

Judeo-(T)amazigh(t)/ Judeo-Berber: What we know and what we don't

SPEAKING JEWISH AROUND THE GLOBE

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Overview

1. Introduction: Who are the Berbers? Who are the Berber Jews?
2. Nomenclature: Berber, Amazigh, Tamazight? etc.
3. Language family: Berber languages and their regional dialects/varieties
4. Distinctive features
5. Writing systems
6. Sociolinguistic variation
7. Contemporary status, documentation
8. (Instead of) conclusions

1. Introduction

Some questions

1. Who are the Berbers?
2. Who are the Berber Jews?
3. Nomenclature: Berber, Amazigh, Tamazight?
4. What are Berber languages?
5. Why study (Judeo-)Berber?

Who are the Berbers?

Berber people

- Nomadic people crossing the desert on camels and living in tents?
- Most are sedentary farmers in the mountains and valleys
- Indigenous population of North Africa
- Total population: 36 mln
- Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Niger, Mali, Libya, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Tunisia. Immigrants in France, Spain, Belgium, Netherlands, Norway, Israel, United States, Canada.

Berber in Morocco

- 2001: royal decree established IRCAM (Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture)
- Moroccan identity = composition of different elements
- Berbers acknowledged as an ethnic majority
- Tamazight = principal element of the national culture, its promotion = a national responsibility
- IRCAM charged with the promotion of Tamazight language/culture in education and media
- 2011: Tamazight an official language of Morocco
- ➔ Change in the state's attitude towards Berber from a policy of neglect to explicit recognition and support.

Who are the Berber Jews?

Two possibilities:

- came from Israel and assimilated with the Berbers
- are Berbers who converted to Judaism
 - “Judaized Berbers” theory (beginning of the 20th c)
 - closely linked with the French colonialism
 - Nahum Slouschz 1909; André Goldenberg 1992; Simon Lévy.

Judaized Berbers theory. Two major postulates:

- numerous Berber tribes adhered to Judaism before the Arabic invasion (8th c)
- Maghrebians Jews partly descend from these Berber proselytes: they are Berbers converted to Judaism
- There are no (historical, archeological, linguistic, or onomastic) arguments that corroborate or refute this theory, so it is speculative (Hirschberg 1963, Taïeb 2004, Beider 2017).

DNA

- Recent studies on mtDNA (from mother to children) dismiss the Judaized Berbers theory;
- Behar et al. 2008: Jews from North Africa lack typically North African mtDNAs, which means they did not mix with the local population.

Antiquity

- Jews settled in Maghreb since at least 3rd c. BCE
- They came from ancient Israel after a stay in Egypt
- Old Jewish settlements in Berber lands
- Some claim that the female military leader, Dihya, aka Al-Kahina, 7th c, was a Berber Jew (*Kahina – Cohen?*)
 - *Kahina* ‘diviner, priestess soothsayer’
 - The link to the Jews is questionable
- No linguistic information on the early North African Jews
- Multilingualism/multiglossia: Latin, Greek, Hebrew (for education), Aramaic (cf. Mediterranean Jews).

Islamic period

- From the 9th c., (Judeo-)Arabic is the principal language of North African Jews
- In the 15th c., some Spanish Jews also settled in the interior Berber lands.

Historical sources

- al-Idrisi (12th c.) mentions the existence in ancient times of Jewish tribes in North Africa
- Ibn Abi Zar (14th c.): at the end of the 8th c., two Berber tribes lived in the area of Fez, composed of 1) Muslims, and 2) Christians, Jews, and pagans
- Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) writes that it is **possible** that in the past some of Berber tribes adhered to the Jewish religion
- > Before the Arabic conquest, the vast majority of Berbers was Christian or pagan (Hirschberg 1963).

Testomonies

- 19th c: first evidence of Jews using Berber; rural Jews in peripheral regions: Morocco, Algeria, Libya (Chaker 2004; Chetrit & Schroeter 2003; Chetrit 2007)
- Charles de Foucault (1886): Moroccan Jews mainly speak Judeo-Arabic, but in Berber-speaking regions they also know Berber; some have Berber as L1
- Simon Levy (2009): at the beginning of the 20th c. around 8% of the Jewish Moroccan population has Berber as their first language, more understand it; cf. 76% Arabic; 16% Spanish/Haketiya (*Alliance Israélite Universelle*).

Number of speakers

- 7th c: a few hundred? (al-Idrisi 12th c.)
- 1912: 8,000 in Morocco (Lévy 2009; Beider 2017). Cf. 77,000 Judeo-Arabic; 16,000 Haketia. OR:
- 1936: 145,700 in Morocco (incl. 25,000 monolingual) (Abramson 2018)
- 1950-1960s: immigration to Israel
- 1992: 2,000 speakers, mostly in Israel
- Today: a few dozen/hundred (?): Israel, few in Morocco, France (Chetrit 2022)
- ➔ Severely endangered. *Ethnologue*: 8a (moribund).

