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LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF AN ALGERIAN JUDEO-ARABIC TEXT FROM THE 19TH CENTURY

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L'analyse linguistique du judéo-arabe du livre Perah Shoshan (1892), du rabbin Shalom Beckache d'Alger, est une illustration de l'adéquation du registre des langues. C'est parce que Beckache souhaitait que l'ouvrage, qui traitait de morale et d'éthique, soit accessible au plus grand nombre qu'il l'a écrit, dit-il, «en arabe dialectal de notre pays». Ce ne fut pas un mince exploit, car l'auteur n'était pas originaire d'Algérie; sa famille avait immigré de Bagdad en Inde et il avait passé sa jeunesse à Eretz Yisra'el avant d'arriver en Algérie. Tout en écrivant volontairement dans le registre familier de ses contemporains, il y a des cas où il se trouve dans la nécessité d'employer un registre élevé en rapport avec le développement ou les citations littéraires. On se propose d'exhumer, à partir de ce texte, les caractéristiques du judéo-algérien de la fin du XIX^e siècle.

INTRODUCTION

For centuries Judeo-Arabic (JA) served the Jews of Algeria for their speech and writing alongside Hebrew, the “holy language” (*lešon ha-qodes*). Their state of multiglossia comprised also of contact with other languages, mainly the Muslim Arabic and Berber dialects (Tirosh-Becker, 2011). The 1830 French occupation of Algeria marked the beginning of a process by which French culture gradually became dominant among Algerian Jews, and French increasingly suppressed the use of Judeo-Arabic. This process accelerated after the 1870 Crémieux Decree that granted French citizenship to the majority of the Jewish population in Algeria and deepened

their integration into the French experience (Tirosh-Becker, 2015: 430-433).

In this paper I will present a linguistic analysis of one genre of written Algerian Judeo-Arabic. As a case-study we will focus on the book *Peraḥ Shoshan*, which was written in Algiers in the second half of the nineteenth century by the Algerian rabbi and *maskil* Rabbi Shalom Bekache.

THE AUTHOR

Rabbi Shalom Bekache (also spelled Beccache) was born in Bombay, India in 1848 to his father Rabbi Yitzhak Refael Bekache, who immigrated to Bombay from Baghdad. Once he was old enough, Shalom Bekache traveled to Eretz Israel (the Land of Israel), obtained a rabbinical certification in Zefad, and served as a rabbi in Acre. In 1878, at the age of thirty, Rabbi Shalom Bekache moved to Algeria. He initially served for four years as the rabbi of the small community of Théniet el-Haâd in the Tissemisilt County, southwest of the capital Algiers. Then he moved to Algiers itself in 1883. For the following forty years (until 1922) Rabbi Shalom Bekache served as a rabbi and *shohet* of the Ben Tuwwa synagogue in Algiers, the oldest synagogue in that city. He passed away in 1927 in Algiers (Attal, 1976; Tobi, 2010; Marciano, 2002: 110).

Shalom Bekache was one of the prominent proponents of the Jewish enlightenment movement (*haskala*) in North Africa, who combined tradition with modernity.¹ Alongside his role as a religious leader of an Algerian Jewish congregation he also operated a Hebrew printing house and authored numerous books, some religious in nature while others dealt with modern secular topics. As a scholar, Bekache's own library included a diverse collection of about 600 volumes.

1. Unlike the European proponents of the Jewish enlightenment movement (*maskilim*) of that time, who advocated total secularization of Jewish life, North African *maskilim* held a more moderate approach. They did not see a contradiction between the concepts of modernity and enlightenment on the one hand and preserving Jewish religion and traditions on the other. On the North African *maskilim* see J. Chetrit 2009: 30-31; J. Chetrit 1990: 11.

A catalogue of his library that was preserved, attests that most of the volumes were related to the Enlightenment movement (Attal, 1976: 220 fn. 6). These included Hebrew translations of a variety of belles-lettres, books on grammar and philosophy, books on natural sciences and popular medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and more. Bekache's library in Algiers also included bound volumes of the Hebrew journals *ha-Melitz*, *ha-Maggid*, and *ha-Tzefira* that were published in Eastern Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1886 Shalom Bekache, together with Avraham Boukhobza and Mordechai Şrur, established a Hebrew printing house in Algiers that operated for twelve years (Attal, 1976: 219-220). This printing house was one of four that printed Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic works (which are written using Hebrew characters) in Algiers at that time.²

In 1891 Bekache started a weekly Judeo-Arabic journal entitled *Bet Yisrael*, whose first issue was printed on June 25, 1891. The journal was published for three years during which at least 107 issues were printed (Attal, 1996: 98). Besides Bekache's own essays and reports,³ the journal also published articles contributed by other prominent figures of Algiers' Jewish community. In his journal, Bekache reported general world news as well as news relating to Jewish communities, both locally in Algeria and from other localities around the globe. Bekache also discussed a variety of topics such as the importance of studying Hebrew, antisemitism, and more (Chetrit, 1990: 18, 40-42; Chetrit, 2009: 116).

