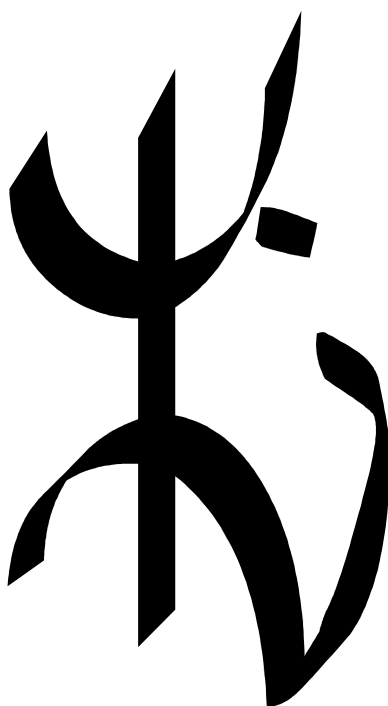


# GHOMARA BERBER

A BRIEF GRAMMATICAL SURVEY



J. EL HANNOUCHE

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

# **GHOMARA BERBER**

## **A BRIEF GRAMMATICAL SURVEY**

Name : J. el Hannouche  
Student number : 0212865  
Place and date : Leiden, 14 December 2008

Subject : master thesis  
First reader : Professor H. Stroomer  
Second reader : Dr M. Kossmann

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## **PREFACE**

The master thesis in front of you is written within the framework of the programmes Arabic, Persian and Turkish Languages and Cultures and African Linguistics at the Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University. Within these two programmes, the focus is on Arabic and Berber through specialisation in Arabic Studies and Berber Linguistics. This thesis is thus the culmination of both studies and both disciplines are therefore represented in it.

On the one hand, we will investigate the linguistic structure of Ghomara Berber through an examination of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Ghomara Berber. On the other hand, we will look into the interference between Moroccan Arabic and Ghomara Berber through an examination of Moroccan Arabic borrowings in Ghomara Berber. Conspicuous examples of these borrowings will be discussed in separate paragraphs or subparagraphs, which we will consequently entitle ‘Arabic loans’.

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Without Professor H. Stroomer, the interesting subject of Ghomara Berber would not have come to my attention nor would I have been inspired to work on it. I am grateful for his advice, guidance and assistance. I am very grateful to Dr M. Kossmann for his contributions especially for his many remarks and the fact that he allowed me to use the systematic outline of his own work as a template for this thesis.<sup>1</sup>

My fieldwork would not have been possible without the help of many people in Morocco. First, I want to thank Professor A. Allati of the L'Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi for his advice and efforts to find useful informants. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to Abdelhay Meftah, who works as an official at the province of Chefchaouen and who brought me into contact with native speakers of Ghomara Berber. I am also thankful to his sister Naziha Meftah who brought me into contact with him. I am very grateful to my main informant Muhammad Hudda for his assistance, time and patience. Other informants also deserve mention for their additional assistance and hospitality: Ahmed El Madani Akhrif, Abdullah, Abdelsalam, Husayn, Muhammad, and Abdelaziz.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig (Maroc oriental)* (Paris etc.: Éditions Peeters, 1997).



# INTRODUCTION

## Berber

Morocco has the largest number of Berber speakers in North-Africa (roughly 15 million) followed by Algeria (roughly 4 million) and Libya (roughly 1,5 million). The geographical distribution of Berber in Morocco consists of three main domains: the Rif, Middle Atlas and High Atlas and the Sous plains and the Anti Atlas.<sup>2</sup> The respective Berber languages spoken in these areas are: Tarifiyt, Tamazight (or Middle Atlas Berber) and Tashelhiyt. Because census data usually does not comprise linguistic data, we can only estimate the number of speakers of these languages. In his inaugural oration, Stroomer estimated that the number of speakers of Tarifiyt is between one and two million while two to three million people speak Tamazight and six to eight million speak Tashelhiyt.<sup>3</sup>

## North Morocco

North Morocco consists of a large Arabophone area in addition to the Berberophone Rif. Most people who live in urban conglomerates (such as Tangier and Tétouan) are exclusively Arabophone while some people in inhospitable rural areas (mainly women) are exclusively Berberophone. Between these two groups, we find a large group of bilingual people. They speak a form of Tarifiyt as well as Moroccan Arabic (MA). In addition, there is a wide variety of Berber dialects within the Rif. We are therefore dealing with a very diverse linguistic situation in North Morocco.

Within this wide variety of Berber dialects we generally distinguish between three main dialects: Tarifiyt, Senhaja de Srair and Ghomara Berber.<sup>4</sup> Tarifiyt forms by far the largest group of Berber in North Morocco. For this reason, the other two are mostly neglected when speaking of the main domains of Berberophone areas in Morocco. These two small areas are located in the more Western part of the Rif. Senhaja de Srair is a relatively small area in the West of the Tarifiyt speaking area. Ghomara is located West of Senhaja de Srair and comprises a small Berberophone enclave. Ghomara Berber has been thought

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<sup>2</sup> N. van den Boogert and H. Stroomer, *Tashelhiyt Berber of South Morocco: a morphological survey* (Leiden, 2004), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> H. Stroomer, *In de schaduw van het Arabisch: over niet-Arabische talen en culturen in Noord-Afrika en het Midden-Oosten* (Leiden: Leiden University, 2002), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> The people who speak Ghomara Berber refer to their language as *ššelha*, which is commonly used in MA to denote Berber in general. We will refer to this language as Ghomara Berber.

to be extinct in the past.<sup>5</sup> It is still considered extinct by the Ethnologue.<sup>6</sup> However, Behnstedt had already reported in 2002 that Ghomara Berber is not extinct.<sup>7</sup>

## Ghomara

Ghomara belongs to the province (*iqlim*) of Chefchaouen. It is located between the provinces of Tétouan and Al Hoceima and is skirted by the Mediterranean Sea in the North (see Appendix II). Ghomara is administratively divided in three *qiyada*<sup>8</sup>: Asifan, Talehbuṭ and Bu Aḥmed. The *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed consists of three *žamaea*<sup>9</sup>: Aṣṭiḥa, Tuzgan and Bni Buḏra. Bni Buḏra on its turn is divided in four *mašyaxa*<sup>10</sup> corresponding to the four *rbae*: Alwuṣṭiyyen, Bni Menselman, Bni Musa and Tadman (see Appendix II).

The actual official map of Ghomara shows a somewhat different image than the traditional map (see Appendix II). Traditionally Ghomara is divided in nine *žamaea*: Bni Ziyat, Bni Zeyel<sup>11</sup>, Bni Buḏra, Bni Menṣur, Bni Selman, Bni Smiḥ, Bni Grir, Bni Xaled and Bni Rzin (see Appendix III).<sup>12</sup> In the official map, the *žamaea* of Tuzgan and Aṣṭiḥa roughly cover the area that is traditionally referred to as Bni Ziyat. The *žamaea* of Tasift and Talehbuṭ cover the area of Bni Zeyel while Bni Xaled seems to have been divided in the *žamaea* of Awnan and Bab Berrad. Finally, in the official map the *žamaea* of Bni Grir is renamed to Amtar. Apart from official documents, most people still use the traditional division of nine *žamaea*. We, on the other hand will employ the official map and whenever necessary we will mention the corresponding *žamaea* according to the traditional map.

## Bni Buḏra

Bni Buḏra is the largest Berberophone *žamaea* in Ghomara. It covers an area of about 150 square kilometres and is located east of the *žamaea* of Aṣṭiḥa and west of the *žamaea* of Amtar. In the north, Bni Buḏra is skirted by the Mediterranean Sea while in the south it is bordered on by the *žamaea* of Bni Menṣur and Bni Selman (see Appendix II).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. G.S. Colin, 'Le parler berbère des Ġmāra', in *Hespéris* 9, (Paris: Librairie Larose, 1929), p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. P. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe en el Rif', in *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 6 (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2002), p. 10 and [http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_language.asp?code=gho](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=gho)

<sup>7</sup> Id.

<sup>8</sup> Administrative district presided by a *qayd* who is accountable to the provincial council (*leamala*).

<sup>9</sup> We will employ the Arabic terminology to avoid ambiguous terms like 'village'.

<sup>10</sup> Administrative district presided by a *šayx* who is accountable to the *qiyada*.

<sup>11</sup> Colin refers to this *žamaea* as Bni Zedḡel. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 50.

<sup>12</sup> At the time of Colin's fieldwork, this traditional map was the actual map of Ghomara. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', pp. 44-50.

The inhabitants of Bni Buḏra are mostly involved in agricultural activities. The most important being the cultivation of wheat, corn and barley and the cultivation of various fruit bearing trees. In addition the breeding of cattle like goats, sheep and cows is a vital activity for the inhabitants of Bni Buḏra. The majority of these activities are carried out in the interior, which is characterized by rocky surfaces and slopes. The remainder is carried out on the coast along the Mediterranean Sea in an area stretching from Bu Aḥmed to Amtar. Along this coastal strip, another vital activity takes place namely fishing, especially for sardines.

Even though Bni Buḏra is a traditional and agricultural community it seems that there is a shift in the direction towards modernization as a result of national programmes. The national programme for the development of electricity in the northern villages for example has set the goal to provide electricity in all the villages. Official numbers show that 90% of the *duwwar* of Bni Buḏra are provided with electricity. As to drinking water, official data indicates that at least Bu Aḥmed and the *duwwar* Tadman are provided with a system of drinking water. Other plans for development include the advancement of the educational sector and the development of the underdeveloped cultural sector through the creation of a library and a reading facility.

Bu Aḥmed is the centre of Bni Buḏra and one of the three *qiyada* of Ghomara as we have mentioned. Many important activities are centred in Bu Aḥmed. Here, an essential weekly market is held every Tuesday where a variety of goods is offered. This market fulfils the needs of consumers not only from Bni Buḏra but also from neighbouring *ḡamaea* like Bni Menṣur and Bni Selman. Most important among these goods are consumer foods, agricultural goods and home furniture. Bu Aḥmed is also provided with an elementary school, a medical clinic and a small court, which deals with local affairs. This makes Bu Aḥmed an important centre for the inhabitants of Bni Buḏra and other surrounding *ḡamaea*.

This is also because an important road (number 414) runs through Bu Aḥmed, which connects it to the two closest cities Tétouan and Chefchaouen. While this has some less beneficial effects on local commerce (competition due to the import of goods from Tétouan) most inhabitants benefit from this connection to these cities. They attend these cities for affairs, which are not provided in Bu Aḥmed such as extending medical, legal and educational affairs. The inhabitants of Bni Buḏra reach the centre of Bu Aḥmed by means of public auto buses, which commute between the mountainous areas and the centre of Bu Aḥmed.

### **Ghomara Berber**

The distribution and delimitation of the linguistic borders between Berberophone and Arabophone areas, the interference between the two as well as the distribution of the diverse Berber languages remain to be

important subjects in Berber linguistics. The linguistic enclave of Ghomara is a phenomenon, which is likely to be a valuable addition to our knowledge of linguistic distribution as well as linguistic interference. However, this phenomenon has not been investigated thoroughly yet.

Colin wrote an article in 1929 in which he attached four small texts, which give us a general idea of some linguistic aspects of Ghomara Berber.<sup>13</sup> Apart from this article, there are no extensive publications on the linguistic situation of Ghomara Berber. We are of the opinion that the Berber language spoken in this linguistic enclave of Ghomara is highly interesting not only because of its origin (South Morocco<sup>14</sup>) but also because of the interaction with MA and Tarifyt.

In order to investigate this linguistic phenomenon we conducted fieldwork in December 2006 and May 2007. During these four weeks, we have spoken to several speakers of Ghomara Berber and recorded material, which we will present here. Our main objective was to make a grammatical survey of the most important aspects of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Ghomara Berber. In addition, we were interested in the distribution of Ghomara Berber, the number of speakers and the interference with MA.

We carried out the research through elicitation by means of questionnaires. The informants translated either from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to Ghomara Berber or from MA to Ghomara Berber. We recorded this material on a tape recorder and at the same time we processed it on a notebook computer. After we compared the recordings and the digital material, we double-checked with the informants to be sure that there were no, or at least not much, discrepancies.

Our main informant, Muhammad Hudda, studied MSA. He was therefore able to translate from MSA to Ghomara Berber. He is a middle-aged man who lives with his family in Bni Buzra in the *duwwar* Σamṭiqan (*rbae* of Bni Musa). He works as a local representative of the people (*mumaθθil*, *nayb*) in the council of the *žamaea*. In this council he represents the inhabitants of the *duwwar* of Σamṭiqan, Maḥmud and Faliz with regard to matters like electricity, drinking water and transportation roads. In his younger years, he studied the Quran in Bni Buzra. Because of his knowledge of the Quran and MSA, people call him '*fqih*'. When he is not working as a representative, he works on the fields with his family.

Because of his knowledge of MSA as well as Ghomara Berber, Muhammad was a very useful informant. He was able to understand questions with a grammatical substrate. On the other hand, we could use grammatical terminology of MSA. This made the completion of the questionnaires more efficient. While for instance it was difficult to explain to some other informants the meaning of the imperative, we were able to ask Muhammad 'the 'amr' of a certain verb. Another advantage of the use of MSA was the

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<sup>13</sup> Colin, 'Le parler berbère'.

<sup>14</sup> Colin, 'Le parler berbère', pp. 45-50 and A. Gaudio, *Maroc du nord: Cités Andalouses et Montagnes Berbères* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1981), p. 107-109.

fact that we could avoid the risk of mistranslations, which could be the result of the use of local MA (of Tétouan). The use of MSA would also reduce the chances for the occurrence of ambiguities.

In addition, Muhammad had additional information for us because of his work as a representative. He could supply us with information about the language distribution, economics and geography. His connections with the local *šayx* proved also to be valuable since he was able to get us into the *duwwar* without any problems. As for his connections to the *qiyada*, these enabled us to obtain an official survey of the *duwwar*, census data and an official map

Muhammad Hudda was not the only inhabitant from Bni Buḏra who assisted us during our fieldwork and who played the role of informant. This is partly because the largest group of speakers of Ghomara Berber live in Bni Buḏra. Together with Bni Menṣur, Bni Buḏra composes the linguistic enclave of Ghomara. Bni Buḏra is the nearest to the centre of Bu Aḥmed and therefore the easiest to attend. Consequently, the most speakers we encountered in Bu Aḥmed were from Bni Buḏra. Our grammatical survey thus deals with the speech of Bni Buḏra.

According to Muhammad Hudda and the other informants, the only two Berberophone *žamaea* are Bni Buḏra and Bni Menṣur while the rest is Arabophone (see Appendix IV). Most Berberophone people are bilingual and also speak MA (dialect of Tétouan). In Bni Buḏra the *rbæ* of Bni Musa and Alwuṣṭiyyen are Berberophone while in Bni Menṣur only the *rbæ* of Bni Σruṣ is Berberophone (see Appendix I and IV).<sup>15</sup>

Based on the census of 1994 Bni Musa had 3.957 inhabitants while Alwuṣṭiyyen had 1.858 inhabitants (see Appendix I). These two Berberophone *rbæ* had a total of 5.815 inhabitants in 1994. Calculations based on the growth rate and the total number of inhabitants in 2004 according to the census of 2004 show that the number of inhabitants in Bni Musa and Alwuṣṭiyyen together was about 7.408 in 2004.<sup>16</sup> As for Bni Σruṣ, in 1994 it had 1.999 inhabitants. In 2004, the population had grown to about 2.547 based on calculations.<sup>17</sup> Based on the data and these calculations we can carefully conclude that the total number of speakers of Ghomara Berber in 2004 was roughly 10.000.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> In 19 *duwwar* of the 34 *duwwar* of Bni Buḏra Berber is spoken while in 7 of the 33 *duwwar* of Bni Menṣur Berber is spoken (see Appendix I). In the other *duwwar* and in other parts of Ghomara MA is spoken.

<sup>16</sup> The growth rate between 1994 and 2004 was 2,451 percent annually based on the total growth of the population from 11.734 in 1994 to 14.950 in 2004 in Bni Buḏra.

<sup>17</sup> We have employed the growth rate of Bni Buḏra since there was no census data available at the time of our fieldwork with regard to the number of inhabitants of Bni Menṣur in 2004. This way we could obtain an indication of the number of inhabitants. There is no reason why the growth rates would differ significantly. The officials reported to us that we could estimate the number of inhabitants in this manner.

<sup>18</sup> In 2004 there was an estimated total of 7.408 inhabitants in the Berberophone *duwwar* of Bni Musa and Alwuṣṭiyyen. In the Berberophone *duwwar* of Bni Σruṣ there was an estimated number of 2.547 inhabitants in 2004. This totals up to 9.955 Berberophone inhabitants in Ghomara in 2004.

According to this data and calculations, about fifty percent of the inhabitants of Bni Buḏra is Berberophone while roughly fourteen percent of the population of Bni Menṣur is Berberophone.<sup>19</sup> This corresponds to the percentages, which Muhammad Hudda as well as other informants reported to us. They reported that half of the population of Bni Buḏra is Berberophone while ten to fifteen percent of Bni Menṣur is Berberophone.

### Ghomara Berber studies

As we have mentioned before we are in the presence of view studies on Ghomara Berber. The most extensive fieldwork was conveyed by Colin in 1928. Colin reports that at the time of his fieldwork all the *rbæ* of Bni Buḏra were Berber speaking with the exception of Bni Ben-Sliman, which corresponds to Bni Menselman.<sup>20</sup> It is not clear whether the *rbæ* of Tadman already was an individual *rbæ* at this time because Colin does not mention it. If it belonged to another *rbæ* or did not exist yet than the situation with regard to the Berber speaking portion of Bni Buḏra has not much changed during the years, since today all the *rbæ* of Bni Buḏra are Berber speaking with the exception of Tadman and Bni Menselman.

As to Bni Menṣur, Colin reports that Berber was only spoken in the *rbæ* of Bni Σruṣ.<sup>21</sup> He mentioned the following *duwwar* as part of the *rbæ* of Bni Σruṣ: Isuka, Bni Σfara, Aḡil Σazeb, Tawrart, Tuḡgan<sup>22</sup>, Iṭruhaṣ<sup>23</sup>, Takenza<sup>24</sup>, Iḡeaden, Iḡurdaden and Tazemmurt.<sup>25</sup> According to the official list Tazemmurt belongs to the *rbæ* of Bni Musa which in turn belongs to the *ḡamaea* of Bni Buḏra.<sup>26</sup> Since it is close to the border separating Bni Buḏra from Bni Menṣur there might have been a shift over time. It is still a Berber speaking *duwwar* though. As to Iḡeaden and Iḡurdaden, even though they are officially not part of

<sup>19</sup> In 2004 the number of speakers of Berber in Bni Buḏra was about 7.408 on a total population of 14.950. As for Bni Menṣur we have calculated that the number of speakers of Berber was about 2.547 on an estimated total population of 17.976. The total population of Bni Menṣur was calculated by applying the growth rate of Bni Buḏra between 1994 and 2004 to the number of inhabitants in Bni Menṣur in 1994. The total population of Bni Buḏra in 2004 is derived from the census of 2004.

<sup>20</sup> Bni Benselman corresponds to Bni Menselman, which is nowadays the official name of this *ḡamaea*. Cf. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.

<sup>21</sup> Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.

<sup>22</sup> Colin mentions that one informant reported Tuḡgan to him. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.

<sup>23</sup> Colin mentions that one informant reported Iṭruhaṣ to him. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.

<sup>24</sup> According to our informants and recent official data, Takenza corresponds to Taḡenza. Cf. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> Behnstedt designates Tazemmurt as a *duwwar* belonging to Bni Menṣur instead of Bni Buḏra. At the same time he designates the *duwwar* south of Tazemmurt, Isuka, as a *duwwar* belonging to Bni Buḏra. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18. Colin reports that both Isuka and Tazemmurt belong to Bni Menṣur. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44. Since these two *rbæ* are located in the area between the two *ḡamaea*, there have possibly been some changes over time. The *qiyada* of Bu Aḡmed reported to us that Tazemmurt now belongs to the *ḡamaea* of Bni Buḏra while Isuka belongs to the *ḡamaea* of Bni Menṣur.

the *rbæ* of Bni Sruş they were also reported to me by an informant.<sup>27</sup> Seemingly, even this situation has not changed much because nowadays the *rbæ* of Bni Sruş is still the only *rbæ* of Bni Menşur where Berber is spoken.

According to Colin M. A. Mouli  ras had designated three *  ama  a* as entirely or partly Berber speaking as early as 1899: Bni Bu  ra, Bni Menşur and Bni Smi  . <sup>28</sup> Despite this fact Augustin Bernard and P. Moussard wrote in 1924: “Ghomara ont oubli   leur langue”.<sup>29</sup> Contrary to this report of Bernard and Moussard, Leopold Justinard was able to outline the Berber speaking enclave of Ghomara in a map in his *Manuel de berb  re marocain (dialecte rifain)*.<sup>30</sup> After Colin’s confirmation in 1929 that Bni Bu  ra and Bni Menşur were still Berber speaking it seems that there haven’t been much reports about the linguistic situation in Ghomara. Gaudio makes a short remark in 1981 about the linguistic enclave: “Les Beni-Bou  ra et les Beni-Mansor sont toujours bilingues et emploient l’arabe autant que le berb  re, notamment sur les march  s et dans la vie publique. Les deux langues sont d’ailleurs souvent m  lang  es. Ainsi le dialecte berb  re appel   “chelka” est constitu   presque pour moiti   de mots et d’expressions arabes qui pr  tent mieux aux exigences linguistiques modernes par leur vari  t   et la richesse du vocabulaire.”<sup>31</sup>

Behnstedt has done the most recent study on Ghomara Berber in 2002. He presented his findings in a linguistic map in which he confirmed that Bni Bu  ra and Bni Menşur were still Berber speaking. The linguistic map of Behnstedt shows the geographical distribution of Berber in Ghomara. There are some differences with our own findings (see Appendix IV/map 3), which we will discuss below. The differences concern the following *duwwar*, which Behnstedt designates as Berber speaking: Bu A  med, Bu Sekkin and Am  iq.<sup>32</sup>

Behnstedt cites Colin with regard to Bu A  med who mentioned that the elderly still understood Berber but did not speak it anymore.<sup>33</sup> But Colin dealt with Bu A  med<sup>34</sup> in the *  ama  a* of Bni Smi   and not Bu A  med in the *  ama  a* of Bni Bu  ra. In the map of Behnstedt though, Bu A  med of Bni Bu  ra is designated as Berber speaking. According to our information, Bu A  med of Bni Bu  ra is Arabophone. There are some people though from the rural areas who have come to live in Bu A  med recently and who

<sup>27</sup> This informant from Bni Menşur, Ahmed Akhrif, added to this list the following *duwwar* as being part of Bni Sruş: Imulayen and Bussef. Ahmed was the only informant who provided these two *duwwar*. Behnstedt does not mention these *duwwar*. In addition, Behnstedt was not able to locate I  eaden and I  urdaden on his map. Cf. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el   rabe’, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> Colin, ‘Le parler berb  re’, p. 42.

<sup>29</sup> Id.

<sup>30</sup> Id.

<sup>31</sup> Gaudio, *Maroc du nord*, p. 110.

<sup>32</sup> Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el   rabe’, p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el   rabe’, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> Colin notes Bu-Y  med instead of Bu A  med. These two correspond to each other though. Cf. Colin, ‘Le parler berb  re’, p. 44. Behnstedt notes Bu A  med for both *  ama  a* (Bni Bu  ra and Bni Smi  ). Cf. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el   rabe’, p. 11.

speak Berber. Also the children of these families who have recently moved to this centre speak Berber. There are not many occasions to speak Berber though in the centre of Bu Aḥmed since most people do not understand nor speak Berber. All informants have designated Bu Aḥmed as Arabophone, especially since this is the centre where people of different areas meet who are not able to speak nor understand Berber.

As for Bu Sekkin, this probably corresponds to Buskan, which is the official name of this *rbæ* of the *žamaea* of Tadman. This is an entirely Arabophone *rbæ* according to all our informants. According to our information, there is no *duwwar* with the name Amṭiq. It has not been reported to us nor was it enlisted in the official list which contained all the *duwwar*.

Apart from these *duwwar* which are designated as Berberophone by Behnstedt, the map of Behnstedt suggests that almost the entire coast of Bni Buḏra is Arabophone. According to our information this is not the case. We have therefore adjusted the Berberophone area on this account as well (see Appendix IV/map 3).

### **Future perspective of Ghomara Berber**

Our findings based on our fieldwork confirm that the *žamaea* of Bni Buḏra and Bni Menṣur are still the only two Berber speaking *žamaea* in Ghomara as we have mentioned. The number of speakers of about 10.000 speakers indicates that this language is not yet extinct.<sup>35</sup> It is perhaps on the edge as Behnstedt reported.<sup>36</sup> However, there are other indications that Ghomara Berber is not even on the edge. One of these indications is that not only elderly women or elderly in general speak Ghomara Berber but also children.

Children learn this language at home. Even in Bu Aḥmed, we found a 10 year old boy, Muhammad, who was able to speak and understand Berber and who was able to translate all the stories of Colin<sup>37</sup> that we read to him in order to assess his ability to understand Berber. Muhammad is the cousin of our main informant Muhammad Hudda and he lives with his parents in the centre of Bu Aḥmed. His father, Husayn, has a shop in which he sells small agricultural goods. He speaks Berber as well. When the family and friends sit together they speak MA with some Berber unless there is someone else who only speaks MA then the entire conversation is in MA. It must be said that they turn to MA very often and that Berber is mostly used for every day and simple phrases.

Husayn speaks MA to his son Muhammad. Based on this we concluded that his mother (whom we have never seen nor spoken) must be the one with whom he speaks Berber. Since this family does not live in Bu Aḥmed for a long time the ability of little Muhammad to speak Berber must be explained from the fact that his mother does not speak (much) MA with him. Most of the children with whom he goes to school in

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 10.

<sup>36</sup> Id.

<sup>37</sup> Colin, 'Le parler berbère', pp. 52-58.



Bu Aḥmed are Arabophone so apart from his family he would not have much people to speak Berber with. Little Muhammad explained to us that he does not often go to Bni Buḏra where the rest of his family lives. Instead, they come to Bu Aḥmed. Like his uncle Muhammad Hudda who comes to the market every week. During summer holidays little Muhammad goes to see his family in Bni Buḏra. There he can talk Berber to virtually everybody since the *duwwar* of Σamṭiqan is entirely Berber speaking.

The fact that the linguistic enclave of Ghomara has endured for so long raises the question about the factors, which have promoted Berber in this particular area and MA in the surrounding areas. There are various explanations for this phenomenon. Colin gives a geographical and economical explanation. The area of Ghomara is located within a triangle of trade routes: from Fès in the South to Tétouan in the East and to Bades in the West and from Tétouan in the West to Bades in the East. The reason for the deviation of the trade routes from Fès to the Mediterranean Sea is that the area of Ghomara is virtually impassable.<sup>38</sup> Colin states that the remoteness of the North-South arteries have promoted the Arabisation of the mountain dwellers of Ghomara leaving the linguistic enclave in the centre intact. In addition, the linguistic enclave has survived because it was too far from the trade route running from Tétouan to Bades according to Colin.<sup>39</sup>

Nowadays mobility has improved very much due to motorized transportation and the improvement of roads. As we have seen, the mountainous areas of Bni Buḏra and Bni Menṣur can be reached by auto buses, which commute between Bu Aḥmed and these areas. Bu Aḥmed on its turn has good roads to Tétouan and Chefchaouen and from Bu Aḥmed one can take a taxi to one of these cities. Because generally communication lines promote linguistic innovations, we expect that the situation will change and that Bni Buḏra and Bni Menṣur will become Arabophone in the future. These communication lines do not only promote occasional and non-committal contact between Arabophone and Berberophone people but also promote durable contact through marriage. Furthermore, the introduction of electricity, which will lead to the use of modern media and the advancement of the educational system will probably further promote the use of MA in favour of Ghomara Berber.<sup>40</sup> This is yet another reason for us to make this grammatical survey, which will give us insight in this language, which will probably become extinct in future.

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<sup>38</sup> Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 50.

<sup>39</sup> Id.

<sup>40</sup> Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 6.

## TRANSCRIPTION

We will employ the transcription generally used in Berber linguistics. We have listed the differences between the latter and the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in the table below.

**Table 001. Transcription**

	IPA	Transcription
<b>Pharyngealized dentals</b>	t <sup>ħ</sup>	ṭ
	d <sup>ħ</sup>	ḍ
<b>Pharyngealized alveolars</b>	s <sup>ħ</sup>	ṣ
	z <sup>ħ</sup>	ḏ
<b>Palatals</b>	ʃ	š
	ʒ	ž
<b>Pharyngeals</b>	ħ	ḥ
	ʕ	ʿ
<b>Glottals</b>	ʔ	ʾ

The three vowels in Ghomara Berber (*i*, *u* and *a*) are not transcribed according to the IPA but according to the transcription generally employed by Berber linguists. We will write schwa as ‘e’ because we have not investigated the phonemic status of schwa (see I/2.1.).

As for toponyms, we will employ the official usage. If the official usage is only available in Arabic or Ghomara Berber, we will write the toponyms phonetically. In the case of phonetically written toponyms, we will use the capitals shown in table 002. We will employ these capitals also in certain proper names (in the case of quotation) and in the wordlist.

**Table 002. Capitals**

	Lower case	Capital
<b>Dentals</b>	θ	Θ
	δ	Δ
<b>Velars</b>	γ	Γ
<b>Pharyngeals</b>	ε	Σ

# I. PHONOLOGY

In this section we will briefly discuss the main subjects of the phonology of Ghomara Berber. First we will discuss the consonants in which special attention will be given to the phenomenon of weakening. We will not discuss the vowels extensively and the same goes for schwa. Finally, we will briefly discuss and give examples of assimilation and vowel sequences in Ghomara Berber. The purpose is to give a brief indication and understanding of phonological aspects of Ghomara Berber and to give insight in the phonological characteristics of Ghomara Berber.

## 1. Consonants

In the following table we will present the consonants and semi-vowels, which we can distinguish in Ghomara Berber.

**Table 003. Consonants and semi-vowels**

	labials	dentals	pharyngealized dentals	alveolars	pharyngealized alveolars	palatals	velars	labialized velars	palatalized velars	uvulars	pharyngeals	glottals
<b>plosives</b>		t	ṭ				k	k <sup>w</sup>		q		ʔ
	b	d	ḍ				g	g <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>ɰ</sup>			
<b>fricatives</b>	f	θ		s	ṣ	š	ç			x	ħ	
	β	ð		z	ẓ	ẓ̥	ɣ				ʕ	
<b>nasals</b>	m			n								
<b>vibrants</b>				r								
<b>laterals</b>				l								
<b>glides</b>							y			w		h

Not all the consonants presented have phonemic status, but to give a total view we have listed them here anyway. In paragraph 1.2. of this section we will discuss the phonemic status of some of these consonants, namely the weakened consonants.

### 1.1. Weakening

In this section we will discuss the process of weakening of plosives. We have found several degrees of weakening of different categories of plosives in our corpus. As shown in the table below spirantization is the most common type of weakening. The plosives *t*, *d*, *k* and *b* can become the spirants *θ*, *ð*, *ç* and *β* as a result of spirantization.

The velar plosive *g* can be palatalized. We have incorporated this process of palatalization in this section because we consider palatalization to have a weakening effect on the plosive. Palatalization of *g* is therefore considered to be a process towards becoming palatal glide *y*, which is ultimately a form of weakening.

**Table 004. Weakening of consonants**

	plosives		spirantized		debuccalized		elided
<b>dentals</b>	<i>t</i>	→	<i>θ</i>	→	<i>h</i>	→	<i>∅</i>
	<i>d</i>	→	<i>ð</i>				
<b>velars</b>	<i>k</i>	→	<i>ç</i>	→	<i>h</i>		
	<i>g</i>	→	<i>ç<sup>j</sup></i>				
<b>labials</b>	<i>b</i>	→	<i>β</i>				

There are two plosives, *t* and *k*, which can undergo a larger degree of weakening. The result of this process, which we will refer to as debuccalization, is that the spirant becomes the glottal glide *h*. The plosives *t* and *k*, which as we have seen can become the spirants *θ* and *ç*, can also become *h* in certain cases.

Finally, an interesting form of weakening referred to as elision can be found in Ghomara Berber. This process is the final result of weakening of the dental plosive *t* and results in the elision of the original *t* or

one of its weakened variants  $\theta$  and  $h$ . This process appears in different cases. We will discuss the distribution of these processes of weakening in the following sections.

### 1.1.1. Weakening of $t$

We have seen that dental plosive  $t$  can be spirantized, debuccalized or elided. We will view some examples of these processes and we will discuss the distribution whenever possible on the basis of our corpus.

#### 1.1.1.1. Spirantization of $t$

The most evident expression of spirantization of  $t$  is the spirantization of the feminine plural suffix of MA nouns ( $-at$ ). This form of spirantization does not depend on the position of  $t$ . On the basis of our material we conclude that feminine plural nouns, which have been borrowed from MA and originally have suffix  $-at$ , obtain suffix  $-a\theta$  as a result of spirantization.

$*t \rightarrow \theta$

$*m\dot{t}irqat$	$\rightarrow$	$m\dot{t}irqa\theta$	“hammers”
$*ssa\epsilon at$	$\rightarrow$	$ssa\epsilon a\theta$	“hours”
$*l\dot{h}ilat$	$\rightarrow$	$l\dot{h}ila\theta$	“tricks”

The prefix of the feminine singular noun can also be subject to spirantization as the following example shows.

$*t \rightarrow \theta$

$*i\dot{s}ebbr\ as\ ta\zeta ellit$	$\rightarrow$	$i\dot{s}ebbr\ as\ \theta a\zeta ellit$	“he grabbed his tail”
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Another example of spirantization of  $t$  is found in the verbal suffix of the third person feminine singular, which can become spirantized as the following examples show.

**\**t* → *θ***

<i>*tṣebben</i>	→	<i>θṣebben</i>	“she washed”
<i>*nettaθa tssebzag as</i>	→	<i>nettaθa θssebzag as</i>	“she made it wet for him”
<i>*niga teṣra hadik</i>	→	<i>niga θeṣra hadik</i>	“when she saw this”

Another evident form of spirantization of *t* can be found in the postverbal clitic of the third person plural of the direct object (*ten*). As we will see in the following paragraph this clitic may also be debuccalized. On the basis of the examples that we have it is not possible to say something about the distribution.

**\**t* → *θ***

<i>*a tellax ten</i>	→	<i>a tellax θen</i>	“I will watch them”
<i>*baqa ten</i>	→	<i>baqa θen</i>	“it remained”

The characteristic suffix of the feminine singular noun in MA is *-a*. This suffix becomes suffix *-aθ* in some cases. One may argue that this is the remains of the Moroccan pre-genitive *-at* (or *-et*).<sup>41</sup> In that case *-at* has become *-aθ* as a result of spirantization (see II/2.2.2.).

**\*...*-a* → ...*-aθ***

<i>*lefεa</i>	→	<i>lefεaθ</i>	“the, an adder”
<i>*lqaεa</i>	→	<i>lqaεaθ</i>	“the, an event”

### 1.1.1.2. Debuccalization of *t*

The first example of debuccalization of *t* is the postverbal clitic of the third person plural of the direct object (*ten*). Based on the following examples the distribution seems to be that after a preceding sequel of two consonants or a geminate consonant a vowel *a* is inserted (for reasons of syllabification) followed by the debuccalized postverbal clitic.

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. M. Kossmann, ‘On parallel morphological systems due to the borrowing of non-native paradigms’ (forthcoming).

**\*t → h**

<i>*issnaten</i>	→	<i>issnahren</i>	“he knows them”
<i>*leḥšam nnes ikemlaten</i>	→	<i>leḥšam nnes ikemlahen</i>	“he finished her children”
<i>*itettaten</i>	→	<i>itettahren</i>	“he is eating them”
<i>*teggaten fi želdan</i>	→	<i>teggahren fi želdan</i>	“she put it on that leather”

The second example of debuccalization of *t* is the verbal prefix of the second person singular (*t-*).

**\*t → h**

<i>*šwa ra tzenzet</i>	→	<i>šwa ra hzenzet</i>	“what will you sell?”
<i>*ana tetṭset</i>	→	<i>ana hṭṭset</i>	“where did you sleep?”
<i>*liyaš a ttrut a taēyyalt</i>	→	<i>liyaš a httrut a taēyyalt</i>	“why are you crying little girl?”
<i>*amča trzet šebbaç</i>	→	<i>amča hrzet šebbaç</i>	“how did you break the window?”
<i>*ana ṭṭset llila n watg<sup>j</sup>am</i>	→	<i>ana hṭṭset llila n watg<sup>j</sup>am</i>	“where did you sleep last night?”

The third example of debuccalization of *t* is the verbal prefix of the third person feminine singular (*t-*).

**\*t → h**

<i>*ma tqqim as ḥetta ḥila</i>	→	<i>ma hqqim as ḥetta ḥila</i>	“he did not even have a single trick left”
<i>*ma txeddam alek ši</i>	→	<i>ma hxeddam alek ši</i>	“it does not work for you”
<i>*nettaḥa ma tell ši muqqreḥ</i>	→	<i>nettaḥa ma hell ši muqqreḥ</i>	“she was not big”
<i>*tdebbar</i>	→	<i>hdebbar</i>	“she arranged”

Finally we have found an example of debuccalization in which *yat* “one” becomes *yah* as a result of debuccalization.



**\**t* → *h***

<i>*yat lmerra</i>	→ <i>yah lmerra</i>	“one time”
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### 1.1.1.3. Elision of *t*

There are several examples of the elision of *t*. The first is the verbal prefix of the second person singular (*t-*).

**\**t* → ∅**

<i>*xemmen a tsawlet</i>	→ <i>xemmen a sawlet</i>	“what are you talking about?”
<i>*ara tebbet</i>	→ <i>ara bbet</i>	“you will take”
<i>*fhayweç ša tmeļçet</i>	→ <i>fhayweç ša meļçet</i>	“when will you marry?”
<i>*a terzet</i>	→ <i>a rzet</i>	“that you broke”

Another example of elision is the verbal prefix of the third person feminine singular (*t-*). We only have examples with the verb *ddu* “go”. The distribution is not clear because in comparable situations elision does not take place.

**\**t* → ∅**

<i>*hewa tedda d lqniyya</i>	→ <i>hewa dda d lqniyya</i>	“well the rabbit came”
<i>*tedda fħala</i>	→ <i>dda fħala</i>	“she went on her way”

The same goes for the verbal prefix of the second person plural (*t-*). Likewise we only have examples in which elision takes place in the context of the verb *ddu* “go”.

**\**t* → ∅**

<i>*ša teddum</i>	→ <i>ša ddum</i>	“you will go”
<i>*layn ša teddum</i>	→ <i>layn ša ddum</i>	“where are you (p.) going?”

<i>*a teddum s eldžri</i>	→	<i>a ddum s eldžri</i>	“you (p.) will run fast”
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### 1.1.2. Weakening of *d*

The following nouns are Arabic loans in which *d* is spirantized. This category constitutes a group of nouns in which spirantization is evident when the Berber nouns are compared to the corresponding MA nouns. We have found examples in which spirantization of an initial *d* or medial *d* takes place. But there are no nouns in which a final *d* has become spirantized. This leads to the conclusion that spirantization of *d* only takes place in initial and medial position.

**\**d* → *δ***

<i>*adem</i>	→	<i>aδem</i>	“blood”
<i>*kedba</i>	→	<i>keδba</i>	“lie”
<i>*qdim</i>	→	<i>qδim</i>	“old”
<i>*ddat</i>	→	<i>δδat</i>	“body”

### 1.1.3. Weakening of *k*

Weakening of *k* is twofold namely spirantization and debuccalization. We will discuss both types on the basis of the view examples we have found.

#### 1.1.3.1. Spirantization of *k*

The second person singular masculine of the prepositional suffix (*k*-) is spirantized in most cases. The case of *γar k* “you have” seems to be one of the few exceptions to this.

**\**k* → *ç***

<i>*zg ak</i>	→	<i>zg aç</i>	“from you”
<i>*dayr ek</i>	→	<i>dayr eç</i>	“to you”

The second person singular masculine of the possessive suffix *nnek* becomes *nneç* in most cases as a result of spirantization. This is not always the case (see Text 4/024.).

**\**k* → *ç***

<i>*ameddakul nnek</i>	→	<i>ameddakul nneç</i>	“your friend”
<i>*tažellit ennek</i>	→	<i>tažellit enneç</i>	“your tail”

The following examples of Arabic loans attest to the fact that *k* can become spirantized, they also attest to the fact that spirantization may occur in any position.

**\**k* → *ç***

<i>*ktar</i>	→	<i>çtar</i>	“more”
<i>*ddkar</i>	→	<i>ddçar</i>	“male”
<i>*ššebbak</i>	→	<i>ššebbaç</i>	“window”
<i>*nekmel</i>	→	<i>neçmel</i>	“we finished”

### 1.1.3.2. Debuccalization of *k*

Debuccalization of *k* does not occur very often. The Arabic verb *štarek* “cooperate” is used in Ghomara Berber with a debuccalized *k* as shown in the following example.

**\**k* → *h***

<i>*nšterku</i>	→	<i>nšterhu</i>	“we will cooperate”
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Other examples of debuccalization are the pronouns of the first person plural and the third person plural they occur with *ç* and with *h*.

**\**ç* → *h***

<i>*nuçna</i>	→	<i>nuhna</i>	“we”
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*\*niçma* → *nihma* “they”

#### 1.1.4. Weakening of *g*

Even though it is not difficult to make a distinction between *g* and *g<sup>j</sup>*, distribution of this process seems to be less clear since there are comparable sequences in which *g* is not palatalized.

*\*g* → *g<sup>j</sup>*

<i>*agdi</i>	→	<i>ag<sup>j</sup>di</i> <sup>42</sup>	“jackal”
<i>*agenna</i>	→	<i>ag<sup>j</sup>enna</i>	“sky”
<i>*ager</i>	→	<i>ag<sup>j</sup>er</i>	“unit of measurement”
<i>*argaz</i>	→	<i>arg<sup>j</sup>az</i>	“man”
<i>*atgam</i>	→	<i>atg<sup>j</sup>am</i>	“yesterday”
<i>*tagiget</i>	→	<i>tag<sup>j</sup>ig<sup>j</sup>et</i>	“tree”

#### 1.1.5. Weakening of *b*

Spirantization of *b* is very rare in Ghomara Berber as we have come across this only once. It is therefore impossible to make suggestions about distribution.

*\*b* → *β*

*\*ibawen* → *iβawen* “beans”

### 1.2. Phonemic status of weakened consonants

In the following paragraphs we will discuss the phonemic status of the weakened consonants, which we have discussed in the previous paragraphs.

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<sup>42</sup> In Bni Menşur the weakening of *g* has resulted in *y* in some cases, for example *ayyerṭ* (*agarṭ*) “neck” and *ayṭid* (*agṭid*) “bird”.

### 1.2.1. Phonemic distinction between $t$ and $\theta$

In Ghomara Berber  $t$  and  $\theta$  are distinct phonemes. This is shown by the third singular person of the direct object.

$\theta \leftrightarrow t$

*issnaθ*                  he knows him                   $\leftrightarrow$                   *issnat*                  “he knows her”

### 1.2.2. Phonemic distinction between $d$ and $\delta$

In Ghomara Berber  $d$  and  $\delta$  are distinct phonemes. This is shown by the following minimal pair.

$\delta \leftrightarrow d$

*δδat*                  body                   $\leftrightarrow$                   *ddat*                  “you went”

### 1.2.3. Phonemic distinction between $\varsigma$ and $\zeta$

There is phonemic distinction between  $\varsigma$  and  $\zeta$ . The following example attests to this.

$\check{\varsigma} \leftrightarrow \zeta$

*ddšar*                  village                   $\leftrightarrow$                   *ddçar*                  “male”

### 1.2.4. Phonemic distinction between $g$ and $g^j$

There is no phonemic distinction between  $g$  and  $g^j$  based on our corpus.

### 1.2.5. Phonemic distinction between *b* and *β*

There is no phonemic distinction between *b* and *β*. Spirant *β* is only found in the example of *iβawen* in our corpus. It is therefore not possible to draw definite conclusions about the phonemic distribution on the basis of this single example.

## 2. Vowels

In the following table we will present the vowels that we can distinguish as phonemic vowels in Ghomara Berber. Note that schwa is not presented in this table. We will discuss the phonemic status of schwa in paragraph 2.1.

**Table 005. Vowels**

	front	central	back
close	i		u
mid			
open		a	

### 2.1. Phonemic status of schwa

On the basis of our corpus it is hardly possible to discuss the phonemic status of schwa in Ghomara Berber. Nevertheless an interesting minimal pair should be pointed out in which schwa seems to have a phonemic status. Several informants made a clear difference between *alf* (thousand) and *alef* (swine). While this example is interesting in itself and schwa represents an interesting subject in Berber linguistics in general, we will not discuss the phonemic status of schwa. The phonemic status of schwa is thus not part of the scope of this thesis. The same goes for syllabification. Instead we will concentrate on morphology and syntax. In the following we will write schwa as ‘e’. Thus schwa will be approached not in a phonological but rather in a phonetic manner.