Reasons of decline

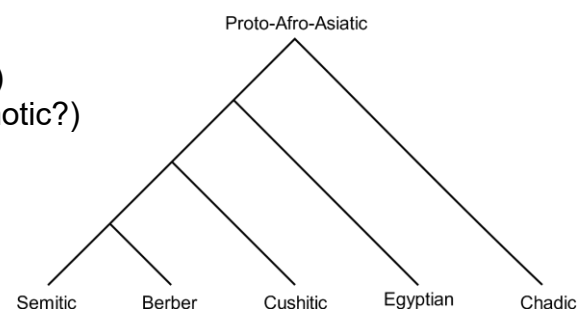
- Leaving the rural areas, change in lifestyle
- The French protectorate (1912-1956)
- Monolingual (Judeo-)Berber communities became bilingual in the 20th c when roads were constructed
- Contact with the urban Jews (Judeo-Arabic)
- Jewish Universal Alliance (*Alliance Israélite Universelle*): French schools for Jewish children (first school in Tetouan, 1862)
- Immigration to Israel in 1950s-1960s
- Monolingual Judeo-Berber speakers were rare.

2. Nomenclature

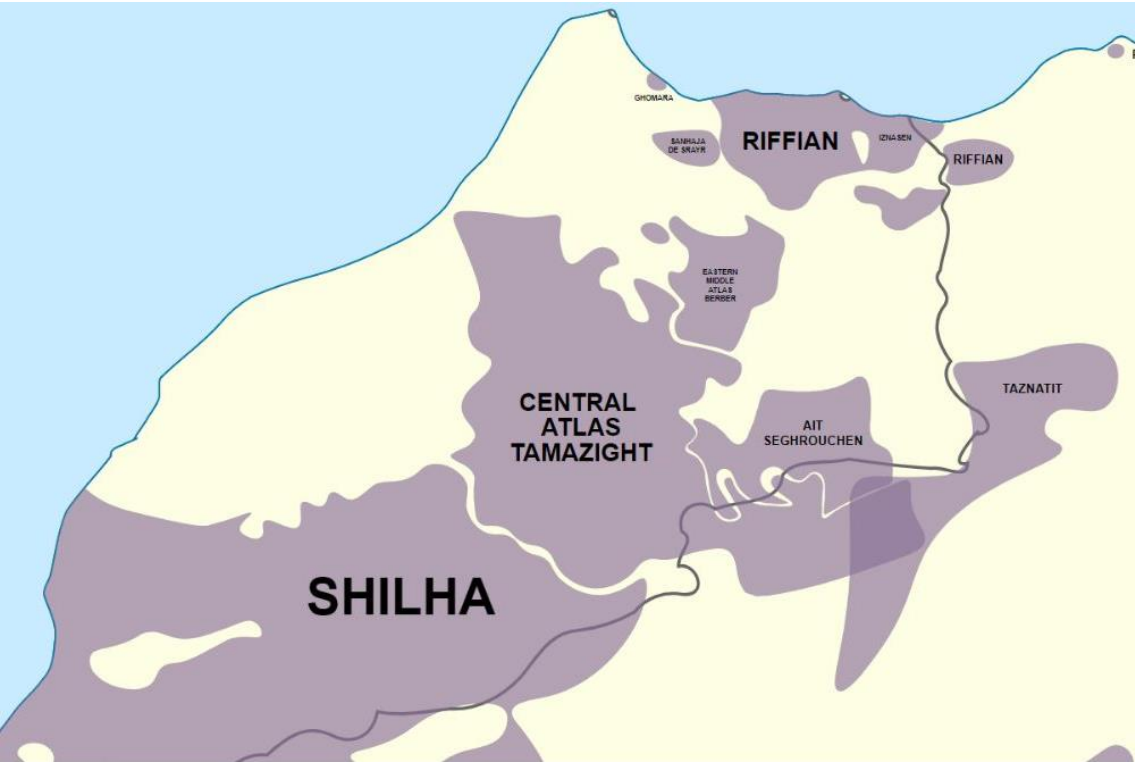
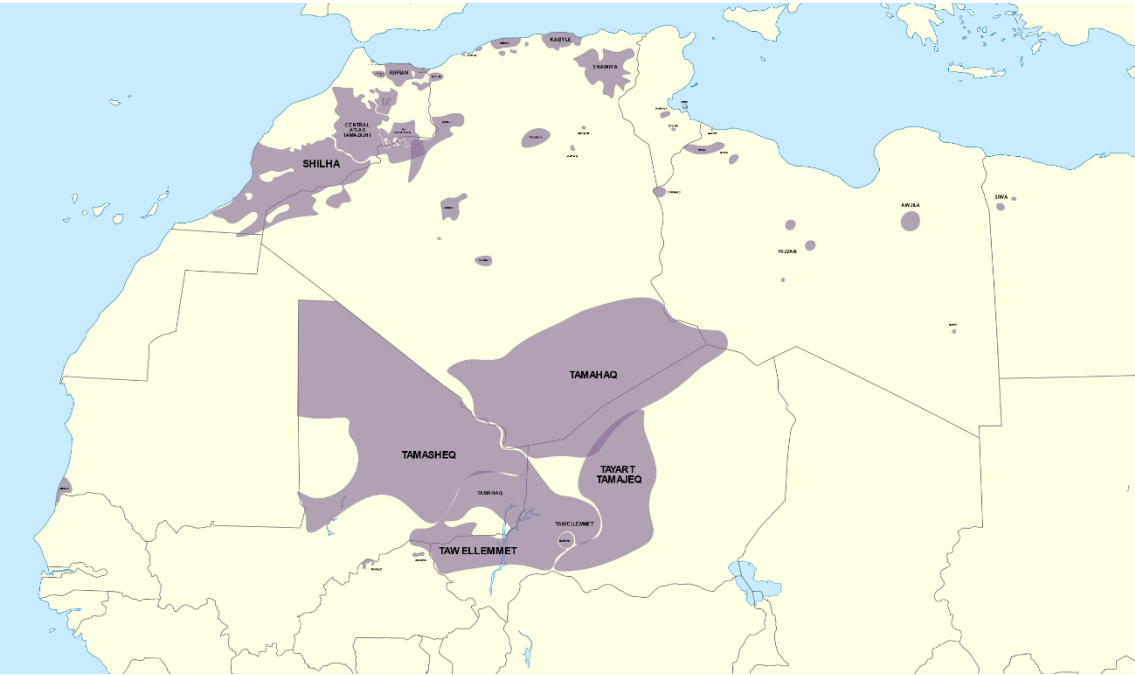
- Berbers/ Amazigh(s)/ Imazighen (controversy)
- Berber: exonym; pejorative? 'barbarian' (βάρβαροι)?
- Amazigh: endonym (? but by whom?); not used by all: not all-inclusive
- *Taqlit*: used to refer to Judeo-Berber (S. Morocco?)
- Possible to specify: *Berber* – not meant pejoratively; *Amazigh* – covering all population
- Antiquity: Numidians, Mauri, Moors, Libu...
- **Tamazight** = referring to the language... but which one?

