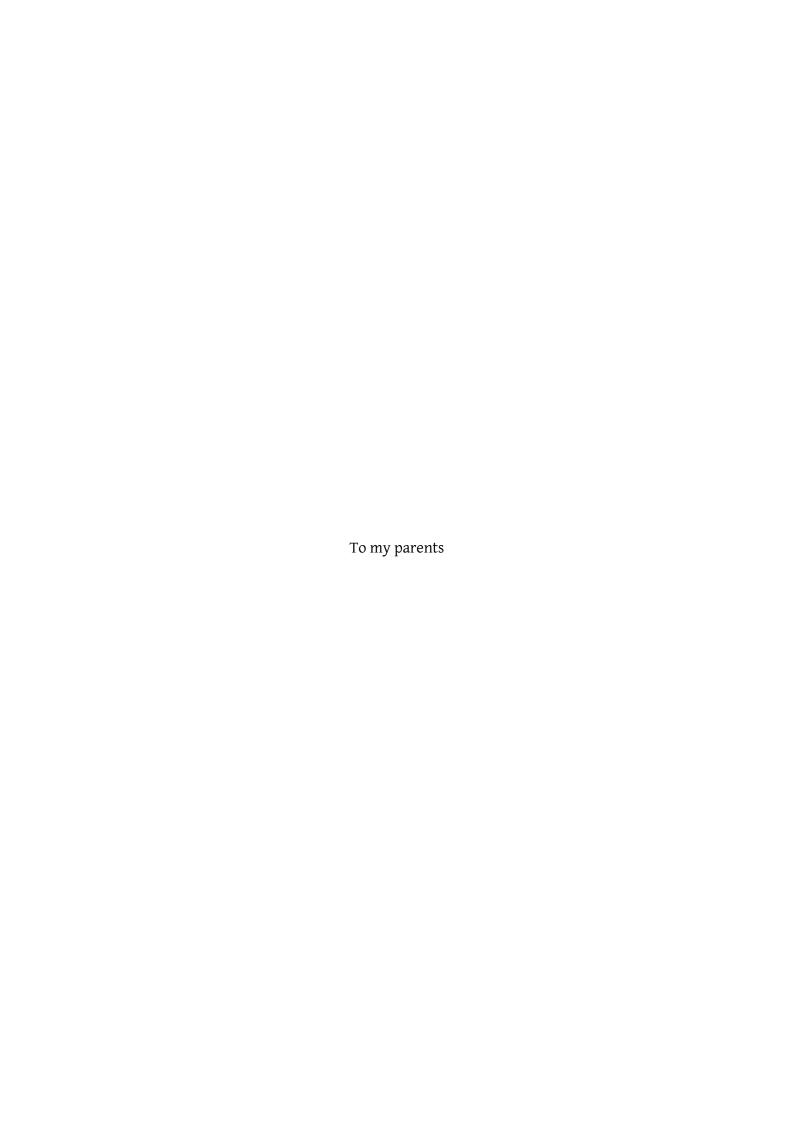Linguistics: Structure and variation in the languages of the world

A phonology and morphology sketch of Dgagʕa ʕurubiya Arabic

MA Thesis

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Leiden University 2012

To my parents

Contents

Abbreviations

adj	adjective
dem	demonstrative
DUA	Dgagʕa ʕurubiya Arabic
1(sgm.)	first person
2	second person
3	third person
sg.	singular
pl .	plural
m.	masculine
f.	feminine
imp	imperative
impf	imperfect
IPA	International Phonetic Association/ Alphabet
MA	Moroccan Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
prf	perfect
ptc	participle
prox	proximal
rem	remote

The making of this thesis

Between spring 2010 and summer 2011, I have spent some 8 months in Morocco in intermittent periods. The original goal of my staying there was to do linguistic research for a thesis on a Berber language, somewhat like the thesis that lies in front of you now. As life, or at least my life, transpires, the original goal was marginalized by other interests, but eventually I was able to do a research on a spoken language in Morocco. The object of my research became a variety of Arabic, not Berber, for pragmatic reasons. Over time, I was able to make several recordings with five different informants, all together some 200 minutes of fairytales, stories, jokes, interviews, elicitations and conversations. I was also able to make notes of some particularities that I noticed in the dialect (although far less than would have been desirable), and eventually I learned to speak and understand the dialect reasonably well, for as far as one can expect from a Dutchman spending a few months there.

After making the recordings I spent another few months living at times in the village and at times in the nearby city of *Sidi Kasem.* In that time I transcribed the recordings with the help of one of the informants who also has a part in the recordings, and with two additional informants, one old lady and one young child. They have helped me a lot with their patient explanations and repeatings, and especially the help of the elderly *mmʷi* Zzahya proved valuable, since she was able to explain many of the peculiar, old-fashioned vocabulary that the elderly informant *khalti* Fatna uses. These transcriptions were followed by phonetic transcriptions that served, in turn, as guides in making definite phonemic transcriptions. At this stage and later in the analyses and presentation of the grammar, my supervisor dr. Maarten Kossmann has helped me greatly in guiding me through the forests of hidden phonemes and dark alveolars, with his linguistic taxonomic skills in calling a branch from a tree whenever my reflexes were stressed about some underlying root.

For me, the coming-into-being of this thesis was not a matter of course, and I owe it to the help and support of many, in many different ways, that I carried out and finished this work. Of these people, I want to mention in particular Harry Stroomer, Khaira Ezzamoury, Khalti Fatna, Léon Buskens, Maarten Kossmann, Nassira Akkabi, Roy Bernabela and Wil den Heijer. Thank you all.

<div align="right">Peter.</div>

Introduction

The dialectical situation in Morocco

Two living, native languages are spoken in Morocco: Arabic and Berber. In the period that Arabic speakers first came to Morocco in significant numbers, around the end of the seventh century AD, it is most probable that the great majority of the population spoke a Berber language and a few minority communities spoke a Romance language[1]. The main Berber dialect groups that are spoken in Morocco today can roughly be classified in three: Rif-, central or Middle-Atlas- and Sousse-Berber[2]. These groups in turn make up continuums of dialects. Spanish and French were introduced as official languages in the colonial age, and especially French remains important as an official language and literary language to date. The prominence of English as a world language of science, technology and commerce has not ignored Morocco, although French and Modern Standard Arabic traditionally remain linguistically important in these fields as well. Given Morocco's historical, geological and linguistic make up, it is no surprise that Moroccan Arabic, which interacts with all of the languages mentioned above, comprises a diverse set of dialects in itself.

Jeffrey Heath divides the Moroccan Arabic dialects in four groups: a northern (also sedentary, pre-*Hilalian*) type, a Saharan type, a central type and the dialects of the Jewish communities[3]. More in detail, Heath links the modern *koine* to the central type, claiming that the *koine* is closest to it in phonology and grammar[4]. In Heaths description, the central type contains a number of dialect groups that are spoken in a region that also encompasses the rural plains surrounding the dialect under study in this thesis[5].

In addition to this regional classification of MA dialects, one may also take a diachronic approach: most authors on Moroccan Arabic, including Caubet, Heath, Aguadé and earlier authors like Brunot make the distinction between pre-Hilalian and Hilalian dialects in Moroccan Arabic. The differences between these types of dialects stems from the different

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[1] J. Heath *Jewish and Muslim dialects of Moroccan Arabic*: 2-5, L. Brunot *Introduction a l'Arabe Marocain*: 11.

[2] Also called Tarifit, Tamazight and Tashelhiyt, cf. F. Dell & M. Medlaoui *Syllables in Tashlhiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic*: 6, T. Penchoen *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*: 1-2.

[3] Heath *Dialects*: 1-12.

[4] Ibid: 10.

[5] Ibid: 21.

periods in which they were introduced in Morocco and the different developments they have had since then.[6]

The Hilalian or post-Hilalian dialects, to which the dialect under study can probably be counted, are said to have retained some 'bedouin' Arabic features, more so than the pre-Hilalian dialects[7]. In addition, the central type in particular is said to have the strongest Berber substrate[8]. Among the features mentioned as 'telltale bedouin' are the *g* reflex of *qāf*, retention of short diphthongs *ay* and *aw,* and gender distinctions in plural pronominals[9]. Both Heath and Caubet split the *koine* from the rural and bedouin varieties of the central-Hilalian Arabic dialects with regards to these features[10]. In trying to position the dialect under study along these lines, observing that there is a lexical variation in the use of *g* and *q* for *qāf*, partial retention of short diphthongs and no gender distinctions in plural pronominals, *Dgagʕa ʕurubiya Arabic* could be tentatively classified as a rural, central-type, Hilalian dialect with some bedouin features.

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[6] D. Caubet "Moroccan Arabic" in *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics*: Online edition; Heath *Dialects*: 2-10; J. Aguadé "Morocco" in *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics*: Online edition; Brunot *Introduction* 14-19.

[7] Heath *Dialects*: 2- 10.

[8] Ibid: 8.

[9] Ibid: 7, Caubet "Moroccan Arabic".

[10] Heath Dialects: 8-10; Caubet "Moroccan Arabic".

The dialect under study

This thesis consists of a phonology and morphology sketch of a variety of Arabic spoken in the North-West of Morocco, in an area known as *l-gharb*, 'The West', in a countryside village called *Dgagʕa* (Arabic: طݣاكَّعة), south of the nearby city of *Jorf el-Melħa*. Jeffrey Heath mentions a continuum of dialects in that area the he calls the dialects of the rural belt[11], mentioning *Sidi Kasem* and *Souk el Arba* as two cities from that region that are indeed not far from the village, but still some 60-80 kilometers to the south-west and north-west. The city of *Jorf el-Melħa*, not mentioned by Heath, lies at some 6 kilometers to the north, just across *Ouad Ouargha*. *Dgagʕa* is a village living mainly on agriculture, for which the region is well-known in Morocco. The villagers refer to their own language as *l-ʕurubiya*, a term that Heath translates as 'bedouin'. Heath continues to describe them as 'broadly Hilalian in dialect type', showing some 'telltale bedouin' elements with adaptations 'to local urban varieties, and occasionally to neighboring *Jebli* dialects'. For as far as I am able to tell, Heath is not far off. The dialect under consideration does often conform to Heath's description of the *rural belt dialects* in broad terms, although it regularly still differs considerably in detail, and sometimes also on important points. Pragmatically, I will dub the language under consideration *Dgagʕa ʕurubiya Arabic* (DUA).

When comparing DUA with Caubet's description of the Moroccan Arabic *koine*[12], which makes somewhat sense since both can be linked to the central-Hilalian dialect types of MA, a few differences stand out. In the description of DUA below, references to the *koine* or to MA dialects in general are made when notable differences or similarities occur.

I my research, I have made recordings of elicitations, interviews, stories and fairytales, involving five recorded informants and two additional informants for the analyses. Of these five informants, four were members of the clan that populated the majority of the village, which has a total population of some 400 souls, in my estimation. These four informants were two girls of 17 years old and two boys aged 20 and 27. Between 2010 and 2011, I spent several months in the village, as part of one of the households, so I got a reasonably firm grip of the dialect. The four informants that are part of the same clan, the clan of *duwwar Dgagʕa* (literally encampment *Dgagʕa*), are from the family of Mħammed ʕbid, and claim to

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[11] Heath *Dialects*: 21.

[12] D. Caubet *L'Arabe Marocain.*

be *badu* (bedouin) from *Mulay ʕali š-šerif* located 'in the Sahara', a place probably on the edge of the desert south of *Erfoud*, in the south-east of Morocco. In their estimation, the family has settled in the area of the village 'some generations, but less than 80 years ago' when the village ancestor, Mħammed ʕbid, came to this area. The idiolects of these four young people are close, but not identical. There are some clear differences in their phonologies: differences that at times correspond to their different genders, sometimes cutting through these fault lines. I will comment on these differences in the text of this thesis whenever it seems to be systematic.

The one informant that is not part of the clan, was an old lady (estimated around 80 years), who was born in the nearby village of *Louhaybat*, a village with a background comparable to that of *Dgagʕa* according my informants. She moved to *Dgagʕa* in her childhood, when she became blind. By now, *khalti Fatna* (aunt Fatna), as she is lovingly called, is also almost completely deaf. Never having left the village since childhood, knowing of no television, *Khalti* Fatna is a praised teller of fairytales and has made a considerable contribution to my recordings.

Although *khalti* Fatna has lived in *Dgagʕa* for the lion's share of her life, and is born only a mile or so away, her dialect shows some clear differences with the combined dialects of the youngsters from the ʕbid clan. The differences are confined to a small part of the phonology and a few lexical items. However, in these categories the differences are quite systematic, and hence I will indicate which group uses which form whenever systematic differences occur. I will refer to the people from the ʕbid clan as speaker's group A, and to *khalti* Fatna as group B or speaker B, since she is technically not 'a group'. Regarding the reasons behind the differences between groups A and B, I can only guess. Their different backgrounds may be an obvious reason, but I am not certain as to how different these backgrounds are. Their respective villages of birth lie very close to each other, but the ancestral composition may be very different. At the same time, the age difference between both groups (some 60 years) and the fact that *khalti* Fatna has spent the greatest part of her life confined to the walls of her house, without eye-sight, should not be underestimated in trying to come up with explanations for the dissimilarities between both groups. Since all recordings involve long-term inhabitants of the village and its direct surroundings, and because the dissimilarities are small compared to what is shared as a dialect group, and for the sake of feasibility, I will not try to explain the differences beyond the suggestions that I have just made.

Maps

North Morocco

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lGharb – Region around *Dgagʕa*

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Notes on orthography and representation of the segments

Phonemes will be presented in italics, like this: *š*. Also, complete words or phrases will be presented in this works' orthography in italics, like this: *šeffar.* Phonetic realizations will be referred to by using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and placing them between square brackets, like this: [ʃ].

In this thesis, I try to maintain a synchronic analysis of what is encountered in DUA. Sometimes, though, it is helpful to refer to instances in other dialects of Moroccan Arabic (MA) or to a (hypothesized) historical form, for example when commenting on a phoneme in DUA that has a different counterpart in other Arabic dialects in words of morphemes that could be etymologically analyzed as having a shared origin. Since the perspective of this thesis is synchronic and because I acknowledge the difficulties and uncertainties of historical linguistics for Arabic languages, any reference to these 'historical' segments are not meant as a diachronic analysis, but rather as a reference to segments that are found to appear as components of similar words and morphemes in different Arabic languages. For example, when I want to refer to the segment that is found in several Arabic languages to be phonetically [k], [ʔ] or [tʃ] in *kelb*, *ʔelb* and *čelbin* (amongst others), and that corresponds to the first segment of the Standard Arabic word كلب *kalb* 'dog', it is helpful to refer to this segment as **k*, without having to constantly give a list of cognates proving an etymological relationship. By referring to related forms I only intend to identify the relationship, not the nature of the relationship, and it can help me in analyzing and presenting the phonological and morphological peculiarities of the language under study.

I refer to related segments by placing an asterisk before the phoneme or morpheme that is referred to, like this: **k.* I explicitly state whether I refer to a related element in another Moroccan Arabic dialect or to a reconstructed historical form, by adding the abbreviation MA or HA. When this distinction is irrelevant, I omit it. Since the nature of short vowels of historical Arabic forms are often very uncertain, I will only write consonants and long vowels of reconstructed forms, like this: **mskin.* The asterisk sign is also used for reconstructed forms that are ungrammatical in DUA. They are followed or preceded by the sign > for diachronic and → for synchronic developments.

Part I - Phonology

This chapter is a sketch of the phonology of DUA. In view of the scope of this work, the phonology will not be dealt with completely, but I will try to look thoroughly at the most important phonological characteristics and peculiarities of this dialect. The chapter's structure is straightforward: I will first discuss the individual segments and then discuss the rules governing the combination of these segments.

1 - The consonants

In the following section I present the 35 consonantal phonemes of DUA in a schematic way, and proceed to describe them by giving its symbol in the orthography of this thesis, its technical phonetic name, its symbol in IPA, listing possible allophones and presenting the realization of the phoneme in different syllabic contexts, namely in onset, coda and in intervocalic position, in that order. Sometimes a more specific context is added, if relevant, sometimes a context is omitted, if not present in the data. Allophonic variety resulting from assimilation (of voice, of pharyngealization) is dealt with in a separate section below. A number of phonemes in DUA carry an interesting phonological background: being subject to free and / or idiolectical variation or functioning as a remarkable reflex of a hypothesized historical segment. The peculiarities of these phonemes are discussed separately following the outline.

1.1 - Consonant inventory

	plosive	affricate	fricative	thrill	nasal	approximant	lateral approximant
labial	p – b*				m		
labio-velar						w	
labialized labial	bbʷ				mmʷ		
labiodental			f-v*				
alveolar	d	t**	s – z	r	n		l
pharyngealized alveolar	ṭ - ḍ		ṣ	ṛ			ḷ
labialized pharyngealized alveolar			ṣʷ				
palato-alveolar			š - ž				
palatal						y	
velar	k - g		x - ɣ				
labialized-velar	gʷ		xʷ				
uvular	q						
pharyngeal			ħ - ʕ				
glottal	ʔ		h				

* Consonants that appear on the right side of paired segments are voiced. *p* and *v* are marginal phonemes.

** As will be pointed out below, the phoneme *t* is usually realized as [tˢ] by female speakers and is palato-alveolar [tʲ] for the male speakers. In the orthography, I have chosen to use the symbol *t* for this phoneme for reasons of clarity and because no opposition between [t], [tˢ] and [tʲ] has been attested.

1.2 - Consonantal phonemes and allophones

p   voiceless bilabial plosive [p], a marginal consonant in DUA, usually found in loans from French or Spanish:

[p]   onset: *parabor* → [ˈparabor] 'satellite dish' (French: *parabol*)

            in CC: *spiṭar* → [ˈspiṭar] 'hospital' (Spanish *hospital*)

            coda: *kŭppa* → [ˈkɔp:a] 'hood' (Spanish: *capucha*)

b   voiced bilabial plosive [b]. Speaker B occasionally spirantizes to voiced bilabial fricative [β]:

[b]   onset: *bda* → [bda] 'he began'

            coda: *tšeṭṭeb* → [ˈtʃɑⱡ:ɑb] 'she sweeps'

            intervocalic: *daba* → [ˈdɛba] 'now'

[β]   word-initially: *brarež* → [ˈβrɛrəʒ] 'stork'

            word-med.:   *šerbil* → [ʃərˈβil] 'lady-slippers'

bbʷ   Geminate voiced bilabial plosive with secondary labialization [bbʷ], found only in onset position:

[bbʷ] onset: *bbʷa* → [bbʷɑ] 'father'

t   *t* in DUA is laminal: it is produced with the tongue blade, a feature it shares with the MA *koine*[13]. *t* is virtually always realized with an affricate release, which is a feature shared with most other MA dialects but is not mentioned by Caubet for the MA *koine*[14]. There are two affricates attested: an alveolar voiceless affricate [tˢ] in the recordings of the female speakers and a palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tʃ] in the recordings of the male speakers. In producing [tˢ], the tongue blade is placed on the alveolar ridge and the upper teeth, giving an [s] release. When [tʃ] is produced, the tongue blade is placed on the front side of the palate and the alveolar ridge, giving an [ʃ] release. Furthermore, *t* appears to be [t] only before the alveolar consonants *n*,

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[13] Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 8.

[14] Heath *Dialects*: 135; Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 8.

r and *l*. In that case *t* is alveolar and does not have an affricate release, probably because *t* progressively assimilates in place of articulation to the ensuing alveolar segments and a release would involve an extra movement of the articulator. Hence the realizations of *t* are:

[tˢ] onset: *teħt* → [tˢħtˢ] 'beneath'

coda: *bent* → [bəntˢ] 'girl'

intervocalic: *tqaten* → [ˈtˢqætˢən] 'to fight'

[tʲ] onset: *temmaya* → [tʲəˈmːæja] 'over there'

coda: *temmet* → [ˈtʲəmːətʲ] auxiliary indicating perfect aspect.

intervocalic: *matet* → [ˈmɛtʲətʲ] 'she died'

[t] onset _ *n*: *tnawel* → [ˈtnæwəl] 'she cooks'

onset _ *r*: *ṭrabbat* → [tɤaˈbːats] 'she was brought up'

coda _ *l*: *gelʕat-lha* → [ˈgəlʕatlha] 'she stole from her'

d normally voiced alveolar plosive [d], rarely spirantized [ð] is heard:

[d] onset: *daba* → [ˈdɛba] 'now'

coda: *waħed* → [ˈwæħəd] 'one'

intervocalic: *xadem* → [ˈxadəm] 'servant'

[ð] onset: *l-uṛayda* → [luˈɤajðæ] 'the small rose'

ṭ pharyngealized voiceless alveolar plosive [ɫ] in al positions:

onset: *ṭuyuṛ* → [ɫɔˈjuɤ] 'birds'

coda: *ħeṭṭ* → [ħɔɫɫ] 'put!'

intervocalic: *baṭan* → [ˈbɑɫan] 'hero'

ḍ pharyngealized voiced alveolar plosive [ɖ], sometimes spirantized to [ð�] by one informant:

[ɖ] onset: *ḍ-ḍar* → [ɖːaɤ] 'the house'

coda: *beyḍ* → [βajɖ] 'eggs'

intervocalic: *nudi* → [ˈnɔɖi] 'get up' (feminine imperative)

[ð̣]	onset:	*yḍreb* → [jəˈð̣ʁub] 'he hits'
	coda:	*naḍ* → [nað̣] 'he got up'
	intervocalic:	*naḍet* → [ˈnað̣ətˢ] 'she got up'

k   voiceless palato-velar plosive [k] in all positions:

	onset:	*škun* → [ʃkun] 'who' (question particle)
	coda:	*huk* → [huk] 'like that'
	intervocalic:	*haka* → [ˈhɛka] 'here!' (masculine presentative)
		haki → [ˈhɛki] 'here!' (feminine presentative)

occasionally, *k* is found to be aspirated in onset position:

| | onset: | *kuli* → [ˈkʰuli] 'eat!' (feminine imperative) |
| | | *kett* → [kʰət] 'I was' |

g   voiced palato-velar plosive [g] in all positions:

	onset:	*gal* → [gɛl] 'he said'
	coda:	*mneggi* → [məˈnəg:i] 'cleaned'
	intervocalic:	*sagiya* → [ˈsɛgiya] 'drawing water' (feminine ptc)

gʷ   voiced palato-velar plosive with secondary labialization [gʷ], found only in onset position:

| | onset: | *gʷeʕdi* → [ˈgʷɔʕdi] 'sit!' (feminine imperative) |
| | | *tegʷeʕd* → [tˢəˈgʷə̣d] 'she sits' |

q   voiceless uvular plosive [q] in all positions:

	onset:	*ʕqel* → [ʕqɑl] 'mind'
	coda:	*suq* → [suq] 'market'
	intervocalic:	*taqada* → [ˈt̪ʕaqada] 'to be even'

ʔ   glottal stop [ʔ] in all positions:

onset: *ʔelb* → [ˈʔəlb] 'dog'
coda: *rŭʔbat-i* → [ˈrɔʔbatˢi] 'my knee'
intervocalic: *briʔa* → [ˈbriʔa] 'lighter'

f   voiceless labio-dental fricative [f] in all positions:

onset: *fakrun* → [faˈkrun] 'turtle'
coda: *baf* → [bɑf] 'sound-speaker'
intervocalic: *bifan* → [biˈfɛn] 'sound-speakers'

v   voiced labio-dental fricative [v], marginal segment only attested in loans:

onset: *bwaṭ vokal* → [bwat voˈkal] 'voice-mail' (French: *boîte vocale*)
coda: *mov* → [mɔv] 'lilac' (French: *mauve*)

s   voiceless alveolar sibilant [s], found in all positions:

onset: *smit-u* → [ˈsmitˢu] 'his name'
coda: *nas* → [nɛs] 'people'
intervocalic: *namusiya* → [namuˈsija] 'bed'

z   voiced alveolar sibilant [z], found in all positions:

onset: *zeʕma* → [ˈzaʕma] 'that means, that is to say'
coda: *ʕguz* → [ˈʕaguz] 'granny'
intervocalic: *bzazel* → [ˈbzɛzəl] 'breasts'

ṣ   pharyngealized voiceless alveolar sibilant [ṣ], found in all positions:

onset: *ṣbbaṭ-i* → [ṣˈbːɑɬi] 'my shoe'
coda: *ṛaṣ* → [ʁɑṣ] 'head'
intervocalic: txaṣer → [tˢəˈxɑṣːər] 'she spoils'

*ṣ*ʷ pharyngealized voiceless alveolar sibilant with secondary labialization [ṣʷ], found only in onset position:

onset: *ṣʷɣaṛ* → [sʷɣɑɾ] 'small' (plural adjective)

š voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant [ʃ], found in all positions:

onset: *šaf* → [ʃɛf] 'he saw'
coda: *waš* → [wɛʃ] question particle
intervocalic: *šufi* → [ˈʃufi] 'look' (feminine imperative)

ž voiced palato-alveolar sibilant [ʒ], found in all positions:

onset: *žṛana* → [ˈʒɾana] 'frog'
coda: *ž-želliž* → [ʒːəˈlːiʒ] 'the tiles'
intervocalic: *d-džaža* → [ˈdːʒɛʒa] 'the chicken'

x voiceless velar fricative [x], found in all positions:

onset: *xanz* → [xanz] 'polluter' (literally 'one who makes stinky')
coda: *texṣeṛ* → [ˈtˢəxsəɾ] 'she spoils, she looses'
intervocalic: *l-faxer* → [ˌlˈfæxər] 'the coal-man'

xʷ voiceless velar fricative with secondary labialization [xʷ], found only in onset position:

onset: *xʷuṛ* → [xʷɔɾ] 'other'

ɣ voiced velar fricative [ɣ], found in all positions:

onset: *ɣadi* → [ˈɣɛdi] 'is going' (active participle)
coda: *ḍaɣma* → [ˈɖaɣma] 'morsel'
intervocalic: *baɣi* → [ˈbaɣi] 'is wanting' (active participle)

ħ   voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ], found in all positions:

   onset: *ħna* → [ħna] 'we'
   coda: *lbareħ* → [lˈbɛrəħ] 'yesterday'
   intervocalic: *waħed* → [ˈwæħəd] 'one'

ʕ   voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ], found in all positions:

   onset: *ʕayša* → [ˈʕajʃa] 'is living' (ptc feminine)
   coda: *baʕʕdet* → [ˈbaʕ:dɛtˢ] 'she distanced'
   intervocalic: *s-sežžaʕa* → [s:əˈʒ:aʕa] 'courage'

h   voiceled glottal fricative [h], found in all positions:

   onset: *huwa* → [ˈhuwa] 'he'
   coda: *fi-h* → [ˈfih] 'in him'
   intervocalic: *fi-ha* → [ˈfiha] 'in her'

r   voiced alveolar trill [r], found in all positions:

   onset: *rayeħ*   → [ˈrɛjɪħ] 'he rested'
   coda: *ydir* → [jˈdir] 'he does'
   intervocalic: *ʔbira* → [ˈʔbira] 'big' (feminine adjective)

ṛ   pharyngealized voiced alveolar thrill [ɤ], found in all positions:

   onset: *žṛana* → [ˈʒɤana] 'frog'
   coda: *n-nhaṛ* → [n:ˈhaɤ] 'day'
   intervocalic: *bennaṛa* → [bəˈn:aɤa] 'cockscomb'

m   voiced bilabial nasal [m], found in all positions:

   onset: *muš?il* → [ˈmuʃʔɪl] 'problem'
   coda: *ʕam*→ [ʕam] 'year'
   intervocalic: *tamara* → [tˢɛˈmɛra] 'drudgery'

mmʷ   geminate voiced bilabial nasal with secondary labialization [mʷ], found only in onset position:

onset: *mmʷ-i* → [mmʷi] 'my mother'

n   voiced alveolar nasal [n], found in all positions:

onset: *naḍ* → [naḍ] 'he got up'
coda: *zwin* → [zwin] 'beautiful'
intervocalic: *bnina* → [ˈbnina] 'delicious' (female adjective)

w   voiced bilabial approximant [w], found in all positions:

onset: *waħed* → [ˈwaħəd] 'one'
coda: *žaw* → [ʒaw] 'they came'
intervocalic: *iwa* → [ˈʔiwa] 'so, anyway'

y   voiced palatal approximant [j], found in all positions:

onset: *ydir* → [jˈdir] 'he does'
coda: *ʕayša* → [ˈʕajʃa] 'is living' (active participle)
intervocalic: *temmaya* → [tˤəˈmmɛja] 'over there'

l   voiced alveolar lateral approximant [l], found in all positions:

onset: *le-mliħ* → [ləmˈliħ] 'the good' (adjective with article)
coda: *gal* → [gɛl] 'he said'
intervocalic: *ed-derbala* → [əd:ərˈbɛla] 'the rag'

ḷ   pharyngealized voiced alveolar lateral approximant [ɫ], found in all positions:

onset: *bḷaṣa* → [ˈbɫɑsa] 'place, seat'
coda: *sṭaḷ* → [sɬɑɫ] 'bucket'
intervocalic: *yaḷḷah* → [ˈjaɫ:ɑh] 'come on!'

1.2.1 - Notes on the pharyngealized consonants

DUA shares with many other Arabic languages that pharyngealization is a distinctive segmental feature: pharyngealized consonants are opposed to non-pharyngealized consonants. Phrasing it in this way, though, may suggest that pharyngealization is the only difference between these consonants. Although this holds for the *act of pharyngealization*, it is not true for the place of articulation, at least not in the case of DUA. Pharyngealization means retracting the tongue-blade to the back of the pharynx as a secondary articulation to a segment. In the act of bringing the tongue-blade towards the pharynx, the speaker curves his tongue to leave room for the airflow that creates the articulation, and in doing so he can shift the place of articulation from for example the upper teeth to the alveolar or post-alveolar area. This is the case for DUA: *t*, *d* and *s* are usually dental, while *ṭ*, *ḍ* and *ṣ* have the alveolar ridge as place of articulation and the pharynx as place of co-articulation.

1.2.2 - Notes on the labialized consonants

Some consonants in DUA share with MA that they can be pronounced with secondary labialization: the consonant is pronounced with rounded lips. In my data this has only been attested as secondary articulation to *m*, *b*, *g*, *ṣ* and *x*, but that would still be more than in the MA *koine*[15]. Notably, the words that carry labialized consonants often also carry a pharyngealized segment: sometimes on the same consonant and sometimes on another consonant within the word. *b* in DUA *bbʷa* carries no pharyngealization but is labialized, while its cognate in other dialects of MA can carry the pharyngealization without labialization[16]. Also notably, labialization has only been attested for consonants that are either initial or part of an initial consonant cluster.

Labialization in DUA can be analyzed as a reflex of two segments: as a reduction of *w* and as a reflex of historical **u*. As a reduction of *w*, *w* is reduced to a simultaneous pronunciation with the preceding consonant, and has only been attested for *m* in my data. Secondary to *m*, the labialization is only found to replace *w* as the first *root*-segment together with the *m*-prefix of the participle of the derived stems:

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[15] Caubet mentions only a rounded pronunciation of *m* before 'long' vowels, cf. Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 8.

[16] Heath *Dialects*: 192-197.

mwellfa → *mʷellfa* [ˈmʷəl:fa] 'used to ...'

mwaṭiya → *mʷaṭiya* [ˈmʷɑɫija] 'plain'

mweṣṣex → *mʷeṣṣex* [mʷəs:əx] 'dirty'

In addition to the instances mentioned above, this labialization also serves as a reflex of the *etymological* short vowel **u*. This phenomenon has only been attested in my data as secondary articulation to *m*, *b*, *ṣ* and *x*, and appears as such on these consonants in places that would historically be preceded or followed by the vowel **u*. Instances are:

mmʷ-i   (< HA **ʔumm-i*) → [mmʷi] 'my mother'

tegʷeʕd   (< HA **taqʕud*) → [tˢəˈgʷə̰d] 'she sits'

xʷeṛ   (< HA **ʔaxur*) → [xʷɔʁ] 'other'

ṣʷɣaṛ   (< HA **ṣuɣār*) → [sʷɣɑʁ] 'small' (plural adjective)

A word often used by speakers of DUA is *xʷayt-i*, which literally means 'my little sister' but is also commonly used as a sympathetic title to women that are not the speaker's sisters in the literal sense. **xit-i* is its MA cognate. *xʷayt-i* can be analyzed as consisting of two parts: stem *xʷayt* 'little sister' plus pronominal suffix *-i* 'my'. *xʷayt* in itself can be analyzed as a diminutive of *ʔxt* 'sister', *xt* before pronominal suffixes, conforming to the pan-Arabic diminutive pattern $R_1u(R_2)ayR_3$: **xuayti* → *xʷayt-i*.

Since all of the labialized consonants only occur now and then in the data, it is difficult to decide whether they are separate phonemes or not, because it is difficult to find minimal pairs when instances are so scarce. I have, however, found some near minimal pairs, and even one full one, so I have decided to treat the labialized consonants as full phonemes. Some of these pairs are:

xʷra → [xʷʁa]   - *xra* → [xra]   'other' (fsg.)   - 'feces, shit'

xʷayt-i → [ˈxʷaytˢi]   - *xayṭ* → [xayɫ]   'my little sister'   - 'rope, line'

mʷellfa → [ˈmʷəl:fa]   - *melf* → [məlf]   'used to' (fsg.)'   - 'file'

gʷeʕdi → [ˈgʷɔʕdi]   - *gaʕda* → [ˈgɛʕda]   'sit!' (fsg. imp)   - 'sitting' (fsg.)

1.2.3- Phonemic variation and the reflexes of some historical consonants

Dgagʕa Arabic displays considerable variation in it realizations of what could be analyzed as historical consonants. This variation is sometimes idiolectical, that is, speaker-consistent but variable between speakers, and sometimes free, allowing for variation with the same words for the same speaker. Especially the glottal stop pops up in many places, replacing a variety of underlying 'historical' consonants. The distribution of, and interaction between these underlying and surface segments, posed difficulty in the ordering and analysis of my data. In this section I list all variations that I have found in my data, and by referring to the (hypothesized) historical forms I attempt to clarify these phenomena.

1.2.3.1 - *b* as a reflex of **m*

b is commonly attested in DUA as a reflex of **b*, but in some instances also as a reflex of **m*. So far, I have encountered this only in onset position, utterance initial or in sandhi following a consonant, as the first member of a consonant cluster of which the second member is a sibilant. In these very specific contexts however, it happens very consistently and clear. In my quick analysis of this phenomenon, it seems that there is a tendency to leave out the nasality of bilabial [m] if this is immediately followed by a sibilant, and hence becomes a bilabial stop [b]. In the following examples from the data this is what seems to happen:

onset: *bskin* (< MA **meskin*) → [bsəˈkin] 'wretch, poor soul'

                             bša (< MA **mša*) → [bʃa] 'he went'

                             bsalxayr (< HA **msāʔ l-xayr*) → [bsəlˈxajr] 'good evening'

                             bšeʔla (< MA **mšeʕla*) → [ˈbʃaʔla] 'lighting'

1.2.3.2 - *g* and the reflexes of **ǧ* and **q*

DUA shares with other MA dialects that the reflex of HA **ǧ* is [g] before sibilants in the same word. An analysis of this phenomenon is that **ǧ* is etymologically an affricate, and that its reflex dissimilates before sibilants by shedding its sibilant affricate release[17]. DUA also shares with other MA dialects that both [g] and [q] are found to be lexically determined

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[17] Heath *Dialects*: 136; Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 12.

reflexes of what corresponds to HA *q. However, there seems to be idiolectical variation with regards to this process: some speakers have [g] in words where other MA dialects also have [g] as a reflex of *q, other speakers have either [q] or [ʔ] in those places, and have [g] only as a reflex of *ǧ before sibilants. In this case the variation cuts across both speaker groups. Instances of *g* hence are:

refl. of *q:	onset:	*gal* (< HA *qāl) → [gɛl] 'he said'
	coda:	*mneggi* (< HA *mnqqī) → [meneggi] 'cleaned'
	intervocalic:	*sagiya* (< HA *sāqīya) → [ˈsɛgiya] 'drawing water'

| refl. of *ǧ _ sibilants: | onset: | *glest* (< HA*ǧlst)→ [gləstˢ] 'I sat' |
| | intervocalic: | *ʕguz* (< HA *ʕǧūz) → [ʕaˈguz] 'granny' |

1.2.3.3 - ʔ and the reflexes of *ʔ, *k, *q, and *h

ʔ is attested in DUA as a reflex of a number of historical consonants. However, considerable variation is present: DUA allows for variation between the different speakers of the community, as well as free variation by one single speaker, pronouncing the same word differently at different instances.

