GHOMARA BERBER
A BRIEF GRAMMATICAL SURVEY

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WORDLIST

ABBREVIATIONS

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PREFACE

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

On the one hand, we will investigate the linguistic structure of Ghomara Berber through an examination of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Ghomara Berber. On the other hand, we will look into the interference between Moroccan Arabic and Ghomara Berber through an examination of Moroccan Arabic borrowings in Ghomara Berber. Conspicuous examples of these borrowings will be discussed in separate paragraphs or subparagraphs, which we will consequently entitle ‘Arabic loans’.
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This thesis could not have been completed without the help of many. I am delighted to acknowledge the assistance of all those who have contributed to this work in one way or the other. I particularly wish to express my gratitude to the following persons and institutions.

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

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

¹ M. Kossmann, Grammaire du parler berbère de Figueig (Maroc oriental) (Paris etc.: Éditions Peeters, 1997).
INTRODUCTION

Berber

Morocco has the largest number of Berber speakers in North-Africa (roughly 15 million) followed by Algeria (roughly 4 million) and Libya (roughly 1.5 million). The geographical distribution of Berber in Morocco consists of three main domains: the Rif, Middle Atlas and High Atlas and the Anti Atlas. The respective Berber languages spoken in these areas are: Tarifiyt, Tamazight (or Middle Atlas Berber) and Tashelhiyt. Because census data usually does not comprise linguistic data, we can only estimate the number of speakers of these languages. In his inaugural oration, Stroomer estimated that the number of speakers of Tarifiyt is between one and two million while two to three million people speak Tamazight and six to eight million speak Tashelhiyt.

North Morocco

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

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

4 The people who speak Ghomara Berber refer to their language as ššelha, which is commonly used in MA to denote Berber in general. We will refer to this language as Ghomara Berber.
It is still considered extinct by the Ethnologue. However, Behnstedt had already reported in 2002 that Ghomara Berber is not extinct.

Ghomara

Ghomara belongs to the province (iqlim) of Chefchaouen. It is located between the provinces of Tétouan and Al Hoceima and is skirted by the Mediterranean Sea in the North (see Appendix II). Ghomara is administratively divided in three qiyada: Asifan, Taleḥbut and Bu Aḥmed. The qiyada of Bu Aḥmed consists of three żamaa: Astīḥa, Tuzgan and Bni Buẓra. Bni Buẓra on its turn is divided in four mašyaxa corresponding to the four rbā: Alwuṣṭiyyen, Bni Menselman, Bni Musa and Tadman (see Appendix II).

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

Bni Buẓra

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

7 Id.
8 Administrative district presided by a qayd who is accountable to the provincial council (lisamala).
9 We will employ the Arabic terminology to avoid ambiguous terms like ‘village’.
10 Administrative district presided by a šayx who is accountable to the qiyada.
11 Colin refers to this żamaa as Bni Zedgel. Colin, ‘Le parler berbère’, p. 50.
12 At the time of Colin’s fieldwork, this traditional map was the actual map of Ghomara. Colin, ‘Le parler berbère’, pp. 44-50.
The inhabitants of Bni Buzra are mostly involved in agricultural activities. The most important being the cultivation of wheat, corn and barley and the cultivation of various fruit bearing trees. In addition the breeding of cattle like goats, sheep and cows is a vital activity for the inhabitants of Bni Buzra. The majority of these activities are carried out in the interior, which is characterized by rocky surfaces and slopes. The remainder is carried out on the coast along the Mediterranean Sea in an area stretching from Bu Ahmed to Amtar. Along this coastal strip, another vital activity takes place namely fishing, especially for sardines.

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

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

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

Ghomara Berber

The distribution and delimitation of the linguistic borders between Berberophone and Arabophone areas, the interference between the two as well as the distribution of the diverse Berber languages remain to be
important subjects in Berber linguistics. The linguistic enclave of Ghomara is a phenomenon, which is likely to be a valuable addition to our knowledge of linguistic distribution as well as linguistic interference. However, this phenomenon has not been investigated thoroughly yet.

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

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

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

Our main informant, Muhammad Hudda, studied MSA. He was therefore able to translate from MSA to Ghomara Berber. He is a middle-aged man who lives with his family in Bni Buza in the sawwar Samtiqan (rabq of Bni Musa). He works as a local representative of the people (mumaθül, nayb) in the council of the žamaa. In this council he represents the inhabitants of the sawwar of Samtiqan, Maḥmud and Faliz with regard to matters like electricity, drinking water and transportation roads. In his younger years, he studied the Quran in Bni Buza. Because of his knowledge of the Quran and MSA, people call him ‘fqiḥ’. When he is not working as a representative, he works on the fields with his family.

Because of his knowledge of MSA as well as Ghomara Berber, Muhammad was a very useful informant. He was able to understand questions with a grammatical substrate. On the other hand, we could use grammatical terminology of MSA. This made the completion of the questionnaires more efficient.

While for instance it was difficult to explain to some other informants the meaning of the imperative, we were able to ask Muhammad ‘the ‘amr’ of a certain verb. Another advantage of the use of MSA was the

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

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

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

According to Muhammad Hudda and the other informants, the only two Berberophone žamaa are Bni Bužra and Bni Menšur while the rest is Arabophone (see Appendix IV). Most Berberophone people are bilingual and also speak MA (dialect of Tétouan). In Bni Bužra the rbac of Bni Musa and Alwuštîyyen are Berberophone while in Bni Menšur only the rbac of Bni Šrus is Berberophone (see Appendix I and IV).\textsuperscript{15}

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

\textsuperscript{15} In 19 duwwar of the 34 duwwar of Bni Bužra Berber is spoken while in 7 of the 33 duwwar of Bni Menšur Berber is spoken (see Appendix I). In the other duwwar and in other parts of Ghomara MA is spoken.

\textsuperscript{16} The growth rate between 1994 and 2004 was 2,451 percent annually based on the total growth of the population from 11.734 in 1994 to 14.950 in 2004 in Bni Bužra.

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

\textsuperscript{18} In 2004 there was an estimated total of 7.408 inhabitants in the Berberophone duwwar of Bni Musa and Alwuštîyyen. In the Berberophone duwwar of Bni Šrus there was an estimated number of 2.547 inhabitants in 2004. This totals up to 9.955 Berberophone inhabitants in Ghomara in 2004.
According to this data and calculations, about fifty percent of the inhabitants of Bni Buẓra is Berberophone while roughly fourteen percent of the population of Bni Menṣur is Berberophone. This corresponds to the percentages, which Muhammad Hudda as well as other informants reported to us. They reported that half of the population of Bni Buẓra is Berberophone while ten to fifteen percent of Bni Menṣur is Berberophone.

Ghomara Berber studies

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

As to Bni Menṣur, Colin reports that Berber was only spoken in the Ṣابق of Bni Ṣusahaan: Isuka, Bni Ṣfüra, Ṣagṣeb, Tawrart, Tužgan, ʾIṭruḥaš, Takenza, Ḳezarden and Ṣezemurr. According to the official list Ṣezemurr belongs to the Ṣابق of Bni Musa which in turn belongs to the Ṣامع of Bni Buẓra. Since it is close to the border separating Bni Buẓra from Bni Menṣur there might have been a shift over time. It is still a Berber speaking Ḍuwwar though. As to Ḳezarden and Ḳurdarden, even though they are officially not part of

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

20 Bni Benselman corresponds to Bni Menselman, which is nowadays the official name of this Ṣامع. Cf. Colin, ʿLe parler berbèreʿ, p. 44.

21 Colin, ʿLe parler berbèreʿ, p. 44.

22 Colin mentions that one informant reported Tužgan to him. Colin, ʿLe parler berbèreʿ, p. 44.

23 Colin mentions that one informant reported ʾIṭruḥaš to him. Colin, ʿLe parler berbèreʿ, p. 44.

24 According to our informants and recent official data, Takenza corresponds to Taženza. Cf. Behnstedt, ʿLa frontera entre el bereber y el árabeʿ, p. 11.

25 Colin, ʿLe parler berbèreʿ, p. 44.

26 Behnstedt designates Ṣezemurr as a Ḍuwwar belonging to Bni Menṣur instead of Bni Buẓra. At the same time he designates the Ḍuwwar south of Ṣezemurr, Isuka, as a Ḍuwwar belonging to Bni Buẓra. Behnstedt, ʿLa frontera entre el bereber y el árabeʿ, p. 18. Colin reports that both Isuka and Ṣezemurr belong to Bni Menṣur. Colin, ʿLe parler berbèreʿ, p. 44. Since these two Ṣابق are located in the area between the two Ṣامع, there have possibly been some changes over time. The qiyaḍa of Bu Ṣahmed reported to us that Ṣezemurr now belongs to the Ṣامع of Bni Buẓra while Isuka belongs to the Ṣامع of Bni Menṣur.
the *rbaw* of Bni Σrus they were also reported to me by an informant. Seemingly, even this situation has not changed much because nowadays the *rbaw* of Bni Σrus is still the only *rbaw* of Bni Menşur where Berber is spoken.

According to Colin M. A. Mouliéras had designated three *žamaa* as entirely or partly Berber speaking as early as 1899: Bni Bužra, Bni Menşur and Bni Smiḥ. Despite this fact Augustin Bernard and P. Moussard wrote in 1924: “Ghomara ont oublié leur langue”. Contrary to this report of Bernard and Moussard, Leopold Justinard was able to outline the Berber speaking enclave of Ghomara in a map in his *Manuel de berbère marocain (dialecte rifain)*. After Colin’s confirmation in 1929 that Bni Bužra and Bni Menşur were still Berber speaking it seems that there haven’t been much reports about the linguistic situation in Ghomara. Gaudio makes a short remark in 1981 about the linguistic enclave: “Les Beni-Bouzra et les Beni-Mansor sont toujours bilingues et emploient l’arabe autant que le berbère, notamment sur les marchés et dans la vie publique. Les deux langues sont d’ailleurs souvent mélangées. Ainsi le dialecte berbère appelé “chelka” est constitué presque pour moitié de mots et d’expressions arabes qui prêtent mieux aux exigences linguistiques modernes par leur variété et la richesse du vocabulaire.”

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

Behnstedt cites Colin with regard to Bu Ahmed who mentioned that the elderly still understood Berber but did not speak it anymore. But Colin dealt with Bu Ahmed in the *žamaa* of Bni Smiḥ and not Bu Ahmed in the *žamaa* of Bni Bužra. In the map of Behnstedt though, Bu Ahmed of Bni Bužra is designated as Berber speaking. According to our information, Bu Ahmed of Bni Bužra is Arabophone. There are some people though from the rural areas who have come to live in Bu Ahmed recently and who

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27 This informant from Bni Menşur, Ahmed Akhrif, added to this list the following *duwwar* as being part of Bni Σrus: Imulayen and Bussef. Ahmed was the only informant who provided these two *duwwar*. Behnstedt does not mention these *duwwar*. In addition, Behnstedt was not able to locate Ižaden and Içurdaden on his map. Cf. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 11.
29 Id.
30 Id.
32 Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 18.
33 Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 11.
speak Berber. Also the children of these families who have recently moved to this centre speak Berber. There are not many occasions to speak Berber though in the centre of Bu Aḥmed since most people do not understand nor speak Berber. All informants have designated Bu Aḥmed as Arabophone, especially since this is the centre where people of different areas meet who are not able to speak nor understand Berber.

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

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

**Future perspective of Ghomara Berber**

Our findings based on our fieldwork confirm that the žamasa of Bni Buẓra and Bni Menṣur are still the only two Berber speaking žamasa in Ghomara as we have mentioned. The number of speakers of about 10,000 speakers indicates that this language is not yet extinct.\(^{35}\) It is perhaps on the edge as Behnstedt reported.\(^{36}\) However, there are other indications that Ghomara Berber is not even on the edge. One of these indications is that not only elderly women or elderly in general speak Ghomara Berber but also children. Children learn this language at home. Even in Bu Aḥmed, we found a 10 year old boy, Muhammad, who was able to speak and understand Berber and who was able to translate all the stories of Colin\(^ {37}\) that we read to him in order to assess his ability to understand Berber. Muhammad is the cousin of our main informant Muhammad Hudda and he lives with his parents in the centre of Bu Aḥmed. His father, Husayn, has a shop in which he sells small agricultural goods. He speaks Berber as well. When the family and friends sit together they speak MA with some Berber unless there is someone else who only speaks MA then the entire conversation is in MA. It must be said that they turn to MA very often and that Berber is mostly used for every day and simple phrases.

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

\(^{35}\) Cf. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 10.

\(^{36}\) Id.

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

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

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

39 Id.
40 Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 6.
TRANSCRIPTION

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

Table 001. Transcription

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngealized dentals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̚</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d̚</td>
<td>đ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngealized alveolars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s̚</td>
<td>ş</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z̚</td>
<td>ž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þ</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ž</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>ḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ʕ</td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottals</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lower case</th>
<th>Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td>Θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δ</td>
<td>Δ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γ</td>
<td>Γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>Σ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. PHONOLOGY

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

1. Consonants

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

Table 003. Consonants and semi-vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labials</th>
<th>dentals</th>
<th>pharyngealized dentals</th>
<th>alveolars</th>
<th>pharyngealized alveolars</th>
<th>palatals</th>
<th>palatalized velars</th>
<th>labialized velars</th>
<th>palatalized velars</th>
<th>uvulars</th>
<th>pharyngeals</th>
<th>glottals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosives</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ʈ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʷ</td>
<td>q</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ɖ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gʷ</td>
<td>gʼ</td>
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<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʂ</td>
<td>ɕ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β</td>
<td>δ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ʐ</td>
<td>ʑ</td>
<td>γ</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vibrants</td>
<td>r</td>
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<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>glides</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not all the consonants presented have phonemic status, but to give a total view we have listed them here anyway. In paragraph 1.2. of this section we will discuss the phonemic status of some of these consonants, namely the weakened consonants.

1.1. Weakening

In this section we will discuss the process of weakening of plosives. We have found several degrees of weakening of different categories of plosives in our corpus. As shown in the table below spirantization is the most common type of weakening. The plosives \( t, d, k \) and \( b \) can become the spirants \( \theta, \delta, \zeta \) and \( \beta \) as a result of spirantization.

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

Table 004. Weakening of consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosives</th>
<th>Spirantized</th>
<th>Debuccalized</th>
<th>Elided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>( t \to \theta \to h \to \phi )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velars</td>
<td>( k \to \varsigma \to h )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>( b \to \beta )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Finally, an interesting form of weakening referred to as elision can be found in Ghomara Berber. This process is the final result of weakening of the dental plosive \( t \) and results in the elision of the original \( t \) or
one of its weakened variants \( \theta \) and \( h \). This process appears in different cases. We will discuss the distribution of these processes of weakening in the following sections.

1.1.1. Weakening of \( t \)

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

1.1.1.1. Spirantization of \( t \)

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

\[ *t \rightarrow \theta \]

\[ ^*m\text{\textit{t}}\text{\textit{irqa}}at \rightarrow m\text{\textit{t}}\text{\textit{irqa}}\theta \quad \text{“hammers”} \]
\[ ^*ss\text{\textit{axat}} \rightarrow ss\text{\textit{axa}}\theta \quad \text{“hours”} \]
\[ ^*l\text{\textit{hilat}} \rightarrow l\text{\textit{hil}}\theta \quad \text{“tricks”} \]

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

\[ *t \rightarrow \theta \]

\[ ^*i\text{\textit{sebbr as tazellit}} \rightarrow i\text{\textit{sebbr as tazellit}} \quad \text{“he grabbed his tail”} \]

Another example of spirantization of \( t \) is found in the verbal suffix of the third person feminine singular, which can become spirantized as the following examples show.
Another evident form of spirantization of *t* can be found in the postverbal clitic of the third person plural of the direct object (*ten*). As we will see in the following paragraph this clitic may also be debuccalized. On the basis of the examples that we have it is not possible to say something about the distribution.

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

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

\*t \to h

*issnaten \to issnahan  “he knows them”
*lehšam nnes ikemlaten \to lehšam nnes ikemlahen  “he finished her children”
*itettaten \to itettahen  “he is eating them”
*teggaten fi želdan \to teggahen fi želdan  “she put it on that leather”

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

\*t \to h

*šwa ra tzenzet \to šwa ra hzenzet  “what will you sell?”
*ana tefṣet \to ana hifṣet  “where did you sleep?”
*liyaš a trrut a taceyyalt \to liyaš a htrrut a taceyyalt  “why are you crying little girl?”
*amça trzet šebbāc \to amça hriet šebbāc  “how did you break the window?”
*ana tḥset liila n watg’am \to ana hḥset liila n watg’am  “where did you sleep last night?”

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

\*t \to h

*ma tqqim as ħetta ħila \to ma hqqim as ħetta ħila  “he did not even have a single trick left”
*ma txeddam alek ši \to ma hxeddam alek ši  “it does not work for you”
*nettaṭa ma tell ši muqqreθ \to nettaṭa ma hell ši muqqreθ  “she was not big”
*tdebbar \to hdebbar  “she arranged”

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

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

$t \to \emptyset$

$xemmen a tsawlet \to xemmen a sawlet \quad \text{“what are you talking about?”}$

$ara tebbet \to ara bbet \quad \text{“you will take”}$

$fhayweç ša tmelçet \to fhayweç ša melçet \quad \text{“when will you marry?”}$

$a terzet \to a rzet \quad \text{“that you broke”}$

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

$t \to \emptyset$

$hewa tedda d lqnîyya \to hewa dda d lqnîyya \quad \text{“well the rabbit came”}$

$tedda fhala \to dda fhala \quad \text{“she went on her way”}$

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

$t \to \emptyset$

$ša teddum \to ša ddum \quad \text{“you will go”}$

$layn ša teddum \to layn ša ddum \quad \text{“where are you (p.) going?”}$
1.1.2. Weakening of *d*

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

*d* → δ

*adem* → aðem “blood”

*kedba* → keðba “lie”

*qdim* → qðim “old”

*ddat* → ððat “body”

1.1.3. Weakening of *k*

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

1.1.3.1. Spirantization of *k*

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

*k* → ç

*zg ak* → zg aç “from you”

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

\*k → ç

*ameddakul nnek* → *ameddakul nneç*  “your friend”

*tazellit ennek* → *tazellit enneç*  “your tail”

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

\*k → ç

*ktar* → çtar  “more”

*ddkar* → ddçar  “male”

*ššebbak* → ššebbaç  “window”

*nekmel* → neçmel  “we finished”

1.1.3.2. Debuccalization of *k*

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

\*k → h

*nšterku* → nšterhu  “we will cooperate”

Other examples of debuccalization are the pronouns of the first person plural and the third person plural they occur with ç and with h.

\*ç → h

*nuçna* → nuhna  “we”
*niçma \rightarrow nihma \quad \text{“they”}\\

1.1.4. Weakening of $g$

Even though it is not difficult to make a distinction between $g$ and $g'$, distribution of this process seems to be less clear since there are comparable sequences in which $g$ is not palatalized.

*$g \rightarrow g'$

*agdi \rightarrow ag\text{'di}^{42} \quad \text{“jackal”}\\
*agenna \rightarrow ag\text{'enna} \quad \text{“sky”}\\
*ager \rightarrow ag\text{'er} \quad \text{“unit of measurement”}\\
*argaz \rightarrow arg\text{'az} \quad \text{“man”}\\
*atgam \rightarrow atg\text{'am} \quad \text{“yesterday”}\\
*tagiget \rightarrow tag\text{'ig\text{'et} \quad \text{“tree”}\\

1.1.5. Weakening of $b$

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

*$b \rightarrow \beta$

*ibawen \rightarrow if\text{lawen} \quad \text{“beans”}\\

1.2. Phonemic status of weakened consonants

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

---

^{42} \text{In Bni Menşur the weakening of } g \text{ has resulted in } y \text{ in some cases, for example } ayyerf (agart) \text{ “neck” and } aytid (agt\text{’id}) \text{ “bird”}.\]
1.2.1. Phonemic distinction between \( t \) and \( \theta \)

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

\[ \theta \leftrightarrow t \]

\( \text{issna}\theta \) he knows him \( \leftrightarrow \) issnat \( \text{“he knows her”} \)

1.2.2. Phonemic distinction between \( d \) and \( \delta \)

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

\[ \delta \leftrightarrow d \]

\( \delta\delta \text{at} \) body \( \leftrightarrow \) ddat \( \text{“you went”} \)

1.2.3. Phonemic distinction between \( s \) and \( ç \)

There is phonemic distinction between \( s \) and \( ç \). The following example attests to this.

\[ s \leftrightarrow ç \]

\( ddśar \) village \( \leftrightarrow \) ddçar \( \text{“male”} \)

1.2.4. Phonemic distinction between \( g \) and \( g^j \)

There is no phonemic distinction between \( g \) and \( g^j \) based on our corpus.
1.2.5. Phonemic distinction between \( b \) and \( \beta \)

There is no phonemic distinction between \( b \) and \( \beta \). Spirant \( \beta \) is only found in the example of \( \textit{i\b awen} \) in our corpus. It is therefore not possible to draw definite conclusions about the phonemic distribution on the basis of this single example.

2. Vowels

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

Table 005. Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1. Phonemic status of schwa

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

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

3.1. Assimilation of yan “one”

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

*yan + u → ya

*yan uceyyal → ya weeyyal “a little boy”

*yan + l → yal

*yan lbaṭil → yal lbaṭil “a boat”

3.2. Assimilation of n “of”

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

*n + l → l

*lbaḍ n lmedden → lbaḍ l lmedden “some people”

*lebaḍ n lmasa’il → lebaḍ l lmasa’il “some matters”

*lfakiha n lmul → lfakiha l lmul “fruit of the owner”
The following example is possibly an example of a fixed expression borrowed from MA without the prepositional *n*. It can very well be the case that the prepositional *n* has undergone assimilation since this construction with the prepositional *n* is also known in other Riffian languages.\footnote{Bni Touzine: *nha n rabe* “Wednesday”. Based on the author’s own knowledge of Tarifiyt spoken in Bni Touzine.}

\begin{align*}
{nhar n larbee} & \rightarrow \quad {nhar l larbee} \quad \text{“wednesday”} \\

3.3. Assimilation of *kull* “all”

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

\begin{align*}
{kull + n} & \rightarrow {kun} \\
{kull nhar} & \rightarrow \quad {kun nhar} \quad \text{“every day”} \\
{kull na} & \rightarrow \quad {kun na} \quad \text{“all of us”}
\end{align*}

3.4. Assimilation of indirect object third person *as*

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

\begin{align*}
{s + d} & \rightarrow {z d} \\
{ibb as d} & \rightarrow \quad {ibb az d} \quad \text{“he got for him”}
\end{align*}

3.5. Assimilation of imperative plural suffix *awθ*

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

\begin{align*}

\end{align*}
4. Sequences of two vowels

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

*a + a → a ya

*hetta afex → ḥetta yafex “until I find”
*lmerra ad → lmerra yad “this time”
*ma ayn isš → ma yayn isš “he will not eat us”

*a + i → a y

*netta iqqim → netta yqqim “he stayed”
*ška illan → ška yllan “who is”
*a ittuθu → a yttuθu “that he is going”

*a + i → a

*a iddu → a ddu that he goes
*ara iddu → ara ddu he will go

*i + a → ya

*γenniawθ → γennyawθ “sing (p.)!”
*iara → yara “he writes”
An interesting phenomenon in Ghomara Berber is the insertion of the consonant θ between the first person of the direct object in preverbal position ay- and the verbal prefix of the third person masculine i-. The following examples attest to this.

\[ *i + a \rightarrow a \]

\[ *ani aθtset \rightarrow an aθtset \]“where did you sleep?”

\[ *y + i \rightarrow yθ i \]

\[ *ša y iwwθ \rightarrow ša yθ iwwθ \]he will hit me
\[ *ša y iberreh \rightarrow ša yθ iberreh \]he will call me
II. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

1. Nouns

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

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

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

1.1. Singular nouns

1.1.1. Masculine singular nouns

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

$a$-...

aserdun “mule”
arg‘az “man”
aceyyal “child”

$i$-...

iles “tongue”
inši “person”
izi “fly”
1.1.2. Feminine singular nouns

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

**ta-...t**

taserdunt  “female mule”
tarbat  “girl”
targat  “dream”

**ti-...t**
tiṭṭ  “eye”
tizit  “mosquito”

**ta-...a**
tagra  “plate”
tameyra  “wedding”
tamzgida  “mosque”
tasa  “cow”
tamuda  “pig”
tazga  “forest”
1.2. Plural nouns

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

1.2.1. Masculine plural nouns

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

\[ \text{*i-…-en*} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>“…”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agurnas</td>
<td>igurnasen</td>
<td>“lions”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arg’az</td>
<td>irg’azen</td>
<td>“men”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašnekkaf</td>
<td>išnekkafen</td>
<td>“hedgehogs”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{*i-…-an*} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>“…”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atud</td>
<td>iṭudan</td>
<td>“fingers”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>açmez</td>
<td>içemzan</td>
<td>“nails”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azref</td>
<td>izerfan</td>
<td>“roads”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{*i-…-awen*} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>“…”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayef</td>
<td>iṣfawen</td>
<td>“heads”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agertǝ</td>
<td>igertawen</td>
<td>“necks”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
i-...

agelzim  igelzam  “pickaxes”
amenžar  imenžar  “chairs”
agtıd  ıghtad  “birds”

1.2.1.1. Suffix plural formation

1.2.1.1.1. Non-extended base

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

$a$-… $→$ $i$-…-en

| singular | plural  |  |
|----------|---------|  |
| açidar   | içidaren| “horses” |
| atar     | itaren  | “legs” |
| agurnas  | igurnasen| “lions” |

$i$-… $→$ $i$-…-en

| singular | plural  |  |
|----------|---------|  |
| ıles     | ılsen   | “tongues” |

$a$-… $→$ $i$-…-an

| singular | plural  |  |
|----------|---------|  |
| ayess    | iyessan | “bones” |
| atud     | itudan  | “fingers” |
| azref    | izerfan | “roads” |
1.2.1.1.2. Extended base

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

\[ a-\ldots \rightarrow i-\ldots-awen \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayef</td>
<td>ifawen</td>
<td>“heads”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agert</td>
<td>igertwen</td>
<td>“necks”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1.1.3. Vowel change

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

\[ aCaC \rightarrow iCuCan \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aţar</td>
<td>iţuran</td>
<td>“roots”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1.1.4. Gemination and vowel change

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

\[ aCuC \rightarrow iCaČen \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afud</td>
<td>ifadden</td>
<td>“feet”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afus</td>
<td>ifassen</td>
<td>“hands”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.1.5. Elision of final vowel

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

\[ a-\ldots i \rightarrow i-\ldots an \]

**singular** | **plural** | Meaning
---|---|---
\textit{aşli} | \textit{islan} | “grooms”
\textit{ağru} | \textit{izran} | “stones”

\[ i-\ldots i \rightarrow i-\ldots an \]
\textit{izi} | \textit{izan} | “flies”

1.2.1.2. Apophonic plural formation

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

\[ a-\ldots u-\ldots \rightarrow i-\ldots a-\ldots \]

**singular** | **plural** | Meaning
---|---|---
\textit{amenžur} | \textit{imenžar} | “chairs”
\textit{aferraš} | \textit{iferraš} | “cocks”
\textit{aqemmum} | \textit{iqemmam} | “mouths”
The following examples of apophonic plural nouns have an extended base in the plural. The base is extended with vowel \( a \) as part of the plural formation. The result is a final \( a \) in the plural, which cannot be considered to be a suffix but rather an extension of the base.

