A Reference Grammar
of Tamazight

A Comparative Study of the Berber Dialects of
Ayt Ayache and Ayt Seghrouchen

Ernest T. Abdel-Massih

A Reference Grammar

of Tamazight

Map of Morocco

Tangier Sebta
Tetouan
Larache
Al Hoceima
Chechaouen
Oujda
Volubilis
Sale Fez
Taza
Rabat
Meknes
Casablanca
Sefrou
Azrou
El Jadida
Midelt
Safi
Ksar es Souk
Marrakesh
Erfoud
Ouarzazate
Agadir
Zagora
Ifni
Goulimine
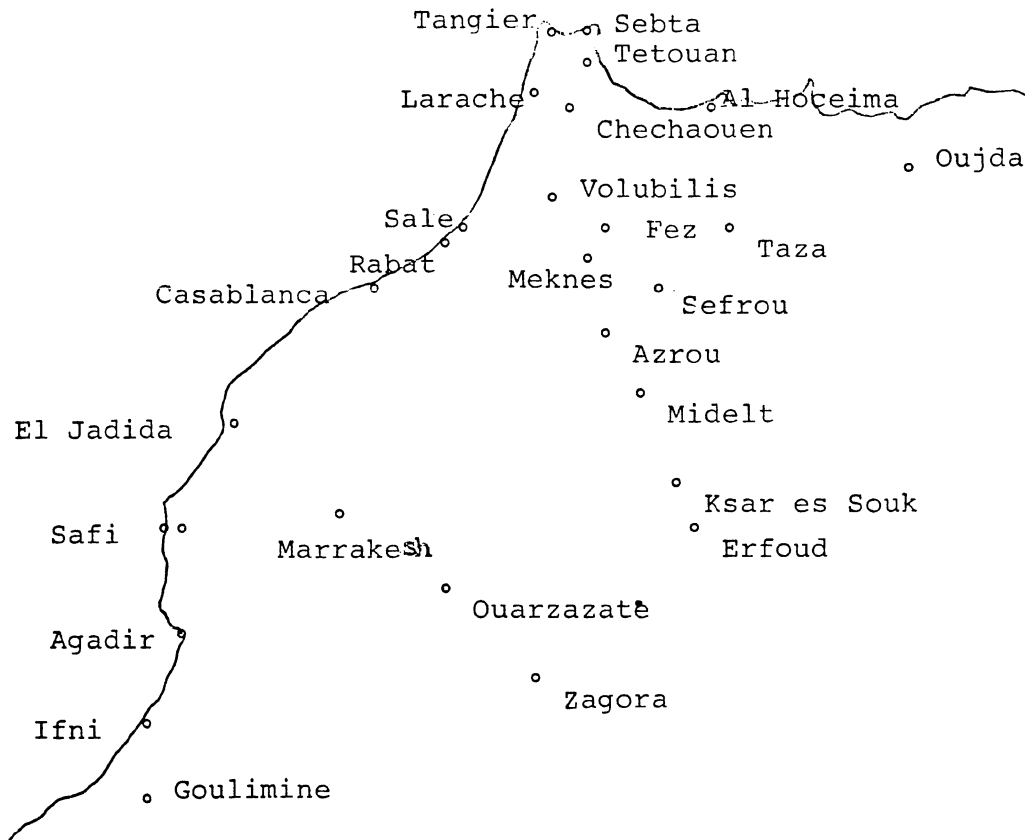
DISTANCES FROM CASABLANCA IN MILES

Al Hoceima	338		Marrakesh	149
Agadir	330		Meknes	146
Azrou	189		Midelt	267
Chechaouen	205		Ouarzazate	273
El Jadida	62		Oujda	403
Erfoud	403		Rabat	58
Fez	183		Safi	158
Goulimine	453		Tangier	236
Larache	180		Taza	257
			Tetuan	248

Foreword

The preparation of this volume and the accompanying one, A Course in Spoken Tamazight, was initiated and supported by the University of Michigan Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies as part of its general program of research and training on the languages and cultures of North Africa. A series of studies in anthropology, history and political science are in preparation, as well as instructional materials on Moroccan Arabic.

We are indebted to the Ford Foundation, which is in no way responsible for the specific consequences, for the grants to the Center that have made this work possible. We are most grateful for the tolerance of the people and government of Morocco in accommodating, and often actively assisting, the work of our faculty and students.

W.D. Schorger
Director

Acknowledgements

This book and its companion, <u>A Course in Spoken Tamazight</u>, were made possible by the cooperation of a number of individuals. In particular, I would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Mohammed Raamouch whose comments and constructive remarks were a great help to me in the formulation of the grammar of Ayt Ayache. Thanks are also due to Mr. Mohammed Guerssel who, by his linguistic competence and insightful observations, contributed greatly to the comparative notes on the two dialects.

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I owe an especial debt to my colleagues Professor Ernest N. McCarus and Professor Gene M. Schramm who gave their time freely for linguistic discussions during the early stages of the research that led to the formulation of this present work; I am grateful to them for their many creative suggestions.

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Ayt Ayache materials.

And I am also grateful to Professor J. Bynon of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London for his enlightening discussions on the problems of Tamazight phonology and word boundary.

I am deeply grateful to my wife, Cecile, whose patience, constant encouragement and deep understanding have sustained my efforts throughout the work on this book.

Introduction

This book grew out of the great need for a short reference grammar of the Berber language in general and of the Tamazight dialect in particular that could be used by college students in an elementary course. The first version of the present grammar (1966) concentrated on the phonology and the morphology of the Ayt Ayache dialect of Tamazight and was used in an experimental class organized at the University of Michigan. The second version was completed in 1968, Work of the grammar of Ayt Seghrouchen Tamazight began in December 1968. The formulation of the comparative notes came after the completion of the grammar of the two affiliated dialects.

The language of this book is Tamazight, a dialect of Berber, spoken in the Middle Atlas Mountains of Morocco. Berber is spoken mainly in North Africa (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco) and in Siwa (UAR). It is also spoken by the Tuareg groups in Muritania and the countries of the Sahara (Mali, Niger and Chad). Berber, a branch of the Afro-Asiatic family of languages is exclusively an unwritten language. It is divided into some three hundred or more distinct local dialects. The number of the speakers of

Berber have been estimated to be 5,000,000[1] to 7,000,000[2]
and over 10,000,000[3]. Berber speakers are discontinuously
distributed from the Siwa Oasis in Egypt to the Atlantic
Ocean and from the Niger River to the Mediterranean Sea.
(See the map on p. vi for the distribution of the Berber
dialects in general and the map on p. vii for the distribution
of the Berber dialects particularly in Morocco.) It is
possible to distinguish four basic dialect groups of Berber:

I. Tamazight, a dialect of the Middle Atlas Mountains
in Central Morocco. Among the speakers of Tamazight
(which number approximately 2,000,000) are the
following groups (tribes,subtribes):

Beni Ouarain, Ait Morghi, Ait Alaham, Ait Youb,
Marmoucha, Ait Seghrouchen, Ait Youssi, Beni Mguild,
Zaiane, Zemmour, Ait Rbaa, Ait Seri, Beni Mtir,
Guerouane, Ait Segougou, Ait Morghad, Ait Ayache,
Ait Hadiddou, Ait Izdeg, Ait Sikhmane, Ait Atta.

II. Tashelhit (or Shilha), dialect of the High and
Anti-Atlas and the Sous Valley in Southern Morocco.
There are approximately 2,000,000 speakers of this
dialect.

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[1] Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. I, Fasciulus 19, Leiden,
Netherlands, 1959, p. 1177.

[2] Ju. N. Zavadovskij, Berberski jazyk (The Berber Language),
Moscow, 1967, p. 7.

[3] Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 3, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc.,
Wm. Benton, Chicago, 1970, p. 496.

III. <u>Zenatiya</u>, a dialect of about 2,000,000 speakers.

Zenatiya distinguishes the following sub-groupings:

    a) <u>Rifian</u> or <u>Tarifit</u> (spoken by about 0.5 million Rifians in Northern and Northeastern Morocco)

    b) <u>Kabyli</u> (spoken by about 1,300,000 speakers), dialect of the Kabyle tribes in the Kabyle Mountains of Algeria

    c) <u>Zenatiya Mzabian</u> (spoken by about 25,000 speakers in Mzab by the Mzabites of Ghardaia)

    d) <u>Shawia</u> or <u>Tashawit</u> (spoken by about 150,000 speakers in the Aures Mountains of Algeria)

IV. <u>Tamashek</u>, dialect of the Tuareg groups in Muritania and the open Sahara.

Many speakers of Berber in North Africa are bilingual, with Arabic being their second language. Many of the men speak Berber, Arabic and French, while the women are more conservative.

The main focus of the language of this book is the Tamazight dialects of Ayt Ayache and Ayt Seghrouchen. Ayt Ayache is a tribe composed of twenty-two villages along the Ansegmir River, at the foot of Ayachi Mountain, about thirty kilometers west of the town of Midelt. The limit on the east is National Highway No. 21, on the south the Ayt Yahya tribe at Road No. 3420 and on the north and west the Beni Mguild tribe at Road No. 3422.
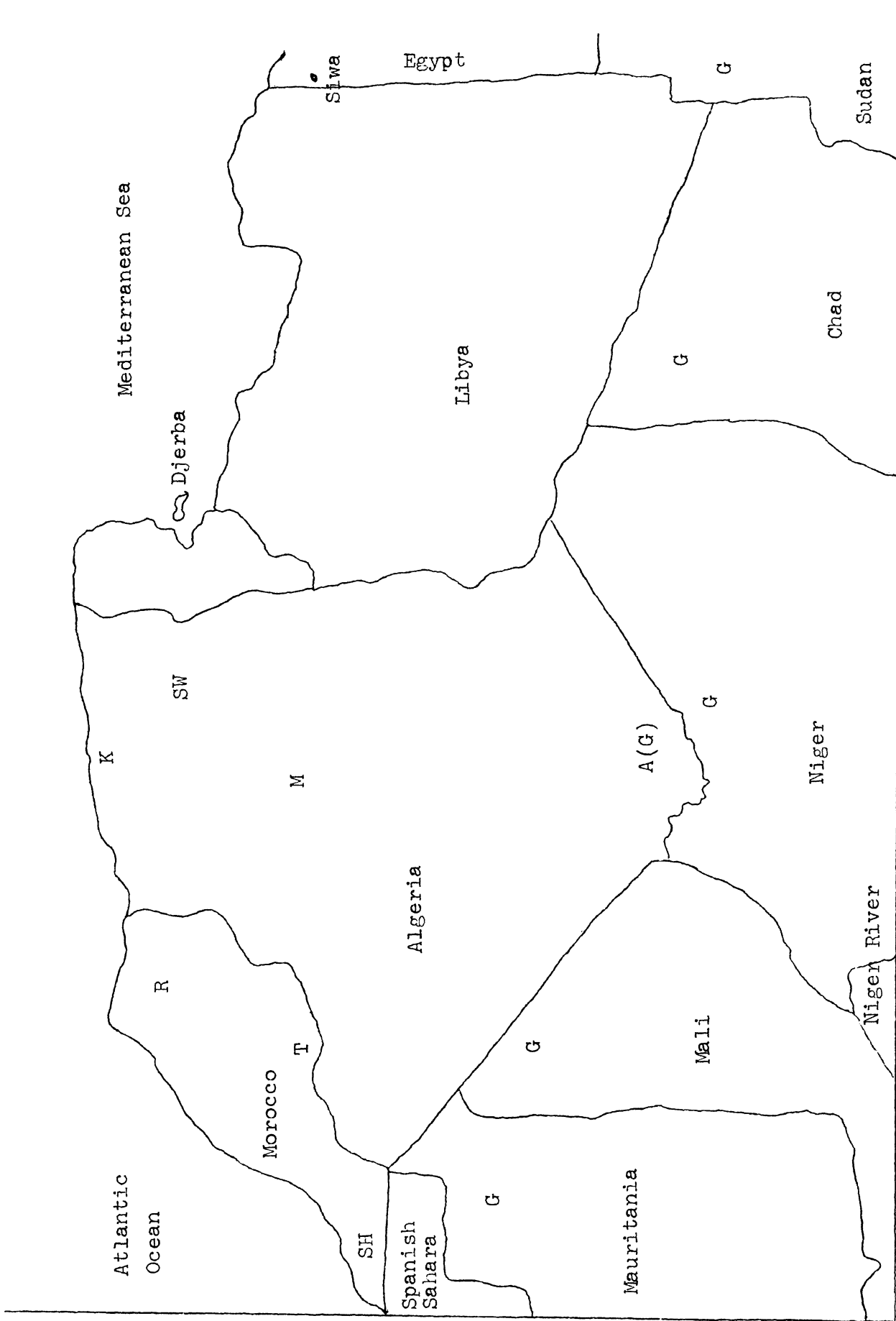
Geographic Distribution of the Major Berber Dialects.

R = Rifian
T = Tamazight
SH = Shilha
K = Kabyle

SW = Shawia
M = Mzabidin
A(G) = Aheggar (Touareg)
G = Touareg

Tangier Ceuta

Oujda

Rabat Fez Taza

Casablanca
Meknes

Kasba Tadla ○ Midelt

**
***
Essaouira ***Marrakesh ****
****
****
****
Agadir **************
****
****
****
****

Erfoud

○ Ourzazate

Zenatiya (Rifian) Speakers ///////

Tamazight Speakers

Tashelhis (Shilha) Speakers ******
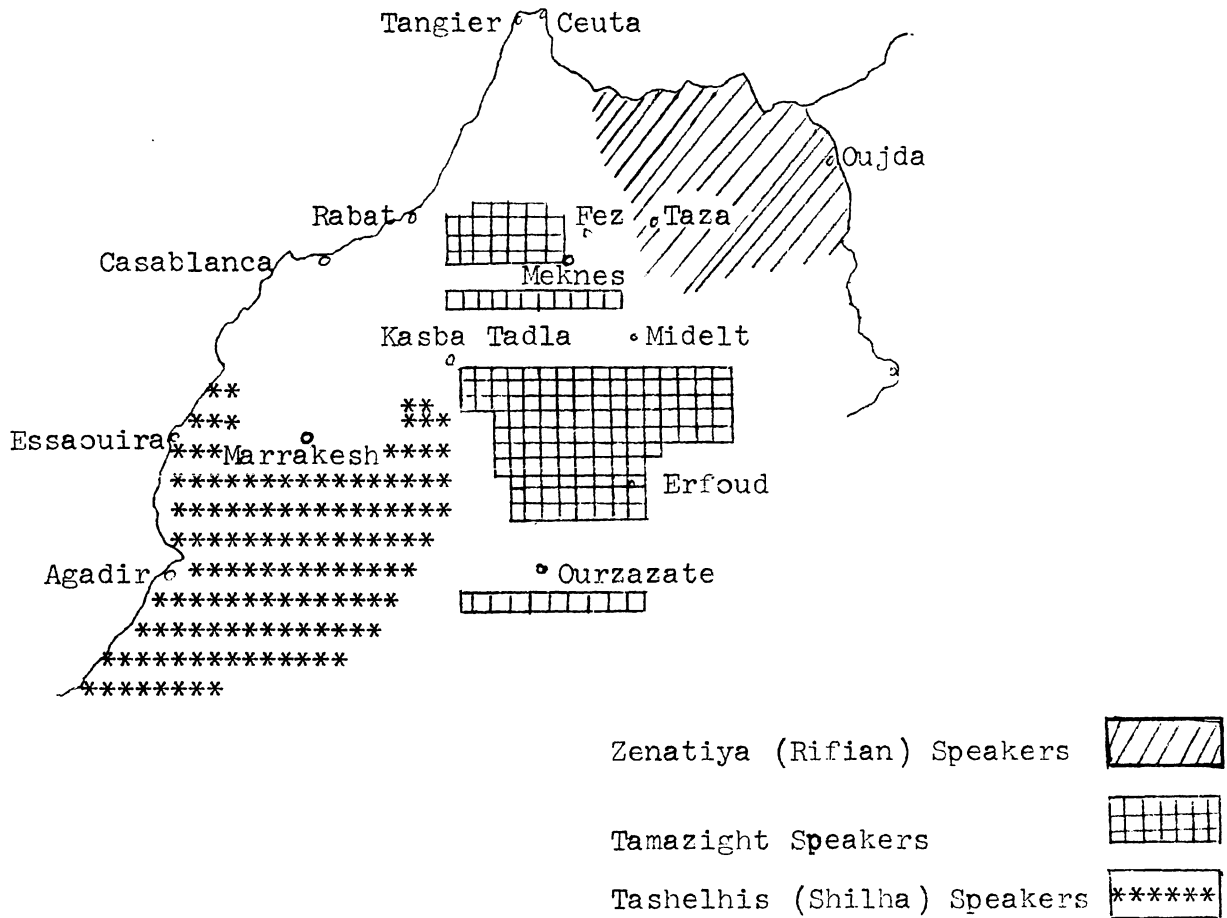
Geographic Distribution of Berber Dialects in Morocco

Ayt Ayache Tamazight is mutually intelligible with the speech
of neighboring tribes. Ayt Seghrouchen is a much larger tribe
than Ayt Ayache. It is divided into three major sub-tribes:
(1) Ayt Seghrouchen of Sidi Ali, known as Ayt Seghrouchen of
Tichikout, (2) Ayt Seghrouchen of Imouzzer and (3) Ayt
Seghrouchen of Talesinnt. The limits of the Ayt Seghrouchen
of Sidi Ali are the Beni Ouarain to the north, Ayt Youssi to the
south, Ayt Seghrouchen of Imouzzer and Beni Mguild to the
west and southwest and Oulad El-Haj to the east. Ayt Seghrouchen
of Imouzzer lies about 30 kilometers south of Fez, surrounded
by Ayt Youssi, Beni Mtir and the town of Sefrou. The limits of
Ayt Seghrouchen of Talesinnt are Oulad El-Haj, Ayt Yafelmane,
the town of Midelt and Beni Guil. Both Ayt Ayache and
Ayt Seghrouchen live by farming and by tending and rearing
sheep. The main handicraft industry is tapestry.

Berber literature is, of course, mainly oral. It is this
lack of written documents that makes the tracing of the history
of the language somewhat difficult. However, attempts were
made very early to record the language, using various writing
systems. The oldest inscriptions come to us from Tunisia and
Algeria and are over 2,000 years old. They are written in a
consonantal system which resembles that of contemporary
Tuareg. The national Berber alphabet is that of the Tuareg
tribes, known as Tifinagh; it is composed of strokes, arcs,
and dots as well as combinations of these. In this system,

individual words are not separated and one can write from
left to right or from right to left, from top to bottom
ot from bottom to top. The Tuaregs call the symbols
Tafineqq (singular) and Tifinagh (plural). The Tuaregs
have no manuscripts, strictly speaking, only short notes
on pots, bracelets, shields, etc. The only Berber texts we
have are written in Arabic script. These are mainly religious
texts used for instruction in Islam.

Following is a simplified table with samples of the
Libyan inscriptions and Tuareg (Tifinagh), both ancient
and contemporary inscriptions, with the corresponding Arabic
script and phonetic equivalents.

Phonetic Equiv.	Libyan	Tuareg (Tifinagh)		Corresponding Arabic Script
		ancient	contemp.	
b	⊙	⊙ ⧆	⊙ ⊞ ⊙ ⧆	ب
t	+ �	Ⅹ +	⊹	ت
m	⅃	⊔ ﻢ	⅃ Ⅼ	م
z	—	⊔⊔	Ⲭ Ⲭ	ز
k	⇐ ⇐	ⵏ ⵔ	·· ···	ك
ǧ			Ⲏ Ⲭ Ⲭ Ⲭ	ج
y	⟨ Ⲍ ∧	Ⲍ ⌒ ⟨ ℘	Ⳍ Ⳝ Ⳓ Ⳍ	ي
d	⊓	⊏ ⊐	∧ ⊓ Ⅴ⊔	د

Table of Berber and Arabic Script

This book is intended to be used mainly as a reference grammar for the dialect of Ayt Ayache, but, more importantly, it can serve as a source for the comparative study of the two dialects: Ayt Ayache and Ayt Seghrouchen. The order of presentation of the morphology of the dialects is arbitrary and, therefore, is not binding for the user.

At the beginning of each chapter appears a short summary of the contents of that section. Comparative notes on the two dialects sometimes appear at the end of a chapter (e.g., I. Phonology, II. The Numerical System, III. Pronominal Systems, IV. The Noun, VI. The Verb). However, in Chapter V. "Particles", a full discussion of each of the different groups of particles is given for Ayt Seghrouchen following that of Ayt Ayache. This is due to the great lexical difference between the two dialects in this domain.

Chapter VII. "Sentences" lists examples consisting of 157 pairs of sentences to exemplify the different structures of the two dialects. The first member of each pair of sentences is from Ayt Ayache, the second from Ayt Seghrouchen.

In studying the grammatical point in issue, often the user will find numerous examples listed. This serves a dual purpose: the exemplification of the grammatical point under discussion and the provision of additional lexical items.

It is hoped that this book may serve as a reference grammar for its twin, A Course in Spoken Tamazight (Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, the University of Michigan, 1971), for indeed they complement one another. Usage of both texts is indispensable for mastery of Tamazight.

Ann Arbor, Michigan

January 1971   E.T.A.

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VI. Grammar of the Verb

VII. <u>Sentences</u>

TABLES, FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

I. Phonology

This section discusses the phonology of Ayt Ayache (A.A.) Tamazight citing examples to illustrate the different phonological features of this dialect. At the very end of this section a few notes on the phonology of Ayt Seghrouchen (A.S.) are included. The two dialects are very much alike in their phonological systems except for the fact that /k/ and /g/ are fricatives in Ayt Ayache whereas they are stops in Ayt Seghrouchen

I. Phonology

I.1   Tamazight, Ayt Ayache dialect, has the following consonants:
       /btd kgq šž xɣ mnlr ḥʕh/ (See Table 1)
       and the following vowels:
       /i u a/ (See Table 2)

I.1.1 The terms used in Table 1 are here explained in terms of
       the articulators that help produce the different sounds.
       These are followed by explanations of the terms voiced
       and voiceless, lax and tense, labialized and finally flat.
       It is also suggested that the student refer to Figure 1.
       for a better understanding of these terms.

       Bilabial: lower lip and upper lip
       Labio-dental: lower lip and upper teeth
       Dental: apex of tongue and upper teeth
       Alveolar: apex of tongue and alveolar ridge
       Alveo-palatal: apex of tongue and front part of palate
       Palatal: tongue blade and palate
       Post palatal: tongue blade and back of palate
       Velar: tongue dorsum and velum
       Uvular: tongue dorsum and uvula
       Pharyngeal: root of the tongue and pharynx (constriction)
       Glottal: produced in the larynx by constriction of the two
                 vocal chords
       Voiced (vd): during the production of voiced sounds the
                     vocal chords are closed
       Voiceless (vl): during the production of voiceless sounds
                     the vocal chords are open
       Lax: a speech sound produced with little muscular tension
             in the speech organs; e.g. /b/
       Tense: a speech sound produced with great muscular tension
               in the speech organ; e.g. /b:/

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Nasal
Cavity

Palate

Alveolar
Ridge

Velum

Upper Lip

Upper
Teeth

Uvula

Blade

Apex

Dorsum

Lower Lip

Root

Pharynx

Epiglottus

Vocal
Chords

Larynx
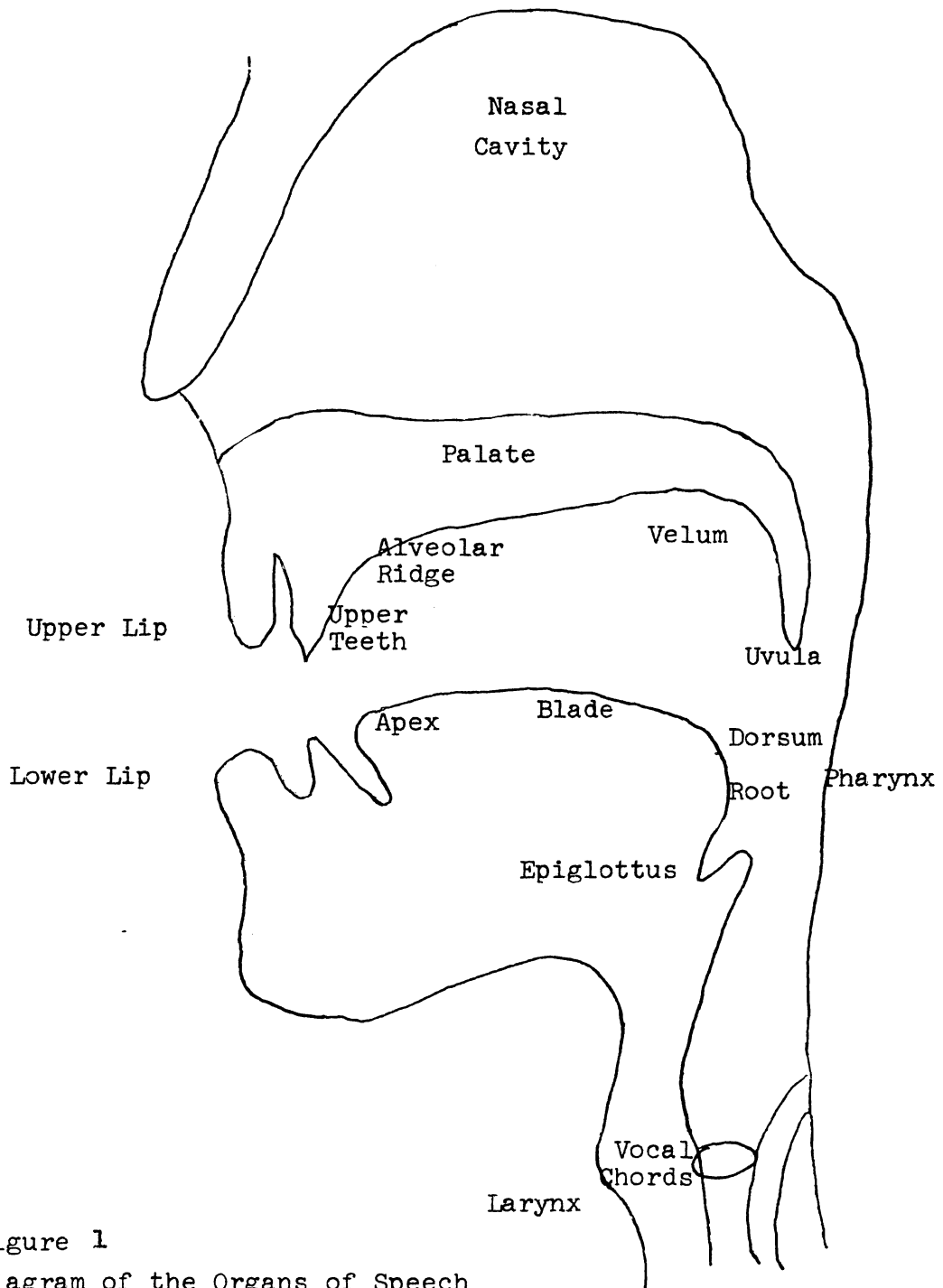
Figure 1
Diagram of the Organs of Speech

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Post palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngial	Glottal
Stop vl.			t				k		q		ʔ
Stop vd.	b		d				g				
Fric. vl.		f	s		š				x	ḥ	h
Fric. vd.			z		ž				ɣ	ʕ	
Nasal	m			n							
Lateral			l								
Flap				r							
Semi-Vowel						y		w			

Table I: Tamazight Consonants and Semi-Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low		a	

Table 2: Tamazight Vowels

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Labialized: a speech sound produced with added lip
      rounding; e.g., /q/ = [q͡] or [qʷ].

Flat: a speech sound produced by pressing the blade of
      the tongue against the palate so that the articula-
      tion is velarized rather than dental; e.g. /ṭ/

I.1.2   Remarks on the pronunciation of the consonants and semi-
        vowels of Ayt Ayache Tamazight:

a) /b t d f s š l z ž m n h w y /
    Group (a) are to varying degrees the same as in English .
    However the following slight differences are here noted
    for this Berber dialect:

1. /b/ which is a voiced bilabial stop can sometimes
   be heard as voiced bilabial fricative [β] by very
   few speakers; e.g., /lbab/ [lβæβ] 'the door'

2. /t/ has more puff with the air release than is
   the case in English; e.g.: /tafunast/ [tʰæfunæsth]'cow'

3. On the other hand, we would like to note that /š/
   is pronounced as in English "she", e.g., /ša/ 'some'.
   /ž/ is pronounced as in English "measure"; e.g.
   /žhd/ 'to be strong'. /h/ is pronounced as in English
   "he", e.g. /dhn/ 'to rub ointment'. Finally /l/ in
   Tamazight is pronounced as English "clear" [l]; i.e.,
   when preceding a vowel in English as in "lazy" or
   "late", but not like dark [l] in English, i.e. when
   following a vowel as in "feel". Tamazight /l/ is
   like the first [l] in English "level" but not the
   second one; e.g. Tamazight /lalal/ 'no' where all the
   three l's are pronounced like the first [l] in English
   "level".

b) /k g q xɣ h ꜥ r/ [1] (for Comparative Notes on this
  chapter see pp. 19-70)
  Group (b) do not exist in English.

1. Of group (b) /k/ and /g/ are fricatives in
    Ayt Ayache (though they are stops in other dia-
    lects of Berber as well as in English; e.g.;
    /irkm/ 'it (m.) boiled', /iga/ 'he did'.

2. /q xɣ h ꜥ / are all back consonants known as
    "gutterals". Their place of articulation is
    uvular (/q xɣ /) and pharyngeal (/h ꜥ /).

3. /q/ is a voiceless uvular stop that is produced
    by the tongue dorsum (back) forming a stop against
    the uvula. Notice that the place of articulation
    for Berber /q/ is further back than that of
    English /k/: e.g., /taqdurt/ 'a pot'.

4. /x/ is a voiceless velar fricative. Its place
    of articulation is uvular. To pronounce /x/
    produce English /k/ then move the dorsum (back
    of the tongue) back and produce a fricative;
    this produces /x/. This will sound like the
    "ch" in German doch, lachen and nach; e.g.,
    /xali/ 'my maternal uncle'.

5. /ɣ/ is a voiced velar fricative. It has the
    same place and manner of articulation as /x/.
    Try to produce English /g/ then move the dorsum
    of your tongue back and produce the fricative /ɣ/.
    Let us call /ɣ/ the "gargling" sound; e.g.,
    /iɣus/ 'he burnt'.

6. /h/ is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative. As we
    know pharyngeal sounds are produced by a constric-

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tion of the root of the tongue against the
pharynx. This is not an easy sound for non-
natives. It is advisable to practice pronoun-
cing /h/ by producing a vigorous constriction
of the pharynx slightly below and behind the
extreme edge of the velum. This can be achieved
by drawing the body of the tongue back toward
the posterior wall of the pharynx with consider-
able force. Try this and it should produce /h/.
Let us call this sound the "panting" sound; e.g.,
/hml/ 'to flood'.

7. /ʕ/ is a voiced pharyngeal fricative. If you
try to pronounce the English vowel "a" as in
"father" with your tongue pressed down, you will
hear /ʕ/ which we will call the "bleating" sound;
e.g., /lʕil/ 'the boy'.

8. /r/ is a flap, i.e., a sound that is produced
by the very rapid viberation of the tip of the
tongue (apex); e.g., /ira/ 'he wanted'.

Flatness, Labialization and Tenseness
a) The domain of flatness, i.e., that of emphatic* conso-
nants (also velarized and pharyngealized are terms used
in this connection) is the syllable. We call /t d s z
l r / a primary Tamazight "emphatic" set, the occurence
of which affects other non-emphatic segments**to become

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* Emphatic articulation refers to the pressing of the blade of the
tongue against the palate in formation of some consonant sounds;
the articulation is then velarized rather than dental or pharyngeal-
ized rather than velar.

** The term segment refers to a minimal portion of speech consisting
of a spoken language item known as a consonant or a vowel.

emphatic. This latter set is here termed secondary
emphatic set. Notice that in pronouncing the plain
non-emphatic consonant the position of the tip of the
tongue is dental for, let us say /t/ and the back of
the tongue is depressed whereas in pronouncing its em-
phatic counterpart /ṭ/, the tip of the tongue is touch-
ing the alveolar ridge and the back of the tongue is
raised up toward the velum. Also, note that in the
case of the pronunciation of an emphatic consonant the
lip muscles are contracted and the lips are extended
ventrally whereas they are relaxed when pronouncing the
plain consonants. (See figures 2 and 3 for /t/,/ṭ/
and figures 4 and 5 for /s/, /ṣ/).

Examples of emphatic/non-emphatic consonants:

/tizi/	a pass
/ṭiẓi/	pubic hair
/bdu/	to begin
/bḍu/	to share
/tzur/	she is fat
/ṭẓur/	she visited holy places

b) Labialization is a feature of the back consonants
/k g q x γ /. It is manifested as simultaneous lip
rounding when producing any of the above mentioned
consonants. Thus /q/ or /q̂/ is pronounced as [q^w].[2]
Labialization is an important feature for /k g q/ but
not for /x γ/: e.g.,

/s:ḳ:r/	sugar
/nk:r/	we got up

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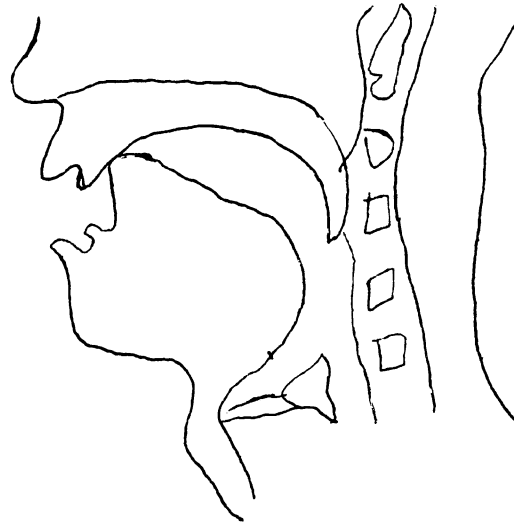
Figure 2:   tongue position for /t/
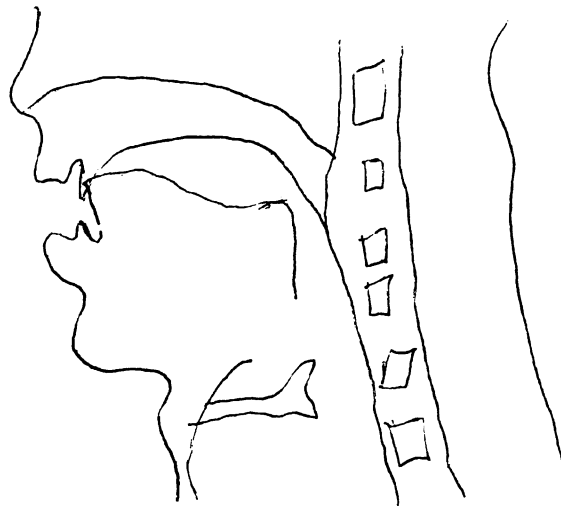
Figure 3:   tongue position for /ṭ/
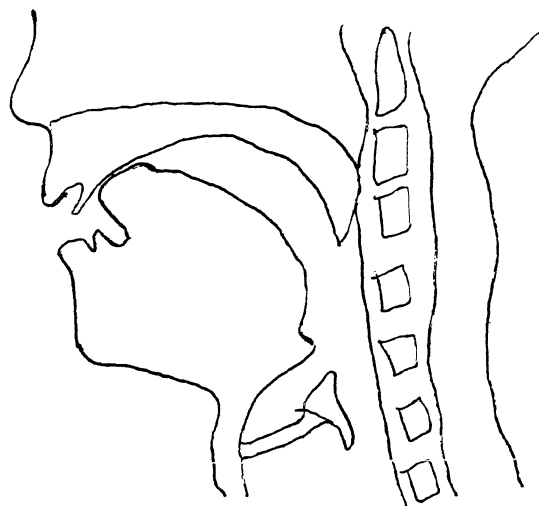
Figure 4:　tongue position for /s/
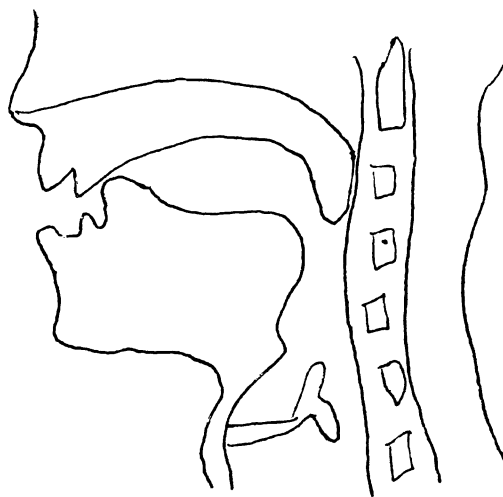
Figure 5:　tongue position for /s̞/

/ag:a/   he is

/ag:a/   a burden
  •

/n:q:rt/   he shook it (m.) off

/n:q:rt/   silver
  •   •

/lɣš:/~ /lɣš:/   cheating
  •

/axm:as/ ~ /axm:as/   share-cropper
  •

c)   A tense* (also fortis) consonant in general is produced
     with more force than its lax (also lenis) counterpart.[3]
     The intensity and aspiration which are characteristic of
     the tense consonants give them a syllabic quality
     (i.e. maximum degree of sonority in the syllable) so
     that /b:/ is heard as [ᵊbb]** or [ᴵbb]; this is trans-
     cribed in most other systems that treated Berber phono-
     logy /ebb/ or /əbb/ or /ĕbb/.   In our system of trans-
     cription this will be realized as /b:/ and pronounced
     as [ᵊbb] except when proceeded by a vowel, e.g.

/d:u/   [ᵊddu]   to go
               �‿

/id:a/   [ɪddæ]   he went

I.2. Vowels

      Tamazight has three vowels: /i u a/ (See Table 2).
      Allophones of the three vowels are shown in Table 3. The
      marking convention shown in Table 3 is to be understood as
      follows:

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*   Tense or fortis here refers to a consonant pronounced with strong-
     er articulation and greater tension on the muscles of the arti-
     culator, and usually, aspiration. Lax or lenis here refers to a
     consonant pronounced with lesser muscular tension in the speech organ
     and weaker, laxer articulation and, usually, no aspiration.

**   a raised up vowel -[ᵊ], [ᵻ], [ᴵ] denotes that is a purely phonetic
     non-constrastive element.

[+] denotes the presence of a particular feature (e.g. [+ front] or [+high]) for a certain segment.

	i	ɨ	ɪ, e	u	ʊ, ɔ	æ	ȧe	ɑ
Front	+		+ +			+		
Centralized		+					+	
Back				+	+ +			+
High	+	+		+				
Lowered			+ +		+ +			
Low						+	+	+

Table 3:   Tamazight Vowel Allophones

i	as in English "beat", "eat", "feet"
ɨ	does not commonly occur in English
ɪ	as in English "bit", "fit"
e	similar to the initial vowel part of the English words "eight", "ace"
u	as in English "food", "boot", "sue"
ʊ	as in English "book", "wood"
ɔ	roughly as in English "coat"
æ	as in English "sat", "hat", "mat"
ȧe	does not commonly occur in English but corresponds roughly to vowel in "cut"
ɑ	corresponds roughly to the English vowel in "father"

Henceforth the following notations will be used:

C = /b f t d s z s z k g q /

H = /h h   w y /

L = / l̇ r m n /

X = C, H and L

γ, x = /γ x/

X = C, H, L, γ and x

V = / a i u /

Diacritics /./ and /:/ may be added and thus give, for example, /Ç/ and /Ç:/ representing /t/ and /t:/ respectively.

In the formulation of phonological rules the following conventions are used:

A-----→ B	A is rewritten as (or replaced by) B
(A)B or B(A)	A is optionally present, B is obligatorily present
{ A } { B }	Either A or B occurs in this position
A--→ B/___C	A is rewritten
A--→ B/C___	A is rewritten as B after C

Vowel Allophones   (# denotes word boundary, e.g. /-a# and #a-/ mean final and initial /a/ respectively)

1. /i/ ------→ [i]   / $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#\_\_\_χ \\ χ\_\_\_χ \end{array} \right\}$

        ini   to say

        sdid   to be thin

2. /i/------→ [ɨ]   / $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#\_\_\_χ: \\ χ:\_\_\_ \end{array} \right\}$

        id:a   he went

        td:id   you (s.) went

3. /i/------→ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [ɪ] \\ [e] \end{array} \right\}$ / $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_\_\_\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Ç \\ γ \\ x \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Ç \\ x \end{array} \right\}\_\_\_ \end{array} \right\}$

        smid   to be cold

        zwiγ   to be red

        bxin   to be black

4.   /i/ ---------> [ɪy]/ X_____#

        is:fṛhi   he made me happy
        is:fhmi   he made me understand

5.   /u/---------> [u] / { #_____X }
                           { X(:)_____X }

        umsγ   I painted
        ufiγ   I found
        idrus   It (m) is little
        ifs:us   It (m) is light

6.   /u/ --------->[ʊ] / { _____ {C / γ̇ / X} }
                   [o]   { {C / γ̇ / X} _____ }

        iḍuṛ   he turned
        aṫ:bḍuḍ   you (s) will share
        adimγur   he will grow up
        lxuḍṛt   vegetables

7.   /u/ --------->[ʊw]/ X(:)_____#
        bdu   to begin
        f:u   to dawn

8.   /a/ --------->[æ]/ { #_____ X(:) }
                       { X(:)_____ X }
        azn   to send
        sal   to ask
        n:aγ   to fight

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9. /a/ --------> [æ̣] ╱ X(:)___#

    da   here

    la   no

    hn:a   to be peaceful

10. /a/ --------> [ɑ] ╱ $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\quad}C \\ C\underline{\quad} \end{array} \right\}$

    hadr   to be present

    talb   to demand

I.3 Structure of the Syllable

If /X/ is followed by /X/ without an intervening /V/ there is a predictable transition. Transition between /X/ and /X/ is heard as Vocalic and is represented here by a superscript schwa [ᵊ] to show that it is a phonetic element (schwa occurs as the first speech sound formation in English "about" or as the last speech sound formation in English "sofa"). Thus a word such as /frhɣ/ "I was happy" is phonetically [#fᵊrhᵊɣ #] consisting of two syllables. [ᵊ] is realized as [ɪ] before front consonants (e.g. /b, t, d.../) and as [ə] before back consonants (e.g. /k, x.../). It is also heard as voiced before voiced consonants (e.g. /b, g.../) and as voiceless before voiceless consonants (e.g. /f, t .../).

The rules governing the predictability of [ᵊ] may be stated as follows:

1. / #X(:)#/ -----> [#ᵊX(:)#]

    /g/ [ᵊg] 'to be, to do'

    /š/ [ᵊš] 'to give'

    /g̣:/ [ᵊg̣:] 'to knead'

    /k:/ [ᵊk:] 'to pass'

2. $/\#X\ X\ (:)\#\ /$ -----------→

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\#X_1^{\theta}X_2(:)\# \ / \ X_1 \text{ is not } L] \\[1em] [\#^{\theta}X_1X_2\#] \\[0.5em] [\#X_1X_2\#] \end{array} \right\} \Big/ X_1 \text{ is } L$$

/ts/	[t$^{\theta}$s]	'to laugh'
/s̃l/	[s̃$^{\theta}$l]	'to spend a day'
/bd:/	[b$^{\theta}$d:]	'to stand up'
/ns/	[$^{\theta}$ns]	'to spend
	[n$^{\theta}$s]	the night'
/ls/	[$^{\theta}$ls]	'to get dressed'
	[l$^{\theta}$s]	

3. $/ \#X_1:X_2\#/$ ----→ $[\#^{\theta}X_1:^{\theta}X_2\#]$

/f:r/	[$^{\theta}$f:$^{\theta}$r]	'to hide'
/f:ɣ/	[$^{\theta}$f:$^{\theta}$ɣ]	'to go out'
/l:m/	[$^{\theta}$l:$^{\theta}$m]	'to spin'

4. $/ \#X_1X_2X_3\# /$ ------------------→

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\#X_1X_2^{\theta}X_3\#] \ / \ X_1X_2 \text{ are not } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} L \\ H \end{array} \right\} \\[2em] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\#^{\theta}X_1X_2^{\theta}X_3\#] \\ [X_1^{\theta}X_2^{\theta}X_3] \end{array} \right\} \Big/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} X_1 \\ X_3 \end{array} \right\} \text{ is } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} L,H \\ H,L \end{array} \right\} \\[3em] [\#X_1^{\theta}X_2^{\theta}X_3\#] \Big/ X_2X_3 = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} L \\ H \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right.$$

/xdm/	[xd$^{\theta}$m]	'to work'
/dbɣ/	[db$^{\theta}$ɣ]	'to dye'
/xdʕ/	[xd$^{\theta}$ʕ]	'to deceive'
/zʕf/	[zʕ$^{\theta}$f]	'to get mad'
/hdm/	[$^{\theta}$hd$^{\theta}$m]	'to demolish'
	[h$^{\theta}$d$^{\theta}$m]	
/hbl/	[$^{\theta}$hb$^{\theta}$l]	'to become
	[h$^{\theta}$b$^{\theta}$l]	silly'
/nfh/	[$^{\theta}$nf$^{\theta}$h]	'to sniff
	[n$^{\theta}$f$^{\theta}$h]	tobacco'
/ʕdl/	[$^{\theta}$ʕd$^{\theta}$l]	'to repair'
	[ʕ$^{\theta}$d$^{\theta}$l]	
/dmn/	[d$^{\theta}$m$^{\theta}$n]	'to guarantee'
/fhm/	[f$^{\theta}$h$^{\theta}$m]	'to understand'
/frh/	[f$^{\theta}$r$^{\theta}$h]	'to be happy'

5. $/ \#X_1X:_2X_3\# / $ --> $[\#X_1^{\theta}X:_2^{\theta}X_3\#]$

/fs:r/	[f$^{\theta}$s:$^{\theta}$r]	'to spread'
/sn:d/	[s$^{\theta}$n:$^{\theta}$d]	'to lean against'

/xm:m/   [xᵊm:ᵊm]   'to think'
/wk:l/   [wᵊk:ᵊl]   'to appoint
                     as representa-
                     tive'

The postulation of the phonetic syllable shown above supports the transcription of the data of this grammar where three (or more) non-vocalic segments appear next to each other: e.g., /tbrmnt/ "you (f.p.) turned" which is here represented phonetically as [tᵊbᵊr:ᵊmᵊnt].

Words with the structure XVX, VXX, or XV consist of one syllable: e.g., /sal/ "to ask", /šib/ "to become white-haired", /ʕum/ "to swim", /af/ "to find", /amz/ "to take", /fa/ "to yawn". Words consisting of vowels and consonants follow the same rules shown above: e.g., /dat:hadar/ "she is present" is phonetically [dat:ᵊhadar] i.e. consists of three syllables; /ʕad:r/ "to meet" has two syllables [ʕad:ᵊr]. Note that /t:/ and /d:/ are not represented as [ᵊt:]and [ᵊd:] as was stated before since they are preceded by a vowel.

I.4.   Stress

Word stress in Tamazight is a non-contrastive feature. The occurence of word stress is predictable: primary stress falls on the last vowel of the word (i.e. /V/ or [ᵊ]).

Examples:

/sál/	'to ask'
/ʕáwn/	'to help'
/šk:á/	'to doubt'
/slíl/	'to rinse'
/ʕúm/	'to swim'
/ámz/	'to take'
/áf/	'to find'
/rár/	'to return'
/bdú/	'to begin'

/adiníɣ/   'I will say'

/ndawá/   'we cured'

/tfafád/   'you (s.) woke up'

/isál/   'he asked'

/dayt:hadár/   'he is present'

    The above statement applies to words that phonemically
do not contain a vowel /V/. As stated above, /bd:/ is phoneti-
cally [bᵊd:], /frh/ is phonetically [frᵊh] and /fs:r/ is phonetical-
ly [fᵊs:ᵊr]. In these cases, word primary stress is on the [ᵊ]
of the last syllable.

