

kān wu-ma kān ʿal-
təklān. kān fəd-malək,
ʿənd-u bnāt ʔtnēn. fād-
qal-l-əm, hūwi qa-yġīd
ḥaġġ, qa-ysāfəġ l-əl-
təġdōn? hūwi yġīd
yġūḥ l-əl-ḥaġġ, aš
aġīb-ʔl-kəm... šuġāt.
qalət-l- u: ġib-l-i ḥwās
l-i hēkəḍ wu-ġib-l-i
lə-zġayyġi kən-tqəl-l-u:
salāma wu- tərġaʿ b-əs-
ana aḥəbb-ak ʔmqadd
məlh ašqad ʿzīz. aḥəbb-
raġaʿ, sāfaġ wu-raġaʿ.
ḥaġġ, šāḥ-l-əm lʔ- bnāt-
lə-kbīġi aš ṭalbət? ṭʿa-l-
zġayyġi aš ṭalbət?
tḥəbb-u mqadd əl-məlh.
qal-l-a: lēš aškun əl-
qa-tḥəbbē-ni mqadd əl-
ma aqbal, la aġīd-ək
ʔl-məlh māl-ək. zaʿal
ṭlaʿ... ʔtġad-a mn-əl-bēt.
ḍallət. fəd-ʔnhāġ
ʿayān-a bʔn šəṭṭān, wu-
wu-dzūwāġ-a. hāyi kən-
təntaqəm ʔmn-abū-ha.
mn-əl...? qāmət sūwət-
kbīġi. wu-ma xəllət-
nəqtāyi məlh, bī-nu lʔ-
qaʿdu qa-yaklōn, ma
yaklōn. qalət-l-əm: lēš
qa-taklōn? aškun hāyi?
hāḍa kəll-u ḥəla-məlh,
nakəl-u? qalət-l-u: šihō-
hāḍa abū-ha... šihō-
l-u, aššōn ma kan-
əl-məlh ašqad bī-nu
sūwitū-ha l-āyi kəll-a
xaṭaġ yəʿġəf ʿzīyt əl-
ʔqwīyi. wu-əs-salāmu

Assaf Bar-Moshe

The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Baghdad

Phonology, Morphology,
and Texts

Harrassowitz Verlag

allahu
hāḍa l-malək
yōm,
ysāfəġ l-əl-
ḥaġġ. aš

təġdōn?
lə-kbīġi
wu-ġib-
hēkəḍ.
tġūḥ b-əs-
salāma, wu-
-əl-məlh.
ak hēkəḍ.
raġaʿ ʔmn-əl-
u. qal-l-əm...
yā. lə-

qām ʔtġad-a.
məlh xaṭaġ
məlh? ana
wu-la aġīd
wiyā-ha.
hāyi l-xāybi,

ḥābb-a,
ʔtqūl tġīd
lēš ʔtġad-a
l-əm ʿzīmi
l-əm wəla
ṭbīx. ġō
qa-yṭiqōn
ma
qalō-l-a:
mnēn ʔnṭīq
l-u l-abū-ha...
l-u, qəllō-
yəftāhəm?
ʿzīyi. ana
ḥəla-məlh
məlh ašqad
ʿlē- kum.

Assaf Bar-Moshe
The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Baghdad

Semitica Viva

Herausgegeben von Otto Jastrow

Band 58

2019

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Assaf Bar-Moshe

The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Baghdad

Phonology, Morphology,
and Texts

2019

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the internet
at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our
website <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2019

This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.

Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission
of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies
particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage
and processing in electronic systems.

Printed on permanent/durable paper.

Printing and binding: Memminger MedienCentrum AG

Printed in Germany

ISSN 0931-2811

ISBN 978-3-447-11171-3

e-ISBNPDF 978-3-447-19863-9

To my grandmother
Alwiz Ben-Eliyahu (Xlaşçi)
1924-2017

Contents

Preface	1
Symbols and abbreviations.....	3
1 Introduction	5
1.1 A brief history of the Jewish community in Baghdad	5
1.2 The linguistic background of JB.....	7
1.3 Research methodology	8
1.3.1 The phonological and morphological description	8
1.3.2 The transcriptions	9
1.3.3 The translation.....	10
1.4 Recordings and Informants	11
1.4.1 Sources.....	11
1.4.2 Text types.....	11
1.4.3 Short biography of the informants	12
1.4.4 Sound files	14
2 Phonology	15
2.1 Consonants.....	15
2.1.1 The diachronic development of JB's consonants	16
2.1.1.1 Reflexes of OA ʔ, w, and y	16
2.1.1.2 Reflexes of OA interdental	16
2.1.1.3 Reflexes of OA r	16
2.1.1.4 Reflexes of OA q.....	16
2.1.1.5 Foreign borrowed consonants	17
2.1.1.6 Emphatic consonants	17
2.1.2 Phonetic changes in JB's consonants	17
2.1.2.1 Assimilations.....	17
2.1.2.2 Additional phonetic changes	18
2.2 Vowels	19
2.2.1 Long vowels	19
2.2.2 Short vowels	19
2.2.3 Shortening of long vowels.....	20
2.2.4 Reflexes of OA vowels and diphthongs	20
2.2.4.1 OA u.....	20
2.2.4.2 OA ū.....	21
2.2.4.3 OA diphthong aw.....	21
2.2.4.4 OA i.....	21
2.2.4.5 OA ī.....	22
2.2.4.6 OA diphthong ay.....	22

2.2.4.7 OA a.....	22
2.2.4.8 OA ā.....	23
2.2.4.9 Final vowels.....	23
2.2.4.10 Final imāla.....	23
2.2.4.11 Final OA ā ²	24
2.3 Stress.....	24
2.4 Anaptyxis.....	25
2.4.1 Three consonants cluster.....	25
2.4.2 Two consonants cluster.....	26
2.5 Glide.....	27
3 Morphology.....	29
3.1 The pronoun.....	29
3.1.1 Personal pronouns.....	29
3.1.2 Pronominal suffixes.....	29
3.1.3 Double object pronouns.....	30
3.1.4 Demonstratives and deixis.....	31
3.1.5 Interrogatives.....	31
3.2 The verb.....	32
3.2.1 General overview.....	32
3.2.2 Derivation.....	33
3.2.2.1 Stem I.....	33
3.2.2.2 Stem II.....	35
3.2.2.3 Stem III.....	36
3.2.2.4 Stems V and VI.....	36
3.2.2.5 Stem VII.....	37
3.2.2.6 Stem VIII.....	37
3.2.2.7 Stem IX.....	38
3.2.2.8 Stem X.....	38
3.2.3 Inflection.....	38
3.2.3.1 The SC.....	39
3.2.3.2 The PC.....	39
3.2.3.3 The imperative.....	39
3.2.4 Verb conjugation paradigms of strong roots.....	40
3.2.4.1 The SC.....	40
3.2.4.2 The PC.....	40
3.2.4.3 The imperative.....	41
3.2.4.4 SC and PC derivation bases of strong and weak roots in representative persons in all stems.....	41
3.3 The participle.....	43
3.3.1 Stem I.....	43
3.3.2.1 The AP.....	43
3.3.2.2 The PP.....	43

