

**AN OUTLINE OF THE SHILHA (BERBER)
VERNACULAR OF DOUIRET
(SOUTHERN TUNISIA)**

2003

Z. GABSI

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (EDUCATION)

2003

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN SYDNEY

PLEASE NOTE

The greatest amount of care has been taken while scanning this thesis,
and the best possible result has been obtained.

Acknowledgments

I am profoundly indebted to Professor Stuart Campbell, University of Western Sydney, who spent countless hours guiding me through many challenging aspects of the present work.

I wish also to thank Professor Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, La Trobe University, for guiding my first steps in this study and for sharing with me her knowledge of Berber.

I am also grateful to Dr Lance Eccles, Macquarie University, who critically and painstakingly read an earlier draft of my dissertation and suggested many improvements to it.

I am also thankful to Dr Geoffrey Hull who guided me through the early stages of the thesis. Thanks are also due to Associate Professor Paulin Djité, University of Western Sydney, for suggesting improvements to the introduction and to Dr Anya Wood, Monash University, for her assistance with the overall layout of the thesis.

Thanks are also due to Dr Habib Belhedi who introduced me to the informants in Douiret and Chninni and for his overall encouragement and enthusiasm towards the completion of the present work.

I am additionally grateful to the University of Western Sydney, for providing me with a three and a half year MPRA Scholarship Award.

Finally, the present work would not have been possible without the input of my informants in Chninni, Douiret and Jerba and the unwavering support and encouragement of my wife and children.

Statement of authorship

The present thesis is, to the best of my knowledge, original unless as appropriately acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

Zouhir Gabsi

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	
Statement of authorship	
Contents	
List of tables	
Phonetic transcriptions:	
Douiret	i
Tunisian Arabic	ii
Maltese	iii
Abbreviations, symbols, conventions	v
Abstract	viii

VOLUME I

Chapter ONE

1. General Introduction

1.1 Introduction	1
1.2. The Sociocultural context	8
1.2.1 Geographical and historical backgrounds	8
1.2.2 Theories of Berber origin	13
1.2.3 The Sociolinguistic situation in Tunisia	14
1.2.3.1 Bilingualism and biculturalism	14
1.2.4 The Berbers in Tunisia	19
1.2.4.1 Geographical context	19
1.2.4.2 The Berber villages of Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen	21
1.2.4.3 Status of Shilhà in Tunisia	26
1.3 Aims	31
1.4 Previous work on Berber	32
1.5 Methodology and data	37
1.5.1 Informants	38
1.5.2 Data collection	39
1.5.3 Purpose	41
1.5.4 Research questions	41

Chapter TWO

2. Phonology

2.1 Introduction	42
2.2 Consonants	42
2.2.1 Summary table	42
2.2.2 Stops	43
2.2.3 Fricatives	54
2.2.4 Affricates	68
2.2.5 Liquids	69
2.2.6 Semi-vowels	74
2.2.7 Secondary phonemes	76
2.2.7.1 Emphatics	76
2.2.8 Phonological processes	78
2.2.8.1 Assimilation	78
2.2.8.2 Dissimilation	80
2.2.8.3 Substitution	80
2.2.9 Phonotactics: Consonant clusters	81
2.3 Vowels	81
2.3.1 Short vowels	81
2.3.2 Long vowels	88
2.3.3 Rules governing length of vowels	89
2.3.3.1 Words other than verbs	89
2.3.3.2 Verbs	90
2.3.4 Diphthongs	91
2.4 Phonotactics	91
2.4.1 Syllabic structures of non-loanwords	91
2.4.1.1 Rules governing syllabic formation	92
2.4.2 Syllabic structures of loanwords	93
2.4.3 Stress	95
2.4.3.1 Word stress	95
2.4.3.2 Sentential stress	97
2.5 Summary	99

Chapter THREE

3. Morpho-Syntax

3.1	Introduction	100
3.1.1	Lexical and inflectional morphology	100
3.1.2	Clitics, affixes, words and particles	101
3.1.2.1	Clitics and words	101
3.1.2.2	Clitics and affixes	103
3.1.2.3	Particles	104
3.1.3	Syntactic motivation	104
3.1.4	Definiteness in Berber	105
3.1.5	Aspect in Berber	106
3.1.6	Nativisation and hybridisms	106
3.1.7	Summary	107
3.2	Nouns	107
3.2.1	Affixations and clitics	107
3.2.1.1	Gender	107
3.2.1.2	Number	109
3.2.2	Derived forms	116
3.2.2.1	Diminutive forms	116
3.2.2.2	Verbal nouns	116
3.2.3	Noun types	118
3.2.3.1	Numerals	118
3.2.3.2	Compound nouns	121
3.2.4	Structure of NP	123
3.2.4.1	Nouns in the 'construct state'	123
3.2.4.2	Possessive	124
3.2.4.3	Adjectival agreement	124
3.3	Verbs	124
3.3.1	Verb morphology	124
3.3.1.1	Root and theme	124
3.3.1.2	Derived forms	129
3.3.2	Aspect	132
3.3.3	Verb negation	136
3.4	Adjectives	137
3.4.1	Affixations and clitics	137
3.4.1.1	Gender	137

3.4.1.2 Number	137
3.4.2 Semantic classification of adjectives	142
3.5 Pronouns	144
3.5.1 Personal pronouns	144
3.5.1.1 Independent personal pronouns	144
3.5.1.2 Dependent personal pronouns	146
3.5.1.3 Enclitic personal pronoun indirect objects (dative)	150
3.5.2 Indefinite pronouns	160
3.5.3 Reflexive pronouns	161
3.5.4 Interrogative pronouns	161
3.5.5. Prepositional relative pronouns	162
3.5.6 Demonstrative pronouns	163
3.6 Adverbs	164
3.6.1 Adverb of place	164
3.6.2 Adverb of time	165
3.6.3 Adverb of quantity	166
3.6.4 Adverb of manner	167
3.6.5 Interrogative adverbs	168
3.7 Prepositions	169
3.7.1 The semantics of prepositions	173
3.8 Conjunctions	174
3.8.1 Particle <i>d</i> as a conjunction	175
3.9 Article	176
3.10 Existential	177
3.11 Summary	177

Chapter FOUR

4. Syntactic Outline: Clause and Phrase Structure

4.1 Introduction	178
4.2 The simple sentence	180
4.2.1 Copula sentence	181
4.2.2 Verbal sentences	183
4.2.2.1 Introduction	183
4.2.2.2 The structure of verb-initiated sentences	185
4.2.2.3 The structure of subject-initiated structure	187
4.2.2.4 The structure of object-initiated structure	188
4.2.2.5 The verb-object-subject structure	189

4.2.2.6 Topicalisation through verb passivisation	190
4.3 Noun phrase	191
4.3.1 The constituent structure of NPs	191
4.3.2 Possessive expression	194
4.4 Adjective phrase	195
4.5 The prepositional phrase	198
4.6 Adverbial phrase	199
4.6.1 Constituent structure of AdvPs	199
4.7 Types of simple sentences	201
4.7.1 Interrogative sentences	201
4.7.2 Negative sentences	203
4.7.3 Imperative sentences	205
4.8 The complex sentence	206
4.8.1 Introduction	206
4.8.2 The relative clause	207
4.8.2.1 Introduction	207
4.8.2.2 Types of relative clauses	212
4.8.2.3 Relativization on all positions of NP	215
4.8.3 Complement clause	218
4.9 Adverbs	219
4.9.1 Adverbs and their semantic roles	220
4.10 Coordination	223
4.11 Cleft sentences	225
4.12 The existential construction	227
4.13 Conclusion	228

Chapter FIVE

5. Lexical Analysis and Language Contact

5.1 Introduction	230
5.2 Loanwords: Findings and problems	232
5.3 Non-Arabic words	234
5.3.1 Full Agreement of all five dialects (i.e. Shilḥa x3 Vernaculars=Kabyle=Tamazight)	234
5.3.2 Shared lexis in Shilḥa against Kabyle and Tamazight	242
5.3.3 Lexical variations among the three Shilḥa dialects	246
5.3.3.1 Agreement among one, two or three Shilḥa dialects with Kabyle only	253

5.3.3.2 Shared lexis among one, two or three Shilhā dialects with Tamazight only	254
5.3.3.3 Conclusion	255
5.4 Words borrowed from Arabic	255
5.4.1 Introduction	255
5.4.2 Loanwords in Shilhā and semantic fields	256
5.4.3 Arabicisms in Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen	258
5.4.3.1 Lexemes replaced with arabicisms in Ouirighen vernacular only (not in Chninni and Douiret)	259
5.4.3.2 Lexemes replaced with arabicisms in Chninni dialect (not in Ouirighen and Douiret)	260
5.4.3.3 Lexemes replaced with arabicisms in Douiret dialect (not in Ouirighen and Chninni)	261
5.5 Summary	262
5.6 Shilhā and Tunisian Arabic in contact situation	263
5.6.1 Introduction	263
5.6.2 Theoretical framework	263
5.6.2.1 Factors related to languages in contact situation	264
5.6.2.2 Linguistic Approach to Interference	264
5.6.3 Phonology	265
5.6.4 Morphology	265
5.6.4.1 Loss of initial vowel <i>a</i> -	265
5.6.4.2 Cardinal and ordinal numbers	266
5.6.4.3 Adjectivisation and verbalisation	266
5.6.5 Negation	266
5.6.6 Calques	267
5.6.7 Riddles and proverbs	268
5.6.7.1 Riddles	268
5.6.7.2 Proverbs	270
5.6.8 The Berber element in Tunisian Arabic	271
5.6.8.1 Nouns	272
5.6.8.2 Adjectives	280
5.6.8.3 Verbs	282
5.6.8.4 Tunisian Arabic and Berber nursery language	290
5.6.9 Summary	291

Chapter SIX

6. General conclusion	293
------------------------------	-----

VOLUME II

APPENDICES:

APPENDIX I

Fig. 1.1: The Shilh̃a speech-zone at the end of the 20th Century 309

Fig. 1.2: The distribution of modern Berber speakers 310

Fig. 1.3: Historical and archaeological map of Tunisia 311

APPENDIX II Vocabulary of Douiret 312

APPENDIX III: Consonants in Shilh̃a 379

APPENDIX IV: /θ/ in Ouir sighen 380

APPENDIX V: Emphatic consonants in Tunisian Arabic 383

APPENDIX VI: Stress in Ouir sighen and Chninni 384

APPENDIX VII: Semantics of gender in Shilh̃a 390

APPENDIX VIII: Verb Morphology 394

APPENDIX IX: Berber texts 415

APPENDIX X: A comparative study of pronouns 436

APPENDIX XI: Goals of A.S.N.A.P.E.D 443

APPENDIX XII: PLATES

Plate 1: Douiret El-Jadida (The New Douiret) 448

Plate 2: Douiret El-Qadima (The Old Douiret) 448

Plate 3: Douiret El-Jadida from a distance 449

Plate 4: A Berber woman from Douiret 449

Plate 5: A view of carved buildings in Chninni 450

Plate 6: Ras El Metmana in Guermessa 450

Plate 7: A view of the Ouir sighen town (in Jerba) 451

Plate 8: The road that links Ouir sighen to Guellala 451

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Tifinagh Alphabet in comparison with Greek and Phoenician	5
Table 1.2: Shilha and other Berber ‘languages’	7
Table 1.3: Preferred languages (Ounali 1983: 110)	17
Table 1.4: Arabic and Berber performances (Pencheon 1983: 33)	27
Table 1.5: Summary of ethnolinguistic vitality of Berber	29
Table 2.1: Consonants of Douiret	43
Table 2.2: The vowel system of Douiret	82
Table 3.1: Number in Douiret	109
Table 3.2: Verb conjugation in Douiret	133
Table 3.3: Personal pronouns in Douiret (Free State)	145
Table 3.4: Enclitic personal pronouns direct objects	148
Table 3.5: Enclitic personal pronouns indirect objects	150
Table 3.6: Direct personal pronouns suffixed to a preposition	152
Table 3.7: Enclitic possessive personal pronouns used with a preposition	153
Table 3.8: Summary of possessive pronoun suffixes	155
Table 3.9: Reflexive pronouns in Douiret	161
Table 5.1: Agreement among all vernaculars (total corpus 1,470 words)	234
Table 5.2: Percentage of loanwords in the Shilha vernaculars.	256

Phonetic transcriptions

Shilḥa (Douiret)

b	voiced bilabial stop
t	voiced dental stop
θ	voiceless interdental fricative
ʒ	voiced palalatal fricative
ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
x	voiceless velar fricative
d	voiced alveolar stop
ð	voiced interdental fricative
Ḍ	voiced interdental fricative emphatic.
r	alveolar flap
z	voiced alveolar fricative
s	voiceless alveolar fricative
ʃ	voiceless alveolar fricative
ʂ	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
ʐ	voiced interdental fricative
ʈ	voiceless dental stop
ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
ɣ	voiced velar spirant
f	voiceless labio-dental fricative
q	voiceless uvular stop
k	voiceless velar stop
l	voiced alveolar-dental liquid
m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	voiced dental nasal
h	voiceless glottal fricative

Vowels

a	central low vowel
i	high front vowel
u	high back vowel

Semivowels

w	high back rounded semi vowel
y	high front unrounded semivowel

Long vowels

ā	[a:]
ī	[i:]
ū	[u:]

*Tunisian Arabic**Consonants*

ʔ	Glottal stop
b	voiced bilabial stop
t	voiced dental stop
θ	voiceless interdental spirant
ʒ	voiced palalatal affricative
ħ [ħ]	voiceless pharyngeal spirant
x	voiceless velar spirant
d	voiced dental stop
ð	voiced interdental spirant
ḍ	voiced interdental fricative emphatic.
r	Alveolar flap.
z	voiced dental spirant
s	voiceless dental spirant
ʃ	voiceless palato-alveolar spirant
ʂ	voiceless dental spirant
ʐ	voiced interdental spirant
ʈ	voiceless dental stop
ʕ	voiced pharyngeal spirant
ɣ	voiced velar spirant
f	voiceless labio-dental spirant
q	voiceless uvular stop

k	voiceless velar stop
l	voiced alveolar-dental lateral
m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	voiced dental nasal
h	voiceless glottal spirant

Semivowels

u	voiced, matches the French <i>ou</i>
w	voiced high back rounded semi vowel
y [ɣ]	voiced high front unrounded semivowel

Long vowels

ā [a:]	similar to the English <i>a</i> in ‘party’.
ī [i:]	similar to the English <i>i</i> in ‘machine’.
ū [u:]	similar to the English <i>u</i> in ‘boost’.

Maltese

In this study, Maltese is not transcribed with the same phonetic symbols as in TA and CL.Ar This is intentional, as Maltese has its official orthography.

Consonant

p	voiceless bilabial plosive
b	voiced bilabial plosive
f	voiceless labiodental fricative
v	voiced labiodental fricative
t	voiceless dental fricative
d	voiced dental plosive
s	voiceless alveolar fricative
z	voiced alveolar fricative
x	voiceless alveopalatal fricative
x	voiced alveopalatal fricative
ç	voiceless alveopalatal affricate (tS)
ǧ	voiced alveopalatal affricate (dZ)
z	voiceless alveolar affricate(ts)

z	voiced alveolar affricate (dz)
k	voiceless velar plosive
g	voiced velar plosive
q	voiceless glottal plosive
ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
l	alveolar lateral (resonant)
r	alveolar trill (resonant)
n	dental nasal (resonant)
m	bilabial nasal (resonant)
w	bilabial semiconsonant
j	palatal semiconsonant
h	voiceless glottal fricative.
gh	silent glottal fricative

Abbreviations and Symbols

1st	first person
2nd	second person
3rd	third person
123	consonants of root base
adj.	adjective
AdjP	adjectival phrase
AdvP	adverbial phrase
Aj.	the dialect of Ajīm (island of Jerba)
Alg.Ar.	Algerian Arabic
C	complement
c	consonant
c1	first consonantal root
c2	second consonantal root
c3	third consonantal root
c4	fourth consonantal root
cf	confer
CC	complement clause
Chn.	Chninni
Cl.Ar.	Classical Arabic
cp.	compare with
dem	demonstrative pronoun
det	determinative
Dou.	Douiret
e.g.	example
Eg.Ar.	Egyptian Arabic
fem.	feminine
Fr.	French
FUT	future
Gr.	Greek
It.	Italian
Kab.	Kabyle
Lev.Ar.	Levantine Arabic
MA.	Moroccan Arabic

Malt.	Maltese
masc.	masculine
N	noun
NEG.	negation marker
NP	noun phrase
O	object
O.Sp.	Old Spanish
Ouir.	Ouirighen
pl.	plural
PP.	prepositional phrase
Proc.	proclitic
PRES CONT	present continuous
sg.	singular
S1	first syllable
Sh.	Shilhā (= Tunisian Berber)
Shl.	Shleu (= Tashilhit, Morocco)
Sic.	Sicilian
subj.	Subject
TA.	TA. is used where the Douirt word corresponds to an Arabic form or pronunciation that is distinctive Tunisian Arabic. Otherwise, Ar. is used for Arabic loans.
Tam.	Tamazight
Tur.	Turkish
v	vowel
V	verb
ŵ	stressed long vowel
v̄	long vowel
vn	verbal noun

Symbols

≠	different from
*	hypothetical form
<	comes from
>	becomes
ˈ	tonic stress

` counter-tonic stress

§ section

→ made up of

General notes

- Capital letters occurring in the lexis of Tamazight indicate that they are geminated. For instance (2nd. masc.sg.) *kiJin* = *kijjin* ‘you’

Abstract

The Tunisian Berber (or *Shilhā*) vernaculars are among the least described Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic) languages to this day.¹ Although they have been provisionally assigned to the ‘North-Berber’ group within the Berber branch of Afroasiatic, their immediate affiliation remains an open question.² The principal task of the present work will be to describe the phonology, morphology and syntax of Douiret. Less central to the aims of the study is the analysis of the basic wordstores of the three surviving *Shilhā* varieties which include Douiret, Chninni (or Chenini) and Ouirighen (Jerba).

The *Shilhā* variety of Douiret is chosen for this study because it still retains some fundamental elements of Berber structure which are not very dissimilar to other Berber ‘languages’ such as Kabyle and Tamazight. The present study shows that Tunisian Berber still survives today, but its future remains uncertain in the face of the forces of urbanisation, economic migration and lack of government support all of which may contribute hypothetically to its likely death.

This study will be pursued with reference to the social and cultural context of the Tunisian Berber vernaculars. Research on the nature of language contact between Tunisian Arabic and *Shilhā* is practically non-existent and will be a secondary concern of this study. The strong influence of the local Arabic superstratum on *Shilhā* in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis will also be investigated, as well as the presence of Berber elements in the distinctive Arabic dialect of Tunisia.

¹ Chaker, cited in Battenberg (1999: 147), lists 57 doctoral dissertations which deal with Berber language, culture and literature from decolonisation until June 1989, where thirty-nine theses deal with Berber in Morocco, thirteen theses with Algeria and four dissertations concern the Tuareg region in the Sahara.

² The classification of *Shilhā* within the North-Berber branch will not be revisited in the current study as a study of this nature would demand a complete comparative analysis of all Berber dialects, some of which are not described today.

Finally, as the thesis title suggests, the present study should not be taken as the last word on Berber in Tunisia. The little available data on Berber in Tunisia makes the task harder in establishing a clear picture of its structure and relationship with other Berber languages such as Kabyle and Tamazight.

1. General Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Although modern Tunisia is a predominantly Arabic-speaking country, two districts of the south retain the ancient Shilh̄a language, one of the numerous varieties of Berber, as their mother tongue. One of these districts is the southern coast of the island of Jerba, namely Ouirighen; the other consists of two mountain villages, Chninni and Douiret, situated some sixty kilometres south of the town of Medenine. The Shilh̄a speech-zone has receded rapidly in recent times. At the beginning of the twentieth century the whole of Jerba was Berberphone, and the Berber-speaking area on the mainland included the districts of Taoujout, Tamazret, Zrawa, Chninni and Douiret (see Appendix I, Fig. 1.1, p. 309).

Like all the other states that embrace Arab nationalism, the Republic of Tunisia does not officially recognise any indigenous ethno-linguistic minority within its borders. Recognition of a separate Berber 'race' and culture in Tunisia is ideologically incompatible with the accepted notion that the native inhabitants of Tunisia, all sharing the Muslim faith, are 'Arabs'. Therefore, conducting research on the Berbers in Tunisia with either linguistic or social foci is a strenuous and controversial activity. This is well illustrated by Battenberg (1999:148) in his very recent article, writes that:

Conducting research on Berbers in Tunisia is a daunting activity because one is questioning a fundamental tenet of the republic— linguistic and ethnic homogeneity. While the political environment precludes any type of empirical study concerning language use and attitudes among Berbers, analysis of the role and status of Berber in Morocco and Algeria along with study of Berberphone communities in Tunisia reveal the present state of this language.

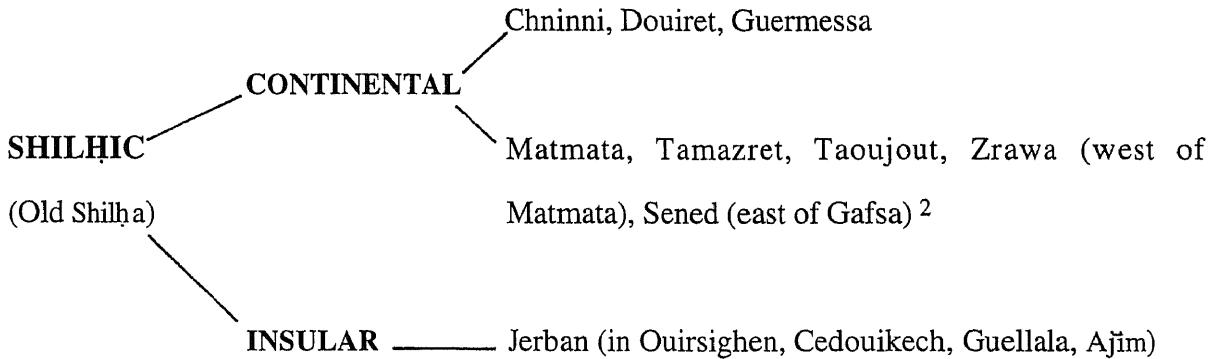
The Berber dialects of the south, though known to be vastly different from any known variety of Arabic, are vaguely classified by the state as *dialectes montagnards*, without any reference to their possible non-Arabic and hence politically subversive origin.

Indeed, to single out the few remaining speakers of Berber dialects in the south as ‘the Tunisian Berbers’ is highly problematic, since from an ethnic point of view, most of the people of Tunisia are the descendants of Berbers converted over the centuries to the Islamic religion and to Arabic language. The present study, in alluding to the surviving Shilhā speakers as ‘Berbers’, does not thereby deny the Berber ethnicity of other, now Arabophone, inhabitants of Tunisia. It is nevertheless true that the allusion of a ‘Berber’ minority in both Tunisian and foreign literature usually refers to those who are still Berber in *language*.

Shilhā (a glottonym which recurs elsewhere in the Berber speech-zone) is the name given to the three extant Tunisian Berber dialects by their speakers. Speakers of Tunisian Arabic also used it as a name of the language. Both these facts amply justify the use of the term (preferable to the cumbersome and arbitrary term ‘Tunisian Berber’) in the present study. However, Tunisian Shilhā should be carefully distinguished from the Berber variety of Morocco of the same name. To prevent any possible confusion of the two, Moroccan Shilhā will be referred to here by its Berber name *Tašellhit*.

In Tunisian Arabic, a Shilhā-speaker is a *barbar*, and his language may also be referred to as *barbariyya*. The Berberphones of Douiret and Chninni are also locally called *Jbaliyya* or ‘mountain people’.

The close interrelationship among the three Shilhā dialects can be initially surmised by their mutual intelligibility.¹ They may be classified schematically as follows:



The Berber language is also referred to in Berber literature as ‘Berbero-Libyan’ or more simply ‘Libyan’. Both the extinct Guanche language and the Berbero-Libyan are the offshoots of the Libyan-Guanche languages (Diakonoff 1988:19). Though the Guanche languages have some grammatical and lexical affinities with the Berbero-Libyan languages, many isoglosses link Guanche with the Chadic branch and other Afrasian languages. Diakonoff (1988:19) suggests that “there are isoglosses with the Tuareg group, which may point to an additional, rather late influx of southern Berbers to the Canary islands”. The true affiliation of the Guanche language remains unknown to this day.

In both Tunisia and East Algeria, some 1,200 inscriptions of the Old Libyan language are attested and dated back to the second century BC. The writing was consonantal and according to Ghaki (1987:87) “bilingual Punico-Libyans and Romanised Libyans allowed the alphabet to be standardised, and this is reflected in the Libyan alphabet of Dougga (24 signs)”. According to Ghaki (1987:87), the texts are funeral texts that have only limited use. He added that “High and Low Libyan was written in ancient

¹ Though mutual intelligibility between Chninni and Douiret is not formally tested, many informants from two villages claim that they can understand each other’s speech despite the minor lexical differences. Cf. Chapter 5 for further discussion.

² Shilhā appears to be still spoken in these villages though careful investigation is needed to determine the degree of Berber retention.

Tunisia except in regions that came under the Punic influence; at Dougga, for example, where Punic influence was strong, writing was horizontal and read from right to left” (Ghaki 1987:87). According to Hanouz (1994:15), these old texts are written in *Tifinagh*, a consonantal alphabet system with its characteristic geometrical shapes, may have coexisted with the hieroglyphics 4000 years BC. The word *Tifinagh* is a berberised form of the Latin word *puunica* ‘Punic’ (ti- being the Berber prefix) (Gregersen 1977:180). According to Gregersen (1977:180), Libyan is considered to be the “lineal ancestor” of *Tifinagh*. The similarities between these two scripts can be seen in Table 1.1 below. The Tuaregs of Central Sahara ³ still use the *Tifinagh* script today. It is still used now by Gregersen added that the alphabets of Greek are also derived from Phoenician. This view is bolstered by seeing the similarities among the alphabets of Greek, Phoenician and *Tifinagh*, as shown in the following Table 1.1:

³ Interestingly, Tuareg women are more literate than Tuareg men (Gregersen 1977:180).

Table 1.1: *Tifinagh* Alphabet in comparison with Greek and Phoenician ⁴

	Greek		Phoenician	Libyan		<i>Tifinagh</i>
				Hor.	Ver.	
A	Α α	ʔ	κ	•	•	•
B	Β β	b	ⲁ	⊙	⊙ ▣	○ ▣
G	Γ γ	g	ⲁ	Ⲛ	∨∧	Ⲛ Ⲛ
D	Δ δ	j		ⲛ	ⲚⲚ	ⲛ Ⲛ∧
É	Ε ε	d	ⲁ			ⲛ ⲛ
DZ	Ζ ζ	h	ⲁ	Ⲛ		ⲛ ⲛ
Ê	Η η	w	Υ	=		
TH	Θ θ	z	ⲁ	—	—	#
L	Ⲛ Ⲛ	ʔ		Ⲛ	ⲚⲚ	Ⲛ
K	Κ κ	z		Ⲛ	Ⲛ	Ⲛ Ⲛ
L	Λ λ	h̄	Ⲛ			
M	Μ μ	x		Ⲛ	+ τ	ⲛ ⲛ
N	Ν ν	ʔ	⊙	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	ⲚⲚ Ⲛ
KS	Ξ ξ	y	ⲁ	Ⲛ	ⲚⲚ	Ⲛ Ⲛ
O	Ο ο	k	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	ⲛ ⲛ
P	Π π	l	Ⲛ		=	
R	Ρ ρ	m	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	ⲚⲚ
S	Σ σ	n	Ⲛ			
T	Τ τ	s	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	ⲚⲚ	⊙ ⊙
U	Υ υ	ʔ	⊙			
PH	Φ φ	ʔ		Ⲛ ⲛ	Ⲛ ⲛ	ⲛ ⲛ
CH	Χ χ	f(p)	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	Ⲛ Ⲛ	ⲚⲚ Ⲛ
PS	Ψ ψ	ʔ		ⲚⲚ	Ⲛ	
O	Ω ω	q	⊙		Ⲛ	ⲛ ⲛ
		r	Ⲛ	⊙	• ⊙	⊙ ⊙
		ʔ	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	ⲚⲚ	Ⲛ Ⲛ
		t	+ x	+ x	+	+
		θ		Ⲛ	Ⲛ	

4

This table is based on both works of Hanouz (1968:18) and Gregersen (1977:180).
Abbreviations: Hor. 'horizontal', Ver. 'vertical'.

According to Diakonoff (1988:20), Old Mauritanian is also an ancient language of North Africa and to this day, some of its inscriptions remain undeciphered. He added that the insufficient data on the Old Libyan language makes it uncertain to classify it, but there is a tendency that it would be a member of the Northern Berber branch.

As for the Berber languages still spoken today in North Africa (cf. Appendix I, Fig. 1.2, p. 310), Diakonoff (1988:19-20) divided the Berber branch into four main branches:

- (1) Northern . This include Tašelhit, Tamazight, Zenet (major dialects include Rif (Morocco), Zouaoua, or Kabyle, Chaouia and others in Algeria, and Jerba (Tunisia).
- (2) Eastern branch. This include Ghadames (Libya), Aužila, Siwah (Egypt), ect.
- (3) Tuareg (Tamahek and Tamašek) found in the Sahara and Sahel (Algeria, Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso): Ahaggar, Taulemmet, Taneslamt, Ghat, etc. According to Diakonoff, this group may be further subdivided onto two or three subgroups.
- (4) Zenaga branch. (Found in Mauritania and possibly in Senegal).

Table 1.2 shows the groupings of the Berber languages which are based on three different classifications: Traditional, Genetic, Structural and Typological. The latter classification claims that Shilha is an offshoot of North Berber phylum (Aikhenvald 1988a:42-43):

Table 1.2: Shilḥa and Other Berber ‘Languages’

Types of Classification	Berber Group
Traditional	<u>Zenaga Dialects:</u> North Morocco (Rif, Senhaža, Seḡrušen, Iznašin) North Algeria (Šenwa, Menacer, Salah, Zekkara, Snus, Figuig) Kabylia (Kabyle), East Algeria (Mzab, Wargla, Riḡ) Tunisia (Jerba, Sened, Matmata, Tmagurt, Chninni, Douiret, Aĵim, Guellala, Ouirighen, Cedouikech, Guermessa) Libya (Nefusa, Sokna, Foaḥa, Ghadames) and Egypt (Siwa)
Genetic	<u>North-Berber:</u> •Kabyle •Zenetian Nefusa, Sened, Šenwa, Iznašin, Snus, Seḡrušen, Šāwya (Mzab, Wargla). •Tašelhait-Tamazight (Zayan, Izdeg, Ntifa, Semlal)
Structural and Typological	•Kabyle •North, North-West Morocco, North, West Algeria • Tunisia (Zuara, Jerba (Ouirighen, Cedouikech, Guellala, Aĵim, Sened, Chninni, Douiret, Ouirighen, Matmata) • East Algeria (Mzab, Riḡ, Wargla) • Central and South Morocco * (Šilḥa-Semlal, Tazerwalt, Ugersif, Aksimen) *Tamazight (Ntifa, South Beraber) and (Zayan, Nđir. Zgugu, Zemmmur, Mguild)

It is noteworthy that linguistic difference among these ‘dialects’ is important to a degree that one is forced to consider them as ‘languages’. Diakonoff (1988:22) discusses this point further by stating that -and it is worth quoting in full here -:

The Berbero-Libyan ‘languages’ (dialect clusters) are roughly as distant from each other as the different sub-branches of Semitic; sometimes the divergence is even greater. This fact does not agree with O.Rössler’s opinion that they derive from Common Proto-Semitic, although Semitic and Berber are very close to each other in their morphological structure; however, this is not true of the vocabulary. Many Berber phonological and morphological features—to a much lesser degree, lexical ones—are reminiscent of the Northern Cushitic Beḡawye.

Shilḥa is today one of the Berber varieties most strongly influenced by Arabic to an extent that it is almost completely superseded by Arabic. This is mentioned in Berber

literature, even as early as 1968, by Hanouz (1968:25)⁵ who stated that Berber in Tunisia is completely arabized. As far as the future of Berber in Tunisia is concerned, Pencheon (1983:33) has painted a bleak picture by stating that “*l’avenir du berbère en Tunisie semble compromis*”.

The superstratal influence of Arabic on Shilḥa is reflected in phonology, morphology, syntax and predominantly the lexis (cf. § 5.6).

1.2 The Socio-cultural Context

1.2.1 Geographical and historical backgrounds ⁶

Tunisia is situated in North Africa and is bordered to the west by Algeria and to the east by Libya. Tunisia occupies a strategic position in the Mediterranean in terms of tourism and commerce. Furthermore, Tunisia is the smallest country in North Africa and that ‘smallness’ (163,610 km²) has encouraged invasions throughout its history. The first known inhabitants of Tunisia were the Berbers or Libyans. Their settlement dates back to as early as 9,000 BC. They were semi-nomadic people whose migration pattern was determined essentially by the availability of food for them and their animals. Present-day Berbers live mainly on the island of Jerba and on the mainland in Matmata, Taoujout, Tamazret, Guermessa, Chninni and Douiret.⁷ The Berbers inhabited central Tunisia in the Capsian period in the ninth or eighth millennium BC.

Besides the Berbers, Tunisia was inhabited by civilisations of Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantine, Arabs and Turks. The Romans and Arabs are generally considered to be the main contributors to the current linguistic and cultural condition of

⁵ Arguments and conclusions made in Hanouz (1968) should be treated with caution; the work may not be considered entirely scientific in approach.

⁶ Cf. Appendix I, Fig. 1.3, p. 311, for the exact location of the main Tunisian cities mentioned in this thesis and the geographical aspects of the Tunisian Sahara.

⁷ Cf. Appendix I, Fig. 1.1, p. 309.

Tunisia. Elements of Phoenician presence survive in some of the architectural remains in certain Berber customs practised to this day.⁸

The Byzantine influences were negligible.⁹ Historians place the Arabic period between the mid-seventh and the sixteenth centuries. Before the Arab invasion, Tunisia was thoroughly Christianised, at least in its northern and central regions. By the end of the 13th century Latin Christianity was extinct, the majority of the population having converted to Islam. In 1574, Tunisia was conquered by the Turks. It became an Ottoman governorate ruled by a Pasha who was appointed by the Caliph of Istanbul for a limited period. According to El-Sherif (1993:97) Tunisia became a French protectorate in 1881, and was subsequently developed into a colony. The French government encouraged European immigrants, mainly southern French, south Italians and Maltese to settle in the protectorate. In the 1920s, the non-French citizens, Jews and Tunisians were encouraged also to become French citizens. The number of Europeans in Tunisia increased from 12,000 in 1881, including French-born citizens, to 184,000 in 1931. El-Sherif (1993:97) has suggested that the French eagerness to assimilate the masses had purely economic motives.

Overall, the Berbers in Tunisia have witnessed three important historical periods which are: pre-Arab conquest in the 7th Century, before and post French occupation.

⁸ Some of the important Phoenician ruins in Tunisia were discovered on the site of Kerkouane, located at the Cape Bon peninsula. According to Fantar (1987:111) this city had an ancient name which was Tamezrat. The word *Tamezrat* is a Berber name which in Kabyle means '*pays. pays natal. Région*' (Taifi 1991:448).

⁹ Julien (1970:332) discussed the Turkish influence by stating:
In the Tunis Regency, a land of ancient civilisation, the Turks were gradually assimilated. It can be said that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the process was complete and the Husainid dynasty had become a Tunisian dynasty. Apart from a few terms in their administrative vocabulary and one or two Turkish customs, the beys and their officers could be regarded as belonging to the country.

Though this is discussed exhaustively by Louis (1975), it is worth scrutinising these important findings which may provide some information on the Berbers of today.

According to Louis (1975:24), the Berbers of the south resisted Roman control for six centuries. This Roman supremacy gained more of a strong-hold after the revolt of Jugurta (a Berber Chief). This allowed the Romans to gain more access to the country and, naturally, introduced agriculture to the Berbers who found themselves propelled to become sedentary and renounce partially their semi-nomadism. In addition to Berber and Punic, Latin was introduced as a language. Latin influenced Berber but remained incomparable with the influence effect of Arabic. With the arrival of the Vandals, the Berbers freed themselves from the Roman ruling, they regrouped and reorganised without submitting to the Vandals (Louis 1975:25).

After the Arab conquest of North Africa, the Berbers embraced Islam slowly (Louis 1975:25). With their conversion to Islam, many Berbers became active members in the conquest of Spain. However, when some Berbers felt that their rights to booty had not been met, the revolt sparked the sentiment to belong to the Kharijite faith which was quite strong in southern Tunisia at that time.

Despite the Berber revolt in southern Tunisian during the Aghlabides Period, the Berber strength to conserve their language and culture succumbed with the invasion of the Hilalian tribes. These had settled beyond Gabes where the Berbers sought refuge earlier in order to flee the domination of previous invaders of the North. With the establishment of the H̄af̄s̄id dynasty (AD 1227), peace was achieved through a good relationship between Arabs and Berbers who joined forces and formed one army (Louis 1975:27). What is worth noting from the H̄af̄s̄id period is the cultural changes affecting the Berbers in religion (i.e. the move from Ibadite Islam to Sunnite orthodoxy) and the Arabic language (Brett 1999:534).

According to Ibn Khaldūn, in the fourteenth century, the Berbers inhabiting Southern Tunisia can be classified as follows (cited in Louis 1975:27):

A. Autochthon Berbers living on the oases of Gabes, Métrech, Menara, Ain Zerig, Teboulba and some semi-nomadic Berbers and found between Zerat and Gabes, between Ketana and Mareth (40 km south of Gabes).

B. Others are found in the west from Chott Djerid to Tripoli and include: Nefzaoua, Arzugi Berbers (Merazigs), Matmata who live around the hot springs of El Hamma, (40 km west of Gabes) remnants of the Lawāta tribe and the Demer.

In the Jebel Ghomrassen, there are the Hamdoun Berbers and in *Jebel Abiodh* one finds the Berbers of Chehaban, Meghebla and Dghaghra. Near the Hamdoun cliff, one finds the Zenata Berber tribes of both Chninni and Douiret.

C. Nomadic Berber tribes which include the Ataiya and Atemma. While the former occupies the coastal steppe plain of Jeffāra, the latter is found in Sidi Toui in vicinity of the Libyan border.

In the period spanning from the 14th century to the French occupation (1881), some of the Berbers of Demer, Zenata and Matmata enlisted with the Hilaliens in their invasion of the Maghrib (Louis 1975:28). With the fall of the Almohade empire in Spain, the Almohade army was forced to return and settle in southern Morocco (in Séguia Hamra) creating a tension with the existing population. Consequently, this conflict resulted in some of these Berbers immigrating to Tunisia and find refuge in Jebel Ghomrassen. This confirms some claims by the locals in Douiret that they originate from the Séguia Hamra.¹⁰

¹⁰ For further analysis, see Louis (1975:28).

With the establishment of the Husseinite dynasty (1705), southern Tunisia consisted of the following inhabitants:¹¹

1. South-East of Tunisia: The inhabitants include the Urghemma or arabized Berbers¹², Matmata Berbers, remnants of the Demer Berbers, remnants of the Oulad Dabbab (Arabs who came with the Hilalian tribe), a fraction of the descendants of the Haraba Tribe who came in the first Arab conquest of North Africa and include (Trafia, Mekhalba and Dehiba), Maraboutic¹³ tribes of Mednine and Temara (today Metmour) and tribes referred to as the Berber Jbeliyye.
2. South-West of Tunisia: This group include the Nefzawa Berbers, Arabized Berbers of Merazigues, Hilalien Arabs (i.e. tribes of Cherid, Zoghb, Ouled Yagoub) and the Houamid Arabs who came from Tripoli.

As for the period of the French occupation (1881-1956), the Berbers of Tunisia probably witnessed some weaknesses due to the sedentary Arabs who heavily populated southern Tunisia. Louis (1975:30) distinguishes five groupings of Arabs and Berber concentrations in southern Tunisia, some of these groupings have been mentioned earlier with the addition of a grouping in Jerba where autochthon Berbers and Berbers of Beni Mzab are found. According to Louis (1975:31), the ethnic separation between Arabs and Berbers was somewhat blurred during the French occupation where the latter used this separation to take more hold of the country. With independence from French occupation in 1956, only few Berber villages were aware of their ethnicity.¹⁴

¹¹ This information is based on Louis (1975:29)

¹² According to al-Tijāni, the Urghemma tribe were from the Khawārij. They ignore basic Islamic rituals such as prayer and the *Shariʿa* (Islamic law). Al-Tijāni cited in Brett (1999:537).

¹³ It derives from the word *murābiṭūn* 'Holy men' or "the men who garrisoned the *rubuṭ*, sing. *ribāṭ*, the fortresses built among the coast of *ifrīqiya* [i.e. Tunisia] in the late 2nd/late 8th-early century for defence against the Byzantines of Sicily" (Brett 1999:556).

¹⁴ Louis (1975:31) did not specify which of the Berber villages were conscious of their ethnicity.

In summary, the foregoing outline of the history of the Berbers in Tunisia throws some light on the population make-up of southern Tunisia today. The main emerging pattern from this analysis is that both Berbers and Arabs have co-existed and have experienced relative peace.

1.2.2 Theories of Berber origin

The English word 'Berber' derives through French, from the derogatory term *barbarus* which referred to a race living in Africa and outside the 'Roman rule' (Camps 1996:27). Berber nationalists, today, give the name *Amazigh*, meaning 'the noble ones' or 'the free ones', to all Berbers, generally, regardless of their ethnographical distribution. The word *Mazigh* occurs quite early in Arabic literature, having been used by Wahb Ibn Monabbih in AD 732 (Norris 1982:34). In Tunisia, Chninni Berbers usually refer to themselves as *jbeliyye*, literally 'the mountain dwellers'. In Douiret, the word *douiri* (masculine) and *douiriyya* (feminine) designate the inhabitants.

Numerous theories have been proposed to explain the origin of Berbers. All of these are unscientific.¹⁵ Although it is not the aim of this dissertation to study the history of Berbers, it will nevertheless be useful to allude briefly to some of these theories touching on the Berbers of Tunisia.

Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhāni (AD 903) claimed that "the Berbers originated in Palestine. They moved to the Maghrib when their king, Goliath, was killed by David" (al-Hamadhāni cited in Norris 1982:34). He added that the Berber immigrants "have settled in the nearest Sūs [Sous] behind Tangier [in Morocco] and in the furthest Sūs some two thousand and fifty miles from Qamūniya which is the place where al-Quayrawān [Kairouan¹⁶, in Tunisia] stands today". This theory was rejected by Ibn Khaldūn in the

¹⁵ For further discussion on the origin of Berbers, see Norris (1987:34).

¹⁶ For its location, cf. Appendix I, Fig. 1.3, p. 311.

fourteenth century who did not agree that Goliath was the ancestor of the Berbers. According to Norris (1982:35), Ibn Khaldūn's argument stems from the remote possibility that if the Berbers have a lineage from Goliath, it does not explain the complexity of the different Berber clans spread in North Africa.

Ibn Khaldūn also divided the Berbers into two major groups, the Barānis and the Mādghis Al-Abtar. According to Norris (1982:40), Berber genealogists believed that the Berbers have two ancestors one is of Berber descent and named *Barr* and the other of Arabic extraction called *Qays ʿAylān*. Ibn Khaldūn maintained that the Berbers “were the sons of Māziḡh and ultimately of Ḥām” (Norris 1982:40).

Norris (1982:2) divided the Berbers into three main tribes: *Zanāta* which spreads from Libya to the Moroccan Rif having the main concentration in the Middle Atlas (Morocco), *Maṣmūda* which involves Tashelhit and Rif in Morocco, and the *Ṣanhāja* tribe which includes Kabyle, part of the Grand Atlas, and the Tuareg. It is the Zenata tribe that has direct link with the Berbers in Tunisia, especially the Berbers of Chninni and Douiret (Le Boeuf cited in Louis 1975:27). The Zenata tribe is referred to by Louis (1975:3) as ‘pure Berbers’ and encompasses Chninni, the *Jabal* ‘mountain region’ of Douiret, the *Jabal Abiodh* ‘white mountain’ which include the following clans: Beni Barka, Gettofa, Sedra, Beni Ikhzer, etc. The Louata tribe, one of Ibn Khaldūn Berber tribes that he mentioned, is found near Gabes¹⁷ (Louis 1975:3).

1.2.3 The Sociolinguistic situation in Tunisia

1.2.3.1 Bilingualism and biculturalism

The prestige of Tunisian Arabic in modern day Tunisia is very low. Today practically all Shilhā speakers are also fluent in Tunisian Arabic. Maamouri, a Tunisian linguist, explains the hostile stance towards Tunisian Arabic, in the following way:

¹⁷ For its location cf. Appendix I, Fig 1.3, p. 311.

It was generally thought that the "Tunisian dialect" was but a "degraded form" of the Arabic language and that it could not therefore interest any true scholars except for missionaries or Arabists whose aims were judged to be at a least suspicious, if not condemnable. Maamouri (1983:13).

There are two main factors which have contributed to such low prestige:

First, Eastern Arab countries have depicted Tunisian Arabic, along with the other Maghribine dialects, as 'unrefined' and 'corrupt'. The Levantine dialects, in contrast, are thought to be the closest to the pure form of Arabic or the language of the Koran. For instance, Kaye (1976:9) claimed that "The Arabic of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan adheres more closely to the classical language than any other dialect outside Arabia".

Negative attitude towards Maghribine dialects have made its speakers feel inadequate and ashamed, especially when they are a minority among a majority of Eastern Arabic speakers. While Egyptian and Levantine Arabic speakers make little attempt to accommodate their dialects to suit the needs of the person of a Maghribine background, one finds that the latter strives to vary his language by sacrificing dialect forms in favour of mutual intelligibility.¹⁸ This is reminiscent of Giles's "accommodation theory" where she defines it as:

¹⁸ This phenomenon is observed in the writer's own observations in the Australian context where Tunisians communicate with Egyptian and Lebanese speakers.

A basic postulate of accommodation theory is that people are motivated to adjust their speech style, or accommodate, as means of expressing values, attitudes and intentions towards others. It is proposed that the extent to which individuals shift their speech styles toward or away from the speech styles of their interlocutors is a mechanism by which social approval or disapproval is communicated. A shift in speech style toward that of another is termed convergence and is considered often a reflection of social integration, whereas a shift away from the other's style of speech represents divergence and is considered often a tactic of social disassociation. (Giles cited in Tabouret-Keller (1997:322)).

Second, Tunisian Arabic competes not only with Classical Arabic but also with French. Despite the arabization programs that swept most of North Africa, French still enjoys a privileged status as the co-official language with Arabic. According to Najjar (1983:159), all modern subjects related to science, technology and economics are taught in the French language. French remains the language of the educated elite. In a study conducted by Ounali (1983:110) where he interviewed university students from the faculties of humanities, law and science, he discovered that three-quarters of students preferred the French language against Literary Arabic, Intermediate Arabic and Tunisian Arabic, as summarised in the following Table 1.3:

Table 1.3: Preferred Languages (Ounali 1983:110)

Languages	Number - %	Faculty (Humanities)	Faculty (Law)	Faculty (Science)	Total
Literary Arabic Number: %	5 15.62	22 47.81	14 66.66	14 38.88	55 42.30
Intermediate Arabic Number: %	14 43.75	15 32.6	8 38.10	6 16.66	43 33.09
Arabic dialect Number: %	5 15.62	15 32.6	9 42.85	15 41.66	44 38.84
French Number: %	24 74.34	30 64.12	17 80.95	27 75	98 75.38

Notwithstanding the prestige of Classical Arabic in Tunisia, some Tunisian scholars have attempted to make Tunisian Arabic a written medium. For instance, Balegh collected a range of Tunisian proverbs and recorded them in Arabic script. Although a modest contribution, it may seem, this work stands nevertheless as evidence of the literary potentialities of Tunisian Arabic. On this question, Balegh comments:

Marginalisés[i.e Tunisian Proverbs] et privés de l'écrit par une certaine <<élite>> (el-khassa), coupablement soucieuse seulement de la langue classique, ces proverbes, comme des mots du passé et comme un épuisable viatique, se sont transmis de génération en génération. Un grand nombre de ces maximes, hélas! ont définitivement disparu mais l'essentiel a survécu. Balegh (1992:13).

In the wake of independence (i.e. in the post-1956 period), Tunisia found itself facing a linguistic dilemma resulting from a complex and historical intermingling of Berber, Tunisian Arabic, Classical Arabic and French. The current irritation was shown in Bourguiba's speech on the 19th of January 1964, when he stated:

Faut-il donc que je me résolve à prononcer aussi les discours du Mouled (fête anniversaire de la naissance du Prophète) en dialecte, puisque ceux rédigés en arabe littéraire et lus semblent avoir moins d'effet en profondeur que les allocutions improvisées? Bourguiba cited in Garmadi (1983:2).

Two years after independence, educational reforms favoured bilingualism and made Classical Arabic the language of culture and French a 'vehicular language' (Garmadi 1983:4). According to Garmadi (1983:3), there are three different varieties of Arabic spoken in Tunisia: (i) Classical Arabic, a variety which is used in Koranic recitals and Friday sermons; (ii) Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), a variety which is strongly influenced by French syntax, the language of newspapers and radio broadcasts; (iii) Elevated Arabic (EA) or in Garmadi's words the "polite spoken Arabic". This is the language of educated Tunisians and politicians. The distinctive linguistic features of EA are reflected in the abundance of Tunisian Arabic lexis, the use of the Indo-European word order SVO and the deletion of noun duality and feminine plural (Maamouri 1983:17). By and large this variety of Arabic is the one that wins popularity and enters into common usage. Bourguiba has referred to this variety as:

...An elevated form of the vulgar tongue. Everybody can understand it. Codified, and with a purified and enriched lexicon, it could be the vehicle of ideas and feelings. Bourguiba cited in Maamouri (1983:18).

Besides these three varieties, there is another one in which French and Tunisian Arabic intermingle. This variety contains many loan words, some of which have been fully integrated into the Tunisian Arabic phonological and morphological system. This phenomenon is inevitable when languages co-exist for a significant period of time. Many educated Tunisians who have completed a significant part of their studies in French use both Tunisian Arabic and French simultaneously. Consequently one can conclude that the linguistic situation in Tunisia is diglossic. In Maamouri's words:

This linguistic role differentiation between CLA [i.e Classical Arabic] and TA [Tunisian Arabic] shows complementary social functions and proves that there was, in pre-1956 Tunisia, what is usually referred to as a state of *diglossia*, a situation where two distinct related languages are used side-by-side throughout a speech community, each with a clearly defined role, on top of a "bilingualism" that involved French and opposed it to one or the other of the two varieties of Arabic. Maamouri (1983:13).

1.2.4 The Berbers in Tunisia

1.2.4.1 Geographical context¹⁹

The fertile appearance of the land of Tunisia's north is gradually replaced by sheer aridness beyond Gafsa (cf. Appendix I, Fig. 1.3, p.311). Lack of arable land and poor water supply ²⁰ were the primary determinants of the semi-nomadic way of life traditionally adopted by the Berbers. The majority of Berbers today prefer to reside in settled villages where water and electricity are readily available.

The southern population can be divided into three groups: (i) mountain people or *Jbeliyya*, a term still commonly used in the south to denote the mountain dwellers; (ii) the inhabitants of *qşūrs* (sg. *qaşr*)²¹ and (iii) the oasis population, according to Al-Azlūk (n.d:9-11).

¹⁹ Cf. Appendix I, Fig. 1.3, p. 311.

²⁰ *aman* is a pan-Berber word for water. A Berber local made an interesting analogy with the word *ʔamān* which in Arabic means security. He asserted that 'he who runs out of *aman* is no longer *āmin*, i.e. he who runs out of water, is no longer secure. He added that when visiting a Berber in the desert, the gift of water rather than the gift of food is considerably more appreciated.

²¹ *Qşūrs* are collective granaries found in the south-east of Tunisia and made up of many *ghorfas*. A *ghorfa* is "a long room covered with a barrel vault roof, with niches set into the long side walls to enable foodstuffs to be easily stored" (Ministere de La Culture 1995:10).

(i) The Mountain People.

The *Jbeliyya* are considered to be among the oldest inhabitants of the south. Despite government urbanisation programmes, they still prefer to live in their well-maintained *ghorfas* and are eager to pass on to their descendants their language and heritage. In the south of Tunisia and particularly in Tataouine, the appellation *Jbeli* denotes a person who lives in Chninni. Although Berber is well maintained in Chninni and Douiret, Berber has practically been superseded by Arabic in Guermessa, which shares the same socio-geographical features as Chninni and Douiret.²² Emigration from the villages has had the biggest impact on the fate of Berber. According to Al-Azlūk (n.d:11), oral history suggests that the inhabitants of Douiret claim to be related to the inhabitants of Jerba, particularly with those of Beni Maṣqal. Al-Azlūk (n.d:18) added that difference in physical appearance between the Berbers of Chninni and Douiret, and the other two groups, suggests that they had been forced to emigrate to Jerba as a result of a war.

(ii) The Inhabitants of *Qṣūrs*

In the past, the inhabitants of *el-qṣūrs* have comprised the majority of the southern population. That is, those in the *Awlād ‘Abd Alḥamīd* in the eastern half of the country and the *Awlād Saṭīm* in the western half. Their houses were merely a few rooms with dome-shaped roofs or rooms built with rocks and soil. Each roof was usually constructed of beams of olive or palm. Generally this type of building was built away from populated areas on the highest side of the valley so as to give it the features of *el-Qaṣba* ‘a citadel’. The word *el-qṣba* refers to a building constructed to protect the inhabitants from the invaders, a remnant of the *Ḥafṣi* dynasty in Tunisia (Al-Azlūk n.d:11).

The inhabitants of the *qṣūrs* did not reside in them for the whole year, as their way of life was semi-nomadic. According to Al-Azlūk, these *qṣūrs* were built after the time of

22

In Guermessa, there are only two or three Berber families who still live on the mountain.

Libyans. He refers to the writings of Al-Tijāni in the eighteenth century, who did not mention finding any *qṣūrs* in his travels, apart from *qalṣat nfiq* and *qalṣat Ḥmdūn* in Ghomrasen (Al-Azlūk n.d:8). Today, according to the locals, the oldest *qaṣba* does not exceed four hundred years in age.

(iii) The Inhabitants of the Oases

The oases are located in the southern and western halves of Tataouine. The most prominent oasis (*waḥa* in Arabic) is the oasis of *Al-Raqba*, literally ‘neck’, thus called due to its shape. The earliest people who first introduced palm trees to the area were *Awlād Yaṣqūb* who settled in the governorate of Gbilli. Al-Azlūk did not mention the race of this group except that folk stories tell that they lived in the south until they were conquered by Ibn Ṭrifa.

1.2.4.2 The Berber villages of Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen²³

In the last ten years, there has arisen an interest in preserving and promoting the Berber languages spoken in Morocco and Algeria. The Shilhā Berber of Tunisia, however, has received until now little attention from either foreign or local linguists. The exact size of the Berber population remains uncertain. Probably less than one percent of Tunisia’s total population today speak Shilhā (approximately 90,000 speakers). This figure is low compared with the Berber population of Morocco and Algeria with thirty-five percent and twenty percent respectively. One reason for the paucity of research on Berber in Tunisia may be the desire to avoid a ‘divide and rule’ effect as it is feared that an emphasis on linguistic division may undermine Arab unity. Such concern is deeply embedded in the minds of people from former colonies.

²³ Cf. Fig. 1.1, p. 309

Chninni

The town of Chninni is located approximately sixteen kilometres from Tataouine. Both Chninni ²⁴ and Douiret are part of the governorate of Tataouine which plays the role of the region's administrative hub. It is also a politically sensitive area as it contains important army barracks. Security has become tight especially after the civil war broke out in Algeria in June 1991.

The elderly people of Chninni believe that their ancestors settled first near the mosque of 'the Seven Sleepers'. A local folklore tale tells the story of a crow who took a big black rope *reyy* and put it where the mosque is located now. As a consequence, they came and built their dwellings near it. They settled first on the *qsar* and begun to build around it from the very top to the flattest point. This local theory contradicts an earlier hypothesis that the Berbers built from the bottom upwards.

The *qsar's* architecture is unique. It is a building with small rooms stacked on top of each other in a circle which creates a small courtyard used to house animals. These rooms or *ghorfas* are used mainly as a storage place. The most typical feature of the *qsar* is that its rooms are internally accessible and constitute a veritable maze. In addition, the exterior of *qsūr* have stairs which were constructed in a random fashion in order to stop rodents entering these rooms and destroying its content. (See Plate 1, APPENDIX XII, p.450)

In Chninni, there are approximately two hundred and fifty pupils attending Chninni Primary School. Arabic is the main medium of instruction. The pupils begin to learn French from the third grade. According to the school teacher, the first day of school for some of the children is an unpleasant experience, especially when these children are purely monolingual in Berber. The general attitude of the Chninni Primary School's staff,

²⁴ Locals believe that the word Chninni is a corruption of the word *kanṣāni*. They also believe that they are the true descendants of the prophet *Nūḥ* 'Noah'.

is that learning Berber is a pointless exercise as it will not assist Berber children in their future occupations.

In Chninni, there are four Berber clans: Awlād JomṢa (also called Sṡīmān), Awlād MasṢūd, Awlād ṢAli and Awlād Khrāmṣa.

Douiret

Douiret is located approximately nine kilometres to the south of Tataouine. It is surrounded by mountains on all sides which render it impenetrable. Today, Douiret comprises two parts: The Old Douiret '*Douiret el-qadima*' and New Douiret or '*Douiret El-Jedida*'. Old Douiret is a cluster of run-down *qṣūrs* with a population reduced to two or three Berber families. These ruined buildings are, as in the case of many *Qṣūrs*, located on top of the mountain. The Old Douiret is located at a distance of three kilometres from New Douiret. New Douiret is a small modern town which offers modern commodities like running water, electricity and telephones. Old Douiret was all but deserted by 1990 (Ouessar and Belhedi 1998).²⁵

Based on the 1984 census ²⁶, the population of Douiret reached 1368 inhabitants. The average number in a family is six. The Census also included the number of rural families who preferred to live away from New Douiret. The number of rural families is 42 as compared to 123 who settled in the village. The number of rural dwellers is 297. It is interesting to note that Douiret's population in 1850 was 3,500 inhabitants, nearly double its 1984 population. This shows that migration is an important factor in the town of Douiret. There are currently eight different 'tribes' (more correctly, families) in Douiret: El-ṣwābriyye, Awlād Ṣbid, Awlād Ḥāmid, Awlād Būzīd, el-Zgādna, Awlād Belqāsem, Awlād Abdel-kaṡim and Awlād Ṣāleb.

²⁵ Cf. APPENDIX XII, Plates 1; 2; 3 and 4.

²⁶ L'Institut national de la statistique. Recensement Général de la Population et de L'habitat. Volume 1, 30 Mars 1984.

According to Louis (1975:50), Douiret is 700-800 years old. He claimed that they were the descendent of a Moroccan saint 'El-Ghazi'. He added that the immigration of Berbers from Algeria and Morocco under Almohads had considerable influence on the diversity of Berber dialects in Tunisia.

A century ago, Douiri men used to live off the produce of their gardens²⁷ established on the side of small walls so as to get as much moisture as possible from the trickling water. They chose Arabs to look after their flocks and at times they joined them to get some milk or to bring home an animal.

Today, many Douiri men have either migrated to Tunisia's north or to Europe. At the post office in Douiret, mothers, sisters and wives queue in order to speak by public telephone to their distant relatives. Some of these women informed the writer that they have adapted quite well to this arrangement. One of the writer's informants added that her husband prefers to live in Douiret, but the shortage of work is the only compelling reason for their migration. The Douiret inhabitants are very welcoming people, especially when the visitor gains their trust.²⁸

In Chninni, the *ƣomda* is a highly respected person in the village; he still embodies the local government's authority. His role is comparable to the tribe's Sheikh in the past. Any issues relating to the village or its people are under his control.²⁹

By and large, Douiret is a fortunate town compared to Chninni. The establishment of the *Association de Sauvegarde de la Nature et de Protection de l'Environnement du Douiret*

27 As mentioned by Louis (1975:63):

Les jardins des Douiri sont remarquables. Abrisés dans les moindre ravins de la montagne, sur le plateau du Charett, dans toutes les vallées des oueds qui descendent du Dahar, ils se présentent sous l'aspect de verdoyants massifs d'oliviers admirablement soignés. Le terrain qu'ils ombragent est ensemencé d'orge; le fruit qu'ils produisent est très estimé et dépasse en grosseur les plus belles olives du Sahel tunisien. Les travaux des jardins entretiennent autour de Douiret une très grande animation surtout pendant l'été.

28 There is a local saying 'visit a village with its own people'.

29 The writer had to have the *ƣomda*'s permission prior to the collection of data on the dialect of Douiret.

(A.S.N.A.P.E.D)³⁰ in 1986 has had an important influence on the town. A.S.N.A.P.E.D aims to conserve the ecology, archaeology and culture of Douiret. Dr Belhedi, a fervent member of the association, believes that helping the Douiri through the promotion of eco-tourism and consequently the creation of independent local economy will stop the Douiri from migrating to other prosperous Tunisian cities. The association also believes that the Old Douiret *ghorfas* should be renovated so that some Douiri families who initially abandoned it for a more comfortable home in New Douiret, will find an incentive to make it their home again.

Ouirighen

Ouirighen is located about six kilometres from Guellala on the island of Jerba. It is a modern village with whitewashed buildings equipped with today's necessities. Contrary to the indelible mark that Berber ancestors have left in both Chninni and Douiret, Ouirighen's ancient history is intangible. Its most clear remnant of its Berber ancestry is mirrored in the twenty meter long buried pottery workshops. Ouirighen is part of the Cedouikech³¹ governorate. According to the writer's informant, approximately thirty percent of the Cedouikech population speaks Berber compared to one hundred percent in Ouirighen's population. According to Mr Walid, the low number of Berber speakers in Cedouikech is a result of constant immigration and negative attitudes towards the mother tongue. He explained that the Berbers in Cedouikech regard maintaining Berber as useless, a reflection of poor prestige of Berber in the Tunisian society.

The Berber language in Ouirighen is nevertheless well-maintained. In this small village, Mr Walid informed me that the daily dealings in the town are conducted in the Berber

³⁰ Cf. Appendix XI, p. 443, for the goals and activities of A.S.N.A.P.E.D.

³¹ Concerning the origin of the word Cedouikech, the locals believe that the town was named after a black man named *Wikch*. The latter used to commute to the island via a bridge (*sudd* in Arabic) and hence the word developed into *Sudd Wikš*. According to R. Basset (1883:306), the Cedouikech Berbers are the descendants of *Ketama* tribe. He also gave variations to the word Cedouikech as being used in the year of 1883 which include: *Sedounkes*, *Sedoutkes* and *Sedouikes*.

language. He added that some of the elderly people in the village are still monolingual Berber speakers. (See APPENDIX XII, Plates 7 and 8, p. 451).

1.2.4.3 Status of Shilhā in Tunisia

There are numerous factors which have contributed to the recession of Berber in modern day Tunisia. Though Pencheon (1983) discussed some of these factors nearly two decades ago, one finds them to be still applicable in explaining the situation of the Berbers today. These factors may be summarised in three terms: geographical, economical, and socio-cultural.

First, Berbers in Tunisia are dispersed in small enclaves, which works against any desire for unity and solidarity. In Pencheon's (1983:31) words, this 'geographical reality' has negative repercussion on the Berber speakers' attitudes towards their language. Second, the emigration of most Berber men to work in urban areas and cities creates many problems for the maintenance of Berber. When Berber men return home after a long absence in the city, their Berber dialect is simplified and by using Tunisian Arabic in the household, children begin to develop some apathy towards using Berber at home. One may postulate that in these circumstances, language shift becomes inevitable. Third, with the relative emancipation of Tunisian women since independence, Berber women now attend school and at times join their husbands to emigrate to major cities in search for work. This social change plays a crucial role in the loss of Berber as a vital language at home. Berber women used to be monolinguals in Berber, in other words they were the only remaining guardians of the language. Fourth, Pencheon (1983:31) discussed that the Berbers in Tunisia are unaware that their language and literature (mainly oral) is surviving beyond their small towns. This is reflected, according to the same writer, in the lack of solidarity between the Berber towns such as between Douiret and Chninni despite their geographical proximity (only six kilometres separate the two towns). Pencheon (1983:32) summarises the interrelationship between the Berber language and identity in a societal context where the dominant language is the prestigious one by stating that:

Si la langue et la littérature berbères ne paraissent donc pas constituer un moyen d'identité de l'individu avec la société au-delà des limites de son entourage immédiat, l'arabe par contre jouit d'une grande puissance culturelle. Langue de la nation, de la religion, de l'école – et l'école connaît un prestige sans réserve –, langue aussi de la radio, ce qui aujourd'hui est un facteur important, l'arabe cerne le berbère de tous les côtés et le repousse vers le seul emploi affectif, l'emploi au sein de la famille.

On the subject of schooling of Berber children, one may falsely predict that Arabic-speaking students may have an advantage over the Berber-speakers. In a study³² conducted by Pencheon (1983:33) in the towns of Cedouikech, Guellala and Ajîm, Pencheon surprisingly found that the Berber students performed better than the Arabic speaking students at the beginning of schooling. In fact, Berber speakers surpass their Arabic-speaking peers even in the subject of Arabic language, as shown in the Table 1.4 below:

Table 1.4: Arabic and Berber Performances (Pencheon 1983:33) ³³

Classes (primary)	Results (Outperformers)	Subjects		
		Arabic language	Maths	French
Year 1	Berber speakers (by a sufficient margin)			
Year 2	Arabic speakers (by a small margin)			
Year 3	Berber speakers (by a sufficient margin)	Berber speakers (by a small margin)	Berber speakers (by a very good margin)	Berber speakers (by a small margin)
Year 4	Berber speakers (by a sufficient margin)	Equal	Berber speakers (by sufficient margin)	Berber speakers (by sufficient margin)
Year 5	Equal	Arabic speakers (by a small margin)	Berber speakers (by a small margin)	Berber speakers (by a small margin)

³² Pencheon based his study on the first semester results of the year 1966-1967. The students who have participated in this study have the same age.

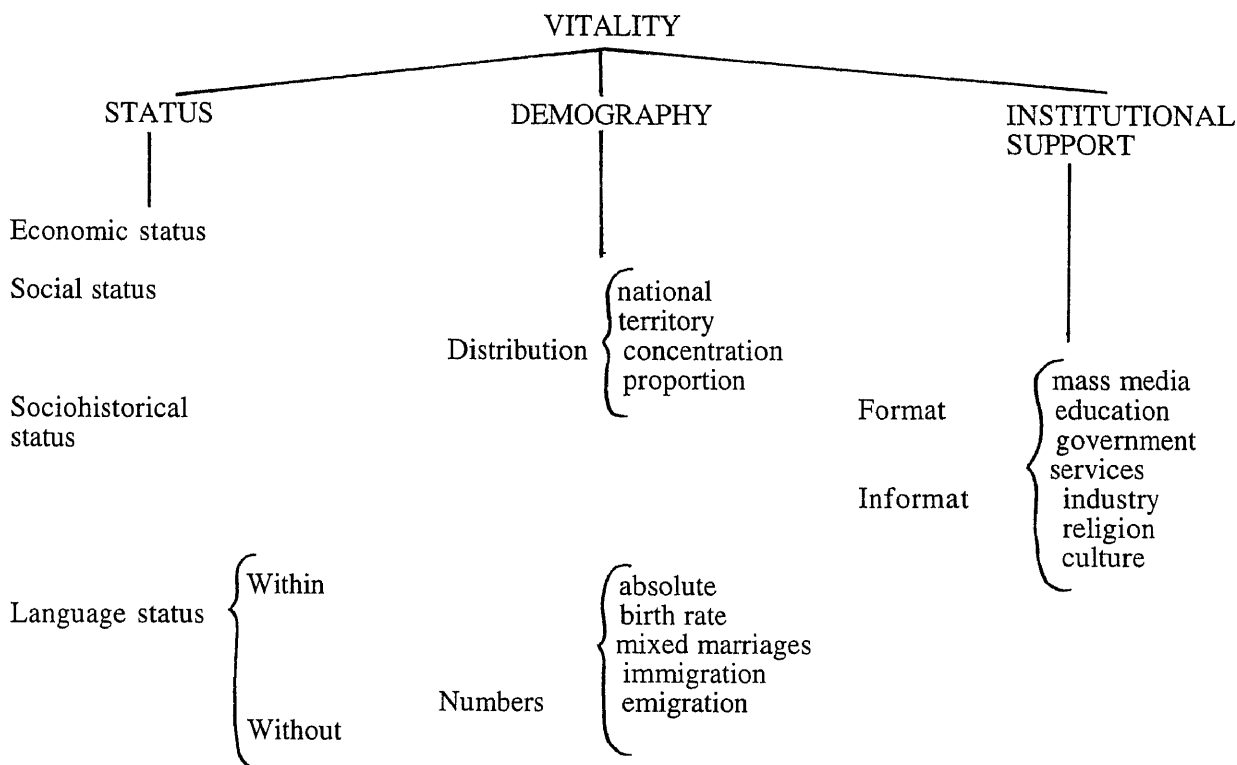
³³ This is a translation of Pencheon table (1983:33).

There are three possible reasons for this unwonted result. First, the Berber speakers outdid their Arabic peers in the subject of Arabic because the language being taught is the Standard Arabic which is very dissimilar to the Tunisian Arabic vernacular. Second, the feeling of inferiority may make the Berber students exert more effort in their studies. Third, it is acknowledged that bilingual students may be more capable of learning additional languages and even perform better in other subjects than their monolingual peers (cf. Romaine 1989).

One may add another dimension to Pencheon's factors, that lack of institutional support can abate the Berbers' positive attitude towards their language and culture. As mentioned earlier, A.S.N.A.P.E.D is the only apolitical association to promote Berber culture and preserve its heritage. In fact, there are no other current cultural organisations that function in Tunisia to support the Berbers. The Ministry of Culture seems to be interested only in conserving the archaeological and historical heritage.³⁴

Giles' notion of *ethnolinguistic vitality* includes the variables: Status, demography and institutional support. The taxonomy of vitality is well presented by McConnell (1997:354) as follows:

³⁴ The most recent booklet on Berber was published by the Ministry of Culture in 1995. It was designated for tourist readers. The booklet did not mention any government initiatives to revive the Berber language.



The above chart can be applied to the ethnolinguistic vitality in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria as follows:

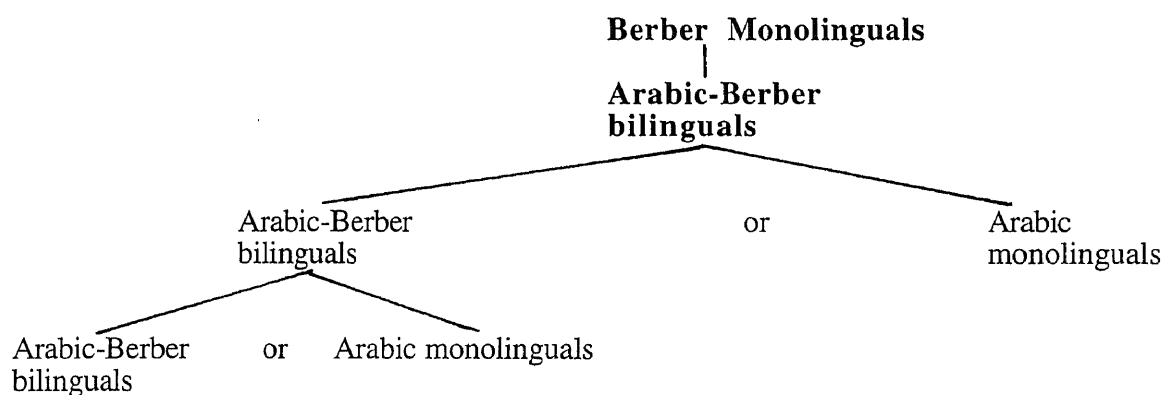
Table 1.5: Summary of Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Berber³⁵

Group	Status	(Percentage of a country's population)	Institutional support	Overall vitality
Morocco	low	high (around 35%)	low	low-medium
Algeria	low	low (around 20%)	low	low (medium)
Tunisia	very low	very low (around 1%)	negligible	very Low

As the above Table 1.5 shows, the three factors that determine ethnolinguistic vitality work against the Berbers in Tunisia. It is probably safe to assert that the low population of Berbers in Tunisia is a very crucial contributor to its current prestige.

³⁵ Based on El Aissati (1993:30).

With Shilha's lack of prestige, one may discuss the evident language shift in the Berber community. There are no studies to-date on the language shift in the Berber community in Tunisia. However, studies of language shift in other Berber communities such as in Morocco may throw some lights on the state of language shift in Tunisia. Bentahila and Davies (1992) conducted a study on language shift in the Berber community of Morocco³⁶ where he interviewed one hundred and eighty Berber families. He found that the youngest Berber generation has lost Berber completely. Bentahila and Davies added that bilingualism [i.e. Berber and Arabic] is maintained over two generations. Language shift in Morocco is summarised by Bentahila and Davies (1992:199) as follows:



Though the case of language shift in the Berber community in Tunisia has not been studied, one may speculate that the Berbers in Tunisia are following a similar trend. Based on one's observations, the first generation of Berber monolinguals has disappeared and even if they still exist, their number is very scarce. The language shift in Tunisia may be at a stage where bilingualism is common among the second generation of Berber speakers. As the above pattern shows, monolingualism in the third and fourth generation is impending, this may lead to language degeneration.

In terms of attitudes of the Moroccan Berber community towards their language and culture, Bentahila and Davies (1992:202) argued that the Berbers of Morocco do not resent the loss of their language. In his survey, he found that the Berbers' sentiment of

36

The main Berber dialects of Morocco are Tarifit, Tamazight and Tashelhit.

national identity is predominantly Moroccan. As far as language is concerned, he found that the Berbers encouraged their children to learn Arabic because “Berber will not help you to earn your daily bread”. This finding puts forward the case of language shift in Morocco as a contradiction to ‘classical cases’ of language loss where some minority groups may be angered by the degeneration of language and hence identity. The unnecessary link between the Berber language and identity is expressed well by Bentahila and Davies (1992:202) by stating that:

The ability to speak Berber is thus evidently not felt to be a necessary condition for self-identification as a Berber; and, indeed, this view was upheld by 83% of the informants, who replied negatively to the question “Is it necessary to speak Berber to be a Berber? Moreover, the fact that a majority of those who did speak Berber fluently and habitually chose not to describe themselves as Berbers at all suggests a striking lack of correspondence between use of the language and identification with the group.

Though studies on Tunisian Berber attitudes towards their language are not formally confirmed, and based on one’s observations during the field trips to the Berber villages, the Berbers in Tunisia identify themselves predominantly as Tunisians. This view is bolstered by Louis (1975:64) when he asserted that “*Il n’est plus question aujourd’hui de relation de servage ou de clientèle avec les “Arabes d’en bas”*”. *On se sent Tunisien comme eux; mais à l’occasion on aime à se redire Berbère fier de sa langue et de son passé*”.

Similarly to the case of Moroccan Berbers, the Berbers in Tunisia are aware of the importance of learning Arabic and French in order to be successful in the Tunisian society.

1.3 Aims

The primary focus of the present study is to provide a structural analysis of Douiret in phonology, morphology and syntax. This study throws some light on this little known

variety of Berber in Tunisia which may assist future scholars in reassessing its current classification as an offshoot of the Northern Berber branch.

A secondary interest of this study is language contact between Shilha and Tunisian Arabic. 'Tunisian Arabic' is a series of distinct varieties of Arabic, particularly in their lexis, and linguists have naturally supposed that it may contain a large Berber element which, however, has not been studied in detail. This study seeks to test this assumption, scrutinising the data collected and providing possible etymologies.

1.4 Previous work on Berber

Among those who have contributed to the study of the Berber language and culture are René Basset (1883), André Basset (1929), Saada (1965), Pencheon (1968)³⁷ and André Louis (1975). These linguists have studied the sociolinguistic aspects of Berber language and culture. For instance, André Basset, a French linguist, described features of the Berber language in his books *La langue berbère* (1952) and *La langue berbère: Morphologie. Le verbe. Etude des thèmes* (1929). In *La langue berbère*, Basset presented an overall description of the Berber language. He also included a linguistic map of the whole Maghrib for the words 'tomorrow', 'yesterday', 'horse' and for the sentence 'he doesn't hit'. Basset's book *La langue berbère* is an important contribution but lacks breadth as many Berber languages were left unmentioned in his work, Shilha among them.

The literature on Algerian and Moroccan Berber is plentiful. In lexicography there is the work of Dallet (1982) and Taifi (1991). In the field of grammar we have the study of Mammeri (1992). In morphology there is the work of Cadi (1987) and Naït-Zarrad (1994). One must emphasise the ample contributions of Chaker on Berber language and culture.

³⁷ Pencheon's same article was re-published in Payne (1983:23-34).

Both early and recent contributions to the literature on Berber in Algeria and Morocco are more abundant than the work done to date on Shilh̄a, suffice to mention the recent work of Ennaji (1985), Cadi (1987), Naït-Zerrad (1994) and Sadiqi (1997). This has socio-political causes which are not the immediate concern of the present study.

In 1883 René Basset worked on the dialect of Aj̄im, a Berber town located thirty kilometres from Houmt Essouk. Basset's observations are critical to the current study because they permit us to compare and scrutinise the changes that Shilh̄a has undergone since 1883. In this article, Basset claims that the structure of the Aj̄im dialect follows similar grammatical rules to that of the dialect of Rif (North Morocco). However, the Aj̄im vernacular differs from the Berber dialects in Morocco in phonology. He described the pronunciation phenomenon in Shilh̄a as "*moins dure que celle du Rifain et du Zouaoua*" (R. Basset 1883:306).

Basset added that only the Berber dialects of Jerba, North of Kabyle and Mزاب conserve entirely the ancient numerical system of the Proto-Berber (cf. 3.2.3.1). This is a valuable observation because the numerical system of Shilh̄a has been practically superseded by the Tunisian Arabic system. Basset also compared a sum of thirty-eight words of the Aj̄im vernacular with other Berber languages. Basset's data on personal pronouns, preterite, aorist, numerical system and lexical analysis will be discussed in § 3 and § 5.

De Calassanti-Motyliniski's (1885) article "*Chanson berbère de Djerbah*" is of significance to the present study because of the paucity of early data on Berber in Tunisia. In this article, Calassanti-Motyliniski transcribed a song from Jerba³⁸ in the Arabic script and then translated it into the French language. The words of this song are used in this

³⁸ Interestingly, this song was given to the writer by an informant from Nefousa but who lived many years on the island of Jerba (Calassanti-Motyliniski, n.d:461). Calassanti-Motyliniski did not specify what part of Jerba he is referring to in his article.

study to identify and illustrate the lexical change in Berber which is due to the intense contact with Tunisian Arabic.

In 1897, Motylinski transcribed and translated three Berber Texts in Jerba. The first text is a dialogue between a local from Ajīm and a stranger. Both second and third texts are imitation of the popular folklore stories of Jħa whose name was replaced by Sliman n Imiladen, known in Ajīm for his naivety. Though Motylinski did not actually specify which Jerban sub-dialect of Shilħa he was referring to, the data seems to be based on the dialect of Ajīm.

Motylinski's work is valuable from the comparative point of view. It may explain the transformation of the structure and lexis of Shilħa in the last century. The description of personal pronouns of Ajīm by Motylinski is more accurate than that of R. Basset's (1883). It seems that the latter overlooked the feminine counterparts of the personal pronoun 'they' as shown below:

(R.Basset 1883:307)		(Motylinski 1897:391)	
<i>niY</i>	‘I, me’	<i>netš</i>	‘I, me’
<i>iyou</i>	‘of me’		
<i>keš</i>	‘you (masc.)’	<i>šekkin</i>	‘you (masc.)’
<i>tšmmi</i>	‘you (fem.)’	<i>šemmin</i>	‘you (fem.)’
<i>netta</i>	‘he’	<i>netta</i>	‘he’
<i>tšemmin</i>	‘she’	<i>neθθ aθ</i>	‘she’
<i>niššin</i>	‘we’	<i>nešnin</i>	‘we’
<i>kinnin</i>	‘you’	<i>kennim</i>	‘you (masc.)’
<i>nitni</i>	‘they’	<i>šemmitin</i>	‘you (fem.)’
		<i>nitnin</i>	‘they (masc.pl.)’
		<i>niθenθin</i>	‘they (fem.pl.)’

In *La Langue berbère dans les territoires du sud. La répartition-Les études-Remarques*, Basset (1941) classifies the Berber-speaking zones into two main groups: the nomadic people of the south and the sedentary population of the north. He also outlines the studies on Berber vocabulary and states that the earliest study on Berber harks back to 1830 (i.e the study on Mozabite lexis). What is noteworthy in this article are the isoglosses of the following words given in many Berber varieties including the Berber vernaculars spoken in Tunisia which include: ‘man’; ‘woman’; ‘women’ and the sentence ‘he gave’. These words are discussed more fully in § 6.

In *Initiation à La Tunisie*, Basset (1950) provided a brief account of the situation of Berber in Tunisia. This work is important because it demonstrates how Berber was being superseded by Arabic in some Berber speech-zones even half a century ago. Basset (1950:220) outlines the Berber villages with their respective number of speakers as follows:

First, in the southern mainland, Basset distinguishes the following Berber villages: Tamagourt, located sixty kilometers east of Gafsa, is claimed by Basset to be a dialect on the verge of extinction. In the North of Matmata, there are Zraoua, Taoujout and Tamazret. On the east of Tataouine, there are Chninni and Douiret.

Second, Basset points that the third of the population of the island of Jerba used to speak Berber. He also distinguishes the following Berber villages: Ajim; Guellala, Cedouikech, El Mai (around 100 speakers); Mahboubin and Seriyān (200 speakers).

Besides this geographical distribution of Berbers in Tunisia, Basset (1950:222) compares the six lexical items ‘today’; ‘year’; ‘small’; ‘child’; ‘horse’; ‘he killed’; ‘he hit’; and ‘I am dead’ among the sub-Shilhā dialects of Chninni; Douiret; Zraoua; Taoujout; Tamazret; Sened and tmagourt.

In 1968, Pencheon published a paper on the Berber language in Tunisia and the schooling of Berber children. In this paper he outlined some of the grammatical features of Shilhā and the problems associated with maintaining the language.

In 1975, André Louis continued Pencheon’s work and published a book entitled *Tunisie du sud, Ksars et villages de crête* where he studied the social fabric of Chninni, Douiret and Guermessa³⁹. Most of his findings were discussed in § 1.2.1.

Other contributions to the history of the Berbers in Tunisia were made by Al-Azlūk (n.d.) who outlined in the Arabic language a brief oral history of the southern region. Though his findings may seem ‘interesting’ to the reader, this work lacks methodology and referencing. Al-Azlūk’s findings will be discussed in § 1.2.1.

Ridwan Collins’s articles (1981/1982) are important studies of personal pronoun indices which are based on the vernaculars of Tamazret (southern Tunisia), Guellala (in Jerba) and Douiret. Despite the writer’s cumbersome analysis, the articles include

³⁹ See Plate 6, APPENDIX XII, p. 450.

invaluable data on the vernacular of Douiret which is discussed in several occasions in the present work.

The common title of these two articles *un microcosme Berbère. Système verbal et satellites dans trois parlers tunisiens* is somewhat intriguing. By the term *satellite* or ‘movable affix’, the author discusses how personal pronoun indices attract these satellites such as the particle *d*; referred to in Berber literature as *particule de rapprochement*. When this particle is added to a verb, it conveys the meaning of ‘returning to the speaker’ (Collins 1981: 290), as in:

Dou. *dwl-γ*

ay-returned=I towards-here

‘I returned’

Collins (1981: 291) brings forward the idea that in Berber, the verbal theme with its proclitics and ‘movable affixes’⁴⁰ may be considered as separate entities on their own right. He refers to this entity throughout his articles *Phrase-Mot-Verbal* (phrase-word-verb) or *PMV*. According to Collins (1981: 291), the phenomenon of ‘verbal word’ was explored earlier by Harries (1974: 191) who stated that ‘these elements usually form a phonological unit which might be called *VERBAL WORD*’ (Harries 1974: 191).