1.2.2. Feminine plural nouns

The circumfix of feminine plural nouns is \( ti-\ldots-\textit{an} \).\(^{44}\) This is characteristic for Ghomara Berber since the common (non-extended) circumfix in Tashelhit\(^5\), Tamazight\(^6\) as well as in Tarifiyt\(^7\) is \( ti-\ldots-\textit{in} \). The

\(^{44}\) Note that some feminine plural nouns have an alternate prefix in which \( t \) is elided. The circumfix thus becomes \( i-\ldots-\textit{an} \), e.g.: tabrat - tibratan/tibran “letter”, tafuzart - ifuzaran/ifuzaran “ant”, tazellit - izellitan “tail”.


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

### \( ti-\ldots-an \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taceyyalt</td>
<td>ticiyyalan</td>
<td>“little girls”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taxuraft</td>
<td>tixurafan</td>
<td>“riddles”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagnawt</td>
<td>tignawan</td>
<td>“pumpkins”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### \( ti-\ldots-tan \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tarbat</td>
<td>tirbatan</td>
<td>“girls”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabrat</td>
<td>tibratan</td>
<td>“letters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taslat</td>
<td>tislatan</td>
<td>“brides”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### \( ti-\ldots-wan \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tagra</td>
<td>tigerwan</td>
<td>“plates”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiţţ</td>
<td>tiţţawan</td>
<td>“eyes”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### \( ti-\ldots-iwan \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tameyra</td>
<td>timeyriwan</td>
<td>“weddings”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamzgida</td>
<td>timzgidiwan</td>
<td>“mosques”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### \( ti-\ldots \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tazizwa</td>
<td>tizizwa</td>
<td>“bees”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1.2.2.1. Suffix plural formation

1.2.2.1.1. Non-extended base

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

\( ta\ldots t \rightarrow ti\ldots an \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tagnawt</td>
<td>tignawan</td>
<td>“pumpkins”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taxuraft</td>
<td>tixurafan</td>
<td>“riddles”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taserdunt</td>
<td>tiserdunan</td>
<td>“female mules”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.2.1.2. Extended base

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

\( ta\ldots t \rightarrow ti\ldots tan \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tasendut</td>
<td>tisendutan</td>
<td>“butters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taslat</td>
<td>tislatan</td>
<td>“brides”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarbat</td>
<td>tirbatan</td>
<td>“girls”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( ta\ldots a \rightarrow ti\ldots wan \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tagra</td>
<td>tigerwan</td>
<td>“plates”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.2.1.3. Gemination and vowel insertion

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

\[ taCCa \rightarrow tiCu\text{\textipa{C}}an \]

\[ tazga \quad tizuggan \quad \text{“forests”} \]

1.2.2.2. Apophonic plural formation

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

\[ taCiCCa \rightarrow tiCiCCa \]

\[ tazizwa \quad tiziza \quad \text{“bees”} \]
In the example below the suffix of the feminine singular noun -t is lost in the formation of the plural noun.

\[ \text{taCCuCt} \rightarrow \text{tiCCaC} \]

tazylt \quad tizyal \quad “spoons”

1.3. Other functions of feminine nouns

1.3.1. Semantic distinctive pairs

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

1.3.1.1. Collective nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>collective noun</th>
<th>unit noun</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{llawz} )</td>
<td>( \text{talawzet} )</td>
<td>( \text{tilawzan} )</td>
<td>“almonds”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{lfiras} )</td>
<td>( \text{tafirast} )</td>
<td>( \text{tifirasan} )</td>
<td>“pears”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{letšin} )</td>
<td>( \text{taletšint} )</td>
<td>( \text{tiletšinan} )</td>
<td>“oranges”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{lebsal} )</td>
<td>( \text{tabšelt} )</td>
<td>( \text{tibeslan} )</td>
<td>“onions”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tteffah} )</td>
<td>( \text{teffahṭ} )</td>
<td>( \text{teffahan} )</td>
<td>“apples”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{48}\) Note that the feminine prefix \( \text{ta-} \) is lost because the collective noun \( \text{tteffah} \) has an initial \( \text{t} \). This is also shown by the plural, which lacks the prefix \( \text{ti-} \).
Some collective nouns do not have a corresponding unit noun nor a plural of the unit noun. To express unity quantifiers like *taquqet* “granule”, *taqurra* “bulb”, *aðiyyar* “piece” or *tanuqqit* “drop” are used. These quantifiers are connected by means of the genitive preposition *n* “of” to the collective noun.

*taquqet* “granule”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>collective noun</th>
<th>unit noun</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>irden</td>
<td><em>taquqet</em> n irden</td>
<td><em>tiquqan</em> n irden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lubya</td>
<td><em>taquqet</em> l lubya</td>
<td><em>tiquqan</em> l lubya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leétes</td>
<td><em>taquqet</em> l leétes</td>
<td><em>tiquqan</em> l leétes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddra</td>
<td><em>taquqet</em> n ddra</td>
<td><em>tiquqan</em> n ddra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*taqurra* “bulb”

| tiskert        | *taqurra* n tiskert | *tiquqaran* n tiskert | “garlic” |
| lebsal          | *taqurra* l lebsal   | *tiquqaran* l lebsal   | “onions” |

*aðiyyar* “piece”

| atil           | *aðiyyar* n waṭil   | *iðiyyaren* n waṭil   | “grapes” |

*tanuqqit* “drop”

| aman           | *tanuqqit* n waman   | *tinquqitan* n waman   | “water” |

In general collective nouns act as singular nouns as the following examples show.

- *lxudra terka* “the vegetables are rotten”
- *lfakiha ša t açuren* “fruit, they will steal it”

The collective noun *aman* “water” is an exception to this rule. This collective noun acts as a plural noun as the following example shows.\(^4^9\)

θssezag as aman nēttahā teggahen fī āzdan “she wetted (for) him with water, she poured it on that skin”

1.3.1.2. Diminutive nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asif</td>
<td>tasift</td>
<td>small river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašaquant</td>
<td>tašaqurt</td>
<td>small axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agelzim</td>
<td>tagelzimir</td>
<td>small pickaxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahēttasī</td>
<td>tahēttasīt</td>
<td>small hatchet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3.1.3. Augmentative nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>augmentative</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taceddis</td>
<td>aveddiss</td>
<td>(very) large belly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3.1.4. Dendronyms

Feminine nouns are also used to designate trees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tazart</th>
<th>“fig tree”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

50 This noun is not only used to refer to the fig tree but is also used as a collective noun to refer to the fruits of this tree, namely the figs.
The aforementioned functions of feminine nouns constitute a semantic opposition between the feminine noun and its masculine counterpart. In a few cases, there is no semantic opposition between the feminine and masculine nouns. Those nouns are used interchangeably without any semantic distinction.

**2. Non-affix nouns**

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

**2.1. Kinship terminology**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aẓru</td>
<td>tagrut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atellih</td>
<td>tatellih</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The noun *tasnubart* is derived from the Arabic *sanaawbar*.
2.2. Arabic loans

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  ma \ hqimm \ as \ \text{ḥetta} \ \text{ḥila} & \quad \text{“he did not even have a single trick left”} \\
  yari \ yal \ \text{ḥila} & \quad \text{“I have one trick”} \\
  isker \ \text{ḥila} \ i \ leh\text{ḥam} \ n \ \text{ṣammi} \ \text{nnen} & \quad \text{“he used a trick on his cousins”}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  it\text{cawd}ay \ yal \ lq\text{iṣṣa} & \quad \text{“he is telling me a story”} \\
  \text{ṣa} \ \text{asibex} \ yal \ l\text{ḥa}fə & \quad \text{“I will throw a stone”} \\
  \text{aṣ} \ \text{tell} \ g^w \ \text{ammas} \ l \ \text{lebhar} \ yal \ l\text{ḥa}t\text{il} & \quad \text{“there was a boat in the middle of the sea”}
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.1. Masculine singular nouns

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

**Nouns with definite article \( l^- \)**

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{l\text{fṭa}} & \quad \text{“the, a towel”} \\
  \text{l\text{ṭawb}} & \quad \text{“the, an answer”} \\
  \text{l\text{ektab}} & \quad \text{“the, a book”}
\end{align*}
\]
Nouns with assimilated definite article

\( mnharr \) “the, a day”
\( ssif \) “the, a summer”
\( tmar \) “the, a date”

Nouns without definite article

\( usbuc \) “the, a week”
\( sam \) “the, a year”
\( ezri \) “the, a bachelor”

2.2.2. Feminine singular nouns

The characteristic suffix of the feminine singular noun in MA is \(-a\). This suffix is retained in most cases of Arabic loans in Ghomara Berber. In other cases suffix \(-a\) becomes \(-a\theta\).\(^{52}\)

\[ \ldots -a \rightarrow \ldots -a \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA</th>
<th>Ghomara</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( lm\es\rub\a )</td>
<td>( lm\es\rub\a )</td>
<td>“the, a drink”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( l\fu\a )</td>
<td>( l\fu\a )</td>
<td>“the, a towel”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \ast \ldots -a \rightarrow \ldots -a\theta )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \ast l\es\ca \) | \( l\es\ca\theta \) | “the, an adder”             |
\( \ast l\aza\ca \) | \( l\aza\ca\theta \) | “the, an event”             |

\(^{52}\) See I/1.1.1. on the probable historical background of this phenomenon.
2.2.3. Plural nouns

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

\[ R^1 R^2 a R^3 e R^4 \rightarrow CCaCeC \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ddmależ</td>
<td>ddmależ</td>
<td>ddemliż</td>
<td>“(the) bracelets”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ššbabeť</td>
<td>ššbabeť</td>
<td>ššebbať</td>
<td>“(the) shoes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lmhažer</td>
<td>lmhažer</td>
<td>mehžur</td>
<td>“(the) orphans”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ R^1 R^2 u R^3 \rightarrow CCuC \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nnžum</td>
<td>nnžum</td>
<td>nnežma</td>
<td>“(the) stars”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lhyuť</td>
<td>lhyuđ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>“(the) walls”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ R^1 R^2 an \rightarrow CiCaC \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lkiran</td>
<td>lkiran</td>
<td>lkar</td>
<td>“(the) busses”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>lkiman(^{53})</td>
<td>kama</td>
<td>“(the) beds”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

\(^{53}\) Singular: kama (borrowed from Spanish: cama). It is not known to be used in MA according to our informants.
*…-at → …-aθ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA</th>
<th>Ghomara</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*mṭirqaθ</td>
<td>mtirqaθ</td>
<td>“(the) hammers”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ḥilaθ</td>
<td>ḥilaθ</td>
<td>“(the) tricks”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ssaraθ</td>
<td>ssaraθ</td>
<td>“(the) hours”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ayyamaθ</td>
<td>ayyamaθ</td>
<td>“(the) days”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. État libre and état d’annexion

3.1. Masculine nouns

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

a-… → u-…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>état libre</th>
<th>état d’annexion</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amenẓur</td>
<td>umenẓur</td>
<td>“chair”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>argʿaz</td>
<td>urgʿaz</td>
<td>“man”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a-… → wa-…

| aṭil       | waṭil           | “grapes”               |
| ammas      | wammaθ           | “middle”               |

a-… → ya-…

| aṭil       | yaṭil           | “mountain”             |
| ager       | yagʿer          | unit of measurement (Ar. feddan) |
### 3.2. Feminine nouns

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

#### ta-... → t-...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>état libre</th>
<th>état d’annexion</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tag'ig'et</td>
<td>tg'ig'et</td>
<td>“tree”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayt</td>
<td>tayt</td>
<td>“goat”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### ta-... → ta-...

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taount</td>
<td>taøunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayt</td>
<td>tayt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### ti-... → t-...

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>timyaran</td>
<td>tmýaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tixenfuran</td>
<td>txenfuran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{54}\) In Tashelhiyt ‘armpit’ is referred to as *ddu tayt* while *tayt* is not used for shoulder (H. Stroomer).
3.3. Use of état d’annexion

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text/Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inna s ag’di</td>
<td>“the jackal said to him”</td>
<td>1/001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idda d ašnekkaf</td>
<td>“the hedgehog came”</td>
<td>1/009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ttuṭuṭu d tamuda</td>
<td>“the pig was coming”</td>
<td>2/014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1 Use of état d’annexion after prepositions

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atil</td>
<td>aḍiyar n waṭil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axeyyam</td>
<td>idda dar uxeyyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayīl</td>
<td>g&quot;af n yāyīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamzgida</td>
<td>iffeγ zg tmzgida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2 Use of état d’annexion after yan/yt “one”

The second use of the état d’annexion is the use after numeral yan/yt “one”.
4. Adjectives

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

4.1. Attributive adjectives

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

4.1.1 Masculine singular nouns

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

...-ø

\[\text{arg'az veyya}^{55}\] “the, a tired man”

\[\text{arg'az mequr}\] “the, a big man”

\[\text{tayfur mellul}\] “the, a white table”

\[^{55}\text{Although this is an Arabic loan the adjectival modification manifests in two ways namely according to Arabic morphology (ceyyan, ceyyana, ceyyanin) and as is the case according to the Ghomara Berber morphology at least in the case of the singular (ceyya and ceyyaθ). The plural is ceyyaw instead of ceyyaθ. This is probably the case because we are dealing here with the MA verb eya (“to be tired”) which becomes eyaw in the third plural person of the perfectum. Cf. Sobelman, H. and Richard S. Harrell (ed.), A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: English-Arabic (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1963), s.v. tired.}\]
4.1.2. Feminine singular nouns

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

…-θ

tamẽtut ẽyyaθ “the, a tired woman”
tanyart mɛ₇ζ/θ “the, a little woman”
tamẽtut melluleθ “the, a white woman”

4.1.3. Masculine plural nouns

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

…-θ

medden melluleθ “(the) white people”
irgɛlæzen muqpreθ “(the) big men”
išnekkafen mɛ₇ζiθ “(the) little hedgehogs”

4.1.4. Feminine plural nouns

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

…-θ

tiṣiyyalan mɛ₇ζiθ “(the) little girls”
timeṭṭutan muqpreθ “(the) big women”
tilawzan mizizuθ56 “(the) small almonds”

---

56 This form is mainly used in Bni Menṣur.
4.2. Predicative adjectives

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

4.2.1 Masculine singular nouns

…-ø

*maḥall an wan meqqur*  
“that room over there is large”

*netta ma ši meqqur*  
“he is not big”

4.2.2. Feminine singular nouns

…-θ

*ššemca mezzīθ*  
“the candle is short”

*nettaθa ma hell ši muqqreθ*  
“she is not big”

*tameṭṭut melluleθ*  
“the woman is white”

4.2.3. Masculine plural nouns

…-θ

*nīçma ma llan ši muqqreθ*  
“they are not big”

4.2.4. Feminine plural nouns

…-θ

*nīçma ma llan ši muqqreθ*  
“they (f.) are not big”
4.3. Participial adjectival modification

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>eid imuqqren</em></td>
<td>“the big festival” (Ar. <em>eid l’adhā</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eid imezzìn</em></td>
<td>“the small festival” (Ar. <em>eid ifīt</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>netta wa ymuqqren</em></td>
<td>“he is the biggest” (litt.: “he is the one who is big”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tameṭṭut a ymuqqren Ḥiyya yemma</em></td>
<td>“the biggest woman is my mother”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nettaθa a g illan ta ymuqqren</em></td>
<td>“she was the biggest”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nihma ma llan śi wi ymuqqren</em></td>
<td>“they are not the biggest”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4. Arabic loans

4.4.1. Attributive adjectives

4.4.1.1. Masculine singular nouns

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

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

...-ø

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ya wergâz ġliṭ</em></td>
<td>“a fat man”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nhar lluli</em></td>
<td>“the, a first day”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

4.4.2. Predicative adjectives

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

4.4.2.1. Masculine singular nouns

...ø

*lmus hafi*  “the knife is sharp”
*ţiżel dennes rţab*  “she has a smooth skin”
*argazan fesan*  “that man is sad”

*ţayfur mṭawwer*  “the, a round table”

4.4.1.2. Feminine singular nouns

...-a

*tament ṭila*  “the, a fat woman”
*tament lluliyya*  “the, a first woman”
*yat tament rqiqa*  “a slim woman”

4.4.1.3. Plural nouns

...-in

*lmedden ṭilītu*  “(the) fat people”
*lmedden rqiqin*  “(the) slim people”
*tamentutan laxriyyin*  “(the) last women”

4.4. Arabic loans
4.4.2.2. Feminine singular nouns

...-a

taggaurtan ma ši tqila “that door is not heavy”
tameţutan feqsana “that woman is sad”
nettəba məzduma “she is ill”

4.4.2.3. Plural nouns

...-in

niçma məzdumin “they are ill”
isanen inu ma llan ši mguwdin “my teeth are not correct”
iyuyal ennes eyyanin “her donkeys are tired”

5. Quantification

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

5.1. Numerals

5.1.1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals in Ghomara Berber correspond to the MA numerals with the exception of yan/yat “one”. The numeral wahed “one” is used in enumerations and fixed expressions. The numeral yan is used for nominal modification of masculine nouns while yat is used for feminine nouns.
The numerals are connected to the plural nouns in the état d’annexion by means of the genitive preposition n “of”. The exception is the numeral yan/yat, which is followed directly by the singular noun in the état d’annexion.

yat tmeṭṭut  “one woman”
yar i żuž n mqali g ya wsammir  “I have two frying pans in a vast place”
żuž n teffah  “two apples”
tlata n irg’azen  “three men”

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

tmenya i yar s n leḥšam  “she has eight children”

In the case of fixed expressions borrowed from MA, the numerals are not subject to the mentioned morphology but are instead subject to MA morphology.

iqqim ssbae das buḥdu  “the lion stayed over there by himself”
niçma b żuž  “the two of them”
iṭaren nnes b arbea  “his legs, all four of them”

---

58 The feminine counterpart lwahda (including definite article) is used for indication of time.
5.1.2. Ordinal numerals

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

- timyaran lluliya “the first women”
- tameftut llaiya “the first woman”
- tameftut tanya “the second woman”
- nhar ttani “the second day”
- nhar ttalit “the third day”

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

l’ayyam lluliya “the first days”

5.2. Indefinite pronouns

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

- yan ax zg hullanda “a brother from Holland”
- yat teeyalt twaqa bin ig\textsuperscript{ig/en} “a girl is standing between trees”
- yars ya weyyal yallah ixleq “she has a recently born child”
- aç tell g\textsuperscript{ammas} l leb\textsuperscript{har} yal lba\textsuperscript{til} “there was a boat in the middle of the sea”

In addition in\textsuperscript{i} can also render a noun indefinite.

- itsiyab iyessan g lha\textsuperscript{za} in\textsuperscript{i} “he was throwing the bone in something”
- das lyric in\textsuperscript{i} “there is some kind of a cave”
saržem inši  "some kind of a window"

5.3. Arabic loans

5.3.1. Quantifier *kull* “all”

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kullahum mqatxin} & \quad \text{“all of them have been cut off”} \\
\text{layna yttu} \text{ku} \text{n nhar g blil} & \quad \text{“where does he go every night”} \\
\text{lehšam n cammi kullahum} & \quad \text{“the children of my uncle, all of them”} \\
\text{ša heddum kullši} & \quad \text{“you will go, all of you”}
\end{align*}
\]

5.3.2. Quantifier *bezzaf* “many”

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{inna s ag'di γari bezzaf} & \quad \text{“the jackal said I have many”} \\
\text{ga s tašunt bezzaf} & \quad \text{“it contains too much fat”} \\
\text{ma kayn ši bezzaf n itšawtšawen }\text{g'enna} & \quad \text{“there are not many birds in the sky”} \\
\text{nučna ma šlaqina ši bezzaf n tsiyyalan} & \quad \text{“we never met many girls”} \\
\text{lželdaduha ismin bezzaf} & \quad \text{“this leather is too fat”}
\end{align*}
\]

5.3.3. Quantifier *lbażd* “some”

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lbażd l lmedden} & \quad \text{“some people”} \\
\text{lebzažd l lmasa'il} & \quad \text{“some matters”}
\end{align*}
\]
III. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

1. Affixes

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

1.1. Verb

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

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

Table 006. Verbal affixes

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

1.2. Imperative

The plural imperative suffix -*awθ* is the only suffix for the imperative in Ghomara Berber.
Table 007. Affixes of imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kšem “enter”</th>
<th>ttru “weep”</th>
<th>ara “write”</th>
<th>rri “sow”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>...-ø</td>
<td>kšem</td>
<td>ttru</td>
<td>ara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>...-awθ</td>
<td>kešm-awθ</td>
<td>terw-awθ</td>
<td>ara-awθ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3. Participle

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

\( i-...-en \)

- \( arg\rq\ az\ aq\ illan\ qarm \)  
  “the man who was silent”
- \( time\fut\ utter \)\( it\wum\ men\ hum\ t\iy\al\ in\)  
  “the women who are swimming are my daughters”
- \( tame\fut\ it\itin\ sak\)  
  “the woman who is being silent”

1.4. Arabic loans

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

- \( isk\r\ ri\ bi\ a\ n\ tfqa\)  
  “we agreed to meet each other”
- \( sell\ leh\sm in\ mem\ ka\ yeqraw \)  
  “listen to your children while they are learning”
- \( dd\an\ da\ r\ q\urt\ h\sm\ mu \)  
  “they went to the door and were ashamed”
- \( am\c\ ka\ tek\teb\ l\ism\ en\]  
  “how do you write your name?”
One conspicuous example of these verbs is *tlaqa* “to meet”\(^\text{59}\). This verb is nearly always inflected according to MA morphology. The exception is the third person singular of the perfectum which is mostly inflected according to Ghomara Berber morphology (i.e. *i\-t\-laqa* instead of *t\-laqa*). In the following table we will present all the forms of this verb which are used in Ghomara Berber.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfectum</th>
<th>perfectum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>n-<em>t-laqa</em></td>
<td><em>t-laq-it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>t-<em>t-laqa</em></td>
<td><em>t-laq-it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>i-<em>t-laqa</em></td>
<td>i-*t-laqa, <em>t-laqa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>t-<em>t-laqa</em></td>
<td><em>t-laqa--θ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>n-<em>t-laqaw</em></td>
<td><em>t-laq-ina</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>t-<em>t-laqaw</em></td>
<td><em>t-laq--θun</em> (^\text{60})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>i-<em>t-laqaw</em></td>
<td><em>t-laqa-w</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2. Stems

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

---

\(^{59}\) Sobelman, *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic*, s.v. meet.

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

2.1.1. Type CCC

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>aorist</th>
<th>preterite</th>
<th>intensive</th>
<th>verblist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kšem</td>
<td>kšem</td>
<td>kettšem</td>
<td>“enter”</td>
<td>1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nṭeg</td>
<td>nṭeg</td>
<td>neṭṭeg</td>
<td>“fly”</td>
<td>1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ršeq</td>
<td>ršeq</td>
<td>reššeq</td>
<td>“split”</td>
<td>1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sker</td>
<td>sker</td>
<td>skar</td>
<td>“do, make”</td>
<td>1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>werg</td>
<td>werg</td>
<td>targa</td>
<td>“dream”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arabic stem I

| berd | berd | tberrad | “freeze” |
| hreq | hreq | therraq | “ache” |
| hseb | hseb | ḥesseb | “count” |
| xdem | xdem | xeddem | “work” | 1.5. |

2.1.2. Type CCVC

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

2.1.2.1. Type CCuC

CCuC

| sraγ | sraγ | sraγ | “light” |
2.1.2.2. Type CCaC

CCaC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ksad</th>
<th>ksud</th>
<th>teksad</th>
<th>“be afraid”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>msah</td>
<td>msah</td>
<td>messah</td>
<td>“rub”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cyar</td>
<td>cyar</td>
<td>teeyar</td>
<td>“play”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.3. Type CVCC

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

2.1.3.1. Type CaCC

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

CaCC

sag'em  sag'em  tsag'am  “wait”  2.1.1.

Arabic stem III

sawed  sawed  tsawad  “report”

2.1.3.2. Type CiCC

CiCC

siwel  sawel  tsawal  “talk, speak”  2.2.1.
2.1.4. Type CCCa

CCCa

seqa seqa tseqa “ask”

2.1.5. Type CČC

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

CČC

çerreç çerreç tcerraç “lie” 3.2.

Arabic stem II

berreh berreh tberrah “call” 3.1.
debbar debbar tdebbar “arrange” 3.3.
duwwar duwwar tduwwar “turn”
fekkar fekker tfekkar “think”
genini genna tyennay “sing” 3.4.
ğezzez ğezzez tğezzaz “chew”
siyeb siyeb tsiyyab “throw” 3.5.
şebben şebben tşebban “wash” 3.6.
şawwer şawwer tşawwar “draw”
šebar şebar tšebar “grab, hold” 3.7.
xiyyet xiyyet txiyyat “sew” 3.8.
źniyarźniyar tźniyar “tighten”
xellem xellem txellem “learn”
2.1.6. Type ČC

Contrary to verb type ČČC, verb type ČČ only consists of Berber stems. This is because initial geminate consonants in verb stems are restricted to Berber in the sense that they do not occur in MA.

ČČ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dder</th>
<th>ddir</th>
<th>tedder</th>
<th>“live”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ffeγ</td>
<td>ffeγ</td>
<td>teffεγ</td>
<td>“leave” 4.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ggeγ</td>
<td>ggeγ</td>
<td>teggeε</td>
<td>“descend”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kker</td>
<td>kker</td>
<td>tekker</td>
<td>“stand up” 4.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qqel</td>
<td>qqel</td>
<td>teqqel</td>
<td>“return” 4.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssen</td>
<td>ssen</td>
<td>ssen</td>
<td>“know”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ttes</td>
<td>ttes</td>
<td>teettes</td>
<td>“sleep” 4.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wwelθ</td>
<td>wθa</td>
<td>twlaθa</td>
<td>“hit” 4.5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.7. Type ČCu

Our corpus contains only one example of the verb type ČCu: ttru “weep”.

ČCu

| ttru | ttru | ttru | “weep” 5.1. |

2.1.8. Type ČVC

The main type ČVC consists of two verb types: ČuC and ČaC. We will discuss these verb types in the following.
2.1.8.1. Type ĈuC

ĈuC

lluż    lluż    tlaż  “be hungry”  6.1.1.
mmuθ    mmuθ    tmettaθ  “die”  6.1.2.
ssut    ssat    tsuʃ  “blow”

2.1.8.2. Type ĈaC

ĈaC

kkar    kkar    kkar  “be full”  6.2.1.

