

## 5. Lexical analysis and language contact

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### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to identify the typical lexical characteristics of the three known varieties of Shilha which include Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen.

This lexical analysis is sub-divided into two main groups which are: (i) lexical analysis based on non-native Arabic lexemes; and (ii) lexical analysis based on word borrowings. In the first group, all three Shilha varieties are compared with Kabyle and Tamazight in order to find the degree of lexical affinity among the Shilha vernaculars. In the second group, the analysis aims to find the degree of lexical borrowing in Shilha.

When using the terms ‘agree’ or ‘lexical affinity’ when comparing Berber languages or dialects, it is important to clarify that ‘similar’ words are those exhibiting morphological affinities. Phonological and semantic discrepancies are not the main measuring tools in the comparison. There are no two words across the Berber language that are identical in phonology and morphology as there would still be a room for variations, as illustrated by Basset (1952:44):

*Mais nous savons déjà que si nous ne négléons rien, variations phonétiques, morphologiques, sémantiques, il n'est pas un mot qui se retrouve identique de bout en bout de la Berbérie.*

All lexical entries are grouped into semantic spheres in order to “give valuable support for historical inferences even when no other documentation is available” (Antilla 1972:163).

Studies on Berber lexis and the contact of Berber with Arabic are developing slowly

in the arena of Berber linguistics; as it is only logical to place initial emphasis on the description of Berber languages before considering the analysis of its lexis. On the subject of Berber literature in this field, suffice to mention the works of R. Basset (1883), Basset (1952), Chtatou (1997) and Taifi (1997). Chtatou's (1997) study of the Berber influence on Moroccan Arabic parallels in several ways the influence of Berber on Tunisian Arabic (Cf. § 5.6.8).

The comparison of Shilhā with Kabyle and Tamazight reveals some lexical discrepancy. This is due partially to the outcome of the numerous lexical borrowings from Tunisian Arabic.

The presence of the Arabic element in other Berber languages such as Kabyle and Tamazight is mentioned by Kaufman (1974), Dallet (1982) and Taifi (1991, 1997) whose results may be outlined as follows:

First, the comparison of Kabyle with Tamazight shows that these two languages share around 1510 common roots which does not entail that these two vernaculars share the same lexemes in both form and meaning (Taifi 1991:III).

Second, there are around 1260 shared roots between Arabic and Tamazight (Kaufman 1974:16).

Third, in Dallet's (1982) dictionary there are 1560 roots of Arabic origin out of 6000 roots (Taifi 1997:63).

Fourth, the Tuareg language is the least affected by Arabic (Cf. Taifi 1997:63).

Based on the paucity of the available data (approximately 1,500 lexis) on the three vernaculars of Berber in Tunisia, the present chapter tentatively discusses the phenomenon of lexical discrepancies among these dialects. The percentages provided in this chapter may compromise validity and reliability, nonetheless these may give a general outlook of how the three vernaculars of Douiret, Chninni and Ouirighen differ from other Berber 'languages' such as Kabyle and Tamazight. The lexical data on

Moroccan and Algerian Arabic is based on the following dictionaries: Lentin (1959) and Sobleman (1964, 1966).

## 5.2 Loanwords: Findings and problems

Probably one of the most expected outcomes of languages in contact is the phenomenon of loanwords. Various studies on the nature of loanwords in situations where dominant and minority languages co-exist have discovered some ‘universal’ outcomes, some of which can be outlined below: <sup>1</sup>

- a. The minority language is the main receiver of loanwords in sociolinguistic situations where prestige is associated with using the dominant language. Cf. Weinreich (1979:59); Trudgill (1983:27).
- b. Particular semantic fields are generally more vulnerable to borrowing, such as lexemes denoting religious, technological and abstract meanings (cf. Sadiqi 1997:248). Accordingly, these loanwords are in effect needed because of the inadequacy of vocabulary
- c. The form and meaning of many functional words such as prepositions and relative pronouns are preserved. This may be due to the non-congruent system of Berber with Arabic and may be the result of a conflict between the two systems (Weinreich 1979:65).

The identification of a loanword is generally easy to detect. However, to conjure up a certain etymology of a word can be a difficult process, as Kaufman asserts “one of the most perplexing aspects of the study of loanwords is the determination of the cause of borrowing of a given word” (Kaufman 1974:16).

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<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that the genetic similarities between Arabic and Berber play an additional and important factor in the phenomenon of loanwords.

Needless to say, words are borrowed in order to fill in lexical gaps, such as religious terms in the case of Shilha and Arabic. However, the process of borrowing is not easily identifiable. Words can be borrowed even when there is already a Berber substitute for it. For instance, in Chninni the words *tawqidit* ‘match box’; *el-bħar* ‘sea’; *el-baqrat* ‘cow’ have replaced the Berber words *tašlut*, *anili* (cf. Aj. *ilil* ‘sea’) and *tafunast* respectively.<sup>2</sup> and the Arabic word *ħhab* ‘gold’ has replaced the word *uraŷ* which survives in Ouirighen and in other Berber languages.<sup>3</sup> The reason behind this tremendous infiltration may be explained in socio-cultural terms, such as the associated prestige of using the language of the superstratum.

Furthermore, loanwords are used at times for stylistic reasons or for the desire to capture the cultural essence of a particular word.<sup>4</sup>

The term ‘loanword’ is not interchangeable with ‘foreign word’. According to Kaufman “when a speaker of one language first uses a word of another language he usually uses it as a foreign word. As the word spreads throughout the language community and in the course of time, it soon loses its foreign connotations and often becomes totally integrated into the borrowing language” (Kaufman 1974:18).

Once loanwords are identified, their etymology is not easily established. The main difficulty lies not solely in finding the “ultimate origin” of a particular word but rather

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<sup>2</sup> Taifi (1997: 67) made similar remarks concerning Tamazight by stating that: “*Les emprunts arabes ont dépassé le stade d’un simple enrichissement lexical, ils se sont infiltrés dans des domaines sémantiques traditionnels et dans le vocabulaire commun, concurrençant de plus en plus les mots berbères.*”

<sup>3</sup> An analysis of earlier Berber texts (particularly Motylinski (1897) suggests many additional examples of native Berber words on the island of Jerba that may have been lost. To name a few: *tamesniou* ‘science knowledge’; *eml* ‘to show’; *tesestoun* ‘interrogate’; *tafaska* ‘festival, celebration’.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, the word *intifada* which has infiltrated into the English language not because of lack of equivalence in English, as it can easily be replaced with the word ‘uprising’, but generally a journalist favours the use of this word because it is laden with cultural hints and historical events that shaped in this case the unrest in the Middle East.

the “direction”, “process” and “spread” from one language to another (Kaufman 1974:18).

### 5.3 Non-Arabic Words (i.e. neither Classical Arabic nor Tunisian Arabic)

#### 5.3.1 Full Agreement of all three vernaculars

The lexical affinities among the five vernaculars with the exclusion of all loanwords has approximately a percentage agreement of 6.49% as shown in Table 5.1 below. This may be the outcome of the heavy borrowing from Tunisian Arabic.

Table 5.1: Agreement Among All Vernaculars (Total Corpus 1,470 words)

	Number of words that agree	Total percentage agreement
Nouns	53	6.49%
Adjectives	8	
Verbs	22	
Adverbs	8	
Prepositions	3	
Conjunctions	2	

As Table 5.1 shows, all three Shilhā vernaculars have more affinities in noun and verb categories, with 53 and 22 lexemes respectively. It is not surprising to note that these Shilhā vernaculars share the least affinities in the preposition and conjunction categories because Shilhā seems to resist borrowing terms these from Arabic.

**Nouns**<sup>5</sup>

## TIME

- (1) 'day' [TA. *nhār*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *assu*, Kab. *yibbass*, Tam. *ass*.  
 (2) 'afternoon' [TA. *ṣṣiyya*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tamaddit*, Kab. *tameddīt*, Tam. *tameddīt*.

## ELEMENTS

- (3) 'sky' [TA. *sme*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. Aj. *ažinna*, Kab. *iženni*, Tam. *aženna*.  
 (4) 'sun' [TA. *šems*] Chn. Chn. Ouir. *tufwit*, Kab. *tafukt*, Tam. *taffu*.  
 (5) 'moon' [TA. *qmar*] Chn. Dou. Ouir. *tezrilli*, Kab. *aggur*, *tiziri* 'moonlight'.  
 Tam. *taziri*.  
 (6) 'star' [TA. *nižma*] Chn. Dou. *itri*, Ouir. *iθ ri*, Kab. *itri*, Tam. *itri*.  
 (7) 'water' [TA. *mē*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *aman*, Kab. *aman*, Tam. *aman*.  
 (8) 'hail'. [TA. *tebrūri*] Chn. Dou. Ouir. *tabruri*, Kab. *abruri*. Tam. *ttebrury*.  
 (9) 'stone' [TA. *ħažra*] Chn. Dou. *tγa γat*. Ouir. *taǧγa γt*. Kab. *adγa γ*, Tam. *adγa γ*.  
 (10) 'iron' [TA. *ħdīd*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *uzzal*, Kab. *uzzal*, Tam. *uzzal*.

## WORLD

- (11) 'earth' [TA. *arǧ*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tammurt*, Kab. *lberr*, *tamurt*, Tam. *lberr*, *tamurt*.

## World

- (12) 'river' [TA. *wēd*] Dou. Chn. *suf*, Ouir. *wad*, Kab. *asif*, Tam. *asif*.

## Vegetation

- (13) 'palm tree' [TA. *naxla*] Dou. *tazdirt*, Chn. *tazday*, Ouir. *tagla*, Kab. *tazdayt*.

The loss of /y/ in Douiret is compensated by the addition of /r/.

## Vegetables

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<sup>5</sup> As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, this word list is based on Dr Geoffrey Hull's word list. Dr Geoffrey Hull, a general linguist, devised this word list for a course in Arabic dialectology at the University of Western Sydney, Macarthur (Sydney, Australia). For additional lexical data on Maltese, the dictionary by Bugeja (1988) is used.

(14) 'garlic' [TA. *θ ewm*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tašširt*, Kab. *tiššert*, *bibrāṣ*, Tam. (?).

## PEOPLE

(15) 'woman' [TA. *mra*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tamattut* Aj. *tamaṭtoθ* (R.Basset 1883:311) Kab. *tamattot*, Tam. *tamettut*.

(16) 'girl' [TA. *tofla*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tafruxt*, Aj. *tameškant* (R.Basset 1883:311), Kab. *tafruxt*, Tam. *tafruxt*.

(17) 'sister' [TA. *uxt*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *wiltma*. Kab. *weltma*, Tam. (?)

(18) 'son' [TA. *wild*] Dou. Chn. *mimmi*, Ouir. *mimmes*, Kab. *emmi/ mimmi*.

(19) 'Jew' [TA. *yehūdi*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *uday, uday, uda*, Kab. *uday*, Tam. *uday*. Also in Shl. *uday*. When these are compared with Cl.Ar. *hūd*, it reveals that the Proto-Berber language may have dropped the /h/ at any stage of its development.

## ANIMALS

(20) 'bull' [TA. *ḩāṣi*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *afunas*, Kab. *afunas*, Tam. *afunas*.

(21) 'cow' [TA. *bagra*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tafunast*, Kab., *tafunast*, Tam. *tafunast*

(22) 'dog' [TA. *kelb*] Dou. Chn. *aydi*, Ouir. *ayiddi*, Aj. *aydi*, *a ḩzim* 'small dog' (R. Basset 1883:310), Kab. *aydi*, Tam. *iydi*.

(23) 'camel' [TA. *žmel*] Dou. Chn. *alḩam*, Ouir., *alḩum*, Kab. *al ḩem*, Tam. *al ḩem*. In Tashelhit of Sous, the generic term for 'camel' is *arām*. Other types of camels are: *abžu* 'a good camel used for running' and *aḩšāri* 'excellent walking camel, covers a distance of seven stages in ten days' (Destaing 1940:20). The word *aḩšari* is of Arabic origin denoting 'ten'.

- (24) 'hen' [TA. *džeže*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tiyazid*, Kab. *tayaziṭ*, Tam. (?)
- (25) 'rooster' [TA. *serdūk*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *iyazid*, Kab. *ayazid*, Tam.(?).
- (26) 'crow' [TA. *tōto*] Chn. Dou. *žarfīw*, Ouir. *žarfit*, Kab. *tagerfa*, Tam. *agerfiw*.
- (27) 'fly' [TA. *ḍibbēna*] Chn. Dou. Ouir. *izi*, Kab. *izi*, Tam. *izi*.
- (28) 'scorpion' [TA. *ṣaqrab*] Chn. Dou. Ouir. *taṣardimt*, Kab. *iṣirdem*, Tam. *tiṣirdemt*.
- (29) 'louse' [TA. *qamla*] Dou. Chn. *tilšit*, Ouir. *tiššit*. Kab. *tillišt/tilkit*, Tam. *tililišt*.

## FOOD

- (30) 'food' [TA. *mēkla*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *atša*, Kab. *lmakla*, *utši*, Tam. *makla,utši*.
- (31) 'egg' [TA. *ṣazma*] Chn. *tazluqquṭ* Dou. *tazluqquṭ*, Ouir. *tazluqquṭ*, Kab. *ašelleqluq*.
- (32) 'meat' [TA. *lhem*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *aysum*, Kab. *šuššu*, *aksum*. Cp. Siwa *acksum* 'fennel'.
- (33) 'honey' [TA. *ṣsel*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tamamt*, Kab. *tamemt*, Tam. *tammemt*.
- (34) 'couscous' [TA. *kusksi*] Chn. Dou. Ouir. *barkukiš*, Kab. *berkukes*, Tam. *berkukeš*.

## BODY

- (35) 'head' [TA. *rās*] Dou. *iṣaf*, Chn. *ixf* Ouir. *iṣaf*, Kab. *ixef*, Tam. *ixf*.
- (36) 'eye' [TA. *ṣeyn*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tiṭ*, Kab. *tiṭ*, Tam. *tiṭṭ* < *tiḍt*.
- (37) 'mouth' [TA. *fum*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *imi*, Kab. *imi*, Tam. *imi*.
- (38) 'tongue' [TA. *lsēn*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *ilis*, Kab. *iles*, Tam. *ils*.
- (39) 'hand' [TA. *yidd*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *afus*, Kab. *afus*, Tam. *afus*.