Examples:

/bd:/	[bᵊd:]	'to stand up'
/ls/	[lᵊs]	'to dress'
	[ᵊls]	
/f:r/	[ᵊf:ᵊr]	'to hide'
/frh/	[frᵊh]	'to be happy'
/ndr/	[nᵊdᵊr]	'to moan'
	[ᵊndᵊr]	
/fs:r/	[fᵊs:ᵊr]	'to explain'
/tfs:rnt/	[tᵊfᵊs:ᵊrᵊnt]	'you (f.p.) explained'

*   *   *

Notes on the Phonology of Ayt Seghrouchen (A.S.) Dialect of Tamazight

1 /k/ and /g/ are stops in Ayt Seghrouchen. They are prononounced the same as English /k/ and /g/.

Examples:

   kl:f   to entrust
   lgir:u   cigarettes

2 Lax /q̣/, /ḳ/ and /g̣/ do not occur in A.S.

3 /k:/ and /g:/ are tense counterparts of the stops /k/ and /g/ in A.S.

Examples:

   ik:r   he stood up
   ang:aru   the last

     * * *

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Additional Notes on the Phonology of Ayt Seghrouchen

The following phonological features are characteristic of
Ayt Seghrouchen.

(a) For some speakers the sequence /-lt-/ is pronounced as
     a side fricative, i.e. pronouncing /-lt-/ producing
     friction with air escaping at both sides of the tongue.
     This, however, occurs in few words.

     Examples:

     ultma   sister
     xalti   my maternal aunt
     altu   not yet

(b) Following a tense /k:/ or /g:/, the vowel /u/ has a
     centralized allophone [ü].

     Examples:

     l:ayg:ur   he goes
     sk:ura   Sekoura (name of a village)

II. The Numerical System

        This section discusses the Cardinal and the Ordinal
Numerals in Ayt Ayache with enough examples to illustrate
the structure of constructs with numerals. It also discusses
Fractions. The very few differences that occur in Ayt
Seghrouchen concerning the Numerical System are noted at
the end of this section.

II.   The Numerical System

II.1   <u>Cardinal</u> <u>Numerals</u>

A.   1 - 3   (The Berber Numerals)[1]   (for Comparative Notes on this chapter see p. 33)

yun	one (m)
yut	one (f)
sin	two (m)
snat	two (f)
šraḏ	three (m)
šraṯ:	three (f)

1 - 3   (The Arabic Numerals)

waḥd	one
tnayn	two
tlata	three

Remarks:

(1)   The Arabic numerals 1 - 3 are used only for counting in order without naming things (they are <u>INVARIABLE</u>) and in combination with the tens, e.g. 21, 33, 72, etc.   The Berber numerals are used elsewhere.

(2)   The Berber numerals (1 - 3) answer such questions as:

šḥal 1:wašun ay ɣuṛš ?   How many children do you have?

- yul:ʕil (<ɣun lʕil)   One boy.

- siyšir:an (<sin nišir:an)   Two boys.

- šrad išir:an (<šrad nišir:an)   Three boys.

- {yut ntrbat: One girl.
   ~ yut:rbat:} (<yut ntarbat:)

- snat ntšir:atin (<snat ntišir:atin)   Two girls.

tšir:atin (<tišir:atin) is referred to as c.s.

(construct state of the noun), see Grammar of the Noun.

or   šḥal aya ?   How much is this?

šḥal ayin: ?   How much is that?

- siw:ar:yal: (<sin nar:yal:)   Two rials.

- šrad war:yal: (<šrad nar:yal:)   Three rials.

or   šḥal ntfunasin ay ɣuṛš ? How many cows do you have?

- yut ntfunast (<yut ntafunast)   One cow.

- snat ntfunasin (<snat ntifunasin)   Two cows.

- šrat: ntfunasin (<šrat: ntifunasin) Three cows.

Berber Numerals 1 - 3

Num 1 (+ Gender)	+ (n) + Noun (sg) c.s.	(+ Gender)
Num 2-3 (+ Gender)	+ n + Noun (pl) c.s.	(+ Gender)

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Examples:

yun + n + lʕil ⟶ yulːʕil   a boy (one boy)

yut + n + tadːart ⟶ yut ntadːart   a house (one house)

sin + n + lkːisan ⟶ silːkːisan   two glasses

snat + n + tadːrwin ⟶ snat ntadːrwin   two houses

šrad + n + lkːisan ⟶ šrad lːkːisan   three glasses

šratː + n + tadːrwin ⟶ šratː ntadːrwin   three houses

B.   4 - 10

ṛbʕa	4
xmsa	5
stːa	6
sbʕa	7
tmanya	8
tsʕa	9
ʕšṛa	10

> Num. 4 - 10 + n + Noun (pl) c.s. (m/f)
>   invariable

Examples:

ṛbʕa + n + arːyalː ⟶ ṛbʕa wːarːyalː   four rials

ṛbʕa + n + tifunasin ⟶ ṛbʕa ntfunasin   four cows

ʕšṛa + n + arːyalː ⟶ ʕšṛa wːarːyalː   10 rials

ʕšṛa + n + tifunasin ⟶ ʕšṛa ntfunasin   10 cows

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C.   11 - 19

    ḥdaʕš   11

    tnaʕš   12

    tlṭaʕš   13

    rbʕṭaʕš   14

    xmstaʕš   15

    st:aʕš   16

    sbʕṭaʕš   17

    tmⁿtaʕš   18

    tsʕṭaʕš   19

> Num 11 - 19 + n + Noun (sg) c.s. (m/f)
>   invariable

Examples:

    ḥdaʕš w:ar:yal   11 rials

    ḥdaʕš ntfunast   11 cows

    tsʕtaʕš w:ar:yal   19 rials

    tsʕtaʕš ntfunast   19 cows

D.   20 - ∞

    ʕšrin   20

    waḥd uʕšrin   21

    tnayn uʕšrin   22

    tlata wʕšrin   23

    tsʕa wʕšrin   29

    tlatin   30

    waḥd utlatin   31

    sbʕa wtlatin   37

ṛbʕin	40
xmsin	50
st:in	60
sbʕin	70
tmanin	80
tsʕin	90
my:a	100
my:a w rbʕa uxmsin	154
mitayn	200
mitayn uwaḥd utlatin	231
tlt my:a	300
ṛbʕ my:a	400
xms my:a	500
st: my:a	600
sbʕ my:a	700
tmn my:a	800
tsʕ my:a	900
tsʕmy:a w tsʕa w tsʕin	999
alf	1000
alfayn	2000
tlt alaf	3000
ṛbʕ alaf	4000
st: alaf	6000
ʕšṛ alaf	10,000
ṛbʕṭaʕšr alf	14,000

my:at alf	100,000
mitayn alf	200,000
mlyun	1,000,000
žuž mlayn	2,000,000
rbᵓin mlyun	40,000,000
mlyar	1,000,000,000

> Num 20 - ∞ + n + Noun (sg) c.s. (m/f)
>   invariable

Examples:

st:a wᵓšrin l:ᵓil	26 boys
tmanya utlatin ntad:art	38 houses
tsᵓ my:a uxmsa usbᵓin l:ᵓil	975 boys
alf ust:a ust:in ntad:art	1066 houses

Remarks:

(1) The apocopated series / tlt, rbᵓ, xms, st:,

   sbᵓ, tmn, tsᵓ/ is used in the following constructs:

sbᵓ snin	7 years
rbᵓ my:a	400
sbᵓ alaf	7,000
tlt mlayn	3,000,000

(2) The numerals 11-19 have two forms. One form ends in

/___r#/ and is used before /ᵓam/ "year" or /alf/ "thousand"

in constructs such as 13 years (old) or 15,000. The other,

without /___r#/, is used elsewhere.

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11 - 19:

Forms ending in /____r#/

ḥḍaˤšr ˤam	11 years
tnaˤšr ˤam	12 years
tlṭaˤšr ˤam	13 years
rbˤṭaˤšr ˤam	14 years
xmsṭaˤšr yum	15 days
sṭ:aˤšr yum	16 days
sbˤṭaˤšr ˤam	17 years
tmnṭaˤšr ˤam	18 years
tsˤṭaˤšr ˤam	19 years
xmsṭaˤšr alf	15,000

Compare the above with the following:

ḥḍaˤš l:ˤil	11 boys
tlṭaˤš ntrbat:	13 girls
xmsṭaˤš l:ˤil	15 boys
tsˤṭaˤš ntad:art	19 houses

(3) my:a ~ my:at

Notice: /my:at/ is used before /alf/ or /ˤam/.
Examples:

my:a l:wašun	100 boys
rbˤmy:a ntfunast	400 cows
my:at alf	100,000
my:at ˤam	100 years

(4) Sometimes one gets the following answer

my:a q:l: ʕšṛa	90 (rials)
my:a ɣir ʕšṛa	90 (rials)
mitayn q:l: ʕšrin	180 (rials)
mitayn ɣir xmsa	195 (rials)

in response to:

šḥal aya ?	How much is this?

q:l: = minus

ɣir = except

Notice that such constructions as the above ("100 minus 10") are only used in connection with money, whereas ("5 minus 10") constructions are used in telling the time.

Examples:

lxmsa q:l: ʕšṛa	4:50 (time)
s:bʕa ɣir ʕšrin	6:40 (time)
t:sʕa wxmsa	9:05 (time)
lʕšṛa wʕšṛa	10:10 (time)

II.2 Ordinal Numerals

amzwaru (m)	the first
tamzwarut: (f)	the first
imzwura (m.p.)	the first
timzwura (f.p.)	the first

wis:sin (m)[2]	the second
tis:snat (f)	the second
wis:šrad (m)	the third
tis:šrat: (f)	the third
wis:rbɛa (m)	the fourth
tis:rbɛa (f)	the fourth
wis:xmsa (m)	the fifth
tis:xmsa (f)	the fifth
wis:st:a (m)	the sixth
tis:st:a (f)	the sixth
wis:sbɛa (m)	the seventh
tis:sbɛa (f)	the seventh
wis:tmanya (m)	the eighth
tis:tmanya (f)	the eighth
wis:tsɛa (m)	the ninth
tis:tsɛa (f)	the ninth
wis:ɛšṛa (m)	the tenth
tis:ɛšṛa (f)	the tenth
wis:ḥdaɛš (m)	the eleventh
tis:ḥdaɛš (f)	the eleventh
wis:sṭ:aɛš (m)	the sixteenth
tis:sṭ:aɛš (f)	the sixteenth
wis:tsɛtaɛš (m)	the nineteenth
tis:tsɛtaɛš (f)	the nineteenth

wis:ꜥšrin (m)	the twentieth
tis:ꜥšrin (f)	the twentieth
wis:tsꜥin (m)	the ninetieth
tis:tsꜥin (f)	the ninetieth

To this we might like to add:

ang:aru (m)	the last
tang:arut: (f)	the last
ing:ura (m.p.)	the last
ting:ura (f.p.)	the last
anam:as (m)	the middle
tanam:ast (f)	the middle
inam:asn (m.p.)	the middle
tinam:asin (f.p.)	the middle

Examples:

1ꜥil amzwaru	the first boy
as: amzwaru	the first day
tarbat: tamzwarut:	the first girl
as: wis:ꜥšra	the tenth day
tad:art tis:rbꜥa	the fourth house

II.3 Fractions

amnaṣf[3]	half
t:ulut	1/3

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ṛːubuⁿ	1/4
~ wisːṛbⁿa	1/4
lxumɪs	1/5
~ wisːxmsa	1/5
sːuđus	1/6
~ wisːstːa	1/6
wisːsbⁿa	1/7
tːumɪn	1/8
~ wisːtmanya	1/8
wisːtsⁿa	1/9
lⁿušuṛ	1/10
~ wisːⁿšṛa	1/10

Examples:

tsⁿud dumnaṣf	9:30 (time)
šid amnaṣfns	Give (me) half of it.
šid amnaṣf	Give me the half.
šiɣas wisːxmsa	I gave him 1/5.

Remarks:

(1) Fractions smaller than 1/10 (i.e. 1/11, 1/12, etc.) are composed of:

wisː + cardinal numeral

e.g.: wisːxmstaⁿš   1/15

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(2) Fractions /t:lult/ and /t:umɪn/ are mainly

used in connection with inheritance shares.

*   *   *

Notes on the Numerical System in Ayt Seghrouchen (A.S.)

[1] In A.S. the only difference. in the system **is**:

idž (m), išt (f)	one
snat (m,f)	two
tlata (m,f)	three

[2] wis:snat (m,f)   the second

[3] amnasf ~ azin   half

Other than these exceptions, everything else in A. A. concerning
the Numerical System itself holds for A.S.

III. Pronominal Systems

     This section deals with the different pronominal systems
in Ayt Ayache in an exhaustive manner. It discusses Personal
Pronouns, Independent Possessive Pronouns and Suffixed Possessive
Pronouns used in association with objects and those used in
association with kinship terms, Pronominal Affixes for verbs
and prepositions, Demonstrative Pronouns, Relative Pronouns,
and Indefinite Pronouns. Since this is an area where there
is considerable difference between the two dialects, the
student will find ample examples at the end of this section
showing the differences between the two dialects under the
heading Notes on the Pronominal System in Ayt Seghrouchen.

III. Pronominal Systems

III.1   Personal Pronouns

III.1.1   Independent Forms (Subject) 1(for Comparative Notes on this Chapter see pp. 77-85)

nk: ~ nk:in	I
šg:	you (m.s.)
šm:	you (f.s.)
nt:a	he
nt:at	she
nḳ:ni	we
ḳn:i	you (m.p.)
ḳn:inti	you (f.p.)
nitni	they (m)
nitnti	they (f)

III.1.2   Emphatic Personal Pronouns (Subject)

nk: n:it	I myself
šg: n:it	you (m.s.) yourself
šm: n:it	you (f.s.) yourself
nt:a n:it	he himself
nt:at n:it	she herself
nḳ:ni n:it	we ourselves
ḳn:i n:it	you (m.p.) yourselves
ḳn:inti n:it	you (f.p.) yourselves
nitni n:it	they (m) themselves
nitnti n:it	they (f) themselves

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III.2   Possessive Pronouns

III.2.1   Independent Set

III.2.1.1   Masculine (object possessed, s. or p.) [2]

winw	mine
winš	yours (m.s.)
win:m	yours (f.s.)
wins	his/hers
win:ɣ	ours
win:un	yours (m.p.)
win:ḳnt	yours (f.p.)
winsn	theirs (m.)
winsnt	theirs (f.)

Examples:

winmi igra ?	Whose field is this?
win ʕli (/wins/)	It's Aly's. (It's his.)
winmi iy:isin: g:mi lbab ?	Whose horse is in front of the door?
win ʕm:i (/wins/)	My uncle's. (It's his.)
win ʕt:i (/wins/)	My aunt's. (It's hers.)

III.2.1.2   Feminine (object possessed, s. or p.) [3]

tinw	mine
tinš	yours (m.s.)
tin:m	yours (f.s.)
tins	his/her

tin:ɣ	ours
tin:un	yours (m.p.)
tin:ḵnt	yours (f.p.)
tinsn	theirs (m)
tinsnt	theirs (f)

Examples:

tinmi tad:arta	Whose house is this?
tin ʕli (/tins/)	It's Aly's.(It's his.)
mat:a tad:artin: m:sin	Whose house is that over there
š:ražm izgzawn ?	with the two green windows?
tin ʕm:i (/tins/)	My uncle's. (It's his.)
tin ʕt:i (/tinɛ/)	My aunt's. (It's hers.)

III.2.2   Possessive Pronominal Suffixes

III.2.2.1   Suffixed to nouns ending in consonant   4

axam   (m.s.) tent

axam|inw	my tent
axam|nš	your (m.s.) tent
axam|n:m	your (f.s.) tent
axam|ns	his tent
axam|ns	her tent
axam|n:ɣ	our tent
axam|n:un	your (m.p.) tent
axam|n:ḵnt	your (f.p.) tent
axam|nsn	their (m) tent
axam|nsnt	their (f) tent

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ixamn   (m.p.) tents

ixamn	inw	my tents
ixamn	nš	your (m.s.) tents
ixamn	n:m	your (f.s.) tents
ixamn	ns	his tents
ixamn	ns	her tents
ixamn	n:ɣ	our tents
ixamn	n:un	your (m.p.) tents
ixamn	n:ḳnt	your (f.p.) tents
ixamn	nsn	their (m) tents
ixamn	nsnt	their (f) tents

tafunast   (f.s.) cow

tafunast	inw	my cow
tafunast	nš	your (m.s.) cow
tafunast	n:m	your (f.s.) cow
tafunast	ns	his cow
tafunast	ns	her cow
tafunast	n:ɣ	our cow
tafunast	n:un	your (m.p.) cow
tafunast	n:ḳnt	your (f.p.) cow
tafunast	nsn	their (m) cow
tafunast	nsnt	their (f) cow

tifunasin   (f.p.) cows

tifunasin	inw	my cows
tifunasin	nš	your (m.s.) cows

tifunasin	n:m	your (f.s.) cows
tifunasin	ns	his cows
tifunasin	ns	her cows
tifunasin	n:ɣ	our cows
tifunasin	n:un	your (m.p.) cows
tifunasin	n:ḳnt	your (f.p.) cows
tifunasin	nsn	their (m) cows
tifunasin	nsnt	their (f) cows

III.2.2.2   Suffixed to nouns ending in vowel

isl:i   (m.s.) stone

isl:i	nw	my stone
isl:i	nš	your (m.s.) stone
isl:i	n:m	your (f.s.) stone
isl:i	ns	his stone
isl:i	ns	her stone
isl:i	n:ɣ	our stone
isl:i	n:un	your (m.p.) stone
isl:i	n:ḳnt	your (f.p.) stone
isl:i	nsn	their (m) stone
isl:i	nsnt	their (f) stone

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amksa   (m.s.) shepherd

amksa	nw	my shepherd
amksa	nš	your (m.s.) shepherd
amksa	n:m	your (f.s.) shepherd
amksa	ns	his shepherd
amksa	ns	her shepherd
amksa	n:ɣ	our shepherd
amksa	n:un	your (m.p.) shepherd
amksa	n:ḳnt	your (f.p.) shepherd
amksa	nsn	their (m) shepherd
amksa	nsnt	their (f) shepherd

III.2.2.3   Possessive Pronominal Suffixes Used with Kinship Terms [5]

(a) ʕm:i   my uncle "fa br"

ʕm:iš   your (m.s.) uncle

ʕm:in:m   your (f.s.) uncle

ʕm:is   his/her uncle

ʕm:in:ɣ   our uncle

ʕm:in:un   your (m.p.) uncle

ʕm:inḳnt   your (f.p.) uncle

ʕn:insn   their (m) uncle

ʕm:insnt   their (f) uncle

The following kinship terms follow the above paradigm:

ʕm:i 'fa br', ʕt:i 'fa si', xali 'mo br', xalti 'mo si',

mm:i 'son', il:i 'daughter'.

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(b) b:a   my father

    b:aš   your (m.s.) father

    b:am   your (f.s.) father

    b:as   his/her father

    b:an:ɤ   our father

    b:an:un   your (m.p.) father

    b:an:ḵnt   your (f.p.) father

    b:ansn   their (m) father

    b:ansnt   their (f) father

(c) m:a   my mother

    mayš   your (m.s.) mother

    maym   your (f.s.) mother

    mays   his/her mother

    m:atnɤ   our mother

    m:atun   your (m.p.) mother

    m:anḵnt   your (f.p.) mother

    maysn   their (m) mother

    maysnt   their (f) mother

(d) nan:a   my fa mo

   nan:anš   your (m.s.) fa mo

   nan:an:m   your (f.s.) fa mo

   nan:ans   his/her fa mo

   nan:an:ɣ   our fa mo

   nan:an:un   your (m.p.) fa mo

   nan:anknt   your (f.p.) fa mo

   nan:ansn   their (m) fa mo

   nan:ansnt   their (f) fa mo

The following kinship terms follow the above paradigm:

yma 'brother', uttma 'sister'

(in 2nd person m.s. we get: ymaš and uttmaš)

(e) b:aḥl:u   my fa fa

   b:aḥl:unš   your (m.s.) fa fa

   b:aḥl:un:m   your (f.s.) fa fa

   b:aḥl:uns   his/her fa fa

   b:aḥl:un:ɣ   our fa fa

   b:aḥl:un:un   your (m.p.) fa fa

   b:aḥl:unknt   your (f.p.) fa fa

   b:aḥl:unsn   their (m) fa fa

   b:aḥl:usnt   their (f) fa fa

m:aḥl:u 'grandmother' (same as above paradigm)

(f) argazinw   my husband

    argazin:m   your husband

    argazns   her husband

              argaz   man

(g) tamd̞:uṭ:inw   my wife

    tamd̞:uṭ:nš   your wife

    tamd̞:uṭ:ns   his wife

          tamd̞:uṭ: woman

(h) lwašuninw   my children

    lwašumš   your (m.s.) children

    lwašunn:m   your (f.s.) children

    lwašunns   his/her children

    lwašunn:γ   our children

    lwašunun   your (m.p.) children

    lwašun:knt   your (f.p.) children

    lwašunsn   their (m) children

    lwašunsnt   their (f) children

/adg:al̞/ 'in-law' follows the above paradigm.
/tadg̞:alt/

Notice that if the kinship term ends in a vowel, then we
do not add any suffix for 1st person singular (ʕm:i, xali,
b:a, m:a, b:aḥl:u ...). If the term ends in a consonant
(argaz, tamd̞:uṭ: ...), then we add the suffix /-inw/ for
1st person singular.

III.3　Pronominal Affixes for Verbs and Prepositions

The Object Pronominal Affixes as well as the Orientational Affixes /d/ of proximity and /n:/ of remoteness are here referred to as movable affixes. A movable affix is one that may be either pre-verbal (i.e. prefixed to the conjugated stem) or post-verbal (i.e. suffixed to the conjugated stem).

The position of the movable affix depends on the presence or absence of:

(a) Temporal and/or Modal prefixes, i.e. prefixes deriving the different tenses and their modes: e.g., /ad-/ for future tense, /is-/ for interrogative mode and /ur-/ for negative mode

(b) One of the following prepositions and conjunctions /xf/ 'on', /qbl/ 'before', /ɣr/ 'to', /g/ 'until', /al:iy/ 'until', /ɣəs an:a/ 'when, as soon as', /l:iy/ 'when'

(c) Question words: e.g., /ma/ 'what', etc.

(d) Relative pronouns /ay/, /n:a/ 'who, which, that'

Examples (/-/ denotes morpheme boundaries)

(a) Temporal/Modal and Object Pronominal Affixes

i-sal-aɣ	He asked us.
ad-aɣ-i-sal	He will ask us.
da-aɣ-i-t:sal	He asks us.
is-ur-aɣ-i-sal	Didn't he ask us?

(b) Conjunctions and Orientational Affixes

ɣas an:a d-iwḍ-n iɣṛ-d	As soon as they arrived (+ Prox.)
ḥusa ifaḍma	Husa called (+ Prox.) Fadma.

(c) Question words and Pronominal Affixes

    ma-as tn:a faḍma iḥusa ?   What did Fadma tell Husa?

(d) Relative Pronoun and Orientational Affix

    argaz n:a d.id:an yma ag:a   The man who came is my brother.

    mani luq:t ay d it:ʕayad muḥa ? When will Muha be back?

The above information may be diagrammed thus:

- [Temporal/Modal Aff. or Prep., Conjunc., Relative, Quest. word] +

```
                          /\
                         /  \
                        /    \
                       /      \
                      /        \
              Post-Verbal      Pre-Verbal
```
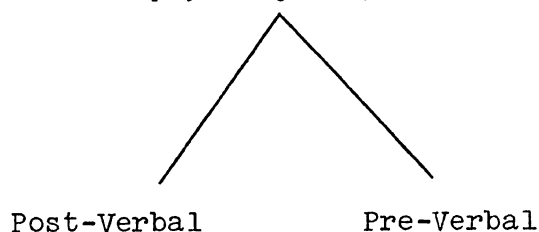
    The order in which these movable affixes occur in relation
to one another is as follows:

> Ind. Obj. + D. Obj. + Orient. Affix

Example:

/t-saʕf-t-d. (/>tsaʕftid/)   She was patient with him (+Prox.).

/i-ɣrf-as-t-d/ (/>iɣrfastid/)   He threw it (m) at him (+Prox.).

/ad-as-t-d-i-ɣrf/ (/>adastidiɣrf/)   He will throw it (m) at him(+Prox)

Notice: The anaptyctic vowel /-i-/ occurs with /t-d/⟶/tid/
in the environment of D. Obj. + Proximity Affix for persons other
than first.

Compare the above with:

/t-saᶜf-aɣ-d/⟶/tsaᶜfaɣd/   She was patient with us (+Prox.).

III.3.1   Affirmative

III.3.1.1   With Intransitive Verbs : Indirect Objects [6]

	/siwl/ (intr.)	to speak (/siwl i/'speak to')
Past:	/ isiwl /	he spoke
	isiwl‖ i	He spoke to me.
	isiwl‖ aš	He spoke to you (m.s.).
	isiwl‖ am	He spoke to you (f.s.).
	isiwl‖ as	He spoke to him/her.
	isiwl‖ aɣ	He spoke to us.
	isiwl‖ awn	He spoke to you (m.p.).
	isiwl‖ aḵnt	He spoke to you (f.p.).
	isiwl‖ asn	He spoke to them (m).
	isiwl‖ asnt	He spoke to them (f).

Future:	/adisiwl/		he will speak
ad‖ i	⌠ ysiwl		He will speak to me.
ad‖ aš	⎮ isiwl		He will speak to you (m.s.).
ad‖ am	⎮ isiwl		He will speak to you (f.s.).
ad‖ as	⎮ isiwl		He will speak to him/her.

ad	aɣ	isiwl	He will speak to us.
ad	awn	isiwl	He will speak to you (m.p.).
ad	aḵnt	isiwl	He will speak to you (f.p.).
ad	asn	isiwl	He will speak to them (m).
ad	asnt	isiwl	He will speak to them (f).

Present: /daysawal/   he speaks

day	isawal	He speaks to me.
daš	isawal	He speaks to you (m.s.).
dam	isawal	He speaks to you (f.s.).
das	isawal	He speaks to him/her.
daɣ	isawal	He speaks to us.
dawn	isawal	He speaks to you (m.p.).
daḵnt	isawal	He speaks to you (f.p.).
dasn	isawal	He speaks to them (m).
dasnt	isawal	He speaks to them (f).

Notice:

/-a + i-/ → /-ay-/

/-a + a-/ → /-a-/

/daaš/ ——→ /daš/

/sl:m/   'to greet'

/sl:m/ always occurs with a preposition: e.g.,

sl:m xf unbyi 'greet the guest'.

The preposition /xf/ 'on' occurs before nouns;

it has the allomorph /ɣif-/ before pronouns.

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Past: /isl:m/   he greeted

isl:m ɣif	i	He greeted me.
isl:m ɣif	š	He greeted you (m.s.).
isl:m ɣif	m	He greeted you (f.s.).
isl:m ɣif	s	He greeted him.
isl:m ɣif	s	He greeted her.
isl:m ɣif	nɣ	He greeted us.
isl:m ɣif	un	He greeted you (m.p.).
isl:m ɣif	ḳnt	He greeted you (f.p.).
isl:m ɣif	sn	He greeted them (m).
isl:m ɣif	snt	He greeted them (f).

Notice: **/-aš, -am, -as .../** have the allomorphs / -š,

-m, -s .../ after prepositions.

Future: /adisl:m/   he will greet.

ad	ɣif	i	**ysl:m**	He will greet me.
ad	ɣif	š	isl:m	He will greet you (m.s.).
ad	ɣif	m	isl:m	He will greet you (f.s.).
ad	ɣif	s	isl:m	He will greet him.
ad	ɣif	s	**isl:m**	He will greet her.
ad	ɣif	nɣ	isl:m	He will greet us.
ad	ɣif	un	isl:m	He will greet you (m.p.).
ad	ɣif	ḳnt	isl:m	He will greet you (f.p.).
ad	ɣif	sn	isl:m	He will greet them (m).
ad	ɣif	snt	isl:m	He will greet them (f).

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Present: /dayt:sl:am/   he greets

da	ɣif	i	t:sl:am	He greets me.
da	ɣif	š	t:sl:am	He greets you (m.s.).
da	ɣif	m	t:sl:am	He greets you (f.s.).
da	ɣif	s	t:sl:am	He greets him.
da	ɣif	s	t:sl:am	He greets her.
da	ɣif	nɣ	t:sl:am	He greets us.
da	ɣif	un	t:sl:am	He greets you (m.p.).
da	ɣif	ḳnt	t:sl:am	He greets you (f.p.).
da	ɣif	sn	t:sl:am	He greets them (m).
da	ɣif	snt	t:sl:am	He greets them (f).

III.3.1.2   With Transitive Verbs: Direct Objects

/sal/ (trans.)   to ask

Past: isal   he asked

isal	i	He asked me.
isal	š	He asked you (m.s.).
isal	šm	He asked you (f.s.).
isal	t	He asked him.
isal	t:	He asked her.
isal	aɣ	He asked us.
isal	ḳn	He asked you (m.p.).
isal	ḳnt	He asked you (f.p.).
isal	tn	He asked them (m).
isal	tnt	He asked them (f).

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Future: / adisal/   he will ask

          adi | ysal   He will ask me.

          ak: | isal   He will ask you (m.s.).

          ak:m | isal   He will ask you (f.s.).

          at: | **isal**   He will ask him.

          at: | isal   He will ask her.

          adaγ | isal   He will ask us.

          ak̥:n | isal   He will ask you (m.p.).

          ak̥:nt| isal   He will ask you (f.p.).

          at:n | isal   He will ask them (m).

          at:nt| isal   He will ask them (f).

Notice:

          /-d + š-/ ——————→ /k:/

          /-d + t-/ ——————→ /t:/

          /-d + t:-/ —————→ /t:/

          /-d + k̥-/ ——————→ /k̥:/

Present: /dayt:sal/   he asks

          day ⌠it:sal   He asks me.

          daš | it:sal   He asks you (m.s.).

          dašm | it:sal   He asks you (f.s.).

          dat | it:sal   He asks him.

          dat: | it:sal   He asks her.

          daγ | it:sal   He asks us.

          dak̥n | it:sal   He asks you (m.p.).

daḳnt	it:sal	He asks you (f.p.).
datn	it:sal	He asks them (m).
datnt	it:sal	He asks them (f).

/nɣ/	to kill
/inɣa/	he killed
inɣa y i	He killed me.
inɣa š	He killed you (m.s.).
inɣa šm	He killed you (f.s.).
inɣa t	He killed him.
inɣa t:	He killed her.
inɣa y aɣ	He killed us.
inɣa ḳn	He killed you (m.p.).
inɣa ḳnt	He killed you (f.p.).
inɣa tn	He killed them (m).
inɣa tnt	He killed them (f).

Notice: /-a + i-/ ⟶ /ay/

/adinɣ/   he will kill [6]

adi	ynɣ	He will kill me.
ak:	inɣ	He will kill you (m.s.).
ak:m	inɣ	He will kill you (f.s.).
at:	inɣ	He will kill him.
at:	inɣ	He will kill her.
adaɣ	inɣ	He will kill us.
aḳ:n	inɣ	He will kill you (m.p.).

aḵ:nt	inγ	He will kill you (f.p.).
at:n	inγ	He will kill them (m).
at:nt	inγ	He will kill them (f).

Present: /daynq:a/   he kills

day	inq:a	He kills me.
daš	inq:a	He kills you (m.s.).
dašm	inq:a	He kills you (f.s.).
dat	inq:a	He kills him.
dat:	inq:a	He kills her.
daγ	inq:a	He kills us.
daḵn	inq:a	He kills you (m.p.).
daḵnt	inq:a	He kills you (f.p.).
datn	inq:a	He kills them (m).
datnt	inq:a	He kills them (m).

III. 3.2   Negative

III. 3.2.1 With Intransitive Verbs: Indirect Objects

/siwl/   to speak

Past: /urisiwl/   he did not speak

uri	ysiwl	He did not speak to me.
uraš	isiwl	He did not speak to you (m.s.).
uram	isiwl	He did not speak to you (f.s.).
uras	isiwl	He did not speak to him/her.

uraɣ	⌈isiwl			He did not speak to us.
urawn	isiwl			He did not speak to you (m.p.).
uraḳnt	isiwl			He did not speak to you (f.p.).
urasn	isiwl			He did not speak to them (m).
urasnt	isiwl			He did not speak to them (f).

Future: /ur in:i adisiwl/ *   he will not speak

ur	⌈in:i	adi	⌈ysiwl	He will not speak to me.
ur	in:i	adaš	isiwl	He will not speak to you (m.s.).
ur	in:i	adam	isiwl	He will not speak to you (f.s.).
ur	in:i	adas	isiwl	He will not speak to him/her.
ur	in:i	adaɣ	isiwl	He will not speak to us.
ur	in:i	adawn	isiwl	He will not speak to you (m.p.).
ur	in:i	adaḳnt	isiwl	He will not speak to you (f.p.).
ur	in:i	adasn	isiwl	He will not speak to them (m).
ur	in:i	adasnt	isiwl	He will not speak to them (f).

Present: /urdaysawl/   he does not speak

urday	⌈isawal	He does not speak to me.
urdaš	isawal	He does not speak to you (m.s.).
urdam	isawal	He does not speak to you (f.s.).

---

* /in:i/ comes from verb /ini/ 'to say'; /urin:i/ 'he did not say'
+ /adisiwl/ 'he will speak'. This is the regular way of expressing
future construction in the negative. Thus we get /urn:iɣ ad:d:uɣ/
'I will not come'; /ur tn:i at:š/ 'she will not eat'; /ur n:in
adsiwl:/ 'they will not speak'; etc.

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urdas	isawal	He does not speak to him/her.
urdaɣ	isawal	He does not speak to us.
urdawn	isawal	He does not speak to you (m.p.).
urdaḵnt	isawal	He does not speak to you (f.p.).
urdasn	isawal	He does not speak to them (m).
urdasnt	isawal	He does not speak to them (f).

/sl:m/   to greet

Past: /urisl:im/   he did not greet

ur	ɣif	i	ysl:im	He did not greet me.
ur	ɣif	š	isl:im	He did not greet you (m.s.).
ur	ɣif	m	isl:im	He did not greet you (f.s.).
ur	ɣif	s	isl:im	He did not greet him/her.
ur	ɣif	nɣ	isl:im	He did not greet us.
ur	ɣif	un	isl:im	He did not greet you (m.p.).
ur	ɣif	ḵnt	isl:im	He did not greet you (f.p.).
ur	ɣif	sn	isl:im	He did not greet them (m).
ur	ɣif	snt	isl:im	He did not greet them (f).

Future: /ur in:i adisl:m/   he will not greet

ur	in:i	ad ɣif	i	ysl:m	He will not greet me.
ur	in:i	ad ɣif	š	isl:m	He will not greet you (m.s.).
ur	in:i	ad ɣif	m	isl:m	He will not greet you (f.s.).
ur	in:i	ad ɣif	s	isl:m	He will not greet him/her.

ur	in:i	ad ɣif	nɣ	isl:m	He will not greet us.
ur	in:i	ad ɣif	un	isl:m	He will not greet you (m.p.).
ur	in:i	ad ɣif	ḳnt	isl:m	He will not greet you (f.p.).
ur	in:i	ad ɣif	sn	isl:m	He will not greet them (m).
ur	in:i	ad ɣif	snt	isl:m	He will not greet them (f).

Present: /urdayt:sl:am/   he does not greet

ur	daɣif	i	yt:sl:am	He does not greet me.
ur	daɣif	š	it:sl:am	He does not greet you (m.s.).
ur	daɣif	m	it:sl:am	He does not greet you (f.s.).
ur	daɣif	s	it:sl:am	He does not greet him/her.
ur	daɣif	nɣ	it:sl:am	He does not greet us.
ur	daɣif	un	it:sl:am	He does not greet you (m.p.).
ur	daɣif	ḳnt	it:sl:am	He does not greet you (f.p.).
ur	daɣif	sn	it:sl:am	He does not greet them (m).
ur	daɣif	snt	it:sl:am	He does not greet them (f).

III. 3.2.2 With Transitive Verbs: Direct Objects

/sal/   to ask

Past: /urisal/   he did not ask

ur	i	ysal	He did not ask me.
ur	š	isal	He did not ask you (m.s.).
ur	šm	isal	He did not ask you (f.s.).
ur	t	isal	He did not ask him.
ur	t:	isal	He did not ask her.

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ur	aɣ	isal	He did not ask us.
ur	ḳn	isal	He did not ask you (m.p.).
ur	ḳnt	isal	He did not ask you (f.p.).
ur	tn	isal	He did not ask them (m).
ur	tnt	isal	He did not ask them (f).

Future: /ur in:i adisal/   he will not ask

ur	in:i	adi	ysal	He will not ask me.
ur	in:i	ak:	isal	He will not ask you (m.s.).
ur	in:i	ak:m	isal	He will not ask you (f.s.).
ur	in:i	at:	isal	He will not ask him.
ur	in:i	at:	isal	He will not ask her.
ur	in:i	adaɣ	isal	He will not ask us.
ur	in:i	aḳ:n	isal	He will not ask you (m.p.).
ur	in:i	aḳ:nt	isal	He will not ask you (f.p.)
ur	in:i	at:n	isal	He will not ask them (m).
ur	in:i	at:nt	isal	He will not ask them (f).

Present: /urdayt:sal/   he does not ask

ur	day	it:sal	He does not ask me.
ur	daš	it:sal	He does not ask you (m.s.).
ur	dašm	it:sal	He does not ask you (f.s.).
ur	dat	it:sal	He does not ask him.
ur	dat:	it:sal	He does not ask her.

ur	daɣ	itːsal	He does not ask us.
ur	dakn	itːsal	He does not ask you (m.p.).
ur	daknt	itːsal	He does not ask you (f.p.).
ur	datn	itːsal	He does not ask them (m).
ur	datnt	itːsal	He does not ask them (f).

/nɣ/   to kill

Past: /urinɣi/   he did not kill

uri	ynɣi	He did not kill me.
urš	inɣi	He did not kill you (m.s.).
uršm	inɣi	He did not kill you (f.s.).
urt	inɣi	He did not kill him.
urtː	inɣi	He did not kill her.
uraɣ	inɣi	He did not kill us.
urkn	inɣi	He did not kill you (m.p.).
urknt	inɣi	He did not kill you (f.p.).
urtn	inɣi	He did not kill them (m).
urtnt	inɣi	He did not kill them (f).

/-i + i-/ ⟶ /-iy-/

Future: /ur inːi adinɣ/   he will not kill

ur	inːi	adi	ynɣ	He will not kill me.
ur	inːi	akː	inɣ	He will not kill you (m.s.).
ur	inːi	akːm	inɣ	He will not kill you (f.s.).

ur	in:i	at	inɣ	He will not kill him.
ur	in:i	at:	inɣ	He will not kill her.
ur	in:i	adaɣ	inɣ	He will not kill us.
ur	in:i	aḵ:n	inɣ	He will not kill you (m.p.).
ur	in:i	aḵ:nt	inɣ	He will not kill you (f.p.).
ur	in:i	at:n	inɣ	He will not kill them (m).
ur	in:i	at:nt	inɣ	He will not kill them (f).

Present: /urdaynq:a/   he does not kill

ur	day	inq:a	He does not kill me.
ur	daš	inq:a	He does not kill you (m.s.).
ur	dašm	inq:a	He does not kill you (f.s.).
ur	dat	inq:a	He does not kill him.
ur	dat:	inq:a	He does not kill her.
ur	daɣ	inq:a	He does not kill us.
ur	daḵn	inq:a	He does not kill you (m.p.).
ur	daḵnt	inq:a	He does not kill you (f.p.).
ur	datn	inq:a	He does not kill them (m).
ur	datnt	inq:a	He does not kill them (f).

III. 3.3 Interrogative

III.3.3.1 With Intransitive Verbs: Indirect Objects

/siwl/   to speak

Past: /is isiwl/   did he speak?

is	i	ysiwl	Did he speak to me?
is	aš	isiwl	Did he speak to you (m.s.)?
is	am	isiwl	Did he speak to you (f.s.)?
is	as	isiwl	Did he speak to him/her?
is	aγ	isiwl	Did he speak to us?
is	awn	isiwl	Did he speak to you (m.p.)?
is	aknt	isiwl	Did he speak to you (f.p.)?
is	asn	isiwl	Did he speak to them (m)?
is	asnt	isiwl	Did he speak to them (f)?

Future: /id: adisiwl/   will he speak?

id:	ad	i	ysiwl	Will he speak to me?
id:	ad	aš	isiwl	Will he speak to you (m.s.)?
id:	ad	am	isiwl	Will he speak to you (f.s.)?
id:	ad	as	isiwl	Will he speak to him/her?
id:	ad	aγ	isiwl	Will he speak to us?
id:	ad	awn	isiwl	Will he speak to you (m.p.)?
id:	ad	aknt	isiwl	Will he speak to you (f.p.)?
id:	ad	asn	isiwl	Will he speak to them (m)?
id:	ad	asnt	isiwl	Will he speak to them (f)?

/sl:m/   to greet

Past: /is isl:m/   did he greet?

is	ɣif	i	ysl:m	Did he greet me?
is	ɣif	š	isl:m	Did he greet you (m.s.)?
is	ɣif	m	isl:m	Did he greet you (f.s.)?
is	ɣif	s	isl:m	Did he greet him/her?
is	ɣif	nɣ	isl:m	Did he greet us?
is	ɣif	un	isl:m	Did he greet you (m.p.)?
is	ɣif	knt	isl:m	Did he greet you (f.p.)?
is	ɣif	sn	isl:m	Did he greet them (m)?
is	ɣif	snt	isl:m	Did he greet them (f)?

Future: /id: ad isl:m/   will he greet?

id:	ad	ɣif	i	ysl:m	Will he greet me?
id:	ad	ɣif	š	isl:m	Will he greet you (m.s.)?
id:	ad	ɣif	m	isl:m	Will he greet you (f.s.)?
id:	ad	ɣif	s	isl:m	Will he greet him/her?
id:	ad	ɣif	nɣ	isl:m	Will he greet us?
id:	ad	ɣif	un	isl:m	Will he greet you (m.p.)?
id:	ad	ɣif	knt	isl:m	Will he greet you (f.p.)?
id:	ad	ɣif	sn	isl:m	Will he greet them (m)?
id:	ad	ɣif	snt	isl:m	Will he greet them (f)?

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Present: /is dayt:sl:am/   does he greet?

is	da	ɣif	i	yt:sl:am	Does he greet me?
is	da	ɣif	š	it:sl:am	Does he greet you (m.s.)?
is	da	ɣif	m	it:sl:am	Does he greet you (f.s.)?
is	da	ɣif	s	it:sl:am	Does he greet him/her?
is	da	ɣif	nɣ	it:sl:am	Does he greet us?
is	da	ɣif	un	it:sl:am	Does he greet you (m.p.)?
is	da	ɣif	ḵnt	it:sl:am	Does he greet you (f.p.)?
is	da	ɣif	sn	it:sl:am	Does he greet them (m)?
is	da	ɣif	snt	it:sl:am	Does he greet them (f)?

III. 3.3.2   With Transitive Verbs: Direct Objects

/sal/   to ask

Past: /is isal/   did he ask?

is	i	ysal	Did he ask me?
is	aɣ	isal	Did he ask us?
is	tnt	isal	Did he ask them (f)?

Future: /id: adisal/   will he ask?

id:	ak:	isal	Will he ask you (m.s.)?
id:	at:	isal	Will he ask him?
id:	aḵ:n	isal	Will he ask you (m.p.)?
id:	at:nt	isal	Will he ask them (f)?

Present: /is dayt:sal/   does he ask?

| is | day | it:sal | Does he ask me? |
| is | dašm | it:sal | Does he ask you (f.s.)? |

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is	dat:	it:sal	Does he ask her?
is	dakn	it:sal	Does he ask you (m.p.)?
is	datn	it:sal	Does he ask them (m)?

/nɣ/   to kill

Past: /is inɣa/   did he kill?

is	i	ynɣa	Did he kill me?
is	t:	inɣa	Did he kill her?
is	aɣ	inɣa	Did he kill us?
is	tn	inɣa	Did he kill them (m)?

Future: /id: adinɣ/   will he kill?

id:	adi	ynɣ	Will he kill me
id:	ak:m	inɣ	Will he kill you (f.s.)?
id:	at:	inɣ	Will he kill him?
id:	adaɣ	inɣ	Will he kill us?
id:	ak:nt	inɣ	Will he kill you (f.p.)?
id:	at:nt	inɣ	Will he kill them (f)?

Present: /is daynq:a/   does he kill?

is	day	inq:a	Does he kill me?
is	dašm	inq:a	Does he kill you (f.s.)?
is	dat	inq:a	Does he kill him?
is	daɣ	inq:a	Does he kill us?
is	daknt	inq:a	Does he kill you (f.p.)?
is	datnt	inq:a	Does he kill them (f)?

III. 3 .4 Negative Interrogative

III.3.4.1 With Intransitive Verbs: Indirect Objects

/siwl/   to speak

/isur isiwl/   didn't he speak?

isur	i	ysiwl	Didn't he speak to me?
isur	aš	isiwl	Didn't he speak to you (m.s.)?
isur	am	isiwl	Didn't he speak to you (f.s.)?
isur	as	isiwl	Didn't he speak to him/her?
isur	aɣ	isiwl	Didn't he speak to us?
isur	awn	iniwl	Didn't he speak to you (m.p.)?
isur	aknt	isiwl	Didn't he speak to you (f.p.)?
isur	asn	isiwl	Didn't he speak to them (m)?
isur	asnt	isiwl	Didn't he speak to them (f)?

Future: /isur isawal/   won't he speak?

Notice that in this particular construction, the
future is formed from the conjugated Habitual Verb Stem.

isur	i	ysawal	Won't he speak to me?
isur	aš	isawal	Won't he speak to you (m.s.)?
isur	am	isawal	Won't he speak to you (f.s.)?
isur	as	isawal	Won't he speak to him/her?
isur	aɣ	isawal	Won't he speak to us?
isur	awn	isawal	Won't he speak to you (m.p.)?
isur	aknt	isawal	Won't he speak to you (f.p.)?

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| isur | asn | isawal | Won't he speak to them (m)? |
| isur | asnt | isawal | Won't he speak to them (f)? |

Present: /isur daysawal/   doesn't he speak?

isur	day	isawal	Doesn't he speak to me?
isur	daš	isawal	Doesn't he speak to you (m.s.)?
isur	dam	isawal	Doesn't he speak to you (f.s.)?
isur	das	isawal	Doesn't he speak to him/her?
isur	daɣ	isawal	Doesn't he speak to us?
isur	dawn	isawal	Doesn't he speak to you (m.p.)?
isur	daknt	isawal	Doesn't he speak to you (f.p.)?
isur	dasn	isawal	Doesn't he speak to them (m)?
isur	dasnt	isawal	Doesn't he speak to them (f)?

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/sl:m/   to greet

Past: /isur isl:im/   didn't he greet?

isur	ɣif	i	ysl:im	Didn't he greet me?
isur	ɣif	š	isl:im	Didn't he greet you (m.s.)?
isur	ɣif	m	isl:im	Didn't he greet you (f.s.)?
is	ɣif	s	isl:im	Didn't he greet him/her?
isur	ɣif	nɣ	isl:im	Didn't he greet us?
isur	ɣif	un	isl:im	Didn't he greet you (m.p.)?
isur	ɣif	ḳnt	isl:im	Didn't he greet you (f.p.)?
isur	ɣif	sn	isl:im	Didn't he greet them (m)
isur	ɣif	snt	isl:im	Didn't he greet them (f)?