In summary this literature review leads us to observe that studies of Shilhā are to date superficial. In other words, there is no comprehensive study of either its morpho-syntax nor its lexis. The description of Shilhā in Tunisia is generally excluded from the general literature on Berber. This explains the hasty conclusion of some Berberists who surmise that Shilhā is necessarily another northern Berber dialect.

1.5 Methodology and data

The above aims will be pursued by:

⁴⁰ Harries (1974: 190)

- outlining grammatical descriptions of Douiret (i.e. phonology and morpho-syntax)
- assessing the degree of shared lexis among these varieties

Kabyle and Tamazight are chosen for the current comparative study because they are well described in the Berber literature. However, this does not mean that other northern Berber varieties are excluded. Available data on these vernaculars will be used for additional comparisons with Shilh̄a.

1.5.1 Informants⁴¹

The informants who were consulted in the present study are indigenous Berbers of Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen (Jerba).

Chninni

Mr Sami was born in Chninni in 1968 and recalled that when he commenced schooling at the age of six, he spoke only Berber. Tunisian Arabic naturally became his second language. Mr Sami speaks basic French but is literate only in Standard Arabic. He provided some of the Berber vocabulary for his own dialect.

Mr Bakkous is the current *Ɣomda* ‘chief magistrate of the village’ of Chninni. His role consists of solving minor disputes that may arise in the community and to perform simple administrative tasks such as keeping a watchful eye on tourism and ensuring political stability in the village. He is a descendant of the Awl̄ed JomƔa tribe.

Douiret

Mr Qarwi, an eighteen year-old high school student, attends the Tataouine High School. Originally from the village ūit̄āna, Mr Qarwi speaks fluent Berber, Tunisian

⁴¹ The names of my informants listed here are all pseudonyms.

Arabic, French and has a good command of Standard Arabic. He contributed to the compilation of Berber lexis.

Mrs Sēlma, is ninety-eight years old and probably the oldest resident of Douiret. She grew up there and currently lives in Tataouine. Mrs Sēlma has retained her language very well, and provided most of the texts ranging from songs to stories.

The main informants of the Soussi Family were Mr and Mrs Soussi and their daughters Jamila, a twenty-two year old girl who lives in Douiret and Barka, a thirty-year old girl who lives in Tunis. They are the descendants of Awlād Ṭālib.⁴²

Jerba

On the island of Jerba, Mr Waīd is an informant from the village of Ouirighen. The village of Ouirighen is located between Cedouikech and Guellala. Mr Waīd has a good command of French, Arabic, as well as his native language Berber.

1.5.2 Data collection

The data was collected in three separate fieldwork trips. The first period of three months from November 1996 to January 1997 focused mainly on lexis. The second period of fieldwork took place in 1999 and aimed at collecting additional data on Berber texts. The third fieldwork visit was conducted in year 2000 for a period of six weeks, with emphasis placed on collecting additional texts in Shilḥa.

Prior to the fieldwork visit, I prepared a word list containing three separate sections: A basic word list of 1,475 words (cf. Appendix II, p.312)⁴³. The word list includes all parts of speech (nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions). Each word is classified within a determined semantic field (Time,

⁴² See § 1.2.4.2 for an overview of the main Berber clans in Douiret.

⁴³ This word list is based on Dr Geoffrey Hull's word list. Dr Geoffrey Hull, a general linguist, devised this word list for a course in Arabic dialectology at the University of Western Sydney (Australia).

Element, World, Vegetation, Fruit, Vegetables, People, Animals, Body, Urban life, Work and production, Agriculture, Abstract terms and Religious terms). Berber texts include stories, songs and riddles.

Lexical data on Kabyle is based on the works of Dallet (1982); (1986), Destaing (1940) and Taïfi (1991).

Grammatical data for Kabyle is based on the following descriptive sources: Chaker (1983), Bader and Kentowicz (1984) and Mammeri (1992). For Tamazight and other Berber varieties, the main consulted works were Laoust (1928), Basset (1929), Hanouz (1968), Ennaji (1985), Aikhenvald (1986); (1987); (1988a); (1998b); (1995), Naït-Zerrad (1994) and Sadiqi (1986); (1997). For other references, cf. the annotated bibliography.

The Tunisian Arabic word-list is based on the sub-dialect spoken in Hammamet, situated in the lower north-eastern part of Cape Bon (cf. Appendix I, Fig. 1.3, p. 311).

Lexical and grammatical data of Maghribine Arabic are based on the following sources: Lentin (1959), Sobleman and Harrel (1964, 1966), Marçais (1977), Owens (1984) and Caubet (1993).

On the subject of elicitation techniques, informants were encouraged to respond honestly to questions about their mother tongue. Occasionally some informants who could not think of a particular word in their language, instead of giving up, tried to coin a word which was not current in their language. To obviate this problem of authenticity, informants were discouraged from giving any words which might be incorrect. This explains the lexical gaps that are found in Appendix II, p. 314.

The medium of communication was Tunisian Arabic. French was also used, especially in complex sentences, for instance, when informants were asked to give a translation of a sentence such as Fr. *je te la donne* 'I give it to you'.

All the interviews were simultaneously recorded in handwritten notes and on audiotapes allowing future rechecking of data. All recorded material was appropriately labelled with

the name of informant and the date and place of recording. The data was carefully checked with the assistance of a native speaker so as to prevent errors, particularly in recording phonetic phenomena.

Individual logical questions were asked as contextually as possible, for example:

- What is the equivalent for the word 'cat' in Shilhā?
- What is its plural form?
- Do you know any collocations or proverbs in which this word is used? (This question can be used also for the purpose of syntax).

1.5.3 Purpose

The purpose of this study is threefold:

Stage 1: The purpose of first stage is to describe the structure of Douiret, its phonology, morphology and syntax.

Stage 2: The aim of the second stage is to analyse the lexical affinities among the three Shilhā varieties and to discuss the outcome of language contact between Tunisian Arabic and Berber. The lexical analysis is divided into two parts: Part A and part B. While part A deals with comparisons that exclude Arabic loan words. Part B focuses on the loanwords from Arabic (cf. § 5.4 for a full analysis).

1.5.4 Research questions

The essential research questions are:

- (1) What are the typical phonological, morphological, morpho-syntactic and lexical characteristics of Douiret?
- (2) How can the relationship between Shilhā varieties of Douiret, Chninni and Ouirsiġhen be accurately defined on the basis of lexis?
- (3) What has been the impact of Arabic influence on the sound-system, grammar, syntax and vocabulary of the Shilhā dialects as a result of language contact?

2. Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the phonology of Douiret. The data from Chninni and Ouirighen will be presented throughout this chapter for comparative purposes.

The comparison of the phonological system of Douiret; with its neighbours Chninni and Ouirighen shows minor differences. As expected, Chninni and Douiret share by and large more phonological affinities than does Douiret with Ouirighen due to their geographical proximity. The Ouirighen system includes a number of distinctions which will be given as footnotes in this chapter.¹

2.2 Consonants

2.2.1 Summary table

The table below summarises the consonantal phonemes and allophones of Douiret with their place and manner of articulation.² There are twenty-nine primary consonantal phonemes in Douiret. The allophones are presented in brackets in Table 2.1 below.³

¹ Pencheon's (1983: 25-26) outline of phonology shows that Berber in Tunisia has only three vowels (a, i, u). In regard to consonants, he mentions the presence of the consonant /v/ in Cedouikech (Jerba); this is also present in the neighbouring dialect of Ouirighen today. The current study confirms Pencheon's inclusion of the labio-velar k^w. The labialised velar γ^w is also observed in both Ouirighen and Douiret. In addition, Collins (1981: 288) identifies that Douiret has an 'ultra' short vowel, but does not confirm that it is phonemic.

² Consonants of Chninni and Ouirighen are set out in Appendix III, p. 379.

³ The status of the consonants [ɣ^w] and [k^w] is unclear (cf. § 2.1.2). All examples that contain an allophone are bracketed.

Table 2.1: Consonants of Douiret

	stop		fricative		affricate		liquids		Semi-vowel
	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	oral	nasal	
Bilabials	b							m, [m]	
Labio-dentals				f					
Interdental			ð, ð̣ θ						
Alveolar	d, [ḍ]	t, ṭ	z, [ẓ]	s, ṣ			l, [ḷ] r	n, [ṇ]	
Pre-palatals					dʒ	tʃ			
palato-alveolar			ʒ ʃ						y
Labio-velar		[kʷ]	[ɣʷ]						
Velar	g	k	ɣ	x					
Uvular		q							
Pharyngeal			ħ h						
Alveolar									
Labio-velar									w
glottal				h					

2.2.2 Stops

The phoneme /b/ is a bilabial stop. It is observed in the following positions:

Initial

- Dou.(1) a. *bahi* 'good'
 b. *buruhin* 'pregnant'
 c. *babis* 'his father'

Medial Intervocalic

- Dou.(2) a. *babis* 'his father'
 b. *ibarṭitin* 'clothes'

	Preconsonantal		
Dou.(3)	a. <i>anabdu</i>	‘spring’	
	b. <i>iblab</i>	‘clouds’	
	c. <i>abrid</i>	‘road’	
	Postconsonantal		
Dou.(4)	a. <i>arbiḤ</i>	‘spring’	< TA.
	b. <i>aḡarbi</i>	‘western’	< TA.
	Final		
Dou.(5)	a. <i>Rḡab</i>	‘Holy month of Rajab’	< Ar. <i>Raḡab</i>
	b. <i>iblab</i>	‘clouds’	

As in Tunisian Arabic, Douiret uses the voiced phoneme /b/ to replace [p] in loanwords:

Dou.(6)	a. <i>sbitar</i>	‘hospital’	< Fr. <i>hôpital</i>
	b. <i>l-buṣṭa</i>	‘post office’	< Fr. <i>poste</i>
	c. <i>l-bulis</i>	‘police’	< Fr. <i>police</i>
	d. <i>l-biru</i>	‘office’	< Fr. <i>bureau</i>
	e. <i>baba ḡayyu</i>	‘parrot’	< It. <i>papagallo</i>

The geminated /b/ ⁴ seems to occur only in the intervocalic position:

Medial	Intervocalic		
Dou.(7)	a. <i>tababbīt</i>	‘breasts’	
	b. <i>tasibbalt</i>	‘water tap’	< TA. <i>sebbēle</i>
	c. <i>ḡabbu</i>	‘grain’	< Ar.

⁴ A full discussion of consonants in geminate environments, including allophonic variations, appears in § 2.2.7.2

The phoneme /d/ is a voiced alveolar stop. It can be found in the following positions:

Initial

- Dou.(8) a. *dyiss* 'on them'
 b. *dimtiw* 'in my responsibility'
 c. *dibdib* 'slowly'

Medial Intervocalic

- Dou.(9) a. *žadur* 'horse'
 b. *adigfiY* 'I stay'

Preconsonantal

- Dou.(10) a. *idžin* 'one'
 b. *yahidfit* 'threw it'

Postconsonantal

- a. *sawarda* 'I will bring'
 b. *irdin* 'wheat'

Final

- Dou.(11) a. *id* 'with'
 b. *asnid* 'once'
 c. *aždid* 'bird'
 c. *ušid* 'give me'

The geminated phoneme /d/ in Douiret occurs in the intervocalic and final positions, as in:

Medial Intervocalic

- Dou.(12) a. *iddayib* 'and cook'
 b. *widdin* 'and the other'
 c. *tizzaddayin* 'palm trees'
 d. *tiddartis* 'your house'

Final

Dou.(13)	a. <i>takkadd</i>	‘she became’
	b. <i>ybid</i>	‘he waited’

[d̥] is a voiced alveolar stop emphatic. It is the allophonic variant of /d/. It occurs in the following positions:⁵

Initial

Dou. (14)	a. [d̥ayyib]	‘to cook’
-----------	--------------	-----------

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (15)	a. [tūda]	‘it fell’
	b. [adu]	‘wind’

Preconsonantal

Dou.(16)	a. [yidlub]	‘he asks’	< TA. <i>yutlub</i>
	b. [tidyiq]	‘she is angry’	< TA. <i>yōiq</i>

Final

Dou.(17)	a. [yinnad̥]	‘with’
	b. [aggid̥]	‘night’

Geminate

Dou. (18)	a. [witgad̥daʔʃ]	‘I don’t like’
-----------	------------------	----------------

⁵ The emphatic sound [d̥] in Ouirighen is also an allophonic variation of alveolar /d/. Furthermore, one notices that there is a slight release of air when the sound [d̥] is produced. There are no minimal pairs which contain this sound and there is only a very limited number of words that carry this sound. Based on the instances below, one notices that this sound can be geminated and can occur in intervocalic position, as in:

Ouir.	<i>ad̥du</i>	‘light’
	<i>ad̥dul</i>	‘shadow’

The phoneme /t/ is the voiceless counterpart of the phoneme /d/. /t/ is unaspirated in Douiret.⁶ The phoneme /t/ has two allophones: aspirated and unaspirated. It is slightly aspirated when occurring in both initial and intervocalic environments:

Initial

Dou.(19)	a. [t ^h ililli]	‘thread’
	b. [t ^h illa]	‘there is’
	c. [t ^h aħabbit]	‘a small grain’

Medial Intervocalic

Dou.(20)	a. [yat ^h us]	‘cat’
	b. [yit ^h idder]	‘he lives’
	c. [et ^h ikriz]	‘she ploughs’

When found in final position or as part of a consonant cluster, the phoneme /t/ is unaspirated:

Dou.(21)	a. [tɣardemt]	‘scorpion’
	b. [tħamuɸiw]	‘my mother-in-law’
	c. [tmūrt]	‘country’
	d. [txemmem]	‘to think’

The gemination of the phoneme /t/ is observed only in the intervocalic and final positions, as in:

Intervocalic

Dou.(22)	a. <i>nitta</i>	‘he’
	b. <i>yittim</i>	‘he finishes’

⁶ /t/ is unaspirated in Kabyle. See Basset (1929:6).

	c. <i>matta</i>	‘what’
Final		
Dou. (23)	a. <i>yimatt</i>	‘he dies’

The emphatic phoneme /t/ is observed in the following positions:

Initial:

Dou. (24)	a. <i>ṭnawi</i>	‘children’
	b. <i>ṭaḥnut</i>	‘store’
	c. <i>ṭomma</i>	‘he said’
	d. <i>ṭuru</i>	‘straightaway’

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (25)	a. <i>ibarṭitin</i>	‘clothes’
	b. <i>niṭan</i>	‘standing’

Preconsonantal

Dou. (26)	a. <i>tuṭru</i>	‘she cried’
	b. <i>ṭaru</i>	‘he became bored’

Postconsonantal

Dou. (27)	a. <i>el-Ṣaṭrṣiyat</i>	‘type of plant’
	b. <i>ibarṭitan</i>	‘clothes’

Final

Dou. (28)	a. <i>tamaṭtuṭ</i>	‘woman’
-----------	--------------------	---------

The geminated phoneme /t/ is observed in the following positions:

Initial

Dou. (29)	a. <i>ṭṭaf</i>	‘she entered’
	b. <i>ṭṭawinis</i>	‘her eyes’

Intervocalic

Dou. (30)	a. <i>yṭṭas</i>	‘he sleeps’
-----------	-----------------	-------------

	b. <i>imiittawnis</i>	'her tears'	
	c. <i>tamaṭṭoṭ</i>	'woman'	
	Preconsonantal		
Dou. (31)	a. <i>niṭṭnawi</i>	'children'	
	b. <i>yittru</i>	'he cries'	
	Postconsonantal		
	Final		
Dou. (32)	a. <i>izutnaṭṭ</i>	'he slept'	
	c. <i>athoṭṭ</i>	'she puts'	< TA

The phoneme /g/ is a voiced velar stop, which also occurs commonly in southern Tunisian Arabic.⁷ The phoneme /g/ is observed in the following positions:

Initial

Dou. (33)	a. <i>gidma</i>	'a piece'	
	b. <i>gaṣa Y</i>	'I am staying'	

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (34)	a. <i>wiltagaṣṣi</i>	'you won't stay'	
	b. <i>staga</i>	'I miss'	

Preconsonantal

Dou. (35)	a. <i>tigṣa</i>	'you stay'	
	b. <i>bilgda</i>	'very good'	< TA.

Postconsonantal

Dou. (36)	a. <i>mirgaz</i>	'saussages'	< TA.
	b. <i>ifargas</i>	'figs'	

⁷ The phoneme /g/ can be used also in northern Tunisia in certain idiomatic expressions, such as in *yilzmik gleyyib!* 'you have to be courageous!' (lit. 'you need a heart'). The sound change of g > g^y > y is observed in northern Morocco, north of Oran (Algeria) and north of Constantine (Marçais 1977:10).

Final

Dou. (37)	a. <i>sig</i>	‘from’
	c. <i>mag</i>	‘after’

Unlike the dialect of Ouirighen, the labialised consonant [g^w] does not seem to be present in Douiret.⁸

The geminated phoneme /g/ is observed in the following positions:

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (38)	a. <i>suggasu</i>	‘of yesterday’
	b. <i>tisiggid</i>	‘she went’
	c. <i>siggi</i>	‘from’

Final

Dou. (39)	a. <i>sigg</i>	‘from’
-----------	----------------	--------

The phoneme /k/ in Douiret is a voiceless velar stop. It is *unaspirated* in all positions.⁹ The phoneme /k/ occurs also as a geminate in very restricted environment:

⁸ [g^w] in the Ouirighen dialect is generally found in initial position:

[g ^w]	a. [g ^w āmis]	‘in the middle’
	b. [g ^w ānu]	‘in the well’
	c. [g ^w emessis]	‘inside’

⁹ In the Ouirighen dialect, the phoneme /k/ has an aspirated allophone [k^h] in final and preconsonantal positions, e.g.

	Preconsonantal	
	[ak ^h rum]	‘back’
	[tiḍik ^h nin]	‘mattresses’
	Final	
Ouir.	[yedjik ^h]	‘your mother’
	[iḍik ^h]	‘with you’
	[izzeḍik ^h]	‘in front of you’

Initial

Dou. (40)	a. <i>kuri</i>	‘barn’	< Fr. <i>écurie</i>
	b. <i>kadran</i>	‘tar’	

Medial: Intervocalic

Dou. (41)	a. <i>tikarzin</i>	‘testicles’	< TA. <i>kurza coll.</i> ‘rich’
	b. <i>akartšun</i>	‘young donkey’	
	c. <i>takitša</i>	‘worm’	
	d. <i>takattuft</i>	‘ant’	

Preconsonantal

Dou. (42)	a. <i>šaskri</i>	‘soldier’	< TA. <i>šeskri</i>
	b. <i>afakrun</i>	‘turtle’	< TA. <i>fakrūn</i>
	c. <i>takrumt</i>	‘neck’	< TA. <i>krūma</i>

Final

Dou. (43)	a. <i>malik</i>	‘king’
	b. <i>le-ħnak</i>	‘cheek’

The status of the labialised consonant k^w remains unclear as it is found only in one example:¹⁰

[ak^hrum]	‘back’
[$tiðik^h nin$]	‘mattresses’

¹⁰ Labialised consonants are also found in the Ouirighen and Chninni dialects:

Chn.	a. $asa\gamma^wan$	‘rope’
Ouir.	a. g^wamis	‘in the middle’
	b. g^wanu	‘in the well’
	c. $g^wemessis$	‘inside’
Ouir.	a. $asa\gamma^wan$	‘rope’
	b. $tis\gamma^wides$	‘you invited’

k^wDou. (44) a. *tazlak^wit* 'egg'

The gemination of the phoneme /k/ is observed in the following positions:

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (45) a. *yikkir* 'he wakes up'

b. *tithakkar* 'she can see'

c. *takkadd* 'she became'

Final

Dou. (46) a. *šikk*¹¹ 'you'

The phoneme /q/ is a voiceless uvular stop. It is identical to the Arabic /q/ and can be found in the following positions:

Initial

Dou. (47) a. *qaṣat* 'land' < TA. *qāṣa* 'floor'

b. *qillili* 'poor' < TA. *qillil*

c. *qbal* 'before' < TA.

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (48) a. *atuqa* 'finished'

b. *yiqam* 'lift' < TA. *yqīm*

Preconsonantal

Dou. (49) a. *amaqrar* 'big'

b. *l-waqt* 'time' < TA.

¹¹ *šikk* is the short version of *šikdin* 'you' Cf. § 3.5.1.1

	c. <i>ataqǧa</i>	‘to eradicate’	
	Postconsonantal		
Dou. (50)	a. <i>tisqad</i>	‘she goes’	
	b. <i>tqiyyari</i>	‘girls’	
	Final:		
Dou. (51)	a. <i>iǧiq</i>	‘tight’	< TA. <i>yǧiq</i>
	b. <i>ywafaq</i>	‘to agree’	< TA.

The geminated phoneme /q/ is observed in the following positions:

Medial	Intervocalic		
Dou. (52)	a. <i>yaqqur</i>	‘it dries’	
	b. <i>yiqqi</i>	‘mix with a sauce’	
	c. <i>amaqqar</i>	‘old’	
	Final		
Dou. (53)	a. <i>l-ħaqq</i>	‘share’	< TA.

Geminates in Douiret sometimes correspond to two different consonants in other Berber varieties.¹²

¹² gg in Douiret corresponds with ww in Tamazight as in:

Dou. (91)	<i>g + g (gg)</i>	<i>g + g (gg) > ww</i>	
	Dou. <i>azagguY</i>	Tam. <i>azawwaY</i>	‘red’

2.2.3 Fricatives

The phoneme /f/ ¹³ is the voiceless labio-dental fricative. It occurs in initial, medial, final position and as a geminate. It has two allophones: Emphatic in some intervocalic environments and non-emphatic elsewhere.

Initial:

Dou. (54)	a. <i>fulluq</i>	‘firewood’	
	b. <i>frank</i>	‘French Franc’	< Fr. <i>franc</i>
	c. <i>fillas</i>	‘on him’	

Medial Intervocalic:

Dou. (55)	a. <i>afardas</i>	‘bald’	< TA. <i>farṭāṣ</i>
	b. <i>wifixš</i>	‘can’t find’	
	c. <i>tasifist</i>	‘sieve’	
	d. <i>tafattaltis</i>	‘his little tail’	
	e. <i>afallus</i>	‘chick’	< Lat. <i>pullus</i> ¹⁴

Preconsonantal:

Dou. (56)	a. <i>afrux</i>	‘boy’	
-----------	-----------------	-------	--

Postconsonantal

Dou. (57)	a. <i>xarḥana</i>	‘tell the story’	< Ar. <i>xurāḥa</i>
	b. <i>katfint</i>	‘she tied’	< TA. <i>kettif</i>

Final

Dou. (58)	a. <i>asuf</i>	‘river’	
	b. <i>af</i>	‘find’	

¹³ /v/, the voiced counterpart of /f/ seems to be found in the Ouirighen dialect, e.g. *tavist* ‘stomach’, *baveaxali* ‘maternal grand-father’. There is one instance in which the phoneme /v/ corresponds with /ḡ/ in the plural, as in *tavist* ‘stomach’ > pl. *tiḡawin* ‘stomachs’.

¹⁴ Saib (1974: 6) draws a diachronic relationship between *p → f with the assumption that Proto-Berber has *p.

	c. <i>ixf</i>	'head'
	Geminate	
	Intervocalic	
Dou. (59)	a. <i>uffar</i>	'weed'
	b. <i>yiffa</i> Υ	'expel'
	c. <i>daffir</i>	'before'
	c. <i>tiffa</i>	'going out'
	Final	
Dou. (60)	a. <i>asuf</i>	'river'
	b. <i>af</i>	'find'
	c. <i>ixf</i>	'head'
	Geminate	
	Intervocalic	
Dou. (61)	a. <i>uffar</i>	'weed'
	b. <i>daffir</i>	'before'

The emphatic [f] is observed in Douiret, it is the allophonic variant of /f/. For instance:

Dou. (62)	a. [yaffaz]	'chew'
	b. [yiffa Υ]	'finish'
	c. [tiffa]	'going out'

With the exception of consonant cluster /fr/ found in some native Berber words, consonant clusters such as /fʒ/, and /fʔ/ are observed mainly in loanwords from Arabic.

For example:

Loanwords:

Dou. (63)	a. <i>fzil</i>	'radish'
	b. <i>fhal</i>	'stallion'

c. *fḏa* 'air'

Native:

Dou. (64) a. *tafruxt* 'girl'
 b. *tafrit* 'olive leaf'

The phoneme /ḏ/ is a voiced interdental fricative. /ḏ/ seems to be found only in the initial and intervocalic positions.

Initial:

Dou. (65) a. *ḏkīr* 'iron'
 b. *ḏanb* 'sin' < Ar *ḏanb*

Medial: Intervocalic

Dou. (66) a. *yuḏi* 'to fold'

The phoneme /ḏ̣/ is a voiced interdental fricative emphatic. /ḏ̣/ is found in the following positions:

Initial

Dou. (67) a. *ḏahrit* 'hill'
 b. *ḏaḏ* 'finger'

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (68) a. *taḏayyaqt* 'tight'

Preconsonantal

Dou. (69) a. *yaḏub* 'sick'
 b. *aḏar* 'come'

Postconsonantal

Dou. (70) a. *yarḏal* 'lend'

	b. <i>fǾa</i>	‘air’	
Final			
Dou. (71)	a. <i>yahmaǾ</i>	‘lemon’	
	b. <i>haǾ</i>	‘luck’	
	Geminate		
	Intervocalic		
Dou. (72)	a. <i>aǾǾu</i>	‘light’	< TA.
	b. <i>yitnaǾǾaf</i>	‘to clean’	< Ar.
Medial	preconsonantal		
Dou. (73)	a. <i>eǾ-Ǿlam</i>	‘darkness’	

The phoneme /θ/ is the voiceless counterpart of /Ǿ/. Unlike Ouirshen, /θ/ is rare in Douiret.¹⁵ It is observed only in foreign words in the preconsonantal position, and as a geminate:

	Preconsonantal		
Dou. (74)	a. <i>li-θ nīn</i>	‘Monday’	< TA
	b. <i>le-θ laθ a</i>	‘Tuesday’	< TA.
	Geminate		
Dou. (75)	a. <i>eθ -θ ilž</i>	‘ice’	< TA

The phoneme /z/ is the voiced counterpart of the phoneme /s/.¹⁶ It occurs mainly in the following positions:

¹⁵ The phoneme /θ/ in Ouirshen appears in many words in ouirshen and it mainly occupies the final position. See Appendix IV, p. 380 (/θ/ in Ouirshen).

¹⁶ In Chninni and Ouirshen, the phoneme /z/ can be geminated, as in:

Dou.	a. [uzzel]	‘soot’
	b. [et ʔazzan]	‘you eat’

Initial

Dou. (76)	a. <i>zizwat</i>	‘coffee maker’	< Turk. <i>zizva</i>
	b. <i>zri</i>	‘to see’	

Medial

Intervocalic:

Dou. (77)	a. <i>tiza</i> Υ^W <i>in</i> (sg. <i>yur</i>)	‘fortress, wall’
	b. <i>tazit</i>	‘broom’
	c. <i>azammur</i>	‘olives’

Preconsonantal:

Dou. (78)	a. <i>tazdayt</i>	‘palm tree’
	b. <i>yibizdan</i>	‘urinate’

Final

Dou. (79)	a. <i>izinz</i>	‘sell’
	b. <i>aryaz</i>	‘man’

Geminate

Dou. (80) Intervocalic

a. <i>uzzal</i>	‘soot’
b. <i>at</i> Υ <i>azzan</i>	‘I eat’
c. <i>yizzinza</i>	‘he sells’

Final

Dou. (81)	a. <i>it</i> Υ <i>izz</i>	‘she ate’
-----------	------------------------------------	-----------

The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. It occurs in the following positions:

Initial

Dou. (82)	a. <i>sin</i>	‘two’
	b. <i>siggi</i>	‘from’

Medial	Intervocalic		
Dou. (83)	a. <i>asuf</i>	‘river’	
	b. <i>asaɣwan</i>	‘rope’	
	c. <i>taslit</i>	‘bride’	
	preconsonantal:		
Dou. (84)	a. <i>tažrist</i>	‘winter’	
	b. <i>tixsi</i>	‘goat’	
Final			
Dou. (85)	a. <i>afus</i>	‘hand’	
	b. <i>l-žnaz</i>	‘funeral’	
	c. <i>fillas</i>	‘on him’	
	Geminate		
Medial	Intervocalic		
Dou. (86)	a. <i>yissassray</i>	‘shake’	
	Preconsonantal		
	a. <i>es-swarid</i>	‘money’	< Fr.
Final			
Dou. (87)	a. <i>yasiss</i>	‘he drinks’	
	b. <i>dyiss</i>	‘with them’	

The phoneme /z/ is a voiced alveolar fricative. It occurs in the following positions:¹⁷

	Initial		
Dou. (88)	a. <i>zum</i>	‘fast’	TA. <i>šūm</i> ¹⁸
	b. <i>zaṭṭa</i>	‘weave’	

¹⁷ The data set did not show the geminate /z/ in final position.

¹⁸ The phoneme /z/ in Douiret corresponds sometimes to /š/ in Arabic.

Medial

Intervocalic

- Dou. (89) a. *iyaazid* 'chick'
 b. *azattaf* 'black'

Preconsonantal

- Dou. (90) a. *hazbul* 'weak'

Postconsonantal

- Dou. (91) a. *ataqza* 'to get rid of'
 b. *yibzi* 'he urinates'

Final

- Dou. (92) a. *yilluz* 'he is hungry'
 b. *yankaz* 'to cut'

Geminate

Medial

Intervocalic

- Dou. (93) a. *amazzuY* 'ear'
 b. *iYazzaz* 'eat'

Final

- Dou. (94) a. *itYizz* 'he eats'

The geminate phoneme /z/ occurs in intervocalic and final positions. There are no examples of native Berber words occurring as geminate in the data, as in:

Medial

Intervocalic

- Dou. (95) a. *yitnazza*f 'he cleans' < Ar
 b. *azzif* 'guest' < Ar.

Final

- Dou. (96) a. *el-hazz* 'luck' < Ar,

The phoneme /ʃ/ is a voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative. It occurs in the following positions and as a geminate. There are no instances of /ʃ/ occurring in postconsonantal positions.

Initial

Dou. (97)	a. <i>ʃabbat</i>	‘shoe’	< TA <i>ʃabbāt</i>
	b. <i>ʃfiha</i>	‘buckle’	< TA <i>ʃfiha</i>
	c. <i>ʃahrāt</i>	‘desert’	< TA <i>ʃahra</i>

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (98)	a. <i>iʃa y^wan</i>	‘ropes’	
	b. <i>aʃahtut</i>	‘naked’	< TA <i>ʃahaḥa</i> ‘health’
	c. <i>yummayāšin</i>	‘he told them’	

Preconsonantal

Dou. (99)	a. <i>iʃrit</i>	‘dried leaves of olive trees’	
	b. <i>yxallisš</i>	‘he does not pay’	

Dou. (100) Postconsonantal

a. <i>atxalʃit</i>	‘he pays for it’	< TA. <i>xallaʃ</i>
b. <i>abʃal</i>	‘onion’	< <i>bʃal</i>

Final

Dou. (101)	a. <i>yittāʃ</i>	‘he sleeps’	
	b. <i>yixʃ</i>	‘he loves’	
	c. <i>rʒaʃ</i>	‘lead’	< TA. <i>rʒāʃ</i>

Geminate

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (102)	a. <i>aywaʃʃa</i>	‘he advised’	< TA. <i>waʃʃa</i>
	b. <i>iʃ-sid</i>	‘lion’	< TA. <i>ʃayd</i> ‘lion’

Final

Dou. (103) a. *yizlaʃʃ* 'he brought him'

The phoneme /ʒ/ is the voiced counterpart of the phoneme /ʃ/.¹⁹ It occurs in the following positions and as a geminate:

Initial:

Dou. (104)	a. <i>ʒurra</i>	'footprint'	< Ar. <i>ʒorra</i>
	b. <i>ʒbil</i>	'mountain'	< Ar. <i>ʒbel</i>
	c. <i>ʒazira</i>	'island'	< Ar. <i>ʒazīra</i>
	d. <i>aʒdid</i>	'new'	< Ar. <i>ʒdīd</i>

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (105)	a. <i>waʒid</i>	'a lot'	
	b. <i>iʒummas</i>	'day'	
	c. <i>et-taʒir</i>	'merchant'	< Ar. <i>tēʒir</i>
	d. <i>haʒa</i>	'thing'	< Ar. <i>hēʒa</i>

Preconsonantal

Dou. (106)	a. <i>iʒdi</i>	'sand'	
	b. <i>tiʒliwin</i> (sg. <i>ta ʒla</i>)	'palm trees'	

Final:

Dou. (107)	a. <i>yaʒtaʒ</i>	'need'	< Ar. <i>yeḥtēʒ</i>
------------	------------------	--------	---------------------

¹⁹ Although the phoneme /ʒ/ corresponds to /ʃ/ in other Berber vernaculars such as Tamazight, one perceives that such correspondences do not exist in Douiret:

Tam.	a. <i>gʒem</i> < <i>gʃem</i>	ʒ < ʃ	'enter, penetrate'
	b. <i>iʒt</i> < <i>iʒd-t</i>	ʒ < ʒ	'one'

	Geminate		
Medial	Intervocalic		
Dou. (108)	a. <i>tahažžalt</i>	‘widow’	
	b. <i>anažžar</i>	‘carpenter’	
	c. <i>ymažžir</i>	‘cultivate’	
Final			
Dou. (109)	a. <i>hažž</i>	‘Hajj’	< Ar. <i>hažž</i>

The phoneme /š/ is a voiceless palato-alveolar consonant. It occurs in initial, medial, final positions and as a geminate:

Initial			
Dou. (110)	a. <i>šikdin</i>	‘you’ (2nd.masc.sg.)	
	b. <i>šhar</i>	‘month’	
Medial	Intervocalic		
Dou. (111)	a. <i>ašišu</i>	‘sparrow’	
	Preconsonantal:		
Dou. (112)	a. <i>wšam</i>	‘tattoo’	< TA.
	b. <i>širīn</i>	‘twenty’	< TA.
	c. <i>nišdi</i>	‘I’	
	d. <i>ašišušik</i>	‘your tent’	
Final			
Dou. (113)	a. <i>barkukiš</i>	‘simolina’	
	b. <i>ħdaš</i>	‘eleven’	< TA.
	c. <i>bāš</i>	‘in order’	< TA.
	d. <i>ababbuš</i>	‘snail’	
	Geminate		
Medial	Intervocalic		
Dou.(114)	a. <i>tašširt</i>	‘garlic’	

- b. *iššawin* 'horns'
 c. *tabaššult* 'vagina'

Final

- Dou. (115) a. *gišš* 'hay' < TA.

The phoneme /ʎ/ is a voiced velar fricative. It is the voiced counterpart of /x/. It occurs in the following positions and as a geminate:

Initial

- Dou. (116) a. *ʎris* 'he has'

Medial Intervocalic

- Dou. (117) a. *taʎaʎat* 'snow'
 b. *iʎad* 'ashes'
 c. *aʎarda* 'mouse'
 d. *tiʎurdam* 'scorpions'
 e. *taʎarraft* 'ladle'

Preconsonantal

- Dou. (118) a. *aʎrum* 'bread'
 b. *aʎyul* 'donkey'
 c. *taʎrart* 'dowry box'

Postconsonantal

- Dou. (119) a. *yitʎanna* 'he sings'
 b. *alʎam* 'camel'

Final

- Dou. (120) a. *amazzuʎ* 'ear'
 b. *uzriʎ* 'I see'

Geminate

Intervocalic

- Dou. (121) a. *yaʕʕi* 'he jumped'
 b. *aʕʕil* 'boil'

Final

- Dou.(122) a. *taʕʕ* 'kill'

The status of [*ʕ^W*], the labialised counterpart of /*ʕ*/, is unclear. There seems to be a single example in the data set found in the intervocalic environment, as in:

- Dou. (123) a. *asaʕ^Wan* 'rope'

The phoneme /*x*/ is a voiceless velar fricative. It is found in initial, medial, final position and as a geminate:

Initial:

- Dou. (124) a. *xʂa* 'love'
 b. *xannib* 'to steal'
 c. *xafi* 'holy month'
 d. *xarwʂa* 'type of plant' < TA.

Medial Intervocalic

- Dou. (125) a. *axaddam* 'worker' < TA.
 b. *axayyat* 'tailor' < TA.
 c. *axabbaz* 'bread maker' < TA *xabbēz*.

Preconsonantal:

- Dou. (126) a. *ʔafruxt* 'girl'
 b. *axsa* 'love'
 c. *axrib* 'cave'
 d. *ixsan* 'pit'

Final

Dou. (127)	a. <i>afrux</i>	‘boy’	
	b. <i>el-wsax</i>	‘rubbish’	< TA. <i>wsex</i>
	c. <i>el-xux</i>	‘peach’	< TA. <i>xawx</i> pl. <i>xūx</i>

Geminate

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (128)	a. <i>yaxxi</i>	‘as a result’	< TA.
	b. <i>axxan</i>	‘to defecate’	

Final

Dou. (129)	a. <i>muxx</i>	‘brain’	< TA.
------------	----------------	---------	-------

The phoneme /ʕ/ is the voiced counterpart of /ħ/. Its occurrence is rare in native Berber words. The phoneme /ʕ/ can occur in the following positions:

Dou. (130)	a. <i>arbiʕ</i>	‘grass’	
	b. <i>fuggiʕ</i>	‘mushroom’	
	c. <i>aʕazri</i>	‘single’	

Geminate

Intervocalic

Dou. (131)	a. <i>wiltagaʕʕi</i>	‘you will not stay’	
------------	----------------------	---------------------	--

The phoneme /ħ/ is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative. It occurs in the following positions and as a geminate:

Initial

Dou. (132)	a. <i>ħma</i>	‘heat’	< TA. <i>liħme</i> ‘blaze’
	b. <i>ħalim</i>	‘your (2sf) state’	< TA. <i>ħēl</i> ‘state’

c. <i>ḥabbu</i>	‘a little’	< Ar. <i>ḥbūb</i> ‘grains’
d. <i>ḥakkar</i>	‘stare’	
e. <i>ḥadarbaš</i>	‘ending’	

Intervocalic

Dou.(133)	a. <i>aḥammal</i>	‘doorman’	< TA. <i>ḥemmēl</i>
	b. <i>riḥit</i>	‘smell’	< TA. <i>rīḥa</i>
	c. <i>taḥabbīt</i>	‘small grain’	< TA. <i>ḥabba</i>
	d. <i>aḥafza</i>	‘learn’	< TA. <i>ḥfaḏ</i>
	e. <i>s raḥa</i>	‘become’	< TA. <i>rāḥ</i> ‘go away’

Preconsonantal

Dou.(134)	a. <i>taḥdid</i>	‘metal’	< TA. <i>ḥdīd</i>
	b. <i>waḥdis</i>	‘alone’	< TA. <i>weḥdu</i>
	c. <i>es-saḥr</i>	‘magic’	< TA. <i>siḥr</i>
	d. <i>eṭ-taḥnut</i>	‘shop’	< TA. <i>ḥēnūt</i>

Postconsonantal

Dou.(135)	a. <i>ṭakkayis</i>	‘her story’	< Ar. <i>ḥikēya</i>
	b. <i>ṭanutiw</i>	‘my shop’	< TA. <i>ḥēnūt</i>

Final

Dou.(136)	a. <i>yifraḥ</i>	‘happy’	< TA. <i>yifraḥ</i>
	b. <i>yisbaḥ</i>	‘become’	< TA. <i>yīšbaḥ/ ywelli</i>
	c. <i>afallaḥ</i>	‘farmer’	< TA. <i>fellēḥ</i>

Geminate

Dou.(137)	Intervocalic		
	a. <i>tsaḥḥart</i>	‘witch’	
	b. <i>ylaḥḥim</i>	‘he solders’	

Final

Dou.(138) a. *yitkuḥḥ* 'he coughs'

The phoneme /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative. It occurs in the following positions:

Medial Intervocalic

Dou.(139) a. *uha* 'this'

b. *baḥ* 'good'

c. *tahažžalt* 'widow' < TA. *hežžēle*

Preconsonantal

Dou.(140) a. *zahrat* 'hill'

b. *Ḷuhr* 'afternoon' < TA.

Geminate

Intervocalic

Dou.(141) a. *aḶahhab* 'jeweller' < TA. *Ḷheb* 'gold'

b. *ilahhad* 'he is running'

2.2.4 Affricates

The prepalatal /dž/ is the voiced affricate counterpart of /tš/. The phoneme /dž/ is observed in the initial and intervocalic positions:

Initial

Dou.(142) a. *džadri* 'chicken pox'

Medial Intervocalic:

Dou.(143)	a. <i>adžin</i>	‘person’
	b. <i>iradžin</i>	‘nets’
	c. <i>idžu</i>	‘to leave’
	d. <i>yidžul</i>	‘to swear’

Unlike /dž/, the phoneme /tš/ is found only in the intervocalic position:

Medial	Intervocalic:	
Dou.(144)	a. <i>takitša</i>	‘worm’
	b. <i>atša</i>	‘food’
	c. <i>itšaffa</i> ʃ	‘to light’

2.2.5 Liquids

The nasals /m/ and /n/ occur in the following positions:

/m/:

Initial

Dou.(145)	a. <i>mag</i>	‘in order’	
	b. <i>mašya</i>	‘going’	< TA. <i>mša</i>

Medial Intervocalic

Dou.(146)	a. <i>tamattut</i>	‘woman’
-----------	--------------------	---------

Preconsonantal:

Dou.(147)	a. <i>lšamris</i>	‘his age’	< TA. <i>šmor</i>
	b. <i>gašamza</i>	‘sitting’	< TA. <i>gešmiz</i>

Postconsonantal

Dou.(148)	a. <i>iddarmi</i>	‘put him’	
	b. <i>ismis</i>	‘his name’	< Ar.

Final

Dou.(149)	a. <i>iblam</i>	‘cloud’	
	b. <i>duxxan</i>	‘smoke’	< TA. <i>duxxān</i>
	c. <i>el-ṣam</i>	‘year’	< TA. <i>ṣēm</i>
	d. <i>tixdam</i>	‘work’	< TA. <i>xidma</i>
	e. <i>tittam</i>	‘start’	
	f. <i>alḡum</i>	‘camel’	

Geminate

Medial

Intervocalic

Dou.(150)	a. <i>ammmudi</i>	‘like oil’	
	b. <i>mimmis</i>	‘his child’	
	c. <i>iḡummas</i>	‘one day’	
	d. <i>mimmi</i>	‘my child’	

Preconsonantal

Dou.(151)	a. <i>ṣammra</i>	‘living’	
-----------	------------------	----------	--

Final

Dou.(152)	a. <i>yamm</i>	‘mother of’	
-----------	----------------	-------------	--

The allophonic variant of /m/ is [m̥], it occurs in the following positions:

Dou.(153)	a. [l-m̥arš] ²⁰	‘stairs’	< Fr. <i>marche</i>
	b. [yim̥ma]	‘he said’	

20

There is insufficient data to support what environment triggers the emphatic allophone in *lmarš*.

The phoneme /n/ is observed in the following positions:

Initial

Dou.(154) a. *nišnin* 'we'

Medial Intervocalic

Dou.(155) a. *ažinna* 'sky'

b. *tini* 'figs' < Ar. *fīn*

c. *žilbana* 'peas' < TA. *žilbēna*

d. *tanaḥnuḥt*²¹ 'one bread'

e. *tfunast* 'cow'

Preconsonantal

Dou.(156) a. *iz-zing* 'iron' < Fr. *zinc*

Postconsonantal

Dou.(157) a. *ṭnawi* 'children'

b. *izutnaṭt* 'he woke up'

Final

Dou.(158) a. *irdin* 'wheat'

b. *tummayasin* 'she told them'

Geminate

Medial Intervocalic

Dou.(159) a. *yinnad* 'he turned'

b. *ninniž* 'above'

c. *Yanna* 'we have'

d. *axannab* 'thief'

The lateral phoneme /l/ can occur in the following positions and as a geminate:

²¹ The generic term for 'bread' is a *Yrum*.

Initial:

Dou.(160)	a. <i>luza</i>	‘hungry’	
	b. <i>kul</i>	‘every’	
	c. <i>lukana</i>	‘if’	< Ar. <i>Law kān</i>

Medial Intervocalic:

Dou.(161)	a. <i>wili</i>	‘not’	
	b. <i>msala</i>	‘matter’	< TA. <i>mes?la</i>
	c. <i>ala</i>	‘until’	< Ar. <i>ilē</i>

Preconsonantal

Dou.(162)	a. <i>yilzmid</i>	‘you need’	< TA. <i>yilzim</i>
	b. <i>lwaḥdis</i>	‘alone’	< TA. <i>weḥdhe</i>
	c. <i>wiltmak</i>	‘your sister’	

Final	a. <i>ul</i>	‘heart’	
Dou.(163)	b. <i>tidqil</i>	‘pregnant’	< TA. <i>θ qīl</i> ‘heavy’
	c. <i>laḥyal</i>	‘families’	< TA. <i>ḥīla</i>

Geminate

Medial Intervocalic

Dou.(164)	a. <i>tilla</i>	‘there is’	
	b. <i>yillis</i>	‘his daughter’	
	c. <i>fulluq</i>	‘firewood’	
	d. <i>amallal</i>	‘white’	

Final

Dou.(165)	a. <i>tuyall</i>	‘it hang’	
-----------	------------------	-----------	--

The emphatic [] is the allophonic variant of /l/.

Dou.(166)	a. [bʉllār]	‘glass’	< TA.
	b. [ʃallaq]	‘hang’	< Ar. ʃallaq

The phoneme /r/ is a voiced alveolar trill. It occurs in the following positions and as a geminate:²²

Initial:

Dou.(167)	a. rani	‘I will’
	b. rag	‘although’
	c. Ržab	‘Holy month of Ramadan’

Medial Intervocalic

Dou.(168)	a. ta ʧuri	‘clay’
	b. turu	‘time’

Preconsonantal

Dou.(169)	a. irdin	‘wheat’
	b. litshhart	‘magician’
	c. bartitin	‘clothes’
	d. xarfana	‘tell the story’

Postconsonantal

Dou.(170)	a. tabruri	‘hail’
	b. abrid	‘road’

Final

Dou.(171)	a. yitiddar	‘he lives’	
	b. es-sahr	‘magic’	< Ar.
	c. amžar	‘planting’	
	d. ikkir	‘asleep’	

²² The phoneme /r/ in Douiret and Ouirighen may correspond to /l/ in Chninni, e.g. Dou. *taziri*, Ouir. *taziri*, Chn. *tazili*, ‘moon’.

Geminate

Dou.(172)	a. <i>ʕid um žarrassin</i>	‘between feasts’	
	b. <i>zarriʕt</i>	‘seed’	
	c. <i>irrand</i>	‘laurel’	
	d. <i>abarrani</i>	‘stranger’	< TA. <i>barrāni</i>

The phoneme /r/ can become syllabic when it is observed in the preconsonantal position, as in:

Dou.(173)	a. [r̥r̥h]	‘to rest’
	b. [r̥ʒab]	‘Holy month of <i>Ražab</i> ’ ²³

The emphatic [r̥] is observed in Douiret. It is the allophonic variant of /r/. For instance:

Dou.(174)	a. <i>ažrad</i>	‘grasshopper’	< TA. <i>žrāda</i>
	b. <i>ta ʕarraqt</i>	‘deep’	< TA. <i>ʕāriq</i>

2.2.6 Semi-vowels

The phoneme /w/ is bilabial semi-vowel and can be observed in the following positions and as a geminate:

Initial

Dou.(175)	a. <i>wiltma</i>	‘sister’
	b. <i>willa</i>	‘who’

²³ *Ražab* is the holy month in the Islamic calendar.

	c. <i>waʒid</i>	‘a lot’
Medial	Intervocalic	
Dou.(176)	a. <i>yawid</i>	‘he follows behind’
	b. <i>zawis</i>	‘his hair’
Final	a. <i>tawrtiw</i>	‘my mother -in-law’
Dou.(177)	b. <i>aʒarfɪw</i>	‘crow’
	Geminate	
Medial	Intervocalic	
Dou.(178)	a. <i>tɸawwiz</i>	‘you win’
	b. <i>yɸawwim</i>	‘look for’

The phoneme /y/ is a voiced palatal semi-vowel. It occurs in the following positions and as a geminate

Initial		
Dou.(179)	a. <i>yizzi</i>	‘enough’
	b. <i>yisli</i>	‘he hears’
	c. <i>yizlaqqu</i>	‘shells’
	d. <i>yumas</i>	‘his brother’
	e. <i>yilla</i>	‘there is’
Medial	Intervocalic	
Dou.(180)	a. <i>tayarzizt</i>	‘rabbit’
	b. <i>iyazid</i>	‘rooster’
	d. <i>el-fayazān</i>	‘flood’
		< TA. <i>fayazān</i>
	Preconsonantal	
Dou.(181)	a. <i>aysum</i> ²⁴	‘flesh’

²⁴ Saib (1974: 9) provides the Proto-Berber form **agsum* ‘meat’ with the following dialectal variations: *agsum*; *aksum*; *açsum*; *ašsum*, *aysum*; *ajsum* (spirantization); *ažsum*.

	b. <i>tulayt</i>	'word'	
	c. <i>aylim</i>	'leather'	
	Postconsonantal		
Dou.(182)	a. <i>aryaz</i>	'man'	
	b. <i>tzarbit</i>	'carpet'	< TA. <i>zarbiyye</i>
	Final		
Dou.(183)	a. <i>tiwirqay</i>	'papers'	< TA. <i>warqa</i>
	b. <i>tifray</i>	'olive leaves'	
	c. <i>yissassray</i>	'shake'	
	d. <i>er-ray</i>	'opinion'	< TA. <i>rāy</i>
	Geminate		
	Medial Intervocalic		
Dou. (184)	a. <i>syiyyi</i>	'he weaves'	
	b. <i>adiyyaʕ</i>	'I do'	
	c. <i>yiyjur</i>	'prepare'	
	Final		
Dou. (185)	a. <i>yayy</i> ²⁵	'make'	

2.2.7 Secondary consonants

2.2.7.1 Emphatics

There are two types of emphatics: phonemic emphatics such as /t̤/, /ð̤/, /s̤/ and non-phonemic emphatics such as [d̤], [z̤], [r̤], [m̤], [f̤] and [l̤].²⁶ These are the allophonic

²⁵ This is the only example found in the data set.

²⁶ There are fewer emphatic consonants in Douiret than in Tunisian Arabic.

Cf. Appendix V, p. 383.

variants of the phoneme /d/, /r/, /m/, /f/ and /l/, respectively, which require emphasis when adjacent to /t/, /d/, /s/ and /z/.²⁷ For instance:

Dou. (186)	a. <i>yitmir</i>	‘it opens’	
	b. <i>yittru</i>	‘he cries’	
	c. <i>ibarṭitin</i>	‘clothes’	
	d. <i>yiṣbah</i>	‘he became’	< TA.

In addition, allophones are emphasised when found in a position of VCCV. However, the data set shows that not all vowels in this paradigm allow emphasisation. The paradigms which allow emphasisation are iCCa, aCCa and uCCa. Others which do not allow emphasisation to occur are [eCCe], iCCi, [iCCe] and [uCCe]. For instance:

iCCa

Dou. (187)	a. [<i>yiffa</i> Y]	‘he finishes’
	b. [<i>yimma</i>]	‘he said’
	c. [<i>yinnad</i>]	‘he woke up’

aCCa

Dou. (188)	a. [<i>wallāhi</i>]	‘I swear to God’
	b. [<i>xallaṣ</i>]	‘he paid’
	c. [<i>titaḥfa</i>]	‘he entered’

uCCa

Dou. (189)	a. [<i>txurraft</i>]	‘story’
	b. [<i>tasunnart</i>]	‘hook’

[eCCe]

Dou. (190)	a. [<i>txammem</i>]	‘you think’
	b. [<i>teddert</i>]	‘house’

[eCCu]

²⁷ Similar phenomenon is observed in Tamazight, see Sadiqi (1997: 430).

Dou. (191)	a. [<i>ellumi</i>]	‘when’
[uCCi]	a. [<i>ulli</i>]	‘herd’
[iCCi]		
Dou. (192)	a. [<i>yillis</i>]	‘your daughter’
	b. [<i>mimmi</i>]	‘my son’
	c. <i>illi</i>	‘who’
[iCCe]		
Dou. (193)	a. [<i>nitte</i>]	‘you’
	b. [<i>filles</i>]	‘in you’
[uCCe]		
Dou. (194)	a. <i>uffar</i>	‘grass’
[oCCa]		
Dou. (195)	a. [<i>tomma</i>]	‘he said’

Many phonemes can be geminated in Douiret. Though many geminated phonemes can be found in all positions in a word, as seen earlier, they vary in their distributions. For instance, geminated phonemes can occur in the intervocalic, preconsonantal and final positions but rarely in the initial or postconsonantal positions.

2.2.8 Phonological Processes

2.2.8.1 Assimilation

Some consonants, when having immediate contact with others, undergo a process of assimilation. The overall purpose of this phenomenon is to maintain fluency and rhythm. Unlike other Berber languages such as Tamazight, assimilation in Douiret is not

one of its prominent features.²⁸ Regressive assimilation seems to be the only type of assimilation observed in Douiret. Regressive assimilation occurs when a sound changes due to the influence of the following sound. The only phonemes that can be assimilated in Douiret are /d/ and /t/. In the assimilation process, voiced consonants that precede voiceless consonants become voiceless. In example (196d), consonant [d] changes to [t] under the influence of the consonant [t]. In example (196c), the consonant [l] is removed under the influence of the consonant [t].

Dou. (196)	$d + t > ṭ$	a. <i>d tafruxt</i> (> <i>ṭtafruxt</i>)	‘and the girl’
		b. <i>d tawins</i> (> <i>ṭtawins</i>)	‘with eyes’
	$d + t > tt$	c. <i>wil d tizšimš</i>	‘not beautiful’
		(> <i>wittizšimš</i>)	
		d. <i>d + tafruxt</i> (> <i>ttafruxt</i>)	‘and a girl’

In Douiret, the assimilation of different consonants is observed in the following examples:²⁹

Dou. (197)	$t + t > ḍ$	a. <i>iṭtil</i>	compare with Ouir. <i>iddil</i> ‘shadow’
	$d + d (dd) > tt$	b. <i>takadduft</i>	Ouir. <i>takaṭtuft</i> ‘ant’

28 For further discussion cf. Taïfi (1991: xii).

29 Assimilation can also occur in Tunisian Arabic and other Arabic dialects such as Maltese:

TA.

$d + t > tt$	<i>rqadt</i> > <i>rqatt</i> (Marçais 1977: 20)	‘I slept’
$t + d > dd$	<i>tdūm</i> > <i>ddūm</i>	‘It will last’

Malt.

$t + d > dd$	a. <i>t + dawwar</i> > <i>id'dauuar</i>	‘he was late’
$t + \text{ʃ} > i \text{ʃ} \text{ʃ}$	b. <i>t + tgib</i> > <i>id'd3 iip</i>	‘you(she) bring(s)’
	(Aquilina 1994: 21-22)	

The phoneme /l/ can be assimilated to /t/ or /y/, as shown in the following examples:

- Dou. (198) a. l + t > tt (*wil + tukiš*) > *wittukiš* ‘she does not know’
 b. l + y > y (*wil + yxallašš*) > *wayxallašš* ‘he does not finish’

2.2.8.2 Dissimilation

The phenomenon of dissimilation (as opposite to assimilation) refers to the “influence exercised by one sound segment upon the articulation of another, so that the sounds become less alike or different” (Crystal 1991:108).

Though the subject of dissimilation is approached diachronically, there are some instances whereby dissimilation is used in order to avoid some phonetic difficulties.³⁰ For instance, the usage of the phoneme /z/ in the word *azattaf* ‘black’ is slightly easier to pronounce than the phoneme /š/ in Kabyle as in *ašattaf*. Similarly, the geminated phoneme [gg] in Douiret corresponds to a labialised [gg^w] in Kabyle as in Dou. *azegguy* ‘red’ compared with *azegg^waγ* in Kabyle.

2.2.8.3 Substitution

Phonemes can change through the process of substitution. It refers to a phenomenon whereby a phoneme is replaced by another. Substitutions can affect both consonants and vowels. Concerning vowels, Berberists agree that the occurrence of the construct state, or ‘état construit’, is the outcome of a change of the initial vowel which is determined by syntactic rules (cf. Sadiqi 1997: 63).³¹ In the free state or ‘état libre’ (i.e. when words are independent), the initial vowel a- remains unchanged such as in the

³⁰ Crystal (1991: 109) mentions the phenomenon of tongue-twisters in English which illustrates the fact that dissimilation can be approached synchronically.

³¹ For further discussion of the construct state, cf. § 3.2.4.1

words *aɣrum* ‘bread’ and *aʒdid* ‘bird’. In the construct state, the initial vowel /a/ in *aɣrum* and *aʒdid* changes to /u/ and /i/, respectively. The change occurs when they are syntactically dependent on a preceding preposition, as in example (199a) and (199b) below:

Dou.(199)	a. <i>yitɣadda g uɣrum</i>	‘he mixes with bread’	<i>aɣrum > uɣrum</i>
	b. <i>s diraris s wiʒdid</i>	‘I will play with the bird’	<i>aʒdid > iʒdid</i>
	c. <i>yisɣa aʒdid</i>	‘he bought a bird’	<i>aʒdid > aʒdid</i>

In example (199c), the initial vowel a- remains unchanged when it is a direct object of a verb. Vowels can also be reduced to zero, as shown in the following example:

Dou. (200)	a. <i>tasahhart > tsaɣhart</i>	a > Ø	‘witch’
------------	-----------------------------------	-------	---------

2.2.9 Phonotactics: Consonant clusters

Generally, the Douiret vernacular allows consonant clusters made up of two or three consonants. The main consonant clusters are:

CCVC (e.g. *fʒil* ‘beetroot’), CVCCVC (e.g. *fulluq* ‘firewood’), VCC (e.g. *ixf* ‘head’), VCCCV (e.g. *wiltmak* ‘your sister’, *xarwɣa* ‘plant’, *ilzmak* ‘you need’).

2.3 Vowels

2.3.1 Short vowels

Douiret has three phonemes: /i/, /u/ and /a/.³² These can become more or less open, short or long depending on the environments in which they occur, but these

³² Basset (1946: 33) refers to the vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ as *voyelles pleins* ‘full vowels’ to discern them from schwa or *voyelle zéro*. The vowels (a, i, u) are also the main vowels in other Berber varieties,

changes remain allophonic variants when taking on the colour of adjacent segments such as emphatic and geminated consonants. The vowel system of Douiret may be tabulated as follows:

Table. 2.2: The vowel system of Douiret

	Front	Central	Back rounded
high	i [i:]		u [u:]
	[ɪ]		[ʊ]
close-mid	[e] [e:]		[o] [o:]
open-mid		[æ]	
low		a [a:]	

A description and distribution of these vowels follow.

The vowel /i/ is a high front vowel. The allophonic variants of the vowel /i/ are [ɪ] and [i:]. The vowel [ɪ] is less open than [i:], it is a high front, in close position and relatively short.

The distribution of these vowels can be outlined in the following rule series:

(1) word-final position

/i/ → [i:] / ____# e.g. 201a-b

(2) Monosyllabic words

/i/ → [ɪ] / ____C_{gem} e.g. 202a-b

/ ____CC e.g. 202c

→ [i:] elsewhere e.g. 202d

for example cf. the works of Abdel-Massih (1968: 12), Chaker (1983: 37), Cadi (1987: 25); Dell and Jebbour (1991: 122) and Sadiqi (1997: 47).

(3) Polysyllabic words

/i/	→ [i:]	/ ____ C _{str}	e.g. 203a
	→ [ɪ]	/ ____ C _{gem}	e.g. 203b
	→ [i:]	/ ____ #/	e.g. 203b
	→ [ɪ]	elsewhere	e.g. 203a

In rule (1), it is almost a rule of thumb that the /i/ when found in final position of a word is always [i:]. In rule (2), where monosyllabic words are concerned, both geminate and consonant clusters play an important role in selecting the vowel [ɪ]. In polysyllabic words, when /i/ is preceded by a consonant cluster or a geminate, it necessitates the allophonic [i:]. [ɪ] is selected when it is followed by more than one consonant.

Rule (1)

Dou. (201)	a. [ɣri:]	‘I have’
	b. [ti:di:]	‘sweat’

Rule (2)

Dou.(202)	a. [gɪʃʃ]	‘hay’
	b. [n ɪʃʃ]	‘I’
	c. [wɪ kʃ]	‘not’
	d. [ti:t]	‘eye’

Rule (3)

Dou. (203)	a. [trssi:n ɪt]	‘needle’
	b. [mɪmmi:]	‘my child’
	c. [ɪrʒri :]	‘room’

The vowel /u/ is a high back vowel. It is relatively long and in close position. The allophonic variants of /u/ are [u:] and [ʊ]. The distributions of these vowels are governed by the following rules:

(1) word-final position

(1) → [u:] / ____ # e.g. 204a-b

(2) Monosyllabic words

/u/ → [u:] / ____ C e.g. 205a

→ [ʊ] / ____ C_{gem} e.g. 205b

(3) Polysyllabic words

/u/ → [u:] / ____ C_{str} e.g. 206a

→ [ʊ] / ____ CC e.g. 206b

/ ____ C_{gem} e.g. 206c

In rule (1), the vowel /u/ is found as /u:/ in final positions; regardless of syllabic structure.

In rule (2), the monosyllabic words require that [u:] is found in preconsonantal position whereas [ʊ] is found in pre-geminate position.

In rule (3), /u/ becomes [u:] when stressed, adjacent to a consonant cluster and a geminate.

Examples for each of the above rules follow:

(1)

- | | | | |
|------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Dou. (204) | a. [el-ħaʃi:l u:] | ‘anyway’ | < TA. |
| | b. [erridu:] | ‘curtain’ | < Fr. rideau |

(2)

Dou. (205)	a. [u:l]	‘heart’
	b. [Uzzal]	‘metal’

(3)

Dou. (206)	a. [tazu:ri]	‘vine’
	b. [tUfwɪ:t]	‘sun’
	c. [t fUddeyt]	‘riddle’

Another allophone of /u/ is [o]³³. The distribution of the vowel [o] is quite limited in comparison with other vowel allophonics. The rule which governs its occurrence follows:

/u/	→ [o]	/ ____C	e.g. 207a
		/ ____C _{gem/emp} ____	e.g. 208b-c
	→ [o:]	/ ____ #	e.g. 208d

As tabulated above, [o] is found in the geminate and emphatic environments. In word-final position, the vowel [o] is always long. Examples for each of the above rules follow:

33	The vowels /o/ and /e/ are phonemic in Tunisian Arabic, as shown in the following minimal pairs:		
<i>sobba</i>	‘porridge’	≠ <i>sibba</i>	found in the expression <i>ki-sibba!</i> ‘what a surprise!’
<i>qolla</i>	‘jug’	≠ <i>qilla</i>	‘paucity’

The examples provided by Marçais (1977: 13) show that the vowel /e/ is also phonemic in southern Tunisian Arabic:

<i>ḡarbak</i>	‘he hit you (m.sg.)’	≠ <i>ḡarbak</i>	‘he hit you (fem.sg.)’
<i>kelbak</i>	‘your dog (m.sg.)’	≠ <i>kelbak</i>	‘your dog (fem.sg.)’

Dou. (207)	a. [æbelħoh]	‘throat’	< TA. <i>belhūh</i>
	b. [æmazzoY]	‘ear’	
	c. [tæmattoŋ]	‘woman’	
	d. [yæsfotto:]	‘poison’	

In some loanwords, the vowel /u/ is followed by the semi-vowel w in words ending in *-āt* which is one of the plural markers in Tunisian Arabic, as in:

Dou. (208)	a. <i>gwandu-w-āt</i>	‘gloves’	< Fr. <i>gants</i>
	b. <i>karu-w-āt</i>	‘squares’	< Fr. <i>carreau</i>
	c. <i>kāžžū-w-āt</i>	‘crates’	< Fr. <i>cage</i>
	d. <i>mārru-w-āt</i>	‘shelves’	< Fr. <i>armoire</i> ‘cupboard’

The vowel /a/ is a low front vowel. Acoustically, it is closer to the sound of a in French *ma* and it is found between [æ] and [ɑ]. The vowel /a/ can also be realised as the allophonic [æ] and [e]. The latter is a mid-front vowel; half-close and relatively short. Though acoustically the sound [e] does not resemble the schwa [ə], [e] plays the same role in breaking up consonant clusters. The use of [e] is determined by the number of consonants in one syllable. The addition of a third consonant in one syllable is not generally tolerated in Douiret without the insertion of [e]. Therefore [e] has a phonetic purpose; to facilitate pronunciation. The rules which determine the type of vowel are the following:

(1) Monosyllabic

/a/	→ [a]	/ ___ C	e.g. 209a-b
	→ [a:]	/# ___ C	e.g. 209c

(2) Polysyllabic

/a/	→ [æ]	/ # ____C	e.g. 210a
		/ ____CC	e.g. 210b
		/ C _{emph} ____	e.g. 210c
		/ C _{gem} ____	e.g. 210d
		{except /f/, /l/}	e.g. 211d
	→ [e]	/ ____CC____	e.g. 211a-b
		/ ____CC	e.g. 211c
		/ ____C _{gem}	e.g. 211d

The above rules suggest that in monosyllabic words, [a] is found in initial and preconsonantal positions. In polysyllabic words, the vowel [æ] is found adjacent to emphatic, geminate and a consonant cluster. For instance:

(1)

Dou. (209)	a. [dar]	‘foot’
	b. [ð̣að̣]	‘finger’
	c. [a:nu]	‘well’

(2)

Dou. (210)	a. [ænilti]	‘goat’
	b. [ælyam]	‘camel’
	c. [tamættot]	‘woman’
	d. [yommæ]	‘he said’

(3)

Dou. (211)	a. [wiltmek]	‘your sister’
	b. [le ʕyel]	‘families’
	c. [anebdu]	‘summer’
	d. [ʊffer]	‘weed’

2.3.2 Long vowels

In Douiret the long vowels [ā], [ū], [ī] are more frequent than their counterparts [ē] and [ō]. As mentioned earlier, length of vowels in Douiret is not phonemic.³⁴ Concerning their frequency and distribution, an examination of the data set yields the following results:

First, long vowels occur in a very limited number of native Berber words.

Second, in comparison with Chninni; and Ouirighen, the Ouirighen dialect has the fewest occurrences of the long vowels [ā] and [ī].

The long vowel [ē] occurs considerably less frequently in Douiret than in Chninni and Ouirighen. As for the vowel [ū], Douiret has a significant number of these vowels.³⁵

Third, the vowel [ū] is the most widely used vowel in Shilhā when compared with the other vowels.

Examples:

[ā]

Dou. (212)	a. [rāẓ̌a]	‘wait’
	b. [imāt]	‘because’
	c. [žār]	‘between’

[ī]

³⁴ Similarly to Kabyle (Bader and Kenstowicz 1987:279).

³⁵ Examples of long vowels in Chninni and Ouirighen:

	ā	ī	ū	ē	ō
Chn.	[iīyātus] ‘cat’	[tfwīt] ‘sun’	[abebbūš] ‘snails’	[aḥsūdi]	
	[žrāna] ‘frog’	[izīγ] ‘then’		‘envious’	
		[atawāis] ‘when’			
Ouir.	more data is needed	[tufwīt] ‘sun’	[abebbūš] ‘snail’	[keskēs] ‘sieve’	[inqōrin] ‘beaks’

Dou. (213)	a. [yessīʔ]	‘light’
	b. [atʔilad]	‘like’
[ū]		
Dou. (214)	a. [tazūri]	‘vine’
	b. [yedžūl]	‘swear’
	c. [yellūz]	‘to be hungry’
	d. [yeskūfas]	‘to spit’

[ē]

Dou. (215) a. [fžškit] ‘a type of bottle’

[ō] b. [el-farattō] ‘butterfly’

2.3.3 Rules governing vowel length

2.3.3.1 Words other than verbs

Prior to investigating stress in Berber, it is important to attempt to create some generic principles that govern vowel length because of its importance to stress.

The rules which may dictate the occurrences of long vowels are based on three factors: syllabic structure, gemination, emphatic consonants and stress. The phenomenon of stress is discussed in § 2.4.3.

Monosyllabic words

In Monosyllabic words, long vowels seem to occur in the following environments:

/# ____C

e.g. in [ūl] ‘heart’; [ānu] ‘well’ and [īzi] ‘fly’.

/Cemph____C

e.g. [īt] ‘eye’, [tūl] ‘height’

Polysyllabic words

In polysyllabic words, long vowels tend to occur in the following environments:

[ū], [ā], [ī] /Cgem ____

e.g. *aḡallūš* ‘sheep’; *kullāb* ‘pincer’; *mimmī* ‘my child’; *aqallīti* ‘poor’

[ā], [ū], [ī] /CC____C

e.g. *aminšār* ‘saw’; *magrūn* ‘shot gun’, *barfīt* ‘cloth’, *abrīd* ‘road’.

[ī] /Cemph ____ C

e.g. [*ḡašīlū*] ‘any way’

[ū] /C____#

Eg. *el-ḡašīlū* ‘any way’, *alusiyū* ‘my brother-in-law’

2.3.3.2 Verbs

Vowel length appears to be related to the addition of enclitics and inflections. These ‘affixes’ tend to make a stressed short vowel into a long stressed vowel. For instance:

Dou. (216)	a. [<i>tommá</i>]	‘he said’	Cf. [<i>tommâyaš</i>]	‘he told him’
	b. [<i>yuš</i>]	‘he gives’	Cf. [<i>yušâsin</i>]	‘he gives them’
	c. [<i>yxallaš</i>]	‘he pays’	Cf. [<i>yxallâšin</i>]	‘he pays them’

2.3.4 Diphthongs

In Douiret, two vowels cannot occur consecutively in a word; semi-vowels *y* and *w* may be inserted between words. For instance, the word for ‘rooster’ is *iyazid* (not *iazid.*) and *tawirt* ‘door’ (not *tauirt*), etc.

Originally long vowels remain unaltered even in the annexed state³⁶. For instance words annexed to possessive affixes, e.g. Dou. [*bēbe*] ‘father’ compare with [*bēbis*] ‘his father’

Douiret possesses two diphthongs *ay* and *aw*, as in:

Dou. (217)	a. <i>taydit</i>	‘bitch’
	b. <i>tawq</i>	‘collar’

Some diphthongs such as *ay* from Tunisian Arabic have been monophthongised into long vowels [ī], for instance Dou. [*buruḥīn*] ‘pregnant’ < TA. *buruḥayn* and Dou. [*aṣṣīd*] ‘lion’ < TA. *eṣṣayd*.

2.4 Phonotactics

2.4.1 Syllabic structures of non-loanwords

The nature of the syllable in Berber has received many thorough analyses in Berber literature, including Bader and Kentowicz (1987); Chtatou (1991) and Sadiqi (1997).

Douiret distinguishes two contrastive types of syllabic structure. The first is an opposition between open and closed syllables, the other is an opposition between short and long syllables.

36 Cf. § 3.2.3

Open syllables

Open syllables end with a short or long vowel. In the following examples, the final syllable is open:

Dou. (218)	a. <i>adwi</i>	‘say’
	b. <i>diamonti</i>	‘blue’
	c. <i>innu</i>	‘my’
	d. <i>tufid</i>	‘you find’
	e. <i>burdgani</i>	‘orange’
	f. <i>tša</i>	‘liver’
	g. <i>inna</i>	‘our’
	h. <i>arway</i>	‘semolina’

Closed syllables

Closed syllables end with a consonant as in:

Dou. (219)		
	a. <i>ul</i>	‘heart’
	b. <i>ayzula</i>	‘dwarf’
	c. <i>yur</i>	‘wall’
	d. <i>ixf</i>	‘head’
	e. <i>abazzad</i>	‘urine’
	f. <i>tammurt</i>	‘country’
	g. <i>tafwi-t</i>	‘sun’
	h. <i>tisifst</i>	‘basket’

2.4.1.1 Rules governing syllabic formation

Consonants

A consonant cluster made up of three consonants cannot occupy the initial and final positions in a word. Consonant clusters made up of two or three consonants are observed in medial positions and found mainly in verbs, as in:

Initial

Dou. (220) a. *tʃazzmit* 'you ate'

Medial Intervocalic

Dou. (221) a. *akušixtanddin* 'when I brought them to you'

b. *aqnit!* 'tie!'

a. *hargma* 'cooked cows' feet' < TA

d. *talvzat* 'television' < Fr. *télévision*

Final

Dou. (222) a. *tisifst* 'basket'

Vowels

As noted in § 2.3.4, two vowels cannot occur consecutively in any syllable.

However, two vowels can be separated by a semi-vowel *y* or *w*.

2.4.2 Syllabic structures of loanwords

Most loan words from Arabic (i.e. TA and Ar.) undergo structural changes by added affixes, syllabic restructuring, dropping of a radical root or duplication.

Morphological changes may combine with one or several of these changes.

The most prominent added affix is the feminine marker *t-* as in Dou. *tažilbant* 'peas' (*ta-žil-bant*, 3 syllables), compare with TA. *žilbēna* (*žil-be-ne*, 3 syllables).

When the initial vowel *a-* is added to some of the nouns, it tends to change the overall syllabic structures as in :

Dou. (223)

axayyat (*a-xa-yyat*, 3 syllables) ‘tailor’, compare with TA. *xayyāt* (*xa-yyāt*, 2 syllables)

Dou. (224)

afaqqus (*a-fa-qqus*, 3 syllables) ‘cucumber’, compare with TA. *faqqūs* (*fa-qqūs*, 2 syllables)

The phenomenon of resyllabification occurs when a word acquires a new syllabic structure. For instance, words that are usually monosyllabic and occur in isolated form may become disyllabic when found in a sentential environment, hence the word *asn* ‘to listen’ is monosyllabic but it becomes disyllabic in *yasin* ‘he listened’ (cf. Sadiqi 1997:71).

In addition, resyllabification occurs also when a syllable ends with a closed syllable and is followed by a vowel in a sentential environment. This environment leads to a sort of ‘syllabic chain’ where new ‘cuttings’ are taking place. For instance, a sentence like *yaxs atiziniz* ‘he likes to sell’ may be represented as follows:³⁷

<i>y a x</i>	<i>s a</i>	<i>at i z</i>	<i>n i z</i>
↓	↓	↓	↓
S1	S2	S3	S4

Resyllabification can also occur in some loanwords. There is no apparent and regular pattern which may dictate the rules of syllabification. For instance, in the first and third examples below, one would expect the likely new Berber forms are: *aḥafla* (instead of *aḥfil*) and *aḥanut* (instead of *taḥnut*).

³⁷ Based on Sadiqi (1997: 71).

Dou. (225)	a. <i>aḥfil</i> (<i>aḥ-fil</i> , 2 syllables)	‘feast’	compared with TA. <i>ḥafla</i> (<i>ḥa-fla</i> , 2 syllables) ³⁸
	b. <i>aḥmud</i> (<i>aḥ-mud</i> , 2 syllables)	‘pillar’	compared with TA. <i>l-ḥmūd</i> (<i>l-ḥmūd</i> , 1 syllable)
	c. <i>taḥnut</i> (<i>taḥ-nut</i> , 2 syllables)	‘shop’	compared with TA. <i>ḥānūt</i> (<i>ḥā-nūt</i> , 2 syllables).

The phenomenon of dropping radical consonants is applicable to both loanwords and native Berber words. In loanwords, some radical roots are dropped when words assimilate in Berber morphology, such as the addition of the initial vowel *a*. In the example below, the change from *ns-* to *as-* can only be explained euphonicly.

e.g.

Dou. (226)

asibiyu (*a-si-bi-yu*, 4 syllables) ‘my father-in-law’, compare with TA. *nsību* (*nsī-bu*, 2 syllables).

2.4.3 Stress³⁹

2.4.3.1 Word stress

In Berber literature, there has been little emphasis on the nature of stress. Of the few available studies, one refers to the works of Chami (1979) and Ameur (1985) cited in Sadiqi (1997), Aikhenvald (1988b) and Sadiqi’s brief summary (1997).

³⁸ Also applicable to Ouirighen
Ouir. *axrib* (*ax-rib*, 2 syllables) ‘shed’, compared with TA. *xirba* (*xir-ba*, 2 syllables).

³⁹ Abbreviation conventions

ˈ : main stress; ˘ : secondary stress; ˆ : stressed long vowel

Cf. Appendix VI, p. 384 for a discussion on stress in Ouirighen and Chninni.

The stress in Shilha vernaculars is not phonemic. It is predominantly weak and this confirms Basset's statement:

Bref, s'il existe effectivement un accent de mot, quelque soit, il est de la catégorie des accents faibles. Foucauld, sensible à la quantité vocalique, il n'a rien tenté en ce sens.
Basset (1952:10).⁴⁰

In discussing stress, there are two concepts that one should consider. First, vowel length rules which are discussed in § 2.3.3 and second, the notion of Berber morpheme. A word in Berber falls into the following elements: radical, clitics and affixes (Aikhenvald 1988b:7). Therefore, stress can be methodologically investigated through:

- a) simple and isolated words (i.e radicals with zero affixation). The word 'isolated' refers to words occurring in the non-annexed state.
- b) words with radical and affixes
- c) words with radical, proclitics or enclitics ⁴¹
- d) rules governing length of vowels (cf. § 2.3.3)

In monosyllabic and isolated words, the stress falls on the initial vowel, as in [ânu] 'well'; [ûl] 'heart'; [îzi] 'flies'.

In polysyllabic words with zero affixes which do not contain a long vowel, the main stress falls on the first syllable as in [tázribt] 'fold'; [táhyast] 'buckle'; [áššuš] 'tent'. As for words which contain a long vowel, this vowel usually attracts the stress as in [abrîd] 'road'; [ħašîlu] 'any way'; [magrûn] 'shot gun'; [aqallîli] 'poor'.

⁴⁰ Foucauld discerns three types of vowels: long, *moyenne* [average] and short. Foucauld cited in Basset (1946: 36).

⁴¹ According to Aikhenvald (1988:52), enclitics can be added to nouns such as the demonstratives, as in Shl. *argaz-a* 'this man' and to verbs (such as the indirect object enclitics). As for proclitics, these combine exclusively with verbs (e.g. aspectual particles and negative particle).

The plural suffix *-âwin* is always stressed as in [ûl] ‘heart’, cf. pl. [ulâwin]; íxf ‘head’, cf. pl. [ixfâwin]. However, The plural affix *-an* is not stressed especially when it is preceded by a long vowel as in [abrîd] ‘road’, cf. pl. [ibrîdan] ‘roads’; [barîtî], ‘cloth’, cf. pl. [ibarîtan].

The possessive affixes *-inwin*, *-nikmit*, *-is* are stressed. The stress shifts from the first syllable to the penultimate, as in ášúš ‘tent’, cf. [ašúšínwin] ‘their tent’; [ânu] ‘well’, cf. [anuníkmit] ‘their well’.

In simple verbs such as the imperative, it is the first syllable that acquires the stress as in [âsid] ‘come!’; [âzim] ‘read!’.

Verbal proclitics such as the negative verbal forms do not attract stress as in [yi-yyûr] ‘he went’ cf. [yi-yyûrš] ‘he didn’t go’.

Some verbal enclitics such as *-asin*, *-ak* are not stressed as in [tómma] ‘he said’, cf. [tommâyas] ‘he told him’; [yúš] ‘he have’, cf. [yušâsin] ‘you gave them’; [yâhbad] ‘he hits’, cf. [yahbadák] ‘he hits you’.

2.4.3.2 Sentential stress

On the subject of stress shift in syntactic environments, personal pronouns maintain their stress when preceded by other parts of speech, such as the negative particle, as in [d iš nítta] ‘is not him’ cf. nítta ‘he’

Concerning stress on nouns following prepositions, no stress shift is observed in Douiret, as shown in examples like [s el- kârhbit], cf. with kârhbit; [g el- šúmr] ‘in the age’, cf. šúmr ‘age’.

No stress shift is observed with postposed verb-subject:

- a. [*tissátrat ibarîtnis daffár waḥṣuṣ*] ‘she washes her clothes behind the tent’
(cf. with isolated forms *tissára*, *ibarît*)
- b. [*daffár waḥṣuṣ tissára ibarîtnis*] ‘behind the tent she washes her clothes’

On the subject of topicalized constituents, these retain their stress. For instance, the word *aḥallûṣ* does not change in sentences (a) and (b):

- a. [*aḥallûṣ yinzinit es-sūq*] ‘the sheep was bought at the
market’ (cf. with *aḥallûṣ*)
- b. [*yizinz áryaz aḥallûṣ*] ‘the sheep was bought by the man’

No stress shift is a found with the verb direct object, as in:

- a. [*yaxs iḥâwin dâdis* (cf. with isolated *dâda*)] ‘he likes to help his father’
- b. [*ayazzi tizaddâyin* (cf. with isolated form
izaddayin)] ‘he plants palm trees’

Therefore, the stress patterns of Douiret may be generally summarised as follows:

First, in monosyllabic and isolated words, the stress falls always on the first syllable.

Second, long vowels seem to always attract stress in Douiret. This rule applies to both nouns and verbs.

Third, plural suffixes, enclitics and proclitics may either receive stress or cause stress shift from the first syllable to the affix. The stressed vowel in verbs with zero suffixes, these are generally lengthened and stressed simultaneously.

Fourth, words usually maintain their stress in syntactic environments such as when the constituent is topicalized.

2.5 Summary

This second chapter gives a brief account of phonology in Douiret. The consonant system of Douiret shows both phonemes and allophones. Phonological processes, such as assimilation, dissimilation and substitution do not seem to be specific to Douiret, these occur in other Berber varieties or languages. Though the vowel system of Douiret adheres to the triangular /i/, /u/ and /a/ phoneme system, vowel allophonics are rich. The colour of these allophones is determined by the influence of adjacent consonants and stress.

Due to the intense contact of Douiret with Arabic and consequently language attrition, there are some irregular patterns in the language such as the phenomenon of resyllabification. This remark can be applied to many parts of the present study since Douiret is witnessing some gradual death, particularly affecting its lexis. The phenomenon of stress is also discussed in this chapter. The study shows that stress falls on the first syllable, penultimate and final syllable.

3. Morpho-syntax

3.1 Introduction

The literature on Berber morphology is increasingly attracting special interest from both general linguists and Berberists. This is due partly to the paucity of descriptive and typological studies on many of the Berber varieties. Much of the work on Berber morphology can be considered as inadequate and sporadically confusing. Many of the notions which are Berber-specific have been left unexplained or are supposedly ‘self-explanatory’. For instance, concepts such as ‘construct state’ –or in many descriptions was given the French version as ‘*état-construit*’ – and the aspectual ‘aorist’ have not been adequately explained with the exception of works by Bader and Kenstowicz (1987); Brugnatelli (1987), Chaker (1988) and Sadiqi (1997). However, what follows in the discussion of the morphology of Douiret still remains a preliminary analysis. Research is still needed particularly in regards to comparative studies among the Berber idiolects and languages. In addition, morpho-comparative studies between Arabic and Berber are also needed because such studies would settle once for all that these two languages have two separate systems and that they should not be confused.

3.1.1 Lexical and inflectional morphology

A syntactic construction is made up of elements, which can be labelled as parts of speech. In the sentence hierarchy, these elements are its smallest units. These individual lexical stems can occur as either simple; that is with zero inflections (\emptyset inflections) and can stand alone such as *aryaz* ‘man’, *ul* ‘heart’. In contrast to simple stems, stems which carry these inflections can be labelled as inflectional stems such as *t-afrux-t* ‘girl’, *ula-win* ‘hearts’. Inflections in Douiret can occur with prefixes (such as t-) and suffixes (such as -t, -in, -win), as in *takrum-t* ‘neck’, *iryaz-in* ‘men’.

Besides inflection, the process of suppletion is evident in Douiret. The term ‘suppletion’ refers to “the relatively rare process where one stem is replaced by another bearing no significant phonological resemblance at all to it” (Huddleston 1984:25).

