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1   *Zaguri Imperya*[1] is an Israeli TV show created by Maor Zaguri[2]. It was broadcast for the first time in 2014 on the Israeli channel HOT 3. It aired for 2 seasons, comprising a total of 51 episodes. The show takes place in the Israeli city of Beersheba, in a neighborhood inhabited by a majority of Israelis of Moroccan origin. The main characters are the members of a Moroccan family; the *Zaguri* family[3], consisting of the parents and their eight children, five boys and three girls, almost all of them adults and still living at their parent's house.

2   The variety of Modern Hebrew found in the show is quite to be considered as part of a wider sociolect, which is difficult to categorize or to find a proper name to call it. One of the common names is Mizrahi Hebrew (i.e. Oriental Hebrew), that has the drawback of being a cultural only, or even an ethnic criterion. Yehudit Henshke has discussed the denomination of this sociolect and decided, for a series of reasons, to call it Traditional-Mizrahi Hebrew.[4] In this study, I'll use the name *Peripheral Hebrew*[5] since it has the benefit of targeting the social and/or the geographical criterion. Roni Henkin, when addressing the issue of the waves of immigrations from North-Africa recalls that: "The newly arrived *maghrabi*s, especially the Moroccans, the largest ʿedá (community/ group of single origin) in Israel were relegated to the geographical, economical, and social peripheries where, caught in a vicious circle, they remained for decades."[6]

Peripheral Hebrew has to be considered as the language of those "geographical, economical, and social peripheries" of the state of Israel. And indeed, because of the origins of a significant part of the inhabitants of those neighborhoods: Moroccan Arabic (MA) appears to have been a quite influential substrate for that variety of Israeli Hebrew (IH).

3   This influence of MA is actually the main topic of this study. The case of *Zaguri Imperya* has to be treated carefully. It's a fictional TV show basically dealing with the subject of Moroccan Israelis' culture. As a fiction, it gives more clues about the representations of this phenomenon than about the phenomenon itself. But on the other hand, it shows a concentrate of examples, and that's why it's at the same time especially rich and obviously exaggerated in terms of demonstrative social behaviors and linguistic specificities. Moreover, this article focuses on the first episode of the show only, the pilot of the series.[7] Even more because of that, one has to keep in mind that some elements could be emphasized or even voluntarily highlighted.

4   This study discusses some specificities in the variety of Israeli Hebrew spoken by the characters of the show, resulting from the influence of MA.

Short Bilingual Expressions

5   The following are two first examples, among others, of how the characters of the show can mix the two languages together.

01:47	Viviane:	*xaʁam*ᵃ *al a-yeled!* (**حرام**!על הילד) ᵇ
		"Shame on the kid!"
a. /x/ represents here the voiceless uvular fricative and /ʁ/ the voiced uvular fricative. **b.** The Arabic dialects of the Jews are usually and were historically transcribed with Hebrew script. I will note it here with the Arabic script, in order to illustrate the alternation between the two languages.		

6   In terms of pronunciation,[8] Viviane, the mother of the Zaguri family uses a thick Israeli accent: *xaʁam* for MA *ḥṛām*, losing the pharyngeal /ḥ/ for the uvular /x/ and rolled (and pharyngealized) /ṛ/ for the uvular /ʁ/. At first sight, the first part of the sentence *xaʁam* is in MA and the second one *al a-yeled* in IH. But the preposition used for "on" is actually between the two languages. It is, as a matter of fact, the proper preposition which must come next *ḥṛām* in MA as inflected for example in *ḥṛām ʕălī-k* [shame on you] or *ḥṛām ʕălī-h* [shame on him]. Even if the structure of the MA formula is preserved: *ḥṛām* + preposition *ʕl* [on], the word itself is actually the Hebrew form of the cognate preposition: MA *ʕlā* > IH *al* (**ʕal*). The second part *al a-yeled* is certainly completely in Hebrew, but the choice of the preposition echoes the MA expression.

07:26	Avir:	*šuf ze!* (**شوف**זה)
		"Look at that"

7   The first word of the expression is in MA. It is the imperative form of the verb *šaf/išūf* [to look]. The second one is the IH demonstrative.

Moroccan or Palestinian words?

8   One of the main difficulties of this research is to separate the MA loanwords from the Palestinian ones. In practice, some of the Arabic words used in IH could be borrowed from lots of other varieties of Arabic, but borrowings from Iraqi or Libyan Arabic are more unlikely considering the smallest number of speakers in contact with IH.[9] In Peripheral IH, and even more in Moroccan families such as the Zaguri family of the show, the convincing options are most often MA or Palestinian Arabic (PA). Even if it is sometimes complicated, it's often possible to determine where the word is from.

