

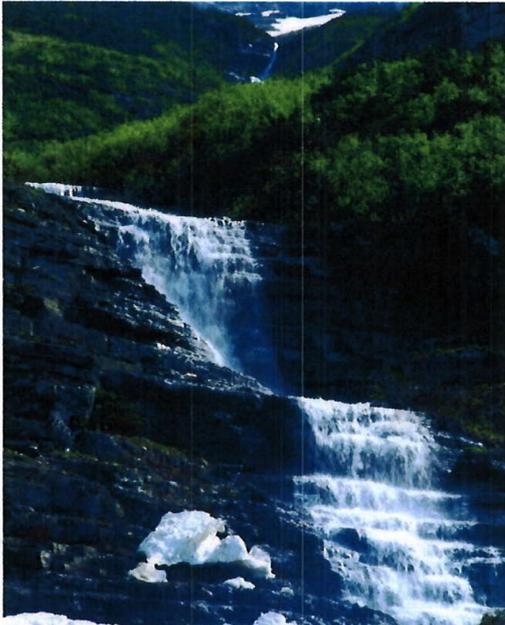
STUDENT BOOK

ABRID 4

LESSONS FOR ADVANCED
TAMAZIGHT

تَمَازِيغَت

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵖⵜ



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تَمَقِّتْ س تَمَقِّتْ
أَسْ إِنْكِي وَاسِيفْ

STUDENT BOOK

ABRID 4

LESSONS FOR ADVANCED TAMAZIGHT

تَمَازِیْغَت

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵖⵜ

Proverb on title page:

Drop by drop is how the river overflows.

This is the same way that the student will learn Tamazight.

Step-by-step, patient perseverance and steady work will produce results.

Abrid 4

Table of Contents

Introductory note		page 7
Lesson 1	Comparatives _____er than Better than More / less than As _____ as	page 9
Lesson 2	Continue comparatives	
Lesson 3	Superlatives The _____est	page 29
Lesson 4	Used to... I <u>used to work</u> in a hospital.	page 33
Lesson 5	Indefinite adjectives and pronouns Other, another, some Someone, anyone, everyone, no one Whoever, whatever, however, wherever So and so, such and such	page 38
Lesson 6	Continue indefinite adjectives and pronouns	
Lesson 7	Words used in negation All different words and nuances used in negation	page 47
Lesson 8	Continue words used in negation	
Lesson 9	Past continuous tense I <u>was working</u> in the garden when....	page 60
Lesson 10	Conditionals Real, possible conditionals Unreal (hypothetical) present conditionals Unreal (hypothetical) past conditionals Exclamatory wishes	page 63

Lesson 11	Participles Past participle Present participle Habitual participle Useful phrases using participles	page 73
Lesson 12	The adverb “when” “When” with past sentences: أَلَيْكَ “When” with present and future sentences: أَدَّايْ Other forms of “when” Negation of the verb after أَدَّايْ (in the <i>Workbook</i>)	page 82
Lesson 13	A further look at the relative pronouns نَا and أَيِّ Forms of نَا that take a participle When نَا doesn't take a participle Complex forms of نَا : in which, about which, etc. نَا with moveable pronouns and direction particles When أَيِّ doesn't take a participle Complex forms of أَيِّ : in which, about which, etc. أَيِّ with moveable pronouns and direction particles	page 88
Lesson 14	Linking words A list of linking words expressing: Sequence and time Something additional Conclusions Contrasts Cause/effect or consequence Other relationships Summary of words with multiple meanings	page 98
Lesson 15	Continue linking words	
Lesson 16	Expressions of nuance with verbs Just did something Almost did something Was going to do something but... Maybe he did something Began doing something Kept on doing something Expressions of obligation Sentence connection and the habitual tense (in the <i>Workbook</i>)	page 128

Lesson 17	Complex question words About what...?, With what...?, etc.	page 140
Lesson 18	All, each, and every	page 147
Lesson 19	Expressions with لحال	page 154
Lesson 20	The vocative, exclamations, warnings, and oaths and swearing	page 158
Lesson 21	Continue the vocative, exclamations, warnings, and oaths and swearing	
Lesson 22	Indirect or reported speech Commands Questions Affirmative statements Negative third person imperatives (in the <i>Workbook</i>)	page 179
Lesson 23	Myself, yourself, etc.	page 182
Lesson 24	Kids' language Vocabulary used only with small children Diminutives Euphemisms: words that shouldn't be said before breakfast	page 185
Lesson 25	Similar sounding words with ر Distinguishing verbs and nouns that closely resemble each other	page 190
Lesson 26	More detail in time expressions Vocabulary and expressions of time How long has it been <u>since</u> ...? How long have you been doing something? Ago Demonstrative suffixes لي and نا	page 198
Lesson 27	More detail in quantity expressions Vocabulary and expressions of quantity So much / so many Most Fractions, math operations Measurements Numbers with س	page 214

Lesson 28	Other ways to express the future Different tense indicators besides أَد The use of the continuous form without a tense indicator Future participle	page 230
Lesson 29	A more advanced look at verb tenses Temporal versus aspectual verb systems Different meanings of various tense indicators: distinguishing between دَ and لَ Auxiliary verbs إِلِي + a stative verb in its past form: emphasis future form of إِلِي + a verb in the past: future perfect كَّ + a verb in its past form: distant past or past perfect tense Negation of various tenses (in the <i>Workbook</i>) the future the two-verbs-together form the sentence connection form Conjugating the verb in all its tenses (in the <i>Workbook</i>)	page 238
Lesson 30	Like this, like that أَمْشِي and its forms أَكَا and أَكِي and their forms أَمِّي or أَمَّانِي “as if” Verbs meaning “to look like” or “to resemble”	page 246
Lesson 31	Emotions Vocabulary and expressions showing a variety of emotions	page 253
Lesson 32	Noun plural patterns General to specific noun plural pattern rules External Plurals Internal Plurals Mixed Plurals	page 267
Lesson 33	Verb patterns Common verb stem-change patterns	page 281
Appendix A	Soussi or Tashelhayt numbering system	page 289
Appendix B	English translation of pages 141-147 of E. Laoust’s <i>Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central</i> Concerning the habitual or continuous form	page 294

Appendix C English translation of pages 166-171 of E. Laoust's *Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central* page 301
How to express in Tamazight various French verb tenses and
How to express in French various Tamazight verb tenses

Bibliography page 309

Introductory Note

This book is the Advanced Student Book for the Tamazight (Middle Atlas or Central Moroccan Berber) course called *Abrid*. The course has four levels: *Abrid 1* (Beginning Tamazight), *Abrid 2* (Intermediate 1 Tamazight), *Abrid 3* (Intermediate 2 Tamazight), and *Abrid 4* (Advanced Tamazight). Each level has a Student Book and a Workbook. (A Teacher's Manual for each level also exists to give pedagogical instruction on how to teach the course.) Each level consists of about 25 lessons, which are timed to comprise about 40 one-and-a-half-hour sessions with a teacher.

The *Abrid 4* Student Book, however, is thicker than the other Student Books and has 8 more lessons than the others. This is partly because there wasn't enough material to make an *Abrid 5* level and it seemed more psychologically satisfying for students to see the end at *Abrid 4*; thus, I put the 8 extra lessons into *Abrid 4*. The book is also thicker because at the Advanced level the grammar often requires more detailed explanations and examples. There are also a lot more vocabulary words that appear in the lessons. A further reason is that by the Advanced level we are forced to deal with a lot more regional variations in grammatical structure and vocabulary, so there are more notes and suggested alternatives.

However, you should not be overwhelmed by the material. Not everything is meant to be covered in class or memorized. Much of it is for your reference as you use Tamazight both while taking the class and afterwards. You may not need certain sections until one day when you run into certain regional variations which puzzle you. Most likely, you'll be able to find the explanation or at least a reference to them in this book. In addition, for students who want to go into great detail, lessons 32, 33, and the three appendices are included mainly for reference.

This Student Book covers a lot of ground; however, at the end you will have covered all the grammar of the Tamazight language. Of course, you can spend the rest of your life learning new words and expressions, but they will all fit into the grammar and structure of the language that you've learned throughout the *Abrid* course.

The course follows a logic that is built around the grammar of Tamazight, the main item giving structure to the course being the Tamazight verb. The purpose is to progress easily and steadily through the Tamazight grammar, going from easy to more complicated items, in a way that is easy to understand and useful also. The goal of this course is communication, for you to be able to use Tamazight in everyday life.

No doubt in a work of this magnitude there will be mistakes found in various places throughout the course. Certainly enormous effort has been made to minimize these, but mistakes are nonetheless unavoidable. Any corrections and suggestions are welcome.

The preparation of this course has taken about two years, and many thanks go to all those along the way who helped in numerous ways, especially the initial student guinea pigs, the teachers willing to be trained to use the course, and numerous language consultants (that is, everyday Berbers willing to answer questions and talk about their language), some of whom spent many long hours patiently answering my detailed and perhaps seemingly strange questions. Great appreciation also goes to my wife and children who had to share me and my time with this project.

Bruce Rathbun
May, 2005

Comparatives

Since there is a lot in these lessons, the following is an outline of what is covered:

- A.** Main structure for the comparative: **خَفَ** + verbal adjective
1. Examples
 2. Complete conjugated pattern using the verb **غَزِيفَ**
 3. Using the long form of the preposition (**غِيفَ**)
 4. Adjectives that aren't based on verbs
 5. Word order: subject before or after the verb
 6. Other examples of comparisons, with negatives, questions, tense indicators, and pronouns
 7. Comparatives using the past participle form
- B.** Comparison verbs or phrases that don't use **خَفَ**
1. Examples with **أَفَ**
 - a. When the two items being compared are nouns
 - b. When the first item being compared is a pronoun
 - c. When the second item of the comparison is a pronoun
 - d. When both items in the comparison are pronouns
 - e. Better in what?
 - f. Other expressions using **أَفَ**
 - g. **أَفَ** with participles
 - h. Other examples of comparisons with **أَفَ**, with negatives, questions, tense indicators, and pronouns
 2. Examples with **أَكْرَ**
 - a. The verb by itself
 - b. The verb with the preposition **ثَى**
 - c. The noun **وَنَّارَ**
 - i. **وَنَّارَ** by itself
 - ii. **وَنَّارَ** with the possessive **نَ** and possessive pronoun endings
 - iii. **وَنَّارَ** with a verb to make a verbal comparison
 3. Less/fewer than
 - a. With the verb **دُرُوسَ**
 - b. **قَلَّ** with the possessive **نَ** and possessive pronoun endings
 - c. **دَاوُ** with the possessive **نَ** and indirect object pronouns

- C. Comparisons of equals: “as big as”
1. Using the word **أَمَّ**
 - a. With a conjugated verb
 - b. Without a verb
 2. Using the word **أَنْشَت**
 3. The prepositions **دَات** and **نَّيْل**
- D. To be *so* adjective *that*
- E. To become bigger, taller, etc.
- F. It's too _____ for me.
- G. The adverbs “like this” and “like that”
- H. Especially

Comparatives

Since most adjectives in Tamazight come from verbs, most comparisons are based also on the same verbs.

- A. Most comparisons are formed with the following structure:

¹**خَفَّ** + verbal adjective

1. Examples :

Moha is taller than Ishou. **إِغَزَّيْفَ مَوْحَى خَفَّ إِشْو.**

Ishou is shorter than Moha. **إِشْطَيْنَ إِشْو خَفَّ مَوْحَى.**

Aisha is smarter than Mamma. **تَشَّوْا عَيْشَةَ خَفَّ مَمَّا.**

These roads are wider than those roads. **وَسَعَنَّ إِبْرْدَانَا خَفَّ إِبْرْدَانَيْنَ.**

Those houses are bigger than these houses. **مَقْوَرْنَت تَدْرُوَيْنِن خَفَّ تَدْرُوَيْنَا.**

Note that the verbal adjective (that is, a verb that functions as an adjective) is conjugated simply according to what the subject is, whether it is masculine or feminine; singular or plural; or first, second, or third person. Even though literally the verb reads, for example, “Moha is tall,” the **خَفَّ** gives the added meaning of “—er than.”

¹ Some dialects use **زَيْ** or **زَكُّ**.

2. Complete conjugated pattern using the verb غَزَيْفَ

I am taller than Rehhou.	غَزَيْفَخَ خَفَ رَحَو.
You (m.s.) are taller than Rehhou.	تَغَزَيْفَدَ خَفَ رَحَو.
You (f.s.) are taller than Rehhou.	تَغَزَيْفَدَ خَفَ رَحَو.
He is taller than Rehhou.	إِغَزَيْفَ خَفَ رَحَو.
She is taller than Rehhou.	تَغَزَيْفَ خَفَ رَحَو.
We are taller than Rehhou.	نَغَزَيْفَ خَفَ رَحَو.
You (m.pl.) are taller than Rehhou.	تَغَزَيْفَمَ خَفَ رَحَو.
You (f.pl.) are taller than Rehhou.	تَغَزَيْفَمَتَ خَفَ رَحَو.
They (m.) are taller than Rehhou.	غَزَيْفَنَ خَفَ رَحَو.
They (f.) are taller than Rehhou.	غَزَيْفَنَتَ خَفَ رَحَو.

3. When the person or the item you are comparing something to is a pronoun rather than a noun, the long form of the preposition (غَيْفٌ²) is used plus the pronoun endings, as is shown in this example:

Itto is thinner than me.	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفِي.
Itto is thinner than you (m.s.).	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفِي.
Itto is thinner than you (f.s.).	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفِي.
Itto is thinner than him.	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفِي.
Itto is thinner than her.	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفِي.
Itto is thinner than us.	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفُنَا.
Itto is thinner than you (m.pl.).	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفُنَا.
Itto is thinner than you (f.pl.).	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفُنَا.
Itto is thinner than them (m.).	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفُسِنَا.
Itto is thinner than them (f.).	تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غَيْفُسِنَا.

² For the dialects that use زَيْفٌ or زَيْ, its long form زَيْفٌ is used. See the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lessons 11 and 12, pages 55 and 56 for the full pattern of the preposition plus pronouns.

Note that both of the following patterns of word order are valid:

Itto is thinner than me.

تَسْدِيدِ إِطْوِ غِيفِي.

تَسْدِيدِ غِيفِي إِطْوِ.

4. Adjectives that aren't based on verbs

A small number of adjectives aren't based on verbs. These adjectives combine with the verb "to be" كُنْ , but they form the comparative in a similar manner to the above verbal adjectives:

كُنْ + the adjective + the verb

Examples :

This book is older than that book. إِكَّا لَشْتَابَا أَقْدِيمِ خَفَ لَشْتَابِينِ.

This house is newer than that house. تَكَّا تَدَارْتَا تَوْجْدِيْتْ خَفَ تَدَارْتِينِ.

This leaf is greener than that leaf. إِكَّا إِفْرَا أَزِيَاوُ خَفَ إِفْرِينِ.

5. Word order: subject before or after the verb

In normal word order, the subject comes after the verb. It is possible, however, that the subject comes before the verb. In this latter case, though, the meaning has a different nuance. The subject can come before the verb for emphasis or to call attention to a subject that hasn't been mentioned before.

This car is more expensive than that car. تَغْلَا طَّوْمُوْبِيْلَا خَفَ طَّوْمُوْبِيْلِينِ.

This car, it's more expensive than that car. طَّوْمُوْبِيْلَا تَغْلَا خَفَ طَّوْمُوْبِيْلِينِ.

6. Other examples of comparisons, with negatives, questions, tense indicators, and pronouns

وَر تَحْمِي تَمْدِينْت ن فاس خَف تَمْدِينْت ن مَرَّاكَش.
The city of Fes is not hotter than the city of Marrekesh.

وَر شُوِين أَيْتَماس ن إِفْو غِيفِي.
Iffo's brothers aren't smarter than me.

وَر شُوِين غِيفِي.
They (m.) aren't smarter than me.

They (m.) aren't smarter than me.	ور غيفي شوين.
Is this one (f.) more expensive than that one?	إِس تَغْلَا تَا خَف تَان؟
This one (m.) is not more expensive than this one.	ور إِغْلِي وَآ خَف وَآ.
Mine (m.) is nicer/prettier than theirs.	إِغودَا وِينو خَف وِينَسَن.
This car is more economical than that one.	تَقْتَصَد طَوْموبِيَلَا خَف تَان.
But that one is smaller than it.	وَلَايْنِي تَمْرِي تَان غِيفَس.
Mine, it's dirtier than both of them (f.). [lit: ...than them with two].	تِينو تَخَوِّضْ غِيفَسَنْت س سَنَات.
Are you (s.) heavier than them (f.pl.)?	إِس تَرَايْدْ غِيفَسَنْت؟
Are you (s.) heavier than them (f.pl.)?	إِس غِيفَسَنْت تَرَايْدْ؟
I will be smarter than him/her.	أَدَشُوخْ غِيفَس. or أَدْ غِيفَسْ شُوخ.
They (m.) want to be smarter than me.	رَانْ أَدَشُوونْ غِيفِي. or رَانْ أَدْ غِيفِي شُوون.
I want him to be smarter than them (m.).	رِيخْ أَدِيشُووْ غِيفَسَن. or رِيخْ أَدْ غِيفَسَن إِشُوو.

7. Comparatives using the past participle form

Whenever a question word or a relative pronoun (*نَا* or *آي*) is the subject of a verb, the verb takes its participle form. This is true with verbs used in comparisons as well. The following are examples using the “past” participle.³

مَاكَّغَزَّيْفَن [مَائِي + إِغَزَّيْفَن] ، وَآ مَادْ وَآ ؟
What/which is taller, this one (m.) or this one?

³ Remember that the “past” participle is called “past” only because it is based on the “past” form. This form can have and often does have, especially with verbs that function as adjectives, a present meaning.

ماگشوان ، عيشة ماد توگتا؟

Who is smarter, Aisha or Tugga?

ماگقتصدان ، بيجو ماد رونو؟

Which is more economical, Peugeot or Renault?

ماگلگاغن إنگراسن؟

Which is softer between them (m.)?

ماگخاترن خف وايض؟

Who is bigger than the other?

ماگمقورن غيفش؟ or ماي غيفش إمقورن؟

Who is older than you (m.s.)?

ماگغزيفن خف أريازين؟

Who is taller than that man?

ور إلي ماي غيفن إراين.

There's no one heavier than you (m.pl.).

ور إلي ماي غيفم إريل [or : إريلن].

There's no one nicer than you (f.s.).

أنايخ يوت ن تمطوط نا إمقورن خف خالتي.

I saw a woman who is bigger than my aunt.

سنخ شا نا غيفس إشوان.

I know someone who is smarter than him.

أنايخ يون أرياز نا غيفش إشطين.

I saw a man who is shorter than you (m.s.).

ور إشوي كُما. إشوا غيفس كو يون.

وهو، سنخ شا نا ور غيفس إشوين.

My brother is not smart. Everyone is smarter than him.

No, I know someone who is not smarter than him.

B. Comparison verbs or phrases that don't use خف

Some verbs or phrases already contain the meaning of comparison. Thus, the preposition خف isn't used with them. The two most common verbs are:

أف تاف يوف \ ور يوف to be better

أَكْرَ 4 to be older/bigger/
more numerous/
superior
تَأْكُر | يُوْكُر | وِر يُوْكُر

The latter verb's meaning is ambiguous by itself and needs a context to give the precise meaning. In both cases the person or item that something is being compared to is the direct object of the verb.

1. Examples with أَف

a. When the two items being compared are nouns

Ali is better than Lhou.	يُوف عَلي لحو.
Lhou is better than Ali.	يُوف لحو عَلي.
Coke is better than Fanta.	تُوف كوكا فانتا.
Water is better than Coke.	وَفَن وامن كوكا.

Note in the above examples that the noun nearest the verb is the subject. You can also tell the subject at times by the dependent form, for example, وامن and not أَمَان.

b. When the first item being compared is a pronoun

When the first item (the subject) is a pronoun, the subject pronoun is included in the verb conjugation itself. Only when emphasis is desired is an independent personal pronoun used.

I am better than Hammou.	وَفَخ حَمّو.
We are better than our neighbors.	نُوف أَذْجَارِنَنخ.
You (s.) are better than my friend (f.).	تُوفد تَمَدّاكُلْتينو.
He is better than his brothers.	يُوف أَيْتَماس.
Me, I'm better than the others (m.).	نَكّين، وَفَخ وَيِيض. or وَفَخ نَكّين وَيِيض.

⁴ Some dialects pronounce this verb with a "y" instead of a "g":
أَيّر | تايّر | يويّر | وِر يويّر

Full conjugation pattern:

I'm better than Addi.	وَفَخَ عَدِّي.
You're (m.s.) better than Addi.	تَوَفَّدَ عَدِّي.
You're (f.s.) better than Addi.	تَوَفَّدَ عَدِّي.
He's better than Addi.	يُوفِ عَدِّي.
She's better than Addi.	تُوفِ عَدِّي.
We're better than Addi.	نُوفِ عَدِّي.
You're (m.pl.) better than Addi.	تُوفِّمَ عَدِّي.
You're (f.pl.) better than Addi.	تُوفِّمَتِ عَدِّي.
They're (m.) better than Addi.	وَفَّنَ عَدِّي.
They're (f.) better than Addi.	وَفَّنَتِ عَدِّي.

c. When the second item of the comparison is a pronoun

When the second item (the object of the verb) of the comparison is a pronoun, direct object pronouns are used.

Ali is better than me.	يُوفِي عَلِيَّ.
His wife is better than him.	تُوفِّي تَمَطُّوْطَانَسَ.
Her husband is better than her.	يُوفِّي أُرْيَازَانَسَ.

Full conjugation pattern:

Ali is better than me.	يُوفِي عَلِيَّ.
Ali is better than you (m.s.).	يُوفِّشُ عَلِيَّ.
Ali is better than you (f.s.).	يُوفِّمَ عَلِيَّ.
Ali is better than him.	يُوفِّي عَلِيَّ.
Ali is better than her.	يُوفِّي عَلِيَّ.
Ali is better than us.	يُوفِّخُ عَلِيَّ.
Ali is better than you (m.pl.).	يُوفِّكُنْ عَلِيَّ.
Ali is better than you (f.pl.).	يُوفِّكُنْتِ عَلِيَّ.
Ali is better than them (m.).	يُوفِّتُنْ عَلِيَّ.
Ali is better than them (f.).	يُوفِّتُنْتِ عَلِيَّ.

d. When both items in the comparison are pronouns

He is better than me.	يوفي.
You (s.) are better than me.	توفدي.
You (m.pl.) are better than me.	توفمي.
He is better than him.	يوفت.
We are better than them (f.).	نوفتنت.
They (m.) are better than you (m.s.).	وفنش.

Full conjugation pattern:

I am better than him.	وفخت.
You (m.s.) are better than him.	توفت. [توفد + ت]
You (m.s.) are better than him.	توفت. [توفد + ت]
He is better than him.	يوفت.
She is better than him.	توفت.
We are better than him.	نوفت.
You (m.pl.) are better than him.	توفمت.
You (f.pl.) are better than him.	توفمت. [توفمت + ت]
They (m.) are better than him.	وفنت.
They (f.) are better than him.	وفنت. [وفنت + ت]

e. Better in what?

To specify the area in which someone is better than someone else, use the preposition **كُ**.

Aisha is better than me in music.	توفي عيشة كُ لموسيقى.
He is better than his wife in Tamazight.	يوف تمطوطنس كُ تمازيغت.
But she is better than him in Arabic.	ولايئي توفت كُ تعربت.
Morocco is better than Algeria in sports.	يوف لمغرب دزائر ⁵ كُ رياضا.

⁵Some people might use a more Arabized pronunciation لجزائر.

f. Other expressions using أَف

I prefer milk to/over tea.

يُوف⁶ غوري واغُو أَتاي.

But he prefers tea to/over milk.

ولايِنِّي يوف غورَس واتاي أَغُو.

It's better that (or: if) we go today.

يوف إِس⁷ نَدَّا أَسَّا.

It's better that (or: if) you (s.) be quiet.

يوف إِس تَفَسْتِيد.

It's better for you (m.s.).

يُوفاش.

It's better for you (m.pl.).

يُوفَاوَن.

It's better for him/her.

يُوفاس.

It's better for us if we go today.

يُوفاخ إِس نَدَّا أَسَّا.

هَادا حَسَن. This one (m.) is better.
(Mor. Arabic)

وا يوف.

هَادي حَسَن. This one (f.) is better.
(Mor. Arabic)

تا توف.

ديال هَادا حَسَن. Of (f.) this one (m.) is better.
(Mor. Arabic) Of (m.) this one (m.) is better.

تين وا توف.
وين وا يوف.

ديال هَادي حَسَن. Of (f.) this one (f.) is better.
(Mor. Arabic) Of (m.) this one (f.) is better.

تين تا توف.
وين تا يوف.

g. أَف with participles

Which is better?

ماكُوفَن [ماي + يوفَن] ؟

⁶ Another verb that can be used here is : إِعَزَّ \ ور إِعَزَّ . There are a number of regional variations for this verb.

⁷ Some people use مَش here, literally "if," instead of "that."

Which is better in sports, مَآگُوفَن كَف رِّیَاضَا، لَمَغْرِب مَاَد ذِّیَاوِر؟
Morocco or Algeria?

Which is better, this one or this one? مَآگُوفَن، وََا مَاَد وََا؟

Which is better for you (m.s.)? مَاَش یُوفَن؟

Which is better for you (f.s.)? مَاَم یُوفَن؟

Which do you (f.s.) prefer? مَاِیْ غُورْم یُوفَن؟

Which do you (m.pl.) prefer? مَاِیْ غُورُن یُوفَن؟

I found something/one better. وَفِیْخ شَا یُوفَن.

I found someone better than you (m.pl.). وَفِیْخ شَاكُن یُوفَن.

I found someone better than them (m.). وَفِیْخ شَاتَن یُوفَن.

I found someone better than you (m.s.). وَفِیْخ شَاش یُوفَن.

Note in these last four examples that the direct object pronoun precedes the participle. This is because the original sentence is: “ I found someone who is better than you.” The relative pronoun نَا causes the direct object pronouns to move to a place in front of the verb. However, saying the نَا is optional (just as the “who is” in English is optional), and in short sentences like this it drops out.

There’s no one (who is) better than
you (m.s.). وَر إِلِیْ مَاَش یُوفَن.

There’s no one better than you (f.s.). وَر إِلِیْ مَاَشَم یُوفَن.

There’s nothing better than it. or
There’s no one better than him. وَر إِلِیْ مَاَت یُوفَن.

h. Other examples of comparisons with أَف and negatives, question words, tense indicators, and pronouns.

She has become better than Karim. تَاغُول تُوْف كَرِیْم.

He wants to be better than Ishou in sports. اِرَا اَدِّیَاف اِشُو كَف رِّیَاضَا.

She will be better than them (m.). or
May she be better than them!
(Depending on the context.)

أَتَن تَاف.

They (m.) will be better than them (m.).

أَتَن أَفَن.

Is he better than her?

إِسْت يوف؟

We aren't better than him.

ورْت نوف.

You (s.) aren't better than me.

وري توفد.

2. Examples with أَكْر (The context determines the meaning, whether size, age, or quantity.)

a. The verb by itself

The second item in the comparison is a direct object. Thus, when the second item is a pronoun, it is direct object pronouns that are used.

Moha is older/bigger than Haddou.

يوڠر موحى حَدّو.

Haddou is not older/bigger than Moha.

ور يوڠر حَدّو موحى.

I'm older/bigger than Kettou.

وڠرَخ كَتّو.

The verb by itself, without a context, usually makes people think of age. But given the proper context, the following sentences can have these meanings:

We are more numerous than them (m.).

نوڠرَتَن.

He has more than them (m.).

يوڠرَتَن.⁸

He has more than them (m.) all.

يوڠرَتَن أَوَك.⁹

Who is older?

ماڠوڠرَن؟

⁸ This is the source of the Berber name for a famous king in Berber history : Jugartha, which is the Westernized rendering of Yugerten, "He is older/bigger than them."

⁹ Some areas say قَاح .

b. The verb with the preposition **ثِي**

He is taller than his brother. [lit: He is more than his brother in height.]	يُوْكَرُ كُتْمَاسَ كِ تَغْزِي.
He has more apples than him. [lit: He is more than him in apples.]	يُوْكَرَتْ كِ تَفَّاح.
She has more money than them (m.) all.	تُوْكَرْتَنِ أَوْكِ كِ إِدْرِيْمَن.
He is older than me. [lit: He is more than me in age.]	يُوْكَرِي ¹⁰ كِ لَعْمَر.
He is smarter than me.	يُوْكَرِي كِ لَعْقَل.
He is healthier than me.	يُوْكَرِي كِ صَحَّت.
I have more money than her.	وْكَرَخْتْ كِ إِدْرِيْمَن.

c. The noun **وْكَار**¹¹

This word usually means “more,” but sometimes it can mean “worse.” The context gives the precise meaning.

i. **وْكَار** by itself

Every day I understand more.	كُو يَاسَّ دَتَفْهَمَخْ وْكَار.
He paid more.	إِخْلَصْ وْكَار.
Who drank more, Bassou or Assou?	مَاكَّسْوَانِ وْكَار، بَسَّو مَادَ عَسَّو؟

ii. **وْكَار** with the possessive **ن** and possessive pronoun endings to make a comparison

He ate more than Ali.	إِتْشَا وْكَارِ نِ عَلِي.
This one (m.) is taller than this one (m.). [lit: This one is more than this one in height.]	وَ وْكَارِ نِ وَ وَا كِ تَغْزِي.
They (m.) bought more than Assou.	سَغَانِ وْكَارِ نِ عَسَّو.
She has become worse than Hammou. (in the context of bad behavior)	تَاغُولِ وْكَارِ نِ حَمَّو.

¹⁰ Note the vowel change.

¹¹ Some dialects use a *shedda* and say **وْكَار**. Other regions don't use this word at all but instead use the word **بَنْزَايْد** (but not with the meaning “worse”). **بَنْزَايْد** also uses the preposition **ن**.

لحو، إلّا غورس وڭار ن موحى كڭ لعمّر.
[lit: Lhou, he has more than Moha in age.]

I ate more than him/her. تَشِيخ وڭار نَس.

She bought more apples than me. تَسْغَا وڭارينو كڭ تَفّاح.

They (m.) have more walnuts than you (m.pl.). غورسَن دوج وڭار نُن.

You (m.s.) have more than me. إلّا غورس وڭارينو¹².

Of what [lit: in what?] ? Of tea. كڭ مي؟ كڭ واتاي.

You (m.s.) have more tea than me. إلّا غورس وڭارينو كڭ واتاي.

iii. وڭار with a verb to make a verbal comparison

The structure for this is:

verb + مَآي + ن + وڭار

إِس تَغَالِد تَرَبَاتِينو تارو إِوَالِيَوَن وڭار ن مَآي تارو تَرَبَاتِنَش؟

Do you (m.s.) think my daughter wrote more words than your daughter wrote?

إِعْجَبِي لِحَال دَا وڭار ن مَآيْدَاش¹³ إِعْجَب لِحَال.

I like it here better than you (m.s.) like it.

[lit: The atmosphere/situation here pleases me more than it pleases you.]

3. Less/fewer than

a. This phrase is said in the same format as comparisons using adjective verbs. (See part A.) The verb used here is ذُرُوس “to be few.”

إِذْرُوس مَآكْسُوَا حَمّو ن وَاْمَان خَف مَآكْسُوَا حَدّو.

Hammou drank less tea than Haddou.

[lit: What Hammou drank of tea was less than what Haddou drank.]

إِذْرُوس مَآكْلَان غورم ن واتاي خَف مَآكْلَان غوري.

You (f.s.) have less tea than me.

[lit: What you have of tea is less than what I have.]

¹² Since وڭارينو is the subject of the verb, some people use the dependent form and say وڭارينو “wugarinu.” In the following sentence the preposition ن can be used instead of كڭ .

¹³ The د is added for pronunciation to separate the ي and the ا. This is a very common pronunciation phenomenon. Others here just drop the ي and say ماش.

دُرُوسَنَ إِمْغَرَبِينِ كُ مَرَسِيلِيَا خَفَ إِزَايِرِينِ.
There are fewer Moroccans in Marseille than Algerians.

إِذْرُوسَ وَاتَايَنْشَ خَفَ وَيَنُ.
I have less tea than you (m.s.).
[lit: Your tea is less than mine.]

There are two other ways that people may say this phrase. These may vary by region, and some areas may not recognize them at all:

b.

noun + ن + قَلَّ
possessive pronoun endings +

He drank less than Haddou.

إِسْوَا قَلَّ نَ حَدَّو.

You have less tea than me.

إِلَّا غُورْشَ قَلَّيْنُو كُ وَاتَايَ.

c.

noun + ن¹⁴ + دَّأَوْ
indirect object pronouns +

He worked less than Haddou.¹⁵

إِخْدَمَ دَّأَوْ نَ حَدَّو.

You have less tea than me.

إِلَّا غُورْشَ دَّأَوِي كُ وَاتَايَ.

C. Comparisons of equals: “as big as”

1. Using the word أَمَّ

a. With a conjugated verb

Note that the verbal adjective is conjugated simply according to what the subject is. Even though literally the verb reads, for example, “Moha is tall,” the أَمَّ gives the added meaning of “as ___ as.”

Moha is as tall as Ali.

إِغَزَّيْفَ مَوْحِي أَمَّ عَلِي.

¹⁴ Although some regions don't use the ن with دَّأَوْ .

¹⁵ This sentence could have three meanings. The others are “He worked under [spatially or in terms of authority] Haddou.”

He is as big as his brother.
[lit: He is big like his brother.]

إِمَقَّورَ أَمِ كُمَّاسٍ.

I am as tall as Muhand.

غَزَيْفَخَ أَمِ مُحَنْدٍ.

Your (m.s.) horse is as beautiful as
that of the Caïd (or: as the Caïd's).

إِرْيَلِ إِيْسَنْشِ أَمِ وِينِ لِقَايْدِ.

She's not as smart as that girl.

وَرِ تَشْوِي أَمِ تَرْبَاتِيْنِ.

Is he as big/old as you (f.s.)?

إِسِ إِخَاتَرِ أَمِ شَمِّيْنِ؟

You (m.s.) need to be as good
as your sister.

إِخْصَاشِ أَتَغُوْدَادِ أَمِ أَلْتَمَاشِ.

b. Without a verb

Your (m.pl.) house is like our house.
[lit: Like your house, like our house.]

أَمِ تَدَارْتَنْنِ أَمِ تَدَارْتَنْخِ.

بِحَالِي بِحَالِكَ I'm like you.

أَمِ نَكِّيْنِ أَمِ شَكِّيْنِ.

(Mor. Arabic)

[lit: Like me, like you.]

2. Using the word ¹⁶أَنْشَتِ

This word is a noun, and its dependent form is **وَأَنْشَتِ**. Taifi's dictionary, on page 488, lists its meaning as "quantity, size; so much, so many, such; as much as, as many as; of the same quantity as, equal to; as (fat, big, young, small, old, etc.) as."¹⁷

The comparison uses the possessive pronoun **نِ** plus nouns. For pronouns, the possessive pronoun endings are added onto the word **أَنْشَتِ**.

I didn't eat as much as Addi.

وَرِ تَشِيْخِ أَنْشَتِ نِ عَدِّي.

I didn't eat as much as him/her.

وَرِ تَشِيْخِ أَنْشَتَتَّسِ.

¹⁶ Some regions say **أَنْكَتِ**, and others drop the **تِ** and reverse the letters to get **أَشَنِ**.

¹⁷ When two items are being compared, the word used is **أَنْشَتِ**. However, sometimes this word is used in contexts where a direct comparison is not being made (see Taifi, page 488, for example: "What are you going to do with so much money?!"). In these cases, the word used is **أَنْشَتِي**, and it can have direction particles added to it. We aren't concerned with this latter meaning in this section. We will cover that in lesson 27 when we look in more detail at quantity expressions.

We have as many sheep as you (m.pl.). غورُنَخْ اَنْشَتَنْ نِ وولِي.

You (m.s.) have as much money as me. اِلَّا غورُشْ وانْشَتِينو نِ اِذْرِيْمَنْ.

Note that in the previous example, the dependent form of the comparison word is used because it is the subject of the verb اِلَّا. The comparison word “as much” is masculine singular, so the verb is masculine singular, even though the noun after نِ is plural.

However, when the noun after نِ is plural, some people will use a plural verb (لَانِ), even though technically that is not correct grammar.

Also notice in the two previous examples that the possessive نِ is used when specifying a countable item: “We have as much as you of sheep.” Otherwise, the preposition ثِي is used.

My daughter is as big/old as yours (f.s.). تَرْبَاتِيْنو اَنْشَتْ نِ تِيْنَمْ.

Your (m.pl.) house is تَدَارْتَنْنْ اَنْشَتْ نِ تَدَارْتَنْخْ كْ تَمَنْ. the same as our house in price.

as many men as women اَنْشَتْ نِ اِرِيْزَنْ اَنْشَتْ نِ توتَمِيْن

شَحَالْ نِ اِرِيْزَنْ اَكْغَلَانْ كْ لَفْرَحْ، د شَحَالْ نِ توتَمِيْن؟
اَنْشَتْ نِ اِرِيْزَنْ اَنْشَتْ نِ توتَمِيْن نِيْشَانْ اَكْغَلَانْ.

How many men were there at the wedding, and how many women?

There were exactly as many men as women.

Summary of quantity expressions :

You have more tea than me.

more sheep

اِلَّا غورُشْ وَاغَارِيْنو كْ واتاي.

كْ وولِي.

You (m.s.) have as much tea as me.

as many sheep

اِلَّا غورُشْ وانْشَتِيْنو كْ واتاي.

نِ وولِي.

You have less tea than me.

fewer sheep

اِذْرُوْسْ مَاكْغَلَانْ غورُشْ نِ واتاي

نِ وولِي

خَفْ مَاكْغَلَانْ غوري.

or

إِلَّا غورُش دَاوي [or قَلَّينو] نْكَ وَاثاي. You have less tea than me.
 نْكَ وولِّي. fewer sheep

3. The prepositions and نَّيل and دات¹⁸

These prepositions usually mean “in front of” or “facing.” When used in comparative contexts, they can mean “compared to.” Both of these prepositions follow the *ddaw* دَاو pattern (preposition + indirect object pronouns) when combining with pronouns. See the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lesson 4, page 25 for details. نَّيل is used more in the southern portions of the Middle Atlas Tamazight language group.

تَمْرُي مَكْناس دات [or نَّيل] ن فاس.
 Meknes is small compared to Fes.
 إِشْطَيْن عَسَو دات [or نَّيل] ن فاطِمة.
 Assou is short compared to Fatima.

D. To be so adjective that

This construction is done with adjective verbs:

verb + آل + adjective verb

إِمَقَّور سِيدي رَبِّي آل إِتَنْباض خَف مَأْكَتَان كول.
 God is so great that he rules over all that there is.
 إِزور زَاهي آل ورت يوسي وانسا.
 Zahi is so fat that the place [in a taxi, for ex.] doesn't hold him.

E. To become bigger, taller, etc.

The structure for this is :

verb used in the comparison + the conjugated form of the verb زَايد

He got more angry/angrier. إِزَايد إِزْعَف.

She became more angry/angrier. تَزَايد تَزْعَف.

They (m.) became bigger/older. زَايدَن مَقَّورَن.

¹⁸ Other regional variations include زَات , تَات , and زُدَات .

F. It's too _____ for me.

Depending on the context the words شَيِّكًا and بَزَّافٍ can mean either “very” or “too.” Sometimes it is hard for the non-native speaker to know which meaning is being used.

It's bad. إِخَا.

It's very or too bad. إِخَا بَزَّافٍ. or إِخَا شَيِّكًا.

It's too bad for me. إِخَا بَزَّافٍ غِيفِي. or إِخَا شَيِّكًا غِيفِي.

It's small. إِمْرِي.

It's very or too small. إِمْرِي بَزَّافٍ. or إِمْرِي شَيِّكًا.

It's too small for me. إِمْرِي بَزَّافٍ غِيفِي. or إِمْرِي شَيِّكًا غِيفِي.

The word order for the preposition can vary:

The shirt is too small for me. تَمْرِي غِيفِي لِقَمِيجَا بَزَّافٍ.

تَمْرِي لِقَمِيجَا غِيفِي بَزَّافٍ.

تَمْرِي لِقَمِيجَا بَزَّافٍ غِيفِي.

G. The adverbs “like this” and “like that”

like this (in this way)

أَمْشِي¹⁹ or إِمْشِي

like that (in that way)

أَمْشِيْس or إِمْشِيْس

These expressions will be covered in greater detail in lesson 30.

¹⁹ Some areas also say يِمْشِي .

H. Especially

This adverb is made up of the preposition **س** plus the noun **أَمَاتَا**_(u). So the whole phrase is **سْ أَمَاتَا** “s umata.”²⁰

إِحْلَا لِحَالِ كُ جَانُوبِ نِ فَرَنْسَا، سْ أَمَاتَا كُ تَنْكَرْسْتِ.

The weather is nice in the south of France, especially in the winter.

تَعْجَبِي بَزَّافِ لَفِيْشِيْتِ، سْ أَمَاتَا أَضِيْلِ.

I really like fruit, especially grapes.

²⁰ Other regional variations include **لُومَا** and **نُومَار**.

Superlatives

As with the comparative, the superlative is based on verbs that have an adjective meaning. Sometimes these are called stative verbs, verbs that express a state. In English the superlative is indicated by “—est” added on to the end of an adjective or by the word “most” preceding the adjective. In Tamazight, the superlative meaning of the verb is usually known by the context. English speakers may be confused at first: is the meaning, for example, “Idir is tall” or “Idir is the tallest”? It’s the context of the sentence and the situation that will determine if the meaning is the superlative.

A. Superlatives using the past participle form

Whenever a question word or a relative pronoun (**نَا** or **أَيِّ**) is the subject of a verb, the verb takes its participle form. This is true with verbs used in superlatives as well. The following are examples using the “past” participle.¹

1. participle + **أَيِّ**

a. **تَغُودَا بَوْمَز.** Poms is good.

تَغُودَا فَانْتَا خَف بَوْمَز. Fanta is better than Poms.

وَلَايْنِي كوكَا أَكْغُودَان [أَيِّ + إِغُودَان]. But Coke is the best.
[lit: But Coke (it is) that is best.]

b. **إِغَزَيَف عَدَي.** Addi is tall.

إِغَزَيَف إِشُو خَف عَدَي. Ishou is taller than Addi.

وَلَايْنِي حَمُو أَكْغَزَيَفَن. or But Hammou is the tallest. or

وَلَايْنِي حَمُو أَكْغَزَيَفَن دِيكْسَن. But Hammou is the tallest of them [lit: among them].

¹ Remember that the “past” participle is called “past” only because it is based on the “past” form. This form can have and often does have, especially with verbs that function as adjectives, a present meaning.

- Miriam is tall. **تَغَزِيْف مَرِيْم .c**
- Tuda is taller than Miriam. **تَغَزِيْف تُوْدَا خَف مَرِيْم.**
- But Itto is the tallest. or **وَلَايْنِي إِطُو أَكْغَزِيْفَن.** or
- But Itto is the tallest of them. **وَلَايْنِي إِطُو أَكْغَزِيْفَن دِيكْسَنَت.**

Note that the participle doesn't change for masculine or feminine.

2. **مَآيْ + participle**

- Who's the tallest?² **مَآكْغَزِيْفَن؟ .a**
- Who's the tallest of the children? **مَآكْغَزِيْفَن كُ إِشِرَّان؟**
- Who's the tallest of them (m.)? **مَآكْغَزِيْفَن دِيكْسَن؟**
- Who's the tallest of them (m.)? **مَآيْ دِيكْسَن إِغَزِيْفَن؟**

Note that in the previous two sentences either word order is possible.

- Aisha is the tallest. **عِيْشَة أَكْغَزِيْفَن [آيْ + إِغَزِيْفَن].**
- Bassou is the tallest of them (m.) **بَسُو أَكْغَزِيْفَن دِيكْسَن.**
- Who's the youngest? **مَآكْمُرِّيْن؟ .b**
- Who's the youngest of the children? **مَآكْمُرِّيْن كُ إِشِرَّان؟**
- Who's the youngest of them (m.)? **مَآكْمُرِّيْن دِيكْسَن؟**
- Who's the youngest of them (m.)? **مَآيْ دِيكْسَن إِمُرِّيْن؟**
- Youssef is the youngest. **يُوْسُف أَكْمُرِّيْن.**
- Who is the best of/among you (m.pl.) in sports? **مَآكُوْفَن دِيكْن كُ رِيَاضَا؟ .c**
- I'm the best. **نَكِّيْن أَكُوْفَن.**

² Depending on the context, this question could also mean "Who is taller?"

3. participle as adjective

.a ماڳان [ماي + اڳان] تمازيرت اِمَقورن كڻ اِفرِيقيا؟

What is the biggest country in Africa?

مِصر. : short answer

Egypt.

مِصر اَڳان تمازيرت اِمَقورن كڻ اِفرِيقيا. : long answer

Egypt is the biggest country in Africa.

مِصر اَڳَمَقورن كڻ اِفرِيقيا. : long answer

Egypt is the biggest in Africa.

.b ماڳان³ اَرِياز اِرِيْل [اِرِيْلن] كڻ اِغَرَمَنَم؟

Who is the nicest/best/most handsome man in your (f.s.) village?

مُحَنَد. : short answer

Muhand.

مُحَنَد اَڳان اَرِياز اِرِيْل كڻ اِغَرَمِينو. : long answer

Muhand is the nicest man in my village.

مُحَنَد اَڳَرِيْل كڻ اِغَرَمِينو. : long answer

Muhand is the nicest in my village.

There are many different ways to ask this type of superlative question. Some ways are specific to certain regions. Others can be used both by the same person in the same region. You need to find out how people around you ask this type of question. Each of the following questions means the same thing: “What is the biggest country in Africa?” The only difference is in the question word.

.i ماڳَمَس⁴ تمازيرت اِمَقورن كڻ اِفرِيقيا؟

.ii ماني تمازيرت اِمَقورن كڻ اِفرِيقيا؟

In this case the word “mani” doesn’t mean “where?” but rather “what is?”

³ In some areas the question “Who is...?” is ماڳَمَس .

⁴ Some areas only use this as “who” and not as “what.”

.iii مايد إغان تمازيرت إِمَقورن كِ إِفريقيا؟

Here the “d” is added only for pronunciation, to separate the “may” from the “igan.” The dialect that does this never puts the “may” plus a third person masculine singular verb or participle together to form “gg.”

.iv مَتَا تمازيرت إِمَقورن كِ إِفريقيا؟

In this case the word “matta” doesn’t mean “which?” but rather “what is?” In this usage, “matta” doesn’t take the dependent form after it.

.v مَتَا نَتَات تمازيرت إِمَقورن كِ إِفريقيا؟

In this case the word “matta” combines with the independent personal pronouns according to whether the noun asked about is masculine or feminine and singular or plural. For example:

مَتَا نَتَا + masculine singular noun

مَتَا نَتَات + feminine singular noun

مَتَا نِتْنِي + masculine plural noun

مَتَا نِتْنَتِي + feminine plural noun

B. Superlatives using the regular adjective form

A small number of verbs don’t form their adjectives by using the participle. Instead they follow the “regular” pattern of adjectives. See the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lesson 14, page 67, for some of these adjectives. For example:

ماگْان تَحانوت توجْديتْ كِ إِغْرَمَنْشْ؟

What is the newest store in your (m.s.) village?

ماگْان لَشْتاب وجْديدْ كِ تَدَارْتَنْنْ؟

What is the newest book in your (m.pl.) house?

ماگْان طوموبيلات توجْديدينْ كِ سَوَقْ؟

What are the newest cars on the market?

ماگْان إِخْمِيْمَنْ وجْديدَنْ خَفْ طِيْبْ؟

What are the newest ideas about medicine?

Use to ...

