Moroccan Arabic verbs in Peripheral Israeli Hebrew
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Peripheral Israeli Hebrew (PIH) is a chosen designation for the modern variety of Hebrew spoken in the "Israeli peripheries". It's more or less the same variety some scholars call Mizrahi/Oriental Hebrew (SCHAEFER-DEVENS 1980; HENSHKE 2013b; NEUMANN 2015) or Traditional-Mizrahi Hebrew (HENSHKE 2017). The choice of the name PIH is motivated by the fact that this sociolect is nowadays the one of the geographical, economical and social peripheries of Israel. The "Moroccan community", which mainly arrived in the late 50's, is known to be the largest group represented in those neighborhoods (HENKIN-ROITFARB 2011). Therefore, PIH integrated some very specific words resulting from lexical borrowings but also morphological calques from Moroccan Arabic (MA). Those morphological calques were probably enhanced by the proximity of the morphological systems of these two Semitic languages.
I propose to deal specifically with the case of a few PIH verbs whose origin is obviously from MA even if today, they are used by any speaker of the "Israeli peripheries", regardless of their linguistic or familial background.
Hebrew morphology is used to integrate borrowed verbs or even to verbalize borrowed non-verbs to the verbal forms pi'el (*piʕēl) and hitpa'el (*hiṯpaʕʕēl); historical Semitic D and tD stems. This factor might have facilitated the borrowings of MA verbs already built on D and/or tD stems (Arabic forms II and V).

For example, one of those verbs was as a first step, borrowed from Tamazight (Middle Atlas Berber) to MA. In Tamazight, the noun agəždur refers to women crying, tearing off their clothes and scratching their faces during funerals. This noun goes hand in hand with the verb gəždər. It was borrowed in MA where the word shows many variations (actually as it does in Berber) agəždur, gəždur, giždor (etc.) but usually retains the same meaning and comes together with the same verb gəždər "to cry out loud, to do Agejdur". but it shows in addition figurative meanings like "to complain, to whine, to work hard" or the opposite "to do something bad or badly", as in examples:
- aš ġādi ngəždər təmma?, "what the hell will I do there?";
- aš gəždərti l-yom?, "what the hell did you do today?";
- ngəždər ʕla yāmi, "I complain (moan, cry, feel sad, nostalgic) about my days (my past)".

This verb made it to PIH: gižder, "to complain, to annoy, to cause damage" and has a reflexive counterpart too: hitgažder, "to complain, to whine, to be hysterical":
- kol a-yom baxit ve-giždart al ha-xayim šel-ax, hitgaždart!, "you've been crying and complaining about your life the whole day, you're moaning about your lot!"

The same mechanism is at play in the following verbs:

MA > PIH
'ăwwəž / t'ăwwəž > 'iwez / hit'awez
xărwəd/ḍ/ṭ / txărwəḍ > xarwed/t / hitxarwed/t
xəffəf / txəffəf > xifef / hitxafef
quwwəd > kawed / hitkawed
gəyyəd > giyed / hitgayed (?)

I propose to discuss the semantic and morphological development of those verbs for the 47th annual meeting of NACAL.

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