3.3.2 Stems II and III.....	43
3.3.3 Stems V and VI.....	44
3.3.4 Stem VII	44
3.3.5 Stem VIII.....	44
3.3.6 Stem IX	45
3.3.7 Stem X.....	45
3.3.8 The declension paradigm of the participle in all stems	45
3.4 Verb modifiers	46
3.4.1 Tense and aspect markers	46
3.4.2 Modal markers	47
3.5 The noun and the adjective.....	48
3.5.1 Declension.....	48
3.5.1.1 Number	48
3.5.1.2 Gender	49
3.5.2 Derivation	51
3.5.2.1 qVtl(a) patterns.....	51
3.5.2.2 Patterns with two short vowels.....	52
3.5.2.3 Patterns with one long vowels	53
3.5.2.4 Patterns ending with the suffix -ān	55
3.5.2.5 Patterns with gemination and quadrilateral patterns	55
3.5.2.6 aqtaḷ, qatḷā ² , and their plural forms	57
3.5.2.7 Nominal patterns derived from verbal stems	58
3.5.3 Other nominal related morphemes.....	58
3.5.3.1 The relational suffix (nisba)	58
3.5.3.2 Diminutive suffix.....	59
3.5.3.3 Kinship suffix	59
3.5.3.4 Singulative nouns.....	59
3.6 Numerals.....	59
3.6.1 Cardinal numbers.....	59
3.6.1.1 The numeral 'one'.....	59
3.6.1.2 The numeral 'two'.....	59
3.6.1.3 The numerals 3-10	60
3.6.1.4 The numerals 11-19	60
3.6.1.5 Tens	61
3.6.1.6 Hundreds.....	61
3.6.1.7 Thousands	61
3.6.2 Ordinal numbers	61
3.7 Prepositions.....	61
3.7.1 'to', 'for'.....	61
3.7.2 'in', 'on', 'at'	62
3.7.3 'from'	62
3.7.4 'on', 'about'	63
3.7.5 'by', 'with'	63

3.7.6 'with'	63
3.7.7 'like'	63
3.7.8 Additional prepositions	64
3.8 Adverbs	64
4 Texts	67
4.1 Family History	67
4.1.1 <i>Šamīyi</i>	67
4.1.2 <i>Hwāga</i> (Lakes)	76
4.1.3 <i>qačaq</i> (Smuggling)	81
4.1.4 <i>aššōn sūwēta?</i> (How did you do it?)	113
4.1.5 <i>Xlašči</i>	120
4.2 Iraqi History	123
4.2.1 <i>l-ʿIrāq ma təštafi</i> (Iraq will not be peaceful)	123
4.2.2 <i>ʿallqō-həm b-Sāḥat əl-Taḥrīr</i> (They hung them in Taḥrīr Square)	125
4.2.3 <i>məlhēmət šēšət hayamūm</i> (The Six-Day War)	129
4.2.4 <i>ʿadmō-həm wiya-l-iḥūd</i> (They executed them with the Jews) ..	133
4.3 Stories from the daily life in Iraq	136
4.3.1 <i>tnaplu ʿli-ha lə-ḡnaḃiḡ</i> (The bees set upon it)	136
4.3.2 <i>aku qamʿl ʿb-ḡās-kəm</i> (There are lice in your hair)	138
4.3.3 <i>dḡəbtō-nu b-əs-siyāra</i> (I hit him with the car)	140
4.3.4 <i>kəššāfa</i> (Scouts)	145
4.3.5 <i>ma qad-aqdaḡ aṯḥarrak</i> (I can't move)	147
4.3.6 <i>snūn-i waqʿət</i> (My teeth fell off)	151
4.3.7 <i>qapaḡ māl-qumbula māl-ṯiyāra</i> (The airplane bomb's lid)	153
4.3.8 <i>sawnd of ʿmyūsək</i> (The sound of Music)	157
4.4 Stories from the daily life in Israel	159
4.4.1 <i>bēḡki Šəḥəyyānu</i> (Say the blessing Shehecheyanu)	159
4.4.2 <i>ḏiyəʿnā-k</i> (We lost you)	162
4.4.3 <i>ṯmašt ḡ-ḡaṯn-a</i> (You sunk into it)	165
4.4.4 <i>farru ḡazāt!</i> (They threw gas!)	167
4.5 Stories about people	168
4.5.1 <i>Abrahām ʿXlašči</i>	168
4.5.2 <i>Amal</i>	174
4.5.3 <i>Rimōn</i>	179
4.5.4 <i>Dahūd</i>	181
4.5.5 <i>l-kállət-na wəldāt-na</i> (She delivered us all)	185
4.6 Folk stories	188
4.6.1 <i>ʿziyt əl-məlh</i> (The preciousness of salt)	188
4.6.2 <i>Dayyēnu</i>	191
4.6.3 <i>kəl ʿənd l-iḥūdi wu-nām ʿənd-ən-nəšḡāni</i> (Eat at the Jew's house and sleep at the Christian's house)	196

4.6.4 <i>l-ihūdi wu-t-təngāyi</i> (The Jew and the jug)	198
4.6.5 <i>ašl-əm lō fəʕl-əm?</i> (Instinct or acquired behavior?).....	200
4.6.6 <i>xənfʰsāna xənfʰsāna!</i> (Oh beetle!)	202
4.7 Political discussions	204
4.7.1 <i>qa-ylətmōn</i> (They beat their chests)	204
4.7.2 <i>ağla dawla</i> (The most precious country)	209
4.7.3 <i>ahl əl-bēḥbağāt wu-l-qūṭ</i> (The ones with ties and suits)	211
4.7.4 <i>Mašʰr</i> (Egypt)	213
4.7.5 <i>tālu l-Kanada</i> (Come to Canada)	215
4.7.6 <i>fəqra</i> (Poor people).....	216
4.7.7 <i>Mašʰal</i>	221
4.8 Food and Recipes	223
4.8.1 <i>Hağibāda</i>	223
4.8.2 <i>kəbba bərgəl</i> (Bulgur kubba)	226
4.8.3 <i>kəbba</i> (Kubba)	228
4.8.4 <i>hāməd šalgam</i> (Sour turnip).....	232
4.8.5 <i>Kāri</i> (Curry).....	234
4.8.6 <i>Bəryāni</i>	237
4.8.7 <i>bərgəl</i> (Bulgur).....	240
4.8.8 <i>Həğiği</i>	242
4.8.9 <i>Silān</i> (Dates syrup)	243
4.8.10 <i>hāda l-akʰl</i> (This was the food)	244
4.8.11 <i>təksəg gōza wu-təšgāb-a</i> (You break a coconut and drink it).	246
4.9 Traditions and Holidays	247
4.9.1 <i>tadāwi mal-qabʰl</i> (Cures of the past).....	247
4.9.2 <i>ğsaşāyi</i> (Lead ball)	252
4.9.3 <i>l-ʕēn</i> (The evil eye)	254
4.9.4 <i>Šašša</i>	258
4.9.5 <i>Sabʰa</i> (Shiv'ah)	261
4.9.6 <i>Kəppūr</i> (Yom Kippur).....	267
4.9.7 <i>Səkka</i> (Sukkah).....	269
4.9.8 <i>lə-mğalla</i> (Purim)	271
4.9.9 <i>Šəttāxa</i> (Passover)	273
4.10 Conversations.....	279
4.10.1 <i>də-ḏuqí-ya!</i> (Taste it!)	279
4.10.2 <i>tməğʰaltu baḷla</i> (I really suffer)	284
4.10.3 <i>šu d-ašūf-a</i> (Let me see it!).....	285
4.10.4 <i>l-bēt ʔʰəğğar</i> (The house was rented)	286
4.10.5 <i>ğibō-la šwayya hədd</i> (Bring a Little bit of spice for her)	287
4.10.6 <i>ašu ma qa-ydəqq?</i> (Why doesn't it ring?)	288
4.10.7 <i>əl-mašraf māl-a aḃəl</i> (Its expenses are terrible)	289
4.10.8 <i>qəšmār-əm l-xwát-u</i> (He lied to his siblings)	290
4.10.9 <i>aš ma təstaḥi!</i> (How shameless she is!)	293