9   An additional complicating factor is that the speakers themselves don't always know for sure if a word they are using is MA or not. Moreover, some PA words are specifically used among the Moroccan community as part of a social or sociolinguistic identity, this overuse being conscious or not. An important part of those Moroccans being today IH monolingual speakers, they don't have the tools to determine if those words are in use in the dialects of their parents or not.

10 In this study, I got rid of words like *falafel* or *yalla*, used in the show but also by any speaker of IH, not specifically speakers of Peripheral IH. Besides, for those ones usually, the speakers themselves are usually aware it's PA.[10] I kept here only the words for which a discussion can take place.

خلاص, "enough!", MA or PA?

24:42	Avishag:	*omrim le-xa xalas aval!* (אומרים לך **خلاص**)אבל
		"But we're telling you that's enough!"

11 Standard Arabic *xalāṣ*, "enough!", does exist in PA and in MA but definitely not خلاص, with this syllabic structure in MA where it is usually pronounced *xḷāṣ*. For the pronunciation used here: *xalas,* with two vowels and no emphasis, several options can be put forward. The word could come from the PA cognate *xalāṣ*, with simple loss of emphasis > *xalas*. Or it could come from the MA version *xḷāṣ* with an adaptation of the IH syllabic structure associated with vowel balancing. Finally, it could result from the convergence of both.

مضروب, "hit, crazy, stupid", MA or PA?

06:07	Aviel:	*kul-am madʁubim!* (כולם **مضروب**)ים-
		"They're all "crazy"!"
06:12	Aviel:	*ma ze madʁubim?* (מה זה **مضروب**)ים-
		"What does "madʁub" means?"

19:56	Viviane:	*ulay aya madʁub k-še-u katav et ze?*
		כשהוא כתב את זה)**מضروב**(?אולי היה
		"Maybe he was 'out of his mind' when he wrote that?"
25:31	Albert:	*yā məḏṛōb!* (!**مضروب يا**)
		"You 'stupid'!"

12   *Madʁub* and *məḏṛōb* are two variants of Standard Arabic **maḍrūb*, which is the passive participle of the verb *ḍaraba* [to hit]. A clear difference can be made between PA and MA passive participles of form I *faʕala*:

Standard Arabic maC1C2ūC3	Palestinian Arabic maC1C2ūC3	Moroccan Arabic məC1C2ōC3 / məC1C2ūC3ᵃ
a. In MA, depending on the speakers and on the words, this past participle can be found as məC1C2ōC3 or məC1C2ūC3. HENSHKE, 2013, p. 221 notes for Peripheral IH the feminine form medruba with vowel /u/.

13   If *məḏṛōb*, the word used by Albert, is clearly the Moroccan word itself, pronounced as it is in MA, the case of *madʁub* needs to be discussed.

14   The word **maḍrūb* could have reached IH from various ways, with possible multiple concordant origins and trajectories, leading to the pronunciation *madʁub*. In this version of the word, the pronunciation of the consonants is characteristic of IH: /ḍ/ cannot be pharyngealized as it is in Arabic and then turns to /d/, which is available in IH; /r/ is not rolled and turns to the uvular /ʁ/, which is precisely how historical Hebrew /r/ has evolved too: Ancient Hebrew /r/ > IH /ʁ/. Thus, both consonantal evolutions are regular and quite expected. But the vowel distribution /a/-/u/ is very different from what is found in MA, i.e. /ə/-/o/.[11] This contrast could indicate that the word is not derived from it. But it could be more complicated too. First, the speakers could have borrowed it as *məḏṛōb* and then adapted the vowels to /a/ and /u/ which is at the same time what is available in IH and reflecting the vowels of the Hebrew past participles C1aC2uC3, maC1C2uC3 or meC1uC2aC3.[12] However, an influence of the PA stem maC1C2ūC3 is very likely too. PA words from that stem, such as *maṣṭūl*, *maǧnūn*, *maʕrūf*, *mabrūk* or the name *Maḥmūd*, are attested in IH.[13]

15   Consequently, the word *madʁub* could be an intern adaptation of MA *məḏṛōb* but a direct origin of PA *maḍrūb* cannot be entirely dismissed either. And finally, a mix of those solutions, i.e. from one of the two varieties of Arabic but strengthened by the other, is possible too.