- (40) 'finger' [TA. *šboḥ*] Dou. *žad*, Chn. *zaz*, Ouir. *addaz*, Kab. *aḍad*, Tam. *aḍad* < *adaḍ*.
- (41) 'fingernail' [TA. *zfar* ] Chn. *iššir*. Dou. *yiššir*. Ouir. *aššar*, Kab. *iššer*, Tam. *tiššert* < *tiskert* .
- (42) 'foot' [TA. *sāq*] Dou. Chn. *dar*. Ouir. *iddar*, Kab. *aḍar*, Tam. *aḍar*.
- (43) 'navel' [TA. *sorra*] Dou. Chn. *ṭmiṭ*, Ouir. *ṭimmiṭ*, Kab. *ṭmiṭ/imid*, Tam. *ṭimiṭṭ/timiḍt*.
- (44) 'toe' [TA. *sboḥ mtaḥ essāq*] Dou. Chn. *tifidnit*, Ouir. *tufdint*, Kab. *ifden*, *ifdent*, Tam. *tifdent* (*ifden* 'gros orteil' ).
- (45) 'skin' [TA. *žild*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *aylim*, Kab. *ag<sup>w</sup>lim*, Tam. *ag<sup>w</sup>lim*.
- (46) 'heart' [TA. *qalb*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *ul*, Kab. *ul*, Tam. *ul*. PSh.. *ul*.
- URBANLIFE
- (47) 'doll' [TA. *šrūša*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *taslit*, Kab. *tislit*, Tam.(?).
- (48) 'country' [TA. *blēd*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tammurt/tmurt/tmura*, Kab. *tamurt*, Tam. *tamurt*.
- (49) 'road' [TA. *trīq*] Dou. *abrid* Chn. *abrid*, Ouir. *abriḏ*, Aj. *abriḏ* (Basset 1883:309), Kab. *abrid*. Tam. *abrid*.
- AGRICULTURE
- (50) 'hedge' [TA. *ḥarf*] Dou. *žamži* Chn. *žamži*, Ouir. *tamžirt*, Kab. *amger*, *am<sup>w</sup>ger* 'faucille'.
- (51) 'well' [TA. *bīr* ] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *anu*, Kab. *lbir anu*, Tam. *anu*.
- ABSTRACT TERMS
- (52) 'middle' [TA. *woṣṭ*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *ammas*, Kab. *ṭnašfa*, *alemmas*, Tam. (?)

**Adjectives**

- (53) 'big' [TA. *kbīr*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *amaqqar*, Kab. *ameqq<sup>w</sup>ran*, Tam. *ameqran*.
- (54) 'pale' [TA. *wižhu ašfar*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *udmis yuraγ*, Kab. *awra γ*, Tam. *wri γ/iwri γ*.
- (55) 'alive' [TA. *ḥeyy*, *ḫēyiš*] Dou. *yidder*, Chn. *yidde*, Ouir. *yidder*, Kab. *amuddir*. There is a loss of the final radical /r/ in Chninni, but it is attested elsewhere.

**COLOURS**

- (56) 'black' [TA. *wšīf*, *ekhel*] Dou. Chn. *ažattaf*, Ouir. *azattaf*, Kab. *ašattaf*, Tam (?)
- (57) 'white' [TA. *abyaz*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *amallal*, Kab. *amellal*, Tam. *amellal*.
- (58) 'red' [TA. *aḥmar*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *azaggu γ*, Kab. *azegg<sup>w</sup>a γ*, Tam. *tazu γi*.
- (59) 'yellow' [TA. *ašfar*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *awra γ*, Kab. *awra γ*, Tam. *wri γ*.
- (60) 'green' [TA. *axzar*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *azizaw*, Kab. *azegzaw/azegza*, Tam. *zzezaw*.

**Verbs****CHANGE OF****STATES**

- (61) 'add' [TA. *yižmaḥ*] Dou. *arni*, Chn. *yaranni*, Ouir. *yirni*, Kab. *ernu*, Tam. *rnu*.

**SENSATIONS AND****EMOTIONS**

- (62) 'laugh' [TA. *yizħak* ] Dou. *yiðus*, Chn. *idas*, Ouir. *yedus*, Kab. *eðs*, Tam. *eds*.
- (63) 'hear' [TA. *yismaħ*] Dou. *ysal*, Chn. *yasli*, Ouir. *ysil*, Kab. *sel*, Tam. *sel*.
- (64) 'find' [TA. *yilqa*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *af*, Kab. *af*, Tam. *af*.
- (65) 'know' [TA. *yaħraf*] Dou. Chn. *yissin*, Ouir. *yissin*, Kab. *isin*, Tam. *isin*.
- (66) 'forget' [TA. *yinsa*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *atsu* Tam. *ttu*.

## TRANSACTIONS

- (67) 'buy' [TA. *yišri* ] Dou. Chn. *yisγu*, Ouir. *yisγa*, Kab. *aγ*. Tam. *aγ*
- (68) 'sell' [TA. *yišri* ] Chn. *yizanza*, Ouir. *yzinzit*, Kab. *zzenz*, Tam. *enz*.

## TRANSFORMATIONS

- (69) 'kill' [TA. *yuqtul* ] Dou. Chn. *yaγu*, Ouir. *yγarras*, Kab. *neγ*.
- (70) 'tie up' [TA. *yurbut*] Dou. *yiqan*, Chn. *yaqqan*, Ouir. *yittaqan*, Kab. *eqqen*, Tam. *qqen*.
- (71) 'wash' [TA. *yaγsil*] Dou. *yissarid*, Chn. *yassird*, Ouir. *ysisarið*. Kab. *ssired*, Tam. *suššef*.

## COMMUNICATION

- (72) 'say' [TA. *yqūl* ] Dou. *imil*, Chn. *yamma*, Ouir. *yimmil*, Kab. *ini*, Tam. *ini*.
- (73) 'shout' [TA. *yħayyat*, *ynēdi* ] Dou. Chn. *yitγawwat*, Ouir. *yisγuyyu*, Kab. *suγ*, Tam. *sγiuy*.

- (74) 'swear' [TA. *yihlif* ] Dou. *yidžul*, Chn. *yadžul*, Ouir. *yižalla*, Kab. *ggall*, Tam. (?)

## BODY FUNCTIONS

- (75) 'drink' [TA. *yušrub*] Chn. *ysus*, Ouir. *yassis*, Kab. *sew*, Tam. *sew*.
- (76) 'to be hungry' [TA. *yžūħ*] Dou. *yalluz*, Chn. *yuluz*, Ouir. *yuluz*, Kab. *allaz*

(77) 'chew' [TA. *yum ʔuz*] Dou. *yaffaz*, Chn. *yfuz*, Ouir. *ytaffiz*, Kab. *effez*.

(78) 'spit' [TA. *bzaq*] Dou. *yiʃuffuʃ*, Chn. *yaskufas*, Ouir. *yusufus*, Kab. *susef*,  
Tam. *tasfit*.

(79) 'urinate' [TA. *ybūl, yiṭlaq el-mē, yiḥraq el-būla*] Dou. *ibazzad*, Chn. *yibzid*,  
Ouir. *yibzid*, Kab. *ebzed*, Tam. *bezḍ*.

## FARMING

(80) 'plough' [TA. *yahraθ*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *akraz*, Kab. *krez*, Tam. *krez*.

(81) 'water' [TA. *yisqi*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *sisw/yissiswa*, Kab. *ssew*, Tam. *ssew*.

## Conjunctions

(82) 'or' [TA. *welle*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *na ʔ*, Kab. *na ʔ*, Tam. *ne ʔ*.

## Prepositions

(83) 'in' [TA. *fi*] Dou. *gi*, Chn. *git*, Ouir. *agg*, Kab. *deg/g/di*, Tam. *dig/diy/di*.

(84) 'from' [TA. *min*] Chn. *sig*, Ouir. *sigg*, Kab. *si/seg*, Tam. *seg*.

(85) 'between' [TA. *beyn*] Dou. *žar*, Chn. *žar*, Ouir. *žar*, Kab. *ger/gar*, Tam.  
*ger/yer/žar*.

## Adverbs

### Adverbs of time

(86) 'when' [TA. *waqtēš*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *lammi*, Kab. *melmi*, Tam. *milmi*

(87) 'now' [TA. *tewwe, tewwīka*] Dou. *turu*, Chn. *turu*, Ouir. *turu*

(88) 'today' [TA. *el-yūm*] Dou. *assu*, Chn. *assu*, Ouir. *assu*. PSh. *assu*.

### Adverb of place

(89) 'where' [TA. *fīn*] Dou. *māni*, Chn. *mani*, Ouir. *mani*, Kab. *ani*, Tam. *ani*.

(90) 'behind' [TA. *wra*] Dou. Chn. *deffir*, Ouir. *deffir*, Kab. *deffir*, Tam. *deffir*.

(91) 'in the middle' [TA. *fil-woʃt*] Dou. *ugammās*, Chn. *mgammas*, Ouir. *gwamas*, Kab.  
*alemmas*, Tam. *mnaʃša*.

- (92) ‘under’ [TA. *teḥt*] Chn. *lwadday*, Dou. *ilwaday*, Ouir. *alede*, Kab. *ddu*, Tam. *ddaw/ddew*

Interrogative adverbs

- (93) ‘how’ [TA. *kifēš*] Dou. *mak*, Chn. *manik*, Ouir. *mamik*. Kab., Tam. (?)

### 5.3.2 Shared lexis in Shilha against Kabyle and Tamazight

The agreement among the Shilha varieties against Kabyle and Tamazight is low (approximately 3% of shared lexis). The vernaculars of Chninni, Douiret and Ouirsigheh tend to agree mainly in noun and verb categories and disagree in the categories of adverbs and prepositions.

The full list of these words are as follows:

#### Nouns

##### ELEMENTS

- (1) ‘rain’ [TA. *mṭar*] Dou. Chn., *amzar*, Ouir. *anzar*, Kab. *ageffur/ yerra*, Tam.(?)

##### VEGETATION

- (2) ‘root’ [TA. *ždir*, *ḥirq*] Dou. Chn. *asilman*, Ouir. *aslim*, Kab. *aweggir/leḥruq*, Tam. *leḥruq*.

##### FRUIT

- (3) ‘fig’ [TA. *karmūs*] Dou. *ifargas*, Ouir. *imatšu*, *ifarges* Kab. *abakur*, Tam. *lbakur*. In Aj. the word *tīn* is used (R.Basset 1883:310).

##### VEGETABLES

- (4) ‘carrot’ [TA. *sfinnārya*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tifisna γ*, Kab. *zrudeyya*, Tam. *xizzu*

## PEOPLE

- (5) 'bridegroom' [TA. *leḡrūs*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. Kab. *arYaz*, Tam. *argaz*.
- (6) 'bride' [TA. *ḡrūsa*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *taslit*, Kab. *ṭamaṭṭoṭ*, Tam. *ṭameṭṭuṭṭ*
- (7) 'thief' [TA. *ḡawwēf* (coll.), *sāraq*] Dou. *axannab*, Chn. *yattakir*, Ouir. *axannab*, *axannab*. In Kabyle, the word for thief has several different meanings, i.e. *ašellef* 'thief of harvest', *ameḡwaṣ* 'snatch and run thief', *amakṛaḡ* 'dishonest', *amenfi* 'road thief', Tam. *tukerḡwiwin* 'action of stealing', Shl. *amexxar*.
- (8) 'nursing mother' [TA. *mrazḡa*] Dou. *dasisfay g mimis*, Kab. *it*, Tam., (?)
- Animals
- (9) 'kid' [TA. *biršni*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tixsi*, Kab. *abeḡṛaraš*, *iḡid*, *tiḡidet*, Tam. (?)
- (10) 'cat' [TA. *qattūs*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *iyattus*, Kab. *muš*, *amšiš*, Tam. *amušš*
- (11) 'sparrow' [TA. *bazwīš*] Dou. Chn., *ašišu*, Ouir. *tašišiew*, Kab. *aḡṛux*, Tam. *aḡṛux*.
- (12) 'dove' [TA. *ḡmēme*] Dou. Chn. *adbir*, Ouir. *aḡ bir*, Kab. *tamilla*, Tam. *tamalla*, *adbir* maybe a loanword from TA. *ḡmāma mta ḡ bīr* 'a well's pigeon'.
- (13) 'rabbit' [TA. *erneb*] Dou. Chn. *tayarzizt*, Ouir. *tagarzizt*, Kab. *aḡnun*, *awtul*, Tam. *aqnin*
- (14) 'snake' [TA. *ḡneš*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *alafsa*, Kab. *azrem*, Tam. *azrem* 'worm'.

- (15) ‘worm’ [TA. *dūda*] Ouir. *takitša*, Kab. *aberççu*, Tam. *azrew*
- (16) ‘wasp’ [TA. *ferzezzu*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *farzazzu*, Kab. *arz, aržaz*, Tam. and Alg.Ar. *irzezzi*, Tam. Although, the initial /f/ in *ferzezzu* is obscure the sound change from \*z > z is attested elsewhere.

### Food

- (17) ‘crust’ [TA. *qarqūš*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *qašmur*, Kab. *afexxur, aqššuš*, Tam. *aqeššur*.
- (18) ‘crumb’ [TA. *fitfēt*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. Kab. *abziz, afejtīt*, Tam. (?)
- (19) ‘egg’ [TA. *Ḥazma*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tazluqqut/tazluqquθ*, Kab. *ašelleqluq* ‘egg without shell’, Tam.(?)
- (20) ‘salt’ [TA. *milh, lidām*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *tisamt/tisant*, Kab. *lmeḥ* (excess of salt = *amariγ*) Tam. (?)
- (21) ‘dinner’ [TA. *Ḥša*] Dou. Chn. *tamansi*, Ouir. *amansi*, Kab. *iḍumman, afrasen, aḤfir*, Kab. *ifarsen*

### URBAN LIFE

- (22) ‘needle’ [TA. *ibra*] Sh., *tisinit* Kab. *lemšekk, tissegnit*, Tam.(?)

### ABSTRACT

#### TERMS

- (23) ‘word’ [TA. *kilma*] Chn. Dou. *tutlayt*, Ouir. *tuθ layt*, Kab. *awal*, Tam. *awal*
- (24) ‘lie’ [TA. *kidba*] Dou. Chn. *tikirkist* Ouir./*tikerkest*, Kab. *tiberxidas, ašehrir, taguri, tižuman, le-kdeb, tiqentert* ‘big lie’, *ixerrurra*, Tam. *isfirrim* < vb. *sferrer* ‘to lie’.