Shalom Bekache was a prolific Judeo-Arabic author. We know of 27 books that were either composed by him or

2. The first Hebrew book to be printed in Algiers was a commentary on tractate *Nazir* entitled *Sefer Yede David* by Rabbi David Mu'ati of Algiers. This book was printed in 1853 by Haim Zeev Ashkenazi, an emissary of the rabbis in *Eretz Yisrael*, at a non-Jewish printing house using printing blocks he brought with him. Later that year (1853) Ashkenazi's apprentices, the brothers Haim and Yaakov Sholal, established the first Hebrew printing house in Algiers. In 1886, the year Bekache started operating his printing house, Avraham L'asri established a Hebrew printing house as well, the third in Algiers, but this printing house was not very prolific. The fourth Hebrew printing house in Algiers at that time was founded by Ya'akov Guedj and started its operations in 1888. See R. Attal 1980: 122-124 and footnotes there; R. Attal and M. Harosh 1988: 561-562.

3. Before establishing his own journal, Bekache published his articles in Hebrew journals published in Eastern Europe. For example, in 1884 his article about the need for changes in Jewish education in Algiers was published in the journal *ha-Maggid* (year 28, issue 38, p. 323). See J. Chetrit, 1990: 30, fn. 153.

emerged from his printing house (Attal, 1976: 219-228). Many of these were compilations or collections of stories on the history and customs of remote Jewish communities, from Singapore to 'Aden (Yemen) and from Cochin (Kochi, India) to Bukhara (Uzbekistan). In the first volume of his *'Or ha-Levanah* (= Moonlight; Livorno, 1886) he describes the Jewish cemeteries in Iraq, his family's country of origin (Avishur, 2001: 58-64). Bekache translated from Hebrew into Judeo-Arabic a book entitled *Bone Yerushalayim* (= Builder of Jerusalem; Algiers, 1892) on the holy sites in *Eretz Yisrael* and the Jewish sages buried in its soil. Shalom Bekache's interest in modernity and the natural sciences is manifested in the book *Sefer Sippure Teva* (= Book of tales about nature; Algiers, 1892), which he described as a collection of stories from books written by scientists (הכמי הטבע). His book *Nitzhon ha-'Or* (= *al ha-Hoshekh*) (= Victory of light over darkness; Algiers, 1896) was written in Hebrew and focused on the Sadducees and Pharisees dispute.

As proper education of his congregation in Algiers was one of Shalom Bekache's top priorities, a few of his Judeo-Arabic books were dedicated to morals and ethics. Two such books were printed in his printing house in 1892, one of which is *Peraḥ Shoshan* (= Lily flower) that will be discussed in this paper, and the other is *'Or Zaru'a* (= Sown light; Algiers, 1892), a collection of rabbinic discussions on morals that he translated into Judeo-Arabic. Other books of his, which address topics or morals and ethics, are the volumes of *'Or ha-Levanah* that were mentioned above, and *Mevasser Tov* (= Good harbinger; Livorno, 1885), which is a collection of tales, fables, and proverbs on morals translated by Bekache into Judeo-Arabic.

THE TEXT AND ITS ORIGINS

The book *Peraḥ Shoshan* (Algiers, 1892), which is written in Judeo-Arabic using the Hebrew alphabet as customary,

comprises of two parts: *Peraḥ Shoshan* and 'Or 'Olam (= Everlasting light). In his introduction to the book the author clarifies its purpose :

This book is of morals and ethics, from which we can understand the good things that should be done and the bad things that should be avoided. All are from the sayings of our sages may they rest in peace, words of the Torah and of the awe of the Lord. Whoever desires the words of the Torah and of the awe of the Lord should have this book in his home, and read it daily so that the words of our sages will always be before him, he will appreciate them and follow them, for the Blessed Lord will always aid him, show him the virtuous path to walk in. I translated these from the sayings of the sages, may they rest in peace, into the Arabic [dialect] that is spoken in our land.

The first part of the book, *Peraḥ Shoshan*, encompasses 23 pages consisting of moral and ethics sayings that are based on enumeration. In the first chapter of the book, entitled "Number Three", there are 41 sayings, for example: "Three people are entitled for the afterlife: whoever lives in *Eretz Yisrael*, whoever teaches his son the Torah, and whoever sanctifies the wine (*qiddush*) for the *Havdalah* every Saturday night.⁴" After the chapter that is based on the number 3, comes a chapter with sayings that are based on the number 4, e.g.: "Four things are favorable for any person: Torah, craft and work, advice of the elders, being humble."⁵ This chapter is followed, in order, by chapters with sayings based on the numbers 5, 6, 7 and so forth through 14. As the number dealt with in the chapter increases, the number of sayings associated with it decreases.⁶

4. The original Judeo-Arabic text (chapter "Number Three", saying n° 7, p. 3): תלאתא דננאם אלי יזכורו פי עולם הבא: (א) אלי יסכן פי ארץ ישראל, (ב) אלי יכבדו וולאדו פ'תעלים דתורה, (ג) אלי יבארו לקדוש דל הבדלה פי כל לילת לחאד עלא אשראב.

5. The original Judeo-Arabic text (chapter "Number Four", saying n° 5, p. 10): ארבעה חוואייג' מלאה לבן אדם (א) אתורה, (ב) לצנעא ולכדמא, (ג) דבארת לכבאר, (ד) גנפ'ס לוואטי

6. While 41 sayings are associated with the number 3, only 14 sayings are associated with the number 4, 8 sayings are associated with the numbers 5 and 6, and only a small number of sayings are associated with the numbers 10 and above. Under the title "Number 14" there is only a single saying, which lists 15 items (כ'מטעשר חוואייג'). There is no saying associated with the number 9.

