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New Texts in the Arabic Dialect of Essaouira (Jewish and Muslim Varieties)

ABSTRACT This paper consists of a collection of oral texts in the Arabic dialect of Essaouira (Mogador), providing updated linguistic data on the Jewish and Muslim dialects of the Moroccan town and the Chiadma territory. The transcription and translation of the texts are followed by comments which highlight salient features of these communal dialects, including linguistic variants registered for the first time in southern Morocco. The texts comprehend personal experiences, memories of the old times of religious coexistence and popular local stories. The interviewees present a wide range of backgrounds: Jewish and Muslim, urban and rural, young and elder, male and female. In this way, these oral texts are a first step to understanding how the Muslim dialect and the Judeo-Arabic of Essaouira have evolved and interacted through time.

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, Chiadma, communal dialects, Essaouira, field research, Judeo-Arabic, Moroccan Arabic

The oral texts below provide an overview of the current situation of the Arabic dialect of Essaouira (Mogador), representing the speech of a relatively wide range of speakers through time. Despite well-known studies on the Jewish dialect—or Judeo-Arabic—of Essaouira (Lévy 1994, 2009; Heath 2002; Chetrit 2012), there remained a paucity of descriptions on the speech of its Muslim population, except for the pioneer work of Socin (1893). Therefore, more than a century later, I attempt to contribute with updated linguistic data for the linguistic reality of the town and its surroundings—inside Chiadma territory—, documenting both Muslim and Jewish communal dialects. Some of these texts appear partially in my unpublished doctoral dissertation *O dialeto árabe de Essaouira: documentação e descrição de uma variedade do sul do Marrocos* [*The Arabic dialect of Essaouira: documentation and description of a southern Moroccan variety*] (Francisco 2019).

Text 1: Childhood memories of a Judeo-Arabic speaker¹

The family

1. *s-slām flīk ya ḥbībi, āna gūtt lək bās ḥāḥa kān yīxdəm šānd Cartier, Cartier kān wāḥəd n-nāšrāni lli kān šāndu bīš u-s-sra kbīr bəzzāf, 2. kānu zūz d-əl-xwān Cartier, u-ḥāḥa kān xdəm šāndūm tlātīn šām, u-āna ta-nəšrəf... kīma škəlt² šla žəddi di ḥu ḥāḥa, 3. nəškəl šla mṛāt žəddi, maḥa Dūna, u-nəškəl šla žəddi u-žəddāti m-žih³ ūmm maḥa, 4. ma šəftūm bəzzāf, əmma⁴ xlāku⁵ f-Ūfrān, Ūfrān ila ta-təšrəfha fāyn ḥīyya Ūfrān.*

1. Hello dear, I told you that my father used to work with Cartier, Cartier was a Christian who had a very big ‘commerce’ [store], 2. they were two brothers, the Cartiers, and my father had worked for them for thirty years, and I know... And I remember also my grandfather who is my father’s father, 3. I remember my grandfather’s wife, grandma Dūna, and I remember my grandfather and my grandmother from my mother’s side, 4. I didn’t know them very well, they were born in Ifrane, Ifrane [I am not sure] if you know where Ifrane is.

The Port

1. *āna nəškəl šla l-mərša d-əš-šwīra, kānīt⁶... kānu fīha les dépots, 2. l-xnāsi, kānu izīw f-əl-ḥāḥūrāt, kānu hnāk xnāsi d-lūz, u-d-kāwkāw, les cacahouètes, u-d-xərṛūb məḥḥūn, 3. u-kūnna nzīw nḥəllu si... f-əl-xənsa u-[...] mən hnāk, kāwkāw u-l-lūz, məddi kūnna šgār. 4. u-kānu... u-kūnna nəmsīw šāl-l... kūnna nšīyydu hnāk f-əl-mərša mən šla bərṛa 5. u-kūnna nəmsīw ta-ntsənnāw məddi izīw s-sərdīl küll nhār fə-š-šbāḥ... 6. kānu izīw l-ḥāḥūrāt b-əs-sərdīl u-kūnna nzīw b-wāḥəd l-xənsa f-īdīna kūnna... 7. išīwna s-sərdīl b-fāḥūr, bla flūs, 8. hādsi ta-nəškəl šla... šāl-l-mərša.*

1 Asher, 84 years old, is a Jewish speaker who lived in the *medina* of Essaouira until the age of 16. He is of Jewish Berber descent from Ifrane. He accomplished his elementary studies in a Torah school in Essaouira and in the school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Later, he immigrated to Israel where he has been living most of his life until today. Our communication has been carried out via WhatsApp audios recorded by himself.