1. This construction is what is used in sentences like "I used to live in Holland," or "I used to work in a hospital," or "I used to like coffee."
2. The form in Tamazight is:

the verb in the present continuous tense + the auxiliary verb **ك** conjugated in the past tense form

3. The conjugation of the auxiliary verb is as follows:

Plural		Singular	
nekka	نَكَّا	kki	كَيِّخْ
tekkam	تَكَّام	tekkid	تَكَّيْد
takkamt	تَكَّامْت	tekkid	تَكَّيْد
kkan	كَّان	ikka	إِكَّا
kkant	كَّانْت	tekka	تَكَّا

4. Some examples follow:

He used to work at the Post Office. **إِكَّا دَيِّنْخَدَّمْ كْ لِبُوسْنَطَا.**

They (m.) used to go to Fes every day. **كَّان دَتَدُونْ غَر فاس كو ياس.**

I used to drink tea with sugar. **كَيِّخ دَسَاخْ أَتَايْ س سَكَّر.**

We used to study Arabic there. **نَكَّا دَنَقَّار تَعْرَبْت دِين.**

What did he use to do here? **مَاكَّكَّا دَيِّنْغَّا دَا؟**

He used to come to my place. **إِكَّا دَدِيْتَدُو غُورِي.**

I used to smoke. **كَيِّخ دَتَكَّمُوخ.**

I used to like fava beans. **كَيِّخ دَتَيِّرِيخْ إِعْبَاوَن.**

(Depending on the context, the translation in English might also reflect what someone would habitually do in the past: "They would go to Fes every day" or "He would come to my place" or "I would smoke.")

Note that in this construction certain verbs do not use the present continuous form. Instead, they use the simple past form which has a present continuous meaning. This is true, for example, with the verb كُنْ meaning "to be." Knowing which verbs fit this category comes only by usage. They include, however, كُنْ , إِلِي , زِدْ , سَنَّ , and stative or descriptive verbs, that is, verbs used as adjectives.

He used to be a farmer.	إِكَّا إِثَّا أَفْلَاح.
What did you (s.) use to be?	مَاي تَكِيد تَكِيد؟
She used to be my friend.	تَكَّا تَخَّا تَمَدَّا كَلْتِينُو.
He used to be in the army.	إِكَّا إِلَّا كُ لْعَسْكَر.
There used to be a lot of trees here.	كَانَ لَانَ بَزَّافَ نَ إِسْكَلا دَا.
He used to live here.	إِكَّا إِزْدَغَ دَا.
She used to know French.	تَكَّا تَسَنَّ شَانَ تَفْرَنْسِيَسْت.
He used to be fat.	إِكَّا إِزُور.
You (s.) used to be small.	تَكِيد تَمْرِيْد.
إِكَّا كَرِيْم يُوْفَ عِيْشَةَ ، وَلايْنِي دُغِي تَاغُول تُوْفْت.	
Karim used to be better than Aisha, but now she's become better than him.	

5. Note the following differences in meaning between the "past" form of إِلِي and the present continuous form:

He used to be in Syria. (He was in Syria for some extended time in the past, but now he has moved somewhere else.)	إِكَّا إِلَّا كُ سُورِيَا.
He used to be in [<i>i.e.</i> , frequent] this café. (That is, he used to frequently and repeatedly be in the café. He came and went in some type of regular way.)	إِكَّا دِيْتِيْلِي كُ لِقَهْوَايَا.

6. "Use to have something"

The easiest way to see this construction is with an example:

I used to have a mule. إِكَا غوري أُسَرْدُون.

The rule for forming this construction is:

the noun in its + various forms of + the auxiliary verb كَّ conjugated
dependent form pronouns + غور in the past tense form
The noun possessed (the subject)
determines the conjugation form.

Thus, the four different verb possibilities of this construction are:

I used to have a mule. إِكَا غوري أُسَرْدُون.
I used to have a she-mule. تَكَا غوري تُسَرْدُونْت.
I used to have wells. كَان غوري وونا.
I used to have eggs. كَانْت غوري تَكْغَلَاي.

Note the following tenses of "to have":

I have a mule. غوري أُسَرْدُون.
I have a mule. إِلَا غوري أُسَرْدُون.
I had a mule yesterday. إِلَا غوري أُسَرْدُونِ أَسَنْطَّ.
I used to have a mule. إِكَا غوري أُسَرْدُون.
I used to have a mule. إِكَا إِلَا غوري أُسَرْدُون.
I will have a mule. أَدْيِيلِي غوري أُسَرْدُون.
I'm going to have a mule. إِذَا أَدْيِيلِي غوري أُسَرْدُون.
I want to have a mule. رِيخ أَدْيِيلِي غوري أُسَرْدُون.

The above uses of "to have" are quite normal. However, there are some subtle uses that are far less frequent, yet they illustrate the nuances that verbs can have in the continuous form:

I have (repeatedly, frequently) a mule. دَيْتَيْلِي غوري أُسْرَدُون.
(For example, Bassou doesn't have a place to
put his mule, so very often he keeps it at my
place.)

I used to have (repeatedly, frequently) a mule. إِكَّا دَيْتَيْلِي غوري أُسْرَدُون.

I will have (repeatedly, frequently) a mule. أَدَيْتَيْلِي غوري أُسْرَدُون.

7. Complete conjugation of one example: "I, you, he, etc. used to work at the Post Office."

نَكَّا دَنْخَدَّمْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.	كَيْخ دَخْدَمَخْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.
تَكَّام دَتْخَدَّمْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.	تَكَّيْد دَتْخَدَّمْدْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.
تَكَّامْت دَتْخَدَّمْتْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.	تَكَّيْد دَتْخَدَّمْدْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.
كَّان دَخْدَمَنْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.	إِكَّا دَيْخَدَّمْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.
كَّانْت دَخْدَمَنْتْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.	تَكَّا دَتْخَدَّمْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.

8. The negative affects only the vowel of the auxiliary verb. Nothing else is changed in the sentence. The second verb, even when it takes a past form (like إِكَّا or إِزْدَغ) does not undergo a vowel change.

He didn't use to work at the Post Office. وَر إِكِّي دَيْخَدَّمْ كْ لِبوسْطَا.

They (m.) didn't use to go to Fes every day. وَر كَّيْن دَتْدَوْن غَر فاس كو ياسَّ.

I didn't use to have a cow. وَر تَكِّي غوري تْفوناست.

He didn't use to be a farmer. وَر إِكِّي إِكَّا أَفْلَاح.

She didn't use to be my friend. وَر تَكِّي تَنَّا تَمَدَّاكْلَتِينو.

He didn't use to live here. وَر إِكِّي إِزْدَغ دا.

You (m.pl.) didn't use to have money. وَر كَّيْن غورُن إِذْرِيْمَنْ.

9. Direct object and indirect object pronouns remain attached to the second verb, since it is the principle verb and the verb that directly concerns the pronouns. The first verb is simply a helping verb. Since the majority of the second verbs are in the present continuous form, the pronouns come in their regular place with these verbs, that is, between the tense indicator دَ and the rest of the verb.

He used to give money to his son. اِكَّا داس ياكَّا اِذْرِيْمَن اِ مَمَّيس.

Did he use to give money to his son? اِس اِكَّا داس ياكَّا اِذْرِيْمَن اِ مَمَّيس؟

He didn't use to give money to his son. وِر اِكِّي داس ياكَّا اِذْرِيْمَن اِ مَمَّيس.

He used to help him in (his) studies. اِكَّا دَت اِتْعَاوَان اِكُّ تَغُورِي.

Did he use to help him in (his) studies? اِس اِكَّا دَت اِتْعَاوَان اِكُّ تَغُورِي؟

He didn't use to help him in (his) studies. وِر اِكِّي دَت اِتْعَاوَان اِكُّ تَغُورِي.

Indefinite Adjectives and Pronouns

A. The indefinite adjective "another": **يَضْنِين** (*yaḍnin*) or **يَضْن** (*yaḍn*)¹

1. These words are placed after the noun they modify and are invariable, that is, they don't change whether the noun is masculine or feminine or singular or plural. Some examples:

another boy	أَرْبَا يَضْن	or	أَرْبَا يَضْنِين
another book	لَشْتَاب يَضْن	or	لَشْتَاب يَضْنِين
another house	تَدَّارْت يَضْن	or	تَدَّارْت يَضْنِين
other boys	إِرْبَان يَضْن	or	إِرْبَان يَضْنِين
other houses	تَدَّرُوِين يَضْن	or	تَدَّرُوِين يَضْنِين
another time	تِكَّالْت يَضْن	or	تِكَّالْت يَضْنِين
other times	تِكَّال يَضْن	or	تِكَّال يَضْنِين

مَشْتَا يَضْنِين ن وولِّي أَيِّ تَسْغِيد؟

How many other sheep did you (s.) buy?

2. There are other ways to express the idea of "another" or "other." This is like in Moroccan Arabic where you can say "another bus": **طوبيس آخُر** or "some other bus": **شي طوبيس آخُر**. Note the following phrases:

some other house	شَا ن تَدَّارْت يَضْن	or	شَا ن تَدَّارْت يَضْنِين
another house	يوت ن تَدَّارْت يَضْن	or	يوت ن تَدَّارْت يَضْنِين
some other man	شَا ن أَرْيَاز يَضْن	or	شَا ن أَرْيَاز يَضْنِين
another man	يون أَرْيَاز يَضْن	or	يون أَرْيَاز يَضْنِين

¹ Regional variations include **يَضْنِين**, **نَضْنِين**, **نَضْنِينِي**, **أَضْنِين**, **أَضْنِي**, **إِضْنِي**, and **يَاضْنِينِي**.

3. Other useful phrases with the words **يَضْن** or **يَضْنِين** :

another one (m.)	يُون يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
another one (f.)	يُوت يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
other ones (m. or f.) / some others (m. or f.)	يَيْتْس يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
someone else / something else	شَا يَضْنِين \ يَضْن

The word **يَيْتْس** ("ones") is the plural of **يُون** and **يُوت** .

4. In combination with demonstrative pronouns like "this," "that," "these," and "those," the words **يَضْنِين** or **يَضْن** come to designate a definite other one:

this (m.) other one	وَا يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
this (f.) other one	تَا يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
these (m.) other ones	وَي يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
these (f.) other ones	تَي يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
that (m.) other one	وَان يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
that (f.) other one	تَان يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
those (m.) other ones	وِين يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
those (f.) other ones	تِين يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
the other one (m.) who...	وَنَّا يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
the other one (f.) who...	تَنَّا يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
the other ones (m.) who...	وِينَّا يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
the other ones (f.) who...	تِينَّا يَضْنِين \ يَضْن

B. The following words are also a combination of the demonstrative pronouns **وا**, **تا**, **وي**, and **تي** ("this/that/these/those") with the **يَضْ** "yḏ" of **يَضْنِين** or **يَضْن** .

1. These words mean either "another one" or "the other one." It is the context that determines whether the reference is indefinite or definite.

another one, the other one (m.)	وايَض
another one, the other one (f.)	تايَض
other ones, the other ones (m.)	وييَض or وياض
other ones, the other ones (f.)	تييَض or تياض

Bring the other one (m.) / Bring another one (m.). أَويد وايَض.

Give me the other one (f.) / Give me another one (f.). شيد تايَض.

[Kids are playing with blocks. The dad gives them more blocks. Each time he hands them a block he says:] Here's another one. هان وايَض.

Where are the others (m.)? ماني وييَض؟

Not like the other (m.). وريد أَم وايَض.

2. These words can also function as indefinite adjectives. However, unlike the words *يَضْنين* or *يَضْن*, the words *وايَض* etc. come before the noun and vary by person and number. The noun that follows is in the dependent form.

another man / the other man	وايَض أَرِيَّاز
another egg / the other egg	تايَض تَغْلَايْت
other wells / the other wells	وييَض وونا
other eggs / the other eggs	تييَض تَغْلَايْ

C. Different phrases using the word "one": يونس , يوت , and بيتس

1. The singular "one"

someone (m.)	شَا ن يونس
someone (f.)	شَا ن يوت
someone else (m.)	شَا ن يونس يَضْنين يَضْن
someone else (f.)	شَا ن يوت يَضْنين يَضْن

no one (m.)	أَوْد يُون
no one (f.)	أَوْد يوت
no one else (m.)	أَوْد يُون يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
no one else (f.)	أَوْد يوت يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
each one (m.)	كو يُون
each one (f.)	كو يوت

2. The word "one" by itself can be an indefinite pronoun.

Someone (m.) came.	إِدَاد يُون.
Someone (f.) came.	تَدَاد يوت.
I saw someone (m.) who was a drunk.	أَنَّايْخ يُون إِكَّا أَسْكَايْرِي.
He's someone difficult.	يُون إِشْقَان أَكَّا.
She's someone difficult.	يوت إِشْقَان أَي تَكَّا.
one (m.) among them/one of them	يُون دِيكْسَن
one (f.) among them/one of them	يوت دِيكْسَنَت
another one (m.)	يُون يَضْنِين \ يَضْن
another one (f.)	يوت يَضْنِين \ يَضْن

3. The word "one" functions also as the indefinite article "a" or "an." This is the equivalent in Moroccan Arabic of واحد, as in "A man came." (جا واحد رَجُل).

A man came.	إِدَاد يُون أُرِيَا.
A woman came.	تَدَاد يوت ن تَمَطَّوْط.
I saw something [a thing] in Moha's house that I didn't know what it was.	أَنَّايْخ يُون شَا (يُون أَسْكَيْن) كُ تَدَارْت ن موحى ور سَنَخ مَتَا نَتَّا.
He took another [an other] road.	إِكَّا يُون أَبْرِيْد يَضْن.

4. The word "some" is the plural of the indefinite "one." This is often expressed by the Tamazight word شا .

By itself this word means: someone or something شا

someone/something else شا يَضْنين \ يَضْن

I want something cheap. ريخ شا إِرْوَان.

Used in combination with other words it means: some شا

some among them (m.)/some of them (m.) شا ديْگَسَن

someone (m.) شا ن يون

someone (f.) شا ن يوت

someone else (m.) شا ن يون يَضْنين \ يَضْن

someone else (f.) شا ن يوت يَضْنين \ يَضْن

some people شا ن مِدَّن

some other people شا ن مِدَّن يَضْنين \ يَضْن

some men شا ن إِرِيْزَن

some other men شا ن إِرِيْزَن يَضْنين \ يَضْن

some women شا ن توتَمين

some other women شا ن توتَمين يَضْنين \ يَضْن

some water شا ن وَاْمَان

a little bit [lit: some of a little] شا ن شُوِي

some place شا ن وَاْنَسَا or شا ن اُدْغَار

Used in combination with a negative it means: anything, nothing ور ... شا

I don't have anything. ور غوري شا.

I didn't drink anything. ور سويخ شا.

They (f.) didn't go anywhere. ور دينت غر شا.

5. Another plural of the indefinite "one" is **ييتس**, meaning "ones." It is the same plural word for masculine and feminine "one." It can be translated in different contexts as "ones" or "some." In certain contexts a literal translation would be "someones." This doesn't exist in English, but does in French: *quelques-uns, quelques-unes*. Other translations could be "certain ones" (in French: *certains, certaines*). Note the following examples:

Only some [*quelques-uns*] came. ور ددين غاس ييتس.

some days ييتس ن ووسان

some among them (f.)/some of them (f.) ييتس ديگسنت

some people I don't know ييتس ن مدن ور سنخ

D. Phrases using the word **أوك** meaning "whatever," "whoever," "anything," "any place," etc.

1. We are writing the word "awk" in the above fashion, although technically it would be just **أك**. The pronunciation is "a" plus a rounded "k." The lips are rounded before the "k" is pronounced. Many phonetic transcriptions write the word "ak". English speakers tend to hear a "w" sound before the "k."

2. independent pronouns + **أوك متا**

This construction means "whoever/whatever it is."

whoever/whatever I am أوك متا نكين

whoever/whatever you (m.s.) are أوك متا شكين

whoever/whatever you (f.s.) are أوك متا شميين

whoever/whatever he/it (m.) is أوك متا نتا

whoever/whatever she/it (f.) is أوك متا نتات

whoever/whatever we are	أَوْك مَتَا نُكْنِي
whoever/whatever you (m.pl.) are	أَوْك مَتَا كُنِّي
whoever/whatever you (f.pl.) are	أَوْك مَتَا كُنْمْتِي
whoever/whatever they (m.) are	أَوْك مَتَا نِتْنِي
whoever/whatever they (f.) are	أَوْك مَتَا نِتْنْتِي

ماي ديگسن تريد؟ أوك متا نتا.

Which one of them (m.) do you (s.) want? Anyone./Whatever./N'importe lequel.

ريخ يون لكاس. متا لكاس؟ أوك متا نتا.

I want a glass. Which glass? Anyone.

أويد أوك متا نتا ديگسن.

Bring anyone of them (m.).

تخصايي شان لخدمت، أوك متا نتات.

I need some work, whatever it is.

مش ديگس توفيد شان لعيب، أوك متا نتا، راريتيد.

If you (s.) find in it a fault, whatever it is, return it (m.) to me.

أوك متا نتا إغي أديك أيا.

Anyone can do this.

أدور دتقراب، أوك متا شكين.

Don't come closer, whoever you are.

3. other question words + أوك

a. أوك + مغمس anyone, whoever, n'importe qui

ريخ شان يون أدي إعاون. مغمس؟ أوك مغمس.

I want someone to help me. Who? Anyone./Whoever./N'importe qui.

But notice that, since the word for “who” is based on the verb *مس*, the verb changes with gender and number.

ريخ سين مدن أدي عاون. ماي مسن؟ أوك ماي مسن.

I want two people to help me. Who? Anyone./Whoever./N'importe qui.

ريخ شان تربات أدي تعاون. ماي تمس؟ أوك ماي تمس.

I want some girl to help me. Who? Anyone./Whoever./N'importe qui.

b. أَوْكٌ + مَانِي

any place, wherever, *n'importe où*

سِرْسَتْ أَوْكٌ مَانِي.

Put it (m.) down any place/wherever/*n'importe où*.

أَوْكٌ مَانِيْتِ وَفَانْ، أَتْ نَنْغَنْ.

Wherever they (m.) find him, they'll kill him.

c. أَوْكٌ مَانِي + مَانِي

whatever I/you/he etc. does

أَوْكٌ مَانِي تَكْأَدْ²، غَاسٌ كَثَتْ فَيَسَاعُ.

Whatever you (m.s.) do [in the future], just do it quickly.

رَوْرِيخْدُ أَوْكٌ مَانِي تَشِيخُ.

I threw up whatever I ate.

d. أَوْكٌ + سِ مِي³

anyhow, in any way, *n'importe comment*

بَنَانٌ تَدْرُوِينْ أَوْكٌ سِ مِي. أَيَّنَّا أَمِي تَوْتِيْنْتِ.

They (m.) built the houses any old way/*n'importe comment*. That's why they collapsed.

E. Other phrases meaning "whatever": أَيَّنَّا

The following are other phrases meaning "whatever."⁴ When أَيَّنَّا is the subject of the verb, the verb is in its participle form.

Whatever you (s.) want.

أَيَّنَّا تَرِيدُ.

Whatever there is.

أَيَّنَّا إِلَّانْ.

Whatever you (m.s.) like. (lit: Whatever pleases you.)

أَيَّنَّاشْ إِعْجَبَنْ.

Take (f.pl.) what/whatever you want.

أَسِيْمْتْ أَيَّنَّا تَرَامْتْ.

² This form of the future won't be studied until lesson 28. Briefly, it is the present continuous tense without the tense indicator. It is used after question words, relative pronouns, and negatives.

³ These two words run together and sound like "smi."

⁴ Depending on the context, the phrase can mean just "what" or "whatever." We're focusing on the "whatever" meaning here.

F. So and so, such and such

The main word for this expression is **فَلان**. This is the most commonly used form.

I asked so and so. **سَقَسَاخَ فَلَان.**

I was at so and so's house for a few days. **كَيِّخَ غَرَ فَلَانَ شَا نَ وُوسَانَ.**
those of so and so, the people of so and so **أَيَّتَ فَلَانَ**

There is a feminine form, if the "so and so" is feminine. The word can be either **فَلَانَتَا** or **فَلَانَتَا**.

So and so (f.) saw me. **تَانَايِي فَلَانَتَا.**

In some usages the form is **أَيْفَلَان**, whose dependent form is **وَأَيْفَلَان**. It's not clear when this form should be used instead of the above form, but the following are some examples:

سَقَسَاخَ أَيْفَلَانَ دَ وَأَيْفَلَانَ دَ وَأَيْفَلَانَ.

I asked so and so, and so and so, and so and so.

أَنَّسَا نَ وَأَيْفَلَانَ

such and such a place

The word for "such and such" as a noun is **كَادَا**.

He told me such and such.

إِنَايِي كَادَا.

Words Used in Negation

This lesson lists all the words used in various negation constructions in Tamazight. Many of these words are found in Taifi's dictionary on pages 765 to 767 under the heading "WR."

Some general observations:

1. The majority of negative words in Tamazight contain the word **ور**. This is the foundation of negation in Tamazight.
2. **ور** and all its forms cause direct and indirect object pronouns, certain prepositions combined with pronouns, and direction particles to move to in front of the verb.
3. For most (but not all) verbs, the negative **ور** and all its forms cause the final vowel of verbs in the past form to change to an "i" (whether a *ya'* or a *kisra*).

A. **ور**

1. With the past form and a past meaning

He didn't eat. **ور إْتْشِي.**

I didn't understand. **ور فَهْمَخ.**

Why didn't he give you (m.s.) the book? **مَاحَ أَلْيَكْ وِرَاشِ إِشِي لَشْتَاب؟**

He didn't ask the director. **ور إِسْقَسَا لَمُدِير.**

He didn't help him. **وَرْتِ إِعَاوَن.**

2. With the past form and a present meaning

Where are they (m.) going? They're not going to Fes. **مَآغَر دَان؟ وِر دَيْن غَر فَاس.**

I don't know. **ور سَنَخ.**

I don't know (shortened form). **ورْس.**

I'm not hungry. **وَرِي إِنَغِي لَاز.**

3. With the future tense¹

An auxiliary verb is used: the past conjugated form of **إِنِّي**.

The **وَر** affects only the vowel of the auxiliary verb, not the main verb.

(Note that some regions don't recognize this way of negating the future.)

He won't smoke in the house. **وَرِ إِنِّي أَدِيكْمُو لَكْ تَدَارْت.**

They (f.) won't say "no." **وَرِ تَيْنْتِ أَدِينِيْنْتِ "وَهُو."**

4. With the present continuous tense

The **وَر** causes no vowel changes.

He doesn't hit his sister. **وَرِ دَيْكَاتِ أَلْتَمَاس.**

He doesn't pray. **وَرِ دَيْذُرْلَا.**

5. With the past participle

The **وَر** affects the vowel in most (but not all) verbs.

uncooked meat **أَكْسُومِ وَرِ إِنْوِينِ**

water that's not hot ("not-hot" water) **أَمَانِ وَرِ حَمِينِينِ**

a film that's not good (a "not-good" film) **لِفَلِمِ وَرِ إِيْغُودَانِ**

B. **وَرْتَا**

The meaning of this word is: "not yet, *pas encore*, مازال." Some dialects use **وَرْسَا**.

He didn't eat yet. **وَرْتَا إِيْتْشِي.²**

مازال ماجاش. He didn't come yet. **وَرْتَا دِيْدِي.**
(Mor. Arabic)

¹ Other ways of forming the negative future tense will be studied in lesson 28. Briefly, one of those ways involves using the present continuous tense without the tense indicator.

² Some regions don't use **وَرْتَا**. They would say here **وَرِ إِيْسُولِ إِيْتْشِي**.

She doesn't know Meknes yet. **وَرْتَا تَسْنِ مَكْنَس.**

Is the food/meal ready? Not yet. **إِس إِوَجْد ووتشي؟ ورتا.**

He won't yet smoke in the house. **وَرْتَا إِنِّي أَدِيكْمُو كُ تَدَارْت.**

He doesn't walk yet. **وَرْتَا دَيْتَدُو س أضرار.**

not-yet-cooked meat **أَكْسوم ورتا إنوين**

C. **ور ياد**

1. With the present continuous tense this means "to not do something anymore."

He doesn't smoke anymore. **ور ياد دَيْكَمُو.³**

I don't speak to him anymore. **ور ياد داس سَوَالخ.**

I don't trust you (m.s.) anymore. **ور ياد دَش تَامَنخ.**

2. With the past tense this means "to not end up doing something."⁴ For example, "I was going to go to the market, but in the end I didn't. I didn't end up going to the market." The Moroccan Arabic equivalent is: **ماوَلَيْتَش مَشِيْت لِلسَّوَق.**

I didn't end up going to the market. **ور ياد دَيْخ غَر سَوَق.**

He didn't end up working here. **ور ياد إِخْدِم دا.**

They (m.) didn't end up drinking tap water. **ور ياد سَوِين أَمَان ن رَّوْبِينِي.**

D. **وريد**

This word is used to negate non-verbs.

Not me! **وريد نَكِين!**

Not these ones. **وريد وي.**

Are you okay? No, I'm not okay. **إِد لا باس؟ وهو، وريد لا باس.**

³ Some regions don't use **ور ياد**. They would say here **ور إَقِيم دَيْكَمُو**.

⁴ Some regions don't recognize this construction.

وريد دُغي. أَل يوت ن لوقت
يَضُن.
Not now. Later.
(lit: Not now. Until another time.)

E. وَرْدُجِين

This word means "ever" and "never" and is not used in the present continuous or future tenses.

1. With the past tense in a question this means "Have you ever done something?" In English this type of sentence is "positive." In Tamazight, this type of sentence uses a negative (although some regions use just دُجِين without the وَر for "positive" phrases⁵).

Have you (s.) ever been to Fes? إِس وَرْدُجِين تَكَّيد فاس؟

Has she ever smoked? إِس وَرْدُجِين تَكْمِي؟

Did he ever come to your (m.pl.) place? إِس دُجِين دِيدَا غورُن؟

2. With the past tense in a non-question this means "to never have done something." Notice that this word causes moveable items to go in front of the verb.

They've (m.) never given me money. وَرْدُجِينِي شِين إِدْرِيْمَن.

She has never gone abroad. وَرْدُجِين تَفَّغ غَر لْخَارَج.

I never offended you (m.pl.). وَرْدُجِينَاوَن نَّيْخ أَوَال ن لْعَار.
[lit: I never said to you a word of dishonor.]

⁵ See Taifi, page 61, under "DŽN."

F. وسار

This word is used with the future tense (not the past or present continuous) to mean "will never do something." Some dialects use **ورسار**. Since the future is being negated, there must be the presence of the auxiliary verb⁶: the past conjugated form of **إني**. See below, in parts I and J, where **وسار** is used with the negative imperative to mean "never do something."

They (m.) will never be happy. وسار نيين أذفرحن.

We will never stop. وسار نني أنبّد.

G. أدور

This is used with the continuous imperative form to make the negative imperative: "Don't do something."

Don't cry. أدور تالا.

Don't tell (m.pl.) it (m.) to them (m.). أدوراسنت تينيات.

Don't kill me! أدوري ناق!

H. أدور ياد

This is used with the continuous imperative form to make the negative imperative: "Don't do something anymore/again."

Don't run in the house anymore. أدور ياد ركل ك تدارت.

Don't turn off the light anymore. أدور ياد سخساي أسيد.

I. أدوسار

This is used with the continuous imperative form to make the negative imperative: "Don't ever do something." Some dialects use **أدورسار**.

⁶ Some regions don't recognize this use of the auxiliary. Some regions don't use it and simply say ...**وسار** أد... Other ways of negating the future will be studied in lesson 28.

أَدوسار سَغويو أَكَنسو ن تَدَّارت. Don't ever scream inside the house.

أَدوسار تَناعيمت. Don't ever fight (f.pl.).

J. أَدوسار ياد

This is used with the continuous imperative form to make the negative imperative: "Don't ever do something anymore/again." Some dialects use أَدورسار ياد.

أَدوسار ياد تَكَّا أَيَا. Don't ever do that again.

أَدوسار يادي كَات. Don't ever hit me again.

K. وِر + verb + شا

This is one way of saying "nothing" or "not anything." Other ways that have the same meaning are listed under letters L, M, and N.

وِر تَشِيخ شا. I didn't eat anything.

وِر كَيْن شا. They (m.) didn't do anything.

When the order is reversed, that is, the phrase is وِر شا, this denotes emphasis, as if you are defending something. The general meaning is the same, but the tone is stronger. Also a ت (meaning "it" (m.)) is added. This "it" is a direct object that refers to the شا (meaning "something"). For example, a sentence would normally read "Something, I didn't say it." The "it," which comes after the verb normally, moves to in front of the verb because of the negation. See the following examples:

شا وِرْت نَيخ. I didn't say anything!

شا وِرْت إِتشي. He didn't eat anything!

شا وِرْت كِينت. They (f.) didn't do anything!

L. وِر + verb + أَوْد حاح

This is one way of saying "He did nothing" or "He didn't do anything." With a verb of movement it can mean "He went nowhere" or "He didn't go anywhere." Other ways that have the same meaning are listed under letters K, M, and N.

I didn't eat anything. ور تَشِيخْ أَوْد حاح.

They (m.) didn't do anything. ور كُيْنْ أَوْد حاح.

I didn't go anywhere. ور دِيخْ غَر أَوْد حاح.

By itself, the words حاح أَوْد mean "nothing," and at times they can mean "nowhere."

What's the matter (to f.s.)? Nothing. ماشَمْ ياغْنْ؟ أَوْد حاح.

Where are you (m.pl.) going? Nowhere. ماغَر تَدَامْ؟ أَوْد حاح.

The word أَوْد by itself means "also" or "too." The equivalent in Moroccan Arabic is حَتَّى . Thus, in positive statements it means "also" or "too," but in negative contexts it means "any" or "no," as in "anything/nothing," "anywhere/nowhere," and "anyone/no one."

nowhere, no place أَوْد شَانْ وَاْنَسَا

nowhere, no place أَوْد يُونْ وَاْنَسَا

nowhere, no place أَوْد يُونْ أَدْغَارْ

I didn't go any place. ور دِيخْ غَر أَوْد شَانْ وَاْنَسَا.

I went nowhere.

M. **ور + verb + أَوْد مَعْلَم**

This is one way of saying "He did nothing" or "He didn't do anything." Other ways that have the same meaning are listed under letters K, L, and N.

I didn't eat anything. ور تَشِيخْ أَوْد مَعْلَم.

They (m.) didn't do anything. ور كُيْنْ أَوْد مَعْلَم.

N. **ور + verb + وَالْو**

This is one way of saying "He did nothing" or "He didn't do anything." With a verb of movement it can mean "He went nowhere" or "He didn't go anywhere." Other ways that

have the same meaning are listed under letters K, L, and M. The use here of **والو** is from Arabic, although people do use it. For a more specific Tamazight use of the word **والو**, see letter Y.

I didn't eat anything.	ور تَشِيخِ وَالْو.
They (m.) didn't do anything.	ور كَيْنِ وَالْو.
I didn't go anywhere.	ور دِيخِ غَرِ وَالْو.

O. **ور + verb + أَوْد يُون / أَوْد يوت**

When these words refer to people, the meaning is "He didn't (verb) anyone." or "No one did something." The "anyone" or the "no one" is either masculine (يُون) or feminine (يوت).

They (m.) didn't see anyone (m.).	ور أَنَايْنِ أَوْد يُون.
They (f.) didn't speak about anyone (f.).	ور سِيوَلْنْتِ خَفِ أَوْد يوت.
None of them (m.) went to France.	أَوْد يُون دِيكْسَنِ وَر إِدِي غَرِ فَرَنْسَا.

When these words refer to things, the meaning is "He didn't (verb) anything." The "anything" is either a masculine object or a feminine object. The meaning is like "any one thing" or "any one (of the things)."

Did you eat the eggs?	إِس تَتَشِيدِ تِكْلَايِ؟
I didn't eat any one (of them (f.)).	ور تَشِيخِ أَوْد يوت.
I don't have any one (of them (m.)).	ور غوري أَوْد يُون.

P. **ور + verb + قَاح**

This is a way of saying "didn't do anything at all." The word **قَاح** by itself, without a negative, means "all," "any," and "entirely." With a negative it adds emphasis "at all," "nothing" (strong), or "never." It's like the Moroccan Arabic **كُاع**.

He doesn't come any more at all.	ور إِقِيمِ دَدِيْتَدَوِ قَاح.
----------------------------------	-------------------------------

Don't ever speak with him.
Don't speak with him at all.

قَاح أَدوراس سَوَال.

Q. وِر + verb + أَوَك

This is a way of saying "didn't do anything at all." It is similar to the previous construction with قَاح. The word أَوَك by itself, without a negative, means "all" and "any." With a negative it adds emphasis "at all," "nothing" (strong), or "not even." It's like the Moroccan Arabic كَاح.

We are choosing to write the word in this way: أَوَك "awk," although that is technically not correct. It is what English ears hear. However, the word is really just an "a" plus a rounded "k." Many phonetic systems write that like "ak". The "a" is said, and then the lips are rounded before the "k" is said. Although the word is then technically just "ak" or أَك, because of the rounded "k" English speakers tend to hear "awk." To not confuse people with just أَك, we will use أَوَك.

وِر تَشِيخ أَوَك أَسَا. I didn't eat at all today.

وِر تَشِيخ أَوَك أَوَد حَاح أَسَا. I didn't eat anything at all today.

I ate nothing at all today.

وِر نَسِيوَل أَوَك خَف أَينَا. We didn't speak at all about that.

وِر دِيْدِي قَاح. He didn't even come.

R. وِر + verb + غَاس

The word غَاس means "only," "just," "except," "nothing but," "unless," and in certain contexts "as soon as." With a negative the phrase means "to do only something," or "to do nothing but something." It's like the French meaning *ne...que*. The equivalent in Moroccan Arabic is غَيْر (with a very similar range of meaning, including "as soon as").

There are some regional variations to this word. Some regions say خَاس, and others shorten the words to خَس and غَس.

They (m.) drank only water.

وِر سَوِين غَاس أَمَان.

They (m.) didn't drink anything but water.

ور نَسْوَلْ غاس د مِدَّنْ غودانين. We spoke only with good people.
We didn't speak with anyone except good people.

S. **ولا + verb + ور**

This phrase means "to neither do something nor do something else" or "to neither do something nor something else." The word following the **ولا** can be either a verb or a noun. If it's a verb, its vowel is *not* affected by the negative word **ولا**.

ور تَتَشِي أَغْرُومَ وَلَا تَسْوَ أَتَاي. She didn't eat bread nor drink tea.
She neither ate bread nor drank tea.

ورْتِ أَنَايْخَ وَلَا يَاسَ سِوَلْخ. I didn't see him nor speak to him.
I neither saw him nor spoke to him.

أَدُورَ تَكَّا أَبْرِيْدَا وَلَا وَا. Don't take this road or that one.
Take neither this road nor that one.

T. **وار**

This word plus a noun in its non-dependent form refers to a noun meaning "a without something." An example in English would be "a homeless man." This is the form for a compound noun of privation, elaborated on in the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lesson 20, page 93. The forms vary by gender and number. Thus, the four options are:

وار (m.s.) إِد- وار (m.pl.)
تار (f.s.) إِد- تار (f.pl.)

a man without health

وار صَحْت

an anonymous woman, a woman without a name

تار إِسْم

an unlucky man

وار زَهْر

U. **وهو**

This means simply "no." A regional variation is **إِهِي**.

إِس تَسْنَد تَرِيْفِيْت؟ وَهُوَ. Do you know Rifi Berber? No.

إِكَّا "وهو" لَعَكْس ن "إِه." "No" is the opposite of "yes."

V. لا

This word by itself means simply "No." It is Arabic, but you will hear it used at times when the word وهو would have been appropriate and there is no discernable reason why the speaker used لا instead. Other words at times used for "no" are: لا لا and لا لا .

W. لا... ولا

This phrase means "neither something nor something else." Both parts are followed by a noun in its non-dependent form. If the noun starts with a vowel, a "y" sound must be inserted for pronunciation purposes between the *aliph* of the لا and the initial vowel of the following noun.

neither me nor you (m.s.).

لا نَكَيْنِ ولا شَكَيْنِ

neither this river nor that river

لا ياسيفا ولا ياسيفين

They (m.) ate neither meat nor bread. .ور تشين لا ياكسوم ولا ياغروم.

X. بلا

1. noun + بلا

This is a preposition from Arabic meaning "without." The noun that follows is in the non-dependent form. If the noun starts with a vowel, a "y" sound must be inserted for pronunciation purposes between the *aliph* of the بلا and the initial vowel of the following noun.

without water

بلا يامان

without a heart

بلا يول

2. pronoun + بلا

When بلا is used with pronouns, there are three main regional variations for how بلا combines with pronouns.. We will use the following:

	independent personal pronouns	+	بلا	
without us	بلا نُكْنِي			without me
without you (m.pl.)	بلا كُنِّي			without you (m.s.)
without you (f.pl.)	بلا كُنَّمْتِي			without you (f.s.)
without them (m.)	بلا نِتْنِي			without him (or it)
without them (f.)	بلا نِتْنْتِي			without her (or it)

Other regional variations include:

(without him/it)	بْلانَسْ	possessive pronoun endings	+	بلا
(without him/it)	بلايَاس	indirect object pronouns	+	بلا

3. verb + بلا

The structure for this is as follows. Many people, but not all, add a “y” sound to separate the two “a” sounds from the end of بلا and the beginning of أَد :

verb in two-verbs-together format + أَد + بلا
ياد

إزري داتاخ بلا ياداخ بيني أود أوال.

He went by us without even greeting us [lit: without saying to us even a word].

بلا أذييري، إسحرفي.

Without wanting to, he offended me.

Y. والو⁷

This word plus a noun in its non-dependent form (or pronouns and prepositional phrases) gives the distinctive Tamazight use of this word: "There isn't something." The equivalent in Moroccan Arabic is ماكايْنش . The meaning, depending on the context, can also be in the past tense: "There wasn't something." In Moroccan Arabic, ماكانش . If the following noun starts with a vowel, a "y" sound must be inserted for pronunciation purposes between the final *waw* of والو and the initial vowel of the following noun.

⁷ Some regions don't use this meaning.

There isn't a pump.	والو لبومئبا.
There isn't any bread.	والو ياغروم.
There isn't any money. <small>ماكايْنش فلوس</small>	والو إِذْرِيْمَن.
There's no electricity in it.	والو ديغْس ضو.
This well, there's no water in it.	أَنوِيا ، والو ديغْس أَمَان.
I went to the center of town last night.	دِيخْ غَر أَمَّاس ن تَمْدِينت
There was nobody there!	إِضَلِّي. والو أَوْد يُون!
(Mor. Arabic) <small>ماكان حَتَّى حَد.</small>	
There's nothing in it.	والو ديغْس.

The word **والو** combines with direct object pronouns to give the meaning "I'm not here, you're not here, he isn't here, etc." Depending on the context, the meaning can also be in the past: "I wasn't (here, there), you weren't (here, there), he wasn't (here, there), etc." Note the following chart:

والوياخ	والويي
والوكُن	والوش
والوكُنْت	والوشَم
والوتَن	والوت
والوتَنْت	والوتَّ

Is Lhou there? No, he's not.	إِس إِلا لحو؟ والوت.
(Mor. Arabic) <small>واش كايْن لحو؟ ماكايْنش.</small>	
They (m.) aren't here.	والوتَن.
(Mor. Arabic) <small>ماكايْنينش.</small>	
Tell him/her I'm not here.	إِنِياس والويي.
I called you (m.s.), but you weren't there.	كُيخاش تَلِفون وَايِنِّي والوش.
(Mor. Arabic) <small>ماكُنْتيش.</small>	
I feared that there would be no one (m.).	كُذَخْ أَد والو أَوْد يُون.

Past Continuous

1. This is the tense in English like "I was working" or "I was going" or "I was eating."
2. The form in Tamazight is:

the verb in the present continuous tense + the conjugated auxiliary verb **إِلِي**

3. The conjugation of the auxiliary verb is as follows:

Plural		Singular	
nella	نَلَّا	lli	لِيخ
tellam	تَلَّام	tellid	تَلِيد
tallamt	تَلَّامْت	tellid	تَلِيد
llan	لَّان	illa	إِلَّا
llant	لَّانْت	tella	تَلَّا

4. Some examples follow:

لِيخ دَخْدَمَخ¹ كْ وورتي أَلِيك² سَلِيخ إغويان.

I was working in the garden when I heard screams.

إِلَّا دَيْتَتْشَا أَكْسوم أَلِيكْ إِنَّاسْ شَان يُون "وين أَلْغَم³ أَيَا."

He was eating the meat when someone told him, "That's from a camel."

لَّان دَسَّان أَمَان أَلِيكْ إِنَّا بو تَدَّارْت "هان لَكوكا."

They were drinking water when the head of the house said, "Here's the Coke."

مَاكَّلَّا دَيْتَتْكَا أَلِيكْت تَانَايد؟

What was he doing when you (s.) saw him?

وفِيخْتِين إِلَّا دَيْقَار.

I found him (there) reading. [lit: I found him (there) he was reading.]

مَاي تَلِيد دَتَّكَاد؟

What were you (s.) doing?

¹ The tense indicators used can vary by region. Others used here, besides د , include ل and ر .

² Many regions pronounce this as أَلِيي "alliy" instead of "allig." They are the same. See Taifi's dictionary, page 372, under "LG," and page 361, under "L. "

³ The غ is said with rounded lips, so the word sounds like أَلْغَم .

ماخ أَلَيْكَ دَتَكَّادَ أَيِّنَا؟
Why were you (s.) doing that?

5. But note that with certain verbs that have a present meaning in the past form, the past form is used for the main verb rather than the continuous form. Knowing what those verbs are comes by practice and usage. Some examples follow:

لَيِّخْ كُنَيْخِ أَلَيْكَ إِكْشَمَ أُخَوَّانِ.
I was sleeping when a thief entered.
إِلَّا إِنْسَا لِقَمِيحَا تَوَجَّدِيَتْ أَلَيْكَ إِتَوْتِي كُ وَالْوَضِ.
He was wearing a new shirt when he fell in the mud.
لَيِّخْ بَدِيخِ تَمَّا ن تَدَارَتْ أَلَيْكَ تَتَوْتِي.
I was standing next to the house when it fell down.
لَيِّخْ قِيمِيخِ عَرَّ فَلَانِ أَلَيْكَ سَلِيخِ إِنْغَمِيْسَنِ.
I was staying at so and so's place when I heard the news.
تَلَّا تَزْدَغْ كُ تَوْنَفِيَتْ أَلَيْكَ إِوَّتْ زَنْزَالِ.
She was living in Tounfit when the earthquake struck.

Note the following distinction for the verb دَو :

لَيِّخْ دِيخِ عَرَّ فَاْسِ أَلَيْكَ أَنْايِخِ يَوْتِ ن لَكْسِيْدَا.
I was going to Fez when I saw an accident.
This is like in Moroccan Arabic: ... كُنْتُ غَادِي ...
لَيِّخْ دَتْدَوْخِ عَرَّ فَاْسِ أَلَيْكَ جَمْعَخِ دِيْدَسِ.
I was going to Fes [regularly in the past, that is, many times] when I met him.
This is like in Moroccan Arabic: ... كُنْتُ كَنْمَشِي ...

6. The above way of doing the past continuous concerns sentences with two parts: I was doing something when something else happened. But there is another way to do the past continuous when you want to say just "I was working." or "I was eating." These types of sentences are formed as follows:

the present continuous tense without the tense indicator دَل + أَل

Some regions use أَر instead of أَل .

7. Some examples follow:

He was drinking. أَلَيْسَا. I was working. أَلْخَدَمَخ.

They were drinking. أَلْسَانَ. He was eating. أَلَيْتَتَشَا.

They walked a long time. = They were walking and walking. أَلْتَدُونَ ، أَلْتَدُونَ.

8. The conjugation pattern for *I, you, he, etc. was drinking*:

(alnessa)	أَلْنَسَا	(alssah)	أَلْسَاخ
(altessam)	أَلْتَسَام	(altessad)	أَلْتَسَاد
(altessamt)	أَلْتَسَامَت	(altessad)	أَلْتَسَاد
(alssan)	أَلْسَانَ	(alissa)	أَلَيْسَا
(alssant)	أَلْسَانَت	(altessa)	أَلْتَسَا

9. In some contexts the above formation means “to start doing something” “*se mettre à faire quelque chose*.”⁴ The idea has a continuous past element: began doing something and continued doing it (for some period of time).

أَلَيْتَرُو أَلْيَغَاس⁵ عَايَدَنْت وَالنَّس تَزْكَاغِين.

He began crying until his eyes turned red (to him).

أَلْتَازَلَا أَلْيَكُ تَتَوْتِي.

She started running until she fell.

جَمَعَنَ أَيْتَ إِغْرَمَ أَلْتَمَشَاوَارَن.

The villagers got together and began discussing/consulting.

⁴ See Taifi's dictionary, page 555, under “R.”

⁵ Depending on the context, the word أَلْيَكُ can mean “when” or it can mean “until” (followed by a verb).

See Taifi's dictionary, page 361, col. 2, under “L.” In all its meanings, it causes pronouns, etc., to move. However, not everyone does that with this word, so it is optional.

Conditionals

1. Real, Possible Conditionals

A. The word used for "if" in these types of conditionals is **مَش**. (Some regional variations include **مَك**, **مَشْد**, **مَخ**, and **مَج** (in front of a **د**), and **خَم**.) As in Moroccan Arabic, the verb form that follows the word "if" is the past form, even though the meaning is present or future. Thus, the "if" clause is formed like this:

verb in the past form + **مَش**

B. The "result" clause can have an imperative, as in "If you see him, tell me."

مَش تَنَايِد عَلِي، سَلِّم غَيْفَس.

If you see Ali, greet him.

مَش تَرِيد أَكْسُوم، دَو غَر أَكْزَار.

If you want meat, go to the butcher's.

C. The "result" clause can also have the future tense, as in "If he sees him, he will tell me."

مَش وَفِيخ إِدْرِيْمَن، أَدْسَع¹ طَّوْمُوْبِيْل.

If I find money, I will buy a car.

مَش أَنَايْخ عَلِي، أَدْسَلْمَخ غَيْفَس.

If I see Ali, I will greet him.

مَش زُرِيْخ، أَدَدُوْخ.

If I know, I will go.

D. The "if" clause can come first, as in the above examples, or the "result" clause can come first, as in the following examples.

إِنْيَاْسْتِ إِ عَلِي مَش إِرَا أَتْ يِيْسِيْن.

Tell it (m.) to Ali if he wants to know (it).

أَدْسَع¹ طَّوْمُوْبِيْل مَش وَفِيخ إِدْرِيْمَن.

I will buy a car if I find money.

¹ Different regions deal differently when adding the first person singular ending **خ** to a verb ending in **غ**. In this way here, the **خ** assimilates into the **غ** to form **غَغ**. Others make the final sound a **ق** or a **خ**. Others pronounce both sounds: **غَخ**.

E. The word مَش causes pronouns, direction particles, etc. to move in front of the verb.

أَدِيْسَلَمَّ خَفَ عَلِي مَشْت يَانَايْ.

He will greet Ali if he sees him.

بَلَّغَاس سَلَامَ إِ عَلِي مَشَاش إِكَا تَلِفُون.

Pass greetings to Ali if he phones you (m.s.).

أَرْوِيَا إِ كَتُو مَش وَرَام تَكِّي تَلِفُون.

Write to Kettou if she doesn't phone you (f.s.).

F. The word مَش can be used with the present continuous tense if there is a continuous or habitual meaning.

مَش دَيِّي تَيِّنِي شَا، دَ إِسَّ تَكَّاخ.

If she tells me something, I put it into practice.

دَاس أَكَّاخ إِ مَمِّي لَحَلُّوَا مَش دَيِّي إِتَكَّا س رَّايْ.

