**Summary**

The Arabic dialect of the Jews of Damascus, Syria (henceforth: DDJ) demonstrates uniqueness when compared to the descriptions of the Common Dialect of Damascus (henceforth: CD), as it the case when compared to other dialects in its environment. This uniqueness is well identified in the phonology, the morphology and the vocabulary of DDJ. This work, which is based upon a corpus made by myself mainly by interviewing both male and female consultants, is the first of its kind in researching the language of the ancient Jewish community of Damascus; which has, unfortunately, ceased to exist. Besides its linguistic aspect, this work also documents other aspects of the life of Damascene Jews. It thus helps in preserving this part of Jewish history and the studying of Jewish languages. (for the establishment of the corpus look §&&&&&).

**Consonantal sound shifts** that are known between Classical Arabic (henceforth: CA or \*) and the urban dialects in the Levant were also found in DDJ. CA interdentals have shifted to their stop equivalents, side to side with another shift, which is also known, to their fricative equivalents (§&&&&&). CA \**q* has shifted almost always to *ˀ*. But, as it is also in CD and other urban dialects, *q* is still articulated, especially in loans from MSA (§&&&&). In the consonantal system of DDJ there are also consonants that are not a part of CA system, especially *p* and *g*. What is unique about these consonants in DDJ, compared to CD, is that they were brought also via Hebrew loans: *pərāšā*HB 'the weekly portion of the Torah readings', *gōy*HB 'a Muslim'. The consonant *v* was also taken, partially, from Hebrew: *məṣvā*HB 'a religious duty' (§§&&&&&&). The small number of occurrences of the consonant *č* in DDJ (it occurs only in the word *corāča*SP 'a bag for the praying shawl') presents an acute difference between DDJ and the dialect of Aleppian Jews (henceforth: JA), where this consonant is much more frequent (§&&&& and fn. &&&&&). The consonant *g* has also occurred in the words *ʾagraʿ* 'bald' and *garʿa* 'baldness', in which it reflects \**q*. In some other cases *g* reflects the consonant \**k*: *ragad* 'he ran', *nəgla* 'a nickel' (§&&&&&). \**ğ* has shifted to *ž*, but there are numerous cases where it is still pronounced *ğ*, just as it is known in other dialects in the region (§&&&&&&).

**Velarization** extends in both directions, but this subject requires a deeper examination (§&&&&&). A long pronunciation of consonants is found in DDJ, but this prolongation is shortened in clusters of the type \*CACACB, which are pronounced CACB:\**nulabbisu+hu>nlabbs-o*>[ˈnlapso] 'we dress him'. Clusters of the type CACACA are not reduced, but rather receive a helping vowel between the second and third consonants: \**yḥallel+u>\*yḥalllu>yḥálləlu*HBC 'they desecrate (the Sabbath)' (§&&&&&&). There seems to be no difference between the pronunciation of \*CACACB>CACB and the pronunciation of CACB║CACB, e.g.: *ʾəmm+na*>[ˈʔəmna] 'our mother' is pronounced the same way as *ˀəmna* [ˈʔəmna] 'we removed' (§&&&&&&). The most common type of **assimilation** between consonants in DDJ is the regressive assimilation, e.g.: \**ḥžār*>[ˈʕʒaːṛ] 'stones', \**nbīd*>[ˈmbiːd] 'wine' (§&&&&&). There are also instances of voicing between vowels, e.g.: *b-tāxod*>[ˈptaːɣod] 'you (Sg.3.m) take' (§&&&&&&). **The average duration of a long vowel** is 130ms, while a short vowel's duration is 63ms in average. A super short vowel lasts 48ms. The phonemic value of vowel duration is evident from minimal pairs such as *ṭābxa*:*ṭabxa* 'she cooked:a dish'.

**\**i* and \**u* vowels** are usually elided in open unstressed syllables, and in stressed open syllables or before a cluster they become *ə*, as is the case also in CD: \**wulida>wə́led* 'he was born', \**šuṭṭār>šəṭṭār* 'smart (pl.)'. In the nominal pattern \*C1iC2āC3(T) \**i* tends to remain: *mn-əl-bilād* 'from the country', *bi-l-bidāye* 'in the beginning' (§&&&&&&). \**u*║*u* in open unstressed syllable is usually maintained in loans from CA, e.g.: *sənn  
əṭ-ṭufūle* 'early childhood' (§&&&&&&&).