2 Predominates /q/ > /k/ in his speech. Lévy (2009: 367) attests this phenomenon, known as *l-həḍra š-šgīra*, in Essaouira—as a peculiarity of Mellah speakers—and also in the neighbouring cities of Safi and Azemmour.

3 < *mən žih* ‘from the side of.’

4 < *ḥamma* ‘they.’ Very frequently the /h/ is not heard in Muslim and Jewish varieties.

5 < *xlāqu* ‘they were born.’

6 -*īt* (3FSG perf.) occurs sometimes in hollow verbs and frequently in strong ones.

1. I remember the port of Essaouira, it was... there were *les dépôts* [warehouses] in it, 2. the bags used to come in the steamships, there were bags of almonds and of peanuts, *les cacahouètes* [peanuts], and of milled carob, 3. and we used to come and open some... in the bag and [...] from it, peanuts and almonds, when we were kids. 4. And they were... we used to go... to fish there in the port from the outside 5. and we used to go wait for the sardines to come every morning, 6. the ships used to come with the sardines and we used to come with a bag in our hands, we used to... 7. they used to give us the sardine for free, no money for it, 8. this is what I remember of... of the port.

A Moroccan Jewish story⁷

1. *smāf a šāhbi, āna ktābt bazzāf d-əl-mšāhəf, wāhəd məšhāf fih ʔl-ħdāyt d-əl-ihūd d-əl-Mārōk*, 2. *u-āna tərzəmt wāhda b-əl-šārb... si wūhdāt b-əl-šārbīyya ila... ħki, nəkra lək wāhda mənnūm*. 3. *l-īsəm dyālha hüwwa ‘sədd l-bāb’*:

4. *šəmmər ma-tkūl lā l-šərdā kālūk n-nās, ‘ila kūlti lā bka blās.’ Məsʔūd kən dāyf šānd šwāhbu*, 5. *kəššru⁸ u-hərdru u-tməlgū, u-məddi wūššlu d-əl-mākla kām u-kāl lūm ‘ya xwāni b-slāma.’* 6. *kālu lu ‘šlās māsi? gəls mʔāna,’ kāl l-hūm ‘nəhdāz nəmsi⁹, zərban āna.’* 7. *kālu lu ‘ha üwwa¹⁰ l-ftūr müžūd¹¹, kūl mʔāna a tāzər Məsʔūd.’* 8. *‘La, səmhū li hād l-mərʔa, nəftər mʔākūm mərʔa üxra,’* 9. *dəzbād¹² u-səlləm šla dūk n-nās u-bərʔa xəmməm ‘āna ħmār, āw ās?* 10. *āna zīʔān u-kānt šāndi l-üzba u-hūmma šərdu šliya b-əl-mħəbba*, 11. *u-āna kūlt l-hūm ‘lā,’ ās hədsi, ās hād zəbla?’* 12. *xəmməm u-kāl l-rāšu ‘nərzəf šāndhūm fhāl ila šāndi mšəkšīyya ma nšəkšihūm*, 13. *ikūlu li ‘Məsʔūd gəls mʔāna,’ ngəls bla hərdra u-bla məʔna.’*

1. Listen my friend, I wrote many books, in one of them there are stories of the Jews of Morocco. 2. I translated one of them into Ar... some of them into Arabic and if you want¹³ I will read one of them to you. 3. It is called ‘close the door.’

4. Never say no to the invitation. People tell you ‘If you say no, you end with nothing.’ Məsʔūd was guest at his friends. 5. They spent time together, talked and got drunk and when they brought him the food, he stood up and told them ‘Bye my

7 The informant reads a text written in his own dialect by himself.

8 /k/ < /q/.

9 The use of the auxiliary *ħdāz* (< *ħtāz*) ‘need’ in the sense of ‘must’ agreed with the main verb (Heath 2002: 501; Prémare et al. 1994 3: 263).

10 < *hüwwa*.

11 It seems the informant pronounces an intermediary consonant between /z/ and /ž/, maybe [ž].

12 The verb ‘to go out’ in the Jewish dialect of Essaouira. Another informant also told us the expression: *dəzbād m-šliyya* ‘go away!’