There are two types of suppletive nouns. Some undergo full suppletion (i.e. when the primordial stem is completely replaced by another) such as *tanaḥnuḥt* (masc.sg.) ‘piece of bread’ > pl. *aḡrum* in others it is partial (i.e. only some of the stems undergo the changes or the word acquires additional consonants), e.g. *uzzal* ‘metal’ > pl. *uzlal* (see § 3.2.2.1).

3.1.2 Clitics, affixes, words and particles

3.1.2.1 Clitics and words

Linguists who are interested in typological studies have argued that there are distinctions to be made between words and clitics on one hand and between particles and words on the other. Zwicky is a prolific and influential writer on this subject. Zwicky (1985) has devised some tests aimed at distinguishing between clitics, words and particles. A summary of Zwicky’s main arguments follows.

On the subject of discerning between words and clitics, Zwicky used tests which are phonological, accentual, tests based on similarities between inflections and clitics and syntactic tests.

On the phonological level, Zwicky (1985:286) asserts that elements affected by internal sandhi rules are clitics. In contrast, elements affected by external sandhi rules are independent words. Furthermore, prosodic and segmental phonology play a role in distinguishing between clitics and words. Zwicky (1985:286) concluded that if an element belongs to a phonological word for the purpose of accent, tone and ‘length assignment, then it should be a clitic’. However, elements which belong to a phonological phrase, should be regarded as independent words.

Stress can also be used as a test. Elements which do not carry stress may be considered as clitics; in contrast elements which carry stress in a phrase or sentence are words. Zwicky (1985:287) warned not to make the distinction between a clitic and a word solely on this accentuation test.

Tests can also be carried out to distinguish between clitics, which are similar to inflectional affixes, and words.

Zwicky (1985: 287) outlines six types of tests: binding, closure, construction, ordering, distribution and complexity some of which are worth outlining here. In the binding test, elements which are bound and cannot occur independently are clitics. Words can occur independently. Closure refers to the ability of clitics to prevent further affixations to occur. In construction, clitics combine with stems or words, whereas words can combine with other words and with phrases. By 'ordering', Zwicky (1985: 288) states that clitics are 'strictly ordered with respect to adjacent morphemes' whereas words can occur freely, and close to adjacent words (for other tests see Zwicky 1985: 288).

There are three types of clitics: enclitics word final, proclitics (word initial) and endoclitics (within a word).¹ In Douiret, there are only enclitics and proclitics, for instance:

Dou. (1) y- *ummaya* -s
 he told him
 'he told him'

In example (1), y- is a proclitic as it occurs before the verb, -s is enclitic as it occurs after the verb.

¹ The term 'endoclititic' was coined by Zwicky in 1977 (Zwicky 1985:114).

3.1.2.2 Clitics and affixes

Matthews distinguishes between clitics and affixes by stating that inflectional affixes are “members of a relatively small closed system, one of whose members must always appear at the relevant place in structure” (Matthews cited in Zwicky 1985:299). Clitics differ from affixes on the basis of the following criteria (Zwicky & Pullum 1983:503):

- A. Clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems.
- B. Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
- C. Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
- D. Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
- E. Syntactic rules can affect words, but cannot affect clitic groups.
- F. Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.

In the discussion of Zwicky’s tests, one needs to distinguish between form and function of both affixes and clitics. Both affixes and clitics are not phonological words of their own. Only clitics are grammatical words. As far as properties of clitics are concerned, they are in some languages ‘affix-like’ as in French *du* <*de -le* or German *zum* <*zu-dem*. In terms of position, both enclitics and proclitics are used more widely than endoclitics. Zwicky’s mentioning of ‘hosts’ bears some significance because it raises another distinction between *simple clitics* and *special/sentential clitics*. By simple clitics, one refers to the clitic that occupies the normal position in a sentence as in *John’s book*. Special and sentential clitics are determined by rules other than “causal syntax”, as in French *je te le donne* ‘I give it to you’.

In summary, in the current study the term affix will be used to refer to any bound morpheme which is not a word and cannot stand alone, whereas the term clitic will be used to refer to “a form which resembles a WORD, but cannot stand on its own as a normal UTTERANCE, being structurally dependent upon a neighbouring word in a CONSTRUCTION (Crystal 1991:57).

3.1.2.3 Particles

The general definition of a particle is given by Crystal (1991: 251-252) as “an invariable item with grammatical function, especially one which does not readily fit into a standard classification of parts of speech”. In Douiret, the particle *d* serves as both a copula and a conjunction (see § 4.2.1).² In order to ensure that *d* is a particle and not something else, one finds that the particle *d* fits in with Zwicky’s (1985:290) main two properties of particles, that “they have (a) peculiar semantics and (b) idiosyncratic distributions”. The fact that the particle *d* is simultaneously a conjunction and a copula is odd. In terms of distribution, the particle *d*, as a copula, behaves as a free word especially when affixed to a negation marker \neg š, since affixation occurs as discussed earlier with independent words, as in:

Dou. (2) *d-iš* *bikri*
 is-not early
 ‘is not early’

3.1.3 Syntactic motivation

In one’s analysis of the morphology of Douiret, the interdependency of phonology, morphology and syntax is very evident. According to Applegate (1971:104)

² Collins (1982: 121) suggests that it can also be used as “*particule de rapprochement*” .

“lack of proper consideration of syntactic patterns has also resulted in inaccurate descriptions at the morphological level”.³

In a syntactic construction, the main two processes which influence the phonemic shape of lexical stem are the construct state or annexed state (French *état-construit*) and agreement. In the construct state, the initial vowel *a-* in masculine nouns generally changes to *u-*, for instance *g uɣrum* ‘in the bread’ < *aɣrum* ‘bread’ (see § 3.2.4.1). As for the subject of agreement, the noun for instance agrees in number and gender with adjectives. For instance *argaz amallal* ‘a white boy’ (masc.sg.), *tafruxt t-amallal-t* ‘a white girl’. Therefore, syntax plays an important role in the process of inflectional morphology.

3.1.4 Definiteness in Douiret

Berberists like Laoust (1928:6) and Ennaji (1985:13) agree that the majority of Berber words that use the definite article *el-* are borrowings from Arabic. In other words, the definite article *el-* and its variations *el-*, *l-*, *il-* are fossilised in Douiret. Similarly to Tunisian Arabic, the definite article *el-* assimilates its *l* to the consonants known as *šemsiiyya* ‘sun-letters’ *d, ž, n, r, s, t, θ, s, z* at the beginning of a word, as in:

Dou. (3)	a. <i>ed-dar</i>	‘the house’
	b. <i>er-riyyat</i>	‘the lung’
	c. <i>en-nas</i>	‘the people’

When the noun begins with the consonant groups *hn, ql*, *el-* becomes *le* :

hnē ‘happiness’ > *le-hna*

qlem ‘pen’ > *le-qlam*

Before nouns beginning with a vowel, *e, i, u*, *el-* is elided to *l-* :

l-ustað ‘the teacher’, *l-iman* ‘the faith’, *l-essuq* ‘to the market’

³ Applegate (1971:104) suggests that the inaccurate description of Berber morphology may be the result of applying the principles of Arabic morphology on Berber.

3.1.5 Aspect in Berber

The analysis of tense in Berber deserves a special mention here. The study of the verb in Douiret should not be approached from a viewpoint of Arabic linguistics. Many linguists agree that tense in Berber is aspectual rather than temporal, suffice to mention the work of Applegate (1971), Pencheon (1983) Basset (1929) and Sadiqi (1995).⁴ There are two main aspects in Berber: the aorist and the preterite. While the preterite describes an action already completed, the aorist, also referred to as iterative past, describes incomplete or unreal actions. This basic distinction may settle once for all the ambiguity which clouds studies on the Berber verb. As for the causative, passive and reflexive, these can be understood as categories concerned with complement structure.

3.1.6 Nativisation and hybridisms

The inevitable contact of Douiret with Tunisian Arabic has made it possible to observe the application of Berber morphological rules on loanwords from Tunisian Arabic. This nativisation process manifests itself primarily through the affixation of the feminine marker t-.....-t in many borrowed feminine nouns from Tunisian Arabic, for instance *taflukt* 'boat' (< TA. *fluka* ⁵).

Hybridism refers to the mixing of two systems and can manifest itself on the levels of word-formation and syntax. In Douiret, hybridism can be regarded as an outcome of the intense contact with the superstratum Arabic. It may be plausible to suggest that hybridism may mark the early stages of language shift in Douiret.

On the lexical level, native possessive pronouns can be suffixed to almost any of the loanwords, for instance:

⁴ In recent literature on Arabic Language, the term 'aspect' is used in lieu of 'tense' (cf. Holes (1995)).

⁵ If one accepts a link between the word *fluka* and the English word fluke 'whale tail flaps', then the word *fluka* may have been a corruption of Low German *flüge* 'wing', suggested by Weekley (1967:582) to be the origin of fluke.

Dou. (4) *ƛamr -is*
 age his
 ‘his age’

On the syntactic level, the negation marker *ul.....-š* is hybrid (*ul* ‘not’ is native whereas *-š* is a loan from Tunisian Arabic).

3.1.7 Summary

The above discussion has direct terminological implications to what follows in the chapter. In inflectional morphology, both terms AFFIX and CLITIC will be used for the reasons discussed above. Typical environments where affixes and clitics are used include:

AFFIXES Feminine marker, Plural marker

CLITICS Direct personal pronoun objects, possessive pronouns

Particles can be independent words. The particle *d* in Douiret plays the role of both copula and a conjunction and has the capability of joining to other final particles such as the negation marker *-iš*. Tense in Douiret is treated as aspectual rather than temporal. In the immediate discussion of parts of speech, each category will be analysed in the light of inflectional and derivational morphology.

3.2 Nouns

3.2.1 Affixation and clitics

3.2.1.1 Gender

Douiret has two genders, the masculine and the feminine. Assigning gender to noun on the basis of semantics is speculative, and is not the purpose of the current study (cf. Appendix VII, p.390).

Gender in Douiret can be determined from the shape of the noun. In masculine singular nouns, the first consonant is often preceded by a vowel, mostly *a-*, sometimes *i-* and rarely *u-*:

Dou.(5)	a. <i>arin</i>	'flour'
	b. <i>ilis</i>	'tongue'
	c. <i>ul</i>	'heart'

There are, however, some exceptions where masculine nouns occur without an initial vowel:

Dou. (6)	a. <i>туру</i>	'time'
	b. <i>zaw</i>	'hair'
	c. <i>ḏaḏ</i>	'finger'

Feminine singular nouns are characterised by an initial and final *t*:

Dou. (7)	a. <i>taslit</i>	'bride'
	b. <i>tafunast</i>	'cow'
	c. <i>tiddart</i>	'house'

Feminine nouns may be derived from masculine nouns by adding /t/ to the initial and the final position of a masculine noun.

Dou. (8)	a. <i>aydi</i>	'dog' > <i>taydit</i>	'bitch'
	b. <i>iyazid</i>	'rooster' > <i>tiyazid</i>	'chicken'
	c. <i>afrux</i>	'boy' > <i>tafruxt</i>	'girl'

Some semantic pairs of masculine and feminine nouns are formed from two different roots.

Dou. (9)	a. <i>abarkus</i>	'ram'	<i>tili</i>	'ewe'
	b. <i>tixsi</i>	'goat'	<i>dihdi</i>	'billy-goat'

3.2.1.2 Number

The plural in Douiret is a complex phenomenon because it accommodates many exceptions to the prototypical rules in the formation of plurals. In fact Berber literature demonstrates the complexity of this through the work of Laoust (1928), Mammeri (1992) and Sadiqi (1997). By and large plurals are effectuated through one or a combination of two processes: vowel change (initial or internal) and an addition of an affix. The rule of a typical plural formation for both masculine and feminine nouns can be summarised in the following Table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Number in Douiret

	sg.	pl.
masc.	a-STEM	i-STEM -an
fem.	t-aSTEM -t	t-iSTEM -in

A discussion of the above table follows:

Masculine Plural

Table 3.1 suggests that in typically masculine nouns, the initial vowel *a-* changes to *i-* with the addition of a suffix *-an* as in:

Dou. (10)	a. <i>aslim</i>	'vein'	pl. <i>isilam</i> 'veins' (a > i, + -an)
	b. <i>aryaz</i>	'man'	pl. <i>iryazan</i> 'men'
	c. <i>abrid</i>	'road'	pl. <i>ibridan</i> 'roads'
	d. <i>amžir</i>	'sickle'	pl. <i>imiran</i> 'sickles'

However, exceptions to the above rule are many in Douiret.

First, the initial vowel *a-* can remain unaltered, for instance:

Dou. (11)	a. <i>abayyaḥ</i>	‘seller’	pl. <i>bayyaḥin</i>	‘sellers’ (< TA. <i>beyyēḥ</i>)
	b. <i>afunus</i>	‘cow’	<i>afunassin</i>	‘cows’
	c. <i>aḥalluṣ</i>	‘lamb’	pl. <i>aḥalliṣ</i>	‘lambs’ (< TA. <i>ḥallūṣ</i>)

Second, the initial vowels *i-* and *u-* can be maintained in the plural form, as in: ⁶

	<i>i- > i</i>			
Dou. (12)	b. <i>izi</i>	‘fly’	pl. <i>izan</i>	‘flies’
	c. <i>insi</i>	‘hedgehog’	pl. <i>insawin</i>	‘hedgehogs’
	d. <i>iyazid</i>	‘chicken’	pl. <i>iyazidan</i>	‘chickens’
	<i>u- > u</i>			
Dou.(13)	a. <i>ul</i>	‘heart’	pl. <i>ulawin</i>	‘hearts’
	b. <i>uday</i>	‘Jew’	pl. <i>udayyin</i>	‘Jews’
	c. <i>ulli</i>	‘plough’	pl. <i>ullan</i>	‘ploughs’

Third, masculine nouns occurring without an initial vowel in the singular form can undergo a vowel change in its plural counterparts in the first or second syllables, as in:

Dou. (14)	a. <i>buryas</i>	‘cricket’	pl. <i>buryis</i>	‘crickets’
	b. <i>žrana</i>	‘frog’	pl. <i>žran</i>	‘frogs’
	c. <i>tazlakwit</i>	‘egg’	pl. <i>tizlaqqa</i>	‘eggs’

⁶ There is a single example single where initial *i-* changes to *u-*, as in:

a. <i>irži</i>	‘cave, room’	pl. <i>uržan</i>	‘caves, rooms’
----------------	--------------	------------------	----------------

Fourth, some of the plural nouns in Douiret can undergo four simultaneous changes as in:

- word initial *a* > *i*
- addition of the suffix *-an*
- medial *u* > to *a* or *a* remains unaltered
- final *s* > geminate intervocalic *ss*

For instance:

Dou. (15)	a. <i>afus</i>	'hand'	pl. <i>ifassan</i>	'hands'
	b. <i>adar</i>	'foot'	pl. <i>idarran</i>	'feet'

Fifth, masculine plurals can be formed without an addition of a suffix. A close scrutiny of these plurals suggests that they form what one may refer to as 'broken plurals'. Broken plurals are not as systematic as in Arabic. Broken plurals in Douiret are based on the following patterns:

masc.sg. aCVCCVC > masc.pl. iCVCCVC

Dou. (16)	a. <i>abarkus</i>	'one sheep'	pl. <i>ibarkas</i>	'sheep'
	b. <i>amazzuʕ</i>	'ear'	pl. <i>imazzaʕ</i>	'ears'
	c. <i>aʕalluʕ</i>	'lamb'	pl. <i>iʕalliʕ</i>	'lambs'
	d. <i>aqallul</i>	'jug'	pl. <i>iqallal</i>	'jugs'

masc.sg. aCCV(C/V) > iCCa(C)

Dou. (17)	a. <i>aʕyul</i>	'donkey'	pl. <i>iʕyal</i>	'donkeys'
	b. <i>aʕru</i>	'frog'	pl. <i>iʕra</i>	'frogs'

Seventh, additional exceptions to the above rules include the phenomenon of suppletion.

There are two types of suppletive nouns, some undergo full suppletion (i.e. when the primordial stem is completely replaced by another) in others it is partial (i.e. only some of the stems undergo the changes or the word acquires additional consonants), as shown in the following examples:

Full suppletion

Dou. (18)	a. <i>tanaḥnuḥt</i>	‘piece of bread’	pl. <i>aḡrum</i>	‘bread’	
	b. <i>yur</i>	‘tower’	pl. <i>tizaḡwin</i>	‘towers’	
	c. <i>adṣiaw</i> ⁷	‘black person’	pl. <i>iṣumṣan</i>	‘black people’	
	d. <i>afrux</i>	‘boy’	pl. <i>ṭnawi</i>	‘children’	
	e. <i>tamattot</i>	‘woman’	pl. <i>l-xalat</i>	‘women’	< TA. <i>xāla</i>
	f. <i>tixsi</i>	‘nanny-goat’	pl. <i>l-ḥiwan</i>	‘nanny-goats’	‘maternal aunt’

Partial suppletion

Dou. (19)	a. <i>zaw</i>	‘one hair’	pl. <i>izaggun</i>	‘hair’
	b. <i>uzzal</i>	‘metal’	pl. <i>uzlal</i>	‘metal’

Another exception to the above rules is the phenomenon of loanwords. Some loanwords follow similar rules applied to native elements, as in:

Dou. (20)	a. <i>amasmar</i>	‘nail’	pl. <i>imismirin</i>	‘nails’ (< TA. <i>mismār</i> , pl. <i>msēmīr</i>)
	b. <i>tamiṣhit</i>	‘hoe’	pl. <i>timishiyin</i>	‘hoes’ (< TA. <i>mishā</i> , pl. <i>msēḥi</i>)
	c. <i>kullab</i>	‘pliers’	pl. <i>ikullabin</i>	‘pliers’ (< TA. <i>kullēb</i> , pl. <i>klēlib</i>)

Other loanwords follow the same rules of Tunisian Arabic as in:

⁷ It is *aṣṣattaf* ‘black’ in the dialect of Guellala (Jerba). This word is considered taboo among the Jews of Sousse (East coast of Tunisia) to mean ‘without a family’ (Saada 1965:498).

Dou. (21)	a. <i>taflukt</i>	'boat'	pl. <i>flayik</i>	(< TA. <i>flūka</i> , pl. <i>flēyik</i>)
	b. <i>magruna</i>	'shot gun'	pl. <i>mgarin</i>	(< TA. <i>megrūna</i> , <i>mukhle</i> , pl. <i>mgērin</i> , <i>mukhlēt</i>)
	c. <i>tarkint</i>	'corner'	pl. <i>trakin</i>	(< TA. <i>terkīne</i> , pl. <i>trēkin</i>)

It is noteworthy that the number of reduplicated plurals in many Berber dialects is small. The examples above of 'hand', 'tooth' and 'foot' all show reduplicated biradicals resulting from geminating the final consonant. Apart from a geminate form, there are two other forms, namely 'biradical default consonant' whereby a 'weak' consonant is added, such as *w*, *y*, and *h* (Ratcliffe 1996:309). For instance:

geminate form (plural)

Dou. (22)	a. <i>ifassan</i>	'hands'	(< sg. <i>afus</i>)
	b. <i>idarran</i>	'feet'	(< sg. <i>dar</i>)
	c. <i>ifaddin</i>	'knees'	(< sg. <i>fud</i>)
	d. <i>isaffin</i>	'rivers'	(< sg. <i>suf</i>)

Feminine plural

In the formation of feminine plurals, two basic patterns are distinguished:

- (i) singular t-aSTEM-(t) > plural t-iSTEM-(t)in
- (ii) singular t-uSTEM-a > plural t-uSTEM-in

In pattern (i), the singular form may appear with or without the suffix *-t*. Similar remarks apply to the suffix *-t* in the plural form where it is absent in some words.

Examples for pattern (i) follow:

Dou. (23)	a. <i>taḥnayt</i>	‘hole’	pl. <i>tiḥnayyin</i>	‘holes’
	b. <i>tamšit</i>	‘comb’	pl. <i>tamšitin</i> < TA. <i>mušt</i>	‘combs’

(ii) In pattern (ii), the initial vowel u- does not change, as in:

Dou. (24)	c. <i>tura</i>	‘lung’	pl. <i>turatin</i>	‘lungs’
-----------	----------------	--------	--------------------	---------

Similarly to the formation of masculine plural, exceptions to the above patterns are in place.

First, in the formation of feminine plural, Morphophonemic rule necessitates the insertion of the semi-vowel w, as in:

Dou. (25)	a. <i>takitša</i>	‘worm’	pl. <i>tikitšāwin</i>	‘worms’ (ta > ti, + win)
	b. <i>timi</i>	‘forehead’	pl. <i>timawin</i>	‘foreheads’

Second, there is loss of the suffix *-t* in some plural forms. For instance, one expects the plural in (26a) to be *tidixtin* ‘armpits’ and not *tidaxin*. The absence of the suffix *-t* in the plural may be explained in semantic terms. Words denoting ‘smallness’ in the singular are inherently feminine, therefore it seems unnecessary to conserve the feminine marker in the plural form. For instance:

Dou. (26)	a. <i>tadixt</i>	‘armpit’	pl. <i>tidaxin</i>	‘armpits’
	b. <i>tažalžalt</i>	‘kidney’	pl. <i>tižalžalin</i>	‘kidneys’
	c. <i>ta ʔmart</i>	‘lap’	pl. <i>ti ʔmirin</i>	‘laps’
	d. <i>takrumt</i>	‘neck’	pl. <i>tikarmin</i>	‘necks’
	e. <i>tadixt</i>	‘armpit’	pl. <i>ti-da-xin</i>	‘armpits’

Third, plural formation necessitates internal vowel change. The vowel *i*, occurring in the second syllable, changes to *a*, as in:

Dou. (27)	a. <i>asli</i>	‘bride’	pl. <i>islatin</i>	‘brides’
	b. <i>timi</i>	‘forehead’	pl. <i>timawin</i>	‘foreheads’

Fourth, the phenomenon of suppletion is also applicable to the formation of feminine plural. Suppletion can be full or partial:

Full suppletion

Dou. (28)	a. <i>tamaṭṭuṭ</i>	‘woman’	pl. <i>l-xalat</i> < TA. <i>xāla</i>	‘women’
			‘maternal aunt’	
	b. <i>tafruxt</i>	‘girl’	pl. <i>tqiyyari</i>	‘girls’
	c. <i>tixsi</i>	‘goat’	pl. <i>l-hiwan</i> < TA.	‘goats’
			<i>ḥayawān</i>	
	d. <i>atbir</i>	‘dove’	pl. <i>l-ḥmam</i> < TA.	‘doves’

Partial suppletion

Dou. (29)	a. <i>tili</i>	‘ewe’	pl. <i>tattin</i>	‘ewes’
	b. <i>adšīaw</i>	‘slave’	pl. <i>išumžan</i>	‘slaves’

3.2.2 Derived forms

3.2.2.1 Diminutive forms⁸

The feminine gender in Douiret serves also as a diminutive form. In the case of diminutives in Douiret, the derived form remains a noun and does not change its grammatical category, yet it is still considered a derived form.

For instance:

Dou. (30)	a. <i>tanut</i>	'small well'	< <i>anu</i> 'well'
	b. <i>tanaḥnuḥt</i>	'small piece of bread'	

3.2.2.2 Verbal nouns

As the name indicates, verbal nouns are related to the verb category. They are created not entirely through the process of affixation of the stem, but phonological processes can also occur because, according to Sadiqi (1995: 116) “[. . .] *La morphologie berbère est essentiellement non-concaténative ou non-linéaire*”. In the formation of verbal nouns, there are some regularities observed, for instance:

Dou. (31)	a. <i>izunn</i>	'cut'	> <i>syzonn</i>
	b. <i>izzinz</i>	'sell'	> <i>timzin</i>
	c. <i>ixnib</i>	'steal'	> <i>tixnib</i>
	d. <i>ukir</i>	'steal'	> <i>tukir</i>

However, there are exceptions:

First, in the process of making verbal nouns, some changes may occur to the consonants of the verb.

Second, some verbal nouns do not change morphologically such as *ixs* (vb) 'to love' *ixs* (vn) 'loving'.

⁸ The diminutive form deserves further investigation. As Trabelsi (1991:89) discovered that Arab men in Tunis tend to use more diminutive forms than their female counterparts, it would be interesting to investigate this phenomenon in Douiret.

Third, many Berber verbal nouns are made up of totally different roots, usually loanwords from Arabic, as in:

- Dou. (32) a. *wi tɣiʃ* (vb) > 'to hate' *karrah* (vn) 'hate' < Ar.
 b. *laqqa* (vb) > 'to meet' *ižtimaɕ* (vn) 'meeting' < Ar.

Contextual examples of verbal nouns include:

Masculine verbal nouns

- Dou. (33) a. *yiwɗin mlqqa baš sahaflan s il-ɕid aždidi* (verb)
 'the people gathered to celebrate the new year's day'
- b. *ižtamɕa yudan s il-ɕid eždidi* (noun)
 'the meeting of the people will take place tomorrow morning'
- c. *ɕAli yixs Layla* (verb)
 'Ali loves Layla'
- d. *yixs ɕAli Layla* (noun)
 'the love of Ali for Layla'

Feminine verbal nouns

- Dou. (34) a. *yarwal amahbus*
 'the prisoner ran away' (verb)
- b. *arawlan imahbus*
 'the running away of the prisoner' (noun)

c. *yihraq aʃsuʃ*

‘he burned the tent’ (verb)

d. *aḥraq maʃsuʃ*

‘the burning of the tent’ (noun)’

3.2.3 Noun Types

3.2.3.1 Numerals

Cardinal numerals

Douiret uses the same numerals as Tunisian Arabic, except for the following numbers:

Dou. (35)	a. <i>idžin</i>	‘one’	
	b. <i>sin</i>	‘two’	(masc.sg.)
	c. <i>snit</i>	‘two’	(fem.sg.)

Loss of native Shilḥa numerals may be the result of language contact of Shilḥa with Tunisian Arabic. This is confirmed by Basset (1883: 308) who observed more than a century ago that the dialect of Ajīm contained more native Berber elements, as in:

Aj. (36)	a. <i>ižžan</i>	‘one’
	b. <i>θin</i>	‘two’
	c. <i>šarq</i>	‘three’
	d. <i>šarq d ižžin</i>	‘four’
	e. <i>afus</i>	‘five’
	f. <i>afus ižžin</i>	‘six’
	g. <i>seb yaθ</i>	‘seven’
	h. <i>attam</i>	‘eight’

- i. *attam d iżžan* ‘nine’
 j. *akardaš* ‘ten’

The word *xamsa* ‘five’ is commonly used in Shilḥa. However, in the Ouirsignen dialect the hybrid (a combination of a native and a loanword) form *tlata u sin* is also observed.⁹

Nouns which are modified by a plural cardinal number, are given the particle *n*¹⁰ taking here the role of a preposition ‘of’:

Dou. (37) a. *sin* *n* *iryazin*
 two of boys
 ‘two boys’

Dou. (38) b. *snit* *n* *xalat* (cf. free state *xālēt* ‘women’)
 two of women
 ‘two women’

Dou. (39) c. *ḥdaš* *n* *iryazin* (cf. free state, masc.sg. *aryaz* ‘man’)
 eleven of men
 ‘eleven men’

⁹ According to my informant, this hybrid form of ‘three and two’ to mean ‘five’ was used purposely in order to exclude people who are not Berbers. He added that it was used as a code among detained Berbers in the period of the French occupation. In other Berber languages such as in Tašelḥit, it has an additional meaning of ‘clan’ (Aspion 1953:4).

¹⁰ Cf. Basset (1954) for a full discussion of *n* occurring before nouns in Berber.

Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numbers in Douiret follow the same patterns as in Tunisian Arabic with the exception of 'one'. The cardinal number *adžin* 'one' becomes *amizwar* 'the first' in its ordinal form:

Dou. (40)	a. (masc.)	<i>amizwar</i>	'the first'
	b. (fem.)	<i>tamizwart</i>	
	c. (masc.)	<i>θ ani</i>	'the second'
	d. (fem.)	<i>taθ anit</i>	
	e. (masc.)	<i>talit</i>	'the third'
	f. (fem.)	<i>titalit</i>	
	g. (masc.)	<i>irrabāʕ</i>	'the fourth'
	h. (fem.)	<i>tirrabʕat</i>	
	i. (masc.)	<i>ilxamis</i>	'the fifth'
	j. (fem.)	<i>tilxamist</i>	
	k. (masc.)	<i>issadis</i>	'the sixth'
	l. (fem.)	<i>tissadist</i>	
	m. (masc.)	<i>isabaʕ</i>	'the seventh'
	n. (fem.)	<i>tissabʕit</i>	
	o. (masc.)	<i>ittamin</i>	'the eighth'
	p. (fem.)	<i>tittamint</i>	
	q. (masc.)	<i>it-tasaʕ</i>	'the ninth'
	r. (fem.)	<i>tittasʕit</i>	
	s. (masc.)	<i>il-ʕašir</i>	the tenth'
	t. (fem.)	<i>tilʕašrit</i>	

Fractions

With the exception of the word 'half', Shilḥa borrows the majority of the words denoting fractions as shown in the following examples:

Dou. (41)	a. <i>azgin</i>	'half'
	b. <i>ittilt</i>	'third'

c. <i>arbaʕ</i>	‘quarter’
d. <i>el-xums</i>	‘fifth’
e. <i>asdis</i>	‘sixth’
f. <i>asbuʕ</i>	‘seventh’
g. <i>atmun</i>	‘eighth’
h. <i>atsuʕ</i>	‘nineth’
i. <i>el-ʕsur</i>	‘tenth’
j. <i>ʕir arbuʕ</i>	‘minus a quater’

3.2.3.2 Compound Nouns

Compound nouns are frequent in Shilha. They are formed by a simple juxtaposition of two words:

Dou. (42)	a. <i>ʕid er-rumḏan</i>	(lit. ‘the feast of Ramadan’) ‘end of Ramadan’
	b. <i>ʕid um žarrassin</i>	‘feast of sacrifice’
	c. <i>taḏʕat tammaqqart</i>	(lit. ‘a big rock’) ‘rock’
	d. <i>urʕ d amallal</i>	‘brass’
	e. <i>tillilli tawarqiqit</i>	(lit. ‘a paper-like string’) ‘brass’

Compound nouns can be a combination of two nouns (n + n), a noun and an adjective (n + adj.), a noun and a verb (n + vb), a noun and a participle (n + pp.) and a noun and a preposition (n+prep.). For instance:

noun + noun

Dou. (43)	a. <i>tiṭ mitfuyt</i>	(lit. ‘the eye of the sun’) ‘sunflower’
-----------	-----------------------	---

noun + adjective

Dou. (44) b. *baba amaqqar* (lit. 'old father') 'grandfather'

noun + preposition

Dou. (45) c. *maqquin g il-habs* (lit. staying in prison) 'prisoner'

noun + preposition

Dou. (46) d. *afilfil immaddi* (lit. 'crushed pepper') 'pepper'

Nouns which are connected by genitive markers are also observed, as in:

- Dou. (47)
- a. *il-giltit m umzar* lit. the puddle of rain 'puddle'
 - b. *aman m wanu* 'water well'
 - c. *amakli m surrahin* 'nomad's lunch'
 - d. *aman n suf* 'river's water'
 - e. *aman n tasabbalt* 'tap water'

The genitive marker can be left out in some cases, as in:

Dou. (48) a. *Foum (n) Tataouine* 'lit. mouth of Tataouine' 'the city of Tataouine'

verb + noun

Dou. (49) a. *tabbaġ n fyut* (lit. sun's follower) 'sunflower'

3.2.4 Structure of NP

3.2.4.1 Nouns in the construct state

In Douiret, nouns can occur as either free or annexed (construct state): Free, as in Dou. *anu* ‘well’ and annexed, as in *aman d g^wanu* ‘the water is in the well’

The morphological changes in the construct state depend on the initial vowels of words.

The rules governing these changes are listed below:

Nouns with the prefix a-:

The prefix can remain unchanged but it acquires prefix *w* :

Dou. (50)	a. <i>alɣum</i> > <i>walɣum</i>	‘camel’	as in <i>sdanni walɣum</i>	‘on the camel’
	b. <i>anu</i> > <i>mwanu</i>	‘water’	<i>aman mwanu</i>	‘water from well’
	c. <i>aʕsuʕ</i> > <i>waʕsuʕ</i>	‘tent’	<i>deffer waʕsuʕ</i>	‘behind the tent’
Dou. (51)	a. <i>aryaz</i> > <i>waryaz</i>	‘man’	<i>imi n waryaz</i>	‘the man’s mouth’

The prefix *a-* can change to *u-* when is dependent on syntactic constraints such as by being preceded by the following prepositions *g*, *m* :

Dou. (52)	a. <i>aɣrum</i> > <i>uɣrum</i>	‘bread’	<i>g uɣrum</i>	‘in the bread’
	b. <i>amzar</i> > <i>umzar</i>	‘rain’	<i>il-giltit m umzar</i>	‘puddle of rain’
	c. <i>aɣyul</i> > <i>uɣyal</i>	‘donkey’	<i>amazzuɣ m uɣyal</i>	‘donkey’s ear’

Nouns with initial *i-*:

These words with the initial *i-* remain unaltered, as in:

Dou. (53)	a. <i>ittawin</i> > <i>g ittawin</i>	‘eyes’	<i>g ittawīn.</i>	‘in the eyes’
-----------	--------------------------------------	--------	-------------------	---------------

3.2.4.2 Possessive

The possessive is expressed through the use of genitive particles *m* or *n*.

Genitive markers change according to whether possessives refer to common nouns, body parts or kinship terms (cf. § 3.2.4.2), for instance:

Dou. (54) a. *aryaz n yilli* 'my daughter's husband'

b. *dar m ufrux* 'boy's leg'

c. *fus m ufrux* 'boy's hand'

3.2.4.3 Adjectival agreement

Adjectives in Douiret agree with nouns in number and gender and they can be used predicatively as well as attributively:

Dou. (55) a. *tafruxt tamallalt* (sg.) 'the girl is white'

b. *nityin d imillalin* (masc.pl.) 'they (masc.) are white'

c. *nitinti timallalin* (fem.pl.) 'they (fem.) are white'

3.3 Verbs

3.3.1 Verb morphology ¹¹

3.3.1.1 Root and theme

In the study of Shilha verb structure, root and theme are basic elements. The root is, according to Basset “*un groupement exclusif de consonnes.*” (Basset 1987:31). The theme (or *wazn* in Arabic) is the ‘mould’ in which verbs are formed.

¹¹ For an overview of verbal morphology, cf. Appendix VIII, p. 394.

The verb in Douiret includes simple and derived forms.¹²

Simple Forms

Monoconsonantal simple verbs

Monoconsonantal simple verbs are divided into two sub-types: Type A verbs, free of geminated consonants, and type B which contain geminated consonants. These verbs are both transitive and intransitive.

Type A verbs

Type A verbs conform to one of two themes.

(1) /vC₁V/ is found in all three vernaculars. These verbs denote acts of transactions and movement:

/vC₁V/ Dou. *uši* 'offer', *aru* 'cry', *uri* 'try', *uza* 'fall'

(2) /vC₁/, Dou. *af* 'find'

Type B verbs

Type B verbs include three themes and they are all transitive verbs.

(1) /vC₁C₁V/ is found in the three dialects, e.g., Dou. *azzi* 'plant', *affi* 'kill', *amma* 'say', *azzi* 'plant', *assu* 'to water', *aγγi* 'kill.

(2) /vC₁C₁vC₁/, *ittit* 'eat', *assis* 'drink'

12

André Basset makes the same statement regarding Kabyle, cited in Cadi (1987:31).

(3) /vC₁C₁/, Dou. *ayy* ‘make’

Diconsonantal simple verbs

Type A Verbs

Type A includes both transitive and intransitive verbs.

(1) The theme /vC₁C₂v/ is well represented in Douiret:

Doui. *arni* ‘add’, *asli* ‘hear’, *arwa* ‘speak’, *adži* ‘allow’, *alsi* ‘shave’, *anzu* ‘cough’, *igfa* ‘stay’, *ixsa* ‘want, love’, *isya* ‘buy’

(2) and (3) The themes /vC₁vC₂/ and /C₁vC₂/ also yield numerous examples and seem to be mostly transitive verbs:

/vC₁vC₂/ : Dou. e.g. *idas* ‘laugh’, *iqah* ‘take’, *arad* ‘cover’, *iYaz* ‘to eat by chewing the food’, *azin* ‘send’

/C₁vC₂/ : Dou. e.g. *rad* ‘dress up’

(4) Theme /vC₁C₂/ occurs as follows:

Theme /vC₁C₂/: Dou. *afY* ‘leave’, *atf* ‘catch’, *axs* ‘want, love’, *akr* ‘wake up’

Other less common themes include:

(5) /C₁vC₂/, Dou. *wid* ‘bring’, *mur* ‘raise’

(6) /C₁vC₂C₁vC₂/, Dou. *farfar* ‘fly’

(7) /C₁C₂ v/, Dou. *zri* ‘see’, *sli* ‘hear’, *hka* ‘tell a story’ (< T.A.)

(8) /vC₁vC₂/ Dou. *asid* ‘go’

(9) /C₁vC₁C₂/ Dou. *sisw* ‘water’

(10) /C₁vC₂v/ Dou. *raža* ‘wait’

In summary, there are ten themes of disconsonantal type A simple verbs in Douiret.

Type B verbs

(1) The theme /vC₁C₁vC₂/ is well represented in Douiret:

Dou. *annad* ‘surround’, *axxas* ‘love’, *issin* ‘to know’, *aqgan* ‘to tie’, *azzul* ‘to pray’, *affaz* ‘to chew’, *aṭṭas* ‘to sleep’.

(2) The theme /vC₁C₁vC₂/ is found only in Douiret: *assiy* ‘light’, *alluz* ‘to be hungry’

(3) /C₁C₁vC₂/ Dou. *ggur* ‘walk’, *yyur* ‘go’ *nnad* ‘turn’, *yyur* ‘go’, *aggaz* ‘wedge’

(4) /C₁vC₂C₂/ Comprising a small number of verbs: e.g. *kass* ‘extract’.

Triconsonantal simple verbs

Type A verbs

Type A verbs contain the following themes:

(1) /C₁vC₂vC₃/ Dou. *sutaf* ‘enter’, Chn. *miraγ* ‘undo’, *akriz* ‘plough’

(2) /vC₁C₂vC₃/ Dou. *adfās* ‘bend’, *asbid* ‘stop’, *ardam* ‘bury’, *arwal* ‘run’

(3) /C₁C₂vC₃/ Dou. *sqad* ‘go’

Type B verbs.

Type B verbs are mainly transitive:

(1) The theme /C₁VC₂C₂VC₃/ is common in Douiret. The majority of these verbs denote physical action. For instance: Dou. *kammiz* ‘scratch’, *nabbay* ‘smoke’, *xadda* ‘deceive’, *tiddar* ‘live’, *yiffay* ‘go off’, *yiggad* ‘fell’, *karraš* ‘bite’.

Other themes include: (2) The theme /C₁C₁VC₂VC₃/ is observed only in Douiret, e.g., *ššuraf* ‘jump’, (3) /VC₁C₁VC₂VC₃/, Dou. *issinaš* ‘ignore’ (*issin* ‘know’ + the suffixed negation).

(4) /C₁C₁VC₂C₂C₃V/, Dou. *ssammawa* ‘lower’

(5) /VC₁C₁C₂V/, Dou. *a ggfa* ‘sit down’

(6) /C₁C₁VC₁VC₃/, Dou. *ssusam* ‘scold’

(7) /C₁V22V3/, Dou. *tiyyur* ‘go back’

(8) /VC₁C₂VC₃/, Dou. *adfin* ‘enter’

Quadriconsonantal simple verbs

There is a limited number of quadriconsonants in Douiret.

Type A verbs

(1) /VC₁C₂VC₃C₄VC₁/, Dou. *atyaržit* ‘dream’

(2) /VC₁C₂VC₃VC₄/, Dou. *askufas* ‘spit’

Type B verbs.

Only two verbs have been found in Douiret; namely /VC₁C₂C₂VC₃VC₄/, and /VC₁C₁VC₂C₃VC₄/, *ibnnaqas* ‘repent’, *assařzam* ‘teach’.

3.3.1.2 Derived forms

Causative verbs

In forming the causative form, verbs in Douiret undergo a simple process such as the addition of the particle *s* as in example 60a below and more complex phenomena like internal vowel change and suppletion.¹³ A discussion of these changes follow:

(a) Root consonants can be changed through a partial suppletion, e.g. a change from *ʔs* to *ʃt* as in:

Dou. (56) a. *iʔtaʃ* 'to sleep' *s yaʃʃuʔʃ* 'to make sleep'

(b) A geminated consonant can be reduced to a single consonant, as in:

Dou. (57) a. *uʔiff* 'to enter' *s yuʃuʔif* 'to make enter'

b. *karraz* 'to plough' *yikraz* 'to make plough'

(c) Root consonants can change altogether through full suppletion as in:

Dou. (58) a. *dugga* 'to speak' *yisidwa* 'to make speak'

b. *idas* 'to laugh' *yaʃʃuʃay* 'to make laugh'

(d) A simple consonant can also be geminated as in:

Dou. (59) a. *izraʃ* 'to sow' *zarraʃ* 'to make sow'

¹³ This particle appears also in other Berber languages such as Tamazight. Tam. *gn* 'to sleep' > *s-gn* 'to make sleep'.

(e) The prefix *m-* or *s-* can be geminated, as in:

Dou. (60)	a. <i>ikrah</i>	'to hate'	<i>yissikrah</i>	'to make hate'
	b. <i>ixs</i>	'to love'	<i>yimmaxs</i>	'to make love'

The reflexive prefixes *m-* are used as a reflexive marker:

Dou. (61)	a. <i>laqqa</i>	'to meet'	<i>m-laqqa</i>	'to meet each other'
	b. <i>ṣarik</i>	'to fight'	<i>yissaṣrik</i>	'to fight each other'
	d. <i>itṣawin</i>	'to help'	<i>timaṣwana</i>	'to help each other'

Passive

The main pattern in forming the passive is *y + vowel + mm + vb*.

y + vowel + mm + vb

Dou. (62)

a. <i>mir</i>	'to open, undo'	<i>yimmir</i>	'to be opened, to be undone'
b. <i>af</i>	'to find'	<i>yummuḥfi</i>	'to be found'

Other patterns include:

t + vowel + mm + vb

Dou. (63)	a. <i>ṣaṣṣar</i>	'to squeeze'	<i>tammṣar</i>	'to be squeezed'
-----------	------------------	--------------	----------------	------------------

The duplicated *m* in this pattern can change to a single consonant, as in:

t + vowel + m + vb

Dou. (64)			Passive	
	a. <i>issibs</i>	'to switch off'	<i>timsibbs</i>	'to be switched off'

s + vowel + vb

Dou. (65)			Passive	
	a. <i>issin</i>	'to know'	<i>sayissin</i>	'to be known'
	b. <i>izinja</i>	'to sell'	<i>sayizzinz</i>	'to be sold'
	c. <i>habbad</i>	'to hit'	<i>sayahbid</i>	'to be hit'
	d. <i>ttari</i>	'to write'	<i>sayari</i>	'to be written'
	e. <i>tiru</i>	'to give birth'	<i>saṭaru</i>	'to be given birth to'

Other patterns

In addition to the above patterns, the passive can be formed by adding **y + vowel** as a prefix to the verb, as in:

Dou. (66)			Passive	
	a. <i>ḥakkar</i>	'to look'	<i>yutaḥakkar</i>	'to be looked at'

(d) Vowels can be lost when forming the passive, as in:

Dou. (67)			Passive	
	a. <i>isil</i>	'to hear'	<i>yisli</i>	'to be heard'

(e) Some verbs remain unchanged in the passive, as in:

Dou. (68)			Passive	
	a. <i>ixs</i>	'to love'	<i>yixs</i>	'to be loved'

3.3.2 Aspect

As discussed and emphasised earlier in § 3.1.5, the use of ‘aspect’ is a more appropriate than ‘tense’ in Berber. Besides this important distinction, the term ‘aorist’ is probably the most equivocal in Berber literature, suffice to mention the definitions given by Basset (1952), Benveniste (1966), Culioli (1978) and Cadi (1987:54-55).¹⁴ The latter is aware of the problem and he supports Basset’s definition that “*l’Aoriste serait le thème passe-partout sans intention particulière...*” (Basset 1987:54). According to Cadi (1987:54), the term ‘aorist’ signifies, etymologically, a sense of the ‘indefinite’ or ‘imprecise’.

In the current description of Douiret, Basset’s definition is adopted.¹⁵

The verb can have the following forms: the aorist, imperative (intensive aoriste), preterite, negative preterite, and the future. There is no infinitive as such in Douiret, however, the aorist can serve as a citation form because it is the simplest form of the verb.

For instance:

Dou. (69)	aorist	intensive aorist (=imperative)	preterite	preterite (negative)
a.	<i>kraz</i>	<i>karraz !</i>	<i>kraz</i>	<i>krizš</i>
	‘to plough’	‘plough!’	‘he ploughed’	‘he did not plough’
b.	<i>af</i>	<i>ttaf!</i>	<i>affa</i>	<i>affixš</i>
	‘to find’	‘find’	‘he found’	‘he did not find’

¹⁴ Both of Benveniste and Culioli were cited in Cadi (1997).

¹⁵ Due to the paucity of available data, this section is strictly an outline of aspect in Douiret.

Similarly to Kabyle¹⁶, and with the exception of the imperative, the verb in Douiret has one 'basic' form of conjugation for the aorist, preterite and negative preterite. This is summarised in Table 3.2 below:

Table 3.2: Verb conjugation in Douiret¹⁷

		Prefix	Suffix	<i>atša</i> 'to eat'	
Sg.	1	(n)	- γ ¹⁸	<i>nši</i> γ	
	2 masc.	t		<i>tšid</i>	
		fem.	t		<i>titšid</i>
	3 masc.	i-			<i>itšad</i>
		fem.	t		<i>titši</i>
	Pl.	1	n		<i>nitši</i>
2 masc.		ti	-im	<i>titšim</i>	
		fem.	t	-met	<i>titšimat</i>
3 masc.			-im		<i>titšim</i>
		fem.		-imit	<i>titšimit</i>

¹⁶ Cf. Mammeri (1992: 47) and Naït-Zerrad (1994).

¹⁷ This paradigm may be compared with Collins' data (1981: 292) of the Douiret vernacular:

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
1C*	_____ γ/a	n_____
2	<i>m</i> C t_____d	t_____m
3	<i>f</i> m y_____	t_____m.t* _____n
	<i>f</i> t_____	_____n.t

*C: Common pronoun

*: The 'full stop' separating the morphemes refer to 'brief' or 'ultra-brief vowel' (Collins 1981: 288)

¹⁸ Collins (1981: 293) generates three rules when alternating between the final γ/a , as in:

The personal pronoun indice γ may be reduced in many cases to *a*, there are three cases in which this may occur:

- Preceded or followed in the phrase-word-verb structure by a phonological vowel, the velar is maintained:

Dou. *šuš- γ ak*
give=I a-you(m)
'I you give'

- when γ is found in the final of phrase-word-verb, it is reduced to *a*, as in:

Dou. *šuš-a*
give=I
'I give'

The preterite

The preterite is defined in the French literature as *accompli* ‘finished action’. In Douiret, the preterite is formed by the addition of the prefix *i-* to some verbal roots such as *i-ffaγ* ‘he went out’ and *i-ssin* ‘he learned’. Other verbs are subject to a vowel change as in *imir* ‘to open’ < *i-mra* ‘he opened’.¹⁹ For instance, the preterite form for the verb *atša* ‘to eat’ is as follows:

		<i>atša</i> ‘to eat’
Sg.	1	<i>nšiγ</i>
	2 masc.	<i>tšid</i>
	fem.	<i>tišid</i>
	3 masc.	<i>itšad</i>
	fem.	<i>tiš</i>
Pl.	1	<i>nitši</i>
	2 masc.	<i>tišim</i>
	fem.	<i>tišimat</i>
	3 masc.	<i>tišim</i>
	fem.	<i>tišimit</i>

Some contextualised examples include:

Dou. (70)	a.	<i>i-yyur</i>	<i>Sami lfranša yufi xidmat</i>
		he-went	Sami to France he-found a job there
			‘Sami went to France, he found a job there’

¹⁹ Sadiqi (1997: 85) suggests that it is the whole phrase that determines whether an action is taking place in the preterite.

- b. *tnaddaf Samia tiddart thaddar amansi*
 she-cleaned Samia house she-prepares dinner
 ‘Samia cleaned the house and she prepared dinner’
- c. *iygur Hmid l-Franša yuwid baršit l-ħažit*
 he-went Hmid to France he-bought many presents
 ‘Ahmed went to France and brought many presents’

The negative preterite

Douiret applies the formula of *wil-.....-š* for the negative preterite. For instance:

- Dou. (71) a. *wil zšammiš*
 ‘he did learn’
 b. *wil isinniš*
 ‘he did not know’

Intensive aorist (imperative)

The personal indices affixed to verbs in the imperative are the following:

- 2nd.masc.pl. -*id*
 2nd.fem.pl. -*mit*

Example: Dou. (72) *mir* ‘to open’

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|----------|
| 2nd. masc.sg. | <i>mir!</i> | ‘open !’ |
| fem.sg. | <i>mir!</i> | |
| 2nd. masc.pl. | <i>mirid!</i> | |
| fem.pl. | <i>mirmit!</i> | |

The future ‘tense’

The future tense is formed with the addition of *s* to the aorist form:²⁰

²⁰ In the *Sabri* clan the particle *d* is added instead of *s*.

		Prefix	Suffix	<i>sqadda</i> 'go'	
Sg.	1			<i>s sqadda</i>	' I will go'
	2 masc.	t-	-ø/-d	<i>s yasqad</i>	
	fem.	t-	-ø/-d	<i>s tisqad</i>	
	3 masc.	y-		<i>s yisqad</i>	
	fem.	t-		<i>s tasqad</i>	
Pl.					
	1	n-		<i>s nasqad</i>	
	2 masc.	t-	-en	<i>s tasqaddan</i>	
	fem.	t-	-met	<i>s tasqadmat</i>	
	3 masc.	y-	-m	<i>s yasqaddam</i>	
	fem.	t-	-met	<i>s tisqaddmat</i>	

3.3.3 Verb negation

In Douiret, there are two types of negation: Nominal and verbal. In the negation of the verb, the influence of Tunisian Arabic on Douiret can be seen in the hybrid form of the negation circumfix *wil* (also *wi---* *-iš*) where the suffix (*-iš*) is typically Tunisian Arabic and *wil* is native in Douiret. The prefix *wil* precedes the verb and the latter is affixed with *-iš* or simply *-š*. Tunisian Arabic uses the formula *ma.....š*, as in:

Dou. (73)		Tunisian Arabic
a.	<i>maɣar nitta wil xaddam š?</i>	<i>alēš huwa ma yixdimš</i>
	why he not work not	why he not work not
	'why does not he work?'	'why does not he work?'
b.	<i>wil yi- xsaɣ š yiqwa</i>	<i>ma nhibbiš nismin</i>
	not I- like not get fat	not I-like overweight
	'I do not like to get fat'	'I don't like to be overweight'
c.	<i>ittaɣuɣ wil mmaxši le</i>	
	<i>I-marry-I not say no</i>	
	'I will marry and won't say no'	

In verb negation, there is usually an internal vowel change in the verb being negated as in examples 74(a) and 74(b) below. Example 74(c) illustrates that there is no vowel change in the negated verb.

Dou. (74)	a. <i>uha yxallaš</i>	(<i>a > i</i>)	<i>uha wil yxalliš-š</i>
	‘this one pays’		‘this one doesn’t pay’
	b. <i>ɣanna alɣum</i>	(<i>a > u</i>)	<i>wil ɣonnamš al ɣum</i>
	‘we have a camel’ ²¹		‘we don’t have a camel’
	c. <i>yiyɣur ʔAli l-tunis</i>		<i>wil yiyɣurš ʔAli ltunis</i>
	‘Ali went to Tunis’		‘Ali did not go to Tunis’

3.4 Adjectives

3.4.1 Affixations and clitics

3.4.1.1 Gender

Typical adjectives in Douiret behave as nouns morphologically and carry inflections for gender and number primarily through agreement. Adjectives which are masculine carry the initial vowel *a*. Their feminine counterparts bear the initial and word-final marker *t*.....-*t*, for instance:

	masculine		feminine
Dou. (75)	a. <i>awraɣ</i>	‘yellow’	<i>tawraɣt</i>
	b. <i>amallal</i>	‘white’	<i>tamallalt</i>
	c. <i>awassar</i>	‘old’	<i>tawassart</i>

3.4.1.2 Number

In the formation of masculine plural adjectives, Douiret uses four main patterns

²¹ The literal translation of *ɣanna alɣum* is verbless in Berber. Its literal translation is ‘by us (there’s) a camel. I owe this information to Dr Vermondo Brugnatelli.

which, in comparison with the formation of plural nouns, are less regular. The initial *a-* in the masculine singular adjectival form is either lost or changes to *i-*. Words beginning with a consonant undergo a change to the internal vowel and acquire the suffix *-(i)n*. The first two patterns below may be considered the most common in Douiret. The third pattern follows the same plural paradigm as in Tunisian Arabic. The examples (76 a-e) below follow less common forms and remain isolated cases:

[1]	$a + c_1vc_2c_3vc_3 > i+c_1vc_2c_3vc_3+(i/an)$		
Dou.(76)	a. <i>amaqrar</i>	> <i>imiqrarin</i>	‘big’
	b. <i>amaškun</i>	> <i>imiškanin</i>	‘small’
	c. <i>ayazzul</i>	> <i>iyazzulin</i>	‘short’
	d. <i>awassir</i>	> <i>iwassarin</i>	‘old’
	e. <i>amažnun</i>	> <i>imažnan</i>	‘crazy’
	f. <i>amašfan</i>	> <i>imašfan</i>	‘dirty’

In pattern [1], the final *(i/an)* is not applicable to examples 75(e) and 75(f).

[2]	$a + c_1c_2v+vc_3 > c_1vc_2c_3vc_3$		
Dou.(77)	a. <i>aħzin</i>	> <i>ħaznin</i>	‘sad’
	b. <i>aħzil</i>	> <i>ħazlin</i>	‘weak’
	c. <i>aħraš</i>	> <i>ħaršin</i>	‘rough’
	d. <i>aqrab</i>	> <i>qarbin</i>	‘close’

In pattern [2] above, one notices that all of these examples are loanwords from Arabic.

Unlike the examples in pattern [3], these loanwords do not follow the Arabic plural pattern. For instance the plural counterparts for examples (75a and 75c) in Tunisian Arabic are *ħzēne* ‘sad’ and *ħrāš* respectively.

[3]	$C_1C_1VC_3 > C_1C_2VC_3$		
Dou.(78)	a. <i>ɣliḏ</i>	> <i>ɣlaḏ</i>	‘thick’
	b. <i>xfif</i>	> <i>xfaf</i>	‘light’
	c. <i>nḏif</i>	> <i>nḏaf</i>	‘clean’
[4]	$VC_1C_2V > VC_1C_2(V)C_3$		
Dou.(79)	a. <i>ibzi</i>	> <i>abzay</i>	‘wet’
	b. <i>iqwa</i>	> <i>iqwan</i>	‘fat’

Less common forms of plural adjectives follow:

	$iC_1C_1VC_2$	> iC_1C_2+in	
Dou.(80)	a. <i>iddar</i>	> <i>idrin</i>	‘alive’
	$aC_1VC_2C_2VC_3$	> $C_1VC_2C_3V + an$	
	b. <i>aɣarraq</i>	> <i>ɣurqan</i>	‘deep’
	aC_1VC_2	> $aC_1VC_2VC_3 + in$	
	c. <i>azir</i>	> <i>azirarin</i>	‘short’
	aC_1C_2V	> $iC_1C_2VC_2 + in$	
	d. <i>aždi</i>	> <i>iždidin</i>	‘new’
	C_1VC_2	> $C_1VC_2 + in$	
	e. <i>dab</i>	> <i>dab + in</i>	‘ripe’

Feminine

In the formation of plural feminine adjectives, the initial feminine marker *t-*

is either conserved in the plural as in patterns [1-3] or lacking as in pattern [4]. The following patterns are used in forming the feminine plural in Douiret, classified here in order of frequency:

[1]	$ta + C_1(a)C_2C_3VC_3 + t$	>	$ti + C_1(i/u)C_2C_3VC_3 + in$	
Dou.(81)	a. <i>tamaqrart</i>	>	<i>timiqrarin</i>	‘big’
	b. <i>tamaškunt</i>	>	<i>timiškanin</i>	‘small’
	c. <i>tazagguŸt</i>	>	<i>tizuggaŸin</i>	‘red’
	d. <i>tayazzult</i>	>	<i>tiyuzzulin</i>	‘short’
	e. <i>tawassart</i>	>	<i>tiwissarin</i>	‘old woman’
	f. <i>taḌayyuqt</i>	>	<i>tiḌayyuqin</i>	‘tight’
	g. <i>taqallilt</i>	>	<i>tiqillilin</i>	‘poor’

In the pattern [1] above, the consonants C_2 and C_3 can be geminated as in examples 79(c-f).

[2]	$ta + C_1VC_2C_3VC_3t$	>	$ti + C_1VC_2C_3VC_3$	
Dou.(82)	a. <i>tabahlult</i>	>	<i>tibahlal</i>	‘naive’
	b. <i>tamažnunt</i>	>	<i>timažnan</i>	‘crazy’

[3]	$ta + C_1C_2VC_2(t)$	>	$ti + C_1C_2VC_2 + in$	
	a. <i>taždid</i>	>	<i>tiždidin</i>	‘new’
	b. <i>tawraŸt</i>	>	<i>tiwraŸin</i>	‘yellow’

[4]	$t(a/i) + VC_1C_2VC_3$	>	$(a/i)C_1C_2VC_3 + nit$	
Dou. (83)	a. <i>taŸraq</i>	>	<i>aŸraqnit</i>	‘deep’
	b. <i>tahriš</i>	>	<i>ahrišnit</i>	‘rough’
	c. <i>tizḤ am</i>	>	<i>izḤ amnit</i>	‘beautiful’
	d. <i>tiddar</i>	>	<i>iddarnit</i>	‘live’

e. *tiqwa* > *iqwanit* 'fat'

A variation of the above pattern is the loss of the initial vowel (a/i) in forming the plural, as in:

[5]	$t(i/a) + c_1c_2v(c_3)$	> $c_1c_2vc_3 + nit$	
Dou.(84)	a. <i>tinḥas</i>	> <i>nḥasnit</i>	'sleepy'
	b. <i>tiksaḥ</i>	> <i>ksaḥnit</i>	'strong'
	c. <i>tifraḥ</i>	> <i>fraḥnit</i>	'happy'
	d. <i>tadqal</i>	> <i>tqilnit</i>	'pregnant'
	e. <i>tifraḡ</i>	> <i>fraḡnit</i>	'empty'
	f. <i>tirhaf</i>	> <i>rhafnit</i>	'fine'
	g. <i>tiḡla</i>	> <i>ḡlanit</i>	'expensive'
	h. <i>taḥ ya</i>	> <i>taḥ ya</i>	'tired'
	i. <i>tibzi</i>	> <i>bzinit</i>	'wet'
	j. <i>tiḡla</i>	> <i>ḡlanit</i>	'expensive'

Adjectives which denote colour have unique patterns in the plural form with the exception of *tazegguḡt* 'red' and *tawraḡt* 'yellow' which are added to the patterns [1] and [3] above, respectively.

Other less common examples of plural adjectives include:

Dou.(85)	a. <i>taburdamnit</i>	> <i>tibarsgamniyyin</i>	'orange'
	b. <i>tadiamonti</i>	> <i>tidiamontiyyin</i>	'blue'
	c. <i>tazizawt</i>	> <i>tizizawin</i>	'green'
	d. <i>tiliṣahbit</i>	> <i>tiliṣahbin</i>	'grey'

3.4.2 Semantic classification of adjectives

Unlike some Semitic languages such as Arabic where there is a degree of correlation between morphology and semantics (for example when adjectives denoting colour have the pattern (aC₁C₂VC₃ as in *axḏar* ‘green’), in Douiret the relationship between adjective morphology and meaning is apparently arbitrary as can be seen through the sub-classification of adjectives into the following semantic types:

Colour

Dou. (86)	a. <i>azattaf</i>	‘black’
	b. <i>azagguḡ</i>	‘red’

Dimension

Dou. (87)	a. <i>amaškun</i>	‘small’
	b. <i>amaqqar</i>	‘big’
	c. <i>aḏyaq</i>	‘narrow’

Age

Dou. (88)	a. <i>awassir</i>	‘old’
	b. <i>aḡazri</i>	‘young, celebrate’

Material

Dou. (89)	a. <i>yimḏa,</i>	‘sharp’
-----------	------------------	---------

Value

Dou. (90)	a. <i>yrud ilbalis</i>	‘careful’	< TA.
	b. <i>izḡam</i>	‘beautiful’	

Physical state

Dou. (91)	a. <i>ših</i>	‘healthy’	< TA.
	b. <i>yašūb</i>	‘sick’	

Speed

Dou. (92)	a. <i>fiš</i>	‘fast’	< TA
	b. <i>gadindun</i>	‘slow’	

Human propensity

Emotional response to an event, such as ‘happy’, Dou. *ifrah*,

Behavioural attitudes, such as:

Dou. (93)	a. <i>ašudi</i>	‘envious’
	b. <i>abuxli</i>	‘lazy’

Abstract qualities

Dou. (94)	a. <i>šarhan</i>	‘keen’
	b. <i>mitdayyin</i>	‘religious’

3.5 Pronouns ²²

3.5.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Douiret occur as either independent or dependent in the form of enclitics. The dependent personal pronouns are very complex. There are eight types of dependent personal pronouns in Douiret:

1. Enclitic subject personal pronouns
2. Enclitic direct object personal pronouns
3. Enclitic indirect object personal pronouns
4. Enclitic possessive personal pronouns used with prepositions
6. Enclitic possessive personal pronouns used with kinship terms
7. Enclitic possessive personal pronouns used with words denoting body parts
8. Enclitic possessive personal pronouns used with common nouns

A full discussion of independent and Enclitic personal pronouns follows:

3.5.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

Independent subject pronouns

The paradigm of independent personal pronouns is as follows:

²² A comparison of personal pronouns of Douiret with other Berber vernaculars is presented in Appendix X, p. 436. The purpose of this study is to scrutinise both the internal idiosyncrasies of the system of pronouns among Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen and also to scrutinise the extent to which the Shilha system relates to other Berber languages (see Aikhenvald 1987:530).

Table 3.3: Personal Pronouns in Douiret (Free State) ²³

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	<i>nišdin /nišs</i>		masc.	<i>nišnin</i>
			fem.	<i>nišinti</i>
2	masc.	<i>šikdin /šikk</i>	masc.	<i>knim</i>
	fem.	<i>šimdin/šimm</i>	fem.	<i>kimmiti</i>
3	masc.	<i>nitta</i>	masc.	<i>nitnin</i>
	fem.	<i>nittat</i>	fem.	<i>nitinti</i>

As shown in Table 3.3, there seem to be alternative forms in 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular pronouns for unclear reasons. ²⁴ The ‘full’ and ‘reduced’ forms of personal pronouns are in examples (95 a-d):

Dou. (95) a. *šikk dalbadd s txalšit f il-rihit n el-mergēz d nišš s atxalša s el-ħiss el-flus*

‘you wanted to get paid for the smell of the sausages and I pay you with the noise of the money’

b. *duggiγ d šimdin*

‘I speak with her’

c. *ma yitħawnin nišdin liš?*

‘why didn’t you help me?’

d. *tummayaš nišdin aħiγ wi tγaddaxš*

‘he told her ‘I am tired, I can’t’

²³ This set of pronouns is partially dissimilar to those noted by Saada (1965:499) in the dialect of Guellala (island of Jerba): *ana* ‘I’, *šəkki* ‘you’, *nə tta* ‘he’, *nəttat* ‘she’, *nahnu* ‘we’, *kənnim* ‘you pl.’, *nihnum* ‘they’.

²⁴ Such variation is also observed by Motylinski (1897: 461-462).

Independent possessive pronouns

Although possessive pronouns are normally dependent in form, there is a set of independent pronouns, but there is not enough data to suggest with assurance under what conditions they are used.

The following type of pronouns can stand free, as in: ²⁵

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	<i>innu</i>		masc.	<i>inna</i>
			fem.	
2	masc.	<i>innak</i>	masc.	<i>innwan</i>
	fem.	<i>innam</i>	fem.	<i>innakmat</i>
3	masc.	<i>innak</i>	masc.	<i>innasin</i>
	fem.	<i>innam</i>	fem.	<i>innasnit</i>

A contextualised example follows:

Dou. (96) a. *amma wil t-ukiš inna [txurraf]*
 'but she does not know our story'

3.5.1.2 Dependent personal pronouns

Studies of personal pronouns illustrate the complexity of this topic particularly about the different types of dependent personal pronouns. For instance, Galand (1994: 80) asserts that "*Le système des pronoms personnels berbères est extrêmement complexe dans le détail*". In an earlier paper, Galand (1966: 285) conceded that there exist some

²⁵ Chaker (1983:152) clarifies that in Kabyle, this type of pronoun such as Kab. *in-u* 'de moi' is an amalgamation of a possessive personal affix (i)w and *n* 'de'.

general lines that the pronoun system follows in Berber. Five types of personal pronoun affixes (affix following a preposition; affix following a noun; affix following a kinship term (*nom de parenté*); direct and indirect personal pronoun affixes) have been mentioned in full or in part by many Berberists such as Basset (1952), Lanfry (1972), Aikhenvald (1986), Galand (1966, 1994) and Sadiqi (1997). There are five types of dependent personal pronouns: Subject, direct object, complement of preposition and possessive.

Subject

As the sub-title suggests, dependent subject personal pronouns cannot stand alone. These pronouns come in the form of prefixes, suffixes and prefixes and suffixes simultaneously. These pronouns have regular form, function and position and are usually affixed to verbs.²⁶ The full paradigm of these enclitics follows:

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	-γ ²⁷		masc.	<i>n-</i>
			fem.	<i>-na</i>
2	masc.	<i>t--d</i>	masc. <i>t--m</i>	
	fem.		fem.	
3	masc.	<i>y-</i>	masc.	<i>n</i>
	fem.	<i>t-</i>	fem.	<i>-nt</i>

- Dou. (97) a. *y-immayi-k*
 he-told you
 'he told you'
- b. *aryaz y-uša-s sin n ilγma*
 man he-gave-her two of camels
 'the man gave her two camels'

²⁶ Cf. Sadiqi (1997:134)

²⁷ The indice γ is observed in many vernaculars, it often requires the addition of the final -a when γ is in the proximity of a velar, as suggested by Collins (1981: 292):

Dou. *šuš-γ ak*
 give-I to-you (masc.)
 'I give you'

c. *nitta yigfa yhabbid-dyiss*

he (PRES CONT/Hab) he going he hit-him

‘he is hitting him’

f. *nitta yaxs se- tya-hbad*

he he-likes will-him he-hit

‘he will like to hit him’

Direct object

These pronouns have regular form, function and position in a verb.

The paradigm of the personal pronoun suffixes is tabulated as follows:

Table 3.4: Enclitic Personal Pronouns Direct Objects

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	-d		masc.	-na
			fem.	-na
2	masc.	-k	masc.	-win
	fem.	-m	fem.	-kmit
3	masc.	-s	masc.	-sin
	fem.	-s	fem.	-snit

For instance:

Dou. (98) a. *t-immaya-m: nišdi šibfa wažid wi t-gdda ʔš*

she-told-her I full very not you-help-not

‘she told her: ‘I’m not hungry, I don’t want [to help you]’

b. *y-imma-d*

he-told-me

‘he told me’

Some contextualised examples follow:

Dou. (99)	a.	<i>nitta</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>yi-hbibit-s-š</i>
		<i>he</i>	<i>NEG</i>	<i>he-vb-her-NEG</i>
		he	not	he-hits-her-not
		‘he didn’t hit her’		

In his description of Tamazight, Laoust (1939: 74) used the verbs ‘to hit’ and ‘to say’ in order to differentiate between direct and indirect personal pronoun suffixes respectively. This methodology can also be applied to Douiret. With the verb *hbid* ‘to hit’ the suffixed direct personal pronoun object is conjugated as follows:

Dou. (100)	a.	<i>yahbdi-d</i>	‘he hits me’
	b.	<i>yahbda-k</i>	‘he hits you’ (masc.sg.)
	c.	<i>yahbda-m</i>	‘he hits you’ (fem.sg.)
	d.	<i>yahbd-is</i>	‘he hits him’
	e.	<i>yahb-is</i>	‘he hits her’
	f.	<i>yahbda-na</i>	‘he hits us’
	g.	<i>yahabda-win</i>	‘he hits you’ (mac.pl.)
	h.	<i>yahabda-kmit</i>	‘he hits you’ (fem.pl.)
	i.	<i>yahabda-sin</i>	‘he hits them’ (masc.pl.)
	j.	<i>yahabda-snit</i>	‘he hits them’ (fem.pl.)

Unlike Tamazight, Douiret uses independent personal pronouns instead of the personal pronoun direct objects in constructions where the pronoun is a predicative constituent, as in:

Dou. (101)	Tam.	Dou.
	(Sadiqi 1997: 135)	
a.	<i>ha-Ji!</i>	<i>šaw nišdi</i>
	here-me	here I
	‘here I am ‘	‘here I am ‘
b.	<i>ha-JaR!</i>	<i>šaw nišnin</i>
	here-we	<i>here we</i>
	‘here we are’	‘here we are’
c.	<i>hu-t!</i>	<i>šaw nitta</i>
	there-it	here you
	‘it’s there’	‘here you are’

3.5.1.3 Enclitic personal pronoun indirect objects (dative)

The paradigm for this type of pronouns follows:

Table 3.5: Enclitic Personal Pronouns Indirect Objects

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	<i>-i</i>		masc.	<i>-win</i>
			fem.	
2	masc.	<i>-k</i>	masc.	<i>-in</i>
	fem.	<i>-m</i>	fem.	
3	masc.	<i>-s</i>	masc.	<i>-sin</i>
	fem.	<i>-m</i>	fem.	<i>-snit</i>

The comparison between enclitic personal pronoun direct object and enclitic personal pronoun indirect object shows that they both appear as suffixes, but they can also be prefixed, like many other Berber dialects, for instance

Dou. *wi t-gdda ʔ-š*

Neg it+I want+NEG

‘I don’t want to help you’

One notices that the negation “attracts” the pronoun before the verb.

However, the indirect object personal pronoun always the direct personal pronouns.

In all of the examples below, the personal pronoun indirect object are suffixed to the verb.

For instance:

Dou. (102)²⁸ *sa ak uš-x tid*

to you (masc) give-I it

‘I will give it to you’

In addition, the suffixed personal pronoun direct objects always follow the personal pronoun indirect objects as in: ²⁹

Dou. (103) a. *y-uš-as-t-id*

he -gave-to him-it-him

‘he gave it to him’

b. *yi-zinz-ī-t-id*

he-sells-to him-he

‘he sold it to him’

²⁸ Collins (1981:290)

²⁹ Similarly to the case of Northern Berber dialects; such as Tamazight (cf. Sadiqi 1997: 136).

Complement of preposition

Similarly to other Northern Berber vernaculars such as Kabyle, Douiret provides special possessive suffixes for prepositions, common nouns, kinship and body part.

There are two types of personal pronouns suffixed to a preposition: direct and indirect personal pronoun suffixes.

The paradigm of direct personal pronouns suffixed to a preposition is as follows:

Table 3.6: Direct Personal Pronouns Suffixed to a Preposition

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	-d		masc.	-na
			fem.	
2	masc.	-k	masc.	-win
	fem.	-m	fem.	-kmit
3	masc.	-s	masc.	-sin
	fem.	-s	fem.	-srit

Examples of direct personal pronouns suffixed to prepositions follow:

- Dou. (104)
- a. *dany* 'on'
 - b. *dannyid* 'on me'
 - c. *danyak* 'on you' (2nd.masc.sg.)
 - d. *danyam* 'on you' (2nd.fem.sg.)
 - e. *dannyas* 'on him' (3rd.masc.sg.)
 - f. *dannyas* 'on her' (3rd.fem.sg.)
 - g. *danyana* 'on us'
 - h. *danyawin* 'on you' (2nd.masc.pl.)
 - i. *danyakmit* 'on you' (2nd.fem.pl.)
 - j. *danyasin* 'on them' (3rd.masc.pl.)

	k. <i>danyasnit</i>	‘on them’	(3rd.fem.pl.)
Dou. (105)	a. <i>žar</i>	‘between’	
	b. <i>žirid</i>	‘between me’	
	c. <i>žarīk</i>	‘between you’	(masc.sg.)
	d. <i>žarim</i>	‘between you’	(fem.sg.)
	e. <i>žira</i>	‘between him’	(masc.sg.)
	f. <i>žiras</i>	‘between her’	(fem.sg.)
	g. <i>žarna</i>	‘between us’	
	h. <i>žariwin</i>	‘between you’	(masc.pl.)
	i. <i>žarikmit</i>	‘between you’	(fem.pl.)
	j. <i>žarisin</i>	‘between them’	(masc.pl.)
	k. <i>žarisnit</i>	‘between you’	(fem.pl.)

As for the paradigm of indirect personal pronoun suffixed to a preposition is as follows:

Table 3.7: Enclitic Possessive Personal Pronouns Used with Preposition

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	1		<i>-d</i>	masc.
			fem.	
2	masc.	<i>-k</i>	masc.	<i>-sin</i>
	fem.	<i>-m</i>	fem.	<i>-sin</i>
3	masc.	<i>-s</i>	masc.	<i>-sin</i>
	fem.	<i>-s</i>	fem.	<i>-ana</i>

For instance, these suffixes are conjugated with the following preposition *sidi* 'next to', as in:

Dou. (106)	a. <i>sidi-ssi-d</i>	'next to me'	
	b. <i>sidi-ssa-k</i>	'next to you'	(2nd.masc.sg.)
	c. <i>sidi-ssa-m</i>	'next to you'	(2nd.fem.sg.)
	d. <i>sidi-ssa-s</i>	'next to him'	(3rd.masc.sg.)
	e. <i>sidi-ssa-s</i>	'next to her'	(3rd.fem.sg.)
	f. <i>sisdi-ssa-na</i>	'next to us'	
	g. <i>sidi-ssa-sin</i>	'next to you'	(2nd.masc.pl.)
	h. <i>sidi-ssa-sin</i>	'next to you'	(2nd.fem.pl.)
	i. <i>sidi-ssa-sin</i>	'next to them'	(3rd.masc.pl.)
	j. <i>sidi-s-ana</i>	'next to them'	(3rd.fem.pl.)

It can be seen that the suffixes for the personal pronoun indirect objects differ from those of indirect objects in the following pronouns:

	suffixed to preposition (direct pronoun)	suffixes to preposition (indirect pronoun)
2nd.masc.pl	-win	-sin
2nd.fem.pl.	-kmit	-sin
3rd.fem.pl.	-sin	-ana

Possessive

There appear to be slightly different paradigms in the plural when the pronoun is affixed to a noun denoting a kinship term or a noun denoting a body part, as shown in Table 3.8 below:

Table 3.8: Summary of Possessive Pronoun Suffixes

			Body parts	Kinship	Ordinary	
sg.	1		<i>-(i)w</i>	<i>-(i)w</i>	<i>-(i)w</i>	
		masc.	<i>-(i)k</i>	<i>-(i)k</i>	<i>-(i)k</i>	
	2	fem.	<i>-(i)m</i>	<i>-(i)m</i>	<i>-(i)m</i>	
		3	masc.	<i>-(i)k</i>	<i>-(i)s</i>	<i>-(i)s</i>
			fem.	<i>-(i)s</i>	<i>-(i)s</i>	<i>-(i)s</i>
		pl.	1	masc.	<i>-(i)na</i>	<i>-(i)na</i>
fem.						
2	masc.		<i>-(i)nsin</i>	<i>-(i)sin</i>	<i>-(i)win</i>	
	fem.		<i>-(i)nikmit</i>	<i>-(i)sin</i>	<i>-(i)nikmit</i> <i>-(i)nisnit</i>	
3	masc.		<i>-(i)nisin</i>	<i>-(i)sin</i>	<i>-(i)win</i>	
	fem.		<i>-(i)nnisnit</i>	<i>-(i)win</i>	<i>-(i)kmit</i>	

Examples:

Ordinary nouns

As shown in the above paradigm, the vowel /i/ appears after a consonant as illustrated by the following examples:

- Dou.(107)
- a. aʃsuš 'tent'
- b. aʃsuš-*iw* 'my tent'
- c. aʃsuš-*ik* 'your tent'
- (2nd.masc.sg.)

	d. aḥṣuṣ- <i>im</i>	‘your tent’ (2nd.fem.sg.)
	e. aḥṣuṣ- <i>ik</i>	‘his tent’ (3rd.masc.sg.)
	f. aḥṣuṣ- <i>is</i>	‘her tent’ (3rd.fem.sg.)
	g. aḥṣuṣ- <i>inna</i>	‘our tent’
	h. aḥṣuṣi- <i>nwin</i>	‘your tent’ (2nd.masc.pl.)
	i. aḥṣuṣi- <i>nikmit</i>	‘your tent’ (2nd.fem.pl.)
	j. aḥṣuṣi- <i>nikmit</i>	‘their tent’ (3rd.masc.pl.)
	k. aḥṣuṣi- <i>nikmit</i>	‘their tent’ (3rd.fem.pl.)
Dou.(108)	a. <i>azammur</i>	‘olive’
	b. <i>azammur-iw</i>	‘my olive’
	c. <i>azammur-ik</i>	‘your olive’ (2nd.masc.sg.)
	d. <i>azammur-ik</i>	‘your olive’
	<i>azammur-is</i>	(2nd.fem.sg.)
	e. <i>azammuri-kazammur-</i> <i>is</i>	‘his olive’ (3rd.masc.sg.)
	f. <i>azammuri-māzammur-</i> <i>is</i>	‘her olive’ (3rd.fem.sg.)
	g. <i>azammur-inna</i>	‘our olive’
	h. <i>azammur-inwin</i>	‘your olive’ (2nd.masc.pl.)
	i. <i>azammur-inikmit</i>	‘your olive’ (2nd.fem.pl.)

- j. *azammur-inwin* 'their olive'
(3rd.masc.pl.)
- k. *azammur-inikmit* 'their olive' (3rd.fem.pl.)

- Dou. (109)
- a. *anu* 'well'
- b. *anu-w* 'my well'
- c. *anu-k* 'your well' (2nd.masc.sg.)
- d. *anu-m* 'your well' (2nd.fem.sg.)
- e. *anu-k* 'his well' (3rd.masc.sg.)
- f. *anu-wikmit* 'her well' (3rd.fem.sg.)
- g. *anu-nna* 'our well'
- h. *anu-nwin* 'your well' (2nd.masc.pl.)
- i. *anu-nikmit* 'your well' (2nd.fem.pl.)
- j. *anu-nwin* 'their well' (3rd.masc.pl.)
- k. *anu-nikmi* 'their well' (3rd.fem.pl.)

Kinship terms

- Dou. (110)
- a. *yilli* (pl. *yissi*) 'my daughter'
- b. *yill-i* 'my daughter'
- c. *yill-ik* 'your daughter' (2nd.masc.sg.)
- d. *yill-im* 'your daughter' (2nd.fem.sg.)
- e. *yill-is* 'his daughter' (3rd.masc.sg.)
- f. *yill-is* 'her daughter' (3rd.fem.sg.)

g.	<i>yillit-na</i>	‘our daughter’	
h.	<i>yillit-sin</i>	‘your daughter’	(2nd.masc.pl.)
i.	<i>yillit-sin</i>	‘your daughter’	(2nd.fem.pl.)
j.	<i>yillit-sin</i>	‘their daughter’	(3rd.masc.pl.)
k.	<i>yillit-win</i>	‘their daughter’	(3rd.fem.pl.)

Dou.(111)	a.	<i>mimmi</i> (pl. <i>ṭnawiw</i>)	‘son’	
	b.	<i>mimm-iw</i>	‘my son’	
	c.	<i>mimm-ik</i>	‘your son’	(2nd.masc.sg.)
	d.	<i>mimm-im</i>	‘your son’	(2nd.fem.sg.)
	e.	<i>mimm-is</i>	‘his son’	(3rd.masc.sg.)
	f.	<i>mimm-is</i>	‘her son’	(3rd.fem.sg.)
	g.	<i>mimm-itna</i>	‘our son’	
	h.	<i>mimm-itsin</i>	‘your son’	(2nd.masc.pl.)
	i.	<i>mimm-itsin</i>	‘your son’	(2nd.fem.pl.)
	j.	<i>mimm-itsin</i>	‘their son’	(3rd.masc.pl.)
	k.	<i>mimmat-win</i>	‘their son’	(3rd.fem.pl.)

The kinship terms which are borrowed from Arabic are *baba* (fem. *idžiw/imma*) ‘my father’, *Ṣammi* (fem. *Ṣammti*) ‘paternal uncle’, *xali* (fem. *xalti*) ‘maternal aunt’, *ṣaddi* (fem. *ṣadti*) ‘grand-father’. These loanwords follow also the same pattern as the native words with the exception of the first person singular, for instance:

Dou. (112)	a.	<i>baba</i> ³⁰	‘my father’
------------	----	---------------------------	-------------

³⁰ It is *bava* ‘my father’ in Guellala (Jerba) which similarly to Douiret, it does not use the final

b. <i>baba-k</i>	'your father'	(2nd.masc.sg)
c. <i>bab-im</i>	'your father'	(2nd.fem.sg)
d. <i>bab-is</i>	'his father'	(3rd.masc.sg.)
e. <i>bab-is</i>	'her father'	(3rd.fem.sg.)
f. <i>bab-inna</i>	'our father'	(1st.masc.pl.)
g. <i>bab-anwin</i>	'your father'	(2nd.masc.pl.)
h. <i>bab-anwin</i>	'your father'	(2nd.fem.pl.)
i. <i>bab-insin</i>	'their father'	(3rd.masc.pl.)
j. <i>bab-inwin</i>	'their father'	(3rd.fem.pl.)

Body parts

Dou. (113)	a. <i>axanfur</i>	'nose'	
	b. <i>axanfur-iw</i>	'my nose'	(1st.sg.)
	c. <i>axanfur-ik</i>	'your nose'	(2nd.masc.sg.)
	d. <i>axanfur-im</i>	'your nose'	(2nd.fem.sg.)
	e. <i>axanfur-is</i>	'his nose'	(3rd.masc.sg.)
	f. <i>axanfur-is</i>	'her nose'	(3rd.fem.sg.)
	g. <i>axanfur-inna</i>	'our nose'	(1st.pl.)
	h. <i>axanfur-inwin</i>	'your nose'	(2nd.masc.pl.)
	i. <i>axanfur-ikmit</i>	'your nose'	(2nd.fem.pl.)

kinship possessive marker for -w. Similar remark may be applied to other Berber vernaculars such as in Central Morocco (at Ait Sadden) *ibba*, *baba* or f *azizi* 'my father' (Basset 1945-1948:27) and in Kabyle *baba* 'my father' (Chaker 1983:153).

j. <i>axanfur-inhum</i>	‘their nose’	(3rd.masc.pl.)
k. <i>axanfur-ikmit</i>	‘their nose’	(3rd.fem.pl.)

3.5.2 Indefinite pronouns

The notion of indefiniteness in Douiret is expressed with the use of morphologically simple words such as in example (114a) or through compounding as shown in example (114e). The example *ḥatta msala* is syntactically regarded as one word even though its morphology expresses the contrary.³¹

The paradigm of the indefinite pronouns is as follows:

Dou. (114)	a. <i>idžin</i>	‘one’	(masc.)
	b. <i>išt</i>	‘one’	(fem.)
	c. <i>labšad</i>	‘someone’	
	d. <i>šru</i>	‘a small number’	
	e. <i>ḥatta msala</i>	‘nothing’	
	f. <i>msala</i>	‘something’	
	f. <i>iwdin</i>	‘people’	
	g. <i>widdin</i>	‘the other one’	(masc.sg.)
	h. <i>tiddin</i>	‘the other one’	(fem.sg.)
	i. <i>widdin</i>	‘the others’	
	j. <i>iyyin</i>	‘all’	(masc.pl.)
	k. <i>tiyyin</i>	‘all’	(fem.pl.)