2.1.8.3. Type ĈiC

ĈiC

qqim    qqim    tyima  “stay, sit”  6.3.1.

2.1.9. Type CaČ

CaČ

hakk    hakk    thakka  “scratch”
zall    zull    tzalla  “pray”  7.1.

2.1.10. Type ĈČ

Based on the examples below we can say that verb type ĈČ consists mostly of Arabic stem I verbs with geminate final consonant.
2.1.11. Type CC

This verb type is one of the few verb types with morphological irregularities in the verbal conjugation. The other verb type with morphological irregularities is Ĉ (see III/2.1.16).

**CC**

- **dž**  
  - **wdž~a**: “leave”  
  - **tadža**: “leave”  

- **fk**  
  - **fk~a**: “give”  
  - **ttak**: “give”  

- **ney**  
  - **ney~a**: “kill”  
  - **neqqa**: “kill”  

- **su**  
  - **su~a**: “drink”  
  - **sessu**: “drink”  

The preterite stems of CC verb have a final vowel $a$ in all cases except the third person singular and the first person plural as shown in the following table.
Table 009. Preterite of CC verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dž “leave”</th>
<th>fk “give”</th>
<th>neγ “kill”</th>
<th>su “drink”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>wdža-x</td>
<td>fka-x</td>
<td>nγa-x</td>
<td>swa-x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>t-ewdža-t</td>
<td>t-effka-t</td>
<td>t-enγa-t</td>
<td>t-eswa-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>i-wdž</td>
<td>i-fk</td>
<td>i-neγ</td>
<td>i-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>t-ewdž</td>
<td>t-effk</td>
<td>t-neγ</td>
<td>t-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>n-ewdž</td>
<td>n-effk</td>
<td>n-neγ</td>
<td>n-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>t-ewdža-m</td>
<td>t-effka-m</td>
<td>t-enγa-m</td>
<td>t-eswa-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>wdža-n</td>
<td>fka-n</td>
<td>nγa-n</td>
<td>swa-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.12. Type aCC

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

aCC

ara ura ttara “write” 10.1.

2.1.13. Type CCu

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

CCu

bdu bda taddu “begin” 11.1.

2.1.14. Type CaC

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

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

The verb type Ĉ is also subject to morphological irregularities.

The preterite stem of most of these verbs have a final vowel $a$ in the base of the verb except in the third person singular and the first person plural. One exception is the verb nna “say” which has final vowel $a$ in all cases. The following table shows the verbal conjugation of the preterite stem of these verbs.
Table 010. Preterite of Ĉ verbs

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

2.1.17. Type ĈV

The main type ĈV consists of two verb types, namely Ĉu and Ĉi. These two verb types are also rare in Ghomara Berber; we have just one example of each verb type.

2.1.17.1. Type Ĉu

Ĉu

ddu dda ttuθu “come” 13.1.1.

2.1.17.2. Type Ĉi

Ĉi

rrri rrri zzraz (!) “breathe, sow” 13.2.1.

2.1.18. Type aC

Finally, the verb af “find” is the only example in our corpus of the type aC.
2.2. Stem formations

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

2.2.1. Formation of preterite

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aorist</th>
<th>preterite</th>
<th>verblist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amar</td>
<td>amar</td>
<td>“send”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berd</td>
<td>berd</td>
<td>“freeze”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berreh</td>
<td>berreh</td>
<td>“call”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çerreç</td>
<td>çerreç</td>
<td>“lie”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debbar</td>
<td>debbar</td>
<td>“arrange”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duwwar</td>
<td>duwwar</td>
<td>“turn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fekkar</td>
<td>fekkar</td>
<td>“think”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ffeγ</td>
<td>ffeγ</td>
<td>“leave”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ggez</td>
<td>ggez</td>
<td>“descend”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakk</td>
<td>hakk</td>
<td>“scratch”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hreq</td>
<td>hreq</td>
<td>“ache”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hseb</td>
<td>hseb</td>
<td>“count”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kkar</td>
<td>kkar</td>
<td>“be full”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kker</td>
<td>kker</td>
<td>“stand up”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kšem</td>
<td>kšem</td>
<td>“enter”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lluẓ</td>
<td>lluẓ</td>
<td>“be hungry”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mmuθ</td>
<td>mmuθ</td>
<td>“die”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
msah  msah  “rub”
nteg  nteg  “fly”  1.2.
aqel  aqel  “return”  4.3.
aqim  aqim  “stay, sit”  6.3.1.
rri  rri  “sow”  13.2.1.
ršeq  ršeq  “split”  1.3.
sagʾem  sagʾem  “wait”  2.1.1.
sell  sell  “listen”  8.1.
ssen  ssen  “know”
siyyeb  siyyeb  “throw”  3.5.
sker  sker  “do, make”  1.4.
šeqṣa  šeqṣa  “ask”
šebben  šebben  “wash”  3.6.
šuwwer  šuwwer  “draw”
šebbār  šebbar  “grab, hold”  3.7.
šedd  šedd  “tie”
šemm  šemm  “smell”
ttru  ttru  “weep”  5.1.
tṭes  tṭes  “sleep”  4.4.
werg  werg  “dream”
xdem  xdem  “work”  1.5.
xess  xess  “need, want”
xiyyet  xiyyet  “sew”  3.8.
zar  żar  “see”
ziyyar  żiyyar  “tighten”
yezzez  yezzez  “chew”
zaweḏ  zaweḏ  “report”
zellem  zellem  “learn”
zyar  cyar  “play”

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

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

\[\text{aCC} \rightarrow \text{uCC}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aorist</th>
<th>preterite</th>
<th>verblist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ara</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>“write”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{aC} \rightarrow \text{uCa}\]

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>af</td>
<td>ufa</td>
<td>“find”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This can also occur with verbs with a medial a in the aorist. In this case the medial a changes into a medial u in the preterite.

\[\text{CaČ} \rightarrow \text{CuČ}\]

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zł all</td>
<td>zł all</td>
<td>“pray”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{CCaC} \rightarrow \text{CCuC}\]

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kṣaḍ</td>
<td>kṣuḍ</td>
<td>“be afraid”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1.2. Change of u into a

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

\[\text{CCuC} \rightarrow \text{CCaC}\]

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sruγ</td>
<td>sraγ</td>
<td>“light”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\[ ĈuC → ĈaC \]

\[ \text{ssuṭ} \quad \text{ssuṭ} \quad \text{“blow”} \]

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

\[ Ĉu → Ĉa \]

\[ ddu \quad dda \quad \text{“go”} \quad 13.1.1. \]

\[ CCu → CCa \]

\[ bdu \quad bda \quad \text{“begin”} \quad 11.1. \]

2.2.1.3. Change of \( i \) into \( a \)

The medial \( i \) of the aorist may change into a medial \( a \) in the preterite.

\[ CiCC → CaCC \]

\[ siwel \quad sawel \quad \text{“talk”} \quad 2.2.1. \]

This change of \( i \) into \( a \) can also occur in the case of verbs with a final vowel \( i \). The following example is a \( CCČ \) type of verb but has a final vowel \( i \) which changes in the preterite into vowel \( a \).

\[ ĈČi → ĈČa \]

\[ γenni \quad γenna \quad \text{“sing”} \quad 4.4. \]

2.2.2. Formation of intensive

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

### 2.2.2.1. Gemination

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

**CCC → CĈC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aorist</th>
<th>intensive</th>
<th>verblist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( h)seb</td>
<td>( h)esseb</td>
<td>“count”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n)teg</td>
<td>( n)ṭeg</td>
<td>“fly”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( r)seq</td>
<td>( r)ešseq</td>
<td>“split”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( x)dem</td>
<td>( x)eddem</td>
<td>“work”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CCaC → CĈaC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aorist</th>
<th>intensive</th>
<th>verblist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( m)saḥ</td>
<td>( m)essaḥ</td>
<td>“rub”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2.2.2. Prefixation of \( t \)

Prefixation of \( t \) is a common process for the formation of the intensive. Many verb types have prefix \( t \) in the intensive. We will look into the following verb types: ČC, CĈC, CCaC, CuĈ and CCCa.
ČČ → t-ČČ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ČČ</th>
<th>t-ČČ</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dder</td>
<td>tedder</td>
<td>“live”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fffey</td>
<td>teffey</td>
<td>“leave”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ggez</td>
<td>teggez</td>
<td>“descend”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kker</td>
<td>tekker</td>
<td>“stand up”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qqel</td>
<td>teqqel</td>
<td>“return”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òtes</td>
<td>teòtes</td>
<td>“sleep”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CČČ → t-CČČ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CČČ</th>
<th>t-CČČ</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>debbar</td>
<td>tdebbar</td>
<td>“arrange”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duwwar</td>
<td>tduwwar</td>
<td>“turn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fekkar</td>
<td>tfekkar</td>
<td>“think”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñebbar</td>
<td>tñebbar</td>
<td>“grab, hold”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziyyar</td>
<td>tziyyar</td>
<td>“tighten”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CCaC → t-CCaC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCaC</th>
<th>t-CCaC</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kṣad</td>
<td>tekṣad</td>
<td>“be afraid”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syar</td>
<td>tsyar</td>
<td>“play”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CuČ → t-CuČ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CuČ</th>
<th>t-CuČ</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zumm</td>
<td>tçumm</td>
<td>“swim”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CCCa → t-CCCa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCCa</th>
<th>t-CCCa</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qeçqa</td>
<td>tçeçqa</td>
<td>“ask”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.2.3. Prefixation of \( tt \)

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

\[ \text{aCaC} \rightarrow tt-\text{aCaC} \]

\[ \text{amar} \quad ttamar \quad \text{“send”} \]

\[ \text{aCC} \rightarrow tt-\text{aCC} \]

\[ \text{ara} \quad ttara \quad \text{“write”} \quad 10.1. \]

\[ \text{awi} \quad ttawi \quad \text{“bring”} \]

2.2.2.4. Prefixation of \( t \) and infixation of \( a \)

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

\[ \text{CaCC} \rightarrow t-\text{CaC-a-C} \]

\[ \text{caweð} \quad tcawað \quad \text{“report”} \]

\[ \text{ĈČC} \rightarrow t-\text{ĈČ-a-C} \]

\[ \text{berreḥ} \quad therraḥ \quad \text{“call”} \quad 3.1. \]

\[ \text{çerreç} \quad tçerraç \quad \text{“lie”} \quad 3.2 \]

\[ \text{siyyeb} \quad tsiyyab \quad \text{“throw”} \quad 3.5. \]

\[ \text{šebben} \quad tsèbban \quad \text{“wash”} \quad 3.6. \]

\[ \text{suwwer} \quad tsuwwar \quad \text{“draw”} \]

\[ \text{xiyyet} \quad txiyyat \quad \text{“sew”} \quad 3.8. \]

\[ \text{yezzarella} \quad tyezzaz \quad \text{“chew”} \]
2.2.2.5. Prefixation of \( t \) and suffixation of \( a \)

A number of verbs with a final geminated consonant have prefix \( t \) and suffix \( a \) in the intensive. The following examples of the verb types \( \text{CaC} \) and \( \text{C\tilde{C}} \) attest to this.

\( \text{CaC} \rightarrow t-\text{CaC}-a \)

- \( \text{hakk} \rightarrow t\text{hakka} \) “scratch”
- \( \text{zall} \rightarrow t\text{zalla} \) “pray” 7.1.

\( \text{C\tilde{C}} \rightarrow t-\text{C\tilde{C}}-a \)

- \( \text{šedd} \rightarrow t\text{šedda} \) “tie”
- \( \text{šemm} \rightarrow t\text{šemma} \) “smell”

2.2.2.6. Prefixation of \( t \), gemination and infixation of \( a \)

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

\( \text{CCC} \rightarrow t-\text{C\tilde{C}}-a-C \)

- \( \text{berd} \rightarrow t\text{berrad} \) “freeze”
- \( \text{hreq} \rightarrow t\text{herraq} \) “ache”
- \( \text{fseç} \rightarrow t\text{fessaç} \) “untie”

2.3. Derivational prefixes

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

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

ss-…

\begin{tabular}{lll}
  kšem & enter & ssekšem & “let in” \\
  bzeg & be wet & ssebzeg & “make wet” \\
\end{tabular}

2.3.2. Onomatopoeic prefix ss

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

ss-…

\begin{tabular}{l}
  sskuhlhu & “cough” \\
\end{tabular}

3. The verb “to be”

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

The constructions used for the present tense are non-verbal, verbal or participial constructions. As for the past tense, a verbal and a participial construction is used. For the future tense only a verbal construction is used. Finally, a verbal and participial construction is used for the intensive aspect. We have summarized these constructions in the following table.
Table 011. The verb “to be”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>present</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>intensive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-verbal</td>
<td>non-verbal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbal</td>
<td>ll~a (P)</td>
<td>ag (PSP) + ll~a (P)</td>
<td>ša (FUT) + ll (A)</td>
<td>tili (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participial</td>
<td>illan (PTC/P)</td>
<td>ag (PSP) + illan (PTC/P)</td>
<td>itilin (PTC/I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ilgan (PTC/P) + DO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.1. Present tense

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

3.1.1. Non-verbal construction

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

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

002. i-baw-en zdu t-rhab-t
EL/pm-beans-pm under EA/sf-ground-sf
“beans are under the ground”
003. a-xeyyam beid zg w-asif
EL/sm-house far ABLPR EA/sm-river
“the house is far from the river”

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

3.1.2. Verbal construction

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

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

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

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

3.1.3. Participial constructions

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

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

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

3.1.3.2. The participle *igan*

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

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

002. *ška θ i-ga-n a-rg'az a yθ i-fk-en*
   who 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-man RLV 1s/DO PTC-give-PTC/P

*leflus*
money
“who is the man who gave me money?”

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

3.2. Past tense

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

### 3.2.1. Verbal construction

001. `wa` *g* *i-ll* *yar* *s* *bezzaf*

    even though  PSP 3sm-be/P  ALPR 3sm/PREP  many

    “even though he had many” (litt.: “even though there were many with him”)

002. `ta-meṭṭu-t` *a* *ẓ* *t-ell* *t-ettumm* *hiya* *yemma*

    EL/sf-woman-sf  RLV  PSP 3sf-be/P  3sf-swim/I  3sf/PRO-AR  mother-1s/ADN

    “the woman who was swimming is my mother”

003. `a-šnekkafl` *iḥ* *u-g’di* *ag* *ella-n* *maši*

    EL/sm-hedgehog  COPR  EA/sm-jackal  PSP be-3p/P  walking/PTC-AR

    “the hedgehog and the jackal were walking”

004. `ana` *ẓ* *te-lla-t*

    where  PSP 2s-be-2s/P

    “where were you?”
005. ti-mētu-tan illa ma g ella-n ši
EL/pf-woman-pf RLV FUT PSP be-3p/P NEG

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

006. a-rq'az illa ma g i-ll ši
EL/sm-man RLV FUT PSP 3sm-be/P NEG

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

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

3.2.2. Participial construction

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

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

002. a-rq'az a g i-lla-n qarm atg'am
EL/sm-man RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P silent-sm/ADJ yesterday
“the man who was being silent yesterday”
003. $a$-šnekkaf $iō$ $u$-g'di $ag$ $i$-lla-n $mašī$
EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP PTC-be-PTC/P walking/PTC-AR
“the hedgehog and the jackal were walking”

004. nettaθa $g$ $i$-lla-n $ta$ $y$-muqq$'$ $r$-en
3sf/PRO RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P sf/RELD PTC-be big-PTC/P
“she was the one who was the biggest”

3.3. Future tense

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

001. fhayweç $ša$ $lli$ $ta$-me$'r$-a
when FUT 3sf-be/A EL/sf-wedding-sf
“when will the wedding be?”

3.4. Intensive aspect

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

3.4.1. Verbal construction

001. $t$-t$ili$ $l$yilla $n$ $ti$-sker-t $zdū$ $t$-rhab-t
3sf-be/I crops GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll under EA/sf-ground-sf
“the crops of a garlic plant usually are under the ground”

002. $m$a $t$ili-n $g$a $sen$ $walu$
NEG be-3p/I LO CPR 3p/PREP nothing
“there is usually nothing in them”
003. waytu a-xeyyam a h-tili-t g as
what kind EL/sm-house RLV 2s-be-2s/I LOCPR 3sm/PREP
“in what kind of house do you live?” (litt.: “in what kind of house are you being usually”)

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

3.4.2. Participial construction

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

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

003. a-rğ'az i-tili-n sakt
EL/sm-man PTC-be-PTC/I silent-sm/ADJ-AR
“the man who is being silent”

3.5. The verb ll as an auxiliary verb

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

Table 012. The verb “to be”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>past tense</th>
<th>future tense</th>
<th>imperative mood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intensive</td>
<td>ag (PSP) + ll~a (P) + I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>ag (PSP) + ll~a (P) + STAT (P)</td>
<td>ša (FUT) + ll (A) + STAT (A)</td>
<td>ll (IMP) + STAT (A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5.1. Past tense of intensive aspect

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

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

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

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

3.5.2. Stative verbs

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

3.5.2.1. Past tense

001. *nekkin atg’am ag ella-x lluζ-ɛx*
1s/PRO yesterday PSP be-1s/P be hungry-1s/P⁸ζ
“yesterday I was hungry”

⁸² To be in a hungry state.
3.5.2.2. Future tense

001. nekkin alaqen ša ll-ex llug-ex
1s/PRO tomorrow FUT be-1s/A be hungry-1s/A
“tomorrow I will be hungry”

3.5.2.3. Imperative mood

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

3.6. The past particle ag

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

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

002. a-šnekaf iο u-g’di ag ella-n maši
EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP be-3p/P walking/PTC-AR
“the hedgehog and the jackal were walking”

003. wa g i-ll γar s bezzaf
even though PSP 3sm-be/P ALPR 3sm/PREP many
“even though he had many” (litt.: “even though there were many with him”)
004. ana č te-lla-t
  where PSP 2s-be-2s/P
  “where were you?”

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

3.7. Arabic loans

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

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

In the following example the verb kan “to be” is used as an auxiliary verb.63

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

---

IV. PRONOUNS

1. Independent pronouns

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

Table 013. Independent pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>personal pronouns</th>
<th>shortened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s nekkin</td>
<td>nekk, nekki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm kedžin</td>
<td>kedž, kedži</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf kemmin</td>
<td>kemmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm netta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf nettaθa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p nuçna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p kunna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p niçma^4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Direct objects

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

2.1. Postverbal clitic

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

^4 In Bni Menşur people use niçnam for the third person plural of the personal pronoun.
001. *ufa*-x  \( \theta \)  *i-dda*
find-1s/P  3sm/DO  3sm-go/P
“I found (him) that he had gone”

002. *i-ṣedd*  \( \text{as} \)  *ten*
3sm-bind/P  3sm/IO  3p/DO
“he tied them (for him)”

003. *ma*  *h-efk*  *ay*  *ši*
NEG  3sf-give/P  1s/IO  NEG
“she did not give to me”

004. *i-tett*  *ahen*
3sm-eat/I  3p/DO
“he is eating them”

There are some examples in which the female singular of the direct object in postverbal position becomes *te\( \theta \).*

005. *γars-en*  *te\( \theta \)*
slaughter-3p/P  3sf/DO
“they slaughtered it”

006. *šša-n*  *te\( \theta \)*
eat-3p/P  3sf/DO
“they ate it”

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

---

65 In Collin’s texts there are two examples of this; Text II: *ufante*\( \theta \) “they found it” and Text III: *ifkaste*\( \theta \) “he gave it to him”. Since in other comparable cases the direct object *t* does not become *te\( \theta \)*, the reason behind this change remains unclear and needs further investigation. Collin, ‘Le parler berbère’, Texts II and III, pp. 52 and 54.
Table 014. Direct objects as postverbal clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct Object Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>issn-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>-ç</td>
<td>issn-aç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>issn-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>-θ</td>
<td>issn-aθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>issn-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-nay</td>
<td>issn-anaç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-wen</td>
<td>issn-awen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-ten</td>
<td>issn-aθen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second person plural of the direct object coincides with the second person plural of the indirect object. In most other Berber languages the second person plural of the direct object contains the morpheme for the second person or an evident remnant of old k. In Tashelhiyt for example, we have kʷn and kʷnt (f.) for the second person plural of the direct object and awn and awnt (f.) for the second person plural of the indirect object. Tamazight (Aït Ndhir) has kun/kwen and kwentθšenθ (f.) for the second person plural of the direct object and awn and ašenθ (f.) for the second person plural of the indirect object. Tarifiyt (Figuig) has šnim and šnimti (f.) for the second person plural of the direct object and awim (awem, awit) and ašemt̂lawimt (f.) for the second person plural of the indirect object.

2.2. Preverbal clitic

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

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66 Compare the tables in this section: table 014, with table 016. and table 015. with table 017.
67 Van den Boogert, Tashelhiyt Berber of South Morocco, p. 11.
68 Bisson, Leçons de Berbère, p. 9.
69 Kossmann, Grammaire du parler berbère, pp. 177-182.
A conspicuous feature of the preverbal clitic of the first person singular is that between the pronoun and the verb with an initial vowel insertion of \( \theta \) is obligatory (see I/4.).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Initial Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>ša</td>
<td>yθ</td>
<td>ša yθ-ι(\theta)wwe(\theta)</td>
<td>“he will hit me”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>ç-</td>
<td>ša</td>
<td>ç-</td>
<td>ša ç-ι(\theta)wwe(\theta)</td>
<td>“he will hit you”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>ša</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>ša m-ι(\theta)wwe(\theta)</td>
<td>“he will hit you (f.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>θ-</td>
<td>ša</td>
<td>θ-</td>
<td>ša θ-ι(\theta)wwe(\theta)</td>
<td>“he will hit him”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>ša</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>ša t-ι(\theta)wwe(\theta)</td>
<td>“he will hit her”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>γn-</td>
<td>ša</td>
<td>γn-</td>
<td>ša γn-ι(\theta)wwe(\theta)</td>
<td>“he will hit us”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>wn-</td>
<td>ša</td>
<td>wn-</td>
<td>ša wn-ι(\theta)wwe(\theta)</td>
<td>“he will hit you (p.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ša</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ša n-ι(\theta)wwe(\theta)</td>
<td>“he will hit them”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**3. Indirect objects**

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

**3.1. Postverbal clitics**

The examples of the use of the indirect objects as postverbal clitics show that they include the initial vowel \( a \).
The initial vowel \( a \) of the direct object is lost in postverbal position in the case of a verb with a final vowel. The following examples attest to this.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Direct Object</th>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-ay</td>
<td>inna-( y )</td>
<td>“he said to me”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>-aç</td>
<td>inna-( ç )</td>
<td>“he said to you”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>inna-( m )</td>
<td>“he said to you (f.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>inna-( s )</td>
<td>“he said to him”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>inna-( s )</td>
<td>“he said to her”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1p -anay inna-nay “he said to us”

2p -awan inna-wen “he said to you (p.)”

3p -asen inna-sen “he said to them”

### 3.2. Preverbal clitics

The following table presents the indirect objects as clitics in preverbal position. In most cases they coincide with their postverbal counterparts except the first person plural; ayen instead of anay. As with the direct objects, a \( \theta \) is inserted between the preverbal clitic of the first person singular and the verb with an initial vowel (see I/4.).
Table 017. Indirect objects as preverbal clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ay-</td>
<td>ša yθ-iberreh</td>
<td>“he will call me”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>aç-</td>
<td>ša ç-iberreh</td>
<td>“he will call you”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>am-</td>
<td>ša m-iberreh</td>
<td>“he will call you (f.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>as-</td>
<td>ša s-iberreh</td>
<td>“he will call him”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>as-</td>
<td>ša s-iberreh</td>
<td>“he will call her”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>aγen-</td>
<td>ša γn-iberreh</td>
<td>“he will call us”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>awen-</td>
<td>ša wn-iberreh</td>
<td>“he will call you (p.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>asen-</td>
<td>ša sn-iberreh</td>
<td>“he will call them”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Prepositional suffixes

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

Table 018. Prepositional suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>…-i</td>
<td>idda d dayr-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>…-k</td>
<td>idda d dayr-eç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>…-m</td>
<td>idda d dayr-em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>…-s</td>
<td>idda d dayr-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>…-s</td>
<td>idda d dayr-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>…-nay</td>
<td>idda d dayr-naç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>…-un</td>
<td>idda d dayr-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>…-sen</td>
<td>idda d dayr-sen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Possessive suffixes

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

Table 019. Possessive suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>…-<em>inu</em></td>
<td><em>ticiyalan-inu</em></td>
<td>“my daughters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>…-nnek</td>
<td><em>ticiyalan-enneç</em></td>
<td>“your daughters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>…-nnem</td>
<td><em>ticiyalan-ennem</em></td>
<td>“your (f.) daughters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>…-nnes</td>
<td><em>ticiyalan-ennes</em></td>
<td>“his daughters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>…-nnes</td>
<td><em>ticiyalan-ennes</em></td>
<td>“her daughters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>…-nnaç</td>
<td><em>ticiyalan-ennaç</em></td>
<td>“our daughters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>…-nnun</td>
<td><em>ticiyalan-ennun</em></td>
<td>“your (p.) daughters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>…-nnsen</td>
<td><em>ticiyalan-ennsen</em></td>
<td>“their daughters”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Adnominal suffixes

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

Table 020. Adnominal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>…-∅</td>
<td><em>açma</em></td>
<td>“my brother”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>…-ç</td>
<td><em>açma-ç</em></td>
<td>“your brother”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>…-m</td>
<td><em>açma-m</em></td>
<td>“your (f.) brother”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>…-s</td>
<td><em>açma-s</em></td>
<td>“his brother”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>…-s</td>
<td><em>açma-s</em></td>
<td>“her brother”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. Demonstrative pronouns

7.1. Proximal deixis

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

Table 021. Proximal deixis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postpositions</th>
<th>Variants</th>
<th>Reinforced</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sm</td>
<td>-ad</td>
<td>-a, -adi, -adin</td>
<td>-aduha</td>
<td>whadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sf</td>
<td>-ad</td>
<td>-a, -adi, -adin</td>
<td>-attha</td>
<td>thadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>-id</td>
<td>-idin</td>
<td>-idahi</td>
<td>whidi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>axeyyamad qōim f wani</td>
<td>“this house is older than that one”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tablaya dahma</td>
<td>“this table is brown”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i men mlaklayaθ</td>
<td>“for whom is this food?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tibratanid</td>
<td>“these letters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fhayweç ša ffjen timyaranidin</td>
<td>“when are these women going to leave?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afullusaduha</td>
<td>“this cock, this one”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taceyyalatttha</td>
<td>“this girl, this one”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šhāl ay txelset whadi</td>
<td>“how much did you pay for this?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maši whadin wayet</td>
<td>“not this one (m.), but the other one (m.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maši thadin tayet</td>
<td>“not this (f.) one, but the other one (f.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maši whidin wiyyet</td>
<td>“not these ones, but the other ones”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the other reinforced postpositions of the proximal deixis attha is a contraction of ad and tha which becomes attha due to assimilation.
7.2. Distal deixis

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

Table 022. Distal deixis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>postpositions</th>
<th>reinforced</th>
<th>independent</th>
<th>shortened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sm</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an wanit</td>
<td>wanit</td>
<td>wan, wani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sf</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an tanit</td>
<td>tanit</td>
<td>tan, tani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in winit</td>
<td>winit</td>
<td>win, wini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- axeyyaman wanit “that house, that one”
- tameṭṭutan feqsana “that woman is sad”
- tabratan tanit “that letter, that one”
- taceyyaltaṇ tan “that girl, that one”
- tivfalanin winit “those eggs, those ones”
- škun a hum ticiyyalanin “who are those girls?”
- axeyyaṃad qōim f wani “this house is older than that one”

7.3. Relative deixis

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

Table 023. Relative deixis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>independent</th>
<th>shortened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sm</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sf</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>win</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wa ytyiman laxri  
nettaña a g illan ta ymuqqren  
nihma wi ymuqqren  
win n ug’di se ššcar  
win ennes s isennanan

“the one who lags behind”
“she is the biggest” (litt.: “she is the one who is big”) 
“they are the biggest” (litt.: “they are the ones who are big”)  
“the ones of the jackal have fur”
“the ones of him have spines”

7.4. Anaphoric deixis

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

Table 024. Anaphoric deixis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>postpositions</th>
<th>variants</th>
<th>independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sm</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iltlaqa i ssiyyedani  
awed ššan lhmani  
fi želdan  
amça hgget i șebbatin  
waniθ illan ameddakul inu

“he met with that man (mentioned)”
“again, they ate that meat (mentioned)”
“on that skin (mentioned)”
“how will you make those shoes (mentioned)”
“that one (mentioned) is my friend”

8. Interrogatives

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

8.1.1. Interrogative škun “who, which”

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

škun arg’az ara yθ iʃ lefus — “which man will give me money?”
škun a s ixessen a ddu dar ūtwan — “who is the one who wants to go to Tétouan?”
a škun a hum ticeyyalanin — “who are those girls?”
ška ra ddu dar ūtwan — “who will go to Tétouan?”
ška ra ç iʃar alaʃen — “who will see you tomorrow?”
ška yillan ma ra ɣn iʃar alaʃen — “who is the one who will not see us tomorrow?”