***ə* is highly affected by its consonantal environment** – in proximity with labials *f*, *b*, *w*, *m* and near pharyngealized consonants it can be sound [u]: *ṣəfi*>[ˈsˁufi] 'it remained', *məšyet*>[ˈmuʃyet] 'she went', *ḍəxme*>[ˈdˁuχme] 'huge (f.sg.)'. When in proximity with glottal, pharyngeal and fricative velar consonants *ə* can be sound [a]: *\*ğuhdu+na>žə́həd-na*>[ˈʒahadna] 'our effort', *ʿəmr-i*>[ˈʕamri] 'my age'. In cases where *ə* can be affected by two different consonantal neighbors, a pharyngeal consonant has a stronger affect then other kinds of consonants, and it gives *ə* the sound of [a] (§&&&&&&).

DDJ can be considered a "parler différentielle", for it tends to **maintain \**a*** in open unstressed syllables. This happens in cases that are known from CD, e.g.: *yahūd* 'Jews', *masīḥi* 'a Christian', *maṣāḥef* 'prayer books', but also in instances that contradict what is known in CD, e.g.: *dáxalet* 'she entered' (CD: *daxlet*), *nxárabet* 'it was ruined' (CD: *nxárbet*). The above-mentioned example *maṣāḥef* demonstrates a fundamental difference between DDJ and the dialects of Aleppian and Baghdadi Jews, in which the *a* in the first syllable is elided.

On the other hand, also **forms with elided -*a*-** were found in the corpus: *ṭábxet* 'she cooked', *nxárbet* 'it was ruined'. These two examples agree with the regular CD pattern, but the elision of -*a*- in 3.pl. verbs was also found in the corpus, e.g.: *ʿamlu* 'they did', *ʾaxdū-won* 'they took them'. These forms make DDJ different from both CD and JA. Likewise, the elision of -*a*- was detected in nominal forms such as *máslan* 'for example', *ḥmāt-a* 'her mother-in-low', *bandōra* 'tomatoes', *ʿašra* 'ten'. In some cases, a correlation between high speech rate and the elision of -*a*- was found. *-a-* is also elided in words of the pattern \*C1aC2īC3(T) when C1 is a front consonant (*l*, *m*, *n*, *b*, *d* etc.) (§§&&&&&).

**\**a>ə* was located especially before CC** (the shifting vowels are marked ): \**wažžabet+hu>wažžə́bt-o* 'she respected him properly', \**madrasT+na>madrə́st-na* 'our school', *sāfarna>sāfərna* 'we traveled', \**farʿun>fərʿ* 'a branch', \**žabhatun>žəbha* 'front', *ḥatta>ḥətta* 'even'. *\*a>ə* was detected also not before CC: \**qawiyyatun>ˀəwiyye* 'strong (f.sg.)', \**sanatun>səne* 'a year' (§§&&&&&&&).

Long vowels are maintained also when unstressed. A long final vowel is preformed if it precedes an enclitic component, even if this component is inaudible: \*ṣalāT>ṣalā́ 'a prayer', \*kmšī+h>kəmšī́ 'hold him!'.

Contrary to JA and Judeo-Baghdadi, a **medial *imāla*** was only detected in words that ended with \*-*āʾ*: \**šitāʾun>\*šitēʾ>\*šitē>šə́te* 'winter', \**qittāʾ>ˀətte* 'cucumis chate'. In other cases, \*ى has shifted to *e*: *ḥəble* 'a pregnant woman', *nəde* 'dew'. Only in rare instances final *ʾalif maqṣūra bi-ṣūrat ʾalif* has shifted to -*e,* especially in the word *hāda* 'this': \**hādā huwa*#>*hāde huwwe*# 'and that's it' (§&&&&&).

**The shift \**ī>ē*** was located in the interrogative *mīn~mēn* 'who?'. This is a rarity in CD but found in JA. This shift of \**ī* has been noted also before *ḥ*: \**mnīḥ>mnēḥ* 'good', \**ṣfīḥa>ṣfēḥa* '*sfiha* (a dish)' (§&&&&&).

**A zeroing of final vowels**, which are, by definition, phonologically long, was documented in DDJ. This phenomenon is rarely mentioned for the various Arabic dialects: \**lammā kuntu>lam kənt* 'when I was', \**ʾidā mā b-aʿrifu-o>ʾiz mā b-aʿarf-o* 'if I don't know him', \**ʾabū mūsā>ʾab mūsa* 'Abu Mousa (name)' (§&&&&&). The well-known **shift of \**ay* and \**aw*** to *ē* and *ō* accordingly is found also in DDJ, but with some consultants a shift \**ay*>*ey* was also recorded: *b-əl-lēl*>[bəlˈleyl] 'in the night', \**layš*>[leyʃ] 'why?'. The minimal pair *dawle* 'a state':*dōle* 'a kettle for brewing coffee' grants the diphthong *aw* a phonemic status (§&&&&& and fn. &&&&). There are some instances in which \**əw* and \**əy* have been maintained, while in other cases these diphthongs have shifted to *ū* and *ī* accordingly (§&&&&&&).