### Adjectives

- (25) ‘small’ [TA. *sγir*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *amaškun, amaškin*, Kab. *ekri* (small in size)

(26) 'strong' [TA. *qwiyy*] Dou. *yaqwa*, Kab. *abunyiw*, *qawi*, *uṣṣib*, *uzmir*, Tam. *qwu*

(27) 'raw' [TA. *neyy*, *mūš tāyib*, *axzar*] Chn. Dou. Ouir. *yiddar*, Kab. *azegzaw*, *azegza*, Tam. *azegzaw*

## COLOURS

(28) 'blue' [TA. *azraq*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *anili*, Kab. *dendani*, *lmur*, *azegzaw*, Tam. *zegzaw*

## Verbs

### CHANGE OF STATES

(29) 'catch' [TA. *ulquf*] Chn. *yitattif* Dou. *aṭf*, Ouir. *yittaff*, Kab. *beqqed*, *ššelqef*, Tam.(?).

(30) 'extract' [TA. *nehha*, *maṣṣ*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *yakass*, *yikiss*, *ykiss*, Kab. *ssali*, Tam.

(31) 'undo' [TA. *nehha*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *mir*, *mira* γ, *imir*, Kab. *efsu*, *efsi*, *exsef*, Tam. *fsu* (also in fig. sense 'divulge secrets'). Cf. Alg.Ar. *tfawwas* 'marcher avec prétention'.

(32) 'surround' [TA. *dewwer*] Dou. *yannad*, Chn. *annaz*, Ouir. *yasunaz*, Kab. *bbezbaz*.

### TRANSFORMATIONS

(33) 'beat' [TA. *yazrab*] Ouir. *yitšaθ*, Kab. *šušši*, *sfunneh*, Tam. *nna* γ.

(34) 'switch off' [TA. *sakkar*, *utfi*] Chn. Ouir. *sabbis*, *yasbis*, Kab. *ssens*, *exsi*, *ssexsi*, Tam. *sens* 'spend the night', vb. *xsy* 'to close'.



- (35) ‘dress up’ [TA. *yilbis*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *yaraǾ, yanud*, Kab. *ssels, els*, Tam. *ssels*, cf. *timelsit* ‘clothes’.

### BODY FUNCTIONS

- (36) ‘to copulate’ [TA. *yǿerris*] Chn. *yǿammaz*, Kab. *egg, eqqu*, Tam. *qqu*.

### COMMUNICATION

- (37) ‘say’ [TA. *yqūl*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *yamma, imil, yimmil*, Kab. *imi, enṣeḥ, siwel, xxerwed* ‘say stupid things’, *Ƴezzen*, Tam. *ini* ‘say, call, name’, *siwel* ‘say’.
- (38) ‘shout’ [TA. *ǿayyat, sayyah*], Chn. Ouir. *yitƳawwat, yisƳuyyu*, Kab. *ǿǿǿnenn, šaḥi, rreǿreǿ* ‘screaming and crying’, *suƳ*, Tam. *reǿreǿ, sƳ<sup>w</sup>urt, sƳuy*.
- (39) ‘swear’ [TA. *yihlif*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *yadžul, yidžul, yidžalla*, Kab. *ggall, eḥlef, sgill, mmesgill*.
- (40) ‘to show’ [TA. *warra*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *yassakan, yisakna, yisikan*, Kab. *beggen, ssenǿet, essken, wehhi, weḥḥi, werri, ezzi*, Tam. *nǿet*

### Conjunctions

- (41) ‘and’ [TA. *wa, u*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *d* Kab. *dƳa, w/u/wa*
- (42) ‘or’ [TA. *welle*] Sh. *naƳ*, Kab. *ne Ƴn Ƴ, wala*, Tam. *ne Ƴ*

### 5.3.3 Lexical variations among the three Shilḥa dialects

A statistical analysis of lexical dissimilarities among Shilḥa vernaculars shows a low percentage agreement of 2.58%. This result proves that Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen are essentially similar. This finding suggests also that there is an important number of loanwords in Shilḥa. The list below yields the following results:

First, the Douiret variety has less affinities with Ouirsignen than with Chninni.

Second, Shilha shows dissimilarities particularly in the verb category. The comparison yields thirteen verbs against seven nouns.

The full list of lexical variations follows:

## Nouns

### ELEMENT

- (1) ‘earth’ [TA. *arǧ*] Chn. *iȳarȳar*, Dou. *iȳarȳar*, Ouir. *tammurt*.  
 The word *iȳarȳar* may have developed from the Berber words *aȳuȳar*, *ȳȳerȳer* to mean ‘drought’ and remotely ‘arranger une plate-forme’ respectively. However, there is an equivalent word to *iȳarȳar* found in Akkadian *qaqqaru* (Rabin 1975:89) denoting ‘earth, dirt’. The word *tammurt* is attested elsewhere, i.e. Kab. Tam. *tamurt*.
- (2) ‘plaster’ [TA. *žibs*] Chn. *timšimt*, Dou. *timsimt*, Ouir. *akankil*  
 Cf. Kab. *lžeb*s. In this example, the word *akenkil* is an older form than those observed in Chninni and Ouirsignen. The sound change of the proto-Berber \*k > š is attested elsewhere such as in Tamazight (Aït Izdeg) by Saib (1974:5) as in the word *ašal* < *akal* ‘earth’ and by Taifi (1996:X) in words such as *ašer* < *aker* ‘to steal’; *tašurt* < *takurt* ‘ball’.

Body (Human)

- (3) 'phallus' [TA. *zibb*] Chn. *abazzad*, Dou. *afittal*. The word *afittel* is obscure, since it neither corresponds to Kab. *ašellul* nor to Tam. *abeššiš* and Ayt Hadiddu<sup>6</sup> *tabllutt* (Bynon 1968:114). It may have developed, in form, from the Cl.Ar. word *fatala* 'to twist together' and *fafil* 'coiled'.<sup>7</sup>
- (4) 'saliva' [TA. *rīq*, *bzāq*] Chn. *tikufas*, Ouir. *isufsan*. These words are not attested in either Kab. *imetman* or Tam. *imetmi*. The origin of these words remains uncertain. There is a false cognate found in Kab. and Tam. *akffus* 'noir de fumée' and Kab. *ikeffi* 'trèfle'.

#### URBAN LIFE

- (5) 'sieve' [TA. *γorbēl*] Chn. *žirwel*, Dou. *aseqqad*, Ouir. *tellumt*. In Kabyle, the words *aγerbel* and *tellumt* are attested. The word *γorbāl* is the only word found in Cl.Ar. The word *žirwel* does not occur in either Kab. or Tam. As for the word *aseqqad* in Douiret, it may originate from the Arabic word *saqata* 'to fall'.

#### WORK AND

#### PRODUCTION

#### AGRICULTURE

- (6) 'manure' [TA. *γbār*] Dou. *irruṭ*, Ouir. *laγ*. Its false cognate in Kabyle, the word *ileγ* is semantically different, namely 'a small branch cut short for firewood'. However, there is a corresponding word in Kabyle, *irruṭ*, with the same meaning.

#### ABSTRACT

#### TERMS

<sup>6</sup> Ayt Hadiddu is a tribe situated in Central Morocco (Bynon 1968: 110).

<sup>7</sup> In Siwa, the word *achmum* is used which is a false cognate to a word in Tunisian Arabic *machmum* 'an arranged bouquet of jasmine' (For vocabulary entries in Siwah, cf. *The Journal of Frederick Horneman's Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk, the Capital of the Kingdom of Fezzan, in Africa in the Years 1797-1978* (1802: 16)

- (7) 'riddle' [TA. *tolliḥa*, *tšenšina*] Dou. *tfuddayt*, Ouir. *asimmi* Both of the words *tfuddeyt* and *asimmi* do not correspond with Kab. *asefru*, *amašahu*. In Tamazight the closest form to the word in Kabyle is *sefru* 'to explain'. As for the Ouirighen word *asimmi*, it could have been derived from Cl.Ar. *semma* 'to name'.

### Adjectives

- (8) 'old' [TA. *kbīr*].Chn. *amaqqar*, Dou. *awassir.*, Ouir. *awassar*.  
The Chninni dialect uses the word *amaqqar* to denote the meanings of 'old' and 'big'. The word *awesser* is attested solely in Douiret, Ouirighen, Kabyle and Tamazight.
- (9) 'slow' [TA. *karkar*] Chn. *šišra*, Dou. *adindun*, Ouir. *sufarru*  
The word *adindun* is attested in Tamazight, but has a different meaning 'arable land left uncultivated'. The word *suferru* in Ouir. seems to have been developed from Cl.Ar. *ferra* 'escape'.

### Colours

### Verbs-Movement

#### (Intransitive)

- (10) 'go' [TA. *yimši*] Chn. *yiskad.*, Dou. *yayyur*. There is a case of metathesis in the word *yisqad* (i.e. s<-->q) which is a loanword from the word *yiqsid* 'go' in TA and *qasada* in Cl.Ar. The origin of the word *yeyyur* in Chn. is obscure as it does not correspond with either Kab. or Tam. *ddu* 'go'.

- (11) 'bring' [TA. *žīb*] Chn. *yusid*, Dou. *yiwid.*, Ouir. *yu yid*  
 For the word Dou. *yiwi* 'bring', there is a similar lexeme in Kabyle, but it occurs without the final consonant /d/ , Kab. *awi* 'bring'. The word *yu yid* in Chninni has its closest counterpart in Tam. *γud* 'traverser, passer par, passer à travers'. For the word *yusid*, its counterpart is found in Tam. but does not share the same meaning. Cf. Tam. *isidd* 'lighten'.
- (12) 'raise' [TA. *šalli*] Chn. *yikkir*, Dou. *mur*, Ouir. *yuqa*  
 There exist two similar words in both Kab. and Tam. for the word *kker* 'se lever'. The word *yuqa* in Kab. denotes a different meaning 'manquer, faire défaut; être rare'. As for the word *mūr*, its origin remains uncertain. It is quite unlikely that it developed from Cl.Ar. *marra* 'passed'. It is possible, quite remotely however, that *mūr* is a verbalisation of the word *amrar* in Tam. 'yelping of a jackal'.
- (13) 'sit' [TA. *uqšod*] Chn. *γayma.*, Dou. *yaggša.*, Ouir. *yaqim*  
 The word *yaggaš* in Douiret is the odd element here as it is not attested in Kabyle and Tamazight. As for the words *γayma.* and *yeqim*, these are found in Kab. *s γim* 'to make sit down' and *qqim* 'to stay'.
- (14) 'bend' [TA. *lwe*] Chn. *abrin*. Dou. *yadfas*. Ouir. *yuḷi*. The word *abrin* is the only word that shares the same form with Kab. *ebrin* 'roll (as to roll a cigarette)'. The word *yedfes* and *yufu* are remotely connected with Tam. *adefas* 'long shirt or blouse worn on bear skin' and Kab. *ažay* 'to be heavy' respectively.
- (15) 'drag' [TA. *karkar*]. Chn. *šušra.*, Ouir. *zinzaγ*. The Ouirsignen dialect shares the same meaning and form with Tamazight *nze γ* 'tirer, retirer, extraire'. The origin of the word *šušra* in Chninni remains obscure.

- (16) 'tell' [TA. *qūl*].Chn. *yadugga*, Ouir. *utlay*. Those words are not attested in either Kabyle (i.e. *ini*, *enṣeḥ*, *siwel*) or Tamazight (i.e. *ini*).
- (17) 'wait' [TA. *stenna*] Chn. Dou. *raža*, Ouir. *yussugu*. The closest word to the Sh. *raža* is found in Kabyle *eržu* but having a different meaning '*rêver continuellement, se réveiller en sursaut*'.
- (18) 'lend' [TA. *ysellef*] Chn. *arḏlid*, Dou. *yarḏal.*, Ouir. *yitsallaf*.  
The following words are attested in Kabyle (i.e. *eṛḏel*, *sellef*, *emnter*) but only the word *ssalaf* is found in Tamazight.
- (19) 'steal' [TA. *yisraq*] Chn. *yxannab*, Dou. *yxannib* Kabyle and Tamazight share the same lexeme with Douiret, cf. Tam. *aker* 'to steal' and Kab. *ak<sup>w</sup>er* 'to steal'. Neither Kabyle nor Tamazight use the word *xanneb* in any sense.
- (20) 'obtain' [TA. *yāxiḏ*] Chn. *yušu*, Ouir. *yışyiθ*
- (21) 'make' [TA. *yışnaḥ*] Chn. *yayy*, Ouir. *aggi*. *yayy* is the odd element here as the other two terms are attested in Kab. and Tam. *eg* and *tegga* respectively.
- (22) 'double' [TA. *θenna*] Chn. *aži*, Ouir. *yarni*, *yuḏi*. Only the word *aḏi* is attested in Kabyle and Tamazight, but carrying a slight difference in meaning namely 'to add, maximise'.
- (23) 'shave' [TA. *ḥažžam*].Chn. *yalsi.*, Ouir. *yikkisutyuf*. These two words have no counterparts in either Kabyle or Tamazight.
- (24) 'scratch' [TA. *ḥukk*]. Chn. *yakammiz.*, Ouir. *yaxirru*. *kmez* is found in both Kabyle and Tamazight. However, the likelihood of the word *yaxirru* <xr> having been developed from TA. *xarbiš* <*xrbš*> is uncertain as it is unlikely that Sh. has dropped the two consonants /b/ and /š/ simultaneously.

- (25) 'cut' [TA. *quṣṣ*]. Chn. *yutzonnu.*, Dou. *aenkaḏ.*, Ouir. *yiqidulaḥ*. A quite unusual word is *yiqudalaḥ* whose origin is unknown. Its closest word, in form, is found in Kab. *aqedlalah* 'agitated'. As for the word Dou. *yenkez*, it is found in Kabyle and carries a more precise meaning Kab. *enkez* 'baisser (*niveau de liquide, tas d'herbe qui sèche*).
- (26) 'break' [TA. *kassar*]. Chn. *yasmwa*, Ouir. *yruzz*. The word *yruzz* corresponds well with Kab. and Tam. *eṛz* 'break'. The origin of the word *yasmwa* is uncertain.
- (27) 'kill' [TA. *uqtul*]. Chn. *ya Yu.*, Dou. *yaffi*, *ya Yu* is also found in Kabyle *ne Ḡ* 'kill'. The origin of the word *yaffi* is obscure.
- (28) 'shout' [TA. *ḥayyat*]. Chn. *yitḠawwat.*, Ouir. *yisḠuyyiu*.
- (29) 'prune' [TA. *zabbar*] Chn. *nakkad.*, Dou. *yafran.*, Ouir. *yfarrin*.  
Not attested in kab. *qesseb*. In Tamazight, there is a false cognate *nekked* 'to vex, to hurt'. As for the word *ferrin* in Tamazight, it means 'sarcler, désherber enlever, ôter les pierres d'un champ'.

