Possessive constructions and the agreement of the verb 'to be' in past possessives

Seddat

1	(huwa) kan ɛend-u kelb	ntta ǧa ġur-es aherdan = ntta ǧa ǧa ġur-es aherdan
2	(huwa) kan-(t) ɛend-u begra	ntta ǧa ġur-es ṭamwat ntta ǧa ǧa ġur-es ṭamwat
3	(hiya) kan(-t) ɛend-ha kelb	(ntaṭa) ǧa ġur-es aherḍan (ntaṭa) ǧa ǧa ġur-es aherḍan
4	(hiya) kan(-t) ɛend-ha begra	(ntaṭa) ǧa ġur-es ṭamwat (ntaṭa) ǧa ǧa ġur-es ṭamwat
5	(huwa) kan-u ɛend-u klab/hmir	ntta ǧa ġur-es iherdanen ntta ǧa ǧa ġur-es iherdanen
6	(huwa) kan-u ɛend-u bger	ntta ǧa ġur-es ṭimwaṭin ntta ǧa ǧa ġur-es ṭimwaṭin
7	(hiya) kan-u ɛend-ha klab/hmir	(ntaṭa) ǧa ġur-es iherḍanen (ntaṭa) ǧa ǧa ġur-es iherḍanen
8	(hiya) kan-u ɛend-ha bger	(ntaṭa) ǧa ġur-es ṭimwaṭin (ntaṭa) ǧa ǧa ġur-es ṭimwaṭin
9	(huma) kan ɛend-hum kelb/hmar	(ntumi) ǧa-n ġur-sen aherḍan/aġyuy (ntumi) ǧa ǧa-n ġur-sen aherḍan/aġyuy
10	(huma) kan-t ɛend-hum begra/mɛeza	(ntumi) ǧa-n ġur-sen ṭamwat/ṭamhart (ntumi) ǧa ǧa-n ġur-sen ṭamwat/ṭamhart
11	(huma) kan-u ɛend-hum klab/hmir	(ntumi) ǧa-n ġur-sen iherḍanen/ iġyay (ntumi) ǧa ǧa-n ġur-sen iherḍanen/ iġyay
12	(huma) kan-u ɛend-hum bger	(ntumi) ǧa-n ġur-sen ṭimwaṭin (ntumi) ǧa ǧa-n ġur-sen ṭimwaṭin

Hmed

1	(huwa) kan ɛend-u kelb/ hmar	a) nṭṭa gella ġur-es aherḍan/aġyuy b) nṭṭa i-gella ġur-es aherḍan/aġyuy c) nṭṭa gella-n ġur-es aherḍan/aġyuy d) nṭṭa i-gella-n ġur-es aherḍan/aġyuy
2	(huwa) kan-t ɛend-u begra/mɛeza	a) nṭṭa gella ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš b) nṭṭa i-gella ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš c) nṭṭa gella-n ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš

		d)	nṭṭa ṯ-gella ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		e)	nṭṭa ṯe-lla ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		f)	nṭṭa i-gella-n ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
3	(hiya) kan ɛend-ha kelb/hmar	a)	neṭṭa gella ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy
		b)	neṭṭa i-gella ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy
		c)	neṭṭa gella-n ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy
		d)	neṭṭa ṯ-gella ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy
		e)	neṭṭa ṯe-lla ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy
		f)	neṭṭa i-gella-n ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy
4	(hiya) kan-t ɛend-ha begra/mɛeza	a)	neṭṭa gella ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		b)	neṭṭa i-gella ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		c)	neṭṭa gella-n ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		d)	neṭṭa ṯ-gella ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		e)	neṭṭa ṯe-lla ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		f)	neṭṭa i-gella-n ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
5	(huwa) kan-u ɛend-u klab/hmir	a)	nṭṭa gella ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		b)	nṭṭa i-gella ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		c)	nṭṭa gella-n ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		d)	nṭṭa ṯ-gella ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		e)	nṭṭa ṯe-lla ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		f)	nṭṭa i-gella-n ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
6	(huwa) kan-u ɛend-u bger	a)	nṭṭa gella ġur-es ṯifunasin
		b)	nṭṭa i-gella ġur-es ṯifunasin
		c)	nṭṭa gella-n ġur-es ṯifunasin
		d)	nṭṭa ṯ-gella ġur-es ṯifunasin
		e)	nṭṭa ṯe-lla ġur-es ṯifunasin
		f)	nṭṭa i-gella-n ġur-es ṯifunasin
7	(hiya) kan-u ɛend-ha klab/hmir	a)	neṭṭa gella ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		b)	neṭṭa i-gella ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		c)	neṭṭa gella-n ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		d)	neṭṭa ṯ-gella ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		e)	neṭṭa ṯe-lla ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		f)	neṭṭa i-gella-n ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
8	(hiya) kan-u ɛend-ha bger	a)	neṭṭa gella ġur-es ṯifunasin
		b)	neṭṭa i-gella ġur-es ṯifunasin
		c)	neṭṭa gella-n ġur-es ṯifunasin
		d)	neṭṭa ṯ-gella ġur-es ṯifunasin
		e)	neṭṭa ṯe-lla ġur-es ṯifunasin
		f)	neṭṭa i-gella-n ġur-es ṯifunasin
9	(huma) kan ɛend-hum kelb/…	a)	nehnum gella ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy
		b)	nehnum i-gella ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy
		c)	nehnum gella-n ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy
		d)	nehnum i-gella-n ġur-es aherḏan/aġyuy

