similar to you", *šbaliču* "I was similar to him".

The following geminated and weak roots are included here, because the gemination and the weak radicals *w* and *y* do not influence the conjugational system.

- (1) gem.: *rqaq* "to become thin", *šḥaḥ* "to become strong", *xfaf* "to become light".
- (2) *Ilw*: *fwal* "to become long".
- (3) *Ily*: *zyan* "to become handsome".

## 2.2.4.1.9.2. Geminated verb

See above 2.2.4.1.9.1.

## 2.2.4.1.9.3. 1st radical weak verb

*Iw.*

*wsaʿ* "to become wide"

Perfect: *wsaʿ, wsaʿəč, wsaʿič, wsaʿiči, wsaʿič; wsaʿu, wsaʿiču, wsaʿina*

Imperfect: *yusaʿ, čusaʿ, čusaʿ, čusaʿi, musaʿ; yusaʿu, čusaʿu, musaʿu*

Imperative: *usaʿ, usaʿi; usaʿu*

Participle: Not attested.

Example: *wsaʿ* is the sole example of Form XI *Iw.*

## REMARK

*mwassaʿ* (Form II) is used as the participle of *wsaʿ*

## 2.2.4.1.9.4. 2nd radical weak verb

*Iih.*

*s(s)al* "to become easy"

Perfect: *s(s)al, s(s)aləč, ∅, ∅, ∅; s(s)alu, ∅, ∅*

Imperfect: *yas(s)al, yas(s)aləč, ∅, ∅, ∅; yas(s)alu, ∅, ∅*

Imperative: Not attested

Participle: Not attested

Example: *sal* is the sole example attested for this paradigm (see 2.2.3.(1a) REMARK 2 and 1.3.2.6.(2aβ)).

## 2.2.4.1.9.5. 3rd radical weak verb

Not attested.

## 2.2.4.2. Quadriliteral verbs

## 2.2.4.2.1. Form I

## 2.2.4.2.1.1. Strong verb

*zəlbəh*<sup>51</sup> "to make a fool out of"

Perfect: *zəlbəh, zəlbəhəč, zəlbəhč, zəlbəhč, zəlbəhč; zəlbəhu, zəlbəhču, zəlbəhna*

Imperfect: *yzəlbəh, dzəlbəh, dzəlbəh, dzəlbəhi, nzəlbəh; yzəlbəhu, dzəlbəhu, nzəlbəhu*

Imperative: *zəlbəh, zəlbəhi; zəlbəhu*

Participle: *mzəlbəh, mzəlbəha; mzəlbəhin*

Examples: *ʿəfləq* "to stifle", *bəʿbəʿ* "to bleat", *bəhəbəh* "to be open-handed", *dəndən* "to give splitting headache", *dərbək* "to beat (a drum)", *fərsək* "to make s.th. fresh, to relax", *gərbəz* "to put in disorder", *gərnət* "to crunch", *gərbəl* "to sieve", *hənhan* "to neigh", *kərbəs* "to be arrested", *šəššə* "to send forth fragrance", *tərbəq* "to be smashed", *zəzə* "to swing (v.t.)", *zəgrəč* "to croak, to utter shrill".

## REMARK

*dəndən* has its participle *ndəndən* where the prefix *m-* for the derived forms is realized with *n-* before *d* (see 1.3.2.1.1.3.(2)). This assimilation seems to be sporadic and elsewhere *m- > n-* is hardly attested.

## 2.2.4.2.1.2. Weak verb

(1) *Iiw.*<sup>52</sup>

*zuzəq* "to chirp"

Perfect: *zuzəq, zuzəqəč, zuzəqč, zuzəqč, zuzəqč; zuzəqu, zuzəqču, zuzəqna*

Imperfect: *yzuzəq, dzuzəq, dzuzəq, dzuzəqi, nzuzəq; yzuzəqu, dzuzəqu, nzuzəqu*

Imperative: *zuzəq, zuzəqi; zuzəqu*

Participle: *mzuzəq, mzuzəqa; mzuzəqin*

Example: *zuzəq* is the sole example attested for this paradigm.

51 On the common root in the Maghrib *z-b-l-h*, see Aquilina, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1604. *zeblah*: Dozy, *Supplément* vol. 1, p. 580 *زبلح* "tromper", Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 426 *زبلح* "attaquer, duper...".

52 Singer, *Tunis*, pp. 381-382.

(2) *Ily*.*fīšák* "to mock"Perfect: *fīšák, fīškəč, fīšákč, fīšákčī, fīšákčē; fīšku, fīšákčū, fīšákna*Imperfect: *yfīšək, čfīšək, čfīšək, čfīšəkī, nfišək; yfīšku, čfīšku, nfišku*Imperative: *fīšək, fīšəkī; fīšku*Participle: *mfišək, mfiška; mfiškin*Example: Only *fīšák* and *fīrám* "to sign" (< It. firmare) are attested for this paradigm.**2.2.4.2.1.3. Verbal noun***TCəCCiC**čfāršik* "relaxing"**2.2.4.2.2. Form II****2.2.4.2.2.1. Strong verb***čfāršák* "to amuse oneself"Perfect: *čfāršák, čfāršəkəč, čfāršákč, čfāršákčī, čfāršákčē; čfāršku, čfāršákčū, čfāršákna*Imperfect: *yəčfāršək, čəčfāršək, čəčfāršək, čəčfāršəkī, nəčfāršək; yəčfāršku, čəčfāršku, nəčfāršku*Imperative: *čfāršək, čfāršəkī; čfāršku*Participle: *məčfāršək, məčfāršəkā; məčfārškin*Examples: *čə əflək* "to have difficulty breathing", *ddəndən* "to have splitting headache", *ddəčdš* "to have splitting headache", *tšəššə* "to be sent forth (fragrance of the flower); to enjoy fragrance", *dzəzšə* "to swing (v.i.)".**2.2.4.2.2.2. Weak verb**

Not attested.

**2.2.4.2.2.3. Verbal noun**The verbal noun of Q-Form II is identical with that of Q-Form I.  
*čfāršik* "amusing oneself".**2.2.4.3. Irregular verbs**

To this section belong verbs which cannot be classified into any above conjugational system.

(1) *ža* "to come".Perfect: *ža, žač, žič, žičī, žičē; žaw, žičū, žina*Imperfect: *yži, dži, dži, dži, nži; yžiw, džiw, nžiw*Imperative: *čšla, čšli; čšlu*Active participle: *žay, žaya; žayin*

Passive participle: Not attested.

Verbal noun: Not attested.

Ostensibly the imperative form *čšla* corresponds formally to CA *tāla* "you (m.sg.) are high" but the latter does not convey the signification of "to come" and is not an imperative form. In other dialects various forms corresponding to CA *tāla* serve as the imperative of the verb denoting "to come".<sup>53</sup> Considering this fact, it is natural to attribute TJ *čšla* to the same etymon. However the development CA *tāla* > TJ *čšla* is irregular in that CA long *ā* has been eliminated (the expected form being \*č<sup>c</sup>ala).<sup>54</sup> Note that the use of *tāla* is rare in the sedentary Maghribi dialects.<sup>55</sup>

*ža* (and its conjugated forms) in the perfect serves as an adverb "therefore, thereupon" introducing sentences.<sup>56</sup>

*ža ššəltən qal luzir* "so (thereupon) the Sultan said to the minister", *žač iya qaltləm žabəč kəlb* "thereupon she said to them that she had given birth to a dog", *žaw ləhmīr šəbūm yaklu ləšdəm* "thereupon they found the donkeys eating the bone".

53 Cairo: *tāla* (m.sg.), *tāli* (f.sg.), *tālu* (pl.); Damascus (Grotzfeld, *Damas*, p. 77) *tāa*, *tāal* (m.sg.), *tāi*, *tāali* (f.sg.), *tāu*, *tāalu* (pl.); TM (Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 238) *tāala* (m.sg.), *tāali* (f.sg.), *tāalu* (pl.).

54 On the reflection of CA vowels in TJ (see 1.3.3.).

55 Tunis-Muslim (Singer *Tunis*, p. 363): *izā* (c.sg.), *izāu* (pl.); Tunis-Jewish (Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 106): *izā* (c.sg.), *izāw* (pl.).

56 Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 135.

(2) *ra* "to see".

Perfect: *ra, rač, rič ~ rič, riči ~ riči, rič ~ rič; raw, riču ~ riču, rina ~ rina*

Imperfect: *yāra, čāra, čāra, čarāy, nāra: yarāw, čarāw, narāw*

Imperative: *āra, arāy, arāw*

Active participle: Not attested.

Passive participle: Not attested.

Verbal noun: Not attested.

Among the sedentary Maghribi dialects, as far as I know, only Maltese and TJ possess the full conjugation (except the participles) of the successor of CA *raʿā* while many dialects of this area utilize its perfect form as a particle for introducing sentences.<sup>57</sup> In Tunis-Muslim only the perfect and the imperfect are used, but side by side with the synonymous verb *šāf* which is more frequently. On the variants with the plain *r*, (*rič, rina* etc.), see 1.3.2.1.1.2.

(3) *nəčra* "to be seen" (Form VII + VIII).

Perfect: *nəčrā, nəčrāč, nəčrič, nəčriči, nəčrič; nəčrāw, nəčriču, nəčrina*

Imperfect: *yānčra, čānčra, čānčra, čānčrāy, nānčra: yānčrāw, čānčrāw, nānčrāw*

Imperative: Not attested.

Active participle: Not attested.

Passive participle: Not attested.

Verbal noun: Not attested.

From the pure formal point of view, this verb should be classified as Form VII of  $\sqrt{č-r-y}$ , but it is safe to say that this is formed by attaching *nč-* to *ra* "to see". Grand'henry. *Réfléchi*, p. 446 supposes the origin of the form with *nt-* widespread in the Maghribi dialects to be a contaminated form of Form VII and VIII after a metathesis of infix *t* which became prefix. Although his assumption is appropriate to this case, the question why such a form with mixed prefix occurs only in this verb still remains.  $\rightarrow$  between *n* and *č* should be considered as originated from an auxiliary vowel (see 1.4.1.2. (1b).fn.). As in other Form VII *IIIy* and Form VIII *IIIy*, also the imperfect of *nəčra* ends with *-a* (see 2.2.4.1.6.5. and 2.2.4.1.7.5.).

<sup>57</sup> Ferguson, *Koine*, p. 629.

(4) *kla* "to eat".

Perfect: (1st series) *kla, klač, klič, kliči, klič; klaw, kliču, klina*

(2nd series) *kal, káláč, Ø, Ø, Ø; kálu, Ø, Ø*

Imperfect: *yākəl, čākəl, čākəl, čākli, nākəl; yāklu, čāklu, nāklu*

Imperative: *kul, kúli; kulu*

Active participle: (1st series) *wākəl, wākla; waklin*; (2nd series) *káyəl, káyla; kaylin*

Passive participle: *mukúl, mukúla; mukulín*

Verbal noun: Not attested.

(5) *xda* "to take".

Perfect: (1st series) *xda, xdač, xdič, xdiči, xdič; xdaw, xdiču, xdina*

(2nd series) *xad, xádáč, Ø, Ø, Ø; xádu, Ø, Ø*

Imperfect: *yáxəd, čáxəd, čáxəd, čáxdi, náxəd; yáxdu, čáxdu, náxdu*

Imperative: *xud, xúdi; xúdu*

Active participle: (1st series) *wáxəd, wáxda; waxdin*; (2nd series) *xáyəd, xáyda;*

*xaydin*

Passive participle: *muxúd, muxúda; muxudin*

Verbal noun: Not attested.

Here we discuss verbs (4) and (5) at once, because the both conjugate according to one and the same system.

(a) Perfect: Both verbs possess two series of conjugation in the perfect. One is from *IIIy* and another from *IIw y*. The latter occurs only in the 3rd person. There does not seem to be any difference in the usage between the two series of the perfect and the participle. Among the sedentary Maghribi dialects the form by *IIw y* is attested, as far as I know, in Maltese, Fes-Jewish, Sefrou-Jewish, Ouargha, Tafílat<sup>58</sup> and TJ, while in almost all other sedentary dialects the form by *IIIy* is exclusively used.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See Aquilina, *Maltese*, p. 195., Brunot, *NFès*, p. X, Stillman, *Sefrou*, p. 45 (*kel* "to eat" but *xda* "to take", Lévi-Provençal, *Ouargha*, p. 26 (only *kel* "to eat" is cited). Heath & Bar-Asher, *Tafílat*, pp. 67-68 (*tal* (< \**kal*) "to eat" but *xd-* "to take") respectively.

<sup>59</sup> Algerian village and urban dialects (Marçais, *Algérie*, p. 222 and p. 227 respectively). In Sefrou, CA *ʾaxəd* corresponds to *xda* "to take", whilst CA *ʾakəl* to *kel* "to eat", which indicates a morphological split between two verbs which corresponds to the same root structure in CA, see Stillman, *Sefrou*, pp. 44-45.



- (b) Imperfect: Both verbs conjugate as CA *P*.  
 (c) Imperative: Both verbs conjugates as CA *Iw*.  
 (d) Active participle: Both verbs possess two series; one is formed on CA *Iw* and another on CA *Iw*.  
 (e) Passive participle: This is formed as CA *Iw* for both verbs.

Following is the distribution of the actual forms according to the stem.

- P*: The imperfect.  
*Iw*: The active and passive participles (1st series).  
*Iw*: The imperative, the perfect (2nd series), the active participle (2nd series).  
*IIIy*: The perfect (1st series).

(6) *(t)čkal* "to be eaten (by moths, by rust), to be eatable".

Perfect: *(t)čkal*, *(t)čkalč*,  $\emptyset$ ,  $\emptyset$ ,  $\emptyset$ ; *(t)čaklu*,  $\emptyset$ ,  $\emptyset$

Imperfect: *ya(t)čkal* ~ *yačkal*, *čə(t)čkal* ~ *čəčkal*,  $\emptyset$ ,  $\emptyset$ ,  $\emptyset$ ; *yaččaklu* ~ *yačkalu*,  $\emptyset$ ,  $\emptyset$

Imperative: Not attested.

Active participle: Not attested.

Passive participle: Not attested.

Verbal noun: Not attested.

(7) *ba* "to want".

Perfect: *ba*, *bač*, *bič*, *biči*, *bič*; *baw*, *biču*, *bina*

Imperfect: Not attested

Imperative: Not attested

Active participle: Not attested

Passive participle: Not attested

Verbal noun: Not attested.

This verb is used only in the perfect in the negative form and means "did not want", and may correspond to CA *'abā* although its meaning is "to refuse" which is contrary to the meaning of TJ<sup>60</sup>, or CA *bagā* which often appears in a reduced dialectal form, cf. *yabi* ~ *yaba* in Benghazi Muslim dialect<sup>61</sup> or also in Najdi Arabic.

60 Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 239. And on the verb  $\sqrt{b-y}$ , see Landberg, *Glossaire* vol. 1, pp. 11-62 and Nöldeke, *BSS*, p. 66.

61 Panetta, *Bengasi* vol. 1, p. 239.

(8) *ballá* "to dance".

Perfect: *ballá*, *balláč*, *ballič*, *balliči*, *ballič*; *balláw*, *balliču*, *ballina*

Imperfect: *yballá*, *čballá*, *čballá*, *čballáy*, *ňballá*; *yballáw*, *čballáw*, *ňballáw*

Imperative: *ballá*, *balláy*; *balláw*

Participle: Not attested.

Verbal noun: Not attested.

This verb originates from Italian *ballare* "to dance". It is difficult to attribute it to Form II since the vowel of the first syllable is phonologically long, and the imperfect forms have the ending vowel *-a*.

(9) *čakká* "to lean".<sup>62</sup>

Perfect: *čakká*, *čakkáč*, *čakkič*, *čakkiči*, *čakkič*; *čakkáw*, *čakkiču*, *čakkina*

Imperfect: *yčákka*, *tčákka*, *tčákka*, *tčakkáy*, *nčákka*; *yčakkáw*, *tčakkáw*, *nčakkáw*

Imperative: *čákka*, *čakkáy*; *čakkáw*

Participle: Not attested.

Verbal noun: Not attested.

This verb corresponds to CA *'ittaka*<sup>2</sup>, Form VIII of  $\sqrt{w-k}$ : CA *'ittaka*<sup>2</sup> > *\*ttaka* > *ttakka* > *\*təkka* > TJ *čakka*. Also TJ *čkal* (see 2.2.4.1.1.1. REMARK 1) originates from CA Form VIII *Iw* (*'ittakal* =  $\sqrt{w-k-l}$ ) but they do not follow a coherent development. For *čakka*, instead of the elimination of a short vowel, *k* is geminated, so that the ancient *a* has been preserved in a closed syllable. The reason for this divergence is not obvious.

(10) *sthəm* "to bathe".

Perfect: *sthəm*, *stəhmáč*, *sthəmč*, *sthəmči*, *sthəmč*; *stəhmu*, *sthəmču*, *sthəmna*

Imperfect: *yəsthəm*, *čəsthəm*, *čəsthəm*, *čəsthəmi*, *nəsthəm*; *yəsthəmu*, *čəsthəmu*,  
*nəsthəmu*

Imperative: *əsthəm*, *əsthəmi*; *əsthəmu*

Participle: *məsthəm*, *məsthəma*; *məsthəmin*

Verbal noun: Not attested.

62 Cohen, *Alger*, p. 226.

This corresponds to CA *ʔistaḥamm* which is an obvious Form X gem. Yet in TJ the geminated *m* has been reduced to a single *m*. A parallel phenomenon, in just the same word, is attested in mediaeval Neo-Arabic. Blau states in his *Christian*, p. 167 that "*verba mediae geminatae* are formed before suffixes beginning with consonants like *verba mediae infirmae*" and mentions two examples: استحمنا "we bathed", استحمتم "you (pl.) bathed". To explain the actual TJ verb which has lost the geminated *m*, we suppose that these forms like *verba mediae infirmae* had been extended to all persons, irrespective of the (existence or) the nature of the suffix. Note that *sthəqq* "to need" remains as Form X gem (see 2.2.4.1.8.2.).

(11) *stənná* "to wait".

Perfect: *stənná, stənnáč, stənnič, stənniči, stənnič; stənnáw, stənniču, stənnina*

Imperfect: *yəstənná, čəstənná, čəstənná, čəstənnáy, nəstənná; yəstənnáw, čəstənnáw, nəstənnáw*

Imperative: *stənná, stənnáy; stənnáw*

Participle: *məstənni, məstənniya; məstənniyin*

Verbal noun: Not attested.

This verb can be analysed as a hybrid of Form V and X of the root  $\sqrt{2-n-y}$ .<sup>63</sup> From the fact that the imperfect stem takes an ending vowel *-a* which is particular to Form V *IIIy* rather than Form II *IIIy*, a contamination of V and X is more likely.

#### 2.2.4.4. Isolated imperatives

There are attested two verbs used only in the imperative.

(1) *ač* "bring!".

Imperative: *ač, áči; áču*

This verb corresponds to CA *hāti*.<sup>64</sup>

(2) *ḥərra* "go out!".

Imperative: *ḥərra, ḥərrī; ḥərru*

This verb originates from the adverb *ḥərra* "outside" (see 2.6.2.(2) REMARK) < CA *barran*. Usually this is followed another imperfect verb and designate "go and do!" altogether.

*ḥərru-šriw ḥmir* "go (pl.) and buy donkeys!", *ḥərra qəttəf məlgəl li čamma fəssanya* "go to cut some fruits which are found in the field".

#### 2.2.5. Verbal prefixes and pseudo-verbs

##### 2.2.5.1. Verbal prefixes

In the Maghrib verbal prefixes vary from dialect to dialect: in Morocco, *tā-* (northern sedentary dialects), *kā-* (southern sedentary dialects), *lā-*, *ā-* (bedouin dialects) are attested as prefixes to express an actual and habitual fact, and in Libya and Djerba *b-* is used for intention or near future.<sup>65</sup> In Tunis-Jewish *qā* (abbreviated form of the participle *qāʿəd*) serves to express progressivity.<sup>66</sup> In Tunis-Muslim such verbal prefixes are not used.

In TJ, two verbal prefixes exist: one to express progressivity and another to mark futurity.

(1) *qa* "(the present-progressive marker)".

This is put before an imperfect verb to give progressive or durative value to the action denoted by the verb.

*ša qa čəməl? qa nəstənná fi* "what are you doing? I am waiting for him". *šəḥ nas qa ydəllu čə-nnfačəḥ nəč əššəltan* "he found people auctioning the Sultan's keys", *kif čəraḥ ləqməžža qa čgənni w kmama yrəddu člia* "when you (will) see the shirt singing and its sleeves responding to it...", *mšugra duwčək li qa čədwi fia...?* "is your story that you are telling certain?", *baš ma yəffəms li ḥnan qa nədwīw* "in order that he would not understand what we are saying", *ara abəl ada lbnadəm, qa yədwi duwa fərga* "ho, he has become mad, that man; he is talking nonsense", *qa yədwəwru škun yʿawənəm* "they are seeking someone to help them", *čəḥsab waḥəd qa yəmsi wək* "you think that someone is going after you".

*qa* cannot be used when the main verb is preceded (i.e. subordinated) by another verb: *nəqdər nəstənná-naya* "I can wait for him here", *xəlli yərqəd* "let him sleep!".

<sup>63</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, p. 398 states that this verb is a combination of Form II and X.

<sup>64</sup> Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. I, p. 521.

<sup>65</sup> Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, pp. 263-264.

<sup>66</sup> Cohen, *Tunis II*, pp. 136-137.

Since *qa* is derived from *qʿəd*, which is a nominal form, the negative of *qa* + verb is *muš qʿəd*<sup>67</sup>: *muš qa nəsməʿ* "I can't hear", *muš qa čhəbb čəqčənni?* "you don't want to kill me?".

## REMARK

*qʿəd* (*qʿəda* (f.), *qʿədin* (pl.)) has the same function as *qa*. *qʿəd* agrees with the gender and the number of the subject, so the series of *qʿəd* is not in fact verbal prefix but merely the active participle of *qʿəd* "to stay".

(2) *(y)həbb* and its abbreviated forms "(futura)".

This verb primarily means "to love" (< CA ʿahabb), and also has the meaning "to want". But this meaning extends to express rather futurity. In the meaning of "to love" this verb is followed a direct object, e.g. *nəhəbbək* "I love you", *həbbičək* "I loved you", whilst in the expression of "to want" it is followed by another imperfect verb, e.g. *nəhəbb nakəl kəsəu* "I want to eat couscous",<sup>68</sup> *həbbič ənzi mʿá* "I wanted to come with him". For both meanings imperfect forms and perfect forms can be used. To express futurity, however, this verb is used always in the imperfect and can be substituted by abbreviated forms: *həm-* ~ *hən-* for the 1st person<sup>69</sup> (besides regular *nəhəbb(u)*) and *hət-* for the second person (m.sg., f.sg. and pl.) and the 3.f. (besides regular *čhəbb(u)*). For the 3.m., no such abbreviated form is attested but only *(y)həbb* is used.

	Sg.	Pl.
3.m.	<i>(y)həbb</i>	<i>(y)həbbu</i>
3.f.	<i>hət-</i>	
2.	<i>hət-</i>	<i>hət-</i>
1.	<i>(n)həm- ~ hən-</i>	<i>həm- ~ hən-</i>

*hən-nxəllšu flus* "we are going to pay money", *ana kənc hən-nqullək* "I was going to say to you", *ša yhəbb yšir fina* "what will happen to us?", *iya hət-čəməl lkəll məqlub mənna hnan* "she is going to do everything contrary to us", *həm-nəmši nbul* "I am going to urinate", *čuwa ša hən-nʿəmlu?* "now what are we going to do?", *ana hən-nəxdəm lxədma lli dži* "I will work (any) work which comes along".

67 Also in Tunis-Jewish *qa* is used for almost the same purpose. However the negative of *qa* is there formed by the combination of *mā* and *š*: *mā qāš nəhdəm* "je ne travaille pas", see Cohen, *Tunis II*, p.136.

68 "I love eating couscous" is expressed as *yʿzəbni nakəl kəsəsu*.

69 Cohen, *Tunis II*, p.136.

## 2.2.5.2. Pseudo-verbs

The pseudo-verb is a part of speech which is formally not a verb but functions as verb. In TJ *ʿənd* (originally preposition) and *čəmma* (originally adverb corresponding to CA *tamma* "there") are pseudo-verbs. Although they do not conjugate, their negative form is made with *ma ... š* as in the cases real verbs.

(1) *ʿənd*

This is originally a preposition (see 2.5.2.(1)).

(a) Possession.

In this usage, the normal word order is: (NP<sub>1</sub> (possessor)) + *ʿənd-* + pronoun suffix referring NP<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub> (possessed).

*adak əššəltan ma ʿənduš zgar* "that Sultan does not have children", *ʿəndi ma nəməl* "I have something to do (= I am busy)".

The past and the future are expressed

(α) in combination with *kan* for the past and *ykun* for the future. *kan* may be conjugated or not before *ʿənd*.

*ma kanuš ʿəndi flus bzayəd* "I had not much money", *kam əžžay čkun ʿəmma huš ždid* "next year, we will have a new house", *win əmma tlačin kalb li kanu ʿəndək?* "where are those thirty dogs which you had?", *ma kanš ʿəndi tawla* "I did not have a table", *ma kanš ʿəndu klab* "he did not have any dogs".

(β) by a composite form *kall-* (m.) (< *kan* + enclitic dative marker *l-*), *kanəl-* (f.) and *kanul-* (pl.) for the past, and *ykull-* (m.), *čkull-* (f.) and *ykull-* (pl.) (< *ykun*, *čkun* + enclitic dative marker *l-* respectively) for the future. These are used along with *kan ʿənd-* or *ykun ʿənd-* etc. *kan* and *ykun* conjugate according to the gender of the possessed thing.<sup>70</sup>

Past:

(m.) *kəllu*, *kəlla*, *kəllək*, *kəlli*: *kəlləm*, *kanəlkəm*, *kənnə* (< \**kanənnə* < \**kanəlnə*)

(f.) *kanətlu*, *kanətla*, *kanətlək*, *kanətli*: *kanətləm*, *kančəlkəm*, *kančənnə*

(pl.) *kanūlu*, *kanūla*, *kanūlək*, *kanūli*: *kanūləm*, *kanūlkəm*, *kanūnnə*

70 Such composite forms are attested in Maltese, the past of "to have" is *kellu* "he had", *kelli* "I had" etc. and the future of it is *ikollu* "he will have", *ikolli* "I will have" etc. and \**kien ghandu* or \**jkun ghandu* are not in use. *kell-* or *ikoll-* are now fixed expressions and do not conjugate, *kelli karrozzi* "I had cars".

## Future:

(m.) *ykūllu, ykūlla, ykūllək, ykūlli; ykūlləm, ykūlkəm, ykūinna*(f.) *ċkūllu, ċkūlla, ċkūllək, ċkūlli; ċkūlləm, ċkūllkəm, ċkūllanna*(pl.) *ykūnilu, ykūnila, ykūnilək, ykūnili; ykūniləm, ykūnilkəm, ykūniinna*

*kalli kəlb məzyan* "I had a beautiful dog", *Kam li faċ kanċanna huš kbira* "last year we had a big house", *ċkulli huš kbira* "I will have a big house".

To this series the expression with *ʿand-* can be added. In this case the possession is doubly expressed.

*ma kanətləməš ʿandəm məškla* "they didn't have a problem", *ma kanunnaš ʿanna klab* "we did not have any dogs".

(b) Obligation.<sup>71</sup>

In the combination of another imperfect verb, i.e. NP<sub>1</sub> + *ʿand* + pron.suff. referring NP<sub>1</sub> + imperfect, *ʿand* denotes obligation: "to have to do".

*ʿandi nəxdəm kənnar* "I have to work every day", *ʿandi nəxdəm ħruhi baš nəšri lħwayəž əlkəll* "I have to work by myself to buy everything", *baš ċəməl iħixa, ləmm ʿanda ċqum səʿa sətə səbʿa fəššəħ* "in order to do the cooking, the mother has to get up at six or seven o'clock in the morning", *ʿandi bəssif nəməši nəra šəħbi* "I have to go and see my friend unwillingly".

(2) *ċəmma*.

*ċəmma* is used to express "there is / are". In TJ, *ċəmma* is not used as an adverb conveying the original meaning "there", which is expressed by *gadi*.

*ċəmma waħəj šəltan* "there is a Sultan", *ċəmma šišma ħərra* "there is a water tap outside", *ma ċəmmaš ħəza ayda* "there is not such thing".

The future and the past of *ċəmma* are formed in combination with the imperfect and the perfect of *kan* respectively.

*kanəċ ċəmma ħuši fi iħəb[ə]š* "there was my house in Tripoli", *gədwə ykun ċəmma ʿars* "tomorrow there will be a wedding party", *ma kanš ċəmma ksəksu aməs* "yesterday there was not couscous".

## 2.3. Noun

From the morphological point of view, TJ does not distinguish the noun from the adjective, and the distinction between them is only functionally determined, i.e. all adjectives can behave as nouns (but the contrary is not true). For example *kbir* means "big" when this stands in the position of the predicate or after a noun to modify another noun, e.g. *ħušu kbira* "his house is big", *ħuš kbira* "a big house", but especially in a definite form this can be a noun denoting "the big one", e.g. *adak əlkbir maċ* "that big one (e.g. dog, cat etc.) died". Thus in this study we do not set up separate morphological categories for adjectives, but treat them collectively as nouns.<sup>72</sup>

## 2.3.1. Nouns with the definite article

The definite article is represented as *l*. As in CA, the definite article of TJ *l* is totally assimilated when it precedes a word beginning with a *ħarf samsiyy*, but TJ has an augmented inventory of consonants to which *l* assimilates. Consonants to which *l* assimilates are as follows: *ċ, d, đ, l, l, n, n, r, r, s, š, š, t, t, z, z, ž*. Before the assimilated article (= geminated consonant) an auxiliary vowel is inserted (see 1.4.1.2.(3aβ(ii))).

*l + ċ > tċ*<sup>73</sup>: *ċani > atċani* "the second", *l + ċinna > atċinna* "the cinema"

*l + d > dd*: *dəbb > əddəbb* "the gold"

*l + đ > dđ*: *dərr > əddərr* "the back"

*l + l > ll*: *ləgwa > əlləgwa* "the language"

*l + l > ll*: *ħuṭani > əllħuṭani* "that which is below"

*l + n > nn*: *nas > ənnas* "the people"

*l + n > nn*: *nanna > ənnanna* "the grandmother"

*l + t > tt*: *tkakən > əttkakən* "the shops"

*l + t > tt*: *taula > ətttaula* "the table"

*l + r > rr*: *rəbbi > ərrəbbi* "the rabbi"

*l + r > rr*: *ražəl > ərražəl* "the man"

*l + s > ss*: *səzra > əssəzra* "the tree"

<sup>71</sup> This usage is attested also in Maltese, see Aquilina, *Dictionary* vol. 2, p.967.

<sup>72</sup> Beeston, *Arabic*, p. 34.

<sup>73</sup> Not *ċċ*, see 1.1.2.2.(5) REMARK.

- l + š > šš: šəlīṭan > əššəlīṭan* "the Sultan"  
*l + š > šš: šīṭan > əššīṭan* "the naughty one"  
*l + z > zz: zyāra > əzzāra* "the visit"  
*l + z > zz: zəṛṛ > əzzəṛṛ* "the orange water"  
*l + ž > žž: žar > əžžar* "the neighbour"

## REMARK

1. Although *əlla* "God" seems to contain, taking a historical consideration, the definite article *l*, this word is not perceived in TJ as beginning with it, since the prepositions *‘la* or *mən*, which take an abbreviated form before the definite article (see 2.5.2.(2) and (16) respectively), in this case take the form used before a noun beginning with a vowel. For example *mən + alləgwa > məlləgwa* "from the language", but *mən + əlla > mən əlla* (not *\*məlla*) "from God".

2. *l* before *ḅ*, *m* (even if not immediately adjacent) is realized as emphatic *l*, e.g. *lṃəṭṛəḥ* "the place", *ləṃməli* "the parents", *lḅəyya* "the shoe polish".

3. The definite article is assimilated to *r* and *ṛ*, but never to *ḡ* the phonetic quality of which is same as *r* (see 1.1.1.(6)).

- l + raḥa > ərraḥa* [əRRĀḥa] "the rest" : *l + ḡaba > (ə)lḡaba* [(ə)lḡĀḅa] "the forest"  
*l + ražəl > əṛražəl* [əRRĀžəl] "the man" : *l + ḡarəq > (ə)lḡarəq* [(ə)lḡĀṛĀq] "the deep one"

Note that *ḡ*, though phonetically same as *r*, does not have any emphatic influence on surrounding consonants, so that the definite article before *ḡ* is realized as plain, e.g. *əṛražəl* [əRRĀžəl] "the man" : *(ə)lḡarəq* [(ə)lḡĀṛĀq] "the deep one".

4. *l* may be geminated when the sequence *l + vowel* follows prepositions *f-*, *l-* or *‘-*, e.g. *qa nəstənnə fəllulad* "I am waiting for the boys", *ləllimin* "to the right", *‘əlluzir* "on the minister". This phenomenon is discussed in 2.5.1.(2) for *l-*, 2.5.2.(2) for *‘-*, and 2.5.2.(7) for *f-*.

## 2.3.2. Inflexion of nouns

Before we examine noun morphology, we discuss the inflexion of nouns. Unlike CA, the TJ noun has no case ending or *tanwīn*, thus the topics of this section are the formation of the feminine, the dual forms and the external plural forms, and as well as the elative. As for the construct state (see 2.3.2.1.3.), we treat in this section only the extended use of *tāṣ marbūṭah* by analogy, i.e. its adaptation to nouns ending with *-ā*.

## 2.3.2.1. Gender

As in other Arabic dialects, TJ nouns are classified into two genders, i.e. masculine and feminine. Masculine nouns have so special ending and we need discuss here only forms of feminine nouns.

## 2.3.2.1.1. Feminine nouns

(1) Forms.

(a) Morphologically marked feminine.

(α) Nouns with the ending *-a* (unstressed in polysyllabic words and stressed in monosyllabic one) which may reflect several different ending of CA, i.e. سـة, سـى, سـاء, سـة, سـا  
*dənya* "world", *məʿna* "meaning", *qawa* "coffee", *ṭawla* "table", *xala* "maternal aunt", *xla* "wilderness", *məxla* "nosebag" (see also 2.3.2.1.3.).

Exceptions.

*ḡda* "lunch", *nša* "starch", *dwa* "medicine" and *sma* "sky" are masculine, though among them *dwa* and *sma* has their construct state form ending with *-ač* (*dwač-*, *smač-* respectively).

(β) Nouns with the ending *-á* (stressed in polysyllabic words). We may assume that this ending reflects the CA ending ءـا, but there are attested nouns with this ending which is not the reflection of ءـا.

*‘urá* "one-eyed (f.)", *biḡá* "white (f.)", *ḥəmrá* "red (f.)", *kəhlá* "black (f.)", *ṭərsá* "deaf (f.)", *ḥərrá* "hot (f.)", *nəyyá* "raw (f.)", *čfiḥá* "tasty (f.)", *ḥluwá* "sweet (f.)".

(b) Morphologically unmarked feminine (without the ending *-a*).

(α) Feminine by signification: *əmm* "mother", *əxč* "sister", *bənc* "daughter: girl", *xadəm* "black maidservant".

(β) Several parts of the body: *‘in* "eye", *wdən* "ear", *yədd* "hand", *sənn* "tooth", *ḅṭən* "belly", *nyab* "canine tooth"<sup>74</sup>, *ṛaš* "head".

(γ) Nouns indicating countries, towns and the concept of land.

*ərd* "ground", *bəngazi* "Benghazi", *blad* "town", *čunəs* "Tunis", *ṭrabləs* "Tripoli", *zličən* "Zliten".

<sup>74</sup> Although *nyab* corresponds to CA < *anyāb*, plural of *nāb*, it is considered in TJ as a singular masculine noun. The plural form of TJ *nyab* is *nyabač*, see below.

## (δ) Others:

*bič* "room", *huš* "house", *mārkāb* "ship", *muč* "death", *naṛ* "fire", *naḥs* "spirit", *sams* "sun", *ṭriq* "road"<sup>75</sup>, *xir* "good thing".

## (2) Formation of the feminine noun.

The feminine noun is formed from corresponding masculine forms as follows.

## (a) -a is added when a masculine noun ends with -C.

*māslām* "Muslim" : *msālma* "Muslim (f.)"  
 'amm "paternal uncle" : 'amma "paternal aunt"  
*kālb* "dog" : *kālba* "bitch"  
*kbir* "big" : *kbira* (f.)

(b) -ya is added (Cīya < \*Ciy + -a) when a masculine noun ends with -i (= *nisbah*, see 2.3.2.4.).

*ṭrabālsi* "Tripolitanian" : *ṭrabālsiya* "Tripolitanian (f.)"  
*yudi* "Jew" : *yudiya* "Jew (f.)"  
 'arḥi "Arab" : 'arḥiya "Arab (f.)"  
*fuqi* "above (adj.)" : *fuqiya* "above (f.)"

## REMARK

1. The ending -i of *zawali* "poor", *qammarzi* "gambler", Turkish origin words the ending of which is not *nisbah*, behaves as *nisbah* in the formation of the feminine: *zawaliya* "poor (f.)", *qammarziya* "gambler (f.)" (see 2.3.2.2.1.(4b)).

2. But as to nouns derived from the participle of IIIy roots, the feminine is formed according to the rules mentioned in 2.2.2.2.

*gali* "expensive" : *galya* "expensive (f.)" (alteration of *i* into *ya* = *Cya* < \**Ciya* < CA \**Cī* + -a), *māṛmi* "thrown" : *māṛmiya* "thrown (f.)" (stem + *ya* = *Cīya* < CA \**Ciy* + -a)

## (c) -ā is added to:

(α) nouns denoting colours or physical defects (< CA *CaCCā*).

*byād* "white" : *biḍā* "white (f.)"  
*ḥmār* "red" : *ḥamrā* "red (f.)"  
 'wār "one-eyed" : 'urā "one-eyed (f.)"  
*ṭrās* "deaf" : *ṭarṣā* "deaf (f.)"

## REMAEK

Also *ṭāb* "wet" : *ṭābā* (f.), *ṭāb* (pl.) (cf. CA *raṭb*) belongs to this group.

(β) nouns of the pattern *CāC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>* (geminated roots).

*ḥarṛ* "hot" : *ḥarṛā* "hot (f.)"  
*ḥayy* "alive" : *ḥayyā* "alive (f.)"  
*mārṛ* "bitter" : *mārṛā* "bitter (f.)"  
*nayy* "raw" : *nayyā* "raw (f.)"

(γ) nouns of the pattern *CCuC* (only two examples of this pattern are attested).

*čfuḥ* "tasty" : *čfuḥā* "tasty (f.)"  
*ḥlu* "sweet" : *ḥluwā* "sweet (f.)"

## (d) From a different root for some masculine substantives.

'ziz "maternal uncle" : *xala* "maternal aunt"  
*bu* "father" : *amm* "mother"  
*fārṛuž* "cock" : *džaža* "chicken"  
*gāṭṭ* "male cat" : *qāṭṭuša* "female cat"  
*ražal* "husband, man" : *mra* "wife, woman"  
*sayyad* "master, Mr." : *lalla* "Mrs., madame"  
*šibani* "old man" : 'ziza "old woman"  
*xu* "brother" : *axč* "sister"  
*wlad* "son" : *bānč* "daughter"  
*ždu* "he-goat" : *māza* "she-goat"

## REMARK

By adding -a to a collective noun a unit noun is formed (see 2.3.2.3. below). The unit noun is treated as a singular feminine noun. When the masculine form is *CCāC*, this is altered into *CāCC* to which -a is added (see 1.4.2.1.).

*ḥṣal* "onions (coll.)" : *ḥṣla* "onion (unit)"  
*ḥuč* "fishes (coll.)" : *ḥuča* "fish (unit)"  
*čaffah* "apples (coll.)" : *čaffaha* "apple (unit)"

## 2.3.2.1.2. Alteration of the gender between TJ and CA.

## (1) TJ feminine : CA masculine.

*bič* "room" (f.) : CA *bayt* (m.), *huš* "house" (f.) : CA *ḥawš* (m.), *sakkma* "knife" (f.) : CA *sikkīn* (m. ~ f.), *wṭa* "ground" (f.) : CA *watā* (m.), *šca* "winter, rain" (f.) : CA *šitā* (m.), 'ba "mantle" (f.) : CA 'abā (m.).

CA *sikkīn* serves both as a feminine or a masculine noun, which is usually treated as feminine in the Maghrib. Thus *-a* is added by analogy with other regular feminine nouns with the ending *-a*.

*sakkīna*, *wīa*, *šča*, *ba* have been considered as feminine because of their ending *-a*. However *gda* "lunch", *nša* "starch" and *sma* "sky" (despite the st.cstr. form is *ščač-* with *-č*) are still masculine (see 2.3.2.1.1.(1a) above).

(2) TJ masculine : CA feminine.

*bir* "well" (m.) : CA *bīr* (f.), *hərb* "war" (m.) : CA *hərb* (f.), *mus* "clasp knife" (m.) : CA *mūsā* (f.).<sup>76</sup>

### 2.3.2.1.3. Construct state of nouns ending with *-a*

TJ nouns ending with *-a* are classified into four groups: [A] monosyllable nouns of the pattern *CCa*, the construct state of which is *CCač-*, e.g. *šča* "winter" : (st.cstr.) *ščač-*, [B] monosyllable nouns of the pattern *CCa*, the construct state of which is *CCa-* (with no phonological alteration), e.g. *dwa* "medicine" : (st.cstr.) *dwa-*, [C] *mra* "woman" the construct state of which is *mərč-* and [D] nouns of other patterns ending with *-Ca*, the construct state of which is *-Cəč-*, e.g. *mħərma* "handkerchief" : (st.cstr.) *mħərməč-*.

This ending *-a* reflects various CA nominal endings, such as *ة* (e.g. TJ *mħərma* < CA محرمة), *اء* (e.g. TJ *šəhra* < CA صحراء), *ى* (e.g. TJ *məna* < CA معنى), *ل* (e.g. TJ *dənya* < CA دنيا), *ة* (e.g. TJ *məxla* < CA مخللة), *ة* (e.g. TJ *mra* < CA امرأة).<sup>77</sup> This phenomenon has sometimes caused a change of gender in such nouns (see above).

[A] Monosyllable nouns ending with *CCa* : *CCač-*.

st. abs. : st. cstr.

*ba* : *bač-* "mantle" (f.) < CA *abā* (m.)  
*ša* : *šač-* "stick" (f.) < CA *šā* (f.)  
*ša* : *šač-* "dinner" (m.) < CA *ašā* (m.)  
*bra* : *brač-* "needle" (f.) < CA *ibrah* (f.)

<sup>76</sup> *mus* (masculine) without ending *-ā* is observed broadly in the Maghrib, see Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 185; Singer, *Tunis*, p. 509; Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 247; Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 43.

<sup>77</sup> This phenomenon is attested already in early papyri documents, at least on the orthographic level, see Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 10 and 14 ff.

*gna* : *gnač-* "song" (m.) < CA *ginā* (m.)  
*rha* : *rhač-* "hand mill" (m.) < CA *raḥā* (f.)  
*sma* : *smač-* "sky" (m.) < CA *samā* (m.)  
*šla* : *šlač-* "synagogue" (f.) < CA *šalāh* (f.)  
*šta* : *štač-* "master" (m.) < CA *ustād* (m.)  
*šča* : *ščač-* "rain" (f.) < CA *šitā* (m.)  
*xla* : *xlač-* "desert" (m.) < CA *xalā* (m.)  
*xta* : *xtač-* "cover" (m.) < CA *giṭā* (m.)  
*wta* : *wtač-* "ground" (f.) < CA *waṭā* (m.)

[B] Monosyllable nouns ending with *CCa* : *CCa-*.

st. abs. : st. cstr.

*dwa* : *dwa-* "medicine" (m.) < CA *dawā* (m.)  
*gda* : *gda-* "lunch" (m.) < CA *gidā* (m.)  
*nša* : *nša-* "women" < CA *nisā* (pl.)  
*nša* : *nša-* "starch" (m.) < CA *nišā* (m.)

[C] *mra*

st. abs. : st. cstr.

*mra* : *mərč-* "woman, wife"

[D] Other nouns ending with *-Ca* > *Cəč-*.

st. abs. : st. cstr.

*bəlgə* : *bəlgəč-* "slipper"  
*bəṭṭha* : *bəṭṭhač-* "ferry boat" (f.) < CA *baṭṭā* (f.)  
*dənya* : *dənyəč-*, *dniyəč-* "world" (f.) < CA *dunyā* (m.)  
*makla* : *maklač-* "food"  
*məna* : *mənəč-* "meaning" (f.) < CA *mānā* (m.)  
*məxla* : *məxlač-* "nose bag" (f.) < CA *mixlāh* (مخللة) (f.)  
*mħərma* : *mħərməč-* "handkerchief"  
*qawa* : *qawəč-* "coffee"  
*sanya* : *sanyəč-*, *saniyəč-* "field"  
*šəhra* : *šəhṛəč-* "desert" (f.) < CA *šahrā* (f.)  
*xəṭwa* : *xəṭwəč-*, *xṭuwəč-* "step"

## REMARK

1. *šča, gna, rha, sma, šta* are, despite their construct state form with *-č*, masculine.
2. The construct state form of [C] may undergo syllable alteration with a following vowel (see 1.4.2.1.ff.).
3. Nouns ending with *-Cya, -Cwa*, e.g. *sanya, xəṭwa* have two construct state forms: (a) *sanyāč-, xəṭwāč-* before a noun beginning with a vowel, (b) *saniyāč-, xṭuwāč-*, with a long vowel, before a pronoun suffix beginning with a vowel (see 1.4.2.3. REMARK 1).

## 2.3.2.2. Number

TJ has three numbers, singular, dual (pseudo-dual) and plural. Since the singular is not marked by any special morpheme, it is not treated in a separate section. On the collective noun, see below 2.3.2.3.

## 2.3.2.2.1. Dual and pseudo-dual

The dual is marked by a suffix *-in*, which corresponds to CA *-ayn*. In TJ, as in many other Maghribi dialects, this suffix is formally identical with that of the masculine external plural (see 2.3.2.2.2.1.(1)). A number of nouns taking the ending *-in* correspond to a CA dual form but in fact denote plurality. Such formally dual nouns are called *pseudo-dual* following H.Blanc.<sup>78</sup>

## 2.3.2.2.1.1. Dual

The usage of the (real) dual is restricted to nouns indicating measures, time and the numerals 200 and 2000.

## (1) Measures:

*fərtčîn* (sg. *fərda*, pl. *fərdač*) "two pieces", *haṛčîn* (sg. *hara*, pl. *hyar*) "two quantities of four eggs each" (*hara* is a quantifier for eggs: *hara dəḥya* "four eggs", see 2.3.2.3.2.(5)), *kəlmčîn* (sg. *kəлма*, pl. *kəлмаč*) "two words", *mğərfčîn* (sg. *mğərfə*, pl. *mğəraf*) "two spoons", *qawčîn* (sg. *qawa*, pl. *qawač*) "two (cups of) coffee (not "two coffee-houses" = *zuz qawač*)", *qəffčîn* (sg. *qəffa*, pl. *qəfaf*) "two large baskets", *šəbrîn* (sg. *šbar*, pl. *šbura*) "two inches", *ṭərfčîn* (sg. *ṭərf*, pl. *ṭərf*) "two pieces", *xṭuwčîn* (sg. *xəṭwa*, pl. *xəṭwāč*) "two steps" (see 1.4.2.3. REMARK 1).

<sup>78</sup> Blanc, *Pseudo-dual*.

## (2) Time:

*‘amin* (sg. *‘am*, pl. *snin*)<sup>79</sup> "two years", *lilčîn* (sg. *lila*, pl. *lyali*) "two nights", *məṛṛčîn* (sg. *məṛṛa*, pl. *məṛṛač*) "two times", *naṛîn* (sg. *naṛ*, pl. *naṛač*) "two days", *rəmsčîn* (sg. *rəmsa*, pl. *rəmsač*) "two seconds", *səčîn* (sg. *səča*, pl. *səčač*) "two hours",<sup>80</sup> *šarîn* (sg. *šarṛ* < \**šhar* < CA *šahr*, pl. *šur* < *šhūr* < CA *šuhūr*) "two months", *təqiqčîn* (sg. *təqīqa*, pl. *təqayəq*) "two minutes", *žəməčîn* (sg. *žəməča*, pl. *žməyəč*) "two weeks".

Also in *əwwlin aməs* "two days before yesterday" (*əwwəl aməs* "day before yesterday") and *bəšdin gədwə* "two days after tomorrow" (*bəšd gədwə* "day after tomorrow"). For both the first element takes the dualform, cf. Tunis-Muslim, *wutt il-bārḥin* "two days before yesterday", *bəšd gudwtin* "two days after tomorrow".<sup>81</sup>

## (3) 200 and 2000

*miyčîn* (sg. *miya*, pl. *miyač*) "two hundred", *alfin* (sg. *aləf*, pl. *aləf*) "two thousand".

## REMARK

1. *wəṛqčîn*, which literally means "two papers", conveys the notion "a few papers" in which no exact number is intended: *wəṛqčîn* "a few papers" (sg. *wəṛqa*, pl. *wəṛqač* (*zuz wəṛqač* "two papers")), *əmsi lfrizidēr ṭšib wəṛqčîn, šməl biəm burikač* "go to the refrigerator and find few pieces of puff pastry and cook *buriks* with them.
2. Dual nouns cannot take a pronoun suffix (see 2.1.1.2.1.4.), whilst the pseudo-dual may (see below).

## 2.3.2.2.1.2. Pseudo-dual

The pseudo-dual in TJ consists only of some nouns denoting (paired) parts of the body. These nouns possess no other plural.

*‘inin* "eyes" (sg. *‘in*, pl.  $\emptyset$ ), *drəšîn* "arms" (sg. *drəš*, pl.  $\emptyset$ ), *krəšîn* "legs (of animal)" (sg. *krəš*, pl.  $\emptyset$ ), *ražlin* "legs; feet (of human being)" (sg. *ržəl*, pl.  $\emptyset$ ), *sənnin* "teeth" (sg. *sənn*, pl.  $\emptyset$ ), *wədnin* "ears" (sg. *wədn*, pl.  $\emptyset$ ), *yəddin* "hands" (sg. *yədd*, pl.  $\emptyset$ ).

<sup>79</sup> For pl. of *‘am*, *snin* is used, which has its proper singular *sna* "year", the construct state form of which is not attested.

<sup>80</sup> Two o'clock is expressed with *səča min*, see 2.4.4.1.

<sup>81</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, pp. 647-648.



The morphological / morphosyntactical differences between the pseudo-dual and the dual are as follows:

(1) The pseudo-dual can occur with the numeral *zuz* "two", whilst the real dual cannot (see 2.4.1.2.).

Pseudo-dual: *zuz wādnin* "two ears", *zuz ražlin* "two legs".

Real dual: *nařin* "two days" (\**zuz nařin*), \**amin* "two years" (\**zuz amin*).

(2) The pseudo-dual can be combined with a pronoun suffix. In this case *-n* of the suffix is omitted before the suffix pronoun (see 2.1.1.2.1.4.(1)).

*wādniam* "their ears", *ražlikam* "your (pl.) legs".

Note that the ending *-n* is not eliminated when a *nomen rectum* follows the pseudo-dual noun: *žbatč wādnin alkālb* "I pulled the ears of the dog", *qrāšč xāddin axči* "I pinched the cheeks of my sister". And this applies to the real dual, e.g. *miyčīn kālb* "two hundred dogs".

(3) Whilst nouns possessing the real dual form have a plural form as well, the pseudo-dual does not have a special plural form.

*alaf* "thousand" (sg.) : *alfin* "two thousand" (du.) : *alaf* "thousands" (pl.)

*nař* "day" (sg.) : *nařin* "two days" (du.) : *nařač* "days" (pl.)

But

*wādn* "ear" (sg.) : *wādnin* "ears" (pseudo-du.) : ∅ (pl.)

#### REMARK

*xādd* "cheek" has a dual *xāddin* and a plural *xādud*. The dual *xāddin* possesses the characteristics of both the real dual and the pseudo-dual: *xāddin* can take a pronoun suffix, e.g. *xāddiya* "my cheeks" (pseudo-dual), but cannot be preceded by *zuz* (real dual). Likewise *žnaħ* "wing" (see 1.3.3.1.(1bα)) has a dual *žnaħin* and a plural *žwanāħ*. In this case *žnaħin* is a pseudo-dual, and *žwanāħ* (formally plural) serves rather as a collective noun (see 2.3.2.3.1. REMARK).

#### 2.3.2.2.2. Plural

The formation of the plural is distinguished into four types:

(1) External plural, which is formed by attaching a plural suffix *-in*, *-ač* ~ *-č*, *-a*, *-iya*, *-im*, *-uč*, (*-i*) to the singular noun.

(2) Internal plural, which is formed by altering the word structure.

(3) Mixed plural, which is formed by attaching a plural suffix and altering the word structure (= (1) + (2)).

(4) Irregular plural.

In TJ, a feminine plural noun may be formed by adding the ending *-č* to a feminine singular noun (ending with *-a*), e.g. *m'alla* "teacher (f.)" : *m'allmač* "teachers (f.)", *msalma* "Muslim (f.)" : *msalmač* "Muslims (f.)". On the other hand, in TJ the adjective does not distinguish gender in plural, and a feminine plural noun is modified by masculine plural, e.g. *m'allmač falħin* "skilful teachers (f.pl.)" (not \**falħač*), *nsa msalmin* "Muslim women" (not \**msalmač*), *bnāč azgar* "young girls" (not \**zgirāč*).

#### 2.3.2.2.2.1. External plural

(1) *-in*.

This ending is attached directly to the singular masculine noun in the following cases. When the noun is the participle of IIIy verb which ends with *-i*, the formation of the plural by the ending *-in* is twofold: (i) *-i* is replaced by *-y* and the plural ending *-in* is added, (ii) *-y* intervenes between *-i* and *-in* (see 2.2.2.2.).

(a) Participles, or nouns on the pattern of participles (including ordinal numerals taking the pattern *CaCəC*).

*alyin* "high" (sg. *ali*), *aqlin* "intelligent" (sg. *aqal*), *bain* "good" (sg. *bai* < \**bāhī*), *bayčīn* "having passed the night" (sg. *bayāč*), *čanyin* "second" (sg. *čani*), *falħin* "capable" (sg. *faləħ*), *galdin* "erring" (sg. *galəd* < CA  $\sqrt{g-l-t}$ ), *galyn* "expensive" (sg. *gali*), *gaybin* "disappeared" (sg. *gayəb*), *kačrin* "abundant" (sg. *kačar*), *m'allmin* "teachers: masters" (sg. *m'alləm*), *mabulin* "mad" (sg. *mabul* < \**māhbūl*), *māč'arkin* "quarrelling" (sg. *māč'arak*), *mə(q)qurīn* "gloomy: sad" (sg. *mə(q)qur* < CA *maqħūr*) (see 1.3.2.6.(2aδ)), *mərčahin* "reposing" (sg. *mərčah*), *məstənnyn* "waiting" (sg. *məstənni*), *məžgulin* ~ *māšgulin* "worried" (sg. *məžgul* ~ *māšgul*), *mužudin* "existing" (sg. *mužud*), *šaymin* "fasting" (sg. *šayəm*), *taybin* "cooked" (sg. *tayəb*), *wafyin* "loose-fitting" (sg. *wafi*), *wāždin* "existing" (sg. *wāžəd*), *xamřin* "dirty, rotten" (sg. *xamər*).

## REMARK

Some nouns on the pattern of the active participle of Form I (CāCāC) which do not preserve the fundamental verbal value and function as adjectives have an internal plural: *čəžžar* "merchants" (sg. *čəžər*), *žwamə* "mosques" (sg. *žamə*).

(b) Nouns ending with *-an*.

*əgzanin* "lazy" (sg. *əgzan*), *əšənin* "thirsty" (sg. *əšən*), *fərhanin* "happy" (sg. *fərhan*), *hīranin* "worried" (sg. *hīran*), *žičənin* "hungry" (sg. *žičən*).

## (c) Ordinal numerals.

*əwwlin* "first" (sg. *əwwəl*), *čənyin* "second" (sg. *čəni*).

(d) Nouns on the pattern CāC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub> (geminated root).

*hərrin* "hot" (sg. *hərr*), *mərrin* "bitter" (sg. *mərr*), *həyyin* "alive" (sg. *həyy*), *nəyyin* "raw" (sg. *nəyy*).

## (e) Others.

*qwiyyin* "strong" (sg. *qwi*), *wərin* "difficult" (sg. *wər*), *kəddabin* "liars" (sg. *kəddab*), *əwwlin* "first" (sg. *əwwəl*), *əmyin* "blind" (sg. *əma*).

Note that with exception of *kəddab* nouns on the pattern CāCCaC take *-a* as a plural ending (see (4) below).

(2) *-ač*.

*-ač* is attached to the following nouns.

(a) Nouns ending without *-a* (both masculine and feminine noun).

## (α) Feminine nouns.

*əmmač* "mothers" (sg. *əmm*), *xirač* "good things" (sg. *xir*), *nyabač* "canine teeth" (sg. *nyab*).

## (β) Some masculine nouns.

*čizəč* "maternal uncles" (sg. *čiz*), *həlašač* "high buildings" (sg. *həlaš*), *həšač* "carpets" (sg. *həša*), *dabač* "pieces of jewellery" (< \**dəhbač*) (sg. *dəbb* < \**dəhəb*), *frašəč* "beds" (sg. *fraš*), *gzazač* "rust" (sg. *gzaz*), *həzamač* "belt" (sg. *həzam*), *lsanač* "tongues" (sg. *lsan*), *mdasač* ~ *ndasač* "sandals" (sg. *mdas* ~ *ndas*) (see 1.3.2.1.1.3.(2)), *mkanəč* "places" (sg. *mkan*), *mnamač* "dreams" (sg. *mnam*), *učiləč* "hotels" (sg. *učil*), *qəburəč* "graves" (sg. *qəbur*).

## (γ) Diminutives.

*šifrač* "small birds" (sg. *šifər*), *klibəč* "small dogs" (sg. *kləyyəb*), *wlidač* "small boys" (sg. *wləyyəd*), *wxəyyəč* "brothers" (sg. *wxəyy*).

## REMARK

Diminutive nouns on the pattern CCəyyəC alter the syllable structure into CCiC when attached by the plural ending *-a* (see 2.3.5.1.(1)).