Some contextualised examples include:

Dou. (115)	a.	<i>yaŶŶi eš-šid, iŶas isyis šru.</i>
		‘the lion jumped and a ate a bit of her’

³¹ Similarly in English with the indefinite pronoun *no + one*, cf. Huddleston (1984:298)

- b. *tfakkar g msala baš ataqǧa fillas*
 ‘she thought of something in order to get rid of her’

3.5.3 Reflexive pronouns ³²

The full paradigm of reflexive affixes for Douiret vernacular is as follows:

Table 3.9: Reflexive Pronouns in Douiret

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	<i>imaniw</i>		masc.	<i>imanna</i>
			fem.	
2	masc.	<i>imanik</i>	masc.	<i>imanun</i>
	fem.	<i>imanim</i>	fem.	<i>imannikmit</i>
3	masc.	<i>imanis</i>	masc.	<i>imaninsin</i>
	fem.	<i>imanim</i>	fem.	<i>imannisnit</i>

3.5.4 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in Douiret are: *mani* ‘where’ and *wili* ‘who’, *maɣa* ‘why’, *mak* ‘how’ *lammi* ‘when’ and *matta* ‘what’. The word *matta* ‘what’ occurs as either free or annexed. When annexed, it undergoes changes such as in example (116a) where there is an insertion of the semi-vowel *w* and one of the two consonants *t* have been reduced to one (i.e. *matta* > *wmat*).

- Dou. (116) a. *d wmat* ‘with what?’
 b. *g imatta* ‘in what?’

³² More data is needed to explore the contextual uses of reflexive pronouns.

- c. *ni matta* 'on what?'
 d. *f mata* 'on what?'

Some contextualised examples follow:

- Dou. (117) a. *wili ix̣s aỵiz idi ?* 'who likes to eat with me?'
 b. *matta txurraftinwin ?* 'what is your story?'
 c. *maYar nitta* 'why is not he working?'
waxaddamš?
 d. *mani yitbadday itran ?* 'where do you see the stars?'
 e. *mak titdaybid barkukiš* 'how do you cook couscous?'
 f. *lammi s trawwahad* 'when are you going back to
laustralia?

3.5.6 Prepositional relative pronouns

In the following paradigm of relative pronouns, one notices that the preposition is well integrated in the morphology, as in:

- Dou. (118) a. *magis* 'on which'
 b. *smani* 'of which'
 c. *smat* 'with what'
 d. *smata* 'on which'
 e. *swadu mata* 'under which'
 f. *mwili* 'to whom'

3.5.6 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstratives can function as both determiners and pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns agree in gender and number with the subject of a clause. Semantically, demonstrative pronouns refer to words denoting the concepts of ‘near’ and ‘distance’. Demonstrative pronouns remain unchanged in the annexed state, as can be seen from the following examples:

Independent

masc.sg.	<i>uha</i>	‘this’
fem.sg.	<i>tuha</i>	‘this’
masc.pl.	<i>iyyuha</i>	‘these’
fem.pl.	<i>tiyyuha</i>	‘these’
	<i>šaw</i>	‘that’

Some contextualised examples follow:

- Dou. (119) a. *uha* ƣiz n yadžis n tamattoj n Zuhayyir
 ‘this is the grandfather of Zuheyir’s wife’
- b. *tuha* d yillis n Zuhayyir
 ‘this is Zuhayir’s daughter’
- c. *tiyyuha* d yissis n Zuhayyir gašmznit idan bašdhom
 ‘these are Zuhayir’s daughters sitting together’
- d. *iyyuha* d ƣaylat n Zuhayyir denni l-baššōin g Australya ³³
 ‘this is Zuhayir’s family in Australia’

³³ The word ‘family’ in this example is not solely the ‘immediate family’ which explains why the demonstrative pronoun here is in the plural form.

- e. *šaw l-Munži yusid*
 ‘that’s Muniji coming’

Annexed state

Demonstrative pronouns remain unchanged in the annexed state, as shown in the following examples:

- Dou. (120) a. *y-ummayi-s idžin sisin : uha wa yxallašš*
 ‘one of them told him: ‘this one is not paying me’
- b. *t-ummayas-in: uha d el-šduwin*
 ‘she told them: this is the enemy’

3.6 Adverbs

3.6.1 Adverb of place

There is an important number of adverbs which survived the areal influence of Tunisian Arabic including:

- Dou. (121) a. *daha* ‘here’
 b. *din* ‘there’
 c. *šawit* ‘that/over there’
 d. *asmani* ‘from where’
 e. *an fafus* ‘on the right’
 f. *an tašalwagit* ‘on the left’
 g. *lanniž* ‘on top’
 h. *lazdat* ‘in front of’
 i. *daffir* ‘behind’
 l. *lžaž* ‘inside’

j. <i>ilwaday</i>	‘underneath’
k. <i>asdisi</i>	‘on the side’
l. <i>ugammas</i>	‘in the middle’

The formative *-i* in words such as *man-i* ‘where’ and *man-i-s* ‘where from’ is attested in other Berber dialects (Aikhenvald 1987: 118).

Borrowed adverbs are outlined below:

Dou. (122)	a. <i>ɬul</i>	‘directly’	< TA. <i>ɣala ɬul</i>
	b. <i>l-barra</i>	‘outside’	< TA.

3.6.2 Adverb of time

Adverbs of time show three forms: native Berber words, hybrid forms and loanwords. Native adverbs include:

Dou. (123)	a. <i>wilyuš</i>	‘still’
	b. <i>ɬuru</i>	‘now’
	c. <i>sattawdis</i>	‘from now’
	d. <i>assu</i>	‘today’
	e. <i>aṣṣanaɖ</i>	‘yesterday’
	f. <i>assidam</i>	‘the day before’
	g. <i>asatta</i>	‘tomorrow’
	h. <i>assugasu</i>	‘this year’
	i. <i>el-ɣam idžin</i>	‘the same year’
	j. <i>sattawdis</i>	‘from now’
	k. <i>assisdin</i>	‘that day’
	l. <i>islami</i>	‘from when’
	m. <i>aḏnaɖ</i>	‘yesterday night’
	n. <i>kul</i>	‘every’

o. <i>asugga ṣunnāt</i> ³⁴	‘last year’
p. <i>allami</i>	‘until when’
q. <i>ura</i>	‘early’
r. <i>asidan</i>	‘after tomorrow’
s. <i>šara ižan</i>	‘after a little’

Hybrid adverbs include *baṣḍ šru* ‘lit after a little’ where *baṣḍ* < TA. and the word *šru* is native. The other word is *ṣamri-s* ‘lit. age-his’ bearing the meaning of ‘never’ where *ṣamri* < TA. and the possessive pronoun suffix *-s* is native. In addition, the word *kul* ‘every’ is observed in the hybrid form of *kul žummasi* ‘every day’ where *kul* ‘every’ < TA and *žummasi* < Dou. ‘day’.

Loan adverbs include:

Dou. (124)	a. <i>bikri</i>	‘before’, ‘early’
	b. <i>kul yum</i>	‘every day’
	c. <i>baṣḍ saṣat</i>	‘sometimes’
	d. <i>dima</i>	‘always’
	e. <i>baṣḍ saṣat</i>	‘sometimes’
	f. <i>muš dima</i>	‘seldom’
	g. <i>tura, bikri</i>	‘early’
	h. <i>bikri</i>	‘before’

3.6.3 Adverb of quantity

In comparison with the number of adverbs denoting ‘time’ and ‘place’, the following are a few examples:

³⁴ The comparison between *assugasu* ‘this year’ and *asuggašinnaṭ* ‘last year’ seems to suggest a form *an(n)at* (meaning ‘other’, ‘last’).

Dou. (125)	a. <i>akθ ar millazim</i>	‘plentiful’	< TA.
	b. <i>yizzi, ḥatta šay</i>	‘nothing’	< TA.
	c. <i>qaddaš</i>	‘how much’	
	d. <i>yizzi</i>	‘enough’	
	e. <i>ḥabbu</i>	‘a small amount’	

Native words include:

Dou.(126)	a. <i>šru</i>	‘a little’ ³⁵
	b. <i>wažid</i>	‘many, much’

3.6.4 Adverbs of manner

These are divided into native and loanwords, as in:

native

Dou. (127)	a. <i>mak</i>	‘how’
	b. <i>ziʕ</i>	‘also’
	c. <i>ilmat</i>	‘why’

loanwords

Dou. (128)	a. <i>bissyasa, dib dib</i>	‘gently, slowly’
	b. <i>zada</i>	‘also’
	c. <i>bilʕaks</i>	‘contrary to’
	d. <i>yiḥṣal</i>	‘to sum up’
	e. <i>biḏ-ḏabt</i>	‘exactly’

³⁵ Its variation is *šara* ‘a thing’ observed in Jerba by Motylinski (1897:380).

- f. *yumkum* 'maybe'
 g. *fil kif* 'very good'

Some adverbs have a hybrid form, as in:

- Dou. (129) a. *idin baṣṣōna* 'together' *din* 'with' < Dou. *baṣṣōna* 'together' < TA.
 b. *traḥ d el-gatt* 'like a cat' *traḥ* 'like' < Dou. *el-gatt* < 'the cat' < TA.³⁶

3.6.5 Interrogative adverbs

Interrogative adverbs are used to form questions as shown in the following examples:

- Dou. (130) a. *wili uha ?* 'who is that?'
 b. *lammi s trawwahad l-australia?* 'when are you going back to Australia?'
 c. *maYar nitta waxaddamš?* 'why does he not work?'
 d. *mani tibni tiddart?* 'where are you building the house?'
 e. *mak tittdaybid barkukiš* 'how do you cook couscous?'
 f. *iwili tisYid wan el-ktēb* 'for whom she bought this book?'

³⁶ The word *gattūs* 'cat' is a term used mainly in rural Tunisia (cf. *qattūs* 'cat' in northern Tunisia).

3.7 Prepositions

Prepositions form a closed class in Douiret. There are two forms of prepositions: simple form as in *g* ‘in’ and *žar* ‘between’ or a complex form comprising more than one word. In the latter form, the following patterns are observed, namely (vb. + prep.) and (prep. + prep.). For instance:

verb + preposition

Dou. (131) a. *dayir bi dayir* ‘surrounded’ (vb) + *bi* (prep.) ‘by’ (vb.+ prep.)
 ‘surrounded by’ < TA.

preposition + preposition

- b. *sigg sig* (prep.) ‘from’ + *g* (prep.) ‘in’ (prep. + prep.) ‘of’
 c. *sug s* (prep.) ‘with’ + *g* ‘in’ (prep.) (prep. + prep.) ‘from’

Contextualised examples include:

Dou. (132) a. *d el-x̄tar dayir b eṭ-ṭafruxt*
 and the danger surrounds the girl
 (lit. the girl is surrounded by danger)
 ‘the girl is in danger’

- b. *idž ummas sigg udžummasat*
 one day among other days
 (lit. one day among other days)
 ‘one day’

- c. *tižbid sug zawis řalaxařir ysaxfit wařid*
 she pulls from his hair because she felt sorry [for him] very
 ‘she pulls his hair [to save him] because she felt sorry for him’

The preposition *řri* can have the meaning of ‘at’ or ‘to’ (as in Fr. *chez*) as shown in example (133a). When followed by pronominal suffixes, *řri* acquires the meaning of ‘to have’ as in example (134).

- Dou. (133) a. *yummayasin: assu titřadda řri*
 ‘he told them: ‘today you eat at my place’
- b. *řri-s sin aryazin timřarkin.*
 has-he two men were fighting
 ‘he witnessed two men fighting’

Unlike English, the Douiret vernacular does not have an equivalent for the verb ‘to have’.³⁷ The paradigm of *řri* with all pronominal suffixes follows:

- Dou. (134) a. *řri alřum* ‘I have a camel’
 b. *řrik alřum* ‘you have a camel’
 c. *řrim alřum* ‘you have a camel’
 d. *řrik alřum* ‘he has a camel’
 e. *řris alřum* ‘she has a camel’
 f. *řrinna alřum* ‘we have a camel’
 g. *řarwin alřum* ‘you have a camel’
 h. *řirwin alřum* ‘they have a camel’

³⁷ Based on a feed-back communication with Brugnatelli (2003), the phrase “we have a camel” is said to be a verbal one, while its literal translation is verbless: “by us (there’s) a camel”.

- i. *Yirsnit alYum* 'they have a camel'

Contextualised examples where *Yri* 'to have' is used as a verb follow:

- Dou. (135) a. *yilla el-malik Yris mimmis ismis Qmar Ez-zaman*
 'there was a king who has a son named Qmar Ezzemēn'
 b. *Yri šhan d amallal* ³⁸
 'I have a clean plate'

Examples of other prepositions follow:

g 'in' ³⁹

The preposition *g* follows always a vowel. It becomes labialised [> g^w] when followed by the initial vowel *a* :

- c. *aman g^w anu*
 'the water in the well'

s 'with' (in an instrumental sense; Cf. 3.7.1, e.g. 145).

n 'of'

38 The Holy Month of Ramadan

39 Prepositions can sometimes be omitted and the meaning can be inferred from the sentence as a whole, as in:

Dou. a. *Krimi yƣammar (g) tiddart*
 'Krimi lives in Douiret'

In Chninni and Ouirighen, *n* becomes *m* in the proximity of the consonant /b/ as in the word *mbaba* ‘of my father’. In Douiret, *n* becomes *an* as in the word *andada* ‘of my father’.

daffir ‘behind’

e. *ixf n tiyazid daffir l-xālat*

‘the head of a chicken before women’

ni ‘on’

f. *yiyit el-amir ni xidmit wažid.*

‘he spent alot of time on the job’

žar ‘between’

yid ‘at’

h. *sanayr el-žamaž yid lawwil*

‘we are going to the mosque at midday’

l ‘to’

This preposition is a simplification of the Classical Arabic form *?ila* ‘to’ or the Tunisian Arabic *lil* ‘to’:

i. *yassaged l-tfunast*

‘he went to the cow’

j. *yawid l-twassart*

‘he returned to the old lady’

k. *yinnad Jħa l-waryaz illi yuγis el-gdas el-flus*

‘Jħa turned to the man who asked for the money’

Other prepositions include:

Dou. (136)	a. <i>ninniž</i>	‘on’	
	b. <i>swadu</i>	‘under’	
	c. <i>iss</i>	‘from’	
	d. <i>lagda</i>	‘towards’	
	e. <i>izdat</i>	‘in front of’	
	f. <i>sug</i>	‘from’	
	g. <i>yħada</i>	‘close to’	
	h. <i>yibħid</i>	‘away from’	< TA. <i>bħid</i> ‘far’
	i. <i>syaha</i>	‘from here’	
	j. <i>syin</i>	‘from there’	
	k. <i>sanniž</i>	‘from under’	
	l. <i>sadisas</i>	‘from the side’	

3.7.1 The semantics of prepositions ⁴⁰

Prepositions express the meaning of place, position and direction. In some cases, the meaning of prepositions can be dependent on syntactic contexts as shown in the following examples:

Accompaniment: d [id] ‘with’

⁴⁰ This section needs further investigation.

- Dou. (137) a. *axsa adirar idas* 'I like to play with him'
 b. *wili ixš aygiz idi ?* 'who will plough with me?'
 c. *yilla aryaz yiddar nitta d el-~~f~~iltis d yillis.* 'There was once a man who was living with his wife and daughter'.

Instrumental: s 'with'

- Dou. (138) a. *nakda s txanžart* 'I cut with the knife'
 b. *id nišš s etxalša s el-ħiss el-flus* 'and I'll pay you with the sounds of money'
 c. *titmir kan s el-uzzal* 'it opens only with the metal'

3.8 Conjunctions

One distinguishes two types of conjunctions: Co-ordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions. With Co-ordinating conjunctions, there are native and loanwords in Douiret, as in:

native

- Dou. (139) a. *d* 'and'
 b. *nad* 'or'
 c. *mak* 'but'

loanwords

Dou. (140)

- a. *la....wala* ‘neithernor’ as in *la amikli wala yarda* ‘neither food nor a mouse’
- b. *ul....la* is also used in Douiret to mean ‘neither...nor’ which is a hybrid form: *ul* ‘neither’ < Dou. and *la* ‘not’ < TA.

Most subordinating conjunctions are loanwords in Douiret, as in:

Native

Dou. (141)	a. <i>waqila</i>	‘as if’
	b. <i>ala</i>	‘in order’
	c. <i>imat</i>	‘because’

Loans

Dou. (142)	a. <i>bixlaf</i>	‘except’
	b. <i>baš</i>	‘in order to’
	c. <i>ukan</i>	‘if’
	d. <i>mumkin</i>	‘may be’
	e. <i>kif kif</i>	‘same’
	f. <i>el-ħašilu</i>	‘anyway’
	g. <i>kan</i>	‘except’
	h. <i>barra barra</i>	‘any way’

3.8.1 Particle *d* as a conjunction

As discussed in § 3.4.4, *d* is used as a conjunction and as a copula. as in:

Dou. (143)	a. <i>azattaf d umallal</i>	‘black and white’	< Free state <i>amallal</i>
------------	-----------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------------

Furthermore, the particle *d* is replaced by *t-* in contact with the initial feminine marker prefix *t-*, as shown in the following example:

Dou. (144)	a. <i>tafruxt t-izšam</i>	< <i>tafruxt d -tizšam</i>
	girl she-beautiful	girl she -beautiful
	‘the girl is beautiful’	‘the girl is beautiful’

The particle can be used as an intensifier in the following idiomatic expressions:

Dou. (145)	a. <i>yillis n d asunnat</i>	(lit. ‘the girl of yesterday’)	‘very old’
	b. <i>d iš bikri</i>		‘definitely not early’
	c. <i>d iš nitta</i>		‘definitely not him’

3.9 Article

Berberists agree that the majority of Berber words that use the definite article *el-* are borrowings from Arabic. Cf. Laoust (1928:6), Ennaji (1985: 13) and Sadiqi (1997:142). The definite article *el-*, *l-*, *il-* is hence a fossilised loanword in Douiret.

Similarly to Tunisian Arabic, the definite article *el-* assimilates its *l* to the consonants known as *šemsiyya* ‘sun-letters’ *d, ž, n, r, s, t, θ, s, z* at the beginning of a word, as in:

Dou. (146)	a. <i>ed-dar</i>	‘the house’
	b. <i>er-riyyat</i>	‘the lung’
	c. <i>en-nas</i>	‘the people’

The only exception to the above rule, is the consonant /x/ which assimilates in Chninni, e.g., [*ex-xanis*] ‘defecation’. When the noun begins with the consonant groups *hn, ql, el* becomes *le* : *hna* ‘happiness’, *le-qlam* ‘the pen’. Before nouns beginning with a vowel, *e, i, u*, *el-* is elided to *l-* : *l-ustað* ‘the teacher’, *l-iman* ‘the faith’, *l-essuq* ‘to the market’

3.10 Existential

The existential is expressed in Douiret by the use of *yilla* ‘there (masc.sg.)’ and *tilla* ‘there (fem.sg.)’ followed by a noun phrase, as shown in the following examples:

Dou. (145)

- a. *yilla* *Jḥa* *y-itiddqr* *n tmurt* *išit*
 there Jḥa he-living in country one
 ‘once, there was Jḥa who was living in a country’
- b. *tilla* *tiyazid* *t-ufi* *tahabbt* *n irdan*
 there chicken she-found a grain of wheat
 ‘once, there was a chicken which found a grain of wheat’

3.11 Summary

In this chapter, both open and closed-word classes are discussed. With personal pronouns, Douiret shows only minor differences when compared with other Berber languages. With possessive pronoun suffixes, Douiret exhibits some minor differences among suffixes of body parts, kinship nouns and common nouns. In addition, Douiret distinguishes morphologically between alienable and inalienable nouns.

In forming the plural, the phenomenon of suppletion is observed in Douiret. Feminine nouns generally have the initial *t-*. There are also vowel changes in some plural feminine nouns.

The analysis of verb structure shows that verbs with triconsonantal roots are more numerous than those of monoconsonantal and quadriconsonantal roots. Tense in Douiret is also explored in this chapter. The notion of the aorist was discussed in this study because its definition is not well stated in Berber literature.

4. Syntactic outline: Clause and phrase structure

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned earlier in § 3.1, the treatment of syntax should not be scrutinised in isolation from morphology. It is for that reason that the previous chapter is entitled ‘morpho-syntax’ instead of ‘morphology’. However, while keeping the principles of morphology at hand, this chapter places emphasis on the relationship among the constituents forming, in hierarchical order, a clause, sentence, phrase and a word. This chapter attempts to draw an outline of the syntax of Douiret, rather than an exhaustive study.

Prior to discussing the syntactic structure of Douiret, it is important to clarify some of the fundamental topics in Berber, word order and the notion of subject in Berber.¹

Word order

Though the Douiret dialect favours the verb initial word order, other word orders such as subject initial and object initial are also acceptable. For instance:

- | | | | | | |
|----------|----|---------------------------------------|--|--|-----------------|
| Dou. (1) | a. | <i>y-ahbid el-bab</i> | | | |
| | | he-knocks the door | | | verb initial |
| | | ‘he knocks the door’ | | | |
| | c. | <i>aryaz y-a ʔi tayarzizt</i> | | | |
| | | man he-kills rabbit | | | subject initial |
| | | ‘the man kills the rabbit’ | | | |
| | d. | <i>ʔalluši-s yi-nzinzi-t g es-suq</i> | | | |
| | | sheep-his he-sold-it in market | | | object initial |
| | | ‘he sold the sheep in the market’ | | | |

¹ This approach is based on a study by Sadiqi (1986: 7).

It remains that the verb initial construction is the typical word order in Douiret. With intransitive verbs, this construction is naturally reduced to verb-subject.

As for Subject initial and object initial word orders, these can only be described as variations of verb initial constructions. In other words, the subject and object are shifted to sentence initial position for added emphasis. In object-verb constructions such as in the passive, the verb can only be a transitive verb. Word orders are discussed in 4.2.2.2 onwards.²

The notion of subject in Berber

The subject in Tunisian Berber is expressed as: (a) a clitic, (b) free subject pronoun or as (c) a lexical NP, for instance:

- Dou. (2) a. *t-issirit (tamattut) ibarfitni-s daffar waššuš*
 she-washed (the woman) clothes-her behind the tent
 'The woman washed her clothes behind the tent'
- b. *nitta y-duzzi-k*
 he he-pushed-you
 'he pushes you'
- c. *Munži y-usid*
 Monji he-came
 'Monji came'

In the three examples above, only the pronoun clitic is obligatory; both the independent subject pronoun and the lexical NP remain optional.

As for the representation of the subject in tree diagrams, one adopts Sadiqi's (1986:13) argument that since "clitics are essentially an integral part of the verb group,

² The phenomenon of transitivity is well explored by Guerssel (1986).

then it is legitimate to represent them as such". Hence, clitics appear under the V node in the diagrams in this chapter.

Sadiqi (1986:13) added that it is a difficult task to discern between 'subject' and 'subjectless' in Berber since Berber has the capability of allowing a sentence to exist simply as V as in:

Dou. (3) a. *omm-aya -s*
 call-I- him/her
 'I called him/her'

Therefore, discerning between 'subject' and 'subjectless' is futile in Berber; which differs from other languages such English and French where subjectless sentences are grammatically incomplete (cf. Sadiqi 1986:13).

4.2 The simple sentence

There are two types of simple sentences: Verbal and copula sentences. The basic constituents of the simple sentence follows:

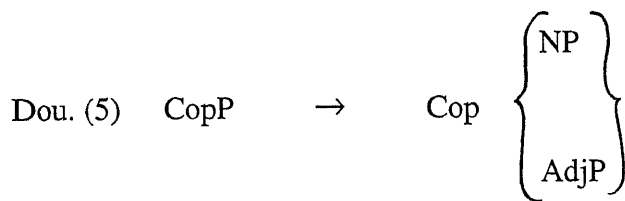
Dou. (4) a. $S_V \rightarrow VP \quad NP$
 b. $S_{cop} \rightarrow CopP \quad NP$

A discussion of these sentence structures follow:

4.2.1 Copula sentences

Among the simplest types of sentences in Douiret are those u
 The copula is defined as "...un élément "qui relie" le sujet au)
forme une partie integrante de ce dernier " (Sadiqi 1997:150)

Dou. ξ Ali d $\text{t}b\text{ib}$ 'Ali is a doctor', the predicate is the copula phrase (CopP) $d \text{t}b\text{ib}$. Its structure is as follows:



For instance:

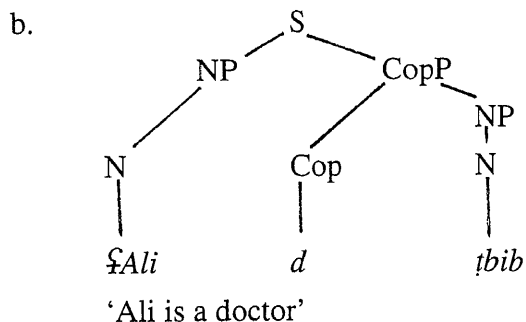
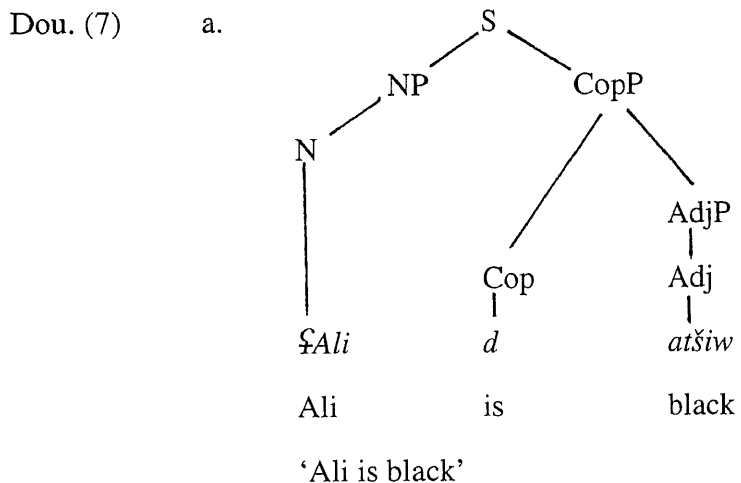
Dou. (6) a. ξ Ali d $\text{t}b\text{ib}$
S[NP CopP[Cop NP]]

'Ali is a doctor'

b. ξ Ali d $\text{at}\check{s}\text{iw}$
S[NP CopP[Cop AdjP]]

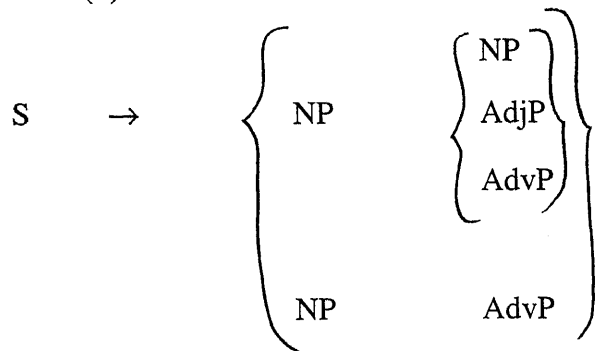
'Ali is black'

Using tree diagrams, example (6) can be represented as follows:



In some constructions, the copula *d* is omitted with verbless predicates such as adverbs, nouns and pronouns where the clause contains free personal pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives. The following rule generates such examples:

Dou. (8)



Examples with AdvP complement:

Dou. (9) a. *£Ali lžazž*
 S[NP AdvP]
 Ali outside
 'Ali is outside'

Thus, the generic rule for the copula and non-copula sentences may be outlined as follows:

Dou. (10) $S_{\text{cop}} \rightarrow \text{NP} \quad (d) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{AdvP} \end{array} \right\}$

4.2.2 Verbal sentences

4.2.2.1 Introduction

As a member of the open class, the verb in Berber has the following properties. First, verbs carry inflections for aspect in the form of prefixes and suffixes in both the aorist and the preterite. The full paradigm of the verb inflections is discussed in § 3.3.2.1

Second, the verb acts as head of an VP construction. Third, verbs agree in number and gender with the subject in a verb phrase. The term agreement or ‘concord’ can be defined by Quirk (1985:755) as “the relationship between two grammatical units such that one of them displays a particular feature (e.g. plurality) that accords with a displayed (or semantically implicit) feature in the other”. The general rule about subject-verb agreement in Berber is that singular and plural subjects require singular and plural verbs, respectively. For instance:

Masculine singular:

- Dou. (11) a. *yi-ttara afrux nahž*
 he-plays boy outside
 ‘this boy plays outside’
- b. *i-rah a yarda g abrid*
 he-ran mouse to road
 ‘the mouse ran away’

Masculine plural:

- Dou. (12) a. *aryaz d yumi-s i-waṭ-naṭ*
 man and brother-his arrived-they
 ‘the man and his brother arrived’
- b. *Yazz-an tiftiri*
 ate-they cakes
 ‘they ate the cakes’

Feminine singular:

- Dou. (13) a. *t-uggid f yilli-s*
 she-worries about daughter-her
 ‘she worries about her daughter’
- b. *t-ali talifsa*
 it climbs (up) snake
 ‘the snake climbs up’

Feminine plural:

- Dou. (14) a. *t-naba yiṭnaw-is s atṭadd-an*
 she-calls children-her will eat-they
 ‘she calls her children to eat’
- b. *ṭamaṭtoṭ d yall-is t-naddaf-it g el-ḥuṣ*
 mother and daughter-her they-clean inside the tent
 ‘the woman and her daughter cleaned inside the tent’

Fourth, verbs can be classified as either transitive or intransitive. In the former, transitive verbs require an obligatory constituent such as the object, e.g., Dou. *yahbad* ‘hit’. Intransitive verbs do not require additional constituents and are in the form of verb-subject-verb, e.g. Dou. *iru* ‘cry’, *ykammal* ‘finish’.

Examples of verb-initial constructions include:

- Dou. (15) a. *y-ahbid el-bab*
 he-knocks the door
 ‘he knocks the door’

- b. *t-ħafda-t eš-šanħat*
 she-learned-she the trade
 'he learned the trade'

4.2.2.2 The structure of verb-initial sentences ³

The verb-initial word order is the most common in Douiret. Pragmatically, these constructions occur mainly in the middle of a conversation whereby the subject in the sentence is presumably known. The rules which govern verb-initiated sentences in Douiret may be outlined as follows:

- Dou. (16) a. S → VP NP
 b. VP → V NP NP
 V (NP)

Rule (16) dictates that with VP construction, a verb may be followed by one, two NPs or occurs simply as a V. The construction which requires two NPs is generally referred to as 'ditransitive' as shown in the following example:

- Dou. (17) a. *uši-γ-is inuwwar*
 give-I-her flowers

³ Sentences which use the auxiliary verb *axs* 'want' are types of constructions based on the following rule:

- S → (NP) *axs* (VP) (PP)

The above suggests that the verb *axs* may be preceded by an optional NP and may also be followed by an optional VP and PP.

- Dou. (29) a. *nitta y-axs atarbaz l-il-xariž*
 he he-wants to export to overseas
 'He wants to export overseas'

'I gave her flowers'

Additional examples of verb-initial constructions include:

- Dou. (18) a. *t-ṣazzim l-ktab*
 she-read a book
 'the girl read a book'
- b. *yi-ṣris aṣalluṣ*
 he-killed sheep
 'the man killed a sheep'
- c. *yi-ttira afrux s il-bisklat*
 he-played boy with the bicycle
 'the boy played with the bicycle'
 'the boy played with the bicycle'

- d. *yi-ttara afrux nahž*
 he-played boy outside
 ‘the boy played outside’
- e. *yi-karraz žimi*
 he-ploughs field
 ‘he ploughs the field’
- f. *yi-nnad Jħa l-waryaz illi yu-γis el-gdas el-flus*
 he-turned Jħa towards the man who he-wanted alot of money
 ‘Jħa turned (his face) towards the man who wanted a lot of money’
- g. *yi-kbar yuma-s*
 he-grew up child-her
 ‘her child grew up’

4.2.2.3 The structure of subject-initial structure

As mentioned in § 4.1, the Subject-initial word order is a variation of verb-initial by way of fronting the subject to sentence initial position for the sake of emphasis, as in:

- Dou. (19) a. *afrux y-ara s il-bisklat* Subject-initial
 the boy he-played with the bicycle
 ‘the boy played wit the bicycle’

The subject in Douiret is expressed as: (a) a ‘full’ lexical noun phrase, (b) free personal pronoun or as , (c) a Pronoun clitic. Subjects of type (a) can be ± common.

Examples of constructions with the subject is as follows:

- Dou. (20) a. *nitta y-duzz-ik*
 he he-pushed-you
 'he pushed you'
- b. *Munži y-usid*
 Munži he-came
 'Munji came'

Personal pronouns can be used emphatically, as shown in the following cleft sentences:

- Dou. (21) a. *ǂAli nitta illi y-a ʔi tixsin*
 Ali he who he-kill goats
 'Ali is the one who killed the goats'
- b. *nittat illi t-ukir a ʔrum*
 she who she-stole bread
 'She is the one who stole the bread'
- c. *nitta illi y-ukir kahrbit*
 he who he-stole car
 'he is the one who stole the car'

4.2.2.4 The structure of object-initial structure

As mentioned in § 4.1, the object-initiated structure is a variation of the basic VSO construction where the object is fronted to sentence initial position. The OVS structure is marked on two levels: morphologically and semantically. Morphologically, the verb carries the indirect object enclitic *-t*. Semantically, OVS structure emphasises the role of the object in the sentence. Pragmatically, this word order is not used to initiate conversations.

For instance:

- Dou. (22) a. *il-bisklat yi-ttira afrux issyis*
 the bicycle he-played boy with it
 ‘the boy played with the bicycle’
- b. *le-ktab tƣazzam dyiss*
 the book she-read with it
 ‘the girl read a book’
- c. *ibartitin tsart disin tamaṭtoṭ*
 clothes washed with them woman
 ‘the woman washed her clothes’
- d. *ƣallušis yi-nzinzi-t g es-suq*
 sheep-his he-sold it in market
 ‘he sold the sheep in the market’
- e. *afrux yittihbid el-karhbit*
 ‘the boy was hit by the car’

4.2.2.5 The Verb-Object-Subject structure

The verb-subject-object word order seems to occur least in Douiret. It is only acceptable when there is a slight pause after the verb-object constituents.⁴

- Dou. (23) a. *uša-s innuwwar aryaz*
 he-gave-her flowers man
 ‘the man gave him flowers’

⁴ The VOS construction requires further investigation in Douiret, as more data is needed to confirm it.

In Tamazight, this VOS word order is attested. Cf Sadiqi (1997: 149).

4.2.2.6 Topicalisation through verb passivisation

In the basic verb-initial construction in Berber, a constituent may be moved to the front of a sentence and functions as a sentential topic, hence the appellation of topicalisation. Topicalised constituents may include subject NPs, object NPs and PPs. The process of topicalising these constituents involves a necessary change in the verb mood from active to passive. For instance, in example (24b) the topicalised constituent is the object NP *aʃsuʃ* ‘tent’ and the verb undergoes passivisation from *yihraq* > *yityahraq*. In example (24c), the topicalised constituent is the NP *afrux amaškun yizʃam* ‘the beautiful baby’. In example (24d), the topicalised constituent is the PP *l-waryaz* ‘to the man’.

Topicalised object

- Dou. (24) a. *Sami y-ihraq aʃsuʃ* *yihraq* > *yityahraq*
 Sami he-burned tent
 ‘Sami burned the tent’
- b. *aʃsuʃ y-ityahraq Samir*
 tent he-burned Samir
 ‘it was the tent that Samir burned’

Topicalised Subject

- c. *afrux amaškun yizʃam yitdiq wažid* *yidiq* > *yitdiq*
 boy small handsome angry alot
 ‘the young boy is very angry’

Topicalised PP

- d. *l-waryaz* *y-isuwri* *Samir iž-žwab*
 to-man he-wrote Samir the letter
 ‘it was to the man that Sami wrote a letter’

4.3 Noun phrase

4.3.1 The constituent structure of NPs

Having discussed the constituent structure of a simple sentence, the analysis moves down the hierarchy to the constituents of NPs. The morphological characteristics of the noun in Douiret are discussed in § 3.2.

The structure of the NP may be summarised in the following rule:

$$\text{Dou. (25) NP} \rightarrow \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Pro} \\ \text{ProN} \\ (\text{Det}) \text{ N } (\text{Proc}) (\text{AdjP}) \\ \text{N} \quad (\text{PP}) \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{Dou. (26) Det} \rightarrow \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{numeral} \\ \text{numeral} + \text{numeral} \\ \text{dem} \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples of NPs include:

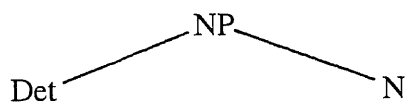
- Dou. (27) a. *kul yum*
 ‘every day’
 b. *el-barkukiš*
 ‘the couscous’
 c. *tafruxt tamallalt*
 girl white
 ‘a white girl’

An analysis of the foregoing examples follows:

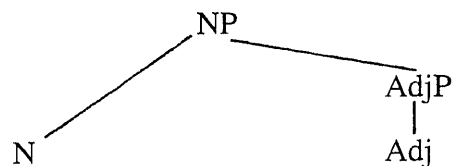
The examples (27 a-c) above can be summarised here in the following rule:

Dou. (28) NP → (det) N (NP) (AdjP) where the bracketed words are optional constituents. Using the tree diagram, the examples (27a-b) and (27c) can be represented in (29a) and (29b) respectively:

Doui. (29) a.



b.



Additional examples of NPs follow:

Dou. (30) a. *sin aryazin*

‘two man’

b. *sin d tlata aryazin⁵*

two and three men

‘five men’

c. *aššuš-ik*

tent-your

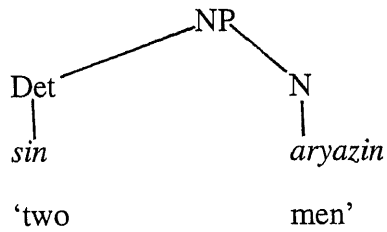
‘your tent’

Example (30) can be schematised as follows:

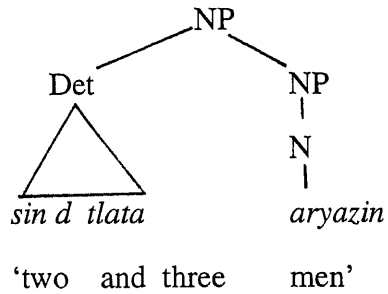
⁵ The footnote (8), Chapter 3, explains why this hybrid form is used instead of the more simpler form *xamsa* ‘five’ <Ar.

Dou. (31)

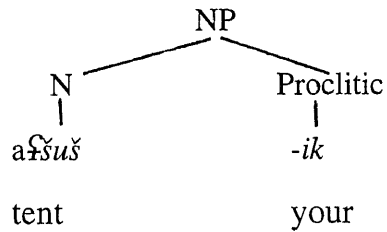
a.



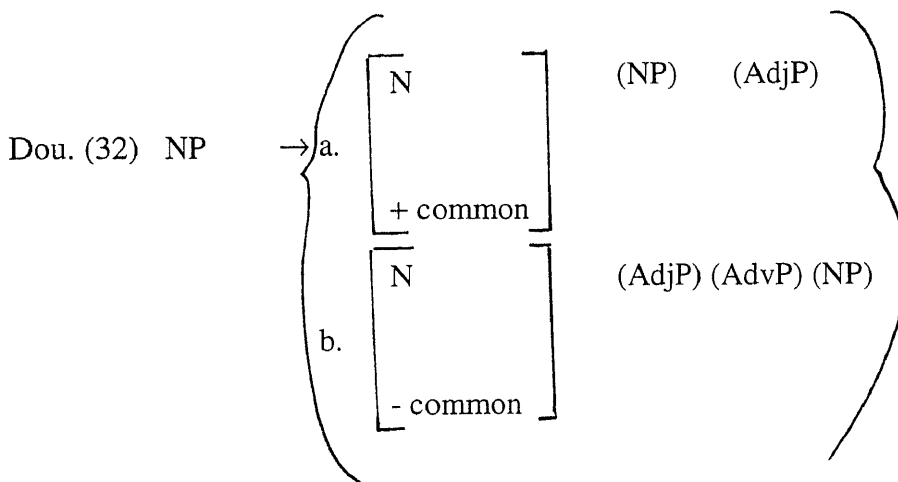
b.



c.



With noun phrases, proper names and pronouns have slightly stricter rules than common nouns in terms of pre-head and post-head dependents. The rules governing the NP construction can be schematised as follows:



Rule 32a states that common nouns can be followed by an NP or an AdjP. In (32b), an AdjP, an AdvP or an NP may follow it. For instance:

- Dou. (33) a. *Samir bahi waʒid*
 Samir good very
 ‘Samir is very good’
- b. *yi-sʔa aʒdid bahi.*
 he-bought bird nice
 ‘he bought a nice bird’
- c. *afrux bahi waʒid*
 child good very
 ‘the boy is very good’
- d. *nitta a ʔarda biha.*
 it mouse itself
 ‘it is the real mouse’

4.3.2 Possessive expression

Possession in Douiret is expressed through the suffixation of pronoun clitics to nouns and through using prepositional phrases. These two strategies are represented by the following rules:

$$\text{Dou. (34) NP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{N} & \text{Proc} \\ \text{N} & \text{(PP)} \end{array} \right\}$$

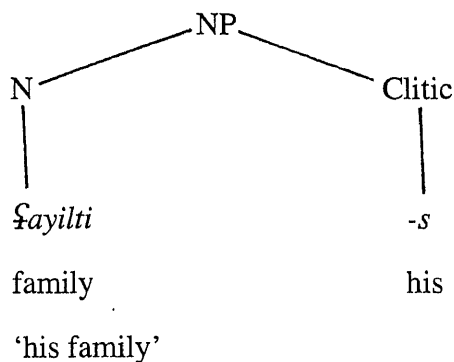
For instance:

- Dou. (35) a. *ʔayilti-s*
 family-his
 ‘his family’
- b. *el-ktab n muʔallim*
 ‘the book of teacher’
 ‘The teacher’s book’

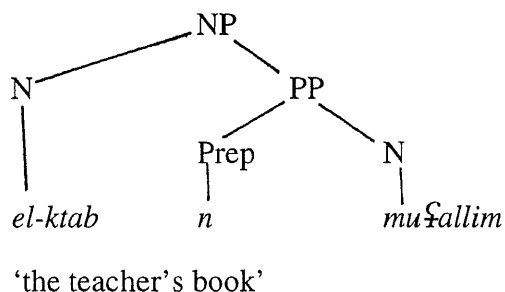
- c. *el-ħabbit n irdan*
 'a grain of wheat'

The tree diagrams of example(35a-b) follow:

Dou. (36) a.



b.



4.4 Adjective phrase

As members of the open class, adjectives in Douiret have the following properties: (a) they denote various meanings such as colour, shape, etc; (b) Adjectives function as head of adjective phrase (AdjP); (c) they inflect for gender and number and agree with the subject or the noun phrase and (d) they occur both attributively and predicatively, for instance:

- Dou. (37) a. *y-uġis el-gdas el-flus*
 he-wants alot of money
 'he wants a lot of money'

- b. *yan-na aʃalluʃ d amallal*
 have-we lamb is white
 ‘we have a white lamb’
- c. *qubbit-na tazizawt*
 dome-our blue
 ‘our dome is blue’

The adjective phrase is formed by the following simple rule:

Dou. (38) AdjP → Adj (Adv)

However, the rules prescribing the environments in which AdjP occurs may be outlined as follows:

Dou. (39) a. S → NP (AdjP) AdjP (AdvP)
 b. S → NP Cop AdjP (AdvP)

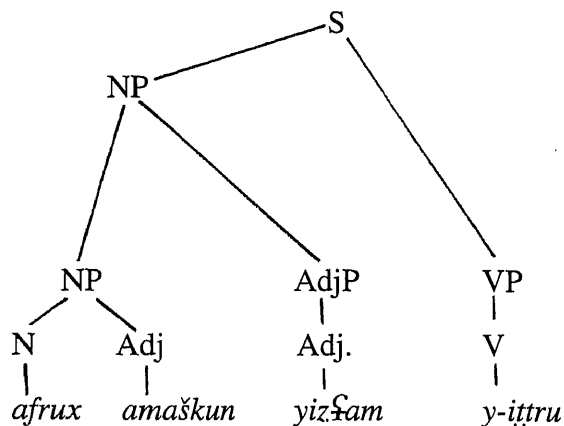
The optional AdjP in rule (39a) is an interesting case because of the two ensuing adjective phrases. The first AdjP is may be an immediate constituent of the subject at least semantically because the construction *afrux amaʃkun* denotes one single meaning ‘baby’.

For instance:

Dou. (40) a. *afrux amaʃkun yizʃam y-ittru*
boy small beautiful he-cried
 ‘the beautiful baby cried’

One may suggest the following structure:

Dou. (41)



‘The beautiful baby cried’

Adjectives can be modified by adverbs which express a meaning of degree such as by the recurrent adverb *wažid* ‘very’. As outlined in rules (39), the modifying adverb occurs after the adjective phrase as illustrated by the following example:

Dou. (42) a. *ran-i*⁶ *luža* *wažid*
 am-I hungry very
 ‘I am very hungry’

⁶ The word *rani* is a peculiar loanword from Tunisian Arabic. Its semantic role is to add emphasis and intention to the whole sentence. Etymologically, it may be a corruption from the Arabic word *raʔā* ‘to see’. The conjugated paradigm for *ran* in Tunisian Arabic is as follows:

			Pl.	<i>rāhum</i>	‘the are’
Sg.	1	<i>rān-i</i>			‘I am’
	2 masc.	<i>rā-k</i>		3 masc.	‘you are’
	fem.			3 fem.	
	3 masc.	<i>rā-hu</i>			‘he is’
	fem.	<i>rā-hi</i>			‘she is’

As in the case of nouns, adjectives in Douiret occur as either free or annexed. In contrast to nouns, adjectives do not change in the annexed state as shown in the following examples:

Dou.(43)	a. <i>awra Y</i>	(free state)	'yellow'
	b. <i>udam d awra Y</i>	(annexed state)	'yellow face'
	c. <i>amallal</i>	(free state)	'white'
	d. <i>nitta d amallal</i>	(annexed)	'he is white'

4.5 The prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrases are formed by the following rule:

Dou. (44) PP → Prep NP

Rule (44) dictates that the preposition must always precede the noun phrase.

Examples of PPs include:

Dou. (45) a. *t-* *zitt* *g* *azarbit* *-is* *fusi-* *-s*
 she- knits in carpet with hand her

'she knits her carpet with her left hand'

b. *g* *taddart*
 in house

'in the house'

c. *f* *yill* *-is*
 about daughter her

‘about her daughter’

Semantically, PPs can show location or direction. For instance:

Direction

- Dou. (46)
- a. *nitta yi-hdiff atša fiyatus*
 he he-threw food on cat
 ‘he threw the food on the cat’
 - b. *alhadd sdaffar izarzart*
 he ran behind the deer
 ‘he ran behind the deer’
 - c. *ti-hbid affudm-is*
 she-hit face-his
 ‘she hit him on the face’

Location

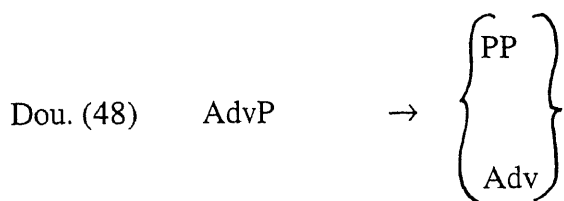
- Dou. (47)
- a. *nišdi s tmurt*
 ‘I am from here’
 - b. *tuyal g žunnas*
 ‘hanged in its sky’

4.6 Adverbial phrase

4.6.1. Constituent structure of AdvP

Adverbs usually plays the role of a modifier.

The rules which govern an AdvP follow:



The examples 49 a-c illustrate this rule:

Dou. (49) a. *ki le-hbal*

‘like madness

b. *qbal assarḥ*

‘before departure’

c. *baḥd iggid*

‘after the night falls’

Other adverbs include *waḥid* ‘very’, *kul* ‘every’ which can modify adjectives as shown in the following rule:

Dou. (50) AdjP → Adj Adv

Examples illustrating this rule follow:

Dou. (51) a. *Belqasem yadḥi yadi-s atdig waḥid*

Belqasem made mother-his angry very

‘Belqasem made his mother very angry’

b. *niṣdi šabḥa waḥid*

I am full very

‘I am very full’

c. *rani luza waḥid*

I am hungry very

‘I am very hungry’

So far, emphasis is placed on the constituents of a noun phrase, attention is drawn presently to other types of simple sentences.

4.7 Types of simple sentences

4.7.1 Interrogative sentences

There are two types of interrogative sentences, (1) polar sentences, which are declarative sentences requiring a 'yes' or 'no' answer and (2) sentences which use interrogative pronouns with the purpose of finding out particular information about any constituent in the sentence (Sadiqi 1997:153).

In the first type, polar sentences, there is a rise of intonation as shown in example 52(a-b) below:

Dou. (52) a. *ʕAli yi-sqad l-Franʕa ?*

Ali he is going to France
'is Ali going to France?'

b. *nitta d el-muʕallim ?*

he is the teacher
'is he a teacher?'

In the second type of interrogative sentences, an interrogative pronoun precedes the sentences as shown below:

Dou. (53) a. *dwili sakkar l-bab ?*

who closed the door
'who closed the door?'

- b. *l-wili yi-mma 'Ali l-axbar?*
 to whom he told Ali the story
 'to whom Ali told the news'
- c. *s mata y-naŋŋaf 'Ali tašsušt ?*
 with what he cleans Ali tent
 'with what did Ali clean the tent'
- d. *mani yi-sqad ?*
 where he-went
 'where did he go?'
- e. *lammi yi-sqad?*
 when he-went
 'when did he go?'
- f. *ma k y-utif ?*
 how he-came
 'how did he come?'

Interrogative pronouns can be placed in post subject or final position in an interrogative sentence, although these are marked word orders.

- Dou. (54) a. *£Ali mata yi-ŷz?*
 Ali what he-eats?
 'what does Ali eat?'
- b. *£Ali yi-ŷz mata?*
 Ali he-eats what
 'what does Ali eat?'

4.7.2 Negative sentences

Sentential negation in Douiret is an interesting phenomenon.⁷ This is because of the hybrid nature of the discontinuous negation marker *wil-... -š* (corresponding to the French *ne pas*) where the morpheme *wil* is native and the ‘suffix’ *-š* is a Maghrebine element used in Tunisian Arabic, Algerian Arabic and Moroccan.⁸ Bahloul (1996:75) argued by stating that *-š* is part of “an inherently discontinuous morpheme’ in Tunisian Arabic based on the following phonological evidence:

First, it is not a lexical entity since it does not conform to the syllabic laws of Tunisian Arabic.

Second, it is not a clitic, as clitics in Tunisian Arabic are governed by the following syllabic templates: (CV, V, CVC and VC).

Third, *-š* is not even a suffix due to the strict environments in which it occurs.

This third argument has some implications for the sentential structure in Douiret. Similarly to Tunisian Arabic, the negation marker *wil-....-š* in Douiret follows the rule:

Dou. (55) a. *wil + V + N + -š (Adv)*

Dou. (56) a. *yi-yyur* *šAli* *l-tunis*
 he-went Ali to Tunisia
 ‘Ali went to Tunisia’

b. *wili* *yi-yyur-š* *šAli l-tunis*
 not he-goes-not Ali to Tunisia
 ‘Ali does not go to Tunisia’

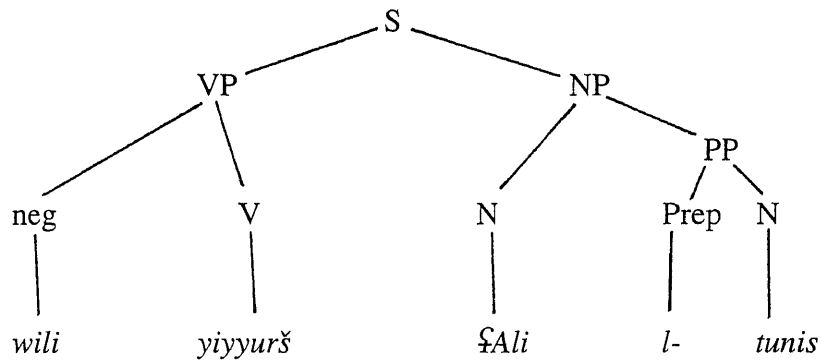
⁷ Motylinski (1897: 391) observed in the Jerban dialects the negation markers *wa...š*, *ou...š*, *ul...*, *ur...*, *ouar...*

⁸ In Kabyle and Tamazight, the negation markers are not influenced by Arabic, that is Kabyle (*ur...ara*) and more simply *ur* in Tamazight.

- c. *wil i-ḡasax-š yi-qwa*
 not he-like-not he-fat
 'he does not like to be fat'
- d. *d-iš daha*
is- not here
 'not here'

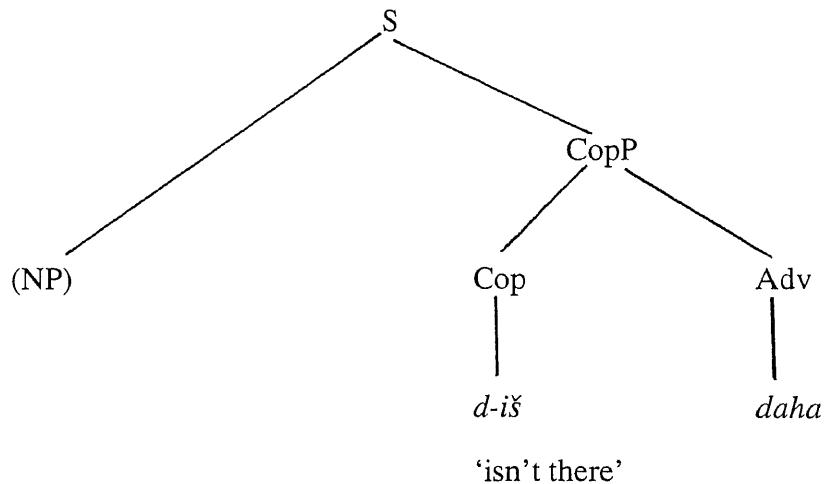
Using a tree diagram, example 56b can be represented as follows:

Dou. (57)



Example 56(d) shows that the particle *d* contains part of the discontinuous morpheme *-š* without *wil*. This phrase may be represented as follows:

Dou. (58)



In 56d, both the particle and the negative marker *-š* enter into construction with the adverbial phrase *daha* ‘there’ where the adverb assumes the role of the head of the adverbial phrase.

4.7.3 Imperative sentences

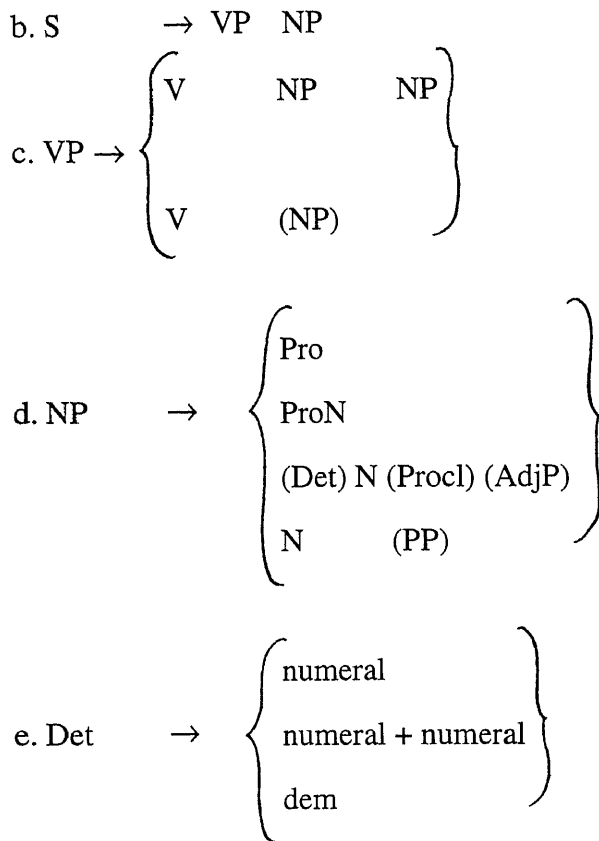
Imperative constructions are characterised by the absence of the subject and absence of pronoun clitic, as in:

- Dou. (59)
- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| a. | <i>asid fisaš</i> | <i>fisaš !</i> | (2nd.sg.) |
| | ‘come quickly | quickly!’ | |
| b. | <i>ašzim</i> | <i>iž-žwab!</i> | (2nd.sg.) |
| | ‘read | the letter!’ | |
| c. | <i>ašzmi</i> | <i>iž-žwab!</i> | (2nd.pl.) |
| | ‘read the letter!’ | | |

To sum up, the rules which govern a simple sentence with its constituents may be outlined as follows:

Dou. (60)

a. Scop → NP (Cop) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{AdvP} \end{array} \right\}$



4.8 The Complex sentence

4.8.1 Introduction

Mathews (1981: 170) defines a complex sentence as a sentence or a clause which “includes at least one smaller clause”. Therefore the term ‘complex’ suggests an embedded clause within the main clause. For instance:

Dou. (61) a. a[zri-γ aryaz b[illi y-ukir le-flus]b]a
 saw-I man who he-stole the money
 ‘I saw the man who stole the money’

The example (61a) suggests the main clause *a* (i.e. *zri-γ aryaz illi y-ukir le-flus*) and the subordinate clause *b* (i.e. *illi y-ukir le-flus*). A subordinate clause is defined as a type of construction that is syntactically dependent on the main clause or superordinate.

There are three main types of complex clauses in Berber: Relative clauses, co-ordinate clauses and cleft clauses.

4.8.2 Relative clause

4.8.2.1 Introduction

The relative clause is a type of embedded construction within the complex sentence, where both main and embedded clause contain at least one verb each. Typical relative clauses in Douiret are the bracketed constructions in examples (62a-d).

- Dou. (62) a. *zri-γ aryaz [illi yi-xsa-k]*
 saw-I man who he-likes-you
 ‘I saw the man who likes you’
- b. *yi-*nnad* Jḥa l-waryaz. [illi yu-γis el-gdas el-flus]*
 he-turned Jḥa towards the man who he-wanted alot of money
 ‘Jḥa turned towards the man who wanted a lot of money’
- c. *afrux illi i-kassar tadabbust yi-ffaγ*
 boy who he-broke bottle he-went out
 ‘the boy who broke the bottle went out’
- d. *yi-yyur aryaz illi yi-dwa fillas*
 he-gone man who he-spoke about-him
 ‘he is gone the man whom he spoke about’

An elementary definition of relative clause is given by Tallerman (1998 : 82) as “a type of embedded clause which modifies (= says something about) a HEAD NOUN”. This definition is in a sense elaborated by Comrie (1988:143), stating that:

A relative clause then consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause. The head in itself has a certain potential range of referents, but the restricting clause restricts this set by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the over-all construction.

In this statement, Comrie (1988:144) argued that the non-inclusion of the non-restrictive clause type in the definition is intentional because the definition includes both finite and non-finite clauses. He added that any claim that a particular language has relative clauses must adhere to the definition given above. However, Comrie conceded that in some languages such as Walbiri (Aboriginal language), its subordinate clause does not formally adhere to the familiar relative clauses in languages such as English. In Walbiri, for instance, this subordinate clause was simply an adjoined relative clause.

Harking back to Comrie's definition of a relative clause, attention is given now to the identification of the head and its different types.

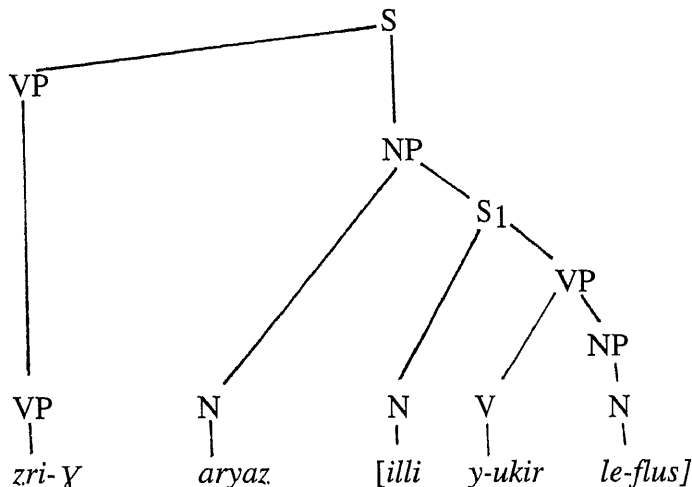
Consider the following example:

- Dou. (63) a. *zri-ɣ aryaz [illi y-ukir le-flus]*
 saw-I man who he-stole the money
 'I saw the man who stole the money'

In example (63), the head NP is *aryaz* 'man' and its modifying relative clause is *illi y-ukir le-flus*. The prototypical relative clause in Douiret usually follows the head noun and is introduced by the relative pronoun *illi* 'who, which, that'.

Using a tree-diagram, this sentence can be represented as follows:

Dou. (64)



The prototypical rule of relative clause in Douiret for the VSO and SVO construction may be represented in (65a) which undergoes transformation and generates rule (65b), as in:

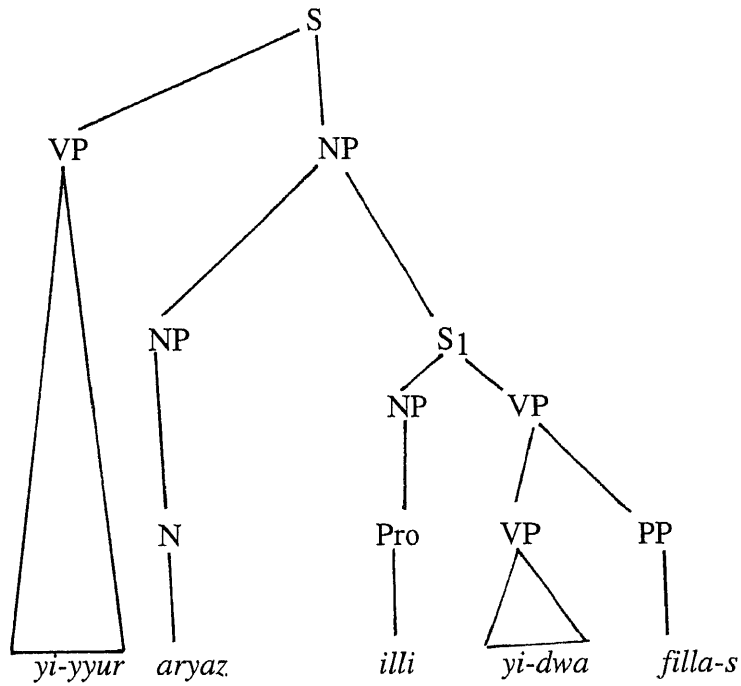
Dou. (65)

- a. S → VP NP NP S₁
- b. S → VP NP[NP $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{rel} \\ \text{pro} \end{matrix} \right\}$ S₁[NP VP]S₁]NP VP
- c. S → NP S₁[NP VP] (CopP) (VP)

Rule (65a) states that a complex sentence is made up of a VP, a NP with its embedded relative clause S₁. This rule is transformed into rule (65b), revised in rule (65c), with the optional addition of the CopP and a VP. Rule (65) may be illustrated by the following tree diagrams of sentences above:

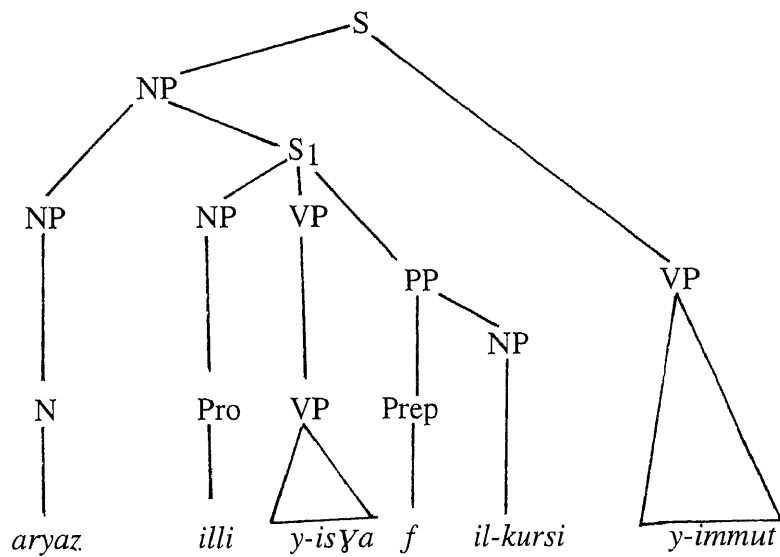
Dou. (66)

a.

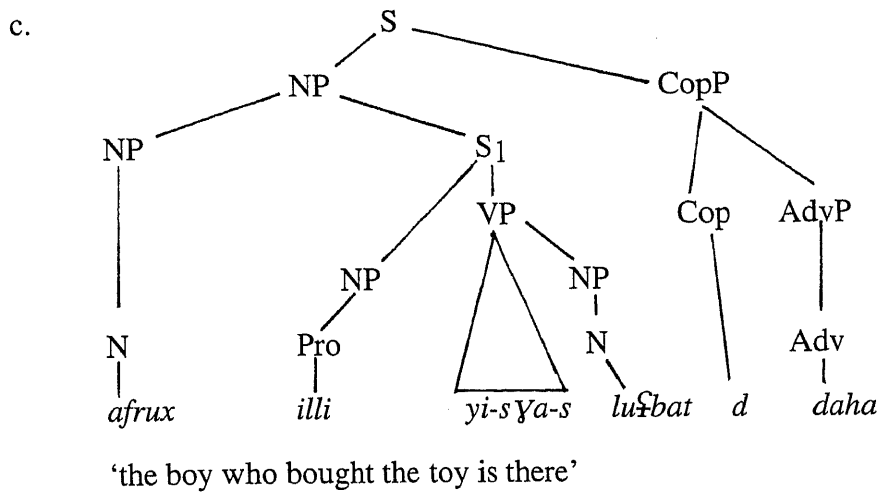


'he is gone the man whom he spoke about'

b.



'the man who sat on the chair died'



Having outlined the basic structure of a relative clause, immediate attention is drawn to the constituent of the relative clause mainly the head NP. According to Comrie (1988:147), there are, cross-linguistically, four types of heads : Non-reduction of a NP, pronoun-retention, relative pronoun and gap. The Douiret system has characteristics of the pronoun retention and relative pronoun types.

In the pronoun-retention type, the head NP has conserved its pronominal form in the embedded sentence.⁹ When the pronoun occurs in an object position as a copy pronoun, then it may take the form of a clitic. For instance in example (69), the NP *tamashit* ‘hoe’ is retained through the pronoun clitic *-t*.¹⁰

In the relative-pronoun type, the NP is replaced by a pronoun which functions as the head in the embedded clause. According to Comrie (1988:149), this type is common to European languages and an important characteristic of a pronoun that is “case marked”. Based on the available data, the pronoun *illi* assumes the role of the relative pronoun, as shown in the following example:

⁹ To clarify this type, Comrie (1988: 147) asserts that this type is peripheral in English and exists mainly in colloquial expressions such as the use of “this is the road that I know where it leads” instead of “I know where the roads lead”.

¹⁰ For further discussion on other types of relativization, such as on Subject, direct object and indirect object, Cf. § 4.8.2.3.

- Dou. (67) a. *tamašhit illi t-ušid-i-t tarraz.*
 hoe which you gave-me it broke
 ‘the hoe which you gave me broke’

In scrutinising these types of heads, the relative pronoun occurring immediately after the subject which may best describe the prototypical head in Berber.

So far, the emphasis is placed on the constituents of a relative clause without referring to its types. The latter is the immediate concern.

4.8.2.2 Types of relative clauses

In Douiret, there are three types of relative clauses: Non-restrictive relative clause, restrictive-relative clause and free relative clause.

Non-restrictive relative clauses

Non-restrictive relative clauses (also called appositive relative clauses) are attested in Douiret and also in other Berber languages such as in Tamazight, Cf. Ennaji (1983) and Sadiqi (1997).

Non-restrictive clauses or (non-defining) are used to add further information to the subject. Semantically, when the subject is defined, a non-restrictive clause is used. Cf. Sadiqi (1997:170). In contrast to restrictive clauses, non-restrictive clauses are separated from the principal clause by a necessary pause accompanied by a slight fall in tone, as in:

- Dou. (68) a. *aryaz, illi i-yaxnib iflusi-w, yimmatt*
 man who he-stole money-my he-died

'The man, who stole my money, died'

- b. *ʕAli, illi y-usi-s s Tataouine, yi-s yi el-kahrbit*
 Ali who he-came-he from Tataouine he-buys the car
 'Ali, who came from Tataouine, buys the car'

Restrictive relative clauses

These type of clauses restrict the NP or in Comrie' s (1988: 138) words "the potential referent" for the purpose of providing adequate information for the NP to be identified .

For instance:

- Dou. (69) a. *aryaz illi yatbayt s ultmas tamaqrart y-tzna-k g es-slam*
 man who you marry with sister-his old he-sends-you in regards
 'the man whose older sister you married sends his regards'
- b. *azla daffar afrux illi y-ukir el-flus*
 chase behind boy who he-stole the money
 'I chased the boy who stole the money'
- c. *tamashit illi t-ušid-i-t tarraz*
 hoe which you gave-me it- broke
 'the hoe which you gave me broke'
- d. *ʕAli illi y-a yi l-ħiwan*
 Ali who he-kill the goats
 'Ali is the one who killed the goats'

- Dou. (70) a. *aryaz illi yatbayt s ultmas tamaqrart y-tzna-k g es-slam*
 man who you marry with sister-his old he-sends-you in regards
 'the man whose older sister you married sends his regards'

The notion of ‘restriction’ is also supported and emphasised in Douiret by the addition of *rāhu* which may have the meaning of ‘indeed, may’ or a corruption of the Arabic word *raʔāhi* ‘she saw him’, as in:

- Dou. (71) a. *rahi Fatma illi t-iḥraqt ašuš*
indeed/may Fatma that she-burned tent
‘it’s Fatma who burned the tent’

Free relative clause

The term ‘free relative clause’ has only recently come into use as a substitute for ‘nominal relative clause’ or ‘relative clause without an antecedent’ (Sadiqi 1997:171).¹¹ In other words, the word ‘free’ implies that the relative clause does not have a subject and subsequently it is not dependent semantically on the main clause. For instance, the bracketed clauses in (72a) and (72b) are examples of free relative clauses:

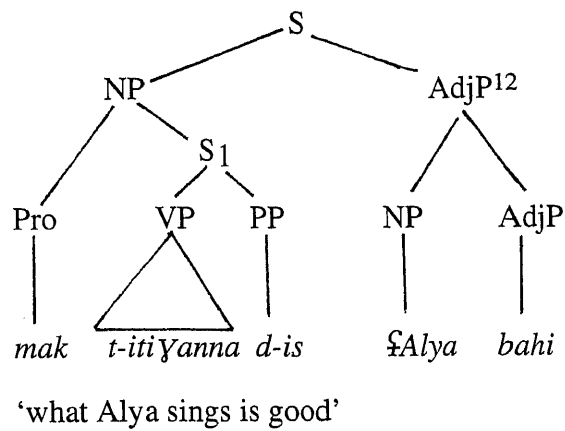
- Dou. (72) a. [*mak t-itiḡanna d-is*] *ʔAlya bahi*
what she-sings with-it Alya good
‘what Alya sings is good’
- b. [*mak s t-atḡanna*] *Alya bahi*
no matter will she-sings Alya good
‘no matter what Alya sings is good’

As the examples show, the relative clause is introduced in Douiret with the complimentiser *mak* ‘what’ (Fr. ‘*ce que*’).

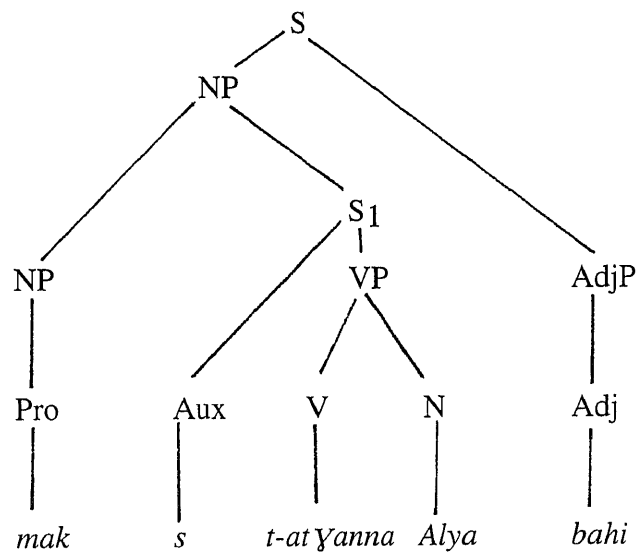
Example (72a-b) may have the following structure:

¹¹ This term is also being discussed by Radford (1988: 480).

Dou. (73) a.



b.



In example (72a), the sentence *t-itiYanna d-is* (S₁) is embedded within the free relative clause which is essentially a NP.¹³

4.8.2.3 Relativization on all positions of NP

Berber can relativise on (1) subject, (2) direct object, (3) indirect object and (4) complement of a preposition, as shown in the following examples:

¹² This is a non-copula phrase.

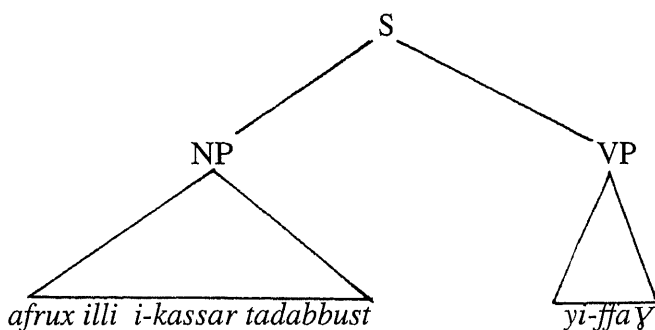
¹³ For further discussion, see Sadiqi (1986:93).

(1) Subject

- Dou. (74) a. *afrux illi i-kassar tadabbust yi-ffaʔ*
 boy who he-broke the bottle went out
 'the boy who broke the bottle went out'

Sentence (74a) can be represented as follows:

Dou. (75)



(2) Direct object

(76a) is compared with (76b):

- Dou. (76) a. *aryaz y-aʔi tayarzizt tamaqrart*
 man he-kill rabbit big
 'the man killed the big rabbit'

- b. *tayarzizit illi y-aʔi-t aryaz tamaqrart*
 rabbit that he-kill-it man big
 'the rabbit that the man killed is big'

In relativizing the direct object, the verb acquires the pronoun clitic of the direct object.

(3) Indirect object

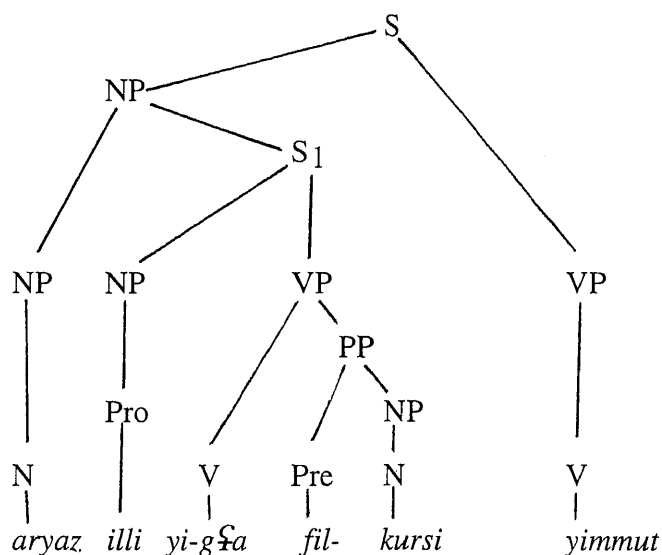
- Dou. (77) a. *afrux illi y-i-sʔa-s luʔbat d daha*
 boy who he-bought-him toy is there
 ‘the boy who bought the toy is there’

(4) Complement of a preposition

- Dou. (78) a. *yi-yyur aryaz illi yi-dwa filla-s*
 he-gone man who he-spoke about-him
 ‘he is gone the man whom he spoke about’
- b. *el-kursi illi yi-gʔa filla-s aryaz*
 the chair that he-sit on-it man
 ‘the chair on which the man is sitting’
- c. *aryaz illi yi-gʔa fil-kursi yi-mmut*
 man who he-sit on chair he-died
 ‘the man who is sitting on the chair died’

The representation of (78c) is as follows:

Dou. (79)



4.8.3 Complement clause

Complements are characteristically obligatory constituents in a clause and hence they differ from adjuncts in that respect. There are three types of complements in Berber: NPs, PPs and Complement clauses (CCs). Both NPs and PPs are discussed in § 4.3 and § 4.5 respectively and attention is paid now to the structure of CCs.

What follows in this section does not promise to discuss in detail the characteristics of complement clauses due to the paucity of available data. Sadiqi (1986) and Ennaji (1985) have both explored the rather complex nature of complement clauses which deserve further investigation.

The complement clause is introduced by the complement markers or complimentisers *illi* ‘that, which, who’, *mak* ‘what’ and *baš* ‘so that’. These complimentisers are not deletable. The bracketed clauses below are examples of CCs with the complimentisers *illi* and *baš* respectively:

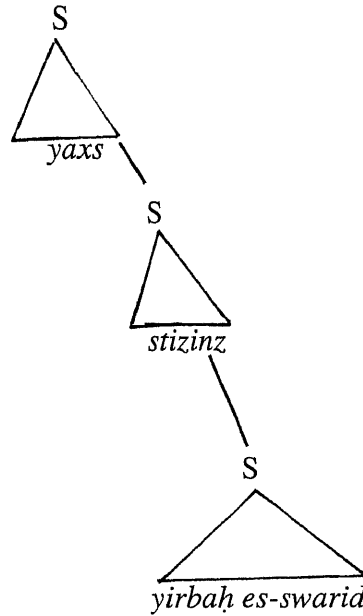
illi

- Dou. (80) a. *ya-skirkis [illi nitta s yi-dwil traža tafruxt]*
 he-lied that he will go back girl
 ‘he lied that he will go back to the girl’

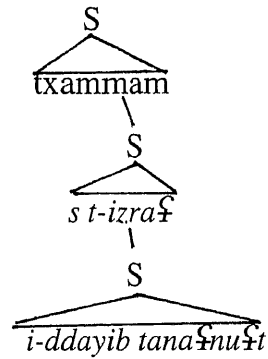
- baš* b. *y-axs stizinz [baš y-irbah es-swarid]*
 he-wants to sell so that he-gains money
 ‘he wants to sell (it) so he can gain some money’
- c. *t-xammam s t-izraḥ baš i-ddayib tanaḥnuḥt*
 she-thinks will she-plant so that she-makes bread
 ‘she thinks to plant (it) so that she can make bread’

The examples (80b) and (80c) can be represented in a form of staggered clauses as in:

(81) a.



b.



4.9 Adverbs

Adverbs in Douiret can occur in initial and final position in a sentence. The general role of an adverb is purely peripheral. For instance:

- Dou. (82) a. *s azatta s anakda el-ɣid s ad yawid falla*
 will weave will cut the Eid will fall on -me
 'I will weave and will cut, as the *Eid* is approaching'
- b. *yidinnaɣ Samir yi-ɣris tafunast*

last night Samir he-kills cow

‘last night, Samir killed a cow’

In the sentences above, we have two adverbs: ‘as the Eid is approaching’ and ‘last night’. Semantically, the latter adjunct is more meaningful than the former because of the cultural significance embedded in the latter. For instance, it is deemed to be a bad omen in Douiret when not completing the task of weaving by the approaching Eid. The semantics of adverbs is the current concern.

4.9.1 Adverbs and their semantic roles

There are three types of adverbs: adverbs of space, adverbs of time, and adverbs of manner.

Adverbs of space

Adverbs of space refer to a type of construction whereby additional spatial information is added to the verb, as shown in the following examples:

- Dou. (83) a. *nišdin maniš māši l-it-tahnut*
 ‘I’m not going to the shop’
- b. *uha d adžžar sastad tiddart n Zuhayyir*
 ‘these are the trees in front of Zuheyir’s house’
- c. *ammudi sdanni waman*
 ‘like oil on water’

Adverbs of space can occur in either the initial or final position of a sentence, e.g., ‘In Douz festival, he wins the prize’ Dou. *g el-mahražan Douz yarbaḥ aljayzat* and *yarbaḥ aljayzat g el-mahražan Douz* ‘he wins the prize in Douz festival’.

Space adverbs come in the form of a prepositional phrase. This prepositional phrase can modify a NP or an AdvP., as in:

- Dou. (84) a. *nišš wi sqiddaxš l-taħnut asunnat*
 ‘I didn’t go to the shop yesterday’
- b. *il-γul n il-saħrit*
 ‘the monster of the desert’
- c. *tafruxt danni kitfis*
 ‘the girl on his shoulders’

Adverbs of time

Structurally, adverbs of time are similar to space adjuncts. The chief difference lies in semantics. Time adjuncts are used to add a temporal information to the verb. In examples 85(a-c) below, the adjuncts are optional, whereas in 85(d) it is obligatory due to the transitive nature of the copula verb, as in:

- Dou. (85) a. *yasiss Sami et-tay azyin ummas*
 ‘Sami drinks tea at midday’
- b. *rabbantin d xalinsin ala kubran*
 ‘they were raised by her aunties until they grew up’
- c. *g el-subh, Œammti Fatma itzayb el-ftur*
 ‘in the morning, aunty Fatma cooked lunch’
- d. *nišš (d) yillis n idunnat*
 ‘I am the daughter of yesterday’

Adverbs of manner

There are four types of adverbs of manner: Means, instrument, agent and manner adjuncts. The type of construction adjuncts can be either a prepositional phrase, a noun phrase or an adverbial phrase, for example:

Manner adjuncts

- Dou. (86) a. *t-afrad aʕʕsuʕ bilgda*
 she-cleans tent well
 'she cleaned the tent well'

Manner adjuncts can be used in comparative constructions as in:

- b. *tittawins mmuzla Y*
 eyes-her as the billygoat's (eyes)
 'her eyes are as the billy goat's (eyes)'

Instrument

- c. *afrux gʕa yittara s il- kurt*
 boy is playing with the ball
 'the boy is playing with his bike'

Agentive adjunct.

- d. *aryaz illan y-ukir el-flus t-ihbid b il-kahrbit*
 man who he-stole the money he was hit by a car
 'the man who stole the money was hit by a car'

(c) the addition of the correlative marker *ul...la* ‘neither ... nor’ whereby *la* ‘nor’ is the central marker and *ul* ‘neither’ is the endorsing item.