**The syllabic structure** in DDJ allows the existence of a triconsonantal medial cluster: *yəktbu* 'they write', *nafs-na* 'ourselves'. A biconsonantal final cluster can also be maintained: *dimašq* 'Damascus', *əs-sabt yəˀra* 'on Saturday he reads.' In pause a final cluster is likely to be broken: *fətt ʾana* 'I entered' but *baʿdēn ē fətət ē* 'after that mmm I entered mmm'. A final -*lt* cluster tended not to be broken in any case. In clusters that contain five consonants, first the leftmost triconsonantal cluster is dealt with, and only after that the rightmost triconsonantal cluster: \**mətl b-t-tānāx*IHB*>mətəl  
b-t-tānāx*IHB*>mətəl b-ət-tānāx*IHB 'like in the Bible' (§&&&&&). Monosyllabic words are widened in one of three ways: 1) Doubling the last consonant: \**l-yadu l-ʿāmilatu>l-yadd əl-ʿāmle* 'working hand(s)', 2) Prolonging the medial vowel: \**tiq>\*seq>sēq* 'be (sg.m.) sure!', 3) Addition of a syllable: \**l+hu(m)>\*l-o(n)>ʾəl-o(n)* 'for him/them', \**ʾaḥadun>\*ḥad>ḥada(n)* 'someone'.

Although very rare in urban dialects, some sporadic instances of the **"*gahawah*-syndrome"** have been located in DDJ: \**la-wáḥd-i>la-wáḥad-i* 'on my own',  
\**bi-ráḥmet žədd-i>bə-raḥámet žədd-i* 'by my late grandfather' (§&&&&&).

**Stress rules** in DDJ generally resemble those of the other dialects in the region, i.e., stress falls on VCC or V̅ closest to word final (§&&&&). Otherwise stress falls on the first syllable of the word, unless a morphological border is on the left: *ˀúṣaṣ-o* 'his stories' but *ka-bálad* 'as a state'. The main exceptions are: 1) Stress in verbs of Form-7 and Form-8 – stress fall after CC and not before it, e.g.: *nəḥtə́fel* 'we celebrate', 2) The last syllable of the units words in the numbers 23-99 is stressed (and prolonged), e.g.: *tlātā́-w-sabʿīn* '73' (and not \**tlāte w-sabʿīn*) (§&&&&&&).

It is worthwhile mentioning the addition of **sg.f.3. and pl.3. pronominal suffixes** to words that end with a consonant. In this special case two stressing patterns have been located – sometimes stress is on the penult syllable, and sometimes on the antepenult: \**katab+ha>katáb-a* 'he wrote it (sg.f.)' but \**ʾaxad+hon>ʾáxad-on* 'he took them'. These two patterns occur in the speech of all consultants, both male and female, and the considerations for choosing one pattern or the other call for further investigation (§&&&&).

**The epenthetic vowel** which is used for breaking problematic clusters cannot be stressed. This is why maybe the stressed vowel in words such as *šāyə́ft-o* 'she sees him', *kāšə́ft-o* 'she exposes him' and the like, should not be considered as an epenthetic vowel, but rather as the historical stem vowel \**šāyifT*, \**kāšifT* (§&&&& and fn. &&&&).