As customary for books of that period the author does not state his sources.⁷ Sayings based on numbers are known in rabbinic literature, an example is the famous saying “on three things the world stands: on the Torah, on service, and on kind deeds” from m. ’Avot, 1: 2. An early *midrash* entitled *Huppat ’Eliyahu* (= Elijah’s canopy) or *Kevod Huppah* (= The honor of the canopy), which is a collection of sayings based on numbers, was composed in the seventh or eighth centuries. The most famous compilation of sayings based on enumeration is *Huppat ’Eliyahu Rabba* (= The great Elijah’s canopy). This work is attached to the end of Rabbi ’Eliyahu de Vidas’ (1518-1587) grand composition *Reshit Hokhmah* (= Origins of wisdom), which was first published in Venice 1579. This work became pivotal to the Kabbalah moral literature, and its popularity and distribution were exceptional. For generations it has been an authority often relied on and cited from by others. At least forty editions of *Reshit Hokhmah* were printed, and it was translated into Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish as well. To enable broad access to *Reshit Hokhmah*, multiple compendia and abbreviated editions of this fundamental work were published, focusing on the practical aspects of its teachings (Pachter, 1972: 686-690).⁸

A comparison of the Judeo-Arabic version of the sayings in Bekache’s *Peraḥ Shoshan* to the Hebrew version in de Vidas’ *Huppat ’Eliyahu Rabba* suggests that Bekache most likely relied on some abbreviated version of *Huppat ’Eliyahu Rabba* and not on the original full text. The abbreviation is reflected both in the number of sayings and in their phrasing. For example, the *first* saying in Bekache’s chapter on number 3 is equivalent to the *third* saying in the corresponding chapter of

7. Similarly, in the title page of Bekache’s book on natural phenomena (*Sefer Sippure Teva*, Algiers, S. Bekache print, 1892), which was mentioned above, he states that he is citing from “the books of nature scholars that are based on reason” (מִסְפָּרֵי הַטֶּבַע הַחֲכָמִי לְמַעְקוּלִין), but he does not specify the names of those scholars.

8. *Huppat ’Eliyahu Rabba* was printed together with Rabbi Israel Anqāwa’s (Al-Naqawa) 14th century *Menorat ha-Ma’or* (= The Lantern) as well. However, as this work was preserved only in handwritten manuscripts it was unknown to the general public until it was finally brought to print in the twentieth century. Rabbi Israel Anqāwa’s *Menorat ha-Ma’or* should not be confused with the famous book *Menorat ha-Ma’or* by Rabbi Isaac Aboab of the 13th-14th centuries, which was very well known throughout the North African Jewish communities. Nonetheless, one saying from *Huppat ’Eliyahu Rabba* on the topic of *śedaqah* (charity) appears in Aboab’s *Menorat ha-Ma’or* as well (J. Eisenstein 1915: 162).

Huppat 'Eliyahū Rabba (according to the Constantinople 1736 edition); the two first sayings in that chapter do not appear in Bekache's book. Furthermore, in general, the phrasing of equivalent sayings is not always identical in the two books. For example, the second saying in Bekache's chapter on number 3, which is based on a saying from the Babylonian Talmud (b. Ḥag. 5b), is:

Rabbi Shim'on ben Mensyya says: On three people the Lord is concerned about: (a) on a *talmid ḥakham* (= a Torah scholar) who does not have a livelihood and who is reading the Torah in his strife, but no one pays attention to him, (b) on a *talmid ḥakham* who does not wake up at the latest hours of the night to read the Torah, (c) on that who is boastful in public for nothing.⁹

The equivalent version of this saying in *Huppat 'Eliyahū Rabba* (*Reshit Ḥokhmah*, Constantinople 1736, pp. 293a-293b, fifth saying) is shorter and includes a biblical verse that is not cited in *Perah Shoshan*¹⁰:

Rabbi Shim'on ben Mensyya says: On three issues the Lord announces every day: on a *talmid ḥakham* who has no food in his basket, on a *talmid ḥakham* who does not study the Torah in the latest hours of the night, on whom the verse says "The door shall turn on its hinge and the lazy [person] on his bed" (Prov 26: 14), and the boastful scholar.¹¹

These version differences, which are beyond small variations that may arise through the act of translation from Hebrew into Judeo-Arabic, may suggest that Bekache used an abridged or compiled edition of *Huppat 'Eliyahū Rabba*, which

9. The Judeo-Arabic text: שמעון בן מנסיא יקול עלא תלאתא דננאס הדק"ה יגירו לחאל עליהום: (א) עלא תלמיד חכם אלי מא ענדוש באש יעיש והווא יקרא פ'תורה מן ווסט אצ'יקא דיאלו וחתא ואחד מא דארוש ירד באלו עליה, (ב) עלא תלמיד חכם אלי מא ינדוש פ'י אכ'כר אליל באש יקרא פ'תורה, (ג) עלא ואחד אלי יתכבבר עלא לקהל גיר פ'ל באטל

10. This version, with minor changes, appears already in the 7th-8th centuries *Huppat 'Eliyahū* that was mentioned above.