I give my son candy if he obeys me.

G. This type of phrase can be used with an independent pronoun: “If it is me,” “if it is him,” etc. In this case, the predicative د is used, that is, the د that means “he/she/it is” or “they are.”

مَش د نَكَّ، أَدَاسِيخ تَنَبَاط.

If it's me, I'll take the responsibility.

مَش د أَسَرْدُون أَيَّ تَرِيد، مَاخ أَلَيْكَ تَسْغِيدَ أَغْيُول؟

If it's a mule that you want, why did you buy a donkey?

H. When the word غَاس is used with مَش, the meaning is different depending on whether the غَاس comes before or after the مَش.

i. Before: “unless,” “*sauf si*,” “*que si*,” “perhaps,” “*peut-être que*”

غَاس مَش إِمَّوت.

Unless he died.

Perhaps he died.

لَابُدَّا أَدَّيْعَايْدَ غَاس مَش إِمَّوت.

He must come back, unless he died.

وَر سَوَالِخ² غَاس مَشِي تَنَّيْد.

I won't speak unless you (s.) tell me to [lit: unless you say to me].

² This form of the future will be studied in lesson 28: the present continuous tense without the tense indicator.

مور تَسْن ، إِلِي تَدَاد.

If she had known, she would have come.

مور كَيْخ شَكَّين ، إِلِي شِيخاس إِذْرِيْمَن.

If I had been you, I would have given him money.

مور وَفِيخ ، إِلِي دِيخ أَسَّا.

If I had been able, I would have gone today.

[lit: If I had found (that is, had found the ability), I....]⁴

D. The word مور (and all the regional variations) affects the following verb's vowel just like a negative affects the past form of the verb. It is thought that the word مور may come from "m" plus the negative "ur." In any case, although the meaning is affirmative, grammatically the word acts as a negative.

مور إِلِي دَا ، أَذْييسين مَائِي تَنَيْد.

If he were here, he would know what you (s.) said.

مور إِكِّي ، إِلِي تَانَايْت.

If he had passed by, you would have seen him.

E. The "if" clause can come first, as in the above examples, or the "result" clause can come first, as in the following examples. However, with past conditional sentences, the إِلِي is dropped and cannot be used to start the sentence.

أَدَكْخ لَفِيْشَطَا مور رِيْحَخ كْ لَوَطُو.

I would give a party if I won the lotto.

سَنَغِيخ طَوْمُوْبِيْل مور وَفِيخ إِذْرِيْمَن.

I would have bought a car if I had found money.

F. The word مور causes pronouns, direction particles, etc. to move to in front of the verb. However, the word إِلِي does not have this affect.

موراش كَيْخ تَلِيْفُون ، أَداس تَكْغِيْد تَلِيْفُون.

If I phoned you (m.s.), you would phone her/him.

موراش كَيْخ تَلِيْفُون ، إِلِي تَكْغِيْداس تَلِيْفُون.

If I had phoned you (m.s.), you would have phoned her.

مورْتَن إِعَاوَن ، إِلِي فَرْحَن.

If he had helped them, they (m.) would have been happy.

⁴ This sentence seems to be missing a direct object from an English point of view, but it communicates very clearly the idea of ability or means in Tamazight.

مور ديدّي، إلی نعاونت.

If he had come, we would have helped him.

G. If the “if” clause has a negative meaning, the conditional word is not مور but rather موريد or موريدّ.

موريد ور إبنی تدارتنس تما ن واسيف، اتّسول ألتو دين.

If he hadn't built his house near the river, it would still be there.

موريد ور يوتّ بسو بو تحانوت، إلی ورت وميّر.

If Bassou hadn't hit the storeowner, they (m.) wouldn't have arrested him.

H. This type of phrase is often used with an independent pronoun: “If it were you,” “if it were me,” “if it had been you,” “if it had been me,” etc. In this case, the predicative د is used, that is, the د that means “he/she/it is” or “they are.” The negative form of the predicative د is وريد or وريدّ as in وريد نكّين “It's not me.” Thus, in the case of unreal conditionals, the word used is موريد or موريدّ.

موريد نكّين، أداس إنيخ إ أبوليسي " لافوط وريد تينو."

If it were me, I would say to the policeman, “It wasn't my fault [lit: the fault wasn't mine].”

موريد نكّين، إلی نيخاس إ أبوليسي " لافوط وريد تينو."

If it had been me, I would have said to the policeman, “It wasn't my fault [lit: the fault wasn't mine].”

I. For reference only

This section lists many of the different variations for unreal past conditionals. You should learn only one way and concentrate on using that. The construction is complicated enough without adding all sorts of variations. However, what way you choose may depend on the people you spend the most time with. Some of them may use one of the following. Thus, what follows is for reference only, in case you run into these ways of speaking. By no means are the following ways exhaustive.

In the following examples both the words introducing the “if” clause and the “result” clause vary, since each region has its slightly different way of doing things. The focus will be on the word used for the “result” clause. Some regions may use more than one method.

- i. **إِس** is used in the “result” clause (Ayt ‘Atta, Ayt Merghad).

مَر وَفِيغِ إِذْرِيْمَن، إِس سَنغِيغِ طَوْمُوْبِيْل.
If I had found money, I would have bought a car.

- ii. **ثَالِي** is used in “result” clause (Ayt Ndhir).

أَمَّر تَلِّي غُورِي لَنفِيْسَا، ثَالِي سَاْفَرَخِ غَر سَبَانِيَا.
If I had had a visa, I would have travelled to Spain.

- iii. The conjugated past form of **إِلِي** is used in the “result” clause.

مَر سَنَخِ إِدَّ إِسْتِ تَرِيْد، لِيخِ إِوِيخَاشْتِيْد.
If I had known that you (m.s.) needed it (m.), I would have brought it to you.
مُورِيْدَ شَكُّ أَيِّ إِسِّ إِنَّاغْنِ، تَلِيْدِ تَرِيْت.
If it had been you (m.s.) who fought with him, you would have beat him.

- iv. **وَمَا**⁵ is used in the “result” clause.

مُونْدِ إِزْ دَتَدِيْت، وَمَا نَدَا غَلَّ⁶ إِسْلَانِ.
If you (s.) had come, we would have gone to the wedding party [lit: to the bride and groom’s, *chez les mariés*].

- v. Sometimes nothing is used for the “result” clause (Ayt Ndhir).

مَرَّتْ يُوْفِي، ___ إِنَّاغَاتِ.
If he had found him, he would have killed him.

- vi. **لَا** is used in the “result” clause (Ayt Seghroushen).

مَر كُيخِ لُوْزِيْر، لَا بَنِيخِ يُوْن لَقْصَرِ.
If I had been a minister, I would have built a palace.

- vii. **أَر** is used in the “result” clause.

مَر تَقِيْمِيْد، أَرْتَانَايْدِ عَسُو.
If you (s.) had stayed, you would have seen Assou.

⁵ Some pronounce this word with a *shedda*: وَمَا.

⁶ This dialect use غَلَّ for غَر .

J. When the word **غاس** is used with **مور**, the meaning is different depending on whether the **غاس** comes before or after the **مور**.

i. Before: “If only,” “*si...au moins*,” “Let’s hope,” “*pourvu que*”

غاس مور إموت!
If only he would die!
Let’s hope that he dies.
غاس مور ذيوؤض زيڪ!
If only he had arrived earlier!

Note the two different tenses: a present unreal conditional in the first and a past unreal conditional in the second.

ii. After: “If there had just been,” “*si ce n’était que*”

موريد غاس يون، ليخ ريخت.
If there had just been one, I would have beat him.

K. Another type of past unreal conditional uses the word **وما**⁷ “otherwise,” “*sinon*.” There is no “if” clause, just a statement of fact.

ور تليد دا، وما نمون غر تمغرا.
You (s.) weren’t here, otherwise we would have gone together to the wedding.
ور ديدي، وما نيخاشت.
He didn’t come, otherwise I would have told (it) to you (m.s.).

L. The conditional exclamation: “If only ...,” as in “If only I had money!” or “If only I were healthy!”

This type of phrase uses a set expression. This expression always stays the same, no matter what the subject of the sentence. That expression is:

أ واگوفان
a waggufan

This comes from **يوفان** + **واي** + **أ** (lit: Oh! He who finds).⁸ Some regions insert a **د** to keep the two **ي**’s from coming together, and they say **وايد يوفان**.

⁷ Or **وما**, without a *shedda*.

⁸ See in Taifi’s dictionary where this phrase is mentioned : page 3, column 2, under “—way/wayd;” and page 99, column 1 to column 2, under “F.”

i. noun + واكّوفان

If only I had money! اَ واكّوفان إِذْرِيْمَن !

If only I had health! اَ واكّوفان صَحَّت !

If only I had heaven!
(that is, If only I could go to heaven!) اَ واكّوفان لَجَنَّت !

If only I had silence! اَ واكّوفان إِفْسَتِي !

اَ واكّوفان شَا ن لَخْدَمَت ، اَوَك مَتَا نَتَات !
If only I could find/have work, whatever it is!

This construction applies only to the first person, that is, the meaning is always “I,” always referring to the speaker, even though literally the expression is in the third person. You can’t use this construction to say “If only he/she/you/they had money!” However, when said in a group of people who share the same need or desire, the phrase could be understood to include everyone present and thus mean “we.”

An exact equivalent uses the expression اَ يامَر وِفِيخ :

If only I had/found money! اَ يامَر وِفِيخ إِذْرِيْمَن !

ii. verb + واكّوفان

The structure to say this type of wish or conditional phrase is:

verb conjugated in the + اَد + (غاس⁹) + اَ واكّوفان
two-verbs-together format (optional)

Although it may seem strange to English speakers, this phrase, including the second verb, is said in the third person, but it refers to the first person, “I.” Unless another subject is specifically mentioned, everyone understands the third person to refer to the speaker.

If only I could escape/run away! اَ واكّوفان غاس اَدِيْرَوَل !

If only I could find something to live on! اَ واكّوفان غاس ماس إِتْعِيْش.

⁹ Some regions say خاس , and others say غير .

اَ وَانْكَوْفَانِ غَاسِ اَدِيْرَبِحْ كُفْ لَوَطُو! If only I won the lottery!

The third person can even continue into the response to someone's wish:

اَ وَانْكَوْفَانِ غَاسِ اَدِيْدُو غَرَ شَانِ تَمَازِيْرْتِ!
اِوَا مَشْ وِرْ يُوْفِي، اِقْلَبْ اَرْدْ يَافِ.

If only I could go to another country!

[lit: If only I could find (the means, how) to go to another country!

In other words, I haven't found the means.]

Well, if you haven't found how, (you just have to) look until you find.

[lit: If you haven't found (the means, how), may you look until you find.]

When the subject is explicit, the expression can refer to someone else. However, it still remains the speaker's wish:

اَ وَانْكَوْفَانِ غَاسِ اَدِيْدِيْر مَمِّي! If only my son would live!

اَ وَانْكَوْفَانِ غَاسِ اَدِيَاغُوْلِ اُرِيَازِيْنُو! If only my husband would come back!

An exact equivalent uses the expression اَ يَاْمَرِ وِفِيْحِ:

اَ يَاْمَرِ وِفِيْحِ غَاسِ اَدِيْرُوْلِ! If only I could escape/run away!

[lit: If only I could find how to...
the means to...]

iii. The sentence can also have a result clause. Just like with مور (above, in part B), the "result" clause begins with اَدْ , and the following verb is in its future form, although in English we would translate the phrase not "I will do something" but "I would do something."

اَ وَانْكَوْفَانِ اَدِيْرُوْلِ، اَدِيْسَافَرِ غَرَ فَرَنْسَا!

If I could escape/run away, I would travel to France!

اَ وَانْكَوْفَانِ غَاسِ اَدِيَانَايْ اِمَّا، اَدِيْمَتِ كُفْ لَمَانِ!

If only I could see my mother, I would die in peace!

اَ وَانْكَوْفَانِ غَاسِ اَدِيْدِيْرِ مَمِّي، اَتْرَلَاخِ كُو يَاسِ!

If only my son would live, I would pray every day!

(Note that in the above sentence the verb "to pray" is in its continuous form after اَدْ . This is because the action is continual and repeated. Note also that the last verb uses explicitly the first person conjugation, because to leave it in the third person would be confusing here.)

أَ وَكُوفَانَ إِذْ رِيْمَنَ، أَدِيْسَعِ رُوْلَزِ رُوِيْسِ !
If only I had money, I would buy a Rolls Royce!

M. Other wish exclamations like part L

The exact same type of format as part L can be used with any verb to form a wish like “If (only) I” The structure is as follows:

verb in the “past” participle form + وَايَ + أَ

The reason the participle is used is that the original structure is أَ + وَآيَ + أَ “Oh this one that....” Whenever the relative pronoun أَيَ is the subject of the following verb, that verb takes its participle form.

If (only) I knew where my love was! أَ وَكُوسِّنَ مَانِيكَ إِلَّا أُسْمُونِ !

If (only) I knew how to read and write! أَ وَكُوسِّنَ أَدِيْغَرَ يَارُو !

If (only) I knew that this would happen! أَ وَكُوسِّنَ إِدْ أَدِيْجُرُو أَيَا !

If (only) I were the director! أَ وَكُوسِّنَ لِمُدِّيْر !

If (only) I drank poison, I'd be happy! أَ وَكُوسِّنَ سَمِّ أَدِيْهِنَا !
[Said by a husband with a bad home situation.]

أَ وَكُوسِّنَ غَرَ فَرَنْسَا، أَدِيْسَمُونِ لَفْلُوْسِ بَزَافِ !
If (only) I went to France, I would amass a lot of money!

Participles

There are 4 kinds of participles in Tamazight: **the past participle, the present participle, the habitual participle, and the future participle.** Laoust says this of the participle: “It is difficult to give a definition of the Tamazight participle. It has nothing in common with the French or Arabic participle. We can say that it is the special form that the verb takes when it has as a subject an interrogative pronoun or a relative pronoun, either expressed or understood.”¹ We will see examples of these grammatical contexts below. We will save the future participle for lesson 28 and do just the first three types below.

I. Three types of participles

A. The Past Participle²

1. The past participle is "past" because it is based on the past tense form of the verb. However, as we have seen, some verbs in the past tense form also have a present meaning. Thus, the "past" participle can also have a present meaning.

2. How to form the past participle:

The past participle has a singular and plural form (although some regions use only the singular form and never the plural form), but these forms do not vary with gender.

a. The singular past participle is formed as follows:

The third masculine singular past verb form plus “n” or “en”

Singular participle form “en” or “n” + 3 rd masc. sing.	The verb	
إِزْوَان	It's dry.	إِزْوَا
إِغُودَان	It's good.	إِغُودَا
إِمَسَّوَسْن	It's tasteless.	إِمَسَّوَسْ
إِزُّيْلَان ³	It's good.	إِزُّيْلَا

¹ E. Laoust, *Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central*, 1939, p. 69, (translation from French mine).

² The past participle was introduced in the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lessons 15 and 16, pages 69 and 74.

³ Some regions assimilate the ن into the ل and say إِزُّيْلَا.

- b. The plural past participle is formed as follows:

The third masculine plural past verb form plus “in”

Plural participle form “in” + 3 rd masc. pl.	The verb	
زوانين	They're dry.	زوان
غودانين	They're good.	غودان
مَسَّوسَنِين	They're tasteless.	مَسَّوسَن
زِيلَنِين ⁴	They're good.	زِيلَن

3. The past participle is used in the following 3 situations:

a. When the subject of the verb is an interrogative pronoun, that is, a question word. In this case the verb used is the singular participle form, since the words “who” and “what” are singular. When the interrogative pronoun مَآيْ (may) encounters the إِ (i) of the third masculine singular form, the result is ... مَاكَّ (magge...)⁵

What happened?	مَاكَّجَرَان؟
Who bought the house?	مَاكَّسَغَان تَدَّارْت؟
What is "kilma" in Tamazight?	مَاكَّان "كَلْمَة" س تَمَازِيغْت؟
Who died?	مَاكَّمَوْتَن؟
What is there in his/her hand?	مَاكَّلَان كْ أَفُوسَنَس؟

b. When the verb follows a relative pronoun and the relative pronoun is the subject of the verb. The relative pronouns are نَا (nna) and أَيَّ (ay). Although the singular form can be used in all cases, some regions use the plural when the noun being referred to is plural. When the relative pronoun أَيَّ (ay) encounters the إِ (i) of the third masculine singular form, the result is ... أَكَّ (agge...)⁶

⁴ Some regions assimilate the ن into the ل and say زِيلَنِين.

⁵ Some dialects, in order to avoid the doubled “g” sound, insert a “d” sound between the question word and the third masculine singular form. Thus, for example, they would say مَايْد إِجْرَان؟ instead of مَاكَّجَرَان؟.

⁶ Some dialects, in order to avoid the doubled “g” sound, insert a “d” sound between the relative pronoun and the third masculine singular form. Thus, for example, they would say أَيْد إِسْوَان instead of أَكَّسْوَان.

Examples with نَا :

He saw the man who sold the squash. يَانَايْ أَرِيَا ز نَا إِزَنَزَان تَغَصَيْتْ.

Where is the girl who gave us money? مَانِي تَرَبَاتْ نَايَاخ إِشَان إِذْرِيْمَن؟

last week [the week which passed] سَيْمَانَا نَا إِزْرِيْن

إِنَاَتْ كَفْ يُوْتْ ن تَنْضَلَتْ نَا إِتْوَعَزَان كَفْ يُوْتْ ن أَقْشَمِيْر.

He put him in a tomb that was dug out of a rock.

(Notice the passive participle, since the verb is in the passive: “was dug.”)

Examples with أَيَّ :

تَمَطَّوْطَا أَكَّوْتَن [أَيَّ + يُوْتَن] مَمِّي.

(It's) this woman who hit my son.

وَرِيْد نَكِّيْن أَكَّسُوَان [أَيَّ + إِسُوَان] لَكُوَا.

It's not me who drank the Coke.

أَعْرُوْم أَكَّلَان كَفْ أَفُوْسَنَسْ.

(It's) bread that is in his hand.

وَرِيْد نَكْنِي أَكَّرَان أَتَّوْ.

It's not us who want to go.

c. Certain adjectives that follow the noun they describe take the participle form. See lessons 15 and 16 on adjectives in the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, pages 69 and 74. In this case, if the noun is singular, the participle is singular. If the noun is plural, the participle is plural (although some regions don't ever use the plural participle). Gender, however, doesn't affect the participle.

hot bread إِحْمَا أَغْرُوْم إِحْمَان The bread is hot.

hot soup تَحْرِيْرَتْ إِحْمَان The soup is hot.

cooked meat إِنْوَا أَكَّسُوْم إِنْوَان The meat is cooked.

boiling water نُوَان وَامَان The water is boiling.

long days غَزِيْفَن وَوَسَان The days are long.

expensive houses غَلَانَتْ تَدْرُوِيْن غَلَانِيْن The houses are expensive.

(In reality these adjectives are really cases where the relative pronoun **نَا** is not expressed but is understood. **أَغْرُومَ إِحْمَانَ** “hot bread” is really **بِخُبْزٍ نَا إِحْمَانَ** “bread which is hot,” but the **نَا** is not expressed. Part iii, then, is just a special form of part ii.)

4. The past participle also has a negative form. The word **وَر** is put in front of the participle. If the verb is one which has a vowel change in the past negative form, then that vowel change also applies to the participle. If verb's past negative form doesn't undergo a vowel change, then neither does the past participle.

أَغْرُومَ وَرَ إِحْمِينَ the not-hot bread	وَرِ إِحْمِي أَغْرُومَ. The bread is not hot.
تَحْرِيرَتَ وَرَ إِحْمِينَ the not-hot soup	وَرِ تَحْمِي تَحْرِيرَتَ The soup is not hot.
أَكْسُومَ وَرَ إِنْوِينَ the uncooked meat	وَرِ إِنْوِي أَكْسُومَ. The meat isn't cooked.
أَمَانَ وَرَ نَوِينِ the not-boiling water	وَرِ نَوِينِ وَأَمَانَ. The water isn't boiling.
لِحَالِ وَرَ إِغُودَانَ the not-good atmosphere	وَرِ إِغُودَا لِحَالِ. The atmosphere isn't good.

B. The Present Participle

1. The present participle functions like the present continuous tense in English: "is telling," "is selling," "are doing," etc. The present participle is based on the present continuous tense.

2. How to form the present participle:

The present participle has a singular form and a plural form, although neither form varies with gender. However, since many people use just the singular form, that is what we will do below.

The participle is formed by adding an **نَ** (n) on to the third masculine singular form of the present continuous tense (without the tense indicator **دَ** (da)).⁷

telling/is telling **إِتِينِ** he is telling **دَيْتِينِي**

⁷ The plural form, for those who use it, is formed by adding a **يْنِ** (in) on to the third masculine plural form of the present continuous tense (without the tense indicator).

doing/is doing	إِتَّكَانَ	he is doing	دَيْتَكَا
running/is running	إِرَّكَّلَنَ	he is running	دَيْرَكَّل
laughing/is laughing	إِطَّصَّانَ	he is laughing	دَيْطَصَّا
fighting/is fighting	إِتَّنَاغَنَ	he is fighting	دَيْتْنَاغ

3. The present participle is used in the same grammatical situations as the past participle: when the subject of the verb is a question word, and when the subject of the verb is a relative pronoun نَا (nna) or أَيَّ (ay). (The situation of the adjective doesn't apply here, since it is like the situation of the relative pronoun when the relative pronoun is left unsaid. See below for some examples.) The singular participle is acceptable in all situations, although some regions will use the plural when the noun being referred to is plural. The relative pronoun نَا (nna) is optional and can be left out.

Examples with question words:

ماكْتَسَوَالَن؟
Who is speaking?
ماكْتَتَّشَان أَكْسُوم ن وَا؟
Who is eating grilled meat?

Examples with relative pronouns:

ماني آرِيَاز نَا إِسْوَالَن س تَفْرَنْسِيست؟
Where is the man who is speaking French?
ماني آرِيَاز إِسْوَالَن س تَفْرَنْسِيست؟
Where is the man speaking French?
ماني تَمَطَّوطَّ (نَا) إِتْبَيْنَ أَزَّالِيم؟
Where is the woman (who is) cutting the onions?
ماني تَوْتَمِين (نَا) إِتْبَيْنَ [تَبَّيْنين : or could be] أَزَّالِيم؟
Where are the women (who are) cutting the onions?

نِيتْنِي أَكْتَسَوَالَن س تَعْرَبْت.
(It's) they (m.) who are speaking Arabic.
وَرِيد نِيتْنِي أَكْتَتَّكَانَ أَتَائِي.
It's not they (f.) who are making tea.
إِمَّا أَكْتَتْبَيْنَ أَزَّالِيم كَفْ لِكُوزِينَا.
(It's) my mother who is cutting onions in the kitchen.

C. The Habitual Participle

1. The habitual participle functions like the above present participle except that the meaning is a habitual, regular, repeated activity instead of an on-going present activity.
2. How to form the habitual participle:

The habitual participle is formed just like the present participle except that the tense indicator دَ (da) is included. The habitual participle has a singular form and a plural form, although neither form varies with gender. However, since many people use just the singular form, that is what we will do below.

The participle is formed by adding an نَ (n) on to the third masculine singular form of the present continuous tense **with** the tense indicator دَ (da).

(who) tells	دَيْتَيِّنِين	he is telling/he tells	دَيْتَيِّنِي
(who) does	دَيْتَيِّنَان	he is doing/he does	دَيْتَيِّنَا
(who) runs	دَيِّرَكَّلِين	he is running/he runs	دَيِّرَكَّلِي
(who) laughs	دَيَطَّصَّان	he is laughing/he laughs	دَيَطَّصَّا
(who) fights	دَيْتَيِّنَاغْن	he is fighting/he fights	دَيْتَيِّنَاغ

3. The habitual participle is used in the same grammatical contexts as the present participle.
4. Note the following difference between the "presently occurring" meaning and the "habitual" meaning after question words, the relative pronoun نَا , and the relative pronoun أَي . In the "habitual" meaning, the tense indicator is added again to the present participle. Note that the participle still does not vary with gender.⁸

Examples with question words:

مَاغَّقَّارَن؟

Who is calling?

مَائِي دَيِّنَقَّارَن كُو يَاسَّ؟

Who calls every day?

مَائِي إِتْسَدَّاعِن؟⁹

Who is bothering me?

مَائِي دَيِّي إِتْسَدَّاعِن كُو صَّبَّاح؟

Who bothers me every morning?

⁸ And only varies with number in regions which use the plural form.

⁹ Even though the Arabic origin of the word uses a ص , certain regions clearly pronounce the word with a س , and this is how Taifi lists the word. However, other regions use a ص . Thus, both ways are correct.

Examples with نَا :

ماني تَمَطَّوْطَّ (نَا) إِتَيْنِين لَقِيسَات؟

Where is the woman (who is) telling stories? [currently happening now]

ماني تَمَطَّوْطَّ (نَا) دَيْتَيْنِين لَقِيسَات؟

Where is the woman (who) tells stories? [regular, habitual action]

ماني أَرِيَاز (نَا) إِزْنَزَان إِشْضِيفَن؟

Where is the man (who is) selling the carpets?

ماني أَرِيَاز (نَا) دَيْرْنَزَان إِشْضِيفَن؟

Where is the man (who) sells the carpets?

مَاكَّلَان (نَا) إِسْوَالْن س تَمَازِيغْت كُ لَكُوْزِينَا؟

Who is here (who is) speaking Tamazight in the kitchen?

مَاكَّلَان (نَا) دَيْسْوَالْن س تَمَازِيغْت؟

Who is here (who) speaks Tamazight?

Note that in everyday speech many people do not distinguish between the present and habitual participle. Thus, the present participle (the one without the tense indicator) can mean a currently happening action or a regular, habitual action. Context clues are what determine the meaning. Usually, however, the habitual participle (the one with the tense indicator) refers just to regular, habitual action.

Examples with أَي :

عَتِّيشْ أَكَّسْوَالْن س تَمَازِيغْت كُ لَكُوْزِينَا.

(It's) your (m.s.) (paternal) aunt who is speaking Tamazight in the kitchen.

عَمِّيمْ أَ [The يْ drops out.] دَيْسْوَالْن س تَمَازِيغْت.

(It's) your (f.s.) (paternal) uncle who speaks Tamazight.

إِدْ كَتَّوْ أَ [The يْ drops out.] غِيفِي إِطَّصَّان.

Is it Kettou who is laughing at me?

إِدْ كَتَّوْ أَ [The يْ drops out.] دَ غِيفِي إِطَّصَّان.

Is it Kettou who laughs at me?

Note in the last three sentences that the يْ in أَيْ drops out before the tense indicator دَ and before a preposition.

II. Different nuances of meaning expressed by participles

Different shades of meaning can be communicated by different participles. Although sometimes these can appear subtle, they are important to communicating exact meaning. It is best to learn the shades of meaning from examples.

مَتَا نَتَّا طَّاكْسِي (نَّا) دَيْتَدُونِ غَر فاس؟
Which is the taxi that goes to Fez (habitually)?

مَتَا نَتَّا طَّاكْسِي (نَّا) إِتَدُونِ غَر فاس؟
Which is the taxi that goes to Fez (habitually)? or
Which is the taxi that is going to Fez (soon or now, but it hasn't left yet)?

مَتَا نَتَّا طَّاكْسِي نَّا إِدَانِ غَر فاس؟
Which is the taxi that has gone to Fez? or
Which is the taxi that is going to Fez (and has already left. It's in the middle of going.)?

Useful expressions using participles:

I // We don't care/mind.	maḡ igan. mayi igan.	ماخِ إِڠَان. مایِیِ إِڠَان.
You (m.s.) // You (m.pl.) don't care/mind.	makun igan. maš igan.	ماکُنِ إِڠَان. ماشِ إِڠَان.
You (f.s.) // You (f.pl.) don't care/mind.	makunt igan. mašem igan.	ماکُنْتِ إِڠَان. ماشَمِ إِڠَان.
He // They (m.) do(es)n't care/mind.	mayten igan. mayt igan.	مایْتَنِ إِڠَان. مایْتِ إِڠَان.
She// They (f.) do(es)n't care/mind.	maytent igan. maytt igan.	مایْتَنْتِ إِڠَان. مایْتِ إِڠَان.

Two different types of sample sentences:

A. In the first group the full sentences are formed by using the two-verbs-together format:

_____ آدَ + إِڠَان + direct object + مایِ | ما
(past participle) pronouns

Do you (m.s.) mind going to the market? ماشِ إِڠَانِ أَتَدَّوْدِ غَرِ سَوِّقْ؟

I don't mind. [ma yi igan. But in fast speech: ma yi gan.] مایِیِ إِڠَانِ.

I don't mind going to the market. مایِیِ إِڠَانِ آدَّوْخِ غَرِ سَوِّقِ.

B. In the second group the full sentences are formed in the following way:

verb in the past form + مَشَ + إِڠَانِ + direct object + مایِ | ما
(past participle) pronouns

Do you (f.s.) mind if you eat only cheese? ماشَمِ إِڠَانِ مَشَ تَتَشِيدِ غَاسِ لِفَرْمَاخِ؟

I don't mind. مایِیِ إِڠَانِ.

I don't mind if I eat only cheese. مایِیِ إِڠَانِ مَشَ تَشِيخِ غَاسِ لِفَرْمَاخِ.

The Adverb "When"

1. This concerns not the question word "when" but the word used in sentences like: "When I was in France, I stayed at my friend's house." or "When I go to work, I stop at a café." This corresponds to the word **مَلِّي** in Moroccan Arabic.

2. In Tamazight there is one word for "when" used for sentences concerning completed actions in the past and another word for "when" used for sentences with present, habitual, and future meanings.¹

3. The word used for sentences in the past is:

أَلِّيْكَ² (allig).

This is often pronounced **أَلِّي** (alliy).

Variations for this word include:

أَلِّي (alli)

لِّيْكَ (llig)

لِيْغ كْ (llig g)

The word used for sentences in the present and future is: **أَدَّاي**³ (adday).

Variations for this word include:

أَدَّا (adda)

4. Examples in the past:

Note that the "when" clause can come first or later in the sentence.

أَلِّيْكَ دَّيْخْ غَر فاس، زُرِيْخْ كُنْمَا.

When I went to Fes, I saw my brother.

أَلِّيْكَ نَلَّا كْ فَرَنْسَا، نَسَلَّمْ خَف مَمَّيس ن عَمَّيش.

When we were in France, we greeted your (m.s.) cousin.

¹ This is the main rule to learn. However, there are cases in which the word used for sentences in the past, **أَلِّيْكَ**, is used with the present continuous tense to indicate a habitual action. Even so, this usage seems to be rare.

² This word is listed in Taifi's dictionary on page 361, under "L."

³ This word is listed in Taifi's dictionary on page 81, under "DY."

أَلَيْكَ مُرِّيخ، كَيِّخ دَتَدُوخ غَر لَابِيسِين كُو يَاس.
When I was young, I used to go to the pool every day.
أَنَّاِيخ أَكَلِيد أَلَيْكَ لَيِّخ كُف وَأَمَّاس ن تَمْدِينت.
I saw the King when I was in the center of town.

أَلَيْكَ causes direct and indirect object pronouns, direction particles, and prepositions with pronouns to move to in front of the verb. However, not everyone does this, so it is optional. Both ways are correct.

أَلَيْكَ وَمُرَّنت، نَغَانت.
When they (m.pl.) caught him, they killed him.
أَلَيَّكَت وَمُرَّن، نَغَانت.
When they (m.pl.) caught him, they killed him.

إِطْصَا أَلَيْكَ يَانَّاي.
He laughed when he saw me.
إِطْصَا أَلَيَّي يَانَّاي.
He laughed when he saw me.

إِلَّا دَيَّخَدَم كُف جَرْدَا أَلَيْكَ تَغْرَاس إِمَّاس.
He was working in the garden when his mother called him.
إِلَّا دَيَّخَدَم كُف جَرْدَا أَلَيَّكَس تَغْرَا إِمَّاس.
He was working in the garden when his mother called him.

أَلَيْكَ يَاغُولد، وَرَّت يَوْفِي.
When he came back, he didn't find her.
أَلَيْكَ ذِيَاغُول، وَرَّت يَوْفِي.
When he came back, he didn't find her.

أَلَيْكَ إِدَاد غُورِي، شِيخَاس تَبْرَات.
When he came to my place, I gave him the letter.
أَلَيْكَ غُورِي دِيدَا، شِيخَاس تَبْرَات.
When he came to my place, I gave him the letter.

5. Examples in the present and future:

Note that the “when” clause can come first or later in the sentence.

أَدَايْ is followed by the two-verbs-together format (simple imperative plus regular conjugation prefixes and suffixes)

a future meaning or nuance

The main clause contains an imperative:

أَدَايْ تَدَّودْ غَر فاس، سَلِّمْ خَف عَلِي.

When you (m.s.) go to Fes, greet Ali.

أَدَايْ تَدَّومْ غَر فاس، مَش تَنَّايم حَسَن، بَلِّغَاتاس سَلَام.

When you (m.pl.) go to Fes, if you see Hassan, greet him.

أَدَايْ تِيرِيدْ أَنْتَسَافِرْ، عَلَّمِي.

When you (s.) want us to travel, let me know.

The main clause contains a future form:

أَدَايْ دَّوْخْ غَر كَنَدَا، أَدَانَايْخْ إِمْدَوَكَالِينُو.

When I go to Canada, I will see my friends.

أَدَانَايْخْ مَرِيمْ أَدَايْ دَّوْخْ غَر فاس.

I will see Miriam when I go to Fes.

أَكُنْتْ عَاوَنَخْ أَدَايْ شَمَلَخْ.

I will help you (f.pl.) when I finish.

habitual, regular, or repeated meaning

أَدَايْ سُوْخْ أَتَايْ، دَتَّيْرِيْخْ أَذْتَشَخْ لَنَخَاطُو.

When I drink tea, I like to eat a pastry.

أَدَايْ تَاوُضْ تَنَكْرُسْتْ، دَتَّرْحَالَنْ إِمَكْنَسَاوَنْ غَر أَزَاغَار.

When winter arrives, the shepherds move to the plain.

أَدَايْ إِمَّتْ يُونْ أُمُومِنْ، إِدَا رَّوْحَنَسْ أَدِيْزْدَغْ د سِيْدِي رَبِّي.

When a believer dies, his soul goes to live with God.

أَدَايْ causes direct and indirect object pronouns, direction particles, and prepositions with pronouns to move to in front of the verb. Unlike with أَلْيَكْ, this happens all the time. It is not optional.

دَتَفْرَاح مِينة اَدَايْت اِعَاون اُرِيَازَنَسْ كَث لِنُكُوْزِينَا.
Mina is happy when her husband helps her in the kitchen.

اَدَايَس اِنِيْخْ شَا اِغُوْدَان ، دَتَّرُو.
When I tell her something good, she cries.

اَدَايْ دِيْعَايْنِد ، اَت وَتَخ.

When he comes back, I will hit him.

اَدَايْ نِيَاوَضْ كَث اُكَاْدِيْر ، اَدِيْرَزُو لَخْدَمْت.

When he arrives (there) in Agadir, he will look for a job.

اَدَايْ غُوْرُشْ دِيْدُو ، شَاسْ مَاشْ شِيْخ.

When he comes to your (m.s.) place, give him what I gave you.

مَايْ دَتَكُنْ اَدَايْتَن يَاغْ شَا؟

What do they (m.) do when they are sick?

6. A precision

Although the general rule is that اَدَايْ is followed by the two-verbs-together format (simple imperative plus regular conjugation prefixes and suffixes), people at times use the continuous imperative plus regular conjugation prefixes and suffixes (but with no tense indicator) when speaking about habitual, repeated situations. Thus, you will at times hear sentences like the following:

اَدَايْ سَاخْ اَتَايْ ، دَتِّيْرِيْخْ اَدْتَشِيْخْ لِنُكَاطُو.

When I drink tea, I like to eat a pastry.

دَتَفْرَاح مِينة اَدَايْت اِتْعَاوَان اُرِيَازَنَسْ كَث لِنُكُوْزِينَا.

Mina is happy when her husband helps her in the kitchen.

Other ways to say “when”

7. Another way to say “when”: نَتَا

This conjunction is used in telling stories in the past. The time between the “when” clause and the following action should be relatively short. Taifi says (page 503) that the word is used “in a story where rapid actions follow each other.” In other words, story-telling style will lead to this word being used instead of the more normal choices listed at the beginning of the lesson.

The word is used with the “past” form (although occasionally with a past continuous), and the word does not cause pronouns, etc. to move.⁴

نَتَّا إِوَضْنَ إِمَازَانَ غَرَ أَمَقَّورِن تَمْدِينَت، نَانَس...
When the messengers arrived at the city leader's place, they said to him....

نَتَّا إِذَا عَصَو، إِسْفَالْ أَمْدَاكُلْنَسْ أَر دِيكْس إِسْوَال.
When Assou went away, his friend began to gossip about him.

نَتَّا تَاغُولْد زِي سَوَق، تَوْفَا لَوَاشُونَسْ أَرْتَنَاعَن.
When she returned from the market, she found her children fighting.

دَائِي⁵ نَتَّا أَرْتَعَدَوْنَ إِمُوضِين، كَرْن إِضْبِيبَن أَرْتَشَكَّان كُتْ
وامان ور إِزْدِيكْن.
Now when (the number of) sick people were multiplying, the doctors started to suspect/suspecting unclean water.

8. Another way to say “when”: كُتْ

This word can also mean “when” in certain contexts. It can be used with many tenses.⁶ This word causes pronouns, etc. to move, but not everyone does this, so the movement is optional. Not everyone recognizes the use of this word as “when.”

كُتْ دَيْكَاتْ أُنْزَار، دَيْتَاغُولْ كُتْشِي أَزِيَاو.
When it rains, everything turns green.
(كُتْ could be used here in the place of أَدَائِي.)
If so, the tense indicator دَ would drop out.)

إِرْعَبْ كُتْ يَانَّايْ إِسْ وَر إِسْرَدْ أَوْدْ يُون إِفَاسَنَّسْ دَاتْ ن
ووتشي.
He was astonished when he saw that no one washed his hands before eating.
(كُتْ could be used here in the place of أَلْيَكْ.)

⁴ The word literally means “he” or “him,” however, the word is invariable with gender and number. In spite of the many clear examples of this, Taifi (on pages 503 and 505, under “NT” and “NTN”) says that this word “when” varies with gender and number, so that نَتَات , نَتْنِي , and نَتْنَتِي are used depending on whether the subject is masculine or feminine and singular or plural. Is he describing a regional variation?

⁵ We’ll look closer at this word in lessons 14 and 15.

⁶ See Taifi’s dictionary, page 143, under “G.”

9. Another way to say “when”: إِدَّخْ

This word can also mean “when” in certain contexts.⁷ It causes pronouns, etc. to move, but not everyone does this, so the movement is optional.

إِدَّخْ سَقْسَاخْ لِنَاشُونِينُو خَفَ أُيْنَا إِجْرَانْ، سَفَالْنِ أَرْكَاتِنِ
تِسَعَضَارِ.

When I asked my children about what happened, they began to make excuses.

إِدَّخْ يِيُولْ أَكْمَمُوتْ [أَيُّ + إِمُوتْ] إِبَّاسْ.
(It was) when he [the son] got married that his father died.

إِدَّخَاسْ نَيْخِ إِ فِلَانْ....
When I said to so and so....

10. Another way to say “when”: مَانِيكْ⁸

This word usually means “where,” but some dialects use it at times to mean “when.” This corresponds to Moroccan Arabic, which sometimes uses the word for “where” فِين as “when.” This word causes pronouns, etc. to move.

مَانِيكْ إِدَّا أُكَلِيدْ غَر لِمَنْفَى، لُولِيخْدِ.
When the king went into exile, I was born (here).
مَانِيكْ دِيدَا مُحَنْدْ، سَالَخْتْ خَفَ أُيْنَا إِجْرَانِ.
When Muhand came, I asked him about what happened.

⁷ See Taifi’s dictionary, page 57, under “Dğ.” In other contexts, this word means “because.”

⁸ Some regions just say مَانِي.

A Further Look at the Relative Pronouns **نَا** and **أَيُّ**

I. Other forms of **نَا** taking a participle

We saw in lesson 11 of *Abrid 4* how the relative pronoun **نَا** takes a participle after it when the relative pronoun is the subject of the following verb. This is also true when **نَا** appears in various forms. The following words always take a participle when they are the subject of the verb. This is true because each of these words contains the relative pronoun **نَا**.

A. **أَيْنَا**¹ aynna “that which,” “whatever”

Tell us what [lit: that which] happened.

إِنْيَاخَ أَيْنَا إِجْرَان.

Bring whatever there is.

أَوَيْدَ أَيْنَا إِلَّان.

Give me whatever is good.

شَيْدَ أَيْنَا إِغُودَان.

Give me what is good.

B. The phrases “he who,” “she who,” “they (m.) who,” and “they (f.) who”²

they (m.) who	<i>winna</i>	وِينَا	he who	<i>una</i>	وْنَا
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they (f.) who	<i>tinna</i>	تِينَا	she who	<i>tenna</i>	تْنَا
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وْنَا إِكَّانَ مَمَّيسَ نَ تَخْسِي أَتَ إِتْشَ وَوَشْن.

He who is the son of the ewe will be eaten by the wolf.

[lit: He who is the son of the ewe, the wolf will eat him.]

وْنَا وَرَ إِكَّيْنِ زَكِّ تَمَّنَاطَيْنُو، نْنَا دَيْتَمَّغَانَا دِيدِي.

He who is not with me is against me.

[lit: He who is not from my side, him he is a rival with me.]

وْنَا دِيدَان، مَرْحَبَا.

Whoever [or: he who] comes is welcome.

¹ This word appears on page 3, column 1, of Taifi’s dictionary, under “a/ay.”

² These words appear on page 456 of Taifi’s dictionary, under “N.”

وِينَا دِيدَانٌ³ زِيكَ أَدَامُرُنْ يَوْتِ نْ لَهْدِيْتِ.

Those (m.) who come early will get a prize.

تَنَا إِسْنٌ شَا أَتَ تِينِي.

She who knows something, let her say it.

تِينَا إِرَانْ تَنْبَاطٌ أَدَافَنْتِ تَزَقْوَرْتِ.

Those (f.) who want power will find a trap.

II. When نَا does not take a participle

When نَا is not the subject of the following verb, the verb is not in its participle form. The following are examples where نَا is an object of the following verb.

the man that you (s.) saw

أَرِيَا نَا تَانَايِدْ

the dog that he killed

إِيْدِي نَا إِنْغَا

the mule that they (m.) bought

تَسَرْدَوْنْتِ نَا سَغَانْ

He's the man that you helped.

نَتْنَا أَكْغَانْ أَرِيَا نَا تَعَاوَنْدِ.

[lit: (It's) he that is the man that you helped.]

Show me the ones (m.) I saw.

سَنْعَتِي وَيْنَا أَنَايَخْ.

Whatever you (m.pl.) want.

أَيْنَا تَرَامْ.

III. More complex forms of نَا

The more complex forms of نَا are found in phrases like “in which/whom” *dans lequel*, “about which/whom” *sur lequel*, “with which/whom” *avec lequel*, “to which/whom” *auquel*, etc. These forms of نَا are not subjects of the following verb; therefore, they don't take the participle. The structure of these phrases is as follows:

verb	+	preposition	+	نَا	+	noun
you are talking		about		which		the movie
the movie about which you are talking						
the movie you are talking about						

³ Some dialects use a plural participle here: دَدَانِينْ. But since the singular is acceptable everywhere, we will use only that. However, you may here others use a plural.

تَمَطَّوْطٌ نَّاكَ لَانَ وَاذَجَّنُون

the woman in whom were demons

تَمَطَّوْطٌ نَّاكَ إِسْوَفَعِ شُرَاضِ نِ وَاذَجَّنُون خَانِين

the woman from whom he cast out three evil spirits

تَمَطَّوْطٌ نَّامِي إِمَّوْتِ أُرِيَاذِنَسْ

the woman whose husband died

[lit: the woman to whom her husband died]

تَمَطَّوْطٌ نَّاغَرِ لَانَ إِكْنِيُون

the woman who has twins

[lit: the woman *chez qui* there are twins]

تَمَطَّوْطٌ نَّاخَفِ دَسْوَالِنِ مِدَّنْ

the woman about whom the people are talking

تَمَطَّوْطٌ نَّادِ نَمُونِ أَسَّنَطْ

the woman with whom we went yesterday

تَمَطَّوْطٌ نَّاسِ تَرْحَبْدِ

the woman you (s.) welcomed

(The verb رَحَب always takes

the preposition س.)

Important Note :

The نَا is optional when it is not the subject of the following verb⁴, and some individuals and regions don't use it. In that case these sentences would be exactly the same but without the نَا.

This can cause you quite a bit of confusion, since the preposition words are so short and you can easily miss hearing them in spoken speech.⁵

Other examples:

تَمَازِيغْتِ أَكَّانِ أَوَالِ نَّاسِ دَسْوَالِنِ مِدَّنِ كِ لَطَّلَسِ أَنْمَّاسِ.

Tamazight is the language with which the people of the Middle Atlas speak.

مَانِي أَقْرَابِ نَّاكَ لَانَ إِذْرِيْمَنْ؟

Where is the sack in which is the money?

أَوَيْدِ لَمَجَّلَا نَّاخَفِ حَمَقْنِ مِدَّنِ.

Give (me) the magazine about which people are going crazy.

⁴ This is similar to the relative pronoun as an object in an English sentence. When the relative pronoun is an object, its use is optional. For example: "He is someone whom I love" can be "He is someone I love." Equally, "He is someone to whom I am indebted" can be "He is someone I'm indebted to." The "whom" drops out.

⁵ For reference only: In addition to what is mentioned in the box, there is another possibility that some dialects use. They add a مي to the end of the preposition. This gives a total of 4 different dialectical possibilities, which we can illustrate with the preposition خَف. Each of the following are ways to say "about whom" or "about which" (These occur after a noun and before a following verb.):

نَّاخَفِ مِي

نَّاخَفِ

خَفِ مِي

خَفِ

We've chosen to use the second way in this course.

(The verb **جَمَعَ** "to meet" takes the preposition **د** .)
داسَن قَارَخِ إِ مِدَّن نَاد جَمَعَخِ إِضَلِّي.
 I'm calling the people I met yesterday.
ماني أَكَلَزِيم نَّاس تَغَزِيد أَخْبُو؟
 Where's the pickaxe with which you (s.) dug the hole?

These same complex forms can be used with **أَيْنَا** and **وَنَّا** , etc.

شَاخُد أَيِّنَاخَف دَسَوَالَن إِشِيرَان.
 Give us the one about which the children are talking.
نَّتَا أَكَّان وَنَاد مَوْنَخ.
 He's the one with whom I went.
إِد نَّتَات أَكَّان تَنَامِي تَسَلَامَت؟
 Is she the one to whom you (f.pl.) listened?
إِجْوَجِي وَيَنَّاكَ لَّان وَاذَجَّنُون.
 He healed those (m.) in whom were demons.
إِشَاسَنَت لَمَخَزَن وَتَشِي إِ تِينَامِي مَوْتَن إِرِيَزَنَنَسَنَت.
 The government gave food to those (f.) whose husbands died.
أَيِّنَاغَر تَدَّيد، أَدَّيْدَش [أَد + دِيْدَش] مَوْنَخ.
 Wherever you (s.) are going, I will go with you.

IV. Complex forms of **نَا** with prepositions of spatial and temporal relationships

Complex forms of **نَا** can be used with prepositions of spatial and temporal relationships as well. The structure of these phrases is as follows:

verb	+	ن مي	+	preposition	+	(نَا)	+	noun
you put the pen		what		under		(usually left out)		the table
the table under which you put the pen the table you put the pen under								

Note that the **نَا** is usually left out, since it would make the phrase too long and awkward. Notice also that after the preposition must come the phrase **ن مي** .