Use of common MA words and short expressions

MA ,يستر الله‬ *llāh istər!*, "May God protect!"

12:08	Miriam:	*lla isteʁ!* (!**يستر الله**)

		"May God protect!"

16   *Ḷḷāh istəṛ* is a very common expression in Morocco and is still widely used among Moroccans of the diaspora, in France, Belgium or Israel. The MA verb *stəṛ/istəṛ* means "to cover, to protect." Miriam, the older sister of the Zaguri family pronounces it with the same adaptation discussed above: /r/ (or /ṛ/) > /ʁ/. In addition, the vowel /ə/ turns to /e/: *istəṛ* becomes *isteʁ*.

MA ,شوفوني*šūfū-nī!* "look at me!"

18:24	Albert:	*tamid ahav šufuni!*(תמיד אהב שוفوني!)
		"He always liked being in the spotlight!"

17   The expression *šūfū-nī*, plural imperative form of MA *šāf/išūf* [to see] with suffixed personal pronoun *nī* [me]: "look at me" is actually common IH slang today and often considered a single word: *šufuni.* In MA, *šūfū-nī* can be used with its normal verbal and lexical meaning "look at me!" or as it is here, as an expression meaning "a show-off." Although it's usually considered short for *šūfū-nī yā nās* [look at me you people!].[14]

18   The Moroccan source of both expressions *lla isteʁ* and *šufuni* is usually known or assumed by speakers of Moroccan origins, which probably explains their use in the show. Nevertheless, both have spread beyond this group and are synchronically speaking of common use nowadays among Standard IH speakers, with no specific identification of any Moroccan aspect.

MA ,بالزعط*b-əẓ-ẓăˤṭ!*, "Come on!, I don't care!"

28:44	Albert:	*bzzaˤṭ!* (**بالزعط**!)
		"So what! Come on! Who cares! Why not? Ok…"

19   *b-əẓ-ẓăˤṭ* is an exclamation, almost an interjection, that used to be very popular in Morocco especially among children. The word *ẓăˤṭ* always comes with the preposition *b* and the definite article *əẓ-*. The Premare Moroccan-French dictionary suggests that its first meaning could be "squeak," and more specifically refereeing to the sound of the leather of a babouche as in the expressions *hād əl-bəlġa kā-tˤăyyəṭ b-əẓ-ẓăˤṭ* [this pair of babouches squeaks > this is a new pair]. MA has a past participle too: *mzăˤṭəṭ* for "someone who doesn't respect anyone or anything."[15]

20   The meaning "so what, who cares…" is to understand as figurative. It is actually the only use attested in IH.

"Sequences" entirely in MA

21   Some sentences (or sequences) of the episode are entirely in MA. Actually, these sentences are always said by Albert, the father of the family. Not only the character is, in the show, described as a fluent speaker of MA (unlike the children), but the actor

playing him (i.e. Moshe Ivgi[16]) is one of the few seemingly real fluent speaker of MA. With those sentences only, MA is fully translated in the subtitles, indicating they are considered sequences of a foreign language and not part of the Peripheral IH sociolect any longer.

20:47	Albert:	*ḥēl l-bāb tṛā ṣ-ad ṣi!* (الشي هاد اش ترا الباب حلّ!)
		"Open the door and see who that is!"

22   The composition of this sentence seems to reflect the will to put forward some specificities of the Jewish MA dialects. First, the pronunciation /ṣ/ for /š/ is a well-known feature of those dialects, that usually lack the paleo-alveolar fricative consonants /š/ and /ž/.[17] They merged with the corresponding alveolar consonants /s/ and /z/ and are often produced with a lisp, noted here /ṣ/ and /ẓ/. Secondly, the choice of the verb *ṛā* [to see] is substantial too. This verb, largely absent in the Muslim MA dialects, is usually considered as the Jewish equivalent of Muslim *šāf* [to see]. This is for example what illustrates the two expressions from the city of Fez for "May you not experience (see) misfortune" where Fassi Jews say *ma ṭṛā bāṣ* but Muslims would rather say *ma tšūf bās*.[18]

23:26	Albert:	*wāḥăd, ẓūẓ, tlāta, ṛəbˤa, xəmṣa, ṣətta...* (ستّة خمسة، ربعة، تلاتة، زوج، واحد...)
		"One, two, three, four, five, six..."