11. The Hebrew text: ר"ש בן מנסיא אומר על ג' דברים הקב"ה מכריז בכל יום: על ת"ח שאין לו פת בסלו ועל ת"ח שאינו עוסק בתורה באשמורה האחרונה. ועליו הכתוב אומר 'הדלת תיסוב על צירה ועצל על מיטתו' (משלי כו:יד). ועל המתנאה חכם.

he had in his possession,¹² an edition that was either popular in North Africa or that has reached his library directly from Europe.¹³ Had the abridgement been a work of Bekache himself, it is likely that we would have seen only a reduction in the number of sayings without significant changes in their phrasing.

The second part of the book *Peraḥ Shoshan* entitled 'Or 'Olam (= Everlasting light; נור אל דאיים) is also written in Judeo-Arabic in Hebrew characters and holds 26 pages. Like the first part of the book, it too deals with morals and ethics, which in this part are organized by topics (*ḥwāyīz* חווייג; = matters of), e.g., "matters of charity" (*ḥwāyīz dā-ṣadaqa*), "matters of prayer" (*ḥwāyīz dā-ṣlā*), "matters of repentance" (*ḥwāyīz dā-tšūva*), etc. All in all, this part is comprised of 20 chapters. The original Hebrew text on which Bekache based his translation, is the first of the two texts entitled 'Or 'Olam that appear at the end of De Vidas' *Reshit Hokhmah*, right after *Huppah 'Eliyahu Rabba*. In his Judeo-Arabic translation of 'Or 'Olam Shalom Bekache included all the chapters of the original Hebrew 'Or 'Olam text, although he did not translate all of the sayings that appear within those chapters.¹⁴ As in the first part of the book, here too there are differences in the phrasing of some sayings between the Hebrew original text and the Judeo-Arabic translation.¹⁵

12. The first real abridgment of De Vidas' *Reshit Hokhmah* is the book *Reshit Hokhmah ha-Katzar* or *Kitzur Reshit Hokhmah* by rabbi Ya'akov Poyeto. This abridgment was prepared in 1580, a mere single year after *Reshit Hokhmah* was first published, although it was published only twenty years later, in 1600 Venice. Although *Huppah 'Eliyahu Rabba* was not part of this abridged version of *Reshit Hokhmah*, it is likely that it was included in other abridged versions of that popular work.

13. Books on morals were popular among North African Jews. Examples are Eli'ezer Papo's book *Pele Yo'etz* (Istanbul, 1825), which was published in many editions and was translated into Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Arabic and Yiddish, and the book *Hoq le-Yisra'el*, which included moral sayings within the daily study material.

14. For example, only 5 of the 6 sayings in the first chapter (on "matters of charity") in the original Hebrew were translated by Bekache (the third saying is missing). Furthermore, only 8 of the 18 sayings in the second chapter (on "matters of prayer") were translated (sayings 1, 5, 12-17 of the original Hebrew text).

15. For example, the second saying in the chapter on prayer in Bekache's book is: "A man should always have a regular (lit. marked) place to pray in, and not wander (lit. change) from one synagogue to another and from one place to another" (p. 24; דאיים יכון לבן אדם ענוד מוצ'אע מרשום פ'אין יצילי מאושי יבא יבדול מן אשנוגא לשנוגא ומן מוצ'אע (למוצ'אע). In the original Hebrew 'Or 'Olam this is the fifth saying in the chapter on prayer (p. 413b), and the version there is: "A man should always pray in a regular place, as is said "to the place where he had stood" (Gen 19: 27), where standing means prayer; as is said "Then stood up Phinehas, and wrought judgment" (Ps 106: 30)

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

Linguistically, the Judeo-Arabic language in both parts of Bekache's book *Perah Shoshan* exhibits conspicuous dialectal characteristics of the Algerian Jewish dialect. The author's decision to write this book in a colloquial register, stems from his goal to make these moral teachings accessible to his fellow congregants. This was not a simple feat as Bekache was not a native of Algeria, rather his family immigrated from Baghdad to India, and he spent his formative years in Eretz Yisra'el before arriving in Algeria at the age of thirty. This book, which was written 14 years after Bekache had first arrived in Algeria, attests how well he learned and adopted the local speech.

*Dialectal characteristics of the text*Imperfect forms of the 1st person

The most prominent characteristic of Maghrebian dialects is *naf'al* for 1Sg imperfect and *naf'alu* for 1Pl imperfect (Fischer and Jastrow, 1980: 261-262; Marçais, 1977: 37). These forms are prevalent in *Perah Shoshan*, e.g.:

nhabb na'mal (I want to do): דאײם לבן אדם מא יקולש 'נחאב נעמל בעד' ¹⁶ לחאג'ה (A man should never say I want to do something; *Or*: 26).¹⁷

nəqdru nəfh^amu (we can understand): מנהא נקדרו נפ'המו: לחווייג' למלאח (of which we can understand [what are] the good things; *Perah*: 1).