As a reflex of *ʔ, ʔ is found almost exclusively in onset position, and mostly appears in the data in words that are associated with Standard Arabic. Examples are:

onset:	*ʔana* (< HA *ʔnā) → [ˈʔɛna] 'I'
	ʔaman (< HA *ʔmān) → [ˈʔɛmɛːn] 'security, safeguarding'
	ʔarḍ (< HA *ʔrḍ) → [ʔɑʁɖ] 'earth, soil'
coda:	*smaʔ* (< HA *smāʔ) → [smɛʔ] 'heaven, sky'
intervocalic:	*le-ʔaflam* (< MSA * al-ʔaflām) → [ləʔaˈflɛm] 'the movies'

As a reflex of *k, DUA allows for idiolectical variation: some, but not all, speakers from group A have almost exclusively [ʔ] in places where other speakers of group A would have almost exclusively [k]. *Khalti* Fatna (speaker group B) never has [ʔ] for *k*, always pronouncing [k] instead. Interestingly though, for speakers that do glottalize, this glottal replacement is so complete, that it is found in all positions and in all word classes:

(pro-)nouns, verbs, and even grammatical items. As it is one of the more distinctive features of this dialect compared to other Arabic dialects to my knowledge, I asked my informants about this phenomenon on many occasions. All of them, both [k]-sayers and [ʔ]-sayers, answered that it is due to a speech defect. [ʔ]-sayers were said to be *gerwaṭ*, a word which is also used for stutterers, and were thought to have a short tongue. My pointing to the facts that about half of the community were [ʔ]-sayers and that most of them were capable of producing sounds that are at least as difficult to produce when it comes to tongue-length, like [q], did not change their analysis and sometimes led to ridiculization of my alternative, linguistic explanation. I will list some instances of [ʔ] as reflex of *k* in different positions and in different word-classes:

onset:
ʔelb (< MA *kelb*) → [ʔəlb] 'dog' (noun)

ʔent (< MA *kent*) → [ʔəntˢ] 'I was' (verb)

ʔliti (< MA *kliti*) → [ˈʔlitˢi] 'you ate' (verb)

šʔun (< MA *škun*) → [ʃʔun] 'who' (question particle)

ʔell (< MA *kell*) → [ʔəlː] 'all' (quantifier)

ʔbir (< MA *kbir*) → [ʔbir] 'big' (adjective)

ʔħen (< MA *kħel*) → [ʔħən] 'black' (colour adjective)

ʔent ʔa-nžmeʕ (< MA *kent ka-nžmeʕ*) → [ʔəntˢ ʔanˈʒəmʕ] 'I was tidying' (grammatical particle)

coda:
reʔbt-i (MA *rekbat-i*) → [ˈrɔʔbtˢi] 'my knee' (noun)

breʔ (< MA *brek*) → [briʔ] 'press' (verb)

turʔi (< MA *turki*) → [ˈtˢurʔi] 'Turkish' (adjective)

diʔ (< MA *dik*) → [diʔ] 'that' (dependent feminine demonstrative pronoun)

hadaʔ (< MA *hadak*) → [ˈhɛdɛʔ] 'that' (independent masculine demonstrative pronoun)

huʔ (< MA *huk*) → [huʔ] 'like this' (manner adverb)

ndebħ-eʔ (< MA *ndebħ-ek*) → [ˈndəbħəʔ] 'I kill you' (pronominal suffix)

intervocalic:
mšaʔel (< MA *mšakel*) → [ˈmšɛʔəl] 'problems' (noun)

briʔa (< MA *brika* < French briquet) → [ˈbriʔa] 'lighter' (noun: loan)

feʔʔer (< MA *fekker*) → [ˈfəʔʔər] 'think' (verb)

walaʔen (< MA *walakin*) → [waˈlɛʔɪ] 'but' (coördinator)

As a reflex of *q, the glottal stop is very unstable: speakers who have g as a common reflex of *q seem to have q often as the other reflex, and rarely produce ʔ as a reflex of *q. For the informants who usually did not use g as a reflex of *q, ʔ is more often heard as a reflex of *q, although both groups allow for free variation. A hypothesis for further analysis could be that one group as a rule replaces all velar stops, both voiced and voiceless, for glottal stops, except some very frequent items, while the uvular stops are retained. This would explain the prevalence of phrases such as: *te-yebqa yʔul-lha* 'he kept on saying to her': *q in MA is > q ~ g, in DUA g > ʔ, at least for part of speakers group A. However, also heard is: *lʔat* 'she found' from a speaker from speaker group A versus *lqayt* 'I found' from speaker B. For the time being I cannot conclude more than that there seems to be both idiolectical and free variation. Further instances:

onset: ʔtel (< MA *qtel) → [ʔtˢəl] 'he killed'

               ʔelt (< MA *qelt ~ gelt) → [ʔəltˢ] 'I said

               yeʕʔed-ha (< MA *yeʕqed-ha ~ yeʕged-ha) → [yəˈʔɪdha] 'he tied her'

coda: ħreʔ-ha (< MA *ħreq-ha ~ ħreg-ha) → [ħɑˈrɪʔha] 'he burnt her'

As a reflex of *h, the glottal stop is attested only a few times and only in instances concerning a variant of the third person feminine pronoun, which might indicate an allomorphic variation. Instances are: *ma-šaf-ʔa-š* (< MA *ma-šaf-ha-š) → [mɛʃɛfˈʔɛʃ] 'he didn't see her' and *ʔiya* (< MA *hiya) → [ˈʔija] 'she'.

1.2.3.4 - ʔ and ʕ and the reflexes of *ʕ

As a reflex of *ʕ, ʔ shows again a lot of variation in DUA. In general the reflex of *ʕ seems to involve a certain level of glottal closure and tongue root retraction. Depending on the position in the word, adjacent segments, and allowing for a significant level of free variation, *ʕ can be realized as a pharyngeal fricative (that means fully retracted tongue root and no glottal closure), as a backing of the adjacent vowel (slightly retracted tongue root without glottal closure), as a glottal stop with backing of the adjacent vowel (glottal closure and slightly retracted tongue root) or as a glottal stop only (glottal closure). There are some indications for contextual factors influencing the realization of *ʕ, although none of them seems to be absolutely decisive. ʔ is attested as a reflex of *ʕ in the following examples:

onset:	l-ʔešš (< MA *l-ʕešš) → [əlˈʔəʃː] 'the nest'
	ʔayni-ya (< MA *ʕayni-ya) → [ʔayˈniyə] 'my eyes'
coda:	bšaʔla (< MA *mšeʕla) → [ˈbʃaʔla] 'lighting'
	seʔd-i (< MA *seʕd-i) → [ˈsaʔdi] 'my fortune'

*ʕ is also realized as ʕ as mentioned above and often *ʕ is reduced to only a backing of the adjacent vowel, sometimes with a schwa-like glide and usually accompanied by creaky voice:

onset:	tegʷeʕd (< MA * tegʕed) → [təˈgʷə̰d] 'she sits'
	‿l-mʕez (< MA *l-mʕez) → [‿lˈma̰ːz] 'the goats'
coda:	šbeʕ (< MA *šbeʕ) → [ʃba̰] 'he was satisfied'
	bla ʕdem (< MA *bla ʕdam) → [blɛ a̰ˈdɑm] 'without bone'

1.1.2.5 - *n* as a reflex of **l* and *l* as a reflex of **n*

n is usually a reflex of **n* in DUA. However, *n* also corresponds to **l* quite regularly. Also the opposite is heard: *l* as a reflex of **n*, be it only a few times. Both phenomena have only been so far in word-initial and –final position, mostly word-final:

*n < *l*

| w-initial: | lʕam (< MSA/ MA *nʕam) → [lʕæm] 'yes' |

*l < *n*

w-initial:	ne-mra (< MA *le-mra) → [nəˈmra] 'the woman'
w-final:	baṭṭan (< MSA *baṭṭal) → [ˈbɑɫan] 'hero'
	qten (< MA *qtel) → [qtən] 'he fought, he killed'
	ṭfen (< MA/ MSA *ṭfel) → [tfən] 'child'
	zben (< MA *zbel) → [zbən] 'garbage'
	ʔħen (< MA *kħel) → [ʔħən] 'black'
	le-mšaʔen (< MA *le-mšakel) → [lˈmʃæʔən] 'the problems'

Intervocalic *l*'s are pronounced [l], and the word *baṭṭal* 'hero' is also attested with the feminine ending –a, then it is pronounced [bɑˈɬːɑla], suggesting that the shift is partly predictable, or at least that its absence is predictable in intervocalic position.

2 - The vowels

In order to come to a meaningful description of the vocalic system of DUA, it is important to note some important developments concerning the distinctions in the vocalic system *vis-a-vis* Moroccan Arabic and its predecessors.

2.1 - Remarks on vowel length

In Dgagʕa Arabic, length is not a useful distinctive segmental feature for vowels, a characteristic it shares with other Moroccan Arabic dialects[18]. Vowels can be pronounced longer or shorter, but length is prosodically motivated, not lexically encoded per se. This means that for the analysis of the vocalic system of DUA, it is not useful to speak of short vs. long vowels, since length is not distinctive in this aspect. There is, however, a clear distinction between what could be analyzed as the reflexes of the proto-dialectal or historical long vowels *ī, *ū and *ā on the one hand, and the reflex(es) of the historical short vowels *i, *u and *a on the other. This distinction shows itself in vowel quality and the behavior of these phonemes in different syllabic environments, and sometimes also in length. To reflect the opposition in these two sets of vowels, I will speak of *plain* vs. *short* vowels in my analyses, having noted that these names are chosen for pragmatic reasons (in Maghrebinist tradition), not referring to their respective lengths *per se*. Given these complexities, I have chosen to mark vowel length by the colon [:] in the phonetic transcriptions only when the vowel is pronounced significantly long.

2.2 - The vocalic system of DUA and the reflexes of Moroccan and pre-dialectal Arabic vowels

The main distinctions between plain and short vowels in the vocalic system of DUA, apart from their qualitative differences, are:

- The plain vowels are normally pronounced half-long, but can easily be pronounced short or very long (see my point at the beginning of this paragraph);
- The short vowels are normally pronounced short, but are frequently lengthened to half-long or long if prosodic context requires that;

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[18] cf. Heath, *Dialects*: 187 - 192. Caubet however, disagrees for the *koine*, cf. Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 23.

- The plain vowels do not *syncope*, that is, they are normally not deleted in any syllabic contexts;
- A short vowel does syncope in certain syllabic contexts: it can be elided if the syllabic structure of a word or morpheme is altered and it is placed in an open syllable. Short vowels do normally not occur word-finally.

Some MA dialects have vowel inventories that can differ in details from the set of vowels of DUA: the differences can be reflected in the number of short vowels that can be analyzed as phonemes in the dialect under study[19]. Jeffrey Heath, in particular, made a useful comparative analysis of the vocalic systems of several MA dialects, stating that "... a typical mainstream MA vocalic system contains three plain vowels *i a u* and at least one short vowel *ə*, perhaps also a second short vowel phoneme *ŭ* (if not interpreted as *ə* combined with consonantal labialization).[20]" DUA then, can be classified as quite 'typical mainstream' with regards to its vocalic system.

The reflexes of the proto-long-vowels are quite stable in DUA: they appear in the slots where they are to be expected from a comparative point of view, and their pronunciation is stable, taken allophonic variation into account. These reflexes are the plain vowels *i*, *u* and *a*.

The reflexes of the proto-short-vowels are less stable: if there is any reflex at all, the reflex is *schwa* or a schwa-like vowel in most cases, not carrying stress and liable to syncope. Variation in the pronunciation is in most cases allophonic, however not in all cases. The reflex of **i* is usually *e*, phonetically almost always [ə], sometimes [ɪ].The reflex of **u* is often *ŭ*, sometimes *e*, which, depending on context, can both be phonetically [u] or [ɔ], and sometimes labialization of a consonant. For the vowel *ŭ* I have attested some minimal pairs, and I will therefore count it as a separate phoneme. The reflex of **a* is sometimes the plain vowel *a*, phonetically [a] or [ɑ], like in *rbaʕ* [rbaʕ] 'four', but in most other cases its reflex is *e*, which may have [a] or [ɑ] as its allophones in surroundings close to back or pharyngealized consonants, like in *šeṭṭebt* [ˈʃɑƚːɑbt] 'I swept'; *ʕqel → [ʕqɑl] 'mind'; *šaʕr* [ʃaʕr]. I have not been able to find a short vowel reflex of **a*. The total number of common DUA phonemic vowels is hence five:

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[19] Heath *Dialects*: 187; Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 16.
[20] Heath, *Dialects*: 187.

DUA vowel phonemes:

	front	*central*	*back*
close	*i*		*u - ŭ*
mid		*e*	
open	*a*		

In addition to these common vowels, *o* is a marginal phoneme attested in loans, as in: *bogos* 'beautiful person' *bogos* (French: *beau gosse*) and *parabor* 'satellite dish' (French: *parabol*).

2.3 - Some minimal pairs isolating the phonemic vowels

To demonstrate the contrastivity of the vowels of DUA, I will first provide some minimal pairs isolating them:

2.3.1 - Plain vowels

a – u	*šaf – šuf*	'he saw' – 'look!' (imp. msg.)
	ḍaṛ - ḍuṛ	'house' – turn!' (imp. msg.)
	bal – bul	'he urinated' – 'urine'

a – i	*ʔbar – ʔbir*	'big' (pl.) – 'big' (msg.)
	dda – ddi	'he took' – 'take!' (imp. msg/ f.)
	ža – ži	'he came' – 'side'

i – u	*hadi – hadu*	'this one' (dem. prox. fsg.) – 'these ones' (dem. prox. pl.)
	diʔ - duʔ	'that' (dem. adj. rem. fsg.) – 'those' (dem. adj. rem. pl.)
	ila – ula	'if' (cond.) – 'or'

2.3.2. - Short vowels

ŭ – e	*ħŭll – ħell*	'open!' (imp. msg.) – 'he opened'
	dxŭl - dxel	'enter!' (imp. msg.) – 'he entered'
	xrŭž - xrež	'go out!' (imp. msg.) – 'he went out'

2.4 - The quality of the plain vowels: *i, u* and *a.*

As mentioned above for all vowels, length can vary strongly. Vowel-initial utterances are usually preceded by [ʔ], so I will only provide examples of word-medial and –final vowel attestations.

i is usually pronounced [i] in all positions:

word-medially:	*msisi* → [m̩ˈsisi] 'birdy'
closed syllable:	*walidin* → [wæliˈdin] 'the parents; ancestors'
word-finally:	*hadi* → [ˈhɛdi] 'that' (demonstrative pronoun)

In final syllables, *i* can be pronounced [iʲ] with a diphthong glide [˗ʲ]:

> *ma-ʕežbaniy-š* → [mɛˈʕəʒbɛniʲʃ] 'I don't like it' (lit.: 'it does not please me'); *rbbi* → [r̩ˈbːiʲ] 'God'

Occasionally, in non-final syllables following the pharyngealized alveolar *ṭ*, *i* is lowered to [ɪ] or [e], but often remains [i] after other pharyngealized consonants:

> *yʕaṭi-ha* → [jᵊaˈɫeha] 'he gives her'
> *ṣiru* → [ˈsiru] 'go!' (imperative plural); *nuḍi* → [ˈnɔdi] 'get up!'(imperative feminine)

In rapid speech, *i* can be pronounced similar to the middle vowel *e*, that is phonetically [ə] or [ɪ], but unlike the short vowel *e*, it can appear word-finally:

word-medially:	*hiya* → [hɪˈya] 'she'
word-finally:	*xella-ni* → [xɑˈlːɛnə] 'he left me'

u in neutral environments, that is, not adjacent to uvular, pharyngeal or pharyngealized consonants, is usually pronounced [u], though [o] is also regularly heard:

word-medially:	*el-genbura* → [əlgən'bura] 'the jar'
	l-yuma → ['ljoma] 'today'
closed syllable:	*fakrun* → [fɑk'run] 'turtle' (MA **fekrun*)
	munt-ha → ['montˢha] 'her diet, her standard meal'
word-finally:	*galu* → ['gɛlu] 'they said'
	gat-lu → ['gɛtlo] 'she said to him'

Adjacent to velars, uvulars, pharyngeals and pharyngealized consonants, *u* is often backed and lowered to [ɔ]:

word-medially:	*l-ɣula* → [l'ɣɔla] 'the ogre'; *nuḍi* → ['nɔđi] 'get up!'(imperative feminine)
closed syllable:	*quqʕu* → [qɔ.'qʕu:] 'cock-a-doodle-doo' (onomatopoeia); *ḍuṛ* → [đɔɼ] 'go around, search!' (imperative)
word-finally:	*yṭayħu* → [jə'ɬejħɔ] 'they fall, they stumble';*ṛaṣ-u* → ['ɼasɔ] 'his head'

In closed and open syllables, *u* can be pronounced [uʷ] or [ɔʷ], with a diphthong glide [-ʷ]:

final syllable:	*el-menquš* → [əlmʌn'quʷʃ] 'the cracked'
non-final syllable:	*bubet* → ['buʷbətˢ] 'she pushed aside'
non-final syllable:	*šuken ɣayla* → ['ʃɔʷkən 'ɣajla] (type of) 'thistle'

In one instance, this diphthongization carried so far to even add a syllable:

MA **l-farruž* → *l-farruwež* → [lfa'r:uwəʒ] 'the rooster'

a is usually pronounced [ɛ], sometimes further fronted to [ɛ̧], everywhere except word-finally, in closed, non-final syllables or adjacent to a uvular, pharyngeal or pharyngealized

consonant. Compared to some other MA dialects DUA thus has a strong *imala*[21], that is: fronted pronunciation of *a*. Rarely, *a* is pronounced [a] in these positions:

open syll., word-medially: *žellaba* → [ʒəˈlːɛba] 'robe'

l-kwanen → [lkwɛ̣nən] 'the stoves'

daba → [ˈdaba] 'now'[22]

mono-syllabic: *bla* → [blɛ] 'without'

ʕŭgab → [ʕugɛ̣ːb] 'eagle'

Adjacent to non-backing consonants, in closed syllables and word-finally, *a* is usually backed to [a] and sometimes [æ]:

Closed non-final syllable: *waxxa* → [ˈwaxːa] 'okay'

word-finally: *hiya* → [ˈhija] 'she'

gal-lha → [ˈgɛlhæ] 'he said to her'

Adjacent to uvular, pharyngeal or pharyngealized consonants, *a* is backed to [ɑ] word-medially, but is not backed further than [a] word-finally:

word-medially: *ḍfaṛ-i* → [ˈɖfɑʁi] 'my nails';

ž-žṛana → [ˈʒːʁana] 'the frog'

word-finally: *mšebħa* → [ˈmʃəbha] 'laid down'; *ˌl-mftaħa* → [ˌlmfˈtˤaħa] 'the small needle'

2.5 - The quality of the short vowels

Both short vowels in DUA are subject to syncope, a process of structure-induced elision that will be dealt with in section 3.2.3.2. For the description of the environments of the short vowels, this means that they only occur in closed syllables, although occasional exceptions to this process do appear in the data. The short vowels do not appear word-finally, though phonetically [ə] can appear as a reduced reflex of *i* and *a* in fast speech. As mentioned above, the short vowels are in part the reflexes of the historical short vowels **i*, **u* and **a*. The

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[21] Heath *Dialects*: 188; Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 21.

[22] Both [ˈdaba] in fast speech and [ˈdɛba] can be heard.

reflex of HA *i* and *a* is merged to *e*, the reflex of HA *u* is sometimes *ŭ,* sometimes *e* and sometimes labialization of a consonant. *e* can however also be a result of anaptyxis: schwa insertion in the process of resyllabification, and can in some cases also be traced back to a reduction of one of the historical long vowels. These processes will also be dealt with in detail in part 3.

e is usually the central-mid vowel [ə] in neutral environments, that is, not adjacent to uvular, pharyngeal and pharyngealized consonants and the like:

> *le-mra* → [ləˈmra] 'the woman'; *we* → [wə] 'and'; *el-genbura* → [əlgənˈbura] 'the jar'; *l-kwanen* → [lkwᶒnən] 'the stoves'

Some consonants have a fronting effect on the central-mid vowel: following bilabials, some coronals, and the approximant *y*, *e* is sometimes fronted to [ɪ]:

> *neyybet-hum* → [nejˈbɪthum] 'she scolded them'; *ysafer* → [jˈsɛfɪr] 'he travels'
> *želdet-ha* → [ʒɪlˈdɪtˢha] 'her skin'
> *yhallel* → [jˈhɛlːɪl] 'he recites the *shehada* (Muslim profession of faith)'
> *derti* → [ˈdɪr.tˢi] 'you did'
> *yerbeħ* → [jɪrbaħ] 'he wins'; *žeyyef* → [ˈʒəjːɪf] 'he strangled'; *reyyeħ* → [ˈrəjːɪħ] 'rest!' (imperative)

gedd → [gɪdː] 'like, as'; *geddged* → [ˈgɪdːəgɪdː] 'alike' and *gedd-kŭm* → [ˈgɪdːəkum] 'like you (pl.) are the only examples of *e* pronounced as [ɪ] following a velar, but does so consistently.

Other consonants have a backing and/ or lowering effect on schwa: adjacent to velar, uvular, pharyngeal and, *e* is often pronounced [ʌ] or [a], but not always:

> *myemyema* → [mˈɣʌmɣʌma] 'disguised'
> *nyenni-k* → [nɣəˈnːik] 'I make you rich'
> *ʕqel* → [ʕqɑl] 'mind'
> *qətlet* → [ˈqatˢlətˢ] 'she killed'
> *ṭħenti* → [ˈɬħʌntˢi] 'you grinded'
> *l-lħem* → [lːħəm] 'the meat'

In the vicinity of pharyngealized consonants, *e* is virtually always [ɑ]:

> *tšeṭṭeb* → ['tʃɑt:ab] 'she sweeps'; *ħsen* → [ħsan] 'better'; *ɣḍeb* → [ɣdab] 'he became angry'; *ḥṛeb* → [hɾab] 'he fled'

Adjacent to ʕ, *e* can also be pronounced [a] or can merge with ʕ to become a backed, half-long [ạ] with retracted tongueroot (see 1.1.2.4), but it can also stay [ə]:

> *smeʕna* → ['smaʕna] 'we heard'; *ʕeḍm-u* → ['ʕadmu] 'his bone'
> *šbeʕ* (< MA *šbeʕ) → [ʃbạ] 'he was satisfied'
> *bla ʕḍem* (< MA *bla ʕḍam) → [blɛ ạ'dam] 'without bone'
> *el-ʕers* → [əl'ʕərs] 'the wedding'; *le-mwaʕen* → [ləm'waʕən] 'the dishes'

ŭ is usually [u], but can be lowered to [ɔ], although this is also heard after *r* and *f,* which are not usually lowering consonants:

> *ṭ-ṭuyuṛ* → [t:u'juɾ] 'the birds'; *el-mŭšʔel* → [əl.'muʃ.ʔəl] 'the problem'; *kŭll* → [kul:] 'all'
> *ħŭbb* → [ħɔb:] 'love'; *wŭsṭ* → [wɔst] 'middle'
> *yexrŭž* → [jə'xrɔʒ] 'he exists'; *fumm-u* → ['fɔm:u] 'his mouth'

2.6 - Diphthongs

DUA systematically has diphthongal reflexes of the historical diphthongs *ay* and *aw*, also in closed syllables where most other MA dialects have monophthongs[23]. A few exceptions, monophthongal reflexes, are heard. *ay* is usually phonetically [aj], sometimes this is raised to [ej]. *aw* is usually phonetically [aw], sometimes this is raised to [ew] or [əw]. The diphthongal reflexes are found in all word-classes where they may emerge:

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[23] Heath *Dialects*: 197-199.

ay is found in nouns:

open syllable: *ṭayra* → [ˈ ɫajra] 'bird'; *xayma* → [xajma] '(parental) house' *ʔayni-ya* → [ʔajni-yə] 'my eyes'

closed syllable: *el-xayl* → [əlˈxajl] 'the horses' (collective) (MA **el-xil*)

ħayṭ → [ħajɫ] 'wall' (MA **ħiṭ*)

l-bayḍ → [lbajḍ] 'the eggs' (collective) (MA **l-biḍ*)

l-ɣayṣ → [əlˈɣajṣ] 'the mud' (MA **el-ɣiṣ*)

In diminutive nouns, where some other MA dialects[24] also have diphthongal [aj]:

ṭfayl → [ɫfajl] 'little child'; *ṭŭwayrat* → [ɫuˈwajrætˢ] 'little birds'; *xʷayt-i* → [ˈxʷajtˢi] 'my little sister'

Also for adjectives, *ay* is pronounced in both open and closed syllables:

open syllable: *zayna* → [ˈzajna] 'beautiful' (sgf)
closed syllable: *ɣlayḍ* → [ɣleʲḍ] 'fat'

Also for perfective verbs of the *tertiae infirmae*, with *a* as final stem vowel, *ay* is heard when a consonant-initial inflectional suffix is added:

bqayti → [ˈbqajtˢi] 'you stayed'; *bɣayti* → [bɣajˈtˢi] 'you wanted'; *ddayt-ha* → [ˈdːejtˢha] 'I took her'; *xrayti* → [ˈxrajtˢi] 'you pooped' (to a toddler).

DUA shares with other MA dialects that the active participle of *media infirmae* verbs has the *ay* diphthong in their core:

dayra → [ˈdajra] 'doing' (sgf); *šayf-ha* → [ˈʃajfha] 'seeing her' (sgm)

Imperatives of verbs *tertiae infirmae* also have the *ay* diphthong in DUA:

thallay → [ˈthalːaj] 'take care of!' (sgm./ f.); *ensay* → [ənˈsaj] 'wait' (sgm./ f.)

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[24] Heath *Dialects*: 314; Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 26-27.

ay is also heard in prepositions and other grammatical items:

prepositions: *kay* → [kaj] 'like'; *ɣay* → [ɣaj] 'only, just'
coordinator: *ħayt* → [ħajtˤ] 'because, since'
question particle: *fayn* → [fejn] 'where?'

In a few cases, an underlying *i* was found to be diphthongized in imperfective verbs, always in the final syllable:

*nneqqi → nneqqay → [nːəqqaj] 'I clean'; **ʕa-ndir → ʕa-ndayr →* [ʕandajr] 'I will do'

ay as a reflex of the historical diphthong is not completely stable though: both *zin* and *zayn* are heard for 'beauty'.

The second diphthong present in DUA is *aw*, phonetically [aw] or [əw], and can in most cases be analyzed as a reflex of the historical diphthong **aw*. This reflex is somewhat less complete: *yum* → [jom] being the normal pronunciation for historical **yawm.* Some examples are:

particle: *hawkak* → [ˈhawkɛk] 'like that' (although *hukak* is heard more often)
nouns: *qawm* → [qawm] 'resistence'
             ʔawli → [ˈʔawli] 'saint'
             tawb → [tˢawb] 'fabric'
             žaw → [ʒaw] 'wheather'
             zewž-i → [ˈzəwʒi] 'my husband'
verb impf.: *yewṣel* → [ˈjəwsəl] 'he arrives'
verbs prf: *byaw* → [bɣaw] 'they wanted'
             mšaw → [mʃaw] 'they left'
verb ptc: *mewžud* → [məwˈʒud] 'present'

3 – Phonological processes

This chapter is a description of the rules by which DUA's segments combine to form words and syllables.

3.1 - Intersegmental coordination

In this section I outline the processes of assimilation in DUA. Assimilation can happen in different ways and in different situations. Assimilation can be partial: when a segment assimilates only in one (or more) of the distinctive features of the segment it assimilates with. Assimilation can also be complete: this happens when a segment is merged with the segment it assimilates with. Partial assimilation in DUA happens through assimilation in the features voice, pharyngealization and/ or place. In general, assimilation of voice is regressive while pharyngealization spreads both ways, sometimes even over syllable boundaries. Assimilation happens when one segment comes in contact with another segment. This contact can be a result of the joining of morphemes within word-boundaries or of the joining of words in a sentence. To sketch the processes of assimilation in DUA, I describe in which situations segments assimilate, how they assimilate and provide examples for each situation.

3.1.1 - Affixal assimilation

When an affix is added to a word stem, the adjoining segments sometimes assimilate completely or partially. The consonant of the stem may assimilate to the affix, sometimes vice versa. Depending on whether a prefix or suffix is added and whether stem or affix assimilates, the assimilation can hence be progressive or regressive. Progressive assimilation occurs when the following segment assimilates to the preceding segment, and regressive assimilation is the mirror of that process.

Partial affixal regressive assimilation

happens when the preceding consonant assimilates to the following consonant in one or more features, without assimilating completely with that segment. For affixes this has been observed more often than partial progressive assimilation in my data:

z + *t*	→	[st]:	**dazt*	→ [dɛst]	'she passed'
ʕ + *h*	→	[ħh]:	** yeṭbeʕ-ha*	→ [jəˈɫəbəħha]	'he follows her'
ž + *t*	→	[ʃt]:	**xrežti*	→ [ˈxrəʃtˢi]	'you went out'
t + *z*	→	[dz]:	** tzŭwwež*	→ [ˈdzuw:əʒ]	'he was married'

Full affixal regressive assimilation

happens when a preceding consonant assimilates fully to a following consonant. Underlyingly, the resulting segment may be double, but that is not always the case phonetically in rapid speech. Examples are:

l + *n*	→	[n]:	**dyal-na*	→ [ˈdjɛn:a]	'of us, our'
t + *d*	→	[d]:	**tdir*	→ [d:ir]	'she does'
t + *ṭ*	→	[ɫ]:	**tṭḥen*	→ [ɫ:ħən]	'she grinds'

Most of the above examples can be observed several times in my data. Only in slow or careful speech the assimilations may not occur.

In addition to the regular and systematic assimilations mentioned above, there are a few instances of assimilations that are probably historic, pertrified assimilations. These assimilations do not hold as a rule (*l* + *t* does not always become *t*), but do happen regularly for the verbs listed below, which can hence be seen as irregular conjugations:

l + *t*	→	[tˢ]:	**galt*	→ [gɛtˢ]	'she said'
n + *t*	→	[tˢ]:	**kenti*	→ [kəˈtˢi]	'you were'
f + *t*	→	[tˢ]:	**šeftu*	→ [ʃəˈt:u]	'you saw' (pl)
f + *n*	→	[n]:	**šefna*	→ [ˈʃən:a]	'we saw'

3.1.2 - Assimilation over word-boundaries

The same mechanisms of assimilation can apply over word boundaries: when two words are adjacent, that is, being pronounced in fluent speech after each other, the last consonant of the first word may assimilate to the initial consonant of the second word in certain cases. These assimilations may be partial or complete. Where progressive assimilation is rare between affixes and stems, it is not attested at all in sandhi.

Partial regressive assimilation over word-boundaries

has been observed a couple of times, most notably in constructions involving *ulad ...* 'children ...', where *d* of the first noun assimilates in voice and/ or secondary pharyngealization with the first consonant of the second noun. Examples are:

d + ṣ	→	[ɫ̣s]:	*ulad ‿ṣ-ṣalaṭin* → [uˈlaɫ̣ ‿ˈsːalatin]	'sons of sultans'
d + ṣ	→	[ɫ̣s]:	*ulad ‿ṣʷɣaṛ* → [əˈlːɛɫ̣ ‿sʷˈɣɑʁ]	'small children'

Full regressive assimilation over word-boundaries

is the most common form of assimilation in sandhi. Also in full assimilation over word boundaries, the resulting consonant is not always long phonetically. Examples are:

n + l	→	[l]:	*men ‿l-xayma*	→ [mə ‿lˈxajma]	'out of the house'
			škun ‿lli	→ [ʃku ‿lːi]	'who is the one that...'
d + l	→	[l]:	*waħed ‿l-blad*	→ [ˈwaħə ‿lːˈblɛd]	'a country'
			had ‿l-bent	→ [ha ‿lˈbəntˢ]	'that girl'
n + s	→	[s]:	*men ‿s-sma?*	→ [mə ‿sːmɛ?]	'from the sky'
d + ṣ	→	[s]:	*waħed ‿ṣŭlṭan*	→ [ˈwaħɛ ‿sːəlˈtan]	'a sultan'
d + ṣ	→	[s]:	*weld ‿ṣŭlṭan*	→ [wəl ‿sːəlˈtan]	'son of the sultan'
n + ḍ	→	[ḍ]:	*men ‿d-ḍar*	→ [mə ‿dːaʁ]	'from the house'
n + ṛ	→	[ʁ]:	*men ‿ṛebbat-u*	→ [me ‿rːəbːɛtˢu]	'when she raised him'
d + n	→	[n]:	*waħed ‿n-nhaṛ*	→ [waħə ‿nːhɑʁ]	'one day'
d + ṭ	→	[t]:	*waħed ‿ṭfayl*	→ [waħə ‿tːfayl]	'a small child'
d + t	→	[tˢ]:	*ʕawed ‿tani*	→ [ʕawə ‿tˢɛni]	'again'

3.1.3 - Assimilation within the word

A number of words are regularly pronounced with what could be analyzed as assimilation within the word stem. In all cases it is the assimilation of pre-final *n* to the word-final coronal consonant. For the examples below, these forms (without *n*) are more common than the underlying forms with *n* that can be observed in other (Moroccan) Arabic languages. Only in slow speech one might hear *n*. In my view these forms must hence be analyzed as the new standard for DUA. Examples are:

n +t	→	[tˢ]:	*bent	→ [bətˢ]	'girl, daughter'	
			*nti	→ [tˢːi]	'you' (fsg)	
			*nta	→ [tˢːa]	'you' (msg)	
n + d	→	[dː]	*ʕend-i	→ [ˈʕadːi]	'with me: I have'	

As can be seen from the examples above, assimilation in all of the categories mostly involve the (partial) merging of two consonants that are already produced at, or close to, the same place of articulation, mostly coronal consonants at the upper teeth or alveolar ridge.

3.1.4 - Assimilation and the definite article *l*

Like most Arabic languages, DUA has a separate rule for assimilation of the definite article to the first consonant of its head-noun. The underlying form of the definite article is *l-*, as in other MA dialects. The article is attached to the left side of the noun ('before the noun') and usually syllabifies as part of the noun. When attached to any of the following noun-initial consonants, the article assimilates fully to that consonant: *d, ṭ, ḍ, t, s, z, ṣ, š, ž, r, ṛ,* and *n*. Some examples are:

article + *ž*	*l-žṛana*	→	*ž-žṛana*	[ˈʒːɤana]	'the frog'	
+ *ṭ*	*l-ṭuyuṛ*	→	*ṭ-ṭŭyuṛ*	[ˈƫːuyuɤ]	'the birds'	
+ *n*	*l-neʕža*	→	*n-neʕža*	[n̩ˈɛˀʒa]	'the goat'	

article + *b*	*l-bekri*	→		[lbəˈkri]	'the past'	
+ *g*	*l-genbura*	→		[lgənˈbura]	'the stove'	
+ *ɣ*	*le-ɣlem*	→		[ləˈɣləm]	'the sheep'	

This assimilation rule is not a general rule in DUA: it only holds for the article. The preposition *l* 'to' is homomorphic to the article *l-*, but does not assimilate, hence:

prep *l* + *ḍ*   *l-ḍaṛ-ek*   →   [lˈɗɑʁək]   'to your house'

       + *ž*   *ṣir el-ž-žifa*   →   [sir əlˈʒːifa]   'go to the carcass'

3.1.5 - Utterance-initial devoicing

Utterance-initial consonants can be devoiced in DUA, that is, a voiced consonant can assimilate in voice to the voiceless *pause* before the utterance. This can hence also be analyzed as a form of regressive assimilation of voice. Some examples are:

+   *žibu-li*   →   [ʃiˈbuli]   'get for me' (imp. pl.)

      nketbu-lek   →   [n̥kətːəˈbulək]   'we write for you'

      gat-lu   →   [ˈkɛtlu]   'she said to him'

      bqa   →   [pqa]   'he stayed'

3.2 - Phonotactics

In this section I provide a brief overview of syllable structure in DUA by listing syllable types found in DUA, from which I attempt to deduce the general requirements for DUA syllables. I comment on exceptions and particularities and continue to describe the mode of syllabification of DUA, based mainly on syncope and anaptyxis. In representing syllable structure, I use the CV-representation as proposed by Clements and Keyser (1983)[25], slightly adapted for the particularities of DUA. In this representation, 'C' stands for a segment peripheral to the syllable nucleus, usually a consonant, and takes up one time-slot (so geminates count as CC). A 'V' stands for the syllable nucleus: usually a vowel, but for DUA this could also very well be a syllabic consonant. When a plain vowel is at the peak of a non-final syllable, this is represented as –VV-, meaning two time-slots, although it is not necessarily longer than one V, which is a short vowel or a syllabic consonant.