(b) When a noun ends with *-i* or *-u* (*-ě* and *-ō* of Italian words as well). In this case a glide semi-vowel *w* (after *-u* or *-ō*) or *y* (after *-i* or *-ě*) is inserted before *-ač*.

(α) *-u*, *-ō* + *-ač* > *-uwač*.

*həkkūwač* "boxes" (sg. *həkkū*), *həlušūwač* "wrists" (sg. *həlušu*), *kilūwač* "kilogrammes" (sg. *kilū*), *libruwač* "(secular) books" (sg. *librō*), *măəstruwač* "teachers" (sg. *măəstrō*), *nəmruwač* "numbers" (sg. *nəmru*), *žərdīnuwač* "public gardens" (sg. *žərdīnō*).

(β) *-i*, *-ě* + *-ač* > *-iyač*.

*taxsiyač* "taxi" (sg. *taxsi*), *žörnāliyač* "newspapers" (sg. *žörnālē*).

(3) *-č*.

*-č* is attached to nouns ending with *-a*, *-ā*.

*əggilač* "canes" (sg. *əggila*), *əmmač* "paternal aunt" (sg. *əmma*), *rišač* "bride" (sg. *riša*), *bāndyērač* "flags" (sg. *bāndyērā*), *bəzzimač* "taps" (sg. *bəzzima*), *bničač* "girl" (sg. *bniča* < dim. of *bənē*), *bu(t)čač* "playing marbles" (sg. *bu(t)ča*), *bziznač* "breasts" (sg. *bzizna* < dim. of *bəzzuna*), *čəlulač* "moles on body" (sg. *čəlula*), *fəližač* "suitcases" (sg. *fəliža*), *fəliyač* "families" (sg. *fəliya*), *fəkrūnač* "tortoises" (sg. *fəkrūna*), *hūčač* "fishes" (sg. *hūča*), *krəmbəč* "cabbages" (sg. *krəmba*), *liyač* "fat tails" (sg. *liya*), *qawač* "coffee-houses" (sg. *qawa*), *rihbəč* "dresses" (sg. *rihbə*), *səkkanač* "dangers" (sg. *səkkana* < Heb. הַכֶּסֶל), *skulač* "schools" (sg. *skula*), *stōryač* "stories" (sg. *stōryā*), *šərrəč* "navels, money pouches" (sg. *šərrə*), *wxəyyəč* "sisters ~ brothers" (sg. *wxəyya* < dim. of *əxč* and sg. *wxəyy* > dim. of *xu*), *xəfwač* "steps" (sg. *xəfwa*), *yəžurač* "bricks" (sg. *yəžura*), *žəbbač* "garments" (sg. *žəbba*), *žifač* "corpses" (sg. *žifa*).

(4) -a.

This ending is for

(a) masculine nouns of the pattern *CəCCaC* which indicates a profession etc.

*ħəwwaċa* "fishermen" (sg. *ħəwwaċ*), *səyyaġa* "jewellers" (sg. *səyyaġ*), *xəyyaġa* "tailors" (sg. *xəyyaġ*), *xəddara* "greengrocers" (sg. *xəddar*).

But *kəddabin* "liars" (see (1d) above).(b) nouns ending with *-i* which is not a part of the root, e.g. the *nisbah* ending (see 2.3.2.4. below), the suffix *-ži*, *-li* (see 2.3.2.1.1.(2). REMARK 1 above).<sup>82</sup> In this case *-y-* is added before *-i*.

*małtiya* "Maltese (pl.)" (sg. *małti*), *qawažiya* "coffee-house waiters" (sg. *qawaži*), *səʔažiya* "watchmakers" (sg. *səʔaži*), *šəbaḥiyya* "shoemakers" (sg. *šəbaḥi*), *trabəlsiya* "Tripolitanian" (sg. *trabəlsi*), *zlitniya* "ones from Zliten" (sg. *zlitni*), *zwarīya* "ones from Zwara" (sg. *zwarī*), *zawīya* "ones from Zawya" (sg. *zawī*), *zawaliya* "miserable" (sg. *zawali*).

But *čwansa* "Tunisian" (sg. *čunsi*), *məšawra* "Egyptian" (sg. *məšri*), are by internal plural.

(5) -iya.

(a) *bulisiya* "policemen" (sg. *bulis*).In this case *-iya* is attached to the singular form.(b) *bnadmiya* "human beings" (sg. *bnadəm*).It should be assumed that *bnadmiya* "human beings" is not directly formed from sg. *bnadəm*, which does not end with *-i*, but from *\*bnadmi*.

(6) -im.

This ending is used exclusively for Hebrew nouns. In many cases also the syllabic structure is altered according to the original Hebrew forms, but we do not consider such cases as mixed plural (see 2.3.2.2.3. below).

*ħəsuqim* "verses" (sg. *ħašiq*), *ħəčənnim* "bridegrooms" (sg. *ħačan*), *kəširim* "kosher (food)" (sg. *kašir*), *mualim* "circumcisers" (sg. *mual*), *rəbbanim* "rabbis" (sg. *rəbbi*), *taurim* "kosher" (sg. *taur*).

82 Wright, *Grammar*, vol. 1, pp. 232-233 and Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 427.

(7) -uċ.

This ending is used exclusively for Hebrew nouns.

*məzzaluċ* "lucks" (sg. *məzzal*), *miluċ* "circumcisions" (sg. *milá*), *məšwuċ* "commandments" (sg. *məšwá*), *səkkuċ* "succot" (sg. *səkká*), *šlihuċ* "penitential prayers (always in pl.)".

(8) There are some masculine nouns of Italian origin which take *-i* as a plural ending, which may signify that such nouns have not been completely Arabicized. And in some cases one and the same noun has two plural forms, one with the Arabic plural suffix *-aċ* and another with the Italian plural suffix *-i*, e.g. *libri* ~ *libruwaċ* "(secular) books". On the other hand, a completely Arabicized word usually has only an Arabic plural form *ħakkuwaċ* (not *\*ħakki*), "packets" (< It. *pacco*, pl. *pacchi*), though *bu(t)ċa* "playing marble" (< It. *boccia*, pl. *bocce*), a phonologically Arabicized noun, has its plural form with Italian ending *bu(t)ċi*.<sup>83</sup> In this respect we do not in general consider the Italian plural ending *-i* as a productive external plural ending of TJ, unlike in Maltese where *-i* is a proper plural ending of Italian words.<sup>84</sup>

### 2.3.2.2.2. Internal plural

In TJ the number of plural patterns has been quite reduced in comparison with neighbouring dialects. The internal plural patterns will be shown below in 2.3.4.

### 2.3.2.2.2.3. Mixed plural

The plural form of some nouns is formed not only by alteration of word structure, but also by simultaneously attaching the plural ending *-aċ*.

*žbalaċ* "mountains" (sg. *žbal*), *əyyamaċ* "days" (also *əyyam*: sg. *yum*), *nsabaċ* "sons-in-law" (sg. *nsib*), *qrunaċ* "horns" (sg. *qarn*), *rħiřaċ* "fourths" (sg. *rħəř*), *řfaraċ* "nails" (sg. *řřar*).

83 *butċa* was given by a woman born in the 1920's, whilst *buċa* (pl. *buċi*) was used by a man born in the 1940's. The morphological difference may be attributed to the difference of age. The striking fact is that in *buċa*, although taking a Italian plural suffix, the degree of the Arabicization is more advanced in that the original geminated consonant is replaced a single one (a geminated consonant after a stressed long vowel is rather irregular in TJ). On the other hand *butċa*, though it takes a pure Arabic plural form *butċaċ*, it still retains the geminated consonant *tċ* (on this gemination, see 1.1.2.2.(5). REMARK).

84 Aquilina, *Maltese*, pp. 77-78.

## 2.3.2.2.4. Irregular plural

The following are plural nouns which cannot be classified in any plural pattern mentioned in 2.3.4.

(1) By suppletion with same root.

*əḥḥač* "fathers" (sg. *bu*), *əyyam* "days" (sg. *yum*) *šlawac* "synagogues" (sg. *šla*), *xwac* "brothers" (sg. *xu*), "sisters" (sg. *əxc*), *faəmin* (< *faəm*) "judicious (pl.)" (sg. *fim* < CA *fahīm*), *məḥḥumīn* (< *məḥḥum*) "prohibited (pl.)" (sg. *ḥrim*), *šiyabin* "old men" (sg. *šibani*)

(2) By different root.

*nša* "women" (sg. *mra*), *snin* "years" (sg. *am*).

## 2.3.2.3. Collective nouns

## 2.3.2.3.1. Form

Certain nouns for trees, plants, animals etc. have a form indicating collectiveness beside the plural and singular form.

singular	plural	collective
<i>səzra</i> "a tree"	<i>səzrač</i> "trees"	<i>szər</i> "tree(s)"
<i>džaža</i> "a chicken"	<i>džažač</i> "chickens"	<i>džaž</i> "chicken(s)"
<i>ḥuča</i> "a fish"	<i>ḥučač</i> "fishes"	<i>ḥuč</i> "fish(es)"
<i>dəḥya</i> "an egg"	<i>dəḥyač</i> "eggs"	<i>dəḥḥi</i> "egg(s)"
<i>kramba</i> "cabbage"	<i>krambač</i> "cabbages"	<i>krəmb</i> "cabbage(s)"

Usually the forms of these three categories are predictable; the collective noun without *-a*, the singular noun with *-a* and the plural noun with *-ač*.

## REMARK

For *žnəḥ* "wing" (see 1.3.3.1.(Iba)), its plural form *žwanəḥ* serves also as a collective noun (pseudo-du. = *žənḥin*).

*fəssīr* (< Heb. *רס*) *čamma zuz tlača žənḥin*, *nqullu xud aduk əžžwanəḥ li čamma* "in the pot there are two, three wings (of chicken), so I say to him 'take those wings which are there!'".

## 2.3.2.3.2. Quantifier

To count the number of, especially, some kinds of grains, fruits, vegetables, the quantifier is used. Some nouns have their particular quantifier. The quantifier is followed by a collective noun.

(1) *fərda* (du. *fərtčīn*, pl. *fərdač*) "piece, one of a pair".

*fərdət əlmdas* "a sandal".

(2) *tərf*: for a piece cut from solid matter (du. *tərfīn*, pl. *tərf*).

*əṭīni tərf xəbz* "give me a slice of bread", *tərfīn xəbz* "two pieces of bread".

(3) *qərn*: for a horn-shaped thing (pl. *qrūnač*).

*qərn fəlfəl* "a red pepper", *kəmsə qrūnač fəlfəl* "some red peppers".

(4) *raš*: for a spherical thing (pl. *ryus*).

*raš bəṭṭix* "one melon" (but for *dəllač* "watermelon" *raš* is not used but *fərd*), *xəms ruš bəṭṭix* "five melons".

(5) *ḥara*: especially used for eggs and indicates "four" (du. *ḥarčīn*, pl. *ḥyar*).

*ḥara dəḥḥi* "four eggs" (*ḥara* is an unit noun indicating "four"),<sup>85</sup> *rəb'a ḥyar dəḥḥi* "sixteen eggs".

2.3.2.4. Relative adjective (= *nisbah*)

The relative adjective is formed by attaching an ending *-i* (*nisbah*-ending = CA *-iy*) to a noun or adverb. And when the adjective indicates a human being, it may be used as a substantive. When the *nisbah*-ending *-i* is attached to a noun ending with the feminine ending *-a* (*tā 'marbūtah*), *-a* is eliminated.

\**mum* "(general) public (substantive)" > *mumi* "public", *əskər* "army" > *əskri* "soldier", \**balad* > *bəldi* "native", *ṭrabləš* "Tripoli" > *ṭrabəlsi* "Tripolitanian" (see 1.3.2.1.1.2.), *čunas* "Tunis" > *čunsi* "Tunisian", *zawya* "Zawya" > *zawi* "from Zawya", *zwarə* "Zwara" > *zwarī* "from Zwara", *fuq* "above" > *fuqi* "above (adj.)".

The feminine of a *nisbah* is formed by attaching *-ya* (see 2.3.2.1.1.(2b)). And the plural of *nisbah* is usually formed in the same manner unless the *nisbah* has a broken plural form (see 2.3.2.2.1.(4b)).

sg.	f.	pl.
<i>əskəri</i>	<i>əskriya</i>	<i>əskriya</i> "soldier"
<i>ṭrabəlsi</i>	<i>ṭrabəlsiya</i>	<i>ṭrabəlsiya</i> "Tripolitanian"
<i>fuqi</i>	<i>fuqiya</i>	<i>fuqiya</i> "above"
But <i>čunsi</i>	<i>čunsiya</i>	<i>čwansa</i> "Tunisian"

## REMARK

*wəṣṣī* "middle" has two feminine forms *wəṣṣya* and *wəṣṣiya*. The former is used only in the expression *ḥara lwəṣṣya* "the Middle Quarter" (one of the Jewish quarters in Tripoli).

## 2.3.2.5. Elative

In this section we will treat only the formation of the comparative / superlative; on their usage see 3.2.

The elative is formed basically on the pattern *CCaC* < *CAʔaCCaC*.

- (1) *CCaC*: *kbir* : *kḥar* "bigger", *zḡir* : *zḡar* "smaller", *qṣīr* : *qṣar* "shorter", *ḥaf* : *ḥaf* "weaker", *wasṣ* : *wsa* "broader", *ṭwil* : *ṭwal* "taller".
- (2) *CaC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>* (geminated root): *zdid* : *zdaḍ* ~ *zadd* "newer", *xfif* : *xaff* "lighter".
- (4) *CCa*: (IIIy): *ḡni* : *ḡna* "more rich", *qwi* : *qwa* "stronger", *bai* : *ba* "better".<sup>86</sup>
- (5) Others: *mazyan* : *zyan* "more beautiful" (see 2.2.1.1.2. REMARK).

## REMARK

Suppletive formation: *bai* : *xir* "better", *bzayd* : *kḥar* "more", *ṣwāyya* : *nqas* "less". *bzayad* and *ṣwāyya* are the most frequent words to indicate "many" and "few" respectively. *nqas* has its corresponding positive degree *naqas* but it means rather "(mentally) deficient" and not "few".

## 2.3.2.6. Invariable adjectives

The following adjectives are invariable both for number and gender.

*friška* "fresh (food)" (< It. *fresca*), *ḥalil* "kosher for Pesah" (< CA *ḥalīl*), *ṣaqat* "blind" (< Turk. *sakat*),<sup>87</sup> *ṭrif* "non-kosher" (< Heb. ארטר).

## 2.3.3. Nominal patterns

In the following all nominal forms attested in TJ are cited. The internal plural forms and the diminutive forms are treated separately in 2.3.4. and 2.3.5. respectively. Stress is marked only in cases which does not follow the stress rule mentioned in 1.4.3.1.

86 *ba* < *ʔabhā* is not used as a comparative / superlative, but only in the fossilized exclamation; *ma bā* < *mā ʔabhāhu* "how good it (m.) is!" Normally "better" is expressed by *xir*.

87 Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 478. gives "estropié, éclopé"

2.3.3.1. *Cv̄* nouns

*Ca*: *ma* "water", *ma* "mama".

*Ci*: *ṣi* "thing" (not to be confused with *ṣayy* "nothing").

*Cu*: *bu* "father",<sup>88</sup> *xu* "brother".

*bu* "father" and *xu* "brother" correspond to the construct state of trilateral CAʔabū- and ʔaxū-.

## 2.3.3.2. Biliteral noun

*CCa*: *mra* "woman".

The CA biliteral nouns *dam* "blood", *yad* "hand" and *fam* "mouth" correspond to TJ *damm*, *yadd* and *famm* respectively and have become trilateral by geminating the second consonant.

## REMARK

ʔsa, ʔla (see 2.3.3.3.1.(1ea(iii))) etc. are formally on the same pattern *CCa* same as *mra*, but in their plural forms the third radical appears: ʔṣyan, ʔlawāḥ and therefore they are classified as trilateral nouns. For *mra* there is no evidence indicating trilaterality. Indeed the construct state of *mra* is *mraḥ-*, but *ḥ* should be considered as a variant of *tā marbūṭah*. And *bu* "father" and *xu* "brother" correspond to the construct state of trilateral CAʔabū and ʔaxū.

## 2.3.3.3. Trilateral nouns

## 2.3.3.3.1.

Nouns on the basic pattern *CaCC* and *CCaC* (+ corresponding f. and *nisbah*)

(1) *CaCC*: Substantives of this pattern normally correspond to CA *Cv̄CC* of str. *P/w* or gem. roots. *CCaC*, which is put in (1') below, is a morphological variant of *CaCC*. On the distribution of *CaCC* and *CCaC*, see 1.4.2.4.2. In the following, for nouns with ♦, see REMARK below.

88 *bu* is used also as a bound morpheme indicating "owner" for both genders: *wāldi bu ʔam* "my son is one year old", *bānci bu ʔam* "my daughter is one year old". It also occurs in some compound words, e.g. *bukāššaš* "chameleon". *bu* is emphasized when combined with a pronoun suffix of the 1st person, e.g. *ḥuya* "my father", *buna* "our father".

- (a) Str., P and Iw: *ʿabd* "slave", *ʿanq* "neck (of pot)", *ʿarq* "sweat; root", *ʿars* "wedding feast", *ʿard* "width", *bānc* "daughter, girl", *bārd* "coldness", *ʿāb* "tiredness", *ʿalž* "snow", *ʿarš* "rock in the sea", *ḍarḥ* "beating", *ḍarš* "molar tooth", *ard* "earth", *axc* "sister", *fārn* "oven", *fārḥ* "wedding party", *gārb* "west", *gārq* "depth", *kāsk* "(name of sweet)", *kābs* "sheep", *kālb* "dog", *mālḥ* "salt", *mārd* "disease", *māšr* "Egypt", *māšt* "comb", *nāfs* "spirit, nāfs "half", *qālb* "heart; centre", *qārd* "monkey", *qārn* "horn", *qārš* "piaster", *rāqš* "dance", *sāḷq* "spinach (!)",<sup>89</sup> *sāms* "sun", *šarḥ* "drink", *ṭarf* "piece", *wāqč* "time", *xābz* "bread", *zāns* "kind", *žald* "skin", *žamb* "side".
- (b) Gem.: *ʿašš* "nest" *ḥarḥ* "wilderness", *amm* "grief" ( $\sqrt{h-m-m}$ ), *amm* "mother", *ḥatt* "duck", *ḥazz* "muddy water", *čann* "tuna",  $\blacklozenge$  *damm* "blood", *ḍall* "shadow, darkness",  $\blacklozenge$  *daww* "light",  $\blacklozenge$  *famm* "mouth", *gāšš* "junk", *gatt* "cat",  $\blacklozenge$  *ḥadd* "nobody", *ḥāqq* "truth; value", *ḥarḥ* "hot", *ḥass* "voice; sound", *ḥayy* "living", *kaff* "back of hand", *kall* "all",  $\blacklozenge$  *mall* "ant", *mārr* "bitter", *nāyy* "raw", *rāff* "shelf", *rāzz* "rice", *sānn* "tooth", *šatt* "coast",  $\blacklozenge$  *šayy* "nothing", *wāzz* "goose",  $\blacklozenge$  *wāžž* "face", *xādd* "cheek",  $\blacklozenge$  *xāff* "lighter", *xall* "vinegar",  $\blacklozenge$  *yādd* "hand", *zābb* "penis", *žadd* "grandfather;  $\blacklozenge$  newer", *žann* "jinn", *žaww* "weather".

## REMARK

1. The following belong now to the present pattern, but are not from etymologically geminated roots: *famm* "mouth" (< CA *fam*), *damm* "blood" (< CA *dam*), *yādd* "hand" (< CA *yad*) (on these three nouns, see above), *šayy* "nothing" (< CA *šay*) (see 1.3.2.7.(6b)), *daww* "light" (< CA *daw*) (see 1.3.2.7.(5c)), *ḥadd* "nobody" (< CA *ʾahad*) (see 1.3.2.7.(7c)), *wāžž* "face" (< CA *wağh*) (see 1.3.2.6.(2c)).
2. *xāff* "lighter", *žadd* "newer" correspond to CA *ʾaxaff* and *ʾağadd* respectively, thus historically these may be classified as variations of CCəC for gem. roots: to CCəC belong the relative forms of other roots (*kḥar* "bigger", *ṭwāl* "longer" etc.) (see (1ʼbβ) below). *žadd* has a free variant *ždad*.
3. *mall* "ant (collective)" corresponds to CA *naml*: *naml* > *\*nməl* (by Umspringen, see 1.4.2.4.2.) > *\*mməl* (the assimilation of *n* to *m*) > *\*məl* (the reduction of the geminated *m*) > *məll*. The gemination at the last stage would be intended to maintain triliterality. The gemination *məll* is now stable and receives the suffix *-a* for the unit noun and *-ac* for the plural, *malla* "an ant", *mallač* "ants".

<sup>89</sup> Aquilina, *Dictionary* vol. 2, p. 1290; *selq xewwieki* "spinach"; Marçais & Guiga, *Takrouna II* vol. 4, p. 1865; "bette"; Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 487; سلق "bette"; Almkvist, *Beiträge*, p. 370; *suP* "Bete".

(c) IP w y.

(a) CaC.

- (i) Substantives corresponding to CA *CāC*. *CaC*: *ʿam* "year", *bab* "door", *bal* "regard", *dar* "family", *far* "mouse", *ḥal* "condition", *kas* "cup", *nar* "fire", *nas* "people", *raš* "head", *saq* "foot", *zar* "neighbour".
- (ii) Others: *ḥat* "armpit" (cf. CA *ʾibt*, *ʾābāt* (pl.)), *gaz* "gas" (< It. *gas*), *nar* "day" (< CA *nahār*) (*nar* "day" is now homonym with *nar* "fire" < CA *nār*), *žal* "widower" (< CA *hağğāl*) (see *žala* (1b) below).

(β) CiC.

- (i) Substantives corresponding to CA *CīC*. *CaC*: *ʿib* "shame", *ʿid* "feast", *ʿin* "eye", *bič* "room", *bir* "well", *dil* "tail" *din* "debt", *fil* "elephant", *lil* "night-time", *riḥ* "wind", *riq* "saliva", *riš* "feather", *siḥ* "sword", *šid* "lion", *šif* "summer", *šix* "sheikh", *ṭir* "bird", *xir* "good deed, good thing; better", *xiṭ* "thread", *zič* "oil", *zin* "beauty", *žib* "pocket", *žil* "generation".
- (ii) Others: *ḥit* "wall" (< CA *ḥāṭit*) (see 1.3.2.7.(4)) *fim* "judicious" (< CA *fahīm*).

(γ) CiC.

- (i) Substantives corresponding to CA *CīC*. *CaC*: *ʿud* "lute; wood", *bul* "urine", *čuč* "mulberry", *čur* "bull", *dud* "worms", *fil* "beans", *gul* "desert demon", *ḥuč* "fishes", *ḥuš* "house", *ḥun* "colour", *luz* "almonds", *muč* "death", *muz* "bananas", *qus* "bow", *ruḥ* "spirit", *sum* "price", *šuf* "wool", *šiq* "market", *šur* "wall", *šut* "whip", *ṭul* "length", *xuf* "fear", *yum* "day", *zuz* "two", *žir* "hunger".
- (ii) Others: *mus* "clasp knife" (< CA *mūsā*) (see 2.3.2.1.2.(2)).

- (d) *Ih*  $C_1əC_2C_2 \sim C_1C_1əC_2$ : *dābb* ~ *ddəb* "gold" (< *\*dhəb* < CA *dahab*), *ḍarḥ* ~ *ḍdarḥ* "back" (< *\*dhəḥ* < CA *dəhr*); afternoon (< *\*dhəḥ* < CA *dəhr*), *šarḥ* ~ *ššarḥ* "month" (< *\*shəḥ* < CA *šahr*), *zərḥ* ~ *zzərḥ* "orange water" (< *\*zhəḥ* < CA *zahr*).

CA nouns on the pattern *CahC* or *CahaC* are realized in TJ as  $C_1əC_2C_2 \sim C_1C_1əC_2$  (see 1.3.2.6.(2b)). The former variant is formally similar to geminated root nouns, but this gemination results from the historical development concerning the disappearance of *h*. And when a pronoun suffix beginning with a vowel is attached to a *Ih* noun, it takes a form different from that of the geminated one. Therefore we establish a separate pattern entry for *Ih* nouns. e.g. *ḍarḥ* "back" + *-u* "his" > *ḍaru* "his back", as against *ḥass* "voice" (geminated root) + *-u* "his" > *ḥassu* "his voice" (see 2.1.1.2.2.(1aα) and (1ač)).

(e) *IIIy h*.

(α) *CCa* < CA *CvCah* (فاعة), *CvCā* (فعا), *CaCā* (فعا), *CaCāh* (فاعة) (*IIIw y*), *CaCh* (*IIIh*). Though the following nouns now take the same pattern *CCa*, they originate from various CA forms, and this fact is reflected in the different realization of their construct state (see 2.3.2.1.3.).

(i) TJ masculine with st.cstr. *-a*: *awá* "air" (st.cstr. *awá-*) (< \**hwa* < CA *hawā*), *dwa* "medicine" (st.cstr. *dwa-*) (< CA *dawā*), *ġda* "lunch" (st.cstr. *ġda-*) (< CA *ġadā*), *nša* "starch" (st.cstr. *nša-*) (< CA *našā*).

(ii) TJ masculine with st.cstr. *-ač-*: *sma* "sky" (st.cstr. *smač-*).

(iii) TJ feminine: *ba* "mantle" (< CA *abā*), *ša* "stick" (< CA *ašā*), *ša* "dinner" (< CA *ašā*), *ġna* "song" (< CA *ġinā*), *rġa* "mortar" (< CA *raġā*), *sna* "year" (< CA *sanah*), *šla* "synagogue; prayer" (< CA *šalāh*), *šča* "rain; winter" (< CA *šitā*), *wta* "ground, the surface of the earth" (< CA *waṭā*), *xla* "desert" (< CA *xalā*), *xra* "excrement" (< CA *xarā*), *xta* "cover" (< CA *ġitā*).

## REMARK

1. The following words do not correspond to CA str. or *IIIy*, but now fits with the pattern *CCa*: *bra* "needle" (< CA *ibrah*) (see 1.3.2.7.(3)), *wza* "face" (< CA *waġh*) (see 1.3.2.6.(3b)), *šta* "master" (< probably CA < *ustād*).<sup>90</sup>

2. *mra* "woman, wife" is classified into 2.3.3.2. as bilateral nouns.

(β) *CCi* < CA *CvCp*, *CvCiy*: *nbi* "prophet" (< CA *nabī*), *qdi* "housekeeping" (< CA *qadiyy*), *qwi* "strong".

(γ) *CCu*:

To this pattern belong the following nouns:

(i) Nouns corresponding to CA *CvCw*: *hlu* "sweet", *hšu* "stuffing (food)".

(ii) Nouns corresponding to CA *CvCuww*: *du* "enemy", *lu* "height".

These nouns historically belong to the pattern *CvCuww*, but according to their present forms, they are classified here. They are never \**duw*, \**luw*, and, for example, when *du* takes a pronoun suffix, *w* never appears, e.g. *duk* "your enemy", *du* "his enemy" etc.

<sup>90</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, p. 513.

(iii) Others:

*bdu* "beginning" (< CA *badp*). The final *p* was substituted by *w* because of its disappearance from the dialect, CA *badp* > \**bādw*.<sup>91</sup> Considering the fact that the parallel form to \**bādw* is attested in Tunis-Muslim *badw* [bādu] "Anfang, Beginn" (also *bdu* [bdû] in the same meaning), in Takrouna [bādu] and [bdû], and in Maltese *bidu*,<sup>92</sup> the final *w* has been, at some point, realized as a pure vowel [u] in TJ as well, \**bādu*. And as long as this *u* is considered as a vowel, *a* in the first syllable stands in an open syllable, so that this is eliminated, \**bādw* > \**bādu* > *bdu*. *ždu* "he goat" (< CA *ġady*). Its diminutive is *ždayy*. It is likely that *ġady* had been interpreted as a diminutive and *ždu* was formed by backformation.

(1') *CCəC*: Substantives of this pattern correspond to CA *CvCC* and *CvCvC* of str. & *Iw* roots and to CA *əCCaC* (adjective form (m.sg.) denoting colour or physical defect / elative form) of any root. On the development from these CA forms to TJ *CCəC*, see 1.4.2.4.2. for CA *CvCC* > TJ *CCəC*, 1.3.4.1.(a) for CA *CvCvC* > TJ *CCəC* and 1.3.2.7.(3) for CA *əCCaC* > TJ *CCəC* respectively.

(a) *CCəC* < *CvCC*, *CvCvC*: *qam* "bone", *mər* "age", *qal* "intelligence", *sal* "honey", *ħšal* "onions", *ħtən* "belly", *čbən* "straw", *čmər* "dates", *dləm* "darkness", *fxad* "thigh", *šħəm* "charcoal", *gdəb* "lie", *ġləm* "flock", *ħnəš* "snake", *ħrəf* "very bad (cf. CA *ħirrif* and Heb. חרף)", *ħtəb* "fire-wood", *ħzər* "lap", *ħzər* "stone", *kčəf* "shoulder", *lbən* "coagulated sour milk", *lħəm* "meat", *nsər* "eagle", *qləm* "pen", *qməl* "lice", *qrə* "pumpkin", *qzər* "drawer",<sup>93</sup> *rbə* "quarter", *ržəl* "foot", *smən* "clarified butter", *sqəf* "ceiling; roof", *szər* "trees", *štəl* "bucket", *šbə* "finger" (< CA *išbə*), *šdər* "breast", *šfər* "journey", *šər* "hair", *šbər* "inch", *šmə* "candles", *tkər* "masculine", *tħəq* "board", *tšər* "finger nail", *wdən* "ear" (< CA *uđn*), *wrəq* "papers", *xməs* "one fifth", *xmə* "dirt", *xšəm* "nose", *zbəl* "rubbish", *zrə* "seed", *zđəf* "pearl oyster", *žmə* "camel", *žrəh* "injury", *žnəh* "wing" (< CA *ġanāh*).

(b) *CCəC* < *əCCaC*.

(α) Str.: *bčəd* "farther", *ččəf* "thinner", *čqəl* "heavier", *ħmə* "red (m. ~ pl.)", *kbər* "bigger", *kčər* "more", *khəl* "black (m. ~ pl.)", *nqəš* "less", *qrəb* "nearer", *qsər* "shorter", *smən* "fatter", *šfər* "yellow (m. ~ pl.)", *trəš* "deaf", *xđər* "green (m. ~ pl.)", *zğər* "smaller", *zrəq* "blue (m. ~ pl.)".

<sup>91</sup> Hopkins, *Studies*, p. 21.

<sup>92</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, p. 501 and *Aquilina, Dictionary*, p. 94. *bdu* is attested also in Tunis-Jewish; see Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 149.

<sup>93</sup> Beauissier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 778

- (β) Gem.: *ždad* (~ *žadd*) "newer", (*xəff* "lighter") (see (1b) REMARK 2 above).  
 (γ) *Iwʿy*: *ʿwəʾ* "one-eyed (m. ~ pl.)", *lʷəʾl* "longer"; *byəd* "white (m. ~ pl.)", *zyən* "more beautiful (< positive *məzyan*)".  
 (δ) *Ily* (= *CCa* < *CA ʿaCCā*): *ʿla* "taller", *ʿma* "blind", *qwa* "stronger".

## REMARK

CA *CvCāC*: *krəʿ* "leg of animal" (< CA *kurāʿ*), *drəʿ* "arm" (< CA *dirāʿ*). It seems that their singular form with a short vowel is innovated by analogy with their pseudo-dual form *krəʿin*, *drəʿin* with a short vowel, which is attested also in neighbouring dialects (see 1.4.2.4.2.2.), TM *kirʿən* ~ *korʿən* (sg. *krāʿ*), Tunis-Muslim *koʾrʿin* (sg. *krāʿ*) (but *drāʿ* - *drāʿin*).<sup>94</sup> In Tunis-Jewish *drāʿ* and *krāʿ*, which are used for the absolute state, are realized with a short vowel *dərʿ* and *kərʿ* in the construct state, *dārʿu* "his arm", *kərʿ əlbəgra* "the leg of the cow".<sup>95</sup>

(2) *CəCCa*: To this pattern belong nouns corresponding to CA *CvCCah*, *CvCvCah* (فعللة), *CvCCā* (فعلى), *CvCCā* (فعللا), *CvCCāh* (فعللة), *CvCCā* (فعللاء). Synchronically *CCəC* with the feminine ending *-a* (*bəʿəl* "onions (collective noun)": *bəʿəla* "onion (unit noun)" (see 2.3.2.3. above).

(a) *Str. & Iw*: *ʿalba* "tin, box", *ʿalqa* "leech", *ʿərša* "column", *bəlga* "slipper for men" *bəqra* "cow", *bərka* "blessing", *bərma* "soup pot", *bəṭha* "ferry-boat" (< CA *baṭḥāʾ*), *čəqba* "hole", *dəmʿa* "tear", *dəxla* "opening", *fəžra* "silver", *gəbša* "handful", *gəlda* "mistake", *gərfa* "attic", *kəʿba* "ankle", *kəbda* "liver", *kəčra* "majority", *kəhla* "(a kind of fish)",<sup>96</sup> *kəlma* "word", *kəmša* "handful, small number", *kərša* "stomach (of animal)", *məʿda* "stomach (of human being)", *məʿna* "meaning" (< CA *mānā*), *nəxla* "palm tree", *qəhba* "prostitute", *qəliša* "sock (< It *calza*)", *qərfa* "cinnamon", *qəšʿa* "bowl", *rəqba* "neck", *rəkba* "knee", *šəḥra* "desert" (< CA *šahrāʾ*), *šəntʿa* "minaret" (< CA *sawmʿah*),<sup>97</sup> *šəbka* "net", *šəḥma* "fat", *šəmʿa* "a candle", *šərba* "soup", *wəʿra* "difficult (f.)", *wərqa* "(a sheet of) paper", *wəžba* "portion of food", *xədra* "vegetables", *xərta* "beat", *zənqa* "blind-alley", *žərha* "injury".

94 Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 261 and Singer, *Tunis*, pp. 453-454.

95 Cohen, *Tunis II*, pp. 55-56.

96 In TM *kəhla*, see Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 312.

97 Singer, *Tunis*, p. 169.

(b) Gem.: *ʿamma* "paternal aunt", *damma* "(in *bdamməč-*) at s.o.'s disposal", *gəlla* "fruit", *həbba* "grain; swelling", *hənna* "hen", *həssa* "feeling", *ləlla* "lady", *mərpa* "time (Fr. fois)", *nəffa* "snuff", *qəffa* "large basket", *qəšša* "crisis", *šəhha* "health", *šərpa* "navel; money pouch", *šəffa* "lip of an animal", *xəffa* "lightness", *žəbba* "garment", *žərpa* "trail".

(c) *Iwʿy*.

(a) *CaCa*.

(i) Substantives corresponding to CA *CāCah*, *CaʿCah*: *ʿada* "habit", *faʿa* "calf (leg); female mouse", *gəba* "forest", *həla* "condition", *həra* "Jewish quarter", *həza* "thing", *raha* "repose", *səʿa* "hour", *šəba* "harvest", *taša* "cup", *žəra* "neighbour (f.)".

(ii) Others: *žala* "widow" (< CA *hağğālah*),<sup>98</sup> *bəba* "papa".

(β) *CiCa*.

(i) Substantives corresponding CA *CayCah* or *CīCah*: *ʿiša* "living", *ʿiṭa* "cry", *čina* "the buttocks",<sup>99</sup> *giba* "absence", *kisa* "purse", *lila* "night", *lima* "lemon", *niya* "intention", *sira* "reason, course of events", *šiša* "bottle", *tiha* "a fall", *xiṭa* "a thread", *žifa* "corpse".

(ii) Substantives corresponding to CA *Cīʿah* (see 1.3.2.7.(6a)), *Cihah* (see 1.3.2.6.(1b)): *miya* "hundred" (< CA *mīʿah*), *riya* "lung" (< CA *riʿah*), *žia* "direction, side" (< CA *ğihah*).

(iii) Others: *liya* "fat tail" (< CA *ʿalyah*), *midā* "low table" (< CA *māʾidah*) (see 1.3.2.7.(4)), *riha* "smell" (< CA *rāʾihah*).

(γ) *CuCa*.

(i) Substantives corresponding to CA *CawCah* or *CūCah*: *buṃa* "owl", *čuča* "mulberry", *duda* "worm", *duwa* "speech", *duṛa* "round trip", *fuṭa* "towel", *guča* "(proper name)", *gula* "desert demon (f.)", *kuša* "public oven", *luha* "board", *muča* "death", *muža* "wave", *nuwa* "storm", *quwa* "power", *susa* "worm", *šura* "figure", *šura* "dowry", *šuša* "fez tassel".

(ii) Others: *buča* (~ *butča*) "playing marble" (< It. *boccia*) (see 2.3.2.2.1.(8)).

98 This word is mentioned in Dozy, *Dictionnaire* as *هجلة* (vol. 2 p. 756) and *فحل* *veuf, tem* *veuve* (vol. 1 p. 11), and in Colin, *Dictionnaire* vol. 8, p. 1982 as *هزّالة* Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, p. 45 states that *ʿa-* is substituted by *ha-* citing *hezžāla* (Northafrica) along side with *hāla* "Instrument" (Tlemcen). With the definite article, *əzzāla*.

99 Landberg, *Arabe*, p. 67 fn. 5 and Aquilina, *Dictionary*: vol. 2, pp. 1446-1447.



(d) *Ilh*.

Substantives corresponding to CA *Cv̄hCah* (see 1.3.2.6.(3a)) or *Cv̄hāCah* (see 1.3.2.6.(2aβ)), which has a variant *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>aCa*: *daša* "swooning" (< \**dahša* < CA *da-hšah*), *qawa* "coffee" (< \**qahwa* < CA *qahwah*), *šada* (~ *ššada*) "testimony" (< \**šhāda* < CA *šahādah*)

(e) *IIIw/y* (*CəCwa*, *CəCya*).

(i) *IIIw*: *ʿalwa* "upward slope", *dəʿwa* "mishap (cf. *dəʿya* "curse")", *gədwā* "tomorrow", *kəlwā* "kidney", *kəswā* "suit of clothes", *ləgwa* "language", *məšwā* "commandment" (< Heb. מצווה), *nəbwa* "prophecy" (< CA *nabʿah*) (see 1.3.2.7.(5bβ)), *rəgwa* "bubble", *xətwā* "step".

(ii) *IIIy*: *dəʿya* "curse", *dəhya* "egg", *dənya* "this world" (< CA *dunyā*), *ləhya* "chin; beard", *qəḏya* "affair", *yəmnā* "right (f.)" (< CA *yumnā*).

(3) *CəCCá* (oxytone): To this pattern belongs the following nouns (see 1.4.3.2.2.).

## (a) Gem.

(α) Native: *həyyá* "living (f.)", *mərrá* "bitter (f.)", *nəyyá* "raw (f.)", *hərrá* "hot (taste) (f.)".

(β) Others: *səkká* "Succah" (< Heb. סוכה).

(b) *IIw/y*.(α) *CiCá*.

(i) Native: *bidá* "white (f.)" (< CA *bayḏā*).

(ii) Others: *milá* "circumcision" (< Heb. מילה).

(β) *CuCá*.

(i) Native: *ʿurá* "one-eyed" "one-eyed (f.)" (m. *ʿwər*) (< CA *ʿawrə*).

(ii) Others: *əṭʿurá* "Torah" (< Heb. תורה).

(4) *CəCCi* : *CəCCiya* (f.). This form may be the *nisbah* of *CəCC*.

(a) Str. & *Iw*: *ʿəḏbi(ya)* "Arab", *bəkri* "first-born son", *bəldi(ya)* "domestic", *ṣərsi* "paste made with carrot and pepper", *kərsi* "chair", *məšri(ya)* "Egyptian", *wəṣṭi(ya)* "middle".

(b) Gem.: *rəbbi* "rabbi" (< Heb. רבי), *dəḥḥi* "eggs", *kəlliya* "totality".

*dəḥḥi* is a collective noun of *dəhya* "egg". Although *dəhya* "an egg" has a single *h*, the collective noun *dəḥḥi* has a geminated *h*. Considering the fact that the unit noun is formed by adding *-a* to the collective noun as in *ḥuṣ* "fishes" : *ḥuṣa* "a fish", the unit noun of *dəḥḥi* should be \**dəḥḥiya*. However forms such as *dəḥi* (in the south Tripolitania)<sup>100</sup> and TM *dəḥe* suggests that *dəḥḥi* had once a single *h*, \**dəḥi* < \**dəḥy*. In the present TJ there is no nominal pattern *Cv̄Cw/y*, and CA nouns of this pattern are reflected in TJ as *CCwi* (see 2.3.3.3.1.(1eβ) and (1eγ)). According to this, \**dḥi* is the expected form developed from \**dəḥy*, but the real form is *dəḥḥi*: *h* is geminated in order to retain *ə* by closing the syllable, and on the other hand, in *dəhya*, *y* fulfils the same function as the geminated *h*.

(c) *P*: *əndi(ya)* "(a) prickly pear".

(d) *IIw*: *fuqi(ya)* "above (adj.)", *ḥuṭi(ya)* "below (adj.)", *rumi(ya)* "Christian", *muši* "Moše (Heb. < משה) (see 1.4.3.2.3.(4)).

## REMARK

*muši* "(the prophet) Moses" (Heb. < משה) is opposed to *muši* above.

(e) *IIIw*: *kərwīya* "caraway" (< CA *karawyā*).

2.3.3.3.2. Nouns on the basic pattern *CCvC* (+ corresponding f. and *nisbah*)(1) *CCvC*.

(a) *CCaC*: To this pattern belong nouns corresponding to CA *Cv̄CāC* and *v̄CCāC*. *CCaC* serves as plural pattern which is mentioned in 2.3.4.1.3. below.

(α) Str.: *ʿbar* "pot", *ʿdab* "pain, torment", *ʿrak* "quarrel", *blad* "town", *ḥṣaṭ* "carpet", *ṣrab* "dust", *dmaḡ* "brain", *ṭhak* "laughter", *ffad* "intestines" (< \**fwad*), *flan* "so and so", *fraš* "bed", *ḡlaf* "sheath", *ḥmar* "donkey", *ḥram* "prohibited", *ḥṣab* "account", *ḥṣan* "horse", *ḥzam* "belt", *klam* "utterance, speech", *lsan* "tongue", *nʿas* "sleepiness", *nḥas* "copper", *qmaš* "fabric material, cloth", *rqaḏ* "sleeping", *skač* "silence", *slam* "peace", *smah* "permission", *šḥaḥ* "morning", *šlah* "weapon", *šraḥ* "alcoholic drink", *ṭlaq* "divorce", *zman* "time", *zwaq* "(house) paint", *žwab* "letter", *žran* "frog", *ḥzaz* "pears" (< CA *ʿinḡāš*). (β) Gem.: *gzaz* "rust", *gzaz* "glass", *ḥmam* "pigeons", *zlad* "clothes for woman".

100 Marçais & Guiga, *Takrouna II* vol. 3, p. 1253 gives for this word a comment: "œufs (d'autruche); n'apparaît que dans la poésie bédouinisante où il est sans doute un emprunt aux parlers tripolitains (sud tripolitain: *dēhi* ou *māḏha*...)"

(γ) *Iy*: *yṣar* "left".

(δ) *Ihw*: *byaḍ* "piece of charcoal", *nyab* "canine tooth" (< CA *ʾanyāb*) (see 2.3.2.1.1.(1bβ)), *ṣyam* "fast".

(b) *CCiC*: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

Nouns corresponding to CA *CaCīC*.

(α) *Str.*: *ʿriḍ* "wide", *ʿris* "bridegroom", *čqil* "heavy", *ḍrif* "elegant", *ḡliḍ* "thick", *ḡmiq* "darkness", *ḥlib* "milk", *ḥrim* "prohibited", *ḥzin* "sad", *kbir* "big, elder", *mliḥ* "nice", *mriḍ* "sick", *ḥḍif* "clean", *nsib* "son-in-law; brother of wife; husband of sister of wife", *qbiḥ* "impudent", *qdim* "old", *rbīr* "spring", *rxīṣ* "cheap", *ʿzīn* "heavy, depressed", *ʿsīd* "happy", *smid* "semolina", *smin* "fat", *ʿsīb* "difficult", *šlib* "cross", *šʿir* "barley", *šrik* "companion", *xšīn* "powerful", *zḡir* "small", *žbin* "fore-head", *žrid* "palm branch".

(β) *Gem.*: *ʿziz* "maternal uncle; beloved", *ḥdid* "iron", *ḥnin* "compassionate", *ḥrir* "silk", *qlil* "rare", *rqiq* "thin", *tqiq* "flour", *ṭḥib* "doctor", *xḥf* "light", *zbiḥ* "raisins", *zdid* "new".

(γ) *Iw/y*: *wḡid* "matches", *wṣif* "negro", *wzir* "minister", *ymin* "right".

(δ) *Ihw*: *ṭwil* "tall, long".

(ε) *IIIy*: see 2.3.3.3.1.(1eβ).

(ζ) *Others*: *ṭrif* "non-kosher (food)" (< Heb. *ṭrif*).<sup>101</sup>

(c) *CCuC* (< CA *CvCīC*).

(α) *Str.*: *ʿmud* "handle of mortar", *čfuh* "tasty" (< CA *√t-f-h*),<sup>102</sup> *fīur* "breakfast", *fzur* "immorality", *qḥur* "grave (m.)",<sup>103</sup> *sbul* "corn", *xluṣ* "liberation", *xriḥ* "lamb".

(β) *IIIw*: see 2.3.3.3.1.(1eγ).

(2) *CCvCa*.

(a) *CCaCa*: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

(α) Nouns corresponding to CA *CvCāCah*.

(i) *Str.*: *bzara* "spice", *ḍbaṣa* "contrivance", *xzana* ~ *ḡzana* "warehouse", *ḥmaṣa* "female donkey", *ḥšana* "haircut", *ḥzana* "mourning", *ḥḍafa* "cleanliness", *šḥala* "charcoal (powder)", *sxana* "heat", *šlaṭa* "salad", *škara* "sack", *xrafa* "fairy tale", *žmaḥa* "group".

<sup>101</sup> Marçais & Guiga, *Takrouna II* vol. 5, p. 2370.

<sup>102</sup> The same root is used in Tunis-Muslim as *tahfūn* "hübsch, ansehnlich, adrett, apart", see Singer, *Tunis*, p. 496.

<sup>103</sup> Although *qḥur* corresponds to CA *qubūr*, plural of *qabr*, it is considered in TJ as a singular masculine noun. The plural form of TJ *qḥur* is *qḥuraḥ*.

(ii) *Gem.*: *dlala* "auction", *džaža* "chicken", *ḥmama* "pigeon", *ḥnana* "sympathy"

(iii) *Iw*: *wsada* "pillow".

(iv) *Ihw*: *dyana* "religion", *qyama* "standing up", *ṭyaba* "goodness", *xyala* "ghost", *xyaṭa* "sewing", *zwaṣa* "Zwara (name of a town)", *zyaṣa* "visit".

(v) *IIIw*: *ʿdawa* "enmity".

(vi) *IIIy*: *ḡnaya* "a song", *ḥkaya* "story", *qṣaya* "reading", *wṣaya* "command".

(β) *Others*: *ḥzaṣa* "a pear" (< CA *ʾinḡāṣah*), *nčaya* "feminine" (< CA *ʾunīā*) (see 1.3.2.7.(3)).<sup>104</sup>

(b) *CCiCa* (< CA *CaCīCah*).

(α) *Str.*: *qima* "barren (f.)", *čzina* "paste", *čqiba* "hole", *ḥriqa* "fire", *kčiba* "writing", *mliḥa* "good (f.)", *qčila* "killing", *rbiba* "stepdaughter on husband's side", *sbika* "ingot bar", *šṭiḥa* "dance, dancing", *ṭḥixa* "food", *ṭfina* "cholent" (< CA *daḥṭ-nah*),<sup>105</sup> *ṭriḥa* "repeated beating", *ṭriqa* "distance, course", *xmira* "yeast", *xniba* "theft, stealing", *zriba* "hut".

(β) *Gem.*: *ḥdida* "iron bar", *qlila* "earring", *tqiqa* "minute", *tšiša* "few" (< *√d-š-š*).<sup>106</sup>

(γ) *Iw*: *wḡida* "match", *wṣifa* "negro (f.)", *wžifa* "pain".

(δ) *Ihw*: *ṭwila* "tall, long (f.)".

(ε) *IIIy*: *ššiya* "evening", *qwiya* "strong (f.)", *šbiya* "girl".

(c) *CCuCa*: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

(α) Nouns corresponding to CA *CvCīCah*.

(i) *Str.*: *ʿruṣa* "bride", *ʿzuzā* "old woman", *fluka* "boat", *ḥšuma* "shame", *ḥkuma* "judgement".

(ii) *IIIw*: *ʿduwa* "female enemy" (< CA *ʿadīwah*).

(β) *Others*: *skula* "school" (< It. *scuola*).

(3) *CCvCā* (oxytone).

(a) *CCaCā* (only Hebrew origin): *braxā* "bless" (< Heb. *ברכה*). *zdaqā* "charity" (< Heb. *צדקה*).

(b) *CCuCā*: *čfuhā* "tasty (f.)", *ḥluwā* "sweet (f.)" (< CA *ḥulwah*) (see 1.4.3.2.2.(1b)).

<sup>104</sup> In Tlemcen for the personal pronoun *ʿentāya* "you (m.sg.)" the addition of the ending *-ya* for emphasis is attested. We may interpret the addition of *-ya* to *nčaya* "feminine" as same phenomenon, see Brockelmann, *GvG* vol. 1, pp. 297, 300.

<sup>105</sup> Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 340 gives "espèce de ragoût d'herbage que font les Juifs"

<sup>106</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, p. 63 and Baussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 334.

- (4) CCvCi (nisbah of CCvC) / CCvCiya (f.).  
 (a) CCaCi(ya): *z̄wari(ya)* "from Zwara", *qmari* (in 'ud *qmari*) "aloe tree".  
 (b) CCuCi(ya): 'mumi(ya) "public".

### 2.3.3.3.3. Nouns on the basic pattern CvCəC (+ corresponding f. and nisbah)

#### (1) CvCəC.

(a) CaCəC: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

(α) Nouns corresponding to CA CāCiC.

- (i) Str.: 'aqəl "intelligent", *čazər* "merchant", *daxəl* "inside", *faləh* "capable", *farəg* "empty", *gələd* "wrong" (< CA √ğ-l-ī), *gəraq* "deep", *hakəm* "governor", *haqəd* "stingy", *hažəb* "eyebrow", *kačər* "abundant", *kagəd* "paper", *maləh* "salty", *qarəš* "sour", *qasəh* "hard", *qatəš* "sharp (knife)", *ražəl* "man", *saləm* "safe", *šahəb* "friend", *šanəš* "servant; craftsman", *šarəš* "street", *tabəš* "seal", *taləb* "beggar", *xaməš* "dirty, rotten", *xələš* "exempt", *xəčəm* "ring", *zarəq* "shining", *žaməš* "mosque".  
 (ii) P w y: *aləf* "thousand" (< CA ʔalf), *aməs* "yesterday" (< CA ʔamsi); *wažəd* "existing", *wakəl* "eating" (< CA ʔākil), *waxəd* "taking" (< CA ʔāxid); *yabəs* "dry".  
 (iii) Ilw y: *bayəč* "having passed the night", *dayəx* "dizzy", *gəyəb* "disappeared", *šayəm* "fasting", *tayəb* "cooked", *rayəs* "leader" (see 1.3.2.7.(6α)).  
 (iv) Ilh: *šaəd* "witness" (< CA šāhid).  
 (v) Illy (CaCi < CA CāCī (IIP), CaCī (IIIw/y)): 'ali "high", bai "good" (√b-h-y), *baqi* "change money", *dafi* "tepid", *gali* "precious", *qađi* "judge", *šai* "tea" (√š-h-y),<sup>107</sup> *wafi* "loose-fitting", *waṭi* "low", *zawi* "from Zawya".

(β) Others.

- (i) Str.: *lahəš* "pencil" (< It. *lapes*).  
 (ii) Illy: *sami* "name",<sup>108</sup> *magi* "vase (uncertain origin)".

(b) CiCəC: *irəš* "Eretz Israel" (< Heb. ירדן), *filəm* "film" (< It. *film*).

#### (2) CvCCa.

(a) CaCCa: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

(α) Nouns corresponding to CA CāCvCah. CaCvCah.

107 In TM, *šahi*, see Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 303.

108 Although *sami* corresponds to CA 'asāmī, plural of 'ism, it is considered in TJ as a singular masculine noun. The plural form of TJ *sami* is *swami*.

- (i) Str.: *nafsa* "being in childbed (f.)", *qabla* "midwife", *qafla* "robber band", *šan'a* "maidservant".  
 (ii) Iw y: *wažda* "existing (f.)" (< CA wāğidah), *wakla* "eating (f.)" (< CA ʔākilah), *waxda* "taking" (< CA ʔāxidah); *yabsa* "dry (f.)" (< CA yābisah).  
 (iii) Ih: *ayša* "animal" (< \*hāyša).  
 (iv) Ilw y: *bayča* "having passed the night (f.)", *dayxa* "dizzy (f.)", *šayma* "fasting (f.)", *ṭawla* "table".  
 (v) Ilh: *šaəda* "witness (f.)" (< CA šāhidah).  
 (vi) Illy: 'afya "fire", *bamya* "okra", *bayya* ~ *baəya* "good (f.)" (see 1.3.2.6.(5)), *sanya* "irrigated field", *saqya* "tube", *xabya* "jar", *zawya* "Zawya (name of a town)".  
 (β) Others: *kaṭta* "card game" (< It. *carta*), *naṇna* "grandmother" (< It. *nonna*), *šašə* "sauce" (< It. *salsa*), *šaṭta* "jumping" (< It. *salto*).
- (b) CiCCa: To this pattern belong the following nouns.  
*birra* "beer" (< It. *birra*), *činja* "cinema" (< It. *cinema*), *firma* "signature" (< It. *firma*), *fišta* "feast" (< It. *fešta*), *sifər* (čurá) "the Bible" (< Heb. ספר תורה), *šišma* "water tap" (< Turk. *çeşme*, Pers. چشمه).<sup>109</sup>
- (c) CuCCa: To this pattern belong the following nouns.  
*buđra* "face powder" (< Fr. *poudre*), *buřza* "hand bag" (< It. *borsa*), *hubya* "haricot beans", *ruḃḃa* "dress" (< It. *roba*), *žuəra* "a pearl" (< CA gawharah), *kukla* "(name of a dish)"<sup>110</sup> (uncertain origin).
- (3) CvCCi (only CaCCi(ya)): This form may be the nisbah of CāCəC. CāCCa. CaCCi / CaCCiya (f.).  
 (a) Native: *faṭti(ya)* "naughty",<sup>111</sup> *lagbi* "date wine" (< CA laqmī or lāqmī) (see 1.3.2.2.(5b)),<sup>112</sup> *maṭti(ya)* "Maltese".  
 (b) Others: *ṭaksi* "taxi".

109 Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 305.

110 Marçais, *Algiers* p. 492 fn. 5.

111 In Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 761, فطط "commettre une faute, une crise".

112 Goldberg, *Tripolitaniya*, p. 141 fn. 31.

### 2.3.3.3.4. Nouns on the basic pattern C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ C (+ corresponding f. and nisbah)

#### (1) C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ C.

(a) CaCaC: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

( $\alpha$ ) Native: *aman* "safety" (< CA  $\bar{a}m\bar{a}n$ ) (see 1.3.2.7.(2a)).

( $\beta$ ) Others: *baḷaṣ* "high building" (< It. *palazzo*), *maḍam* "madame" (< Fr. *madame*), *čanaḥ* "the Bible" (< Heb. תנ"ך), *hačan* "bridegroom" (< Heb. חתן), *šaqaṭ* "blind" (Turk. *sakat*), *yasaq* "prohibited" (< Turk. *yasak*).

(b) CaCiC: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

( $\alpha$ ) Native: *halil* "kosher (food) for Pesah"<sup>113</sup> (< CA *halīl*) (see 1.3.4.3), *tažin* "pot" (< CA *tağin*).

( $\beta$ ) Others: *dawid* "King David" (< Heb. דוד), *kašir* "kosher (food)" (< Heb. כשר), *laliq* "ḥaroseṭ" (< Aram. הללק) (see 1.3.2.6.(3a)).

#### REMARK

*dāwid* "David" (contemporary Jewish name) is paroxytone which is opposed to *dawid* by the stress position (see 1.4.3.2.3.(4)).

(c) CaCuC: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

( $\alpha$ ) Native: *dabuš* "(proper name)", *kanun* "portable clay cooking stove", *namus* "mosquitos; honour",<sup>114</sup> *qanun* "law", *šaḅun* "soap", *yažur* "brick" (< CA  $\bar{a}ğurr$ ).

( $\beta$ ) Others: *baḅur* "ship" (< Fr. *vapeur*), *kaḅud* "respect" (< Heb. כבוד), *bašuuq* "verse" (< Heb. פסוק), *taur* "kosher (food)" (< Heb. טהור), *šaḅur* "hatchet" (uncertain origin).<sup>115</sup>

(d) CiCaC (< CA *CīCān* or *CawCāC* or *CayCāC*): *diwan* "cabinet", *šīṭan* "naughty; Satan".

(e) CiCiC: *bilik* "confiscation" (< Turk. *beylik*).

(f) CiCuC: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

( $\alpha$ ) Nouns corresponding to CA *CīCūC* or *CayCūn*: *qīṭun* "tent", *zičun* "olives".

( $\beta$ ) Others: *sigur* ~ *sikur* "sure" (< It. *securō*).

(g) CuCaC (< CA *CūCāC* (originally loan-words)): *buqal* "jug" (< Turk. *bukal* < Gk. *pocal*), *dulab* "closet" (< Turk. *dolap*).

<sup>113</sup> "Kosher" in general is *kašir* or *taur*.

<sup>114</sup> Dozy, *Dictionnaire* vol. 2, p. 733.

<sup>115</sup> Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 532.

(h) CuCiC: *bulis* "policeman" (< Fr. *police*), *burik* "fried sweet with almond" (< Turk. *börek*), *burim* "Purim" (< Heb. פורים), *mūil* (pl. *mūalim* "circumciser" (< Heb. מוהל), *yusif* "Joseph" (< Heb. יוסף) (see 1.4.3.2.3.(4)).

#### (2) C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ Ca.

(a) CaCaCa: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

( $\alpha$ ) Native: *kaḅaba* "car" (cf. CA *kahrabā*, Tunis-Muslim *kāḅh<sup>a</sup>bā*) (see 1.3.2.6.(3a)).

( $\beta$ ) Others: *ḅaḅata* "potato" (< It. *patata*).