The Verbs "Eat" and "Take"

The Classical Arabic verbs '*akala* (أَكَلَ, "ate") and '*axaḡa* (أَخَذَ, "took"), whose first radical is an *alif*, have undergone a variety of changes in Arabic dialects following the loss of the initial glottal stop (Fischer and Jastrow, 1980: 67, 183-184,

[Translation of Bible verses is according to JPS Tanakh]. Namely, Bekache's version is longer, yet does not include the biblical verses that were cited in the Hebrew original, similar to what we have seen with regard to the aforementioned saying from the first part of *Perah Shoshan*.

16. The Arabic word *بعض* which is usually transliterated as *be'az*, but is spelled here *בעד*. This spelling does not reflect a loss of emphatic pronunciation.

17. References within the book *Perah Shoshan* are denoted as "Part, Page", e.g., "Perah: 12" refers to p. 12 in the section *Perah Shoshan*; "Or: 27" refers to p. 27 in the section 'Or 'Olam.

226). This is true for Jewish Arabic dialects of the Maghreb as well (Heath, 2002: 379-386, 571). In most Moroccan Jewish dialects, the perfect form of these verbs reflects a strong bilateral stem, *kəl* and *xəd*. However, in the Jewish dialects of eastern Morocco, Algiers, Constantine and Tunis, the perfect form of these verbs reflects a weak trilateral stem, *kla* and *xda*, while in Tafilalt in southeastern Morocco these verbs are conjugated as verbs with a hollow trilateral stem, *kal* and *xad*.¹⁸ In *Peraḥ Shoshan* we find the forms *kla* and *xda* that are conjugated as a weak trilateral stem, as expected of an Algerian Judeo-Arabic dialect. For example,

klāw (they ate): אלי ייאכל מן מאכלא אלי כלאוו מנהא לקטטא ולכלב: (whoever eats from a dish that a cat or a dog ate from; *Peraḥ*: 17).

mā klāw-š (they did not eat): למלאכים מא כלאווש (the angles did not eat; *Or*: 35).

xda (he took): אלי כ'דא צער עלא אדנייא (who took [upon himself] the world's sorrow; *Or*: 43).

Relative Pronouns

The relative pronoun prevalent in *Peraḥ Shoshan* is the dialectal pronoun *əlli* (אלי), which at times appears in its short form *lli* (לי).¹⁹ In a few occurrences the pronoun *di* (די) was used. The relative pronoun *əldi* (אלדי)²⁰ that reflects the classical Arabic form *'alladī* (الَّذِي), which is characteristic of the elevated register of the Algerian Bible translations (*ṣarḥ*) from Constantine, is not used in this book at all (Tirosh-Becker, 2014: 213-215).²¹ Examples:

18. *Morocco*: J. Heath, 2002: 380-381, 571. The Jews of Tafilalt pronounce it *tal*, due to the **k > t* shift in their dialect, see J. Heath and M. Bar-Asher, 1982: 67. A fourth possibility, *kəll*, with a geminate trilateral stem, occurs in a few Muslim Moroccan dialects, but is not documented in Jewish Moroccan dialects, see J. Heath 2002: 381. *Algeria*: M. Cohen, 1912: 198-199; O. Tirosh-Becker, 2012: 423-424. *Tunisia*: D. Cohen, 1975: 108-110. The forms *kla* and *xda* are common in Muslim dialects as well, e.g., F. Talmoudi, 1980: 92-93; Ph. Marçais, 1956: 173; W. Marçais, 1902: 71; W. Marçais, 1908: 87; A. Laraba, 1981: 77.

19. For a discussion on the origin of the form *əlli*, see W. Fischer and O. Jastrow, 1980: 84, 258. Cf. J. Huehnergard, 2006: 120. But see also J. Grand'Henry, 1972: 141-142; D. Cohen, 1975: 221.

20. The classical Arabic pronoun *'alladī* (الَّذِي) became mostly invariable in Medieval Judeo-Arabic (אלדי), see J. Blau, 2002: 55, § 139; J. Blau, 1980: 235-237, § 361.

21. The form *əldi* is completely invariable in the Constantinian *ṣarḥ* (אלדי), and does not occur in other Constantinian texts, in which the dialectal forms *əlli* and *lli*

alli: מא תטבכ'ש פ'ל קדרא אלי טבך פ'יהא צאחבך (Do not cook in a pot that your friend cooked in²²; *Peraḥ*: 16).

lli: ולי יחרס אסטר מתאע צאחבו (whoever safeguards his friend's secret; *Or*: 43).

di: וג'מיע לואחד די יסטחק²³ ייאכ'ד מן אצדקה (and everyone who requires [help] should take from the charity [*ṣedaqa*]; *Or*: 46).

Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns for near deixis used in *Peraḥ Shoshan* are the colloquial pronouns *hāda* (האדא) for mSg and *hādi* (האדי) for fSg. Before a definite noun the short form *hād* (האד) is used regardless of gender and number,²⁴ e.g.:

hād: פ'האד אדנייא ופ'דנייא למאג'ייא (in this world and in the next world; *Peraḥ*: 11).