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[25] G. Clements & S. Keyser *CV phonology*: 1-56.

3.2.1 – The syllable: syllable types

After scanning most of my data of DUA, the following 14 syllable types were found in DUA:

Type	instance	IPA	gloss	remarks
V:	*lṣeq*	[l.sɑq]	'he stuck'	rare, only word-initially[26]
	msisi	[m̩.si.si]	'birdy'	
CV:	*žṟa__na__*	[ʒɣa.na]	'frog'	only word-finally
	ben__ti__	[bən.tˢi]	'my daughter'	
CVV:	*kuli*	[no:.ɖi]	'eat!' (fsg)	common
	baba	[ba.ba]	'daddy'	
CVC:	*men*	[mən]	'from'	common
	__kerši__	[kər.ʃi]	'my belly'	
CVCC:	*xŭbz*	[xɔbz]	'bread'	common
	ħell	[ħəll]	'he opened'	
CVVC:	*suq*	[suq]	'market'	common
	dik	[dik]	'that' (fsg)	
CCV:	*__bekri__*	[bə.kri]	'past'	rare, only word-finally
CCVV:	*bɣat-u*	[bɣɛ.tˢu]	'she loved him'	common
	dda-ha	[d:ɛ.ha]	'he took her'	
CCVC:	*brek*	[brək]	'he pressed'	common
	steħ	[st̪əħ]	'roof'	
CCVCC:	*xrežt*	[xrəʒtˢ]	'I went out'	common
	dxelt	[dxəltˢ]	'I went in'	common
CCVVC:	*š?un*	[ʃ?un]	'who?'	common
	klat	[klɛtˢ]	'she ate]	
CCCV[*1]:	*ssta*	[s:ta]	'six'	only with initial sibilant
CCCVV[*1]:	*sstašer*	[s:t̪a.ʃər]	'sixteen'	only with initial sibilant
CCCVC[*1]:	*ṣ-ṣteħ*	[s:t̪aħ]	'the roof'	only with initial sibilant

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[26] Caubet also counts the first vowel-initial syllable in *ana* [ɛˈna] 'I' as a monosegmental syllable. Vowel initial utterances in DUA (and I believe also in other MA dialects) are always preceded by a glottal stop and hence I do not count these as *V* syllables. cf. Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 28.

3.2.2 - Syllable requirements

Based on the extensive list of DUA syllable types presented above, the following specifications and restrictions can be observed:

- DUA syllables always involve a vowel or a syllabic consonant. Single V syllables or VC syllables are disliked;
- Syllable onsets consist of maximum three C's, though these are rare. C- and CC-onsets are common;
- Syllable peaks are either a syllabic C or a V;
- Only a plain vowel can be the peak of an open syllable;
- DUA codas can consist of zero, one or two consonants, but can only consist of one consonant if the onset is CCC-;
- A peak of a syllable without coda is never long.

3.2.2.1 - CCC clusters and the phonetic absense of *schwa*

One may argue that syllable onsets consisting of CCC, like in the examples marked with *1 in the list above, often arise out of sCC and only exist because it is easy to pronounce a consonant cluster following a sibilant *s, z, š* or *ž*. This may be true, but word-initial sibilants are so common in DUA (in Moroccan Arabic and maybe in Arabic in general), that I do count this as a separate form of syllabic onset, with the remark that it usually consists of *sCC*, where *s* stand for any sibilant. I will provide a list of examples of CCC clusters found in my data. It shows that these are indeed mostly clusters involving a sibilant. This sibilant is usually in initial position, although one instance of a doubled second sibilant is also found:

ž-žṛana	[ˈʒːɤa.na]	'the frog'	*ṣ-ṣbbaṭ*	[sːbːɑɫ]	'the shoes'
š-šwiqa	[ˈʃːwi.qæ]	'the little thistel'	*z-zbib*	[zːbib]	'the raisins'
ssta	[sːta]	'six'			

Exceptions all involve at least one continuant and all involve a double consonant:

mṣṣet	[msːətˢ]	'she sucked'	*ṭ-ṭṛab*	[ɫːrab]	'the earth'
ṭṭfayl	[ɫːfayl]	'the small kid'			

It is important to note that this syllable type is indeed only attested with initial sibilants. Even though *schwa* may be phonetically absent in verbal conjugations like *tekteb* 'you write' → [tˢktˢˈəb], *schwa* is phonemically there. In that case, one hears no vowel but clearly hears a syllable around where should have been *e*, like in *tekteb* 'you write' → [tˢktˢˈəb]. In these cases I do write *e* in the phonemic transcriptions. Another clear example of the preservation of *schwa* in initial consonant clusters is the syllabification of *teddi* 'tou take', which is pronounced [tˢəˈd:i], without assimilation of *t* to *dd*.

3.2.2.2 - Syllabic consonants

As has been mentioned above, all vowels can be a syllable nucleus in DUA, but this position can also be filled by a syllabic consonant. Only the liquids [r] and [l], the nasals [m], [n], the sibilants [s] and [z] and [h] have been observed as syllable peaks[27]. So it seems that only highly sonorant consonants can serve as syllabic peaks, or at least not stops. Examples of syllabified single consonant in DUA are:

l-ɣaṣul	[l̩.ɣa.sul]	'the soap'	*lṣeq*	[l̩.sɑq]	'he sticked'
mgabla	[m̩.gɛ.bla]	'accepting'	*msisi*	[m̩.si.si]	'birdy'
n-nhar	[n̩:.har]	'the day'	*n-neʕža*	[n̩:.ɛˤ.ʒa]	'goat'
tsgi	[tṣ̩:.gi]	'she gets water'	*brarež*	[br̩.rɛ.rəʒ]	'stork'

I must add to the above that in quite a few occasions it is difficult to determine the presence of a vowel for syllables with other consonants as well, for example in the word *l-mftaħa* [l̩.mf.ta.ħa] 'the small needle, I can't make out for sure whether I hear a vowel in the second syllable. Further research involving speakers' intuition may shed more light on this.

3.2.3 - Syllabification

The starting point for the analysis of the syllabification processes in DUA is the possible syllable types observed and listed above. In combining words and morphemes, sequences may arise that are not favored in DUA. So, one can see a constant shift in the distribution of the short vowel and the consonants to accommodate to the favored syllabic structures.

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[27] Sayed mentions only *n* and *l* as syllabic consonants, Heath and Caubet do not mention any at all. cf. A. Sayed *The phonology of Moroccan Arabic: A generative phonological approach*: 34-35.

Synchronically, one can see this when, for example, a pronominal prefix or suffix is added to a verb-stem. Diachronically, one might also consider typical DUA and MA verb- and noun-patterns to be derived from pre-dialectal Arabic according to those same preferences.

3.2.3.1 - Phonetic schwa in consonant clusters

An important question for the analysis of DUA syllabification is the status of schwa that can be regularly heard breaking up clusters of stops or clusters of fricatives and stops. One common example of this is in all of the verbal conjugations where the second and third consonants are stops and form a cluster. This happens in the third person feminine singular of the perfect: *ketbet* 'she wrote'→ [ˈkətˤəbətˤ]; in the third person plural of the perfect: *ketbu* → [ˈkətˤəbu]; in the second person singular feminine of the imperfect: *tketbi* → [ˈtkətˤəbi], in all of the plurals of the imperfective: *nketbu* → [ˈnkətˤəbu]; *tketbu* → [ˈtkətˤəbu] and *yketbu* → [ˈykətˤəbu] and in the feminine and plural imperatives: *ketbi* → [ˈkətˤəbi]; *ketbu* → [ˈkətˤəbu]. It is important to note that this does not happen when the two adjacent consonants are not stops or a fricative and a stop, like in: *dexlet* 'she entered' → [ˈdəxlətˤ], *gelʕat* 'she stole' → [ˈɡəlʕat]. Other examples of this involve the second person plural pronominal suffix -*kum*, which issuffixed to a stop-final stem, like in: *gedd-kum* [ˈɡɪd:əkum]; *kelb-kum* [ˈkəlbəkum] and *weṛd-kum* [ˈwəɹdəkum]. Again, the phonetic schwa is not present when the two adjacent consonants are not stops or a fricative and a stop, like in: *ḍaṛ-kum* 'your house' → [ɖɑɹkum] and *yyam-kum* 'your days' → [ˈjɛmkum].

The schwa breaking up these clusters is almost completely predictable: it is always there when two stops are adjacent, except utterance-initially, or when a fricative and a stop are adjacent (in that order). I suppose that this schwa comes about as a result of the release of the fricative or stop. Therefore I do not count it as a phoneme and do not reckon this an additional syllable type. This schwa is hence also not written in the phonemic transcriptions.

3.2.3.2 - Synchronic syllabification: syncope and anaptyxis

All short vowels are liable to elision when they are placed in an open syllable. This process is called *syncope*[28]. From the outset, short vowels never occur in open syllables in DUA, a

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[28] Heath *Dialects*: 201-202.

feature that DUA shares with most other Moroccan Arabic dialects[29]. To be sure: an open syllable in DUA is a final syllable without coda or a non-final syllable without coda and immediately followed by only one consonant (so that only one consonant separates the two vowels). Syllable types in DUA are always one of the types mentioned above: for monosyllabic words consisting of three consonants and a sort vowel, the short vowel always comes between the second and third consonant if the word is a verb, and can come between either the first and the second or the second and third consonant if it is a noun. For more details about diachronic syllabification of triconsonantal nouns in DUA, see the section below.

When the syllabic structure of a word is changed (by conjugation or suffixation for instance), a short syllable may come to stand in an open syllable, like in: *kteb* 'he wrote' + plural conjugational perfect suffix –*u*: **kteb-u*. In this situation, the short vowel, *e* in this example, is deleted: *kteb* + -*u* = **ktb-u*.
However, by applying this rule a new syllable type may emerge that is unacceptable, like the *CCC* syllable in this example. Then, the second mechanism for DUA syllabification is applied: *anaptyxis*[30].

The anaptyxis rule in DUA is that schwa is inserted in a cluster of three consonants, except for the sibilant initial clusters mentioned above. So, continuing the example above, this would yield: *ktb-u* → *ketb-u*, which is indeed the grammatical form in DUA.

These two mechanisms are applied in cyclical fashion: whenever a short vowel comes to be in an open syllable, it is syncoped. If, as a result of this, an ungrammatical cluster arises, anaptyctic schwa is inserted into that cluster. If, then, as a result of this cluster a next short vowel to the left in the word comes to stand in an open syllable, that short vowel is also syncoped. If, in turn, that yields an unacceptable cluster, anaptyctic schwa is inserted and so on, until the word is syllabified in only grammatical syllables. Some examples from the data of these processes are:

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[29] idem.

[30] Caubet mentions vowel insertion in the context of syllabification, but does not call it anaptyxis, cf. Caubet *L'Arabe Marocain*: 29. Sayed call this process *epenthesis*, cf. Sayed *Phonology*: 92, while Heath and Harrel have a totally different analysis based on *ressaut* and *inversion*, cf. Heath Dialects: 201 – 205; R. Harrel *A short reference grammar of Moroccan Arabic*: 17-19.

1) *ʕawen* 'he helped'

2) *ʕawen* + *-t* (1sg. conj. suffix) → *ʕawent* 'I helped'

3) *ʕawen* + *-et* (3sgf. conj. suffix) → **ʕawenet* → syncope → *ʕawnet* 'she helped'

4) *ʕdem* 'bone'

5) *ʕdem* + *-u* (3sgm. object suffix) → **ʕdem-u* → syncope → **ʕdm-u* → anapt. → *ʕedm-u* 'his bone'

In 2) one can see that suffixation of *–t* does not place the short vowel of *ʕawen* in an open syllable, so no resyllabification is necessary. In 3) the suffix *–et* for the third person singular feminine is added. Apparently, DUA wants to preserve the short vowel *e* in the suffix, since the short vowel in the stem, which has come to be in an open position because of the suffixation of *–et*, is deleted. The result after syncope is grammatical. In 5) both processes of syncope and anaptyxis can be seen at work to arrive at the grammatical form.

3.2.3.3 – Diachronic syllabification of triconsonantal nouns in DUA

A distinctive feature of DUA, which Jeffrey Heath has also observed for some other MA dialects, is the diachronic shift of syllabic structure from CVCC to CCVC for some verbs in the un-affixed form[31]. The rule governing this shift may have said that the structure of the noun stem of tri-consonantal nouns CVCC changes to CCVC if the third consonant is a sonorant which is not lower in the *sonority hierarchy* than the second consonant. The sonority hierarchy is explained by Heath as a hierarchy of consonants in order of their susceptibility to syllabify.

The <u>sonority hierarchy</u> that Heath proposes is: y > {r, ṛ, ʕ} > {w, n, m, l}[32]

Some words of this class (< CA *CVCC) in my data are:

<u>CCVC (< CVCC):</u>   <u>CVCC (< CVCC):</u>

nser   (< **nasr*)   'vulture'   *teħt*   (< **taħt*)   'under'

lħem   (< **laħm*)   'meat'   *xŭbz*   (< **xubz*)   'bread'

ṭfel   (< **ṭifl*)   'child'   *želd*   (< **ǧild*)   'skin'

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[31] Heath, *Dialects*: 181, 205-206.

[32] Ibid: 181.

ʕqel	(< *ʕaql*)	'mind'	*rezq*	(< *rizq*)	'livelihood'
žder	(< *ǧiḏr*)	'root'	*ʔerš*	(< *ʕurs*)	'wedding'
ʕdem	(< *ʕaẓm*)	'bone'	*ʕŭnq*	(< *ʕunq*)	'neck'
zben	(< *zibl*)	'garbage'	*melħ*	(< *milħ*)	'salt'
ṣṭeħ	(< *saṭħ*)	'roof'	*bent*	(< *bent*)	'daughter'

In the instances above, two words do not comply with Heath's rule, namely *zben* 'garbage' and *ṣṭeħ* 'roof'. The final consonant in both these words is a continuant, so perhaps Heath's hierarchy must be supplemented with sibilants and glottal fricatives, a thought supported by the instances of syllabic consonants in DUA, which also include sibilants and a glottal fricative. But even then, DUA does not comply completely with this rule.

3.2.4 - Reduction of plain vowels

In rapid speech, otherwise plain vowels may be reduced to *e*, for instance in *gat-le* (← *gat-lu*) 'she said to him' and *weš* (← *waš*) 'question particle'. The plain vowel may even be completely dropped in fast speech and with often-used words, as in *waxx* (← *waxxa*) 'okay' and *dab* (← *daba*) 'now'. Of a different category seems to be the structural reduction to *e* of the vowel of the MA sound plural suffix *-in*, which in DUA is always –*en*. I am not too familiar with other varieties of MA, but Harrel only mentions that –*in* may become –*en* after *y*[33]. Heath does not mention it at all, only listing –*in* as the plural for that category[34]. DUA thus has:

mṣebbnen	(< *mṣebbnin*)	→	[mˈsəb:ənən]	'washed' (pl. participle-adjective)
ṣɣewwṛen	(< *ṣɣewwṛin*)	→	[ˈsɣəw:ərən]	'small' (pl. adjective)
geʕden	(< *geʕdin*)	→	[gaʕdən]	'sitting' (pl. participle)

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[33] Harrel *Moroccan Arabic*: 102.

[34] Heath *Dialects*: 262.

Part II - Morphology

DUA is an Arabic language. As such, it shares with other Arabic languages that most of its content words are made up by a *root* that is inserted into a *template*. The root of Arabic (and DUA) words is a string of a few consonants, typically 2 - 4, and possibly a (semi-)vowel. An example of a root could be *K-T-B*. Such a root carries meaning, but not independently. Roots do not occur on their own (in principle one does not know how to pronounce a root independently). Roots are inserted into a template to give them specific meaning. A template is a pattern of fixed and open slots of consonants and vowels. Examples of such templates could for example be *CCeCt*, which expresses the first person singular perfect, *neCCeC*, which expresses the first person singular imperfect, *meCCeC*, which could express a place of action of the root, etc. The *C*'s in these templates are the slots in which the root-segments are filled in. The *e*'s in the template are short vowels, schwa in some places, *ŭ* in others. For K-T-B, filling in these slots would yield: *ktebt* 'I wrote', *nkteb* 'I write' and *mkteb* 'office'.

All of the phenomena described here are of course reconstructed: in case of a description of DUA I can only deduct such processes from what I encounter. But these models do help a lot in analyzing the morphological changes that words undergo to form derived or conjugated words, and hence I frequently refer to these concepts.

4 - Nominal morphology

In this chapter, the morphology of nominals, that is nouns, adjectives and pronouns are presented.

4.1 - Nouns

DUA shares with other Arabic languages that the most common forms of nouns have a tri-segmental root. These common roots either consist of three different consonants, or two consonants and a semi-vowel[35]. A bi-consonantal root with a geminate consonant can be considered a tri-segmental root as well. DUA shares with MA that the vowel template of the

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[35] This category hence encompasses all triconsonantal, geminate and hollow roots.

class of underived tri-consonantal nouns is usually either CCVC or CVCC (see 3.2.3.2)[36]. Examples of this class of noun-forms are: *lḥem* 'meat', *ṭfel* 'child', *xŭbz* 'bread', *želd* 'skin'. The other classes of noun-forms can have two consonants, one of which may be a geminate, two consonants and a long vowel, four consonants and one or more long vowels etc. Some examples of these other forms are: *demm* 'blood', *ɣula* 'ogre', *fakrun* 'turtle'.

It is important to note that these other forms usually also have different templates for the diminutive and plural. Since I do not have examples of all templates with all diminutives and plurals in my data, I concentrate on the most common forms and offer examples of the other templates if I have these in my data.

Almost all nouns can be preceded by the article prefix *l-*. In the following sections, I will address the nominal morphology of nouns with regards to number and gender, and I will look at some specific phenomena like diminutives and loans.

4.1.1 - Number

DUA nouns can be singular, plural or collective. Number is expressed by the form of the noun plus possibly a numeral placed before the noun. As remarked above, there are different forms of the plural, depending on the form of the singular noun. Generally, one can make a distinction between two types of plurals: external and internal. External plurals are formed by only adding a plural ending to the noun-stem, whereas internal plurals are formed by changing the internal structure and quality of consonants and vowels of the singular noun, sometimes accompagnied by an added ending. Apart from these two common plurals, there is a limited set of nouns that can get a *dual*, a pair-plural.

4.1.1.1 - The external plural

The external plural is used for a number of categories of nouns and adjectives, amongst which some of the participles, diminutives, *nisba*-nouns and -adjectives and singulatives. External plurals are formed by only adding a plural ending to the noun-stem. I have found two forms of this plural ending in my data: *-en* and *–at.*

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[36] Caubet: *L'Arabe Marocain*: 68; Heath, *Dialects*: 205-206.

External plurals with suffix *–en*

This suffix has been analyzed above as the reflex of the MA *–in* plural suffix. Usually this is pronounced with a schwa-like short vowel; however, a few instances have been recorded of *–in* with a full vowel. I will present the plural ending as I hear it. Examples are:

Adjectives:

kbir[37] →   *kbiren*   'big'   *ṣγir* →   *ṣyiren*   'small'

Dimunitive adjectives:

qṣiweṛ →   *qṣiwṛen*   'short'   *rqiweq* →   *rqiwqen*   'thin'

Participles:

gaʕed →   *gaʕden*   'sitting'   *γadi* →   *γaden*   'going'

mʷeṣṣex →   *mʷeṣṣxen*   'dirty'   *mṣebben* →   *mṣebbnen*   'washed'

As can be seen in the examples above, the normal rules for syllabification of DUA generally apply here. Furthermore one can see that a stem-final vowel is assimilated to the plural suffix, as in *γadi* → *γaden* 'going'.

External plurals with suffix *-at*

Plurals ending on *–at* are quite common in DUA, often being the plural for nouns ending in the feminine ending *–a,* or of diminutive nouns. I will list some examples of these and other categories, making notes where necessary:

Nouns ending in *–a:*

xeddama →	*xeddamat*	'maids'	*yawṭa* →	*yawṭat*	'screams'
ḍeħka →	*ḍeħkat*	'laughs'	*derriya* →	*derriyat*	*'girls'*
šaʕra →	*šaʕrat*	'units of hair'	(plural of *nomen unitatis*)		
šežrat →	*šežrat*	'trees'	(plural of *nomen unitatis*)		

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[37] *kbir* also has an internal plural *kbar.*

<u>Dimunitive nouns:</u>

ɣwira →	ɣwirat	'small holes'	uleyyda →	uleyydat	'baby-girls'
ṭwayra →	ṭwayrat	'small birds'	urayda →	uraydat	'small flowers'
ʕgeyza →	ʕgeyzat	'little oldies'	šweyha →	šweyhat	'small sheep'
fiyra →	fiyrat	'small mice'	ħmeyra →	ħmeyrat	'small donkeys'

<u>Other categories:</u> <u>remarks:</u>

xayr →	xayrat	'goods'	Singular without –a ending
iṣar →	iṣarat	'sheets'	Idem
lella →	ʕyalat	'ladies'	Suppletive plural
druʕat			Appears to be plural of already plural druʕ
ṣʷɣarat			Appears to be plural of already plural ṣʷɣar, probably denotes female members
ṣħabat			idem

4.1.1.2 - The internal plural

The internal plural is the most common plural in DUA. I dub it 'the internal plural' in the Arabist tradition: affixes attached to the end of the noun is not the main characteristic of this class of plurals, but rather the internal structure and quality of consonants and vowels of the singular noun is changed, in a systematic manner. Systematic is to say, that there are a number of classes of consonant-vowels templates which make up these plurals. The plurals in these template-classes always have the same distribution of the root-consonants in the word, and always have the same vowels. Some examples of DUA internal plurals, classified in template-classes, are:

<u>Template *CCaCeC*:</u>

ħaža →	ħwayež	'things'	bzzula →	bzazel	'breasts'
maʕun →	mwaʕen	'dishes'	mŭšʔel →	mšaʔel	'problems'
serwal →	srawel	'trousers'	fellus →	flales	'chicks'
bogos →	bwages	'beauties'	sandala →	snadel	'sandals'
	nḍaḍer	'glasses'	bḷaṣa →	bḷayeṣ	'places'
geṛwad →	grawed	'stutterers'	kemkem →	kmakem	'sheep's heads'
ʕegreb →	ʔgareb	'scorpions'	saʕa →	swayeʕ	'hours'

ṣbbaṭ →	ṣbabeṭ	'shoes'	kanun →	kwanen	'stoves'

Template *CCaC*:

kelb →	klab	'dogs'	weld →	wlad	'boys'
šfeṛ →	šfaṛ	'eyelashes'	ḍfeṛ →	ḍfaṛ	'nails'
bent →	bnat	'girls'	ražel →	ržal	'men'

Template *CiCan*:

žar →	žiran	'neighbors'	kaṛ →	kiran	'buses'
kas →	kisan	'cups'	bab →	biban	'doors'

Template *CCaCa*:

rifi →	ryafa	'Riffians'	turki →	twarka	'Turks'
meyrebi →	myarba	'Moroccans'	sʕudi →	swaʕda	'Saudi-Arabians'

Template *CCuC*:

ṭir →	ṭyuṛ	'birds'	hemm →	hmum	'sorrows'
qabr →	qbuṛ	'graves'			

Template *CCaCi*:

mešṭa →	mšaṭi	'combs'	medra →	mdari	'pitchforks'
derri →	drari	'kids'			

Other templates:

rwaq →	riyaq	'curtains'
ħmaṛ →	ħmiṛ	'donkeys'
sŭlṭan →	salaṭin	'sultan'
yum →	yyam	'days'
sma →	smu	'heavens'
šqef →	šqufa	'fragments'
malek →	malaka	'kings'
gawri →	gŭwwer	'westeners'

The number of examples mentioned per category above is approximately proportionate to the number of times that a template occurs in the data. The category *CCaCi* is hence rarest in my data. As can be seen in the examples above, a certain consonant-vowel template of the singular does not always yield the same template in the plural, and not all examples of the same plural template derive from the same singular template. However, some generalisations can be made, keeping in mind that things are not perfectly systematic: singular nouns with four consonants often get the *CCaCeC* plural template. Bi and tri-consonantal singulars that carry a long vowel may also end up in this category: the empty slot is then filled with a semi-vowel. The second template *CCaC* often has the tri-consonantal *CCeC* as its singular, cf category 2. Singulars of the template *CaC* often get the internal plural *CiCan*, cf. category 3. *Nisba* nouns-adjectives referring to origin often have the plural template *CCaCa*, and again, if a full vowel is present in the singular (as the second segment), the second consonant slot is often filled by a semi-vowel in the plural.

It is also worthwhile to note that several loans get this 'native' plural, e.g: *ṣebbaṭ* (← Spanish *zapato*) → *ṣbabeṭ* 'shoes', *bogos* (← French *beau gosse*) → *bwages* 'beauties'. In these examples, the segments making up the singular of the borrowed word are treated in the same way as *roots* of Arabic words: the structure of the word is broken up and the individual segments that are considered to be the root-segments are reshuffled and placed on a vowel-template to conform to the template of the plural. It is also remarkable that some nouns mentioned above, that have external plurals in other Arabic languages, have broken plurals in DUA, such as *ħaža* → *ħwayež* 'things' vs. Cairene Arabic for example *ħagaat,* and *saʕa* → *swayeʕ* 'hours' vs. Cairene *saʕaat.*

4.1.1.3 - Collectives and mass nouns

Like other Arabic languages, the phenomena of collective nouns and mass nouns are also present in DUA. These nouns have the form of a singular noun, but refer to what in English will be either a collective or a plural. In most cases a DUA collective or mass noun can also be translated with a collective in English. Some examples of collective nouns in my data are:

debban	'flies'	*šaʕr*	'hair'
želliž	'tiles'	*ṛxam*	'marble'
šʕir	'barley'	*berwag*	'asphodel' (plant)

dum	'dwarf palm tree'	*besnix*	'kind of thistle'
luz	'almonds'	*xayl*	'horses'
faxr	'charcoal'	*werd*	'flowers'
ħbeq	'thistles'	*ful*	'beans'
ɣlem	'sheep'	*mʕaz*	'goats'
tsgiga	'ground flowers'	*ħenna*	'henna'

A unity noun, (*nomen unitatis*), that is one single piece or member of that collective, can be formed in DUA by adding –*a* to the end of the collective noun. That holds for almost all of the examples above. Often, the derived unity noun can then be made into a plural by adding –*t*, or by replacing –*a* by –*at*, as one likes. Examples are:

bayḍ	'egg(s)'	→ *bayḍa*	'an egg'	→ *bayḍat*	'(a number of) eggs'
bṣel	'union(s)'	→ *beṣla*	'an union'	→ *beṣlat*	'(a number of) unions'

Mass nouns refer to uncountable matters, and get no separate singular or plural form. Some examples of mass nouns in my data are:

ɣbaṛ	'manure'	*ṭṛab*	'dust, dirt'
dheb	'gold'	*ɣasul*	'fuller's earth'
ɣayṣ	'mud'	*asans*	'petrol'

4.1.1.4 - The dual

Like in other Arabic languages, a pair of items can be expressed by adding an external suffix to the singular stem. DUA shares with Moroccan Arabic that this can be applied only to a limited set of nouns. For DUA, this suffix is –*in /-ayn*. Some nouns, when being referred to as a pair, always take the dual and never the number 2 + plural. Examples of such are: *walid-ayn* 'parents'; *ʕayn-ayn* 'pair of eyes'; *ʔidd-in* 'pair of hands'. Two hundred and two thousand etc. is also expressed by the dual: *mit-ayn* '200'; *alf-ayn* '2000'. Apart from parents and some body-parts that are paired, the dual is not used often.

4.1.2 - Gender

In analyzing nominal gender in DUA, one can look at gender in two ways: natural gender and grammatical gender:

1. Nouns can have a masculine or feminine meaning to them, such as a male or female dog. These nouns are usually also recognizable as such morphologically: feminine nouns can have the ending –*a* attached to the stem, which is the masculine form, e.g: *kelb* 'dog' vs. *kelba* 'bitch'. However, this distribution is far from complete, since not all nouns denoting a feminine entity have such an ending and not all nouns ending in –*a* are feminine content-wise, but can also denote a *nomen unitatis*, a single member from a collective class, such as *debban* 'flies' → *debbana* 'a fly'.

2. All nouns have a grammatical gender: this can sometimes be morphologically seen, for example in the aforementioned feminine ending –*a*, but not necessarily: *ŭxt* and *ḍaṛ* do not carry this ending, but are feminine grammatically, as can be seen by the agreement with their adjectives: *xt-i lkbira* 'my big sister'; *ḍaṛ zwina* 'beautiful house'. Gender in this sense is not identical to gender in meaning, although there is a big overlap. Grammatical gender of nouns is relevant to the rest of the sentence: in most cases, adjectives, pronouns and verbs agree with a head noun in gender.

The grammatical gender is off course the gender that is linguistically relevant. Apart from a certain set of nouns that have agreeing or conflicting natural and grammatical genders, many nouns do not have a natural gender. In the list below, I illustrate this by listing the grammatical gender and natural gender (or lack thereof) of a number of nouns:

noun		gr. gender	biol. gender	remarks
kelb	'dog'	m.	m.	
kelba	'bitch'	f.	f.	
xal	'uncle'[38]	m.	m.	
xala	'aunt'[39]	f.	f.	

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[38] Maternal uncle.

[39] Maternal aunt.

žar	'neighbor'	m.	m.		
žara	'neighbor'	f.	f.		
džaž	'chicken'	m.	u.[40]	collective	
džaža	'hen'	f.	f.		
ferruž	'rooster'	m.	m.	no –*a* suffix possible	
ax	'brother'	m.	m.	no –*a* suffix possible	
ŭxt	'sister'	f.	f.		
ḍaṛ	'house'	f.	u.		
xayma	'house'	f.	u.	*xaym* not heard	
ṭayra bger	'heron'	f.	u.		
debban	'flies'	pl./ f.	u.	collective	
debbana	'fly'	f.	u.		
genbura	'jar'	f.	u.		
brarež	'stork'	m.	u.	no –*a* suffix possible	

It is important to note in this context that not all –*a* endings have the same etymological background: most are cognate to the grammatically feminine **tā marbūṭa* of pre-dialectical Arabic, like the aforementioned *kelba*, but not all, e.g. *ɣda* 'lunch' which takes a masculine adjective or predicate: *l-ɣda zwin* 'the lunch is nice'. The –*a* ending cognate to the ** tā marbūṭa* grammatical feminine is subject to change in construct state with another noun or pronominal suffix:

	rŭkba	'knee'	*xala*	'aunt'
<u>singular</u>				
1	*rŭkbt-i*	'my knee'	*xalt-i*	'my aunt'
2	*rŭkbt-ek*	'you knee'	*xalt-ek*	'your aunt'
3m.	*rŭkbt-u*	'his knee'	*xalt-u*	'his aunt'
3f.	*rŭkbet-ha*	'her knee'	*xalt-ha*	'her aunt'
<u>plural</u>				
1	*rŭkbet-na*	'our knee'	*xalt-na*	'our aunt'
2	*rŭkbet-kum*	'your knee'	*xalt-kum*	'your aunt'
3	*rŭkbet-hum*	'their knee'	*xalt-hum*	'their aunt'

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[40] u. = undefined, could be either of both biological genders, or a collective.

In the examples one can see that the ending –*a* is replaced by –*t* before pronominal suffixes, after which the normal rules of anaptyxis apply, hence: *rukba + -i → rŭkbt-i* 'my knee', but *rukba + -ha* would yield *rukbtha, an ungrammatical cluster of four consonants which will be broken up by an anaptyctic schwa → *rukbet-ha*. The same morphology applies when a noun with ending –*a*, cognate to the * *tā marbūṭa* grammatical feminine ending, is in construct with state another noun, e.g: *žart Faṭima* 'Fatima's neighbor'; *makelt eḍ-ḍra* 'the eating of mais'.

4.1.3 - Diminutives

Like the internal plurl, the diminutive in DUA is formed by changing the internal structure and quality of consonants and vowels of the singular noun in a systematic manner. In my data I have only found a few different templates on which the consonantal structure of the root-noun is superimposed. The most common templates for the dimunitive are *CCayC* and *CCeyyiC*, to which sometimes an ending –*a* is added, depending on the content of the word. The diminutive usually denotes a small or young version of the noun from which it is derived, but not per se. Some examples from my data are:

maħall →	*mwiħill*	'little room'	*šerb →*	*šrayba*	'sip'
xt- →	*xwayt-*	'sister'	*weld →*	*wleyyid*	'little boy'
ṭefla →	*ṭfayla*	'young girl'	*xŭbz →*	*xbeyza*	'sandwich'
deyma →	*dɣayma*	'bite'	*lħem →*	*lħayma*	'piece of meat'
ṭir →	*ṭwayra*	'small birds'	*ṣṭaḷ →*	*ṣṭayla*	'small bucket'
ħaža →	*ħwayža*	'thingies'	*bger →*	*bgayra*	'small cow'
mm- →	*mmwima*	'mummy'	*ṛaṣ →*	*rways*	'little head'
qeṭṭa →	*qṭayṭa*	'kitten'			
ma →	*mwiha*	'water'	(dimunitive meaning not clear)		
bent →	*bniyya*	'baby-girl'	(irregular)		

4.1.4 - Loans

DUA shares with other MA dialects that it has many loans from French, and Spanish (specifically for the North of Morocco). The origins of DUA loans are however not limited to just those two languages, although these are by far the most frequent. Other languages that

serve as lenders are MSA and English, but I will not list these in my examples. As has been noted earlier in this chapter, some loans take a native, internal plural, e.g: *sandala* (French: *sandale*) → *snadel* 'sandals', *bogos* (French: *beau gosse*) → *bwages* 'beauties', *ṣebbaṭ* (Spanish: *zapato*) → *ṣbabeṭ* 'shoes'. Two other interesting cases of nativization of loans in DUA are the following: *iṭru* [iŧɾo] 'liter', from Spanish *litro*. My guess is that the initial *l* was taken for the definite article *l-* of a native word, and hence dropped. In definite contexts it is again *l-iṭru.* Alzheimer's disease is borrowed as *zzhaymer* [z:haymər]. In this case the firs two sounds *al* are probably also interpreted as the definite article, or even the definite article of MSA. Hence, *a* was dropped and *l* assimilated to the following *z*, as is rule in DUA.

Some other examples of loans from my data:

kaskruṭ	'snack'	(French: *casse croute*)
bagat	'baguette'	(French: *baguette*)
frigu	'fridge'	(French: *frigo*)
parabor	'satellite dish'	(French: *parabol*)
spiṭar	'hospital'	(Spanish *hospital*)
katkat	'SUV'	(French: *quatre-quatre*)
bal	'bale'	(French: *balle*)
asans	'petrol'	(French: *essence*)

4.2 - Adjectives

The adjective in DUA is an open word-class: words can be derived from verbs or nouns, to form adjectives. Adjectives come in a few different classes, each with their own morphology and usage: both are briefly sketched in this section.

4.2.1 - Adjective forms

There are a few adjectival forms in DUA that are outlined below. Some adjectival forms are morphologically part of another word-class, such as the participles, others are found only as adjectives and others again are derived of other adjectives.

4.2.1.1 - The participle-adjective

Participles are a common example of adjectives derived from verbs. For a more detailed description of the participle as a verbal category, see the chapter on verbal morphology. For now, it can be said that the participle is frequently used as adjective: placed after its head-noun it modifies the noun phrase and usually agrees with it in number, gender and definiteness. Some examples sentences containing participles used as attributive adjectives are: *ʕad-ek režlayn xanizen* 'you have smelly feet'; *fi-h ħwayž-ek le-mṣebbnen* 'it contains your washed clothes'.