(b) CaCiCa: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

( $\alpha$ ) Native: *arisa* "boiled wheat with tomato sauce" (< CA *harīṣah*), *adiya* "gift" (< CA *hadiyyah*), *ṭaḳiya* "cap" (< CA *ṭāḳiyyah*).

( $\beta$ ) Others: *faliža* "suitcase" (< It. *valigia*), *makina* "machine, car" (< It. *machina*).

(c) CaCuCa: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

Nouns corresponding to CA *CāCūCah*, *Ca<sup>a</sup>CūCah*: *čažura* "Tajura (name of a town)", *ṭaḅuna* "mill", *čahula* "mole on body" (< CA *ḥlūlah*).

(d) CiCuCa: *zičuna* "an olive".

(e) CuCaCa: *ružaṭa* "almond syrup", *ḅumaṭa* "ointment" (< It. *pomata*).

(f) CuCiCa: *fušika* "revolver" (Turk. *fişek*), *kuzina* "kitchen" (< It. *cucina*).

#### (3) C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ Cā.

*CiCuCā*: *ihulā* "feast for saint's memorial day" (< Heb. הילולה).

(4) C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ Ci (nisbah of C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ C), C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ Ciya (f.).

(a) CaCaCi(ya): *zawali(ya)* "poor" (< Turk. *zavallı*).

(b) CaCuCi(ya): *čažuri(ya)* "from Tajura".

### 2.3.3.3.5. Nouns on the basic pattern C $\bar{a}$ C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ C (+ corresponding f.)

C $\bar{a}$ C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ C / C $\bar{a}$ C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ Ca (f.): To this pattern belong the following nouns.

(1) Nouns corresponding to CA C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ C $\bar{v}$ C.

(a) Str.: *sakkār* "sugar".

(b) P wy: *awwal* (*awwala*, not *\*ula*) "first"; *daḅyān* (*daḅyana*) "pious"; *daḅyāq* (*daḅyqa*) "narrow"; *maḅyāč* (*maḅyča*) "dead person"; *saḅyāḍ* "master" (f. is *lalla*).

(2) Others: *axxar* (*axxara*) "last" (< CA  $\bar{a}xir$  +  $\bar{a}wwal$ ) (see 1.3.2.7.(7b)).

### 2.3.3.3.6. Nouns on the basic pattern CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>vC (+ corresponding f. and nisbah)

#### (1) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>vC.

(a) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>aC: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

(α) Nouns corresponding to CA CvC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>āC. Many nouns of this pattern bear, as in CA, the idea of intensiveness or of habit, and professions and trades.

(i) Str.: ʿammār "gardener", baqqal "grocer", ʿarraq "tea kettle", ʿattal "unemployed", ʿaffah "apples", dabbah "slaughterer", dabban "flies",<sup>116</sup> dakkān "shop", dallāf "water melon", dāxxan "smoke", fāllah "farmer", ʿaddad "blacksmith", ʿallab "milkman", ʿassan "barber", kaddab "liar", katān "linen", karrāč "leek", naqqas "coppersmith", nazzār "carpenter", qatāal "murderer", saḥḥar "magician", šaḥḥaḥ "shoe", šazzār "butcher" (< CA šazzār), ṭabbax "cook", xabbaz "baker", xaddār "greengrocer", xallāš "comb (with widely spaced teeth)", xannab "robber", zakkār "zakra player", zaḥḥar "party singer".

(ii) Gem.: ʿassas "guardsman", dallal "hawker", ḥammam "bath".

(iii) Iw: wakkal "glutton".

(iv) Iw: ʿawwad "lute player", ḥawwāč "fisherman", sawwāq "driver".

(v) Ily: baḥḥaḥ "vendor", saḥḥaḥ "jeweller", šaḥḥaḥ "hunter", xaḥḥaḥ "tailor".

(vi) Ily: baḥḥaḥ "weeping", baḥḥaḥ "mason", ḡaḥḥaḥ "singer", ʿallay "9th of Av (uncertain origin).

(β) Others: aḥḥax "vapour" (< CA buwāx), maḥḥal "luck" (< Heb. למזל), šabbāč "Sabbath" (< Heb. שבת).

(b) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>iC: baḥḥiḥ "melon", baḥḥim "tap" (cf. CA baḥḥim, ʿibzīm ?),<sup>117</sup> zalliz "tile" (cf. CA zullayḡ).

(c) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>uC: baḥḥuḥ "dumb", faḥḥuḥ "cock",<sup>118</sup> ḡaḥḥuḥ "(proper name)", kaḥḥuḥ "coat", kaḥḥun "cumin", qatḥḥuḥ "cats", saḥḥun "ladder", šaḥḥuḥ "Hebrew prayer book" (< Heb. סידור).

#### (2) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>vCa.

(a) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>aCa: To this pattern belong the following nouns.

(α) Nouns corresponding to CA CvC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>āCah.

(i) Str.: ʿannara "enclosure net", dabbana "fly", ḥazzara "riddle", maḡḡara "cave", šannaḥa "landing net", šabbaba "flute", xarraza "drain".

<sup>117</sup> Although *dabban* corresponds to CA *dibbān*, plural of *dubāb*, it is considered in TJ as a collective. The singular unit noun TJ *dabbana* is *dabbana* and pl. *dabbanač*.

<sup>118</sup> Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 291 assumes a Persian etymology انزن.

<sup>119</sup> Marçais & Guiga, *Takrouna II* vol. 6, p. 2912: *farriž*.

(ii) Gem.: ḥallala "rolling pin", maḥḥara "bile", šaqqāqa "money-box".

(iii) Iw: baḥḥala "urinal", (nēgra) zaḥḥala "cicada" (√z-w-y)<sup>119</sup>; Ily: xaḥḥaya "hide and seek" (CA √x-b-ʿ).

(β) Others: ḥarḥara "barrack, hut" (< It. *baracca*).

(b) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>iCa: saḥḥina "knife", ʿaggila "cane" (uncertain origin).

(c) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>uCa: baḥḥuna "breast", fāllusa "chick", kaḥḥuḥa "carriage" (< It. *carrozza*), qatḥḥuḥa "a female cat".

#### (3) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>vC<sub>3</sub>á (oxytone).

CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>aCá: saḥḥaná "danger" (< Heb. סכנה).

#### (4) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>vCi (nisbah of CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>vC) / CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>vCiya (f).

(a) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>aCi(ya): ʿawwadiya "(music) band", faḡḡagi "(name of a bird)", zaḥḥari "giant".

(b) CəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>uCi(ya): kaḥḥuniya "soup made with cumin", maḥḥuni(ya) "maroon" (< It. *marrone*).

### 2.3.3.3.7. Nouns on the basic pattern CCəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>a / CCəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>á

(1) CCəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>a: baḥḥa "green peas" (< It. *pisella*),<sup>120</sup> qmaḥḥa "shirt".<sup>121</sup>

(2) CCəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>á (oxytone): ḥnaḥḥá "Hanukkah" (< Heb. חנוכה).

### 2.3.3.4. Quadrilateral nouns.

#### 2.3.3.4.1. Nouns on the basic pattern CəCCəC (+ corresponding f. and nisbah)

##### (1) CəCCəC (CA CvCCvC).

(a) Str.: arḥab "rabbit", ʿarḥab "scorpion", ʿaḥḥar "army", baḥḥaq "pine kernel", baḡḡal "bulgur", faḥḥal "pepper", faḥḥaq "lodging", faḥḥaq "pistachio", kaḥḥam "turmeric", kaḥḥar "coriander", maḥḥar "marble (as material)", zaḥḥar "thyme".

(b) Iw (CuCəC < CA CūCiC or CaḥḥvC): ʿunās "Tunis", ruḥān "window", yuḥaf "Yūsuf", zuḥar "pearl" (< CA ḡawhar).

(2) CəCCəCa: ʿaḥḥa "the nape of the neck", faḥḥa "a pistachio", šaḥḥa "fodder", kaḥḥa "coriander", saḥḥa "necklace".

<sup>119</sup> Beausnier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 448 translates this root "crier".

<sup>121</sup> Almkvist, *Beiträge*, p. 368 and Völlers, *Beiträge*, p. 319.

<sup>122</sup> Almkvist, *Beiträge*, p. 351 and Völlers, *Beiträge*, p. 311.

(3) *CəCCCi* (*nisbah* of *CəCCəC*) / *CəCCCiya* (f.).

(a) Str.: *ʿaskri* "soldier", *bəršni* "kid".

(b) *Iw*: *CuCCi(ya)*: *čunsi(ya)* "Tunisian".

### 2.3.3.4.2. Nouns on the basic pattern *CəCCvC* (+ corresponding f. and *nisbah*)

(1) *CəCCvC*.

(a) *CəCCaC*: *ʿašbaḥ* "intestines stuffed with meat and vegetables", *bəsbas* "fennel", *ḥəqḥəq* "wooden sandals", *fəṭṭaṣ* "bald", *məržan* "coral", *məšraḥ* "intestines",<sup>122</sup> *nənaʿ* "mint", *rəmdan* "Ramadan", *sənfaz* "doughnut maker", *sərwal* "trousers", *šəlṭan* "sultan", *ṭəlyan* "Italian" (< It *italiano* or Fr. *italien*), *xəlxal* "anklet".

(b) *CəCCiC*: Nouns corresponding to CA *CvCCiC*: *məskin* "miserable", *ləṭṭrik* "electric" (< It. *elettrico*), *qəndil* "lamp", *ṭəṭṭrik* "woman's slipper".

(c) *CəCCuC*: *ʿərbun* "deposit, security", *ʿəšfur* "bird", *bəḥbuḥ* "open-handed", *bərguʿ* "flea", *bərnus* "hooded cloak", *bərsuq* "gratuity", *fəkrun* "tortoise", *məlyun* "million", *šənduq* "box", *šəlgum* "moustache" *ṭəṭṭuṣ* "fez" *xəlfun* "(proper name)".

(2) *CəCCvCa*.

(a) *CəCCaCa*: *sənfaza* "doughnut maker (f.)", *ṭəlyana* "Italian (f.)", *məržana* "(a piece of) coral".

(b) *CəCCiCa*: *bənzina* "petrol" (< It. *benzina*), *ḥəṭṭila* "European hat" (< It. *berrettella*),<sup>123</sup> *fəbrika* "factory" (< It. *fabbrica*).

(c) *CəCCuCa*: *čənčūša* "a little bit; a pinch of", *dərbuka* "drum", *gəržuma* "throat", *nəšnuša* "cute child", *šəkšuka* "(name of a dish)".

(3) *CəCCiCi* (*nisbah* of *CəCCiC*) / *CəCCiCiya*: Adjectives and substantives denoting human being (except for that which is intended to masculine) can take *ya* for the feminine form: *nəglizi(ya)* "English".

<sup>122</sup> Diachronically not quadriliteral; but with its plural *məšarən*, this word can be considered in TJ as a quadriliteral.

<sup>123</sup> In TM *buṭṭēla*, see Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 290. In TJ also *ḥəṭṭilla* with geminated *l* instead of long *i*. Singer, *Tunis*, p. 573 gives a parallel example *ḥəṭṭilla* with geminated *l*.

### 2.3.3.4.3. Nouns on the basic pattern *CCəCC* (+ corresponding f.)

(1) *CCəCC* (< CA *CvCvCC*, *vCCvCC*): *krəmb* "cabbages", *səfənz* "doughnuts" (< CA *vəsfunḡ*).

(2) *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>əC<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub>a* (< CA *CvCvCCah*, *vCCvCCah*): *krəmba* "a cabbage", *səfənza* "a doughnut".

### 2.3.3.5. Nouns with prefixes

#### 2.3.3.5.1. *m-*

The functions of the prefix *m-* are threefold: (1) prefix of *nomina loci*, *nomina temporis* or *nomina instrumenti*, (2) prefix of the verbal noun of Form III and (3) prefix for the participle of the derived verbs and for the passive participle of Form I. Beeston, *Arabic*, p. 35 says that in CA "many words which have the pattern of a participle contain highly specialized senses within their semantic spectrum, in addition to the fundamental value (of describing an entity about which the verb can be predicated and nothing more)". The same basically applies to TJ and in any Arabic dialect, and in the following are contained also words of the pattern of a participle which convey such specialized senses.

#### 2.3.3.5.1.1. Nouns on the basic pattern *məCCəC* (+ corresponding f.)

(1) *məCCəC*: To this pattern belong nouns corresponding CA *maCCvC*.

(a) Str.: *məgrəḥ* "time of sunset", *məḥməl* "carrying basket", *mənkəb* "elbow", *məqʿəd* "buttocks", *mərkəb* "ship", *məsləm* "Muslim", *məxzən* "warehouse", *məzləs* "council meeting", *məḥḥəq* "door to cellar".

(b) Gem. (= *mCəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>i</sub>*): *məqəšš* "scissors".

(c) *P* (= *maCəC*): *məžən* "cistern".

(d) *Iw* (= *muCəC*): *mudḥ* "place", *mudḥəq* "peg".

(e) *Iw*: *məzwəd* "provision bag".

(f) *Iw* + *IIIy*: *mula* "owner" (< CA *mawlā*).<sup>124</sup>

<sup>124</sup> *mula* indicates both m. and f. In the construct state the masculine has two variants *mula* (before a pron.suff., e.g. *mulak*) and *mul* (before a noun, e.g. *mul əḥuṣ* "the owner of the house"), and the feminine is *mulač-*, e.g. *mulači*, *mulat əḥuṣ* "the owner (f.) of the house".

- (2) *mCəCCa* (< CA *maCCvCah*, *miCCvCah*).  
 (a) Str.: *mğərfa* "spoon", *mħəkma* "law court", *mħərma* "handkerchief", *mkənsa* "broom", *mləhfa* "blanket", *msəlma* "Muslim (f.)".  
 (a') Str. (when  $C_3 = l$  or  $\text{'}\text{'}$ ) (see 1.4.2.2.(2g) and (2h)): *məškla* "problem", *mətbə'a* "printing house", *məzbla* "rubbish tip", *məzra* "slaughterhouse" (< CA *mağzarah*, see 1.3.2.5.(2) REMARK 2).  
 (b) *P* (= *maCCa*): *makla* "food" (< CA *ma'kulah*).  
 (c) Gem. (= *mCəC<sub>i</sub>C<sub>a</sub>*): *mħəbba* "affection".  
 (d) *IIIw* (= *məCCa*): *məxla* "nose bag".

### 2.3.3.5.1.2. Nouns on the basic pattern *məCCvC* (+ corresponding f.)

- (1) *məCCvC*.  
 (a) *məCCaC*.  
 (α) Str.: *məhrač* "plough", *mənqar* "beak", *mənqaš* "metal-carving", *məšmar* "nail", *mətrah* "place" (cf. CA *mātrāh*), *nəfcah* "key" (< CA *mifīāh*) (see 1.3.2.2.(1b)).  
 (β) *Iw* (= *miCaC*): *mizab* "gutter", *mizan* "weight".  
 (γ) *IIw<sub>y</sub>* (= *mCaC*): *mkan* "place", *mnam* "dream", *mdas* (~ *ndas*) "sandal" (see 1.3.2.1.1.3.(2)).  
 (b) *məCCuC* / *məCCuCa* (f.).

Nouns corresponding to CA *maCCūC*.

- (α) Str.: *məfun* "wicked", *məblul* "wet", *məfrum* "(name of a dish)", *məgbun* "deceived", *məhlul* "open minded", *məqrut* "(name of a sweet)", *məxluf* "astonished", *məlzum* "needy", *məqlub* "reversed", *məštur* "depressed", *məžgul* ~ *məšgul* "worried".  
 (β) *Ih* (= *maCuC*): *mabul* "mad" (< CA *mahbūl*).  
 (γ) *Ih* (= *məC(C)uC*, see 1.3.2.6.(2aδ)): *mə(q)qur* "gloomy, sad" (< CA *maqhūr*), *mə(ff)um* "understood" (< CA *mafhum*).  
 (δ) *IP* (= *mCuC*): *mšum* "miserable" (< CA *maš'ūm*).

(2) *məCCvCa*.

(a) *məCCaCa*.

- (α) *Ih* (= *maCaCa* < *məhCaCa*): *maraza* "mortar" (< CA *mihra's*).  
 (β) *IIw<sub>y</sub>* (= *mCaCa*): *mnara* "candelabrum", *mraya* "mirror" (see 1.3.2.7.(1b)).  
 (b) *məCCiCa*.  
*Ily* (= *mCiCa*): *m'iša* "livelihood", *mšiba* "disaster".

- (c) *məCCuCa* (feminine or unit noun of *məCCuC*).  
 (α) Str.: *məfuna* "wicked (f.)", *məblula* "wet (f.)", *məfruma* "a *məfrum*", *məgbuna* "deceived (f.)", *məhlula* "open (minded) (f.)", *məqruta* "a *məqrut*", *məxlifa* "astonished (f.)", *məlzuma* "needy (f.)", *məqluba* "reversed (f.)", *məštura* "depressed (f.)", *məžgula* ~ *məšgula* "worried (f.)".  
 (β) *Ih*: *mə(q)qura* "gloomy, sad (f.)", *mə(ff)uma* "understood (f.)".  
 (γ) *IIw*: *mčuma* "a kind of soup".

### REMARK

*mčuma* should be considered as formed *m-* + *čuma* "garlic", thus this may be classified here as *IIw*.

### 2.3.3.5.1.3. Nouns on the basic pattern *mCəCCəC* (+ corresponding f.)

*mCəCCəC* / *mCəCCCa* (f.): To this pattern belong nouns taking the form of participle of Form II and Q-Form I verbs.

- (1) Participle of Form II verbs.  
 (a) Str.: *m'əlləm* (f. *m'əllma*) "teacher; master", *mčəlləč* "triangle", *mčəqqəb* (n.u. *mčəqqba*) "matza", *mčəlləm* (f. *mčəllma*) "dark", *mčəddəs* (f. *mčəttisa*) "holy", *mčəttəš* "(name of a dish)".  
 (b) *IIw*: *mčəwwər* (f. *mčəwwra*) "round", *mčəddən* "muezzin, crowing (cock)".  
 (c) *Ily*: *mčəyyər* (f. *mčəyyra*) "depressed", *mšəyyər* "pickles".

(2) Participle of Q-Form I verb.

- (a) Str.: *mšəqšəq* (f. *mšəqšqa*) "crazy".  
 (b) *IIw* (= *mCuCəC*): *mšugər* (f. *mšugra*) "sure".

### 2.3.3.5.1.4. Other nouns with *m-*.

*mCaCCa* (the participle of Form III verb): *m'awna* "help".  
*mCaCCiya*: *mxałtiya* "harassment".  
*məstəCCəC* (the participle of Form X verb): *məstəqbəl* "future".

### 2.3.3.5.2. č-

The prefix č- serves to form a verbal noun of Form II (V) on the pattern *čəCCiC*, or that of Form III (VI) on the pattern *čəCaCiC* (see 2.2.1.1.3.). Some nouns of this





*kilo*), *ksəksu* "couscous" (< CA *kuskusū*), *mərkanči* "rich" (< It. *mercant*), *mirru* "dancing area" (uncertain origin), *mubilya* "furniture" (< It. *mobilia*), *maqarūna* "pasta" (< It. *maccheroni*), *muḍaara* "demonstration" (< CA *muḍāharah*) (see 1.3.4.3.), *numru* "number" (< It. *numero*), *rigalu* "gift" (< It. *regalo*), *sfənnariya* "carrot" (unknown etymology),<sup>129</sup> *sigaru* "cigarette" (< It. *sigaro*), *sbiričira* "Primus stove",<sup>130</sup> *šbāḥti* "shoemaker", *šbičal* "hospital" (< perhaps Sic. *spitali*),<sup>131</sup> *ṭmaṭam* "tomato", *ṭraḥlās* "Tripoli" (< CA *ṭarābulus*), *zlabya* "(name of a sweet)", *žalžlan* "sesame" (< CA *ḡulḡulān*, *ḡilḡilān*).

### 2.3.4. Internal plural patterns

In this section only the patterns of the internal plural will be treated. On the external plural, see above 2.3.2.2.1.

#### 2.3.4.1. Triliteral plural patterns

##### 2.3.4.1.1. Pl. pattern CCəC

The following singular patterns take CCəC (< CA CṽCṽC or CṽCC) as their plural pattern.

(1) Sg. CəCCa.

(a) Str.: *ʿlāb* "tins" (sg. *ʿalba*), *ʿlāq* "leeches" (sg. *ʿalqa*), *ʿrās* "olumn" (sg. *ʿarša*), *ʿrām* "piles" (sg. *ʿarṃa*), *blāḡ* "slippers" (sg. *bālḡa*), *qāšʿ* "bowls" (sg. *qāšʿa*), *znāq* "blind-alleys" (sg. *zanqa*).

(b) Gem.: *ḡlāl* "fruits" (sg. *ḡalla*).

(c) *Iw*: *ffət* "towels" (sg. *fiṭa*) (< \**fwət*), *šwāš* "fez tassels" (sg. *šuša*).

(2) Sg. CCiC: *qdām* "old" (sg. *qdim*), *ṭrāq* "roads" (sg. *ṭriq*), *ždād* "new" (sg. *ždid*).

(3) Sg. CCəC (for adjectives indicating colours or physical defects): *khəl* "black (pl.)" (sg. *khəl*), *zrāq* "blue (pl.)" (sg. *zraq*), *ʿwār* "one-eyed (pl.)" (sg. *ʿwār*).

The plural form and the singular form of these adjectives are incidentally identical (sg. < CA *ʿaCCaC*, pl. < CA *CuCC*).

<sup>129</sup> Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 302.

<sup>130</sup> There is no exact corresponding Italian noun. According to one of my informants, this word is an innovation of TJ.

<sup>131</sup> Aquilina, *Dictionary* vol. 2, p. 1354 and Borg, *Lexicon*, p. 138.

#### 2.3.4.1.2. Pl. pattern CəCCa

(1) Str.: *wəzra* "ministers" (sg. *wzir*) (< CA *wizarā*).

(2) Gem.: *ṭəḥḥa* "doctors" (sg. *ṭiḥ*) (< CA *ʿaṭibbā*).

(3) *Iw*: *muča* "dead persons" (sg. *məyyəč*) (< CA *mawtā*).

#### 2.3.4.1.3. Pl. pattern CCaC

(1) Sg. CəCC, CəCCa, CCəC or CṽC.

(a) Str.: *ʿras* "wedding feasts" (sg. *ʿars*), *fran* "ovens" (sg. *fərn*), *kʿab* "ankles" (sg. *kəʿba*), *kbaš* "sheep" (sg. *kəbš*), *znas* "kinds" (sg. *zəns*).

(b) Gem.: *ʿmam* "paternal uncles" (sg. *ʿamm*), *kmam* "sleeves" (sg. *kəmm*), *qfaj* "large baskets (CA *qufaf*)" (sg. *qəffa*).

(c) *Iw*: *wqāč* "times" (sg. *wəqč*).

(d) *Ily*: *ffam* "mouths" (< \**fwam* < *fmām*) (sg. *fəmm*), *lwan* "colours" (sg. *lun*), *mwas* "clasp knife" (sg. *mus*).

(e) *Ily*: *ʿyad* "fests" (sg. *ʿid*).

(2) Sg. CCiC.

(a) Str.: *kḥar* "big" (sg. *kḥir*), *mṛad* "sick" (sg. *mṛiḍ*), *qšar* "short" (sg. *qšir*), *sman* "fat" (sg. *smin*).

(b) Gem.: *ʿzaz* "beloved" (sg. *ʿziz*), *xfaf* "light" (sg. *xfif*).

(c) *Iw*: *ṭwal* "tall" (sg. *ṭwil*), *zḡar* "small" (sg. *zḡir*).

(3) Sg. CaCəC: *šḥab* "friends" (sg. *šəḥəb*).

#### 2.3.4.1.4. Pl. pattern CCaCa

*ʿqama* "barren" (sg. *ʿqim*), *ḥlawa* "sweets" (sg. *ḥəlwa*), *rwāma* "Christians" (sg. *rumi*), *šḥaya* "young girls" (sg. *šḥiya*).

#### 2.3.4.1.5. Pl. pattern CCaCi

*ksawi* "clothes" (sg. *kəswa*), *lyali* "nights" (sg. *lila*), *mṃali* "family, parents" (< \**mṃālī*),<sup>132</sup> *ṭwaši* "cups" (sg. *ṭaša*).

<sup>132</sup> Also in Takrouna "mṃālī" "proches parents". The singular *mula* is used in the meaning of "proprietor", see 2.3.3.3.1.(2c(ii)).

## 2.3.4.1.6. Pl. pattern CCiC

- (1) Sg. CəCC, CəCCa: 'bid "black servants" (sg. 'əbd), m'iz "she-goats" (sg. mə'za).  
 (2) Sg. CCaC: ħmir "donkeys" (sg. ħmar).

## 2.3.4.1.7. Pl. pattern CCuC, CCuCa

(1) Pl. CCuC.

Sg. CəCC, CCəC.

- (a) Str.: 'ruq "roots" (sg. 'ərq), druž "steps" (sg. dərža), flus "money (pl.)", kčuf "shoulders", (sg. kčəf), qlub "hearts; sunflower seeds" (sg. qəlb), qruš "piasters" (sg. qəš), tɾuf "pieces" (sg. tɾəf).  
 (b) Gem.: 'šuš "nests" (sg. 'əšš), bɾur "wildernesses" (sg. bəɾr), dmum "blood" (sg. dəmm) (see 2.3.3.2.), ħsus "voices" (sg. ħəss), kɾuɾ "male cats" (sg. gətt) (see 1.3.2.1.1.1.(2)), rfuf "shelves" (sg. rəff), štuɾ "coasts" (sg. šətt), ždud "grandfathers" (sg. žədd).  
 (c) Ily: byuč "rooms" (sg. bič), dyul "tails" (sg. dil), ryus "heads" (sg. raš), syuf "swords" (sg. sif), xyut "threads" (sg. xit).  
 (d) IIIh: š(š)ud "witnesses (< \*šhūd < CA šuhūd)" (sg. šəəd), š(š)ur "months (< \*šhūr < CA šuhūr)" (sg. šəɾr ~ ššəɾ) (see 1.3.2.6.(2aβ)).  
 (e) IIIh: wzu "faces (< \*wzūh)" (sg. wəžž ~ wza) (see 1.3.2.6.(1c)).

(2) Pl. CCuCa.

Sg. CəCC, CCəC: čruša "rocks in the sea" (sg. čəš), druša "molar teeth" (sg. dəɾš), fxuda "thighs" (sg. fəəd), ħbula "ropes" (sg. ħbəl), mšūta "combs" (sg. məšt), qruđa "monkeys" (sg. qərd), qžura "drawers" (sg. qžəɾ), žluda "skins" (sg. žəld), štuɾa "buckets" (sg. štəɾ), šbura "inches" (sg. šbəɾ), xšuma "noses" (sg. xšəm), žmula "camels" (sg. žməl).

## 2.3.4.1.8. Pl. pattern CəC;C;əC

Sg. CaCəC: šəmmə " (maid)servants (sg. šəmə); craftsmen (sg. šəmə)", xəddam "black maidservants" (sg. xədəm).

## REMARK

ɾəlləbə (with the ending -a) for pl. of ɾəlləb "begger".

## 2.3.4.1.9. Pl. pattern CaCuC

aləf "thousands" (sg. ələf).

## 2.3.4.1.10. Pl. pattern CCəCCa

ħšənnə "horses" (sg. ħšan).

## 2.3.4.2. Quadrilateral plural patterns.

In this section "Quadrilateral plural pattern" means any plural pattern formed with four consonants, irrespective of its morphological character. For example for the plural pattern C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub>əC<sub>4</sub>, C<sub>1</sub> may be the prefix m- as in mqaəd "buttocks" or C<sub>3</sub> may be an additional y as in tqayəq "minutes".

## 2.3.4.2.1. Pl. pattern CCaCəC

This pattern is the most frequently used in TJ. CCaCəC corresponds to CA CaCā-CiC or CaCāCīC (see 1.3.3.1.(1bβ)). But many CA plural nouns which have other patterns are integrated to this pattern.

(1) C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>əC<sub>3</sub>.

- (a) Sg. CəCCəC: fɾəɾəž "cocks" (sg. fəɾɾuž), kəbət "coat" (sg. kəbbət), šbət "shoes" (sg. šəbbət), šdədəɾ ~ ždədəɾ "Hebrew prayer books" (sg. šəddur) (see 1.3.2.1.1.1.(1)), šbətəč "Sabbaths" (sg. šəbbəč), xələš "combs (with widely spaced teeth)" (sg. xəlləš).  
 (b) Sg. CəCCəCa: bəzən "breasts" (sg. bəzzəna), bɾətə "European hats" (sg. bəttəla ~ bəttəllə), gəɾəm "throats" (sg. gəɾzəna), skəkən "knives" (sg. səkkəna), xɾəɾəž "drains" (sg. xərrəža).  
 (c) Sg. CaC: əžəžə "widows" (sg. m. žal, f. žala).

## REMARK

əžəžə: The present singular form is žal and žala (f.), which correspond to CA hağ-ğāl(ah). In the plural form the geminated ġ is retained. The long a in the first syllable of əžəžə is the substitution of the disappeared h (see 1.3.2.6.(4)).

(2) *CwaCəC*.

(a) Sg. *CaCəC*: *hwažəb* "eyebrows" (sg. *həžəb*), *kwağəq* "papers" (sg. *kağəq*), *lwaḥəṣ* "pencils" (sg. *lḥəṣ* < lt. *lapes*), *mmažən* "cisterns" (< \**mwāžən*) (sg. *mažən*), *swami* "names" (sg. *sami*), *šwarə* "streets" (sg. *šarə*), *žwamə* "mosques" (sg. *žamə*).

(b) Sg. *CuCaC*: *ḥḥaqəl* "jugs" (< \**bwāqəl*) (sg. *buqəl*), *dwaləb* "closets" (sg. *duləb*).

(c) Sg. *CiCuC*: *qwaṭən* "tents" (sg. *qitən*).

(d) Sg. *CCəC*: *šwabə* "fingers" (sg. *šḥə*).

(e) Sg. *CiCaCu*: *swagər* "cigarettes" (sg. *sigarū*).

(3) *CwaCi*.

(a) Sg. *CaCCa*: *awaši* "animals" (sg. *ayša*).

(b) Sg. *CaCiya*: *ṭwaqi* "caps" (sg. *ṭaqiya*).

#### REMARK

*awaši*: The long *a* in the first syllable of is the substitution of the disappeared *h* (< \**hwāši*) (see 1.3.2.6.(4)).

(4) *CCayəC*.

(a) Sg. *CəCCa*: *qḥayəs* "socks" (sg. *qəḥsa*), *ṭkayəb* "knees" (sg. *ṭəkḥa*), *šmayə* "minarets" (sg. *šamə*) (see 2.3.3.3.1.(2a)), *šfayər* "trays" (sg. *šafra*), *šfayəf* "lips of an animal" (sg. *šəffa*), *xnayəb* "thefts" (sg. *xəmba*), *žmayə* "weeks" (sg. *žamə*).

(b) Sg. *CaCa*: *ḥwayəž* "clothes; things" (sg. *ḥəža*).

(c) Sg. *CCaCa*: *škayər* "sack" (sg. *škara*), *xrayəf* "fairy tales" (sg. *xrafa*).

(d) Sg. *CCuCa*: *zayəz* "old women" (sg. *zuzə*).

(e) Sg. *CCiC*: *rayəs* "bridegrooms" (sg. *ris*).

(f) Sg. *CCiCa*: *ṭqayəq* "minutes" (sg. *ṭqiqə*), *ṭḥayəx* "foods" (sg. *ṭḥixə*).

(5) *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub>əC<sub>4</sub>*.

(a) Sg. *CəCCəC*: *aranəb* "rabbits" (sg. *ərnəb*) (see 1.3.2.7.(2a)), *mnaḥəb* "elbows" (sg. *mənḥəb*), *mqaəd* "buttocks" (sg. *məqəd*), *mxazən* "warehouses" (sg. *məxzən*), *mzawəd* "provision bags" (sg. *məzwəd*).

(b) Sg. *CəCCCa*: *naḥəq* "napes of the neck" (sg. *əmfqa*), *snasəl* "necklaces" (sg. *sənslə*).

(c) Sg. *CCəCCa*: *mğarəf* "spoon" (sg. *mğərfə*), *mləḥəf* "blankets" (sg. *mləḥfə*), *qmayəž* "shirts" (sg. *qməžžə*).

(d) Sg. *CəCCaC*: *mnaḥər* "nostrils" (sg. is not attested, cf. CA *minxār*), *mḥaqər* "beaks" (sg. *mənqər*), *mnaqəš* "metal-carvings" (sg. *mənqəš*), *mšamər* "nails" (sg. *məšmar*), *nfačəḥ* "keys" (sg. *nəfcaḥ*), *mšarən* "intestines" (sg. *məšran*).

(e) Sg. *CəCCvC*: *šafər* "birds" (sg. *əšfir*), *branəs* "hooded cloaks" (sg. *bərnus*), *mqaḥəq* (see 1.3.2.2.(5a)) "wooden sandals" (sg. *ḥəqḥaq*), *mlyən* "millions" (sg. *məlyən*), *qnadəl* "lamps" (sg. *qəndil*), *srawəl* "trousers" (sg. *sərwəl*), *ṭralək* "woman's slippers" (sg. *ṭərlək*).

(f) Others: *grabəž* "eating utensils, old tableware" (sg. not attested), *kṭarəb* "cars" (sg. *karaba*) (see 1.3.2.6.(3a)).

#### 2.3.4.2.2. Pl. pattern *CCaCCa*

Following are plural nouns on the pattern *CCaCCa*. This pattern is applied mainly to *nisbah* nouns denoting one who comes from a place.

*čwansa* "Tunisians" (sg. *čunsi*), *mšawra* "Egyptians" (sg. *məšri*), *ṭlayna* "Italians" (sg. *ṭalyan*), *čwažra* "ones from Tajura" (sg. *čəžuri*), *ṭwama* "Christians" (sg. *rumi*).

#### 2.3.4.2.3. Pl. pattern *CCaCiC*

One noun on the pattern *CCaCiC* (< CA *CaCəCīC*) is attested.  
*msakin* "miserable" (sg. *maskin*).

#### 2.3.4.3. Pl. pattern with suffix *-an* (*CəCCan*)

The following singular patterns take a plural pattern ending with *-an*.

(1) Sg. *CCvC* (str.): *əmdan* "handles of a mortar" (sg. *əmd*), *bəldan* "towns" (sg. *blad*), *xərfan* "lambs" (sg. *xruf*).

(2) Sg. *CvC* (*IIw-y*): *ḥiṭan* "armpit" (sg. *ḥat*), *firan* "mice" (sg. *far*), *ḥiṭan* "walls" (sg. *hit*), *kisan* "glasses" (sg. *kas*), *žiran* "neighbours" (sg. *žar*).

(3) Sg. *CCv* (*IIIw-y*): *əbyan* "mantle" (sg. *əba*), *əədwan* "enemies" (sg. *əd*), *əšyan* "sticks" (sg. *ša*), *bəryan* "needles" (also pl. *ḥrawač*: sg. *ḥra*), *rəḥyan* "mortars" (sg. *rḥa*), *žədwan* "he-goats" (sg. *ždu*).

## 2.3.5. Diminutive

## 2.3.5.1. Triliteral diminutive forms

(1) Strong root, gem. root, 1st / 2nd radical weak root.

The basic diminutive pattern of CA *CuCaγC* for masculine nouns is absent in TJ, and as in many modern dialects, *CCaγγaC* with a geminated *γ* is used. The feminine and the plural of *CCaγγaC* are *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>iCa* and *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>iCač* respectively where *aγγ* are reflected as simple *i*. For example *klāyyāb* "a small dog (m.)" : *kliba* (f.) : *klibač* (pl.). From this fact we can assume that *CCiCa* and *CCiCač* would correspond to CA *CuCaγCah* and *CuCaγbāt* respectively. Note that the pl. of *CCiCa* (f.) is also *CCiCač*.

(a) *CCaγγaC* (pl. *CCiCač*): *šāyyāš* "nest" (< *šāšš*), *ffāyyām* "mouth" (< *\*fwāyyām*) (< *fāmm*), *hnāyyāš* "snake" (< *hnāš*), *hwāyyāš* "house" (< *huš*), *klāyyāb* "dog" (< *kālb*), *lsāyyān* "tongue" (< *lsan*), *rqāyyāb* "neck" (< *rāqba*), *snāyyān* "tooth" (< *sānn*), *šbāyyāš* "finger" (< *šbāš*), *trāyyāf* "piece" (< *tārf*), *whāyyād* "one" (< *wahād*), *wlāyyād* "boy" (< *wāld*), *zǧāyyār* "child" (< *zǧir*), *žnāyyāh* "wing" (< *žnāh*).

(b) *CCiCa* (pl. *CCiCač*): *bniča* "daughter" (< *bānč*),<sup>133</sup> *mmima* (< *\*wmima*) "mother" (< *amm*), *wdina* "ear" (< *wdān*), *whida* "one" (< *wahād*), *qiwa* "coffee" (< *\*qhīwa*) (< *qawa*), *žmī'a* "week" (< *žām'a*).

(2) *Illy* root.

The diphthong of the masculine form is preserved also in the feminine and the plural.

(a) *CCaγγ* (pl. *CCaγγač*): *wxāyy* "brother" (pl. *wxāyyač*) (< *xu*), *wbāyy* "father" (pl. *wbāyyač*) (< *bu*), *zdaγγ* "small goat".

(b) *CCaγya* (pl. *CCaγyač*): *wxāyya* "sister" (pl. *wxāyyač*) (< *axč*), *šbāyya* "small woollen wrap" (pl. *šbāyyač*) (< *ba*), *šwāyya* "a little" (pl. is not used) (< *šāyy* "(no)thing").

(c) *Cāyya*: *māyya* "water" (pl. is not used) (< *ma*).

<sup>133</sup> In TJ only *bniča* is attested for the diminutive of *bānč*, but in TM only *bneija* is attested, whilst in Tunis-Jewish both *bniča* and *bnāyyā* exist (Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 183). Also in *Ūlād-əl-ħāžž d-əl-wād: bnī(y)ta* (Caubet, *Marocain* vol. 1, p. 135), Sefrou-Jewish (Stillman, *Sefrou*, p. 121): *bnija*. In Tunis-Muslim: *bnāyyā*.

## 2.3.5.2. Quadrilateral diminutive forms

(1) *CCiCəC* (pl. *CCiCCač*): *šifār* "bird" (< *šāšfur*).

(2) *CCiCCa* (pl. *CCiCCač*): *bzizna* "breast" (< *bāzzuna*).

(3) Others:

(a) *CCiCiya*: *šbībiya* "girl of 12, 13 years old" (< *šbīya*).

(b) *CCiCun*: *zǧirun* in *zǧāyyār buzǧirun* "the little finger".<sup>134</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, p. 496. In Takrouna: *šagrūni*.

## 2.4. Numerals

### 2.4.1. Cardinal numbers

#### 2.4.1.1. One

m. *wahəd*, f. *wəhda*.

The numeral for "one" is an adjective thus is put after a singular noun.

*wəld wahəd* "a boy", *bənč wəhda* "a girl", *‘əndəm bič wəhda* "they have a room"

For the usage of *wahəd* as an indefinite pronoun, see 2.1.9.

#### 2.4.1.2. Two

*tnin*, *zuz*

(1) *tnin* is used when no counted noun follows. Nevertheless, for numerals of more than a hundred, *tnin* does precede the counted noun, e.g. *miya w tnin klab* "a hundred and two dogs", *aləfu tnin klab* "a thousand and two dogs".

(2) *zuz* is used:

(a) when "two" precedes the counted noun, which appears in the plural, e.g. *zuz əbnač* "two girls", *zuz əkɾaəb* "two cars", *zuz həbuɾač* "two ships". In cases where the counted number is obvious, it may be omitted and *zuz* is used alone, e.g. *qəddaš qməžža šrič?* - *zuz* "how many shirts did you buy?" - "Two".

(b) before a preposition, e.g. *zuz mənnəm* "two of them", *zuz fəlxəmsa* "two in five = 2/5" (see 2.4.3. below).

Duality is usually expressed by the dual alone when the noun in question possesses a dual (not pseudo-dual!) form. The real dual noun cannot be preceded by *zuz* (see 2.3.2.2.1.2.(1)).

*naɾin* "two days" (\**zuz naɾin*), *‘amin* "two years" (\**zuz ‘amin*) etc.

The pseudo-dual noun behaves like a plural, therefore is preceded by *zuz* as other nouns in order to express duality.<sup>135</sup>

*zuz saqin* "two legs", *zuz wədnin* "two ears".

#### REMARK

Zero is expressed by *ziɾu* (< It. *zero*).

<sup>135</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, p.608.

#### 2.4.1.3. Three to ten

	1st series	2nd series
3	<i>tlača</i>	<i>čələč / tlač</i>
4	<i>ɾəbča</i>	<i>ɾəbč / ɾəbč<sup>136</sup></i>
5	<i>xəmsa</i>	<i>xəms</i>
6	<i>sətča</i>	<i>sətč</i>
7	<i>səbča</i>	<i>səbč / sbəč</i>
8	<i>čmənyə<sup>137</sup></i>	<i>čəmn</i>
9	<i>ɾəšča</i>	<i>ɾəšč / ɾəšč</i>
10	<i>‘əšɾa</i>	<i>‘əšɾ</i>

The counted number appears in the plural.

*tlača bnač* "three girls", *ɾəbča wlad* "four boys", *xəmsa hyač* "five houses".

The use of the 1st and the 2nd series. In other Maghribi dialects a parallel series to TJ 2nd series is in combination with a following noun, i.e. in the construct state. In TJ, except in the following cases,<sup>138</sup> the 1st and the 2nd series are freely alternative.

(1) The 1st series is used

(a) in serial counting: *wahəd*, *tnin*, *tlača*, *ɾəbča*, *xəmsa*...

(b) before a loan-word beginning with a long vowel: *tlača uɾiɾač* "three hotels".

(c) in the combination of the units and the tens, e.g. *tlača w ‘əšɾin* "twenty-three" (see 2.4.1.5.).

(2) The 2nd series is used before *miya* "hundred" (see below): *tlač miya* "three hundred", *čəmn miya* "eight hundred", and *alaf* "thousands": *tlač alaf* "three thousand", *čəmn alaf* "eight thousand" (for "eight thousand" also an abbreviated form *čmənyə* *čəmn alaf* "eight thousand" (for "eight thousand" also an abbreviated form *čmənyə* may be used: *čmənyə alaf*, see 2.4.1.7. below). In other cases: *tlača ~ tlač ~ čələč* *məɾɾač* "three times", *ɾəbča ~ ɾəbč* *naɾač* "four days", *xəmsa ~ xəms* *biban* "five doors", *səbča kɾuɾ ~ səbč* (*ə*)*kɾuɾ* "six male cats", *čmənyə ~ čəmn* *məɾɾač* "eight times", *ɾəšč ~ ɾəšč* *əbbač* "nine fathers".

<sup>135</sup> In many sedentary Maghribi dialects "four" is on the pattern CɪCCA: Algiers-Jewish *ɾəbča*, Cherchell *ɾəbča*, Djidjelli *ɾəbča*, Tlemcen *reβa*, Ūlād-əl-ħažž d-əl-wād *ɾəbča* (but Maltese *erbgha*, Tunis-Muslim *aɾβa*, Tunis-Jewish *aɾβa*).

<sup>136</sup> In many sedentary Maghribi dialects the long vowel of CA *tamāniya* is realized as short: Tunis-Jewish *tmənyə*, Algiers-Jewish *tmənyə*, Cherchell, *tmənyə*, Djidjelli *tmənyə*, Tlemcen *tmənyə*, Ūlād-əl-ħažž d-əl-wād *tmənyə* (but Maltese *tmienja*, Tunis-Muslim *tmənyə*).

<sup>137</sup> Marçais, *PDjidjelli*, p. 425 and Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 158 ff.

## REMARK

Nouns beginning with *wC*, *yC* are altered into *uC*, *iC* respectively after the 2nd series (see 1.4.1.3.), e.g. *tlaċa wlad* ~ *tlaċ ulad* ~ *ċalċ ulad* "three boys", *satċa yċama* ~ *satċ iċama* "six orphans". And when such nouns or a noun beginning with *a-* take the 2nd series, for 4, 7 and 9, *rħə*, *sbə*, *ʃə* are exclusively used, e.g. *ʃə aranəb* (\**ʃəʃ aranəb*) "nine rabbits", *rħə ulad* (\**rħə ulad*) "four boys", *sbə iċama* (\**səb iċama*) "seven orphans" (also with 1st series *ʃəʃa aranəb*, *rħəa wlad*, *səbəa yċama* etc.).

## 2.4.1.4. Eleven to nineteen

	1st series	2nd series
11	<i>ħdaš</i>	<i>ħdaš (ə)l-</i>
12	<i>ʃnaš</i>	<i>ʃnaš (ə)l-</i>
13	<i>ʃləʃtaš</i>	<i>ʃləʃtaš (ə)l-</i>
14	<i>rħəʃtaš</i>	<i>rħəʃtaš (ə)l-</i>
15	<i>xəməʃtaš</i>	<i>xəməʃtaš (ə)l-</i>
16	<i>ʃəʃtaš</i>	<i>ʃəʃtaš (ə)l-</i>
17	<i>ʃħəʃtaš</i>	<i>ʃħəʃtaš (ə)l-</i>
18	<i>ċməʃtaš</i>	<i>ċməʃtaš (ə)l-</i>
19	<i>ʃəʃtaš</i>	<i>ʃəʃtaš (ə)l-</i>

The 1st series is used independently. The 2nd series is used with a following counted noun, which appear in the singular. Between the numerals and the counted noun (ə)l- is inserted.<sup>139</sup> When the counted noun begins with one of *t*, *ʃ*, *d*, *ċ*, *s*, *z*, *z*, *l*, *l*, *n*, *n*, *r* or *r*, *l* of əl- is totally assimilated to it, i.e. *l* behaves just like the definite article.

*ħdaš əʃtaša* "eleven cups", *ʃnaš əʃraʒəl* "twelve men", *ʃləʃtaš əddəħya* "thirteen eggs", *rħəʃtaš əssəzra* "fourteen trees" etc.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>139</sup> This auxiliary consonant *l* (< \*r of the numeral  $\sqrt{C-S-R}$ ) between 11 to 19 is attested also in TM, Maltese, Tlemcen and Moroccan cities, see Stumme, *Tripoli*, pp. 274-275, where the author consider *l* as the definite article, Aquilina, *Maltese*, p. 119 and Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 160. Both Marçais and Aquilina state that this *l* is not the definite article. In Tunis-Muslim, Tunis-Jewish and village dialects of Tell of Oran *n* is used instead of TJ *l*, see Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 232. Singer, *Tunis*, pp. 612-614 and Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 160. Besides in south Oran and Hassāniya *r* is used, see Marçais *ibid.* and Cohen, *Hassaniya*, p. 169.

<sup>140</sup> See Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 159.

ə before *l-* should be considered as an auxiliary vowel (see 1.4.1.2.), thus in situations where the auxiliary vowel is not required, ə before *l* does not appear.

*ħdaš lələf* "eleven thousand", *ʃnaš luzir* "twelve ministers", *ʃləʃtaš lərnəb* "thirteen rabbits".

## 2.4.1.5. Twenty to ninety-nine

20	<i>ʃəšrin</i>	30	<i>tlaċin</i>
21	<i>wahd u ʃəšrin</i>	40	<i>rħəʃin</i>
22	<i>tnin u ʃəšrin</i>	50	<i>xəmsin</i>
23	<i>tlaċa w ʃəšrin</i>	60	<i>sətċin</i>
24	<i>rħəʃa w ʃəšrin</i>	70	<i>sbəʃin</i>
25	<i>xəmsa w ʃəšrin</i>	80	<i>ċmanin</i>
26	<i>sətċa w ʃəšrin</i>	90	<i>ʃəʃin</i>
27	<i>səbəa w ʃəšrin</i>		
28	<i>ċmənya w ʃəšrin</i>		
29	<i>ʃəʃa w ʃəšrin</i>		

The counted noun appears in the singular, e.g. *ʃəšrin tqiqa* "twenty minutes", *sətċa w sətċin raʒəl* "sixty-six men".

## REMARK

1. Whilst *ċmənya* contains a short ə, *ċmanin* has a long a.
2. On ə in an open syllable in *rħəʃin*, *sbəʃin* and *ʃəʃin*, see 1.4.2.4.2.2.

## 2.4.1.6. Hundreds

100	<i>miya / miċ-</i> (st.cstr.)	200	<i>miyċin</i>
101	<i>miya w wahəd</i>	300	<i>ċalċ miya</i>
102	<i>miya w tnin</i>	400	<i>rħəʃ miya</i>
103	<i>miya w tlaċa</i>	500	<i>xəms miya</i>
110	<i>miya w ʃəʃra</i>	600	<i>sətċ miya</i>
111	<i>miya w ħdaš</i>	700	<i>sbəʃ miya</i>
120	<i>miya w ʃəšrin</i>	800	<i>ċəmn miya</i>
		900	<i>ʃəʃ miya</i>

*mič-* is used with a following counted noun. The counted noun appears in the singular, e.g. *mič kəlb* "a hundred dogs", *mič bənc* "a hundred girl", *miyčün kəlb* "two hundred dogs", *tlač mič huš* "three hundred houses", *čəmn əmič tɾabəlsi* "eight hundred Tripolitanians".

For the construct state of *miya*, \**miyəč-* is expected (parallel to *niyəč-* "intention"), but in fact only *mič-* occurs.

#### 2.4.1.7. Thousands and above

1,000	<i>aləf</i> <sup>141</sup>	10,000	ʿəšr <i>aləf</i>
2,000	<i>alfin</i>	11,000	<i>ħadaš laləf</i>
3,000	<i>tlač aləf</i> ~ <i>čəlč aləf</i>	100,000	<i>mič aləf</i>
4,000	<i>rħəš aləf</i>	1,000,000	<i>məlyun</i>
5,000	<i>xəms aləf</i>	2,000,000	<i>zuz əmlayən</i>
6,000	<i>sətč aləf</i>		
7,000	<i>sbəš aləf</i>		
8,000	<i>čməny aləf</i> ~ <i>čəmn aləf</i>		
9,000	<i>ʔšəš aləf</i>		

The counted number appears in the singular, e.g. *aləf kəlb* "a thousand dogs", *alfin bənc* "two thousand girls", *tlač aləf wəld* "three thousand boys".

#### REMARK

1. As stated above, the counted noun after the numerals from two to ten appears in the plural. This applies even when these numerals are combined with hundred(s) or thousand(s): *miya w waħəd kəlb* "a hundred and one dogs", *miyčün u tɾin klab* "two hundred and two dogs", *alfin w tlača klab* "a thousand and three dogs" (cf. *aləf w xəmsətašəl kəlb* "a thousand and fifteen dogs", *alfin w ʿəšrin kəlb* "two thousands and twenty dogs").

2. On the agreement of adjectives modifying the counted number, see 3.1.

<sup>141</sup> In many sedentary Maghribi dialects "thousand" is similar to TJ *aləf*, e.g. Algiers-Jewish *āləf*, Djidjelli *āləf*, Tlemcen *āləf*, Cherchell *āləf*, Ūlād-əl-ħažž d-əlwād *āləf* (but Maltese *elf*, Tunis-Muslim *ālf*, Tunis-Jewish *ālf*).

#### 2.4.1.8. Definite forms

When the counted noun is definite, the definite article is attached to the numeral.

*bəʿd li ykəmmhu ləmsa sətča snin* "after they finish the five or six years (of school)", *aḍuk əzzuz zğar kəħru* "those two boys grew", *fəttəšə w xəmsin* "in the year 1956", *amča črəddəmli aḍuk laləf frənk?* "when will you give back those thousand francs?", *win əmħma aḍuk lmiyčün džaža?* "where are those two hundred chickens?".

#### 2.4.2. Ordinal numbers

	M.sg.	F.sg.	Pl.
1	<i>əwwəl</i>	<i>əwwla</i>	<i>əwwlin</i>
2	<i>čani</i>	<i>čanya</i>	<i>čanyin</i>
3	<i>čaləč</i>	<i>čalča</i>	∅
4	<i>rəbəš</i>	<i>rəbəša</i>	∅
5	<i>xaməs</i>	<i>xamsa</i>	∅
6	<i>sačəč</i>	<i>sətča</i>	∅
7	<i>sabəš</i>	<i>sabəša</i>	∅
8	<i>čamən</i>	<i>čamna</i>	∅
9	<i>ʔašəš</i>	<i>ʔašəša</i>	∅
10	ʿəšər	ʿəšra	∅
11	<i>ħadaš</i>	<i>ħatša</i>	∅
12	<i>ʔanəš</i>	<i>ʔanša</i>	∅
13		<i>ʔləttəš</i>	∅

(1) From "second" to "twelfth" the ordinal number is formed following the pattern *CaCəC* (f. *CaCCa*).<sup>142</sup>

(2) *əwwlin* is used to modify a plural noun, e.g. *əssətča snin ləwwlin* "the first six years".

(3) *čani* means also "other", e.g. *šrič karəba čanya* "I bought another car", *ənnas ətčanyin* "other people", *ʿəmma xəms ətqayəq čanyin* "we have still five minutes".<sup>143</sup>

(4) The plural form is attested only for "first" and "second".

<sup>142</sup> "Eleventh" and "twelfth" on the pattern of *CaCəC* are attested also in TM, Tunis-Jewish, and in Tlemcen, Saida, Algiers-Jewish only "eleventh" is on this pattern.

<sup>143</sup> Blau, *Diqduq*, p. 114.

(5) "Sixth" *sačəč* by analogy with the cardinal number *sətčə*.<sup>144</sup>

(6) Above "thirteenth", the ordinal is expressed by the cardinal number with the definite article.

### 2.4.3. Fractions

1/2	<i>nəfš</i>
1/3	<i>čəlč</i>
2/3	<i>čəlč'in</i> (du. of <i>čəlč</i> )
1/4	<i>rḥəš</i>
3/4	<i>ilača rḥifəč</i> ( <i>rḥifəč</i> = pl. of <i>rḥəš'a</i> )
1/5	<i>xməš</i>

Fractions above 1/5 are not attested. Instead an expression as *wahəd fəssətčə* "one in six" etc. is used.

### 2.4.4. Telling the time and one's age

#### 2.4.4.1. Time

1:00	<i>sč'a wahəd</i>
2:00	<i>sč'a t'nin</i>
3:00	<i>sč'a tlača</i>
12:00	<i>sč'a tnaš</i>
1:05	<i>sč'a wahəd u xəmsa tqayəq</i>
1:10	<i>sč'a wahəd u čəšra tqayəq</i>
1:15	<i>sč'a wahəd u rḥəš</i>
1:20	<i>sč'a wahəd u čəšrin tqiqa</i>
1:30	<i>sč'a wahəd u nəšf</i>
1:45	<i>sč'a t'nin gir rḥəš</i>

*rəmša* (du. *rəmščin*, pl. *rəmšəč*) "second".

*tqiqa* (du. *tqiččin*, pl. *tqayəq*) "minute".

*sč'a* (du. *sč'čin*, pl. *sč'ač*) "hour".

<sup>144</sup> "Sixth" on the root  $\sqrt{s-t-t}$  is attested in: TM *sāt* (m.), *sāta* (f.), Tunis-Jewish *šātət* (m.), (f.) *šāt(ə)ta*, Hassaniya *sāit* (m.), *sāita* (f.), Cherchell (m.) *sātef*, (f.) *sāta*, Algiers-Jewish (m.) *sātət*, (f.) *sāt(ə)ta* and Tlemcen (m.) *sātef* (also *sāt*, *sādeḥ*), *sāta* (f.). Also in Tunis-Muslim *sātef* was used but nowadays rather *sādes* (Singer, *Tunis*, p. 617).

### 2.4.4.2. Age

To indicate the age both *č'am* and *sna* (pl. *snin*) can be put after the number. But for 1 year old and 2 years old, *č'am*, *č'amin* are exclusively used.

(1) *č'amr-*: *č'amri tlač'in sna ~ č'am* "I am thirty years old", *wəldi č'amru č'amin* "my son is two years old".

(2) *bu* (only for 1 year and 2 years) irrespective of the gender: *wəldi bu č'am* "my son is one year old", *č'andi bənč bu č'amin* "I have a daughter of two years old".

(3) *fi-*: *rkəbč lə'ārēts, kənč fiya čəšrin č'am* "I immigrated to Israel, (when) I was twenty years old", *kənnə zğar, fina səb'a č'mənya təš'a snin* "we were children of seven, eight or nine years old".

### 2.4.5. Days of the week

	Sg.	Pl.
Sunday	<i>naṛ əlhədd</i> (m.)	<i>naṛəč hədd</i>
Monday	<i>naṛ ətnin</i> (m.)	<i>naṛat t'nin</i>
Tuesday	<i>naṛ ətlač</i> (m.)	<i>naṛat tlač</i>
Wednesday	<i>naṛ lərb'a</i> <sup>145</sup> (f.)	<i>naṛat lərb'a</i>
Thursday	<i>naṛ əlxmis</i> (m.)	<i>naṛat əlxmis</i>
Friday	<i>naṛ əžžəm'a</i> (f.)	<i>naṛat əžžəm'a</i>
Saturday	<i>(naṛ) šəbbač</i> (m.)	<i>naṛat šəbbač ~ šbabəč</i>

The gender of each day of the week is decided according to its ending; when the word ends with *-a*, it is feminine.

*naṛ əlxmis əžžay* "next Thursday", *naṛ lərb'a žžaya* "next Wednesday".

<sup>145</sup> Without emphasis, cf. Tunis-Muslim *ar'b'a* "four": *nhār-ir'b'a ~ nhār-lir'b'a*. Singer, *Tunis*, p. 620.



## 2.5. Prepositions

Prepositions stand before a noun or are combined with a pronoun suffix. In the following the prepositions are ordered alphabetically in three sections; (1) monoliteral prepositions, (2) prepositions consisting of one word, (3) compound prepositions. Forms combined with a pronoun suffix (if possible at all) are put immediately after the entry in parentheses in the following order: 3.sg.m., 3.sg.f., 2.sg., 1.sg.; 3.pl., 2.pl., 1.pl.

In attaching the prepositions *b-*, *f-*, *l-*, *'la-* and *mən-* to a noun, there may be taken some phonological measures concerning syllable structure, according to the phonetic shape of the following noun. The combination of these prepositions with the definite article shows a particular morphophonological behaviour, thus for the explanation of these measures, we use a symbol *L* for the definite article (see also 1.4.1.2.(3)).