Unique **prepositions** in DDJ are *nāḥ* 'towords' (§&&&&), *mʾābīl* 'in front of' (§&&&&). Not in all cases a doubling of enclitic preposition -*l*- after a cluster was marked, i.e., alongside with *katabt-ə́ll-o* 'I wrote to him' also forms such as *ˀəlt-l-o* 'I told him' were found. Forms without double *l* are different from those in CD (§&&&&). A proclitic *la*- occurs also before the explicit part referred to in the pronominal suffix, e.g.: *ʾərtəḥt mənn-o la-ha-š-šaxɔṣ* 'I got rid of him, of that person' (§&&&&). The preposition *ʾəl-* is used, among other uses, to emphasize a preceding pronominal suffix: *baʿat wara mənn-i ʾəl-i* 'he sent (someone) after *me*' (§&&&&). Unlike in CD, the form of the preposition *mən* in pl.1.c. is *mə́nn-əna* 'from us' while in sg.3.f. it is *mənn-a* 'from her'. Another difference between DDJ and DC concerning the preposition *mən* is that in DDJ it is shortened to *mə*- before the definite article (CD: *mn*-) (§&&&&). The preposition *maʿ* 'with' has in DDJ only the short form before pronominal suffixes  
(*maʿ-ak* 'with you' and not *maʿā-k*). One of the utilities of this preposition is to express the relevant argument effected by an unaccusative verb, e.g.: *mā ẓəbṭet maʿ-na* 'it didn't work out for us' (§&&&&). Sg.3.f. and pl.3.c. pronominal suffixes attached to the proposition *ʿala* 'on' in DDJ begin always with -*h*-: *b-ifūt ʿalē-ha* 'he enters to it (sg.3.f.)', *muʿtámad ʿalē-hon* 'they can be relied upon' (in CD and JA also a -*y*- can be used here) (§&&&). Sg.3.m. of the preposition *fī* has two allomorphs: *fī́* and *fī-yo*. The latter, which exists also in JA, has only the sense of 'in it', whereas the former has this sense alongside with the sense 'there is' (&&&&). The preposition *yā*- declines in DDJ the same way as it does in CD, but in a completely different way than in JA (&&&& and fn. &&&&).

**The verbal system in DDJ**, as in other Arabic dialects, continues that of CA. In DDJ the *a* vowel of sg.1.c. p-stem ("imperfect") prefix is maintained even in places it is elided in CD (the prefix is marked ): *bdīt ʾana ʾaxayyeṭ* 'I began to sew', *bd-i ʾasāfer* 'I want to travel' (&&&). Unlike in CD, in DDJ the sg.3.f. ending vowel is elided before a pronominal suffix beginning with a vowel: *ḍarbet+o>ḍáṛəbt-o* 'she hit him', *ftákret+o>ftákərt-o* 'she thought that he was ….'. In DDJ this vowel is omitted also in many instances of C2w/y: *ˀālet+l+ak>ˀalt-l-ak* 'she told you (sg.m.)', *ṣārt təḍrə́b-ni* 'she started to bit me.' (&&&&).

**A unique DDJ verb form** is *ʾarāḥ* 'he went', known also in the dialect of Cairene Jews (&&&). In addition to stative verbs in Form-2 that exist in CD, DJJ has also the verbs *waṣṣal* 'he arrived', *laˀˀa* 'he found' (&&&).

As already mentioned, alongside with forms known from CD, there are forms in DDJ in which **C2's vowel has been maintained in sg.3.f. s-stem ("perfect")**: *ṭábaxet* 'she cooked', and **forms of pl.3.c. s-stem in which this vowel has been elided**: *ragdu* 'they ran'. Imperative forms in Form-1 have a long vowel in monosyllabic forms: *ktōb* 'write! (sg.2.m.)' *xōd* 'take! (sg.2.m.)', *ˀīm* 'take (sth) off! (sg.2.m.)', but these vowels become *ə* or *a* in polysyllabic words: *ktə́bu* 'write! (pl.2.c.)', *xəd-o* 'take (sg.2.m.) him!', *ˀəmi* 'take (sth.) off! (sg.2.f.)', and it seems that there is a linkage between the vowel length and the number of syllables in the specific form. The participle forms *C1āC2eC3*(mainly for transitiveverbs) and *C1aC2C3ān* (mainly for intransitiveverbs) are also known in CD (&&&&&)

Form-2 is used in DDJ, as in other vernaculars of Judeo Arabic, for embedding a Hebrew component: *hallax*(<Heb.: *hålak* 'he went') 'he fled (to Israel)', *ʾayyax*(<Heb.: *ʾēkåh*, the book of Lamentations) 'he cried buckets'. The same goes to pattern C1ōC2aC3 of Form-3: *bōraḥ*(<Heb.: *båraḥ* 'he ran away') 'he fled (to Israel)', *mbōxi*(Heb.: *båkå* 'he wept') 'he is crying buckets'. The *maṣdar* form of Form-5 is *taC1aC2C2oC3*, unlike the pattern in JA (§§&&&&). Form-8 is being used for denoting the passive voice when C1=R: *ltabas* 'been worn', *mā b-təntása* 'unforgettable' (§§&&&&&). In DDJ there are some remnants of the inner passive, which exist also in CD (§&&&&&). The reflexibility particle is *ḥāl*-, while the reciprocality particle is *baʿḍ*-, and they are placed after the verb and before pronominal suffixes. Reciprocality is also expressed by the syntagma *wāḥed … t-tāni* 'one … the other', a structure that is not much mentioned for CD (§§&&&&&). The verbs in s-stem ("perfect") and p-stem ("imperfect") are negated by the particle *mā*. Imperative forms are negated by *lā* (§§&&&).