4.2.1.2 - *Nisba*-adjectives

A special nominal class is that of the *nisba'*s: adjectives (but also nouns) that are derived from other words, usually nouns and prepositions, by suffixation of –*i* or a variation thereof. Examples in DUA are:

Nisba-adjectives of provenance:

hulanda 'The Netherlands'	→ *hulandi* 'Dutch/ Dutchman'
faransa 'France'	→ *faransi* 'French/ Frenchman'
turʔiya 'Turkey'	→ *turʔi* 'Turkish/ Turk'
r-rif 'Rif region in North Morocco'	→ *rifi* '(someone) from the Rif'
meknas 'Meknes'	→ *meknasi* '(s.o.) from Meknes'
ṭanža 'Tangiers'	→ *ṭanžawi* '(s.o.) from Tangiers'
l-ʕurubiya 'countryside of North Morocco'	→ *ʕurubi* '(s.o.) from the countryside'
l-xaliž 'The Arabic/ Persian Gulf	→ *xaliži* '(s.o.) from the Gulf'
s-sus 'The Sousse region of South Morocco'	→ *susi* '(s.o.) from the Sousse'
l-gharb 'Lgharb region (North-West Morocco)'	→ *ɣarbawi* '(s.o.) from the *l-ɣarb* region'
?	→ *beldi* 'from the land'
?	→ *gawri* 'Western(er)'

As can be seen in the examples above, the *nisba* of provenance refers to both things and persons stemming from a region, country or city. I am not sure of the stem of which the last

two examples are derived, although I have the feeling *beldi* must have something to do with *blad* which can mean 'country, city, region' in Moroccan Arabic.

Nisba-adjectives of (ordinal) place

l-ŭwwlani 'the first'   (from *ʔŭwwel* 'first')

le-xrani 'the last'   (from *ʔaxer* 'last')

le-wrani 'last'   (from *l-uṛ* 'rear')

fugani 'top-'   (from *fug* 'on top')

teħtani 'bottom-'   (from *teħt* 'below')

geddami 'front-'   (from *geddam* 'in front')

Other nisba-adjectives

rmaḍi 'grey'   *dehbi* 'golden'   *malki* 'royal'

dini 'religious'   *flani* 'random, whoever'   *ṣeħħi* 'healthy'

4.2.1.3 - Dimunitive adjectives

Some adjectives in DUA have diminutive versions. The template for the diminutive adjective in DUA is *CCiweC*. The diminutives are marked for gender and number in the same ways as their non-diminutive counterparts, apart from them not having an internal plural. Examples from the data are:

zwin → *zwiwen* 'beautiful'   *ṣɣir* → *ṣɣiwer* 'small'

deyyeq → *dʕiweʔ* 'narrow, short'   *qṣir* → *qṣiweṛ* 'short'

rqiq → *rqiweq* 'thin'

In my data, *dʕiweʔ* and *rqiweq* occur only in diminutive form. *ṣɣir* and *qṣir* occur next to *ṣɣiwer* and *qṣiweṛ*, but the diminutives are more frequent. The fact that all these adjectives carry something of small-ness in their meaning, may have something to do with their frequent appearance in diminutive form.

4.2.1.4 - Other adjective forms

Apart from participle forms mentioned above, some other templates of adjectives occur in DUA. Most frequently observed in my data is the template *CCiC*, some examples being:

mliħ	'good'	*qṣiṛ*	'short'	*ṭwil*	'long'	*bʕida*	'far'
qdim	'old'	*ždid*	'new'	*ʔbir*	'big'	*ṣɣir*	'small'
nqi	'clean'	*hbil*	'crazy'	*bnina*	'nice'	*krim*	'generous'

Another adjective template observed in the data is *CeCCan*:

ɣaḍban	'angry'	*ferħan*	'happy'	*ʕaṭšan*	'thirsty'	*žuʕan*	'hungry'
bardan	'cold'	*ʕeyyan*	'tired'	*ʕeryan*	'naked'	*sekran*	'drunk'

As can be seen in these examples, this template appears to be used to express the mental or physical state of a person.

Another special class of adjectives in DUA concerns the colors. A number of colors share the same template, namely *xḍar* 'green, blue', *ṣfar* 'yello', *ħmar* 'red', *ʔħel* 'black' and *byeḍ* 'white'. Other colors have different forms and backgrounds: *rmaḍi* 'grey' and *dehbi* 'golden' are *nisba*-adjectives derived from *rmaḍ* 'ashes' and *dheb* 'gold'; *maron* 'brown', *ros* 'pink' and *mov* 'lilac' are loans from French and *ʕezzi* 'black-skinned' is a pejorative word for dark-skinned people, of which I do not know its origin.

4.2.2 - Adjective-predicates

As has been remarked above, adjectives can be placed after the head noun they modify, but an adjective can also serve as a predicate of a nominal sentence. When used as such, DUA adjectives can be negated with the circumfix negation *ma...š*, in addition to negation by placing the negative particle *maši* before the predicate. This is interesting, since most other Arabic languages that have the circumfix negation usually reserve it for verbal negation. Examples of this form of negation of adjective from my data are: *had l-bent ma-zwina-š* 'This girl is not pretty'; *ana ma-mʷellfa-š* 'I am not used to...'

4.2.3 - Agreement of the adjective

In general, adjectives agree with their head in number, gender and definiteness, if they are part of the noun phrase. Grammatical gender is marked on the adjective in a familiar way: the ending –*a* is added to the stem for feminine adjectives. Number is marked on the adjective in several ways: one is by an external plural ending as described above, examples being:

gaʕed →	*gaʕden*	'sitting'	*ɣadi →*	*ɣaden*	'going'
mʷeṣṣex →	*mʷeṣṣxen*	'dirty'	*mṣebben →*	*mṣebbenen*	'washed'
kbir →	*kbiren*	'big'	*ṣyir →*	*ṣyiren*	'small'
qṣiweṛ →	*qṣiwṛen*	'short'	*rqiweq →*	*rqiwqen*	'thin'

The other form of plural for the adjective is an internal plural template: *CCaC*. This is the only internal plural template found in my data for plural adjectives. This template is not marked for gender. Examples are:

kbir → kbar	'big'	*tqil → tqal*	'heavy'	*ɣliḍ → ɣlaḍ*	'fat'

In context:

    (1) *kayna rijal kbar*   'there are big men.'
    (2) *kayna ʕyalat kbar*   'there are big women.'
    (3) *kayna ṣendeq tqil*   'there is a heavy box.'
    (4) *kayna ṣnadeq tqal*   'there are heavy boxes.'
    (5) *kayna rijal ɣlaḍ*   'there are fat men.'
    (6) *kayna ʕyalat ɣliḍen*   'there are fat women.'

Notice that in these elicited examples the respondent used the same existential *kayna* (fsg.) for all the sentences. Usually, the existential is differentiated for number and gender. I am not sure why she did that. Furthermore, I am quite sure that example (4) could also be: *kayna ṣnadeq tqilen*, since in my estimation the internal plural is normally only used for persons. Finally notice the difference between (5) and (6), where the respondent uses the internal plural for the men and the external plural for the women. Again, I am not sure

why. I have not elicited more on this topic specifically, but based on memory I would have to say that I heard the –*en* plural much more often than the internal plural, and that I associate the internal plural with persons rather than things. But again, this is only my estimation based on memory of the time spent in the village.

4.3 - Comparatives

The form in DUA used for comparison is either identical to the adjective, or has a special template, of which the most frequently observed in my data is *CCeC*. Some examples are: *kbir* 'big' → *kber* 'bigger'; *xayr* 'good' → *xyer* 'better'. Irregular is *mzyan* 'good' → *ħṣen* 'better'. Whatever the form of the comparative, in the sentence it is placed between the two objects of comparison and is followed by the preposition *men* 'than, from' or *ʕla* 'on', as in: *had l-bent hadi zwina ʕla xt-i* 'This girl is prettier than my sister'; *had er-rajel kber men bbʷa* 'This man is bigger than my dad'. In most cases, the normal adjective form is followed by *ʕla* and the *CCeC* comparative by *men*, however, one occasion has been recorded (in an elicitation) of the normal adjective followed by *men*: *had le-mra kbira men mmʷ-i* 'This woman is bigger/ older than my mother.'

4.4 - Personal pronouns

In this section the DUA pronominal morhology, with pronominals both independent and suffixed, will be presented and illustrated.

4.4.1 - Independent personal pronouns

The independent singular pronouns are divided in person and gender. The plurals do not differentiate for gender. The forms to the left of the tilde are elicited forms. These forms were also heard most regularly in common speech by all speakers. The recordings I have of fairytales do not contain a lot of instances of the use of independent personal pronouns, but where they occur they are more often of the forms on the right side of the tilde. In my experience however, the forms to the left of the tilde are the most commonly used in everyday life.

	singular	plural
1	*anaya ~ ana*	*ħnaya ~ ħna*
2m.	*taya ~ nta*	
2f.	*tiya ~ nti*	
2		*tuma*
3m.	*huwaya ~ huwa*	
3f.	*hiya*	
3		*huma*

4.4.2 - Suffixed personal pronouns

Pronominals suffixes in DUA come roughly in two categories with their own respective forms: those expressing a possessor, a direct object or the object of a prepositional phrase on the one hand, and those expressing an indirect object on the other.

4.4.2.1 - Possessive, direct object, preposition suffixes:

	singular	plural
1	*-i/ -ya, -ni*	*-na*
2	*-ek/ -k*	*-kum*
3m.	*-u/ -h/ -eh*	
3f.	*-ha*	
3		*-hum*

These suffixes can be attached to nouns to express a possessive relationship, or to a preposition, taking the grammatical role of the object of that preposition, or to a verb, expressing the direct object of that verb. The first person singular suffix *–ni* is attached to verbs to express the direct object. For all other persons the direct object suffix is identical to the possessive and prepositional suffixes.

As has been mentioned in the phonology chapter of this thesis, some speakers in group A consistently pronounce [ʔ] for *k*, also for the pronominal suffixes of the second person. In the transcriptions of my data I have consistently transcribed that as it is pronounced, revealing the variation between speakers. In the grammatical description, however, I will only write *k* for pragmatic reasons. For the first, second and third masculine persons singular, the form of the suffix depends on the ending of the head to which it is attached: if that is consonant final, it is *–i* (1sg.), *-ek* (2sg.) and *–u* (3sgm.). If it is vowel-final, these are *–ya* (1sg.), *-k* (2sg.) and *–h* (3sgm.) Examples are:

Suffixed to consonant:

singular	*kelb*	'dog'	*ʕqel*	'mind'
1	*kelb-i*	'my dog'	*ʕeql-i*	'my mind'
2	*kelb-ek*	'your dog'	*ʕeql-ek*	'your mind'
3m.	*kelb-u*	'his dog'	*ʕeql-u*	'his mind'
3f.	*kelb-ha*	'her dog'	*ʕqel-ha*	'her mind'

plural				
1	*kelb-na*	'our dog'	*ʕqel-na*	'our mind'
2	*kelb-kum*	'your dog'	*ʕqel-kum*	'your mind'
3	*kelb-hum*	'their dog'	*ʕqel-hum*	'their mind'

As can be seen here, the aforementioned rules for elision and anaptyxis apply: *ʕqel + -i* is resyllabified to *ʕeql-i* 'my mind'. Some examples of these pronominal suffixes attached to consonant-final verb and preposition are:

singular	*wekkelt*	'I fed'	*ʕend*	'with'
1	-		*ʕend-i*	'with me' ('I have')
2	*wkkelt-ek*	'I fed you'	*ʕend-ek*	'with you' ('you have')
3m.	*wkkelt-u*	'I fed him'	*ʕend-u*	'with him' ('he has')
3f.	*wkkelt-ha*	'I fed her'	*ʕend-ha*	'with her' ('she has')

1	-		ʕend-na	'with us' ('we have')
2	*wkkelt-kum*	'I fed you'	ʕend-kum	'with you' ('you have')
3	*wkkelt-hum*	'I fed them'	ʕend-hum	'with them' ('they have')

In the example above, a first person direct object suffix cannot be attached directly to a first person verb. Instead, it requires the reflexive pronoun *ṛaṣ* to be used, like in: *ana šeft ṛaṣ-i* 'I saw myself'. The example used for the preposition, *ʕend* can mean 'with' seperately, but is mainly used in nominal sentences that express possession, as in: *huwa ʕend-u žuž drari* 'he has two children'; *hiya ʕend-ha žuž drari* 'she has two children'.

Suffixed to vowel:

singular	*ɣda*	'lunch'	*xu-* (*ax*)	'brother'
1	*ɣda-ya*	'my lunch'	*xu-ya*	'my brother'
2	*ɣda-k*	'your lunch'	*xu-k*	'your brother'
3m.	*ɣda-h*	'his lunch'	*xu-h*	'his brother'
3f.	*ɣda-ha*	'her lunch'	*xu-ha*	'her brother'

plural				
1	*ɣda-na*	'our lunch'	*xu-na*	'our brother'
2	*ɣda-kum*	'your lunch'	*xu-kum*	'your brother'
3	*ɣda-hum*	'their lunch'	*xu-hum*	'their brother'

In the examples above, the noun *ax* 'brother' takes the form *xu-* before suffixes. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that some family members take no pronominal suffix for the first person, so that *bbʷa* can mean both 'father' as 'my father'. Some examples of the pronominal suffixes attached to vowel-final verb and preposition are:

singular	*tbɣi*	'she want' ('she loves')	*mʕa*	'with'

1	*tbɣi-ni*	'she loves me'	*mʕa-ya*	'with me'
2	*tbɣi-k*	'she loves you'	*mʕa-k*	'with you'
3m.	*tbɣi-h*	'she loves him'	*mʕa-h*	'with him'
3f.	*tbɣi-ha*	'she loves her'	*mʕa-ha*	'with her'

plural

1	*tbɣi-na*	'she loves us'	*mʕa-na*	'with us'
2	*tbɣi-kum*	'she loves you'	*mʕa-kum*	'with you'
3	*tbɣi-hum*	'she loves them'	*mʕa-hum*	'with them'

In the example of the verb above, the first person singular suffix –*ni* is used to express the direct object. The verb *bɣa – ybɣi* means 'to want', but not if the direct object is a person. In that case it means 'to love'.

4.4.2.2 - Indirect object pronouns

The indirect object pronouns, used in verbal sentences that involve such an indirect object, are directly attached to the verb or to the direct object suffix, given that there is one, like this: *ʕṭa-li s-sarut* 'he gave the key to me' *ʕṭa-ha-li* vs. 'he gave it to me'. Its forms are:

	singular	plural
1	*li*	*-lna*
2	*-lek*	*-lkum*
3m.	*-lu*	
3f.	*-lha*	
3		*-lhum*

Some examples of these indirect object suffixes attached to the verb and to the direct object suffix are:

singular	ʕṭa	'he gave'		
1	ʕṭa-li	'he gave to me'	ʕṭa-ha-li	'he gave it to me'
2	ʕṭa-lek	'he gave to you'	ʕṭa-ha-lek	'he gave it to you'
3m.	ʕṭa-lu	'he gave to him'	ʕṭa-ha-lu	'he gave it to him'
3f.	ʕṭa-lha	'he gave to her'	ʕṭa-ha-lha	'he gave it to her'

<u>plural</u>

1	ʕṭa-lna	'he gave to us'	ʕṭa-ha-lna	'he gave it to us'
2	ʕṭa-lkum	'he gave to you'	ʕṭa-ha-lkum	'he gave it to you'
3	ʕṭa-lhum	'he gave to them'	ʕṭa-ha-lhum	'he gave it to them'

4.5 - Demonstrative pronouns

DUA's inventory of demonstrative pronouns is typical for Moroccan Arabic[41]. There are three independent near demonstratives: *hada* 'this' for the masculine, *hadi* 'this' for the feminine and *hadu* 'these' for the plural, as in the following sentences:

independent near demonstrative:
hada xu-ya　　　　'this is my brother'
hadi xt-i　　　　'this is my sister'
hadu uʷlad-i　　　　'these are my children'

There is just one dependent near demonstrative, not marked for gender or number:

dependent near demonstrative:
had er-ražel hbil　　　'this man is crazy'
had el-bent zwina　　　'this girl is beautiful'

There are three distant demonstratives that occur both dependently and independently. These are *hadak* 'that' for the masculine, *hadik* 'that' for the feminine and *haduk* 'those' for

[41] Heat *Dialects*: 271; Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 168-168

the plural. However, if the demonstrative is used independently, *hadak* is sometimes used to refer to feminine or plural predicates as well, as can be seen in these examples:

distant demonstratives, independently used:

ra-h hadak ʔawli	'he is a saint'
hiya hadik	'that's her'
hadak be-l-ħaq žrat	'she/he/ that one, honestly, ran'
hadak ħežban hayna	'that/ those are Hayna's eyebrows'

distant demonstratives, dependently used:

škaw bi-h l-hadak s-sulṭan	'they complained about him at that sultan'
ʕlat hadik š-šežra	'that tree became higher'
haduk l-msaxeṭ	'those insubordinates'
haduk lli ka-yṣeħru	'those that practice magic'

The distant demonstratives can be shortened to *dak* 'that' for the masculine, *dik* 'that' for the feminine and *duk* 'those' for the plural, but only dependently, that is, when combined with a following noun:

ra-h dak es-sŭlṭan serred l-ʕabid ywerredu	'That sultan sent the servant to wash clothes'
ʕad-u dik el-bent	'he had that daughter'
ka-yžiw duk ṭ-ṭwayrat	'those small birds come'

Also this shortened pronoun is not always differentiated for gender or number. In the data there is even a sentence that contains two such examples: *hiya dak eh, š-šeʕra, tlŭwwat ʕala dak l-ʕaṣa* 'that eh, piece of hair was wound around that stick'.

4.6 - Reflexive pronoun

DUA has one reflexive pronoun *ṛaṣ*, which is always suffixed by a pronominal suffix referring to the antecedent, as in: *ana šeft ṛaṣ-i* 'I saw myself'; *huwa yfekker ṛaṣ-u ši ħaža* 'he thinks he is quite something'; *žeyyfet ṛaṣ-ha* 'she hang herself'. As has been mentioned above, the direct object suffix cannot be attached directly to a verb conjugated for the same person. In that case the reflexive pronoun *ṛaṣ* is mandatory.

5 - Other non-verbal grammatical categories

This chapter describes the morphology of a selection of central word classes and grammatical categories that are not directly part of the nominals or of the verb.

5.1 - The articles

When referring to nouns, DUA speakers use a set of tools quite different from English. Nouns without any article only occur in a few specific contexts, for example as the predicate of a nominal sentence, if the noun is addressed in direct speech, when the noun carries a possessive suffix, when it is a plural noun following a numeral or when it is one of the limited set of nouns that never take the definite article. Examples in the DUA data are:

ra-h hadak ʔawli	'he is a saint'
a žiran	'Neighbors!'
škun lli deqq ʕla ɣar-i	'who is it that knocked on my hole?'
ʕend-na žuž drari	'There are two kids' (lit: 'We have two children')
dayz ʕli-h brarež	'a/ the stork is passing by him'

In most other contexts, DUA nouns take some sort of article. DUA has three articles: definite, indefinite and what I call an *indefinite-uncertain* article.

The definite article is either a prefix *l-* or a lengthening of the first consonant for some consonants. A common morphological analysis of the definite article amongst arabists is that it is underlyingly *l-* and assimilates to the noun-initial consonants *d, ṭ, ḍ, t, s, z, ṣ, š, ž, r, ṛ,* and *n.* As mentioned earlier in this thesis, this assimilation rule holds only for the definite article. Examples of this assimilation are offered in section 3.1.4 of this thesis. The definite article is used to refer to items known by the listener, but other than in English also when referring to something in a general sense, as in the following examples:

had le-mra kbira men mmʷ-i	'That woman is bigger than my mother.'
anaya wkkelt l-qeṭṭa	'I fed the cat.'

But also:

ʕend-uš l-ʔab we l-ʔumm	'He has no father or mother.'
ʕṭa-hum bbʷa-hum əl-ful	'Their father gave them beans.'

<u>The indefinite article</u> is formed by placing **waħed** 'one' before a noun that carries the definite article *l-*. The indefinite article is used to refer to items that are unknown to the listener, but are still specific, or at least not deliberately un-specific. Examples are:

a-yddiw-h yzerrʕu-h f-waħel ˌl-blad	'They will take it and sow it in a land.'
ṭrabbat fe-waħed el-xayma	'She was brought up in a house.'
weldet waħed le-wleyyed	'She gave birth to a baby-boy.'

As can be seen in the first example, the final consonant can assimilate to the following definite article, but this does not always happen.

The last article is what I call the <u>*indefinite-uncertain*</u> article: **ši**. It is placed before the noun and can be combined with a number. It is used for uncertain items, when the speaker wants to keep the nature of the item beyond its basic meaning as uncertain or vague. When combined with a number, the number is uncertain. Examples from the data are:

ka-ygulu ši ḷaɣeḍ ka-ybekki	'They say some rhyme that makes you cry.'
ši nas fe-l-ful dyan-na	'(There are) some people between (lit: in) our bean-plants!'
hezz waqila ši xamsa wla stta	'He took perhaps some five or six.'

5.2 - Negation

Negation in DUA comes in three forms: a separate negative particle *maši* 'not', a circumfixal negative marker *ma-...-š* and a prefixal negative marker *ma-*.

The separate negative particle *maši* 'not' is used for non-verbal negation only. It is placed before the predicate of a nominal sentence to negate it. This predicate can be

<u>a noun:</u>

hadik maši xt-i	'That is not my sister.'
Dacia maši ši ħaža	'Dacia is nothing special.'

<u>an adjective,</u> but these can also be negated by a circumfix:

had l-koka maši barda	'This coke is not cold.'

<u>a prepositional phrase</u>, but only if it is the head of a noun, not a pronominal suffix:

l-benna lli fe-ž-želda maši f-el-baba	'The deliciousness which is in the crust is not in the filling.'
maši teħt es-sdari	'Not under the couch.'

Circumfixal negation *ma-...-š* is used for both verbal and non-verbal negation. Examples from the data show that *ma-...-š* is used to negate finite verbs and participles, and to negate prepositions and adjectives:

<u>finite verbs:</u>

ma-bɣat-u-š	'She did not want him.'
huwa ma-te-yddi-ha-š fi-ha	'He is not interested in her.'
ma-šaf-ha-š	'He did not see her.'

<u>participles:</u>

ma-ʕažba-ni-š	'I don't like it.'
ma-baɣi-ha-š	'He does not love her.'
ma-kayn-š l-ebẓaṛ	'There is no pepper'

<u>prepositions with pronominal suffixes:</u>

ma-li-h-š	'Not for him.'
ma-mʕa-ya-š	'Not with me.'
ma-ʕend-i-š	'I don't have'

The preposition *ʕend* 'with' is used in the example above as part of a nominal sentence meaning 'to have...'. It can also be used as preposition to mean 'with, at', then it is negated with *maši*: *Rayan maši ʕend Faṭima* 'Rayan is not at Fatima's'.

<u>Adjectives:</u>

had l-bent ma-zwina-š   'That girl is not pretty.'

had er-rajel ma-mzyan-š   'That man is no good.'

My data suggests that the prefix *ma-* is primarily used for verbal negation. Verbal negation with this prefix can concern both finite verbs and participles. I am not sure what the difference is in both forms of verbal negation, involving the circumfix *ma-…-š* and prefix *ma-*. Harrel has suggested for Moroccan Arabic that *ma-* is used to negate a whole category, but I cannot see that in the instances I have encountered:

fi-ħŭbb ma-lqayt   'I did not find it in love.'

šeʕr-ha ma-kat ʕad waħda   'No girl had hair like her.'

In my data I have found some combinations of *ma-* plus a specifying word that accompanies verbal negation, meaning for example 'no-thing' or 'not in my life':

ma-ṭra-na walu   'Nothing will happen to us.'

ana ma-ʕŭmr-i ma-nemši l-kuwayt   'I will never go to Kuwait.'

ma-bayn ula hada wla hada   'Not that nor that appeared.'

5.3 - Yes and no

'Yes' in DUA has several forms:

- *ʔah* is used very frequently, it is not a marked form in my estimation. It is not used to answer when someone is called.
- *wiyeh ~ ʔiyeh* are also used very frequently, also to confirm something with emphasis or surprise.
- *nʕam* is normally used if someone answers to a call, as in:
  Yasmin! 'Yasmin!' – *nʕam*? 'Yes?'

No in DUA is usually *la*, sometimes, when stressed, *lla.*

5.4 - Some prepositions

A selection of prepositions of DUA are presented here, with examples from the data if present, and with remarks on their allomorphs and their uses.

l ~ le ~ li 'for', 'to' is used to introduce the direction in which the subject is going or to introduce the recipient of a certain item or action, and also to introduce direct speech. In this last sense the first *l* of the indirect object pronoun could also be seen as the prefix *l-*. Its allomorphs are *le-* or *li-* before all pronominal suffixes and consonant clusters involving stops and nasals. Examples are:

ana ɣadi l-s-suq	'I am going to the market'	*gal le-msisi*	'He said to Msisi'
ka-ddir-u l-hadi	'She does it to her.'	*berred li-ya*	'Cool it for me!'
ddaw-hum li-ḍ-ḍaṛ	'They took them to the house.'		

men 'from' is, for a part, the mirror of *l-* mentioned above, and can be used both to introduce the direction from which the subject is coming and to introduce the origin of some item or action:

ṣhebt-i žat men ṭanža	'My friend came from Tangiers.'
men-ha xleqt	'I belong to her' (lit.: 'I was created from her')
yži ražl-ha men l-ħežž	'Her husband came from the Hajj.'

Men can also mean 'at the place of', as in the following examples:

derrsi l-ɣenem men ʕnuqat-ha	'Bind the sheep at their necks
w ħellbi-hum men ḍṛuʕat-ha	and milk them from their udders.'

Furthermore, *men* is also used to introduce the object of comparison in comparative sentences, as the following examples demonstrate:

yyam-kum zayna ħṣen men dyan-na	'Your days are better than mine.'
had er-ražel kber men bbʷa	'This man is bigger than my father.'

men is also used as the fixed or optional preposition that comes with some verbs. In these situations it does not always have the same translation in English, but its meaning 'from' and 'of' are not far off in the following examples:

tbaʕed menn-u	'She moves away from him.'
ɣa-yɣiru men-ha	'They will be jealous of her.'

Finally, *men* can also be combined with several other prepositions or elements. The two prepositions are not always translated with two prepositions in English, as the following examples show:

šedd-hum men-ayn ybaytu	'Take them from where they sleep.'
te-yžib el-ɣada men ʕad emmʷi l-ɣula	'He takes the lunch from mother ogresse.'
ka-yħeyyḍu men teħt-ku ˎmed ˏdyal le-ɣbaṛ	'They remove a bucket of manure from under you.'

b ~ be ~ bi can carry several meanings as the following examples show. Its allomorph is *b-* before vowels, single consonants and some consonant clusters, but not before pronominal suffixes. *be-* is the form before other, larger or more obstruent consonant clusters and *bi-* is the form it takes before pronominal suffixes. The first meaning of *b* is 'with' in an instrumental sense, as in the following examples:

ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i	'I dug it with my eyelashes.'
kwi ṣeḍṛ-u be-l-ħžar	'Hit his chest with a stone!'
ḍaṛbat-u be-l-meʕna baš yeʔref-ha	'She stuck him with meaning so that he knew her.'
berbert-ha bi-ha	'She disguised herself with it'
te-ylʕeb bi-h f-weṣṭ el-mraħ	'He plays with it in the middle of the courtyard.'

b can also mean 'with' in a sense of 'together with' or 'having'. It is also placed before numbers to mean 'with so many', as in these examples:

ddat-lha l-xŭbz b-želdet-ha	'She brought her bread with crusts'
diʔ d-darri lli b-ʕaql-u ržeʕ	'That child that has a proper mind came back.'
a-nmši l-dubay b-waħd-i	'I will go to Dubay alone' (lit: 'with only me')

deffnu-hum be-tlata	'They buried (them with) the three of them.'

In the following examples, *b* is part of the verb. In these cases it can be translated as 'with':

zadu b-ħalat-hum	'They went away.' (lit: 'went up with their states.')
dzŭwwež b-samar	'He was married to Samar.'

Finally, *b* can mean 'in', both in place or time, the following shows:

ža dak el-ʕessas lli be-žnan	'The guard who is in the garden came.'
te-taʔul daba be-n-nhaṛ	'She eats now, during the day.' (lit: 'in the day')

bla 'without' is a contraction of aforementioned *b* and *la* 'no'. Apart from the examples presented below, *blaš* 'for nothing, nevermind' is also heard regularly, probably a contraction of *bla* and *ši* 'something'. Examples of *bla* from the data are:

ka-nakul el-xŭbza bla želda	'I eat bread without crust.'
ka-yddiw l-lħem ʕa bla flus	'They just take meat without money.' ('without paying')

f ~ fe ~ fi has several translations in English, as is demonstrated below. Its allomorph is *f-* before vowels, single consonants and some consonant clusters, but not before pronominal suffixes. *fe-* is the form before other, larger or more obstruent consonant clusters and *fi-* is the form it takes before pronominal suffixes, although it can also appear before nouns or other prepositions. The first meaning of *f-* and its allomorphs is 'in', in both place and time:

te-ylʕeb bi-h f-weṣṭ el-mraħ	'He plays with it in the middle of the courtyard.'
ka-ybiʕw-ek fe-s-suq	'They sell you in the market.'
aš šftu fe-yyam-kum	'What did you see in your days?'

In other contexts, *f-* cannot be translated with 'in' but rather 'on' or 'at', and sometimes it cannot be translated one-to-one into English at all, like the following examples make clear:

hada waħed el-farruž fe-žemb eḍ-ḍaṛ	'That is a rooster next to the house.' (lit: 'in-side of the house')

ḍahn-u fe-ḍ-ḍruž	'He greased it on the stairs.'
fe-l-exxer ħŭllet l-bab	'Eventually she opened the door.' (lit: 'in the end she..')
ṭhalet fi-h	'She took care of him.'
el-bewwab dyal bbʷa-ha fi-bab eḍ-ḍaṛ	'The doorman of her father is at the door of the house.'
ke-yeħkem fe-ṭ-ṭuyuṛ	'He orders the birds.' (lit: 'He rules in the birds')

ʕla ~ ʕal ~ ʕa 'on, against' is used both to mean 'on to something' as 'against something', as in 'to knock on'. Final *-a* or *-la* can be dropped. Examples are: *škun lli deqq ʕla ɣaṛ-i?* 'Who knocked on my hole?'; *ra-hum ʕa s-sdari* 'They are on the couch.' When a suffix is added to *ʕla*, the final *a* is changed to *i* before the suffix, as in: *ʕli-ya* 'on me'; *ʕli-h* 'on him'.

ħda 'next to' as in: *qeʕdu l-ʕabid mxzunen ħda-ha fe-l-ɣaba* 'The servants sat hidden next to her in the forest.'

mʕa 'with' used both with pronominal suffixes as independently, as in: *ža mʕa-h* 'He came with him.'; *hiya ṭaret mʕa ṭ-ṭuyuṛ* 'She flew with the birds.'

ħta ~ ta 'until' as in: *xelli-ha ħta twellef* 'Leave her until she is accustomed.' *ħta* is frequently shortened to *ta* by all speakers: *yaʔul-ha ta wṣel ta l-ḍ-ḍaṛ, ta l-fũmm l-bab dyal ḍ-ḍaṛ* 'He ate it until he reached the house, until the opening of the door of the house.'

fug 'on, on top' as in: *ka-ytbawṛḍu fug al-xayl* 'They tame[42] on top of horses.'

teħt 'under' as in: *ka-trekrek-lha tħt el-genbura* 'She croaks to her from under the stove.'

bħal 'like' is used very frequently, both independently as with pronominal suffix. *bħal* is also used frequently as interjection and gets the pronominal element *-aš* to form the question compound *bħal-aš?* 'like what?' Examples are: *ta-ddexxl-u l-maħal bħal hada* 'She puts him in a place like this.'; *te-yemḍeɣ bħal-u* 'He chews like him'; *žibu-li le-bnat l-ʕazbat bħal-kum* 'Get me virgin girls like you.'

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[42] *baweṛḍ* is a very specific verb referring to a national traditional sport in Morocco, where men dressed up in traditional attire ride horses in dressage style whilst shooting in the air with rifles. It is seen regularly at *mewṣim* festivals (celebrating the birthday of some saint or prophet) or on the television.

mᵂur 'behind', as in: *ʕadallah mᵂur es-sdari* 'Abdallah is behind the couch.'

gŭddam 'in front of', as in: *ħett had l-ma gŭddam-u* 'He placed that water in front of him.'

5.4.1 – Some prepositions with pronominal suffixes

Some of the prepositions are regularly suffixed by pronominal suffixes. Since this phenomenon has already been described earlier, I will provide just one examples of this below, plus the negation thereof by means of the circumfix *ma-...-š*:

mʕa	'with'	negated:	
mʕa-ya	'with me'	*ma-mʕa-ya-š*	'not with me'
mʕa-k	'with you'	*ma-mʕa-k-š*	'not with you'
mʕa-h	'with him'	*ma-mʕa-h-š*	'not with him'
mʕa-ha	'with her'	*ma-mʕa-ha-š*	'not with her'
mʕa-na	'with us'	*ma-mʕa-na-š*	'not with us'
mʕa-kum	'with you'	*ma-mʕa-kum-š*	'not with you'
mʕa-hum	'with them'	*ma-mʕa-hum-š*	'not with them'

5.5 – Adverbs

5.5.1 – Some spatial adverbs

hnaya 'here', as in: *ža d-dib li hnaya* 'A wolf came to here.' *hnaya* is only used by speakers group A, which uses it in variation with *hna ~ hina*.

hna ~ hina 'here', as in: *kant hina, kant lhih* (B) 'She was here, she was there.' *nyeṣlu bi-h hna l-mwaʕn* 'Here we wash the dishes with it.' It is used by both speaker groups; Speaker B uses only *hina*.

temmaya 'there', as in: *rayeħ mʕa l-ɣlem temmaya* 'rest over there with the sheep.' *temmaya* is used only by speaker group A, which uses *temma* as well.

temma 'there', as in: *tħlleb men temma* 'Milk from there.' (from the udder, not from the horn). *temma* is used by both speaker groups, but speaker B uses only this, not *temmaya*.

lhih 'there' as in: *kant hina, kant lhi* (B) 'She was here, she was there.' *lhih* is used by both speaker groups. In my estimation, *lhih* is used to express that something is relatively far away, while *temma* and *temmaya* more neutrally mean 'there'.

ymin was elicited for 'right' and *šiman* for 'left'.

5.5.2 - Some temporal adverbs

daba 'now', as in: *ʕad ndebħ-eʔ daba* 'Just now I will slaughter you.' *daba* is also often used as interjection, like in: *bqa daba ʔber* 'Now, he continued to grow.'; *eh.. l-ʔeflam lli te-yʕažbu-ni huma lli te-yʔunu ye... yhaḍru ʕla... ʕla l-ʔešyaʔ lli tey e.. bħal daba ʔešyaʔ lli te-tʕežeb e... bħal e... ši bħal daba tʔul eflam dyal qatla.* 'Ehm, movies that I like are those that are, ehm... talking about... about things that... ehm, like, now, things that surprise... like ehm, something like, now, you say, action-movies.'

ɣedda 'tomorrow', as in: *ɣedda ma-a-nemši-š* 'Tomorrow I won't go.' But *ɣedda* also means 'the day after' as in: *ɣedda ˌweˌtani ʕṭa-ha l-mexyeṭ* 'Again, the day after he gave her the needle.'

lbareħ ~ mbareħ 'yesterday', as in: *ana lbareħ ʔent ʔa-nžemʕ el-xayma* 'Yesterday I was cleaning the house.'

wwel lbareħ 'the day before yesterday', as in: *wwel lbareħ ma-mšit-š* 'The day before yesterday I didn't go.'

bekri 'in the past', as in: *bekri maši ke-l-yum* 'In the past it was not like today.'; *kanu bekri ɣa l-kwanen, aš kant men ʕiša* 'In the past there were only stoves, what kind of a life was that?'

baqi 'still, still not', as in: *l-kafara bi-llah baqi ma-tfara* 'The unbelief in God is still not dealt with.'

dayma ~ dayman 'always', as in: *huwa dayma ka-ysuq be-šwiye* 'He always drives slowly.'; *dayman ta-yemši* 'He always goes.'