However, for the plural demonstrative pronoun Bekache does not use in this book the common Maghrebian form *hādu* (Marçais, 1977: 198; Fischer and Jastrow, 1980: 256-257), which is a transparent combination of the demonstrative element *hād* with the plural suffix *-u*. The pronoun *hādu* is documented in the Algerian Judeo-Arabic dialects of Algiers and Constantine (Cohen, 1912: 346; Tirosh-Becker, 2012: 412-413). Instead, throughout this book Bekache uses a different plural demonstrative pronoun – *hādōl* (האדול):

hādōl: האדול הומאן אצלאתן (These are the sultans; *Peraḥ*: 21).

hādōl: והאדול הומאן דוד חזקיה משיח דניאל חנניה מישאל עזריה (and these are David, Hezekiah, Mašiaḥ, Daniel, Ḥananiah [Shadrach], Misha'el [Meshach], and Azariah [Abed-nego]; *Peraḥ*: 19).

are used. The relative pronoun *aldi* (אלדי) is also characteristic of the literary language of the Jews of Tunis and of the Jews of Baghdad (where it is pronounced *allaḏi*), see D. Cohen, 1975: 221; H. Blanc, 1964*b*: 28.

22. Meaning: do not marry a widowed woman.

23. The transcription *yish'haqq* reflects a shift *t > ṭ* due to its proximity to the pharyngeal *ḥ* and uvular *q*.

24. In *Peraḥ Shoshan* there was one occurrence of *hād* before an indefinite Hebrew word *עולם* (*hād 'olam*; *האד עולם*; *Or*: 38).

The form *hādōl* is not used in the Jewish dialect of Algiers, nor in other urban Maghrebian dialects,²⁵ rather it is characteristic of Iraqi (*haḏōl*, *haḏōli*) and Palestinian (*haḏōle*, *haḏōla*) dialects (Blanc, 1964a: 138; Fischer and Jastrow, 1980: 150-151, 188). It seems that despite Bekache's adherence to the local Algerian Jewish dialect, in this case a dialectal form from his original variety (*hādōl*) has found its way into the text. As conveyed above, Shalom Bekache was born to an Iraqi Jewish family that immigrated to Bombay, and obtained his rabbinical certification in Zefad. It is possible that by using a dialectal form he wished to distance himself from the elevated register of the *šarḥ* (Bible translations), where the pronoun *hāwlay* (האולאי), which reflects Classical Arabic *hā' ulā' i* (هؤلاي), is used (Tirosh-Becker, 1990: 199; Tirosh-Becker, 2012: 412-413).²⁶

Presentatives

The main presentative forms used in *Peraḥ Shoshan* are the colloquial forms of *rā* with a pronominal suffix, namely *rāhu* (ראהו) for 3mSg, *rākum* (ראכום) for 2mPl, *rāhum* (ראהום) for 3mPl and so forth²⁷ Examples:

rāhu: וּמֵא עַנְדוֹשׁ אֲדַרְאִים (whoever does not have money – is exempt; Or: 30).

rāhum: סִבְעָא דִּנְנָאס²⁹ מַחֲסוּבִין בַּחֲאֵל אֵלֵי רֵאָהוּם פִּנְדוּי מִן הַשִּׁית (seven [types of] people are considered as banished from the Lord; *Peraḥ*: 19).

The origin of the presentative element *rā* is in the 2nd person imperative form **ra* of the Arabic verb *ra'a* (رأى),

25. The form *hādol* is listed among the various variants found in the Bedouin dialects of south Algeria, Tunisia and in Libyan dialects, see Ph. Marçais, 1977: 198; W. Fischer and O. Jastrow, 1980: 256.

26. On similar variants in Spanish-Arabic, see F. Corriente, 1977: 98, § 5.12.3. See also other variants in W. Fischer and O. Jastrow, 1980: 256.

27. The word *rā* (רא) has several additional functions beside its role as a presentative. For a more detailed discussion see M. Cohen, 1912: 258; O. Tirosh-Becker, 2014: 211-213.

28. The spelling אֲדַרְאִים reflects the local pronunciation *dāṣṣim* < *darāhim* (دراهم) without the glottal fricative *h*, see M. Cohen, 1912: 34).

29. Note the spelling with a doubled sun letter *di-n-nās* (דִּנְנָאס) which reflects the assimilation of the definite article to the initial consonant of the following noun. Another example from this text is *as-sirr* (אֲסִסֵּר; Or: 43). This doubling in spelling is not common in North African Judeo-Arabic texts, which usually double the consonant only as a reflection of a pattern *šadda*.

whose vowel was elongated in modern Arabic dialects – *ṛā*. This word is used in many Maghrebian dialects to denote “here, pay attention” similar to the demonstrative element *hā* (Fischer and Jastrow, 1980: 84). In some dialects the form *ṛā* is accompanied by pronominal suffixes, *ṛāni*, *ṛāk*, and *ṛāhu*, while in others it is accompanied by independent personal pronouns, such as *ṛā ana* and *ṛā nta* (Marçais, 1977: 194; Collin, 1994: 587; Heath, 2002: 251-252; Boucherit, 2002: 86).

The *ṛā* forms are clear indicators of the colloquial register in Algerian Judeo-Arabic (Cohen, 1912: 251-252, 372-373; Tirosh-Becker, 2014: 211-213). The only other presentative form, except for *ṛā*, found in this text is a single occurrence of *kdālāk* (כדאלך), whose origin is *kaḍalika* (كذالك). The presentative forms *hākdā* (האכדא) and *hawda* (האודא), which are characteristic of the elevated register of the *šarḥ* (Tirosh-Becker, 214: 211-213), are completely absent from *Peraḥ Shoshan*. Their absence makes the exclusive use of the colloquial *ṛā* even more conspicuous.