Future: /isur it:sl:am/   won't he greet?

isur	ɣif	i	yt:sl:am	Won't he greet me?
isur	ɣif	š	it:sl:am	Won't he greet you (m.s.)?
isur	ɣif	m	it:sl:am	Won't he greet you (f.s.)?
isur	ɣif	s	it:sl:am	Won't he greet him/her?
isur	ɣif	nɣ	it:sl:am	Won't he greet us?
isur	ɣif	un	it:sl:am	Won't he greet you (m.p.)?
isur	ɣif	ḳnt	it:sl:am	Won't he greet you (f.p.)?
isur	ɣif	sn	it:sl:am	Won't he greet them (m)?
isur	ɣif	snt	it:sl:am	Won't he greet them (f)?

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Present: /iṣur dayt:sl:am/   doesn't he greet?

iṣur	da	ɣif	i	yt:sl:am	Doesn't he greet me?
iṣur	da	ɣif	š	it:sl:am	Doesn't he greet you (m.s.)?
iṣur	da	ɣif	m	it:sl:am	Doesn't he greet you (f.s.)?
iṣur	da	ɣif	s	it:sl:am	Doesn't he greet him/her?
iṣur	da	ɣif	nɣ	it:sl:am	Doesn't he greet us?
iṣur	da	ɣif	un	it:sl:am	Doesn't he greet you (m.p.)?
iṣur	da	ɣif	ḳnt	it:sl:am	Doesn't he greet you (f.p.)?
iṣur	da	ɣif	sn	it:sl:am	Doesn't he greet them (m)?
iṣur	da	ɣif	snt	it:sl:am	Doesn't he greet them (f)?

III.3.4.2   With Transitive Verbs: Direct Objects

/sal/   to ask

Past: /iṣur isal/   didn't he ask?

iṣur	i	ysal	Didn't he ask me?
iṣur	š	isal	Didn't he ask you (m.s.)?
iṣur	šm	isal	Didn't he ask you (f.s.)?
iṣur	t	isal	Didn't he ask him?
iṣur	t:	isal	Didn't he ask her?
iṣur	aɣ	isal	Didn't he ask us?
iṣur	ḳn	isal	Didn't he ask you (m.p.)?
iṣur	ḳnt	isal	Didn't he ask you (f.p.)?
iṣur	tn	isal	Didn't he ask them (m)?
iṣur	tnt	isal	Didn't he ask them (f)?

Future: /isur it:sal/   won't he ask?

| isur | i | yt:sal | Won't he ask me?
| isur | š | it:sal | Won't he ask you (m.s.)?
| isur | šm | it:sal | Won't he ask you (f.s.)?
| isur | t | it:sal | Won't he ask him?
| isur | t: | it:sal | Won't he ask her?
| isur | aɣ | it:sal | Won't he ask us?
| isur | ḳn | it:sal | Won't he ask you (m.p.)?
| isur | ḳnt | it:sal | Won't he ask you (f.p.)?
| isur | tn | it:sal | Won't he ask them (m)?
| isur | tnt | it:sal | Won't he ask them (f)?

isur	i	yt:sal
isur	š	it:sal
isur	šm	it:sal
isur	t	it:sal
isur	t:	it:sal
isur	aɣ	it:sal
isur	ḳn	it:sal
isur	ḳnt	it:sal
isur	tn	it:sal
isur	tnt	it:sal

won't he ask?
Won't he ask me?
Won't he ask you (m.s.)?
Won't he ask you (f.s.)?
Won't he ask him?
Won't he ask her?
Won't he ask us?
Won't he ask you (m.p.)?
Won't he ask you (f.p.)?
Won't he ask them (m)?
Won't he ask them (f)?

/nɣ/   to kill

Past: /isur inɣi/   didn't he kill?

isur	i	ynɣi
isur	š	inɣi
isur	šm	inɣi
isur	t	inɣi
isur	t:	inɣi
isur	aɣ	inɣi
isur	ḳn	inɣi
isur	ḳnt	inɣi
isur	tn	inɣi
isur	tnt	inɣi

Didn't he kill me?
Didn't he kill you (m.s.)?
Didn't he kill you (f.s.)?
Didn't he kill him?
Didn't he kill her?
Didn't he kill us?
Didn't he kill you (m.p.)?
Didn't he kill you (f.p.)?
Didn't he kill them (m)?
Didn't he kill them (f)?

Future: /isur inq:a/   won't he kill?

isur	i	ynq:a	Won't he kill me?
isur	š	inq:a	Won't he kill you (m.s.)?
isur	šm	inq:a	Won t he kill you (f.s.)?
isur	t	inq:a	Won't he kill him?
isur	t:	inq:a	Won't he kill her?
isur	aɣ	inq:a	Won't he kill us?
isur	ḳn	inq:a	Won't he kill you (m.p.)?
isur	ḳnt	inq:a	Won't he kill you (f.p.)?
isur	tn	inq:a	Won't he kill them (m)?
isur	tnt	inq:a	Won't he kill them (f)?

Present: /isur daynq:a/   doesn't he kill?

isur	day	inq:a	Doesn't he kill me?
isur	daš	inq:a	Doesn't he kill you (m.s.)?
isur	dašm	inq:a	Doesn't he kill you (f.s.)?
isur	dat	inq:a	Doesn't he kill him?
isur	dat:	inq:a	Doesn't he kill her?
isur	daɣ	inq:a	Doesn't he kill us?
isur	daḳn	inq:a	Doesn't he kill you (m.p.)?
isur	daḳnt	inq:a	Doesn't he kill you (f.p.)?
isur	datn	inq:a	Doesn't he kill them (m)?
isur	datnt	inq:a	Doesn't he kill them (f)?

III.4   Demonstrative Pronouns (Independent Set) [7]

III.4.1   Singular

	Proximate	Remote
m.	wa	wan:
f.	ta	tan:

III.4.2   Plural

	Proximate	Remote
m.	wi	win:
f.	ti	tin:

III.4.3   Demonstrative Pronominal Suffixes [8]

III.4.3.1   /-a#/   / -in:#/

       this   that

   (m,f,s,p)   (m,f,s,p)

$$\text{Suffixed to nouns ending in} \begin{Bmatrix} -a\# \\ -u\# \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -ya\# & \text{this} \\ -yu\# & \\ -yin:\# & \text{that} \end{Bmatrix}$$

i.e.   /-a# + -a#/ $\longrightarrow$ /-aya#/

/-u# + -u#/ $\longrightarrow$ /-uyu#/

/-a# + -in:#/ $\longrightarrow$ /-ayin:#/

/-u# + -in:#/ $\longrightarrow$ /-uyin:#/

Examples:

tad:arta	this house
ṣ:baḥa	this morning
tad:artin:	that house
tad:rwinin:	those houses
tabardaya (<tabrda)	this pack-saddle
tabardayin:	that pack-saddle
ag:uya (<ag:u)	this smoke

III.4.3.2   / -d:γ /   this

tad:artd:γ	this house
ṣ:baḥd:γ	this morning
tad:rwind:γ	these houses
tabardad:γ	this pack-saddle

III.4.3.3   / -n:a /   that

For things which you do not see.

tad:artn:a	that house
tad:rwinn:a	those houses
tabardan:a	that pack-saddle
argazn:a	that man
irgznn:a	those men

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III.4.4   The Demonstrative ha, han

(Must be followed by Noun or Pronoun)

ha	here, there
ha muha id:ad	Here comes Muha.
ha fadma td:ad	Here comes Fadma.
ha lwašun d:and	Here come the kids.

han	here, there
han muha id:ad	Here comes Muha.
han lwašun d:and	Here come the kids.

III.4.4.1   ha + Personal Pronouns

hank:	Here I am.
hašg:	Here you are (m.s.).
hašm:	Here you are (f.s.).
hant:a	Here he is.
hant:at	Here she is.
hank:ni	Here we are.
hankn:i	Here you are (m.p.).
hankn:inti	Here you are (f.p.).
hanitni	Here they are (m).
hanitnti	Here they are (f).

Examples:

hant:a uriri adid:u	(here) He doesn't want to go.
hank:ni urnri and:u	(here) We don't want to go.

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III.4.4.2   <u>hat</u>   here, there

In III.4.4 above, /ha/ or /han/ 'here, there'
must be followed by a Noun or a Pronoun. In this section we
will see that /hat/ 'here, there' must be followed by a verb.

hat id:ad	There he comes.
hat td:ad	There she comes.
hat d:and	There they come (m).
hat d:and	There they come (f).

In the case of third person singular and plural, we can get
pronominal suffixes following ha:

hat	There he is.
hat:	There she is.
hatn	There they are (m).
hatnt	There they are (f).
hat id:ad	Here he comes.
hatnt d:and	Here they (f) come.

III.5   <u>Relative Pronouns</u> [9]

III.5.1 <u>Subject</u>

(a) n:a   who (invariable)

                                        which

a gaz n:a did:an yma ag:a. The man who came is my brother.

(b) ay   who

nitni ag: d:an γr s:uq: It is them who went to the market.

┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│ ay + id:an ──────→ ag: d:an │
└─────────────────────────────────┘

N.B.:   /id:an/ is past participle of /d:u/, which is used only with the Subject Relative Pronouns. It has the invariable form /id:an/ with m,f,s, or p. Final /-y#/ of /ay/ plus initial /i-/ of the past participle always ——→/g:/. The Past Participle is formed by suffixing /-n#/ to verb inflected for $P_3N_sG_m$ in the past tense. The Present Participle is formed by suffixing /-n#/ to verb VH form inflected for $P_3N_sG_m$. (See Grammar of the Verb.)

(c) a	who
nk: a s in:an d:u	It was me who told him to go.
(d) un:a	he who
un:a uririn adid:u ,	He who does not want to go,
iq:im	let him stay.
un:a yran adid:u id:u	He who wants to go, let him go.
(e) tn:a	she who
tn:a uririn at:d:u ,	She who does not want to go,
tq:im	let her stay.
(f) win:a	those (m) who
win:a uririn add:un, q:imn	Those who do not want to go,
	let them stay.

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(g) tin:a   those (f) who

tin:a uririn add:unt ,   Those who do not want to go,

q:imnt   let them stay.

(h) l:i   who, which

argaz l:i did:an yma ag:a   The man who came is my brother.

III.5.2 Object [10]

(a) n:a   whom, which

tamd:ut: n:a tan:ayd ,   The woman whom you saw is

ut:ma ay tga   my sister.

(b) l:i   whom, which

tamd:ut: l:i tan:ayd ,   The woman whom you saw is

ut:ma ay tga   my sister.

(c) ay   whom, which

irdn ay nz:nza   It is the wheat which we sold.

III.6   Indefinite Pronouns [11]

'this other one', 'that other one','these other ones'

'those other ones'

III.6.1 Proximate Indefinite Pronouns [12]

		m.		f.
sg.	~	wayadn	~	tayadn
		wayadnin		tayadnin
pl.	~	widyadn	~	tidyadn
		widyadnin		tidyadnin

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- id: argaza ag:d:an ɣr s:uq: ?	Is it this man who went to the market?
= la wayaḍn	No, it is this other one.
- id: md:na ag:d:an ɣr s:uq: ?	Is it these people who went to the market?
= la widyaḍnin	No, it is those others.
- id: tamḍ:uṭ:a ag:d:an ɣr s:uq: ?	Is it this woman who went to the market?
= la tayaḍn	No, it is this other one.
- id: tiwtmina ag:d:an ɣr s:uq: ?	Is it these women who went to the market?
= la tidyaḍnin	No, it is those others.

III.6.2   Remote Indefinite Pronouns

	m.	f.
sg.	~ wan:yaḍn wan:yaḍnin	~ tan:yaḍn tan:yaḍnin
pl.	~ win:yaḍn win:yaḍnin	~ tin:yaḍn tin:yaḍnin

N.B.: yaḍn ~ yaḍnin = other or others

-id: s:rwala ay trid ?	Do you want this pair of trousers?
= la wan:yaḍn	No, (I want) that other one.
- id: s:rawla ay trid ?	Do you want these trousers?
= la win:yaḍn	No, (I want) those other ones.

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- id: lq:amiža ay trid ?   Do you want this shirt?

= la   tan:yaḍn   No, I want that other one.

- id: lq:mayza ay trid ?   Do you want these shirts?

= la tin:yaḍnin   No, I want those others.

III.6.3   Every, Each

k:u	every
k:uša	everyone
k:uyun	each one (m)
k:uyut	each one (f)

k:u argaz ɣuṛs iy:is   Every man has a horse.

k:u tamd:ut: ɣuṛs   Every woman has a djellaba.
taq:b:ut:

k:uša id:a ibrdan:s   Everyone went his way.

k:uyun ɣuṛs iy:is   Each one (m) has a horse.

k:uyut ɣuṛs taq:b:ut: Each one (f) has a djellaba.

*   *   *

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Notes on the Pronominal System in Ayt Seghrouchen (A.S.)

1 In Ayt Seghrouchen this appears as:

ntš	~ ntšint	I
šk:	~ šk:int	you (ms)
šm:	~ šm:int	you (fs)
nt:a	~ nt:an	hə
nt:at		shə
ntšni		we (m)
ntšninti		we (f)
šn:i		you (mp)
šn:inti		you (fp)
nitni		they (m)
nitnti		they (f)

2 The Ayt Seghrouchen paradigm is:

/winw, win:š, win:m, win:s,
win:x, win:un, win:šnt,
win:sn, win:snt/ 'mine' (m), 'yours' (ms) etc.

3 The Ayt Seghrouchen paradigm is:

/tinw, tin:š, tin:m,
tin:s, tin:x, tin:um,
tin:šnt, tin:sn, tin:snt/ 'mine' (f), 'yours' (fs), etc.

4   The Ayt Seghrouchen paradigm is:

axam	inw	my tent
axam	n:s	your (ms) tent
axam	n:m	your (fs) tent
axam	n:s	his tent
axam	n:s	her tent
axam	n:x	our tent
axam	n:un	your (mp) tent
axam	n:šnt	your (fp) tent
axam	n:sn	their (m) tent
axam	n:snt	their (f) tent

5   The kinship terms pronominal suffixes in Ayt Seghrouchen are for:

(a)   ˤm:i   my uncle "Frabr"

ˤm:i, ˤm:iš, ˤm:im, ˤm:is,

ˤm:itnx, ˤm:itun, ˤm:išnt,

ˤm:itsn, ˤm:itsnt

(b)   ib:a   my father

im:a   my mother

nan:a   my fa mo

dad:a   my fa fa

ib:a, ib:aš, ib:am, ib:as,

ib:atnx, ib:atun, ib:ašnt,

ib:asn, ib:atsnt

(c) lawšun   child

     aryaz   man

     tamṭ:uṭ: woman

     lwašuninw, lwašunn:s, lwašunn:m,
     lwašunn:s, lwašunn:x, lwašunn:un,
     lwašunn:šnt, lwašunn:sn, lwašunn:snt

6   The Ayt Seghrouchen paradigms are:

(a) for <u>Indirect Objects</u> (i.e. with intransitive verbs,
e.g., /s:iwl/ 'to speak')

is:iwl	i		he spoke to me
is:iwl	aš		he spoke to you (ms)
is:iwl	am		he spoke to you (fs)
is:iwl	as		he spoke to him
is:iwl	ax		he spoke to us
is:iwl	awn		he spoke to you (mp)
is:iwl	awnt ~	ašnt	he spoke to you (fᴘ)
is:iwl	asn		he spoke to them (m)
is:iwl	asnt		he spoke to them (f)

(b) for <u>Direct Objects</u>   (i.e. with transitive verbs, e.g.,
/sal/ 'to ask')

isal	i	he asked me
isal	š	he asked you (ms)
isal	šm	he asked you (fs)
isal	t	he asked him
isal	t:	he asked her
isal	ax	he asked us

isal	šun	he asked you (mp)
isal	šunt	he asked you (fp)
isal	tn	he asked them (m)
isal	tnt	he asked them (f)

<u>Notice</u>:

With the Habitual stem prefix /1:a-/ in Ayt Seghrouchen,
the pronominal affix can be either pre-verbal or post-verbal:
e.g.,

damisawal (A.A.)	he speaks to you **(fs)**
dašmit:sal (A.A.)	he asked **you** **(fs)**

Compare

1:ayamis:awal ~ 1:ays:awalam (A.S.)
1:ašmit:sal ≊ 1:ayt:salšm (A.S.)

7 The Ayt Seghrouchen pronominal suffixed set associated with
a <u>transitive</u> verb in the future is:

adi	·ynɣ	he will kill me
aš:	inɣ	he will kill you (ms)
as:m	inɣ	he will kill you (fs)
at:	inɣ	he will kill him
adt:	inɣ	he will kill her
adax	inɣ	he will kill us
aš:un	inɣ	he will kill you (mp)
at:n	inɣ	he will kill them (m)
at:nt	inɣ	he will kill them (f)

8   The Ayt Seghrouchen Demonstrative Pronouns are:

       1. Singular

          wu, win:

          tu, tin:

       2. Plural

          inu, inin:

          tinu, tinin:

9   Demonstrative Suffixes in Ayt Seghrouchen:

      /-u#/ ,   /-in:#/

10   Relative Pronouns, Subject in Ayt Seghrouchen:

(a)   din   who, which

          aryaz din d:iraḥn una ag:žu

          The man who came is my brother

(b)   ay   who

          muḥnd ag:usin z:it

          It's Muha who took (carried) the oil.

(c)   a   who

          ntš ayas (~ as) in:an adiraḥ

          It's me who told him to go.

(d)   udin   he who

          udin uribɣin adiraḥ iq:im

          He who does not want to go, let him stay.

(e)   td:in td:in   she who

          td:in uribɣin ad:raḥ tq:im
          She who does not want to ge, let her stay.

(f)   idin   those (m) who

          idin uribɣin adrahn q:imn
          Those (m) who do not want to go, let them stay.

(g)   tidin   those (f) who

          tidin uribɣin adrahnt q:imnt
          Those (f) who do not want to go, let them stay.

(h)   din   who, which

          aryaz din d:irahn, uma ag:žu
          The man who came is my brother.

11 <u>Object</u>

    (a) & (b) din   whom, which

          tamt:ut: din tzrit ultma ay tžu
          The woman whom you saw is my sister.

    (c)   same

12 (a) Proximate Indefinite Pronouns

	m	f
s	～ wuyḍnin ～ wuḍnin	～ tuyḍnin ～ tuḍnin
pl	～ inuyḍnin ～ inuḍnin	～ tinuyḍnin ～ tinuḍnin

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Examples:

    __isd   aryazu   ag:raḥn γr s:uq˰ ?

= la wuḍnin

    - Is it this man who went to the market?
    - No, it is this other one.

    __isd   mid:nu   ag:raḥn γr s:uq: ?
= ihi, inuḍnin

    - Is it these people who went to the market?
    - No, it is those others.

    __isd   tamṭ:uṭ:u   ag:raḥn   γr s:uq: ?
= ihi, tnḍnin.

    - Is it this woman who went to the market?
    - No, it is this other one.

    __isd tiʕy:alinu ag:raḥn   γr s:uq: ?
= ihi, tinuyḍnin .

    - Is it these women who went to the market?
    - No, it is those others.

(b) Remote Indefinite Pronouns

	m	f
s	udindnin	td:indnin
pl	idindnin	tidindnin

N.B. :dnin = other, others; idnin = others

Examples:

> __isd s:rawlu ay tbɣit ?
> __la, udindnin

>> - Do you want this pair of trousers?
>> - No, (I want) that other one.

> __isd s:rawlu ay tbɣit ?
> __la, idindnin

>> - Do you want these trousers ?
>> - No, (I want) those other ones.

> __isd lq:amiẓayu ay tbɣit ?
> __ihi, td:indnin .

>> - Do you want this shirt ?
>> - No, I want that other one.

> __isd lq:mayžu ay tbɣit ?
> __la, tidindnin .

>> - Do you want these shirts?
>> - No, I want those others.

(c) Every, each

kul: every
kul:ša, kul: everyone
kul:idž   each one (m)
kul:išt   each one (f)

- kul: aryaz ɣrs yis .
  Every man has a horse.

- kul: tamt:ut ɣrs taqb:ut: .
  Every woman has a djellaba .

- kul:ša iraḥ ibrdann:s .
 Everyone went his way.

- kul:idž ɣrs yis ,
  Each one (m) has a horse.

- kul:išt ɣrs taq:b:ut: .
  Each one (f) has a djellaba.

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IV. Grammar of the Noun

    This section on the grammar of the noun is concerned mainly with Ayt Ayache. In general, the basic concepts of the system apply to Ayt Seghrouchen as well. Derivations (Noun stems from verb stems, those of number and gender, Augmentatives, Diminutives, etc.) are similar in both dialects. Construct State of the Noun is also more or less alike in both dialects. In other words, the differences between the two dialects as far as the grammar of the noun is concerned are phonological and lexical rather than morphological. Notes showing such differences appear at the end of this section.

IV. The Noun

IV.1 Introduction

Morphemes in Tamazight may be divided into three major classes: particles, stems and affixes, or if considered in terms of more general terminology, into two classes, namely Major and Minor classes of morphemes. The major classes are stems; the minor classes are particles and affixes. This classification into stems, particles and affixes is based on the two morphological features shown in this figure:

- [Dependent] +

Particles and Stems   Affixes
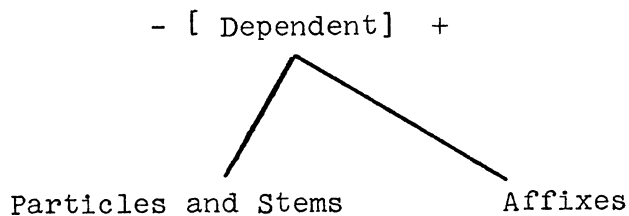
Stems are either Verb Stems or Noun Stems. This distinction is based on the kind of affix with which they occur. For a complete discussion of the Verb Stems see Grammar of the Verb. Any stem in Tamazight is either Basic or Derived.

Affixes are either verb or noun affixes. Verb affixes are either movable or fixed affixes. (See Grammar of the Verb.) All noun affixes are fixed affixes.

IV.2   Basic and Derived Noun Stems and Nouns

A Basic Noun Stem is one which has no relation to any verb stem from which it could be derived. Examples of a Derived Noun Stem are the stems of Nouns of Action (N-act), Agent (N-agt), Instrument (N-instr), Place (N-loc), and Occupation (N-occup). This means that the stems of such nouns are derived from verbs that exist in the language and that the different numbers and genders of the nouns are derived by the noun affixes discussed in IV.2-1 below.

IV.2.1   Basic Noun Stems and Nouns

A Basic Noun occurs with the same affixes as a derived noun. In most cases whether the noun is basic or derived, its number and gender are distinguished thus: (a) a plural noun has the suffix /-n/; (b) a singular noun does not have this suffix, but has the prefix /#a-/ whereas the plural has prefix /#i-/; (c) a feminine noun has the prefix and/or the suffix /t-/:

$$
\left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\left\{
\begin{array}{l}
/\text{t}\underline{\quad}/ \sim /\text{t}\underline{\quad}\text{t}/ \sim /\text{t}\underline{\quad}\text{t:}/ \sim /\underline{\quad}\text{t}/ \sim \\
/\text{ta}\underline{\quad}/ \sim /\text{ta}\underline{\quad}\text{t}/ \sim /\text{ta}\underline{\quad}\text{t:}/
\end{array}
\right\} \text{for f.s.} \\
/\text{ti}\underline{\quad}/ \sim /\text{ti}\underline{\quad}\text{in}/ \sim /\text{t}\underline{\quad}/ \sim /\underline{\quad}\text{t}/ \quad \text{for f.p.}
\end{array}
\right\}^{[1]}
$$

This information concerning gender and number for nouns, both basic and derived, may be diagrammed thus:

(a) for Number

$$- [/-n\#/] +$$

Singular   Plural

(b) for Gender

$$- \left[\left\{ \begin{array}{c} /\text{\_\_}t\#/ \\ /\#t\text{\_\_}/ \\ /\#t\text{\_\_}t\#/ \\ /\#t\text{\_\_}t:\#/ \end{array} \right\} \right] +$$

Masculine   Feminine
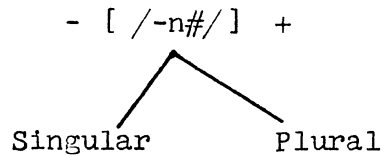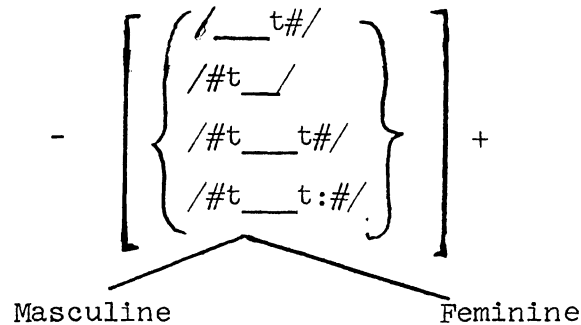
Many basic nouns in Tamazight are borrowed from Arabic. Some of the Arabic loan nouns were borrowed with the Arabic definite article /ʔal-/ 'the' (⟶ /l-/ in Moroccan-Arabic and Tamazight), which loses its syntactic function in Tamazight and comes to be an inseparable part of the noun since <u>the opposition</u> <u>Definite/Indefinite is NOT operable through the article</u>:

e.g., Arabic loan basic nouns /lk:as/ 'a glass' or 'the glass', /lbab/ 'a door' or 'the door', /ṣ:aliḥ/[*] 'a saint' or 'the

---

[*] Rules concerning the assimilation of /l-/ of the Arabic definite article to a following dental operate in Tamazight as well. Also note that the formation of the plurals of such loan nouns in most cases follows the Arabic pattern whether Classical or Colloquial: e.g., /lk:as/ has plural /lk:isan/, /lbab/ has plural /lbiban/ and /ṣ:aliḥ/ has plural /ṣ:aliḥin/.

saint' as well as native basic nouns: /argaz/ 'a man' or
'the man', /aḍaḍ/ 'a finger' or 'the finger', /agl:id/ 'a
king' or 'the king'.

Another set of basic nouns (also Arabic loans) has
undergone accomodation to the native pattern: e.g., Moroccan-Arabic
(M.A.) /xb:az/ 'baker' and its plural /xb:aza/ are derived
from the M. A. verb /xbz/ 'to bake', whereas Tamazight has
/a-xb:az/ 'baker', /i-xb:az-n/ 'bakers' but not the basic verb
stem /xbz/ from which the nouns referred to above are derived.
However, a look at Tamazight derived nouns explains the above
pattern of derivation. There is a native pattern that derives
the following nouns from the basic verb **V**: /zdm/ 'to collect
wood', /azd:am/ 'one who collects wood (m.s.)', /izd:amn/ (m.p.);
/xdm/ 'to work', /axd:am/ 'worker (m.s.)', /ixd:amn/ (m.p.).
Notice that the same derivational pattern applies to /zdm/, a
native stem, as well as to the Arabic loan stem /xdm/. The
difference between /azd:am/, /izd:amn/, /axd:am/, /ixd:amn/
on one hand and /axb:az/, /ixb:azn/ on the other hand is that
the first set shows derived nouns whereas members of the latter
do not. In almost all the cases the gender of the loan word
is preserved: e.g., Berber /tawriq:t:/ 'a piece of paper' (<classical
  Arabic /waraqat-/ 'a piece of paper' f.s.) has the Berber
affix /ta___t:/ denoting f.s. noun. Compare this to the derived
noun stem /tararit:/ 'vomiting/ (</rar/ 'to give back'). In
Arabic, as well as Berber, all nouns ending in /-t/ are

feminine. Very few Arabic exceptions have been observed:

e.g., /ʔalxalifat-/ 'Caliph' is a masculine noun in classical Arabic.

This Arabic loan appears in Berber as /lxlift/ 'administrative

job' which is, among the very few Berber exceptions, a masculine

noun. In Moroccan Arabic /lxlift/ is also masculine.

A third set of basic nouns (i.e. not derived from verb

stems) borrowed the singular noun only but formed their plurals

according to native patterns: e.g., Berber /lfqih/ ' learned

man, a teacher' is borrowed from classical Arabic /ʔalfaqīh/ 'legist,

jurisprudent' which in turn is derived from the Arabic verb

/faqiha/ 'to understand, comprehend'. The plural of the Arabic

noun /ʔalfaqīh/ is /ʔalfuqahaʔ/ whereas the plural of the

Berber /lfqih/ is /idlfqih/. Here, /lfqih/ is a basic noun

(no Berber verb /fqh/) and /idlfqih/ is derived from the basic

noun, by the Berber plural prefix /id-/. Compare this to

/butarda/ 'washer (m.s.)' /idbutarda/ 'washers (m.p.)' derived

from the native verb stem /arid/ 'to be washed'.

Another set of basic nouns are the numerals 4 - ∞ which

are borrowed from Arabic. Together with the Arabic cardinal

numerals 1-3 there is a native set (for more information on

the numerals see Numerical System, pp.22-29).

Another set of basic nouns shows borrowing from French:

e.g., Berber /lag:ar/ 'station', /lik:ul/ 'school', /lbiru/

'office', /lk:riyu/ 'pencil', /t:rik:u/ 'sweater', /ṭ:umubil/

'motor-car', /ž:rda/ 'garden' for French "la gare, l'école,

le bureau, le crayon, le tricot, l'automobile, le jardin"
respectively. It is interesting to notice the assimilation of
/l-/ to a following dental in the last three examples.

IV.2.2 Derived Noun Stems and Nouns

As stated in IV.1 above, a derived noun is one that is
related (by derivation) to a noun stem, which in turn is derived
from a verb stem in the language by one of the derivational
affixes shown in IV.2.1 above: e.g., (Noun stems are underlined.)

Verb		N-m.s.	N-m.p.	N-f.s.	N-f.p.
xdm	to work	a-xd:am	i-xd:am-n	ta-xd:am-t	ti-xd:am-in 'worker'
zdm	to collect wood	a-zd:am	i-zd:am-n	ta-zd:am-t	ti-zd:am-in 'wood collector'

IV.3   Definiteness, Gender and Number
IV.3.1   Definite/Indefinite

The definite article does not exist in Berber. Thus the
word /argaz/ can mean either 'a man' or 'the man'. Nouns
borrowed from Arabic appear in Berber with the definite article
if they happen to be borrowed with the Arabic definite article
/ al-/ (which is also /l-/ in Berber). Assimilation rules
observed in Arabic for the /-l-/ of the definite article
before a dental are also applicable to Arabic loan words in
Berber if they happen to be borrowed with the definite article:

e.g., /s:ḳ:r/ 'sugar', /ṣ:aliḥ/ 'saint', /z:bib/ 'raisins',
/ṭ:alab/ 'request', /d:unit/ 'the world', /ḍ:ra/ 'corn'
(</lsḳ:r/, /lṣaliḥ/, /lzbib/, /lṭalab/, /ldunit/, /ldra/). All the
above nouns, borrowed with the definite article from Arabic
can be translated as either definite or indefinite in Berber.

IV.3.2   Gender and Number

Nouns in Berber are either masculine or feminine in
gender and singular or plural in number. In most cases the
gender and number of a noun could be distinguished by its
affix.

IV.3.2.1 Noun Affixes

IV.3.2.1-a Masculine Singular Prefixes

$$
\left\{
\begin{array}{c}
/a\text{-}/ \\
/am\text{-}/ \\
/u\text{-}/ \\
/i\text{-}/ \\
/l\text{-}/ \\
/X{:}\text{-}/
\end{array}
\right\}
$$

Note: 1) /u-/ and /i-/ are not common prefixes for m.s. nouns.

2) /l-/ occurs mainly in Arabic borrowings

3) /X:-/ refers to a tense segment that results from
assimilation of /l-/ referred to above to a following
dental.

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Examples:

kašf	to foretell	akašf	foretelling
rdm	to demolish	ard:am	demolisher
ʕawn	to help	amʕawn	helper
f:γ	to go out	ufuγ	going out
arid	to be washed	butarda	washer
bd:	to stand up	ibd:i	standing up
hbl	to become silly	lhbal	silliness
ṭrẓ	to embroider	ṭ:rẓ	embroidering
		azgu	wind
		anu	well
		isl:i	stone
		urti	garden
		amḥḍar	pupil
		lγul	ogre
		ṣ:nduq:	box

IV.3.2.1-b <u>Masculine Plural Affixes</u>

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /i\underline{\quad}n/ \\ /im\underline{\quad}n/ \\ /i\underline{\quad}tn/ \\ /i\underline{\quad}/ \end{array} \right\}$$

Note: /i-/ is prefixed to nouns that are referred to as "Broken
Plurals" as opposed to /i___n/ that is affixed to nouns
referred to as "Sound Plurals".

Examples:

rgm	to insult	argam	insulting	irgamn	insults
kašf	to foretell	amkašf	foreteller	imkašfn	foretellers
dawa	to cure	adawa	cure	idawatn	cures
d:uk:l	make friends	amd:ak:l	friend	imd:uk:al	friends
		adašu	sandal	iduša	sandals
		aglmam	lake	igulmamn	lakes
		abluh	date(fruit)	ibluhn	dates

IV.3.2.1-c <u>Feminine Singular Affixes</u>

$$
\left\{
\begin{array}{l}
/t(a)\underline{\quad}t(:)/ \\
/ti\underline{\quad}(t)/ \\
/tu\underline{\quad}(t)/ \\
/m\underline{\quad}t/ \\
/l\underline{\quad}t/ \\
/X:\underline{\quad}t/
\end{array}
\right\}
$$

Note: (1) /l___t/ occurs in Arabic loans

(2) /X:___/ of the affix /X:__t/ represents an /l-/

that assimilates to a following dental: e.g.,

/l-d-/ ⟶ /d:-/ as in /d:ꜥut/ 'a case' (</ldꜥut/).

Examples:

kašf   to foretell   amkašf   foreteller (m.s.) tamkašft (f.s.)

lum	to blame	talumt	blame
ẓːaḷ	to pray	taẓalːitː	praying
kː	to pass	tikːit	passing
fːr	to hide	tufra	hiding
ls	to dress	mlsiwt	dressing
xdm	to work	lxdmt	work
dʕu	to sue	dːʕut	case

IV.3.2.1-d Feminine Plural Affixes

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /\text{ti(m)}\underline{\quad}\text{in}/ \\ /\text{ti}\underline{\quad}/ \\ /\text{tu}\underline{\quad}\text{n}/ \\ /\text{ist-}/ \\ /\text{ta}\underline{\quad}\text{in}/ \end{array} \right\}$$

Note: (1) /ti___/ derives a "Broken" feminine plural noun

whereas /ti___n/ derives a "Sound" feminine plural

noun.

(2) /ta___in/ is a rare femine plural affix.

Examples:

rḥl	to move	tarḥːalt	nomad (f.s.)	tirḥːalin (f.p.)
safr	to travel	tamsafrt	traveller (f.s.)	timsafrin (f.p.)
zuzːr	to winnow	tazrt	pitchfork (f.s.)	tizar (f.p.)
ḥmːm	to bathe	mːlḥmːam	public bath attendant (f.s.)	istmːlḥmːam (f.p.)

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tudayt	Jew (f.s.)	tudayin (f.p.)
tuš:nt	jackal (f.s.)	tuš:an (f.p.)
taxamt	tent (f.s.)	tixamin (f.p.)
tal:unt	drum (f.s.)	tal:unin (f.p.)
taq:ayt	head (f.s.)	taq:ayin (f.p.)

IV.4   Plural Nouns

Plural Nouns besides being masculine or feminine are divided into

(a)   External Plurals or Sound Plurals

(b)   Internal or Broken Plurals

(c)   Mixed Plurals

IV.4.1   Masculine Plurals

IV.4.1.1   <u>External Plurals</u> (or Sound Plurals)

Sing: /#a_____#/ ⟶ Pl. /#i_____n#/

Examples:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
axd:am	ixd:amn	laborer
axam	ixamn	big tent
amaziɣ	imaziɣn	Berber
aɣanim	iɣanimn[2]	reed
aɣlyas	iɣlyasn	panther
aslix	islixn	animal skin

asg̣:as	isg̣:asn	year
akš:iḍ	ikš:iḍn	a piece of wood
ag̣lmam	ig̣lmamn	lake
aɣr:am	iɣr:amn	saint, Sharif (of the Prophet's family)
aful:us	iful:usn	rooster
afl:aḥ	ifl:aḥn	farmer
aḥž:am	iḥž:amn	barber
abn:ay	ibn:ayn	mason
axr:az	ixr:azn	shoe-maker
axb:az	ixb:azn	baker
afray	ifrayn	fence
abr:aḥ	ibr:aḥn	town crier
aburks	iburksn	shoe
alus	ilusn	brother-in-law
aɣr:af	iɣr:afn	pitcher
aɣmaz	iɣmazn	wink
amrwas	imrwasn	debt
aɣris	iɣrisn	wool thread
aɣw:aɣ	iɣw:aɣn	rebel
aḥb:as	iḥb:asn	prisoner
aḥšlaf	iḥšlafn	dry grass or bush
aḥbib	iḥbibn	dear friend
aḥd:ad	iḥd:adn	blacksmith
aḥdž:am	iḥdž:amn	tatoo

aḥl:uf	iḥl:ufn	pig
aḥm:am	iḥm:amn	pigeon
aḥlaf	iḥlafn	woman's overdress
axd:aᶜ	ixd:aᶜn	deceiver, traitor
abariq:	ibariq:n	slap
abaw	ibawn	fava bean
abr:iḍ	ibr:iḍn	male goat
abr:ad	ibr:adn	tea-pot
abẓ:iḍ	ibẓ:iḍn	urine
abluḥ	ibluḥn	unripe date
adb:aɣ	idb:aɣn	tanner, dyer
aḍbib	iḍbibn	physician
aflidž	iflidžn	strip of tent
axm:už	ixm:užn	bad smell
axy:aḍ	ixy:aḍn	tailor
axlidž	ixlidžn	tree
axmim	ixmimn	lip
ayd:id	iyd:idn	leather bag for carrying water
ažm:uᶜ	ižm:uᶜn	gathering
aḳnn:ay	iḳnn:ayn	rock
aḳẓaẓ	iḳẓaẓn	gravel
aydžiy	iydžiyn	flower
aɣš:aš	iɣš:ašn	cheat
amaḥsad	imaḥsadn	jealous

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| amdyaz | imdyazn | singer |
| amd:aḥ | imd:aḥn | religious singer |

Notice:
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(1) Nouns having the following changes are also Sound Plurals.[3]

$$/\text{-r\#} + \text{-n\#}/ \longrightarrow /\text{-r:\#}/$$

$$/\text{-l\#} + \text{-n\#}/ \longrightarrow /\text{-l:\#}/$$

$$/\text{-n\#} + \text{-n\#}/ \longrightarrow /\text{-n:\#}/$$

Singular	Plural	
agrur	igrur: (<igrurn)	pile of stones
aɣḍ:ar	iɣḍ:ar:	traitor
ahaq:ar	ihaq:ar:	crow
aḥam:ar	iḥam:ar:	main pole of the tent
aḥndir	iḥndir:	blanket
aḥrir	iḥrir:	soup
ayḍrur	iyḍrur:	dust
abaq:ar	ibaq:ar:	catastrophe (used in swearing)
abḥ:ar	ibḥ:ar:	garden
abulxir	ibulxir:	pig
aḍɣar	iḍɣar:	place, spot
adrdur	idrdur:	deaf

afq:ir	ifq:ir:	old man
ašabar	išabar:	caravan
almsir	ilmsir:	sheep skin
amazdar	imazdar:	inferior
amḥdar	imḥdar:	student
ams:utr	ims:utr:	beggar
amɣar	imɣar:	old man
amxiḍar	imxiḍar:	bet
anž:ar	inž:ar:	carpenter
aḍar	iḍar:	foot
agz:ar	igz:ar:	butcher
ašiḍar	išiḍar:	draft horse
ašf:ar	išf:ar:	thief
aɣz:al	iɣz:al: (<iɣz:aln)	plate, stick
agdal	igdal:	pasture
aḥl:al	iḥl:al:	liar
axlxal	ixlxal:	ring, link (in a chain)
abuɣlal	ibuɣlal:	snail
aḍrɣal	iḍrɣal:	blind
adrbal	idrbal:	rag
adl:al	idl:al:	wandering salesman
ažmil	ižmil:	favor
ašw:al	išw:al:	harvester (person)
amaž:yal	imaž:yal:	superior
aɣužil	iɣužil:	orphan

amḥawal	imḥawal:	reconciliation
abḍ:an	ibḍ:an: (<ibḍ:ann)	skin
afṛ:an	ifṛ:an:	oven
axw:an	ixw:an:	thief
algụn	ilgụn:	pick axe
amt:in	imt:in:	corpse
aʕban	iʕban:	a piece of cloth

(2) Nouns ending in vowels have the suffix $\left\{\begin{array}{l} -tn\# \\ -wn\# \\ -yn\# \end{array}\right\}$

rather than /-n#/ in their plurals and they too are here

treated as sound plurals.

Singular	Plural	
amksa	imksawn	shepherd
ašksa	iškšawn	chick
amtna	imtnawn	bad winter (snow fall)
amẓda	imẓdawn	weaver
adu	adutn	wind
aɣrda	iɣrdayn	rat
abiba	ibibatn	mosquito
adida	ididatn	talk
amžuṛːu	imžuṛːutn	waterfall
agːu	agːutn	smoke
arwa	irwatn	threshing
asaka	isakatn	shallow passage in a river
aʕskːri	iʕskːriyn	soldier
abulisi	ibulisiyn	policeman
aḥmami	iḥmamiyn	black horse
aḥuli	iḥuliyn	ram
abali	ibaliyn	old
abrːani	ibrːaniyn	foreigner, stranger
afasi	ifasiyn	right-handed
afrḍi	ifrḍiyn	unique
afḍuli	ifḍuliyn	curious

ažnwi	ižnwiyn	knife
akurbi	ikurbiyn	shoe
amxzni	imxzniyn	soldier of the makhzen or the government
aḥrami	iḥramitn	clever
aḥili	iḥilitn	clever
ažurːu	ižurːutn	waterfall
azgu	izgutn	wind
akurdu	ikurdutn	flea

IV.4.1.2   Internal (or Broken) Plurals

a)   change of /#a-/ of the singular to /#i-/ in plural

b)   no suffix /-n#/

c)   internal (medial and/or final) change

Examples:

Singular	Plural	
adašu	iduša	sandal
asklu	iskla	tree
axbu	ixba	hole
aydiḍ	iydaḍ	bird
agrtil	igrtal	mat
aḥanu	iḥuna	stable
aɣyul	iɣyal	donkey

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abaɣːus	ibuɣːas	monkey
amdːaḳl	imdːukːal	friend
aqmu	iqma	mouth
ašniḍ	išnaḍ	ass
awtul	iwtal	rabbit
anždi	inžda	traveller
asrdun	isrdan	mule
amẓluḍ	imẓlad	poor, broke
amnzu	imnza	early plowing
amaẓuẓ	imuẓaẓ	late plowing
aḥidus	iḥidas	dance
aḥyuḍ	iḥyaḍ	crazy
aknbuš	iknbaš	scarf
axnšuš	ixnšaš	face
aḥizun	iḥizan	lame
abuxːu	ibuxːa	worm
abadu	ibuda	edge of a field
abrḍud	ibrḍad	tail
afrši	ifrša	bark, peel
abrduz	ibrdaz	rag
aglmıs	iɣlmas	hood
agru	iɣra	frog
aɣbalu	iɣbula	spring
ahitur	ihitar	sheep skin

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amadl	imᵢdal	cheek
amalu	imᵢla	shadow
amazir	imizar	country, campsite
agadir	iɣudar	wall
amḥruš	imḥraš	active, intelligent
amd:al:u	imd:ul:a	coward
agatu	iɣuta	rope

Notice the following broken plurals having the Arabic definite article:

lxlift	lxlayf	administrative job
lmᵢs:	lamwas:	knife
lʕib	lʕyub	shame
lq:hwa	lq:hawi	coffee
lɣul	laɣwal	ogre
lštab	lštub	book
š:iḍ:an	š:waḍ:n	devil
s:uq:	laswaq:	market
ṣ:nduq:	laṣnadq:	box
r:bḥ	larbaḥ	profit

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IV.4.1.3   Mixed Plurals

(Internal plurals with External suffixes)

Singular	Plural	
afus	ifas:n	hand
argaz	irgzn	man
asif	isaf:n	river
afud	ifad:n	knee
abrid	ibrdan	road
aḍaḍ	iduḍan	finger
adis	idusan	belly
agl:id	igldan	king
alɣm	ilɣman	camel
axdul	ixdlan	round loaf of bread
ayrḍ	iyrḍan	neck
aɣtir	iɣtran	thorn
aɣuṛ	iɣran	honey comb
axdil	ixdlan	belly

Remarks on the Pluralization of Masculine Nouns

Sometimes the /#a-/ of the singular does not change in the plural. Singular nouns that have /#i-/ or /#u-/ show the same prefix in their plural forms. Sometimes prefix /#a-/ of the singular noun changes to /#u-/.

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axbaš	axbašn	claw
aluq:id	aluq:idn	match
ad:bliž	ad:bližn	bracelet
ašbab	ašbabn	eye lash
anšuš	anšušn	lip
ag:a	ag:atn	burden
ad:žar	ad:žar:	neighbor
anu	anutn	well
imšli	imšliwn	lunch
ilis	ilisn	raw wool
imnsi	imnsitn	supper
izikr	izakar:	cord
ifd:iwž	ifd:iwžn	spark[4]
iɣil	iɣal:n	arm
iḥnbl	iḥnbl:	blanket
iɣzdis	iɣzdisan	rib
ilɣ	ilɣan	leg
itri	itran	star
iḍ	iḍan	night
izli	izlan	song
isli	islan	bridegroom
isl:i	isl:iwn	stone
ixf	ixfawn	head
urti	urtan	garden

uš:n	uš:an:	jackal
anu	una	well
as:	us:an	day
iš:	aš:iwn	horn (of an animal)

IV.5   Feminine Plurals

IV.5.1.   External Plurals (or Sound Plurals)

    (a)   Sing: /#ta-/ ——→ Pl: /#ti-/

    (b)   delete /___t#/ of the singular

    (c)   add suffix /-in#/ for plural

Singular	Plural	
taxamt	tixamin	tent
tafunast	tifunasin	cow
taful:ust	tiful:usin	hen
taq:bilt	tiq:bilin	tribe
tazlaft	tizlafin	platter
tamɣart	timɣarin	old woman
tabḥirt	tibḥarin	garden
tawrirt	tiwririn	hill
tanslmt	tinslmin	Moslem
tamsafrt	timsafrin	traveller
tamq:ablt	timq:ablin	caretaker
tamzawg:t	timzawg:in	one who asks protection
tamzayt: (<tmzaydt)	timzaydin	one who adds

tamˁawnt	timˁawnin	helper
taɣš:ašt	tiɣš:ašin	cheater
tamk:ust	timk:usin	heiress
tams:ufst	tims:ufsin	one who spits
tamẓurt	timẓurin	pilgrim
taˁw:amt	tiˁw:amin	swimmer
tamksawt	timksawin	shepherdess
tamẓḍawt	timẓḍawin	weaver
tams:utrt	tims:utrin	beggar
taḥb:ast	tiḥb:asin	prisoner
tamr:ayt	timr:ayin	masseuse
tarḥ:alt	tirḥ:alin	nomad
tast:ayt	tist:ayin	filter
tašṭ:aḥt	tišṭ:aḥin	dancer
tazd:amt	tizd:amin	wood collector
taˁšaqt	tiˁšaqin	sweetheart, beloved
taxd:amt	tixd:amin	worker
taxd:aˁt	tixd:aˁin	deceiver
tabš:art	tibš:arin	bearer of good tidings
tamḍl:ˁt	timḍl:ˁin	loaf of bread
taḥal:ast	tiḥal:asin	saddle
taḥr:aft	tiḥr:afin	a piece of cloth for carrying a baby on the back
tasḥ:art	tisḥ:arin	magician
taṣm:art	tiṣm:arin	hammer

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tašt:abt	tišt:abin	broom
tašk:amt	tišk:amin	denouncer
tašf:art	tišf:arin	thief
taʕs:ast	tiʕs:asin	guard
taxw:ant	tixw:anin	thief
tamašart	timašarin	thief
tamazant	timazanin	sender
tašr:ayt	tišr:ayin	lessee

<u>Notice</u>: Nouns ending in vowels may have the suffix /-iwin#/

Singular	Plural	
tamɣra	timɣriwin	wedding
tabarda	tibardiwin	saddle

IV.5.2.   <u>Internal Plurals</u>(or Broken Plurals)

    (a) /#ta-/ of Sing. ⟶ /#ti-/ in pl.