(e) the marker *min ʔir* ‘without’ (< TA)

Contrast: The contrast marker *amma* ‘but’ is not always used with some constructions as shown in example (89a) below:

- Dou. (89) a. *aryaz yi-karraz tamattut t-zarraʔ*
 man he-ploughs woman she-saw
 ‘the man ploughs the field and the woman sows’
- b. *Samira t-ʔazzam g il-ktab amma Samir yitfarraʒ g et-talvzit*
 Samira she-reads in the book while Samir he-watches in the
 television
 ‘Samira reads a book while Samir watches the television’
- c. *aryaz labas ʔlih amma taqqarmit*
 man rich but stingy
 ‘the man is rich but stingy’
- d. *birra ʔm illi aryaz ʔniy nitta yi-qqur ttqarmit*
 eventhough who man rich he he-dry not generous
 ‘even though the man is rich, he is not generous’

Alternative ‘or’

- e. *Samira nad Laila*
 Samira or Leila
 ‘Samira or Leila’
- f. *nitta s aysa ʔ tafunast nad aʔalluʂ*
 he will buy cow or sheep
 ‘he will neither buy the cow nor the sheep’

- g. *Hmid y-axs y-aɣmur fi Tataouine nada tiddart*
Hmid he-likes he-lives in Tataouine or Douiret
 ‘Hmid likes to live in either Tataouine or Douiret’
- h. *afrux yi-xnib tafunast nad aɣalluɣ*
boy he-stole cow nor sheep
 ‘the boy stole neither the cow nor the sheep’

Correlative coordinator: ul...la ‘neither...nor’

- j. *afrux ul i-kammil l el-xidmtis l el-qraytis*
boy neither he-finished homework-his nor book-his
 ‘the boy neither finished his homework nor his book’

min ɣir ‘without’

- h. *naba ɣ Ali min ɣir Fatma*
call Ali without Fatma
 ‘call Ali, not Fatma’

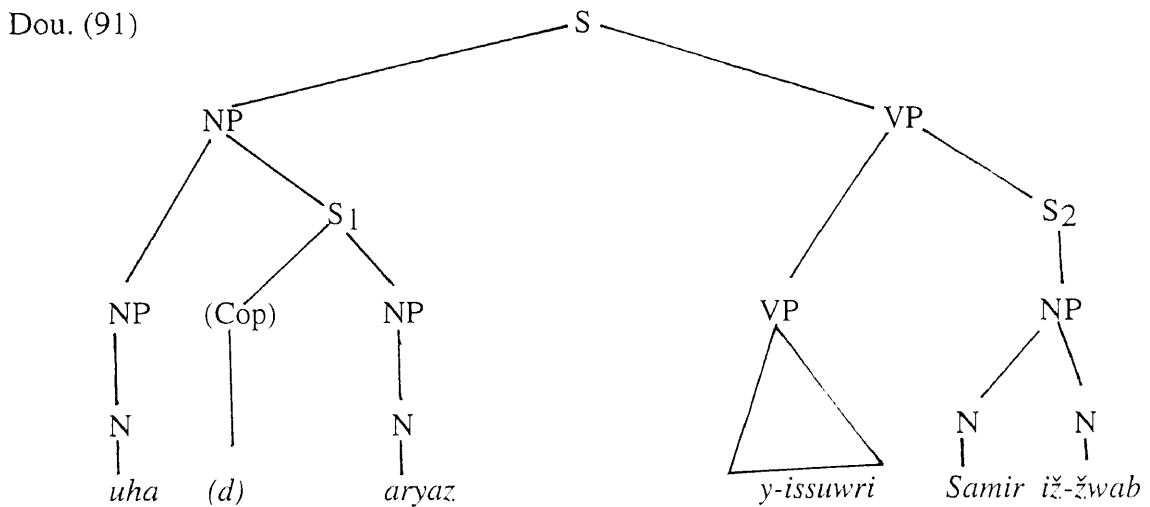
4.11 Cleft sentences

Cleft sentences in Berber have been studied by several Berberists, to name a few Basset (1952), Ennaji and Sadiqi (1986), Sadiqi (1997). The present section is a tentative analysis of cleft sentences in Douiret due to the little available data. Ennaji and Sadiqi (1986:54) distinguish two properties of cleft sentences: Semantically and formally. Semantically, the cleft clauses place the focalised constituent, be it a subject or an object, at the beginning of a sentence. In other words, the emphasis is placed on the constituent which the speaker wishes to accentuate. Formally, in certain word orders the verb is the main carrier of the direct object clitic (Ennaji and Sadiqi 1986:54). The

paired example below may show that, in addition to the shift of the constituent to the beginning of the clause, the verb takes the intensive form¹⁵, for instance:

- Dou. (90) a. *Sami y-uri eḷ-ḷwāb l-waryaz yuri > yissuwri*
 Sami he-writes the letter to-the man
 'Sami wrote a letter to a man'
- b. *uha aryaz y-issuwri Samir iḷ-ḷwāb*
 this man he-wrote Samir the letter
 'it is to the man that Samir wrote a letter'
- c. *nitta y-a ḷi tanifsa g iṣ-ṣaḥrat ya ḷi > ya ḷḷi*
 he he-kills snake in the-desert
 'he kills the snake in the desert'
- d. *g iṣ-ṣaḥrat nitta illi y-a ḷḷi talafsa*
 in the-desert he who he-killed snake
 'it is in the desert that he killed the snake'

Example (90b) can be represented as follows:



'it is to the man that Samir writes a letter'

¹⁵ In Tamazight, the clefted subject necessitates the verb to be in the participle form *i-.....-n* (Sadiqi 1997: 217). However, Basset (1949: 35) argues that the participle should be treated as an impersonal form and not only as a system made up of suffixes.

In example (91), one notices that the second section of the cleft sentence does not begin with the relative pronoun *illi* 'which'. Its deletion in this sentence did not affect the grammar of the clause as a whole. However, if *illi* was used, the function of the second section would be 'dependent relative clause' instead of 'independent verbal phrase'.

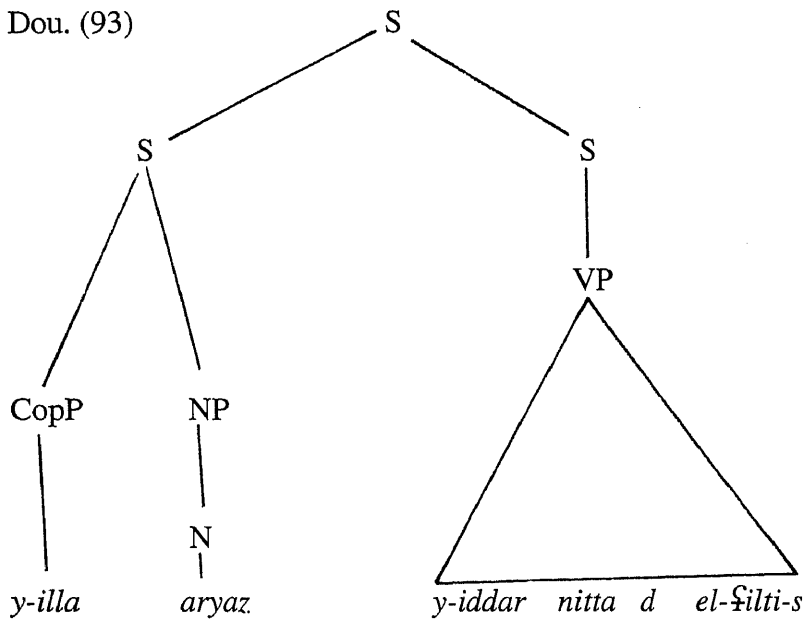
4.12 The Existential construction

The existential construction is a basic structure which is introduced by *yilla* 'there' (masc.sg.) and its feminine counterpart *tilla* 'there is' (fem.sg.).¹⁶ For instance:

- Dou. (92) a. *y-illa aryaz y-iddar nitta d el-ḫilti-s*
 he-there-is man he-lived he with the-family-his
 'there was a man who lived with his family'
- b. *t-illa tamaṭtuṭ tamaqrart*
 she-there-is woman old
 'there was an old woman'

As the term 'existential' suggests, the main function of an existential construction is to express the idea of 'existence', hence its name (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:418). The marker *yilla* and *tilla* are problematic in terms of determining the subject of the clause. *Illa* may either function as the subject of the clause or it may include the NP which follows it. It seems that the inclusion of the NP is more acceptable as the latter functions as the head for the first part of the clause (the Subject). The representation of such construction may be as follows:

¹⁶ By the term 'basic', one refers to a comment made by Huddleston (1988: 183) that existential constructions involve 'raising' where the existential marker 'there' occurs grammatically as an object, as shown in the following example 'I expect there to be some friends of hers on the committee'. For the present analysis, only basic existential constructions are the main concern.



‘there was a man who lived with his family’

4.13 Conclusion

The current chapter can only be judged as a sketch of sentence and phrase structure of Douiret, since thorough investigation of syntax necessitates an undivided attention to it. Close analyses of syntax may be reminiscent of some of the Berberists’ works such as Chaker (1983), Ennaji (1985), Aikhenvald (1986); (1995), Ennaji and Sadiqi (1986), Sadiqi (1997). The latter has completed an extensive study on the complex sentence in Berber which undoubtedly suggests that the current study is an outline of the syntax in Douiret.

However, and despite the fact that the current research cannot be considered exhaustive, one may draw the following conclusions:

First, in terms of frequency of occurrence, the VSO is the most common word order succeeded by the SVO construction.

Second, in Douiret there is subject-verb concord. The importance of the verb in a Berber sentence has been confirmed in this study and also by other Berberists such as Sadiqi (1997).

Third and similarly to other Berber languages, sentence constituents include elements such as complements and adjuncts some of which may take the form of NPs, AdjPs, PPs or AdvPs.

5. Lexical analysis and language contact

5.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 Loanwords: Findings and problems

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3.1 Full Agreement of all three vernaculars

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

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

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

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

Nouns⁵

TIME

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

ELEMENTS

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

WORLD

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

World

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

Vegetation

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

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

Vegetables

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

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

PEOPLE

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

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

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

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

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

ANIMALS

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

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

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

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

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

FOOD

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

BODY

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

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

Adjectives

- (53) 'big' [TA. *kbīr*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *amaqqar*, Kab. *ameqq^wran*, Tam. *ameqran*.
- (54) 'pale' [TA. *wiḏhu aṣfar*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *udmis yuraɣ*, Kab. *awraɣ*, Tam. *wriɣ/iwriɣ*.
- (55) 'alive' [TA. *ḥeyy*, *ḥēyiš*] Dou. *yidder*, Chn. *yidde*, Ouir. *yidder*, Kab. *amuddir*. There is a loss of the final radical /r/ in Chninni, but it is attested elsewhere.

COLOURS

- (56) 'black' [TA. *wṣīf*, *ekḥel*] Dou. Chn. *aḏaṭṭaf*, Ouir. *azattaf*, Kab. *aṣaṭṭaf*, Tam (?)
- (57) 'white' [TA. *abyaz*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *amallal*, Kab. *amellal*, Tam. *amellal*.
- (58) 'red' [TA. *aḥmar*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *azagguɣ*, Kab. *azegg^waɣ*, Tam. *tazuɣi*.
- (59) 'yellow' [TA. *aṣfar*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *awraɣ*, Kab. *awraɣ*, Tam. *wriɣ*.
- (60) 'green' [TA. *axṣar*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *azizaw*, Kab. *azegzaw/azegza*, Tam. *zzezaw*.

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

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

SENSATIONS AND**EMOTIONS**

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

TRANSACTIONS

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

TRANSFORMATIONS

- (69) 'kill' [TA. *yuqtul*] Dou. Chn. *yaγu*, Ouir. *yγarras*, Kab. *neγ*.
- (70) 'tie up' [TA. *yurbuť*] Dou. *yiqañ*, Chn. *yaqqan*, Ouir. *yittaqañ*, Kab. *eqqañ*, Tam. *qqañ*.
- (71) 'wash' [TA. *yaγsil*] Dou. *yissarid*, Chn. *yassird*, Ouir. *yisarið*. Kab. *ssired*, Tam. *suššef*.

COMMUNICATION

- (72) 'say' [TA. *yqūl*] Dou. *imil*, Chn. *yamma*, Ouir. *yimmil*, Kab. *ini*, Tam. *ini*.
- (73) 'shout' [TA. *yħayyat*, *ynēdi*] Dou. Chn. *yitγawwat*, Ouir. *yisγuyyu*, Kab. *suγ*, Tam. *sγiuy*.
- (74) 'swear' [TA. *yihlif*] Dou. *yidžul*, Chn. *yadžul*, Ouir. *yižalla*, Kab. *ggall*, Tam. (?)

BODY FUNCTIONS

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

(77) ‘chew’ [TA. *yum ʕuz*] Dou. *yaffaz*, Chn. *yfuz*, Ouir. *ytaffiz*, Kab. *effez*.

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

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

FARMING

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

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

Conjunctions

(82) ‘or’ [TA. *welle*] Dou. Chn. Ouir. *na ʕ*, Kab. *na ʕ*, Tam. *ne ʕ*.

Prepositions

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

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

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

Adverbs

Adverbs of time

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

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

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

Adverb of place

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

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

(91) ‘in the middle’ [TA. *fil-woʕt*] Dou. *ugammās*, Chn. *mgammas*, Ouir. *gwamas*, Kab. *alemmas*, Tam. *mnaʕša*.

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

Interrogative adverbs

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

5.3.2 Shared lexis in Shilha against Kabyle and Tamazight

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

The full list of these words are as follows:

Nouns

ELEMENTS

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

VEGETATION

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

FRUIT

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

VEGETABLES

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

PEOPLE

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

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

Food

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

URBAN LIFE

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

ABSTRACT

TERMS

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

Adjectives

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

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

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

COLOURS

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

Verbs

CHANGE OF STATES

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

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

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

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

TRANSFORMATIONS

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

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

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

BODY FUNCTIONS

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

COMMUNICATION

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

Conjunctions

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

5.3.3 Lexical variations among the three Shilḥa dialects

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

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

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

The full list of lexical variations follows:

Nouns

ELEMENT

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

Body (Human)

- (3) 'phallus' [TA. *zibb*] Chn. *abazzad*, Dou. *afittal*. The word *afittel* is obscure, since it neither corresponds to Kab. *ašellul* nor to Tam. *abeššiš* and Ayt Hadiddu⁶ *tabllutt* (Bynon 1968:114). It may have developed, in form, from the Cl.Ar. word *fatala* 'to twist together' and *fafil* 'coiled'.⁷
- (4) 'saliva' [TA. *rīq*, *bzāq*] Chn. *tikufas*, Ouir. *isufsan*. These words are not attested in either Kab. *imetman* or Tam. *imetmi*. The origin of these words remains uncertain. There is a false cognate found in Kab. and Tam. *akffus* 'noir de fumée' and Kab. *ikeffi* 'trèfle'.

URBAN LIFE

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

WORK AND

PRODUCTION

AGRICULTURE

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

ABSTRACT

TERMS

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

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

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

Adjectives

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

Colours

Verbs-Movement

(Intransitive)

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

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

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

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

Adverbs

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

Conjunctions

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

Prepositions

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

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

In summary, the lexical analysis yields the following results:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nouns

VEGETATION

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

BODY

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

ANIMALS

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

Verbs

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

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

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

Nouns

URBAN LIFE

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

PEOPLE

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

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

Verbs

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

5.3.3.3 Conclusion

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

5.4 Words borrowed from Arabic

5.4.1 Introduction

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

Table 5.2: Percentage of Loanwords in the Shilhā Vernaculars.

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

5.4.2 Loanwords in Shilhā and semantic fields

Nouns

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

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

Adjectives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Verbs

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

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

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

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

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

5.4.3 Arabicisms in Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen

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

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

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

Even though this comparison shows that the Chninni dialect has, marginally, the most Arabized vocabulary, data is needed to scrutinise these lexical idiosyncrasies.

The full list and discussions of these words are given below:

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

(1) ‘dates’ [TA. *tmar*] Dou. *xarfuš*, Chn. *xarfuš*, Ouir. *tini*.

It is quite unexpected to find the word *tini* with the meaning of ‘dates’ in the Ouirsignen vernacular.¹⁰ It is not a panBerber word. The word *tmer* is used instead as it is found in kab. *etçtçmer* ‘dates’ and Tam. *tmer*, ‘ripe dates’. As for the word *xarfuš* <XRFŠ> in Douiret, it is observed in the Ouirsignen dialect to mean precisely ‘dates that fall off the date palm’ and according to the writer’s informant this kind of date is used as animal food.

(2) ‘shepherd’ [TA. *serrēh*] Chn. *anilti*., Dou. *anilti*., Ouir., *es-sarah*.

The origin of the word *anilti* is obscure. In both Kab. and Tam. the word *ameksa* is used. Cf. vb. *eks* ‘to protect’. It is remotely likely that *anilti* has developed from the Kabyle *tanalt* ‘to taste’.

(3) ‘deer’ [TA. *ȳzēla*] Chn. *izirzir*, Dou. *izirzir*, Kab. *izirzir*, Ouir. *ta ȳzilt*

(4) ‘butter’ [TA. *zibda*]. Chn. *tlussi*, Dou. *lussi*, Ouir. *zibdeθ*.

¹⁰ The different types of dates found in Ouirsignen are as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For instance:

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

5.5 Summary

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

5.6 Shilḥa and Tunisian Arabic in contact situation

5.6.1 Introduction

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

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

5.6.2 Theoretical framework

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.6.2.1 Factors related to languages in contact situation

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

5.6.2.2 Linguistic Approach to Interference

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

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

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

5.6.3 Phonology

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

5.6.4 Morphology

5.6.4.1 Loss of initial vowel *a-*

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

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

¹² Aj. *loued* 'river' (Basset 1883:313).

5.6.4.2 Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers

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

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

5.6.4.3 Adjectivisation and verbalisation

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

Adjectivisation of nouns

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

5.6.5 Negation

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

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

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

5.6.6 Calques

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

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

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

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

5.6.7 Riddles and Proverbs¹³

5.6.7.1 Riddles¹⁴

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

Dou. (1) a. *linta ma bin fǒa wahwa*¹⁵

tu ʔisg iryazin lalluf

aryaz innay satta ʔ, yisqad liʔruf

‘a female, unsupported in the air

she is married to many men

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

b. *tfaɣd siggid muzzo ʔinis*¹⁶

ybarraq did ʔtawinis

‘you hold from its ears

looked at me from its eyes’

c. *f-tiʔtast s wamanis*¹⁷

tuyal g ʔunnas

‘a small can with its water

hanged in its sky’

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

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

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

¹⁶ The oil lamp.

¹⁷ Clue: ‘A grape’

d. *yanna žmaḥet g il-hanut* ¹⁸

willal s yaffa ḡ issisin ayimmit

‘we have a group in a shop

‘who comes out dies’

e. *ḡri šhan d amallal* ¹⁹

ul i ḡazzaz dyiss

kēn ille yaḥdab s il-ḥillat

nad willa yiffa ḡ s il-millat

‘I have a clean plate

no one eats from it

except a sick person

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

f. *qubbitna tazizwt* ²⁰

tatsakkar kan s el-qudrat

titmir kan s el-uzzal

‘our dome is green,

is closed only by destiny

and it opens only with the metal’

g. *amallid, amallak, amallal min kas n el-bullar* ²¹

aḡḡil aman

atalli l-ḥafit

18 Clue: ‘A box of matches’

19 Clue: ‘The month of Ramadhan’

20 Clue: ‘Watermelon’

21 Clue: ‘Lime’

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

5.6.7.2 Proverbs ²²

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

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

'like oil on water'

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

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

c. *ǧumris fusi idžin wil yitsaffaq*

'one single hand can not clap'

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

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

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

5.6.8 The Berber Element in Tunisian Arabic

Although studies on Maghribine Arabic have progressed considerably in recent years, particularly in the area of grammatical descriptions²³, comparative studies among Maghribine Arabic, Levantine and Berber are not well advanced. Scholars of Arabic generally agree that Maghribine Arabic is lexically and morphosyntactically dissimilar to other Arabic varieties such as Egyptian and Lebanese, Cf. Cohen (1970), Caubet (1993) and Mifsud (1994). However, only few researchers explained that the ‘uniqueness’ of Maghribine Arabic is due mainly to the presence of Berber element. This is well stated by Guernier (cited in Chtatou 1997:104) that “*La langue arabe subira, elle aussi, l’empreinte et la pression de langue berbère qui réussira à absorber, à digérer, à berbériser des noms arabes*”. According to Chtatou (1997:104), Berber may transfer its phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic properties to Arabic “to an extent that many items of Berber origin became part of it”.

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

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

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

²⁴ Cf. § 5 on lexical analysis.

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

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

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

5.6.8.1 Nouns

Tunisian Arabic

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

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

- (9) *sfinnārye* [TA. 'carrots']. Sh. *tafisna* γ, Alg. *zrūdiyya*. It is attested in Alg.Ar. *sfennariya*, Malt. *zunnarija*, *karotta* and MA. *xizzu*, Tam. *ssefrani*. As far as Berber languages are concerned, Kab. and Tam. do not share this lexicon with Sh., (Kab. *zruddeyya*, Tam. *xizzu*). If one looks at the morphological make up of both words *sfinnāriyye* (<sfny>) and *tafisna* γ (*fsn* γ) have a near equal number of word roots. This entails presumably that either word may have developed from the other. However, this word is attested in Old Spanish *zð foria* > **zð fð noria* which settles finally its likely etymology.
- (10) *karmūs* [TA. 'fig']. Found also in Alg.Ar. *karmūs*. In MA., the word for 'fig' is *tin*. Cf. Cl.Ar. and Malt. *ṭin*. In Kabyle the word *karmūs* designates 'prickly pear', the word for 'fig' is *abakur*. However, in Algerian Arabic, this word does exist denoting 'figs, dry figs'. In Tamazight, the word *lbakur* is used to mean '*figues précoces, figue-fleur*'. The exact meaning of the word 'fig' is *tazart*. Etymologically, the word *karmus* may have developed from the Arabic word *karma* 'grapevine, vine'.
- (11) *faqqūs* [TA. 'cucumber']. Sh., *afaqqus*. This is a typically Maghribine Arabic word (cf. MA. *feggusa*, Alg.Ar. *faggūš el-a ḡrās*. In Lev., the word *xiyār* is used.
- (12) *genneriyye* [TA. *artichoke*]. MA. *quqa*, Alg. *qarnūn*, Kab. *qarnun*, Tam. *quqa* and Malt. *qaqoċċ*. Since it is a panMaghribine Arabic word, it is quite unlikely that this word is of Berber origin.
- (13) *qattūs* [TA. 'cat']. fem. *qattūaša*. Sh. *iyatus*. According to Aquilina, this could have been a loanword from *basso latino cattus*. Aquilina (1975:308). In Kabyle and Tamazight the word for cat is *amšiš* and *amušš* respectively.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.6.8.2 Adjectives

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

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

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

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

5.6.8.3 Verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.6.8.4 Tunisian Arabic and Berber nursery language

The work of Bynon (1968) is probably the most serious study on the nursery language in Berber. Bynon (1968:129) argues that there are two main morphological characteristics²⁹ of nursery terms in Berber which are "high frequency of open syllables" and "a strong tendency towards reduplication".

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

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

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

5.6.8.5 Summary

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

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

6. General conclusion

In the present study, one has attempted to describe the structure of Douiret, scrutinise its lexis and analyse this vernacular in the light of its sociolinguistic context with the superstratum. This research remains a child's first-step contribution towards the description of the little known varieties of Tunisia. In all of the six chapters of this dissertation, the dialects of Chninni and Ouirighen have been sporadically described. This is because the Chninni vernacular is geographically the closest to Douiret and Ouirighen is an insular dialect purposely chosen to show how the Douiret vernacular differs from another geographically remote dialect. In fact, Ouirighen has shown contrastive phonological and lexical differences when compared with Douiret and Chninini.

The first chapter concerns itself with the sociolinguistic aspect of the vernaculars of Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen. The low prestige of Shilhā in Tunisia is due mainly to the assimilation of the Berbers in the mainstream Tunisian society. Factors which include socio-economic, political and demographic, such as paucity of employment opportunities in the Berber villages, lack of governmental support and the small Berber population, have all contributed to the marginalisation of the Berber language and culture in Tunisia. Moreover, as a result of the use of Arabic as the official language of Tunisia, many Berbers cannot see the practical benefits of conserving Berber since the domain of Berber usage is restricted to the home. Hence, negative attitudes of Berbers towards their Shilhā tongue became inevitable. Today, it is rare to find Berber parents who vehemently forbid the use of Tunisian Arabic at home. This might not have been the norm fifty years ago.¹

¹ More research is needed to survey language attitudes in Tunisia.

The second chapter discusses the phonological system of Douiret. The vowel system of Douiret adheres to the three cardinal phonemes (i.e. /i/, /u/ and /a/). However, the allophonic variations of vowels are rich in Douiret. Similar observation is applied to the consonant system where adjacent consonants and stress generally dictate the colour of consonantal allophones. In comparing the phonological system of Douiret with that of Chninni and Ouirighen, the phonological system did not exhibit major differences. One may add that the phonological system of Douiret shares, as anticipated, more affinities with Chninni than does with Ouirighen. As far as stress is concerned, the analysis of stress patterns in the three vernaculars shows that the phenomenon of secondary stress is observed in Douiret.

The third chapter outlines the morphological system of Douiret. The overall system of Douiret adheres closely to the morphological rules of other Berber languages such as Kabyle and Tamazight. For instance, masculine nouns have the initial *a-* and feminine nouns follow the formulae *ta-* -*t*. The formation of plural nouns (also adjectives) in Douiret is a complex phenomenon and as discussed earlier in (§ 3.4.1.2), the rules encompassing plural nouns (both masculine and feminine plurals) have yielded several rules which may appear at a glimpse somewhat cumbersome.

The fourth chapter can only be considered strictly as a sketch of the clause structure of Douiret. It demonstrates that Douiret chiefly takes the form of the VSO word order. In addition, SVO, OVS and VOS word orders are variations of VSO. There are two types of sentences in Douiret: Simple and complex sentences. Simple sentences include copula and verbal sentences. Complex sentences include relative clauses, co-ordinate clauses and cleft clauses. This chapter also discusses types of phrase structures in Douiret which include NPs,

VPs, AdjPs, AdvPs and PPs. More research is needed to analyse the structure of the ergative clauses in Berber.²

The final chapter concerns itself with analysing the lexis of the vernaculars of Douiret, Chninni and Ouirighen and it also studies the outcomes of language contact between Tunisian Arabic and Berber. Though mutual intelligibility among these three dialects is not scientifically proven,³ the study shows that there are minor lexical and grammatical differences among the three varieties which, *a priori* will not hinder mutual intelligibility. This is confirmed by informants from both Chninni and Douiret who claim that they are capable of understanding each other's speech with minimum effort. The lexical analysis shows that Douiret shares more lexical affinities with Chninni than does with Ouirighen.

The current study shows how both lexis and grammar of Shilhā have been affected as a result of the intensive contact with the superstratum. The emergence of hybrid lexis and the negation form are examples of the outcome of the prolonged contact between Shilhā and Tunisian Arabic.

The analysis of the Berber element in Tunisian Arabic shows that it is *not* heavily flooded with Berber lexis. This thwarts claims presupposing that mutual unintelligibility among Maghrebine Arabic, Levantine and Eastern Arabic is the product of the Berber element in Tunisian Arabic. More comparative studies of Arabic dialectology are needed to determine why Maghrebine Arabic is barely intelligible to Levantine and Eastern Arabic speakers.

Though the present study did not revisit the current affiliation of Shilhā as an offshoot of the Northern-Berber branch, the system of Douiret presents some typological and

² For further discussion, cf. Aikhenvald (1995) and Sadiqi (1997).

³ The writer could not thoroughly investigate the mutual intelligibility among Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen due to the constant interference by local authorities.

structural affinities with the Berber languages of East Algeria and Zuara which intuitively bolsters Aikhenvald's classification.⁴ Having discussed that, comparative work is needed to ascertain the place of Shilha on the Northern-Berber phylum since proper re-classifications demands through comparative analyses of local and non-local vernaculars some of which remain undescribed to this day.

Battenburg's (1999) recent article "The Gradual Death of the Berber Language in Tunisia" is not far-fetched. Death of Berber in Tunisia will eventually occur if no attempts are made to 'preserve' the remaining vernaculars of the mainland such as Matmata, Taoujout, Chninni and the Jerban vernaculars which include Cedouikech, Guellala, Ouirsignen and Ajim. Preserving these languages has important implications for both the government and tertiary institutions. Ignoring the presence of these contributes to their death. Though these vernaculars may retain their native phonological and morpho-syntactical systems in the future, their wordstores will be even more affected by the superstratum. In fact, Tunisian Arabic has replaced many native Shilha terms primarily because of linguistic hegemony of Arabic and not necessarily because Shilha exhibits lexical gaps.

It is primarily the role of local tertiary institutions to strive to encourage research on Shilha and persuade local authorities that such scientific work will not cause potential threat to its national security. In reality, the number of Berber speakers in Tunisia does not exceed 90,000 speakers who cannot threaten social cohesion between Berbers and Arabs. In fact, Berbers and Arabs in southern Tunisia are leading a very peaceful life as many Berbers identify themselves primarily as Tunisians and not Berbers.

⁴ The affinities among Douiret, East Algeria and Zuara include: Expression of the passive and reflexive, lack of using the annexation state form for objects and the system of personal and interrogative pronouns (Aikhenvald 1988a:40).

To conclude with an optimistic note, the establishment of the non-governmental association A.S.N.A.P.E.D.⁵ with the aim of preserving Old Douiret and creating employment opportunities in this Berber village through tourism, is a step forward towards encouraging dwellers to return to their *qsūrs*. If this is achieved, the Shilhā language will gain some vitality through usage. Finally, one may reiterate and emphasise the importance of the government's support in reviving the Berber language and its heritage in Tunisia.

⁵ Cf. Appendix XI for the roles of A.S.N.A.P.E.D, p. 443.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

<i>B.S.L.</i> :	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
<i>G.L.E.C.S.</i> :	Comptes-Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques.
<i>IBLA.</i> :	Institut de Belles Lettres Arabes
<i>Z.P.S.K.</i> :	Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung.

- Abdel-Massih, E.T. (1968). Tamazight verb structure: A generative approach. The Hague: Indiana University.
- Aikhenvald, A.Y. (1986). On the reconstruction of syntactic system in Berber-Lybic. Z.P.S.K. 39 (5), 527-539.
- _____. (1987). On Berber cases in the light of Afroasiatic languages. Proceedings of the 5th International Congress of Hamito-Semitic Studies, 113-123.
- _____. (1988a). A structural and typological classification of Berber languages. Asien Afrika, Lateinamerika. Special Issue of Progressive Tradition in African and Oriental Studies, 21, 37-44.
- _____. (1988b). An outline of word and sentence prosody in Berber: Towards a reconstruction. Unpublished article.
- _____. (1995). Split ergativity in Berber languages. St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies, 4, 39-68.
- Al-Azlūk, A. (n.d.). Dirāsa tāriḫiyya Tataouine, Ghomrasen, Rmada [Historical study of Tataouine, Ghomrasen, Rmada]. Tunis: El Maktaba el Markaziyya.
- Anttila, R. (1972). An introduction to historical and comparative linguistics. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Applegate, J. R. (1971). The Berber languages. In C. T. Hodge (Ed.). Afroasiatic: A survey. (pp. 96-118). The Hague: Mouton.
- Aquilina, J. (1975). The Berber element in Maltese. In T. Bynon & J. Bynon (Eds.). Hamito-Semitic: Proceedings of a colloquium held by the historical section of the linguistics association (Great Britain) at the school of oriental and African Studies, University of London, 18th-20th March (pp. 297-313). The Hague: Mouton.

- _____. (1994). Teach yourself Maltese. London: Cox & Wyman.
- Aspion, R. (1953). Apprenons le Berbère: Initiations aux dialectes Chleuhs. Rabat: Éditions Félix Moncho.
- Ba'albaki, M. (1989). El-Mawrid: A modern English-Arabic dictionary. Beirut: Dar El-ilm lil-malayen.
- Bader, Y. and Kenstowicz, M. (1987). Syllables and case in Kabyle Berber. Lingua, 73, 279-299.
- Bahloul, R.M. (1996). Negation in French and Tunisian Arabic. In M. Eid (Ed.), Perspectives on Arabic linguistics, 8, (pp.67-83). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Balegh, H. (1993). Proverbes. Vol. 1. Tunis: La Press.
- Basset, A. (1929). La langue Berbère, morphologie. Le verbe, étude de thèmes. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- _____. (1941). La langue Berbère dans les territoires du sud. La répartition-Les études-Remarques. Revue Africaine, 61-71.
- _____. (1945). Noms de parenté en Berbère. G.L.E.C.S., IV, 27-30.
- _____. (1946). Le système phonologique du Berbère. G.L.E.C.S., IV, 33-36.
- _____. (1949). Sur le participe Berbère. G.L.E.C.S., 5, 34-36.
- _____. (1950). Les parlers Berbères [in Tunisia]. In Initiations à La Tunisie (pp. 220-226). Paris: Maisonneuve.
- _____. (1952). La langue Berbère. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- _____. (1954). *n* devant complément de nom en Berbère. G.L.E.C.S., 7, 8-11.
- Basset, R. (1883). Notes de lexicographie Berbère: 1er serie, II. Dialecte de Djerbah. Journal Asiatique, 8th ser. 1, 304-314.
- Battenburg, J. (1999). The gradual death of the Berber language in Tunisia. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 137, 147-161.

- Belhedi, H. and Ouessar, M. (1998). The role of NGOs in promoting drylands ecotourism: An ongoing project in southern Tunisia." In Aridlands Newsletter, 43, Spring/summer, May 1999 <<http://phylogeny.arizona.edu/OALS/ALN/<aln43/tunisia.html#jesr>>.
- Bentahila, A. and Davies, E.E. (1992). Convergence and divergence: Two cases of language shift in Morocco". In W. Fase et al. (Eds.), Maintenance and loss of minority languages (pp. 197-210). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933). Language. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Brett, M. and Fentress, E. (1996). The Berbers. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Brett, M. (1999). Ibn Khaldun and the medieval maghrib. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.
- Brown, E.K. and Miller, J.E. (1980). Syntax: A linguistic introduction to sentence structure. London: Hutchinson.
- Brugnatelli, V. (1987). Deux notes sur l'état d'annexion en Berbère. Proceedings of 4th International Hamito-Semitic Congress, 349-359.
- Bugeja, K.P. (1988). Kelmet il-Malti (3rd.ed.). Malta: AN Books.
- Bynon, J. (1968). Berber Nursery Language. Transactions of the Philological Society, 107-161.
- Bynon, J. and Bynon, T. (Eds.). (1975). Hamito-semitica: proceedings of a colloquium held by the historical section of the linguistics association (Great Britain) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 18th-20th march. The Hague: Mouton.
- Cadi, K. (1987). Système verbal Rifain. Forme et sens. Paris: SELAF.
- Collins, R. (1981). Un microcosme Berbère. Système verbal et satellites dans trois parlers tunisiens. I.B.L.A., 149, 113-129.
- _____. (1982). Un microcosme Berbère. Système verbal et satellites dans trois parlers tunisiens. I.B.L.A., 148, 287-303.

- Camps, G. (1996). Des rives de la méditerranée aux marges méridionales du sahara: Les Berbères. France: Edisud.
- Caubet, D. (1993). L'arabe marocain. 2 Vols. Paris: Editions Peeters.
- Chaker, S. (1983). Un parler Berbère d'Algerie (Kabylie): Syntaxe. Université de Provence.
- . (1988). Annexion (état d'-). Encyclopédie Berbère, 5, 686-695.
- Chtatou, M. (1997). The influence of the Berber language on Moroccan Arabic. International Journal of The Sociology of Language, 123, 101-118.
- . (1991). Syllable Structure in Tarifit Berber. Languages et Littératures, 9, 27-60.
- Clyne, M. (1972). Perspectives on language contact. Melbourne: The Hawthorn Press.
- Cohen, D. (1970). Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe. 2 Vols. The Hague: Mouton.
- Cole, J. and Tenny, C. (1987). Coordinatio in Berber. Studies in Berber Syntax, 49-78.
- Comrie, B. (1989). Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Crystal, D. (1991). A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics (3rd. ed.). Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.
- Corbett, Greville G. (1991). Gender. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cowan, D. (1970). Modern Literary Arabic. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dallet, J.M. (1982). Dictionnaire Kabyle-Français. Paris: SELAF.
- . (1986). Dictionnaire Français-Kabyle. Paris: SELAF.
- De Calassanti-Motylinski, A. (1885). Chanson Berbère de Djerbah. Bulletin de correspondance africaine, 3, 461-464.

- Dell, F. and Jebbour, A. (1991). Phonotactique des noms à voyelle initiale en berbère (chleuh de Tiznit, Maroc). Linguistic Analysis 21, 3-4, 119-147.
- _____. (1897). Dialogue et textes en Berbère de Djerba: Transcrits et traduits. Journal Asiatique, 377-401.
- Destaing, E. (1940). Textes Berbères en parler des Chleuhs du sous. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Diakonoff, I.M. (1988). Afrasian languages. Moscow: Nauka.
- El Aissati, A. (1993). Berber in Morroco and Algeria: Revival or decay?. Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée Review, 10, 88-109.
- Ennaji, M. (1985). Contrastive Syntax: English, Moroccan Arabic and Berber Complex Sentences. Königshusen: CIP.
- Ennaji, M. and Sadiqi, F. (1986). The syntax of cleft sentences in Berber. In Studies in Language, 10 (1), 53-77.
- Ellis, J. (1966). Towards a general comparative linguistics. The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- El-Shrif, M.H. (1993). Tērix Tūnis [The History of Tunisia]. Tunis: Sras lil nashr.
- Fantar, M. (1987). Kerkouane: A Punic city at Cape Bon. In A. Ben Abed Ben Khader & D. Soren (Eds.). Carthage: A mosaic of ancient Tunisia (pp. 111-113). New York: The American Museum of Natural History.
- Galand, L. (1966). Les pronoms personnels en Berbère. B.S.L., 61 (1), 286-298.
- _____. (1994). La personne grammaticale en Berbère. Faits de langues, 3, 79-86.
- Garmadi, S. (1983). la situation linguistiques actuelle en tunisie: problemes et perspectives. In R.M. Payne (Ed.). Language in Tunisia (pp. 1-9). Tunis: The Bourguiba Institute of Modern Languages.
- Ghaki, M. (1987). The Berbers of the PreRoman period. In A. Ben Abed Ben Khader & D. Soren (Eds.). Carthage: A mosaic of ancient Tunisia (pp. 85-87). New York: The American Museum of Natural History.
- Gregersen, E.A. (1977). Language in Africa: An introductory survey. New York: Gordon and Breach.

- Guerssel, M. (1983). On verbs of change: A study of transitivity alternations. In Lexicon Project Working Papers, 9, 1-106.
- Hanouz, S. (1968). Tissine e ta seguemte ou-meslaille iBeurbrieune: Connaissance et syntaxe du langage des Berbères (avec version Française). Paris: Librairie Klincksieck.
- Haywood, N. (1979). A new Arabic grammar of the written language. London: Lund Humphries.
- Harris, T.K. (1994). Death of a language: The history of Judeo-Spanish. London: Associated University Presses.
- Harries, J. (1974). Rev. of Tamazight Verb Structure: A Generative Approach, by Abdel-Massih, E. Language, 50, (1), 189-195.
- Harvey, S. (1962). Arabic dialect studies. Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association and The Middle East Institute.
- Hitti, K.P. (1970). History of the Arabs. 10th edition. Houndmills: Macmillan Education.
- Holes, C. (1995). Modern Arabic: Structures, functions and varieties. London: Longman.
- Hodge, C.T. (Ed.). (1971). Afroasiatic: A survey. The Hague: Mouton.
- Huddleston, R. (1988). English grammar: An outline. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hull, G. (1993). The language Malta question: A case of cultural imperialism. Malta: Said International Ltd.
- Julien, C.A. (1970). History of North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco. Trans. Petrie, J. Ed. Stewart, C. C. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Kaufman, S.A. (1974). The Akkadian influences on Aramaic. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kaye, A.S. (1976). Chadian and Sudanese Arabic: In the light of comparative Arabic dialectology. The Hague: Mouton.
- Kaye, A.S. and Rosenhouse, J. (1997). Arabic dialects and Maltese. In Hetzron, R. (Ed.) The Semitic languages (pp. 263-311). London: Routledge.

- Lado, R. (1968). Linguistics across cultures. USA: The University of Michigan Press.
- Lanfry, J. (1972). Deux notes sur le Berbère de Ghadamès. G.L.E.C.S., 175-184.
- Laoust, E. (1928). Cours de berbère marocain. Dialecte central. Paris: Geuthner.
- Lentin, A. (1959). Supplément au dictionnaire pratique Arabe-Français. Alger: Imprimerie la Typo-Litho et Jules Carbonel Réunies.
- L'Institut National De La Statistique. Recensement général de la population et de l'habitat. Volume 1, 30 Mars, 1984.
- Louis, A. (1975). Tunisie du sud, ksars et villages de crêtes. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- _____. (n.d.). Chants des nomades du sud de la Tunisie.
- Maamouri, M. (1983). The linguistic situation in independent Tunisia. In R.M. Payne (Ed.). Language in Tunisia (pp. 11-21). Tunis: The Bourguiba Institute of Modern Languages.
- McConnell, G.D. (1997). Global scale sociolinguistics. In Coulmas, F. (Ed.). The Handbook of Sociolinguistics (344-357). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mammeri, M. (1980). Poèmes Kabyle anciens. Paris: Librairie François Maspero.
- _____. (1992). Précis de grammaire berbère. Tizi-Ouzou: INNA.
- Mansfield, P. (1980). The Arabs. Great Britain: Penguin Books.
- Marçais, P. (1977). Esquisse grammaticale de l'arabe maghrébin. Paris Librairie D'Amérique Et D'Orient.
- Mifsud, M. (1994). Loan verbs in Maltese: A descriptive and comparative study. Leiden: Library of Congress.
- Ministere De LA Culture. (1995). Tunisia's Berber Heritage: From prehistoric times up to the present.
- Moscato, S. et al. (1980). An introduction to the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

- Motyliniski, A.C. (1897). Dialogues et textes en Berbère de Djerba, transcrits et traduits. Journal Asiatique, Novembre-Décembre, 377-401.
- Naït-Zerrad, K. (1994). Manuel de conjugaison Kabyle: 6000 verbes; 176 conjugaisons. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan.
- Najar, M. (1983). L'enseignement de L'Allemand en Tunisie et le contexte socio-linguistique. In R.M. Payne (Ed.). Language in Tunisia (pp. 159-176). Tunis: The Bourguiba Institute of Modern Languages.
- Norris, H.T. (1982). The Berbers in the Arabic Literature. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- Ounali, M.H. (1983). La langue des étudiants. In R.M. Payne (Ed.). Language in Tunisia (pp. 103-138). Tunis: The Bourguiba Institute of Modern Languages.
- Owens, J. (1984). A short reference grammar of Eastern Libyan Arabic. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Pencheon, G. T. (1983). La langue Berbère et la scolarisation des enfants berbérophones. In R.M. Payne (Ed.). Language in Tunisia (pp. 23-34). Tunis: The Bourguiba Institute of Modern Languages.
- Prasse, K-G. (1975). The reconstruction of Proto-Berber short vowels. In T. Bynon and J. Bynon (Eds.). Hamito-Semitic (pp. 215-231). The Hague: Mouton.
- Quirk, R. and Greenbaum, S. (1973). University grammar of English. London: Longman Group Limited.
- _____. (1985). A comprehensive grammar of the English language. London: Longman Group Limited.
- Rabin, C. (1975). Lexicostatistics and internal divisions of Semitic. In T. Bynon and J. Bynon (Eds.). Hamito-Semitic (pp. 85-102). The Hague: Mouton.
- Ratcliffe, R. (1996). Drift and noun plural reduplication in Afroasiatic. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, LIX, 296-311.
- Riguet, M. (1984). Attitudes et représentations liées à l'emploi du bilinguisme: Analyse du cas tunisien. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.

- Romaine, S. (1989). Bilingualism. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Saada, L. (1965). Vocabulaire Berbère de l'île de Djerba (Guellala). Orbis, 14 (2), 495-500.
- Sadiqi, F. (1986). Studies in Berber syntax: The complex sentence. Würzburg: Königshausen.
- _____. (1997). Grammaire du Berbère. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1997.
- Saib, J. (1974). Geminantion and spirantization in Berber: Diachrony and synchrony. Studies in African Linguistics 5(1), March 1974, 1-26.
- Sasse, H.J. (1984). Case in Cushitic, Semitic and Berber. Current Progress in Afroasiatic Linguistics, 113-123.
- Serra, L. (1968). Due racconti in dialetto berbero di Zuara (Tripolitana). Studi Maghrebini, 2, 123-128.
- Sobleman, H. and Harrel, R.S. (Eds.). (1964). A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: English- Moroccan. Georgetown University Press, Washington D.C.
- _____. (1966). A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: Moroccan-English. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Soren, D. (1987). Carthage: An American overview. In A. Ben Abed Ben Khader & D. Soren (Eds.). Carthage: A mosaic of Ancient Tunisia (pp. 1-77). New York: The American Museum of Natural History.
- Stumme, H. (1896). Neue tunisische sammlungen. In Zeitschrift für afrikanische und ozeanische sprachen, 2, 97-140.

- Tabouret-Keller, A. (1997). Language and identity. In F. Coulmas (Ed.). The handbook of sociolinguistics (pp. 315-326). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Taifi, M. (1991). Dictionnaire tamazight-français. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- . (1997). Le lexique Berbère: entre l'emprunt massif et la néologie sauvage. International Journal of The Sociology of Language, 123, 61-80.
- Tagliavini, C. (1982). Le origini delle lingue Neolatine. Bologna: Patron Editore.
- Tallerman, M. (1998). Understanding syntax. London: Arnold Publishers.
- The Journal of Frederick Horneman's Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk, the Capital of the Kingdom of Fezzan, in Africa in the Years 1797-1878. London, 1802.
- Trabelsi, C. (1991). De quelques aspects du langage des femmes de Tunis. International Journal of The Sociology of Language, 87, 87-98.
- Trudgill, P. (1983). Sociolinguistics. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Weekley, E. (1967). An etymological dictionary of Modern English. 2 vols. New York: Dover Publications.
- Wehr, H. (1980). A Dictionary of modern written Arabic. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- Vycichl, W. (1984). Accent. Encyclopédie Berbère, fasc. 1, 103-105.

Weinreich, U. (1979). Languages in contact: Findings and problems. The Hague: Mouton.

Zwicky, A. M. (1985). Clitics and particles. Language, 16 (2), 283-305.

Zwicky, A.M. and Pullman, G.K. (1983). Cliticization vs. inflection: English n't'. Language 59, 502-513.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

VOLUME II

APPENDIX I

Fig. 1.1: The Shilh̃a speech-zone at the end of the 20th Century	309
Fig. 1.2: The distribution of modern Berber speakers	310
Fig. 1.3: Historical and archaeological map of Tunisia	311
APPENDIX II Vocabulary of Douiret	312
APPENDIX III: Consonants in Shilh̃a	379
APPENDIX IV: /θ/ in Ouirighen	380
APPENDIX V: Emphatic consonants in Tunisian Arabic	383
APPENDIX VI: Stress in Ouirighen and Chninni	384
APPENDIX VII: Semantics of gender in Shilh̃a	390
APPENDIX VIII: Verb Morphology	394
APPENDIX IX: Berber texts	415
APPENDIX X: A comparative study of pronouns	436
APPENDIX XI: Goals of A.S.N.A.P.E.D	443
APPENDIX XII: PLATES	
Plate 1: Douiret El-Jadida (The New Douiret)	448
Plate 2: Douiret El-Qadima (The Old Douiret)	448
Plate 3: Douiret El-Jadida from a distance	449
Plate 4: A Berber woman from Douiret	449
Plate 5: A view of carved buildings in Chninni	450
Plate 6: Ras El Metmana in Guermessa	450
Plate 7: A view of the Ouirighen town (in Jerba)	451
Plate 8: The road that links Ouirighen to Guellala	451

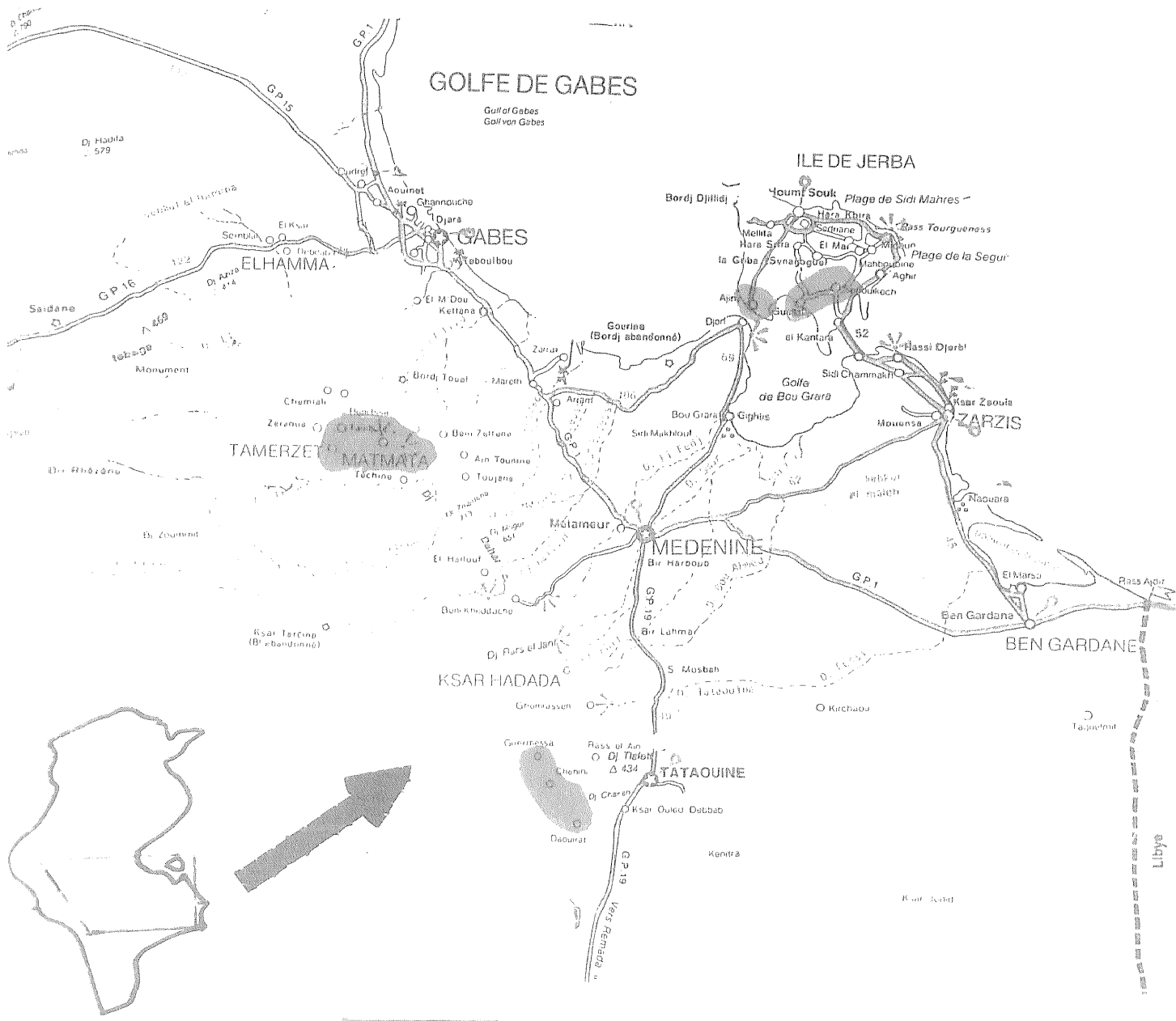


Fig. 1.1: The Shilha Speech-Zone at the End of The 20th Century
■ Zones where Shilha is Spoken

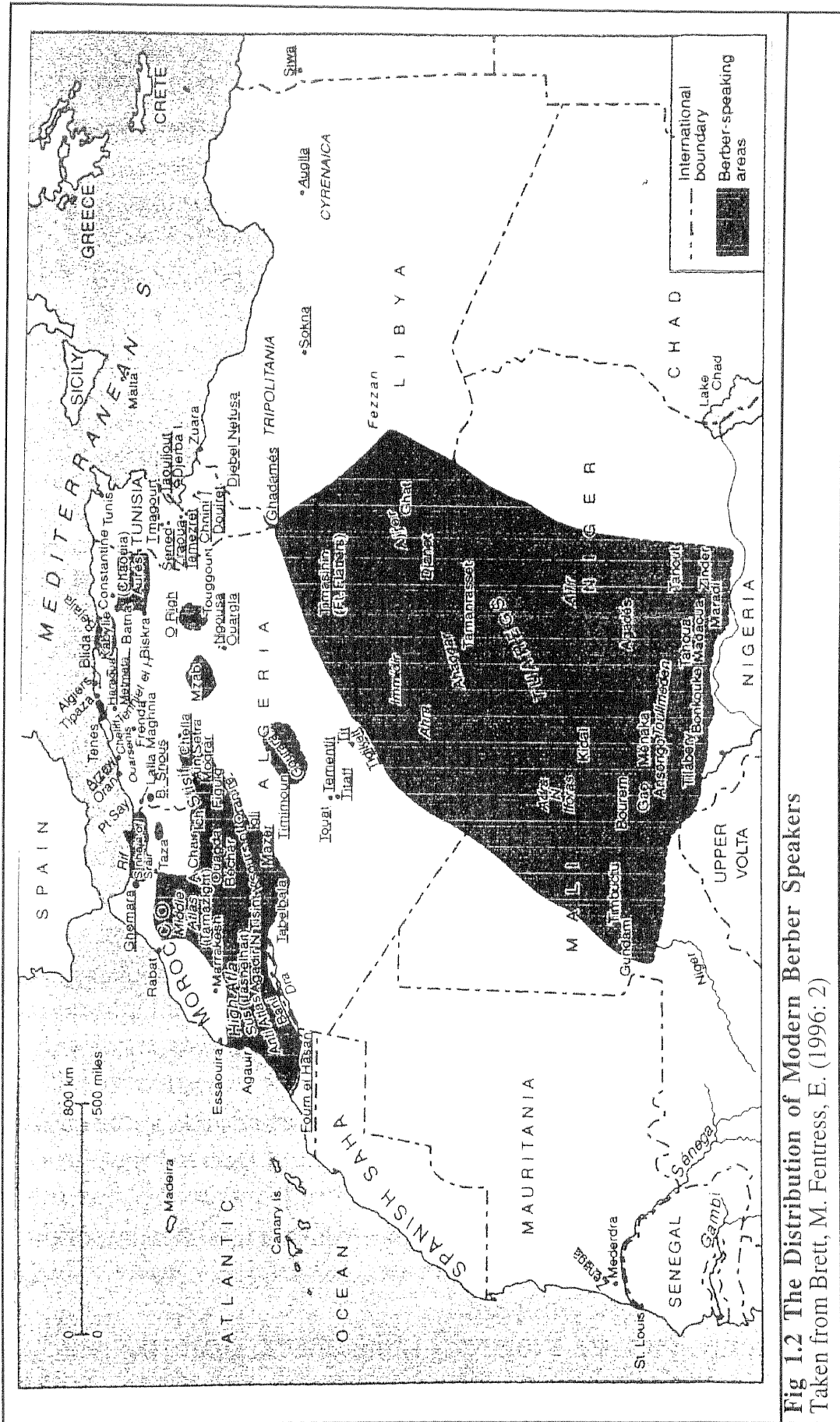


Fig 1.2 The Distribution of Modern Berber Speakers
Taken from Brett, M. Fentress, E. (1996: 2)

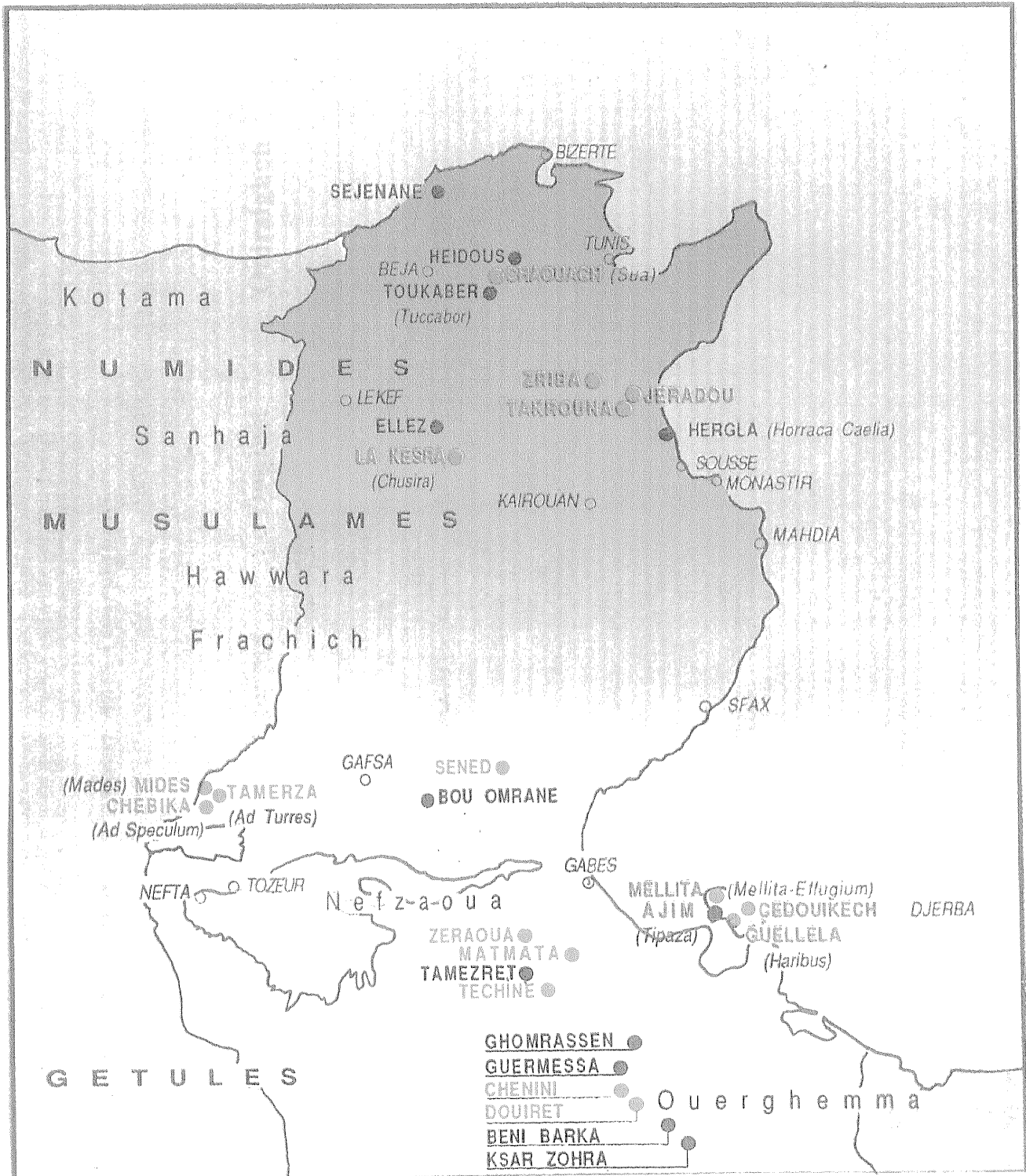


Fig. 1.3: Historical and Archaeological Map of Tunisia

(Taken from *Ministere De LA Culture, 1995:3*)

APPENDIX II: Vocabulary of Douiret, Chninni and Ouirsignen¹

1. Nouns, adjectives and verbs

Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsignen
TIME				
<i>waqt</i>	time	<i>el-waqt, turu</i>	<i>el-waqt, turu</i>	<i>туру</i>
<i>waqt</i>	time (period)	<i>qbal</i>	<i>qbal</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>marra</i>	time, occasion	<i>martiš</i>	<i>martiš</i>	<i>ižuwwas</i>
<i>səfa</i>	hour	<i>saḡatišt</i>	<i>saḡatišt</i>	<i>is-saḡat</i>
<i>nhār</i>	day	<i>el-yum, assu</i>	<i>el-yum, assu</i>	<i>assu</i>
<i>fežr</i>	dawn	<i>el-ḡižir</i>	<i>el-ḡažr</i>	<i>tažži</i>
<i>zohr</i>	afternoon	<i>el-žhar</i>	<i>el-žhar</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>lejl, ljl</i>	night	<i>aggad</i>	<i>aggad</i>	<i>aggiḡšbah</i>
<i>sbāh</i>	morning	<i>asbah</i>	<i>essbah</i>	<i>essbah</i>
<i>nosf in-nhar</i>	midday	<i>azginmus</i>	<i>azgin umus</i>	<i>azgin muwwas</i>
<i>ḡṡiya</i>	afternoon	<i>tamaddit</i>	<i>tamaddit</i>	<i>tamaddiθ</i>
<i>žumša</i>	week	<i>žumša</i>	<i>l-žumša</i>	<i>l-žumšaθ</i>
<i>šhar</i>	month	<i>šhar</i>	<i>iš-šhar</i>	<i>iš-šhar</i>
<i>ḡem, sne</i>	year	<i>el-ḡam</i>	<i>aḡam</i>	<i>imal</i>
<i>ahed</i>	Sunday	<i>el-ḡad</i>	<i>lḡad</i>	<i>dalhad</i>
<i>eθneyn</i>	Monday	<i>aθnayn</i>	<i>leθnin</i>	<i>leθnin</i>

¹ The words substituted by an (x) in this word store are gaps in the data which require further investigation. In addition, all words in the three *shilḡa* vernaculars are transcribed phonemically.

<i>tl̥θa</i>	Tuesday	<i>eθlaθa</i>	<i>leθlaθa</i>	<i>leθlaθa</i>
Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>erb̥ɛ</i>	Wednesday	<i>lirb̥ɛa</i>	<i>lirb̥ɛa</i>	<i>lirb̥ɛaθ</i>
<i>xn̥is</i>	Thursday	<i>el-xnis</i>	<i>ilxnis</i>	<i>el-xnis</i>
<i>ʒum̥ɛa</i>	Friday	<i>el-ʒum̥ɛa</i>	<i>ilʒum̥ɛa</i>	<i>el-ʒum̥ɛaθ</i>
<i>sibt, nhar is-sibt</i>	Saturday	<i>is-sibt</i>	<i>issibt</i>	<i>tsibbaθ</i>
<i>ʒaṭla, eḥtj̥f̥el</i>	holiday	<i>islan</i>	<i>mahfal (wedding)</i> <i>lhafflat (public)</i>	<i>tama Yra</i> <i>dalihiffal</i>
<i>mawsim</i>	season	<i>l-musim</i>	<i>lmusim</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>erbiḥ</i>	spring	<i>arbiḥ</i>	<i>arbiḥ</i>	<i>darrbiḥ</i>
<i>ʃj̥f</i>	summer	<i>anabdu</i>	<i>anabdu</i>	<i>anifdu</i>
<i>xrj̥f</i>	autumn	<i>el-xrif</i>	<i>alxrif</i>	<i>dalxrif</i>
<i>ʃte</i>	winter	<i>taʒrist</i>	<i>taʒrist</i>	<i>taʒrist</i>
<i>ʒanf̥i</i>	January			
<i>f̥vri</i>	February			
<i>m̥ars</i>	March			
<i>avr̥il</i>	April			
<i>ʒwen</i>	June			
<i>ʒw̥ilya</i>	July			
<i>?ūt, ewissu*</i>	August			
<i>sibtember</i>	September			
<i>ukt̥uber</i>	October			
<i>nunember</i>	November			
<i>disember</i>	December			

As Tunisian Arabic

<i>Tunisian</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsignen</i>
BERBER WOMEN CALENDER				
<i>rumḏān</i>	Ramadan (fasting month)	<i>rumḏān</i>	<i>rumḏān</i>	<i>ramdan</i>
<i>Ṣid elḑīr</i>	End of Ramadan	<i>el-id s'Yir</i>	<i>Ṣid er-rumḏān</i>	<i>ṭfaska tamašškunt</i>
	Between feasts	x	<i>d um žarrassin</i>	<i>užaras tamašškunt</i>
<i>Ṣid likbīr</i>	The festival of meat	x	<i>Ṣid l-musu</i>	<i>ṭfasta tamasqqart</i>
<i>l-Ṣašura</i>	10th day of <i>Muharram</i> (of Islamic Calender)	x	<i>Ṣašura</i>	<i>Ṣašura</i>
	anniversary of hussain's martyrdom at Kerbela.	x	<i>u daffar Ṣašura</i>	<i>daffar Ṣašura</i>
<i>Imewlid</i>	birthday of the Prophet muhammed after the milud	x	<i>l-milud</i>	<i>ilmilud</i>
		x	<i>daffarmilud</i>	<i>daffar ilmilud</i>
		x	<i>l-xafi</i>	<i>mil'Yis</i>
<i>Ržab</i>	Ražab	x	<i>et-tahar</i>	<i>šhar faḏma</i>
<i>šaṢbān</i>	Šaabān	x	<i>Ržab</i>	<i>ražab</i>
<i>rumḏān</i>	Ramadan	x	<i>šaṢban</i>	<i>šuṢban</i>
ELEMENT				
<i>smē</i>	sky	? <i>ažanna</i>	<i>ažinna</i>	<i>ažinna</i>
<i>šems</i>	sun	<i>ṭfwit</i>	<i>ṭfwit</i>	<i>ṭfwit</i>
<i>qmar</i>	moon	<i>tazilli</i>	<i>taziri</i>	<i>taziri</i>
<i>nižma</i>	star	<i>itri</i>	<i>itri</i>	<i>iθri (pl. iθran)</i>

<i>shēb</i>	cloud	<i>is-shab</i>	<i>iblab</i>	<i>is-shab</i>
<i>qaws quzeh</i>	rainbow	<i>el-hzam</i>	<i>yizzi</i>	<i>zuzgdah</i>
<i>Ḍaw</i>	light	<i>aḌ-Ḍu</i>	<i>eḌ-Ḍu</i>	<i>iDDo</i>
<i>eḌlēm</i>	darkness	<i>tallast</i>	<i>eḌ-Ḍlam</i>	<i>tallast</i>
<i>Ḍil</i>	shadow	<i>?ittit</i>	<i>eḌḥil</i>	<i>aḌḍul</i>
<i>sxāna</i>	heat	<i>hmawit</i>	<i>lhma</i>	<i>as Yal</i>
<i>arḌ</i>	earth	<i>i Yar Yar</i>	<i>iqasat, i Yar Yar</i>	<i>tammurt</i>
<i>mē?</i>	water	<i>aman</i>	<i>aman</i>	<i>aman</i>
<i>nār</i>	fire	<i>el-Ḥafit</i>	<i>timsa, Ḥafit, issi</i>	<i>aḤafyit</i>
<i>lhīb</i>	flame	<i>talahlibt</i>	<i>el-lhib</i>	<i>alublub</i>
<i>rmēd</i>	ashes	<i>i Yād</i>	<i>i Yād</i>	<i>i YaḌ</i>
<i>duxxān</i>	smoke	<i>duxxan</i>	<i>duxxan</i>	<i>id-duxan</i>
<i>rīh</i>	wind	<i>aḌu</i>	<i>*Iwari, aḌu</i>	<i>aḌu</i>
<i>rīh žbēli</i>	southerly winds	<i>tabahri</i>	<i>el-Ḥaž, ažabli</i>	<i>abahri</i>
<i>rīh Yarbi</i>	westerly winds	<i>a Yarbi</i>	<i>a Yarbi</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>hwe yēsir bērid</i>	freezing wind	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>asummiḌ</i>
<i>šḥili</i>	warm wind	<i>ašhili</i>	<i>ašhili</i>	<i>dīšhili</i>
<i>nisma</i>	cold wind	<i>nismat</i>	<i>nismat</i>	<i>er-rwah</i>
<i>rḤad</i>	thunder	<i>ir-rḤad</i>	<i>iḌži</i>	<i>ir-rḤad</i>
<i>braq</i>	lightning	<i>el-barq</i>	<i>el-barq</i>	<i>albarq</i>
<i>zilzēl</i>	earthquake	<i>iz-zilzal</i>	<i>iz-zilzal</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>mātar</i>	rain	<i>anzar</i>	<i>anzar</i>	<i>anzar</i>
<i>Ḍbēb</i>	fog	<i>talmut</i>	<i>talmut</i>	<i>innidwiḌ</i>
<i>tebrūri</i>	hail	<i>et-tabrūri</i>	<i>et-tabrūri</i>	<i>tabruri</i>
<i>Ḍ ilž</i>	snow	<i>eḌ-Ḍilž</i>	<i>eḌ-Ḍilž</i>	<i>iḌḌ ilž</i>

Tunisian**Gloss****Chninni****Douiret****Ouirsignen**

Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsignen
<i>h̄zar</i>	stone	<i>t̄YaYit</i>	<i>taYaYt (Pl. tiYuYa)</i>	<i>aḌYaY</i> (pl. <i>iḌYaYan</i>)
<i>ṣaxra</i>	rock	<i>t̄YaYit tamaqqart</i>	<i>idaYat tamaqqart</i>	<i>taḌYaYt tammaqart</i> (pl. <i>tiḌYaYin timmaqarin</i>)
<i>grive</i>	gravel	<i>gazza</i>	<i>il-gazza</i>	<i>iš-šaršaw, il- hašhas</i>
<i>šeršūr</i>	pebble	<i>eš-šaršur</i>	<i>ilwirš</i>	<i>iš-šaršūr</i>
<i>rmla, ramla</i>	sand	<i>iždi</i>	<i>irramlat, iždi</i>	<i>iždi</i>
<i>Ybār</i>	dust	<i>el-ybar</i>	<i>taqa-tYubrit</i>	<i>il-yubraθ</i>
<i>tabṣa</i>	mud	<i>tabṣat</i>	<i>tabṣat</i>	<i>il-kaz</i>
<i>nde</i>	dew	<i>daw</i>	<i>nidwat</i>	<i>inda, nidwat</i>
<i>žir</i>	lime(stone)	<i>el-žir</i>	<i>il-žir</i>	<i>ižžir</i>
<i>žibs</i>	plaster	<i>timšimt</i>	<i>timšimt</i>	<i>akankil</i>
<i>baYli</i>	mortar, xalta	<i>baYli</i>	<i>l-ṣažnit siman</i>	<i>ilxaldaθ</i>
<i>yilhim, sudir</i>	solder	<i>ylahhim</i>	<i>ylahhim</i>	<i>el-ḥam</i>
<i>ndē</i>	mildew,	<i>nidwat</i>	<i>nidwat</i>	<i>tnadda</i>
<i>xram</i>	mould	<i>el-Yram</i>	<i>el-wsax</i>	<i>izbat</i>
<i>eḥdid</i>	iron	<i>uzzal</i>	<i>uzzal(pl.uzlal)</i>	<i>uzzalazzar</i> iron
<i>iz-zing</i>	soot	<i>iz-izing</i>	<i>iḌ-Ḍkir</i>	x
<i>rṣaš</i>	lead	<i>ir-rṣaš</i>	<i>ir-rḌaš</i>	<i>tarṣašt</i>
<i>nḥes</i>	copper	<i>in-nḥas</i>	<i>in-nḥas</i>	<i>in-nḥas</i>
<i>Ḍheb abyadḌ</i>	brass	<i>iḌ-Ḍhab d amallal</i>	<i>urY damallal</i>	<i>uraY damallal</i>
<i>bronz</i>	bronze	x	x	x
<i>qazdir</i>	tin	<i>el-qazdir</i>	<i>il-qazdir</i>	<i>aqazdir</i>
<i>Ḍheb</i>	gold	<i>eḌ-Ḍhab</i>	<i>iḍḍhab</i>	<i>uraY</i>
<i>fiḌḌa</i>	silver	<i>el-faḌḌat</i>	<i>el-faḍḍat</i>	<i>el-fužraθ</i>
<i>ṣež</i>	ivory	<i>el-ṣaž</i>	<i>el-ṣaž</i>	<i>el-ṣaž</i>

<i>fhem</i>	<i>el-fham</i>	<i>el-fham</i>	<i>tiržin</i>
Tunisian	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
coal			
Gloss			
pitch	<i>ez-zift</i>	<i>ez-zift</i>	<i>ez-zift</i>
wax	<i>iš-šmaḤ</i>	<i>iš-šmaḤ</i>	<i>iš-šmaḤ</i>
glue	<i>lišqat</i>	<i>delyirat, alisqat</i>	<i>lišqaθ</i>
clay	<i>ta Yuri</i>	<i>ta Yuri</i>	<i>ta Yuri</i>
chalk	<i>ṭabašir</i>	<i>ṭabašir</i>	<i>et-tabašir</i>
glass	<i>el-ballar</i>	<i>el-ballar</i>	<i>taballart</i>
starch	<i>en-nša</i>	<i>en-nša</i>	<i>in-nša</i>
leather	<i>aylim</i>	<i>aylim (pl. ilimin)</i>	<i>aylim</i>
tar	<i>kadran</i>	<i>el-qutran</i>	<i>al-kaḌran</i>
shell	<i>ababbuš</i>	<i>azlaqqu (pl. yizlaqqu)</i>	<i>ababbuš</i>
thread	<i>tillili</i>	<i>tillili (pl. tilihwin)</i>	<i>tinilli</i>
string	<i>tillili tawarqiqit</i>	<i>tillili tawarqiqit</i>	<i>tinilli</i>
rope	<i>asa ḡwan</i>	<i>asa ḡwan (pl. isa ḡwan)</i>	<i>tazra (used to draw water from a well), tasimmiθ (used for the same purpose slightly bigger), irši (thick rope, used in fishing boats)</i>
wire	<i>it-till</i>	<i>d atill</i>	<i>it-till</i>
tattoo	<i>el-wšam</i>	<i>elwšam</i>	<i>el-wišmiθ</i>
wire	<i>et-till</i>	<i>et-till</i>	<i>et-till</i>
WORLD			
<i>dinya</i>	<i>dunyat</i>	<i>dunyat</i>	<i>id-dunyaθ (timurawin)</i>
<i>arḌ</i>	<i>tammurt</i>	<i>tammurt (pl. timmura)</i>	<i>tammurt</i>
<i>žbal</i>	<i>izzimlat</i>	<i>libbaḡan (l-baḌna)</i>	<i>iž-žbil</i>

Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Quirsighen
<i>haḌba</i>	hill	Ḍahrat	<i>haḌbat, Ḍahrat</i>	<i>id-dahraθ</i>
<i>wēd</i>	river	<i>suf</i>	<i>suf (pl. isaffin)</i>	<i>is-suf/il waθ</i>
<i>ṣahra</i>	desert	<i>ṣahrat</i>	<i>ṣaharat</i>	<i>iṣ-ṣahraθ</i>
<i>haḌba mir-rmal</i>	dune	<i>tabargayt</i>	<i>tabargayt(pl.tibargayin)</i>	<i>il ʕilwiθ n iżdi</i>
<i>wēha</i>	oasis	x	<i>liwahal, lelʕūš</i>	<i>taḑrawt</i>
<i>hofra</i>		<i>taḥmayt</i>	<i>taḥmayt (pl.tiḥmayyin)</i>	<i>aburriʕ (fem. tabarriʕ - pl. tiburriʕan)</i>
<i>noqba</i>	hole(clothes..)	<i>taḥmayt</i>	<i>noqbat</i>	<i>aburruʕ g el-ḥiḌ</i>
<i>Yār</i>	cave	<i>axrib, irʕi (to live in)irʕi(ūrʕa)</i>		<i>il masirt</i>
<i>nahr, wēd</i>	river	<i>suf</i>	<i>suf</i>	<i>asuf</i>
<i>sāqya</i>	brook	<i>dar</i>	<i>saqyat</i>	<i>saqiθ</i>
<i>buḥeyra</i>	lake	x	x	<i>agilmam (pl. igilmaman)</i>
	small lake	x	x	<i>tagilmamin</i>
<i>bḥar</i>	sea	<i>ilil</i>	<i>ilil</i>	<i>ilil</i>
<i>mawʕa</i>	wave	<i>muʕt</i>	<i>muʕit milil</i>	<i>il-muʕaθ</i>
<i>sēhil, šoft</i>	shore, coast	<i>sahil</i>	<i>sahil</i>	<i>iš-šitmilil</i>
<i>ʕeyn</i>	spring	<i>el-ʕin</i>	<i>tiṭ (tiṭṭawin)</i>	<i>tiṭ aman</i>
<i>fayaḌān</i>	flood	<i>el-fayaḌān</i>	<i>el-fayaḌān</i>	<i>fayaḌaniθ</i>
<i>ʕezra</i>	island	<i>ʕazirat</i>		<i>adziriθ</i>
<i>ʕēbya</i>	pond	<i>ʕabyat</i>	<i>ʕabyat</i>	<i>idʕibyat</i>
<i>Yodra, gilte</i>	puddle	<i>el-gilitit</i>	<i>diligilitit mumzar</i>	<i>al-gilitit</i>
<i>Yāba</i>	forest	<i>el-Yabit</i>	<i>el-Yabit</i>	<i>el-Yabit</i>
<i>ešmēl</i>	north	<i>eš-šmal</i>	<i>eš-šmal</i>	<i>mbahhar</i>
<i>eʕ-ʕnūb</i>	south	<i>el-ʕanūb</i>	<i>el-ʕanub</i>	<i>l-qibbilt</i>

<i>eš-šarq</i>	east	<i>eš-šarq</i>	<i>eš-šarq</i>	<i>mšarraq</i>
Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
<i>Yarb</i>	west	<i>el-Yarb</i>	<i>el-Yarb</i>	<i>m Yarrab</i>
VEGETATION				
<i>šitla</i>	plant	<i>šitlat</i>	<i>dišitlit</i>	<i>ištil</i>
<i>hšiš</i>	grass	<i>arbiš</i>	<i>arbiš</i>	<i>arbiš</i>
<i>hšiš</i>	weed	<i>uffar</i>	<i>uffar</i>	<i>uffar</i>
<i>tbin, qiš</i>	hay	<i>lum</i>	<i>el-gišš</i>	<i>illum</i>
<i>qorj</i>	straw	<i>el-gišš</i>	<i>elgurt</i>	<i>illum</i>
<i>ħitab</i>	woo sticks	<i>es-s Yarin</i>	<i>aqušqus(pl. iqašqušin)</i>	<i>is Yaran</i>
	small wood sticks		<i>tihatruqin</i>	
<i>ħitab</i>	firewood	<i>el-fulluq</i>	<i>el-fulluq(afullaq)</i>	<i>el-fulluq</i>
<i>šuzra</i>	tree	<i>šuzrat</i>	<i>šuzrat</i>	<i>šuzraθ</i>
<i>Yāba</i>	bush			<i>el-Yabaθ</i>
<i>šūd</i>	stalk, stem	<i>?ašmud</i>	<i>ašmud</i>	<i>aqušquš</i>
<i>warqa</i>	paper	<i>el-ka Yiθ, el-warqat</i>		<i>tawarqit (pl. tiwirqay</i> <i>el-kaθ (pl el-kiθan)</i>
<i>warqa</i>	leaf	x	<i>tafrut (pl. tifray)</i>	x
<i>žDir</i>	root 'big'	<i>asilman</i>	<i>asilman</i>	<i>aslim (pl. isilman)</i>
	root 'small'	x	x	<i>el-širq (pl. il-šruq)</i>
<i>zerrīša</i>	seed	<i>iz-zarišat</i>	<i>azarrišt</i>	<i>zarrīši θ</i>
<i>qalb</i>	pit, stone	<i>ixsan</i>	<i>ul (pl. ulawin)</i>	<i>ul (pl. ulawin)</i>
<i>qišra</i>	bark	<i>qušra</i>	<i>qušra</i>	<i>tqušra</i>
<i>šewk</i>	thorns	<i>iš-šuk</i>	<i>iš-šuk</i>	<i>asimmem</i>

Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
ḡād	stick	qašquš	qašquš	agiṭṭum-taḥaddaft (palm stick)
ḡuktēz	walking stick	el-ḡukkaz.	ḡukkaz.	taluggaḥit
kalitūs	eucalyptus	el-kalitūs		x
naxla	palm tree	tazdir	tazdayt (tizdayin)	taḡla (pl. tiḡliwin)
ḡurriqa	nettle	ḡurriqa	ablitti	taḡurriqt
dēlya	vine	tazuri	tazuri (pl. tizurin)	tazurin (sg. tazuriθ)
ḡatrša	geranium	ḡatršiyat	el-ḡatršiyat	taḡatršit
qronfol	carnation	qrunful	qrunful	x
rand	laurel	larand	irrand	x
yasmīna	jasmine	el-yasmin	el-yasmin	tiyasmint
ḡeyn šems	sunflower	tabaḡn fuyut	tit miḡfuyt	x
taḡlab	seaweed	x	l-ḡdaf	telge (pl. talga)
nawwāra	flower	? annuwwar	lannuwar	tanawwart (pl. tinuwwarin)
warda	rose	warda	warda	warda
xarwḡa	elder	xarwḡat	xarwḡa	el-xarwḡa
FRUIT				
ḡalla	fruit	el-ḡallit	el-ḡallat	il-ḡillaθ
tuffēḡ	apple	tuffaḡ	tuffaḡ	iḏiffa (pl. aḏiffu)
enžās	pear	lanžas	lanžas	lanžas
_xawx	peach	el-xux	el-xux	el-xux
mišmēš	apricot	el-mišmiš	el-mišmiš	el-berquq

<i>ṣweyna</i>	plum	<i>le-ṣwinit</i>	<i>a-ṣwinat</i>	<i>le-ṣwina</i>
Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
<i>rommāna</i>	pomegranate	<i>el-rumman</i>	<i>el-rumman</i>	<i>ermon(pl.irmunun)</i>
<i>tūt</i>	mulberry	<i>et-tut</i>	<i>et-tut</i>	<i>et-tut</i>
<i>frēz</i>	strawberry	<i>el-fraz</i>	<i>el-fraz</i>	x
<i>banēn</i>	cherry	<i>el-muz</i>	<i>el-muz</i>	x
<i>eṣnib</i>	grapes	<i>tazawri</i>	<i>atazawri</i>	<i>tizurin (pl.tazauriθ)</i>
<i>zḃib</i>	sultanas	<i>ez-zḃib</i>	<i>ez-zḃib</i>	<i>azummiš (pl.izummušin)</i>
<i>tmar</i>	dates	<i>xarfuš</i>	<i>xarfuš</i>	• <i>el-xurfiuš</i> 'dates used to feed the animals'
				• <i>ibelḥin</i> 'green dates'
				• <i>ti yīwin</i> 'green dates' (Guellala)
<i>qāriṣ</i>	lemon	<i>qaris</i>	<i>yahmaḏ</i>	<i>el-lim</i>
<i>burdgēn</i>	orange	<i>el-burdgan</i>	<i>el-burdgan</i>	<i>el-burdgan</i>
<i>hindi</i>	prickly pear	<i>el-hindi</i>	<i>delhindi</i>	<i>el-hindi</i>
<i>karmūs</i>	fig	<i>ifargas</i>	<i>ifergas</i>	<i>imaššu-ifargas</i>
<i>dillēṣ</i>	watermelon	<i>dullaṣ</i>	<i>dullaṣ</i>	<i>ed-dullaṣ</i>
<i>baṭṭix</i>	rockmelon	<i>el-baṭṭix</i>	<i>el-baṭṭix</i>	<i>abaṭṭix</i>
<i>sfaržal</i>	pear	<i>sfaržal</i>	<i>sfaržal</i>	<i>sfaržal</i>
<i>lewz, luz</i>	almond	<i>el-luz</i>	<i>el-luz</i>	<i>izziluz</i>

VEGETABLES

<i>rawz</i>	rice	<i>er-ruz</i>	<i>ir-ruz</i>
<i>smīd</i>	simolina	<i>barkukiš</i>	<i>issmid</i>
<i>qamḥ</i>	wheat	<i>irdan</i>	<i>irdan</i>

Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
<i>qtānya</i>	corn	<i>el-qtanyat</i>	<i>qtanya</i>	<i>qtanyaθ</i>
<i>qamh</i>	wheat	x	<i>irdin</i>	x
<i>ššir</i>	barley/corn	<i>timzin</i>	<i>timzin</i>	<i>timzim</i>
<i>xoθra</i>	vegetables	<i>el-xuθrat</i>	<i>el-xoθrat</i>	x
<i>žilžilan</i>	sesame seed	<i>žilžilan</i>	<i>žilžilan</i>	<i>žilžilan</i>
<i>xuθra</i>	vegetables	<i>el-xuθrit</i>	<i>el-xuθrit</i>	<i>el-xuθrit</i>
<i>batāta</i>	potatoe	<i>el-batātata</i>	<i>el-batātata</i>	<i>el-batātata</i>
<i>šfimmērya</i>	carrot	<i>tafisna Y</i>	<i>tafisna Y</i>	<i>tifisna Y</i>
<i>lift</i>	parsnip	<i>el-lift</i>	<i>el-lift</i>	<i>el-lift</i>
<i>fūl</i>	broadbean	<i>el-ful</i>	<i>el-ful</i>	<i>twawint (pl.tiwawin)</i>
<i>lūbya</i>	stringbean	<i>lubyat</i>	<i>lubyat</i>	<i>tubyaθ</i>
<i>žilbēna</i>	pea	<i>tažilbant</i>	<i>tažilbant</i>	<i>žilbana</i>
<i>klāfis</i>	celery	<i>klafis</i>	<i>klafis</i>	<i>iklafis</i>
<i>qraš</i>	pumpkin	<i>el-qraš</i>	<i>el-qraš</i>	<i>tagarrumt</i>
<i>xass</i>	lettuce	<i>el-xas</i>	<i>el-xas</i>	<i>el-xas</i>
<i>krumb</i>	cabbage	<i>el-krumb</i>	<i>el-krumb</i>	<i>el-krumb</i>
<i>brūklū</i>	cauliflower	<i>bruklu</i>	<i>el-bruklu</i>	<i>el-bruklu</i>
<i>gūnnariyya</i>	artichoke	<i>gūnnariyyat</i>	<i>degennerit</i>	<i>gūnnariyyaθ</i>
<i>beyinžēn</i>	eggplant	<i>bayinžan</i>	<i>el-bayinžal</i>	<i>el-bayinžal</i>
<i>kekewiyye</i>	paenut	<i>kakawiyya</i>	<i>kakawiyya</i>	<i>kakawiyyaθ</i>
<i>bašla</i>	onion	<i>absal</i>	<i>absal</i>	<i>afšal</i>
<i>θewm</i>	garlic	<i>tašširt</i>	<i>tašširt</i>	<i>tišširt</i>
<i>šdes</i>	lentil	<i>tanafin</i>	<i>tanafin</i>	<i>tinifin</i>
<i>qraš bu tazžina</i>	marrow	<i>el-qraš bu tazžina</i>	<i>elqraš</i>	<i>tagarrumt bu tazžina</i>
<i>faqqūs</i>	cucumber	<i>afaqqus</i>	<i>delfaqqusa</i>	x
<i>fīl</i>	radish	<i>el-fīl</i>	<i>d el-fīl</i>	<i>el-fīl</i>

<i>homş</i>	chickpeas	<i>el-hums</i>	<i>d el-hums</i>	x
Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
<i>fişfil</i>	chilli	<i>el-fişfil</i>	<i>el-fişfil</i>	<i>tifişfilit</i>
<i>neşneş</i>	mint	<i>naşnaş</i>	<i>naşnaş</i>	<i>in-naşnaş</i>
<i>fişfil</i>	cupscicum	<i>aşfişfil</i>	<i>el-fişfil</i>	<i>fişfil</i>
<i>hbaq</i>	basil	<i>el-hbaq</i>	<i>el-hbaq</i>	<i>el-hbaq</i>
<i>tēbil</i>	coriander	<i>tabil</i>	<i>tabil</i>	<i>iş-şibt</i>
<i>meşdnūs</i>	parsley	<i>el-maşdnūs</i>	<i>el-maşdnūs</i>	<i>el-madnus</i>
<i>klīl klin</i>	rosemary	? <i>azir</i>	<i>daklil</i>	<i>azirş</i>
<i>besbēs</i>	fennel	<i>basbas</i>	<i>basbas</i>	<i>basbas</i>
<i>zaştar</i>	thyme	<i>zaştar</i>	<i>zaştar</i>	<i>zaştar</i>
<i>qirfa</i>	cinnamon	x	x	<i>el-qirfaθ</i>
<i>kabbūş er-rūmi</i>	(water) cress	<i>fuggiş</i>	<i>fuggiş</i>	
<i>zeytūn</i>	olive	<i>azammur</i>	<i>azammur</i>	<i>azammur</i>
	olive leaf		<i>tafrīt (pl. tifrāy)</i>	
	olive tree's trunk		<i>tqandrit</i>	
	olive tree's branch		<i>aşsil (pl. iştlawin)</i>	
	dried olive tree's leaves		<i>işriş</i>	

PEOPLE

<i>wēhid, fulēn</i>	person	<i>ađzin</i>	<i>ađzin</i>	<i>wuh</i> (pl. <i>inu-</i> 'familiar')- <i>indan</i> 'stranger'
<i>nēs</i>	people	<i>wađid idžin</i>	<i>diwdan</i>	<i>middan</i>
<i>rāžil</i>	man	<i>aryaz</i>	<i>diwan</i>	<i>argaz</i> (pl. <i>ingazan</i>)
<i>şeyla, famīlya</i>	family	<i>el-şilat</i>	<i>el-şilat</i>	<i>şiliθ</i>
<i>mra</i>	woman	<i>tamaţtuţ</i>	<i>tamaţtuţ (pl. lxalat)</i>	<i>tamaţtuθ</i> (pl. <i>sađnan</i>)

<i>fl̄en</i>	fellow	<i>waddina</i>	<i>waddina</i>	<i>waddin</i>
Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
<i>wled</i>	boy	<i>afrux</i>	<i>afrux</i>	<i>afrux</i>
<i>tofla, šbiya</i>	girl	<i>tafruxt</i>	<i>tafruxt (pl. tifrax)</i>	<i>tafruxt</i>
<i>šezib</i>	single	<i>l-šazib</i>	<i>ašazri (pl. ašazra)</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>tofla bārit</i>	spinster	<i>taqayyart</i>	<i>taqayyart</i>	<i>taqayyar tbar</i>
<i>wled</i>	bachelor	<i>afrux damaškan</i>	<i>afrux (pl. t̄nawin)</i>	<i>afrux</i>
<i>bebe</i>	baby	<i>baba</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>amaškan (pl. imaškanin)</i>
<i>bū</i>	father	<i>baba</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>bava</i>
<i>xu</i>	brother	<i>yuma</i>	<i>yuma</i>	<i>uwa</i>
<i>uxt</i>	sister	<i>wiltma</i>	<i>wiltma</i>	<i>wiltma</i>
<i>hb̄ib</i>	grandfather	<i>baba ?amaqqar</i>	<i>baba ?amaqqar</i>	<i>hn̄ini</i> 'paternal grandfather'
<i>hb̄ibe</i>	grandmother	<i>?imma tamaqqart</i>	<i>?imma tamaqqart</i>	<i>bava xali</i> 'maternal grandfather'
<i>šemma</i>	uncle (pat.)	<i>lal-šam</i>	<i>lal-šam</i>	'grandfather'
<i>xāl</i>	uncle (mat.)	<i>llal-xal</i>	<i>llal-xal</i>	<i>hn̄ina</i> 'paternal grandmother'
<i>šemma (pat.)</i>	aunt (mat.)	<i>el-šamma</i>	<i>el-šamma</i>	<i>yimma xali</i> 'maternal grandmother'
<i>qrib</i>	relative	<i>yqarbit</i>	<i>yqarbit</i>	<i>šzizi</i>
<i>wild</i>	son	<i>mimmas</i>	<i>mimmi</i>	<i>xaliuw</i>
<i>bint</i>	daughter	<i>illis</i>	<i>illi</i>	<i>šammti</i>
<i>tweme</i>	twin	<i>twama</i>	<i>twama</i>	<i>na y</i>
<i>ražil</i>	husband	<i>šikin daryazin</i>	<i>aryaz (pl. aryazin)</i>	<i>mimmi</i> 'my child'
<i>mra</i>	woman	<i>šimmin tamattot</i>		<i>yilli</i> 'my daughter'
				<i>ditumiyyin</i>
				<i>el-šrus</i>
				<i>taslit</i>

<i>nsīb</i>	son-in-law	<i>en-nsīb</i>	<i>dansībayu</i>	<i>ansībīuw / argaz innyalli</i>
Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>kinna</i>	daughter-in-law	<i>tansibtu</i>	<i>el-yabimmi</i>	<i>taslittiw</i>
<i>sif</i>	brother-in-law	<i>yuma</i>	<i>delusiaw</i>	<i>alusiyu</i>
<i>lewza</i>	sister-in-law	<i>talawsta</i>	<i>tafruxtiw</i>	<i>talwistiū</i>
<i>ħmu</i>	father-in-law	<i>nsibu</i>	<i>dasibiyyu</i>	<i>aḏuġġal(pl. iḏuġġalin)ħmēt</i>
	mother-in-law	<i>tansibtu</i>	<i>taourtiw</i>	<i>iḏuġġalt</i>
<i>Ḥerūs</i>	bridegroom	<i>dasli</i>	<i>asli (pl.islatin)</i>	<i>(pl. tizugguyil)</i>
<i>Ḥerūsa</i>	bride	<i>taslit</i>	<i>taslit (islatin)</i>	x
<i>heżżela</i>	widow	<i>tahażżalt</i>	<i>tahażżalt</i>	x
<i>ṣāhib</i>	friend	<i>iṣ-ṣhibyu</i>	<i>iddukliyyu</i>	<i>tadżalt</i>
<i>āšiq</i>	lover	x	<i>yixs (fem.), tixs (masc.)</i>	<i>iṣṣahbyu</i>
<i>ṣāhib</i>				x
<i>Ḍayf</i>	guest	<i>aḏḏijf</i>	<i>aḏḏijf</i>	<i>aḏḏijf</i>
<i>xāddēm</i>	servant	<i>axaddam</i>	<i>axaddam</i>	<i>axaddam</i>
<i>xaddemet lbyūt</i>	maid	<i>axaddamt</i>	<i>axaddamt</i>	<i>daxaddamt</i>
<i>mḤellim</i>	boss	<i>l-Ḥallam</i>	<i>el-mḤfam</i>	<i>l-mḤllam</i>
<i>melik</i>	king	<i>l-malik</i>	<i>l-mlikt</i>	<i>l-malik</i>
<i>melika</i>	queen	<i>l-mlikt</i>	<i>l-mlikt</i>	<i>l-melikiθ</i>
<i>sultān</i>	sultan	<i>is-sultān</i>	<i>is-sultān</i>	<i>is-sultān</i>
<i>ḏundi</i>	soldier	<i>l-Ḥaskri</i>	<i>l-Ḥaskri</i>	<i>Ḥaskri</i>
<i>eḤdu</i>	enemy	<i>el-Ḥdu</i>	<i>el-Ḥdu</i>	<i>el-Ḥdu</i>
<i>meḤbūs</i>	prisoner	<i>maqin gil ḥbas</i>	<i>maqin gil ḥbas</i>	<i>maḥbus</i>
<i>Ḥebd</i>	slave	x	<i>aḏṣiaw (pl. iṣumżan)</i>	<i>aṭṣu</i>
<i>ṣḥeda</i>	witness	<i>aṣahdu</i>	x	<i>iṣ-ṣahīθ</i>
<i>barrāni, yriḥ</i>	stranger, foreigner	<i>dabarrani</i>	<i>abarrani</i>	<i>abarrani</i>

<i>mesīhi, rūmi</i>	Christian	<i>arumi</i>	<i>darumi</i>	<i>rumi</i>
Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Quirsighen
<i>muslim</i>	Muslim	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>imistim</i>
<i>yehūdi</i>	Jewish	<i>uday</i>	<i>uda</i>	<i>uḏayin</i>
<i>kēfir</i>	pagan	<i>kafir, arumi</i>	<i>el-kafir</i>	<i>el-kafir</i>
<i>imēm</i>	mullah	<i>? imam</i>	<i>dalimam</i>	<i>il-limam</i>
<i>babbās</i>	priest	x	x	x
<i>isqof, rāhib</i>	monk	x	x	x
<i>Rabb, Allah</i>	God	<i>Rabbi</i>	<i>Rabbi</i>	<i>Rabbi</i>
<i>mlēyka</i>	angels	<i>mlayka</i>	<i>mlayka</i>	
<i>wli ṣālih</i>	saint	<i>wli ṣalah</i>	<i>dafgir</i>	<i>illuli</i>
<i>šbeḥ</i>	goat	x	<i>dišbeh-dezehmu</i>	<i>taḥabbəṯ</i>
<i>sēhra</i>	witch	<i>tasahhirt</i>	<i>tasahhirt</i>	<i>tasahhirt</i>
<i>sehher</i>	wizard	<i>asahhir</i>	<i>asahhir</i>	<i>asahhir</i>
<i>šarrāq, ḥawwēf*</i>	thief	<i>? axanneb</i>	<i>yattakir, axanneb</i>	<i>axannab</i>
<i>tallēb</i>	beggar	<i>? atallab</i>	<i>atallab, asasa</i>	<i>aḏallab (pl. iḏallabin)</i>
<i>qahba, hām̄la</i>	whore	<i>tamaybunt</i>	x	x
<i>pede, ḥṣān</i>	queer	<i>tamaybun</i>	x	x
<i>qzem</i>	dwarf	<i>l-qšir</i>	<i>dayzula</i>	<i>agazzun (igizzulin)</i>
<i>snēy-ḥi</i>	tradesman	<i>axaddam</i>	<i>dasnayḥi</i>	<i>axaddam diḥfalah</i>
<i>dellēl</i>	seller	<i>haras</i>	<i>haras</i>	<i>adillal (pl. idallalan)</i>
<i>ḥemmēl</i>	porter	<i>aḥammal</i>	<i>aḥammal</i>	<i>aḥammal</i>
<i>xayyāṯ</i>	tailor	<i>axayyat</i>	<i>axayyat</i>	<i>axiyyaṯ (pl. ixiyyatin)</i>
<i>nažžār</i>	carpenter	<i>anažžār</i>	<i>anažžār</i>	<i>anažžār</i>
<i>bennēy</i>	stonemason	<i>abannay</i>	<i>abannay</i>	<i>abannay</i>
<i>heddēd</i>	blacksmith	<i>aḥaddad</i>	<i>aḥeddad</i>	<i>aḥaddaḏ</i>
<i>šāy Yi</i>	goldsmith	<i>aḏahhab</i>	<i>aḏahhab</i>	<i>asiyyaḡ</i>
<i>žazzār</i>	butcher	<i>azazzar</i>	<i>azazzar</i>	<i>azazzar</i>
<i>xebbēz</i>	baker	<i>axabbaz</i>	<i>axabbaz</i>	<i>axabbaz</i>

heẓẓem
Tunisian

barbar
Gloss

garsūn	waiter
felleh	peasant
felleh	farmer
sayyēd	hunter
sayyēd hūt	fisherman
bahhār	sailor
rāfi	shepherd
beyyēf	merchant
tbīb	doctor
firmliya	nurse
qābla	midwife
mraḏḏa	nursing mother
hēkim	judge
avukātu, muhēmi	lawyer

ANIMALS

heyewēn	animal
hṣān	horse
fēhl	stallion
debba	mare
ṣāsi, toro	bull
bagra	cow
ẓēmūs	buffalo

aḥaẓẓam
Chninni

afallah	
afallah	(pl. ifallahin)
asayyad	x
abahhar	
anilti	
x	
atbib	
afirmilit	
qabliti	
x	
talhakim	
el-muḥami	

aḥaẓẓam
Douiret

afallah	
afallah	(pl. ifallahin)
asayyad	x
aṣawwam	
anilti	
abayyaḥ	(pl. abayyaḥin)
atbib	
dafirmilit	
el-qabliti	
dasiṣfay g mimmis	
talhakim	
el-muḥami	

aḥaẓẓam
Ouirsignen

afallah	
afallah	
asiyyaḏ	x
abahhar	(ibahharan)
es-sarah	(isarrahin)
izinzayin	(pl. abiyyaḥ)
aḏbiḏ	
afirmilit	
l-qabliti	
tasiṣfay	
el-ḥakim	
el-muḥami	

le-hwēyiš	
el-hṣan	x
el-fhal	
tyallit (pl. tiyallin)	x
afunas	
(pl. ifunassin)	
tafunast	
(pl. ifunasin)	
x	
el-huṣ	
x	
el-fhal	
x	
afunus	
(pl. afunassin)	
tafunust	
(pl. ifunassin)	
x	
ez-zwyil	
l-hṣan	
afunas	
tafunast	
x	

<i>hellūf, xanzīr</i>	pig	<i>ahalluf</i>	<i>ahalluf</i>
Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret
<i>meḥza</i>	goat	<i>tixsi (l-ḥiwan)</i>	<i>tixsi (pl.lḥiwan)</i>
<i>biršni</i>	billy-goat	<i>abiršni(pl.ibiršniyyin)</i>	<i>azalḡ (pl.yzulaḡ)</i>
<i>biršni</i>	small goat	<i>i ḡid (pl.iḡayden)</i>	<i>azla (pl.yizula)</i>
<i>Ṣellūš</i>	kid	<i>abaršni</i>	<i>abiršni (pl.brašin)</i>
	sheep	<i>tixsi (pl.ilḥiwen)</i>	<i>tixsi (pl.lḥiwen)</i>
<i>Ṣellūš</i>		<i>aṢalluš(pl.iṢallaš)</i>	<i>aṢalluš (pl.aṢalliš)</i>
<i>berkūs</i>	lamb	<i>aṢa lluš</i>	<i>aṢalluš</i>
<i>naṢza</i>	ram	<i>abarkus</i>	<i>abarkus (pl.ibarkas)</i>
<i>ḡzēla</i>	ewe	<i>tīli(pl.tattin)</i>	<i>tīli (pl.tattin)</i>
<i>kelb</i>	deer	<i>izirzir (pl.izerzren)</i>	<i>izirzir (pl.yizirzin)</i>
<i>bḥīm</i>	dog	<i>aydi (pl.iṭtan)</i>	<i>aydi (pl.yiṭtan)</i>
	bitch	<i>taydit</i>	<i>taydit (pl.taday)</i>
	donkey		<i>a ḡyul (pl.i ḡyal) masc.</i>
	small donkey		<i>ta ḡyalt (pl.ti ḡyel)</i>
<i>ḡarw</i>	puppy		<i>akaršun (masc.)</i>
<i>qattūs</i>	cat		<i>takeršunt (fem.)</i>
<i>qattūsa</i>	cat(f)	<i>ažru (pl.ižarwin)</i>	<i>ažru (pl.ižra)</i>
<i>qattūs birri</i>	wild cat	<i>iatus (pl.iattusin)</i>	<i>iyatus (iyattusin)</i>
<i>qird</i>	monkey	<i>tiattust (pl.tiattusin)</i>	<i>tiattust (pl.tiattusin)</i>
<i>ṫeṫleb</i>	fox	<i>iatus da barrani</i>	<i>iyatus d barrani</i>
<i>ṣayd</i>	lion	<i>el-qird</i>	<i>el-qird</i>
<i>žmel</i>	camel	<i>irag (pl.ir ḡawin)</i>	<i>ira ḡ (pl.ir ḡawin)</i>
<i>b ḡal</i>	mule	<i>iš-šid</i>	<i>iš-šid</i>
		<i>al ḡam(pl.ila ḡman)al ḡam(pl.ila ḡman)</i>	<i>al ḡum</i>
		<i>el-b ḡal (pl.lub ḡul) el-b ḡal (l-b ḡul)</i>	<i>el-qird</i>
			<i>iš-šid</i>
			<i>al ḡum</i>
			<i>ažriou</i>
			<i>iatus</i>
			<i>iattust</i>
			<i>iatus da barrani</i>
			<i>el-qird</i>
			<i>iš-šid</i>
			<i>al ḡum</i>
			<i>ta ḡat (pl.ti ḡaḍin)</i>
			<i>a ḡaḍ (pl.i ḡaḍin)</i>
			<i>a ḡaḍmaṢza kid</i>
			<i>tixsi</i>
			<i>aṢalluš(pl.iṢallušin) or</i>
			<i>iṢalwaš</i>
			<i>tīli</i>
			<i>ta ḡzilt</i>
			<i>ayiddi (pl.iṭtan),</i>
			<i>taydit(pl.ṭiṭtin)</i>

žerbuš	rat	ažarbuš	ažarbuš (pl.žrabaš)	Yarda
Tunisian	Gloss	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
fār	mouse	a Yurda (pl.i.Yardeyin) a Yirda (pl.i.Yirdayin)		yurdi
ṭayr el-līl	bat	twayr il-līl	buma nissirqasin	x
nṣema	bird	nṣamit	i-ṣamiš	x
bazwiš (masc.)	bird (masc.)	ašišu (pl.išuwšiwīn) iždar (pl.yiždad)	iždar	x
ṣoṣfūr bīr	bird (fem.)	tašišuš (pl.tišiwšiwīn)	ašišu(f. tašišut)	x
	sparrow		pl.ašišyawīn	tašišou
hežla	quail (masc)	asakkurt (pl.isikkri)		tmalla (pl.timalliwīn)
xuṭifa	quail (fem.)	tasakkurt (pl.isikkri)		x
ḥmēma,	swallow	mbarakat		taxuṭift
	dove	adbir (pl.idbiran)	atbir (pl.itbirin)	aθ bir
džēža	dove-olive		tmalla (pl.timalliwīn)	x
serdūk	hen	tiazid (tiyazidin)	tiazid (pl.yiazidan)	tiyazid tiazidān)
baṭta	rooster	iyazid (pl.iazidan)	iyazid (pl.iazidan)	yaziθ (pl.iazidān)
fellūs, ferrūž	duck	baṭtaṭ	baṭtaṭ	el-battiθ
erneb	chick	afarruž (pl.ifarraž)	ašišew (pl.išiwšiwīn)	taṣattugt (pl.tiṣattugin)
qanṣud	rabbit	tayarziṭ (pl.tiyarزاز)	ayarziṭ (pl.iyarزاز)	tagarziṣt (pl.tigirzizan)
qanṣud	hedgohog	insi (pl.insawin)	insi (pl.insawin)	insi (pl.insayin)
wizza	porcupine	aqunṣud	aqunṣud	x
dendon	goose	il-wizza	il-wizza	il-wizzaθ
ṭawūs	turkey	dandun	x	x
nīsr	peacock	it-tawas	it-tawas	it-tawus
ṣaqr	eagle	ṣgab(pl.ṣgabat)	ṣgab	x
būma	hawk	x	issaff	x
	owl	el-bumat (pl.bumat)	bumat	il-bumaθ

Yrāb	CROW	žarfīw (pl. ižarfīwīn) ažarfīw	žarfīt (pl. tižarfīwīn)
Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret
timsēh	crocodile	x	Ouirsiġhen
zerrumiya	lizard	tazermumīt (pl. tizermumiyyin)	x
berwīl		tazalmumīt (pl. tizermumiyyin)	ašramšān (pl. išramšārin)
fakrūn	turtle	afakrun (pl. ifakran)	tafukrun
hneš	snake	alafsa (pl. iliysiwan)	talifsa (pl. tilafsiwīn)
lefša	viper	tafesa (pl. tilifsiwīn)	il-lifšaθ
žrāna	frog	ažru (pl. ižarwīn)	ažru (pl. ižra)
bebbūša	snail	ababbuš (pl. ibabbuš)	ababbuš
hūt	fish	el-hūt	trabit (pl. tirubay)
kelb el-bħar	shark	aydi m ilil	aydi m ilil
saumon	salmon	x	x
tonn	tuna	et-tonn	et-tonn
hneš libħar	eel	x	tanafsa milil
krevette	prawn,	x	x
qarnīt	octopus	abalbul (pl. ibalbal)	aqarnīt
kalamari	squid	x	tašubayt (pl. tišubay)
qabrūs	crab	l-qarus	tYardmīt
nēmūsa	insect	en-namus	tanammust
dūda	worm	takiša (pl. tikišaawīn)	takiša (pl. tikišewīn)
dūda	worm	duḍa	takiša
maššāšit demm	leech	tidwaw (pl. tidwāwīn)	takiša
ḍibbēna	fly	izi (pl. ižzan)	izi
nēmūsa	mosquito	x	x
ferzezzu	wasp	bu zanzan	x
	dragon fly	x	x

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsignen
<i>nehla</i>	bee	<i>nahlāt</i> (<i>pl. innħal</i>)	<i>tizizwi</i> (<i>sg., pl.</i>)	<i>tizizwit</i>
<i>farfatto</i>	butterfly	<i>farfatū</i>	<i>afartatto</i>	<i>afartattu</i>
<i>nemla</i>	ant	'next to the light'		
<i>Ṣaqrab</i>	scorpion	<i>tikatfint</i> (<i>pl. tikkadfin</i>)	<i>takadduft</i> (<i>pl. tikkadfine</i>)	<i>takattuft</i> (<i>pl. tikkuttufin</i>)
<i>wazwāz</i>	cricket	<i>ta Yardimt</i>		
<i>žrāda</i>	grasshopper	(<i>pl. ti Yurdan</i>)	<i>t Yardamt</i> (<i>pl. tigurdam</i>)	<i>t Yardimt</i> <i>bubzizi</i> -at night <i>waržuž</i> -at noon <i>ažrað</i>
<i>xanfūsa</i>	cockroach	<i>t zunmay el-gayla</i>		
<i>baqqa</i>	bedbug	<i>tmur Yi</i>	<i>bur Yas</i> (<i>pl. bur Yis</i>)	<i>tabaxxošt</i>
<i>rafla</i>	spider	(<i>pl. timur Yiwi</i>)		
<i>ber Yūθ</i>	flea	<i>axanfūs</i>	<i>taxanfost</i> (<i>pl. tixanfes</i>)	
<i>qamla</i>	louse	(<i>pl. xnamfis</i>)		
		<i>tabaqqayt</i>	<i>el-baqqat</i> (<i>el-baqq</i>)	<i>el-baq</i>
		(<i>pl. ilbaqq</i>)		
		<i>ir-rīla</i>	<i>artīla</i>	<i>irtiliθ</i> (<i>pl. tiratliwin</i>)
		<i>el-kurdi</i> (<i>pl. ikurdan</i>)	<i>el-kurdan</i> (<i>pl. ikurdan</i>)	<i>kurdi</i> (<i>pl. ikurdan</i>)
		<i>tilšit</i> (<i>pl. tiršin</i>)	<i>tilšit</i> (<i>pl. tiššin</i>)	<i>tüššit</i> (<i>pl. tiššin</i>)
		<i>ižžnah</i>	<i>ažnahat</i>	<i>ež-žnah</i>
	wing	<i>ašallah</i>	<i>tafattalt</i> (<i>pl. tiffattalin</i>)	<i>addil</i>
	tail	<i>minqaris</i>	<i>iraz-munqaris</i>	<i>anqor</i>
	beak	<i>ħafir</i>	<i>dari</i> (<i>pl. idarnis</i>)	^x
	foot	<i>aqrūn</i> (<i>pl. laqrūn</i>)	<i>ašaw</i> (<i>pl. iššawin</i>)	<i>el-qarnriša</i>
	horn	<i>tšabšat</i> (<i>pl. tiššababin</i>)	<i>ir-rišiθ</i>	'feather'
	birdnest	<i>ilšišš</i>		
	feather	<i>tašabšabt</i> (<i>pl. tiššabšabin</i>)		<i>angu</i> (<i>pl. inga</i>)
		<i>tnabriwrit</i> (<i>pl. tinabriwi</i>)		

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouir sighen
FOOD				
<i>mēkla</i>	food	<i>atša</i>	<i>atša</i>	<i>atša</i>
<i>hlib</i>	milk	<i>el-hlib</i>	<i>el-hlib</i>	<i>ayī</i>
<i>krama</i>	cream	<i>el-krimt</i>	<i>delkrimet</i>	<i>el-krimiθ</i>
<i>zibda</i>	butter	<i>tlussi</i>	<i>lussi</i> (animal fat), <i>tazahlugt</i> (butter)	<i>zibdaθ</i>
<i>ṣaḏma</i>	egg	<i>tazluqqut</i>	<i>tazlakwit</i> (pl. <i>tizlaqqa</i>)	<i>tazlaqqoθ</i> (pl. <i>tizlaqqoθin</i>)
<i>lham</i>	meat	<i>aysum</i>	<i>aysum</i>	<i>aysum</i>
<i>mirgēz</i>	sausages	<i>mirgaz</i>	<i>el-margaz</i>	<i>mirgaz</i>
<i>ṣsel</i>	honey	<i>tamamt</i>	<i>tamamt</i>	<i>tamamt</i>
<i>žilāt</i>	ice-cream		<i>ažilai</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>helwa</i>	sweets	<i>l-halwa</i>	<i>el-halwat</i>	<i>el-halwiθ</i>
<i>helwa fleyyu</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>el-halwat n el-flayyu</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>xobz</i>	bread	<i>aγrum</i>	<i>tanaṣnut</i> (pl. <i>aγarum</i>)	<i>aγrum</i>
<i>ferīna</i>	flour	<i>arin</i>	<i>arin</i>	<i>arin, fariniθ</i>
<i>eṣṣin</i>	dough	<i>l-aṣṣin</i>	<i>el-γaṣama</i>	<i>laṣṣin</i>
<i>qarqūš</i>	crust	<i>qašmur</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>fiēt farqa</i>	crumb	<i>l-babit</i>	<i>l-ḥtamu γran</i>	<i>l-babiθ</i>
<i>xmīra</i>	yeast	<i>laxmir</i>	<i>tasimmi</i>	<i>amtun</i>
<i>filfil mirhi</i>	pepper	<i>lfilfil</i>	<i>alfilfil immeddi</i> (crushed)	<i>tifilfil tisa</i>
<i>ṣaṣtir, lzu</i>	juice	<i>ašir</i>	<i>ašir</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>birra</i>	beer	<i>eššrāb</i>	<i>ašrab</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>šrāb</i>	wine	<i>ašrab</i>	<i>ašrab</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>xall</i>	vinegar	<i>el-xal</i>	<i>abxal</i>	<i>el-xal</i>
_Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouir sighen

šorba	soup	šurba	ašurbat	šurba
tēy	tea	et-tay	umlamzina (wheat soup)	et-tay
qahwa	coffee	qahwat	el-qahwate	l-qahwaθ
ēdenm, milh	salt	tisant	tisant	tisant
sukkor	sugar	sukkur	assukkur	is-sukkur
kusksi	couscous	kisksu	barkukiš	barkukis
maqarūna	pasta	maqaruna	el-šagana	maqarunaθ

TUNISIAN DISHES

žbin		adžbin	ežbana	x
tažin		tadžin	atagina	x
kifje		x	el-kkaftit	x
slaša mišwiyye		x	aslatit - timahrak	x
slaša tunnsiyye		x	deslatit tatoumsit	x
mnuxiyye		x	el-mluxiyyit	x
kenmoniyye		x	akummunit	x
kusksi bilqaddid		x	barkukiš sidkadida	x
marqa		x	el-markat	x
hergma		x	hargamant	x
ššida		x	arway	x

BODY

bden	body	l-bden	ašahhut (pl.išahtat)-naked	ibdan
šahha	health	šahhat	assahata	iššahhaθ
rās	head	i Yačaf	ixf (pl.ixfawin)	i Yačaf (pl.i Yačawin)

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
šṣar	hair	zaw	zaw (pl. izaggun)	izzaw (pl. izzaggan)
žbīn	forehead	timi	timi (pl. timawin)	amannin
ṣeyn	eye	ṭiṭ	ṭiṭ (ṭittawin)	ṭiṭ
demṣa	tear	damṣat	imiṭ (pl. imittawin)	amaṭṭawin (pl. imaṭṭawin)
hēžib	eyebrow	l-ḥažib	el-ḥažbis	el-ḥažib
ramš	eyelash	šwafir	el-ḥwažbis	iššwafir
xṣem	nose	tinzirt	axanfur (pl. tixanfar)	tanzart (pl. tinzar)
fum	mouth	imi	tinzar (pl. tinzaris)	imi (pl. imawin)
Yabb	gum	l-Yabb	imi (pl. imawin)	il-Yab
sinne	tooth	asin (pl. isinnan)	l-Yabb	asin (pl. isinmin)
zorša	molar	ta Ymist (pl. ti Ymas)	ta Ymast (pl. ti Ymas)	ta Ymist (pl. itigma)
Isēn	tongue	ilis (pl. ilsawin)	ilis (pl. ilsawin)	ilis
šiffa	lip	šaffit (šfayif)	šarib (pl. šwarib)	šwarib
xadd	cheek	lehnek	el-ḥankis (pl. laḥmak)	il-laḥmak
degnūna	chin	x	tmart (pl. timarin)	tadagnunt
lihya	beard	tmat	x	x
šenebēt	whiskers	šla Yim	ašal Yunt	iš-šla Yim
wōḍin	ear	tamazzu Yt (pl. timazu Yi)	amazzu Y (pl. imazza Y)	tamazzu Yt (pl. timazzu Yi)
ṣonq	neck	takrumt (pl. tikarmin)	takrumt (pl. tikarmin)	taKrumt (pl. tikarwin)

<i>_Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirighen</i>
<i>geržūma</i>	throat	<i>abalhuh(pl.ilhalqumi)</i>	<i>abalhuh, aqaržūt(pl.iqaržat, ibilhat)</i>	<i>tageržumt</i>
<i>ktif</i>	shoulder	<i>l-ktif</i>	<i>aqaržūt (pl. iqaržat, ibilhat)</i>	<i>(pl. nigiržem)</i>
<i>ḌirēḤ</i>	arm	<i>aYil (pl. iYalin)</i>	<i>el-ktif</i>	<i>lktif (pl.le-ktaf)</i>
<i>Ḍabbūt</i>	armpit	<i>aḌabbuṭ</i>	<i>tadixt (pl.tidaxin)</i>	<i>iḌ-ḌraḤ</i>
<i>miḤṣam</i>	wrist	<i>xumsat</i>		<i>aḌabbuṭ</i>
<i>būnya</i>	fist	<i>l-bunyat</i>		<i>x</i>
<i>yidd</i>	hand	<i>fus (pl. ifassin)</i>	<i>afus (pl.ifassin)</i>	<i>l-buniṖ</i>
<i>sboḤ</i>	finger			<i>afus (pl.ifassin)</i>
<i>Ḍfar</i>	finger -nail	<i>Ḍad</i>	<i>ḌaḌ (pl.iḌaḌan)</i>	<i>addaḌ (pl.idudan)</i>
<i>merfaq</i>	elbow	<i>iṣṣir</i>	<i>yiṣṣar (pl.iṣṣarin)</i>	<i>aṣṣar(pl.aṣṣaran)</i>
<i>sdir</i>	chest	<i>dubdu</i>	<i>el-marḤak</i>	<i>ta Ymart</i>
<i>surra</i>	navel	<i>tmit</i>	<i>dabdubis (pl.dbabnis)</i>	<i>iz-zdir</i>
<i>bezzūla, zeyza*</i>	breast	<i>admir(pl. edmerin)</i>	<i>tmit (timitin)</i>	<i>timmit (pl.timiṖin)</i>
<i>rās el-bezzūla</i>	nipple		<i>admir</i>	<i>tababbī</i>
<i>kirṣ, btonn</i>	stomach		<i>(pl.admiren)</i>	<i>(pl.tibebyyin)</i>
<i>ḥžir</i>	lap	<i>tadist (pl.tidistwin)</i>	<i>takriṣṭ (pl.tikriṣi)</i>	<i>admir</i>
<i>žneb</i>	hip	<i>ta Ymirt (pl.ti Ymawin)</i>	<i>ta Ymirt (pl.ti Yimrin)</i>	<i>(pl.admiran)</i>
<i>Ḍhar</i>	back	<i>el-žnab</i>	<i>el-žambis</i>	<i>tavist (pl.tiḌaswin)</i>
<i>maqad</i>	backside	<i>aqru (pl.ikarman)</i>	<i>ak^hrum (pl.ik^h arman)</i>	<i>naḤil (pl.inaḤin)</i>
<i>tirma, zeḤka (vulg.)</i>		<i>timaxrag</i>	<i>(pl.ixarum)</i>	<i>il-žamb</i>
<i>zibb, namm, Ḥaṣba</i>	penis		<i>x</i>	<i>ak^hrum</i>
		<i>abazzad</i>		<i>tabbut</i>
			<i>afittal (pl.ifattalin)</i>	<i>(pl.tibutawin)</i>
				<i>abazzad</i>

<i>baḥbūs</i> _Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>krāriz</i>	testicles	<i>tikarusin</i>	<i>tikarraz</i> (pl.takarruzt)	<i>takurzit</i> (pl.tikurziyyin)
<i>Ḥoss, zukk, ṣorm</i>	vagina	<i>zubbur</i>	<i>tabaššult</i> (pl.tibiššil)	<i>tabaššit</i> (pl.tibiššiyin)- <i>amassa Ḡ</i> (pl.timašša Ḡin)
<i>sēq, aṛāf</i> (pl.)	foot	<i>dar</i> (pl.idarran)	<i>dar</i> (pl.idarran)	<i>iddar</i>
<i>qāḤ mtaḤ es-sēq</i>	leg	x	x	<i>tamašat adar</i>
<i>fexḌ, wirk</i>	thigh	<i>ta ḡmiwin</i>	<i>a ḡma</i> (pl.ti ḡmiwin),	x
<i>rokba</i>	knee	<i>fud</i> (pl.ifadin)	<i>fud</i> (pl.ifaddin)	<i>uḤfuḌ</i> (pl.ifaddin)
<i>qasba</i>	ankle	x	<i>el-kasbitis</i>	x
<i>šboḤ mta sēq</i>	toe	<i>tifidnit</i> (pl. tifidnin)	<i>tifidnit</i> (pl. tifidnin)	<i>tuḤdint</i> (pl. tifaḌin)
<i>ḤḌam</i>	bone	<i>aqaquš</i> (pl.iqašqaš)	<i>i Ḡs</i> (pl.i Ḡsan)	x
<i>žimžma</i>	skull	x	x	<i>taqubbaḤt</i>
<i>lhem</i>	flesh	<i>aḡsum</i>	<i>aḡsum</i>	<i>aḡsum</i>
<i>žild</i>	skin	<i>aḡlim</i>	<i>aḡlim</i>	<i>aḡlim</i>
<i>demm</i>	blood	<i>idamman</i>	<i>idammin</i>	<i>iḌamin</i>
<i>marrāra</i>	gall, bile	<i>tamarrart</i> (pl.timarrarin)		<i>tamarrart</i>
<i>bzāq, rīq</i>	saliva	<i>irriġen</i> (pl.irriġen)	<i>tikuḤfas</i>	<i>isufsan</i>
<i>Ḥraq</i>	sweat	<i>tidi</i>	<i>tidi</i>	<i>tiḌi</i>
<i>Ḥirq</i>	vein	<i>aslim</i> (pl.isilma)	<i>aslim</i> (pl.isilan)	<i>el-Ḥirq</i>
<i>muxx</i>	brain	<i>il-muxx</i>	x	<i>el-muxx</i>

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>qalb</i>	heart	<i>ul (pl. ulawin)</i>	<i>ul (pl. ulawin)</i>	<i>ul</i>
<i>kibda</i>	liver	<i>tsa (pl. tisawin)</i>	<i>tsa (pl. tsatin)</i>	<i>tissa</i>
<i>kilwa</i>	kidney	<i>tažalžalt (pl. tižalža)</i>	<i>tažalžalt (pl. tižalžlin)</i>	<i>tižil</i>
<i>rwēri</i>	lung	<i>tura(pl. turawin)</i>	<i>tura (pl. turatin)</i>	<i>arriyyaθ</i>
<i>xra, kakka*</i>	defecate	<i>ixxan</i>	<i>axxanis (vb. axxan)</i>	<i>ixran</i>
<i>bewl</i>	urinate	<i>ibizidan</i>	<i>dabazidan (vb. yibizdan)</i>	<i>ibizdan</i>
<i>žorra</i>	footprint	<i>žurrat</i>	<i>el-žurat</i>	<i>el-žurraθ</i>
<i>šawt</i>	voice	<i>iš-sut</i>	<i>adwi</i>	<i>iš-šut</i>
<i>rūh</i>	soul	<i>ir-ruh</i>	<i>irruħ</i>	<i>ar-ruh</i>
<i>marḌ</i>	illness	<i>aṭṭan</i>	<i>yoṣḏab(pl. ṣadban)</i>	<i>aṭṭan</i>
<i>hebb šbēb</i>	acne, pimples	<i>l-ħabs</i>	<i>el-ħab našbab</i>	<i>l-ħabb</i>
<i>yxalwiḌ</i>			<i>yoṣḏab</i>	<i>tayiḌqiyya</i>
<i>dūxa</i>	nausea	<i>duxat</i>	<i>idax</i>	<i>id-duxaθ</i>
<i>dūxa</i>	faint	<i>ant</i>	<i>idax</i>	
<i>bard</i>	(head) cold	<i>istabrad</i>	<i>asqi</i>	<i>yistabraḌ</i>
<i>sxāna</i>	fever	<i>yihma</i>	<i>yihmawit</i>	<i>sxaniθ</i>
<i>fedda</i>	asthma	<i>faddat</i>	<i>el-faddat</i>	<i>ifiddaθ</i>
<i>ħoṣba</i>	chicken pox	<i>iž-židri</i>	<i>budillayk</i>	<i>buḌillay</i>
<i>židri</i>	diarrhoea	<i>taddist tuguru</i>	<i>židri</i>	<i>il-židri</i>
<i>kirch tižri</i>			<i>l-maḑtis</i>	<i>taḌistis tittazzil</i>
<i>ħibla</i>	pregnant	<i>tamaṭṭuṭ buruħin</i>	<i>tadkal</i>	<i>tiṭtaru</i>

<i>Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsiġhen</i>
<i>dwē</i>	medicine	<i>baumaġit</i>	<i>adwa</i>	<i>id-dwa</i>
<i>baumaġa</i>	ointment		<i>damarham</i>	<i>baumaġit</i>
<i>semm</i>	poison	<i>is-sam</i>	<i>yasfuttu, issam</i>	<i>is-sam</i>
<i>parfūn, bxūr,</i>	perfume	<i>il-fwah</i>	<i>ifiuhana</i>	<i>il-fwah</i>
<i>fwēh</i>	perfume, scent	<i>il-fwah</i>	<i>yasfuh</i>	<i>if-fwahin</i>
URBAN LIFE				
<i>dār</i>	house	<i>irži (pl. iržawin)</i>	<i>tiddart (pl. tiddarin)</i>	<i>tazaqqqa</i> (<i>pl. tiza ȳwin</i>)
<i>balās,</i>	palace	<i>il-balas</i>	<i>el-bals</i>	<i>issrayiθ</i>
<i>sūr, borž</i>	fort(ress)	<i>is-sur</i>	<i>wadiou el-bortamana,</i> <i>yur(pl. tiza ȳwin)</i>	<i>is-sur</i>
<i>burž</i>	tower	<i>il-burž</i>	<i>aḫras</i>	x
<i>eḫmūd</i>	pillar	<i>aḫmud (pl. ḫumad)</i>		x
<i>sūr sur</i>	(outer) wall		<i>alhid (pl. lahyud)</i>	<i>is-sur</i>
<i>heyt</i>	(inside) wall	<i>il-hid</i>		<i>il-burž</i>
<i>drūž</i>	stairs, staircase	<i>l-udruž</i>	<i>adrūž</i>	x
<i>derža</i>	stair		<i>el-marš (fr. marche)</i>	x
<i>bēb</i>	door	<i>il-beb</i>	<i>tawirt (pl. tiwure)</i>	<i>il-baθ</i>
<i>šubbēk</i>	window	<i>iš-šubbek</i>	<i>amadwa (pl.lamdawi)</i>	<i>imušan</i>

_Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirshen
<i>tāwla, meyda</i>	table	tawlit	detawlit (pl.ittawlit)	tawliθ (no diff. between <i>tawla</i> and <i>mayda</i>)
<i>kursi</i>	chair	il-kursi	ataburiat	il-kursi
<i>etage</i>	shelf	il-šli	adruž	el-šli
<i>mārru</i>	cupboard		takīta	x
<i>glas</i>	wardrobe	<i>lirži (il-bit) (pl.iržwil)</i>	x	x
<i>beyt</i>	room	<i>tazaqqqa (pl.tiza ʔwin)</i>	<i>iržri (pl.uržan),</i> <i>taz (pl. tiziqqiwin)</i>	<i>l-Yorfit</i>
<i>farš, srīr</i>	bed	<i>el-farš</i>	<i>amkan</i>	<i>litu</i>
<i>duha</i>	cradle	<i>tadaržeht (pl.tideržahin)</i>	<i>tašlamt (pl.lišlemin)</i>	<i>amaridu</i>
<i>zerbiya, klīm</i>	mat, carpet	<i>il-klīm</i>	<i>el-kalima</i>	<i>tazarbit</i>
<i>ššar</i>	curtain	<i>iš-ššar</i>	<i>er-ridu</i>	<i>astar</i>
<i>kužina</i>	kitchen	<i>kužinit</i>	<i>tibirži (pl. tibiržiwin)</i>	<i>axibuθ</i> (pl.ixibuθin)
<i>gāz, bil-kūša</i>	oven	x	<i>el-kušit</i>	x
<i>hemmēm</i>	bath	x	<i>el-ħammam</i>	<i>l-muštħa</i>
<i>lavabo</i>		x	<i>el-ma ʔsal</i>	x
<i>ššima</i>	tap	<i>tasabbalt</i>	<i>tasibbalt (pl.isabbalin)</i>	<i>l-bzim</i>
<i>ħšira</i>	mat	<i>aħsir</i>	<i>taħsirta (pl.tiħsirin)</i>	x
<i>žerrēya</i>	mattress	<i>tažarrayt</i>	<i>tažarrayt (pl.tižerrayyin)</i>	x
<i>bank, dukkena*</i>	doormat	<i>il-bnak</i>	x	<i>tadukkent</i>
<i>baṭṭaniya</i>	bed quilt	<i>taferrašit (pl.taferrašiyyan)</i>	<i>tabaṭṭaniyyat (pl.abatṭaniyyan)</i>	<i>wizra</i> <i>tlabat šthin'</i> <i>tabaṭṭanit 'thick</i>
<i>ambūba</i>	lamp	<i>ambubāt</i>	<i>ambubāt</i>	<i>ambubaθ</i>
<i>šəmšā</i>	candle	<i>tašamšit</i>	<i>šamšit</i>	<i>tašamšit</i>

_Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>sigār</i>	cigar	<i>is-sigaru</i>	<i>sigaru</i>	<i>sigaru</i>
<i>neffa</i>		<i>neffat</i>	<i>neffat</i>	<i>neffat</i>
<i>ṣandriya</i>	ashtray	<i>sandriyyat</i>	<i>sandriyyat</i>	<i>sandrit</i>
<i>mṣalḥa, fennaya</i>	broom	<i>tamaslaḥt, aḡarraḥt</i>	<i>tazit (pl.tizittin), tamaslaḥt (pl.timislaḥin)</i>	<i>tamaslaḥt</i>
<i>wqāda</i>	match	x	<i>aziway (pl.izweyin)</i>	
<i>stal</i>	bucket	<i>iṣ-ṣdal</i>	<i>lwiqidit</i>	<i>l-wqid</i>
<i>shēbe</i>	umbrella	<i>tasahḥabt</i>	<i>as-ṣdal</i>	<i>is-sḏal</i>
<i>ṣukkēz</i>	walking-stick	<i>il-ṣukkaz</i>	<i>is-ṣḥabit</i>	<i>tashabt</i>
<i>madriya, luḥa</i>	wooden board	<i>il-madriyyet-taluḥt</i>	<i>tabwġahit (pl.tiluggeḥiyyin)</i>	<i>il-ṣukkaz</i>
<i>mošt-xallaṣ</i>	comb	<i>axallaṣ-amṣit</i>	<i>tamṣit (pl.timaṣittin)</i>	x
<i>marwḥa</i>	fan	<i>timarwaḥt</i>	<i>timarwaḥt (pl.timarwaḥin)</i>	<i>tamṣat (pl. timuṣṣtin)</i>
<i>munġele</i>	wrist watch	<i>tamungalt - tafayyaqt</i>	<i>tamungalt - tafayyaqt (pl.timungelin-tifeyyeqin)</i>	<i>timirwaḥt (pl. timirwḥin)</i>
<i>ḥeyt</i>	wall	<i>tamungalt</i>	<i>tamungalt</i>	<i>munġaliθ</i>
<i>munġela</i>	clock	<i>timxaddit</i>	<i>tamxaddit (pl.imxedditiyin)</i>	<i>tamungalt</i>
<i>mxadde</i>	pillow	<i>txatimit-taxaṣit</i>	<i>i-xuṣat (pl.ixutam)</i>	<i>tamxaddit</i>
<i>xātim</i>	ring	<i>taṣaqqayt</i>	<i>taṣaqqayt (pl.tiṣaqqayin)</i>	<i>txaḥtimit (pl.tixuḥtam)</i>
<i>ṣqīqa</i>	bead			<i>taṣaqqayt (pl.tiṣaqqayin)</i>

<i>Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsignen</i>
<i>qoffa</i> <i>straw</i>	basket	<i>tquffit</i>	<i>tisifis (pl. tisifes)</i>	<i>taṣalligt ṣmada of</i>
<i>si ya</i>	jewelry	<i>ša yat</i>	<i>tixinžirt (pl. tixinžrin)</i>	<i>ura y</i>
<i>sāk</i>	bag (plastic)	<i>is-sak</i>	<i>is-sak</i>	<i>il-mixlaθ</i>
<i>škāra</i>	sack	<i>taškart</i>	<i>tasakkint</i>	<i>taškart</i>
<i>sekkāna</i>	knife	<i>tasakkint-il-musi</i>	<i>ta yurraft (pl. ti yarrafin)</i>	<i>tafruθ</i>
<i>m yarfa</i>	spoon	<i>ta yarraft</i>	<i>ta yurraft (pl. ti yarrafin)</i>	<i>ta yažjayt</i> <i>(pl. ti yinžeyyin)</i>
<i>lūš</i>	ladle	<i>a yarraft</i>	<i>ta yurraft (pl. ti yarrafin)</i>	<i>ta yažžayt</i>
<i>qaṣṣa</i>	bowl	<i>tziwa</i>	x	<i>tamaqqart</i>
	small bowl	x	x	
	large bowl	x	x	<i>timaṣṣint(pl.</i> <i>timaṣṣnin)</i>
<i>maqfūl, kasarūna</i>	pot	<i>el-kaskas</i>	<i>el-kaskes (pl. ksakis)</i>	<i>tziwa(pl.</i> <i>tizwayin)</i>
<i>qasṣa</i>	bowl	<i>tziwa (pl. tiziwawin)</i>	<i>tziwa (pl. tiziwawin)(made of wood)</i>	<i>el-kaskas</i>
<i>tanžir</i>	frying pan	<i>tanḥast (pl. tinḥas)</i>	<i>taqlayt (pl. tiqillayin)</i>	<i>tadžin</i>
<i>šhen</i>	dish	<i>iš-šhan</i>	x	<i>is-šhan</i>
<i>debbūse</i>	bottle	<i>tadabbust(pl. tidimzin)</i>	<i>tadabbust (pl. tidibzin)</i>	<i>išišiθ (pl. išišaθ)</i>
<i>torbušon</i>	cork	<i>el-yrā</i>	x	<i>addan (pl.</i> <i>iddamin)</i>
<i>fēška</i>	jug	<i>faškit</i>	<i>faškit</i>	x

_Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
qmeḥ	funnel	el-qmaḥ (pl.qmaḥ-it0)	el-qmaḥ	le-qmaḥ
Yirbēl, keskēs	sieve	ḫirwal (fine things)	(pl.ḫrawil)asaqqad (pl.isiqqadin)	tallunt (pl.tillumin)
qālib	mould	ta Yarbalt (olives)	(ti Yirbēlin) x	x
šitūš	wallet	l-qalib	x	x
finžen	cup	iš-stuš	fanžan	is-stuš
kēs, amba	glass	il-kas	el-kas/el-lambat	tassirt
berrēd	teapot	el-kas-el-lambat	abarrad (pl.ibarradin)	il-kas
(pl.ibarraḍin)				abarraḍ
zizwa	coffe maker	iz-zizwat (pl.zwazi)	iz-zizwat	zizwat
?ibra	needle	tissinit (small) (pl.tissinna)	tissinit (small) (pl.tissina)	
_ibra kbīra	big needle	tisubla (pl.tisublawin)	tisubla (pl.tisublawin)	
seyf	sword	askkin (pl.isikkinin)	ayistiur (pl.iyitar)	is-sif
.flūs, swarid*	money	le-flus	swarid	iflussin
.šarf	coin	is-šarf	iš-šarf	x
.warqa	paper	tawarqit(pl.tiwarqiyyin)	tawarqeyt (pl.lewraq)	tawarqit (pl.tiwarqay)
ḫwēb	letter	il-ḫwab	el-ḫwab	el-ḫwab
ktēb	book	il-ktab	el-ktab	x
qlem	pen	el-qlam	el-qlam	el-qlam
tašwīra	picture	taswirit	taswirit (pl. tašawir)	taswiriθ
meḥbes	flowerpot	maḥbas	l-maḥbas	x
derbūga, tbal		tadarbukt	tadarbukt (pl.tidurbak)	arbukiθ
zummāra	flute	tazammart	tazammart	tašabbabt (pl. tišabbabin)

<i>_Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsignen</i>
<i>kura</i>	ball	<i>l-kurt</i>	<i>l-kurt</i>	<i>tarkul</i>
<i>eḥruša</i>	doll	<i>atša</i>	(<i>pl. tarkulaθ</i>) <i>taslit</i> (<i>pl. tislatin</i>)	<i>taslit</i>
<i>mēkla</i>	meal	<i>tamansi</i>	<i>amansi</i> (<i>pl. imensiwin</i>)	<i>utšu</i>
<i>leḥše</i>	dinner,	<i>ez-ziblit</i>	<i>ez-zibil</i>	<i>amassi</i>
<i>zibla</i>	rubbish	<i>l-qmaš</i>	<i>l-qmaš</i>	<i>l-wsax</i>
<i>šawliqa, qmēš</i>	cloth	<i>l-ḥwayiž</i>	<i>ibartitan</i>	<i>l-qmaš</i>
<i>dbeš</i>	clothes	<i>takmist</i>	<i>takmist</i> (<i>pl. tikmisyin</i>)	<i>l-ḥwayiž</i>
<i>suriya</i>	shirt			<i>taqmižt</i>
<i>yidd</i>	sleeve	<i>afus takmist</i>	<i>liknam</i>	(<i>pl. tiqmažin</i>)
<i>sibte</i>	belt	<i>is-sibiti</i>	<i>is-sibiti</i>	<i>el-kam taqmižt</i>
<i>tewq</i>	collar	<i>takrumt takmist</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>l-hzam</i>
<i>šabbāt</i>	shoe	<i>iššabbat</i>	<i>šabbat</i>	<i>takrumt nit surit</i>
<i>šapau, kabbūš</i>	hat	<i>iš-šapeau</i>	<i>iš-šapeau</i>	<i>el-kasin</i>
<i>kabbus, šešiyye</i>				<i>ačallul</i>
<i>tarbūš</i>	fez	<i>e tatarbušta</i>	<i>tatarbušt</i> (<i>pl. titarbaš</i>)	(<i>pl. ičallulin</i>),
<i>žakēt</i>	jacket	<i>iž-žakat</i>	<i>iž-žaket</i>	<i>šašiyya</i>
<i>kabbūt</i>	coat	<i>akabbut</i>	<i>akabbuṭ</i>	<i>tarbūš</i>
<i>klāsit</i>	socks	<i>klasit</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>kabbut</i>
<i>šfiha</i>	buckle		<i>tahyast</i> (<i>pl. tihyasin</i>)	<i>x</i>
<i>sandēl</i>	sandal	<i>is-sandal</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>is-šfiha</i>
<i>sēqya</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>ḥalig, ta yanžayt</i>	<i>is-sandal</i>
				<i>aylan</i>
				(<i>pl. iylanin</i>)

_Tunisian English

Chninni Douiret Ouirighen

URBAN LIFE

<i>blēd</i>	country	<i>tmurt</i> (pl. <i>timmurawin</i>)	<i>tammurt</i> (pl. <i>tyamura</i>)	<i>tmura</i> (pl. <i>timurawin</i>)
<i>ehdūd</i>	border	<i>le-ḥdud</i>	<i>le-ḥdud</i>	<i>saymu</i> (pl. <i>isima</i>)
<i>blēd</i>	city	<i>tmurt</i>	<i>tmurt</i>	<i>tmurt</i>
<i>sūq</i>	market	<i>is-suq</i>	<i>is-suq</i>	<i>is-suq</i>
<i>hēnūt</i>	shop	<i>tahnūt</i> (pl. <i>ihanna</i>)	<i>tahnūt</i> (pl. <i>tihunay</i>)	<i>tahnūθ</i>
<i>knūsiya</i>	church	<i>taknist</i>	<i>taknist</i>	<i>taknist</i>
<i>žemeḤ</i>	mosque	<i>el-žamaḤ</i>	<i>el-žamaḤ</i>	<i>el-žamaḤ</i>
<i>.qbar</i>	grave, tomb	<i>tažabbant</i> (pl. <i>tižibanin</i>)	<i>qbarranil</i> (pl. <i>qbarranilan</i>)	<i>el-qbar</i>
<i>ḥebs</i>	jail, prison	<i>el-ḥabs</i>	<i>el-ḥabs</i>	<i>ḥabs</i>
<i>.triq</i>	way, road	<i>abrid</i> (pl. <i>ibridan</i>)	<i>abrid</i> (pl. <i>ibridan</i>)	<i>abriḌ</i>
<i>.šereḤ</i>	street	<i>aglad</i> (pl. <i>u Yulad</i>)	<i>a Ylad</i> (pl. <i>i Yulad</i>)	<i>iš-šaraḤ</i>
<i>zqāq</i>	alley	<i>zunqat</i> (pl. <i>znaqi</i>)	<i>x</i>	<i>l-žadda</i> (pl. <i>ižaddaθ</i>)
<i>.qantra</i>	bridge	<i>l-qantrit</i> (pl. <i>qnaḍir</i>)	<i>l-qantrit</i>	<i>il-kantraθ</i>
<i>baḥtau</i>	boat	<i>il-babur</i>	<i>il-babur</i>	<i>il-babur</i>
<i>flūka</i>	ship	<i>taflukt</i> (pl. <i>tiflukin</i>)	<i>taflukt</i> (pl. <i>flayik</i>)	<i>il-flukiθ</i>
<i>zēwya</i>	corner			

WORK AND PRODUCTION

<i>šey</i> , <i>hēžā</i>	thing	<i>msala</i>	<i>t Yawsa/msala</i> (pl. <i>ti Yawsawin</i>)	<i>ayyu</i> (pl. <i>aydin</i>)
<i>ḥwēyīž</i>	goods, property	<i>ayud hwayži</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>

<i>_Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsiqhen</i>
<i>qadūma</i>	axe	<i>qadum</i>	<i>tqadumt</i> (pl. <i>tqudam</i>)	<i>taqadumt</i> (pl. <i>tiquẓam</i>)
<i>mismār</i>	nail	<i>amasmar</i>	<i>amasmar</i> (pl. <i>imismarin</i>)	<i>amasmar</i> (pl. <i>imismarin</i>)
<i>mīraqa</i>	hammer	<i>timadraq</i>	<i>timadraqt</i> (pl. <i>tqūdam</i>)	<i>timidragt</i> (pl. <i>timitraqin</i>)
<i>mqaš</i>	scissors	<i>il-mqas</i>	x	<i>Imqas</i>
<i>mabrad</i>	file	<i>mibrid</i>	<i>mibrid</i> (pl. <i>mbārid</i>)	<i>ImibriḌ</i>
<i>misha</i>	hoe	<i>tamshit</i>	<i>tamshit</i> (pl. <i>timishiyyin</i>)	<i>tamshit</i>
<i>barwīta</i>	wheelbarrow	<i>tabarwit</i>	<i>tabarwit</i> (pl. <i>tibarwītin</i>)	<i>tabarwit</i>
<i>šarž, berdža</i>	saddle	<i>israz</i>	x	<i>tbardaš</i>
<i>megrūna</i>	gun	<i>magrun</i>	<i>magrun</i> (pl. <i>mgarin</i>)	<i>magruna</i>
<i>šawt</i>	whip	<i>iš-šut</i>	<i>karafaš</i>	<i>iš-šut</i>
<i>šebka</i>	net	<i>radiž</i>	<i>radiž</i> (pl. <i>iradžin</i>)	<i>ir-radž</i> (pl. <i>iradžin</i>)
<i>munšār</i>	saw	<i>l-minšar</i>	<i>aminšar</i> (pl. <i>mnašir</i>)	<i>el-munšar</i>
<i>šonnāra</i>	hook	<i>tasannurt</i>	<i>tasannart</i>	<i>tasannart</i>
<i>pens, kulleb</i>	pliers	<i>kullab</i>	<i>kullab</i> (pl. <i>ikullabin</i>)	<i>il-kullab</i>
<i>šinyol</i>	drill	x	x	x
<i>bāla</i>	shovel	<i>l-balit</i>	<i>lbalit</i> (pl. <i>ilbalat</i>)	<i>l-baliθ</i>

AGRICULTURE

<i>sēnya, henšūr</i>	field	<i>sanyā</i> (pl. <i>swani</i>)	<i>amazda γ</i>
<i>henšūr</i>	pasture	<i>l-hanšūr</i>	<i>amazda γ</i>
<i>marž</i>	meadow	<i>tazribt</i> (pl. <i>tizribin</i>)	<i>tazribt</i>

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
ʒarde, ʒneyna	garden	taʒnint	taʒnint (pl. tiʒninin) iʒimawin	iʒinni (pl.)
sēnya mtaʃ ʃnib	vineyard			
kūri	fold	l-kuri	tazribt (pl. tizribin),	idribiθ (pl. idribaθ)
mihṛāθ	flock, herd	l-bulli (pl. ibullan)	tazaqqa (tiza ʔwin), taxangut (tixingad) ulli (pl. iullan)	il-willi (pl. iwillan)
minʒel	hedge	amʒir(pl.imiran)	amʒir(pl.imiran)	tamʒirt 'small (pl. timirin), amʒir (used to clean scrubs) 'big' (pl. imiren- used for palmtruss)
mīṭna	mill	andur(pl.indar)	andur (pl.indar)	masart, makinaθ
bīr	well	anu (l-māʒil-small well)	anu (pl. tanuwwin)	anu (pl. unan), tanuθ 'small well (pl. anwiyin)
hawḏ	pool	l-huz.	l-ʒabyat	afadʒa (small) (pl. ifidʒayyin), tiʒan. tayinna (poulie, pl.) dilw ʃiʒʒa (pl. iʒaggin),

<i>Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsiġhen</i>
Ybār	dung, manure	l-γbar	γbar	<i>tiskin</i> (used as coals when dried up, mainly from camels) <i>timzi</i> (wheat), <i>burbiḡ</i> (grass...etc) x <i>id-dribiθ</i> (barn)
ḡelfa	fodder	l-ḡalfit	el-ḡalfat	
<i>mexzen lhbūb</i> kūri	barn	<i>maxzan</i> (pl. <i>mxazin</i>) <i>tasqjfit</i> (pl. <i>tisqjifa</i>)	<i>maxzan</i> (il- <i>mxazin</i>) kuri	

ABSTRACT TERMS

<i>ism</i>	name	<i>lism</i>	<i>ism</i>	<i>ism</i>
<i>laqab</i>	surname	<i>laqab</i>	<i>laqab</i>	<i>ilqam</i>
<i>xidma</i>	job	<i>lxadmit</i>	<i>iṣqa, xidma</i>	<i>mata tiggio</i>
<i>blāsa</i>	place	<i>amkin</i>	<i>amkin</i> (pl. <i>imukan</i>) (pl. <i>imkanin</i>)	<i>amkan</i>
<i>terkina</i>	corner	<i>tarkint</i>	<i>tarkint</i> (pl. <i>trakin</i>)	<i>ittarkiniθ</i>
<i>harf, ṣeftif, tarf</i>	edge	x	x	<i>iitrf</i>
<i>žneb</i>	site	<i>l-žnab</i>	x	<i>iž-žnab</i>
<i>bdēya</i>	beginning	<i>lbidayit</i>	<i>bdaya</i>	<i>saglawil</i>
<i>nhēya</i>	end	<i>lnihayit</i>	<i>nihayat</i>	<i>ilaxart</i>

<i>Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsiġhen</i>
<i>rās</i>	top	<i>i Yaƣ</i>	<i>iddraƣ</i> (pl. <i>drƣit</i>) (mountain)	<i>i Yaƣ</i> (pl. <i>ixƣawin</i>) <i>lanniž</i> (other things)
<i>woš</i>	middle	<i>ammas</i>	<i>ammas</i>	<i>amas</i>
<i>duwwira</i>	circle	<i>durut</i>	<i>el-ħalgit</i>	<i>id-duraθ</i>
<i>kūma</i>	heap, pile	x	<i>akiddus</i>	<i>il-kum</i>
<i>žmēƣa</i>	group	<i>l-baršit</i>	<i>wažid</i>	<i>ižmeƣiθ</i>
<i>ħaθba, lemma</i>	crowd	<i>šra</i>	<i>šru</i>	<i>il-ħabiθ</i>
<i>tarf</i>	part	<i>šra</i>	<i>šru</i>	<i>ižin</i>
<i>ƣoqde</i>	knot	<i>l-ƣoqdit</i> (pl. <i>tƣugdadin</i>)	<i>akrus</i> (pl. <i>ikrusin</i>)	<i>aXrus</i> (pl. <i>iXrusin</i>)
<i>qowwa</i>	strength	<i>qwiy</i>	<i>qwiy</i>	x
<i>.muškla</i>	problem	<i>mušklit</i>	<i>mušklit</i>	<i>muškliθ</i>
<i>hne</i>	happiness	<i>lhna</i>	<i>l-hna</i>	(pl. <i>mušklaθ</i>)
<i>wžiƣa</i>	pain	<i>yaƣdmab</i>	<i>mistažāƣ</i>	<i>el-hni</i>
<i>ferħa</i>	joy	<i>l-farħa</i>	<i>l-farħa</i>	<i>a Ħanna</i>
<i>ħarb</i>	war	<i>el-ħarb</i>	<i>el-ħarb</i>	<i>il-farħ</i>
<i>selēm</i>	peace	<i>es-slam</i>	<i>es-slam</i>	<i>ilħarb</i>
<i>ħaθ seƣid</i>	good luck	<i>ħaθ sƣid</i>	<i>ħaθ saƣid</i>	<i>es-slam</i>
<i>ħaθ mzammar, ġinya</i>	bad luck	<i>Yarikš el-ħaθθ</i>	<i>wa Yarikš el-ħaθθ</i>	<i>izzhar</i>
<i>ħobb</i>	love	<i>xša</i>	<i>yixs/axsa</i>	<i>tizrakħ tingu</i> ; lit.
<i>'he likes it</i>				'you have been
<i>kuħ</i>	hatred	<i>ukžisaxš</i>	<i>yikraht</i>	seen through the
				widow'
				<i>el-ħubb</i> (<i>yaxsiθ</i>)

<i>Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsiġhen</i>
<i>xawf</i>	fear	<i>yugid</i>	<i>tiwdi</i>	<i>tiuggað</i>
<i>ħisid</i>	envy	<i>yixs imsala</i>	<i>yixsimanis</i>	<i>l-ħsid</i>
<i>rahma</i>	mercy	<i>rahmat</i>	<i>rahmat</i>	<i>il-rahmiθ/ysaxxaf</i>
<i>imēn</i>	faith	<i>il-liman</i>	<i>il-liman</i>	<i>lman</i>
<i>ħār</i>	shame	<i>el-ħar</i>	<i>el-ħar</i>	<i>l-ħar</i>
<i>ðenb</i>	sin	<i>ið-ðanb</i>	<i>ið-ðanb</i>	<i>abakkaðu</i>
<i>ħalta</i>	fault	<i>ya ħlid</i>	<i>ya ħlid</i>	<i>(pl. ibikkaðin)</i>
<i>feħl</i>	action, deed	<i>iyumsele</i>	<i>iyumsala</i>	<i>il-ħaltið</i>
<i>sulūk</i>	behaviour	<i>isluk</i>	<i>isluk</i>	<i>yiggaħ</i>
<i>lu ħa</i>	language	<i>x</i>	<i>lu ħat</i>	<i>ihlila 'good,</i>
<i>ħede</i>	custom	<i>il-ħadat</i>	<i>il-ħadat</i>	<i>wiyahī 'bad</i>
<i>qāħde</i>	rule	<i>qaħda</i>	<i>lqanun</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>qānūn</i>	law	<i>lqanun</i>	<i>lqanun</i>	<i>il-ħadiθ</i>
<i>ħidma</i>	work	<i>lħadmit</i>	<i>iħqa</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>ħidma</i>	task	<i>x</i>	<i>iħqa</i>	<i>qanun</i>
<i>ħahriya, xlaħ</i>	wages, pay	<i>ħahriyyat</i>	<i>ħahriyyat</i>	<i>ħidmiθ</i>
<i>sewm</i>	price	<i>qaddaħ</i>	<i>qaddaħ</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>warθ</i>	inheritance	<i>el-wart</i>	<i>el-wart</i>	<i>ħahriyyiθ</i>
<i>deyn</i>	debt	<i>iddin</i>	<i>iddin</i>	<i>azil</i>
<i>ħiss</i>	noise	<i>el-ħis</i>	<i>el-ħis</i>	<i>il-wirθ</i>
				<i>iswel (pl. iswalaθ)</i>
				<i>il-ħiss</i>

_Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>kilma</i>	word	<i>tutlayt</i> (pl. <i>tutlayyin</i>)	<i>tulayt</i> (pl. <i>tulayyin</i>)	<i>tuθleyt</i> (pl. <i>tuθlayyin</i>)
<i>axbār</i>	news	<i>l-axbar</i>	<i>laxbar</i>	<i>l-axbar</i>
<i>leḥqāqa</i>	truth	<i>l-ḥuqq</i>	<i>l-ḥuqq</i>	<i>l-ḥaqq</i>
<i>kiḌba</i>	lie	<i>tikirkis</i>	<i>tikirkist</i>	<i>takarkast</i>
<i>qisṣa</i>	story, tale	<i>te qisṣat</i>	<i>qisṣat</i>	(pl. <i>tikarkast</i>)
<i>Yimmēya</i>	song	<i>guinyat</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>taxurraṣt</i>
<i>tšensšina</i>	riddle	<i>l-xurruṣ</i>	<i>ḥfuddayt</i> (pl. <i>tifuddayyin</i>)	(pl. <i>tixurraḥfin</i>)
<i>isem</i>	name	<i>ism</i>	<i>ism</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>eṣqal</i>	sense	<i>l-ṣomrik</i>	<i>aṣqal</i>	<i>asimmi</i>
<i>eṣmor</i>	age	<i>l-žnāz</i>	<i>l-ṣumrik</i>	(pl. <i>nusimmi</i>),
<i>žnēza</i>	funeral	<i>l-ḥuzn</i>	<i>l-žnāz</i>	<i>taxurraḥ</i>
<i>ḥuzn</i>	mourning		<i>l-ḥuzn</i>	(pl. <i>tixurraḥfin</i>)

Religious terms (Islamic faith)

<i>žemeṣ</i>	mosque	<i>el-žamaṣ</i>	<i>el-žamaṣ</i>	
<i>mihrāb</i>				
<i>lmiḌa</i>	ablution room	<i>ilmiḌat</i>	<i>ilmiḌat</i>	<i>il-miḌaθ</i>
<i>sawmṣa</i>	minaret	<i>essumṣat</i>	<i>essumṣat</i>	<i>il-sumṣaθ</i>
<i>iṣ-ṣla</i>	prayer	<i>džallit</i>	<i>džallit</i>	<i>tžalliθ</i>

<i>Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsignen</i>
<i>ṣawm</i>	fasting	<i>iz-zum</i>	<i>iz-zum</i>	<i>uzum</i>
<i>?iftār</i>	breaking the fast	<i>yifdar</i>	<i>yifdar</i>	<i>yiftar</i>
<i>shūr</i>	breakfast (Ramadhan)	<i>ishur</i>	<i>ishur</i>	<i>yitsahḥar</i>
<i>Hajj</i>	pilgrimage	<i>sqad lil haḏḏ</i>	<i>sqad lil haḏḏ</i>	<i>il-ḥiḏḏ</i>
ADJECTIVES				
<i>kbīr</i>	big	<i>amaqqar(f.tamaqqart)</i>	<i>amaqqar (pl. imiqrarin)</i>	<i>amaqqar</i>
<i>ṣḡūr</i>	small	<i>amaṣkun(f.tamaṣku)</i>	<i>amaṣkin (pl. imiṣkanin)</i>	<i>amaṣkun</i>
<i>bēhi</i>	good	<i>yiz-ṣam</i>	<i>bahi, yiz-ṣam 'nice'</i>	<i>ihlila (pl. ihlilhum)</i>
<i>muṣ bēhi,</i> <i>mzammār</i>	bad	<i>amaṣfun</i>	<i>amaṣfun</i>	<i>wiyahli</i>
<i>mizyēn</i>	beautiful	<i>izz-ṣem</i>	<i>iz-ṣam</i>	<i>yiz-ṣam</i> (<i>m.pl. iz-ṣamman</i>)
<i>muṣ mizyēn</i>	ugly	<i>wiyiz-ṣamṣ</i>	<i>yišyan</i>	<i>taz-ṣam</i> (<i>f.pl. iz-ṣemmiθ</i>)
<i>twīl</i>	long	<i>dazir (pl. azirarin)</i>	<i>azirar (masc.sg), tazirart (f.sg), tizirarin (f.pl.)</i>	<i>yišyin</i> (<i>m.pl. ṣyinnin</i>) <i>taṣyin (f.pl.)</i> <i>iṣyanniθ</i> <i>diziririn(m.,pl)</i>

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirighen
qšīr	short	qšīr	ayazzurt	agazzu (m.sg), digazzulin (pl.)
wāṭi	low		yītwada	tagazzult (f.sg), tiggazzulin (pl.)
twīl	tall (person)	twīl	dazīr	yirxa (masc.sg), irxam (pl.)
qšīr ḥneyyin	short (person) tender	qšīr	yille aḥazri	tirxa (f.sg), irxaniθ (pl.)
šebēb, ṣYīr	young	ḥazri		aḥazri (m, sg.), iḥziriyin (m,pl.)
kbīr	old	amaqqar(pl.imaqqarin)	awassir (m,sg), iwissarin(m,pl)	taḥazrit (f.sg.), tiḥziriyin(f, pl.) awassar
qdīm, ensien	very old	iqdim	taḥwilt	taqdim (pl.diqdimin)
teḥḥān	tired	aḥdi	aḥdi	taqdimt (tiqdimin)
ḥḥīd nova	new			daqdim (m,sg.), diqdimin (pl.)
mkammal	worn-out	yīḥya	yīḥya	yaḥya (m.pl.aḥyin)

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>mkelleh</i>	horny	x	x	<i>taḡya</i> (f.pl.)
<i>behlāl</i>	stupid	<i>tabehlul</i>	<i>abahlul</i>	<i>aḡyinniθ</i>
<i>meθmūl</i>	simple mind			x
<i>smūn</i>	fat	<i>ele iskir</i> <i>yiqwa</i> (pl.iqwan)	<i>iskir</i> <i>yiqwa</i>	<i>dinniθ</i> (pl.)
<i>nēšit</i>	active	<i>yinšat</i>	<i>yinšat</i>	<i>dinniθaθ</i>
<i>falħin</i>	slim	<i>dawarqiq</i>	<i>yahzil</i>	same as in feminine.
<i>Ḍḡf, svel</i> <i>Ḍḡffen</i>)				<i>yiskir</i>
<i>qwiy, xšn</i>	strong	<i>yaqwa</i>	<i>yaqwa</i>	<i>aqway</i> (m.pl.)
<i>Ḍḡf, fēbil</i>	weak	<i>yīḌḡaf</i>	<i>dahaḌbul</i>	<i>diquwayin</i>
<i>ḡaqil</i>	wise	<i>ḡaqil wažid</i>	<i>ḡaqil</i>	<i>taquwayt</i> (f.pl.)
				<i>tiquwayin</i>
				<i>el-falah</i> (m.pl. al-)
				<i>yīḌḡaf</i> (m.pl.)
				<i>tiḌḡaf</i> (f.pl.)
				<i>Ḍḡafnaθ</i>
				<i>yahzil</i> (f.sg.tehzil)
				x
				<i>wiyissinš</i>
				(m.pl.wesinašš)
				<i>wittasinš</i> (f.pl.
				. <i>wissinišš</i>)
				<i>fdeḡaqil</i> (m.sg.)
				<i>eḡaqila</i> (f.sg.)