4.10.10 <i>mīkve</i> (Ritual bath).....	298
4.10.11 <i>xəllá-l-a flūs ʔmqad gās-a</i> (He left her a fortune)	299
4.10.12 <i>axāf yrəḡō-l-u amlāk</i> (Maybe they will give him back property)	300
Bibliography	301

Preface

The Arabic dialect of the Jews of Baghdad (JB) served for hundreds of years as mother tongue for the people of one of the most prosperous Jewish centers in the world. Jews lived in Baghdad from the days of its establishment as the capital of the Abbasid dynasty up to the beginning of the seventh decade of the twentieth century, when the last wave of Baghdadi Jews immigrated to Israel. Throughout the years and under different rulers, the Jews of Baghdad managed to maintain their religion, traditions and language. This volume is dedicated to this special dialect.

I was exposed to JB since birth. My family immigrated to Israel in 1970-71, when my parents were in their mid-twenties, and my grandparents were older than 50. Although Hebrew would be considered my mother tongue, I was surrounded by JB speakers. Some of them, like my grandparents, could speak only JB, and thus I communicated with them solely in JB. This dialect was always like music to my ears, and despite my love for it I never imagined that it would become a part of my professional life.

When I obtained my master's degree from the Hebrew University in Descriptive Linguistics, and after years of researching Mandarin Chinese, my supervisor and teacher, Prof. Eran Cohen, a great Semiticist, opened my eyes to the opportunity to contribute to my own heritage. I don't remember his exact words, but he probably told me something like "there are so many people in the world that can research Mandarin, but only a few can investigate a dialect like JB".

Indeed, the documentation of JB at this point of time is a crucial task since JB's soon extinction is, unfortunately, inevitable. The last generation of people who still speak JB doesn't consist of people younger than sixty years old and the dialect is no longer transmitted from one generation to the other. In addition, the last speakers of JB are influenced from alien languages as they have spent almost five decades out of Iraq.

Encouraged by Prof. Cohen's words and under his joint supervision with Prof. Simon Hopkins, a great Arabist, I took the task upon myself.

My initial interest was grammar, and specifically the tense-aspect-modality system of JB. Very quickly I realized that in order to conduct such a research one must have a corpus. The wonderful texts collected by Jacob Mansour in 1991 and the ones that were added to the Hebrew version of his book in 2011 were really helpful, but were not sufficient for this type of research. I had to find a way to add more texts and thus started to collect and record some materials from my own family. At first I was reluctant to "waste

my time" on the tedious work of transcribing the texts and dealing with the phonological and morphological aspects of the dialect, but under the instruction of Prof. Werner Arnold from Heidelberg University I was exposed to the wonders of Arabic dialectology. Prof. Arnold's trust enabled me to go deeper into the details and to add some general grammatical value to the knowledge of JB.

The joy of working on the corpus, initially a by-product of my research, resulted in a significant amount of phonemically transcribed texts that constitute a part of this book. They are preceded by a concise phonological and morphological description of JB, adding some inputs to the great works of Blanc (1964) and Mansour (1991).

This volume opens with an introduction about the history of the Jewish community in Baghdad and the dialectical position of JB among the Mesopotamian dialects. Then a few methodological remarks are presented followed by some information about the sources of the texts and the informants. Then, part 2 of the book contains a general description of the phonological and morphological system of JB. Finally, part 3 is dedicated to the texts themselves. These are divided into sub-categories according to their genre and topic. Each consists of a few separate texts and each text is transcribed phonemically into Latin signs, and translated into English.

Despite my attempts to produce a flawless text I am sure that in some places typing, translation, or transcription mistakes might be found: such is the nature of detailed manuscripts like the present one. I would therefore be thankful to readers who bring these mistakes, as well as other comments and remarks, to my attention.

It is my hope that this collection of texts will serve as a memorial to the Jewish community of Baghdad and prove itself useful to scholars and people who take interest in it from different disciplines such as philology, history, anthropology, as well as to dialectologists, general linguists and other language enthusiast.

I would like to thank all the native speakers that I interviewed for their patience and understanding, and my professors in Jerusalem and Heidelberg for sharing their knowledge and for their trust. Special thanks are due to Prof. Werner Arnold and to Prof. Otto Jastrow, the editor of *Semitica Viva*, for the publication of this book.

Finally, I dedicate this book to my grandmother Alwīz Ben-Eliyahu (Xlāṣči), who assisted me in my research by sharing her stories, history, and vast knowledge. The moments we spent together will be cherished in my heart forever.

Symbols and abbreviations

[]	phone in phonetic transcription
*	reconstructed form
->	developed into synchronically
>	developed into diachronically
~	interchangeable with
+	synchronic affixation
	syllable boundary
Ø	zero
.	final tone
,	continuous tone
?	rising tone (question)
...	disrupted prosodic group (unfinished segment)
:	opening of a following quotation
!	command, request or urge; exclamation (final tone). vocative (rising tone)
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AP	active participle
C	consonant
C1...4	first...forth consonant (for example "C2-w/y" means "the second consonant is <i>w</i> or <i>y</i> ")
CB	Christian Baghdadi
DU	dual
^{EG} O ^{EG}	English word(s)
f	feminine
^{HE} O ^{HE}	Modern Hebrew word(s)
IMP	Imperative
JB	Jewish Baghdadi
LA	Levantine Arabic
m	masculine
MB	Muslim Baghdadi
^{MB} O ^{MB}	Muslim Baghdadi word(s)
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
OA	Old Arabic
p	plural

PC	prefix conjugation (frequently referred to as the "imperfect" form)
PN	proper noun
PP	passive participle
qa-PC	a prefix conjugation verb preceded by the verb modifier <i>qa-</i>
s	singular
SC	suffix conjugation (frequently referred to as the "perfect" form)
V	vowel

1 Introduction

1.1 A brief history of the Jewish community in Baghdad¹

The Jewish presence in Babylon begins more than 2,500 years ago, as the Kingdom of Judea was destroyed by the Babylonian Empire, Jerusalem was conquered, the first temple was demolished, and the population was exiled to Babylon. The exile is described as a national disaster, and the exiles refused to accept their destiny, as quoted from Psalms chapter 137: *"By the rivers of Babylon we sat and wept when we remembered Zion"*.