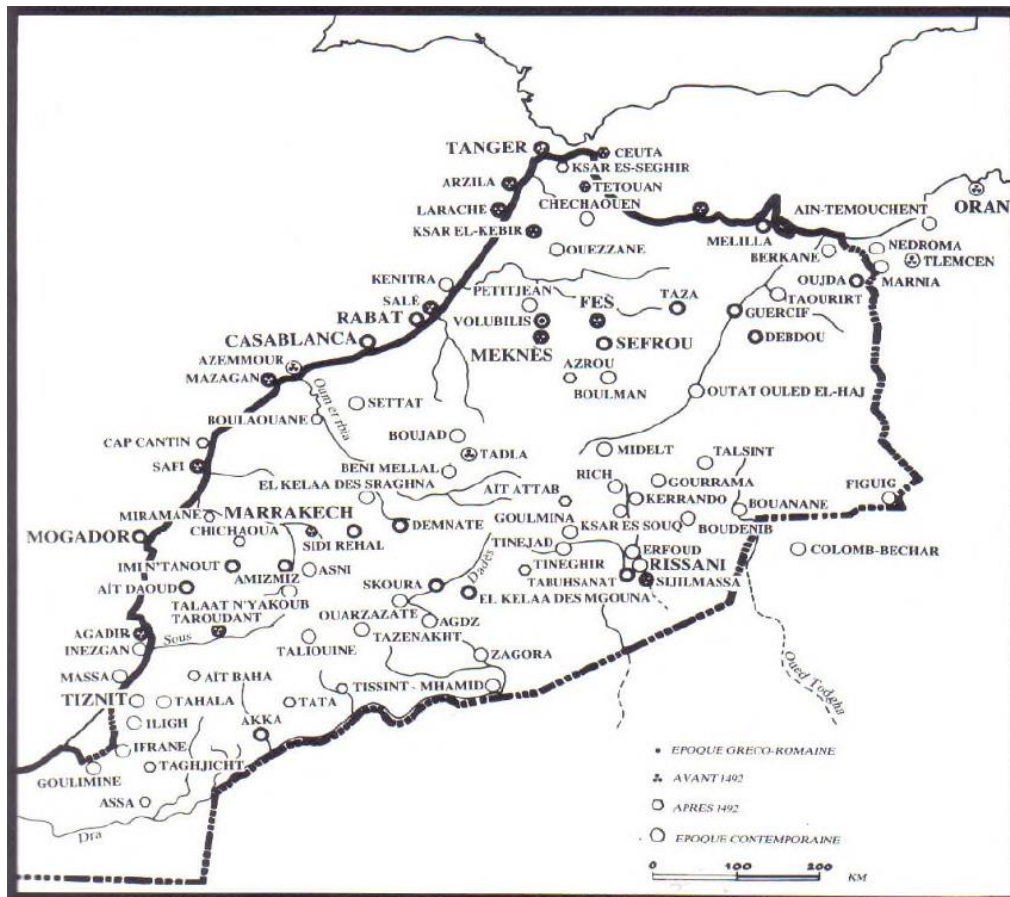
3. Berber languages

- Afro-Asiatic language family (Hamito-Semitic)
- incl. Semitic, Cushitic, Egyptian, Chadic, (Omotic?)



Regional varieties





Jews in Morocco from the Greco-Roman period to the present
 Benchabo-Benlolo n.d.: 202.

Why study (Judeo-)Berber?