أَتَايَخ طَبَّلَا دَاوَن مي تَسِرْسُد سَتِيلُو.
 I saw the table under which you (s.) put the pen.

Other complex relative clauses include:

on/above which...	أَفَلَا ن مِي
beside which...	تَمَا ن مِي
in front of which..., before which...	دَات ن مِي
behind which..., after which...	تَفِير ن مِي
above which...	نَيَا ن مِي
between which...	إِنْكَر ن مِي
across from which...	بُنِيد ن مِي

V. نَا with moveable pronouns and direction particles

نَا in all its forms causes direct and indirect object pronouns, direction particles, and prepositions with pronouns to move to a place in front of the verb. This is true whether the verb is in its participle form or not.

أَنَّايْخ إِمِيْشَر نَاتَن يوتَن.

I saw the thief who hit them (m.).

تَغودَا تَنَاسَن [or تَنَاسَن] إِشَان تَفونَاسُتَا.

She who [or : the one (f.) who] gave them (m.) this cow is good.

أَويمْدَ أَيَنَآوَنُت شَانُت.

Bring (f.pl.) whatever they (f.) gave you (f.pl.).

تَفِير ن أَيَنَآيِ إِكَا، وَر قِيمِيْخ دَت تِيرِيْخ.

After what he did to me, I don't like him anymore.

[Note the dependent form of أَيَنَآ following the preposition.]

أَنَّايْخ أَجَنُوي نَاسُت تَبِّي.

I saw the (big) knife with which she cut it (m.).

أَنَّايْخ تَرَبَات نَامِيْت نَان.

I saw the girl to whom they (m.) said it (m.).

Note that in the two previous sentences the order is:

the moveable pronoun + the preposition of + نَا
the complex form

سَغِيخِ إِدُوشَا نَّاسِ دُيُوسَانِ إِ تَجَلَّابَيْتِ.
I bought the sandals that go with the jellaba.

Note that in the previous sentence the order is:

the participle يوسان + the direction particle د which is always used with this verb + the indirect object اس pronoun + نَّا

أَدَاسِ غَرْنِ إِ أَرِيَاظِ نَّا نَيِيوَضَنَ غَرِّ أَكَّادِيرِ.
They (m.) will call the man who arrived (there) in Agadir.

Note that in the previous sentence the ن at the beginning of the participle is the ن of farness.

Thus we can summarize the word order for all possible situations as follows:

the verb + direction particles (if they are used) + the moveable pronouns (if they are used) + the preposition of the complex form (if it is used) + نَّا

VI. أَيُّ

Although أَيُّ is a relative pronoun like نَّا, أَيُّ is used in a different context than نَّا. Taifi describes the use of أَيُّ as follows: It “introduces a relative clause in a form called ‘a pre-announced topic.’ When the demonstrative is the subject of the clause, the verb takes its participial form.”⁶ Thus, أَيُّ is used in situations where a certain emphasis⁷ is being used by changing the normal word order of a sentence so that something other than the verb comes first. The sentences are of the following type: “It is this that...,” “Is it this that...?,” and “It isn’t this that...”

⁶ Taifi’s dictionary, page 1, column 2, under “a/ay/ayd.” The original French is: “a/ay/ayd [est] un démonstratif invariable en emploi de pronom introduisant une proposition à valeur relative dans une tournure appelée ‘anticipation renforcée.’ Quand la démonstratif est ‘sujet’ de la proposition, le verbe prend la forme ‘participiale.’”

⁷ However, there are certain phrases that use أَيُّ (especially ones which use the verb كَى “to be”) in which no particular stress or emphasis is intended.

VII. When أَيْ does not take a participle

When أَيْ is not the subject of the following verb, the verb is not in its participle form. The following are examples where أَيْ is an object of the following verb.

شَكَ أَي تَانَاي.

(It's) you (m.s.) that she saw.

إِدْ أَمَزِيغْ أَي تَكْغِيدْ؟

Are you (m.s.) a Berber? [lit: Is it a Berber that you are?]

تَفُولْتَوَسْتَا دَاهَا أَي سَغِيخْ.

(It's) this chicken right here that I bought.

إِدْ شَمَيْنْ أَكْنَعَا يَخْفْ؟

Is it you (f.s.) whose head hurts?

[lit: Is it you that the head is afflicting?]

إِدْ إِسْتَمَامْ أَكْغَاغْ شَا؟

Is it your (f.s.) sisters who are sick?

[lit: Is it your sisters that something is afflicting?]

Before the present continuous tense (and the negative and certain forms of the future) the أَيْ drops out and only أْ is used.

إِدْ كَتْوْ أْ دَتِيرِينْ مِيدْنْ؟

Is it Kettou whom the people love?

إِفْلَاحِنْ أْ دَيْتْخَلَّاصْ لِمَخْزَنْ كْ تَزْوِيرِي نْ كُوْ آيُورْ.

(It's) the farmers that the government pays at the beginning of every month.

شَكْنِينْ أْ وَرْ رَاعَانْ.

(It's) you (m.s.) that they (m.) didn't see.

شَمَيْنْ أْ غَانَاوِي⁸ غَرْ تُونْفِيْتْ.

(It's) you (f.s.) that we'll take to Tounfit.

⁸ This form of the future will be studied in lesson 29. After a relative pronoun the tense indicator أَدْ is replaced by رَا or غَا in some dialects.

VIII. More complex forms of أَيُّ

Like نَا , there are more complex forms used with أَيُّ as well. These are formed in the same way, by adding the preposition to أَيُّ , except that when the preposition is added the يُّ drops out. These forms are not subjects of the following verb; therefore, they don't take the participle. The structure of these phrases is as follows:

verb	+	preposition	+	أ	+	noun/pronoun
you went		with		whom		It's not me

It's not me with whom you went.
It's not me that you went with.

أَنو أَكْ إِتَوْتِي.

(It's) a well in which he fell.

لَسْتَادَ أَزَكْ دِيفَعٌ⁹.

(It's) the stadium from which he came out.

أَلْتَمَّاسَ أَمِي يوزَن تَبْرَات.

(It's) his sister to whom he sent the letter.

إِمَّاسَ أَغْرَ إِقِيم.

(It's) at his mother's that he stayed.

[lit: (It's) his mother *chez qui* he stayed.]

مُرِيرْتِ أَغْرَ تَدَا.

Mrirt (is) where she went.

[lit: (It's) Mrirt to where she went.]

لَمُوتِ ن تَدْجَارْتَنَسْنَتْ أَخْفَ دَسَوَالْنَتْ.

(It's) the death of their neighbor (f.) about which they (f.) are talking.

وَرِيدِ نَكَيْنِ أَد تَمُونْد.

It's not me with whom you went.

أَفُوسِ أَس تَزْضَا تَقْبُوتِ. or سِ أَفُوسِ أَس تَزْضَا تَقْبُوتِ.

(It's) by hand that she wove the jellaba.

[lit: (It's) a hand by which she wove the jellaba.]

Some regions add مي after the preposition. In this case, just add مي to all the above sentences, as in the following example. The meaning is exactly the same.

⁹ The د is the د of direction making the difference between “he came out” and “he went out.”

أَنُو أَكِّ مِي إِتَوْتِي.
(It's) a well in which he fell.

Note also some questions using complex forms of أَئِيْ . As above, some regions add مِي after the preposition. The meaning is exactly the same.

ماني يبييس¹⁰ أَخَف تَنِيْد؟

On which horse did you (s.) mount?

ماني تَمَازِيْرَتْ أَزَكِّ ذِيوسَا؟

From which country did he come?

ماني يَاحَام¹¹ أَكِّ إِمَّوْت؟

In which tent did he die?

وَر سَنِّخ مَان تَخَامْت أَغَر دَان.

I don't know to which tent they (m.) went.

IX. أَئِيْ with prepositions of spatial and temporal relationships

When prepositions of spatial and temporal relationships are used, the phrase أَئِيْ ن مِي follows the preposition. Also, the whole prepositional phrase precedes the أَئِيْ in the sentence. Thus the structure of these phrases is as follows:

verb	+	أَيُّ	+	ن مِي	+	preposition	+	noun/pronoun
he lives		that		which		behind		Is it the bank

Is it the bank behind which he lives?

Is it the bank that he lives behind?

إِد لِبَنَكَا تَنْفِيْر ن مِي أَيُّ تَزْدَغ عِيْشَة؟

Is it the bank behind which Aisha lives?

Is it the bank which Aisha lives behind?

إِد تَدَارْتَنْش نِيَكِّ ن مِي أَكَّزْدَغ حَمَّو؟

Is it your (m.s.) house above which Hammou lives?

Is it your house that Hammou lives above?

Other relative clauses with spatial and temporal prepositions are listed in part IV on page 91.

¹⁰ This is not the dependent form, but rather a “y” sound is added to separate the two vowels.

¹¹ This is not the dependent form, but rather a “y” sound is added to separate the two vowels.

X. أَيُّ with moveable pronouns and direction particles

أَيُّ in all its forms causes direct and indirect object pronouns, direction particles, and prepositions with pronouns to move to a place in front of the verb. This is true whether the verb is in its participle form or not.

نَكَيْنَ أَتَنَ يوفان.

(It's) me who found them (m.).

نَتَا أَيَدَاسَ إِسْنَعَتَنَ تَدَارَت.

(It's) he who showed (to) him the house.

نَتَا أَيَدَاسَتَّ إِسْنَعَتَنَ.

(It's) he who showed it (f.) to him.

Note that in the previous two sentences when indirect object pronouns are used, the word أَيُّ takes the form أَيَدُ , with a د added simply for pronunciation purposes.

This د should not be confused with the preposition د or with the د of direction. It is simply a د of pronunciation.¹² (Not all dialects use this د here.)

وريدَ أَكْلَزِيمَ أَسْتِ إِغْزَا.

It's not a pickaxe with which he dug it (m.).

إِدْ شَكَيْنَ أَمِيَتَنَ شَان؟

Is it you (m.s.) to whom they (m.) gave them (m.)?

تَدَارَتُ تَزْكَاغَتُ أَزَاكَ دَفَّغَنَ.

(It's) the red house from which they came out.

تَفُونَاَسْتُ أَيُّ غُورْسَ إِلَّانَ.

(It's) a cow that he has.

Note that the order of the prepositions, pronouns, and direction particles is exactly the same as the order with نَا in part V, page 93, above.

¹² Not all dialects use this د here. The Ayt Seghroushen say إِنَانِ أَيُّ أَشْنَتُ " (It's) the boy who told it to you (m.s.)."

Linking Words

These lessons cover the subject of linking or transition words, that is, words which help create smooth transitions between one sentence and another or between one paragraph and another. These are words which allow thoughts to be organized, ideas to be emphasized, chronology to be communicated, contrasts to be made, etc. Some examples in English are: therefore, because, then, after that, at first, in addition, finally, on the other hand, etc. The topic can be quite vast, but the point of this lesson is to give you a number of words you can use to express your ideas in connected paragraphs.

As with all Tamazight vocabulary, there can be regional variations. You need to be aware of what people around you are saying. There may be slight variations in pronunciation or how a word is formed, or a word may simply not be used at all in some regions.

1. Sequences and time words

first of all, firstly	أ. كْ تَزْوِيرِي
secondly	ب. كْ تَسَّنَات
thirdly	ج. كْ تَشَّرَاطْ
fourthly	د. كْ تَسْرَبْعَة
last of all, lastly	ه. كْ تِنْغِيرَا ¹

كْ تَزْوِيرِي سَرْدِ إِفَاسَنَّ. كْ تَسَّنَات أَوِيَّاسَنَّ وَتَشِي إِ
 إِنْبِيَّيَاوَن. كْ تَشَّرَاطْ أَوِيَّاسَنَّ مَآيْ سُون. كْ تِنْغِيرَا
 بِي لُكَّاطُو آهَآ² تَسْرَسْتْ خَفْ طَبْلَا نَا إِلَّان تَمَّا ن
 إِنْبِيَّيَاوَن. إِسْ تَفْهَمْدْ؟

First, wash your hands. Secondly, take the food to the guests. Thirdly, bring them something to drink. Finally, cut the cake and set it on the table that is next to the guests. Do you (s.) understand?

¹ Some dialects say كْ تِنْغِيرَا, and some say تَيْسِيَّيرَا.

² See page 111, part 2, letter H, for this word. Basically here it can be translated “and.”

F. تَفِير ن أَيَا³

after this/after that

(Mor. Arabic) بَعْد هَاد الشِّي

(Mor. Arabic) بَعْد دَاك الشِّي

ور سولاخ دُغي. إِلَّا شَا كْ لَبِيرُو. تَفِير ن أَيَا
إِخْصَايِي أَدُوخ غَر لَبَانْكَ. سَمْحِي.

I'm not free now. There's someone in the office. After this, I have
to go to the bank. I'm sorry.

كُاس إِ وَاكْرُن تَيْسَنْت د سَكْر. تَفِير ن أَيَا
زَايْدَاس أَمَان.

Put into the flour salt and sugar. After this, add to it water.

G. تَفِير ن أَيِنَا

after that

(Mor. Arabic) بَعْد دَاك الشِّي

تَنَاس تَمَطَّوْطَ إِ لِقَاضِي "أَمْرِي لِحَقِّ زِي
أَنْضَلِيْبِينُو." دَايْ وَر دِيْكَس تَيِيوي⁴. مَشَان تَفِير ن أَيِنَا
إِنَّا كْ إِخْفَنْس "وَاللَّهِ أَلَيْكَ⁵ دِيْغِي تَقِيْمَا تَكَلَيْنْت."

The woman said to the judge, "Give me justice from my adversary." He
didn't pay attention to her (didn't respect her, or he disregarded her). But
after that he said to himself, "I swear I really feel bad for the poor woman"
[lit: by God until in me stays the poor woman, that is, the poor woman stays
in my heart and causes me to feel bad for her.].

³ There are many regional variations for this expression. The variations concern the words used for "after," the words used for "this," and whether or not there is a ن which is used after the word "after." Any combination of the following may be used, depending on the region:

ضَارْت , دَقِير , ذَقِير , تَقِير , تَفِير , فَيْر : "after"

The ن may or may not be used. For example, تَفِير ن أَيَا or تَفِير أَيَا . (Also true for G, H, and I.)

"this": أَيَا , أَيَدَغ

⁴ This is an expression: أَوِي + تَ + كْ + شَا

someone in "it" to take = to respect someone, to have regard for someone

Because of the negative, the word order is changed:

وَر + دِيْكَس + تَ + يِيوي

he took "it" in her not = he didn't regard/respect her

⁵ The phrase وَاللَّهِ أَلَيْكَ is a formula used in swearing or making an oath. See lessons 20 and 21 for more on oaths and swearing.

* *Special note:* In general the difference between **تَفِير ن أَيَا** and **تَفِير ن أَيِنَا** is that the first one is “after this” and the second one is “after that.”

However, it’s not always as clear as that. **تَفِير ن أَيَا** refers to an action or event that is relatively “close” in the speaker’s mind, but this idea of closeness is relative and so sometimes there’s not much difference between “after this” or “after that” for **تَفِير ن أَيَا**. On the other hand, **تَفِير ن أَيِنَا** always refers to an action or event that is relatively “far” in the speaker’s mind and can only be translated as “after that.” This phrase is what would ordinarily be used in telling a story in the past. As a stylistic device, however, to draw the listener in and make him feel as if he were participating in the action, a skilled story-teller could use **تَفِير ن أَيَا** in past stories.

These same nuances apply to H and I below.

before this/before that

.H دات ن أَيَا

(Mor. Arabic) قَبَل هَاد الشِّي

(Mor. Arabic) قَبَل دَاك الشِّي

ياغول موح د مَهَا كُنِين إِمدوَكَاَل آسَّ ن لَعِيد إِدَّخ كَان
إِعْدَاوَن دَات ن أَيَا.

Moh and Mahha became friends the day of the holiday, because
before this they had been [lit: were] enemies.

دَو أَوِيد أَلْتَمَاش زِي لِيكُول، مَشَان دَات ن أَيَا سَمُون
إِقْشُوشَنَنْش.

Go get your (m.s.) sister at school [lit: go bring your sister from school],
but before that clean up/pick up your things.

before that

.I دات ن أَيِنَا

(Mor. Arabic) قَبَل دَاك الشِّي

يَوْمَز لَمَغْرِب لِسْتِقْلَال كْ أَلف وَه تَسَع مية وَ سِنَّة
وَ خَمْسِين. دَات ن أَيِنَا تَحْشَم فَرَنْسَا تَمَازِيرْت زِي
أَلْف وَ تَسَع مية وَ طُنَاش.

Morocco got (its) independence in 1956. Before that, France
ruled the country from 1912.

⁶ It’s possible to say the numbers in a more “Berberized” way by saying د in place of و for “and,” but و is commonly used in these situations.

إِزْدَغَ كُ تُونَسَ سَطَّاشَ نَ أُسْكَّاسَ.
 إِ دَاتِ نَ أَيِّنَا؟
 دَاتِ نَ أَيِّنَا إِكَّا إِزْدَغَ دَا كُ لَمَغْرَبَ.

He lived in Tunisia for 16 years.

And before that?

Before that he lived [or: used to live] here in Morocco.

after + noun noun + ن + تَفِير .J

تَفِيرِ نَ شَانِ وَوَسَّانِ دُرُوسْنِينِ دَانْتِ كُ وَيَنَسَنْتِ.
After a few days they (f.) went on their way [lit: They went in theirs.]

تَفِيرِ نَ شَانِ وَوَسَّانِ كُودِينِينِ أَغُولَنْتِ.

After many days they (f.) came back.

before + noun noun + ن + دَات .K

دَاتِ نَ وَاسَّانِ وَوَرِ لَيِّخِ دَتَّوَسُوحِ.

Before today I wasn't coughing.

دَاتِ نَ سَتَّيْنَاتِ إِكَّا إِزْلَعَّاسِ رَّايِ إِ تَمَازِيرْتِ.

Before the sixties the country was divided (in opinions or ideas).

after + verb verb + تَفِير .L

There are two main ways, depending on the region, to make this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist.⁷

: past .i

verb in the two-verbs-together + أَد + تَفِير
 format

or

verb in the past + مَائِ + ن + تَفِير

⁷ These variations concern the words used for "after," the word that follows "after," and whether or not there is a ن which is used after the word "after." Any combination of the following may be used, depending on the region:

ضَارْتِ , دَقِيرِ , ذَقِيرِ , تَقِيرِ , تَفِيرِ , قِيرِ : "after"

The ن may or may not be used. For example, تَفِيرِ نَ مَائِ or تَفِيرِ مَائِ . (Also true for M.)

The word مَائِ can also be مَائِد , مَا , or مَانِي . (Also true for M.) Some dialects use لَيِّكْ instead of مَائِ .

تَفَيْرِ اَدَاْفَنِ طَالِبٍ، سَقَسَانَتْ خَفَ وَاَرْوَمِ.

After they (m.) found the religious teacher, they asked him about fasting.

تَفَيْرِ نِ مَاكُشَمَلِ [مَائِي + اِسْمَلِ] وَاوَالِ نِ اَمْغَارِ،
اِسْوَسَمَ كُو يُونِ اِلَانِ كُ لَبِيْتِ.

After the chief/elder finished talking [lit: After the word of the chief/elder finished], everyone (that) was in the room was silent.

تَفَيْرِ نِ مَائِي شَبْرَنْ دِيكُسِ اِقْبَلِ اَدَ غُوْرَسَنْ اِقْتِيْمِ.

After they (m.) insisted (that is, constrained him), he accepted to stay at their place.

There are two main ways, depending on the region, to make **: future .ii** this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist.

verb in the two-verbs-together + اَدَ + تَفَيْرِ
format

OR

verb in the present continuous + مَائِي + نِ + تَفَيْرِ
without the tense indicator

تَفَيْرِ اَتَاغُوْدُ⁸، غُرِيْدِ.

After you (s.) come back, call me.

تَفَيْرِ اَتَتَشُدُ، سَرْدِ اِفَاسَنْ.

After you (s.) eat, wash (your) hands.

تَفَيْرِ نِ مَائِي تَقَارِ عِيْشَةِ اِ اَلْتَمَا، اَتَغَرِ اِ تِيْنَشِ.

After Aisha calls my sister, she will call yours (m.s.).

There are two main ways, depending on the region, to make **: present .iii** this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist. **continuous**

verb in the two-verbs-together + اَدَ + تَفَيْرِ
format

OR

verb in the present continuous + مَا + نِ + تَفَيْرِ
with the tense indicator

تَفَيْرِ اَذْرَالَنْ دَتَمْسَلَامَنْ.

After they (m.) pray, they greet each other.

⁸ This form's pronunciation doesn't distinguish between "go back" and "come back."

تَفِيرَ أَدَمَسَلَامَن دَيْتَدُو كَو يُون لَك وَيَنَس.
After they (m.) greet each other, each one goes his (own) way.
تَفِيرَن مَا دَذُرْلَان دَتَمَسَلَامَن.
After they (m.) pray, they greet each other.

before + verb **verb + دات .M**

There are two main ways, depending on the region, to make this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist.⁹ **: past .i**

verb in the two-verbs-together + آد + دات
format

or

verb in the past + ماي + ن + دات

دات أَدِيدُو، إِقَنَّ تِفْلُوت.
Before he went, he closed the door.
دات ن ماي تَدَا غَر سوريَا تَدَا غَر سَعُودِيَة.
Before she went to Syria, she went to Saudi.
دات ن ماي ديغَرَا، سَنَخ مَأَكْرَا أَذِينِي.
Before he called me, I knew what he was going to say.

There are two main ways, depending on the region, to make this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist. **: future .ii**

verb in the two-verbs-together + آد + دات
format

or

verb in the present continuous + ماي + ن + دات
without the tense indicator

إِس غِيخَ أَش أَنَايْخ دات أَتَدُو؟
Can I see you (m.s.) before you go?
دات أَدَدُوخَ غَر فَرَنَسَا خُصَانْتِي توريقين.
Before I go to France, I need papers [lit: papers are needful to me].

⁹ For example, some regions use قَبْل instead of دات. Others use سَدَات, زَدَات, زَات, or زَات or تَات. Those that use قَبْل don't use the ن after it.

أَذْجُرُونَ شَيْئَانَ نِ إِسْكَينَ دَاتِ نِ مَائِ دَيْتَدُو¹⁰ وَاسَّ
نِ رَبِّي.

Many things will happen before the day of God [that is, the
day of judgment] comes.

There are two main ways, depending on the region, to make **: present .iii**
this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist. **continuous**

verb in the two-verbs-together + دَات + أَد +
format

or

verb in the present continuous + مَا + نِ + دَات +
with the tense indicator

دَاتِ أَدِيْطُصْ دَيْتَالَا.

Before he laughs, he cries.

دَاتِ أَدْتَشَنَ دَسَيْرِيْدَنَ إِفَاسَنَّ.

Before they (m.) eat, they wash (their) hands.

دَاتِ نِ مَا دَتْتَشَانَ دَسَيْرِيْدَنَ إِفَاسَنَّ.

Before they (m.) eat, they wash (their) hands.

suddenly, tout un coup **شوي .N**

لَيْخِ دَسَارَاخِ كُ سَوَقِ شَوِي أَنْيَاخِ أَخَوَانَ.

I was walking in the market (when) suddenly I saw a thief.

إِسْلَمَ غَيْفَنَخِ يُونِ أَرْيَازِ. شَوِي ضَهْرَنْدِ دُغْيَا دِيْدَسِ

سِينِ إِرِيْزَنْ يَضْنِيْنَ، كُو يُونِ سِ لَمُوسِ.

A man greeted us. Suddenly there appeared (at that instant) with him
two other men, each one with a knife.

after some time, later **شوي .O**

يَاغَوْلَنْ غَرِ تَمَازِيْرْتَنْسَنْ. شَوِي إِكْرَ يُونِ بُوْهَيُّوْفِ كُ

تَمَازِيْرْتِ....

They (m.pl.) returned to their country. After some time, a famine occurred
[lit: there arose a famine] in the land....

¹⁰ The first د in this word is not the tense indicator but rather the د of direction.

إِفْعَ مَوْحَى لِنَجَامِيعَةِ أَهْلِهَا¹¹ يَافَ لَخَدَمْتِ كِثْرَةَ بَوْتِ نِ شَرَكَا
نِ لِنْتَرْنِيْتِ. شَوِي يَافِغُولِ إِمْقَوْرِ كِثْرَةَ شَرَكَا، إِتْيَاسَنَ
أَوْدِ كِثْرَةَ تَمَازِيْرَتِ كَوَلِ.

Moha graduated from college and found a job in an Internet company. After some time, he became a leader in the company, known even throughout the whole country.

recently تِنْغِيْرَايَا or كِثْرَةَ تِنْغِيْرَايَا **.P**

مِيْلَمِي أَيَّ تَدِيْدِ؟ غَاسِ تِنْغِيْرَايَا.

When did you (s.) go? Just recently.

وَهَلِي وَرَ لَيْنِ شِيْكَانِ نِ مِيْدَنَ دَا. أَلِ تِنْغِيْرَايَا عَادَ
بَدَانَ دَزْدَغْنَ دَا.

In the past there weren't many people here. (It wasn't) until recently (that) they began [lit: until recently then they began...] living here.

rarely, it's rare that إِذْرُوسِ مَانِيْكَ **.Q**

إِذْرُوسِ مَانِيْكَ دَتَدُوْخِ غَرِ لِقَهْوَايِيْنِ.

It's rare that I go to that café.

إِذْرُوسِ مَانِيْكَ دَتَمْسَاوَالِنِ.

They (m.) rarely speak to each other.

as soon as غَاسِ¹² **.R**

غَاسِ تَفْعَغْدِ عَايْدَ خَدِ.

As soon as you (s.) left, I came back.

غَاسِ دَتَ تَحَادَاخِ إِسْغُوِي.

As soon as I touch him, he screams.

¹¹ See page 111 for the meaning of this word: "and."

¹² This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 206, under "gS." Regional variations for this word include خَاسِ , غَاسِ , and خَاسِ .

تَدَاد بَعْدَا غوري وَهَلِي.

She already came to my place a long time ago.

while, as

كود¹⁷ .W

كود تَسَوْتور عيشة، تَسَدَاقِ إِليْس.

While Aisha is begging, her daughter is giving alms.

[a proverb: Used to reproach someone who is trying to stir up trouble while others are trying to calm things down.]

كود تَتَشَان سَوَالِن.

They (m.) are talking as they are eating.

According to Taifi (page 322, under “K”), the د is the “d” which means “it is” (pages 48-49, under “D”). However, this doesn’t really add any significant meaning to the expression, so it’s best to just learn the word as one word. كود is used with the continuous tense but without the tense indicator.

while, as long as

ماحد¹⁸ or ماحد .X

أَنَدُو غَرِ آسِيفِ مَاحِدِ إِسُولِ إِحْمَا لِحَالِ.

While it’s still hot let’s go to the river.

مَاحِدِ دَرَخِ تَغَا تَدَارْتَا تِينِمِ.

As long as I live this house is yours (f.s.).

and, then, so

دایُ .Y

(sometimes not translated at all)

This word is very difficult for foreigners to understand and use properly, yet it is very common in stories. Sometimes it is best left untranslated. Taifi (page 80, under “DY”) defines the word as “A particle ... in a story used to punctuate a series of successive actions: ‘and’ [*et*], ‘then’ [*puis*], ‘so’ [*alors*].”¹⁹ The word doesn’t cause pronouns, direction particles, or prepositions to move. It’s especially by observation, listening, and practice that you’ll learn when and how to use the word. See the *Abrid 4 Workbook* for an extended exercise using this word.

¹⁷ This word is found in Taifi’s dictionary on page 322, under “K.” A regional variation is كو, without the د.

¹⁸ This word is found in Taifi’s dictionary on page 410, under “MhD.”

¹⁹ Thomas Penchoen, in *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*, 1973, page 84, says, of the dialect of the Ayt Ndhir, “Several other particles— *day*, *uk’an*, *iwa*—are very frequently used to mark a certain continuity of the narrative. Extremely difficult to translate out of context—and, as often as not, in context as well—they serve much the same function as words in spoken English narrative such as ‘so,’ ‘well,’ ‘and so,’ ‘and,’ ‘now,’ ‘then,’ etc.”

يون أبراني ذغي هات إداد زك تمازيرتنس ور
 إسِن والو. داي إسقسا يون أرياز إناس "نعتي شا
 أختر ك تمازيرت." إناس "دو غر فلان نتا
 أغمقور [أي + إمقورن]." داي ياي غورس أحولي
 إغرساس غيفس، داي إتراس أمور²⁰، إناس "وسخاش ك
 تقبيلتينو ور توگيد إ والو!" داي إناس...²¹

A foreigner just came from his country not knowing anything. ___ He asked a man saying, "Show me someone important in the land." He said, "Go to so and so, he's important." So he took a ram to him and slaughtered it in his honor; then he asked him for protection saying, "I supported you in my tribe. Don't refuse (me) anything." Then he said....

2. Something additional

more than that or بزاید²² ن أيا .A
 بزاید أيا

إدا كُما غر تَمدينت تَقديمت إسغ طَبلا توجديت.
 بزاید ن أيا ياناي عميش، ونا سولخ داس دَقورخ
 شا ن لفلوس.

My brother went to the old city and bought a new table. More than that, he saw your (m.s.) uncle, the one who still owes me some money²³ [lit: the one I still reclaim from him some money, or the one I still follow (to) him (for) some money].

²⁰ This is an expression meaning "to ask for protection." Someone fleeing from another tribe or in danger of being attacked by someone could ask for protection from the new tribe. Part of that asking involved slaughtering a sheep in the honor of the one who would be the protector.

²¹ From E. Laoust, *Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central*, 1939, page 268.

²² This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 43, under "BZYD."

²³ This expression is the opposite from English as regards who the subject of the verb is. To say "the one I still owe money to" would be: ونا إسولن داي إدقور شا ن لفلوس.

أَشْرِيكِينُو أَيِّ تَكِيد. أَسْمُونِينُو د أَمْدَاكُلِينُو أَيِّ تَكِيد.
بَزَايِد ن أَيَّا أَم كَمَا أَيِّ تَكِيد. نُكْنِي س سِين أَم يُون
أَيِّ نَكَّا.

You're my associate. You're my companion and my friend.
More than that, you're like my brother. We two are like one.

more than that or وَخَار 24 ن أَيَّا .B
وَخَار أَيَّا

This is a synonym to the phrase in part A and can be substituted for it exactly.

etc. or أَمَشِيْس 25 .C
أَمَشِيْس نَيْت

خَف مي دَتَسَوَالَم؟
خَف تَمَارَا د لَمَشَاكِيل د إِكْرَفِيصَن د أَمَشِيْس نَيْت.

What are you (m.pl.) talking about?

About misery, problems, suffering(s), etc. [lit: and like that exactly].

مَاي تَانَايِد كُ تَمَغْرَا؟

أَنَّايَخ مَمَّيْس ن خَالِي د مَمَّيْس ن خَالْتِي د مَمَّيْس ن
عَمِّي د إِلَّيْس ن مَمَّيْس ن عَمِّي، إَوَا يَامَشِيْس 26.
لَمُهَمَّ، كَوْلَشِي إِلَّا.

Who did you (s.) see at the wedding?

I saw the son of my maternal uncle, the son of my maternal aunt, the son
of my paternal uncle, the daughter of the son of my paternal uncle, etc.

[lit: well, like that]. Anyway, everyone was there.

The meaning here is not exactly that of the English “etc.,” although its function is quite close. Often the phrase is used after telling a long story or giving a whole list of sentences, rather than just a short series of objects.

²⁴ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 163, under “GR.”

²⁵ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 398, under “M.”

²⁶ A “y” sound is added for pronunciation to keep the two “a” sounds from coming together.

.D **أَيَا د أَيَا (د أَيَا د أَيَا...) this and that (and that and that...)**

Pronounced: “ayaduya” with additional “duya duya...” according to a person’s emphasis

إِخَا أُرْبَازِينُو. إِكَّيِي أَيَا د أَيَا د أَيَا د أَيَا. أَهَّا²⁷،
سَوَفَّغْت زِي تَدَّارْت.

My husband is mean. He did to me this and that and that and that. So
I kicked him out of the house.

إِطُو، دَتَسَوَال كَفْ مِدَّنْ زِي صَبَّاحِ أَلْ تَدَثَّات. تَنَّاسِ
إِ مَوْنَةَ أَيَا د أَيَا. تَفَّيِر نْ أَيْنَا تَنَّايِي أَيَا د أَيَا د أَيَا
د أَيَا د أَيَا. عَفَّاخْتْ!

Itto, she gossips about people from morning to night [lit: afternoon]. She
said to Muna this and that. After that she said to me this and that and that
and that and that. I’ve had it with her!

.E **مَاحَد ... مَاحَد the more ... the more**

مَاحَد دَتَّنْ تَوَصَّاحِ أَدْفَسْتَن مَاحَد دَسْغَوِيُون.

The more I order them (m.) to be quiet, the more they yell.

مَاحَد دَتَّتَّامِ سِ وَاوَالِينُو مَاحَد تَيْسِينَمِ إِسِ إِتَا
غُورِي لِحَقَّ.

The more you (m.pl.) put into practice what I say [lit: the more you do with
my word], the more you will know that I’m right.

.F **وَعَسَّا²⁸ how much more...**

إِتْشَا كُتْمَاسِ وَعَسَّا مِدَّنْ يَضْن.

He ripped off his (own) brother, how much more other people.

وَرِ إِكَّدْ²⁹ إِ رَبِّي وَعَسَّا بِنَادَم.

He doesn’t fear God, much less man.

[lit: He doesn’t fear God, how much more (doesn’t he fear) man.]

²⁷ See part H, page 111, for this word.

²⁸ This word is found in Taifi’s dictionary on page 857, under “عS.”

²⁹ The ى in this word is pronounced with rounded lips and therefore the word sounds like “igg”id.” .

for example **كُ لْمِتَال**³⁰ .G

مَش وَر دِيدِي، كُ لْمِتَال، مَا غُرَا نَكُ؟

If he doesn't come, for example, what will we do?

مَش لَمَدَخ تَفَرْنَسِيَسْت، مَامِي غَايِي³¹ تَصْلَح؟

أَدَاش تَصْلَح كُ شِيكَان ن لُمور. كُ لْمِتَال، عَنِيخ أَتَافَد
لَخَدَمْت كُ لَقُنْصُلِيَا ن فَرْنَسَا نَغْد....

If I learn French, of what use will it be to me? [lit: To what will it be useful to me?] It will be very useful to you (m.s.). [lit: It will be useful to you in a lot of things.] For example, maybe you'll find work at the French Consulate or

and (between verbs) **أَهَا**³² .H

(sometimes not translated at all)

This is a common connecting word in stories, yet, like **دَائِي**, it is difficult to learn exactly when and how to use the word. That comes by practice and usage. In past lessons we learned that there isn't a word "and" to connect sentences and verbs. This is still true, but **أَهَا** appears to be a **reinforcing word** (at times with the nuance of calling attention to what is about to be said) that occurs mainly in instances **where sentence connection is already used**. Thus, the idea of "and" is usually already present in the sentence due to the grammar of sentence connection. However, the easiest way to translate **أَهَا** is by "and." This works most of the time, although at times **أَهَا** is better left untranslated and cannot be translated "and." The difficulty comes in knowing when to use it.³³ At times just the grammar of sentence connection is used for "and," at times just the word **أَهَا** is used, and at times both are used.

i) Examples of **أَهَا** used with verbs in their sentence connection form. This is the most common usage of **أَهَا**:

إِضَلِّي إِنْني حَمَّو د بَسَّو يُون أَغَرَّابُو. رِين أَدِيْبِيْن
يُون أَكْلَمَام أَخَاتَر. دَائِي بَدَعْن أَهَا تَامَرْتَن يوت ن

³⁰ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 442, under "MTL."

³¹ Some people use the particle **غَا** for the future, or they use **غُرَا**, as in the previous sentence.

³² Surprisingly this word doesn't seem to be listed in Taifi's dictionary.

³³ Thomas Penchoen, in *Tamazight of the Ayt Nahir*, 1973, page 84, says, "Coordination of sentences or verbs is not usually marked with a conjunction. The verb of other than the first verb in a series is simply an unmarked stem [what we've called the sentence-connection form], its aspectual value [that is, its tense] being that of the first verb. The last verb in a sequence is, however, not unfrequently preceded by **أَهَا**."

شَوَط ن أَزُوو كْ أَكْلَمَام، أَهَّا أَرِ إِتَعَمَّار أَغَرَّ ابُونَسَّن
س وامن. إِلِين كْ تَمَارَا....

Yesterday Hammou and Bassou got in a boat. They wanted to cross a big lake. So they started out, and a windstorm caught them on the lake, and their boat was filling with water. They were in trouble....

إِعَوَّل سِيدِي لِمَخْفِي أَدِيدُو غَرَّ تَمْدِينْت ن صَفْرُو.
دَائِي يَازَن إِمَازَان أَذْرُوِيرَن دَاتَاس. أَهَّا دُون كَشْمَن غَرَّ
يُون إِغْرَم ن أَيْت سَغْرُوَشَّن حَمَّا أَدَاس سَوَجْدَن شَا ن
تَدَّارْت دِين.

Sidi Mekhfi decided to go to the city of Sefrou. He sent messengers to go before him [lit: to be first before him], and they went and entered a village of Ayt Seghroushen in order to prepare for him a house there.

دَائِي كُذَّن³⁴ أَهَّا رَعْبَن.

Then they (m.) were afraid and astonished.
[lit: Then they were afraid and they were astonished.]

ii) Example of أَهَّا used by itself without the following verb using the grammar of sentence connection. (This seems to occur most often with the verb “to say.”):

يُون وَاسَّ تَنِي كَتَّو يُوْت ن تَكْمَارْت، نَتَّات د إِسْتَمَاس
تِمْرَّيَانِين س سَنَات. أَهَّا تَنَآيَاسَنْت "أَدُور تَكْغَدِيمْت"³⁵.

One day Kettou got on a mare, she and her two younger sisters. And she said to them, “Don’t be afraid.”

iii) Example of أَهَّا best left untranslated:

نَتَّا يَانَّاي تَدَّارْت أَهَّا إِنَّآيَاسَن "تَغُودَا."

When he saw the house ____ he said to them, “It’s good.”

دَو غَرَّ إِغْرَمِين. دَائِي تَدَّارْت نَّآغَر تَكْشَمْد، أَهَّا
تِينِيد كْ تَزُوِيرِي "لَهْنَا خَف تَدَّارْتَا."

Go to that village. The house that you (m.s.) enter, ____ say at first
“Peace (be) upon this house.”

³⁴ The كُذَّن in this word is pronounced with rounded lips and therefore the word sounds like كُذَّن.

³⁵ The تَكْغَدِيمْت in this word is pronounced with rounded lips and therefore the word sounds like تَكْغَدِيمْت.

iv) Other examples:

إِسْقَسَا أُضْبِيبَ يُونِ أَرْبِيعَ نِ مِدَّنِ إِنْيَاسَنَ " مَاوَنَ
يُوفَنَ، تَيْسَنَتِ سِ لِيُودِ مَاذِ بِلَاشِ؟ " إِسْوَلِ عَدِّي أَهَآ
إِنَّاسَ " عَنِيخِ سِ لِيُودِ. " دَائِي إِنَّاسَ أُضْبِيبَ " سِ تَيْتِ أَيِّ
تَنِيدِ. " أَهَآ إِبْرَمَ غَرَّ شَا يَضُنَّ دَائِي إِنَّاسَ....

The doctor asked a group of people saying to them, "Which is better for you, salt with iodine or without?" Addi spoke and said to him, "Maybe with iodine." Then the doctor said to him, "You're right [lit: It's right what you said.]" And he turned to someone else saying to him....

by the way

.I بَعْدَا

مَيْسَمَنَّمْ بَعْدَا؟

What's your (f.s.) name by the way?

وَرْتِ سَنِّخِ بَعْدَا.

I don't know him by the way.

that is, *c'est-à-dire*
you mean...

.J زَعْمَا

This word has a number of different nuances. It often means "that is," but also fits very well into a context in which in English we would say "Do you mean you want me to...?" Sometimes the word seems to be just an empty filler word.

دَاسِ تَيْنِينِ إِ تَمْدِينْتَا فَاسَ، زَعْمَا، أَكْلَزِيمِ سِ
تَمَازِيغْتِ.

They (m.pl.) call this city Fez, that is, "Agelzim" [pick-ax] in Tamazight.

مَتَّا وَاوَالَا؟ إِسِ تَرِيدِ زَعْمَا أَنْتَبْضُو؟

What are you saying [lit: What's this word?]

Do you mean you (s.) want us to separate/divorce?

إِسِ تَنِيدِ زَعْمَا نَكِينِ وَرِ سَنِّخِ مَانِيكُ تَزْدَغْدُ؟!

Do you really think [lit: say] I don't know where you (s.) live?!

Do you mean to say I don't know where you live?!

3. Conclusions

anyway, what's important,
the bottom line is...

.A لَمُهَمَّ

لَمُهَمَّ، مَش وِرامِ إِعْجِبْ لِحَالِ دَا، دَو كِثْ وَيَنَم.

The bottom line is: if you (f.s.) don't like it here, leave.

[lit: If the situation isn't pleasing to you here, go on your way.]

كِثْ تِزْوِيرِي نَّان "وَهُو." تَفِير نَ أَيْنَا نَّان "إِه." إِضَلِّي

نَّان دِيخ "وَهُو." لَمُهَمَّ، وَر دِيكْسَن لَامَان.

First they (m.pl.) said, "No." After that they said, "Yes." Yesterday they said, "No." Anyway, you can't trust them. [lit: There isn't in them trust.]

in the end, finally

.B كِثْ تِنْغِيرَا

أَمْرَنْتَنَ إِمْقَوْرَنَ نَ إِغْرَمَ كُثْرِيَنْتَنَ³⁶ كِثْ لِحَبْسِ أَلْ

أَسْكَانَسْ. دَائِي غُرِينَا سَنَدَ سَبْدِيَنْتَنَ كِثْ وَامَّاسَ نَ

أَكْرَاوْ أَهَا سَقْسَانَتَنَ. تَفِير نَ أَيَا إِزِينِ غِيْفَسَنَ أَهَا

سَيْكَدَنْتَنَ. كِثْ تِنْغِيرَا رُؤْمَانَسَنَ.

The leaders [or: important ones or elders] of the village arrested them and put them in prison until the next day. Then they called them and put them [lit: made them stand] in the middle of the assembly and questioned them. After this, they yelled at them and threatened [lit: scared] them. In the end they let them go.

briefly, in summary

.C لِحَصُولِ³⁷ or

or أَوَالِ أَنْكَارِوْ

سَ وَآثِرِ نَ وَأَوَالِ

لَمُهَمَّ، سَ وَآثِرِ نَ وَأَوَالِ، رِيخَ أَدَاوَنَ إِنيخِ....

Anyway, briefly, I want to tell you (m.pl.)....

لِحَصُولِ، إِخْصَايَاخَ أَنْكَ سَ مَاكَّنَا.

In summary, we should put into practice what he said.

³⁶ From what we learned we would expect the form here to be كُثْرِيَنْتَنَ without the ِ. But many people put in the ِ for pronunciation purposes. This occurs in this paragraph three times.

³⁷ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 261, under "hL."

in general

.D س واول كول

إنيبي دغي، س واول كول، ماي تريد.
Tell me now, in general, what you (s.) want.
س واول كول، كودين ميدن نا دتيرين لمغرب.
In general, most people like Morocco.

4. Contrasts

on the contrary

.A س لعكس

إس تغودا لوطوروت؟
س لعكس، تخا آها تغلو.
Is the autoroute good?
On the contrary, it's bad and expensive.
إسن تمازيغت.
س لعكس، ور إفهم أود حاج.
He knows Tamazight.
On the contrary, he didn't understand a thing.

on one hand...

.B س يون لمعنى ...

on the other hand

س لمعنى يضمن

س يون لمعنى إعجبي لحال بزاف دا، ولايني س
لمعنى يضمن، تغلا شيگان لمعيشت.
On one hand I really like it here, but on the other hand
the cost of living is really expensive.
س يون لمعنى نك ريخ أدوخ غر فرنسا، ولايني
س لمعنى يضمن ور غيخ آدادجخ آيت أخامينو.
On one hand me, I want to go to France, but on the other hand,
I can't leave my family.

as for _____ noun/pronoun + (إد or) ³⁸إد .C

إد نكين، ...
As for me, ...

³⁸ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 50, under "D," and on page 608, under "S."

وا إِخَا. إِدِ وَا، إِحْلَا شِيْكَان.

This one (m.), it's bad. As for that one (m.), it's really good.

This word isn't always used just for contrasts. Sometimes it's a way of introducing another point of view or referring to another object.

as for _____ noun/pronoun + ³⁹وَمَا .D

This word is a synonym to إِدِ .

مَش تَرَام، دَوِيَات. وَا نَكَيْن، أَذَقِيمَخ.

If you (m.pl.) want, go. As for me, I will stay.

سَوْتَرِ إِ رَبِّي. وَا لَعَبْدِ وِرَاشِ إِتْكََا⁴⁰ شَا.

Ask God [and he will answer you]. As for people, they won't do anything for you.

[lit: Make a request of God. As for the worshipper, he won't do anything for you.]

unless ⁴¹غَاسِ مَش .E

هَاتِ وِرِ غُورِي إِتِي غَاسِ تَحْرِيرْتِ دِ أَغْرُومِ كِ تَدَارْتِ،

غَاسِ مَشِ نَدَا أَذْنَسَغِ شَانِ أَكْسُومِ.

I (surely) have only soup and bread in the house,
unless we go to buy some meat.

هَانِ إِليِ دَا كِ لَخْمَسَةِ، غَاسِ مَشِ تَرِيدِ أَتْتَشْدِ أَمَعْرَاضِ.

(You'd better) be here at five o'clock, unless you (s.) want punished.

[lit: unless you want to eat the stick/rod]

except ⁴¹غَاسِ .F

وِرَاشِ إِكَمَزِ غَاسِ أَفُوسَنَشِ.

No one will scratch for you (m.s.) except your hand.

[a proverb: You can only count on yourself.]

أَنَّايْخْتَنِ كُولَنَسَنِ غَاسِ شَاكَ.

I saw all of them (m.) except you (m.s.).

³⁹ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 398, under "M." Some people say it with a *shedda*: وَمَا .

⁴⁰ This form of the future won't be studied until lesson 28. Briefly, it is the present continuous tense without the tense indicator. It is used after question words, relative pronouns, and negatives.

⁴¹ Some regions say غَاسِ إِمَشِ . See lesson 10, page 63, for other regional variations of مَشِ . غَاسِ can also be said as خَاسِ , غَسِ , and خَسِ .

even if, although, in spite of

.G مَغَار or مَقَار⁴²

This word causes moveable items to go in front of the verb. When a noun follows the word, the noun is in its non-dependent form.

مَغَار تَسْنَد بَزَاف، وَر تَسْنَد مَاطَسَن نَتَا.

Even though you (s.) know a lot, you don't know what he knows.

وَ رُوْلَن مَغَار رَعْبَن.

They (m.) didn't run away although they were astonished.

مَغَار أَيَا، أَدُوخ.

In spite of this, I will go.

مَغَارَس نَنَا لِحَقَّ، وَرَاخ يَوْمِن.

Even though we told him the truth, he didn't believe us.

even if, although, in spite of

.H وَخَا⁴³

This word is a synonym to the above word in part E and can be directly substituted for it. Although this word is used a lot in Arabic, many Tamazight speakers also use it.

وَخَايَاس تَاكَاد أَيْنَا غورُش إِلَان، وَرَاش إِزْنَزَا⁴⁴
إِيَّيْسَنَس.

Even though you (m.s.) give him whatever you have,
he won't sell you his horse.

