

Chapter 6

Loanwords in Tarifiyt, a Berber language of Morocco*

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1. The language and its speakers

Tarifiyt Berber (also called *Tarifit*, *Riffian* or *Rif Berber*, in Tarifiyt *tmazixt*¹ or *tarifəš*) is the name of a large group of dialects (cf. Lafkioui 2007) spoken in the northeastern part of Morocco. Its current number of speakers is unknown, as there are no published census data for native language use in Morocco, but population statistics of the provinces which are mainly Tarifiyt-speaking, Alhoceima and Nador, suggest it has between one million and a million and a half speakers.² Taqer'iyt (or Guelaya, *taqəř'əš*) is an eastern variety of Tarifiyt, spoken in the vicinity of the Moroccan town of Nador (*Nnad'ua* in Tarifiyt) and the Spanish enclave Melilla (*Mrič*). The language treated here is Taqer'iyt Tarifiyt Berber, as spoken by Mr. Khalid Mourigh, a student in his twenties originating from Segangane, a village which is now part of the Nador agglomeration. Although he has spent all his life in the Netherlands, Mr. Mourigh is a confident and reliable speaker of Tarifiyt. His data can be considered representative for the urban variety of Tarifiyt as spoken by the younger generation in the agglomeration of Nador.

Berber is a separate branch of the Afroasiatic language phylum. It consists of a number of languages, spoken in Northern Africa (the Maghreb) and the Sahara. The time-depth of Proto-Berber is relatively shallow, and is probably similar to that of Germanic or Romance (Louali & Philippson 2004: 106, Kossmann 1999: 15). For this reason, some scholars consider Berber one single language with a considerable amount of dialectal diversity (e.g. Chaker 1995: 9). Subclassification of Berber languages and varieties is extremely problematic (Kossmann 1999: 30ff.), and

* The subdatabase of the World Loanword Database that accompanies this chapter is available online at <http://wold.livingsources.org>. It is a separate electronic publication that should be cited as: Kossmann, Maarten. 2009. Tarifiyt vocabulary. In Haspelmath, Martin & Tadmor, Uri (eds.) *World Loanword Database*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, 1533 entries.

<<http://wold.livingsources.org/vocabulary/6>>

¹ For an explanation of the transcription conventions, the reader is referred to the accompanying online database (cf. also Lafkioui 1997).

² The Arabic Wikipedia, quoting 2004 census figures, gives 728,634 inhabitants of Nador province and 395,644 for Alhoceima province. Of course, not all inhabitants of these provinces speak Tarifiyt, as there exists considerable internal migration in Morocco. On the other hand, Tarifiyt is also spoken by large communities outside these two provinces, because of substantial migration to other parts of Morocco and to Europe. There is no reason to follow McClelland (2004) in calling Tarifiyt an endangered language.

no reliable classification has been proposed so far; therefore no subclassification will be presented here. Some scholars consider Tarifiyt part of a larger unit called Northern Berber, which comprises all Berber varieties of Morocco and (non-Tuareg) Algeria. This should probably be understood as a typological rather than as a genealogical classification. Tarifiyt is part of a dialect continuum stretching towards the south into the eastern Middle Atlas (Ayt Warayn) and to the east into Beni Iznasen Berber, which is often considered to be part of Tarifiyt. Towards the west there are substantial differences between Tarifiyt and the Berber varieties spoken by the so-called Senhaja de Sraïr, which one might consider a separate language. To the west and to the south of the Tarifiyt speaking region there are large groups of speakers of Moroccan Arabic.

There exists no standard variety of Tarifiyt, and speakers have more positive attitudes to their own dialect than to that of others. Still, some influence emanating from the main centers can be discerned, and it is not unusual to hear typical Nador Tarifiyt forms such as *amm=u* 'so' and the past tense marker *ttuyā* in regions where the traditional dialect has other forms (such as *amy=a* and *ǧǧa*).

Tarifiyt is mainly used inside the region where it belongs in spoken communication. Speakers of Tarifiyt use Moroccan Arabic when speaking to people from outside the region, or with people in the region who do not know Tarifiyt. Writing and the more formal genres in mass media use Standard Arabic; informal genres in the mass media (e.g. talk shows, interviews with football players, and washing powder advertisements) may use Moroccan Arabic. In spite of much effort undertaken by Riffian writers and activists, the use of Tarifiyt in writing or in the mass media is still marginal. In the popular music of the region, on the other hand, Tarifiyt competes seriously with Moroccan Arabic and foreign languages.

For many years, efforts have been made to create a standard Berber variety, which would be valid for all Moroccan and Algerian Berber languages. This creation combines words and constructions from different Berber varieties and has as its special task to oust all Arabic loan influence. Standard Berber is sometimes used in writing, normally with many explanatory notes in French, Arabic, or another Berber language (cf. the newspaper articles on the front page of the Nador-based journal *Tawiza*). In normal communication, only a few iconic neologisms are regularly used, such as *azul* 'hello', and *tiɛlli* 'freedom'. While many speakers would recognize these words, their use is restricted to persons who are involved in the Berber issue. Since 2003, the Moroccan government has started a program to introduce Berber in experimental education. In the first year of primary education, according to the region, one out of three Berber languages is taught, Tashelhiyt, Central Moroccan Berber, or Tarifiyt. The language of the schoolbooks is designed to contain no Arabic loanwords; where there are alternatives inside Tarifiyt, the Berber alternative is chosen, and where only the Arabic loan exists in Tarifiyt, a term is borrowed from another Berber language or a new term is coined. As a result, the schoolbook language is not mutually intelligible with spoken Tarifiyt, and must be considered a different language. From the second school year onward, a

common Moroccan Berber standard language is taught; this variety is of course still further from spoken Berber.

2. Sources of data and scholarly history

The data source for this article and the subdatabase is the linguistic knowledge of one speaker, Mr. Khalid Mourigh. The data in the database have been filled in in a cooperative effort by Mr. Mourigh and the present author. In a few cases, they were supplemented by other speakers, whom Mr. Mourigh consulted.

Unless mentioned otherwise, Moroccan Arabic data come from Harrell & Sobelman (1966) and Iraqui Sinaceur (1993).³ The term *Maghribine Arabic*, which is in fact a cover term for all Arabic varieties spoken in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, is used only when the word in question was not found in any dictionary of Moroccan Arabic, but appears in a dictionary of a Maghribine variety from outside Morocco. The tacit assumption is that the absence of these words in the Moroccan dictionaries is due to insufficient documentation.

Tarifiyt has been studied from the late nineteenth century onward. Important pre-colonial and colonial works are Biarnay (1911), a description of the Tarifiyt variety of the ancient immigrant community of Vieil Arzeu in Algeria, Biarnay (1917), which presents a large-scale dialect overview of Tarifiyt phonetics, as well as a vocabulary and texts, and Renisio (1932), which is a relatively unsophisticated grammatical sketch, supplemented by high quality transcriptions of texts and a vocabulary. Ibáñez (1944) is a large, but often problematic, Spanish-Tarifiyt vocabulary. Some post-independence studies are Chami (1979), a phonological and morphological overview of Nador Tarifiyt; Cadi (1987), a morphosyntactic study of the Nador Tarifiyt verbal system; Kossmann (2000), a grammatical sketch of Eastern Riffian Berber (Beni Iznasen); and the large, but still unpublished Tarifiyt dictionary by Mohammed Serhoual (2002). Lafkioui (2007) is a very detailed dialect atlas of Tarifiyt and neighboring Berber varieties. McClelland (2004) is a Tarifiyt-English dictionary, which is riddled with errors and virtually useless as a data source.

Contact influence on Berber is a relatively neglected subject. There are a number of studies on Punic and Latin influence (e.g. Vycichl 2005, Brugnatelli 1999). The Arabic influence, which is much stronger, has never been investigated systematically, and many questions remain unanswered. Thus, as far as I know, nobody has ever studied the question why some Arabic CVC (“hollow”) verbs are taken over in their Imperfective form, while others are taken over in their Perfective form. Similarly, there exists no study that even poses the question why some Arabic nouns receive full Berber morphology, while others retain most of their original morphology.

³ Other dictionaries that have been used are Beaussier (1931), Prémare (1993-), Sabia et al. (2000), Vycichl (1983), and Wehr (1976).



Map 1: Geographical setting of Tarifiyt

3. Contact situations and contact history

Proto-Berber probably does not pre-date 500 BCE; any possible loan influences from before this date are impossible to trace, and will not be treated here. The earliest loanwords which can be traced are a few *Wanderwörter* of different origins, such as *tiyni* ‘date’, which eventually comes from Ancient Egyptian (Kossmann 2002). Another example, no more used in Tarifiyt, is the Berber word *az’rəf* ‘silver’, which may have an Iberian source (Boutkan & Kossmann 2001).