    (b) Internal change

    (c) deletion of final /-t#/

    (d) no suffix

Singular	Plural	
tisirt	tisar	mill
tal:st	til:as	darkness, dusk
taɣɣult	tiɣyal	female donkey
tamd:ak:lt	timd:uk:al	girl friend
tiym:i	tiym:a	community of nomads

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tazrt	tizar	pitchfork
tagrtilt	tigrtal	mat
tamazirt	timizar	property
tuš:nt	tuš:an	jackal
taq:b:ut	tiq:b:a	djellaba
tamɣrust	timɣras	sacrifice
tagal:it	tigul:a	swearing
taqdurt	tiqdar	pot
talxatmt	tilxutam	ring
r:iht	r:wayh	odor
lhašt	lhwayž	thing
lxudrt	lxudrat	vegetable
lɣabt	lɣwabi	forest

IV.5.3 Mixed Plurals

(Internal Plurals with External Suffixes)

tadist	tidusin	belly
tafust	tifusin	hand
tawariyt	tiwaryiwin	dream
tad:art	tad:rwin	house

Notes on Some Feminine Nouns

(1) Some feminine Arabic nouns were borrowed into Berber with the Arabic feminine marker /-a#/ in dialectical Arabic (/-t-/ in classical Arabic), e.g.:

Dialectical Arabic   Berber

r:iha   r:iht   odor

ʔlhaža   lhašt   thing

lɣaba   lɣabt   forest

lqaʕida   lq:aʕida   tradition

s:ulṭa   s:ulṭa   authority

lḥkuma   lhk:uma   government

lžamaʕa   lžamaʕa   council

(2) Some singular feminine nouns (native or loan) do not
change their /#ta-/ to /#ti-/ in the plural, e.g.:

Singular   Plural

tal:unt   tal:unin   drum

tad:art   tad:rwin   house

tadžart   tadžarin   neighbor

taq:ayt   taq:ayin   head

taɣma   taɣmiwin   thigh

tašna   tanšnwin   term of reference
                                               for co-wife

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Dialectical Arabic   Berber

r:iha   r:iht   odor

ʔlhaža   lhašt   thing

lɣaba   lɣabt   forest

lqaʕida   lq:aʕida   tradition

s:ulṭa   s:ulṭa   authority

lḥkuma   lḥk:uma   government

lžamaʕa   lžamaʕa   council

(2) Some singular feminine nouns (native or loan) do not
change their /#ta-/ to /#ti-/ in the plural, e.g.:

Singular   Plural

tal:unt   tal:unin   drum

tad:art   tad:rwin   house

tadžart   tadžarin   neighbor

taq:ayt   taq:ayin   head

taɣma   taɣmiwin   thigh

tašna   tanšnwin   term of reference
                                          for co-wife

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(3) Some feminine singular nouns ending in /-t:#/ show the

following change in plural: /-t:#/ ———→ /-t-/

Singular	Plural	
talat:	talatin	ditch
tislit:	tislatin	bride
tizit:	tizatin	fly
tifrit:	tifratin	cave

IV.6 Miscellaneous

IV. 6.1 Plurals with /id-/ (m,f) and /ist:/ (f) [5]

Singular	Plural	
lfq:ih	idlfq:ih	learned person
bab	idbab	owner
bibi	idbibi	turkey
ʕm:i	idʕm:i	my paternal uncle
xali	idxali	my maternal uncle
ʕt:i	ist:ʕt:i ~ idʕt:i	my maternal aunt
xalti	ist:xalti ~ idxalti	my maternal aunt
ut:ma	ist:ut:ma	my sister
lxzin	idlxzin	storing place
lmizan	idlmizan	balance, set of scales
lhm:am	idlhm:am	bathroom
lhzam	idlhzam	belt

butarda	idbutarda	washer (m)
m:tarda	idm:tarda	washer (f)
d:unit	idd:unit	world
s:rir	ids:rir	bed
t:aman	idt:aman	price

IV.6.2 Plurals with /ayt-/ (m)

undir	aytundir	a man from the tribe of Ayt Oundir
wiɣrm	aytiɣrm	a man from one's village

IV.6.3 Plurals of Different Roots [6]

Singular	Plural	
lʕil	lwašun	boy
tarbat:	tišir:atin	girl
tamḍuṭ:	tiwtmin	woman
tagmart	tiɣal:in	mare
tixsi	ul:i	sheep
tiḍ:	al:n	eye

IV.6.4 Diminutives [7]

Certain masculine nouns give a diminutive noun by prefixation of /#t-/ and suffixation of /-t:#/ (or /-t#/).

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Masculine Noun	Diminutive	Meaning
afus	tafust:	small hand
aḍar	taḍart:	small foot
aɣbalu	taɣbalut:	small spring
agrtil	tagrtilt	small mat

IV.6.5 Augmentative [8]

Certain feminine nouns give Augmentatives by a process that is the reverse of Diminutive Formation mentioned in IV.6.4 above

Feminine Noun	Augmentative	Meaning
taxamt	axam	big tent
tašt:abt	ašt:ab	big broom
tamart	amar	big beard
tabḥirt	abḥir	big garden

IV.6.6 Collective Nouns [9]

IV.6.6.1 Singular Collective Nouns

udi	butter
uz:al	iron
az:ar	hair
imndi	grain
ḍ:ra	corn
aɣṛum	bread
aɣ:u	milk
tadunt	grease, shortening, cooking fat

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tduṭː	wool
tisnt	salt
tuya	grass
iɣd	ashes

IV.6.6.2 Plural Collective Nouns [10]

aman	water
idamːn	blood
ilamːn	bran
lflus	money
mdːn	people
irdn	wheat
tarwa	offspring, progeny
tiɣrad	salary
imasːn	plough
tirːa	writing
timẓin	barley
tuzlin	scissors
imrɣan	sauce
iršan	dirt
ifsan	seeds

IV.6.7 Noun of Unity [11]

The noun of unity is formed from a collective noun
by the same process used in IV.6.4 above for the formation of
Diminutives.

aẓaḷim	onions	taẓaḷimt	an onion
z:nbuʕ	oranges	taz:nbuʕt	an orange
lmšmaš	apricots	talmšmašt	an apricot
lxux	peaches	talxuxt	a peach
xiz:u	carrots	taxiz:ut	a carrot

In some cases the noun of unity is achieved by the use of /aḥbub/ "grain" before the collective noun, e.g.:

aḥbub nṛ:uz	a grain of rice
aḥbub nḍ:ra	a kernel of corn
aḥbub w:adil	a grape

IV.6.8 Composed Nouns [12]

(1) u = (son of)	of (m.s.)
(2) ut = (daughter of)	of (f.s.)
utmazirt	country man
ut:mazirt (<uttmazirt)	country woman
(3) ayt-	(m.p.)
(4) ist:-	(f.p.)
ayt:mazirt	country men
ist:mazirt	country women
(5) bu- (father of)	of (m.s.)
(6) idbu-	of (pl.)
buyḥl:al	liar (m)
idbuyḥl:al	liars (m)

(7) m: (mother of)   of (f.s.)

(8) idm:-   of (f.p.)

    m:iḥl:al   liar (f)

    idm:iḥl:al   liars (f)

(9) bab (owner)   master of, owner

    bab ntad:art   master of the house

(10) lal: (fem.)

    lal: ntad:art   mistress of the house

(11) /bu-/ and /m:/ can denote a 'trade' or 'occupation'

    buʕari   one in charge of a forest

    buwɣanim *   one who plays the flute

    bulḥm:am   public bath attendant (m)

    m:lḥm:am   public bath attendant (f)

   * (aɣanim 'reed'; for change of a to w see IV. below)

IV. 7   Construct State of the Noun[13]

    A noun in the construct state (c.s.) changes its shape.

    (/tafunast/ ⟶ /tfunast/ 'cow'; /argaz/ ⟶ /urgaz/ 'man' ...etc.)

IV.7.1   Changes occuring in masculine nouns

$$/\#a\text{-}/ \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-u-} \\ \text{-w:-} \\ \text{-wa-} \end{Bmatrix}$$

$$/\#i\text{-}/ \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-i-} \\ \text{-y-} \\ \text{-yi-} \end{Bmatrix}$$

/#u-/ ———→ /-wu-/

babuxam (<axam)	head of the house
lk:as w:atay (<atay)	a glass of tea
axam isli (<isli)	the tent of the fiance
ag:r: yirdn (<irdn)	wheat flour
taql:alt w:udi (<udi)	the butter jar
iʕd:a utfl (<atfl)	plenty of snow
tad:art uryaz (<aryaz)	the house of the man
aɣrum yirdn (<irdn)	wheat bread
inɣayi wuxs (<uxs)	tooth ache (it killed me of the teeth)
lbab w:urti (<urti)	the door of the garden
taḍuṭ: w:ul:i (<ul:i)	wool of the sheep
šrad w:us:an (<us:an)	three days

IV.7.2 <u>Changes occuring in feminine nouns</u>

/#ta-/ ———→ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{-t-} \\ \text{-ta- rarely} \end{Bmatrix}$

/#ti-/ ———→ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{-t-} \\ \text{-ti- rarely} \end{Bmatrix}$

/#tu-/ ———→ /-tu-/

argaz ntmḍ:ut: (<tamd:ut:)	husband
ṣ:aliḥin ntmizar (<timizar)	local saints
ixf ntuš:nt (<tuš:nt)	head of a jackal
utmazirt (<tamazirt)	someone from your country
iš: ntfunast (<tafunast)	the horn of the cow
taqb:ut ntaḍuṭ (<taḍuṭ)	a woolen garment

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iy:is ntslit (<tislit)   the horse of the bride

amksa ntɣḍ:n (<tiɣḍ:n)   the shepherd of goats

aman ntisirt (<tisirt)   the water of the mill

šrat: ntuzlin (<tuzlin)   three scissors

bu tuzlin (<tuzlin)   the owner of the scissors

lbab ntaḍ:art (<taḍ:art)   the door of the house

IV.6.3   The noun is in the construct state if:

   (a)   the noun is in genitive construct N_1 of N_2 (N_2 changes)

      taḍ:art urgaz   the house of the man

      (urgaz c.s. of argaz)

      lk:as w:atay   a cup of tea

      (watay c.s. of atay)

      argaz ntmḍ:uṭ: husband (man of the woman)

      (tmḍ:uṭ: c.s. of tamḍ:uṭ:)

      iš: ntfunast   the horn of the cow

      (tfunast c.s. of tafunast)

   (b)   the noun is the subject of a verb

      and it follows the verb

      if:ɣ umaziɣ   The Berber went out.

      (umaziɣ c.s. of amaziɣ)

iswa urgaz atay   The man drank tea.

(urgaz c.s. of argaz)

Compare the above two examples with the following where the noun is also the subject of the verb <u>but precedes it</u>:

amaziɣ if:ɣ   The Berber went out.

argaz iswa atay   The man drank tea.

However, we have to state that the native speaker of Berber prefers the order vb. + subj. rather than subj. + vb.

(c) <u>the noun follows a numeral</u>, e.g.:

(yun [m] , yut [f] 'one' , xmsta°š 'fifteen' , st:a°š 'sixteen')

yun was: a day (one day)

(was: c.s. of as:)

yut tmḍ:ut: a lady (one lady)

(tmḍ:ut: c.s. of tamḍ:ut:)

xmsta°š ntfunast   15 cows

(tfunast c.s. of tafunast)

st:a°š war:yal   16 rials

(war:yal c.s. ar:yal)

(d) <u>the noun follows a certain preposition</u>:

ɣ txamt   in the tent

(txamt c.s. of taxamt)

xf tfunast   on the cow

(tfunast c.s. of tafunast)

ɣr txamt (f) (<taxamt)   to the tent

ɣr argaz (m) (<argaz)   to the man

(only fem. nouns following /ɣr/ are in the c.s.)

iurgaz (<argaz)   to the man

itfunast (<tafunast)   to the cow

sufus (<afus)   by/with the hand

zy tmazirt (<tamzirt)   from the country

(i) Preposition after which only feminine nouns are in the construct state:

ɣr   to

(ii) Prepositions after which the nouns are in the construct state:

i	to
y	in
s	with (instrumental)
am:	like
xf	on
zy	from
d	with
n	of
d:aw	under
ingr ~ ngr	between

(iii) Prepositions after which nouns are NOT in the construct state:

s	to (directional)

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qbl	before
bˤd	after
bla	without
ar	until (to)
al:	until (to)

Notes on the preposition "n"   (of)

(i) n ⟶ -l before a noun with initial /#l-/

n ⟶ -w before a noun with initial /#a-/

n ⟶ -y before a noun with initial /#i-/

n ⟶ -n elsewhere

(ii) Nouns with initial /#a-/ drop their /#a-/ in the
construct: 'some of' + Noun with /#a-/ i.e. (ša n + N)

ša n lḥlib ⟶	ša l lḥlib ⟶	ša l:ḥlib	some milk
ša n aksum	ša w ksum	ša wksum	some meat
ša n lg:ayz	ša l lg:ayz	ša l:g:ayz	some kerosene
ša n lbitrun	ša l lbitrun	ša l:bitrun	some kerosene
ša n udi	ša w wudi	ša w:udi	some butter
ša n iful:usn	ša y ful:usn	ša yful:usn	some chickens
ša n aɣṛum	ša w ɣṛum	ša wɣṛum	some bread
ša n aslix	ša w slix	ša wslix	some skin
ša n atfl	ša w tfl	ša wtfl	some snow
ša n aɣanim	ša w ɣanim	ša wɣanim	some reeds

However few nouns retain their /#a-/ and follow the rules of construct state of nouns.

ša n atay ⟶ ša w watay ⟶ ša w:atay   some tea

ša n awal ⟶ ša w wawal ⟶ ša w:awal   some talk

(e) the noun follows the conjunction 'and' /d/ (N₁ and N₂):

lq:hwa dwatay (<atay)   coffee and tea

argaz t:mḍ:ut: (<tamḍ:ut)   the man and the lady

(n.b. /d/ assimilates to a following /t/ in the above example)

tamḍ:ut durgaz (<argaz)   the lady and the man

aɣyul t:funast (tafunast)   the donkey and the cow

*   *   *

Notes on the Noun in Ayt Seghrouchen (A.S.)

1   The nominal affixes listed here for Ayt Ayache are the
    same for Ayt Seghrouchen.

2   Quite a number of the masculine singular nouns which in Ayt
    Ayache have initial /#a-/ appear in Ayt Seghrouchen without
    this /#a-/. The plurals of these A.S. nouns, however, are
    identical with those of A.A. Moreover, the construct state
    (see IV.7) of the A.S. nouns has /#u-/ as in A.A.

    Examples:

		Singular		Plural	
A.A.	A.S.	Construct		A.A. & A.S.	
aɣnim	ɣanim	uɣanim		iɣanimn	reed
afus	fus	ufus		ifas:n	hand
adaḍ	ḍaḍ	uḍaḍ		iduḍan	finger
afud	fud	ufud		ifad:n	knee

3   This is another phonological difference between the two
    dialects; In A.S.,

/-r# + -n#/	/-rn#/
/-1# + -n#/	/-ln#/
/-n# + -n#/	/-n:#/ (same as A.A.)

Examples from A.S.:

adrdur	idrdurn	deaf
aɣz:al	iɣz:aln	stick
afr:an	ifr:an:	oven

4   As examples of lexical differences:

A.A.	A.S.	
ifd:iwž	aqz:iw	spark
isl:i	azru	stone
ixf	azl:if	head
tazlaft	tziwa	platter
tawrirt	tiš:ut	hill

5   In Ayt Seghrouchen we get /it-/ (m), /suyt/   /ist/ (f), e.g.:

ifgih	itlfgih	learned person
ʕt:i	suytʕt:i	my paternal aunt

6   The same nouns are here listed for A.S.:

Singular	Plural	
arba	lwašun	boy
tarbat:	tišir:atin	girl
tamt:ut:	tiʕy:alin	woman
tažmart	tiɣal:in	mare
tixsi	ul:i	sheep
tit:	al:n	eye

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7 The same nouns are here listed for A.S.:

fus	tfust	small hand
ḍar	ḍ:art:	small foot
aɣbalu	taɣbalut:	small spring
ažrtil	tažrtilt	small mat

8 The same nouns here are listed for A.S.:

txant	axam	big tent
tašt:abt	ašt:ab	big room
tmart	mar	big beard
tabhirt	abhir	big garden

9 The same nouns are here listed for A.S.:

udi	butter
uz:al	iron
az:ar	hair
imndi	grain
ḍ:ṛa	corn
aɣṛum	bread
aɣi	milk
tadunt	grease, shortening, cooking fat
taḍuft	wool
tisnt	salt
tuža	grass
iɣd	ashes

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10   Plural Collective Nouns in A.S.:

aman	water
idam:n	blood
lflus	money
mid:n	people
irdn	wheat
tarwa	offspring. children
tiɣrad	salary
imas:n	plough
timzin	barley
timšrad	scissors
imrɣan	sauce
ifsan	seeds

11   Noun of Unity in A.S.:

/bs/	onions	talbslt	an onion
/:imun/	oranges	talimunt	an orange
/xux/	peaches	talxuxt	a peach
/xiz:u/	carrots	taxiz:ut:	a carrot

Nouns of Unity achieved by the use of /aḥbub/ 'grain' in A.S.:

aḥbub	nr:uz	a grain of rice
aḥbub	nḍ:ṛa	a kernel of corn
aḥbub	w:aḍil	a grape

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12   Such composed nouns in A.S. are:

u   (son of)   of (ms)
ult (daughter of)   of (fs)

ulahl   parent, relative (ms)
ultlahl   parent, relative (fs)

bu   (owner of)   of (ms)
ayt (owners of)   of (mp)

buyhl:al   liar (ms)
ayt ihl:al   liars (mp)

m: (mother of)
suyt (mothers of)

m:ihl:al   liar (fs)
suytihl:al   liars (fp)

/bu/ and /m:/ can denote a trade or occupation :

buɣaba   one in charge of a forest
bulhm:am   public bath attendant (m)
m:lhm:am   public bath attendant (f)

13   The construct state of the noun is the same in Ayt Seghrouchen
      as it is in Ayt Ayache.

V. Particles

This section discusses the Interrogative particles,
Conjunctions, Prepositions, the Presentational particles,
the Vocative particle and the Conditional particles in
Ayt Ayache and Ayt Seghrouchen. Due to the fact that there
is quite a difference between the two dialects in this
domain of their lexicon, a full discussion of each of the
headings mentioned above is given for Ayt Seghrouchen
following that of Ayt Ayache.

V. Particles

V.1 Interrogative Particles (Ayt Ayache)

1)   may   ?   Whɔ?

    - mag:ms muha   ?   Who is Muha?
     (may ims -⁚→ mag:ms)

    =muha amdak:l nˤli ag:a   Muha is Ali's friend.

       ṁs   to be related to (a verb
                           of identification)

    -may tṁs fadma   ?   Who is Fadma?

    = fadma mayṡ nmuha ay tga   Fadma is Muha's mother

2)   ma ~ may ?   What?

    - ma dat:inid   ?   What are you saying?

    = walu   Nothing.

    - may tn:id   ?   What did you say?

    = n:iɣaš yal̟:ah and:u   I told you let us
      ɣr tad:art̟   go home.

      ini   to say

      n:iɣ   I said

      n:iɣaš   I said to you

3)   mat:a   ?   What? Which?

    - mat:a was: ?   What day? (which day?)

    = ltnayn   Monday.

    - mat:a laswaq: n:a   What markets do you

      ɣr dat:d:ud   ?   go to?

    = dant:sw:aq: midlt   We go to the Midelt
                          market.

4)   mi?   Who? What?

    - šg: dmi   ?   You and who?

    = nk: dmuha   I and Muha.

    - matiša dmi   ?   Tomatoes and what?

    = matiša dl:ubya   Tomatoes and green
                          beans.

5) mani ?   Where?

    - mani muha ?   Where is Muha?

    = id:a ɣr s:uq: He went to the market.

    = il:a da   He is here.

    = il:a din: He is there.

    ≈ uril:i   He is not here.

    = urs:inɣ   I do not know.

    = dɣi ad:iʕayd   He will be back soon.

       ili   to exist, to be

       da   here

       din: there

       dɣi   now

6) maɣr ?   Where?

    - maɣr id:a muha ?   Where did Muha go?

    = id:a sigran   He went to the fields

    - maɣr td:id ?   Where are you going?

    = d:iɣ ɣr ʕari   I am going to the
                                mountains.

7) mani luq:t ?   When?

    - mani luq:t ay dit:ʕayad What time will Aly
      ʕli ?   be back?

    = as:a   Today.

    = ask:a   Tomorrow.

    = adizri wask:a   The day after tomorrow.

    = dɣi   Now.

      ʕayd   to return

8) milmi ?   When?

    - milmi ay diʕayd muha ? When did Muha come
                           back ?

    = urs:inɣ   I do not know.

    = idl:i   Yesterday.

    - milmi ay dit:ʕayad muha ? When will Muha be back?

    = dɣi ad:iʕayd   He will be back soon.

9) winmi (m) ?   Whose (m.)? (Notice: it is the object that is masculine)

   - winmi igra ?   Whose field is this?

   = winw   It's mine.

   = win ʕli   It's Aly's

   = wins   It's his/hers

10) tinmi (f) ?   Whose (f.)? (Notice: it is the object that is feminine)

   - tinmi tad:arta ?   Whose house is this?

   = tin ʕli   It's Aly's.

   = tinw   mine

     tinš   yours (m.s.)

     tin:m   yours (f.s.)

     tins   his/hers

     tin:γ   ours

     tin:un   yours (m.p.)

     tin:knt   theirs (m.)

     tinsnt   theirs (f.)

11) milan ?   Whose?

   - milan tad:arta ?   Whose house is this?

   = tin muha   It's Muha's.

12) mimš ?   How?

   - mimš ag:a ?   How is it?

   = aml:al   White.

   - mimš dat:g:ad id:ʕam ?   How do you (s.) make couscous?

   = urs:inγ   I don't know.

     Notice: ag:a < ay iga (which it is)

13) šhal ?   How many? How much?

  ~mšhal ?

  ~mšta ?

   - šhal t:aman ?   What is the price?

=tlatin ryal	Thirty Rials
-šhal tas:aꞔt ?	What time is it?
=tsꞔud dumnasf	9:30
-mšta l:wašun ay ɣurš	How many children do you have?
=ɣuri snat ntšir:atin	I have two girls.

14) max   ?   Why?

max al:iy ?	Why ... ?
-max ?	Why?
=urs:inɣ	I don't know.
-max al:iy did:a ?	Why did he come?
=t:afad adik: ɣr muha	In order to visit Muha.

15) mand:yid   ?   Which one (m or f)?

-mand:yid muha ag:d:an ɣr s:uq: ?	Which Muha went to the market?
=muha uꞔq:a	Muha Ouakka.
-mand:yid fadma ag:d:an ɣr s:uq: ?ˑ	Which Fadma went to the market?
=fadma usꞔid	Fadma Ousaid.

Notice: (ag:d:an < ay id:an) 'who went'. id:an is the
past participle of /d:u/ 'to go'. Whenever /ay + i ---> g:/
as in /ag:d:an/ this will be transcribed as one word.

16) mand:iyun   ?   Which one of you (m)?

-mand:iyun ag:d:an ɣr s:uq: ?	Which one of you (m.) went to the market?
=muha ag:d:an	Muha.

17) mand:iknt   ?   Which one of you (f)?

-mand:iknt ag:s:nwan aɣrum ?	Which one of you (f) baked the bread?
=fadma	Fadma.
=nk:	I.

	s:nw	to cook
18)	mand:iynɣ ?	Which one of us?
	-mand:iynɣ ay trid ?	Which one of us do you want?
	=šg: amuha	You, Muha.
	=šm: afadma	You, Fadma.
19)	mand:iksn ?	Which one of them (m)?
	-mand:iksn ay trid ?	Which one of them (m.) do you want?
	=ˤli	Aly
	-mand:iksn ag:swan atay ?	Which one of them (m) drank the tea?
	=muha	Muha.
20)	mand:iksnt ?	Which one of them (f.)?
	-mand:iksnt ag:s:nwan aɣrum ?	Which one of them (f) baked the bread ?
	=fadma	Fadma.
21)	is ?	Do-Have-Is/Are?
	-istrid atay ?	Do you want tea?
	=la . riɣ lq:hwa	No, I want coffee.
	-isid:a muha ?	Did Muha go?
	=y:ih	Yes.
22)	id: ?	Do-Have-Is/Will/Are?
	-id: tad:artnš aya ?	Is this your house?
	=y:ih	Yes.
	-id: nt:a ?	Is it him?
	-id: nt:at ?	Is it her?
	=la	No.
	-id:adixdm ?	Is he going to work? Will he work?
	=la	No.

/id:/ is here transcribed as part of a verbal construc-
tion but autonomous from a following noun.

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V.2   Interrogative Particles (Ayt Seghrouchen)

1.   <u>may</u>   Who?

     -mag:ms muhnd   ?   Who is Muhnd

     -muhnd amd:ak:l nˤli ag:žu   Mohamed is Aly's friend.

     -maytms mam:a   ?   Who is Mamma?

     -mam:a im:as m:uhnd aytžu   . (< n+munnd) Mamma is Mohamed's
                                                          mother.

2.   <u>may</u>   What?

     -may t:init   ?   What are you saying?

     -walu   Nothing

     -may tn:it   ?   What did you say?

     -n:ixaš yal:ah an:rah ɣr   I told you, "Let's
     tad:art .   go home."

3.   <u>mat:a</u>   What, which

     -mat:a was: ?   What,which day?

     -lt:nayn   Monday

     -mat:a laswaq: din ɣr tg:urt   ?   Which market do you go to?

     -l:atsw:aq:x sk:ura   I go to Skoura market.

4.   <u>mi</u>   Who, what.

     -šk: dmi   ?   You and who (else) ?

     -ntš dmuhnd .   Muhnd and I.

     -matiša dmi   ?   Tomatoes and what?

     -matiša dl:ubya   Tomatoes and green beans.

5.   <u>mani</u>   Where?

     mani muhnd   ?   Where is Muhnd?

     -irah ɣr s:uq: He went to the market.

     -il:a da   - -   He is here.

     -il:a din: - -   He is there.

     -uril:i   He is not

     -urs:inx   I do not know

     -durt:x ad:iˤid   He will be back soon.

6. maɣr

    -maɣr da tq:imt ?

    urufx mani ɣr ɣa rahx

Why?

Why are you staying here?

I do not know where to go.(Lit: I do not find where to go).

7. mat:a luq:t

  mat:a luq:t ayd:ɣa iʕid ʕli ?

  -idu

When, What time.

When is Aly coming back?

Today.

8. mlmi ~ milmi

  -mlmi ayd:iʕid muhnd

  -urs:inx

  -idn:at

  -mlmi ayd:ɣayʕid muhnd

  -durtx ad:iʕid

When ?

When did Muhnd come back?

I do not know.

Yesterday.

When is Muhnd coming back?

He will be back soon.

9. wim:i (< win + mi), wig:ilin

  wig:ilin ižru ?

  winw

  win ʕli

  win:s

Whose (m) ?

Whose field is this?

Mine.

Aly's.

His.

10. tim:i ~ wig:ilin ?

    (< tin + mi)

  wig:ilin tad:artu

~ tim:i tad:artu

    tinʕli

    tin:š

    tin:m

    tin:s

    tin:x

    tin:un

    tin:šnt

    tin:sn

    tin:snt

Whose is...?

Whose house is this?

Aly's.

Yours (ms).

Yours (fs).

His/ Hers.

Ours.

yours (mp).

Yours (fp).

Theirs (mp).

Theirs (fp).

11. __wig:ilin__   Whose is...

    wig:ilin tad:artu ?   Whose house is this?

    tim:uhnd (<tin + muhnd)   It is Muhnd's.

12. __mism__   How

    mism ag:žu ?   How is it?

    aml:al   White.

    mism ayt:g:t iwutšu ?   How do you do couscous?

13. __mšhal ~ mšta__ ?   How much, how many?

    -mšhal t:aman ?   How much is it? (liter. "How
                                              much is the price.
    -tlatin ryal .   30 rials

    -mšhal tas:aʕt ?   What time is it?

    -t:sʕa wms: 9:30

    -mšhal l:wašun ayɣrš ?   How many children do you have?

    -ɣri snat ntšir:atin   I have two girls.

14. __mah , mah azg:a__   Why?, Why....?

    -mah ?

    -urs:inx   I do not know.

    -mah azg:a d:irah ?   Why did he come?

    -t:af ad:ik: ɣr muhnd .   So that he visits Muhnd.

15. __mandg:it__ ?

    -mandg:it muhnd ag:rahn ɣr s:uq: ?   Which Muhnd went to the
                                              market?
    -muhnd uʕq:a   Muhnd Ouakka.

16. __mandiwn__   Which one? (among you (m))

    -mandiwn ag:rahn ɣr s:uq: ?   Which one of you went to the
                                              market?
    -muhnd ag:rahn   It is Muhnd who went.

17. **mandiwnt**   which one (of you (f)) ?

  -mandiwnt ag:s:nwn aɣrum ?   Which one of you cooked the
                                                    bread?
  -mam:a   Mamma.

  -ntš̌ .   I.

18. **mandinx**   who among us

  -mandinx aytbɣit ?

  -šk: amuhnd .   you, Muhnd

  -šm: amam:a .   you, Mamma

19. **mandisn**   who, which among them (m)

  -mandisn aytbɣit ?   Who/ which one do you want?

  -ʕli .   Aly.

  -mandisn ag:swin at:ay ?   Who among them drank tea?

  -muhnd .   Muhnd.

20. **mandisnt**   who/which one of them (f)

  -mandisnt ag:s:nawn aɣrum ?   Which one is cooking bread?

  -mam:a   Mamma.

21. **is**   Interrogative particle

  -is tbɣit at:ay ?   Do you want tea?

  -la , bɣix lq:hwa .   No. I want coffee.

  -is irah muhnd ?   Did Muhnd go?

  -y:ih .   Yes.

22. **isd**   Interrogative particle

  -isdtad:artn:š ayu ? > ist:ad:artn:š ayu ?   Is this your house?

  -y:ih   Yes.

  -isd + nt:a --->isn:t:a   Is it him?

  -isd + nt:at --->isn:t:at   Is it her?

  -la   No.

  -isd adixdm ?   Is he going to work?

  -urs:inx   I do not know.

V.3   Conjunctions

V.3.1   Ayt Ayache

1) l:iy   when

   ad:ay

   nd:a l:iy did:a   When he came we left

   ad:ay nwin waman adʕmrɣ atay .   When the water boils, I
                                                 will make tea.

2) l:iy   while

   l:iy das:araɣ žmʕɣ dʕli .   While I was walking, I
                                                 met Aly .

3) ɣas an:axf ɣas   as soon as

   ɣas an:axf t:užadm nd:u   As soon as you (m.p.)
                                                 are ready we will go

   ɣas adnwin waman adʕm:rɣ atay   As soon as the water
                                                 boils I'll make tea.

4) ay   who, which

   n:a

   muha ag: d:an . (< ay id:an)   It's Muha who went.

   fadma ag: d:an .   It's Fatma who went.

   tišir:atin ag: d:an .   It's the girls who went.

   argaz n:a yd:an , yma ag:a .   The man who went is my
                                                 brother.

   l:una ay xtarɣ .   It's this color which
                                                 I choose.

   l:un n:a xtarɣ aya .   This is the color which
                                                 I choose.

   lʕil n:a yran lk:as aya.   This is the boy who wants
                                                 the glass.

   han lʕil n:a yran lk:as.   There is the boy who
                                                 wants the glass.

   tarb:at: n:a yran lk:as aya .   This is the girl who
                                                 wants the glass.

   han tarb:at n:a yran lk:as .   There is the girl who
                                                 wants the glass.

   tafunast n:a ytšan tuya aya .   This is the cow that
                                                 ate the grass.

han tafunast n:a yt̆san tuya .

                                  There is the cow that
ate the grass.

5) ak:ma   whatever

    ak:mani   wherever

    ak:milmi   whenever

    ak:an:a   whatever

    ak:un:a   whoever

     ak:ma ɣr id:a, yaf ž̌ha .   Wherever he goes, he finds
                                     Jeha.

     ak:mani ɣr id:a , yaf ž̌ha .   Wherever he goes, he finds
                                     Jeha.

     ad:ud ɣur:ɣ ak:milmi   Come to see us, whenever
                                     (you want).

     ak:an:a trid adašt̆sɣ .   I'll give you whatever you
                                     want.

     ak:wn:a did:an t̆smas atay .   Give tea to whoever comes
                                     here.

6) d   and

    id:a muha dˁli ɣrs:uq: .   Muha and Ali went to the
                                     market.

7) walayn:i   but

    walakn:i

    maš̆a

    d:iɣ walayn:i urn:ufiɣ muha . I went but I did not find
                                     Muha.

8) la ... ula ...   neither...nor...

    urifhim la lmalik ula lwazirns   Neither the king nor

    ayn:a yn:a ž̌ha .   his minister understood
                                       what Jeha said.

9) al:iy   until

    al: until

    iq:ra al:iy iwhl .   He studied until he got
                                     tired.

q:im al: did:u .   Stay until he comes.

10) t:afad   so that

    hma   in order to

rb:aɣ tamaziɣt t:afad adsiwlɣ   I studied Berber so that

imd:n da .   I could talk to people here.

rb:aɣ tamaziɣt hma adsiwlɣ   I studied Berber so that

imd:n da .   I could talk to people here.

11) ʕlahq: because

riɣt ʕlahq: izil .   I like him because he is nice.

12) mad   or

is trid lq:hwa mad atay ?   Do you want coffee or tea?

V.3.2 Ayt Seghrouchen

1) zg:a   when

    ad:ay

nrah zg:a d:irah .   We left when he came.

ad:ay nun waman adʕm:rx at:ay   When the water boils, I will make tea.

2) zg:a   while

zg:a s:arix žmʕx dʕli .   I met Ali while I was walking.

3) xas , adinx   as soon as

xas adnun waman adʕm:rx at:ay . I'll make tea as soon as the water is boiled.

adinx t:užidm an:rah .   We will leave as soon as you are ready.

4) ay , din   who, which

muhnd ag:rahn .   It is Muhnd who left.

lwašun ag:rahn   It is the kids who left.

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mam:a ag:rahn	It is Mamma who left.
tišir:atin ag:rahn	It is the girls who left .
l:unu ayxtarx .	It is this color I chose.
l:un din xtarx ayu .	This is the color I chose.
arba din ibɣan lkas ayu .	That is the boy who wants the glass.
haš arba din ibɣan lkas .	There is the boy who wants the glass.
tarbat: din ibɣan lkas ayu.	This is the girl who wants the glass.
hašn: tarbat: din ibɣan lkas .	Thére is the girl who wants the glass.
tafunast din itšin tuža ayu .	This is the cow which ate the grass.
hašn: tafunast din itšin tuža .	There is the cow which ate the grass.
haš aryaz din ɣr sɣix ižru .	This is the man from whom I bought the field.

5) ak:adin   whatever

   ak:mani   wherever

   ak:adin in:a žha its lmalik: .   The king laughed at
                                    anything Jeha said.

   ak:mani ɣr irah ižmɐ džha .   He meets Jeha wherever
                                    he goes.

6) d   and, with

   irah muha dɐli ɣr s:uq: Muha and Ali went to the
                                    market.

7) walayn:i , walakayn:i , maša   but

   rahx ⎡walayn:i ⎤ urn:ufix muhnd
         ⎨walakayn:i⎬
         ⎣maša   ⎦

8) la ----ula   neither, nor

   urifhim la lmalik: ula lwazirn:s   Neither the king nor
   adin in:a žha .   his minister understood
                                      what Jeha said.

ul:it:t:x la lbsl la tiš:rt   I eat neither onions nor garlic.

9) azg:a

    al: till, until

    iq:ra azg:a ywhl   He studied until he got tired.

    q:im al: d:irah .   Stay until he comes.

10) t:af   in order to, so that.

    žm:ˤ lflus t:af at:aft mas   Save money so that you

    ɣatsɣt t:unubil .   buy a car. (Lit: so that you find what to buy a car with.)

11) ˤlahq: because

    bɣixt ˤlahq: iˤdl .   I like him because he is nice.

12) mad   or

    is tbɣit lq:hwa mad at:ay ?   Do you want coffee or tea?

V.4   <u>Prepositions</u>

V.4.1   <u>Ayt Ayache</u>

1) s , ɣr , i   to (for)

    id:a sasif   He went to the river.

    id:a ɣr s:uq: He went to the market.

    šasd s:init imuha adiˤm:r .   Give Muha the tray (and the tea pot & glasses) so that he can make tea.

    ts:nwa fadma aɣrum imuha .   Fadma baked bread for Muha.

2) ɣr / --Noun   at

    ɣur/ -- Pronoun

    insa hd:u ɣr muha .   Haddu spent the night at Muha's place.

3) y   in

    il:a ytad:art .   He is home (in the
                                                   house).

    Notice: y + i --->g:

            y + a --->g̣:

      y irdn ------>g:irdn   in the wheat
      y abrid ----->g̣:brid   in the road

4) s   with (instrumental)

    yumzt: sufus   He held it (f.) with
                                                   the hand.

5) s   to (Directional)

    id:a sasif   He went to the river.

    Notice: A noun is in the Construct State after instru-
    mental /s/ but not after directional /s/.

6) xf / --- Noun   on
   γ if / ---Pronoun

    tl:a xf d:bla   It (f.) is on the
                                                   table.

    tl:a γifs .   It (f.) is on it.

7) tf:ir   behind
    dar

    il:a tf:ir ntad:art .   He is behind the house.
    tl:a dar ntad:artns .   She is behind her house.

8) dat   in front of

    il:a dat ntad:art   He is in front of
                                                   the house.

9) zy   from

    id:ad zy midlt .   He came from Midelt.
    td:ad tbrat: zymuha .   A letter came from Muha.

10) n   of

    ha tasarut: ntad:art .   Here is the key for the
                                                   house.

Notice: <u>phonological</u> <u>changes</u> of /n/

n + lbab	-------> l:bab	of the door .
n + atay	-------> w:atay	of tea
n + iful:usn	---> yful:usn	of chickens
n + z:itun	-----> nz:itun	of olives

11) ingr   between

    am:as   in the middle of

    tl:a ingr tiwṛiq:in l:kn:aš   It (f.) is between the pages of the notebook.

    tl:a am:as l:kn:aš .   It (f.) is in the middle of the note book.

12) qbl   before

    id:ad qbl tifawt .   He came before dawn.

13) tf:ir   after

    id:ad tf:ir l:xtubt .   He came after the Friday prayer.

14) d:aw   under

    tl:a d:aw nd:bla .   It (f.) is under the table.

V.4.2   <u>Ayt Seghrouchen</u>

1) γr ، i   to

    irah γr iγzr .   He went to the river.

    irah γr s:uq: .   He went to the market.

    ušd: s:iny:a imuhnd adiˁm:r .   Give Mohand the tray (and the tea pot and glasses) so that he will make tea.

    ts:nu mam:a aγrum imuhnd .   Mamma baked bread for Mohand.

2) γr   at (chez in French)

    insu hd:u γr muha .   Haddou spent the night at Moha's place.

3) y   in

    il:a ytad:art   He is home (in the
                                       house)

    Notice: y + i ----->g:

             y + a ----->g:

    y + irdn ---------->g:irdn   in the wheat

    y + abrid -------->g:brid   in the road

4) s   with (instrumental)

    it:ft: sufus .   He held it (f.) with
                                       the hand.

5) x   on

    tl:a xt:bla   It (f.) is on the table.

    tl:a xs .   It (f.) is on it.

    Notice: xfi = on me

6) df:ir   behind

    il:a df:ir ntad:art .   He is behind the house.

7) zdat   in front of

    il:a zdat ntad:art .   He is in front of
                                       the house.

8) zy   from

    irahd: zy midlt .   He came from Midelt.

    trahd: tbrat: zy muha .   A letter came from Muha.

9) n   of

    ha tsarut: ntad:art .   Here is the key for
                                       the house.

    Notice: phonological changes of /n/

            n + lbab -------->l:bab   of the door

            n + at:ay ------->w:at:ay   of tea

            n + udi -------->w:udi   of the butter

            n + ifilan ----->y:filan   of the threads

10) žar   between

   am:as   in the middle

   tl:a žar tiwriqin l:kn:aš .   It (f.) is between the
                                                pages of the notebook.

11) qbl , zdat   before

   irahd: zdat l:fžr .   He came before dawn.

12) df:ir   after

   irahd: df:ir l:xüdbt ·   He came after the
                                                Friday prayer.

13) d:aw   under

   tl:a d:aw nt:bla .   It (f.) is under the
                                                table.

V.5   The Presentational Particles.

   1) ha (A.A. and A.S.)   must be followed by a noun:
                                             Here :...is, Here...are

      ha muha id:ad   Here comes Muha (A.A)
      ha muhnd irahd: Here comes Muha (A.S)

   2) han (A.A.)   followed by a noun
      hat (A.A.)   followed by a verbal form
      haš (A.S.)   followed by a noun
      haš (A.S.)   plus a third person pronominal suffix

      han muha id:ad   Here comes Muha (A.A.)
      hat id:ad .   Here he comes (A.A.)
      haš muhnd irahd: Here comes Muha (A.S.)
      hašt   Here he is
      hašt: Here she is.
      haštn   Here they are (m.)
      haštnt   Here they (f.) are.

V.6   <u>Vocative Particle</u>

      a   vocative particle (Oh, you)

          This is the same both in Ayt Ayache and Ayt Seghrouchen.

ad:ud amuha .   Come here Muha.
                                     (Ayt Ayache)

awru anmuhnd .   Come here Muha
                                     (Ayt Seghrouchen)

V.7   <u>Conditional Particles</u>

     (1)   mš (A.A.,A.S.)   if (possible, probable)

         mš dhr: isignaw adwit unẓar (A.A.) .

         If clouds appear, it rains.

         mš imrd hd: layt:waʕad adbib (A.S.) .

         If somebody is sick, he sees the doctor.

     (2)   mšur (A.A.,A.S.)   if not (possible, probable)

         mšur did:i ask:a , add:uɣ ɣrmidlt (A.A.) .

         mšur d:irah dutša , adrahx ɣmidlt (A.S.) .

         If he does not come tomorrow, I'll go to Midelt.

     (3)   mr (A.A., A.S.)   if (contrary to fact,
                                         impossible)

         mr ɣuri l:in lflus idl:i , l:asɣiɣ igran nʕli (A.A.) .

         If I had had the money yesterday, I would have

             bought Aly's fields.

         mr d:irah , l:awšixas lhžab (A.S.).

         Had he come, I would have given him the amulet.

(4)   mrid: (A.A.), mlid: (A.S.)   if (contrary to fact,
                                          impossible)
      mrid: ša yaḏn , urit:awy taqb:uta sql:mn sbᵉmysat ryal (A.A.)
      If it were somebody else, I would not have given him
         the djellaba for less than 700 Ryals.

      mrid: isuridawa ḏ:aḷb lᵉil , l:aym:ut . (A.A.)
      Had the Sheikh not cured the boy, he would have died.

      mlid: ḥd: ḏnin yurit:awy taqb:ut:u sql: mnsbᵉmy:at
         ryal (A.S.) .
      It it were somebody else, I would not have given him
         the djellaba for less than 700 Ryals.

      mlid: isuridawi t:alb arba l:aym:ut (A.S.) .
      Had the Sheikh not cured the boy, he would have died.

VI. Grammar of the Verb

This section treats the grammar of the **verb** in Ayt Ayache
in an exhaustive manner. It discusses Verb Stems (both basic
and derived) as well as Noun Stems (Verbal Nouns). It also
discusses Temporal and Modal derivations. Examples and rules
for all the derivations are included in this section. A
morphophonemic sketch stating forty-four possible changes
appears at the end of this section.

Notes on the grammar of the **verb** in Ayt Seghrouchen,
showing differences from Ayt Ayache with ample examples,
appear before Appendices A and B. Appendix A is a Verb Sample
Appendix for Ayt Ayache. It is followed by a verb list of 450
verbs from that dialect. Appendix B is a Verb Sample Appendix
for Ayt Seghrouchen.

VI. Grammar of the Verb

VI.1 Basic and Derived Verb Stems

VI.1.1 Basic Verb Stems

All unaugmented stems (1-77) appearing in position a)
in the Verb Sample Appendix A (pp. 245-261) are
basic verb stems (V). As is seen from the examples, some
basic verb stems (V) are clearly borrowings from Arabic.
However, these stems are now considered an integral part of
Tamazight verb lexicon, since they conform completely to
the derivational and inflectional patterns of the native
stems: e.g., Basic verb stems 45 /zdm/[*] 'collect wood'[**]
(Native or Berber) and 44 /xdm/ 'work' (Arabic loan), derive
the following nouns of agent : /azd:am/, /izd:amn/, /tazd:amt/,
/tizd:amin/ and /axd:am/, /ixd:amn/, /taxd:amt/, /tixd:amin/
(ms, mp, fs, fp respectively for each set). Temporal and Modal
derivations and even native ablaut (see VI.3.1) that apply to
V45 /zdm/ (Berber) apply to V44 /xdm/ (Arabic): e.g., /zdmɣ/
'I collected wood', /xdmɣ/ 'I worked'; /urnzdim/ 'we did not
collect wood' and /urnxdim/ 'we did not work'.

VI.1.2 Derived Verb Stems

All augmented verb stems appearing in position a) in

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[*] A number preceding a form (or a stem) refers to the place of
V (Basic Verb Stem) in the Verb Sample Appendix A
pp. 245-261

[**] Meanings of V's are glossed as infinitives without "to".

the Verb Sample Appendix are derived stems (Causative SV,

Reciprocal MV, Recipro-Causative MSV, and Passive TuV). To

support the statement made in VI.1.1 above about the conformity

of borrowed stems to native derivational patterns, the following

examples are here cited using derivatives of stems /ɣus /,/ʕum /

and /kmz/, /frs/:

V			SV	MSV
ɣus	'be burnt' (Berber)		sɣus	m:sɣus
ʕum	'swim' (Arabic loan)		sʕum	m:sʕum

V			MV	TuV
kmz	'scratch' (Berber)		m:kmaz	t:ukmz
frs	'attack' (Arabic loan)		m:fras	t:ufrs

VI.2 Verb Affixes

Verb affixes are either movable or fixed affixes.

VI.2.1 Movable Affixes

A movable affix is one that is now pre-verbal, (i.e.

prefixed to the stem), now post-verbal (i.e. suffixed to the

stem). This section discusses two sets of affixes, the

Orientational Affixes and the Object Pronominal Affixes.

The Orientational Affixes are: /d/[1] denoting proximity,

and /n:/ denoting remoteness. Thus from 71 /d:u/ 'go' we

get: /i-d:a/ 'he went', /i-d:a-d/ 'he came', /i-d:a-n:/

'he went there'.[1] (For Comparative Notes, see pp. 216-239)

Included as movable affixes are object pronominal affixes.

The positions of /d/ and /n:/ as well as that of the object pronominal affixes have been stated in III.3 pp. 44-46 Pronominal Systems under the heading Pronominal Affixes for Verbs and Prepositions.