### 3. Assimilation

In Ghomara Berber there are a number of cases of assimilation which we will present here. We will briefly discuss these cases of assimilation on the basis of the examples we have found during our research.

#### 3.1. Assimilation of *yan* “one”

Assimilation of *yan* “one” (see II/5.1.1. and 5.2.) takes place in two situations. The first situation is before a masculine noun with prefix *u-* in the état d’annexion, the state of nouns following *yan* (see II/3.3.2.). In this case *yan* becomes *ya*. In the second situation *yan* assimilates to the Arabic definite article *l* (see II/2.2.1.). In this case *yan* becomes *yal*.

**\**yan* + *u* → *ya***

*\*yan uεeyyal* → *ya wεeyyal* “a little boy”

**\**yan* + *l* → *yal***

*\*yan lbaṭil* → *yal lbaṭil* “a boat”

#### 3.2. Assimilation of *n* “of”

The genitive preposition *n* “of” (see V/1.3.) assimilates to the Arabic definite article *l*.

**\**n* + *l* → *l***

*\*lbaεḍ n lmedden* → *lbaεḍ l lmedden* “some people”

*\*lebeaḍ n lmasa’il* → *lebeaḍ l lmasa’il* “some matters”

*\*lfakiha n lmul* → *lfakiha l lmul* “fruit of the owner”

The following example is possibly an example of a fixed expression borrowed from MA without the prepositional *n*. It can very well be the case that the prepositional *n* has undergone assimilation since this construction with the prepositional *n* is also known in other Riffian languages.<sup>43</sup>

*\*nhar n larbeε*                      →      *nhar l larbeε*                      “wednesday”

### 3.3. Assimilation of *kull* “all”

The quantifier *kull* “all” (see II/5.3.1.) assimilates to the consonant *n* and therefore becomes *kun* as we can see in the following examples.

*\*kull + n* → *kun*

*\*kull nhar*                      →      *kun nhar*                      “every day”

*\*kull na*                      →      *kun na*                      “all of us”

### 3.4. Assimilation of indirect object third person *as*

A rare example of assimilation of the third person of the indirect object *s* is the assimilation to *d* “hither”.

*\*s + d* → *z d*

*\*ibb as d*                      →      *ibb az d*                      “he got for him”

### 3.5. Assimilation of imperative plural suffix *awθ*

Another example of assimilation to *d* “hither” is the assimilation of the plural imperative suffix *awθ* (see III/1.2) to *d* “hither”. The result is that it becomes *aw d*.

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<sup>43</sup> Bni Touzine: *nha n rabεε* “Wednesday”. Based on the author’s own knowledge of Tarifiyt spoken in Bni Touzine.



**\* $\theta + d \rightarrow d$**

<i>*bbaw<math>\theta</math> d</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>bbaw d</i>	“bring here (p.)!”
<i>*kešmaw<math>\theta</math> d</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>kešmaw d</i>	“come inside (p.)!”

#### 4. Sequences of two vowels

The following examples of sequences of two vowels show that these sequences either generate the insertion of the semi-vowel *y*, the change of the vowel *i* into the semi-vowel *y* or the elision of the vowel *i*.

**\* $a + a \rightarrow a ya$**

<i>*hetta afex</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>hetta yafex</i>	“until I find”
<i>*lmerra ad</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>lmerra yad</i>	“this time”
<i>*ma a<math>\gamma</math>n išš</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>ma ya<math>\gamma</math>n išš</i>	“he will not eat us”

**\* $a + i \rightarrow a y$**

<i>*netta iqqim</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>netta yqqim</i>	“he stayed”
<i>*ška illan</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>ška yllan</i>	“who is”
<i>*a ittu<math>\theta</math>u</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>a yttu<math>\theta</math>u</i>	“that he is going”

**\* $a + i \rightarrow a$**

<i>*a iddu</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>a ddu</i>	that he goes
<i>*ara iddu</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>ara ddu</i>	he will go

**\* $i + a \rightarrow ya$**

<i>*<math>\gamma</math>enniaw<math>\theta</math></i>	$\rightarrow$	<i><math>\gamma</math>ennyaw<math>\theta</math></i>	“sing (p.)!”
<i>*iara</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>yara</i>	“he writes”

$*i + a \rightarrow a$

$*ani\ aht\ddot{t}set \rightarrow an\ aht\ddot{t}set$  “where did you sleep?”

An interesting phenomenon in Ghomara Berber is the insertion of the consonant  $\theta$  between the first person of the direct object in preverbal position  $ay-$  and the verbal prefix of the third person masculine  $i-$ . The following examples attest to this.

$*y + i \rightarrow y\theta i$

$*ša\ y\ iwwe\theta \rightarrow ša\ y\theta\ iwwe\theta$  he will hit me

$*ša\ y\ iberreh \rightarrow ša\ y\theta\ iberreh$  he will call me

## II. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

### 1. Nouns

In this paragraph we will discuss the nouns in Ghomara Berber. We will first look at the singular nouns. The masculine and feminine singular nouns can be distinguished by different sets of suffixes, which we will discuss in subparagraph 1.1.

As for the plural nouns, they are (usually) derived from the corresponding singular nouns by means of suffixation or ablaut patterns. We will discuss the formation of plural nouns in subparagraph 1.2.

In subparagraph 1.3. we will discuss a group of feminine nouns with a special function regarding collective nouns, diminutive nouns, augmentative nouns and dendronyms. Finally, we will discuss a small group of pairs of masculine and feminine nouns that are not semantically distinct.

#### 1.1. Singular nouns

##### 1.1.1. Masculine singular nouns

Masculine singular nouns in Ghomara Berber have either the prefix *a-*, *i-* or *u-*. We will give some examples of this. Since our corpus does not contain many examples of nouns with the prefix *i-* and *u-* we will present all the nouns with these prefixes.

##### *a*-...

*aserdun*            “mule”

*arg<sup>j</sup>az*            “man”

*aεeyyal*           “child”

##### *i*-...

*iles*                “tongue”

*inši*                “person”

*izi*                 “fly”

***u-...***

*ul* “heart”

*uleθma* “sister”

### **1.1.2. Feminine singular nouns**

While the most common prefix of the masculine singular noun is *a-*, in the case of the feminine singular noun the most common circumfix is *ta-...-t*. A substantially smaller group of feminine singular nouns has the circumfix *ti-...-t*. Finally, we can distinguish a group of feminine singular nouns that have the circumfix *ta-...-a*. Since we have few examples of the two latter circumfixes, we will present all the examples of these types.

***ta-...-t***

*taserdunt* “female mule”

*tarbat* “girl”

*targat* “dream”

***ti-...-t***

*tiṭṭ* “eye”

*tizit* “mosquito”

***ta-...-a***

*tagra* “plate”

*tameyra* “wedding”

*tamzgida* “mosque”

*tasa* “cow”

*tamuda* “pig”

*tazga* “forest”

*tazizwa*            “bee”

## 1.2. Plural nouns

In this subparagraph, we will discuss the plural formation of masculine and feminine plural nouns. The formation of plural nouns based on the singular nouns is twofold: suffix plural formation and apophonic plural formation. We will discuss both forms and their different subtypes.

### 1.2.1. Masculine plural nouns

Masculine plural nouns have the circumfix *i-...-en* or *i-...-an*. The extended base has the circumfix *i-...-awen*. The apophonic plural has the prefix *i-* while the absence of a suffix is characteristic for apophonic masculine plural nouns.

#### *i-...-en*

singular	plural	
<i>agurnas</i>	<i>igurnasen</i>	“lions”
<i>arg<sup>j</sup>az</i>	<i>irg<sup>j</sup>azen</i>	“men”
<i>ašnekkaf</i>	<i>išnekkafen</i>	“hedgehogs”

#### *i-...-an*

<i>aṭuḍ</i>	<i>iṭuḍan</i>	“fingers”
<i>aṣmez</i>	<i>iṣemzan</i>	“nails”
<i>azref</i>	<i>izerfan</i>	“roads”

#### *i-...-awen*

<i>aṛef</i>	<i>iṛfawen</i>	“heads”
<i>agerṭ</i>	<i>igerṭawen</i>	“necks”

*i-...*

<i>agelzim</i>	<i>igelzam</i>	“pickaxes”
<i>amenžur</i>	<i>imenžar</i>	“chairs”
<i>agıd</i>	<i>igtad</i>	“birds”

### 1.2.1.1. Suffix plural formation

#### 1.2.1.1.1. Non-extended base

Masculine plural nouns are based on the masculine singular nouns. Suffix plural formation is accomplished by the change of prefix *a-* into *i-* (or retaining *i-*) and suffixation of *-en* to the base of the masculine singular noun.

*a-... → i-...-en*

singular	plural	
<i>açidar</i>	<i>içidaren</i>	“horses”
<i>ağtar</i>	<i>iğtaren</i>	“legs”
<i>agurnas</i>	<i>igurnasen</i>	“lions”

*i-... → i-...-en*

<i>iles</i>	<i>ilsen</i>	“tongues”
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*a-... → i-...-an*

<i>ağess</i>	<i>iğessan</i>	“bones”
<i>ağud</i>	<i>iğudan</i>	“fingers”
<i>azref</i>	<i>izerfan</i>	“roads”

#### 1.2.1.1.2. Extended base

In the case of an extended base, the base of the masculine singular noun is extended to *aw* as part of the plural formation. The plural suffix *-en* is combined with this extension resulting in the suffix *-awen*.

*a-... → i-...-awen*

singular	plural	
<i>aʔef</i>	<i>iʔfawen</i>	“heads”
<i>agerʔ</i>	<i>igerʔawen</i>	“necks”

#### 1.2.1.1.3. Vowel change

In addition to suffixation, the base can undergo vowel change in plural formation. The suffix in this case is *-an*.

*aCaC → iCuCan*

singular	plural	
<i>aʒar</i>	<i>iʒuran</i>	“roots”

#### 1.2.1.1.4. Gemination and vowel change

In some cases, suffix plural formation is accomplished by gemination of a consonant in the base in addition to vowel change in the base. In these cases the suffix is *-en*.

*aCuC → iCaĈen*

singular	plural	
<i>afud</i>	<i>ifadden</i>	“feet”
<i>afus</i>	<i>ifassen</i>	“hands”

**aCiC → iCaĈen**

<i>asif</i>	<i>isaffen</i>	“rivers”
<i>aγil</i>	<i>iγallen</i>	“mountains”

#### **1.2.1.1.5. Elision of final vowel**

In a few cases the base of the masculine singular noun has a final vowel, which is elided in the process of plural formation. The suffix in this case is *-an*.

***a-...-i → i-...-an***

<b>singular</b>	<b>plural</b>	
<i>asli</i>	<i>islan</i>	“grooms”
<i>ažru</i>	<i>ižran</i>	“stones”

***i-...-i → i-...-an***

<i>izi</i>	<i>izan</i>	“flies”
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#### **1.2.1.2. Apophonic plural formation**

The second type of plural formation does not only involve prefixation (*i-*) but is characterized by vowel change in the base as well; the so called apophonic plural formation. The prefix *i-* and the change of one or more vowels in the base constitute the plural. The absence of a suffix is characteristic to apophonic plural formation while vowel change also takes place in the case of suffix plural formation as we have seen.

***a-...-u-... → i-...-a-...***

<b>singular</b>	<b>plural</b>	
<i>amenžur</i>	<i>imenžar</i>	“chairs”
<i>aferruš</i>	<i>iferraš</i>	“cocks”
<i>aqemmum</i>	<i>iqemmam</i>	“mouths”



***a-...-i-... → i-...-a-...***

<i>agṭiḍ</i>	<i>igṭaḍ</i>	“birds”
<i>agelzim</i>	<i>igelzam</i>	“pickaxes”

***a-...-a-... → i-...-u-...***

<i>amaras</i>	<i>imuras</i>	“valleys”
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***a-...-a-...-u-... → i-...-u-...-a-...***

<i>ašaḡur</i>	<i>išuḡar</i>	“axes”
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***a-...-u-... → i-...-u-...-a-...***

<i>aḡyul</i>	<i>iḡuyal</i>	“donkeys”
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The following examples of apophonic plural nouns have an extended base in the plural. The base is extended with vowel *a* as part of the plural formation. The result is a final *a* in the plural, which cannot be considered to be a suffix but rather an extension of the base.

***a-...-a-... → i-...-i-...-a***

<i>aṭebban</i>	<i>iṭebbina</i>	“trousers”
<i>aḥettaš</i>	<i>iḥettiša</i>	“hatchets”

### 1.2.2. Feminine plural nouns

The circumfix of feminine plural nouns is *ti-...-an*.<sup>44</sup> This is characteristic for Ghomara Berber since the common (non-extended) circumfix in Tashelhiyt<sup>45</sup>, Tamazight<sup>46</sup> as well as in Tarifiyt<sup>47</sup> is *ti-...-in*. The

<sup>44</sup> Note that some feminine plural nouns have an alternate prefix in which *t* is elided. The circumfix thus becomes *i-...-an*, e.g.: *tabrat* - *tibratan*/*ibratan* “letter”, *tafuzart* - *tifuzaran*/*ifuzaran* “ant”, *taḡellit* - *iḡellitan* “tail”.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Van den Boogert, *Tashelhiyt Berber of South Morocco*, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. P. Bisson, *Leçons de Berbère Tamazight: dialecte des Aït Ndhir (Aït Nâaman)* (Rabat: Moncho, 1940), p. 50.

feminine plural noun is formed on the basis of the base of the feminine singular noun. There are three types of extended bases: *t*, *w* and *iw*. These extended bases constitute the following circumfixes for the feminine plural nouns: *ti-...-tan*, *ti-...-wan* and *ti-...-iwan*. The apophonic feminine plural has prefix *t*- and no suffix.

***ti-...-an***

<b>singular</b>	<b>plural</b>	
<i>taeɣɣalt</i>	<i>tiɣiyyalan</i>	“little girls”
<i>taxuraft</i>	<i>tixurafan</i>	“riddles”
<i>tagnawt</i>	<i>tignawan</i>	“pumpkins”

***ti-...-tan***

<i>tarbat</i>	<i>tirbatan</i>	“girls”
<i>tabrat</i>	<i>tibratan</i>	“letters”
<i>taslat</i>	<i>tislatan</i>	“brides”

***ti-...-wan***

<i>tagra</i>	<i>tigerwan</i>	“plates”
<i>tiṭṭ</i>	<i>tiṭṭawan</i>	“eyes”

***ti-...-iwan***

<i>tameɣra</i>	<i>timeɣriwan</i>	“weddings”
<i>tamzgida</i>	<i>timzgidiwan</i>	“mosques”

***ti-...***

<i>tazizwa</i>	<i>tizizwa</i>	“bees”
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<sup>47</sup> Cf. Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère*, p. 79.

<i>tazyult</i>	<i>tizyal</i>	“spoons”
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### 1.2.2.1. Suffix plural formation

#### 1.2.2.1.1. Non-extended base

The non-extended base is the simplest form of plural formation based on the base of the feminine singular noun. In this case the prefix of the feminine singular noun *ta-* becomes *ti-* (or remains *ti-*) and the suffix *-an* is added to the base to form the plural. The following examples illustrate this.

*ta-...-t* → *ti-...-an*

<i>tagnawt</i>	<i>tignawan</i>	“pumpkins”
<i>taxuraft</i>	<i>tixurafan</i>	“riddles”
<i>taserdunt</i>	<i>tiserdunan</i>	“female mules”

#### 1.2.2.1.2. Extended base

As we have mentioned the extended bases of the feminine singular noun result in three different circumfixes for the feminine plural nouns: *ti-...-tan*, *ti-...-wan* and *ti-...-iwan*.

*ta-...-t* → *ti-...-tan*

<i>tasendut</i>	<i>tisendutan</i>	“butters”
<i>taslat</i>	<i>tislatan</i>	“brides”
<i>tarbat</i>	<i>tirbatan</i>	“girls”

*ta-...-a* → *ti-...-wan*

<i>tagra</i>	<i>tigerwan</i>	“plates”
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***ti-... → ti-...-wan***

*tiṭṭ*                      *tiṭṭawan*                      “eyes”

***ta-...-a → ti-...-iwan***

*tameyṛa*                      *timeyriwan*                      “weddings”

*tamzgida*                      *timzgidiwan*                      “mosques”

### **1.2.2.1.3. Gemination and vowel insertion**

In a few cases additional processes are used for the formation of the feminine plural noun. In the following example, gemination and vowel insertion are part of the plural formation in addition to affixation (*ti-...-an*).

***taCCa → tiCuĈan***

*tazga*                      *tizuggan*                      “forests”

### **1.2.2.2. Apophonic plural formation**

Apophonic plural formation of the feminine plural noun is rare. In this case prefix *ta-* of the singular feminine noun becomes *ti-* and a vowel in the base of the feminine singular noun is changed to form the feminine plural noun.

***taCiCCa → tiCiCCa***

*tazizwa*                      *tizizwa*                      “bees”

In the example below the suffix of the feminine singular noun *-t* is lost in the formation of the plural noun.

**taCCuCt → tiCCaC**

*tazɣult*                      *tizɣal*                      “spoons”

### 1.3. Other functions of feminine nouns

#### 1.3.1. Semantic distinctive pairs

In this subparagraph, we will discuss a group of feminine nouns that have a special function. Feminine nouns are used as unit nouns derived from collective nouns, which are mainly composed of Arabic loans. Feminine nouns are also used to designate diminutive nouns derived from masculine nouns, which constitute the root meaning from which the diminutive meaning is derived. In other cases, the feminine noun itself constitutes the root meaning while the masculine noun has an augmentative function. Furthermore, feminine nouns are also used as dendronyms. Finally, we have found a few interesting pairs of masculine-feminine nouns, which are not semantically distinct according to our informants. People use them interchangeably.

##### 1.3.1.1. Collective nouns

In Ghomara Berber there are a number of unit nouns, which consist of feminine singular nouns with the circumfix *ta-...-t*. These unit nouns are derived from MA collective nouns. The plural of these unit nouns consists of feminine plural nouns derived from the unit noun with the circumfix *ti-...-an*.

collective noun	unit noun	plural	
<i>llawz</i>	<i>talawzet</i>	<i>tilawzan</i>	“almonds”
<i>lfiras</i>	<i>tafirast</i>	<i>tifirasan</i>	“pears”
<i>letšin</i>	<i>taletšint</i>	<i>tiletšinan</i>	“oranges”
<i>lebšal</i>	<i>tabšelt</i>	<i>tibešlan</i>	“onions”
<i>tteffaḥ</i>	<i>teffaḥt</i> <sup>48</sup>	<i>teffaḥan</i>	“apples”

<sup>48</sup> Note that the feminine prefix *ta-* is lost because the collective noun *tteffaḥ* has an initial *t*. This is also shown by the plural, which lacks the prefix *ti-*.

Some collective nouns do not have a corresponding unit noun nor a plural of the unit noun. To express unity quantifiers like *taquqet* “granule”, *taqurraet* “bulb”, *aḍiyyar* “piece” or *tanuqqit* “drop” are used. These quantifiers are connected by means of the genitive preposition *n* “of” to the collective noun.

***taquqet* “granule”**

collective noun	unit noun	plural	
<i>irden</i>	<i>taquqet n irden</i>	<i>tiquqan n irden</i>	“wheat”
<i>lubya</i>	<i>taquqet l lubya</i>	<i>tiquqan l lubya</i>	“beans”
<i>leṣṣes</i>	<i>taquqet l leṣṣes</i>	<i>tiquqan l leṣṣes</i>	“lentils”
<i>ddra</i>	<i>taquqet n ddra</i>	<i>tiquqan n ddra</i>	“corn”

***taqurraet* “bulb”**

<i>tiskert</i>	<i>taqurraet n tiskert</i>	<i>tiquorraean n tiskert</i>	“garlic”
<i>lebṣal</i>	<i>taqurraet l lebṣal</i>	<i>tiquorraean l lebṣal</i>	“onions”

***aḍiyyar* “piece”**

<i>aṭil</i>	<i>aḍiyyar n waṭil</i>	<i>iḍiyyaren n waṭil</i>	“grapes”
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***tanuqqit* “drop”**

<i>aman</i>	<i>tanuqqit n waman</i>	<i>tinuqqitan n waman</i>	“water”
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In general collective nouns act as singular nouns as the following examples show.

<i>lxuḍra terka</i>	“the vegetables are rotten”
<i>lfakiha ša t aṣuren</i>	“fruit, they will steal it”

The collective noun *aman* “water” is an exception to this rule. This collective noun acts as a plural noun as the following example shows.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Colin, ‘Le parler berbère’, Text II, pp. 52-53.

*θssebzag as aman nettaθa teggahen fi želdan*

“she wetted (for) him with water, she poured it on that skin”

### 1.3.1.2. Diminutive nouns

As we have seen the feminine noun is not only used to express gender but also to express unity. In this paragraph, we will discuss a different opposition between feminine and masculine nouns in Ghomara Berber namely the opposition between the root meaning and the diminutive. In the following examples, the feminine singular noun expresses the diminutive.

root	diminutive	
<i>asif</i>	<i>tasift</i>	“small river”
<i>ašaqr</i>	<i>tašaqr</i>	“small axe”
<i>agelzim</i>	<i>tagelzimt</i>	“small pickaxe”
<i>aħettaš</i>	<i>taħettašt</i>	“small hatchet”

### 1.3.1.3. Augmentative nouns

Feminine singular nouns may also express the root meaning while the masculine singular noun expresses the augmentative. The only example we have found is the following.

root	augmentative	
<i>taæddist</i>	<i>æeddis</i>	“(very) large belly”

### 1.3.1.4. Dendronyms

Feminine nouns are also used to designate trees.

<i>tazart</i> <sup>50</sup>	“fig tree”
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<sup>50</sup> This noun is not only used to refer to the fig tree but is also used as a collective noun to refer to the fruits of this tree, namely the figs.

<i>tasnubart</i> <sup>51</sup>	“stone pine”
<i>tasajt</i>	“chestnut”

### 1.3.2. Non-semantic distinctive pairs

The aforementioned functions of feminine nouns constitute a semantic opposition between the feminine noun and its masculine counterpart. In a few cases, there is no semantic opposition between the feminine and masculine nouns. Those nouns are used interchangeably without any semantic distinction.

root	root	
<i>aʒru</i>	<i>taʒrut</i>	“stone”
<i>aʒelliḥ</i>	<i>taʒelliḥt</i>	“forehead”

## 2. Non-affix nouns

Nouns in Ghomara Berber are either affix nouns or non-affix nouns. As we have seen affix nouns are composed of either a prefix, suffix or circumfix. Non-affix nouns can be divided into two categories namely Berber kinship terminology and Arabic loans. These Arabic loans form one of the manifestations of the influence of MA in Ghomara Berber. Arabic loans can also be incorporated in the Ghomara Berber nominal system. In that case, the former outline of the affixal system in Ghomara Berber is fully applicable.

### 2.1. Kinship terminology

The Berber non-affix nouns consists of a relatively small category of kinship terminology. We will present all the examples from our corpus.

Ø-...

<i>yemma</i>	“mother”
<i>baba</i>	“father”

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<sup>51</sup> The noun *tasnubart* is derived from the Arabic *ṣanawbar*.



## 2.2. Arabic loans

Most Arabic loans are subject to MA morphology. They can be used in combination with the definite article *l-* or the assimilated form in the case of dental consonants. This does not imply that these nouns have a definite meaning in all cases. This varies according to the context.

<i>ma hqimm as hetta hila</i>	“he did not even have a single trick left”
<i>ɣari yal lhila</i>	“I have one trick”
<i>isker lhila i lehšam n ɛammi nnes</i>	“he used a trick on his cousins”

Indefinite marking can be achieved by the use of the indefinite article *yan/yat* while the Arabic definite article is preserved.

<i>iteawaḍay yal lqišša</i>	“he is telling me a story”
<i>ša asibex yal lhafa</i>	“I will throw a stone”
<i>aç tell g<sup>w</sup>ammas l lebhar yal lbaṭil</i>	“there was a boat in the middle of the sea”

### 2.2.1. Masculine singular nouns

The following examples show that MA nouns can be used in their original form (i.e. as non-affix nouns). The MA nouns are used with the definite article (or the assimilated form) or without the indefinite article. The definite article has lost its function as a marker of the indefinite in Ghomara Berber. The following examples attest to this.

#### Nouns with definite article *l-*

<i>lfuṭa</i>	“the, a towel”
<i>lžawb</i>	“the, an answer”
<i>lektab</i>	“the, a book”

### Nouns with assimilated definite article

<i>nnhar</i>	“the, a day”
<i>şşif</i>	“the, a summer”
<i>ttmar</i>	“the, a date”

### Nouns without definite article

<i>usbue</i>	“the, a week”
<i>εam</i>	“the, a year”
<i>εuzri</i>	“the, a bachelor”

### 2.2.2. Feminine singular nouns

The characteristic suffix of the feminine singular noun in MA is *-a*. This suffix is retained in most cases of Arabic loans in Ghomara Berber. In other cases suffix *-a* becomes *-aθ*.<sup>52</sup>

...*-a* → ...*-a*

MA		Ghomara	
<i>lmeşrubā</i>	→	<i>lmeşrubā</i>	“the, a drink”
<i>lfuṭa</i>	→	<i>lfuṭa</i>	“the, a towel”

\*...*-a* → ...*-aθ*

* <i>lefεa</i>	→	<i>lefεaθ</i>	“the, an adder”
* <i>lqaεa</i>	→	<i>lqaεaθ</i>	“the, an event”

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<sup>52</sup> See I/1.1.1. on the probable historical background of this phenomenon.

### 2.2.3. Plural nouns

Plural Arabic loans may correspond to the scheme of plural formation in MA. Plural nouns that have not been borrowed from MA can also be inflected according to that scheme. The following examples attest to this.

$$\mathbf{R^1R^2aR^3eR^4 \rightarrow CCaCeC}$$

MA pl.	Ghomara pl.	Ghomara sg.	
<i>ddmalež</i>	<i>ddmalež</i>	<i>ddemliž</i>	“(the) bracelets”
<i>ššbabeṭ</i>	<i>ššbabeṭ</i>	<i>ššebbaṭ</i>	“(the) shoes”
<i>lmḥažer</i>	<i>lmḥažer</i>	<i>meḥžur</i>	“(the) orphans”

$$\mathbf{R^1R^2uR^3 \rightarrow CCuC}$$

<i>nnžum</i>	<i>nnžum</i>	<i>nnežma</i>	“(the) stars”
<i>lḥyuṭ</i>	<i>lḥyuṭ</i>	-	“(the) walls”

$$\mathbf{R^1iR^2an \rightarrow CiCaC}$$

<i>lkiran</i>	<i>lkiran</i>	<i>lkar</i>	“(the) busses”
-	<i>lkiman</i> <sup>53</sup>	<i>kama</i>	“(the) beds”

One of the most common formations of the plural in MA is by means of the suffix *-at* (feminine plural formation). In the case of Arabic loans in Ghomara Berber this suffix becomes spirantized and thus becomes *-aθ* (see I/1.1.1.1.).

<sup>53</sup> Singular: *kama* (borrowed from Spanish: *cama*). It is not known to be used in MA according to our informants.

**\*...-at → ...-aθ**

<b>MA</b>		<b>Ghomara</b>	
<i>*mṭirqat</i>	→	<i>mṭirqaθ</i>	“(the) hammers”
<i>*lḥilat</i>	→	<i>lḥilaθ</i>	“(the) tricks”
<i>*ssaεat</i>	→	<i>ssaεaθ</i>	“(the) hours”
<i>*ayyamat</i>	→	<i>ayyamaθ</i>	“(the) days”

### 3. État libre and état d’annexion

#### 3.1. Masculine nouns

There are two different states in Ghomara Berber namely the état d’annexion and the état libre. We have thus far discussed the nouns in the état libre (or free state). In the état d’annexion the prefix of masculine nouns can change. The prefix *a-* becomes either *u-*, *wa-* or *ya-*, while the prefixes *i-* and *u-* do not change.

***a-... → u-...***

<b>état libre</b>		<b>état d’annexion</b>	
<i>amenžur</i>	→	<i>umenžur</i>	“chair”
<i>arg<sup>j</sup>az</i>	→	<i>urg<sup>j</sup>az</i>	“man”

***a-... → wa-...***

<i>aṭil</i>	→	<i>waṭil</i>	“grapes”
<i>ammas</i>	→	<i>wammas</i>	“middle”

***a-... → ya-...***

<i>aγil</i>	→	<i>yayil</i>	“mountain”
<i>ag<sup>j</sup>er</i>	→	<i>yag<sup>j</sup>er</i>	unit of measurement (Ar. <i>feddan</i> )

***i-... → i-...***

<i>iles</i>	→	<i>iles</i>	“tongue”
<i>island</i>	→	<i>islan</i>	“grooms”

***u-... → u-...***

<i>ul</i>	→	<i>ul</i>	“heart”
<i>uliyen</i>	→	<i>uliyen</i>	“hearts”

### 3.2. Feminine nouns

The prefix of feminine nouns can also change in the état d’annexion. The prefix *ta-* becomes either *t-* or is not changed. The prefix *ti-* becomes *t-* or is not changed as well.

***ta-... → t-...***

état libre		état d’annexion	
<i>tag<sup>i</sup>ig<sup>i</sup>et</i>	→	<i>tg<sup>i</sup>ig<sup>i</sup>et</i>	“tree”
<i>tayaṭ</i>	→	<i>tṛaṭ</i>	“goat”

***ta-... → ta-...***

<i>taḍunt</i>	→	<i>taḍunt</i>	“fat”
<i>tayt</i>	→	<i>tayt</i>	“shoulder” <sup>54</sup>

***ti-... → t-...***

<i>timyaran</i>	→	<i>tmyaran</i>	“women”
<i>tixenfuran</i>	→	<i>txenfuran</i>	“noses”

<sup>54</sup> In Tashelhiyt ‘armpit’ is referred to as *ddu tayt* while *tayt* is not used for shoulder (H. Stroomer).

*ti-... → ti-...*

<i>tiskert</i>	→	<i>tiskert</i>	“garlic”
<i>tizit</i>	→	<i>tizit</i>	“mosquito”

### 3.3. Use of état d’annexion

Another characteristic of Ghomara Berber is the limited use of the état d’annexion. The état d’annexion is used after prepositions and *yan/yat* “one” only. It is not used for subjects in postverbal position. The following examples have been taken from texts, which are presented in the section Texts. The numbers behind the examples refer to the text and the number of the line in the text.

<i>inna s ag'di</i>	“the jackal said to him”	1/001
<i>idda d ašnekkaf</i>	“the hedgehog came”	1/009
<i>ttuθu d tamuda</i>	“the pig was coming”	2/014

#### 3.3.1 Use of état d’annexion after prepositions

The état d’annexion is used for nouns following prepositions. It is not clear whether this is also the case with borrowed prepositions. The sentences with examples of these borrowed prepositions do not allow us to draw conclusions on the use of the état d’annexion (V/3.).

état libre	état d’annexion	
<i>aṭil</i>	<i>aḍiyyar n waṭil</i>	“a single grape”
<i>axeyyam</i>	<i>idda dar uxeyyam</i>	“he went to the house”
<i>aṣil</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup>af n yayil</i>	“on top of the mountain”
<i>tamzgida</i>	<i>iffey zḡ tmzgida</i>	“he went out of the mosque”

#### 3.3.2 Use of état d’annexion after *yan/yat* “one”

The second use of the état d’annexion is the use after numeral *yan/yat* “one”.

état libre	état d'annexion	
<i>asekkaw</i>	<i>ya wsekkaw</i>	“one horn”
<i>aḡil</i>	<i>yan yaḡil</i>	“one mountain”
<i>tag<sup>j</sup>ig<sup>j</sup>et</i>	<i>yat tg<sup>j</sup>ig<sup>j</sup>et</i>	“one tree”

## 4. Adjectives

Adjectival modification in Ghomara manifests in two different ways. The adjectival modification by means of Ghomara Berber adjectives and by means of adjectives borrowed from MA. In this subparagraph, we will first discuss the attributive and predicative adjectives of Ghomara Berber. Furthermore, we will discuss some examples of participial adjectival modification. To conclude this subparagraph we will look into the Arabic loans regarding the attributive and predicative adjectives.

### 4.1. Attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives have either suffix  $-\emptyset$  in the case of a masculine singular head noun or  $-\theta$  in all other cases (feminine singular and plural nouns).

#### 4.1.1 Masculine singular nouns

The suffix of attributive adjectives following a masculine singular noun is zero.

...- $\emptyset$

<i>arg<sup>j</sup>az eeyya</i> <sup>55</sup>	“the, a tired man”
<i>arg<sup>j</sup>az meqquṛ</i>	“the, a big man”
<i>ṭayfur mellul</i>	“the, a white table”

<sup>55</sup> Although this is an Arabic loan the adjectival modification manifests in two ways namely according to Arabic morphology (*eeyyan*, *eeyyana*, *eeyyanin*) and as is the case according to the Ghomara Berber morphology at least in the case of the singular (*eeyya* and *eeyyaθ*). The plural is *eeyyaw* instead of *eeyyaθ*. This is probably the case because we are dealing here with the MA verb *eya* (“to be tired”) which becomes *eyaw* in the third plural person of the perfectum. Cf. Sobelman, H. and Richard S. Harrell (ed.), *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: English-Arabic* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1963), s.v. tired.

#### 4.1.2. Feminine singular nouns

In the case of feminine singular nouns, the suffix of attributive adjectives following this noun is *-θ*.

...-θ

<i>tameṭṭut eeyyaθ</i>	“the, a tired woman”
<i>tamyart mezzīθ</i>	“the, a little woman”
<i>tameṭṭut melluleθ</i>	“the, a white woman”

#### 4.1.3. Masculine plural nouns

Also in the case of masculine plural nouns the suffix of the corresponding attributive adjectives is *-θ*.

...-θ

<i>medden melluleθ</i>	“(the) white people”
<i>irgʷazen muqqreθ</i>	“(the) big men”
<i>išnekkafen mezzīθ</i>	“(the) little hedgehogs”

#### 4.1.4. Feminine plural nouns

The following examples attest that the suffix *-θ* is used for attributive adjectives in the case of masculine as well as feminine plural nouns.

...-θ

<i>tieiyyalan mezzīθ</i>	“(the) little girls”
<i>timeṭṭutan muqqreθ</i>	“(the) big women”
<i>tilawzan mzizuθ<sup>56</sup></i>	“(the) small almonds”

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<sup>56</sup> This form is mainly used in Bni Menşur.



## 4.2. Predicative adjectives

The predicative adjectives follow the same pattern as the attributive adjectives discussed above.

### 4.2.1 Masculine singular nouns

...-θ

*maḥall an wan meqqur*

“that room over there is large”

*netta ma ši meqqur*

“he is not big”

### 4.2.2. Feminine singular nouns

...-θ

*ššemēa mezzīθ*

“the candle is short”

*nettaθa ma hell ši muqqreθ*

“she is not big”

*tameṭṭut melluleθ*

“the woman is white”

### 4.2.3. Masculine plural nouns

...-θ

*niçma ma llan ši muqqreθ*

“they are not big”

### 4.2.4. Feminine plural nouns

...-θ

*niçma ma llan ši muqqreθ*

“they (f.) are not big”

### 4.3. Participial adjectival modification

In addition to the use of the adjectives *meqqur* “big” and *mezzi* “small” the participial counterparts are also used for adjectival modification. Even though we have several examples of the use of the participles *imuqqren* and *imezzin*, there are no examples of the verbal counterparts. This leads to the conclusion that the verbs related to *meqqur* and *mezzi* are not used in Ghomara Berber.<sup>57</sup>

<i>eid imuqqren</i>	“the big festival” (Ar. <i>eid l’adḥa</i> )
<i>eid imezzin</i>	“the small festival” (Ar. <i>eid lfītr</i> )
<i>netta wa ymuqqren</i>	“he is the biggest” (litt.: “he is the one who is big”)
<i>tameṭṭut a ymuqqren hiya yemma</i>	“the biggest woman is my mother”
<i>nettaṭa a g illan ta ymuqqren</i>	“she was the biggest”
<i>nihma ma llan ši wi ymuqqren</i>	“they are not the biggest”

### 4.4. Arabic loans

#### 4.4.1. Attributive adjectives

##### 4.4.1.1. Masculine singular nouns

Adjectives borrowed from MA agree in number and gender with the head noun according to MA morphology. State (i.e. *état libre* and *état d'annexion*) of the head noun does not play a role in this, as is the case with the Ghomara Berber adjectives.

Attributive adjectives following masculine singular nouns have suffix *-ø*. In the case of feminine singular nouns the suffix of the attributive adjectives is *-a*. Attributive adjectives following plural nouns have suffix *-in*.

...-ø

<i>ya werg<sup>j</sup>az ɣliṭ</i>	“a fat man”
<i>nhar lluli</i>	“the, a first day”

<sup>57</sup> Cf. A. Allati, *Diachronie tamazighte ou berbère* (Tétouan: L'Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi, 2002) p. 276.

*ṭayfur mḍuwwer*

“the, a round table”

#### 4.4.1.2. Feminine singular nouns

**...-a**

*tameṭṭut yliṭa*

“the, a fat woman”

*tameṭṭut lluliyya*

“the, a first woman”

*yat tmeṭṭut rqiqa*

“a slim woman”

#### 4.4.1.3. Plural nouns

**...-in**

*lmedden yliṭin*

“(the) fat people”

*lmedden rqiḡin*

“(the) slim people”

*timeṭṭutan laxriyyin*

“(the) last women”

### 4.4. Arabic loans

#### 4.4.2. Predicative adjectives

The borrowed predicative adjectives follow the same pattern as the borrowed attributive adjectives discussed in 4.4.1.

##### 4.4.2.1. Masculine singular nouns

**...-Ø**

*lmus ḥaḥi*

“the knife is sharp”

*žželd ennes rṭab*

“she has a smooth skin”

*arg<sup>j</sup>azan feqsan*

“that man is sad”

#### 4.4.2.2. Feminine singular nouns

...-a

*tagg<sup>w</sup>urtan ma ši tqila*

“that door is not heavy”

*tameṭṭutan feqsana*

“that woman is sad”

*nettaṭa maɛduma*

“she is ill”

#### 4.4.2.3. Plural nouns

...-in

*niɣma maɛdumin*

“they are ill”

*isanen inu ma llan ši mguwdin*

“my teeth are not correct”

*iɣuyal ennes eeyyanin*

“her donkeys are tired”

### 5. Quantification

In this subparagraph, we will discuss the quantification of nouns. We will first discuss the quantification by means of numerals. Next we will discuss the indefinite pronouns. Finally, we will discuss a group of quantifiers borrowed from MA.

#### 5.1. Numerals

##### 5.1.1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals in Ghomara Berber correspond to the MA numerals with the exception of *yan/yat* “one”. The numeral *wahed* “one” is used in enumerations and fixed expressions. The numeral *yan* is used for nominal modification of masculine nouns while *yat* is used for feminine nouns.

1. <i>waḥed</i> <sup>58</sup> , <i>yan</i> , <i>yat</i>	11. <i>ḥḍaš</i>	21. <i>waḥdueišrin</i>
2. <i>zuž</i>	12. <i>teneáš</i>	30. <i>tlatin</i>
3. <i>tlata</i>	13. <i>telṭaš</i>	40. <i>rebein</i>
4. <i>rebea</i>	14. <i>rbaeṭaš</i>	50. <i>xemsin</i>
5. <i>xemsa</i>	15. <i>xemṣtaš</i>	60. <i>settin</i>
6. <i>setta</i>	16. <i>seṭṭaš</i>	70. <i>sebein</i>
7. <i>sebea</i>	17. <i>sbeṭaš</i>	80. <i>tmanin</i>
8. <i>tmenya</i>	18. <i>tmenṭaš</i>	90. <i>tesein</i>
9. <i>teseud</i>	19. <i>tseeṭaš</i>	100. <i>miya</i>
10. <i>εašara</i>	20. <i>eišrin</i>	1000. <i>alf</i>

The numerals are connected to the plural nouns in the état d'annexion by means of the genitive preposition *n* "of". The exception is the numeral *yan/yat*, which is followed directly by the singular noun in the état d'annexion.

<i>yat tmeṭṭut</i>	"one woman"
<i>yar i žuč n mqali g ya wsammir</i>	"I have two frying pans in a vast place"
<i>žuž n teffaḥan</i>	"two apples"
<i>tlata n irg'azen</i>	"three men"

In the case of cleft sentences other elements can be inserted between the numeral and the genitive preposition *n* which is followed by the modified noun.

<i>tmenya i yar s n leḥšam</i>	"she has eight children"
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In the case of fixed expressions borrowed from MA, the numerals are not subject to the mentioned morphology but are instead subject to MA morphology.

<i>iqqim ssbae das buḥdu</i>	"the lion stayed over there by himself"
<i>ničma b zuž</i>	"the two of them"
<i>iṭaren nnes b arbea</i>	"his legs, all four of them"

<sup>58</sup> The feminine counterpart *lwaḥda* (including definite article) is used for indication of time.

*nekkin ddrex g hulanda xemsaweišrin sna*

“I have lived for twenty five years in Holland”

### 5.1.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals in Ghomara follow the pattern of MA ordinal numerals. The ordinal numerals act as adjectives. In general, they agree in number and gender with the modified noun.

*timyaran lluliyin*

“the first women”

*tameṭṭut lluliya*

“the first woman”

*tameṭṭut tanya*

“the second woman”

*nhar ttani*

“the second day”

*nhar ttalit*

“the third day”

The following example seems to be an exception to the rule that ordinal numerals agree in number with the modified noun. In MA, ordinal numerals agree in number and in gender. We do not have a plausible explanation for this example.

*l’ayyam lluliya*

“the first days”

### 5.2. Indefinite pronouns

Numeral *yan/yat* is used as an indefinite article in Ghomara Berber.

*yan ax zg hullanda*

“a brother from Holland”

*yat tēyyalt twaqa bin ig’ig’en*

“a girl is standing between trees”

*γars ya wēyyal yallah ixleq*

“she has a recently born child”

*aç tell g<sup>w</sup> ammas l lebḥar yal lbaṭil*

“there was a boat in the middle of the sea”

In addition *inši* can also render a noun indefinite.

*itsiyyab iyessan g lḥaža inši*

“he was throwing the bone in something”

*das lyar inši*

“there is some kind of a cave”

*saržem inši*

“some kind of a window”

### 5.3. Arabic loans

#### 5.3.1. Quantifier *kull* “all”

The quantifier *kull* “all” modifies a noun or a pronoun. It is connected to the noun without any element.

*kullahum mqaṭein*

“all of them have been cut off”

*layna yttuθu kun nhar g bllil*

“where does he go every night”

*leḥṣam n εammi kullahum*

“the children of my uncle, all of them”

*ša heddum kullši*

“you will go, all of you”

#### 5.3.2. Quantifier *bezzaf* “many”

The quantifier *bezzaf* “many” is connected to nouns by means of the genitive preposition *n*. It can also be a quantifier of a verb.

*inna s ag'di γari bezzaf*

“the jackal said I have many”

*ga s taḍunt bezzaf*

“it contains too much fat”

*ma kayn ši bezzaf n itšawtšawen g'enna*

“there are not many birds in the sky”

*nuçna ma ṭlaqina ši bezzaf n teiyyalan*

“we never met many girls”

*lželdaduha ismin bezzaf*

“this leather is too fat”

#### 5.3.3. Quantifier *lbaɛd* “some”

The quantifier *lbaɛd* “some” is connected to nouns by means of the genitive preposition *n*.

*lbaɛd l lmedden*

“some people”

*lebeɛd l lmasa'il*

“some matters”

### III. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

#### 1. Affixes

Person, gender and number are marked by affixes. In this paragraph, we will discuss the affixes of the verb, the imperative and the participle.

##### 1.1. Verb

Three so-called TAM-stems (tense/aspect/mood) are used in Ghomara Berber namely the aorist, preterite and intensive. There are no negative counterparts of these stems. Negation is achieved by means of the negative preverbal element *ma* usually combined with the postverbal element *ši* (see VI/2.2.).

The following scheme is a survey of the verbal affixes. The aorist form of the verb has been used here as an example since this is the most simple form of the verb and also forms the basis for the formation of the preterite and intensive.

**Table 006. Verbal affixes**

		<i>kšem</i> “enter”	<i>ttru</i> “weep”	<i>ara</i> “write”	<i>rri</i> “sow”
1s	...-ex	<i>kešm-ex</i>	<i>ttru-x</i>	<i>ara-x</i>	<i>rri-x</i>
2s	<i>t-...-et</i>	<i>t-kešm-et</i>	<i>t-ettru-t</i>	<i>t-ara-t</i>	<i>t-erri-t</i>
3sm	<i>i-...</i>	<i>i-kšem</i>	<i>i-ttru</i>	<i>y-ara</i>	<i>i-rri</i>
3sf	<i>t-...</i>	<i>t-ekšem</i>	<i>t-ettru</i>	<i>t-ara</i>	<i>t-erri</i>
1p	<i>n-...</i>	<i>n-ekšem</i>	<i>n-ettru</i>	<i>n-ara</i>	<i>n-erri</i>
2p	<i>t-...-em</i>	<i>t-kešm-em</i>	<i>t-ettru-m</i>	<i>t-ara-m</i>	<i>t-erri-m</i>
3p	...-en	<i>kešm-en</i>	<i>ttru-n</i>	<i>ara-n</i>	<i>rri-n</i>

##### 1.2. Imperative

The plural imperative suffix *-awθ* is the only suffix for the imperative in Ghomara Berber.