23   Here again, the pronunciation is very noticeable and could be voluntarily stigmatized. Albert counts to six and says *ẓūẓ* for "two". In Morocco, this pronunciation has a Jewish connotation, because of the specific lisp and the loss of the paleo-alveolar consonant /ž/. The Muslim dialects have *zūž, žuz* or experience assimilation (or dissimilation) z-ž leading to *žūž*.[19] In other places, a form similar to *ẓūẓ* can be found in Muslim dialects, not because of a loss of the paleo-alveolar consonants (as in the Jewish dialects) but resulting from a dissimilation/assimilation the other way round as for example in Tripoli (Libya): *zōz*.[20]

23:34	Albert:	*b-əṣ-ṣlāma ˤlī-k!* (عليك بالسلامة!)
		"May you be safe, goodbye!"

24   Same specificity regarding the pronunciation /ṣ/.

39:07	Albert:	*yā ḷḷāh, ḍəṛb əḍ-ḍərbūka!* (يا الله، ضرب الدربوكة!)
		"Come on, play (hit) the darbuka!"

25   Here is seen another specificity of some Moroccan Jews' Arabic dialects, less well-known. Probably conditioned by liquid consonants as second radical, verbs that usually appear in MA on stem C1C2əC3 turn to C1əC2C3: *gləs* [to sit], *x̱rəž* [to go out] or *ḍṛəb* [to hit] are produced *gəls*, *x̱ərz* and *ḍəṛb* in the Jewish dialects. Lévy[21] shows that it is effective in all forms and tenses. He compares the conjugations of the Muslim and the Jewish dialects of Fez as seen in the imperative forms in the table below, which fit the sentence *yā ḷḷāh, ḍəṛb əḍ-ḍərbūka*:

Muslim Fez			Jewish Fez		
2m	2f	2pl	2m	2f	2pl
ḍṛəb	*ḍəṛb-i*	*ḍəṛb-o*	*ḍəṛb*	*ḍəṛb*	*ḍəṛb-o*

The Aunt Masuda : pronunciation in IH, MA and hypercorrections

26   Masuda (*Masʕūda) is Viviane's aunt in the show. She's the only character pronouncing IH the specific way Hebrew was pronounced in the Moroccan tradition:

21:13	Masuda	*po ẓe a-bayt ṣel Pinto a-ṣadiq a-yaṣar?*
		(?פה זה הבית של פינטו הצדיק הישר)
		"Is here the house of Pinto the righteous and straight?"
21:28	Masuda	*hu kvar peger aḥ-i*(הוא כבר פגר אחי?) ?
		"Is my brother already a corpse?"

27   This is quite accurate. Indeed, the traditional Moroccan pronunciation did "maintain"[22] some theoretical ancient pronunciations such as ח, /ḥ/, ק, /q/, צ, /ṣ/ and ר, /r/, as seen here in words *ṣadiq* (Standard IH *tsadik*), *peger* (Standard IH *pegeʁ*) and *aḥi* (Standard IH *axi*). However, this traditional pronunciation was influenced as well by that of the Jewish dialects of MA. Therefore, just as in those dialects, /š/ turns to /s/ or /ṣ/, as in *ṣel* and *yaṣar* (Standard IH *šel* and *yašaʁ*, theoretical Ancient Hebrew *šel* and *yāšār*).

28   Yet, the actress playing Masuda (Dvora Kedar) is not an actual speaker of MA herself.[23] The whole pronunciation being the result of a (re-)construction for the role, some inaccuracies and inconsistencies appear sometimes, such as phonetical hypercorrections:

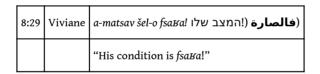| 36:27 | Masuda | *ma pitʕom?*(מה פתאום?) |
| | | "What now? How come?" |

29   The word פתאום is usually pronounced *pitom* in IH. Masuda inserts an imaginary pharyngeal sound and produces *pitˤom* even though the theoretical form is *pit'ōm*. This indicates that the actress clearly worked to level her pronunciation and that she misjudged this word and overcorrected it by adding a guttural sound where it's not supposed to be.

30   Another inaccuracy is to be seen when Masuda employs a very well-known Jewish MA curse:

26:27	Masuda	*itax l-o mʒal-o!* (‏مزاله له يطيح‏)
		"May his *mazal* (fate/luck) fall down!"

31   The curse uses the word *mʒal*, from Hebrew מזל **mazzāl*, indicating that it is originally specifically Jewish.[24] The pronunciation *mʒal* is typical of that of Moroccan Jews and is actually once more a demonstration of the confusion of the sibilant consonants in their dialects. If the sequence *l-o mʒal-o* is "properly" produced, in contrast, *itax* should be pronounced *iṭēḥ*. The switch *iṭēḥ > itax* reveals an Israeli phonetical reflex: loss of emphasis /ṭ/ > /t/ and switch from pharyngeal to uvular /ḥ/ > /x/.