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>bħīm, bagra</i>	stupid	<i>uwissan msala</i>	x	<i>a Yyul (f.ta Yyult)</i>
<i>mežnūn, mehbūl</i>	lunatic	<i>amažnun (pl.imižnan)</i>	<i>amažnun</i>	<i>amahbul (f. tamahbult)</i>
<i>YliḌ</i>	thick	<i>YliḌ</i>	<i>YliḌ</i>	<i>azuwwar</i>
<i>fīno, rqaqqeq</i>	fine, polite	<i>awarqiq</i>	<i>dawarqiq</i>	<i>dawarqiq</i>
<i>mutrubbi</i>	well-mannered	<i>yimrabba</i>	<i>yimrabba</i>	<i>mrubbi</i>
<i>qāših, šāh</i>	firm	<i>Yiqšah</i>	<i>Yiqšah</i>	<i>Yiqwa</i>
<i>sxūn</i>	hot	<i>Yiḷma</i>	<i>taḷma</i>	<i>Yizgil</i>
<i>bērid</i>	cold	<i>Yibrad</i>	<i>ysaggaḤ</i>	<i>YibriḌ</i>
<i>dēfi, fētil</i>	tepid	<i>mitwaṣṣat</i>	<i>alludad</i>	<i>YluddeḌ</i>
<i>meblūl</i>	wet	<i>Yinḷal</i>	<i>Yibzi</i>	<i>illaxs(pl.illaxsin)</i>
<i>milyēn, mṣibbi</i>	full	<i>Yṣabba</i>	<i>Yiṣṣabba</i>	<i>Yiṣṣur</i>
<i>fāre Y</i>	empty	<i>ifra Y</i>	<i>Yifra Y</i>	<i>el-fara Y</i>
<i>mṣibbi</i>	full	<i>Yṣabba</i>	<i>ifṣabba</i>	x
<i>Yāraq</i>	deep	<i>i Yraq</i>	<i>ta Yarraqt</i>	<i>ya Yraq</i>
<i>muš Yāraq</i>	shallow	<i>wilyi Yriqš</i>	<i>agazzul</i>	<i>agazzul</i>
<i>muhimm</i>	important	<i>hamma</i>	<i>hamma</i>	x
<i>neyy</i>	raw	<i>Yiddar</i>	<i>tidder</i>	<i>Yiddar(f.sg.tiddar)</i>
<i>tāyib, nāḌiž</i>	ripe	<i>YḌab</i>	<i>tdab</i>	<i>id-dub</i>
<i>māḌi</i>	sharp	<i>YimḌa</i>	<i>YimḌa</i>	<i>el-maḌya</i>
<i>delikātu</i>	delicate			
<i>ḥessēs</i>	sensitive	<i>Yithissu</i>	<i>Yithissu</i>	<i>Yithissu</i>
<i>berī?</i>	innocent	<i>xatīk</i>	<i>xatīk</i>	<i>uggixši</i>
<i>fīno, hrīr</i>	smooth			

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
<i>hlu</i>	sweet	<i>yihlew</i>	<i>yihlaw</i>	<i>yummum</i> (f.sg. <i>tummum</i>)
<i>bnin</i>	tasty	<i>mṣat</i>	<i>yimillah</i>	<i>imallah</i>
<i>mēlih</i>	salty	<i>yihraš</i>	<i>tahrašt</i>	<i>yahraš</i>
<i>aḥraš</i>	rough,	<i>yiqriš</i>	<i>tahmaḌ</i>	<i>yiqriš</i>
<i>qāris</i>	sour	<i>tiqṣah</i>	<i>tiqṣah</i>	<i>yaqur</i> (f.sg. <i>taqur</i>)
<i>yēbis, qāṣah,</i>	hard	<i>yrhafyib</i>	<i>yrhafyib</i>	<i>twarqaqt</i>
<i>rqayyeq</i>	soft	<i>hwasaḤ</i>	<i>tawassaḤt</i>	<i>tusaḤ</i>
<i>ḤriḌ, wēseḤ</i>	wide	<i>yḌayyiq</i>	<i>taḌayyaqt</i>	<i>taḌyaq</i>
<i>Ḍayyiq</i>	narrow	<i>yidqal</i>	<i>taḌqal</i>	x
<i>ḧqil</i>	heavy	<i>yibḤad</i>	<i>yibḤaḌ</i>	<i>yibḤad</i>
<i>bḤid</i>	far away	<i>yaqrab</i>	<i>yaqrab</i>	<i>yaqrab</i>
<i>qrib</i>	close	<i>Ḥfif</i>	<i>Ḥfif</i>	<i>yaḤfif</i>
<i>Ḥfif</i>	light	<i>šayah</i>	<i>yaqqr</i>	<i>yaqur</i>
<i>šeyeh</i>	dry	<i>ifrah</i>	<i>yifrah</i>	<i>yifrah</i>
<i>firḥen</i>	happy	<i>yihzin</i>	<i>yihzin</i>	<i>yahzan</i>
<i>hzin</i>	sad	<i>yiddar</i>	<i>yidda</i>	<i>yiddar</i>
<i>ḥeyy</i>	alive	<i>yimit</i>	<i>yimit</i>	<i>yammuḐ</i>
<i>meyyit</i>	dead	x	<i>muḤaq</i>	<i>el-Ḥayib</i>
<i>meṣlul, Ḥeyib</i>	paralysed	<i>Ḥiryan</i>	<i>aḤiryan</i>	<i>Ḥiryan</i>
<i>Ḥeri</i>	naked	<i>qarḤa</i>	x	<i>daḤadas</i>
<i>eṣlaḤ, fariṣ</i>	bald	<i>inḌaf</i>	<i>inḌaf</i>	<i>yinḌaf</i>
<i>nḌif</i>	clean	<i>ywassax</i>	<i>ywassax</i>	<i>ywassax</i>
<i>mwessex</i>	dirty	<i>ṣafi</i>	<i>ṣafi</i>	x
<i>ṣafi</i>	clear	x	x	x
<i>dyeri</i>	domesticated	<i>šzaḤ</i>	<i>šzaḤ</i>	x
<i>šzemḤ</i>	brave			

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirighen
Yniy, lebēs šlīh mabšūt	rich	aYniy	damabsut	amurkanti (pl. imarkantiyyin)
fqār, zawwāli	poor	afqir	aqillili	axwāžay-
Yāli	expensive	yaYla	yaYla	azawwali
rhiš, bie flūs	cheap	yirxaš	yirxaš	yaYla
šziz, Yāli	dear(person	yaYla		yirxis
xeddēm	diligent	axaddam wažid	yxaddam wažid	axaddam (f.sg. taxaddamt)
fīnyēn, bxīl	lazy	afanyan	abuxli	abuxli
šerih	keen	šarhan	šarhan	yišrah
mišhēh	miser	amišhah	amišhah	amašhah
hšūdi	envious	ašsudi	ašsudi	ašsudi
rādid bēlu	careful	yruđ ilbalis	yruđ ilbalis	yitterra l-balis
nešsēn	sleepy	yinšas	yinšas	yittas
mitdeyyin	religious	mitdayyin	mitdayyin	yittaf giddimnis
yizrib	fast	fisaš fisaš	fisaš fisaš	yisrab
bati, bil-mod	slow	šišra	dadindun	suferru
ših	healthy	ših	ših	nam bil haqq
mrīḶ	sick	yašḶub	yašḶub	yiḶan (f.sg. tuḶan)
wižhu esfar	pale	udmis yuraY	udmis yuraY	udmis yuraY
tešben	tired	yifya	yifya	yašya
fēweh	fragrant	fayah	fayah	yiffulhu
wehdeni	alone	awahdani	awahdani	awahdani
sur, ekid	certain	lazim	lazim	lazim
hurr	free	hurr	hurr	aggaY ili xsaY

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>šhīh</i>	true	<i>šhīh</i>	<i>šhīh</i>	<i>šhīh</i>
<i>Yālīt</i>	false	<i>yi Ylat</i>	<i>yi Ylat</i>	<i>yi Ylat</i>
<i>mīkebbir, ma Yrūr</i>	arrogant	<i>ayitkebber</i>	<i>ayitkabbar</i>	<i>ayitkabber</i>
<i>mšekli</i>	troublesome			
<i>mitwāḍaḥ</i>	humble	<i>mitwāḍaḥ</i>	<i>mitwāḍaḥ</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>mehūš mrubbi</i>	impolite	<i>mūšmutrubbi</i>	<i>mūšmutrubbi</i>	<i>wir turubbiš</i>
<i>Yrīb</i>		<i>dabarrani</i>	<i>abarrani</i>	<i>da Yrīb, dabarrani</i>
<i>munāfaq</i>	hypocrite	<i>imunafiq</i>	<i>imunafiq</i>	<i>(g tammurt</i>
<i>sikrān, beḥfu</i>	strange			<i>middan)</i>
<i>eḥma</i>	drunk	<i>yiskir</i>	<i>yiskir</i>	<i>amunafiq</i>
<i>ehwel</i>	blind	<i>ilaḥmi</i>	<i>ilaḥmay</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>atraš</i>	cross-eyed	<i>ilahwil</i>	<i>ilahwil</i>	<i>le-ḥmay</i>
	deaf	<i>yidreš</i>	<i>eatraš</i>	<i>dilehwil</i>
<i>?abkam</i>	dumb	<i>abakkuš</i>	<i>l-bikmit</i>	<i>ilitriš</i>
<i>yīžleḥ</i>	lame	<i>yitrakkah</i>	<i>yitrakkah/</i>	<i>wi silš (lit. 'cannot</i>
<i>šaḥru ašfar</i>	blond	<i>zawis dawra</i>	<i>yithamm (for animals)</i>	<i>hear')</i>
<i>mzeyyen</i>	colourful	<i>luniz</i>	<i>zawis dawra</i>	<i>el-bakmiθ (f,m)</i>
<i>kīf kīf</i>	similar	<i>kif kif</i>	<i>dilwan</i>	<i>dilḥayib</i>
<i>mferrek</i>	separate	<i>yifraq</i>	<i>kif kif</i>	<i>zawis dawra</i>
<i>xāš</i>	private	<i>x</i>	<i>yifraq</i>	<i>ylawwan</i>
			<i>x</i>	<i>kif kif</i>
			<i>x</i>	<i>imir</i>
			<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>

Tunisian English

COLOURS

<i>ekhal</i>	black
<i>abyaḏ</i>	white
<i>aḥmar</i>	red
<i>bordġeni</i>	orange
<i>azraq</i>	blue
<i>ašfar</i>	yellow
<i>axḏar</i>	green
<i>gri</i>	grey
<i>šoklāṭi, esmar</i>	(pers)brown
<i>rōz</i>	pink

VERBS-MOUVEMENT (INTRANSITIVE)

<i>tmašša</i>	walk
<i>mša</i>	go
<i>dār dar</i>	turn
<i>žab</i>	brin
<i>dxal</i>	enter
<i>xruž</i>	leave
<i>tšedde</i>	pass
<i>tebbeḥ</i>	follow
<i>šaqq</i>	cross
<i>yitšedde</i>	go beyond
<i>qām</i>	raise

Chninni

<i>azaitaf</i>	
<i>amallal</i>	
<i>azagguḠ</i>	
<i>aburdġani</i>	
<i>anili</i>	
<i>awraḠ</i>	
<i>aziḡaw</i>	
<i>el-gri</i>	
<i>aqahwi</i>	
<i>amišmaši</i>	

Douiret

<i>azaitaf</i>	
<i>amallal</i>	
<i>azagguḠ</i>	
<i>aburdġani</i>	
<i>asmawi</i>	
<i>awraḠ</i>	
<i>aziḡaw</i>	
<i>el-gri</i>	
<i>aqahwi</i>	
<i>amišmaši</i>	

Ouirsighen

<i>azaitaf</i>	
<i>amallal</i>	
<i>azagguḠ</i>	
<i>aburdġani</i>	
<i>animayt</i>	
<i>awraḠ</i>	
<i>aziḡaw</i>	
<i>el-gri</i>	
<i>aqahwi</i>	
<i>amišmaši</i>	

<i>guru</i>	
<i>skad</i>	
<i>iṭtanuḏ</i>	
<i>usid</i>	
<i>utif</i>	
<i>iffaḠ</i>	
<i>tšadda</i>	
<i>tebḥi</i>	
<i>šuuqq</i>	
<i>itšadda</i>	
<i>ikkir</i>	

<i>ggur</i>	
<i>yyur</i>	
<i>yannad</i>	
<i>iwid</i>	
<i>sutaf</i>	
<i>afḠ</i>	
<i>ammaraq</i>	
<i>tibbaḥ</i>	
<i>yšuuqq</i>	
<i>x</i>	
<i>mur-yqam</i>	

<i>ggur</i>	
<i>irah</i>	
<i>iṭtannaḏ</i>	
<i>uḠid</i>	
<i>uḏfif</i>	
<i>iffaḠ</i>	
<i>išadda</i>	
<i>idbaḥ</i>	
<i>išuuqq</i>	
<i>išadda</i>	
<i>uqa</i>	

<i>denna, waffa</i>	lower	<i>huṭṭ</i>	<i>assammawa</i>	<i>iqa</i>
<i>tāh</i>	fall	<i>uḌa</i>	<i>uḌa</i>	<i>uḌa</i>
<i>Ṣellaq</i>	hang	<i>Ṣallig</i>	<i>uyil</i>	<i>Ṣallaq</i>
<i>qṢad</i>	sit down	<i>Yayma</i>	<i>igṢa</i>	<i>yaqim</i>
<i>rkeṢ</i>	kneel down	<i>arkaṢ</i>	<i>yarkaṢ</i>	x
<i>lwe</i>	bend	<i>abrin</i>	<i>yadfas</i>	<i>yuḌi</i>
<i>žra</i>	run	<i>alhad</i>	<i>ilahhad</i>	<i>yuzil</i>
<i>žarr</i>	drag	<i>šušra</i>	<i>karkar</i>	<i>inzaY</i>
<i>zlaq</i>	slip	<i>zhaq</i>	x	<i>uzulaq</i>
<i>neggez.</i>	jump	<i>naggaz.</i>	<i>ṣṣuraf</i>	<i>naggiz.</i>
<i>Ṣem</i>	float	<i>itṢummu</i>	<i>Ṣawwim</i>	x
<i>Ytos, eṢmil plonžon</i>	dive	<i>ihwa</i>	x	<i>aYtas</i>
<i>Yroq</i>	sink	<i>aYraq</i>	<i>iYraq</i>	<i>aYraq</i>
<i>ždif, qdef</i>	row	x	<i>yahhadaf</i>	<i>imigdif</i>
<i>tār tar</i>	fly	<i>xannab</i>	<i>afarfaf</i>	<i>iḌra</i>
<i>qtor</i>	drip	<i>itqattar</i>	x	<i>itqat.tar</i>
<i>eṢmel aksident</i>	collide, crush	<i>mud el-hadiθ</i>	x	<i>ingiz.</i>

CHANGE OF STATES (TRANSITIVE VERBS)

<i>mess</i>	touch	<i>tmas</i>	<i>lammis</i>	<i>assa</i>
<i>tḥerrek</i>	move	<i>ititharik</i>	<i>ititharrrik</i>	<i>itrah</i>
<i>dezz</i>	push	<i>duzzu</i>	<i>itduz.</i>	<i>duzz</i>
<i>žbid</i>	pull	<i>žabbad</i>	<i>žabbad</i>	<i>inzaY</i>
<i>hezz</i>	lift up	<i>uthuzzu</i>	<i>muz.</i>	<i>yuthuzzu</i>
<i>šedd</i>	catch	<i>itattif</i>	<i>aff</i>	<i>ttaff</i>
<i>haṭṭ</i>	put	<i>uthuttu</i>	<i>huṭ</i>	<i>iga yisirs</i>
<i>zēd žied</i>	add	<i>aranni</i>	<i>arni</i>	<i>irni</i>
<i>lemm, žemmeṢ</i>	gather	<i>tlayim</i>	<i>assutaf</i>	<i>tlayim</i>

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>daxxal</i>	insert	<i>ssutuf</i>	<i>ssutuf</i>	<i>ssuḏif</i>
<i>xḏa</i>	take	<i>iṭṭa γ</i>	<i>iqah</i>	<i>u γa</i>
<i>beddel rāyu</i>	cancel	<i>baddal elfikrtu</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>nehḥa</i>	extract	<i>ikiss</i>	<i>akass</i>	<i>γkiss</i>
<i>hell, fekk</i>	undo	<i>mira γ</i>	<i>mir</i>	<i>mir</i>
<i>ḡmel, sneḡ</i>	make	<i>mud</i>	<i>ityi</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>tawwal</i>	extend	<i>twil</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>hell</i>	open	<i>mir</i>	<i>mir</i>	<i>mir</i>
<i>γlaq, qfil</i>	close	<i>sakkar</i>	<i>ammasal</i>	<i>qqaqṣṣ</i>
<i>kṣif</i>	discover	<i>laqa</i>	<i>uḡi</i>	<i>yufa</i>
<i>γaṭṭa</i>	cover	<i>irdi</i>	<i>arad</i>	<i>inbar</i>
<i>ḡebba</i>	load	<i>ḡabba</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ḡabba, iṭṣar (associated with water)</i>
<i>sedd</i>	block	<i>imsil</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>imsil</i>
<i>ṣerrad</i>	scatter	<i>sarwlin</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>γarwal</i>
<i>rqaḏ</i>	sleep	<i>iṭṭas</i>	<i>iṭṭis</i>	<i>iṭṭas</i>
<i>seyyib</i>	shoot	<i>sayybi</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>isiyyab</i>
<i>dār-dawwar</i>	surround	<i>annaḏ</i>	<i>iṭṭanad</i>	<i>asunaḏ</i>
<i>leff, gerbeḡ</i>	roll	<i>saygid</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>gargib</i>
<i>lennn, žmaḡ</i>	unite	<i>layim</i>	<i>itlamma</i>	<i>layim</i>
<i>ṣerik, dxal</i>	join	<i>ṣarkin</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ṣarkin</i>
<i>wqof</i>	stop	<i>ibidd</i>	<i>asbid</i>	<i>ibidd</i>
<i>xella</i>	leave	<i>iḏḡu</i>	<i>adži</i>	<i>iḏža</i>
<i>zraḡ</i>	plant	<i>izraḡ yazzi</i>	<i>izraḡ</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>dfin</i>	bury	<i>irdam</i>	<i>ardam</i>	<i>γanball</i>

Tunisian English SENSATIONS AND EMOTIONS

Tunisian English Chninni Douiret Ouirsigthen

<i>ħabb</i>	want	<i>axs</i>	<i>axs</i>
<i>ma ħabbiš</i>	refuse	<i>wi ħiš</i>	<i>wi ħiš</i>
<i>qallaq</i>	annoy	<i>aqlaq</i>	<i>qallaq</i>
<i>ħabb</i>	love	<i>axxas</i>	<i>yaxs</i>
<i>krah</i>	hate	<i>wi ħiš</i>	<i>wi ħiš</i>
<i>tžēhil</i>	ignore	<i>ayissinaš</i>	<i>wiyinsinš</i>
<i>xōe eθ-θār</i>	take revenge	<i>x</i>	<i>u ħa θθar</i>
<i>šmal rūħu</i>	feign	<i>iyi imaniš</i>	<i>ara iminis</i>
<i>zešma zešma</i>	repent	<i>ibnnaqas</i>	<i>indim</i>
<i>tēb, ndim</i>	to be ashamed o	<i>x</i>	<i>istħar</i>
<i>stħār</i>	weep	<i>attaru</i>	<i>šayyiθ, yitħawwaq</i>
<i>bka beka</i>	laugh	<i>idas</i>	<i>adus</i>
<i>θħak</i>	kiss	<i>ettebeħ</i>	<i>ibahba</i>
<i>bēs bies</i>	hug	<i>i ħiyas</i>	<i>ii ħamma</i>
<i>šannaq</i>	joke	<i>ifedlik</i>	<i>itbaššar</i>
<i>fedlek</i>	fight	<i>x</i>	<i>itnu ħu</i>
<i>tħerek, txāšam</i>	beat	<i>ahbad</i>	<i>itšaθ</i>
<i>θrab</i>	see	<i>azri</i>	<i>zir, yitħarraž</i>
<i>šēf, ra</i>	watch	<i>itħakkar</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>tħarraž</i>	stare, gaze	<i>zir, yitħakkar</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>ħzar</i>			

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirighen
<i>smaḥ</i>	hear	<i>sal</i>	<i>asli</i>	<i>sil</i>
<i>šem̄m</i>	smell	<i>tšumma</i>	<i>sfuḥa</i>	<i>tšummu</i>
<i>ḥlim</i>	dream	<i>itiržit</i>	<i>tahatar (yatyaržit)</i>	<i>izra tiržit</i>
<i>eḥmel test</i>	test	<i>ihawwim</i>	<i>ihawwim</i>	<i>itqasa</i>
<i>lewwaž</i>	look for	<i>af</i>	<i>af</i>	<i>aruzzu</i>
<i>lqa</i>	find	<i>itxammim</i>	<i>txamma</i>	<i>yamin</i>
<i>fakkar, xammam</i>	think	<i>issin</i>	<i>issin</i>	<i>issin</i>
<i>eḥraf</i>	know	<i>iffakkar</i>	<i>iffakkar</i>	<i>itxammim</i>
<i>tḏekkar</i>	remember	<i>ittu</i>	<i>ittu</i>	<i>ittu</i>
<i>nse nesa</i>	forget	<i>ažassus</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>yruzu bḥaža</i>
<i>tžesses</i>	spy on	<i>ita ḡarray</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>yrahhaš</i>
<i>tāḥ obda</i>	obey	<i>adugga</i>	<i>yadugga</i>	<i>utlay</i>
<i>qāl, ḥka</i>	tell	<i>itqas</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>itqasa</i>
<i>qāš qies</i>	measure	<i>x</i>	<i>hquqi</i>	<i>tsallif, yahtaž tazawwadi</i>
<i>htēž</i>	need			

TRANSACTIONS

<i>ḥendu</i>	have	<i>ḡaras</i>	<i>ḡaras</i>
<i>stenna</i>	wait	<i>raža</i>	<i>ussugu</i>
<i>ḥta</i>	give	<i>uši</i>	<i>ayyuš</i>
<i>xḏa, qbel</i>	receive	<i>uḡi</i>	<i>laqqa</i>
<i>tsellaf</i>	lend	<i>yarḏal</i>	<i>yitsallaf, yirdal</i>
<i>kmānda</i>	order	<i>yadallab</i>	<i>tadya ḡ ḥeža</i>
<i>ḡruḥ</i>	spend	<i>x</i>	<i>ḡarraf</i>
<i>bḥaḏ</i>	send	<i>uzan</i>	<i>nikki</i>

nikki g el masruf

<i>sraq</i>	steal	<i>xannab</i>	<i>ukar</i>	<i>del-ṣaylit</i>	<i>xannib</i>
<i>xḏa</i>	obtain	<i>uṣu</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>iṣḡiθ</i>	<i>iṣḡiθ</i>
<i>ṣra xtara</i>	buy	<i>is ḡu</i>	<i>is ḡa</i>	<i>is ḡa</i>	<i>is ḡa</i>
<i>bēṣ</i>	sell	<i>izanza</i>	<i>azzamaz</i>	<i>zinziθ</i>	<i>zinziθ</i>
<i>ṣen</i>	help	<i>itṣawin</i>	<i>itṣawin</i>	<i>itṣawin</i>	<i>itṣawin</i>
<i>xīār</i>	choose	<i>yixtar</i>	<i>itixta</i>	<i>ruzzu</i>	<i>ruzzu</i>
<i>ḏayyaṣ</i>	lose	<i>udayyaṣ</i>	<i>adayyṣit</i>	<i>luhiθ</i>	<i>luhiθ</i>
<i>qammar</i>	bet	<i>aqammar</i>	<i>itqammar</i>	<i>tqammar d el-qmar</i>	<i>tqammar d el-qmar</i>
<i>faḏḏal</i>	save	<i>ḥarriz</i>	<i>itnuṣ</i>	<i>itura el-qmar</i>	<i>itura el-qmar</i>
<i>ḥma</i>	defend	<i>itḥama</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>yitharza</i>	<i>yitharza</i>
<i>qāwim</i>	resist	<i>tqawim</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>uwitti, yutkulif</i>	<i>uwitti, yutkulif</i>
<i>ṣta</i>	offer	<i>uṣu</i>	<i>uṣi</i>	<i>sbar</i>	<i>sbar</i>
<i>rbeh</i>	win	<i>irbah</i>	<i>irbah</i>	<i>uṣa</i>	<i>uṣa</i>

TRANSFORMATIONS

<i>ṣmal</i>	make	<i>umud</i>	<i>ayy</i>	<i>aggi</i>	<i>aggi</i>
<i>ḥaḏḏar</i>	prepare	<i>itḥaḏḏar</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ṣarra umisi</i>	<i>ṣarra umisi</i>
<i>ṣallah</i>	repair	<i>itṣallah</i>	<i>itṣallah</i>	<i>dinner</i>	<i>dinner</i>
<i>bde beda</i>	start	<i>ibda</i>	<i>ibda</i>	<i>itṣallah</i>	<i>itṣallah</i>
<i>kemmal</i>	finish	<i>kammil</i>	<i>akammal</i>	<i>uḏil</i>	<i>uḏil</i>
<i>wild</i>	to give birth	<i>raw</i>	<i>iru</i>	<i>kammil</i>	<i>kammil</i>
<i>lizim</i>	oblige	<i>ilzim</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>tittaraw</i>	<i>tittaraw</i>
				<i>ilzim</i>	<i>ilzim</i>

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsigthen
Ḍrab	beat	habbad	ahbad	itšaθ
daqq	knock	duggu	iiduq	qarbaḤ
xalwaḌ	shake	itxalwaz.	issassray	isassar
Ḥsar	compress	Ḥaḥsar	iḤsar	Ḥaḥsar
xallat	mix	isassra	iqarru	isassar
qroḥ	pinch	iqarras	Ḥaḥsar	Ḥaḥsar
Ḥsar	squeeze	sarra	ggaz.	isassra
rass	wedge	utraḥḥu	x	qurraf
fil, bram	twist	barrin	x	iḥsal
dlek, hek	rub	uthukku	x	itillim 'twist'
Ḍenna	double	aḌi	izun	barraim 'turn'
qṣam	divide	zunn		arni, yuḌi 'ply'
ferraq	split	ifarraq		zunn
'separate'				ittuṣ 'give', itzunnu
heḥḥam	shave	ihaḥḥam	alsi	ikkisutūf
hekk	scratch	uthukku	akammiz.	axirru
qaṣṣ, qiaḤ	cut	utzunnu	ankaḌ	iqidulaḤ
kassar	break	ikassar	asmwa, ihudd	ruzz.
semmar	nail	itsammar	x	ibddi
Ḍarr	damage	utḌurrut	x	iddurru
demmar, hdim	destroy			haddam
qtel	kill	aYu	aYi	Yarras
ṣeḥḥal	light	uṣaḥḥal	iṣaḥḥaf	isayYa
ifa teje	switch off	sabbis	sabbis	asbis
hraq	burn	ihraq	ihraqt	

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiqhen
<i>Yalla</i>	boil	<i>issahma</i>	<i>issubar-ittabran</i>	<i>harraq</i>
<i>šwa</i>	roast	<i>išwa</i>	<i>išugga</i>	<i>yisis Yal</i>
<i>qla</i>	fry	<i>aqla</i>	<i>qalla</i>	<i>ikamif</i>
<i>tayyib</i>	cook	<i>idayyib</i>	<i>iḏayyib</i>	<i>izdiyab</i>
<i>dexxan</i>	smoke	<i>idaxxan</i>	<i>imabba Y</i>	<i>tisiggar</i>
<i>Yallaf</i>	wrap	<i>ixallaf</i>	<i>it Yallaf</i>	<i>Yallaf</i>
<i>rbat</i>	tie up	<i>iqan</i>	<i>ittaqqan</i>	<i>ittaqqan</i>
<i>fsal, fetaq</i>	disconnet	<i>izun</i>	x	x
<i>beddel</i>	change	<i>baddal</i>	<i>ibaddal</i>	<i>baddal</i>
<i>Ysel</i>	wash	<i>issarid</i>	<i>asirid</i>	<i>isaraḏ</i>
<i>naḏḏaf</i>	clean	<i>naḏḏaf</i>	<i>itnaḏḏaf</i>	<i>isindaf</i>
<i>lbiss</i>	dress up	<i>anud</i>	x	<i>raḏ</i>
<i>mašmaš</i>	rinse	<i>mašmaš</i>	<i>itmašmaš</i>	<i>itxawwiḏ</i>

COMMUNICATION

<i>qāl</i>	say	<i>imil</i>	<i>ammal</i>	<i>immil</i>
<i>tkallem</i>	speak	<i>utli</i>	<i>dugga</i>	<i>udugga irrakkonta</i>
<i>hka</i>	relate, tell	<i>hakka</i>	x	<i>immal</i>
<i>nādi, šayyat</i>	call	x	<i>yimaba</i>	x
<i>šayyat</i>	shout	<i>it Yawwat</i>	<i>itšayyat</i>	<i>is Yuyyu</i>
<i>šāh</i>	scream	<i>it Yawwat</i>	<i>ašayḏ</i>	x
<i>nbeh</i>	bark	<i>nbbah</i>	<i>nabbah</i>	<i>nabbah</i>
<i>stedša, istēdim</i>	invite	<i>itnaba</i>	<i>ašraḏ</i>	<i>ḏyyif</i>

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>hmiss, wešweš</i>	whisper	<i>itwešwiš-itxala</i>	<i>itxala</i>	<i>itwešwiš</i>
<i>bka</i>	weep, cry	<i>itfayyit</i>	<i>aru</i>	<i>itfayyið</i>
<i>ženn, hbil</i>	go mad	<i>ihbil</i>	<i>ihbil</i>	<i>ihbil</i>
<i>salla</i>	pray	<i>itžalla</i>	<i>itžall</i>	<i>itžalla</i>
<i>kmanda, amar</i>	command	<i>axs msala</i>		x
<i>nšah</i>	recommend	<i>iňšah</i>	<i>iňšah</i>	<i>iňšah</i>
<i>ħarrað</i>	incite	<i>itharrað</i>	<i>innuš</i>	<i>iišušu</i>
<i>ška</i>	complain	<i>išakka</i>	<i>išakka</i>	<i>itharriš</i>
<i>skit</i>	silence	<i>isusum</i>	<i>assusam</i>	<i>itharriš</i>
<i>webbex</i>	scold	<i>isusum</i>	x	<i>itheššiš</i>
<i>lēm</i>	blame	<i>itlumu</i>	<i>itlumu</i>	<i>itlumu</i>
<i>hēn, tayyah leqdar</i>	insult	<i>ihan</i>	x	x
<i>mašxar, tmenyek</i>	mock	<i>ađus</i>	<i>udušš</i>	<i>itiθmasxar</i>
<i>ħlif, qšam</i>	swear	<i>iđžul</i>	<i>eđžul</i>	<i>iđžalla</i>
<i>ħmid</i>	praise	<i>ikri</i>	x	<i>ikerre</i>
<i>škar</i>	thank	<i>šakkir</i>	<i>išikkir</i>	<i>išakkar</i>
<i>xdeš</i>	deceive	<i>ixdši</i>	x	<i>xaððaš</i>
<i>warra</i>	show	<i>isakna</i>	<i>assakan</i>	<i>isikan</i>
<i>qarra, fellellem</i>	teach	<i>isqarra</i>	<i>essašzam</i>	<i>issašzam</i>
<i>yešni</i>	mean	<i>mattaya</i>	x	<i>itsamma</i>
<i>γanna</i>	sing	<i>itγanna</i>	<i>itγanna</i>	<i>ittini</i>
<i>zaffar</i>	whistle	<i>itžaffar</i>	x	<i>itžaffar</i>
<i>qra</i>	read	<i>qarra</i>	x	<i>šazzam</i>
<i>ktib</i>	write	<i>ittari</i>	<i>uri</i>	<i>ittari</i>

<i>Tunisian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Chninni</i>	<i>Douiret</i>	<i>Ouirsighen</i>
<i>h̄awil</i>	try	<i>ithawil</i>	<i>ṣazzam</i>	<i>iṣṣarrib</i>
<i>xella</i>	allow	<i>iṣṣu</i>	<i>adži</i>	<i>iṣṣa</i>
<i>ḥarram</i>	prohibit	<i>itharram</i>	x	<i>imnaṣ</i>
<i>wēfeq</i>	agree	<i>wafaq</i>	<i>wafaq</i>	<i>irla</i>
<i>qarrar, ṣmel bēlu</i>	decide	<i>uru l -balis</i>	x	<i>qarrar</i>
<i>nkar</i>	deny	<i>inkar</i>	<i>inkar</i>	<i>inkir</i>

BODY FUNCTIONS

<i>tmeffes</i>	breathe	x	<i>itimaffa</i>	x	<i>ufuḏṣbaṣ</i>
<i>kla</i>	eat	<i>tit</i>	<i>aswi</i>	<i>assis</i>	<i>iṣbaṣ</i>
<i>šrob</i>	drink	<i>sus</i>	<i>asiss</i>	<i>ittit</i>	<i>Yazziz.</i>
<i>žēṣ</i>	to be hungry	<i>uluz.</i>	<i>alluz.</i>	<i>uluz.</i>	<i>affiz.</i>
<i>ṣtaš</i>	to be thirsty	<i>ufut</i>	<i>affud</i>	<i>ufuḏṣbaṣ</i>	<i>siff</i>
	satiate	<i>iṣbaṣ</i>	<i>iṣbaṣ</i>	<i>iṣbaṣ</i>	<i>lahhis</i>
<i>gdim</i>	bite	<i>Yaz.</i>	<i>ikarraš</i>	<i>Yazziz.</i>	<i>billaṣ</i>
<i>mYaḏ</i>	chew	<i>fuz.</i>	<i>faz.</i>	<i>affiz.</i>	<i>usufus</i>
<i>maṣṣ, rzaṣ</i>	suck	<i>yitmuṣṣu</i>	<i>isaf</i>	<i>siff</i>	x
<i>lhis</i>	lick	<i>iblaṣ</i>	<i>iblaṣ</i>	<i>lahhis</i>	<i>ibzid</i>
<i>bleṣ</i>	swallow	<i>iṣuffiṣ</i>	<i>askufas</i>	<i>billaṣ</i>	<i>anazzu</i>
<i>bzaq</i>	spit	<i>itqayya</i>	x	<i>usufus</i>	<i>itṥawib</i>
<i>radd</i>	vomit	<i>ibzid</i>	<i>ibazzad</i>	x	
<i>bēl</i>	pee	x	x	<i>ibzid</i>	
<i>ṣtaṣ</i>	sneeze	<i>tittadfa</i>	<i>itkuhh</i>	<i>anazzu</i>	
<i>tṥewib</i>	yawn			<i>itṥawib</i>	

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiqhen
<i>keḥ</i>	cough	<i>iikuhḥa</i>	<i>anzu</i>	<i>iikuhḥu</i>
<i>šexxar</i>	snore	<i>šaxxar</i>	<i>šaxxir</i>	<i>isxurru</i>
<i>nēk</i> (vulg.)	have sex	<i>ḥammaz</i>	x	x
<i>ertēh</i>	rest	<i>artah</i>	<i>artah</i>	x
<i>rqaḍ</i>	sleep	x	<i>iṭtas</i>	x
<i>qām</i>	wake (up)	<i>ikir</i>	<i>akkir</i>	<i>iitkkir</i>
FARMING				
<i>hraḍ</i>	plough	<i>akriz</i>	<i>akriz</i>	<i>karriz</i>
<i>zraḥ</i>	sow	<i>azriḥ</i>	<i>zarraḥ</i>	<i>zarraḥ</i>
<i>ḥṣad</i>	cultivate	<i>amžir</i>	<i>mažžir</i>	<i>mažžir</i>
<i>zabbar</i>	prune	<i>nakkad</i>	<i>farrin</i>	<i>farrin</i>
<i>yrabbi</i>	breed	<i>rabbay</i>	<i>rabba</i>	<i>itrabba</i>
<i>sqa</i>	water	<i>siw</i>	<i>asissaray</i>	<i>issiswa</i>
2. Conjunctions				
Coordinating conjunctions				
<i>u</i>	and	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>iḍ</i>
<i>walla</i>	or	<i>na Y</i>	<i>nada</i>	<i>na Y</i>
<i>lēkin</i>	but	<i>maniš</i>	<i>maniš</i>	<i>amma</i>
<i>emma</i>	then, therefore	<i>izi Y</i>	x	<i>ammala</i>
<i>emmala</i>	after	<i>baḥd</i>	<i>daffar</i>	<i>baḥtali</i>

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
-----------------	----------------	----------------	----------------	-------------------

<i>ma-dēm</i>	as long as	<i>madam</i>	<i>madam</i>	<i>madama</i>
<i>waqtēš</i>	when	<i>lammi</i>	<i>lammi</i>	<i>lammi</i>
<i>qbal</i>	before	<i>qbal</i>	<i>qbal</i>	<i>qabbal</i>
<i>waqilli</i>	when	<i>atawdis</i>	<i>lammi</i>	<i>elimmi</i>

Subordinating conjunctions**Time**

<i>beḡd ma</i>	after that	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>baḡd ma</i>
<i>milli</i>	from	<i>il-waqt</i>	<i>sittawdis</i>	<i>manis</i>
<i>min-waqt-illi</i>	from when	<i>ittawdtn innān</i>	<i>g lammi</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>hatta</i>	until	<i>ala</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>ala</i>

Cause

<i>ḡalāš</i>	because	<i>wimah</i>	<i>amat</i>	<i>naYar</i>
<i>illi</i>	which	<i>alimmi</i>	<i>wisi (ilan)</i>	<i>illi</i>
<i>Yir</i>	except	<i>x</i>	<i>bixlaf</i>	<i>bixlaf</i>

Goal

<i>bāš</i>	'in order'
------------	------------

Tunisian English Chninni Douiret Ouirsignen

3. Prepositions

<i>bi</i>	with	<i>git</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>is</i>
<i>fi</i>	in	<i>innu</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>agg</i>
<i>mitaḥ</i>	that belongs to	<i>sig</i>	<i>sigg</i>	
<i>min</i>	from	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	
<i>l</i>	to	<i>lye</i>	<i>el</i>	
<i>ittižeh</i>	towards	<i>žar</i>	<i>žar</i>	
<i>beyn</i>	between	<i>danni</i>	<i>ildani</i>	<i>af, inniž</i> ‘on, as on the wall’
<i>fūq</i>	on	<i>wadwas</i>	<i>wadu</i>	<i>adug</i>
<i>teht</i>	under	<i>kižnab</i>	<i>isdisi</i>	<i>tnas</i>
<i>bižneb</i>	next to	<i>žār</i>	<i>žar</i>	
<i>ma bayn</i>	between			
<i>qad ma</i>	without	<i>bla</i>	<i>bla</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>bla</i>	after	<i>baḥd</i>	<i>baḥtali</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>beḥd</i>	with	<i>ḥand</i>	<i>ḥand</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>ḥand</i>	against	<i>ḏudd</i>	<i>ḏudd</i>	
<i>ḏodd</i>				
<i>ḏudd</i>				
<i>mḥa</i>	with	<i>mḥa</i>	<i>mḥa</i>	<i>iḏ</i>
<i>dēyir bi</i>	surrounded by	<i>dāyir bi</i>	<i>nizn</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>illa</i>	except	<i>kān</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>ra ym</i>	despite that	<i>ra ym</i>	<i>aykul</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>huwa illi</i>	whom	<i>huwa illi</i>	<i>nittalli</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>beyn</i>	between	<i>bayn</i>	<i>sigg</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>ble</i>	without	<i>blaḥ</i>	<i>hasb</i>	<i>x</i>

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
<i>ħesb</i>	according	x	<i>fil ħsabis</i>	x
<i>min žel</i>	for	<i>fil xadrik</i>	<i>aḡil xaḡir</i>	x
<i>fi wast</i>	in the middle	<i>gammās</i>	<i>gammās</i>	x
<i>xāriž</i>	outside the	<i>yiffaγ</i>	<i>sbarra</i>	x
<i>qoddēm</i>	in front of	<i>isdad</i>	<i>zdad</i>	<i>izzaθ</i>
<i>fi ƣawḡ</i>	instead	<i>gulƣuḡ</i>	<i>g umkan</i>	x

4. Adverbs

Adverb of Time

<i>māzāl</i>	still	<i>yūši</i>	<i>wilyuš</i>	<i>uši</i>
<i>waqtēš</i>	when	<i>lemmi</i>	<i>lemmi</i>	<i>lammi</i>
<i>tewwe, tewwīka</i>	now	<i>turu</i>	<i>turu</i>	<i>turu</i>
<i>lyūm</i>	today	<i>assu</i>	<i>assu</i>	<i>assu</i>
<i>lbēreh</i>	yesterday	<i>assunaḡ</i>	<i>aššanai</i>	<i>iḡinnuḡ (night)</i>
<i>ūlēmīs</i>	the day before yesterday	<i>assunaḡ (day)</i>	<i>assizan</i>	x
<i>γodwa</i>	tomorrow	<i>assidem</i>	<i>asatta</i>	<i>iīša</i>
<i>beḡd γodwa</i>	fter tomorrow	<i>ašša</i>	<i>baḡdiša</i>	x
<i>dīma</i>	everyday	<i>asidan</i>	<i>kulyum</i>	x
<i>ħel-ħēm</i>	this year	<i>kulyum</i>	<i>asugāsu</i>	<i>assugassu</i>
<i>ħāmnēwil</i>	last year	<i>assugessu</i>	<i>asugga sunnaḡ</i>	<i>assugesunnat</i>
<i>qbal</i>	before	<i>sugge sunnat</i>	<i>assuggawassin</i>	x
		<i>bikri</i>		

Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsignen
<i>beṣd</i>	after	<i>baṣd šra</i>	<i>baṣd teli</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>bikri</i>	early	<i>ura, bikri</i>	<i>bikri</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>beṣd šweyya</i>	after a little	<i>baṣd šra</i>	<i>šara ian</i>	<i>saṣat</i>
<i>min tewwika</i>	from now	<i>sturu</i>	<i>sattawdis</i>	<i>sturu</i>
<i>baṣd seṣet</i>	sometimes	<i>baṣd saṣat</i>	<i>baṣd saṣat</i>	<i>saṣat</i>
<i>bikri</i>	early	<i>bikri</i>	<i>bikri</i>	<i>γars barša</i>
<i>dima</i>	always	<i>dima</i>	<i>dima</i>	<i>dima</i>
<i>abadan</i>	never	<i>ṣamris</i>	<i>ṣamris</i>	<i>xlaṣ</i>
<i>haḏeka n-nhār</i>	that day	<i>ussenndin</i>	<i>assisdin</i>	<i>azdin</i>
<i>leylit imbreh</i>	yesterday night	<i>assanat gid</i>	<i>iznaṭ</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>fi ṣamayn</i>	in two years	<i>x</i>	<i>daffar snit</i>	<i>ṣamin izunn</i>
			<i>ṣamayn</i>	
<i>min waqtaš</i>	from when	<i>slammi</i>	<i>islami</i>	<i>siglami</i>
<i>min bikri</i>	from a long time	<i>min bikri</i>	<i>min bikri</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>hetta lwīn</i>	until when	<i>ellumi</i>	<i>allami</i>	<i>allumi</i>
<i>beṣd seṣet</i>	sometimes	<i>baṣd saṣat</i>	<i>baṣd saṣat</i>	<i>saṣat</i>
<i>müš dīma</i>	seldom	<i>müš dīma</i>	<i>müš dīma</i>	<i>müš dīma</i>
<i>mil lawwal</i>	from	<i>slawwil</i>	<i>ugmazwar</i>	<i>sig lawwil</i>
<i>hāzir</i>	straight away	<i>haḏir</i>	<i>haḏir</i>	<i>haḏir-bahi</i>
Adverb of Place				
<i>fin (fayn)</i>	Where?	<i>mani</i>	<i>mani?</i>	<i>mani</i>
<i>min</i>	from where?	<i>manis</i>	<i>asmani</i>	<i>sigmanis</i>
<i>hne (hūni)</i>	here	<i>daha</i>	<i>dahanitant</i>	<i>dah</i>
<i>γādi</i>	there	<i>γadi</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>γadi</i>

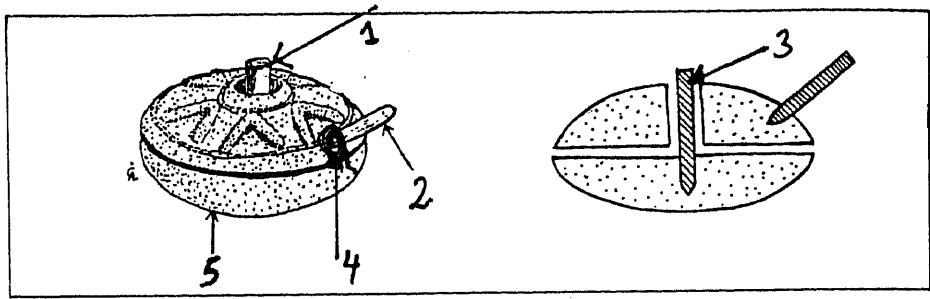
Tunisian	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsiġhen
ʃel limīn	on the right	<i>fil limin</i> (<i>aḡfus</i> = <i>hand</i>)	<i>an ʃaḡfus</i>	<i>daḡfilimin</i>
ʃel lisār	on the left	<i>fil lisar</i> (<i>aḡfus</i>)	<i>an tašalwagūt</i>	<i>fillisar</i>
ʃela tōl	directly	<i>tul</i>	<i>tul</i>	
<i>qoddem</i>	in front of	<i>nisdad</i>	<i>lazdat</i>	<i>izzaṭiw</i>
<i>wra</i>	behind	<i>daḡfir</i>	<i>daḡfir</i>	<i>daḡfir</i>
<i>l-dāxil</i>	inside	<i>l-zaž</i>	<i>il-zaž</i>	<i>l-zaž</i> 'inside', <i>g wamassis</i> 'in the middle'
<i>l-barra</i>	outside	<i>l-barra</i>	<i>ninnaž</i>	<i>el-barra</i>
<i>l-foq</i>	on top	<i>linnuž</i>	<i>lanaž</i>	<i>innuž</i>
<i>l-teht</i>	underneath	<i>l-wadday</i>	<i>ihwaday</i>	<i>alada</i>
ʃele žneḡ	on the side	<i>filžneḡ</i>	<i>asdisi</i>	<i>tmaw</i>
<i>fil-wošt</i>	in the middle	<i>mgammas</i>	<i>ugammas</i>	<i>gwamas</i>
<i>qriḡ</i>	next to	<i>disid</i>	<i>d qriḡ</i>	<i>yaqrab</i>
ʃid	away from	<i>yibʃid</i>	<i>d bʃid</i>	<i>yibʃaṭ</i>
<i>Adverbs of manner</i>				
<i>tewwika</i>	now	<i>turu</i>	<i>tur tur</i>	<i>turu</i>
ʃend yēsir	a long time	<i>Yris wažid</i>	<i>Yaras wažid</i>	<i>iggio</i>
<i>maʃaš</i>	no longer	<i>waʃiḡš</i>	<i>maʃaš</i>	<i>maʃaš</i>
<i>ma bqaš</i>	also	<i>zada</i>	<i>zada</i>	<i>zada</i>
<i>zēda</i>	contrary to	<i>bilʃaks</i>	<i>bilʃaks</i>	<i>bilʃaks</i>
<i>bilʃaks</i>	to sum up	<i>yihšil</i>	<i>el-ħašil</i>	<i>yihšil</i>
<i>el-ħašil</i>	together	<i>idin baʃzna</i>	<i>el-kul</i>	<i>el-kul</i>
<i>bil-kul, maʃa baʃz</i>				

<i>yumkun</i>	maybe	<i>yumkun</i>	<i>yumkun</i>	<i>yumkun</i>
Tun.	English	Chninni	Douiret	Ouirsighen
<i>Adverb of quantity</i>				
<i>yēsir</i>	many, much	<i>wāzid</i>	<i>wāzid</i>	<i>iggiθ</i>
<i>fūq illēzim</i>	plentiful	<i>akθar minlazim</i>	<i>wāzid</i>	<i>barša</i>
<i>šweyya</i>	a little	<i>šra</i>	<i>išaru</i>	<i>afarru</i>
<i>yekfi</i>	enough	<i>yizzi</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>yizzi</i>
<i>barka</i>	enough of	<i>barka</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>yezzi</i>				
<i>yēsir</i>	alot	<i>yēsir</i>	<i>wāzid</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>šweyya</i>	alittle	<i>šweyya</i>	<i>šra</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>barka</i>	enough	<i>barka</i>	<i>yikfi</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>hatta šey</i>	nothing	<i>hatta šay</i>	<i>hatta šra</i>	<i>yizzi</i>
<i>Interrogative adverbs</i>				
<i>kifēš</i>	how?	<i>manik</i>	<i>mak</i>	<i>manik</i>
<i>šalēš</i>	why?	<i>wimah</i>	<i>ilmata</i>	<i>ma yir</i>
<i>qaddēš</i>	how much?	<i>qaddaš</i>	<i>qaddaš</i>	<i>minnit</i>
<i>škūnu</i>	who is he	<i>dwili</i>	<i>wili</i>	<i>mammun nitta</i>
<i>škūnhi</i>	who is she ?	<i>dwilintit</i>	<i>wili natta</i>	<i>nittaθ</i>

<i>škūnhum</i>	who are they ?	<i>dwilimitni</i>	<i>wili niṭyan</i>	<i>mammun nihnin</i>
<i>šnuwwa</i>	what?	<i>matta</i>	<i>matta</i>	<i>matta</i>
<i>mša šnu</i>	with what ?	<i>id mah</i>	<i>nattawmat</i>	<i>iḏmam</i>
<i>fi šnu</i>	in what ?	<i>g mah</i>	<i>g imatta</i>	<i>g mah</i>
<i>mtaḥ šnu</i>	of what ?	<i>muli</i>	<i>innatta</i>	<i>innamatta</i>
<i>fūq šnu</i>	on what ?	<i>annimah</i>	<i>afmatta</i>	<i>innižna</i>
<i>mša šnu</i>	with what ?	<i>yadunnmah</i>	<i>nattadmat</i>	<i>iḏmah/iḏmam</i>
<i>šleh, šlēš</i>	why ?	<i>wimah</i>	<i>ilmat</i>	<i>maḡir</i>

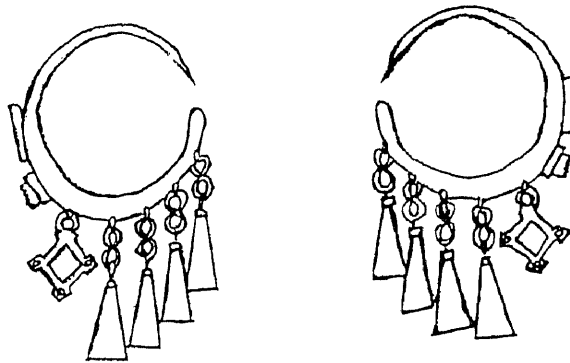
Negative adverbs

<i>mūš</i>	not	<i>muš</i>	<i>wil---š</i>	<i>muš</i>
<i>abadan</i>	never	<i>abadan</i>	<i>abadan</i>	<i>abadan</i>



tasirt¹

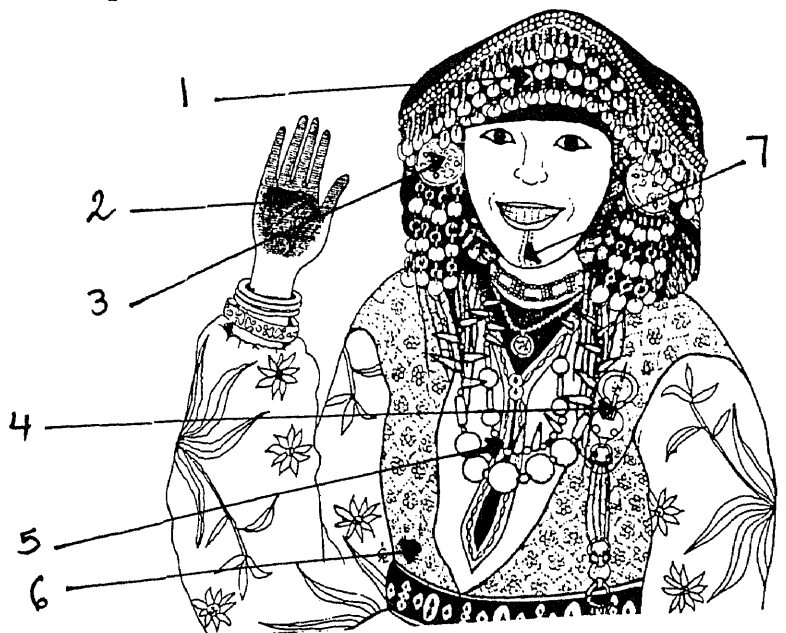
- 1. yum
- 2. fus n tasirt
- 3. ul n tasirt
- 4. tarša
- 5. l-fardat n tasirt



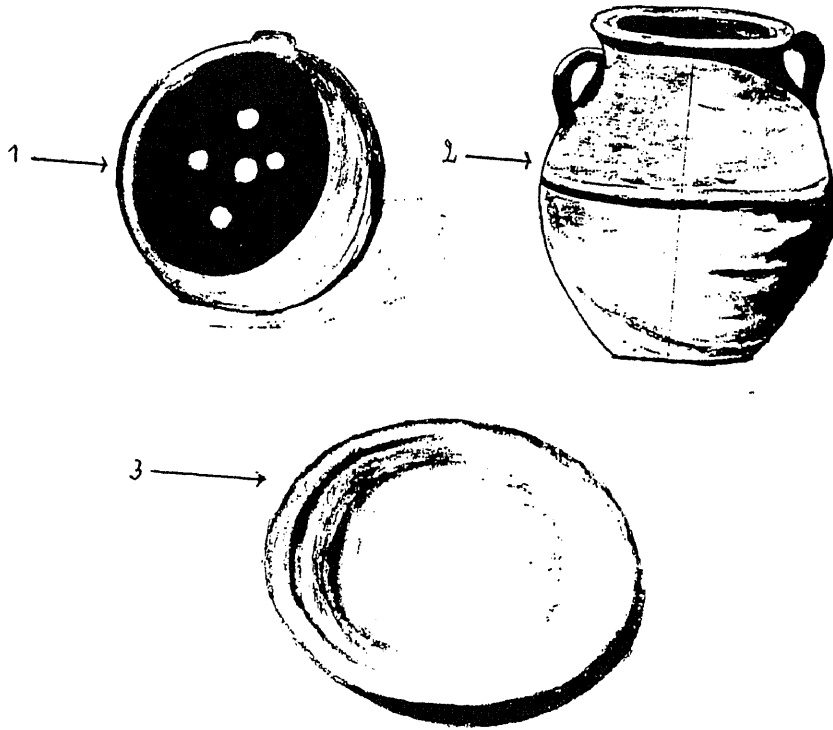
taballut (pl. tiballatin)

taslit

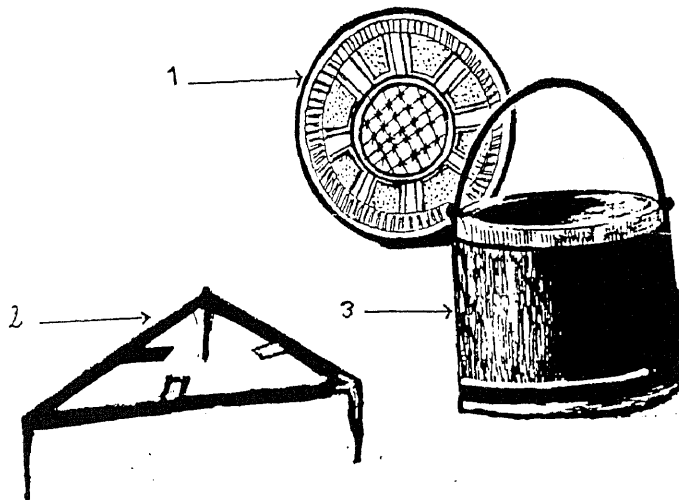
- 1. aḡra u mudan
- 2. l-ḡanni
- 3. tigar (pl. twagar)
- 4. l-xillat
- 5. talaqqat
- 6. l-furḡi (pl. iuffadi)
- 7. el-wašm



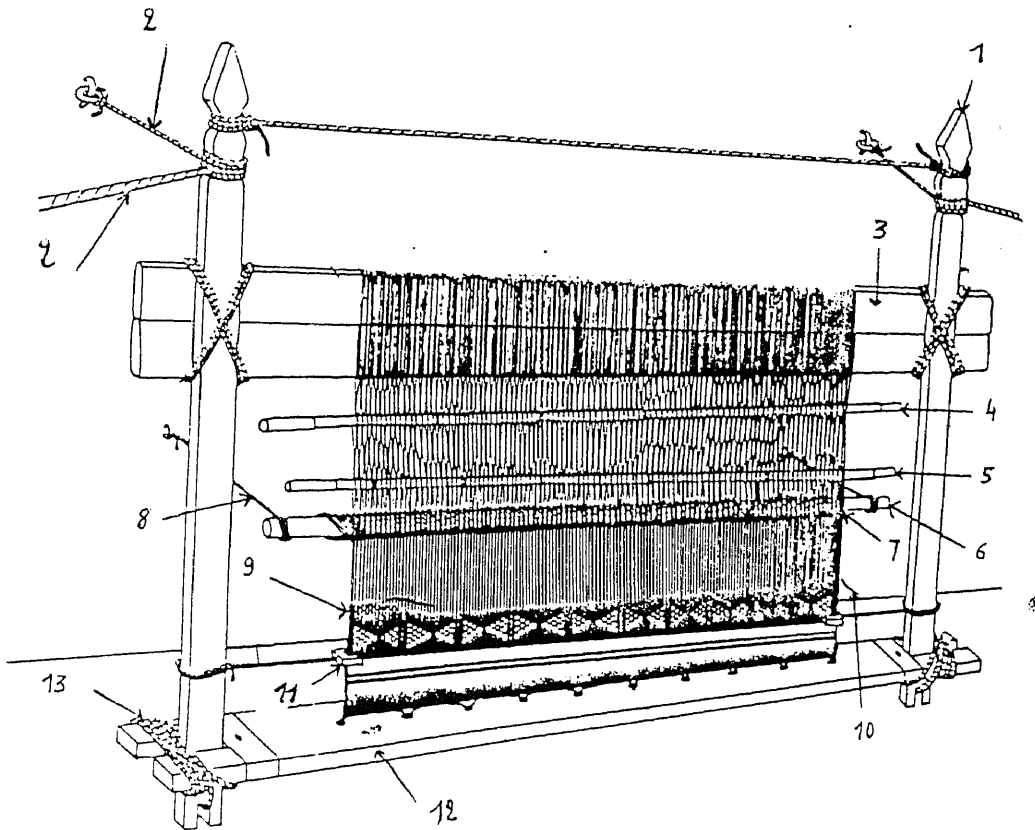
¹ The pictures included here are taken from Taifi (1991)



	1. kaskas m taYuri 2. is-shan	3. tburmit
--	----------------------------------	------------

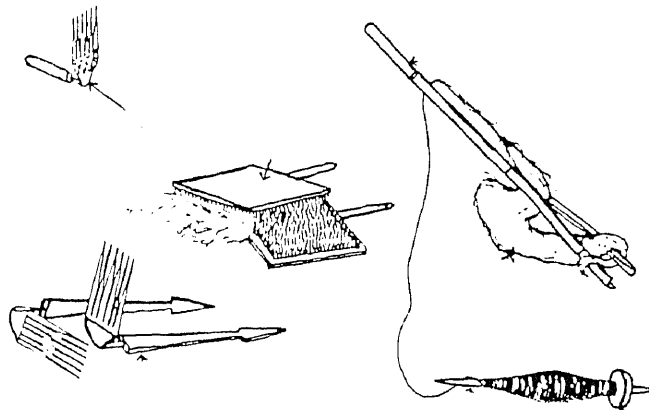


	1. is-shan 2. inyan	3. isdal
--	------------------------	----------



azatta

1. yasirqasin	3. igunam	5. amundud	7. ulam	9. tayadyant
2. tililli	4. aṣmud m nulu	6. afidžiž	8. luštu	



1. tažutša	pl. tižutša	3. amšit	pl. imišdan
2. aqardaš	pl. iqardašin	4. azzanit muzdi	5. tazbubt

APPENDIX IV: The phoneme /θ/ in the Ouir sighen dialect.

In the Ouir sighen vernacular, the phoneme /θ/ is abundant. There are only three native Berber lexemes which end with a final /θ/ which characterises the Ouir sighen vernacular, e.g. *tazuriθ* ‘vine’, *tamattoθ* ‘woman’ and *tafruθ* ‘knife’. This can be compared with words ending in *-t* such as *tufwit* ‘sun’, *taḏyaγt* ‘rock’, *tamžirt* ‘mill’, *tufdint* ‘toe’, etc. There are two likely explanations for the use of /θ/. First, the sound change /t>/θ/ may be a simple and predictable one as it is not uncommon to find that change in the Proto-Semitic language whereby /θ/ replaces š, t and s in Akkadian, Syriac and Ethiopic respectively. The development of θ > t occurred “about the middle of the first millennium B.C.” (Moscati et al. 1980: 29)

Secondly, in all of the instances that end with the phoneme/θ/, one notices that it is preceded regularly by either a full vowel or the allophone /e/:

Ouir. (1)	a. <i>wišmiθ</i>	‘tattoo’
	b. <i>irtiliθ</i>	‘spider’
	c. <i>qahwaθ</i>	‘coffee’
	d. <i>nidwet</i>	‘dew’

In contrast, words that end with the final *-t* are not necessarily preceded by a vowel:

Ouir. (2)	a. <i>tmurt</i>	‘city’
	b. <i>takrumt</i>	‘neck’

The phoneme /θ/ does not appear to occupy either initial or medial positions. The phoneme /θ/ in the word *tamattoθ* is not the original phoneme which contradicts Sa‘di’s claim that the word *tamattoθ* is of Arabic origin. (The word *tamattoθ* can not be confused with the word *tamθ* in Arabic meaning ‘menstrual period’. It is a panBerber word; and it is highly

uncertain that Berber borrows this particular word ‘woman’ from Arabic. It is also found in hieroglyphics and pronounced as *tamouθ e*, (cf. Hanouz 1994: 14).

Examples of the occurrences of the final phonemes /t/ and /θ/ follow:

Words ending in -t:

Ouir. (3)	a. <i>is-saḥat</i>	‘hour’
	b. <i>tufwit</i>	‘sun’
	c. <i>taḏḏya ḡt</i>	‘rock’
	d. <i>ez-zift</i>	‘pitch’
	e. <i>nidwat</i>	‘dew’
	f. <i>izbaṭ</i>	‘mould’
	g. <i>tarṣaṣt</i>	‘lead’
	h. <i>taballart</i>	‘glass’
	i. <i>tammurt</i>	‘earth’
	j. <i>tafrawt</i>	‘oasis’
	k. <i>masirt</i>	‘cave’
	l. <i>idḏibyat</i>	‘pond’
	m. <i>el-giltit</i>	‘puddle’
	n. <i>tamiṣhit</i>	‘hoe’
	o. <i>tabarwit</i>	‘wheelbarrow’
	p. <i>ṣut</i>	‘whip’
	q. <i>tasunnart</i>	‘hook’
	r. <i>tazribt</i>	‘meadow’
	s. <i>tamḏirt, masart</i>	‘mill’
	t. <i>taquwayt</i>	‘fat’

Words ending with -θ

Ouir. (4)	a. <i>ḥilwiθ niḏdi</i>	‘dune’
	b. <i>saqiθ</i>	‘brook’
	c. <i>muḏaθ</i>	‘wave’
	d. <i>fayḏaniθ</i>	‘flood’
	e. <i>ṣuḏraθ</i>	‘tree’
	f. <i>ḡabaθ</i>	‘bush’
	g. <i>zarriḥaθ</i>	‘seed’
	h. <i>talaggahit</i>	‘walking stick’
	i. <i>tazuriθ</i>	‘vine’

j. <i>γillaθ</i>	‘fruit’
k. <i>qtanyaθ</i>	‘corn’
l. <i>lubyath</i>	‘string bean’
m. <i>ginnariyyaθ</i>	‘artichoke’
n. <i>kakawiyyaθ</i>	‘peanut’
o. <i>qirfaθ</i>	‘cinnamon’
p. <i>ξiliθ</i>	‘family’
q. <i>tamaṭṭuθ</i>	‘woman’
r. <i>malikiθ</i>	‘queen’
s.l- <i>qabliθ</i>	‘midwife’
t. <i>el-baṭṭiθ</i>	‘duck’

APPENDIX V: Emphatic consonants in Tunisian Arabic

The work of Cohen (1970: 13) on Tunisian Arabic reveals that emphatic consonants occur in words thought to be (a) taboo words, (b) occurring in special interjections and in (c) occurring in foreign words. For instance:

(a) Taboo words

ṃ and **ṣ**:

Are observed in the following word:

ṣamṣ or *nomṣ* 'penis'

ḥ and **ṣ**:

These are found in the the following word:

<i>ḥa ḥa</i>	'man'
<i>ṣaḥṣūr</i>	'vagina'

(b) Interjection

ṣ:

Is found in a Tunisian interjection *aṣān* 'really' which is used to indicate disappointment, generally after someone has given an unexpected response to a request. e.g.:

TA. *aṣān ḥakka taṣmīl fiyya!*
'really, is this the way you treat me!'

(c) Foreign words

ḥ, **ṣ**:

Are observed in words of Romance origin. For instance:

<i>ḥaḥūr</i>	'ship, burner'	<It. <i>vapore</i>
<i>ḥarwīṭa</i>	'wheelbarrow'	<Fr. <i>brouette</i> .
<i>ṣaḥḥīl</i>	'car'	<Fr. <i>automobile</i>

These emphatic consonants also occur in Tunisian Arabic as a variation to the French words *papa* and *maman* as in: *ḥaḥa*, *ḥa*, *omṣi*, *ṣa* and *ṣmaṣṣi*.

APPENDIX VI: Stress in Ouir sighen and Chninni

1. Ouir sighen

The findings on stress in the Ouir sighen vernacular confirms, by and large, Saada's study on accented texts (cited in Aikhenvald 1988b). The present analysis of stress in Ouir sighen and Chninni is a tentative one, as both dialects require further investigation.¹

Based on the available data at hand, stress does not appear to be phonemic in Ouir sighen and Chninni. Therefore, all stressed examples are bracketed henceforth.

In isolated and monosyllabic nouns, the stress falls on the initial vowel, as in: [*ísm*] 'name', [*ámas*] 'middle'.

In polysyllabic words, stress falls on the first syllable, as in:

Ouir.(1)	a. [<i>tážži</i>]	'dawn'
	b. [<i>ággiǾ</i>]	'night'
	c. [<i>ímal</i>]	'year'
	d. [<i>ánifdu</i>]	'summer'
	e. [<i>tážrist</i>]	'winter'
	f. [<i>árbiŕ</i>]	'spring'

Long vowels are always stressed regardless of their position in a word. For instance:

Ouir. (2)	a. [<i>tufwît</i>]	'sun'
	b. [<i>ababbîš</i>]	'snail'

¹ In other words, this discussion attempts to present the main highlights of accent in Ouir sighen and Chninni.

c. [burri^hin (sg. burri^h)] ‘grass’

The nominal plural affixes *-an*, *-in*, *-awin* receive a stress as shown in the following examples:

Ouir. (3)

<i>-an</i>	a. [i ^h ŋa ^h án]	‘woods’	cf. [á ^h ŋa ^h]	(sg.) ‘a piece of wood’
	b. [is ^h ar-án]	‘stones’	cf. [ás ^h ar]	(sg.) ‘stone’
	c. [tinillíwin -án]	‘stones’	cf. [tínillí]	(sg.) ‘string’
<i>-in:</i>	e. [ibabbuš-ín]	‘snails’	cf. [ábabbuš]	(sg.) ‘a snail’
<i>-awin :</i>	d. [iwl-áwin]	‘hearts’	cf. [úl]	(sg.) ‘heart’

Possessive nominal affixes are stressed, stress shifts from the first syllable to the penultimate, as in:

Ouir. (4)	a. [taziqqa-ná ^h]	room-our	cf. Isolated word:	táziqqa ‘house’
		‘our room’		
	b. [yimmá-θ inná ^h]	mother-our	cf. Isolated word:	[yímma] ‘my mother’
		‘our mother’		

Stress shift seems to have some syntactic constraints. For instance, stress falls on the last syllable in words occupying the final position in a sentence, for instance the word Ouir., [tázaqqa] ‘house’ changes its accent to [tzaqqá] in the following sentence:

Ouir. (5)

[wi^h ɣisaxš argaz. illi tu^h ɣid altzaqqá]

‘I did not like the man whom you invited to the house’

In verbs, stress generally falls on the first syllable of the stem, e.g. *tá ḡsiĎ* ‘you like’ and [*yáxs*] ‘he likes’. If a verb contains a consonant cluster in the first syllable, then the accent shifts to the final syllable, e.g.

Ouir. (6) a. [*ḡṣá-ḡ*]

like-I

‘I like’

b. [*xs-ín*]

like-they

‘they like’

When negating verbs, particularly the weak ones, the stress falls on the *-i* marker which is also part of *tš* (as *pas* ‘not’ in French). For instance:

Ouir. (7) a. [*yúsi*]

‘he came’

b. [*we d yusî-tš*]

‘he did not come’

Verb enclitics acquire the stress as shown in the following examples:

Ouir. (8) a. [*yuš-âsin*]

‘give them’

b. [*tuwid-âsin*]

‘tell them’

2. Chninni

In isolated and monosyllabic nouns, the first syllable acquires the stress as shown in the following examples:

- Chn. (9) a. [áððu] 'light'
 b. [ítri] 'star'

In polysyllabic words, the stress falls on the first syllable, as in:

- Chn. (10) a. [áqašquš] 'wood'
 b. [áysum] 'meat'
 c. [áslim] 'vein, root'

Long vowels usually attract the stress regardless of number of syllables as in:

- Chn. (11) a. [abazzîdan] 'urine'
 b. [arrîgan] 'saliva'
 b. [txâtimt] 'ring'

In plural forms, stress falls plural suffixes such as on *-in*, as in:

- Chn. (12) a. [admirín] (sg. *ádmir*) 'breasts'
 b. [ifassín] (sg. *áfus*) 'hands'
 c. [ifunassín] (sg. *afûnas*) 'cows'

The possessive clitics are stressed in Chninni, as in:

- Chn. (13) a. [hušinnàɣ]

‘our house’

b. [yádžinnùn]

‘our mother’

In verbs, stress falls on the last syllable when the stressed vowel is preceded by a geminate:

Chn. (14)	a. [yiffáy]	‘leave’
	b. [yžabbád]	‘pull’

With vocalic verbs, the initial vowel is stressed, for instance:

Chn. (15)	a. [ím̂sil]	‘block’
	b. [ír̂di]	‘cover’
	c. [ibidd]	‘stop’

As in the case of nouns, long vowels are always stressed as in:

Chn. (16)	a. [m̂ir]	‘open’
	b. [lâqa]	‘discover’
	c. [šârkin]	‘join’
c	d. [ánnaǾ]	‘surround’

Regarding sentential stress, accent shift does not seem to be present in Chninni.² For instance, the following words maintain their stress in their free state and sentential environments, as in:

² Additional Berber texts are needed on the dialect of Chninni in order to investigate further sentential stress.

- Chn. (17) a. [*daffar árgaz*] 'behind the man' Cf. Isolated form: *árgaz* 'man'
- b. [*danni áxyam*] 'on the tent' Cf. Isolated form: *áxyam* 'tent'
- c. [*g il-kês*] 'in the cup' Cf. Isolated form: *il-kês* 'the cup'

APPENDIX VII: Semantics of gender in Shilh̄a

1. Semantics of Gender in Shilh̄a

Nouns which denote females for both human and animals are assigned the feminine gender.

For instance, ‘woman’ *tamattut*, ‘cow’ *tafunast*. Diminutives are also feminine:

Sh. (1)	<i>a. anu</i>	‘well’	<i>tanut</i>	‘little well’
	<i>b. afunas</i>	‘cow’	<i>tafunast</i>	‘calf’
Ouir. (2)	<i>c. aḏyaγ</i>	‘stone’	<i>taḏyaγt</i>	‘stone’

Males whether human or animal are masculine, for instance Dou. *aryaz* ‘man’, *aḥalluš* ‘sheep’

The semantic criterion for the inanimate nouns in each of the three vernaculars is the immediate concern.

1.1 Ouirighen

The concept association means that “if a noun is strongly linked with a noun in a different gender, it may be assigned that gender” (Corbett 1991:16). In Ouirighen the concept of association is quite irregular. However, in some semantic fields the assignment of gender shows some noteworthy patterns. The findings are summarised in Table 1 below.

In the semantic field of ‘body parts’, nouns show an equal number of words which can be assigned either of the gender category. Body parts that are associated with the female body are feminine such as *tababbit* ‘breast’ and *tabaššit* ‘vagina’. Small body parts are assigned to the feminine gender; even if they are associated to the male’s body such as *takurzit* ‘testicle’, with the exception of, e.g. *admir* ‘nipple’, *addaḏ* ‘finger’ and *imi* ‘mouth’. The body parts which

may seem important in the human body such as the ‘heart’, ‘tongue’ and ‘back’ are assigned to the masculine gender.

In the semantic field of ‘elements’, the concept of ‘vastness’, ‘motherhood’ or perhaps ‘roundness’ are assigned to the feminine gender which include ‘earth’, ‘moon’ and ‘sun’. Similarly, those nouns which are associated with women’s activities such as ‘clay’ or ‘thread’ are feminine. Nouns which denote ‘harshness’ such as ‘rain’ and ‘wind’ are masculine. Demonstrative pronouns, whose gender is unknown, are usually assigned the masculine gender. This observation is also bolstered by Galand (1994: 86) when asserted that:

Lorsqu’ un concept n’a pas été enregistré par le code grammatical ou lexical d’une langue, il doit s’accommoder des cadres existants. C’est ainsi qu’un neutre est traité en surfaçon comme un masculin (français ce), un duel comme pluriel (les ciseaux), tandis que la non- personne doit se déguiser en troisième personne.

Table 1 Examples of Semantic Criteria in Gender Assignment

Semantic fields	Criterion	Masculine	Feminine
Body parts	smallness		<i>tiṭ</i> ‘eye’ <i>taḡmist</i> ‘tooth’ <i>takarruzt</i> ‘testicles’
Elements			
	‘roundness’		<i>tammurt</i> ‘earth’ <i>taziri</i> ‘moon’ <i>tufwit</i> ‘sun’
	‘harshness’	<i>aḏu</i> ‘wind’ <i>anzar</i> ‘rain’ <i>iḏdi</i> ‘sand’ <i>itri</i> ‘star’	
Semantic fields	Criterion	Masculine	Feminine

Agriculture	'smallness'		<i>tazribt</i> 'meadow' <i>tamžirt</i> 'hedge'
	'man's work'		<i>amazday</i> 'field' <i>masart</i> 'mill' <i>afidža</i> 'pool' <i>lay</i> 'manure'
Unknown		Masculine	Demonstrative pronouns

The majority of loanwords in Ouirighen retain the gender of the source language regardless of their semantic criterion. For instance:

Ouir. (3)	a. <i>tabarwit</i>	< TA. <i>barwīta</i> < Fr. <i>brouette</i> (fem.)	'wheelbarrow'
	b. <i>tamishit</i>	< TA. <i>misha</i>	'hoe'
	c. <i>tasunnart</i>	< TA. <i>sunnāra</i>	'hook'

However, there are some exceptions where words changed their gender such as: Ouir. *taballart* (fem.sg.) < TA. masc. *bellār* 'glass'

1.2 Chninni and Douiret

Semantically, Chninni and Douiret share similar patterns with Ouirighen in the criterion of gender assignment. There are, however, some words in Chninni and Douiret whose gender assignments are dissimilar from Ouirighen. For instance:

Chn. *tYaYit*, Dou. *talmut* (fem.), compared with Ouir. *Ḍbab* (masc.) < TA. *Ḍbēb* (masc.)
'fog'

Chn. *tgagit tamaqqart*, Dou. *dYaYat, tamaqqart* (fem.), compared with Ouir. *aḌYaY* (masc.)
'rock' < TA. *ḥažra* (fem.).

Chn. Dou. *timšimt* (fem.) Cf. Ouir. *akankil* (masc.) 'plaster'

Chn. Dou. *asaɣwan* (masc.) Cf. Ouir. *tazra* (fem.) ‘rope’

There are also some exceptions in the assignment of gender between Chninni and Douiret, as shown in the following examples:

Chn. (4)	a. <i>tamazzuɣt</i> (fem.)	‘ear’	Cf. Dou. <i>amazzuɣ</i> (masc.)
	b. <i>aḏabbut</i> (masc.)	‘armpit’	Cf. Dou. <i>tadaxt</i> (fem.)
	c. <i>tamansi</i> (fem.)	‘dinner’	Cf. Dou. <i>amansi</i> (masc.)

Similarly to Ouirighen, the gender of loanwords are generally preserved in both Chninni and Douiret. For instance:

Chn./Dou.(5)	a. <i>ambubat</i>	‘lamp’	Cf. TA., <i>ambūba</i> (fem.)
	b. <i>timarwaht</i>	‘fan’	Cf. TA., <i>marwḥa</i> (fem.)
	c. <i>abarrad</i>	‘teapot’	Cf. TA., <i>berrēd</i> (masc.)

Assigning gender to nouns can be based on the social connotations associated with certain nouns and mythologies. Corbett uses the word “residue” to refer to these types of circumstances” (Corbett 1991: 93). Many writers such Spitz, Ervin and Clarke have tried to find a link between grammatical gender, semantics and perception (Cf. Corbett 1991: 93). For instance, Clark’s comparative study of speakers of Arabic and English, which consists of asking subjects to assign the masculine and feminine gender to objects, showed that the speakers’ responses were based on the gender in Arabic rather than the semantic residue (as cited in Corbett 1991: 93). For example, the words ‘necklace’ and ‘perfume’ have received higher masculine responses than the English speakers.

In the case of Tunisian Berber, assigning gender to nouns seems to rely chiefly on grammatical gender. This is confirmed by the awareness of some of my informants who were able to provide a morphological analysis of the differences between masculine and feminine nouns. No semantic connotations were considered to be important from the informant’s point of view.

APPENDIX VIII: Verb morphology in Shilha¹

1. Douiret

INTRANSITIVE VERS				
Monoilateral	Bilateral	Triliteral	Quadrilateral	Quinquilateral
v1v <i>ūḌe</i> 'fall'	11v2 <i>ggur</i> 'walk' <i>yyur</i> 'go' <i>med</i> 'turn'	1v̄2v3 <i>sūtef</i> 'enter'		
	1v2 <i>wīd</i> 'bring' <i>mūr</i> 'raise'	11v22v3v <i>ssammawa</i> 'lower'		
	v12 <i>ḍfy</i> 'leave'	12v3 <i>ḍfḍs</i> 'bend'		
	v̄1v2 <i>ūyed</i> 'hang'	1v22v3 <i>lehhed</i> 'run'		
	1v21v2 <i>ferfer</i> 'fly'	11v2v3 <i>ṣṣuraf</i> 'jump' <i>h̄hedef</i> 'row'		

¹ The verbs are transcribed phonetically.

CHANGE OF STATES				
v1v <i>ūfi</i> 'discover'				
v11v <i>azzi</i> 'plant'				

SENSATIONS AND EMOTIONS					
	v12 <i>axs</i> 'want' 1v2 <i>ɣiʃ</i> 'refuse' v11v2 <i>axxas</i> 'love' <i>issin</i> 'know' v11v2v <i>aiftaru</i> 'weep' v1v2 <i>ides</i> 'laugh' 12v <i>zri</i> 'see' v12v <i>asli</i> 'hear' <i>issin</i> 'know' 1v22v3 <i>fekkar</i> 'remember'	v11v2v3 <i>ɖtebeħ</i> 'kiss' <i>ittemin</i> 'believe' 12v3 <i>ħbed</i> 'beat' v11v2v3 <i>issinaš</i> 'ignore' <i>ħakkar</i> 'watch' 1v22v3	v122v3v4 <i>ibnnaqas</i> 'repent' v12v34v1 <i>atyaržiit</i> 'dream'		

TRANSACTIONS				
v1v <i>ūši</i> 'give' <i>ūri</i> 'write'	v11v22 <i>eggezz</i> 'wedge'	1v2v <i>γari</i> 'have'		
v1v <i>ūši</i> 'offer' <i>eru</i> 'cry'	v11v22v <i>iddorru</i> 'damage'	1v2v <i>rāža</i> 'wait'		
1v11 <i>yeyy</i> 'make'	v11v2 <i>essī γ</i> 'light'	v1v2 <i>ūzam</i> 'send' <i>ūkar</i> 'steal'		
v1v <i>īru</i> 'give birth'	1v2 <i>raḏ</i> 'dress up'	11v21 <i>ḏzzanaz</i> 'sell'		
v11v <i>effi</i> 'kill' <i>emme</i> 'say'	v12v <i>erwa</i> 'speak' <i>edži</i> 'allow'	v1v2 <i>izūn</i> 'divide'		
	1v2v <i>nāba</i> 'call'	v12v <i>alsi</i> 'shave'		
	v11v2 <i>innūš</i> 'incite'			
	v11v1v2 <i>essūsem</i> 'silence'			

TRANSFORMATIONS				
v11 eyy 'make'	v11v22 eggezz 'wedge'			
v1u īru 'give birth'	v1v2 izūn 'divide'			
v11v efft 'kill'	v12v elsi 'shave'			
	v11v22v iddorru 'damage'			
	v11v2 essīy 'light'			
	v11v2 aqqa 'tie up'			
	1v2 raḏ 'dress up'			
		1v22v3 kemmiz 'scratch' zayyib 'cook' nabbag 'smoke'	v11v23 essīrd 'wash'	

<p>COMMUNICATION</p> <p>v11v <i>emme</i> 'say'</p> <p>v1v <i>eru</i> 'weep' <i>uri</i> 'try'</p>	<p>1v2v <i>erwa</i> 'speak'</p> <p>v1v2v <i>enēbā</i> 'invite'</p> <p>v11v2 <i>ezzul</i> 'pray'</p> <p>v11v2 <i>imīš</i> 'incite'</p> <p>v12v <i>edži</i> 'allow'</p>	<p>1v23 <i>šayz</i> 'shout'</p> <p>v12v3 <i>ašraz</i> 'invite' <i>inkir</i> 'deny'</p> <p>v11v1v3 <i>essūsem</i> 'scold'</p> <p>1v22v3 <i>xedde</i> 'decieve'</p> <p>11v2v3 <i>ssekan</i> 'show'</p>	<p>v11v23v4 <i>essašzam</i> 'teach'</p>	
---	--	---	--	--

BODY FUNCTIONS				
<p>v1v2 <i>iɣaz</i> 'breathe'</p> <p>v12v <i>eswi</i> 'drink'</p> <p>v11v2 <i>elliz</i> 'to be hungry' <i>effiɖ</i> 'to be thirsty'</p> <p>v11v2 <i>affaz</i> 'chew' <i>aɪtas</i> 'sleep'</p> <p>v̄1v2 <i>īsaf</i> 'suck'</p> <p>v12v <i>enzu</i> 'cough'</p> <p>v12 <i>akr</i> 'wake up'</p>		<p>v1v22v3 <i>ikarraš</i> 'spit' <i>ibazzad</i> 'pee'</p>	<p>v12v̄3v4 <i>eskūfas</i> 'spit'</p>	
FARMING				
<p>v11v <i>assu</i> 'water'</p>		<p>v12v3 <i>ekraz</i> 'plough' <i>emžar</i> 'cultivate' <i>afran</i> 'prune'</p>		

2. Chninni

INTRANSITIVE VERBS		triconsonantal		Quadriconsonantal		Quiniquiconsonantal	
Monoconsonantal		diconsonantal					
v1v uza 'fall'							
	1v2v guru 'walk' hofti 'lower'	v12v3 isqad 'go'					
	v1v2 usid 'bring' utif 'enter'	v11v2v3 ittanuz 'turn'					
	v11v2 iffe Y 'leave'	v12v33v itfedde 'pass'					
	1v22 šuuq 'cross'	1v23v teb fi 'follow'					
	v11v2 ikkir 'raise'	v12v33v itfedde 'go beyond'					
	1v12v šušra 'drag'	1v22v3 šellig 'hang' qattar 'drip'					
	v12v ihwa 'dive'	1v23v Yeyma 'sit down'					
		v12v3 ebrin 'bend' elhed 'run' izhaq 'slip' erkeŧ 'kneel'					

CHANGE OF STATES				
v12v3 <i>imes</i> 'touch'		1v22v3 <i>žebbed</i> 'pull' <i>sekker</i> 'close' <i>herrik</i> 'move'	v123v4 <i>erwlin</i> 'scatter'	
1v22v <i>duzzu</i> 'push' hoftu 'put'		1v2v3 <i>sutuf</i> 'insert' <i>mira γ</i> 'undo'	1v23v4 <i>seygid</i> 'roll'	
v1v22v <i>erenni</i> 'add'		1v223v <i>seyybi</i> 'shoot'		
v11v2 <i>ifta γ</i> 'take'		1v2v3 <i>leyim</i> 'unite' <i>yumud</i> 'make' <i>leyim</i> 'gather'		
v1v22 <i>ikiss</i> 'extract'		v12v3 <i>izraf</i> 'plant' <i>irdem</i> 'bury' <i>imsil</i> 'block'		
1v2 <i>mir</i> 'open'		1v23 <i>šerk</i> 'join'		
1v2v <i>laqa</i> 'discover' <i>irdi</i> 'cover'				
1v22v <i>huzzu</i> 'lift up'				
v1v11v2 <i>itaitif</i> 'catch'				
v11v2 <i>ittas</i> 'sleep' <i>ammaz</i> 'surround'				
v12v22 <i>ibidd</i> 'stop'				

SENSATIONS AND EMOTIONS				
v1v <i>iftu</i> 'find'	v12 <i>axs</i> 'want'	v12v33v <i>itkubbu</i> 'kiss'	v12v3v4 <i>ist'far</i> 'to be ashamed of'	
v11v <i>ittu</i> 'forget'	1v2 <i>γis</i> 'refuse' <i>teb</i> 'repent' <i>sel</i> 'hear'	1v22v3 <i>šannaq</i> 'hug' <i>hebbid</i> 'beat' <i>hawwim</i> 'look for' <i>fekkar</i> 'remember' <i>šayyit</i> 'weep' <i>šannaq</i> 'hug'	1v22v3 <i>iffarriž</i> 'watch'	
v12v1 <i>iqlaq</i> 'annoy'	v12v <i>uzru</i> 'see'	12v33v <i>snuγγu</i> 'fight'	1v23v4 <i>fedlik</i> 'joke'	
1v22v <i>šumma</i> 'smell'	1v22v2 <i>xammim</i> 'think'	1v22v3 <i>raqqab</i> 'gaze, stare'		
v11v2 <i>issin</i> 'know'	v11v2 <i>issin</i> 'know'	v1v23v1 <i>iiiržit</i> 'dream'		
		v11v2v3 <i>ittemin</i> 'believe'		
		v12v3 <i>itγas</i> 'measure'		

<p>TRANSACTIONS</p> <p>v1 uš 'give'</p> <p>v1v ušu 'obtain'</p> <p>v1v ušu 'offer'</p>	<p>1v2v raža 'wait' heme 'defend'</p> <p>v12 ušt 'receive'</p> <p>v1v2 uzin 'send'</p> <p>v12v iṣṣu 'buy'</p> <p>v1v21v izenze 'sell'</p>	<p>v12v3 aṣras 'have' uzlob 'order' ixtar 'choose' irbeḥ 'win'</p> <p>1v22v3 šarraḥ 'spend' xannab 'steal' ḥarriz 'save'</p> <p>v1v22v3 aqammar 'gamble'</p> <p>1v2v3 qawim 'resist'</p>		
<p>TRANSFORMATIONS</p>				

<p>v1v <i>aži</i> 'doubl e' <i>aYu</i> 'kill'</p>	<p>v1v2 <i>umud</i> 'make' v12v <i>ibde</i> 'start' 1v2 <i>raw</i> 'give birth' 1v22v <i>doggu</i> 'knock' <i>serre</i> 'squeeze' <i>roşsu</i> 'wedge' <i>hukku</i> 'rub' <i>zonnu</i> 'cut' <i>zorro</i> 'damage' v1v112v <i>isessre</i> 'mix' 1v22 <i>zonn</i> 'divide'</p>	<p>1v22v3 <i>hazzar</i> 'prepare' <i>sallah</i> 'repair' <i>kemmil</i> 'finish' <i>habbad</i> 'beat' <i>şasşar</i> 'compress' <i>ferraq</i> 'split' <i>hajjam</i> 'shave' <i>kassar</i> 'break' <i>semmar</i> 'nail' <i>şafal</i> 'light' <i>nazzaf</i> 'clean' <i>beddel</i> 'change' v12v3 <i>ilzim</i> 'oblige' <i>ihraq</i> 'burn' v1v22v3 <i>iqarras</i> 'pinch' v11v22v3 <i>isserrid</i> 'wash' 1v22v3 <i>berrin</i> 'twist' <i>dayyib</i> 'cook' <i>daxxan</i> 'smoke' <i>xallaf</i> 'wrap' <i>beddel</i> 'change' 11v23v <i>ssehme</i> 'boil'</p>	<p>1v23v4 <i>xalwaz</i> 'shake'</p>	
--	--	---	--	--

COMMUNICATION				
		<p>1v22v3 <i>Yawwat</i> 'shout' <i>nebbeḥ</i> 'bark' <i>ḡayyit</i> 'weep' <i>harraz</i> 'incite'</p> <p>12v3v <i>mebe</i> 'invite' <i>tlumu</i> 'blame'</p> <p>v12v3 <i>ihbil</i> 'go mad' <i>iṣṣah</i> 'recommend' <i>idžul</i> 'swear'</p> <p>v12v33v <i>itzalla</i> 'pray'</p> <p>v122v3 <i>šekkir</i> 'thank'</p>		

	<p>1v2v <i>gama</i> 'sing' <i>qarra</i> 'read'</p> <p>v11v2v <i>itteri</i> 'write'</p> <p>v12v <i>itžu</i> 'allow'</p>	<p>v123v <i>ixd'i</i> 'decieve'</p> <p>v1v23v <i>isekne</i> 'show'</p> <p>v12v33v <i>isqarra</i> 'teach'</p> <p>1v22v3v <i>metteya</i> 'mean'</p> <p>1v22v3 <i>zaffar</i> 'whistle' <i>harram</i> 'prohibit'</p> <p>1v2v3 <i>wafaq</i> 'agree'</p> <p>v12v3 <i>inker</i> 'deny'</p>		
BODY FUNCTIONS				

<p>1v1 <i>tir</i> 'eat' <i>sus</i> 'drink'</p>	<p>v1v2 <i>uluz</i> 'to be hungry' <i>ufut</i> 'to be thirsty' <i>ikir</i> 'wake up'</p> <p>1v2 <i>Yaz</i> 'bite' <i>fuz</i> 'chew'</p> <p>1v22v <i>muşsu</i> 'suck' <i>qayyeŋ</i> 'vomit' <i>kulhe</i> 'cough'</p>	<p>v12v3 <i>işbeŋ</i> 'satisfy' <i>ibleŋ</i> 'swallow' <i>ibzid</i> 'pee' <i>ertah</i> 'rest'</p> <p>v11v23v <i>ittedfe</i> 'yawn'</p> <p>1v22v3 <i>şexxar</i> 'snore' <i>ħammaz</i> 'have sex'</p>		
<p>FARMING</p>	<p>1v12 <i>sisw</i> 'water'</p>	<p>1v22v3 <i>nakkad</i> 'prune' <i>rabbay</i> 'breed'</p> <p>v12v3 <i>ekriz</i> 'plough' <i>ezriŋ</i> 'sow' <i>emžir</i> 'cultivate'</p>		

3. Ouirsiqhen

Monoconsonantal	Diconsonantal	Triconsonantal	Quadriconsonantal	Quiniconsonantal
v1v <i>uqa</i> 'raise' <i>iqā</i> 'lower' <i>uza</i> 'fall' <i>uzi</i> 'bend'	v11v2 <i>iggur</i> 'walk' <i>iffe y</i> 'leave' v1v2 <i>irah</i> 'go' <i>u yid</i> 'bring' <i>u ōij</i> 'enter' <i>i ōra</i> 'fly' v1v22v <i>i fedde</i> 'pass'	v11v22v3 <i>itiannaṣ</i> 'turn' v12v3 <i>itbe ṣ</i> 'follow' <i>inza y</i> 'drag' <i>ingiz</i> 'collide' <i>erke ṣ</i> 'kneel' <i>i ytas</i> 'dive' <i>i yraq</i> 'sink' 12v33v <i>f fedde</i> 'go beyond' v1v2v3 <i>uzulaq</i> 'slip' 1v22v3 <i>neggiz</i> 'jump' <i>ṣewwim</i> 'float' <i>qattar</i> 'drip'	1v23v4 <i>migdif</i> 'row'	
CHANGE OF STATES (TRANSITIVE VERBS)				

<p>v11v esse 'touch'</p> <p>v1v <i>uŷa</i> 'take' <i>uŷa</i> 'discover'</p>	<p>1v22 <i>duzz</i> 'push' <i>kiss</i> 'extract'</p> <p>1v22v <i>huzzu</i> 'lift up' <i>ŷabba</i> 'load'</p> <p>v11v22 <i>iŷtaff</i> 'catch' <i>uqqaŷŷ</i> 'close'</p> <p>v12v <i>irni</i> 'add' <i>imir</i> 'undo' <i>iŷze</i> 'leave'</p> <p>v11v2 <i>ittas</i> 'sleep'</p> <p>v1v22 <i>ibidd</i> 'stop'</p>	<p>v12v3 <i>inze ŷ</i> 'pull'</p> <p>v12v3 <i>itreh</i> 'move' <i>inbar</i> 'cover' <i>iŷar</i> 'load' <i>imsil</i> 'scatter' <i>arwal</i> 'scatter' <i>leyim</i> 'unite'</p> <p>v11v2v3 <i>issuŷif</i> 'insert'</p> <p>1v22v3 <i>siyyeb</i> 'shoot'</p> <p>v1v2v3 <i>asunaz</i> 'surround'</p> <p>1v21v3 <i>gergib</i> 'roll'</p> <p>v12v3 <i>izra</i> 'plant'</p> <p>v12v33 <i>anball</i> 'bury'</p>	<p>12v3v4 <i>tleyim</i> 'gather'</p> <p>1v23v4 <i>ŷerkin</i> 'join'</p>
---	--	--	---

SENSATIONS AND EMOTIONS				
v1v <i>ufa</i> 'find' v11v <i>ittu</i> 'forget'	v12 <i>axs</i> 'want' v1v2 <i>edus</i> 'laugh' <i>nu Yu</i> 'fight' <i>emin</i> 'believe'	v12v3 <i>indim</i> 'regret, repent' <i>itšeθ</i> 'beat' <i>utley</i> 'tell' 1v22v3 <i>šayyið</i> 'weep' <i>γammar</i> 'hug' <i>bassar</i> 'joke' <i>rehhas</i> 'obey' <i>sellif</i> 'need'	v1v21v <i>ibehbe</i> 'kiss' 1v2 <i>zir</i> 'see' <i>sil</i> 'hear' 1v22 <i>šumm</i> 'smell' 1v2v <i>qase</i> 'test' v11v2 <i>issin</i> 'know' <i>xammim</i> 'remember'	v123v4 <i>istšar</i> 'to be ashamed of'
			1v22v1 <i>qallaq</i> 'annoy'	

TRANSACTIONS					
v1v <i>uša</i> 'offer'	11v2v <i>ssugu</i> 'wait'	1v22v3 <i>Yarras</i> 'have' <i>sellaf</i> 'lend' <i>šarraf</i> 'spend' <i>xannib</i> 'steal' <i>qammar</i> 'bet'			
	v11v2 <i>ayyuš</i> 'give'	v12v3 <i>iš Yiθ</i> 'obtain' <i>Sewin</i> 'help'			
	1v22v <i>nikki</i> 'send' <i>ruzzu</i> 'choose' <i>witti</i> 'defend'	1v21v3 <i>zinziθ</i> 'sell'			
		1v2v3 <i>Sewin</i> 'help' <i>luhiθ</i> 'lose'			
		1v23v <i>herze</i> 'save'			
		v12v3 <i>isbar</i> 'resist' <i>irbeh</i> 'win'			
		1v22v3 <i>šallah</i> 'repair' <i>kemmil</i> 'finish' <i>aššar</i> 'compress' <i>qurref</i> 'wedge' <i>berrim</i> 'turn'			
TRANSFORMATIONS	1v22v <i>žerra</i> 'prepare' <i>xirru</i> 'scratch'				
v1v <i>uđi</i> 'double'	v1v2 <i>uđil</i> 'start'				
			1v23v4 <i>qarba</i> 'knock'		v11v2v34v5 <i>ikkisutžef</i> 'shave'

COMMUNICATION				
1v11v šuššu 'incite'	v11v2 immil 'say'	v12v33v is ʕtʕyyu 'shout' idželle 'swear'	isse ʕzem 'teach'	
v1v22v udugge 'speak' ikerre 'praise'	v11v2 immel 'relate, tell'	1v22v3 nebbel 'bark' ʕayyið 'weep, cry' harris 'complain, silence' žerrib 'try'		
1v21v2 wešwiš 'whisper'	1v22v zalla 'pray'	122v3 ð yyif 'invite'		
1v2v lumu 'blame'	v11v2v ittini 'sing'	v12v3 ihbil 'go mad' inšah 'advise' inkir 'deny'		

BODY FUNCTIONS v11v1 <i>ittit</i> 'eat' <i>essis</i> 'drink' v1v2 <i>uluuz</i> 'to be hungry'	v1v2 <i>ufuuz</i> 'to be thirsty' 1v22v2 <i>Ƴazziz</i> 'bite' v11v2 <i>affiz</i> 'chew' 1v22 <i>siff</i> 'suck' v1v2v1 <i>usuufus</i> 'spit' 1v22v <i>kuhha</i> 'cough'	1v23 <i>išbeƒ</i> 'siate' 1v22v3 <i>lehhis</i> 'lick' <i>billeƒ</i> 'swallow' v12v3 <i>ibzid</i> 'urinate' <i>θewib</i> 'yawn' <i>ertah</i> 'rest' v1v22v <i>enezzu</i> 'sneeze' 12v33v <i>sxurru</i> 'snore' v1v22v3 <i>itikkir</i> 'wake up'	1v22v3 <i>kerriz</i> 'plough' <i>zerre</i> 'sow' <i>mežžir</i> 'cultivate' <i>ferrin</i> 'prune'
FARMING	1v22v <i>rabba</i> 'breed' 11v12v <i>ssiswe</i> 'water'		

APPENDIX IX: Transcription of Berber texts (Douiret)

(1) *Jħa el-qaḏi*

yilla Jħa yitiddar n tmurt iṣit, nitta el-qaḏi. id : timṣarkin. yimmayasın : matta txurraftinwin?'
yommayiṣ idžin sisin: 'uha wa yxalliṣṣ, yitṣadda g uṣrun sig ṭhanutiw, wili yiqqi yxallaṣ'. yomma Jħa: 'bahi'. Yi myat frank'. uṣas aryaz, ya Ṣid Jħa, yahidfit g el-fḏa, tu

Yinnad Jħa lwaryaz illi yu Ṣis el-gdas el-flus. yommayas: ṣikk d el-ḡaa n el-mirgaz, d [id] niṣṣ s atxaṣa s el-ħiss elflus'.