### Adverbs

- (30) 'a little' [TA. *šweyya*] Chn. *šra*, Dou. *šra*, *ḥabbu*, Ouir. *afarru*.  
In Jerba, the word *šara* is also observed (Motylinski 1883:380).  
In kabyle, the word *šra* exists but /š/ changes to /k/ which is the original proto-Berber phoneme as in Kab. *kra/ka* 'a little'. In Tamazight, *ašer* is a false cognate 'steal' and *ššra* is 'to buy'.
- (31) 'why' [TA. *ḥlēš*] Chn. *wimah*, Dou. *ilmata.*, Ouir. *ma Ḡir*.

### Conjunctions

- (32) 'because' [TA. *ḥlēš*]. Chn. *wimah.*, Dou. *amat.*, Ouir. *na Ḡar*

### Prepositions

- (33) 'on' [TA. *fūq*] Chn. *danni.*, Dou. *ninniž*, Ouir. *af*, *inniž*
- (34) 'under' [TA. *teḥt*] Chn. *wadwas.*, Dou. *swadu*, Ouir. *adug*
- (35) 'next to' [TA. *bižneb*]. Chn. *sisdisas*, Tam. *tmes*

(36) ‘in front of’ [TA. *qiddēm*] Chn. *lisdad.*, Dou. *izdēt*, Ouir. *izzeθ*

In summary, the lexical analysis yields the following results:

First, the low number of shared lexis among Shilhā, Kabyle and Tamazight is attributable to the hypothesis that Shilhā has a large number of loanwords from Arabic.

Second, lexical discrepancies among Shilhā varieties are reflected mainly in the verb category.

Third, the Chninni dialect shares more lexis with Ouirighen than with Douiret.

Fourth, the comparison of Shilhā with Kabyle or Tamazight shows that the lexis in the latter two vernaculars are more varied, precise and semantically more cohesive than the former. The attrition of prototypically Berber lexemes in Tunisian Arabic results from its intensive contact with Tunisian Arabic.

Fifth, Shilhā shows some consonantal drops, as in example (39) above, which were formerly part of the word’s root.

Sixth, the three varieties did not exhibit considerable lexical discrepancies. The vernaculars of Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen do form one linguistic unity despite minor dissimilarities in lexis and grammar.

### **5.3.3.1 Agreement between one, two or three Shilhā dialects with Kabyle only**

The word list below shows that the affinity of Shilhā vernaculars with Kabyle is negligible:



**Nouns**

## VEGETATION

- (1) ‘thorns’ [TA. *šewk*] Dou. Chn. *iš-šuk*, Ouir. *asinnan*, Kab. *asennan*

**BODY**

- (2) ‘liver’ [TA. *kibda*] Chn. *tissa*, Kab. *tasa*  
 (3) ‘elbow’ [TA. *marfaq*] Chn. *elmarfaq*, Ouir. *taɣmart*, Kab. *tiɣmert*

**ANIMALS**

- (4) ‘deer’ [TA. *yzēla*] Chn. *izirzir*. Dou. *izirzir*, Ouir., *taɣzilt*, Kab., *izerzer*,  
 Tam. *tamlalt*.

**Verbs**

- (5) ‘cover’ [TA. *yaṭṭa*] Chn. *irdi*, Dou. *yarad*, Ouir. *yinbar*, Kab. *sburr*, *del*,  
*delles*.

**5.3.3.2 Shared lexis among one, two or three Shilhā dialects with Tamazight only**

One notices that the affinity of Shilhā with Tamazight is marginally lower than with Kabyle (eight shared words with Kabyle against three with Tamazight). Furthermore, the analysis shows that the Shilhā varieties have near equal affinities with both Kabyle and Tamazight.

**Nouns**

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- (1) ‘tap’ [TA. *šišma*, *sebbēla*] Chn. Dou. *tasibbalt*, Ouir. *il-bzim*, Tam.  
*lebzim*.<sup>8</sup>

## PEOPLE

<sup>8</sup> The word *ibzīm* is found in Classical Arabic to mean ‘buckle, clasp’.

- (2) ‘friend’ [TA. *rāžil*, *wēhid*, *fulēni*] Dou. *iddukliyu*, Chn. Ouir. *iṣ-šhibyu/iṣṣahbyn*, Tam. *amddak*<sup>Wl</sup>. This word *adukkāli* is attested in Shl. to mean ‘member of the *Doukkāla* tribe’ (Destaing 1940:355). However, it is difficult to explain why this word occurs only in the Douiret vernacular.

### Verbs

- (3) ‘sit down’ [TA. *uqʕod*] Dou. *yeggʕa*, Chn. *ʕayma*, Ouir. *yaqim*, *ʕannaš*, Tam. *qqim*

### 5.3.3.3 Conclusion

The lexical analysis which excludes loanwords from Arabic, Classical and Maghribine Arabic, shows marginal lexical discrepancies among the dialects of Shilḥa. Furthermore, the comparison of Shilḥa with Kabyle and Tamazight does not show considerable lexical affinities. This is due predominantly to the heavy lexical borrowings of Shilḥa from Tunisian Arabic. The extent of the areal influence of Tunisian Arabic on Berber is the immediate concern.

## 5.4 Words borrowed from Arabic

### 5.4.1 Introduction

The aim of the current section is to verify whether the low lexical affinity among Shilḥa, Kabyle and Tamazight are the result of the intensive borrowing in Shilḥa. Table 5.2 reveals that Shilḥa has a large number of loanwords borrowed from Arabic. Approximately half of Shilḥa corpus are loanwords. The Douiret dialect is the least affected but only marginally. Therefore, it is safe to infer the possibility that the paucity of shared lexis (i.e. between Shilḥa, Kabyle and Tamazight) is the outcome of heavy borrowed lexis in the Shilḥa varieties.

Table 5.2: Percentage of Loanwords in the Shilhā Vernaculars.

	Chninni %	Douiret %	Ouirighen %	Total Average %
Nouns	57.04	56.83	31.22	52.72
Adjectives	59.83	59.83	59.36	62.31
Verbs	31.22	31.22	32.80	35.54
Adverbs	40.96	26.50	32.53	33.33
Prepositions	53.77	18.5	29.62	33.96
Conjunctions	26.66	26.66	66.66	39.97
Average	44.91	36.59	42.03	41.17

### 5.4.2 Loanwords in Shilhā and semantic fields

#### Nouns

The lexical analysis (Table 5.2) reveals that nouns have the highest percentage of loanwords (52.72%). The Ouirighen vernacular is the least affected by Tunisian Arabic (i.e. 42.91%). This is partly due to its geographical isolation from the mainland.

The lowest agreement of 25.83% is found in the semantic field of ‘body’. Douiret has a low percentage of 12.35%, as it shows more similarities with Chninni than with Ouirighen. The varieties of Chninni and Ouirighen have a near equal score of 33.70 per cent.

#### Adjectives

In all the three Shilhā vernaculars, one notices that adjectives show a striking affinity with Tunisian Arabic with an average score of 62.31%. All three Shilhā varieties exhibit again a variety of scores. In the general semantic field of adjectives, the scores are 48.73, 59.66 and 65.54 per cent for Douiret, Ouirighen and Chninni respectively. The scores in the semantic fields of ‘colour’ are equal.

It is important to note that some loanwords in Shilha tend to conserve their morphological make up as shown in the following examples:

Ouir. (1)	a. (y) <i>iḏṣaf</i>	‘thin’	< TA. <i>ḏṣf</i>	(y)v123v4 < 12v3
	b. (i) <i>niyyiθ</i>	‘simple’	< <i>niyye</i>	(i)1v22vc < 1v22v
	c. (y) <i>ibriḏ</i>	‘cold’	< <i>bērid</i>	(yi)12vc < 1v2v3
	d. (y) <i>itqal</i>	‘heavy’	< <i>tqāl</i>	(yi)12a3 < ccv̄c

When one scrutinises the majority of Shilha adjectival themes, one notices that Shilha conserves by and large all of the consonantal roots <ḏṣf>, <nyt> and <brd> in the examples (i), (ii) and (iii) respectively. In (ii) one witnesses a consonantal drop in Tunisian Arabic whereas in Shilha this consonant is conserved.

Most borrowed adjectives are preceded with the third person singular marker (y-) to infer either ‘action of the state’ or a ‘to make + verb’ in the perfect tense, as the following examples show:

(2)	TA.		Sh.	
	a. <i>mwessex</i>	‘dirty’	<i>ywassax</i>	‘make dirty’
	b. <i>nḏif</i>	‘clean’	<i>yinzaf</i>	‘process of being clean’

The same observation applies also to proto-Berber words. For instance, the verb *yaqur* ‘dry’ follows a similar pattern as the above examples, i.e. *qur* ‘dry’, *yaqur* ‘to make dirty’.

## Verbs

The Shilhā verb category has a low affinity with Tunisian Arabic with a percentage of 35.54 per cent. The vernaculars of Ouirighen, Douiret and Chninni show a very close percentage agreement with a 32.8, 31.22 and 31.22 per cent respectively.

It is the semantic field of 'communication' where loanwords seem to infiltrate more easily into the Shilhā lexis with a percentage of 48.64. The least affected semantic field is 'farming' with a percentage of 16.66%.

The rigidity of Shilhā verbs, since these are the least affected by Tunisian Arabic, is due predominantly to its importance in syntax; since they inflect for person, number, gender and tense. This is well confirmed by Ennaji (1985:13) when he asserts:

This rigidity [of verbs] may be accounted for that the verb nucleus is crucial for the syntax and semantics of the sentence and it is at the level of the verb system that many morphological and syntactic processes are at work.

Loanwords in Shilhā from Romance languages, such as French, can be integrated in the Shilhā morphological system to the degree that it becomes morphologically dissimilar to the loanword. For instance, the Shilhā word *yitsigir* 'to smoke' is a loan word from the French *cigare*.<sup>9</sup>

### 5.4.3 Arabicisms in Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen

Attention should be drawn now to loanwords in Shilhā, from a different perspective; that is by retrieving all borrowed lexis that occur in one vernacular and not the other. This lexical 'sifting' throws some light on the Shilhā dialect with the most

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<sup>9</sup> Similar in pattern with Sh. *yitkuḥḥu* 'cough' < TA. *kehḥ*.

arabized vocabulary. These loanwords are compared, where necessary, with Kabyle and Tamazight in order to minimise any likelihood that these lexemes are of Berber origin.

Even though this comparison shows that the Chninni dialect has, marginally, the most Arabized vocabulary, data is needed to scrutinise these lexical idiosyncrasies. The full list and discussions of these words are given below:

#### 5.4.3.1 Lexemes replaced with arabicisms in Ouirighen vernacular only (NOT in Chninni and Douiret)

- (1) ‘dates’ [TA. *tmar*] Dou. *xarfuš*, Chn. *xarfuš*, Ouir. *tini*.  
It is quite unexpected to find the word *tini* with the meaning of ‘dates’ in the Ouirighen vernacular.<sup>10</sup> It is not a panBerber word. The word *tmer* is used instead as it is found in kab. *etçtçmer* ‘dates’ and Tam. *tmer*, ‘ripe dates’. As for the word *xarfuš* <XRFṢ> in Douiret, it is observed in the Ouirighen dialect to mean precisely ‘dates that fall off the date palm’ and according to the writer’s informant this kind of date is used as animal food.
- (2) ‘shepherd’ [TA. *serrēh*] Chn. *anilti*., Dou. *anilti*., Ouir., *es-sarah*.  
The origin of the word *anilti* is obscure. In both Kab. and Tam. the word *ameksa* is used. Cf. vb. *eks* ‘to protect’. It is remotely likely that *anilti* has developed from the Kabyle *tanalt* ‘to taste’.
- (3) ‘deer’ [TA. *ȳzēla*] Chn. *izirzir*, Dou. *izirzir*, Kab. *izirzir*, Ouir. *ta ȳzilt*
- (4) ‘butter’ [TA. *zibda*]. Chn. *tlussi*, Dou. *lussi*, Ouir. *zibdeθ*.

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<sup>10</sup> The different types of dates found in Ouirighen are as follows: *el-xarfuš* ‘type of dates that fall off the palm tree’, these are used to feed the animals; *ibelhin* or *tii ȳwin* in Guellala to denote ‘green dates’; *tini* with its two types: *tini: tarazbit* ‘dates’ that are not consumed immediately after being gathered’ and *tamri* ‘a type of date stored to maximise its sugar concentration (i.e. to become honey-like) before consumption.

- (5) ‘chin’ [TA. *degnūna*] Dou. *tmart.*, Ouir. *tadagnunt.* Cf. Kab. *tamart.*
- (6) ‘chest’ [TA. *sdiř*] Chn. *dubdu*, Dou. *dabdubis.*, Ouir. *iz-zdir.* Cf. Kab. *idmaren*, Tam. *admer.*
- (7) ‘walk’ [TA. *imši*], Chn. *yisqad*, Dou., *yayyur*, Ouir., *irah.*
- (8) ‘then’ [TA. *emmala*] Chn. *iziγ*, Ouir. *ammala*, cf. Tam. *iziγ* ‘then’
- (9) ‘when’ [TA. *waqtilli*] Chn. *atawdis*, Ouir. *alimmi.* The word *atawdis* does not correspond with either Kab. *deg<sup>w</sup>gasmī* or Tam. (?)