Peripheral IH lexical creations and innovations

32   The upcoming lexical creations are not innovations of the show but of Peripheral IH.

33   In the episode, Viviane comments her dying father's condition and says:

8:29	Viviane	*a-matsav šel-o fsaʁa!* (‏והמצב שלו‏) (‏فالصارة‏)
		"His condition is *fsaʁa*!"

34   Moroccan Israelis usually think *fsaʁa* is a word in Standard MA meaning "bad situation." But it's actually built on the Hebrew word *ṣārâ* IH) צרה *tsaʁa*) and consequently only occurs in the Jewish dialects of MA. The Moroccan pronunciation of the word *ṣāṛa* is close to the theoretical ancient one *ṣārâ* but very different from the IH one *tsaʁa*, which makes it quite difficult to identify as doubloon. Moreover, since a majority of speakers of Peripheral IH don't speak MA, or at least, not as a fluent language, they usually don't have the tools to understand that the *f* of *fsaʁa* is retrospectively a preposition and think it is part of the word. Originally, *f-* is the MA preposition meaning "in, with" and does correspond to Standard Arabic *fī* ‏في‏. In the Jewish dialects of MA, the word can be used without the preposition or detached from it: *ḥnā f-wāḥd ṣāṛa kbīra* [we are in a very bad situation], as well as with the preposition, i.e. the way it was borrowed in IH: *howa f-ṣ-ṣāṛa* [he has problems, he is in a bad situation].[25] Actually, just like the IH word can be used: *hu be-tsaʁa.* ‏הוא בצרה‏,

35   Today, people say *a-fsaʁa* [the bad situation], *eze fsaʁa* [what a bad situation] or even *a-fsaʁa še-ba-fsaʁa* [the worst situation ever!].[26]

36   In summary, the word צרה has made it twice from Ancient to IH:

Ancient Hebrew		Moroccan Arabic		Modern Hebrew
ṣārâ צרה	→	f-ṣ-ṣāṛa פצרהֹ֯ צצרה	→	fsaʁa פסרה
ṣārâ צרה	→			tsaʁa צרה

37　The last word I'll comment on this study is a verb used in the episode but who first appeared on Israeli television in 2009 and who drew at that time a great number of comments in the online press.[27] In the Israeli reality game show האח הגדול, ha/a- *ax a-gadol* (*Big Brother*), season 2[28] episode 2, [29] a young candidate, Maayan Buzaglo-Hodeda[30] was interviewed during the game by the "Big Brother":

37:15	Maayan	*ani xoševet še-a-šavua a-ze ani etgažder al a-xaim šel-i!*
		(!אני חושבת שהשבוע הזה אני אתגז׳דר על החיים שלי)
		"I think this week I will *hitgažder* on my life!"
37:22	a-Ax a-gadol	*ma taasi Maayan?*
		(?מה תעשי מעיין)
		"What will you do Maayan?"
37:24	Maayan	*ani etgažder al a-xaim šel-i!*
		(!אני אתגז׳דר על החיים שלי)
		"I will *hitgažder* on my life!"
37:29	A-ax a-gadol	*a-ax a-gadol lo mevin a-...*
		(...האח הגדול לא מבין ה)
		"Big Brother does not understand the..."
37:30	Maayan	*tilmad marokait, tavin!*
		(!תלמד מרוקאית, תבין)
		"Learn Moroccan, you will understand!"

38　Since then, the word seems to have been considered as symbolic of the Hebrew as spoken by Israelis of Moroccan origins. And indeed, the first episode of *Zaguri Imperya* uses it three times:

35:51	Eviatar	*matayim šekel še-a-doda me-Ako i me-a-megažderot a-kašot!*
		(!מאתיים שקל שהדודה מעכו היא מהמגז׳דרות הקשות)

		"200 shekels that the aunt from Acre is a tough *megaždderet!*"
39:18	Avishag	*at rotsa legaždder? gəždderi ba-bayt šel-ax!*
		(את רוצה לגז׳דר? גז׳דרי בבית שלך!)
		"You want to *giždder? giždder* in your own house!"

39   In Peripheral IH, the verb *giždder* or its pseudo-reflexive counterpart *hitgaždder* means most of the time "to bemoan one's fate, to lament."