VI.2.2   Fixed Affixes

A fixed affix is either a prefix, a suffix, or a discontinuous morpheme.

a)   Prefixes:

1)   Derived Stem Prefixes. This group is prefixed either to a basic verb stem (V) to form a derived verb stem (SV, MV, MSV, TuV) or to a derived verb stem to form its habitual verb stem (SVH, MVH, MSVH, TuVH). VH, the habitual verb stem of unaugmented V, is also derived by the realization of T (see No. 5 below; also see VI.4.2)

These prefixes are here symbolized as

1. S - for causative derivation   SV
2. M - for reciprocal derivation   MV
3. MS - for recipro-causative derivation   MSV
4. Tu - for passive derivation   TuV
5. T - for habitual derivation   HV, SVH, MVH, MSVH, TuVH

A rare but possible derivation is a TuSV derivation which is a passive derived from a causative stem e.g. 33 /t:usfrḥ/.

2) <u>Temporal and Modal Affixes</u>. This group of Tense and
Mode prefixes derives the future and present tenses and
their negative and interrogative modes as well as the modes
of the past tense.

(i) <u>Temporal Prefixes</u>. There are two temporal
prefixes (one for future tense and one for present tense
derivations) and an aspectual prefix that derives a
progressive or inchoative action.

<u>Future Tense Prefix /ad-/</u>: This prefix
derives a future tense from V, SV, MV, MSV or TuV: e.g.
ll /ʕum/ 'swim', /ad-ʕum-ɣ / 'I will swim'.

<u>Present Tense Prefix /da-/ ~ /l:a-/</u>.[2] This
prefix derives a present tense from VH, SVH, MVH, MSVH,
or TuVH: e.g., ll /ʕum/ 'swim' /t:ʕum/ VH, /da-t:ʕum-ɣ /
/l:a-t:ʕum-ɣ / 'I swim'.

<u>Progressive or Inchoative Action Prefix /ar-/</u>.[3]
This prefix derives a progressive or inchoative action from
VH, SVH, MVH, MSVH or TuVH: e.g., ll /ʕum/ 'swim', /t:ʕum/
VH, /ar-t:ʕum-ɣ / 'I started to swim, I began to swim'.

(ii) <u>Modal Prefixes</u>. This section discusses
the derivation of the negative and/or interrogative modes
of the verb listing the prefixes used in such derivatives
with examples illustrating the generated structure.

Interrogative: /id:-/[4] occurs before the temporal prefix /ad-/ to derive an interrogative future construction: e.g., ₁₁ /ʕum/ 'swim' /ad-ʕum-ɣ/ 'I will swim', /id:-ad-ʕum-ɣ / 'Will I swim?'

Interrogative: /is-/[5] occurs before a V, SV, MV, MSV, or TuV inflected for person-number-gender to derive a past tense interrogative construction or before /da-/ (see (i) above) to derive an interrogative present construction:e.g., ₁₁ /ʕum/ 'swim' /ʕum-ɣ / 'I swam' /is-ʕum-ɣ / 'did I swim?' /t: ʕum/ VH, /da-t: ʕum- ɣ/ 'I swim' /is-da-t: ʕum-ɣ / 'do I swim?'

Negative: /ur-/[6] occurs before an affirmative construction to derive a negative one: e.g. ₁₁ /ʕum /'swim' /t: ʕum/ VH, /ʕum-ɣ/ 'I swam', /ur-ʕum ɣ/ 'I did not swim' /da-t:ʕ um -ɣ/ 'I swim', /ur-da-t: ʕum-ɣ / 'I do not swim'.

Negative-Interrogative: A negative construction derived by the prefix /ur-/ may be preceded by the in errogative prefix /is-/ to derive a negative interrogative construction:

e.g.,	/ʕum/ 'swim'	/ur-ʕum-ɣ/	I did not swim.
		/is-ur-ʕum-ɣ/	Didn't I swim?
	/t: ʕum/ VH	/ur-da-t: ʕum-ɣ/	I do not swim.
		/is-ur-da-t: ʕum-ɣ/	Don't I swim?

b) **Suffixes**

There are two sets of suffixes, both of which are used for Imperative Derivations.

Imperative Mode Derivational Suffixes: The suffixes shown in Table 1 derive (second person) imperative constructions whereas the suffixes in Table 2, derive hortatory (first person) constructions. Notice that person-dual occurs only in the hortatory construction in this dialect. The negative imperative is derived by prefixation of /adur-/ to VH, SVH or MVH and suffixation of -PNG set shown in Table 1.

PNG	Imper. Suffix
2 s m	-∅
2 s f	-∅
2 p m	-at
2 p f	-nt

PNG	Imper. Suffix
1 d m	-aɣ
1 d f	-am
1 p m	-ataɣ
1 p f	-ntaɣ

Table 1   Table 2

Second Person Imperative   Hortatory Suffixes 7
Suffixes 7

c) **Person-Number-Gender Affixes**

There is only one set for the inflection for /-PNG-/ in ALL TENSES in Tamazight (See Table 3.).

P N G	Inflectional Affix
1 s	———————ɣ
2 s	t_____d
3 s m	i_____
3 s f	t_____
1 p	n_____
2 p m	t_____m
2 p f	t_____nt
3 p m	_____n
3 p f	_____nt

Table 3

Ayt Ayache /-PNG-/ Affixes 8

Another morpheme that should be mentioned here is the
Participle Morpheme /-n/. Since the realization of -PNG-
effects a change in the stem of certain verb classes in the
past tense, therefore the participle rule must be applied
after the realization of the features for $P_3N_sG_m$ and the
Modal prefix to allow for the occurrence of the ablaut.
(See VI.3.1)

The suffix /-n/ is common to the three participles:
Present, Past and Future participles

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VI.3   Classification of Verb Stems[9]

This section discusses the grouping of unaugmented verb stem into two __types__, four __classes__ and nine __sub-classes__ as is done in the Sample Appendix.

The underlying structure of the verb stem in Tamazight is ‖ABCD‖ . Here ‖A‖ represents the first radical, ‖B‖ represents the second radical and so forth. If ‖B‖, for example, is a [+tense] radical (e.g., t:, d:, m:, etc.), it is referred to as ‖B:‖ and to the stem as ‖AB:CD‖; if it is a vowel, it is referred to as ‖V‖ and to the stem as ‖AVCD‖.

The classification of Tamzzight verb stems is based primarily on an ablaut that occurs in the past tense for particular classes (see VI.3.1) and secondarily on the derivational processes of derived verb stems (Causative, Reciprocal and Passive verb stems and their Habitual stems; see VI.4.   The sub-classification is based on several factors shown in VI.3.2.

Tamazight verb stems may then be classified into two types: __Ablauted and Non-Ablauted__. The ablauted type is characterized by having all its members with third radical ‖c‖ = ‖∅‖ in their underlying structures whereas the unablauted type does not have a ‖∅‖ as third radical (See VI. 3.1) The general structure of the unablauted type is

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$\|AB(C)(D)\|$ whereas that of the ablauted type is $\|(A)B(:)\emptyset(D)\|$

In more detail the structure of the ablauted type is

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \|AB(:)\emptyset(D)\| \\ \|OB(:)\emptyset(D)\| \end{matrix} \right\}$$ The positing of a null radical for $\|A\|$

symbolized as $\|0\|$ accounts for the structure of such ablauted

stems as 66 /g/ 'be, do', 68 /g̣:/ 'knead', 69 /k:/ 'pass' and

57 /f:r/ 'hide' with the underlying structures /Og∅/, /Og̣:∅/,

/Ok:∅/ and /Of:∅r/ respectively.

VI.3.1   The Different Ablauts

Ablaut occurs (for some verb classes) only in the

affirmative and/or negative past. The ablaut of the interrogative

past follows that of the affirmative past; the negative-

interrogative ablaut is the same as the negative past. For

this reason we will refer only to affirmative and negative

past and mark them as [-Negative] and [+ Negative] : e.g.,

70 /ls/ 'get dressed': /i-lsa/ 'he got dressed', /is-ilsa/

'did he get dressed?', /ur-i-lsi/ 'he did not get dressed',

/isur-ilsi/ 'didn't he get dressed?'.

The following discussion is meant to show the kinds

of ablauts that occur in Tamazight and the rules governing

their occurrence.

VI.3.1.1   Zero Ablaut /∅/

We must distinguish between zero and no ablaut. The

latter is a characteristic of such verb stems as 1 - 25 in
the Appendix that do <u>not</u> have an underlying structure with
$\|C\| = \|\emptyset\|$. Zero ablaut, $/\emptyset/$, is characteristic of the others
(25 - 77 with $\|C\| = \|\emptyset\|$): e.g., 9 /sal/ 'ask' has no
ablaut as in /sal-ɣ/ 'I asked', /ur-sal-ɣ/ 'I did not ask';
whereas 70 /ls/ (underlying form /lsø/) 'get dressed' is
ablauted and thus gives: /lsi-ɣ/ 'I got dressed' and
/ur-lsi-ɣ/ 'I did not get dressed'.

The following examples of verb stems, both in their
underlying and surface structures, show the occurrence of
$/\emptyset/$ as the $\|C\|$ radical of certain sub-classes to which this
grammar refers as ablauted. Also included in the examples
are unablauted verb stems whose $\|C\|$ radicals are not $/\emptyset/$.

	Underlying Structure ABCD	Surface Structure	
3	fa	fa	'yawn'
6	šk:a	šk:a	'doubt'
1	dawa	dawa	'cure'
9	sal	sal	'ask'
18	xṭar	xṭar	'choose'
21	ḥudr	ḥudr	'bend, be low'
33	frøḥ	frḥ	'be happy'
34	fs:ør	fs:r	'explain'

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52	amØẓ	amẓ	'take'
57	Of:Ør	f:r	'hide'
62	afØ	af	'find'
63	aš:Øk	aš:k	'be lost'
64	arØr	rar	'return'
66	OgØ	g	'be, do'
70	lsØ	ls	'get dressed'
71	Od:Øu	d:u	'go'
77	irØi	iri	'want'

Thus the major distinction is whether the underlying structure of the stem has its ‖C‖ radical as ‖Ø‖ (e.g., 26-77 in the Verb Appendix) or not (e.g., 1-25 in the Verb Appendix). Based on this distinction, Tamazight verb stems are classified into two types:

     A - Unablauted   (1-25 in Verb Appendix)

     B - Ablauted   (26-77 in Verb Appendix)

VI.3.1.2   [Ø:i/a] Ablaut

The most distinctive ablaut is the change of /Ø/ referred to in **VI.3.1.1** above to /i/ in the $Past_{[-Negative]}$ for $P_1N_sG_{m\&f}$, $P_2N_sG_{m\&f}$ and to /a/ in the $Past_{[-Negative]}$ for PNG other than these mentioned here.

Using this feature, the Ablauted Type (26-77) is classified into two classes:

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$$- \; [\emptyset : i/a] \; +$$

/frɵ̣ḥ/   /af/

/fs:ɵr/   /aš:ɵk/

/amɵz/   /arɵr/

/ɔf:ɵr/   /ls∅/

/ɔd:ɵu/

/irɵi/
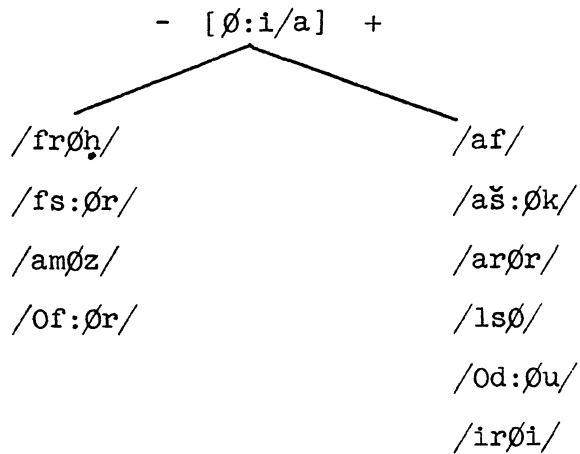
[∅:ɔ] and [∅:i/a] Classes of Ablauted
Verb Stems

Examples of [∅:i/a] Ablaut: (For complete conjugations of ablauted
and unablauted verb stems, see Tables 4,5, and 6)

70   /ls/   (< /ls∅/)

    lsiɣ   'I got dressed'

    tlsid   'you (s) got dressed'

    ilsa   'he got dressed'

    tlsa   'she got dressed'

Examples of [- ∅:i/a] (which will be referred to as

[∅:ɔ], i.e. zero: null ablaut):

33   frḥ   (< frɵ̣ḥ)

    frḥɣ   'I was happy'

    tfrḥd   'you were happy'

    ifrḥ   'he was happy'

    tfrḥ   'she was happy'

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VI.3.1.3   Predictable Ablauts

Two other **predictable** ablauts are: [∅:i] ablaut and
[a:u] ablaut.

VI.3.1.3-a   [∅:i] Ablaut

This is a change of /∅/ to /i/ in the past for all
PNG. This is, of course, a general ablaut since it occurs
with all ablauted stems: e.g., 70 /ls/ (</ls∅/): /lsiɣ/
'I got dressed', /urlsiɣ/ 'I did not get dressed', /ilsa/
'he got dressed', /urilsi/ 'he did not get dressed';
33 /frḥ/: /frḥɣ/ 'I was happy', /urfriḥɣ/ 'I was not
happy', /ifrḥ/ 'he was happy', /urifriḥ/ 'he was not happy'.

VI.3.1.3-b   [a:u] Ablaut

This is a change of /a/ to /u/ (for ablauted stems).
Thus any stem with ‖A‖ = /a/ and ‖C‖ = /∅/ undergoes this
change of /a/——→ /u/ in the Past [±Neg]. This accounts
for the fact that such stems as 12 /an:ay/ 'see' and 13
/aẓum/ 'fast' are classified as unablauted since their ‖C‖
is not /∅/ : e.g., 62 /af/ (/af∅/) 'find': /ufiɣ/ 'I
found', /urufiɣ/ 'I didn't find', /yufa/ 'he found',
/uryufi/ 'he did not find'.

VI.3.1.4   Metathesis

The role of metathesis is important in stating the

structure of certain sub-classes of verbs in Tamazight.

A look at 9 /sal/ 'ask' and 64 /rar/ 'return' shows that

they have identical surface structures. However, their

underlying structures are different: 9 /sal/ has /sal/

as underlying structure whereas the underlying struc ure

of 64 /rar/ is /arØr/.

A verb base (i.e. the underlying structure of the verb

stem) may be marked for [$\pm$Metathesis] which affects its

‖AB‖ and/or ‖ØD‖ radicals: e.g., /arØr/——→/rarØ/;

/as:Øk/——→/as:kØ/; or its ‖B"Ø‖ radicals: e.g.,

/grØ/——→/gØr/. Stems marked for double metathesis

(i.e. the /arØr/——→/rarØ/structure) are rare in this

dialect. Lexicons and dictionaries of Tamazight list three

to five verbs with this particular structure. Stems of the

/as:Øk/——→/as:kØ/ and the /grØ/——→/gØr/ structures are

rare also.

VI.3.1.5   Predictable Changes in the Sub-class /d:u/ - /iri/

This sub-class is characterized by having ‖D‖ = ‖V‖

where ‖V‖ is either /u/ or /i/ but not /a/. A predictable

change occurs with the realization of person-number-gender

in the Past$_{[\pm Negative]}$ to the members of this sub-class whose

structure (whether /bdu/, /d:u/, /� d:u/, or /iri/). This

is ‖(A)BØV‖ ——→ ‖(A)BØ‖/___V $= \left\{ \begin{matrix} u \\ i \end{matrix} \right\}$.

In addition another rule that is necessary for any stem with ‖A‖ = /#i-/ whether ablauted or not (e.e. 77 or 15) is one that deletes initial /#i-/ before the realization of /-PNG-/ in the Past$_{[\pm Negative]}$. It will thus operate on unablauted 15 /iẓil/ 'be nice' as well as on ablauted 77 /iri/ 'want'.

Examples of the above-mentioned changes are: /šmu/ (< /šmǿu/) 'smoke': /šmiɣ/ 'I smoked', /uršmiɣ/ 'I did not smoke', /išma/ 'he smoked', /urišmi/ 'he did not smoke' and 77 /iri/ (< /irǿi/) 'want': /riɣ/ 'I wanted', /ur:iɣ/ 'I did not want', /ira/ 'he wanted/, /uriri/ 'he did not want'. (See full paradigms in Tables 5 and 6.)

VI.3.2   Classes and Sub-classes of the Two Types of Tamazight Verb Stems

This section discusses the bases of the classification of Tamazight verb stems into two types, four classes and nine sub-classes.

VI.3.2.1   Ablauted and Unablauted Types

Based on the occurrence or non-occurrence of a ‖∅‖ as the ‖C‖ radical of their underlying structures, Tamazight verb stems are classified into two types:

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A Ablauted   (with ‖C‖ = ‖∅‖ in the
                         underlying structure)
B Unablauted   (with no ‖∅‖ in the
                         underlying structure)

This information is shown here in the following figure:

$$- [\, \|C\| = \|∅\| \,] +$$

A Unablauted   B Ablauted

‖AB(C)(D)‖   ‖(A)B(:)∅(D)‖

1 - 25   26 - 77
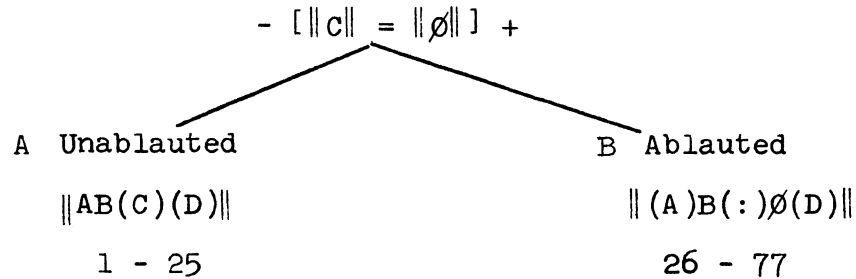
Ablauted and Unablauted Types of Tamazight Verb Stems

VI.3.2.2   Classes of the Ablauted Type

Based on the change [∅:i/a] referred to in VI.3.1.2
ablauted stems (26-77) are classified into two classes:
B-i and B-ii. B-i (26-61) is referred to as [-∅:i/a]
(or [∅:0]); B-ii (62-77) is referred to as [+∅:i/a]. This
is illustrated in the following figure:

$$- [∅:i/a] +$$

B-i $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \|AB(:)∅D\| \\ \|aB∅D\| \\ \|OB:∅D\| \end{array} \right\}$ B-ii $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \|aB \quad ∅(D)\| \\ [\underline{+}Met] \quad [\underline{+}Met] \\ \|(A)B(:) \quad ∅\| \\ \qquad\qquad [\underline{+}Met] \\ \|A(:)B(:)∅\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i \\ u \end{array} \right\} \| \end{array} \right\}$

Classes of the Ablauted Type

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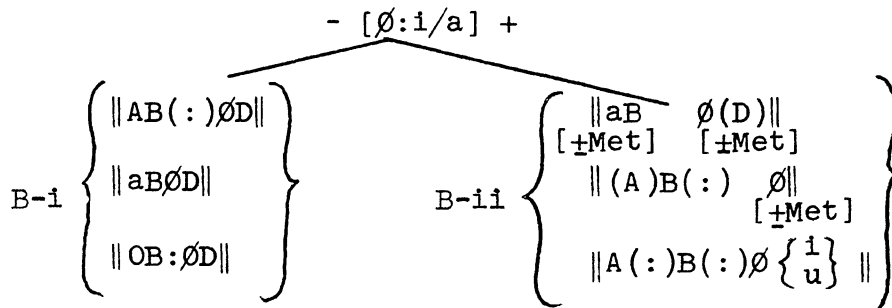
VI.3.2.3   Classes of the Unablauted Type

The members of the unablauted type do not undergo any change with the realization of person-number-gender in the past. However, classification into two classes: A-i and A-ii is necessary for the statement of particular derivations. All members of the unablauted type are characterized by a structure that does not have $\|C\|$ as $\|\emptyset\|$ and that necessarily has $\|V\|$ as either radical $\|B\|$, $\|C\|$ or $\|D\|$. The position of $\|V\|$ is the basis of the classification of unablauted stems into A-i and A-ii. All members of the A-ii class have the structure $\|AVCD\|$ (referred to as /ḥaḍr, d:irz, ḥudr/).

Based on whether the stem has $\|B\| = \|V\|$ followed by $\|CD\|$, the two classes of the unablauted type are shown in the following figure:

$$- \quad [AVCD] \quad +$$

$$\text{A-i} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \| A (B)(C)a\| \\ \| AVC \| \\ \| ABVD \| \end{array} \right\} \qquad \text{A-ii} \qquad \|AVCD\|$$

Classes of the Unablauted Type
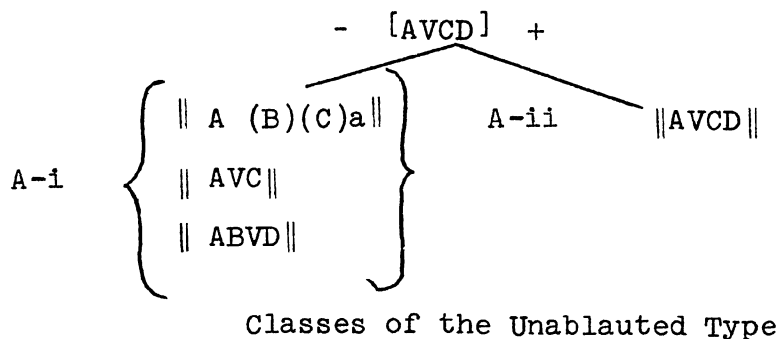
VI.3.2.4   Sub-classification of Tamazight Verb Stems

This section groups together the information stated in VI.3.2.1 to VI.3.2.3 above showing types A and

their four classes: A-i, A-ii and B-i, B-ii, their nine

sub-classes: A-i (1-3), B-i (1-3) and B-ii (1-3) as well

as the bases of this classification.

$$- \quad [C = \emptyset] \quad +$$

A ||AB(C)(D)|| B. ||(A)B(:)$\emptyset$D||

1-25   26-77

$$- \quad [||AVCD||] \quad + \qquad\qquad - \quad [\emptyset:i/a] \quad +$$

1||A(B)(C)a|| 1||AB(:)$\emptyset$D|| 1 ||aB $\emptyset$(D)||
          A -B||AVCD|| [+Met][+Met]

A-i   2||AVC|| B-i   2||aB$\emptyset$D|| B-ii   2 ||(A)B(:) $\emptyset$||
                                             [+Met]

3||ABVD|| 3||OB:$\emptyset$D|| 3 ||(A(:))B(:)$\emptyset\begin{Bmatrix}u\\i\end{Bmatrix}$||
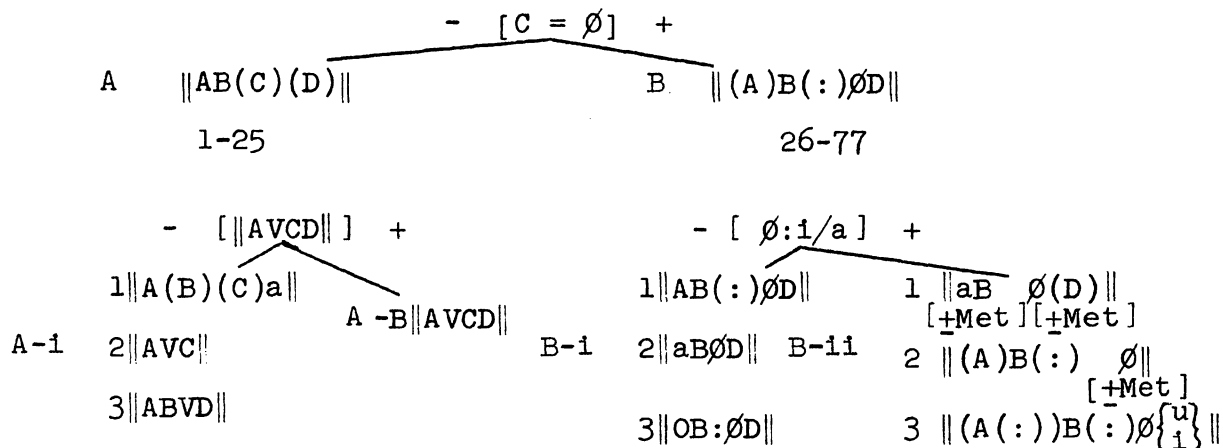
Sub-Classes of Tamazight Verb Stems

VI.3.3   Illustrative Examples of Conjugation of Verbs Representing
           the Various Sub-Classes of Tamazight Verb Stems

In this section fourteen verb stems representing the

various structures of the sub-classes of verb stems discussed

above are used to exemplify the Surface Structure (SS) forms

resulting from the realization of person-number-gender (PNG)

in the Past$_{[\pm\text{Negative}]}$. Some verbs are inflected for all

persons-numbers- and genders. Ohters with the same structure

and/or belonging to the same category of ablaut are inflected

only for P_1N_s and $P_3N_sG_f$. All forms in Tables 4,5, and 6

appear in their <u>surface structure (SS)</u>, i.e. after the

operation of the morphophonemic rules. Meanings are only

listed for the Affirmative Past.

PNG	Stem		Affirmative Past		Negative Past
	dawa	'cure'			
1s			dawaɣ	'I cured'	urdawaɣ
2s			tdawad	'you cured'	urtdawad
3sm			idawa	'he cured'	uridawa
3sf			tdawa	'she cured'	urtdawa
1p			ndawa	'we cured'	urndawa
2pm			tdawam	'you cured'	urtdawam
2pf			tdawant	'you cured'	urtdawant
3pm			dawan	'they cured'	urdawan
3pf			dawant	'they cured'	urdawant
	sal	'ask'			
1s			salɣ	'I asked'	ursalɣ
3sf			tsal	'she asked'	urtsal
	xṭar	'choose'			
1s			xṭarɣ	'I chose'	urxṭarɣ
3sf			txṭar	'she chose'	urtxṭar
	ḥaḍr	'be present'			
1s			ḥaḍrɣ	'I was present'	urḥaḍrɣ
3sf			tḥaḍr	'she was present'	urtḥaḍr

TABLE 4 - Person-Number-Gender Paradigms for Unablauted Stems

PNG	Stem		Affirmative Past		Negative Past
	frḥ	'be happy'			
1s			frḥɣ	'I was happy'	urfrihɣ
2s			tfrḥd	'you were happy'	urtfriḥd
3sm			ifrḥ	'he was happy'	urifriḥ
3sf			tfrḥ	'she was happy'	urtfriḥ
1p			nfrḥ	'we were happy'	urnfriḥ
2pm			tfrḥm	'you were happy'	urtfriḥm
2pf			tfrḥnt	'you were happy'	urtfriḥnt
3pm			frḥn	'they were happy'	urfriḥn
3pf			frḥnt	'they were happy'	urfriḥnt
	fs:r	'explain'			
1s			fs:rɣ	'I explained'	urfs:irɣ
3sf			tfs:r	'she explained'	urtfs:ir
	amẓ	'take'			
1s			umẓɣ	'I took'	urumiẓɣ
2s			tumẓd	'you took'	urtumiẓd
3sm			yumẓ	'he took'	uryumiẓ
3sf			tumẓ	'she took'	urtumiẓ
1p			numẓ	'we took'	urnumiẓ
2pm			tumẓm	'you took'	urtumiẓm
2pf			tumẓnt	'you took'	urtumiẓnt
3pm			umẓn	'they took'	urumiẓn
3pf			umẓnt	'they took'	urumiẓnt
	f:r	'hide'			
1s			f:rɣ	'I hid'	urf:irɣ
3sf			tf:r	'she his'	urtf:ir

TABLE 5 - Person-Number-Gender Paradigms for [∅:0] Ablauted Stems

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PNG	Stem	Affirmative Past		Negative Past
	af 'find'			
1s		ufiɣ	'I found'	urufiɣ
2s		tufid	'you found'	urtufid
3sm		yufa	'he found'	uryufi
3sf		tufa	'she found'	urtufi
1p		nufa	'we found'	urnufi
2pm		tufam	'you found'	urtufim
2pf		tufant	'you found'	urtufint
3pm		ufan	'they found'	urufin
3pf		ufant	'they found'	urufint
	as:k 'be lost'			
1s		uš:kiɣ	'I was lost'	uruš:kiɣ
3sf		tuš:ka	'she was lost'	urtuš:ki
	rar 'return'			
1s		ruriɣ	'I returned'	ur:uriɣ
3sf		trura	'she returned'	urtruri
	ls 'get dressed'			
1s		lsiɣ	'I got dressed'	urlsiɣ
2s		tlsid	'you got dressed'	urtslid
3sm		ilsa	'he got dressed'	urilsi
3sf		tlsa	'she got dressed'	urtlsi
1p		nlsa	'we got dressed'	urnlsi
2pm		tlsam	'you got dressed'	urtlsim
2pf		tlsant	'you got dressed'	urtlsint
3pm		lsan	'they got dressed'	urlsin
3pf		lsant	'they got dressed'	urlsint
	bdu 'begin'			
1s		bdiɣ	'I began'	urbdiɣ
2s		tbdid	'you began'	urtbdid
3sm		ibda	'he began'	uribdi
3sf		tbda	'she began'	urtbdi
1p		nbda	'we began'	urnbdi
2pm		tbdam	'you began'	urtbdim
2pf		tbdant	'you began'	urtbdint
3pm		bdan	'they began'	urbdin
3pf		bdant	'they began'	urbdint
	iri 'want'			
1s		riɣ	'I wanted'	ur:iɣ
2s		trid	'you wanted'	urtrid
3sm		ira	'he wanted'	uriri
3sf		tra	'she wanted'	urtri
1p		nra	'we wanted'	urnri
2pm		tram	'you wanted'	urtrim
2pf		trant	'you wanted'	urtrint
3pm		ran	'they wanted'	ur:in
3pf		rant	'they wanted'	ur:int

TABLE 6 - Person-Number-Gender Paradigms for [∅:i/a]Ablauted Stems

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VI.4 <u>Derivational Processes</u> [10]

VI.4.1   <u>Introduction</u>

Derivations are of two kinds: Stem Derivations and Temporal/Modal Derivations. Derived Stems are either Verb Stems or Noun Stems. The Derived Verb Stems include the Causative SV, the Reciprocal MV, the Recipro-Causative MSV, and the Passive TuV as well as their Habitual Stems (SVH, MVH,MSVH,TuVH respectively) and the habitual VH of the unaugmented Verb Stem V. Derived Noun Stems include the stems of such nouns as the ones appearing in postiions c), d) and e) in the Sample Appendix(Noun of Action, Agent, Instrument, Place or Occupation also see the Grammar of the Noun.) The following are the main Temporal and Modal derivations of the unaugmented verb stem V and its habitual stem VH: Aorist (Aor.), Affirmative Past (Aff. Past), Negative Past (Neg. Past), Interrogative Past (Interr. Past), Negative-Interrogative Past (Neg-Interr. Past),Affirmative Future (Aff. Fut.), Negative Future (Neg. Fut.), Interrogative Future (Interr. Fut.), Affirmative Present (Aff. Pres.), Negative Present (Neg. Pres.), Interrogative Present (Interr, Pres.), Negative-Interrogative Present (Neg-Interr. Pres.), Imperative (Imp.), Negative Imperative (Neg. Imp.), Past Participle (Past Part.), Present Participle (Pres. Part.), and Future Participle (Fut. Part.). Most of the above-mentioned temporal and

modal structures generated from V and its VH may also
be generated from SV, MV, MSV and their habitual stems
SVH,MVH,and MSVH. Fewer structures are generated from
TuV and its habitual stem TuVH.

The purpose of this chapter is to characterize how a
native speaker of Tamazight can generate all the forms referred
to here. This is represented in a series of discussions.
Section VI.4.2 discusses the derivation of VH i.e.
the habitual of the unaugmented stem   . Sections VI.4.3
VI.4.4 and VI.4.5 discuss the derivations of the Causative,
Reciprocal and Passive stems respectively. The discussion
of the derivation of the habitual of a particular derived
stem is included with it in the same section: e.g. Section
VI.4. discusses SV and SVH derivations. Section VI.4.6 is
an informal discussion of derived noun stems and nouns.
Section VI.4.7 shows the derivations of the different
tenses and their modes as well as the participles with
examples shown in Tables 7-29. Rules are formulated for each
temporal and modal derivation and a summary of the rules
appears in VI.4.7.8.

Throughout Section VI.4 DSR refers to a deep structure
rule which generates a form with its morpheme boundary /-/
whereas SSR refers to a surface structure rule that deletes
/-/ and realizes other changes stated for the generated
structure. SSR's of a particular derivation follow DSR's

of the same derivation except for general SSR's which are
grouped in Section VI.5.

VI.4.2   Derivation of the Habitual VH of the Unaugmented Stem

VH is the stem used in the derivation of the present
tense with its different modes, the progressive and inchoative
actions, the negative and the energetic imperatives, and the
present and future participles. The VH is derived from
unaugmented V; theoretically each V has a VH.

Prefix /t:-/ is used to derive the habitual stem of any
V of type A-i (1-73)[*] /t:____aV-/ derives habitual stems
from V's of the type A-ii. (74-115). /-aV-/[**] is an alpha
rule that adds a vowel that is identical to the stem vowel
(see examples for A-ii below).

Examples

		V		VH
A-i	3	fa	'yawn'	t:fa
	37	sal	'ask'	t:sal
	46	ʕum	'swim'	t:ʕum
	72	zwiɣ	'be red'	t:zwiɣ

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[*]   Numerals refer to number of verb stem in Verb List at the
end of this chapter. (pp. 262-282)

[**]   For a more elaborate description of the habitual derivational
processes see Abdel-Massih, Ernest, Tamazight Verb Structure:
A Generative Approach, Indiana University: Bloomington, Indiana,
1971.

A-ii   77   ḥaḍr   'be present'   t:ḥaḍar

        74   d:irz   'step back'   t:diriz

        83   ḥudr   'bend'   t:ḥudur

B.i.1   To derive the habitual of V of type B.i.1 . (116-315)

   observe the following:

        a)   All verbs of the /fs:r/ (‖AB:∅D‖) sub-group derive

   their habitual stems by prefix /t:-/ and ‖∅‖——→/-a-/, i.e.

        162 fs:r   'to explain' ——→ t:fs:ar   (VH)

        b)   All V's marked native (i.e. not Arabic) derive their

   VH's thus: ‖Ḅ‖ ——→ ‖B:‖ e.g.

        225 rẓm   'to open' ——→   rẓ:m   (VH)

        c)   V's marked 'Arabic loan' derive their VH's by

   prefix /t:-/ and ‖-∅-‖——→/a-/ if ‖B‖ is not /r/ nor

   /d, t, s, z, s, or z/, e.g.

        126 bˤd   'be far' ——→ t:bˤad   (VH)

        144 fhm   'understand' ——→ t:fham   (VH)

        d)   If ‖B‖ is /r/ we may get VH's as variants of both

   forms mentioned in b) and c) above, e.g.

        149 frḥ   'be happy' ——→ fr:ḥ

                                    t:fraḥ   (VH)

        e)   If ‖B‖ is /d, t, s, z, s or z/ VH is formed as in

   b) above.

        271 xdm   'work ——→   xd:m   (VH)

B.i.2   To derive VH's of B.i.2   (316-337) and B.i.3   (338-

   360) the prefix /t:-/ is used: e.g.,

325 amẓ   'take'   ⟶   t:amẓ (VH)

340 f:r   'hide'   ⟶   t:f:r (VH)

/t:___a#/ is the derivational affix of members of

B.ii.1 (361-370), e.g.

362 af   'find'   ⟶   t:afa (VH)

361 adž   'let'   ⟶   t:adža (VH)

369 rar   'return, give   t:rara (VH)
            back'

As for B.ii.2. (371-397), /t:___a#/ derives a VH of

the structures /0g∅/ ⟶ g, bd:∅ ⟶ bd: whereas 1s∅ ⟶ 1s

derives the VH as 1s:a and g∅r ⟶ gr∅ ⟶ gr derives the

VH as g:ar. This means that /∅/ ⟶ /a/ and the radical

preceding /∅/ ⟶ [+tense], e.g.

	V		VH
377	g̣:	'knead'	t:g̣:a
371	bd:	'stand up'	t:bd:a
388	1s	'get dressed'	1s:a
376	gr	'throw away'	g:ar

B.ii.3 (398-450) derive their VH's mainly by the

prefix /t:-/. Stems with ‖B‖ as /n/ derive their VH's by

‖B‖ ⟶ ‖B:‖. Stems with ‖B‖ as /m/ derive their VH's by

variants of both processes mentioned above, e.g.

401 dʕu   'pray for'   ⟶   t:dʕu (VH)

400 bnu   'build'   ⟶   bn:u   (VH)

412 ḥmu   'be hot weather' ⟶ {t:ḥmu / ḥm:u} (VH)

VI.4.3   Causative Stem Derivation

The Verb Appendix shows, where the semantic features of
V permit, two causative stems appearing in positions a) and
b). The stem in position a) is referred to as SV; i.e.
causative stem and the one in position b) is referred to as
SVH, i.e. habitual of the causative stem. SV is used for
past and future tense derivations, for imperative and past
participle derivations. SVH is used for present tense, negative
imperative and present and future participle derivations.
In general SV corresponds to V (in derivational power) whereas
SVH corresponds to VH.

SV is derived from V by the causative prefix $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} /s-/ \\ /s:-/ \end{array} \right\}$.

SVH is derived from SV by an infix (/-V-/), e.g.

	V		SV	SVH
3	fa	'yawn'	sfa	sfa
83	ḥudr	'bend'	sḥudr	sḥudur
173	ḥml	'flood'	s:ḥml	s:ḥmal
426	sfu	'be clean'	s:fu	s:fu

VI.4.4   Reciprocal Verb Stem Derivation

The Verb Appendix shows, where the semantic features
of V permit, two reciprocal stems in positions a) and b).
The stem in position a) is referred to as MV, i.e. Reciprocal
Verb Stem; whereas the stem in position b) is referred to as

MVH, i.e. habitual of the reciprocal stem. Stems with
reciprocal and causative connotation (Recipro-Causative)
appear partly in the Causative and partly in the Reciprocal
columns and are referred to as: a) MSV, b) MSVH. This section
states the derivation of Recip. and Recipro-Caus. stems.
This is done because some V's derive Recipro-Causative stems
in spite of the fact that the semantic features of V do not
permit the derivation of a causative stem. Such cases are
not numerous; e.g. 383 /nɣ/ 'kill' does not derive a causative,
however, it derives recipro-causative: MSV /msnɣa/ and MSVH
/t:msnɣa/. Some V's derive variants, i.e. reciprocals and
recipro-causatives: e.g.

		V	SV	SV	MV
			SV	SV	MV
47	bd:1	'change'	sbd:1		mbd:al
			sbd:al		t:mbd:al
				msbd:al	
				t:msbd:al	

where the MV means 'to exchange or change with one another'
and the MSV means 'to cause one another to exchange. MV and
MVH correspond to V as far as Temporal and Modal derivations
are concerned, whereas MVH and MSVH correspond to VH.

MV[*] is derived from V by the reciprocal prefix $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /m\text{-}/ \\ /m\text{:-}/ \end{array} \right\}$,

[*] For a more elaborate description of the phonological rules
governing the shape of the causative and/or reciprocal prefix,
see Abdel-Massih, Ernest, <u>Tamazight Verb Structure: A Generative
Approach</u>, Indiana University: Bloomington, Indiana, 1971.

MSV is derived by prefixing $\left\{\begin{array}{l}/-ms-/ \\ /-m{:}s-/\end{array}\right\}$ to V. A vowel

infix is added if the stem has a consonant cluster as its

final two radicals.   MVH and MSVH are derived from MV and MSV

respectively by prefix /t:-/: e.g.

	V		MV/MSV	MVH/MSVH
37	sal	'ask'	m:sal	t:msal
46	ʕum	'swim'	m:sʕum	t:m:sʕum
95	ṭalb	'demand'	mṭalab	t:mṭalab
144	fhm	'understand'	msfham	t:msfham

VI.4.5   Passive Verb Stem Derivation

The Verb Appendix shows two passives: TuV, i.e. passive

stem appearing in position a) and TuVH, i.e. the habitual of

the passive stem appearing in position b). TuV is derived

from V. Stems 149 and 152 in Appendix derive their passives

(TuSV) from SV

TuV is the stem that derives past and future tenses

and their modes; TuVH is the stem that derives the present

tense and its modes. The derivation of TuV from V (most

common passive) or SV (very rare passive) is achieved by the

passive derivational prefix /t:u-/ and the derivation of TuVH

from TuV by an optional infix (/-V-/)[*], e.g.

		V	TuV	TuVH
11	ḥn:a	'pity'	t:uḥn:a	t:uḥn:a
37	sal	'ask'	t:usal	t:usal
88	saʕd	'help'	t:usaʕd	t:usaʕad
116	bdr	'mention'	t:ubdr	t:ubdar

VI.4.6 Derived Noun Stems and Nouns

VI.4.6.1 Introduction

It was stated before that noun stems would be discussed though not fully. This section attempts to show the relation between nouns of action, of agent and other derived nouns and their V's in terms of derivations. The statements are very simple. For more elaborate discussion see the Grammar of the Noun

VI.4.6.2 Noun Stem Derivation

Most noun stems are derived from V's; however, few nouns of action may be derived from SV, MV or MSV. Many noun stems are identical with their V's (SV's, MV's or MSV's): e.g.

		V	N-act.	N-agt (m,s)[*]
84	kašf	'foretell'	a-kašf-	am-kašf-

		V	SV	N-act
7	ḥn:a	'be peaceful'	sḥn:a	a-sḥn:a-

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[*] Throughout this section, Noun Stems will be underlined.

		V		MV	N-act
81	ḥasb		'count'	mḥasab	a-mḥasab-

In many cases the stem of the noun of action is derived
from V by change of ‖∅‖ to /-a-/ and the noun of agent stem
is derived from that of N-act by change of ‖B‖ ⟶ ‖B:‖
([-tense] ⟶ [+tense]). This is characteristic of stems
with underlying structure ‖AB∅D‖: e.g.

		V		N-act	N-agt (m,s)
167	hdm		'demolish'	a-hdam-	a-hd:am-

Most V's with underlying structures ‖AB:∅D‖ derive
their N-agt stems by change of ‖∅‖ ⟶ /a-/. This particular
sub-class has (in most cases) identical V's and N-act stems: e.g.

		V		N-act	N-agt (m,s)
123	bš:r		'give good news'	a-bš:r-	a-bš:ar-

The sub-class of verb stems with the underlying structure
‖OB:∅D‖ derives its N-act stems by change ‖∅‖ ⟶ /-u-/ and
of ‖B:‖ ⟶ ‖B‖ ([+tense] ⟶ [-tense]). This is characteristic
of the sub-class with ‖A‖ = ‖O‖ (‖O‖ ⟶ /u-/), e.g.

		V		N-act
338	b:y		'cut'	u-buy-
341	f:γ		'go out'	u-fuγ-

The sub-class of verb stems with the underlying structure
‖AB∅‖ derives stems of N-act and N-agt by change of ‖∅‖ ⟶ ‖V‖.

This sub-class of verbs is characterized by deriving most of
its N-acts by the affix /m____t/. If ‖V‖ is /-i-/ then
it ——→/-iw-/.

		V		N-act	N-agt (m,s)
379	ks	'tend sheep'	ta-ks:a-	am-ksa-
380	ls	'dress'	m-lsiw-t	
381	ns	'spend the night'	m-nsiw-t	
383	rɣ	'warm oneself'	m-rɣiw-t	
385	sɣ	'buy'	m-sɣiw-t	
392	zḍ	'weave'	m-zḍiw-t	am-zḍa-

The sub-class of verbs with the underlying structure
‖ABÓV‖ shows a number of N-act and N-agt which (together with
their stems) are derived from V on the pattern of a corresponding
Arabic noun. Mention should be made of the fact that when a
noun is derived (whether of this sub-class or any other sub-
class) on an Arabic noun pattern, the shape of the Berber noun
is not easily predictable. Examples given below show noun stems
derived from the different classes of V stems that follow an
Arabic pattern:

		V		N-act	
81	ḥasb	'count'	l-ḥsab-	
95	ṭalb	'demand'	ṭ:alab	(l-ṭalab-)
422	rǧu	'hope'	r:ǧa	(l-rǧa-)
427	ṣḥu	'be healthy'	ṣ:aḥt	(l-ṣaḥt-)

| 440 | ʕfu | 'forgive' | l-ʕ<u>fu</u>- |
| 265 | wq:r | 'respect' | l-<u>uq:r</u>- |

	V		N-agt (m,s)
400	bnu	'build'	a-<u>bn:ay</u>-
179	ḥšm	'govern'	l-<u>ḥak:m</u>-
264	wk:l	'appoint as representative'	l-<u>ušil</u>-

VI.4.7   Temporal and Modal Derivation

VI.4.7.1   Introduction

This section discusses the derivation of the different tenses and modes of the verb in Tamazight. The discussion includes the following derivations from unaugmented V: the imperative, the Aorist, the past tense with its different modes: affirmative, interrogative, negative and negative-interrogative; the future tense with its two modes: affirmative and interrogative - "Will" type as well as the derivation of the past participle and a variant of the future participle. From VH the following derivations are discussed: energetic imperative, negative imperative, interrogative future - Q type, negative future, the present tense with its different modes: affirmative, interrogative, negative and negative-interrogative, as well as the present and future participles.

The derivations referred to above are all achieved by using V and VH. Moreover, SV, MV or MSV can generate most of the structures that a V does and SVH, MVH or MSVH can generate most of the structures that a VH does. Fewer structures are generated from the passive stem TuV and its habitual TuVH.

VI.4.7.2   Derivation of Imperative Structures

Tamazight has different imperative structures that
will be referred to as 2-a, 2-b and 1-a, 1-b, 1-c.
Structures 2-a and 2-b are second person imperatives where
2-b is the negative imperative. 1-a, 1-b and 1-c are
hortatory or cohortative constructions expressing an
exhortation or suggestion for first person. The negative
imperative and the energetic imperative are derived from
VH. The other imperative structures are derived from V.
/-PNG/[*] of the imperatives are all suffixes (see Tables 1 and 2).

Imperative 2-a is derived simply by affixation of
/-PNG/ (suffixes) shown in Table 1 to either V to
derive second person imperative or to VH to derive the
energetic imperative which for   /ʕum/ 'swim' may be
translated as either 'get in the habit of swimming' or
'do swim'. Imperative 2-b is derived by prefixation of the
negative imperative derivational prefix /adur-/
to VH and the realization of imperative /-PNG$_2$/ suffixes
referred to above. Imperative 1-a is derived by the
suffixation of /-PNG$_1$/ set shown in Table 2.   Imperatives
1-b and 1-c differ from 1-a both in meaning and in structure.
All the three structures mean 'let us...', except that 1-b
and 1-c have the added feature [+movement]. The difference

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[*]   This study refers to the suffixed PNG of the imperative as
/-PNG/ or /-PNG{$\begin{smallmatrix}1\\2\end{smallmatrix}$}/ where /-PNG$_2$/ means second person suffixes
and /-PNG$_1$/ is hortatory suffixes. It will also refer to the
affixed PNG of the different tenses as /-PNG-/.

in structure lies in the fact that /-PNG$_1$/ are added to

the V to derive 1-a, whereas in deriving 1-b they are

added to the V   /k:r/ 'get up' and in 1-c /-PNG$_1$/ are

added to /yal:ah/ a particle meaning 'let us'.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /k:r/ \quad + \quad /-PNG_1/ \\ /yal:ah/ \quad + \quad /-PNG_1/ \end{array} \right\}$$ are both followed by the

desired V + /-PNG-/ + future prefix /ad-/: e.g. /ʕum-aɣ /

'let us (both) swim', /k:r-a   ad-n-ʕum/ 'let us (both) go and

swim'[/ad-n-ʕum/ (DS) ———→/an-ʕum/ (SS)]. Another

structural difference is that 1-a does not distinguish

between G$_m$ and G$_f$ in P$_d$ whereas 1-b and 1-c do.