8.1.2. Interrogative šwa “what”

šway x tayfur — “what is on the table?”
šwa ra hzenzet g ssuq — “what are you going to sell on the market?”
šwa ra bbet a sammi ag’di — “what are you going to take uncle jackal?”

8.1.3. Interrogative liyaʃ “why”

liyaʃ ara ntiq zgaç — “why should I trust you?”
liyaʃ heddat dar uxeyyam nneç — “why did you go to your house?”
liyaʃ a htrut a taceyyalt — “why are you crying little girl?”

8.1.4. Interrogative amça “how”

amça hrzet šebbaç — “how did you break the window?”
amça kay tekteb lism enneç — “how do you write your name?”
amça ddiren imelḥan g lebhar — “how do fish live in the sea?”
8.1.5. Interrogative *fhayweç* “when”

*fhayweç nlaqay*  
“when will we meet each other?”

*fhayweç ša ffjen timyaraniðin*  
“when will these women leave?”

*fhayweç ahlekmet*  
“When did you arrive?”

8.1.6. Interrogative *ani* “where”

*ani lgezzar*  
“where is the butcher?”

*ani tili çmaç*  
“where does your brother live?”

*an aḥṭset llila n watt'am*  
“where did you sleep last night?”

8.1.7. Interrogative *layn* “whither”

*layn ša ddum fsyir l leşşa*  
“where are you going after dinner?”

*layn a yttuθu kun nhar g bliil*  
“where does he go every night?”

8.2. Prepositional interrogatives

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

8.2.1. Dative preposition *i*

*i men lmakla yaθ*  
“for whom is this food?”

8.2.2. Locative preposition *g*

*g emmen a txemmameð (†)*  
“What are you thinking about?”
8.2.3. Instrumental preposition $s$

$s\ \text{ennem} \ a \ hqet\zet\ \text{lhem}$
“what did you cut the meat with?”

8.2.4. Implicative preposition $x$

$x\ \text{ennem} \ a \ sawlet\ atg'am$
“what did you talk about yesterday?”

8.2.5. Comitative preposition $i$

$i\ \text{men} \ a \ h\hxeyaret\ atg'am$
“with whom did you play yesterday?”

9. Arabic loans

9.1. Independent pronouns

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

$arg\'az\ ay\ illan\ ma\ \bar{\text{i}}\ meqqur\ huwa\ baba$
“the man who is not big, he is my father”

$tame\xtut\ ad\ seyya\theta\ hiya\ yemma$
“the woman who is tired, she is my mother”

$ir\'azen\ it\xcuccumen\ huma\ ay\theta\ma$
“the men who are swimming, they are my brothers”

9.2. Possessive pronouns

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

$ag/di\ idda\ h\xflalu$
“the hedgehog went on his way”

$\bar{\text{s}}a\ wen\ qqnex\ g\ b\xactkum$
“I will tie you (p.) to one another”

$iqqim\ ssba\c\ das\ bu\xdhdum$
“the lion stayed over there by himself”

$le\xht\am\ mn\ c\xammi\ kullahum$
“the children of my uncle, all of them”
9.3. Prepositional suffixes

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

*ma hxeddam alek ši*  
“it does not work for you”

9.4. Direct objects

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

*a nfukkukum lmuškil*  
“we will solve the problem for you (p.)”

*baš ixerrežha*  
“in order to get her out”

*iṭlaqani dar uxeyyam*  
“he met me at the house”
V. PREPOSITIONS

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

1. Non-composite prepositions

1.1. Preposition *i*

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

1.1.1. Dative preposition *i*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>agdi innas i tmuda</em></td>
<td>“the jackal said to the pig”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nekkin bbay d lmakla i lehšam inu</em></td>
<td>“I brought food for my children”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nekkin ma ra fkex ši lmakla iō umušš</em></td>
<td>“I will not give food to the cat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>innas ašnekkaf iō ug’di</em></td>
<td>“the hedgehog said to the jackal”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.2. Coordinative preposition *i*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ničma i lehšam nnsen</em></td>
<td>“they and their children”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nekkin iō ug’di</em></td>
<td>“me and the jackal”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iō ušnekkaf gar yal bhila</em></td>
<td>“and the hedgehog has one trick”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.1.3. Comitative preposition *i*

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

1.1.3.1. Before a noun

*i men a huyaret*  “with whom did you play?”
*itlaqa i ssiiyedani*  “he met with that man”
*ša ddux i çma*  “I will go with my brother”
*i men d eddat atg'am*  “with whom did you come yesterday?”
*ið uğ'di*  “with the jackal”

1.1.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix

*qqimex iðes*  “I sat with him”
*a ddux iðun*  “I will go with you (p.)”
*isker iði*  “he made an appointment with me”
*lmus hafi nekki ngder qetwax iðes*  “the knife is sharp, I am (therefore) able to cut with it”

1.2. Allative prepositions

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

1.2.1. Allative preposition *dar*

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

*idda dar hulanda*  “he went to Holland”
1.2.2. Allative preposition γar

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

γars ktar zgis  “he has more than him”
γark lhɑqq “you are right”
γars ya wɛeyyal yallah ixleq “she has a recently born child”
idda d γari “he visited me”

1.2.3. Allative preposition dayur

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

1.2.3.1. Before a noun

ša ddux dayur ya werg’az “I will visit a man”
ag’di idda d dayur tmuda “the jackal visited the pig”
bdan qarraben dayur ssbas “they began approaching the lion”

1.2.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix

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

idda d dayrem “he visited you (f.)”
idda d da'dri  
“he visited me”

idda d dayrun  
“he visited you (p.)”

1.2.4. Allative preposition $\varepsilon$

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

telkem $\varepsilon$ xemsa  
“it was five o’clock” (litt.: “the clock arrived at five o’clock”)

arg’az $\varepsilon$ w’taliz  
“the man is above” (litt.: “the man is on the top”)

a d qqlex $\varepsilon$ buhmed  
“I will return to Bu Aḥmed”

1.3. Genitive preposition $n$

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

1.3.1. Before a noun

$lluli n usbuc$  
“the beginning of the week”

$win n ug’di se ššar$  
“the ones of the jackal have fur”

$bezzaf n tawiyalan$  
“many girls”

$iqqar i lehšam n tmuda$  
“he teaches the children of the pig”

$ifrawen ma g asen walun tiskert$  
“leaves do not have garlic on them”

$γark ši n lhilaθ$  
“do you have some tricks?”

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

$šhaliγa’reç l lehšam$  
“How many kids do you have?”

$tmenya i γar s l lehšam$  
“She has eight children” (litt.: “eight, she has of children”)
1.3.2. Before a pronominal suffix

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

- želd ennes rřtab  
  “her skin is smooth”
- kešmen gi lyar nmsen  
  “they went into their cave”
- lehšam ennek macrufin  
  “our children are well-known”

1.4. Implicative preposition $xf$

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

1.4.1. Form $xf$

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

- iseqla $xf$  
  “he asked about me”
- axfd  
  “on you”
- ssbaax ḫaf $xfes$  
  “the lion grab hold of him”
- iseqla xafnaγ  
  “he asked about us”
- iseqla xafsen  
  “he asked about them”

1.4.2. Form $x$

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

- xeemmen a sawlet  
  “what are you talking about?”
- netta yqqim x umenžur  
  “he sits on the chair”
- ŕway x ḫayfur  
  “what is on the table?”
- itčayn x umeddakul nnes  
  “he was waiting for his friend”
iseqsa x buhmed\textsuperscript{71} “he asked about Bu Aḥmed”

1.4.3. Form $f$

Form $f$ of the implicative preposition seems to have a more restricted use than form $x$. The following examples include the use with the verb susem “listen” and the comparative.\textsuperscript{72}

- $a$ tsusem $f$ lehšam nnes “she will listen to her children”
- $a$ tsusem $f$ šşdav “she will listen to the noise”
- axeyyamad qōim $f$ wani “this house is older than that one”
- axeyyamad mezzi $f$ wani “this house is smaller than that one”
- nettaθa teggahen fe ŝeldan “she put it on that leather”

1.5. Locative prepositions

1.5.1. Locative preposition $g$

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

1.5.1.1. Before a noun

- wergergex atg'am gi nnawm “I dreamt yesterday in (my) sleep”
- šwa ra hzenzet g ssuq “what are you going to sell on the market?”
- nekkin ddrex g hulanda “I live in Holland”
- netta yqqim gi ddšar wayet “he stayed in another village”

\textsuperscript{71} In one of Colins texts the verb iseqsa “ask” is used with the form $f$ of the implicative preposition: $seqsant lehšam nuq' di f babansen$ (transcription and orthography adjusted). Ibid., Text IV, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{72} The use of the form $f$ of the implicative preposition is more extensive in the texts of Colin (speech of Bni Menṣur). This form is used before nouns with the verbs berreh “call” (Ibid., Texts II, III and IV, pp. 53, 54 and 54.) ḏrī “proceed” (Ibid., Text III, p. 53.) and iseqsa “ask” (Ibid., Text IV, p. 54.).
1.5.1.2. Before a pronominal suffix

*ixemmam gasen*  
“he is thinking of them”

*rriyad gas xarrebi n nuwwar*  
“there are many flowers in the garden”

*waytu axeeyam hitlit gas*  
“in what kind of house do you live?”

1.5.2. Locative preposition *d*

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

*das ššham bezzaf*  
“there is very much fat in it”

*di ssawad Ḗṣebbr aθ*  
“after a while he caught him” (litt.: “in hours he grabbed him”)

1.6. Ablative preposition *zg*

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

1.6.1. Before a noun

*nîçma zg huanda*  
“they are from Holland”

*axeeyam beid zg wasîf*  
“the house is far from the river”

*nekkin kṣudek zg ya werg’az*  
“I was afraid of a man”

1.6.2. Before a pronominal suffix

*liyaš ara nτiצ zgâç*  
“why should I trust you?”

*kṣad zgas*  
“be afraid of him!”

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

*netta çтар zgas*  
“he is bigger than him”
1.7. Instrumental preposition $s$

Preposition $s$ has an exclusive instrumental function.

$s$ emmen a haqelct
“what do you cut with?”

siwel se ššelḥa
“talk Berber”

ikkar s tiwfalan
“it is filled with eggs”

2. Composite prepositions

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

2.1. Composition with locative preposition $g$

2.1.1. Composite preposition $g^\text{um n}$ “in front of”

Composite preposition $g^\text{um n}$ consists of three elements. The first element is the locative preposition $g$. The second element is $am$ (or perhaps $um$). This element refers obviously to a frontal location. Finally, the genitive preposition connects the first two elements to the noun or pronominal suffix.

nekkin $g^\text{um n uxeyyam}$
“I am in front of the house”

$g^\text{um inu}$
“near (me)” (litt.: “in front of me”)

$\text{aç afeç } g^\text{um n tmzida}$
“I will see you in front of the mosque”

$g^\text{um n warg'am ddax dar hulanda}$
“I went to Holland the day before yesterday”

2.1.2. Composite preposition $g^\text{ammas n}$ “in the middle of”

Composite preposition $g^\text{ammas n}$ consists also of three elements whereby the first and the last are identical to the ones of the aforementioned preposition $g^\text{um n}$. The second element $ammas$ denotes a
central location. It is also used as an independent noun referring to the human waistline, which can be considered the centre of the human body.

\[\text{tabl} g^w\text{ammas n imen}z\text{ar} \quad \text{“the table is between the chairs”}\]
\[\text{aç tell g^w\text{ammas l lebh}\text{ar yal lba}t\text{il} \quad \text{“there was a boat in the middle of the sea”}\]

2.1.3. Composite preposition \(g^waf\ n\) “on top of”

The second element \(af\) in \(g^waf\ n\) evidently designates a top location. The first and the last element have the same function as in the aforementioned composite prepositions.

\[g^waf\ n\ \text{yayil das a}öf\text{el} \quad \text{“there is snow on top of the mountain”}\]

2.1.4. Composite preposition \(g\text{’enna}\) “above”

Composite preposition \(g\text{’enna}\) exists of two elements. The first is the locative preposition \(g\). The second element comes from \(ag\text{’enna}\) “sky”.\(^\text{73}\) This composite preposition therefore designates an abstract upper location. It indeed refers in many cases to the sky as a location.

\[\text{ma kayn ši bezzaf n itšawtšawen g’enna} \quad \text{“there are not many birds in the sky”}\]
\[\text{iga}d\ g’enna \quad \text{“birds are in the sky”}\]
\[\text{ša ϭa}l\text{lix g’enna} \quad \text{“I will go up(stairs)”}\]

2.2. Composition with instrumental preposition \(s\)

2.2.1. Composite preposition \(zd\) “under”

Composite preposition \(zd\) is composed of two elements: the implicative preposition \(s\) and the element \(ddu\) “under”.\(^\text{74}\) This preposition thus designates a lower location. Note that the instrumental preposition \(s\) has become voiced under the influence of \(ddu\) (see I/3.4.).

argˈaz zdu ṭabla            “the man is under the table”
lˈyilla n tiskert zdu trhabt “garlic grows under the ground”
iʃlawen ma tilin ʾi zdu trhabt “beans do not grow under the ground”

3. Arabic loans

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

3.1. Arabic preposition bayn “between”

3.1.1. Before a noun

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

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

ittuθu dar ʾššham bin tittawan  “he is reaching for the fat between the eyes”
yat teyyalt twaqa bin ʾiʃʃen  “a girl is standing between trees”
dasi yaw xeyyam bayn iyallen “there is a house between the mountains”

3.1.2. Before a pronominal suffix

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

baynadḥna     “between us”
3.2. Arabic preposition *bi* "with"

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

- *iqqim ssbaq das buhdu* “the lion stayed over there by himself”
- *niţma b zuţ* “the two of them”
- *iţaren nnes b arbea* “his legs, all four of them”

The following example is a fixed expression with the locative preposition *g* combined with the Arabic preposition *bi*. This is also attested in the speech of Bni Menşur by Colin.\(^{35}\)

- *layn a yttuθu ku nnhar g bliil* “where does he go every night”

3.3. Arabic preposition *bla* “without”

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

- *ša ddux bla çma* “I will go without my brother”
- *xess ay a ššex bla lmešruba* “I want to eat without drinking”
- *ša tedžem nekkīn bla ťi* “you (p.) leave me without anything”

3.4. Arabic preposition *fi* “in”

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

- *nekkīn qaɭeɣ d ɭa fḥalī* “I went back on my way”
- *ndda fhalēk* “go on your own way!”
- *ag’di idda fhalu* “the jackal went on his way”

\(^{35}\) Colin, ‘Le parler berbère’, Text IV, p. 54.
dda fhala  “she went on her way”

ddan fhalem  “they went on their way”

Note that the pronominal suffixes are Arabic in all cases.
VI. SYNTAX

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

1. Non-verbal sentences

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

Nominal phrase as predicate

[subject] - [predicate]

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

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

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

76 The use of copula in Ghomara Berber seems to be very limited. It is only in Bni Menşur that we have found an example of the use of a copula: nhara ə rexmis “today it is Thursday”. 
The predicate is also linked to the subject without a copula in non-verbal sentences in which the predicate is an adverbial phrase.

**Adverbial phrase as predicate**

[subject] - [predicate]

004. `netta aeyya`
     3sm/PRO tired-sm/ADJ
     “he is tired”

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

006. `a-rg'az meqqur`
     EL/sm-man big-sm/ADJ
     “the man is big”

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

**Prepositional phrase as predicate**

[subject] - [predicate]

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

008. `yr un lhaqq`
     ALPR 2p/PREP right
     “you (p.) are right”
1.1 Negation of non-verbal sentences

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

Nominal phrase as predicate

\[
\text{[subject]} - \text{[NEG]} - \text{[predicate]}
\]

\[
\text{maši}
\]

001. nekkin maši a-meddarul enneç

1s/PRO NEG EL/sm-friend 2sm/POSS

“I am not your friend”

Adverbial phrase as predicate

\[
\text{[subject]} - \text{[NEG]} - \text{[predicate]}
\]

\[
\text{maši}
\]

002. netta maši meqqur

3sm/PRO NEG big-sm/ADJ

“he is not big”
In prepositional phrases the negative element ma comes before the preposition including prepositional suffix and is followed by the negative element ši.

**Prepositional phrase as predicate**

(subject) - [NEG] - [PP] - [NEG] - [predicate]

ma ši

“that door is not heavy”

“garlic does not grow on leaves” (litt.: “leaves do not have garlic in them”)

“he is not right”

“it’s not fat” (litt.: “there is no fat in it”)

**2. Verbal sentences**

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

2.1.1. Preverbal element ša

The preverbal element ša marks the future tense.


ša A/IMP-AR

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

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

003. ša zalle-x g\enna
   FUT go up-1s/A up
   “I will go up”

004. li\anna ša y t-šembe-m
   because FUT 1s/IO 2p-trick-2p/A
   “because you (p.) will trick me”

2.1.2. Preverbal element a

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


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

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

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

Hortative mood


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

Future tense


005. a
    A/IMP-AR
005. \( a \) \( n\)-\( z\)all \( lee\)\( ša\)

FUT \( 1p\)-\( pray\)/\( A \) nightprayer

“we will pray the nightprayer”

006. \( a \) \( ddu\)-\( x \) \( a \) \( n \) \( šše\)-\( x \)

FUT \( go\)-\( 1s\)/\( A \) PROS \( 3p\)/\( DO \) \( eat\)-\( 1s\)/\( A \)

“I will go and eat them”

007. \( a \) \( hezz\)-\( ex \) \( Ifakiha\)

FUT \( shake\)-\( 1s\)/\( A \) fruit/coll

“I will shake the fruit”

008. \( a \) \( ddu\)-\( x \) \( i\)\( ō \) \( un \)

FUT \( go\)-\( 1s\)/\( A \) COMPR \( 2p\)/\( PREP \)

“I will go with you”

2.1.3. Preverbal element \( ara\)

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
ara & A/IMP-AR
\end{array}
\]

001. \( ara \) \( gge\)-\( x \) \( ššebb\)\( at \)

FUT \( make\)-\( 1s\)/\( A \) shoes

“I will make shoes”

Relative sentences

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\[ ara \] & A/IMP-AR
\end{array}
\]
002. a-rq'az ara yθ i-fk lefus huwa baba
EL/sm-man RLV FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A money 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
“the man who will give me money is my father”

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

After interrogatives

ara A/IMP-AR

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

005. ška ra ç i-zar alažen
who FUT 2sm/DO 3sm-see/A tomorrow
“who will see you tomorrow?”

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

After negative preverbal element ma

ma ara A/IMP-AR ši
2.2. Negation of verbal sentences

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

001. *lli ma h-ell ši smina*

   sm-RELD/AR NEG 3sf-be/P NEG fat-sf/ADJ-AR

   “one which is not fat”

002. *i-san-en inu ma lla-n ši nišan*

   EL/pm-tooth-pm 1s/POSS NEG be-3p/P NEG straight

   “my teeth are not straight”

2.2.1. Negation of imperative

\[ [\text{NEG}] \rightarrow [\text{verb}] \rightarrow [\text{IO}] \rightarrow [\text{DO}] \rightarrow [\text{HITH}] \rightarrow [\text{NEG}] \]

\[
\text{ma} \quad 2/A \quad \text{ši}
\]
001. ma y-etrut ši
   NEG 2s-weep-2s/A NEG
   “don’t cry!”

002. ma y-elle-t ši feqsan
   NEG 2s-be-2s/A NEG sad-sm/ADJ
   “don’t be sad!”

003. ma y-edje-m ši
   NEG 2p-leave-2p/A NEG
   “don’t leave!”

004. ma y-elle-m ši feqsan-in
   NEG 2p-be-2p/A NEG sad-p/ADJ-AR
   “don’t be (p.) sad!”

2.2.2. Negation of future


001. ma ra d iffeγ ši
   NEG FUT HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG
   “it will not come out”

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

003. ma ra yθ i-fk ši leflus
   NEG FUT 1s/IO 3sm-give/A NEG money
   "she will not give me money“
004. ma ra ç ara-x ši
   NEG FUT 2sm/IO write-1s/A NEG
   “I will not write you”

2.2.3. Negation of preterite

   ma P/PRF-AR ši

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

002. ta-meṭṭu-t illa ma h-efk ay ši
   EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-give/P 1s/IO NEG
   leflus hiya ta-žar-t inu
   money 3sf/PRO-AR EL/sf-neighbour-sf 1s/POSS
   “the woman who didn’t give me money is my neighbour”

The circumfix ma-….ši is also used for negation of verbs that are inflected according to MA morphology.

003. nuṣna ma ṭlaq-in’a ši bezzaf n t-ṣiyyal-an
   1p/PRO NEG meet-1p/PRF-AR NEG many GENPR EA/pf-girl-pf
   “we have not met many girls”
2.2.4. Negation of intensive

\[\text{NEG} - [\text{verb}] - [\text{IO}] - [\text{DO}] - [\text{HITH}] - ([\text{NEG}])\]

\(\text{ma I/IMP-AR} \quad (\text{ši})\)

001. \(\text{ma tili-n ga sen walu}\)
	**NEG** be-3p/I **LOCPR** 3p/PREP nothing
	“there is usually nothing in them”

002. \(\text{a-rg'az illa ma y-tzumm ši huwa baba}\)
	**EL/sm-man** RLV **NEG** 3sm-swim/I **NEG** 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
	“the man who is not swimming is my father”

3. Attraction

Attraction is accomplished by the following circumstances:

1. The preverbal elements ša, ara and a.
2. The conjunctions niga “when”, amça “how” and hetta “until”.
3. Relative clauses.

These circumstances accomplish the attraction of the d “hither”, the direct objects and the indirect objects. We will discuss the attraction of these element on the basis of the circumstances in which the attraction is generated.

3.1. Attraction of d “hither”

3.1.1. Preverbal elements

Preverbal element ša

\[\text{[FUT]} - [\text{HITH}] - [\text{verb}]\]

\(\text{ša A/IMP-AR}\)
001. ša d i-du’d a γn i-neγ
   FUT HITH 3sm-go/A PROS 1p/DO 3sm-kill/A
   “he will come and kill us”

002. ša d qqle-x gi ssbah
   FUT HITH return-1s/A LO CPR morning
   “I will come back in the morning”

Preverbal element ara

[FUT] - [HITH] - [verb]
ara A/IMP-AR

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

Preverbal element a

[PROS/HOR/FUT] - [HITH] - [verb]
a A/IMP-AR

004. a d qqle-x ea buhmed
   PROS HITH return-1s/A ALPR PLN
   “I will come back to Bu Ahmed”

005. amella a d at n-elkum
   now PROS HITH 3sf/DO 1p-arrive/A
   “now we will reach it”

77 Gemination is lost due to d “hither”.

141
3.1.2. Conjunctions

[conjunction] - [HITH] - [verb]

nigalamčalḥetta

001. niga d i-ttuθu dayr i ša nne-x marḥaba
when HITH 3sm-go/I ALPR 1s/PREP FUT say-1s/A welcome
“when he visits me I will say, ‘welcome’”

002. amča d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbač
while HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion
“as they approached the lion”

003. ḥetta d i-ṭlaq-aw ssbač
until HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion
“until they approached the lion”

3.1.3. Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [HITH] - [verb]

a

001. netta a d i-ṭtaxar
3sm/PRO RLV HITH 3sm-be last/I
“he was the one who finished last”
3.2. Attraction of direct objects

3.2.1. Preverbal elements

Preverbal element ša

[FUT] - [DO] - [verb]

ša A/IMP-AR

001. ša t n-eyras
    FUT 3sf/DO 1p-slaughter/A
    “we will slaughter it”

002. ša t açur-en
    FUT 3sf/DO steal-3p/A
    “they will steal it”

003. ša wn eqqn-ex
    FUT 2p/DO tie-1s/A
    “I will tie you (p.)”