The first identifiable group of loanwords is due to the Phoenician and Carthaginian influence on Northern Africa (cf. Vycichl 2005: 2–16 for an overview) and has been borrowed from Phoenician or Punic. Many of the proposed Punic etymologies are disputable, though, and most of the unproblematic Punic elements have been lost in Tarifiyt. The main exception to this is the Tarifiyt toponym *ažđia*, which is well attested as a noun elsewhere in Berber (e.g. Tashelhiyt *agadir* ‘fortified place’) and goes back to Punic *g-d-r* ‘fence’ (Vycichl 2005: 3). An additional problem in identifying Punic vocabulary is the possibility of later borrowing from the sister language of Punic, Hebrew. This is the case of Tarifiyt *řmăđ* ‘to

learn', which is probably derived from the Semitic (but not Arabic) verb *l-m-d* 'to learn'. This verb could very well go back to Punic (Vycichl 2005: 3–4), but a derivation from Hebrew (or Aramaic) is at least as likely. Before the advent of Islam, an important part of the Berber population adhered to Judaism, so influence from Hebrew in the realm of learning is not unexpected.

Much stronger influence was exercised by Latin (see, among others, Vycichl 2005: 16–32, Brugnatelli 1999). Quite a number of terms have been borrowed from this language, many of them related to agriculture. Some examples are *atmun* 'plough-beam' < Latin *tēmō(nem)* (Laoust 1920: 286); *asnus* 'donkey fowl' < Latin *asinus* 'donkey'. It is sometimes possible to differentiate between earlier and later loans from Latin. The earliest Latin loans are taken over in the nominative singular (as in the case of *asnus* < *asinus*, NOM:SG), while later loans are based on accusative forms (as in the case of *atmun* < *tēmōnem*, ACC:SG). For the later period, one may prefer to call the donor language North-African Romance rather than Latin. It is uncertain how long Romance persisted in Northern Africa after the Arabic conquest, but the presence of Romance influence on Maghribine Arabic shows that it must have been a significant linguistic factor in the early period of Islamic rule, especially in the northwestern part of Morocco, a region adjacent to where Tarifiyt is spoken (Colin 1926: 65–68).

Northern Africa was subdued by Islamic troops in the course of the seventh century CE. At first, this conquest did probably not have much impact on the linguistic practices of Berber speaking populations. Arabic settlements were mainly found in the cities, which at that time were probably mainly Romance speaking (Levy 1998). In order to bring the Islamic faith to the Berbers, special religious vocabulary was designed (van den Boogert & Kossmann 1997), using a blend of heavily adapted loanwords – e.g. *z'ağğ* 'to pray' < Arabic *s'allā*; *z'um* 'to fast' < *s'āma* – and neologisms, such as the names of the daily prayers, not preserved in Tarifiyt. As these terms are found all over Berber, and both with groups adhering to Sunnite and to Kharijite Islam, this vocabulary must have been introduced at a time when the Islamic schism was not yet a major issue in Berber country. This suggests a time before or during the Kharijite predominance in Northern Africa, i.e. in the eighth century CE or earlier. These terms must have been spread by missionaries using Berber as their language of religious teaching.

Classical Arabic (and its offshoot Standard Arabic) was the only language in international politics, religion, and learning from the advent of Islam until the colonial period (which, for the Rif, started in 1912). Like elsewhere in the Arabic world, it is mainly a language of written and recited texts; only in contexts involving formal education and international communication is it sometimes used in conversation. The immigration of many Arabic-speaking people from the east as well as language shift by large groups of Romance and Berber speaking autochthonous people lead to the establishment of dialectal Maghribine Arabic as a major language in the area. Nowadays, over half of the population of Morocco has dialectal Arabic as their mother tongue, and it is everywhere used as a *lingua franca*.

The great bulk of loanwords from Arabic in Tarifiyt have been taken from Maghribine dialectal Arabic; most of them have close correspondents in present-day Eastern Moroccan Arabic.

In Northern Africa, Arabic has been the dominant language for a long period. This does not mean that the social circumstances under which borrowing took place are easy to reconstruct. In pre-colonial times, there never was a policy aiming at the introduction of Arabic in other than religious and literary contexts, and dialectal Arabic – the main donor of Arabic lexicon in Tarifiyt – never had any special status. During most of its history, this part of Morocco recognized the religious authority of the Moroccan sultan, but did not submit to his secular power. Thus, political dominance of speakers of Arabic was only rarely an issue in the Tarifiyt speaking country before Morocco regained its independence in 1956. This leaves us with a stingy question: if socio-political pressure from Arabic was relatively weak (except for domains such as law and religion), why are there so many loanwords from dialectal Arabic in Tarifiyt? Trade may have played a paramount role. In the Moroccan countryside trade is organized through weekly markets – every village on its own week day – and traders make a tour of these markets. It is very well possible that these traders used Arabic as their language of communication; some of them because it was their native language, others because some of the markets they would trade in were in Arabic-speaking villages. Thus, Arabic would have become the dominant language of the markets, and many important items of vocabulary could thus enter Berber. This scenario is suggested by the fact that some areas of vocabulary which are highly affected by borrowing consist of words which are frequent in a market context, such as numerals and names of fruits and vegetables. Since the colonial period, the Tarifiyt-speaking country has more and more become integrated in the tissue of Moroccan society. As Moroccan Arabic is the main language of communication outside the village, an important number of Moroccan Arabic loanwords may have entered the language during the twentieth century. It should be stressed, however, that linguistic studies which predate the colonial occupation of Morocco in 1912 clearly show that the strong lexical influence of dialectal Arabic on Tarifiyt was already there before colonial times.

Spanish has been a language in the region since Spanish troops occupied Melilla in 1497, a foreign presence that continues until the present day. There is not much evidence, though, for substantial Spanish influence on Tarifiyt before the start of the occupation of Northern Morocco in 1912. In fact, one suspects that a large percentage of Spanish loanwords was borrowed after Morocco regained its independence (1956), and is due to the intensive trading (and smuggling) relations between Nador and the Spanish enclave Melilla, as well as to easy access to Spanish radio and television. This is, among others, suggested by the fact that Spanish influence is much more prominent in Taqer'iyt Tarifiyt, spoken near Nador and Melilla, than in neighboring Tarifiyt dialects, such as Ayt Sa'id, which are spoken in regions somewhat further away from Melilla. In many cases Taqer'iyt Tarifiyt has borrowed Spanish terms where other Tarifiyt dialects use dialectal Arabic or French loanwords.

In contrast to most parts of Morocco, the other colonial language, French, was never a major factor in the region, as it belonged to the Spanish part of the protectorate. French loanwords mainly entered Tarifiyt through Moroccan Arabic.

A special category is constituted by recent Standard Arabic loans, which can be recognized by specific phonological and morphological features. These are mainly the consequence of formal teaching, Standard Arabic being the main language of education in Morocco.

As is probably the case in all languages with heavy lexical borrowing, bilingualism must have played a major role in the introduction of loanwords. Nowadays, most speakers of Taqer'iyt Tarifiyt are at least fluent in two languages, Tarifiyt and Moroccan Arabic. Many will have a reasonable knowledge of Spanish too. In addition to these three languages, those who received formal education (a rapidly increasing percentage) know Standard Arabic and French as well. Due to the large-scale migration of Tarifiyt speakers to Europe, especially the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany, many people know Dutch or German. One cannot, of course, project this picture on the pre-colonial period. However, it is highly probable that bilingualism in Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt has long been widespread, especially among men.

4. Numbers and kinds of loanwords

The subdatabase for Tarifiyt has 51.7% borrowings. Inside the semantic groups assigned to words in the database, none has a percentage of loanwords below 20%, while only three fields (*Miscellaneous function words*, *The body*, and *Kinsbip*) have a percentage below one third. Table 1 summarizes the results of the subdatabase as regards the incidence of borrowing semantic groups into which the lexical data have been arranged.

Borrowings are found in most parts of speech; they are very common in the open lexical classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. As far as function words are concerned, loans are absent in the personal pronouns system and rare among prepositions; on the other hand they are relatively common among coordinating and subordinating particles, and all numerals but 'one' are loanwords. Table 2 provides the percentages according to semantic word class.