5.5.3 - Some manner adverbs

nišan 'exactly, directly', as in: *te-yṭiħu fe fe-l-ful eh taqada mʕa l-buṛḍu nišan* 'They stumbled upon bean plants that were exactly the size of the cane.'

hakak ~ huk ~ huka ~ hukkak ~ hukkʷak 'like that', as in: *ka-tban-lu l-wežh dyal-ha fe-l-ma bħal huk* 'Her face appeared to him in the water, like that.'; *bqat ka-ddir huka* 'She kept acting like that.'; *ʕa ka-ddir hukkak* 'She just acts like that.'

bħra 'barely', as in: *ra bħra tʔafit ana w ṛaṣ-i* 'It is barely enough for me and myself.'

bezzaf 'very, a lot', as in: *hiya zwina bezzaf* 'She is very pretty.'; *yḥḍer bezzaf huwaya* 'He talks a lot.'

be-šwiyya 'slowly', as in: *ṣleṭ be-šwiye* 'She sneaked away slowly.'

5.6 - Relativizer

lli 'that, who' is the relative pronoun that connects a noun or pronoun from the main clause to the subject or object of the subordinate (relative) clause. It can hence be translated by 'that' or 'who'. The preceding noun or pronoun (the antacedent), can appear in the relative sentence as the subject of a nominal clause, as a subject of a verbal clause, as an object of a verbal clause and as part of a prepositional phrase. Illustrated by examples of these four categories from the data:

Antecedent as subject of nominal clause:
l-axira lli dayyqa, maši ž-ženna 'It is the afterlife that is difficult, not paradise.'; *lli mṣebben yqʕŭd ħda-na* 'He who is washed sits besides us.'

Antecedent as subject of verbal clause:
get-lkum ʕla sidna suliman lli ke-yeħkem fe-ṭ-ṭŭyuṛ 'I told you about Sidna Suliman, who rules the birds.'; *škun lli deqq ʕla yaṛ-i?* 'Who (is the one that) knocked on my hole?'

Antecedent as object of verbal clause:
gal-lu hiya lli yadi yeʕṭi-ha š-šerbil 'He said to him that he would give her the slippers.'; *ma-ʕref-š l-leħma lli fi-ha l-ħikma* 'He does not know which is the piece of meat with the magic in it.'

Antecedent as part of prepositional phrase:
l-benna lli f-el-ʕdem maši f-el-lħem 'The deliciousness that is in the bone is not in the meat.'; *ža dak el-ʕessas lli be-ž-žnan* 'That guard who's at the plantations came.'

Normally, *lli* is not conjugated for number or gender. However, I have found a single, very clear example in the DUA data of what seems to be a relativizer conjugated for number: *lliw žberti gedd el-burdu ra-h dyan-na* 'The ones that you find like the cane (in length), those are ours.' In this sentence from a fairytale, *lliw* refers to bean-plants.

5.7 - Analytic possessive marker

Possession in DUA can be expressed either by a possessive suffix as described above, or by the analytic possessive markers *d-* and *dyal.* The choice to express possession by analytic marker or by a pronominal suffix is not entirely free: some categories, like body parts, usually take a suffix, while for possession of inanimate objects usually the analytic possessive marker is used. For some other categories both are possible, and even for the catagories for which a clear preference exists one can easily find exceptions. One example from the data of when both are apparently possible is from a fairy tale about two boys. The story starts with: *ʕend-na žuž drari, waħed hbil w waħed be-l-ʕqal dyal-u* 'There are two boys, one crazy and one who's at his withs' (literaly: 'one who has his mind.'). Here *dyal* is used while a bit further a suffix is used: *diʔ d-darri lli b-ʕaql-u* 'That boy who's at his wits' (who has his mind)'. Another example is in an interview, where the respondent recounts a movie-plot involving several family members: *hadiʔ l-ʔumm dyal l-ʕamm dyal-u a ṛebbat-u* 'That mother of his uncle just raised him.' In this sentence, the respondent uses *dyal* for family members, while suffixation is more common for family members.

Examples of *d* and *dyal* from the data are:

ʔliti l-ɣada d-xu-ya	'You ate my brother's lunch.'
kayn bezzaf d-el-faransiyin	'There are many French.'
ṭrabbat f-waħed el-xayma d-eʷlad ṣ ʷɣaṛ	'She was brought up in a small children's home.'

hiya l-baṭala dyal l-film	'She is the heroine of the movie.'
ka-tmši l-dak ž-žnan dyal ražl-ha	'She goes to that yard of her husband.'
matet-lu l-mra dyal-u	'His wife died.'
matet diža l-ʔab dyal-ha	'Her father had already died.'
lliw žberti gedd el-burdu ra-h dyan-na	'The ones that you find like the cane (in length), those are ours.'
yyam-kum zayna ħṣen men dyan-na	'Your days are better than mine.'

As can be seen from these examples, the possessor that follows *dyal* is either a (proper) noun or a pronominal suffix attached to *dyal*, while *d* is always followed by a noun. I am not sure whether a nomen is more often preceded by *d* or *dyal*, since both do not occur very

often in my data, but *dyal* generally more often than *d.* In the last two examples above it also shows that the *dyal*'s final consonant *l* usually assimilates to the initial *n-* of the 1st person plural pronominal suffix *–na*: **dyal-na → dyan-na.*

5.8 - Existential

DUA, like at least some other MA dialects[43], expresses 'there is' and 'there are', i.e. the presence of persons or items, not by a finite verb, but by an existential particle, which is an active participle of the verb *kan - ykun* 'to be'. This particle, unlike other participles, is conjugated only for gender and not number, and has hence two forms:

m.   *kayn*

f.   *kayna*

Both forms can probably be used to refer to the presence of masculine, feminine or plural persons or items. At least, *kayna* can be used for all catagories, *kayn* has only been observed for masculine and plural. During the elicitation, the respondent started out with *kayn*, after being asked to translate 'There is a big man.' from standard Arabic. *ražel* 'man' is grammatically masculine in DUA. The respondent then switched to *kayna* when we arrived at a grammatically feminine item, more specifically, the word 'woman'. From that moment on she continued to use *kayna*, also for sentences involving only masculine persons:

elicitation	English	DUA
hunāka raǧulun kabīrun	'There is a big man.'	*kayn ražel kbir*
hunāka imraʔatun kabīratun	'There is a big woman.'	*kayna mra kbira*
hunāka riǧalun kibārun	'There are big men.'	*kayna rižal kbar*
hunāka nisāʔun kabīrātun	'There are big women.'	*kayna ʕyalat kbar*
hunāka raǧulun qaṣīrun	'There is a short man.'	*kayna ražel qṣiweṛ*
hunāka imraʔatun qaṣīratun	'There is a short woman.'	*kayna mra qṣiwṛa*
hunāka riǧālun qiṣārun	'There are short men.'	*kayna rižal qṣiwren*
hunāka nisāʔun qaṣīrātun	'There are short women.'	*kayna ʕyalat qṣiwren*

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[43] Heath *Dialects*: 273.

In the stories in my data *kayn* can be heard in one sentence not as an existential, but as a participle forming the first part of a noun phrase that constitutes the predicate of a nominal sentence: *gal-li had ši kull-u kayn fe-l-ktab* 'He said to me that all of that stuff is in the book.' *kayn* is negated by the circumfix negation: *ma-kayn-š* 'there is no(t)'.

5.9 - Some coordinators

w ~ we ~ u 'and' These three allomorphs for 'and' are used by all speakers. *w* is heard most frequently before vowels. Before consonants both *we* and *u* are used. However, one must bear in mind that the situation is not always clear phonologically: between a vowel-final word and a following consonant-initial word, it can be difficult to determine whether one hears *u* of *w*. Examples from the data are:

žab l-ɣada w temm žayy	'He took the lunch and went off.'
gal-lu ra bħra tʔafit ana w ṛaṣ-i ana we l-xayyal	'He said to him: "It is barely enough for me and myself, me and the shadow.'
hiya ṭaret mʕa ṭuyuṛ we huwa mša le-l-glet	'She flew away with the birds and he went to the pond.'
xrežti mel ˌl-xayma u menni žebti-ha ʕad bqayti	'You left the house and when you got her only then you came back.'
bɣayti-ha u ṣafi	'You wanted it and that's all.'

Interestingly, *we* is conjugated for grammatical person when one refers to two different pronominals together[44]. The first pronominal then has the independent form, whilst the second is the pronominal suffix attached to a special form of *we*: *wiya*. Examples from the data are:

wiya-k	'and you'	*ana wiya-k nžibu-ha*	'you and me we go get her.'
wiya-h	'and he/him'	*ta-ytɣadaw huwa wiya-h*	'He had lunch with him.'
wiya-ha	'and she/her'	*bqat ʔa-ddabz hiya wiya-ha*	'She kept on arguing with her.'
		tfahmet hiya we-yaha	'She reached an agreement with her.'

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[44] Caubet lists *wiyya-* as the base for the koine, DUA *wiya-* however is pronounced with single *y*. cf. Caubet *l'Arabe Marocain*: 159, 224.

ula ~ wla 'or'. Both forms are heard in both speakers groups. Allomorph *ula* is usually heard after consonant-final words, *wla* after vowel-final words. After a negation, *ula ~ wla* means 'nor'. Some examples from the data:

hezz waqila ši xamsa wla stta	'He lifted perhaps some five or six.'
ṣir li… bḥal žit tʔreyyibat ula	'Go to… let's say the direction of *Tʔrayyibat* or
žit lwezzaʕa wla žit elqanṭra.	the direction of *Lwezzaʕa* or the direction of *Elqantra.*'
ma-bayn ula hada wla hada wla hada	'This wasn't visible, nor this, nor this, nor this.'

baš 'so that, with which'. baš is found in both speakers groups. It is found with affirmative subordinate clauses, as in: *ḍaṛbat-u be-l-meʕna baš yeʔref-ha* 'She stuck him with meaning so that he knew her.'; *žib li l-faxr baš nṭayeb el-ʕers* 'Get me coal so that I can cook for the wedding.' But also with negated subordinate clauses: *ḍehn-u fe-ḍ-ḍruž baš ma-ṭṭleʕ-š li-ʕand-u* 'he greased it on the stairs so that she would not come up to him.' In all these examples, the item or action by which something is accomplished and that triggers *baš* is explicit, but not in this example: *žibu-li baš nṭayeb el-ʕers* 'Get me _ so that/ with which I can cook for the wedding.'

Afore-mentioned **men** can also have a conjuncional meaning 'when, at the moment of':

men yṣelt le-mwaʕen glest ʔa-neḥfeḍ	'When I had washed the dishes I sat down to study.'
men tfahmu tʷŭllaw ṣhabat	'When they came to an agreement they became friends.'

5.10 - Conditionals

DUA has two conditionals: **ila** for hypothetical conditions and **ku** for counterfactuals. Both immediately precede a verb and both get a verb in a subordinate clause without conjunction.

Some examples of *ila* from the data are: *el-yum ila ma-bɣat-u-š, ma-yʕṭiw-ha-lu-š* 'Nowadays, if she does not love him they won't give her to him (in marriage).'; *ila xerreẓti-ni w dditi-ni ʕedd-u, nɣenni-k l-ɣenna-k llah* 'If you take me out and take me to him, I will make you very rich.'.

Some examples of *ku*: *ku ketti ʕemm el-ħmaṛ bel le-ħmaṛ, me ̣ṣ-ṣbaħ le-ṣ-ṣbaħ ka-yħeyyeḍu men teħt-kum ̣mŭd ̣dyal le-ɣbaṛ* 'If you were uncle donkey, son of a donkey, then from dusk till dawn they'd remove a bucket of manure from under you.'; *ku šaf-ha ku gal l-hel-ha nuḍu ha-ya ɣada* 'If he had seen her, he would have said to her family: "Get up! She is leaving."'

5.11 - Some question words

In interrogatives involving a question word, the question word usually starts the sentence. Apart from the question particle *waš*, listed here for completeness, the question word can also be placed at another point in the sentence, if it is topicalized for instance. I will list some common question words of DUA, providing examples and comments if relevant.

waš ~ weš is the general question particle, turning a statement into a question. As such, it is always placed at the beginning of the sentence or the subordinate clause. Examples from the data are: *waš dik l-bħayra dyal-ek?* 'Is that lake yours?'; *weš ɣa-teħkem ula?* 'Is she going to rule or what?'

škun 'who?', as in: *škun hada lli ža mʕa-k?* 'Who is that who came with you?'; *škun dda-ha fi-ha?* 'Who cares about her?'

šnu 'what?', as in: *šnu derti?* 'What did you do?'; *šnu had š-ši?* 'What is this?'; *šnu lli mzyan?* 'What is the good one?'

ʕlaš 'why?', as in: *ʕlaš ka-tebki?* 'Why are you crying?'

fugaš 'when?', as in: *fugaš žiti?* 'When did you come?'

kif ~ ki ~ kim 'how?', as in: *ki dayr?* 'How are you?; *kim dayr?* 'How are you?' *kif* is frequently shortened to *ki*, and *kim* was elicited as well in the same sentence.

kifaš 'how? (in what way?)'. Different from *kif* above, *kifaš* means 'how' as in 'what way?'. It is also used frequently on itself, meaning 'How do you mean?', not seldomly with a tone of scepticism. Examples are: *kifaš "l-ʕayn weqħet"*? 'How (do you mean) "The spring dried out?"; *kifaš ħlliti had l-bab*? 'How did you open this door?'

šħal 'how much?', as in: *šħal f-saʕa*? 'What time is it?' (lit: 'How much in the hour?'; *šħal daba ma-šeft-ek-š*? 'Since how long haven't I seen you?' (lit: 'How much now I did not see you?').

fayn 'where?', as in: *fayn ɣadi*? 'Where are you going?'; *fayn ħttayti-ha*? 'Where did you put it?'

5.12 - Numerals

Apart from their phonology, DUA numerals appear to be not very special for Moroccan numerals. Hereunder follows a list of 1 – 20 of cardinal numbers in DUA, supplemented by 1-12 of DUA ordinals. As one can see, the ordinals 1-10 have their own forms, which seem to be related to the active participle from of the root of the number, while those above 10 are identical to the corresponding cardinal plus the definite article. Ordinals were elicited in the sentence 'The first day': *l-yum l-uwwel* 'The second day' *l-yum et-tani* etc.

	Cardinals		Ordinals
'1'	*waħed*	'the first'	*l-uwwel*
'2'	*žuž*	'the second'	*et-tani*
'3'	*tlata*	'the third'	*et-talt*
'4'	*rbaʕ*	'the fourth'	*er-rabeʕ*
'5'	*xemsa*	'the fifth'	*el-xams*
'6'	*ssta*	'the sixth'	*s-sads*
'7'	*sebʕa*	'the seventh'	*es-sabeʕ*
'8'	*tmenya*	'the eighth'	*et-tamen*
'9'	*tsʕud*	'the ninth'	*et-taseʕ*
'10'	*ʕašra*	'the tenth'	*el-ʕašer*

'11'	ħdaš	'the eleventh'	el-ħdaš
'12'	tnaš	'the twelfth'	et-tnaš
'13'	tltaš		
'14'	rebʕataš		
'15'	xamestaš		
'16'	sstaš		
'17'	sbaʕtaš		
'18'	tmentaš		
'19'	tsaʕtaš		
'20'	ʕešrin		

6 - Verbal morphology

In this section a concise description will be offered of the main characteristics of the verbal morphology of Dgagʕa Arabic. I intend to describe the conjugation of the verb in perfect and imperfect aspect, and to describe the morphology of the imperative and participles. This will be done more extensively for the verbs of *measure* I and only briefly for the derived *measures.* In the templates outlined below, *C* stands for a consonant, *V* for a plain vowel and *v* for a short vowel. The short vowels could be *e* or *ŭ*, for all the slots, but the plain vowel in the verbs *mediae infermae* is either *i* or *u*, and the plain vowel in the verbs *tertiae infirmae* is either *i* or *a.*

6.1 - The verbal templates

The term *measure* is used in the arabist tradition to designate the verbal pattern in which the root segments are patterned. Measure I basically consists of three segments, which involve at least two consonants. The derived measures can have *t-* prefixed to the root or have the second root segment doubled, or have a plain vowel *a* between the first and second root consonant, or have a combination of these alterations. The derived measures are often derived from measure I, but for some derived verbs there exists no measure I form, so they are not derived in the literal sense per se.

All measures can have *strong* or *weak* roots. Strong roots are those that consist of three different consonants. Weak roots can have a (semi-)vowel as their first, second or third root segment, or can consist of two consonants of which the last is doubled. This last category of verbs is dubbed, in arabist tradition, the verbs *mediae geminatae.* Verbs that etymologically have *hamz* as their first root segment are called verbs *primae hamz.* Verbs that etymologically have *wāw* as their first root segment are called verbs *primae wāw.* Verbs that have a (semi-)vowel as their second root segment are called the verbs *mediae infermae* or *hollow* verbs. The verbs that have a (semi-)vowel as their final root segment are called the verbs *tertiae infirmae.* It is important to note that I place the verb *kla – yakul* 'to eat' under verbs *primae hamz.* All of the templates of measure I verbs, in the third person masculine singular, are then:

	perfect	imperfect	
strong	CCvC	yCCvC	This include the verbs *primae wāw*
mediae geminatae	CvC^2	yCvC^2	
primae hamz	CCa	yaCuC	Not all *primae hamz* get this pattern in
mediae infermae	CaC	yCVC	DUA
tertiae infirmae	CCa	yCCV	

In the data I have encountered four types of derived measures. Of these types measure II, characterized by a doubled second root segment, is the most common. Second is what Harrel calls measure Ia[45], characterized by a *t-* prefix. Measure III, characterized by the plain vowel *a* and IIIa[46] which has the same vowel and a *t-* prefix, are the least common in my data. I am positive that more derived measures exist in DUA, and that most of these will also have weak roots, but the limitations of my data allow me to just briefly comment on these four derived verbs. The templates for the third person masculine singular derived measures with strong roots are hence:

	perfect	imperfect
measure II	CvCCvC	yCvCCvC
measure Ia	tCCvC	ytCCvC
measure IIa	tCvCCvC	ytCvCCvC
measure III	CaCeC	yCaCeC
measure IIIa	tCaCvC	tCaCvC

Some examples from the data of the derived stems, both strong and weak, are: *nkettbu* 'we make (a *fqih*) write'; *wekkel-ha* 'he fed her'; *twellew* 'the returned to be'; *tfahmu* 'they came reached an agreement with each other'. On top of all these verbs that are directly or etymologically based on tri-segmental roots, there are also verbs that have a root of four segments as it base. Examples of these *quadriliteral* verbs are: *kerker* 'to croak'; *berber* 'to disguise'. Notice that both of these verbs consist of a reduplicated syllable. I am sure quadriliteral verbs with non-reduplicated forms are also used in DUA, but I do not have examples of these in my data.

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[45] Harrel *Moroccan Arabic*: 33.

[46] idem.

As a final remark, it is important to note that while the short vowels in the perfect are always *e*, in the imperfect and imperative of measure I this may also be *ŭ*. This is lexically determined and can hence not be predicted. The paradigm of the verb *mediae geminatae* below serves as an example of this.

6.2 - Schwa in consonant clusters in the verb

As has been mentioned in the section on syllabification, DUA differs from some MA dialects in that some sequences in consonant clusters in verbs are systematically broken up by schwa for all speakers. It is important to note this again at this point, since this happens most often in the conjugation of verbs. In short, this means that clusters of the second and third root consonants are broken up by schwa when these clusters consist of two or more stops, or of one or more fricatives and a stop as third root-consonant. These scenario's only arise when the second and third root consonants were to make contact, which, for strong verbs of measure I, happens in the third person feminine singular of the perfect, for example in **ketbet* 'she wrote'→ [ˈkətˤəbətˤ]; in the third person plural of the perfect: **ketbu* → [ˈkətˤəbu]; in the second person singular feminine of the imperfect: **tketbi* → [ˈtkətˤəbi] and in other places. If the third root consonant is not a stop, or if the second root consonant is not a stop or a fricative, the verb is pronounced without schwa in that position (as is common for some other Moroccan Arabic dialects[47]). These rules also hold for verbs of the derived measures, where clusters of three consonants can arise only if in compliance with these rules. Since I have analyzed this schwa as non-phonemic, I will omit it in the phonemic transcriptions.

6.3 - Conjugational affixes

The following schemes provide a quick and simplified overview of the affixes of the conjugation of the verbs in the perfect and imperfect sense. As will become clear in the paradigms of the conjugated verbs in the next section, additional morphological changes may occur on the verb stem or on the affix, depending on the nature of the first and last segments of the verbs' root and its' combination with the conjugational affix. These schemes may be seen as the basic affixes for the conjugation of strong, measure I verbs.

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[47] Harrel *Moroccan Arabic*: 45-47.

6.3.1 - Conjugational affixes for the perfect tense

	singular	plural
1	-t	-na
2	-ti	-tu
3m.	-	
3f.	-et[*1]	
3		-u[*2]

*1: after vowel-final verbs and some hollow verbs the 3sgf. suffix is *t*, as in *kla-t* 'she ate', *bɣa-t* 'she wanted' and *daz-t* 'she passed'. When a pronominal suffix is added to the base of one of the other forms, *e* is replaced by the plain vowel *a*: *ʕawnet* 'she helped' + -*u* (3sgm.) → *ʕawnat-u* 'she helped him'

*2: suffixed to the stem final vowel of the verbs *primae hamz* and verbs *tertiae infirmae*, the 3pl. suffix *u* is added directly to the base vowel –*a*, yielding a diphthong –*aw*, as in: *kla-w* 'thay ate' and *ʕta-w* 'they gave'.

6.3.2 - Conjugational affixes for the imperfect tense

	singular	plural
1	ne-[*1]	n-...-u[*5][*6]
2m.	te-[*1][*2]	
2f.	t-...-i[*2][*3]	
2		t-...-u[*2][*5][*6]
3m.	ye-[*4]	
3f.	te-[*1][*2]	
3		y-...-u[*5][*6]

*1: In accordance with the general syllabification rules of DUA, *e* of the prefixes is dropped when placed in an open syllable, for example before a hollow verb. In addition to this, it is important to note that *e* is not always phonetically present, even when it is phonemically there. In that case, one hears no vowel but clearly hears a syllable around where should

have been *e*, like in *tekteb* 'you write' → [tˢktˢˈəb]. In these cases I do write *e* in the phonemic transcriptions.

*2: prefix *t-* assimilates to stem initial *t-, ṭ-, d-* and *ḍ-*, as in: *ṭ-ṭiħ* 'you fall' and *d-dir* 'you do'.

*3: 2sgf. suffix *-i* is added directly to the base vowel for vowel-final verbs, yielding a diphthong *-ay*, as in *t-qra-y* 'you study'. The suffix is absent after stem-final i, as in: *te-ddi* 'you take'.

*4: 3sgm. prefix *y-* is usually vocalized before hollow verbs, as in *y-šuf* [iˈʃuf]. In the transcriptions I chose to write *y* consistently, since a single *y* always syllabifies either with *e* before a cluster or as vocalized *i* and its realization is hence predictable.

*5: since the syllabification of the imperfective of measure I *tertiae infermae* does not have *e* between the first and second root consonant in the plurals (as strong measure I verbs do), anaptyctic schwa is inserted before the first root consonant, or added to the prefix, as one likes.

*6: suffixed to the stem final vowel of the verbs *tertiae infirmae*, the plural suffix *-u* is added directly to the base vowel, yielding a diphthong, as in: *n-bɣi-w* 'we want'.

6.4 - Conjugation: paradigms and comments

6.4.1 - Verbs measure I strong

Perfect

Taking the third person singular masculine as the base, the perfect of strong measure I verbs takes the form *CCvC*. The conjugational affixes are added to this and the result is syllabified according to the rules described in the phonology chapter of this thesis.

	kteb	'to write'	*xrež*	'to go out'
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	*ktebt*	*ktebna*	*xrežt*	*xrežna*
2	*ktebti*	*ktebtu*	*xrežti*	*xrežtu*
3m.	*kteb*		*xrež*	
3f.	*ketbet*		*xeržet*	
3		*ketbu*		*xeržu*

Imperfect

The base form of the imperfect of strong measure I verbs 3sgm. is *yCCvC*.

	kteb	'to write'	*xrež*	'to go out'
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	*nekteb*	*nketbu*	*nxrež*	*nxeržu*
2m.	*tekteb*		*txrež*	
2f.	*tketbi*		*txerži*	
2		*tketbu*		*txeržu*
3m.	*yekteb*		*yxrež*	
3f.	*tekteb*		*txrež*	
3		*yketbu*		*yxeržu*

Imperative

The imperative of strong measure I verbs has the form of the imperfective without the conjugational prefix.

	kteb 'to write'		*xrež* 'to go out'
m.	*kteb!*		*xrež!*
f.	*ketbi!*		*xerži!*
pl.	*ketbu!*		*xeržu!*

Participles

As can be seen in the examples below, the active participle of strong measure I verbs has the form *CaCeC* for the masculine, and endings *–a* and *–en* are added for the feminine and the plural. Schwa between C^2 and C^3 is elided when a suffix is added to the base. The passive participle has the form *meCCuC* for the masculine, and endings *–a* and *–en* are added for the feminine and the plural.

	kteb 'to write'		*xrež* 'to go out'

Active participle

m.	*kateb*	*xarež*
f.	*katbi*	*xarža*
pl.	*katben*	*xeržen*

Passive participle

m.	*mektub*	-[*1]
f.	*mektuba*	-
pl.	*mektuben*	-

*1: I have not elicited the passive participles for *xrež*, but one can assume it has the same form as other measure I passive participles.

6.4.2 - Verbs measure I *mediae geminatae*

<u>Perfect</u>

The base form of the perfect of verbs measure *mediae geminatae* 3sgm. is *CvCC*, where C^2 and C^3 are identical and hence form one lengthened consonant. When a consonant initial conjugational suffix is added to the base, *i* is inserted between the base and that suffix.

ħell   'to open'

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1	ħellit	ħellina
2	ħelliti	ħellitu
3m.	ħell	
3f.	ħellet	
3		ħellu

<u>Imperfect</u>

The base form of the imperfect of verbs measure I *mediae geminatae* 3sgm. is *yCvCC*. Note here the short vowel *ŭ* in the base of the imperfect and the imperative.

ħell   'to open'

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1	nħŭll	nħŭllu
2m.	tħŭll	
2f.	tħŭlli	
2		tħŭllu
3m.	yħŭll	
3f.	tħŭll	
3		yħŭllu

Imperative

The imperative of measure I verbs *mediae geminatae* has the form of the imperfective without the conjugational prefix:

ħell   'to open'

m.	*ħŭll!*
f.	*ħŭlli!*
pl.	*ħŭllu!*

Participles

The active participle of measure I verbs *mediae geminatae* has the form *CaCC* for the masculine, and endings *–a* and *–en* are added for the feminine and the plural. The passive participle takes the form *mCCuC*, where the final geminate is split up by *u*.

ħell   'to open'

<u>Active participle</u>

m.	*ħall*
f.	*ħalla*
pl.	*ħallen*

<u>Passive participle</u>

m.	*meħlul*
f.	*meħlula*
pl.	*meħlulen*

6.4.3 – Verbs measure I *hollow*

<u>Perfect</u>

The base form of the perfect of measure I hollow verbs 3sgm. is *CaC*. When a consonant-initial suffix is added to the base, the plain vowel *a* is replaced by *e*:

šaf 'to see'

	singular	plural
1	*šeft*	*šefna*
2	*šefti*	*šeftu*
3m.	*šaf*	
3f.	*šafet*[*1]	
3		*šafu*

*1: There is free variation regarding the 3sgf. suffix of hollow verbs, since both *šafet* and *šaft* are heard even from the same speaker (group B).

<u>Imperfect</u>

In the imperfect, measure 1 hollow verbs either have *u, i* or *a* between C^1 and C^2. This is lexically determined and cannot be predicted. The base form of the imperfect of measure I hollow verbs 3sgm. is *yCVC*:

šaf 'to see'   *dar* 'to do'   *xaf* 'to be afraid'

	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	*nšuf*	*nšufu*	*ndir*	*ndiru*	*nxaf*	*nxafu*
2m.	*tšuf*		*ddir*		*txaf*	
2f.	*tšufi*		*ddiri*		*txafi*	
2		*tšufu*		*ddiru*		*txafu*
3m.	*yšuf*		*ydir*		*txaf*	
3f.	*tšuf*		*ddir*		*yxaf*	
3		*yšufu*		*ydiru*		*yxafu*

Imperative

Also for the measure I hollow verbs; the imperative has the form of the imperfective without the conjugational prefix:

	šaf	'to see'	*dar*	'to do'	*xaf*	'to be afraid'
m.	*šuf!*		*dir!*		*xaf!*	
f.	*šufi!*		*diri!*		*xafi!*	
pl.	*šufu!*		*diru!*		*xafu!*	

Participles

The base form of the active participles measure I hollow verbs is *CayC*, *CayeC* in slow speech but only for the masculine (without suffix). Passive participles were not elicited.

	šaf	'to see'	*dar*	'to do'	*xaf*	'to be afraid'
m.	*šayf*[*1]		*dayr*[*1]		*xayf*[*1]	
f.	*šayfa*		*dayra*		*xayfa*	
pl.	*šayfen*		*dayren*		*xayfen*	

As mentioned above, *šayef*, *dayer* and *xayef* can be heard in slowly articulated speech. The extra schwa is, however, never present if a suffix (conjugational or pronominal) follows.

6.4.4 - Verbs measure I *tertiae infirmae*

Perfect

The base form of the perfect of measure I verbs *tertiae infirmae* 3sgm. is *CCa*. When a consonant-initial conjugational suffix is added, the final *a* of the base is changed to the diphthong *ay*, except for 3sgf., which gets the suffix *t* attached directly to stem-final *a*. This has been attested for other verbs as well: *tweḍḍayt* 'I washed myself for ablution' and *waš xrayti?* 'Did you poop?'. However, conjugation of *tertiae infirmae* verbs with *i* instead of the diphthong is also heard a couple of times: *dditi* 'you took', which makes it difficult to decide on the status of the diphthong. In my estimation, *tertiae infirmae* verbs are usually

conjugated with *ay* rather than *i*. For 3pl. the conjugational suffix *-u* is attached directly to the stem to form the diphthong *aw*:

bɣa   'to want'

	singular	plural
1	bɣayt	bɣayna
2	bɣayti	bɣaytu
3m.	bɣa	
3f.	bɣat	
3		bɣaw

Imperfect

The base form of the imperfect of measure I *tertiae infermae* verbs 3sgm. is *ybɣi*. The *–u* suffix of the plural forms is attached to the *i* of the base directly to form the diphthong *iw*:

bɣa   'to want'

	singular	plural
1	nebɣi	nebɣiw[*1]
2m.	tebɣi	
2f.	tebɣi	
2		tebɣiw[*1]
3m.	yebɣi	
3f.	tebɣi	
3		yebɣiw[*1]

*1: since the syllabification of the imperfective of measure I *tertiae infermae* does not have *e* between the first and second root consonant in the plurals (as strong measure I verbs do), an anaptyctic schwa is inserted before the first root consonant.

Imperative

The data does not offer the imperative of *bɣa* 'to want', but does contain the imperatives of *dda* 'to take', which is, apart from having a geminate first root consonant, also a verb *tertiae*

infirmae. Its imperatives are identical in pattern: the imperfective without the conjugational prefix:

> *dda* 'to take'

m.	*ddi*!
f.	*ddi*!
pl.	*ddiw*!

Participles

The base form of the active participles of the measure I verbs tertiae infirmae is *CaCi*. When a vowel-initial suffix is added, the stem final *-i* naturally becomes *y*. Passive participles were not elicited.

> *bɣa* 'to want'

m.	*baɣi*
f.	*baɣya*
pl.	*baɣyen*

6.4.5 - Vowel-final verbs measure I *primae hamz

Perfect

The base form of the perfect of some measure I verbs *primae hamz* 3sgm. is *CCa*. Examples of this are *kla* 'to eat' and *xda* 'to take'. Other *primae hamz* verbs such as *ʔamen* 'to trust' retain initial *hamza*, but apart from a few instances in the recorded stories I have not elicited these verbs systematically, so I cannot say anything for sure about their conjugation. Comparing the DUA vowel-final *primae hamz* verbs to the historical form *ʔakal*, it seems that the initial glottal stop *ʔ* (*hamza* in Arabic) plus its vowel are dropped, and that the verb is compensatorily lengtened by adding *–a* to the stem. Before consonant-initial conjugational suffixes, this *a* is changed to *i*. It is important to note that this only happens for conjugational suffixes: for instance *kla* + pronominal 2pl. *–kum → kla-kum* 'he ate you (pl)'. It is also worthwhile to note that, while the stem final *-a* of verbs tertiae infirmae is changed

into a diphthongue *ay* before consonant-initial conjugational suffixes, this does not happen for the verbs *primae hamz*, compare: *byayt* 'I wanted' vs. *klit* 'I ate'.

       kla   'to eat'

	singular	plural
1	*klit*	*klina*
2	*kliti*	*klitu*
3m.	*kla*	
3f.	*klat*	
3		*klaw*

Imperfect

The base form of the imperfect of vowel-final measure I *primae hamz* verbs 3sgm. is *yaCuC*. In comparing the imperfect to the perfect, we see the final *–a* once again dropped and *a* inserted between the conjugational prefix and the first root consonant:

       kla   'to eat'

	singular	plural
1	*nakŭl*	*naklu*[*1]
2m.	*takŭl*	
2f.	*takli*[*1]	
2		*taklu*[*1]
3m.	*yakŭl*	
3f.	*takŭl*	
3		*yaklu*[*1]

*1: the short vowel *ŭ* is dropped in an open syllable resulting from the addition of a vowel-initial suffix.

<u>Imperative</u>

The form of the imperative of measure I *primae hamz* verbs is interesting, since the short vowel *ŭ* between *C¹* and *C²* is changed to plain *u*, which is often pronounced longer and never syncoped:

        kla   'to eat'

m.   *kul*!
f.   *kuli*!
pl.   *kulu*!

<u>Participles</u>

The form of the active participles of measure I *primae hamz* verbs is also interesting, since here a *w* appears in the slot where the first consonant would be in strong measure I active participles. Passive participles were not elicited:

        kla   'to eat'

m.   *wakel*
f.   *wakla*
pl.   *waklen*

6.5 - Verbal particles

DUA, like most other Moroccan Arabic varieties, uses a few verbal particles to express nuances in tense and aspect. These particles come directly before the verb and are part of the negated verb, falling between the circumfix. The verbal particles are only used in combination with the imperfective. The DUA verbal particles are:

ka ~ ke ~ ʔa / ta ~ te expresses the durative or habitative, as in: *ka-ndawweš* 'I am taking a shower'; *te-yʕawn-u dima* 'he always helps him.' *ka* and *ta* and their respective allomorphs are used interchangeably by all speakers.[48]

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[48] According to Caubet, *ta* is marginal next to *ka* in the MA *koine*. In DUA they are used in approximately the same frequency. cf Caubet *L'Arabe Marocain*: 32.

ɣadi / ɣa ~ ʕa ~ a expresses the future tense, like in: *ɣadi yeʕti-ha š-šerbil* 'he will give her slippers'; *ʕa-ysafru* 'they will travel.' *ɣadi* is used less frequent than *ɣa* and its allomorphs. When negated, *ɣadi* is negated in stead of the verb, compare: *ma-ɣadi-š nʕawed-lek* 'I will not repeat it for you.' vs. *ma-ɣa-yddi-h-š* 'he will not take him.' Both *ɣa* and its allomorphs *ʕa* and *a* are used frequently by all speakers.

6.6 - Verbal negation

Verbs, both finite and nonfinite, are negated by the circumfix *ma-...š*, as in: *ma-kla-š* 'he did not eat' *ma-ta-yeʕti-ha-lu-š* 'he never gives it to him'. Imperatives are negated by negation of the second person imperfect, so: *ħell*! 'open!' → *ma-tħell-š* 'do not open'; *dir*! 'do!' → *ma-ddir-š* 'don't'.