10	(huma) kan-t ɛend-hum begra /...	a) nehnum gella ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		b) nehnum i-gella ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		c) nehnum gella-n ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		d) nehnum ṯ-gella ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		e) nehnum ṯe-lla ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
		f) nehnum i-gella-n ġur-es tafunas/tabɛaš
11	(huma) kan-u ɛend-hum klab	a) nehnum gella ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		b) nehnum i-gella ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		c) nehnum gella-n ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		d) nehnum ṯ-gella ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		e) nehnum ṯe-lla ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
		f) nehnum i-gella-n ġur-es iherḏanen/ iġyay
12	(huma) kan-u ɛend-hum bger	a) nehnum gella ġur-es ṯifunasin
		b) nehnum i-gella ġur-es ṯifunasin
		c) nehnum gella-n ġur-es ṯifunasin
		d) nehnum ṯ-gella ġur-es ṯifunasin
		e) nehnum ṯe-lla ġur-es ṯifunasin
		f) nehnum i-gella-n ġur-es ṯifunasin

Zerqet

I = Possessor
II = Possessed object
+ = grammatical
+ = preferred variant
- = agrammatical
? = rare

I	II				Agreement	Darija	English
MS	MS	1	a	+	(iža) iġa	(huwa) kan ɛend-u kelb/ ẖeddem	He had a (MS object)
			b	-	ṯeġa	(huwa) kan-t ɛend-u kelb/ ẖeddem	
MS	FS	2	a	+	(iža) ṯeġa	(huwa) kan-t ɛend-u begra/mɛeza	He had a (FS object)
			b	+		(huwa) kan ɛend-u begra/mɛeza	
FS	MS	3	a	+	(iža) iġa	(hiya) kan ɛend-ha kelb/ ẖeddem	She had a (MS object)
			b	-		(hiya) kan-t ɛend-ha kelb/ ẖeddem	