### 2.5.1. Monoliteral prepositions

(1) *b-*, *bi-* (exclusively with pronoun suffix) "with, by, in (a language) etc." (*bi*, *bia*, *bik*, *biya*; *bi(ə)m*, *bikəm*, *bina*).

*b-* may be emphasized in the proximity of an emphatic consonant (see 1.3.2.1.1.2.): *bəttəlyan* "in Italian" (*b* + *əttəlyan*), *btažin* "with a pot" (*b* + *tažin*).

(a) Combination with a noun.

(α) In the combination of *b-* + *LəC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V-*, when *C<sub>1</sub>* and *C<sub>2</sub>* are identical, or *C<sub>1</sub>* is *ʕ*: *b-* + *LəC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V-* is realized as *bəLLəCCV-* ~ *bLəCCV-* (free variants):

*b-* + *ləxxəʔ həbūr* > *bləxxəʔ həbūr* ~ *bəlləxxəʔ həbūr* "by the last ship", *b-* + *ləʕyad* > *bləʕyad* ~ *bəlləʕyad* "by the festivals".

In other cases *b-* + *LəC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V-* > *bLəC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V-*:

*b-* + *ləqməžža* > *bləqməžža* ~ *bələqməžža* "with the shirt", *b-* + *ləkʕaəb* > *bləkʕaəb* ~ *bəlkʕaəb* "with the cars".

(β) In other cases *b-* is immediately attached to the noun (an auxiliary vowel may be inserted after *b-* according to the syllable structure of the following word, see 1.4.1.2.(3)).

(b) Examples: *baš ʕqəšš əllhəm? nqəššu bəssəkkina* "what do you cut the meat with? - I cut it with the knife", *bəsslama* "good-bye (= with peace)", *sfənza bəddəhya*, *sfənza bgir dəhya* "doughnut with egg, doughnut without egg", *yəbniwi bəlxəmra* "they build it with clay", *šai bəlluz* "almond tea", *kənnə nəmšiw bəsrəwəl qšar* "we used to go with short trousers", *huš məbniya bəlluḥ* "a house built of wood", *yədəwi bəʕəʕbi* "he speaks in Arabic", *yəšriw bəkiluwač* "they buy by kilograms", *bqəddaš šrič əlqməžža adi?* "what did you pay for this shirt?" (lit. for how much did you buy this shirt?).

(2) *l-* "to, for" (*lu*, *la*, *lək*, *li*; *ləm*, *lkəm*, *nna*).

Forms with pronoun suffixes are exclusively used as enclitic dative markers (see 2.1.1.3).

*l* may be *l* in the proximity of an emphatic consonant (see 1.3.2.1.1.2.).

(a) Combination with a noun.

(α) In the following cases, syllable alteration takes place.

(i) *l-* + *LəC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V-* > *ləLCCV-* ~ *lLəCCV-*: *l-* + *ləbnač* > *ləlbnač* ~ *lləbnač* "to the girls", *l-* + *ləqtəʔəš* > *ləlqtəʔəš* ~ *lləqtəʔəš* "to the cats", *l-* + *ləkklab* > *ləkklab* ~ *lləkklab* "to the dogs".

In the case of *ləLC(C)V-*, haplology (see 1.3.2.2.(4b)) may occur and *ləLC(C)V-* is substituted by *LC(C)V-*:

*ləlqməžža* ~ *lqməžža* "for the shirt", *ləlhuš* ~ *lhuš* "to the house".

(ii) *l-* + *LvC-* > *ləLLvC-*.

*ləlluzir* "to the minister" (< *luzir*), *ləllimin* "to the right" (< *limin*).

(β) In other cases *l-* is immediately attached to the noun (an auxiliary vowel may be inserted after *l-* according to the syllable structure of the following word, see 1.4.1.2.(3)).

(b) Examples: *mšaw lfəʕməciya*, *mšaw lənnbi*, *mšaw ləlqadi*, *mšaw lərrəbhanim* "they went to the pharmacy, to the fortune teller, to the judge and to the rabbis". *laškun* ~ *ləškun* "for whom?" (see 2.1.8.2). *qa ʕədwi ləxčə* "she is speaking to her sister".

(3) *w-* "by (for oath)".

This preposition is not used in combination with pronoun suffixes.

Examples: *wəlla* "by God", *wraš buya* "by my father's head", *wraš wəldi* "by my son's head".

### 2.5.2. Prepositions consisting of one word

(1) *ʿand* "with, in the presence of" (*ʿandu*, *ʿanda*, *ʿandak*, *ʿandi*; *ʿandam*, *ʿandkam*, *ʿanna*).

Examples: *mən ʿand əškun šriča?* "who did you buy it from?", *bač ʿandi* "stay the night with me!", *klič əḥixa ʿand čaču* "I ate a dish at Chachu's", *nəmšiw nʿamlu fišta ʿandu* "we go to make a party at his place".

On the use as a verb "to have" and "must", see 2.2.4.5.2.(1).

(2) *ʿ*, *ʿl*, *ʿla*, *ʿli*, *ʿala* "on, off, away from, about (concerning), against" (*ʿ(a)li*, *ʿ(a)lia*, *ʿ(a)lik*, *ʿ(a)liya*; *ʿ(a)li(ə)m*, *ʿ(a)likəm*, *ʿ(a)lina*).

(a) Combination with a noun.

(α) Before a noun beginning with *LəC-* (*ə* = auxiliary vowel), *ʿ* appears. The auxiliary vowel is eliminated and another one is inserted before *L*, i.e. > *ʿəLC-*, or *L* is geminated and an auxiliary vowel is inserted before *LL*, i.e. > *ʿəLLəC-*:

*ʿəlqatəš ~ ʿəlləqatəš* "about the cats" (< *ləqatəš*), *ʿəḥtən ~ ʿəlləḥtən* "on the belly" (< *ləḥtən*).

(β) Before a noun beginning with *Lv̄-*, *ʿ* appears. *L* is always geminated and an auxiliary vowel is inserted before *LL*, i.e. > *ʿəLLv̄-*:

*ʿəllaman* "on the security", *ʿəlluzir* "on the minister", *ʿəllimin* "on the right".

(γ) Before a noun beginning with *LC-*, *ʿ ~ ʿl* (free variants) appear. An auxiliary vowel is inserted before *L*, i.e. > *ʿəLC-* ~ *ʿləLC-*:

*ʿəlhūš ~ ʿləlhūš* (< *lhūš*) "on the house", *ʿəlmidá ~ ʿləlmidá* (< *lmidá*) "on the (low) table".

(δ) Before a noun beginning with *əLC-* (*ə* = auxiliary vowel), *ʿ-* or *ʿl-* (free variants) appears, i.e. > *ʿəLC-* ~ *ʿləLC-*:

*ʿəttawla ~ ʿləttawla* (< *əttawla*) "on the table", *ʿəttakən ~ ʿləttakən* "on the shops", *ʿəblad ~ ʿləblad* (< *əblad*) "about the town".

(ε) Before a noun beginning with *CV-* (*C ≠ L*), *ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli* (free variants) appears: *ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli hūš* "about a house", *ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli ʿawla* "on a table", *ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli wadi* "on a river", *ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli bḥər* "about a sea", *ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli klab* "about dogs".

(ζ) Before a noun beginning with *VC-*, *ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli ~ ʿl-* (free variants) appears:

*ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli ~ ʿl ada* "about this", *ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli ~ ʿl ičim* "on a orphan", *ʿala ~ ʿla ~ ʿli ~ ʿl əmmi* "about my mother".

But before *əlla* "God", *ʿl-* is exclusively used, i.e. *ʿl əlla* "on God".

(b) Examples: *ḥətt əššiniya ʿəttawla* "put the dish on the table!", *mšina ʿli rəžlina* "we went by foot", *kanu yrəqdu fi firašat ʿəlluṭá* "they used to sleep in beds on the floor", *čḥətt ʿli ʿḥixa nčə ššabbəč* "she puts on it the Sabbath food", *ʿar ʿli nənʿas* "sleep fled from him", *kan u ma kan ʿla wahət ʿəltan* "once upon a time there was a Sultan", *ʿli škun čədwi?* "who do you speak about?", *nča čəffəm ʿli šawa dwina* "you understand what we talked about", *niyči ʿəlli dwina qbəl* "my intention is to what we said before", *yʿawdunna ʿəḥyalač* "they tell us about the ghosts", *yxəllsulu ʿəlləḥlib* "they pay him for the milk", *gədbəč ʿliya* "she told me a lie", *kəll ḥədd ḥkəmm ʿlia lun* "everyone judged her diversely", *ʿəll ʿli məzlas* "he held a council against her".

(3) *bəʿd* "after" (*bəʿdu*, *bəʿda*, *bəʿdək*, *bəʿdi*; *bəʿdəm*, *bəʿdəkəm*, *bəʿdəna*).

Examples: *bəʿd əddər* "afternoon", *uwa ža bəʿdi* "he came after me".

(4) *bin* "between, among" (*binu*, *bina*, *binək*, *bini*; *binačəm*, *binačkəm*, *binatna*).

"Between A and B" is expressed as *bin* A (*w*) *bin* B, e.g. *bini w binək* "between I and you (sg.)", *binu w bina* "between him and her", whilst to express "between us", "among you (pl.)" etc., *binač*, the plural of *bin* is used, e.g. *binatna* "between us", *binačkəm* "between you (pl.) ~ among you (pl.)".

Examples: *ədduwa muš bʿida bzayəd binačəm* "the speech (language) among them is not very different", *bin šwəyya bin bzayəd* "between few and many", *ma yxəmmuš li čəmma ḥwayəž li yqədru yziw binačəm* "they don't think that there are things which can come between them", *ka kənču čəqrəw zzuz žwabač binačkəm*, *kənču čqədru čəšriwa llima adi bšəkəl* "if you read these two letters among you, you could buy this lemon for a shekel", *qəššəm binačəm* "he judged between them".

(5) *bla*, *bla b-* "without".

When used with pronoun suffix, *bla b-* is exclusively used. On the combination, see 2.5.1.(1).

Examples: *ʿwil bla gəlla* "the middle finger (lit. long but without fruit)"<sup>146</sup>, *səwwəqna fəttəwəqi ʿəf u nnas bla rylus* "we sold caps and people appeared without heads (said to one who is unsuccessful)", *bla bia ma yəqdərš yʿis* "without her he cannot live".

<sup>146</sup> See *šb* in the Glossary for other fingers.

(6) *čəħč* "under" (*čəħču*, *čəħča*, *čəħčək*, *čəħčī*; *čəħčəm*, *čəħčəkəm*, *čəħčəna*).

Examples: *əlli yəskən čəħčtma* "he who lives (on the floor) below us", *čəmma kəlb čəħt əlkərsi* "there is a dog under the chair".

(7) *fi*, *f*- "in, on etc." (*fi*, *fiə*, *fik*, *fiya*; *fi(ə)m*, *fikəm*, *fina*).

*fi* has a monoliteral variant *f*- which is used exclusively in a combination with a noun.

(a) Combination with a noun.

(α) In any case *f*- can appear, whereas *fi* can appear before *LəC*-:

*fi ləndi* ~ *fləndi* "in the prickly pear", or when the following noun does not have the definite article, e.g. *fi šəbəbət* ~ *fəšəbəbət* "in shoes", *fi taša* ~ *fītaša* "in a cup", *fi əbbač* ~ *fəbbač* "in our fathers". But when a noun begins with *f*, *f*- is more frequently used: *ffəmmu* (~ *fi fəmmu*) "in his mouth".

Before a noun beginning with *w*- or *y*-, when *f*- is put, these semi-vowels are altered into *u*- and *i*- respectively (see 1.4.1.3.), e.g. *fuladu* "in his sons" (< *wladu*), *furəq* "in papers" (< *wraq*), and when *fi* is put they remain as they are, e.g. *fi wladu*, *fi wraq*.

(β) In the following combinations syllable alteration takes place.

(i) *f*- + *LəC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>* (*ə* = auxiliary vowel) > *CəLLəCCV*- ~ *CLəCCV* ~ *CəLCCV* (free variants):

*fəlləbhər* ~ *fləbhər* ~ *fəlbhər* "in the sea" (< *ləbhər*), *fəllbətən* ~ *fləbətən* ~ *fəlbətən* "in the belly" (< *ləbətən*), *fəlləhšu* ~ *fləhšu* ~ *fəlhšu* "in the stuffing" (< *ləhšu*).

But when *C<sub>1</sub>* is *ʕ*, or *C<sub>2</sub>* and *C<sub>3</sub>* are identical, *CəLCCV*- does not take place:

*fəlləyad* ~ *fləyad* (\**fəlyad*) "on festivals" (< *ləyad*), *fəlləxxər* ~ *fləxxər* (\**fəlxxər*) "at last" (< *ləxxər*).

(ii) *f*- + *LvC*- > *fəLLvC*:

*qa nəstəna fəllulad* "I am waiting for the sons" (< *lulad*), *fəllimin* "in the right" (< *limin*).

(γ) In other cases *f*- is immediately attached to the noun (an auxiliary vowel may be inserted after *f*- according to the syllable structure of the following word, see 1.4.1.2.(3)):

*f*- + *əddulab* > *fəddulab* "in the closet", *f*- + *šəbəbət* > *fəšəbəbət* "in shoes" (also *fi šəbəbət*, see above), *f*- + *taša* > *fītaša* "in a cup" (~ *fi taša*).

(b) Examples: *bdaw yəmsiw fəlblad* "they began to walk about the town", *kanu fiə ləč əbnač* "there were three girls in it", *rəwwhu fəšəbah* "they came back in the morning", *xudi fi yəddək kəlbə* "take a bitch in your hand", *nar kaməl anə fəssanya* "all day long I am in the field", *ma yraqduš lkəll fəlluətə* "not every one can sleep on the floor", *kanu yraqdu fi frašač əlluətə* "they used to sleep in beds on the floor", *kəna zəgar fina səb'a čmənya təš'a snin* "we were children of seven or eight years old".

With transitive verbs *f*- marks the direct object in the imperfect and in the imperative when the verb indicates the progressive mood.<sup>147</sup>

*mşugra duwčək li qa čədwi fiə...?* "is your story that you are telling sure?", *qalu lukanč iya čərhi fəttiq...?* "they said "if she is grinding the flour...?", *fi škun qa čəstəna?* "who are you waiting for?", *čəmma mažən yxəbbiw fi ləyya nəč əššə* "there is a cistern (where) they preserve the rain water".

(8) *fūq* "above" (*fūqu*, *fūqa*, *fūqək*, *fūqi*; *fūqəm*, *fūqqəm* (see 1.3.2.1.2.(3b), *fūqna*).  
Examples: *hət kisan fūq əttawla* "put (m.) cups on the table!".

(9) *gir* "except, only" (*gīru*, *gīra*, *gīrək*, *gīri*; *gīrəm*, *gīrkəm*, *gīrna*, see 2.6.3.(10) and 2.7.(8)).

Examples: *w ma yə'rafš hədd gīru*, *kan uwa* "no one else but him knows, only he", *əššə'a wəhda gir rəb'* "a quarter to two".

(10) *hda* "by, near by" (*hdə*, *hdaə*, *hdək*, *hdəya*; *hda(ə)m*, *hdəkəm*, *hdəna*).

Examples: *čə'la hda* "come to me!", *yhəttu hda lərrəza w ydəbbu lərfən* "they put (them) by the drain and slaughter the sheep", *kant čhəss qəlbək li čəmma bnađəm hdək anəya* "your heart felt that there is someone by you, here".

(11) *hətčə l-* "until".

Forms with pronoun suffixes are not attested.

Examples: *kan uwa yara lkəll raqdin*, *yəkkər əlhūš hətčə ləšəbah* "if he sees every-one sleeping, he locks the house until morning".

(12) *kif*, *k-* "as, like" (*kifu*, *kifa*, *kifək*, *kifi*; *kifəm*, *kifkəm*, *kifna*). *k-* is used exclusively before *əLC-*. *k-* is an abbreviated form of *kif* (see 1.3.2.2.(2b)) and unlikely to be the direct descendant of CA *ka-*. Its use is much less frequently than *kif*. On the contrary *kif* can be used in any situation. See also 2.7.(12) *kifma* "as".

Examples: *wəžžu yəčbəddəl kəlbukəššəš ~ kif əlbukəššəš* "his face changes (in its colour) like a chameleon", *lyum həbəhh ənnar sxun kəššif ~ kif əššif* "today it became hot like the summer", *əmlətli hšuma kif adi* "she disgraced me like this", *ma čammaš kif əlhəqq fəddənya* "there is nothing in the world like truth", *ara kifna kifkəm* "ho, we are as you (we are all the same)", *nəi čqədri čəmlī kifū?* "can you (f.) do like him?", *nakəl kifkəm* "I eat as you (pl.) do", *hətča lləbs nəčəna kif əttəlyan* "also our clothes are like those of the Italians", *əmmri ma qrič xrafa dđəhhək kif adi* "I have never read a story that makes one laugh like this".

(13) *kōntrō* "against" (*kōntrō*, *kōntrōa*, *kōntrōk*, *kōntrōya*; *kōntrōəm*, *kōntrōkəm*, *kōntrōna*) (see 2.5.3.(8)).

Examples: *uwa dima kōntrōya* "he is always against me".

(14) *lil-* "to, for" (*lilu*, *lila*, *lilək*, *lili*; *liləm*, *lilkəm*, *linna*) (see 2.1.1.4.)

(15) *m'a*, *mə'* "with" (*m'a*, *m'aa*, *m'ak*, *m'aya*, *m'a(ə)m*, *m'akəm*, *m'ana*).

*m'a* is followed by a word beginning with two consonants or with a vowel and *mə'* by a word beginning with one consonant.

Examples: *əmall əlia məzləs m'a lwəzra* "he held a council about her with the ministers", *čhəbb nəmši m'ak?* "do you want me to go with you?", *uwa qəəd mə' šahbu* "he is sitting ~ living with his friend", *kan wahət šəltan məsafər mə' mərtu* "a Sultan was travelling with his wife", *wəšləč anaya m'a mmašiya* "I arrived here with my parents", *m'a ada* "with this".

(16) *mən* (*mənn*), *mn-*, *məl-* "from, by, (one) of" (*mənnu*, *mən(n)a*, *mənnək*, *mənni*; *mən(n)əm*, *mənkəm*, *mənnə*).

*mn-*, *məl-* may be *mən-*, *məl-* in the proximity of an emphatic consonant (see 1.3.2.1.1.2.).

(a) Combination with a noun.

This preposition has three variants (except the suffixed forms); *mən*, *mn-* and *m-*. Their choice depends on the (morpho)phonological environments.

(α) Before a noun beginning with *ə*, *mn-* appears: *mən-əlla* "from God" (see 2.3.1. REMARK 1), *mən-əbhəč* "from fathers".

(β) Before a noun beginning with *L*, *m-* or *mn-* appear.

(i) *m-* before *LəCCV-* > *məLCCV-* ~ *məLLəCCV-*: *məlqəzər* ~ *məlləqəzər* "from the drawer", *məlbhər* ~ *məlləbhər* "from the sea" and before *LvC-* > *məLLvC-*: *məlluzir* "from the minister", *məllimin* "from the right".

(ii) In other cases *m-* or *mn-* can appear as free variants. An auxiliary vowel may be inserted after *m-*, *mn-* according to the syllable structure of the following word. see 1.4.1.2.(3)).

*məlhuš* ~ *mnəlhuš* (< *lhuš*) "from the house", *məlmida* ~ *mnəlmida* (< *lmida*) "from the (low) table", *mn-əddulab* ~ *məddulab* "from the closet", *məttkakən* ~ *mnəttkakən* (< *əttkakən*) "from the shops", *məlblad* ~ *mnəlblad* (< *əlblad*) "from the town".

(γ) Before a noun beginning with *wC-*, *yC-* or a long vowel, *mn-* or *mənn-* appears.

*mn ada* ~ *mənn ada* "from this", *mn* ~ *mənn icim* "from an orphan", *mn* ~ *mənn uladu* "from his sons".

But, *nqəš mənn adi* (\**nqəš mn adi*) "less than this (f.)".

(δ) Before a noun beginning with *C-*.

(i) *mən* appears before *Cv*.

*mən huš* "from a house", *mən rušən* "from a window", *mən wad* "from a river".

(ii) In other cases *mn-* or *mən* appears.

*mən bladū* ~ *mn əblad* "from his town", *mən ždid* ~ *mn əždid* "anew", *mən klab* ~ *mn əklab* "from dogs", *mən bhər* ~ *mn əbhər* "from sea", *mən hyaš* ~ *mn əhyaš* "from houses", *mən čdu* ~ *mn ədu* "from enemy".

(b) Examples: *mərna ma tšəna mən hušna* "we never went out from our house", *həblad dik əlmri mən-əššəltan* "that woman became pregnant by the Sultan", *əmmi dak əlwəld mn ərrušən* "throw (m. ~ f.) that boy from the window!", *xud məlwəšti* "take from the middle (part)!", *mən gadi* "from there", *mən b'id* "from a far", *kəll ši məkčub mən-əlla* "everything is divinely ordained", *lila məllyah* "one night", *škun məlfamilya nəč žarəna məč?* "who of our neighbour's family died?".

(17) *nčə*, *čə*, *nč-*, *č-* "of (possession)" (see 1.3.2.2.(2a)) (*nčəu*, *nčəa* ~ *nčəhha*, *nčəək*, *nčəi*; *nčəəm* ~ *nčəhəm*, *nčəkəm*, *nčəna*) (on variants, see 1.3.2.6.(6b)).

Before a noun three variants *nčə*, *čə*, *nč-* and *č-* are attested. *nč-* and *č-* come exclusively before a noun with assimilated definite article.

Examples: *assanya nē-əşşəlītan* "the Sultan's field", *ssənfaḥ ē-əşşəlītan* "the doughnut maker of the Sultan", *əmsī žib mē-lfərmačiya dwa nēā əlwədnin* "go (m.) and bring (m.) some ear-medicine from the pharmacy!", *əşfir nēā əškun?* "whose bird (is this)?".

(18) *qbala* "before (place), in front of, in the presence of" (*qbalču, qbalāča, qbalčək, qbalči; qbaláčəm, qbaläckəm, qbalatna*).

Examples: *aná həššəmčək qbalč ənnas* "I put you to shame in public".

(19) *qbal* "before (time)" (*qəbli, qbála, qəblək, qəbli; qbáləm, qbəlkəm, qbənna*) (see 2.6.1.(26)).

Example: *žam'a qbal fīd fəkkərnī baš nəmši nəšri ləhwayəž* "a week before the feast, remind me to go to buy clothes".

(20) *qədd* "as" (*qəddu, qədda, qəddək, qəddi; qəddəm, qəddkəm, qəddna*).

Examples: *həttixa qədd rəši* "a melon as big as my head", *ləqməžža adi dži qəddi suswa* "this shirt fits me exactly".

(21) *qəddam* "in front of" (*qəddamu, qəddama, qəddamək, qəddami; qəddaməm, qəddamkəm, qəddamna*).

Examples: *dima nəšibu waqəf qəddami* "I found him always standing in front of me".

(22) *səkōndō* "according to" (not used with pronoun suffixes).

Example *səkōndō ša uwa, ka 'rak, əmm, ka muč ənqul hzən* "(on the meaning of words) it depends according to what it is; if it is for a quarrel (we use the word) "əmm", if it is for a death we say "hzən", *səkōndō kifəš yədwīwa* "according to how they say it".

(23) *wəyya* "with" (*wəyyá, wəyyaa, wəyyak, wəyyaya; wəyya(ə)m, wəyyakəm, wəyyana*).

Examples: *hnan wəyyá m' bə'd* "we are with each other", *čfaəmna-ná wəyyá* "we - he and I - agreed", *nəmlu ləhsab ana wəyyá* "we - he and I - make the calculation".

(24) *wra* "behind" (*wrá, wraa, wrač, wraya; wra(ə)m, wračək, wrača*).

Example: *uwa yəčxəbba wra ləlaš* "he hides himself behind the building".

### 2.5.3. Compound prepositions

(1) *'la* (*'ala, 'li, 'a*) *xatə* "because of, thanks to" (*'la xatru, xatəra, xatəčək, xatru; xatəram, xatəčəkəm, xatərna*).

Examples: *qəddaš flus čhəbb nəštik ə'li xatru əllima adi* "I will give you as much money as you want because of this lemon", *fəwwətč əlfiləm 'ala xatru uwa* "I missed the film because of him".

(2) *bəddamma l-* + noun / *bdəmməč-* + pronoun suffix "at one's service, for the sake of, intended for" (< CA *biddimma* *li-*, *biđimmat-*).

Example: *əlgərfa m' m'ula bəddamma ləššiyabin* "the club is made for the sake of the old persons", *əssədda bdəmmči* "the sleeping berth is for me".

(3) *bəhda* "near by, by" (forms with pronoun suffix, see *hda* above).

Examples: *əq'əd bəhdəya* "stay (m.) by me", *čə'la bəhdəya* "come to me!".

(4) *bəsxuč* "thanks to" (< Heb. *בכרת*) (*bəsxuču, bəsxuča, bəsxučək, bəsxuči; bəsxučəm, bəsxučəkəm, bəsxučna*). Also the combination *bəsxuč nēā* is possible.

Examples: *bəsxuču (bəsxuč ənčə'u) šəfčə fəlləžāmi* "thanks to him I passed the examination".

(5) *bərra mən* "outside" (forms with pronoun suffix, see *mən* above).

Examples: *mšaw bərra məl'hōmā* "they went outside the wall".

(6) *fi 'uđ* "instead of, in the place of" (*fi 'uđu, fi 'uđa, fi 'uđək, fi 'uđi; fi 'uđəm, fi 'uđkəm, fi 'uđna*).

Examples: *ša kənči čquli fi 'uđi?* "what were you saying instead of me?".

(7) *fwašt* ~ *fi wəšt* "in the middle of" (*fwaštu ~ fi wəštu, fwašta ~ fi wəšta, fwaštək ~ fi wəštək, fwašti ~ fi wəšti; fwaštəm ~ fi wəštəm, fwaštəkəm ~ fi wəštəkəm, fwaština ~ fi wəština*).

Examples: *čəndi dəkkan fwašt əlblad* "I have a shop in the city centre", *yəčxəbbaw fi wəštu hətča lin yəč'əddaw lkəll* "they hid themselves in the middle of it until they all passed".

(8) *kōntra* 'la "against" (forms with pronoun suffix, see 'la above).

This is synonym of *kōntrō* in 2.5.2.(13) above.

Examples: *uwa dima kōntra 'liya* "he is always against me".

(9) *mān* 'and "from" (forms with pronoun suffix, see 'and above).

Examples: *mān 'and aškun žič anča?* "who did you come from?".

(10) *mān* čəhč "from under" (forms with pronoun suffix, see čəhč above).

Examples: *lkəlb tlaš mān čəht əlkərsi* "the dog went out from under the chair, *kənnə saknin mān čəht lučə* "we were living underground", *ššur ada mān čəhčə yəč' əddaw məlhara ləlhəhər* "from under this wall they go from the Jewish quarter to the sea".

(11) *mān* fuq "from above" (forms with pronoun suffix, see fuq above).

Examples: *lqəttuša nəggzəč mān fuq əssqəf* "the cat jumped down from the roof".

(12) *mān* gir ~ *mgir* ~ *bgir* "without" (forms with pronoun suffix, see gir above).

Examples: *ša? nəq'əd bgir xədma?* "What? Should I remain without work?", *hučə mān gir 'dəm* "a fish without bones", *sfənza bəddəhəya, sfənza bgir dəhəya* "a doughnut with egg, a doughnut without egg", *bnič huši mān gir ma 'awənni hədd* "I built my house without anyone helping me".

(13) *mān* qəddam "from in front of" (forms with pronoun suffix, see qəddam above).

Examples: *ža mān qəddam əlhuš* "he came from in front of the house".

(14) *mān* wra "from behind" (forms with pronoun suffix, see wra above).

Examples: *tlaš mān wra lbab* "he appeared from behind the door", *ndəxxlu yəddina mān wra lbab* "we put in our hands from behind the door".

## 2.6. Adverbs

In TJ, as in other modern dialects, there is no special morphological sign for the adverb. In the eastern dialects many adverbs end with *-an*, the sign of the ancient accusative with *tanwīn*, though it is likely that such forms have been introduced only recently from the literary language. In the Maghrib adverbs with *-an* are almost unknown; however traces are attested in some adverbs ending with *-a*, which is the pausal form of CA *-an*, e.g. TJ *čūwa* "now" < *tawwan*, Tunis-Muslim *marħba* "welcome".

In this section we classify adverbs into three categories: (1) Adverbs of time, (2) Adverbs of place and (3) Others.

### 2.6.1. Adverbs of time

(1) 'məř + pron.suff. + *ma* "never" ('əmrīu, 'əmrə ~ 'məra, 'əmrək, 'əmrī, 'əmrəm ~ 'mərəm, 'mərkəm, 'məřna).

This adverb is used in combination with a verb, and the verb, which stands after negative *ma*, does not take the negative particle *-š*.

*fəřħa 'əmrə ma šarəč* "an unheard-of happiness (lit. a happiness which never happened)", 'əmrī *ma nədərək* "I will never harm you", 'məřna *ma tlašna mān hušna* "we never went out of our house", 'əmrī *ma qrič xrafa dđəhħək kif adi* "I have never read a story that makes one laugh like this".

(2) *abadən* "never" (< CA *ʾābādān*).<sup>148</sup>

This is the sole adverb with *-an* attested in TJ. This adverb is combined with a verb in negative.

*abadən ma čəmšiliš* "never go to him!".

But in fairy tales the use of *abadən* designates "never" with a positive verb is attested.

*abadən dəwwru wəšškəm* "never turn your face!".

148 TM *ebədén* (Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 281), Tunis-Muslim *abadən* (Singer, *Tunis*, p. 646) and Tunis-Jewish *ābādān* (Cohen, *Tunis II*, p. 241).

(3) *aməs* "yesterday" (*ləwwəl aməs* "the day before yesterday", *ləwwlin aməs* "three days ago").

*aṭṭwaṣi li žəbčəmli aməs kčər məzyanin*<sup>149</sup> "the cups you brought me yesterday are more beautiful".

(4) *amčə* "when?" (< \**ayy matā*),<sup>150</sup> *mn amčə* "since when?".

*amčə čwəlli?* "when will you come back?", *mn-amčə čədwi bəḥərḥi?* "since when do you speak Arabic?".

(5) *bəḥda* "already".

*zğarəm bəḥda dzəwwzu w ʿəndəm zğar* "their children have already got married and they have children", *ara lyum iya bəḥda fəzdəč* "ho, today it has already decayed", *uwa bəḥda rəqəd* "he has already fallen asleep", *uwa bəḥda rəqəd* "he is already sleeping".

(6) *bəḥd əddər* "in the afternoon".

(7) *mbəḥd*, (*m*)*bəḥdin* "then, afterwards".

*yəməl sfənza bəḥdin yəḥḥ əlia dəḥya* "he makes a doughnut and then he pours an egg into it", *ṭəḥəd dik əlqməžža čğənni w mbəḥd ki iya kəmlət əlğna-mmə xadua w arḥu* "the shirt began to sing, and then, when it had finished the song, they took it and fled".

(8) *bəkri* "early", *ləkčər bəkri* "as soon as possible".

*yusəf ma stənnəəs u mša bəkri* "Yūsuf did not wait for her and went early".

(9) *bəḥkḥər* "when growing up".

*bəḥkḥər mərdū* "they became sick when growing up".

(10) *bzayəd* "long time" (see 2.6.3.(3b)).

*ma ričəkš əbzayəd* "I have not seen you long time".

149 On the concord of the noun with the adjective, see 3.1.

150 Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 258.

(11) *čuwa* "now, immediately".

*amčə čəṭṭə?* - *čuwa nəṭṭə* "when are you going out? - I am going out now", *əmšiw, čuwa ṭṣibu-xči* "go (pl.) ahead, you will find my sister at once", *čuwa ləḥlib, ma kamuš ybīu fəttkakən* "now, the milk, they did not sell it in the shops", *čuwa kan zuz msəlmin yəčc arku, yəmšiw lyudi w yqululu ččla ara ada* "now, if two Muslims quarrel, they come to a Jew and say to him 'Come and look into the matter'".

(12) *čuwa kif~ki* "just".

*ḥuč ada friška, čuwa kif žabu məlbḥər* "this fish is fresh, he has just brought it from the sea", *čuwa ki qəmč* "I have just woken up".

(13) *dima* "always".

*ḥaṣəl ləmra dima čəxdəm kif əḥməər* "in short, women always work like donkeys".

(14) *fəlləxxər~fləxxər* "finally".

*diskim ṭəḥu fəlləxxər, qbəl ma rkəbna anaya* "discs had appeared at last, before we travelled here".

(15) *fəlwəqč* "in time".

*lakən yusəf ma žaš fəlwəqč* "but Yūsuf did not come in time".

(16) *fisə* "quickly" (< CA *fī + səʿah*).

*fisə xudua* "take (pl.) it quickly!", *kəll ḥaža yərfua fisə* "they get to know everything quickly", *əlfus li kənt nərbəḥḥəm, ma da biya nəṣrəffəm fisə* "I would like to spend the money I earned quickly".

(17) *gədwa* "tomorrow" (*bəḥd gədwa* "the day after tomorrow", *bəḥdin gədwa* "in three days, three days later").<sup>151</sup>

(18) (*mən*) *gədwiča* "the next day" (< \**gudwīhā*).

*nər ššəbbač, ma yxəllṣuš fəššəbbač, nṣəllṣu mən gədwiča* "on the Sabbath, one does not pay money on the Sabbath, we pay the next day".

151 In Tunis-Muslim *bəḥd gudwīn*.

(19) *Ƒam ada* "this year" (*Ƒam əlli fač* "last year", *Ƒam əžžay* "next year").

(20) *lbarəh* "last night" (often *lbarəh fəllil*).<sup>152</sup>

(21) *lyum* "today".

(22) *ma ʿaš* + verb / pseudo-verb (*čamma*, *ʿənd-*) "no more, no longer".<sup>153</sup>

*iya dəwwrəč wəžža w ma ʿaš ətšib hədd* "she turned her face but she no longer found anyone", *adak ma ʿaš čamma* "that does no longer exist", *ma ʿaš ʿəndi flus* "I do not have any money left".

(23) *ma zal* + positive sentence "still", *ma zal* + negative sentence "not yet".

*ma zal bəkri* "it is still early", *iya ma zalət čəxdəm* "she still works", *qa nxəmməm ʿala wəldi li ma zal ma žaš* "I think of my son who still has not come", *xruf, ma zal ma wəffa Ƒam* "a *xruf* is (a lamb) which has not passed one year", *ma zal ma ykəmməš xdəmčə* "he has not yet finished his work".

To express "to have still (time)" one can use *ma zall-* + pron.suff. (= *ma zal l-*) + time, or *ma zal ʿənd-* + pron.suff. + time. In these cases *ma zal* may be invariable.

*ma zalli ~ ma zaluli nərin u nəsafər* "I have still two days to go before I travel", *ma zallu ~ ma zalətlə səʿa u yəsafər* "he has still one hour to go before he travels", *ma zal ~ ma zalət ʿəndəm səʿa u yəsfəru* "they have still an hour to go before they travel".

(24) *mərra* "time".

(a) *lmərra ləwwla ~ ləwwəl mərra* "for the first time".

(b) *mərra mərra* "on occasion, time and again".

*wəld əššəltən mərra mərra yži yara lmʿiz əncəʿu* "the Sultan's son occasionally comes to see his goats".

(c) *fəlmərra* "at all once".

(d) *fi mərrač* "sometimes (Fr. tantôt)".

*fi mərrač yžiwni bzayəd nas, fi mərrač ma yətxəl əliya hətča wahəd* "sometimes many people come to me, and sometimes no one comes to me".

<sup>152</sup> For "yesterday" *aməs* is used, see (1) above.

<sup>153</sup> In Tunis-Muslim *ma ʿadiš* is attested, see Singer, *Tunis*, p. 720.

(25) *məwəxxər ~ məwəxxər* "late" (see 1.3.2.1.3.(1b)).

*ʿlaš žič məwəxxər ayda?* "why did you come so late?".

(26) *qbəl* "before hand" (see 2.5.2.(19)).

*niyəči ʿəlli dwina qbəl* "my intention is to what we said before", *nəqrəw ləhwayəž əlli šaru fi ləyyamač əqbəl* "we read the things which happened in days gone by".

(27) *qbəl mən kəll šəy* "before all, before everything(else)".

*qbəl mən kəll ši həttulu makla* "before everything(else) they put food in front of him".

(28) *qbil* "before".

*kəmməl qbil lmūts* (< Heb. *יָמַד*) *w bəʿdin əšrəb əlqawa* "first finish the juice and afterwards drink the coffee".

(29) *qrib* "soon".

*uwa qrib iži* "he'll come soon".

## 2.6.2. Adverbs of place

(1) *anaya* "here".

*yži fəššəhə yqul ay əlyāw nnāvi kan anaya* "in the morning he comes and says, 'the prophet Elijah was here'".

(2) *hərra* "outside", *mən hərra* "from the outside".

*ađun əlli kanu ysəknu hərra* "these are those who used to live outside", *wahət č ʿədda fəttiriq mən hərra ra nar* "someone passing the road outside saw a fire".

### REMARK

This adverb is used also as a conjugated imperative verb *hərra* (m.), *hərru* (f.), *hərru* (pl.) "go out!" (see 2.2.4.4.(2)).

(3) *daxəl* "inside", *ldaxəl* "to inside", *mən daxəl* "from inside".

*wərrini lqšər mən daxəl* "show (m.) me the castle from inside".



- (4) *ġadi* "there", *lġadi* "to there", *mən ġadi* "from there".  
*ċamma taša ġadi* "there is a cup there", *uwa ma mšaš əlġadi* "he did not go there",  
*mən ġadi nəmšiw n'əmlu dūra fəlkōrsō* "from there we go to take a walk in the  
 Corso".
- (5) *lfuq* "above".  
*bua kan yxəbħia fəlgərfa lfuq* "her father hid her in the attic, upstairs", *rašu*  
*ċamma lfuq* "his head is above".
- (6) *lqəddam* "forward".  
*ċqəddm əlqəddam!* "step (m.) forward!".
- (7) *liṭa* "below, downwards, downstairs".<sup>154</sup>  
*kənnə nəsknu liṭa* "we were living downstairs", *əmsi liṭa* "go downwards!".
- (8) *mən b'əd* "in the distance (lit. from far)".  
*šaḅu dəww zġəyyər mən b'əd* "they perceived a small light in the distance", *w kanu*  
*yziw nnas mən b'əd* "the people used to come from afar".
- (9) *mnin* "from where?".  
 See *win* below.
- (10) *win* "where?" (< CA *ʔayna*) (see 2.1.7.(5)).
- (a) Independent usage.  
*win maši?* "where are you (m.) going?".
- (b) A form with pronoun suffix is used and means "where are you?, where is he?"  
 etc.  
*winək* "where are you?", *winu* "where is he?".
- (c) *mnin* (< CA *min ʔayna*) "from where".  
*mnin žiċ?* "where have you come from?", *mnin y'ərḫu ksəksu* "where do they  
 know couscous from?".

<sup>154</sup> The paroxytone *liṭa* is in TJ distinguished from the oxytone *liṭá* "the ground", see 1.4.3.2.3.  
 (2).

## REMARK

No examples with other prepositions are attested.<sup>155</sup>

- (11) *wra* "behind", *mn ura* "behind", *luṛá* "backward" (< *l-* + *wra*).  
*yə'rəfli ċamma wra* "he knows that there is (something) behind (= he knows what  
 is behind)", *žəld anaya mən wra* "(there is) skin here, behind", *kənnə nħəttu kif*  
*əlhədidə mən wra* "we used to put something like an iron bar behind", *ċwəxxər luṛá*  
 "take (m.) a step backward!".

## 2.6.3. Other adverbs

(1) Adverbs compounded with the preposition *ʕla*.

(a) *ʕla-* + pron.suff. + *baš* + verb "it is difficult for s.o. to do scarcely / hardly".

*ʕliya baš wəšəċ anaya* "I arrived here with difficulty".

(b) Others:

*ʕla ada* "therefore", *ʕla kəll ħal* "anyhow", *ʕla kif-* "as s.o likes".

(c) *ʕlaš ~ ʕalaš* "why?" (see 2.1.8.1.(2b)).

*ʕlaš ma žiċəš aməs?* "why didn't you come yesterday?"

(2) *ayda* "so, thus".

*ada šar ayda w ayda* "this happened in such and a way", *ža<sup>156</sup> ʕəmlu ayda*  
*lḡšumīn* "thereupon the poor men did so", *mħəmməd wəqt li maċ ʕməll ayda*  
 "when Muḡammad died he did thus", *anə ma ħsabitš li dwiċ əbzayəd ayda* "I did  
 not think that I had spoken so much".

(3) Compound adverbs with the preposition *b-*.

(a) *bəlkəll* "(not) at all".

*ma kanəš xənnaba bəlkəll* "there were no thieves at all".

(b) *bzayəd* "very, a lot":

*ada mkan mēsūkən bzayəd* "this is a very dangerous place", *məzyan bzayəd li*  
*nəċfəkkər əyyamaċ ʕa xaṭər bndəm yənsa* "it is very good that I remember (past)  
 days because people forget (them)", *anə ma ħsabitš li dwiċ əbzayəd ayda* "I did  
 not think that I had spoken so much" (see 2.6.1.(10)).

<sup>155</sup> In Tunis-Muslim *lwin* is attested, see Singer, *Tunis*, p. 652.  
<sup>156</sup> The verb *ža* is used adverbially "thereupon", see 2.2.4.3.(1).

## (c) Others:

*bəʔani* "on purpose", *bləʔqəl* "slowly", *bəlṃṣawba* "rightly, correctly", *bəssif* "by force, of necessity", *bəššədfə* "accidentally", *bəlxəffa* "with ease", *bəlxəmba* "secretly", *bəlxuf* "in fear", *bəstəzil* "in a hurry", *blaman* "safely", *bḷuṣul* "originally, rightfully" (< CA *bil-ʔuṣūl*), *bqəddaš* "for how much?" (see (28) below).

(4) *balək* ~ *baləkš* ~ *bakš* "probably".

*bakš mərra yəʔlʔua* "they will probably remove it sometime", *bakəš uwa wəʔəl* "he has probably arrived".

(5) *blaš* "for nothing, free".

*yzid ʕəmbəʔ ʕanyin u yzidəmlək blaš* "he adds more almond-biscuits, he adds them for you free", *xir mən blaš* "better than nothing".

(6) *baska* "only" (< Turk. *başka*).<sup>157</sup>

*allḥəmm əlkašir yəklü baska lyud* "only Jews eat kosher meat", *ləʕəmbəʔ əlbai, baska adik əlfamilya ʕəʔəʔ ʕəʔəmlu* "as for good almond biscuits, only that family knows how to make them".

(7) *bəss* "only".(8) *ʕəqrib* "approximately, almost".

*ada w ada ʕəqrib suswa* "this and that are almost the same", *ʕəqrib əlkəll ʔəlyan* "almost all of them are Italian".

(9) *dub-* + pron.suff. + verb "hardly".

*dubna ysəddna* "it is hardly enough for us", *dubna ḥnan rəiṣ fia* "we hardly live in it (= that town)".

(10) *gir* "only" (see 2.5.2.(9) and 2.7.(8)).

## (a) With negative:

*ma nədwiš anə bzayəd ədḥuwa adi mə wəhət ʕani gir wəqt li nqəbəl wəhəd li nʕərfu* "I don't talk much about such things with other people except when I meet someone I know", *ma nəšrəb šəyy gir əlqawa* "I drink nothing but coffee", *ma žaš gir yusəf* "only Yūsuf came", *lyum ana šayma ma nəkəl šəyy, gir nəqra šəddur* "today I am fasting, I do not eat, but only read the prayer book", *ḥədd ma yəʔməlləm, gir əmma* "no one makes them, but only they".

## (b) Without negative:

*ʕəʔini gir tšiša* "you give me only a few", *əlqəʔniṭ yəklü gir əlmsəlmīn* "as for the octopus, only Muslims eat it".

(11) *hašəl* "in short, in fact".

*hašəl ləmrə dima ʕəxdəm kif əlḥmar* "in short women always work as donkeys".

(12) *hətča* ~ *tča* "even, also" (see 3.3.(1b)).

*lazəm tča ada dżib wəld* "she will have to give birth to a boy this time as well", *hətča əmma ʕəndəm stōryač* "they too have stories", *hətča li ʕəndu flus bzayəd* "even he who has much money", *hətča wəqt li ka yəčʕəllmu...* "even when they were learning...", *ʕəʔla hətča nəa* "you (m.) come too!", *bnaḍəm haš yəʔməl ḥwayəž ədun ʕəndu yəffəm hətča klam əzgar* "one has to understand even small words in order to do these things", *hətča lləbs nəʕna kif əttəlyan* "even our clothes are like the Italians".

(13) *i, iwa* "yes".(14) *ka(n)* "only" (see *gir* above and 1.3.2.2.(2c)).

*ʕəmma ka šla wəhda* "there is only one synagogue", *žəbtuli kan tlača?* "you (pl.) brought to me only three!?", *ma nəšrəb šəyy kan əlqawa* "I drink nothing but coffee", *ma žaš, kan yusəf* "only Yūsuf came", *ma yəʔrəf ḥədd kan anə* "nobody else knows except me".

(15) *kčər* "more, (in negative) no longer".

*ma wəllawš kčər* "they no longer returned".

<sup>157</sup> Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 290.

- (16) *kif kif* "the same".  
*kif kif, kif aṛraʒal kif almra* "it is the same, as for the men so for the women".
- (17) *kifaš* "how?" (< *kif* + *aš*) (see 2.1.8.1.(2c)).  
*kifaš šafart lalblad, balqaraba walla ʿla raʒlik?* "how did you (m.) travel to town, by car or by foot?", *kifaš mšiċ?* "how did you (m.) go?".
- (18) *la* "no" (see 3.3.(2a)).
- (19) *hun* "diversely, differently".  
*kall ḥadd ḥkam̄m ʾlia hun* "every one judged her differently".
- (20) *ma*. In a combination verb<sub>1</sub> + *ma* + verb<sub>1</sub> "completely, thoroughly".  
*dwaċ ma dwaċ mʿaa* "she talked with her thoroughly", *ċxəbḥaw tċa šar allil ma šar* "they hid themselves until night fell completely".
- (21) *malla* + noun "what (a) ...!" (cf. CA *mā ʾillā*).<sup>158</sup>  
*malla ḥuš maʒyana!* "what a beautiful house!", *malla karaba* "what a (splendid, bad etc.) car!".
- (22) *mandra* "what on earth?" (cf. CA *mā ʾadrī*).<sup>159</sup>  
*ya mandra šawa* "what on earth is this?", *mandra ʿli šawa* "what on earth happened to him?".
- (23) *na na...* "(describing the state of walking or riding)".  
*bdaw yamšiw falblad ydāwwru na na na na* "they began to walk in town, going round on and on".
- (24) *naš bənnəš* "half in half".  
*nqəšmua naš bənnəš* "we divide it between ourselves half in half".

<sup>158</sup> Singer, *Tunis*, p. 735.

<sup>159</sup> Singer, *Fragewörter*, pp. 66-72.

- (25) *qaddaš* "how much, how many?" (see 2.1.8.1.(2c)).
- (a) Independent usage:  
*qaddaš ċḥəbb?* "how many do you want?", *qaddaš yəswa?* "how much does it cost?", *qaddaš ʿamrək?* "how old are you?".
- (b) With preposition *b-* (used for asking the price) (see 2.5.1.(1)):  
*bqaddaš šriċ əlqməʒza adi?* "what did you pay for this shirt?" (lit. For how much did you buy this shirt?).
- (c) *qaddaš* in the singular or plural noun:  
*qaddaš nas saknin fi tṛabləš?* "how many people are living in Tripoli?", *qaddaš zḡir ~ zḡar ʿəndək?* "how many children do you have?", *qaddaš wərqa ʿəndək?* "how many papers do you have?".
- (e) In the exclamative sentences:  
*ara qaddaš ċḥəbbu* "ho, how she loves him!", *qaddaš yəḥsəb riḥu* "how careful he is about himself!", *ara qaddaš ləmhəbba binaċəm* "how much affection there is between them!".
- (26) *raw* "(to emphasize the statement)" (< \**rāhu*).<sup>160</sup>  
*raw ma nəmšiš* "I don't go, you know!".
- (27) *suswa ~ swaswa* "the same".<sup>161</sup>  
*ma ʿəndəməš wəḥəd wəʿr baš yəċʿayšu məʿ bəʿd. xaṭər əlmakla suswa. əlləbš suswa...* "they have nothing difficult to live together because the food is the same. the clothes are the same...".
- (28) *šur-* + pron.suff. "perhaps, likely" (*šuru. šura. šurək. šuri. šurəm. šurkəm. šurna*).<sup>162</sup>  
*šuru lməlk dris qbəl žwab* "perhaps the king Idris received a letter", *š-bik. šurək kənċ məstəʿʒəl adak əlwəqċ?* "what was the matter with you, perhaps you were in a hurry at the time?", *š-bi xuk ma ʒaš?* *šuru ra lḥuš msəkkra w rəwwəḥ?* "why did your brother not come, perhaps he found the house closed and returned?", *kanəċ xyala šura li ʿjaċ yədda ləlbənċ* "perhaps it was a ghost that gave its hand to the girl".

<sup>160</sup> Cohen *Tunis II*, p. 138.

<sup>161</sup> Beaussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 505 gives *موا مسا* "égal, également".

<sup>162</sup> In TM *šor* (also with pronoun suffixes) "augenscheinlich, vermutlich, jeditfalls". see Stumme, *Tripoli*, p. 282.

- (29) *šwāyya* "a little", *bāšwāyya* "slowly".  
*uwa yādwi ʿarbi šwāyya* "he speaks Arabic a little" *rʿah šwāyya!* "rest a little!",  
*arfāhha bāšwāyya* "carry it slowly!".
- (30) *tšiša* "a little", *bātsiša* "little by little" (< \**dšiša*).  
*yqum waḥad yāšrāb tšiša* "one wakes up and drinks a little", *čamši bātsiša bātsiša*  
 "go (m.) ahead little by little!", *kall ḥaža qdima bātsiša bātsiša čānfsax* "every old  
 thing is abandoned little by little".
- (31) *truf truf* "in pieces".  
*qāššām truf truf* "he cut them in pieces".
- (32) *w ḥārṛa* "and so on".  
*ammī čqul bānt algadduš, w ana wāld bānt algadduš, čuwa zğari wāld wāld bānt*  
*algadduš w ḥārṛa* "my mother, so to speak, is 'daughter of the Geddush', and I am  
 the 'son of daughter of the Geddush', now my children are the 'grandchildren of  
 daughter of the Geddush and so on'".
- (33) *waš* "and something".  
*rabʿa mitru waš* "four metres and something", *xāms frank waš* "five francs and  
 something".
- (34) *wāḥda wāḥda* "slowly", *bālwāḥda bālwāḥda* "one by one".
- (35) *yasār* "extremely; enough!".  
*ada mkan mēsūkān bzayād, wʿr yasār* "this is a very dangerous place, extremely  
 difficult", *yasār mən klam farəḡ* "enough of silly talk!", *yasār māššrab* "enough  
 drinking!", *qallu yasār, qaddaš čədrəb xərta* "he said, 'Enough! How much will  
 you hit?'".

## 2.7. Conjunctions

- (1) *ʿla xaṭər ~ ʿli xaṭər ~ ʿa xaṭər ~ xaṭər* "because".  
*mazyān bzayād li nəčfakkər əyyamač ʿa xaṭər bnadəm yānsa* "it is very good that I  
 remember (past) days because people forget (them)".
- (2) *a... wəlla...* "... either ... or".  
*waḥad yəčxəbḥa fi žia čəht əlḥalaš, a wra lḥalaš ada wəlla wra tčərkina adi wəlla*  
*wra ššišma* "one hides himself at the side under the building, either behind this  
 building or around the corner or behind the public tap".
- (3) *ama* "but".  
*bka ʿəzz bi, ama qal bēsədər* "he cried and it was hard on him, but he said 'Al-  
 right'", *ama-na rʿawənkəm* "but I will help you".
- (4) *baš* "in order to".  
*kall mərṛa džia baš čarāa* "every time she comes to her to see her", *xəbḥiw*  
*ləḥšənnə nčəfkəm fi ḡarəq baš ma yarakəm ḥədd* "hide your horses deep inside in  
 order that no one see you", *li bʿəčkəm, bʿəčkəm baš čmuču* "he who sent you, he  
 sent you in order that you die", *dəwwri baš čbəčim fi ḥaža kčər wʿra* "seek to  
 send them to a more difficult affair", *muš niyču baš yqatlu* "it is not his intention  
 to kill him", *nḥəyyr əššəltan baš yzi ləssanya ma tšəš əlrasī* "it did not occur to  
 my mind to trouble the Sultan to come to the field", *bnadəm baš yʿməl ḥwayəž*  
*aqun ʿəndu yəffəm ḥətča klam əzğar* "one has to understand even small words in  
 order to do those things", *kall ḥədd yḥəbb ynəggəz kčər ʿali, kčər xir baš ywərrī*  
*ruḥu lləbnat li uwa faləḥ* "every one wants to jump higher and better to show the  
 girls that he is able", *baš čəməl tḥixə, ləmm ʿənda čqum sčə a sətča səbʿa fəššəbāḥ*  
 "in order to do the cooking, the mother has to get up at six or seven o'clock in the  
 morning".
- (5) *bəʿdli* "after" (see (6) below).  
*bəʿdli nkəmmlu lmakla* "after we finish the meal", *bəʿdli nnas yəmsiw yraqdu, yzi*  
*əlyāw nnāvī* "after people go to bed, the prophet Elijah comes", *bəʿdli ynəḥḥiwlu*  
*nnəfs, yqululu adak flən u flani ʿtak ʿinarš* "after they have removed the spirit  
 from him, they say to him 'That so and so gave you the evil eye'", *w nquhula bəʿdli*  
*nṭəf u nxəllšuk ləflus* "we say to her 'after we go out, we will pay you money'".

(6) *alli* ~ *li* "that" (= *daβ*).

These are free variants (except for cases mentioned below). Though there is a tendency that *alli* is used after two consonants or for emphasis, this is not absolute.

*mazyan bzayad li nəcǰakkəǰ ayyamač 'a xaǰəǰ bnaǰəm yənsa* "it is very good that I remember (past) days because people forget (them)", *nfaəmu li ma yənsaš yəšri hlib* "I tell him (make him understand) not to forget to buy milk", *anə ma hšabitš li dwič əzayəd ayda* "I did not think that I had spoken so much", *šəhəč əlli uwa 'ud əqmari* "she found that it was an aloe tree", *baš ywəǰri ruhu lləbnat li uwa faləh* "in order to show the girls that he is able".

*alli* can be preceded a preposition: *bəlli*, *məlli*, *'əlli*, *fəlli*, especially *bə'd* + *li* serves as a conjunction > *bə'dli* "after" (see (5) above), or a noun: *wəqtli* "when" (see (24) below).<sup>163</sup>

(7) *fi 'ud ma* "instead of".

*fi 'ud ma nnas yəməšiw yəšriw məttkakən yəč'əddaləm məlhuš əlhuš* "instead of people going to buy from the shops, he passes by them from house to house", *fi 'ud ma nəzibu štuła fəlhuš, ndəxlu čəht əššišma* "instead of bringing water buckets into the house, we go (to wash) under the (public) water tap".

(8) *gir* "but" (see 2.6.3.(10) and 2.5.2.(9)).

*qətlə əməšə gir ma məšaš* "I told him 'Go!', but he did not go", *əlləhma adi friška gir əlyud ma yakluas xaǰəǰ iya tɾifa* "this meat is fresh but Jews do not eat it because it is not kosher", *ma nəšəǰhuš mənə, gir nəəyyqu bia* "we don't drink from it, but we do water from it".

(9) *hətča* ~ *tča*.

(a) "until".

*kla hətča šbəš* "he ate until he was full", *čəxəbbaw tča šəǰ əllil ma šəǰ* "they hid themselves until night fell completely", *qəwwrua hətča tšibua* "seek (pl.) it until you find it!", *əxčək qəǰəbčə hətča mač* "your sister hit him until he died", *xəllə tča yəǰə ləxxəǰ šawa* "he left (it) until he saw what the end would be".

<sup>163</sup> \**wəqt əlli* and \**bə'd əlli* do not seem to occur, whilst in Tunis-Muslim *wəqt əlli* and *bə'd əlli* are usual forms, see Singer, *Tunis*, pp. 690 and 695 respectively.

(b) In combination with *l-* or *lin* "until" (< CA *'ilā 'an*).

*aməs, žrič əžrič əžrič hətča lin dəšč. təhč š'la rəžliya* "yesterday I ran and ran until I fainted and collapsed", *kənnə nəxdəm hətča lin kməll əššəǰəǰ* "we worked until the month finished", *nəməšiw məššəla ləššəla hətča lin yšir əššəbəh* "we wander about from synagogue to synagogue until morning comes", *yəstənnaw hətča lin čibəs w ma yširəla šəyy* "they wait until the (onions) dry, and (then) nothing happens to them (they never go bad)", *nəxdəm fəlləšiyə hətča lgil xəməštaš. hətča lin kəmməll əlwəhəd. ləwvyəməntə* "I worked in the evening until the age of fifteen, until I finished secondary school".

(c) In combination with *ka(n)*, "even if".

*'a xaǰəǰ əmməliəm yəštiwəm flus. hətča kan wəqt li yəhəbbu yəšriw həza ma kanətləməš 'əndəm*<sup>164</sup> *məškla* "because their family gives them money: even if when they want to buy something they did not have any problem", *hətča ka nədwi nəfš kəlmə yəffəm 'la šawa qa nədwi* "even if I say half a word, he understands what I am speaking about", *əžžiran nəč'na yləwwəhu hətča kan ma yžiwš yəxdu zzbəl* "our neighbours throw out (the rubbish) even if they don't come to collect the rubbish", *anə nəməšə hətča kan uwa məšə* "I go even if he goes".

(10) *ka(n)* ~ *mkan* "if" (< CA *'in kən*, see 1.3.2.2.(2c)).

(a) Independent usage.

(α) *ka(n)* ~ *mkan* + imperfect [protasis], imperfect [apodosis] (simple condition for future or present).