Preverbal element ara

[FUT] - [DO] - [verb]

ara A/IMP-AR

004. a-rg‘az a ra yθ i-fk leflus huwa baba
    EL/sm-man FOC FUT 1s/DO 3sm-give-/A money 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
    “the man who will give me money is my father”

005. amça ra wn af-ex
    how FUT 2p/DO find-1s/A
    “how will I find you?”
Preverbal element a

[PROS/HOR/FUT] - [DO] - [verb]

a A/IMP-AR

006. ma ya γn i-šš

NEG PROS 1p/DO 3sm-eat/A
“he will not eat us”

007. a γn i-neγ

PROS 1p/DO 3sm-kill/A
“he will kill us”

3.2.2. Conjunctions

[conjunction] - [DO] - [verb]

niga/amça/ḥetta A/IMP-AR

001. niga θ i-qleb ssbac i-ḥaf xf es

when 3sm/DO 3sm-turn over/P lion 3sm-grasp/P IMPR 3sm/PREP
“when he turned him over the lion grab hold of him”

3.2.3. Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [DO] - [verb]

a

001. ta-metṭu-t a yθ i-fk-en leflus hiya yemma

EL/sf-woman-sf RLV 1s/DO PTC-give-PTC/P money 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN
“the woman who gave me money is my mother”
3.3. Attraction of indirect objects

3.3.1. Preverbal elements

Preverbal element ša

[FUT] - [IO] - [verb]

ša A

001. ša  s  i-qqar  i  leḥšam  n  t-muda
  FUT  3sm/IO  3sm-teach/A  DATPR  children  GENPR  EA/sf-pig
  “he will teach the children of the pig”

002. ša  y  t-šemθ-em
  FUT  1s/IO  2p-trick-2p/A
  “you (p.) will trick me”

Preverbal element ara

[FUT] - [IO] - [verb]

ara A

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

004. škun  a-rg'az  ara  yθ  i-fk  leflus
  who  EL/sm-man  FUT  1s/IO  3sm-give/A  money
  “which man will give me money?”
Preverbal element *a*

[PROS/HOR/FUT] - [IO] - [verb]

*a*  

005. *ara m qqar-ex lehšam nnem*

give PROS 2sf/IO teach-1s/A children 2sf/POSS

“give me your children so I will teach them”

3.3.2. Conjunctions

[conjunction] - [IO] - [verb]

*niga/amça/hetta*  

A/IMP-AR

001. *niga s enna-n lehšam nnaç*

when 3sm/IO say-3p/P children 1p/POSS

“when they said to him, ‘our children’”

002. *hetta s t-efsequ lželd an*

until 3sm/IO 3sf-untie/P leather sm/ANAPH

“until she untied that leather for him”

3.3.3. Relative sentences

[main clause] - [RLV] - [IO] - [verb]

*a*

001. *h-edda d lqniyya nettaža a s i-fesç-en*

3sf-go/P HITH rabbit 3sf/PRO RLV 3sm/IO PTC-untie-PTC/P

“the rabbit came, she was the one who untied him”
4. Relative sentences

Relative sentences in Ghomara Berber consist of two main types, namely non-participial constructions and participial constructions. We will discuss these two types of relative sentences and in addition the relativizers *a* and *illa*.

4.1. Non-participial constructions

4.1.1. Relativizer *a*

In this category we find relative sentences with the future marker *ara*, the past particle *ag* and sentences in which the subject of the subordinate clause is not the same as the subject of the main clause. Note that in most cases the relativizer *a* has assimilated to the initial vowel *a* of either the future marker *ara* or the past particle *ag*.

001. *a-*rg'az      ara      ddu      dar      ťiţwan      huwa      baba
EL/sm-man      RLV      FUT      3sm-go/A      ALPR      PLN      3sm/PRO-AR      father-1s/ADN
“the man who will go to Tétouan is my father”

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

003. *a-*rg'az     ara     yθ     i-fk     leflus      huwa      baba
EL/sm-man  RLV  FUT  1s/DO  3sm-give-/A  money  3sm/PRO-AR  father-1s/ADN
“the man who will give me money is my father”
004. ta-meṭṭu-t  aţ  t-ell  ktar  zg  asen  hiya  yemma
EL/sf-woman-sf  RLV  PSP  3sf-be/P  more  ABLPR  3p/PREP  3sf/PRO-AR  mother-1s/ADN
“the woman who was the biggest of them is my mother”

005. a-rg'az  a  żra-x  atglam
EL/sm-man  RLV  see-1s/P  yesterday
“the man whom I saw yesterday”

4.1.2. Relativizer illa

Relativizer illa is used in relative sentences with negative marker ma which can be followed by the future marker ara or the past particle ag.

001. a-rg'az illa  ma  y-təumm  şī  huwa  baba
EL/sm-man  RLV  NEG  3sm-swim/I  NEG  3sm/PRO-AR  father-1s/ADN
“the man who is not swimming is my father”

002. i-rg'az-en illa  ma  təumm-en  şī  huma
EL/pm-man-pm  RLV  NEG  swim-3p/I  NEG  3p/PRO-AR

i-ʕeyyal-en  inu
EL/pm-child-pm  1s/POSS
“the men who are not swimming are my sons”

003. i-rg'az-en illa  ma  ra  ddu-n  dar  fiwən  hum
EL/pm-man-pm  RLV  NEG  FUT  go-3p/A  LO CPR  PLN  3sm/PRO-AR

aθebra
EL/pm-brother-1s/ADN
“the men who will not go to Tétouan are my brothers”
004. اُرجّاء یلا مرا یُثُر یَفُک یَلْفُس ُهِوْا ِبَبا
EL/sm-man RLV NEG FUT 1s/DO 3sm-give/A money 3sm/PRO-AR EL/father-1s/ADN
“the man who will not give me money is my father”

005. شِکْن تَیْمْتُت-ان یلا مرا یُثُر یَفُک-ین ْشِی یَلْفُس
who EL/pf-woman-pf RLV NEG FUT 1s/DO give-3p/A NEG money
“who are the women who will not give me money”

006. تَمْتُت تَیلا مرا ِهْدْدَا ْشی دار ُفیْتْوْان ُهیْا ُقَامْتی
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-go/P NEG ALPR PLN 3sf/PRO-AR aunt-1s/ADN
“the woman who did not go to Tétouan is my aunt”

007. تَمْتُت تَیلا مرا ِهْفْک ْای ْشی یَلْفُس ُهیْا
EL/sf-woman-sf RLV NEG 3sf-give/P 1s/DO NEG money 3sf/PRO-AR

tاُژَر تَی
EL/sf-neighbour-sf 1s/POSS
“the woman who didn’t give me money is my neighbour”

008. تیْمْتُت-ان تَیلا مرا ِگْلْلَا-ن ْشی تُؤْمْم-ِین ُهْوْمَا
EL/pf-woman-pf RLV FUT PSP be-3p/P NEG 3p-swim-3p/I 3sm/PRO-AR

tیْعَمْعْعَل-ان تَی
EL/pf-child-pf 1s/POSS
“the women who were not swimming are my children”

009. اُرجّاء یلا مرا ِیاَل ْشی تْؤْمْمُ ُهِوْا ِبَبا
EL/sm-man RLV FUT PSP 3sm-be/P NEG 3sm-swim/I 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
“the man who was not swimming is my father”
### 4.2. Participial constructions

Participial constructions in relative sentences seem to be employed in sentences without the future marker *ara* or the negative marker *ma*. As for the past particle *ag*, we have seen that the relative sentences can also be non-participial.

001. škun a s i-xess-en a ddu dar ṭiṭwan
   who RLV 3sm/IO PTC-want-PTC/A PROS 3sm-go/A ALPR PLN
   “who is the one who wants to go to Tétouan”

002. a-rḡ’az a y-dda-n dar ṭiṭwan huwa baba
   EL/sm-man RLV PTC-go-PTC/P ALPR PLN 3sm/PRO-AR father-1s/ADN
   “the man who went to Tétouan is my father”

003. ta-meṭṭu-t a yθ i-fk-en leflus hiya yemma
   EL/sf-woman-sf RLV 1s/DO PTC-give-PTC/P money 3sf/PRO-AR mother-1s/ADN
   “the woman who gave me money is my mother”

004. ti-myar-an a g i-lla-n tsomm-en hum tayθ-ma-than
   EL/pf-woman-pf RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P swim-3p/I 3sm/PRO-AR EL/pf-sister-pf
   inu
   1s/POSS
   “the women we were swimming are my sisters”

005. a-rḡ’az a g i-lla-n qarm atḡ’am
   EL/sm-man RLV PSP PTC-be-PTC/P silent-sm/ADJ yesterday
   “the man who was being silent yesterday”

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

The non-verbal predicate in cleft sentences is connected to the relative clause by means of a focalisation particle which is a or i. It’s assimilated in most cases though as the following examples show.

001. tmenya i γar s l lehšam
   eight FOC ALPR 3sf/PREP GENPR children
   “she has eight children” (litt.: “eight, she has of children”)

002. whadi a yi-lla-n xeddam
   sm/PRD FOC PTC-be-PTC/I working/PTC-AR
   “this one is the one that works”

003. nettaša g i-lla-n ta y-muqr-en
   3sf/PRO FOC PSP PTC-be-PTC/P sf/RELD PTC-be big-PTC/A
   “she was the one who was the biggest”

004. nettaša s i-fesč-en
   3sf/PRO FOC 3sm/IO PTC-untie-PTC/P
   “she was the one who untied him”
APPENDICES

1. Appendix I: population statistics

The following table shows the žamaa which belong to Ghomara according to official data which was handed to us by the officials of the qiyada of Bu Aḥmed. The table is divided into three levels. The first level is composed of the žamaa. The second level consists of the rbac in which the žamaa are divided. The third level consists of the duwwar in which the rbac are divided.

Table 025. Population statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ghomara</th>
<th>Berber</th>
<th>Colin</th>
<th>Behnstedt</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
<th>Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bni Buṭra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bu Aḥmed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bni Musa</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Tamayelt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>197</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Izzïwen</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>195</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tazemmurt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

78 Colin specifically designates the marked place names as Berberphone areas. Note that he does not always specify the duwwar but sometimes only mentions the rbac. Colin, ‘Le parler berbère’.

79 The marked place names are Berberophone according to our own findings.

80 Behnstedt places the marked place names within the Berberophone area in his map. In addition, he also located Amṭiq and Ahlawut within this Berberophone area. We do not know Amṭiq as a duwwar. As for Ahlawut, our informant Muhammad Hudda has reported this place name (who pronounced it as Ḧlawet). However, he added that this was just a ‘ddšar’. We assume therefore that this is not a duwwar. The official list which contains all the duwwar did not contain Ḧlawet. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 18.

81 This data is derived from the census of 1994.

82 Id.

83 The total number of inhabitants of Bni Buṭra in 2004 was 14,950 according to the census of 2004. There was no specification of this census available at the time of our fieldwork. We have taken the differentiated number of inhabitants of the census of 1994 in order to calculate the estimate number of inhabitants in 2004 on the basis of the growth rate which was given to us by the qiyada of Bu Aḥmed. According to this information, the growth rate between 1994 and 2004 was 2,451 percent annually.

84 The centre of Bu Aḥmed is not considered as a žamaa but it belongs to Bni Buṭra and Bni Buṭra is part of the qiyada of Bu Aḥmed.

85 Behnstedt designates Tazemmurt as a duwwar belonging to Bni Menṣūr instead of Bni Buṭra. At the same time he designates the duwwar south of Tazemmurt, Isuka, as a duwwar belonging to Bni Buṭra. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 18. Colin reports that both Isuka and Tazemmurt belong to Bni Menṣūr. Colin, ‘Le parler berbère’, p. 44. Since these two rbac are located in the area between the two žamaa, there have possibly been
some changes over time. The *qiyada* of Bu Ahmed reported to us that Tazemmurt now belongs to the *žama* of Bni Buzra while Isuka belongs to the *žama* of Bni Mensur.

86 Id.

87 Behnstedt notes Fali instead of Faliz. We have every reason to believe that the two correspond to each other. P. Behnstedt, *‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’*, p. 18.

88 Lqela used to be an individual *rbac* but merged with Bni Musa in 2005.

89 Colin notes Anarar. Since he reports that this *duwwar* belongs to the *rbac* of Alwuṣṭīyyen, we assume that Anarar corresponds to Anaray. Anaray is the official place name nowadays. Colin, *‘Le parler berbère’*, p. 51.
10. Agursif &nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbs
6. Bni Beşsar  857  118
7. Qawrat  498  79

4. Rbae\textsuperscript{92}:
1. Tayzut nuwwar  1.272  176
2. Anuyran  164  34
3. Bni Nşir  334  47
4. Qarezzat  956  137
5. Tazegnate\textsuperscript{\theta}  322  46

5. Rbae\textsuperscript{93}:
1. Bnu Wukna  1.101  150
2. Ben Σudiyen  467  65
3. Aziman  394  52
4. Mdina  568  74
5. Aştiwen  299  41
6. Tawrart  564  76
7. Işerben  274  31

3. Bni Smiḥ  11.793

4. Bni Rzin  15.836

2. Maps

2.1. Appendix II: official map of Ghomara

The following map is based on an official map which was handed to us by the officials of the qiya\textsuperscript{a}da of Bu Ahmed. On the basis of satellite photo’s provided by Google Maps\textsuperscript{94} we have added the rivers and corrected the line corresponding to the coastline. We have added the rivers to make comparison possible with other maps because Wad Law corresponds to the Eastern border while Wad Uringa corresponds to the Western border of Ghomara. Wad Tigisas roughly corresponds to the border of Bni Bużra and Bni Menşur with their respective Eastern neighbours Aştiha and Bni Selman.

\textsuperscript{92} We do not know the name of this \textit{rbae}.
\textsuperscript{93} Id.
\textsuperscript{94} See http://maps.google.nl.
Map 1: Official map of Ghomara

2.2. Appendix III: traditional map of Ghomara

In the following map we have combined the official map which was handed to us by officials of the qiyada of Bu Ahmed (see Appendix II/map 1) and the map of A. Renisio. We have checked this map

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and corrected it whenever necessary on the basis of the information which was given to us by our informants.

Map 2: Traditional map of Ghomara
2.3. Appendix IV: map of Bni Bużra and Bni Menşur

The following map was based on the official map (see Appendix II/map 1) and the linguistic map of Behnstedt.\(^{96}\) We have left out place names which are not important for the Berber speaking area and place names of which we doubted whether they are located correctly on the map or which were not reported to us. Thus the Berber speaking area designated in map 3 is based on our findings.

Map 3: Map of Bni Bużra and Bni Menşur

\(^{96}\) Cf. P. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 18.
Behnstedt reports that Tawrart is located in the South of Bni Menṣur. Behnstedt specifically states that this is the location of the Berberophone *duwwar* Tawrart which belongs to Bni Ṣruṣ: “Hay dos lugares en la zona denominadas Tawrart. Pero me indicaron expresamente que Tawrart está situada al sur de Dār Mažžu.”97 Dār Mažžu corresponds to Dar Magu, which belongs to the *rbae* of Inswan in Bni Menṣur. According to Behnstedt’s map Ḩṭelḥaten is located near Dar Magu. Ḩṭelḥaten also belongs to the *rbae* of Inswan in Bni Menṣur. These two *duwwar* of Inswan separate Tawrart of Bni Ṣruṣ from the rest of Bni Ṣruṣ in the North in the map of Behnstedt. This is not very likely, especially since Inswan is Arabophone while Bni Ṣruṣ is Berberophone. It is more likely that Tawrart in the South belongs to *rbae 5* (see Appendix I/Table 025.). This *rbae* of which we do not know the name but only the *duwwar* belonging to it, is entirely Arabophone. Because of these uncertainties, we have left Tawrart out of our map.

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97 P. Behnstedt, ‘La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe’, p. 10.
1. *Lqiṣṣa n ugḏi iḏ ušnekkaf*

001. i-nna s a-g̱di yallah a n-šterh-u
   3sm-say/P 3sm/IO EL/sm-jackal HOR-s HOR lp-cooperate-lp/IMP-AR

002. a zammi a-šnekkaf ḏda-n rri-n ti-sker-t
   VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-hedgehog go-3p/P sow-3p/P EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll

003. niga wezḏ-eθ lyilla ḏda-n ša bṣu-n lyilla
   when be ready-sf/PRF-AR crops go-3p/P FUT divide-3p/A crops

004. šwa ra bb-et a zammi a-g̱di
   what FUT 2s-take-2s/A VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-jackal

005. a-g̱di i-zra i-fraw-en i-nna s
   EL/sm-jackal 3sm-see/P EL/pm-leaf-pm 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

006. yallah ša bb-ex herref/herref iḏ u-šnekkaf
   HOR-s FUT take-1s/A cuttable crops COPR EA/sm-hedgehog

007. i-nna s yallah ša bb-ex qlaexqlae
   3sm-say/P 3sm/IO HOR-s FUT take-1s/A pluckable crops

008. i-qlae ti-sker-t t-tili lyilla n ti-sker-t
   3sm-pluck/P EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll 3sf-be/I crops GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll

009. zdu t-rhab-t ḏda d a-šnekkaf ib-bb
   under EA/sf-ground-sf 3sm-go/P HITH EL/sm-hedgehog 3sm-take/P
010. ti-sker-t ið u-g'di i-bb i-fraw-en i-bb
   EL/sf-garlic-sf/coll COPR EA/sm-jackal 3sm-take/P EL/pm-leaf-pm 3sm-take/P

011. γα i-fraw-en i-fraw-en n ti-skërt ma
   only EL/pm-leaf-pm EL/pm-leaf-pm GENPR EA/sf-garlic-sf/coll NEG

012. tili-n ga sen walu dda-n fβal em
   be-3p/I LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing go-3p/P way 3p/POSS-AR

013. εawed i-dda d merra ta-yet i-nna s
   again 3sm-go/P HITH time sf-other 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

014. xess anaç a n-kun šterh-u šwa
   3sm-need/A 1p/IO PROS 1pm-be-1pm/IMP-AR 1p-cooperate-1p/IMP-AR what

015. dda-n rri-n dda-n rri-n i-βaw-en rri-n
go-3p/P sow-3p/P go-3p/P sow-3p/P EL/pm-bean-pm sow-3p/P

016. i-βaw-en weζ-d-eθ lγilleθ dda-n ša bθu-n
   EL/pm-bean-pm be ready-sf/PRF-AR crops go-3p/P FUT divide-3p/A

017. i-nna s šwa ra bb-et a zammi a-g'di
   3sm-say/P 3sm/IO what FUT 2s-take-2s/A VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-jackal

018. i-nna s lmerra y ša bb-ex qlacqlac
   3sm-say/P 3sm/IO time sf/PRD FUT take-1s/A pluckable crops

019. lmerra ta-yet t-šemθ-et ay merra ta-yet t-šemθ-et
time sf-other 2sm-trick-2sm/P 1s/DO time sf-other 2sm-trick-2sm/P

020. kedž t-ebba-t qlacqlac i nekk bba-x
   2sm/PRO 2sm-take-2sm/P pluckable crops COPR 1s/PRO take-1s/P
021. herref herref i-bb i-fraw-en i-fraw-en ma ga
cuttatable crops 3sm-take/P EL/pm-leaf-pm EL/pm-leaf-pm NEG LO CPR

022. sen walu n ti-skert lmerra y ša
3p/PREP nothing GENPR EA-sf-garlic-sf/coll time sf/PRD FUT

023. bb-ex quæqæ quæqæ sawed;eaks a-g’di i-bb
take-1s/A pluckable crops again contrary EL/sm-jackal 3sm-take/P

024. quæqæ i-flaw-en zdü t-rhab-t ma
pluckable crops EL/pm-leaf-pm under EA/sf-ground-sf NEG

025. ga sen walu i-flaw-en tili-n
LOCPR 3p/PREP nothing EL/pm-leaf-pm be-3p/I

026. ga sen lyilla ḡ i-fraw-en a-g’di maša
LOCPR 3p/PREP crops LO CPR EA/pm-leaf-pm EL/sm-jackal but

027. i-bb quæqæ quæqæ iō u-šnekkaf merra ta-yeṭ
3sm-take/P pluckable crops COPR EA/sm-hedgehog time sf-other

028. i-šemṯ as iōn a-g’di merra tanya
3sm-trick/P 3sm/IO so EL/sm-jackal time second-sf/ADJ-AR

029. i-bb quæqæ a-g’di sawed iō u-šnekkaf
3sm-take/P pluckable crops EL/sm-jackal again COPR EA/sm-hedgehog

030. i-bb herref herref sawed a-šnekkaf
3sm-take/P cuttable crops again EL/sm-hedgehog

031. i-šmeṯ li’anna hu sawed i-bb lyilla
3sm-trick/P because 3sm/DO-AR again 3sm-take/P crops
032. \( i\text{-}\beta\text{aw}-en \quad ma \quad \text{tili-}n \quad \dot{s}i \quad z\dot{du} \quad t\text{-}r\hat{h}ab-t \)

\( \text{EL/pm-} \text{bean-pm} \quad \text{NEG be-3p/I} \quad \text{NEG under } \text{EA/sf-ground-sf} \)

033. \( i\text{-}\dot{\text{sem}}\theta \quad \text{as} \)

\( 3\text{sm-trick/P} \quad 3\text{sm/IO} \)
1.1. The story of the jackal and the hedgehog

The jackal said to him, “Let’s work together uncle hedgehog.” They went and sowed garlic. When the crops were ready, they went to divide the crops. “What are you going to take uncle jackal?” The jackal saw the leaves and said to him, “Well I will take the crops on the leaves.” The hedgehog said to him, “All right I will take the crops in the ground then.” He pulled the bulbs of garlic out of the ground, because crops of a garlic plant grow in the ground. So the hedgehog took the garlic bulbs while the jackal took the leaves. He only took leaves of the garlic plant because leaves of garlic plants do not have anything on them. After that, they went on their way.

Another time he came to the hedgehog and said, “We should be working together.” What is it they went to sow? They went and sowed beans. When the crops were ready, they went to divide the crops. He said to him, “What are you going to take uncle jackal.” He said to him, “This time I will take the crops in the ground. The other time you tricked me. You tricked me because you took the crops in the ground and I took the crops on the leaves.” He took the leaves, but the leaves do not have garlic bulbs on them. “This time I will be the one who will take the crops in the ground.” So contrary to the other time, the jackal pulled the crops from the ground. But bean plants don’t grow anything in the ground, instead bean plants grow crops on the leaves. But the jackal took the crops in the ground and that way the hedgehog tricked him again.

So the second time the jackal took the crops in the ground while the hedgehog took the crops on the leaves and he tricked him again. He tricked him, because he took the crops again. Beans do not grow under the ground. He tricked him.
2. Lqissa n ug'di i tmuda

001. a-g'di i-dda d dayur t-muda
   EL/sm-jackal 3sm-go/P HITH ALPR EA/sf-pig

002. i-ttafa γar s lehšam
   3sm-find/I ALPR 3sf/PREP children

003. a-g'di i-nna s i t-muda
   EL/sm-jackal 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO DATPR EA/sf-pig

004. ara m qqar-ex lehšam nnem
   give 2sf/IO teach-1s/A children 2sf/POSS

005. ša s i-qqar i
   FUT 3sf/IO 3sm-teach/A DATPR

006. lehšam n t-muda hewa t-eff
   children GENPR EA/sf-pig well 3sf-give/P

007. as lehšam nnes a s t
   3sm/IO children 3sf/POSS PROS 3sf/IO 3sm/DO

008. i-qqar yahen i-dda i-tett as
   3sm-teach/A 3p/DO 3sm-go/P 3sm-eat/I 3sf/IO

009. yan g ennhar i-tett ahen
    one LOCPR day 3sm-eat/I 3p/DO

010. i netta niga y-tett i-tsiyyab
    COPR 3sm/PRO when 3sm-eat/I 3sm-throw/I
011. i-γess-an g lhaża inşi ttuθu-n
   EL/pm-bone/pm LOCPR thing some go-3p/I

012. d i-rezza-en i-rezza-en tett-en i-γess-an
   HITH EL/pm-hornet-pm EL/pm-hornet-pm eat-3p/I EL/pm-bone-pm

013. in i-qqim ayyamaθ i-qqar as leḥšam
   p/ANAPH 3sm-stay/P days 3sm-teach/A 3sf/IO children

014. t-ttuθu d ta-muda dda d
   3sf-go/I HITH EL/sf-pig 3sf-go/P HITH

015. a t-ṭella leḥšam nnes
   PROS 3sf-watch/A children 3sf/POSS

016. waš ka ye-qra-w amça t-edda d t-enna
     whether INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR while 3sf-go/P HITH 3sf-say/P

017. s i-xess ay a ṭella-x leḥšam inu
     3sm/IO 3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS watch-1s/A children 1s/POSS

018. waš ka ye-qra-w i-bb at i-nna
     whether INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR 3sm-take/P 3sf/DO 3sm-say/P

019. s susem a t-susem f
     3sf/IO listen-s/IMP PROS 3sf-listen/A IMPR

020. ssdaq n i-rezza-en g i-γess-an
     noise GENPR EA/pm-hornet-pm LOCPR EA/pm-bone-pm

021. i-rezza-en tett-en i-γess-an huww
     EL/pm-hornet-pm eat-3p/P EL/pm-bone-pm ONOM
022. *i-qqar as ha m sell lehšam*
   3sm-say/I 3sf/IO here 2sf/IO listen-s/IMP children

023. *nnem ka ye-qa-w tseddaw-en*
   2sf/POSS INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR make noise-3p/I

024. *nihma i-rezzan-en i-rezzan-en g i-γess-an*
   3p/PRO EL/pm-hornet-pm EL/pm-hornet-pm LOCPR EA/pm-bone-pm

025. *li’anna a-g/di i-tett lehšam n t-muda*
   because EL/sm-jackal 3sm-eat/I children GENPR EA/sf-pig

026. *i-tett yan g ennhar i-tett as ten*
   3sm-eat/I one LOCPR day 3sm-eat/I 3sf/IO 3p/DO

027. *xarebbi matalan sebea wella tmenya*
   many for example seven or eight

028. *i γar s l lehšam*
   FOC ALPR 3sf/PREP GENPR children

029. *wella cašara netta i-tett ahen*
   or ten 3sm/PRO 3sm-eat/I 3p/DO

030. *ayyamen t-edda d a*
   days 3sf-go/P HITH PROS

031. *t-fella a t-susem f lehšam nnes*
   3sf-watch/A PROS 3sf-listen/A IMPR children 3sf/POSS

032. *šwa ka ye-qa-w i-nna s susem*
   what INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO listen-s/IMP
033. šennu susem maena i-reṣṣan-en tett-en
   what listen-s/IMP meaning EL/pm-hornet-pm eat-3p/I

034. šyaṭ-ahen n u-g’di huww i-reṣṣan-en
   leftover-p GENPR EA/sm-jackal ONOM EL/pm-hornet-pm

035. i-nna s susem ha m ka
   3sm-say/P 3sf/IO listen-s/IMP here 2sf/IO INP-AR

036. ye-qra-w hewa t-sasem dda ḟḥal a
   3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR well 3sf-listen/P 3sf-go/P way 3sf/POSS-AR

037. eawed t-eqqel d a t-ṭella
   again 3sf-return/P HITH PROS 3sf-watch/A

038. eawed susem ha m ka ye-qra-w
   again listen-s/IMP here 2sf/IO INP-AR 3p-learn-3p/IMP-AR

039. membaed yan ennhar t-enna s
   later one day 3sf-say/P 3sm/IO

040. xess ay a n zra-x xess
   3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A 3sm-need/P

041. ay a zra-x ḫeḥṣam inu a
   1s/IO PROS see-1s/A children 1s/POSS PROS

042. ṭella-x ḥen a n zra-x
   watch-1s/A 3p/DO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A