FS	FS	4	a	+	(iža)	(hiya) kan-t ɛend-ha begra/mɛeza	She had a (FS object)
			b	-		(hiya) kan ɛend-ha begra/mɛeza	
MS	MP	5	a	+	(iža)	(huwa) kan-u ɛend-u klab/ḥmir	He had a (MP object)
			b	+	(iža) iǧa	(huwa) kan ɛend-u klab/ḥmir	
			c	-		(huwa) kan-t ɛend-u klab/ḥmir	
MS	FP	6	a	+	(iža) ǧant	(huwa) kan-u ɛend-u bger	He had a (FP object)
			b	+	(iža) iǧa	(huwa) kan ɛend-u bger	
			c	-		(huwa) kan-t ɛend-u bger	
FS	MP	7	a	+	(iža) ǧan	(hiya) kan-u ɛend-ha klab/ḥmir	She had a (MP object)
			b	+	(iža) iǧa	(hiya) kan ɛend-ha klab/ḥmir	
			c	-		(hiya) kan-t ɛend-ha klab/ḥmir	
FS	FP	8	a	+	(iža) ǧant	(hiya) kan-u ɛend-ha bger	She had a (FP object)
			b	-	iǧa	(hiya) kan ɛend-ha bger	
			c	+	(iža) ṯeǧa	(hiya) kan-t ɛend-ha bger	
PL	MS	9	a	+	(iža) iǧa	(huma) kan ɛend-hum kelb/ḥeddem	They had a (MS object)
			b	+	(iža) ǧan	(huma) kan-u ɛend-hum kelb/ḥeddem	
			c	-		(huma) kan-t ɛend-hum kelb/ḥeddem	
PL	FS	10	a	+	(iža) ṯeǧa	(huma) kan-t ɛend-hum begra/mɛeza	They had a (FS object)
			b	-		(huma) kan ɛend-hum begra/mɛeza	
			c	+	(iža) ǧan	(huma) kan-u ɛend-hum begra/mɛeza	
PL	MP	11	a	+	(iža) ǧan	(huma) kan-u ɛend-hum klab/ḥmir	They had a (MP object)
			b	+	(iža) iǧa	(huma) kan ɛend-hum klab/ḥmir	
			c	-		(huma) kan-t ɛend-hum klab/ḥmir	
PL	FP	12	a	+	(iža) ǧant (not *ǧan)	(huma) kan-u ɛend-hum bger	They had a (FP object)
			b	+	(iža) iǧa	(huma) kan ɛend-hum bger	
			c	-		(huma) kan-t ɛend-hum bger	

II

1S	MS	13	a	+	(iža) iǧa	ana kan ɛend-i kelb/ ḫeddem	I had a (MS object)
			b	-		ana kan-t ɛend-i kelb/ ḫeddem	
			c	+	(iža)ǧiġ	ana kunt ɛend-i kelb/ḫeddem	
1S	FS	14	a	+	(iža)ṯeǧa	ana kan-t ɛend-i begra/mɛeza	I had a (FS object)
			b	+	(iža)iǧa	ana kan ɛend-i begra/mɛeza	
			c	+	(iža)ǧiġ	ana kun-t ɛend-i begra/mɛeza	
1S	MP	15	a	+	(iža)ǧan	ana kan-u ɛend-i klab/hmir	I had a (MP object)
			b	-		ana kan ɛend-i klab/hmir	
			c	-		ana kan-t ɛend-i klab/hmir	
			d	+	(iža)ǧiġ	ana kun-t ɛend-i klab/hmir	
1S	FP	16	a	+	(iža)ǧan(t)	ana kan-u ɛend-i bger	I had a (FP object)
			b	+	(iža)iǧa	ana kan ɛend-i bger	
			c	-		ana kan-t ɛend-i bger	
			d	+	(iža)ǧiġ	ana kun-t ɛend-i bger	
1P	MS	17	a	+	(iža)iǧa	hna kan ɛend-na kelb/ ḫeddem	We had a (MS object)
			b	-		hna kan-t ɛend-na kelb/ ḫeddem	
			c	+	(iža)nǧa	hna kun-na ɛend-na kelb/ḫeddem	
			d	-		hna kan-u ɛend-na kelb/ḫeddem	
1P	FS	18	a	-		hna kan-t ɛend-na begra/mɛeza	We had a (FS object)
			b	+	(iža)iǧa	hna kan ɛend-na begra/mɛeza	
			c	+	(iža)neǧ**a**	hna kun-na ɛend-na begra/mɛeza	
			d	+	(iža)ǧan(t)	hna kan-u ɛend-na begra/mɛeza	
1P	MP	19	a	+	(iža)ǧan	hna kan-u ɛend-na klab/hmir	We had a (MP object)
			b	????	(iža) iǧa	hna kan ɛend-na klab/hmir	
			c	-		hna kan-t ɛend-na klab/hmir	
			d	+	(iža)neǧa	hna kun-na ɛend-na klab/hmir	
1P	FP	20	a	+	(iža)ǧan(t)	hna kan-u ɛend-na bger	We had a (FP object)
			b	+	(iža)iǧa	hna kan ɛend-na bger	
			c	-		hna kan-t ɛend-na bger	