**S-stem of *C1w* verbs** in DDJ decline in three ways: 1) Prolongation of the vowel after the subject prefix, e.g.: *nūṣal* 'we arrive'; 2) Elision of C1 altogether, e.g.: *təsaʿ* 'it contains'; 3) Diphthongization after the subject prefix, e.g.: *yəwladu* 'they give birth'. The third way is not common in CD, but it exists in JA and in some Palestinian dialects (§§&&&&&). In some p-stem ("imperfect") forms of the verb *sāwa* 'he did' the *w* has shifted to *y*: *ʿam b-isāyi mašākel* 'he makes problems', *šū msāy-īn-l-kon nəḥna?* 'what have we (the Muslims) done to you?'. This phenomenon is also known in JA, but only in verbal forms and not in the participle (&&&&&&).

Pl.3.c p-stem forms, and pl.3.c. s-stem forms of C3*y* verbs end with *u*, whether the singular form ends with *a* or *i*. This gives DDJ a straight system, unlike those of JA and of Judeo-Baghdadi Arabic (&&&&&&).

The verb *ʾəža* 'he came' in DDJ initiates with *ʾə*- only in the absolute forms of 3rd person(s). In other persons, or if a form of the 3rd person is attached to an enclitic morpheme, this initial syllable is elided: *ʾəža* 'he came', *žīt* 'I came', *žā-k* '(sth. or so.) came to you' (&&&&&&&)

**When a proclitic *b-* is attached to a p-stem ("imperfect") verbal form in the sg.1.c the vowel of inflectional prefix is usually maintained**, unlike the situation in CD:  
*b-ašaġġl-ak* 'I employ you' (CD: *b-šaġġl-ak*). The inflectional prefix *y* of sg.3.m and pl.3.c can be omitted after a proclitic *b-*: *b-əswa* 'it has the value of', again, unlike what is common in CD (&&&&&&&). The particle *ʿam* comes in DDJ before p-stems that are attached to a proclitic *b-* in various persons, whereas in CD *ʿam+b-* is common especially before sg.1.c: *ən-nās əlli ṭūl nhār-on ʿam b-yəˀru b-ət-tōrā*HB 'the people who all their days read in the Torah' (&&&&&&&). **The future marking particle by all consultants is *laḥ***, while in CD the particle *raḥ* is more common (&&&&&&&&). The particle *bədd*- has two shorter allomorphs: *bd*- and *d*-, which were not referred to in the literature consulted (&&&&&&&). The use of the proclitic *la*- before a p-stem form to denote a threat or a promise is found in DDJ also without the word *wáḷḷa* 'by God': *la-nədbáḥ-kon* 'we are going to slaughter you' (&&&&&&).

In the realm of **the nominal system** DDJ continues the system of CA, with the deviations known also from other dialects. **The feminine marker *T*** in the absolute state has three allomorphs: -*a*, -*e*, -*t*. The two first allomorphs act according to the rule known also in CD and other many dialects in the region. -*e* occurs also after *r* provided that it succeeds *ī*: *faˀīre* 'a poor woman' but *fatra* 'a period of time', \**dakātira*>*dakātra* 'doctors'. The allomorph -*t* occurs in some word that had had \*-*āT*, especially in the word *ḥayāt* 'life' (JA: *ḥayā*), but with some consultants also in other words (*ət-tawrāt* 'the Torah'). The units words in the numbers 23-99 are stressed, and *T* is reflected as  
*-ā́*: *xamsā́-w-ʿəšrīn* '25'. In the construct state *T* has three allomorphs as well: -*et*, -*ə́t*-, -*t*(-). Feminine nouns that do not end with *T* in their absolute state usually receive one of these allomorphs in their construct state: *madām+i*>*madāmt-i* 'my wife'. The construct state of words that end with -*a* which is not *T* can have a final -*āt*: \**maʿna+a*>*maʿnāt-a* 'its (sg.3.f.) meaning' (&&&&&&&).