Table 1:
Loanwords in Tarifiyt Berber by donor language and semantic field (percentages)

	Dialectal Arabic	Spanish/ French	Standard Arabic	Pre-Islamic	Classical Arabic	Unidentified	Total loanwords	Non-loanwords
1 The physical world	38.1	-	3.7	-	-	-	41.8	58.2
2 Kinship	28.0	1.2	1.2	-	-	-	30.5	69.5
3 Animals	27.2	7.0	3.5	0.9	-	0.9	39.5	60.5
4 The body	28.9	0.5	-	-	-	-	29.5	70.5
5 Food and drink	40.4	7.5	1.1	-	-	-	49.0	51.0
6 Clothing and grooming	60.5	12.5	-	1.8	-	-	74.8	25.2
7 The house	51.3	15.3	-	2.2	-	2.2	70.9	29.1
8 Agriculture and vegetation	38.7	6.3	-	4.7	-	1.6	51.3	48.7
9 Basic actions and technology	42.6	4.7	-	2.4	-	-	49.7	50.3
10 Motion	37.8	6.1	-	2.4	-	-	46.3	53.7
11 Possession	55.0	6.0	2.0	-	-	-	63.0	37.0
12 Spatial relations	29.7	1.3	1.3	-	-	2.5	34.8	65.2
13 Quantity	55.0	6.9	-	2.3	2.3	-	66.4	33.6
14 Time	62.0	3.7	-	-	-	-	65.7	34.3
15 Sense perception	36.7	4.2	-	-	-	-	40.9	59.1
16 Emotions and values	55.0	3.7	1.8	-	-	-	60.6	39.4
17 Cognition	51.8	8.1	6.5	1.6	0.5	-	68.5	31.5
18 Speech and language	52.0	4.8	4.8	-	-	-	61.7	38.3
19 Social and political relations	59.1	-	5.2	-	-	-	64.3	35.7
20 Warfare and hunting	56.4	10.3	5.1	-	-	-	71.8	28.2
21 Law	48.2	4.7	9.4	-	-	-	62.4	37.6
22 Religion and belief	66.2	3.9	11.7	-	10.4	3.9	96.1	3.9
23 Modern world	40.6	41.4	8.0	-	-	3.2	93.1	6.9
24 Miscellaneous function words	21.7	-	-	-	-	-	21.7	78.3
all words	41.7	6.3	2.1	0.8	0.3	0.5	51.7	48.3

Table 2: Loanwords in Tarifiyt Berber by donor language and semantic word class (percentages)

	Dialectal Arabic	Spanish/ French	Standard Arabic	Pre-Islamic	Classical Arabic	Unidentified	Total loanwords	Non-loanwords
Nouns	41.9	8.8	3.4	1.2	0.1	0.8	56.1	43.9
Verbs	40.9	2.4	-	0.3	0.5	-	44.1	55.9
Adjectives	48.5	2.5	0.8	-	-	0.8	52.7	47.3
Adverbs	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	40.0	60.0
Function words	35.4	3.1	-	-	1.0	-	39.5	60.5
all words	41.7	6.3	2.1	0.8	0.3	0.5	51.7	48.3

5. Integration of loanwords

Loanwords in Northern Berber show different degrees of integration, both as regards phonology and, with nouns, morphological structure.

5.1. Phonological integration

As far as phonological integration is concerned, one may distinguish three major groups of loanwords.

The first group has full integration into (early) Berber phonology, and replaces any foreign sound by Berber phonemes. This category consists of loanwords from Punic and Latin, as well as the religious vocabulary belonging to the earliest stratum of Arabic loanwords. For example, in the early Arabic loan *z'um* 'to fast', from Arabic *s'āma* 'to fast', the pharyngealized ("emphatic") *s'* of the original has been replaced by the Berber phoneme *z'*.

In the second group, which is by far the largest group of borrowings, phonological adaptation is only partial. A large number of consonantal phonemes were borrowed from Arabic and Spanish, such as *s'*, *q*, *ʕ*, *ħ*, *p*, but other phonemes undergo changes in the course of borrowing. Thus in loanwords of this group, *l* is changed to *ř*, *ll* to *ğğ*, while *r* is changed to *a* in many contexts. Non-geminate stops are replaced by fricatives which are pronounced more to the front than the original (e.g. alveolar plosive *t* > interdental fricative *ʈ*). Moreover, Arabic *t'* is mostly taken over as *d'*. The cooccurrence of introduction of foreign phonemes with significant adaptation is illustrated by a word like *ħřu* 'to be sweet' < *ħlu*, which shows replacement of *l* by *ř*, but retention of the foreign sound *ħ*.

In the third group, only minor adjustments to the Tarifiyt sound system take place, and some of the most conspicuous adaptations, such as the replacement of *l* by *ř*, are absent. This is found with some dialectal Arabic loans (e.g. *mliħ* 'good'), but most of these words are borrowings from Standard Arabic or Spanish.

Of course, many loanwords defy categorization, as the original source words did not contain any sounds foreign to the Berber system. Thus, there is no way to determine the category to which *amən* 'to believe' (< Moroccan Arabic *amən*) would belong, as neither *a*, nor *m*, nor *n* are expected to undergo phonetic changes in the process of borrowing.

The difference between full integration and partial adaptation is clearly chronological in nature, full integration being limited to loanwords of the early Islamic period and before. The classical interpretation of the difference between partial integration and marginal adaptation would also be chronological. Many substitutions found in the partially integrated loanwords reflect sound changes that have taken place in Tarifiyt. Thus, the substitution of *l* by *ř* reflects the sound change *l* > *ř*, which is also typical for Berber etyma, e.g. *řum* 'straw' < **lum* (as found in the direct neighbor to the east, Beni Iznasen Berber). One might surmise that loans belonging to the partially integrated type (i.e. which have *ř* instead of *l*) were in fact

borrowed before the sound change took place, while those which retain *l* were borrowed after the sound change. This chronological interpretation turns out to be quite problematic. The *l* > *ř* sound change – to remain with this one example – is quite old. It is also found in the now probably extinct language of the Riffian emigrant community in the city of Vieil Arzeu in Algeria, which settled there around 1750 (Biarnay 1911: 21). This shows that it had already taken place 250 years ago, which would imply that the great bulk of Moroccan Arabic loanwords was already there in the eighteenth century, and that only a small number of loans entered the language afterwards. A much better explanation would be that (bilingual) speakers remained conscious of the sound correspondences found between Tarifiyt loanwords from Arabic and the real Arabic, and that they could therefore replicate, so to say, the sound change while adapting the loanword to the native phonological system. Even today, the conscious manipulation of sound change can be witnessed. The gross term *aqəğğar* ‘testicle’, which is (reluctantly) used by elderly people, is now doubled in youth speech by *aqəllal*, a form which suggests a loan from Standard Arabic. As there is no Moroccan Arabic or Standard Arabic source for this word,⁴ the undoing of the sound change by the younger generation must be a conscious effort to create an educated effect, thereby giving this impolite word a learned connotation – a remarkable blend of euphemism and irony.

5.2. Morphological integration: verbs

As far as morphological integration is concerned, there is a major difference between verbs on the one hand and nouns and adjectives on the other. Loan verbs are always inserted into Berber morphological patterns. As Moroccan Arabic verb stem structure is quite similar to Berber patterns – a rare heritage from Proto-Afroasiatic – this integration is relatively simple. Once introduced into a Berber formal verb class, the Arabic verb undergoes stem alternations according to Berber patterns. As an example, in Table 3 the tense-aspect-mood (TAM) morphology of two Arabic loan verbs is compared to that of two inherited Berber verbs, belonging to the same formal classes (TAM terminology as in Kossmann 2009+):

Table 3: Examples of TAM morphology in native and loan verbs

	Aorist	Perfective	Negative Perfective	Imperfective	Negative Imperfective
‘go in’ (inherited)	<i>aɗəf</i>	<i>uɗəf</i>	<i>uɗif</i>	<i>ttadəf</i>	<i>ttidəf</i>
‘believe’ (< Arabic)	<i>amən</i>	<i>umən</i>	<i>umin</i>	<i>ttamən</i>	<i>ttimən</i>
‘scratch’ (inherited)	<i>šməz</i>	<i>šməz</i>	<i>šmiz</i>	<i>šəmməz</i>	<i>šəmməz</i>
‘bite’ (< Arabic)	<i>zřəf</i>	<i>zřəf</i>	<i>zřif</i>	<i>zřřřəf</i>	<i>zřřřəf</i>

⁴ In fact, *aqəğğar* is probably an expressive formation based on *aməğğar* ‘testicle’ – which itself is derived from the Berber word for ‘egg’.