043. i-nna s waxxa i-nna s
   3sm-say/P 3sf/IO all right 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO
044. *yallaḥ ṭella* *das lýar*
   HOR-s watch-s/IMP there cave

045. *inši rubbama mḏiyyeq ša ssekšem*
   some possibly narrow FUT 3sf-let in/A

046. *ddmaγ nnes ma ra*
   head 3sf/POSS NEG FUT

047. *d iFFEγ ši s emmen*
   HITH 3sm-leave/A NEG INS PR what

048. *a t i-tett nettaβa nniθ*
   PROS 3sf/DO 3sm-eat/I 3sf/PRO herself

049. *ša awxer ga s nettaβa*
   FUT 3sm-end/A LOCPR 3sf/REP 3sf/PRO

050. *eg i-muda leḥšam nnes*
   LOCPR EA/sf-pig children 3sf/POSS

051. *i-keml ahen niga y-kmel leḥšam*
   3sm-finish/P 3p/DO when 3sm-finish/P children

052. *nnes i-nna s hala*
   3sf/POSS 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO come-s/IMP

053. *lehšam nmem qra-w*
   children 2sf/POSS learn-3p/PERF-AR

054. *hala žar-et lehšam nmem*
   come-s/IMP 2sf-see-2sf/A children 2sf/POSS
055. i-nna s yallah țella ssekšem
    3sm-say/P 3sf/IO HOR-s watch-s/IMP let in-s/IMP

056. ddmay nmem maına sarţem
    head 2sf/POSS meaning window

057. inși wella ssekšem ddmay nmem zid
    some or let in-s/IMP head 2sf/POSS HOR-s

058. a țar-et lehšam nnem
    HOR 2sf-see-2sf/A children 2sf/POSS

059. a t-sekšem ddmay nnes
    PROS 3sf-let in/A head 3sf/POSS

060. i-kšem ddmay nnes
    3sm-enter/P head 3sf/POSS

061. g lyr ma ra d
    LO CPR cave NEG FUT HITH

062. iffeș ôt ma hemta ôt d
    3sm-leave/A NEG NEG even NEG HITH

063. iffeș i-șebr at i-tett at
    3sm-come out/A 3sm-grab/P 3sf/DO 3sm-eat/I 3sf/DO

064. netta zg i-țar-en i netta ga
    3sm/PRO ABLPR EA/pm-leg-pm COPR 3sm/PRO LO CPR

065. s i-tett nettaθa niga ț-țra hadik
    3sf/PREP 3sm-eat/I 3sf/PRO when 3sf-see/P that
066. t-ebda t-eqqar as ššām bin
   3sf-begin/P 3sf-say/I 3sm/IO fat between

067. ti-ṭṭi-wan a ẓammi a-g'di zeema
   EA/pf-eye-pf VOC uncle-1s/ADN EL/sm-jackal supposedly

068. baš i-xerreẓ ha baš s
   in order to 3sm-let out/IMP-AR 3sf/DO-AR in order to INSPR

069. emmen netta y-ttuθu dar ššām
   what 3sm/PRO 3sm-go/I ALPR fat

070. bin ti-ṭṭi-wan s emmen nettaθa
   between EA/pf-eye-pf INSPR what 3sf/PRO

071. a t-xelles zga s
   PROS 3sf-pay/A ABLPR 3sm/PREP

072. a d t-effey walakin netta i-ẓawb at
   PROS HITH 3sf-leave/A but 3sm/PRO 3sm-reply/P 3sf/DO

073. i-nna s amella a d at
   3sm-say/P 3sf/IO now PROS HITH 3sf/DO

074. n-elkum inša'ellah netta mazellem i-xeddem mazellem
   1p-arrive/A God willing 3sm/PRO expert/PTC-AR 3sm-work/I expert/PTC-AR
2.1. The story of the jackal and the pig

The jackal visited the pig and found that she had children. The jackal said to the pig, “Give me your children so I will teach them.” He is going to teach the children of the pig. She gave her children to him so that he would teach them. He then went and ate one child each day. He was eating them. When he ate them, he threw the bones in some place. Hornets came and the hornets ate those bones. He kept teaching the children for days.

Then the pig came. She came to watch whether her children were learning. When she arrived she said to him, “I want to watch my children whether they are learning.” He took her and said to her, “Listen!” She had to listen to the noise of the hornets in the bones. The hornets were eating the bones, “Huww.” Meanwhile he was telling her, “Here you go, listen to your children while they are learning.” The hornets were making the noise, the hornets in the bones, because the jackal was eating the children of the pig. He was eating one each day. He was eating her children. There were many of them. She perhaps had seven or eight children or maybe ten and he was eating them. Some days later she came to watch and to listen to her children whether they were learning. He said to her, “Listen!” But how? That’s because the hornets were eating the leftovers of the jackal, “Huww,” the hornets went. He said to her, “Here you go, listen while they are learning.” So she listened and after that she went on her way. She came back to watch her children and again he said, “Listen while they are learning.”

Then one day she said, “I want to see them. I want to see my children. I want to watch them, to see them. He said to her, “All right.” He said to her, “Come and watch over there.” There was some kind of cave, probably a narrow one so that she would put her head through it and it would not come out. That way he would eat her. He would finish up with her, because he already finished her children. When he finished her children he said to her, “Your children have learned. Come and see your children.” He said to her, “Come and watch. Put your head in here.” Meaning, in a window or something like that. “Put your head in here. Go on and you will see your children.” She put her head through and her head went in the cave. But it couldn’t come out. It was impossible to come out. He caught her and started eating her from her legs up. When she saw this, she started saying, “Fat is between the eyes uncle jackal.” Supposedly, he would get her out in order to go to the fat between the eyes. That way she could get back on him and she would get out. But he replied to her and said to her, “I will get to that soon God willing.” He is an expert and he always acts like an expert.
3. *Lqisça n ušnekkaf i ssbæ*

001. *a-šnekkaf ið u-g’di ag i-lla-n*
   EL/sm-hedgehog COPR EA/sm-jackal PSP PTC-be-PTC/P

002. *maši i baẓ em nihma zar-en ssbæ*
   walking/PTC-AR COMPR RCP 3p/POSS-AR 3p/PRO see-3p/P lion

003. *amça zar-en ssbæ i-nna s*
   when see-3p/P lion 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

004. *a-šnekkaf ið u-g’di qa γar*
   EL/sm-hedgehog DATPR EA/sm-jackal INP ALPR

005. *k ši n lhila-θ s emmen*
   2sm/PREP some GENPR trick-p INS PR what

006. *a n-hiyyed zgi ssbæ s emmen*
   PROS 1p-avoid/A ABLPR lion INS PR what

007. *ma γa γn i-šš γar k*
   NEG FUT 1p/DO 3sm-eat/A ALPR 2sm/PREP

008. *ši n lhila-θ i-nna s*
   some GENP trick-p 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

009. *a-g’di γar i bezzaf a-šnekkaf i-nna*
   EL/sm-jackal ALPR 1s/PREP many EL/sm-hedgehog 3sm-say/P

010. *s nekk γar i yal lhila*
   3sm/IO 1s/PRO ALPR 1s/PREP one trick
011. u ssalam hewa bda-n qarrab-en dayur
    and that’s it well begin-3p/P approach-3p/I ALPR

012. ssbač kull mara qarrab-en dayur ssbač
    lion every time approach-3p/I ALPR lion

013. a-g’di teška-n as lḥila-θ wa g
    EL/sm-jackal run out-3p/I 3sm/IO trick-p even though PSP

014. i-ll γar s bezzaf
    3sm-be/P ALPR 3sm/PREP many

015. teška-n as iō u-šnekkaf γar
    run out-3p/I 3sm/IO COPR EA/sm-hedgehog ALPR

016. s yat yal lḥila baqa θen a
    3sm/PREP one one trick remain-3sm/PRF-AR 3p/DO RLV

017. t i-ga-n i nihma maši d
    3sf/DO PTC-be-PTC/P COPR 3p/PRO walking/PTC-AR HITH

018. ḡetta d i-flaq-aw ssbač amča d
    until HITH 3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion when HITH

019. i-flaqaw ssbač a-g’di ma h-qqim as
    3p-meet-3p/IMP-AR lion EL/sm-jackal NEG 3sf-stay/P 3sm/IO

020. ḡetta lḥila ḡetta keōba a-šnekkaf
    even trick even lie EL/sm-hedgehog

021. i-xeddem lkuōba nnes
    3sm-work/I lies 3sm/POSS
022. s emmen a y-fleθ i-nna s  
INSPR what PROS 3sm-flee/A 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

023. a wedd i sssbae t-ufa-t anay  
VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR lion 2sm-find-2sm/P 1p/DO

024. nekkin ið u-g'di n-edda d  
1s/PRO COMPR EA/sm-jackal 1p-go/P HITH

025. dagr eç γar nax yal lumškil  
ALPR 2sm/PREP ALPR 1p/PREP one problem

026. n-edda d dagr eç i-nna s  
1p-go/P HITH ALPR 2sm/PREP 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

027. amça yi-ll lumškil θ i-nna s  
how 3sm-be/P problem sm/PRD 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

028. a wedd i nuhna γar naç  
VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR 1p/PRO ALPR 1p/PREP

029. leḥšam n-ewdξ ed leḥšam i baçt na  
children 1p-leave/P HITH children COMPR RCP 1p/POSS-AR

030. i-xess anaç a n  
3sm-need/P 1p/IO PROS 3p-DO

031. n-ebru ma tfahem-na şi  
1p-divide/A NEG work out-1P/PERF-AR NEG

032. šwa i-nna sssbae i-nna a  
what 3sm-say/P lion 3sm-say/P FUT
033. ddu-x ne ṣṣ-ex nihma i
go-1s/A 3p/DO eat-1s/A 3p/PRO COMPR

034. leḥšam nnsen ma ya ṣṣ-ex
children 3p/POSS NEG FUT eat-1s/A

035. ši ɣa nihma b
NEG only 3p/PRO with

036. zuč ssbac amella
two lion now

037. niga se nna-n leḥšam nnaç
when 3sm/IO say-3p/P children 1p/POSS

038. i-xess anaç a n-ebṭu
3sm-need/P 1p/IO PROS 1p-divide/A

039. leḥšam i-nna s a ddu-x
children 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO PROS go-1s/A

040. a ddu a n i-ṣṣ nihma i
PROS 3p-go/A PROS 3p/DO 3sm-eat/A 3p/PRO COMPR

041. leḥšam nnsen a-šnekkaf iô
children 3p/POSS EL/sm-hedgehog COMPR

042. u-g’di i leḥšam nnsen
EA/sm-jackal COMPR children 3p/POSS

043. hsen zga sen ɣa nihma
better ABLPR 3p/PREP only 3p/PRO
044. **b zuč i-nna sen waxxa**
with two 3sm-say/P 3p/IO all right

045. **zid-u a n-fukk-u kam lmuškil**
HOR-p HOR 1p-solve-1p/IMP-AR 2p/IO-AR problem

046. **a ddu-x ið un dd-an**
FUT go-1s/A COMPR 2p/PREP go-3p/P

047. **dar lmuţa ka y-sekn-u dar lyar**
ALPR place INP-AR 3p-live-3p/IMP-AR ALPR cave

048. **hewa i-dda a-šnekka i-nna s**
well 3sm-go/P EL/sm-hedgehog 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

049. **ið u-g'di kšem kedžin lluwwel**
DATPR EA/sm-jackal enter-s/IMP 2sm/PRO first

050. **i-kšem a-g'di li’anna a-g'di meqqur wa**
3sm-enter/P EL/sm-jackal because EL/sm-jackal big-sm/ADJ and

051. **y-xess as i-kšem netta lluwwel**
3sm-need/P 3sm/IO 3sm-enter/A 3sm/PRO first-sm/ADJ-AR

052. **li’anna a-šnekkaf  qedya ša y-kšem**
because EL/sm-hedgehog fast FUT 3sm-enter/A

053. **i-kšem a-g’di lluwwel i-đemmen ddamay**
3sm-enter/P EL/sm-jackal first 3sm-secure/P head

054. **nnes zge ssbaw daxel**
3sm/POSS ABLPR lion inside
055. membæd eawed i-kšem a-šnekkaf kešm-en
   later again 3sm-enter/P EL/sm-hedgehog enter-3p/P

056. ge lyar nnsen hewa
   LOCPR cave 3p/POSS well

057. niga i-nna sen ssbač ana lla-n leḥšam
   then 3sm-say/P 3p/IO lion where be-3p/P children

058. nnun hadik i-nna s nuhna
   2p/POSS sf-DISD/AR 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 1p/PRO

059. meqsum-in leḥšam nnač
   sorted-p/ADJ-AR children 1p/POSS

060. leḥšam nnač mačruf-in
   children 1p/POSS well-known-p/ADJ-AR

061. win inu s eššcar
   p/RELD 1s/POSS INSPR fur

062. win ennes s i-sennan-en
   p/RELD 3sm/POSS INSPR EA/pm-spine-pm

063. win n u-g’di s eššcar
   p/RELD GENPR EA/sm-jackal INSPR fur

064. win n u-šnekkaf s i-sennan-en
   p/RELD GENPR EA/sm-jackal INSPR EA/pm-spine-pm

065. leḥšam nnač meqsum-in ya
   children 1p/POSS sorted-p/ADJ-AR only
066. llayhennik fjal ek ya ndda
    solong way 2sm/POSS-AR only go-s/IMP

067. fjal ek nihma meqsum-in
    way 2sm/POSS-AR 3p/PRO sorted-p/ADJ-AR
3.1. The story of the hedgehog and the lion

The hedgehog and the jackal were walking together when they saw the lion. When they saw the lion, the hedgehog said to the jackal, “Do you have some tricks with which we will be able to avoid the lion so that he will not eat us. Do you have some tricks?” The jackal said to him, “I have plenty.” The hedgehog said to him, “I have just one trick and that’s it.” They began approaching the lion. The closer they got to the lion the fewer tricks the jackal had left. Even though he had many of them, he was running out of them. The hedgehog had one and he still had it. They were walking towards the lion until they met with him.

When they met with him, the jackal did not have any trick, any lie, left. The hedgehog was applying his lies with which he would flee from the lion. He said, “Look my friend the lion you have found us, me and the jackal, coming to you because we have a problem. You see we have come to you.” He said, “What is the problem?” “Well we have delivered our children at one another’s place. Now we have to sort them and we couldn’t work this out ourselves.” What did the lion think? He thought, “I’d better go and eat them together with their children instead of only the two of them.” When they told him, “We have to sort our children,” he thought, “I will go.” He will go and eat them together with their children; the hedgehog, the jackal and their children. That is better than only the two of them. So he said to them, “All right let’s go and solve your problem. I will go with you.”

They went to the place where they live in a cave. The hedgehog went and said to the jackal, “You go in first.” The jackal went in because the jackal is big and therefore he must go in first since the hedgehog will go in rapidly. The jackal went in first. He secured his head inside from the lion. After that, the hedgehog went in. They went in their cave. Then the lion said to them, “Where are your children?” He said to him, “Our children are sorted. Our children are well-known, mine have fur and his have spines.” The ones of the jackal have fur and the ones of the hedgehog have spines. “So our children are sorted. Off you go on your way. Just go on your way because they are already sorted.”
4. *Lqissa n ugd i ssbae*

001. *a-gd* *i-tlaqa ssbae i-ksuqd zga*
   EL/sm-jackal 3sm-meet/P lion 3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR

002. *s li’anna ssbae a-g’di dayman*
   3sm/PREP because lion EL/3sm-jackal always

003. *tekshad-en zge ssbae ssbae netta*
   be afraid-3p/I ABLPR lion lion 3sm/PRO

004. *y θ i-ga-n i-ksuqd zga*
   RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P 3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR

005. *s i-tlaqa θ i-nna s*
   3sm/PREP 3sm-meet/P 3sm/DO 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

006. *a wedd i a ammi ssbae*
   VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR VOC uncle-1s/ADN lion

007. *kifaš kedžin maši amča δi*
   why 2sm/PRO walking/PTC-AR like sm/PRD

008. *s lehfa u kōa amella i-xess*
   INSPR barefoot and so on now 3sm-need/P

009. *ay a gg-ex šebbat kedžin*
   1s/IO PROS make-1s/A shoes 2sm/PRO

010. *maši amča δin kifaš li’anna*
   walking/PTC-AR like sm/PRD why because
011. i-kṣud zga s i-nna s
   3sm-be afraid/P ABLPR 3sm/PREP 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

012. waxxa amça a h-gg-et i
   all right how PROS 2sm-make-2sm/A DATPR

013. āṣebbat in i-nna s i-xess
   shoes p/ANAPH 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 3sm-need/P

014. ay debbar-et lḥaẓa ka y-tsemma n
   1s/IO 2sm-arrange-2sm/A something INP-AR 3sm-be named/IMP-AR GENPR

015. elżeld ara gg-ex āṣebbat
   skin FUT make-1s/A shoes

016. muhim dbiḥa ša γras t-aγa-t
   anyway slaughter animal FUT 3sm-slaughter/A EL/sf-goat-sf

017. wella i-nna s lḥaẓa s emmen
   or 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO something INSPR what

018. ša t n-eγras lżeld nnes
   FUT 3sf/DO 1p-slaughter/A skin 3sf/POSS

019. ša gg-ex iō es āṣebbat i-bb az d
   FUT make-1s/A COMPR 3sm/PREP shoes 3sm-take/P 3sm/IO HITH

020. lḥaẓa yan γars-en teθ šša-n teθ
   something INDEF slaughter-3p/P 3sf/DO eat-3p/P 3sf/DO

021. membaed i-nna s θa walu ma
   later 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO sf/PRD nothing NEG
022. h-xeddam al ek ši li’anna lżeld aduha
   3sf-work/IMP-AR for/IO-AR 2sm/PREP-AR NEG because leather sm/PRD

023. i-smin bezzaf δ as ššham
   3sm-be fat/P much  LOCPR 3sm/PREP fat

024. bezzaf a bdu a-ṭar nnek
   much PROS 3sm-begin/A EL/sm-leg 2sm/POSS

025. ka y-zleq u kọa
   INP-AR 3sm-slip/IMP-AR and so on

026. amella i-xess ay ššeḥtha ma ga
   now 3sm-need/P 1s/IO fatless NEG LOCPR

027. s ši n smana ma
   3sf/PREP NEG GENPR fat NEG

028. g as ši n ta-ḥun-t
   LOCPR 3sf/PREP NEG GENPR EA/sf-fat-sf

029. i-bb az d cawed yaθ ta-yet
   3sm-take/P 3sm/IO HITH again one-f sf-other

030. cawed i-šš et
   again 3sm-eat/P 3sf/DO

031. šša-n teθ i-mnas cawed lżeld aduha
   eat-3p/P 3sf/DO 3sm-say/P again skin sm/PRD

032. ma h-xeddam ši li’anna šaḥeθ bezzaf
   NEG 3sf-work/IMP-AR NEG because fatless-sm/ADJ-AR very
033. amella xess aç a d
   now 3sm-need/P 2sm/IO PROS HITH

034. ebb-et lli ma h-ell ši
   2sm-take-2sm/A RELD-AR NEG 3sf-be/P NEG

035. smina muwaššit maši
   fat average NEG

036. ga s ta-ðun-t bezzaf s
   LOCPR 3sf/PREP EL/sf-fat-sf much INSPR

037. emmen a ka y-xeddem mezyan hewa
   what PROS INP-AR 3sm-work/IMP-AR well well

038. i-bb aθ id șafi
   3sm-take/P 3sf/DO HITH that's it

039. yars-en ɛawed šša-n ḫam ani
   slaughter-3p/P again eat-3p/P meat sm/ANAPH

040. i-nna s whadi ay i-lla-n
   3sm-say/P 3sm/IO sm/PRD FOC PTC-be-PTC/P

041. xeddam lželdeθ ay i-lla-n xeddam
   working/PTC-AR skin FOC PTC-be-PTC/I working/PTC-AR

042. i-ğg as lželd g i-ṭar-en
   3sm-make/P 3sm/IO skin LOCPR EA/pm-leg-pm

043. nnes b arbea i-šedd
   3sm/POSS with/PREP-AR four 3sm-bind/P
044. as ten lmañna i-ketf aθ
   3sm/IO 3p/DO meaning 3sm-tie/P 3sm/DO

045. ṣṣebbat in a s i-sker
   shoes p/ANAPH RLV 3sm/IO 3sm-make

046. lželd i-gg as lželd g
   skin 3sm-make/P 3sm/IO skin LOCPR

047. i-ṭar-en i-ṣedd as i-ṭar-en nnes
   EA/pm-leg-pm 3sm-tie/P 3sm/IO EL/pm-leg-pm 3sm/POSS

048. i-wdž aθen kettef
   3sm-leave/P 3p/DO tied/PTC-AR

049. i-qelb aθ i-defɛ aθ niga
   3sm-turn/P 3sm/DO 3sm-push/P 3sm/DO when

050. θ i-qleb ssbaɛ i-ḥaf xf es
   3sm/DO 3sm-turn/P lion 3sm-grasp/P IMPR 3sm/PREP

051. i-ṣebbr as θa-zelli-t θa-zelli-t n u-g’di
   3sm-grab/P 3sm/IO EL/sf-tail-sf EL/sf-tail-sf GENPR EA/sm-jackal

052. i-qetɛ as t id i-qetɛ
   3sm-cut off/P 3sm/IO 3sf/DO HITH 3sm-cut off/P

053. as t id šwiya i-qqim
   3sm/IO 3sf/DO HITH little 3sm-stay/P

054. a-g’di i-dda fḥal u i-smɛh ga s
   EL/sm-jackal 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR 3sm-leave/P LOCPR 3sm/PREP
055. *i-šedd as i-ṭar-en mnes*
   3sm-tie/P 3sm/IO EL/pm-leg-pm 3sm/POSS

056. *i-smeh ga s i-dda fjual u*
   3sm-leave/P LOCPR 3sm/PREP 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR

057. *i-qqim sšbač das*
   3sm-stay/P lion there

058. *b uḥd u mkettef h-edda d*
   with one 3sm/POSS-AR tied/PTC-AR 3sf-go/P HITH

059. *lqniyya ma č i-γul a vammi*
   rabbit what 2sm/DO 3sm-befall/P VOC uncle-1s/ADN

060. *sšbač i-nna s a weđd i*
   lion 3sm-say/P 3sf/IO VOC friend 1s/POSS-AR

061. *hewa dda d lqniyya nettaθa a*
   well 3sf-go/P HITH rabbit 3sf/PRO FOC

062. *s i-fesç-en šwa h-skér*
   3sm/IO PTC-untie-PTC/P what 3sf-do/P

063. *t-ebda t-ttawi d a-man*
   3sf-begin/P 3sf-bring/I HITH EL/sm-water/coll

064. *g u-qemmum i nettaθa*
   LOCPR EA/sm-mouth COPR 3sf/PRO

065. *θ-ssebzag as a-man nettaθa t-egg ahen*
   3sf-make wet/I 3sm/IO EL/sm-water/coll 3sf/PRO 3sf-do/P 3p/DO
066. fe želd an lželd i-żiyyar  
  IMPR skin sm/ANAPH leather 3sm-be tight/P  

067. g i-ṭar-en nnes i-qquɾ  
  LOCPR EA/pm-leg-pm 3sm/POSS 3sm-dry up/P  

068. t-egg as a-man s emmen  
  3sf-do/P 3sm/IO EL/sm-water/coll INSPR what  

069. a y-tfessaç tsemma y-tfessaç lželd  
  PROS 3sm-untie/I 3sm-be named/IMP-AR 3sm-untie/I skin  

070. an nettaθa θ-ssebzag as ss iha  
  sm/ANAPH 3sf/PRO 3sf-make wet/I 3sm/IO INSPR there  

071. θ-ssebzag as ss iha t-ebb ed  
  3sf-make wet/I 3sm/IO INSPR there 3sf-take/P HITH  

072. a-man ḥetta s t-eʃeç lželd an  
  EL/sm-water/coll until 3sm/IO 3sf-untie/P leather sm/ANAPH  

073. fesç as lqiyya lželd an  
  3sf-untie/P 3sm/IO rabbit skin sm/ANAPH  

074. i-kker ssbæ i-dda fḥal u i-qqim  
  3sm-stand up/P lion 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR 3sm-stay/P  

075. i-tṣayan x u-meddakul nnes  
  3sm-wait/I IMPR EA/sm-friend 3sm/POSS  

076. x u-g'di ssbæ i-tṣayan hewa  
  IMPR EA/sm-jackal lion 3sm-wait/I well
077. _i-qqim mašallah maši i-tayyan yah_
3sm-stay/P at a venture walking/PTC-AR 3sm-wait/I one-f

078. _lmerra ka y-FLAGA h i-nna s_
time INP-AR 3sm-meet/IMP-AR 3sm/DO-AR 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

079. _ahlan s u-medda kul inu i-nna_
hello INSPR EA/sm-friend 1s/POSS 3sm-say/P

080. _s la nekkin ma ssn-εγ_
3sm/IO no 1s/PRO NEG know-1s/P

081. _aç ši maši a-medda kul nneç_
2sm/DO NEG NEG EL/sm-friend 2sm/POSS

082. _i-nna s kedžin a-medda kul inu_
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 2sm/PRO EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS

083. _i-nna s kedžin yah lmerrat_
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO 2sm/PRO one-f time

084. _t-egra-t ay ſhebbat n elželd_
2sm-make-2sm/P 1s/IO shoes GENPR skin

085. _ha kifäš t-egra-t g i-ṭar-en_
here how 2sm-make-2sm/P LO CPR EA/pm-foot-pm

086. _INU s emmen zgi lehfa u kōa_
1s/POSS INSPR what ABLPR barefoot and so on

087. _i-nna s la maši nekkin_
3sm-say/P 3sm/IO no NEG 1s/PRO
088. i-nna s la kedž i-nna s
   3sm-say/P 3sm/IO no 2sm(PRO 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

089. la maši nekkin i-nna s
   no NEG 1s/PRO 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

090. la kedžin qëtc-eγ aç ta-zelli-t
   no 2sm/PRO cut off-1s/P 2sm/IO EL/sf-tail-sf

091. nneç i-nna s la
   2sm/POSS 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO no

092. a-zelli-t inu leayla ynu kaml-a
   EL/sf-tail-sf 1s/POSS family 1s/POSS total-sf/ADJ-AR

093. amça y i-ga-n leḥšam n
   like sm/PRD PTC-be-PTC/P children GENPR

094. ammi kulla hum mqaṭe-in a-zelli-t
   uncle-1s/ADN all 3p/POSS-AR cut off-p/ADJ-AR EL/sf-tail-sf

095. leḥšam nnun kulla hum mqaṭe-in
   children 2p/POSS all 3p/POSS-AR cut off-p/ADJ-AR

096. a-zelli-t i-nna s yih i-nna s
   EL/sf-tail-sf 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO indeed 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