### 5.4.3.2 Lexemes replaced with arabicisms in Chninni dialect (NOT in Ouirighen and Douiret)

- (1) ‘billy-goat’ [TA. *biršni*, *ǧatrūs*] Chn. *abiršni*, Dou. *dihdi.*, Ouir. *aγaz.* The word *abiršni* is mysterious. It is not attested in Cl.Ar., MA. *ǧatrus* and Alg.
- (2) ‘porcupine’ [TA. *qanfūd*] Chn. Dou. *ansi.*, Ouir. *insi.*
- (3) ‘couscous’ [TA. *kusksi*] Chn. *kisksu*, Dou. *barkukiš*, Ouir., *barkuklis.*
- (4) ‘vagina’ [TA. *zabbūr*, *ǧoṣṣ*] Chn., *zubbur*, Dou. *tabeššult*, Ouir. *tabaššit*
- (5) ‘saliva’ [TA. *rīq*, *bzāq*] Chn. *irriḡan*, Dou. *tikufas.*, Ouir. *isufsan.* Cf. Ar. *rīq* ‘saliva’.
- (6) ‘house’ [TA. *dār*, *beyt*] Chn. *il-ḡuš*, Dou. *taddart.*, Ouir. *tazaqqa* (pl. *tizaγwin*). The word *tazaqqa* is observed in Ažim by R.Basset (1883:312): “*ce mot paraît avoir eu primitivement le sens d’enceinte: à Ghdamès [Libya], θ ezaqa signifie <<muraille>>; dans les dialectes de Bougie et de Ghat (touareg), azekka, •:#, désigne un tombeau*”. The word *ḡuš* is commonly used in the south of Tunisia to mean ‘house’. In the northern Tunisian Arabic dialect, this word signifies ‘a small garden’.
- (7) ‘tall’ [TA. *ṭwīl*] Chn. *ṭwil*, Dou. *azir*, Ouir. *dazirar*
- (8) ‘short’ [TA. *qšīr*] Chn. *qšir*, Dou. *deyazzur*, Ouir., *dagazzur*

- (9) ‘close’ [TA. *sekker* ] Chn. *sakkar*, Dou. *ammasal*, Ouir., *yuqqasṣ*  
 (10) ‘break’ [TA. *kassar* ] Chn. *yitkassar*, Dou., *yasmwa*, *ihudd*, Ouir., *yruzz*.  
 (11) ‘like’ [TA. *kīma* ] Chn. *kima*, Dou. *atʿilad*, Ouir. *am*.

### 5.4.3.3 Lexemes replaced with Arabicisms in Douiret dialect (NOT in Ouirighen and Chninni)

In the three vernaculars, one notices that in some of the Berber loanwords, as in *takrišt*, the form is preserved and “yet at the same time to make it conform” to Berber morphophonemic patterning (Kaufman 1974:146). This is not unusual in languages in contact situations. As Anttila points out “ sound substitution can range from zero to such a degree that the original model is no longer discernible to the uninitiated”<sup>11</sup>. For instance, Chninni speakers tend to add the suffix *-št*, as shown in the following example:

- |     |                     |              |        |
|-----|---------------------|--------------|--------|
| (1) | Chn.                | TA.          |        |
|     | a. <i>marti-išt</i> | <i>marra</i> | ‘once’ |
|     | b. <i>saḥatišt</i>  | <i>seḥa</i>  | ‘hour’ |

The addition of the definite article *el-* to loanwords is attested in all the three vernaculars. According to Ennaji (1985:13), definiteness is not a grammatical feature of Berber.

On the question of gender, some masculine loanwords retained their form and meaning as in Tunisian Arabic.

<sup>11</sup> Some morphological changes are attested elsewhere, such as Japanese, e.g., *taxi* > *takushii*, *baseball* > *beisuboru*. (Anttila 1972: 163).



(2)	Dou.	TA	
	a. <i>iš-šaršur</i>	<i>iš-šaršūr</i>	‘gravel’
	b. <i>el-qaḏi</i>	<i>el-qaḏi</i>	‘judge’
	c. <i>el-flus</i>	<i>el-flūs</i>	‘money’
	d. <i>el-ḥiss</i>	<i>el-ḥiss</i>	‘noise’

In contrast to the vernaculars of Douiret and Chninni, the Ouirighen variety tends to add the suffix *-t/-θ* to loanwords from Tunisian Arabic words irrespective of gender. Furthermore, the final *-t/θ* is always preceded by a vowel (Cf. Appendix IV, p. 380).

For instance:

(3)	Ouir.	TA	
	a. <i>wišmi-θ</i>	<i>wešm (masc.sg.)</i>	‘tattoo’
	b. <i>fayazani-θ</i>	<i>fayazān (masc.sg.)</i>	‘flood’
	c. <i>zarriḥi-θ</i>	<i>zerrīḥa (masc.sg.)</i>	‘seeds’
	d. <i>ṣaḥra-θ</i>	<i>ṣaḥra (fem.sg.)</i>	‘desert’
	e. <i>ḡaba-θ</i>	<i>ḡaba (f.sg.)</i>	‘forest’

## 5.5 Summary

The present lexical analysis proves that there are insignificant lexical dissimilarities among the three Shilha vernaculars of Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen. Even though the comparison of Shilha with Kabyle and Tamazight demonstrates a paucity of shared lexis, this does not entail that Shilha is unrelated to the Northern Berber branch. The oversimplification of the Shilha lexis as an outcome of the lexical borrowing on one hand and the undocumented earlier data on its structure on the other, make it impractical to suggest the correct affiliation of these vernaculars based on this lexical analysis.

## 5.6 Shilḥa and Tunisian Arabic in contact situation

### 5.6.1 Introduction

Shilḥa today shows some transformations not merely to its lexis but also to its morpho-syntax, as a result of the intensive and prolonged contact with Tunisian Arabic. This chapter aims to identify and discuss how the latter reacted in the inevitable intermingling with the superstratum. Whilst the primary concern of this dissertation is Shilḥa, the study of the Berber element in Tunisian Arabic is corollary to this study and does not form a major focus of this chapter.

In both chapter 1 and chapter 2, I have discussed briefly the influence of Tunisian Arabic on Shilḥa in phonology, lexis and morphology, such as the hybrid negation formula *ur....iš*. Variations to this formula is observed by Motylinski (1897:391) in the dialects of Jerba: *oua . . . š*, *ou. . . š*, *oul . . .*, *our . . .*, *ouar . . .*

### 5.6.2 Theoretical framework

There is no shortage of literature which discusses the outcomes of languages in a contact situation. The invaluable work of Weinreich *Languages in Contact: Findings and problems* still remains today a reliable reference in the field of linguistics.

When languages are in a contact situation, the influence of one language on the other is without doubt inevitable. Linguistic interference ranges from phonology to syntax. It is defined as:

The arrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structural domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of vocabulary (kinship, color, weather, etc). Weinreich (1979:1).

One must emphasise that some types of interference, such as word borrowing, can occur without any direct contact between the two languages (Kaufman

1974:16). This is affected mainly by the considerable advent of modern technology in recent years, such as the digital satellite dish. The latter broadcasts a multitude of channels from both Europe and the Middle East and is commonly used in the Arab world.

In order to study the linguistic interference between Tunisian Arabic and Shilha, one must be familiar with both systems. This is well emphasised by Weinreich (1979:2) when he asserted that:

Great or small, the differences and similarities between the languages in contact must be exhaustively stated in every domain -phonic, grammatical, and lexical- as a prerequisite to an analysis of interference.

### **5.6.2.1 Factors related to languages in contact situation**

Important linguistic interference; and in some cases total language shift, occurs in situations where the two languages and cultures are similar (Clyne 1982:31). Bloomfield supports this view by stating that “intimate borrowing which occurs when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community” (Bloomfield 1933:461). There are of course other factors such as psychological and socio-cultural factors that affect the degree of influence of the dominant language on the minority one.

### **5.6.2.2 Linguistic Approach to Interference**

Weinreich uses the term “interlingual identification” to refer to the deceptive similarities between two languages seen by a bilingual speaker. The putative resemblance between the two languages can manifest itself in phonology, syntax and in Weinreich’s terms ‘plane of contents’ (Weinreich 1979:7). For instance, the structure SVO in English is ‘denotative’ whereas in Russian it is used for stylistic purpose. The Russian speaker overgeneralises this seemingly similar structure and, as a result he

produces structures such as VSO which is perfectly acceptable in Russian but ungrammatical in English (Weinreich 1979:7).

One must emphasise that this study does not analyse the speech interference occurring between two or more informants. It is not the purpose of this paper to analyse the motives behind the inevitable phenomenon of code-switching that occurs in languages in contact situations. Such analysis is an integral part of studying bilingualism but it is not the purpose of the present study.

### 5.6.3 Phonology

No major influence of Tunisian Arabic on Shilhā is worthy of discussion in phonology. Shilhā has retained the majority of its native phonemes some of which are observed in the vernaculars of the Northern Berber branch. Some of these phonemes naturally do not exist in Tunisian Arabic, these include the labialised labio-velar  $g^w$ ,  $k^w$  and the velar  $\gamma^w$  the aspirated retroflex  $\mathring{d}$  which is observed in the Ouirsiġhen vernacular today.

### 5.6.4 Morphology

#### 5.6.4.1 Loss of initial vowel *a-*

Since the initial vowel *a-* is not characteristic of Tunisian Arabic morphology, Shilhā in some cases drops it in certain lexemes. Initial vowels are, however, retained in other Berber vernaculars such as Kabyle and Tamazight, as shown in the following examples:

(1)	Dou.	Chn.	Ouir.	Kab.	Tam.	
	<i>suf</i>	a. <i>suf</i>	<i>suf</i>	<i>asif</i>	<i>ásif</i>	'river' <sup>12</sup>
	<i>žarfīw</i>	b. <i>žarfīw</i>	<i>žarfit</i>	<i>tagerfa</i>	<i>agerfīw</i>	'crow'
	<i>fud</i>	c. <i>fud</i>	<i>fud</i>	<i>afud</i>	<i>afud</i>	'knee'

<sup>12</sup> Aj. *loued* 'river' (Basset 1883:313).

### 5.6.4.2 Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers

Shilhā uses Arabic numbers except the words for ‘one’ *edz* ‘in’ and ‘two’ *sin* (cf. § 3.2.4.1). With ordinal numbers, Shilhā changes the word in accordance with the morphological nature of Berber, i.e. *t-* ....-*t*, as in:

(1)	Chn.	TA.	
	a. <i>talawwilt</i>	<i>lewla</i>	‘first’
	b. <i>tatanit</i>	<i>iθθ ēnya</i>	‘second’
	c. <i>tatalit</i>	<i>θ ēlθ a</i>	‘third’

### 5.6.4.3 Adjectivisation and verbalisation

Shilhā shows some innovations in terms of the well established processes known in linguistics as ‘adjectivisation’ and ‘verbalisation’. In English, for instance, the word ‘computerise’ is a verbalisation of the word ‘computer’ and ‘satanic’ is an adjectivisation of the word ‘satan’. In Shilhā there is a limited number of these processes in loan-words which are listed below:

#### *Adjectivisation of nouns*

(1)	Dou.	TA.	
	a. <i>warqa</i> (n.)	<i>warqa</i>	‘paper’
	b. <i>awarqiq</i> (Adj.)	<i>rqayyiq</i>	‘thin’

### 5.6.5 Negation

Douiret uses the hybrid formula *wi --- -iš* in the verb negation. In other types of

negations such as in the word ‘not early’, Shilhā used the copular D and the negation marker *īš* as shown below:

Dou. (1)      *d īš bikri*                      ‘(he) is not early’

### 5.6.6 Calques

Calques occur in many languages in contact situations. In Tunisian Arabic, for instance, Arabic lexis are used but the whole expression remains foreign to classical Arabic and to other Eastern Arabic dialects. For instance:

TA. (1)	Fr.	
a. <i>teksīr rās</i>	‘ <i>casse tête</i> ’	‘annoying’
b. <i>ḥaṭṭ el-ḥaṭṭ</i>	‘ <i>il a mis la pause</i> ’	‘he dressed up nicely’

In Douiret, there are several calques which are loans from Tunisian Arabic:

Dou. (2)	
a. <i>tawassart n attussarin</i>	TA. <i>omm laḥḥēyiz</i>
(lit. the mother of crones)	
‘very old’	
b. <i>yillis n idunnat</i>	TA. <i>bint l-bēreh</i>
(lit. the daughter of yesterday)	
‘very old’	
c. <i>ixif min nḥas</i>	TA. <i>rās min nḥēs</i>
(lit. a head mad of copper)	
‘strong will’	

## 5.6.7 Riddles and Proverbs<sup>13</sup>

### 5.6.7.1 Riddles<sup>14</sup>

Many riddles used in Douiret today have been adopted from Tunisian Arabic, these include:

Dou. (1) a. *linta ma bin fǝa wahwa*<sup>15</sup>

*tu ʔisg iryazin lalluf*

*aryaz innay satta ʔ, yisqad liʔruf*

‘a female, unsupported in the air

she is married to many men

and the man whom she marries, he ends up dying’

b. *tfaɣd siggid muzzo ʔinis*<sup>16</sup>

*ybarraq did ʔtawinis*

‘you hold from its ears

looked at me from its eyes’

c. *f-tiʔast s wamanis*<sup>17</sup>

*tuyal g ʔunnas*

‘a small can with its water

hanged in its sky’

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<sup>13</sup> My informants claim that Shilḥa does not have proverbs which are different from the ones used in Tunisian Arabic. The same remark applies to riddles. If indeed Shilḥa lost these texts, then it is a sign of its ‘gradual death’.

<sup>14</sup> Hans Stumme included some of these riddles in ‘Neue Tunisische Sammlungen’ in *Zeitschrift für afrikanische und Ozeanische Sprachen* (1896:97-140).

<sup>15</sup> The pulley of a well *tajarrart*. The ropes refer to the men in this riddle.

<sup>16</sup> The oil lamp.

<sup>17</sup> Clue: ‘A grape’

d. *yanna žmaḥet g il-hanut* <sup>18</sup>

*willal s yaffa ḡ issisin ayimmit*

‘we have a group in a shop

‘who comes out dies’

e. *ḡri šhan d amallal* <sup>19</sup>

*ul i ḡazzaz dyiss*

*kēn ille yaḥdab s il-ḥillat*

*nad willa yiffa ḡ s il-millat*

‘I have a clean plate

no one eats from it

except a sick person

or an unbeliever (lit. someone outside the religion)’

f. *qubbitna tazizwt* <sup>20</sup>

*tatsakkar kan s el-qudrat*

*titmir kan s el-uzzal*

‘our dome is green,

is closed only by destiny

and it opens only with the metal’

g. *amallid, amallak, amallal min kas n el-bullar* <sup>21</sup>

*aḡḡil aman*

*atalli l-ḥafit*

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18 Clue: ‘A box of matches’

19 Clue: ‘The month of Ramadhan’

20 Clue: ‘Watermelon’

21 Clue: ‘Lime’



'it's whiter than me, whiter than you, whiter than a glass  
 put water on it  
 and fire will come out'

### 5.6.7.2 Proverbs <sup>22</sup>

Similarly to riddles, proverbs have been borrowed from Tunisian Arabic:

Dou. (2) a. *mm udi sdanni waman*

'like oil on water'

b. *wili yithuss f il-žamrit kan willan yaǧfis fillas*

'only the person who steps on a coal feels the pain'

c. *ǧumris fusi idžin wil yitsaffaq*

'one single hand can not clap'

d. *aman illi yhaggan g issidrit, tazummurt awla*

'the water that goes astray, the olive tree needs it more'

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<sup>22</sup> The study of proverbs would have gained more depth if the sole poet of Douiret had co-operated with the writer to record some of his poems which he knew by rote. I would expect them to contain some native proverbs. He refused to assist the writer because he maintains that these texts describe some sensuous images of the woman's body and hence are against the teachings of Islam.