			d	+	(iža)nǧa	hna kun-na ɛend-na bger	
2MS	MS	21	a	+	(iža)iǧa	nta kan ɛend-ek kelb/ ẖeddem	You (MS) had a (MS object)
			b	-		nta kan-t ɛend-ek kelb/ ẖeddem	
			c	+	(iža)ṯeǧiḏ	nta kunti ɛend-ek kelb/ẖeddem	
2MS	FS	22	a	+	(iža)ṯeǧa	nta kan-t ɛend-ek begra/mɛeza	You (MS) had a (FS object)
			b	-		nta kan ɛend-ek begra/mɛeza	
			c	+	(iža)ṯeǧiḏ	nta kunti ɛend-ek begra/mɛeza	
2MS	MP	23	a	+	(iža)ǧan	nta kan-u ɛend-ek klab/hmir	You (MS) had a (MP object)
			b	-		nta kan ɛend-ek klab/hmir	
			c	-		nta kan-t ɛend-ek klab/hmir	
			d	+	(iža)ṯeǧiḏ	nta kunti ɛend-ek klab/hmir	
2MS	FP	24	a	+	(iža)ǧant (not *ǧan)	nta kan-u ɛend-ek bger	You (MS) had a (FP object)
			b	+	(iža)iǧa	nta kan ɛend-ek bger	
			c	-		nta kan-t ɛend-ek bger	
			d	+	(iža)ṯeǧiḏ	nta kunti ɛend-ek bger	
2FS	MS	25	a	+	(iža)iǧa	nti kan ɛend-ek kelb/ ẖeddem	You (FS) had a (MS object)
			b	-		nti kan-t ɛend-ek kelb/ ẖeddem	
			c	+	(iža)ṯeǧiḏ	nti kunti ɛend-ek kelb/ẖeddem	
2FS	FS	26	a	+	(iža)ṯeǧa	nti kan-t ɛend-ek begra/mɛeza	You (FS) had a (FS object)
			b	-		nti kan ɛend-ek begra/mɛeza	
			c	+	(iža)ṯeǧiḏ	nti kunti ɛend-ek begra/mɛeza	
2FS	MP	27	a	+	(iža)ǧan	nti kan-u ɛend-ek klab/hmir	You (FS) had a (MP object)
			b	+	(iža)iža (not *iǧa)	nti kan ɛend-ek klab/hmir	
			c	-		nti kan-t ɛend-ek klab/hmir	
			d	+	(iža)ṯeǧiḏ	nti kunti ɛend-ek klab/hmir	
2FS	FP	28	a	+	(iža)ǧan(t)	nti kan-u ɛend-ek bger	You (FS) had a (FP object)
			b	+	(iža)iža (better than iǧa)	nti kan ɛend-ek bger	
			c	-		nti kan-t ɛend-ek bger	
			d	+	(iža)ṯeǧiḏ	nti kunti ɛend-ek bger	

2P	MS	29	a	+	(iža)iğa	ntuma kan ɛend-kum kelb/ ḫeddem	You (PL) had a (MS object)
			b			ntuma kan-t ɛend-kum kelb/ ḫeddem	
			c	+	(iža)ṭeğam(ṭ)	ntuma kun-tu ɛend-kum kelb/ḫeddem	
			d			ntuma kan-u ɛend-kum kelb/ ḫeddem	
2P	FS	30	a	+	(iža)ṭeğa	ntuma kan-t ɛend-kum begra/mɛeza	You (PL) had a (FS object)
			b	+	(iža) iğ**a**	ntuma kan ɛend-kum begra/mɛeza	
			c	+	(iža)ṭeğam(ṭ)	ntuma kun-tu ɛend-kum begra/mɛeza	
			d			ntuma kan-u ɛend-kum begra/mɛeza	
2P	MP	31	a	+	(iža)ğan	ntuma kan-u ɛend-kum klab/hmir	You (PL) had a (MP object)
			b	+	(iža)iža/ iğa	ntuma kan ɛend-kum klab/hmir	
			c	-		ntuma kan-t ɛend-kum klab/hmir	
			d	+	(iža)ṭeğam(ṭ)	ntuma kun-tu ɛend-kum klab/hmir	
2P	FP	32	a	+	(iža)ğant	ntuma kan-u ɛend-kum bger	You (PL) had a (FP object)
			b	+	(iža)iğa	ntuma kan ɛend-kum bger	
			c	-		ntuma kan-t ɛend-kum bger	
			d	+	(iža)ṭeğam(ṭ)	ntuma kun-tu ɛend-kum bger	