Arabic loan verbs can undergo derivation according to Berber patterns, and are inflected in the same way as Berber verbs.

5.3. Morphological integration: nouns

The situation with nouns is much more complicated. In fact, with nouns no fewer than four categories of morphological integration can be distinguished.

The first category consists of words which are fully integrated into Berber nominal morphology. Such nouns have the inherited Berber nominal affixes, which indicate gender, number, and case (called “state” in the tradition of Berber studies), as shown in Table 4.

Table 4:

The morphology of a native noun (‘bovine’) and a fully integrated loan (‘child’)

	M:SG	M:PL	F:SG	F:PL	
Free State	<i>a-funas</i>	<i>i-funas-ən</i>	<i>ta-funas-t</i>	<i>ti-funas-in</i>	‘bovine’
Annexed State	<i>u-funas</i>	<i>i-funasen</i>	<i>t-funas-t</i>	<i>t-funas-in</i>	
Free State	<i>a-ħram</i>	<i>i-ħram-ən</i>	<i>ta-ħran-t</i>	<i>ti-ħram-in</i>	‘child’
Annexed State	<i>w-əħram</i>	<i>y-əħram-ən</i>	<i>t-əħran-t</i>	<i>t-əħram-in</i>	

The second group of loanwords has quasi-dialectal Arabic morphology. Instead of the Berber prefix, these loanwords have an obligatory nominal prefix *ř-*, which is derived from the Arabic definite article *l-*. As in Moroccan Arabic, this prefix is assimilated to a following alveolar consonant. Feminine forms substitute the Arabic ending *-a* by *-ət* or *-t*, depending on the syllable structure of the noun stem. The interesting thing about this suffix is that, although it strongly resembles the inherited Berber suffix *-t* (F:SG), it is not identical to it. The Berber feminine singular suffix *-t* does not take a preceding schwa, while the ending used in Arabic loans normally does. One can see this when confronting a Berber noun such as *ta-wtəm-t* (<*ta-wtəm-t*) ‘female’ with the Arabic loan *ř-xədm-ət* (*ř-xədm-ət*) ‘work’ (cf. Kossmann 1995). In fact, the suffix found in Arabic loans shows exactly the same behavior in the placement of schwa as found in the pre-genitive form of the dialectal Arabic suffix. Therefore, it must be identified with the pre-genitive (“Construct State”) form in Arabic, rather than with the Berber feminine singular suffix.

However, the nominal forms of this type of borrowings in Berber do not faithfully reflect the Arabic Construct State. In Arabic, a pre-genitive noun can never be combined with the definite article, while the correlate of the definite article is obligatory in Berber borrowings of this type. The Berber borrowings therefore look like a blend of two forms, e.g. Tarifiyt *ř-xədm-ət* ‘the/a work’ = Moroccan Arabic *l-xədm-a* ‘the work’ + *xədm-ət* ‘(the) work (pre-genitive form)’.

Loanwords that have this structure behave differently from words with Berber morphology in a number of ways. In the first place, the words with quasi-Arabic morphology do not express case distinctions; the element *ř-* has no meaning in

itself and cannot be replaced by another element. The second difference concerns gender. Berber and Arabic both have a two-way opposition in gender, masculine vs. feminine. With nouns belonging to Berber morphology, gender is a productive derivation except with mass nouns. Masculine forms denote male beings and larger objects, while feminine forms denote female beings and smaller objects. With borrowed nouns which have quasi-Arabic morphology, such a derivation is not possible. These nouns are either masculine or feminine, and in order to denote the opposite sex or difference in size, one has to use suppletion or qualification by means of adjectives. In the third place, loanwords with quasi-Arabic morphology always preserve their original plurals, e.g. singular *z-zənq-ət*, ‘street’, plural *z-znaqi* ‘streets’ < Moroccan Arabic singular *z-zənq-a*, plural *z-znaqi*.

The third group of loanwords follows Arabic morphology (and phonology) more faithfully than the preceding group. In these nouns, the Arabic article is often taken over as *l-* rather than being Tarifitized to *ř-*, thus showing a correlation with lack of phonological integration. More importantly, the feminine ending of Arabic is taken over as *-a* and not replaced by *-ət*. A certain number of loanwords which have *-a* instead of *-ət* are phonologically integrated (second degree), and have the prefix *ř-* rather than *l-*, e.g. *řməḥkama* ‘the court’ (< *l-məḥkama*). As in the preceding group, nouns of this category preserve their original Arabic plurals.

The fourth group of loanwords consists of European words which have not been integrated into Berber or (quasi-)Arabic morphologies. These words lack a nominal prefix altogether, e.g. *yabyut’a* ‘seagull’ < Spanish *gaviota*. Pluralization in this category remains to be studied.

In Table 5, the main features of the four morphological types of borrowings are summarized:

Table 5: Structural differences between the four types of nominal borrowing

	Prefix	Gender	Case	Plurals
Berber	Berber	productive	+	Berber
Quasi-Arabic	ř-	lexical	-	Arabic
Faithful Arabic	l- - ř-	lexical	-	Arabic
European	-	lexical	-	?

Nominal stems can occur in one type of borrowing only. There is one important exception to this. Those nouns which have an opposition between collective forms and unity nouns (mainly, but not exclusively, fruits and vegetables) use the quasi-Arabic form in the collective, while native Berber morphology is used in the unity noun, e.g., from Moroccan Arabic *l-əbs’əl* ‘onions’

- (1) a. *ř-əbs’əř* ‘onions (in general)’ [quasi-Arabic]
PREFIX-onion
- b. *ta-ḥs’əč* (< *ta-ḥs’əř-t*) ‘(a specific) onion’ [Berber]
F:SG-onion-F:SG

- c. *ti-bəs'ɣ-in* '(several specific) onions' [Berber]
 F:PL-onion-F:PL

5.4. Morphological integration: adjectives

Borrowed adjectives are normally integrated into Berber morphology; the fact that they show gender agreement may provide a functional explanation for this, as it is only possible to have gender differentiation with the same nominal stem when using Berber morphology. There is one exception to this, *žžđid*, 'new' < Moroccan Arabic *ž=žđid* '(the) new'. This adjective has no gender differentiation. The construction in which it is used is different from that found with other adjectives, as it needs an obligatory linker to the head noun. If the head noun is semantically indefinite, this linker is the predicative particle *đ*, a construction also found with the other adjectives. However, when the head noun is semantically definite, this adjective is linked to the head noun by means of the genitive preposition *n*. Other adjectives follow the definite head noun immediately. The constructions are illustrated in the following examples using *žžđid* 'new' and *as'əbhan* 'beautiful'.

- (2) a. *ɣar-i t'-t'umubin t ta-s'əbhan-t*
 with-1S PREFIX-car PRED F:SG:FREE-beautiful-F:SG
 'I have a beautiful car'
- b. *ɣar-i t'-t'umubin đ ž-žđid*
 with-1S PREFIX-car PRED PREFIX-new
 'I have a new car'
- (3) a. *t'-t'umubin ta-s'əbhan-t t-əxs'ā*
 PREFIX-car F:SG:FREE-beautiful-F:SG 3SG:F-be.broken
 'the beautiful car is broken'
- b. *t'-t'umubin n ž-žđid t-əxs'ā*
 PREFIX-car of F:SG:FREE-new 3SG:F-be.broken
 'the new car is broken'

5.5. Morphological integration of nouns and adjectives and the chronology of borrowing

The four categories described above only represent chronological layers to some extent. All early loans (Punic, Latin, early Islamic period) are fully integrated. Many loans belonging to later strata are also fully integrated, as shown by a word such as *a-spanyu* 'Spaniard', *i-spanya* 'Spaniards', which has typical Berber affixes, and the irregular apophonic plural often found with Berber nouns with an *a-u* vowel pat-

tern. Still, this word is phonologically non-integrated, as witnessed by the preservation of *p*, which is only found in recent European loanwords.

The quasi-Arabic group includes only few nouns which denote innovations belonging to the modern world; the only word in the database being *ř-məs's'-ət*, 'sledge hammer', (from French *masse* through the intermediary of Maghribine Arabic *l=məs's'-a*). This may in fact be a pre-colonial borrowing, which spread from colonial Algeria to still independent Morocco before 1900; the fact that it is already attested in nineteenth century dictionaries of Algerian Arabic, while it is absent from our documentation on Moroccan varieties of Arabic, is an indication of this.