**Plural forms** that are known from CA are found also in DDJ. The sound masculine plural suffix is -*īn*, that of the feminine is -*āt*, and that of nouns ending with -*i* is almost always -*yye*: *ˀahwaži-yye* 'coffee shops owners', *brōfesōr-iyye* 'professors'. The broken plural measures essentially resemble those of CD, for example: *žarīḥ*>*žə́raḥa* 'wounded', *ḥazīn*>*ḥazāna* 'sad, poor', \**ḥidāʾ*>*ʾaḥəzye* 'shoes' (&&&&&&&). The well-known phenomenon of adding -*t*- before plural forms after the numerals 3-10 is found also in DDJ. When months are counted two forms have been detected: *-t-ə́šhor* alongside with *-t-əšhɔ̄́r* (a long vowel between *ū* and *ō*), and it is only possible that the second form is a contamination of the plural form *ʾašhor* and the plural form *š(u)hūr* (&&&&&&&). One can also find in DDJ, as is the case in many other dialects, mixed plural forms: *ṣāḥeb*>\**ʾaṣḥāb*>*ṣḥāb+i*>*ṣḥāb-āt-i* 'my friends' (this specific form is not mentioned for CD) (&&&&&). The dual synthetic form is formed by adding an enclitic -*ēn*, and the analytic is formed by adding *tnēn* 'two' before the plural form: *pāsūˀ*HB+*ēn*>*pāsūˀ*HB-*ēn* 'two verses', *tnēn* *əḥṣān-āt* 'two horses' (&&&&&&). The numerals in DDJ are essentially the same as in CD. A profound difference between the two dialects is that in the numbers 11-19 DDJ has only the shorter series, without the  
-*aṛ* before the counted noun. This is in contradiction with what is found in CD: *ṭnaʿš sāʿa* 't 'twelve hours' (CD: *ṭnaʿšaṛ sāʿa*). In the numbers 23-99 the units words 3-9 end almost always with -ā́. In the series 23-29 some instances of an asyndetic bond between the units and the tens was detected: *tlātā́-ʿəšrīn yōm* 'twenty-three days'. Numbers that contain 9 were pronounced sometimes with initial *ts*-, as is known also for the Jews in Haifa (CD: *təs*-): *b-təswa tsʿa* 'it costs nine (pounds)' (&&&&&&&). The word for '1st' in DDJ is normally *ʾawlāni*(*yye*) (CD and JA: normally *ʾawwalāniyye*) (&&&&&&&).

The *l*- of the definite article does not always assimilate to the "sun letter" that follows, either because of hesitation of the speaker or because of the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel between the article and the noun. However, there are some instances in which the article has not assimilated to the following "sun letter" without any apparent reason (&&&&&). The indefinite articles are: *wāḥed/wāḥde*, *šī* and *falān~flān* (the form *falān* is rarely mentioned for CD in the literature consulted) (&&&&&&).

In DDJ there are forms that end in -*Vn* that is added to the base form of the word. These **remanents of *tanwīn*** have partially been taken from CA, e.g.: *taˀrīban* 'approximately'. Of much more interest are the *tanwīn* forms after -*a*, as in the pairs *ḥada~ḥadan* 'someone', *ʾēmta~ʾēmtan* 'when?', *ḥatta~ḥattan* 'even, until', *lamma~lamman* 'when'. These forms have been rarely described for CD. It seems that this *tanwīn* is not due to the Aramaic substrate, and its existence calls for another explanation (&&&&&&). Another kind of *tanwīn* is the addition of -*en* as a copulative element between the word *waˀt* 'when' and the following phrase: *waˀten ṭləʿt* 'when I went out'. This phenomenon has not been described for CD in the literature consulted. The suffix -*en* was also detected between the preposition *mən* 'from' and a preceding preposition: *ˀablen  
mənn-a* [ˌʔabləmˈmənna] 'before it'. The authors that have referred to this form in CD hesitated as to the question whether to attach the -*əm*- element to the preposition *mən* (thus forming *əmmən*-) or to attach it to the preceding preposition (thus forming, for example, *fōˀəm* 'above'). From the way Syrian writers write their own dialect it appears that this element reflects ن that is attached to the preposition preceding the *mən*, as in تحتن منها 'beneath it'. This gives support to the assumption that these are *tanwīn* forms (&&&&&). It goes without saying that the existence of *tanwīn* in an urban dialect such as DDJ is of special uniqueness and interest.

The pronoun for pl.1.c in DDJ is *ləḥna*, whereas the regular form in CD is *nəḥna*. Pl.3.c. pronoun in DDJ is *hənnen~hənne* (CD: mainly *hənne*). Unlike in CD, sg.3.f. and pl.3.c. pronominal suffixes after a consonant are always without \**h*. After a vowel a glide is inserted between this vowel and the following pronominal suffix: *kabbēnā-hon* 'we threw them', *rəžl-ē-hon* 'their legs', *ʾaxadū-wa* 'they took it', *ʾahālī-yon* 'their families'. This behavior is similar, but not identical, to what is known for the Syrian dialects in Aleppo's area, in the countryside of Latakia (but not inside the city itself), in the stripe that is located between these two cities and also in Homs' area (&&&&&).