Imperative structures with the movable affixes /-d-/

of proximity, /-n:-/ of remoteness and the pronominal

affixes occur with the affix post-Imperative$_{[-Negative]}$

and in the order: Imper$_{[-Negative]}$+ (I.Obj.) + (D.Obj.) +

(orientational affix) or pre-Imperative$_{[+Negative]}$ and in

the order: Neg, Imper. Prefix + (I.Obj.) + (D.Obj.) +

(orientational affix) + Imperative.

Causative and Reciprocal Imperatives are derived in the

same way the imperatives of a V and its VH are derived;

Causative and reciprocal imperative structures with the

movable affixes are also derived in the same way referred

to in the previous paragraph. Not all imperative constructions

with the movable affixes occur with the derived verb

stems (Caus. and Recip.).

Rules for the Generation of the Different Imperative

Structures (from V and VH)

Imper-DSR$_1$ Imperative $\longrightarrow$ V + /-PNG$_2$/

Imper-DSR$_2$ Energetic Imper. $\longrightarrow$ VH + /-PNG$_2$/

Imper-DSR$_3$ Negative Imper. $\rightarrow$ /adur-/ + VH + /-PNG$_2$/

Imper-DSR$_4$ Hortatory $\longrightarrow$ V + /-PNG$_1$/

Imper-DSR$_5$ Hortatory$_{[\ +Movement]}$ $\longrightarrow$

$$\left.\begin{array}{c} /k{:}r/ \\ /yal{:}ah/ \end{array}\right\} +/\text{-PNG}_1/+/\text{-ad-}/+/\text{-P}_1\text{N}_p\text{-}/+V$$

Imper-DSR$_6$ Movable Affix $\longrightarrow$

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} V + /\text{-PNG}_2/+(\text{I.Obj.}) + (\text{D.Obj.}) + (\text{Orient.Aff.}) \\ /\text{adur-}/+(\text{I.Obj.})+(\text{D.Obj.})+(\text{Orient.Aff.})+ \\ VH + /\text{-PNG}_2/ \end{array}\right\}$$

Note on Imper-DSR$_6$: This rule states the position of the

movable affixes in relation to the imperative. (This is

true of all rules concerning Movable Affixes in the following

sections.)

    Examples of Imperative structures generated by the above

rules are shown in Tables 7-13 in their (SS) form.

| PNG | 2-a | | 2-b |
	Imperative	Energetic Imperative	Negative Imperative
2smf	ſum	t:ſum	adurt:ſum
2pm	ſumat	t:ſumat	adurt:ſumat
2pf	ſumnt	t:ſumnt	adurt:ſumnt

TABLE 7 - Imperatives 2-a and 2-b of   /ſum/ (SS)

| | Hortatory | Hortatory [+Movement] | |
PNG	1-a	1-b	1-c
1dm	ſumaɣ	k:raɣ anſum	yal:ahaɣ anſum
1df	ſumaɣ	k:ram anſum	yal:aham anſum
1pm	ſumataɣ	k:rataɣ anſum	yal:ahataɣ anſum
1pf	ſumntaɣ	k:rntaɣ anſum	yal:ahntaɣ anſum

TABLE 8 - Imperatives 1-a, 1-b, and 1-c of   /ſum/ (SS)

| PNG | 2-a | | 2-b |
	Imperative	Energetic Imperative	Negative Imperative
2smf	awid	t:awid	adurt:awy
2pm	awyad:	t:awyad:	adurt:awyat
2pf	awind:	t:awind:	adurdt:awint

TABLE 9 - Imperatives 2-a and 2-b   /awy/ in combination
with the proximity affix /-d-/ (SS)

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	2-a		2-b
PNG	Imperative	Energetic Imperative	Negative Imperative
2smf	shudr	shudur	adurshudur
2pm	shudrat	shudurat	adurshudurat
2pf	shudrnt	shudurnt	adurshudurnt

TABLE 10   -   Imperatives 2-a and 2-b of /shudr/, causative
of   /hudr/ (SS)

	Hortatory	Hortatory [+Movement]	
PNG	1-a	1-b	1-c
1dm	shudraɣ	k:raɣ anshudr	yal:ahaɣ anshudr
1df	shudraɣ	k:ram anshudr	yal:aham anshudr
1pm	shudrataɣ	k:rataɣ anshudr	yal:ahataɣ anshudr
1pf	shudrntaɣ	k:rntaɣ anshudr	yal:ahntaɣ anshudr

TABLE 11   -   Imperatives 1-a, 1-b, 1-c of /shudr/, causative
of   /hudr/ (SS)

	2-a		2-b
PNG	Imperative	Energetic Imperative	Negative Imperative
2smf	mʕawan	t:mʕawan	adurt:mʕawan
2pm	mʕawanat	t:mʕawanat	adurt:mʕawanat
2pf	mʕawannt	t:mʕawannt	adurt:mʕawannt

TABLE 12 - Imperatives 2-a and 2-b of /mʕawn/, reciprocal of
/ʕawn/ (SS)

PNG	Hortatory	Hortatory [+Movement]	
	1-a	1-b	1-c
1dm	mᶜawanaɣ	k:raɣ anmᶜawan	yal̥:ahaɣ anmᶜawan
1df	mᶜawanaɣ	k:ram anmᶜawan	yal̥:aham anmᶜawan
1pm	mᶜawanataɣ	k:rataɣ anmᶜawan	yal̥:ahataɣ anmᶜawan
1pf	mᶜawanntaɣ	k:rntaɣ anmᶜawan	yal̥:ahntaɣ anmᶜawan

TABLE 13 - Imperatives 1-a, 1-b, 1-c of /mᶜawan/, reciprocal
         of   /ᶜawn/ (SS)

VI.4.7.3   Derivation of the Past Tense and Its Different Modes

The past tense is derived from V by the realization of
/-PNG-/ shown in Table 3. As stated before, /-PNG-/affixes
are the same no matter what the temporal (past, present,
future) structure is. Its different modes are derived by
the modal prefixes discussed in VI.2.2 above. The realization
of /-PNG-/ in the past effects a change in the verb stem of
certain classes. This was discussed in VI.3 and was referred
to as ablaut (Abl) and to the stems as ablauted stems.

Rules for the Derivation of the Different Modes of the

Past Tense: (from V)

Past-DSR$_1$ Affirm. Past $\longrightarrow$ V + /-PNG-/ + (Abl)

Past-DSR$_2$ Interrog. Past $\longrightarrow$/is-/ + Affirm. Past

Past-DSR$_3$

Past-DSR$_4$

Past-DSR$_5$

Neg. Past $\longrightarrow$ /ur-/ + V + /-PNG-/ + (Abl)

Neg-Interrog. Past $\longrightarrow$ /is-/ + Neg. Past

Movable Affix $\longrightarrow$

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Post-Verbal / Affirm. Past\_\_\_\_}\\ \text{Pre-Verbal / \_\_\_Non-Affirm. Past}\end{array}\right\}$$

Examples of the products of the above rules are shown in Tables 14-17. All forms have as subject /-P$_3$N$_s$G$_m$-/ (prefix /i-/). Blank boxes indicate that the form does not occur.

Examples of Past Tense Structures

	Past	Past, Prox. Affix	Past, I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	iʕawn	iʕawnd	iʕawnasd
Interr.	isiʕawn	isdiʕawn	isasdiʕawn
Neg.	uriʕawn	urdiʕawn	urasdiʕawn
Neg-Int.	isuriʕawn	isurdiʕawn	isurasdiʕawn

TABLE 14 - Structures generated from V /ʕawn/ in the past (SS)

	Past	Past, Prox. Affix	Past, I.Obj. Prox. Affix
Affirm.	isᶜawn	isᶜawnd	isᶜawnasd
Interr.	isisᶜawn	isdsᶜawn	isasdisᶜawn
Neg.	urisᶜawn	urdsᶜawn	urasdisᶜawn
Neg.Int.	isurisᶜawn	isurdsᶜawn	isurasdisᶜawn

TABLE 15 - Structures generated from /sᶜawn/, Causative of /ꞩawn/ in the past   (SS)

	Past	Past, Prox. Affix	Past, I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	imᶜawan	imᶜawand	
Interr.	isimᶜawan	isdmᶜawan	
Neg.	urimᶜawan	urdimᶜawan	
Neg.Int.	isurimᶜawan	isurdimᶜawan	

TABLE 16 - Structures generated from /mᶜawan/, Reciprocal of /ꞩawn/ in the past   (SS)

	Past	Past, Prox. Affix.	Past, I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	it:uᶜawn	it:uᶜawnd	it:uᶜawnasd
Interr.	isit:uᶜawn	isdit:uᶜawn	isasdit:uᶜawn
Neg.	urit:uᶜawn	urdit:uᶜawn	urasdit:uᶜawn
Neg.Int.	isurit:uᶜawn	isurdit:uᶜawn	isurasdit:uᶜawn

TABLE 17 - Structures generated from /t:uᶜawn/, Passive of /ꞩawn/ in the past   (SS)

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VI.4.7.4 Derivation of the Future Tense and Its Different Modes

The structures generated for the future tense are:
affirmative future, interrogative future (Will type),
negative future and interrogative future (Q type).

Rules for the Generation of the Different Future Modes
(from V and VH)

Fut-DSR$_1$ Affirm-Fut $\longrightarrow$ /ad-/ + V + /-PNG-/

Fut-DSR$_2$ Interr-Fut$_{will}$ $\longrightarrow$ /id:-/ + Affirmative Future

Fut-DSR$_3$ Negative Fut $\longrightarrow$ /ur-/ + VH + /-PNG-/

Fut-DSR$_4$ Interr. Fut$_Q$ $\longrightarrow$ QW + VH + /-PNG-/

Fut-DSR$_5$ Movable Affixes $\longrightarrow$ Pre-Verbal

Most of the above-mentioned structures may be derived
for the causative, reciprocal, recipro-causative and passive
where SV, MV, MSV, amd TuV are used in place of V; and SVH,
MVH, MSVH, and TuVH are used in place of VH.

Examples of the results of the above rules are shown
in Tables 18-21. All forms are generated with -P$_3$N$_s$G$_m$-
(Prefix /-i/). Blank boxes indicate that the form does
not occur.

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	Future	Future, Prox. Affix	Future, I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	adiˤawn	ad:iˤawn	adasdiˤawn
Interr.	id:adiˤawn	id:ad:iˤawn	id:adasdiˤawn
Neg.	urit:ˤawan	urit:ˤawan	urasdit:ˤawan
Neg.Int.	milmi yt:ˤawan	milmi dit:ˤawan	milmi asdit:ˤawan

TABLE 18 - Structures generated from V   /ˤawn/ and its
VH /t:ˤawan/ in the future - (SS)

	Future	Future, Prox. Affix	Future, I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	adisˤawn	ad:isˤawn	adasdisˤawn
Interr.	id:adisˤawn	id:ad:isˤawn	id:adasdisˤawn
Neg.	urisˤawan	urdisˤawan	urasdisˤawan
Neg.Int.	milmi ysˤawan	milmi disˤawan	milmi asdisˤawan

TABLE 19 - Structures generated from the causatives
a) /sˤawn/ and b) /sˤawan/ in the future - (SS)

	Future	Future, Prox. Affix	Future, I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	adimˤawan	ad:imˤawan	
Interr.	id:adimˤawan	id:ad:imˤawan	
Neg.	urit:mˤawan	urdimˤawan	
Neg. Int.	milmi yt:mˤawan	milmi dit:mˤawan	

TABLE 20 - Structures generated from the reciprocals
a) /mˤawan/ and b) /t:mˤawan/ in the future - (SS)

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	Future	Future, Prox. Affix	Future, I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	adit:uʕawn		adasdit:uʕawn
Interr.	id:adit:uʕawn		id:adasdit:uʕawn
Neg.	urit:uʕawan		urasdit:uʕawan
Neg.Int.	milmi it:uʕawan		milmi asdit:uʕawan

TABLE 21   -   Structures generated from the passives
a) /t:uʕawn/ and b) /t:uʕawan/ in the future - (SS)

VI.4.7.5   Derivation of the Present Tense and Its Different Modes

The present tense with its different modes is derived

from VH (or SVH,MVH,MSVH,TuVH).

Rules for the Generation of the Present Tense (from VH)

Pres-DSR$_1$ Affirm. Pres. $\longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} da- \\ 1:a- \end{Bmatrix}$ + VH + /-PNG-/

Pres-DSR$_2$ Interrog. Pres. $\longrightarrow$ /is-/ + Affirm. Pres.

Pres-DSR$_3$ Neg. Pres. $\longrightarrow$ /ur-/ + Affirm. Pres.

Pres-DSR$_4$ Neg-Interrog. Pres. $\longrightarrow$ /is-/ + Neg. Pres.

Pres-DSR$_5$ Movable Affix $\longrightarrow$ Pre-Verbal

Examples of present tense structures generated by the

above rules are shown in Tables 22-25.   All forms are generated

with -P$_3$N$_s$G$_m$- (prefix /i-/).   Blank boxes indicate the form

does not occur.

197

	Present	Pres.,Prox. Affix	Pres., I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	dayt:ʕawan	dadit:ʕawan	dasdit:ʕawan
Interrog.	isdayt:ʕawan	isdadit:ʕawan	isdasdit:ʕawn
Neg.	urdayt:ʕawan	urdadit:ʕawan	urdasdit:ʕawan
Neg. Int.	isurdayt:ʕawan	isurdadit:ʕawan	isurdadit:ʕawan

TABLE 22 - Structures generated from /t:ʕawan/, VH of /ʕawn/ in the present (SS)

	Present	Pres.,Prox. Affix	Pres., I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	daysʕawan	dadisʕawan	dasdisʕawan
Interrog.	isdaysʕawan	isdadisʕawan	isdasdisʕawan
Neg.	urdaysʕawan	urdadisʕawan	urdasdisʕawan
Neg. Int.	isurdaysʕawan	isurdadisʕawan	isurdasdisʕawan

TABLE 23 - Structures generated from /sʕawan/, SVH of /ʕawn/ in the present (SS)

	Present	Pres., Prox. Affix	Pres.,I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	dayt:mʕawan	dadit:mʕawan	
Interrog.	isdayt:mʕawan	isdadit:mʕawan	
Neg.	urdayt:mʕawan	urdadit:mʕawan	
Neg. Int.	isurdayt:mʕawan	isurdadit:mʕawan	

TABLE 24 - Structures generated from /t:mʕawan/, MVH of /ʕawn/ in the present (SS)

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	Present	Pres.,Prox. Affix	Pres.,I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	dayt:uˁawan		dasdit:uˁawan
Interrog.	isdayt:uˁawan		isdasdit:uˁawan
Neg.	urdayt:uˁawan		urdasdit:uˁawan
Neg. Int.	isurdayt:uˁawan		isurdasdit:uˁawan

TABLE 25 - Structures generated from /t:uˁawan/, TuVH of /ˁawn/
in the present   (SS)

VI.4.7.6 Derivation of the Aorist

The aorist is a dependent tense that does not occur as
sentence initial. It is formed from V (SV or MV) simply by
the realization of /-PNG-/.

Rules for the Generation of the Aorist (from V):

Aor-DSR$_1$ Aorist ⟶ V + /-PNG-/

Aor-DSR$_2$ Movable Affixes ⟶ Post-Verbal

Aorist forms are identical with past tense forms of
unablauted stems but differ from those of the ablauted
stems by the ablaut.

Aorists generated by the above rules are shown in
Table 26 for SS forms. All forms are generated with
-P$_3$N$_s$G$_m$- (prefix /i-/).

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	Aorist	Aorist, Prox. Affix	Aorist,I.Obj.,Prox.Aff.
V	iʕawn	iʕawnd	iʕawnasd
SV	isʕawn	isʕawnd	isʕawnasd
MV	imʕawan	imʕawand	

TABLE 26   -   Aorists of   /ʕawn/, its SV and MV   (SS)

VI.4.7.7   Derivation of the Participles

     This section discusses the derivation of past, present, and future participles both affirmative and negative.

     The past participle is formed by suffixation of the participle suffix /-n/ to a derived past in $-P_3N_sG_m-$. Prefixation of /ur-/ gives the negative participle. Either of these two participles is used with subjects of any number or gender. A plural past participle formed by suffixation of /-in/ to past in $-P_3N_pG_m-$ is used only with plural (m,f) subjects.

     The present participle is formed by suffixation of the participle suffix /-n/ to a derived present structure in $-P_3N_sG_m-$. Prefixation of /ur-/ gives its negative participle.

     The future participle is derived by suffixation of the participle suffix /-n/ to a VH after the realization of $-P_3N_sG_m-$. Prefixation of /ur-/ gives its negative participle. A variant affirmative future participle (which has no negative) may be derived by suffixation of the

particiを suffix /-n/ to a derived aorist in $-P_3N_sG_m-$.

Rules for the Generation of the Participles

Part-DSR$_1$ (Neg) Past Part. ⟶ (/ur-/) + Past $[_{-P_3N_sG_m-}]^+$ /-n/

Part-DSR$_2$ Plural Past Part. ⟶ Past $[^-P_3N_pG_m-]$ + /-n/

Part-DSR$_3$ (Neg) Fut.Part. ⟶ (/ur-/) + Pres $[_{-P_3N_sG_m-}]^+$ /-n/

Part-DSR$_4$ (Neg) Fut.Part. ⟶ (/ur-/) + VH $[^{-P_3N_sG_m-}]^+$ /-n/

Part-DSR$_5$ Variant Fut. Part. ⟶ Aor $[^=P_3N_sG_m-]$ + /-n/

Part-DSR$_6$ Movable Affix ⟶ Pre-Participle

Participles derived by the above rules for the V 25 /ʕawn/ are shown in Tables 27-29 for SS forms.

All participles occur in structures using the relative pronouns /n:a/ 'who, that' or /aɣra/ 'who will, that will': e.g., /n:a yʕawn:/ means 'who helped', /n:a dayt:ʕawan:/ means 'who is helping' and /aɣra yt:ʕawan:/ means 'who will help'.

	Past. Partic.	Past Part., Prox. Affix	Past Part., I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	iʕawn:	diʕawn:	asdiʕawn:
Neg.	uriʕawn:	urdiʕawn:	urasdiʕawn:
Plural	ʕawn:in	dʕawn:in	asdʕawn:in

TABLE 27 - Past Participles of   /ʕawn/   (SS)

	Pres.Part.	Pres.Part., Prox. Affix	Pres.Part.,I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm	dayt:ʕawan:	dadit:ʕawan:	dasdit:ʕawan:
Neg.	urdayt:ʕawan:	urdadit:ʕawan:	urdasdit:ʕawan:

TABLE 28   -   Present Participles of /t:ʕawan/, VH of /ʕawn/   (SS)

	Fut. Part.	Fut. Part., Prox. Affix	Fut.Part.,I.Obj., Prox. Affix
Affirm.	it:ʕawan:	dit:ʕawan:	asdi :ʕawan:
Neg.	urit:ʕawan:	urdit:ʕawan:	urasdit:ʕawan:
Variant Form	iʕawn:	diʕawn:	asdiʕawn:

TABLE 29   -   Future Participles of   /ʕawn/ and its VH /t:ʕawan/   (SS)

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VI.4.7.8 <u>Summary of DSR's for Temporal, Modal and Participle</u>
         <u>Derivations</u>   (T/M-P) [11]

T/M-P-DSR$_1$ Imperative $\rightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} V \\ SV \\ MV \\ MSV \end{Bmatrix}$ + /-PNG$_2$/

T/M-P-DSR$_2$ Energetic Imperative $\rightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} VH \\ SVH \\ MVH \\ MSVH \end{Bmatrix}$ + /-PNG$_2$/

T/M-P-DSR$_3$ Neg. Imper. $\longrightarrow$ /adur-/ + $\begin{Bmatrix} VH \\ SVH \\ MVH \\ MSVH \end{Bmatrix}$ + /-PNG$_2$/

T/M-P-DSR$_4$ Hortatory $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{Bmatrix} V \\ SV \\ MV \\ MSV \end{Bmatrix}$ + /-PNG$_1$/

T/M-P-DSR$_5$ Hortatory$_{[+Movement\,]}$ $\longrightarrow$

$\begin{Bmatrix} /k:r/ \\ /ya\d{l}:ah/ \end{Bmatrix}$ + /-PNG$_1$/ + /ad-/ + /-P$_1$N$_p$-/ + $\begin{Bmatrix} V \\ SV \\ MV \\ MSV \end{Bmatrix}$

$T/M\text{-}P\text{-}DSR_6$ Affirm. Past $\longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} V \\ SV \\ MV \\ MSV \\ TuV \end{Bmatrix}$ + /-PNG-/ + (Abl)

$T/M\text{-}P\text{-}DSR_7$ Interrog. Past $\longrightarrow$ /is-/ + Affirm. Past

$T/M\text{-}P\text{-}DSR_8$ Neg. Past $\longrightarrow$ /ur-/ + $\begin{Bmatrix} V \\ SV \\ MV \\ MSV \\ TuV \end{Bmatrix}$ + /-PNG-/ + (Abl)

$T/M\text{-}P\text{-}DSR_9$ Neg-Interrog. Past $\longrightarrow$ /is-/ + Neg. Past

$T/M\text{-}P\text{-}DSR_{10}$ Affirm. Fut. $\longrightarrow$ /ad-/ + $\begin{Bmatrix} V \\ SV \\ MV \\ MSV \\ TuV \end{Bmatrix}$ + /-PNG-/

$T/M\text{-}P\text{-}DSR_{11}$ Interrog. Fut.$_{\text{"will"}}$ $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ /id:-/ + Affirm. Fut.

$T/M\text{-}P\text{-}DSR_{12}$ Neg.Fut. $\longrightarrow$ /ur-/ + $\begin{Bmatrix} VH \\ SVH \\ MVH \\ MSVH \\ TuVH \end{Bmatrix}$ + /-PNG-/

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$T/M-P-DSR_{13}$ Interrog. Fut. $\xrightarrow[\text{"Q"}]{}$ Qw + $\left\{\begin{array}{c}VH\\SVH\\MVH\\MSVH\\TuVH\end{array}\right\}$ + $/-PNG-/$

$T/M-P-DSR_{14}$ Affirm. Pres. $\longrightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{c}/da-/\\/1{:}a{\sim}/\end{array}\right\}$ + $\left\{\begin{array}{c}VH\\SVH\\MVH\\MSVH\\TuVH\end{array}\right\}$ + $/{\sim}PNG-/$

$T/M-P-DSR_{15}$ Interrog. Pres. $\longrightarrow$ $/is-/$ + Affirm. Pres.

$T/M-P-DSR_{16}$ Neg. Present $\longrightarrow$ $/ur-/$ + Affirm. Pres.

$T/M-P-DSR_{17}$ Neg-Interr. Pres. $\longrightarrow$ $/is-/$ + $/ur-/$ + Affirm. Pres.

$T/M-P-DSR_{18}$ Aorist $\longrightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{c}V\\SV\\MV\\MSV\end{array}\right\}$ + $/-PNG-/$

$T/M-P-DSR_{19}$ Past Part. $\longrightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{l}(/ur-/) + \text{Past}_{[-P_3N_sG_m-]} + /-n/\\ \text{Past}_{[-P\ N\ G\ -]} + /-in/\ \text{Plural}\end{array}\right\}$

$T/M-P-DSR_{20}$ Present Part. $\longrightarrow$ $(/ur-/)$ + $\text{Pres}_{[-P_3N_sG_m-]}$ + $/{\sim}n/$

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T/M-P-DSR$_{21}$ Fut. Part. $\longrightarrow \begin{cases} (/\text{ur-}/) + \text{SVH}_{[-P_3N_sG_m-]} + /\text{-n}/ \\ \text{Aor}_{[-P_3N_sG_m-]} + /\text{-n}/ \quad \text{Affirm.} \end{cases}$

T/M-P-DSR$_{22}$ Movable Affix $\longrightarrow \begin{cases} \text{Post-Verbal} / [\text{-Temporal,} \\ \qquad\qquad \text{Modal prefix} \\ \qquad\qquad \text{or preposition}] \\ \\ \text{Pre-Verbal} / [\text{+Temp/Mod pref.} \\ \qquad\qquad \text{or prep.}] \\ \\ \text{Pre-Participle} \end{cases}$

VI.5 Morphophonemic Sketch

VI.5.1 Introduction

The morphophonemic changes which occur in the dialect under consideration, mainly in verb derivations, may be divided into six classes: voicing assimilation, reduction, hiatus, and change of vowel to glide: (V ⟶ G).

This section states the morphophonemic changes in phonemic symbols* (in VI.5.2) and then (in VI.5.3) gives examples of these changes using verbs from the Verb List and the end of this chapter. Phonemic symbols are written between slashes / /; hyphen /-/ represents morpheme boundary; /#/ word boundary.

VI.5.2 General Rules of Tamazight Verb Morphophonemics [12]

The following rules apply to /-PNG-/ inflection and combination of verb with temporal and modal prefixes. These rules are referred to as General Surface Structure Rules (Gen-SSR's) since they affect the shape of any verbal derivation in contexts specified in the examples given in VI.5.3.

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* For a more elaborate description of verb morphophonemics see Abdel-Massih, Ernest, _Tamazight Verb Structure: A Generative Approach_, Indiana University Press: Bloomington, Indiana, 1971.

	Sequence	Voicing Assimilation	Flatness Assimilation	Articulatory Assimilation	Reduction
Gen-SSR$_1$	/t-d/	dd			d:
Gen-SSR$_2$	/t-ḍ/	dḍ	ḍḍ		ḍ:
Gen-SSR$_3$	/d-t/	tt			t:
Gen-SSR$_4$	/ḍ-t/	tt	ṭṭ		ṭ:
Gen-SSR$_5$	/ḍ-t:/	ṭṭ:	ṭṭ:		ṭ:
Gen-SSR$_6$	/ḍ-d/		dd		ḍ:
Gen-SSR$_7$	/t-t:/				t:
Gen-SSR$_8$	/t:-t/				t:
Gen-SSR$_9$	/t-t/				t:
Gen-SSR$_{10}$	/d-d/				d:
Gen-SSR$_{11}$	/t-ṭ/		ṭṭ		ṭ:
Gen-SSR$_{12}$	/γ-t/	xt			
Gen-SSR$_{13}$	/γ-γ/	qq			q:
Gen-SSR$_{14}$	{/n-n#/ , /n-n-v-/}				{n:# , n:v-}
Gen-SSR$_{15}$	/m-m#/				m:
Gen-SSR$_{16}$	/r-r/				r:
Gen-SSR$_{17}$	/r-n#/			rr	r:
Gen-SSR$_{18}$	/l-n#/			ll	l:
Gen-SSR$_{19}$	/n-m#/			mm	m:
Gen-SSR$_{20}$	/d-š/			kk	k:
Gen-SSR$_{21}$	/d-ḳ/			ḳḳ	ḳ:
Gen-SSR$_{22}$	/d-n/			n	
Gen-SSR$_{23}$	/s-s/				s:
Gen-SSR$_{24}$	/s-ṣ/		ṣṣ		ṣ:

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	Sequence	Voicing Assimilation	Flatness Assimilation	Articulatory Assimilation	Reduction
Gen-SSR$_{25}$	/s-ž/	→ zž		→ žž	→ ž:
Gen-SSR$_{26}$	/s-š/			→ šš	→ š:
Gen-SSR$_{27}$	/s-z/	→ zz			→ z:
Gen-SSR$_{28}$	/s-ẓ/	→ zẓ	→ ẓẓ		→ ẓ:
Gen-SSR$_{29}$	/s-d/	→ zd			
Gen-SSR$_{30}$	/z-t/	→ st			
Gen-SSR$_{31}$	/ẓ-t/	→ ṣt	→ ṣṭ		
Gen-SSR$_{32}$	/t-z/	→ dz			
Gen-SSR$_{33}$	/ṭ-ž/	→ ḍž			

	Sequence	Hiatus	V ⟶ G	Reduction
Gen-SSR$_{34}$	/i-i/	→ iyi		
Gen-SSR$_{35}$	/i-a/	→ iya		
Gen-SSR$_{36}$	/u-a/	→ uya		
Gen-SSR$_{37}$	/u-i/	→ uyi		
Gen-SSR$_{38}$	/u-u/	→ uyu		
Gen-SSR$_{39}$	/a/a/			→ a
Gen-SSR$_{40}$	/#i-i/		→ yi	
Gen-SSR$_{41}$	/#i-a/		→ ya	
Gen-SSR$_{42}$	/#i-u/		→ yu	
Gen-SSR$_{43}$	/-i-i-/		→ iy	
Gen-SSR$_{44}$	/-a-i/		→ ay	

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VI.5.3 Examples

Rule 1

129 /t-db:r-d/^{*} ⟶ /d:b:rd/ 'you (s) managed'

129 /t-db:r/ ⟶ /d:b:r/ 'she managed'

251 /t-šm:t-d/ ⟶ /tšm:d:/ 'you (s) cheated'

251 /i-šm:t-d/ ⟶ /išm:d:/ 'he cheated'

Rule 2

138 /t-ḍr:ʕ/ ⟶ /ḍ:r:ʕ/ 'she screamed'

136 /t-ḍl:ʕ-d/ ⟶ /ḍ:l:ʕd/ 'you (s) flattened bread'

Rule 3

251 /ad-t-šm:t/ ⟶ /at:šm:t/ 'she will cheat'

251 /ad-t-šm:t-nt/ ⟶ /at:šm:tnt/ 'you (fp) will cheat'

Rule 4

300 /i-ʕrḍ-t/ ⟶ /iʕrt:/ 'he invited him'

Rule 5

300 /i-ʕrḍ-t:/ ⟶ /iʕrt:/ 'he invited her'

Rule 6

238 /t-sfḍ-d/ ⟶ /tsfḍ:/ 'you (s) wiped'

197 /i-nsḍ-d/ ⟶ /insḍ:/ 'he blew his nose'
(+ prox.)

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* A numeral preceding an example refers to the number of the simple verb stem in the Verb List from which the form is derived (see Verb List, pp. 262-282).

Rule 7

46   /da-t-t:ʕum-d/ → /dat:ʕumd/   'you (s) swim'

113   /da-t-t:ʕawan/ → /dat:ʕawan/   'she helps'

Rule 8

88   /da-t:-t-t:saʕad/ → /dat:t:saʕad/   'she helps her'

Rule 9

378   /da-t-t-ks:a-d/ → /dat:ks:ad/   'you tend it (m)'

Rule 10

88   /i-saʕd-d/ ⟶ /isaʕd:/   'he helped' (+ proximity)

113   /ad-d-ʕawn-ɣ/ → /ad:ʕawnɣ/   'I'll help' (+ proximity)

Rule 11

261   /t-tfṣ/ ⟶ /t:fṣ/   'she folded'

262   /t-trẓ-d/ ⟶ /t:rẓd/   'you (s) embroidered'

Rule 12

104   /zayd-ɣ-t/ ⟶ /zaydxt/   'I added it'

Rule 13

341   /f:ɣ-ɣ/ ⟶ /f:q:/   'I went out'

157   /da-t:fr:aɣ-ɣ/ ⟶ /dat:fr:aq:/ 'I am pouring'

Rule 14

113   /ʕawn-n/ ⟶ /ʕawnː/   'they (m) helped'

113   /ʕawn-nt/ ⟶ /ʕawnnt/   'they (f) helped'

113   /ʕawn-n-in/ ⟶ /ʕawnːin/   plural participle of /ʕawn/

Rule 15

311   /t-ɣṛːm-m/ ⟶ /tɣṛːmː/   'you (mp) indemnified'

311   /t-ɣṛːm-m-t/ ⟶ /tɣṛːmmt/   'you (mp) indemnified'

Rule 16

450   /ur-riɣ/ ⟶ /urːiɣ/   'I do not want'

Rule 17

296   /ʕmːṛ-n/ ⟶ /ʕmːrː/   'they (m) filled'

296   /ʕmːṛ-nt/ ⟶ /ʕmːrnt/   'they (f) filled'

Rule 18

63   /slil-n/ ⟶ /slilː/   'they (m) rinsed'

63   /slil-nt/ ⟶ /slilnt/   'they (f) rinsed'

Rule 19

375   /ad-t-gn-m/ ⟶ /atːgmː/   'you (mp) will sleep'

279   /t-xzn-m-t/ ⟶ /txznmt/   'you (mp) stored it'

Rule 20

    37   /ad-š-i-sal/——>/ak:isal/   'he will ask you (ms)'

Rule 21

    37   /ad-kn-i-sal/——>/ak:nisal/   'he will ask you (mp)'

Rule 22

    37   /ad-n-sal/——>/ansal/   'we will ask'

    200   /ad-n-ntl/——>/anntl/   'we will hide'

    200   /ad-ntl-γ/——>/adntlγ/   'I will hide'

Rule 23

    62   /sdid/   'be thin' : SV /s-sdid/——/s:did/

    232   /is-sl:m-n/——>/is:l:mn/   'did they (m) greet?'

Rule 24

    65   /ṣmid/ 'be cold' : SV /s-ṣmid/——>/ṣ:mid/

    245   /is-ṣy:f-n/——>/iṣ:y:fn/   'did they harvest the summer crops?'

Rule 25

    438   /žru/ 'happen' : SV /s-žru/——>/ž:ru/

    289   /is-žbr-n/——>/iž:br:/   'did they (m) come back?'

Rule 26

    428   /šḍu/ 'smell' : SV /s-šḍu/————→ /š:ḍu/

    18   /is-šk:a-n/————→/iš:k:an/   'did they (m) doubt?'

Rule 27

    436   /zwu/ 'dry' : SV /s-zwu/————→/z:wu/

    103   /is-zawg:-n/————→/iz:awg:n/   'did they (m) ask protection?'

Rule 28

    106   /is-zawḍ-n/————→/iz:awḍn/   'did they (m) throw away?'

Rule 29

    132   /is-dlš-n/————→/izdlšn/   'did they (m) massage?'

    113   /is-d-i-ʕawn/————→/izdiʕawn/   'did he help?' (+ prox.)

    113   /is-da-t:ʕawan-n/————→/izdat:ʕawan:/   'are they (m) helping?'

Rule 30

    79   /i-ḥarz-t/————→/iḥarst/   'he forbade him'

Rule 31

    325   /i-amẓ-t/————→/yumṣṭ/   'he took it (m)'

Rule 32

    280   /t-zdm-d/————→/dzdmd/   'you (s) collected wood'

Rule 33

289   /t-žbr-d/———→/džbrd/   'you (s) came back'

Rules 34- 39

/i-i/ 449 /ini-i/ ————→/iniyi/   'tell me'

/i-a/ 449 /ini-as/————→/iniyas/   'tell him'

/u-a/ 402 /d:u-at/————→/d:uyat/   'go (mp)'

/u-i/ 431 /šru-i/ ————→ /šruyi/   'rent (for) me'

/u-u/ 364 /it:u-us:a/———→/it:uyus:a/ 'it was tied'

/a-a/————→/a/

18 /šk:a-at/————→/šk:at/   'doubt (mp)!'

113 /da-as-i-t:ʕawan/——→/dasit:ʕawan/ 'he helps him'

113 /da-aɣ-i-t:sal/———→/daɣit:sal/   'he asks us'

Rules 40-43

51 /i-aẓum/————→/yaẓum/   'he fasted'

57 /i-iẓil/————→/yiẓil/   'he was nice'

362 /i-ufa/————→/yufa/   'he found'

Rule 44

89 /t-saʕf-š-d/——→/tsaʕfšid/ 'she was patient with you (s)' (+ prox.)

89 /t-saʕf-t-d/——→/tsaʕftid/ 'she was patient with him' (+ prox.)

89 /t-saʕf-aɣ-d/——→/tsaʕfaɣd/ 'she was patient with us' (+ prox.)

*   *   *

Notes on the Verb in Ayt Seghrouchen (A.S.)

     Only differences from Ayt Ayache (A.A.) grammar are discussed here.

¹ These are /d:/ and /n:/ in A.S., e.g.,

       /rah/   to go

       /i-rah-d:/   he came

       /i-rah-n:/   he went there

² In A.S. the present tense prefix is only /l:a-/, e.g.,

       /l:a-i-tꜥum:/   he is swimming

³ In A.S. the progressive or inchoative prefix is /al-/, e.g.,

       /al-i-t:ꜥum:/   he started to swim

⁴ In A.S. this morpheme is /is-/ which is the Interrogative particle. In most cases in future construction /is-/ is followed by /-d-/, a particle of emphasis, e.g.,

       /is-d-ad-i-ꜥum:/   will he swim?

⁵ The particle is /is-/ but it precedes a verb stem in the Habitual form without a present tense prefix; e.g.,

       /is-i-t:ꜥum:/   is he swimming? does he swim?

⁶ In A.S. there are two negative particles:
(a) /ur-/ before V, SV, ... in the past and before VH in the formation of the future negative and (b) /ul:i-/ before VH, SVH, ... (present); e.g.,

/i-ʕum:/	he swam
/ur-i-ʕum:/	he did not swim
/l:a-i-t:ʕum:/	he is swimming
/ul:i-i-t:ʕum:/	he is not swimming
/adiʕum:/	he will swim
/urit:ʕum:/	he will not swim

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-PNG	Imper. Suffix
2sm	-∅
2sf	-∅
2pm	-m
2pf	-nt

TABLE 1 - Second Person Imperative Suffixes (A.S.).

-PNG	Imper. Suffix
1dm	-ax
1df	-ntax
1pm	-max
1pf	-ntax

TABLE 2 - Hortatory Suffixes (A.S.).

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-PNG-	Inflectional Affix		
1s			___x
2s	t___		t
3sm	i___		
3sf	t___		
1p	n___		
2pm	t___		m
2pf	t___		nt
3pm			n
3pf			nt

TABLE 3 - Ayt Seghrouchen -PNG- Affixes

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9 Ablaut in Ayt Seghrouchen may be summed up as follows:

i. <u>Unablauted stems</u>: show no ablaut (neither in affirmative not negative) and are represented by the verb stems /ʕum:/ 'to swim' of the structure ‖AVC‖ , /barš/ 'to congratulate' of the structure ‖AVCD‖ , /bd:/ 'to stand up' of the structure ‖AB:‖ , /dž:/ 'to let', /f:u/ 'to dawn', and /bḍu/ 'to divide' of the structure ‖ABV‖. For conjugations see Table #4 -11 (A.S.).

ii. <u>Ablauted Stems</u>:
(a) Ø:0 ablaut are stems which have no ablaut in Affirmative past but have /i/ ablaut in the negative. This is represented by /frḥ/ 'to be happy' /bry/'to grind' (see Table 16 (A.S.) for changes in /-y#/ of this type). /qr:r/ 'to decide', /bndq/ 'to bow', /l:ɣzm/ 'to twist' and /ʐ:ʕ/ 'to dismiss' of the structure ‖A(:)B(:)(C)(D)‖ . For conjugations see Tables #12 - 23 (A.S.).

(b) i/a ablaut for members of the ‖ABa#‖ structure represented here by /bda/ 'to start'. This group has /i/ ablaut for first and second person singular and /a/ for the rest of the PNG paradigm. This is the <u>only</u> group that is ablauted in the future. For conjugations see Tables #24 - 27 (A.S.).

(c) i/u ablaut occurs with verbs as /iž/ 'to do', /k:/ 'to pass' /ls/ 'to shear' of the structure ‖A(:)‖ or ‖AB‖ . /i/ occurs with PNG: 1s, 2s, 2pm,f and 3pm,f. /u/ occurs with PNG: 3m,f and 1p. For conjugations see Tables #28 - 31 (A.S.).

(d) a - u ablaut refers to change of a to u, e.g., /adf/ 'to enter' or /džal:/ 'to swear' of the structure ‖aBC‖ or ‖(A)BaD‖ . For conjugations see Tables #32 - 35 (A.S.).

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(e) a - i ablaut refers to change of a to i for only
two verbs, namely /awḍ/ ' to reach', /awy/ 'to take away'.
See conjugations in Tables #36 - 39 (A.S.).

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	ʕum:x	urʕum:x	isʕum:x	isurʕum:x
2s	tʕum:t	urtʕum:t	istʕum:t	isurtʕum:t
3sm	iʕum:	uriʕum:	isiʕum:	isuriʕum:
3sf	tʕum:	urtʕum:	istʕum:	isurtʕum:
1p	nʕum:	urnʕum:	isnʕum:	isurnʕum:
2pm	tʕum:m	urtʕum:m	istʕum:m	isurtʕum:m
2pf	tʕum:nt	urtʕum:nt	istʕum:nt	isurtʕum:nt
3pm	ʕum:n	urʕum:n	isʕum:n	isurʕum:n
3pf	ʕum:nt	urʕum:nt	isʕum:nt	isurʕum:nt

TABLE 4 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for unablauted /ʕum:/ 'to swim' in the past.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	adʕum:x	urt:ʕum:x	isad:ʕum:x	isurt:ʕum:x
2s	at:ʕum:t	urt:ʕum:t	isat:ʕum:t	isurt:ʕum:t
3sm	adiʕum:	urit:ʕum:	isadiʕum:	isurit:ʕum:
3sf	at:ʕum:	urt:ʕum:	isat:ʕum:	isurt:ʕum:
1p	an:ʕum:	urnt:ʕum:	isan:ʕum:	isurnt:ʕum:
2pm	at:ʕum:m	urt:ʕum:m	isat:ʕum:m	isurt:ʕum:m
2pf	at:ʕum:nt	urt:ʕum:nt	isat:ʕum:nt	isurt:ʕum:nt
3pm	adʕum:n	urt:ʕum:n	isadʕum:n	isurt:ʕum:n
3pf	adʕum:nt	urt:ʕum:nt	isadʕum:nt	isurt:ʕum:nt

TABLE 5 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for unablauted /ʕum:/ 'to swim' in the future.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg.Interr.
1s	1:at:ʕum:x	ul:it:ʕum:x	ist:ʕum:x	isul:it:ʕum:x
2s	1:at:ʕum:t	ul:it:ʕum:t	ist:ʕum:t	isul:it:ʕum:t
3sm	1:ayt:ʕum:	ul:iyt:ʕum:	isit:ʕum:	isul:iyt:ʕum:
3sf	1:at:ʕum:	ul:it:ʕum:	ist:ʕum:	isul:it:ʕum:
1p	1:ant:ʕum:	ul:int:ʕum:	isnt:ʕum:	isul:int:ʕum:
2pm	1:at:ʕum:m	ul:it:ʕum:m	ist:ʕum:m	isul:it:ʕum:m
2pf	1:at:ʕum:nt	ul:it:ʕum:nt	ist:ʕum:nt	isul:itʕum:nt
3pm	1:at:ʕum:n	ul:it:ʕum:n	ist:ʕum:n	isul:it:ʕum:n
3pf	1:at:ʕum:nt	ul:it:ʕum:nt	ist:ʕum:nt	isul:it:ʕum:nt

TABLE 6 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for unablauted /ʕumʸ/ in the present.

-PNG#	Imper.	Energetic Imper.	Neg. Imper.
2s	ʕum:	t:ʕum:	adurt:ʕum:
2pm	ʕum:m	t:ʕum:m	adurt:ʕum:m
2sf	ʕum:nt	t:ʕum:nt	adurt:ʕum:nt

TABLE 7 (A.S.) - Imperative structures for unablauted /ʕum:/

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg. Interr.
1s	bd:x	urbd:x	isbd:x	isurbd:x
2s	tbd:t	urtbd:t	istbd:t	isurtbd:t
3sm	ibd:	uribd:	isibd:	isuribd:
3sf	tbd:	urtbd:	istbd:	isurtbd:
1p	nbd:	urnbd:	isnbd:	isurnbd:
2pm	tbd:m	urtbd:m	istbd:m	isurtbd:m
2pf	tbd:nt	urtbd:nt	ustbd:nt	isurtbd:nt
3pm	bd:n	urbd:n	isbd:n	isurbd:n
3pf	bd:nt	urbd:nt	isbd:nt	isurbd:nt

TABLE 8 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for unablauted /bd:/
'to stand up' in the past.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg. Interr.
1s	adbd:x	urt:bid:idx	isadbd:x	isurt:bid:idx
2s	at:bd:t	urt:bid:it:	isatbd:t	isurt:bid:it:
3sm	adibd:	urit:bid:id	isadibd:	isurit:bid:id
3sf	at:bd:	urt:bid:id	isadtbd:	isurt:bid:id
1p	an:bd:	urnt:bid:id	isadnbd:	isurnt:bid:id
2pm	at:bd:m	urt:bid:idm	isadtbd:m	isurt:bid:idm
2pf	at:bd:nt	urt:bid:idnt	isadtbd:nt	isurt:bid:idnt
3pm	adbd:n	urt:bid:idn	isadbd:n	isurt:bid:idn
3pf	adbd:nt	urt:bid:idn	isadbd:nt	isurt:bid:idnt

TABLE 9 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for unablauted /bd:/
'to stand up' in the future.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg.Interr.
1s	1:at:bid:idx	ul:it:bid:idx	ist:bid:idx	isul:it:bid:idx
2s	1:at:bid:it:	ul:it:bid:it:	ist:bid:it:	isul:it:bid:it:
3sm	1:ayt:bid:id	ul:iyt:bid:id	isit:bid:id	isul:iyt:bid:id
3sf	1:at:bid:id	ul:it:bid:id	ist:bid:id	isul:it:bid:id
1p	1:ant:bid:id	ul:int:bid:id	isnt:bid:id	isul:int:bid:id
2pm	1:at:bid:idm	ul:it:bid:idm	ist:bid:idm	isul:it:bid:idm
2pf	1:at:bid:idnt	ul:it:bid:idnt	ist:bid:idnt	isul:it:bid:idnt
3pm	1:at:bid:idn	ul:it:bid:idn	ist:bid:idn	isul:it:bid:idn
3pf	1:at:bid:idnt	ul:it:bid:idnt	ist:bid:idnt	isul:it:bid:idnt

TABLE 10 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for unablauted /bd:/
'to stand up' in the present

-PNG#	Imper.	Energetic Imper.	Neg. Imper.
2s	bd:	t:bid:id	adurt:bid:id
2pm	bd:m	t:bid:idm	adurt:bid:idm
2pf	bd:nt	t:bid:idnt	adurt:bid:idnt

TABLE 11 (A.S.) - Imperative structures for unablauted /bd:/
'to stand up'.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg. Interr.
1s	frḥx	urfrihx	isfrḥx	isurfrihx
2s	tfṛht	urṯfṛiht	istfrḥt	isurtfṛiht
3pm	ifṛḥ	urifrih	isifṛh	isurifrih
3pf	tfrḥ	urtfrih	istfṛḥ	isurtfṛiḥ
1p	nfṛḥ	un:friḥ	isnfrh	isun:frih
2pm	tfṛḥm	urtfriḥm	istfṛḥm	isurtfṛihm
2pf	tfṛḥnt	urtfrihnt	istfṛḥnt	isurtfṛihnt
3pm	fṛḥn	urfrihṅ	isfrhn	isurfṛihn
3pf	frḥnt	urfṛiḥnt	isfṛḥnt	isurfṛihnt

TABLE 12 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /frh/ 'to be happy'
of the Ø:0 ablaut in the past

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg. Interr.
1s	adfṛḥx	urfṛ:ḥx	isadfṛx	isurfṛ:hx
2s	at:fṛht	urtfṛ:ht	isat:fṛht	isurtfṛ:ht
3sm	adifṛḥ	urifṛ:h	isadifṛh	isurifṛ:ḥ
3sf	at:fṛḥ	urtfṛ:ḥ	isat:fṛh	isurtfṛ:h
1p	an:frḥ	urnfṛ:ḥ	isan:fṛḥ	isurnfṛ:h
2pm	at:fṛhm	urtfṛ:hm	isat:fṛhm	isurtfṛ:hm
2pf	at:fṛḥnt	urtfṛ:ḥnt	isat:fṛhnt	isurtfṛ:ḥnt
3pm	adfṛḥn	urfṛ:ḥn	isadfṛḥn	isurfṛ:ḥn
3pf	adfṛḥnt	urfṛ:hnt	isadfrḥnt	isurfṛ:hnt

TABLE 13 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /frh/ 'to be happy'
in the future

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-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg. Interr.
1s	l:afr:ḥx	ul:ifr:ḥx	isfr:ḥx	isul:ifr:ḥx
2s	l:atfṛ:ḥt	ul:it:fṛ:ḥt	istfr:ht	isul:itfṛ:ḥt
3sm	l:ayfṛ:ḥ	ul:iyfṛ:ḥ	isifṛ:ḥ	isul:iyfṛ:ḥ
3sf	l:atfṛ:ḥ	ul:tfṛ:ḥ	istfṛ:ḥ	isul:itfṛ:ḥ
1p	l:anfṛ:ḥ	ul:infṛ:ḥ	isnfr:ḥ	isul:infṛ:ḥ
2pm	l:atfṛ:ḥm	ul:itfr:ḥm	istfṛ:ḥm	isul:itfr:ḥm
2pf	l:atfṛ:ḥnt	ul:itfr:ḥnt	istfṛ:ḥnt	isul:itfṛ:ḥnt
3pm	l:afṛ:ḥn	ul:ifṛ:ḥn	isfr:ḥn	isul:ifr:ḥn
3pf	l:afṛ:ḥnt	ul:ifṛ:ḥnt	isfṛ:ḥnt	isul:ifṛ:ḥnt

TABLE 14 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /frḥ/ 'to be happy' in the present.