**Table 007. Affixes of imperative**

		<i>kšem</i> “enter”	<i>ttru</i> “weep”	<i>ara</i> “write”	<i>rri</i> “sow”
1s	...-Ø	<i>kšem</i>	<i>ttru</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>rri</i>
2s	...-awθ	<i>kešm-awθ</i>	<i>tterw-awθ</i>	<i>ara-wθ</i>	<i>rry-awθ</i>

### 1.3. Participle

Ghomara Berber has just one participial form used in all contexts. The participle is achieved by applying circumfix *i-...-en* to one of the three TAM-stems. The participle in Ghomara does not express difference in gender, number or difference between stative and non-stative or positive and negative.

#### *i-...-en*

<i>arg<sup>l</sup>az ag illan qarm</i>	“the man who was silent”
<i>timeṭṭutan iteummen huma tiēiyyalan inu</i>	“the women who are swimming are my daughters”
<i>tameṭṭut itilin sakta</i>	“the woman who is being silent”

### 1.4. Arabic loans

Arabic loans play an important role in verbal morphology. Many verbs of Arabic origin are used in Ghomara Berber. Most of these verbs are inflected according to Ghomara Berber morphology. There are a few exceptions though. Some Arabic verbs are inflected according to MA morphology. In those cases the MA affixes are applied as well as the particle *ka* which is used to mark the intensive.

<i>isker iḍi baš nṭlaqaw</i>	“we agreed to meet each other”
<i>sell leḥšam nnem ka yeqraw</i>	“listen to your children while they are learning”
<i>ddan dar tgg<sup>w</sup>urt ḥešmu</i>	“they went to the door and were ashamed”
<i>amça kay tekreb lism enneç</i>	“how do you write your name?”

One conspicuous example of these verbs is *ṭlaqa* “to meet”.<sup>59</sup> This verb is nearly always inflected according to MA morphology. The exception is the third person singular of the perfectum which is mostly inflected according to Ghomara Berber morphology (i.e. *i-ṭlaqa* instead of *ṭlaqa*). In the following table we will present all the forms of this verb which are used in Ghomara Berber.

**Table 008. Verbal conjugation of *ṭlaqa* “to meet”**

	<b>imperfectum</b>	<b>perfectum</b>
1s	<i>n-ṭlaqa</i>	<i>ṭlaq-it</i>
2s	<i>t-ṭlaqa</i>	<i>ṭlaq-it</i>
3sm	<i>i-ṭlaqa</i>	<i>i-ṭlaqa, ṭlaqa</i>
3sf	<i>t-ṭlaqa</i>	<i>ṭlaqa-θ</i>
1p	<i>n-ṭlaqa-w, n-ṭlaqa-y</i>	<i>ṭlaq-ina</i>
2p	<i>t-ṭlaq-aw</i>	<i>ṭlaq-iθum</i> <sup>60</sup>
3p	<i>i-ṭlaq-aw</i>	<i>ṭlaqa-w</i>

## 2. Stems

Stems characterize the different verb types. The different stem formations consist of consonants, geminate consonants and vowels in various compositions. In this paragraph, we will examine the different verb types and the formation of the different verb types.

<sup>59</sup> Sobelman, *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic*, s.v. meet.

<sup>60</sup> This is an irregularity according to MA morphology. We would expect *ṭlaqitiw* or *ṭlaqiθiw* instead of *ṭlaqiθum*. This list is the result of elicitation whereby our informant Muhammad Hudda summed the used forms. We asked him to do this after we had found different attestations of this verb in the collected texts (see: Texts). Since Muhammad Hudda knows MSA there might have been a commixture whereby he used the second person plural of MSA (*-tum*) instead of MA. On the other hand, we got to know Muhammad Hudda as a consistent and accurate informant. Either way this remains an Arabic suffix and not a Berber suffix. Cf. R. Otten, *Basiswoordenboek Marokkaans Arabisch - Nederlands en Nederlands-Marokkaans Arabisch* (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1983), pp. 898-899.

## 2.1. Verb types

### 2.1.1. Type CCC

A common verb type is CCC. Some of the verbs of this type are borrowed verbs of the Arabic stem I. Other than the fact that the stem is borrowed these verbs act as any other Berber verb. The same goes for the other verbs we will examine that have an Arabic stem.

#### CCC

<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>		<b>verblast</b>
<i>kšem</i>	<i>kšem</i>	<i>kettšem</i>	“enter”	1.1.
<i>nteg</i>	<i>nteg</i>	<i>neṭteg</i>	“fly”	1.2.
<i>ršeq</i>	<i>ršeq</i>	<i>reššeq</i>	“split”	1.3.
<i>sker</i>	<i>sker</i>	<i>skar</i>	“do, make”	1.4.
<i>werg</i>	<i>werg</i>	<i>targa</i>	“dream”	

#### Arabic stem I

<i>berd</i>	<i>berd</i>	<i>tberrad</i>	“freeze”	
<i>ḥreq</i>	<i>ḥreq</i>	<i>ṭherraq</i>	“ache”	
<i>ḥseb</i>	<i>ḥseb</i>	<i>ḥesseb</i>	“count”	
<i>xdem</i>	<i>xdem</i>	<i>xeddem</i>	“work”	1.5.

### 2.1.2. Type CCVC

The main type CCVC exists of two verb types: CCuC and CCaC.

#### 2.1.2.1. Type CCuC

##### CCuC

<i>sruγ</i>	<i>sray</i>	<i>sruγ</i>	“light”
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### 2.1.2.2. Type CCaC

#### CCaC

<i>kṣaḍ</i>	<i>kṣuḍ</i>	<i>tekṣaḍ</i>	“be afraid”
<i>msaḥ</i>	<i>msaḥ</i>	<i>messah</i>	“rub”
<i>eyar</i>	<i>eyar</i>	<i>tēeyar</i>	“play”

### 2.1.3. Type CVCC

The two verb types within the main type CVCC are CaCC and CiCC, which will be discussed below.

#### 2.1.3.1. Type CaCC

We do not have many examples of the verb type CaCC. It is clear though that Arabic stem III belongs to this category as well.

#### CaCC

<i>sagʿem</i>	<i>sagʿem</i>	<i>tsagʿam</i>	“wait”	2.1.1.
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#### Arabic stem III

<i>ʿawed</i>	<i>ʿawed</i>	<i>tʿawad</i>	“report”
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#### 2.1.3.2. Type CiCC

#### CiCC

<i>siwel</i>	<i>sawel</i>	<i>tsawal</i>	“talk, speak”	2.2.1.
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#### 2.1.4. Type CCCa

##### CCCa

<i>şeqşa</i>	<i>şeqşa</i>	<i>tşeqşa</i>	“ask”
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#### 2.1.5. Type CĈC

A very common verb type is CĈC. It must be noted that this type mainly exists of verbs of Arabic stem II.

##### CĈC

<i>çerreç</i>	<i>çerreç</i>	<i>tçerraç</i>	“lie”	3.2.
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##### Arabic stem II

<i>berreh</i>	<i>berreh</i>	<i>tberrah</i>	“call”	3.1.
<i>debbar</i>	<i>debbar</i>	<i>tdebbar</i>	“arrange”	3.3.
<i>duwwar</i>	<i>duwwar</i>	<i>tduwwar</i>	“turn”	
<i>fekkar</i>	<i>fekkar</i>	<i>tfekkar</i>	“think”	
<i>ɣenni</i>	<i>ɣenna</i>	<i>tɣennay</i>	“sing”	3.4.
<i>ɣezzez</i>	<i>ɣezzez</i>	<i>tɣezzaz</i>	“chew”	
<i>siyyeb</i>	<i>siyyeb</i>	<i>tsiyyab</i>	“throw”	3.5.
<i>şebben</i>	<i>şebben</i>	<i>tşebban</i>	“wash”	3.6.
<i>şuwwer</i>	<i>şuwwer</i>	<i>tşuwwar</i>	“draw”	
<i>şebbar</i>	<i>şebbar</i>	<i>tşebbar</i>	“grab, hold”	3.7.
<i>xiiyeṭ</i>	<i>xiiyeṭ</i>	<i>txiyyaṭ</i>	“sew”	3.8.
<i>ziyyar</i>	<i>ziyyar</i>	<i>tziyyar</i>	“tighten”	
<i>ɛellem</i>	<i>ɛellem</i>	<i>tɛellam</i>	“learn”	

### 2.1.6. Type $\hat{C}C$

Contrary to verb type  $C\hat{C}C$ , verb type  $\hat{C}C$  only consists of Berber stems. This is because initial geminate consonants in verb stems are restricted to Berber in the sense that they do not occur in MA.

#### $\hat{C}C$

<i>dder</i>	<i>ddir</i>	<i>tedder</i>	“live”	
<i>ffeγ</i>	<i>ffeγ</i>	<i>teffeγ</i>	“leave”	4.1.
<i>ggez</i>	<i>ggez</i>	<i>teggez</i>	“descend”	
<i>kker</i>	<i>kker</i>	<i>tekker</i>	“stand up”	4.2.
<i>qqel</i>	<i>qqel</i>	<i>teqqel</i>	“return”	4.3.
<i>ssen</i>	<i>ssen</i>	<i>ssen</i>	“know”	
<i>ṭṭes</i>	<i>ṭṭes</i>	<i>tetṭes</i>	“sleep”	4.4.
<i>wweθ</i>	<i>wθa</i>	<i>tkaθa</i>	“hit”	4.5.

### 2.1.7. Type $\hat{C}Cu$

Our corpus contains only one example of the verb type  $\hat{C}Cu$ : *ttru* “weep”.

#### $\hat{C}Cu$

<i>ttru</i>	<i>ttru</i>	<i>ttru</i>	“weep”	5.1.
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### 2.1.8. Type $\hat{C}VC$

The main type  $\hat{C}VC$  consists of two verb types:  $\hat{C}uC$  and  $\hat{C}aC$ . We will discuss these verb types in the following.

### 2.1.8.1. Type $\hat{\text{CuC}}$

#### $\hat{\text{CuC}}$

<i>lluḏ</i>	<i>lluḏ</i>	<i>tlaḏ</i>	“be hungry”	6.1.1.
<i>mmuθ</i>	<i>mmuθ</i>	<i>tmettaθ</i>	“die”	6.1.2.
<i>ssuṭ</i>	<i>ssaṭ</i>	<i>tsuṭ</i>	“blow”	

### 2.1.8.2. Type $\hat{\text{CaC}}$

#### $\hat{\text{CaC}}$

<i>kkar</i>	<i>kkar</i>	<i>kkar</i>	“be full”	6.2.1.
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### 2.1.8.3. Type $\hat{\text{CiC}}$

#### $\hat{\text{CiC}}$

<i>qqim</i>	<i>qqim</i>	<i>tyima</i>	“stay, sit”	6.3.1.
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### 2.1.9. Type $\text{Ca}\hat{\text{C}}$

#### $\text{Ca}\hat{\text{C}}$

<i>ḥakk</i>	<i>ḥakk</i>	<i>ṭhakka</i>	“scratch”	
<i>ḡall</i>	<i>ḡull</i>	<i>tḡalla</i>	“pray”	7.1.

### 2.1.10. Type $\text{C}\hat{\text{C}}$

Based on the examples below we can say that verb type  $\text{C}\hat{\text{C}}$  consists mostly of Arabic stem I verbs with geminate final consonant.

## CC

<i>sell</i>	<i>sell</i>	<i>tesla</i>	“listen”	8.1.
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### Arabic stem I

<i>šemm</i>	<i>šemm</i>	<i>tšemma</i>	“smell”
<i>šedd</i>	<i>šedd</i>	<i>tšedda</i>	“tie”
<i>xess</i>	<i>xess</i>	<i>xess</i>	“need, want”

### 2.1.11. Type CC

This verb type is one of the few verb types with morphological irregularities in the verbal conjugation. The other verb type with morphological irregularities is  $\hat{C}$  (see III/2.1.16).

## CC

<i>dž</i>	<i>wdž~a</i>	<i>tadža</i>	“leave”	9.1.
<i>fk</i>	<i>fk~a</i>	<i>ttak</i>	“give”	9.2.
<i>neγ</i>	<i>neγ~a</i>	<i>neqqa</i>	“kill”	9.3
<i>su</i>	<i>su~a</i>	<i>sessu</i>	“drink”	9.4.

The preterite stems of CC verb have a final vowel *a* in all cases except the third person singular and the first person plural as shown in the following table.



**Table 009. Preterite of CC verbs**

	<i>dž</i> “leave”	<i>fk</i> “give”	<i>neγ</i> “kill”	<i>su</i> “drink”
1s	<i>wdža-x</i>	<i>fka-x</i>	<i>nya-x</i>	<i>swa-x</i>
2s	<i>t-ewdža-t</i>	<i>t-efka-t</i>	<i>t-enya-t</i>	<i>t-eswa-t</i>
3sm	<i>i-wdž</i>	<i>i-fk</i>	<i>i-neγ</i>	<i>i-su</i>
3sf	<i>t-ewdž</i>	<i>t-efk</i>	<i>t-neγ</i>	<i>t-su</i>
1p	<i>n-ewdž</i>	<i>n-efk</i>	<i>n-neγ</i>	<i>n-su</i>
2p	<i>t-ewdža-m</i>	<i>t-efka-m</i>	<i>t-enya-m</i>	<i>t-eswa-m</i>
3p	<i>wdža-n</i>	<i>fka-n</i>	<i>nya-n</i>	<i>swa-n</i>

#### 2.1.12. Type aCC

The following example represents the only example we have of this type. We therefore consider this type rare.

##### aCC

*ara*                      *ura*                      *ttara*                      “write”                      10.1.

#### 2.1.13. Type CCu

Another rare verb type is the type CCu of which we will give the only example present in our corpus.

##### CCu

*bdu*                      *bda*                      *taddu*                      “begin”                      11.1.

#### 2.1.14. Type CaC

The type CaC is a type which is also not very common in Ghomara Berber. The only attestation of this type is *zar* “see”.

## CaC

<i>zar</i>	<i>zar</i>	<i>twala</i>	“see”
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### 2.1.15. Type aCaC

The verb aCaC is yet another verb type that is not common based on the fact that we have only one example in our corpus.

## aCaC

<i>amar</i>	<i>amar</i>	<i>ttamar</i>	“send”
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### 2.1.16. Type Ĉ

As we have mentioned, the verb type Ĉ is also subject to morphological irregularities.

## Ĉ

<i>bb</i>	<i>bb~a</i>	<i>ttawi</i>	“bring”	12.1.
<i>ll</i>	<i>ll~a</i>	<i>tili</i>	“be, exist”	12.2
<i>nn</i>	<i>nna</i>	<i>qqar</i>	“say”	12.3.
<i>šš</i>	<i>šš~a</i>	<i>tett</i>	“eat”	12.4.

The preterite stem of most of these verbs have a final vowel *a* in the base of the verb except in the third person singular and the first person plural. One exception is the verb *nna* “say” which has final vowel *a* in all cases. The following table shows the verbal conjugation of the preterite stem of these verbs.

**Table 010. Preterite of  $\hat{C}$  verbs**

	<i>bb</i> “take”	<i>ll</i> “be, exist”	<i>nn</i> “say”	<i>šš</i> “eat”
1s	<i>bba-x</i>	<i>lla-x</i>	<i>nna-x</i>	<i>šša-x</i>
2s	<i>t-ebba-t</i>	<i>t-ella-t</i>	<i>t-enna-t</i>	<i>t-ešša-t</i>
3sm	<i>i-bb</i>	<i>i-ll</i>	<i>i-nna</i>	<i>i-šš</i>
3sf	<i>t-ebb</i>	<i>t-ell</i>	<i>t-enna</i>	<i>t-ešš</i>
1p	<i>n-ebb</i>	<i>n-ell</i>	<i>n-enna</i>	<i>n-ešš</i>
2p	<i>t-ebba-m</i>	<i>t-ella-m</i>	<i>t-enna-m</i>	<i>t-ešša-m</i>
3p	<i>bba-n</i>	<i>lla-n</i>	<i>nna-n</i>	<i>šša-n</i>

### 2.1.17. Type $\hat{C}V$

The main type  $\hat{C}V$  consists of two verb types, namely  $\hat{C}u$  and  $\hat{C}i$ . These two verb types are also rare in Ghomara Berber; we have just one example of each verb type.

#### 2.1.17.1. Type $\hat{C}u$

$\hat{C}u$

*ddu*                      *dda*                      *ttuθu*                      “come”                      13.1.1.

#### 2.1.17.2. Type $\hat{C}i$

$\hat{C}i$

*rri*                      *rri*                      *rraz* (!)                      “breathe, sow”                      13.2.1.

### 2.1.18. Type $aC$

Finally, the verb *af* “find” is the only example in our corpus of the type  $aC$ .

## aC

*af*                      *ufa*                      *ttafa*                      “find”

## 2.2. Stem formations

The formation of the preterite and intensive on the basis of the aorist is achieved by different processes. We will discuss these processes of the stem formations of the preterite and intensive based on the aorist stem.

### 2.2.1. Formation of preterite

In most cases preterite and aorist coincide as the next examples illustrate.

aorist	preterite		verblast
<i>amar</i>	<i>amar</i>	“send”	
<i>berd</i>	<i>berd</i>	“freeze”	
<i>berreh</i>	<i>berreh</i>	“call”	3.1.
<i>çerreç</i>	<i>çerreç</i>	“lie”	3.2.
<i>debbar</i>	<i>debbar</i>	“arrange”	3.3.
<i>duwwar</i>	<i>duwwar</i>	“turn”	
<i>fekkar</i>	<i>fekkar</i>	“think”	
<i>ffeγ</i>	<i>ffeγ</i>	“leave”	5.1.
<i>ggez</i>	<i>ggez</i>	“descend”	
<i>ħakk</i>	<i>ħakk</i>	“scratch”	
<i>ħreq</i>	<i>ħreq</i>	“ache”	
<i>ħseb</i>	<i>ħseb</i>	“count”	
<i>kkar</i>	<i>kkar</i>	“be full”	6.2.1.
<i>kker</i>	<i>kker</i>	“stand up”	4.2.
<i>kšem</i>	<i>kšem</i>	“enter”	1.1.
<i>lluz</i>	<i>lluz</i>	“be hungry”	6.1.1.
<i>mmuθ</i>	<i>mmuθ</i>	“die”	6.1.2.

<i>msaḥ</i>	<i>msaḥ</i>	“rub”	
<i>nṭeg</i>	<i>nṭeg</i>	“fly”	1.2.
<i>qqel</i>	<i>qqel</i>	“return”	4.3.
<i>qqim</i>	<i>qqim</i>	“stay, sit”	6.3.1.
<i>rri</i>	<i>rri</i>	“sow”	13.2.1.
<i>ršeq</i>	<i>ršeq</i>	“split”	1.3.
<i>sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	<i>sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	“wait”	2.1.1.
<i>sell</i>	<i>sell</i>	“listen”	8.1.
<i>ssen</i>	<i>ssen</i>	“know”	
<i>siyyeb</i>	<i>siyyeb</i>	“throw”	3.5.
<i>sker</i>	<i>sker</i>	“do, make”	1.4.
<i>seqša</i>	<i>seqša</i>	“ask”	
<i>šebben</i>	<i>šebben</i>	“wash”	3.6.
<i>šuwwer</i>	<i>šuwwer</i>	“draw”	
<i>šebbar</i>	<i>šebbar</i>	“grab, hold”	3.7.
<i>šedd</i>	<i>šedd</i>	“tie”	
<i>šemmm</i>	<i>šemmm</i>	“smell”	
<i>ttru</i>	<i>ttru</i>	“weep”	5.1.
<i>ṭṭes</i>	<i>ṭṭes</i>	“sleep”	4.4.
<i>werg</i>	<i>werg</i>	“dream”	
<i>xdem</i>	<i>xdem</i>	“work”	1.5.
<i>xess</i>	<i>xess</i>	“need, want”	
<i>xiyyeṭ</i>	<i>xiyyeṭ</i>	“sew”	3.8.
<i>zar</i>	<i>zar</i>	“see”	
<i>ziyyar</i>	<i>ziyyar</i>	“tighten”	
<i>yezzez</i>	<i>yezzez</i>	“chew”	
<i>εawεδ</i>	<i>εawεδ</i>	“report”	
<i>ellem</i>	<i>ellem</i>	“learn”	
<i>eyar</i>	<i>eyar</i>	“play”	

In other cases the preterite is based on the aorist and its formation is brought about by means of ablaut patterns. We will discuss the most common ablaut patterns.

### 2.2.1.1. Change of *a* into *u*

Verbs with an initial vowel *a* in the aorist can have a change of vowel in the preterite whereby the *a* becomes *u*.

**aCC → uCC**

aorist	preterite		verblist
<i>ara</i>	<i>ura</i>	“write”	10.1.

**aC → uCa**

<i>af</i>	<i>ufa</i>	“find”
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This can also occur with verbs with a medial *a* in the aorist. In this case the medial *a* changes into a medial *u* in the preterite.

**CaĈ → CuĈ**

<i>zall</i>	<i>zull</i>	“pray”	7.1.
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**CCaC → CCuC**

<i>kşad</i>	<i>kşud</i>	“be afraid”
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### 2.2.1.2. Change of *u* into *a*

Verbs with a medial *u* in the aorist can have a change of vowel in the preterite resulting in a medial *a*.

**CCuC → CCaC**

<i>sruy</i>	<i>sray</i>	“light”
-------------	-------------	---------

**$\hat{\text{C}}\text{uC} \rightarrow \hat{\text{C}}\text{aC}$**

*ssuṭ*                      *ssaṭ*                      “blow”

The change of vowel *u* into *a* may also occur with verbs which have final *u*.

**$\hat{\text{C}}\text{u} \rightarrow \hat{\text{C}}\text{a}$**

*ddu*                      *dda*                      “go”                      13.1.1.

**$\text{CCu} \rightarrow \text{CCa}$**

*bdu*                      *bda*                      “begin”                      11.1.

### **2.2.1.3. Change of *i* into *a***

The medial *i* of the aorist may change into a medial *a* in the preterite.

**$\text{CiCC} \rightarrow \text{CaCC}$**

*siwel*                      *sawel*                      “talk”                      2.2.1.

This change of *i* into *a* can also occur in the case of verbs with a final vowel *i*. The following example is a  $\text{C}\hat{\text{C}}\text{C}$  type of verb but has a final vowel *i* which changes in the preterite into vowel *a*.

**$\text{C}\hat{\text{C}}\text{i} \rightarrow \text{C}\hat{\text{C}}\text{a}$**

*γenni*                      *γenna*                      “sing”                      4.4.

### **2.2.2. Formation of intensive**

A number of intensive stems coincide with the corresponding aorist stems.

<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>		<b>verblist</b>
<i>kkar</i>	<i>kkar</i>	“be full”	6.2.1.
<i>sruγ</i>	<i>sruγ</i>	“light”	
<i>ssen</i>	<i>ssen</i>	“know”	
<i>ttru</i>	<i>ttru</i>	“weep”	5.1.
<i>xess</i>	<i>xess</i>	“need, want”	

In most cases one of the formation processes is used for the formation of the intensive based on the aorist. There are four main processes for the formation of the intensive. 1. Gemination of the second consonant. 2. Prefixation of prefix *t* or *tt*. 3. Suffixation of vowel *a*. 4. Infixation of vowel *a*. These different processes are combined in multiple ways as we will see.

### 2.2.2.1. Gemination

Gemination of the second consonant occurs with verbs of the type CCC and CCaC.

CCC → CĈC

<b>aorist</b>	<b>intensive</b>		<b>verblist</b>
<i>ḥseb</i>	<i>ḥesseb</i>	“count”	
<i>nṭeg</i>	<i>neṭṭeg</i>	“fly”	1.2.
<i>ršeq</i>	<i>reššeq</i>	“split”	1.3.
<i>xdem</i>	<i>xeddem</i>	“work”	1.5.

CCaC → CĈaC

<i>msaḥ</i>	<i>messah</i>	“rub”
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### 2.2.2.2. Prefixation of *t*

Prefixation of *t* is a common process for the formation of the intensive. Many verb types have prefix *t* in the intensive. We will look into the following verb types: CĈC, CĈC, CCaC, CuĈ and CCCa.



## $\hat{C}C \rightarrow t\text{-}\hat{C}C$

<i>dder</i>	<i>tedder</i>	“live”	
<i>ffeɣ</i>	<i>teffeɣ</i>	“leave”	4.1.
<i>ggez</i>	<i>teggez</i>	“descend”	
<i>kker</i>	<i>tekker</i>	“stand up”	4.2.
<i>qqel</i>	<i>teqqel</i>	“return”	4.3.
<i>ɬtes</i>	<i>tɛttes</i>	“sleep”	4.4.

## $C\hat{C}C \rightarrow t\text{-}C\hat{C}C$

<i>debbar</i>	<i>tdebbar</i>	“arrange”	3.3
<i>ɖuwwar</i>	<i>tɖuwwar</i>	“turn”	
<i>fekkar</i>	<i>tfekkar</i>	“think”	
<i>šebbar</i>	<i>tšebbar</i>	“grab, hold”	3.7.
<i>ziyyar</i>	<i>tziyyar</i>	“tighten”	

## $CCaC \rightarrow t\text{-}CCaC$

<i>kşad</i>	<i>tekşad</i>	“be afraid”	
<i>eyar</i>	<i>tɛeyar</i>	“play”	

## $Cu\hat{C} \rightarrow t\text{-}Cu\hat{C}$

<i>eumm</i>	<i>tɛumm</i>	“swim”	
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## $CCCa \rightarrow t\text{-}CCCa$

<i>şeqşa</i>	<i>tşeqşa</i>	“ask”	
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### 2.2.2.3. Prefixation of *tt*

Verbs with an initial vowel *a* in the stem of the aorist have prefix *tt*. The attested verb types are aCaC and aCC.

#### aCaC → tt-aCaC

<i>amar</i>	<i>ttamar</i>	“send”
-------------	---------------	--------

#### aCC → tt-aCC

<i>ara</i>	<i>ttara</i>	“write”	10.1.
<i>awi</i>	<i>ttawi</i>	“bring”	

### 2.2.2.4. Prefixation of *t* and infixation of *a*

In addition to prefix *t*, the intensive stem of some verbs has infix *a* before the last consonant. The attested verbs are CaCC and CĈC.

#### CaCC → t-CaC-a-C

<i>εawed</i>	<i>tεawaδ</i>	“report”
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#### CĈC → t-CĈC-a-C

<i>berreh</i>	<i>tberrah</i>	“call”	3.1.
<i>çerreç</i>	<i>tçerraç</i>	“lie”	3.2
<i>siyyeb</i>	<i>tsiyyab</i>	“throw”	3.5.
<i>şebben</i>	<i>tşebban</i>	“wash”	3.6.
<i>şuwwer</i>	<i>tşuwwar</i>	“draw”	
<i>xiyyeṭ</i>	<i>txiyyaṭ</i>	“sew”	3.8.
<i>yezzez</i>	<i>tʔezzaz</i>	“chew”	

<i>ellem</i>	<i>tellam</i>	“learn”
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#### 2.2.2.5. Prefixation of *t* and suffixation of *a*

A number of verbs with a final geminated consonant have prefix *t* and suffix *a* in the intensive. The following examples of the verb types CaĈ and CĈ attest to this.

**CaĈ → t-CaĈ-a**

<i>ħakk</i>	<i>tħakka</i>	“scratch”	
<i>ẓall</i>	<i>tẓalla</i>	“pray”	7.1.

**CĈ → t-CĈ-a**

<i>šedd</i>	<i>tšedda</i>	“tie”
<i>šemm</i>	<i>tšemma</i>	“smell”

#### 2.2.2.6. Prefixation of *t*, gemination and infixation of *a*

In a few cases three processes constitute the formation of the intensive. The following examples of the verb type CCC have prefix *t* and infix *a* before the last consonant while the second consonant is geminated.

**CCC → t-CĈ-a-C**

<i>berd</i>	<i>tberrad</i>	“freeze”
<i>ħreq</i>	<i>tħerraq</i>	“ache”
<i>fseç</i>	<i>tfessaç</i>	“untie”

### 2.3. Derivational prefixes

During our research we have found a few examples of derivational prefixes which we will enlist below to illustrate that this phenomenon exists in Ghomara Berber as in other Berber languages.

### 2.3.1. Causative prefix *ss*

The following causative prefixes are taken from the fables we have gathered, which are represented in the section Texts.

*ss*-...

<i>kšem</i>	enter	<i>ssekšem</i>	“let in”
<i>bzeg</i>	be wet	<i>ssebzeg</i>	“make wet”

### 2.3.2. Onomatopoeic prefix *ss*

The following example of an onomatopoeic prefix is the result of elicitation.

*ss*-...

<i>sskuḥḥu</i>	“cough”
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## 3. The verb “to be”

In Ghomara Berber there are a number of constructions that cover the use of the English verb “to be”. These constructions are used for different tenses and aspects: the present, future and past tense and the intensive aspect. We will discuss the constructions that we have found through our research.

The constructions used for the present tense are non-verbal, verbal or participial constructions. As for the past tense, a verbal and a participial construction is used. For the future tense only a verbal construction is used. Finally, a verbal and participial construction is used for the intensive aspect. We have summarized these constructions in the following table.

**Table 011. The verb “to be”**

	<b>present</b>	<b>past</b>	<b>future</b>	<b>intensive</b>
<b>non-verbal</b>	non-verbal			
<b>verbal</b>	<i>ll~a</i> (P)	<i>ag</i> (PSP) + <i>ll~a</i> (P)	<i>ša</i> (FUT) + <i>ll</i> (A)	<i>tili</i> (I)
<b>participial</b>	<i>illan</i> (PTC/P) <i>igan</i> (PTC/P) + DO	<i>ag</i> (PSP) + <i>illan</i> (PTC/P)		<i>itilin</i> (PTC/I)

We will examine these constructions in this subparagraph. We will furthermore look into the use of *ll* “be” as an auxiliary verb and the use of the past particle *ag*. Finally, we will discuss the Arabic loans regarding the verb “to be”.

### 3.1. Present tense

In this subparagraph we will discuss frequently used constructions that cover the use of a form of the English verb “to be” in the present tense.

#### 3.1.1. Non-verbal construction

The non-verbal construction or non-verbal sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. The predicate is either a nominal, prepositional or adverbial phrase. The subject is linked to the predicate without a copula (see VI/1.).

001.    *netta*            *mæellem*  
          3sm/PRO    expert/PTC-AR  
          “he is an expert”

002.    *i-βaw-en*            *zɖu*        *t-rɣab-t*  
          EL/pm-beans-pm    under    EA/sf-ground-sf  
          “beans are under the ground”

003. *a-xeyyam* *bɛid* *zɡ* *w-asif*  
 EL/sm-house far ABLPR EA/sm-river  
 “the house is far from the river”

004. *ma* *ga* *sen* *walu* *n* *ti-sker-t*  
 NEG LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll  
 “there is no garlic in them”

### 3.1.2. Verbal construction

In the verbal construction the preterite stem of the verb *ll* “be” is used to express the present tense of the verb “to be”.

001. *amça* *yi-ll* *lmuškil* *aθ*  
 how 3sm-be/P problem sm/PRD  
 “what is this problem (like)?”

002. *lli* *ma* *h-ell* *ši* *smin-a*  
 sm/RELD-AR NEG 3sf-be/P NEG fat-sf/ADJ-AR  
 “(the) one that is not fat”

003. *i-san-en* *inu* *ma* *lla-n* *ši* *nišan*  
 EL/pm-tooth-pm 1s/POSS NEG be-3p/P NEG straight  
 “my teeth are not straight”

### 3.1.3. Participial constructions

There are two participial constructions for the verb “to be” in the present tense. The first is *illan*, which is derived from the verb *ll* “be” (local). The participle *illan* is used to mark the local sense of “to be”. The second is *igan*, which is derived from the verb *iga* “be” (existential). The participle *igan* is used to indicate the existential sense of “to be”. The participle *igan* has a more restricted use than *illan* as we will see in the following. In both cases the preterite stem is used.

### 3.1.3.1. The participle *illan*

001. *wa y-tyima-n laxri waniθ i-lla-n a-meddakul inu*  
 sm/RELD PTC-stay-PTC/I last sm/ANAPH PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS  
 “the one who stays behind, he is the one who is my friend”

002. *whadi ay i-lla-n xeddam*  
 sm/PRD FOC PTC-be-PTC/P working  
 “this one is the one that works”

### 3.1.3.2. The participle *igan*

The participle *igan* expresses a state; to be someone or something.<sup>61</sup> This participle seems to have become idiomatic. The verb from which it has been derived is not used as far as we know. This participle is always used with a direct object and only in relative sentences. The participle has a focalisation function in relative sentences. The following examples illustrate this.

001. *waniθ a θ i-ga-n a-meddakul inu*  
 sm/ANAPH RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS  
 “that is the one who is my friend”

002. *ška θ i-ga-n a-rgʷaz a yθ i-fk-en*  
 who 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-man RLV 1s/DO PTC-give-PTC/P  
*leflus*  
 money  
 “who is the man who gave me money?”

003. *ška n i-ga-n ti-myʷar-an ara ddu-n dar ɣiʷwan*  
 who 3p/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/pf-woman-pf FUT go-3p/A ALPR PLN  
 “who are the women who will go to Tétouan”

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Abdallah El Mountassir, *Initiation au Tachelhit: Langue Berbère du sud du Maroc* (Casablanca: Afrique Orient, 2004), p. 168. See also the dedications.

004. *ssbaε netta y θ i-ga-n i-kşud zga s*  
 lion 3sm/PRO RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P 3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR 3sm/PREP  
 “the lion, he is the one he feared”

005. *yal lhila a t i-ga-n*  
 one trick RLV 3sf/DO PTC-be-PTC/P  
 “one trick, it is”

### 3.2. Past tense

The constructions for the past tense are characterized by the use of the past particle *ag* (see III/3.6.). This article is used either with preterite stem of the verb *ll* or with the preterite stem of the participle *illan*.

#### 3.2.1. Verbal construction

001. *wa g i-ll γar s bezzaf*  
 even though PSP 3sm-be/P ALPR 3sm/PREP many  
 “even though he had many” (litt.: “even though there were many with him”)

002. *ta-meṭṭu-t a ç t-ell t-etεumm hiya yemma*  
 EL/sf-woman-sf RLV PSP 3sf-be/P 3sf-swim/I 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN  
 “the woman who was swimming is my mother”

003. *a-šnekkaf iδ u-g<sup>i</sup>di ag ella-n maši*  
 EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP be-3p/P walking/PTC-AR  
 “the hedgehog and the jackal were walking”

004. *ana ç te-lla-t*  
 where PSP 2s-be-2s/P  
 “where were you?”



005. *ti-meṭṭu-tan illa ma g ella-n ši*  
 EL/pf-woman-pf RLV FUT PSP be-3p/P NEG

*t-εumm-en huma ti-εeyyal-an inu*  
 3p-swim-3p/I 3sm/PRO-AR EL/pf-child-pf 1s/POSS  
 “the women who were not swimming are my daughters”

006. *a-rg<sup>i</sup>az illa ma g i-ll ši*  
 EL/sm-man RLV FUT PSP 3sm-be/P NEG

*i-tεumm huwa baba*  
 3sm-swim/I 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN  
 “the man who was not swimming is my father”

007. *nettaṭa g i-lla-n ta y-muqqr-en*  
 3sf/PRO RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P sf/RELD PTC-be big-PTC/P  
 “she was the one who was the biggest”

### 3.2.2. Participial construction

001. *ti-myar-an a g i-lla-n tεumm-en hum*  
 EL/pf-woman-pf RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P swim-3p/I 3sm/PRO-AR

*tayṭ-ma-ṭan inu*  
 pf-sister-pf/ADN 1s/POSS  
 “the women who were swimming are my sisters”

002. *a-rg<sup>i</sup>az a g i-lla-n qarm atg<sup>i</sup>am*  
 EL/sm-man RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P silent-sm/ADJ yesterday  
 “the man who was being silent yesterday”

003. *a-šnekkaf* *ið* *u-g<sup>i</sup>di* *ag* *i-lla-n* *maši*  
 EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP PTC-be-PTC/P walking/PTC-AR  
 “the hedgehog and the jackal were walking”
004. *nettaθa* *g* *i-lla-n* *ta* *y-muqqr-en*  
 3sf/PRO RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P sf/RELD PTC-be big-PTC/P  
 “she was the one who was the biggest”

### 3.3. Future tense

The aorist stem of the verb *ll* is used for the future tense of the verb “to be”. The following example is the only example we have of this.

001. *fhayweç* *ša* *lli* *ta-meyr-a*  
 when FUT 3sf-be/A EL/sf-wedding-sf  
 “when will the wedding be?”

### 3.4. Intensive aspect

The intensive stem is used for the verbal and participial form of the verb *ll*. Since the intensive is an aspect and not a tense it does not have a temporal function. It rather has a habitative function. We therefore translate the verbal construction as “to be usually” and the participial construction as “being”.

#### 3.4.1. Verbal construction

001. *t-tili* *lyilla* *n* *ti-sker-t* *zdu* *t-rħab-t*  
 3sf-be/I crops GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll under EA/sf-ground-sf  
 “the crops of a garlic plant usually are under the ground”
002. *ma* *tili-n* *ga* *sen* *walu*  
 NEG be-3p/I LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing  
 “there is usually nothing in them”

003.    *waytu*        *a-xeyyam*        *a*        *h-tili-t*        *g*        *as*  
          what kind    EL/sm-house    RLV    2s-be-2s/I    LOCPR    3sm/PREP  
          “in what kind of house do you live?” (litt.: “in what kind of house are you being usually”)

004.    *an*        *i-tili*        *a-çma*        *ç*  
          where    3sm-be/I    EL/sm-brother    2sm/ADN  
          “where does your brother live?” (litt.: “where is your brother being”)

### 3.4.2. Participial construction

001.    *ti-myar-an*        *i-tili-n*        *sakt-in*  
          EL/pf-woman-pf    PTC-be-PTC/I    silent-pf/ADJ-AR  
          “the women who are being silent”

002.    *ta-meṭṭu-t*        *i-tili-n*        *qarm-a*  
          EL/sf-woman-sf    PTC-be-PTC/I    quiet-sf/ADJ-AR  
          “the woman who is being silent”

003.    *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az*        *i-tili-n*        *sakit*  
          EL/sm-man    PTC-be-PTC/I    silent-sm/ADJ-AR  
          “the man who is being silent”

### 3.5. The verb *ll* as an auxiliary verb

The verb *ll* functions as an auxiliary verb on a number of occasions. We will discuss the functions with regard to the intensive and stative. In the table below we have summarized the use of *ll* as an auxiliary verb based on our corpus.

**Table 012. The verb “to be”**

	past tense	future tense	imperative mood
<b>intensive</b>	<i>ag</i> (PSP) + <i>ll~a</i> (P) + I		
<b>stative</b>	<i>ag</i> (PSP) + <i>ll~a</i> (P) + STAT (P)	<i>ša</i> (FUT) + <i>ll</i> (A) + STAT (A)	<i>ll</i> (IMP) + STAT (A)

### 3.5.1. Past tense of intensive aspect

As we have mentioned before, the intensive aspect does not comprise a temporal aspect in itself. The verb *ll* with the past particle *ag* is therefore used to mark the past tense of the intensive aspect. The following examples attest to this.

001.    *ta-meṭṭu-t*            *a*            *ç*            *t-ell*            *t-etεumm*            *hiya*            *yemma*  
         EL/sf-woman-sf    RLV    PSP    3sf-be/P    3sf-swim/I    3sf/PRO-AR    mother-1s/ADN  
         “the woman who was swimming is my mother”

002.    *ag*            *i-ll*            *i-tsiyyab*  
         PSP    3sm-be/P    3sm-throw/I  
         “he was throwing”

003.    *ag*            *i-ll*            *i-tett*  
         PSP    3sm-be/P    3sm-eat/I  
         “he was eating”

### 3.5.2. Stative verbs

The verb *ll* as an auxiliary verb also functions as temporal modifier with regard to stative verbs. We will discuss the attested past tense and future tense. Furthermore, it is used for the imperative mood of stative verbs as we will see.

#### 3.5.2.1. Past tense

001.    *nekkīn*    *atg<sup>j</sup>am*            *ag*            *ella-x*            *lluṣ-ex*  
         1s/PRO    yesterday    PSP    be-1s/P    be hungry-1s/P<sup>62</sup>  
         “yesterday I was hungry”

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<sup>62</sup> To be in a hungry state.

002. *ag i-ll i-ḥma*  
 PSP 3sm-be/P 3sm-be warm/P  
 “he was warm”

### 3.5.2.2. Future tense

001. *nekkīn alaḡen ša ll-ex lluz-ex*  
 1s/PRO tomorrow FUT be-1s/A be hungry-1s/A  
 “tomorrow I will be hungry”

### 3.5.2.3. Imperative mood

001. *ell t-eḥma-t*  
 be-2s/IMP 3sm-be warm/A  
 “be warm!”

## 3.6. The past particle *ag*

The past particle *ag* is always used in combination with the preterite aspect of the verb *ll*. This particle indicates the past tense. Note that in the second person singular and plural the past particle *ag* becomes *aḡ*. This is therefore considered to be an allomorph of the past particle *ag*.

001. *netta ag i-ll mezzī*  
 3sm/PRO PSP 3sm-be/P small-sm/ADJ  
 “he was small”

002. *a-šnekkaf iḡ u-ḡ<sup>i</sup>di ag ella-n maši*  
 EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP be-3p/P walking/PTC-AR  
 “the hedgehog and the jackal were walking”

003. *wa g i-ll yar s bezzaf*  
 even though PSP 3sm-be/P ALPR 3sm/PREP many  
 “even though he had many” (litt.: “even though there were many with him”)

004.    *ana*        *ç*        *te-lla-t*  
          where    PSP    2s-be-2s/P  
          “where were you?”

005.    *ta-meṭṭu-t*            *aç*        *t-ell*            *t-etεumm*        *hiya*            *yemma*  
          EL/sf-woman-sf    PSP    3sf-be/P    3sf-swim/I    3sf/PRO-AR    mother-1s/ADN  
          “the woman who was swimming is my mother”

### 3.7. Arabic loans

We do not have many examples of Arabic loans with regard to the verb “to be”. The following example shows the use of the MA participle *kayn*.

001.    *ma*        *kayn*                    *ši*        *bezzaf*    *n*            *i-tšawtšaw-en*        *g'enna*  
          NEG    be-sm/PTC-AR    NEG    many        GENPR    EA/pm-bird-pm    above  
          “there are not many birds in the sky”

In the following example the verb *kan* “to be” is used as an auxiliary verb.<sup>63</sup>

002.    *xessa*                *nax*        *a*            *n-kun*                    *šterh-u*  
          3sm-need/P    1p/IO    PROS    1pm-be-1pm/IMP-AR    1p-cooperate-1p/IMP-AR  
          “we should be working together”

<sup>63</sup> Cf. O. Khalil, ‘Les origines de l’Être dans la langue arabe’, in *Cahiers du Scribe* 1 (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2008), pp. 44-45. See also Sobelman, *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic*, s.v. be.

## IV. PRONOUNS

### 1. Independent pronouns

In Ghomara Berber there are nine personal pronouns; five singular pronouns and three plural pronouns. There is no gender differentiation in the plural. The first and second person singular have a number of shortened forms which are used interchangeably with their unshortened counterparts. The *ç* in the first person plural and the third person plural is sometimes debuccalized and becomes *h* (see I/1.1.3.2.).

**Table 013. Independent pronouns**

	<b>personal pronouns</b>	<b>shortened</b>
1s	<i>nekkîn</i>	<i>nekk, nekki</i>
2sm	<i>kedžîn</i>	<i>kedž, kedži</i>
2sf	<i>kemmin</i>	<i>kemmi</i>
3sm	<i>netta</i>	
3sf	<i>nettaθa</i>	
1p	<i>nuçna</i>	
2p	<i>kunna</i>	
3p	<i>niçma</i> <sup>64</sup>	

### 2. Direct objects

Direct objects are divided into two categories: direct objects as postverbal clitics and direct objects as preverbal clitics. In the following, we will give surveys of these objects with examples of their use.

#### 2.1. Postverbal clitic

Table 014. below presents the direct objects as clitics in postverbal position. The clitics are preceded by vowel *a* after sequences of two consonants or a geminate consonant as the following examples show.

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<sup>64</sup> In Bni Menşur people use *niçnam* for the third person plural of the personal pronoun.

001.    *ufa-x*            *θ*            *i-dda*  
          find-1s/P    3sm/DO    3sm-go/P  
          “I found (him) that he had gone”
002.    *i-šedd*            *as*            *ten*  
          3sm-bind/P    3sm/IO    3p/DO  
          “he tied them (for him)”
003.    *ma*        *h-efk*            *ay*        *ši*  
          NEG    3sf-give/P    1s/IO    NEG  
          “she did not give to me”
004.    *i-tett*            *ahen*  
          3sm-eat/I    3p/DO  
          “he is eating them”

There are some examples in which the female singular of the direct object in postverbal position becomes *teθ*.<sup>65</sup>

005.    *γars-en*            *teθ*  
          slaughter-3p/P    3sf/DO  
          “they slaughtered it”
006.    *šša-n*        *teθ*  
          eat-3p/P    3sf/DO  
          “they ate it”

The first person plural of the direct object *-nay* sometimes becomes devoiced and thus becomes *-naç*. The third person plural of the direct object *-ten* often becomes spirantized (see I/1.1.1.1.) or debuccalized (see I/1.1.1.2.).