The last two groups clearly belong to the later strata in the language. The group of nouns which follow Arabic morphology faithfully almost entirely consists of loans from Standard Arabic, which probably entered the language through modern education. The non-integrated European loanwords do not predate colonial times either, it seems. This is summarized in the Table 6:

Table 6: Chronological strata and types of nominal borrowing

	Latin	Ancient Islam	Pre-20th century	20th century
Berber	+	+	+	+
Quasi-Arabic	–	–	+	(?)
Faithful Arabic	–	–	– (?)	+
European	–	–	–	+

5.6. A note on expressive formations

A special problem in the etymological study of Berber languages in general, and of Tarifiyt Berber in particular, is the use of “expressive” formations (this term is deliberately kept vague). A typical way of creating an expressive word is the addition of a consonant, or the substitution of a consonant by another one. The consonants most used in this process are consonants borrowed from Arabic, such as *ʕ*, *ħ*, *q*, or consonants which are relatively rare in inherited Berber lexicon, but very frequent in Arabic, such as *ž*. In some cases, this process is easily detected, as other Berber languages have non-expressive forms, e.g.

- (4) Tarifiyt *ħřuggəđ* (< **ħlulləd*') 'to slip' cf. Figuig *lud*', 'mud'
a-ʕəddis 'belly' cf. Figuig *ta-dis-t*

In many other cases, the noun only exists in its “expressive” form, and it is impossible to trace its etymology. This leaves us with a relatively important number of nouns with loan phonemes, which may either be unidentified loans from Arabic, or expressive formations without any relation to Arabic.

6. Grammatical borrowing

There is not much borrowing in Tarifiyt which affects the morphology of native words. However, due to the processes described above as quasi-Arabic and faithful Arabic borrowing in nouns, the language now has a large set of nouns with an entirely different morphological structure and behavior from words with native morphology. Not only the basic structure of the noun is involved (as shown above), it also implies the borrowing of morphological paradigms. In Tarifiyt, this paradigmatic borrowing within the set of borrowed items is restricted to nominal plurals. In view of the high frequency of borrowings of this type (over 200 items in the subdatabase), this means that the Arabic plural morphology functions as a system parallel to the inherited Berber morphology. In other Berber varieties, more areas of grammar are influenced by parallel morphologies distinguishing less integrated borrowings from native and nativized items; thus Figuig Berber (Eastern Morocco) has a parallel Arabic set of pronouns, exclusively (but consistently) used with a few borrowed particles (Kossmann 1997: 186ff.), while in the Berber language of the Senhaja, spoken west of Tarifiyt proper, some borrowed adjectives show Arabic gender morphology (cf. Lafkioui 2007, maps 269 and 270). More spectacularly, Ghomaran Berber, the western neighbor of Senhaja, has parallel morphologies in the verbal system, according to which some borrowed verbs are conjugated according to Arabic morphology in a very consistent manner (El Hannouche 2008).

When it comes to foreign influence on other realms of the language, the question of grammatical borrowing is more difficult to answer. Berber and Arabic have coexisted during a long period. During this period, many changes have occurred both in Berber and in Maghribine Arabic. It is often impossible to determine the direction of borrowing in such cases. Moreover, although the genealogical relationship between Arabic and Berber is very distant, some similarities may be due to common retentions of Afro-Asiatic patterns rather than to borrowing. For example, it is very well possible that the distinction between collectives and unity nouns, which is found in all Berber varieties except Tuareg, is the result of Arabic influence; however, a common Afroasiatic origin cannot be excluded (Kossmann 2008). Similarly, the Tarifiyt difference in relative clauses modifying a definite head and those which modify an indefinite head strongly resembles Arabic patterns; on the other hand, it could very well represent an independent innovation.

7. Conclusions

Tarifiyt Berber has undergone strong lexical influence from its immediate neighbor, Moroccan Arabic, which amounts to slightly over half of the subdatabase. Verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are equally prone to borrowing; I suppose the somewhat higher percentage for nouns is due to the fact that the heavily affected category of *Modern world* items almost entirely consists of nouns. Among word

classes, only personal pronouns seem to be exempted from borrowing. The lexical influence found in Tarifiyt seems to be due to a very long history of coexistence; political or social dominance of speakers of Moroccan Arabic does not seem to have been a major issue.

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Loanword Appendix

Ancient Egyptian

tiyni palm tree

Punic (or Hebrew)

aməsmia nail

řməd learn

Latin and early Romance

asnus donkey foal

fāšu eagle

aqninni rabbit

uatu fig tree

fīru thread

řəštu bed

taɣda pine

řfuaçət forked branch

řřima chisel

aɣar'r'abu ship

taɣar'r'abut boat

tyuya pair

Classical Arabic (early loanwords)

tnayən two

tamziyda school

z'z'agğ pray

z'um fast

Moroccan and other Maghribine Arabic

abəfɣus insect

axmā' spider web

řmadwəd trough

xəmməř keep

žəf žəf shout

ddənya world

tafəžžəʃt dust

taɣəbbā't dust

žžā'f cliff, precipice

řgəf dət plain

řəwđ'a plain

taɣəzzāt island

řbā' mainland

řəbbā sea

hwəř rough (2)

haž rough (2)

řmužžət wave

řfuns'a spring, well

ššā waterfall

řɣəbət woods, forest

ddəmnət savanna

nbəzz earthquake

řəbr'uq lightning

t't'ram darkness

nnda dew

arriħ wind

řəymam cloud

žməđ freeze

řbař weather

ddəxxan smoke

ššyad' steam

ħā'q burn (2)

ššəř match

řəfħəm charcoal

řfaxā charcoal

bnadəm person

atarras man

abr'am boy

aɣəzri young man

tabr'ant girl

tafzāšt young woman

řwašun child (1)

mřəš marry

lwaliđin parents

řzizi older brother

žəddi grandfather

ħənna grandmother

xəři mothers brother

xəči mothers sister

řənti fathers sister

řəžđud ancestors

lalla mother-in-law

asřif sibling-in-law

tasřif sibling-in-law

ābīb stepson

təbif stepdaughter

tažžəč widow

ažžəř widower

ħbayawan animal

řmař livestock

anwař stable, stall

aɣəžmi calf

ibur'iyan sheep

abuři ram

aɣətrus goat

akidā horse

akidā' stallion

takidāt mare

řawda mare

ařā'xan foal, colt

ažfud foal, colt

abākiw goose

<i>řušš</i>	nest	<i>řhəř</i>	have sex	<i>afənzəř</i>	bowl
<i>řbāz</i>	hawk	<i>xřəq</i>	be born	<i>aqbūš</i>	bowl
<i>muka</i>	owl	<i>lhayat</i>	life	<i>ayarrař</i>	jug/pitcher
<i>aqšua</i>	scale	<i>řməyyəř</i>	dead	<i>tabriqə</i>	jug/pitcher
<i>ařban</i>	scale	<i>yā'q</i>	drown	<i>tət'əbsəř</i>	saucer
<i>řqāđ</i>	monkey	<i>řxəřbəř</i>	corpse	<i>řmus</i>	knife (1)
<i>sr'aqəzzit</i>	cockroach	<i>žbəd</i>	strong	<i>ğğəqqad'</i>	tongs
<i>nnməř</i>	ant	<i>qwa</i>	strong	<i>āyyəq</i>	breakfast
<i>bunif</i>	spider	<i>đ'əf</i>	weak	<i>řəřđ'ua</i>	lunch
<i>arrtiřa</i>	spider	<i>qđ'a</i>	weak	<i>qəřšā'</i>	peel
<i>nnamus</i>	mosquito	<i>s'əhb</i>	healthy	<i>yā'bəř</i>	sieve, strain
<i>bəsəkka</i>	snake	<i>hřəs</i>	sick/ill	<i>nžā'</i>	scrape
<i>ddat</i>	body	<i>řəbřař</i>	disease	<i>harrəř</i>	stir, mix
<i>šřā</i>	body hair	<i>axənza</i>	boil	<i>tabriat</i>	soup
<i>taqšuut</i>	dandruff	<i>řgibh</i>	pus	<i>řxud'ət</i>	vegetables
<i>tanəwawət</i>	tail	<i>t't'abəř</i>	scar	<i>zzbīb</i>	grape
<i>taz'ənt'it'</i>	tail	<i>ad'bib</i>	physician	<i>tazitunt</i>	olive
<i>akənnas</i>	tail	<i>ddwa</i>	medicine	<i>zzəř</i>	oil
<i>ssənsřəř</i>	spine	<i>ssəmm</i>	poison	<i>taməğğəbət</i>	salt
<i>azəğğif</i>	head	<i>arrbaž</i>	poison	<i>řřəřřəř</i>	pepper
<i>taqəřqəř</i>	skull	<i>abəř</i>	tired	<i>ssəkwa</i>	sugar
<i>řmuxx</i>	brain	<i>āyyəh</i>	rest	<i>ddbən</i>	butter
<i>s's'ifəř</i>	face	<i>řgəz</i>	lazy	<i>šř'ab</i>	fermented drink
<i>yuməz</i>	blink	<i>aqəřšā</i>	bald	<i>axəyyad'</i>	tailor
<i>aqənnin</i>	nasal mucus	<i>qarrəm</i>	lame	<i>řkəttan</i>	cloth
<i>tašřəft</i>	ankle	<i>s'sā</i>	drunk	<i>řəqt'ən</i>	cotton
<i>řimāt</i>	footprint	<i>yəlla</i>	drunk	<i>řəbria</i>	silk
<i>arriř</i>	feather	<i>ařāyan</i>	naked	<i>asřix</i>	fur
<i>žžuf</i>	chest	<i>lmakla</i>	food	<i>ššāk</i>	leather
<i>lmařədda</i>	stomach	<i>xs'ā</i>	rotten	<i>đarrəz</i>	weave
<i>lwəlda</i>	womb	<i>buhəyyuf</i>	famine	<i>xəyyəd'</i>	sew
<i>řəmrurat</i>	womb	<i>žəyyəř</i>	choke	<i>asəřham</i>	cloak
<i>taqənzist</i>	vulva	<i>šwa</i>	roast, fry	<i>hāř</i> (1)	cloak
<i>řđ'əs</i>	sneeze	<i>qřa</i>	roast, fry	<i>ddřin</i>	(woman's) dress
<i>řuqq</i>	vomit	<i>afarran</i>	oven	<i>akəbbud'</i>	coat
<i>zřəf</i>	bite	<i>tayəllař</i>	kettle	<i>taqmižžat</i>	shirt
<i>řsəh</i>	lick	<i>aməqraž</i>	kettle	<i>ssāwař</i>	trousers
<i>šxā'</i>	snore	<i>řmaqřa</i>	pan	<i>ttqařia</i>	sock, stocking
<i>řaq</i>	wake up	<i>řbuamət</i>	pan	<i>abākus</i>	shoe
<i>bəřš</i>	piss	<i>t't'əbs'i</i>	dish	<i>ad'arrař</i>	shoemaker