13 Lit. if... tell.

brothers.’ 6. They told him ‘Why are you leaving? Sit with us.’ He told them ‘I have to go, I’m on a hurry.’ 7. They said ‘The meal is here, eat with us oh Merchant Məsʕūd.’ 8. ‘No, excuse me this time, I will eat with you other time.’ 9. He left, greeted those people and outside he thought ‘Am I stupid, or what?’ 10. I am hungry and there was a meal for me and they invited me with kindness 11. and I said “no” to them, what is that? What a gaffe!,’ 12. he thought and said to himself ‘I will go back there as if I had a question to make, 13. so they will say “Məsʕūd sit with us,” and I will sit without saying anything.’

Text 2: Memories of a Muslim baker in the Mellah¹⁴

- H: 1. *fīn kūnti xəddām f-əl-lüwwəl dyālək?*
 F: *ḍərb Mərdūx*
 H: 2. *kān l-fərrān dyāl ḍərb Mərdūx. u-ḍərb Mərdūx kānu fih l-msəlmīn u-l-ihūd?*
 F: *la, müsəlmīn q^wlāl.*
 H: 3. *šku¹⁵ lli kān təmma f-ḍərb Mərdūx?*
 F: *l-ihūd, küll ši fāmər ġīr b-əl-ihūd, [...] fāmər b-əl-ihūd.*
 H: 4. *kifāš kānt l-flāqa dyāl l-ihūd lli sākūn f- ḍərb Mərdūx f-əl-məllāḥ mṣāk f-əl-fərrān a mṣəlləm F.?*
 F: *məzyāna, məzyāna, bxīr... ka-yzību... āsmu...lə-ḥrām fliḥ, kū-n-nhār¹⁶, ka-yzību... l-ḥədd... nhār s-səbt ma ka-ydīru šāy, āsmu...*
 H: 5. *k-iṭəyybū-š¹⁷.*
 F: *ma k-iṭəyybū-š.*
 H: 6. *ka-yšfəl fih əl-fāfyā.*
 F: *ka-tkūn s-sxīna fāndi, ka-ydīru s-sxīna nhār əž-žūmfa f-əl-fššyya, 7. nhār ārbəf, ka-ydīru s-sxīna dyālthūm, küll ši l-ihūd. 8. ka-ydīru s-sxīna dyālthūm, kāyən lli ka-ydīra b-əl-lḥəm, kāyən lli ka-ydīra b-əl-kūrīn kāyən lli ka-ydīra b-ādāk¹⁸ āsmu... bāš ka-ydīra... 9. kāyn ka-ydīra b-əl-ḥūmmūš, kāyn k-idīra b-ərrūz... kāyn lli k-idīra b-... b-ādāk āsmu... ḥrām fliḥ [...] 10. u-bāš ka-ydīr s-sxīna dyāltūm, ka-yzi nəmra wāḥəd məzyāna, ka-yzi sxīna məzyāna küll ši məzyān u-āsmu, 11. u-nhār s-səbt ka-yzīw mfa ṭ-ṭnāš, mfa ṭ-ṭnāš ntāfət¹⁹ n-nhār ka-yzību l-lūḥāt ka-yddi s-sxīna dyāltūm, 12. dīk s-sāfa ḥəttā ka-ywūžždīw s-sxīna dyālthūm hāda ka-ywūlli l-ḡda*

14 Informal interview carried out by Hafid, 55 years old (indicated above by H), with an old baker of the city, known as Mṣəlləm Fātəḥ, 87 years old (indicated by F), both from Essaouira.

15 $l < n + l$

16 $n < l + n$.

17 Negation without the particle *ma-*.

18 $< hādāk$ ‘that one.’ The Muslim and the Jewish varieties sometimes drop /h/ in postconsonantal positions. Similar cases are found in Socin (1893): *fād* ($< f-hād$) and *fādi* ($< f-hādi$) ‘in that.’

19 The alternation between the genitive particles *dyāl* and *ntāf* is attested already in Socin (1893).

dyālhūm hāda ka-ywūlli l-šša dyālhūm. 13. u-ka-ydiru...āsmu...dāk... ka-yžiw n-nās šāndhūm, l-mšalmīn, ka-yddīw šāndhūm s-sxīna, 14. n-nās lli šārfinhūm ka-yiddi šāndhūm ṭəbšil ntāš s-sxīna, ka-yiddīw šāndhūm ṭəbšil dyāl s-sxīna.