<sup>65</sup> In Colins texts there are two examples of this; Text II: *ufanteθ* “they found it” and Text III: *ifkasteθ* “he gave it to him”. Since in other comparable cases the direct object *t* does not become *teθ*, the reason behind this change remains unclear and needs further investigation. Colin, ‘Le parler berbère’, Texts II and III, pp. 52 and 54.



**Table 014. Direct objects as postverbal clitics**

1s	-y	<i>issn-ay</i>	“he knows me”
2sm	-ç	<i>issn-aç</i>	“he knows you”
2sf	-m	<i>issn-am</i>	“he knows you (f.)”
3sm	-θ	<i>issn-aθ</i>	“he knows him”
3sf	-t	<i>issn-at</i>	“he knows her”
1p	-nay	<i>issn-anaç</i>	“he knows us”
2p	-wen	<i>issn-awen</i>	“he knows you (p.)”
3p	-ten	<i>issn-aθen</i>	“he knows them”

The second person plural of the direct object coincides with the second person plural of the indirect object.<sup>66</sup> In most other Berber languages the second person plural of the direct object contains the morpheme for the second person *k* or an evident remnant of old *k*. In Tashelhiyt for example, we have *k<sup>w</sup>n* and *k<sup>w</sup>nt* (f.) for the second person plural of the direct object and *awn* and *awnt* (f.) for the second person plural of the indirect object.<sup>67</sup> Tamazight (Aït Ndhir) has *kun/kwen* and *kwenθ/šenθ* (f.) for the second person plural of the direct object and *awn* and *ašenθ* (f.) for the second person plural of the indirect object.<sup>68</sup> Tarifiyt (Figuig) has *šnim* and *šnimti* (f.) for the second person plural of the direct object and *awim* (*awem*, *awit*) and *ašemt/awimt* (f.) for the second person plural of the indirect object.<sup>69</sup>

## 2.2. Preverbal clitic

Attraction of direct objects is accomplished by various elements (see VI/3.2.). These elements have all in common final vowel *a*. It is therefore difficult to establish whether an initial *a* is part of the direct object in preverbal position. If it would have an initial *a* initially, this vowel would be lost as a result of the sequencing vowels namely the final vowel *a* of the preverbal element, which caused the attraction of the direct object and the initial *a* of the direct object in preverbal position. We have one example which shows that the direct objects as preverbal clitics do not include an initial vowel *a*.

<sup>66</sup> Compare the tables in this section: table 014. with table 016. and table 015. with table 017.

<sup>67</sup> Van den Boogert, *Tashelhiyt Berber of South Morocco*, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> Bisson, *Leçons de Berbère*, p. 9.

<sup>69</sup> Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère*, pp. 177-182.

001.	<i>ddu-x</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>šš-ex</i>
	go-1s/A	3p/DO	eat-1s/A
	“I will go and eat them”		

A conspicuous feature of the preverbal clitic of the first person singular is that between the pronoun and the verb with an initial vowel insertion of *θ* is obligatory (see I/4.).

**Table 015. Direct objects as preverbal clitics**

1s	<i>y-</i>	<i>ša yθ-iwweθ</i>	“he will hit me”
2sm	<i>ç-</i>	<i>ša ç-iwweθ</i>	“he will hit you”
2sf	<i>m-</i>	<i>ša m-iwweθ</i>	“he will hit you (f.)”
3sm	<i>θ-</i>	<i>ša θ-iwweθ</i>	“he will hit him”
3sf	<i>t-</i>	<i>ša t-iwweθ</i>	“he will hit her”
1p	<i>γn-</i>	<i>ša γn-iwweθ</i>	“he will hit us”
2p	<i>wn-</i>	<i>ša wn-iwweθ</i>	“he will hit you (p.)”
3p	<i>n-</i>	<i>ša n-iwweθ</i>	“he will hit them”

### 3. Indirect objects

As is the case with the direct objects, the indirect objects are also of two types: indirect objects as postverbal clitics and indirect objects as preverbal clitics. We will discuss the nature and use of these indirect objects in the following.

#### 3.1. Postverbal clitics

The examples of the use of the indirect objects as postverbal clitics show that they include the initial vowel *a*.

001.    *nekk*        *qgra-γ*    *as*  
          1s/PRO    say-1s/I    3sm/IO  
          “I was telling him”
002.    *i-xess*        *anaç*    *a*        *n-ebtu*  
          3sm-need/P    1p/IO    PROS    1p-divide/A  
          “we need to divide”

The initial vowel *a* of the direct object is lost in postverbal position in the case of a verb with a final vowel. The following examples attest to this.

**Table 016. Indirect objects as postverbal clitics**

1s	-ay	<i>inna-y</i>	“he said to me”
2sm	-aç	<i>inna-ç</i>	“he said to you”
2sf	-am	<i>inna-m</i>	“he said to you (f.)”
3sm	-as	<i>inna-s</i>	“he said to him”
3sf	-as	<i>inna-s</i>	“he said to her”
1p	-anay	<i>inna-nay</i>	“he said to us”
2p	-awen	<i>inna-wen</i>	“he said to you (p.)”
3p	-asen	<i>inna-sen</i>	“he said to them”

### 3.2. Preverbal clitics

The following table presents the indirect objects as clitics in preverbal position. In most cases they coincide with their postverbal counterparts except the first person plural; *ayen* instead of *anay*. As with the direct objects, a *θ* is inserted between the preverbal clitic of the first person singular and the verb with an initial vowel (see I/4.).

**Table 017. Indirect objects as preverbal clitics**

1s	<i>ay-</i>	<i>ša yθ-iberreḥ</i>	“he will call me”
2sm	<i>aç-</i>	<i>ša ç-iberreḥ</i>	“he will call you”
2sf	<i>am-</i>	<i>ša m-iberreḥ</i>	“he will call you (f.)”
3sm	<i>as-</i>	<i>ša s-iberreḥ</i>	“he will call him”
3sf	<i>as-</i>	<i>ša s-iberreḥ</i>	“he will call her”
1p	<i>ayen-</i>	<i>ša yn-iberreḥ</i>	“he will call us”
2p	<i>awen-</i>	<i>ša wn-iberreḥ</i>	“he will call you (p.)”
3p	<i>asen-</i>	<i>ša sn-iberreḥ</i>	“he will call them”

#### 4. Prepositional suffixes

The following suffixes are used after prepositions. The first person plural of the direct object *-nay* becomes *-naç* due to devoicing in some cases. The second person singular masculine *k* becomes *ç* in most cases as a result of spirantization (see I/1.1.3.1).

**Table 018. Prepositional suffixes**

1s	<i>...-i</i>	<i>idda d dayr-i</i>	“he came to me”
2sm	<i>...-k</i>	<i>idda d dayr-eç</i>	“he came to you”
2sf	<i>...-m</i>	<i>idda d dayr-em</i>	“he came to you (f.)”
3sm	<i>...-s</i>	<i>idda d dayr-es</i>	“he came to him”
3sf	<i>...-s</i>	<i>idda d dayr-es</i>	“he came to her”
1p	<i>...-nay</i>	<i>idda d dayer-naç</i>	“he came to us”
2p	<i>...-un</i>	<i>idda d dayr-un</i>	“he came to you (p.)”
3p	<i>...-sen</i>	<i>idda d dayer-sen</i>	“he came to them”

## 5. Possessive suffixes

The following possessive suffixes are not only used as suffixes in possessive constructions but they also appear in an independent form as possessive pronouns. The second person singular masculine *nnek* becomes *nneç* in most cases as a result of spirantization (see I/1.1.3.1).

**Table 019. Possessive suffixes**

1s	...-inu	<i>ticiyyalan-inu</i>	“my daughters”
2sm	...-nnek	<i>ticiyyalan-enneç</i>	“your daughters”
2sf	...-nnem	<i>ticiyyalan-ennem</i>	“your (f.) daughters”
3sm	...-nnes	<i>ticiyyalan-ennes</i>	“his daughters”
3sf	...-nnes	<i>ticiyyalan-ennes</i>	“her daughters”
1p	...-nnaç	<i>ticiyyalan-ennaç</i>	“our daughters”
2p	...-nnun	<i>ticiyyalan-ennun</i>	“your (p.) daughters”
3p	...-nnsen	<i>ticiyyalan-ennsen</i>	“their daughters”

## 6. Adnominal suffixes

In general, the possessive pronouns discussed above are also used in possessive constructions of kinship terms. In some cases the so-called adnominal suffixes are used for the singular person. This is rare though and preference is given to the possessive construction.

**Table 020. Adnominal suffixes**

1s	...-ø	<i>açma</i>	“my brother”
2sm	...-ç	<i>açma-ç</i>	“your brother”
2sf	...-m	<i>açma-m</i>	“your (f.) brother”
3sm	...-s	<i>açma-s</i>	“his brother”
3sf	...-s	<i>açma-s</i>	“her brother”

## 7. Demonstrative pronouns

### 7.1. Proximal deixis

The postpositions of the proximal deixis appear in different variants as shown in the table below. The same goes for the independent forms. We have also listed the reinforced forms which are occasionally used for stress. After a vowel, the postposition singular becomes *y*, *ya* or *yaθ* in most cases, in a few cases it is *d*.

**Table 021. Proximal deixis**

	<b>postpositions</b>	<b>variants</b>	<b>reinforced</b>	<b>independent</b>	<b>variants</b>
sm	<i>-ad</i>	<i>-a, -adi, -adin</i>	<i>-aduha</i>	<i>whadi</i>	<i>whadin</i>
sf	<i>-ad</i>	<i>-a, -adi, -adin</i>	<i>-attha<sup>70</sup></i>	<i>thadi</i>	<i>thadin, θa</i>
p	<i>-id</i>	<i>-idin</i>	<i>-iduhi</i>	<i>whidi</i>	<i>whidin</i>

*axeyyamad qđim f wani*

“this house is older than that one”

*ṭablāya dahma*

“this table is brown”

*i men lmaklayaθ*

“for whom is this food?”

*tibratanid*

“these letters”

*fhayweç ša ffyen timṭaranidin*

“when are these women going to leave?”

*aḡfullusaduha*

“this cock, this one”

*taeeyaltattha*

“this girl, this one”

*šḡal ay txelset whadi*

“how much did you pay for this?”

*maši whadin wayeṭ*

“not this one (m.), but the other one (m.)”

*maši thadin tayeṭ*

“not this (f.) one, but the other one (f.)”

*maši whidin wiyyeṭ*

“not these ones, but the other ones”

<sup>70</sup> Based on the other reinforced postpositions of the proximal deixis *attha* is a contraction of *ad* and *tha* which becomes *attha* due to assimilation.

## 7.2. Distal deixis

The table below shows the different forms of the distal deixis. In the postpositions there is no gender distinction while in the other forms there is gender as well as distinction in number. The reinforced forms of the distal deixis are a combination of the postpositions and independent forms of the distal deixis.

**Table 022. Distal deixis**

	<b>postpositions</b>	<b>reinforced</b>	<b>independent</b>	<b>shortened</b>
sm	<i>-an</i>	<i>-an wanit</i>	<i>wanit</i>	<i>wan, wani</i>
sf	<i>-an</i>	<i>-an tanit</i>	<i>tanit</i>	<i>tan, tani</i>
p	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in winit</i>	<i>winit</i>	<i>win, wini</i>

*axeyyaman wanit*

“that house, that one”

*tameṭṭutan feqsana*

“that woman is sad”

*tabratan tanit*

“that letter, that one”

*taeeyaltan tan*

“that girl, that one”

*tiwfalanin winit*

“those eggs, those ones”

*škun a hum tiēiyyalanin*

“who are those girls?”

*axeyyamad qḍim f wani*

“this house is older than that one”

## 7.3. Relative deixis

The table below presents the relative deixis. The shortened forms seem to be used before a vowel, but the examples are too few to draw certain conclusions.

**Table 023. Relative deixis**

	<b>independent</b>	<b>shortened</b>
sm		<i>wa</i>
sf		<i>ta</i>
p	<i>win</i>	<i>wi</i>

<i>wa ytyiman laxri</i>	“the one who lags behind”
<i>nettaθa a g illan ta ymuqqren</i>	“she is the biggest” (litt.: “she is the one who is big”)
<i>nihma wi ymuqqren</i>	“they are the biggest” (litt.: “they are the ones who are big”)
<i>win n ug<sup>i</sup>di se ššear</i>	“the ones of the jackal have fur”
<i>win ennes s isennanen</i>	“the ones of him have spines”

## 7.4. Anaphoric deixis

On the basis of the collected texts we have derived the following forms of the anaphoric deixis.

**Table 024. Anaphoric deixis**

	postpositions	variants	independent
sm	-an	-ani	wanit
sf			
p	-in		

<i>iṭlaqa i ssiyyedani</i>	“he met with that man (mentioned)”
<i>εawed ššan lḥamani</i>	“again, they ate that meat (mentioned)”
<i>fī želdan</i>	“on that skin (mentioned)”
<i>amça hgget i šebbatin</i>	“how will you make those shoes (mentioned)”
<i>waniθ illan ameddakul inu</i>	“that one (mentioned) is my friend”

## 8. Interrogatives

In this paragraph we will discuss the different interrogatives used in Ghomara Berber. We will first look into the non-prepositional interrogatives. This category consists of prepositions of Arabic and prepositions of Berber origin. The added value of distinguishing between the two is marginal at this point. We will therefore present them without distinguishing between Arabic and Berber interrogatives. Furthermore, we will discuss the so-called prepositional interrogatives.



## 8.1. Non-prepositional interrogatives

### 8.1.1. Interrogative *škun* “who, which”

The interrogative *škun* has an allomorph *ška* which seems to be used before preverbal elements like *ara* and *a*.

<i>škun arg<sup>i</sup>az ara yθ ifk leflus</i>	“which man will give me money?”
<i>škun a s ixessen a ddu dar řıřwan</i>	“who is the one who wants to go to Tétouan?”
<i>a škun a hum tięeyyalanin</i>	“who are those girls?”
<i>ška ra ddu dar řıřwan</i>	“who will go to Tétouan?”
<i>ška ra ç ızar alazen</i>	“who will see you tomorrow?”
<i>ška yillan ma ra řn ızar alazen</i>	“who is the one who will not see us tomorrow?”

### 8.1.2. Interrogative *šwa* “what”

<i>šway x řayfur</i>	“what is on the table?”
<i>šwa ra hzenzet g ssuq</i>	“what are you going to sell on the market?”
<i>šwa ra bbet a ęammi ag<sup>i</sup>di</i>	“what are you going to take uncle jackal?”

### 8.1.3. Interrogative *liyař* “why”

<i>liyař ara ntiq zgaç</i>	“why should I trust you?”
<i>liyař heddat dar uxeyyam nneç</i>	“why did you go to your house?”
<i>liyař a httrut a taęeyyalt</i>	“why are you crying little girl?”

### 8.1.4. Interrogative *amça* “how”

<i>amça hrzet řebbaç</i>	“how did you break the window?”
<i>amça kay tekteb lism enneç</i>	“how do you write your name?”
<i>amça ddiren imelřan g lebřar</i>	“how do fish live in the sea?”

### 8.1.5. Interrogative *fhayweç* “when”

<i>fhayweç nṭlaqay</i>	“when will we meet each other?”
<i>fhayweç ša ffyen timṭaraniḏin</i>	“when will these women leave?”
<i>fhayweç ahlekmet</i>	“when did you arrive?”

### 8.1.6. Interrogative *ani* “where”

<i>ani lgezzar</i>	“where is the butcher?”
<i>ani tili çmaç</i>	“where does your brother live?”
<i>an aḥṭṭset llila n watg<sup>j</sup>am</i>	“where did you sleep last night?”

### 8.1.7. Interrogative *layn* “whither”

<i>layn ša ddum fsyir l lešša</i>	“where are you going after dinner?”
<i>layn a yttuṭu kun nhar g bllil</i>	“where does he go every night?”

## 8.2. Prepositional interrogatives

Prepositional interrogatives consist of non-composite prepositions (see V/1.) followed by *mmen* “what/who”.

### 8.2.1. Dative preposition *i*

<i>i men lmakla yaθ</i>	“for whom is this food?”
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### 8.2.2. Locative preposition *g*

<i>g emmen a txemmameḏ (!)</i>	“what are you thinking about?”
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### 8.2.3. Instrumental preposition *s*

*s emmen a hqeṭṭet lḥem*

“what did you cut the meat with?”

### 8.2.4. Implicative preposition *x*

*x emmen a sawlet atg'am*

“what did you talk about yesterday?”

### 8.2.5. Comitative preposition *i*

*i men a hēyaret atg'am*

“with whom did you play yesterday?”

## 9. Arabic loans

### 9.1. Independent pronouns

Arabic independent pronouns are used to stress the subject in relative sentences.

*arg'az ay illan ma ši meqqur huwa baba*

“the man who is not big, he is my father”

*tameṭṭut ad ēeyyaθ hiya yemma*

“the woman who is tired, she is my mother”

*irg'azen iteummen huma ayθma*

“the men who are swimming, they are my brothers”

### 9.2. Possessive pronouns

Some Arabic loans are always used in combination with Arabic possessive pronouns.

*ag'di idda fḥalu*

“the hedgehog went on his way”

*ša wen qqnex g baṭkum*

“I will tie you (p.) to one another”

*iqqim ssbae das buḥdu*

“the lion stayed over there by himself”

*leḥšam nn εammi kullahum*

“the children of my uncle, all of them”

### 9.3. Prepositional suffixes

The Arabic prepositional suffix is also in use in Ghomara Berber. When an Arabic preposition is used, application of Arabic prepositional suffixes is likely. Since Arabic prepositions are not much used in Ghomara Berber the Arabic prepositional suffix is rare in Ghomara Berber.

*ma hxeddam alek ši*

“it does not work for you”

### 9.4. Direct objects

Arabic pronominal suffixes of the direct object are used with verbs that are subject to MA morphology (mainly verb inflection). The attested verbs are as follows.

*a nfukkukum lmuškil*

“we will solve the problem for you (p.)”

*baš ixerrežha*

“in order to get her out”

*iṭlaqani dar uxeyyam*

“he met me at the house”

## V. PREPOSITIONS

In this section, we will discuss the different prepositions used in Ghomara Berber. We distinguish between non-composite and composite nouns that are composed of more than one preposition. We will first discuss the non-composite prepositions. We will then discuss the composite prepositions. Finally, we will discuss the borrowed prepositions.

### 1. Non-composite prepositions

#### 1.1. Preposition *i*

Preposition *i* has three functions: dative, coordinative and comitative. Before a vowel preposition *i* becomes *iḍ*. We consider *iḍ* as an allomorph of *i*. We will discuss the three functions of this preposition. These functions cannot be sharply distinguished in all cases. Therefore, we have chosen examples in which this distinction is less ambiguous.

##### 1.1.1. Dative preposition *i*

<i>ag'di innas i tmuda</i>	“the jackal said to the pig”
<i>nekkīn bbay d lmakla i leḥṣam inu</i>	“I brought food for my children”
<i>nekkīn ma ra fkex ši lmakla iḍ umušš</i>	“I will not give food to the cat”
<i>innas ašnekkaf iḍ ug'di</i>	“the hedgehog said to the jackal”

##### 1.1.2. Coordinative preposition *i*

<i>niḥma i leḥṣam nnsen</i>	“they and their children”
<i>nekkīn iḍ ug'di</i>	“me and the jackal”
<i>iḍ ušnekkaf γars yal lhila</i>	“and the hedgehog has one trick”

### 1.1.3. Comitative preposition *i*

Comitative preposition *i* is positioned either before a noun or before a pronominal suffix. We will look into both forms in the following.

#### 1.1.3.1. Before a noun

<i>i men a hēyaret</i>	“with whom did you play?”
<i>iṭlaqa i ssiyyedani</i>	“he met with that man”
<i>ša ddux i çma</i>	“I will go with my brother”
<i>i men d eddat atgʷam</i>	“with whom did you come yesterday?”
<i>ið ugʷdi</i>	“with the jackal”

#### 1.1.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix

<i>qqimex iðes</i>	“I sat with him”
<i>a ddux iðun</i>	“I will go with you (p.)”
<i>isker iði</i>	“he made an appointment with me”
<i>lmus ḥafi nekki nqder qetεax iðes</i>	“the knife is sharp, I am (therefore) able to cut with it”

### 1.2. Allative prepositions

There are four prepositions that have an allative function: *dar*, *dayur*, *γar* and *εa*. We will discuss these four prepositions in the following subparagraphs.

#### 1.2.1. Allative preposition *dar*

The allative preposition *dar* has a directional function (“towards”) whereby the action is directed towards a certain location. It is only used before nouns and not before pronominal suffixes. This preposition is often used with a form of the verb *ddu* “go”. The following examples attest to this.

<i>idda dar hulanda</i>	“he went to Holland”
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<i>ittuθu dar ššham bin tiṭṭawan</i>	“he is reaching for the fat between the eyes”
<i>ddan dar tgg<sup>w</sup>urt</i>	“they went to the door”
<i>liyaš heddat dar uxeyyam nneç</i>	“why did you go to your house?”

### 1.2.2. Allative preposition *yar*

The allative preposition *yar* is comparable to the use of the MSA use of *inda* (i.e. figurative use of allative). In addition, it can be used in the same way as *dayur* (see below) including the use of pronominal suffixes. This preposition is only attested with pronominal suffixes.

<i>γars ktar zgis</i>	“he has more than him”
<i>γark lhaqq</i>	“you are right”
<i>γars ya wæyyal yallah ixleq</i>	“she has a recently born child”
<i>idda d γari</i>	“he visited me”

### 1.2.3. Allative preposition *dayur*

The allative preposition *dayur* is somewhat comparable to the use of the French “chez”. The prepositional object usually refers to individuals. Allative prepositions *dayur* appears before nouns as well as before pronominal suffixes.

#### 1.2.3.1. Before a noun

<i>ša ddux dayur ya werg<sup>j</sup>az</i>	“I will visit a man”
<i>ag<sup>j</sup>di idda d dayur tmuda</i>	“the jackal visited the pig”
<i>bdan qarraben dayur ssbae</i>	“they began approaching the lion”

#### 1.2.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix

In the following examples the allative preposition *dayur* has a pronominal suffix.

<i>idda d dayrem</i>	“he visited you (f.)”
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*idda d dayri*

“he visited me”

*idda d dayrun*

“he visited you (p.)”

#### 1.2.4. Allative preposition *ea*

This preposition is not much used compared to the aforementioned allative prepositions. We have the following three examples in our corpus.

*telkem d ea xemsa*

“it was five o’clock” (litt.: “the clock arrived at five o’clock”)

*arg<sup>i</sup>az ea w<sup>i</sup>talie*

“the man is above” (litt.: “the man is on the top”)

*a d qqlex ea bu<sup>h</sup>med*

“I will return to Bu A<sup>h</sup>med”

#### 1.3. Genitive preposition *n*

A very common preposition is the genitive preposition *n* which is used on many occasions as the following examples illustrate.

##### 1.3.1. Before a noun

*lluli n usbue*

“the beginning of the week”

*win n ug<sup>i</sup>di se ššear*

“the ones of the jackal have fur”

*bezzaf n teiyyalan*

“many girls”

*iqqar i le<sup>h</sup>šam n tmuda*

“he teaches the children of the pig”

*ifrawen ma g asen walu n tiskert*

“leaves do not have garlic on them”

*yark ši n lhilaθ*

“do you have some tricks?”

In the following examples the genitive preposition *n* has assimilated to the Arabic definite article *l-* (see I/3.2.).

*šhal yareç l le<sup>h</sup>šam*

“how many kids do you have?”

*tmenya i yar s l le<sup>h</sup>šam*

“she has eight children” (litt.: “eight, she has of children”)



### 1.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix

The possessive pronouns consists of the genitive preposition *n* and a pronominal suffix (see IV/5.).

<i>želd ennes rr̥tab</i>	“her skin is smooth”
<i>kešmen gi l̥yar nnsen</i>	“they went into their cave”
<i>leḥšam enneç maerufin</i>	“our children are well-known”

### 1.4. Implicative preposition *xf*

Implicative preposition *xf* appears in three forms: *xf*, *x* and *f*. We will discuss the use of each of these forms in the following.

#### 1.4.1. Form *xf*

The implicative preposition *xf* is only used in combination with pronominal suffixes.

<i>išeḡsa xfi</i>	“he asked about me”
<i>axfek</i>	“on you”
<i>ssbae iḡaf xfes</i>	“the lion grab hold of him”
<i>išeḡsa xafnaγ</i>	“he asked about us”
<i>išeḡsa xafsen</i>	“he asked about them”

#### 1.4.2. Form *x*

Before a noun the form *x* or *f* of the implicative preposition is used. The following examples illustrate the use of form *x*.

<i>xemmen a sawlet</i>	“what are you talking about?”
<i>netta yqqim x umenžur</i>	“he sits on the chair”
<i>šway x ṭayfur</i>	“what is on the table?”
<i>iteayan x umeddakul nnes</i>	“he was waiting for his friend”

*işeqşa x buḥmed*<sup>71</sup>

“he asked about Bu Aḥmed”

### 1.4.3. Form *f*

Form *f* of the implicative preposition seems to have a more restricted use than form *x*. The following examples include the use with the verb *susem* “listen” and the comparative.<sup>72</sup>

*a tsusem f leḥšam nnes*

“she will listen to her children”

*a tsusem f ššdaē*

“she will listen to the noise”

*axeyyamad qḍim f wani*

“this house is older than that one”

*axeyyamad mezzi f wani*

“this house is smaller than that one”

*nettaṭa teggahen fe želdan*

“she put it ont that leather”

## 1.5. Locative prepositions

### 1.5.1. Locative preposition *g*

The locative preposition *g* comes either before a noun or a pronominal suffix. In the following, we will discuss these forms.

#### 1.5.1.1. Before a noun

*wergex atg<sup>j</sup>am gi nnawm*

“I dreamt yesterday in (my) sleep”

*šwa ra hzenzet g ssuq*

“what are you going to sell on the market?”

*nekkim ddrex g hulanda*

“I live in Holland”

*netta yqqim gi ddšar wayeṭ*

“he stayed in another village”

<sup>71</sup> In one of Colins texts the verb *işeqşa* “ask” is used with the form *f* of the implicative preposition: *şeqšant leḥšam nug<sup>j</sup>di f babannsen* (transcription and orthography adjusted). Ibid., Text IV, p. 54.

<sup>72</sup> The use of the form *f* of the implicative preposition is more extensive in the texts of Colin (speech of Bni Menşur). This form is used before nouns with the verbs *berreh* “call” (Ibid., Texts II, III and IV, pp. 53, 54 and 54.) *ḍri* “proceed” (Ibid., Text III, p. 53.) and *şeqşa* “ask” (Ibid., Text IV, p. 54.).

### 1.5.1.2. Before a pronominal suffix

*itxemmam gasen*

“he is thinking of them”

*rriyaḍ gas xarrebi n nuwwar*

“there are many flowers in the garden”

*waytu axeyyam htilit gas*

“in what kind of house do you live?”

### 1.5.2. Locative preposition *d*

Locative preposition *d* is a rare locative preposition. We have the following examples in our corpus.

*ḍas ššḥam bezzaf*

“there is very much fat in it”

*di ssaεaθ iṣebbr aθ*

“after a while he caught him” (litt.: “in hours he grabbed him”)

### 1.6. Ablative preposition *zg*

Ablative preposition *zg* is the oppositional counterpart of the allative preposition *dar*.

#### 1.6.1. Before a noun

*niṣma zg hulanda*

“they are from Holland”

*axeyyam beid zg wasif*

“the house is far from the river”

*nekkīn kṣuḍex zg ya werg<sup>l</sup>az*

“I was afraid of a man”

#### 1.6.2. Before a pronominal suffix

*liyaš ara ntiq zgač*

“why should I trust you?”

*kṣaḍ zgās*

“be afraid of him!”

The following example illustrates the comparative function of the ablative preposition *zg*.

*netta čtar zgās*

“he is bigger than him”

## 1.7. Instrumental preposition *s*

Preposition *s* has an exclusive instrumental function.

<i>s emmen a hqeṭzet</i>	“what do you cut with?”
<i>siwel se ššelḥa</i>	“talk Berber”
<i>ikkar s tiwfalan</i>	“it is filled with eggs”

## 2. Composite prepositions

We distinguish between composite prepositions composed of locative preposition *g* and composite prepositions composed of instrumental preposition *s*. These composite prepositions consist in addition to the preposition of a noun that refers to a location. They act as locative prepositions, but with a more specific character than locative preposition *g*. We will discuss both types of composite prepositions in the following subparagraphs.

### 2.1. Composition with locative preposition *g*

#### 2.1.1. Composite preposition *g<sup>w</sup>um n* “in front of”

Composite preposition *g<sup>w</sup>um n* consists of three elements. The first element is the locative preposition *g*. The second element is *am* (or perhaps *um*). This element refers obviously to a frontal location. Finally, the genitive preposition connects the first two elements to the noun or pronominal suffix.

<i>nekkīn g<sup>w</sup>um n uxeyyam</i>	“I am in front of the house”
<i>g<sup>w</sup>um inu</i>	“near (me)” (litt.: “in front of me”)
<i>aṣ afeṣ g<sup>w</sup>um n tmzida</i>	“I will see you in front of the mosque”
<i>g<sup>w</sup>um n watg<sup>l</sup>am ddax dar hulanda</i>	“I went to Holland the day before yesterday”

#### 2.1.2. Composite preposition *g<sup>w</sup>ammas n* “in the middle of”

Composite preposition *g<sup>w</sup>ammas n* consists also of three elements whereby the first and the last are identical to the ones of the aforementioned preposition *g<sup>w</sup>um n*. The second element *ammas* denotes a

central location. It is also used as an independent noun referring to the human waistline, which can be considered the centre of the human body.

<i>tabla g<sup>w</sup>ammas n imenžar</i>	“the table is between the chairs”
<i>aç tell g<sup>w</sup>ammas l lebħar yal lbaṭil</i>	“there was a boat in the middle of the sea”

### 2.1.3. Composite preposition *g<sup>w</sup>af n* “on top of”

The second element *af* in *g<sup>w</sup>af n* evidently designates a top location. The first and the last element have the same function as in the aforementioned composite prepositions.

<i>g<sup>w</sup>af n yayil das aḍfel</i>	“there is snow on top of the mountain”
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### 2.1.4. Composite preposition *g<sup>j</sup>enna* “above”

Composite preposition *g<sup>j</sup>enna* exists of two elements. The first is the locative preposition *g*. The second element comes from *ag<sup>j</sup>enna* “sky”.<sup>73</sup> This composite preposition therefore designates an abstract upper location. It indeed refers in many cases to the sky as a location.

<i>ma kayn ši bezzaf n itšawtšawen g<sup>j</sup>enna</i>	“there are not many birds in the sky”
<i>igtaḍ g<sup>j</sup>enna</i>	“birds are in the sky”
<i>ša ɛallix g<sup>j</sup>enna</i>	“I will go up(stairs)”

## 2.2. Composition with instrumental preposition *s*

### 2.2.1. Composite preposition *zḍu* “under”

Composite preposition *zḍu* is composed of two elements: the implicative preposition *s* and the element *ddu* “under”.<sup>74</sup> This preposition thus designates a lower location. Note that the instrumental preposition *s* has become voiced under the influence of *ddu* (see I/3.4.).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère*, p. 232.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Van den Boogert, *Tachelhiyt Berber of South Morocco*, p. 16 and Mountassir, *Initiation au Tachelhit*, p. 167.

<i>argʷaz zɖu ʔabla</i>	“the man is under the table”
<i>lyilla n tiskert zɖu trɰabt</i>	“garlic grows under the ground”
<i>iβawen ma tilin ši zɖu trɰabt</i>	“beans do not grow under the ground”

### 3. Arabic loans

A number of Arabic prepositions are used in Ghomara Berber in different ways. We will give a survey of the used prepositions and briefly discuss their use.

#### 3.1. Arabic preposition *bayn* “between”

##### 3.1.1. Before a noun

The preposition *bayn* and its monophthongized counterpart *bin* are used in the texts we have collected instead of the Berber variant *gʷammas n*, which was the result of elicitation. This indicates that *bayn* designates the location between two elements or groups of elements while *gʷammas n* designates the central location surrounded by more than two elements or an innumerable amount of elements. Obviously the line cannot be drawn very sharply in many cases and comparison of the examples below and the examples of the composite preposition *gʷammas* makes clear that there is an overlay of the functions of these two prepositions.

The first example below is a good example of how the meaning of the sentence would change if the preposition *gʷammas n* would have been used instead of *bayn*. Instead of between the two eyes the sentence would perhaps imply the centre of each of the two eyes.

<i>ittuθu dar ššɰam bin tiɖtawan</i>	“he is reaching for the fat between the eyes”
<i>yat tɛyyalt twaqa bin igʷigʷen</i>	“a girl is standing between trees”
<i>dasi yaw xeyyam bayn iɰallen</i>	“there is a house between the mountains”

##### 3.1.2. Before a pronominal suffix

We have one example of the preposition *bayn* with a pronominal suffix. This pronominal suffix is Arabic.

<i>baynaθna</i>	“between us”
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### 3.2. Arabic preposition *bi* “with”

Arabic preposition *bi* is used in a number of fixed expressions. The following fixed expressions attest to this.

<i>iqqim ssbaε das buḥdu</i>	“the lion stayed over there by himself”
<i>niçma b zuž</i>	“the two of them”
<i>iṭaren nnes b arbea</i>	“his legs, all four of them”

The following example is a fixed expression with the locative preposition *g* combined with the Arabic preposition *bi*. This is also attested in the speech of Bni Menşur by Colin.<sup>75</sup>

<i>layn a yttuθu ku nnhar g bllil</i>	“where does he go every night”
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### 3.3. Arabic preposition *bla* “without”

The negative counterpart of the comitative preposition *i* is the borrowed preposition *bla*. The following examples attest to this.

<i>ša ddux bla çma</i>	“I will go without my brother”
<i>xess ay a ššex bla lmeşrubu</i>	“I want to eat without drinking”
<i>ša tedžem nekkın bla ši</i>	“you (p.) leave me without anything”

### 3.4. Arabic preposition *fī* “in”

The Arabic preposition *fī* seems to be exclusively used in the frequently used fixed expression *fḥal* “on the way of”.

<i>nekkın qqley d εla fḥali</i>	“I went back on my way”
<i>ndda fḥalek</i>	“go on your own way!”
<i>ag'di idda fḥalu</i>	“the jackal went on his way”

---

<sup>75</sup> Colin, ‘Le parler berbère’, Text IV, p. 54.

*dda fḥala*

“she went on her way”

*ddan fḥalem*

“they went on their way”

Note that the pronominal suffixes are Arabic in all cases.



## VI. SYNTAX

In this section we will discuss a number of subjects pertaining to the field of syntax. First, we will discuss the non-verbal sentences and the negation of non-verbal sentences. Then we will discuss the verbal sentences and examine the preverbal elements and negation of verbal sentences. Furthermore we will discuss the phenomenon of attraction in Ghomara Berber. Finally, we will take a closer look at relative sentences. Because we are dealing with syntax we will present a syntactic structure with each element which constitute some change in the syntactic structure,

### 1. Non-verbal sentences

In non-verbal sentences the subject is usually linked to the nominal predicate without a copula (see also III/3.1.1.).<sup>76</sup>

#### Nominal phrase as predicate

[subject] - [predicate]

001. *kedžin a-meddakul inu*  
2sm/PRO EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS  
“you are my friend”

002. *ism ennes žamal*  
name 3sm/POSS PNN  
“his name is Jamal”

003. *das ššeffara*  
there thieves  
“there are thieves over there”

---

<sup>76</sup> The use of copula in Ghomara Berber seems to be very limited. It is only in Bni Menšur that we have found an example of the use of a copula: *nhura δ rexmis* “today it is Thursday”.

The predicate is also linked to the subject without a copula in non-verbal sentences in which the predicate is an adverbial phrase.

### Adverbial phrase as predicate

[subject] - [predicate]

004. *netta*        *εeyya*  
 3sm/PRO   tired-sm/ADJ  
 “he is tired”

005. *a-xeyyam*        *beid*   *zg*        *w-asif*  
 EL/sm-house   far   ABLPR   EA/sm-river  
 “the house is far from the river”

006. *a-rg<sup>i</sup>az*        *meqqur*  
 EL/sm-man   big-sm/ADJ  
 “the man is big”

Finally, in non-verbal sentences in which the predicate is a prepositional phrase, the predicate is linked to the subject without a copula as the following examples show.

### Prepositional phrase as predicate

[subject] - [predicate]

007. *i-βaw-en*        *zdu*        *t-rhab-t*  
 EL/pm-bean-pm   under   EA/sf-ground-sf  
 “beans are under the ground”

008. *γr*        *un*        *lhaqq*  
 ALPR   2p/PREP   right  
 “you (p.) are right”

009. *ɣar i yal lħila*  
 ALPR 1s/PREP one trick  
 “I have one trick”

010. *dasi ya w-xeɣɣam bayn i-ɣall-en*  
 there INDEF EA/sm-house between EA/pm-mountain-pm  
 “there is a house between the mountains”

### 1.1 Negation of non-verbal sentences

Negation of non-verbal phrases is achieved by the negative element *ma* and the negative element *ši*. In nominal and adverbial phrases the two affixes act as the single element *maši*.

#### Nominal phrase as predicate

[subject] - [NEG] - [predicate]  
*maši*

001. *nekkin maši a-meddakul enneɕ*  
 1s/PRO NEG EL/sm-friend 2sm/POSS  
 “I am not your friend”

#### Adverbial phrase as predicate

[subject] - [NEG] - [predicate]  
*maši*

002. *netta maši meqqur*  
 3sm/PRO NEG big-sm/ADJ  
 “he is not big”

003. *ta-gg<sup>w</sup>ur-t an maši tqil-a*  
 EL/sf-door-sf sf/DISD NEG heavy-sf/ADJ-AR  
 “that door is not heavy”

In prepositional phrases the negative element *ma* comes before the preposition including prepositional suffix and is followed by the negative element *ši*.

### Prepositional phrase as predicate

[subject] - [NEG] - [PP] - [NEG] - [predicate]  
*ma ši*

004. *i-fraw-en ma ga sen ši n ti-sker-t*  
 EL/sm-leaf-sm/coll NEG LOCPR 3p/PREP NEG GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll  
 “garlic does not grow on leaves” (litt.: “leaves do not have garlic in them”)

005. *netta ma γar s ši lḥaqq*  
 3sm/PRO NEG ALPR 3sm/PREP NEG right  
 “he is not right”

006. *ma ga s ši n ta-ḍun-t*  
 NEG LOCPR 3sm/PREP NEG GENPR EA/sf-fat-sf  
 “it’s not fat” (litt.: “there is no fat in it”)

## 2. Verbal sentences

In this paragraph we will look into several aspects of verbal sentences. We will discuss the nature and use of the preverbal elements *ša*, *ara* and *a* and after that we will examine the negation of different types of verbal sentences.

## 2.1. Preverbal elements

### 2.1.1. Preverbal element *ša*

The preverbal element *ša* marks the future tense.

[FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*ša* A/IMP-AR

001. *fhayweç ša lli ta-meyr-a*  
when FUT 3sf-be/A EL/sf-wedding-sf  
“when will the wedding be?”

002. *fhayweç ša melçe-t*  
when FUT 2sm-marry-2sm/A  
“when are you going to marry?”

003. *ša ealle-x g<sup>j</sup>enna*  
FUT go up-1s/A up  
“I will go up”

004. *li'anna ša y t-šemθe-m*  
because FUT 1s/IO 2p-trick-2p/A  
“because you (p.) will trick me”

### 2.1.2. Preverbal element *a*

The preverbal element *a* marks the prospective mood, hortative mood as well as the future tense. When it's used to mark the future tense it is interchangeable with *ša* and can therefore be considered an allomorph of *ša*.

### Prospective mood

[PROS] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*a* A/IMP-AR

001. *t-edda d a t-tella*  
3sf-go/P HITH PROS 3sf-watch/A  
“she came to watch”

002. *xess ay a n zra-x*  
3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A  
“I need to see them”

003. *i-xess anaç a n-ebtu*  
3sm-need/P 1p/IO PROS 1p-divide/A  
“we need to divide”

### Hortative mood

[HOR] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*a* A/IMP-AR

004. *yallah a n-šterh-u*  
HOR-s HOR 1p-to cooperate-1p/IMP-AR  
“come on let’s work together”

### Future tense

[FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*a* A/IMP-AR

005. *a n-ʒall leʔša*  
 FUT 1p-pray/A nightprayer  
 “we will pray the nightprayer”

006. *a ddu-x a n šše-x*  
 FUT go-1s/A PROS 3p/DO eat-1s/A  
 “I will go and eat them”

007. *a hezz-ex lfakiha*  
 FUT shake-1s/A fruit/coll  
 “I will shake the fruit”

008. *a ddu-x iδ un*  
 FUT go-1s/A COMPR 2p/PREP  
 “I will go with you”

### 2.1.3. Preverbal element *ara*

Preverbal element *ara* also marks the future tense and can also be considered an allomorph of *ša*. In the case of negative, interrogative and relative sentences the preverbal element *ara* is used instead of *ša*. Interrogative *fhayweç* “when” forms an exception to this as we have seen (see VI/2.1.1./001., 002.).

[FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*ara* A/IMP-AR

001. *ara gge-x ššebbaṭ*  
 FUT make-1s/A shoes  
 “I will make shoes”

### Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*a ara* A/IMP-AR

002. *a-rg'az ara yθ i-fk leflus huwa baba*  
 EL/sm-man RLV FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A money 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN  
 “the man who will give me money is my father”

003. *ti-myar-an ara ddu-n dar řiřwan*  
 EL/pf-woman-pf RLV FUT go-3p/A ALPR PLN  
 “the women who will go to Tétouan”

### After interrogatives

[question word] - [FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*ara* **A/IMP-AR**

004. *řwa ra h-zenze-t g ssuq*  
 what FUT 2sm-sell-2sm/A LOCPR market  
 “what are you going to sell on the market?”

005. *řka ra ř i-řar alařen*  
 who FUT 2sm/DO 3sm-see/A tomorrow  
 “who will see you tomorrow?”

006. *liyař ara n-tiq zg ař*  
 why FUT 1s-trust/IMP-AR ABLPR 2sm/PREP  
 “why should I trust you?”

### After negative preverbal element *ma*

[NEG] - [FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb] - [NEG]  
*ma ara* **A/IMP-AR ři**



007. *ma ra d i-ffey ši*  
 NEG FUT HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG  
 “it will not come out”

008. *nekkin ma ra rri-x ši irden*  
 1s/PRO NEG FUT sow-1s/A NEG EL/wheat/coll  
 “I will not sow wheat”

009. *ma ra yt i-fk ši leflus*  
 NEG FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A NEG money  
 “he will not give me money”

## 2.2. Negation of verbal sentences

The preverbal element *ma* acts as a negative marker in verbal phrases usually combined with the postverbal element *ši*. The negative elements *ma* and *ši* are used for negation in all tenses and aspects. In the following paragraphs we will discuss the negation of the imperative, future, preterite and intensive.

001. *lli ma h-ell ši smina*  
 sm-RELD/AR NEG 3sf-be/P NEG fat-sf/ADJ-AR  
 “one which is not fat”

002. *i-san-en inu ma lla-n ši nišan*  
 EL/pm-tooth-pm 1s/POSS NEG be-3p/P NEG straight  
 “my teeth are not straight”

### 2.2.1. Negation of imperative

[NEG] - [verb] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [NEG]  
*ma 2/A ši*

001. *ma y-ettru-t ši*  
 NEG 2s-weep-2s/A NEG  
 “don’t cry!”
002. *ma y-elle-t ši feqsan*  
 NEG 2s-be-2s/A NEG sad-sm/ADJ  
 “don’t be sad!”
003. *ma y-edje-m ši*  
 NEG 2p-leave-2p/A NEG  
 “don’t leave!”
004. *ma y-elle-m ši feqsan-in*  
 NEG 2p-be-2p/A NEG sad-p/ADJ-AR  
 “don’t be (p.) sad!”

### 2.2.2. Negation of future

[NEG] - [FUT] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [verb] - [NEG]  
*ma ara A/IMP-AR ši*

001. *ma ra d i-ffey ši*  
 NEG FUT HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG  
 “it will not come out”
002. *nekin ma ra rri-x ši irden*  
 1s/PRO NEG FUT sow-1s/A NEG EL/wheat/coll  
 “I will not sow wheat”
003. *ma ra yθ i-fk ši leflus*  
 NEG FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A NEG money  
 “she will not give me money”

004. *ma ra ç ara-x ši*  
 NEG FUT 2sm/IO write-1s/A NEG  
 “I will not write you”

### 2.2.3. Negation of preterite

[NEG] - [verb] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - [NEG]  
*ma P/PRF-AR ši*

001. *ta-meṭṭu-t illa ma h-edda ši dar ṭiṭwan hiya εamti*  
 EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-go/P NEG ALPR PLN 3sf/PRO-AR aunt-1s/ADN  
 “the woman who did not go to Tétouan is my aunt”

002. *ta-meṭṭu-t illa ma h-efk ay ši*  
 EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-give/P 1s/IO NEG

*leflus hiya ta-žar-t inu*  
 money 3sf/PRO-AR EL/sf-neighbour-sf 1s/POSS  
 “the woman who didn’t give me money is my neighbour”

The circumfix *ma-...-ši* is also used for negation of verbs that are inflected according to MA morphology.