40   The verb, perfectly integrated to the Hebrew verbal morphology, comes at first from a Berber language, although it's complicated to determine which one. In the Berber languages, the word appears with various shapes: *agəždur* (Shilha), *aždur* (Central Morocco), *ayəždur* (Beni Iznacen), *ayəžḍur* (Central Algeria), *ağəždur/ayeždor* (Riffian), *agəždur* (Kabyle).[31] These words mean "laments" and more specifically refer to the screams, shouts and tears of women during a funeral, scratching their faces and tearing their clothes. In Shilha, as well as in other varieties, it comes with a verb *gəždder*, meaning "to do *Agejdur*, to lament." Regarding the shape and the locations, the Shilha word is probably the one who was borrowed in MA. The word was largely used in the Jewish dialects as in the expression:

> *di ṣfā-lo māl-o, gəzdrō-lo!* (اذي صفا له ماله، گجدروا له[32]), "that who has lost his fortune, lacerate your face for him as a sign of mourning!"[33]

41   However in Morocco, the first meaning of the verb "to scratch/scar one's face as a sign of mourning" is outdated today, as well as the figurative meaning "to lament." Actually, a semantic shift has occurred from "to lament" to "to damage."[34] And from there, the verb is still in use but means "to do wrong, to rush, to not pay attention" as in the sentences:

> *aš kā-tgəždder;* (اش كتگجدر؟) ,"What the hell are you doing"?
> *mā ʕand-i ma ngəždder bī-h!*[35] (ما عندي ما نگجدر به) ,"I don't care about him";
> *sīr tgəždder!.* (سير تگجدر) ,"Go away! Fuck off!".

42   In some contexts, the old meaning is nonetheless preserved:

> *ngəždder ʕlā yām-iī* (نگجدر على ايامي) ,"I complain, I cry on my past (I feel nostalgic but I know it's useless)", literally "I complain on my days".

43   That last expression is actually very close to the shape of Maayan's complaint from the Israeli Big Brother: *ani etgaždder al a-xaim šel-i!*, [I'll lament/complain on my life!].

44   The Jewish dialects of MA did already show archaic features in the 50's and that before the immigration waves to Israel. They're usually described as showing archaic syntactic structures belonging to earlier stages of the language than other MA dialects,[36] due to the particular history of the Jewish communities; mainly migration and social isolation. In addition, the Jewish speakers almost completely lost contact with the evolution of the language in Morocco, that is to say with Standard MA. In this context, in the Jewish dialects of MA, the verb *gəždder/gəžḍər/gəzdər* preserved one of the ancient meanings "to cry during a funeral, to do *ageždur*." And that's probably with that meaning it first entered IH. Henshke mentions a noun *gejdor* in IH with meaning "mourning, scoring the face with fingernails" alongside the verb *legajdeʁ* [to lament].[37] And that's indeed usually how the verb is used today in Israel's peripheries, as in this sentence heard in another reality show:

kol a-yom baxit ve-giždar-t al a-xaim šel-ax![38] ,(כל היום בכית וגז׳רת על החיים שלך)
"You've been crying and complaining about your life the whole day!"

45   Lately, in an online post on Facebook from 2018, the official Israeli Big Brother Group used the expression:

atem omdim legajder mi-tsxok![39] You'll get hysterical" ,(!אתם עומדים לגז׳דר מצחוק)"
with laughter!"

Illustration 1

46   Back to *Zaguri Imperya*, the verb seems to be used in the show with its original Berber meaning "to do *Agejdur*." Yet, it is usually not used that way in IH (apart maybe from real bilingual speakers that would transfer the ancient MA meaning). Such a use seems artificial, although it's difficult to assert. Let's look at the two sentences from the show again:

35:51	Eviatar	*matayim šekel še-a-doda me-Ako i me-a-megažderot a-kašot!*
		(!מאתיים שקל שהדודה מעכו היא מהמגז׳דרות הקשות)
		"200 shekels that the aunt from Acre is a tough *megaždderet!*"
39:18	Avishag	*at rotsa legažder? gəˈžderi ba-bayt šel-ax!*
		(!את רוצה לגז׳דר? גז׳דרי בבית שלך)
		"You want to *gižder? gižder* in your own house!

47   The scene takes place during a funeral and in fact the verb could have both meanings. The first sentence could mean "200 shekels that the aunt from Acre is a tough hysterical lady" or "is good at doing *Agejdur*." The second one could stand for "you want to do *Agejdur*, do it at home!" or the usual IH figurative meaning "you want to get hysterical, do it at home." Anyhow, the choice of the creator of the show to use that specific word in a scene taking place at a funeral is not coincidental.