H: 15. *āš šām, āšmān šām təqribān nta šāqəl šlīha, š-mān²⁰ šām?*

F: *xəmsa u-xəmsīn.*

H: 1. Where did you use to work when you were young?

F: Mərdūx street.

H: 2. It was the bakery of Mərdūx street. There were Jews and Muslims in the Mərdūx street?

F: No, a few Muslims.

H: 3. Who was there in the Mərdūx street?

F: The Jews, it was full of Jews only, [...] full of Jews.

H: 4. How was the relation between the Jews living in the Mərdūx street in the Mel-lah and you in the bakery, Mšālləm F?

F: Fine, fine, good, they used to bring... how is it called, every day, they used to bring the tasty one, Sunday, on Saturday they didn't use to do anything at all, how is it called...

H: 5. They don't cook.

F: They don't cook.

H: 6. They don't light the fire.

F: There was the *skhina* in my place, they cooked the *skhina* on Friday, in the evening, 7. on Wednesday, they used to make their *skhina*, all of them Jews, 8. used to make their *skhina*, some of them used to make it with meat, some of them used to make it with lamb feet, some used to make it with...to make it... 9. some used to make it with chickpeas, some of them used to make it with rice, some of them used to make it with... so... how is it called... that thing that is forbidden [...] 10. and to make their *skhina* the number one, good, the *skhina* is good, everything is good, how is it called, 11. and on Saturday they used to come by midday carrying their *skhina* on boards, 12. at that time they used to prepare their *skhina* and this used to become their lunch and their dinner. 13. They used to make that... how is it called? The people used to come to their place, the Muslims, they [the Jews] used to take *skhina* to them. 14. To the people they knew, they used to take a plate of *skhina*, they used to take a plate of *skhina* to them.

H: 15. Which year are you remembering more or less? Which one?

F: Fifty-five.

20 < *āš mān* 'which?'

Text 3: The Jewish neighbours²¹

1. *āna fāš kənt nəʔləʃ l-əʔ-tābəq t-tāni fin kənna sākniṅ, f-wāhəd d-dār mən d-dyūr t-tlāt,*
 2. *kān sākniṅ mʃāna žūž fāmiyāt f-nəfs ʔ-təbqa, kān Nīsīm u-Stēr w-ūlādu šhābna,*
Salōmōn u-Hāym, šhābi. 3. *u-kān ḥdāna f-əl-lūwwəl wāhəd u-mārtu, ma kānū-š mʃāh*
ūlādu, ūlādu kəbrū u-lākīn kāyən f-əl-xārəž, 4. *āsmu Monsieur Nīsīm, lʻhorloger, l-mwāgni,*
ta-ysəmmīwh l-mwāgni. hūwwa məxtāšš... ta-yšūwwəb l-mwāgən, magānāt k^wbār,
 5. *hādik s-sāfa n-nās ʃəndhūm bəzzāf magānāt k^wbār.* 6. *gütt lih: āna hādāk kān mərṛa*
mərṛa ta-ndxūl ʃəndu u-ta-yʃīna l-mākla, l-kūftir u-dākši, 7. *u-lamma²² ta-nzi hūwwa*
t-igūl liyya ‘āzi ntina, wāš qriṭi ši šwīyya ūlla lā, wāš mšiti l-əž-žāməʃ ūlla lā?’²³ 8. *yəʃni,*
hūwwa t-igūl liyya wāš āna mšit l-məšžid ūlla lā. u-āna... t-igūl liyya ‘[rā] ma təqra gəʃ,
žib ktūb dyālək, āzi gəls f-hād ʔ-təbʎa hnāya.’

1. When I used to go up to the second floor where we lived, in one of the three houses,
 2. two families lived with us on the same floor, Nissim and Esther with his kids, who
 were our friends, Salomon and Haim were my friends. 3. And on the first floor there
 were next to us a man and his wife, their children weren't with them, their chil-
 dren grew up, but went abroad. 4. His name was *Monsieur* Nissim, *l'horloger*, the
 clockmaker, they called him the clockmaker. He was specialised... he repaired (made)
 clocks, big clocks, 5. at that time people used to have big clocks. 6. I told him:²⁴ at that
 time I used to enter from time to time into his place and he gave us food, jam and that
 kind of thing, 7. when I came he would say to me 'Come, did you study a little bit or
 not? Did you go to the mosque or not?,' 8. I mean, he was asking me if I had gone to the
 mosque or not, and I... He used to say 'You are not studying at all, bring your books,
 come sit on this table here.'