Slowly, the exiles established their own community life, and exploited the autonomy that they were given to develop a rich culture. Babylon, as the biggest Jewish center in the world, became a center of biblical interpretation. It was in Babylon where the Babylonian Talmud was edited.

Baghdad, founded in 762 AC as the capital of the Abbasid dynasty, quickly became the home of the largest Jewish community of Iraq. The Jews have experienced their golden age in the city during the Islamic Arab period. The traveler Benjamin of Tudela found shortly before 1170 about 40,000 Jews living in Baghdad, some being extremely rich. From the end of the twelfth century up to the middle of the thirteenth century great Jewish poets, scholars and heads of yeshivas lived in Baghdad among many physicians, shopkeepers, goldsmiths, and moneychangers.

The golden age ended with the Mongol conquests of the city. As a result of the near-destruction of the city, many Jews fled to territories that are part of today's Turkey, north Iraq, Iran, and Syria. The number of Jews in Iraq was at its lowest, and Baghdad became almost bereft of Jews until the end of the fifteenth century.

The Jews of Baghdad underwent many changes during the coming centuries. Generally, they were oppressed under the Persian rule, but enjoyed fair treatment under the Ottomans. The last Mamluk governor, who ruled under the Ottoman Empire, oppressed the Jews of Baghdad, which pushed many of the wealthier ones, among them David Sassoon, to flee to India, Persia and other countries. Small Jewish-Baghdadi communities were established following this immigration in the eighteenth and nineteenth century in Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manchester, etc.

¹ This summary is based on Ben-Yaacov & Kazzaz (2007); Meiri (1997); Rizk-Allah Ghanimah (1998); and Yahuda (1999).

The eighteenth century brought significant demographic developments to the Jewish community in the Mesopotamian region, as the Ottomans gave the Mamluks autonomy over it and the order was restored. More and more Jews arrived to the delta region, specifically to Basra and Baghdad. At the same time, the British gained control over the sea lanes in the Indian Ocean, and reopened the trade routes from India, through Basra and the Euphrates to Syria; and from there to Egypt and Europe. Baghdad and Basra received more and more population as they became centers of regional and international trade.

Baghdad kept developing in the nineteenth century, especially with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The Jews' economic status improved along with the improvement of the economic situation of the city. Trade with other countries flourished, and many Jewish merchants and businessmen took part in it.

The prosperity of the Jewish community lasted till the forties of the twentieth century. Modern Iraq, which was established in the twenties of that century, owes a great deal of its development to the Jews, who contributed their talent and their knowledge of industry, agriculture, international trade, banking and administration to the new country.

With the beginning of the British mandate, the door was opened for the Jews to take part also in the public service. In parallel, the opposition of Iraqi Muslims to the involvement of foreign elements in the public life also became stronger. That triggered an anti-Jewish atmosphere, which affected the Jews economically and finally also led to a pogrom, the "Farhud", against the Jews. In the two days of the pogrom, which took place in the streets of Baghdad in June 1941, 179 Jews were murdered, 2118 were injured and Jewish property was looted.

The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 encouraged the Jews of Iraq, who were exposed to the activity of the Zionist movement in Iraq since 1918 and more intensively after 1942, to prepare themselves to immigrate to Israel. The "Ezra and Nehemya" operation, initiated by the state of Israel and the Jewish Agency in 1950-1951, brought 120,000 Jews from Iraq to Israel. By April 1952 only a small community of a few thousands was left in Iraq, mainly in Baghdad². Most of them eventually immigrated to Israel at the beginning of the seventies.

2 Some demographic information about the Jews in Baghdad can be found in Ben-Yaacov & Kazzaz (2007: 58) according to which there were 77,000 Jews in Baghdad in 1947, and after 1950-51 exodus approximately 6,000 were left. In 1963 there were about 3,000 Jews, who remained till 1971. In 1975 only 350 Jews were reported, and in 2005 only a few Jews were still living in Baghdad.

1.2 The linguistic background of JB

The geographical region extending from the Persian Gulf along the Euphrates and the Tigris up to the rivers' source defines a dialect family. This family is usually called Mesopotamian dialects, after the traditional name given to this geographical region.

More specifically, Iraqi Arabic was divided by Haim Blanc in 1964 into two dialectal groups – the *qəltu* dialects, and the *gəlat* dialects³. In Blanc's own words: "The latter are spoken by the Muslim population (sedentary and non-sedentary) of Lower Iraq, and by the non-sedentary population in the rest of the area; the former are spoken by the non-Muslim population of Lower Iraq and the sedentary population (Muslim and non-Muslim) of the rest of the area" (Blanc 1964: 5-6).

The linguistic scenery in Baghdad, as Blanc found, was divided into three dialects, each spoken by a different religious group. Thus, the Muslims had their own dialect (MB), which was different from the one spoken by the Christians (CB), which, in its turn, was different from JB. Interestingly, MB is of *gəlat* type, whereas JB and CB are of the *qəltu* type.

JB was spoken extensively not only by the Jewish community in the Baghdad but also in southern Iraq. JB speakers were bilingual – they used the Jewish dialect in their homes and in the community, but spoke the Muslim dialect with non-Jews. Thus, the Jewish dialect was very sensitive to its environment and was influenced not only by MB, but also by other languages with which it was in contact throughout its history, such as Turkish, Persian, Aramaic, and others.

As a primarily spoken dialect, only a few written texts in JB exist. These were written in Hebrew letters, and require a meticulous work of locating and gathering. Scientifically edited texts, which allow a proper linguistic, dialectological or philological research, are scarce (Avishur 1979: 86). The written language was used in translation (*šarḥ*) of the Old Testament and parts of the liturgical literature, such as the Passover Haggada. This language differs from the colloquial Jewish Baghdadi, and may be considered a literary language (Mansour 2006: 232).

As a member of the *qəltu* dialects, JB shares the following peculiarities: preservation of the phonemes *q* and *ğ*; *imāla* towards *ē* or *î*; existence of the non-Arabic phonemes *p*, *g*, *č*; realization of OA *i* and *u* as *ə*; 1s SC ending *-tu*, and others (Jastrow 1978: 31-32).