Conclusion

48   The first episode of the TV show *Zaguri Imperya* is a good illustration of what is Peripheral IH, even though it's focused on the "Moroccan" specificities. As seen throughout this study, the impact of those special features obviously depends on who speaks and on which generation the speaker belongs, in fact to what extent the speaker does know MA. The show presents a situation of languages in contact with MA words and expressions in IH, such as lexical borrowings, Jewish-Moroccan accent in IH, Israeli accent in MA and other examples. But never a code-switching phenomenon or any kind

of tangible language alternation is really developed, although it does exist in Israel's peripheries. Actually, it would have been difficult to set it up with this in mind that first, the actors are for the most part non-fluent speakers of MA (or even non-speakers at all) and secondly, the show is aimed at a specific audience; the monolingual Israeli Hebrew speaking audience. And that's important to note here: in such a fiction, there are elements that the creators specifically want to show and they have to think about the reception of the audience too. These factors undoubtedly influence the way social phenomena will be shown on screen.

49　In the show, Maor Zaguri, uses real, existing material of this specific case of languages in contact, but overuses it a bit. He's playing with the intensity of the influences and with the frequency of the examples,—sometimes with the meaning of the words too— but he does never invent unattested examples. This is what makes it an interesting, and entertaining, representation of the real sociolinguistic phenomena.

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NOTES

1. ."The Zaguri Empire" : זגורי אימפריה

2. Maor Mimun Zaguri, born in 1981 in Beersheva, is an Israeli director, playwright, screenwriter, actor and acting teacher: https://www.imdb.com/name/nm6416863/.

3. The parents Albert and Viviane, the sons Aviel, Eviatar, Avi, Avishai and Avir, the daughters Miriam, Avishag and Avigail and the grandmother Alegria.

4. Hᴇɴsʜᴋᴇ, 2017.

5. Hᴇɴsʜᴋᴇ, 2017 uses the expression "Hebrew of Israel's Periphery."

6. Hᴇɴᴋɪɴ, 2011, p. 75.

7. Episode available on Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ThDjFMOaES4&t=576s. It lasts 45:26 minutes. Every quotation in the article is based on this specific video.

8. Hᴇɴᴋɪɴ, 2011, p. 75, reminds that the Moroccan community is the largest group.

9. Hᴇɴᴋɪɴ, 2011, p. 75 reminds that the Moroccan community is the largest group.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

11. About the shift of the first vowel /ə/-/a/, see Hᴇɴsʜᴋᴇ, 2013, p. 215.

12. *pāʕūl*, פָּעוּל, *mupʕāl* מֻפְעָל and מְפֻעָל, *məpuʕʕal.*,

13. Hᴇɴsʜᴋᴇ, 2013, p. 215; Hᴇɴᴋɪɴ, 2011, pp. 70, 73. Henkin quotes maC1C2ūC3 examples and adds that this occurrence of this stem in IH led to a morphological loan; maC1C2ūC3 crossed with Hebrew root: *magnuv* "terrific" or *mag'ul* "revolting."

14. Rosenthal, 2005, p. 363 lists both *šufuni* and שׁוּפוּנִי, *šufuni ya nas*as שׁוּפוּנִי יָא נָאס , attested in Hebrew slang.

15. Pʀᴇᴍᴀʀᴇ, 1999 (4), pp. 329-330.

16. Biographies found online: https://www.edb.co.il/name/n0000593/bio/; https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%94_%D7%90%D7%99%D7%91%D7%92%D7%99.

17. Lᴇᴠʏ, 2009, p. 189.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

19. Lévy, 2009, p. 190.

20. Pereira, 2010, p. 224.

21. Lévy, 2009, pp. 224-225.

22. Actually, this pronunciation is most probably influenced by Arabic.

23. Dvora Kedar was born in Lithuania in 1924: https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0444289/i.

24. See Sibony, 2019b: the curse can still be heard nowadays in some non-Jewish Arabic dialects.

25. Bahat, 2001, p. 385.

26. For example in this sample of the 15th episode of *Zaguri Imperia*, at 00:35: https://vilook.com/video/IS7WNElaQQw/%d7%94%d7%a4%d7%a1%d7%a8%d7%94-%d7%a9%d7%91%d7%a4%d7%a1%d7%a8%d7%94-%d7%96%d7%92%d7%95%d7%a8%d7%99-%d7%90%d7%99%d7%9e%d7%a4%d7%a8%d7%99%d7%94-hot-%d7%94%d7%95%d7%98.