- Why study any language? intercultural learning: language = key into a culture
- History: insights in the history of North Africa (and North African Jews)
- Linguistics: historical, descriptive, language documentation/preservation, endangerment, sociolinguistics, contact, Jewish languages...
- (Im)migration studies: e.g. research on present-day Jewish Moroccans in Israel or the US
- Justice to the diversity, e.g. a more nuanced image of the Jewish Moroccan community in Israel
- (Judeo-)Berber artistic skills (visual and oral): jewelry; music, songs, folklore
- Anthropology, ethnography, musicology, social studies, politics, philology, literature, cultural heritage, personal, etc...

Judeo-Berber

- Judeo-Berber/(T)amazigh(t): a recent concept/term
- Reconstruction of the identity
- Refers to any Berber variety spoken by the Jews
- *Judeo-*: the language has distinctive features
- Is this the case for Judeo-Berber?

4. Distinctive features

4.1. Phonology

Transcription conventions

Pharyngealized (emphatic) consonants written with a dot underneath: *ṭ* [tʕ].

Symbol	IPA	Symbol	IPA
š	ʃ	ḥ	ħ
ž	ʒ	ḫ	x
ṭ	ts	ǧ/ɣ	ɣ
č	tʃ	ε	ç
ǧ	dʒ	y	j

Judeo-Berber, phonology

- Merger of *s* and *š* /ʃ/ *sh* in some varieties into *ś*
 - *śber* 'be patient', *Aśfalu* (place name), *aḥiḍuś* (music genre)
- Merger of *ž* /ʒ/ *zh* in some varieties into *ž*:
 - *a nžur* 'we'll see', *yužen* 'he sent', *žžin* 'beauty'
- Loss of labialized velars *kʷ*, *gʷ*, *xʷ*, *ɣʷ*, e.g. *nekkʷni* > *nekkni* 'we'
- Shift *q* > *k* and *q̣* > *ṭ* in some varieties
 - *lɛkl* 'brain': all examples borrowings from (Judeo-)Arabic?
- Shift *l* > *n* in some varieties: *wanu* 'nothing', *kunnu* 'all'
- Centralized pronunciation of vowels *i*, *u*
- Diphthong insertion (for more information and examples, cf. Chetrit 2016 and 2018, Ridouane 2018).

However

- Some features are shared with/borrowed from Judeo-Arabic
- Not all distinctive features are found in all Judeo-Berber varieties
- Variation within (non-Jewish) Berber is already quite large (some varieties lack labiovelars, etc.)
- Some features of "Judeo-Berber" may be found in non-Jewish Berber varieties (e.g. parts of Tinghir).

4.2. Morphology

(Muslim/Jewish) Berber

- Two major lexical categories: nouns and verbs
- Qualification: quality nouns and quality verbs (rather than adjectives)
- Functional categories: tense/aspect markers, negation markers, complementizers, conjunctions, prepositions.

Verbs

- Subject affixes (prefixes, suffixes, circumfixes) mark PNG (person, number, gender) of the subject
- Verb stems mark MAN (mood, aspect, negation)
- Distinguish (minimum) three aspects: Aorist (AOR), Perfective (PFV), Imperfective (IPFV). Additionally, some varieties distinguish negative aspects: PFV.NEG and IPFV.NEG
- Prefixes derive passives (*t-*, *m-*), causatives (*s-*)

- PNG markers:
 - Prefixes: *i-sğa* (3MS-buy.PFV) 'he bought'
 - Suffixes: *ss-lmad-ğ* (CAUS-learn.IPFV-1S) 'I make learn/teach'
 - Circumfixes: *t-ffağ-m* (2-leave.PFV-2P) 'you (pl.) left'

Verbal Complex

- Verbal complex = verb with clitics and particles
- Particles express mood/aspect or negation
- Clitics (also known as *verb satellites*):
 - pronominal (DO, IO)
 - ventive (direction toward the speaker: 'here')
 - ientive (direction from the speaker: 'there')
- Position of the clitics: postverbal or preverbal, depending on the syntactic context.

Nouns

- Marked for gender (masculine/feminine) and number (singular/plural)
- Some are also marked for state: free (*état libre*, EL) and annexed/bound (*état d'annexion*, EA)
- Annexed state is used after most prepositions, after numerals, and when the noun is a subject and follows the predicate
- Class I: Berber morphology (Berber prefixes), marked for state
 - masc. sg: usually *a-...: a-rgaz* 'man', EA *u-rgaz*
 - masc. pl: usually *i-...-en: i-rgaz-en* 'men'
 - fem. sg: usually *t-a-...-t: t-a-mğar-t* 'woman', EA *t-mğar-t*
 - fem. pl: usually *t-i-...-in: t-i-mğar-in* 'women'
- Class II: Arabic morphology (article *l*, pl. as in Arabic), unmarked for state
 - *lhal* 'situation', *lmsakin* 'poor people'.

Qualification

- "Quality words" as a semantic concept vs. "adjectives" as a syntactic/descriptive category
- Most Berber languages: no true adjectives
- Instead: quality **verbs** and **nouns**
- Some Berber languages have stative verbs (sub-class of verbs, morphologically distinct).