003. *nuçna ma ṭlaq-ina ši bezzaf n t-εiyyal-an*  
 1p/PRO NEG meet-1p/PRF-AR NEG many GENPR EA/pf-girl-pf  
 “we have not met many girls”

#### 2.2.4. Negation of intensive

[NEG] - [verb] - [IO] - [DO] - [HITH] - ([NEG])  
*ma* I/IMP-AR (ši)

001. *ma tili-n ga sen walu*  
NEG be-3p/I LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing  
“there is usually nothing in them”

002. *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az illa ma y-tεumm ši huwa baba*  
EL/sm-man RLV NEG 3sm-swim/I NEG 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN  
“the man who is not swimming is my father”

### 3. Attraction

Attraction is accomplished by the following circumstances:

1. The preverbal elements *ša*, *ara* and *a*.
2. The conjunctions *niga* “when”, *amça* “how” and *hetta* “until”.
3. Relative clauses.

These circumstances accomplish the attraction of the *d* “hither”, the direct objects and the indirect objects. We will discuss the attraction of these element on the basis of the circumstances in which the attraction is generated.

#### 3.1. Attraction of *d* “hither”

##### 3.1.1. Preverbal elements

**Preverbal element *ša***

[FUT] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*ša* A/IMP-AR

001. *ša d i-du<sup>77</sup> a ɣn i-neɣ*  
 FUT HITH 3sm-go/A PROS 1p/DO 3sm-kill/A  
 “he will come and kill us”

002. *ša d qqle-x gi ssbaḥ*  
 FUT HITH return-1s/A LOCPR morning  
 “I will come back in the morning”

#### Preverbal element *ara*

[FUT] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*ara* A/IMP-AR

003. *ma ra d i-ffeɣ ši*  
 NEG FUT HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG  
 “it will not come out”

#### Preverbal element *a*

[PROS/HOR/FUT] - [HITH] - [verb]  
*a* A/IMP-AR

004. *a d qqle-x εa buḥmed*  
 PROS HITH return-1s/A ALPR PLN  
 “I will come back to Bu Ahmed”

005. *amella a d at n-elkum*  
 now PROS HITH 3sf/DO 1p-arrive/A  
 “now we will reach it”

---

<sup>77</sup> Gemination is lost due to *d* “hither”.

006. *i-xess ač a d ebbe-t*  
 3sm-need/P 2sm/IO PROS HITH 2sm-take-2sm/A  
 “you need to take”

### 3.1.2. Conjunctions

[conjunction] - [HITH] - [verb]

*nigalamča/ħetta*

001. *niga d i-ttuθu daγr i ša nne-x marħaba*  
 when HITH 3sm-go/I ALPR 1s/PREP FUT say-1s/A welcome  
 “when he visits me I will say, ‘welcome’”

002. *amča d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbaε*  
 while HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion  
 “as they approached the lion”

003. *ħetta d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbaε*  
 until HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion  
 “until they approached the lion”

### 3.1.3. Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [HITH] - [verb]

*a*

001. *netta a d i-ttaxar*  
 3sm/PRO RLV HITH 3sm-be last/I  
 “he was the one who finished last”

### 3.2. Attraction of direct objects

#### 3.2.1. Preverbal elements

##### Preverbal element *ša*

[FUT] - [DO] - [verb]  
*ša* A/IMP-AR

001. *ša t n-eyras*  
FUT 3sf/DO 1p-slaughter/A  
“we will slaughter it”

002. *ša t açur-en*  
FUT 3sf/DO steal-3p/A  
“they will steal it”

003. *ša wn eqqn-ex*  
FUT 2p/DO tie-1s/A  
“I will tie you (p.)”

##### Preverbal element *ara*

[FUT] - [DO] - [verb]  
*ara* A/IMP-AR

004. *a-rg'az a ra yθ i-fk leflus huwa baba*  
EL/sm-man FOC FUT 1s/DO 3sm-give-/A money 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN  
“the man who will give me money is my father”

005. *amça ra wn af-ex*  
how FUT 2p/DO find-1s/A  
“how will I find you?”

### Preverbal element *a*

[PROS/HOR/FUT] - [DO] - [verb]  
*a* A/IMP-AR

006. *ma ya ʔn i-šš*  
NEG PROS 1p/DO 3sm-eat/A  
“he will not eat us”

007. *a ʔn i-neʔ*  
PROS 1p/DO 3sm-kill/A  
“he will kill us”

### 3.2.2. Conjunctions

[conjunction] - [DO] - [verb]  
*nigalamça/hetta* A/IMP-AR

001. *niga θ i-qleb ssbaε i-ħaf xf es*  
when 3sm/DO 3sm-turn over/P lion 3sm-grasp/P IMPR 3sm/PREP  
“when he turned him over the lion grab hold of him”

### 3.2.3. Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [DO] - [verb]  
*a*

001. *ta-meṭṭu-t a yθ i-fk-en leflus hiya yemma*  
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV 1s/DO PTC-give-PTC/P money 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN  
“the woman who gave me money is my mother”



002. *ma*      *ç*              *i-γul*  
 what 2sm/DO 3sm-befall/P  
 “what has happened to you?”

### 3.3. Attraction of indirect objects

### 3.3.1. Preverbal elements

### Preverbal element *ša*

**[FUT] - [IO] - [verb]**

***ša*** **A**

001. *ša s i-qqar i leḥšam n t-muda*  
 FUT 3sm/IO 3sm-teach/A DATPR children GENPR EA/sf-pig  
 “he will teach the children of the pig”

002. *ša y t-šemθ-em*  
 FUT 1s/IO 2p-trick-2p/A  
 “you (p.) will trick me”

### Preverbal element *ara*

**[FUT] - [IO] - [verb]**

*ara* **A**

003. *ma ra                                       ara-x                    ši*  
 NEG FUT 2sm/IO write-1s/A NEG  
 “I will not write you”
004. *škun a-rg<sup>j</sup>az                    ara yθ                    i-fk                    leflus*  
 who EL/sm-man FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A money  
 “which man will give me money?”

### Preverbal element *a*

[PROS/HOR/FUT] - [IO] - [verb]

*a*

**A**

005. *ara m qqar-ex leḥṣam nnem*  
give PROS 2sf/IO teach-1s/A children 2sf/POSS  
“give me your children so I will teach them”

### 3.3.2. Conjunctions

[conjunction] - [IO] - [verb]

*niga/amča/ḥetta*

**A/IMP-AR**

001. *niga s enna-n leḥṣam nnaç*  
when 3sm/IO say-3p/P children 1p/POSS  
“when they said to him, ‘our children’”

002. *ḥetta s t-efseç lželd an*  
until 3sm/IO 3sf-untie/P leather sm/ANAPH  
“until she untied that leather for him”

### 3.3.3. Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [IO] - [verb]

*a*

001. *h-edda d lqniyya nettaṯa a s i-fesç-en*  
3sf-go/P HITH rabbit 3sf/PRO RLV 3sm/IO PTC-untie-PTC/P  
“the rabbit came, she was the one who untied him”

002. *škun a s i-xess-en a ddu dar ɥiɥwan*  
 who RLV 3sm/IO PTC-need-PTC/P PROS 3sm-go/A LOCPR PLN  
 “who is the one who wants to go to Tétouan”

## 4. Relative sentences

Relative sentences in Ghomara Berber consist of two main types, namely non-participial constructions and participial constructions. We will discuss these two types of relative sentences and in addition the relativizers *a* and *illa*.

### 4.1. Non-participial constructions

#### 4.1.1. Relativizer *a*

In this category we find relative sentences with the future marker *ara*, the past particle *ag* and sentences in which the subject of the subordinate clause is not the same as the subject of the main clause. Note that in most cases the relativizer *a* has assimilated to the initial vowel *a* of either the future marker *ara* or the past particle *ag*.

001. *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az ara ddu dar ɥiɥwan huwa baba*  
 EL/sm-man RLV FUT 3sm-go/A ALPR PLN 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN  
 “the man who will go to Tétouan is my father”

002. *ta-meɣɣu-t aɣ t-ell t-etɛumm hiya yemma*  
 EL/sf-woman-sf RLV PSP 3sf-be/P 3sf-swim/I 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN  
 “the woman who was swimming is my mother”

003. *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az ara yθ i-fk leflus huwa baba*  
 EL/sm-man RLV FUT 1s/DO 3sm-give-/A money 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN  
 “the man who will give me money is my father”

004. *ta-meṭṭu-t aṣ t-ell ktar zg asen hiya yemma*  
 EL/sf-woman-sf RLV PSP 3sf-be/P more ABLPR 3p/PREP 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN  
 “the woman who was the biggest of them is my mother”

005. *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az a zra-x atg<sup>j</sup>am*  
 EL/sm-man RLV see-1s/P yesterday  
 “the man whom I saw yesterday”

#### 4.1.2. Relativizer *illa*

Relativizer *illa* is used in relative sentences with negative marker *ma* which can be followed by the future marker *ara* or the past particle *ag*.

001. *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az illa ma y-teumm ši huwa baba*  
 EL/sm-man RLV NEG 3sm-swim/I NEG 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN  
 “the man who is not swimming is my father”

002. *i-rg<sup>j</sup>az-en illa ma teumm-en ši huma*  
 EL/pm-man-pm RLV NEG swim-3p/I NEG 3p/PRO-AR

*i-eeyyal-en inu*  
 EL/pm-child-pm 1s/POSS  
 “the men who are not swimming are my sons”

003. *i-rg<sup>j</sup>az-en illa ma ra ddu-n dar ṭiṭwan hum*  
 EL/pm-man-pm RLV NEG FUT go-3p/A LOCPR PLN 3sm/PRO-AR

*ayθ-ma*  
 EL/pm-brother-1s/ADN  
 “the men who will not go to Tétouan are my brothers”

004. *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az illa ma ra yθ i-fk leflus huwa baba*  
 EL/sm-man RLV NEG FUT 1s/DO 3sm-give/A money 3sm/PRO-AR EL/father-1s/ADN  
 “the man who will not give me money is my father”

005. *škun ti-meṭṭut-an illa ma ra yθ fk-en ši leflus*  
 who EL/pf-woman-pf RLV NEG FUT 1s/DO give-3p/A NEG money  
 “who are the women who will not give me money”

006. *ta-meṭṭu-t illa ma h-edda ši dar tiṭwan hiya εamti*  
 EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-go/P NEG ALPR PLN 3sf/PRO-AR aunt-1s/ADN  
 “the woman who did not go to Tétouan is my aunt”

007. *ta-meṭṭu-t illa ma h-efk ay ši leflus hiya*  
 EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-give/P 1s/DO NEG money 3sf/PRO-AR

*ta-žar-t inu*  
 EL/sf-neighbour-sf 1s/POSS  
 “the woman who didn’t give me money is my neighbour”

008. *ti-meṭṭut-an illa ma g ella-n ši t-εumm-en huma*  
 EL/pf-woman-pf RLV FUT PSP be-3p/P NEG 3p-swim-3p/I 3sm/PRO-AR

*ti-εeyyal-an inu*  
 EL/pf-child-pf 1s/POSS  
 “the women who were not swimming are my children”

009. *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az illa ma g i-ll ši i-tεumm huwa baba*  
 EL/sm-man RLV FUT PSP 3sm-be/P NEG 3sm-swim/I 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN  
 “the man who was not swimming is my father”

## 4.2. Participial constructions

Participial constructions in relative sentences seem to be employed in sentences without the future marker *ara* or the negative marker *ma*. As for the past particle *ag*, we have seen that the relative sentences can also be non-participial.

001. *škun a s i-xess-en a ddu dar ɥiɥwan*  
 who RLV 3sm/IO PTC-want-PTC/A PROS 3sm-go/A ALPR PLN  
 “who is the one who wants to go to Tétouan”

002. *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az a y-dda-n dar ɥiɥwan huwa baba*  
 EL/sm-man RLV PTC-go-PTC/P ALPR PLN 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN  
 “the man who went to Tétouan is my father”

003. *ta-meɥtu-t a yθ i-fk-en leflus hiya yemma*  
 EL/sf-woman-sf RLV 1s/DO PTC-give-PTC/P money 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN  
 “the woman who gave me money is my mother”

004. *ti-mɣar-an a g i-lla-n tɛomm-en hum tayθ-ma-θan*  
 EL/pf-woman-pf RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P swim-3p/I 3sm/PRO-AR EL/pf-sister-pf

*inu*

1s/POSS

“the women we were swimming are my sisters”

005. *a-rg<sup>j</sup>az a g i-lla-n qarm atg<sup>j</sup>am*  
 EL/sm-man RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P silent-sm/ADJ yesterday  
 “the man who was being silent yesterday”

006. *wa y-tyima-n laxri waniθ i-lla-n a-meddakul inu*  
 sm/RELD RLV PTC-stay-PTC/I last sm/ANAPH PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS  
 “the one who stays behind, he is the one who is my friend”

### 4.3. Cleft sentences

The non-verbal predicate in cleft sentences is connected to the relative clause by means of a focalisation particle which is *a* or *i*. It's assimilated in most cases though as the following examples show.

001. *tmenya i yar s l leḥšam*  
eight FOC ALPR 3sf/PREP GENPR children  
“she has eight children” (litt.: “eight, she has of children”)

002. *whadi a yi-lla-n xeddām*  
sm/PRD FOC PTC-be-PTC/I working/PTC-AR  
“this one is the one that works”

003. *nettaṭa g i-lla-n ta y-muqqr-en*  
3sf/PRO FOC PSP PTC-be-PTC/P sf/RELD PTC-be big-PTC/A  
“she was the one who was the biggest”

004. *nettaṭa s i-fesṣ-en*  
3sf/PRO FOC 3sm/IO PTC-untie-PTC/P  
“she was the one who untied him”

## APPENDICES

### 1. Appendix I: population statistics

The following table shows the *žamaea* which belong to Ghomara according to official data which was handed to us by the officials of the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed. The table is divided into three levels. The first level is composed of the *žamaea*. The second level consists of the *rbae* in which the *žamaea* are divided. The third level consists of the *duwwar* in which the *rbae* are divided.

**Table 025. Population statistics**

Ghomara	Berber <sup>78</sup>	Colin <sup>79</sup>	Behnstedt <sup>80</sup>	Inhabitants <sup>81</sup>	Households <sup>82</sup>
1. Bni Buzra <sup>83</sup>				11.734	
1. Bu Aḥmed <sup>84</sup>			x	427	94
2. Bni Musa		x			
1. Tamayelt	x		x	197	28
2. Izziwen	x		x	195	24
3. Tazemmurt	x	x <sup>85</sup>	x <sup>86</sup>	86	11

<sup>78</sup> The marked place names are Berberophone according to our own findings.

<sup>79</sup> Colin specifically designates the marked place names as Berberophone areas. Note that he does not always specify the *duwwar* but sometimes only mentions the *rbae*. Colin, 'Le parler berbère'.

<sup>80</sup> Behnstedt places the marked place names within the Berberophone area in his map. In addition, he also located Amṭiq and Aḥlawut within this Berberophone area. We do not know Amṭiq as a *duwwar*. As for Aḥlawut, our informant Muhammad Hudda has reported this place name (who pronounced it as Ḥlawet). However, he added that this was just a 'ddšar'. We assume therefore that this is not a *duwwar*. The official list which contains all the *duwwar* did not contain Ḥlawet. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18.

<sup>81</sup> This data is derived from the census of 1994.

<sup>82</sup> Id.

<sup>83</sup> The total number of inhabitants of Bni Buzra in 2004 was 14.950 according to the census of 2004. There was no specification of this census available at the time of our fieldwork. We have taken the differentiated number of inhabitants of the census of 1994 in order to calculate the estimate number of inhabitants in 2004 on the basis of the growth rate which was given to us by the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed. According to this information, the growth rate between 1994 and 2004 was 2,451 percent annually.

<sup>84</sup> The centre of Bu Aḥmed is not considered as a *žamaea* but it belongs to Bni Buzra and Bni Buzra is part of the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed.

<sup>85</sup> Behnstedt designates Tazemmurt as a *duwwar* belonging to Bni Menšur instead of Bni Buzra. At the same time he designates the *duwwar* south of Tazemmurt, Isuka, as a *duwwar* belonging to Bni Buzra. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18. Colin reports that both Isuka and Tazemmurt belong to Bni Menšur. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 44. Since these two *rbae* are located in the area between the two *žamaea*, there have possibly been



4. Maḥmud	x		152	23
5. Faliz	x	x <sup>87</sup>	210	31
6. Σamṭiqan	x	x	113	22
7. Awrekt	x		99	17
8. Ižullassen	x		602	93
9. Žnanniš	x		546	77
10. Dḥit	x	x	294	51
11. Aæerqub	x	x	477	69
12. Taza	x	x	231	38
13. Tarrart	x	x	296	49
14. Amtar	x		63	9
15. Lqelea <sup>88</sup>	x		396	62
3. Alwuṣṭiyyen		x		
1. Anaray	x	x <sup>89</sup>	615	87
2. Taydawella	x		217	36
3. Aduz	x	x	215	31
4. Ieraben	x	x	811	139
4. Bni Menselman				
1. Taza			494	68
2. Bukrim			62	10
3. Dar Maymum			362	66
4. Isumaten			220	38
5. Išerḥan			154	26
6. Ašendiran			318	47
7. Ilunta			319	45
8. Azayar			173	22
9. Tiwezγa			218	30

some changes over time. The *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed reported to us that Tazemmurt now belongs to the *žamaæa* of Bni Buḡra while Isuka belongs to the *žamaæa* of Bni Menšur.

<sup>86</sup> Id.

<sup>87</sup> Behnstedt notes Fali instead of Faliz. We have every reason to believe that the two correspond to each other. P. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18.

<sup>88</sup> Lqelea used to be an individual *rbæ* but merged with Bni Musa in 2005.

<sup>89</sup> Colin notes Anarar. Since he reports that this *duwwar* belongs to the *rbæ* of Alwuṣṭiyyen, we assume that Anarar corresponds to Anaray. Anaray is the official place name nowadays. Colin, 'Le parler berbère', p. 51.

10. Agursif				262	34
11. Inwalan				65	9
5. Tadman					
1. Tadman				1.088	171
2. Buskan			x <sup>90</sup>	251	35
3. Ifergan <sup>91</sup>				1.506	214
2. Bni Menşur					
1. Bni Şruş					
1. Isuka	x	x	x	712	105
2. Bni Şfara	x	x	x	165	22
3. Ayil Şazeb	x	x	x	238	38
4. Tawrart (Mrabtın)	x	x	x	185	26
5. Tužgan	x	x	x	272	35
6. İtruhaş	x	x	x	253	39
7. Taženza	x	x	x	174	19
2. Idur nueman					
1. Bu Khaled				323	48
2. Azayar				399	66
3. Idran				354	46
4. Talamna				327	37
5. Alxamis				266	41
6. Tafrawt				82	12
7. Unayen				344	45
3. Inswan					
1. Inswan				802	97
2. Talemsint				343	42
3. İtelhaten				241	28
4. Dar Magu				275	36
5. Mizan				285	37

<sup>90</sup> Bu Sekkin probably corresponds to Buskan. This *rbæ* belongs to the *žamaea* of Tadman. This is an entirely Arabophone *rbæ* according to all our informants. Cf. P. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18.

<sup>91</sup> Ifergan used to be an individual *rbæ* but merged with Tadman in 2005.

6. Bni Beššar	857	118
7. ʿawrrat	498	79
4. Rbae <sup>92</sup>		
1. Tayzut nuwwar	1.272	176
2. Anuyran	164	34
3. Bni Nšir	334	47
4. ʿarezzat	956	137
5. Tazegnateθ	322	46
5. Rbae <sup>93</sup>		
1. Bnu Wukna	1.101	150
2. Ben Σudiyen	467	65
3. Aziman	394	52
4. Mdina	568	74
5. Aštiwen	299	41
6. Tawrart	564	76
7. Išerben	274	31
3. Bni Smih	11.793	
4. Bni Rzin	15.836	

## 2. Maps

### 2.1. Appendix II: official map of Ghomara

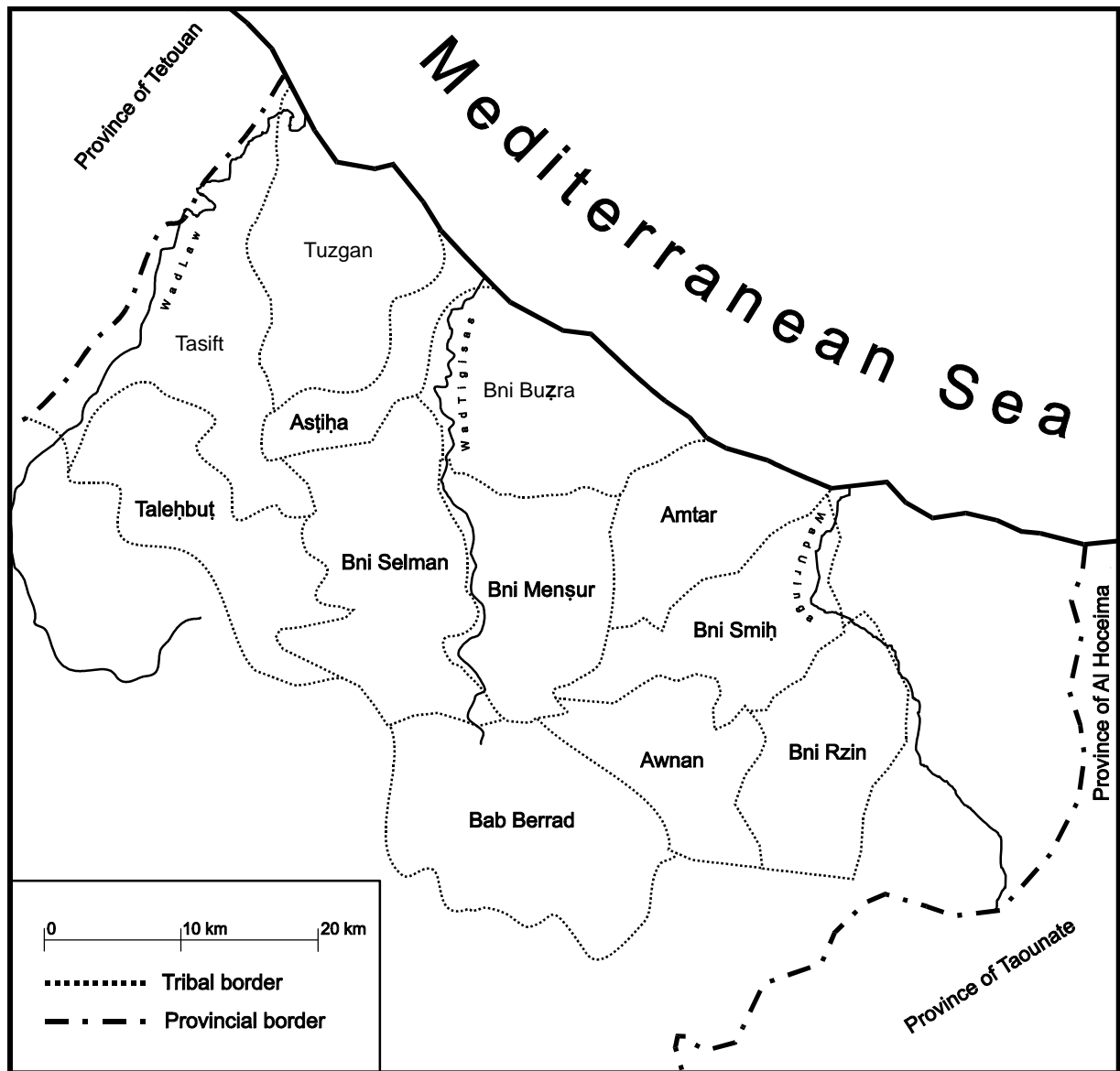
The following map is based on an official map which was handed to us by the officials of the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed. On the basis of satellite photo's provided by Google Maps<sup>94</sup> we have added the rivers and corrected the line corresponding to the coastline. We have added the rivers to make comparison possible with other maps because Wad Law corresponds to the Eastern border while Wad Uringa corresponds to the Western border of Ghomara. Wad Tigisas roughly corresponds to the border of Bni Buḡra and Bni Menšur with their respective Eastern neighbours Aštiḥa and Bni Selman.

<sup>92</sup> We do not know the name of this *rbae*.

<sup>93</sup> Id.

<sup>94</sup> See <http://maps.google.nl>.

**Map 1: Official map of Ghomara**



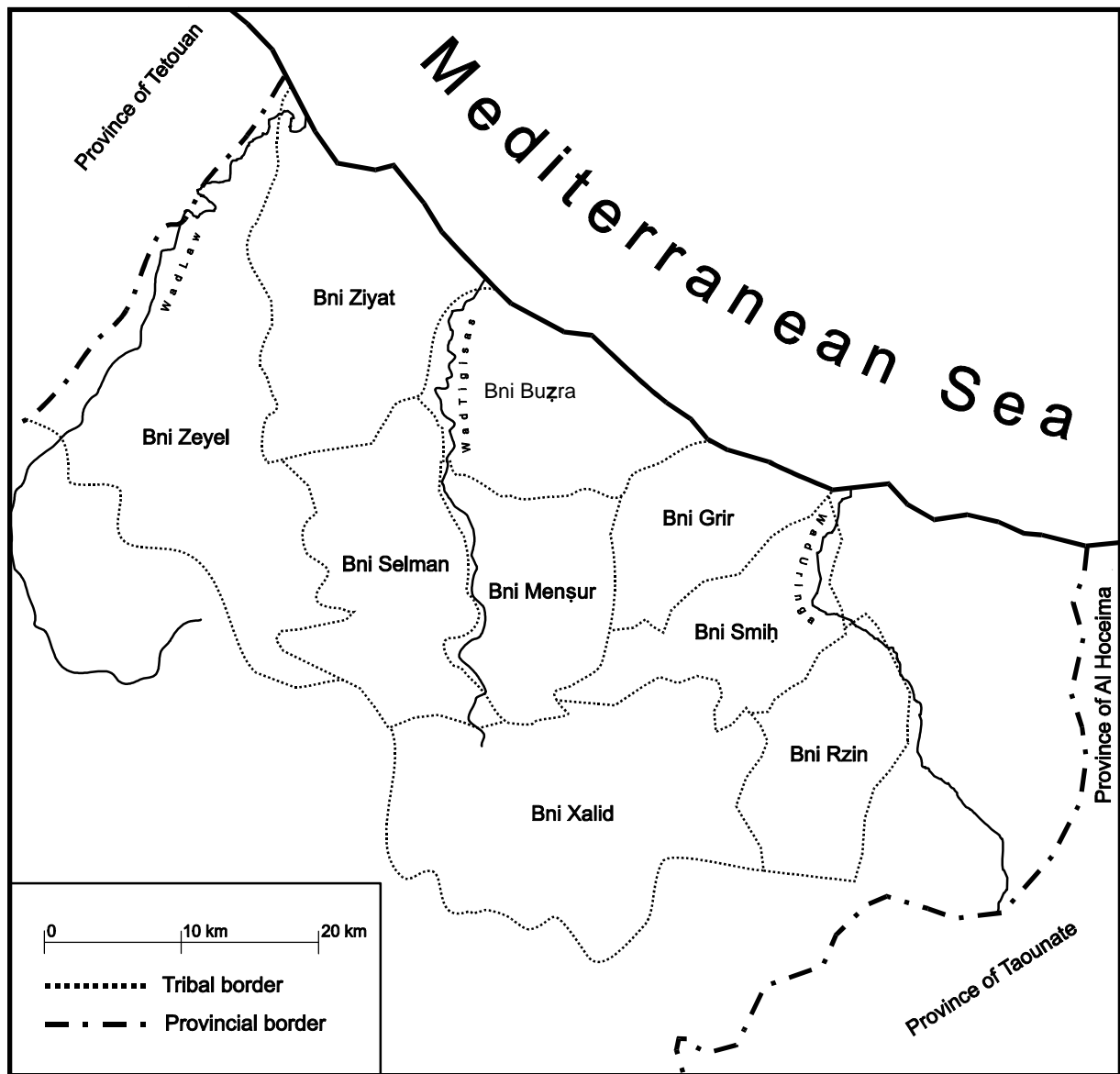
## 2.2. Appendix III: traditional map of Ghomara

In the following map we have combined the official map which was handed to us by officials of the *qiyada* of Bu Aḥmed (see Appendix II/map 1) and the map of A. Renisio.<sup>95</sup> We have checked this map

<sup>95</sup> A. Renisio, *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Sraïr: grammaire, textes et lexique* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

and corrected it whenever necessary on the basis of the information which was given to us by our informants.

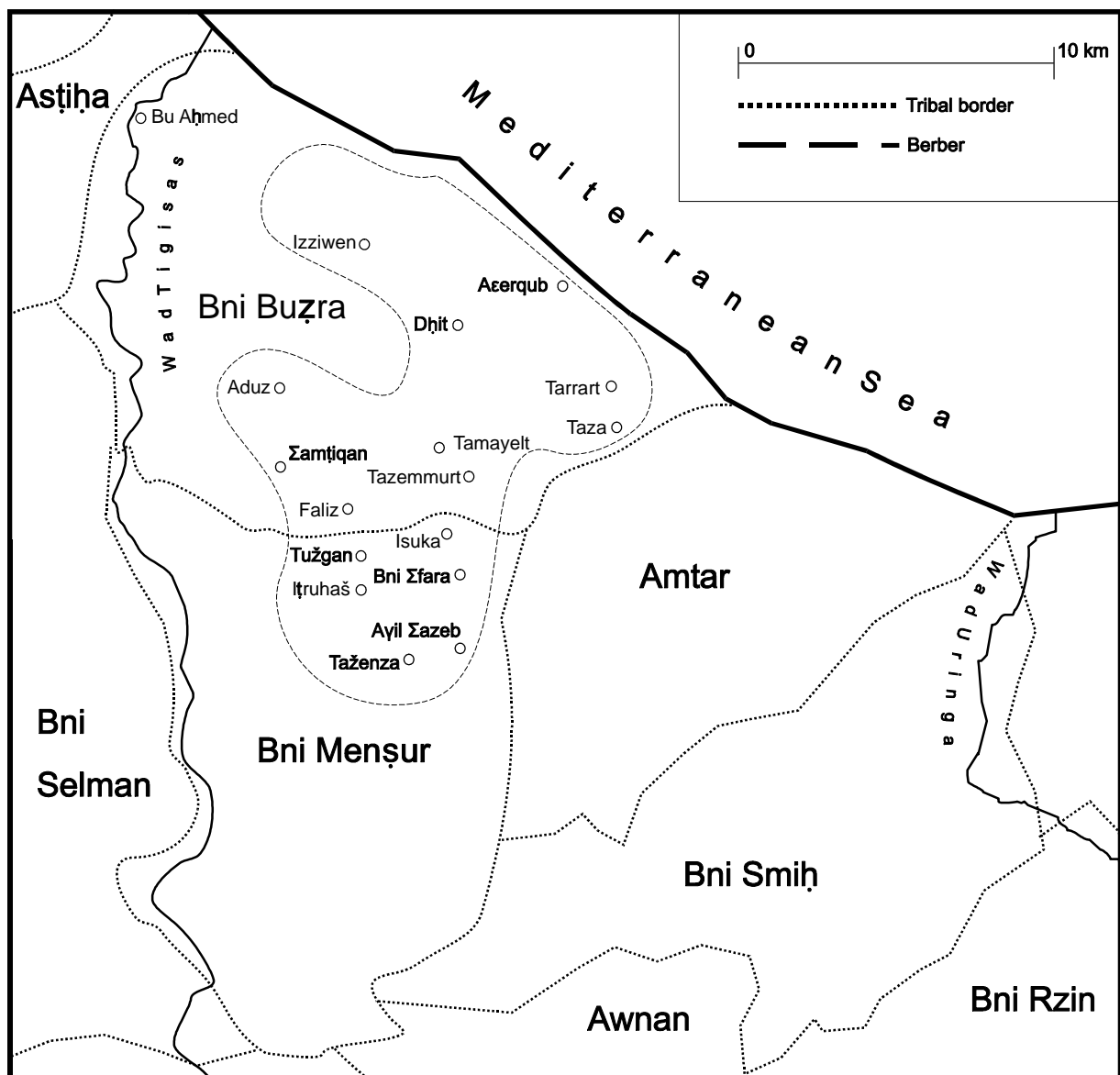
**Map 2: Traditional map of Ghomara**



### 2.3. Appendix IV: map of Bni Buḏra and Bni Menṣur

The following map was based on the official map (see Appendix II/map 1) and the linguistic map of Behnstedt.<sup>96</sup> We have left out place names which are not important for the Berber speaking area and place names of which we doubted whether they are located correctly on the map or which were not reported to us. Thus the Berber speaking area designated in map 3 is based on our findings.

**Map 3: Map of Bni Buḏra and Bni Menṣur**



<sup>96</sup> Cf. P. Behnstedt, 'La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe', p. 18.

Behnstedt reports that Tawrart is located in the South of Bni Menşur. Behnstedt specifically states that this is the location of the Berberophone *duwwar* Tawrart which belongs to Bni Σruş: “Hay dos lugares en la zona denominadas Tawrart. Pero me idicaron expresamente que Tawrart está situada al sur de Dār Mažžu.”<sup>97</sup> Dār Mažžu corresponds to Dar Magu, which belongs to the *rbæ* of Inswan in Bni Menşur. According to Behnstedts map İtelḥaten is located near Dar Magu. İtelḥaten also belongs to the *rbæ* of Inswan in Bni Menşur. These two *duwwar* of Inswan separate Tawrart of Bni Σruş from the rest of Bni Σruş in the North in the map of Behnstedt. This is not very likely, especially since Inswan is Arabophone while Bni Σruş is Berberophone. It is more likely that Tawrart in the South belongs to *rbæ* 5 (see Appendix I/Table 025.). This *rbæ* of which we do not know the name but only the *duwwar* belonging to it, is entirely Arabophone. Because of these uncertainties, we have left Tawrart out of our map.

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<sup>97</sup> P. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 10.

## TEXTS

### 1. *Lqişša n ug<sup>i</sup>di ið ušnekkaf*

001. *i-nna s a-g<sup>i</sup>di yallah a n-šterh-u*  
 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO EL/sm-jackal HOR-s HOR 1p-cooperate-1p/IMP-AR
002. *a εammi a-šnekkaf dda-n rri-n ti-sker-t*  
 VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-hedgehog go-3p/P sow-3p/P EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll
003. *niga wežd-eθ lyilla dda-n ša btu-n lyilla*  
 when be ready-sf/PRF-AR crops go-3p/P FUT divide-3p/A crops
004. *šwa ra bb-et a εammi a-g<sup>i</sup>di*  
 what FUT 2s-take-2s/A VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-jackal
005. *a-g<sup>i</sup>di i-zra i-fraw-en i-nna s*  
 EL/sm-jackal 3sm-see/P EL/pm-leaf-pm 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
006. *yallah ša bb-ex herrefherref ið u-šnekkaf*  
 HOR-s FUT take-1s/A cuttable crops COPR EA/sm-hedgehog
007. *i-nna s yallah ša bb-ex qlaεqlaε*  
 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO HOR-s FUT take-1s/A pluckable crops
008. *i-qlaε ti-sker-t t-tili lyilla n ti-sker-t*  
 3sm-pluck/P EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll 3sf-be/I crops GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll
009. *zdu t-rhab-t i-dda d a-šnekkaf i-bb*  
 under EA/sf-ground-sf 3sm-go/P HITH EL/sm-hedgehog 3sm-take/P



010. *ti-sker-t* *ið* *u-g<sup>i</sup>di* *i-bb* *i-fraw-en* *i-bb*  
EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll COPR EA/sm-jackal 3sm-take/P EL/pm-leaf-pm 3sm-take/P
011. *ɣa* *i-fraw-en* *i-fraw-en* *n* *ti-sker-t* *ma*  
only EL/pm-leaf-pm EL/pm-leaf-pm GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll NEG
012. *tili-n* *ga* *sen* *walu* *dda-n* *fħal* *em*  
be-3p/I LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing go-3p/P way 3p/POSS-AR
013. *ɛawed* *i-dda* *d* *merra* *ta-yeṭ* *i-nna* *s*  
again 3sm-go/P HITH time sf-other 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
014. *xess* *anaç* *a* *n-kun* *šterh-u* *šwa*  
3sm-need/A 1p/IO PROS 1pm-be-1pm/IMP-AR 1p-cooperate-1p/IMP-AR what
015. *dda-n* *rri-n* *dda-n* *rri-n* *i-βaw-en* *rri-n*  
go-3p/P sow-3p/P go-3p/P sow-3p/P EL/pm-bean-pm sow-3p/P
016. *i-βaw-en* *wežd-eθ* *lyilleθ* *dda-n* *ša* *bṭu-n*  
EL/pm-bean-pm be ready-sf/PRF-AR crops go-3p/P FUT divide-3p/A
017. *i-nna* *s* *šwa* *ra* *bb-et* *a* *ɛammi* *a-g<sup>i</sup>di*  
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO what FUT 2s-take-2s/A VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-jackal
018. *i-nna* *s* *lmerra* *y* *ša* *bb-ex* *qlaεqlaε*  
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO time sf/PRD FUT take-1s/A pluckable crops
019. *lmerra* *ta-yeṭ* *t-šemθ-et* *ay* *merra* *ta-yeṭ* *t-šemθ-et*  
time sf-other 2sm-trick-2sm/P 1s/DO time sf-other 2sm-trick-2sm/P
020. *kedž* *t-ebba-t* *qlaεqlaε* *i* *nekk* *bba-x*  
2sm/PRO 2sm-take-2sm/P pluckable crops COPR 1s/PRO take-1s/P

021. *herrefherref i-bb i-fraw-en i-fraw-en ma ga*  
cuttable crops 3sm-take/P EL/pm-leaf-pm EL/pm-leaf-pm NEG LOCPR
022. *sen walu n ti-sker-t lmerra y ša*  
3p/PREP nothing GENPR EA-sf-garlic-sf/coll time sf/PRD FUT
023. *bb-ex qlaeqlae εawed εaks a-g<sup>i</sup>di i-bb*  
take-1s/A pluckable crops again contrary EL/sm-jackal 3sm-take/P
024. *qlaeqlae i-βaw-en zdu t-rhab-t ma*  
pluckable crops EL/pm-bean-pm under EA/sf-ground-sf NEG
025. *ga sen walu i-βaw-en tili-n*  
LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing EL/pm-bean-pm be-3p/I
026. *ga sen lyilla g i-fraw-en a-g<sup>i</sup>di maša*  
LOCPR 3p/PREP crops LOCPR EA/pm-leaf-pm EL/sm-jackal but
027. *i-bb qlaeqlae iδ u-šnekkaf merra ta-yeṭ*  
3sm-take/P pluckable crops COPR EA/sm-hedgehog time sf-other
028. *i-šmeθ as iδn a-g<sup>i</sup>di merra tanya*  
3sm-trick/P 3sm/IO so EL/sm-jackal time second-sf/ADJ-AR
029. *i-bb qlaeqlae a-g<sup>i</sup>di εawed iδ u-šnekkaf*  
3sm-take/P pluckable crops EL/sm-jackal again COPR EA/sm-hedgehog
030. *i-bb herrefherref εawed a-šnekkaf*  
3sm-take/P cuttable crops again EL/sm-hedgehog
031. *i-šmeθ li'anna hu εawed i-bb lyilla*  
3sm-trick/P because 3sm/DO-AR again 3sm-take/P crops

032. *i-βaw-en*        *ma*    *tili-n*    *ši*    *zdu*    *t-rḥab-t*  
EL/pm-bean-pm NEG be-3p/I NEG under EA/sf-ground-sf

033. *i-šemθ*        *as*  
3sm-trick/P 3sm/IO

### **1.1. The story of the jackal and the hedgehog**

The jackal said to him, "Let's work together uncle hedgehog." They went and sowed garlic. When the crops were ready, they went to divide the crops. "What are you going to take uncle jackal?" The jackal saw the leaves and said to him, "Well I will take the crops on the leaves." The hedgehog said to him, "All right I will take the crops in the ground then." He pulled the bulbs of garlic out of the ground, because crops of a garlic plant grow in the ground. So the hedgehog took the garlic bulbs while the jackal took the leaves. He only took leaves of the garlic plant because leaves of garlic plants do not have anything on them. After that, they went on their way.

Another time he came to the hedgehog and said, "We should be working together." What is it they went to sow? They went and sowed beans. When the crops were ready, they went to divide the crops. He said to him, "What are you going to take uncle jackal." He said to him, "This time I will take the crops in the ground. The other time you tricked me. You tricked me because you took the crops in the ground and I took the crops on the leaves." He took the leaves, but the leaves do not have garlic bulbs on them. "This time I will be the one who will take the crops in the ground." So contrary to the other time, the jackal pulled the crops from the ground. But bean plants don't grow anything in the ground, instead bean plants grow crops on the leaves. But the jackal took the crops in the ground and that way the hedgehog tricked him again.

So the second time the jackal took the crops in the ground while the hedgehog took the crops on the leaves and he tricked him again. He tricked him, because he took the crops again. Beans do not grow under the ground. He tricked him.