21 Interview with Ahmed Harrouz, 63 years old, plastic artist, researcher on the material and oral cultural heritage of the city. He is Muslim and spent his childhood in the Mellah, in a time when Muslims and Jews were still living in the same buildings.

22 < CA *lamma* 'adverbial) when.'

23 He tries to imitate the speech of the Jewish neighbour, using the pronoun *ntina* 'you,' which was in fact very frequent in the Jewish dialect of the city.

24 The informant was telling a story he had told another person before.

Text 4: The childhood in the countryside²⁵

1. *kūnna ka-nzīw*²⁶ *l-ṣṛūbyya u-ḥna ṣḡār, māzāl ma kāyn-š d-ḏu, kānu ka-ydīru š-šmāf, la bougie, d'accord?* 2. *kānu ka-ydīru f-wūṣṭ d-ḏār bās ka-yḏūwwu u-ma kān-š hād l-ḥūla bhāl hādi ma-kān-š, 3. āh, f-əd-dāxəl dyāl d-ḏār ma-kān-š d-ḏu, kān š-šmāf. [question]* 4. *lā! kūnna ka-nxūrzu bhāl hākka, ka-ybqāw ilāṣbu, ḥna ṣ-ṣḡīwṛīn u-kān ḡīr d-ḏu dyāl l-qāmār*²⁷ *bhāl hākka, 5. k-ibqāw ilāṣbu, k-ibqāw ilāṣbu, dīma hna f-əl-līl w-āna kätt ka-nxāf, āna ma ka-nbḡī-š nəthārṛāk, 6. dīma ka-ndīr hākka u-ka-nəbqa f-blāṣti bəzzāf w-ūma*²⁸ *ka-yzru*²⁹ *w-ilāṣbu. [...]* 7. *dāba... fti*³⁰ *d-ḏār lli mšīna liha dyāl šāmmi Ḥasān u-dyāl šāmmi, llāh yīrḥamu, lli māt...* 8. *hādīk d-ḏār ḥīyya fīn kbəṛ ḥāḥa*³¹, *ma fīn kbəṛt, hādi kān d-ḏār dyāl žəddi* 9. *k-itsəmma d-ḏūwwār, šna ḥūwwa d-ḏūwwār? d-ḏūwwār ḥīyya lli fīh ḏār ḥda ḏār, 10. hādūk b-žūž āwla tlāta āwla ārbfa, k-isəmmu d-ḏūwwār, d-ḏūwwār ḥūwwa lli ka-yžəmmāf ḏār u-ḏār u-ḏār u-ḏār. šāfi?* 11. *dāba ḥīyya kāy... hād d-ḏār təmma, hāda kūllu k-isəmmīwh d-ḏūwwār, yāk? [...]* 12. *u-nkəmməl līk l-histoire? ḥāḥa fās kbəṛ [bāqi/bqa] wūlla šābb, mša yīntāqəl l-əṣ-šwīra, 13. mša ka-yx^ādəm*³² *fə-l-bārko fa-mša l-ṣ-šwīra u-skən təmmāk u-ža hna u-dzūwwəž məma, 14. məma kānt hna u-dzūwwəž bīha u-ddāha ṣ-šwīra, šāfi? w-ūlīdna*³³, *ḥnāya dzādīna*³⁴, *u-kbərna təmmāk.*

25 Interview with a 30-year-old woman, dweller of the Sqāla ž-ždīda, a poor neighbourhood of Essaouira built in the 80s, outside the *medīna* walls. Her family is originally from the Aquermoud zone, rural outskirts of Essaouira, in the Chiadma territory. The text was collected during the evening in a village where her relatives live, near the Bhibeh (*Bḥāybḥ*) beach in Aquermoud.

26 The preverb *ka-* is predominant in her speech as it happens in the Chiadma territory, the rural area of Essaouira, *ta-* being an urban feature. However, in the city, many speakers alternate between both particles.