Quality verbs

- Express events and describe properties
- Take subject markers, expressing PNG
- Distinguish aspects: Aorist, Perfective, Imperfective.
 - *i-mellul* 'he/it (M) is white'
 - *t-mellul* 'she/it (F) is white'
 - *ar i-ttimlul* 'he/it (M) is becoming white'

Quality nouns

Refer to things, but can be used attributively. Example: 'white' (= 'white one')

Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl.
a-mlil	t-a-mlil-t	i-mlil-n	t-i-mlil-in

Judeo-Berber, morphology

- As non-Jewish varieties
- Hebrew loans: can be integrated into Class II (Ar.-morphology, article /): *Imila* 'circumcision'
- Can be integrated into Class I (Berberized):
 - *lašon* 'language/tongue' > *t-a-lašu-t* 'Hebrew language'
 - *ḥuḥma* > *t-a-ḥuḥmi-t* 'wisdom'
 - *kohen* > *t-a-kwaḥni-t* 'being Cohen' (verbal noun)
- Non-integrated loans (can retain Hebrew plural?): no examples found?
 - *prɛu* 'pharaoh' (not class I and not class II, no pl. attested).

4.3. Syntax

Jewish/Muslim Berber:

- Word order is not fixed: can be VSO (verb-subject-object), SVO, etc.
- The verb can have clitic pronouns (DO, IO) that can change position depending on the syntactic context

Judeo-Berber:

- In written texts, Judeo-Berber can have a distinct syntax: calque translations from Hebrew (religious/liturgical texts), or a mix of calque syntax imitating Hebrew and regular syntax
- In some written texts, the influence of Judeo-Arabic is noticeable in syntax.

4.4. Lexicon/semantics, proverbs and sayings

- Lexicon shared with non-Jewish varieties
- No evidence of a secret language, vs. Judeo-Arabic
- Hebrew words referring to Jewish cultural life, e.g. *Imila* 'circumcision', *talašut* 'Hebrew (language)', etc.
- Local Berber proverbs, possibly with a Jewish pronunciation: *imik s imik a yseksem uram agdur* 'Little by little the camel enters the jar.'
- Some calque translations of biblical and traditional Jewish expressions
- Some references to the Jewish culture.

5. Writing systems

Writing Berber, pre-Islamic period. Tifinagh

- One of the scripts used to write Berber
- Descended from the Libyco-Berber (Libyc) script
- Abjad, 1st mill. BC, North Africa + Canary Islands
- Libyc script died out in the north but spread into the Sahara > evolved into the Tuareg Tifinagh

Two different systems:

- Tuareg Tifinagh/ traditional Tifinagh (ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵏⵜ)
- Neo-Tifinagh (ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵏⵜ) developed by Berber Academy
 - Tuareg Tifinagh adopted to write Kabyle
 - Modified/adopted for use across North Africa.

Writing Berber: different possibilities associated with ideologies

- Tifinagh: official script; symbolic; emblem of identity
 - Neutral/compromise; can be argued to prevent the spread of Berber
- Arabic script: favored by speakers who are literate in the Arabic language/script
 - Arab-Islamic orientation?
- Latin script: used by linguists, writers, intellectuals
 - Western (French, colonial?) orientation?
- Hebrew script: used (rarely) for Judeo-Berber
 - Used by a Jewish minority/those literate in Hebrew

➔ (Judeo-)Berber languages generally not written; “oral culture” (vs. Arabic/Judeo-Arabic).

Pesah Haggada

- Galand-Pernet & Zafrani 1970, written by Yossef Malka in 1959.
 - Is it a traditional/spontaneous translation?
 - commissioned in the 1950s
- 2nd version: commissioned in Morocco from Rabbi Masʿud Ben Shabbat in the late 1940s (Chetrit 2018)
- 3rd version: commissioned in Israel in 1994 from Yehuda Derʿi from the Sous Valley (Chetrit 2016, 2018)

➔ the whole Haggada was not translated in Judeo-Berber

Writing Judeo-Berber?

- No independent literary/intellectual works
- Very few written texts (exceptions)
- Oral literature: songs and tales, shared with the Muslim Berbers
- Some still found Israel (*aḥiduš*, *aḥwaš*): collective dancing and singing (Elmedlaoui & Azaryahu 2014; Elmedlaoui 2014)
- Language use: mostly for daily communication
- Explanation of religious texts (mostly orally)
- Some prayers were recited/chanted in Berber.

6. Sociolinguistic variation

- Linguistic specificities are linked with the media:
 - 1) found in the written form, if there is written literature;
 - 2) found in the oral form, if Jews led a separate segregated life
- There was not always a written literature or a separate Jewish community
- Therefore less specificities in Judeo-Berber than e.g. in Judeo-Arabic.