In the following years, and based on extensive field research in several communities all over Mesopotamia, Otto Jastrow was able to depict a more

3 Blanc (1964: 5) called the dialects after the SC form of the 1s of the verb 'to say' in stem I, which encapsulates two of their most distinguishable features – the reflexes of OA /q/ and the 1s ending of the SC.

accurate picture of the *qeltu* dialects and to divide the family into sub-groups. JB was classified under the Tigris branch of *qeltu* dialects (1978: 24-25). One of the peculiarities of the Tigris branch, which is a characteristic of JB as well, is the realization of *r* as *ġ*. JB also preserves the interdental consonants, though there are other dialects in the Tigris group, like CB, that realize them as dentals.

Blanc (1964: 166-176) claimed that JB is a direct descendant of dialects spoken by the urban population of Abbasid Iraq, and has preserved or continued several basic phonological and morphological features of the older vernaculars. This claim was supported in later years by linguistic evidence contributed by Aryeh Levin (1994: 328-329; 2012: 419) and by Arnold & Bar-Moshe (2017: 44). Thus, it is probably the case that the description and documentation of JB enable us to take a glance also at archaic linguistic peculiarities of the Arabic language in general.

1.3 Research methodology

1.3.1 The phonological and morphological description

The phonology and morphology of JB were described in detail by Blanc already in 1964. Blanc's approach was mostly diachronic, as an attempt to understand the way JB forms have developed from Old-Arabic (OA). In 1991 Mansour published a thorough phonological analysis of JB, taking a more synchronic approach. Unfortunately, Mansour's detailed investigation treated only a few specific morphological issues. Nevertheless, the combination of the works of Blanc and Mansour leaves us with quite a precise picture of the phonological and morphological system of JB. There are, however, points of disagreement between the two, and points in which the linguistic reality raising from the recordings doesn't correspond to their descriptions. These points required a deeper examination and my conclusions in their regard are presented in chapters 2 and 3 in the framework of a concise grammatical sketch of JB's phonological and morphological system.

The research method taken in the phonological and morphological sketches is mainly a diachronic one, namely, one that attempts to track the changes that JB underwent in comparison to earlier stages of Arabic. Although there is no indication for a direct continuum of speech between OA and JB, the diachronic method proves itself useful, since in the overwhelming majority of the cases the differences between OA and JB are systematic. Cases in which the changes do not agree with the diachronic rule are, of course, addressed and explained using other methodological tools such as synchronic studies, language contact, etc.

In addition, in order to confirm the grammatical conclusions, in many cases I asked the native speakers direct questions such as "how do you say X", or "what does this word mean", and the like.

1.3.2 The transcriptions

The texts are transcribed phonemically rather than phonetically, i.e. a transcription into an extended inventory symbols, which come to represent the main independent phonemes of JB, aspiring to the closest phonetical representation as possible. The inventory of phonemes in JB is detailed in the phonological description section of the book (§2.1 & §2.2).

As the current corpus consists texts in a spoken language, it requires also some indications of prosodic elements in the speech of the native speakers. My approach to prosody follows Izre'el (2010: 57) who claims that the spoken language is organized via prosodic groups: "The prosodic group (...) is a coherent intonation contour (...that) encapsulates a coherent structural, functional segmental unit, be it syntactic, semantic, informational, or the like, and defines its boundaries".

In practice, the segmentation of a discourse flow into prosodic groups is made by detecting their boundaries based on speech pauses. There are two main types of prosodic boundaries: "terminal boundary tone", which codes that the speaker doesn't have anything more to say, and "continuous boundary tone", which codes that the speaker wants to continue talking. A falling tone, by default, indicates finality, whereas a level or slightly rising tone indicates continuity. These two main boundary types, and specifically the continuous tone, can be sub-divided into further types, such as the rising tone, which codes yes-no questions and occasionally also content questions.

Adopting this methodology, the border of a prosodic group is delimited and marked by one of the following symbols:

Symbol	Indication
.	Final tone
,	Continuous tone
?	Rising tone (question)

Table 1: main prosodic symbols

The following symbols are added to the three in Table 1 to render a more accurate description of the discourse's nature:

Symbol	Indication
...	Disrupted prosodic group (unfinished segment)
:	Opening of a following quotation
!	Command, request or urge; exclamation (final tone)
	Vocative (rising tone)

Table 2: additional discursive hints

As for stress units on the lexical level, each sequence of phonemes separated by spaces represents a single unit as such. In the many cases in which a grammatical particle, an auxiliary verb, or a morpheme is affixed to a lexeme to create a single stress unit, a dash separates them from the base. This is important since JB has several homonymic particles that are distinguishable in respect to their ability to join the lexeme they modify to create a single stress unit. In any case, the stress falls on the unit according to the rules detailed in §2.3.

Names of people, places, etc. can be identified as they open with a capital letter. In certain cases, the names of some characters in the texts were anonymized and replaced by PN (proper name) to protect their privacy.

Phonetic changes are explained through footnotes. Reoccurring phonetic changes are explained only in the first time they are mentioned.

Code-switching with Modern Hebrew or English is a frequent characteristics of the speech of some of the native speakers. Non-JB words or phrases are inserted into brackets, preceded and followed by the initials of the language they are taken from, for example: ^{HE}(kēn)^{HE}. Specifically for Abraham Ben-Eliyahu, when he describe his encounters with Muslim people in Iraq, he usually quotes the encounter using MB. These instances are also inserted into brackets.

1.3.3 The translation

Each page in Chapter 4 is divided into two. The left side of the page is dedicated to the transcription and the right part of the page consists of a translation into English. Each line that opens a prosodic group in the transcription is translated into English in the same line in the right side of the page. This, I hope, will allow the reader to keep a closer track of the flow of text and of the connection between the transcription and the translation.

The challenge of translating texts for such a book is a big one. There is a constant tense between a literal translation that will be more representative of the Arabic speech on the one hand, and a fluent translation into proper English that will make it easier for the reader to understand the message. I tried my best to combine the two, and in cases where I felt that something was missing, an explanation was added in brackets or in a footnote. In cases where the literal translation seemed really off, like in proverbs or idiomatic collocations, it was added in brackets. That is also the case with the overwhelmingly frequent use of rhetorical questions in JB.

Two dictionaries proved useful as sources for words and proverbs in JB – Yona (2014), which is dedicated solely to JB, and Beene & Woodhead (1967), which is a contemporary dictionary for spoken Iraqi Arabic. Since both dictionaries cover most of the words that appeared in the texts I didn't see any need in adding a glossary to this book.

1.4 Recordings and Informants

1.4.1 Sources

The texts in this book are drawn from three main sources. The first is interviews that were made in 1999 with my grandfather, Abraham Ben-Eliyahu (Xlaşçi). I was able to find six cassettes of recording, out of which around 67 minutes were transcribed. These interviews, made by his friend, Yogev Yahezqel, are the source for some historical texts about the Jewish community of Baghdad and about the origins of my family, as well as some narratives, and even some interesting texts about traditional medicine. Other friends of my grandfather take part, every now and then, in some of these recordings.