27 < CA *qamar* ‘moon.’ It alternates with *gəmrā*, but it is quite frequent in the city, among Muslims and one Jewish speaker, and in the rural zone (Aquermoud and Sidi Ishaq). It seems to be associated normally with the full moon or the light of the moon. The word was obtained through oral texts and elicitation as well. It is found also in Fez (Prémare et al. 1998 10: 422).

28 < *hūma* ‘they.’

29 This is one of the Bedouin features which demonstrate the presence of Maṣqil tribes among the first settlers of Essaouira—such as Šbānāt and Mnābha—and also in the origins of the Chiadma tribe. For more details on the origins of the settlers of Essaouira, see: al-Kānūnī (1932), ar-Ragrāgī (1935), aṣ-Šiddīqī (1969). For instance, this conjugation is found in *ḥassāniyya: nəšru* (1PL imperf.), *tašru* (2PL imperf.), *yəšru* (3PL imperf.) (Cohen 1963: 103). On the other hand, the suffix *-iw* alternates with *-u*, as we can see in the text where both variants are found: *k-isəmmu ~ k-isəmmiw* ‘they call/denominate.’

30 < *šəfti* ‘you saw.’

31 The use of *ḥāḥa* and *məma* is a northern feature (Heath 2002: 574, map 6–17, 575 map 6–26), also found in the Jewish dialect of Essaouira.

32 Presence of an ultra-short epenthetic vowel in open syllable.

33 < CA *wulīdna* ‘we were born.’

34 A passive form *ttzād > dzād* ‘to be born’ (Prémare et al. 1995 5: 434). It has a double conjugation in the perfective: *dzatt ~ dzādīt* (1SG), *dzādna ~ dzādīna* (1PL), *dzatti ~ dzādīti* (2SG), *dzattu ~ dzādītu* (2PL), *dzādāt ~ dzādāt* (3FSG), *dzādu ~ dzādāw* (3PL). The augmented conjugation of the verb with

1. We used to come to the countryside when we were kids, there was no light (electricity) yet, they used to put on candles, *la bougie, d'accord?* 2. They used to put it in the middle of the house in order to illuminate and there was no lamp like this one there wasn't, 3. that's it, inside the house there was no light, there was the candle. [F.B.F.: There was no electricity?] 4. No! We used to go out like this, they kept playing, us the children, and there was the moonlight only, like this: 5. they kept playing and playing, always here in the evening. I used to be afraid, so I preferred not to move, 6. I always did this way and stayed firmly at my place and they kept running and playing [...] 7. now... you saw the house where we went to? My uncle Hasan's house? And the house of my uncle; God's mercy be upon him, who died... 8. That is the house where my father grew up, not where I grew up, this was my grandfather's house, 9. it is called *ḏūwwār*, what's a *ḏūwwār*? A *ḏūwwār* is a house side by side with another house, 10. those ones by two, three or four, it is called *ḏūwwār*. A *ḏūwwār* gathers a house with another house, and another one, ok? 11. Now, there is...that house there, this all is called *ḏūwwār*, right? [...] 12. Shall I finish the *histoire* [story] to you? My father when he grew up, when he became a young man, he moved to Essaouira, 13. he went to work with the boat, so he went to Essaouira, he lived there and came here and married my mother, 14. mom was here, he married her and took her to Essaouira, ok? We were born, here we were born and we grew up there.

Text 5: The miracles of Rabbi Haim Pinto³⁵

1. *Ḥāym Pinto, rəbbi Ḥāym Pinto, hūwwa ḥāxām*³⁶ *kbīr lli twūffa f-əṣ-Ṣwīra ḥādi təqribān mya u-səbʕa u-tmānīn ṣām.* 2. *u-rəbbi Ḥāym Pinto ārāv a-šārōm*³⁷ *mədfūn f-ər-ṛūḏa dyāl l-ihūd d-bāb Dūkkāla, ṛ-ṛūḏa lli ta-təṣṭi*³⁸ *ṣāl-lə-bḥār smīyytha b-əl-frānsāwīyya le cimetièrè marin.* 3. *kāyən ḏərbūz*³⁹ *t-iṣṭi ṣāl-lə-bḥār, u-hūwwa dzād fə-mdīnāt Agādīr u-za l-əṣ-Ṣwīra bāš iqra,* 4. *ḥəll wāḥəd lə-mḏrāsa dyāl t-tālmūd smīyytha ha-yīšīva,*

-*īt/-īna* (1 perf.), -*īti/-ītu* (2 perf.), -*āt* (3FSG perf.) and -*āw* (3PL perf.) seems to be predominant in the rural area of Essaouira (Aquermond) (Francisco 2019: 134).