*anə ka yəxədni ššəltəq. Kam ləwwəl nəziblu wəld. u Kam ətčani nəziblu wəld. u Kam tčaləč nəziblu bənč* "if the Sultan marries me, I will bear him a boy in the first year, and in the second year a boy and the third year a girl", *ka čusəri nəqṛəb fik əlmirru* (speaking to a blind-alley) "if you become wide, I will dance for you", *kan nəčə čqulli anə nmən'ək nəčə w ləqməžžə čəməšiw əlbladkəm* "if you tell me (that), I will set you and the shirt free to go to your country", *ka ləgdəbb inəžžə. əlhəqq ənza u nəza* "if the lie saves, the truth saves much more", *mkan ma džiš m'əya. hətča-na ma nəməšəš* "if she doesn't come with me, I too don't go", *mkan čəməšə ana nəməšə* "if you go, I go".

<sup>164</sup> On the construction *ma kanətləməš 'əndəm*, see 2.2.5.2.(1aβ)

(β) *ka(n)* + noun [protasis], imperfect [apodosis]. (simple condition for future or present).

*ža uwa qallu, kan gdəb?* "he said to him, if it is a lie?", *ka həqq dʕtini flus w ka gdəbb aqčənni* "if it is a truth, give me money, and if it is a lie, kill me", *əlbəttixa ka iya baəya nəšria* "if the melon is good, I buy it", *ka bzayəd rʕal, nqulləm aʕaw* "if several men (are referred to), I say to them 'aʕaw'", *w iya nafsə w ʕayba bəncu w fərhana ka ʔluşul* "if the thing passes rightfully, she has been in childbed and given birth to his (Sultan's) daughter".

(γ) *ka(n)* is used to introduce an indirect interrogative sentence = "if, whether". For this usage it is *ka(n)* that is always used and *mkan* is not used.

*ma nəʕrafs ka uwa mša walla ma mšaš* "I do not know if he went or not".

(b) In combination of *ka(n)* or *mkan* with *kan* "to be". This combination is used to denote impossible conditions.

*ka(n) ~ mkan kan (kanəč, kənč...)* + perfect [protasis], *kan (kanəč, kənč...)* + imperfect [apodosis].

*əlbəttixa ka kanəč baəya kənt šriča* "if the melon had been good, I would have bought it", *əlləmm ka kan bai kənt šriču* "if the meat had been good, I would have bought it", *ka kənču čəqraw zzuz ʕwabač binačkəm, kənču čqədru čəšriwa llima adi bšəkəl* "if you had read these two letters among yourselves, you could have bought this lemon for a Shekel", *ka kənt čəmsi ddəkkən ətčani, yʕtiuk bsəbʕa* "if you had gone to another shop, they have given you it for seven (francs)", *mkan kənnə nʕərfu, kənnə nqululu* "if we had known, we should have said to him", *ma kəntš nəčkəl ʕli, mkan ma kəntš nʕərfu* "I wouldn't have trusted him, had I not known him".

(11) *kif ~ ki* "when, as, since" (see 2.5.2.(12) and 1.3.2.2.(2b')).

*kif adʕib wəld xudi fi yəddək kəlbə* "when she gives birth to a boy, take a bitch in your hand", *kif qəda čuləd, qalula, kif ma ʕmələi lləwwəl quli ləčani* "when she has been delivered, they told her, say for the second (baby) as you did for the first (baby)", *kif čəraw ləqməžža qa čgənni w lkəmm yəddu ʕlia, xudua* "when you see the shirt singing and the sleeves responding to it, take it", *kif iya kəmməlat əlğna əmmə xadua w aʕbu* "when it finished the song, they took it and fled", *ki ysiʕ əşşəh, səʕa čmənya, səbʕa w nəfs, kəll hədd yʕəwwəh lhuš* "when morning comes, at eight o'clock or half past seven, everyone goes home".

(12) *kifma ~ kima* "as" (see 2.5.2.(12) and 1.3.2.2.(2b')).

*ʕmalla kabuda* (< Heb. כבוד) *kifma yəlzəm* "he honoured her as required", *əʕmiyi kif ma ʕmiči ləwwəl* "throw (f.) him as you threw the first one", *lazəm tča iya čəʕmli lila kima ʕmələi lləwwlin* "you (m.) have to do also for her as you did for the first (babies)", *qalləm kima qal lləwwəl* "he said to them as he said to the first one", *bəʕd ʕəməʕa ʕməčtin yəddalu lhaža, kif ma kanč iya* "after a week or two he returns the thing to him as it was".

(13) *lakən* "but".

*lakən yusəf ma ʕəš fəlwəqč* "but Yūsuf did not come in time".

(14) *lu* "if"

Usually accompanied by *kan* (both conjugated according to the subject or invariable) and denotes the simple condition.

*lu kanč iya čəʕhi fəttiq, xudu šwəyya tqiq məttiq li qa čəʕhi* "if she is grinding the flour, take a little flour from the flour that she grinds", *lu kan əxwəčək yəhəbbuk, yʕibulək ləqməžža li ygənni w kməma yəddu ʕlia* "if your brothers love you, they will bring to you the shirt which sings and whose sleeves respond".

(15) *ma kanš* "otherwise".

*ma kanš ma ʕəndəm yʕəmlu šəyy* "otherwise they have nothing to do".

(16) *məlli* "since".

*məlli ʕaw itəlyan čəʕləmmə mənəm hwayəž bzayəd bəttəlyan* "since the Italians came, we learnt many things from them in Italian", *məlli şar əlhərb<sup>165</sup> ada, čbəddləč əddənya* "since this war broke out, the world has changed".

(17) *mən ġir ma ~ mġir ma ~ bġir ma* "without" (< CA *min ġayr mā*).

*klam yʕəfu mġir ma čxəmməm* "words are uttered without you thinking", *mġir ma nəttəb mən-əmməliya* "without asking my parents", *aʕa yəšʕəl šəməʕa mġir ma ynuša!* "ho, he lights a candle without touching it!".

<sup>165</sup> In TJ *hərb* is a masculine noun, see 2.3.2.1.2.(2).

(18) *mmala* "so, so that, then, therefore".<sup>166</sup>

*alfilam nčaf alyum yusaf ma yħabbəš yfəwwcu. mmala uwa ma stənnaaš u mša bəkri* "Yūsuf does not want to miss today's film, so he didn't wait for her and went early", *mmala əmšiw. zidu-mšiw šwəyya* "then go (pl.), go further a little", *mmala šawa?* "then what?".

(19) *qbəl ma* "before".

*nəšbəf anə qbəl ma yašbəf əššəltaŋ* "I will be satiated before the Sultan is satiated", *nči čaxdi ssənfaz u yəfik čakli qbəl ma nakəl ana* "marry (f.) the doughnut maker and he will give you something to eat before I eat", *qbəl ma žina liqalya kənnə fi ttabləs* "before we came to Italy we had been in Tripoli", *qbəl ma yətləf əššəbbač* "before the Sabbath ends".

(20) *qədd ma* "as much as".

*xud qədd ma čħəbb* "take (m.) as much as you like", *qədd ma čħəbb čakəl* "you (m.) eat as much as you like".

(21) *w (u)*.

*w (u)* is used between two consonants, and *w* is used in other cases (see 1.4.1.3.). As in all dialects, this conjunction has various nuances.

(a) "And" (simple coordination).

*xadu ləħšənnə nčəfəm u tək u* "they took their horses and went out", *əri dak əlwəld mn ərrušan u quli žabəč kəlb* "throw the child out from the window and say, 'She gave birth to a dog!'", *lqabla təmčəč u xdad (= xdat) duk əflus* "the midwife coveted and took that money", *yəbdaw mčaa yxaltua w iya məskina čəbda čəzri lħuš w txaf...* "they begin to harass her and she, poor thing, begins to run home and is frightened", *nči čaxdi ssənfaz u yəfik čakli qbəl ma nakəl ana* "marry (f.) the doughnut maker and he will give you something to eat before I eat!".

(b) Introduction of a circumstantial clause.

*uwa ttabəlsi w ma yərafš yədwi bəfəri* "he is Tripolitanian, nevertheless he cannot speak Arabic (= although he is Tripolitanian, he cannot speak Arabic)", *ari ad ərrəzəl məskin w ənči qəda fəlkərruša mərəħə* "ho, that man is pitiful whilst you are sitting comfortably in the carriage", *llil šar w iya məyyəča bəlxif* "night fell while she was dying with fear", *ənnas əlkəll saknin fi qwatənn u šəhb ətčəlz* "all the people were living in tents when it snowed".

<sup>166</sup> This is broadly used in the Maghrib. Maltese *mela*, Tunis-Muslim *mmāla*. Baussier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 17 gives *ﻻﺩﻯ* "donc, en consequent".

(c) As CA *wāw al-luzūm*.<sup>167</sup>

*kəll hədd u tšiču* "every one has his own life".

(22) *wəlla ~ wla*.

(a) "Otherwise, lest" (subordinating).

*qim əħəza adi wla yəčər fia* "remove (m.) this thing lest he stumble over it!", *yxafu wla dži lħuma čaxdu mčaa* "they are afraid the owl would come and take him with her", *yxafu wla lbənt čəqəd kčər... tlač u čəšrin čam, xəmsə w čəšrin čam tlatin čam w ma tšibš rəzəl li yaxəda* "they fear lest a daughter of twenty three years, twenty five years, thirty years old would stay (at home) without finding a man who would marry her", *kəll hədd yxaf wəlla yšəddu lħulis* "everyone is afraid the police would catch him".

(b) "Or" (coordinating).

*čħəbb qawa wəlla šai?* "do you want coffee or tea?", *kifaš šafərt ləblad. bəlkərabə wəlla la rəzlik?* "how did you (m.) travel to town, by car or by foot?".

(23) *w(ə)la kalla* "otherwise, or" (cf. *wa ʔillā kān la (?)*).

*əlbəs adi w(ə)la kalla əqəd anaya!* "put (m.) this on, or stay here!".

(24) *wəqtli* "when".

*mħəmməd wəqtli mač məll ayda* "when Muhammad died, he did thus", *hətčə wəqtli kan yəčəllmu...* "even when they were learning", *yaklua dima wəqt li tšəhb əššəča w bərd* "they eat it always when it rains and it is cold", *ma kanəš čəndi flus bzayəd wəqt li kənt zgir* "I had not much money when I was young".

(25) *ya... ya...* "whether / either ... or ...".

*ya mš ada ya mš ada* "either with this or with that", *ma čəfnaš ša yšir fina, ya yħəbbu yqətluna, ya yħəbbu yəawnuna* "we did not know what would happen to us, whether they would want to kill us or want to help us", *ya yžibua mčana ya ma nəmšiš* "either they bring her with us or I do not go".

(26) *zəmučik* "as if".

*kənnəf nakəl iħixə ttabəlsiya, zəmučik anə ttabəlsi* "every day I eat Tripolitanian food as if I am Tripolitanian".

<sup>167</sup> Wright, *Grammar* vol. 2, p. 84.

## 2.8. Interjections

(1) *a* "(vocative) oh!".

*ša mænna a sidi ššəlītan?* "what did we do, my lord Sultan?".

(2) *ay* "here, ho".

*yži fəššbaḥ yqul ay əlyāw nnāvi kan anaya* "in the morning he comes and says, 'Here, the prophet Elijah was here!'".

(3) *ba* "well, that will do, all right" (< *bai*).

*ba, šuwa ykəmmlu?* "well, what do they finish?".

(4) *əyy(a)* "let's *do*... (with 1.pl.), now I'll *do*... (with 1.sg.)" (< CA *hayyā*).

*əyya nčəbb<sup>c</sup>u ttriq w naṛaw ədḍəww ada šawa uwa* "let's follow the way and see what this light is!", *wahət qal yalla əyy nəsria mænmu* "someone said, 'Here, now, I'll buy it from him'".

(5) *i i* "oh! how (bad, dreadful etc.)!".

(6) *wu* "woe!".

*wu ʿla qḥuri!* "woe to my grave! (expression by a mother to blame her naughty child)".

(7) *ya* "(vocative) oh!".

*ya klab šadduam* "oh, dogs, seize them!", *qəyyəd ya wzir* "write (it) down, Minister!".

## 3. Syntactical notes

This section does not aim at wide coverage of syntactic phenomena, but limits itself to some selected topics.

### 3.1. Agreement

In TJ agreement in number or gender in the 1st and 2nd person usually does not offer problems, but in the 3rd person some remarks are required.

(1) Agreement of pl. noun.

It is worthy to note that in TJ pl. nouns (whether indicating human beings or inanimate objects) always agree with the pl. form of verb, pronoun suffix and adjective and not with the f.sg. form. In other dialects, the plural of an inanimate object may agree with the singular feminine, but such an agreement is not attested in TJ.

(a) S. + V: *kəḥru duk əzzgar* "those boys grew", *kanu fia tlač əbnač* "there were three girls in it", *tšibu ləḥmir yaklu ləḍəm* "you will find the donkeys eating the bones", *č<sup>c</sup> əddaw ʿamin məlli žič liṭalya* "two years passed since I came to Italy".

(b) N. + Adj.: *wəllaw zuz ulad bain* "they became two handsome boys", *əttwaši li žəbčəmlī aməs kčər məzyanin* "the cups you brought yesterday are more beautiful".

(c) N. + Pr.: *əmma xadu ləḥšəḥna nčəəm* "they took their horse", *u lklab šəttwəm ləḍəm* "and to the dogs, give them the bones", *əttwaši li žəbčəmlī aməs kčər məzyanin* "the cups you brought yesterday are more beautiful".

The same applies to real-dual and pseudo-dual nouns.

Dual: *naṛin twal* "two long days".

Pseudo-dual: *ʿinin kḥar* "big eyes", *zuz ʿinin kḥar* "two big eyes", *razlim<sup>1</sup> ayda məḥlulin* "his legs are opened like this".

<sup>1</sup> *razlim* < *razliam*, see 1.2.6.2.(2).



## (2) Agreement of the collective noun.

The collective noun usually agrees in singular.

*huč kbir* "big fishes", *Fam ada tčaffah !lš bai* "this year we had a good crop of the apple", *lšdu səmmám əlbxira u lħut li fia tsəmmám u mač, ma əaš nqədru nakli* "the enemy poisoned the lake, and the fish have been poisoned and died, and we can no longer eat them".

However agreement is sometimes in plural.

*wraq məzyanin* "beautiful papers", *kək muš mđəwwrin* "non-round biscuits", *šməš bain* "good candles".

## (3) Agreement of numerals and nouns.

## (a) 1: singular N + singular Ad.

*bič kbira* "a big room", *ražal řwil* "a tall man", *bənc məzyana* "a beautiful girl".

## (b) 2-10: plural N + plural Ad.

*zuz byuč kbar* "two big rooms", *zuz řzal řwal* "two tall men", *zuz əbnač məzyanin* "two beautiful girls", *řlač byuč əkbar* "three big rooms", *řlač əřzal řwal* "three tall men", *řlač bnač məzyanin* "three beautiful girls".

## (c) 11-102: singular N + plural Ad.

*řlačin bič kbar* "thirty big rooms", *řlačin řožal řwal* "thirty tall men", *xəmsin bənc məzyanin* "fifty beautiful girls", *ħdaš əlħuš kbar* "eleven big houses", *mič kəlb kbar* "one hundred big dogs", *mič řožal kbar* "one hundred tall men", *mič əin kbar* "one hundred big eyes", *mič bənc məzyanin* "one hundred beautiful girls", *miya w wahəd kəlb kbar* "one hundred and one big dogs", *miya w wahəd řožal řwal* "one hundred and one tall men".

## (d) 102: plural N + plural Ad.

Above 102, both the adjective and the noun are plural.

*miya w tnin klab kbar* "one hundred and two big dogs", *miya w tnin řzal řwal* "one hundred and two tall men".

In (c) and (d), adjectives are in plural, i.e. agreeing *ad sensum*. The same is applies to the following example where a masculine singular agrees with a plural verb.

*w əlbaqi mšaw řitalya* "and the rest went to Italy".

## 3.2. Elative

The elative expresses the comparative and the superlative. The morphological aspect of the elative has already been mentioned in 2.3.2.5. and the present section deals with its usage.

## 3.2.1. Formation

In 2.3.2.5. the formation of the elative pattern *CCəC*, e.g. *kbar* "bigger", *řwal* "longer, taller", *řzan* "heavier", *řyan* "more beautiful" etc. is mentioned. Besides there is another form which has value equal to the elative: *kčər* + adjective of the positive degree (= *kčər*-construction).<sup>2</sup> *kčər*-construction is applied to adjectives which cannot be put in the elative pattern *CCəC*, e.g. loanwords, and also to adjectives which can form the elative on the pattern *CCəC*.

*kčər kbir* "bigger", *kčər řwil* "longer, taller", *kčər řpörtənti* "more important", *kčər řawali* "more poor" etc.

## REMARK

1. In the *kčər*-construction, the adjective agrees with the gender and the number of the noun: *uwa kčər řwil* "he is taller", *iya kčər řwila* "she is taller", *əmma kčər řwal* "they are taller".

2. *xir* "better" has an elative signification, but further *kčər* can precede it: *kčər xir* "better", e.g. *řəqməřža adi (kčər) xir mənn adik* "this shirt is better than that one". And *xir* can alternate with *kčər bai*, but the latter is used less frequently.

## 3.2.2. Comparative

The object of the comparison is marked with *mən* "than".

*dəwid uwa lbəkri, kbar məzzuz řgar əřčənyin* "David is the eldest son, older than two other children", *adi řgər mənn əč řəqub* "this one (f.) is younger than Yaqov's sister", *dəwid kbar mən xu řəqub* "David is older than Jacob's brother", *řřibu xuya kbar mənni* "you will find my elder brother",<sup>3</sup> *nqəš mənn adi* "less than this", *w əbni qřər xir mən nčə řřəřařan* "And build a castle better than that of the Sultan!", *uwa řwəř məlkəll* "he is the tall of all".

<sup>2</sup> Blau, *Emergence*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> In this construction the relative pronoun is not necessary and *xuya kbar mənni* is not a sentence but a phrase. Thus a sentence like *xuya kbar mənni řəřər řitalya* "my elder brother traveled to Italy" is possible.

### 3.2.3. Superlative

(1) The superlative is formed with *lākčər* (with the definite article) + positive. It seems that the definite article + *CCəC* seems not to be used.

*lwəld ada lākčər fwil fəklässə* "this boy is the tallest in the class", *lākčər bəkri* "as soon as possible", *iya lākčər məzyana fəlblad* "she is the most beautiful in the town", *ləbnač ađun lākčər məzyanin fəlblad* "these girls are the most beautiful in the town", *lyum ənnar lākčər fwil fəkam* "today is the longest day in the year", *ləbambər lākčər mliħ uwa nčə fažu* "the best almond biscuits are those of Fāžu".

(2) The definite noun + *l* + positive.

*yusəfuwa rrazəl ləqwi fəlblad* "Yūsuf is the strongest man in the town", *dina iya lbənc əlməzyana fəlblad* "Dina is the most beautiful girl in the town".

(3) Positive with the definite article + *mən* + noun indicating a certain group to which the subject belongs.

*yusəfuwa zzgır fəlhūs* "Yūsuf is the youngest of the house", *yusf əzzgır fi xwaču* "Yūsuf is the youngest among his brothers".

### 3.2.4. Exclamative by elative

The combination of *ma* + elative + pron.suff. designates the exclamative. When the suffix begins with a vowel the syllabic alteration takes place (see 1.4.2.1).

*ara ma kəbr!* (< *ma kəbr + u*) "how big he is!", *ma kbəra!* "how big she is!", *ma čəfhu!* "how tasty it (m.) is!", *ma tuħu!* (< *ma tuħ + u*) "how tall it (m.) is!", *ma fwəla!* "how tall she is!", *ma dəfu!* "how weak he is!", *ma dšəfa* "how weak she is!", *qulu ya zənqa ma bak!* "say (pl.), 'Oh blind-alley, how good you are!'".

### 3.3. Negative expressions

To form negative sentence of various nuances, different means are taken. In each case *ma* is put before a verb (or pseudo-verb, see 2.2.5.2.) and *š* is put after the verb. With the negatives of various nuances (*hətča*) *šəyy* "nothing", (*hətča*) *wəħəd* ~ *hədd* "nobody" etc. -*š* does not occur. In this sense, the morphological function of *š* is identical with *šəyy*, *wəħəd* or *hədd*, thus *š* cannot coexist with them. (*hətča*) *šəyy*, *wəħəd*, *hədd* can stand before *ma* + verb in order to emphasize the negation. Besides the expression *ma ... kan* is equivalent to Fr. *ne ... que*.

(1) Negation with *ma*.

(a) *ma ... š* "not".

The simple negative.

*ma čqətlıyış* "don't kill (f.) him", *ləš ma žitš əməs?* "why didn't you come yesterday?".

(b) *ma ... hətča* + singular noun "no ... does / is, any ... does / is not". *hətča* + noun can precede *ma ...*.

*ma kčəbli hətča žwab* "he wrote to me no letter", *hətča mərra ma riču* "I never saw him", *hətča makla ma čəšəbni* "no food pleases me".

With *hətča šəyy* or *hətča həza* "nothing" is expressed (see 2.1.9.(3) and (4)).

*hətča həza ma şarəč* "nothing has happened", *hətča həza ma klič* "I ate nothing" (~ *hətča šəyy ma klič*), *ma qalla hətča šəyy* "he said to her nothing".

For *hətča šəyy*, *hətča* may be omitted in the meaning of "nothing".

(*hətča*) *šəyy ma şar* "nothing has happened", *hədd ma kan yəxnəb (hətča) šəyy* "no one was stealing anything".

With *hətča hədd* ~ *wəħəd* "no one" is expressed (see 2.1.9.(1aδ)). In the former case *hətča* may be omitted.

*ma čəndi hədd* "I have no one", *ma yəwdu šəyy ləhədd* "they tell nothing to nobody", *hədd ma kan yəxnəb šəyy* "no one was stealing anything", *iya dəwwəč wəžža ma čəš əşib hədd* "she turned her face but she found no longer anyone", *hətča hədd* ~ *wəħəd ma ža* "no one came", *hətča wəħəd ma tħək* "no one laughed".

For adverbial expression "never", *ma ... šəyy* is always used.

*ma yətləš šəyy* "he never goes out".

(c) *ma ... ka(n)* "only (Fr. *ne ... que*)".

*ma yənfəni ka lqməžža li čgənni...* "only the shirt which sings has an effect on me", *ma yətləš šəyy kan fəllil* "he never goes out except at night", *ma nəşrəħ kan əlqawa* "I drink only coffee".

(2) Negation with *la*.(a) *la* "no".

An adverb to state negation (see 2.6.3.(18)).

(b) *la verb*<sub>1</sub> *wla verb*<sub>2</sub>....

To negate two verbs, *la... wla...* is used.

*la čaqčála wla čarṃia* "do not kill her and don't throw her out", *la dwala wla r'əš məš mərəču wla šəyy* "he did not speak to her or get angry with his wife or anything", *lyum la nəšrəb wla nakəl 'la xaṭəṭ šayəm* "today I do not drink or eat because I am fasting".

(c) *la verb la noun*<sub>1</sub> *la noun*<sub>2</sub> ... "neither ... nor ...".

This construction is used in order to negate more than two nouns which are subjects, objects or complements of a verb.

*məṭṭ əššəṭtaṇ la dżib la kəlb la qəṭṭuš la hżəṭ* "the Sultan's wife has given birth neither to a dog or a cat or a stone", *aná la nakəl la lkukla la lksəksu* "I do not eat either kukla or couscous", *la žaw la muši la yusəf* "neither Moše nor Yūsuf came".

(3) Negation with *muš*.

*muš* "not".

This is used in the following cases.

## (a) Before nouns.

*ada muš əncəfi* "this is not mine", *muš qa nəsmə* "I cannot hear", *adi huča muš baəya* "this fish is not good", *muš əlkəll yud* "not everybody are Jews", *haža muš nəcəəm əmma* "a thing (which is) not of theirs".

## (b) As particle making a tag question.

*tlac rəb'ac, muš?* "it is 3/4, isn't it?", *muš qətlək?* "I said to you, didn't I?".

## 3.4. NLA (Noun + il + Adjective) construction

In CA, when the noun is definite, an adjective modifying it must also be definite. However, in many modern dialects there are attested many place names consisting of a bare noun (not definite) + an adjective with the definite article.

In his *Toponyms*, A. Borg coined a terminology "NLA (Noun + il (the definite article) + Adjective) construction" to refer such an apparently irregular nominal

phrase. This deletion of the definite article of the noun, the noun phrase obtains "the categorical status of proper names". According to Borg, forms taking the NLA construction are classified "(a) toponyms, (b) designations of certain religious festivals, and (c) a set of historically nominal expressions functioning as temporal adverbs". In TJ the some other forms are added, see (2) and (3) below.

Such formations are attested in CA and in the early papyri documents where the use of the NLA construction is not restricted to those three categories.

## (1) Place names.

*ħara lkbira* "the Big Quarter (of Tripoli)", *ħara lwəštya* "the Middle Quarter (of Tripoli)" (see 2.3.2.4. REMARK), *ħara zzgira* "the Small Quarter (of Tripoli)", *blad lkbira* "the Capital".

When a preposition is added, the NLA construction is cancelled.

*lalħara lkbira* "to the Big Quarter", *məlħara lkbira* "from the Big Quarter", *kənč nəskən fəlħara lkbira* "I lived in the Big Quarter".

According to Borg, in Maltese the NLA construction of place names tends to be obsolete, and:

"the few urban place names of this type (e.g. *Blata l-Bajda*, *Rahal il-Ġdid*) are uttered with the initial article by many speakers. Conservative speakers who retain the older construction, e.g. in the frame *Noqghod...* "I live in..." tend, nonetheless, to introduce the article in certain syntactic positions, e.g. often but not exclusively in subject and object positions" (Borg *Toponyms*, p. 72).

As far as I have observed, however, in TJ the definite article is attached only after a preposition, and otherwise the NLA construction is always retained.

## (2) Noun + ordinal number.

*wəld ləwwəl kbəṭ* "The first child grew",<sup>4</sup> *məṭṭa ləwwla* "for the first time".

## (3) Fingers.

*šbəc əlkbir* "the thumb", *šbəc ətčani* "the index", *šbəc lwəštī* "the middle finger", *šbəc əṭṭabəc* "the third finger", *šbəc əzzgīr* "the little finger".

4 Borg cites a similar example from Baghdad-Jewish *wəlad luwla ni* "the first boy", see Borg, *Toponyms*, p. 76.

#### 4. Conclusion - the position of TJ among the Maghribi dialects

The description which has been carried out above enables us to compare TJ with other Maghribi dialects and place it among them.

A modest observation of TJ reveals that TJ is crucially different from TM in its language type. The situation is reminiscent of Baghdad (see Blanc, *Baghdad*); that is, TJ sedentary characteristics and TM bedouin ones, e.g. (1) the reflection of *qāf* of CA, TJ [q] : TM [g], (2) the pronunciation of *rāʔ*, TJ [R] (r grasseyé) : TM [r] (apical trill), (3) the suffix for 3.pl. of *IIIy* with *-i* base (type *yāmšī*),<sup>1</sup> e.g. TJ *yāšriw* "they buy" : TM *jēšru* "they buy" (transcription following Stumme, *Tripoli*). TJ and TM share mostly the same vocabulary. However, as stated above, Ha-Cohen, *Higgid* lists a number of words which are not common to both (in Appendix I we give the table of comparative vocabulary from Ha-Cohen, *Higgid*, p. 232-233).

In the following we enumerate a number of phenomena which can serve as criteria for comparison with other Maghribi dialects.

##### (1) Phonology.

(a) Reflection of CA interdental sibilants as plosive: CA *ḍ* > *d*, CA *ḍ*, *ḍ* > *d*. This is widespread phenomenon in sedentary dialects, except in Tunisian sedentary Muslim dialects.

(b) Reflection of CA *t*, *ṭ* as affricate *č* (or its plosive variants, see 1.3.2.4.). This is attested only in TJ, Benghazi Jewish and some dialects in eastern Algeria; in sedentary dialects of various parts of northern Algeria and Morocco, these sounds are reflected as [t] (see 1.1.1.(2) for details).

(c) *Chuintant* and *sifflant* (see 1.3.2.5.). In TJ when two *chuintants*, or one *chuintant* and one *sifflant* stand in a word, the *chuintant(s)* is (are) altered into the corresponding *sifflant*, e.g. CA *šaḡar* > TJ *szar* "trees", CA *maḡlis* > TJ *mazlas* "committee". In other dialects the alteration rules tend to be much more complicated,<sup>2</sup> except Fez-Jewish, Sefrou-Jewish and Tafilalt where CA *chuintants* *š* and *ḡ* are always realized as sibilants *s* and *z* respectively.

(d) Reflection of CA *q* as a voiceless uvular plosive [q], not as [g] of bedouin dialects or [k] of village dialects of Algeria.<sup>3</sup> In Tlemcen-Jewish, this is reflected as *k*.<sup>4</sup>

(e) Reflection of CA *r* as a uvular trill *r* [R]. The majority of Jews of Tripoli city pronounce *r* as a uvular trill. In other Maghribi dialects such a pronunciation is a mere personal idiosyncrasy, not a sound shift. In Algiers, contrary to TJ, the uvular *r* is attested among Muslims, but not among Jews.<sup>5</sup>

(f) Absence of *h* as a phoneme. This phenomenon is attested in Maltese, Tunis-Jewish and Algiers-Jewish as well. It is noteworthy that the disappearance of *h* is restricted to non-Muslim dialects.

(g) Unique short vowel phoneme *a*. Beside TJ, Algiers-Jewish (and also Djidjelli?) and Constantine-Jewish have only one short vowel phoneme (see 1.2.1.1. for details).

(h) *Aufsprengen* (see 1.4.2.1.). "Aufsprengen" is the avoidance of a sequence of three consonants *CCC* which results from attaching a suffix beginning with a vowel to a syllable ending with *-CCəC*: *CCəC + V-* > *\*CCəCV-* > *\*CCCV-*. Broadly speaking when such a *CCC* occurs, one of the following measures is taken according to dialects: *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>* is rendered into (α) *C<sub>1</sub>ṽC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>* or (β) *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>ṽC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>*, or (γ) *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>* remains as it is.<sup>6</sup> TJ takes (α), e.g. *yəḍrəḅ* "he hits" + *-u* "him" > *yḍərḅu* "he hits him", *məsləm* "Muslim" + *-a* "(feminine ending)" > *msəlma* "Muslim (f.)". The measure (α) is taken in Moroccan sedentary / village dialects, Algerian village dialects (especially those around Constantine and Djidjelli), Algiers-Jewish (in the form of *-C<sub>1</sub>ṽC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>V*), Marāzīg, el-Hāmma, Constantine and Mzāb (in the form of *-ḍC<sub>1</sub>ṽC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>V*), south Algeria, 'Ain Māḍi, Tōlga (in the form of *-ṽC<sub>1</sub>ṽC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>V*). The measure (β) is taken in bedouin dialects of west Algeria, sedentary dialects of Algeria, Trāra and Teniet el-Hadd. The measure (γ) is taken in Maltese (*jiktbu* "they write") and Tunisian sedentary dialects (e.g. Tunis-Muslim *yirḅu* "they obtain").<sup>7</sup>

(i) Form I str. 3.f.sg. perfect *CəCCəč* + pronoun suffix for the 3.m.sg. (*-u*), 2.sg. (*-ək*). This combination brings about a short vowel in an open syllable which is usually avoided in the Maghribi dialects: TJ *ḍərḅəč* "she hit" + *-u* "it (m.)" > *\*ḍərḅəču* (with

3 Marçais, *Algérie*, p. 221.

4 Marçais, *Tlemcen*, p. 18.

5 Cohen, *Alger*, p. 27.

6 Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 255. In the case of (γ), thus, the *Aufsprengen* is not applied.

7 Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, pp. 255-256.

1 Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 263.

2 Taine-Cheikh, *Altération*.

2.sg. \**ḍarḥāčək*). In TJ, to solve this problem the alteration of syllabification is carried out; e.g. \**ḍarḥāčū* > *ḍarḥčū*. Beside TJ, this measure is attested in Jewish dialects of Algeria, Fahs (Algeria). In sedentary dialects of Tunisia and in dialects of north-east Algeria etc. the ending *-t* is geminated to close the open syllable containing the short vowel, e.g. Tunis Muslim *kitbittu* "she wrote it (m.)". A third measure, viz. the lengthening of *a*, e.g. > *CəCCāCu*: *kətbātu* "she wrote it (m.)" is taken in many Moroccan dialects, Tlemcen, TM, Cyrenaica, Marāzīg, el-Ḥamma, Algiers-Jewish.<sup>8</sup>

(j) Phonemic stress. In many modern dialects there are attested cases where the stress functions as a suprasegmental phoneme. The most conspicuous case is an opposition as *ḍarabū* [ḍarabu] "they hit" : *ḍarabū* "they hit him" (in Damascus). In the latter the pronoun suffix for the 3.m.sg. is attached to a word ending with a historically long vowel. But in TJ the extent of the phonemic function of stress is much wider, e.g. all derived verbs in the perfect of the 3.m.sg. (oxytone) are opposed to their corresponding imperative for the m. (paroxytone), e.g. *səkkər* "he closed" : *səkkər* "close (m.)!", see 1.4.3.2.3. for details. This is one of the most distinctive features of TJ.

## (2) Morphology.

### (a) Pronouns.

(α) The distinction of gender in the 2.sg. For the independent pronoun (and verb conjugation), the 2.sg. is divided into two genders, *nča* (m.) : *nči* (f.); *kčəbč* "you (m.) (~ I) wrote" : *kčəbči* "you (f.) wrote"; *čəkčəb* "you (m.) write" : *čəkčəbi* "you (f.) write", whilst for the pronoun suffix, this distinction is annulled: only *-k* "your, you (acc.)" is used, e.g. *bəncək* "your (m. ~ f.) daughter", *nsək* "he forgot you (m. ~ f.)". A similar distinction is made in TM, Miliana, Cherchell, Médéa, Blida, Algiers, Dellys, bedouin dialects of Algeria and Morocco, Hassāniya. Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 261 adds to these Tetuan. For Moroccan sedentary dialects gender is distinguished in the independent pronoun and the imperfect / imperative conjugation, but not in the perfect conjugation, see Fischer & Jastrow, *ibid.*, p. 63.

(β) Independent dative marker *lil-*. This is used to emphasize the indirect object, e.g. *kčəb lilī žwab* "he wrote a letter to me" (cf. *kčəbli žwab* "he wrote me a letter"), or to indicate the indirect object in combination with a verb with a pronoun suffix of 1st or 2nd person for the direct object, e.g. *bčətni lilək* "he sent me to you". *lil-* is

<sup>8</sup> Fischer & Jastrow, *Handbuch*, p. 261.

used also in Malta (but *lil* may indicate a direct object, e.g. *mhux lilu nhobb imma lilha* "I do not love him, I love her), and in Tunis-Muslim, where *lil-* means "since", e.g. *lili ilāta nhārāt mā šrābt ḥāтта ḥāža* "seit drei Tagen habe ich gar nichts getrunken".<sup>9</sup>

(γ) Interrogative *ša*. Mostly the interrogative for "what?" is in the Maghrib *aš*, *š* or *waš*, and *ša* is attested only in TJ and Ouargha.

### (b) Verbs.

(α) *Ih*, *IIIh* verbs. Because of the disappearance of *h*, verbs containing this historical *h* take a special form, therefore we establish special root groups with *h*, i.e. *Ih*, *IIIh*, though no other description of Maghribi dialects puts these verbs into a separate conjugational category. *IIIh* roots coincide for the most part with *IIIw/y*.

(β) *IIIy* verbs. As stated above, *IIIy* verbs retain the ending long vowel (*-a* or *-i*) in the plurals, e.g. *mšaw* "they went", *yəmsiw* "they go". This phenomenon is common to sedentary Maghribi dialects. On the other hand, for the bedouin dialects the situation is more complicated. The plural of verb forms based on the ending *-a* is formed with *-āw*, *-āw* or with *-u*, and the plural of verb forms based on the ending *-i* is formed with *-īw* or with *-u*, and there are, broadly speaking three combinations, (i) *mšu* & *yəmsu* (TM, north Constantine, eastern Sahara), (ii) *mšāw* & *yəmsīw* (central Constantine), (iii) *mšāw* & *yəmsu* (other parts of Algeria).<sup>10</sup>

(γ) In the Maghrib for the verbs "to eat" and "to take", forms from two different roots are attested: *kla* "to eat", *xda* "to take" (*IIIy*) and *kal* "to eat", *xad* "to take" (*IIw/y*). In TJ *kla-xda* and *kal-xad* coexist, but in other Maghribi dialects, as far as I have observed, the distribution of *kla-xda* and *kal-xad* of these verbs is complementary, viz. a given dialect possesses only one of the *kla-xda* series or the *kal-xad* series. In most Maghribi dialects the *kla-xda* series is attested, whilst in Fez-Jewish, Maltese, Hassāniya, Bou Saāda the *kal-xad* series is exclusively used. In Tafilalt and Sefrou-Jewish for "to eat" *kal* and for "to take" *xda* are used.

(δ) Reflexivity-passivity verb is expressed by Form VII (with *n-* prefix): *nəkčəb* "to be written", *nḥəll* "to be opened". A form with *t-* prefix (Form-T), which is attested e.g. in Tunis-Muslim *tiḥtib* "to be written", *thəll* "to be opened" (thus here *t-* prefix does not mean Form V, VI) is never attested in TJ. In TJ a few number of Form VIII verbs are attested. The distribution of Form VII and Form-T in Maghribi

<sup>9</sup> Stumme, *Tunis*, p. 131.

<sup>10</sup> Marçais, *Algérie*, p. 234.

dialects is complementary, namely in a given dialect only one of Form VII or Form-T is predominant. The distribution in other Maghribi dialects is as follows: (i) dialects where Form VII is predominant: TM, Tlemcen, Maltese, Algiers-Jewish, Fez-Jewish, Cherchell, Sefrou-Jewish, Tafilalt-Jewish, (ii) dialects where Form-T is predominant: Tunis-Muslim, Tunis-Jewish, Bou-Saâda, Djidjelli, Ūlād-əl-ḥažž d-əl-wād.

(ε) Form XI and Form VIII *Ilw/y* verbs conjugate in the perfect for the 1st and 2nd person with a linking vowel *-i-* (see 2.2.2.1.1.(b)), e.g. *smanič* "I became fat", *xčarič* "I chose" (likewise in Algiers-Jewish, Rabat, Fez, Tlemcen, Saida). Elsewhere in the Maghrib conjugational forms without the linking vowel are attested, e.g. *smānt*, *xtārt* respectively (TM, Tunis-Muslim, Tunis-Jewish, Cherchell, Maltese, Hassāniya, Bou Saâda).

(ζ) The imperfect of Form VII, VIII and X *Illy* always ends with *-a*, not with *-i*, which is expected from CA form, e.g. Form VII *nāma* "to be blind" : *yanma* "he will be blind", Form VIII *rāxa* "to soften (v.i.)" : *yarxa* "he will soften", Form X *stāhla* "to find sweet" : *yastāhla* "he finds sweet".

(η) Whole conjugation series of *ra* "to see" which is, as far as I have observed, not attested in the Maghrib except for TJ and Maltese. In Tunis-Muslim this verb is used only in the perfect, and in other dialects, including TM, usually *šaf* is used and *ra* behaves as a demonstrative pronoun with a pronoun suffix.

(θ) The imperative of the verb "to come" is *čāla* and not \**čāla* which is expected from CA *tāālā*. In other dialects, including TM, where a form corresponding to CA *tāāla* serves as the imperative of "to come", the form has a long *ā* after *č*, e.g. TM *tāāla*.

(c) Nouns etc.

(α) Nouns denoting colours and physical defects. TJ does not distinguish m. and pl. and f. is oxytone, e.g. *kḥal* "black (m.)" : *kāhla* (f.) : *kḥal* (pl.). In other dialects usually m. and pl. are distinguished and f. is paroxytone: TM *aḥmar* "red (m.)" : *hāmra* (f.) : *ḥmor* (pl.). Tunis-Muslim *akḥal* "black (m.)" : *kāhla* (f.) : *kḥul* (pl.). Maltese *aḥmar* "red (m.)" : *hamra* (f.) : *homor* (pl.). Beside TJ, the oxytone feminine form is attested only in el-Ḥamma de Gabès, e.g. *ḥamrā* "red (f.)" *baḡā* "white (f.)". And in Algerian and Moroccan sedentary dialects the vowel in the first syllable is long: Tlemcen *kōhōl*.

(β) The diminutive of *bānč* "daughter, girl" is represented as *bniča* (also attested in Sefrou-Jewish, Tunis-Jewish and Ūlād-əl-ḥažž d-əl-wād), not \**bnayya* which is frequent in many dialects.

(γ) Cardinal numerals 11 - 19. When combined with a counted noun, *l* is inserted, e.g. *xmāštas əlkəlb* "fifteen dogs". In the Maghrib for this inserted element *n*, *r* and *l* are attested. *n* is attested in Tunis-Muslim, Tunis-Jewish, village dialects of Tell of Oran, and *r* in south Oran. *l* is attested, beside TJ, in TM, Moroccan cities and Tlemcen. When the initial consonant of the counted noun is a *ḥarf šamsiyy*, *l* is assimilated to it, e.g. *lḷəttas ərražəl* "thirteen men", *čmāntas əttasa* "eighteen cups". Note that in Moroccan cities this assimilation is not carried out.

(δ) Ordinal numbers. The ordinary number pattern *CāCāC* extended to 11th and 12th: *ḥadās* "eleventh" and *ṭanās* "twelfth". The same applies to Moroccan sedentary dialects, Tunis-Jewish and TM. In Tlemcen and Algiers-Jewish only *ḥādās* is attested.

(3) Syntax.

Erelative is formed in two ways, (α) on the pattern *CCāC* or (β) *kčər* + positive adjective, e.g. *uwa kḥər māna ~ uwa kčər kbir māna* "he is older than she". In the superlative it seems that *lakčər* + positive adjective is rather used, e.g. *iya lakčər māzana bəlblad* "she is the most beautiful in the town". The construction of *kčər* + positive adjective is frequently attested in Maltese, *raġel iktar sabih* "a more handsome man", *l-aktar importanti* "the most important".

## 5. Text

"The Sultan and three sisters" by *Mêrê Həzzaž Liluf*, born in 1925, Tripoli

(1) *kan u ma kan ʿala wahat<sup>1</sup> ʃəltan.* (2) *adak əʃʃəltan ma ʿənduʃ əzgar.* (3) *lila mallyali ʃar ʃli nʿas.* (4) *təbbəh həlluzir<sup>2</sup> ənʿa u w qallu ʕəʿla, aná ma ʿəndiʃ ənʿas, nəbbə ətəʃu. nlabu börgəzə, u ətəʃu nəraw lblad.* (5) *lbəs börgəzə ʃʃəltan u luzir, w xadu ləʃənnə nʿaʿəm u təʃu.* (6) *bdaw yəmsiw fəlblad ydəwwru na na na na, wəʃlu lxlə.* (7) *ʃəbu dəww zəyyar məm-bʿid, mʃəʿul.<sup>3</sup>* (8) *qallu əyya nʿəbbʿu ʃtəriq w nəraw ədḍəww ada ʃawa uwa.* (9) *mʃaw mʃaw mʃaw, ʃəbu zriba zəyyara.* (10) *qallu əsməh həss ədduwa.* (11) *sməʿ ədduwa, wəqfu, qəʃdu yətʃənnəʕu, yəsmʿu dduwa ʃa ʕəmma ʃa iya dduwa.* (12) *kənu fīa tlaʕ əbnaʕ, adik əzzriba.* (13) *əlbənt ləkbira qalʕ, qa ʕədwi ləxʕə, qaltla, hnan ʒʿanin, u ma da biya yaxədni ssənfaz ʕə-ʃʃəltan.<sup>4</sup>* *nəʃbʿ aná nakəl aná qbəl ma yakəl əʃʃəltan.* (14) *ʒa ʃʃəltan qal luzir, qallu əkʕəb, li tsəmfʿu-kəʕbu.<sup>5</sup>* (15) *ətʕanya qaltla, aná ma da biya yaxədni ʃtəbbəx, li yəʿməl makla ləʃʃəltan, nəʃbʿ aná qbəl ma yəʃbʿ əʃʃəltan.* (16) *qallu qəyyəd ya wzir!* (17) *əzzgira qaltləm, aná ka yaxədni ʃʃəltan, ʔam ləwwəl nəziblu wəld, əʔam ətʕani nəziblu wəld u ʔam ətʕaləʕ nəziblu bənʕ.* (18) *qallu, qəyyəd ya wzir.* (19) *qəyyədu w mʃaw, ʔəwwəhu.*

(20) *ʔəwwəh fəʃʃəh, əʃʃəltan nadəəm aduk əbnaʕ.* (21) *ʃa ʕəmma, ʃa qəmma? ʕmənnə ma ʔlʕna məlhūʃ, ʕlaʃ təbbəh ʃlina<sup>6</sup> ʃʃəltan?* (22) *qalləm, əʃʃəltan yəbbəkəm.* (23) *mʃaw ʔmʃumīn bəlxuf.* (24) *ʃa ʕəmma a sidi ʃʃəltan?* (25) *qalləm, ʕuwa qululi ləʃq, ʃa dwiʕu lbarəh fəllil?* (26) *qalu ka lgdəbb inəzʒi, ləʃq ənzə w ənzə, ma ʕəmmaʃ kif əlʃq fəddənya.* (27) *qaltlu, aná qalʕ, ka yaxədni ssənfaz ʕə-ʃʃəltan, nəʃbʿ aná qbəl ma yəʃbʿ əʃʃəltan.* (28) *qalla, nəi ʕaxdi ssənfaz u yəʔtik ʕakəl qbəl ma nakəl aná.* (29) *w ətʕanya qaltlu-ná qalʕ yaxədni ʃtəbbəx...* (30) *qalla, nəi ʕaxdi ʃtəbbəx u ʕakli nəi qbəl ma nakəl aná.*

1 *wahət* < *wahəd*: The original *d* is assimilated to the following *ʃ*, and undergoes devoicing and emphasizing. Many similar cases are attested in the present text but will be not noted except for necessary cases. The reader should consult 1.3.2. on the assimilation.

2 *təbbəh həlluzir* < *təbbəh ʕəlluzir*; see 1.3.2.1.2.(4a).

3 *mʃəʿul* < \**məʃul*, see 1.4.2.4.2.2.

4 *ʕə-* < *nəʕ*, see 2.5.2.(17).

5 *tsəmfʿu-kəʕbu* < *tsəmfʿu əkəʕbu*, see 1.2.6.1.(2a).

6 *təbbəh ʃlina* < \**təbbəh ʕlina*, see 1.2.4.1.(3dβii) and 1.3.2.1.2.(4b).

(1) Once upon a time there was a Sultan. (2) That Sultan had no children. (3) One night sleep fled from him. (4) He called his minister and said, "Come, I have no sleepiness. I want us to go out. Let's wear civilian dress, and go out to see the country". (5) The Sultan and the minister put on civilian dress, and took their horses and went out. (6) They began to go about the town going around on and on, they reached the desert. (7) They perceived a little light from a far, lit. (8) He said to him, "Let's follow the way and see what this light is". (9) They went forward, and found a small hut. (10) He said to him, "Listen to the sound of speech!". (11) He listened to the speech. They stood and remained listening carefully, listening to the speech; what is there? what is the speech? (12) In it here are three girls, (in) that hut. (13) The elder girl said, while speaking to her sister, she said to her, "We are hungry, and I would like the doughnut maker of the Sultan to marry me. I will be satiated, I will eat before the Sultan eats. (14) Thereupon the Sultan said to the minister, said to him, "Write! Write down what you hear!" (15) The second said to her, "I would like the cook, he who makes food for the Sultan, to marry me. I will be satiated before the Sultan is satiated". (16) He said to him, "Register, Minister!" (17) The youngest said to them, "If the Sultan marries me, in the first year I will bear a boy to him, in the second year a boy, and the third year a girl". (18) He said to him, "Register, Minister!". (19) He registered it and they went away, they returned.

(20) Returning in the morning, the Sultan called those girls. (21) "What did we do? What did we say? We never went out from the house, and why has the Sultan called us?" (22) He said to them, "The Sultan wants you." (23) The poor girls went with fear. (24) "What did we do, my lord Sultan?" (25) He said to them, "Now say to me the truth; what did you say last night?" (26) They said: if the lie saves, the truth saves all the more; there is nothing in the world like truth. (27) She said to him, "I said, if the doughnut maker of the Sultan marries me, I will be satiated before the Sultan is satiated." (28) He said to her, "You marry the doughnut maker, and he will give you to eat before I eat." (29) And the second said to him, "I said, (if) the cook marries me..." (30) He said to her, "You marry the cook and you will eat before I eat."

(31) *w əzzgira, qalla, mşugra duwčək li qa čədwi fia?* (32) *qaltlu, nžiblək kam ləwwəl wəld, kam atčani wəld, w əkam atčaləč bənč.*

(33) *dzəwwáz əliə ššəltan.* (34) *ədzəwwáz, həbləd dik əlmra mn-əššəltan,* (35) *w ləxwəč, raw əxčəm xdať əššəltan, w həblə w lkəll, nəgru.* (36) *nəgru mən-əxčəm.* (37) *žaw lqabla li kəll mərəra džia baš čarāa,* (38) *u qalula-səm<sup>i</sup>-xtna čuwa džib wəld.* (39) *u kif ədžib wəld, xudi fi yəddək kəlbə, ərmi dak əlwəld mn-ərrušan, ma čqatliyiš, u quli žabəč kəlbə.* (40) *kifaš čəməl, kifaš ada?* (41) *čawa flus, bzayəd, lqabla ɣəmfəč u xdať duk əlflus.* (42) *wəldəč mərəť əššəltan, w žabəč wəld.* (43) *xəšəd žabəč wəld, rmaču mn-ərrušan-li<sup>7</sup> yži čli ssanya nčə-ššəltan, dak əzzgir, u stənnaw lwuzra u kəll.* (44) *ša žabəč mərəť əššəltan? ša žabəč?* (45) *qaltləm, nəčhəššm ənqul.* (46) *čalaš? žač iya qaltləm, žabəč kəlb.* (47) *kəlb! əššəltal-ɣməqqur!<sup>8</sup> bka, čəz bi, ama, qal bəsədčər, xal-lia.* (48) *čməlla kaḅuda kif ma yəlzəm, u ma qalla hətča šəyy.*

(49) *həbləč mərəra čanya, həbləč mərəra čanya,* (50) *w ađuk əlqabla iya fi ruḅha, žaw ləxwəč u qalula nči mnəči mərəra ləwwla.* (51) *w lazəm tčə<sup>9</sup> ada džib wəld w ərmiyi kima rmiči ləwwəl, adak əlwəld.*

(52) *čəmmar əssanya qam fəššəbah, w šəḅ a-lwəld, məzyan u zğəyyər.* (53) *xadu w ləffu w rfəč əlmərəču qalla ari ša šəḅi, li čawunna-ɣlā.* (54) *qəd, bəč kəmsa mn əssanya gəlla w wahəd baš šralu ləbs, u ləbbəslu qədčənd mərəču.*

(55) *kif qčda čuləd, qalla kima čməlčilu uwa quli lətčani.* (56) *ɣah məzzala, ɣmərra ləwwla mənəč u kan yfiq bia ššəltan u kan u kan.* (57) *qalu la ma čxafiš.* (58) *ɣmərra tčanya žabəč wəlt čani, rmaču mərrušan u qalt žabəč qəttuš.* (59) *ša žabəč mərəť əššəltan?* (60) *qallu žabəč qəttuš.* (61) *mərəra ləwwla kəlb, u tčanya qəttuš!* (62) *əššəltan ma čməlla šəyy, la dwala wla rəš mčə mərəču wla šəyy.* (63) *qal nara tčaləč ša uwa, zğəyyər atčaləč.*

7 *ərrušan-li < ərrušan li*, see 1.3.2.1.2.(2b).

8 *ll < n + l*, see 1.3.2.1.2.(2a).

9 *tčə < hətča*, see 3.6.3.(12).

(31) And the youngest; he said to her, "Is your story that you are telling certain?" (32) She said to him, "In the first year I will bear a boy to you, in the second year a boy, and the third year a girl".

(33) The Sultan married her. (34) He married and that wife became pregnant by the Sultan. (35) And when the sisters saw that their sister had married the Sultan and was pregnant etc, they felt jealous. (36) They felt jealous of their sister. (37) They came to the midwife who was coming to her (i.e. the Sultan's wife) every time to see her, (38) and said to her, "Listen, now our sister is going to bear a boy. (39) And when she bears a boy, take a bitch in your hand, and throw that boy from the window, but do not kill him, and say that she has given birth to a bitch." (40) How can she do it, how (can she do) this? (41) They gave her much money, then the midwife coveted and took that money. (42) The Sultan's wife gave birth and had a boy. (43) She was delivered and had a boy, then (the midwife) threw him, that little one, from the window which looks out onto the field of the Sultan, and the ministers etc. waited. (44) "What did the Sultan's wife have? What did she have?" (45) She said to them "I am ashamed to say." (46) Why? Thereupon she said that she had given birth to a dog. (47) A dog! The miserable Sultan! He wept and was grieved. But he said, "All right, leave her." (48) He did appropriate honour to her and said nothing to her.

(49) She became pregnant once again. (50) When the midwife was alone, the sisters came and said to her, "you did a fine job the first time. (51) She must have a boy also this time, throw him as you threw the first, namely that boy."

(52) The gardener of the field got up in the morning and found the boy, a prince, beautiful and little. (53) He took him, wrapped and carried (him) to his wife and said to her, "Look there, what did I find? (It is) what God gave to us." (54) He sold some (products) of the field, fruits etc., so that he bought clothes and dressed him and stayed with his wife.

(55) When she was about to give birth, they said to her, "As you did for him (i.e. the first baby), say (the same thing) for the second baby." (56) Her luck has run out, the first time she did a fine job, but if the Sultan notices or if and if... (57) They said, "No, don't be afraid!" (58) For the second time she had another boy, and she threw him out of the window and said that she had given birth to a cat. (59) What did the wife of the Sultan have? (60) He said to him (= they said) that she had a cat. (61) For the first time a dog and for the second time a cat! (62) The Sultan did nothing to her. He did not speak to her or be angry with his wife or anything. (63) He said, "I will see what the third will be", the third baby.



(64) *žabəč adak ətčani. fītam ləwwəl, əlləwwəl, wəld ləwwəl kəbər.* (65) *šəb wəlt čani. yrəf u lmarču kəmmar.* (66) *w qəəd fərhan, fərha 'əmra ma šarəč bzuz ulad.*

(67) *w əššəltan, məskin, qəəd hzin ərzin w sakəč.* (68) *həbləč mərra čanya. w žaw aduk, ləxwač ladik əlqabla.* (69) *qalula, čuwa əxtna džib bənc u lazəm tča iya č'əmlia kima 'məlči lləwwlin.* (70) *quli žabəč həžra.* (71) *rəf' əč fi yədda həžra w rmad dik əlbənc mərrušan.* (72) *ša žabəč mərt əššəltan?* (73) *qalətam, žabəč həžra.* (74) *qalla. ləwwla kəlb, tčanya qəttuš u tčalča həžra?* (75) *'məll 'əlia məzləs m'a lwəzra.* (76) *qalləm ša ykul-lhəbs əncəa, li 'əmlətli hšuma kif adi u gədbəč 'əliya w ləwwəl u tčani u tčaləč.* (77) *wahət qal əqčəla, wahət qal tərřəda, wahət qal ma čhərrəqš fia, kəll hədd həkəmm 'əlia lun, aduk əlwəzra.* (78) *wahət qallu kəll ši məkčub mən-əlla, hətta fi bič w 'ətia čakəl kəll rəb'a w 'əšrin sə'a makla wəhda, wada uwa lə'ənəš nč'a, la čəqčəla wla čərmia.* (79) *'məlla ayda.* (80) *qə'dt məskina fi bič hruhha, kəll rəb'a w 'əšrin sə'a yə'tiwa čakəl w ada uwa.* (81) *w iya nafsə w žayba bəncu w fərhanə ka blušul.*<sup>10</sup>

(82) *kəbri duk əzzgar, wəllaw zuz ulad, bain. u ššbiya kəbərəč.* (83) *sə'm'u ləxwač li zžgar kəbri.* (84) *žaw ləlqabla qalula, čuwa ka ma č'əmliš 'əmlətčəm 'əzzgar. čuwa yətlə' əlhəqq.* (85) *yərəəm əššəltan u yqullu mnin žawək, w mnin ada, w šəbəm mərmiyin, čuwa yətlə' əlhəqq li hnan 'mənnə kəmla adi.* (86) *žaw ləlqabla.* (87) *qatlam ša nə'məl?* (88) *qalla dəwwri kifaš čqətlam.* (89) *əməsat əl... adik əlqabla məsat əlhüš... əssanya li fia lbənc u lulad.* (90) *w žat ləlbənc u qalila ya bənc əxči, anə xalčək u žič mən b'id u nhəm-nərak,*<sup>11</sup> *u smə't li nči qə'da-naya.*

<sup>10</sup> *ka blušul* < كلن بالاصول < (ن) < (ن)

<sup>11</sup> *nhəm-*, see 2.2.5.1(2)

(64) She had that second (baby). Meanwhile the first, the first boy was weaned and grew. (65) The gardener found a second boy and carried him to his wife. (66) He was happy, with a happiness with two boys, (the like of) which has never been.

(67) The poor Sultan remained sad, depressed and silent. (68) She became pregnant once again, then those sisters came to the midwife, (69) and said to her, "Now our sister will have a girl, and you must do also for her as you did to the predecessors. (70) Say that she has given birth to a stone". (71) She took a stone in her hand, and threw out the daughter from the window. (72) What did the Sultan's wife have? (73) She said to them, "She had a stone." (74) He said to her, the first was a dog, the second was a cat and the third is a stone? (75) He held a council about her with the ministers, (76) and said to them, "What will be her punishment, that she has put me to such shame as this, and lied to me (about) the first, the second and the third. (77) One said, "Kill her", another said, "Drive her away", another said, "Do not see her"; each one of those ministers judged her diversely. (78) One said to him, "Everything is divinely ordained, put her in a room and give her something to eat every twenty-four hours, one meal, and this is her punishment. Don't kill her or throw her out." (79) He acted thus with her. (80) She, poor woman, stayed in a room by herself, every twenty-four hours they give her something to eat and that's all. (81) In the ordinary course of things, she would be after childbirth, and she would have born his daughter and be happy.

(82) Those children grew and became two boys, beautiful, and the daughter grew. (83) The sisters heard that the children were growing up. (84) They came to the midwife and said to her, "Now, if you don't do away with them, the children, now the truth will come to light. (85) (If) the Sultan sees them and asks him (i.e. the gardener) 'Where did they come to you from? From where?', and (if the gardener says) he found them thrown away, now will come to light the truth that we did this deed." (86) They came to the midwife, (87) then she said to them "What should I do?" (88) He (They)<sup>12</sup> said to her, "Seek how to kill them!" (89) The midwife went, went to the house... to the field where the girl and the boys were, (90) and came to the girl and said to her, "O my niece, I am your aunt, I have come from afar, wanting to see you since I heard that you are here."