097. wa y-xess ay a n zra-x
   well 3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3p/DO see-1s/A

098. i-sker iô es s lmizad i-dda
   3sm-make/P COMPR 3sm/PREP INSPR appointment 3sm-go/P
099. a-g’di  i-ţmae  lca’ila n  יצובmi
    EL/sm-jackal  3sm-gather/P  family  GENPR  uncle

100. nnes  kaml-in  lca’ila nnes
    3sm/POSS  total-p/ADJ-AR  family  3sm/POSS

101. i-nna  sen  yallah-awθ  ša
    3sm-say/P  3p/IO  HOR-2p  FUT

102. n-אç-r-awθ  lfiras  lfiras  wella  .responseText[189]
    1p-steal-1p/HOR  pears/coll  pears/coll  or  3sm-mean/IMP-AR  fruit/coll

103. ša  t  açur-en  i-nna  sen
    FUT  3sf/DO  steal-3p/A  3sm-say/P  3p/IO

104. yallah  hal-u  nekkin  ša  valli-x
    HOR-s  come-p/IMP  1s/PRO  FUT  go up-1s/A

105. g’enna  a  ḥezz-ex  lfakiha
    above  PROS  shake-1s/A  fruit/coll

106. walakin  kunna  baqi  li’anna  ša  y
    but  2p/PRO  remaining/PTC-AR  because  FUT  1s/IO

107. t-ṣemθ-em  ša  h-eddu-m  kullši  ša
    2p-trick-2p/A  FUT  2p-go-2p/A  all of you  FUT

108. t-ewood-em  nekkin  bla  ši
    2p-leave-2p/A  1s/PRO  without  something

109. amça  ša  y-skər  ljədiya  d
    how  FUT  3sm-make/A  matter  sm/PRD
110. ša wn eqqn-ex g
   FUT 2p/DO tie-1s/A LOCPR

111. basṭ kum amella a-g’di i-skər lḥila
   RCP 2p/POSS-AR now EL/sm-jackal 3sm-do/P trick

112. i leḥšam n ḍammni nnes
   DATPR children GENPR uncle 3sm/POSS

113. s emmen a t qeq-w-en a-zelli-t
   INSPR what PROS 3sf/DO cut off-3p/A EL/sf-tail-sf

114. nnsen s emmen a
   3p/POSS INSPR what PROS

115. tšaba-n ga s kaml-in s
   resemble-3p/I LOCPR 3sm/PREP total-p/ADJ-AR INSPR

116. emmen ma ya ḥ i-ṣṣ ssbəc
   what NEG FUT 3sm/DO 3sm-eat/A lion

117. muhim i-qqn asen i-zelli-tan nnsen
   anyway 3sm-tie/P 3p/IO EL/pf-tail-pf 3p/POSS

118. a-zelli-t i-qqn asen ten a-g’di
   EL/sf-tail-sf 3sm-tie/P 3p/IO 3p/DO EL/sm-jackal

119. i-cellə ˈgenna i-heẓz ɪfakiha l ɪməl
   3sm-go up/P above 3sm-shake/P fruit/coll GENPR owner

120. ah ttaçur-en amella i-heẓz ɪfakiha ttahṣ-en
   RLV PTC-steal-PTC/I now 3sm-shake/P fruit/coll reap-3p/I
121. **lfakiha amça ḥṣ-en lfakiha i-neqqas**
   fruit/coll while reap-3p/P fruit/coll 3sm-come down/P

122. **i-qellæ i-dżerra i-nna sen mul ši**
   3sm-flee/P 3sm-run/P 3sm-say/P 3p/IO owner INDEF

123. **mul l lfakiha i-dda d zeema**
   owner GENPR fruit/coll 3sm-go/P HITH supposedly

124. **ša d i-du a γn**
   FUT HITH 3sm-go/A PROS 1p/DO

125. **i-neq i-dżerra netta nihma qqim-en**
   3sm-kill/A 3sm-run/P 3sm/PRO 3p/PRO stay-3p/P

126. **wɛγγur-en qɛf-en i-zelli-tan bæɛt en hewa**
   pull-3p/I cut off-3p/P EL/pf-tail-pf RCP 3p/POSS-AR well

127. **i-dda d dayur ssbaɛ i-nna**
   3sm-go/P HITH ALPR lion 3sm-say/P

128. **s i-berrɛ as i-ʒmɛc leħšam**
   3sm/IO 3sm-call/P 3sm/IO 3sm-gather/P children

129. **n cæmmi nnes**
   GENPR uncle 3sm/POSS

130. **dda-n d leħšam n cæmmi**
   go-3p/P HITH children of uncle

131. **nnes i-nna s ḫa**
   3sm/POSS 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO here
132. a zar-et nuhna kun na mqate-in
   PROS 2sm-see-2sm/A 1p/PRO all 1p/POSS-AR cut off-p/ADJ-AR

133. i-nna s ssbae waxxa
   3sm-say/P 3sm/IO lion all right

134. i-nna s ša skr-ex lqaqliya
   3sm-say/P 3sm/IO FUT make-1s/A matter

135. ta-yet nekk a-meddakul inu
   f-other 1s/PRO EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS

136. xess ay a θ ssn-ex u
   3sm-need/P 1s/IO PROS 3sm/DO know-1s/A and

137. ssalam i-nna s baš te-njalg-u
   that's it 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO in order to 2p-run-2p/IMP-AR

138. s eldžri ss iha dar mutsa yan a
    INSPR speed INSPR there ALPR place INDEF FUT

139. ddu-m s eldžri wa ka y-taxer wa
    2p-go-2p/A INSPR speed sm/RELD INP-AR 3sm-be last/IMP-AR sm/RELD

140. ka y-bqa laxri wa y-tyima-n laxri
    INP-AR 3sm-remain/IMP-AR last sm/RELD PTC-stay-PTC/I last

141. waniθ a θ i-ga-n a-meddakul inu
    sm/ANAPH RLV 3sm/DO PTC-be-PTC/P EL/sm-friend 1s/POSS

142. lmuhim i-fk asen amar linjilaqa s eldžri
    anyway 3sm-give/P 3p/IO order running INSPR speed
143. *dżerr-en netta ttaxar d a-meddaqul run-3p/P 3sm/PRO 3sm-be last/P HITH EL/sm-friend*

144. *nnes ttaxar-en a θ 3sm/POSS PTC-be last-PTC/P FOC 3sm/DO*

145. *i-ga-n a-meddaqul nnes netta a PTC-be-PTC/A EL/sm-friend 3sm/POSS 3sm/PRO PROS*

146. *d i-ttaxar hewa di ssaxaθ HITH PTC-be last-PTC/P well LO CPR hours*

147. *i-šebbr aθ i-qleb ga s 3sm-grab/P 3sm/DO 3sm-pay back/P LO CPR 3sm/PREP*

148. *llah iżsal baraka*

   that’s the end
4.1. The story of the jackal and the lion

The jackal met the lion and he was afraid of him because the jackal always fears the lion. He met him and said, “So uncle lion how come you are walking around barefoot,” and so on. “Now I need to make shoes. You are walking around like this?” That is because he feared him. He said to him, “All right. How are you going to make those shoes?” He said to him, “You have to get me something made of skin. I will make shoes.” Anyway an animal for slaughter. So he will have to slaughter a goat or something like that. He said to him, “Something which we will slaughter and use its skin to make shoes.” He got him something, which they slaughtered and ate. Later on he said to him, “No this is not going to work for you because this skin is too fat. There is too much fat in it. Your feet will start slipping,” and so on. “Now I need fatless, skin without fat. He got him another one. He ate it again. They ate and he said, “This skin will not work again because it is too skinny. Now you have to get me one without too much fat just a mediocre amount. That way it will work well.” He got it. They slaughtered again and they ate the meat. He said to him, “Well this one will work just fine.” He put the skin on all four of his feet and he tied them up. So he tied them up. He left them tied up and ten turned him on his back and pushed him. When he turned him, the lion grabbed him and cut his tail a bit. He stayed there. The jackal went on his way and he left him. He had tied up his feet and left him and went on his way while the lion stayed there alone and tied up.

Then the rabbit came. “What happened to you uncle lion?” He said to her, “Ah well…” So the rabbit was the one who untied him. What did she do? She started getting water in her mouth and she made it wet for him with the water. She poured the water on the skin. The skin was tightly tied on his feet and had dried up. She poured the water so that the skin would loosen. She poured the water here and there and she untied the skin. She untied the skin and the lion stood up and went on his way. He kept waiting for his ‘friend’ the jackal. The lion was waiting. Then he kept walking on a venture while he was waiting.

One time he met him and he said, “Hello there my friend.” He said to him, “No I don’t know you. I am not your friend.” He said to him, “You are my friend. One time you made shoes of skin for me, that’s how. You put them on my feet so I wouldn’t have to walk barefoot,” and so on. He said to him, “No it’s not me.” He said to him, “No it’s you.” He said to him, “No it’s not me.” He said to him, “No it’s you, I have cut your tail.” He said to him, “No my whole family has a tail like this. The children of my uncle all have a cut tail.” He said to him, “Is that so? All right I want to see them.” So he made an appointment with him.

The jackal went and gathered the whole family of his uncle and told them, “Come on let’s steal pears.” That’s to say pears or some other fruit which they would steal. He said to them, “Come on. I will go up
and shake the fruit. But you have to stay because otherwise you will trick me and you will all go and leave me here without anything.” How did he solve this matter? “I will tie you up to one another.” Now the jackal tricked the children of his uncle. That way their tail would be cut so all of them would resemble him so that the lion will not eat him. Anyway he tied their tails to one another and he climbed up and shook the fruit of the owner they were stealing. He shook the fruit and they reaped the fruit. Then he came down, and ran away while saying to them, “An owner,” as if it were true. “The owner of the fruit is coming! He will come and kill us.” He ran away and they stayed there. They were pulling and cut the tails of one another.

Then he went to the lion and called him. He had gathered the children of his uncle and they had come. He said to him, “Here you can see that all of them have a cut tail.” The lion said to him, “Very well. I will have to do another test because I need to find out who my friend is. I only want to know who he is, that’s all.” He said, “We have to hold a running contest. You have to run to that place over there and the one who will be last is the one who is my friend.” Anyway, he gave his order to run. They ran and the one who would finish last would be his friend. He was the one who finished last and so after a while he caught him. That way he got back at him. The end.
5. Tixurafan

001. ṭwil ma y-skar ḏill  
      long NEG 3sm-make/I shadow

002. a-zref  
      EL/sm-road

003. perper-en ma net[tg-en  
      flap-3p/I NEG fly-3p/I

004. ti-ṭṭa-wan  
      EL/pf-eye-pf

005. yar i ṭṭaq i-kkar s ti-wfal-an  
      ALPR 1s/PREP niche 3sm-be full/P INSPR EA/pf-egg-pf

006. a-qaemmum  
      EL/sm-mouth

007. yar i ḵuż n mqali g ya w-sammar  
      ALPR 1s/PREP two GENPR frying pans LOCPR one EA/sm-vast space

008. i-mezg-an  
      EL/pm-ear-pm

009. ḏ ḏa-n d dar t-ggʷur-t ḫešm-u  
      go-3p/P HITH ALPR EA/sf-door-sf be ashamed-3p/PRF-AR

010. ššebbāt  
      shoes
5.1. Riddles

It is long but it does not have a shadow.
A road.

They flap but they do not fly.
Eyes.

I have a niche full of eggs.
A mouth.

I have two frying pans in a vast space.
Ears.

They went to the door and were ashamed (to enter).
Shoes.
6. بابيُو g ššelḥa

001. i-dda d yar i nnhar l larbe
3sm-go/P HITH ALPR 1s/PREP day GENPR wednesday

002. yan ax zg hulanda bahiθ g
INDEF brother ABLPR PLN researcher LOCPR

003. ššelḥa ism ennes žamal i-dda d
Berber name 3sm/POSS PNN 3sm-go/P HITH

004. yar i i-šeqša x buḥmed qqim-ex
ALPR 1s/PREP 3sm-ask/P IMPR PLN sit-1s/P

005. iō es i-bda i-tšeqaša y x
COMPR 3sm/PREP 3sm-begin/P 3sm-ask/I 1s/DO IMPR

006. ššelḥa i nekk qqra-γ as t-el kem
Berber COPR 1s/PRO say-1s/I 3sm/IO 3sf-arrive/P

007. d ea xemsa i-dda fhal u dar
HITH ALPR five 3sm-go/P way 3sm/POSS-AR ALPR

008. ṭīwān i-gqel d alažen nekki dda-x
PLN 3sm-return/P HITH tomorrow 1s/PRO go-1s/P

009. dar mṭar i-skēr iō i
ALPR PLN 3sm-make/P COMPR 1s/PREP

010. baš n-ṭlaq-aw gi lwāḥda membaed niga
in order to 1p-meet-1p/IMP-AR LOCPR one-f later when
011. dda-x ufa-x θ i-dda əlla bnimenşur
   go-1s/P find-1s/P 3sm/DO 3sm-go/P 3s-go up/P PLN

012. i-nna s i lḥusayn alažen
   3sm-say/P 3sm/IO DATPR PNN tomorrow

013. ša d qql-ex gi ẓsbah i-nna s
   FUT HITH return-1s/A LOCP HITH morning 3sm-say/P 3sm/IO

014. i-ʧlaqa i ssiyyed ani i-ʧlaqa ni
   3sm-meet/IMP-AR COMPR man sm/ANAPH 3sm-meet/IMP-AR 1s/DO-AR

015. i nekkin qql-eγ d əla fhal i
   COPR 1s/PRO return-1s/P HITH on way 1s/POSS-AR

016. dar u-xeyyam nekkin əlla-x dar u-xeyyam
   ALPR EA/sm-house 1s/PRO go up-1s/P ALPR EA/sm-house

017. atg'am qql-eγ d a d qql-eγ
   yesterday return-1s/P HITH PROS HITH return-1s/P

018. ea buƅmed qqim-ex tsag'am-ex θ i-kker
   ALPR PLN stay-1s/P wait-1s/I 3sm/DO 3sm-stand up/P

019. a d i-gwer zg bnimenşur n-ekker n-ʧlaq-aw
   PROS HITH 3sm-return/A ABPLR PLN 1p-stand up/P 1p-meet-1p/IMP-AR

020. n-ekker a n-qqim gi lmaḥal i-qqim
   1p-stand up/P PROS 1p-sit/A LOCP room 3sm-stay/P

021. i-ʧeqsa ya x lebeaḍ l lmasa'il
   3sm-ask/I 1s/DO IMPR some GENPR things
022. n ššelha i nekk qqa-γ as
   GENPR Berber COPR 1s/PRO say-1s/I 3sm/IO

023. ħetta n-eçmel
   until 1p-finish/P
6.1. Berber linguist

A brother from Holland, a Berber linguist visited me Wednesday. His name is Jamal. He came to me and he asked about Bu Ahmed. I sat with him and he started asking me about Berber and I was telling him about it. At five o’clock, he went away to Tétouan.

He came back the day after and I went to Amtar. He made an appointment with me at one o’clock in the afternoon. When I later came back, I found that he had gone to Bni Menṣur and that he told Husayn, “I will come back in the morning.” He said that he would meet that man, that he would meet me. So I went back to my own house. I came back to Bu Ahmed and sat waiting. Then he came back and we met. We sat in the room, he was asking me certain things about Berber and I was telling him until we finished.
# VERBLIST

1. Type CCC

## 1.1. \textit{kšem} “enter”

<table>
<thead>
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<th>aorist</th>
<th>preterite</th>
<th>intensive</th>
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<td>t-kettišem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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| 1p | n-ekšem | n-ekšem | n-kettišem |  |
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| 3p | kešm-en | kešm-en | kettišm-en |  |

## 1.2. \textit{nteg} “fly”

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| 3p | neteg-en | neteg-en | netteg-en |  |

\* Exclamation marks indicate morphological irregularities.
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2. Type CVCC

2.1. Type CaCC

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2p     | t-sag'm-em | t-sag'am-em | t-tsag'am-em | sag'm-awθ  |
3p     | sag'm-en | sag'm-en | tsag'am-en |            |

2.2. Type CiCC

2.2.1.  

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3p     | siwl-en | sawl-en | tsawal-en |            |
3. Type CÇC

### 3.1. *berreh* “call"

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### 3.2. *çerreç* “lie”

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### 3.3.

**debar** “arrange”

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**γenni** “sing”

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**siyyeb** “throw”

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**šebbar “grab, hold”**

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4. Type ĈC

4.1. **ffeγ “leave”**

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Note that imperative plural of kkar “be full” coincides with the imperative plural of kker “stand up”. Cf. VERBLIST/6.2.1.
### 4.3. *qqel “return”*

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### 4.4. *ffes “sleep”*

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### 5. Type ĖCu

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6. Type ČVC

6.1. Type ČuC

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6.1.2.  

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$\text{llu}_\text{z}$ “be hungry”

$\text{mmu}_\theta$ “die”
6.2. Type ĈaC

6.2.1. **kkar “be full”**

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6.3. Type ĈiC

6.3.1. **qqim “stay, sit”**

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⁷⁰⁰ Note that imperative plural of kker “stand up” coincides with the imperative plural of kkar “be full”. Cf. VERBLIST/4.2.
### 7. Type CVČ

#### 7.1. 

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<td>t-zull-et</td>
<td>h-tzalla-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>i-zall</td>
<td>i-zull</td>
<td>i-tzalla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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#### 8. Type CČ

#### 8.1. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aorist</th>
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<th>imperative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>tesla</td>
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<td>i-tesla</td>
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9. Type CC

9.1.  

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<td>h-tadža-t</td>
<td>dž</td>
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<td>i-wdž</td>
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<td>t-ewdž</td>
<td>h-tadža</td>
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<td>n-ewdž</td>
<td>n-tadža</td>
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<td>t-ewdža-m</td>
<td>h-tadža-m</td>
<td>dž-awθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>dž-en</td>
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<td>tadža-n</td>
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9.2.  

<table>
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<td>ttak-ex</td>
</tr>
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<td>2s</td>
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<td>h-ttak-et</td>
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<td>h-ttak-em</td>
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### 9.3. "kill"

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<tbody>
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<td>nγa-x</td>
<td>negqa-x</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s t-enγe-t</td>
<td>t-enγa-t</td>
<td>t-neqqa-t</td>
<td>neγ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm i-neγ</td>
<td>i-neγ</td>
<td>i-neqqa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf t-neγ</td>
<td>t-neγ</td>
<td>t-neqqa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p n-neγ</td>
<td>n-neγ</td>
<td>n-neqqa</td>
<td>n-neqqa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p t-enγe-m</td>
<td>t-enγa-m</td>
<td>t-neqqa-m</td>
<td>nγ-awθ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p nγe-n</td>
<td>nγa-n</td>
<td>neqqa</td>
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### 9.4. "drink"

<table>
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<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>sessu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s su-x</td>
<td>swa-x</td>
<td>sessu-x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s t-su-t</td>
<td>t-eswa-t</td>
<td>t-sessu-t</td>
<td>su</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm i-su</td>
<td>i-su</td>
<td>i-sessu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf t-su</td>
<td>t-su</td>
<td>t-sessu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p n-su</td>
<td>n-su</td>
<td>n-sessu</td>
<td>n-sessu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p t-su-m</td>
<td>t-eswa-m</td>
<td>t-sessu-m</td>
<td>sw-awθ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p su-n</td>
<td>swa-n</td>
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10. Type aCC

10.1.  
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<tr>
<td>ara</td>
<td>ura</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1s ara-x</td>
<td>ura-x</td>
<td>ttara-x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s t-ara-t</td>
<td>t-ura-t</td>
<td>h-ettara-t</td>
<td>ara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm y-ara</td>
<td>y-ura</td>
<td>i-ttara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf t-ara</td>
<td>t-ura</td>
<td>h-ettara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1p n-ara | n-ura | n-ettara |
| 2p t-ara-m | t-ura-m | ttara-m | ara-ωθ |
| 3p ara-n | ura-n | ttara-n |

11. Type CCu

11.1.  
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<td>taddu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s bdu-x</td>
<td>bda-x</td>
<td>taddu-x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>t-ebda-t</td>
<td>h-taddu-t</td>
<td>bdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm i-bdu</td>
<td>i-bda</td>
<td>i-taddu</td>
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<td>3sf t-ebdu</td>
<td>t-ebda</td>
<td>h-taddu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1p n-ebdu | n-ebda | n-taddu |
| 2p t-ebdu-m | t-ebda-m | h-taddu-m | bedw-awθ |
| 3p bdu-n | bda-n | taddu-n |

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### 12. Type Ĉ

#### 12.1. "take"

<table>
<thead>
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<td>bb~a</td>
<td>ttawi</td>
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</tr>
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<td>t-ebb-a-t</td>
<td>h-ettawy-et</td>
<td>bb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>i-bb</td>
<td>i-bb</td>
<td>i-ettawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>t-ebb</td>
<td>t-ebb</td>
<td>h-ettawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>n-ebb</td>
<td>n-ettawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>t-ebb-(e\m)</td>
<td>t-ebb-a-m</td>
<td>h-ettawy-em</td>
<td>bb-aw(θ)</td>
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<tr>
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#### 12.2. "be, exist"

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<td>ll-x</td>
<td>tili-x</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>t-ell-(e\t)</td>
<td>t-ell-a-t</td>
<td>h-tili-t</td>
<td>ll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>i-ll</td>
<td>i-ll</td>
<td>i-tili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>t-ell</td>
<td>t-ell</td>
<td>h-tili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>n-ell</td>
<td>n-ell</td>
<td>n-tili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>t-ell-(e\m)</td>
<td>t-ell-a-m</td>
<td>h-tili-m</td>
<td>ll-em (θ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ll-(e\n)</td>
<td>ll-a-n</td>
<td>tili-n</td>
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<td><em>nna-x</em></td>
<td><em>qqra-x</em></td>
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<td><em>t-eqqra-t</em></td>
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<td><em>i-nna</em></td>
<td><em>i-qqar</em></td>
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### 12.4.  

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<td><em>tett-ex</em></td>
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<td><em>h-tett-et</em></td>
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<td><em>i-tett</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td><em>t-ešš</em></td>
<td><em>t-ešš</em></td>
<td><em>h-tett</em></td>
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<table>
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<td><em>t-ešša-m</em></td>
<td><em>h-tett-em</em></td>
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13. Type ĈV

13.1. Type Ĉu

13.1.1.  

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<td></td>
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<td>dda-x</td>
<td>ttuθu-x</td>
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<td>h-edda-t</td>
<td>h-ettuθu-t</td>
<td>ndda (!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>i-ddu</td>
<td>i-dda</td>
<td>i-ttuθu</td>
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<td>h-edda</td>
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<td>n-edda</td>
<td>n-ettuθu</td>
<td>nddhu (!)</td>
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13.2. Type Ĉi

13.2.1.  

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<td>rraz-ex</td>
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<td>t-errraz-et</td>
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<td>i-rrraz</td>
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<td>n-errraz</td>
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<td>rri-n</td>
<td>rraz-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WORDLIST

In this section we will present a wordlist. Nouns will be presented as follows: singular (état d’annexion) – plural. If only the singular is available it will be presented without any comment, if only the plural is available this will be shown by (p). If a feminine noun is available with the same base this will be presented after the masculine noun. In the case of unit nouns: singular (un) – plural collective noun (coll). Allomorphs are presented after a tilde and variants after a slash.

Adjectives will be presented in this form: singular masculine – singular feminine – plural. If only the singular male is available it will be presented without any comment, if the female singular is also available this will be shown by (f).

Berber verbs will be presented in the following way: aorist preterite intensive. If only one of the MAN-stems is available this will be made clear by placing the according abbreviation of that MAN-stem between brackets except for the aorist. Thus if a MAN-stem is presented without any comment this will be the aorist and if two are presented without any comment these will be the aorist followed by the preterite.

If a derivational noun is available this will be presented together with the verb from which it has been derived, the same goes for verbs with derivational prefixes.

Verbs which are subject to MA inflection are presented as follows: perfective imperfective (AR). If only one of the two is available this will be made clear by the according abbreviation.