وَخَايَاس تَشِيد أَيْنَا غورُش إِلَان، وَرَاش إِزْنَزِي
إِيَّيْسَنَس.

Even though you (m.s.) gave him whatever you had,
he didn't sell you his horse.

وَخَا أَيَا، أَدُوخ.

In spite of this, I will go.

but

.I وَلايْنِي⁴⁵

وَ ر تَوَاتَاد لْخَيْر نَّاش كْخِيخ، وَلايْنِي عَمِّي آي تَكْئِد.

You (s.) don't deserve the good that I did to you, but you are my uncle.

إِكْوَس إِقَارِيضَن شِيْكَان، وَلايْنِي إِزْلَعْتَن.

He inherited a lot of money, but he wasted [lit: scattered] it.

⁴² This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 408, under "MgR," and on page 425, under "MQR."

⁴³ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 756, under "Wh."

⁴⁴ This form of the future won't be studied until lesson 28. See footnote number 40.

⁴⁵ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 762, under "WLYN."

J. مَشَان⁴⁶ but

إِتْفَارَس⁴⁷ أَكْزَارَ خَمْسِ آلَافِ نِ أُرْيَال⁴⁸ إِي حَدَّوْ ،
مَشَانِ وَرْ غُورْسِ وَالْوِ .

Haddou owes the butcher 250 dirhams, but he doesn't have anything.
[lit: The butcher pursues/is following Haddou (for) 5000 rials, but...]

إِرِّي غِيفْسِ إِبَّاسِ ، مَشَانِ إِسُولِ وَرْتِ إِيضَاعِ .
His father reprimanded him, but he still didn't obey him.

K. إِمِيل⁴⁹ but

أَرْيَايِزِينِ وَرْ غُورْسِ شَا ، إِمِيلِ دَيْتْسَدَّاقِ .
That man has nothing, but he gives alms.

رُزِيخِ غِيفْكُنْ ، إِمِيلِ وَرْكُنْ وَفِيخِ .
I looked for you (m.pl.), but I didn't find you.

L. زِيخ⁵⁰ but

نَيْخِ إِدِ شَكَّيْنِ زِيخِ نَتَّا .

I thought [lit: said] it was you (m.s.) but (it was) him.

نَيْخِ إِسَاشِ إِرُورَا أَرَطَالِ زِيخِ إِرَا أَشِ إِنْشَرِ .
I thought [lit: said] that he returned the loan to you (m.s.) but he wanted to deny (that he owed) you. [He didn't want to recognize the debt.]

M. نَتَّا⁵¹ but

The word نَتَّا with this meaning is invariable, that is, it doesn't change regardless of what the subject of the sentence is.

⁴⁶ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 414, under "MK." Regional variations of this word include مَشَا , مَشَانْتِ , and مَكَا .

⁴⁷ Or إِدْفَارَسِ .

⁴⁸ Some say وَارِيَالِ .

⁴⁹ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 416, under "ML." Regional variations of this word include إِمِيْقِ and إِمِيْحِ .

⁵⁰ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 801, under "Zh." Regional variations of this word include إِزِيْحِ and إِزِيخِ .

⁵¹ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 503, under "NT."

تاغولند تَرَبَاتٍ غَر تَدَارَت، نَتَّا وَرَتَ إِقْبِيلَ أَوْدِ يُون.
 The girl came back to the house, but no one accepted her.
 ياغولند لَوَزِيرَ أَمَزَوَارُو، نَتَّا سَوْلَن مِذَّن حَقَرْنَت.
 He became prime minister, but people still despised him.

but it was/it is

نَتَّا د ⁵² .N

The word نَتَّا with this meaning varies according to the subject. It can be either نِتْنَتِي, نِتْنِي, نَتَات, نَتَّا.

غَالِخِ إِد رَائِينُو أَيِّ دِيكَات، نَتَّا د وَيَنَس.
 I thought that it was (in) my interest he was acting, but it was (in) his.
 نِيخ تَمَسَوْتَرَت أَيِّ تَغَّا، نَتَات د تَخَوَانَت.
 I said she was a beggar, but she was a thief.

whereas independent + مَانِي personal pronoun .O

غَالِخِ وَ أَرِيَازِ إِغُودَانَ، إِسَّن رَبِّي، مَانِي نَتَّا د بُو
 إِحْلَانَن.
 I thought this one was a good man, (that) he knew God, whereas he's a liar.
 تَنِيدي تَرِيدَ أَتَدُودَ غَر لِيكُول، مَانِي شَكَّيْن تَدِيدَ غَر
 سُولِيمَا.
 You (s.) told me you were going to go to school, whereas you went to
 the movies.

5. Cause/effect or consequence

because, since

إِدَّخ ⁵³ .A

إِدَّخِ وَر تَسْنَد، فَسْتِ!
Since you (s.) don't understand, be quiet!

⁵² The د is the predicative د meaning "he/she/it is" or "they are." This word is described on pages 48-49 of Taifi's dictionary under "D."

⁵³ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 57, under "Dğ." Regional variations of this word include إِتَّخ and إِدَّغ.

رَضَلْخَاسْ شَا نِ إِقَارِيضَنِ إِدْخِ أَمَزْلُوضِ أَكْغَا تَسَاعَتَا.
I lent him some money because he's poor (at) this moment [lit: this hour].

because or **عَلَى حَقٍّ** .B
عَلَى حَقَّاشْ⁵⁴

أَرِيَازِينَ، وَرِ غُورْسِ إِلِّي مَانِيكْ إِتْسَنَادِ أَوْدِ أَقَرَّوْنَسِ
عَلَى حَقٍّ تَسُوفَغْتِ تَمَطَّوْطَنَسِ زِي تَدَارْتِ.
That man, he doesn't have any place [lit: in where] to lay (even) his head
because his wife put him out of the house.

مُسَافَاظَنِ سِ إِمَطَّوْنِ عَلَى حَقٍّ سَنِّ إِسِ وَرِ
تَمَّيَايْنِ⁵⁵ دِيخِ كَيْ دُونِيَتَا.
They said good-bye with tears because they (m.) knew that they wouldn't
see each other again in this world.

because, since **أَلْيَكْ** .C

إِحْرَقَ أَلْيَكْسِ نِيخِ آيْنَا.
He got angry because I told him that.
تَغَالِ إِسِ وَرِ غُورْسِ زَهْرِ أَلْيَكْسِ إِجْرَا شَا وَرِ إِحْلِينَ.
She thinks that she's not lucky since something bad [lit: not good]
happened to her.

therefore, that's why **خَفَ أَيَا**⁵⁶ .D
(Mor. Arabic) عَلَى هَادِ الشِّي
(Mor. Arabic) عَلَى دَاكِ الشِّي

خَفَ أَيَا إِنِّي...
Therefore he said to me...
خَفَ أَيَا سَوَّجَدَاتِ إِخْفَاوْنُنْ، هَانَ أَكَلِيدِ أَدِيدُو غَرِ
مَكْنَسِ.
Therefore get ready/be ready [lit : ready yourselves], the King
is coming to Meknes.

⁵⁴ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 249, under "hQ," and on page 842, under "عL." In the southern parts of the Middle Atlas language group, the word أَشْكَو is used for "because."

⁵⁵ This form of the future won't be studied until lesson 28. See footnote number 40.

⁵⁶ A regional variation is خَفَ أَيَادِ.

إِنَّا "نَكِين، ور سولاخ. خَفَ أَيَا هَاتِين ور تَيَغِيخ⁵⁷
 أَنَدَّوْخ."

He said, "Me, I'm not free. That's why I can't [lit: won't be able to]
 go (there)."

so, therefore

إِوَا⁵⁸ .E

(Mor. Arabic) إِذْن

إِوَا، شَاتِ أَيِنَّا إِكَّانِ وَيِن قَايْصَرَ إِ قَايْصَرَ، دِ أَيِنَّا
 إِكَّانِ وَيِن رَبِّي إِ رَبِّي.

Therefore, give (m.pl.) what is Ceasar's to Ceasar, and what is
 God's to God.

إِوَا، إِنِّيي مَانِ كِ سِينَا أَيِنْدَاشِ إِعْجَبَن.

So tell me which of these two you (m.s.) like.
 [lit: which among them that pleases you]

because, it's that, it's because

إِس⁵⁹ .F

ور إِرِي أَدِيدُو إِسِ إِثْغَد⁶⁰.

He doesn't want to come because he's scared.

مَشِ وَرْتَنِ تَوْفِيدِ هَاتِ إِسِ سَافَرَن.

If you (s.) don't find them (m.) it's (surely) that they traveled.

لَيْكِ وَرَاخِ إِغْرِي غُورْسِ هَاتِ إِسِ إِحْرَقِ.

Since he didn't invite us to his place it's (surely) because he's angry.

before + verb **مَاحَدَّ** or **مَاحَدَّ** **ور** **.G**

This phrase differs from that under part 1, letter M, in that this phrase implies that if you don't do something there will be a result (usually negative). For example, "Eat before the food gets cold." This could be translated also as "Eat, otherwise the food will get cold." Words to translate this in French would be "*sinon*" and "*avant que*." This latter example is important because its structure is very close to Tamazight. The negative **ور** doesn't really have a negative meaning in the sentence (even though it grammatically affects the following verb, changing the vowel in the past tense form). This is like the French: *Fait cela avant qu'il ne soit trop tard* ("Do this before it is too late.").

⁵⁷ This form of the future won't be studied until lesson 28. See footnote number 40.

⁵⁸ Surprisingly this word doesn't seem to be listed in Taifi's dictionary.

⁵⁹ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on pages 607 and 608, under "S."

⁶⁰ The **ثِي** in this word is pronounced with rounded lips and therefore the word sounds like **إِثْغَد**.

أَوْرَا أَتَّشُدْ مَاحَدَ وَرَ إِصْمِيضَ وَوَتَشِي.
 Come and eat before the food gets cold.
 أَوْرَا أَتَّشُدْ دَانُونَ مَاحَدَ وَرَتَ إِتْشِي كُماش.
 Come and eat the yogurt before your (m.s.) brother eats it.
 إِخْصَا مُحَنَدَ أَدِيغَرَ مَاحَدَ وَرَ إِمْقُورَ.
 Muhand needs to study (*i.e.*, go to school) before he grows up.
 (When he grows up it will be too late to learn in school.)

6. Other

that (before verbs)

.A إِس

سَنَخَ إِسَ وَرَ تَفْهَمَ.
 I knew that she didn't understand.
 إِسِينَاتِ إِسَ وَسَارَ تَنِيمَ أَتَنْجَحَمَ بِلَا نَكِينِ.
 Know that you (m.pl.) will never succeed without me.
 غَالَخَ إِسْكُنْتَ يَاغَ شَا.
 I thought that you (f.pl.) were sick.
 تَتَوَّ إِسَ وَرَ تَسُولَا.
 She forgot that she wasn't free.
 إِسَ تَوْشِيدِ إِسَ وَرَاسَنَ إِعْجِبَ لِحَالِ؟
 Did you (s.) feel that they (m.pl.) weren't happy?
 [lit: that the situation wasn't pleasing to them]
 يَوْفَ إِسَ تَنِيدَ لِحَقِّ.
 It's better/It would be better that [or: if] you tell the truth.

This word إِس means "that" only after certain verbs. Knowing what those verbs are comes from practice and usage. The verbs include (listed in their simple imperative form): إِسِين (to know), غَال (to think, suppose), ضَنَّا (to think, suppose), تَو (to forget), عَقَل (to remember), فَهَم (to understand), أَنَّاي (to see), زَر (to know, to see), سَل (to hear), أَف (to be better), نَعَت or سَنَعَت (to show), ضَهَرَ (to seem), أَف (to find), أَشِي (to feel, to realize), and others.

that (before non-verbs) **إِد** (or) **إِدَّ** .B

سَنَخِ إِدِ أَرَبَانُو أَيِّ تَكْبِيدِ.

I know that you are my son.

غَالَخِ إِدِ شَمَّيْنِ أَيِّدِي تَغْرِيدِ.

I thought that (it was) you (f.s.) who called me.

This word **إِد** means "that" only after certain verbs. These are the same verbs as with **إِس** in part A above.

lest **زَمَار + أَد** .C

إِقْرَ مُحَنِّدِ تَقْيِرِ نَ لِكُونَطْنَوَارِ زَمَارِ أَتِ يَانَّايِ إِبَّاسِ
كَيْ لَقَهَّوَا.

Muhand hid behind the counter lest [fearing that] his father see him
in the café.

وَمُرَّخِ طَّاكْسِي زَمَارِ أَدِ غِيْفِي إِدَّو لِحَالِ.

I took a taxi lest I be late.

in any case, at least **بَعْدَا** .D

أَنْتَرَبِحَ بَعْدَا غَاسِ إِمَنْسِي.

We will earn at least our dinner.

دَيْخِ غَرِّ تَمَغْرَا. بَعْدَا تَشِيخِ وَخَا تَخَا تَمَغْرَا.

I went to the wedding. At least I ate even though the wedding was bad.

هَات and **هَاتِين** and **هَان**⁶¹ **(for emphasis)** .E

These three words are extremely common in stories and other speech. As with **دَائِي** and **أَهَا**, their meanings are difficult to define exactly and it is difficult to know when to use them properly. It is by observation, practice, and usage that you will learn the appropriate places for these words.

The most helpful way to look at these words is that they are used for emphasis. Sometimes they are translatable this way: "certainly," "really," or "surely." Other times there is no real exact translation. Sometimes the implication is somewhat of a threat (especially with the word **هَان**), but other times there is no nuance of a threat at all. The

⁶¹ These words are found on page 215, column 2, under "H" in Taifi's dictionary.

words هات and هاتين seem, in most cases, to be interchangeable, although in a technical sense هات (ها + ت) means “here it is” and هاتين (ها + ت + ي + ن) means “there it is” (with the ن being the ن of farness and the ي being added for pronunciation). These words are close in meaning and usage to the Moroccan Arabic words ها and را, as in راني مشيت “Me, I’m outta here!”⁶² [more literally: There I am, I’m gone.]. هان (ها + ن) literally means “there it is.”

هات توعرَدْ أْ يامدَّاكُلْ!

You’re really difficult (my) friend [lit: oh friend]!

ونَّا إِرْحَبَن س لَهْلِينو هاتين إِرْحَب إِسِي.

He who welcomes my family [or : my parents] _____ welcomes me.

نَّاس "هاتين نانَّايْ أَكْلِيد أَسَّا كْ رَّبَّاض."

They (m.) said to him, “_____ We saw the King today in Rabat.”

إِوا هات دَ زِيكُش تَتْرَخْ أْ خَالِي أَدي تَعَاوَنَد.

So I’m really asking (from) you, (my) uncle, to help me.

إِنَّا لِقَاضِي "هان نَكِّين ور وْفِيخْ أَوْد يُون لَعِيْب كْ
تَمَطَّوْطًا."

The judge said, “I surely haven’t found anything wrong [lit: any fault]
in this woman. or

The judge said, “You see, I haven’t found....”

هان يُون إِشِرِّي إِسْمَنَسْ أَفِي إِدَاد.

_____ A boy named Affi came.

هان ور غوري لَفْلوس!

I don’t have any money!!

Remember!

The most frequently used words to
“punctuate” stories are:

هان and هاتين , هات , أَها , داي .

They can’t always be translated, and
you will learn their usage by listening,
observation, and practice.

It takes time.

⁶² Which someone would say right as they are getting ready to leave the room.

it happened that, *il se trouvait que*

F. يوفاد لِحال⁶³

This expression is quite common and can be translated literally “the situation found (that),” or more colloquially with an impersonal “it happened that” or “it turned out that.” The French expression “*il se trouvait que*” is even much closer as an exact translation. The structure of the phrase is:

يُوفَا + the د of direction + لِحَال

Since لِحَال is the subject of the verb, the verb always remains in the third masculine singular conjugation. The د of direction doesn’t have any directional meaning here, but this is one of the verbs or expressions that always takes the د of direction (as we saw in the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lessons 7-10, pages 36, 51-53). Remember that the د of direction is moveable.

Since this expression appears a lot in stories or extended narrative, it will often be found in its sentence connection form: يَافَدُ لِحَال.

يُوفَادُ لِحَالِ مِدَّانِ لَّانِ دَتَتَشَانِ إِسْلَمَانَ.

It happened that people were eating fish.

Il se trouvait que des gens mangeaient des poissons.

دَّانِ غَرِ يُونِ زَابُوقِ نِ عَارِي نَامِي ذُيُوفَا لِحَالِ تَتُوبُنَا
غَيْفَسِ تَمْدِينَتَنَسَنَ.

They (m.) went to a cliff of a mountain to which it happened that
their city was built on it.

نَكْشَمِ غَرِ تَدَارَتِ نِ ذُرَيْسِ، دَائِي يَافَدُ لِحَالِ
تَضَخَّالَتَنَسِ يَاجَتِ شَا.

We entered Driss’ house. Now it happened that his sister-in-law was sick.

يُونِ وَاسِ إِلَّا دِيكِي لَازِ. جَمَعَخِ دِ سِينِ إِرِيَزَنِ كِ أَبْرِيدِ،
مَشَانِ يَافَتَنِيدِ⁶⁴ لِحَالِ أَوْدِ نِتْنِي سِ سِينَتَنَسَنِ وَرِ
غُورَسَنِ أَوْدِ شَا نِ وَوَتَشِي.

One day I was hungry. I met two men on the road, but it happened that
[lit: the situation found them] they, too, either of them, didn’t have
any food.

إِرْزِيلِ لِيْغَاخِ ذُيُوفَا لِحَالِ دَاهَا حَمَا أَكُنْ نَعَاوَنِ.

It’s good that we happened (to be) right here [lit: that the situation found us
(to be) right here] so that we can help you (m.pl.).

⁶³ Surprisingly this expression doesn’t seem to be listed in Taifi’s dictionary.

⁶⁴ This comes from: يَافُ + تَنَ (“them”) + (for pronunciation) + دَ.

7. Summary of words with multiple meanings

Some of the above words have more than one meaning, and these can be quite confusing.⁶⁵ The following chart summarizes the various meanings that some of the words have. The best way to learn the various meanings is to choose one meaning at a time and work on it. After you are comfortable with the types of contexts in which the word can be used, go on to the next meaning and context. That way, after a while, you won't be as confused when you hear one of these words.

There are a few meanings which weren't included in this lesson. You should already be familiar with those meanings from previous lessons. Otherwise, see the previous pages for sentences illustrating each meaning.

suddenly	.1	شَوِي
after a while, later	.2	
a little	.3	
as soon as	.1	غَاس
unless (مَش +)	.2	
except	.3	
only, just	.4	
until	.1	أَلْيَاث
because, since	.2	
when	.3	
first, firstly	.1	بَعْدَا
already	.2	
by the way	.3	
at least, anyway	.4	
while, as long as	.1	مَاحَد
the more...the more (مَاحَد +)	.2	
before + verb (وِر +)	.3	
since, because	.1	إِدَّخ
when	.2	
a short while ago	.3	

⁶⁵ This is no different from English. For example, the word "since" has a causative meaning: "Since I know you, I will let you into my house," and a temporal meaning: "I've known him since he was young."

Used before verbs:	because, it's that, it's because	.1	إس
	that	.2	
	a "yes/no" question word, <i>est-ce que...?</i>	.3	
	if, whether	.4	
Used before non-verbs:	as for _____	.1	إد
	that	.2	
	a "yes/no" question word, <i>est-ce que...?</i>	.3	
	if, whether	.4	

Expressions of Nuance with Verbs

This lesson covers expressions like: “I just did something,” “I almost did something,” “I was going to do something but...,” “Maybe he ...,” “He began to do something,” “He kept on doing something,” and expressions of obligation.

1. I just did something

A. This expression is formed in the following way:

verb in the past tense form + مَحْرًا¹

The word مَحْرًا causes direct and indirect object pronouns, direction particles, and prepositions with pronouns to move to a place in front of the verb.

He just went out. مَحْرًا إِفْتَع.

I just came. مَحْرًا دَدَيْخ.

مَحْرًا غورسَن ديدَا شِيكَن ن لَغاشي
A large crowd just came to their (m.) place.

B. Another way to say a similar meaning is with the following structure:

verb in the past tense form + غاس دُغِي + أَيَّ

(It was) just now that he called (here). غاس دُغِي أَيَّ دِيغْرًا.

(It was) just now that he went. غاس دُغِي أَكْثَدًا.²

(It was) only just now that he went. غاس دُغِي عَاد أَكْثَدًا.

C. Another way to say a similar meaning is with the word ³أَمَشِينَا. Note that this word causes moveable items to move to a place in front of the verb.

In parts A and B above, the words for “just” represent a very short time span. The word in part C also has this meaning, but in addition it can refer to a relatively longer time

¹ Regional variations of this word include بَحْرًا and أَبَحْرًا. In some regions these words don't cause pronouns, etc. to move. Some regions also add أَيَّ after this word.

² The word دُغِي can also come after the verb: غاس أَكْثَدًا دُغِي.

³ Some regions use أَكِين.

span as well, as in “Did Driss leave Morocco two years ago? No, he just left—three months ago.”

أَمْشِينَا⁴ دَانَ سَ طَيَارًا.

They (m.) just left by plane.

أَمْشِينَا دِيْعَايْد.

He just returned (here).

2. I almost did something

A. With the word ذَرُوح

This expression is formed in the following ways:

verb in the past tense form + ذَرُوح

verb in the past tense form + أَيَّ + ذَرُوح

verb in the past tense form + ذَرُوح + نَتَّا⁵

verb in the past tense form + أَيَّ + ذَرُوح + نَتَّا

Since the first way is the easiest, that is the way we will use. But you should find out how the people around you are speaking.

We almost died.

ذَرُوح نَمَّوت.

We almost didn't arrive (here).

ذَرُوح وَر ذَنْيَوَض.

I almost fell.

ذَرُوح أَيَّ تَوْتِيخ.

B. With the verb دَو

The way to form this expression is as follows:

the verb in its conjugated past form + the conjugated past form of دَو

I almost ate the meat.

دَيِّخ تَشِيخ أَكْسوم.

⁴ Some regions add أَيَّ after أَمْشِينَا or after أَكِين, if they use that word.

⁵ This word doesn't change and is just part of the expression. See Taifi, page 503, under “NT,” for this usage.

I found (that) he almost drank the soda. وفيخْت إِذَا إِسْوَا لِمُونَادَا.
 [lit: I found him he almost drank the soda.]
 I found that he had almost drank the soda.
 They (m.) almost finished. دَانَ شَمَلْنَ.

Note that this construction is different from دَو + أَد :

He is going to drink the soda. إِذَا أَدِيسُو لِمُونَادَا.

C. With the word عِلَاحَال

almost, on the point of;
soon عِلَاحَال

Used with **the future tense**:

He will come back soon. عِلَاحَال أَدَّ يَاجُول.

He is on the point of getting out
of [lit: from] prison. عِلَاحَال أَدِيفَّعْ زِي لِحَبَس.

But in **the past tense** there are a number of different ways of expressing this idea:

He almost fell in the well. عِلَاحَال إِتَوْتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 عِلَاحَال وَمَا إِتَوْتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 شَوَيْت وَمَا إِتَوْتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 شَوِي وَمَا إِتَوْتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 غَاسَ شَوِي وَمَا إِتَوْتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 شَوَيْت أَكْتَوْتِي [أَيَّ + إِتَوْتِي] كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 غَاسَ رَبِّي وَمَا إِتَوْتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو.

The word وَمَا in the above sentences means “otherwise.” So the literal meaning of some of the above sentences is “Just a little, otherwise he fell in the well” or “Only (for) God, otherwise he fell in the well.” In other words, only a little separated him from falling into the well, and it was only God’s intervention that separated him from falling into the well.

3. I was going to do something but...

A. This structure is formed in the following way:

verb conjugated in two-verbs-together format + أَد + conjugated form of ⁶إِرِي

(This has the exact same form as “I/he/she/etc. wants to do something.”)

رِيخْ أَدَسَقَّ⁷ طَوموبيل، إِمِيلْ وَالُو إِذْرِيْمَن.

I was going to buy a car, but I didn't have any money.

رِيخْ أَنْدَوَخْ أَدَسَقَّ طَوموبيل، إِمِيلْ وَالُو إِذْرِيْمَن.

I was going to go (there) (to) buy a car, but I didn't have any money.

إِرَا أَدِيدُو، مَشَانْ إِدَايَاسْ لِحَال.

He was going to come, but it got too late [or: the time slipped away on him].

رِيخْ أَنْدَوَخْ أَد غورَشْ كَخ، وَلَايْنِي هَانْ شَا إِكْشَمْد.

I was going to go (to) visit you (m.s.) (there), but (wouldn't you know it) someone came in (i.e., to my house).

تومَزْتْ توستْ أَلِيكْ إِرَا أَدِيخْنَق.

He had such a cough that [lit: until] he was going to choke.

[lit: A cough caught him until (to the degree that) he was going to choke.]

B. Another way that you may hear (probably more in the southern regions of the Middle Atlas language group) adds the conjugated past form of the auxiliary verb كْ in front of إِرِي. They seem to mean about the same, although at times the addition of كْ means that the action was further in the past.

كَيِخْ رِيخْ أَدَاشْ أَدَجَخْ شُوِي، مَشَانْ تَشِيخْت.

I was going to leave you (m.s.) some, but I ate it.

إِكَا إِرَا أَدِيْسَغْ طَوموبيل، وَلَايْنِي دُغِي لَا.

He was going to buy a car, but now no.

4. Maybe he ...

A. One way to express this idea is with the word بَار :

i. To express a wish or possibility, the structure is:

⁶ Some regions use إِنِي .

⁷ Or أَدَسَغْ or أَدَسَخْ or أَدَسَغْ , depending on how the region phonetically handles a first person singular verb that ends in غ .

verb conjugated in the two-verbs-together format + بار⁸ + أد

شاس أسافارا بار أدجي.

Give him this medicine. Maybe he will get better.

أرت وحتون أرورزون بار أد غيفس أمرن شان واول زك
إمينس حما أد إس قرقرن.

They (m.) were spying on him and hoping that [lit: looking for maybe that] they would catch him in some word [lit: catch on him some word] from his mouth so that they could slander (him) with it.

ii. To express a doubt or uncertainty, the structure is:

verb + إس + بار

noun or non-verb + إد + بار

بار إس⁹ إذا أديجمع د إمدوكالنس.

Maybe he went to meet his friends. or

Maybe he's going to meet his friends.

ضنخ بار إس ور إنني أدّياوض أسا.

I think maybe he won't come [arrive here] today.

بار إد إطو أكيول [أي + إولن].

Maybe it's Itto who got married.

B. Another way to express doubt or uncertainty is with the word عنىخ :

Maybe he will come. عنىخ أدّيو.

Maybe he left. or عنىخ أريدا.¹⁰

or عنىخ إذا.

عنىخ إس إذا.

⁸ Other areas say علاين أد or يمكن أد.

⁹ Instead of بار إس, some regions say علاين.

¹⁰ See Taifi's dictionary, page 847, under "عN," for the use of أر after عنىخ in the past. Not all regions do that.

5. He began to...

A. One way to express this is with the verb **أَمَرَ**. The structure is:

verb in its continuous form + **أَر** + **أَمَرَ** conjugated in its past form

He began to hit [repeatedly] his sister. **يَوْمَ أَرِيكَاتِ أَلْتَمَاسِ.**

She began to breast-feed her child. **تَوْمَ أَرْتَسَوِّطِيضَ لَعِيْلَتَسِ.**

B. Another way to express the idea is with the verb **سَفَلَ**.

verb in its continuous form + **أَر** + **سَفَلَ** conjugated in its past form

He began to speak. **إِسْفَالَ أَرِيَسَوَالِ.**

They (m.) began to cry. **سَفَالَنَ أَرْتَرُونِ.**

C. Another way to express the idea is with the verb **بَدَا**.

verb in its continuous form + **أَر** + **بَدَا** conjugated in its past form

The rain began to fall/falling. **إِبْدَا أَنْزَارِ أَرِيكَاتِ.**

He began to chant the Koran. **إِبْدَا أَرِيْتَجَوَادِ لِقُرَانِ.**

D. Another way to express the idea is with the verb **كَّرَ**¹¹.

verb in its continuous form + **أَر** + **كَّرَ** conjugated in its past form

They (m.) began to sing [lit: to say] the song. **كَّرَنَ أَرْتَيْنِينَ إِزْلَانِ.**

¹¹ Some regions pronounce this verb as **نَكَرَ**. See pages 486 to 487 in Taifi's dictionary, under "NKR," for the detailed listing of the verb **كَّرَ**.

He began to stir up/provoke the people. **إِكْرَ أَرِيْسْحُورْ وَش مِدَّن.**

Note, however, that this verb can't always be translated easily into English. Penchoen¹² writes of “the frequent use of **كَّر** ‘stand up, set to’ in narrative to mark, roughly speaking, the initiation of a new action. The following verb may be in any aspect.” He gives the following example:

(So) then the man seized him. **إِكْرَ أَرْيَاز يَامْرْت.**

In parts A, B, and C above, the meaning of “begin to do something” is normal and without any extra nuance. However, the use of the word **كَّر** implies a situation (good or bad) which stirs someone to “arise” (not necessarily literally) to do something. There is emotion involved (whether positive or negative) and not a simple, neutral “begin to do something.”

E. Another way to express the idea of “begin to do something” is with the verb **قِيم** verb in its continuous form + **أَر** + **قِيم** conjugated in its past form

He began to laugh. **إِقِيمَا¹³ أَرِيْطْصَا.**

They (m.) began to consult among themselves. **قِيمَان أَرْتَمْشَاوَارَن إِنْكْرَاتْسَن¹⁴.**

Since this verb has a literal meaning of “to sit” or “to stay” when it is used to mean “to begin doing something,” the action should be one which doesn't involve movement.

6. He kept on doing something

Although the verb **قِيم** in part E above can mean “to begin doing something,” the exact same structure can be used to express “to keep on doing something,” since the verb can mean “to stay.” Sometimes it's only the context that shows the difference in meaning. Since the first example below involves movement, it clearly means “to keep on” rather than “to begin to.” The second example is ambiguous without a context.

He kept on walking. **إِقِيمَا أَرِيْتَدَو.**

The woman kept on crying. **تَقِيمَا تَمَطَّوْطَّ أَرْتَالَا.**

¹² Page 43 of *Tamazight of the Ayt Nahir*.

¹³ Some areas conjugate this verb with irregular prefixes and suffixes, and other areas use the regular form.

¹⁴ Some regions add a **ت** in the plural forms, as is done here. We've learned just **إِنْكْرَاتْسَن**.

7. Expressions of obligation

A. Obligation can be expressed by the verb **خَصَا**. See the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lessons 1 to 3, pages 11 to 18, for a full treatment of this verb.

B. The verb **إِلْزَمَ** (stronger than **خَصَا**)

i. This verb is only used in its third masculine singular form **إِلْزَمَ**. The verb is used with indirect object pronouns when indicating “it is necessary for so and so to....”

verb in two-verbs-together + **أَدَ** + indirect object pronouns + **إِلْزَمَ**
conjugation

When a noun is used instead of a pronoun, the structure is as follows:

verb in two-verbs-together + **أَدَ** + noun + **إِ** + **إِلْزَمَ**
conjugation

Examples:

إِلْزَمَاخَ أَنْفَرَحَ إِدَّخَ تَوْفَا أَلْتَمَامَ لَخْدَمْتِ.

We must be happy because your (f.s.) sister found a job.

كَيْخَ أَيْنَايِي إِلْزَمَنْ.

I did what I had to [lit: I did what was necessary for me (to do)].

إِلْزَمَ إِ أَمِكْسَا أَدِيحَاسَبَ وَلِيْنَسَ.

It's necessary for the shepherd to count his sheep.

وَنَا إِرَانَ أَدِيكَ بُو سَيَّاسَا إِلْزَمَ¹⁵ أَدِيكَ أَمَطَّرَحَ.

The one who wants to be a politician must be a rich man.

وَرِ إِلْزَمَ غَاسَ يُونِ أَسَكِينِ.

Only one thing is necessary.

ii. to oblige someone: **لَزَمَ**

This verb is used in all of its conjugation possibilities. The four pillars of the verb are:

لَزَمَ تَلَزَمَ إِلْزَمَ \ وَرِ إِلْزَمَ

¹⁵ Or **إِلْزَمَسَ**. The indirect object pronoun **أَسَ** is optional here.

The structure is:

verb in two-verbs- + أَد + someone خَف + the verb لَزَمَ together format

he do something that someone to oblige

Examples:

إِلْزَمَ غِيفَسَ أَذْيِنِي شَهَاتَ نَ رَبِّي.

He forced him to say the Shahada.

لَزَمَنَ غِيفِي أَذْخَدَمَخَ.

They (m.) made me work.

لَزَمَنَ غِيفَنَخَ شَرُوضَ نَّامِي وَرَ نَغِي.

They (m.) imposed on us conditions that we couldn't (meet).

[lit: conditions to which we weren't able]

C. The word لَابُدَّا

This word, although not a verb, is synonymous with إِلْزَمَ. When used with a following verb, the structure is the same as with إِلْزَمَ.

He must go. لَابُدَّا أَدِيدُو.

It's necessary for him to pay. لَابُدَّا أَدِيخَلَّصَ.

It's necessary for Haddou to be quiet. لَابُدَّا إِ حَدَّو أَدِيَسُوسَمَ.

The word لَابُدَّا can be used with a noun in a nominal sentence (that is, a sentence without a verb).

A car is necessary. لَابُدَّا¹⁶ نَ طُومُوبِيلَ.

Salt is necessary for sheep. لَابُدَّا نَ تَيْسَنَتَ إِ وُولِي.

Salt is necessary for sheep. تَيْسَنَتَ لَابُدَّا إِ وُولِي.

¹⁶ Some people say here وَلَا بُدَّا.

ii. Examples

إِقْنَاخِنِ أَنْمَت.

We are (all) mortal.

[lit: It's obligatory that we die.]

إِقْنَكُنِينِ أَدَاسِ تَخَلَّصَم.

You (m.pl.) must pay for him.

[lit: It is obligatory for you that you pay for him.]

إِقْنَشْمِينِ أَتَدَّودِ عَرِ أَضْبِيبِ.

You (f.s.) must go to the doctor.

[lit: It is obligatory for you that you go to the doctor.]

وَرْتِينِ إِقْنِ أَدِيدَو.

It's not necessary that he go.

[lit: It's not necessary for him that he go.]

إِسْكُنِينِ إِقْنِ أَتَشَارَمِ كَفِ أَمَكْرَاو؟

Is it obligatory for you (m.pl.) to participate in/to be part of the assembly/meeting?

iii. With nouns as the direct object instead of pronouns

When nouns instead of pronouns are used to show who must do something, the structure is as follows:

the verb in + أَد + the noun + the ن of + إِقْن
the two-verbs- + farness
together format

he do sthg that (for) Ali It is necessary

إِقْنَنِ عَلِي أَدِيبِي لِنَارَو. Ali must quit smoking.

[It is obligatory (for) Ali that he cut cigarettes.]

إِقْنَنِ عَسَّو د حَدَّو أَدْبَدَرْنِ أَوَالَا دَاتِ نِ لِمَقَدَّمِ.

Assou and Haddou must mention this affair in the presence of the neighborhood leader.

[lit: It is necessary (for) Assou and Haddou that they mention this word before the Meqaddem.]

إِسْ نِيَقْنِ تودَا أَتَلَسِ تَجَلَابِيْتِ توجْدِيْتِ؟

Is it necessary for Tuda to wear a new jellaba?

سَنَخِ إِسْ نِيَقْنِ أَيَا أَدِجْرَو.

I know that this has to happen.

E. The adverbial expression س دَّرَاع

This expression has a number of different meanings¹⁷, but one of them is “by force.”

إِنَّمَا آيَا س دَّرَاع.

He had to do that.

[lit: He did that by force, that is, someone made him do it, so he had to do it.]

إِزَّنَّا إِكْرَنَس س دَّرَاع إِدَّخْ غِيفَس إِمْرُوَاسَن.

He had to sell his field because he was in debt.

[lit: He sold his field by force because on him (were) debts.]

¹⁷ The expression can also mean “arbitrarily” or “with difficulty.”

Complex Question Words

We already looked at question words in the *Abrid 2 Student Book*, lessons 20 to 22, pages 69 to 73. The current lesson concerns more complex questions such as “With what did you do that?” or “In what did you put it?”

There are a number of different ways to form these questions, depending on the region in the Middle Atlas language group.¹

1. preposition + ما

The following are the most common ways of asking a complex question, where ما is simply put in front of the preposition. These don't apply to prepositions of spatial and temporal relationships. We've seen a number of these already.

دَيَسَوَال خَف تَشِيرَاتِين.
He's speaking about girls.

مَآخَف² دَيَسَوَال؟
About what is he speaking?
What is he speaking about?

إِنَغَات س لُكَابُوس.
He killed him with a revolver.

مَاس إِنَغَا لَعَسْكَرِي؟
With what did he kill the soldier?
What did he kill the soldier with?

إِمُون د عَقَا.
He went with Aqqa.

مَاد³ إِمُون عَسَو؟
With whom did Assou go?
Who did Assou go with?

إِلَا كِ لَمِيكَ.
The bread is in the plastic bag.

مَآيْكَ إِلَا أَغْرُوم؟
In what is the bread?
What is the bread in?

دَيَخ غَر فَاس.
I'm going to Fes.

مَآغَر⁴ تَدَّيْد؟
Where are you (s.) going?
[lit: To what are you going?]

¹ These complex questions words are dealt with in Taifi's dictionary on page 394, column 1, under “M,” and on pages 396 and 397, under “M,” subpoint “3 ____ mi.”

² In a different context, the questions مَآخَف, مَآغَر, and مَاس can at times mean “about what?” or “with what (reason)?,” that is, “why?”

³ Some regions say مَآيْد. Ayt Seghroushen says وَاكْد.

⁴ In regions where س is the preposition of movement, the question “Where are you going?” is مَاس تَدَّيْد؟

سَغِيخْتْ زِي مَرَجَان.
I bought it from Marjane.

مازي⁵ تَسْغِيد لِنَقْمِيْجَا؟
From where did you (s.) buy the shirt?
Where did you buy the shirt from?

إِشَاسْتَنْتْ إِرِ إِلِّيم.
He gave them to your (f.s.) daughter.

مامي إِشَا تَوْرِيْقِين؟
To whom did he give the tickets?
Who did he give the tickets to?

Certain prepositions also combine with ماني:

تَلَّا كْ وَامَّاس ن تَمْدِينْت.
It is in the center of town.

مَانِيْكَ تَلَّا تَدَّارْتْ؟
Where is the house?
[lit: In where is the house?]

كَيْخْ زِي فَرَنْسَا.
I'm from France.

ماني زِي⁶ تَكْئِيد؟
From where are you (s.)?
Where are you from?

2. مي + preposition

A. In this way of asking a complex question, the preposition is followed by the word مي, and there is a question tone in the voice. مي can mean either “who” or “what.” There is no ما used in this method.

إِلَّا خَفْ طَبَّلَا.
The bread is on the table.

خَفْ طَبَّلَا.
On the table.

خَفْ مِي؟
On what?

خَفْ مِي إِلَّا أَغْرُوم؟

On what is the bread?
What is the bread on?

إِلَّا أَغْرُوم خَفْ طَبَّلَا.
The bread is on the table.

خَفْ مِي can also mean “about what?” or “for what reason?,” that is, “why?”

⁵ This is a shortened form of ماني زِي .

⁶ In the southern areas of the Middle Atlas language group, this question can also be asked as

ماني تَكْئِيد؟ [lit: “Of where are you?”]. Also in the southern areas of the Middle Atlas language group

كْ is used with certain verbs and expressions to mean “from.” Thus, in those regions مانيْكَ can also mean “from where?” in certain expressions (although not this one here).

إِغْرَسَ س لِمُوسَ.
He slaughtered it with a knife.

س مِي إِغْرَسَ إِ أَفْلُوسَ؟
With what⁷ did he slaughter the rooster?
What did he slaughter the rooster with?

س مِي؟⁸ س لِمُوسَ.
With a knife. With what?

إِغْرَسَ س لِمُوسَ.
He slaughtered it with a knife.

إِمُون د⁹ بُوْدُوْفْتِ.
He went with Buduft.

د مِي إِمُون عَسَّو؟
With whom did Assou go?
Who did Assou go with?

د مِي؟¹⁰ د بُوْدُوْفْتِ.
With Buduft. With whom?

إِمُون عَسَّو د بُوْدُوْفْتِ.
Assou went with Buduft.

إِلَّا كْ لِمِيكَ.
The bread is in the plastic bag.

كْ مِي إِلَّا أُغْرُومَ؟

In what is the bread?

What is the bread in?

كْ لِمِيكَ. كْ مِي؟
In the plastic bag. In what?

إِلَّا أُغْرُومَ كْ لِمِيكَ.

The bread is in the plastic bag.

كْ مِي can also mean “among whom?”¹¹

⁷ In the southern areas of the Middle Atlas language group the preposition س is also used in certain expressions to mean “for (a certain reason).” Thus, in those regions س مِي can also mean “for what reason?,” that is “why?”

⁸ Some regions also say س مَسْ؟, literally, “with what with?”

⁹ Ayt Seghroushen says أَكَّدْ for the preposition د.

¹⁰ Some regions also ask here أَكَّدْ مَن؟ or أَكَّدْ مَا؟

¹¹ As with any of the prepositions, the English equivalents can vary widely. It all depends on what verb takes what preposition. For example, كْ مِي can also mean “on what?,” as in “He did it on Thursday.” س مِي can mean “in what?,” as in “He’s speaking in Tamazight.”

In the southern areas of the Middle Atlas language group, كْ مِي is used with certain verbs and expressions to mean “from.” Thus, in those regions كْ مِي can also mean “from what?”

إِنْسَا غَرَّ أَمَدَّاكُلْنَسْ.
He stayed at his friend's place.

غَرَّ مِي إِنْسَا؟
At whose place did he stay?
Whose place did he stay at?
Chez qui did he stay?

غَرَّ أَمَدَّاكُلْنَسْ.
At his friend's place.
غَرَّ مِي؟
Whose place?
Chez qui?

إِنْسَا غَرَّ أَمَدَّاكُلْنَسْ.
He stayed at his friend's place.

غَرَّ مِي can also mean "to what?," that is, "where?" with a verb of movement.¹³

فَغْنَدْ زِي تَمَزِيدَا.
They came out from the mosque.

زِي مِي دَفَغْنْ مِدَّنْ؟
From where did the people come out?
Where did the people come out from?

زِي تَمَزِيدَا.
From the mosque.
زِي مِي؟¹⁴
From where? The people came out from the mosque.

إِشَاسْتَنَ إِ مَمِيمِ.
He gave it to your (f.s.) son.

إِ مِي إِشَا إِقَارِيضَنَ؟
To whom did he give the money?
Who did he give the money to?

إِ مَمِيمِ.
To your son.
إِ مِي؟¹⁵
To whom? He gave the money to your son.

B. The question phrase can also appear at the end of the sentence. Remember the question tone of voice.

فَغْنَدْ زِي تَمَزِيدَا.
They came out from the mosque.

فَغْنَدْ مِدَّنْ زِي مِي؟
The people came out from where?

C. Some regions add *أَيَّ* after the complex question phrase when it is used at the beginning of a whole sentence. This can be used to give emphasis.

¹² In the southern areas of the Middle Atlas language group, certain regions always say *غور* and never *غَرَّ*, even when the preposition is alone and not combined with pronouns.

¹³ In the southern areas of the Middle Atlas language group (and on certain occasions in some northern areas as well), *س* is used as the preposition of movement. Thus, in those regions *مِي س* can also mean "to what?," that is, "where?"

¹⁴ Some regions also ask here *ماني زِي؟*

¹⁵ Some regions also ask here *مامي؟*

زي تمزييدا آي دَفْعَن.
It's from the mosque that they came out.

زي مي آي دَفْعَن مِدَّن؟
From where did the people come out?
Where did the people come out from?
From where (is it) that the people came out?

D. The same structure applies to question words with prepositions of spatial and temporal relationships:

إِلَّا دَاوْن طَبْلًا ¹⁷ .	دَاوْن مِي ¹⁶ إِلَّا أُغْرُوم؟
It's under the table.	Under what is the bread? What is the bread under?
دَاوْن طَبْلًا.	دَاوْن مِي؟
Under the table.	Under what?
	إِلَّا أُغْرُوم دَاوْن طَبْلًا.
	The bread is under the table.

Other prepositions (See the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lesson 4, page 25):

Above what...?	نِيَاكْ ¹⁸ ن مِي؟	Inside what...?	جَاغ ن مِي؟
Between what...?	إِنْكْر ن مِي؟	Inside what...?	أَكْنَسُون مِي؟
Before what...? In front of what...?	دَات ن مِي؟	Outside of what...?	بَرَا ن مِي؟
After what...? Behind what...?	تَفْيِير ¹⁹ ن مِي؟	On top of what...?	أَفْلَان مِي؟
Across from what?	بَنْيِد ²⁰ ن مِي؟	Beside what...?	تَسْكَا ن مِي؟
		Next to what...?	تَمَان مِي؟
		In the middle of what...?	كْ وَامَّاس ن مِي؟
		At the bottom/back (<i>au fond</i>) of what...?	كْ وَابُوض ن مِي؟

¹⁶ Some regions leave out the ن and say دَاوْن مِي؟ .

¹⁷ Some regions leave out the ن and say دَاوْن طَبْلًا .

¹⁸ For all the prepositions in this column, certain regions will leave out the ن between the preposition and the word مِي .

¹⁹ Remember that there are many regional variations for this preposition, which has both a temporal and spatial meaning: ضَارْت , دَقِير , دَقِير , تَفْيِير , تَفْيِير , قَيْر . The preposition دَات also has both a temporal and spatial meaning, and it has variations such as تَات , زَات , and زُدَات .

²⁰ Some regions say بَنْيِد or بَلِيد (See Taifi, page 422, under "MND").

3. ما + preposition + مي

Some regions use all the same methods as listed above in part 2A, except that they add the question word ما in front of the complex question phrase when it is used to begin a whole sentence. This method doesn't work with prepositions of spatial and temporal relationships.

إِلَّا خَفَ طَبْلًا.

The bread is on the table.

مَاخَفَ مِي إِلَّا أُغْرُوم؟

On what is the bread?

What is the bread on?

إِلَّا كُ لَمِيكًا.

The bread is in the plastic bag.

مَاكُ مِي إِلَّا أُغْرُوم؟

In what is the bread?

What is the bread in?

إِشَاسْتَنَ إِ مَمِّيم.

He gave it to your (f.s.) son.

مَامِي إِشَا إِقَارِيضَن؟

To whom did he give the money?

Who did he give the money to?

مَامِي is a simplified or reduced form which comes from مِي + إِ + مَا. See the explanation on the bottom of page 16 of the *Abrid 3 Student Book*.

With whom...?

مَاد مِي ...؟

To what...? or At whose place...?

مَاغَر مِي ...؟

From what ...?

مَازِي مِي ...؟

4. Affirmative sentences

All these complex question words can be used in affirmative sentences, such as the following samples from all the different methods used above:

وَر غُورِي س مِي آذْ غَرْسَخَ إِ أَفُولَّوس.

I don't have anything to slaughter the rooster with.

[lit: I don't have with what to slaughter the rooster.]

أَنَّا يَنْ د مي إِمُون عَسَو.

They (m.) saw with whom Assou went.
They saw who Assou went with.

أَنَّا يَنْ ماد إِمُون عَسَو.

They (m.) saw with whom Assou went.
They saw who Assou went with.

تَسَّن كْ مي إِلا أُغْرَوْم.

She knows in what is the bread.
She knows what the bread is in.

تَسَّن ماكْ مي إِلا أُغْرَوْم.

She knows in what is the bread.
She knows what the bread is in.

تَسَّن مانِيكْ إِلا أُغْرَوْم.

She knows where the bread is.
[lit: She knows in where is the bread.]