7. Contemporary status

Post-vernacular language

- Vernacular: used as means of communication
- Post-vernacular: not used in daily life, but learned to (re)connect with culture/heritage (Shandler 2006), e.g. Yiddish

- Judeo-Berber:
- Little post-vernacular engagement among younger generations
- Documentation by linguists, musicologists, filmmakers (*Mother Tongue*, Miléna Kartowski-Aïach, Kamal Hachkar)

Links to the recordings

1. *Mother Tongue* (lashon.org). Judeo-Tashelhit (Southern Morocco)
 - 1) Ester Perets, about rrays (singer/dancer): <https://youtu.be/xuZW9oLjpT4> (<<https://www.lashon.org/en/node/1971>)
 - 2) Ester Perets, mentioning Ben Gurion https://youtu.be/8d_3ec862YE (<<https://www.lashon.org/en/node/1977>)
 - 3) R. Nissim Avichzer, about a falcon <https://youtu.be/2R1RSDwG7QE> (< <https://www.lashon.org/en/node/361>)
2. Recordings made by Miléna Kartowski-Aïach and Kamal Hachkar in Yavne, Israel in 2012 with speakers of Judeo-Tinghir (Central Morocco)
 - A. Hnina Shmouyal (Sabag)
 - 4) *Asfalou* (place name in Tinghir): <https://youtu.be/X17bEkCvze8>
 - 5) *dduḡ ar dinnaḡ* 'I went there' (about a crying heart and God's benediction), 3 lines: <https://youtu.be/SH9Kr9tsTbQ>
 - 6) *a yudm n uḥiduṣ* 'Oh face of Ahidus': <https://youtu.be/sba04M010Dc>
 - 7) *ay amaziḡ-a* 'Oh Amazigh' (a lullaby): <https://youtu.be/NlyfgUXdVEw>
 - B. Israel Sabag:
 - 8) *asmun inu* 'My friend' ("Do I come to you or you to me?"): <https://youtu.be/QwnujGc6Tzc>
3. *Asfalou*, an artistic musical video by Miléna Kartowski-Aïach and Tawargit, based on the song recorded with Hnini Shmouyal (cf. above) https://youtu.be/sE17_whmsuc.

8. (Instead of) conclusions

Recordings

- Show how Jews adopted local cultural practices
- Part of the local Berber poetic tradition
- Show diversity of Judeo-Berber languages, representing a continuum of distinctiveness
 - Tashelhit: hardly any distinctive features
 - Tinghir: some distinctive features (phonology)
 - Are these features transferred from Judeo-Arabic?
 - Distinctive features transcend language borders?

Distinctiveness

- Judeo-Berber is very close to the local Berber
- When written, Judeo-Berber also has distinct syntax (calque translations from Hebrew)
- However, it is rarely written
- Reasons of the lack of distinctiveness:
 - proximity of Jews and Muslims in rural areas
- "Jewish" due to sociolinguistic/cultural features (Chetrit 2007, Benor 2008).

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Texts (including a translation exercise)

Text1: Word [here](#) / Pdf: [here](#) (translation exercise)

Text2: Word [here](#) / Pdf: [here](#)

Text 1. Ḥad Gadya (Tashelhit Berber)

Source: Chetrit 2016. The text is part of the translation of the *Haggadah* by Yehuda Derfi, born in the 1920s in Ighil n-Ughu, upstream from the Sous Valley, who settled in Ashdod, Israel in 1962. The translation was commissioned from Yehuda Derfi by J. Chetrit in 1994. Cf. also <https://opensiddur.org/?p=24621>.

1. Yan ikru yan ikru, isġayt bḥa s-sin iqariden

Yan ikru yan ikru, i-sġa=y=t bḥa s-sin i-qarid-en

yan: one, numeral
ikru: little goat, kid
i-: 3MS subject marker
sġa: buy, Perfective (bought)
=y: 1S:IO ('for me', Indirect Object)
=t: 3MS:DO ('it', Direct Object)
bḥa: my father
s-: with (instrumental preposition)
sin: two, numeral
i-qarid-en, pl. of aqarid (money, pennies, zuzim)

- One kid, one kid, that my father bought for me for two pennies

2. Tuškad tbusi tešša ikru, isġayt bḥa s-sin iqariden

T-uška=d tbusi t-ešša ikru, i-sġa=y=t bḥa s-sin i-qarid-en

t-: 3FS subject marker
uška: arrive, Perfective (arrived)
=d: ventive clitic, direction towards the speaker
tbusi: cat, EA < tabusi 'cat', EL (non-Jewish Tashelhit *amuš*)
šša: eat, Perfective (ate)

- A cat came and ate the kid that my father bought for me for two pennies

3. Tuškad taydit tebbi tabusi tešša ikru, isġayt bḥa s-sin iqariden

T-uška=d t-aydi-t tebbi tabusi tešša ikru, isġa=y=t bḥa s-sin i-qarid-en

t-aydi-t: female dog < aydi 'male dog'
bbi: bite, Perfective (bit)

- A dog came and bit the cat that ate the kid that my father bought for me for two pennies

4. Tuškad tqurayt tut taydit tebbi tabusi tešša ikru, isğayt ḅ̣a s-sin iqariden

T-uška=d t-quray-t t-ut taydit tebbi tabusi t-ešša ikru, i-sğa=y=t ḅ̣a s-sin i-qarid-en

t-quray-t: (little) stick (FS), EA < taqurayt, EL 'stick' < aquray, M (Tashelhit takurayt < akuray M)

ut: hit, Perfective

- A (little) stick came and hit the dog that bit the cat that ate the kid that my father bought for me for two pennies

5. Tuškad laefit težder taqurayt tut taydit tebbi tabusi tešša ikru, isğayt ḅ̣a s-sin iqariden

T-uška=d laefit t-ežder taqurayt t-ut taydit t-ebbi tabusi t-ešša ikru, i-sğa=y=t ḅ̣a s-sin i-qarid-en

laefit: fire (F), EL=EA

žder: burn, Perfective (burned)

- A fire came and burned the stick that hit the dog that bit the cat that ate the kid that my father bought for me for two pennies.