6.7 - Children words

A very interesting part of DUA speech is the occurrence of children words. These words are not verbs in the narrow sense, at least they are not used in the same way necessarily, but they can still be classified under verbs in my opinion, since their meaning is often verbal, and some of them are even inflected sometimes. Their form is usually that of a doubled syllable, like the quadriliteral verbs above. A few examples of children words that were often heard in Dgagʕa are:

fufu	'do not touch' (dangerous)	*tataħ*	'to hit'
xixi	'do not touch' (dirty)	*mimi*	'to eat'
nini	'to sleep'	*titi*	'to sit'

Usually these words were used unconjugated, like *daba titi hina* 'now sit here'. To my amusement however, when I conjugated some of them, this did not raise eyebrows with the adults and was even repeated a few times, like: *baba w mama yniniw* 'Daddy and mama are sleeping' or *kull d-drari yniniw* 'All the childeren are asleep'.

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Appendices

In order to provide the opportunity to see the language of this study in larger portions, a selection of three recordings is presented here. It concerns two fairy-tales, one from speakers group A and one from speakers group B, and a part of an interview with a speaker from group B. This is only a small selection from my data, but hopefully enough for a lively illustration. The data is presented with its title and group reference; a phonemic transcription, with translation on the siding page and a narrow phonetic transcription in *IPA*. This last transcription is without any interpunction, and has the corresponding phonemic interpretation in the line directly above it, to reveal my analysis and facilitate further analyses.

The two brothers – Speakers group A

ʕend-na žuž drari, waħed hbil w‿waħed be-l-ʕqel dyal-u. nnaqqez waħe‿ n-nhaṛ, ʕṭa-hum bbʷa-hum əl-ful, ful dyan-na hnaya. a-yddiw yzerrʕu-h f-waħe‿ l-blad. te-yhezzu-h, ta-yeʕṭi-hum taman n-nhaṛ dyal-hum we yemšiw yxedmu. ta-yemšiw le-blad el-fuq u ma-te-yzerʕu-š daʔ el-ful: te-yaʔlu-h. we t-yemšiw. t-yemšiw ʕad bbʷa-hum, te-yʔulu: "ra-ħna zreʕna-h. zreʕna." uw te-yehewwdu. u l-ɣedda ‿wed tani te-yeʕṭey-hum nafs el-mŭšʔel. ta-yeʕṭi-hum ʕawd tani l-ful matalan. te-yemšiw le-blad te-yzerʕu. ma-t-yzerʕu-hum ... l-u. ɣi te-yaʔlu-h, te-yhabṭu l-ḍ-ḍaṛ.

waħed n-nhaṛ huma mšaw. bqa daba ʔber huwa l-ful, w ʕṭa-hum waħed, e matalan, waħed le-mḍall ula burdu. ʔal-lu: "ha l-burdu, ṣir! ḍuṛ! lliw žberti gedd el-burdu: ra-h dyan-na." huma mšaw. temm ɣadi, te-yqalleb: hada qṣiṛ, hada ṭwil, hada qṣiṛ, hada ṭwil. huma te-yṭeyħu fe fe-l-ful, eh, taqada mʕa l-burdu nišan. u mni weṣṣlu ya te-tšuf-u mmʷi l-ɣula bʕida. ʕad-ha waħed el-farruž fe-žemb eḍ-ḍaṛ. te-yenuḍ, te-yeqaʕqed, te-yebqa yʔul-lha: "quqʕuuu! ši nas fe-l-ful dyan-na!" (fhemti?) uw hiya te-texrež. had el-mra ʕad-ha eh ʕad-ha bzazel ʔḅaṛ. ermat waħda le-had ži waħda le-had ži, w temmet ɣada. temmet ɣada w šddet-hum, haduʔ ed-drari, w žabet-hum. žabet-hum ta l-ʕad-ha le-ḍ-ḍaṛ. w bbʷa-hum ma-lsaq-lhum-š le-xbaṛ. bqaw mʕa-ha fe-ḍ-ḍaṛ.

te-teʕṭi-hum. mšaw te-ysarħu. te-ysarħu l-ɣlem we l-mʕaz. temmu ɣaden te-ysarħu l-ɣuma. we te-yemši daʔ ed-darri te-yžib el-ɣada men ʕad emmʷi l-ɣula. (had l-mra lli hdert-leʔ ʔli-ha). te-yemši w te-teʕṭi-h l-ɣada. te-jžib-u-lha. te-yžib-u-lha u d-darri xu-h. te-yžib-u ta-ytɣadaw huwa wiya-h. dayman ta-yemši. te-ybqa daʔ en-nhaṛ, waħed diʔ en-nharyat: "ʔa a nžarreb xu-ya, ḷḷah rbbi welli-lu le-ʕqel dyal-u." menni ṣarad xu-h yžib-lu l-ɣada me‿ ḍ-ḍaṛ... menni mša l-ḍ-ḍaṛ dyal-hum, žab l-ɣada ma-ši dyal-hum, dyal diʔ le-mra lli šadda-hum. žab l-ɣada w temm žayy.

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The two brothers

There were two boys: one retarded and one who was at his wits. I leap to one day, when their father gave them beans, like the beans we have here, for them to take and sow in another land. They took it, he gave them their days wage and they're off to work. They go to the land up there, but they don't sow those beans: they eat them. Then, they leave again. They go to their father and say to him: "We sowed." And they went back again. The next they he gave them the same matter: let's say that he gave them beans again. They go to the land to sow it for him. But they don't sow it for him, they just eat it and go back home.

One day they left. The beans (would) have grown. The father gave them a, let's say, an umbrella or cane. He said to them: "Here is a cane. Go and search (for the bean-plants). Those that you find as big as the cane are ours." They went. They went and searched: that one is too short, that one is too long, that one is too short, that one is too long, until they stumbled on bean-plants that were exactly as big as the cane. When they arrived an *ogres*[49] saw them from afar. She has a rooster next to the house. He gets up and crows: "cock-a-doodle-doooo! There are people between our bean-plants!" (Do you follow it?) She goes out. That women has large breasts: she throws one over this shoulder and one over that shoulder and gets on her way. She went and she fetched them, those boys, and took them. She took them with her to her house. This news did not reach their father. They stayed with her in the house.

She gave them (cattle). They went and grazed the sheep and the goats. They went to graze this day, and the one boy (who's at his wits) usually goes to get lunch from the ogres (that women that I told you about). He goes, and she gives him lunch. He gets it for her and for his brother. They have lunch together. He always goes, but he stayed that day, one of those afternoons (and thought): "Let's try my brother this time, hopefully[50] his mind returned to him." When he send his brother to fetch him lunch from the house… When he (the retarded brother) went to their house, he took the lunch that was not theirs, but of that woman that held them. He took the lunch and went back.

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[49] a *ɣula* is a female ogre, a men-eating being.

[50] The teller uses the expression llah ya rbbi, which is actually an invocation asking God to do something.

žayy u te-yaʔul. te-yemḍeɣ we l-xeyyal dyal-u ta-ybaˌ-lu. ta huwa te-yemḍeɣ bħal-u. te-yḍrŭb ḍayma l-fumm-u wu ḍayma ta-yeʕṭi-ha l-l-xeyyal dyal-u, te-yẓewweṭ-ha fi-l-ʔarḍ. huwa ɣadi. fi-ma yħbes fŭmm-u, te-yʔul-lu: "hay, ma-te-taʔul-š! hay, qaṣṣi!"

waħeˌ n-nhaṛ ʕawed tani, temm yewṣel le-ʕad-u. wṣel ʕad xu-h. ʔal-lu: "fayn huwa l-ɣada?" gal-lu: "ra bħra tʔafit ana w ṛaṣ-i, ana we l-xayyal, ana w saħb-i." w hadiʔ d-darri axu-h ʔal-lu: "rayeħna mʕa l-ɣlem." rayeħ mʕa l-ɣlem temmaya, we diʔ d-darri lli b-ʕeql-u ržeʕ. temm žayy w te-ylaqeṭ be-ḍayma. ta-yhezz-ha meˌ l-ʔarḍ w yaʔul-ha, ta wṣel ta l-ḍ-ḍaṛ ta l-fŭmm l-bab dyal ḍ-ḍaṛ. šbeʕ. ržeʕ f-ħalat-u le ʕad xu-h, wŭ hadiʔ n-neʕža zber le-ɣlem w-hya (te-t...) ta-tžer. ħayt hiya te-taʔul daba be-n-nhaṛ, wu fe-l-layl te-tebqa ddžer. ta-tebqa (te) temḍeɣ. te-džbed el-maʔla w... w hu lli šaf-ha te-džer bħal huʔ, ʔul-ha: "nti ḍerba!" ḍerb-ha, te-yeqtel-ha. "fayn ma derti?" diʔ ha te-džer te-yʔul-ha: "enti ʔliti l-ɣada d xu-ya." lli žber te-yqtel-ha.

ma ža xu-h ywṣel l-ʕend-u, žber feḍḍa mʕa l-ɣlem. ʔal-lu: "a xu-y, šnu derti?" ʔal-lu: "hiya ʔlat e.... ʔlat el-ɣada dyal-ʔ u-na te-neqtel-ha." ʔal-lu: "ha-teqtel-na daba, ila ža ṣaqeṭ-na ˌl-xbar, mmʷi l-ɣula teqtel-na." ʔal-lu: "laʔ, ma-ṭra-na walu. ʔa-nmšiw ʔul-lhum we ra l-ħal: ḍ-ḍib ra-h žayy, ʔla-ha w ħṛeb. we hiya te-temm žayya fe-l-ʕašiya. temmet žayya, lʔat l-ɣlem ʔŭll-ha mšebħa fe-l-ʔarḍ. (ʔal-lu...) (ʔa)t-lu: "šnu had š-ši?" gal-lha: "ra ža d-dib li-hnaya w ra xellaʕ-na ˌla l-ɣlem." gat-lu: "maši mŭšʔel." hezz waqila ši xamsa wla stta, ddaw-h. ddaw-hum li-ḍ-ḍaṛ, selxu-hum w ta-yaʔl-hum.

w hadu žaw, haduʔ sbaʕ darriyat xut-u, žaw l-ʕend-ha sbeʕ darriyat, xut-hum haduʔ drari. žaw l-ʕend-ha le-ḍ-ḍaṛ. žaw l-ʕend-ha le-ḍ-ḍaṛ, meni mšat. žaw xut-hum, ʔalu-lhum: "ma-tbatu-š mʕa-ha! lli ra ybatu meˌ tuma ʕa-teqtel-ʔum." feʕlan: lli batu ʕa-teqtel-hum. hadiʔ n-nharˌ hazzuˌ w zadu b-ħalat-hum.

On his way back he ate (the lunch). He was chewing, and his shadow appeared. His shadow also chewed, just like him. He puts a bite into his mouth and he gives a bite to his shadow: he throws it on the ground. He goes on, and whenever he stops chewing, he says to him: "Hey! Don't eat! Hey! Stop that!"

One day, he arrived at his brother. His brother said to him: "Where is the lunch?" He replied: "It was barely enough for me and myself, for me and the shadow, for me and my friend." His brother, the other boy, said to him: "Let's take a rest with the sheep." He went to take a rest with the sheep over there, and that boy who has his proper mind went back. He went and he found a piece (of food). He took it from the ground and ate it, until he reached the house, till the opening of the door of the house. He was full, and so he went back to his brother. That goat (that is: the retarded brother) had found the sheep chewing. (That is because they eat now, during the day, and in the evening they keep on re-chewing it. It keeps chewing: it gets the food up and...[51]) He who saw it chewing like that, said to it: "He's a punch for you." He hit her. He kills her. "What did you do?!" It chews and he says: "You ate my brothers' lunch!" Whichever sheep he found (chewing), he killed.

When his brother came and arrived at him, he found that he had finished off the sheep. He said to him: "What have you done, my brother?" He replied: "It ate ehm... It ate your lunch and I killed it." He said to him: "She will kill us now. If she[52] comes and we let this news get out, the ogres will kill us." He replied: "No, nothing will happen to us. We will go and say to them: "Look, this is the situation: a wolf came, ate them and fled."" In the evening she came. She came, and found all the sheep lying on the ground. (He said to him...) She said to him: "What is this?" He replied: "A wolf has come here and took the sheep from us." She replied: "No problem." He lifted some five or six from the fround and took them. They took them to the house, skinned them and ate them.

Those seven brothers of them came. They came to her: seven brothers, brothers of those boys. They came to her to the house when she had left. Their brothers came to them and said to them: "Don't spend the night with her! She will kill those of you that spend the night with her!" And that was really so: she would kill those who spend the night. The same day they took their things and left.

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[51] The teller was trying to explain the phenomenon of remunation.
[52] The teller actually uses the masculine form of the verb here.

huma te-ydaxlu, te-ytʕeqdu, w xu-h, daba xu-h daʔ lli b-ʕeql-u, ha-yšuf l-ši ħila lli ydir yeqtel-ha. uw hadaʔ d-darri mesʔin lli ma-ʕad-u-š l-ʕqel, a-h f-wŭṣṭ el-mraħ, hezz l-ɣayṣ, u te-ylʕeb bi-h f-weṣṭ el-mraħ. te-ydir hadi w... (fhemti-ni?) (huwa te-y...).

d-darri xu l-axŭṛ awe tani te-yšuf-lu l-ħall lli ʕe-ydir yeqtel-ha. w-hiya ta-tšedd-u hadaʔ d-darri lli b-ʕeql-u, ta-dexxl-u l-maħal bħal hada. ta-teʕṭi-h l-luz w... baš yesman ʕa-ddebħ-u. (ʕaṭa-ha...) ʕaṭat-u l-mftaħa we l-mexyeṭ we l-mṭerqa. ha-yeʕṭi-ha l-mftaħa hiya l-uʷla u yeṭbeħ-ha l-mexyeṭ ʕad el-mṭerqa u sddet ʕli-h. dyal eh... yexrŭž fi-ha ɣlayḍ huwaya. te-tsedd ʕli-h el-bab. ʕṭat-u l-maʔla, ʕṭat-u ʔŭll ši. seddet ʕali-h el-bab. huwa diʔ en-nhariyat ʕṭa-ha l-mftaħa hiya l-uʷla. ra baqi, zeʕma šwiye baqi. ula yedda we tani ʕṭa-ha l-mexyeṭ. w-ula habet. yedda ʕawe tani ʕṭa-ha l-mṭerqa. gat-lu: "daba smenti, daba ʕa-nxerrž-eʔ, ʔad ndebħ-eʔ daba." ʔal-lha: "wxxa maši mŭšʕel. a xerrežti-ni daba." yeḷḷah fteħ li-ha l-bab, žbar hina ʔamel l-asans w txarbayq. yeḷḷah fteħ li-ha l-bab, žbed-ha, žbed-ha l-ʕend-u. huwa xrež, sedd ʕli-ha l-bab, w šaʕel briʔa, w šaʕel ʕli-ha l-ʕafiya fe-m-maħal. u ṭleʕ ... žab l-ɣasul, lli te-nɣeṣlu bi-h hna l-mwaʕn, ḍahn-u fe-ḍ-ḍruž baš ma-ṭṭleʕ-š li-ʕend-u. u xeržet, xeržet me-l-bab, u temma ṭalʕa l-ʕand-u, sbbab eh sbbab el-mut dyal-ha: matet fe-ḍ-ḍruž. iwa ṣafi.

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They go in and are tied. His brother, the brother that has his proper mind, will look for some ruse to kill her, while the retarded boy is in de courdyard, just taking up de mud and playing with it, in the middle of the courtyard. He does this and... (Do you understand?) He...

Now the boy, that other brother, is looking for the solution that would kill her. She grabs that boy that is at his wits, and puts him in a place like this. She gives him almonds, so that he becomes fat and she will slaughter him. (He gave her...) She gave him a small needle, a large needle[53] and a hammer. She will give him the small needle first, the big needle will follow it and then the hammer. She locked him in, so that he will come out fat. She locked the door behind him and gave him food, she gave him everything. She locked the door behind him. Those days, he gave her the key first. (So, he is still a little, you know...) The day after he gave her the needle, and when she came the day after that he gave her the hammer. She said to him: "Now you have become fat. Only now I will take you out and slaugher you." He said to her: "Fine, no problem, just take me out now." Here he goes: he opens the door for her. He had found a lot of gasoline and *txarbayq*[54]. He opens the door for her, he pulls her towards him and then he goes out and closes the door behind him. He lights up a lighter, and sets the place on fire for her. Then he goes up, gets the *ɣaṣul*[55] (that we use here to clean the dishes with) and greases the stairs with it so that she can't get to him. She went out, out of the door, and there, going up to him, he caused her death: she died on the stairs. So that's it.

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[53] *mexyeṭ*: large needle up to two feet long (see: Harrel: *A dictionary of Moroccan Arabic*). The point is that each of the items is thicker than the preceding one, so that the ogresse can compare in to his fingers to see if he has gained weight.

[54] Word unknown, Harrel mentions it only as verbal noun of *xerbeq* 'to talk nonsense' but that make no sense in itself in this context.

[55] Kind of clay used for heavy cleaning.

R: *bšitu el-ʕeṛṣ.*

I: *w enti, w entiya šnu derti elbareħ?*

R: *ana lbareħ ʔent ʔa-nžemʕ el-xayma.*

I: *žmeʕti l-xayma.*

R: *ah, ʔa-neɣṣel le-mwaʕen.*

I: *aha.*

R: *yeh, we men ɣṣelt le-mwaʕen glest ʔa-neħfeḍ.*

I: *iye men beʕd?*

R: *menne ħfeṭ we ʕyit.*

I: *yeh.*

R: *eh... bšit tšaʕel tilifizyu, telfaza, eh... we ʔent ʔa-ntsanet ʕla le-ʔaflam.*

I: *šnu ʔeflam ... šnu kay... šnu kayna?*

R: *e..., ʔent ʔa-ntsanet e l-aflam lli, snu smit-hum*

I: *yeh?*

R: *ʔent ʔa- ntsanet ʕla ʕayel maṭar.*

I: *we šnu l-ħikaya dyal-u?*

R: *eh l-ħiʔaya dyal-u dyal e waħed el-bent lli m-ʕend-ha-š el-ʔab, m-ʕend-ha-š mmʷ-ha w bbʷa-ha. iw ṭrabbat fe-waħed el-xayma d ulaṭ ṣʷɣaṛ. huma ṭrebbiw-hum yaʕni.*

I: *yeh.*

R: *temma ṭrabbat. e... žat e menni ʔebret qrat*

I: *yeh.*

R: *we bšat l-ʕend e... waħed ṛ-ṛažel e... matet-lu l-mra dyal-u.*

I: *yeh.*

R: *bqa ʕend-u l-wlad, w bšat xeddama ʕend-ha.*

I: *yeh.*

R: *bqat xeddama ʕend-u, bqat ʔa-texdem ʕend-u. ža, ʕežbat-u. dzŭwwež bi-ha. bqat mʕa-h, daru had e... ʕlaqa, dzŭwwež bi-ha.*

I: *yeh.*

R: *men dzŭwwež bi-ha eh... bna e... waħed el-bent ʕend-u lqat muš?... eh... lʔat eh... mšaʔel mʕa-ha. bqa tʕayer-ha we te... w tʕayer-ha.*

I: *yeh.*

Interview Khadija

R: You went to the wedding.

I: And what about you, what did you do yesterday?

R: Me, I tidied the house yesterday.

I: You tidied the house.

R: Yes, I washed the dishes.

I: Aha.

R: Yes, and when I had washed the dishes I sat down to study.

I: Yes, and after that?

R: I turned on the television, the tv, I was waiting for the movies.

I: Which movies? What ehm, what do you have?

R: Ehm, I was waiting for the movies that ehm, what's their name...

I: Yes?

R: I was waiting for *ʕayel maṭar*.[56]

I: And what is its plot?

R: Ehm, its plot is about a girl that has no father. She has no mother or father and she was raised in an orphanage. They raised her, that is to say.

I: Yes?

R: There she was brought up and when she grew up she studied.

I: Yes?

R: And she went to a man whos wife had died.

I: Yes?

R: His children remained with him, and she worked as a housekeepster for him.[57]

I: Yes?

R: She remained working for him. He liked her and married her. She stayed with him, they had this relationship, he married her.

I: Yes?

R: When he married her, ehm..., there was one girl who ehm... who came into trouble with her. She kept on calling her names and ehm... She called her names.

I: Yes?

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[56] Probably a name of a movie or tv-series.

[57] The respondent uses the feminine pronominal here, probably mistakenly.

R:	žat hiya, bqat mʕa-ha ta ɣḍat-ha. eh... yaʕni eh... dart... eh... bqat mʕa-ha ta tʕerfet-ha mziyan.

I:	yeh yeh.

R:	eh... tfahmet hiya wiya-ha. men tfahmu eh... ṣafi twellew ṣħabat, wlaw ʕadiya. žat weldet waħed le-wleyyed, waħe ̣ ṭṭfayl. weldet waħe ̣ ṭṭfayl we bqat ʕayša mʕa-ha.

I:	a.

R:	e... bqat ʕayša mʕa-hum e... w žat waħed le-mra ʔant ʕawe ̣ tani ʔa-tbɣi ražel-ha. men bɣat ražel-ha em... le-xʷra te-tɣiṛ. ʔe-tɣiṛ ʕli-h.

I:	yeh.

R:	bqaw ʔa-ye... bqat ʔa-ddabz hiya wiya-ha. walaʔe le-xʷṛa e... lli tšuʷžet be-baṭan lddart me-ʔa-ddi-ha-š fi-ha.

I:	hmhm.

R:	xella teħt ʕref-ha be-ʔana te-ybɣi-ha. žat e... le-xʷṛa men šaft-ha ʔa-ybɣi-ha. qaret e... qerre ̣ tbaʕed menn-u.

I:	yeh.

R:	bšat baʕdet menn-u. iwa w dzǔwžet b-waħed xʷuṛ. iwa w žaw weldet e ṭṭfayl e... wlet es-saʕe wlet e... ef-farħa binat-hum.

I:	yeh.

R:	e... w bqaw ferħanin.

I:	qeṣṣa... qeṣṣa ħebbiya yeʕni?

R:	ah qeṣṣa ħebbiya.

I:	wǔ ʕežb-ek l-ʔeflam elli fi-ha el-qeṣṣa l-ħebbiya aw ʕežb-ek ʕežb-ek el-ʔeflam lli fi-ha l-ʕunf aw šnu ʕežb-ek?

R:	eh.. l-ʔaflam lli te-yʕažbu-ni, huma lli te-yʔunu ye... yheḍru ʕla... ʕla l-ʔešyaʔ lli tey e.. bħal daba ʔešyaʔ lli te-tʕžeb.

I:	hm.

R:	e... bħal e... ši bħal daba tʔul eflam dyal qatla e... ʔe-yšufu bħal e... d e... le-mra, es-sžaʕa lli fi-ha, lli daʔ ši lli ʔe-ddir e... a-ṣber, a-tṣber a-t... wxxa ʔa-ytʕarḍu-ha l-mšaʔen ʔa-tṣbeṛ ʕli-hum. ʔa-tebqa ɣalet t-yʕat e... te-ʕdded el-mawqef wʔe-twelli mezyan.

I:	w šnu el-film el... el-film ez-zwin lli šǔfti fi-ħyat-ek? eħṣen film lli šefti fi-h...

R:	e... el-ʕešqu l-memnuʕ.

I:	okay, we šnu el-qeṣṣa dyal-u?

R: She came and she... (...)[58] That is to say, ehm... She stayed with her until she got to know her well.

I: Yes, yes.

R: Ehm, they got to know eachother, and when they got to know eachother, well, then they became friends, they came to normal terms. She gave birth to a baby-boy, a baby. She had a baby and she stayed living with her.

I: Yes.

R: Ehm, she stayed with them... Another woman came who was in love with her husband. The other one was jealous. She was jealous because of him.

I: Yes.

R: They kept on... She kept on arguing with her. But the other one, who was married to the hero, knew that he was not interested in her.

I: hmhm.

R: He had assured her that he loved her. When the other woman saw that he loved her, she decided to stay away from them.

I: Yes?

R: She went and stayed away from them. And so, she married someone else. She had a baby. The ... The happiness returned between them.

I: Yes.

R: And so they remained happy.

I: So it was a love-story?

R: Yes, a love-story.

I: Do you like movies with love-stories or do you like... Do you like action movies or, what do you like?

R: Ehm, the movies that I like, ehm, you could say action-movies, they see that ehm, the woman, the courage that she has, the things that she does, the patience, how patient she is, even though she is invited by problems, she stays patient with them. She stays ehm..., she keeps her principles and she remains well.

I: Ok, and what is the best film you have seen in your life? The best film...

R: *The forbidden desire.*

I: Ok, and what is its story?

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[58] ɣḍat-ha ?

R: el-ʕešqu l-memnuʕ hadi dyal žu... waħed e... tlata d-el-ʔabṭal eh... waħed e... l-weld ma-ʕend-
        u-š ʕaʔelt-u, we ʕend-uš l-ʔab we l-ʔumm, e... mmʷu-h w bbʷa-h. men ma-ʕend-uš mmʷu-h w
        bbʷa-h, eh... qarar ʕamm-u yddi-h l-ʕend-u. bqa ʕend-u. men e... bqa ʕend-u žat el... e... hadi l-
        ʔumm dyal l-ʕamm dyal-u ah ṛebbat-u. ṭhallet fi-h li-ʔanna ʕend-u l-ʷlad-u. me ṛṛebbat-u,
        žat diʔ el-bent ʕend waħe˛ l-bent ʔbira šwiya. bqa tebyi-h eh... men bqa tbyi-h liʔanna em..
        bqa tebyi-h e... taqriban ʕend hadiʔ e... ṣbaʕṭaš, ssṭašer ʕam. bqa tebyi-h eh... men bqa tebyi-h
        ža... ža huwa, ma-te-yddi-ha-š fi-ha, we ħseb-habħal ʔŭxt ʕend-u.

I: hmhm.

R: men ħseb-ha bħal ʔŭxt ʕend-u, e... žat waħed el-ʔeyyam mmu-h matet. mmu-h mmʷ ha l-bent
        matet.

I: iye.

R: matet diža l-ʔab dyal-ha. bša dzŭwwež. dzŭwwež bbʷa ha l-bent smit-ha samar.

I: samar.

R: hiya l-ḍal baṭala dya ˛l-film. dzŭwwež b-samar, ehh... dzŭwwež b-samar liʔanna hiya zwina
        bezzaf, samar. eh... ʔe-tʕažeb-ni ana bezzaf. men eh... dzŭwwež bi-ha eh... muħanned, l-baṭan,
        ʕžeb-ha.

I: smit-u muħenned?

R: muħanned .

I: blati waħed dqiqa... mumken tsedd-liya e... el-bab baš el... e... had... el... sawṭ dyal š-šita ....

I: yeʕni baṭal dyal l-film smit-u muħenned?

R: ah muħanned we samar eh... l-ʕenwan e... smit-u l-ʕešq el-memnuʕ.

I: l-ʕešq el-memnuʕ.

I: we had l-fim e.. meɣrebi aw?

R: eh... film tŭrʔi.

I: tŭrʔi aha.

R: *The forbiddem desire* is about one eh... three heroes, one boy who has no family, he has no father or mother, no mother or father. Because he has no mother or father, his uncle decided to take him in. He stayed with him. When he stayed with him, the mother of that uncle, who took care of him, came. She took care of him because that uncle had children of his own. When she raised him, that girl came to another girl who was a bit older[59]. She loved him. She stayed in love with him since... She stayed in love with him for about... seventeen or sixteen years. She stayed in love with him. While she stayed in love with him, he was not interested in her, because he saw her as his sister.

I: Hmhm.

R: While he saw her as his siter, one day his mother, also the mother of that girl, died.

I: Yes?

R: She died, and so her father came. He got married. Her father got married to a girl named Samar.

I: Samar.

R: She is the dark heroin of the movie. He married Samar, ehm... He married Samar because she is very beautiful, Samar. I like her a lot, Samar. Ehm, he married her, Muhanned, the hero, she liked him.

I: His name was Muhanned?[60]

R: Muhanned.

I: Excuse me one minute. (Could you please close the door because of the sound of the rain?)

I: So the hero of the movie is called Muhanned?

R: Yes, Muhanned and Samar. And the title is *The forbidden desire*.

I: And is that a Moroccan movie or...?

R: A Turkish movie.

I: Turkish, aha.

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[59] I think the respondent means that the boy lived with a somewhat older girl.

[60] At this point the interviewer starts to realize that the responding has been recounting the plot of a Turkish television series that was very popular at the time in Morocco. It was broadcasted daily, with Lebanese Arabic voice-overs.

The frog – Speakers group B

H: *guli-li a xalt-i faṭna dyal ž-žṛana*

F: *hahaha, waxxa sidi. ž-žṛana žat-ek er-rbeħ*

H: *guli-ha -li*

F: *gal... daba ṭ-ṭuyuṛ, kan yheḍḍeṛ lbareħ, ʕli-na get le-kum ʕla sidna suliman lli*
       ke-yħkem fe-ṭ-ṭŭyuṛ ħḍeṛtu ʕli-ha?

K: *ah*

H: *ah ħḍeṛna ʕli-ha*

F: *galt-lu le-mra ṭreyyes ṭ-ṭuyuṛ w tedir-lih l-fraš. šaft ṛaṣ-ha weš ɣa-teħkem ula*
       waxxa. ʔa-ndir-lek xaṭṛ-ek ʔla hadi w ma-na ma-ʕažba-niy-š.

H: *dyal ž-žṛana?*

F: *iwa men-lli žat aħed ne-mra gat-ha-lha gat-li: "ku ket nṣib-ha ṭayħ fi-m haduk, kduk kduk,*
       kduk kduk." w gŭt-lha ʕla hiya, daba hadi, hadi dyal l-bekri kanu yheḍṛu...

msisi ṭṭħen w tšeṭṭeb w tsgi we tnawel, we hiya ka-trekrek-lha teħt el-genbura w tegʷeʕd. bayta ka-ṭṭħen msisi, w hiya: "kerker, kerker." ṣ-ṣbah gelʕat-lha ṭ-ṭħin. "a žiran!" galu-lha: "lʕam?" gat-lhum: "we šku ̣lli bayt ka-yṭħen w yhallel?"galu: "ħna smeʕna ketti lli ṭħenti."

ža l-fakrun. gal-lhum: "ana ɣadi l-s-suq we men nži lli ṣet-ha ṭaħna we mšeṭṭba w bšeʔla l-ʕafiya..."
(kanu bekri ɣa l-kwanen. aš kant men ʕiša? tuma yyam-kum zayna ħṣen men dyan-na.) gal-lu hiya lli
ɣadi yeʕṭi-ha ddir l-ʕašya u lli yeʕṭi-ha š-šerbil. iwa ža. ṣab msisi mšeṭṭba w ṭaħna w sagya. ʕṭa-ha
ddir l-ʕašya. naḍet ž-žṛana yeḍbet. ža huwa tani ɣḍeb. (msisi saʔd-ha kay saʔd-i: ḷḷahu malik el-ħemd
saʔd-i mʕa ħbab aḷḷah w mʕa l-walidin w mʕa sidi ṛbbi.) šeddet.

The frog

H: Tell me, oh aunty Fatna, the one about the frog!

F: haha, yes sir! You think the frog brings you luck?

H: Tell it to me!

F: Now, the birds spoke about us yesterday, I told you yesterday about our lord Solomon who gave orders to the birds. Were you present?

H: Yes, we were present.

F: She said to him that the woman plucked the birds and that she furnished for him. She looked at herself to see if she would judge or...
Ok. I will take it slow with this one even though I don't like it.

H: The one about the frog?

F: Anyway, when she came, a woman told her, and she told me: "If only I had found it, had come across them, kdukkduk, kdukkduk." And I told her about her, now, you see that, in the old days, they spoke...

Birdy grinds and sweeps and gets the water and cooks, while she, the frog, is just croaking under the jar and just sits. Staying up all night, Birdy is grinding and she just goes "Croak croak". In the morning she sneakily stole flour from Birdy.
"Say neighbours"
"Yes" they replied. She said to them: "Who is grinding and praying[61] throughout the night?"
They said: "We heard it was you who grinded"

The turtle came and said to them: "I am off to the market. When I come back, whomever I find grinding and sweeping and making the fire" (in the old days there were only stoves, your time is better than ours was)... To hér (the one who he found working) he said he would give (the food) to make dinner and to her he would give slippers. So, he came and found Birdy sweeping and grinding and drawing water. He gave her (the food) to make dinner. The frog inflamed with anger. He (the turtle) came and also got angry. (Birdy's fortune is like my own: God is the king of praise; my fortune comes from the beloved of God and from the forefathers and from my Lord God.) She locked (herself in).

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[61] The verb *hellel* means to say or mumble the Muslim testimony of faith, which starts with *lā ilāhā illa llah* 'There is no god but God alone'

dayze ʕli-h brarež: "a ʕemm el-fakrun, a hemm le-hmum, a l-gayd daʔ le-ħširat l-ʕuyun!" gal-lu: "lli mša-lu ɣzal-u, aš men ʕqel bqa-lu ħta yerbeħ?" gal-lu: "ana žžib-ha-lek." bša. "qerrr! šku‿ lli deqq ʕla yaṛ-i w-ana ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya?" gal-lu: "hada ʕemm-ek brarež, ṭwil le-mʕarš." gat-lu: "ħaša-kum! a ṣir ya ebn xanz el-ʔešš, ebn ukkal le-ʔgareb, ebn ukkal le-ħnuša!" bša ɣaḍban.

žayya ṭayra bager. "qerrr!" dazte ʕli-h. galt-lu: "ana nžib-ha-lek." "qerrr! šku‿ lli deqq ʕla yaṛ-i w-ana ħfaṛ-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya?" galt-lu: "hadi lalla-k ṭayra bager, zaynt mešya ḍ-ḍrifa we zaynt l-lebsa r-rhifa." galt-lu: "ṣiri! ṭlaqti l-gurred me‿ ši begra ḍʕifa." kŭll-hum neyybet-hum, haha!

tani, ža ħaša-kum el-ħmaṛ. gal-lu: "ana nžib-ha-lek." "qerrr! šku‿ lli deqq ʕla yaṛ-i w-ana ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya?" gal-lha: "hada..." (gat-lu,) gal-lha: "hada ʕemm-ek el-ħmaṛ be‿ le-ħmaṛ." gat-lu: "ħaša-kum! ku ketti ʕemm el-ħmaṛ be‿ le-ħmaṛ: me‿ ṣ-ṣbaħ le-ṣ-ṣbaħ ka-yħeyyḍu men teħt-ku‿ mŭd‿dyal le-ɣbaṛ!" bša tani ɣeḍban.

ža l-faṛṛuwež. gal-lu: "ana žžib-ha-lek." "qerrr! šku lli deqq ʕla yaṛ-i w-ana ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya?" gal-lha: "hada ʕemm-ek el-faṛṛuž, bu bennaṛa." gat-lu: "ku ketti ʕamm-i l-faṛṛuž bu bennaṛa: ka-yddiw-k ka-ybiʕw-ek fe-s-suq, ħaša-kum, ka-yʔellgu-lek režl-ek ʕa‿ l-ħmaṛa!" bša tani ɣaḍban.

žat d-džaža. "qerrr!" šku‿ lli deqq ʕla yaṛ-i w-ana ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya?" gat-lha: "hadi lalla-k džaža mefṣuṣ, mulat l-bayḍ el-menquš lli ka-yaklu-h ṣ-ṣŭlṭa w l-ʕaṛus!" galt-lha: "ħaša-kum!

A stork came by: "Oh uncle turtle, oh foremost of troubles, oh head of the insects of the wells!" He said to him: "Whose love ran away, what reason is left for him until he wins (her back)?" The stork replied: "I will get her for you." and he went.

"Croak! Who knocked on my hole that I dug with my eyelashes and nails until my eyes got red?" He said to her: "It is uncle Stork, the one with the long legs." She said to him: "May you be excused, go away! You son of a nest-polluter, you son of a scorpion-eater, you son of a snake-eater!" He left angrily.

A *tayra-bager*[62] came. "Croak!" She came by him. She said to him: "I will get her for you!" "Croak! Who knocked on my hole that I dug with my eyelashes and nails until my eyes got red?" She said to her: "It is lady *tayra-bager*, beautiful in her treading and beautiful in her light clothing." She said to her: "Go away! You picked ticks from some weak cow!" She scolded all of them, haha!

Then, the donkey, *excusez le mot,* came. He said to him: "I will get her for you!" "Croak! Who knocked on my hole that I dug with my eyelashes and nails until my eyes got red?" (He said to him: "that", she said to him…) He said to her "It is uncle Donkey, son of a donkey." She said to him: "May you be excused. If you were uncle Donkey , son of a donkey then all day long they collect buckets full off poo from under you!" He also left angrily.