## 2. *Lqişša n ug<sup>j</sup>di i tmuda*

001. *a-g<sup>j</sup>di i-dda d dayur t-muda*  
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-go/P HITH ALPR EA/sf-pig
002. *i-ttafa yar s leḥšam*  
3sm-find/I ALPR 3sf/PREP children
003. *a-g<sup>j</sup>di i-nna s i t-muda*  
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO DATPR EA/sf-pig
004. *ara m qqar-ex leḥšam nnem*  
give 2sf/IO teach-1s/A children 2sf/POSS
005. *ša s i-qqar i*  
FUT 3sf/IO 3sm-teach/A DATPR
006. *leḥšam n t-muda hewa t-efk*  
children GENPR EA/sf-pig well 3sf-give/P
007. *as leḥšam nnes a s t*  
3sm/IO children 3sf/POSS PROS 3sf/IO 3sm/DO
008. *i-qqar yahren i-dda i-tett as*  
3sm-teach/A 3p/DO 3sm-go/P 3sm-eat/I 3sf/IO
009. *yan g ennhar i-tett ahen*  
one LOCPR day 3sm-eat/I 3p/DO
010. *i netta niga y-tett i-tsiyyab*  
COPR 3sm/PRO when 3sm-eat/I 3sm-throw/I

011. *i-γess-an* *g* *lhaža inši ttuθu-n*  
EL/pm-bone-pm LOCPR thing some go-3p/I
012. *d* *i-rezzan-en* *i-rezzan-en* *tett-en* *i-γess-an*  
HITH EL/pm-hornet-pm EL/pm-hornet-pm eat-3p/I EL/pm-bone-pm
013. *in* *i-qqim* *ayyamaθ* *i-qqar* *as* *leḥšam*  
p/ANAPH 3sm-stay/P days 3sm-teach/A 3sf/IO children
014. *t-ttuθu* *d* *ta-muda* *dda* *d*  
3sf-go/I HITH EL/sf-pig 3sf-go/P HITH
015. *a* *t-ṭella* *leḥšam* *nnes*  
PROS 3sf-watch/A children 3sf/POSS
016. *waš* *ka* *ye-gra-w* *amça* *t-edda* *d* *t-enna*  
whether INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR while 3sf-go/P HITH 3sf-say/P
017. *s* *i-xess* *ay* *a* *ṭella-x* *leḥšam* *inu*  
3sm/IO 3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS watch-1s/A children 1s/POSS
018. *waš* *ka* *ye-gra-w* *i-bb* *at* *i-nna*  
whether INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR 3sm-take/P 3sf/DO 3sm-say/P
019. *s* *susem* *a* *t-susem* *f*  
3sf/IO listen-s/IMP PROS 3sf-listen/A IMPR
020. *ššdaε* *n* *i-rezzan-en* *g* *i-γess-an*  
noise GENPR EA/pm-hornet-pm LOCPR EA/pm-bone-pm
021. *i-rezzan-en* *tett-en* *i-γess-an* *huww*  
EL/pm-hornet-pm eat-3p/P EL/pm-bone-pm ONOM

022. *i-qqar as ha m sell leḥšam*  
3sm-say/I 3sf/IO here 2sf/IO listen-s/IMP children
023. *nnem ka ye-gra-w tšeddaε-en*  
2sf/POSS INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR make noise-3p/I
024. *nihma i-rezzan-en i-rezzan-en g i-γess-an*  
3p/PRO EL/pm-hornet-pm EL/pm-hornet-pm LOCPR EA/pm-bone-pm
025. *li'anna a-g'di i-tett leḥšam n t-muda*  
because EL/sm-jackal 3sm-eat/I children GENPR EA/sf-pig
026. *i-tett yan g ennhar i-tett as ten*  
3sm-eat/I one LOCPR day 3sm-eat/I 3sf/IO 3p/DO
027. *xarebbi matalan sebea wella tmenya*  
many for example seven or eight
028. *i γar s l leḥšam*  
FOC ALPR 3sf/PREP GENPR children
029. *wella εašara netta i-tett ahen*  
or ten 3sm/PRO 3sm-eat/I 3p/DO
030. *ayyamen t-edda d a*  
days 3sf-go/P HITH PROS
031. *t-ṭella a t-susem f leḥšam nnes*  
3sf-watch/A PROS 3sf-listen/A IMPR children 3sf/POSS
032. *šwa ka ye-gra-w i-nna s susem*  
what INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO listen-s/IMP

033. *šennu susem maena i-rezzan-en tett-en*  
 what listen-s/IMP meaning EL/pm-hornet-pm eat-3p/I
034. *šyaṭ-ahen n u-g<sup>i</sup>di huww i-rezzan-en*  
 leftover-p GENPR EA/sm-jackal ONOM EL/pm-hornet-pm
035. *i-nna s susem ha m ka*  
 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO listen-s/IMP here 2sf/IO INP-AR
036. *ye-gra-w hewa t-sasem dda fhal a*  
 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR well 3sf-listen/P 3sf-go/P way 3sf/POSS-AR
037. *εawed t-eqqel d a t-ṭella*  
 again 3sf-return/P HITH PROS 3sf-watch/A
038. *εawed susem ha m ka ye-gra-w*  
 again listen-s/IMP here 2sf/IO INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR
039. *membraed yan ennhar t-enna s*  
 later one day 3sf-say/P 3sm/IO
040. *xess ay a n zra-x xess*  
 3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A 3sm-need/P
041. *ay a zra-x leḥšam inu a*  
 1s/IO PROS see-1s/A children 1s/POSS PROS
042. *ṭella-x θen a n zra-x*  
 watch-1s/A 3p/DO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A
043. *i-nna s waxxa i-nna s*  
 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO all right 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO



044. *yallah tella das lyar*  
HOR-s watch-s/IMP there cave
045. *inši rubbama mđiyyeq ša ssekšem*  
some possibly narrow FUT 3sf-let in/A
046. *ddmay nnes ma ra*  
head 3sf/POSS NEG FUT
047. *d i-ffey ši s emmen*  
HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG INSPR what
048. *a t i-tett nettaθa nniθ*  
PROS 3sf/DO 3sm-eat/I 3sf/PRO herself
049. *ša awxer ga s nettaθa*  
FUT 3sm-end/A LOCPR 3sf/PREP 3sf/PRO
050. *eg t-muda leḥšam nnes*  
LOCPR EA/sf-pig children 3sf/POSS
051. *i-keml ahen niga y-kmel leḥšam*  
3sm-finish/P 3p/DO when 3sm-finish/P children
052. *nnes i-nna s hala*  
3sf/POSS 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO come-s/IMP
053. *leḥšam nnem qra-w*  
children 2sf/POSS learn-3p/PERF-AR
054. *hala zar-et leḥšam nnem*  
come-s/IMP 2sf-see-2sf/A children 2sf/POSS

055. *i-nna s yallah ʔella ssekšem*  
3sm-say/P 3sf/IO HOR-s watch-s/IMP let in-s/IMP
056. *ddmay nnem maena saržem*  
head 2sf/POSS meaning window
057. *inši wella ssekšem ddmay nnem zid*  
some or let in-s/IMP head 2sf/POSS HOR-s
058. *a ʔar-et leḥšam nnem*  
HOR 2sf-see-2sf/A children 2sf/POSS
059. *a t-ssekšem ddmay nnes*  
PROS 3sf-let in/A head 3sf/POSS
060. *i-kšem ddmay nnes*  
3sm-enter/P head 3sf/POSS
061. *g lyar ma ra d*  
LOCPR cave NEG FUT HITH
062. *i-ffey ši ma ḥetta ši d*  
3sm-leave/A NEG NEG even NEG HITH
063. *i-ffey i-šebbr at i-tett at*  
3sm-come out/A 3sm-grab/P 3sf/DO 3sm-eat/I 3sf/DO
064. *netta ʔg i-ʔar-en i netta ga*  
3sm/PRO ABLPR EA/pm-leg-pm COPR 3sm/PRO LOCPR
065. *s i-tett nettaḥa niga θ-ʔra hadik*  
3sf/PRP 3sm-eat/I 3sf/PRO when 3sf-see/P that

066. *t-ebda t-eqqar as ššham bin*  
 3sf-begin/P 3sf-say/I 3sm/IO fat between
067. *ti-tti-wan a εammi a-g<sup>i</sup>di zeεma*  
 EA/pf-eye-pf VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-jackal supposedly
068. *baš i-xerrež ha baš s*  
 in order to 3sm-let out/IMP-AR 3sf/DO-AR in order to INSPR
069. *emmen netta y-ttuθu dar ššham*  
 what 3sm/PRO 3sm-go/I ALPR fat
070. *bin ti-tti-wan s emmen nettaθa*  
 between EA/pf-eye-pf INSPR what 3sf/PRO
071. *a t-xelles zga s*  
 PROS 3sf-pay/A ABLPR 3sm/PREP
072. *a d t-effey walakin netta i-žawb at*  
 PROS HITH 3sf-leave/A but 3sm/PRO 3sm-reply/P 3sf/DO
073. *i-nna s amella a d at*  
 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO now PROS HITH 3sf/DO
074. *n-elkum inša'ellah netta mεellem i-xeddem mεellem*  
 1p-arrive/A God willing 3sm/PRO expert/PTC-AR 3sm-work/I expert/PTC-AR

## **2.1. The story of the jackal and the pig**

The jackal visited the pig and found that she had children. The jackal said to the pig, "Give me your children so I will teach them." He is going to teach the children of the pig. She gave her children to him so that he would teach them. He then went and ate one child each day. He was eating them. When he ate them, he threw the bones in some place. Hornets came and the hornets ate those bones. He kept teaching the children for days.

Then the pig came. She came to watch whether her children were learning. When she arrived she said to him, "I want to watch my children whether they are learning." He took her and said to her, "Listen!" She had to listen to the noise of the hornets in the bones. The hornets were eating the bones, "Huwv." Meanwhile he was telling her, "Here you go, listen to your children while they are learning." The hornets were making the noise, the hornets in the bones, because the jackal was eating the children of the pig. He was eating one each day. He was eating her children. There were many of them. She perhaps had seven or eight children or maybe ten and he was eating them. Some days later she came to watch and to listen to her children whether they were learning. He said to her, "Listen!" But how? That's because the hornets were eating the leftovers of the jackal, "Huwv," the hornets went. He said to her, "Here you go, listen while they are learning." So she listened and after that she went on her way. She came back to watch her children and again he said, "Listen while they are learning."

Then one day she said, "I want to see them. I want to see my children. I want to watch them, to see them. He said to her, "All right." He said to her, "Come and watch over there." There was some kind of cave, probably a narrow one so that she would put her head through it and it would not come out. That way he would eat her. He would finish up with her, because he already finished her children. When he finished her children he said to her, "Your children have learned. Come and see your children." He said to her, "Come and watch. Put your head in here." Meaning, in a window or something like that. "Put your head in here. Go on and you will see your children." She put her head through and her head went in the cave. But it couldn't come out. It was impossible to come out. He caught her and started eating her from her legs up. When she saw this, she started saying, "Fat is between the eyes uncle jackal." Supposedly, he would get her out in order to go to the fat between the eyes. That way she could get back on him and she would get out. But he replied to her and said to her, "I will get to that soon God willing." He is an expert and he always acts like an expert.

### 3. *Lqişša n ušnekkaf i ssbaε*

001. *a-šnekkaf iδ u-g<sup>j</sup>di ag i-lla-n*  
EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP PTC-be-PTC/P
002. *maši i baεt em nihma zar-en ssbaε*  
walking/PTC-AR COMPR RCP 3p/POSS-AR 3p/PRO see-3p/P lion
003. *amça zar-en ssbaε i-nna s*  
when see-3p/P lion 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
004. *a-šnekkaf iδ u-g<sup>j</sup>di qa γar*  
EL/sm-hedgehog DATPR EA/sm-jackal INP ALPR
005. *k ši n lhila-θ s emmen*  
2sm/PREP some GENPR trick-p INSPR what
006. *a n-ḥiyyed zgi ssbaε s emmen*  
PROS 1p-avoid/A ABLPR lion INSPR what
007. *ma ya γn i-šš γar k*  
NEG FUT 1p/DO 3sm-eat/A ALPR 2sm/PREP
008. *ši n lhila-θ i-nna s*  
some GENP trick-p 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
009. *a-g<sup>j</sup>di γar i bezzaf a-šnekkaf i-nna*  
EL/sm-jackal ALPR 1s/PREP many EL/sm-hedgehog 3sm-say/P
010. *s nekk γar i yal lhila*  
3sm/IO 1s/PRO ALPR 1s/PREP one trick

011. *u ssalam hewa bda-n qarrab-en dayur*  
and that's it well begin-3p/P approach-3p/I ALPR
012. *ssbaε kull mara qarrab-en dayur ssbaε*  
lion every time approach-3p/I ALPR lion
013. *a-g<sup>i</sup>di teška-n as lhila-θ wa g*  
EL/sm-jackal run out-3p/I 3sm/IO trick-p even though PSP
014. *i-ll γar s bezzaf*  
3sm-be/P ALPR 3sm/PREP many
015. *teška-n as iδ u-šnekkaf γar*  
run out-3p/I 3sm/IO COPR EA/sm-hedgehog ALPR
016. *s yat yal lhila baqa θen a*  
3sm/PREP one one trick remain-3sm/PRF-AR 3p/DO RLV
017. *t i-ga-n i nihma maši d*  
3sf/DO PTC-be-PTC/P COPR 3p/PRO walking/PTC-AR HITH
018. *ħetta d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbaε amça d*  
until HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion when HITH
019. *i-ṭlaqaw ssbaε a-g<sup>i</sup>di ma h-qqim as*  
3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion EL/sm-jackal NEG 3sf-stay/P 3sm/IO
020. *ħetta ħila ħetta keδba a-šnekkaf*  
even trick even lie EL/sm-hedgehog
021. *i-xeddem lkuδba nnes*  
3sm-work/I lies 3sm/POSS

022. *s emmen a y-fleθ i-nna s*  
 INSPR what PROS 3sm-flee/A 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
023. *a wedd i ssbaε t-ufa-t anaγ*  
 VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR lion 2sm-find-2sm/P 1p/DO
024. *nekkīn iδ u-g<sup>i</sup>di n-edda d*  
 1s/PRO COMPR EA/sm-jackal 1p-go/P HITH
025. *dayr eç γar nax yal lmuškil*  
 ALPR 2sm/PREP ALPR 1p/PREP one problem
026. *n-edda d dayr eç i-nna s*  
 1p-go/P HITH ALPR 2sm/PREP 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
027. *amça yi-ll lmuškil aθ i-nna s*  
 how 3sm-be/P problem sm/PRD 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
028. *a wedd i nuhna γar naç*  
 VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR 1p/PRO ALPR 1p/PREP
029. *leḥšam n-ewdž ed leḥšam i baεt na*  
 children 1p-leave/P HITH children COMPR RCP 1p/POSS-AR
030. *i-xess anaç a n*  
 3sm-need/P 1p/IO PROS 3p-DO
031. *n-ebtu ma tfahem-na ši*  
 1p-divide/A NEG work out-1P/PERF-AR NEG
032. *šwa i-nna ssbaε i-nna a*  
 what 3sm-say/P lion 3sm-say/P FUT

033. *ddu-x ne šš-ex nihma i*  
go-1s/A 3p/DO eat-1s/A 3p/PRO COMPR
034. *leḥšam nnsen ma ya šš-ex*  
children 3p/POSS NEG FUT eat-1s/A
035. *ši ya nihma b*  
NEG only 3p/PRO with
036. *zuž ssbaε amella*  
two lion now
037. *niga se nna-n leḥšam nnaç*  
when 3sm/IO say-3p/P children 1p/POSS
038. *i-xess anaç a n-ebtu*  
3sm-need/P 1p/IO PROS 1p-divide/A
039. *leḥšam i-nna s a ddu-x*  
children 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO PROS go-1s/A
040. *a ddu a n i-šš nihma i*  
PROS 3p-go/A PROS 3p/DO 3sm-eat/A 3p/PRO COMPR
041. *leḥšam nnsen a-šnekkaf iδ*  
children 3p/POSS EL/sm-hedgehog COMPR
042. *u-g<sup>i</sup>di i leḥšam nnsen*  
EA/sm-jackal COMPR children 3p/POSS
043. *ḥsen zga sen ya nihma*  
better ABLPR 3p/PREP only 3p/PRO



044. *b zuž i-nna sen waxxa*  
with two 3sm-say/P 3p/IO all right
045. *zid-u a n-fukk-u kum lmuškil*  
HOR-p HOR 1p-solve-1p/IMP-AR 2p/IO-AR problem
046. *a ddu-x ið un dd-an*  
FUT go-1s/A COMPR 2p/PREP go-3p/P
047. *dar lmuṭea ka y-sekn-u dar lḡar*  
ALPR place INP-AR 3p-live-3p/IMP-AR ALPR cave
048. *hewa i-dda a-šnekkaf i-nna s*  
well 3sm-go/P EL/sm-hedgehog 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
049. *ið u-g<sup>i</sup>di kšem kedžin lluwwel*  
DATPR EA/sm-jackal enter-s/IMP 2sm/PRO first
050. *i-kšem a-g<sup>i</sup>di li'anna a-g<sup>i</sup>di meqqur wa*  
3sm-enter/P EL/sm-jackal because EL/sm-jackal big-sm/ADJ and
051. *y-xess as i-kšem netta lluwwel*  
3sm-need/P 3sm/IO 3sm-enter/A 3sm/PRO first-sm/ADJ-AR
052. *li'anna a-šnekkaf deyya ša y-kšem*  
because EL/sm-hedgehog fast FUT 3sm-enter/A
053. *i-kšem a-g<sup>i</sup>di lluwwel i-ḍemmen ddmay*  
3sm-enter/P EL/sm-jackal first 3sm-secure/P head
054. *nnes zge ssbae daxel*  
3sm/POSS ABLPR lion inside

055. *membaed eawed i-kšem a-šnekkaf kešm-en*  
 later again 3sm-enter/P EL/sm-hedgehog enter-3p/P
056. *ge lȳar nnsen hewa*  
 LOCPR cave 3p/POSS well
057. *niga i-nna sen ssbae ana lla-n leḥšam*  
 then 3sm-say/P 3p/IO lion where be-3p/P children
058. *nnun hadik i-nna s nuhna*  
 2p/POSS sf-DISD/AR 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 1p/PRO
059. *meqšum-in leḥšam nnaç*  
 sorted-p/ADJ-AR children 1p/POSS
060. *leḥšam nnaç maeruf-in*  
 children 1p/POSS well-known-p/ADJ-AR
061. *win inu s eššear*  
 p/RELD 1s/POSS INSPR fur
062. *win ennes s i-sennan-en*  
 p/RELD 3sm/POSS INSPR EA/pm-spine-pm
063. *win n u-g<sup>i</sup>di s eššear*  
 p/RELD GENPR EA/sm-jackal INSPR fur
064. *win n u-šnekkaf s i-sennan-en*  
 p/RELD GENPR EA/sm-jackal INSPR EA/pm-spine-pm
065. *leḥšam nnaç meqšum-in ya*  
 children 1p/POSS sorted-p/ADJ-AR only

066. *llayhennik fḥal ek*                      *ya ndda*  
solong      way 2sm/POSS-AR only go-s/IMP

067. *fḥal ek*                      *nihma meqṣum-in*  
way 2sm/POSS-AR 3p/PRO sorted-p/ADJ-AR

### **3.1. The story of the hedgehog and the lion**

The hedgehog and the jackal were walking together when they saw the lion. When they saw the lion, the hedgehog said to the jackal, "Do you have some tricks with which we will be able to avoid the lion so that he will not eat us. Do you have some tricks?" The jackal said to him, "I have plenty." The hedgehog said to him, "I have just one trick and that's it." They began approaching the lion. The closer they got to the lion the fewer tricks the jackal had left. Even though he had many of them, he was running out of them. The hedgehog had one and he still had it. They were walking towards the lion until they met with him.

When they met with him, the jackal did not have any trick, any lie, left. The hedgehog was applying his lies with which he would flee from the lion. He said, "Look my friend the lion you have found us, me and the jackal, coming to you because we have a problem. You see we have come to you." He said, "What is the problem?" "Well we have delivered our children at one another's place. Now we have to sort them and we couldn't work this out ourselves." What did the lion think? He thought, "I'd better go and eat them together with their children instead of only the two of them." When they told him, "We have to sort our children," he thought, "I will go." He will go and eat them together with their children; the hedgehog, the jackal and their children. That is better than only the two of them. So he said to them, "All right let's go and solve your problem. I will go with you."

They went to the place where they live in a cave. The hedgehog went and said to the jackal, "You go in first." The jackal went in because the jackal is big and therefore he must go in first since the hedgehog will go in rapidly. The jackal went in first. He secured his head inside from the lion. After that, the hedgehog went in. They went in their cave. Then the lion said to them, "Where are your children?" He said to him, "Our children are sorted. Our children are well-known, mine have fur and his have spines." The ones of the jackal have fur and the ones of the hedgehog have spines. "So our children are sorted. Off you go on your way. Just go on your way because they are already sorted."

#### 4. *Lqişša n ug<sup>i</sup>di i ssbaε*

001. *a-g<sup>i</sup>di i-ṭlaqa ssbaε i-kṣuḍ zga*  
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-meet/P lion 3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR

002. *s li'anna ssbaε a-g<sup>i</sup>di dayman*  
3sm/PREP because lion EL/3sm-jackal always

003. *tekṣaḍ-en zge ssbaε ssbaε netta*  
be afraid-3p/I ABLPR lion lion 3sm/PRO

004. *y θ i-ga-n i-kṣuḍ zga*  
RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P 3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR

005. *s i-ṭlaqa θ i-nna s*  
3sm/PREP 3sm-meet/P 3sm/DO 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

006. *a wedd i a εammi ssbaε*  
VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR VOC uncle-1s/ADN lion

007. *kifaš kedžin maši amça δi*  
why 2sm/PRO walking/PTC-AR like sm/PRD

008. *s leḥfa u kḍa amella i-xess*  
INSPR barefoot and so on now 3sm-need/P

009. *ay a gg-ex ṣebbat kedžin*  
1s/IO PROS make-1s/A shoes 2sm/PRO

010. *maši amça δin kifaš li'anna*  
walking/PTC-AR like sm/PRD why because

011. *i-kşuð zga s i-nna s*  
3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR 3sm/PREP 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
012. *waxxa amça a h-gg-et i*  
all right how PROS 2sm-make-2sm/A DATPR
013. *şebbat in i-nna s i-xess*  
shoes p/ANAPH 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 3sm-need/P
014. *ay debbar-et lhaža ka y-temma n*  
1s/IO 2sm-arrange-2sm/A something INP-AR 3sm-be named/IMP-AR GENPR
015. *elželd ara gg-ex şebbat*  
skin FUT make-1s/A shoes
016. *muhim dbiħa ša γras t-aγa-t*  
anyway slaughter animal FUT 3sm-slaughter/A EL/sf-goat-sf
017. *wella i-nna s lhaža s emmen*  
or 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO something INSPR what
018. *ša t n-eyras lželd nnes*  
FUT 3sf/DO 1p-slaughter/A skin 3sf/POSS
019. *ša gg-ex ið es şebbat i-bb az d*  
FUT make-1s/A COMPR 3sm/PREP shoes 3sm-take/P 3sm/IO HITH
020. *lhaža yan γars-en teθ šša-n teθ*  
something INDEF slaughter-3p/P 3sf/DO eat-3p/P 3sf/DO
021. *membraed i-nna s θa walu ma*  
later 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO sf/PRD nothing NEG

022. *h-xeddam al ek ši li'anna lželd aduha*  
3sf-work/IMP-AR for/IO-AR 2sm/PREP-AR NEG because leather sm/PRD
023. *i-smīn bezzaf δ as ššham*  
3sm-be fat/P much LOCPR 3sm/PREP fat
024. *bezzaf a bdu a-ṭar nnek*  
much PROS 3sm-begin/A EL/sm-leg 2sm/POSS
025. *ka y-zleq u kḍa*  
INP-AR 3sm-slip/IMP-AR and so on
026. *amella i-xess ay ššeḥṯa ma ga*  
now 3sm-need/P 1s/IO fatless NEG LOCPR
027. *s ši n smana ma*  
3sf/PREP NEG GENPR fat NEG
028. *g as ši n ta-ḍun-t*  
LOCPR 3sf/PREP NEG GENPR EA/sf-fat-sf
029. *i-bb az d εawed yaθ ta-yeṯ*  
3sm-take/P 3sm/IO HITH again one-f sf-other
030. *εawed i-šš et*  
again 3sm-eat/P 3sf/DO
031. *šša-n teθ i-nnas εawed lželd aduha*  
eat-3p/P 3sf/DO 3sm-say/P again skin sm/PRD
032. *ma h-xeddam ši li'anna šaḥeθ bezzaf*  
NEG 3sf-work/IMP-AR NEG because fatless-sm/ADJ-AR very

033. *amella xess aṣ a d*  
now 3sm-need/P 2sm/IO PROS HITH
034. *ebb-et lli ma h-ell ši*  
2sm-take-2sm/A RELD-AR NEG 3sf-be/P NEG
035. *smina muwaššit maši*  
fat average NEG
036. *ga s ta-ḍun-t bezzaf s*  
LOCPR 3sf/PREP EL/sf-fat-sf much INSPR
037. *emmen a ka y-xeddem mezyan hewa*  
what PROS INP-AR 3sm-work/IMP-AR well well
038. *i-bb aθ id šafi*  
3sm-take/P 3sf/DO HITH that's it
039. *γars-en εawed šša-n lḥam ani*  
slaughter-3p/P again eat-3p/P meat sm/ANAPH
040. *i-nna s whadi ay i-lla-n*  
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO sm/PRD FOC PTC-be-PTC/P
041. *xeddam lželdeθ ay i-lla-n xeddam*  
working/PTC-AR skin FOC PTC-be-PTC/I working/PTC-AR
042. *i-gg as lželd g i-ṭar-en*  
3sm-make/P 3sm/IO skin LOCPR EA/pm-leg-pm
043. *nnes b arbεa i-šedd*  
3sm/POSS with/PREP-AR four 3sm-bind/P



044. *as ten lmaəna i-ketf aθ*  
3sm/IO 3p/DO meaning 3sm-tie/P 3sm/DO
045. *ššebbat in a s i-sker*  
shoes p/ANAPH RLV 3sm/IO 3sm-make
046. *lželd i-gg as lželd g*  
skin 3sm-make/P 3sm/IO skin LOCPR
047. *i-ṭar-en i-šedd as i-ṭar-en nnes*  
EA/pm-leg-pm 3sm-tie/P 3sm/IO EL/pm-leg-pm 3sm/POSS
048. *i-wdž aθen kettef*  
3sm-leave/P 3p/DO tied/PTC-AR
049. *i-qelb aθ i-defe aθ niga*  
3sm-turn/P 3sm/DO 3sm-push/P 3sm/DO when
050. *θ i-qleb ssbaε i-ḥaf xf es*  
3sm/DO 3sm-turn/P lion 3sm-grasp/P IMPR 3sm/PREP
051. *i-šebbr as θa-želli-t θa-želli-t n u-g<sup>j</sup>di*  
3sm-grab/P 3sm/IO EL/sf-tail-sf EL/sf-tail-sf GENPR EA/sm-jackal
052. *i-qeṭε as t id i-qeṭε*  
3sm-cut off/P 3sm/IO 3sf/DO HITH 3sm-cut off/P
053. *as t id šwiya i-qqim*  
3sm/IO 3sf/DO HITH little 3sm-stay/P
054. *a-g<sup>j</sup>di i-dda fḥal u i-smeh ga s*  
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR 3sm-leave/P LOCPR 3sm/PREP

055. *i-šedd as i-ṭar-en nes*  
3sm-tie/P 3sm/IO EL/pm-leg-pm 3sm/POSS
056. *i-smeh ga s i-dda fḥal u*  
3sm-leave/P LOCPR 3sm/PRP 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR
057. *i-qqim ssbaε das*  
3sm-stay/P lion there
058. *b uḥd u mkettef h-edda d*  
with one 3sm/POSS-AR tied/PTC-AR 3sf-go/P HITH
059. *lqniyya ma ç i-γul a εammi*  
rabbit what 2sm/DO 3sm-befall/P VOC uncle-1s/ADN
060. *ssbaε i-nna s a wedd i*  
lion 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR
061. *hewa dda d lqniyya nettaθa a*  
well 3sf-go/P HITH rabbit 3sf/PRO FOC
062. *s i-fesç-en šwa h-sker*  
3sm/IO PTC-untie-PTC/P what 3sf-do/P
063. *t-ebda t-ttawi d a-man*  
3sf-begin/P 3sf-bring/I HITH EL/sm-water/coll
064. *g u-qemmum i nettaθa*  
LOCPR EA/sm-mouth COPR 3sf/PRO
065. *θ-ssebzag as a-man nettaθa t-egg ahen*  
3sf-make wet/I 3sm/IO EL/sm-water/coll 3sf/PRO 3sf-do/P 3p/DO

066. *fe želd an lželd i-ziyyar*  
IMPR skin sm/ANAPH leather 3sm-be tight/P
067. *g i-ṭar-en nnes i-qqur*  
LOCPR EA/pm-leg-pm 3sm/POSS 3sm-dry up/P
068. *t-egg as a-man s emmen*  
3sf-do/P 3sm/IO EL/sm-water/coll INSPR what
069. *a y-ṭfessaṣ temma y-ṭfessaṣ lželd*  
PROS 3sm-untie/I 3sm-be named/IMP-AR 3sm-untie/I skin
070. *an nettaṭa θ-ssebzag as ss iha*  
sm/ANAPH 3sf/PRO 3sf-make wet/I 3sm/IO INSPR there
071. *θ-ssebzag as ss iha t-ebb ed*  
3sf-make wet/I 3sm/IO INSPR there 3sf-take/P HITH
072. *a-man ḥetta s t-efseṣ lželd an*  
EL/sm-water/coll until 3sm/IO 3sf-untie/P leather sm/ANAPH
073. *fesṣ as lqniyya lželd an*  
3sf-untie/P 3sm/IO rabbit skin sm/ANAPH
074. *i-kker ssbaε i-dda fḥal u i-qqim*  
3sm-stand up/P lion 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR 3sm-stay/P
075. *i-teayan x u-meddakul nnes*  
3sm-wait/I IMPR EA/sm-friend 3sm/POSS
076. *x u-g<sup>i</sup>di ssbaε i-teayan hewa*  
IMPR EA/sm-jackal lion 3sm-wait/I well

077. *i-qqim mašallah maši i-teayan yah*  
 3sm-stay/P at a venture walking/PTC-AR 3sm-wait/I one-f
078. *lmerra ka y-ṭlaqa h i-nna s*  
 time INP-AR 3sm-meet/IMP-AR 3sm/DO-AR 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
079. *ahlan s u-meddakul inu i-nna*  
 hello INSPR EA/sm-friend 1s/POSS 3sm-say/P
080. *s la nekkīn ma ssn-eγ*  
 3sm/IO no 1s/PRO NEG know-1s/P
081. *aç ši maši a-meddakul nneç*  
 2sm/DO NEG NEG EL/sm-friend 2sm/POSS
082. *i-nna s kedžin a-meddakul inu*  
 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 2sm/PRO EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS
083. *i-nna s kedžin yah lmerrāt*  
 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 2sm/PRO one-f time
084. *t-egga-t ay ššebbat n elželd*  
 2sm-make-2sm/P 1s/IO shoes GENPR skin
085. *ha kifaš t-egga-t g i-ṭar-en*  
 here how 2sm-make-2sm/P LOCPR EA/pm-foot-pm
086. *inu s emmen zgi leḥfa u kḏa*  
 1s/POSS INSPR what ABLPR barefoot and so on
087. *i-nna s la maši nekkīn*  
 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO no NEG 1s/PRO

088. *i-nna s la kedž i-nna s*  
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO no 2sm/PRO 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
089. *la maši nekin i-nna s*  
no NEG 1s/PRO 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
090. *la kedžin qeṭe-ey aṣ ta-ṣelli-t*  
no 2sm/PRO cut off-1s/P 2sm/IO EL/sf-tail-sf
091. *nneṣ i-nna s la*  
2sm/POSS 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO no
092. *a-ṣelli-t inu leayla ynu kaml-a*  
EL/sf-tail-sf 1s/POSS family 1s/POSS total-sf/ADJ-AR
093. *amça y i-ga-n leḥṣam n*  
like sm/PRD PTC-be-PTC/P children GENPR
094. *εammi kulla hum mqaṭe-in a-ṣelli-t*  
uncle-1s/ADN all 3p/POSS-AR cut off-p/ADJ-AR EL/sf-tail-sf
095. *leḥṣam nnun kulla hum mqaṭe-in*  
children 2p/POSS all 3p/POSS-AR cut off-p/ADJ-AR
096. *a-ṣelli-t i-nna s yih i-nna s*  
EL/sf-tail-sf 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO indeed 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
097. *wa y-xess ay a n ṣra-x*  
well 3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A
098. *i-sker iḍ es s lmiεad i-dda*  
3sm-make/P COMPR 3sm/PREP INSPR appointment 3sm-go/P

099. *a-ɡ<sup>j</sup>di i-ʒmaɛ lɛa'ila n ɛammi*  
EL/sm-jackal 3sm-gather/P family GENPR uncle
100. *nnes kaml-in lɛa'ila nnes*  
3sm/POSS total-p/ADJ-AR family 3sm/POSS
101. *i-nna sen yallah-awθ ʃa*  
3sm-say/P 3p/IO HOR-2p FUT
102. *n-açr-awθ lfiras lfiras wella y-aɛni lfakiha*  
1p-steal-1p/HOR pears/coll pears/coll or 3sm-mean/IMP-AR fruit/coll
103. *ʃa t açur-en i-nna sen*  
FUT 3sf/DO steal-3p/A 3sm-say/P 3p/IO
104. *yallah hal-u nekkin ʃa ɛalli-x*  
HOR-s come-p/IMP 1s/PRO FUT go up-1s/A
105. *ɡ<sup>j</sup>enna a ɣezz-ex lfakiha*  
above PROS shake-1s/A fruit/coll
106. *walakin kunna baqi li'anna ʃa y*  
but 2p/PRO remaining/PTC-AR because FUT 1s/IO
107. *t-ʃemθ-em ʃa h-eddu-m kullši ʃa*  
2p-trick-2p/A FUT 2p-go-2p/A all of you FUT
108. *t-edž-em nekkin bla ši*  
2p-leave-2p/A 1s/PRO without something
109. *amça ʃa y-sker lqađiya d*  
how FUT 3sm-make/A matter sm/PRD

110. *ša wn eqqn-ex g*  
FUT 2p/DO tie-1s/A LOCPR
111. *baɛt kum amella a-g<sup>i</sup>di i-sker lhila*  
RCP 2p/POSS-AR now EL/sm-jackal 3sm-do/P trick
112. *i leħšam n ɛammi nnes*  
DATPR children GENPR uncle 3sm/POSS
113. *s emmen a t qeɛc-en a-zelli-t*  
INSPR what PROS 3sf/DO cut off-3p/A EL/sf-tail-sf
114. *nnsen s emmen a*  
3p/POSS INSPR what PROS
115. *tšaba-n ga s kaml-in s*  
resemble-3p/I LOCPR 3sm/PREP total-p/ADJ-AR INSPR
116. *emmen ma ya θ i-šš ssbaɛ*  
what NEG FUT 3sm/DO 3sm-eat/A lion
117. *muhim i-qqn asen i-zelli-tan nnsen*  
anyway 3sm-tie/P 3p/IO EL/pf-tail-pf 3p/POSS
118. *a-zelli-t i-qqn asen ten a-g<sup>i</sup>di*  
EL/sf-tail-sf 3sm-tie/P 3p/IO 3p/DO EL/sm-jackal
119. *i-ɛella g<sup>i</sup>enna i-hezz lfakiha l lmul*  
3sm-go up/P above 3sm-shake/P fruit/coll GENPR owner
120. *ah ttaɕur-en amella i-hezz lfakiha ttaħs-en*  
RLV PTC-steal-PTC/I now 3sm-shake/P fruit/coll reap-3p/I

121. *lfakiha amça hş-en lfakiha i-neqqaş*  
fruit/coll while reap-3p/P fruit/coll 3sm-come down/P
122. *i-qellaε i-džerra i-nna sen mul ši*  
3sm-flee/P 3sm-run/P 3sm-say/P 3p/IO owner INDEF
123. *mul l lfakiha i-dda d zeεma*  
owner GENPR fruit/coll 3sm-go/P HITH supposedly
124. *ša d i-du a ɣn*  
FUT HITH 3sm-go/A PROS 1p/DO
125. *i-neɣ i-džerra netta nihma qqim-en*  
3sm-kill/A 3sm-run/P 3sm/PRO 3p/PRO stay-3p/P
126. *zuɣɣur-en qeɣε-en i-zelli-tan baεt em hewa*  
pull-3p/I cut off-3p/P EL/pf-tail-pf RCP 3p/POSS-AR well
127. *i-dda d dayur ssbaε i-nna*  
3sm-go/P HITH ALPR lion 3sm-say/P
128. *s i-berrħ as i-žmaε leħšam*  
3sm/IO 3sm-call/P 3sm/IO 3sm-gather/P children
129. *n εammi nnes*  
GENPR uncle 3sm/POSS
130. *dda-n d leħšam n εammi*  
go-3p/P HITH children of uncle
131. *nnes i-nna s ha*  
3sm/POSS 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO here



132. *a        zar-et                nuhna   kun na                mqaṭe-in*  
PROS 2sm-see-2sm/A 1p/PRO all 1p/POSS-AR cut off-p/ADJ-AR
133. *i-nna        s                ssbae waxxa*  
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO lion all right
134. *i-nna        s                ša   skr-ex        lqadiya*  
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO FUT make-1s/A matter
135. *ta-yeṭ   nekk        a-meddakul   inu*  
f-other 1s/PRO EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS
136. *xess        ay        a        θ                ssn-ex        u*  
3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3sm/DO know-1s/A and
137. *ssalam i-nna        s                baš        te-nṭalq-u*  
that's it 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO in order to 2p-run-2p/IMP-AR
138. *s        eldžri ss        iha   dar        muṭea yan        a*  
INSPR speed INSPR there ALPR place INDEF FUT
139. *ddu-m        s                eldžri wa        ka        y-ttaxer                wa*  
2p-go-2p/A INSPR speed sm/RELD INP-AR 3sm-be last/IMP-AR sm/RELD
140. *ka        y-bqa                laxri wa        y-tyima-n        laxri*  
INP-AR 3sm-remain/IMP-AR last sm/RELD PTC-stay-PTC/I last
141. *waniθ        a        θ                i-ga-n                a-meddakul   inu*  
sm/ANAPH RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS
142. *lmuhim i-fk                asen   amar linṭilaqa s        eldžri*  
anyway 3sm-give/P 3p/IO order running INSPR speed

143. *džerr-en netta ttaxar d a-meddakul*  
 run-3p/P 3sm/PRO 3sm-be last/P HITH EL/sm-friend
144. *nnes ttaxar-en a θ*  
 3sm/POSS PTC-be last-PTC/P FOC 3sm/DO
145. *i-ga-n a-meddakul nnes netta a*  
 PTC-be-PTC/A EL/sm-friend 3sm/POSS 3sm/PRO PROS
146. *d i-ttaxar hewa di ssaeaθ*  
 HITH PTC-be last-PTC/P well LOCPR hours
147. *i-šebbr aθ i-qleb ga s*  
 3sm-grab/P 3sm/DO 3sm-pay back/P LOCPR 3sm/PREP
148. *llah iżēal baraka*  
 that's the end

#### **4.1. The story of the jackal and the lion**

The jackal met the lion and he was afraid of him because the jackal always fears the lion. He met him and said, "So uncle lion how come you are walking around barefoot," and so on. "Now I need to make shoes. You are walking around like this?" That is because he feared him. He said to him, "All right. How are you going to make those shoes?" He said to him, "You have to get me something made of skin. I will make shoes." Anyway an animal for slaughter. So he will have to slaughter a goat or something like that. He said to him, "Something which we will slaughter and use its skin to make shoes." He got him something, which they slaughtered and ate. Later on he said to him, "No this is not going to work for you because this skin is too fat. There is too much fat in it. Your feet will start slipping," and so on. "Now I need fatless, skin without fat. He got him another one. He ate it again. They ate and he said, "This skin will not work again because it is too skinny. Now you have to get me one without too much fat just a mediocre amount. That way it will work well." He got it. They slaughtered again and they ate the meat. He said to him, "Well this one will work just fine." He put the skin on all four of his feet and he tied them up. So he tied them up. He left them tied up and then turned him on his back and pushed him. When he turned him, the lion grabbed him and cut his tail a bit. He stayed there. The jackal went on his way and he left him. He had tied up his feet and left him and went on his way while the lion stayed there alone and tied up.

Then the rabbit came. "What happened to you uncle lion?" He said to her, "Ah well..." So the rabbit was the one who untied him. What did she do? She started getting water in her mouth and she made it wet for him with the water. She poured the water on the skin. The skin was tightly tied on his feet and had dried up. She poured the water so that the skin would loosen. She poured the water here and there and she untied the skin. She untied the skin and the lion stood up and went on his way. He kept waiting for his 'friend' the jackal. The lion was waiting. Then he kept walking on a venture while he was waiting.

One time he met him and he said, "Hello there my friend." He said to him, "No I don't know you. I am not your friend." He said to him, "You are my friend. One time you made shoes of skin for me, that's how. You put them on my feet so I wouldn't have to walk barefoot," and so on. He said to him, "No it's not me." He said to him, "No it's you." He said to him, "No it's not me." He said to him, "No it's you, I have cut your tail." He said to him, "No my whole family has a tail like this. The children of my uncle all have a cut tail." He said to him, "Is that so? All right I want to see them." So he made an appointment with him.

The jackal went and gathered the whole family of his uncle and told them, "Come on let's steal pears." That's to say pears or some other fruit which they would steal. He said to them, "Come on. I will go up

and shake the fruit. But you have to stay because otherwise you will trick me and you will all go and leave me here without anything.” How did he solve this matter? “I will tie you up to one another.” Now the jackal tricked the children of his uncle. That way their tail would be cut so all of them would resemble him so that the lion will not eat him. Anyway he tied their tails to one another and he climbed up and shook the fruit of the owner they were stealing. He shook the fruit and they reaped the fruit. Then he came down, and ran away while saying to them, “An owner,” as if it were true. “The owner of the fruit is coming! He will come and kill us.” He ran away and they stayed there. They were pulling and cut the tails of one another.

Then he went to the lion and called him. He had gathered the children of his uncle and they had come. He said to him, “Here you can see that all of them have a cut tail.” The lion said to him, “Very well. I will have to do another test because I need to find out who my friend is. I only want to know who he is, that’s all.” He said, “We have to hold a running contest. You have to run to that place over there and the one who will be last is the one who is my friend.” Anyway, he gave his order to run. They ran and the one who would finish last would be his friend. He was the one who finished last and so after a while he caught him. That way he got back at him. The end.

## 5. *Tixurafan*

001. *ṭwil ma y-skar ḍill*  
long NEG 3sm-make/I shadow
002. *a-zref*  
EL/sm-road
003. *perper-en ma neṭṭg-en*  
flap-3p/I NEG fly-3p/I
004. *ti-ṭṭa-wan*  
EL/pf-eye-pf
005. *ḡar i ṭṭaq i-kkar s ti-wfal-an*  
ALPR 1s/PREP niche 3sm-be full/P INSPR EA/pf-egg-pf
006. *a-qemmum*  
EL/sm-mouth
007. *ḡar i žuž n mqali g ya w-sammir*  
ALPR 1s/PREP two GENPR frying pans LOCPR one EA/sm-vast space
008. *i-mezg-an*  
EL/pm-ear-pm
009. *dda-n d dar t-gg<sup>w</sup>ur-t ḥešm-u*  
go-3p/P HITH ALPR EA/sf-door-sf be ashamed-3p/PRF-AR
010. *ššebbat*  
shoes

## 5.1. Riddles

It is long but it does not have a shadow.

A road.

They flap but they do not fly.

Eyes.

I have a niche full of eggs.

A mouth.

I have two frying pans in a vast space.

Ears.

They went to the door and were ashamed (to enter).

Shoes.

## 6. *Baħiθ g ššelħa*

001. *i-dda d γar i nnhar l larbeε*  
3sm-go/P HITH ALPR 1s/PREP day GENPR wednesday
002. *yan ax zg hulanda baħiθ g*  
INDEF brother ABLPR PLN researcher LOCPR
003. *ššelħa ism ennes žamal i-dda d*  
Berber name 3sm/POSS PNN 3sm-go/P HITH
004. *γar i i-šeqša x buħmed qqim-ex*  
ALPR 1s/PREP 3sm-ask/P IMPR PLN sit-1s/P
005. *iδ es i-bda i-tšeqša y x*  
COMPR 3sm/PREP 3sm-begin/P 3sm-ask/I 1s/DO IMPR
006. *ššelħa i nekk qqra-γ as t-elkem*  
Berber COPR 1s/PRO say-1s/I 3sm/IO 3sf-arrive/P
007. *d εa xemsa i-dda fħal u dar*  
HITH ALPR five 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR ALPR
008. *fiṭwan i-qqel d alazen nekki dda-x*  
PLN 3sm-return/P HITH tomorrow 1s/PRO go-1s/P
009. *dar mθar i-sker iδ i*  
ALPR PLN 3sm-make/P COMPR 1s/PREP
010. *baš n-ṭlaq-aw gi lwaħda membaed niga*  
in order to 1p-meet-1p/IMP-AR LOCPR one-f later when

011. *dda-x ufa-x θ i-dda ella bnimenşur*  
go-1s/P find-1s/P 3sm/DO 3sm-go/P 3s-go up/P PLN
012. *i-nna s i lhusayn alažen*  
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO DATPR PNN tomorrow
013. *ša d qql-ex gi şşbah i-nna s*  
FUT HITH return-1s/A LOCPR morning 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO
014. *i- tlaqa i ssiyyed ani i-tlaqa ni*  
3sm-meet/IMP-AR COMPR man sm/ANAPH 3sm-meet/IMP-AR 1s/DO-AR
015. *i nekkın qql-eγ d ela fhal i*  
COPR 1s/PRO return-1s/P HITH on way 1s/POSS-AR
016. *dar u-xeyyam nekkın ella-x dar u-xeyyam*  
ALPR EA/sm-house 1s/PRO go up-1s/P ALPR EA/sm-house
017. *atg<sup>j</sup>am qql-eγ d a d qql-eγ*  
yesterday return-1s/P HITH PROS HITH return-1s/P
018. *εa buħmed qqim-ex tsag<sup>j</sup>am-ex θ i-kker*  
ALPR PLN stay-1s/P wait-1s/I 3sm/DO 3sm-stand up/P
019. *a d i-gwer zg bnimenşur n-ekker n-tlaq-aw*  
PROS HITH 3sm-return/A ABPLR PLN 1p-stand up/P 1p-meet-1p/IMP-AR
020. *n-ekker a n-eqqim gi lmaħal i-qqim*  
1p-stand up/P PROS 1p-sit/A LOCPR room 3sm-stay/P
021. *i-tşeqša ya x lebeađ l lmasa'il*  
3sm-ask/I 1s/DO IMPR some GENPR things



022. *n*        *ššelḥa* *i*        *nekk*    *qgra-γ*    *as*  
GENPR Berber COPR 1s/PRO say-1s/I 3sm/IO

023. *ḥetta* *n-eçmel*  
until 1p-finish/P

### **6.1. Berber linguist**

A brother from Holland, a Berber linguist visited me Wednesday. His name is Jamal. He came to me and he asked about Bu Aḥmed. I sat with him and he started asking me about Berber and I was telling him about it. At five o'clock, he went away to Tétouan.

He came back the day after and I went to Amtar. He made an appointment with me at one o'clock in the afternoon. When I later came back, I found that he had gone to Bni Menşur and that he told Husayn, "I will come back in the morning." He said that he would meet that man, that he would meet me. So I went back to my own house. I came back to Bu Aḥmed and sat waiting. Then he came back and we met. We sat in the room, he was asking me certain things about Berber and I was telling him until we finished.