As for plural demonstrative pronouns, the form *dōl*(*e*) 'these', which is unknown in CD, has been documented. On the other hand, the forms *hādi* 'this (sg.f.)' and *hadōk~hadənk* 'those', which are documented for CD, were absent in my corpus of DDJ (&&&&&)

DDJ has a **unique vocabulary** that was borrowed from Hebrew. The word *gān*(<Heb.: *gan*) 'kindergarten' was borrowed from Modern Israeli Hebrew due to the Zionist activity that had taken place in Damascus in the first three decades of the 20th century. The word *maḥanē*(<Heb.: *maḥané*, lit.: 'a camp') meant 'a person belong to the (Syrian) security services', and has been used in this sense, as far as I know, only by Jews from Damascus and Aleppo. The word *ʾəssūr*(<Heb.: *ʾissūr*, lit.: 'forbidden') was used to signal to s.o. to stop talking out of caution. The verb *hallax*(<Heb.: *hålax*, lit.: 'he went') was used apparently only by Damascene Jews in the sense of 'he flew away (to Israel)'. A Sunni Muslim was called *gōy*(<Heb. *gōy*, lit.: 'a Gentile', f.: *gōyā*, pl.: *gōyīm*), a Christian was called *ʿārēr*(<Heb.: *ʿårēl*, lit.: 'uncircumcised', f.: *ʿarērtā*, pl.: *ʿarērīm*), and a Shiite Muslin was called by the unique title *sōʿēf*(Heb.: *såʿēf*(?), lit. 'of a double mind', pl. *sōʿafīm*), used also by Baghdadi Jews. Two unique words, *ṭāmē* and *ṭōmē* (both from Heb.: *ṭåmē*, lit.: 'impure'), have been used in different meanings – the first one denoted a non-Jew, while the other one denoted a filthy man or vessel. Words that were connected to Synagogue atmosphere such as *ˀāhāl*(<Heb.: *qåhål*, lit.: 'congregation') 'visitors of the Synagogue', *ḥazzān*(<Heb.: *ḥazzån*, lit.: 'cantor') 'cantor', and *hēxāl*(<Heb.: *hēxāl*, lit.: 'temple') 'the Holy Ark in the Synagogue' are not unique to DDJ, but the word *xābōd*(<Heb.: *kåbōd*<*bəkåbōd*, lit.: 'with honor') is unknown to me from any other Jewish language. This word has been used to invite a person to read in the Torah. The praying shawl was called *ṭaḷḷēt*(<Heb.: regularly *ṭallīt*) and the phylacteries were called *t(ə)fillīm*(<Heb.: regularly *təfillīn*). A unique pronunciation for 'Writings' (the third section of the Jewish Bible) - *kətubbīm*(<Heb.: *kətūbīm*). Most names of the Holydays were borrowed from Hebrew: *rōššānā*(<Heb.: *rōš ha-ššånåh*) 'New Year festival', *kəppūr*(<Heb.: *kippūr*) 'Day of Atonement'. The fest of 9th of Av was called in DDJ, as in some other Jewish communities, *ʾēxa*(<Heb.: *ʾēxå*, lit.: 'the book of Lamentations'), but in JA: *tšəʿbōb*. The day preceding a Holyday was called *ʿrə́bba*(<Heb.: *ʿarubbā*, lit.: 'the eve of') or *yōm* (*əl*-)*ʿrə́bba*. Many Hebrew word were also part and parcel of the vocabulary concerning the rhythm of Jewish life: *fədyōn*(<Heb.: *pidyōn*, lit.: 'redemption') 'Redemption of the Firstborn (a Jewish custom)', *ˀəddūšīm*(<Heb.: *qiddūšīm*, *qiddūšīn*, lit.: 'sanctification') 'a matrimonial ceremony' (&&&&&&&&). This work also surveys the way that Damascene Jews wrote Hebrew words in Arabic characters in one of their texts (&&&&&).