35 Interview with Joseph Sebag, 60 years old, who introduces himself as 'the last Jew of Essaouira,' being the last one living permanently in the city. His origins go back to Andalusī origin and Berber native Jews. He lived many years abroad, mostly in the United States, coming back to Essaouira a few decades ago.

36 Hebraism meaning 'a great sage' (Prémare et al. 1994 3: 33).

37 /r/ < /l/ in the Hebrew expression: *alav ha-shalom* 'may the peace be upon him.'

38 The emphatic /t/ articulated as the affricated [tʃ] consists of a feature of the Jewish dialect of Essaouira and it was also found in a Mellah informant by Lévy (2009: 363).

39 < *ḏərbūz* 'balustrade.' The speaker articulates /z/ as /ʒ/ maybe as the result of hypercorrection, due to the neutralisation of sibilants common to the Jewish dialects. Despite that, the speaker distinguishes /z/ and /ʒ/ most of the time.

ha-yišiva rəbbi Ḥāym Pinto. 5. u-f-əl-fūq kən məššid⁴⁰ u-hād ḥāxām hāda xəšš, māši fḥāl ḥāxām āxūr. 6. hāda kən šāndu wāḥəd... fūrša⁴¹ qūwwiyya u-kən ta-yitnəbba, t-igül ši qābl [...]. 7. lə-mra ila ġa-twülled t-igül liha wāš wüld wülla bənt ila ġa-twülled ila ma ġa-twülled-š, yəfni šāndu wāḥəd l-pouvoir, fūrša kūwwiyya⁴², rūḥāniyya. [F.B.F.: What do you mean by fūrša?] 8. mātalān ta-yxərž wāḥəd z-zənqa u-ta-yšūf n-nās: 'nta šāndāk qətəf dyāl lə-flūs b-žibək, řih l-masākīn, dīr hādi...', fḥāl hādi. 9. wāḥəd... nšāwdək wāḥəd l-qəšša. Rəbbi Dāvid Pinto lli hūwwa məsʔul b-hādi Hillūla f-əš-šwīra lli t-ižih ftha šəndu l-yūm, 10. fūq mən səttin šām, řāžəl, tḃərək əllāh, b-ləḥya u-muḥtārām u-n-nās ta-yiḥtārāmuḥ tḃiřāt l-hāl. 11. hād l-qīšša di⁴³ šāwd əlīna hūwwa b-fūmmu. kən žāyy mən Bārīz l-əš-šwīra fə-ř-řiyyāra⁴⁴, 12. gāl lik: ġīř l-avion tzātt mə-l-āřđ, wāḥəd d-dərri ř-řġīř, šāndu ši sīmāna wülla řāšř iyyām, 13. t-yibki t-yibki u-dāk lə-bka māši řādi, t-yibki ktīř ḥəttā d-dərri wülla zārč, la mamam dyāl d-dərri txəllřāt, řiyyāt l-hôteesse de l'air, 14. gāl liha 'le bébé ma ġādi... ma bqa ši...', xdat le micro stewardess 'ta-nṭəlbə mən les passagers ila kən ši ḥādd hūwwa tḃiř...', 15. ḥəttā wāḥəd ma žāwb, wāš kən ši ḥādd lli hūwwa infirmier, tta wāḥəd ma žāwb, wāš kən ši ḥādd lli [...], ma žāwb, 16. l-hôteesse de l'air ta-đđūr hākka u-ḥiyya tšūf l-ḥāzzān⁴⁵ rəbbi Dāvid, gāl lih 17. 'šūf, ha-nžib⁴⁶ lik hād d-dərri, ḥna ta-ntīqu f-əš-sādāt⁴⁷ dyālkūm, šūf nta dđīr lih... žəřřəbna küll ši, tta ḥāža ma..., 18. gāl liha 'āna nīt mřīđ, xəšš li ibārək řliyya, yixəšš li yitəlb řliyya?' 19. gāl lih 'ma ta-nəqbəl-š hād l-kilma, ġādi nžibu lik,' u-žāt lih le bébé, t-yibki, 20. u-igül lih 'ya rəbbi Ḥāym, ma ḥəssəmni-š⁴⁸ mřa hād ən-nās, biyyin lə-řžāyəb dyālək.' 21. ġīř gāl hād l-klām d-dərri nřās f-iđih. hādi qəšša mən řādād dyāl l-qəšřāt.