أَنَّا يَنْ مامي إِشا إِقارِيضَن.

They (m.) saw to whom he gave the money.
They saw who he gave the money to.

تَسَّن دَاوْن مي إِلا أُغْرَوْم.

She knows under what is the bread.
She knows what the bread is under.

All, Each, and Every

Many of these words we've seen used in examples in past lessons. This lesson puts in one place the grammar of how to use these words.

A. كَو and كَوِل¹ كَو

These words, depending on their context, mean “each/every” or “all.” Although at times كَو and كَوِل are interchangeable, usually each one is used in certain specific phrases or ways. Although some people put a *shedda* on the ك, others don't; so it is easiest to learn the words without a *shedda*, since both ways are correct. The ك can be pronounced either as a hard “k” sound or a fricative “k” sound.

The nouns that follow كَو and كَوِل are in their non-dependent form. The words don't vary for gender, although in general كَو is used with singular nouns and كَوِل is used with plural nouns or expressing the idea of “all.”²

1. Each and every

This idea is usually expressed with the word كَو. Although the following noun is not in its dependent form, since the word كَو ends with a vowel, a “y” sound is inserted between كَو and the following noun when the noun also starts with a vowel. This is to avoid two vowel sounds coming together, something Tamazight in general doesn't like.

each/every night	كَو يِيض	each/every house	كَو تَدَارَت
each/everyone (m.)	كَو يُون	each/every city	كَو تَمْدِينَت
each/everyone (f.)	كَو يَوْت	each/every time	كَو تِيكَلْت
everyone else (m.)	كَو يُون يَضْن	each/every time	كَو لَمَرْت
everyone else (f.)	كَو يَوْت يَضْن	each/every thing ³	كَو لِحَاجَت
every wolf	كَو يُوْشَن	each/every day	كَو يَاسَّ

Everyone has his own trouble.
[lit: Everyone with his trouble.]

Each one took his part/share.

كَو يُون س تَمَارَانَس.

يُوسِي كَو يُون أَمُورَنَس.

¹ These words are found in Taifi's dictionary on pages 329 to 330, under “KL.”

² Although we will follow this distinction, not everyone does.

³ As in “every object,” as opposed to the unified “everything.”

Some people use this for “everything.”

كولشي

2. All

Frequently to say “all” the word كول is used. It can appear before or after the noun, and it occurs in some contexts apart from a noun.

a. Before the noun

In this case كول⁴ appears before the plural noun in its non-dependent form.

all the children	كول إِشِيرَان	all the men	كول إِرِيَزَن
all the tents	كول إِخَامَن	all the women	كول تَوْتَمِين
all the dogs	كول إِيْضَان	all the people	كول مِدَّن

He killed all the opponents. إِنِّغَا كُولِ إِئْضَلِيْبَن.

The word can also refer to singular items:

تَشَان كُولِ أَيْنَايَسَن نَشَا.

They (m.) ate all that we gave them.

إِنَّا كُولِ أَيْنَاسِ إِنَّا إِبَّاسِ.

He did all that his father told him.

دَتَّمَشَاوَارَن خَفِ كُولِ مَائِ رَانَ أَدَّكَّن.

They (m.) consult each other about all that they want to do.

b. After the noun

i) In this case كول appears after the plural noun.

all the children	إِشِيرَان كُول	all the men	إْرِيزَن كُول
all the tents	إِخَامَن كُول	all the women	تَوْتَمِين كُول
all the dogs	إِيْضَان كُول	all the people	مِدَّن كُول

⁴ Some regions say كولو or كولو instead of كول. This applies to parts 2a, 2b(i), and 2b(iii).

I invited all the neighbors.

غَرِيخِ إِ وَاذْجَارَن كُول.

The word can also refer to singular items:

They (m.) told all that (had) happened.

[lit: They told this that happened all.]

in the whole world

with all your (m.s.) heart

in all of Meknes

قَيَسَنَ آيِنَا إِجْرَان كُول.

لُكْ دُونِيَت كُول

س وولَنَش كُول

لُكْ مَكْنَس كُول

ii) The same people who use the above forms will also use at the same time the following:

plural possessive pronouns + كُول + plural noun or pronoun

all of us

كُولَنَخ

all of you (m.pl.)

كُولَنُن

all of you (f.pl.)

كُولَنُنْت

all of them (m.)

كُولَنَسَن

all of them (f.)

كُولَنَسَنْت

He asked all the people.

إِسْقَسَا مِدَّن كُولَنَسَن.

I saw you (m.pl.) all/all of you.

أَنَّايْخُكُن كُولَنُن.

I saw them (m.) all/all of them.

أَنَّايْخُتَن كُولَنَسَن.

All the women were astonished.

رُعَبَنْت تَوْتَمِين كُولَنَسَنْت.

They (m.) all went.

دَان كُولَنَسَن.

All of them went.

The whole assembly went.

دَان كُولَنَسَن س أَكْرَاو.

All of the assembly went.

iii) For this course we will use the above structures. However, you should be aware that other regions use the following:

plural direct object pronouns + كُول + plural noun or pronoun

all of us	كُولِيَاخ ⁵	or	كُولَاخ
all of you (m.pl.)	كُولُوْكُن	or	كُولُكُن
all of you (f.pl.)	كُولُوْكُنْت	or	كُولُكُنْت
all of them (m.)	كُولُوْتَن	or	كُولُتَن
all of them (f.)	كُولُوْتَنْت	or	كُولُتَنْت

He asked all the people. إِسْقَسَا مِدَّن كُولُوْتَن.

I saw you (m.pl.) all. أَنَايْخُكُن كُولُكُن.

All the women were astonished. رُعَبَنْت تُوْتَمِين كُولُوْتَنْت.

B. أَوُك⁶ “awk” or “ak^w”

We are writing the word "awk" in the above fashion, although technically it would be just أَك. The pronunciation is "a" plus a rounded "k." The lips are rounded before the "k" is pronounced. Many phonetic transcriptions write the word "ak^w." English speakers tend to hear a "w" sound before the "k."

In certain contexts this word means “whatever, whoever, wherever, etc.” See lessons 4 and 5 of the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, pages 35 to 38.

But the word can also mean “all.”

They (m.) all came. دَانْد أَوُك.

All of them came.

All the people came. دَانْد مِدَّن أَوُك.

I threw up all that I ate. رُوْرِيْخْد أَوُك مَاي تَشِيْخ.

I threw up whatever I ate.

They (m.) ate all that we gave them. تَشَان أَوُك أَيَنْتَايَسَن نَشَا.

⁵ Some regions add a *shedda* on the ل for all these forms.

⁶ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on pages 321 to 322, under “K.”

The following word order is also acceptable:

I threw up all that I ate. روريخد ماي تشيخ أوك.
I threw up whatever I ate.
They (m.) ate all that we gave them. تشان ايناياسن نشا أوك.

In negative phrases the word means “at all.”

We didn't speak at all about that. ور نسول أوك خف ايننا.
He doesn't know at all how to drive. ور إسّن أوك أديحري.
He didn't come at all. أوك ور ديدي.

With the meaning “at all,” there are three different possibilities for word order:

We didn't speak at all about that. أوك ور نسول خف ايننا.
We didn't speak at all about that. ور نسول أوك خف ايننا.
We didn't speak at all about that. ور نسول خف ايننا أوك.

C. ⁷قّاح (a synonym of أوك)

1. Examples

They (m.) ate all that we gave them. تشان قّاح ايناياسن نشا.
They (m.) all came. داند قّاح.
All of them came.
All the people/everyone came. داند مِدّن قّاح.
They (f.) all came. داند قّاحنّسنت.
All of them came.

The following word order is also acceptable:

They (m.) ate all that we gave them. تشان ايناياسن نشا قّاح.

⁷ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 528, under “Qh.”

In negative phrases the word means “at all.”

We didn't speak at all about that. ور نَسِوَل قَّاح خَف أَيَّنَّا.

He doesn't know at all how to get along with people. ور إِسَّن قَّاح أَدِيمَسَاسَا د مِدَّن.

Don't speak to him/her at all. قَّاح أَدوراس سَوَال.

As with **أَوْك**, there are three different possibilities for word order for the meaning “at all”:

We didn't speak at all about that. قَّاح ور نَسِوَل خَف أَيَّنَّا.

We didn't speak at all about that. ور نَسِوَل قَّاح خَف أَيَّنَّا.

We didn't speak at all about that. ور نَسِوَل خَف أَيَّنَّا قَّاح.

2. Some people use the following:

plural possessive pronouns + قَّاح + plural noun or pronoun

all of us قَّاحَنَّا

all of you (m.pl.) قَّاحَنُّن

all of you (f.pl.) قَّاحَنُّنَّت

all of them (m.) قَّاحَنِّسَن

all of them (f.) قَّاحَنِّسَنَّت

He asked all the people. إِسَقَّسَا مِدَّن قَّاحَنِّسَن.

I saw you (m.pl.) all. أَنَّايْخَكُن قَّاحَنُّن.

All the women were astonished. رَعَبَنَّت تَوْتَمِين قَّاحَنِّسَنَّت.

They (m.) all went. دَانَ قَّاحَنِّسَن.

All of them went.

D. The expression: _____ مايد إغان

This phrase is used to express “every” or “all” plus a noun, as in “every city” or “all cities.” The structure is:

singular noun + مايد إغان⁸
(in its non-dependent form)

يوزن اُكَلِيدِ اِمَزِيلَزَنَنْسِ اَدْزَوِيرُنِ داتاسِ غَرِ مايدِ اِغانِ
تَمَدِينَتِ دِ مايدِ اِغانِ اَدْغَارِ نَاغَرِ اِعَوَّلِ اَدِيدُو.

The king sent his servants to go before him to every city [or: all the cities.
lit: what is a city] and every place [or: all the places. lit: what is a place]
that he intended to go to.

اِسْكَنْشَمِ سِيدْنَا نوحِ دِيدَسِ كُفِ اُغْرَابُو يوتِ نِ تيوغَا، اَوْتَمِ
تَوْتَمْتِ، زيِ كولِ مايدِ اِغانِ دَاتِ نَا اِدْرَنْ، سينِ زيِ مايدِ
اِغانِ شا حَمَا اَدِيدِيرُنِ اَوْدِ نِتْنِي.

Noah took in with him into the boat a pair, male and female, of every living thing
[lit: of all that is a body that is living], two of everything [lit: of what is a thing],
so that they, too, may live [lit: so that they may live, them too].

E. The expression: _____ سِ ماسِ اِلَّا

This phrase is used to express “in all _____” or “throughout _____” or
“all over _____,” as in “in all Fez” or “throughout Fez.” It can also mean “all of
something.” Literally the phrase is “with with what it is.” Note that the verb is conjugated
according to what the preceding noun is.

اِساقَا اُنْغَمِيسِ كُفِ مَكْناسِ سِ ماسِ تَلَّا.

The news spread throughout Meknes / in all Meknes.

اِساقَا اُنْغَمِيسِ كُفِ اَزْرُو سِ ماسِ اِلَّا.

The news spread throughout Azrou / in all Azrou.

هَنانِ مِدَّنِ كُفِ اِغْرَمَانِ نِ اَيْتِ عَطَّا سِ ماسِ لَّانِ.

The people had peace throughout the villages of Ayt ‘Atta. or

The people had peace in all the villages of Ayt ‘Atta.

اِوينِ لَبولِيسِ مِدَّنِ قَاَحَنْسَنْ سِ ماسِ لَّانِ.

The police took away absolutely everyone.

[lit: The police took away the people all of them with with what they were.]

⁸ The د is added for pronunciation. Other regions say ماگان.

Expressions with نَحَال

The word نَحَال is very common and is used in many different expressions. In lessons 14 and 15 we saw one of these expressions : يوفاد نَحَال . In this lesson we will look at numerous other expressions using نَحَال . Many of these expressions you've seen before. This lesson groups them all together.

1. نَحَال can mean “weather,” “temperature,” or “state of the atmosphere.”

It's hot. إِحْمَا نَحَال.

It's cold. إِقْرَف نَحَال.

(There are many other weather expressions.)

It's light out.
(That is, it's not dark anymore.) إِسِيد نَحَال.

It's daybreak. إِفْو نَحَال.

2. نَحَال can mean “time.”

It's late. إِدَا نَحَال.
It's too late.

I'm late. إِدَا غِيفِي نَحَال.

There's still time. إِسُول نَحَال.
It's not late.
It's not the time yet.

in the olden days,
in the past كْ زِيك ن نَحَال

إِثْنَا لِحَالٍ + ت + indirect object + مَشْ
pronouns

If we are able. مَشَاخَتْ إِثْنَا لِحَالٍ.
[lit: If the time/situation permits it to us.]

If you (m.pl.) are able. مَشَاوَنْتَ إِثْنَا لِحَالٍ.

3. لِحَالٍ can mean “circumstance,” “situation” or “state.”

It happened that... يوفاد لِحَالٍ
Il se trouvait que...
(See lessons 14 and 15, pages 123-124,
for more details.)

I was going to swim in the river, but رِيخَ أَذْعَوْمَخَ كَثْ وَأَسِيفَ، مَشَانِ
it happened that people were fishing/ يوفاد لِحَالٍ مِدَّنَ لَانَ دَتَّصَيَّاضَنَ.
hunting.

How are you (m.s.)? مَاشَ إِثْنَا لِحَالٍ؟
[lit: What is the situation to you?]

How is the sick person? مَاسَ إِثْنَا لِحَالٍ إِ أُمُوضِينِ؟

He has gotten worse. إِزَايْدَ غِيْفَسَ لِحَالٍ.
His state has gotten worse.
[lit: The state has advanced on him.]

They (m.) are happy. إِعْجَبَاسَنَ لِحَالٍ.
They are having a good time.
[lit: The situation is pleasing to them.]

I'm hurt (emotionally). إِقِيمَا دِيْغِي لِحَالٍ.

You have to do something.
(The situation is such that it
constrains you to do some-
thing, with a nuance that
you don't really want to.)

إِثْمًا لِحَالٍ + أَدَّ +
verb in two-verbs-
together format

We have to visit him/her.
[lit: We are constrained to go to his place.]

إِثْمًا لِحَالٍ أَدَّ غُورَسَ نَدَّو.

I had to drink during Ramadan because
it was so hot.

إِثْمًا لِحَالٍ أَدَّسُوخَ كَفِّ رَمَضَانَ
إِدَّخَ إِغْرَا لِحَالٍ شَيْكَانَ.

The people [that is, the people carrying
the dead body] had to put down the (dead)
body in the middle of the street because
they were tired.

إِثْمًا لِحَالٍ أَدَّسِرْسَنَ مِدَّنَ لَكُنَّازَتِ
كَفِّ وَامَّاسَ نَ أَبْرِيْدَ إِدَّخَ وَحَلَّنَ.

almost, on the point of;
soon

عَلَّاحَالٍ

He will arrive (here) soon.

عَلَّاحَالٍ أَدَّ يَأَوْضَ.

He is on the point of dieing.

عَلَّاحَالٍ أَدِّمَّتْ.

But in the past tense there are a number of different ways of expressing this idea:

He almost fell in the well.

عَلَّاحَالٍ إِتَّوْتِي كَفِّ وَانَو. or
عَلَّاحَالٍ وَمَا إِتَّوْتِي كَفِّ وَانَو. or
شَوِيْتِ وَمَا إِتَّوْتِي كَفِّ وَانَو. or
شَوِي وَمَا إِتَّوْتِي كَفِّ وَانَو.

4. The word لِحَالَتِ means “situation” or “condition of life;” “state” or
“condition;” or “aspect.”

She's in a deplorable state.
[She's in a state (that) makes (you) cry.]

تَلَّا كَفِّ يُوْتِ نَ لِحَالَتِ إِسَّرُونَ.

How are the roads these days
out your way?
[lit: How is the condition of the
roads these days *chez vous*?]

ماني لِحَالْت ن إِبْرَدَان غورُن وسّانا؟
or
ميسّم أَي تَغَا لِحَالْت ن إِبْرَدَان...؟

Take a bath!
Clean yourself up!
Wash yourself!
[lit: Wash your state a little!]

سِرد شوي لِحَالْتَنَش!

The Vocative, Exclamations and Interjections, Warnings, and Oaths and Swearing

This lesson concerns certain ways of conveying emotions or expressing things in short bursts of phrases.

1. The Vocative

A. This means calling out to someone or addressing someone directly, as in “Hey, you!” or “Hey, Addi” or “Oh Karima!” The grammar is quite simple. In fact, you have already seen it a number of times before in *Abrid* without focusing on it:

the noun or name you are addressing + أَ

The following noun is in its non-dependent form. The only thing to add is that if the noun starts with a vowel, a “y” sound must be added between the أَ and the word starting with the vowel, since Tamazight doesn’t like two vowels coming together.

Some of these vocative phrases seem a bit too “poetic” for English speakers, but this kind of direct address is very common in Tamazight (and Moroccan Arabic). In English this kind of address is often done just by mentioning the person’s name without any kind of “Oh” or “Hey”: “So, John, how are you?” In Tamazight often the vocative would be used here. This is important to remember, since to show the vocative particle below we will translate it with a word, even though the English equivalent wouldn’t always be as formal. Sometimes in a calling situation, it would be appropriate to add an exclamation point.

Oh God	أَ رَبِّي	Hey, Addi !	أَ عَدِّي
Hey, woman	أَ تَمَطَّوْطْ	Oh my friend	أَ وُدِّي
Oh my beloved (lit: Oh my liver)	أَ تَاسَانُو	Oh my son	أَ مَمِّي
Oh my dear (f.)	أَ حَنَا	Oh my dear (m.)	أَ حَنِينِي

Note the added “y” vowel:

Oh my friend	أَ يَامَدَّاكُلِينُو	Hey, man	أَ يَارِيَاز
Oh my heart or Oh my beloved	أَ يُولِينُو	Oh my son	أَ يَارْبَانُو

When the noun starts with an “i” vowel, a “y” sound isn’t added but rather the “i” takes on a “y” sound. For example, “Oh my mother,” أَ إِمًّا , is pronounced “aymma” and not “a yimma.”

Oh my daughter أَ يَلِّي Oh my mother أَ يَمَّا

More examples:

So, my friend, what’s up? إِوَا، أَ وَدِّي، مَتَّا وَا؟

How are you doing, Moha? مَائِي تَعْنَيْتِ، أَ مَوْحِي؟

Come, oh my brother, to me!
(from a love song) أَ دَّوْد، أَ كُنْمَا، غُورِي.

Hey, Aisha, do you hear me? أَ عَيْشَةَ، إِسِي تَسَلِّيدِي؟

Oh God, I praise and thank you. أَ رَبِّي، دَش تَحْمَادَخْ أَرْش تَشْكَارَخ.

Oh what luck/happiness you (m.s.) have! أَ يَاعْرِينَشْ!

B. The vocative particle can sometimes be used at the beginning of whole sentences when people are calling back and forth:

Hey, how are you, Bassou? أَ مَائِي تَعْنَيْتِ، أَ بَسَّو؟

C. The vocative may also explain the أَ in the imperative “Come!”: أَ دَّوْد. In all the other parts of the conjugation pattern it is absent.

D. The vocative is also used in a common expression with the demonstrative pronouns وَ (this one (m.)) and تَا (this one (f.)), and less frequently with وَي (these ones (m.)) and تِي (these ones (f.)). However, although these pronouns refer to the third person, they are used in direct address with the vocative to mean “you.” This expression is used for emphasis and when the relationship is close. You wouldn’t use this to address someone new or someone formally. Sometimes the meaning doesn’t convey emphasis, just a close relationship.

نَيْخَاشْ، أَ وَا، أَدُورَاسْ رَطَّلْ إِذْرِيْمَنْ.

I told you (m.s.) not to lend him/her money.

[lit: I told you, oh this one, don’t lend to him/her money.]

Stay and drink tea.
 I'm not free. I have to go.
 Come on (to a woman), stay!
 [lit: Oh this one, stay!]

قَمِّمِ أَتَسْوَدُ أَتَايَ.
 وَرِ سَوْلَاخِ. إِخْصَايِي أَدَّوْخِ.
 أَ تَا، قَمِّمِ!

Be quiet.
 Hey, be quiet!
 Hey you (m.s.), be quiet!!

فَسَنْتِ.
 أَ فَسَنْتِ!
 أَ وَا، فَسَنْتِ!!

أَ وَا، غَرِيخَاشِ أَدْ زِيغِي تَسْبَعَدَّ شَيْضَانَ.
 O God, I ask you to keep Satan away from me.

E. The vocative is also used with the relative pronoun **أَيَّ** in a formula for swearing and for uttering maledictions. We will see this later in this lesson. Just briefly, though, the structure looks like the following. It must be remembered that the relative pronoun **أَيَّ** can appear in various forms, as either **a / ay / ayd**. In the first case, the “y” just drops out. In the third case, a “d” is added for pronunciation. In the following, the “y” in the relative pronoun drops out, but another “y” sound is added for pronunciation between the two *aliphs*.

أَ يَا = أَيَّ + ي + أَ (the vocative)
 the “y” in “ay” drops out “y” added for pronunciation

We will see examples of these two words **أَيَّ** (not to be confused with the word **أَيَّا** meaning “thing”) in part 3H (pages 169-170) and part 5B (iii) (page 176) below.

2. Exclamations and Interjections

A. With question words

Many question words are used with a tone of voice of surprise or amazement to express an exclamation. The grammar is the same as with the question words, except that no question is being asked.

i. With شَحَال , مَشْحَال , and مَشْتَا¹

How many children he has! شَحَال ن إِشِرَّان أَيُّ غورَس!
(He's got a lot of children!)

مَشْحَال ن وولِي أَيُّ تَزْنَزِيدَ أَسَا!
How many sheep you've (s.) sold today!
(You've really sold a lot of sheep today!)

How much she paid! مَشْتَا أَيُّ تَخَلَّص!
(She really paid a lot!)

How much he paid! مَشْتَا أَكْخَلَّص!
(He really paid a lot!)

How much she spent on it! شَحَال أَيُّ تَصْرَفَ دِيكْس!
(She really spent a lot on it!)

How much they (m.) wasted! شَحَال أَيُّ سَخَسَرْنَ!
(They really wasted a lot!)

How long (it's been) since I've seen you! شَحَال أَيَّا وَرْشَمَ أَنَايْخ!
(I haven't seen you (f.s.) in a long time!)

ii. With مَتَا . The noun that follows is in its dependent form.

What a horse he bought (it)! مَتَا يِيَّيسِ إِسْغَات!

What trouble! مَتَا تَمَارَا!

What a day! مَتَا وَاسَّ!

What beauty! مَتَا زَيْن!

iii. With مَائِي

How beautiful that girl is! مَائِي تَزِيلُ تَرْبَاتَيْن!
(That girl is really beautiful!)

How long this road is! مَاكْغَزَيْفَ أَبْرِيدَا!
(This road is so long!)

¹ See the *Abrid 2 Student Book*, lessons 20-22, page 71 for these words.

iv. All the above exclamations can be preceded by **أَ** for added emphasis:

Oh how much she paid! (Oh she really paid a lot!)	أَ مَشْتَا أَيَّ تَخَلَّصَ!
Oh what a day!	أَ مَتَا وَاسَّ!
Oh how long this road is! (Oh this road is so long!)	أَ مَاكْغَزَيْفَ أَبْرِيدَا!

B. With the vocative and the word **يار**

The word **يار** means “bad,” “vile,” or “despicable.” It is used before an independent personal pronoun or a noun in its non-dependent form:

noun in its non-dependent form independent personal pronoun	+	يار	
a bad woman	يار تَمَطَّوْطَ	a bad man	يار أَرِيَا
a bad omen	يار لَفَال	bad words	يار إَوَالِيُونَ

It's a bad man. **د يار أَرِيَا.**
(The “d” is the predicative “d” meaning “it is.”)

“Having no husband” is better than a bad husband. **يار أَرِيَا يُوْفَتْ بِلَاش.**
[lit: A bad husband, without one is better than him.]

The vocative is used with **يار** plus an independent personal pronoun:

Boy, is she bad! She's really bad! Isn't she bad!	أَ يار نَتَات!
What a bad boy!	أَ يار نَتَا د أَرْبَا!
How despicable I am being married to a bad woman!	أَ يار نَكَيْن يِيوَلَن يار تَمَطَّوْطَ!

C. Other exclamatory expressions

There are many of these types of words, and so the following list is not an attempt to be exhaustive.

An exclamation of surprise or astonishment. It can also communicate disapproval or reproach. If a child spills milk all over the floor, the mother might say this. يَاقَّ! يَاقَّ!

Similar to the above exclamation. إِشْ²! إِشْ!

An exclamation of disgust or despal. Yuck! إِخَّ!

I've had enough of children! إِخَّ زِي لِنَاشُون!

I wish I didn't have children!

I've really had it with the world! إِخَّ زِي دُونِيْت!

This world is yucky/terrible!

You (m.s.) disgust me! إِخَّ زِيغْنَش!

Be quiet! عوسَّ!

That serves _____ right! noun + خَيْشْتْ كُ

That serves me (you, him, her, etc.) right! خَيْشْتْ دِيغِي³ (دِيغْنَش، دِيغْنَم، etc.)
C'est bien fait pour toi (moi, lui, etc.)!

Well! or So! *Hé bien!* إِوَا!

A cry to get a donkey or mule to stop شَا!
 This is often preceded by the vocative أَ شَا! : أَ

A cry to get a donkey or mule to go رَا!
 This is often preceded by the vocative أَ رَا! : أَ

² Some regions use this sound in a completely different way: it's a way to shoo away chickens. The sound to shoo away dogs is قَس. These words can vary a lot between regions.

³ Some regions don't use the preposition كِي but rather indirect object pronouns :
 etc. خَيْشْتْشَاش \ ام \ اس \ etc.

Why, he didn't (even)!
Que ne ...!

نَعْلَا أَمُور ... !

Why, he didn't come!
(Notice the negative form of the verb.)

نَعْلَا أَمُور دِيدِي !

Not at all!
No, never!

أَلَاوَاه !

(A guest wants to go, and you want to insist that he stay.)
Not at all! You're not going.

أَلَاوَاه ! وَر تَدَّوَد.

Is that so?!

هَاكَآ !

Too bad for you! That's tough on you!

لَهْلَا !

If you don't want (any), too bad for you!

مَش وَر تَرِيد ، لَهْلَا !

3. Warnings and Maledictions

A. With غور⁴

Watch out! Take care! Be careful!

غور + indirect object pronouns
(especially the "you" forms)

غوراش ! غوراوَن !

غورام ! غوراوَنْت !

Watch out lest something happen.
Watch out that something doesn't happen.
Be careful that something doesn't happen.

غوراوَن أَد ...

Watch out lest someone rob your house.
Be careful that someone doesn't rob
your (m.s.) house.
(Notice that there is no negative in
the Tamazight sentence.)

غوراش أَدْيَاشَر شَا تَدَّارْتَنَش.

⁴ Some areas pronounce a ر like a ل and say غول .

Watch out lest you (m.pl.) get lost!
Be careful that you don't get lost!

غورَاوَن أَتَّشَكِّم!

Beware lest we be late!
Be careful that we're not late!

غورَاخ أَتَّعَطَّر!

Beware of something!
Watch out for something!

غورَاش + noun

Beware (f.s.) of the dog!
Watch out for the dog!

غورَام إِيدِي!

Beware (m.pl.) of greed!
Watch out for greed!

غورَاوَن طَمَع!

Different regions express these ideas slightly differently. Regional variations include:

غورَاش ، خيرَام ، خيرَاوَن ، خيرَاوَنْت ، etc.

غورَاش ، خَارَام ، خَارَاوَن ، خَارَاوَنْت ، etc.

غورَاش ، غيرَام ، غيرَاوَن ، غيرَاوَنْت ، etc.

B. With the verb رَار

Watch out! Pay attention! (sing.)

رَار لُبَال!

This expression can be used with possessive pronouns as well :

Watch out! Pay attention!

رَار لُبَالَنِّش! رَارَات لُبَالَنُّن!

رَار لُبَالَنِّم! رَارِيْمْت لُبَالَنُّنْت!

Watch out for something!
Pay attention to something!

رَار لُبَالِ + noun!

Watch out (m.pl.) for thieves!

رَارَات لُبَالِ إِيْمَاشَرْن!

Another expression is used in an equivalent way (although without possessive pronouns):

Watch out! Pay attention! (sing.) رار تَغَضَفْتِ!

Watch out for something! رار تَغَضَفْتِ إِ + noun !
Pay attention to something!

رار تَغَضَفْتِ إِ وولِّي آد ور أَشْكِينْتِ.
Pay attention to the sheep so that they don't get lost.

رارات تَغَضَفْتِ إِ بو تحانوت، هات دَيْتَغَشَّا.
Watch out (m.pl.) for the shop owner, he cheats.

Another phrase is:

Listen to me well! راردِ إِمَجَّانَنْشِ غوري!
[lit : Return your ears to me.]

(Notice the د of direction, since the action is toward the speaker. If the action is not toward the speaker, the د isn't used.)

Listen to him well! رار إِمَجَّانَنْشِ غورس!

Listen to me well! رَرَمِ إِمَجَّانَنْشِ غوري!
[lit : Open your ears to me!]

C. With هات , هاتين , or هان

We saw these words in lessons 14 and 15 on pages 123 and 124. Often they are used just for emphasis. Sometimes they can be translated, and sometimes not. Yet sometimes these words have not just an emphasis meaning but a meaning of warning or threat implied in the emphasis. The threat meaning is not always able to be translated into English with one specific word, yet it is there.

I will (surely) hit you! هات أَش وتَخ!

هات ور تَسِيرِيدِ إِضَارَنْشِ دات أَتَّغْنَدِ!
Make sure you (m.s.) wash your feet before you go to bed!
[lit : Watch out (if) you don't wash your feet before you go to bed!]

Be sure not to go with Bassou!	هان أَتَمُونَد د بَسَّو!
Watch it lest you go with Bassou!	
May no one hit another!	هان شا أَذْيُوتَ وَايْض!
Watch it lest someone hit someone else!	
May no one hit another!	هان شا إِكَّاتَن وَايْض!
Watch it lest someone hit someone else!	
May none of you speak!	هان شا دِيكُنْ إِسْوَالَن ⁵ !
Watch it lest someone of you speak!	

Notice in the previous four sentences that the هان gives a negative meaning to the sentence, even though there is no negative in the verb. This is not always the case when هان is used.

Note also that there is only one way to give a warning in the second person (as illustrated in the first sentence above):

verb in the two-verbs-together format + أَد + هان

However, for third person warnings, there are two ways. These are the above way and:

present participle + شا + هان
(that is, the third person singular continuous form plus “n” and with no tense indicator)

D. With عَنَدَا

This expression is used with direct object pronouns:

Watch out! Pay attention!	عَنَدَاكُنْ!	عَنَدَاش!
(Mor. Arabic) عَنَدَاك!		
	عَنَدَاكُنْت!	عَنَدَاشَم!

Watch out (m.s.), the landlord
will rip you off! عَنَدَاش، بو تَدَارْت أَش إِتْش!

The expression can also mean “Woe to....”

Woe (to) the shepherd if he loses
the sheep! عَنَدَا يَامَكْسَا مَش إِزْلَا وَلِي!

⁵ Notice the participle form here. Maybe this reflects something like: “Watch it lest (there be) someone among you who is speaking.”

(Notice that even though in English the construction is “Woe to someone,” in Tamazight the noun is a direct object: “Woe someone.” There is no preposition between **عَندَا** and **أَمَكْسَا**. The added **يْ** between the two words is for pronunciation to avoid two vowels coming together.)

The expression can also mean, depending on the context, “How unlucky!” or “How ill-fated!”

How unlucky (for) him, the poor guy, **عَندَاتْ ، إِكْلِينْ ، تَغُوسَاسْ تَفَا!**
 (his) sheaf (of grain) burned.
 [lit: The sheaf burned to him.]

E. With the verb **حَضُو**, which means “watch, watch out for, beware of, guard against” (among other meanings).

Watch out! or **حَضُو إِخْفَنَشْ!** **حَضُويَاتْ إِخْفَاوَنَنْنْ⁶!**
 Be on your guard! or
 Be vigilant! **حَضُو إِخْفَنَّم!** **حَضُومْتْ إِخْفَاوَنَنْنْتْ!**
 [lit: Watch yourself!]

حَضُو إِخْفَنَّم! غُورَامْ أَدَامْ يَاشَرْ تَوْرِيْقْتْ.
 Watch out! Be careful that someone doesn't steal your (f.s.) ticket.
 [lit: Be careful lest someone steal to you the ticket.]
حَضُويَاتْ إِخْفَاوَنَنْنْ زَكَّطَّاعِنْ [زِي + إِقْطَّاعِنْ]!
 Watch out (m.pl.) for bandits!

Another expression:

Guard your mouth! **حَضُو أَقْمُونَشْ!** **حَضُويَاتْ إِقْمَانُنْ!**
 Watch what you say!
حَضُو أَقْمُونَّم! **حَضُومْتْ إِقْمَانَنْتْ!**

F. With the verb **فَافَا**, which means “to be awake” (among other meanings)

Stay alert! **قَيِّمَاتْ تَفَافَامْ!** **قَيِّمْ تَفَافَادْ!**
قَيِّمِمْتْ تَفَافَامْتْ! **قَيِّمْ تَفَافَادْ!**

⁶ One can also say **إِخْفَنُّنْ**, using the singular for “head” but with the plural possessive ending.

G. Come to your senses!

Come to your (m.s.) senses!
[lit: Be in your head.]

إِلَىٰ كُ إِخْفَنَشْ!

H. Maledictions: “Woe to you!”

This expression uses direct object pronouns:

Woe to you!	أَ يَأْكُنْ يَاغْنُ!	أَ يَأْشُ يَاغْنُ!
[lit: Oh that it afflict you!]	أَ يَأْكُنْتْ يَاغْنُ!	أَ يَأْشَمْ يَاغْنُ!

The structure is:

يَاغْنُ	+	direct object pronoun	+	أَيَّ	+	يَ	+	أَ
past participle form of the verb أَغَّ				relative pronoun “ay” (The “y” often disappears when it encounters a consonant in the direct object pronoun.)		a “y” added for pronunciation to separate two vowels		vocative “Oh”
“to afflict,” “to attain”								

Since the relative pronoun أَيَّ is the subject of the verb أَغَّ, the verb is in its participle form. The relative pronoun أَيَّ can appear in various forms, as either a / ay / ayd.⁷ In the first case, the “y” just drops out. In the third case, a “d” is added for pronunciation. In the following patterns, the “y” of “ay” drops out in first and second persons but remains in the third person. (Some regions drop the “y” even in the third person. Regional variations depend on what form of “ay” is used.)

The complete pattern for all the persons:

Woe is us!	أَ يَأْخُ يَاغْنُ!	Woe is me!	أَ يَأْغْنُ! ⁸
Woe to you (m.pl.)!	أَ يَأْكُنْ يَاغْنُ!	Woe to you (m.s.)!	أَ يَأْشُ يَاغْنُ!
Woe to you (f.pl.)!	أَ يَأْكُنْتْ يَاغْنُ!	Woe to you (f.s.)!	أَ يَأْشَمْ يَاغْنُ!
Woe to them (m.)!	أَ يَأْتِنْ يَاغْنُ!	Woe to him!	أَ يَأْتِ يَاغْنُ!
Woe to them (f.)!	أَ يَأْتِنْتْ يَاغْنُ!	Woe to her!	أَ يَأْتِ يَاغْنُ!

⁷ See Taifi, page 1, bottom of column 2, under “a/ay/ayd.”

⁸ This comes from أَيَّي يَاغْنُ. With all the “y” sounds, this gets shortened to what is listed above.

أَ يَأْكُنْ يَأْغُنْ أَ يِقْطَاعُنْ نَ أُبْرِيدُ نَ خَنْيْفِرَةَ!

Woe to you oh bandits of the Khenifra road!

أَ يَأْشَمُ يَأْغُنْ أَ تَمْطُوطٌ يَوْشُكَانُ! إِدْخُ تَفْغَدُ زَكُّ أُبْرِيدِ
نَ رَبِّي.

Woe to you oh lost woman! because you've left the way of God.

أَ يَأْكُنْ يَأْغُنْ أَوْدُ كُنِّي أَ يِيرِيْزَنَ خَاتِيْنَ!

Woe to you also oh evil men!

مَشَانُ أَ يَأْيِدُ يَأْغُنْ وَنَا إِثْغَانُ أَيَا سَ أَفُوسَنْتَسُ!

But woe to the one who does this with his (own) hand!

أَ يَأْكُنْ يَأْغُنْ وَيْنَا إِتَاشَرْنُ!

Woe to those of you who steal!

أَ يَأْيْتُ يَأْغُنْ مَشُ إِسْحِيْلَلْ خَفُ إِبَّاسُ!

Woe to him if he lies about his father!

Another way that people use is like the above structure, but without the participle and with independent personal pronouns instead of direct object pronouns. As above, the “y” in “ay” drops out:

independent personal pronouns + أَي + ي + أ

Woe is me! أَ يَا نَكَ!

Woe is us! أَ يَا نُكْنِي!

Woe is me to whom this happened! أَ يَا نَكَ مِي إِجْرَا أَيَا.

I. Other expressions of “Woe to you”¹⁰

According to Taifi this is the “cry which an individual who has been betrayed uses when pursuing his betrayer.” كَاع!

Shame on you! or Woe to you! “The formula cried out by the one who has been betrayed when he’s addressing his betrayer.” كَاعُ غِيْفَشُ!
Honte à toi ! Malheur à toi!

Woe to you (m.s.) if أَ حَيِّ غِيْفَشُ مَشُ....

⁹ Because there is no direct object pronoun here, you can clearly see the relative pronoun “ay”: the vocative “a” plus the “y” for pronunciation plus the relative pronoun in its “ayd” form.

¹⁰ Not all regions use all these expressions, so be sure you check with people around you to find out what they use.

Woe to you (m.s.)!

ويهانّش ! or آويهانّش !

J. Verbs meaning “to curse”

direct object pronouns + رَظْمٍ رَظْمٍ \ ورِ رِظْمٍ +
He cursed him. إِرْظَمْت.

direct object pronouns + نَعَلَ نَعَلَ \ ورِ إِنْعَلَ +
(But only God does this cursing that uses this verb.)
God cursed the ground. إِنْعَلَ سَيِّدِي رَبِّي أَشَالَ.

an expression meaning: Calm down!
[lit: Curse Satan! That is, ask God
to curse Satan so that he'll stop
causing you to be upset.] نَعَلَ شَيْضَان !

4. Benedictions and exclamations of encouragement

A. Benedictions: “Happy are you...” or “Blessed are you...”

This expression uses possessive pronouns:

Happy are you... أَ يَعْرِيْتَنِّش...
Blessed are you... أَ يَعْرِيْتَنِّم...

The structure is:

possessive pronoun + أَعْرِيْتِ + ي + أَ +
a word for “luck” or a “y” added for vocative “oh”
“happiness.” pronunciation (optional)
Some people use just to separate two
أَعْرِي . vowels

What luck! He found a treasure. أَعْرِيْتَنِّس يَوْفَا لَكَنْز.
[lit: His luck/happiness he found a treasure.]

أَعْرِيْتَنِّن أَ يِيْمَزْلاض إِدِّخ ورِ غورُن لَيْن لِمَشَاكِل
ن إِذْرِيْمَن.

Happy are you, oh poor people, because you don't have the problems of money.

أَ يَعْرِيْتَنَّم مَش دَشَم إِتِيرِي أُرِيَا زَنَّم.
Happy are you if your husband loves you.

When a noun is used instead of a pronoun, the preposition ن is used :

أَعْرِيْت ن أُرِيَا زَنَّا غَر تَلَّا تَمَطُّوْطَ إِغُوْدَان.
Happy is the man who has a good wife.

But note the different ways to say the same thing:

أَعْرِيْت ن وَنَّا إِتَكَّنْ لَخِيْر.
Happy is he who does good.
أَعْرِيْتَنَسْ إِ وَنَّا إِتَكَّنْ لَخِيْر.
Happy is he who does good.
أَعْرِيْت إِ وَنَّا إِتَكَّنْ لَخِيْر.
Happy is he who does good.

B. The benediction “Blessed are...” with the adjective أَنْبَارُش

The structure is :

the verb شَى + أَيَّ + the regular adjective that agrees
with the following “to be” verb

Blessed are you (m.s.)! أَنْبَارُش أَيَّ تَكْئِيْد!

Blessed are you (f.s.)! تَنْبَارُشْت أَيَّ تَكْئِيْد!

Blessed are you (m.pl.)! إِنْبَارُشَن أَيَّ تَكَّام!

Blessed are you (f.pl.)! تِنْبَارُشِيْن أَيَّ تَكَّامْت!

They (m.) are blessed! إِنْبَارُشَن أَيَّان [أَيَّ + كَّان]!

أَنْبَارُش أَكَّأ أَكْئِيْد نَّا دَيْتَعَاوَانْ شَعْبَنَسْ.

Blessed is the king who helps his people.

أَنْبَارُش أَكَّأ وَنَّا إِتَكَّنْ لَخِيْر.

Blessed is he who does good.

C. Other expressions of encouragement

A congratulatory exclamation : Bravo! Hat's off! Well done! **بَارِئُ !**
Bravo! Chapeau! C'est extraordinaire!

Bravo! Hat's off to you (f.s.)! Well done (to a woman)! **بَارِئُ نَمِّ !**
This construction uses possessive pronouns.

In certain contexts, **بَارِئُ** can have a negative meaning:

Said, for example, about a woman who has lots of money **بَارِئُ وَر دَتَحَشَّام.**
but still begs: Amazing, she's not (even) ashamed!

D. See lessons 16 and 17 of *Abrid 2* for other formulas of benedictions and maledictions. See the *Student Book*, pages 56 to 57, and the *Workbook*, pages 93 to 101.

5. Oaths and Swearing

A. One way that people swear or make an oath is by using the word for God plus “u” before it: **وَاللَّهِ** “u llah.” The basic meaning is “By God” or “I swear to God.” What comes after this first phrase can vary according to the situation or type of oath.

i. By itself

By God! **وَاللَّهِ !**
I swear!

ii. A positive past oath

The structure for this is:

verb in the past form + **أَر** + **وَاللَّهِ**

By God he stole! **وَاللَّهِ أَرِيُوشَر !**

I swear to God I told it (m.) to him/her! **وَاللَّهِ أَرَأَسْت نَيِّخ !**

iii. A negative past oath

The structure for this is:

verb in the past form + **مَش¹¹** + **وَاللَّهِ**

¹¹ See lesson 10, page 63, for different regional variations used for this word “if.”

I swear I didn't lie!
[lit : By God if I lied!, that is,
God is my witness if I lied!]

وَاللّٰهُ مَشَّ سَحِيْلًاخ !

I swear I didn't rob him!
[lit: By God if I robbed him!]

وَاللّٰهُ مَشَّتْ وِشْرَخ !

iv. A conditional oath

The structure for this is:

verb in the past form + مَرَّ¹² + وَاللّٰهُ

The result clause uses the present continuous form without the tense indicator¹³.

Note that the مَرَّ affects the vowel of the following past-tense verb form just like وَر does.

I swear (that) if I had it, I would
lend it (m.) to you (m.s.)!

وَاللّٰهُ مَرَّ غُورِي اِلَيَّ، رَطَّلَاخَشْت !

By God, if he found it (m.),
he would give it to you (m.s.).

وَاللّٰهُ مَرَّتْ يُوْفِي، يَاكَّاشْت !

v. A future positive oath

There are two possible structures. The meaning is the same:

a)

the verb in the continuous tense
(which has a future meaning without the tense indicator)

+ وَاللّٰهُ

I swear I will kill you (m.s.)!

وَاللّٰهُ نَقَّأَخَش !

b)

the verb in the two-verbs-together format
(simple imperative plus regular conjugation affixes)

+ وَاللّٰهُ + اَدَّ

I swear I will kill you (m.s.)!

وَاللّٰهُ اَشَّ نَخَّ !

I swear I will hit you (m.s.)!

وَاللّٰهُ اَشَّ وَتَخَّ !

¹² See lesson 10, page 65, for different regional variations used for this word "if."

¹³ It may be that the continuous form is used in swearing as some sort of emphasis or way to show that this is someone's habit. Take the swearing away from these sentences, and they become normal conditional sentences, and the continuous form would not be used in the result clause. (See lesson 10, page 65.)

vi. A future negative oath

There are two possible structures. The meaning is the same. The word **وسار** can be substituted for **ور** to make the oath stronger (“never” in place of “not”):

a)

the verb in the continuous tense + **ور** + **ولله**
(which has a future meaning without the tense indicator)

ولله وراس نسّوال.
By God we will not speak to him/her.
ولله وساراس نسّوال.
By God we will never speak to him/her.
ولله ور ساخ شّراب.
By God I won't drink alcohol.

b)

the verb in the past tense form + **ور** + **ولله**
(but in this case there is a future meaning)

ولله وراس نسّول.
By God we will not speak to him/her.
ولله وساراس نسّول.
By God we will never speak to him/her.
ولله ور سويخ شّراب.
By God I won't drink alcohol.

B. Other formulas for swearing

i. Using the phrase **و حَقّ** “u haqq,” which means “in truth,” but functions as “I swear.”

The structure is:

the noun by which one is swearing + (**غاس**) + **و حَقّ**

(Then the same positive, negative, conditional, and future structures are used as mentioned above in part A.)

و حَقّ غاس إمّا نايي إسوّطّضنّ مّش وشّرَخ!
I swear by my mother who nursed me that I didn't steal!

و حَقَّ غَاسٍ تَكْثَمَاتٍ مَشَّ دِيكْشِ سِوَلَخِ!
 I swear by (our) brotherhood (or fraternity) that I didn't gossip about you (m.s.)!
 و حَقَّ رَبِّي مَشْكَمَّ غُدْرَخِ!
 I swear to God I didn't betray you (f.s.)!
 و حَقَّ سِيدِي رَبِّي أَر دِيدِي كُ لَوْقَتِ!
 I swear to God he came on time!

Notice in the above two sentences there is no **غاس** . It's not always necessary.
 When **غاس** is used it adds emphasis to the oath.

ii. Using maledictions: "May I _____ if I _____!"

أَدِي بِيكَ [أَد + ي + "y" for pronunciation + إِكْ] أَمَوْتَل مَشَّ و شَرَخِ!
 May I suffer divine judgment if I stole!
 [lit: May he (that is, God) do to me punishment if I stole!]
 أَتَاغ دِيكِّي لِعَافِيَتِ مَشَّ نَيِّخ دِيكْشِ أَوَالِ ن لَعِيبِ!
 May fire consume [or: afflict] me if I criticized [in a nasty way] you.
 [lit: if I said against you a shameful word]

divine chastisement, punishment, curse from God — أَمَوْتَلِ إِمَوْتِيلِنِ (u)

iii. Using the verb "to swear"

تَغَالَا إِنْغُولَا \ وَرِ إِنْغُولِي — تَوَسَّرَ
 to swear — تَغَالَايَتِ (tg) — an oath

He swore to him, "It's not me!" "وَرِيدِ نَكَيْنِ!"

He kept swearing to him, "It's not me!" "وَرِيدِ نَكَيْنِ!"

He broke his oath. إِرْزَا تَغَالَايَتِنَسْ.

He swore falsely. [lit: He swore blindness.] or إِنْغُولَا لَعْمَا.
 إِنْغُولَا خَفِ إِحْلَالِ.

Don't swear falsely. or أَدُورِ تَغَالَا لَعْمَا.
 أَدُورِ تَغَالَا خَفِ إِحْلَالِ.

إِكْوَلَا يَا [a “y” added for pronunciation] نَتَا مَشَاخ يُوْشَرِ إِذْرِيْمَن.

He swore that he didn't steal our money.

[lit: He swore if he stole to us money.]

كُوْلَانْ أْ نِتْنِي وَر تَحَاضَارُنْ إِ تَمْعَرَانْ نْ كَمَاتْسَن.