# VERBLIST

## 1. Type CCC

### 1.1.

#### *kšem* “enter”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>kšem</i>	<i>kšem</i>	<i>kettšem</i>	
1s	<i>kešm-ex</i>	<i>kešm-ex</i>	<i>kettšm-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-kešm-et</i>	<i>t-kešm-et</i>	<i>t-kettšm-et</i>	<i>kšem</i>
3sm	<i>i-kšem</i>	<i>i-kšem</i>	<i>i-kettšem</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ekšem</i>	<i>t-ekšem</i>	<i>t-kettšem</i>	
1p	<i>n-ekšem</i>	<i>n-ekšem</i>	<i>n-kettšem</i>	
2p	<i>t-kešm-em</i>	<i>t-kešm-em</i>	<i>t-kettšm-em</i>	<i>kešm-awθ</i>
3p	<i>kešm-en</i>	<i>kešm-en</i>	<i>kettšm-en</i>	

### 1.2.

#### *nŋeg* “fly”

	<i>nŋeg</i>	<i>nŋeg</i>	<i>neŋŋeg</i>	
1s	<i>neŋg-ex</i>	<i>neŋg-ex</i>	<i>neŋŋg-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-neŋg-et</i>	<i>t-neŋg-et</i>	<i>t-neŋŋg-et</i>	<i>nŋu (!)</i> <sup>98</sup>
3sm	<i>i-nŋeg</i>	<i>i-nŋeg</i>	<i>i-neŋŋeg</i>	
3sf	<i>t-enŋeg</i>	<i>t-enŋeg</i>	<i>t-neŋŋeg</i>	
1p	<i>n-enŋeg</i>	<i>n-enŋeg</i>	<i>n-neŋŋeg</i>	
2p	<i>t-neŋg-em</i>	<i>t-neŋg-em</i>	<i>t-neŋŋg-em</i>	<i>neŋg-awθ</i>
3p	<i>neŋg-en</i>	<i>neŋg-en</i>	<i>neŋŋg-en</i>	

<sup>98</sup> Exclamation marks indicate morphological irregularities.

**1.3.*****ršeq* “split”**

	<i>ršeq</i>	<i>ršeq</i>	<i>reššeq</i>	
1s	<i>rešq-ex</i>	<i>rešq-ex</i>	<i>reššq-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-rešq-et</i>	<i>t-rešq-et</i>	<i>t-reššq-et</i>	<i>ršeq</i>
3sm	<i>i-ršeq</i>	<i>i-ršeq</i>	<i>i-reššeq</i>	
3sf	<i>t-eršeq</i>	<i>t-eršeq</i>	<i>t-reššeq</i>	
1p	<i>n-eršeq</i>	<i>n-eršeq</i>	<i>n-reššeq</i>	
2p	<i>t-rešq-em</i>	<i>t-rešq-em</i>	<i>t-reššq-em</i>	<i>rešq-awθ</i>
3p	<i>rešq-en</i>	<i>rešq-en</i>	<i>reššq-en</i>	

**1.4.*****sker* “do, make”**

	<i>sker</i>	<i>sker</i>	<i>skar</i>	
1s	<i>sekr-ex</i>	<i>sekr-ex</i>	<i>skar-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-sekr-et</i>	<i>t-sekr-et</i>	<i>t-skar-et</i>	<i>sker</i>
3sm	<i>i-sker</i>	<i>i-sker</i>	<i>i-skar</i>	
3sf	<i>t-esker</i>	<i>t-esker</i>	<i>θ-skar</i>	
1p	<i>n-esker</i>	<i>n-esker</i>	<i>n-eskar</i>	
2p	<i>t-sekr-em</i>	<i>t-sekr-em</i>	<i>t-eskar-em</i>	<i>sekr-awθ</i>
3p	<i>sekr-en</i>	<i>sekr-en</i>	<i>skar-en</i>	

**1.5.*****xdem* “work”**

	<i>xdem</i>	<i>xdem</i>	<i>xeddem</i>	
1s	<i>xedm-ex</i>	<i>xedm-ex</i>	<i>xeddm-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-xedm-et</i>	<i>t-xedm-et</i>	<i>t-xeddm-et</i>	<i>xdem</i>
3sm	<i>i-xdem</i>	<i>i-xdem</i>	<i>i-xeddem</i>	
3sf	<i>t-exdem</i>	<i>t-exdem</i>	<i>t-xeddem</i>	
1p	<i>n-exdem</i>	<i>n-exdem</i>	<i>n-xeddem</i>	
2p	<i>t-xedm-em</i>	<i>t-xedm-em</i>	<i>t-xeddm-em</i>	<i>xedm-awθ</i>
3p	<i>xedm-en</i>	<i>xedm-en</i>	<i>xeddm-en</i>	

## 2. Type CVCC

### 2.1. Type CaCC

#### 2.1.1.

*sag<sup>j</sup>em* “wait”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	<i>sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	<i>tsag<sup>j</sup>am</i>	
1s	<i>sag<sup>j</sup>m-ex</i>	<i>sag<sup>j</sup>m-ex</i>	<i>tsag<sup>j</sup>am-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-sag<sup>j</sup>m-et</i>	<i>t-sag<sup>j</sup>m-et</i>	<i>t-tsag<sup>j</sup>am-et</i>	<i>sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>
3sm	<i>i-sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	<i>i-sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	<i>i-tsag<sup>j</sup>am</i>	
3sf	<i>t-sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	<i>t-sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	<i>t-tsag<sup>j</sup>am</i>	
1p	<i>n-sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	<i>n-sag<sup>j</sup>em</i>	<i>n-tsag<sup>j</sup>am</i>	
2p	<i>t-sag<sup>j</sup>m-em</i>	<i>t-sag<sup>j</sup>m-em</i>	<i>t-tsag<sup>j</sup>am-em</i>	<i>sag<sup>j</sup>m-awθ</i>
3p	<i>sag<sup>j</sup>m-en</i>	<i>sag<sup>j</sup>m-en</i>	<i>tsag<sup>j</sup>am-en</i>	

### 2.2. Type CiCC

#### 2.2.1.

*siwel* “talk, speak”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>siwel</i>	<i>sawel</i>	<i>tsawal</i>	
1s	<i>siwl-ex</i>	<i>sawl-ex</i>	<i>tsawal-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-siwl-et</i>	<i>t-sawl-et</i>	<i>h-tsawal-et</i>	<i>siwel</i>
3sm	<i>i-siwel</i>	<i>i-sawel</i>	<i>i-tsawal</i>	
3sf	<i>t-siwel</i>	<i>t-sawel</i>	<i>h-tsawal</i>	
1p	<i>n-siwel</i>	<i>n-sawel</i>	<i>n-tsawal</i>	
2p	<i>t-siwl-em</i>	<i>t-sawl-em</i>	<i>h-tsawal-em</i>	<i>siwl-awθ</i>
3p	<i>siwl-en</i>	<i>sawl-en</i>	<i>tsawal-en</i>	

### 3. Type CĈC

#### 3.1.

#### *berreh* “call”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>berreh</i>	<i>berreh</i>	<i>tberrah</i>	
1s	<i>berrh-ex</i>	<i>berrh-ex</i>	<i>tberrah-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-berrh-et</i>	<i>t-berrh-et</i>	<i>h-tberrah-et</i>	<i>berreh</i>
3sm	<i>i-berreh</i>	<i>i-berreh</i>	<i>i-tberrah</i>	
3sf	<i>t-berreh</i>	<i>t-berreh</i>	<i>h-tberrah</i>	
1p	<i>n-berreh</i>	<i>n-berreh</i>	<i>n-tberrah</i>	
2p	<i>t-berrh-em</i>	<i>t-berrh-em</i>	<i>h-tberrah-em</i>	<i>berrh-awθ</i>
3p	<i>berrh-en</i>	<i>berrh-en</i>	<i>tberrah-en</i>	

#### 3.2.

#### *çerreç* “lie”

	<i>çerreç</i>	<i>çerreç</i>	<i>tçerraç</i>	
1s	<i>çerrç-ex</i>	<i>çerrç-ex</i>	<i>tçerraç-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-çerrç-et</i>	<i>t-çerrç-et</i>	<i>t-tçerraç-et</i>	<i>çerreç</i>
3sm	<i>i-çerreç</i>	<i>i-çerreç</i>	<i>i-tçerraç</i>	
3sf	<i>t-çerreç</i>	<i>t-çerreç</i>	<i>h-tçerraç</i>	
1p	<i>n-çerreç</i>	<i>n-çerreç</i>	<i>n-tçerraç</i>	
2p	<i>t-çerrç-em</i>	<i>t-çerrç-em</i>	<i>t-tçerraç-em</i>	<i>çerrç-awθ</i>
3p	<i>çerrç-en</i>	<i>çerrç-en</i>	<i>tçerraç-en</i>	

**3.3.****debbar “arrange”**

	<i>debbar</i>	<i>debbar</i>	<i>tdebbar</i>	
1s	<i>debbar-ex</i>	<i>debbar-ex</i>	<i>ddebbar-ex</i>	
2s	<i>h-debbar-et</i>	<i>h-debbar-et</i>	<i>h-tdebbar-et</i>	<i>debbar</i>
3sm	<i>i-debbar</i>	<i>i-debbar</i>	<i>i-tdebbar</i>	
3sf	<i>h-debbar</i>	<i>h-debbar</i>	<i>h-tdebbar</i>	
1p	<i>n-debbar</i>	<i>n-debbar</i>	<i>n-tdebbar</i>	
2p	<i>h-debbar-em</i>	<i>h-debbar-em</i>	<i>h-tdebbar-em</i>	<i>debbr-awθ</i>
3p	<i>debbar-en</i>	<i>debbar-en</i>	<i>ddebbar-en</i>	

**3.4.****γenni “sing”**

	<i>γenni</i>	<i>γenna</i>	<i>tyennay</i>	
1s	<i>γenni-x</i>	<i>γenna-x</i>	<i>tyennay-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-γenni-t</i>	<i>t-γenna-t</i>	<i>t-tyennay-et</i>	<i>γenni</i>
3sm	<i>i-γenni</i>	<i>i-γenna</i>	<i>i-tyennay</i>	
3sf	<i>t-γenni</i>	<i>t-γenna</i>	<i>t-tyennay</i>	
1p	<i>n-γenni</i>	<i>n-γenna</i>	<i>n-tyennay</i>	
2p	<i>t-γenni-m</i>	<i>t-γenna-m</i>	<i>t-tyennay-em</i>	<i>γenny-awθ</i>
3p	<i>γenni-n</i>	<i>γenna-n</i>	<i>tyennay-en</i>	

**3.5.****siyyeb “throw”**

	<i>siyyeb</i>	<i>siyyeb</i>	<i>tsiyyab</i>	
1s	<i>siyyb-ex</i>	<i>siyyb-ex</i>	<i>tsiyyab-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-siyyb-et</i>	<i>t-siyyb-et</i>	<i>h-tsiyyab-et</i>	<i>siyyeb</i>
3sm	<i>i-siyyeb</i>	<i>i-siyyeb</i>	<i>i-tsiyyab</i>	
3sf	<i>t-siyyeb</i>	<i>t-siyyeb</i>	<i>h-tsiyyab</i>	
1p	<i>n-siyyeb</i>	<i>n-siyyeb</i>	<i>n-tsiyyab</i>	
2p	<i>t-siyyb-em</i>	<i>t-siyyb-em</i>	<i>h-tsiyyab-em</i>	<i>siyyb-awθ</i>
3p	<i>siyyb-en</i>	<i>siyyb-en</i>	<i>tsiyyab-en</i>	

### 3.6.

#### şebben “wash”

	<i>şebben</i>	<i>şebben</i>	<i>tşebban</i>	
1s	<i>şebbn-ex</i>	<i>şebbn-ex</i>	<i>tşebban-ex</i>	
2s	<i>θ-şebbn-et</i>	<i>θ-şebbn-et</i>	<i>h-tşebban-et</i>	<i>şebben</i>
3sm	<i>i-şebben</i>	<i>i-şebben</i>	<i>i-tşebban</i>	
3sf	<i>θ-şebben</i>	<i>θ-şebben</i>	<i>h-tşebban</i>	
1p	<i>n-şebben</i>	<i>n-şebben</i>	<i>n-tşebban</i>	
2p	<i>θ-şebbn-em</i>	<i>θ-şebbn-em</i>	<i>h-tşebban-em</i>	<i>şebbn-awθ</i>
3p	<i>şebbn-en</i>	<i>şebbn-en</i>	<i>tşebban-en</i>	

### 3.7.

#### şebbar “grab, hold”

	<i>şebbar</i>	<i>şebbar</i>	<i>tşebbar</i>	
1s	<i>şebbar-ex</i>	<i>şebbar-ex</i>	<i>tşebbar-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-şebbar-et</i>	<i>t-şebbar-et</i>	<i>h-tşebbar-et</i>	<i>şebbar</i>
3sm	<i>i-şebbar</i>	<i>i-şebbar</i>	<i>i-tşebbar</i>	
3sf	<i>t-şebbar</i>	<i>t-şebbar</i>	<i>h-tşebbar</i>	
1p	<i>n-şebbar</i>	<i>n-şebbar</i>	<i>n-tşebbar</i>	
2p	<i>t-şebbar-em</i>	<i>t-şebbar-em</i>	<i>h-tşebbar-em</i>	<i>şebbr-awθ</i>
3p	<i>şebbar-en</i>	<i>şebbar-en</i>	<i>tşebbar-en</i>	

### 3.8.

#### xiyyeŧ “sew”

	<i>xiyyeŧ</i>	<i>xiyyeŧ</i>	<i>txiyyaŧ</i>	
1s	<i>xiyyŧ-ex</i>	<i>xiyyŧ-ex</i>	<i>txiyyaŧ-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-xiyyŧ-et</i>	<i>t-xiyyŧ-et</i>	<i>h-txiyyaŧ-et</i>	<i>xiyyeŧ</i>
3sm	<i>i-xiyyeŧ</i>	<i>i-xiyyeŧ</i>	<i>i-txiyyaŧ</i>	
3sf	<i>t-xiyyeŧ</i>	<i>t-xiyyeŧ</i>	<i>h-txiyyaŧ</i>	
1p	<i>n-xiyyeŧ</i>	<i>n-xiyyeŧ</i>	<i>n-txiyyaŧ</i>	
2p	<i>t-xiyyŧ-em</i>	<i>t-xiyyŧ-em</i>	<i>h-txiyyaŧ-em</i>	<i>xiyyŧ-awθ</i>
3p	<i>xiyyŧ-en</i>	<i>xiyyŧ-en</i>	<i>txiyyaŧ-en</i>	



## 4. Type ĈC

### 4.1.

### *ffeγ* “leave”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>ffeγ</i>	<i>ffeγ</i>	<i>teffeγ</i>	
1s	<i>ffγ-ex</i>	<i>ffγ-ex</i>	<i>teffγ-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-effγ-et</i>	<i>t-effγ-et</i>	<i>h-teffγ-et</i>	<i>ffeγ</i>
3sm	<i>i-ffeγ</i>	<i>i-ffeγ</i>	<i>i-teffeγ</i>	
3sf	<i>t-effēγ</i>	<i>t-effēγ</i>	<i>h-teffeγ</i>	
1p	<i>n-effēγ</i>	<i>n-effēγ</i>	<i>n-teffeγ</i>	
2p	<i>t-effγ-em</i>	<i>t-effγ-em</i>	<i>h-teffγ-em</i>	<i>ffγ-awθ</i>
3p	<i>ffγ-en</i>	<i>ffγ-en</i>	<i>teffγ-en</i>	

### 4.2.

### *kker* “stand up”

	<i>kker</i>	<i>kker</i>	<i>tekker</i>	
1s	<i>kk-ex</i>	<i>kk-ex</i>	<i>tekk-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-ekkr-et</i>	<i>t-ekkr-et</i>	<i>h-tekk-et</i>	<i>kker</i>
3sm	<i>i-kker</i>	<i>i-kker</i>	<i>i-tekker</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ekker</i>	<i>t-ekker</i>	<i>h-tekker</i>	
1p	<i>n-ekker</i>	<i>n-ekker</i>	<i>n-tekker</i>	
2p	<i>t-ekkr-em</i>	<i>t-ekkr-em</i>	<i>h-tekk-em</i>	<i>kk-awθ<sup>99</sup></i>
3p	<i>kk-en</i>	<i>kk-en</i>	<i>tekk-en</i>	

<sup>99</sup> Note that imperative plural of *kkar* “be full” coincides with the imperative plural of *kker* “stand up”. Cf. VERBLIST/6.2.1.

### 4.3.

### *qqel* “return”

	<i>qqel</i>	<i>qqel</i>	<i>teqqel</i>	
1s	<i>qql-ex</i>	<i>qql-ex</i>	<i>teqql-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-eqqel-et</i>	<i>t-eqqel-et</i>	<i>h-teqqel-et</i>	<i>qqel</i>
3sm	<i>i-qqel</i>	<i>i-qqel</i>	<i>i-teqqel</i>	
3sf	<i>t-eqqel</i>	<i>t-eqqel</i>	<i>h-teqqel</i>	
1p	<i>n-eqqel</i>	<i>n-eqqel</i>	<i>n-teqqel</i>	
2p	<i>t-eqqel-em</i>	<i>t-eqqel-em</i>	<i>h-teqqel-em</i>	<i>qql-awθ</i>
3p	<i>qql-en</i>	<i>qql-en</i>	<i>teqql-en</i>	

### 4.4.

### *ttes* “sleep”

	<i>ttes</i>	<i>ttes</i>	<i>tettes</i>	
1s	<i>tts-ex</i>	<i>tts-ex</i>	<i>tettse-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-etts-et</i>	<i>t-etts-et</i>	<i>h-tetts-et</i>	<i>ttes</i>
3sm	<i>i-ttes</i>	<i>i-ttes</i>	<i>i-tettes</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ettes</i>	<i>t-ettes</i>	<i>h-tettes</i>	
1p	<i>n-ettes</i>	<i>n-ettes</i>	<i>n-tettes</i>	
2p	<i>t-etts-em</i>	<i>t-etts-em</i>	<i>h-tetts-em</i>	<i>tts-awθ</i>
3p	<i>tts-en</i>	<i>tts-en</i>	<i>tetts-en</i>	

#### 4.5.

#### *wweθ* “hit”

	<i>wweθ</i>	<i>wθa</i>	<i>tkaθa</i>	
1s	<i>wwθ-ex</i>	<i>wθa-x</i>	<i>tkaθa-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-ewwθ-et</i>	<i>t-ewθa-t</i>	<i>h-tkaθa-t</i>	<i>wweθ</i>
3sm	<i>i-wwθ</i>	<i>i-wθa</i>	<i>i-tkaθa</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ewwθ</i>	<i>t-ewθa</i>	<i>h-tkaθa</i>	
1p	<i>n-ewwθ</i>	<i>n-ewθa</i>	<i>n-tkaθa</i>	
2p	<i>t-ewwθ-em</i>	<i>t-ewθa-m</i>	<i>h-tkaθa-m</i>	<i>wwθ-awθ</i>
3p	<i>wwθ-en</i>	<i>wθa-n</i>	<i>tkaθa-n</i>	

### 5. Type $\hat{C}Cu$

#### 5.1.

#### *ttru* “weep”

	<i>ttru</i>	<i>ttru</i>	<i>ttru</i>	
	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
1s	<i>ttru-x</i>	<i>ttru-x</i>	<i>ttru-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-ettru-t</i>	<i>t-ettru-t</i>	<i>t-ettru-t</i>	<i>ttru</i>
3sm	<i>i-ttru</i>	<i>i-ttru</i>	<i>i-ttru</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ettru</i>	<i>t-ettru</i>	<i>t-ettru</i>	
1p	<i>n-ettru</i>	<i>n-ettru</i>	<i>n-ettru</i>	
2p	<i>t-ettru-m</i>	<i>t-ettru-m</i>	<i>t-ettru-m</i>	<i>tterw-awθ</i>
3p	<i>ttru-n</i>	<i>ttru-n</i>	<i>ttru-n</i>	

## 6. Type $\hat{C}VC$

### 6.1. Type $\hat{C}uC$

#### 6.1.1.

#### *lluʔ* “be hungry”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>lluʔ</i>	<i>lluʔ</i>	<i>tlaʔ</i>	
1s	<i>lluʔ-ex</i>	<i>lluʔ-ex</i>	<i>tlaʔ-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-elluʔ-et</i>	<i>t-elluʔ-et</i>	<i>h-tlaʔ-et</i>	<i>lluʔ</i>
3sm	<i>i-lluʔ</i>	<i>i-lluʔ</i>	<i>i-tlaʔ</i>	
3sf	<i>t-elluʔ</i>	<i>t-elluʔ</i>	<i>h-tlaʔ</i>	
1p	<i>n-elluʔ</i>	<i>n-elluʔ</i>	<i>n-tlaʔ</i>	
2p	<i>t-elluʔ-em</i>	<i>t-elluʔ-em</i>	<i>h-tlaʔe-m</i>	<i>lluʔ-awθ</i>
3p	<i>lluʔ-en</i>	<i>lluʔ-en</i>	<i>tlaʔe-n</i>	

#### 6.1.2.

#### *mmuθ* “die”

	<i>mmuθ</i>	<i>mmuθ</i>	<i>tmettaθ</i>	
1s	<i>mmuθ-ex</i>	<i>mmuθ-ex</i>	<i>tmettaθ-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-emmuθ-et</i>	<i>t-emmuθ-et</i>	<i>h-etmettaθ-et</i>	<i>mmuθ</i>
3sm	<i>i-mmuθ</i>	<i>i-mmuθ</i>	<i>i-tmettaθ</i>	
3sf	<i>t-emmuθ</i>	<i>t-emmuθ</i>	<i>h-etmettaθ</i>	
1p	<i>n-emmuθ</i>	<i>n-emmuθ</i>	<i>n-etmettaθ</i>	
2p	<i>t-emmuθ-em</i>	<i>t-emmuθ-em</i>	<i>h-etmettaθ-em</i>	<i>mmθ-awθ</i>
3p	<i>mmuθ-en</i>	<i>mmuθ-en</i>	<i>tmettaθ-en</i>	

## 6.2. Type ĈaC

### 6.2.1.

#### *kkar* “be full”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>kkar</i>	<i>kkar</i>	<i>kkar</i>	
1s	<i>kkar-ex</i>	<i>kkar-ex</i>	<i>kkare-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-ekkar-et</i>	<i>t-ekkar-et</i>	<i>t-ekkare-t</i>	<i>kkar</i>
3sm	<i>i-kkar</i>	<i>i-kkar</i>	<i>i-kkar</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ekkar</i>	<i>t-ekkar</i>	<i>t-ekkar</i>	
1p	<i>n-ekkar</i>	<i>n-ekkar</i>	<i>n-ekkar</i>	
2p	<i>t-ekkar-em</i>	<i>t-ekkar-em</i>	<i>t-ekkare-m</i>	<i>kkar-awθ</i> <sup>100</sup>
3p	<i>kkar-en</i>	<i>kkar-en</i>	<i>kkare-n</i>	

## 6.3. Type ĈiC

### 6.3.1.

#### *qqim* “stay, sit”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>qqim</i>	<i>qqim</i>	<i>tyima</i>	
1s	<i>qqim-ex</i>	<i>qqim-ex</i>	<i>tyima-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-eqqim-et</i>	<i>t-eqqim-et</i>	<i>h-tyima-t</i>	<i>qqim</i>
3sm	<i>i-qqim</i>	<i>i-qqim</i>	<i>i-tyima</i>	
3sf	<i>t-eqqim</i>	<i>t-eqqim</i>	<i>h-tyima</i>	
1p	<i>n-eqqim</i>	<i>n-eqqim</i>	<i>n-tyima</i>	
2p	<i>t-eqqim-em</i>	<i>t-eqqim-em</i>	<i>h-tyima-m</i>	<i>qqim-awθ</i>
3p	<i>qqim-en</i>	<i>qqim-en</i>	<i>tyima-n</i>	

<sup>100</sup> Note that imperative plural of *kker* “stand up” coincides with the imperative plural of *kkar* “be full”. Cf. VERBLIST/4.2.

## 7. Type CVĈ

### 7.1.

### *zall* “pray”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>zall</i>	<i>zull</i>	<i>tzalla</i>	
1s	<i>zall-ex</i>	<i>zull-ex</i>	<i>tzalla-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-zall-et</i>	<i>t-zull-et</i>	<i>h-tzalla-t</i>	<i>zall</i>
3sm	<i>i-zall</i>	<i>i-zull</i>	<i>i-tzalla</i>	
3sf	<i>t-zall</i>	<i>t-zull</i>	<i>h-tzalla</i>	
1p	<i>n-zall</i>	<i>n-zull</i>	<i>n-tzalla</i>	
2p	<i>t-zall-em</i>	<i>t-zull-em</i>	<i>h-tzalla-m</i>	<i>zull-awθ</i> (!)
3p	<i>zall-en</i>	<i>zull-en</i>	<i>tzalla-n</i>	

## 8. Type CĈ

### 8.1.

### *sell* “listen”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>sell</i>	<i>sell</i>	<i>tesla</i>	
1s	<i>sell-ex</i>	<i>sell-ex</i>	<i>tesla-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-sell-et</i>	<i>t-sell-et</i>	<i>h-tesla-t</i>	<i>sell</i>
3sm	<i>i-sell</i>	<i>i-sell</i>	<i>i-tesla</i>	
3sf	<i>t-sell</i>	<i>t-sell</i>	<i>h-tesla</i>	
1p	<i>n-sell</i>	<i>n-sell</i>	<i>n-tesla</i>	
2p	<i>t-sell-em</i>	<i>t-sell-em</i>	<i>h-tesla-m</i>	<i>sell-awθ</i>
3p	<i>sell-en</i>	<i>sell-en</i>	<i>tesla-n</i>	

## 9. Type CC

### 9.1.

### *dž* “leave”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>dž</i>	<i>wdž~a</i>	<i>tadža</i>	
1s	<i>dž-ex</i>	<i>wdža-x</i>	<i>tadža-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-edž-et</i>	<i>t-ewdža-t</i>	<i>h-tadža-t</i>	<i>dž</i>
3sm	<i>i-dž</i>	<i>i-wdž</i>	<i>i-tadža</i>	
3sf	<i>t-edž</i>	<i>t-ewdž</i>	<i>h-tadža</i>	
1p	<i>n-edž</i>	<i>n-ewdž</i>	<i>n-tadža</i>	
2p	<i>t-edž-em</i>	<i>t-ewdža-m</i>	<i>h-tadža-m</i>	<i>dž-awθ</i>
3p	<i>dž-en</i>	<i>wdža-n</i>	<i>tadža-n</i>	

### 9.2.

### *fk* “give”

	<i>fk</i>	<i>fk~a</i>	<i>ttak</i>	
1s	<i>fk-ex</i>	<i>fka-x</i>	<i>ttak-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-efk-et</i>	<i>t-efka-t</i>	<i>h-ttak-et</i>	<i>fk</i>
3sm	<i>i-fk</i>	<i>i-fk</i>	<i>i-ttak</i>	
3sf	<i>t-efk</i>	<i>t-efk</i>	<i>h-ttak</i>	
1p	<i>n-efk</i>	<i>n-efk</i>	<i>n-ttak</i>	
2p	<i>t-efk-em</i>	<i>t-efka-m</i>	<i>h-ttak-em</i>	<i>fk-awθ</i>
3p	<i>fk-en</i>	<i>fka-n</i>	<i>ttak-en</i>	

### 9.3.

### *ney* “kill”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>ney</i>	<i>ney~a</i>	<i>neqqa</i>	
1s	<i>ny-ex</i>	<i>nya-x</i>	<i>neqqa-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-enye-t</i>	<i>t-enya-t</i>	<i>t-neqqa-t</i>	<i>ney</i>
3sm	<i>i-ney</i>	<i>i-ney</i>	<i>i-neqqa</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ney</i>	<i>t-ney</i>	<i>t-neqqa</i>	
1p	<i>n-ney</i>	<i>n-ney</i>	<i>n-neqqa</i>	
2p	<i>t-enye-m</i>	<i>t-enya-m</i>	<i>t-neqqa-m</i>	<i>ny-awθ</i>
3p	<i>nye-n</i>	<i>nya-n</i>	<i>neqqa-n</i>	

### 9.4.

### *su* “drink”

	<i>su</i>	<i>su~a</i>	<i>sessu</i>	
1s	<i>su-x</i>	<i>swa-x</i>	<i>sessu-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-su-t</i>	<i>t-eswa-t</i>	<i>t-sessu-t</i>	<i>su</i>
3sm	<i>i-su</i>	<i>i-su</i>	<i>i-sessu</i>	
3sf	<i>t-su</i>	<i>t-su</i>	<i>t-sessu</i>	
1p	<i>n-su</i>	<i>n-su</i>	<i>n-sessu</i>	
2p	<i>t-su-m</i>	<i>t-eswa-m</i>	<i>t-sessu-m</i>	<i>sw-awθ</i>
3p	<i>su-n</i>	<i>swa-n</i>	<i>sessu-n</i>	



## 10. Type aCC

### 10.1.

#### *ara* “write”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>ara</i>	<i>ura</i>	<i>ttara</i>	
1s	<i>ara-x</i>	<i>ura-x</i>	<i>ttara-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-ara-t</i>	<i>t-ura-t</i>	<i>h-ettara-t</i>	<i>ara</i>
3sm	<i>y-ara</i>	<i>y-ura</i>	<i>i-ttara</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ara</i>	<i>t-ura</i>	<i>h-ettara</i>	
1p	<i>n-ara</i>	<i>n-ura</i>	<i>n-ettara</i>	
2p	<i>t-ara-m</i>	<i>t-ura-m</i>	<i>ttara-m</i>	<i>ara-wθ</i>
3p	<i>ara-n</i>	<i>ura-n</i>	<i>ttara-n</i>	

## 11. Type CCu

### 11.1.

#### *bdu* “begin”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>bdu</i>	<i>bda</i>	<i>taddu</i>	
1s	<i>bdu-x</i>	<i>bda-x</i>	<i>taddu-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-ebdu-t</i>	<i>t-ebda-t</i>	<i>h-taddu-t</i>	<i>bdu</i>
3sm	<i>i-bdu</i>	<i>i-bda</i>	<i>i-taddu</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ebdu</i>	<i>t-ebda</i>	<i>h-taddu</i>	
1p	<i>n-ebdu</i>	<i>n-ebda</i>	<i>n-taddu</i>	
2p	<i>t-ebdu-m</i>	<i>t-ebda-m</i>	<i>h-taddu-m</i>	<i>bedw-awθ</i>
3p	<i>bdu-n</i>	<i>bda-n</i>	<i>taddu-n</i>	

## 12. Type Ĉ

### 12.1.

#### *bb* “take”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>bb</i>	<i>bb~a</i>	<i>ttawi</i>	
1s	<i>bb-ex</i>	<i>bba-x</i>	<i>ttawy-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-ebb-et</i>	<i>t-ebba-t</i>	<i>h-ettawy-et</i>	<i>bb</i>
3sm	<i>i-bb</i>	<i>i-bb</i>	<i>i-ttawi</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ebb</i>	<i>t-ebb</i>	<i>h-ettawi</i>	
1p	<i>n-ebb</i>	<i>n-ebb</i>	<i>n-ettawi</i>	
2p	<i>t-ebb-em</i>	<i>t-ebba-m</i>	<i>h-ettawy-em</i>	<i>bb-awθ</i>
3p	<i>bb-en</i>	<i>bba-n</i>	<i>ttawy-en</i>	

### 12.2.

#### *ll* “be, exist”

	<i>ll</i>	<i>ll~a</i>	<i>tili</i>	
1s	<i>ll-ex</i>	<i>lla-x</i>	<i>tili-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-ell-et</i>	<i>t-ella-t</i>	<i>h-tili-t</i>	<i>ll</i>
3sm	<i>i-ll</i>	<i>i-ll</i>	<i>i-tili</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ell</i>	<i>t-ell</i>	<i>h-tili</i>	
1p	<i>n-ell</i>	<i>n-ell</i>	<i>n-tili</i>	
2p	<i>t-ell-em</i>	<i>t-ella-m</i>	<i>h-tili-m</i>	<i>ll-em</i> (!)
3p	<i>ll-en</i>	<i>lla-n</i>	<i>tili-n</i>	

**12.3.*****nn* “say”**

	<i>nn</i>	<i>nna</i>	<i>qqar</i>	
1s	<i>nn-ex</i>	<i>nna-x</i>	<i>qqra-x</i>	
2s	<i>t-enn-et</i>	<i>t-enna-t</i>	<i>t-eqqra-t</i>	<i>nna</i>
3sm	<i>i-nn</i>	<i>i-nna</i>	<i>i-qqar</i>	
3sf	<i>t-enn</i>	<i>t-enna</i>	<i>t-eqqar</i>	
1p	<i>n-enn</i>	<i>n-enna</i>	<i>n-eqqar</i>	
2p	<i>t-enn-em</i>	<i>t-enna-m</i>	<i>t-eqqra-m</i>	<i>nn-awθ</i>
3p	<i>nn-en</i>	<i>nna-n</i>	<i>qqra-n</i>	

**12.4.*****šš* “eat”**

	<i>šš</i>	<i>šš~a</i>	<i>tett</i>	
1s	<i>šš-ex</i>	<i>šša-x</i>	<i>tett-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-ešš-et</i>	<i>t-ešša-t</i>	<i>h-tett-et</i>	<i>šš</i>
3sm	<i>i-šš</i>	<i>i-šš</i>	<i>i-tett</i>	
3sf	<i>t-ešš</i>	<i>t-ešš</i>	<i>h-tett</i>	
1p	<i>n-ešš</i>	<i>n-ešš</i>	<i>n-tett</i>	
2p	<i>t-ešš-em</i>	<i>t-ešša-m</i>	<i>h-tett-em</i>	<i>šš-awθ</i>
3p	<i>šš-en</i>	<i>šša-n</i>	<i>tett-en</i>	

### 13. Type ÇV

#### 13.1. Type Çu

##### 13.1.1.

##### *ddu* “go”

	<b>aorist</b>	<b>preterite</b>	<b>intensive</b>	<b>imperative</b>
	<i>ddu</i>	<i>dda</i>	<i>ttuθu</i>	
1s	<i>ddu-x</i>	<i>dda-x</i>	<i>ttuθu-x</i>	
2s	<i>h-eddu-t</i>	<i>h-edda-t</i>	<i>h-ettuθu-t</i>	<i>ndda</i> (!)
3sm	<i>i-ddu</i>	<i>i-dda</i>	<i>i-ttuθu</i>	
3sf	<i>h-eddu</i>	<i>h-edda</i>	<i>h-ettuθu</i>	
1p	<i>n-eddu</i>	<i>n-edda</i>	<i>n-ettuθu</i>	<i>nddhu</i> (!)
2p	<i>h-eddu-m</i>	<i>h-edda-m</i>	<i>h-ettuθu-m</i>	
3p	<i>ddu-n</i>	<i>dda-n</i>	<i>ttuθu-n</i>	

#### 13.2. Type Çi

##### 13.2.1.

##### *rri* “sow”

	<i>rri</i>	<i>rri</i>	<i>rraz</i> (!)	
1s	<i>rri-x</i>	<i>rri-x</i>	<i>rraz-ex</i>	
2s	<i>t-erri-t</i>	<i>t-erri-t</i>	<i>t-erraz-et</i>	<i>rri</i>
3sm	<i>i-rri</i>	<i>i-rri</i>	<i>i-rraz</i>	
3sf	<i>t-erri</i>	<i>t-erri</i>	<i>t-erraz</i>	
1p	<i>n-erri</i>	<i>n-erri</i>	<i>n-erraz</i>	
2p	<i>t-erri-m</i>	<i>t-erri-m</i>	<i>t-erraz-em</i>	<i>rry-awθ</i>
3p	<i>rri-n</i>	<i>rri-n</i>	<i>rraz-en</i>	

## WORDLIST

In this section we will present a wordlist. Nouns will be presented as follows: singular (état d'annexion) – plural. If only the singular is available it will be presented without any comment, if only the plural is available this will be shown by (p). If a feminine noun is available with the same base this will be presented after the masculine noun. In the case of unit nouns: singular (un) – plural collective noun (coll). Allomorphs are presented after a tilde and variants after a slash.

Adjectives will be presented in this form: singular masculine – singular feminine – plural. If only the singular male is available it will be presented without any comment, if the female singular is also available this will be shown by (f).

Berber verbs will be presented in the following way: aorist preterite intensive. If only one of the MAN-stems is available this will be made clear by placing the according abbreviation of that MAN-stem between brackets except for the aorist. Thus if a MAN-stem is presented without any comment this will be the aorist and if two are presented without any comment these will be the aorist followed by the preterite.

If a derivational noun is available this will be presented together with the verb from which it has been derived, the same goes for verbs with derivational prefixes.

Verbs which are subject to MA inflection are presented as follows: perfective imperfective (AR). If only one of the two is available this will be made clear by the according abbreviation.

### A

- a**        *a* (PROS) “that, so, to”
- a**        *a* (HOR) “let’s”
- a**        *a* (VOC) “o”
- a**        *a* (RLV) “that, who, which”

### B

- b**        *baba* “father”
- b**        *bzeg* (STAT) “be wet”  
          *ssebzag* (I, CAUS) “make wet”
- b**        *bb bb~a ttawi* “bring”
- b**        *b* (PREP) “with, by”  
          *buhdu* “on his own”

	<i>bžuž</i> “with the two”
	<i>barbea</i> “with the four”
<b>bd</b>	<i>abadan</i> “ever”
<b>bd</b>	<i>bdu bda taddu</i> “begin, start”
<b>bhm</b>	<i>lbhim</i> (coll) “cattle”
<b>bhr</b>	<i>lebhar/bhar</i> “sea”
<b>bhθ</b>	<i>baħiθ</i> “researcher”
<b>bl</b>	<i>bla</i> (PRP) “without”
<b>bndm</b>	<i>bnadem</i> “human being” (BM)
<b>bq</b>	<i>bqa ibqa</i> (AR) “remain, stay”
<b>br</b>	<i>aberri - iberriyen</i> “sheep”
<b>br</b>	<i>tabrat - tibratan/ibratan</i> “letter”
<b>br</b>	<i>lbir</i> “well”
<b>brd</b>	<i>berd berd tberrad</i> “freeze”
<b>brh</b>	<i>berreh berreh tberrah</i> “call”
<b>bš</b>	<i>baš</i> “so, so that, in order to”
<b>bšl</b>	<i>tabşelt</i> (un) - <i>tibeşlan lebşal</i> (coll) “onion”
<b>btl</b>	<i>lbaṭil</i> “boat”
<b>btu</b>	<i>btu btu</i> “divide, share”
<b>byn</b>	<i>bayn/bin bayna-</i> (PREP) “between”
<b>bzf</b>	<i>bezzaf</i> “many, much”
<b>bəd</b>	<i>beid</i> “far”
<b>bəḍ</b>	<i>lbaəd/lebeəd</i> “some”
<b>bəṭ</b>	<i>baeṭ-</i> (RCP) “mutually, eachother” (RCP)
<b>βw</b>	

## Ç

<b>ç</b>	<i>-ç/ç-</i> (2sm/DO) “you”
<b>ç</b>	<i>-aç/aç-</i> (2sm/IO) “to you, with you”
<b>ç</b>	<i>-ç</i> (2sm/ADN) “your”
<b>ç</b>	<i>-k</i> (2sm/PREP) “you”
<b>çdr</b>	<i>açidar - içidaren</i> “horse”
<b>çl</b>	<i>açal</i> “earth”

<b>çm</b>	<i>açma - ayθma</i> “brother”
<b>çmr</b>	<i>açemmar (uçemmar) - içemmiren</i> “face”
<b>çmz</b>	<i>açmez (açmez) - içemzan</i> “fingernail”
<b>çr</b>	<i>açur açur ttaçur</i> “steal”
<b>çrç</b>	<i>çerreç çerreç tçerraç</i> “lie”

## D

<b>d</b>	<i>ddu dda ttuθu</i> “go”
<b>d</b>	<i>d</i> (LOCPR) “in”
<b>d</b>	<i>d</i> (HITH) “to here, towards here”
<b>dbħ</b>	<i>dbiħa</i> “slaughter animal”
<b>dbr</b>	<i>debbar debbar tdebbar</i> “arrange, fix”
<b>dçr</b>	<i>ddçar</i> “male”
<b>dftr</b>	<i>ddiftar</i> “booklet”
<b>dfæ</b>	<i>dfæ dfæ deffæ</i> “push (away)”
<b>dh</b>	<i>ddha</i> “here, over here”
<b>dhm</b>	<i>dhem - dahma</i> (f) (ADJ) “brown”
<b>dln</b>	<i>adlem</i> “bark”
<b>dmlž</b>	<i>ddemliž - ddmalež</i> “bracelet”
<b>dmy</b>	<i>ddmey - ddmiya/ledmiya</i> “head”
<b>dn</b>	<i>dan</i> “there” (BM)
<b>dr</b>	<i>ddra</i> (coll) “corn”
<b>dr</b>	<i>dar</i> (ALPR) “to, towards, at”
<b>dr</b>	<i>dder ddir tedder</i> “live, reside”
<b>ds</b>	<i>das</i> “there, over there”
<b>dšr</b>	<i>ddšar</i> “village”
<b>dxl</b>	<i>daxel/daxelt</i> “inside”
<b>dxn</b>	<i>ddexxan</i> “smoke”
<b>dym</b>	<i>dayman/da’ima</i> “allways”
<b>dž</b>	<i>dž wdž~a tadža</i> “leave, give birth”
<b>džml</b>	<i>djemla</i> “camel”
<b>džr</b>	<i>džerra</i> (P) “run”
	<i>ledžri</i> “speed”

<b>dʒæd</b>	<i>dʒæda</i> “carrot”
<b>dʏr</b>	<i>daʏur daʏr-</i> (ALPR) “to, at”
<b>D</b>	
<b>ɖbɛ</b>	<i>ɖbɛ</i> “hyena”
<b>ɖf</b>	<i>ɖɖif</i> “guest”
<b>ɖgr</b>	<i>taɖgart</i> (coll) “woods”
<b>ɖl</b>	<i>ɖill</i> “shadow”
<b>ɖmn</b>	<i>ɖemmen</i> (P) “secure”
<b>ɖs</b>	<i>ɖess ɖess ɖess</i> “laugh”
<b>ɖwr</b>	<i>ɖuwwar ɖuwwar tɖuwwar</i> “turn”
<b>ɖɣ</b>	<i>ɖɛɣɣa</i> “fast, quickly”
<b>Δ</b>	
<b>ɔfl</b>	<i>aɔfel</i> “ice, snow”
<b>ɔm</b>	<i>aɔem</i> “blood”
<b>ɔn</b>	<i>taɔunt</i> “fat”
<b>ɔn</b>	<i>iɔn</i> “so, i.e.”
<b>ɔr</b>	<i>aɔiyyar - iɔiyyaren</i> “piece” <i>aɔiyyar n waʔil</i> “a single grape”
<b>ɔt</b>	<i>ɔɔat</i> “body”
<b>F</b>	
<b>f</b>	<i>af ufa ttafa</i> “find”
<b>f</b>	<i>fɪ</i> (PREP) “in” <i>f</i> (IMPR) “to, on, about, ” <i>fɰal-</i> “on the way of”
<b>fɕ</b>	<i>tafuɕt</i> “sun” <i>tawfɪɕt</i> “sun” (BM)
<b>fd</b>	<i>afud (ufud) - ifadden</i> “knee”
<b>fɔn</b>	<i>tifeɔnan</i> “toes”
<b>fk</b>	<i>fk fk~a ttak</i> “give”
<b>fkʰ</b>	<i>lfakiha</i> (coll) “fruit”
<b>fkr</b>	<i>fekkar fekkar tfekkar</i> “think”



<b>fls</b>	<i>afullus</i> - <i>ifullusen</i> “cock” <i>tafullust</i> - <i>tifullusan</i> “chicken”
<b>fls</b>	<i>leflus</i> (coll) “money”
<b>flθ</b>	<i>fleθ</i> “flee, escape”
<b>fns</b>	<i>tafoenast</i> “cow”
<b>fq</b>	<i>fuq</i> “on top of, above”
<b>fqs</b>	<i>feqsan</i> - <i>feqsana</i> (f) (ADJ) “sad”
<b>frg</b>	<i>ifergan</i> “lakes”
<b>frs</b>	<i>tafirast</i> (un) - <i>tifiras</i> <i>lfiras</i> (coll) “pear”
<b>frš</b>	<i>aferruš</i> - <i>iferraš</i> “cock”
<b>frw</b>	<i>afraw</i> ( <i>ufraw</i> ) - <i>ifrawen</i> “leaf”
<b>frw</b>	<i>tafriwet</i> - <i>tifriwtan</i> “feather”
<b>fs</b>	<i>afus</i> - <i>ifassen</i> “hand” <i>afus l limin</i> “left hand” <i>afus n ššmal</i> “right hand”
<b>fsç</b>	<i>fseç fseç tfessaç</i> “untie”
<b>fṭ</b>	<i>lfuta</i> “towel”
<b>fwd</b>	<i>lefwad</i> - <i>lefwadaθ</i> “liver” (BM)
<b>fzr</b>	<i>tafuzart</i> - <i>tifuzaran/ifuzaren</i> “ant”
<b>fγ</b>	<i>ffey ffey teffey</i> “leave, go out”
<b>fε</b>	<i>lefeαθ</i> - <i>lfue</i> “snake” (BM)
<b>G</b>	
<b>g</b>	<i>g ga-</i> (LOCPR) “in, on, about” <i>g<sup>w</sup>um</i> “in front, before” <i>g<sup>w</sup>af</i> “on top” <i>g<sup>w</sup>ammas</i> “in the middle, between” <i>g<sup>w</sup>af</i> “on top” <i>g<sup>j</sup>enna</i> “above” <i>g bllil</i> “at night”
<b>g</b>	<i>ag~aç</i> (PSP) “was”
<b>g</b>	<i>gg gg</i> “make, do”
<b>g</b>	<i>iga</i> (P) “be, be something/someone, be in a state”
<b>g<sup>j</sup></b>	<i>tag<sup>j</sup>ig<sup>j</sup>et</i> - <i>ig<sup>j</sup>ig<sup>j</sup>en</i> “tree”