Besides the unique Hebrew component DDJ's lexicon contains also a unique and unknown Arabic component. The name of the festival of Tabernacles (*sukkōt*) was  
*l-əmḍaḷḷe*(<Ar.: \**l-miḏ̣allatu*, lit.: 'the booth'). A secondary fest day was named after the prime fest day that follows it, with the addition of the word *mrāyet*- (lit.: 'a mirror of'), e.g.: *mrāyet ʾēxa* 'the fest of 17th of Tammuz', a lexical expression unfound in other Jewish languages. The days between 17th of Tammuz and 9th of Av were called  
*l-ʿakəs*(<Ar.: *l-ʿaksu*, lit.: 'the opposite'), and the nine days between the 1st of Av and 9th of Av were called *rafʿ əs-səkkīn*(<Ar.: *rafʿu s-sakkīn*, lit.: 'taking the knife off'). A rather special greeting between the Jews was *žəmʿə́t-kon xaḍra*(<Ar.: *ğumʿatukum xaḍrāʾ*, lit.: 'may you have a green week') in the sense of 'have a good week'. This greeting is known also among Cairene Jews. Some unique Arabic words have been noted in the field of food and dishes. *zafar*(<Ar.: *zafar*, lit.: 'meet fat') was used to denote meat, and *laban*(<Ar.: *laban*, lit.: 'milk') was used to denote any kind of dairy food. The word *ṭamīre*(<Ar.: *ṭamīratu*, lit.: 'hidden, buried') was the name of the Damascene style *cholent*, and, as far as I know, has been in use only in DDJ. Examples for unique Arabic lexemes from synagogue ceremonies are: *radde*(<Ar. *raddatu*, lit.: 'an act of returning'), i.e., the returning of the Torah scroll to the Holy Ark, *dallāle*(<Ar.: *dallālatu*, lit.: 'an indicator'), a finger-like pointer that is used to direct the readers while reading in the Torah scroll. In the sphere of the rhythm of life there have been many lexical items unique to DDJ, e.g.: *ˀbūl*(<Ar.: *qubūl*, lit.: 'acceptance'), denoting a welcome ceremony held upon the birth of a daughter, *mˀaddme*(<Ar.: *muqaddimatun*, lit.: 'one how offers'), i.e., the woman (usually the grandmother) how offers the newborn son to the godfather in the circumcision ceremony, *xəbəz tarḥīm*(<Ar.: *xubz tarḥīm*, lit.: 'compassion bread'), which is a round loaf of bread distributed to the people upon the death of a relative. DDJ has also some general Arabic words and phrases that are unknown in CD, e.g.: *šēxa maryam*, an epithet to a woman that her appearance and mind are not right, *barrāt l-əbyūt* (lit.: 'out of the houses'), used when a calamity is mentioned. Surprisingly, DDJ has even unique words for the most basic things when compared with CD, e.g.: *wədən* 'an ear' (CD: *dēne*, *ʾədən*), *ʾōḍa* 'a room' (CD: *ʾūḍa*). There are several Spanish items in DDJ, e.g.: *korāča* 'a bag for carrying the praying shawl and book', *kənəswēgro* 'affinal relatives'. A French word which is apparently unique to DDJ is *l-ʾalyōns* 'Alliance, AIU'. Some lexical items of obscure origins found in DDJ are: *dōti* 'a Druze', *takmīr* 'thorough cleaning of the house before the Holydays', *ʾāzīn* 'nursery school (before kindergarten)', *məḥzāye* 'a silver plate used in synagogue' (&&&&&&&).

As a part of the lexicon of DDJ this work offers a survey of **given names repertoire** among Damascene Jewry. This repertoire was rather different from the naming patterns common among the other inhabitants of Damascus (&&&&&&&&).

**The speakers' awareness** as to the uniqueness of their dialect ranged from the estimation that there has been no difference between DDJ and CD and sayings that the Jews' manner of speaking was so distinct that they could have been easily recognized only by the way they spoke.

**Conclusions**

DDJ is a part of the dialectal texture known in this part of the Arabic-speaking world. It is an urban dialect that shares many features with other dialects. Nonetheless, DDJ have some distinctive features in phonology, morphology and lexicon, that set it apart from CD (&&&&&&). DDJ also demonstrates differences from what is known about the dialects of other Jewish communities in the region, primarily that of Judeo- Aleppian. The differences between DDJ and JA are profound and concern all three fields mentioned above (&&&&&&).

DDJ reflects perfectly its situation in the geographical space – it is a meeting point between the Palestinian dialects in the south, the Syrian dialect in the north and the Lebanese dialects in the west. This situation is what has given DDJ its uniqueness, but also contributed to some instances of irregularities, such as *ʾaxadet~ʾaxdet* 'she took', *ragadu~ragdu* 'they ran', *ḍaráb-on~ḍárab-on* 'he bit them'. The unique vocabulary of DDJ, in the religion field and in other fields, deserves a study of its own, and should be done by comparing DDJ lexicon with that of other Jewish dialects in the Arabic-speaking world and also with Syrian and Levantine non-Jewish dialects.