The rooster came. He said to him: "I will get her for you!" "Croak! Who knocked on my hole that I dug with my eyelashes and nails until my eyes got red?" He said to her: "It is uncle the Rooster with the cockscomb." She said to him: "If you were uncle Rooster with the cockscomb: they take you and sell you in the market. May you be excused; they hang you with your legs on the donkey!" Also he left angrily.

Then, the hen came. "Croak! Who knocked on my hole that I dug with my eyelashes and nails until my eyes got red?" She said to her: "It is lady the egg-colored[63] hen, maker of the carved eggs, which are eaten by the rulers and the groom!" She said to her: "May you be excused!

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[62] A small kind of heron.

[63] *mefṣuṣ*, from *feṣṣ* 'egg-yolk'.

ku ketti džaža mefṣuṣ, ka-tbeyyḍi l-bayḍ el-menquš, ka-yaklu-h ṣ-ṣŭlṭa u l-ʕarus: r-reħba l-mšeṭṭba ka-tħeṭṭi l-besqa fi-ha dekkus!" bšat tani yeḍbet.

ža n-nser. "qerrr! šku˯ lli deqq ʕla yaṛ-i w-ana ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya?" gal-lu: "hada ʕemm-ek en-nser u ža me˯ s-smaʕ ka-yetserser." gat-lu: "ħaša-ku! ṣir el-ž-žifa badi texṣeṛ!" tani mša yaḍban.

ha huwa žayy ʕugab. "qerrr! šku˯ lli..." žab daba, ža mʕa-h, gal-lu: "ʕawed ana wiya-k nžibu-ha." "qerrr! šku˯ lli deqq ʕla yaṛ-i w-ana ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya?" gal-lu... (gal-lu: "hada...") gal-lha: "hada ʕemm-ek l-ʕugab, w-ila ma-tši-š ya-yxelṭ lalla-k wežh-ha mʕa ṭ-ṭrab!" "ensay, ensay a weld ʕemm-i! nežmaʕ hnayħat-i u ħwayžat-i." (temm...) ah gat-lu: "škun hada lli ža mʕa-k?" gal-lha... gal-lha: "le-fakrun." "hada ra-h mul ṣ-ṣbaṭ el-weħšin." gat-lu: "daba ʕad mʕa-h yada nemši." zeʕma: ta ža huwa ʕad yada twŭlli.

ža, žeħžeħ, gal: "ayh ki dayra a xṭiṭ? kŭll yaqut-ha fe-l-ħayṭ!" eh... galt-lu: "skŭt ʕli-na. ra-ħna salat ez-zin, qetlet-na yir l-ʕayn." yada, "žeħžeħ, žeħžeħ", leħget. gal le-msisi... (xzen-ha...) gal le-msisi: "nuḍi diri-na r-rfisa!" daret meskina r-rfisa, w weždet, w ħeṭṭet. "hak legma li-ha w legma li-h." ħarget-ha. galt-lu: "qerrr! berred li-ya! berred li-k!" naḍet msisi, refdet el-mensba: "kaboom!" "lli ma-ʕad-u ržal: kwi ṣeḍṛ-u be-l-ħžar! lli ma-ʕad-u ržal: kwi ṣeḍṛ-u be-l-ħžar!" zeʕma: "ana, menni mšat hiya, yḍebti, xrešti me˯ l-xayma. u menni žebti-ha ʕad bqayti. ana ka-nnawel w neħeṭṭ, w tta teʕṭay-ha. a ha blad-ek." hiya ṭaret mʕa ṭuyuṛ we huwa mša le-le-glet, huwa we ž-žṛana.

w hadi ya xayba, ya byayti-ha u safi.

If you were the egg-colored hen and you laid carved eggs that the sultan and the groom eat: on a nice swept floor you'd drop a big spit of poo!" Also she left and was angered.

Then the vulture came. "Croak! Who knocked on my hole that I dug with my eyelashes and nails until my eyes got red?" He said to her: "It is your uncle the vulture, who came from the sky and screams." She said to him: "May you be excused! Go to the carcass, it starts to rot!" Also he left angrily.

And there: the eagle came. ("Croak! Who…" He came…) Now the turtle came with him. He said to him this time: "Me and you go and get her." "Croak! Who knocked on my hole that I dug with my eyelashes and nails until my eyes got red?" (He said to him, he said to him: "It's…) He said to her: "It is your uncle the eagle, and if you don't come he will grind your face in the dirt!"
"Wait, wait, oh my cousin, I gather my …[64] and my cloths."
She said to him: "Who is that who came with you?"
He said to her, he said to her: "The turtle. He is the one with the ugly shoes."
She said to him: "Only now, with him, will I go." (So, she would only come back when he came).

He came and cuddled and he said: "How are you, runaway? All her gems on the wall!"
She said to him: "Don't speak about us, look, we have beauty in our genes and just a look can kill us." She went, cuddling, and arrived. He said to Birdy, (he had locked her away), he said to her: "get up and make *rfisa*[65] for us. The poor thing made *rfisa* and cooked and placed (it for them): "a bite for her and a bite for him". She burned the frog. The frog said to him: "Cool it for me and cool it for you!" Birdy stood up, lift a stone (and hit herself): "She who has no man better burn her chest with a stone[66]! She who has no men better burn her chest with a stone! That is to say: when she went away you became angry and left the house, and only when you got her back you stayed. I cook and set the table and you just give (things) to her! Here, take your land!"[67] She flew away with the birds and he went to the pond, he and the frog. And that all is just bad, you just wanted it and there you have it.

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[64] *hnayħat*: meaning unknown

[65] A dish made of breadcrums with chicken and vegetables, also called *ṭembaṣlet*.

[66] In fact this sentence is said as if it is said to a man.

[67] As in: 'I don't want it anymore, I am leaving you.'

The two brothers – Speakers group A - IPA

ʕend-na   žuž   drari
'ʕʌndna   ʒuʒ   'drɛri

waħed   hbil   w‿waħed   be-l-ʕqel   dyal-u
'waħəd   ḥ'bil   'waħəd   bəlʕa'qal   di'jɛ:lu

naqqez   waħe‿ n-nhaṛ   ʕṭa-hum   bbʷa-hum   əl-ful
'naqəz   'waħə ṇ'haʁ   ʕɑ'tahum   'b:ʷɒhum   əl'ful

ful   dyan-na   hnaya
ful   'djɛna   ḥ'næya

a-yddiw   yzerrʕu-h   f-waħe‿   l-blad
haj'd:iw   j̣'zaʁʕuh   f'waħə‿   l'blɛd

te-yhezzu-h   ta-yeʕṭi-hum taman   n-nhaṛ dyal-hum
tˤəjhə'z:u: tˤəja'tehum   'tˤɛmɛn   ṇhaʁ di'jɛlum

we   yemšiw   yxedmu   ta-yemšiw   le-blad   el-fuq
wæ   jəm'ʃaw   jə'xədəmu   tˤəjəm'ʃiw   lə'blɛd   əl'foq

u   ma-te-yzerʕu-š   daʔ   el-ful te-yaʕlu-h
u   mɛtˤəjzərə'ʕuʃ   dɛʔ   əl'ful tˤə'jaʔluh

we   t-yemšiw   t-yemšiw   ʕedd   bbʷa-hum
w̥u   tˤjəm'ʃi:w   tˤjəm'ʃi:w   ʕʌd   b:ʷɒhəm

te-yʔulu   ra-ħna   zreʕna-h   zreʕna   uw   te-yehewwdu
tˤəj'ʔulu   ra‿ħna‿   z'raʕɑh   ẓ'raʕna   ʔuʷ   tˤəjə'hawədu

u   l-ɣedda   ‿wed tani   te-yeʕṭey-hum   nafs   el-mŭšʔel
ʔuʷ   ləɣa'da   ‿wəd 'tɛni tˤəjạ'teʷum   nɛfs   əl'muʃʔəl

ta-yeʕṭi-hum ʕawd tani   l-ful   matalan
tˤaja'teʷum   ʕawd 'tˤani ‿l'fu:l   'mætˤəlan

te-yemšiw   le-blad te-yzerʕu   ma-t-yzerʕu-hum   l-u
tˤəjəmˈʃiw   ləˈblɛd tˤæjəˈzærəʕu mɛtˤæjəzærəˈʕom   lo

ɣi   te-yaʔlu-h   te-yhabṭu   l-ḍ-ḍar
ɣi   tˤæjæʔluh   tˤæjˈhapṭɔ   ˌldːɑʁ

waħed   n-nhaṛ   huma   mšaw
wœħəd   nːˈhaʁ   ˈhuma   ˌm̩ˈʃaw

bqa   daba ʔber huwa   l-ful w
bəˈqaː dɛˈba ʔbɪr ˈhuwœ   ˌlˈfuːl uʷ

ʕṭa-hum   waħed   e   matalan   waħed le-mḍall
ʕʌˈɫahum   ˈwœħəd   ə   ˈmætˤəlan   w̩ˈħəd ləmɗal

ula   burdu   ʔal-lu ha   l-burdu   ṣir   ḍuṛ
uʷla   ˈbɔrdɔ   ˈʔəlu ha   ˌlˈbɔrdɔ   sir   ɗɔʁ

lliw   žberti   gedd el-burdu   ra-h   dyan-na
lːiw   ˈʒbartˤi   gəd   əlˈbɔrdɔ   rah   diˈjɛnɑ

huma   mšaw temm ɣadi te-yqalleb   hada   qṣiṛ   hada   ṭwil
ˈhumæ   m̩ʃaw tˤəm ˈɣadi tˤəjqaləb   ˈhɛda qsiʁ   ˈhɛda ɫwɨɫ

hada   qṣir hada   ṭwil huma   te-yṭeyħu   fe
ˈhɛda qsiʁ ˈhɛda ɫwɨɫ huˈma   tˤəjəˈɫeħɔ   fə

fe-l-ful   eh   taqada   mʕa   l-burdu   nišan
fəˌlˈful   ə   ˈtˤaqada   mʕa   lˈbɔrdɔ   ˈniʃɛn

u   mni   wessḷu   ya   te-tšuf-u   mmʷi l-ɣula   bʕida
u   mnɪ   wɑsˈluː   ya   tˤətʃufu   mːʷi lˈɣɔla   ˈbe̞ːdɑ

ʕada   waħed   el-farruž   fe-žemb   eḍ-ḍaṛ
ˈʕɛda ˈwaħəd   əlfɛrːˈɔʒ   fəˈʒəmb   əɗːˈɑʁ

te-yenuḍ   ??   te-yeqaʕqed   te-yebqa   yʔul-lha
tˤəjəˈnɔdː   tˤəjəˈqaʕqɪd   tˤaˈjəbqa   jʔul-ləˈha

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quqʕuuu   ši   nas   fe-l-ful   dyan-na   (fhemti)
qəˈqʕuː   ʃi   nɛs   fəfəˈful   ˈdjɛːna   fəˈhɪmtˤi

uw   hiya   te-texrež
huʷ   ˈhija   tˤatˤəˈxrəʒ

had   el-mra   ʕad-ha   eh   ʕad-ha   bzazel   ʔbaṛ
hɛd   əlˈmatˤ   ɑːdˈhæ   ə   ɑːdˈhæ   ˈbzɛzəl   ʔbaṛ

ermat   waħda   le-had ži   waħda   le-had ži
ʔərmatˤ   waħda   ləˈhɛd ʒi   waħda   ləˈhɛd ʒi

w   temmet   ɣada   temmet   ɣada   w   šddet-hum
‿w   tˤəˈmætˤ   ˈɣada   tˤəˈmætˤ   ˈɣada   ‿w   ʃːˈdətˤum

haduʔ   ed-drari   w   žabet-hum
ˈhɛduʔ   əˈdːrɛri   ‿w   ˈʒɛbətˤum

žabet-hum   ta   l-ʕad-ha   le-ḍ-ḍaṛ
ˈʒɛbətˤum   tˤə   ˈlɑːdha   ləˌdːɑʁ

w   bbʷa-hum   ma-lsaq-lhum-š   le-xbaṛ   bqaw   mʕa-ha   fe-ḍ-ḍaṛ
w   ˈbʷːœhum   mæˈsakləhumʃ   ləxbaʁ   bqaw   ˈmɛːha   fəˌdːɑʁ

te-teʕṭi-hum   mšaw   te-ysarħu
tˤətˤʕaˈtɛhum   m̩ʃaw   tˤəjəˈsɛrħu

te-ysarħu   l-ɣlem   we   l-mʕaz
tˤəjəˈsɛrħu   ˌlˈɣləm   wu   ˌlˈmɑ̱ːz

temmu   ɣaden   te-ysarħu   l-yuma
ˈtˤəmmɔ   ˈɣadən   tˤəjəˈsɛrħu   ˌljoˈma

we   te-yemši   daʔ   ed-darri
wu   tˤəjəmˈʃi   dɛʔ   ˌədˈdɛri

te-yžib   el-ɣada   men   ʕad   emmʷi l-ɣula
tˤəjəˈʒib   əlɣəˈda   mən   ɑ̱ːd   əmˈmʷi ˌlˈɣola

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(had   l-mra   lli   hdert-leʔ   ʔli-ha)
hɛd   lˈmra   li   hˈdartˌləʔ   ʔaˈleha

te-yemši   w   te-teʕṭi-h   l-ɣada   te-jžib-u-lha
tˁəjəmˈʃi   w   tˁətˁɑ̣ˈɬeh   lɣəˈda   tˁəjʒiˈbu:lha

te-yžib-u-lha d-darri   xu-h   te-yžib-u   ta-ytɣadaw   huwa wiya-h
tˁəjžiˈbulha   ˈd:ɛri   xuh   tˁəjˈʒibu   tˁəjˈt̪ɣadaw ˌuwa wiˈyɛh

dayman   ta-yemši   te-ybqa   daʔ   en-nhaṛ
ˈdayiman   tˁaˈjəmʃi   ˈtˁəybqa   dɛʔ   ənˈhaʁ

waħed diʔ   en-nharyat   ʔa   a   nžarreb   xu-ya
ˈwaħə ˌdiʔ   ənnhariˈjɛtˁ   ʔa   a: nˈʒarəb   ˈxɔya

l̩lah   rbbi   welli-lu   le-ʕqel   dyal-u
ɬ:ah   rbˈbi   wəlˈlilə   ˈlaʕqal   ˈdjɛlə

menni   ṣarad xu-h   yžib-lu   l-ɣada   me ḍ-ḍaṛ
məˈni: ˈsarad xɔh   jəˈʒiblə   ˌlɣaˈda   mə ɖ:aʁ

menni mša   l-ḍ-ḍaṛ   dyal-hum   žab   l-ɣada   ma-ši dyal-hum
məˈni mˈʃa   ˌlˈd:aʁ   ˈdjɛlhɔm   ʒɛb   lɣəˈda   mɛˈʃi ˈdjɛlhɔm

dyal   diʔ   le-mra   lli   šadda-hum
djɛl   diʔ   ləˈmra   li   ʃadˈdæhɔm

žab   l-ɣada   w   temm žayy žayy u   te-yaʔul   te-yemḍeɣ
ʒɛb   lɣəˈda   ˌw   tˁəm ʒaj: žaj   ˌu   tˁæˈjæʔul   tˁəˈjəmɖaɣ

we   l-xeyyal   dyal-u ta-yba-lu
wə   ˌlxaˈjɛl   ˈdjɛlu tˁajˈbɛ-lu

ta   huwa   te-yemḍeɣ   bħal-u te-yḍṛŭb   ḍayma   l-fumm-u
tˁ:a   ˈhuwa   tˁəˈjəmɖaɣ   ˈbħelu tˁəˈjəðrub ˈɖayma   ˌl-ˈfɔm:u

wu   ḍayma   ta-yeʕṭi-ha   l-l-xeyyal   dyal-u
wu   ˈɖayma   tˁajəaˈɬeha   ˌlˌxaˈjɛl   ˈdjɛlu

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te-yẓewweṭ-ha   fi-l-ʔarḍ   huwa ɣadi
tˤəjˈzawwaɫah   fi‿lˈʔaɾ�‍d   ˈhuwa ˈɣɛdi

fi-ma   yħbes fũmm-u   te-yʔul-lu   hay   ma-te-taʔul-š hay   qaṣṣi
fiːˈmɛ   jˈħbəs ˈfum:u   tˤəjˈʔulu   haj   mɛtˤəˈtˤæʔulʃ haj   ˈqasːi

waħe˘   n-nhaṛ ʕawed   tani temm yewṣel   le-ʕad-u
ˈwaħɛ˘   ˈnːhaɾ ˈʕawəd   ˈdɛni tˤəm jəwsal   liˈɑːdu

wṣel ʕad xu-h ʔal-lu fayn huwa l-ɣada
wsal ‿ɑ̠ːd xu ʔɛl‿u fejn ˈhuwa ‿lɣədˈɑ

gal-lu ra bħra tʔafit   ana   w   ṛaṣ-i
ˈkalu ra bħˈra ‿tˤˈʔɛfitˤ   ˈʔɛna ‿w   ˈɾɑsi

ana   we l-xayyal   ana   w   saħb-i
ˈʔɛna wə ‿lxaˈjɛl   ˈʔɛna w   ˈsɑħbi

w   hadiʔ d-darri   axu-h ʔal-lu rayeħna   mʕa l-ɣlem
w   ‿ˈɛdiʔ ˈdːɛri   axu ʔɛl‿u ˈɾæjɪħna   mˤa ‿lˈɣləm

rayeħ   mʕa l-ɣlem   temmaya
ˈɾæjɪħ   mˤa ‿lˈɣləm   tˤəˈmæja

we   diʔ d-darri   lli   b-ʕeql-u   ržeʕ
wə   diʔ ˈdːɛri   li   ˈbɑ̠qlo   ‿rˈʒɑ̠ʕ

temm žayy w   te-ylaqeṭ   be-ḍaɣma
tˤəm ʒæj w   tˤəjˈlaqaɫ   bɪˈdaɣma

ta-yhezz-ha me˘ l-ʔaṛḍ   w   yaʔul-ha
tˤajˈɪzza   ‿mə˘ lˈʔɑɾfollow‍d   w   jɛˈʔulha

ta   wṣel   ta   l-ḍ-ḍaṛ   ta   l-fũmm   l-bab
tˤa   waˈsal   tˤa   ‿lɗːa̠ɾ   tˤa   ‿lˈ-fum   lˈbɛb

dyal ḍ-ḍaṛ šbeʕ ržeʕ f-ħalat-u   le   ʕad xu-h
djɛl ɗːa̠ɾ ʃba̠ ɾʒaː f‿ˈħɛlɛtˤu   lə   ɑːd xuh

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wŭ   hadiʔ   n-neʕža   zber   le-ɣlem
wu   ˈħɛdiʔ   n̩ˈɛˤʒa   zbɑr ləˈɣləm

w-hya (te-t) ta-tžer   ħayt hiya te-taʔul   daba be-n-nhaṛ
ʔaˈjɛ tˤəˈdə tˤədˈʒər   ħajtˤ hɪˈyɛ tˤɛˈtˤɛʔul   ˈdɛba bə‿nhaʁ

wu   fe-l-layl   te-tebqa   džer ta-tebqa   (te) temḍeɣ
wu   fə‿lel   tˤat̪əbˈqa   ‿dʒar tˤatˤəbˈqa   də̤ ˈtˤəmdaɣ

te-džbed   el-maʔla   w
tˤədʒbəd   əlˈmɛʔla   ‿w

      ah   ka-takul   ʕawed ʕawed
I: ah   ka-takul   ʕawed ʕawed

w   hu   lli   šaf-ha te-džer   bħal huʔ
w   hu   ‿li   ʃɛfha   tˤædʒər   bʰɛl huʔ

ʔul-ha   nti   ḍerba   ḍerb-ha   te-yeqtel-ha
ʔulə   ‿ntˤi   ˈðɑʁba   ðɑʁˈba   ‿tˤyɔqˈtˤəlha

fayn ma   derti   diʔ ha   te-džer
fen   ma   ˈdertˤi   diʔ ha   tˤəˈdʒər

te-yʔul-ha   enti   ʔliti l-ɣada   d   xu-ya
tˤəjˈʔulha   ˈʔəntˤi   ˈʔlitˤi ‿lɣəˈda   d   ˈxuja

lli   žber te-yqtel-ha ma   ža   xu-h ywṣel   l-ʕend-u
li   ‿ʒbar tˤəjqtˤəlha mæ   ʒa   xɔ   jwsɑɬ   ɟˡˤandu

žber feḍḍa   mʕa l-ɣlem   ʔal-lu a   xu-y šnu   derti
ʒbar ˈfədd̪a   mˤa ‿lɣləm   ˈʔɛlɔ ʔa ˈxɔj ʃnu   ˈdɪrtˤi

ʔal-lu hiya ʔlat   e   ʔlat el-ɣada   dyal-ʔ u-na te-neqtel-ha
ˈʔɛlu ‿hya ʔlɛtˤ ə: ʔlɛtˤ əlˈɣada   djɛlʔ u‿na tˤənaqˈtˤəlha

ʔal-lu ha-teqtel-na daba ila   ža   ṣaqet-na   l-xbar
ʔɛl‿u ha-tˤaqˈtˤəlna ˈdɛba iˈla   ʒa: ˈsaqət̪na   ‿lˈxbar

mmʷi l-ɣula teqtel-na ʔal-lu laʔ ma-ṭra-na walu
mʷi ˌlˈɣɔlaː ˌt͡sʼəqˈt͡sʼəlna ˈʔɛlu lɛʔ maːˈtrana ˈwɛlu

ʔa-nmšiw ʔul-lhum we ra l-ħal
ʔanˈmʃu ˈʔulum wa ra ˌlˈħɛlʔ

ḍ-ḍib ra-h žayy ʔla-ha w ḥṛeb
dːib rah ʒaj ˈʔlɛha ˌw ħɾab

we hiya te-temm žayya fe-l-ʕašiya
wu ˈhiyæ t͡sʼæˈt͡sʼəm ˈʒaja fɪˌlʕaˈʃija

temmet žayya lʔat l-ɣlem ʔŭll-ha mšebħa fe-l-ʔarḍ
ˈt͡sʼəmːət͡sʼ ˈʒaja ˌlˈʔæt̪ ləˈɣləm ˈʔulha ˈmʃəbha fɪˌlʔaɾd

(ʔal-lu) (ʔa)t-lu šnu had š-ši
ˈʔɛlu ˌt͡slu ʃnu hɛd ʃi

gal-lha ra ža d-dib li hnaya
galˈha ra ʒa dib li həˈnæja

w ra xellaʕ-na ˌla l-ɣlem kat-lu maši mŭšʔel
w ra xəˈlæʕna ˌla ˌlˈɣləm kɛtlu ˈmɛʃi ˈmuʃʔɪl

hezz waqila ši xamsa wla stta ddaw-h
həz waˈqila ʃi xamˈsa ʷla sːta dːawh

ddaw-hum li-ḍ-ḍaṛ selxu-hum w ta-yaʔl-hum
dawhum liˈdːaɾ salˈxɔhɔm w t͡sʼæˈjæʔlum

w hadu žaw haduʔ sbaʕ darriyat xut-u žaw l-ʕend-ha
w ˈhædu ʒaw ˈhɛduʔ sbaᵊ dɛriˈjɛt͡sˢ ˈxut͡su ʒaw lˌˈʕandha

sbeʕ darriyat xut-hum haduʔ drari
sbaᵊ dɛriˈjɛt͡sʼ ˈxut͡shum hɛduʔ ˈdrɛri

žaw l-ʕend-ha le-ḍ-ḍaṛ žaw l-ʕend-ha le-ḍ-ḍaṛ
ʒaw lˌˈʕandha lɪˈdːaɾ ʒaw lˌˈʕandha lɪˈdːaɾ

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meni   mšat   la   žaw   xut-hum   ʔalu-lhum   ma-tbatu-š   mʕa-ha
məˈni   ˌmʃɛt̪   lːɛ   ʒaw   ˈxut̪ʕhum   ˈʔɛlulum   mæt̪ʕbɛˈt̪ʕuʃ   ˈmˤæj

lli   ra   ybatu   me‿   tuma   ʕa-teqtel-ʔum feʕlan
li   ra   jˈbɛt̪ˢu   mə‿   ˈt̪ʕuma ʕa   t̪ʕəqˈt̪ʕəlʔum ˈfɪˤlan

lli   batu   ʕa-teqtel-hum   hadiʔ   n-nhaṛ   hazzu‿w   zadu   b-ħalat-hum
li   bɛˈt̪ʕu ʕat̪ʕəqˈt̪ʕəlhum   ˈħɛdiʔ nhaʁ   həˈzuʷ   ˈzɛdu   bˈħɛlɛt̪ʕum

huma   te-ydaxlu   te-ytʕeqdu   ya   w   xu-h
ˈhumæ   t̪ʕəjˈdaxlu   t̪ʕəjˈt̪ʕaqdu   ‿ya   ‿ʷ   xuh

daba   xu-h   daʔ   li   b-ʕeql-u
ˈdɛba   xu   dɛʔ   li   ‿bˈʕaqlu

ha-yšuf   l-ši   ħila   li   ydir   yeqtel-ha
hajˈʃuf   lʃi   ˈħila   i   jˈdir   jəqˈt̪ʕəlha

uw   hadaʔ   d-darri   mesʔin   lli   ma-ʕad-u-š   l-ʕqel
ʔuʷ   ˈħɛdɛʔ   ˈdːɛri   məsˈʔin   li   ˈmʕaduʃ   ˈlʕaqal

a-h   f-wŭṣṭ   el-mraħ   hezz   l-ɣayṣ
ah   f‿wɔst̪   əlˈmraħ   ħɛz   əlˈɣajs

u   te-ylʕeb   bi-h   f-weṣṭ el-mraħ
u   t̪ʕəjˈlˤʌb   ‿bih   fwɔst̪ əlmrah

te-ydir   hadi   w   (fhemti-ni?)   (huwa te-y)
t̪ʕəjˈdir   ˈħɛdi   ‿ʷ   həmˈt̪ʕini   ɔwa   t̪ʕaj

d-darri   xu   l-axŭṛ awe   ‿tani   te-yšuf-lu   l-ħall
ˈdːɛri   xɔ   ˈlaxɔʁ awəˈ   tɛni   t̪ʕəjˈʃuf lu   ‿lˈħɛl

lli   ʕe-ydir   yeqtel-ha
li   ʕəjˈdir   yəqˈt̪ʕəlha

w-hiya   ta-tšedd-u   hadaʔ   d-darri   lli   b-ʕeql-u
ˈw‿ijæ   t̪ʕat̠ʃəddu   ˈħɛdɛʔ   ˈdːɛri   li   ˈbˤaqlu

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ta-dexxl-u   l-maħal   bħal   hada
tˤaˈdaxlu   ˌlmɛˈħɛl   bħɛl   ˈħɛda

ta-teʕṭi-h   l-luz   w   baš   yesman   ʕa-ddebħ-u
tˤatˤˤaɬe   ˌlːɔːz   uʷ   bɛʃ   jɪsˈmɛn   ʕaˈdːəbħu

(ʕaṭa-ha)   ʕaṭat-u   l-mftaħa   we   l-maxyaṭ   we   l-mṭerqa
ᵊaˈtaha   ᵊaˈtatˤu   əlmfˈtˤɛħa   wə   əlmaxˈjaɬ   w   əlməˈɬɛrqa

ha-yeʕṭi-ha   l-mftaħa   hiya   l-uʷla
hajᵊɑˈɬeha   ˌlmfˈtˤɛħa   hiˈya   luʷˈla

u   yeṭbeħ-ha   l-maxyaṭ   ʕad   el-mṭerqa
uʷ   jəˈɬəbəħha   ˌlmaxˈjaɬ   ʕad   əlməˈɬɛrqa

u   sddet   ʕli-h   dyal   eh   yexrŭž   fi-ha   ɣlayḍ   huwaya
uʷ   sddətˤ   ᵊaˈleh   djɛl   əh   jəˈxrɔʒ   ˈfiha   ɣleʲɖ   ˈhuwæja

te-tsedd   ʕli-h   el-bab   ʕaṭ-u   l-maʕla
tˤətˤˈsəd   ᵊaˈleh   əlˈbɛb   aˈɬatˤu   ˌlˈmɛʕla

ʕaṭ-u   ʔŭll   ši   seddet   ʕali-h   el-bab
aˈɬatˤu   ʔul   ʃe   ˈsəddətˤ   ˈᵊalih   əlˈbɛb

huwa   diʔ   en-nhariyat   ʕṭa-ha   l-mftaħa
ˈhuwa   diʔ   ənhaɾiˈyɛtˢ   aˈɬaha   lmfˈtˤaħa

hiya   l-uʷla   ra   baqi   zeʕma   šwiye   baqi
ˈhiya   ˈluʷla   ra   ˈbaqi   ˈzama   ˈʃwejə   ˈbaqi

ula   ɣedda ˌweˌtani   ʕṭa-ha   l-mexyeṭ
ˈula   ˈɣada ᵊwəˈtˤɛni   aˈɬaha   ˌlˈmaxjeɬ

w-ula   habet   ɣedda   ʕaweˌtani   ʕṭa-ha   l-mṭerqa
ˈwula   ˈhabet   ˈɣada   ᵊwəˈtˤɛni   aˈɬaha   ˌlməˈɬɛrqa

kat-lu   daba   smenti   daba   ʕa-nxerrž-eʔ
kɛɬlu   ˈdɛba   ˈsmɛntˤi   ˈdɛba   ᵊanəˈxərʒəʔ

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ʔad   ndebħ-eʔ   daba   ʔal-lha   wxxa   maši   mŭšʔel
ʔad   ṇ'dəbħəʔ   'dɛba   ʔɛl'ɑh   ʷxa   'mɛʃi   'muʃʔɪl

a   xerrežti-ni   dab   yeḷḷah   fteħ   li-ha   l-bab
a   xarəʒ'tˁini   'dɛb   yə'ḷah   ftˁɑħ   'liha   ˌl'bɛb

žbar   hina   ʔamel   l-asans   w   txarbayq
ʒbaʁ   'həna   'ʔɛmɪl   ˌɛ'sãːs   w   'tˁxaʁbejq

yeḷḷah   fteħ   li-ha   l-bab   žbed-ha   žbed-ha   l-ʕend-u
yə'ḷah   ftˁɑħ   'liha   ˌl'bɛb   'ʒbədha   'ʒbədha   'lᵊaːndu

huwa   xres   ˌsedd   ʕli-ha   l-bab   w   šaʕel   briʔa
'huwa   xrəs   səd   ᵊa'leha   ˌl'bɛb   w   ʃɛ'ᵊəl   ˌbri'ʔa

w   šaʕel   ʕli-ha   l-ʕafiya   fe-m-maħal
w   ʃɛ'ᵊəl   ᵊ'liha   'lᵊɛːfiya   fɪ'mːɛħəl

u   ṭleʕ   žab   l-ɣasul
uʷ   ɬæʕ   ʒɛb   ḷ'ɣaːsuːl

lli   se   nɣeṣlu   bi-h   hna   l-mwaʕn
li   sə   ˌn'ɣaslu   bih   hna   ˌl'mwaᵊn

ḍahn-u   fe-ḍ-ḍruž   baš   ma-ṭṭleʕ-š   li-ʕend-u   u   xeržet
'dɛhnu   fɪ'dːruʒ   bɛʃ   maɬlaᵊʃ   li'ʕaːndu   uʷ   xər'ʒɛtˤ

xeržet   me-l-bab   u   temma   ṭalʕa   l-ʕand-u   sbab   eh
'xarʒətˤ   mə ˌl'bɛb   uʷ   'tˤᵊma   'ɬalᵊa   'lᵊaːndu   sbɛb   əh

sbab   el-mut   dyal-ha   matet   fe-ḍ-ḍruž
sbɛb   əl'mutˤ   'djɛlha   'mɛtˤətˢ   fɪ'dːruʒ

iwa   ṣafi
'əwa   'safi

R: eh   bšitu   el-ʕeṛṣ
         əh   ˈbʃitu   əlˈʕəʀs

I: w   enti   w   entiya šnu   derti   elbareħ
         w   ˌɪntˢi   w   ˌɪnˈtˢia ʃnu   ˈdərtˢi   əlˈbɛrəħ

R: ana   lbareħ   ʔent   ʔa-nžemʕ   el-xayma
         ˈɛna   ˌlˈbɛrəħ   ʔəntˢ   ʔanˈʒəmʕ   əlˈxajma

I: žmeʕti   l-xayma
         ˈʒmaʕtˢi   ˌlˈxajma

R: ah   ʔa-neɣṣel   le-mwaʕen
         æh   ʔaˈnəɣsəl   ləmˈwaʕən

I: aha
         ˈəhə

R: yeh   we   men   ɣṣelt   le-mwaʕen   glest   ʔa-neħfeḍ
         jah   wɔ   mən   ɣsɛlt   ləmˈwaʕən   gləst   ʔaˈnəħfaɖ

I: iye   men   beʕd
         ija   mən   baʕd

R: menne   ħfeṭṭ   we   ʕyit
         ˈmən:ə   ħfat: wu   ʕjitˢ

I: yeh
         yəh

R: eh   bšit   tšaʕel tilifizyu   telfaza   eh   we   ʔent   ʔa-ntsanet
         əh   bʃitˢ   ˈtˤʕaʕəl tˢilifiˈzju   təlˈfɛza   əh   wə   ʔəntˢ   ʔanˈtˢ:anɪtˢ

ʕla   le-ʔeflam
ʕlæ   ləʔəˈflɛm

I: šnu   ʔeflam …   šnu   kay…   šnu   kayna?
       ʃnu   ʔɛˈflɛm   ʃnu   kaj   ʃnu   ˈkajna

R: e   ʔent   ʔa- ntsanet   e   le-flamlli   snu   smit-hum
      ə   ʔəntˢ   ʔanˈtsːanitˢ   əː   ləˈflɛm li   snu   ˈsmitˢhum

I: yeh
      əjɛh

R: ʔent   ʔa- ntsanet   ʕla   ayelmaṭar
      ʔəntˢ   ʔanˈtsːanitˢ   ʕlæ   ajɛlmɑtɑr

I: we   šnu   l-ħikaya   dyal-u?
      wə   ʃnu   ‿lħɪˈkɛja   ˈdjɛlu

R: eh   l-ħiʔaya   dyal-u dyal   e   waħed   el-bent   lli
      əh   lħɪˈʔɛja   ˈdjɛlu ˈdjɛl   əː   ˈwaħəd   əlˈbəntˢ   liː

m-ʕend-ha-š   el-ʔab   m-ʕend-ha-š   mmʷ-ha   w   bbʷa-ha
‿mʕʌndˈhɛʃ   əlʔɛb   mʕandˈhɛʃ   mːʷˈha‿   ʷ   ˈbːʷɛha

iw   ṭrabbat   fe-waħed   el-xayma
eːw   tʀɑˈbːatˢ   fəˈwaħəd   əlˈxajma

d   ulaṭ‿   ṣʷɣaṛ   huma   ṭrabbiw-hum   yaʕni
d   ‿əˈlɛt   sˈʷɣɑʀ   həˈma   tˢəʀɑˈbːiwhum   ˈjaʕni

I: yeh
      iˈjəh

R: temma   ṭrabbat   e   žat   e   menni ʔebret   qrat
      təmːa   tʀɑˈbːatˢ   əː   ʒətˢ   əː   məˈni ˈʔəbrətˢ   qratˢ

I: yeh
      iˈjəh

R: we   bšat   le-ʕend   e   waħed   ṛ-ṛažel e
      wu   ‿bʃatˢ   ləʕʌnd   əː   ˈwaħəd   ˈʀːaʒəl əː

matet-lu   l-mra   dyal-u
'mɛtətˢlu   ˌlː'mra   'djɛlu

I: yeh
     i'jəh

R: bqa   ʕend-u   l-wlad w   bšat   xeddama   ʕend-ha
     bqa   'ʕʌndu   ˌlʷ'lɛd ʷˌ   'bʃɛt   xɑ'dːɛma   'ʕandhɑ

I: yeh
     i'jəh

R: bqat   xeddama   ʕend-u   ža   bqat   ʔa-texdem   ʕend-u   ža
     bqat   xɑ'dːɛma   'ʕənduː   ʒaː   bqat   ʔa'təxdəm   'ʕʌnduː   ʒaː