### 5.6.8 The Berber Element in Tunisian Arabic

Although studies on Maghribine Arabic have progressed considerably in recent years, particularly in the area of grammatical descriptions<sup>23</sup>, comparative studies among Maghribine Arabic, Levantine and Berber are not well advanced. Scholars of Arabic generally agree that Maghribine Arabic is lexically and morphosyntactically dissimilar to other Arabic varieties such as Egyptian and Lebanese, Cf. Cohen (1970), Caubet (1993) and Mifsud (1994). However, only few researchers explained that the ‘uniqueness’ of Maghribine Arabic is due mainly to the presence of Berber element. This is well stated by Guernier (cited in Chtatou 1997:104) that “*La langue arabe subira, elle aussi, l’empreinte et la pression de langue berbère qui réussira à absorber, à digérer, à berbériser des noms arabes*”. According to Chtatou (1997:104), Berber may transfer its phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic properties to Arabic “to an extent that many items of Berber origin became part of it”.

The present chapter aims to discuss the Berber element in Tunisian Arabic on the basis of lexis. This may thwart the putative claim that Maghribine Arabic is flooded with Berber and romance loanwords. In addition, the lexical analysis shows that Berber influence on Tunisian Arabic is also negligible.<sup>24</sup> As for phonological and Morpho-syntactic influences, this may correspond to the findings made by Chtatou (1997).

The study of Berber lexis is also of special interest to scholars interested in Arabic dialectology. Aquilina’s study (1975:298-309) confirms the inevitable nature of studying word etymologies which are generally speculative. For instance, the discussion that followed his paper, showed that words such as *azenbil* ‘large basket’, *forn* ‘oven’, *gamma* ‘to obscure’ classified as Berber words by Aquilina (1975:311-313) were

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<sup>23</sup> Suffice to mention the invaluable work of Owens (1984) on Libyan Arabic and Caubet (1993) on Moroccan Arabic and

<sup>24</sup> Cf. § 5 on lexical analysis.

attested in other Semitic languages such as Akkadian and Amharic. Nevertheless, it is safe to trace down the Berber element in Tunisian Arabic provided that these suspected Berber words are compared carefully with Classical and Koranic Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, Maghribine Arabic and with at least two representative Northern Berber varieties, such as Kabyle and Tamazight.

It must be emphasised that the lexical entries below are suspected Berber elements in Tunisian Arabic. It is not an exhaustive list because of the limitations of the present corpus. In analysing some of these words, one is left to hypothesise on the likely origin on the basis of the available data. The aim of this exercise is to identify those terms which may present the possibility, even remotely, of having been infiltrated into Tunisian Arabic lexis and which may have contributed in making Tunisian Arabic to have the characteristics of Maghribine Arabic.<sup>25</sup>

The lexemes listed below include the words mentioned by Aquilina, followed by lexical entries of nursery words.

### 5.6.8.1 Nouns

Tunisian Arabic

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<sup>25</sup> The lexical analysis of Shilha could yield interesting findings if one studies in detail the southern variety of Tunisian Arabic spoken in the oases and in the vicinity of the Tunisian-Libyan border. After having listened to some songs of these remote saharian villages, I noticed that the language used is practically unintelligible to northern Tunisian Arabic speakers and also to the Arabic speakers of Tataouine. These songs contain a high proportion of archaic Arabic terms some of which are of Libyan Arabic origin. The songs of Khelifa Aidoudi studied by André Louis are a good example of how the Arabic spoken by the nomadic people in southern Tunisia differs dramatically from the northern dialect. For instance, *draži* 'bijoux et pendeloques', *burraš* 'chants des jeunes filles au printemps', *Yadda* 'camel, she-camel (in poetry)'. Cf. André Louis, *Chants des nomades du sud de la Tunisie*, n.d. The Berber element in these songs is not easily identifiable. This broad observation stresses the fact that work on Tunisian Arabic dialectology is still needed, especially in remote areas, such as on the borders with Libya and Algeria.

- (1) *Ṣazri* [TA. 'single']. Sh. *Ṣazri*. It is not likely that this word has developed from the Arabic word *Ṣazr* 'to censure'. However, this term occurs in Kabyle *aṢzri* and Tamazight *aṢazri* 'single'.
- (2) *Ḍabbūt* [TA. 'armpit']. Observed in both Chninni and Ouirighen *aḏabbūt*. Not attested in the following vernaculars: MA., *l-biṭān*, Kab., *iqā*, Malt., *abt* (< Ar. *ibt*), Tam., ?
- (3) *geržūma* [TA. 'throat']. Cf. Kab. and Tam. *ageržum* 'throat' and Alg.Ar. *garžuta*. It is also mentioned by Aquilina *geržuma* 'gorge' (Aquilina 1975:308).
- (4) *tebrūri* [TA. 'hail']. Sh. *ettebrūri*. Also found in MA and Algerian Arabic. It is likely that this word is a corruption of the Arabic word *burr* 'wheat', as both words share the meaning of 'smallness'.
- (5) *šaršur* [TA. 'pebble']. Sh. *eš-šaršur*. This lexicon is not used in Magh.Ar., e.g., MA. *ḥaswa*.
- (6) *gilte, ḡodra* [TA. 'puddle']. Sh. *giltit*. This word is neither attested in Cl.Ar. *yaḏir* nor in Kab. *abella*. It is used, however, in Alg.Ar. *gelta*.
- (7) *šitla* [TA. 'plant, seedling']. Sh. *šitlat*. Cf. Cl.Ar. *šatla* (pl. *šatē* + ?*il*; vb. *šatala* and Alg.Ar. *šatla* 'a variety of wheat'.
- (8) *zabbūdž* [TA. *zeytūn ḏkar* 'fruitless olive tree']. Sh. 'wild olive tree'. Malt. *siḡra tažžebbuḡa* 'olive tree'. This word is also attested in Kab. *ažebbudž* 'grafted olive tree' and Algerian Arabic *zabbūz* 'wild olive'. This word is not observed in the north and south of Tunisia. Since this word occurs in Kabyle, Maltese and Shilha, one would speculate that this word might have been lost in Tunisian Arabic.

- (9) *sfinnārye* [TA. 'carrots']. Sh. *tafisna*  $\gamma$ , Alg. *zrūdiyya*. It is attested in Alg.Ar. *sfennariya*, Malt. *zunnarija*, *karotta* and MA. *xizzu*, Tam. *ssefrani*. As far as Berber languages are concerned, Kab. and Tam. do not share this lexicon with Sh., (Kab. *zruddeyya*, Tam. *xizzu*). If one looks at the morphological make up of both words *sfinnāriyye* (<sf $\eta$ (y)>) and *tafisna*  $\gamma$  (*fs $\eta$*   $\gamma$ ) have a near equal number of word roots. This entails presumably that either word may have developed from the other. However, this word is attested in Old Spanish *z $\partial$ foria* > \**z $\partial$ f $\partial$ nor $\partial$*  which settles finally its likely etymology.
- (10) *karmūs* [TA. 'fig']. Found also in Alg.Ar. *karmūs*. In MA., the word for 'fig' is *tin*. Cf. Cl.Ar. and Malt. *tīn*. In Kabyle the word *karmūs* designates 'prickly pear', the word for 'fig' is *abakur*. However, in Algerian Arabic, this word does exist denoting 'figs, dry figs'. In Tamazight, the word *lbakur* is used to mean '*figues précoces, figue-fleur*'. The exact meaning of the word 'fig' is *tazart*. Etymologically, the word *karmus* may have developed from the Arabic word *karma* 'grapevine, vine'.
- (11) *faqqūs* [TA. 'cucumber']. Sh., *afaqqus*. This is a typically Maghribine Arabic word (cf. MA. *feggusa*, Alg.Ar. *faggūš el-a*  $\gamma$  *rās*). In Lev., the word *xiyār* is used.
- (12) *genneriyye* [TA. *artichoke*]. MA. *quqa*, Alg. *qarnūn*, Kab. *qarnun*, Tam. *quqa* and Malt. *qaqoċċ*. Since it is a panMaghribine Arabic word, it is quite unlikely that this word is of Berber origin.
- (13) *qattūs* [TA. 'cat']. fem. *qattūaša*. Sh. *iyatus*. According to Aquilina, this could have been a loanword from *basso latino cattus*. Aquilina (1975:308). In Kabyle and Tamazight the word for cat is *amšiš* and *amušš* respectively.

- (14) *biršni* [TA. 'goat']. Sh. *abiršni*. This is a mysterious word as it does not correspond with either Kab.(i.e. *abeḥrarac*) nor to Tam. *berneš* 'laisser une terre en jachère' which could be a likely explanation as goats do in fact eat and destroy plants.
- (15) *fakrūn* [TA. 'turtle']. This word, according to Dozy, is of Berber origin (Dozy, cited in Aquilina 1975:299). It is found in Kab. *afekrur* and Tam. *ifker*. In Maltese, the only corresponding word is *fekruna ta' lilma* 'turtle'.
- (16) *bazwīš* [TA. 'sparrow']. Sh. *ašišu*, Kab. *aberçeççu*, Tam. *žžawž* 'swallow', *beršušu* 'chicken's disease', MA. as in *žaweš* 'sparrow'. Thus, it is quite likely that the word *bazwīš* is of Berber origin.
- (17) *ferzezzu* [TA. 'wasp']. Cf. Kab. *arez*, *arżaz* 'wasp'; MB. (Middle Atlas) *arzezzi* 'wasp'. Cf. with MA. *burzān* (in *Qnūtra*), Alg.Ar. *bu-zinzil*. This comparison indicates that the word *ferzezzu* is likely to be of Berber origin.
- (18) *žrāna* [TA. 'frog']. Cf. Tam. *ažru* 'frog'. This word is not found in Kab. *amqṛur* 'frog' (vb. *asqerqer* 'run behind') which may be derived from Alg. *gurgra*. In MA. the word *žrana* is also attested. It is probably plausible that it may be a loanword from Latin *rana* 'frog'.
- (19) *fellūs* [TA. 'chick']. Undoubtedly it is of Latin origin namely *pullus*.<sup>26</sup> Attested in MA., *fellus*, Tash., *afellūs*, Malt., *fellus*, Tam. *afullus* 'rooster, chicken', Kab., *tifillest* 'swallow'.
- (20) *fertattu* [TA. 'butterfly']. Cf. Chn. *farfattu* 'moth'. This word is also found in Maltese (Aquilina, 1975:299), MA (*bu-fertitu*), Tam. (*fertitu*) and Kab. *afertettu*.

<sup>26</sup> Bertoldi, cited in Tagliavini (1982: 177), suggested that there exist many words in Berber to be of Latin origin such as Lat. *cicer*, *lens* which correspond with *ikiker* 'chick pea' and *tilintit* 'lentil' in Berber.

- (21) *zo ʔrān* [TA. ‘tadpole and other insects found in stagnant waters’]. Cf. Malt. *ʒogħran* ‘a species of animaculæ generated in stagnant waters’. In addition, Aquilina mentions other uses such as *zu ʔlāš* ‘tétard’, TA (Takrouna) *zo ʔlâl*, Kab. *zu ʔlâš* both meaning ‘tadpole’, *z ʔlāyš* ‘tétards de grenouilles’ (Aquilina 1975:307).
- (22) *žrāda* [TA. ‘cricket’]. This word is of Arabic origin. However, it is worth noting a mysterious word in Maltese which is *werżieq*. There is one word in Tamazight which might correspond well with it which is *awerzi* ‘grosse voix’. Semantically, these two words share a common link, as it is known that a cricket does produce a sharp noise. Quite remotely, is another corresponding word in Tash., *awżiz*
- (23) *kusksi* [TA. ‘couscous’]. Chn. *kisksu*, Dou., Ouir., *berkūkiš*. Kab. *berkukes*. Tam. *berkukeš*. This word is also mentioned by Lentin (1959:15) in Alg.Ar. with a different meaning to mean ‘bracelet à gros grains’. Based on the fact that couscous is a Berber dish originally, one may safely infer that the word couscous is a corruption of the word *berkukes/berkukeš*.
- (24) *ageržum* [TA. *geržūma* ‘throat’]. It is simultaneously a panBerber and panMaghribine Arabic word as in, MA. *geržuta*, Alg.Ar. *tgaržima* ‘voile blanc de gorge’, Malt. *geržuma*, Tash. *agerz“um*, Kab., *agerz“um*, Tam., *ageržum*.
- (25) *welsīs* [TA. ‘groin irritation’]. Shil. *awelsīs*. Also attested in Kab. *awels* ‘avoir des douleurs aux ganglions de l’aine’ and Tam. *awelsis*, ‘aine, ganglin enflamé’. It is also found in MA *welsis* ‘glandular swelling’.
- (26) *stal* [TA. ‘bucket’]. This word is not of Berber origin as it occurs in Latin *situla*. Although the words *stal* or Kab. *eššdel* is used currently in Berber, there is however a native term which is *tagra* ‘wooden bucket’ in Tam.

- (27) *ferzezzu* [TA. 'wasp']. Evidence suggests a Berber origin for this word, as in Kab., *arez*, Berber (middle Atlas); *arzezzi*.

In addition to the above list, Tunisian Arabic shares striking similarities with other Berber varieties such as Tamazight and Kabyle. The list of words below are suspected to be of Berber origin:

- (28) *aqšūš* [TA. 'kitchen utensils']. Tam. 'kitchen utensils, furniture'. In Shilha the word *mašūn* is widely used. it is attested in Morocco and North of Algeria, but with a different meaning *qšūš* 'old clothes'.
- (29) *šqaf* [TA. (pl.) 'empty bottle, broken glass']. This word coincides well with Kab. *eššqef* 'bateau'; 'coque', 'carcasse', and Tam. *šeqqef* 'réduire en tessons, ébrécher'. In MA., this word can have an additional pejorative sense to mean 'old man' for *šqef* and *šeqfa* for 'old woman'. In Algerian Arabic, this word denotes meanings: 'a wooden or metal container where the *kanūnu*<sup>27</sup> and more simply 'pot'.
- (30) *afella* [TA. *fella* 'an opening in the cacti plantation']. Tam. 'second floor of a house'. This word does not occur in Cl.Ar. or Levantine. In Maltese the word *falla* means 'to stay or keep away from, to be absent' which shares similar meaning with Kabyle, *fel* 'go beyond, overtake, disappear'.
- (31) *hrēbiš* [TA. 'tablets']. Tam. *ḥebrureš* < vb. *breš*, 'make into small balls'. Cf. Kab. *ebreš* 'écraser, concasser'.
- (32) *šutba* [TA. 'dried branch']. In Tam. the word *tašatṭabt* is 'broom'; which is culturally valid since dried branches are used as a broom.
- (33) *lebžīm* [TA., Tam. 'tap']. Cl.Ar. 'buckle'. Cf. MA. *šetba* 'branch of a thorny plant'.