6. Uškand waman sseḥsin laefit težder taqurayt tut taydit tebbi tabusi tešša ikru, isğayt ḅ̣a s-sin iqariden

Uška-n=d waman ss-eḥsi-n laefit t-ežder t-aquray-t t-ut taydit t-ebbi tabusi t-ešša ikru, i-sğa=y=t ḅ̣a s-sin i-qarid-en.

-n: 3MP subject marker

waman: water, EA < aman 'water', EL (pl. tant.)

ss-: causative prefix ('to make someone/something do something')

ss-eḥsi/ss-eḥsa: (CAUS) put out, extinguish, Perfective < s- CAUS + ḥsi/ḥsa 'be put out, extinguished'

- Water came and put out the fire that burned the stick that hit the dog that bit the cat that ate the kid that my father bought for me for two pennies.

7. Yuškad waḡwi iswa aman sseḥsin laefit težder taqurayt tut taydit tebbi tabusi tešša ikru, isğayt ḅ̣a s-sin iqariden

Y-uška=d waḡwi i-swa aman ss-eḥsi-n laefit t-ežder t-aquray-t t-ut taydit t-ebbi tabusi t-essa ikru, i-sğay=t ḅ̣a s-sin i-qarid-en.

waḡwi: calf, EA < aḡwi, EL

swa: drink, Perfective (drank)

- A calf came and drank the water that put out the fire that burned the stick that hit the dog that bit the cat that ate the kid that my father bought for me for two pennies.

8. Yuškad lhezzen iğers wağwi iswa aman ssehsin laefit težder taqurayt tut taydit tebbi tabusi tešša ikru isğayt bəba s-sin iqariden

Y-uška=d lhezzen i-ğers wağwi i-swa aman ss-eħsi-n laefit t-ežder t-aquray-t t-ut taydit t-ebbi tabusi t-ešša ikru i-sğa=y=t bəba s-sin i-qarid-en.

lhezzen: butcher (Jewish ritual butcher/slaughterer), *shoħet*, one trained to perform *sheħitah* (ritual slaughter)
ğrs: slaughter, Perfective

- A butcher came and slaughtered the calf that drank the water that put out the fire that burned the stick that hit the dog that bit the cat that ate the kid that my father bought for me for two pennies.

9. Tuškad lmut tenğa lhezzen iğers wağwi iswa aman ssehsin laefit težder taqurayt tut taydit tebbi tabusi tešša ikru isğayt bəba s-sin iqariden

T-uška=d lmut t-enğa lhezzen i-ğers wağwi i-swa aman ss-eħsi-n laefit t-ežder t-aquray-t t-ut taydit t-ebbi tabusi t-ešša ikru i-sğa=y=t bəba s-sin i-qarid-en.

lmut: death (EL=EA)
nğa: kill, Perfective (killed)

- The Death came and killed the butcher who slaughtered the calf that drank the water that put out the fire that burned the stick that hit the dog that bit the cat that ate the kid that my father bought for me for two pennies.

10. Yuškad rebbi inğa lmut tenğa lhezzen iğers wağwi iswa aman ssehsin laefit težder taqurayt tut taydit tebbi tabusi tešša ikru, isğayt bəba s-sin iqariden

Y-uška=d rebbi i-nğa lmut t-enğa lhezzen i-ğers wağwi i-swa aman ssehsin laefit t-ežder t-aquray-t t-ut taydit t-ebbi tabusi t-ešša ikru i-sğa=y=t bəba s-sin i-qarid-en

- God (Lord) came and killed Death who killed the butcher who slaughtered the calf that drank the water that put out the fire that burned the stick that hit the dog that bit the cat that ate the kid that my father bought for me for two pennies.

חד גדיא
 זיגן יפרו יאן יפרו זיגן זיגן
 זיגן זיגן זיגן
 תשקד תבוס תלעא זיגן
 תשכד תמידית תשכד תבוס
 תשקד תבוסית תשכד תבוסית
 תשקד לעפית תבוס תבוסית
 תשקד תבוסית תבוסית תבוסית
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 תשקד תבוסית תבוסית תבוסית

FIG. 4.1 A manuscript of part of the song *Had Gadya* in Judeo-Berber.

Source: Chetrit 2016: 126.

יָאן יִכְרוּ יָאן יִכְרוּ יִסְגִּית בָּא שִׁין יִקְרִידן	1
תוֹשְׁקָד תְּבוּסִי תִשָּׂא יִכְרוּ	2
תוֹשְׁכָד [תְּאִידִית] תְּבִי [תְּבוּסִי]	3
תוֹשְׁקָד תְּקוֹרָאִית תּוֹת תְּאִידִית	4
תוֹשְׁקָד לְעֶפִית תְּזֹדֶר תְּאִקוֹרָאִית	5
אוֹשְׁקָנָד וְאָמֶן סְכָסִין לְעֶפִית	6
יוֹשְׁקָד וְגוֹי יִשּׁוּא אָמָאן	7
יוֹשְׁקָד לְחֹזֶן יִגְרֵס וְגוֹי	8
תוֹשְׁקָד לְמוֹת תְּנַגָּא לְחֹזֶן	9
יוֹשְׁקָד רַבִּי אִינְגָא לְמוֹת	10