Negation

The negation pattern used in this text is the dialectal negation pattern *mā VERB-š*, e.g., *mā ktəb-š* (he did not write), which is common to many Magrebian dialects (Marçais, 1977: 275-280), including Algerian Judeo-Arabic dialects (Cohen, 1912: 378; Tirosh-Becker, 2012: 413-415). Example:

mā ya'əf-š: אלי מא יערפ'ש לקימא דתורה (whoever does not know the value of the Torah; *Peraḥ*: 10).

A related negation form also used in this text is *mawšī* (מאושי, מאהושי), which originates from *mā huwa šī*, e.g.,

mawšī: וצלאתו מאושי מקבולה (and his prayer is not accepted; *Peraḥ*: 20).

The adjective “other”

The adjective “other” appears in this book in its characteristic Maghrebian dialectal forms – *axūr* (אכ'ור) mSg and *axūrīn*

(אכ'ורין) cPl (Cohen, 1912: 353).³⁰ For example, as opposed to Eastern dialects which more closely reflect the Classical Arabic 'axaru (أَخَرُ), 'uxra (أُخْرَى), and 'axaruna (أَخْرُونُ) (e.g., Avishur, 2008: 100).³¹ For example:

axūr: אל צ'יף אלי ידכ'ל צ'יף אכ'ור מאעו (the guest who brings with him another guest; *Peraḥ*: 6).

axūrīn: וקבאלתום ארבעה חוואייג' אכ'ורין (and opposed to them are four other things; *Peraḥ*: 9).

Interrogative words

In *Peraḥ Shoshan* there is abundant use of colloquial interrogative words based on the dialectal interrogative *āš* (what; *אש*) < *ʔayy šayʔ* (أَيَّ شَيْءٍ), documented already in Medieval Judeo-Arabic and is common in Eastern and Maghrebian dialects alike (Blau, 1980: 65, § 52c; Blanc, 1964a: 136-137; Fischer and Jastrow, 1980: 257; Cohen, 1912: 375). In *Peraḥ Shoshan* we find interrogatives such as *hāš* (what; *האש*) – reflecting the pronunciation with a glottal fricative *h* in Algiers (Cohen, 1912: 39 fn.1), *hāškūn* (who/whom; *האשכון*), 'alāš (why; *עלאש*), and *kīfāš* (how; *כיפ'אש*). Examples:

hāš: שוף האש כ'רג' מנהום (see what came out of them; *Or*: 34).

hāškūn: מעא האשכון יווקף ומעא האשכון יקעאד (with whom he stands and with whom he sits; *Or*: 42).

'alāš: עלאש מא ראכומש תקראו פ'תורה (why are you not studying the Torah?; *Or*: 46).

kīfāš: וכיפ'אש יעמל למצות (and how will he carry out the commandments (*mitzvot*)? *Or*: 28).

Possessive pronouns

All the possessive pronouns in the book *Peraḥ Shoshan* are dialectal: *mtā* (מתאע), *dyāl* (דיאל) and *di* (די), of which the first

30. The corresponding fSg form *axūra* (אכ'ורא) did not appear in this book.

31. Interestingly, in the first Passover *Haggadah* that was printed in Algiers in 1855 (a facsimile edition with an introduction by R. Attal, Jerusalem, 1975) the Hebrew verse *Josh* 24:2 וואעבדו מעבד אוכ'רין was translated ויעבדו אלהים אחרים.

two often occur with a pronominal suffix, e.g., *mtā*-'u (his; מתאנו), *dyāl-hum* (theirs; דייאלהום), etc. For example:

mtā': אטריק מתאנע הש"ית (the way of the Lord; *Or*: 25).

dyāl: לאיין הקב"ה רחמן וחנן ויקבל אתשובה דייאלו (because the Lord is merciful and compassionate, he will accept his repentance; *Or*: 24).

dī: תלאתא דל מסאייל אלי יטוולו לעמר די בן אדם (three things that prolong the life of a human being; *Peraḥ*: 4).

These possessive pronouns are common to many Maghrebian dialects (Marçais, 1977: 223), and differ from the possessive pronoun used in Baghdadi dialects *māl* (Blau, 1964a: 125).

Conjunctions

The dialectal conjunction of purpose *bāš* (באש) appears numerous times in this text, e.g.,

bāš:³² דאיים יצבבאח לבן אדם בכרי באש יצללי פ'שנוגא אצבור (A person should always get up early in the morning in order to pray in the synagogue with the congregation; *Or*: 24).

The dialectal conjunction of cause that is used in this book is *min səbbət* (מן סבת), e.g.,

min səbbət:³³ מן סבת תלת חוואייג' אנאס יפ'סדו דראיימהום (because of three things people lose their money; *Peraḥ*: 2).