<sup>12</sup> *qalla* in TJ, but in fact the subject of this verb should be the sisters.

(91) *qalla, ma 'andi hədd, ma 'andiš əmməli, ma 'andi hədd.* (92) *qaltla-ná<sup>13</sup> xalčək, aná-xč-əmmək.* (93) *dəxxlátča adik əlbənc, əşşəiya, dəxxlátča, dwač ma<sup>14</sup> dwač m'aa.* (94) *iya qaltla, ša č'əmlu? ša adik?* (95) *qaltla, nəř kaməl aná fəssanya.* (96) *qaltla i, i, lu kan xwačk ihəbbuk, yžibulək ləqməžža li čgənni w kmama yrəddu 'lia.* (97) *iya qaltla ša nə'məl?* (98) *qaltla-šəmlu řuhək mřida, w quliləm nəhəbb əhəža adi, ařřibə qalli lazəm, ma yənfəni šəyy kan adi.*

(99) *žaw mšumün, duk əzzuz bhörim, xwača, šəbuə mřida fəlfraš.* (100) *š bik? ša šarłək? ša adik?* (101) *qaltləm aná mřida w žəbč ařřibə u qalli ma yənfəni ka lqməžža li čgənni w kmama yrədd əlia.* (102) *mnin ənžibua?* (103) *qaltləm, dəwwəua tča řšibua!*

(104) *həřtu ləhšənnə nčəəm, həřtu maklčəəm, həddru 'əlləhšənnə, w rəkbu duk əzzuz ulad 'əlləhšənnə nčəəm u mšaw.* (105) *əbdaw yəməšiw yəməšiw yəməšiw. win adi?* (106) *li yəždu yqulu ma n'ərfuš ada, ma n'ərfuš... hətča wəřlu lxla, ləb'əd.*

(107) *w əmmə wəřlu ləb'əd u šəbu řəžəl kif əlgul, žəbbari, gləyyəd u řwil, řul.* (108) *qalləm š č'əmlu-naya nčəm li wšəłču ləmkən ada.* (109) *qaltlu<sup>15</sup> bščətna šxtna lqməžža<sup>16</sup> li čgənni w kmama yrəddu 'lia.* (110) *qbəl mən kəll ši, həřtulu yaklu, li žabu, makla, həřtu ladək əłšibani, kla hətča šbə.* (111) *qalləm<sup>17</sup>, li b'əčkəm b'əčkəm baš čmuču.* (112) *ama-ná n'əwənkəm,* (113) *zidu-mšiw, řšibu xuya kəř mənni, yzid yqullkəm bīdyūk wīl-łməřrah.<sup>18</sup>* (114) *zadu zadu zadu mšaw šəbu xī. əlgul əttčani, u qalləm kima qal ləwwəl,* (115) *həřtulu, kla, řřəb, qalləm, win čhəbbu čəməšiw?* (116) *qalləm, nəhəbbu lqməžža li čgənni w kmama yrəddu 'lia.* (117) *lazəm ənžibua ləxtna.* (118) *qallu ada mkan mēsükən bzayəd, wə'r yasər.* (119) *ama, əməšiw, čuwa řšibu-xči,* (120) *kan iya qa čərři fəttiq, řəbšə 'lia w bəyynu rwačkəm lila, u qulula.* (121) *u kan iya qa čərři fəššala, rəddu balkəm čəčqəřřəbu wla čədwiw m'aa.*

<sup>13</sup> *qaltla-ná* < \**qaltla aná*, see 1.2.6.1.(2b).

<sup>14</sup> See 2.6.3.(20).

<sup>15</sup> *qaltlu* literally "she said to him", but the subject of this verb should be two boys.

<sup>16</sup> *ləl- > l-* (haplology), see 1.3.2.2.(4b).

<sup>17</sup> On the combination of the verb and the enclitic dative marker, see 2.1.1.3., and especially on that of conjugated *qal* + enclitic dative marker, see 1.3.2.2.(4c).

<sup>18</sup> *wīl-łməřrah* < \**win łməřrah*, see 1.3.2.1.2.(2b).

(91) She said to her, "I have no one, I have no parent, I have no one." (92) She said, "I am your aunt, your mother's sister." (93) That girl, the young one, let her in, and talked and talked with her. (94) She said to her, "What do you do (pl.), what is this?" (95) She said to her, "I am all day long in the field" (96) She said to her, "Oh, if your brothers love you, they will bring the shirt which sings whose sleeves respond to it." (97) She said to her, "What should I do?" (98) She said to her, "You pretend to be ill and say to them, 'I want this thing, the doctor told me it is necessary, nothing else but this will benefit me.'"

(99) The poor ones, those two young boys, her brothers, came and found her sick in bed. (100) "What's the matter with you? What happened to you? What is this?" (101) She said to them, "I am sick so brought the doctor, who said that only the singing shirt with its sleeves responding to it will benefit me." (102) "Where should we bring it from?" (103) She said to them, "Seek it until you find it!"

(104) They fixed up their horses, their food, prepared (it) on the horses, and the two boys mounted their horses and went. (105) They began to go and go and go. Where is this? (106) Those whom he (they) asked said "I don't know this, I don't know it.", until they reached the desert, far.

(107) When they reached far away, they found a man like a ghou, a giant, gross and tall, a ghou. (108) He said to them, "What are you doing here, that you have arrived at this place?" (109) He (they) said, "Our sister sent us for the singing shirt with its sleeves responding to it." (110) Before everything else, they offered him (something) to eat (it), the food which they had brought, they offered to that old man. He ate until he became satiated, (111) and said to them, "He who sent you, sent you to die. (112) But I will help you. (113) Continue to go, then you will find my brother who is older than me, he will inform you further precisely where the place is." (114) They continued to go on and on and found his brother, the second ghou and he said to them as the first had said. (115) They offered him (food), he ate and drank and said to them, "Where do you want to go?", he said to them. (116) "We want the singing shirt with its sleeves responding to it. (117) We have to bring it to our sister." (118) He said to them, "This is a very dangerous place, extremely difficult. (119) But, go, now you will find my sister. (120) If she is grinding flour, bow to her and introduce yourselves and tell her. (121) And if she is grinding charcoal powder, take care not to approach or speak to her."

(122) *əmsaw, šabua čərhi fəttiq, adik əlgula, u čgənni. təbbəšu 'lia xdaw šwəyya məttiqqa nč'a, u šəffu.* (123) *u qaltlu, ša yzibkəm lili?* (124) *qalla, ada šar ayda w ayda, w əxtna čhəbb adi. u xuk b'ətna lilək.* (125) *qaltləm, mmala əmšiw zidu-mšiw šwəyya, w xəbbiw ləhsənnə nč'əkəm fi gəraq, baš ma yarakəm hədd.* (126) *u kif čaraw ləqməžža qa čgənni w kmama yrəddu 'lia, iya fi nəxla qə'da, fisə' xudua, u həttua fəlməxla nč'əkəm, w arhu.* (127) *rəddu balkəm, li yṭəbbhu 'likəm čə'lu nzidukəm!, ma dḡəwwruš wəšškəm.*

(128) *ža... 'əmlu ayda lḡšumīn.* (129) *čxəbbaw tča šar əllil ma šar u təfəd dik əlqməžža čgənni u mbə't ki iya kəmlət əlgna-mḡa xadua w arhu.* (130) *yṭəbbhu 'liəm, čə'lu nə'ṭikəm li čhəbbu nzidukəm!* (131) *ma wəllawš kčər.* (132) *žabua ləxčəm, u qə'dəč adik əssanya čwərrəḡ kəl-lila badak əlgna nč' əlqməžža.* (133) *u ləxwəč səmf'u li mšaw žabu ləqməžža.* (134) *žaw ləlqabla qalula wadak rəwwhu w žabu ləqməžža.* (135) *qaltləm ša nə'məlləm čuwa?* (136) *qatla dəwwri baš čbə'čim fi həža kčər wə'r.* (137) *žača qatla, šawa ya bənč əxči, məhšuyə? baəya? a riči dak əlgna?* (138) *qaltla həža 'əmrə ma šarəč.* (139) *xwəča ma qaluš ləxčəm ša č'əddbu. ša raw. ša ada.* (140) *žač iya qaltla fərhana fərhə 'əmrə ma šarəč, adik əlbənč.* (141) *qaltla w ka yzibulək əṭṭir! əṭṭir li ygənni w žnawhu yrəddu 'li. w čarəy. qalšila.* (142) *qaltla nxaf š'lim w ada, 'əṭṭlu 'liya w ada.* (143) *qatla, la ma čxafiš š'lim. kima žabu ləwwla, yzibu tčanya.*

(144) *žaw fəllil šabua mriḡa.* (145) *qalla š bik?* (146) *žač iya qaltləm, nəbb əṭṭir li ygənni u žnawhu yrəddu 'li.*

(122) They went and found her grinding flour, that ghoula, and singing; they bowed to her and took some of her flour and tasted<sup>19</sup>. (123) She said to them, "What brings you to me?" (124) They said (he said) to her, "This is what happened, so and so, and our sister wants this (shirt), and your brother sent us to you." (125) She said to them, "Thus continue to go on a little, and hide your horses well out of sight in order that no one sees you, (126) and when you see the shirt singing and its sleeves responding to it - it is in a palm tree - take it quickly and put it in your nose-bag and flee. (127) Beware of those who call you, 'Come! We will add you more!'; don't turn your face!"

(128) Thereupon they did so, poor men. (129) They concealed themselves until the night fell completely, then the shirt began to sing. And when it had finished the song, they took it and fled. (130) They called out to them, "Come! I'll give you what you want! We'll add you more!" (131) They did not return more. (132) They brought it to their sister. The field was cheered every night with that song of the shirt. (133) The sisters heard that they had gone and brought the shirt. (134) They came to the midwife and said to her, "Here they have come back and brought the shirt." (135) The midwife said to them, "What should I do about them now?" (136) They said (lit. she said) to her, "Seek to send them on a more difficult business." (137) The (midwife) came to the girl and said to her, "How, my niece, are you well, good? Did you see (how) the song (is)?" (138) She said, "This is a thing (the like of) which has never happened." (139) Her brothers did not tell their sister what they had suffered and what they had seen and so on. (140) Then the girl said to her, "I am happy with a happiness (the like of ) which has never been." (141) She said to her, "If they bring you the bird! The bird which sings and whose wings respond to it. You can see it." (142) She said to her, "I am afraid for them and... They took a long time about it (i.e. to obtain the shirt), etc..." (143) She said to her, "No, don't be afraid for them. They will bring the second thing as they brought the first."

(144) The (brothers) came at night and found her sick. (145) They said to her (lit. he said to her), "What's the matter with you?" (146) Then she said to them, "I want the singing bird with its wings responding to it."

<sup>19</sup> This action indicates the oath that he who tastes the bread of another one will not betray the latter.

(147) *msakin, xadu lahşanna nčāəm mār̄ra čanya, u haṭṭu lmakla bzayəd, u mšaw.*  
 (148) *kima šar ləwwəl mār̄ra šar əlmār̄ra tčanya.* (149) *čāddā əlgul ləwwəl,*  
*čawu yakəl, b'ətčəm ləlgul ətčani, čawu yakəl b'ətčəm əxčəm,* (150) *šəbuə tča iya*  
*čərhi fəttiq u čgənni, təbhšu člia.* (151) *qaltləm mnəču lmār̄ra ləwwla žiču mār̄ra*  
*čanya?* (152) *qalula ayda ma šar w ada ma kan.* (153) *əxtna čhabb əṭṭir.*

(154) *qaltləm. čuwa ṭṭir yənšəb fi zənqa dəyyqa, mxəbhi, w ma yəṭṭəš kan*  
*məllil-lil<sup>20</sup>.* (155) *nčəm čxəbhaw, u kif tsəmču ygənni-qədu sakčün, hətča čaraw*  
*rqəd, u təh mən čini Kafya nčā ənrəs.* (156) *u-dəxlu ladika zənqa w qulu ya*  
*zənqa ma bak, ka čusə nəqrəb fik əlmirru, adik əzzənqa čəkbaq.* (157) *ṭṭibu ləhmir*  
*yaklu ləčdəm, u lklab yaklu ššəfsə, bəddlu, qaltləm, nčəm xudu duk əlmakla, bəddlu*  
*lhmir šṭiwəm əššəfsə, u lklab šṭiwəm ləčdəm.* (158) *w ədāxlu, w xudu ṭṭir, hətča*  
*yərqəd, w əmšiw.* (159) *yṭəbhhu člikəm ynadiwkəm, abadən dəwwru wəšškəm.*

(160) *əmlu ayda čawənəm əlla, w dəxlu ladik əzzənqa, čxəbhaw hətča rqədd*  
*əṭṭir.* (161) *w qalu ləzzənqa, wsač. žaw ləhmir šəbuəm yaklu ləčdəm.* (162)  
*xdaw ləčdəm čawm əššəfsə, žaw ləklab bəddluləm.* (163) *xadu adik əṭṭir u təfu.*  
 (164) *əmma təfu yqulu, ya zənqa šəddim.* (165) *yqulu, čməl fina lxir.* (166) *ya*  
*klab šədduəm.* (167) *yqulu, čməl fina lxir.* (168) *ya hm̄ir šədduəm,* (169) *yqulu*  
*čməl fina lxir, čəmlunna lxir, ma nšədduš.* (170) *wšəll ləssanya, ləxču,<sup>21</sup> w wəllat*  
*əlqməžža u ṭṭir kəl-lila<sup>22</sup> čərs čəndəm.*

(171) *lila. čādda wahəd rəžəl, yəšrəb, səkran, u wqəff š'la-dik əlgna ləziz.*  
 (172) *qal ada sanyət əššəṭṭan u ššəṭṭan qəəd məzzalu təyəh, kəl-lila bayəč ḥruḥhu*  
*bəkkay w əhzin.* (173) *mša ləššəṭṭan qallu, ya sidi ššəṭṭan, čəndək gna fəssanya*  
*nčāək, lhaža lli čqəyyəm bnačəm məlmuč.*

20 *məllil-lil < məllil ləllil.*

21 Probably *laxčəm* is correct.

22 *kəl-lil < kəll lil*, see 1.4.2.2.(2d) REMARK 2.

(147) Poor ones! They took their horses once again, prepared food in quantity and went. (148) What happened the first time happened also the second time. (149) They (lit. he) passed the first ghoul, gave him something to eat, then he sent them to the second ghoul. They gave him something to eat, and he sent them to their sister. (150) When they found her grinding the flour, also this time, and singing, they bowed to her. (151) She said to them, "Since you did a fine job the first time, have you come a second time?" (152) They said to her, "Thus was what has happened and this is what has been. (153) Our sister wants the bird."

(154) She said to them, "Now, the bird is found in a narrow street, hidden, and it appears from night to night. (155) You should hide yourselves and when you hear (it) singing, be silent, until you see it has fallen asleep and the fire of sleepiness falls from its eyes. (156) And enter in that street and say, 'O narrow street, how beautiful you are! If you become wider I will dance for you!' Then that street will become wider. (157) You will find donkeys eating bones and dogs eating fodder. Change them round." She said to them, "You take that food and change it, to the donkeys give the fodder, and to the dogs give the bones. (158) Then enter and take the bird, even if it is sleeping, and go (out)! (159) They call out you and summon you, (but) never turn your face!"

(160) They did so, and God helped them, they entered that street, hid themselves until the bird fell asleep. (161) They said to the street (the words given by the ghoul), and it became wider. They came to the donkeys and found them eating bones. (162) They took the bones and gave them the fodder. They came to the dogs, and changed (the food) for them. (163) And they took the bird and went out. (164) When they went out, somebody said, "O street, seize them!" (165) They (the street) said, "He (they) did us a favour." (166) "O dogs, seize them!" (167) (The dogs) said, "He (they) did us a favour." (168) "O donkeys seize them!" (169) (The donkeys) said, "He (they) did us a favour, we won't seize (them)." (170) They reached to the field, to his (their) sister. The shirt and the bird, every night was (like) a wedding party with them.

(171) One night, a man, drunk, passed by to drink and stopped for that lovely song. (172) He said, "This is the Sultan's field. The Sultan's luck has run out, every night he sleeps by himself, crying and sad." (173) He went to the Sultan and said to him, "O my lord Sultan, you have a song in your field, something which would raise a person from death."

(174) *ža uwa qallu w kan gdəb?* (175) *qallu ka gdəb. ərfə fi yəddək kisa flus. ka haqq ətini lflus, rigalu, w ka gdəbb-əqčənni.* (176) *qallu maši.* (177) *məñ nəfş əttriq smə dak əlğna, w qallu ađun ləflus w-əmši.* (178) *dxəll əssanya şab ak əfəmmar u zuz ulad u lbənc u mərcu, u lğna.* (179) *qallu, ada xir qəəd fl.* (180) *ma čqulliş ya sidi şşəltəñ čəla hdaya la šəyy?* (181) *qallu, ma žaš əlraşi. nəyyr əşşəltəñ baš yzi ləssanya, ma ləš əlraşi.*

(182) *ža uwa qallu hərra qəttə məlgələ li čəmma fəssanya lkəll u žibli. w žib əksəl.* (183) *u bda yğəmməz ləsal yəti ladək əttir. baš yakəl ləhwayž əlbain.* (184) *w əttir ydəss brəžlu.* (185) *ža uwa qal. kul ya tiri əlhərr.* (186) *qallu aná ma nakəliš gəllət əsszər. mərt əşşəltəñ la džib la kəlb la qəttuš la hžər.* (187) *qallu, əwəd klamək.* (188) *qallu ma nəwəliš, ada tiri.* (189) *qallu nəča čqulli čəwədli klamək u čfəssərli ša čəmma, aná nmənrək nəča w lqməžža čəmšiw lbladkəm.* (190) *ža uwa qallu-kčəbli nəča čmənənəna mn anaya, ma čhəşşəliš əlina.* (191) *kčəbb əşşəltəñ.* (192) *qallu ada wəldək, w ada wəldək, w adi bəncək. w ada ma əmlu xwača. w ada ma əmlət əlqabla w rəməwəm qalulək žabəč kəlb u žabəč qəttuš, w žabəč hžər.*

(193) *xda zğaru u ləllə mərcu məñ dik əlbič, u xwača. qəşşəm tɾuf tɾuf u zəyyən biəm ləblad əmma u lqabla, ləʔnəš əncəəm, u qəd.* (194) *əš fi xyar əlxir bađuk zuz ulad u bənc.*

(174) Then (the Sultan) said to him, "If it is a lie?" (175) (The man) said to him, "If it is a lie...? Take a money pouch in your hand. If it is true, give me the money as a gift, and if it is a lie, kill me!" (176) (The Sultan) said, "All right." (177) On the way he heard that song and said to him, "This is the money. You may leave." (178) He entered the field and found the gardener, two boys, the girl, the gardener's wife and the song. (179) He said to him, "It is better to stay in the garden. (180) (to the gardener) Don't you say to me 'O my lord Sultan, come by me' or anything?" (181) (The gardener) said to him, "It did not occur to me. To annoy the Sultan to come to the field did not occur to me." (182) The Sultan said to him, "Go and cut some of the fruits in the whole garden and bring (them) to me. And bring some honey". (183) He began to dip the honey to give it the bird so it could eat some tasty morsels. (184) But the bird tramples it with its foot. (185) He said, "Eat, o the bird of the wilderness!" (186) The bird said to him, "I don't eat the fruits of trees. The Sultan's wife did not bear a dog nor a cat nor a stone!" (187) (The Sultan) said to it, "Repeat your words!" (188) This bird said to him, "I don't repeat." (189) (The Sultan) said to it, "If you say to me and repeat your words and explain what there is, I will set you and the shirt free to go your country". (190) (The bird) said to him, "Then write me down that you will set us free from here and that you will not catch us." (191) The Sultan wrote. (192) (The bird) said to him, "This is your son. This is your son. And this is your daughter. This is what her sisters did. And this is what the midwife did. They threw the children out and told you that she had a dog, had a cat and had a stone.

(193) He took his children, took his wife out of the room. And he cut the sisters and the midwife into pieces and embellished the town with them as their punishment. (194) He lived in the best of good fortune with those two sons and daughter.

## 6. Glossary

(1) Words are arranged on the following alphabetic order (not by root).

*a, ʕ, b, b̄, ċ, d, d̄, e, ə, f, g, ġ, h, i, k, l, l̄, m, n, n̄,*

*o, p, q, r, r̄, s, š, š̄, t, t̄, u, v, w, x, y, z, z̄*

(2) In principal all words cited in the present work are listed here. Whilst broken plural forms and diminutive forms are put as entry words, external plural forms and feminine forms which are formed by attaching *-a* are not treated as entry words. Therefore, for example, to search *kbira* "big (f.)", the reader should consult the entry *kbir*, but *kbar* (pl.) is given separately.

(3) As for nouns, gender is indicated when it cannot be predicted from the different from that of the latter, e.g. TJ *biċ* (< CA *bayt*) is feminine whilst CA *bayt* is masculine.

(4) Elative forms are put as entry words, and the corresponding positive form is indicated.

(5) For abbreviations, the reader should consult the list in 0.5.1.(5).

*ʕ-:* see *ʕa*

*ʕada:* (pl. *ʕadaċ*) "habit"

*ʕafya:* (pl. *ʕwafi*) "fire"

*ʕala:* see *ʕa*

*ʕalaš:* see *ʕaš*

*ʕali:* (f. *ʕalya*, pl. *ʕalyin*) "high"

*ʕam:* (1) (v.) I *Ilw* (u) "to swim", (2) (n.) (du. *ʕamin*, pl. *ʕnin*) "year" *Fam ada* "this year" *Fam ʕlli faċ* "last year", *Fam azzay* "next year"

*ʕaqal:* (f. *ʕaqla*, pl. *ʕaqlin*) "intelligent"

*ʕarʕal:* III str. "to invite"

*ʕaš:* I *Ilj* (i) "to live"

*ʕašar:* (f. *ʕašra*) "tenth"

*ʕawʕad:* III *Ilw* "to narrate, to repeat"

*ʕawʕan:* III *Ilw* "to help"

*ʕba:* (f.; st.cstr. *ʕbaċ-*, pl. *ʕbyan*; dim. *ʕbyya*, pl.

*ʕbyyaċ*) "mantle"

*ʕbar:* (pl. *ʕbayar*) "pot"

*ʕbyya:* see *ʕba*

*ʕbida:* see *ʕabd*

*ʕbambar:* (col.; n.u. *ʕambra*, pl. *ʕambraċ*) "almond biscuit"

*ʕċar:* I str. "to stumble"

*ʕdab:* (pl. *ʕdayab*) "pain, torment"

*ʕdawa:* "enmity"

*ʕdu:* (f. *ʕduwa*, pl. *ʕdwan*) "enemy"

*ʕdam:* (col.; n.u. *ʕdma*, pl. *ʕdmaċ*) "bone"

*ʕabbā:* II *Ilj* "to fill"

*ʕabd:* (f. *ʕabda*, pl. *ʕbid*; dim. *ʕbida*, pl. *ʕbidaċ*)

"black servant"

*ʕbyan:* see *ʕba*

*ʕadd:* I gem. "to count"

*ʕaddab:* II str. "to torture"

*ʕadwan:* see *ʕdu*

*ʕflaq:* Q-I str. "to stifle"

*ʕggila:* (pl. *ʕggilaċ*) "cane"

*ʕgzan:* (f. *ʕgzana*, pl. *ʕgzanin*) "lazy"

*ʕlba:* (pl. *ʕlb*) "tin, box"

*ʕllam:* II str. "to teach"

*ʕlwa:* (pl. *ʕlwaċ*) "upward slope"

*ʕmdan:* see *ʕmud*

*ʕmfqa:* (pl. *ʕnafʕq -- ʕmfqaċ*) "nape of the neck"

*ʕmlla:* (pl. *ʕmllaċ*) "evil deed"

ʿamm: (pl. ʿmam) "paternal uncle"  
 ʿamma: (pl. ʿammač) "paternal aunt"  
 ʿanna: (pl. ʿanna) "gardener"  
 ʿand-: "by, with, in the presence of, to have"  
 ʿanq: (pl. ʿnaq) "neck (of pot)"  
 ʿaqrab: (f.; pl. ʿqarab) "scorpion"  
 ʿarbum: (pl. ʿarbumač) "deposit, security"  
 ʿarq: (pl. ʿruq) "sweat; root"  
 ʿarqan: (f. ʿarqana, pl. ʿarqanin) "sweaty"  
 ʿars: (pl. ʿras) "wedding (feast)"  
 ʿaryan: (f. ʿaryana, pl. ʿaryanin) "naked"  
 ʿarbi: (f. & pl. ʿarbiya) "Arabic"  
 ʿarj: "width"  
 ʿarṣa: (pl. ʿarṣ) "pile"  
 ʿarṣa: (pl. ʿarṣ) "column"  
 ʿaskar: "army"  
 ʿaskari: (f. ʿaskariya, pl. ʿaskar) "soldier"  
 ʿassas: (f. & pl. ʿassasa) "guardsman"  
 ʿasban: (col.; n.u. ʿasbana, pl. ʿasbanač) "intestines stuffed with meat and vegetables"  
 ʿasfir: (pl. ʿasfar; dim. ʿsifir; pl. ʿsifrač) "bird"  
 ʿasmalli: (inv.) "Ottoman"  
 ʿasvan: see ʿsa  
 ʿasr: see ʿasra  
 ʿasra: "ten" (var. ʿasr)  
 ʿasrin: "twenty"  
 ʿasš: (pl. ʿšus; dim. ʿšayyāš) "nest"  
 ʿašan: (f. ʿašana, pl. ʿašanin) "thirsty"  
 ʿaḥl: II str. "to be late, to take time"  
 ʿawwad: (pl. ʿawwada) "lute player"  
 ʿawwadiya: (pl. ʿawwadiyač) "(music) band"  
 ʿayyi: II IIIy "to tire (v.t.)"  
 ʿayyan: (f. ʿayyana, pl. ʿayyanin) "tired"  
 ʿayyā: II IIIy "to call, to hoot"  
 ʿazz: I gem. "to be hard on (la)"  
 ʿib: (pl. ʿyub) "shame"

ʿid: (pl. ʿyad) "feast"  
 ʿin: (f.; p.du. ʿimin) "eye"  
 ʿinā: (f.) "evil eye"  
 ʿiša: "living"  
 ʿīta: (pl. ʿyat) "cry"  
 ʿl-: see ʿla  
 ʿla: (1) I IIIy (a) "to become high", (2) (prep.) "on, off, away from, about (concerning), against" (var. ʿ-, ʿl-, ʿli-, ʿala) ʿla- pronoun suffix + baš + verb "it is difficult ~ scarcely ~ hardly for s.o. to do", ʿla ada therefore", ʿla kaḥl ḥal "anyhow", ʿla kif: "as s.o. likes", ʿla (ʿli, ʿa) xaṭar ~ xaṭar: (α) (prep.) "because of, thanks to", (β) (conj.) "because", (3) "taller" (< ʿali).  
 ʿlaš: "why?"  
 ʿlab: see ʿalba  
 ʿlaq: (col.; n.u. ʿalqa, pl. ʿalqač) "leech"  
 ʿli: see ʿla (2)  
 ʿlu: "height"  
 ʿma: (1) (v.) I IIIy (i) "to render blind", (2) (n.) (f. ʿmya, pl. ʿmyin) "blind"  
 ʿmam: see ʿamm  
 ʿmāl: I str. "to do" ʿmāl ruḥ- "to pretend to be ..."  
 ʿmud: (pl. ʿmdan) "handle of mortar"  
 ʿmā: (1) (n.) "age", (2) (adv.) ʿmā- ma: "never"  
 ʿnafāq: see ʿamfqa  
 ʿqal: "intelligence"  
 ʿqim: (f. ʿqima, pl. ʿqama) "barren"  
 ʿrak: "quarrel"  
 ʿras: "see ʿars"  
 ʿrayas: see ʿris  
 ʿraf: I str. "to know"  
 ʿriq: (f. ʿriqa, pl. ʿraq) "wide"  
 ʿris: (pl. ʿrayas) "bridegroom"  
 ʿruq: see ʿarq  
 ʿrām: see ʿarṣa

ʿrās: see ʿarṣa  
 ʿruša: (pl. ʿrušač) "bride"  
 ʿsāl: "honey"  
 ʿsa: (f.; st.cstr. ʿsač-, pl. ʿsyan) "stick"  
 ʿsafar: see ʿasfir  
 ʿsifar: see ʿasfir  
 ʿša: (m.; st.cstr. ʿšač-, pl. ʿšwan) "dinner"  
 ʿšayyāš: see ʿasš  
 ʿsir: (f. ʿsira, pl. ʿsirim) "rich, plentiful"  
 ʿšiya: (pl. ʿšiyač) "evening"  
 ʿšūš: see ʿasš  
 ʿta: I IIIy (i) "to give"  
 ʿtāš: I str. "to become thirsty"  
 ʿud: "lute, wood", ʿud xqari "aloe tree"  
 ʿurā: see ʿwar  
 ʿwa: I IIw + IIIy (a) "to mew"  
 ʿwār: (f. ʿwara, pl. ʿwār) "one-eyed"  
 ʿya: I IIy + IIIy (a) "to be tired"  
 ʿyad: see ʿid  
 ʿzayaz: see ʿzuza  
 ʿzaz: see ʿziz  
 ʿziz: "(pl. ʿzizač) maternal uncle; (pl. ʿzaz) beloved"  
 ʿzuza: (pl. ʿzayaz) "old woman"  
 ʿžab: (1) (v.) I str. "to surprise", (2) (n.) (pl. ʿžuba) "miracle"  
 ʿžin: "dough"  
 ʿžuba: see ʿžab

## a

a: "(vocative) oh!"  
 a... wəlla...: "... either ... or."  
 -a: "her (gen. acc.)"  
 abadān: "never"  
 abāš: I IIh "to become mad"  
 ač: (i.v.) "bring!"  
 ad: "this (c.), these"  
 ada: "this (m.)"  
 ada: I Ih + IIIy (i) "to become calm"  
 adak ~ dak: "that (m.)"  
 adi: "this (f.)"  
 adik ~ dik: "that (f.)"  
 adiya: "gift"  
 aḍuk ~ ḍuk: "those"  
 aḍun ~ aḍuni: "those"  
 aḍuni: see aḍun  
 alaf: see alaf  
 alaf: (du. alfin, pl. alaf) "thousand"  
 alfin: see alaf  
 ama: "but".  
 aman: (pl. amanač) "trust", blaman "safely"  
 amča: "when?", nn amča "since when?"  
 amas: "yesterday"  
 ami ~ amim: "which (of)...?"  
 amim: see ami  
 anā ~ āna: "I"  
 anaya: "here"  
 aranab: see arnab  
 arisa: (pl. arayas) "boiled wheat with tomato sauce"  
 ara: "look here!"  
 aradi: see arj  
 araw: see ara or ra  
 arāb: I Ih "to flee"  
 arāb: "fleeing (a.p.)"  
 arī: see ara or ra  
 aš: "what", faš "in what?", baš "with what?", mnaš "from what?"  
 awā: (m.) "air"  
 awaši: see ayša  
 ay: "here, ho"  
 ayda: "so, thus"  
 ayša: (pl. awaši) "animal"

*ävyväměntō*: "secondary school"  
*azá*: I *lh* + *lly* (i) "to insult"  
*az*: I *lh* + *lly* (i) "to become rough (sea)"  
*azazal*: see *žal*

## b

*b-*: "with, by, in (a language), with, in etc."  
*bʹac*: I str. "to send"  
*bʹad*: "farther" (< *bʹid*)  
*bʹid*: (f. *bʹida*, pl. *bʹad*) "far"  
*ba*: (1) (v. irr.) "to wanted", (2) "better" (< *bai*), (3) (interj.) well, that will do, all right" (< *bai*)  
*bac*: I *lly* (i) "to sell"  
*bab*: (pl. *biban*) "door"  
*bač*: I *lly* "to pass the night"  
*bai*: (f. *baɣya* ~ *baɣya*, pl. *bain*) "good"  
*bakš*: see *balak*  
*bal*: (1) (v.) I *lw* (u) "to urinate", (2) (n.) "regard"  
*baladiya*: "city hall"  
*balak* ~ *balakš* ~ *bakš*: "probably".  
*balakš*: see *balak*  
*banɣa*: "okra"  
*ban*: I *lly* (a) "to look like"  
*bānūvēra*: (pl. *bānūvērāč*) "flag"  
*banim*: (pl. *banim*) "sandwich"  
*baqi*: "rest"  
*barak*: III str. "to bless"  
*bas*: I *lw* (u) "to kiss"  
*baš*: "in order to". see also *aš*  
*bayac*: (f. *bayāa*, pl. *bayim*) "having passed the night"  
*bba*: I *lly* (a) "to begin"  
*bdammāč*: see *bdamma*  
*bba*: "beginning"  
*bəbə*: Q-I str. "to bleed"  
*bəd*: "after" *bəd əkkərr* "in the afternoon", *bəd*

*ğədwā*: "day after tomorrow"  
*bəda*: "already"  
*bədin* ~ *mbədin*: "then, afterwards", *bədin*  
*ğədwā*: "two days after tomorrow"  
*bədi*: (conj.) "after"  
*bəq*: "each other"  
*bəddəl*: II str. "to change"  
*bəddamma* *l*- + noun / *bdammāč*- + pronoun suf-  
 fix: "at one's service, for the sake of, intended to"  
*bəhbəh*: Q-I str. "to be open-handed"  
*bəhbuh*: (f. *bəhbuhā*, pl. *bəhbuhin*) "open-handed"  
*bəhda*: "near by, by"  
*bəkdəy*: (f. *bəkdəyā*, pl. *bəkdəyin*) "tearful"  
*bəkdəš*: (f. *bəkdəša*, pl. *bkakəš*) "dumb"  
*bəkəri*: (1) (n.) "first sun", (2) (adv.) "early", *ləkčər*  
*bəkəri* "as soon as possible"  
*bəlʹani*: "on purpose"  
*bəldan*: see *blad*  
*bəldi*: (f. & pl. *bəldiɣa*) "native"  
*bəlga*: (pl. *bləg*) "slipper"  
*bəlkəll*: "(not) at all"  
*bənič*: (f; pl. *bnač*; dim. *bniča*, pl. *bničač*) "girl, daughter"  
*bəndəq*: (col.; n.u. *bəndqā*, pl. *bəndqāč*) "pine seeds"  
*bəngəzi*: "Benghazi"  
*bəniɣa*: (pl. *bəniɣa*) "mason"  
*bəniɣan*: "building" (v.n. < *bna*)  
*bənzina*: "petrol"  
*bəqqał*: (f. & pl. *bəqqałā*) "grocery"  
*bərcəqal*: (col.; n.u. *bərcəqala*, pl. *bərcəqalač*) "orange"  
*bərka*: (pl. *bərkač*) "bless"  
*bərgəl*: "bulgur"  
*bərguč*: (col.; n.u. *bərguča*, pl. *bərgučač*) "flea"

*bərnus*: (pl. *branəs*) "hooded cloak"  
*bərsni*: "kid"  
*bərsuq*: "gratuity"  
*bəryan*: see *bɣa*  
*bəsbas*: (col.; n.u. *bəsbasa*, pl. *bəsbasač*) "fennel"  
*baska*: "only"  
*bəss*: "only"  
*bəssif*: "by force, of necessity"  
*bəsslama*: "good-bye (= with peace)"  
*bəsxəč*: "thanks to"  
*bəškliŋta*: (pl. *bəškliŋtač*) "bicycle"  
*bəškuttā*: (pl. *bəškuttāč*) "biscuit"  
*bəšwəɣɣa*: "slowly"  
*bəšcənžal*: see *biŋənžal*  
*bəšiša*: "little by little, slowly"  
*bəwwala*: (pl. *bəwwalač*) "urinal"  
*bəyyəf*: (f. & pl. *bəyyəfa*) "vendor"  
*bəyyəč*: II *lly* "to put (s.o.) up (for the night)"  
*bəyyən*: II *lly* "to make clear, to elucidate" *bəyyən ruŋ* "to introduce oneself"  
*bəzzəf*: II str. "to water"  
*bəzzima*: (pl. *bəzzimač*) "tap"  
*bəzzina*: (pl. *bzazən*; dim. *bzizna*, pl. *bziznač*) "breast"  
*bəgir*: see *mən* > *mən gir*  
*bəhər*: (pl. *bəhəra*) "sea, lake"  
*bəhira*: "swimming pool"  
*biban*: see *bab*  
*bibiš*: (pl. *bibišəč*) "priest (Christian)"  
*bič*: (f.; pl. *biɣič*) "room"  
*bičqā*: see *byəq*  
*bilik*: "confiscation"  
*bim*: "between, among" *bim w bina* "between him and her", *binač*- + pron.suf. of pl. *binaɣna* "between us"  
*binač*: see *bim*

*bir*: (f.; pl. *byar*) "well"  
*birra*: "beer"  
*bisan*: "kissing"  
*bišəh*: "Passover"  
*biŋənžal*: (col.; n.u. *biŋənžala*, pl. *biŋənžalač*) "egg-plant"  
*bka*: I *lly* (i) "to cry"  
*bla*: "without", *bla b-* + pron. suf. "without"  
*blad*: (pl. *bəldan*) "town", *blad ləkbiɣa* "the Capitai"  
*blaš*: "for nothing, free"  
*bləqəl*: "slowly"  
*bləg*: see *bəlga*  
*bna*: I *lly* (i) "to build"  
*bnač*: see *bənič*  
*bnaɣam*: (pl. *bnaɣmiya*) "human being"  
*bniča*: see *bənič*  
*börgəzə*: "civilian dress"  
*branəs*: see *bərnus*  
*braxā*: "blessing"  
*briq*: "jar with a handle and a spout"  
*bu*: (pl. *əbbəč*; dim. *wəɣɣə*, pl. *wəɣɣəč*) "father"  
*buča* ~ *butča*: (pl. *butčač*) "playing marble"  
*bušhič*: (col.; n.u. *bušhiča*, pl. *bušhičač*) "skin of intestines to make *əšban*"  
*bukərs*: "pot bellied"  
*bukaššaš*: (pl. *bukaššašač*) "chameleon"  
*bul*: "urine"  
*bulis*: (pl. *bulisiya*) "policeman"  
*buqal*: (pl. *bəqəqəl*) "jug"  
*burik*: (col.; n.u. *burika*, pl. *burikač*) "(name of sweet)"  
*burim*: "Purim"  
*butča*: see *buča*  
*buzgiriɣan*: in *zəɣɣər buzgiriɣan* "the little finger"  
*byəq*: "pieces of charcoal"



byar: see *bir*  
 byad: (f. *biđá*, pl. *byad*) "white"  
 bzar: (col.; n.u. *bzara*, pl. *bzarač*) "spice"  
 bzayad: "long time, very, a lot, many"  
 bzazan: see *bazzuna*  
 bzalla: "green peas"  
 bzizna: see *bazzuna*

**b**

*baša*: "papa"  
*bašuy*: "steamship"  
*bagalyu*: "luggage"  
*bakku*: (pl. *bakkarwač*) "packet"  
*ballá*: irr. "to dance"  
*ballu*: "(European) dance"  
*balluy*: (pl. *ballunac*) "aeroplane"  
*bałas*: (pl. *bałasac*) "high building"  
*banka*: (pl. *bankač*) "bank"  
*bašuy*: (*bašuyim*) "verse (the Bible)"  
*baš*: (f.; *bišan*) "armpit"  
*bašaja*: (pl. *bašajač*) "potato"  
*bbaqal*: see *buqal*  
*bdəq*: I str. "to check"  
*bałkəbər*: "when growing up"  
*bałmšawba*: "rightly, correctly"  
*bəqbaq*: (pl. *baqbaq*) "wooden sandal"  
*baqd*: "coldness"  
*bařma*: (pl. *bařm*) "soup pot"  
*bařr*: (pl. *bařur*) "wilderness"  
*bařra*: (1) (i.v.) "go out!", (2) (adv.) "outside", *mən*  
*bařra* "from the outside", (3) (prep.) *bařra mən*  
 "outside"  
*bařraq*: "tea kettle"  
*bařraka*: (pl. *bařrakač*) "hut, barrack"  
*bařrani*: (f. & pl. *bařraniya*) "foreigner"  
*bařraq*: I str. "to look at"

*bařtalla*: see *bařtala*  
*bařtala*: (pl. *bařtal*) "(European) hat" (var.  
*bařtalla*)  
*bařšadfa*: "accidentally"  
*bařha*: (st.cstr. *bařhac*, pl. *bařhač*) "ferry-boat"  
*bařt*: (col.; n.u. *bařta*, pl. *bařtač*) "duck"  
*bařtal*: (f. *bařtala*, pl. *bařtalin*) "unemployed"  
*bařtix*: (col.; n.u. *bařtixa*, pl. *bařtixač*) "melon"  
*bařyxa*: "shoe polish"  
*bařz*: "muddy water"  
*bišan*: see *baš*  
*bqar*: (col.; n.u. *bqara*, pl. *bqarač*) "cow"  
*bra*: (1) (v.) *IIIy* (a) "to recover", (2) (n.) (f.;  
 st.cstr. *brač*, pl. *bařyan*) "needle"  
*bračal*: see *bařtala*  
*brəd*: I str. "to get cold"  
*bruy*: see *bařr*  
*bšal*: (col.; n.u. *bšala*, pl. *bšalač*) "onion"  
*bšat*: (pl. *bšatač*) "carpet"  
*btə*: (f.; pl. *btəna*) "belly"  
*budra*: (pl. *budrač*) "powder"  
*bułsu*: (pl. *bułsuwač*) "wrist"  
*buřna*: (pl. *buřnac*) "owl"  
*buřaja*: (pl. *buřajač*) "ointment"  
*buřtu*: (pl. *buřtuwač*) "harbour"  
*buřza*: (pl. *buřzac*) "hand bag"  
*buřtaži*: (f. & pl. *buřtažiya*) "postman"

**č**

*č* -: see *nčar*  
*čarək*: VI str. "to quarrel"  
*čawin*: "helping"  
*čavās*: VII *Ily* "to live together"  
*čadka*: V *IIIy* "to pass"  
*čadəb*: V str. "to be tortured, to go through  
 hardships"

*čəflək*: Q-II str. "to have difficulty breathing"  
*čəlləm*: V str. "to study, to learn"  
*čəššá*: V *IIIy* "to have dinner"  
*ča* -: see *nčar*  
*čar*: see *nčar*  
*čab*: I *Ily* (i) "to repent"  
*čaču*: "(proper name)"  
*čaləč*: (f. *čalča*) "third"  
*čalula*: (pl. *čalulač*) "mole on body"  
*čaman*: (f. *čamma*) "eighth"  
*čanax*: "the Bible"  
*čani*: (f. *čaniya*, pl. *čaniyin*) "second; another,  
 other"  
*čazər*: (pl. *čazər*) "merchant"  
*čazura*: "Tajura"  
*čazuri*: (f. *čazuriya*, pl. *čwazura*) "from Tajura"  
*čbačəd*: VI str. "to go away"  
*čbarik*: "blessing"  
*čbədđəl*: V str. "to change (intr.)"  
*čbəkčəm*: V str. "to become dumb"  
*čbən*: "straw"  
*čbazzə*: V str. "to overflow"  
*čəb*: "tiredness"  
*čəfla*: imp. of *ža*  
*čəflim*: "teaching; learning"  
*čəbbə*: II str. "to follow"  
*čəbbəč*: II str. "to verify, to be careful, to consider  
 carefully"  
*čəbəl*: "cancelling"  
*čəddá ~ tčəddá*: V *Ih + IIIy* "to become calm"  
*čəđil*: "making s.o. enter"  
*čəffah*: (col.; n.u. *čəffaha*, pl. *čəffahač*) "apple"  
*čəflar*: "remembering; thinking"  
*čəgřiya*: "covering"  
*čəhč*: "under"

*čəhsin*: "haircut"  
*čəhšil*: "overtaking"  
*čəkmil*: "completion"  
*čəksir*: "breaking"  
*čəlbin*: "painting white"  
*čəlbis*: "dressing"  
*čələč*: (1) (p.du. *čələčim*) "one third", (2) see *tlača*  
*čələčim*: see *čələč* (1)  
*čələž*: "snow"  
*čəmm ~ tčəm*: I *III* "to accuse"  
*čəmma*: (p.v.) "there is"  
*čəmm*: see *čmənyu*  
*čəncuša*: "a little bit; a pinch of"  
*čəngiz*: "jumping"  
*čəmm*: "tuna"  
*čəmmá ~ tčəmmá*: V *Ih + IIIy* "to feel at ease"  
*čəmmara*: (pl. *čəmmarač*) "enclosure net"  
*čəndif*: "cleaning"  
*čəqba*: (pl. *čəqəb*; dim. *čəqiba*, pl. *čəqibač*) "hole"  
*čəqrib*: "approximately, almost"  
*čəqšir*: "peeling"  
*čərlina*: "corner"  
*čərs*: (pl. *čruša*) "rock in the sea"  
*čərsi*: "paste made with carrot and pepper"  
*čəřhiya*: "education"  
*čəšlar*: "closing"  
*čəsmiya*: "naming"  
*čəřbix*: "cooking"  
*čəřlč*: "removing s.o. out"  
*čəřyib*: "cooking"  
*čəxhiya*: "hide-and-seek"  
*čəđit*: "mixture"  
*čəximim*: "thinking"  
*čəzwiz*: "marrying"  
*čəžzar*: see *čazər*

- čazžár*: II str. "to deal in"  
*čfaám*: VI *Ilh* "to understand (mutually with some one)"  
*čfakkár*: V str. "to remember"  
*čfallim*: "tefillin, Bar Mitzvah"  
*čfannáq*: V str. "to be spoiled"  
*čfarráz*: V str. "to watch"  
*čfarsák*: Q-II str. "to amuse oneself"  
*čfarsik*: "amusing oneself; relaxing"  
*čfuh*: (f. *čfuhá*, pl. *čfah*) "tasty"  
*čgarrš*: V str. "to belch"  
*čgáddá*: V *Illy* "to have lunch"  
*čhasib*: "thinking"  
*čharrák*: V str. "to move"  
*čhassám*: V str. "to be ashamed"  
*čina*: "the buttocks"  
*činma*: "cinema"  
*čkal*: I str. "to trust"  
*čkassár*: V str. "to be broken"  
*čkawwán*: V *Iw* "to intend to ('la)"  
*čmanin*: "eighty"  
*čmánya*: "eight"  
*čmānās*: "eighteen"  
*čmār*: (col.; n.u. *čmāra*, pl. *čmārac*) "date"  
*čqafád*: VI str. "to be repaired"  
*čqaból*: VI str. "to meet"  
*čqal*: XI str. "to become heavy"  
*čqáddám*: V str. "to develop"  
*čqal*: "heavier"  
*čqálláq*: V str. "to annoy oneself"  
*čqawwá*: V *Iw* + *Illy* "to become strong"  
*čqayyá*: V *Ily* + *Illy* "to vomit"  
*čqiba*: see *čaqba*  
*čqil*: (f. *čqila*, pl. *čqal*) "heavy"  
*črab*: "dust"  
*čruša*: see *čarš*
- čru*: "come on!, I say"  
*čuč*: (col.; n.u. *čuča*, pl. *čučač*) "mulberry"  
*čunās*: "Tunis"  
*čunsi*: (f. *čunsiya*, pl. *čwansa*) "Tunisian"  
*čuqif*: "making s.o. stand up"  
*čur*: (pl. *čurac*) "bull"  
*čusil*: "send-off"  
*čuw(a)*: (1) (adv.) "now, immediately", *čurwa kif* ~ *ká* "just"  
*čwalád*: VI *Iw* "to be born"  
*čwansa*: see *čunsi*  
*čwazra*: see *čažuri*  
*čwajfá*: V *Iw* + *Illy* "to be full in the brim"  
*čwəhhás*: V *Iw* "to yearn after"  
*čwassš*: V *Iw* "to become wide"  
*čwaxxár*: V *Iw* "to be late"  
*čxəbbá*: V *Illy* "to be hidden, to hide oneself"  
*čxəllát*: V str. "to be mixed"  
*čxəmišb*: V str. "to steal into"  
*čxətčšl*: V str. "to walk stealthy"

## d

- d'a*: I *Illy* (a) "to curse"  
*dabuš*: "(proper name)"  
*dafi*: (f. *dafya*, pl. *dafyin*) "tepid"  
*dak*: see *adak* ~ *dak*  
*daq*: I *Iw* (u) "to taste"  
*daša*: "swooning"  
*dawá*: III *Illy* "to cure"  
*dawid*: "King David"  
*dáwid*: "David"  
*daxəl*: (1) (f. *daxla*, pl. *daxlin*) "entering", (2) (adv.) "inside", *mən daxəl* "from inside"  
*dayax*: (f. *dayxa*, pl. *dayxin*) "dizzy"  
*dbəh*: I str. "to slaughter"  
*ddšdš*: Q-II str. "to have splitting headache"

- ddəb*: see *dəbb* ~ *ddəb*  
*ddən*: see *dənn* ~ *ddən*  
*ddəndən*: Q-II str. "to have splitting headache"  
*ddəš*: see *dəšš* ~ *ddəš*  
*dəšwa*: "mishap"  
*dəšya*: "curse"  
*dəbb* ~ *ddəb*: (pl. *dabač*) "gold; (in pl.) piece of jewellery"  
*dəbbaḥ*: (f. & pl. *dəbbaḥa*) "slaughterer"  
*dəbban*: (col.; n.u. *dəbbana*, pl. *dəbbanač*) "flies"  
*dəhhi*: (col.; n.u. *dəhya*, pl. *dəhyač*) "egg"  
*dəkkən*: (pl. *tkakən*) "shop"  
*dəllač*: (col.; n.u. *dəllača*, pl. *dəllačač*) "water melon"  
*dəllal*: (f. & pl. *dəllala*) "hawker"  
*dəlləl*: II gem. "to auction"  
*dəmm*: (pl. *dmum*) "blood"  
*dəmna*: see *bəddəmna*  
*dəndən*: Q-I str. "to give splitting headache"  
*dənn* ~ *ddən*: I *Ilh* "to anoint"  
*dənya*: (f.; st.cstr. *dənyəč*-) "world"  
*dəqq*: I gem. "to knock"  
*dərbək*: Q-I "to hit the drum"  
*dərbuka*: (pl. *drabək*) "drum"  
*dərraš*: (pl. *dərraša*) "preacher"  
*dərza*: (pl. *druž*) "step"  
*dəss*: I str. "to trample down"  
*dəšš* ~ *ddəš*: I *Ilh* "to faint"  
*dəxda*: "opening"  
*dəxxəm*: "smoke"  
*dəxxəš*: II str. "to make enter"  
*dəxxən*: II str. "to smoke"  
*dəyyən*: (f. *dəyyina*, pl. *dəyyinač*) "pious"  
*dib*: (pl. *dymba*) "jackal"  
*dik*: see *adik*  
*dil*: (pl. *dyl*) "tail"  
*dima*: "always"  
*din*: (pl. *dyn*) "debt"  
*diwan*: "cabinet"  
*dlala*: (pl. *dlalač*) "auction"  
*dmag*: (pl. *dmagač*) "brain"  
*dməč*: (col.; n.u. *dəmfə*, pl. *dəmfəč*) "tear"  
*dmum*: see *dəmm*  
*drəč*: (m.; p.du. *drəčin*) "front arm (of animal)"  
*drəčin*: see *drəč*  
*drəs*: I str. "to thresh"  
*drəš*: I str. "to preach"  
*drz*: I str. "to chat"  
*druž*: see *dərza*  
*dub*- + pron.suf. + verb: "hardly"  
*dud*: (col.; n.u. *duda*, pl. *dudač*) "worm"  
*dulab*: (pl. *dwaləb*) "chest"  
*duwa*: "speech"  
*dwa*: (1) v. I *Iw* + *Illy* "to speak", (2) (n.) "medicine" (m.; st.cstr. *dwa*-)  
*dwaləb*: see *dulab*  
*dyaḡəni*: (col.; n.u. *dyaḡəniča*, pl. *dyaḡəničač*) "diamond"  
*dyaḡa*: "religion"  
*dyl*: see *dil*  
*džəzš*: Q-II str. "to swing (v.i.)"  
*džəwwáz*: V *Iw* "to get married"  
*džaž*: (col.; n.u. *džaža*, pl. *džažač*) "chicken"

## d

- dʃəf*: "thinner, weaker" (< *dʃif*)  
*dlaq*: I *Illy* (i) "to become narrow"  
*dar*: (1) (n.) "family", (2) see *dərr* ~ *ddər*  
*darəb*: (f. *darba*, pl. *darbin*) "hitting"  
*dbara*: "contrivance"  
*ddəyyəq*: V *Ily* "to become narrow"  
*dšəf*: II str. "to weaken"

*dəhhək*: II str. "to make laugh"  
*dəll*: "shadow, darkness"  
*dəmm*: I gem. "to bind"  
*dərb*: "beating"  
*dəry*: I gem. "to harm"  
*dəry* ~ *dəry*: "back (*dəryk* "your back") afternoon"  
*dəry*: (f.; pl. *dryš*) "molar tooth"  
*dəww*: "light"  
*dəwwá*: II *Iw* + *Ily* "to lighten, to light up"  
*dəwwár*: II *Iw* "to look for"  
*dəyyaq*: "narrow"  
*dif*: (pl. *dryf*) "guests"  
*diləm*: "darkness"  
*dryb*: I str. "to hit"  
*dryf*: (f. *dryfa*, pl. *dryf*) "delicate"  
*dryša*: see *dəryš*  
*duk*: see *ađuk*  
*dura*: "round trip"

*əbbac*: see *bu*  
*əbbax*: "vapour"  
*əddən*: II *I* "to crow (cock); to call to prayer"  
 -*ək*: see -*k*  
*əlli* ~ *li*: (rel. pron.) "that, which", *bəlli fi*:- "whole ..."  
*əlla*: "God"  
*əllay*: "9th of Av (uncertain origin)"  
 -*əm*: "their, them"  
*əmm*: (pl. *amum*) "grief"  
*əmmən*: II *I* "to believe"  
*əmm*: (f.; pl. *əmmac*; dim. *nəmniya*) "mother"  
*əmmə*: "they"  
*əmmali*: (pl.) "parents" (cf. *nida*)  
*əndi*: (col.; n.u. *əndiya*, pl. *əndiyac*) "prickly pear"  
*ənglizi*: see *nəglizi*

*ənza*: "more saving"  
*ənəb*: (pl. *aranəb*) "rabbit"  
*ərd*: (f.; pl. *aradi*) "earth, ground"  
*ətčurá*: "Torah"  
*əwwəl*: (f. *əwwla*, pl. *əwwlin*) "first"; *əwwəl aməs* "day before yesterday"; *əwwlin aməs* "two days before yesterday"  
*axč*: (f.; pl. *xwac*; dim. *wəxyya*, pl. *wəxyyac*) "sister"  
*axxər*: "last", *fəlləxxər* ~ *fləxxər* "finally"  
*əyy(a)*: (interj.) "let's do... (with 1.pl.), now I'll do... (with 1.sg.)"  
*əyyam*: see *yum*  
*əyyamac*: see *yum*  
*əzz*: I gem. + *Ih* "to swing"

## f

*f*:- see *fi*  
*fač*: I *Iw* (u) "to pass"  
*fad*: I *Ily* (i) "to overflow"  
*faəm*: (1) v. III *Ih* "to make understand"; (2) a.p. of *faəm* (f. *faəma*, pl. *faəmin*) "understanding"  
*faliža*: (pl. *faližac*) "suitcase"  
*faləh*: (f. *falha*, pl. *falhin*) "able"  
*falji*: (f. *faljiya*, pl. *faljiyac*) "naughty"  
*familya*: (pl. *familyac*) "family"  
*faq*: I *Ily* (i) "to notice"  
*farəg*: (f. *farəga*, pl. *farəgin*) "empty"  
*far*: (pl. *firam*) "mouse"  
*farə*: (1) calf (leg); (2) female mouse  
*fas*: see *aš*  
*fažu*: "(proper name)"  
*fdəl*: I str. "to remain, to be left"  
*fəbrika*: (pl. *fəbriac*) "factory"  
*fəggəgi*: "(name of a bird)"  
*fəkkər*: II str. "to remind"

*fəkrən*: (col.; n.u. *fəkrəna*, pl. *fəkrənac*) "tortoise"  
*fəlfəl*: (col.; n.u. *fəlfəla*, pl. *fəlfəlac*) "pepper"  
*fəllah*: "farmer"  
*fəlhusa*: (pl. *fəlhəs*) "chick"  
*fəmm* ~ *ffəm*: I *Ih* "to understand"  
*fəmm*: (pl. *ffəm*) "mouth"  
*fəndəq*: (pl. *fəndəq*) "lodging"  
*fənda*: (du. *fərtčin*, pl. *fəndač*) "piece, one of a pair"  
*fərh*: (pl. *fərh*) "wedding party"  
*fərhən*: (f. *fərhəna*, pl. *fərhənin*) "happy"  
*fəm*: (pl. *fərn*) "oven"  
*fərrən*: II str. "to bake in the oven"  
*fərsək*: Q-I str. "to amuse"  
*fərməciya*: (pl. *fərməciyac*) "pharmacy"  
*fəry*: "difference"  
*fərrəs*: II str. "to spread"  
*fərruz*: (pl. *fərrəž*) "cock"  
*fərtəš*: (f. *fərtəša*, pl. *fərtəšin*) "bald"  
*fəssər*: II str. "to explain"  
*fəssəl*: II str. "to cut out (dress)"  
*fəthəl*: "football"  
*fəttər*: II str. "to bake *fəttər*"  
*fəwwəč*: II *Iw* "to miss"  
*fəwwəd*: II *Iw* "to pour (tr.)" *fəzdəq*: (col.; n.u. *fəstqa*, pl. *fəstqac*) "pistachio"  
*fəžra*: "silver"  
*fəžžəh*: II str. "to show off"  
*ffad*: "intestines"  
*ffəm*: see *fəmm*  
*ffəm*: see *fəmm*  
*ffət*: see *fiət*  
*ffəyyəm*: see *fəmm*  
*fhəm*: "charcoal"  
*fi*: "in, at etc.", *fi 'ud ma*: (conj.) "instead of", *fi 'ud*: (prep.) "instead of, in the place of"  
*fil*: (pl. *fyula*) "elephant"

*filəm*: (pl. *filəmac*) "film"  
*fim*: (f. *fima*, pl. *faəmin*) "judicious"  
*firan*: see *far*  
*firəm*: Q-I *Ily* "to sign"  
*firma*: (pl. *firmač*) "signature"  
*fisə*: "quickly"  
*fišək*: Q-I *Ily* "to mock"  
*fišta*: (pl. *fištač*) "feast"  
*flan* ~ *fulan*: (f. & pl. *flana* ~ *fulana*) "so-and-so". Usually in combination: *flan u flani* ~ *fulan u fulani* (f. & pl. *flana w flaniya* ~ *fulana w fulaniya*).  
*flani* ~ *fulani*: (f. & pl. *fulaniya*) "of so-and-so, certain (as adjective)"  
*fluka*: (pl. *flayək*) "boat"  
*flus*: (n.pl.) "money"  
*fərn*: see *fəm*  
*friška*: (inv.) "fresh"  
*frižidēr*: "refrigerator"  
*fərrəž*: see *fərruz*  
*fraš*: (pl. *frašac*) "bed"  
*fərhək*: franc  
*fərtə*: (col.) "fruit"  
*fsəd*: I str. "to decay"  
*fšəm*: I str. "to be weaned"  
*fšər*: I str. "to have breakfast"  
*fšur*: "breakfast"  
*ful*: "beans"  
*fulan*: see *flan*  
*fulani*: see *flani*  
*fuq*: "above"  
*fuqi*: (f. *fuqiya*) "above"  
*fusiška*: (pl. *fusiškač*) "revolver"  
*fura*: (pl. *ffər*) "towel"  
*fwašt* ~ *fi wašt*: "in the middle of"  
*fxəd*: (pl. *fxada*) "thigh"

*fxada*: see *fxad*

*fzal*: (col.; n.u. *fāzla*, pl. *fāzlač*) "radish"

*fzur*: "immorality"

## g

*gaz*: "petroleum, gas"

*gdab*: (1) v. I str. "to tell a lie", (2) n. "lie"

*gdam*: I str. "to bite"

*gəbša*: (pl. *gəbšač*) "handful"

*gəddəb*: II str. "to call a liar"

*gədduš*: "(proper name)"

*gərbəz*: Q-I str. "to put in disorder"

*gərgər*: Q-I str. "to grumble"

*gərzuma*: (pl. *gərzəm*) "throat"

*gərmət*: Q-I str. "to crunch"

*gəšš*: (pl. *kšuš*) "junk"

*gətt*: (pl. *kut*) "male cat"

*grabəz*: (n.pl.) "eating utensils, tableware"

*gražəm*: see *gərzuma*

*guča*: "(proper name)"

*gzaz*: (col.; n.u. *gzaza*, pl. *gzazač*) "glass"

## ğ

*ğaba*: (pl. *ğabač*) "wilderness"

*ğadi*: "there", *ğadi* "to there", *mən ğadi* "from there"

*ğali*: (f. *ğalya*, pl. *ğalyin*) "expensive; dear"

*ğaləđ*: (f. *ğaləđa*, pl. *ğaləđin*) "erring"

*ğarəq*: (f. *ğarəqa*, pl. *ğarəqin*) "deep"

*ğayəb*: (pl. *ğayəbin*) "disappeared"

*ğala*: (m.; st.cstr. *ğala-*, pl. *ğaxwam*) "lunch"

*ğaxwa*: "tomorrow" *həđda ğaxwa* "the day after tomorrow", *həđdin ğaxwa* "after three days"

*ğaxwica* - *mən ğaxwica*: "the next day"

*ğalla*: (pl. *ğəl*) "fruit"

*ğalla*: II *Illy* "to boil (v.t.)"