1. Haim Pinto, Rabbi Haim Pinto is a big *hakam* who passed away in Essaouira approximately a hundred and eighty-seven years ago. 2. And Rabbi Haim Pinto *alav ha-shalom* (the peace be upon him) is buried in the Jewish cemetery of Bab Doukkala,

40 < CA *masğid* 'mosque,' but used as 'synagogue' by the speaker in many situations, what seems a derivation from 'religious place, temple' diffused among Muslims. The same happens with *ž-žāməf dyāl l-ihūd* 'synagogue' (lit. 'the mosque of the Jews'). The usual *řla* is also found in the local Jewish dialect.

41 The word is used here with the meaning 'spiritual force, supernatural power.' It differs from the use registered in Prémare et al. meaning 'physical force, brutality' and is thought to come from the Spanish *fuerza* (1998 10: 68). However, since the word is found in Andalusī Arabic as *fórça* (P. de Alcalá 1505: fol. 184), its origin is probably Romance.

42 /k/ < /q/. This phenomenon characterises the speech of some Jews in the town, but it has a single occurrence in this text. See Text 1.

43 Alternation between the relative pronouns *ddi* ~ *lli*.

44 Articulation of /t/ as the affricated /t̪/.

45 Synonym of *rabbi* (Prémare et al. 1994 3: 100).

46 Instead of the usual *ġa-nžib* 'I will bring.' The origin of the future particle *ha-* is not clear, but it may be related with the future particle *a-* found in the Jewish dialect of Safi (Heath 2002: 210).

47 *řiyyəd* (SG) 'saint' (Prémare et al. 1995 6: 254).

48 < *ḥəšřəm* 'to put in an awkward situation.'

the cemetery looks out onto the sea, it is called in French *le cimetière marin* (the maritime cemetery). 3. There is a balustrade looking out onto the sea. He was born in Agadir and came to Essaouira to study. 4. He opened a Talmud school, it is called *Ha-Yeshiva, Ha-Yeshiva Rabbi Haim Pinto*. 5. In the superior part there was a synagogue and this *hakam* is special, there is no one like him. 6. This one had a... a strong power, he used to foresee and say something before [...], 7. if a woman is going to have a baby, he says if it is boy or girl, if she is going to have it or not, I mean he has a *pouvoir* (power), a strong power, a spiritual one. [F.B.F.: What do you mean by *fūrṣa* (power)?] 8. For example, he goes out in a street, looks at the people [and says] ‘You have a little money in your pocket, give it to the poor, do this...,’ just like that. 9. One... I tell you a story, Rabbi David Pinto who is responsible for the *Hillulah* in Essaouira and comes to it, today 10. he is over sixty years old, a man, God bless him, with the beard and respectful and respected by the people obviously. 11. This story was told to us by his own mouth. He was coming from Paris to Essaouira by plane, 12. he said: the plane barely took off, a very young child, who had around a week or ten days, 13. he was crying and crying, and that cry was not normal, he cried so much to the point the child became blue, *la mamam* (the mom) of the child got frightened, she called the *l-hôtesse de l’air* (flight attendant) 14. and told her ‘the baby is not going to... isn’t there a...,’ the *stewardess* got the microphone ‘We ask *les passagers* (the passengers) if there is a doctor,’ 15. no one answered, if there was anyone who was *infirmier* (nurse), no one answered, was there someone who [...], no one answered, 16. so the *hôtesse de l’air* (flight attendant) turns this way and glances at the *Hazzan* Rabbi David, and says 17. ‘Look, I am going to bring this child to you, we believe in your saints, look, do..., we tried everything and nothing...,’ 18. He told her ‘I am sick, is it necessary to be me?’, 19. she said ‘We won’t accept these words we will bring him to you.’ She came with the baby who was crying and crying and 20. he says to him ‘Oh Rabbi Haim, do not let me in this shameful situation with these people, show your miracles.’ 21. He just said these words and the child slept on his hand. This is one of many stories.

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