ʕežbat-u   dzŭwwež   bi-ha
ʕəʒ'bɛtˢu   'dzuwːəʒ   'bihɑ

bqat   mʕa-h daru   had   e   ʕlaqa   dzŭwwež   bi-ha
ḅqatˢ   mʕɛh 'dɛru   hɛd   əː   'ʕlaqa   'dzuwːəʒ   'bihɑ

I: yeh
     i'jəh

R: men   dzŭwwež   bi-ha eh   bna   e   waħed   el-bent
     mən   'dzuwːəʒ   'bihaː əh   bnɛ   əh   'wa7əd   əl'bəntˢ

ʕend-u   lqat   muš?.. eh   l?at   eh   mšaʔel   mʕa-ha
'ʕʌndu   ˌl'qatˢ   muʃʔ əh   lʔɛtˢ   əh   'mʃɛʔɪl   'mʕɛha

bqa   tʕayer-ha   we   te..   uw   tʕayer-ha
ḅqa   ˌtˢ'ʕajərhaː   wə   tsə   ʔuw   'tˢʕajərha

I: yeh
     i'jəh

R: žat   hiya   bqat   mʕa-ha   ta   ɣḍat-ha   eh   yaʕni eh   dert
     ʒɛtˢ   hija   bqatˢ   'mʕɛha   tˢa   ˌɣ'ḍatˢha   əh   'jaʕni əh   dɛrtˢ

eh   bqat   mʕa-ha   ta   tʕerfet-ha   mziyan
əh   bqatˢ   ˈmʕɛha   tˢa   tˢʕʌrˈfətha   mziˈjɛn

I: yeh   yeh
        iˈjəh   iˈjəh

R: eh   tfahmet   hiya   wiya-ha   men   tfahmu   eh
        əh   ˈtˢfɛhmətˢ   ˈhija   wəˈjɛha   mən   ˈtˢfɛhmu   əh

ṣafi   twellew   ṣḥabat
ˈsɑfi   tʷuˈlːaw   sˤhaˈbɛtˢ

wlaw   ʕadiya   žat   weldet   waħed   le-wleyyed
ʷˈlaw   ˈʕɛdʑija   ʑɛtˢ   ˈwəldətˢ   ˈwaħəd   ləwˈləjːɪd

waħe ̯ṭṭfayl   weldet waħe ̯ ṭṭfayl we   bqat   ʕayša mʕa-ha
ˈwaħa ɬːfayl   ʷlˈdət ˈwaħə ̯ɬːfayl wə   ̯bˈqatˢ   ˈʕajʃə ˈmʕahə

I: a
        a

R: e   bqat   ʕayša   mʕa-hum   e   w   žat   waħed
        ə: bqatˢ   ˈʕajʃa ˈmʕahɔm   ə: ̯w   ʑɛtˢ   ˈwaħəd

le-mra   ʔant   ʕawe ̯ tani   ʔa-tbɣi   raʒel-ha
ləˈmrɑ   ʔɛntˢ   ˈʕawə ̯ ˈtˢɛni ʔatˢˈbɣi   raˈʒəlha

men   bɣat   ražel-ha   em   le-xʷra   te-tɣiṛ
mən   bɣat   raˈʒəlha   ə:m   ləˈxʷra   tˢəˈtˢɣɪ̇ɾ

ʔe- tɣiṛ   ʕli-h
ʔəˈtˢɣɪr   ʕlɪh

I: yeh
        iˈjəh

R: bqaw   ʔa-ye...bqat   ʔa-ddabz   hiya   wiya-ha
        bqaw   ʔaˈjə: bqatˢ   ʔaˈdːɛbz   ˈhija   wəˈjɛha

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walaʔe   le-xʷṛa   e...   lli   tšuʷžet   be-baṭan
waˈlɛʔɪ   ləˈxʷɤɑ   əː   liː   ˈtʃuʷʒətˢ   bəːbaˈɬan

l-ddart   me-ʔa-ddi-ha-š   fi-ha
l̩ˈd̪ːɛrtˢ   məʔad̪ːiˈjɛʃ   ˈfiha

I: hmhm
       hmhm

R: xella   teħt   ʕref-ha   be-ʔana   te-ybɣi-ha
       xaˈlːɛ   tˢəħt   ˈʕarifha   biˈʔɛnːa   tˢəjˈbɣiha

žat   e...   le-xʷṛa   men   šaft-ha   ʔa-ybɣi-ha   qaret   e...
ʒɛtˢ   ə: ləˈxʷɤa   mən   ˈʃɛftˢha   ʔajˈbɣiha   ˈqarːətˢ   ə

qerre   ‿tbaʕed   menn-u
qəˈrːə   ‿tˢːˈbɛʕɪd   ˈmɛnːu

I: yeh
       iˈjeh

R: bšat   baʕdet   menn-u   iwa   w   dzŭwžet   b-waħed
       bʃɛtˢ   ˈbaʕːdɛtˢ   ˈmənːɔ   ˈewa   ‿w   ˈdzuwʒətˢ   bˈʷaħəd

xʷuṛ   iwa   w   žaw   weldet   e   ṭfayel
xʷɔɤ   ˈewa   ‿w   ʒaw   wəlˈdətˢ   ə   ˈʦfayːəl

e...   wlet   es-saʕe   wlet   e...   ef-farħa   binat-hum
ə   ‿wˈlətˢ   əˈsːaʕə   ʷˈlətˢ   ə   ʔəˈfːarħa   biˈnɛtˢhu

I: yeh
       jəh

R: e   w   bqaw   ferħanin
       ʔe   ‿w   bqaw   fərˈħɛnin

I: qeṣṣa...   qeṣṣa   ħebbiya   yeʕni?
       ˈqɪsːa   ˈqɪsːa   ħuˈbːija   ˈjaʕni

R: ah   qeṣṣa   ħebbiya
        ah   'qıs:a   ħu'b:ija

I: wŭ   ʕežb-ek   l-ʔeflam   elli   fi-ha   el-qeṣṣa   l-ħebbiya   aw
        wu   'ʕaʒbək   'lʔɛflɛm   ı'l:i   'fiha   əl'qıs:a ‿ lħu'b:ija   aw

ʕežb-ek   ʕežb-ek   el-ʔeflam   lli   fi-ha   l-ʕunf
'ʕaʒbək   'ʕaʒbək   'əlɛflɛm   li   'fiha   ‿l'ʔunf

aw   šnu   ʕežb-ek?
aw   ʃnu   'ʕaʒbək

R: eh..   l-ʔaflam   lli   te-yʕažbu-ni huma lli   te-yʔunu   ye...
        ə:h   lʔə'flɛm   li   tˢəjʕaʒ'buni 'huma li   tˢəj'ʔunu   ‿jə

yheḍru   ʕla...   ʕla   l-ʔešyaʔ   lli   tey   e..   bħal   daba
j'haɖrɔ   'ʕla: ʕlæ   lʔə'ʃɛʔ   li   tˢəj   ə: bħɛl   'daba:

ʔešyaʔ lli   te-tʕžeb
ʔə'ʃɛʔ li   tˢətˢʕə'ʒ:əb

I: hm
        hm

R: e...   bħal   e...   ši   bħal   daba   tʔul   eflam   dyal   qatla
        ə: bħɛl   ə: ʃi: bħɛl   'daba tʔul   ə'flɛm djɛl   qɑ'tla

e...   ʔe-yšufu   bħal   e...   d   e   le-mra,
ə: ʔəj'ʃufu   bħɛl   ə: d   ə   lə'mɾa

s-sžaʕa   lli   fi-ha
s:ə'ʒ:aʕa   l:i   fi'ha

lli   daʔ   ši   lli   ʔe-ddir
li   dɛʔ   ʃ:i   li   ʔə'd:ir

e...   a-ṣber   a-tṣber   a-t...   wxxa
ə: as:'bɑʁ   atˢ'bɑʁ   atˢ   ʷxa

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ʔa-ytʕarḍu-ha   l-mšaʔen   ʔa-tṣbeṛ
ʔajtˢarˈduha ⌣   l-mʃɛˈʔın   ʔatˈsbaʁ

ʕli-hum   ʔa-tebqa   ɣalet   t-yʕat   e...   te-ʕdded   el-mawqef   w
ˈʕlihum   ʔatˢəˈbqa   ˈɣalətˢ   tˢjˈʕatˢ   ə   tˢəˈʕdːəd   əlˈmawqıf   w

ʔe-twelli   mezyan
ʔətˢˈwulːi   məzˈjɛn

I: w   šnu   el-film el...   el-film ez-zwin   lli   šŭfti   fi-ħyat-ek
     w   ʃnu   əlˈfılm   əl   əlˈfılm əˈzːwina   li   ˈʃufti   fıħˈjɛtək

ʔeħṣen   film   lli   šefti   fi-h...
ˈʔaħsan   fılm   li   ˈʃufti   fih..

R: e...   el-ʕešqu   l-memnuʕ
     ə: əlˈʕıʃqu⌣   lməmˈnuʕ

I: okay   we   šnu   el-qeṣṣa   dyal-u
     ɔkay   wu   ʃnu   əlˈqısa   ˈdjɛlu

R: el-ʕešqu   l-memnuʕ   hadi   dyal   žu...   waħed   e...   tlata   de
     əlˈʕıʃqu⌣   lmamˈnuʕ   ˈhɛdi: djɛl   ʒu...   ˈwaħəd   ə: ˈtləta   də

l-ʔabṭal   eh...   waħed   e...   l-weld   ma-ʕend-u-š   ʕaʔelt-u
lʔabˈtal   əːh   ˈwaħəd   ə: ˏlˈwəld   mɛʕʌnˈduʃ   ʕaˈʔıltˢu

we   ʕend-uš   l-ʔab   we   l-ʔumm
wə   ʕʌnˈduʃ   lʔɛb   wə   ˏlʔumː

e...   mmʷu-h   w   bbʷa-h
ə   mːuh ⌣   w   bːʷɛh

men   ma-ʕend-uš   mmʷu-h   w   bbʷa-h   eh...   qarar   ʕamm-u
mən   mɛʕʌnˈduʃ   mːuh ⌣   w   bːʷɛh   əːh   ˈqarːar   ˈʕamːu ⌣

yddi-h l-ʕend-u   bqa   ʕend-u   men   e...   bqa   ʕend-u   žat
jˈdːih   ˈlʕændu   bqa   ˈʕʌndu   mən   ə   bqa   ˈʕandu   ʒɛtˢ

el...	e...	hadi	l-ʔumm	dyal	l-ʕamm	dyal-u ah	ṛebbat-u
əl	ə	ˈħɛdi	‿lʔum:	djɛl	‿lʕam:	ˈdjɛlu ah	ʁaˈbːɛtˢu

ṭhallet	fi-h	li-ʔanna	ʕend-u	l-ʷlad-u
ˈƫħalːətˢ	fih	liˈʔanːa	ˈʕʌndu	lʷˈlɛdu

me	‿ṛṛebbat-u	žat	diʔ	el-bent	ʕend	waħe‿ l-bent
mə	‿ʁaːˈbːɛtˢu	ʒɛtˢ	diʔ	əlˈbəntˢ	ʕʌnd	ˈwaħə‿ lːˈbentˢ

ʔbira	šwiya	bqa	tebɣi-h	eh...	men	bqa	tbɣi-h	liʔanna
ˈʔbira	ˈʃwiya	bqa	tˢəˈbɣɪh	əːh	mən	bqa	tˢˈbɣɪh	liˈʔanːa

em..	bqa	tebɣi-h	e...	taqriban	ʕend	hadiʔ	e...	ṣbaʕtaš
əm	bqa	tˢəˈbɣɪh	əː	taˈqriban	ʕʌnd	ˈħɛdiʔ	ə	sːbaʕˈƫaʃ

ssṭašer	ʕam	bqa	tebɣi-h	eh...	men	bqa	tebɣi-h
sːtaˈʃər	ʕʌm	bqa	tˢəˈbɣɪh	əːh	mən	bqa	tˢəˈbɣɪh

ža...	ža	huwa	ma-te-yddi-ha-š	fi-ha	we	ħseb-ha
ʒa	ʒa	ˈhuwa	matˢəjˈdːijaʃ	ˈfiha	wə	ˈħsəbha

bħal	ʔŭxt	ʕend-u
bħɛlː	‿ʔɔxtˢ	ˈʕʌndu

I: hmhm
      hmhm

R:	men	ħseb-ha	bħal	ʔŭxt	ʕend-u
	mən	ˈħsəbha	bħɛlː	‿ʔɔxtˢ	ˈʕʌndu

e...	žat	waħed	el-ʔeyyam	mmu-h	matet
əː	ʒɛt	ˈwaħəd	əlʔaˈjːɛm	muh	ˈmɛtˢətˢ

mmu-h	mmʷ	ha	l-bent	matet
muh	mʷ	ha	‿lˈbəntˢ	ˈmɛtˢətˢ

I: iye
      iˈjə

R: matet   diža   l-ʔab dyal-ha   bša   dzŭwwež
        'mətˢətˢ   diʒa   ˌlʔab 'djɛlha   bʃa   'dzuw:əʒ

dzŭwwež   bbʷa   ha   l-bent   smit-ha   samar
'dzuw:əʒ   bʷa   hɛ   ˌl'bəntˢ   'smitˢha   'samar

I: samar
        'samar

R: hiya   l-ḍal baṭala   dya   ˌl-film
        'hija   lḍal ba'ɫ:ala   djɛ   ˌl'film

dzŭwwež   b-samar   ehh... dzŭwwež   b-samar
'dzuw:əʒ   b'samar   ə:hm 'dzuwəʒ   b'samar

liʔanna   hiya   zwina bezzaf samar
li'ʔana   'hija   'zwina bə'z:ɛf 'samar

eh...   ʔe-tʕažeb-ni ana   bezzaf
əh   ʔətˢʕa'ʒəbni ana   bə'z:ɛf

men eh   dzŭwwež   bi-ha eh...   muħanned l-baṭan
mən ə:h   'dzuw:əʒ   'biha əh   mu'hɛn:əd l'bat:an

ʕžeb-ha
'ʕʒəbha

I: smit-u   muħenned?
        'smitˢu   mu'hɑn:əd

R: muħanned
        mu'hɑn:əd

I: blati waħed   dqiqa...   mumken   tsedd-liya   e...   el-bab
        'blɛtˢi 'waħəd   'dqiqa...   'mumkin   tsəd:'lija   ə   əl'bɛb

baš   el... e... had... el... sawṭ dyal š-šita ....
bɛʃ   əl   ə   hɛd   əl   sawɫ djɛl 'ʃ:ɪta .... (inaudible)

I: yeʕni batal dyal l-film   smit-u   muħenned?
        'jaʕni 'baṭal djɛ   l̪:'film   'smitˢu   mu'hɑn:əd

R: ah   muħanned   we   samar eh…   l-ʕenwan   e…   smit-u
        ɛh   mu'hɑn:əd   we   'samar əh   lʕɪn'wɛn   ə: 'smitˢu

l-ʕešq el-memnuʕ
lʕɪʃq   əlmam'nuʕ

I: l-ʕešq el-memnuʕ.
        lʕɪʃq   əlmam'nuʕ

I: we   had   l-fim e..   meɣrebi   aw?
        we   hɛd   lfɪlm ə: 'maɣribi   aw

R: eh…   film   tŭrʔi
        ə:h   film   'tˢurʔi

I: tŭrʔi aha.
        'tˢurʔi 'aha

The frog – Speakers group B - IPA

H: guli-li a   xalt-i faṭna dyal   ž-žṛana
H: ˈgulili ‿a   ˈxɛltˢi ˈfaⱦna djɛl   ˈʒːɤana

F: hahaha   waxxa sidi
          (laughter)   ˈwaxːa ˈsidi

ž-žṛana   žat-ek   er-rbeħ
ᵊˈʒɤana   ˈʒɛtˢək   ᵊˈrbəħ

H: guli-ha-li
         ˈguliˈhɛli

F: gal   daba ṭ-ṭuyuṛ,   kan   yheḍḍeṛ   lbareħ,   ʕli-na
       gɛl   ˈdaba ˈⱦːuyuɤ   kɛn ‿yˈhɛdəɤ ‿lbɛrəħ   ʕlena

get   le-kum   ʕla   sidna suliman   lli   ke-yħkem
gət   ləkum   ʕlæ   ˈsidna ˈsulimɛn   l:i   kəyˈħkəm

fe-ṭ-ṭŭyuṛ   ħḍeṛtu   ʕli-ha
fə-ⱦːuyur   ħɖartˢu   ʕliha

K: ah

H: ah   ħḍeṛna   ʕli-ha
       ɛːh   ħɖaɤna   ʕliha

F: galt-lu le-mra ṭṛeyyes   ṭ-ṭuyuṛ
       ˈgɛltlu ləˈmra ˈⱦɤejːs   ⱦːuˈjuɤ

w   tedir-lih   l-fraš
w   tˢəˈdirlı   ‿lfrɛːʃ

šaft   ṛaṣ-ha weš ɣa-teħkem   ula   waxxa
ʃɛft   ˈɤasha wəʃ ɣatˢəħˈkəm ‿ula ˈwaxa

ʔa-ndir-lek   xaṭṛ-ek
ᵊanˈdirlək   ˈxɑⱦrək

ʔla   hadi   w   ma-na   ma-ʕažba-niy-š
ʔaˈla   ˈhɛdi w   ˈmanɛ   mɛˈʕəʒbɛniʲʃ

H: dyal   ž-žṛana?
        djɛl   ˈʒɤana

F: iwa   men-lli   žat
        ˈʔewa ˈmənli   ʒɛtˢ

aħed   ne-mra   gat-ha-lha   gat-li
ʔaˈħad   nəˈmra   gɛtˢˈhalə   gat‿li

ku   ket   nṣib-ha   ṭayħ   fi-m   haduk
ku   kʰət   nˈsibha   taʲħ   fim   ˈhɛduk

kduk   kduk   kduk   kduk
kəˈduk kəˈduk kəˈduk kəˈduk

w   gŭt-lha   ʕla   hiya
ʔə   ˈgutlha   ʕla   ˈhəʲa

daba   hadi   hadi   dyal   l-bekri   kanu   yheḍru
ˈdɛba   ˈhɛdi ˈhɛdi diˈjəl ‿lbəˈkri   ˈkɛnɔ jəˈhaɖrɔ

mmsisi   ṭṭħen w   tšeṭṭeb   w   tsgi
m̥ˈsisi   ɬːħʌn wə   ˈtʃaɬːab   wə   ts̩ˈgi

we   tnawel   we   hiya   ka-trekrek-lha
wə   ‿tˈnæwəl   wə   ‿ja   katˈrəkrəklha

teħt   el-genbura   w   tegʷeʕd
tˢħtˢ   əlgənˈbura   ‿ʷ   tsˢəˈgʷə̇d

bayta   ka-ṭṭħen   msisi   w   hiya
ˈbajtˢa kʌɬːˈħən   m̥ˈsisi   wə   ˈhija

kerker   kerker   ṣ-ṣbah gelʕat-lha   ṭ-ṭhin
ˈkʌrːkər: ˈkʌrːkər: sːbaħ ˈgəlʕatlha   ɬːhin

a   žiran   galu-lha   lʕam
æ: ˈjirɛn ˈkalulha   lʕɛm

e   gat-lhum   we   šku   ⌣lli
ə   gɛtlhum   wə   ʃku   ⌣l:i

bayt   ka-yṭħen   w   yhallel
baʲtˢ   kajˈɬən   wə   j'hɛl:ıl

galu   ħna   smeʕna   ketti   lli   ṭħenti
ˈgalu   ⌣ħnɑ   ˈsmaʕna   kəˈtˢi   li   ˈɬħʌntˢi

ža   l-fakrun   gal-lhum
ʒa   ⌣lfakˈrun   ˈgɛlum

ana   ɣadi   l-s-suq   we   men   nži   lli   ṣet-ha
ˈana   ˈɣɛdi   ⌣lˈs:uq   wə   mən   nži   li   ˈsətˢha

ṭaħna   we   mšeṭṭba   w   bšeʔla   l-ʕafiya
ˈɬæħna   wə   ˈmʃɑɬ:əba   w   ˈbʃaʔla   ⌣lˈʕɛfija

kanu   bekri   ɣa   l-kwanen   aš   kant   men   ʕiša
ˈkanu   bəkˈri ɣa   ⌣ˈlkwɟnən   ʔɛʃ   kɛntˢ   mən   ˈʕiʃa

tuma   yyam-kum   zayna   ħṣen   men   dyan-na
ˈtˢuma   ⌣ˈy:ɟmkəm   ˈzaʲna ⌣ħsɑn   mən   ˈdjɛna

gal-lu   hiya   lli   ɣadi   yeʕṭi-ha   ddir   l-ʕašya
gɛlu   ˈhija   lə   ˈɣadı   ⌣ʕ'ɬeha   d:ir   ˈlʕɛʃa

u   lli   yeʕṭi-ha   š-šerbil
uʷ   li   ⌣ʕaˈɬeha   ʃ:ərˈβi:l

iwa   ža   ṣab   msisi   mšeṭṭba
ˈʔeʲwa ʒa   sab   m̩ˈsisi m̩ˈʃɑɬəba

w   ṭaḥna   w   sagya
⌣w   ˈɬaħna ⌣w   ˈsɛgija

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ʕṭa-ha ddir l-ʕašya naḍet ž-žṛana ɣeḍbet
ˈʈ̪ahɛ d:ir ˈlʕaʃʲæ ˈnaɖət ˈʒrana ˈɣadəbətˢ

ža huwa tani ɣḍeb
ʒa ˈhuwa ˈt̪ˢɛni ɣɖab

msisi saʔd-ha kay saʔd-i
m̩ˈsisi ˈsaʔdɑ kaj ˈsaʔdi

ḷḷahu malik el-ħemd saʔd-i mʕa ħbab aḷḷah
ˈlahu ˈmɛlik əlˈħamd ˈsaʔdi mʕa ˌħbab aˈɫ:ah

w mʕa l-walidin w mʕa sidi ṛbbi šeddet
w mʕa ˌlwæliˈdin wu mˈʔa ˈsidi r̩ˈb:iʲ ʃəˈd:ətˢ

dayze ʕli-h braréž
ˈdajzə ʕaˈlih ˈβrɛrəʒ

a ʕemm el-fakrun
ʔa: ʕʌm ᵊlfakˈru:n

a hemm le-hmum
ʔa: həm ləhˈmu:m

a l-gayd daʔ le-ħširat l-ʕuyun
a lgayd ˌɛʔ ləħˈʃirɛ d̪ˌʔəju:n

gal-lu lli mša-lu ɣzal-u aš men ʕqel bqa-lu ħta yerbeħ
ˈgɛlu l:i ˈmʃɛlu ˈɣzɛlu wɛʃ mən ʕqal ˈbqɛlu ht̪ˢah yɪrbaħ

gal-lu ana žžib-ha-lek bša
ˈgɛlu əna ʒibˈhɛlək bʃa

qerrr šku‿ lli deqq ʕla ɣaṛ-i w-ana ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i
kər: ʃku‿ li daq ʕala ˈɣari ˈwəna ħfaʈˢu ˈbʃfari wə ˈɖfaʈi

ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya
ht̪ˢa ˈħmaru ʔayˈniyə

gal-lu hada ʕemm-ek brarež ṭwil le-mʕarš
'gɛlu 'ħɛda ʕʌm:ək 'brɛrəž ɫwil lə'mʕɛrʃ

gat-lu ħaša-kum a ṣir ya ebn xanz el-ʔešš
'gɛtlo 'ħɛʃɛkum a ṣir ya ʔəbn xanz əl'ʔəʃ:

ebn ukkal le-ʔgareb ebn ukkal le-ħnuša
əbn u'k:æl lə'ʔgɛrɪb əbn u'k:æl lə'ħnuʃa

bša ɣaḍban
bʃa: ɣad'bɛn

žayya ṭayra bager qerrr dazte ʕli-h
ʒ:aj:a 'ɫayra bagər kər: dɛstə ʔa'leh

galt-lu ana nžib-ha-lek
gɛltlu əna nʒib'ħɛlək

qerrr šku̯ lli deqq ʕla ɣaṛ-i w-ana ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i
kər: ʃku̯ li daq ʕala 'ɣari 'wəna ħfaɻtˢu 'bʃfari wə 'ɖfari

ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya
htˢa 'ħmaru ʔay'niyə

galt-lu hadi lalla-k ṭayra bager
'galtlu 'ħɛdi 'lɛl:ak 'ɫayra ba'gər

zaynt mešya ḍ-ḍrifa we zaynt l-lebsa r-rhifa
zaynt 'məʃya 'ɖɾifa wə zaynt 'ləbsa 'rhifha

galt-lu ṣiri ṭlaqti l-gurred me̯ ši begra ḍʕifa
gɛltlu 'siri 'ɫlaqti lgu'r:əd mə̯ ʃi 'bəgra ɖ'ʕifa

kŭll-hum neyybet-hum haha tani
'kul:hum nej:'bɪthum həhə tˢɛ:ni

ža ħaša-kum el-ħmaṛ gal-lu ana nžib-ha-lek
ʒa 'ħaʃakum əl'ħmaɻ 'gɛlu ⁀əna 'nʒibhɛlək

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qerrr   šku‿   lli   deqq   ʕla   ɣaṛ-i   w-ana   ħfeṛt-u   b-šfaṛ-i   we   ḍfaṛ-i
kər: ʃku‿   li   daq   ʕala ˈɣari   ˈwəna   ħfɑɾtˢu   ˈbʃfari   wə   ˈɖfari

ħta   ħmaṛu   ʔayni-ya
htˢa   ˈħmaru   ʔayˈniyə

gal-lha   hada   gat-lu   gal-lha
ˈgɛlu   ˈħɛda ˈgɛtlu   ˈgɛləha

hada   ʕemm-ek   el-ħmaṛ   be‿   le-ħmaṛ
ˈħɛda   ˈʕʌm:ək   əlˈħmɑɾ   bə‿   ləˈħmɑɾ

gat-lu ħaša-kum   ku   ketti   ʕemm el-ħmaṛ   be‿   le-ħmaṛ
ˈgatlu ˈħɛʃɛkum   ku   ˈkətˢi ʕʌm: əlˈħmɑɾ   bəl ‿ləˈħmɑɾ

me‿   ṣ-ṣbaħ le-ṣ-ṣbaħ   ka-yħeyyḍu   men   teħt-ku‿   mŭd ‿dyal le-ɣbaṛ
mə‿   s:baħ   lə-s:baħ   kajˈħəj:ɖu   mən   ˈtˢaħtˢku‿   mu   ‿djɛl ləɣbɑɾ

bša   tani   ɣeḍban
bʃɛ: ˈtˢɛni ɣəɖˈbɛn

ža   l-faṛṛuwež   gal-lu   ana   žžib-ha-lek
ʒa: ‿lfaˈr:uwəʒ ˈgɛlu   ‿ana   ʒibˈħɛlək

qerrr   šku   lli   deqq   ʕla   ɣaṛ-i   w-ana   ħfeṛt-u   b-šfaṛ-i   we   ḍfaṛ-i
kər: ʃku   li   daq   ʕala ˈɣari   ˈwəna   ħfɑɾtˢu   ˈbʃfari   wə   ˈɖfari

ħta   ħmaṛu   ʔayni-ya
htˢa   ˈħmaru   ʔayˈniyə

gal-lha   hada   ʕemm-ek   el-faṛṛuž   bu   bennaṛa
ˈgɛl:ɛ   ˈħɛda ˈʕʌm:ək   əlfaˈr:uʒ   βu   bəˈnɑɾ:a

gat-lu ku   ketti   ʕamm-i   l-faṛṛuž   bu   bennaṛa
gɛ:tlu kuʷ   kətˢi   ʕam:i   lfar:uʒ   βu   bəˈnɑɾ:a

ka-yddiw-k   ka-ybiʕw-ek   fe-s-suq   ħaša-kum   ka-yʔellgu-lek   režl-ek
kajˈd:iwk   kajˈbiʕwək   feˈs:uq   ˈħɛʃɛkum   kajʔalˈgulək   rəʒlək

ʕa‿ l-ħmaṛa bša tani ɣaḍban
ʕa‿ l'ħmaɤa bʃɛ tˢɛni ɣadə'bɛn

žat d-džaža.
ʒɛ:tˢ 'd:ʒɛʒa

qerrr šku‿ lli deqq ʕla ɣaṛ-i w-ana ħferṭ-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i
kər: ʃku‿ li daq ʕala 'ɣari 'wəna ħfaɤtˢu 'bʃfari wə 'ɖfari

ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya
htˢa 'ħmaru ʔay'niyə

gat-lha hadi lalla-k džaža mefṣuṣ
'gɛtlha 'hɛdi 'lɛl:ak ə'dʒɛʒa məf'su:s

mulat l-bayḍ el-menquš lli ka-yaklu-h ṣ-ṣŭlṭa w l-ʕaṛus
'mu:lat l'bajɖ əlmʌn'quʷʃ li kə'jakluh s:ul'ɬa ‿w lʕa'ru:s

galt-lha ħaša-kum ku ketti džaža mefṣuṣ
'gɛltlha 'ħɛʃɛkum ku 'kətˢi 'dʒɛʒa mef'sus

ka-tbeyyḍi l-bayḍ el-menquš
kat'βejɖi ‿lβajɖ əlmʌn'qu:ʃ

ka-yaklu-h ṣ-ṣŭlṭa u l-ʕarus
ka'jaklu s:ul'ɬan uʷ ‿lʕa'ru:s

r-reħba l-mšeṭṭba ka-tħeṭṭi l-besqa fi-ha dekkus
'r:əħba ‿lmə'ʃɬ:əba katˢ'ħɬ:i l'bəsqa fi'ha də'k:u:s

bšat tani ɣeḍbet ža n-nser
bʃɛtˢ 'tˢɛni 'ɣadəbətˢ ʒa: ‿n:sər:

qerrr šku‿ lli deqq ʕla ɣaṛ-i w-ana ħferṭ-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-i
kər: ʃku‿ li daq ʕala 'ɣari 'wəna ħfaɤtˢu 'bʃfari wə 'ɖfari

ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya gal-lu hada ʕemm-ek en-nser
htˢa 'ħmaru ʔay'niyə 'gɛlu 'hɛda 'ʕʌm:ək ən:'sər:

u ža me‿ s-smaʔ ka-yetserser
uʷ ʒa mə‿ s:məʔ kajət'sərsər

gat-lu ħaša-ku ṣiṛ el-ž-žifa badi texṣeṛ
'katlo 'ħaʃaku ṣir əl'ʒ:ifa 'bɛri 'tˢəxsəɣ

tani mša ɣaḍban ha huwa žayy ʕugab
'tˢɛni mʃa ɣadə'bɛn ha ‿wa ʒay: ʕugɛ:b

qerrr šku‿ lli žab daba ža mʕa-h
kəɣ: ʃku‿ li ʒɛb dɛba ʒɛ mʕɛh

gal-lu ʕawed ana wiya-k nžibu-ha
'galu 'ʕawəd 'ɛna wu'jɛk nə'ʒibuha

qerrr šku‿ lli deqq ʕla ɣaṛ-i w-ana ħfeṛt-u b-šfaṛ-i we ḍfaṛ-
ikər: ʃku‿ li daq ʕala 'ɣari 'wəna ħfaɣtˢu 'bʃfari wə 'ḓfɑri

ħta ħmaṛu ʔayni-ya
htˢa 'ħmaru ʔay'niyə

gal-lu gal-lu hada gal-lha hada ʕemm-ek l-ʕugab
'gɛluʷ 'gɛlu 'hɛda 'gɛl:ha 'hɛda 'ʕʌm:ek ʕu'gɛ:b

w-ila ma-tši-š ɣa-yxelṭ lalla-k wežh-ha mʕa ṭ-ṭrab
'wla mɛ'tʃiʃ ɣaj'xɑlⱦ 'lɛl:ək 'wəʒhəha mʕa ⱦ:rab

ensay, ensay a weld ʕemm-i! nežmaʕ hnayħat-i u ħwayžat-i
ən'saj ən'saj a wəld 'ʕʌm:i 'nəʒmæ̞ h'najħetˢi wə ħ'wajəʒɛtˢi

temm ah gat-lu: škun hada lli ža mʕa-k
tˢəm ah 'gɛtlu ʃkun 'hɛda l:i ʒa: mʕæ:k

gal-lha, gal-lha le-fakrun
gɛlhɛ: galhɛ lə'fakrun

hada ra-h mul ṣ-ṣbaṭ el-weħšin
'hɛda rah mul ṣ:bɑⱦ əl'wəħʃin

gat-lu:　　　　　daba　ʕad　mʕa-h　ɣada　nemši
'gɛltlu　　　　　'dɛba　ʕɛd　mʕæh　'ɣada　'nəmʃi

zeʕma　　　　ta　　ža　　huwa　ʕad　ɣada　twŭlli
'zaʕma　　　　tˢa　　ʒa　　'huwa　ʕɛd　'ɣada　tˢə'wul:i

ža　　　yžeħžeħ　　　gal:　ayh
ʒaj:　　jə'ʒəħʒəħ　　'gɛl　ʔə:h

ki　　dayra　a　　xṭiṭ　kŭll　yaqut-ha　　　fe-l-ħayṭ
ki　　'dajra　a　　xɬajɬ　kəl　ja'qutˢha　　f‿əl'ħajɬ

eh　　galt-lu:　　skŭt　ʕli-na　　　ra-ħna salat　ez-zin　　　qetlet-na
ʔɛh　'gɛltlu　　　'skutˢ　'ʕalena　　raħna 's:ɛlət　ə'z:in　　　qət'lətna

ɣir　　l-ʕayn　　　ɣada,　žeħžeħ　　žeħžeħ　　　leħget
ɣir　　əl'ʕajn　　'ɣada　ʒaħ'ʒaħ　　ʒaħ'ʒaħ　　'ləħəgətˢ

gal　le-msisi　　xzen-ha　　gal　le-msisi　　nuḍi　diri-na　　　r-rfisa
gɛl　ləm'sisi　　'xzənha　　gɛl　ləm'sisi　　'nɔḍi　di'rina　　　ɻ:'fisa

daret　meskina　　r-rfisa w　　weždet　　　w　　ħeṭṭet
'dɛretˢ　məsə'kina　r:'fisa　w　　‿'wəʒedətˢ　w　　'ħaɬ:ətˢ

hak　legma　　　li-ha　w　　legma li-h　　ħarget-ha.　galt-lu
ʕak　ə'l:əgma　　'liha　‿w　　'ləgma lih　　ħarə'gətˢha　gɛltlo

qerrr!　berred　　li-ya　berred　　li-k
kəɻ:　'bər:əd　　'lija　'bər:əd　　li:k

naḍet　msisi,　refdet　　　el-mensba　'kaboom'
'naḍətˢ 'msisi　'rəfdətˢ　　elmansə'ba　　slapping noise

lli　　ma-ʕad-u　　ržal:　kwi　ṣeḍṛ-u be-l-ħžar
li　　ma'ʕad:u　　rʒɛl　k:wi　'səḍɻo b‿əl'ħʒar

lli　　ma-ʕad-u　　ržal:　kwi　ṣeḍṛ-u be-l-ħžar
li　　ma'ʕad:u　　rʒɛl　k:wi　'sədro b‿əl'ħʒar

zeʕma:	ana,	menni	mšat	hiya	ɣḍebti	xrešti	me‿	l-xayma
'zəʕma	'ʔɛna	mə'ni	mʃɛtˢ	'hija	ɣə'dabtˢi	'xrəʃtˢi	məl‿	l'xajma

u	menni	žebti-ha	ʕad	bqayti
uʷ	mə'ni	ʒəb'tˢiha	ʕad	'bqajtˢi

ana	ka-nnawel	w	neħeṭṭ
ana	ka'nawəl	w	nə'ħɔt:

w	tta	teʕṭay-ha.	a	ha	blad-ek
w	tˢa	tˢaʕ'ɬajha	a	hɛ	'blɛdek

hiya	ṭaret	mʕa	ṭuyuṛ	we	huwa	mša	le-le-glet
'hija	'ɬaʁətˢ	mʕa	ɬ:ə'jur	wə	'huwa	mʃa	lə lə'glɪtˢ

huwa	we	ž-žṛana
'huwa	wə	'ʒ:ʁɛna

w	hadi	ɣa	xayba,	ɣa	bɣayti-ha	u	ṣafi
w	'hɛdi	ɣa	'xajba	ɣaj	bɣaj'tˢiha	uʷ	'ṣafi