Translation

Jħa the judge

(There was) Jħa who was once living in a country, he was the judge. One day, two men came to him. He asked them “what is your story”, one of these two men told him “this man refuses to pay me, he was dipping his bread in the smell coming out of the shop and now refuses to pay me for it”. “ok”, said Jħa. Jħa asked the latter to give him one hundred millimes. After receiving it, Jħa threw it in the air and it landed on the ground. Jħa then turned to the man and said “you wanted to be paid for the smell of the sausages and [as an exchange] I pay you with the sound this money makes”.

(2) *tiyazid d el-ħabbit n irdin*

tilla tiyazid tufi taħabbit n irdan, txammam s tizraṣ baṣ iddayib tanaṣnuṣt. amma baṣ atizraṣ yilzmas atikriz. tiyyur lidmuddukiltis l-baṭtat. tummayas: ixsa sayitṣawnid s amžar, tummayas: niṣdi aṣyi Ṣ, wit giddaxṣ.
tisqad tiyazid tṣammil fi manis, tikriz waħdis. tawilli ulinad irdan, tumma: yilzmid adiyura lawattus baṣ yṣawin g amžar. tiyyuras, tafit yittas yimmayas: niṣdi ṣibṣa wažid witgaddaṣṣ'. tissaggad iyazid, twatta waħdis irdin qaṣdin, titṣab wažid.

tawilli yuwad tusid abray, tiyyansin mkill yum taf txurraft kif kif.

wasaqqīlin, tiyyi tiyazid tanaḥnuḥt tihlawtiyyid si irdin, tusiggid liyatus d al-baṭṭat, tummayasin 'wili ix s aygiz idi ?'

yumma iyatus: "nišdin"

tummayis d el-baṭṭat : "nišdin"

tawilli tisli tiyazid aṣwabinsin, tummayasin ' knim wil taqqilam, ma yitḥawnin nišdi liš, s adidž yawin s at yazzan idi '.

Translation

The hen and a grain of wheat

Once, a hen found a grain of wheat. She thought of sowing it so she can [eventually] bake some bread. She needs to plough the field [first]. She went to her friend the duck to ask for help. She told him "I want some help", but his is reply was "I'm tired, I can't".

The hen went to work on her own; she ploughed the field by herself until the grains grew into plants. She said to herself "you should go to the cat so he can help you with the harvesting". She went to him and found him fast asleep and when she asked him, his reply was "I will very full, I don't want to help you". The hen went away. She worked on her own, she was exhausted.

When the time of grinding the wheat came, she went to them again and their reply was always the same.

When the bread was ready, she went and asked them "who would like to eat with me?" The cat said "I am" and the duck said, "I am"

After hearing their answers, the hen told them "you were bad, why didn't you help me [before]? I will eat it on my own.

(3) *aryaz d ḥayiltis d aždīd*

yilla aryaz yiddar nitta d elḥiltis d yillis. idžummas siggi udžummasat, yitsiggid yis ya aždīd bahi. kul mala s yiffa y l-il-xidmat aywaṣṣa l-ḥiltis id yillis 'arbalinnikmit ffaždīd lukana ayisilil ' wallahi wiltagaḥḥi iṣit issigmit yqiqit g taddart'. idžummas siggi udžummasat, tigḥa tafruxt wahdas g tiddart, tumma s diraris s wiždīd'. yaxxi yissilas assis. uggidnit waždīd sig maṣṣir nisnit.

yidwild d waryaz wil yufiš ažḍid, iḏiq, yqallbint, iffa ʔnat iḏiss, iyyurnatt el-ʔabat tissawgad. yiggad aggad, alinit liš-šuzrat s diṭṭuṣnat. elwažid ša, izutnatt iṣšid yigfa swadu eššuzrat, yaxi yadžin n tafruxt tigfa tuṭru.

tuggid f yillis, tuza imiṭṭawnis fiṣšid yikkir, yazin talifsa ninniž baš tithakkar dwili ninniž.

tali talifsa tkarraš tamattut, tūza, yaʔʔi aṣšid, i ʔas isyis šru.

yisaggad tahwa tafruxt, tizri yadžis n buruhin tissufa ʔ amaškun s ittakrišt n yadžis, tarzaḥ isyis n tmurt. tigli babis yitbayyit s atmatṭ idan. tigfa l-isnin wiltaqqil stiyyur ala d yimmit.

yikbar yumas, yimmax s tbayta, yaxiya ʔ tamattut, amma wi kltaqil atiddar id mmultmas.

tfakkar g msala baš ataqḏa fillas. tiyyur li-tsaḥḥart, tummayas: 'iyyid msala atiyya ʔ awiltlas m aryaziw'. el-lḥašilu, tuša s is-sahr sass tiyitid baš tamattut atidqal bla aryaz, ataqḏa fillas. el-lḥašilu, it ʔizz tamattut sug mansi illi dyiss essahr. swažid tša, tidqil tizri tamattut takrištis tissiggid lwaryazis. tummayas 'wiltmak tiwyak elḥar iyyuras i ʔʔi'. yum yisli idsis, iqmmiṭ li ʔabit, yidžit din, yaskirkis illi nitta syidwil traiza tafruxt liyyamat ala takiz illi yumas yidžit din.

nitta tigaḥmiz ʔadi tiṭru, yasid aryaz f il-žadur baḥd mag staḥka txurraftis, yru aryaz yidlub s il-gdas baš ayitbid isyiss.

titbayyit isyiss, taru afrux baḥd mag yikbur afrux yumma 'axsa staga xali d eṭṭawnis'.

titnakkar tamattut s barṭin m qillili, yahbid el-bab, ṭṭaf da ʔras laḥyal yumas d tlat nitṭnawi, amma wil ttukiš. tummayis: 'nišdin rani taqallilit, billahi idžid adigfi ʔ sidisawin šru rani luza wažid'.

sudfintin n tiddart insin ušnasin tḥaššaw baḥd mag ʔazzan, yumma afrux: 'yimme xerfane lqiššit, tilda ṭḥakkayis u laḥyal lyumas tissa ʔday, amma wiltukiš inna txurraf fillas nittat. nitta wiltukš ṭḥakka dyiss, yaxi yumas yisli sig txurraft šru, yibda yiṭru.

tawinay qrib laḥkayat ḥadarbaš atuqa, iṭmir lqaḥat ṭḥabbu tibraḥ laḥyal yumas, tasid s tibraḥ ḥatta nitta lkulliš. tižbid sug zawis ḥalaxaṭir ysaxfit wažid.

waqtilli yiffa ʔad sig lqaḥat iru yimmayas samḥid. iddran mḥa baḥḏhum g il-xir.

Translation

The man, his wife and the bird

There was once a man who was living with his wife and daughter. One day, he decided to buy a beautiful bird. Before he left his home, he advised his family to look after his bird by not making him fly away. He said “if he flies away, you won’t stay in this house any longer’. One day, the girl was alone at home and said to herself “I’ll play with the bird’’. [As a result], the bird flew away and she was worried about what would happen to her. The father came home and noticed that the bird was missing. He was angry. He expelled his wife and daughter from the house and went to the woods. When the night fell on them, they climbed a tree to get some sleep. Under that tree, a lion lay there. The girl’s mother cried because she was worried about her daughter’s safety. The mother’s tears fell on the lion and woke him up. The lion sent the viper up the tree to see who is there. The viper went up and bit the mother, she fell and the lion ate a bit of her. When the lion had gone, the daughter came down and noticed that her mother is pregnant. She took out the baby from her mother’s stomach and carried him back to town. She heard that her father got married. She stayed away many years until her father died. Her brother grew up, he wanted to get married to a woman who did not like to live with his sister. She thought of a plan to rid of her. She went to the witch and told her ‘do something, I want to kill my husband’s sister’. Anyway, she gave her some magical power to make the sister become pregnant without a man and get rid of her. Anyway, the sister ate from the food which contained the magic power, after a while the sister looked pregnant. The wife went to her husband and told him “your sister brought you shame, go and kill her’’. One day he agreed and he took his sister to the woods, he left her there and lied about his return. The sister waited a few days and knew that her brother will never come back for her. She sat there crying until a man on a horse came by. After he heard her story he cried. He asked her to marry him. He married her and had a child. When the child grew older, he told his mother “I like to see my uncle and his children’’. The sister disguised in a beggar’s clothes, knocked on her brother’s door, she found inside her brother’s sister and her three children but they did not recognise her. She said “I’m a poor woman, please let me stay for a while because I’m very hungry’’. She went inside the house and after she ate, her son asked her to tell him a story. She started relating the story of her life, but her brother’s wife did not recognise it except her brother who remembered his sister and started to weep. When the story nearly ended, the wife and the brother started to sink in the ground. Before he nearly disappeared, the sister felt sorry for her brother and pulled him out by his hair. When he came out, he cried and asked forgiveness and they all lived happily.

(4)

el-amir d šanḩtis

yilla el-malik ḩris mimmis ismis Qmar Ezzaman. ikan afruxu bahi waḩid id m babis, ysil idwis. iḩummas sigg ḩummasat, yummayas babis “yilzmik ḩaḩḩat eṣṣanḩat”. yibhit afrux, yimmayas ‘mak a baba aḩaḩḩa eṣṣanḩat d niṣḩin s raḩa d el-malik, inṣallah lḩumrik dazirar’. yummayis el-malik ‘a mimmi l-ḩumris bnadim wil yittēkisiṣ mata s syiḩtra wil titalzdiṣ lammi bnadim s syiḩtaḩ’.

ywafaq el-amir, yixtar šanḩat ez-zarbiyyit. asnid ḩris imuḩallmin d šnayḩiyyin sitmurt uṣnas lasrar l-xidmit. yistagran asyis el-amir iḩraḩ tḩawsa din.

yitḩummas g etḩummasat tatfit edduwlet idin fillasin, taḩḩ el-malik, yirwel mimmis, yarwal l-tmurt idan tibḩad.

g tmurt taḩdid, yixarfasin yuden lqistiṣ witsadqinṣ.

yilluz msikin, yumma “lazim aḩakkra el-xidmiḩ.

el-ḩaṣilu, yḩawwim yḩewwim, yaf el-xidmit g et-taḩnut dyiss tizarbiyyin ḩala kul lun.

yidlub s yzar el-mḩallim, yummayis el-mḩallim “waki s xddama kan aytissiknid xidmik”.

yixdim el-amir aggid el-kull, yisiknis msala yizḩam g iḩ-tawin.

yifraḩ el-mḩallim, uyuṣas eṣṣahriyyet s id-dīnar, emma dḩifet waḩid. yummayis’akuṣa azin eddinar, uṣḩak ansa dwaṣa blaṣ”

d et-taḩir ikan waḩid d buxli d ulis waḩid d amaḩfun. el-amir yisbaḩ yitḩas g el-irḩi d amaṣkum d watṣa ṣru. irah et-taḩir maṣhur waḩid g il-xidmit dizzarbiyyit illi kan yityidyisnit el-amir. yisli elḩakim n tmurt s et-taḩir yidlub isyiss s syiyyi tazarbit. yidwil l-it-taḩir l-tiddart yidlub s el-amir s syiyyi tazerbit. yiyyit el-amir ni xidmit waḩid. yusi el-ḩakim yittaḩir lbarṣit leflus. g edḩummas yisbaḩ ed et-taḩir waḩid amerkanti.

tḩedden liyyat, el-amir msikin yxaddam waḩid d et-taḩir yista ḩna g il-ḩurtis, alad dyan iḩummas siggi idḩ ummasat, yumma “lazim adiyyaḩ msala”. tawilli tiḩlub yillis lil-ḩakim sig et-taḩir s syiyyi tazarbit iyyislanis yfakkar el-amir s syiyyi tazarbit syari tsalahḩruf dimaṣkunan “niṣṣ dima xidma d asswarid ṣru”. el-ḩaṣilu, yiyyi el-amir tazarbit bahi waḩid. tibda yillis n il-ḩakim tiḩakkar g itzarbit bilgda ala tzar. tidlub timukabbart baṣ adzar isyis tira tawilli tizrit.

tidyiq tumma “yaxxi et-taḩir dima liṣ yifraḩ gidma sestumṣid es-swarid dime yittaṣakka”. el-ḩaṣilu iwyinḩid.

ummanas “illi nitta nakkar el-mziyyit g lazim ayigda kul ṣiy”.

yuggad et-taḩir fi manis, yummayas lil-ḩakim “rahu liṣ niṣḩin illi sdi ḩ tizarbiyyin , rahu d el-amir awind el-amir yxarrafasin f il-qistiṣ, tummayas “ixs ḩēk yitbeyit isyis”.

Translation

Once there was a king who had a son named Qmar Ezzeman. He was good with his father and obeyed him. One day, his father told him: "you need to learn a trade". The boy was surprised and replied: "but father how should I learn a trade if I'm going to be king, if God wills after may God guarantee you long life". The king said: "son, no one knows what will happen in the future and when you will need help". The prince agreed and chose the trade of carpet weaving. He brought him a teacher and taught him the secrets of the trade. The prince liked this trade.

One day there was a political coup, the king was dead and the prince fled and went to a faraway land.

In the new country, he related his story by no one believed him. When he felt hungry he said to himself: "I must find a job".

Anyway, he started searching until he found a shop exhibiting a wide variety of carpets. He asked to see the boss. The boss told him "you have the job only if I see your work".

The prince worked all night and made a carpet, a pleasure to the eye.

The boss was pleased. He gave him a wage of one dinar which is very meager. He boss suggested: "I will give you half of one dinar and I you can sleep and eat for free".

The shopkeeper was a miser and heartless. The prince slept in a small room and food was little. The shopkeeper became famous. The king of that country heard about the skills of this carper maker and asked the him to make one for himself. The shopkeeper went home and asked the prince to make him a carpet. The prince finished the work and the shopkeeper received all the money and suddenly the shopkeeper became very rich.

Days have passed and the prince still working hard and the shopkeeper is getting richer until one day the prince was fed up with situation and said to himself: "I will do something". When the king asked the shopkeeper to make his daughter a carpet, the prince wove in small letters on the carpet I always work and the money *is little*. Anyway, the prince made a beautiful carpet. The princess admired the carpet and started to look closely at it until she saw small writing and asked for the magnifying glass. She was very angry and said: "this shopkeeper is never happy no matter how much money we give him he's always complaining". She called him in. She told him: "you ungrateful, you must tell us everything".

The shopkeeper worried about himself and said to the king: "It wasn't I who made the carpets, it was the prince". The prince went to the king and he related his story. The king said to him: "will you marry my daughter".

(5)

Jħa d el-mismar

yilla Jħa d aqallili, yixse seyiksib esswarid. Ƴris tiddart, yimma : “ atizinza”. yasid gris idžin yimma “ixse setis Ƴe yaxxi”. yummayis Jħa “ille mismar”. seyiga fi dimtiw, iywafaq. swažid tša, yawid Jħa, aysum yixmir mil žifit. yeyilt g aysum. yiffa Ƴ bab n tiddert, dima emmidin, dima emmidin, ale dyirbeħ il-barsit ni swarid.

Translation*Jħa and his nail*

[There was once a man named Jħa] who was a poor man. He wanted [at all costs] to earn some money. He has a house and said [one-day] “I will sell it”. A man came to him and said, “I’ll buy it”. Jħa said to him “[I’ll sell it to you] except the nail, it remains my property”. The man agreed. Jħa returned to the house everyday with meat that went off and hung it on his nail”. [Consequently], the owner left the house for Jħa to keep and ended up with the money and the house.

(6)

Jħa d Ƴarda

yille Jħa a Ƴris a Ƴarda, yixs stizinž baš yirbaħ es-swarid. id žummas, yummayis il Ƴiltis “dayyib amakli tiqnad a Ƴarda dar n eƳ-tawlat, yaxi yiyyur mutƳam, yaf imuddukalis yummayasin “assu tit Ƴadda Ƴri”. “mak nišnin s nit Ƴadde Ƴrik d Ƴiltik wil i Ƴrix il xibrit”. yummayasin “maƳlikunš”. šaw a Ƴarda illi Ƴri ašuš a el Ƴinwan aħki Ƴas turu ayiyyur asimal, yaxxi igƳa nħarin.

sidiyurin il-tiddart afin amikli yiħǾar d Ƴarda din tiddart. yisqad g el-balinsin illi dulindin nitta a Ƴarda biha. yummayis eššahbis “satis Ƴa”. yizzinze stid yi Ƴla wažid.

yiyyur waryaz illi yis Ƴi a Ƴarda lis-suq yumma “satizinza s summ baħi”. yumma iyumiddukalis “s atit Ƴadda Ƴri”. “mak wittummidž l-Ƴiltik”. yummayasin “a Ƴerdayu sesimil, yazin a Ƴarda, irah a Ƴarda g ibrid. tewilli yisiggid nitta d ež-žmaƳit, wiliyufi la amikli wele Ƴarde, yit Ƴaššiš, yaržaƳ li-Jħa, yummayas “tšaddit fille”. yummayas “šikdi tissikindes abrid?”. yummayas Ƴle, samħid”.

Translation*Jħa and the Mouse*

Once, Z“h≥a had a mouse and wanted to sell it so he could earn some money. He told his wife “cook a meal and tie the mouse to the foot of the table”. He went to a restaurant and found his friends, he told them “ I invite you today to eat at my place”. Their reply was “but how can we eat at your place when your wife doesn’t know about this arrangement”. His reply was “don’t worry, I’ll give the name and address to this mouse, he will go and tell her and will stay there”. They went to the house and found a cooked lunch and the mouse was in the house. They thought that the mouse was the same one. His friend [was fascinated by it] and told him “I’ll buy it”. He paid a high price.

The man who bought the mouse wanted to do the same and went to the market, “I’ll sell it with a good price”, he said to himself. He went to his friends and said, “you’re eating at my place”. They said “but you didn’t tell your wife”. He told them “my mouse will inform her”. He sent the mouse and it went to the road [and was lost]. When they went [to the house], they surprisingly did not find neither the food nor the mouse. The man went to Jħa angrily, and said to him “you tricked me Jħa” he told him [calmly] “did you show him the road?” The man, [after realising what he just did] said, “no, I’m sorry”.

(7) *tawassart nitquqdan (Omni Sissi)*¹

tfarrad imin tiddartis, yaxi taf d ŧurdi. tigŧa titxammam “mata satsaŧ isyiss, sadisŧa g el-ħut amma s iŧ-ŧuk, isŧa aysum amma siŧis, s adisŧa el-ŧuŧban, ih adisŧa. yaxxi ydayyib el-barkukiŧ s el-ŧuŧban. yaxxi yasid iyattus, yaxxi yimmayis uŧid el-tallunt. timmayis ŧayin el-kuŧinit, yatŧ iyattus yħakkar ninniŧ, yizri tasifist tuyall dyiss barkukiŧ. yiqam isyiss el-ŧuŧban, yisiggid, tasid yillis nit tamaŧtuŧ, tummayas “niŧdi illuŧa”. tummayas yidŧis iyyur. ŧayin barkukiŧ l-ŧuŧban tisifist. tisiggid tafruxt sataditŧ wil tufiŧ el-ŧuŧban. tasaggid el-yadŧis, tummayis “wi fixŧ el-ŧuŧban”. tammayas twissart “wil yidkan kan d iyattus lqamiŧ”. tissusam ammidam. yasid iyattus, yarid et-tallunt, taŧtaft tankdas tafattaltis. tummayis “wakarixtad, kan ittawid el-ħlib n tfunast”. yassaggad l-tfunast, timmayas wakŧuŧa kan tawid lum. yissaggad afallah yizlaŧŧ lum, yawit l-tfunast tizlaŧŧ l-ħlib. yawid ltwassart tuŧas tafattaltis.

¹ A variation to this story entitled *ŧAmti Slīma* ‘my aunty Slīma’ is reported by Serra (1968:124)

Translation*The old lady with spots (Omni Sissi)*

[One day] Omni Sissi was sweeping her house, suddenly she found a dinar. She thought: “what will buy with it, I’ll buy some fish but the fish has bones, I’ll buy meat but it is mainly bones, however I will make couscous with *Ɲosban*². Suddenly the cat arrived and asked to borrow the sift. She told him that it is hang in the kitchen. He went inside and saw the sift with couscous inside it. He took the *Ɲosban* with it. the daughter arrived and said that she is hungry. The mother told her to go and get the couscous from the bag, but she could not find the *Ɲosban*. She told he “the cat must have taken it”. When the cat wanted to return the sift to her, Omni Sissi caught him and cut his tail. He told her “when can have my tail back?”. She told him “bring some milk from the cow”. The cow told him to bring her some straw from the farmer. He went to the farmer and received some straw. He went back to the cow and gave him the milk. He went to Omni Sissi and she gave him back his tail.

(8)

arbiba d yillis

tilla tamattut Ƴris yillis d arbibtis, tistbaytinit g el-Ɲam idžin.

tiššiwɔdinit liryazin nisnit “ixf n tiyazid qbal l-xalat, ixf ntiyazid daffir l-xalat baš mag tfawwiz l-xalat fil xalat”. kan saggi tarbibtis tifham. kul žummasi, atikkar atqardiš šru, athutt g el-taƳrat. kanik siggi yillis wil-tukiš, kul yum atikkir titibbi g ixfawin tithutt g taƳartis.

barra barra, tigƝa el-Ɲam wil tisqaddasnintš, tidwil tumma “adž billahi asagda ataga wan tifruxin”. tittam mašya, did dib, tasid tarbibtis, qbal tixdam fi surraħin ni Ƴaydin. tummayasin “billahi wil tislamš ftislit ititbiyyit asuggasu, mata lunis ? bahyaši ? ummanis “hayla miš bahya barka, yqulu mra Ɲal kif”. ayya maƝlinaš tatif ilyillis ntarbibtis, tummayis “matta l-ħalim a yilli ?”

tummayas “labas Ɲliyya, fi xir”.

tigƝa sidisas, el-wašša tižbdass wadƳradin tiyyis tgada yastid tiflas, tiflas taƳrart, idzid wan taƳarardin, tigƝa dšadd tƝawnit ħabbu. tummaniis turu s asigda, s ataga wiltmam. tittam mašya tasid nsurraħin ni Ƴaydin. yillis tummayasin “billahi wil tislamš ftislit umsuggasu”. ummanis “ouf!,ummaš, taslit um suggasu, aƝšušis er-raħtis yixmar mil

žifat waqila s ydawwid, titikkis yixfawin n iyazidan el-kull tiṭṭuṭt disin g et-taṣrat, traḥ d el-gitt”.

ammanik tasid, tibdayim tiʿayyiṭ timma “ifzaʿtid ayidbab ninnazlat, tušmidi et-tar tarbibtiw takkadd el-ḥarrat, yilli tikkadd el-Ṣarrat”.

Translation

The step-daughter and the daughter

There was once a woman who has a daughter and a step-daughter. She married them off in one year. She advised them, “cut the chickens’ head before the women do and before the women do, so that women do not outsmart other women” [this means, work very hard]. The step-daughter understood the meaning of the advice. She did a bit of this and that and stored it in her dowry box. The mother waited a year before she decided it was the right time to pay them a visit. She said [one day], “I will go and see my children”. At a leisurely pace she went to see them and arrived at her step-daughter’s neighbourhood. [Before she went in] she talked to the shepherds near the house, she asked them, “for God’s sake, did you hear anything about the bride, who was married this year, is she well, is she a good woman?” They said “good, a very good woman indeed! ”

She entered her step-daughter’s house and said to her “how are you my daughter?” She told her “I’m fine and happy”.

She stayed with her till the afternoon. They worked and filled in the dowry box. After a while the mother said to her step-daughter “now, I must go and see my other daughter”. She started to walk until she met some shepherds and asked them “did you hear anything about this year’s bride”. They said, “Ouf! This year’s bride!! Her tent is reeking as if it was going to make worms, she cut the chickens’ heads and she put them in her box as if she were a fox”. She was saddened by this news. She went home that day crying and saying [to herself], “I’m worried, [hear me] you people of these houses!, my step -daughter is the intelligent one and my daughter is a total failure”.

(9) *tamaṭṭuṭ d el-Ṣdu*

tilla tamaṭṭuṭ tamaqrart tittayyib iyittnawin. Ṙris sitta ṭnawi. yusid Ṙarsin aryaz, nitta siggi el-Ṣdu.

yidži l-žaduris daffar l-Ḑahrit. ṭḥakkart, tafit sigg el-Ṣdu, tnaba yiṭnawis satṣaddan.

siddulyin tummayasin “fusis taħdid, daris d axalxaḥ”. tummayasin “uha d el-ḥduwin”. katfint, lhuṭṭint g iddarmi m žimi. kislan fillas, qaman n žaduris, imiddukkalis arawlan.

Translation

The woman and the enemy

There was once an old woman who was cooking dinner for her children. She had six children. A stranger, who was one of the enemies, came close to her house. The mother of the children noticed him hiding his horse behind the hill. When she called her children to have lunch, she warned them to take care and gave them his description “his wrists have metal, and his feet wear metal rings”. They understood that this description fits the description of an enemy and said to each other, “he is the enemy”. They [caught him], tied him up and put him in the field, buried him and took his horse. The enemy’s friends [after what they witnessed] escaped.

(10)

el-qiššit n Zlidi

wuha d aryaz. lḥamris tnin u sabḥin sna yħakka fil qistis n el-ħayatis si kan d amaškun. lḥamris tmanya snin ayikkir eš-šbah bikri aymir ala ḡmis, yisqad lissanyit, arakkab f al ḡum ed-dalw baš yasisw sanya.

ayigḥa sitta, sabḥa swayaḥ nitta yžanni g aman. yitḥab wažid yqarrar yitžummas žummasit saggi s yarwal. yfaq babis s il-ḥamaliyyit, ykattaft, yittim afrux gwin tlitti šišra šišra yalkžit.

yarwal yittim syala ayawid Ben Guerdane fi daris. yaf aryaz l-aḥyallis mimmis, gaḥamza mažraw gmiddi. sixfan fillas ammasin “ugḥud tixdim idna”. yigḥa idsin lwašša ašša, qam al ḡum siswit. yisqad, yiqqam al ḡum satyisassu. yafiw yudan wažid g el-ḥin, yigḥa baršit l-waqt g el-ḥin yitraža g isin.

nitnin ṭħakkarin dyiss, yaqlaq ḥalaxaṭir gḥan ṭħakkarin dyiss. yarwal yidža al ḡam dyin uliqila ayaržaḥ id bab amal ḡam.

yiyjur arbḥa walla xamsa kilumatrat yimlaqqa nitta aryaz. idan yibit aryaz yigḥa ynaššid afrux g el-qištis. yummayis “taxsidš tixdim idi?”. yummayas “baħi”.

adfin ammis n tmurt Ben Guerdane, atfin uftari, ḡazzan tiṭtiri, yig‘a yitražža g iryazdin wid yidwiltš ḡras. yigḥa dini ybad. yigḥad fillas wažid. nitta ḡadi ybidd, asnid l-žma‘it tidan mi‘iddiyyin, biddal sidisas, nišdin dyiss “aš bik daha niṭan?”. yummayasin “usi ḡ nišdi sidan”. yxallaš filla ṭafdir, turu akki s axadma ayiddi?”

yisqad wid yaržaš asnid žma 'it, ižan mitšiddimn biddan sifšas, ibdan nišdin dyiss "aš bikk tbaddad daha nitnin". yummayāšin "tražiγ g idžin yummayit agšad daha yiraža' widyaržaš". ummayis: "ayya s sqadda idna ". šaw γanna zzardart sitni, u ba'd attigšid idna yumi walla

tlata u ba'd yitnaržaš atxidmit idna nišni ", yigša yxaddam idsin, ykawwin amanis, yasid l-daha l-Tunis, el-ħašilu yisγi l-qašat g el-Marsa, yibna disis tiddart yiyyis swadday el-qahwat, irah labas šlih.

The Jlidi's Story

There was a fifty-six year old man who told his life story when he was young. At the age of eight years old, he used to wake up early to take care of the camels and go to the field, he put the *delw*³ on these camels to water the field. He stayed about seven or eight hours doing that. He was very tired [doing that job]. He decided one day to run away. When his father discovered his plan, he tied him up. The boy, slowly, cut through the ropes until he finally broke them and ran away and walked on foot towards the city of Ben Guerdane. There, he met a man with his children; he sat next to them. They felt some pity towards him [as he looked in a poor state] and said to him "stay and work for us". He stayed with them until the afternoon as he took the camels to have a drink. He went to the water source where the camels usually have their drink. He found many people by the water source; he stayed a long time waiting for his turn. They stared at him and he found that quite annoying.

He travelled for four or five kilometers he found many men whom in turn asked him about his story. They asked him if he wants to work for them and the boy said "yes".

He found himself in Ben Guerdane he had some cakes and waited for the men who spoke with him. He stayed with them for a long time until he became rich.

(11) Album description

tuha dyillis n Zuhayyir

zawis d azuggar

tigšad tižnit n tiddart

this is Zuhayyir's daughter

her hair is red

she is sitting in the house

3

'A bucket made of either rubber or leather used to draw water from a well.'

(12) Proverbs

ammudi sdanni waman

‘like oil on water’

wili yithuss filžamrit kan willan ya’fis fillas

‘only the person who steps on a coal feels the pain’

Ɣumris fusi idžin wil yitsaffaq

‘one single hand can not clap’

aman illi yhaggan g issidrit, tazummurt awla

‘the water that goes astray, the olive tree needs it more’

(13) Secretive language

arra kuzdi

‘change the subject’

uššan s daffarana ma athakadš

‘the wolf (fig. ‘policeman’) is behind us, do not show it’

susan fillas

‘be quiet’

sabbist! (lit. extinguish the fire)

‘ignore!’

At the market

wil ttiz Ɣimš tama Ɣfunt ti Ɣla

‘ugly and expensive’

iksas fus!

‘take away five’

(14) Songs

ya ƔAbdallah ya mimmi!

tamza tizzad didi

ašbšubis d azugga Ɣ

tittawins m muzla Ɣ

ambabi asibba Ɣ

my son AbdAllah!
 the *ɣula* (witch) is grinding with her
 her hair is red
 her eyes are as a goat
 one would think her father is a dyer

sirus bidda mimla
yemm el-gattati ḥamla
maxtuṭ taḥt ez-zamla
maxbub l il-warrada

‘stop here I like to talk to you
 you with the long hair
 covered under the *zimla*
 going to the well’

By Mrs. Sēlma (before the wedding when fixing the bride’s hair).

ya Muḥammad ḥaḏrin
ṣallu ʕlih
aḥḏar ya zin u kaddis
tušid timzin tušid irdan
tušid udi

Muhammad
 God may bless him
 beauty come along in bounty
 you take wheat, you take flour
 you take oil

when grinding wheat in a hurry:

s abirya ḥabbu timzim
s assifa ass irah filla
aṭṭanawiw sarḥan sadrawḥin
sirhgan s ila ṽman

I will grind some wheat
 I will sift, the day is escaping from me

my children who went to work are coming home
 the went to work with the camels

At the weaving instrument. Bad omen. Weaving the carpet must be finished
 before the Eid.

sazatta sanekda al-Ĥid sed yawid falla
 'I will weave, I will cut, the Eid is approaching

When drawing water from the well.

sawarda sadawya aman
sasarha sadawya iqušqušin

'I will be drawing water, I will bring water
 I go out and bring some sticks'

Game. There are two holes, who finishes filling the hole first is the winner.

ašda ḥarguginni
ašda ḥarguginni
ašda biska

this is *ḥarguginni*
 this is *ḥarguginni*
 I won!

'Old Douiret'-A lament of an elderly lady:

idbabis hamlintad ahwan
man idbabik?
yahwa lwadday yidži tiddartis
tahwa lwadday tidži tiddartis

the people ignored her and descended
 where are your people?
 he descended and left his house
 she left her house and descended

(15) Life story

nišdi s tmurt
tmurt nittdart
gaḥaγ d mbaba
'ammra tammurt
d yamma d yatman

I am from this country
 from Douiret
 I am staying with my father
 who lives in Douiret
 with my mother and my sisters

ikirγat tamiškan
itimyit trabbay xalti
uγiγ s xali
turu γri
tnawi tqiyyari
kabran tbitan
uha (pointing to the boy) mammis mammi

I was little
 as an orphan, my maternal aunty raised me
 and I married her son
 and now I have
 boys and girls
 became adults and got married
 this (pointing to the boy) is my grandson'

'My story' by Mrs. Sēlma :

igiγ l-mimmiw
tawassart n attussarin
yillis nid unnaṭ
iwya sin tnawi tafruxt
yadžis n faṭḥi d Ḥammadi
widdin ḤAbdallah γris tlata tnawi
yimmit aryazis

*yadžis sin tñawin dimaškanin tafruxt
tqammin lidbabis digizzan
rabbantin d xalinsin ala kubran
raħin d iryazin a Yam l-xalat*

‘I stayed with my son
I am the crone of a crone
the daughter of yesterday
I had two boys and a girl
Fethi and Ĥammadi
and the other ⵏAbdallah who has three children
her husband died
he left her two boys and a girl
she took them to her family
they were raised by her aunties until they grew up
they became men and got married’

(16) Miscellaneous storties

*amⵏⵔub illa yiⵏⵔab adnas
anigⵏa disass
illa yimatt
anigⵏa anins disas
amiṭs*

‘the sick who gets sick
we sit next to him
until he dies
we stay over next to him
and we sleep’

The story of the lamb-story

*Yanna aⵏalluš d amallal
yumas d azaṭṭaf
yusida adu
yilla saša d azaṭṭaf
yunfax dyiss adu
aⵏalluš amallal*

yawid g il- žurtis
i yilid d yumas

we had a white lamb
 its brother was black
 there was a black plastic bag
 the wind blew on it
 the white lamb
 ran behind it
 he thought it was its brother

A dialogue with Mrs. Sēlma

mani tudit n Fethi? ‘where did you find Fethi?’
g il-qahwat ‘in the café’

dadas n Salma yris wažid tila ymin ddil yman
 ‘Salma’s father has alot of camels and she-camels’

(17) Riddles

- *linta ma bin fza wahwa*⁴
tu yisg iryazin lalluf
aryaz innay satta y, yisqad liṭruf

a female, unsupported in the air
 she is married to many men
 and the man whom she marries, he ends up dying

- *tfxad siggid muzzu yinis*⁵
y-barraq did ṭṭawinis

you hold from its ears
 looked at me from its eyes

- *f-tiṭṭast s wamanis*⁶

4 ‘The pulley of a well is *tajarrart*. The ropes refer to the men in this riddle.’

5 ‘The pulley of a well is *tajarrart*. The ropes refer to the men in this riddle.’

6 ‘A grape’

tuyal g žunnas

a small can with its water
hanged in its sky

- *ɣanna žmaṣat g il-hanut*⁷
willal s yaffa ɣ issisin ayimmit

we have a group in a shop
who comes out dies

- *ɣri šhan d amallal*⁸
ul i ɣazzaz dyiss
kan illa yaṣdab s il-ṣillat
nad willa yiffa ɣ s il-millet

I have a clean plate
no one eats from it
except a sick person
or an unbeliever (lit. someone outside the religion)

- *qubbitna tazizwt*⁹
tatsakkar kan s el-quadrat
titmir kan s el-uzzal

our dome is green,
is closed only by destiny
and it opens only with the metal

- *amallid, amallak, amallal min kas n el-buḷḷar*¹⁰
a ɣɣil aman
atalli l-ṣafit

it's whiter than me, whiter than you, whiter than a glass
put water on it

7 'A box of matches'

8 'The month of Ramadhan'

9 'Watermelon'

10 'Lime'

and fire will come out

- *aydi sayafis fillak sayYus, tugdid?*
‘the dog will jump on you and eat you, are you scared?’

(18) Passage A

Chn. *el-xrif yusid. Ɣammi Sliman yaxs ayazzi lbaršt tizdayin. nitta yaxs ayazniz il barra baš isawwar baršt dluflus šbaḥ Ɣammi Fatima dayyib el-fdur baš attihus iddis. mammis Hammadi yaxs yƔawin bavis. nitta yittali ltizyayt fisaƔ nitta illi yirbaḥ il žayzit elmahražamn*

Dou. *el-xrif yusad. Ɣammi Sliman yaxs ayazzi tizzaddayin. nitta yaxs atarbaz lilxariž baš išawwar wažid šwarid. g alšubḥ Ɣammi Fatma itzayb alftur baš ayawi idas. mammis Hammadi yaxs iƔawin daddas. nitta ytali l il-šžar lilih ušga šunnat g el-mahražan Douz yarbaḥ el-žayzat.*

Ouir. *El-xrif yusid. Ɣzizi sliman yaxs ayazzu tiyliwin iggiθ baš ayirbaḥ ifflusan aggiθ yaxs ayizinz yitmurawin. taži Ɣammi Fatma ftur tisraY amikuli bikri baš atiwi iđis mimmis Hammadi yaxs Ɣawwin bavis. nitta yittali tigliwin fisa'. asiqwa asunat yirbaḥ elžayziθ tamirwart | first| gil ḥafliθ n Douz.*

Translation A

Autumn is here. Uncle Sliman wants to plant many palm trees. He wants to sell them overseas to earn a lot a lot of money. In the morning, Aunty Fatima prepared him some lunch for him to take to work. His son Hammadi likes to help his father. He is a good climber. He won the best prize for fast climbing in last year's Douz Festival.

Passage B

- English. Sidi Ali likes to speak the Berber language at home. He always tells old tales like the story of Zazyia and Zenati. In the neighbourhood they call him Sidi because he is an old and wise man. When there is a problem everyone goes to see him to find solutions.
- Chn. *xali Ɔli yaxsa yulay lu Ɔat l-ždudis illi nittat el-lu Ɔat ež-žbali g ilħušiš. nitta dima yaxs ayahka elħkayit naqbal ammank ħkayit Zazyia d Zanati. iwdan žumla tñabanas xali Ɔala xařir daryaz d amaqqar. ada kan dyis elmšklut assisqaddin*
- Dou. *Sidi Ɔli yaxs ayadwa alu Ɔat altaždit innan nittat taddawiret g tidartis. nitta dima idugga adwi adwasdin am adwi anžazya adzinati. g addašrat yudan etnebanis sisi aƆla xařir nitta daryaz damaqrar g alƆumr adwaryamz Ɔaqil. atawdis innen tla elmušklet yudan ellkul addasin ħatta yafasin alħal l il-muškalannasan.*
- Ouir. *Sidi ƆAli yaxs ayuθlay sidwiy [language] nilžduđis illi d elbarbar nittaθ g idzaqqas. nitta dima yitxarrař tirurrařin mqabbal n [like] trurrařt n Azzazya Zanati g il-ħumiθ s Ɔuyunas sidi alimi diyyis anu Ɔu atinyifsil nitta.*

Appendix X: A Comparative study of pronouns in Berber

1. 1st.sg. common gender pronoun (independent)

The patterns of Dou. *nišš* and Ouir. *niš* share similar forms with the following varieties:

Seghrušen, *nə č*, Iznašen *nə š*, Snus, Zekkara, Šenwa, Menacer *nə š*

Enclitic 1st. sg. common gender pronoun

This agrees with the panBerber form of direct object pronoun which is *-i*; the indirect object pronoun is also *-i*. The possessive enclitic is *-iw/w* (with the exception of kinship terms). This can be compared with Zenaga *-in*, Ghadames, Aužila *-inukk*. Righ and Zwara use *-iu*, Mzab *-iuk*. The existence of *-inu* suggests that the “common Berber-Lybic form of the indirect object pronoun and possessive is *i/u*.” (Aikenvald 1987:530).

2. First plural pronoun

Masculine

The three varieties of Shilha: Chn. *niššin*, Dou. *nišnin*, and Ouir. *niššin* share similar forms with the following languages:

Seghrušen, Rif, Iznašen, Snus, Zekkara, Šenwa, Menacer, Šawya, Mzab, Righ, Zwara *nə šni*, Jerba¹, Sened *nə ššin*, Figig, Gurara *nišni*, Nefusa, Siwa *nə ččən*, *načini*, Ghadames *načini*, Wargla *nə ššana*.

It is possible that in the above vernaculars the palatisation of *k > č/š* has occurred.

Feminine

The opposition between masculine and feminine is observed in the following vernaculars: Kabyle, Tashelhit, Ntifa, South Beraber, Snus, Šawya, Nefusa, Tuareg and

¹ It is unclear here whether the term Jerba here incorporates all the Berber varieties spoken on the island (i.e. Cedouikech, Mellita, Ajim and Guellala).

South-Eastern Zenaga. For instance, Kab., *nekkwenti*; Nefusa, masc. *nə ččən*, fem. *nə ččənt*; Šawya masc. *nə šni*, fem. *nə šint*.

In the Shilhic varieties of Tunisia, one finds that Douiret possesses an unusual pronoun *šemdīn*. As for the Ouirighen *nešti* and Chninni, *niššinti*, the feminine gender marker *-t/-ti* is clearly present, which corresponds well with Aksimen and Tazerwalt (masc. *nukni*, fem.

nukənti, with the presence of palatisation.

Enclitic direct object 1st. pl. common gender pronoun

The Shilhic varieties of Tunisia do not show gender distinction in enclitic pronouns, which confirm earlier comparisons with other Berber languages. (Cf. A.Y. Aikhenvald 1986:531).

With the exception of Douiret *-anna* (< *naγ*, “by automatic rules”²), Chninni and Ouirighen share the same enclitic *-aγ* with the following Berber vernaculars: Ntifa, South Beraber, Tazerwalt, Aksimen, Ugersif and Semlal. The affix **anəγ* has the following variations as in Kab., *-nneγ*, and in other varieties such as in Jerba, Sened, Zwara, Mzab, Siwa and Ghadames.

Enclitic indirect object 1st.pl.pronoun

In Douiret, a form of *-ana* is used. If compared with other Berber varieties, one finds that its nearest counterpart lies with the varieties of Wargla and Righ *nă* < *nəγ*. Cf. Aikhenvald (1987:532).

3. Second singular pronoun

Independent Second singular pronoun

Masculine

Morphologically, Shilhā presents two systems: (a) biconsonants with a geminated stem as in Ouirighen *šikk* and Chninni *šikkin* and (b) biconsonants with no gemination in Douiret, as in *šikdin*. In comparison with other Berber varieties, the patterns of Chninni and Ouirighen agree with the following form **šə kk/šə k* < **k'ə k(k)* or **k'ik(k)* which

² In the discussion by Aikhenvald, this enclitic attested in Righ has also undertaken a change from *-nə ġ* to *-nă*. Cf. Aikhenvald (1988:531).

are attested in the following vernaculars: Ndhir, Seghrušen, Rif, Iznašen, Šenwa, Figig, Gurara, Šawya, Righ, Jerba, Sened, Siwa *šə k*, Snus, Menacer, Zekkara, Nefusa, Fezzan *šəkk*, Mzab *šə č* (<*kə k'ki(?)).

Feminine

In both Ouirighen and Chninni, there is a reduplicated consonant stem *m*, as in *šammin* and *šimmin*, respectively. In Douiret, as in the case of masculine, the second consonant is *d* in lieu of *m*, as in *šimdin* (compare with 2nd.masc.sg. *šikdin*). When contrasted with other Berber vernaculars, one finds that the varieties of Chninni and Ouirighen have a form similar to **šə m <*k'ə/im* which include Jerba, Sened, Ndhir, Seghrušen, Rif, Iznašen, Snus, Zekkara, Šenwa, Menacer, Salah, Figig, Gurara, Šawya, Mzab, Wargla, Righ, Zwara, Ghadames, Fezzan, Siwa *šə m*, Nefusa *šə mm*.

Direct object second singular

Masculine

The patterns of *ik* in Douiret and *k^h* in Ouirighen are similar to the following pattern of **(i)k* which characterise the following varieties of Jerba, izayan, Zemm., Zgugu, Mguild, Ntifa, Aks., Ugers., Tazerw., Semlal, Senhaja, Salah., Kab., Mzab, Wargla, Righ, Zwara, Fezzan, ghat, Aḥaggar, Tadhak, Tamesg., Tall., Tayart (*i*)k).

Feminine

The form of (*i*)*m* in Douiret corresponds well with other Berber varieties which include Mzab, Wargla, Righ, Zwara, Sened, Siwa, Dhat, Aḥaggar, Tashak, Talullemet-East, West, Tayart, Taneslemt, Zenaga (*i*)*m*. The vernaculars of Aḥaggar, Tayart, East-Talullemet use *-kam* as well as *-m*. Surprisingly Jerba, which generally agrees with Chn./Dou. and Ouir, has the form of **kə m*.

Indirect object second singular

Masculine

Douiret, *-ak* 'to you' agrees with the majority of other Berber languages such as Jerba, Kabyle and Mzab. The pattern of *-(a)k'* comprises the languages of Ndhir, South Beraber and Seghrušen *-(a)š*.

Feminine

The form in Douiret is *-ēm* which corresponds with the pan Berber form *-(a)m*.

4. Second plural personal pronoun

*Independent second plural personal pronoun**Masculine*

The pronouns used in Shilha are: Dou. *knim*, Chn. *klimin*, Ouir. *kinnim* 'you'. Compared with other pronouns in other languages, one notices the lateral *l* in Chninni which is not present in other Berber vernaculars. Both *knim* in Doui., and Ouir. *kinnim* have similar patterns to the personal pronoun of Aužila *kə mmim* (*k ən-mim*).

Feminine

The feminine counterparts of the above independent masculine pronouns are: Dou. *kimmiti*, Ouir. *kimiti*, Chn. *kliminti*. This form can be derived from the masculine one not simply by the mere addition of the feminine marker *-ti-*, as in:

	masc.	fem.
Dou. (1)	a. <i>knim</i>	<i>kimmiti</i>
	b. <i>kinnim</i>	<i>kimmiti</i>

As shown above, one notices a change in Ouirisighen of *nn* > *mm* and a loss of *n* in Douiret accompanied by a geminated consonant *mm*.

In Chninni, the derivation is simple; addition of *-ti-* to the masculine form (cp. masc. *klimin* with fem. *kliminti*).

4. Enclitic direct object 2pl.pp*Masculine*

In Douiret, the form of *-win* 'you' corresponds to the languages of: Mzab, Wargla, *wə n*, Siwa *awn*. This contrasts markedly with Kab. *-*kə n* and **-kawn* (e.g. Nefusa, Tuar. *kawn*) and **-kīm* (Aužila *kīma*, Siwa *kim*) and **-kamn* (e.g. Nef. Jebel *Kamə n*).

Feminine

The form in Douiret is *-ikmit* 'you' although the addition of the feminine marker *-t-* appears to be present in many other Berber languages. However, the form attested in Tuareg is probably the closest one to it, as in *kamɔt*. Examples of other forms in Berber languages are South-East-Kab. *kunt* ; Nefusa Jebel, fem. *šikawɔ nt*.

Indirect object second plural

Masculine

The form in Douiret is *-win* 'to you'. This pronoun is similar to *-*wɔn/-aun* which is representative of the following languages: e.g. Jerba, Sened, Zwāra, Kabyle and Mzab. Other patterns include *-*kɔn* for the language of Rif *akɔn* and *-*kum* for Wargla *akum*, Righ *kum*, Aujila *kum*, Zenaga *gun*, Iznašen, Senhaja, Snus, Zekkara, Šenwa, Menacer, Figig, Gurara *kun*.

Feminine

The feminine counterpart for the masculine *-win* 'to you' is *-ikmit* in Douiret. The suffixed feminine marker *-t-* is observed in other Berber vernaculars, such as Gurara *kunt* and Jerban *kɔnt*.

5 The third personal pronoun

The independent third singular personal pronoun

In all the three Shilhā varieties, the pronoun *nitta* 'he' is used. This masculine pronoun differs from other Berber languages, for instance, compare Shilh. *nitte* with Kab. *ntta*, Aujila *nfin*, Ghadames *nittu* and Zenaga *nta*.

With feminine pronouns, the feminine marker *-t-* is added to the masculine form in Chninni and Douiret and *-θ-* in the Ouirsignen vernacular, as in Chn. Doui. *nittet*, Ouir. *nitteθ*.

Enclitic direct object third singular personal pronoun

The masculine enclitics are Chn. *-k* 'him', Doui. *-is*, and Ouir.-*s* all of which contrast with the common Berber-Lybic form which is generally **-t*. Both Ouirighen and Douiret share similar forms with Tamazight *-s* and Kab. *is/ines*.

Douiret and Ouirighen use the same enclitic as the masculine form with the exception of Chninni: *-n*. Neither Kabyle nor Tamazight use a distinct enclitic for the feminine gender. The common enclitic attested in other Berber varieties is *-tt*, for instance Zgugu, Ghadames, Aujila and Fezzan use *-tit*.

Enclitic indirect object third singular personal pronoun

For both masculine and feminine gender, the enclitic *-ēs* 'to him'/'to her' is used in Douiret. This agrees with the common Berber-Lybic form **-s*. Elsewhere, languages such as Aujila uses a vowel that precedes *-s*; as in *-is*.

6. The third plural personal pronoun

The independent 3rd.pl.

There is a clear gender distinction in all the three vernaculars of Chninni, Douiret and Ouirighen. In the masculine form, Ouirighen shows a rare and pronounced consonant /h/ in *nihnin* 'they'. The final *-n* in both Chninni and Douiret (i.e. *nitnin*) does not appear to occur in any other forms. The closest variation to this is **nɔ̄n-i* as in Jerba, Sened, Tuareg, *nɔ̄ni* and Nefusa *ɔ̄nɔ̄nin*.

Enclitic direct object third plural personal pronoun

The enclitic direct object masculine pronoun for Chninni, Ouirighen and Douiret are: *-unnun*, *-ssin* and *-annasan* respectively. These patterns agree more with Kabyle than with Tamazight (cp. Kab. *-nnsen* and Tam. *-tsen*).

The enclitic indirect object in Douiret is *-asin* (where *-s-* is the 3rd. marker and *-in* is the plural form) and *-ana* for the feminine counterpart (notice the loss of *-s-*). This pattern can be compared with the Berber-Lybic stem **-sɔ̄n* for masculine and **-sɔ̄nt* for its feminine counterpart.

7. Summary

In the Shilhā system of pronouns, Douiret differs in certain pronouns with other Berber vernaculars. By and large, the structure of pronouns usually confirms the 'Jerban'

system outlined by Aikhenvald. Here is a condensed summary of the principal differences between Shilha and other Berber varieties:

First feminine plural personal pronoun

Douiret shows the uncommon pronoun *šimdin*. Chninni and Ouirighen agree with the varieties of Aksimen and Tazerwalt which both belong to the branch of Central and South Morocco (Cf. table(1), § 1.).

Independent second masculine plural personal pronoun

The lateral /l/ is observed in the pronoun *klimin* in Chninni. Both Douiret and Ouirighen share similar form with Aujila.

Enclitic direct object third singular

The enclitic direct object pronoun in Shilha are: Chn. *-k*, Dou., *-is* and Ouir. *-s*. These differ from the common Berber form which is generally **-t*.

Independent third masculine plural

The uncommon consonant /h/ found in *nihnin* 'they'. The final /-n/ in both Chninni and Douiret is not observed elsewhere.

CONVENTION DE COOPERATION

L'Association de Sauvegarde de la Nature et de Protection de L'Environnement à Douiret, désignée sous le nom ASNAPED, représentée par son Président

D'une part,

Et l'Institut Technologique d'Art, d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme de Tunis, désigné sous le nom de l'ITAAUT, représenté par son directeur

D'autre part.

Considérant leur volonté commune de collaborer de s'entr'aider dans les domaines suivants:

- Architecture
- Arts
- Urbanisme
- Sociologie et sciences humaines
- Environnement

1/ Leur intérêt commun pour la restauration, la rénovation des monuments historiques, ainsi que la révalorisation du patrimoine.

2/ Leur désir de contribuer à un développement architectural et urbain harmonieux, en adéquation avec les perspectives sociales, et culturelles souhaitées par l'ASNAPED.

3/ Leur souhait d'établir des traditions d'animation scientifiques; artistiques et plastiques sous forme de festivals. d'expositions, de rencontres, etc...qui peuvent le cas échéant, évoluer vers des manifestations internationales.

4/ L'importance de l'ouverture de l'ITAAUT sur le monde extérieur pour permettre à ses enseignants et chercheurs composés d'architectes, plasticiens, sociologues, urbanistes, ingénieurs, historiens de l'art, ainsi qu'à ses étudiants d'intervenir concrètement et mettre à profit leur expérience scientifique en vue d'une prise directe sur la réalité tunisienne.

5/ L'ITAAUT et l'ASNAPED apporteront toute leur assistance, dans la limite des possibilités matérielles, à la création et au fonctionnement du Centre International de Rencontres et D'Etudes de Douiret, ainsi que d'une Antenne Pédagogique de l'ITAAUT à Douiret.

6/ L'ASNAPED et l'ITAAUT contribueront à la promotion, par l'édition et la diffusion des publications axées sur les études de Douiret en particulier et qui peuvent s'entendre à tous les Villages de Crète.

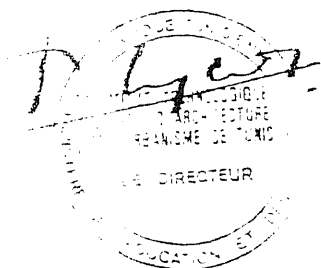
7/ L'ASNAPED et l'ITAAUT s'engagent à échanger tout document susceptible d'enrichir leurs bibliothèques, centres de recherches, ou bases de données. Ces documents peuvent être des livres, des plaquettes, affiches, périodiques ou autres...

8/ L'ITAAUT s'engage à assurer le mobilier ainsi que le matériel didactique nécessaires au bon fonctionnement du CIRED.

9/ L'ASNAPED s'engage à sauvegarder le matériel de ce centre.

Amor KHODJA
Directeur de l'I.T.A.A.U.

Kacem AZZAK
Président de l'ASNAPED



A S N A P E D

JOURNEES D'ETUDES SUR L'ECOLOGIE ET LA PROTECTION DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT TATAOUINE 22 -23-24 OCTOBRE 1993

- 1/ FINALITE ET BUT DES CLUBS SCOLAIRES D'ECOLOGIE
- 2/ FINALITE ET BUT DES CLUBS D'ECOLOGIE DEPENDANT
DES ORGANISATIONS DE L'ENFANCE ET DE LA JEUNESSE
- 3/ LES CLUBS SPECIALISES A TATAOUINE
- 4/ PLAN D'EXTENSION DES CLUBS D'ECOLOGIE ET DE LA
PROTECTION DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT DANS LE GOUVERNERAT
DE TATAOUINE

ASNAFEB

SEMINAIRE SUR LES JSOURS DANS LES DELEGATIONS DE TATAOUINE SUD ET GHOMRASEN

TATAOUINE ET GHOMRASEN 19-20 -21 NOVEMBRE 1993

- 1/ LES JSOURS DANS LE GOUVERNERAT DE TATAOUINE : ETAT DE LA QUESTION
- 2/ LES JSOURS DANS LA DELEGATION DE TATAOUINE SUD
- 3/ LES JSOURS DANS LA DELEGATION DE GHOMRASEN
- 4/ ENTRETIEN ET CONSOLIDATION DES JSOURS DANS LES VILLAGES DE DOUIRET
KSAR HADDADA, GUERMESSA, EL FERCH, CHENINI, RAS EL OUED, BIR TLATHINE
ET KSAR OULED DABBAB .

A S N A P E D

SEMINAIRE SUR LES MOSQUEES RUPESTRES DANS LE SUD EST TUNISIEN

TATAOUINE 24- 25 DECEMBRE 1993

- 1/ LES MOSQUEES RUPESTRES EN GENERAL
- 2/ LES MOSQUEES RUPESTRES DANS LE SUD EST DU PAYS
- 3/ LES MOSQUEES DE DOUIRET, OULED TALEB ET CHENINI
- 4/ RENOVATION ET AMENAGEMENT DES MOSQUEES RUPESTRES
ET LEUR REMISE EN VALEUR

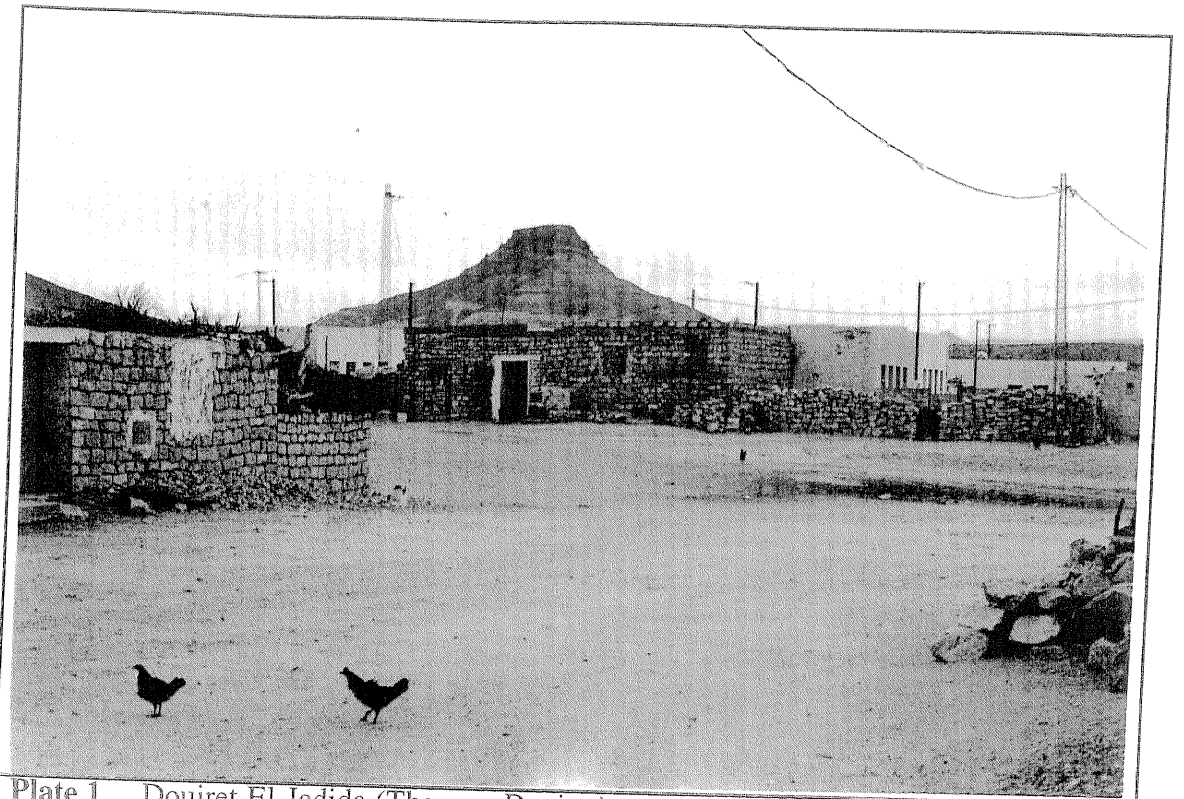


Plate 1 Douiret El-Jadida (The new Douiret)

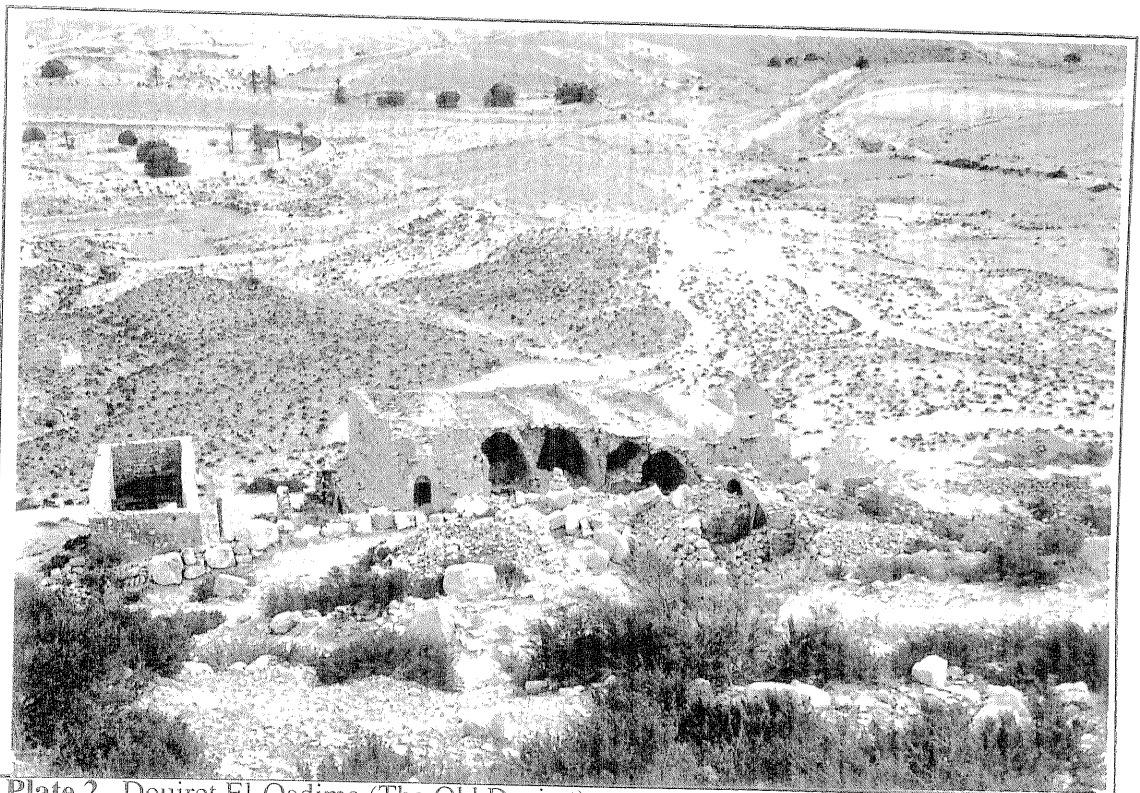


Plate 2 Douiret El-Qadima (The Old Douiret)

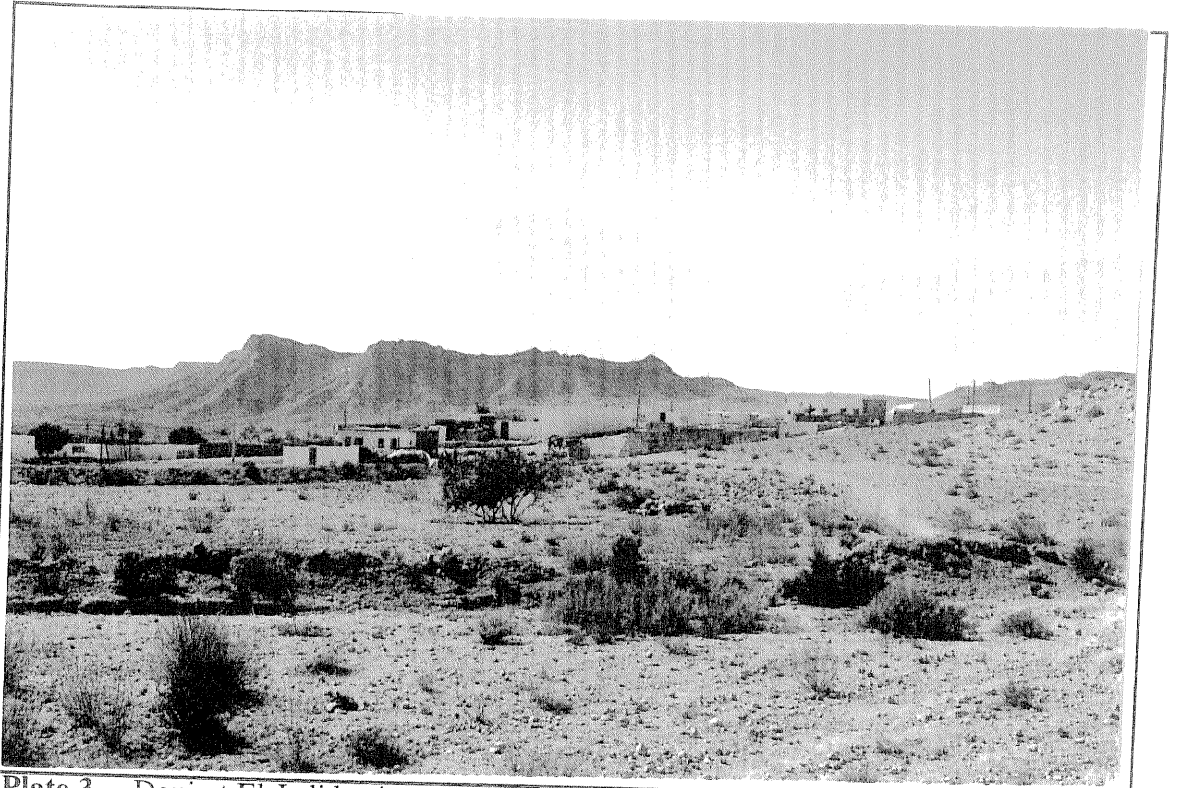


Plate 3 Douiret El-Jadida viewed from a distance



Plate 4 A Berber woman from Douiret

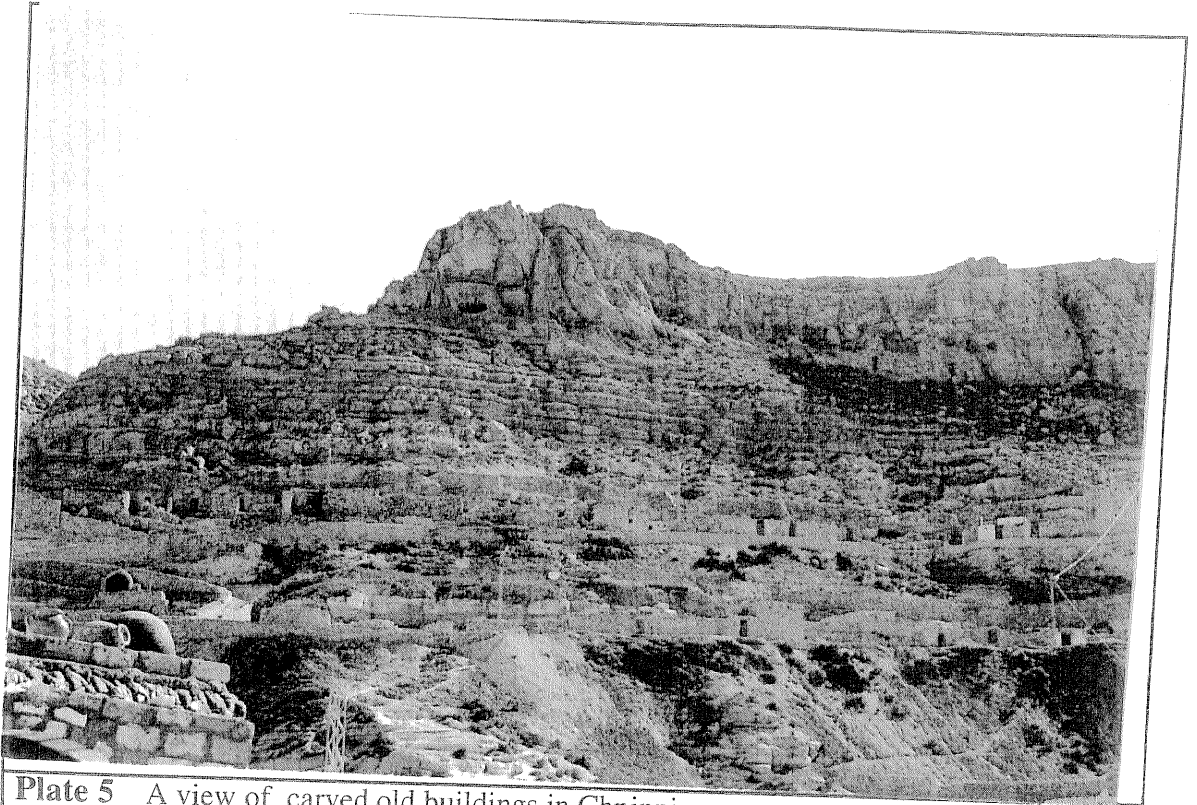


Plate 5 A view of carved old buildings in Chninni

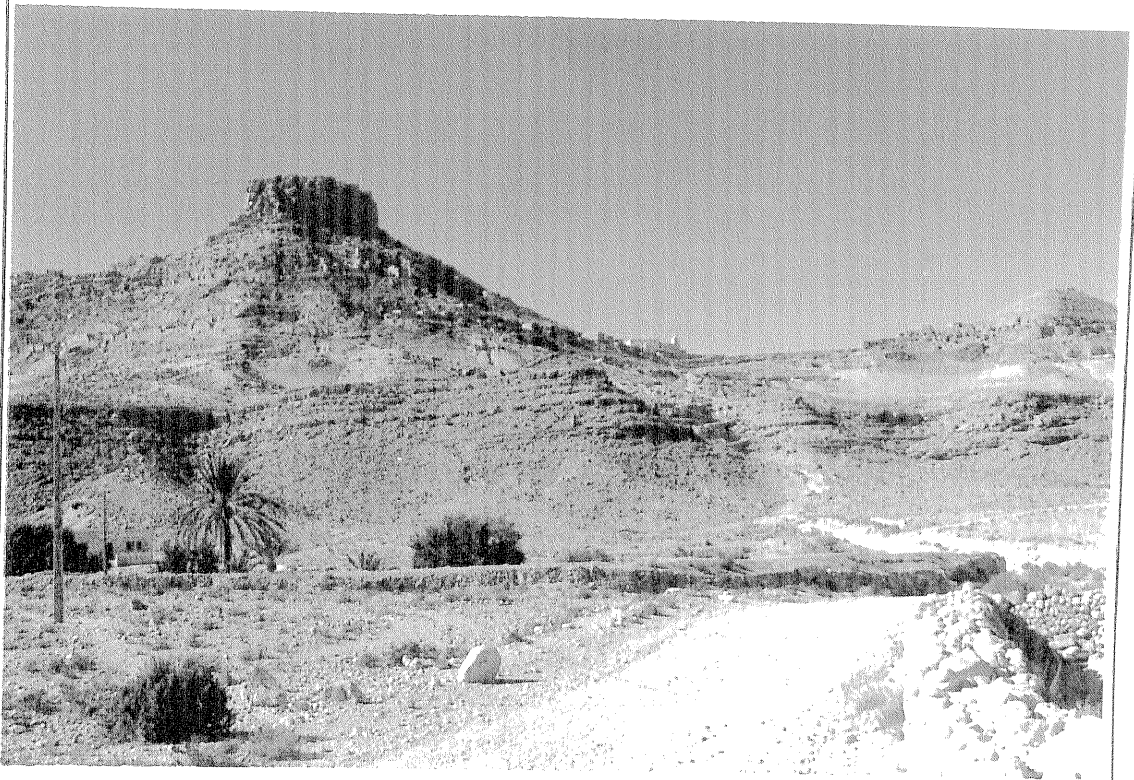


Plate 6 Ras El Metmana in Guermessa: A place where newly married couples come to leave their foot prints on the top of this mount in celebration of leaving behind the single life.

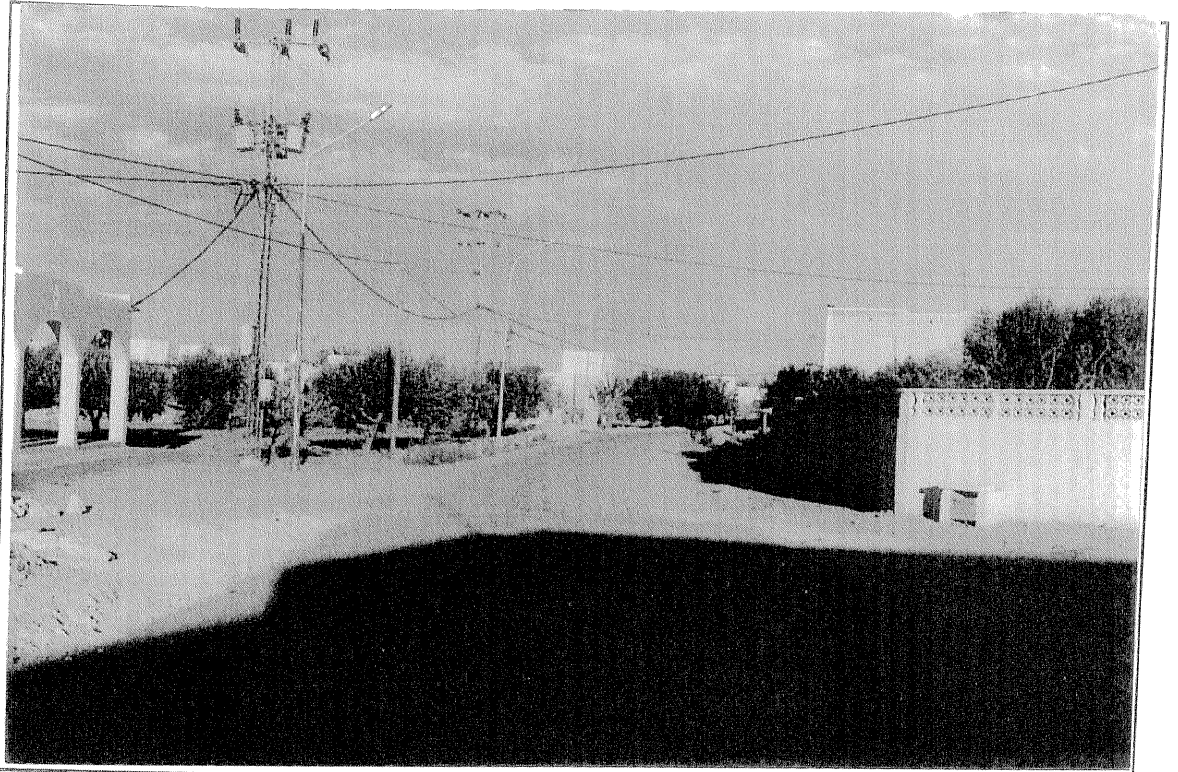


Plate 7 A view of the Ouirsignen town (in Jerba)

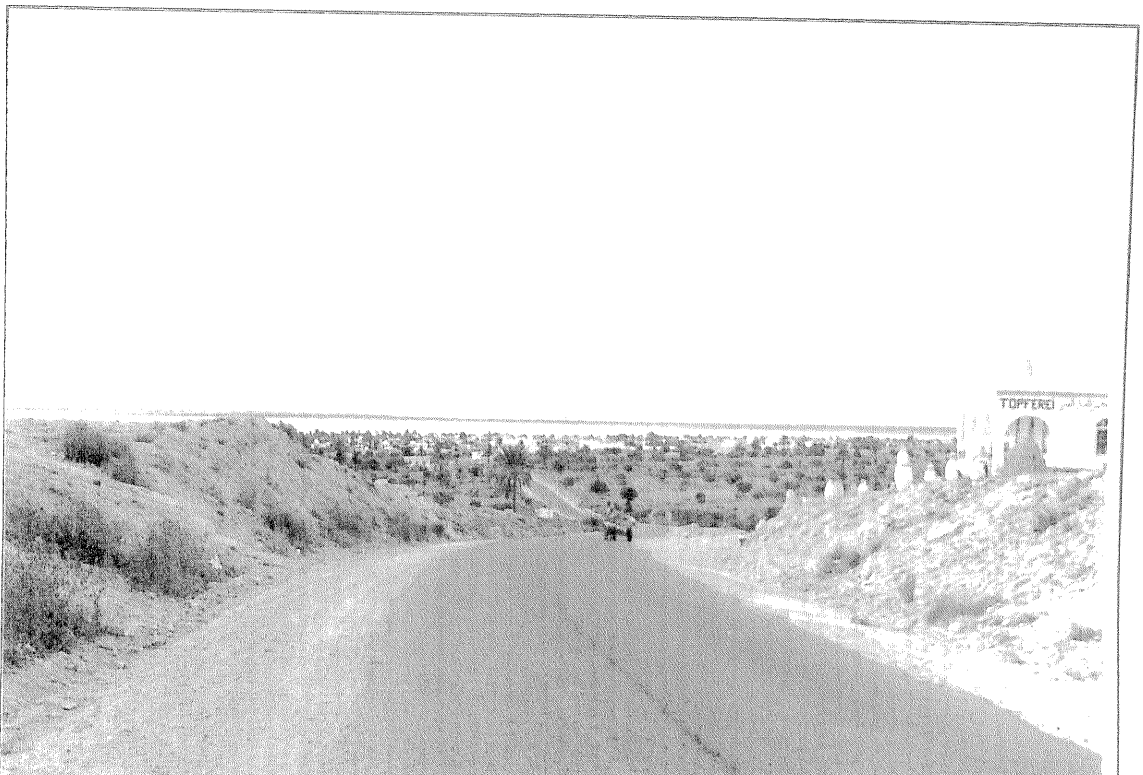


Plate 8 The road that links Ouirsignen to Guellala