The second source is recordings that I made myself with my own family, and especially with my grandmother, Alwiz Ben-Eliyahu (Xlaşçi). These recordings were made in Ramat-Gan between the years 2013-15, and involve many other JB speakers of my family that happen to sit in my grandmother's living room during the recordings. 98 minutes out of these recordings are transcribed and include a variety of texts like narratives, recipes, family history, description of traditional customs, etc.

The third source is Yardena Sasōn, a native speaker who I met through a Facebook group dedicated to the preservation of JB⁴. She recorded herself telling two short stories that she recalled from her grandmother. These 6 minutes long stories were uploaded to the Facebook group, and Mrs. Sasōn was kind enough to allow me to transcribe and include them in this book.

1.4.2 Text types

It was my goal to include a variety of texts in order to address the interests of different academic disciplines. I believe that historians, philologists, anthropologists, dialectologists, and linguists will find interest in the content of the texts, as well as private people and descendants of Iraqi Jewry. The texts are ordered according to the type of content they provide:

- Family history – includes five recordings of Abraham Ben-Eliyahu. In two of them he describes the history of his family in the town of *Šamīyi* and the lakes' area. The third text, "*qačaq* – Smuggling", tells the story of the family's intention to get smuggled out of Iraq and the results of this move. The following text, "*aššōn sūwēta?* – How did you do it?" describes how Abraham helped some friends to get out of Iraq. The final text, "*Xlaşçi*", raises assumptions about the origin of this family name.

4 The group is called "משמרים את השפה העיראקית" (literally: preserving the Iraqi language) and it can be accessed at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/zahavb/>

- Iraqi history – a few short texts in which the speakers give information about episodes from the history of Iraq. "*l-ʿIrāq ma taṣtafi* – Iraq will not be peaceful" talks about the British wars against the Arab tribes. "*ʿalqō-hām b-Sāḥat al-Taḥrīr* – They hung them in *Sāḥat al-Taḥrīr*" discusses the hanging of young Jews in Baghdad in 1969 from the personal perspective of Zvi Bar-Moshe. Abraham Ben-Eliyahu describes the situation in Iraq at the time of the Six Day's War in "*Mālḥēmāt Šēšt Hayamīm* – The Six Days' War", and then continues to talk about the political intrigues of that period in "*ʿadmō-hām wiya-l-ihūd* – They hanged them with the Jews".
- Stories from the daily life in Iraq – gives a collection of short stories that can provide the reader with a sense of the daily life of the Jews in Iraq.
- Stories from the daily life in Israel – four short sporadic episodes from the family's daily life already in Israel.
- Stories about people – introduces short stories of the life of five relatives and members of the family.
- Narratives – includes six short folk stories.
- Politics – five pieces of conversations recorded in 2013 about current political issues.
- Food and Recipes – a collection of recipes of different dishes from the Jewish cuisine in Iraq.
- Traditions and Holidays – gathers some of the Iraqi Jewry's customs and traditions such as the way they used to celebrate Jewish holidays, the way they used to cure illnesses, the way they fought against the evil eye, etc.
- Conversations – consists of some free style conversations that were randomly recorded.

As can be seen from the verity of texts above, it was also my goal to include different genres and text types such as narratives (folk stories, historical narratives, etc.), dialogues, and conversations, since they present different dynamics and linguistic material. The grammatical phenomena that are found in gossip conversations are different from those found in a historical narrative, for instance. Thus, linguists and dialectologists are exposed to a verity of registers, grammatical structures, and discursive realities.

1.4.3 Short biography of the informants

Abraham Ben-Eliyahu (Xlāṣči) was born in Ḥəlli, Iraq in 1920 and died in Israel in 2010. Abraham spent his childhood also in *Šamīyi*, where his grandparents lived, and in *Diwanīyi*, where he attended primary school. Afterwards, he moved to Baghdad, where he finished high school, and then worked as the manager of the accounting department in the agency that imported Ford cars from England to Iraq. In 1946 he married Alwiz Ben-

Eliyahu (Xlaşçi) of the house of M^ʿalləm in Baghdad. Alwiz was born in *Diwanîyi* in 1924, went to a Muslim school and finished elementary school. She was a housewife all her life and passed away in 2017. They brought two daughters into the world. The eldest, Amal Bar-Moshe, was born in 1947 in Baghdad, went to *Frank ʿIni* elementary school and then to the secondary school and high school of a convent. After finishing high school she was accepted to the pharmacy college of Baghdad University, from where she graduated in 1969. Her younger sister, Gilda Bar-Moshe, was born in 1950. The four immigrated to Israel in 1971 and lived in Ramat-Gan.

Amal Bar-Moshe, who worked in Israel as a pharmacist, married Zvi Bar-Moshe in 1974. Zvi was born in 1943 in *Diwanîyi* under the name Şabāḥ Mūsa, and is the son of Sālēm Mūsa, a clothes salesman of *Diwanîyi*'s market, and Nuna Mūsa, a housewife. Zvi went to a Muslim school in *Diwanîyi*, and after graduation was accepted to the engineering college of Baghdad University and moved to Baghdad. He graduated as a chemical engineer in 1969, and immigrated to Israel in 1970. He worked at first in the Weizmann Institute and then opened his own private company, Chimineer, which imported veterinary and lab equipment.

Of the native speakers mentioned so far, Alwiz spoke only JB. Abraham spoke mainly JB and basic Hebrew, which he caught along the way in Israel. Amal and Zvi, who came to Israel in their twenties, speak fluent Hebrew, but JB keeps on being a dominant language for them, as they speak to each other, to their family, and to their friends in JB on a daily basis.

Abraham's sister, Adiba Kuğman, also take part in some of the recordings. She was born in 1931 in Həlli and received basic primary education. She immigrated to Israel with her family in 1950, and lived in Netanya and then in Nazareth. In 1972 she moved with her children to London, where she lives today. Adiba is a housewives, her dominant language is JB, and although she speaks good Hebrew, she is surrounded by JB speakers most of their time.

As^ʿad M^ʿalləm and Samir M^ʿalləm are Abraham and Alwiz's nephews. As^ʿad was born in 1940 and Samir in 1943 in *Diwanîyi*. Their father, ʿEzzat M^ʿalləm, the brother of Alwiz, was a famous and powerful Jew in *Diwanîyi*. He established a brick factory in the town. The family, however, lived in Baghdad, where both As^ʿad and Samir finished high school. As^ʿad studied veterinary in Baghdad University, graduated in 1964, and then he left for studies in the USA. From there he moved to Canada, where he lives today. Samir studied Business administration in a private university in Baghdad. He immigrated to Israel with his family in 1971, at first worked in a technological company in Israel, and then opened an independent business of electrical equipment. As^ʿad speaks JB and English, and Samir speaks JB and Hebrew. Both still use JB on a daily basis with their relatives.