<i>ṭšāššəṭ</i>	hat, cap	<i>ṭabḥiat</i>	garden	<i>anəžžā</i>	carpenter
<i>t'ṭ'ābuš</i>	hat, cap	<i>ṭṭ'ās'ṭ</i>	garden	<i>ḥna</i>	build
<i>ṭabəzzant</i>	belt	<i>aqwia</i>	fence	<i>barrəm</i>	bore
<i>lltam</i>	veil	<i>ahfua</i>	ditch	<i>ṭmənšā'</i>	saw
<i>žžib</i>	pocket	<i>ḥfā</i>	dig	<i>ğğəssəq</i>	glue
<i>ṭəqfaṣ</i>	button	<i>zāṭ</i>	sow	<i>nnuqā'ṭ</i>	silver
<i>āqəəm</i>	ornament, adornment	<i>ṭḥəbb</i>	seed	<i>nnḥas</i>	copper
<i>ṭxadənt</i>	ring	<i>ṭṭyğğəṭ</i>	harvest	<i>ṭəxfif</i>	lead
<i>ṭaməqyast</i>	bracelet	<i>d'd'ra</i>	maize/corn	<i>aqədduḥ</i>	tin, tinplate
<i>ṭasəddəṭ</i>	necklace	<i>ar'r'uz'</i>	rice	<i>aqəddā</i>	potter
<i>ṭaxras'ṭ</i>	earring	<i>arrḥiṭ</i>	grass	<i>s'ənnəṭ</i>	mould/mold
<i>ṭasəḥnəṭ</i>	headband, -dress	<i>nnəwwā</i>	plant	<i>zaz</i>	glass
<i>ṭəmbiaməṭ</i>	handkerchief, rag	<i>ṭfāṭ</i>	branch	<i>aqḥuḥ</i>	basket
<i>ṭfut'a</i>	towel	<i>ṭawr'iqṭ</i>	leaf	<i>ṭaz'āḥəṭ</i>	rug
<i>ṭamsəṭ't'</i>	comb	<i>ssəžžāt</i>	tree	<i>ssḥaya</i>	paint
<i>s's'ābun</i>	soap	<i>ṭḥəğğud'</i>	acorn	<i>qṭəḥ</i>	turn
<i>ṭanwač</i>	hut	<i>t't'āba</i>	tobacco	<i>zeyyā</i>	twist
<i>ṭaqid'unt</i>	tent	<i>kəyyəf</i>	smoke	<i>ā'fəṭ</i>	raise, lift
<i>ṭṭiṣṣəwṭ</i>	tent	<i>kəmm</i>	smoke	<i>səyyəḥ</i>	throw
<i>ṭəmrəḥ</i>	yard, court	<i>ssəḥsi</i>	pipe	<i>ṭqa</i>	catch
<i>ṭḥit</i>	room	<i>ṭxədməṭ</i>	work	<i>ṭd'əs</i>	sink
<i>ṭyua'fəṭ</i>	room	<i>šədd</i>	tie	<i>ṭum</i>	swim
<i>axxam</i>	room	<i>šəf</i>	tie	<i>ṭut't'is'</i>	dive
<i>zzəkrun</i>	lock	<i>ā'xu</i>	untie	<i>r'ušš</i>	splash
<i>ṭməṭtaḥ</i>	key	<i>ašəddi</i>	knot	<i>ḥāš</i>	kneel
<i>ṭḥid'</i>	wall	<i>fəğğəq</i>	chop	<i>ngəz</i>	jump
<i>ssəğğum</i>	ladder	<i>ṭaxədməṭ</i>	knife (2)	<i>āšəṭ</i>	kick
<i>ṭkuasi</i>	chair	<i>ṭəmṭəss</i>	scissors, shears	<i>šd'əḥ</i>	dance
<i>ṭqəndiṣ</i>	lamp, torch	<i>ššəquā'</i>	axe/ax	<i>zəḥḥəf</i>	limp
<i>ṭšumṭətt</i>	candle	<i>šarrəg</i>	tear	<i>ruḥ</i>	go
<i>ṭmā'fəṭ</i>	shelf	<i>sṭəx</i>	skin	<i>gəṭṭəṭ</i>	go up
<i>asqif</i>	roof	<i>ḥəkk</i>	rub	<i>ā'žəṭ</i>	come back
<i>ṭabnašṭ</i>	beam	<i>msəḥ</i>	wipe	<i>ṭqəḥ</i>	come back
<i>ṭqəws</i>	arch	<i>sarrəḥ</i>	stretch	<i>sməḥ</i>	leave
<i>abənnay</i>	mason	<i>žḥəṭ</i>	pull	<i>xṭa</i>	leave
<i>ṭlažua'ṭ</i>	brick	<i>žar'r'</i>	pull	<i>wəṭ'd'ā</i>	disappear
<i>ṭəṭzib</i>	camp	<i>ā'šəg</i>	hang up	<i>ṭḥḥəg</i>	arrive
<i>ašrag</i>	tan	<i>fər'r'əy</i>	pour	<i>qarrəḥ</i>	approach
<i>afəğğəḥ</i>	farmer	<i>kəbb</i>	pour	<i>əggwəḥ</i>	go or return home
<i>ššmənd'ā</i>	sugar beet	<i>s'əbbən</i>	wash	<i>gəwwəṭ</i>	lead