- 1 jān ikru jān ikru isyā-ḵ-t bḥḇ [s]-sin iqaridən. [= One kid, one kid, that father bought for me for two pennies.]
- 2 tuškād tbusi təššä ikru [= Then came a little cat that ate the kid]
- 3 tuškād täḵdit [təbbi] täbusi [= Then came a little dog that bit the little cat]
- 4 tuškād tqurḇīt tut täḵdit [= Then came a little stick that hit the little dog]
- 5 tuškād lä'fit təzdər taqurḇīt [= Then came fire that burnt the little stick]
- 6 uškänd wämän ssəxsin lä'fit [= Then came water that put out the fire]
- 7 ḵuškād wäywi iswä aman [= Then came a calf that drank the water]
- 8 ḵuškād lhəzzän iyərs wäywi [= Then came a rabbi that slaughtered the calf]
- 9 tuškād lmut tənyä lhəzzän [= Then came the Death that killed the rabbi]
- 10 ḵuškād ʀəḇḇí inyä lmut [= Then came God and killed the Death]

Source: Chetrit 2016: 127 (The last passage of *Ḥad Gadya* 'One Kid').

Text 2. Pesah Haggada (Berber of Tinghir)

Adapted from Galand-Pernet and Zafrani 1970 → Galand-Pernet, Paulette & Haïm Zafrani. 1970. Une version berbère de la Haggadah de Pesah: texte de Tinrhir du Todrha (Maroc). (Comptes rendus du GLECS (Groupe Linguistique d'Etudes Chamito-Sémitiques): Supplement, 1.) Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. 171pp.

1. s tarula ay s nffağ ġ masr ayddğ
We came out of Egypt by flight (lit. 'It is by flight that we came out of Egypt). In fact

2. n uğrum ur imtinn da ttšan
of bread, it is unleavened bread that (they) ate

3. lwaldin nnğ ġ masr. kullu mad yağ
our ancestors in Egypt. Let all those who are

4. laḡ iddu ad itš, mad yağ fad iddu
hungry go and eat, let who is thirsty go

5. ad isu. asgg^{was} ddğ ġ tmazirt ddğ
and drink. This year (we are) in this country,

6. imal ġ bit lmkdes¹
Next year in Jerusalem (lit. in the sacred place).

7. ma nḡya i yiḡ ddğ man kull yiḡan? kullu
What is the difference between this night and all other nights? All

8. yḡan ur da nttduwaz² awd yut tikklt,
other nights we do not eat stew, even once

9. iḡ ddğ snat tikkal.
This night we do it twice.

10. kullu iḡan nkk^wni da nttša wna
All other nights we eat whatever

11. y imtenn nğ ur imtinn, iḡ ddğ wadda
leavened or not leavened – this night

12. ur imtinn.
which is not leavened.

13. kullu iḡan nkk^wni da nttša, nsu, swa
All other nights we eat and drink either

¹ From Ar. *bayt al-maqdis* (*q > k* in Judeo-Arabic), lit. 'the house of sacredness/sacred house' referring to Jerusalem.

² Cf. *ddwaz* 'stew sauce', as opposed to *abazin* or *iḡfan* when speaking of eating bread without *ddwaz*. It refers to having to eat only unleavened bread.

14. nḡ^wzdm swa ngg^wn, iḍ ddḡ akk^w nḡ^wzdam.
sitting or lying down, this night we do it sitting.

15. kullu w iṭan nkk^wni da nttša, aydda nufa
All other nights we eat and drink what(ever) we find (lit. found)

16. l lh^wḍrt, iḍ ddḡ, lmarur.
Of vegetables – this night, we eat bitter.

17. iḥddamn ay nga i prēu g^w masr. issufḡ aḡ
Servants of Pharaoh, that is what we were in Egypt. He brought us out,

18. rbbi nḡḡ dinnaḡ s ufus n ddrē, s ufus
our God, by a strong arm, by an arm

19. ikuwan.³ mur ur aḡ issufḡ rbbi lwaldin
robust. If God had not brought our parents for us

20. nḡḡ ḡ masr, nsul nkk^wni d isirran
out of Egypt, we and our children would still be

21. nḡḡ iḥddamn nga i prēu ḡ masr.
servants of Pharaoh in Egypt.

22. wahḡa nla lēkl,⁴ nla lfḥmt,
Even if we have intelligence and understanding,

23. wahḡa nssn turat, lazḡ nḡḡ an nēawd
even if we know the Torah, we must repeat

24. ḡ ufuḡ ḡ masr. kullu mad d isgudiyn⁵ ad d iēawd
concerning the exodus from Egypt. Whoever accumulates the recitations

25. ḡ ufuḡ n masr, tannit waddaḡ ituskar.⁶
concerning the exodus from Egypt is, you see, worthy of praise.

³ Shift q>k (<iqwan < Arabic root qwy).

⁴ Shift q>k: Arabic lēql, Judeo-Arabic (and Judeo-Berber) lēkl.

⁵ Lit. 'who makes abundant'.

⁶ Lit. 'one to be praised'.