They (m.) swore they wouldn't attend their brother's wedding.

[lit: They swore not to be present at the wedding of their brother.]

تَنكُوْلَا يَا نِتَاتْ وَر تَغَدَّرْ أَرْيَازَنْس.

She swore she wouldn't betray her husband.

She swore not to betray her husband.

إِكْوَلَا أْ يَا نِتَا وَسَارَاسْ سِيْوَلَخ.

I swore I would never speak to him/her.

نَنكُوْلَا أْ يَا نُكْنِي وَسَارَاسْ نَسِيْوَل.

We swore we would never speak to him/her.

Indirect or Reported Speech

This lesson concerns commands, questions, and statements made indirectly to someone via someone else. For example:

Direct command: Ahsiku said to Bakku, "Be quiet."
 Indirect command: Ahsiku told Bakku to be quiet.

The lesson is not complicated, and many of the constructions you've already seen.

1. Indirect commands

The main structure of the indirect command is to use the tense indicator **أَد** followed by the verb conjugated in the two-verbs-together format. This is technically a "subjunctive" from an English perspective.

verb in the two-verbs-together format + **أَد**

Be sure to change any elements in the sentence that need to be changed in order that the sentence makes sense (for example, "your" to "his/her," etc.). Also remember that **أَد** causes various items to move in the sentence.

إِنَّاسِ إِحْسِيكُو إِ بَكُّو "فَسَنْت."

Ahsiku said to Bakku, "Be quiet."

إِنَّاسِ إِحْسِيكُو إِ بَكُّو أَدِيفَسَنْت.

Ahsiku told Bakku to be quiet.

[lit: Ahsiku said to Bakku that he be quiet.]

إِنَّاسِ إِ مَوْحِي "بَلِّغْ سَلَامِ إِ مَمَّيْش."

He said to Moha, "Transmit greetings to your son."

إِنَّاسِ إِ مَوْحِي إِ بَلِّغْ سَلَامِ إِ مَمَّيْش.

He told Moha to transmit greetings to his son.

[lit: He said to Moha that he transmit greetings to his son.]

إِنِّيَاسِ إِ وَانِ "أَدِّو دُغِيَا."

Tell that one (m.), "Come immediately."

إِنِّيَاسِ إِ وَانِ أَدِّو دُغِيَا.

Tell that one to come immediately.

[lit: Tell that one that he come immediately.]

2. Indirect questions

Making a direct question into an indirect question in Tamazight is easy. No changes are made to the question words or the word order in the sentence. They just change from an interrogative meaning to a statement meaning. The only thing to remember is to change things in the sentence to make sense (like “your” to “his/her,” etc.).

إِسَال موحى بَحْنِينِي "مِيلْمِي أَيُّ تَانَايْدُ أَلْتَمَا؟"

Moha asked Bahnini, “When did you see my sister?”

إِسَال موحى بَحْنِينِي مِيلْمِي أَكَّانَايُّ أَلْتَمَاس.

Moha asked Bahnini when he saw his sister.

تَسَقْسَا كَتَّو لَوِيْزَة "إِس تَسَنَّ د تَمَدَّاكُلْتِينُو إِطَّو؟"

Kettou asked Lwiza, “Do you know my friend Itto?”

تَسَقْسَا كَتَّو لَوِيْزَة إِس تَسَّن تَمَدَّاكُلْتَنَس إِطَّو.

Kettou asked Lwiza if she knew her friend Itto.

تَسَال تيفا إِسْتَمَاس "مَاحِ أَلْيَكْ وَرْدَجِينِي تَغْرِيْمْت؟"

Tifa asked her sisters, “Why don’t you ever call me?”

تَسَال تيفا إِسْتَمَاس مَاحِ أَلْيَكْ وَرْدَجِينَاس غْرِيْنْت.

Tifa asked her sisters why they don’t ever call her.

3. Indirect affirmative statements

Making a direct statement into an indirect statement in Tamazight is easy. No changes are made to the tenses in the sentence.¹ The only thing to remember is to change things in the sentence to make sense (like “my” to “his/her,” etc.).

(داس إِسْوَال حَدَّو إِ عَلِي.) إِنْيَاس إِ بُوْدُوْفْت "وْفِيْخ لَخْدَمْت."

(Haddou is talking to Ali.) Tell Buduft, “I found work.”

إِنَّاس عَلِي إِ بُوْدُوْفْت يُوْفَا حَدَّو لَخْدَمْت.

Ali told Buduft (that) Haddou had found work.

[lit: Ali told Buduft Haddou found work.]

¹ This is unlike English where the indirect or reported speech is in some form of the past, unless it was reported immediately after it was said.

تَنَا إِطَو "ور سولاخ."

Itto said, "I'm not free."

تَنَا إِطَو ور تَسولا.

Itto said she wasn't free.

[lit: Itto said she's not free.]

نَّان أَيَّت سَيَّاسا "نَدَا أَنَسْنَاقَس لَكُ ضَرِّبات."

The politicians said, "We're going to lower taxes."

نَّان أَيَّت سَيَّاسا دَان أَدَسْنَاقَسَن لَكُ ضَرِّبات.

The politicians said they were going to lower taxes.

[lit: The politicians said they are going to lower taxes.]

Myself, Yourself, etc.

1. The meaning of “just you” or “you alone,” that is, you did something “yourself” or “by yourself.” Some of these phrases, both in Tamazight and in English, can be ambiguous or have two meanings, depending on the context: “I did something myself” (that is, no one helped me) or “It was only me who did it” (that is, no one else did like I did).

A. The first main way people express this is:

independent personal pronouns		+	غاس ¹
(by) ourselves	غاس نُكْنِي	(by) myself	غاس نَكَّ
(by) yourselves (m.)	غاس كُنِّي	(by) yourself (m.)	غاس شَكَّ
(by) yourselves (f.)	غاس كُنْمْتِي	(by) yourself (f.)	غاس شَمَّ
(by) themselves (m.)	غاس نِتْنِي	(by) himself	غاس نَتَّا
(by) themselves (f.)	غاس نِتْنْتِي	(by) herself	غاس نَتَات

Did you (f.s.) come by yourself?
[lit: Is it just you that came?]

إِد غاس شَمَّ أَيَّ دِيدَان؟

Is it only you (m.s.) who did this? or
Did you do this yourself?

إِد غاس شَكَّ أَكَّان أَيَّا؟

Did you (m.s.) do this yourself? or
Is it only you who did this?

إِس تَكْئِد أَيَّا غاس شَكَّ؟

Just the boy is/was wearing pants.
[lit: The boy was wearing pants, just him.]
(This does not mean: The boy put on
the pants by himself.)

إِلْسَا لَعِيل سَرْوَال غاس نَتَّا.

They (m.) saw Hammou was
by himself (that is, alone).

أَنَّاين حَمَّو إِلَّا غاس نَتَّا.

¹ Regional variations for this word include خاس , غَس , and خَس .

B. Sometimes people use the following expression:

	possessive pronouns	+	وَحَدَّ ²	
(by) ourselves	وَحَدَّ نَحْنُ		(by) myself	وَحَدَّيْنِو
(by) yourselves (m.)	وَحَدَّ نُنُّن		(by) yourself (m.)	وَحَدَّ نَشَّش
(by) yourselves (f.)	وَحَدَّ نُنُّنْت		(by) yourself (f.)	وَحَدَّ نَمَّم
(by) themselves (m.)	وَحَدَّ نَسَّن		(by) himself	وَحَدَّ نَسَّس
(by) themselves (f.)	وَحَدَّ نَسَّنْت		(by) herself	وَحَدَّ نَسَّس

She came by herself.
(Either she came alone or she came without anyone helping her.)

تَدَّادَ وَحَدَّ نَسَّس.

Did you (m.s.) do this yourself? or
Is it only you who did this?

إِسْ تَكْتِيدَ أَيَا وَحَدَّ نَشَّش؟

They (m.) went in by themselves.
(Either they went in alone or they went in without anyone helping them.)

كَشَمَّنَ وَحَدَّ نَسَّن.

Yes, I did this myself.
(Either it was only me who did it or no one helped me do it.)

إِهْ، كَيْخَ أَيَا وَحَدَّيْنِو.

C. An unambiguous instrumental meaning of “by yourself,” that is, “no one helped you,” is expressed by the following. However, at times this expression can mean “personally” or “in person.”

possessive pronouns + إِخْفَ + س

² Some regions pronounce the و as a vowel: “uḥḍinu,” etc., instead of “weḥḍinu,” etc.

by ourselves	س إِخْفَاوَنَنْخ ³	by myself	س إِخْفِينُو
by yourselves (m.)	س إِخْفَاوَنَنْنُ	by yourself (m.)	س إِخْفَنْش
by yourselves (f.)	س إِخْفَاوَنَنْنَتْ	by yourself (f.)	س إِخْفَنْم
by themselves (m.)	س إِخْفَاوَنَنْسَن	by himself	س إِخْفَنْس
by themselves (f.)	س إِخْفَاوَنَنْسَنْت	by herself	س إِخْفَنْس

Did you (m.s.) do this by yourself? إِس تَكْثِيدَ أَيَا س إِخْفَنْش؟

The boy put on the pants by himself. إِلْسَا لَعِيلَ سَرَّوَالِ س إِخْفَنْس.

I went to the Caïd personally. دِيخِ س إِخْفِينُو غَرِّ لِقَايِدِ.

2. The meaning of your own self, as in doing something to “yourself”

The structure for this is:

possessive pronouns + إِخْفِ

ourselves	إِخْفَاوَنَنْخ	myself	إِخْفِينُو
yourselves (m.)	إِخْفَاوَنَنْنُ	yourself (m.)	إِخْفَنْش
yourselves (f.)	إِخْفَاوَنَنْنَتْ	yourself (f.)	إِخْفَنْم
themselves (m.)	إِخْفَاوَنَنْسَن	himself	إِخْفَنْس
themselves (f.)	إِخْفَاوَنَنْسَنْت	herself	إِخْفَنْس

He did it (f.) to himself. إِكَاتَ إِ إِخْفَنْس.

You (f.s.) will see yourself in the mirror. أَتَّرَاعَادَ إِخْفَنْمَ كُفِّ لَمْرَايَا⁴.

He bought sandals for himself. إِسْغَا إِدُوشَا إِ إِخْفَنْس.

³ One can also say just س إِخْفَنْخ, using the singular for “head” but with the plural possessive ending. This applies to the whole plural column. The meaning is still “by ourselves, yourselves,” etc. The same applies to the plural column in part 2 below.

⁴ Some regions say لَمْرَايْت, and others لَمْرِي.

Kids' Language

This lesson concerns language used especially with children or very young kids. This mainly concerns certain vocabulary words used when addressing young children. Examples in English include “booboo” (for a small cut or wound) and “tummy” (for stomach).

These words in Tamazight can vary from region to region¹, so you need to verify them with the people around you. If they don't use the words, maybe they use something else for that same vocabulary item. The following list is by no means exhaustive.

1. Vocabulary words used at times in talking to young children

These are words that would be said to young children but which would be inappropriate to use in other contexts.

to be beautiful, cute to be good	—	إَبُوْح \ وِر إِبُوْح	تَبُوْح	بُوْح
My son is cute.		(addressed to one's son)	إَبُوْح مَمِّي.	
The food is good. (To try to convince a child to eat it.)			إَبُوْح ووتشي.	
Who's better, me or your (f.s.) dad? (Said playfully by a mother to her young daughter.)			ماگَبُوْحَن، نَكَّ ماد بام؟	
a kiss	—		بَّحَا	
Give a kiss to your (m.s.) uncle.			كَّاس بَّحَا إِ عَمَّيش.	
a booboo	—		ديدي	
This will hurt!			هان ديدي!	
Be careful, that will hurt you!			دَّاح دَّاح	
a hit, a spanking	—		أَدَّاش كَّخ دَّاح دَّاح.	
I'm going to spank you (m.s.).			باح!	
All gone!	—		فو! or تشي!	
It's hot! (فو is pronounced “fo.”)				

¹ Laoust, in his Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central, pages 16-17, gives a list of words used by the Zemmour.

fire	—	فوفو
tummy	—	عَبْوَض
meat	—	شيشي or جي
mouth	—	ميميش
eyes	—	تَلَنِي
sheep (sing. or plural)	—	بَعَا
sheep (sing.)	—	تَبَعْت
cow	—	موهو
an item of clothing	—	بَعْبَا
sugar	—	مَخَا
It's dirty.	—	خيشي or خيشي
shoe	—	بَهَبَا
mother's breast	—	تَبَوَّبوت
donkey	—	شاشا
water (pronounced with a fricative "b": mbbua)	—	مَبَّوَا
dog	—	هوبهوب هاوهاو
candy, anything sweet and desirable to kids	—	لولو or قاقا
money	—	سَنتَا
A word used to encourage a child to walk when he's just learning	—	دَدَّوَش
bread (pronounced with "p": pappa)	—	پَپَا
people or just one person (but someone you don't know); also: a small child (but you don't know him)	—	مومو
sit down	—	تَشِي تَشِي

2. Normal words that are frequently used in the context of talking with children

These are normal adult words, but they are often used in conversations with children. The list here could be very long, so the following are just some ideas. Add to the list with your own discoveries.

an imaginary monster used to scare or threaten kids — بوعَو

Watch out for the monster, he will
take you (m.s.)! هان بوعَو، أَش ياوي!

hide-and-seek — قَن يوفَر²

The kids are playing hide-and-seek. دَتَلاهان³ لَواشون قَن يوفَر.

a children's game somewhat like
"jacks" using small stones — تِقولا or إِسْكَور

— تَطَّاسَت

A children's game in which there is a small tower made out of 5 or so bottle caps. One person knocks down the caps with a plastic cup and runs away. His teammates must try to build the tower again before the other team picks up the plastic cup and uses it to hit the person who knocked down the tower.

— هيه

A children's game in which one boy is in the middle of a circle. The other boys are walking around him trying to slap him with their hands. If the boy in the middle succeeds in touching one of the others with his foot, the person who is touched must take the first boy's place in the middle of the circle. Thus, the point is to try to slap the boy in the middle without being touched by his foot.

— جارا

A children's game that is like a form of "tag." It involves putting a plastic cup or empty milk carton in a hole dug in the ground before someone else touches you.

3. The use of diminutives

As we saw in the beginning of the *Abrid* course, one use of feminine nouns is to express the diminutive, "something little." Often when talking to children, adults will use diminutive phrases, especially when referring to body parts.

Give (me) (your) little hand. أَويد تَفوسَت.

Where's (your) little foot? ماني تَضارَت؟

² There are quite a few regional variations of this word.

³ The simple imperative is لَها. Other verbs for "to play" include خَمَّر and هَضَّر.

4. Ways to say children's names

There are certain affectionate ways to say people's names. These ways may not be universal and may be specific to just certain individuals or families. The idea here is to just be aware of this phenomenon. The following are two names I heard used in a family when a father was playing with his children.

An affectionate way to say the name of Yasmine	—	سُمومًا
An affectionate way to say the name of Hanane	—	حنونًا

5. Euphemisms

This topic doesn't concern kids' language, but it's included here because it involves special words used only on certain occasions. There are certain things that you shouldn't say or do⁴ before you eat breakfast. Laoust⁵ writes "Certain objects must not be called by their proper names, especially in the morning, because of bad omens (لُفَال) and even at all times when the words bring up the idea of 'black.'" This cultural element of Berber life is disappearing, and it may not be recognized by younger people or by urbanized Berbers.

Some examples follow of words that shouldn't be said before breakfast. If the object must be mentioned, the euphemism or substitute word is given:

<u>Euphemism or substitute word</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Word that shouldn't be said in the morning⁶</u>
وار صَبَاح ⁸	monkey	— أَبْغُوس ⁷
وار صَبَاح	mouse	— أَغْرَدَاي ⁹

⁴ Among the things you shouldn't do before breakfast is to sew clothes.

⁵ *Cours de Berbère Marocain : Dialecte du Maroc Central*, p. 17. On pages 17-18 he gives a list of words used by Beni Mguild (أَيْت مَيْيل).

⁶ Some euphemisms can be said all the time, not just in the morning. This is true for the words for evil spirits and pig.

⁷ Some people say the word without a shedda: أَبْغُوس. Others say زَعْضُض.

⁸ lit: One without a morning. The feminine is تَار صَبَاح. This word can be used for any animal or person with whom it's not good to have an encounter in the morning. Some people apply this term to Jewish people: وداي (m.s.). It also applies to people whose "eye is bad." Some individuals or even all the people from certain tribes are known for this. If their "eye is bad," it means that because of jealousy and envy they get upset when someone else has or does something good. They then cause bad things to happen to that person. Instead of وار صَبَاح, some regions use أَمْصَبَّح "the one who comes in the morning." The feminine is تَمْصَبَّحَتْ.

⁹ Some regions say أَغْرَدَا.

<u>Euphemism or substitute word</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Word that shouldn't be said in the morning</u>
تار صباح	owl	— تَوَكَّتْ
وار صباح	crow	— أَهَقَّار
¹⁰ لنبياض	charcoal	— لِنْفَاخِر
¹¹ ومليل	earthenware plate used to cook bread	— بو أَغْرُوم
ومليل	same as above	— تَفَانَتْ
¹² تَلْمَعُونَتْ	earthenware pot	— تَسِيلَتْ
¹⁴ تَلْمَفْتَاخَتْ	sewing needle	— تِسْكَنِيَتْ ¹³
أَحْدَادِي	donkey	— أَغْيُول
¹⁵ إِنْسَلْمَنْ	<i>jnun</i> , evil spirits	— أَذْجُنُونْ
¹⁶ أَيَّتِ إِسْمَاوْنِ رَبِّي		
¹⁷ أَبُولْخَيْرِ	pig	— أَحَلَّوْف

If someone does say one of these words in the morning before breakfast, someone will reprimand the person with a phrase like:

We start the morning with God (not with that word).

نَصَبَّحْ خَفَ رَبِّي.

Don't start the morning with that word.

أَدُورْ تَصَبَّاحْ خَفَ وَأَوَالَا.

¹⁰ lit: the white

¹¹ lit: white

¹² lit: utensil (a general word)

¹³ This is if the needle is small. If the needle is big, the word is إِسْكَنِي.

¹⁴ lit: key. Some people say تَسَارُوتْ. If the needle is big, people say لَمَفْتَاخ.

¹⁵ lit: Muslims. There are many different euphemisms to use for *jnun*.

¹⁶ lit: those of the names of God. نِ رَبِّي comes from رَبِّي.

¹⁷ lit: the father of goodness (from Arabic). Some regions pronounce the ل with a ن.

Similar Sounding Words with ر

Because Tamazight verbs are based on a consonantal root system, there are often a number of different words that sound similar although they have different meanings. This isn't a problem for a native speaker, but for a language learner it can be quite confusing. A good technique at times is to put all the similar sounding words on one sheet and concentrate on pronunciation and using the words in sentences in order to distinguish the meanings. You can also use the sheet of words that give you trouble with a language helper who can drill you on the different words.

This technique can apply to any group of words which gives you trouble. We will apply the technique here just to similar words that are based on ر.

A. Compare the following four verbs. Each one has two ر's in the word. Verbs 2 and 3 are exactly the same, just with different meanings. Verbs 2 and 3 differ from verb 1 only in the addition of the د of direction. Verb 4 has a و vowel but never between the two ر's.

1. رار تَرَارا إِرورَا \ ور إِروري
 —
 to return something,
 to give something back,
 to reimburse,
 to make someone become sthg.,
 to reply, respond
2. رَارْد تَرَارَاد إِرورَاد \ ور دِيروري
 —
 (With the “d” of direction)
 to return something toward the speaker,
 to bring something back,
 to reimburse (toward the speaker),
 to reply, respond (toward the speaker)
3. رَارْد تَرَارَاد إِرورَاد \ ور دِيروري
 —
 (With the “d” of direction)
 to vomit, to throw up

The conjugation of this verb is exactly like the above verb number 2. The only difference is the context and that this verb doesn't have to have a direct object.

4. ورَار¹ تَوَرَار يورَار \ ور يورَار — to sing

¹ Some regions in the south use : يارور \ ور يارور تِيرِير إِيرِير

Other regions use : إِيرِير \ ور إِيرِير تِيرِير إِيرِير

Regions in the northern areas of the Middle Atlas/Central Moroccan Tamazight language region don't use these words. Instead they say for “sing” إِرْلَان , literally “say songs.”

1. Now write down the full conjugation of each verb and compare them. First, do the past, then the past negative. Then do the future. Then do the present continuous.

2. Come up with two short key sentences that will help you remember the meaning and/or the form of the words. Some examples are below. Maybe you will come up with other sentences you find more useful.

- | | |
|---|--|
| He gave back the money.
Watch out! | 1. إرورا إذرِمَن.
رار لنبال! |
| He brought back the money.
He didn't bring back the money.
Answer! (or Respond!)
[lit: bring/give back a word] | 2. إروراد إذرِمَن.
ور دِيروري إذرِمَن.
رارد أوال! |
| He threw up yesterday because
he was sick.
He will throw up in the car. | 3. إروراد إضَلِّي إِذَّخ ياغْت شا.
أَدِيرار كْ طوموبيل. |
| Sing!
He sang at the party.
When people are happy they sing. | 4. ورار!
يورار كْ لَنفِشْتا.
أَدَايْ فَرَحَن مِذَّن دَتَّورارَن. |

B. The following ten words can be confusing because they all involve combinations of ر , ي , and و . Compare the next four together, which have different combinations of ر and ي . Be sure to compare the pronunciation of certain conjugations. For example, have a native speaker compare the negative past forms for verbs 6 and 7. Also, compare the pronunciations of the negative past forms for verbs 5 and 8. Compare the third masculine singular of verb 8 with the simple imperative of verb 5.

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|------------------|------|------|----|
| to want
to like, love | — | إرا \ ور إري | تيري | إري | 5. |
| to be empty
to empty something | — | يورا \ ور يوري | تار | أر | 6. |
| to protect,
to spare | — | يورَي \ ور يورِي | تاري | أرِي | 7. |

to undo — إِرِي \ وِر إِرِي رَّاي رِي .8
 to untie,
 to be/come undone

1. Now write down the full conjugation of each verb and compare them. First, do the past, then the past negative. Then do the future. Then do the present continuous.

Note that number 5 is a very common verb, but number 6 is less common in certain areas. Many places would use the verb **خُو** instead. If the people around you don't use a certain verb, that's great—one less verb to get confused by!

2. Come up with two short key sentences that will help you remember the meaning and/or the form of the words. Some examples are below. Maybe you will come up with other sentences you find more useful.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I want that one (m.).
 He wants to go to Fes.
 Love (s.) your (m.) neighbor
 as yourself.</p> | <p>5. رِيخ وان.
 إِرا أَدِيدُو غَر فاس.
 تِيرِي أَدْجَارَنَشْ أَم إِخْفَنَشْ.</p> |
| <p>The glass is empty.
 The market will be empty at 2:00.</p> | <p>6. يورا لُكاس.
 أَدْيَار سَووق كْ جَووج.</p> |
| <p>May God protect you (m.s.)
 from evil.
 God spared me!</p> | <p>7. أَداش يارِي رَبِّي إِ لُباس.
 يورِي رَبِّي!</p> |
| <p>The cape came undone.
 The knot will come untied.
 Untie for me the knot, please (m.s.).</p> | <p>8. إِرِي أَزَنار.
 أَدِيرِي أَكُروس.
 رِيي أَكُروس ، عافاش.</p> |

C. The next six verbs have ر and و in common, although verb 14 also has the ي . Compare the verbs. Note that verb 12 is the only one with a *shedda*, so that can help you remember it. Some regions use رُنُو instead of رَو, so that can help you keep track of this verb. Verbs 9 and 10 are only subtly different in pronunciation in all their forms. Have a native speaker say them both and compare their conjugations. Notice how 11 and 12 are similar, and so are 13 and 14. These are all common verbs. Remember also that regional variations can affect things like the past form stem changes and regular or irregular conjugations.

to write	—	يارو \ ور يارو	تارو	9. أَرُو ²
to give birth, to father (a child), to produce, yield, to lay eggs (hen)	—	يارو \ ور يارو	تارو	10. أَرُو ³
to cry, lament	—	إرو \ ور إرو	ترو	11. رو
to defeat, to beat someone, to have victory over someone	—	إرا \ ور إري	ترو	12. رَو ⁴
to be good, nice, friendly	—	إروا \ ور إروي	تروو	13. رَوو
to stir, to mix up, to trouble, to be stirred up, mixed up to be troubled	—	إروي \ ور إروي	رَكِّي	14. رَوِي

1. Now write down the full conjugation of each verb and compare them. First, do the past, then the past negative. Then do the future. Then do the present continuous.

² For this verb some regions use: ياري \ ور ياري آري تاري .

Other regions, especially in the south, use: يارو \ ور يارو ورو تورو .

³ Some regions in the south use : يورو \ ور يورو آرو تارو .

⁴ Some regions use : إرنا \ ور إرني رنو ترنو .

2. Come up with two short key sentences that will help you remember the meaning and/or the form of the words. Some examples are below. Maybe you will come up with other sentences you find more useful.

9. She wrote a letter. تارو تَبْرَات.
He writes letters every day. دَيْتَارو تَبْرَاتِين كو ياسّ.
10. She gave birth to a boy. تارو لَعِيل.
This hen lays (eggs) every day. دَتَارو تَفُولُوسْتَا كو ياسّ.
11. Why are you (s.) crying? مَاخ أَلَيْكَ دَتَرُود؟
He was crying. أَلَيْتَرُو.
12. He beat/defeated me. إِرَائِي.
He beat him in the (running) race. إِرَات كْ تَرُولَا.
He will beat you (m.s.). أَش إِرُو.
He didn't beat me. وري إِرِي.
13. The weather is nice. إِرُوا لِحَال.
a good (reasonable/cheap) price تَمَن إِرْوَان
14. The water is cloudy, unclear. رُوِين وَاْمَان.
[lit: stirred up, troubled] تَرُوِي دُونِيْت.
Nothing is going right. [lit: Life is confused/mixed up/in turmoil.] إِرُوِي وَوْلَنَس.
He/she has a heavy heart.
He's/she's very sad. [lit: His/her heart is troubled.]

D. Now look at various nouns based on ر. Some of these nouns come from the above verbs; others don't. The following list is not meant to be exhaustive.

vomiting, vomit, <i>les vomissements</i>	—	إِرِيرَان (a plural)
the act of returning, giving back	—	تَرَارِيْت
song	—	وَرَار (wu) وَرَارِن (wu)

action of crying	—	أَرَوْتَنَ (wa)	أَرُو (wa)
writing	—		تِرَا
love	—		تَايْرِي
victory, triumph	—		تِيرَيْت
lamb (male)	—	أَرَاتَنَ (wa)	أَرَا (wa)
lamb (female)	—	تَرَاتِين (ta)	تَرَاتَ (ta)
edge (like of a table)	—	إِرَان (yi)	إِر (yi)
lung	—	تورين	تورْت
offspring; also: birth, delivery	—		تارُوا
irrigation canal	—		تَرْكَا (tr)
children	—		أَرَاوُ (wa)
length	—		تِيروْت
goodness, niceness	—		تِيروِي
stable	—		رَّوَا
porcupine (male)	—	أَرُوِينَ (wa)	أَرُوِي (wa)
porcupine (female)	—	تَرُوِين (ta)	تَرُوِيْت (ta)

Use each word in a useful sentence, a sentence that will help you remember the word:

She filled her place with vomit.	تَعَمَّرَ أُنْسَانَسْ سِ إِرِيرَان.
payment (paying back) of debts	تَرَارِيْت نِ إِمْرُوَاسَن
He sang a song.	يُورَار وَرَار.
That's enough crying!	بَرَشَا زَكْ وَاروتَن!
Do you know the writing (system) of Tifinagh?	إِس تَسْنَد تِرَا ن تيفيناغ؟

We need love.	تَخْصَايَاخ تَايْرِي.
They (m.) were happy with the victory of the national team [lit: the select team].	فَرْحَن س تِيرِيْت ن لَمُنْتَخَب.
The lamb saw the porcupine.	إِرَاعَا وَا رَا أَرْوِي.
the edge of the table	إِر ن طَبْلَا
They (m.) are like lungs and heart. (That is, they are inseparable.)	كَانَ أَم تَوْرِيْن د وول.
She had a difficult delivery.	تَوَعْرَاس تَارُوا.
There's water in the irrigation canal.	لَان وَا مَان كُ تَرْكَأ.
his/her children	أَرَاوَنَس
He cut it (m.) lengthwise.	إِبْيْت س تِيْرُوْت.
goodness of the heart	تِيْرُوِي ن وول
The horse is in the stable.	إِلَا يِيْس كُ رَّوَا.

E. Similar things can be done for the derived verb forms, although they are less numerous and usually not as confusing. Also, there is a lot of regional variation for derived verb forms, so be sure to verify with people around you what they say.

to return sthg to each other, to give back to each other	—	مَرَارَا \ تَمَرَارَا	مَرَارَا \ تَمَرَارَا
to cool off a liquid by pouring it back and forth. This is often done with tea for children.	—	سَمَرَارَا \ إِسَمَرَارَا	سَمَرَارَا \ إِسَمَرَارَا
to write to each other	—	مِيَارُو \ تَمِيَارُو	مِيَارُو \ تَمِيَارُو
to love each other	—	مِيِيرِي \ تَمِيِيرِي	مِيِيرِي \ تَمِيِيرِي

They (m.) don't speak to each other.
[lit: They don't return to each other the word.]

Cool off for me the tea, daddy.

They (m.) write each other every month.

Love (m.pl.) each other.
Love one another.

وَر دَتَمَرَارَانِ أَوَالِ.

سَمَرَارَايِي أَتَايِي، آَبَا.

دَتَمَيَارُونِ كُو أَيُورِ.

تَمَيِيرِيَاتِ إِنكُرَاوَنِ.

More Detail in Time Expressions

This lesson goes deeper into various expressions concerning time. Previous material dealing with time expressions can be found in: the *Abrid 2 Student Book*, lesson 12, pages 42-43; the *Abrid 2 Workbook*, lesson 9, page 56; and the *Abrid 2 Workbook*, lesson 12, pages 73-78.

1. Vocabulary

Look at the vocabulary group by group. Some of this is review, but many phrases may be new. Be sure to use the words in sentences.

A. Group 1

day	وَسَّان (wu)	أَسَّ (wa)
week	سَّيْمَانَات	سَّيْمَانَا
month	أَيَّورُن (wa)	أَيَّور (wa)
year	إِسْتَّاسَن	أَسْتَّاس ¹ (u)

the day after the day after tomorrow (nnif nennif usekka) نَّيْف ن نَّيْف أُسْكَا

the day after tomorrow نَّيْف أُسْكَا

tomorrow أُسْكَا² (u)

today أَسَا (wa)

yesterday أَسَّنَّاطْ = إِضْلَي (wa)

the day before yesterday (asslid or isslid) أَسْلَيِدْ = إِسْلَيِدْ (vi) (wa)

the day before the day before yesterday أَسْلَيِدْ ن وَاسَّنَّاطْ

¹ The ثى is said with rounded lips.

² Some regions treat this as an “a-constant” noun and use as the dependent form واسْكَا .

B. Group 2

last week [lit: the week that passed]	(ssimana nna izrin) (sounds like: ssimana nnayzrin)	سَيْمَانَا نَا ³ إِزْرِين
this past week	(ssimanaya nnayzrin)	سَيْمَانَايَا نَا إِزْرِين
this past week	(ssimanayad nnayzrin)	سَيْمَانَايَاد نَا إِزْرِين ⁴
next week [lit: the week that is coming]	(ssimana nna diddan)	سَيْمَانَا نَا دِيدَان
this coming week		سَيْمَانَايَا نَا دِيدَان
this coming week		سَيْمَانَايَاد نَا دِيدَان
next week [lit: this week in front of us]		سَيْمَانَايَاد دَاتَاخ

All these above combinations work for **أَيُور** and **أَسْكَاس** as well.

C. Group 3

What's today's date? [lit: How much is today in the month?]	or	شَحَال ⁵ أَسَا كُ وَايُور؟ شَحَال كُ وَايُور أَسَا؟
Today is the 21 st .		أَسَا وَاحِدَ وَ عَشْرِينَ كُ وَايُور.
What's tomorrow's date?	or	شَحَال أَسَكَا كُ وَايُور؟ شَحَال كُ وَايُور أَسَكَا؟
What was yesterday's date?	or	شَحَال ⁶ أَسَنَاطْ كُ وَايُور؟ شَحَال كُ وَايُور أَسَنَاطْ؟

³ The نَا isn't always said.

⁴ The suffix ا meaning "this" is said in some regions as اد. The meaning is equivalent.

⁵ Or مَشَحَال or مَشَتَا.

⁶ This can also be said with a verb in the past: ... [إِلْتَان + آي] شَحَال أَكُّلْتَان.

What's today?	مَتَا واسَا؟
Saturday / Saturday / Today is Saturday.	سَبْت اَسَّ ن سَبْت اَسَا سَبْت.
What's tomorrow?	مَتَا يوسَكَا ⁷ ؟
Sunday / Sunday / Tomorrow is Sunday.	لَحَدَّ اَسَّ لَحَدَّ ⁸ اَسَكَا لَحَدَّ.
What was yesterday?	مَتَا واسَنَّاظَّ؟
Friday / Friday / Yesterday was Friday.	لَجُمُعَة اَسَّ لَجُمُعَة اَسَنَّاظَّ لَجُمُعَة.
Today is nice.	اِغودا واسَا.

D. Group 4

next year	اِمال
the year after next	نَّيْف اِمال
last year	نَّضَانْت
two years ago [lit: the one above last year]	وانِيك ⁹ ن نَّضَانْت
three years ago [lit: the one above the one above last year]	وانِيك ن وانِيك ن نَّضَانْت
two years in a row, two years consecutively	عامَيْن اِزْدَيْن
New Year's day the first of the year [lit: the head of the year]	اِخْف ن اُسَكَّاس
the first of the month	اِخْف ن وايور

⁷ The “y” sound is added for pronunciation to keep the two vowels from coming together: مَتَا واسَكَا؟ . Those who use “wa” in the dependent form say مَتَا + ي + اَسَكَا .

⁸ This comes from اَسَّ ن لَحَدَّ . The ن assimilates into the ل to form لَّ . Some dialects, however, pronounce the ن .

⁹ Literally : اِ + نِيكُ “this above,” that is, “this above last year.”

after the first of the month	تَقْفِير ¹⁰ نِ إِخْفِ نِ وَايُورِ
before the first of the month	دَات ¹¹ نِ إِخْفِ نِ وَايُورِ
these days, nowadays	وَسَانَا
Has the month ended or not yet?	إِسْ إِمَّوْتِ وَايُورِ مَا دِ إِسُولِ؟

E. Group 5

last night	إِضِ نِ إِضَلِّي ¹²
morning	صَبَّاحِ
this morning	صَبَّاحَا
dawn	تِفَاوُتِ
around dawn	غَرِ تِفَاوُتِ
midday, noon	أَمَّاسِ نِ وَاَسِّ ^(wa)
at midday, at noon	كُفِّ وَاَمَّاسِ نِ وَاَسِّ
afternoon	تَدَّكَّاتِ ¹³
this afternoon	تَدَّكَّاتَا
night	إِضِ ^(vi)
this night	إِضَا
midnight, the middle of the night	أَمَّاسِ نِ يِيضِ ^(wa)

¹⁰ Some regions don't use the تَقْفِيرِ إِخْفِ نِ وَايُورِ : نِ . Instead of تَقْفِيرِ (and its related words), some regions use ضَارْتِ .

¹¹ Some regions don't use the دَاتِ إِخْفِ نِ وَايُورِ : نِ .

¹² This phrase varies a lot with regions. Some regions use just the word إِضَلِّي to mean "last night." Other regions say إِضْنَكَّامِ .

¹³ Some people seem to say this with a تَلَكَّاتِ : لِ . In both cases the كُفِّ is said with rounded lips.

at midnight, in the middle
of the night

كُ وَاَمَّاس ن يِيض

I saw him in the morning.

أَنَّاخْت صَّبَّاح.

F. Group 6

tomorrow morning

صَّبَّاح ن أُسَكَّا

tomorrow afternoon

تَدَكُّتَات ن أُسَكَّا

tomorrow night

إِض ن أُسَكَّا

yesterday morning

صَّبَّاح ن وَاَسَّنَّاطْ

yesterday afternoon

تَدَكُّتَات ن وَاَسَّنَّاطْ

yesterday night

إِض ن وَاَسَّنَّاطْ

six in the morning

سِنَّة ن صَّبَّاح

early in the morning

صَّبَّاح زِيك

G. Group 7

the next day, *le lendemain*
(as in telling a story)
[lit: its tomorrow]

(asekkans) ¹⁴ أُسَكَّانَس^(u)

the day after the next day

وَانِيك ن أُسَكَّانَس

a week ago today

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا إِزْرِين أَمَّ وَاَسَّا

a week ago yesterday

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا إِزْرِين أَمَّ وَاَسَّنَّاطْ

a week ago tomorrow

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا إِزْرِين أَمَّ أُسَكَّا

a week from today

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا دِيْدَان أَمَّ وَاَسَّا

a week from yesterday

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا دِيْدَان أَمَّ وَاَسَّنَّاطْ

¹⁴ Technically this is أُسَكَّانَس “asekkannes,” but the ending is shortened to “asekkans.”

a week from tomorrow

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا دِيدَانِ آمَ أُسَكَّا

every day

كو ياسَّ

H. Group 8

per day, for a day

إِ وَاَسَّ

He works for 1000 rials per day.

دَيِّنْخَدَّمْ سِ وَالْفِ نِ وَاَرِيَالِ إِ وَاَسَّ.

There are television programs in
Tamazight 3 hours per day.

لَّانِ لِبَرَامِيْجِ كُفِّ تَلْفَاظَا سِ تَمَازِيْغَتِ
شُرَاضِ نِ تَسَاعِيْنِ إِ وَاَسَّ.

by day

سِ وَاَسَّ

He works by day (not at night).

or

دَيِّنْخَدَّمْ سِ وَاَسَّ.

He works by the day (not by
the month, etc.).

She did that by day (not at night).

تَنَّا أَيَا سِ وَاَسَّ.

She did that in broad daylight.
(i.e., publicly, out in the open)

تَنَّا أَيَا كُفِّ وَاَمَّاسِ نِ وَاَسَّ.

He finished the work in one day

إِشْمَلْ لَخْدَمْتِ كُفِّ يُونِ وَاَسَّ.

in the night

كُفِّ إِضِ (كُيُضِ)

I. Group 9

time (as in “two times”)

تِيكَّالْتِ (ii) تِيكَّالْ

time (as in “two times”)

لَمَّرْتِ¹⁵ لَمَّرَاتِ

two times

مَرَّتَيْنِ

sometimes

شَا نِ تِيكَّالْ or شَا لَمَّرَاتِ

one time, once

يُوتِ نِ تِيكَّالْتِ or يُوتِ لَمَّرْتِ

this time

تِيكَّالْتَا or لَمَّرْتَا

¹⁵ Some people say تِلْمَرْتِ .

the first time	تِكَلَّت تَمَزُّوَاروت or لَمَرَّت تَمَزُّوَاروت
the last time	تِكَلَّت تَنَكَّاروت or لَمَرَّت تَنَكَّاروت
time, a period of time	لوقت لوقات
They (m.) came on time.	دَّانْد كْ لوقت.

J. Group 10

See you tomorrow. (until) tomorrow	أَل ¹⁶ أَسْكَا
(until) next year	أَل إِمَال
(until) some day (until) one day	أَل يُون وَاَسَّ
(until) some other day (until) another day	أَل يُون وَاَسَّ يَضْن
later (until) later	أَل أَسْرَا
another time (until) another time	أَل شَا ن لوقت يَضْن
Until when?	أَل مِي؟

K. Group 11

now, currently, in our days, this time	أَذْوَالي
every time, continually	كو ذْوَال or كو تْوَال
without ceasing, continually	بْلا إِبْدِي
<i>tout-à-l'heure</i> , just a while ago	إِدَّخ ¹⁷ or ذَمَاد

¹⁶ Some regions use أَل and others use أَر .

¹⁷ There are many regional variations for this idea of “just a while ago.” Others include دَاغ , إِدَّغ , لَيِنَاث , إِنْتَمَاد , إِنْذَمَاد , إِدْمَاد .

I saw him a little while ago.	أَنَّاخْت إِدَّخ.
immediately, at once	أَكْ وَأَنْسَا
immediately	ذُغِيَا \ ذُغِيَا ذُغِيَا \ فَيَسَاع
now or soon (depending on the context)	ذُغِي
nowadays	ذُغِي
	لَوَاشُونَ ن ذُغِي وَر سَنَّ لَا يَازْكَرْزَن ¹⁸ لَا يَازْمُكْرَن.
	Kids nowadays don't know how either to plow or to harvest. [lit: The children of now...]
always	أَبْدَا _(wa)

L. Group 12

Some verbs concerning time

to arrive early to be/do early	—	نَزَو	نَزَو	إِنزَا \ وَر إِنزِي
to be late to take a long time	—	عَطَّر	تَعَطَّار	إِعْطَّر \ وَر إِعْطَّر
to make someone late	—	سَعَطَّر	سَعَطَّار	إِسْعَطَّر \ وَر إِسْعَطَّر
to spend the night to do something all night to last all night	—	نَس	نَسَا	إِنْسَا \ وَر إِنْسِي
to spend the day to do something all day to last all day	—	شَل ¹⁹	شَلَا	إِشْلَا \ وَر إِشْلِي

I went early to the Post Office. نَزِيخَ غَر لَبُوسَطَا.

¹⁸ The “y” sound in this word and in the last word is added to prevent two vowels from coming together.

¹⁹ This verb can also be said with a ش instead of a ك.

They (m.) married her off early. [lit: They earlied to her marriage.]	نَزَانَسَ إِوَل.
Excuse me. I'm late.	سَمَحِي. عَطَّرَخ.
He stayed late at his brother's.	إِعَطَّرُنْ غَر كُتْمَاس.
The rain made us late.	إِسْعَطَّرَاخْ أُنْزَار.
We're sorry. We made you (f.s.) late.	سَمَحَاخ. نَسْعَطَّرْشَم.
She spent the night at her sister's.	تَنَسَا غَر أَلْتَمَاس.
He coughed all night.	إِنْسَا دَيْتَّوَسُو.
They (m.) spent the night working.	نَسَان دَخْدَمَنْ.
The dance lasted all night.	إِنْسَا أَحِيدُوس.
The rain lasted all day.	إِشْلَا أُنْزَار.

2. How long has it been since ...?

This construction deals with sentences like “How long has it been since I saw you?,” “It’s been 3 years since I saw you,” and “I haven’t seen him in a long time.”

A. Question and simple time phrases: the past tense

i. First way

Question:

verb in the past + أَيَا + or شُحَال
or مَشْحَال
مَشْتَا

Answer:

verb in the past + أَيَا + time phrase
أَيَا + time phrase + verb in the past

Often the verb is negative. Whereas in English we say “It’s been a long time since I’ve seen you,” the Tamazight (as well as Moroccan Arabic and French) says “It’s been a long time since I haven’t seen you.”

شَحَال أَيَا وَرْش أَنَايْخ؟

How long has it been since I've seen you (m.s.)?

[lit: How long this I haven't seen you.]

شَرَاض ن إِسْكَاسَن أَيَا وَرِي تَانَايْد.

It's been three years since you've (s.) seen me.

[lit: Three years this you haven't seen me.]

أَم مَشْحَال أَيَا وَر تَانَايْد حَدَّو؟

About how long has it been since you've (s.) seen Haddou?

أَم عَامَيْن أَيَا. or just

أَم عَامَيْن. or just

It's been about two years. or just

About two years. or just

It's been about two years since I've seen him.

أَتِيلِي²⁰ شَهْرَيْن أَيَا وَرْت أَنَايْخ. or just

أَتِيلِي شَهْرَيْن. or just

It's been about two months. or just

About two months. or just

مَشْتَا أَيَا وَر تَخْدِمْد غَر فْلَان؟

How long has it been since you've (s.) worked for so and so?

وَ ر خْدِمَخ غورس²¹ أَيور أَيَا.

أَيور أَيَا وَر خْدِمَخ غورس.

I haven't worked for him for a month.

It's been a month since I've worked for him.

(Both of the above ways are valid.)

ii. Second way

Often when the verb is positive the word زُكَّيس²² (pronounced “zg'is”) is used. This word functions just like “since” in English. This word also causes moveable items to go in front of the verb. Some regions use مَائِي²³ زي instead.

شَحَال أَيَا زُكَّيس بَضَان؟

How long has it been since they divorced?

²⁰ The words أَتِيلِي mean literally “it (fem.) will be.” However, in this context, it doesn't have a future meaning but rather functions as “about” or “approximately.” Furthermore, the word شَهْرَيْن is the subject of the verb. Both in Arabic and Tamazight, this word is feminine singular. This comes from the Arabic rule that plural objects take feminine singular verbs.

²¹ The غورس can also go between the negation word and the verb.

²² Taifi lists زُكَّيس on page 621, under “SG.” Other variations include سَنُكَّوس, سَنُكَّيس, and زُكَّوس.

²³ Or زَكَّ or سَكَّ.

أَسْكَاسَ أَيَا زُكَّيسَ بَضَانَ²⁴.

It's been a year since they divorced.

أَمَّ أَسْكَاسَ أَيَا زُكَّيسَ بَضَانَ.

It's been about a year since they divorced.

أَسَّا أَسْكَاسَ أَيَا زُكَّيسَ بَضَانَ.

Today it's been (exactly) a year since they divorced.

سَّيْمَانَا نَّا دِيدَانَ أَدْيِيلِي أَسْكَاسَ أَيَا زِي مَائِي بَضَانَ.

Next week it will be a year since they divorced.

شَحَالُ أَيَا زُكَّيسَ تِيوَلْدُ؟

How long have you (s.) been married?

How long has it been since you married?

زُكَّيسَ إِلَّا كُ مَكْنَسَ يَاعْتُ شَا.

Since he's been in Meknes he's been sick.

زُكَّيسَ دِيدَا غَرَّ مَكْنَسَ يَاعْتُ شَا.

Since he's come to Meknes, he's been sick.

وَر دَتَّمَسَوَالَن زُكَّيسَ نَّاعْن.

They (m.) haven't spoken (with each other) since they fought.

B. Something currently going on

i. The main way

What follows is the main way that you should learn to express how long something has been happening. It uses the word **زُكَّيسَ**.

Question:

verb in the present continuous + **زُكَّيسَ** + **أَيَا** + or **شَحَالُ**
with no tense indicator or **مَشَحَالُ**
مَشْتَا

Answer:

verb in the present continuous + **زُكَّيسَ** + (**أَيَا**) + time phrase
with no tense indicator (optional)

verbal phrase + **زُكَّيسَ** + verb in the present continuous
with the tense indicator

²⁴ Some regions use the verb **لَّفَنَ**, from : **لَّفَ** | **وَر** **إِلَّفَ** | **تَلَّفَ** | **لَّفَ** .
Others use the verb **رَزَمَنَ**, from : **رَزَمَ** | **وَر** **إِرَزَمَ** | **رَزَمَ** | **رَزَمَ** .

مَشْتَا أَيَا زُكَّيس تَسَاد دُوايَا؟

How long have you (s.) been taking [lit: drinking] this medicine?

شَحَال أَيَا زُكَّيس سَوَالِن س تَمَازِيغْت؟

How long have they (m.) been speaking Tamazight?

سِين إِسْكَاسَن (أَيَا) زُكَّيس سَوَالِن س تَمَازِيغْت.

They've (m.) been speaking Tamazight for two years.

[lit: (It's been) two years that they've been speaking Tamazight.]

دَسَاخ دُوايَا زُكَّيسِي تَوْمَزُ تَوَسُوت.