*ğalyan*: (f. *ğalyana*, pl. *ğalyanin*) "boiling"

*ğəđda*: (pl. *ğəđdač*) "mistake"

*ğəmməz*: II str. "to spread (butter, honey)"

*ğənná*: II *Illy* "to sing"

*ğənnay*: (f. & pl. *ğənnaya*) "singer"

*ğərb*: "west"

*ğərbəl*: Q-I str. "to sieve"

*ğərfá*: (pl. *ğurfá*) "attic"

*ğərgər*: Q-I str. "to gargle"

*ğəry*: "depth"

*ğəšš*: I gem. "to deceive"

*ğəttá*: II *Illy* "to cover"

*ğəttwan*: see *xta*

*ğiba*: "absence"

*ğir*: (1) (prep.) "except", (2) (adv.) "only", (3) (conj.) "but"

*ğla*: I *Illy* "to boil (v.i.); to rise in price"

*ğlaf*: (pl. *ğlafəč*) "sheath"

*ğləl*: see *ğəlla*

*ğləm*: (col.) "flock"

*ğləyyəđ*: "gross, burly"

*ğliđ*: (f. *ğliđa*, pl. *ğliđ*) "thick"

*ğmiq*: "darkness"

*ğna*: (1) (col. (m.); st.cstr. *ğnač*, n.u. *ğnaya*, pl. *ğnayač*) "song", (2) *ğna* "more rich"

*ğnaya*: see *ğna*

*ğraf*: I str. "to ladle out"

*ğrəq*: I str. "to dive"

*ğul*: (f. *ğula*, pl. *ğwal*) "desert demon"

*gzana*: see *xzana*

*gzaz*: "rust"

## h

*həčan*: (pl. *həčənim*) "bridegroom"

*həđš*: "eleventh"

*həkəm*: "governor"

*hal*: (pl. *hwal*) "condition"

*hala*: "condition"

*halil*: (inv.) "kosher for Pesah"

*haqəd*: (f. *haqəda*, pl. *haqədin*) "stingy"

*həra*: (1) (pl. *hərač*) "Jewish quarter", *həra lkbira* "Big Quarter (of Tripoli)", *həra lwəštya* "Middle Quarter (of Tripoli)", *həra zzgira* "Small Quarter (of Tripoli)", (2) (du. *hərcin*, pl. *hyar*) "four eggs"

*hasəb*: III str. "to consider"

*hašəł*: "in short, in fact"

*haštət*: (f. *haštta*, pl. *haštšin*) "putting"

*həza*: (du. *həščin*, pl. *həwayəž*) "thing"

*həzəb*: (pl. *həwəzəb*) "eyebrow"

*hbəl*: (1) (v.) I str. "to become pregnant", (2) (n. (pl. *hbula*) "rope"

*hbula*: see *hbəl*

*hčəz*: VIII *Iw* "to need"

*hđa*: "by, near by"

*hđəš*: "eleven"

*hđid*: (col.; n.u. *hđida*, pl. *hđayəd*) "iron"

*həbb*: (1) (v.) I gem. "to want, to love", (2) (n.) "love"

*həbba*: (pl. *həbbač*) "grain; swelling"

*həblá*: (f.) "pregnant"

*həbs*: "imprisonment"

*həđđ*: "(some)one" *kəll həđđ* "everyone", *ma ...həđđ* "no one"

*həđđad*: "blacksmith"

*həłl*: I gem. "to open"

*həllab*: (pl. *həllaba*) "milkman"

*həllala*: (pl. *həllalač*) "rolling pin"

*həllan*: "opening"

*həłwa*: (pl. *həłwa*) "sweet"

*həłwazi*: "sweet maker"

*həmmam*: "bath"

*hənpá*: see *hnpər*

*hən-* (*həm-*, *hət-*): verbal prefix denoting futurity.

*hənħən*: Q-I str. "to neigh"

*hənna*: "herina"

*həqq*: "truth; value"

*həqqani*: (f. & pl. *həqqaniya*) "true"

*həqqəp*: II str. "to suppose"

*hərb*: (m.; pl. *hrub*) "war"

*hərr*: (f. *hərrá*, pl. *hərrin*) "hot (taste)"

*həss*: (1) v. I str. "to feel", (2) n. (pl. *hsus*) "voice; sound"

*həssa*: "feeling"

*həssan*: (pl. *həssana*) "barber"

*həssən*: II str. "to cut hair"

*həššəl*: II str. "to catch (la)"

*həššəm*: II str. "to shame"

*hətča l-*: "until"

*hətča ~ tča*: (1) (prep.) "until" *hətča lin*, "until", *hətča ka(n)*, "even if", (2) (adv.) "even, also"

*hət*: I gem. "to put"

*həttan*: "putting"

*həwwəč*: (f. & pl. *həwwəča*) "fisherman"

*həwwəč*: II *Iw* "to fish"

*həwwəl*: II *Iw* "to move (house)"

*həyy*: (f. *həyyá*, pl. *həyyin*) "living"

*həyyər*: II *Ily* "to trouble"

*həzzara*: (pl. *həzzarač*) "riddle"

*hfyəd*: I str. "to protect"

*hfyər*: I str. "to dig"

*hiran*: (f. *hīrana*, pl. *hīranin*) "worried"

*hi*: (pl. *hičan*) "wall"

*hičan*: see *hi*

*hkaya*: "story"

*hkəm*: I str. "judge"

*hkaama*: "judgement"

*hlarwa*: see *həłwa*

*hləm*: I str. "to dream"  
*hlib*: "milk"  
*hlu*: (f. *hluwá*, pl. *hluwin*) "sweet"  
*hmam*: (col.; n.u. *hmama*, pl. *hmamač*) "pigeons"  
*hmir*: see *hmar*  
*hmar*: (1) (v.) XI str. "to become red", (2) (n.) (f. *hmara*, pl. *hmir*) "donkey"  
*hmar*: (f. *hmará*, pl. *hmar*) "red"  
*hman*: "we"  
*hmama*: "sympathy"  
*hmalaká*: "Hanukkah"  
*hnaš*: (pl. *hnuša*, dim. *hnušyāš*) "snake"  
*hnušyāš*: see *hnaš*  
*hmin*: "compassionate"  
*hirač*: I str. "to plough"  
*hraf*: (f. *hrafá*, pl. *hrafim*) "very bad"  
*hraq*: I str. "to burn"  
*hrim*: (f. *hrima*, pl. *məhrumim*) "prohibited"  
*hriqa*: (pl. *hruyag*) "fire"  
*hrir*: "silk"  
*hram*: "prohibited"  
*hruym*: "boiled fish with hot sauce".  
*hsab*: (1) (v.) XI str. "to imagine, to think, to expect", (2) (n.) "account, calculation"  
*hsana*: "haircut"  
*hsəb*: I str. "to count" *hsəb ruḥ*: "to be careful about"  
*hsus*: see *hass*  
*hšan*: (pl. *hšanma*) "horse"  
*hšanma*: see *hšan*  
*hšū*: "stuffing (food)"  
*hšuma*: "shame"  
*hṭəb*: (col.; n.u. *hṭəba*, pl. *hṭəbač*) "fire-wood"  
*huč*: (col.; n.u. *hučá*, pl. *hučəč*) "fish"  
*huš*: (f. & pl. *hušá*; dim. *hušyāš*) "house"  
*hwayəz*: see *haža*

*hwažəb*: see *hažəb*  
*hwəyγəš*: see *huš*  
*hya*: I *Hy* + I *lly* (i) "to revive"  
*hzam*: (pl. *hzamač*) "belt"  
*hzana*: "mourning"  
*hzin*: (f. *hзина*, pl. *hзан*) "depressed, sad"  
*hžər*: "lap"  
*hžər*: (col.; n.u. *hžəra*, pl. *hžərač*) "stone"

*i*

*i*: (1) (adv. "yes", (2) (interj. "oh, how (bad, dreadful etc.)")  
 -i: "my"  
*ičama*: see *yčim* > *yčama*  
*ilulá*: (m.) "feast for saint's memorial day"  
*imin*: see *ymin*  
*irəš*: "Eretz Israel"  
*iṭalya*: Italy"  
*iya*: "she"

*k*

*k*: see *kif*  
 -k: "your, you (acc.)"  
*kab*: see *kəba*  
*ka*: see *mkan* or *kan*  
*kabuč*: "respect"  
*kačər*: (f. *kačra*, pl. *kačrim*) "abundant"  
*kağəč*: (pl. *kağəčəč*) "paper"  
*kakawiya*: "peanuts"  
*kal*: see *lda*  
*kaməl*: (f. *kamla*, pl. *kamlin*) "whole" *nar kaməl* "all day long"  
*kan*: (v.) I *hw* (u) "to be"  
*ka(n)*: "only"  
*ka(n) ~ mkan*: "if"  
*kan*: see *mkan*

*kann*: (pl. *kwanən*) "portable clay cooking stove"  
*karaba*: (pl. *karəb*) "car"  
*karatim*: (pl. *karatiməč*) "cart"  
*karṭa*: (pl. *karṭəč*) "card game"  
*kas*: (pl. *kasan*) "cup"  
*kašir*: (f. *kašira*, pl. *kaširim*) "legitimate (food)"  
*kbaš*: see *kəbš*  
*kbir*: (f. *kbira*, pl. *kəbər*) "big, old"  
*kəbər*: see *kbir*  
*kəbət*: see *kəbbət*  
*kəpər*: (1) (v.) I str. "to grow up", (2) "bigger" (< *kbir*)  
*kčar*: XI str. "to increase"  
*kčəb*: I str. "to write"  
*kčəf*: (pl. *kčəf*) "shoulder"  
*kčər*: "more, (with negative) no longer"  
*kčiba*: "writing"  
*kčuf*: see *kčəf*  
*kčəba*: (pl. *kčəb*) "ankle"  
*kčək*: "(name of sweet)"  
*kəbda*: "liver"  
*kəbš*: (pl. *kbaš*) "sheep"  
*kəbbər*: II str. "to make s.th. bigger"  
*kəbbət*: (pl. *kəbət*) "coat"  
*kəčra*: "majority"  
*kəddab*: (f. *kəddaba*, pl. *kəddabin*) "liar"  
*kəff*: (pl. *kəf*) "palm of hand"  
*kəhḥ*: I gem. "to cough"  
*kəhla*: "(a kind of fish)"  
*kəhlá*: see *kəhəl*  
*kəlb*: (pl. *klab*; dim. *kləyγəb*, pl. *klibač*) "dog"  
*kəll*: "all, every" *kəll šəyγ* ~ *kəll haža* "everything", *kəll hədd*: "everyone", *lkəll* "all of them, everyone, everything", *kəmmər* "every day"  
*kəlli*: "everyone who"  
*kəlliya*: "totality"

*kəlma*: (du. *kəlməin*, pl. *kəlmač*) "word"  
*kəlwa*: (pl. *klawi*) "kidney"  
 -kəm: "your, you (acc.) (pl.)"  
*kəmm*: (pl. *kəmm*) "sleeve"  
*kəmməl*: II str. "to complete, to finish"  
*kəmmun*: "cumin"  
*kəmmuniya*: "soup made with cumin"  
*kəmsə*: "handful, small number"  
*kəmmər*: see *kəll*  
*kərbəs*: Q-I str. "to be arrested"  
*kərkər*: Q-I str. "to limp along"  
*kərkəm*: "turmeric"  
*kərr*: I gem. "to carry"  
*kərrəč*: (col.; n.u. *kərrəča*, pl. *kərrəčač*) "leek"  
*kərsi*: (pl. *krasi*) "chair"  
*kərsə*: (pl. *krəsi*) "stomach (of animal)"  
*kərwīya*: "caraway"  
*kəruša*: (pl. *krəraš*) "carriage"  
*kəswa*: (pl. *ksawi*) "suit of clothes"  
*kəšbər*: (col.; n.u. *kəšbəra*, pl. *kəšbərač*) "coriander"  
*kəčən*: "linen"  
*kəhəl*: XI str. "to become black"  
*kəhəl*: (f. *kəhlá*, pl. *kəhəl*) "black"  
*kə*: see *kif* (conj.)  
*kif, k-*: (prep.) "like", *kif kif* "the same"  
*kif ~ kə*: "when, as, since", *kif ma ~ kima* (conj.) "as"  
*kifəs*: "how?"  
*kilu*: (pl. *kilwəč*) "kilogram"  
*kima*: see *kifma*  
*kisa*: (pl. *kəs*) "purse"  
*kisan*: see *kas*  
*kla ~ kal*: irr. "to eat"  
*klab*: see *kəlb*  
*klam*: "word"  
*klässə*: "classroom"

*kləyyəb*: see *kəlb*  
*knam*: see *kəmm*  
*knəl*: I str. "to be completed"  
*kōntrā 'la*: "against"  
*kōntrō*: "against"  
*kōrsō*: "the Corso"  
*kra*: I IIIy (i) "to lent"  
*krəf*: (m.; p.du. *krəfin*) "back leg of animal"  
*krəfin*: see *krəf*  
*krəmb*: (col.; n.u. *krəmba*, pl. *krəmbač*) "cabbage"  
*kra*: I IIIy (a) "to hate"  
*krəəb*: see *karəba*  
*ksa*: I IIIy (i) "to clothe *tefillin*"  
*ksawi*: see *kəswa*  
*ksəksu*: "couscous"  
*kšīrā*: see *kašīr*  
*kšus*: see *gəšš*  
*kūf*: see *gəf*  
*kukla*: "(name of a dish)"  
*kuša*: (pl. *kwəš*) "public oven"  
*kužina*: (pl. *kužinač*) "kitchen"  
*kwəgəd*: see *kağəd*

## I

*l-*: "to, for"  
*kəb*: I str. "to play"  
*la*: "no", *la* verb<sub>1</sub> *wla* verb<sub>2</sub>, *la* noun<sub>1</sub> *la* noun<sub>2</sub>  
 "neither ... nor ..."  
*lagbi*: "date wine"  
*lai*: (f. *lazya* ~ *ləyya*, pl. *lain*) "looking after"  
*lakən*: "but"  
*laliq*: "haroset"  
*laqā*: I IIIy "to meet incidentally"  
*lazəm*: (f. *lazma*, pl. *lazmin*) "necessary"  
*lbarəh*: "last night" (often *lbarəh fəllil*)  
*lbən*: "coagulated sour milk"

*lbəs*: I str. "to wear"  
*lēa*: I IIIy (i) "to look after"  
*lēəff*: VIII gem. "to be wrapped"  
*lēəmm*: VIII gem. "to come together"  
*ləaxəl*: "to inside"  
*ləbbən*: II str. "to paint white"  
*ləbbās*: II str. "to dress s.o."  
*ləbs*: "clothes"  
*ləff*: I gem. "to wrap"  
*ləğwa*: (pl. *ləğwač*) "language"  
*ləhya*: (pl. *ləhyač*) "chin; beard"  
*ləlla*: (pl. *ləllač*) "lady"  
*ləmm*: I gem. "to gather"  
*ləqqā*: II IIIy "to catch"  
*ləwwəh*: II IIw "to throw"  
*lfuq*: (adv.) "above"  
*lhəm*: (col.; n.u. *ləhəma*, pl. *ləhəmač*) "meat"  
*li*: see *əlli*  
*libru*: (pl. *libruwač* ~ *libri*) "book"  
*lil*: "nighttime"  
*lil-*: "to" (independent dative marker)  
*lila*: (du. *lilčīn*, pl. *lyali*) "night"  
*lim*: (col.; n.u. *lima*, pl. *limač*) "lemon"  
*liya*: (pl. *liyač*) "fatty tail of sheep"  
*lqəddam*: "forward"  
*lqəm*: "nickname"  
*lsan*: (pl. *lsanač*; dim. *lsəyyən*) "tongue"  
*lsəyyən*: see *lsan*  
*lu*: "it"  
*lubya*: "haricot beans"  
*luğa*: "language"  
*luh*: (col.; n.u. *luha*, pl. *luhač* ~ *luwaḥ*) "wood board"  
*lun*: (1) (n.) (pl. *lwan*) "colour"; (2) (adv.) "differently"  
*luz*: (col.; n.u. *luza*, pl. *luzač*) "almond"

*lwan*: see *lun*  
*lyali*: see *lila*  
*lyum*: "today"  
*lzəm*: I str. "to oblige (v.t.)"

## I

*labəš*: (pl. *hwəbəš*) "pencil"  
*ləššəq*: I str. "to stick (together)"  
*ləḥrik*: "electric"  
*lurā*: "backward"  
*luḥa*: "below, downwards, downstairs"  
*luji*: (f. *luyya*, pl. *luyin*) "below"  
*hwəbəš*: see *labəš*

## m

*m-*: see *mən*  
*m'a*: see *məf*  
*m'awma*: "help"  
*m'əbbi*: (f. *m'əbbya*, pl. *m'əbbyin*) "full"  
*m'əddəb*: (f. *m'əddəba*, pl. *m'əddəbin*) "torturing"  
*m'əlləm*: (f. *m'əlləma*, pl. *m'əlləmin*) "teacher, (a.p.) teaching"  
*m'iz*: see *məza*  
*m'isa*: "livelihood"  
*ma*: (1) (n.) "water" (see *məyya*), (2) (adv.) In a combination verb<sub>1</sub> + *ma* + verb<sub>1</sub> "completely, thoroughly", (3) (pron.rel.) "what, that", (4) (negative particle), *ma ... š* "not", *ma ... (hətča)* *šəyy* "nothing, never", *ma ... (hətča) hədd* ~ *waḥəd* "no one", *ma ... hətča* + singular noun "no ... does, any ... does not", *ma ... ka(n)* "only (Fr. ne ... que)", *ma 'as* "no longer", *ma kanš*: (conj.) "otherwise", *ma zal* + positive sentence: "still", *ma zal* + negative sentence "not yet"  
*mabul*: (f. *mabula*, pl. *mabulin*) "mad"

*mač*: I IIw (u) "to die"  
*măəstrō*: (pl. *măəstruwač*) "teacher"  
*magi*: (pl. *magiyəč*) "vase"  
*makina*: (pl. *makinač*) "machine"  
*makla*: (pl. *maklač*) "food"  
*maləh*: (f. *malha*, pl. *malhin*) "salty"  
*maraza*: (pl. *marəz*) "mortar"  
*maši*: (f. *mašya*, pl. *mašyin*) "going"  
*mažən*: (pl. *məžən*) "cistern"  
*mbarək*: (f. *mbarka*, pl. *mbarkin*) "blessed"  
*mbədin*: see *bədin*  
*mbəh*: I str. "to bark" *ḥn-b-ḥ*  
*mčəlləč*: "triangle"  
*mčəqqəb*: (col.; n.u. *mčəqqəba*, pl. *mčəqqəbač*) "matzot"  
*mčuma*: "a kind of soup"  
*mdas* ~ *ndas*: (pl. *mdasač* ~ *ndasač*) "sandal"  
*mdəlləl*: (f. *mdəl(lə)la*, pl. *mdəl(lə)lin*) "auctioning"  
*məf* ~ *m'a*: "with", *məf bəf d* "each other"  
*məfa*: "stomach (of human being)"  
*məfin*: (f. *məfina*, pl. *məfinin*) "wicked, bad"  
*məmul*: (f. *məmula*, pl. *məmulin*) "made"  
*məna*: (f.; st.cstr. *mənač*, pl. *məni*) "meaning"  
*məza*: (pl. *məiz*; dim. *məiza*, pl. *məizač*) "she-goat" (cf. *ždu*)  
*məblul*: (f. *məblula*, pl. *məblulin*) "wet"  
*məbruk*: (f. *məbruka*, pl. *məbrukin*) "blessed"  
*məč'arək*: (f. *məč'arkin*, pl. *məč'arkin*) "quarrelling"  
*məč'ayəs*: (f. *məč'ayša*, pl. *məč'ayšin*) "living together"  
*məč'əddi*: (f. *məč'əddya*, pl. *məč'əddyin*) "passing"  
*məč'əlləm*: (f. *məč'əlləma*, pl. *məč'əlləmin*) "learning"

- məcfəam*: (f. *məcfəama*, pl. *məcfəamin*) "understanding (with someone)"
- məcfəršək*: (f. *məcfərška*, pl. *məcfərškin*) "amusing oneself"
- məčwələd*: (f. *məčwələda*, pl. *məčwələdin*) "being born"
- məčwəxxər*: (f. *məčwəxxəra*, pl. *məčwəxxərin*) "late"
- məčxəbbi*: (f. *məčxəbbiya*, pl. *məčxəbbiyin*) "hidden"
- məkd*: I gem. "to extend"
- məkdən*: "stretching"
- məd(d)ur*: (f. *məd(d)ura*, pl. *məd(d)urin*) "anointed"
- məlxəwwəz*: (f. *məlxəwwəza*, pl. *məlxəwwəzin*) "married"
- məf(f)um*: (f. *məf(f)uma*, pl. *məf(f)umin*) "understood"
- məğbun*: (f. *məğbuna*, pl. *məğbunin*) "deceived"
- məhlul*: (f. *məhlula*, pl. *məhlulin*) "open-minded"
- məlməl*: (pl. *məlməl*) "carrying basket"
- məlyrac*: (pl. *məlyrac*) "plough"
- məlyrut*: (f. *məlyruta*, pl. *məlyrutin*) "put (p.p.)"
- məkcub*: (f. *məkcuba*, pl. *məkcubin*) "written, ordained"
- məly*: "salt"
- məlk*: (pl. *məluk*) "king"
- məl*: (col.: n.u. *məlla*, pl. *məllac*) "ant"
- məlla* + noun: "what (a) ...!"
- məlli*: (conj.) "since"
- məlyan*: (f. *məlyana*, pl. *məlyanin*) "full"
- məlyun*: (pl. *məlyun*) "million"
- mən*: "from, by (one) of" (var. *məni*, *mn*-, *m*-)  
*mən bəd*: "in the distance (lit. from far)", *mən*  
*šad*: "from", *mən čəhə*: "from under", *mən fuq*  
 "from above", *mən gir* (var. *mgir*; *bgir*) "with-  
 out", *mən qəkkəm* "from in front of", *mən wro*
- "from behind", *mən gədwica*: "the next day",  
*mən gir ma ~ mgir ma ~ bgir ma*: (conj.)  
 "without"
- məndra*: "what on earth?"
- mənkəb*: (pl. *mənaqəb*) "elbow"
- mənn*: see *mən*
- mənnə*: II str. "to release"
- mənqaš*: (pl. *mənaqəš*) "metal-carving"
- məfəd*: (pl. *məfəd*) "buttocks"
- məqbul*: (f. *məqbula*, pl. *məqbulin*) "accepted"
- məqlub*: (f. *məqluba*, pl. *məqlubin*) "turned upside  
 down, contrary"
- məq(q)ur*: (f. *məq(q)ura*, pl. *məq(q)urin*) "gloomy,  
 sad"
- məqrut*: (col.: n.u. *məqruta*, pl. *məqrutač*) "(name  
 of a sweet)"
- mərčəli*: (f. *mərčəli*, pl. *mərčəlin*) "reposing"
- mərčədd*: (f. *mərčədda*, pl. *mərčəddin*) "returning"
- mərčə*: (f. *mərčəya*, pl. *mərčəyin*) "softened"
- mərkanč*: (f. & pl. *mərkančiya*) "rich"
- mərəkəb*: (f.) "ship"
- mərmər*: "marble (as material)"
- mərxi*: (f. *mərxiya*, pl. *mərxiyin*) "soft"
- məržan*: (col.: n.u. *məržana*, pl. *məržanač*) "coral"
- məskin*: (f. *məskina*, pl. *məskin*) "miserable"
- məsləm*: (f. *məsləma*, pl. *məsləmin*) "Muslim"
- məss*: I gem. "to touch"
- məstanas*: (f. *məstansa*, pl. *məstansin*) "getting  
 accustomed"
- məstəžəb*: (f. *məstəžəba*, pl. *məstəžəbin*) "sur-  
 prised"
- məstəhli*: (f. *məstəhliya*, pl. *məstəhlyin*) "found  
 sweet"
- məstənni*: (f. *məstənniya*, pl. *məstənniyin*) "waiting"
- məstəqəbəl*: "future"
- məščud*: (f. *məščuda*, pl. *məščudin*) "seized"

- məšgul*: (f. *məšgula*, pl. *məšgulin*) "worried"
- məškla*: (pl. *məšklač*) "problem"
- məšyan*: (f. *məšyana*, pl. *məšyanin*) "ugly, disfig-  
 ured"
- məllaqi*: (f. *məllaqya*, pl. *məllaqyin*) "meeting (p.)"
- mətsawəb*: (f. *mətsawəba*, pl. *mətsawəbin*) "yawn-  
 ing"
- mətsənməm*: (f. *mətsəm(mə)ma*, pl. *mətsəm(mə)-  
 min*) "being poisoned"
- məxčar*: (f. *məxčara*, pl. *məxčarin*) "choosing,  
 chosen"
- məxla*: (f.; st.cstr. *məxləč*-, pl. *məxəl*) "nose bag"
- məxlif*: (f. *məxlifa*, pl. *məxlifin*) "astonished"
- məxx*: "bone marrow"
- məxzən*: (pl. *məxzən*) "warehouse"
- məyyəč*: (f. *məyyəča*, pl. *müča*) "dead person, dy-  
 ing"
- məzbla*: "rubbish tip"
- məzləs*: (pl. *məzlas*) "council meeting"
- məzwəd*: (pl. *məzwəd*) "provision bag"
- məzyan*: (f. *məzyana*, pl. *məzyanin*) "beautiful"
- məzzal*: (pl. *məzzaləč*) "luck"
- məzyub*: (f. *məzyuba*, pl. *məzyubin*) "brought"
- məžgul*: see *məšgul*
- məfəam*: (f. *məfəama*, pl. *məfəamin*) "making s.o.  
 understand"
- məfišək*: (f. *məfiška*, pl. *məfiškin*) "mocking"
- məgarəf*: see *məgarəf*
- məgarəf*: (du. *məgarəfin*, pl. *məgarəf*) "spoon"
- mgir*: see *mən* > *mən gir*
- məhəbba*: (pl. *məhəbbač*) "affection"
- məhəma*: "law court"
- məhəma*: (pl. *məhəram*) "handkerchief"
- mič*:- see *miya*
- midə*: (pl. *midəč*) "low table"
- mila*: (pl. *miluc*) "circumcision"
- mnaš*: see *aš*
- miyyə*: "dancing area" *čyəb miyyə* "to dance"
- miya*: (st.cstr. *mič*-, du. *miyəin*, pl. *miyač*) "hun-  
 dred"
- miyəin*: see *miya*
- mizəb*: "gutter"
- mizan*: "weight"
- mkan*: (pl. *mkanəč*) "place", (2) see *ka(n)* (conj.)
- mkansa*: "broom"
- mila*: I IIIy(a) "to fill"
- milaqi*: (f. *milaqya*, pl. *milaqyin*) "meeting (p.)"
- milahəf*: see *məlyfa*
- milyən*: see *məlyən*
- milyəfa*: (pl. *milyəf*) "blanket"
- milih*: (f. *milih*, pl. *milih*) "nice"
- mmala*: (1) (adv.) "then, therefore", (2) (conj.) "so,  
 so that"
- mn*:- see *mən*
- mnaqəb*: see *mənkəb*
- mnam*: (pl. *mnaməč*) "dream"
- mnaqəš*: see *mənqaš*
- mnara*: (pl. *mnarač*) "candelabrum"
- mnaxər*: (n.pl.) "nostrils"
- mnaš*: see *aš*
- mnə*: I str. "to escape (danger)"
- mnəčəf*: (f. *mnəčəfa*, pl. *mnəčəfin*) "plucked,  
 plucking"
- mnin*: "from where?"
- məfəd*: see *məfəd*
- məqabla*: (pl. *məqablač*) "meeting"
- məqəddəs*: (f. *məqədsə*, pl. *məqədsin*) "holy"
- mərəya*: (pl. *mərəyač*) "mirror"
- mərd*: I str. "to crawl (a baby)"
- məsalən*: see *məskin*
- məsəldər*: (f. *məsəldəra*, pl. *məsəldərin*) "closed"
- məzwəz*: (f. *məzwəza*, pl. *məzwəzin*) "decayed"

*mša*: I *Illy* (i) "to go"  
*mšakal*: see *māškla*  
*mšful*: (f. *mšfula*, pl. *mšfulin*) "lit"  
*mšaqšaq*: (f. *mšaqšqa*, pl. *mšaqšqin*) "crazy"  
*mubilya*: "furniture"  
*muč*: (f.) "death"  
*muča*: see *māyyāč*  
*mučəq*: "peg"  
*mukul*: (f. *mukula*, pl. *mukulin*) "eaten"  
*mula*: (m. (st.cstr. *mula-*), f. *mula* (st.cstr. *mulač-*), pl. *əmməli*) "proprietor"  
*muqul*: (f. *muqula*, pl. *muqulin*) "said"  
*muruč*: (f. *muruča*, pl. *muručin*) "inherited"  
*mus*: (m.; pl. *mūnas*) "clasp knife"  
*muš*: (1) "not (before noun)", (2) as particle making a tag question "isn't it? etc."  
*muši*: "Moše"  
*muši*: "(the prophet) Moses"  
*muxad*: (f. *muxada*, pl. *muxadin*) "taken"  
*muz*: (col.; n.u. *muza*, pl. *muzač*) "bananas"  
*muža*: "wave"  
*mužad*: (f. *mužada*, pl. *mužadin*) "existing"  
*mwās*: see *mus*  
*mwəddən*: "(1) muezzin; (2) crowing (cock)"  
*mwəkkəl*: (f. *mwəkkla*, pl. *mwəkklin*) "feeding"  
*mwəmmən*: (f. *mwəmmna*, pl. *mwəmmnin*) "believing"  
*mwəssə*: (f. *mwəssa*, pl. *mwəssin*) "widen"  
*mxəlli*: (f. *mxəliya*, pl. *mxəliyin*) "leaving, left"  
*mxəmməm*: (f. *mxəmməna*, pl. *mxəmmənin*) "thinking"  
*mxəwwəf*: (f. *mxəwwfa*, pl. *mxəwwfin*) "frightening"  
*mxəliya*: "harassment"  
*mxəzən*: see *məzən*  
*myəbbas*: (f. *myəbba*, pl. *myəbbsin*) "making dry"

*mzawad*: see *məzwəd*  
*mzalbəh*: (f. *mzalbha*, pl. *mzalbhin*) "making fool out of"  
*mzuzəq*: (f. *mzuzqa*, pl. *mzuzqin*) "chirping"

*n*

*na*: "mama"  
*nađam*: (pl. *nađamač*) "Madame"  
*nałti*: (f. & pl. *nałtiya*) "Maltese"  
*naqaruna*: "pasta"  
*nađəlləm*: (f. *nađəllma*, pl. *nađəllmin*) "dark"  
*nađəwwəp*: (f. *nađəwwra*, pl. *nađəwwrin*) "round"  
*naəbšut*: (f. *naəbšuta*, pl. *naəbšutin*) "happy, gay"  
*nađdəyyəq*: (f. *nađdəyyqa*, pl. *nađdəyyqin*) "rigid, severe"  
*nađrub*: (f. *nađruba*, pl. *nađrubin*) "hit (p.p.)"  
*nałfrum*: (col.; n.u. *nałfruma*) "(name of a dish)"  
*nağğara*: (pl. *nağğarač*) "cave"  
*nağrəb*: "time of sunset"  
*naəkrü*: (f. *naəkrua*, pl. *naəkruin*) "hated"  
*naəzum*: (f. *naəzuma*, pl. *naəzumün*) "necessary, needy"  
*naəqar*: (pl. *naəqar*) "beak"  
*naəč*: see *nəra*  
*naəđ*: (pl. *naəđač*) "disease"  
*naəda*: see *nərid*  
*naəmi*: (f. *naəmiya*, pl. *naəmiyin*) "thrown"  
*naəp*: (f. *naəpa*, pl. *naəpin*) "bitter"  
*naəpa*: (du. *naəpčin*, pl. *naəpač*) "time (Fr. fois)"  
*naəpa ləwwla* ~ *ləwwəl naəpa* "for the first time", *naəpa naəpa* "on occasion, time and again", *naəpa* "at all once", *fi naəpač* "sometimes (Fr. tantôt)"  
*naəpara*: (pl. *naəparači*) "bile"  
*naəruni*: (f. & pl. *naəruniya*) "maroon"  
*naəmar*: (pl. *naəmar*) "nail"

*naəp*: "Egypt"  
*naəpən*: (pl. *naəpən*) "bowel"  
*naəpni*: (f. *naəpniya*, pl. *naəpniya*) "Egyptian"  
*naəp*: I gem. "to suck"  
*naəpən*: (f. *naəpənra*, pl. *naəpənin*) "depressed"  
*naəwā*: (pl. *naəwāč*) "commandment"  
*naəšt*: (pl. *naəšta*) "comb"  
*naəpəra*: (pl. *naəpərač*) "printing house"  
*naəpəq*: (pl. *naəpəq*) "door to the cellar"  
*naəfi*: (f. *naəfiya*, pl. *naəfiyin*) "extinguished, extinguishing"  
*naərah*: (pl. *naərah*) "place"  
*naəya*: "water"  
*naəra*: (pl. *naərač*) "slaughterhouse"  
*naəyyəp*: (f. *naəyyra*, pl. *naəyyrin*) "depressed"  
*naəzən*: see *mažən*  
*naəli*: (n.pl.) "family, parents"  
*naəma*: "mother (dim.)"  
*naəxəp* ~ *naəxəp*: (f. *naəxəpa* ~ *naəxəpa*, pl. *naəxəpin* ~ *naəxəpin*) "late"  
*naəqar*: see *naəqar*  
*naəđəf*: (f. *naəđəfa*, pl. *naəđəfin*) "cleaned, cleaning"  
*naəpəq*: see *naəpəq*  
*naəpəp*: (pl. *naəpəp*) scissors"  
*naəpəp*: "(name of a dish)"  
*naəra*: (st.cstr. *naəpə-*, pl. *naəra*) "woman, wife"  
*naəpəbi*: (f. *naəpəbiya*, pl. *naəpəbin*) "educated"  
*naəpəđ*: I str. "to become sick"  
*naərid*: (f. *naərida*, pl. *naərid*) "sick"  
*naəpəp*: (f. *naəpəpa*, pl. *naəpəpin*) "travelling"  
*naəpəp*: see *naəpəp*  
*naəpən*: see *naəpən*  
*naəpəpa*: "arrangement"  
*naəpəp*: (f. *naəpəpa*, pl. *naəpəpin*) "neat"  
*naəpa*: see *naəpə*

*naəyyəp*: "pickles"  
*naəpə*: (pl. *naəpəp*) "disaster"  
*naəpəp*: (f. *naəpəpa*, pl. *naəpəpin*) "sure"  
*naəpən*: (f. *naəpənra*, pl. *naəpənin*) "miserable"  
*naəšta*: see *naəšt*  
*naəyyəp*: (f. *naəyyəpa*, pl. *naəyyəpin*) "cooking, cooked"  
*naəpəra*: (pl. *naəpərač*) "demonstration"  
*naəpə*: "place"  
*naəli*: (pl. *naəlim*) "circumciser"  
*naəxəp*: see *naəxəp*

*n*

*nəra*: "sleepiness"  
*nəra*: I str. "to curse"  
*-na*: "our, us"  
*nađa*: III *Illy* "to call"  
*naəfa*: (f.; pl. *naəfas*) "being in childbed"  
*namus*: (1) (col.; n.u. *namusa*, pl. *namusač*) "mosquito", (2) "honour"  
*nas*: (n.pl.) "people"  
*naš*: I *Iw* (u) "to touch"  
*naəpə*: (f. *naəpa*, pl. *naəpin*) "succeeding"  
*naəp*: VII *Ily* "to be sold"  
*naəp*: VII *Ily* "to look like"  
*naəp*: VII gem. "to get wet"  
*naəbi*: (pl. *naəbin*) "prophet"  
*nəč*: see *nəč*  
*nəca*: "you (m.)"  
*nəca*: "of (possession)" (var. *čə*, *nəč*, *č-*)  
*nəca*: "feminine"  
*nəcam*: "you (pl.)"  
*nəci*: "you (f.)"  
*nađas*: see *nađas*  
*nađəm*: I str. "to regret"



*ndəndən*: (f. *ndəndən*, pl. *ndəndən*) "giving a splitting headache"  
*nēgra zəwəwəyā*: "cicada"  
*nəf'mā*: VII *Ily* "to become blind"  
*nəf'nāf*: "mint"  
*nəbwa*: "prophecy"  
*nəčəm* ~ *nəčəm*: VIII *Ily* "to be accused"  
*nəčlāf*: VII str. "to disappear (a person)"  
*nəčrā*: irr. "to be seen"  
*nəf'čāh*: (pl. *nəf'čāh*) "key"  
*nəf'əm* ~ *nəf'əm*: VII *Ily* "to be understood"  
*nəffa*: (pl. *nəffač*) "snuff"  
*nəffəm*: see *nəf'əm* ~ *nəff'əm*  
*nəfs*: (f.) "spirit"  
*nəfs'āx*: VII str. "to be abandoned, to be cancelled"  
*nəggāz*: II str. "to jump"  
*nəglizi* ~ *ənglizi*: (f. *nəgliziya* ~ *əngliziya*, pl. *nəgliz* ~ *əngliz*) "English"  
*nəhā*: II *Ily* "to take off"  
*nəhrāq*: VII str. "to be burned"  
*nəč'āb*: VII str. "to be written"  
*nəč'āf*: VII str. "to be discovered"  
*nəkwā*: VII *Ily* "to get burned"  
*nəq'ā*: VII str. "to be killed"  
*nəqlāb*: VII str. "to become upset"  
*nəqqaš*: (f. & pl. *nəqqaša*) "coppersmith"  
*nəšda* ~ *nəžda*: (pl. *nəšdač* ~ *nəždač*) "question"  
*nəšnāq*: VII str. "to be strangled"  
*nəšnīsa*: "cute child"  
*nəšrā*: VII *Ily* "to be bought"  
*nəčəm*: see *nəčəm* ~ *nəčəm*  
*nəxl'ā*: VII str. "to be frightened"  
*nəxlāq*: VII str. "to be created"  
*nəxšar*: VII str. "to be astonished" (v.g.-r)  
*nəxy*: (f. *nəxyā*, pl. *nəxyin*) "raw"  
*nəzz* (- *məzz*): VII gem. + *Ily* "to be swung"

*nəžda*: see *nəšda*  
*nəžžā*: II *Ily* "to save"  
*nəžžar*: (pl. *nəžžara*) "carpenter"  
*nəžžəm*: II str. "to be able"  
*nəfač'āh*: see *nəf'čāh*  
*nəf'ā*: I str. "to have effect (medicine)"  
*nəhas*: "copper"  
*nəhāl*: VII gem. "to be open"  
*nəhāf*: VII gem. "to be put"  
*-ni*: "me"  
*nisan*: "Nisan"  
*nīya*: (pl. *nīyač*) "intention"  
*nša*: (1) (v.) I *Ily* (a) "to forget", (2) see *nīra*  
*nšar*: (pl. *nšara*) "eagle"  
*nšib*: (pl. *nšibač*) "son-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law"  
*nša*: (m.; st.cstr. *nša-*) "starch"  
*nšād*: I str. "to ask"  
*nšākd*: VII gem. "to be seized"  
*nīwa*: (pl. *nīwač*) "storm"  
*nšal*: (col.; n.u. *nšala*) "palm tree"  
*nīyab*: (f.; pl. *nīyabač*) "canine tooth"  
*nšad*: VII *Ily* "to be born"  
*nšal*: I str. "to go down"  
*nšab*: VII *Ily* "to be brought"

## n

*nānna*: (st.cstr. *nānnač*, pl. *nānnač*) "grandmother"  
*nār*: (1) "(f.) fire", (2) "day (m.: du. *nārin*, pl. *nārač*)", *nār alhād* "Sunday", *nār atnin* "Monday", *nār atlac* "Tuesday", *nār lərtā* (f.) "Wednesday", *nār alənis* "Thursday", *nār əžžəm'a* (f.) "Friday", (*nār*) *šəbbāč* "Saturday"  
*ndāfa*: "cleanliness"  
*ndif*: (f. *ndifa*, pl. *ndaf*) "clean"

*nəddāf*: II str. "to clean"  
*nəddār*: see *nəddār*  
*nəddār* ~ *nəddār*: VII *Ily* "to look like"  
*nədrāb*: VII str. "to be hit"  
*nəfs* ~ *nəfs*: (pl. *nəfs*) "half", *nəfs bənnəfs*: "half in half"  
*nəhā*: VII *Ily* "to be hated"  
*nəqqār*: II str. "to peck"  
*nəqrā*: VII *Ily* "to be read"  
*nəsf*: see *nəfs*  
*nəh'ā*: VII str. "to be printed"  
*nəh'ās*: VII str. "to become deaf"  
*nəf'ā*: VII *Ily* "to be extinguished"  
*nəgār*: I str. "to envy s.o. (*mən*)"  
*nəqəs*: "less"  
*nəqəss*: VII gem. "to be cut"  
*nəšab*: VII *Ily* "to be found"  
*nūnru*: (pl. *nūnruwač*) "number"  
*nəzar*: VI *Ily* "to be visited"  
*nəzaz*: (col.; n.u. *nəzaza*, pl. *nəzazač*) "pear"

## q

*q'ād*: I str. "to stay, to stay"  
*qa* ~ *q'ād*: "(verbal prefix denoting progressive action, *q'ād* agrees in gender and number with the subject (f. *q'āda*, pl. *q'ādīm*))"  
*q'ād*: (1) (f. *q'āda*, pl. *q'ādīm*) "sitting, staying", (2) see *qa*  
*qabāl*: III str. "to meet"  
*qabla*: (pl. *qablač*) "midwife"  
*qadi*: "judge"  
*qafila*: (pl. *qafilač*) "robber band"  
*qal*: I *Ily* (u) "to say"  
*qam*: (1) I *Ily* (u) "to wake up", (2) I *Ily* (i) "to raise, to cheer up" *qam b-* "to assist"  
*qamur*: "law"  
*qaqā*: III *Ily* "to cackle"  
*qarəs*: (f. *qarəsa*, pl. *qarəsin*) "sour"  
*qas*: I *Ily* (i) "to measure"  
*qasā*: III *Ily* "to suffer"  
*qasəh*: (f. *qasha*, pl. *qashin*) "hard"  
*qat'ā*: (f. *qat'a*, pl. *qat'in*) "sharp (knife)"  
*qawa*: (du. *qawāin*, pl. *qawač*: dim. *qawa*) "(cup of) coffee, coffee-house"  
*qawaži*: (pl. *qawažiya*) "coffee-house waiter"  
*qbah*: XI str. "to become impudent"  
*qbalā*: "before (place), in front of, in the presence of" *qbal*: (1) (v.) I str. "to accept, to receive", (2) (adv.) "before", (3) (prep.) "before (time)", *qbal ma*: (conj.) "before"  
*qbih*: (f. *qbiha*, pl. *qbah*) "impudent"  
*qbil*: (adv.) "before"  
*qbur*: (pl. *qburāč*) "grave"  
*qburāč*: see *qbur*  
*qčal*: I str. "to kill"  
*qčila*: "killing"  
*qčəm*: (1) I str. "to become old", (2) see *qčim*  
*qčər*: I str. "to be able"  
*qčim*: (f. *qčima*, pl. *qčīm*) "old"  
*qči*: "housekeeping"  
*qčəd*: (prep.) "as", *qčəd ma*: "as much as"  
*qčədam*: "in front of"  
*qčədas*: "how much, how many?"  
*qčəya*: "affair"  
*qčəffa*: (du. *qčəffin*, pl. *qčəf*) "large basket"  
*qčəhba*: "prostitute"  
*qčəhb*: (pl. *qčəhub*) "heart", centre"  
*qčəllāq*: II str. "to bore"  
*qčəšā*: (pl. *qčəšas*) "sock"  
*qčənnarzi*: (f. & pl. *qčənnarziya*) "gambler"  
*qčənyā*: (pl. *qčənyar*) "moon"  
*qčəndil*: (pl. *qčəndil*) "lamp"

*qard*: (pl. *qruda*) "monkey"  
*qarfa*: "cinnamon"  
*qarn*: (pl. *qrmač*) "horn"  
*qarš*: (pl. *qrus*) "piaster"  
*qarmit*: (col.; n.u. *qarmita*, pl. *qarmitač*) "octopus"  
*qas'a*: (pl. *qas'a*) "bowl"  
*qasš*: I gem. "to cut"  
*qasša*: (pl. *qasšač*) "crisis; fabric material"  
*qasšəm*: II str. "to cut off, to divide" *qasšəm binač*-  
 "to settle a quarrel"  
*qasšya*: (pl. *qasšy*) "peel"  
*qat'cal*: "murderer"  
*qat'i*: (pl. *qat'iya*) "robber band"  
*qatš*: II str. "to cut off"  
*qatšus*: (pl. *qatšus*) "cat (in general)" cf. *qatšusa* and  
*gətt*  
*qatšusa*: (pl. *qatšus*) "female cat"  
*qawwá*: II *Iw* + *IIIy* "to strengthen"  
*qayyád*: II *Ily* "to register"  
*qayyám*: II *Ily* "to awaken"  
*qaf*: see *qaffa*  
*qitun*: (pl. *qwatən*) "tent"  
*qiwa*: see *qawa*  
*qla*: I *IIIy* (i) "to fry"  
*qlam*: "pen"  
*qləq*: I str. "to be bored"  
*qlil*: (f. *qlila*, pl. *qlal*) "rare"  
*qlila*: (pl. *qlayəl*) "earring"  
*qlub*: (1) (n.pl.) sunflower seeds", (2) see *qəlb*  
*qlayəs*: see *qəlyə*  
*qmari*: (in 'ud *qmari*) "aloe tree"  
*qmas*: "fabric material, cloth"  
*qmayəz*: see *qmayəzə*  
*qmal*: (col.; n.u. *qmila*, pl. *qmilac*) "louse"  
*qmayzə*: (pl. *qmayzə*) "shirt"  
*qmadəl*: see *qamčil*

*qrš*: (col.; n.u. *qarša*, pl. *qaršač*) "pumpkin"  
*qrib*: (1) (n.) (f. *qrība*, pl. *qrāb*) "near", (2) (adv.)  
 "soon"  
*qruda*: see *qard*  
*qrus*: see *qarš*  
*qra*: I *IIIy* (a) "to read"  
*qraya*: (pl. *qrayač*) "reading"  
*qrəb*: "nearer" (< *qrib*)  
*qtəs*: I str. "to pinch" *qsaħ*: XI str. "to become  
 hard"  
*qsar*: (1) XI str. "to become short", (2) see *qsir*  
*qsš*: see *qas'a*  
*qsər*: (1) (pl. *qsura*) "castle", (2) "shorter" (< *qsir*)  
*qsir*: (f. *qsira*, pl. *qsar*) "short"  
*qus*: (pl. *qwas*) "bow"  
*quwa*: (pl. *quwač*) "power"  
*qwa*: "stronger" (< *qwi*)  
*qwatən*: see *qitun*  
*qwi*: (f. *qwīya*, pl. *qwīyin*) "strong"  
*qyama*: "standing up"  
*qžər*: (pl. *qžura*) "drawer"  
*qžura*: see *qžər*

## r

*rəs*: I str. "to get angry"  
*raħa*: (pl. *raħač*) "rest"  
*raqad*: (f. *raqda*, pl. *raqdin*) "sleeping"  
*rayas*: (pl. *rayasa*) "leader"  
*rbəħ*: I str. "to make a profit, to gain"  
*rbš*: "spring"  
*rbiba*: "stepdaughter on husband's side"  
*rčah*: VIII *Iw* "to rest"  
*rčadd*: VIII gem. "to return"  
*rəbbi*: (pl. *rəbbanim*) "rabbi"  
*rəč*: 'ād: VIII str. "to tremble"  
*rəčə*: VII *IIIy* "to calm down, to soften (v.i.)"  
*rədd*: I gem. "to bring back"  
*rəddan*: "giving back"  
*rəff*: (pl. *rəfuf*) "shelf"  
*rəhyān*: see *rħa*  
*rəmša*: (du. *rəmšcin*, pl. *rəmšač*) "second"  
*rəqba*: (dim. *rəqyāb*) "neck"  
*rəsq*: "property"  
*rəzz*: "rice"  
*rš*: I str. "to carry"  
*ršuf*: see *rəff*  
*rħa*: (1) (v.) I *IIIy* (i) "to grind", (2) (n.) (m.; st.cstr.)  
*rħač*, pl. *rəhyān* "hand mill"  
*righalu*: "gift"  
*riħ*: "wind"  
*rīħa*: (pl. *rwayəħ*) "smell"  
*riq*: "saliva"  
*riš*: (col.; n.u. *riša*, pl. *rišač*) "feather"  
*riya*: (pl. *riyač*) "lung"  
*rīkayəb*: see *rəħba*  
*rīkəb*: I str. "to travel"  
*rīqad*: "sleeping"  
*rīraq*: (1) (v.) XI gem. "to become thin", (2) see  
*rīq*  
*rīqad*: I str. "to sleep"  
*rīqayəb*: see *rəqba*  
*rīq*: (f. *rīqqa*, pl. *rīraq*) "thin"  
*rīħ*: "spirit"  
*rīšən*: (pl. *rwašən*) "window"  
*rwayyas*: see *rayš*  
*rxā*: I *IIIy* (i) "to weaken (v.i.)"  
*rxam*: (col.; n.u. *rxama*, pl. *rxamač*) "marble  
 (boards)"  
*rxās*: (f. *rxāsa*, pl. *rxas*) "cheap"  
*ryus*: see *rayš*  
*rzən*: "heavier" (< *rzin*)  
*ržəl*: (f.; p.du. *ržlīm*) "leg"

*ra*: irr. "to see"  
*raḅš*: (f. *raḅša*) "fourth"  
*rayš*: (f.; pl. *ryus*) "head"  
*raw*: "(adv. emphasizing a statement)"  
*ražəl*: (pl. *ržal*) "man, husband"  
*rḅš*: (1) "quarter", (2) see *rəḅša*  
*rḅšim*: "forty"  
*rḅštas*: "fourteen"  
*rḅš*: I str. "to tie"  
*rda*: I *Iy* (a) "to agree"  
*rəḅ*: see *rəḅša*  
*rəḅša*: "four" (var. *rəḅ*, *rḅš*)  
*rəḅḅá*: II *IIIy* "to educate"  
*rəḅḅi*: "God"  
*rəğwa*: "bubble"  
*rəħba*: (pl. *rīkayəb*) "knee"  
*rəḅḅar*: "Ramadan"  
*rəqs*: "dance"  
*rəwwəħ*: II *Iw* "to go back"  
*rš*: I str. "to carry"  
*rḅəm*: I str. "to mercy"  
*rma*: I *IIIy* (i) "to throw"  
*rīḅ*: (f. *rīḅá*, pl. *rīḅ*) "wet"  
*rūḅba*: (pl. *rūḅbač*) "dress"  
*rūħ*: (pl. *rwaħ*) (1) "spirit", (2) "oneself", *brūħ*- "by  
 oneself"  
*rūmi*: (f. *rūmiya*, pl. *rwama*) "Christian"  
*rūzaqa*: "almond syrup"  
*rwaħ*: see *rūħ*  
*rwama*: see *rūmi*  
*rzin*: (f. *ržina*, pl. *ržim*) "heavy, depressed"

- s*
- sīd*: "happy"
- sā'a*: (du. *sā'ān*, pl. *sā'ac*) "hour"
- sā'azi*: (f. & pl. *sā'azīya*) "watchmaker"
- sā'ad*: III str. "to help"
- sabš*: (f. *sab'a*) "seventh"
- sakən*: (f. *sakna*, pl. *sakinin*) "living"
- sal* (~ *ssal*): XI III "to become easy"
- samāh*: III str. "to allow"
- sami*: (pl. *swami*) "name"
- sanya*: (pl. *swani*) "field"
- saq*: (f.; p.du. *saqin*) "leg (of human being)"
- saqya*: (pl. *swaqi*) "tube, pipe"
- sar*: I Ily (i) "to flow"
- sasā*: III str. "to beg"
- sačāč*: (f. *satča*) "sixth"
- sbš*: see *sab'a*
- sbā'in*: "seventy"
- sbika*: (pl. *sbayək*) "ingot bar"
- sbiričira*: (pl. *sbiričirač*) "Primus stove"
- sbul*: (col.; n.u. *sbula*, pl. *sbulač*) "corn"
- sēkōndō*: "according to"
- sab*: see *sab'a*
- sab'a*: "seven" (var. *sab'-*, *sbš*)
- sabb*: I gem. "to insult"
- sabba*: (pl. *sabbac*) "reason"
- sadd*: I gem. "to satiate, to suffice"
- sadda*: (pl. *saddac*) "sleeping berth"
- sahhar*: (pl. *sahhara*) "magician"
- sakkā*: (pl. *sakkac*) "Succah"
- sakkana*: (pl. *sakkanač*) "danger"
- sakkar*: "sugar"
- sakkār*: II str. "to close"
- sakkana*: (pl. *sakkani*) "knife"
- sakran*: (f. *sakrana*, pl. *sakranin*) "drunk"
- sallām*: II str. "to greet"
- sallum*: (pl. *slaləm*) "ladder"
- sālq*: "spinach"
- sammām*: II gem. "to poison"
- sams*: (f.; *smusa*) "sun"
- sānfaz*: (f. & pl. *sānfāza*) "doughnut maker"
- sānm*: (f.; p.du. *sāmin*; dim. *snayyan*) "tooth"
- sānsla*: (pl. *snasla*) "necklace"
- sarrāh*: II str. "to release"
- sarwal*: (pl. *srawəl*) "trousers"
- sātč*: see *sātča*
- sātča*: "six" (var. *sātč*)
- sātčān*: "sixty"
- sawwaq*: (pl. *sawwaqa*) "driver"
- sawwāq*: II Ily "to sell"
- sayyag*: (pl. *sayyaga*) "jeweller"
- sayyāb*: II Ily "to let go off"
- sayyad*: "master"
- sayyāq*: II Ily "to water"
- sfannari*: (col.; n.u. *sfannariya*, pl. *sfannariyač*) "carrot"
- sfanz*: (col.; n.u. *sfanza*, pl. *sfanzač*) "doughnut"
- shāla*: "charcoal (powder)"
- sidi*: "my master" (cf. *sayyad*)
- sif*: (pl. *syif*) "sword"
- sifər čurā*: "the Bible"
- sigaru*: (pl. *swagər*) "cigarette"
- sigur*: "sure" (var. *sikur*)
- sikur*: see *sigur*
- sira*: "reason, course of events"
- skač*: "silence"
- skakən*: see *sakkana*
- skāč*: I str. "to be silent"
- skən*: I str. "to dwell"
- skər*: I str. "to get drunk"
- skula*: (pl. *skulač*) "school"
- slam*: "peace"