27. Among others: https://www.mako.co.il/music-24/24new-yasu/Article-808c6a2bfa0d621006.htm; https://www.fxp.co.il/showthread.php?t=5538969; makorrishon.co.il/nrg/online/47/ART2/074/864.html…

28. https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%94%D7%90%D7%97_%D7%94%D7%92%D7%93%D7%95%D7%9C_%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%94_2he.wikipedia.org/wiki/2_עונה_הגדול_האח.

29. https://www.zira.ninja/watch/600-הגדול-האח-ha-ah-hagadol/season/2/episode/2.

30. 21 years old at the time: https://www.mako.co.il/tv-bigbrother/season2-housemates/maayan-buzaglo-hodeda/Article-8661ab8f8509421006.htm.

31. Nait-Zerrad, 2002 (3), p. 755.

32. In Hebrew script : די צפֿא לו מאלו, גזדרו לו.

33. Brunot & Malka, 1939, p. 189.

34. Premare, 1999 (10), p. 691.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Vicente, 2010, p. 148.

37. Henshke, 2013, p. 217.

38. https://www.language-editing.blogspot.com/2016/06/blog-post_19.html.

39. https://www.facebook.com/1866356163620782/posts/אתם-עומדים-לגזר-מצחוק-קבלו-את-החיקוי-המטורף-של-ישראל-שאבי-שלח-לנו-יודעים-גם-לחק/240871096626645/.

ABSTRACTS

This study discusses the influence of Moroccan Arabic on the Hebrew spoken by the characters of the Israeli TV Show *Zaguri Imperya*. This show was created by Maor Zaguri and broadcast for the first time in 2014. It takes place in the Israeli city of Beersheba, in a neighborhood inhabited by a majority of Israelis of Moroccan origin. The characters of the show speak the variety of Hebrew of the social, economical and geographical peripheries of the State of Israel. This variety of Hebrew (Peripheral, Oriental, Mizrahi) has been historically influenced by Moroccan Arabic as well as by the other languages of the new immigrants. But the "Moroccans" were probably the largest community of immigrants in those peripheries, which makes their language very likely to be the most influential substrate for that variety of Modern Hebrew. *Zaguri Imperya* is a fiction whose main purpose is to introduce the audience to the Moroccan aspects of those neighborhoods; therefore, those aspects are probably exaggerated.

Cette étude discute de l'influence de l'arabe marocain sur l'hébreu tel qu'il est parlé par les personnages de la série télé israélienne *Zaguri Imperya*. La série a été créée par Maor Zaguri et diffusée pour la première fois en 2014. Elle se déroule dans la ville de Beersheba, dans un quartier majoritairement habité par des Israéliens d'origine marocaine. Les personnages de la série s'expriment dans la variété d'hébreu des périphéries sociales, économiques et géographiques d'Israël. Ce sociolecte (appelé périphérique, oriental ou mizrahi) a historiquement été influencé par l'arabe marocain, comme il l'a été par les langues des autres nouveaux arrivants. Mais puisque la communauté marocaine a vraisemblablement été la plus importante de ces « périphéries », l'arabe marocain a des chances d'être le plus important substrat pour cette variété d'hébreu moderne. *Zaguri Imperya* est une fiction dont l'un des principaux aspects est de traiter des questions de « marocanité » dans la société israélienne et plus précisément dans ces quartiers. En ce sens, ces spécificités culturelles sont probablement artificiellement accentuées.

מחקר זה דן בהשפעתה של השפה המרוקאית על העברית המדוברת בסדרת הטלוויזיה הישראלית ״זגורי אימפריה״. הסדרה נוצרה על ידי מאור זגורי ושודרה החל משנת 2014. עלילת הסדרה מתרחשת בבאר-שבע, ומתמקדת במשפחת זגורי החיה בשכונה מרוקאית של העיר. דמויות הסדרה דוברות עברית מיוחדת במינה. העברית הזאת, היא סוציולקט הפריפריות, שהן הפריפריות החברתיות, הכלכליות והגיאוגרפיות של מדינת ישראל. סוג זה של עברית מודרנית מדוברת (פריפרית/ מזרחית) הושפע על-ידי שפות רבות של עולים, אך דווקא בהקשר מסוים זה. כלומר, הושפע בעיקר על ידי השפה המרוקאית, זאת מפני שקהילת המרוקאים הייתה קהילת העולים הגדולה ביותר מבחינת מספרה בפריפריות האלה.

INDEX

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