In some of the recordings that I made, I had to interfere the flow of speech in order to direct the conversation into a certain point. My own utterances

are not transcribed but only translated, since I don't fully pronounce JB as a native speaker. The same goes for Alwīz's caretaker, Melanie Perrera, a Sri Lankan who speaks a little bit of Arabic, but not JB. The translated speech appears as such in the transcribed column, surrounded by round brackets.

Yardena Sasōn was born in 1946 in Baghdad and immigrated to Israel in 1950. In her childhood she was surrounded by JB, as she lived in a ma'abara of Iraqi Jews. Her grandmother used to live in her parents' house, and used to tell stories. Yardena recorded herself telling two of these stories.

Other native speakers that participate in Abraham Ben-Eliyahu's recordings such as Yogev Yahezqel, Moshe Qəzzāz, and Blanche Qəzzāz were in their seventies or eighties at the time of the recordings. All of them immigrated to Israel at the beginning of the fifties, and although they spoke also Hebrew, their main tongue was JB, as they were surrounded by JB speakers in their daily lives.

1.4.4 Sound files

Sound files of all the texts can be found online in the SemArch, the sound archive of Semitic languages of Heidelberg University under <http://www.semarch.uni-hd.de/>.

2 Phonology

2.1 Consonants

	stop		fricative		affricative		trill	approximant	nasal	emphatic
	VL ¹	V	VL	V	VL	V				
bilabial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>						<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>[b]</i> ² ; <i>[w]</i> ; <i>[m]</i>
labio-dental			<i>f</i>	<i>v</i> ³						
inter-dental			<i>t̪</i>	<i>d̪</i>						<i>ḏ</i>
dental	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>								<i>ṭ</i>
alveolar			<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṣ</i> ; <i>[z]</i> ; <i>[l]</i> ; <i>[n]</i>
post-alveolar			<i>š</i>	<i>ž</i> ⁴	<i>č</i>	<i>ǰ</i>				
palatal								<i>y</i>		
velar	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ḡ</i>						
uvular	<i>q</i>									
pharyngeal			<i>ħ</i>	<i>ʕ</i>						
glottal	<i>ʔ</i>		<i>h</i>							

Table 3: Consonants

- ¹ "VL" indicates voiceless consonants and "V" indicates voiced ones.
- ² Emphatic consonants in brackets are secondary (§2.1.1.6).
- ³ The phoneme *v* is very rare and usually appears in loanwords from European languages. Mansour (2006: 233) even questions its status as a phoneme.
- ⁴ According to Mansour (1991: 56), the postalveolar voiced affricative *ž* is an allophone of the postalveolar voiced fricative *ǰ* when the latter is followed by another consonant. This corresponds to examples like: *ždid* 'new'; *tzuwažtu* 'I married'; and *ǰāb* 'he brought'. He explains it as a strategy to avoid three consonants cluster, since the consonant *ǰ* is actually a combination of two consonants *d* and *ž*. This theory seems limited, though, since there are occurrences of *ǰ* before another consonant, for example: *ǰǰēdi* 'rat'.

Table 3 gives a general overview of the consonants that take part in JB's phonological system. A few diachronic remarks and explanations about possible phonetic changes in consonants are in order:

2.1.1 The diachronic development of JB's consonants

2.1.1.1 Reflexes of OA ʔ, w, and y

w and y are phonemically stable unless they open the word, they are followed by their corresponding vowel, and they are preceded by a prefix. When all these conditions are fulfilled w and y zero out. In certain cases their zeroing-out results in the elongation of the corresponding vowel. The same is true for ʔ, only that in addition, it is rarely pronounced as a glottal stop at the beginning of the word, regardless to the existence of a preceding prefix or a following corresponding vowel.

ʔ: *tʔaxxaḡ* 'he was late'; *aṣl* 'origin'; *asm-ak* 'your (m.s.) name'; *iyām* 'days'; *l-aswad* 'the black one'.

w: *hawa* 'wind'; *walad* 'boy'; *l-walad* 'the boy'; *l-ūlād* 'the children'.

y: *yhūd* 'Jews'; *məbyūʔ* 'it (m.s.) is bought'; *l-ihūd* 'the Jews'.

2.1.1.2 Reflexes of OA interdental

Interdentals are retained: *tnēn* 'two'; *hāda* 'this'.

Both OA ض and ظ are pronounced as interdental emphatic voiced fricative ḏ: *ḏall* 'he remained'; *aḡḏ* 'land'.

2.1.1.3 Reflexes of OA r

The alveolar trill r is realized as voiced velar fricative ġ in words of clear Arabic origin: *qdaḡtu* 'I could'; *nahʔġ* 'river'; *yġīd* 'he wants'; *ysāfəġ* 'he travels'.

It is pronounced as the trill r in:

- modern Arabic words: *siyāra* 'car'; *mudīr* 'manager'.
- words of Hebrew origin: *rāššam* 'he wrote'; *tōra* 'bible'; *sēfər* 'Bible'
- words of Turkish or Persian origin: *kōndra* 'shoe'; *parda* 'curtain'; *səṭra* 'jacket'.
- proximity to x: *āxər* 'last'; *mxaṛbaṭ* 'confused, damaged'.

2.1.1.4 Reflexes of OA q

The preservation of the uvular pronunciation of the consonant q is one of the primary features of *qəltu* dialects. JB is no exception: *qalb* 'heart'; *qəltu* 'I said'.

In a few words the acceptable pronunciation is voiced velar stop g, thanks to MB influence: *garāyəb* 'acquaintances'. These cases are, however, rare (Mansour 2006: 233).

2.1.1.5 Foreign borrowed consonants

The consonant *g* can also appear in loanwords: *glāš* 'glass'; *zangīn* 'rich' (from Turkish).

The consonant *č*⁵ occurs in Persian and Turkish loanwords: *čāra* 'choice, solution, option'; *čāy* 'tea'.

The consonant *p* appears as well in loanwords of Persian and Turkish origin: *qapağ* 'lid'; *čarpāya* 'bed'. It also appears in Hebrew words: *pēti* 'fool'. *p* can sometimes hark back to an original *b*, especially in words of European origin: *pās* 'bus'; *paysəgəl* 'bicycle'.

2.1.1.6 Emphatic consonants

There are three stable emphatic consonants in JB: *ṭ*, *ṣ*, and *ḍ*. Some consonants, like *ṭ*⁶, *m*, *b*, and others, can be realized as emphatic in certain words: *māy* 'water'; *laṭma* 'slap'. Their emphatic articulation is unstable and it usually occurs under the influence of another emphatic or velar consonant in the word. Mansour (1991: 59) distinguishes the two groups of emphatic consonants, i.e. the three stable emphatics and the ones in free variation, and terms them "primary and secondary velarized consonants" respectively. However, emphasis can be a distinctive feature even when it comes to secondary emphatic consonants. For example in the pair *ḥaḥa* 'father' vs. *bāb-a* 'her door', the former is constantly articulated with emphatic consonants. Emphatic consonants are also frequently found in loanwords, for instance: *glāš* 'glass'; *aḥēl* 'grief'.