- sma*: (m.; st.cstr. *smac-*, pl. *smawač*) "sky"
- smān*: (1) (v.) XI str. "to become fat", (2) (n.) see *smin*
- smah*: "permission"
- smš*: I str. "to listen"
- smən*: (1) "clarified butter", (2) "fatter" (< *smin*)
- smid*: "semolina"
- smin*: (f. *smina*, pl. *smān*) "fat"
- sna*: (1) (v.) I Ily (a) "to hate", (2) (n.) (f.; pl. *snin*) "year"
- snasəl*: see *sānsla*
- snayyan*: see *sānm*
- sqaf*: (pl. *sqifa*) "ceiling, roof"
- srawəl*: see *sarwal*
- stanās*: XI "to be acclimatised"
- stərəf*: X str. "to get to know s.o., to acknowledge"
- stšžl*: X str. "to hurry up"
- stšžil*: "hurrying up", *bastšžil* "in a hurry"
- stəhlā*: X Ily "to find sweet, to enjoy"
- stəndā*: irr. "to wait"
- stəxhār*: X str. "to ask"
- sthəm*: irr. "to bathe"
- sthəqq*: X gem. "to need"
- stōrya*: (pl. *stōryac*) "story"
- sum*: "price"
- sus*: (col.; n.u. *susa*) "worm"
- suswa* ~ *swaswa*: "same, exactly"
- swa*: I Ily (a) "to cost"
- swagər*: see *sigaru*
- swami*: see *sami*
- swaswa*: see *suswa*
- xxana*: "fever, heat"
- xxan*: (f. *xana*, pl. *xxan*) "hot (temperature)"
- syif*: see *sif*
- szər*: (col.; n.u. *szəra*, pl. *szərač*) "tree"
- š*
- šib*: (f. *šiba*, pl. *šab*) "difficult"
- šab*: I Ily (i) "to find"
- šaba*: (pl. *šabac*) "harvest"
- šabun*: (pl. *šwabən*) "soap"
- šafər*: III str. "to travel"
- šahəb*: (f. *šahba*, pl. *šəhəb*) "friend"
- šalša*: "sauce"
- šalša*: "jumping"
- šam*: I Ily (u) "to fast"
- šanš*: (f. *šarša*, pl. *šəməš*) "servant, craftsman"
- šaqač*: (inv.) "blind"
- šar*: I Ily (i) "to become, to happen"
- šawəb*: III Ily "to arrange"
- šayam*: (f. *šayma*, pl. *šaymin*) "fasting"
- šəbət*: see *šəbbət*
- šəbətī*: (pl. *šəbətīya*) "shoemaker"
- šəh*: "morning"
- šəyā*: see *šəyā*
- šəš*: (du. *šəšān*, pl. *šəwəš*; dim. *šəšyāš*) "finger", *šəšək alkbir* "the thumb", *šəšək itčani* "the index", *šəšək əlwəšti* "the middle finger", *šəšək əyyəš* "the ring finger", *šəšək əzzgīr* "the little finger".
- For telling names of the fingers in a humorous way the following expressions are used: *qətčal əlqəmīla* "the thumb (touce killer)", *ləhhas əlqəša* "the index (bowl licker)", *twil bla gälla* "the middle finger (long without profit)", *ləbbas əlxacəm* "the ring wearer", *zəyənər bu zəyən* "the little finger (tiny little one)"
- šəšər*: I str. "to be patient"
- šəšān*: see *šəš*
- šəšāš*: "seventeen"
- šəšəg*: I str. "to dye"
- šəšəq*: I str. "to precede"
- šəšyāš*: see *šəš*

- šbiḥiya*: "girl of 12, 13 years old"  
*šbičar*: (pl. *šbičarač*) "hospital"  
*šbiya*: (pl. *šbaya*) "girl"  
*šdadər*: see *šəddur*  
*šdər*: (pl. *šdurač*) "breast"  
*šəḥḥ*: I gem. "to pour"  
*šəḥḥat*: (pl. *šəḥḥət*) "shoe"  
*šəddur*: (pl. *šdadər* ~ *šdadər*) "prayer book"  
*šəḥra*: (pl. *šəḥər*) "tray"  
*šəḥra*: see *šəḥ*  
*šəḥ*: I gem. "to suck, to sip"  
*šəḥšfa*: (pl. *šəḥšfač*) "fodder"  
*šəḥḥa*: (pl. *šəḥḥač*) "health"  
*šəḥra*: (f.; st.cstr. *šəḥrəč*-, pl. *šəḥrač*) "desert"  
*šəllá*: II *Illy* "to pray"  
*šəliḥan*: (pl. *šlatən*) "Sultan"  
*šəḥra*: (pl. *šəḥər*) "minaret"  
*šəḥmər*: II str. "to nail"  
*šəḥduq*: (pl. *šəḥduq*) "box"  
*šəḥmara*: (pl. *šəḥmarač*) "landing net"  
*šəḥra*: (pl. *šəḥrač*) "navel; money pouch"  
*šəḥtaš*: "sixteen"  
*šəḥwər*: II *Ilw* "to take a photo, to draw a picture"  
*šəḥyad*: (pl. *šəḥyada*) "hunter, fisherman"  
*šəḥzar*: (f. & pl. *šəḥzara*) "butcher"  
*šəḥ*: XI str. "to become yellow"  
*šəḥər*: see *šəḥra*  
*šəḥ*: (1) "travel", (2) (f. *šəḥra*, pl. *šəḥər*) "yellow"  
*šəḥḥ*: see *šəḥḥ*  
*šəḥḥ*: XI gem. "to become strong"  
*šid*: (pl. *šyuda*) "lion"  
*šif*: (pl. *šyif*) "summer"  
*šiniya*: (pl. *šwani*) "plate"  
*šla*: (f.; st.cstr. *šlač*-, pl. *šlawac*) "synagogue"  
*šlah*: "weapon"  
*šlata*: (pl. *šlayət*) "salad"
- šlib*: "cross"  
*šliḥuč*: "penitential prayers"  
*šmər*: see *šəḥra*  
*šraf*: I str. "to spend (money)"  
*šta*: (st.cstr. *štač*-, pl. *štawac*) "master"  
*šraf*: I str. "to succeed, to pass (exam)"  
*štal*: (pl. *štula*) "bucket"  
*štula*: see *štal*  
*šuf*: "wool"  
*šuf*: (pl. *šwaf*) "market"  
*šur*: (pl. *šwar*) "wall"  
*šura*: "figure"  
*šur*: (pl. *šwat*) "whip"  
*šwabə*: see *šəḥ*  
*šyam*: "fast"
- š
- š*: (pron.rel.) "what, which"  
*-š*: "(negative particle)"  
*šar*: (col.; n.u. *šara*, pl. *šarač*) "hair"  
*šir*: "barley"  
*ša*: "what?"  
*šada* ~ *ššada*: (pl. *šadač*) "testimony"  
*šad*: (f. *šada*, pl. *šud*) "witness"  
*šai*: "tea"  
*šaqur*: (pl. *šwəqər*) "hatchet"  
*šarə*: (pl. *šwərə*) "street"  
*šawa*: "what?"  
*šawər*: III str. "to consult"  
*šbabə*: see *šəḥḥ*  
*šbal*: XI str. "to resemble"  
*šbə*: I str. "to be full, satiated"  
*šbər*: (du. *šəbrin*, pl. *šbura*) "inch"  
*šbura*: see *šbər*  
*šca*: (f.; st.cstr. *šcač*-, pl. *šcawac*) "winter, rain"  
*šcaq*: VIII *Ilw* "to long"

- ššar*: Q-I str. "to send forth fragrance"  
*šəḥan*: (f. *šəḥana*, pl. *šəḥanin*) "satiated"  
*šəḥbaba*: (pl. *šəḥbabač*) "flute"  
*šəḥbač*: (pl. *šəḥbač*) "Sabbath"  
*šəḥka*: (pl. *šəḥki*; dim. *šəḥka*, pl. *šəḥkač*) "net"  
*šədd*: I gem. "to seize"  
*šədd* ~ *ššad*: I *Ilh* "to witness"  
*šəddan*: "seizing"  
*šəḥfa*: (pl. *šəḥəf*) "lip of animal"  
*šəḥma*: (pl. *šəḥmač*) "fat"  
*šəḥšuka*: "(name of a dish)"  
*šəḥgum*: (pl. *šəḥgəm*) "moustache"  
*šəmm*: I gem. "to smell"  
*šəḥqəqəqə*: (pl. *šəḥqəqəqəč*) "moneybox"  
*šəḥḥ*: "drink"  
*šəḥḥa*: "soup"  
*šəḥ* ~ *ššəḥ*: (du. *šəḥin*, pl. *šur* ~ *ššur*) "month"  
*šəḥ*: (pl. *šəḥra*) "condition"  
*šəḥ*: (pl. *šəḥ*) "coast"  
*šəḥḥ*: II str. "to snore"  
*šəḥ*: "nothing"  
*šəḥyət*: "to polish"  
*šəḥyət*: see *šəḥfa*  
*š*: "thing"  
*šibani*: (pl. *šiyabin*) "old man"  
*šiša*: (pl. *šyəš*) "bottle"  
*šitan*: (f. *šitana*, pl. *šitanin*) "naughty, Satan"  
*šix*: (pl. *šyuxa*) "old person, sheikh"  
*ška*: I *Illy* (i) "to complain" *škara*: (pl. *škayər*) "sack"  
*škayər*: see *škara*  
*škan*: "who?"  
*šlagəm*: "moustaches"  
*šmə*: (col.; n.u. *šəmə*, pl. *šəməč*) "candle"  
*šqa*: I *Illy* (a) "to work hard, to suffer hardship"  
*šra*: I *Illy* (i) "to buy"
- šrik*: (f. *šrika*, pl. *šəḥkan*) "companion"  
*šrab*: "alcoholic drink"  
*šrəḥ*: I str. "to drink"  
*ššada*: see *šada* ~ *ššada*  
*ššər*: see *šəḥ*  
*ššad*: see *šad*  
*ššud*: see *šad*  
*ššur*: see *šəḥ* ~ *ššəḥ*  
*šḥ*: I str. "to dance"  
*šḥa*: (pl. *šḥač*) "dance, dancing"  
*šḥ*: see *šəḥ*  
*šud*: see *šad*  
*šur*: "perhaps, likely"  
*šura*: (pl. *šwari*) "dowry"  
*šušā*: (pl. *šwəš*) "tassel of fez"  
*šwəḥ*: "a little"  
*šwəš*: see *šušā*  
*šwa*: I *Illy* (i) "grill"  
*šwarə*: see *šarə*
- t
- tca*: see *ḥətca*  
*tcawəḥ*: VI *Ilw* "to yawn"  
*tcam*: see *čəmm*  
*tčaddā*: see *čəddā*  
*tčaklā*: irr. "to lean"  
*tčəmmā*: see *čəmmā*  
*tḥan*: I str. "to bury"  
*tḥina*: (pl. *tḥayən*) "cholent"  
*tkər*: (pl. *tkara*) "masculine"  
*tlac*: see *tlaca*  
*tlaca*: "three" (var. *tlac*)  
*tlacin*: "thirty"  
*tlagā*: VI *Illy* "to meet"  
*tlagiyā*: (pl. *tlagiyāč*) "meeting"  
*tləzzəm*: V str. "to be necessary"

*tnassá*: V IIIy "to be forgotten"  
*tnin*: "two"  
*taiq*: "flour"  
*taiqqa*: (du. *taiqčim*, pl. *taqyaq*) "minute"  
*tsáád*: VI str. "to put in order, to manage"  
*tsammá*: V IIIy "to be named"  
*tsammám*: V gem. "to be poisoned"  
*txal*: I str. "to enter"  $\sqrt{d-x-l}$   
*tšššš*: Q-I str. "to be sent forth (fragrance of the flower); to enjoy fragrance"  
*tšiša*: "a little"

t

*tab*: I Iy (i) "to be cooked"  
*tabš*: (pl. *twabš*) "seal"  
*taɣ*: III Ilh "to circumcise"  
*taħ*: I Ily (i) "to fall"  
*taħuna*: (pl. *taħumac*) "mill"  
*taksi*: (pl. *taksiyac*) "taxi"  
*taləb*: (pl. *təllaba*) "beggar"  
*tanəš*: "twelfth"  
*taqiya*: (pl. *twaqi*) "cap"  
*taq*: I Ily (i) "to fly"  
*taša*: (pl. *twaši*) "cup"  
*tašš*: "ninth"  
*tauq*: (f. *tauqa*, pl. *tauqim*) "kosher (food)"  
*tawla*: (pl. *tawlač*) "table"  
*tayəb*: (f. *taɣba*, pl. *taɣbin*) "cooked"  
*taɣəh*: (f. *taɣha*, pl. *taɣhin*) "falling"  
*tažin*: (pl. *twažin*) "pot"  
*təyax*: see *təbix*  
*təbəq*: (pl. *təbuqa*) "tray"  
*təbax*: I str. "to cook"  
*təbib*: (pl. *təbba*) "doctor"  
*təbixa*: (pl. *təyax*) "food"  
*təbba*: see *təbib*

*təbbax*: (f. & pl. *təbbaxa*) "cook"  
*təbbəh*: II str. "to call"  
*təbbəš*: II str. "to bend"  
*təllš*: II str. "to remove, to make go out"  
*təlyan*: (f. *təlyana*, pl. *təlyna*) "Italian"  
*təqs*: "weather"  
*tərbəq*: Q-I str. "to be smashed"  
*tərbuš*: (pl. *trabəš*) "fez"  
*tərf*: (du. *tərfin*, pl. *truf*; dim. *trəyyəf*) "piece", *truf* "in pieces"  
*tərlək*: (pl. *trələk*) "woman's slipper"  
*tərrəd*: I str. "to drive out"  
*tərsá*: see *trəš*  
*təš*: see *təša*  
*təša*: "nine" (var. *təš*, *təš*)  
*təwwəl*: II Ilw "to prolong"  
*təyyəb*: II Ily "to cook"  
*təyyəh*: II Ily "to drop"  
*tfa*: I IIIy (i) "to extinguish"  
*tfar*: (pl. *tfarac*) "nails"  
*tħak*: "laughter"  
*tħək*: I str. "to laugh"  
*tħa*: "falling"  
*tħr*: (pl. *tyur*) "bird"  
*tħaq*: "divorce"  
*tħayna*: see *təlyan*  
*tħš*: I str. "to go out"  
*tħəb*: I str. "to ask, to order"  
*tħtəš*: "thirteen"  
*tħatəm*: (col.; n.u. *tħatma*, pl. *tħatmac*) "tomato"  
*tħaqəp*: VI str. "to collide"  
*tħaš*: "twelve"  
*tħabəsi*: (f. & pl. *tħabəsiya*) "Tripolitanian"  
*tħabləš*: "Tripoli"  
*tħələk*: see *tərlək*  
*tħəq*: see *trəq*

*trəš*: (f. *trəšá*, pl. *trəš*) "deaf"  
*trəyyəf*: see *tərf*  
*trif*: (inv.) "non-kosher (food)"  
*trħa*: "repeated beating"  
*triq*: (f.; pl. *trəq*) "way, road"  
*trīqa*: "distance, course"  
*truf*: see *tərf*  
*tšəmməč*: V str. "to listen"  
*tšəqqət*: V str. "to be closed with a bar"  
*tšərrəh*: V str. "to be freed"  
*tšš*: see *təša*  
*tššin*: "ninety"  
*tšštaš*: "nineteen"  
*tul*: "length"  
*twał*: (1) (v.) XI Ilw "to become long", (2) see *twil*  
*twaqi*: see *taqiya*  
*twaši*: see *taša*  
*twəl*: "longer, taller" (< *twil*)  
*twil*: (f. *twila*, pl. *twal*) "long, tall"  
*tyaba*: "goodness"

## u

-u: "his, him"  
*ulad*: (< *wlad*) see *wəld*  
*uñil*: (pl. *uñlac*) "hotel"  
*uñibus*: (pl. *uñibusac*) "bus"  
*uwa*: "he"  
*uzir*: see *wzir*

## w

*w (u)*: "and" *w bərra* "and so on", (2) (prep.) "by (in oath)"  
*wəad*: I Iw "to swear"  
*wad*: "river"  
*wada*: (f. *wadi*, pl. *wadħin*) "here ... is doing!"  
*wadi*: see *wada*

*wadun*: see *wada*  
*wafá*: III Iw + IIIy "to put amply"  
*wafəq*: III Iw "to agree"  
*wafi*: (f. *wafya*, pl. *wafyin*) "loose-fitting"  
*wahəd*: (num.; f. *wəhda*, pl. *wħud*; dim.m. *wħəyyəd*, f. *wħida*, pl. *wħidac*) "one", *wəhda* "slowly", *bəlwəhda* *bəlwəhda* "one by one"  
*wakəl*: (f. *wakla*, pl. *wakħin*) "eating"  
*waləd*: (f. *walda*, pl. *waldin*) "giving birth"  
*waqəf*: (f. *waqfa*, pl. *waqħin*) "standing"  
*wasəš*: (f. *wasəša*, pl. *wasħin*) "broad, wide"  
*wasəl*: (f. *wasla*, pl. *wasħin*) "arriving"  
*was*: "and something"  
*wañi*: (f. *watya*, pl. *watyin*) "low"  
*waxəd*: (f. *waxda*, pl. *waxħin*) "taking"  
*wəžəd*: (f. *wəžda*, pl. *wəžħin*) "existing"  
*wəžəyy*: see *bu*  
*wəžən*: (f.; p.du. *wəžħin*; dim. *wəžina*, pl. *wəžinac*) "ear"  
*wəžina*: see *wəžən*  
*wəšr*: (f. *wəšra*, pl. *wəšħin*) "difficult"  
*wəffá*: II Iw + IIIy "to pass (time)"  
*wəhda*: see *wahəd*  
*wəhđani*: (f. *wəhđaniya*) "sole"  
*wəkkəl*: (f. *wəkkala*) "glutton"  
*wəkkəl*: II Iw "to feed"  
*wəld*: (pl. *wlad*; dim. *wləyyəd*, pl. *wlidac*) "son, boy"  
*wəlla* ~ *wla*: "otherwise, lest, or"  
*wəllá*: II Iw + IIIy "to come back"  
*wəlla*: "by God!"  
*wəqəč*: (pl. *wqac*) "time", *fəlwəqəč* "in time"  
*wəqqəf*: II Iw "to stop, to halt"  
*wəqtli*: "when, as"  
*wərd*: (col.; n.u. *wərđa*, pl. *wərđac*) "rose"

*wərrá:* II *Ily* "to show"  
*wərrəd:* II *Iw* "to take pleasure, to make cheerful"  
*wəssá:* II *Iw* + *Ily* "to advise"  
*wəssəf:* II *Iw* "to widen"  
*wəssəf:* II *Iw* "to make s.o. arrive"  
*wəš:* "middle"  
*wəšti:* (f. *wəštiya*, pl. *wəštiyin*) "middle" (cf. *wəštiya* in *ħara hwəštiya*, see *ħara*)  
*wəšš ~ wəžž ~ wza:* (pl. *wzu*) "face"  
*wətá:* II *Iw* + *Ily* "to prepare"  
*wəxxəp:* II *Iw* "to be late"  
*wəyya-:* "with"  
*wəzra:* see *wzir*  
*wəzz:* (col.; n.u. *wazza*, pl. *wəzzač*) "goose"  
*wəžba:* (pl. *wəžbač*) "portion of food"  
*wəžž:* see *wəšš*  
*wfa:* I *Iw* + *Ily* (a) "to be used up"  
*wgid:* (col.; n.u. *wgida*, pl. *wgidač*) "match"  
*whəyyad:* see *waħəd*  
*whida:* see *waħəd*  
*win:* (1) (adv.) "where?", (2) (pron.rel.) "where"  
*win ma* "where, wherever"  
*wla:* see *walla*  
*wlakalla:* "otherwise, or"  
*wlad:* I *Iw* "to give birth"  
*wləyyad:* see *wlad*  
*wqač:* see *wəqč*  
*wqəf:* I *Iw* "to stand, to stop"  
*wrəč:* I *Iw* "to inherit"  
*wra:* (1) (prep./adv.) "behind", *mən wra* "behind"  
*wraq:* (col.; n.u. *wərya*, pl. *wəryač*) "paper"  
*wsəf:* XI *Iw* "to become wide"  
*wsada:* (pl. *wsayəd*) "pillow"  
*wsəf:* "broader" (< *wasəf*)  
*wšaya:* "command"  
*wšəf:* I *Iw* "to arrive"

*wšif:* (f. *wšifa*, pl. *wšifan*) "negro"  
*wšul:* "origin", *blušul* "originally, rightfully"  
*wta:* (f.; st.cstr. *wtač-*) "ground; floor"  
*wu:* "woe!"  
*wxəyy:* see *xu*  
*wxəyya:* see *xəč*  
*wzir:* (pl. *wəzra*) "minister"  
*wza:* see *wəšš*  
*wžəf:* I str. "to pain"  
*wžfa:* "pain"  
*wzu:* see *wəšš*

## x

*xabya:* (pl. *xwabi*) "jar"  
*xəčəm:* (pl. *xwəčəm*) "ring"  
*xad:* see *xda*  
*xadəm:* (pl. *xəddam*) "black maidservant" (f. = *šarfa*)  
*xəf:* I *Ily* (a) "to be afraid"  
*xala:* (pl. *xaləč*) "maternal aunt"  
*xələš:* (f. *xələša*, pl. *xələšin*) "exempt"  
*xələš:* III str. "to harass"  
*xəmas:* (f. *xəmsa*) "fifth"  
*xəməp:* (f. *xəməpa*, pl. *xəməpin*) "dirty, rotten"  
*xən:* I *Ily* (u) "to betray"  
*xəyəf:* (f. *xəyfa*, pl. *xəyfin*) "afraid"  
*xəp:* VIII *Ily* "to chose"  
*xədam:* I str. "to work"  
*xələyyad:* see *xədd*  
*xda ~ xad:* irr. "to take"  
*xədar:* XI str. "to become green"  
*xədar:* (f. *xədará*, pl. *xədar*) "green"  
*xəbbaz:* (f. & pl. *xəbbaza*) "baker"  
*xəbz:* (col.; n.u. *xəbza*, pl. *xəbzač*) "bread"  
*xəbbaya:* (pl. *xəbbayač*) "hide and seek"  
*xədd:* (f.; du. *xəddin*, pl. *xəhud*) "cheek"

*xəddam:* see *xədam*  
*xədma:* (pl. *xədmač*) "work"  
*xədar:* "vegetables"  
*xədará:* see *xədar*  
*xəddar:* (f. & pl. *xəddara*) "greengrocer"  
*xəffəf:* II gem. "to lighten"  
*xəff:* "lighter" (< *xəff*)  
*xəffa:* "lightness", *bəlxəffa* "with ease"  
*xəlfun:* "(proper name)"  
*xəll:* "vinegar"  
*xəllá:* II *Ily* "to leave"  
*xəxal:* (pl. *xəxəl*) "anklet"  
*xəllaš:* (pl. *xəllaš*) "comb (with widely spaced teeth)"  
*xəlləš:* II str. "to pay; to comb"  
*xəlləf:* II str. "to mix"  
*xəmba:* (pl. *xəyəb*) "theft", *bəlxəmba* "secretly"  
*xəmməm:* II gem. "to think"  
*xəms:* see *xəmsa*  
*xəmsa:* "five" (var. *xəms*)  
*xəmsin:* "fifty"  
*xəməpa:* "clay"  
*xəməpaš:* "fifteen"  
*xənnab:* (f. & pl. *xənnaba*) "robber"  
*xənnəb:* II str. "to call s.o. a robber"  
*xərfan:* see *xərf*  
*xərrəža:* (pl. *xərrəž*) "drain"  
*xərrəf:* II str. "to narrate"  
*xərrəž:* II str. "to pull out"  
*xərrəf:* II str. "to chop, to blow"  
*xərtá:* (pl. *xərtəč*) "blow, knock"  
*xərtwa:* (st.cstr. *xərtwəč-*; du. *xərtwəčin*, pl. *xərtwəč*) "step"  
*xərwəf:* II *Ily* "to frighten"  
*xəyya:* (pl. *xəyyaya*) "tailor"

*xəyyət:* II *Ily* "to sew"  
*xəf:* (1) XI gem. "to become light", (2) see *xəff*  
*xəff:* (f. *xəffa*, pl. *xəff*) "light"  
*xir:* (1) (pl. *xirəč*) "good thing", (2) (adv.) "better"  
*xit:* (col.; n.u. *xita*, pl. *xynu*) "thread"  
*xla:* (m.; st.cstr. *xlač-*) "desert"  
*xləq:* I str. "to create"  
*xlələš:* see *xəllaš*  
*xləš:* I str. "to be delivered"  
*xləš:* "liberation"  
*xməs:* "one fifth"  
*xmira:* "yeast"  
*xməp:* "dirt"  
*xməyəb:* see *xəmba*  
*xməb:* I str. "to steal"  
*xməba:* "stealing"  
*xrafá:* (pl. *xəyəf*) "fairy tale"  
*xrəwəž:* see *xərrəža*  
*xryəf:* see *xərf*  
*xryf:* (pl. *xərfan*) "lamb"  
*xra:* I *Ily* (a) "to defecate"  
*xšəl:* I str. "to wash"  
*xšan:* see *xšin*  
*xšəm:* (pl. *xšuma*) "nose"  
*xšin:* (f. *xšina*, pl. *xšan*) "powerful"  
*xšuma:* see *xšəm*  
*xra:* (m.; st.cstr. *xrač-*, pl. *ğərwən*) "cover"  
*xrəb:* I str. "to ask s.o.'s hand"  
*xu:* (pl. *xwəč*; dim. *wxəyy*, pl. *wxəyyač*) "brother"  
*xuf:* "fear", *bəlxuf* "in fear"  
*xwəč:* see *xəč* and *xu*  
*xyala:* (pl. *xyaləč*) "ghost"  
*xyata:* "sewing"  
*xyut:* see *xit*  
*xzama ~ ġzama:* (pl. *xəyən ~ ġzəyən*) "warehouse"

## y

- ya: "oh!"  
 ya... ya...: "whether / either ... or ..."  
 yabās: (f. *yabsa*, pl. *yabsin*) "dry"  
 yasaq: (inv.) "prohibited"  
 yasər: "very, enough!"  
 yažur: (col.; n.u. *yažur*, pl. *yažurač*) "brick"  
 ybas: I *Iy* "to dry (i.t.)"  
 yəqub: "Yağov"  
 yəbbās: II *Iy* "to dry (v.t.)"  
 yədd: (f.; p.du. *yəddin*) "hand"  
 yəmma: see *ymīn*  
 yəşra: see *yşar*  
 ymīn: (f. *ymīna* ~ *yəmma*) "right"  
 yşar: (f. *yşara* ~ *yəşra*) "left"  
 yudī: (f. *yudiya*, pl. *yud*) "Jew"  
 yum: (pl. *yuyam* ~ *yuyamač*) "day"  
 yusaf: "Yūsuf"  
 yusif: "the prophet Joseph"

## z

- zad: I *Ily* (i) "to add"  
 zarəq: (f. *zarqa*, pl. *zarqin*) "shining"  
 zbəl: (pl. *zbula*) "rubbish"  
 zbīb: (col.; n.u. *zbiba*) "raisins"  
 zkad: (pl. *zkadač*) "clothes for woman".  
 zəčər: "thyme"  
 zəmučik: "as if"  
 zəzə: Q-I str. "to swing (v.t.)"  
 zəbb: "penis"  
 zəğrəč: Q-I str. "to croak, to utter shrill"  
 zəkkar: (f. & pl. *zəkkara*) "zəkra player"  
 zəbbəh: Q-I str. "to make fool out of"  
 zəlliz: (col.; n.u. *zəlliza*, pl. *zəllizač*) "tile"  
 zənqa: (pl. *znəq*) "blind-alley"  
 zəns: (pl. *znas*) "kind"

zərqá: see *zəraq*

- zəyyán: II *Ily* "to decorate"  
 zəğyər: (f. *zəğyira*, pl. *zəğirač*) "child (< *zəğir*)"  
 zəğir: (f. *zəğira*, pl. *zəğar*; dim. *zəğyər*) "small; child"  
 zəğirun: (in *zəğyər buzəğirun*) "the little finger"  
 zič: "oil"  
 zin: "beauty"  
 zičun: (col.; n.u. *zičuna*, pl. *zičunač*) "olive"  
 zlabya: "(name of a sweet)".  
 zličən: "Zliten"  
 zlitni: (f. & pl. *zlitniya*) "one from Zliten"  
 zman: "time"  
 znas: see *znas*  
 znəq: see *znəqa*  
 zraf: "seed"  
 zraq: (f. *zərqá*, pl. *zəraq*) "blue"  
 zriba: (pl. *zribač*) "hut"  
 zuz: "two"  
 zuzəq: Q-I *Ily* "to chirp"  
 zwa: I *Ily* + II *Ily* (i) "to hum (insect)"  
 zwaq: "(house) paint"  
 zyən: XI *Ily* "to become beautiful, handsome"  
 zyəra: "visit"  
 zyən: "more beautiful" (< *məzyən*)

## z

- zar: I *Ily* (u) "to visit"  
 zarwali: (f. & pl. *zarwaliya*) "poor"  
 zawi: (f. & pl. *zawiya*) "one from Zawya"  
 zdaq: VIII *Ily* "to hunt"  
 zdaqar: see *səddar*  
 zdaqá: "charity"  
 zdəf: (col.; n.u. *zdifa*, pl. *zdifač*) "pearl oyster"  
 zdəm: I str. "to attack"  
 zdər: see *şdar*

- zəmmar: "party singer, instrument player"  
 zəmmər: II str. "to blow (a musical instrument)"  
 zərr ~ zəz: "orange water"  
 zəgu: "pine seed powder"  
 zəğar: (1) XI str. "to become small", (2) see *zəğir*  
 zəğar: "smaller" (< *zəğir*)  
 ziru: "zero"  
 zwara: "Zwara"  
 zwari: (f. & pl. *zwariya*) "one from Zwara"  
 zər: see *zər*

## ž

- ža: irr. "to come" (imp. *čšla*)  
 žab: I *Ily* (i) "to bring" žal: (f. *žala*, pl. *žal*) "widower"  
 žaməf: (pl. *žaməf*) "mosque"  
 žərdinə: (pl. *žərdinwač*) "public garden"  
 žari: (f. *žariya*, pl. *žarin*) "running"  
 žar: (f. *žara*, pl. *žiran*) "neighbour"  
 žawəb: III *Ily* "to answer"  
 žayəb: (f. *žayba*, pl. *žaybin*) "bringing, giving birth"  
 žbəd: I str. "to pull"  
 žbəl: (pl. *žbalač*) "mountain"  
 žbin: (pl. *žbinač*) "forehead"  
 ždəd: see *ždid*  
 ždəy: see *ždu*  
 ždid: (f. *ždida*, pl. *ždəd*) "new"  
 ždud: see *žadd*  
 ždu: (pl. *žədwən*; dim. *ždəy*) "he goat"  
 žəbba: (pl. *žəbbač*) "(outer) garment"  
 žəbbari: "giant"  
 žədd: (pl. *žədd*) "grandfather"  
 žədwən: see *ždu*  
 žəld: (pl. *žhuda*) "skin"  
 žəžlan: "sesame"

- žəmfə: (du. *žəmfəin*, pl. *žəmfə*; dim. *žmfə*) "week"  
 žəmb: (pl. *žnab*) "side"  
 žənn: (f. *žəmma*, pl. *žnən*) "jinn"  
 žərra: (pl. *žərrač*) "trail"  
 žərya: "running".  
 žəww: "weather"  
 žə'an: (f. *žə'ana*, pl. *žə'anin*) "hungry"  
 žia: "side"  
 žib: (pl. *žyuba*) "pocket"  
 žifa: (pl. *žifač*) "corpse"  
 žil: "generation"  
 žiran: see *žar*  
 žluda: see *žəld*  
 žmfə: "group"  
 žməyəf: see *žəmfə*  
 žməl: (pl. *žmula*) "camel"  
 žmfə: see *žəmfə*  
 žmula: see *žməl*  
 žnəh: (du. *žənhin*, pl. *žəməh*; dim. *žəyəh*) "wing"  
 žəyəh: see *žnəh*  
 žni: "guinea"  
 žərmələ: (pl. *žərməliyač*) "newspaper"  
 žra: I *Ily* (i) "to run"  
 žran: (col.; n.u. *žrana*, pl. *žranač*) "frog"  
 žrəh: (col.; n.u. *žərha*, pl. *žərhač*) "injury"  
 žrid: (col.; n.u. *žrida*, pl. *žridač*) "palm branch"  
 žif: "hunger"  
 žuə: (col.; n.u. *žuəra*) "pearl"  
 žwab: (pl. *žwabač*) "letter"  
 žwaməf: see *žaməf*

## 7. Bibliography

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◆ = Literature referred in this study.

[ ] = Abbreviation for citation.

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Appendix I. Word list from *Higgid Mordechai*

הגיד מרדכי

סימן 75

[הגיב הערבי העברית שבפי יהודי טריפולי]

הגהגת היהודים בתקופה הזאת, כפי מה שהורה אותם החכם רבי שמעון לביא, ראשון הוא לכל דבר שבקדושה וכמעט הוא גירם (עיין בס' 20 הערה 24), הוא תקן להם סדר התפלות על הרוב כמנהג הספרדים, כי הוא מגרוש קשטיליא, כנו' בהערה 24, אך כמה מנהגים נשתנו ברוב הימים, תקן מורים לנערי תלמוד תורה ומהגדיים נעשו תישים.

השפה המדברתי היא ערבית מהולה ברברית, איטלקית. היהודים משונים קצת מהמשולמים באיזה מלות (61) כי המשולמים גם מבטאם משונה, מבטאים [קנט:א]

(61) בהיזת גם דבר זה מפתח לחוקרים למצוא ממנו איזה ידיעות, ראיתי לסדר לפניך איזה מלות המשונים [בין היהודים] והמשולמים.

עברית	היהודים	המשולמים	עברית	היהודים	המשולמים
חמות	לאאלא	חמאת	אנשים	רנאל	תריס
דוד	עוז	כאל	נשים	נסא	נסאויץ
בחור	בחור	עורי	ילדים	צנאר	צנא
חתן	ערוץ	עריס	בנות	בנאת	בנאית
עו	מעזא	עז	בת	בנת	בנייה
צאן	גינ	צאן	ששטנא	בוכשאש	אום חביש
כוס	כומא	טירת אצנאר	שוטה	מהבול	בתלול
צפור	עצפור	זרזור	עור	עמא	בציר
חומט	בגלוש	בלבוש	מורך ספרים	כרנאס	ספפאר
לטה	חגיה	בוברץ	צורף	צייאנ	צאיו
חיר	חלליוף	כנור	שחור	כחל	אסוד
בצל	בצל	רשד	יצא	סלעא	דהר
בית המדרש	ישיבה	מדרסה	בא	דכל	כשש
בהכ"ו	צלא	כריסיה	שב	וללא	רנעא
בית	חוש	דאר	סבב	דאר	לאר
בית הכסה	בית אלמא	כניף	הלך	משא	כטם
מטה	טריד	סדדה	קבר	תעדרא	פאת
כסת	וסארה	מכדה	קרב	תקרב	זוד
מרבדים	מלאחף	שראשף	ראה	רא	שכה
סדין	זדאר	חולי	נפל	טאה	נבלט
כתונת	קמנה	טורייה	עלה	רכב	סעד
כובע	טאקיה	כבוט	ירד	גזל	חדר
צץ	שושה	נדארה	קצף	רעש	חור
סודר	מחרמה	תסתמאל	עשה	עמל	דאר
מרטא	טלונא	דטאלה	רעש	רתעד	רעש

המלה מלעיל, אבל היהודים מבטאים המלה מלרע, למשל: מידה (שלחן), המשולמים מבטאים מידה והיהודים מבטאים מידה. ובשמות העצם הכל מבטאים מלעיל, למשל רבקה, שרה, יהודה, חנה עקיבא וכיוצא [קנט:ב].  
או ת', בין רפיה בין דגושה, בלתי שום הפרש מבטאים אותה קרובה למבטא ת' רפיה לאשכנזים, והמושלים תושבי גודאמס, אשר לפי המסורה עיקרם פלשתיים אך כעת נהעברו בהם ערביים, הם מבטאים אות ת'ו כמבטא ת' רפיה לאשכנזים

המשולמים	היהודים	עברית	המשולמים	היהודים	עברית
רנא	צבר	חכה	ועא	קיה	מוגלא
כמש	שד	תפש	שפה	דנה	רפואה
מנחו	אשכח תווא	מיהוא	טעאם	קמח	חטים
כירך	האשביך	מה-לך	זין	באהי	טוב
לאיצאה	עלאכאטר	בעבור	עאפן	מעפון	רע
מפתוח	מחלול	פתוח	דעוב	עון	עון
מצלוח	מגלוק	סעור	חסנה	מצוה	מצוה
תביית	תווינ	נשואין	שבאחא	מראיא	מראה
בתאח	שורה	גדתיא	סבת	שבת	שבת
כמר	שראב	יין	דבש	חואין	חפצים
וואדה	עוין	צדה	מצלחה	מכנסה	מכבדת
בכרן	בריק	בקבוק	צ'אמן	מצמאר	מסמר
פתאלה	דיל	זגב	כפיל	צ'מאן	עָרָב
פאצוליא	לוביא	שעיעין	טבל	גלגל	פעמון
עלאם	סניק	דגל	גבן	כטם	קרסים
גרידה	כאויטה	עתן	מטר	שתה	גשם
מינאל	וקת	זמן	כמייה	בניאר	חנית
טהר	קאילה	צהריים	נצף	נפץ	חצי
צבה	צבאה	בקר	פצ'ה	פורה	כסף
נקבה	תקבה	נקב	תקיל	רצאץ	עופרת
חבאר	סמנ	דיו	טגריה	נחאסה	יורה
מתברה	דואיה	בידיו	טאנין	צפרה	סל-נחושת
כתאב	סדור	ספר	קדרה	גדר	סיר
דפתר	זמאם	פוקס	תבסי	צינייה	קערה
מרפאע	רף	זי	פונאן	משרכה	צנצנת
כריוא	גרארא	זרתקא <sup>א</sup>	כאשיך	מגראפא	כף
מראר	תקל	תקל	מוס	סכין	סכין
רשאדה	חגרה	אבן	ליט	קסדיר	בדיל
חול	קלים	ישן	חסה	טביך	תבשיל
זרביה	בצאש	מפק	גדרה	נמאם	הדס
פאיז	פאיזה	גשף	מתקן	קמיצ	משפך
			עציה	גדמה	גשיכה

Appendix II. Words of Hebrew and Aramaic origin

Following is the list of words of Hebrew and Aramaic origin.

(1) Verbs

*bdaq* "to check" (< בדק >), *čfannāq* "to be spoiled" (< התפנק >), *čkawwān* "to intend" (< חשבונו >), *drāš* "to preach" (< דרש >), *sna* "to hate" (< שנא >), *xnab* "to steal" (< גנב >)

(2) Nouns

*inarāč* "evil eye" (< עין הרע >), *braxá* "blessing" (< ברכה >), *burim* "Purim" (< פורים >), *čanax* "the Bible" (< תנ"ך >), *čfallim* "Bar Mitzvah" (< תפילים >), *dawid* "King David" (< דוד >), *hačan* "bridegroom" (pl. *hčannim*) (< חתן >), *hnakká* "Hanukka" (< חנוכה >), *ilulá* "feast for saint's memorial day" (< הילולה >), *irāš* "Eretz Israel" (< ארץ >), *kaḅuḏ* "respect" (< כבוד >), *kašir* "kosher (food)" (pl. *kširim*) (< כשר >), *laliq* "haroset" (< Middle Arabic הליק < Aram. חילק ~ חילק, see 1.3.2.6.(3a)), *mazzal* "fortune" (pl. *mazzaluč*) (< מץל >), *milá* "circumcision" (pl. *miluč*) (< מילה >), *muil* "circumciser" (< מוהל >), *mušī* "the prophet Moses" (< משה >), *mašwá* "commandment" (< מצווה >), *rābbi* "rabbi" (< רבי >), *sakká* "Succot" (pl. *sakkuč*) (< סוכה >), *sakkaná* "danger" (< סכנה >), *sifər čurá* "the Torah" (pl. *sifrē čurá* < ספרי תורה >), *šaddur* "prayer book" (pl. *šdaḏar ~ zdaḏar*) (< סיידור >), *šlihuč* "penitential prayers (always in pl.)" (< סליחות >), *šabbāč* "Sabbath" (pl. *šbabāč*) (< טרף >), *irif* "non-kosher (food)" (pl. *irifim*) (< טהור >), *taur* "kosher (food)" (< צדקה >), *zdaqá* "charity" (< יוסף >), *yusif* "the prophet Joseph"

(3) Others

*baxxuč* "thanks to" (< בזכות >)

## Appendix III. Index for nominal patterns

The present index is intended to search nominal patterns of TJ from CA. The root consonants are represented with *C*. When a sequence of *CC* is comprised with a geminated consonant, this *CC* is underlined as CC.

The order of the vowels is as follows; *a, i, u, ǎ, ā, ī, ū*.

<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>aCCaC</i>	<i>CCəC</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.1.(1'ba)) <i>CəCC</i> (gem.; 2.3.3.3.1.(1b)) <i>CCa</i> ( <i>ǎIw/y</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1'bd))
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>aCCiCā</i>	<i>CəCCa</i> ((pl.) gem.; 2.3.4.1.2.(2))
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>aCCāC</i>	<i>CCaC</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.1.3.(3)) <i>aCaC</i> ((pl.) <i>P</i> ; 2.3.4.1.9.)
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>alyah</i>	<i>liya</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(2ca(iii))).
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>amsi</i>	<i>aməs</i> (2.3.3.3.3.(1aa(ii)))
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>CCāC</i>	<i>CCaC</i> ( <sup>ʔ</sup> <i>ingās</i> > <i>nzaq</i> ; 2.3.3.3.2.(1aa))
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>imraʔah</i>	<i>mra</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1ea) REMARK 2)
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>ingāšah</i>	<i>nzaqa</i> (2.3.3.3.2.(2aβ))
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>išbaʔ</i>	<i>šbaʔ</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1'a))
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>untā</i>	<i>nčaya</i> (2.3.3.3.2.(2aβ))
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>ustād</i>	<i>šta</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1ea) REMARK 1)
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>āğurr</i>	<i>yažur</i> (2.3.3.3.4.(1aa))
<i>CaC</i>	<i>CəCC</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1b) REMARK 1)
<i>CaCCā</i>	<i>CəCCa</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.1.(2a), <i>IIIw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2e(ii)), <i>IIIy</i> 2.3.3.3.1.(2e(ii)).
<i>CaCCā</i>	<i>CəCCa</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(2a)) <i>CiCá</i> ( <i>Ily</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(3ba(i))) <i>CuCá</i> ( <i>Iw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(3ba(ii)))
<i>CaCCā</i>	<i>CuCa</i> ((pl.) <i>Iw</i> ; 2.3.4.1.2.(3))
<i>CaCCāC</i>	<i>CaC</i> ( <i>hağğāl</i> > <i>žal</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1ca(ii)))
<i>CaCCāCa</i>	<i>CaCa</i> ( <i>hağğālah</i> > <i>žala</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2ca(ii)))
<i>CaCCāniy</i>	<i>CəCCani</i> (str., <i>Iw</i> ; 2.3.3.6.2.(1, 2) <i>CiCani</i> ( <i>Ily</i> ; 2.3.3.6.2.(3))
<i>CaCaCah</i>	<i>CəCCa</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(2a))
<i>CaCaCiyy(ah)</i>	<i>CəCCi(ya)</i> (str., <i>Iw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(4a))
<i>CaCah</i>	<i>CCa</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1ea(iii)))

<i>CaCā</i>	<i>CCa</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1ea))
<i>CaCā ʔC</i>	<i>CCayəC</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.2.1.(4))
<i>CaCāCiC</i>	<i>CCaCəC</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.2.1.(1)) <i>aCaCəC</i> ((pl.) <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.4.2.1.(1))
<i>CaCāCīC</i>	<i>CCaCəC</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.2.1.(5))
<i>CaCāCiCah</i>	<i>CCaCCa</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.2.2.)
<i>CaCāCī</i>	<i>CCaCi</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.2.1.(3))
<i>CaCāCīC</i>	<i>CCaCəC</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.2.1.(1)) <i>CCaCiC</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.2.3.)
<i>CaCāh</i>	<i>CCa</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1ea(iii)))
<i>CaCīC</i>	<i>CCiC</i> (str., gem., <i>Iw/y</i> , <i>Iw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.2.(1b); (pl.) 2.3.4.1.6.) <i>CiC</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1cβ(ii))) <i>CCi</i> ( <i>IIP</i> , <i>IIIy</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1eβ)) <i>CaCiC</i> ( <i>halil</i> > <i>halil</i> ; 2.3.3.3.4.(1ba))
<i>CaCīCah</i>	<i>CCiCa</i> (str., gem., <i>Iw</i> , <i>Iw/y</i> , <i>IIIy</i> ; 2.3.3.3.2.(2b)) <i>CəCya</i> ( <i>qađiyah</i> > <i>qađya</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2c(ii))) <i>aCiCa</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.3.4.(2ba))
<i>CawāCiC</i>	<i>CwaCəC</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.2.1.(2))
<i>CiCah</i>	<i>Ciya</i> ( <i>IP</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2cβ(ii))), <i>Cia</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2ca(ii)))
<i>CuCCā</i>	<i>CəCCa</i> ( <i>Iy</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2e(ii))) <i>CəCCCa</i> ( <sup>ʔ</sup> <i>ülā</i> > <i>əwwla</i> (2.3.3.3.5.(1b))
<i>CuCaCā</i>	<i>CəCCa</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.1.2.(1))
<i>CuCaYC</i>	<i>CCəyyəC</i> ((dim.) 2.3.5.1.(1a)) <i>CCəyy</i> ((dim.) <i>IIIw/y</i> ; 2.3.5.1.(2a)) <i>Cəyya</i> ((dim.) <i>muwayy</i> > <i>məyya</i> ; 2.3.5.1.(2c))
<i>CuCaYCah</i>	<i>CCiCa</i> ((dim.) 2.3.5.1.(1b)) <i>CCəyya</i> ((dim.) <i>IIIw/y</i> ; 2.3.5.1.(2b))
<i>CuCaYCiC</i>	<i>CCiCəC</i> ((dim.) 2.3.5.2.(1))
<i>CuCaYCiCah</i>	<i>CCiCCa</i> ((dim.) 2.3.5.2.(2))
<i>CuCuCCah</i>	<i>CCəCCa</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.1.10.)
<i>CvCC</i>	<i>CəCC</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.1.(1a)) <i>CəCC</i> (gem.; 2.3.3.3.1.(1b), <i>IIP</i> , <i>wağh</i> > <i>wəžž</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1b) REMARK 2; <i>naml</i> > <i>mall</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1b) REMARK 3)
	<i>CCəC</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1'a))

	<i>CaC</i> (IP; 2.3.3.3.1.(1ca(i)), <i>ʔibʔ</i> > <i>ḥaʔ</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1ca(ii))
	<i>CiC</i> (IP; 2.3.3.3.1.(1cβ(i)), <i>Ily</i> , <i>Ilw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1cγ(i))
	<i>CəCC</i> ~ <i>CCəC</i> ( <i>IIIh</i> 2.3.3.3.1.(1d))
	<i>CaCəC</i> ( <i>ʔalf</i> > <i>aləf</i> ; 2.3.3.3.3(1aa(ii)))
	<i>CCa</i> ( <i>wağh</i> > <i>wža</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1ea) REMARK 1)
	<i>CCu</i> ( <i>IIIw</i> , <i>ğady</i> > <i>ždu</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1eγ))
<i>CvCCah</i>	<i>CəCCa</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.1.(2a), gem.; 2.3.3.3.1.(2b), <i>IIIw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2e(i))
	<i>CəCCá</i> (str., gem.; 2.3.3.3.1.(3aa))
	<i>CaCa</i> (IP; 2.3.3.3.1.(2ca(i)), <i>IIIh</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2d))
	<i>CiCa</i> ( <i>Ily</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2cβ(i))
	<i>CuCa</i> ( <i>IIw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2cγ(i))
	<i>CCa</i> ( <i>ʔibrah</i> > <i>ḥra</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1ea) REMARK 1)
	<i>CCuCa</i> ( <i>IIIw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.2.(3b))
<i>CvCCiyy(ah)</i>	<i>CəCCi(ya)</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.1.(4a), gem.; 2.3.3.3.1.(4b), <i>aCCi(ya)</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(4c))
	<i>CuCi(ya)</i> ( <i>IIw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(4d))
<i>CvCCvC</i>	<i>CəCCəC</i> (str.; 2.2.2.4.1.(1a)), <i>CuCəC</i> ( <i>IIw</i> ; 2.2.2.4.1.(1b))
<i>CvCCvCah</i>	<i>CəCCCa</i> (2.3.3.4.1.(2))
<i>CvCCvCiy(yah)</i>	<i>CəCCCi(ya)</i> (2.3.3.4.1.(3a)) <i>CuCCi(ya)</i> ( <i>IIw</i> ; 2.3.3.4.1.(3b))
<i>CvCCāC(ah)</i>	<i>CəCCaC</i> (2.3.3.4.2.(1a, 2a)) <i>CiCaC</i> ( <i>šaytān</i> > <i>šītan</i> ; 2.3.3.3.4.(1d))
<i>CvCCāC(ah)</i>	<i>CəCCaC(a)</i> (2.3.3.3.6.(1a, 2a); (pl.) 2.3.4.1.8.)
<i>CvCCāCiy(yah)</i>	<i>CəCCaCi(ya)</i> (2.3.3.3.6.(4a))
<i>CvCCān</i>	<i>CəCCan</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.3.(1)) <i>CiCan</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.3.(2))
<i>CvCCān(ah)</i>	<i>CəCCan(a)</i> (str., gem., <i>IIIy</i> ; 2.3.3.6.1.(1, 2, 3)) <i>CiCan</i> ( <i>Ily</i> ; 2.3.3.6.1.(3))
<i>CvCCiC(ah)</i>	<i>CəCCiC(a)</i> (2.3.3.4.2.(1b, 2b))
<i>CvCCiC(ah)</i>	<i>CəCCiC(a)</i> (2.3.3.3.6.(1b, 2b))
<i>CvCCiC(ah)</i>	<i>CəCCiC(a)</i> (2.3.3.3.6.(1c, 2c))
<i>CvCCiC(ah)</i>	<i>CəCCuC(ah)</i> (2.3.3.4.2.(2c)) <i>CiCuC</i> (2.3.3.3.4.(1d, 2d))

<i>CvCCvC</i>	<i>CəCCəC</i> (2.3.3.3.5.(1)) <i>CəCCuC</i> ( <i>sullam</i> > <i>səllum</i> ; 2.3.3.3.6.(1c))
<i>CvCCvCah</i>	<i>CəCCCa</i> (2.3.3.3.5.(1))
<i>CvCvC</i>	<i>CCəC</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.1.(1'a); (pl.) 2.3.4.1.1.(1)) <i>CəCC</i> ~ <i>CCəC</i> ( <i>IIIh</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1d)) <i>CəCC</i> ( <i>ʔahad</i> > <i>ḥədd</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1b) REMARK 2)
<i>CvCvCC(ah)</i>	<i>CCvCC(a)</i> (2.3.3.4.3.)
<i>CvCāC</i>	<i>CCaC</i> (str., gem., <i>Iy</i> , <i>IIw/y</i> ; 2.3.3.3.2.(1a); (pl.) 2.3.4.1.3.(1, 2)) <i>CCəC</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.1.(1'a), <i>kurāʔ</i> > <i>krāʔ</i> , <i>dirāʔ</i> > <i>drāʔ</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1'b) REMARK), <i>aCá</i> ( <i>Ih</i> + <i>IIP</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1ea(i)) <i>CCa</i> ( <i>IIP</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1ea(i)) <i>CaC</i> ( <i>IIIh</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1ca(ii)) <i>CaCaC</i> ( <i>ʔamān</i> > <i>aman</i> ; 2.3.3.3.4.(1aa))
<i>CvCāCah</i>	<i>CCaCa</i> (str., gem., <i>Iw</i> , <i>IIw/y</i> , <i>IIIw/y</i> ; 2.3.3.3.2.(2a)) <i>CaCa</i> (~ <i>CCaCa</i> ) ( <i>IIIh</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(2d))
<i>CvCāCiy</i>	<i>CCaCi</i> (2.3.3.3.2.(4a); (pl.) 2.3.4.1.5.)
<i>CvCāCā</i>	<i>CCaCa</i> ((pl.) 2.3.4.1.4.)
<i>CvCāCī</i>	<i>CaCi</i> ( <i>ʔasāmī</i> > <i>sami</i> ; 2.3.3.3.3.(1aβ(ii)))
<i>CvCūC</i>	<i>CCuC</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.2(1ca); (pl.) 2.3.4.1.7.(1)) <i>C(C)uC</i> ((pl.) <i>IIIh</i> ; 2.3.4.1.7(1d)) <i>CCu</i> ( <i>IIIw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1eγ(ii)); (pl.) 2.3.4.1.7.(2)) <i>CCuCa</i> (str., <i>IIIw</i> ; 2.3.3.3.2.(2ba); (pl.) 2.3.4.1.7.(2)) <i>CCuCa</i> (2.3.3.3.2.(3b)) <i>CCuCi</i> (2.3.3.3.2.(4b))
<i>CvCūCa</i>	<i>CaC</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1ca(i))) <i>CaCa</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(2ca(i))) <i>CaCəC</i> (str., <i>Pw/y</i> , <i>IIw/y</i> ; 2.3.3.3.3.(1aa(i, ii, iii))) <i>CaəC</i> ( <i>IIIh</i> ; 2.3.3.3.3.(1aa(iv))) <i>CaCi</i> ( <i>IIIy</i> ; 2.3.3.3.3.(1aa(v))) <i>CiC</i> ( <i>ḥāʔi</i> > <i>ḥīʔ</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1cβ(ii))) <i>CaCiC</i> ( <i>ṭāgin</i> > <i>ṭazin</i> ; 2.3.3.3.4.(1ba)) <i>CəCCəC</i> ( <i>ʔāxir</i> > <i>əxxər</i> ; 2.3.3.3.5.(2))
<i>CvCūCiy</i>	
<i>CāC</i>	
<i>CāCa</i>	
<i>CāCiC</i>	



<i>CāCiCah</i>	<i>CaCCa</i> (str., <i>Iw'y</i> , <i>Ihw'y</i> , <i>IIy</i> ; 2.3.3.3.3.(2aα(i, ii, iv, vi))) <i>aCCa</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.3.3.(2aα(iii))) <i>CaəCa</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.3.3.(2aα(v))) <i>CiCa</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(2cβ(iii)))
<i>CāCiCiy</i>	<i>CaCCi</i> (2.3.3.3.3.(3a))
<i>CāCūC</i>	<i>CaCuC</i> (2.3.3.3.4.(1cα))
<i>CāCūCa</i>	<i>CaCuCa</i> (2.3.3.3.4.(2c))
<i>CāCūCiy</i>	<i>CaCuCi</i> (2.3.3.3.4.(4b))
<i>CīC</i>	<i>CiC</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.1.(1cβ(i))) <i>Cəyy</i> ( <i>nīP</i> > <i>nəyy</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1b))
<i>CīCah</i>	<i>CiCa</i> (str.; 2.3.3.3.1.(2cβ(i)))
<i>CīCāC</i>	<i>CiCaC</i> (2.3.3.3.4.(1d))
<i>CūC</i>	<i>CuC</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1cγ(i)))
<i>CūCah</i>	<i>CuCa</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(2cγ(i)))
<i>CūCā</i>	<i>CuC</i> ( <i>mūsā</i> > <i>mus</i> ; 2.3.3.3.1.(1cγ(ii))).
<i>hağğāl</i>	<i>žal</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(1cα(ii)))
<i>hağğālah</i>	<i>žala</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(2cα(ii)))
<i>karawyāP</i>	<i>kawriya</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(4e))
<i>karhabāP</i>	<i>karaba</i> (2.3.3.3.4.(2aα))
<i>maCCvC</i>	<i>məCCəC</i> (2.3.3.5.1.1.(1)) <i>mCəCC</i> (gem.; 2.3.3.5.1.1.(1b)) <i>maCəC</i> ( <i>P</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.1.(1c)) <i>muCəC</i> ( <i>Iw</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.1.(1d)) <i>məCCaC</i> ( <i>maṭraḥ</i> > <i>məṭraḥ</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(1aα))
<i>maCCvCah</i>	<i>mCəCCa</i> (str.; 2.3.3.5.1.1.(2a)) <i>məCCCa</i> (str.; 2.3.3.5.1.1.(2a')) <i>məCCa</i> ( <i>mağzarah</i> > <i>məzra</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.1.(2a')) <i>mCəCCa</i> (gem.; 2.3.3.5.1.1.(2b))
<i>muCaCCvC(ah)</i>	<i>mCəCCəC</i> (2.3.3.5.1.3.(1)) <i>mCəCCCa</i> (2.3.3.5.1.3.(1))
<i>muCaCCvC(ah)</i>	<i>mCəCCəC(a)</i> (2.3.3.5.1.3.(2a))
<i>muCāCaCah</i>	<i>mCaCCa</i> (2.3.3.5.1.4.)
<i>mustaCCaC</i>	<i>məstəCCəC</i> (2.3.3.5.1.4.)
<i>mvCCāC</i>	<i>məCCaC</i> (str.; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(aα)) <i>miCaC</i> ( <i>Iw</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(1aβ)) <i>mCaC</i> ( <i>Ihw'y</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(1aγ))

<i>mvCCāCah</i>	<i>maCaCa</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(2aα)) <i>mCaCa</i> ( <i>Ihw'y</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(2aβ))
<i>mvCCīCah</i>	<i>mCiCa</i> ( <i>Iy</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(2b))
<i>mvCCūC</i>	<i>məCCuC</i> (str.; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(1bα)) <i>məC(C)uC</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(1bγ)) <i>maCuC</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(1bβ)) <i>mCuC</i> ( <i>mašūm</i> > <i>mšum</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(1bδ))
<i>mvCCūCah</i>	<i>məCCuCa</i> (str.; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(2cα)) <i>məC(C)uCa</i> ( <i>Ih</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(2cβ)) <i>mCuCa</i> ( <i>Ihw</i> ; 2.3.3.5.1.2.(2cγ))
<i>šawmaʿah</i>	<i>šəmaʿa</i> (2.3.3.3.1.(2a))
<i>šāy</i>	<i>šai</i> (2.3.3.3.3.(1aα(v)))
<i>tuʿlūlah</i>	<i>čahūla</i> (2.3.3.3.4.(2c))
<i>ṭāqīyah</i>	<i>ṭaqiya</i> (2.3.3.3.4.(2bα))
<i>taCCīC</i>	<i>čəCCiC</i> (2.3.3.5.2.(1))
<i>taCCīCah</i>	<i>čəCCiCa</i> (2.3.3.5.2.(2))