-PNG#	Imper.	Energetic Imper.	Neg. Imper.
2s	frḥ	fṛ:ḥ	adurfr:ḥ
2pm	frḥm	fṛ:ḥm	adurfṛ:ḥm
2pf	frḥnt	fṛ:ḥnt	adurfṛ:ḥnt

TABLE 15 (A.S.) - Imperative structures for ablauted /frḥ/ 'to be happy'.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg. Interr.
1s	brix	urbrix	isbrix	isurbrix
2sm	tbrit	urtbrit	istbrit	isurtbrit
2sm	ibry	uribriy	isibry	isuribriy
3sf	tbriy	urtbriy	istbry	isurtbriy
1p	nbry	urnbriy	isnbry	isurnbriy
2pm	tbrim	urtbrim	istbrim	isurtbrim
2pf	tbrint	urtbrint	istbrint	isurtbrint
3pm	brin	urbriyn	isbrin	isurbrin
3pf	brint	urbriynt	isbrint	isurbrint

TABLE 16 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ for /bry/ 'to grind' of the Ø:o ablaut in the past.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg. Interr.
1s	adbrix	urbr:ix	isadbrix	isurbr:ix
2s	at:brit	urtbr:it	idat:brit	isurtbr:it
3sm	adibriy	uribr:y	isadibry	isuribr:i
3sf	at:bry	urtbr:y	isat:bry	isurtbr:i
1p	an:bry	urnbr:y	isan:bry	isurnbr:i
2pm	at:brim	urtbr:im	isat:brim	isurtbr:im
2pf	at:brint	urtbr:int	isat:brint	isurtbr:int
3pm	adbrin	urbr:in	isatdbrin	isurbr:in
3pf	adbrint	urbr:int	isadbrint	isurbr:int

TABLE 17 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /bry/ 'to grind' in the future.

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-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interrog.	Neg. Interr.
1s	l:abr:ix	ul:ibr:ix	isbr:ix	isul:ibr:ix
2s	l:atbr:it	ul:itbr:it	isibr:it	isul:itbr:it
3sm	l:aybr:y	ul:iybr:y	isibr:y	isul:iybr:y
3sf	l:atbr:y	ul:itbr:y	istbr:y	isul:itbr:y
1p	l:anbr:y	ul:ibr:ix	isnbr:i	isul:inbr:im
2pm	l:atbr:im	ul:itbr:it	istbr:im	isul:itbr:im
2pf	l:atbr:int	ul:iybr:iy	istbr:int	isul:itbr:int
3pm	l:abr:in	ul:itbr:y	isbr:in	isul:ibr:in
3pf	l:abr:int	ul:itbr:int	isbr:int	isul:ibr:int

TABLE 18 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /bry/ 'to grind' in the present.

-PNG#	Imper.	Energetic Imper.	Neg. Imper.
2s	bry	br:y	adurbr:y
2pm	brim	br:im	adurbr:im
2pf	brint	br:int	adurbr:int

TABLE 19 (A.S.) - Imperative structures for /bry/ 'to grind'.

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-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	ẓ:ᶜx	urẓ:iᶜx	isẓ:ᶜx	isurẓ:iᶜx
2s	tẓ:ᶜt	urtẓ:iᶜt	istẓ:ᶜt	isurtẓ:iᶜt
3sm	iz:ᶜ	uriz:iᶜ	isiz:ᶜ	isuriz:iᶜ
3sf	tẓ:ᶜ	urtẓ:iᶜ	istẓ:ᶜ	isurtẓ:iᶜ
1p	nẓ:ᶜ	urnz:iᶜ	isnz:ᶜ	isurnz:iᶜ
2pm	tẓ:ᶜm	urtẓ:iᶜm	istẓ:ᶜm	isurtẓ:iᶜm
2pf	tz:ᶜnt	urtẓ:iᶜnt	istẓ:ᶜnt	isurtẓ:iᶜnt
3pm	ẓ:ᶜn	urz:iᶜn	isz:ᶜn	isurz:iᶜn
3pf	ẓ:ᶜnt	urẓ:iᶜnt	isẓ:ᶜnt	isurẓ:iᶜnt

TABLE 20 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /z:ᶜ/ 'to chase' of the a:ǝ ablaut in the past.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	adẓ:ᶜx	urt:ẓᶜx	isz:ᶜx	isurz:iᶜx
2s	at:ẓ:ᶜt	urt:ẓᶜt	istz:ᶜt	isurtz:iᶜt
3sm	adiẓ:ᶜ	urit:ẓᶜ	isiẓ:ᶜ	isuriẓ:iᶜ
3sf	at:ẓ:ᶜ	urt:ẓ:ᶜ	istẓ:ᶜ	isurtẓ:iᶜ
1p	an:z:ᶜ	urnt:ẓ:ᶜ	isnz:ᶜ	isurnz:iᶜ
2pm	at:ẓ:ᶜm	urt:ẓ:ᶜm	istẓ:ᶜm	isurtẓ:iᶜm
2pf	at:ẓ:ᶜnt	urt:ẓ:ᶜnt	istẓ:ᶜnt	isurtẓ:iᶜnt
3pm	adẓ:ᶜn	urt:z:ᶜn	istẓ:ᶜn	isurẓ:iᶜn
3pf	adẓ:ᶜnt	urt:ẓ:ᶜnt	isz:ᶜnt	isurẓ:iᶜnt

TABLE 21 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /ẓ:ᶜ/ 'to chase' in the future.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	l:at:ẓ	ul:it:ẓ:ʕx	ist:ẓ:ʕx	isul:it:ẓ:ʕx
2s	l:at:ẓ:ʕt	ul:it:ẓ:ʕt	ist:ẓ:ʕt	isul:it:ẓ:ʕt
3sm	l:ayt:ẓ:ʕ	ul:iyt:ẓ:ʕ	isit:ẓ:ʕ	isul:iyt:ẓ:ʕ
3sf	l:at:ẓ:ʕ	ul:it:ẓ:ʕ	ist:ẓ:ʕ	isul:it:ẓ:ʕ
1p	l:ant:ẓ:ʕ	ul:int:ẓ:ʕ	isnt:ẓ:ʕ	isul:int:ẓ:ʕ
2pm	l:at:ẓ:ʕm	ul:it:ẓ:ʕm	ist:ẓ:ʕm	isul:it:ẓ:ʕm
2pf	l:at:ẓ:ʕnt	ul:it:ẓ:ʕnt	ist:ẓ:ʕnt	isul:it:ẓ:ʕnt
3pm	l:at:ẓ:ʕn	ul:it:ẓ:ʕn	ist:ẓ:ʕn	isul:it:ẓ:ʕn
3pf	l:at:ẓ:ʕnt	ul:it:ẓ:ʕnt	ist:ẓ:ʕnt	isul:it:ẓ:ʕnt

TABLE 22 (A.S.)　-　/-PNG-/ paradigms for /ẓ:ʕ/ 'to chase' in the present.

-PNG#	Imper.	Energetic Imper.	Neg. Imper.
2s	ẓ:ʕ	t:ẓ:ʕ	adurt:ẓ:ʕ
2pm	ẓ:ʕm	t:ẓ:ʕm	adurt:ẓ:ʕm
2pf	ẓ:ʕnt	t:ẓ:ʕnt	adurt:ẓ:ʕnt

TABLE 23 (A.S.)　-　Imperative structures for /ẓ:ʕ/ 'to chase'.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	bdix	urbdix	isbdix	isurbdix
2s	tbdit	urtbdit	istbdit	isurtbdit
3sm	ibda	uribdi	isibda	isuribdi
3sf	tbda	urtbdi	istbda	isurtbdi
1p	nbda	un:bdi	isnbda	isurnbdi
2pm	tbdam	urtbdim	istbdam	isurtbdim
2pf	tbdant	urtbdint	istbdant	isurtbdint
3pm	bdan	urbdin	isbdan	isurbdin
3pf	bdant	urbdint	isbdant	isurbdint

TABLE 24 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /bda/ 'to begin' of the i/a ablaut in the past.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	adbdix	urbd:ix	isadbdix	isurbd:ix
2s	at:bdit	urtbd:it	isat:bdit	isurtbd:it
3sm	adibda	uribd:a	isadibda	isuribd:a
3sf	at:bda	urtbd:a	isat:bda	isurtbd:a
1p	an:bda	urnbd:a	isan:bda	isurnbd:a
2pm	at:bdam	urtbd:am	isat:bdam	isurtbd:am
2pf	at:bdant	urtbd:ant	isat:bdant	isurtbd:ant
3pm	adbdan	urbd:an	isadbdan	isurbd:an
3pf	adbdant	urbd:ant	isadbdant	isurbd:ant

TABLE 25 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /bda/ 'to begin' of the i/a (only type ablauted) in the future.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	l:abd:ix	ul:ibd:ix	isbd:ix	isul:ibd:ix
2s	l:atbd:it	ul:itbd:it	istbd:it	isul:itbd:it
3sm	l:aybd:a	ul:iybd:a	isibd:a	isul:iybd:a
3sf	l:atbd:a	ul:itbd:a	istbd:a	isul:itbd:a
1p	l:anbd:a	ul:inbd:a	isnbd:a	isul:inbd:a
2pm	l:atbd:am	ul:itbd:am	istbd:am	isul:itbd:am
2pf	l:atbd:ant	ul:itbd:ant	istbd:ant	isul:itbd:ant
3pm	l:abd:an	ul:ibd:an	isbd:an	isul:ibd:an
3pf	l:abd:ant	ul:ibd:ant	isbd:ant	isul:ibd:ant

TABLE 26 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /bda/ 'to begin' in
the present.

-PNG#	Imper.	Energetic Imper.	Neg. Imper.
2s	bda	bd:a	adurbd:a
2pm	bdam	bd:am	adurbd:am
2pf	bdant	bd:ant	adurbd:ant

TABLE 27 (A.S.) - Imperative structures of /bda/ 'to begin'.

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-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	dlix	urdlix	isdlix	isurdlix
2s	tdlit	urd:lit	isd:lit	isurd:lit
3sm	idlu	uridli	isidlu	isuridli
3sf	tdlu	urd:li	isd:lu	isurd:li
1p	ndlu	urndli	isndlu	isurndli
2pm	d:lim	urd:lim	isd:lim	isurd:lim
2pf	d:lint	urd:lint	isd:lint	isurd:lint
3pm	dlin	urdlin	isdlin	isurdlin
3pf	dlint	urdlint	isdlint	isurdlint

TABLE 28 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /dl/ 'to cover' of
the i/u ablaut in the past.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	ad:lx	urd:alx	isad:lx	isurd:alx
2s	at:dlt	urtd:alt	isat:dlt	isurtd:alt
3sm	adidl	urid:al	isadidl	isurid:al
3sf	at:dl	urtd:al	isat:dl	isurtd:al
1p	an:dl	urnd:al	isan:dl	isurnd:al
2pm	at:dlm	urtd:alm	isat:dlm	isurtd:alm
2pf	at:dlnt	urtd:alnt	isat:dlnt	isurtd:alnt
3pm	ad:ln	urd:aln	isad:ln	isurd:aln
3pf	ad:lnt	urd:alnt	isad:lnt	isurd:alnt

TABLE 29 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /dl/ 'to cover' in
the future.

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-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	l:ad:alx	ul:id:alx	isd:alx	isul:id:alx
2s	l:atd:alt	ul:itd:alt	istd:alt	isul:itd:alt
3sm	l:ayd:al	ul:iyd:al	isid:al	isul:iyd:al
3sf	l:atd:al	ul:itd:al	istd:al	isul:itd:al
1o	l:and:al	ul:ind:al	isnd:al	isul:ind:al
2om	l:atd:alm	ul:itd:alm	istd:alm	isul:itd:alm
2of	l:atd:alnt	ul:itd:alnt	istd:alnt	isul:itd:alnt
3om	l:ad:aln	ul:id:aln	isd:aln	isul:id:aln
3of	l:ad:alnt	ul:id:alnt	isd:alnt	isul:id:alnt

TABLE 30 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /dl/ 'to cover' in the present.

-PNG#	Imper.	Energetic Imper.	Neg. Imper
2s	dl	d:al	adurd:al
2om	dlm	d:alm	adurd:alm
2of	dlnt	d:alnt	adurd:alnt

TABLE 31 (A.S.) - Imperative structures for /dl/ 'to cover'.

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-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	udfx	urudfx	isudfx	isurudfx
2s	tudft	urtudft	istudft	isurtudft
3sm	yudf	uryudf	isyudf	isuryudf
3sf	tudf	urtudf	istudf	isurtudf
1p	nudf	un:udf	isnudf	isun:udf
2pm	tudfm	urtudfm	istudfm	isurtudfm
2pf	tudfnt	urtudfnt	istudfnt	isurtudfnt
3pm	udfn	urudfn	isudfn	isurudfn
3pf	udfnt	urudfnt	isudfnt	isurudfnt

TABLE 32 (A.S.) - */-PNG-/ paradigms for /adf/ 'to enter' of the a - u ablaut in the past.*

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	adadfx	urt:adfx	isadadfx	isurt:adfx
2s	at:adft	urt:adft	isat:adft	isurt:adft
3sm	adyadf	urit:adf	isadyadf	isur:t:adf
3sf	at:adf	urt:adf	isat:adf	isurt:adf
1p	an:adf	urnt:adf	isan:adf	isurnt:adf
2pm	at:adfm	urt:adfm	isat:adfm	isurt:adfm
2pf	at:adfnt	urt:adfnt	isat:adfnt	isurt:adfnt
3pm	adadfn	urt:adfn	isadadfn	isurt:adfn
3pf	adadfnt	urt:adfnt	isadadfnt	isurt:adfnt

TABLE 33 (A.S.) - */-PNG-/ paradigms for /adf/ 'to enter' in the future.*

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-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	l:at:adfx	ul:it:adfx	ist:adfx	isul:it:adfx
2s	l:at:adft	ul:it:adft	ist:adft	isul:it:adft
3sm	l:ayt:adf	ul:iyt:adf	isit:adf	isul:iyt:adf
3sf	l:at:adf	ul:it:adf	ist:adf	isul:it:adf
1p	l:ant:adf	ul:int:adf	isnt:adf	isul:int:adf
2pm	l:at:adfm	ul:it:adfm	ist:adfm	isul:it:adfm
2pf	l:at:adfnt	ul:it:adfnt	ist:adfnt	isul:it:adfnt
3pm	l:at:adfn	ul:it:adfn	ist:adfn	isul:it:adfn
3pf	l:at:adfnt	ul:it:adfnt	ist:adfnt	isul:it:adfnt

TABLE 34 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /adf/ 'to enter' in the present.

-PNG#	Imper.	Energetic Imper.	Neg. Imper.
2s	adf	t:adf	adurt:adf
2pm	adfm	t:adfm	adurt:adfm
2pf	adfnt	t:adfnt	adurt:adfnt

TABLE 35 (A.S.) - Imperative structures for /adf/ 'to enter'.

235

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	iwḍx	uriwḍx	isiwḍx	isuriwḍx
2s	tiwṭ:	urtiwṭ:	istiwṭ:	isurtiwṭ:
3sm	yiwḍ	uryiwḍ	isyiwḍ	isuryiwḍ
3sf	tiwḍ	urtiwḍ	istiwḍ	isurtiwḍ
1p	niwḍ	urniwd	isniwd	isurniwd
2pm	tiwḍm	urtiwḍm	istiwḍm	isurtiwḍm
2pf	tiwḍnt	urtiwḍnt	istiwḍnt	isurtiwḍnt
3pm	iwḍn	uriwḍn	isiwḍn	isuriwḍn
3pf	iwḍnt	uriwḍnt	isiwḍnt	isuriwḍnt

TABLE 36 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms of /awḍ/ 'to reach' of the a - i ablaut in the past.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	adawḍx	urt:awḍx	isadawḍx	isurt:awḍx
2s	at:awṭ:	urt:awṭ:	isat:awṭ:	isurt:awṭ:
3sm	adyawḍ	urit:awḍ	isadyawḍ	isurit:awḍ
3sf	at:awḍ	urt:awḍ	isat:awḍ	isurt:awḍ
1p	an:awḍ	urnt:awḍ	isan:awḍ	isurnt:awḍ
2pm	at:awḍm	urt:awḍm	isat:awḍm	isurt:awḍm
2pf	at:awḍnt	urt:awḍnt	isat:awḍnt	isurt:awḍnt
3pm	adawḍn	urt:awḍn	isadawḍn	isurt:awḍn
3pf	adawḍnt	urt:awḍnt	isadawḍnt	isurt:awḍnt

TABLE 37 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms of /awḍ/ 'to reach' in the future.

-PNG-	Affirm.	Neg.	Interr.	Neg. Interr.
1s	1:at:awḍx	ul:it:awdx	ist:awdx	isul:it:awdx
2s	1:at:awṭ:	ul:it:awṭ:	ist:awṭ:	isul:it:awṭ:
3sm	1:ayt:awḍ	ul:iyt:awḍ	isit:awḍ	isul:iyt:awḍ
3sf	1:at:awḍ	ul:it:awḍ	ist:awḍ	isul: it:awḍ
1p	1:ant:awd	ul:int:awd	isnt:awd	isul:int:awd
2pm	1:at:awḍm	ul:it:awḍm	ist:awḍn	isul:it:awḍm
2pf	1:at:awḍnt	ul:it:awḍnt	ist:awḍnt	isul:it:awḍnt
3pm	1:at:awḍn	ul:it:awḍn	ist:awḍn	isul:it:awḍn
3pf	1:at:awḍnt	ul:it:awḍnt	ist:awḍnt	isul:it:awḍnt

TABLE 38 (A.S.) - /-PNG-/ paradigms for /awḍ/ 'to reach' in the present.

-PNG#	Imper.	Energetic Imper.	Neg. Imper.
2s	awḍ	t:awḍ	adurt:awḍ
2pm	awḍm	t:awḍm	adurt:awḍm
2pf	awḍnt	t:awḍnt	adurt:awḍnt

TABLE 39 (A.S.) - Imperative paradigms of /awḍ/ 'to reach'.

10 Stem derivations in Ayt Seghrouchen differ slightly in their
realization from those in Ayt Ayache. (See Sample Appendix B.)

11 Rules for Temporal Modal and Participle derivations in A.S.
are identical with those of A.A. except for the difference
in Temp-Mod Affixes mentioned in #2 - 6 above.

12 Differences in Verb Morphophonemics are here listed for A.S.:

Rule 5	/d̟-t̟:/ ──────⟶	d̟t̟:	
	/i-ʕard-t̟:/ ──⟶	iʕard̟t̟:	he invited her
Rule 10	/-d-d#/ ──────⟶	dd:	
	/-d-d-/ ──────⟶	d:	
	/i-waʕ d-d/──────⟶	iwaʕ dd:	he came (+ proximity)
	/ad-d-ʕ awn-γ/──────⟶	ad:ʕ awnγ	I'll help (+ proximity)
Rule 13	/-γ-x#/ ──────⟶	/x:/	
	/f:γ-x/ ──────⟶	f:x:	I went out
Rule 17	/r-n#/ ──────⟶	/rn#/	
	/ʕm:r-n/──────⟶	ʕm:r̟n	they (m) filled
Rule 18	/l-n#/ ──────⟶	/-ln#/	
	/s:lil-n/──────⟶	s:liln	they (m) rinsed
Rule 19	/-n-m#/ ──────⟶	/-nm#/	
	/ad-t-žn-m/──────⟶	at žnm	
Rule 20	/d-š/ ──────⟶	/š:/	
	/ad-š-i-sal ──────⟶	aš:isal	he will ask you (ms)

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Rule 22   /d-n/ ⟶ n:

             /ad-n-sal/ ⟶ an:sal   we will ask

Rule 25   /-s-ž-/ ⟶ /-sž̌-/

             /s-ž̌ru/ ⟶ /sž̌ru/ SV of /ž̌ru/

Similarly, 26. 27 :   /s-š/ ⟶ /sš/

                           /s-z/ ⟶ /sz/

Verb Sample Appendices and List
Introduction to Appendix A (from Ayt Ayache)

Appendix A contains 77 unaugmented verb stems and
their derivatives arranged alphabetically according to the
class or sub-class to which V belongs (see Chapter 4 for
classification of verb stems). The alphabetical order for
classes and sub-classes both in the Appendix and the verb list is:

a b b: d d: ḍ ḍ: f f: g g: g̱ g̱: h ḥ ḥ: i k k: ḳ ḳ:
l l: ḷ ḷ: m m: n n: q q: q̌ q̌: r r: ṛ ṛ: s s: ṣ ṣ:
š š: t t: ṭ ṭ: u w w: x x: x̱ y y: z z: ẓ ẓ: ž ž:
ʕ ɣ ɣ: ɣ̣

Each of the numbers 1-77 in **Appendix A**   and 1-450 in the
verb list refers to an unaugmented verb stem and its derivatives.

The 450 verb stems represent the verbs of the corpus of
the research on the Ayt Ayache dialect. As they appear in
the verb list, they are grouped into **two** types: A - unablauted
(1-115), B - ablauted (116-450). Each type has two classes,
A and B, which in turn **are** grouped into sub-classes with an
Arabic numeral preceding each sub-class. At the beginning of
each class in the Appendix appears the general underlying structure
of its sub-classes; at the beginning of each sub-class appear
the maximum possibilities for its underlying structure with an
illustrative example or examples used to name the sub-class: e.g.,
in the Appendix Class I of type A appears as

        Unablauted
            1.   A(B)(C)a
            2.   AVC
            3.   ABVC
and sub-class I appears as
            1.   Aa   fa
                        AB(C)a   šk:a, štka
                        AVCa   dawa, fuk:a

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Sometimes more examples are shown listed in the Appendix.

There are two major sets for any listing (V and its derivatives) in the Appendix. One set is that of unaugmented forms, the other of augmented forms. A maximum of five listings a) to e) appears, in most cases, for each set.

For the unaugmented set:

a) lists V followed by an English translation as infinitive without 'to'. Next to the meaning the symbol 'ar' means Arabic loan, 'ma' Moroccan Arabic loan; no symbol means native or Tamazight.[*] Finally "t" means transitive, "i" intransitive, "n" (i.e. neutral) both transitive and intransitive.

b) lists the habitual form of the simple stem VH

c) lists a noun of action derived from the simple stem: N-act. Parenthesis show a plural if it exists: e.g. 5 c) afuk:a (ifuk:atn)[**]; or a plural suffix 9 c) s:wal (-at)

d) lists a noun of agent. If no further information follows, this means that the noun under consideration is a "Sound" masculine singular (ms) noun which follows a regular pattern in deriving a masculine plural (mp), a feminine singular (fs) and a feminine plural (fp): e.g. 22 d) /amkašf/ 'fortune-teller' (ms) derives: /imkašfn/ (mp), /tamkašft/ (fs), /timkašfin/ (fp). If the derivations do not follow the above pattern, they are listed with plurals (or plural prefixes) in parenthesis: e.g.

_____

[*] This information is, of course, debatable. However, the author's native knowledge of Arabic, the discussion of these verb stems and their derivatives with the informant and the consultation of various dictionaries, such as Wehr's and Harrell's lead the author to the conclusions shown in this Appendix.

[**] Numbers refer to the place of V in Appendix A.

     36 d) bulḥm:am (id-)

          m:lḥm:am (ist-)

Some nouns are followed by *f which means that mp

is a possible derivation whereas fs and fp are not:

e.g. 28 d) abr:aḥ ; *f

   e) lists a noun (ms or fs) followed by (instr.) if it

       is a noun of instrument, (loc.) if it is a noun of

       place, or (occup.) if it is a noun of occupation:

       e.g.

           36 e) lḥm:am (loc.)

           46 e) lⱳbra (instr.)

Plurals appear in parenthesis if they exist.

   Augmented stems appear in this order: Causative, Reciprocal,

and Passive. The maximum number of forms that any augmented

stem can show is three a) to c) where

   a) lists causative SV, reciprocal MV, passive TuV which

      are all derived from unaugmented V

   b) lists habitual forms of causative SVH, of reciprocal

      MVH, of passive TuVH.

   c) lists a N-act derived from the causative SV or

      the reciprocal MV (rather then from V): e.g.

         25 c) amⱳawan

   a) and b) of the recipro-causative forms appear partly

in the causative and partly in the reciprocal columns. These are:

   a) MSV

   b) MSVH

e.g. 4 a) msfafa

    b) t:msfafa

Appendix A is compiled on the basis of derivation and

occurrence.[*]   That is, V is the starting formative from
which the other forms are derived by rules of generative
grammar.

The justification of the horizontal order,

a)   V   SV   MSV   MV   TuV

is based on derivation of all augmented forms from V.
Note that some MSV's can occur without corresponding SV's
which shows they are derived from V's: e.g.

43   a) msl:am

b) t:msl:am

The order SV   MSV   MV is justified by the derivation of
MSV from SV.   The Passive is the form with the
least occurrence and the one the least used even when it
occurs.   The informant said that it is preferrable to use
the active rather than the passive as much as possible.
Its main occurrence is with the third person, however it may
occur with other persons.   Sometimes a passive is derived
from SV;   e.g. 33 TuSV (t:usfṛḥ); for these reasons, the
passive form is put last.

The justification of the vertical order is that all
forms on lines b) and c) are derived from a).   Forms on line d)
are derived (in many instances) from c): e.g.

29   a) bš:r

b) t:bš:ar

c) abš:r

d) abš:ar

Frequency of occurrence is also an important factor (see footnote).

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[*]   For percentages of occurrence, see Abdel-Massih, Ernest,
Tamazight Verb Structure: A Generative Approach, University
of Indiana:Bloomington, 1971, Table 97.   The total number of the
unaugmented verb stems (450) comprises the 100% shown in the
table; the other percentages listed are based on the total
number of the unaugmented verb stems (450 = 100%).   The
percentage of SV is 35.11, MV 31.11, MSV 13.55, TuV 31.77,
N-act 78.22, N-agt 19.33 and N-instr, loc, occup 3.33.

The system shown in Appendix A is an open system. Thus,
for example, 20 /ḥaḍr/ 'be present' has /sḥaḍr/ - SV,
/sḥaḍar/ - SVH whereas 78 /kašf/ 'foretell' has no causative
stems. The causative of /kašf/ is left blank, however,
if a native speaker of Tamazight supplies a causative
for this stem it will be one that the generative rules
for causative derivation have stated in VI.4.3. The same is
true for other derivations.

Throughout the Appendix transitivity is marked only
for V and VH. SV's (and SVH's) are necessarily transitive
whether or not the underlying V is transitive. TuV's are
mainly derived from transitive V's; however, TuV's (and
TuVH's) are intransitive and have as their subject the direct
object of V's.

All the above information applies to Appendix B (from
Ayt Seghrouchen), except that Appendix B is not followed by a
Verb List as is Appendix A.

Verb Sample Appendix A (Ayt Ayache)

A. Unablauted

           1. ‖ A(B)(C)a ‖

i.   2. ‖ AVC ‖

           3. ‖ ABVD ‖

1. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{‖ Aa‖} \\ \text{‖ AB(C)a ‖} \\ \text{‖ AVCa ‖} \end{array} \right\}$ fa
                            šk:a , štka
                            dawa , fuk:a

		Unaugmented		Augmented		
				Causative	Reciprocal	Passive
1	a)	dawa 'cure'	ar t	sdawa		t:udawa
	b)	t:dawa		sdawa		t:udawa
	c)	adawa (idawatn)				
2	a)	dr:a 'do harm'	ar t			t:udr:a
	b)	t:dr:a				t:udr:a
	c)	d:arar (id-)				
3	a)	fa 'yawn'	i	sfa		
	b)	t:fa		sfa		

4	a) fafa	'wake up'	i	sfafa		
	b) t:fafa			sfafa		
				a) msfafa		
				b) t:msfafa		
5	a) fuk:a	'undo, get someone out of trouble'	ar t	sfuk:a		
	b) t:fuk:a			sfuk:a		
	c) afuk:a (ifuk:atn)					
				a) msfuk:a		
				b) t:msfuk:a		
6	a) šk:a	'doubt'	ar i	mšk:a	t:ušk:a	
	b) t:šk:a			t:mšk:a	t:ušk:a	
	c) š:k:					
7	a) štka	'complain'	ar i		t:uštka	
	b) t:štka				t:uštka	
	c) aštka (ištkatn)					

2.   ‖AVC‖   sal,   šib,   ʕum

8	a) q:is 'tell stories' ar t		m:q:is	
	b) t:q:is		t:mq:is	
9	a) sal 'ask' ar t		m:sal	t:usal
	b) t:sal		t:msal	t:usal
	c) s:wal (-at)			
10	a) šib 'become white-haired' ar i			
	b) t:šib			
	c) š:ib			
	) ašiban; * fp			
11	a) ʕum 'swim' ar i	sʕum		
	b) t:ʕum	sʕum̄		
	c) taʕumt		a) m:sʕum *	
	d) aʕw:am		b) t:m:sʕum	

* 'bathe'

3.   ‖ABVD‖   xṭar,   slil,   gzul

12	a) an:ay 'see' t		myan:ay	t:uyan:ay
	b) t:an:ay		t:myan:ay	t:uyan:ay
13	a) aẓum 'fast' ar t			
	b) t:aẓum			
14	a) gzul 'be short' i	s:gzul		
	b) t:gzul	s:gzul		
	c) tagẕli			
15	a) iẓil 'be nice' i	s:iẓil		
	b) t:iẓil	s:iẓil		
	c) t:aẓ:lt			
16	a) slil 'rinse' t			t:uslil
	b) t:slil			t:uslil
	c) aslil			
17	a) ṭšar 'make dirty' t			t:uṭšar
	b) t:ṭšar			t:uṭšar
18	a) xṭar 'choose' ar t	s:xṭar		t:uxṭar
	b) t:xṭar	s:xṭar		t:uxṭar

11.　　‖AVCD‖　　　　　　ḥaḍr,　　d:irz,　　ḥudr

19	a) d:irz 'step back'	i	sd:irz		
	b) t:diriz		sd:iriz		
20	a) ḥaḍr 'be present'	ar i	sḥaḍr		
	b) t:ḥaḍar		sḥaḍar		
	c) aḥaḍr				
21	a) ḥudr 'bend, be low'	i	sḥudr		
	b) t:ḥudur		sḥudur		
	c) aḥudr				
22	a) kašf 'foretell'	ar i			t:ukašf
	b) t:kašaf				t:ukašaf
	c) akašf				
	d) amkašf				
23	a) safr 'travel'	ar i			
	b) t:safar				
	c) s:fr				
	d) amsafr				

24	a) žawr 'be neighbor'	ar t		mžawar		
	b) t:žawar			t:mžawar		
	c) ažawr					
	d) ad:žar					
25	a) ʕawn 'help'	ar n	sʕawn	mʕawan	t:uʕawn	
	b) t:ʕawan		sʕawan	t:mʕawan	t:uʕawan	
	c) aʕawn			amʕawan		
	d) amʕawn					

B. **Ablauted**

     i.   [∅ : O]

         1.   ‖AB(:)∅D‖

         2.   ‖aB∅D‖

         3.   ‖OB:∅D‖

1.   ‖AB(:)∅D‖   fr∅h̦ ⟶ frh̦ ,   fs:∅r ⟶ fs:r

		Unaugmented		Augmented		
				Causative	Reciprocal	Passive
26	a) bdr 'mention'		t	s:bdr		t:ubdr
	b) bd:r			s:bdar		t:ubdar

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27	a) bd:l 'change' ar t	sbd:l	mbd:al	t:ubd:l
	b) t:bd:al	sbd:al	t:mbd:al	t:ubd:al
	c) abd:l			
		a) msbd:al		
		b) t:msbd:al		
28	a) br:ḥ 'announce' ma i			
	b) t:br:aḥ			
	c) abr:ḥ			
	d) abr:aḥ ; * f			
29	a) bš:r 'give good news' ar i	sbǎ:r	mbš:ar	t:ubš:r
	b) t:bš:ar	sbš:ar	t:mbš:ar	t:ubš:ar
	c) abš:r			
	d) abš:ar			
30	a) bʕd 'be far' ar i	s:bʕd		
	b) t:bʕad	s:bʕad		
	c) abʕad (~lbʕd)			
		a) msbʕad		
		b) t:msbʕad		

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31	a) dhn	'rub ointment'	ar t		m:dhan	t:udhn
	b) t:dhan				t:m:dhan	t:udhan
	c) adhan					
32	a) fḍr	'take lunch'	ar i	s:fḍr		
	b) fḍ:r			s:fḍar		
	c) lfḍur					
				a) msfḍar		
				b) t:msfḍar		
33	a) frḥ	'be happy'	ar i	s:frḥ		t:ufrḥ
	b) t:fraḥ ~ fr:ḥ			s:fraḥ		t:ufraḥ
	c) afraḥ					t:usfrḥ*
						t:usfraḥ
				a) msfrah		
				b) t:msfrah		
34	a) fs:r	'explain'	ar t		mfs:ar	t:ufs:r
	b) t:fs:ar				t:mfs:ar	t:ufs:ar
	c) afs:r					

* this passive is derived from the causative rather than
from the unaugmented verb stem

35	a) ḥbs 'imprison' ar t				t:uḥbs
	b) t:ḥbas				t:uḥbas
	c)				
	d) aḥb:as				
	e) lḥbs (loc.)				
36	a) ḥm:m 'bathe' ar i	shm:m			
	b) t:ḥm:am	shm:am			
	c) aḥm:m				
	d) bulḥm:am (id-) m:lḥm:am (ist-)				
	e) lḥm:am (id-) (loc.)				
37	a) ḥšm 'govern, judge' ar i				t:uḥšm
	b) t:ḥšam				t:uḥšam
	c) lḥšam				
	d) lḥak:m (lḥk:am)				
38	a) ḥz:m 'wear a belt' ar i		mḥz:am		
	b) t:ḥz:am		t:mḥz:am		
	c) aḥz:m				
	d) lḥzam (id-) (instr.)				

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39	a) nṣb 'make stew' ma i		
	b) t:nṣab		
	c) anṣab		
40	a) nšr 'saw' ar t		t:unšr
	b) nš:r		t:unšar
	c) anšar		
	d)		
	e) lmnšar (id-) (instr.)		
41	a) rgm 'insult' ar t	m:rgam	t:urgm
	b) rg:m	t:mrgam	t:urgam
	c) argam		
42	a) sl:k 'give a ar t		
	reasonable price'		
	b) t:sl:ak		
	c) asl:k		
	d) amsl:k		
		a) msl:ak*	
		b) t:msl:ak	
		msl:am	
43	a) sl:m 'greet' ar i	t:msl:am	
	b) t:sl:am		
	c) sl:am		

* 'be tolerant'

44	a) xdm 'work' ar n	s:xdm			t:uxdm
	b) xd:m	s:xdam			t:uxdam
	c) lxdmt				
	d) axd:am				
			a) msxdam		
			b) t:msxdam		
45	a) zdm 'collect wood' t				
	b) zd:m				
	c) azdam				
	d) azd:am				
46	a) ⁏br 'measure, ar t weigh'				t:u⁏br
	b) t:⁏bar				t:u⁏bar
	c) l⁏bar				
	d) a⁏b:ar ; * f				
	e) l⁏bra (-t) (instr.)				
47	a) ⁏m:r 'fill' ar t			m⁏m:ar	
	b) t:⁏m:ar			t:m⁏m:ar	
	c) a⁏m:r				

48	a) ɣl:f 'wrap' ar t			t:uɣl:f
	b) t:ɣl:af			t:uɣl:af
	c) aɣl:f			

2.   ‖ aBØD‖   amØẓ ——————→ amẓ

49	a) agm 'bring water t from a well'			
	b) t:agm			
50	a) amn 'believe' ar n		myaman	
	b) t:amn		t:myaman	
51	a) amr 'order' ar i			
	b) t:amr			
	c) lamr (lamɪr)			
52	a) amẓ 'take' t		myamaẓ	t:uyumẓ
	b) t:amẓ		t:myamaẓ	t:uyamaẓ
	c) umɪẓ ~ umẓ ~ imẓ			
53	a) asy 'carry' t	s:isy	myasay	t:uyusy
	b) t:asy	s:asay	t:myasay	t:uyasay
	c) isy			

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54	a) awḍ	'reach'	n	s:iwḍ	myawaḍ	
	b) t:awḍ			s:awaḍ	t:myawaḍ	
55	a) awy	'take away'	t	s:iwy	myaway	
	b) t:awy			s:away	t:myaway	

3.   ‖ OB:ØD ‖   Of:Ør ⟶ f:r

56	a) b:y	'cut'	t		myab:ay	
	b) t:b:y				t:myab:ay	
	c) ubuy					
57	a) f:r	'hide'	t		myaf:ar	
	b) t:f:r				t:myaf:ar	
	c) tufra					
58	a) f:ɣ	'go out'	i	s:ufɣ		
	b) t:f:ɣ			s:ufuɣ		
	c) ufuɣ					
59	a) k:r	'get up'	i			
	b) t:k:r					

60	a) ẓ:y 'milk' t			
	b) t:ẓ:y			
61	a) ẓ:ʕ 'dismiss' t		myaẓ:aʕ	t:uẓ:ʕ
	b) t:ẓ:ʕ		t:myaẓ:aʕ	t:uyaẓ:aʕ

ii. Ø:i/a

1.   ‖aB Ø(D)‖
      [±Met]   [±Met]

2.   ‖(A)B(:)Ø‖
              [±Met]

3.   ‖(A(:))B(:)ØV‖
                 [+diff]

$$
1. \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\text{‖aB Ø‖} \\
\text{[-Met] [-Met]} \\[4pt]
\text{‖aB ØD‖} \\
\text{[-Met] [+Met]} \\[4pt]
\text{‖aB ØD‖} \\
\text{[+Met] [+Met]}
\end{array}
\right\}
$$

afØ ——————————→ af

aš:Ok ——→ aš:kØ ——→ aš:k

arØr ——→ rarØ ——→ rar

62	a) af 'find' t		myafa	t:uyufa
	b) t:afa		t:myafa	t:uyafa
63	a) aš:k 'be lost' i		myaš:ka	
	b) t:aš:ka		t:myaš:ka	
	c) uš:ki			

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64	a) rar 'return, n	mrara		
	give back'			
	b) t:rara	t:mrara		
	c) tararit:			

$$2. \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \| \text{OB}(:) \ \emptyset \| \\ \qquad [-\text{Met}] \\ \| \text{AB}(:) \ \ \emptyset \ \| \\ \qquad [-\text{Met}] \\ \| \text{AB} \ \ \emptyset \ \| \\ \qquad [+\text{Met}] \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{Og}\emptyset \longrightarrow g \quad , \quad \text{Og}:\emptyset \longrightarrow g:\emptyset$$

$$1s\emptyset \longrightarrow 1s \quad , \quad bd:\emptyset \longrightarrow bd:$$

$$g\emptyset r \longrightarrow gr$$

65	a) bd: 'stand up' i	sbd:		
	b) t:bd:a	sbd:a		
	c) ibd:i			
66	a) g 'be, do' n		myag:a	
	b) t:g:a		t:myag:a	
67	a) gr 'throw away' t		m:gar	
	b) g:ar		t:m:gar	
	c) taguri			
68	a) g: 'knead' t			
	b) t:g:a			
	c) tig:it			

69	a) kː 'pass, visit' t	sːikː		
	b) tːkːa	sːakːa		
	c) tikːit			
		a) msakːa		
		b) tːmsakːa		
70	a) ls 'get dressed' t	sːls		tːulsa
	b) lsːa	sːlsa		tːulsa
	c) mlsiwt			

3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \| \text{OBːØu} \| \\ \| \text{A(ː)BØu} \| \\ \| \text{ABːØu} \| \\ \| \text{iBØi} \| \end{array} \right\}$

OdːØu ⟶ dːu

gːrØu ⟶ gːru , šmØu ⟶ šmu

ʕdːØu ⟶ ʕdːu

irØi ⟶ iri

71	a) dːu 'go' i	sːudu		
	b) tːdːu	sːudu		
	c) tawada (tiwadiwin)			

72	a) g:ru 'be last' i	sg:ru		
	b) t:g:ru	sg:ru		
	c)			
	d) an g:aru (ing:ura) tang:arut: (ting:ura)			
			a) msg:ru*	
			b) t:msg:ru	
73	a) šmı 'smoke' ma t	š:mı		
	b) t:šm:u ~ šm:u	š:mı		
	c) lšmiyt			
	d) ašm:ay ; * f			
74	a) ʕd:u 'abound' ar i	sʕd:u		
	b) t:ʕd:u	sʕd:u		
75	a) ili 'exist, be' i			
	b) t:ili			
76	a) ini 'say t		myini	
	b) t:ini		t:myini	
77	a) iri 'want' n		myiri	
	b) t:iri		t:myiri	
	c) tayri			

* 'agree'

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List of Verbs (Ayt Ayache)

A. Unablauted

A.i.1.   fa, šk:a, štka, dawa, fuk:a

1.	dawa	'cure'	ar	t
2.	dr:a	'do harm'	ar	t
3.	fa	'yawn'		i
4.	fafa	'wake up'		i
5.	fd:a	'finish'	ar	t
6.	fuk:a	'undo, get someone out of trouble'	ar	t
7.	hn:a	'be peaceful'	ar	i
8.	hr:a	'tickle'	ma	t
9.	ḥada	'touch'		t
10.	ḥd:a	'end'	ar	i
11.	ḥn:a	'pity'	ar	i
12.	ḥš:a	'cut grass'	ar	t
13.	q:la	'fry'	ar	t
14.	qṛ:a	'confess'	ar	i
15.	raꜥa	'look at'	ar	t
16.	ṛb:a	'educate'	ar	t
17.	sqsa	'ask'	ar	t
18.	šk:a	'doubt'	ar	i
19.	štka	'complain'	ar	i
20.	šq:a	'disturb'		t

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21.	wala	'be near'		t
22.	warya	'dream'		t
23.	wṣːa	'advise'	ar	t
24.	xṣːa	'be necessary'	ar	i
25.	ʕfːa	'be disgusted'	ar	t
26.	ʕlːa	'ascend'	ar	t
27.	ʕzːa	'console'	ar	t
28.	ɣṛːa	'tempt'	ar	t
29.	ɣšːa	'cheat'	ar	t

A.i.2   sal, šib, ʕum

30.	ḍur	'turn'	ar	i
31.	ḥuf	'jump on'		i
32.	kːus	'inherit'		t
33.	lum	'blame'	ar	t
34.	mɪn	'accompany'		i
35.	nːaɣ	'fight'		i
36.	qːis	'tell stories'	ar	t
37.	sal	'ask'	ar	t
38.	sul	'remain'		i
39.	sus	'shake off'		t
40.	ṣuḍ	'blow'		t
41.	šal	'buy grain'	ar	t
42.	šib	'become white-haired'	ar	i

43.	š:ar	'share'		t
44.	zur	'be fat'		i
45.	ẓur	'visit holy places'	ar	t
46.	ʕum	'swim'	ar	i
47.	ɣal	'think'		i
48.	ɣus	'be burnt'		i

A.1.3.   xtar, slil, gzul

49.	an:ay	'see'		t
50.	arid	'be washed'		i
51.	aẓum	'fast'	ar	t
52.	aɣul	'go back'		i
53.	bxin	'be black'		i
54.	drus	'be little in quantity'		i
55.	fsus	'be light'		i
56.	gzul	'be short'		i
57.	iẓil	'be nice'		i
58.	iɣiy	'be able'		i
59.	lwiɣ	'be tender'		i
60.	mẓiy	'be small'		i
61.	mɣur	'grow up'		i
62.	sdid	'be thin'		i
63.	slil	'rinse'		t

64.	smun	'collect'		t
65.	ṣmiḍ	'be cold'		i
66.	šḍin	'be short'		i
67.	ṭšar	'make dirty'		t
68.	wṛaɣ	'be yellow'		i
69.	wsir	'be old'		i
70.	xṭar	'choose'	ar	t
71.	zwar	'to precede'		t
72.	zwiɣ	'be red'		i
73.	ɣzif	'be tall'		i

A.ii.   hadr, d:irz, hudr

74.	d:irz	'step back'		i
75.	d:uk:l	'make friends'		t
76.	ḍ:iqs	'burst out'		i
77.	ḥaḍr	'be present'	ar	i
78.	ḥafḍ	'keep'	ar	i
79.	ḥarz	'forbid'		t
80.	ḥarṣ	'prevent'	ar	t
81.	ḥasb	'count'	ar	t
82.	ḥawl	'take one's time doing something'	ma	i
83.	ḥudr	'bend, be low'		i

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84.	kašf	'foretell'	ar	i
85.	q:abl	'take care of'		t
86.	safr	'travel'	ar	i
87.	samḥ	'forgive'	ar	i
88.	saʕd	'help'	ar	t
89.	saʕf	'be patient'	ma	t
90.	s:udm	'kiss'		t
91.	s:ufs	'spit'		n
92.	s:uk:f	'uproot'		t
93.	s:urf	'stride over'		t
94.	šawr	'consult'	ar	t
95.	ṭalb	'demand, apply'	ar	t
96.	walf	'get accustomed'	ar	t
97.	wažb	'answer'	ar	n
98.	xabr	'inform'	ar	t
99.	xaḍr	'risk'	ar	i
100.	xaṣm	'quarrel'	ar	i
101.	xatr	'be old'		i
102.	xulf	'differ'	ar	i
103.	zawg:	'ask protection'	ma	i
104.	zayd	'add'	ar	t
105.	zuz:r	'winnow'		t
106.	ẓawḍ	'throw away'		t
107.	ẓ:uɣr	'drag'		t

108.	žaḥd	'compete with'	ma	t
109.	žawb	'answer'	ar	n
110.	žawr	'be neighbor'	ar	t
111.	ʕaḍ:r	'meet'		i
112.	ʕawd	'repeat'	ar	n
113.	ʕawn	'help'	ar	n
114.	ʕayd	'go back'	ar	i
115.	ɣawl	'hurry up'		i

B. Ablauted

B.i.1. frḥ, fs:r

116.	bdr	'mention'		t
117.	bd:l	'change'	ar	t
118.	bḥ:t	'investigate'	ar	t
119.	bl:ɣ	'deliver'	ar	t
120.	bry	'grind'		t
121.	br:ḥ	'announce'	ma	i
122.	br̥:m	'turn'	ar	t
123.	bš:r	'give good news'	ar	i
124.	bx:r	'burn incense, do harm'	ar	i
125.	bzy	'be wet, proud'		i
126.	bʕd	'be far'	ar	i