Hebrew component

As is typical of Judeo-Arabic writings, this text is interlaced with numerous Hebrew words, which are predominantly drawn from the sphere of Jewish moral teachings. Specifically, about 16 % of all the words in this text are Hebrew. Among the Hebrew words embedded in this Judeo-Arabic text are

32. On the loan word *šnūga* שנוגא to denote a "synagogue" see below.

33. On the spelling *dnāyam* אדראיים see footnote 28 above.

חנופה *hanupa* “flattery”, מלשינות *malšīnut* “informing on someone”, לשון הרע *lešon ha-ra* “slander”, עונג שבת *oneg šabbat* “the pleasure of the Sabbath”, יראת השם *yir’at ha-šem* “awe of God”, אשת חיל *ešet hayil* “woman of valor”, and many more.

Occasionally, we find a Hebrew root conjugated in the Arabic conjugation schemes reflecting a deep level of integration. Examples from this book are the verb זכאו *zhāw* “to be suitable” from the Hebrew word זכאי *zakay* “entitled, eligible”, as in וטויר אכ'ורין מא זכאווש ללקורבן (and other birds are not suitable for sacrifice [to God]; *Or*: 25), and the verb נפ'טרו *naftaru* “passed away” from the equivalent Hebrew verb נפטר *niftar* “passed away”, as in: ארבעה דננאס נפ'טרו מוואלין 120 עאם (four people passed away at the age of 120; *Peraḥ*: 12). Embedding of Hebrew roots in Arabic verbal stems is well known in all Judeo-Arabic dialects, and is documented already in medieval Judeo-Arabic (Blau, 1999: 138; Bar-Asher, 1978: 181-182, and many more).

Loan words

Only a few loan words from other languages are found in this text. Such words reflect contact with the surrounding non-Jewish communities, and their limited presence in this text is probably due to its subject matter – morals and ethics – which is rooted deep within the sphere of Jewish culture. The loan words in this text are:

prova פרובא, which is the French word *prevue* that means “evidence, proof”, e.g.,

לאיין תאכ'ד לפרובא מן לכהנים (so that you take an example [lit. evidence] from [the actions of] the *kohanim*; *Or*: 41).

It is noteworthy that Bekache preferred the French loan word over the Arabic equivalent *bayyina* (بَيِّنَة), which is documented in Algerian dialects (Beaussier, 1958: 97; Renassia, 1930: 356).³⁴

34. In Rabbi Yossef Renassia's tri-lingual French-Hebrew-Arabic dictionary (Constantine, around 1930) the Arabic equivalent of Fr. *prevue* is Ar. بَيِّنَة, which is transcribed in this dictionary as *biyna*. The Heb. Equivalent in this dictionary of Fr. *prevue* is אית (ראה) transcribed as *oth – réa-ia*.

comərs כומירס, from French *commerce* that means “commerce, trade”, e.g., חווייג' דל ביע ושרא כומירס (issues of purchase and sale, trade; *Or*: 35).

familiya פ'אמלייא (typing error: לפ'אלייא; family) from Spanish *familia*, which means “family”, e.g.,

אלי יבאעד רוחו מן לפ'א[מ]לייא (whoever distances himself from the family; *Peraḥ*: 10).

šnūga שנוגא, which is a Spanish word for “synagogue”, as in ג'אוו לשנוגא אלי (whoever came [Pl.] to the synagogue; *Or*: 24).

The word *šnūga* for synagogue is documented in the Jewish dialect of Algiers and Tlemcen (Cohen, 1912: 424; Bar-Asher, 1993: 154 fn. 114a).

Translations of biblical verses

Judeo-Arabic writings, especially of *halakhic* (Jewish law) character, are often laced with quotations of biblical verses, either in Hebrew or in their Judeo-Arabic translation. Because *Peraḥ Shoshan* is not a halakhic work, and is aimed at the general congregates, Beckache occasionally omitted biblical verses that were quoted in the original Hebrew texts. As a result, *Peraḥ Shoshan* includes relatively few quoted biblical verses. These, are usually quoted in Hebrew, at times accompanied by a Judeo-Arabic translation or explanation.³⁵ Those translated verses are rendered into the Judeo-Arabic style that is characteristic of the *šarḥ*, i.e., the Bible translation (Tirosh-Becker, 2006: 362-365).³⁶ One of the most conspicuous “indicators” of the language of the *šarḥ* is the artificial use of the word *'ila* (אילא) to reflect the Hebrew direct-object particle *'et* (את), which does not have a parallel in Arabic (Tirosh-Becker, 2014: 200-204). Examples in *Peraḥ Shoshan* are:

'ila: קאל לפסוק ווקר אילא אובוך ואילא אומך (the verse says: “Honor your father and your mother” (Ex, 20: 12, כְּבֹד אֶת אָבִיךָ וְאֶת אִמְךָ); *Or*: 31).

35. On Bekache's stand towards the Judeo-Arabic translation tradition, *šarḥ*, and his praises for studying the Hebrew language, see Chetrit, 1990: 40-41, 70 fn. 154.

36. On Judeo-Arabic translations of Bible verses embedded in prayers, see Tedghi, 2006: 289-299.

קאל לפסוק "את ה' אלהיך תירא" חב יקול תהאב ותכ'אף אילא אללא *ila*: אילאהך (*Deut*, 6: 13; 10: 20; and the verse said "You shall fear the Lord, your God"; *Or*: 31).

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