A

a  a (PROS) “that, so, to”

a  a (HOR) “let’s”

a  a (VOC) “o”

a  a (RLV) “that, who, which”

B

b  bab “father”

b  bzeg (STAT) “be wet”

  ssebzag (I, CAUS) “make wet”

b  bb bb~a tawi “bring”

b  b (PREP) “with, by”

  buhd “on his own”
bžuž “with the two”
barbea “with the four”

bd  abadan “ever”
bd  bdu bda taddu “begin, start”
bhm  lbhim (coll) “cattle”
bḥr  lebhar/bhar “sea”
bḥθ  baḥiθ “researcher”
bl  bla (PRP) “without”
bnadm  bnam “human being” (BM)
bq  bqa ibqa (AR) “remain, stay”
br  aberri - iberriyen “sheep”
br  tabrat - tibratan/ibratan “letter”
br  lbir “well”
brd  berd berd tibrad “freeze”
brḥ  berreh berreh ibrrah “call”
bš  baš “so, so that, in order to”
bsl  tabṣelt (un) - tibeslaš (coll) “onion”
bṭl  lbaṭil “boat”
bṭu  bṭu bṭu “divide, share”
byn  bayn/bin bayna- (PREP) “between”
bzf  bezzaf “many, much”
bdj  beid “far”
bzd  lbazd/lebad “some”
bżt  bażt- (RCP) “mutually, eachother” (RCP)
bw

Ç
č  -čč- (2sm/DO) “you”
č  -ačač- (2sm/IO) “to you, with you”
č  -ç (2sm/ADN) “your”
č  -k (2sm/PREP) “you”
čdr  açidar - içidaren “horse”
čl  açal “earth”
çm açma - aybma “brother”
cmr açemmar (uçemmar) - içemmire “face”
cmz açmez (açmez) - içemzan “fingernail”
cr açur açur þtaçur “steal”
cçç çerçe çerçe çerçe þçrraç “lie”

D
d ddiu dda þtþu “go”
d d (LOCPR) “in”
d d (HITH) “to here, towards here”
dba dbiha “slaughter animal”
dbr debbar debbar tdebar “arrange, fix”
dçr ddçar “male”
dfr ddifiar “booklet”
dfç dfac dfac defiac “push (away)”
dh ddha “here, over here”
dhm dhem - dahma (f) (ADJ) “brown”
dlm adlem “bark”
dmlz ddmliž - ddmalež “bracelet”
dmçy ddmey - ddmuy/ledmuy “head”
dn dan “there” (BM)
dr ddra (coll) “corn”
dr dar (ALPR) “to, towards, at”
dr dder ddir tedder “live, reside”
ds das “there, over there”
dsr ddþar “village”
dx daxel/daxelt “inside”
dxn ddeþxan “smoke”
dym dayman/da’ima “allways”
dž dž wdž-a tadža “leave, give birth”
džml djemla “camel”
džr džerra (P) “run”
ledžri “speed”
džed  dżazda “carrot”
dʒr  dayur dayr- (ALPR) “to, at”

D

dबे  dबब “hyena”
df  ddiff “guest”
dgr  tadjarat (coll) “woods”
dl  dill “shadow”
dmn  demmen (P) “secure”
dš  dess dess dess “laugh”
dwr  djuwar djuwar djuwar “turn”
dγ  delva “fast, quickly”

∆

δfl  aδfel “ice, snow”
δm  aδem “blood”
δn  tαδun “fat”
δn  iδn “so, i.e.”
δr  aδίyyar - iδίyyaren “piece”
δίyyar n watil “a single grape”
δt  δδat “body”

F

f  af ifa ttafa “find”
fi (PREP) “in”
fi (IMPR) “to, on, about, ”
fhal- “on the way of”
γα  tafuct “sun”
tawfiçt “sun” (BM)
fd  afud (ufud) - ifadden “knee”
fôn  tifeδnan “toes”
fκ  fκ fκ-α ttak “give”
fκh  lfakiha (coll) “fruit”
fκr  fekkar fekkar tfekkar “think”
**fls**  *afullus - ifullusen “cock”*
*tafullust - tifullusan “chicken”*

**fls**  *leflus (coll) “money”*

**flø**  *fleø “flee, escape”*

**fns**  *tafoenast “cow”*

**fq**  *fuq “on top of, above”*

**fqs**  *feqsan - feqsana (f) (ADJ) “sad”*

**frg**  *ifergan “lakes”*

**frs**  *tafirast (un) - tifirasan ifiras (coll) “pear”*

**frš**  *aferraš - iferraš “cock”*

**frw**  *afraw (ufraw) - ifrawen “leaf”*

**frw**  *tafriwet - tifriwtan “feather”*

**fs**  *afus - ifassen “hand”*
*afus l limin “left hand”*
*afus n ššmal “right hand”*

**fsç**  *fseç fseç tfessaç “untie”*

**fți**  *lfuta “towel”*

**fwd**  *lefward - lefwadaθ “liver” (BM)*

**fzr**  *tafuzart - tifuzaran/ifuzaren “ant”*

**fți**  *ffεγ ffεγ tefεγ “leave, go out”*

**fți**  *lefcaθ - lfuc “snake” (BM)*


**G**

**g**  *g ga- (LOCPR) “in, on, about”*
*g”um “in front, before”*
*g”af “on top”*
*g”ammaš “in the middle, between”*
*g”af“on top”*
*g”enna “above”*
*g blilil “at night”*

**g**  *ag–aç (PSP) “was”*

**g**  *gg gg “make, do”*

**g**  *iga (P) “be, be something/someone, be in a state”*

**g”i**  *tag”ig”et - ig”ig”en “tree”*
ag’di “jackal”
ag’enna “sky”
ag’er (yaq’er) - ig’ran “unit of measurement (Arabic: feddan)”
ag’īd - ig’īd “bird”
agelzim - igelzam “pickaxe”
tagwart - tignawan “pumpkin”
amger “harvest”
tag “door”
tagra - tigewan “plate”
agran - igranen “frog”
tagran - tigranen “female frog”
agurnas - igrunasen “lion”
agart - igerfawan “neck”
gwer “return”
aggez “descend”
gart “neck”
yer “head”
yerl “yerli” - yerliten (ADJ) “fat”
yomara “Ghomara”
yenna yennay “sing”
lyar “cave”
yar- (ALPR) “at, with, to”
ayerday - iayerdayen “mouse”
ayerraf - iyerrafen “jar”
ayrum (ayrum) - iyrumen “bread”
yrem (P) “own”
ayess (ayuss) - iyessan “bone”
| γ†  | tayaf - tiyafan “goat”       |
| γwθ | tyawwath (I) “yell”          |
| γyl | ayyul - iyyul “donkey”       |
| γzz | yezzeez yezzeez yezzazz “chew” |
| H   |                              |
| h   | ha “here”                     |
| hd  | hada (sm/PRD-AR) “this”       |
| hdk | hadik (sf/DISD-AR) “that”     |
| hl  | hala (IMP) “come”             |
| hln | ahlant “welcome, hello”      |
| hlnh| hulanda “Holland”            |
| hm  | huma (3p/AR-PRO) “they”       |
| hrm | therram (I) “herd”            |
| hw  | lehwa “rain”                  |
| hw  | huwa (3sm/AR-PRO) “he”        |
| hw  | hewa “well”                   |
| hy  | hiya (3sf/AR-PRO) “she”       |
| hydθ| tahaydurt “wool”              |
| hywç| hayweq/haywèq “when”          |
| hz  | hezz hezz “shake”             |
| H   |                              |
| ḫb  | ḫbibı “maternal uncle”       |
| ḫd  | ḫeddad “blacksmith”          |
| ḫd  | iheeddi “warden”             |
| ḫd  | ḫdid “iron”                  |
| ḫdθ | lḥadadθ “story”              |
| ḫf  | lḥafa “stone”                |
| ḫf  | ḫafi “sharp”                 |
| ḫf  | ḫaf (P) “grasp, catch”       |
| ḫfr | ḫfar (P) “dig”               |
| ahfar “hole” |
| ḫk  | ḫakk ḫakk ḫakka “scratch”    |
hl lhila/lhila - lhilaθ “trick”
hl lhalaθ “that which is permitted”
hlf helluf (coll) “pork”
hm hemmam “bathroom”
hm lem “meat”
hm hma (P) (STAT) “be warm, be hot”
hq lḥaqq “truth”
hrf herrefherref “cuttable (crops)”
ḥrk therrak (I) “move”
ḥrm lḥaram “that which is forbidden”
ḥrq ḥreq ḥreq therraq “ache, have pain, be in pain”
leḥriq “pain”
ḥṣ ḥes (P) tṭahṣ (I) “reap”
ḥṣb ḥseb ḥseb ḥessab “count”
ḥṣi ḥṣi ḥṣa ḥešṣa “stab”
ḥšm leḥšam “children”
ḥṭ hetta “till, until, even”
ḥṭš ahettaš - lhettiša “hatchet”
ḥwžd lhważed “eyebrows”
ḥyd hiyyed “avoid, evade”
ḥyḏ leḥyuḏ “walls”
ḥẓ lhaza/lḥaža “thing”

I
i i iθ- (DATPR) “to”
i i iθ- (COMPR) “with”
i i iθ- (COPR) “and”
i i (1s/PREP) “me”
i i−a (FOC) “who, which, that”

K
k ka (INP-AR) “be”
k k (2sm/PREP-AR) “you”
kō kōa “so on”
kôb  keôba - lkuôba “lie”
kdž  kedžîn/kedži/kedž (2sm/PRO) “you”
kfš  kifaš “why”
kł  sskuhhu (ONOM) “cough”
kłłl  khel “black”
kł  ikulla n tgiget “bark”
kł  kull kull- “all, every”
kullš “all, everything, everyone”
kull mara “everytime”
km  kemmin/kemmi (2sf/PRO) “you (f.)”
km  kama - Ikiman “bed”
km  -kum (2p/IO-AR) “for you (p.)”
km  kmel (P) “finish”
km  kamlin (p) “totally”
kł  kunna (2p/PRO) “you (p.)”
kr  lkâr - lkîran “van”
kr  kkar kkar kkar “be full”
kr  kker kker tekker “stand up, to begin, to start”
kşd  kṣad kṣad tekṣad “be afraid”
kşm  kšem kšem kettšem “enter”
ssékšem ssékšem (CAUS) “let in”
ksw  lkeswa “clothes”
ktb  lektab “book”
ktb  ikteb (IMP-AR) “write”
ktf  ktef (P) “tie”
kettef “tied”
ktr  ktar “more”
kzkkž  kuzzukuzah “rainbow”

L
l  llîl/lîlîla “night”
l  la “no”
l  ul (ul) - ulîyen/ulawen “heart”
llu  “beginning, start”
llawwel  “first”
llu - lluluiya - lluliyin (ADJ) “first”
illa (RLV) “that”
li’anna “because”
libra “thread”
luby (coll) “beans”
al - ilfen “swine”
alf “thousand”
allah “God”
llayhennik “solong”
inša’ellah “God willing”
mašallah “at a venture”
llah iżal baraka “that’s it, the end”
yallah (HOR) “let’s go”
yallah “recently”
lehfa “barefoot”
lkem “arrive”
ll ll–a tili “be, exist”
alum (coll) “hay”
ilsen “tongue”
letšin (un) - tilešinan letšin (coll) “orange”
tilawzan (coll) “almond”
layna “whither, whereto”
ilyaš “why”
llu, lluç tlaż “be hungry”
alaz’en “tomorrow”
lesha “nightprayer, dinner”
uleθma - tayθmaθan “sister”
aman (coll) “water”
ma (NEG) “not”
maši (NEG) “not”
m -mlm- (2sf/DO) “you (f.)”
m -amlam- (2sf/IO) “for you (f.)”
m -m (2sf/PREP) “you (f.)”
m -m (2sf/ADN) “your (f.)”
mbed membaod “later”
mç imçi “if”
mç imça “how, while”
mçrd timçrad “scissors”
md tamuda “pig”
mdkl ameddakul (umeddakul) - imeddakul “friend”
mdn lmaddenlmedden “people”
mdrs lmedrasalmedrasa “school”
mdwr mduwwwer “round”
mdyq mdiyyeq “narrow”
mgwd mguwdin (p) “straight”
mhl lmahal “room”
mhm muhim “anyway”
mhm muhani “lawyer”
mht lmahafta “station”
            lmahafta likiran “bus station”
mhžr mahžur - lmhažer “orphan”
mkl lmakla “food”
ml lmul/mul “owner”
ml mellul - melluleθ (ADJ) “white”
ml amella “now”
            amil “now” (BM)
mlh amaleh (umaleh) - imalhen “fish”
mlh mlah “salt”
mn mmen “who, what”
mnžr amenžur (umenžur) - imenžar “chair”
mql mqali “frying pans”
mqr meqqur (STAT) “be big”
            meqqur - muqqreθ (ADJ) “big”
mqte  mqat (p) (ADJ) “cut off”
mr  lmerra/merra “time”
mr  tammart “beard”
mr  amar “order”
mr  amar amar tamar “send”
mrs  amaras (umaras) - imuras “valley”
ms  lmus “knife”
ms  ammas “middle, back”
ms  amušš (umušš) - imuššen “cat”
     ūmuššet “female cat”
ms  tamšet – timeštan “comb”
ms  maši “walking” (PTC-AR)
ms  maša “but”
msḥ  msah msah messah “rub”
mskl  lmuskil “problem”
msl  lmasa’il “things”
msṛb  lmešrub “drink”
mt  tameṭṭut - timeṭṭut “woman, wife”
mtl  matalan “for example”
mtṛq  mṭirqa - mṭirqaθ “hammer”
mtṣe  lmuṣtalmuṣṭa – muṣṭaθ “place”
mtṣb  metṣab (ADJ) “tired” (BM)
mwṣṭ  muvaṣṣit “average”
mxr  amexraw (umexraw) - imexrawen “young of a rabbit”
mz  mızuzu - mızuzuθ (ADJ) “small” (BM)
mż  meẓzi - meẓziθ (ADJ) “small”
mzd  tamzgida/tamzida - timzgidiwan “mosque”
mżhd  lmežhud “best”
mzr  tamazir “village”
mżyn  mezyan - mezyana - mezyanin (ADJ) “good”
mzy  amezzuğ (umezuğ) - imezgan “ears”
mỳ  amỳar (umỳar) - imỳaren “chiefs”
     tamyar “female chief”
timyardan “women”
myr tamerya - timeyriyan “wedding”
myrb lmyrrib “Morocco”
mzd lmxad “appointment”
mrdm mrdum - mrduma - mrdumin (ADJ) “ill”
mef mrecf - mcraf (p) (ADJ) “well-known”
mclm mcellem “expert”
mcn lmcnc - mcna “meaning”
mcrf mcraf (p) (ADJ) “well-known”
mθ mθθ mθθ mθθ mθθ mθθ mθθ mθθ mθθ “die”

N

n nna nna qyar “say, tell”

n ani “where”

n n- (GENPR) “of”

nbd tanedbut “summer”

ncm nctma (3p/PRO) “they, them”

ncnam (3p/PRO) “they, them” (BM)

ncn nučna (1p/PRO) “we, us”

nd nnad “response”

ng nica “when, then, as soon as”

nhr nnhar “day”

nnhar l larbes “wednesday”

nk nekk (1s/PRO) “I, me”

nq tanuqqit - tinuqqitan “drop”

nš inš “someone/something”

nsn insan “person”

nšn nishan “precise, straight”

nt netta (3sm/PRO) “he, him”

tgg nteg nteg nteg “fly”

ntθ nebb (3sf/PRO) “she, her”

nwm nnawm “sleep”

nwr nnwwara “flowers”
nžm   nežma - nžum “star”
ŋŋ   nęg nęg-a neqqa “kill”
ŋŋ   -nay/γn- (1p/DO) “us”
ŋŋ   -anay/ayen- (1p/IO) “for us”
ŋŋ   -nay (1p/PREP) “us”
P
pr   perper (I) “twinkle”
Q
q   taqquet “granule, single/piece”
taqquet l tuya “a single bean”
taqquet n ddra “a granule of corn”
taqquet n irden “a granule of wheat”
q   qa (INP)
qbl   qbel “in front of, before”
qd   laqdiya “case, situation”
qôm   goim “old”
ql   qgel qgel teggel “return”
ql   qell “less”
qlb   qleb (P) “turn”
qlq   qlac qlac qellac “pluck, pull out, run, flee”
qlaqqlac “pluckable (crops)”
qm   aqemmen (uqemmen) - iqemmenen/iqemman “mouth”
qm   qqim qqim tyima “stay, sit”
qmḥ   qgmah (coll) “seed”
qn   qgen “tie”
qny   lgniyyal/qniyya - qnayen/qnen “rabbit” (BM)
qr   qra iqra (AR) “learn, teach”
qrbb   garrab (I) “approach”
qrbb   qrib “near, nearby”
qrm   qarm - qarma - qarmin (ADJ) “silent, quiet”
qrə   taqurraqt - tiqurrawin “bulb”
taqurraqt n tiskert “a garlic bulb”
qre  qarza “pumpkin”
qreθ qurraθ “booklet”
qṣ lqiṣṣa “story”
qṣm meqsumin (p) “separated, divided”
qṭe qṭac (P) “cut off”
    mqatṣin (p) “being cut off”
qe lqacaθ “event”
qəd qaxida “custom”

R
r ara “give”
ra ara ʿara “write”
ra ra (FUT) “will, shall”
rra rri rraz “vomit, inhale, return”
tarbat - tirbatan “(unmarried) girl”
rrh  rrbaḥ “profit”
rbbam rubbama “perhaps”
rrb ṭrbic “spring, grass”
irdi irden (coll) “wheat”
radi radu “radio”
targa - tiruggan “irrigation canal”
argʾaz (urgʾaz) - irgʾazen “man”
rha - lerhi “mill”
rrih raḥa “perfume”
rriyd ṭriyyad “garden”
tarḥabi ṭarḥabi “earth, ground”
rka rka (STAT) “be rotten”
rkas “glass”
rkayit rkayit “paper” (BM)
rrmel “sand”
arnab “rabbit”
rqiwaq - rqiga - rqiqin (ADJ) “slim”
rseq ršeq reššeq “split”
smooth
wind
sports
breakfast
hornets
cow
him
her
his
her
his
with,
morning
lion
week
river
small river
chestnut tree
wait
fog
horn
live
reside
do
make
patridge
garlic
calves
quiet
silent
listen
listen
groom
bride
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>slf</td>
<td>aslf</td>
<td>“brother in law”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slm</td>
<td>sellum</td>
<td>“ladder”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sm</td>
<td>sase to tussa</td>
<td>“listen”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sm</td>
<td>lism</td>
<td>“name”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smh</td>
<td>smeh</td>
<td>(P) “leave behind, leave (in the lurch)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smn</td>
<td>smn</td>
<td>(STAT) “be fat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sman/syna</td>
<td>“fat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>asen (usan) - isan</td>
<td>“tooth”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>isennan</td>
<td>“spines”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>snin</td>
<td>“years”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>ssennan</td>
<td>“spines”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>-asen/asan- (3p/IO)</td>
<td>“with them, to them”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>-sen (3p/PREP)</td>
<td>“them”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snbr</td>
<td>tasnubart</td>
<td>“stone pine”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snd</td>
<td>tasendut - tisan</td>
<td>“butter”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sq</td>
<td>ssaq</td>
<td>“market”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqf</td>
<td>sqef</td>
<td>“roof”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sr</td>
<td>sarir</td>
<td>“bed”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sr</td>
<td>sir</td>
<td>“after”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sir ssala</td>
<td>“after prayer”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fsiy l leśa</td>
<td>“after dinner”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srdn</td>
<td>aserdun (userdun) - iserdunen</td>
<td>“mule”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taserdun - tisdunen</td>
<td>“female mule”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asriden - isriden (dim)</td>
<td>“little mule”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srzm</td>
<td>sarzem</td>
<td>“window”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sry</td>
<td>srey sray srey</td>
<td>“light, burn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sť</td>
<td>ssat ssat tsat</td>
<td>“blow”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sw</td>
<td>su su-a sessu</td>
<td>“drink”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swl</td>
<td>siwel sawel tsawal</td>
<td>“talk, speak”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swn</td>
<td>siwana</td>
<td>“crow”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syb</td>
<td>siiyeb siiyeb tsiyyab</td>
<td>“throw”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syd</td>
<td>ssiyyed</td>
<td>“mister, person”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
س١ ssaca - ssaea٠ “hour”
س٢ saecasa “sometimes” (BM)
س٢ isṣad (IMP-AR) “hunt”
س٤ šebben šebben šebban “wash”
س٤ šbar šbar (AR) “be patient”
س٥ ašebbat (ašebbat, un) - išebbaṭen/išbaṭ šebbat (coll) “shoe”
س٧ šeddac (I) “make noise”
س٨ šsdac “noise”
س٩ šsif “summer”
س٩ šaft “that’s it”
س٩ šfarm šer - šefra (f) (ADJ) “yellow”
س٩ šsabih “correct, right”
س٩ šsulṭan “king”
س٩ šimat “cold”
س٩ šeqa šeqa šeqa “ask”
س٩ šwar šewar “walls”
س٩ šwer šuwwer šuwwer šuwwar “draw”
س٩ ši “some”
س٩ šš šš-a tett “eat”
س٩ ša (FUT) “will, shall”
س٩ šaba (I) “resemble”
س٩ šabaq “window”
س٩ šebbar šebbar šebbar “grab, hold”
س٩ šedd šedd šedd “tie”
س٩ šhal “how much”
س٩ šhar “month”
س٩ šeḥtha “fatless”
س٩ ška “who”
س٩ šellah “Berber language”
س٩ šemm šemm šemma “smell”
šmr  šmorra (coll) “fig”
šme  šemca “candle”
šmθ  šmeθ šmeθ “trick, cheat”
šn  šennu “what”
šnkf  ašnekkaf (ušnekka) - išnekkafen “hedgehog”
šqr  ašaqur (ušaqur) - išuqar “axe”
tašaqurt (dim) “little axe”
št  šta “winter”
šlt  šatalut “bunch”
šatalut n īškert “bunch of garlics”
šw  šwa “what”
šwy  šwiyā “little, bit”
šyt  šiyāṭahen “leftovers”
šyl  šyl “work” (BM)
šcr  šcr “hair, fur”
šow  šewa “winter”

T

-tlt- (3sf/DO) “her”
tfḥ  tteffahṭ (un) - tteffahān tteffah (coll) “apple”
tg’m  atg’am (watg’am) “yesterday, the day before”
tlt  talit “third”
tmr  tmar (coll) “dates”
tn  tani - tanya (f) (ADJ) “second”
tnṭle  tanṭalīe “pumpkin” (BM)
tql  tqil - tqila (f) (ADJ) “heavy”
tr  ttru ttru ttru “weep, cry”
trx  ttarīx “history”
tšw  itšawtšawen “birds”
txm  txemmem (I) “think”
tyt  tayt (tayt) “shoulder”
teżb  tażeb tażeb tażzab “befall”

T.
ț  titt - titawan “eye”
țb  tabla “table”
țd  atud - itudan “finger”
țhr  ţhar “back”
țl  atil (wațil, coll) “grapes”
țl  ţella “watch”
țlb  atelliḥ - ʔelliiḥan “forehead”
țlub  atelliḥt - tielliḥan “forehead”
țlq  ʔlaqa ʔlaqa (AR) “meet, meet eachother”
țmbl  ţumubil “car”
țmtš  ţumatiš (coll) “tomatoes”
țq  ʔqaq “niche”
țr  atar (utar) - ʔtaren “leg”
țramʃ  n ʔutar “foot”
țs  ʔses ʔses ʔettes “sleep”
țwl  twil “tall”
țxrf  txarf (coll) “fruit”
țy  ʔaytay “mushroom” (BM)
țyfr  ʔayfur “table”
Θ
0  -ʔθʔ- (3sm/DO) “him”
0bn  aθebban - iθebbina “a pair of pants”
0n  -ten/ten- (3p/DO) “them”
U
u  u/wa “and”
W
w  wa “well, although”
wfl  tawfalt - tiwfalan “egg”
w l  wella “or”
w l  walu “nothing”
wln  walakin “but”
wn  wani - tani - wini (DISD) “that, those”
wn  -wen/wn- (2p/DO) “you (p.)”
wn  -awenlawen- (2p/IO) “for you (p.)”
wn  -un (2p/PREP) “you (p.)”
wrp  werg werg targa “dream”
   targa “dream”
wrz  awrız - iwerzen “heel”
wš  waš “whether”
wx  waxxa “all right, yes”
wyt  wayɛt - tayɛt - wiyeṭ “other”
wθ  wweθ wθa tkahiθa “hit, strike”
X
x  ax “brother, friend”
x  xfɔxaf- (IMPR) “on, about”
xdm  xdem xdem xeddem “work”
xdm  xeddam ixeddam (AR) “work”
xon  taxa₀ent - tixathuman “ring”
xdr  xder “green”
xdr  xudarlxudra “vegetables”
xlq  xleq xleq xleq “be born”
xls  xelles (P) “pay”
xlt  xalti “maternal aunt”
xfnr  taxenfurt - tixenfurantxnafer “nose”
xr  ittaxer (IMP-AR) “be last, end last”
   laxri - laxriya - laxriyin (ADJ) “last”
xrb  xarebbi “many”
xrf  taxuraft - tixurafan “riddle”
xrf  xrif “autumn”
xrž  ixerrež (IMP-AR) “get out, let out”
xs  xess xess xess “need, must, have, want”
xwf  xawfan “afraid”
xyM  axeyyam (uxeyyam) - ixeyyamen “house”
\( \text{zl} \) \( \text{tazellit} \) - \( \text{izellitan} \) “tail”

\( \text{zl} \) \( \text{zall} \) \( \text{zul} \) \( \text{tzal}a \) “pray”

\( \text{zr} \) \( \text{zår} \) - \( \text{izran} \) “stone”

\( \text{tazr}ut \) “stone”

\( \text{zr} \) \( \text{azar} \) (\( \text{uzar} \)) - \( \text{izuran} \) “treeroot”

\( \text{zr} \) \( \text{zar} \) \( \text{zar} \) \( \text{twala} \) “see”

\( \text{zrq} \) \( \text{zreq} \) “blue”

\( \text{zr} \) \( \text{ziyar ziyar} \) \( \text{tziyar} \) “tighten”

\( \text{zr} \) \( \text{zwγyur} \) (I) “pull”

\( \text{ž} \)

\( \text{žd} \) \( \text{žeddī} \) “grandfather”

\( \text{žd} \) \( \text{ždid} \) “new”

\( \text{žlb} \) \( \text{želban} \) “greenpeas”

\( \text{žld} \) \( \text{lželd} \) \( \text{lželde} \) “skin, leather”

\( \text{žme} \) \( \text{žmac} \) (P) “gather”

\( \text{žr} \) \( \text{ažar} \) - \( \text{izaren} \) “neighbours”

\( \text{žwb} \) \( \text{žawb} \) (P) “answer”

\( \text{žwb} \) \( \text{lžawb} \) “answer”

\( \Sigma \)

\( \varepsilon \) \( \varepsilon \) (ALPR) “on, at”

\( \varepsilon \) \( \varepsilon \) \( \text{wṭalīc} \) “above”

\( \text{zd} \) \( \text{lεud} \) “wood”

\( \text{zd} \) \( \text{εid} \) “festival”

\( \text{εid imuqqren} \) “greater eid festival”

\( \text{εid imezzin} \) “smaller eid festival”

\( \text{zds} \) \( \text{taseddist} \) “belly”

\( \text{aceddis} \) (aug) “big belly”

\( \text{zf} \) \( \text{lεafya} \) - \( \text{lεafya} \) “fire”

\( \text{zks} \) \( \text{εeks} \) “contrary”

\( \text{zl} \) \( \text{calli} \) \( \text{cella} \) “go up”

\( \text{zl} \) \( \text{clα} \) “on”

\( \text{zlm} \) \( \text{cellem} \) \( \text{cellem cellem} \) “learn”
elš  elalluš (uclalluš) - ielullaš “butterfly”
elm  leam (am) “year”
       əməmyen “two years”
elm  əmammi “paternal uncle”
       əmamti - əmamtiwaθ “paternal aunt”
elm  əma (STAT) “be blind”
elm  əmm (A) əumm (I) “swim”
elmr  əmr - ma “never”
elš  leiš “life”
elšb  cašub “grass”
elwd  leawda - leawdeθ “horse”
elwd  cawed “again”
elwdō  cawed əawed teawad “report”
ely  əeyya - əeyyaθ - əeyyaθ/əeyyaw (ADJ) “tired”
       əeyya - əeyyana - əeyyanin (ADJ) “tired”
elyl  aseyyal - aseyyalen “boy”
       taseyyaļt - tieyyalan “girls”
       lewwawel “children”
       leayla/ka’ila “family”
elyn  teyan (I) “wait, await”
elyr  cyar cyar teyar “play”
elz  leziza “grandmother”
elzr  euzri “bachelor”
ABBREVIATIONS

A    aorist
ABLPR ablative preposition
ADJ  adjective
ADN  adnominal suffix
ALPR allative preposition
ANAPH anaphoric deixis
AR   Moroccan Arabic
aug  augmentative
BM   Bni Menşur
C    consonant
Č    geminate consonant
CAUS causative
coll collective noun
COMPR comitative preposition
COPR coordinative preposition
DATPR dative preposition
dim  diminutive
DISD distal deixis
DO   direct object
DO-AR Moroccan Arabic direct object (accusative pronoun)
EA   état d’annexion
EL   état libre
f    feminine
FOC  focalisation
FUT  future
GENPR genitive preposition
HITH hither
HOR  hortative
I    intensive
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
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<td>IMP-AR</td>
<td>Moroccan Arabic imperfective</td>
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<td>IMPR</td>
<td>implicative preposition</td>
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<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite article</td>
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