2.1.2 Phonetic changes in JB's consonants

2.1.2.1 Assimilations

1. As mentioned above, non-emphatic consonants can become emphatic as a result of the existence of emphatic or velar consonants in their environment⁷: *zağğ* 'he became smaller'; *naṣṭandağ* 'we wait'; *ṣultān* 'sultan'. In the case of *ḥḥaḥd-ak* 'by yourself', the emphatic consonant is a secondary result of the assimilation of the original *w*: *bwaḥd-ak* -> *ḥḥaḥd-ak*.
2. Voiceless consonant might voice under the influence of a neighboring voiced consonant: *tzūwağ-a* 'he married her' -> *dzūwağ-a*. The opposite case, namely of a voiced consonant turning into a voiceless one under the influence of a neighboring voiceless consonant, also

5 In MB *k* affricates into *č* in certain environments: *čān* 'he was' vs. *ykūn* 'he is'; *bī-k* 'in you (m.s.)' vs. *bī-č* 'in you (f.s.)'. This affrication doesn't occur in JB (Blanc 1964: 25).

6 According to Blanc (1964: 20), *ṭ* is typical of *gəlat* dialects and its existence in JB might be attributed to a MB loan: *mxabḥaḥaḥ* 'crazy'.

7 This phenomena is commonly termed *tafxīm* or *velarization*.

occurs: *dxalna* 'we entered' -> *txalna*. In some cases it can lead to a complete assimilation: *atḏakkaġ* 'I remember' -> *aḏḏakkaġ*.

3. The consonant *ġ* might assimilate in the environment of *x* or *q*: *laxxi*⁸ 'other (f.s.)'; *qqētu* 'I read'. When followed by *h*, *ġ* might be pronounced closely to *w*: *fəġħan* ~ *fəwħān* 'glad'. *ġ* can also drop altogether: *ma aʿġəf* 'I don't know' -> *maʿəf*.
4. *m* can assimilate into *n*: *təmtəġ* 'it rains' -> *təntəġ*. The opposite change can also happen: *zənbūġ* 'bee' > *zəmbūġ*.
5. *l* is easily assimilated into *n*: *qənna* 'we said'. The article *l*-, as well as the relative marker, the preposition, and the direct object marker that share the same allomorph *l*-, assimilate into the following consonant⁹: *l-šams* 'the sun' -> *š-šams*. This can also occur with particles that end with *l*, like the preposition *māl*- 'of': *mār-raġʿa* 'of the return'.

2.1.2.2 Additional phonetic changes

1. When a preposition like *l*-, *b*-, or *mʾn*- precedes deictic words that open with *h*, the *h* may fall off: *l*- 'to' + *hāda* 'this (m.)' -> *l-āda*; *l*- + *hōn* 'to here' -> *l-ōn*.
2. Metathesis occurs in words like *yənʿal* 'curses', where the *l* and the *n* exchange their places.
3. Gemination in final position is unstable. It is sometimes pronounced as a single consonant regardless to three consonants cluster's production considerations. Determiners like *fəd* 'a, some' and *lax* 'other', whose final consonant is a result of an assimilation that was reduced, are mostly articulated so. As for C2C3 roots in word final position, despite the fact that their final gemination is not always articulated, it will be noted for diachronic considerations.

8 This form originates from the combination of the article *l*- and OA *uxrā* 'other (f.s.)' as follows: *l-uxrā* > *l-əxgi* > *laxxi*.

9 Mansour (1991: 66; 2006: 239) mentions that in JB, *l*- as definite article or relative pronoun assimilates to the next consonant when the latter is dental, interdental, alveolar, postalveolar and palatal (excluding the palatal *y*), given that the consonant is not the first in a cluster. When it is the first in a cluster, an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the *l*- and the cluster: *lə-tyūġ* 'the birds'. Blanc (1964: 119-120) extends this observation to all three dialects of Baghdad. In a footnote, however, Mansour (199: 66) mentions that there are cases where the *l*- should assimilate but it doesn't. One case in which this happens is when the speaker pauses after the definite article because he is still in the course of selecting the following noun. The corpus indeed validates Mansour's observation but presents additional cases in which the *l*- doesn't assimilate. This issue requires a separate investigation, which is out of the scope of the current sketch. A possible, although partial, explanation for the situation in JB might be found in Abu-Haidar's summary of Baghdadi Arabic (2006: 225), where she mentions that in CB the definite article often assimilates to the moon letter following it. She gives as an example: *əq-qamāġ* 'the moon'.

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Long vowels

	front	central	back
high	<i>ī</i>		<i>ū</i>
mid	<i>ē¹⁰</i>		<i>ō</i>
low		<i>ā</i>	

Table 4: Long vowels

Long vowels appear in principle only in stressed syllables, otherwise they shorten or change their value as will be detailed below.

2.2.2 Short vowels

	front	central	back
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>	

Table 5: Short vowels

1. Short vowels don't occur in an open pre-stressed syllable¹¹: *ktabtu* 'I wrote'; *ktāb* 'book'.
2. The vowel *a* can appear in any syllable type, except for an open unstressed one: *katab* 'he wrote'; *qaddam* 'he served'; *ṣadiq* 'friend'.
3. Mid, central *ə* is limited to open stressed syllables or to closed syllables and it usually originates from an OA short vowels *u*, *i*¹², or *a*: *qafāl* 'lock'; *qabba* 'room'; *mālḥ* 'salt'; *kātbāt-u* 'she wrote it (m.s.)'.
4. *u* and *i* are usually a result of shortening of their long equivalents due to stress shift: *yqulōn* 'they say'. They can be also reflexes of an unstressed historical diphthong *aw* or *ay* (§2.2.4.3 & §2.2.4.6): *yumēn* 'two days'; *bitēn* 'two houses'. Both vowels can appear in loanwords from foreign languages or from standard Arabic: *muḥāmi* 'lawyer'. In any case, they are restricted to an open unstressed syllable.

10 The vowel *ē* is pronounced with a preceding slight *y* sound – *zēn* 'good' is pronounced like [z'ēn]. Abu-Haidar (2006: 224) mentions this glide in her summary of Baghdadi Arabic, and notes that it is more common in the speech of women and men of rural origin.

11 Unless when they originate from a long vowel that shortened due to stress shift: *yǧībōn* 'they bring', or they take part in modern words and loanwords: *mudīr* 'manager'.

12 Mansour (1991: 36) notes that *ə* is a centrally articulated vowel between *u* and *i*. This supports his claim that in certain environments *ə* and *i*, and *ə* and *u* can have a very close phonetic value: *lī-qaddām* 'in advance' ([i]~[ə]); *ḥaṭṭāl* 'bottle' ([ə]~[u]).