<b>g<sup>i</sup>d</b>	<i>ag<sup>i</sup>di</i> “jackal”
<b>g<sup>i</sup>n</b>	<i>ag<sup>i</sup>enna</i> “sky”
<b>g<sup>i</sup>r</b>	<i>ag<sup>i</sup>er</i> ( <i>yag<sup>i</sup>er</i> ) - <i>ig<sup>i</sup>ran</i> “unit of measurement (Arabic: <i>feddan</i> )”
<b>g<sup>i</sup>td</b>	<i>ag<sup>i</sup>tid</i> - <i>ig<sup>i</sup>tađ</i> “bird”
<b>glzm</b>	<i>agelzim</i> - <i>igelzam</i> “pickaxe”
<b>gnw</b>	<i>tagnawt</i> - <i>tignawan</i> “pumpkin”
<b>gr</b>	<i>amger</i> “harvest”
<b>gr</b>	<i>tagg<sup>w</sup>urt</i> “door”
<b>gr</b>	<i>tagra</i> - <i>tigerwan</i> “plate”
<b>grn</b>	<i>agran</i> - <i>igranen</i> “frog” <i>tagrant</i> - <i>tigranan</i> “female frog”
<b>grns</b>	<i>agurnas</i> - <i>igurnasen</i> “lion”
<b>grt</b>	<i>agart</i> - <i>igertawen</i> “neck”
<b>gwr</b>	<i>gwer</i> “return”
<b>gz</b>	<i>ggez ggez teggez</i> “descend”
<b>gZR</b>	<i>lgezzar</i> “butcher”

## Γ

<b>γ</b>	<i>γa</i> “only”
<b>γf</b>	<i>ayef</i> - <i>iyfawen</i> “head”
<b>γl</b>	<i>ayil</i> ( <i>yayil</i> ) - <i>iyallen</i> “mountain”
<b>γl</b>	<i>lyilla/lyilleθ</i> (coll) “crops”
<b>γl</b>	<i>γul</i> (P) “befall, happen”
<b>γlt</b>	<i>γliṭ</i> - <i>γliṭa</i> - <i>γliṭin</i> (ADJ) “fat”
<b>γmr</b>	<i>γmara</i> “Ghomara”
<b>γn</b>	<i>γenni γenna tyennay</i> “sing”
<b>γr</b>	<i>lyar</i> “cave”
<b>γr</b>	<i>γar-</i> (ALPR) “at, with, to”
<b>γrd</b>	<i>ayerdāy</i> - <i>iyerdāyen</i> “mouse”
<b>γrf</b>	<i>ayerraf</i> - <i>iyerrafen</i> “jar”
<b>γrm</b>	<i>ayrum</i> ( <i>uyrum</i> ) - <i>iyrumen</i> “bread”
<b>γrm</b>	<i>γrem</i> (P) “own”
<b>γs</b>	<i>ayess</i> ( <i>uyuss</i> ) - <i>iyessan</i> “bone”

<b>γt</b>	<i>tayaṭ - tiyaṭan</i> “goat”
<b>γwθ</b>	<i>tγuwwaθ</i> (I) “yell”
<b>γγl</b>	<i>aγyul - iγuyal</i> “donkey”
<b>γzz</b>	<i>γezzez γezzez tγezzez</i> “chew”

## H

<b>h</b>	<i>ha</i> “here”
<b>hd</b>	<i>hada</i> (sm/PRD-AR) “this”
<b>hdk</b>	<i>hadik</i> (sf/DISD-AR) “that”
<b>hl</b>	<i>hala</i> (IMP) “come”
<b>hln</b>	<i>ahlan</i> “welcome, hello”
<b>hlnd</b>	<i>hulanda</i> “Holland”
<b>hm</b>	<i>huma</i> (3p/AR-PRO) “they”
<b>hrm</b>	<i>therram</i> (I) “herd”
<b>hw</b>	<i>lehwa</i> “rain”
<b>hw</b>	<i>huwa</i> (3sm/AR-PRO) “he”
<b>hw</b>	<i>hewa</i> “well”
<b>hy</b>	<i>hiya</i> (3sf/AR-PRO) “she”
<b>hyḏr</b>	<i>tahayḏurt</i> “wool”
<b>hywç</b>	<i>hayweç/fhayweç</i> “when”
<b>hz</b>	<i>hezz hezz</i> “shake”

## Ḥ

<b>ḥb</b>	<i>ḥbibī</i> “maternal uncle”
<b>ḥd</b>	<i>ḥeddad</i> “blacksmith”
<b>ḥd</b>	<i>iḥeddi</i> “warden”
<b>ḥd</b>	<i>ḥdid</i> “iron”
<b>ḥdθ</b>	<i>lhadaθ</i> “story”
<b>ḥf</b>	<i>lhafa</i> “stone”
<b>ḥf</b>	<i>ḥafī</i> “sharp”
<b>ḥf</b>	<i>ḥaf</i> (P) “grasp, catch”
<b>ḥfr</b>	<i>ḥfer</i> (P) “dig”
	<i>aḥfar</i> “hole”
<b>ḥk</b>	<i>ḥakk ḥakk ṭhakka</i> “scratch”

<b>hl</b>	<i>lhila/hila - lhilaθ</i> “trick”
<b>hl</b>	<i>lhalal</i> “that which is permitted”
<b>hlf</b>	<i>helluf</i> (coll) “pork”
<b>hm</b>	<i>hemmam</i> “bathroom”
<b>hm</b>	<i>lhem</i> “meat”
<b>hm</b>	<i>hma</i> (P) (STAT) “be warm, be hot”
<b>hq</b>	<i>lhaqq</i> “truth”
<b>hrf</b>	<i>herrefherref</i> “cuttable (crops)”
<b>hrk</b>	<i>therrak</i> (I) “move”
<b>hrm</b>	<i>lharam</i> “that which is forbidden”
<b>hrq</b>	<i>hreq hreq therraq</i> “ache, have pain, be in pain” <i>lehriq</i> “pain”
<b>hş</b>	<i>heş</i> (P) <i>ttahş</i> (I) “reap”
<b>hsb</b>	<i>hseb hseb hessab</i> “count”
<b>hši</b>	<i>hši hša hešša</i> “stab”
<b>hšm</b>	<i>lehšam</i> “children”
<b>ht</b>	<i>hetta</i> “till, until, even”
<b>htš</b>	<i>ahettaš - ihettiša</i> “hatchet”
<b>hwžd</b>	<i>lhwažed</i> “eyebrows”
<b>hyd</b>	<i>hiyyed</i> “avoid, evade”
<b>hyđ</b>	<i>lehyuđ</i> “walls”
<b>hž</b>	<i>lhaža/haža</i> “thing”

## I

<b>i</b>	<i>i iδ-</i> (DATPR) “to”
<b>i</b>	<i>i iδ-</i> (COMPR) “with”
<b>i</b>	<i>i iδ-</i> (COPR) “and”
<b>i</b>	<i>i</i> (1s/PREP) “me”
<b>i</b>	<i>i~a</i> (FOC) “who, which, that”

## K

<b>k</b>	<i>ka</i> (INP-AR) “be”
<b>k</b>	<i>k</i> (2sm/PREP-AR) “you”
<b>kδ</b>	<i>kδa</i> “so on”

<b>kδb</b>	<i>keδba - lkuδba</i> “lie”
<b>kdž</b>	<i>kedžin/kedži/kedž</i> (2sm/PRO) “you”
<b>kfš</b>	<i>kifaš</i> “why”
<b>kḥ</b>	<i>sskuḥḥu</i> (ONOM) “cough”
<b>kḥl</b>	<i>kḥel</i> “black”
<b>kl</b>	<i>lkulla n tg<sup>i</sup>ig<sup>i</sup>et</i> “bark”
<b>kl</b>	<i>kull kull-</i> “all, every” <i>kullši</i> “all, everything, everyone” <i>kull mara</i> “everytime”
<b>km</b>	<i>kemmin/kemmi</i> (2sf/PRO) “you (f.)”
<b>km</b>	<i>kama - lkiman</i> “bed”
<b>km</b>	<i>-kum</i> (2p/IO-AR) “for you (p.)”
<b>kml</b>	<i>kmel</i> (P) “finish”
<b>kml</b>	<i>kamlin</i> (p) “totally”
<b>kn</b>	<i>kunna</i> (2p/PRO) “you (p.)”
<b>kr</b>	<i>lkar - lkiran</i> “van”
<b>kr</b>	<i>kkar kkar kkar</i> “be full”
<b>kr</b>	<i>kker kker tekker</i> “stand up, to begin, to start”
<b>kşd</b>	<i>kşad kşud tekşad</i> “be afraid”
<b>kşm</b>	<i>kşem kşem kettşem</i> “enter” <i>ssekşem ssekşem</i> (CAUS) “let in”
<b>ksw</b>	<i>lkeswa</i> “clothes”
<b>ktb</b>	<i>lektab</i> “book”
<b>ktb</b>	<i>ikteb</i> (IMP-AR) “write”
<b>ktf</b>	<i>ktef</i> (P) “tie” <i>kettef</i> “tied”
<b>ktr</b>	<i>ktar</i> “more”
<b>kzkzḥ</b>	<i>kuzukuzah</i> “rainbow”

## L

<b>l</b>	<i>llil/llila</i> “night”
<b>l</b>	<i>la</i> “no”
<b>l</b>	<i>ul (ul) - uliyen/ulawen</i> “heart”

<b>l</b>	<i>lluli</i> “beginning, start” <i>lluwwel</i> “first” <i>lluli - lluliya - lluliyin</i> (ADJ) “first”
<b>l</b>	<i>illa</i> (RLV) “that”
<b>l’n</b>	<i>li’anna</i> “because”
<b>lbr</b>	<i>libra</i> “thread”
<b>lby</b>	<i>lubya</i> (coll) “beans”
<b>lf</b>	<i>alef - ilfen</i> “swine”
<b>lf</b>	<i>alf</i> “thousand”
<b>lh</b>	<i>allah</i> “God” <i>llayhennik</i> “solong” <i>inša’ellah</i> “God willing” <i>mašallah</i> “at a venture” <i>llah ižēal baraka</i> “that’s it, the end” <i>yallah</i> (HOR) “let’s go” <i>yallah</i> “recently”
<b>lh̄f</b>	<i>leh̄fa</i> “barefoot”
<b>lkm</b>	<i>lkem</i> “arrive”
<b>ll</b>	<i>ll ll~a tili</i> “be, exist”
<b>lm</b>	<i>alum</i> (coll) “hay”
<b>ls</b>	<i>iles (iles) - ilsen</i> “tongue”
<b>ltšn</b>	<i>taletšint</i> (un) - <i>tiletšinan letšin</i> (coll) “orange”
<b>lwz</b>	<i>talawzet</i> (un) - <i>tilawzan llawz</i> (coll) “almond”
<b>lyn</b>	<i>layna</i> “whither, whereto”
<b>lyš</b>	<i>liyaš</i> “why”
<b>lṛ</b>	<i>lluz lluz tlaṛ</i> “be hungry”
<b>lṛn</b>	<i>alaṛen</i> “tomorrow”
<b>leš</b>	<i>leēša</i> “nightprayer, dinner”
<b>lθm</b>	<i>uleθma - tayθmaθan</i> “sister”
<b>M</b>	
<b>m</b>	<i>aman</i> (coll) “water”
<b>m</b>	<i>ma</i> (NEG) “not” <i>maši</i> (NEG) “not”

<b>m</b>	-m/m- (2sf/DO) “you (f.)”
<b>m</b>	-am/am- (2sf/IO) “for you (f.)”
<b>m</b>	-m (2sf/PREP) “you (f.)”
<b>m</b>	-m (2sf/ADN) “your (f.)”
<b>mbæd</b>	<i>membraed</i> “later”
<b>mç</b>	<i>imçi</i> “if”
<b>mç</b>	<i>amça</i> “how, while”
<b>mçrđ</b>	<i>timçrađ</i> “scissors”
<b>md</b>	<i>tamuda</i> “pig”
<b>mdkl</b>	<i>ameddakul (umeddakul) - imeddukul</i> “friend”
<b>mdn</b>	<i>lmedden/medden</i> “people”
<b>mdrs</b>	<i>lmedrasa/medrasa</i> “school”
<b>mđwr</b>	<i>mđuwwer</i> “round”
<b>mđyq</b>	<i>mđiyyeq</i> “narrow”
<b>mgwd</b>	<i>mguwdin</i> (p) “straight”
<b>mḥl</b>	<i>lmaḥal</i> “room”
<b>mhm</b>	<i>muhim</i> “anyway”
<b>mḥm</b>	<i>muḥami</i> “lawyer”
<b>mḥt</b>	<i>lmaḥaṭṭa</i> “station” <i>lmaḥaṭṭa lkiran</i> “bus station”
<b>mḥžr</b>	<i>maḥžur - lmḥažer</i> “orphan”
<b>mkl</b>	<i>lmakla</i> “food”
<b>ml</b>	<i>lmul/mul</i> “owner”
<b>ml</b>	<i>mellul - melluleθ</i> (ADJ) “white”
<b>ml</b>	<i>amella</i> “now” <i>amil</i> “now” (BM)
<b>mlḥ</b>	<i>amaleḥ (umaleḥ) - imalḥen</i> “fish”
<b>mlḥ</b>	<i>mlaḥ</i> “salt”
<b>mn</b>	<i>mnen</i> “who, what”
<b>mnžr</b>	<i>amenžur (umenžur) - imenžar</i> “chair”
<b>mql</b>	<i>mqali</i> “frying pans”
<b>mqr</b>	<i>meqqur</i> (STAT) “be big” <i>meqqur - muqqreθ</i> (ADJ) “big”

<b>mqṭe</b>	<i>mqaṭein</i> (p) (ADJ) “cut off”
<b>mr</b>	<i>lmerra/merra</i> “time”
<b>mr</b>	<i>tammart</i> “beard”
<b>mr</b>	<i>amar</i> “order”
<b>mr</b>	<i>amar amar ttamar</i> “send”
<b>mrs</b>	<i>amaras (umaras) - imuras</i> “valley”
<b>ms</b>	<i>lmus</i> “knife”
<b>ms</b>	<i>ammas</i> “middle, back”
<b>mš</b>	<i>amušš (umušš) - imuššen</i> “cat” <i>ṭamuššet</i> “female cat”
<b>mš</b>	<i>tamšeṭ – timeštan</i> “comb”
<b>mš</b>	<i>maši</i> “walking” (PTC-AR)
<b>mš</b>	<i>maša</i> “but”
<b>msh</b>	<i>msaḥ msaḥ messaḥ</i> “rub”
<b>mškl</b>	<i>lmuškil</i> “problem”
<b>msl</b>	<i>lmasa’il</i> “things”
<b>mšrb</b>	<i>lmešruba</i> “drink”
<b>mṭ</b>	<i>tameṭṭut - timeṭṭutan</i> “woman, wife”
<b>mtl</b>	<i>matalan</i> “for example”
<b>mṭrq</b>	<i>mṭirqa - mṭirqaθ</i> “hammer”
<b>mṭe</b>	<i>lmuṭea/muṭea – muwaṭae</i> “place”
<b>mtēb</b>	<i>meteub</i> (ADJ) “tired” (BM)
<b>mwṣṭ</b>	<i>muwašṣiṭ</i> “average”
<b>mxr</b>	<i>amexraw (umexraw) - imexrawn</i> “young of a rabbit”
<b>mz</b>	<i>mzizu - mzizuθ</i> (ADJ) “small” (BM)
<b>mz</b>	<i>mezzi - mezzuθ</i> (ADJ) “small”
<b>mzd</b>	<i>tamzgida/tamzida - timzgidiwan</i> “mosque”
<b>mžhd</b>	<i>lmežhud</i> “best”
<b>mzr</b>	<i>tamazirt</i> “village”
<b>mzyn</b>	<i>mezyan - mezyana - mezyanin</i> (ADJ) “good”
<b>mzy</b>	<i>amezzuγ (umezzuγ) - imezgan</i> “ears”
<b>mγ</b>	<i>amyar (umyar) - imyaren</i> “chiefs” <i>tamyart</i> “female chief”



	<i>timyaran</i> “women”
<b>myr</b>	<i>tameyra</i> - <i>timeyriwan</i> “wedding”
<b>myrb</b>	<i>lmayrib</i> “Morocco”
<b>mɛd</b>	<i>lmiɛad</i> “appointment”
<b>mɛdm</b>	<i>maɛdum</i> - <i>maɛduma</i> - <i>maɛdumin</i> (ADJ) “ill”
<b>mɛf</b>	<i>maɛruf</i> - <i>maɛrufin</i> (p) (ADJ) “well-known”
<b>mɛlm</b>	<i>mɛellem</i> “expert”
<b>mɛn</b>	<i>lmaɛna/maɛna</i> “meaning”
<b>mɛrf</b>	<i>maɛrufin</i> (p) (ADJ) “well-known”
<b>mθ</b>	<i>mmuθ</i> <i>mmuθ</i> <i>tmetta</i> “die”

## N

<b>n</b>	<i>nna nna qqar</i> “say, tell”
<b>n</b>	<i>ani</i> “where”
<b>n</b>	<i>n-</i> (GENPR) “of”
<b>nbd</b>	<i>tanebdut</i> “summer”
<b>nɕm</b>	<i>niɕma</i> (3p/PRO) “they, them” <i>niɕnam</i> (3p/PRO) “they, them” (BM)
<b>nɕn</b>	<i>nuɕna</i> (1p/PRO) “we, us”
<b>nd</b>	<i>nnad</i> “response”
<b>ng</b>	<i>niga</i> “when, then, as soon as”
<b>nhr</b>	<i>nnhar</i> “day” <i>nnhar l larbeɛ</i> “wednesday”
<b>nk</b>	<i>nekkīn/nekki/nekk</i> (1s/PRO) “I, me”
<b>nq</b>	<i>tanuqqit</i> - <i>tinuqqitan</i> “drop”
<b>nš</b>	<i>inši</i> “someone/something”
<b>nsn</b>	<i>insan</i> “person”
<b>nšn</b>	<i>nišan</i> “precise, straight”
<b>nt</b>	<i>netta</i> (3sm/PRO) “he, him”
<b>ntg</b>	<i>nɛg nɛg netɛg</i> “fly”
<b>ntθ</b>	<i>nettaθa</i> (3sf/PRO) “she, her”
<b>nwm</b>	<i>nnawm</i> “sleep”
<b>nwr</b>	<i>nnuwwar</i> “flowers”

<b>nžm</b>	<i>nežma</i> - <i>nžum</i> “star”
<b>ny</b>	<i>ney ney~a neqqa</i> “kill”
<b>ny</b>	<i>-naγ/γn-</i> (1p/DO) “us”
<b>ny</b>	<i>-anaγ/aγen-</i> (1p/IO) “for us”
<b>ny</b>	<i>-naγ</i> (1p/PREP) “us”
<b>P</b>	
<b>pr</b>	<i>perper</i> (I) “twinkle”
<b>Q</b>	
<b>q</b>	<i>taquqet</i> “granule, single/piece” <i>taquqet l lubya</i> “a single bean” <i>taquqet n ddra</i> “a granule of corn” <i>taquqet n irden</i> “a granule of wheat”
<b>q</b>	<i>qa</i> (INP)
<b>qbl</b>	<i>qbel</i> “in front of, before”
<b>qđ</b>	<i>lqađiya</i> “case, situation”
<b>qđm</b>	<i>qđim</i> “old”
<b>ql</b>	<i>qqel qqel teqqel</i> “return”
<b>ql</b>	<i>qell</i> “less”
<b>qlb</b>	<i>qleb</i> (P) “turn”
<b>qlε</b>	<i>qlaε qlaε qellaε</i> “pluck, pull out, run, flee” <i>qlaεqlaε</i> “pluckable (crops)”
<b>qm</b>	<i>aqemmum</i> ( <i>uqemmum</i> ) - <i>iqemmumen/iqemmam</i> “mouth”
<b>qm</b>	<i>qqim qqim tγima</i> “stay, sit”
<b>qmh</b>	<i>qqmah</i> (coll) “seed”
<b>qn</b>	<i>qqen</i> “tie”
<b>qny</b>	<i>lqniyya/qniyya</i> - <i>qnayen/uqnen</i> “rabbit” (BM)
<b>qr</b>	<i>qra iqra</i> (AR) “learn, teach”
<b>qrb</b>	<i>qarrab</i> (I) “approach” <i>qrib</i> “near, nearby”
<b>qrm</b>	<i>qarm</i> - <i>qarma</i> - <i>qarmin</i> (ADJ) “silent, quiet”
<b>qrε</b>	<i>taqurraet</i> - <i>tiqurraein</i> “bulb” <i>taqurraet n tiskert</i> “a garlicbulb”

<b>qrɛ</b>	<i>qarɛa</i> “pumpkin”
<b>qrθ</b>	<i>qurraθ</i> “booklet”
<b>qʃ</b>	<i>lqiʃʃa</i> “story”
<b>qʃm</b>	<i>meqʃumin</i> (p) “seperated, divided”
<b>qtɛ</b>	<i>qtaɛ</i> (P) “cut off” <i>mqaɛɛin</i> (p) “being cut off”
<b>qɛ</b>	<i>lqaɛaθ</i> “event”
<b>qɛd</b>	<i>qaɛida</i> “custom”
<b>R</b>	
<b>r</b>	<i>ara</i> “give”
<b>r</b>	<i>ara ura ttara</i> “write”
<b>r</b>	<i>ra</i> (FUT) “will, shall”
<b>r</b>	<i>rri rri rraz</i> “vomit, inhale, return”
<b>rb</b>	<i>tarbat - tirbatan</i> “(unmarried) girl”
<b>rbɰ</b>	<i>rrbaɰ</i> “profit”
<b>rbm</b>	<i>rubbama</i> “perhaps”
<b>rbɛ</b>	<i>rrbiɛ</i> “spring, grass”
<b>rd</b>	<i>irden</i> (coll) “wheat”
<b>rɖ</b>	<i>raɖiu</i> “radio”
<b>rg</b>	<i>targa - tiruggan</i> “irrigation canal”
<b>rg<sup>j</sup>z</b>	<i>arg<sup>j</sup>az (urg<sup>j</sup>az) - irg<sup>j</sup>azen</i> “man”
<b>rɰ</b>	<i>rɰa - lerɰi</i> “mill”
<b>rɰ</b>	<i>rriɰa</i> “perfume”
<b>rɰ</b>	<i>rriyaɖ</i> “garden”
<b>rɰb</b>	<i>tarɰabt</i> “earth, ground”
<b>rk</b>	<i>rka</i> (STAT) “be rotten”
<b>rks</b>	<i>rkas</i> “glass”
<b>rkyt</b>	<i>rkayit</i> “paper” (BM)
<b>rml</b>	<i>rrmel</i> “sand”
<b>rnb</b>	<i>arnab</i> “rabbit”
<b>rq</b>	<i>rqiwaq - rqiqa - rqiqin</i> (ADJ) “slim”
<b>rʃq</b>	<i>rʃeq rʃeq reʃʃeq</i> “split”

<b>rṭb</b>	<i>rrṭab</i> “smooth”
<b>rwḥ</b>	<i>arwaḥ</i> “wind”
<b>ryḍ</b>	<i>rriyaḍa</i> “sports”
<b>ryq</b>	<i>ariyaq</i> “breakfast”
<b>rẓn</b>	<i>irezẓanen</i> “hornets”
<b>S</b>	
<b>s</b>	<i>tasa/tasat - uxfat</i> “cow”
<b>s</b>	<i>-as/as-</i> (3sm/IO) “him”
<b>s</b>	<i>-as/as-</i> (3sf/IO) “her”
<b>s</b>	<i>-s</i> (3sm/PRP) “him”
<b>s</b>	<i>-s</i> (3sf/PRP) “her”
<b>s</b>	<i>-s</i> (3sm/ADN) “his”
<b>s</b>	<i>-s</i> (3sf/ADN) “her”
<b>s</b>	<i>s</i> (INSPR) “with,
<b>sbḥ</b>	<i>ssbaḥ</i> “morning”
<b>sbē</b>	<i>ssbaē</i> “lion”
<b>sbē</b>	<i>usbue</i> “week”
<b>sf</b>	<i>asif (wasif) - isaffen</i> “river” <i>tasift</i> (dim) “small river”
<b>sf</b>	<i>tasaft</i> “chestnut tree”
<b>sgm</b>	<i>sagʿem sagʿem tsagʿam</i> “wait, await”
<b>sgn</b>	<i>asegnu</i> “fog”
<b>sk</b>	<i>asekkaw (usekkaw) - isekkawen</i> “horn”
<b>skn</b>	<i>sken isken</i> (AR) “live, reside”
<b>skr</b>	<i>sker sker skar</i> “do, make”
<b>skr</b>	<i>taskkʷurt - tiskkʷuran</i> “partridge”
<b>skr</b>	<i>tiskert (tiskert, coll)</i> “garlic”
<b>skr</b>	<i>tisukran</i> “calves”
<b>skt</b>	<i>sakit - sakta - saktin</i> “quiet, silent”
<b>sl</b>	<i>sell sell tesla</i> “listen”
<b>sl</b>	<i>asli (usla) - islan</i> “groom” <i>taslat - tislatan</i> “bride”

<b>slf</b>	<i>aslif</i> “brother in law”
<b>slm</b>	<i>sellum</i> “ladder”
<b>sm</b>	<i>susem sasem tsusum</i> “listen”
<b>sm</b>	<i>lism/ism</i> “name”
<b>smḥ</b>	<i>smeḥ</i> (P) “leave behind, leave (in the lurch)”
<b>smn</b>	<i>smin</i> (STAT) “be fat” <i>smana/smina</i> “fat”
<b>smn</b>	<i>ssimana</i> “week”
<b>sn</b>	<i>asan (usan) - isanen</i> “tooth”
<b>sn</b>	<i>isennanen</i> “spines”
<b>sn</b>	<i>snin</i> “years”
<b>sn</b>	<i>ssen ssen ssen</i> “know”
<b>sn</b>	<i>-asen/asen-</i> (3p/IO) “with them, to them”
<b>sn</b>	<i>-sen</i> (3p/PREP) “them”
<b>snbr</b>	<i>tasnubart</i> “stone pine”
<b>snd</b>	<i>tasendut - tiserdutan</i> “butter”
<b>sq</b>	<i>ssuq</i> “market”
<b>sqf</b>	<i>sqef</i> “roof”
<b>sr</b>	<i>sarir</i> “bed”
<b>sr</b>	<i>sir</i> “after” <i>sir şşala</i> “after prayer” <i>fsyir l leeša</i> “after dinner”
<b>srđn</b>	<i>aserdun (userdun) - iserdunen</i> “mule” <i>taserdunt - tiserdunan</i> “female mule” <i>asriden - isridenen</i> (dim) “little mule”
<b>sržm</b>	<i>saržem</i> “window”
<b>sry</b>	<i>sruy sray sruy</i> “light, burn”
<b>st</b>	<i>ssuṭ ssaṭ tsuṭ</i> “blow”
<b>sw</b>	<i>su su~a sessu</i> “drink”
<b>swl</b>	<i>siwel sawel tsawal</i> “talk, speak”
<b>swn</b>	<i>siwana</i> “crow”
<b>syb</b>	<i>siyyeb siyyeb tsiyyab</i> “throw”
<b>syd</b>	<i>ssiyyed</i> “mister, person”

<b>sɛ</b>	<i>ssaɛa</i> - <i>ssaɛaθ</i> “hour”
<b>sɛ</b>	<i>saeasaɛa</i> “sometimes” (BM)
<b>Ş</b>	
<b>ş</b>	<i>işşad</i> (IMP-AR) “hunt”
<b>şbn</b>	<i>şebben şebben tşebban</i> “wash”
<b>şbr</b>	<i>şbar işbar</i> (AR) “be patient”
<b>şbt</b>	<i>aşebbaţ (uşebbaţ, un)</i> - <i>işebbaţen/şbabeţ şebbaţ</i> (coll) “shoe”
<b>şdɛ</b>	<i>tşeddaɛ</i> (I) “make noise” <i>şşdaɛ</i> “noise”
<b>şf</b>	<i>şşif</i> “summer”
<b>şf</b>	<i>şafî</i> “that’s it”
<b>şfr</b>	<i>şfer</i> - <i>şefra</i> (f) (ADJ) “yellow”
<b>şh</b>	<i>şşahîh</i> “correct, right”
<b>şlt</b>	<i>şşulţan</i> “king”
<b>şm</b>	<i>tişmat</i> “cold”
<b>şqş</b>	<i>şeqşa şeqşa tşeqşa</i> “ask”
<b>şwr</b>	<i>leşwar</i> “walls”
<b>şwr</b>	<i>şuwwer şuwwer tşuwwar</i> “draw”
<b>Š</b>	
<b>š</b>	<i>ši</i> “some”
<b>š</b>	<i>šš šš~a tett</i> “eat”
<b>š</b>	<i>ša</i> (FUT) “will, shall”
<b>šb</b>	<i>tšaba</i> (I) “resemble”
<b>šbç</b>	<i>ššebbaç</i> “window”
<b>šbr</b>	<i>šebbar šebbar tšebbar</i> “grab, hold”
<b>šd</b>	<i>šedd šedd tšedda</i> “tie”
<b>šhl</b>	<i>šhal</i> “how much”
<b>šhr</b>	<i>ššhar</i> “month”
<b>šhθ</b>	<i>ššeħθa</i> “fatless”
<b>šk</b>	<i>škun~ška</i> “who”
<b>šlh</b>	<i>ššelħa</i> “Berber language”
<b>šm</b>	<i>šemmm šemm tšemma</i> “smell”

<b>šmr</b>	<i>šmorra</i> (coll) “fig”
<b>šmɛ</b>	<i>šemɛa</i> “candle”
<b>šmθ</b>	<i>šmeθ šmeθ</i> “trick, cheat”
<b>šn</b>	<i>šennu</i> “what”
<b>šnkf</b>	<i>ašnekkaf (ušnekkaf) - išnekkafen</i> “hedgehog”
<b>šqr</b>	<i>ašaqr (ušaqr) - išuqar</i> “axe” <i>tašaqrut</i> (dim) “little axe”
<b>št</b>	<i>šta</i> “winter”
<b>štl̩t</b>	<i>šatalut</i> “bunch” <i>šatalut n tiskert</i> “bunch of garlics”
<b>šw</b>	<i>šwa</i> “what”
<b>šwy</b>	<i>šwiya</i> “little, bit”
<b>šyt̩</b>	<i>šiyatahen</i> “leftovers”
<b>šɣl</b>	<i>šɣel</i> “work” (BM)
<b>šɛr</b>	<i>ššɛar</i> “hair, fur”
<b>šθw</b>	<i>šeθwa</i> “winter”

## T

<b>t</b>	<i>-t/t-</i> (3sf/DO) “her”
<b>tʃh</b>	<i>tteffaht</i> (un) - <i>tteffaħan tteffaħ</i> (coll) “apple”
<b>tg<sup>j</sup>m</b>	<i>atg<sup>j</sup>am (watg<sup>j</sup>am)</i> “yesterday, the day before”
<b>tl̩t</b>	<i>talit</i> “third”
<b>tmr</b>	<i>ttmar</i> (coll) “dates”
<b>tn</b>	<i>tani - tanya</i> (f) (ADJ) “second”
<b>tn̩t̩ɛ</b>	<i>taṇtalie</i> “pumpkin” (BM)
<b>tql</b>	<i>tqil - tqila</i> (f) (ADJ) “heavy”
<b>tr</b>	<i>ttru ttru ttru</i> “weep, cry”
<b>trx</b>	<i>ttarix</i> “history”
<b>tšw</b>	<i>itšawtšawen</i> “birds”
<b>txm</b>	<i>txemmem</i> (I) “think”
<b>tyt</b>	<i>tayt (tayt)</i> “shoulder”
<b>tɛžb</b>	<i>taɛžeb taɛžeb tɛžžab</i> “befall”

## T̩

<b>ṭ</b>	<i>tiṭṭ - tiṭṭawan</i> “eye”
<b>ṭbl</b>	<i>ṭabla</i> “table”
<b>ṭḍ</b>	<i>aṭuḍ - iṭuḍan</i> “finger”
<b>ṭhr</b>	<i>ṭhar</i> “back”
<b>ṭl</b>	<i>aṭil (waṭil, coll)</i> “grapes”
<b>ṭl</b>	<i>ṭella</i> “watch”
<b>ṭlh</b>	<i>aṭelliḥ - iṭelliḥan</i> “forehead” <i>taṭelliḥt - tiṭelliḥan</i> “forehead”
<b>ṭlq</b>	<i>ṭlaqa iṭlaqa (AR)</i> “meet, meet each other”
<b>ṭmbl</b>	<i>ṭumubil</i> “car”
<b>ṭmṭš</b>	<i>ṭumaṭiš (coll)</i> “tomatoes”
<b>ṭq</b>	<i>ṭṭaq</i> “niche”
<b>ṭr</b>	<i>aṭar (uṭar) - iṭaren</i> “leg” <i>ṭamṣuṭ n uṭar</i> “foot”
<b>ṭs</b>	<i>ṭṭes ṭṭes teṭṭes</i> “sleep”
<b>ṭwl</b>	<i>ṭwil</i> “tall”
<b>ṭxrf</b>	<i>ṭxarf (coll)</i> “fruit”
<b>ṭy</b>	<i>ṭayṭay</i> “mushroom” (BM)
<b>ṭyfr</b>	<i>ṭayfur</i> “table”
<b>Θ</b>	
<b>θ</b>	<i>-θ/θ-</i> (3sm/DO) “him”
<b>θbn</b>	<i>aθebban - iθebbina</i> “a pair of pants”
<b>θn</b>	<i>-ten/ten-</i> (3p/DO) “them”
<b>U</b>	
<b>u</b>	<i>u/wa</i> “and”
<b>W</b>	
<b>w</b>	<i>wa</i> “well, although”
<b>wfl</b>	<i>tawfalt - tiwfalan</i> “egg”
<b>wl</b>	<i>wella</i> “or”
<b>wl</b>	<i>walu</i> “nothing”
<b>wlkn</b>	<i>walakin</i> “but”



<b>wn</b>	<i>wani - tani - wini</i> (DISD) “that, those”
<b>wn</b>	<i>-wen/wn-</i> (2p/DO) “you (p.)”
<b>wn</b>	<i>-awen/awen-</i> (2p/IO) “for you (p.)”
<b>wn</b>	<i>-un</i> (2p/PREP) “you (p.)”
<b>wrg</b>	<i>werg werg targa</i> “dream” <i>targa</i> “dream”
<b>wrz</b>	<i>awriz - iwerzen</i> “heel”
<b>wš</b>	<i>waš</i> “whether”
<b>wx</b>	<i>waxxa</i> “all right, yes”
<b>wyṭ</b>	<i>wayeṭ - tayeṭ - wiyeṭ</i> “other”
<b>wθ</b>	<i>wweθ wθa tkaθa</i> “hit, strike”
<b>X</b>	
<b>x</b>	<i>ax</i> “brother, friend”
<b>x</b>	<i>xf/xaf-</i> (IMPR) “on, about”
<b>xdm</b>	<i>xdem xdem xeddem</i> “work”
<b>xdm</b>	<i>xeddam ixeddam</i> (AR) “work”
<b>xδn</b>	<i>taxadent - tixaθuman</i> “ring”
<b>xḍr</b>	<i>xḍer</i> “green”
<b>xḍr</b>	<i>xuḍar/xuḍra</i> “vegetables”
<b>xlq</b>	<i>xleq xleq xleq</i> “be born”
<b>xls</b>	<i>xelles</i> (P) “pay”
<b>xlt</b>	<i>xalti</i> “maternal aunt”
<b>xnfr</b>	<i>taxenfurt - tixenfuran/xnafer</i> “nose”
<b>xr</b>	<i>ittaxer</i> (IMP-AR) “be last, end last” <i>laxri - laxriya - laxriyin</i> (ADJ) “last”
<b>xrb</b>	<i>xarebbi</i> “many”
<b>xrf</b>	<i>taxuraft - tixurafan</i> “riddle”
<b>xrf</b>	<i>xrif</i> “autumn”
<b>xrž</b>	<i>ixerrež</i> (IMP-AR) “get out, let out”
<b>xs</b>	<i>xess xess xess</i> “need, must, have, want”
<b>xwf</b>	<i>xawfan</i> “afraid”
<b>xym</b>	<i>axeyyam (uxeyyam) - ixeyyamen</i> “house”

<b>xyt</b>	<i>xiyyet xiyyet txiyyat</i> “sew”
<b>Y</b>	
<b>y</b>	-y/y- (1s/DO) “me”
<b>y</b>	-ay/ay- (2s/IO) “for me”
<b>yd</b>	<i>ayda - itan/wida</i> “dog” (BM) <i>taydat</i> “bitch” (BM)
<b>yh</b>	<i>yih</i> “indeed”
<b>ym</b>	<i>ayyamaθ/l’ayyam</i> “days”
<b>ym</b>	<i>yemma</i> “mother”
<b>yn</b>	<i>yan/yat</i> (f) “one”
<b>yn</b>	<i>tuyyent - iwiyyen</i> “tree” (BM)
<b>yr</b>	<i>lyara</i> “reed”
<b>ywr</b>	<i>aywer</i> “moon”
<b>Z</b>	
<b>z</b>	<i>izi - izan</i> “fly” <i>tizit (tizit) - tizit</i> “mosquito”
<b>zd</b>	<i>zid</i> (HOR) “come one”
<b>zđ</b>	<i>zdu</i> “under, beneath”
<b>zg</b>	<i>zg zga-</i> (ABLPR) “from, of”
<b>zg</b>	<i>tazga - tizuggan</i> “forrest”
<b>zgy</b>	<i>azegg<sup>w</sup>ay</i> “red”
<b>zlq</b>	<i>izleq</i> (IMP-AR) “slip”
<b>zr</b>	<i>tazart</i> (coll) “fig” <i>tazart</i> “figtree”
<b>zrf</b>	<i>azref - izerfan/izrifen</i> “road, path”
<b>zryml</b>	<i>azeryammel (uzeryammel) - izeryamlin</i> “centipede”
<b>zw</b>	<i>tazizwa - tizizwa</i> “bee”
<b>zy</b>	<i>tazuyl</i> “milk”
<b>zyl</b>	<i>tazyult - tiwzyal/tizyal/tuzyal</i> “spoon”
<b>zem</b>	<i>zeema</i> “supposedly, meaning, as”
<b>Z</b>	

<b>zl</b>	<i>tazellit/azellit - iżellitan</i> “tail”
<b>zl</b>	<i>zall zull tżalla</i> “pray”
<b>zr</b>	<i>azru - iżran</i> “stone” <i>tazrut</i> “stone”
<b>zr</b>	<i>azar (użar) - iżuran</i> “treeroot”
<b>zr</b>	<i>zar zar twala</i> “see”
<b>zrq</b>	<i>zreq</i> “blue”
<b>zyr</b>	<i>ziyyar ziyyar tziyyar</i> “tighten”
<b>zyr</b>	<i>zuγγur</i> (I) “pull”
<b>Ž</b>	
<b>žd</b>	<i>žeddi</i> “grandfather”
<b>žd</b>	<i>ždid</i> “new”
<b>žlb</b>	<i>želban</i> “greenpeas”
<b>žld</b>	<i>lželd/želd/lželdeθ</i> “skin, leather”
<b>žmε</b>	<i>žmaε</i> (P) “gather”
<b>žr</b>	<i>ažar - ižaren</i> “neighbours”
<b>žwb</b>	<i>žawb</i> (P) “answer”
<b>žwb</b>	<i>lžawb</i> “answer”
<b>Σ</b>	
<b>ε</b>	<i>εa</i> (ALPR) “on, at” <i>εa wʔalie</i> “above”
<b>εd</b>	<i>leud</i> “wood”
<b>εd</b>	<i>eid</i> “festival” <i>eid imuqqren</i> “greater eid festival” <i>eid imezgin</i> “smaller eid festival”
<b>εds</b>	<i>taεeddist</i> “belly” <i>aεeddis</i> (aug) “big belly”
<b>εf</b>	<i>leafya - leafya</i> “fire”
<b>εks</b>	<i>εeks</i> “contrary”
<b>εl</b>	<i>εalli εella</i> “go up”
<b>εl</b>	<i>εla</i> “on”
<b>εlm</b>	<i>εellem εellem tεellam</i> “learn”

<b>elš</b>	<i>elalluš (uelalluš) - ielullaš</i> “butterfly”
<b>em</b>	<i>leam/eam</i> “year” <i>eamayen</i> “two years”
<b>em</b>	<i>eammi</i> “paternal uncle” <i>eamti - eamtiwaθ</i> “paternal aunt”
<b>em</b>	<i>ema</i> (STAT) “be blind”
<b>em</b>	<i>eumm</i> (A) <i>teumm</i> (I) “swim”
<b>emr</b>	<i>omr - ma</i> “never”
<b>es</b>	<i>leiš</i> “life”
<b>esb</b>	<i>esub</i> “grass”
<b>ewd</b>	<i>leawda - leawdeθ</i> “horse”
<b>ewd</b>	<i>ewed</i> “again”
<b>ewδ</b>	<i>ewed ewed tewad</i> “report”
<b>ey</b>	<i>eyya - eyyaθ - eyyaθ/eyyaw</i> (ADJ) “tired” <i>eyya - eyyana - eyyanin</i> (ADJ) “tired”
<b>eyl</b>	<i>æeyyal - ieyyalen</i> “boy” <i>taeyyalt - tiyyalan</i> “girls” <i>leewawel</i> “children” <i>leayla/lea’ila</i> “family”
<b>eyn</b>	<i>teayan</i> (I) “wait, await”
<b>eyr</b>	<i>eyar eyar teyar</i> “play”
<b>ez</b>	<i>leeziza</i> “grandmother”
<b>ezr</b>	<i>ezri</i> “bachelor”

## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>A</b>	aoist
<b>ABLPR</b>	ablative preposition
<b>ADJ</b>	adjective
<b>ADN</b>	adnominal suffix
<b>ALPR</b>	allative preposition
<b>ANAPH</b>	anaphoric deixis
<b>AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic
<b>aug</b>	augmentative
<b>BM</b>	Bni Menşur
<b>C</b>	consonant
<b>Ĉ</b>	geminate consonant
<b>CAUS</b>	causative
<b>coll</b>	collective noun
<b>COMPR</b>	comitative preposition
<b>COPR</b>	coordinative preposition
<b>DATPR</b>	dative preposition
<b>dim</b>	diminutive
<b>DISD</b>	distal deixis
<b>DO</b>	direct object
<b>DO-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic direct object (accusative pronoun)
<b>EA</b>	état d'annexion
<b>EL</b>	état libre
<b>f</b>	feminine
<b>FOC</b>	focalisation
<b>FUT</b>	future
<b>GENPR</b>	genitive preposition
<b>HITH</b>	hither
<b>HOR</b>	hortative
<b>I</b>	intensive

<b>IMP</b>	imperative
<b>IMP-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic imperfective
<b>IMPR</b>	implicative preposition
<b>INDEF</b>	indefinite article
<b>INP</b>	intensive particle
<b>INP-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic intensive particle
<b>INSPR</b>	instrumental preposition
<b>IO</b>	indirect object
<b>IO-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic indirect object (dative pronoun)
<b>LOCPR</b>	locative preposition
<b>m</b>	masculine
<b>MA</b>	Moroccan Arabic
<b>MSA</b>	Modern Standard Arabic
<b>NEG</b>	negative
<b>ONOM</b>	onomatopoeic
<b>P</b>	preterite
<b>p</b>	plural
<b>PLN</b>	place name
<b>PNN</b>	personal name
<b>POSS</b>	possessive pronoun
<b>POSS-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic possessive pronoun (genitive pronoun)
<b>PP</b>	prepositional phrase
<b>PRD</b>	proximal deixis
<b>PREP</b>	prepositional suffix
<b>PREP-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic prepositional suffix
<b>PRF-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic perfective
<b>PRO</b>	independent pronoun
<b>PRO-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic independent pronoun
<b>PROS</b>	prospective
<b>PSP</b>	past particle
<b>PTC</b>	participle

<b>PTC-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic participle
<b>RCP</b>	reciprocal pronoun
<b>RELD</b>	relative deixis
<b>RELD-AR</b>	Moroccan Arabic relative deixis
<b>RLV</b>	relativizer
<b>s</b>	singular
<b>STAT</b>	Stative
<b>un</b>	unit noun
<b>V</b>	vowel
<b>VOC</b>	vocative
<b>x-</b>	preverbal clitic/proclitic
<b>-x</b>	postverbal clitic/enclitic
<b>x-...</b>	prefix
<b>...-x</b>	suffix
<b>...-x-...</b>	infix
<b>x-...-x</b>	circumfix
<b>∅</b>	zero

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