<i>ndəb</i>	lead	<i>fā'q</i>	separate	<i>γia</i>	only
<i>řqəndāṭ</i>	bridge	<i>fš'əř</i>	separate	<i>wəhđ-</i>	alone
<i>tažarrat</i>	wheel	<i>fāz</i>	separate	<i>mātayəŋ</i>	twice/two times
<i>fluka</i>	boat	<i>bəlləf</i>	shut	<i>řwəqt</i>	time
<i>imqəddəf</i>	paddle	<i>ař'a</i>	high	<i>řqədd</i>	age
<i>qəddəf</i>	row	<i>qđ'əf</i>	pointed	<i>žžđid</i>	new
<i>řəqřəf</i>	mast	<i>řwəs't</i>	middle	<i>ziš</i>	early
<i>šəbbā</i>	hold	<i>ššāq</i>	east	<i>řəxx=u</i>	now
<i>řbažəṭ</i>	thing	<i>řγāb</i>	west	<i>đəγya</i>	immediately
<i>žāb</i>	injure	<i>ššamal</i>	north	<i>šway šway</i>	slow
<i>d'arr</i>	damage	<i>lžanub</i>	south	<i>qəğğəq</i>	hurry
<i>fəttəš</i>	look for	<i>f'ba'</i>	measure	<i>fət't'a</i>	be late
<i>d'řəq</i>	let go	<i>gđā</i>	thick	<i>bđā</i>	begin
<i>řəřrus</i>	money	<i>wat'a</i>	flat	<i>bəddu</i>	beginning
<i>ttmənyat</i>	money	<i>nışan</i>	straight	<i>kəmməř</i>	finish
<i>s's'af</i>	coin	<i>tas'ənnāt</i>	hook	<i>wžəđ</i>	ready
<i>təžžā</i>	rich	<i>ašarriđ'</i>	line	<i>fəmmās</i>	never
<i>řməskin</i>	poor	<i>šəbəb</i>	similar	<i>tanya</i>	again
<i>aməz'rud'</i>	poor	<i>bəddəř</i>	change	<i>fawəđ (2)</i>	again
<i>aməfi</i>	beggar	<i>třata</i>	three	<i>nnbā</i>	day (1)
<i>aqəzzaz</i>	stingy	<i>ābf'a</i>	four	<i>nbā</i>	day (2)
<i>xəğğəs'</i>	pay	<i>xəmsa</i>	five	<i>ğğiřəṭ</i>	night
<i>řəhsab</i>	bill	<i>səttā</i>	six	<i>řəfžā</i>	dawn
<i>šra</i>	hire	<i>səbf'a</i>	seven	<i>s's'bəb</i>	morning
<i>řmunəṭ</i>	wages	<i>ttmənya</i>	eight	<i>ařəšši</i>	afternoon
<i>ābəb</i>	earn	<i>ts'f'a</i>	nine	<i>tsařətt</i>	hour
<i>sawəm</i>	trade, barter	<i>fəšr'a</i>	ten	<i>řbədd (1)</i>	Sunday
<i>at'ižari</i>	merchant	<i>hid'f'aš</i>	eleven	<i>řətnayəŋ</i>	Monday
<i>ssuq</i>	market	<i>tənf'as'</i>	twelve	<i>ttřata</i>	Tuesday
<i>tbanətt</i>	shop/store	<i>xəmməzt'aš</i>	fifteen	<i>řābf'a</i>	Wednesday
<i>ttaman</i>	price	<i>f'iřrin</i>	twenty	<i>řəxmis</i>	Thursday
<i>γřa</i>	expensive	<i>mya</i>	a hundred	<i>žžəmf'a</i>	Friday
<i>āxəs'</i>	cheap	<i>ařəf</i>	a thousand	<i>ssəft</i>	Saturday
<i>wzəŋ</i>	weigh	<i>hsəb</i>	count	<i>ššbā</i>	month
<i>t't'af (i)</i>	beside	<i>ktā</i>	more	<i>řməšta</i>	winter
<i>qəbəř (i)</i>	before	<i>xarrəbbi</i>	enough	<i>řəxrif</i>	summer
<i>barrā</i>	outside	<i>ša (n)</i>	some	<i>ttfuš</i>	smell (1)
<i>amšan</i>	place	<i>abim'uř</i>	crowd	<i>nəffəb</i>	sniff
<i>žməf</i>	gather	<i>fəmmā'</i>	full	<i>šəmm (2)</i>	smell (2)
<i>řqəđ'</i>	pick up	<i>xwa</i>	empty	<i>aməğğəb</i>	salty

<i>řhəss</i>	sound, noise	<i>šəkkā</i>	praise	<i>wažəb</i>	answer
<i>wařa</i>	see	<i>šəwā</i>	beautiful	<i>nɛəm</i>	admit
<i>xzā</i>	look	<i>řbař</i>	mind	<i>nkā</i>	deny
<i>arrəbɛi</i>	green	<i>řəŋqəř</i>	mind	<i>ɣabəđ</i>	promise
<i>ħada</i>	touch	<i>xəmməm</i>	think (1)	<i>ħar'rəm</i>	forbid
<i>šwi</i>	pinch	<i>xarrəs</i>	think (1)	<i>řaya</i>	call (1)
<i>qsəħ</i>	hard	<i>amən</i>	believe	<i>səmma</i>	call (2)
<i>ād'əb</i>	soft	<i>tiqq</i>	believe	<i>ħarrəħ</i>	announce
<i>ahā'saw</i>	rough (1)	<i>fbəm</i>	understand	<i>budd</i>	threaten
<i>ħfa</i>	blunt	<i>kašəf</i>	guess	<i>řšiyəđ'</i>	paper
<i>đqəř</i>	heavy	<i>ɣəyyəb</i>	imitate	<i>lkitab</i>	book
<i>ħma</i>	warm	<i>təban</i>	seem	<i>dəřbuga</i>	drum
<i>wəssəx</i>	dirty	<i>aqqəffuħ</i>	stupid	<i>t't'əbəř</i>	drum
<i>arruħ</i>	soul, spirit	<i>abubari</i>	mad	<i>təndint</i>	town
<i>təbħət</i>	surprised, astonished	<i>ħfəđ'</i>	learn	<i>ddšā'</i>	village
<i>səfəd</i>	good luck	<i>aməħđ'ā</i>	pupil	<i>řħədd (2)</i>	boundary
<i>fāħ</i>	happy	<i>ɣqəř</i>	remember	<i>təfiqt</i>	clan
<i>đ'ħəs</i>	laugh	<i>uləbudd</i>	certain	<i>aɣəkkaz</i>	walking stick
<i>darrəđ</i>	embrace	<i>šarrəb</i>	explain	<i>ħkəm</i>	rule, govern
<i>řəbriq</i>	pain	<i>řyar'ad</i>	intention	<i>đ'əbbā</i>	rule, govern
<i>ħzən</i>	grief	<i>řəsbəb</i>	cause	<i>lmalik</i>	king
<i>ndəm</i>	regret, be sorry	<i>ššəkk</i>	doubt	<i>lmalika</i>	queen
<i>šā'ħ</i>	hate	<i>təbəm</i>	suspect	<i>sidi</i>	master
<i>žžnun</i>	anger	<i>ydā</i>	betray	<i>axəddam</i>	servant
<i>řəħsad</i>	envy, jealousy	<i>ħdaž</i>	need, necessity	<i>abur'r'i</i>	freeman
<i>yar</i>	envy, jealousy	<i>hwən</i>	easy	<i>amā'</i>	command, order
<i>šnəf</i>	proud	<i>wfā'</i>	difficult	<i>səlləm</i>	permit
<i>zɣəm</i>	dare	<i>qəğğəb</i>	try	<i>řəfdu</i>	enemy
<i>azəfɣam</i>	brave	<i>u</i>	and	<i>ažžā'</i>	neighbour
<i>lxat'ař</i>	danger	<i>l'axat'ā</i>	because	<i>abarrani</i>	stranger
<i>ixd'ā</i>	choose	<i>wəb</i>	yes	<i>ɣād'</i>	invite
<i>təmənna</i>	hope	<i>lla</i>	no	<i>ɣawən</i>	help
<i>s's'əħħ</i>	true	<i>məšħař</i>	how many?	<i>mənəf</i>	prevent
<i>ayar'r'i</i>	deceit	<i>s's'ut</i>	voice	<i>təməfmuč</i>	plot
<i>ɣfu</i>	forgive	<i>təmtəm</i>	whisper	<i>təqəhbəšət</i>	prostitute
<i>s'bəħ</i>	good	<i>s'əffā</i>	whistle	<i>řqəħba</i>	prostitute
<i>aɣəffan</i>	bad	<i>nnəynəy</i>	stutter, stammer	<i>řħəb</i>	war, battle
<i>yrəđ'</i>	fault	<i>ɣawəđ (1)</i>	tell	<i>řfəskā</i>	army
<i>ylət'</i>	fault	<i>lxut'ba</i>	speech	<i>amxazni</i>	soldier
<i>đ'řəm</i>	blame	<i>ssəqsa</i>	ask (1)	<i>aɣəskari</i>	soldier