127.	bɣḍ	'hate'	ar	i
128.	dbɣ	'dye'	ar	t
129.	db:r	'manage'	ar	i
130.	dhn	'rub ointment'	ar	t
131.	dhš	'faint, become dizzy'	ar	i
132.	dlš	'massage'	ar	t
133.	dw:x	'become dizzy'	ar	t
134.	ḍhr	'appear'	ar	i
135.	ḍlm	'oppress'	ar	t
136.	ḍl:ʕ	'flatten bread'		t
137.	ḍmn	'guarantee'	ar	t
138.	ḍr:ʕ	'scream'		i
139.	ḍʕf	'be weak'	ar	i
140.	ḍʕn	'stab'	ar	t
141.	ḍɣṣ	'lie down'		t
142.	fḍh	'reveal a secret'	ar	t
143.	fḍr	'take lunch'	ar	i
144.	fhm	'understand'	ar	t
145.	flḥ	'succeed'	ar	i
146.	fly	'tear'		t
147.	fl:ḥ	'to live on agriculture'	ar	i
148.	frḍ	'sweep'		t
149.	frḥ	'be happy'	ar	i

150.	frs	'attack'	ar	t
151.	fry	'build a fence'		t
152.	frɣ	'be crooked'	ar	i
153.	fr:d	'change money'	ar	t
154.	fr:n	'weed'		t
155.	fr:z	'clarify'	ar	t
156.	fr:ž	'look at'	ar	i
157.	fr:ɣ	'pour'	ar	i
158.	frʕ	'break open'		t
159.	fsd	'be spoiled'	ar	i
160.	fsr	'spread'		t
161.	fsy	'melt'		t
162.	fs:r	'explain'	ar	t
163.	ftl	'roll'	ar	t
164.	gmr	'hunt'		i
165.	gz:r	'butcher'	ar	t
166.	hbl	'become silly'	ar	i
167.	hdm	'demolish'	ar	t
168.	hw:l	'trouble'	ar	t
169.	hžm	'attack'	ar	i
170.	ḥbs	'imprison'	ar	t
171.	ḥl:q	'dress up'	ma	t
172.	ḥl:s	'saddle'		t
173.	ḥml	'flood'	ma	i

174.	ḥm:m	'bathe'	ar	i
175.	ḥr:f	'carry'		t
176.	ḥr:š	'shake, move something'	ar	t
177.	ḥṛm	'be forbidden'	ar	i
178.	ḥṛš	'be sharp'	ar	i
179.	ḥšm	'govern, judge'	ar	i
180.	ḥš:m	'be polite'	ar	i
181.	ḥz:m	'wear a belt'	ar	i
182.	kmz	'scratch'		t
183.	krz	'plough'		t
184.	lʕb	'play'	ar	t
185.	mdy	'set a trap'		t
186.	mgr	'harvest'		t
187.	mry	'rub'		t
188.	ndm	'regret'	ar	i
189.	ndr	'moan'		i
190.	nḍl	'bury'		t
191.	nfḍ	'throw'	ar	t
192.	nfḥ	'sniff tobacco'	ar	t
193.	nq:l	'transplant'	ar	t
194.	nq:r	'shake off'	ar	t
195.	nq:z	'jump'	ma	i
196.	nṣb	'make stew'	ma	i

197.	nṣḍ	'blow one's nose		t
198.	nšr	'saw'	ar	t
199.	ntf	'depilate'	ar	t
200.	ntl	'hide'		i
201.	nzl	'spur'		t
202.	nzɣ	'pull'	ar	t
203.	nžm	'escape'	ar	i
204.	nžr	'sharpen'	ar	t
205.	nʕl	'curse'	ar	t
206.	qdr	'be able'	ar	i
207.	qḍʕ	'register a marriage'	ar	i
208.	ql:b	'check'	ar	t
209.	ql:q	'be worried'	ar	i
210.	qr:b	'be near'	ar	i
211.	qṛ:ṛ	'decide'	ar	i
212.	qṛ:š	'bite'	ar	t
213.	qsḥ	'be solid, strong'	ma	i
214.	qṣd	'intend, go toward'	ar	t
215.	qṃ:ṛ	'gamble'	ar	i
216.	rbḥ	'succeed, gain'	ar	t
217.	rdm	'demolish'	ar	t
218.	rḍl	'loan'		t

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219.	rgl	'close,lock'		t
220.	rgm	'insult'	ar	t
221.	rhl	'move'	ar	i
222.	rhm	'have mercy on'	ar	t
223.	rkm	'boil'		i
224.	rkz	'tread'		i
225.	rẓm	'open'		t
226.	rẓn	'be patient'	ar	i
227.	ržm	'throw stones at'	ar	t
228.	rʕb	'be amazed at'	ar	i
229.	sb:b	'trade'	ma	i
230.	sh:r	'perform magic'	ar	i
231.	sl:k	'give a reasonable price'	ar	t
232.	sl:m	'greet'	ar	i
233.	sn:d	'lean against'	ar	i
234.	srm	'peel, have diarrhea'		t
235.	sr:h	'liberate'	ar	t
236.	sty	'filter'		t
237.	ṣbṛ	'be patient, wait'	ar	i
238.	ṣfḍ	'wipe'		t
239.	ṣm:r	'nail'	ar	t

240.	ṣrf	'spend money'	ar	t
241.	ṣr:f	'change money'	ar	t
242.	ṣṛḍ	'swallow'		t
243.	ṣxḍ	'curse'	ar	i
244.	ṣy:ḍ	'hunt'	ar	t
245.	ṣy:f	'harvest summer crops'	ar	i
246.	šb:r	'cling to'		i
247.	šf:r	'steal'	ma	t
248.	šk:m	'denounce'	ma	i
249.	škr	'praise'	ar	t
250.	šm:l	'finish'	ar	t
251.	šm:t	'cheat'		t
252.	šnf	'roast'		t
253.	šnʕ	'be prevalent'	ma	i
254.	šrf	'tie'		t
255.	šrm	'shrivel up'		i
256.	šṛḍ	'comb, stipulate'	ar	t
257.	šṛh	'envy'	ar	t
258.	šty	'recall'		t
259.	šṭḥ	'dance'	ma	i
260.	šṭ:b	'sweep'	ma	t
261.	ṭfṣ	'fold'		t
262.	ṭṛẓ	'embroider'	ar	t

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263.	wḥl	'get tired'	ar	i
264.	wk:l	'appoint as representative'	ar	t
265.	wq:r	'respect'	ar	t
266.	ws:x	'make dirty'	ar	t
267.	wx:r	'go back'	ar	i
268.	wzn	'weigh'	ar	t
269.	wžd	'be ready'	ar	i
270.	wˁr	'be hard'	ar	i
271.	xdm	'work'	ar	n
272.	xdˁ	'deceive'	ar	t
273.	xḷ:ṣ	'pay for'	ar	t
274.	xmž	'smell bad'	ma	i
275.	xm:m	'think, worry'	ar	i
276.	xr:f	'harvest fall crops'	ma	t
277.	xsr	'fail, be spoilt'	ar	i
278.	xw:n	'steal'	ar	t
279.	xzn	'store, hide'	ar	t
280.	zdm	'collect wood'		t
281.	zdr	'sink'		i
282.	zdɣ	'dwell'		t
283.	zgl	'miss'		t
284.	zrb	'hurry'		i
285.	zry	'leave, pass'		t

286.	zrʕ	'sow'	ar	t
287.	zw:q	'color'	ar	t
288.	zʕf	'get mad'	ma	i
289.	žbr	'come back'	ar	i
290.	žhd	'be strong'	ar	i
291.	žrḥ	'injure'	ar	t
292.	ʕbd	'worship, adore'	ar	t
293.	ʕbr	'measure, weigh'	ar	t
294.	ʕdl	'repair'	ar	t
295.	ʕd:b	'torture'	ar	t
296.	ʕm:r	'fill'	ar	t
297.	ʕnq	'try hard without success'	ma	t
298.	ʕq:d	'tie, start a fire'	ar	t
299.	ʕq:l	'remember'	ar	t
300.	ʕrḍ	'invite'		t
301.	ʕrm	'know of something'		i
302.	ʕs:s	'guard'	ar	n
303.	ʕšq	'love'	ar	t
304.	ʕṭ:r	'be late'	ar	i
305.	ɣly	'pass over'		i
306.	ɣml	'become rotten'	ma	i
307.	ɣms	'cover'		i

308.	ɣns	'wear'		t
309.	ɣṛḍ	'stretch leg'		t
310.	ɣṛf	'to flatten bread'		t
311.	ɣṛm	'indemnify'	ar	t
312.	ɣṛs	'slaughter'		i
313.	ɣṛy	'abort'		i
314.	ɣfr	'forgive'	ar	t
315.	ɣl:f	'wrap'	ar	t

B.i.2.   amẓ

316.	adr	'bury'		i
317.	afḍ	'be sent'		i
318.	agl	'hang'		t
319.	agm	'bring water from a well'		t
320.	akz	'recognize'		t
321.	aly	'climb'		t
322.	amn	'believe'	ar	n
323.	amr	'order'	ar	i
324.	ams	'paint'		t
325.	amẓ	'take'		t
326.	anf	'open'		t
327.	arf	'pop popcorn'		t
328.	arm	'taste'		t

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329.	arw	'give birth'	t
330.	asy	'carry'	t
331.	ašr	'steal'	t
332.	ašy	'be aware'	i
333.	awḍ	'reach'	n
334.	awl	'get married'	t
335.	awy	'take away'	t
336.	azn	'send'	t
337.	azḍ	'stretch hand'	t

B.1.3.   f:r

338.	b:y	'cut'	t
339.	ḍ:ḍ	'suckle'	t
340.	f:r	'hide'	t
341.	f:ɣ	'go out'	i
342.	g:d	'be frightened'	i
343.	g:z	'descend'	t
344.	k:r	'get up'	i
345	k:s	'take out'	t
346.	l:m	'spin'	t
347.	l:ɣ	'lick'	t
348.	m:ɣ	'get wet'	i
349.	n:ḍ	'stick'	i
350.	q:d	'burn'	t

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351.	q:l	'wait'		i
352.	q:n	'shut'		t
353.	q:s	'prick'		t
354.	t:l	'roll'		t
355.	t:r	'ask'		t
356.	ṭ:f	'keep'		t
357.	z:r	'depilate'		t
358.	ẓ:y	'milk'		t
359.	ẓ:ˁ	'dismiss'		t
360.	ž:y	'recover from an illness'		t

B.ii.1.   af, aš:k, rar

361.	adž	'let'		t
362.	af	'find'		t
363.	ar	'be empty,empty'		i
364.	as:	'tie,bind'		t
365.	aš:k	'be lost'		i
366.	az:l	'run'		i
367.	g:al:	'swear'		i
368.	lal	'be born'		i
369.	rar	'return, give back'		n
370.	ẓ:aḷ:	'pray'	ar	t

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B.ii.2.   g, g:, ls, bd:, gr

371.	bd:	'stand up'	i
372.	fẓ:	'chew'	t
373.	g	'be,do'	n
374.	gm	'grow'	i
375.	gn	'sleep'	i
376.	gr	'throw away'	t
377.	g̣:	'knead'	t
378.	ks	'tend sheep or cattle'	t
379.	k:	'pass,visit'	t
380.	ls	'get dressed'	t
381.	ns	'spend the night'	i
382.	nz	'be for sale'	i
383.	nɣ	'kill'	t
384.	rẓ	'break'	t
385.	rɣ	'warm oneself'	i
386	sl:	'hear'	i
387.	sɣ	'buy'	t
388.	š	'give'	i
389.	šl	'spend a day'	i
390.	ṭs	'laugh'	i
391.	zl	'lose'	t
392.	ẓḍ	'grind'	t

393.	ẓd	'weave'		t
394.	ʕz:	'be dear'	ar	i
395.	γṛ	'read, call out'		n
396.	γz	'dig'		t
397.	γẓ:	'crunch'		t

B.ii.3   d:u, g:ru, bdu, ʕd:u, iri

398.	bdu	'begin'	ar	t
399.	bḍu	'cut, share'		t
400.	bnu	'build'	ar	t
401.	dʕu	'pray for, prosecute'	ar	i
402.	d:u	'go'		i
403.	fru	'pay debts'		t
404.	ftu	'dictate'	ar	t
405.	f:u	'dawn'		i
406.	gnu	'sew'		t
407.	g:ru	'be last'		i
408.	hdu	'give a present'	ar	t
409.	ḥḍu	'watch over'		t
410.	ḥfu	'be, become dull'	ma	i
411.	ḥlu	'be nice'	ar	i

412.	ḥmu̱	'be hot weather'	ar	i
413.	ḥr:u	'be hot (food)'	ar	i
414.	k:u	'cut grass'		t
415.	mḥu̱	'erase'	ar	t
416.	qḍu	'accomplish'	ar	t
417	qwu	'be fat'	ar	i
418.	rḍu̱	'bless'	ar	i
419.	rṣu̱	'be quiet'	ar	i
420.	ršu	'be dirty'	ma	i
421.	rzu	'look for'		t
422.	ržu	'hope'	ar	t
423.	r:u	'win'		t
424.	sxu̱	'be generous'	ar	i
425.	s:u	'make the bed'		t
426.	ṣfu	'be clean, clear'	ar	i
427.	ṣḥu̱	'be healthy'	ar	i
428.	šḍu	'smell'		t
429.	šmu̱	'smoke'	ma	t
430.	šnu	'kneel'	ar	i
431.	šru̱	'rent'	ar	t
432.	šwu	'be sharp'		i
433.	xlu	'ruin'	ar	n
434.	xwu̱	'be empty'	ar	n

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435.	x:u	'be mean'		i
436.	zwu	'be dry'	ar	i
437.	ẓ:u	'plant'		t
438.	žru	'happen'	ar	i
439.	ʕd:u	'abound'	ar	i
440.	ʕfu	'forgive'	ar	i
441.	ʕmu	'be blind'	ar	n
442.	ʕnu	'undergo'	ar	t
443.	ʕṣu	'disobey'	ar	t
444.	ɣbu	'be deep'		i
445.	ɣlu	'be expensive'	ar	i
446.	ɣmu	'paint'		t
447.	ɣnu	'be rich'	ar	i
448.	ili	'exist, be'		i
449.	ini	'say'		t
450.	iri	'want'		n

Verb Sample Appendix B (Ayt Seghrouchen)

		Unaugmented	Augmented		
			Causative	Reciprocal	Passive
1	a)	safr 'travel' ar i			
	b)	t:safar			
	c)	s:frt			
	d)	amsafr			
2	a)	sal 'ask' arn		m:sal	t:usal
	b)	t:sal		t:m:sal	t:usal
3	a)	samḥ 'forgive' ar i		msamaḥ	
	b)	t:samaḥ		t:msamaḥ	
	c)	lmusamaḥa			
4	a)	sawm 'ask for ar t the price'			
	b)	t:sawan			
5	a)	tṛžm 'translate ar t	s:tṛžm		
	b)	t:tṛžam	s:tṛžam		
	c)	atṛžm			

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6	a)	t:u	'forget'	i	s:t:u			
	b)	t:t:u			s:t:u			
7	a)	wžd	'be ready'	ar i	s:užd			
	b)	t:užid			s:užid			
	c)							
	d)	mužud						
8	a)	zrbš	'scratch'	ar i	s:xrbš			
	b)	t:xrbaš			s:x̣rbaš			
9	a)	ẓ:ˤ	'chase'	t			t:waẓ:ˤ	
	b)	t:ẓ:ˤ					t:waẓ:ˤ	
10	a)	žn	'sleep'	i	s:žn			
	b)	džan			s:žan			
11	a)	ˤfu	'forgive'	ar i				
	b)	ˤf:u						
	c)	lˤfu						
12	a)	ˤma	'be blind or blind'	ar n		m:ˤma		
	b)	t:iˤma				t:mˤma		
	c)	lˤma						
13	a)	ɣba	'lie deep'	ar i	s:ɣba			
	b)	t:iɣba			s:ɣba			

14	a)	ɣm	'dyə'	t		
	b)	ɣm:				
15	a)	ɣẓ:	'crunch'	t	m:ɣẓ:	t:uɣẓ:
	b)	t:ɣẓ:			t:mɣẓ:a	t:uɣẓ:a

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Sentences

    This section lists examples of the different structures of
Tamazight. The examples consist of 157 pairs of sentences.
When a certain structure or sub-structure is discussed, it is
usually followed by one or more pairs of sentences to exemplify
the occurrence of such structure. The first member of each
pair of sentences is from Ayt Ayache, the second from
Ayt Seghrouchen.

Sentences

Introduction

The discussion of sentences in Tamazight includes

A. The Verbless Sentence
B. The Verbal Sentence.

Each of these two types of structure can have any of the
following modes:

1. Affirmative
2. Interrogative
3. Negative
4. Negative-Interrogative

The structures mentioned above (A.1 - A.4 and B.1 - B.4)
as well as Imperative structures which are grouped under C,
will be found in the following examples. The examples include
157 pairs of sentences from the two dialects (i.e. 157 from
Ayt Ayache and 157 from Ayt Seghrouchen). When examples of
a certain structure or sub-structure are cited, usually one
or more pairs of sentences follow a short discussion. The
first sentence in each given pair is in the dialect of Ayt
Ayache, the second is in the Ayt Seghrouchen dialect.

A.1 **Verbless**: **Affirmative**
Examples of such sentences are:

1. (A.A.) isminw muḥa .
    (A.S.) isminw muḥa .

My name is Mohamed.

2. (A.A.)   lᵉmrinw   tlatin   ʕam   .

(A.S.)   lᵉmrinw   tlatin   ʕam   .

I am 30 years old.

A Verbless Affirmative structure may occur with /ɣur/ A.A. or
/ɣr/ A.S. 'particle of possession.' Examples:

3.   (A.A.) ɣurs   yut   trbat: .

(A.S.) ɣrs   išt   ntrbat: .

He has a girl.

4.   (A.A.) ɣuri   rbʕa   ntfunasin   .

(A.S.) ɣri   rbʕa   ntfunasin   .

I have four cows.

or structures having the 'presentational particles' /ha/, /han/
A.A., /ha/, /han:/ A.S. Examples:

5.   (A.A.)   ha   n:ʕnaʕ   .

(A.S.)   ha   n:ʕnaʕ   .

Here is the mint.

6.   (A.A.)   han   ataynš   .

(A.S.)   han: at:ayn:š   .

Here is your tea.

or with the help of /d/, 'particle of assertion.' Examples:

7. (A.A.) muḥa dargaz nimru waḥd .

    (A.S.) muḥa da.ryaz n:imirwahd .

    Mohamed is in fact an excellent man.

8. (A.A.) lhusayn dargaz .

    (A.S.) lhusayn daryaz .

    Lahoucine is indeed a man.

or as a greeting or a response to a greeting. Examples:

9. (A.A.) s:alamuʕlik:um .

    (A.S.) s:alamuʕlik:um .

    Hello. (to a man by a man)

10. (A.A.) ṣbaḥ lxir amuḥa .

     (A.S.) ṣbaḥ lxir amuḥa .

     Good morning, Mohamed.

A.2 Verbless: Interrogative

Such sentences may occur in structures similar to the above with an interrogative tome to them. Examples:

11. (A.A.) lwašun labas ?

     (A.S.) lwašun labas ?

     How is the family?

12. (A.A.) ɣurs sbʕa iširːan ?

    (A.S.) ɣrs sbʕa lːwašun ?

    Does he have seven children?

13. (A.A.) šgː dmi ?

    (A.S.) wakːd škː ?

    You (ms) and who else?

or with the interrogative particle /is/ before such structures
as the following:

14. (A.A.) is ɣurš šal lwašun ?

    (A.S.) is ɣrš šal lwašun ?

    Do you have children?

They also occur with question words. Examples:

15. (A.A.) mismnš ?

    (A.S.) mismnːš ?

    What is your name (ms) ?

16. (A.A.) šhal ylʕmrnš ?

    (A.S.) mšhal ilʕmmnːš ?

    How old are you (ms) ?

17. (A.A.) šḥal taqb:ut:a ?

(A.S.) mšḥal itqb:ut:u ? ~ mšḥal taqb:ut:u ?

How much is this djellaba?

18. (A.A.) mani muḥa ?

(A.S.) mani muḥa ?

Where is Mohamed?

A.3 Verbless: Negative

These structures occur with /ur-/ 'negative particle' in
A.A. and A.S. or /urid:-/ 'It's not' in A.A. and A.S. Examples:

19. (A.A.) urɣuri lflus .

(A.S.) urɣri lflus .

I have no money.

20. (A.A.) urid: am: wa .

(A.S.) ulid: am wu .

It is not like this (ms).

21. (A.A.) urid: ḥm:u .

(A.S.) ulid: ḥm:u .

It's not Ḥammou.

22. (A.A.) urid: nt:a .

     (A.S.) ulid: nt:a .

     It's not him.

23. (A.A.) urid: šg: .

     (A.S.) ulid: šk: .

     It's not you.

A.4 Verbless: Negative - Interrogative

     Such structures are achieved with the use of /isur-/
Negative - Interrogative particle in both dialects. Examples:

24. (A.A.) isur ɣurs lflus ?

     (A.S.) is urɣrs lflus ?

     Doesn't he have money?

25. (A.A.) isurid: ḥšuma ɣifš ?

     (A.S.) isulid: ḥšuma xš ?

     Aren't you (ms) ashamed?

26. (A.A.) isurid: nt:a ?

     (A.S.) isulid: nt:a ?

     Isn't that he?

27.   (A.A.) isuridː taqduhtns aynːa ?

(A.S.) isulidː taqːnuštnːs adin ?

Isn't it his pot over there?

B.1   Verbal: Affirmative

B.1.1   Sentences having one verb.   Examples:

28.   (A.A.) tlːa da .

(A.S.) tlːa da .

She is here.

29.   (A.A.) tlːa ytxamt .

(A.S.) tlːa ytxant .

It (f) is in the tent.

30.   (A.A.) tdːu ɣr txamt .

(A.S.) traḥ ɣr txamt .

She went to the tent.

31.   (A.A.) qːimn yfas .

(A.S.) qːimn dɣ fas

They stayed in Fez.

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32. (A.A.) dayxd:m muha yr:bad .

     (A.S.) l:ayxd:m muha yr:bad .

Mohamed works in Rabat.

33. (A.A.) ha muha id:ad .

     (A.S.) ha muha irahd: .

Here comes Mohamed.

34. (A.A.) išas ʕli lflus imuha .

     (A.S.) yušas ʕli lflus imuha .

Aly gave Muha money.

35. (A.A.) iwḍnn: ʕari axatar .

     (A.S.) iwḍnn: lʕri amq:ran .

They reached (there) the high mountain.

36. (A.A.) dat:lʕabn lwašun k:u sbah .

     (A.S.) l:at:lʕ:abn lwašun kul: s:bah .

The kids play every morning.

37. (A.A.) imun muha dfaḍma sahidus .

     (A.S.) imun muha dfaḍma ɣruhidus .

Mohamed and Fatma went to the dance.

38. (A.A.) adid:u γr tad:artns .

(A.S.) adiṛah γr tad:artn:s .

He will go home.

Notice that the word order of sentences consisting only of a verb and its subject is <u>preferably</u>:

Verb + Subject [in Construct State]

but sometimes can be:

Subject [in Free State] + Verb

<u>Compare</u> members of the following pairs:

39. (A.A.) if:γ umaziγ .

(A.S.) if:γ umaziγ .

The Berber went out.

and

40. (A.A.) amaziγ if:γ .

(A.S.) amaziγ if:γ .

The Berber went out.

41. (A.A.) iswa urgaz atay .

     (A.S.) iswu uryaz at:ay .

     The man drank tea.

and

42. (A.A.) argaz iswa atay .

     (A.S.) aryaz iswu at:ay .

     The man drank tea.

43. (A.A.) zṛiɣ argaz t:mḍ:ut: .

     (A.S.) zṛix aryaz t:mt:ut: .

     I saw the man and the woman.

and

44. (A.A.) zṛiɣ tamḍ:ut: durgaz .

     (A.S.) zṛix tamt:ut: duryaz .

     I saw the woman and the man.

45. (A.A.) ttša tafunast duɣyul .

     (A.S.) ttšu tafunast duɣyul .

     It (f) ate the cow and the donkey.

and

46. (A.A.) itša uɣyul t:funast .

     (A.S.) itšu uɣyul t:funast .

     The donkey and the cow ate.

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If any of the moveable affixes (i.e. object pronominal affixes or particles of proximity, /d/ in A.A. and /d:/ in A.S., and remoteness, /n/ in A.A. and /n:/ in A.S.) occur, they are post verbal if the sentence does <u>not</u> have any temporal or modal prefixes, prepositions or conjunctions, and pre-verbal if any of the above elements does occur in the sentence. (See Pronominal Systems III.3.)

Examples:

47. (A.A.) išat:id .

(A.S.) yušast:d: .

He gave it (f) to him (nearer).

48. (A.A.) išastid .

(A.S.) yušastid .

He gave it (m) to him (nearer).

49. (A.A.) iɣṛfastid .

(A.S.) iɣṛfastid .

He threw it (m) at him (nearer).

50. (A.A.) dastidit:awy .

(A.S.) l:astidit:awy .

He is bringing it (m) (nearer) to him.

51. (A.A.) yiwyastid .

    (A.S.) yiwyastid .

    He brought it (m) to him (nearer).

52. (A.A.) isɣad mıha xmsṭarš ntfunast .

    (A.S.) isɣud: mıha xmsṭarš: ntfunast .

    Mohamed bought fifteen cows (nearer).

53. (A.A.) tsɣad faḍma rbra yful:usn .

    (A.S.) tsɣud: faḍma rbra y:aziḍn .

    Fatma bought four chickens (nearer).

54. (A.A.) argaz n:a disɣan irḍn aya .

    (A.S.) aryaz din d:isɣin irḍn ayu .

    This is the man who bought wheat (nearer).

(Also see #73, 75, 81, 105, 106, 107, 108, and many others.)

The verb 'to be', /g/ in A.A. and /iž/ in A.S., occurs
in many structures preceded by /ay/ 'who, which, what'.
Examples:

55. (A.A.) taxamt urgaz ay tga

    (A.S.) taxant uryaz aytžu .

    This is the man's tent.

56. (A.A.)   iy:is ntslit ag:a .

    (A.S.)   yis ntslit: ag:žu .

    This is the bride's horse.

57. (A.A.)   šg: bulhm:am ay tgid .

    (A.S.)   šk: bulhm:am ay tžit .

    You are the public bath attendant.

58. (A.A.)   ayt ʕy:aš taq:bilt taxatart ay tga .

    (A.S.)   ayt ʕy:aš taq:bilt tamq:rant ay tžu .

    Ayt Ayache is a big tribe.

59. (A.A.)   nk:ni inslmn ay nga .

    (A.S.)   ntšni imslmn ay nžu .

    We are Moslems.

60. (A.A.)   nk:ni tarwa nmulay dris ay nga .

    (A.S.)   ntšni dar:a nm:ulay dris ay nžu .

    We are the offspring of Mulay Dris.

61. (A.A.)   muha argaz izil: ag:a .

    (A.S.)   muha aryaz iʕdln ag:žu .

    Mohamed is a nice man.

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62. (A.A.)   t:lawt   izil: ayt   tga .

(A.S.)   t:lawt   i°dln   ay   tžu .

This is a nice song.

B.1.2 Sentences having two verbs.

Expressing English 'to, in order to' is achieved by the use of two verbs where the second is in the future form. Examples:

63. (A.A.)   id:a   adixdm .

(A.S.)   irah   adixdm .

He went to work.

64. (A.A.)   id:a   adign .

(A.S.)   irah   adižn .

He went to sleep.

65. (A.A.) d:an lahl l:°il ad:s:utr: tarbat: ilahlns .

(A.S.) rahn lahl w:rba ads:utrn tarbat: ilahln:s .

The boy's parents went to ask for the girl's hand from her parents.

66. (A.A.) ikžmd adisl:m xf °m:is .

(A.S.) yudfd: adisl:m xunuži .

He came in to greet his uncle (paternal).

67. (A.A.) riɣ   add: uɣ ɣr s:uq: .

    (A.S.) bɣix adṛahx ɣr s:uq: .

    I want to go to the market.

68. (A.A.) riɣ aditrard ɣr tmazirtinw .

    (A.S.) bɣix aditr:t ɣr tmurtinw .

    I want you to take me back to my country.

69. (A.A.) tra at:d:u ɣr ʕt:is .

    (A.S.) tbɣa at:rah ɣr ʕt:is .

    She wants to go visit her aunt (paternal).

The use of conjunctions necessitates two verbs.   Examples:

70. (A.A.) ʕd:an win:a days:an lq:hwa imalik:an   .

    (A.S.) g:utn idin is:n lq:hwa imarikan   .

    There are a lot of people who drink coffee in America.

71. (A.A.) nk̰:ni tarwa nmulay dris n:a ynḍln

            yfas ay nga .

    (A.S.) ntš̰ni dar:a m:ulay dris udin inḍln

            di fas aynž̰u .

    We are the offspring of Mulay Dris who is buried
    in Fez.

72. (A,A.)   imyu:san   muha   dꞑli   yr̩:bad̩   n:a
             yžmꞑn   .

    (A.S.)   imyus:an   muha   dꞑli   ir:bad̩   dindi
             žmꞑn   .

    Muha and Aly got acquainted in Rabat where they met.

73. (A.A.)   art:mšawar: mimš   ašt:g:an
             at:nɣin   .

    (A.S.)   alt:mšawaṛn   mism   asɣažn
             at:nɣn   .

    They were consulting how to manage to kill him.

74. (A.A.)   ad:ay   nra   aṇg   atay   dans:naw   aman
             bꞑda   .

    (A.S.)   ad:ay   nbɣa   an:ž   at:ay   l:ans:naw   aman
             bꞑda   .

    When we want to make tea, we boil water first.

75. (A.A.)   ad:ay   yawd̩   lꞑil   xf   yiwl   ,   dast:xt̩
             ayt   uxamns   tarbat: n:as   it:iꞑžibn   .

    (A.S.)   ad:ay   yawd̩   urba   ɣyiway   ,   l:ast:xtaṛn
             ayt   uxamn:s   tarbat: din   asit:iꞑžibn   .

    When the boy reaches the age of marriage, his family
    chooses the girl he likes.

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76. (A.A.) art:waryaɣ am:i l:an sbʕa itran .

    (A.S.) l:at:iržitx am:ani l:an sbʕa ytran .

    I dreamt of seven stars.

77. (A.A.) art:waryaɣ is l:an sbʕa yiyun .

    (A.S.) l:at:iržitx is l:an sbʕa yfunasn .

    I dreamt that there were seven oxen.

78. (A.A.) iɣal is tga tamd̠:ut̠: iẓil: .

    (A.S.) in:a is tžu tamt̠:ut̠: iʕdln .

    He thought that she was a nice woman.

79. (A.A.) l:iy t:isal xf imndi tn:as ur ɣur̠i
             l:in .

    (A.S.) zg:a t:isal ximndi , tn:as urɣri l:in .

    When he asked her about wheat, she told him that
    she has none.

80. (A.A.) iq:im al:iy iwh̠l .

    (A.S.) iq:im azg:a yuh̠l .

    He stayed until he got tired.

81. (A.A.) d:an al:iy n:iwd̠n ʕari axatar .

    (A.S.) r̠ah̠m azg:a n:iwd̠n lʕri amq:ran .

    They went until they reached (far) the high mountain.

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Conditional sentences have two verbs also and occur with the conditional particles:

mš (A.A., A.S.)	if (possible, probable)
mr (A.A., A.S.)	if (impossible, contrary to fact)
mšur (A.A., A.S.)	if not (possible)
mrid: (A.A.)	if not (impossible, contrary to fact)
mlid: (A.S.)	if not (impossible, contrary to fact)

Examples:

82. (A.A.) mš iwta wnzar urt:f:q: .

     (A.S.) mš iwtu wnzar urt:f:x: .

     If it rains I will not go out.

83. (A.A.) mš qbl: , dat:d:un adqḍʕn .

     (A.S.) mš qbln , l:ag:um adqḍʕn .

     If they agree, they go register the marriage.

84. (A.A.) mš trid at:g:anid al: ask:a .

     (A.S.) mš tbɣit at:rẓit , al:utša* .

     If you want to wait, let it be tomorrow.

85. (A.A.) mš ḍhr: isignaw , adiwt unzar .

     (A.S.) mš ḍhrn isinaw , adiwt unzar .

     If clouds appear, it will rain.

* al + dutša

86. (A.A.) mš šyaɣ ša ,   td:ut at:an:ayt

          aḍbib .

     (A.S.) mš šyuɣ ša ,   traht at:zrt aḍbib.

If you are sick, go and see the doctor.

87. (A.A.) mš qbl: ,   dat:dun lʿil t:rbat:

          dlahlnsn ɣl lbiru adqdʿn .

     (A.S.) mš qbln ,   l:ayg:ur urba t:rbat:

          dlahln:sn ɣl lbiru adqdʿn .

If they agree, the boy and the girl and their parents
go to register.

88. (A.A.) mšur astidiši adastis:utr .

     (A.S.) mšur astidiwši adastis:utr .

If he does not give it (m) to him (nearer), he will
ask him for it (m).

89. (A.A.) mšurdid:i ask:a add:uɣ ɣr midlt .

     (A.S.) mšur d:irah dutša adwaʿdx midlt .

If he does not come tomorrow, I will go to Midelt.

90. (A.A.) mšur dtd:i faḍma as:a ,   and:u

          ad:ɣifsnk: ask:a imidlt .

     (A.S.) mšurd:trah faḍma iḍu ,   an:rah

          ad:xsnk: dutša imidlt .

If Fatma does not come (here) today, then we go and
visit her (together) in Midelt tomorrow.

91. (A.A.)   mr ɣuri l:in lflus idl:i   ,   l:asɣiɣ

igran nʕli .

(A.S.)   mr ɣri l:in lflus idn:at: ,   l:asɣix

ižran nʕli .

If I had the money yesterday, I would have bought
Aly's fields.

92. (A.A.)   mr it:n:id adasiniɣ aditntidiš .

(A.S.)   mr it:n:it l:anixas aditntid:iwš .

Had you told me, I would have asked him to give them (f)
to me.

93. (A.A.)   mrid: isuridawa d:alb lʕil l:aym:ut .

(A.S.)   mlid: isuridawa t:alb arba l:aym:ut .

Had the Sheikh not cured the boy, he would have died.

94. (A.A.)   mrid: istzriɣ idl:i   ,   l:ašiɣas lḥžab .

(A.S.)   mlid: is tzrix idn:at: l:awšixas lḥžab .

If I had seen him yesterday, I would have given him
the amulet.

95. (A.A.)   mrid: isurdhim isignaw idl:i urik:at

unẓar as:a .

(A.S.)   mlid: isurdhim isinaw idn:at: uritšat

unẓar idu .

Had clouds not appeared yesterday, rain would not
have fallen today.

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96. (A.A.) mrid: isurastidiši , adastis:utr .

     (A.S.) mlid: isurastidiwši , adastis:utr .

     Had he not given it (m) to him (nearer), he would
     have asked him for it (m).

97. (A.A.) mrid: ša yaḍn urt:it:awy sql: mn

             st:my:at ryal .

     (A.S.) mlid: hḍ: ḍnin , urt:it:awy sql:

             mn st:my:at ryal .

     If it were somebody else, I would not have sold it (f)
     for less than 600 Rials.

     The use of Aorist in narration to denote a perfective, imper-
fective or future action (i.e. past, present or future) is
exemplified in the following sentences.

98. (A.A.) iḍl:i id:a muha ɣr s:uq: isɣ sk:r

             day iʕayd: ɣr tad:art .

     (A.S.) iḍn:at: irah muha ɣr s:uq: isɣ sk:ar

             day iʕid ɣr tad:art .

     Yesterday, Moha went to the market, bought sugar,
     then came back home.

99. (A.A.) k:u s:bah ad:ay tk:r g:its dats:aɣa

             lʕafit day ts:nw aman day tʕm:r atay

             day tls iʕban: l:xdmt day td:u sigran .

(A.S.)   kul: s:baḥ ad:ay tk:r ʐg:nud:m , l:at:saγa

l°afit , day ts:nw aman , day t°m:r at:ay ,

day tirḍ i°ban: l:xdnt day twa°d iẓran .

Every morning when she wakes up, she makes a fire and
boils water, then makes tea, then puts on work clothes
and then goes to the fields.

100. (A.A.)   ask:a adid:u γr s:uq adiz:nz imndi ,

isγ yut tqb:ut: , i°dl iduša day

i°ayd: γr tad:art .

(A.S.)   dutša adirah γr s:uq: adiz:nz imndi

isγ išt ntqb:ut: , i°dl iduša day

i°idd: γr tad:art .

Tomorrow he will go to the market to sell wheat, buy
a djellaba, repair shoes, and then go back home.

B.2 Verbal: Interrogative

This is achieved by the use of this interrogative particle
/is-/ prefixed to a verb in the past (A.A. and A.S.) or the
interrogative particle /id:-/ (A.A.) or /isd-/ (A.S.) prefixed
to a verb in the future. Examples:

101. (A.A.)   is ifrḥ muha ?

(A.S.)   is ifrḥ muha ?

Is Mohamed happy?

102. (A.A.)   is i°m:r s:uq: maduhu ?

(A.S.)   is i°m:r s:uq:u mad ihi ?

Is the market full or not?

103.   (A.A.)   isdats:am   atay   ytmazirtn:un   mad   uhu   ?

        (A.S.)   ists:m   at:ay   itmırtn:un   mad   ihi   ?

        Do you (mp) drink tea in your country or not?

104.   (A.A.)   id:adimʕawan   mıha   dʕli   ?

        (A.S.)   isdadimʕawan   mıha   dʕli   ?

        Will Mohamed and Aly help each other?

        Notice that the use of the particles mentioned above
causes the moveable particles to be pre-verbal.   Examples:

105.   (A.A.)   isastiɣrf   ?

        (A.S.)   isastiɣrf   ?

        Did he throw it (m) at him?

106.   (A.A.)   isastidiša   ?

        (A.S.)   isastidyušu   ?

        Did he give it (m) to him (nearer)?

107.   (A.A.)   isast:iša   ?

        (A.S.)   isast:yušu   ?

        Did he give it (f) to him (nearer)?

108.   (A.A.)   isastidit:awy   ?

        (A.S.)   isastidit:awy   ?

        Is he bringing it (m) to him (nearer)?

Two verbs might occur in such constructions. Examples:

109. (A.A.) istrid at:dud ɣr s:uq: ?

      (A.S.) is tbɣit at:raht ɣr s:uq: ?

      Do you want to go to the market?

110. (A.A.) isaš in:a adid:u ?

      (A.S.) isaš in:a dad:irah ?

      Did he tell you that he will go?

111. (A.A.) isd:an adqdˤn ?

      (A.S.) israhn adqdˤn ?

      Did they go to register the marriage?

112. (A.A.) id:ad:d:un adɣifnɣk:n ?

      (A.S.) isdad:rahn adixnxk:n ?

      Will they come to visit us (nearer)?

The use of question words in interrogative sentences
is exemplified by the following.

113. (A.A.) maɣr id:a ˤli ?

      (A.S.) maniɣr irah ˤli ?

      Where did Aly go?

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114. (A.A.)   mag:a   s:uq: as:a   ?

(A.S.)   mag:žu   s:uq: idu   ?

How is the market today?

115. (A.A.)   may   γuṛun   did:an   ?

(A.S.)   wid: γrun   iṛaḥ   ?

Who came to your (mp) house?

Sentence #116 below shows that the moveable particle /-aš-/ 'to you' is preverbal in the environment of the question word /ma/ 'what':

116. (A.A.)   maš   tga   ṣ:aḥt   ?

(A.S.)   maš   tžu   ṣ:aḥt   ?

How are you (ms) ?

B.3 Verbal: Negative

This is achieved by the negative prefix /ur-/ in A.A. and A.S. before verbs in the past or /ur-/ in A.A. and /ul:i-/ in A.S. before habitual stems. Examples:

117. (A.A.)   uryan:ay   ag:d   yun   bnadm   .

(A.S.)   uriẓṛi   ulad   idž   nbnadm   .

He did not see a single person.

118. (A.A.) urtyan:ay ag:d yun bnadm .

      (A.S.) urtizri ulad idž nbnadm .

Not even a single person saw him.

119. (A.A.) urdžin: an:ayγ am: wa .

      (A.S.) urγmri zṛix am wu .

I never saw some $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{one} \\ \text{thing} \end{Bmatrix}$ like this.

120. (A.A.) urdžin: d:iγ γr s:uq: nmidlt .

      (A.S.) ur ʕmri ṛaḥx γr s:uq: nmidlt .

I never went to the Midelt market.

121. (A.A.) ur:iγ ad:uγ γr s:uq: .

      (A.S.) urbγix adṛaḥx γr s:uq: .

I $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{do} \\ \text{did} \end{Bmatrix}$ not want to go to the market.

122. (A.A.) urdayit:iʕžib t:f:aḥ .

      (A.S.) ul:iyiyt:iʕžib t:f:aḥ .

I don't like apples.

123. (A.A.) urdat:d:uγ γr s:uq: nmidlt .

      (A.S.) ul:ig:urx γr s:uq: nmidlt .

I never go to the Midelt market.

The occurrence of the negative particles /ur-/ or /ul:i-/
causes the moveable particles to be preverbal. Examples:

124. (A.A.)   urdtd:i γr s:uq: as:a .

      (A.S.)   urd:traḥ γr s:uq: idu .

      She did not come to market today.

125. (A.A.)   urn:t:d:u γr s:uq: ask:a .

      (A.S.)   urn:tg:ur γr s:uq: dutša .
                                              .

      She will not go (far) to the market tomorrow.

126. (A.A.)   urtidniwy   .

      (A.S.)   urtidniwy .

      We did not bring it (m) (nearer).

127. (A.A.)   urn:id:i γr s:uq: , urixdim g:granns .

      (A.S.)   urn:iraḥ γr s:uq: , urixdim g:žrann:s .

      He neither went (far) to the market nor worked in his
      fields.

128. (A.A.)   urastidiši .

      (A.S.)   urastidyuši .

      He did not give it (m) to him (nearer).

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B.4 Verbal: Negative-Interrogative

This structure is achieved by the prefixation of
/isur-/ to a verb. /isur-/ also causes the moveable particles
to be preverbal. Examples:

129. (A.A.) isurastiši ?

(A.S.) isurastiwši ?

Didn't he give it (m) to him?

130. (A.A.) isurast:idiši ?

(A.S.) isurast:d:yuši ?

Didn't he give it (f) to him (nearer)?

131. (A.A.) isurast:idit:awy ?

(A.S.) isurast:d:it:awy ?

Isn't he bringing it (f) to him (nearer)?

132. (A.A.) isurixdim muḥa as:a ?

(A.S.) isurixdim muḥa iḍu ?

Didn't Mohamed cook today?

C.   Imperative Structures

An imperative structure can occur without a verb, e.g.
(A.A.) the use of the particle /awra/ 'Come! '

    133.   (A.A.)   awra   .

           (A.S.)   awru   .

    Come!

Other than that, all imperative structures include a verb.
Imperative structures directed to second person may contain
one or more verbs.   Examples of such imperatives with one
verb are

    134.   (A.A.)   xdm !
           (A.S.)   xdm !

    Work!

    135.   (A.A.)   xdm   amıha   !
           (A.S.)   xdm   amıha   !

    Work, Mohamed!

    136.   (A.A.)   xd:m   asidi   !
           (A.S.)   xd:m   asidi   !

    Do work, Mister!   or   Get in the habit of working, Mister!

137.   (A.A.)   ns   ylman   .

(A.A.)   ns   ylman   .

Good night.

138.   (A.A.) ini   nᵊam   imayš   .

(A.S.) ini   nᵊam   iym:aš   .

Answer your mother.

Notice that habitual stems can occur to express an energetic Imperative. Example:

139.   (A.A.) xd:m   .

(A.S.) xd:m   .

Do work! Or Get in the habit of working.

Examples of Imperatives having two verbs in the imperative:

140.   (A.A.)   d:u   xdm   !

(A.S.)   sir   xdm   !

Go work!

141.   (A.A.)   d:ut   munat   .

(A.S.)   sirm   munm   .

Go together.

Examples of sentences having one verb in the imperative and another verb in the future to express such ideas as "go in order to work" are

142. (A.A.) q:is ša yzlan imụha adis:ɣd .

      (A.S.) q:is ša yzlan imụha adis:ɣd .

Sing some songs to Muha so that he can hear you.

143. (A.A.) ad:ud atsl:md xf unbyi .

      (A.S.) awru at:sl:mt xunuži .

Come greet the guest.

144. (A.A.) d:uyat at:z:nzm irdn .

       (A.S.) sirm at:z:nzm irdn .

Go (mp) to sell the wheat.

145. (A.A.) d:uyat at:sl:mm xf mụha .

       (A.S.) sirm   at:sl:mm xmụha .

Go (mp) and say hello to the young man.

Second person Imperative structures could be expressed without the use of an imperative form. Examples here use /ixs:a/ 'It's necessary, you have to' followed by a verb in the future form.

146. (A.A.) ixṣ:a aditinid lḥq: .

      (A.S.) ixṣ: adinit lḥq: .

You have to tell me the truth.

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147. (A.A.) ixs:a aditidtawid adan:ayɣ .

(A.S.) ixs: aditit:awit at:zrx .

Bring him here so that I see him.

148. (A.A.) ixs:a aditrẓmd tawaryit:a .

(A.S.) ixs: aditrẓmt tirẑit:u .

You must explain that dream for me.

Negative Imperative (second person) structures are
realized by the use of /adur-/ before a habitual stem.
Notice /adur-/ causes the moveable affixes to be preverbal.

149. (A.A.) adurdt:lʕab da .

(A.S.) adurd:t:lʕab da .

Don't play (nearer) here.

150. (A.A.) adurastidt:awy .

(A.S.) adurastidt:awy .

Don't bring it (m) nearer.

151. (A.A.) adurastidtak:at dɣi .

(A.S.) adurastidttšitšt durt:x

Don't give it (m) to him (nearer) now.

First person imperatives (i.e. hortatory or cohortative constructions expressing an exhortation or suggestion for first person) occur with verb /k:r/ 'to get up' or the particle /yal̟:ah/ 'let us'. Examples:

152. (A.A.) yal̟:ah answ   atay ,

      (A.S.) yal̟:ah answ   at:ay .

      Let us (go and) have (drink) tea.

153. (A.A.) yal̟:ah and:u answ:q: .

      (A.S.) yal̟:ah an:r̟ah an:sw:q .

      Let us go and shop.

154. (A.A.) k:raɣ and:u ɣr s:uq: .

      (A.S.) k:rax an:r̟ah ɣr s:uq: .

      Let us (mp) go to the market.

155. (A.A.) k:raɣ and:u t:afad an:awd̟ zik: answ:q: .

      (A.S.) k:rax an:r̟ah t:af an:awd̟ ziš an:šw:q .

      Let us (mp) go so we will be there early and stop.

156. (A.A.) k:rntaɣ and:u ɣr tad:art .

      (A.S.) k:rntax an:r̟ah ɣr tad:art .

      Let us (fp) go home.

The Aorist may be used after an imperative form to express second person imperative. Example:

157.   (A.A.) d:u ɣr ʕari tzdmd: šay sɣaṛ: tgd
                     lʕafit tssnud aksum iwnbyi .

        (A.S.) sir ɣl lʕri tzdntd: šay sɣaṃn ,   tžt
                     lʕafit ,   ts:nut aysum iwnuži .

Go to the mountain, collect (nearer) some wood, make
a fire and cook meat for the guest.

*   *   *