<sup>27</sup> A *kānūn* is a hand-built ceramic pot that holds coals and used mainly to cook the concentrated Tunisian tea, to barbecue fish and to roast vegetables.



- (34) *šeqalala* [TA., ‘unpleasant whingeing, trouble’]. Cf. Tam. ‘noise’. This word is not attested in Cl.Ar. and Lev. Yet, it corresponds with Kab., as in *čeqalala* ‘noise, rhythmic noise’ and Alg.Ar. *ražul šaqalala* ‘a man who makes noises on the street’. In addition, this can be compared to Malt. *čuqlažta* ‘a rattle’.
- (35) *bu-tellīs* [TA ‘an imaginary monster used by adults as a way to scare off children’]. Cf. Kab. *tellis* ‘weakness in the eyes’ and Tam. ‘nightmare, bad dream’. The word *tellis* may be a variation of the Berber word *tallest* ‘darkness, night’, inasmuch as ‘darkness’ is associated with images of ‘monsters’ in children’s eyes and hence nightmares. In the Tunisian culture if a parent wants to prevent his toddler from playing outside at night, he uses the expression ‘*fi al-zalma yžik bu-tellīs* ‘in the darkness the monster will come to you’.
- (36) *xīša* [TA. It is found only in the expression *yašfik xīša* which has no particular meaning. Women mainly use this expression when annoyed with the children]. Its origin remains uncertain despite the fact that it is attested in Morocco to mean ‘vieux sac’ Marçais (1977:126) and in Alg.Ar. ‘*toile cirée servant de nappe*’.
- (37) *sebsi* [TA., Kab. ‘pipe’]. Attested also in MA and Alg.Ar. ‘kind of a long Moroccan hashish pipe with a clay bowl’.
- (38) *qaššabiyya* [TA. ‘type of heavy overcoat with hood’]. Cf. Shl. *aqššāb* ‘shirt’.
- (39) *bzīz* [TA. ‘smashed guts of a human or animal’]. Interestingly, in Kabyle, the word *abziz* means ‘bribe’. Cf. Cl.Ar. *bazza* ‘to steal’.
- (40) *šerguba* [TA. ‘top’]. Tam. *ašerqeb* ‘crête rocheuse, colline haute et escapée dominant une colline’. It is attested in MA. *šarguba* ‘steep hill’.
- (41) *šefšaq* [TA. ‘bird’s song’]. Interestingly attested in Tam. *ašefšaq* ‘stolk’. In Kab., the closest word is *šeffeq* ‘épargner, laisser échapper’.

- (42) *gorbož* [TA. 'hovel']. Cf. Malt. *gorboγ* 'a hovel' (Aquilina 1975:301). Dessoulavy and Barbera suggest that the word may have developed from Ar. *kurbī* and Arabic-Persian-Turkish *kurbağ* 'a greengrocer's shop' respectively (Dessoulavy and Barbera, cited in Aquilina 1975:301).
- (43) *γūfa* [TA. 'untidy long hair']. Cf. Tam. *γufa* 'être barbouillé, sali, souillé'; Kab. *γufen* 'être barbouillée, souillé'. This word is found in MA. *γufala* 'long hair (in need of cutting)' and remotely in Alg.Ar. *γaffa* 'dessécher les céréales, sirocco'.
- (44) *tašallugit* [TA. *ysēr* 'left']. The word *tašallugit* is observed only in Douiret, Maltese (Malt. *šellūg* 'left' and Alg.Ar. *šelgi* 'left-handed'). This word may be of Berber origin but it seems to be obsolete in Tunisian Arabic. Cp. Tash. *tazelmatt* 'left'.
- (45) *nnila* [TA. This word is commonly used by Tunisian women in the expression *yašfik nnila* when cursing someone ].
- (46) *mungēla* [TA. 'watch, clock']. This word is close in meaning to *Imagana* in Tam. bearing the same meaning. It may have developed from Cl.Ar., but with a change in meaning as in *manqala* 'brazier'.
- (47) *taqa* [TA. 'a type of small shelf used to hold a lamp']. Attested in both Kab. and Tam. with a different meaning *taqa/taqqa* 'genèvrier'. A striking counterpart exists in Maltese *tieqa* 'window'.
- (48) *zenbīl* [TA. 'a large basket made of alfa used to carry various goods']

This word is found in Maltese denoting the same meaning (Aquilina 1975:307) and Alg.Ar. 'panier double'. Cf. Tam. *azzenbil* 'grand panier à deux poches pour le transport du fumier à dos d'âne'; Kab. *azembil* 'grand panier double en alfa qu'on met sur l'âne ou sur le mulet pour le transport de fumier, par exemple'. MA *šwēri*. However, according to Leslau, the word *zenbil* is a loan word from Arabic; of "ancient

origin". He believes that this word occurs in Amharic and possibly in Akkadian (Leslau cited in Aquilina 1975:311).

(49) *babbūš* [TA. 'snails']. MA. *bebbuša*, Alg. *buži ʔlillū*. Cf. Sh. *ababbuš*.

This word is not attested in Kabyle; the word *aḡrus* is used instead. The word *babbuš* is also found in Maltese *bebbux* 'snails' (Aquilina 1975:298) and Alg.Ar. *babbūš* 'petits escargots blancs'. Aquilina notes that this word occurs in Sicilian under the form *babbalu'ci/babbalu'ciu* 'Helix pisana, Muller' "che e comunissima nei dintorni di Palermo" and "babbaluci d'acqua" (Mortillaro, cited in Aquilina 1975:298) which is synonymous with the Maltese definition. Cf. Beni Iznassen *aže ʔlul lebħar* 'coquillage, escargot de mer' (Renisio cited in Aquilina 1975:298).

(50) *šentufa* [TA. 'small piece']. Attested in MA. with similar meaning.

(51) *kersūħa* [TA. 'a little time', a term widely used by women]. This is another mysterious word as it is not attested in either Maghribine Arabic varieties nor in Kab. and Tam.

### 5.6.8.2 Adjectives

(1) *bužadi/abužadi* [TA., Tam., 'beginner, unexperienced, innocent']. This word occurs also in Kabyle *abužad* carrying the same meaning. It is also attested in MA. This word is not found in either Cl.Ar. or in Lev. It is possible that this word is of Berber origin except that the paucity of data available on other Berber vernaculars makes the origin of this word inconclusive.

(2) *mxammal* [TA. 'put away']. It is possible that this word is of Berber origin as it occurs in Tam. 'clean, to do housework, change furniture'.

- (3) *mraḏrḏa* [TA. 'flaccid', usually associated with body parts, after a severe fall, or hurt']. Occurs in both Kab. and Tam. *rez* 'to break'.
- (4) *aduγri* [TA. *digurdi* 'good man, honest, strict']. Similar definition exists in Kab. and Tam. 'a severe person, honest, strict'.
- (5) *mgerreh* [TA., Tam., 'poor']. It may have developed from the Arabic word *žarah* 'wounded'.
- (6) *aḥerfi* [TA., Tam. 'dried food, bread']. Though many words have been developed from the root <ḤRF>, e.g., *ḥarf* 'edge' and *ḥrīfēt* 'spicy food'. The origin of this word is also uncertain as it is not observed elsewhere (i.e. Magh.Ar., Berber, Malt., Lev.Ar.).
- (7) *mhentel* [TA. 'badly groomed']. The origin of this word is uncertain. This lexicon does not correspond with MA. Alg.Ar., Kab. or Tam.
- (8) *beḥbūh* [TA. 'light-hearted, likeable']. Cf. Tam. *bbuḥ* 'être joli, beau in the child's language' and Kab. *bbah* 'être gentil, mignon' (child's language).
- (9) *mšūm* [TA. 'severe in character']. Cf. Tam. *amšum* 'pauvre, infortuné'. Kab. *amcum* 'méchant, malin'. It is uncertain whether this word is of Arabic or Berber origin. However, its closest word is in Cl.Ar. *šamam* 'to behave proudly or haughtily'.
- (10) *šekkēl* [TA. 'to woo'; also *šekkēl* 'bobby pin'; *šekkēlži* 'a womaniser']. This word is likely to be of Arabic origin as it occurs in other Arabic varieties such Alg.Ar. *šekkēl* 'beau à rien', Maltese 'to shackle, impede'; *šekkiel* 'a wanderer', MA. 'to hobble', 'to make someone fall'. And in Kab. *šekkel* 'entraver', Tam. 'placer les traverses dans l'appareil à pisé'; 'introduire une chose dans une autre'. Hence, only Tamazight suggests a different meaning to the Arabic and Berber varieties.

- (11) *zēmīl* [TA. 'corrupt individual; homosexual, also *ḥṣān* 'homosexual']. It is attested only in Malt. *ziemel* 'horse' and Tam., *zzamel* 'homosexual'. This word is not found in Kab. *timint* 'homosexual'. In MA. the word *zamil* occurs but denotes a different meaning 'friends' (<Ar.).

### 5.6.8.3 Verbs

- (1) *terter* [TA., Tam., 'mutter, break wind', and in an onomatopoeic sense 'motorbike engine's noise']. This verb is found in Tam. *iterter* 'folle avoine' and Kab. *tterter* 'fart' and Alg.Ar. *tertūr* and *ṭarṭūr* 'gros vagin', a vulgar term.
- (2) *ne ḡne ḡ* [TA. 'whinge']. In Kab. and Tam. the meaning changes to 'speak through the nose'. The closest word in Cl.Ar. is *na ḡā* 'to whisper, speak gently, to babble as a child'. It is possible that this word has developed from Arabic either from *na ḡā* or *ḡanna* 'sing'.
- (3) *derder* [TA. 'a badly mixed liquid']. Cf. Tam. 'sprinkle'; Malt. *mdardar* 'nauseating'. In Tam. *derder* 'to sprinkle with salt'. In MA, the word *derder* carries another meaning 'ash'. It is likely that this word is of Cl.Ar. origin with an altogether different meaning as in *dardara* 'roar, rush (of water)'.  
 (4) *degdeg* [TA., Tam. 'to shatter, break in small pieces, <Cl.Ar. *daqq* 'crushing']. It is widely used in both MA and Alg.Ar.
- (5) *kezkez* [TA., Tam. 'grind', Ar. *kazza Ṣala asnaninhi* 'gnaw one's teeth'. Cf. Cl.Ar. *kazza Ṣala asnanihi* 'to gnaw one's teeth'.
- (6) *seksek* ['Falling', as in the Tunisian expression *el-mizṛya tseksek* 'lit. misery is here in a heavy fall'. Cf. *keskes* 'tamis' in TA which is also attested in Kabyle *aseksut* 'très grande passoire pour cuire le couscous à la vapeur'.

(7) *ferkeš* [TA. 'look for in an unorderedly fashion'].

This word is listed in Aquilina's article as being a Berber element in Maltese (Aquilina 1975:298-309). Compare Malt. *ferkex* 'to scrape the pavement as horses or hens do' with Berber *aferquš* 'pied fourchu d'un animal' (Renisio, cited in Aquilina 1975:298-309). In Tamazight the word *ferkeš* carries an altogether different meaning 'to crack'. In Egy.Ar. the word *farkaša* is also attested 'to disarrange'. Apart from the dialect of Tam., it seems that all the other languages listed have the generic sense of 'doing something in an unorderedly fashion'. The striking agreement in meaning between Berber and Maltese suggests that this word could equally be of Berber or Arabic origin, which remains inconclusive. Similarly to the problem associated with the word *afellus*, Aquilina (1975:300) remarked that 'it is not easy to say whether the word travelled to Malta with the Berbers or with the Arabs'.

In addition, the fact that this word is also found in Egyptian Arabic does not entail that this word is Arabic, as it is known that Berber is still spoken in the region of Siwa. Unfortunately no apparent data is available on this language.

(8) *mašmaš* [TA. 'rinse']. Chn. *mašmaš*. This word is not attested in neither Kab. nor Tam. It is also not found in either Alg.Ar. or MA.

(9) *nūš* [TA. 'incite']. It is also used in the expression *imši neyyiš* 'go away'. Dou. *innūš*. Tam. *niyyiš*, 'to target'. Not attested in neither Kab. nor Cl.Ar. The closest word in form is found in Tamazight with the word *nešneš* 'eavesdropping'. However, it could have developed from the Arabic word *našša* 'to boil up, simmer, to hiss, to drive away flies' which is probably its origin.

- (10) *feršex* [TA. 'squash']. There are approximately twenty-six synonyms to the word 'squash' in Kabyle. Among these the word *feršex* is not attested. However, the word *feršex* is used in both Tamazight, Alg.Ar. and Moroccan Arabic to mean 'to break up or crush with blows'. In Cl.Ar. the word *faršaxa/faršaha* has a different meaning 'to straddle, stand with one's legs apart'.
- (11) *ħašlaf* [TA. 'to eat hastily']. Also, in TA. the word *Ĥišlēf* is a family name. Cf. Malt. *ħušlief* 'hay' (Aquilina 1975:302). In Tam., the word *aħešlaf* indicates 'herbe, brousaille, mauvaise herbe; brindille'. In Kab., the word *ihšiš* is used to mean 'to be light in weight'. It is likely that the word, although it may seem a far-fetched explanation, is a compound loanword from Arabic; combining the words *ħašš* and *laf* which mean 'cut the grass' and 'roll' respectively.
- (12) *berbeš* [TA. 'look for something in great hurry']. This lexeme occurs in both Kab. and Tam. to mean 'multi- colourful, covered in spots'. This word does not occur in Lev., Alg.Ar., MA and Cl.Ar.
- (13) *bewweš* [TA., Tam. 'vomit']. This word is unknown in Kabyle and Cl.Ar.
- (14) *kellax* [TA. (coll.) 'lie, mystify, trick']. It is also used in Kabyle bearing the same sense. In Tamazight, the word *kellax* denotes 'to be stupid, naïve'. In MA, the word *kelxa* is used in the expression *šla kelxa!* 'what a numbskull!'. In Alg.Ar. *kalxi* 'de qualité inférieure' and *muklāx* 'trompé'. Compared with Cl.Ar., the closest word in form (i.e. <KLX>) is *kalx* meaning 'giant fennel'.
- (15) *kelleħ* [TA. This word is a variation to the above lexis with a change in the final consonant (*ħ* instead of *x*). In TA, this word is strictly used colloquially, meaning 'to feel horny'. In Alg.Ar. *klāħ* means 'sometimes'.