<i>řəsnab</i>	weapons	<i>asəhbā</i>	sorcerer, witch	<i>lkař</i>	bus	
<i>ddəbbuz</i>	club	<i>žžənn</i>	ghost	<i>mašina</i>	train	
<i>ssif</i> (2)	sword	<i>iməxtan</i>	circumcision	<i>trisinti</i>	electricity	
<i>tazwišt</i>	gun	<i>t't'iyara</i>	airplane	<i>řəknina</i>	pill, tablet	
<i>řəkrat'a</i>	gun	<i>nnwad'ā</i>	spectacles/glasses	Moroccan Arabic and other Maghribine Arabic with Spanish background		
<i>taqsəft</i>	fortress	<i>lməxzən</i>	government	<i>tbət'at'att</i>	potato	
<i>arrbəb</i>	victory	<i>arrayəs</i>	president	<i>lbal'a</i>	shovel	
<i>taxəs's'ət</i>	defeat	<i>řwazia</i>	minister	<i>llaymun</i>	citrus fruit	
<i>hžəm</i>	attack	<i>zzənqət</i>	street	<i>garru</i>	cigarette	
<i>hās</i> (2)	attack	<i>tasəbbač</i>	tap/faucet	<i>ddənfir</i>	porpoise, dolphin	
<i>ddařf</i>	defend	<i>bitəлма</i>	toilet	Standard and Classical Arabic (recent loans)		
<i>anəhbūš</i>	captive, prisoner	<i>taqəddušt</i>	tin/can	<i>l'as'nam</i>	idol	
<i>ařəssas</i>	guard	<i>tazəyyat</i>	bottle	<i>lğazira</i>	island	
<i>abəhri</i>	fisherman	<i>halawit</i>	candy/sweets	<i>zzinzal</i>	earthquake	
<i>xđ'ā</i>	miss	<i>llumiya</i>	calendar	<i>lhawa</i>	air	
<i>taxsəft</i>	trap	<i>muziqa</i>	music	<i>t't'alaq</i>	divorce	
<i>řfəxx</i>	trap	<i>atay</i>	tea	<i>řqiřš</i>	shark	
<i>řqanun</i>	law	<i>řqəbwa</i>	coffee	<i>ddubb</i>	bear	
<i>řməhbəkama</i>	court	<i>đba</i>	become	<i>lfil</i>	elephant	
<i>řəbkam</i>	judgment	<i>b'ra</i>	without	<i>ttimsab</i>	crocodile, alligator	
<i>řqad'i</i>	judge	<i>walu</i>	nothing	<i>məšrubat'</i>	drink	
<i>ššabəd</i>	witness	<i>řwəd'wad'</i>	bat	<i>ddariša</i>	tax	
<i>řəhbəs</i>	prison	Moroccan Arabic and other Maghribine Arabic with French or other European background			<i>mur'əbbəř</i>	square
<i>řəř'əř</i>	rape	<i>řkuri</i>	stable, stall	<i>yalat'</i>	wrong	
<i>axəwwan</i>	thief	<i>žžar'd'a</i>	garden	<i>lfikra</i>	idea	
<i>ašəffā'</i>	thief	<i>řməs's'ət</i>	hammer	<i>lmuləllim</i>	teacher	
<i>ddin</i>	religion	<i>z'alamiť</i>	match	<i>lmədras'a</i>	school	
<i>sidi ā'bbi</i>	god	<i>fuřšit'a</i>	fork	<i>t't'ariqa</i>	manner	
<i>l'lab</i>	god	<i>birra</i>	beer	<i>lluya</i>	language	
<i>řbəd</i>	worship	<i>řbut'</i>	boot	<i>ššar'ir</i>	poet	
<i>lfaqi</i>	priest	<i>lamb'a</i>	lamp, torch	<i>lmuwat'in</i>	citizen	
<i>qəddəs</i>	holy	<i>lləššin</i>	citrus fruit	<i>řađa</i>	custom	
<i>həddət</i>	preach	<i>lbanan</i>	banana	<i>ssalam</i>	peace	
<i>x't'əb</i>	preach	<i>arrad'yu</i>	radio	<i>řimara ?</i>	tower	
<i>bāk</i>	bless	<i>ttilifun</i>	telephone	<i>řiqab</i>	penalty, punishment	
<i>nřəř</i>	curse	<i>bašklit</i>	bicycle	<i>zzina</i>	adultery	
<i>lžənnət</i>	heaven	<i>t't'umubin</i>	car			
<i>žabannama</i>	hell	<i>t't'ubis</i>	bus			
<i>řifrit</i>	demon					
<i>ššbua</i>	magic					

<i>lkanisa</i>	church	<i>kangaru</i>	kangaroo	<i>falta</i>	fault
<i>lʕalama</i>	omen	<i>stʕumayu</i>	stomach	<i>pinsʕā</i>	think (1)
<i>lwaziř</i>	minister	<i>tkuppat</i>	cup	<i>ssəkwila</i>	school
<i>lizdiyat</i>	birth certificate	<i>sʕuppa</i>	soup	<i>siɣurʕu</i>	certain
<i>lzarima</i>	crime	<i>kisu</i>	cheese	<i>prʕubā</i>	try
<i>lintixab</i>	election	<i>binu</i>	wine	<i>purʕki</i>	because
<i>lzarida</i>	newspaper	<i>sarʕbisa</i>	beer	<i>lappis</i>	pen
French		<i>fařdʕa</i>	skirt	<i>garra</i>	war, battle
<i>māmitʕa</i>	pot	<i>ssandʕaliya</i>	shoe	<i>lansa</i>	spear
<i>sʕusʕit</i>	sausage	<i>čanklat</i>	shoe	<i>kasku</i>	helmet
<i>šapʕpʕu</i>	hat, cap	<i>wantʕisʕ</i>	glove	<i>pilun</i>	fishing line
<i>fumadʕa</i>	ointment	<i>qučiya</i>	razor	<i>multʕa</i>	fine
<i>tʕiřu</i>	kick	<i>čabulʕa</i>	garden-house	<i>glisiya</i>	church
<i>mursʕu</i>	piece	<i>akwadrun</i>	doorpost	<i>quči</i>	car
<i>kumasa</i>	begin	<i>qama</i>	bed	<i>kwarinti</i>	electricity
<i>tʕtʕrankiř</i>	quiet	<i>maltʕa</i>	blanket	<i>mutʕua</i>	motor
<i>stilu</i>	pen	<i>missa</i>	table	<i>sʕpitʕā</i>	hospital
<i>ttilibizyun</i>	television	<i>tyāna</i>	lamp, torch	<i>pasʕtʕiya</i>	pill, tablet
<i>řina</i>	brake	<i>apilā</i>	post, pole	<i>pulisiya</i>	police
<i>lpitrul</i>	petroleum	<i>tsʕappa</i>	spade	<i>matrikula</i>	license plate
<i>piřmi</i>	driver's license	<i>kuku</i>	coconut	<i>siyyu</i>	postage stamp
<i>landris</i>	address	<i>mandarina</i>	citrus fruit	<i>řbanku</i>	bank (financial institution)
<i>nnumrʕu</i>	number	<i>platʕanu</i>	banana	<i>payas</i>	mattress
<i>tambā</i>	postage stamp	<i>pikā</i>	stab	<i>řbumba</i>	bomb
<i>kartpustal</i>	postcard	<i>tʕappitʕ</i>	rug	<i>pirikula</i>	film/movie
<i>llababu</i>	sink	<i>pintura</i>	paint	<i>ddisku</i>	song
<i>tʕurniřis</i>	screwdriver	<i>pintā</i>	paint	Unknown origin, but probably with European background	
<i>plastik</i>	plastic	<i>karru</i>	cart, wagon	<i>řalimu</i>	chimney
<i>žžuanal</i>	newspaper	<i>bulʕanti</i>	rudder	<i>kruři</i>	cross
<i>lfiləm</i>	film/movie	<i>řmuyyi</i>	port	<i>mubila</i>	motorcycle
Spanish		<i>arrimā</i>	land	<i>bulun</i>	screw
<i>familya</i>	relatives	<i>sarrba</i>	rescue	Unknown origin, but probably with Moroccan Arabic background	
<i>tʕurʕu</i>	bull	<i>piyisa</i>	stingy	<i>řməqsʕā</i>	ditch
<i>řpabut</i>	duck	<i>paɣa</i>	wages	<i>lʕaqisa</i>	sorcerer, witch
<i>ɣabyutʕa</i>	seagull	<i>balun</i>	ball	<i>ħsā</i>	narrow
<i>řabayayyu</i>	parrot	<i>ziru</i>	zero		
<i>tʕuppa</i>	mouse, rat	<i>mahu</i>	more		
<i>řayana</i>	whale	<i>simana</i>	week		
<i>ɣamba</i>	prawns, shrimp	<i>kulur</i>	colour/color		
		<i>řwarti</i>	good luck		