- (16) *graš* [TA. 'very cold weather']. Tam. *sgers* 'spend winter'. In Kabyle the word *agris* means 'very cold'. Also, in Tashelhit *tagerst* 'very cold'. This word is not attested in Alg. nor in MA.
- (17) *kerref* [TA, Tam. 'reject, refuse']. In Kab. *ekref* bears a different meaning, 'to be paralysed, deprived'. This word does not occur in either Cl.Ar. or Lev.
- (18) *germeš* [TA. 'to crunch']. It is likely that this word is of Berber origin as it is also attested in Kabyle *ggermec* and Tam. *germeš*.
- (19) *mašmaš* [TA. 'to rinse']. In Cl.Ar. *mašmaša* 'to sip and turn around in the mouth'.
- (20) *gdim* [TA. 'to bite, *gidma* (noun)]. Cf. Kab. *edrem* 'donner un coup de dent, arracher avec les dents'.

In Tamazight the word *g<sup>w</sup>dem* is found with a complete by different meaning 'se renverser'. In Malt., the closest word is *geddum* 'a pig's snout' (Aquilina 1975:300). Aquilina's suggestion that *geddum* may have developed from the Berber word *ūdem* is a possible explanation. If this is the case, then the preposition *g* in the word *gdem* should be considered and *gdim* would mean 'in the face'. There are other possible words which are likely to be related to the word *gdim*, such as: TA. *qaduma* 'axe', Cl.Ar. *qoddēma* 'in front of'. Aquilina added that there exists in Sicilian the word *guddimu* meaning 'sulky, frowning'. Like many other words, defining the exact origin of this word is inconclusive.

- (21) *γiš* [TA. 'to be in a difficult situation']. Tamazight 'bog', as found in the Tunisian proverb *qīš qbal ma tγiš* (lit. 'measure before you get stuck') to mean 'think before you leap'. Cf. Kab. 'absent in spirit', Tam. 'bog'. There is a shared meaning between TA and Tam. This word could have developed from Cl.Ar. *γašša* 'overcrowded, jammed'.



- (22) *hawtar* [TA. 'speak incessantly; speak unintelligibly; to gibber']. Tam. *hetter* 'to speak incessantly'. It may have originated from Cl.Ar. *hitr* 'twaddle, childish talk'. The inclusion of the phoneme /w/ in *hawtar* is misleading as it may entail that the word is of Berber origin. In Kabyle, the word *ether* has a different meaning 'to be annoying' without any reference to a verbal behaviour. The closest word in MA. is *hder* 'to chat' which is also attested in Southern Tunisian Arabic.
- (23) *ffertett* [TA., Tam., Kab., 'to put on weight']. No counterparts are found in Alg.Ar., MA. and Classical Arabic.
- (24) *hūf* [TA. 'to steal']. Cf. Tam. 'to wander aimlessly, to pounce on' which has a counterpart in Maltese *ħaf*, *iħuf* 'to prowl'.
- (25) *dsir* [TA., Tam. 'to be brave enough to do something']. This word, to the writer's knowledge, is not attested in kabyle. However, it is likely that it is a loanword from Cl.Ar. *dasara* 'to push, shove, push off'.
- (26) *beššaq* [TA. 'to look fixedly']. This word is also attested in Tam. *bežžeq* 'ouvrir grandement les yeux, regarder attentivement'. The only word found in Cl.Ar. is *bāšaq* 'look up alphabetically'. It is also attested in Maltese *mbexxaq* 'ajar'.
- (27) *xemmem* [TA, Tam., Kab. 'think, worry about']. It occurs in Cl.Ar. only in the form *xamma* 'to sweep'.
- (28) *bennen* [TA. 'to taste']. Kab. *ibnin* 'tasty'. The word connotes a different meaning in Tamazight signifying 'to balance the churn so as to separate butter from milk'. Cf. *benna* in Maltese 'to taste', but *bennen* is 'to rock, to cradle'.
- (29) *nšil* [TA. 'to lose colour, length']. Tam. 'to lose water'. Cf. Cl.Ar. *našala* 'to take away, steal'.
- (30) *sekker* [TA. 'close']. Tam. 'to do, lift, raise'. Yet, TA. corresponds well with Kabyle as in *sekk<sup>w</sup>er*. In MA, the word for close is *šedd*, *sedd*.

- (31) *zeyyer* [TA. 'to speed']. Tam. *zeyyer* 'squeeze', Kab. *zeyyer*. Cf. MA. *ziyyer* 'severity, strictness'.
- (32) *ašelliq* [TA. This word is used in the Tunisian colloquial expression *ma tašallaqš* 'don't make it obvious!' which is commonly used among Tunisian youths]. In Kabyle, the word *ašelliq* has a different meaning of 'fine tissue or robe'. There are two other words in Kabyle and TA which denote 'cloth' namely *šawliqa* and *tašelliqt* in TA and Kabyle respectively.
- (33) *herra* [TA., 'lacerate, wear out']. Kab. *herri* 'wound, lacerate'. In Cl.Ar. a similar word used which occurs with a glottal stop (ʔ) as in *haraʔa*, denotes the same meaning of as in TA. In addition, Tunisian Arabic uses the word *mherri* in a colloquial sense as in the expression *īža ya mhirri* 'come here bad boy!'.
- (34) *šahšah* [TA. 'action of paying attention']. In Shl. *ašahssu* 'action of listening' (Destaing 1940:360).
- (35) *hewwes* [TA. 'to walk around leisurely', also in rural Tunisia '*aller en tout sens*' (Louis n.d:289)]. This is an interesting word if one compares it with Cl.Ar. *sewweh* 'to travel'. The word *hewwes* occurs in Kab. '*se promener*' and Tam. 'grab and run'. This word could have been developed from Arabic.
- (36) *nežžem* [TA. vb. 'can']. It is widely used among Northern Berber languages as in Kabyle *enžem*, Tamazight *nežžem* and Tashelhit *néžžem*. Louis (n.d:289). This word is found in Algerian Arabic denoting similar meaning. One would argue that this lexeme may be a variation to Arabic *nažama* 'to predict'.
- (37) *yudruz* [TA. 'walking up and down in a rage or aimlessly']. This corresponds well with Kabyle *udruz* 'sounds of footsteps'. In Tamazight, the word *ddirz* denotes a different meaning 'to walk backward'.

- (38) *bendel* [TA. 'get tired, give up hope']. This is solely found in Tunisian Arabic. Its origin is uncertain as it is not attested in either Magh.Ar., Kab. or in Tamazight. However, it is found in Maltese with a light change in meaning as in *bandal* 'to swing, rock'. Cf. Sic. *bbandulieri* "penzolare" Piccino (Mifsud 1995:282). Both TA and Maltese share the verbal noun *tbandil*.
- (39) *wedwed* [TA. 'to talk nonsense']. This is an onomatopoeic word which is not attested in other Berber languages, Algerian Arabic or Moroccan.
- (40) *zmaq* [TA. 'cry loudly']. In Tamazight, the corresponding word in form is *zemmeq être usé*. In Kabyle, the closest counterpart is *zzemreq* 'to have blue eyes'. The origin of this word is inconclusive since the root <*zmq*> is not found in Classical Arabic.
- (41) *maxmax*. [TA. 'nibble']. This word is typically a Tunisian Arabic word as it does not have any counterparts in any of the other North Berber languages, MA. and Alg.Ar.
- (42) *teftef* [TA. vb. 'to eat from the surface', also in TA. *teftufa (n)* 'small amount'. Kab. *tteftef* and Tam. *teftef* both carry the meaning of 'tâtonner, chercher'. In Malt. the word *teftef* has the meaning of 'to feel, to handle or touch lightly' (Aquilina 1975:305). In Alg.Ar. *teftef* denotes 'se cracher dans les mains (piocheur)'.
- (43) *rah haz* [TA. This word is used in the expression *imši rah haz* 'go away'. Cf. MA. *rehhez* meaning 'to over season with salt, to poison with arsenic' and Tam. *rrehž* 'arsenic, poison, intoxication par empoisonnement'. Its origin remains uncertain.
- (44) *eyya* [TA. 'come, hurry-up']. Cf. Malt. *ežža*. It is possible that this word has originated from the Cl.Ar. word *heyya* 'up! come on!'. Thus, Aquilina's claim that this word is of Berber origin is quite unlikely.

- (45) *šelweh* [TA. 'performing a healing ritual whereby a woman, with a hand full of salt, lightly touches the body of either a man or a woman suffering from the 'bad eye'].<sup>28</sup>

Interestingly this word is attested in Tamazight, however the verb describes the state of the sick rather than the action as in *šelweh* 'être mou, flasque, avachi'. In Moroccan Arabic, the word *šelweh* is attested, but bears a different meaning 'to swing or sling in the air'. And quite remotely Malt. *ćewlieh* 'a man in rags'.

- (46) *šelweš* [TA. 'to manage with little means']. In MA. this word has the same meaning as in (88). It is not attested, with the same meaning in Tam. and Kab.
- (47) *šellel* [TA. 'to rinse clothes, dishes']. A similar word is attested in MA. It is also found in Kab. with a different meaning 'recouvrir d'or, d'argent'. Hence, it is not possible to give a definite statement of its origin.
- (48) *šerreg* [TA. 'to tear']. Attested also in Kabyle, Tamazight and Moroccan. It is likely that this word of Arabic origin.
- (49) *šexweš* [TA. 'to feel disoriented', 'mentally preoccupied'].

In MA., 'to frighten', to scare'. Could it be that the mysterious word *xīša* in TA., found in the expression *yašfīk xīša* 'be cursed!', is derived from this verb? If so, then one presumes a semantic link with 'feeling disoriented', 'fright' and 'curse'. In Kabyle, the only likely related word is *išexxeš* 'être captivé, absorbé par un spectacle'. In Algerian

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<sup>28</sup> The 'bad eye' or It. *mal'occhio* is a superstitious attitude of someone experiencing a misfortune. The proof of whether the sufferer is the victim of *mal'occhio* is revealed by the constant yawns and the streaming of tears on the face of the healer. The 'patient' usually feels some relief as soon as the ritual is completed. As a gesture for his or her gratitude, the 'patient' gives a symbolic coin or two to the healer. This ceremony is still strongly performed throughout Tunisia.

Arabic, *xayša* denotes both 'a piece of leather' and '*toile, cirée servant de nappe*'. This word does not seem to be attested in Tamazight.

- (50) *šarbaq* [TA. 'hit', usually found in the expression as *šarbaq bkeff* 'to hit on the face']. Not attested in either Kab., Tam. and MA.

#### 5.6.8.4 Tunisian Arabic and Berber nursery language

The work of Bynon (1968) is probably the most serious study on the nursery language in Berber. Bynon (1968:129) argues that there are two main morphological characteristics<sup>29</sup> of nursery terms in Berber which are "high frequency of open syllables" and "a strong tendency towards reduplication".

The immediate discussion of the nursery terms in Shilḥa is tentative and needs further investigation. It includes words discussed by Aquilina (1975:308-309) as in:

- (1) *bubbu* [TA. 'drink (in child's language)']. Tam. 'breast'. This word also occurs in Kabyle to mean 'breast'. Ferguson (cited in Bynon 1968:146), states that the words *mbu* and *mbuwa* are of general nursery talk in Arabic with the following variations *nbuu* in Lebanese Arabic; *mbuu* and *mbuu* in Syrian Arabic and *mbûa* in Tunisian Arabic.
- (2) *mummu* [TA. 'breast in baby's language']. It is also used in TA as a term of endearment as in the expression *mummu šini* 'pupil of my eye'. Tam. 'baby'. Interestingly in Kabyle the word *mummu* is used also as a term of endearment meaning 'pupil'.
- (3) *diddi* [TA. 'light injury'] Tam. 'hurt'. Kabyle. 'hurt'. Cf. Malt. *mimmi* 'hurt'. Aquilina (1975:308).

- (4) *dadduš* [TA. Tam. a baby's first steps]. Also attested in Kab. *ddac* 'small steps' and in Zemmour. In Maghribine Arabic, Bynon (1968:147) lists *dadduš* in Rabat; Moroccan Arabic *daddi* 'walk' "where it has given the verb *daddaš* 'take the first steps'; Algeria (Metidja region) *deddaš*. Bynon (1968:147) concludes that this word is part of the Berber substratum due to its widespread usage.
- (5) *bubbu*. [TA. Tam. 'drink']. The word *bubbu* exists in Kabyle with a variation in meaning of *bubbu* 'breast' in child's language. Cf. Malt. *bumbu* 'drink' (Aquilina 1975:308).
- (6) *kakkaš*, *nannah* [TA. 'to encourage a toddler to defecate'] Cf. Malt. *kakka* 'dirt' (Aquilina 1975:309).
- (7) *nenni* [TA. 'to sleep']. This word is not observed in Kab. or Tam.
- (8) *šešši* [TA. 'to sit']. It is also found in Tam. *šišši* 'to sit'.
- (9) *tahriša* [TA. coll. 'snack']. Well attested in Kabyle and Tamazight with various meanings, e.g. Kab. *lherš* 'grosse semoule'. Tam. *aħriš* 'aiguillon pour exciter et conduire l'attelage lors des labours ou du dépiquage'.

### 5.6.8.5 Summary

This chapter aimed to scrutinise the outcome of language contact between Tunisian Arabic and Shilha at the levels of morpho-syntax and lexis. The result is altogether surprising. In fact the paucity of the Berber element in Tunisian Arabic may thwart unfounded claims that Tunisian Arabic is flooded with Berber lexis. More comparative research is needed between Tunisian Arabic and Shilha. This chapter attempts to prove that Shilha has been more influenced in both lexis and morphology than Tunisian Arabic. Besides the fact that Tunisian Arabic and Berber share a common phylum (Afro-asiatic), there are some sociolinguistic factors such as the low prestige of Shilha as a mother tongue, constant migration of Berber men to other major Tunisian

cities and the modernisation of the Berber's way of life in New Douiret, have all contributed to the linguistic changes to the Shilha vernacular.