I've been taking this medicine since I caught a cough [lit: a cough caught me].

Note that the word زُكَّيس must be followed by a verbal phrase. It is never followed by a time, a date, a duration, a point in time, etc.

ii. Another way

Some areas, especially in the southern portion of the Middle Atlas language group, don't use the word زُكَّيس. They use essentially the above method, but drop the word زُكَّيس.

مَشَحَال أَيَا تَسَوَالِد س تَمَازِيغْت؟

How long have you (s.) been speaking Tamazight?

أَم أُسْكَاس أَيَا سَوَالِخ س تَمَازِيغْت.

I've been speaking Tamazight for about a year.

[lit: (It's been) about a year that I've been speaking Tamazight.]

وَكَّار ن عَشْرَةَ ن إِسْكَاسَن أَيَا إِتْبِي إِزْلَان.

For more than 10 years he's been composing songs.

دَيْتَبِي إِزْلَان تَسْعَةَ ن إِسْكَاسَن أَيَا.

He's been composing songs for 9 years.

دَيْتَبِي إِزْلَان أَيَا إِمْرِي.

He's been composing songs since he was young.

C. A whole sentence as a time phrase

i. First way: with زُكَّيس

وَرْتُ أَنَايْخ زُكَّيس دَدِيخ.

I haven't seen him since I came.

وَر تَخْدِم غورْس زُكَّيسْت يَاغ شا.

She hasn't worked at his place since she got sick.

دَتَّخَدِّمَ دَا زَنْغِيَسَاس²⁵ تَمَّوَت مَائِس.
She's been working here since her mother died.

ii. Second way: with **أَيَا**

وَرْت أَنَايْخ أَيَا دَدَّيْخ.
I haven't seen him since I came.
وَر تَخْدِم غورْس أَيَات يَاغ شَا.
She hasn't worked at his place since she got sick.
دَتَكَات لَنْكِيَطَار أَيَا تَمْرِي.
She's been playing the guitar since she was young.

D. Exclamation

The exclamation is just like the question in the first way of part 2A, except that there is exclamation intonation instead of question intonation.

شَحَال أَيَا وَرْشَم أَنَايْخ!
I haven't seen you (f.s.) in a long time!
It's been a long time since I've seen you!
خَيْر اللّٰه أَيَا وَرْكَن أَنَايْخ!
I haven't seen you (m.pl.) in a long time!
It's been a long time since I've seen you!
وَهْلِي أَيَا وَرْكَنْت أَنَايْخ!
I haven't seen you (f.pl.) in a long time!
It's been a long time since I've seen you!
إِس تَانَايْد شَرِيْف؟
شَحَال أَيَا! or خَيْر اللّٰه أَيَا! or وَهْلِي أَيَا! or زَكْ وَهْلِي!
Did you (s.) see Sherif?
It's been a long time! or Not in a long time!

E. Ago

The phrase “ago,” as in “I saw him fifteen days ago,” is expressed by:

أَيَا + time phrase

²⁵ As with the English word “since,” the word زَنْغِيَس can have two meanings depending on the context: a causal meaning or a temporal meaning. In this sentence it is possible to see both meanings, both in the Tamazight and English sentences: “She’s been working here because her mother died” or “she’s been working here from the time that her mother died.”

أَنَايْخَتْ خَمْسَطَاشْ نَ وَاسَّ أَيَا.

I saw her fifteen days ago.

أَنَايْخَتْ أَمَّ وَايُورَ أَيَا.

I saw her about a month ago.

أَنَايْخَتْ تَسَاعَتْ أَيَا.

I saw her an hour ago.

Other time phrases:

أَنَايْخَتْ كْ لَجُمْعَةَ نَا إِزْرِينَ. [a date + كْ]

I saw her last Friday [lit: in the Friday which passed].

أَنَايْخَتْ إِدَّخْ [or ذَمَادْ].

I saw her just a while ago.

أَنَايْخَتْ صَبَّاحْ كْ لَخْدَمْتْ.

I saw her (in) the morning at work.

إِرَا أَتْ يَانَايْ زَكْ وَهْلِي [or زَكْ وَهَوَا].

He wanted to see him for a long time.

3. Demonstrative suffixes نَا and لِي , meaning “that”

A. We’ve seen in lessons 10 and 12 that نَا is a relative pronoun, that is, it begins a relative clause: “the book that I read” or “the person who told me about you.” However, نَا also has another role, the role of a demonstrative suffix like “that book,” “those days,” or “that time.”

In *Abrid 1* we saw demonstrative suffixes for “this/these” (ا) and “that/those” (ين). These refer to items or objects or concepts which are for the most part “physically” present. There is “this one here” and “that one there,” “this dish” versus “that dish.” However, نَا means “that _____” in terms of something that was being talked about or referred to in the past. For example, “that book” (the one we saw yesterday) or “that car” (the one we were talking about a while ago) or “those days” (the ones we were referring to previously). It refers to the object or idea in question, being referred to, as opposed to an object that is physically further away from the speaker than a closer object.

Sometimes the word لِي is also used like نَا, but it is less frequent than نَا. Some dialects of the southern part of the Middle Atlas Tamazight language group add a غ to the end and say لِيغ and نَاغ.

كُو تِمَزِيدَا تَلَّا س طَّالِبِنَسْ. طَّالِبِنَّا نَتَّا أَكَّان لِيَام ن
لَجْمَعَت.

Every mosque has its religious teacher. That religious teacher, he's the one
who is the Imam of the (tribal) group²⁶.

نِيخَاس "وهو." وَلَايِنِّي إِنَّا أُرْيَا زَنَا يَضُن "يَاللَّهِ، أَنَدَّو."

I told him, "No." But that other man said, "Come on, let's go."

إِس وَرُدْجِين وَمِرَّن إِمَاشَرِنَنَّا؟

Did they (m.) ever catch those thieves?
(that is, for example, the ones the TV was talking about)

نَّان شَا ن مِدَّن زِي تَمَازِيرَتَنَّا....

Some people from that land said....

The above suffixes are often used in various time phrases:

In that time...

ئُكْ لَوْقَتَنَّا...

In this time, nowadays

ئُكْ لَوْقَتَا

In those days...

ئُكْ وَوَسَّانَنَّا...

Around that time...

أَتَّايِن ن لَوْقَتَنَّا

At about that time...

Since that day...

زَكْ وَاسَّنَّا...

When...

أَسَّنَّاكْ...

[lit: that day in which...]

at that time, in that period;
back then, in the past,
in the olden days

لَوْقَتَلِّي

back then, in the olden days,
in the former days

لَوْقَاتَلِّي

إِس تَعَقَلَد خَف لَوْقَتَنَّا كْ لَقَهْوَا؟

Do you remember that time at the café?

زَكْ وَاسَّنَّا وَرُدْجِين كَمِيخ قَّاح.

Since that day I haven't smoked at all.

²⁶ The word لَجْمَعَت is a group consisting of representatives (usually the heads of households) of each family in the tribe.

أَسَنَّكَ لَيْخِ كَفِ أَرْفُودِ كَيْخِ غُورُشِ مَشَانِ وَرِ تَلِيدِ.

When I was in Erfoud [lit: that day in which I was in Erfoud]

I stopped by your (m.s.) place, but you weren't there.

أَسَنَّكَ مَرْيَخِ كَيْخِ دَسَارَاخِ كَفِ لَغَابِتِ كُورِ يَاسِ. كَفِ وَوَسَانِنَا

كَانَ لَانَ إِسْكَلَا شِيْكَانِ كَفِ كُورِ يَادْغَارِ، إِمْيَلِ أَسَا وَرِ إِسُولِ
أَوْدِ يُونِ أُسْكَلُو دَا.

When I was small [lit: that day in which I was small] I used to walk in the woods every day. In those days there used to be many trees in every place, but nowadays

[lit: today] there isn't even one tree left here.

لُوقْتَلِي غُودَانَ مِدَّنِ كُورِنَسَنِ. دُغِي، غَاسِ إِغْدَارِنِ أَيَّانِ.

In the past people were good—all of them. Now, they're just backstabbers.

B. Other phrases meaning “in the past” or “in the olden days”

long ago

وَهْلِي

long ago,
in the olden days

وَهَوَا

in the past, long ago,
in the olden days
[lit: the beginning]

تِزْوِيرِي

in the past, long ago

كُورِ يَاسِ

وَهْلِي وَرِ لَيْنِ شِيْكَانِ نِ مِدَّنِ دَا.

In the past there weren't many people here.

إِلَّا يُونِ أَكْلِيدِ وَهَوَا غُورُشِ سَنَاتِ نِ تَشِيرَاتِينِ....

Long ago there was a king (who) had two daughters....

تِزْوِيرِي أَرْتَفْرَاخَنِ مِدَّنِ سِ أَوْدِ حَا.

In the olden days people were happy with nothing.

مِدَّنِ نِ وَهَوَا

people from long ago

مِدَّنِ نِ زَمَانِ

people from olden times

مِدَّنِ نَا إِزْرِينِ وَهْلِي

people who lived [lit: who passed] a long time ago

More Detail in Quantity Expressions

This lesson goes deeper into various expressions concerning quantity. Previous material dealing with quantity expressions can be found in: the *Abrid 1 Student Book*, lesson 15, pages 74-75; and the *Abrid 1 Workbook*, lesson 15, pages 78-81.

1. Vocabulary

A. Verbs of Quantity

to be few, —	إِذْرُوس \ وَرِ إِذْرُوس	تَذْرُوس	ذُرُوس
to be of a little amount			
to be a lot, —	إِكْوَدِي \ وَرِ إِكْوَدِي	تَكْوَدُوِي	كُوَدِي
to be in abundance			
to multiply —	إِسْكَوَدِي \ وَرِ إِسْكَوَدِي	سَكْوَدُوِي	سَكْوَدِي
to make something numerous			
to be a lot, —	إِعْدَا \ وَرِ إِعْدَا	تَعْدُو	عَدُو
to be in abundance			
to multiply —	إِسْعَدَا \ وَرِ إِسْعَدَا	تَسْعَدُو	سَعَدُو
to make something numerous			
to be enough —	إِقْدَا \ وَرِ إِقْدَا	تَقْدَا	قَدَا
to still be left —	إِسُول \ وَرِ إِسُول	تَسُول	سُول
to be finished, —	إِقْضَا \ وَرِ إِقْضَا	تَقْضُو	قْضُو
to not be any left			

B. A lot

a lot (of something—countable or uncountable noun)
 too much (of something—countable or uncountable noun)
 a lot (as an adverb)
 too much (as an adverb)
 a lot (as a noun)

شِيْكَان

شِيْكَان نِ وَائِكَو
 a lot of smoke
 شِيْكَان نِ إِقَاوَلِن
 a lot of promises

لَان شِيْكَان نِ اِوَالِيَوْنَ كْ تَمَازِيْغْت.

There are a lot of words in Tamazight.

اِلا شِيْكَان نِ وَاكُوْ كْ اِكْنَا.

There is a lot of smoke in the sky.

لَان شِيْكَان نِ وَاْمَانْ كْ وَاْسِيْف.

There is [lit: are] a lot of water in the river.

Note in the above sentences that the verb is conjugated according to the noun. This is just like in English: There is a lot of smoke; there are a lot of cars.

اَرِيْكَاتِ اُدْفَلْ شِيْكَانْ كْ مَرِيْرْت.

It was snowing a lot in Mrirt.

غَاس يَانَايْ اِزْمْ اِهْبَضْ شِيْكَان.

He just saw the lion (and) he was greatly terrorized.

اَلْيَاكْ تَسُوْا شِيْكَانْ نِ وَاْتَايْ، يَاغْتْ شَا.

Since she drank too much tea, she got sick.

دَيْسُوْالْ شِيْكَان.

He talks too much.

Often it's the context that distinguishes between the meaning of "a lot" and "too much."

وَنَّا وِر اِسْنْ اَدِيْعِيْشْ سِ اِمِيْلْ وِر اِتْعِيْشْ سِ شِيْكَان.

He who doesn't know how to live with little won't (know how to) live with a lot/much.

The word **بَزَاف** is an exact synonym of **شِيْكَان** and can be directly substituted for it in all the above contexts.

Other words for "a lot" include the following. Not every region knows or uses all of them.

Used in all the same contexts as **شِيْكَان** .

عَنْوَكَا

Used in all the same contexts as **شِيْكَان** .

قَبَالَا¹

Used as "a lot" of something, but not as an adverb or as "too much."

تِيْكَتْ

Used as "a lot" of something, but not as an adverb or as "too much."

شِيْلَا

Used as "a lot" of something, but not as an adverb or as "too much."

وَهْلِي

¹ The **ق** is said with rounded lips: q^wbala.

Some expressions of “a lot” refer to God. These seem to be used in order to avoid the evil eye and anything bad that may befall those mentioned.

a lot, a long time
[lit: the goodness of God]

خير الله

إِس زِدْغَن مِدَّن بَزَاف كُ مَكْنَس؟
إِشَا رَبِّي لَخِير.

Do a lot of people live in Meknes?
Yes, a lot. [lit: God gave goodness.]

C. A little, a few

a little _____
a few _____

شَا ن or + uncountable noun
plural countable noun

The difference between this meaning here and the meaning “some _____” (below) comes from the context.

a little (of something—but not with a countable noun)
a little (as a noun)

شَوِي

a little (of something—but not with a countable noun)
a little (as a noun)

إِمِيل²

a little bit (of something—but not with a countable noun)
a little bit (as a noun)

شَا ن شَوِي

a little bit (of something)
a little bit (as a noun)

شَا إِدْرُوسَن

أَوِيد شَا ن سَكَّر، عَافَام.

Bring a little sugar, please (to a woman).

إِشَاس شَا ن لَشْتَب.

He gave him/her a few books.

شَاس إِمِيل ن أُغْرُوم.

Give him/her a little bread.

شَاس إِمِيل.

Give him/her a little.

إِتْشَا شَوِي ن أُغْرُوم.

He ate a little bread.

² Regional variations of this word include إِمِيق and إِمِيح.

إِتْشَا شُوِي.

He ate a little.

إِتْشَا شَا ن شُوِي ن أَكْسُوم.

He ate a little bit of meat.

إِتْشَا شَا ن شُوِي.

He ate a little bit.

إِتْشَا شَا إِذْرُوسَن ن أَفْتَال.

He ate a little bit of couscous.

إِتْشَا شَا إِذْرُوسَن.

He ate a little bit.

little by little;

slowly

little by little

slowly

إِمِيل س إِمِيل

شُوِي س شُوِي or شُوِي شُوِي

D. Some

some _____

شَا ن + plural noun

some _____

شَا ن + uncountable noun

some _____

يَيْتَس ن + plural noun

some _____

رَبَعَت ن + plural noun

some people

شَا ن مِدَّن

some tea

شَا ن وَاثَايْ

some days

يَيْتَس ن وُوسَان

some people

رَبَعَت ن مِدَّن

E. So much/so many: أَنَشْتِي (wa)

When two items are being compared and both things are equal or the same as each other, one way of making that comparison is to use the word أَنَشْتِي. (See lessons 1 and 2, pages 24-25.) Taifi's dictionary, on page 488, lists its meaning as "quantity, size; so much, so many, such; as much as, as many as; of the same quantity as, equal to; as (fat, big, young, small, old, etc.) as." However, sometimes this word is used in contexts where

a direct comparison between two things is not being made, for example: “What are you going to do with so much money?!” In these cases, the word used is **أَنْشْتِي** (Its dependent form is **وَأَنْشْتِي**), and it can have direction particles added to it. The following noun is in its dependent form and is preceded by **ن** (although some dialects leave out the **ن** according to the grammar described in the *Abrid 1 Student Book*, lesson 11, page 66.) These are the various possibilities:

so much / so many	<u>noun</u>	or	<u>noun</u> ن أَنْشْتِي
this quantity of	<u>noun</u>		<u>noun</u> ن أَنْشْتِيد
(the noun is close to the speaker)			

so much / so many	<u>noun</u>	<u>noun</u> ن أَنْشْتِيس
that quantity of	<u>noun</u>	
(the noun is far from the speaker)		

(For countable items, the noun is plural.)

Admittedly with these quantity words, it is difficult for a non-native speaker to know when the direction particles are appropriate. We are not used to speaking about the quantity of an object and at the same time specifying whether the object is near or far. Try to observe from people’s usage when the particles are appropriate.

Up till now we’ve seen two direction particles: the **د** of nearness and the **ن** of farness. However, there are a very small group of words³ where the farness particle is not **ن** but rather **س**.

Furthermore, in these words the idea of nearness is already included in the base word and doesn’t need the added **د** at the end to indicate nearness. For example, the word for “here” is **دا**, the word for “this” (a noun) is **أَيَا**, and the demonstrative adjective (as in “this man”) is **أ**. Some regions will add the **د** of nearness to these words, but it isn’t necessary. It is just a regional variation. Thus, some regions say **داد** (“here”), **أَيَاد** (“this”), and **أَرِيَاذ** (“this man”).

In the above quantity expressions, **أَنْشْتِي** and **أَنْشْتِيد** both refer to items that are close to the speaker. They are synonyms, being just regional variations meaning the same thing. The word **أَنْشْتِيس** refers to items that are far from the speaker.

³ They are the words for “so much/so many,” “like this/like that” (covered in lesson 30), and “here/there.” In the words for “here/there” both the particles **ن** and **س** are used. See Taifi, page 51, under “D,” for an explanation.

مائي تَكَّاد س وانشتي ن إذرِيْمَن؟

What will you (s.) do with so much [or: with this quantity of] money?
(And the money is close by.)

ريخ رَبِّي أَد غيفي ياسي انشتيد ن لِمَشاكيل.

I want God to take from me this quantity of problems.

ور تَنيد اَتَسَغْد انشتيس ن وولي.

You (s.) can't buy so many [or: that quantity of] sheep.
(And the sheep being referred to are at some distance from the speaker.)

شا ن يون: اديش رَبِّي اَم لَواشونين ن اَرِيازين.

شا يَضَن: ما غاگخ⁴ س وانشتيس ن لَواشون؟

May God give (you (m.s.)) like those (number of) children of that man. : someone
What would I do with so many [or: that quantity of] children? : someone else

F. Other types of quantities

These expressions can vary a lot from region to region. The first six listed below come from Ayt 'Atta in the southern portion of the Middle Atlas language group. Check with people around you to see what they use.

a swallow of water

تَسَكيفْت⁵ ن وامن

a mouthful of bread

إمي ن اُغروم

a handful of money

تومَرْت⁴ ن إذرِيْمَن

two-handed scoop of money

وراو ن إذرِيْمَن

two hands cupped together

وراو^(wu) وراو^(wu)

He drinks with his two hands cupped together.

دَيْسَا س ووراو.

a spoonful of oil

تَغَنجاوْت ن زَيْت

a cupful of honey

لُكاس ن تَمِيْمَت

a plateful of flour

تَقَصْرِيْت ن واكَّرن

⁴ This form of the future will be covered in lesson 28. Basically, it uses *غا* instead of *أَد* as the tense indicator, since a question word precedes the future form. In this case the *كِي* is pronounced like a “y,” so it sounds like *ما غايخ* “*ma gayeh*.” The phrase means “what will I do...,” although in English we would say here “would” instead of “will.”

⁵ This word is said with a rounded “k.”

a step, a pace

إِحْرِيفَنَ أَحْرِيفَ (u)

G. Most ...

There are a number of different ways to express this idea, the first one below being perhaps the most colloquial.

كُودِين [or عَدَان] وِينَا دَيْسَانٌ⁶ أَتَايْ س نَعْنَاعُ كُ لَمَغْرَب.

The majority (of people) / most (people) in Morocco drink mint tea.

[lit: Numerous are those who drink mint tea in Morocco.]

ذُرُوسَنَ وِينَا دَيْسَانُ شَرَبَ كُ لَمَغْرَب.

A minority (of people) in Morocco drink alcoholic beverages.

[lit: Few are those who drink alcoholic beverages in Morocco.]

شَا إِكُودِين [or إِعْدَان] كُ لَمَغْرَب دَسَانُ أَتَايْ س نَعْنَاع.

The majority (of people) / most (people) in Morocco drink mint tea.

[lit: Numerous (people)...]

شَا إِذُرُوسَنَ كُ لَمَغْرَب دَسَانُ شَرَب.

A minority (of people) in Morocco drink alcoholic beverages.

[lit: A few (people)...]

مِدَّنَ إِكُودِينُ كُ لَمَغْرَب دَسَانُ أَتَايْ س نَعْنَاع.

The majority of people [lit: Numerous people] in Morocco drink mint tea.

مِدَّنَ إِذُرُوسَنُ كُ لَمَغْرَب دَسَانُ شَرَب.

A minority of people [lit: A few people] in Morocco drink alcoholic beverages.

عِلَاحَالُ قَاحِ مِدَّنَ لَمَغْرَب دَسَانُ أَتَايْ س نَعْنَاع.

Almost all the people of Morocco drink mint tea.

most people

شِيْكَانُ ن مِدَّنَ

H. Fractions

half

أَمْنَصَفَ (u) إِمْنَصَفَنَ

تَمْنَصَفْتِ (tm) تَمْنَصَفِينِ (tm)

The normal word for “half” is the masculine one, regardless of whether the noun it is referring to is masculine or feminine. The feminine would be used only if referring to

⁶ Note the use of the habitual participle.

something small. Some people use the word **مَنْصَفَا** for “half.” It is a feminine word.

half of the field	أَمْنَصَفَا نِ يَغْر
half of the house	أَمْنَصَفَا نِ تَدَارَتْ
more than half	or وَكَارَ نِ أَمْنَصَفَا بُزَايِدَ نِ أَمْنَصَفَا
less than half	دَاوُ نِ أَمْنَصَفَا
about half	or أَذْيَلِي أَمْنَصَفَا إِنِّي أَمْنَصَفَا
not quite half	وَرِ إِتَاوَضَ أَمْنَصَفَا

أَمْنَصَفَا نِ يَغْر وَبِنُو، أَمْنَصَفَايِنِ وَبِنَش.

This half of the field is mine, that half is yours (m.s.).

He cut it (m.) in half.	إِبَّيْتِ خَفَ أَمْنَصَفَا.
three halves	شُرَاضَ نِ إِمْنَصَفَا

Another word used in some regions for “half” is:

half	إِرْكَنَانِ	أَزْكَنْ ⁷ (u)
half (the feminine means the same as the masculine)	تِرْكَنَانِ (tz)	تَزْكَنَتْ (tz)
a half of a leg of lamb		أَزْكَنَ نِ أَضَارَ نِ أَكْسُومِ
a half of a loaf of bread		تَزْكَنَتْ نِ تُوغْرِيْفَتْ
three halves		شُرَاضَ نِ إِرْكَنَانِ

⁷ Some areas pronounce the singular and plural as إِزِينِ and أَزِينِ.

For all other fractions, Arabic is used. Note the pattern that is followed (where the X's are the three root consonants of the Arabic numbers 3 to 10). Since the numbers 5 and 10 start with a moon letter, their first consonant isn't doubled but has the Arabic ل .

X X X

one ninth	تُسْعُ	one sixth	سُدُسٌ	one third	ثُلُثٌ
one tenth	لِعَشْرٍ	one seventh	سَبْعٌ	one fourth	رُبْعٌ
		one eighth	تَمَنٌ	one fifth	لِخْمُسٍ

To speak of three-fourths, five-sixths, etc., the plurals of the above fractions are made by adding إِد to them. The preceding ن runs directly into the following إِد so that they sound like one word نِيد . For example:

three-fourths شَرَاظِ نِ إِدِ رُبْعٍ

five-sixths خَمْسَةُ نِ إِدِ سُدُسٍ

Often fractions are used when discussing inheritances. Some people use the above words for fractions, but others use ordinal numbers referring to fractions. These may or may not be used with the word for “part” or “portion” أَمُور .

He takes a twelfth part. دَيْتَاوِي أَمُورِ وَيَسْطَنَاشِ.

He takes a twelfth. دَيْتَاوِي وَيَسْطَنَاشِ.

Sometimes people work somebody's land, and they receive as their payment a fifth of the harvest. The worker who does this is called a أَخْمَاسٌ .

He takes a fifth part of the wheat. دَيْتَاوِي أَمُورِ وَيَسْخَمْسَةُ كُ إِمْنَدِي.⁸

He takes a fifth of the wheat. دَيْتَاوِي وَيَسْخَمْسَةُ كُ إِمْنَدِي.

He takes a fifth of the wheat. دَيْتَاوِي لِخْمُسٍ كُ إِمْنَدِي.

⁸ Or ن . This applies to the following two sentences as well.

All decimal numbers use Arabic:

3,5 ثلاثة فاصلة خمسة
(lit: three comma five, that is,
"three point five" in English)

I. Math operations

i. Zero

zero زيرو or صفر

ii. Percentages

Percentages use Arabic numbers but the preposition is **كُ**:

100 percent مية كُ لَمِية

32 percent ثَينين و ثلاثين كُ لَمِية

iii. Addition

As in English there are a variety of ways to say verb of the operation and the verb giving the result. A number of different examples are given. This applies to all the operations below.

5 plus ("to") 7 is 12. خَمسة غَر سَبعة تَكَا⁹ طُنَاش.

5 and 7 makes 12. خَمسة د سَبعة دَتَكَا طُنَاش.

5 plus ("add to it") 7 gives 12. خَمسة زَايدَاس سَبعة دَتَاكَا طُنَاش.

iv. Subtraction

40 from 100 leaves 60. رُبَعين زي مِية تَقِيم¹⁰ سَتِين.

100 take away from it 40 gives 60. مِية كَس زِيكَس رُبَعين دَتَاكَا سَتِين.

⁹ From Arabic grammar, almost all numbers over two take a feminine singular verb. An exception is the word for 1000 **ألف**, which is masculine singular.

¹⁰ Some regions conjugate this as a regular verb and others as an irregular verb.

v. Multiplication

خَمْسَةَ نِ إِدِ خَمْسِينَ تَكَّا مِئَتَيْنِ وَ خَمْسِينَ.

(pronounced

نيد)

5 times 50 is 250.

[lit: five of fifties is 250]

خَمْسَةَ دِي خَمْسِينَ دَتَّكَّا مِئَتَيْنِ وَ خَمْسِينَ.

(pronounced "di")

5 times 50 makes 250.

vi. Division

خَمْسَ مِئَةَ خَفِ خَمْسِينَ دَتَّاكَ عَشْرَةَ. 500 (divided) by 50 gives 10.

بُضُو خَمْسَ مِئَةَ خَفِ خَمْسِينَ، أَتَّشْ عَشْرَةَ.

Divide 500 by 50, and you get [lit: it will give] 10.

خَمْسَ مِئَةَ بَضُوتْ خَفِ خَمْسِينَ تَكَّا عَشْرَةَ.

500 divide it by 50 is 10.

J. More verbs of quantities and measurements

to count	—	إِحْسَبْ \ وَرِ إِحْسَبْ	تَحْسَابْ	حَسْبْ
to estimate, to calculate	—	إِمِيزْ \ وَرِ إِمِيزْ	تَمِيزْ	مِيزْ
to reduce, to lower	—	إِنْقَسْ \ وَرِ إِنْقَسْ	تَنْقَاسْ	نَاقَسْ
to add, to raise	—	إِزَايْدْ \ وَرِ إِزَايْدْ	تَزَايْدْ	زَايْدْ
to weigh, to measure	—	إِعْبَرْ \ وَرِ إِعْبَرْ	تَعْبَارْ	عَبَرْ

K. Numbers 11 to 19

There are two ways people say these numbers: with or without an ع .

حَضَاعِش	or	حَضَاش	11
طَنَاعِش	or	طَنَاش	12
تَلَطَّاعِش	or	تَلَطَّاش	13
رُبَّعَطَاعِش	or	رُبَّعَطَاش	14
خَمْسَطَاعِش	or	خَمْسَطَاش	15
سَطَّاعِش	or	سَطَّاش	16
سَبَّعَطَاعِش	or	سَبَّعَطَاش	17
تَمَنَّاعِش	or	تَمَنَّاش	18
تَسَّعَطَاعِش	or	تَسَّعَطَاش	19

L. 100

hundred مِات or إِد مِية مِية

For the counting numbers 200 to 900 most people use simply the Arabic way of saying the number, but some may use a more Berberized plural, for example:

300 (Arabic style, but most common)	تَلَّتْ مِية
300 (more Berberized, but less common)	شُرَاط ¹¹ ن إِد مِية

For the number 200 most people use simply the Arabic dual, but some may use a more Berberized plural, for example:

200 (Arabic style, but most common)	مِيتَيْن
200 (more Berberized, but less common)	سَنَات ن إِد مِية

M. 1000

thousand إِد والنْف or أَلَّاف or أَلْفِيون^(wa) أَلْف^(wa)

¹¹ The word مِية is feminine.

For the counting numbers 2000 to 10000 most people use simply the Arabic plural, but some may use a more Berberized plural, for example:

3000 (Arabic style, but most common)	تَلَّتْ أَلَّاف
3000 (more Berberized, but less common)	شُرَّاض ن إِدِ وَالْف
3000 (more Berberized, but much less common)	شُرَّاض ن وَالْفِيُون

For the number 2000 most people use simply the Arabic dual, but some may use a more Berberized plural, for example:

2000 (Arabic style, but most common)	أَلْفَيْن
2000 (more Berberized, but less common)	سِين ¹² إِدِ وَالْف
2000 (more Berberized, but much less common)	سِين وَالْفِيُون

N. More measurements

measuring, measurement, weighing gauging distance	لَعْبَار
length duration	تَغْزِي ¹³
width	تِيرُوت
height	لَعَلُو
depth	تَغْبِي ¹⁴

لَان سِين لَمِيْتْرُويَات كُفْ تَغْزِينَس.

Its length is two meters. [lit: There are two meters in its length.]

رِيخ يُوْت ن طَبَّلَا يُون لَمِيْتْرُو خَف يُون د أَمْنَصَف.

I want a table one meter by one and a half.

س تَغْزِي ن لَعْمَر.

May you live a long life.

[lit: With longevity/length of life/age.]

¹² The ن for “of” isn’t necessary here, since the word for “two” ends in an ن.

¹³ This word is found in Taifi’s dictionary on page 214, under “gZF.”

¹⁴ Others say تَغْبِيْت. Some regions use a different word and say either تَعُوبْت or أَعُوب.

إبَّيت س تيروت.

He cut it (m.) lengthwise.

عَبَّر لَعْلُونَ تَفْلُوت.

Measure the height of the door.

مَشْتَا أَكْغَلَانِ كَيْ تَغْبِي نِ وَأَنوِيَا؟

What is the depth of this well?

[lit: How much is in the depth of the well?]

مَشْتَا أَكْغَبَا وَأَنوِيَا؟

How deep is this well?

[lit: How much is this well deep?]

O. Quantity qualifiers

almost

عَلَّاحَال¹⁵

عَلَّاحَال كُلُّشِي دَيْتُرَلَا تِينِ وَوَتَشِي.

Almost everyone prays the sundown prayer [lit: that of food].

about, approximately, nearly

أَمَّ

about, approximately

س لَمِيَز

about, nearly

أَتَّيَلِي

[lit: it (f.) will be]

about, nearly, let's say [lit: say]

إِنِي

2. Expression: They grew up in the same house.

This expression uses the number “one”:

noun + يُونِ or يَوْتِ

رَانِ أَدَسَعْنِ يَوْتِ نِ طَوْمُوْبِيَلِ.

They (m.) want to buy the same car.

كُتْمَانِ كَيْ يَوْتِ نِ تَدَّارْتِ.

They (m.) grew up in the same house.

رَانْتِ أَدَاوَلَنْتِ يُونِ أَرِيَاَزِ.

They (f.) want to marry the same man.

¹⁵ Some regions say عَلَّيْحَالِ .

3. Other expressions with numbers

one by one	يُون يُون
two by two	سِين سِين
three by three	شُرَاض شُرَاض
four by four	رَبْعَةٌ رَبْعَةٌ or رَبْعَةٌ س رَبْعَةٌ

(Both ways are possible for the rest of the numbers.)

يُوزَنَّتَن سِين سِين.

He sent them (out) two by two.

كَشَمَن لَبْهَائِم سِين سِين غَرَّ أَعْرَابُونَ سِيدْنَا نُوح.

The animals entered Noah's ark [or: the boat] two by two.

4. Numbers with س

The preposition س (lit: with) is used often with numbers. We've seen this before in the expressions وَيَسْرُبْعَةٌ \ تَيْسْرُبْعَةٌ "fourth," for example.

Literally these phrases are made up of three words: وَي \ تِي + س + رُبْعَةٌ.
four with these (m/f)

Although to English ears the use of this preposition with numbers is hard to understand, it is quite common. Practice the following sentences so that you'll get used to using this construction.

There are five of them (m.).

Ils sont cinq.

[lit: They are with five.]

لَان س خَمْسَةٌ.

you (m.) four

كُنِّي س رُبْعَةٌ

the two of them (m.)

س سِينَسَن

the two of you (m.), both of you

(Mor. Arabic) بِنُجُوجِكُمْ

س سِينُن

the three of them (f.)

س شُرَاطِنَسَنَت

the three of you (f.)

س شُرَاطِنُنَّت

Some regions, instead of using possessive pronoun endings, as above, use the preposition د to express the same ideas. In the following examples, this region uses إِد as the long form of د. (We learned the long form as دِيد in *Abrid 3*.)

the two of you (m.), both of you
(Mor. Arabic) بَجُوجِكُمْ

س سين إدُن

the two of them (f.)

س سنات إدَسْنَت

the three of you (m.)

س شَراض إدُن

the three of them (m.)

س شَراض إدَسْن

إِس تَدَام غَر لَغَابِت، س شَراض إدُن؟

Did the three of you go to the forest?

مَوْتَن س سَبَعَانَسْن.

All seven of them (m.) died.

شَحَال أَس [آي + س = أَس] تَلَام كَف تَدَارْت؟

How many of you (m.) are in the house?

[lit: With how many are you (m.pl.) in the house?]

نَلَا س عَشْرَة.

There are ten of us.

Nous sommes dix.

[lit: We are with ten.]

شَحَال أَس تَعْرَق [تَبْعَد or] نِيو يورْك د لاس أَنَجَلَس؟

How far away is New York from Los Angeles?

[lit: By how much is New York far from Los Angeles?]

تَعْرَق نِيو يورْك د لاس أَنَجَلَس س خَمْس أَلَا ف ن

لنكيلومتر.

New York and Los Angeles are 5000 kilometers apart.

[lit: New York is far from Los Angeles by 5000 kilometers.]

ور تَبْضِي تَمْدِينْت د عاري غاس س أم تَوادا ن يون تَمَن

مِة ن أَحوريف.

The city and the mountain were separated only by about a walk of *some* 800 steps.

5. Soussi or Tashelhayt numbers

Although Middle Atlas or Central Moroccan Tamazight uses Arabic numbers above the number three, one of the goals of IRCAM (The Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture) is the standardization of Tamazight. Although that is a formidable goal and it remains to be seen if it is even possible to achieve in everyday speech, one of the implications of this is to introduce the Soussi or Tashelhayt numbering system into all Berber areas.

For those who are interested in knowing the basics of that numbering system, see Appendix A for an introduction to those numbers.

Other Ways to Express the Future

In lesson 8 of *Abrid 2* (the *Student Book*, pages 33-35) we covered how to form the future tense. The structure was straightforward, and we've been using it for some time now. We discussed the negative future in lesson 23 of the *Abrid 2 Student Book*, pages 74-75.

However, there are some other ways that people use to express the future. Unfortunately, these ways are not used by all the dialects within the Middle Atlas Tamazight language group. Thus, it is important to verify with people around you if they use the following structures, and if not, whether they use something similar.

The different ways to express the future can be divided into two subcategories:

1. Different tense indicators besides **أَد**, and
2. The use of the continuous form without a tense indicator.

Before we go into the details, E. Laoust, in his *Cours de Berbère Marocain*, 1939, pages 59-60, gives a helpful summary of the above phenomena and illustrates some of the differences between tribes in their formation of the future:

“There exists another future particle **أَرَا** or **أَلَا** (Ayt

Ouribel) which substitutes for **أَد** each time the verb is dependent on an interrogative term, a relative pronoun, or a conjunction.

Where will you (s.) draw (water)?	مَانِيكَ أَرَا تَاكْمَت ¹ ؟
When will they (m.) leave?	مِيلْمِي أَرَا دُون؟
How will we do (it)?	مَاكَا ² أَرَا نَكْ؟
Why will they (m.) kill this man?	مَاخْمِي ³ أَرَا نَغْن أَرِيَا؟

The particle **أَرَا** or **أَلَا** corresponds to **أَغَا** or **أَغَا** [Ayt Sgougou, Ayt Seghroushen, Ayt Mgild, Izayan (rare)] and **أَغْرَا** [Izayan, Ayt Mgild], used in the same conditions:

When will they (m.) come?	مِيلْمِي أَغَا دَدُون؟
When will they (m.) come?	مِيلْمِي أَغْرَا دَدُون؟

¹ We have consistently used one conjugation for the second person singular **تَاكْمَد**, but this dialect uses a **ت** at the end instead of a **د**.

² We've used here the phrase **مَيْسَم** or **مَيْمَش** for “how.”

³ This word is from **مِيخَف**. We've used here the phrase **مِيخَفْ أَلِيكَ** for “why.”

The Ayt Ndhir don't seem to recognize the use of these particles. A future which is dependent on one of the conditions mentioned above is expressed by the use of a habitual form:

میلمی اَکْتَدَو [أَيّ + إِتَدَو]؟
When will he go?

” .دَو being the habitual form of تَدَو

1. Different tense indicators besides اَد

A. اَد is the future particle or tense indicator that is normally used. However, when the verb is preceded by (or is “dependent on,” in Laoust’s language) a question word (other than yes/no questions), a relative pronoun (نَا or أَيّ), or a conjunction (like اَدَايْ), other tense indicators such as اَرَا, اَلَا, اَغَا, and اَغْرَا are used instead. Which tense indicator is used depends on the tribe or region. There may be other tense indicators besides these used in regions not covered by Laoust.

In other words, for a future after a question word or a relative pronoun or some conjunctions, the tense indicator اَد cannot be used.

Note that, like اَد, the other tense indicators also cause moveable items to move to a place in front of the verb. Just like اَد, the moveable items go between the tense indicator and the verb.⁴ Note the positions of pronouns and direction particles below.

میلمی اَغَا [أَيّ + اَغَا] رَارَن اِمَاشَرَن اَيْدَا اِد اِبَانَسَن؟

When will the thieves return the goods to their owners?

ماخ اَلَيْكُ⁵ اَغْرَا مَرَّتَن اَيْت تَنْبَاط؟

Why are the authorities going to punish him?

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

ماي اَغَا ذِيَازَن لَعَامِل؟

Who will the governor send (toward the speaker)?

[Notice the “d” of direction and its position.]

ماي اَغَا دِيْدَوْن؟

Who will come?

[Notice the “d” of direction and its position.]

⁴ Some regions put the moveable items in a different place. In these regions, the moveable items go before the tense indicator, that is, they go between the question word/relative pronoun and the tense indicator.

⁵ Since this course is not designed to present just one tribe’s way of speaking, some sentences may not be said in this exact way by any one tribe. For example, the tribe which uses اَغْرَا may use a different word for “why” than the one used here.

مِيَلْمِي أَغَا [أَيُّ + غَا] نِيَاوَضْ؟

When will he arrive (there)?

[Notice the “n” of direction and its position.]

سَنَخْ شَان يُون نَاد غَا مَوْنَخْ.

I know someone with whom I will go.

[The “d” is a preposition in the complex relative pronoun and not the “d” of direction.]

إِدْ أَرْيَازَا أَمِي [أَيُّ + مِي] غَرَا شَنْ إِذْرِيْمَنْ؟

Is it this man to whom they (m.) will give money?

[Note the complex relative pronoun.]

عَدِّي أَغَا [أَيُّ + غَا] ذِيَازَنْ لِعَامِلْ.

Addi (is the one) whom the governor will send (toward the speaker).

[Notice the “d” of direction and its position.]

بَسَّوْ أَغَا [أَيُّ + غَا] دِيْدَوْ.

Bassou (is the one) who will come.

[Notice the “d” of direction and its position.]

B. Future Participle

Participles can also have future meanings. Since participles are used whenever the verb has as its subject a question word or relative pronouns, future participles will not use **أَدْ** but rather the above mentioned other tense indicators.

i. How to form the future participle:

The future participle has a singular and plural form (although some regions use only the singular form and never the plural form), but these forms do not vary with gender.

a. The singular future participle is formed as follows:

The third masculine singular future verb form plus “n” or “en.” **أَدْ** is replaced by the other future particles mentioned previously. The examples below will use **غَا**. Notice that unlike the past participle, the future participle is based on the simple imperative with regular conjugation prefixes and suffixes (that is, the two-verbs-together or future format).

Singular participle form
“en” or “n” + 3rd masc. sing.

The verb
in the future

(Notice it is not : إَجْرَان .)	غَا إَجْرُون	أَد إَجْرُو	It will happen.
	غَا إَغُودَان	أَد إَغُودَا	It will be good.
(Notice it is not : إِمَّوْتَن .)	غَا إِمَّتَن	أَد إِمَّت	It will die.
(Notice it is not : يَوْمَزَن .)	غَا يَامَزَن	أَد يَامَزُ	It will take.

b. The plural future participle is formed as follows:

The third masculine plural future verb form plus “in”

Plural participle form
“in” + 3rd masc. pl.

The verb
in the future

(Notice it is not : جَرَانِين .)	غَا جَرُونِين	أَد جَرُون	They will happen.
	غَا غُودَانِين	أَد غُودَان	They will be good.
(Notice it is not : مَّوْتَنِين .)	غَا مَّتَنِين	أَد مَّتَن	They will die.
(Notice it is not : مَّرَّانِين .)	غَا أَمَّرَّانِين	أَد أَمَّرَّن	They will take.

ii. Examples:

With question words

مَارَا [مَائِي + أَرَا] يُوْتَنَ أَرْبَا وَرَ إِضَاعُنْ؟

Who will hit the disobedient boy?

مَائِي غُرَا إِسْوَلَنَ كُفَّ وَانْسَانَسْ؟

Who will speak in his/her place?

مَا غَا إِجْرُون مَشْ تَشِيخَ أَكْسُومَ إِرْصُوضَنْ؟

What will happen if I eat spoiled meat?

مَا غَاكُنْ إِسْوَحَلَنْ؟

What will make you (m.pl.) tired?

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

مَا غَاسَ إِسْغَدَنَ إِ فَلَانْ؟

Who will listen to so and so?

[Note that the اس is the indirect object pronoun “to him/her.”]

ها يارياز نا غا إدون داتاخ س زعامت.

Here's the man who will go before us with courage.

آنایخ إشیران نا غا دونین⁶ غر برا.

I saw the children who will go abroad.

سنخ شان یون نا غایاخ [or غاخ] إرارن نطرّح.

I know someone who will make us (to be) rich.

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

ماني أبراح نا غاسن اینین إ مدّن آوالا؟

Where is the public crier who will tell this word to the people?

[Note the position of the indirect object pronoun.]

ماني أبراح نا غاسنت اینین؟

Where is the public crier who will tell it (m.) to them (m.)?

[Note the position of the direct and indirect object pronouns together.]

أسگاس نا غا دیراحن

the coming year [lit: the year that will come]

[Notice the "d" of direction and its position.]

أریاز نا غا نیواضن

the man who will arrive (there)

[Notice the "n" of direction and its position.]

إد أریازا آغات [آي + غا + ت] إسقسان؟

Is it this man who will ask her?

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

تکورّت آگاکن [آي + غا + کن] إسّوحنن.

Football (is) what will make you (m.pl.) tired.

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

إد أریازا آغرایاس [or آغراس] اینین إ موحی آوال؟

Is it this man who will say the word to Moha?

[Note the position of the indirect object pronoun.]

ورید تمطوطا آغرایاخ [or آغراخ] یافن إیدینخ.

It's not this woman who will find for us our dog.

[Note the position of the indirect object pronoun.]

⁶ Not all dialects use the plural participle. Thus, some would say here إدون .

2. The use of the continuous form without a tense indicator

A. Some regions have other ways to form the future when the future verb comes after a question word or a relative pronoun. Note, again, that **أَد** is normally used, except in certain grammatical conditions.

For example, Ayt Ndhir (and, it seems, Ayt ‘Ayyash) use the continuous form without any tense indicator at all to form the future **when the verb follows a question word (other than yes/no questions), a relative pronoun, and a negative**. Ayt Seghroushen does this just after a negative, but they use the method in part 1 after question words and relative pronouns.

After question words

مِلْمِيَاخِ إِتِينِي لِحَقِّ؟

When will he tell us the truth?

س مِي [ماس or] إِكَّاتِ أَغْيُول؟

With what will he hit the donkey?

مَاسَن تَغَّاخِ إِ إِنْبِيَاوَن؟

What will I prepare for the guests (m.)?

[Note that the **اسَن** is the indirect object pronoun “for them (m.).”]

After relative pronouns

وَفِيخِ تَرَبَاتِ نَا إِتَاوَلِ مَمِّي.

I found the girl my son will marry.

س تَيْدِينَشِ أَسِي [أَيُّ + س + ي] تَخَلَّاصِنْدِ.

It's with your (m.s.) sweat that [lit: with which] you will pay me.

After negatives

وَرِ إِتَاوِي أَمَازَانَ تَبْرَاتِ.

The messenger won't take the letter.

وَرِ دَيْتَدُو أَلْدِ⁷ إِشْمَلِ لَخْدَمْتَنَسِ.

He won't come until he finishes his work.

(Note that the first “d” in the verb is not the tense indicator but rather the “d” of direction.)

⁷ The word **أَل** means “until” and is followed by a noun. However, when the word “until” is followed by a verb, often a “d” is added to it. There is no extra meaning to the “d”—this is just how “until plus a verb” is usually formed. See Taifi, page 361, under “L.”

موريدٌ ورِ ابْنِي تَدَارْتَنَسَ تَمَا نِ واسيف، ورْتَّ تَاوِينِ وامان.
 If he had not built his house next to the river, the water wouldn't have taken it away.

Note that in the previous example the result clause is technically in the past, but since the action of the result clause (the water taking away the house) is in the future compared to the condition clause (building the house), the result clause is a type of future. Since it is in the negative, the continuous form is used without the tense indicator. Note how the sentence would be with a positive result clause. Note the **أَد** and the normal future form of the verb:

مورِ ابْنِي تَدَارْتَنَسَ تَمَا نِ واسيف، آتَّ أَوِينِ
 [أَد + تَّ + أَوِينِ] وامان.

If he had built his house next to the river, the water would have taken it away.

إِسِ ورِ نْتَدَوِ غَرِ سَوَقِ أَسَكَا؟

Aren't we going to the market tomorrow?

ورِ غوري ديتَدَوِ ييطَسِ غاسِ مَشِ سَوِيخِ لِكِينَا.

I can't fall asleep unless I take a pill.

[lit: Sleep won't come to me unless I drink a pill.]

B. Future Participle

For the dialects which form the future after question words, relative pronouns, and negatives by using the continuous form without the tense indicator, the future participle in these same situations is simply:

the third masculine singular continuous form without the tense indicator
 plus "n" or "en"

(who) will tell/say	إِتِينِ	he is telling	دَيْتِينِي
(who) will do	إِتْغَانِ	he is doing	دَيْتْغَا

There is also a plural form, but not everybody uses it. The structure is:

the third masculine plural continuous form without the tense indicator
 plus "in"

they (who) will tell/say	تَيْينِينِ	they are telling	دَتَيْينِينِ
they (who) will do	تَغَّانِينِ	they are doing	دَتَغَّانِينِ

These are the exact same forms as the present participle (See lesson 11, pages 76-79.), except that after question words, relative pronouns, and negatives this form (in certain dialects) can have a future meaning. Sometimes it's the context that shows what the meaning is.

مَاكَّكَاتِن [مَائِي + إِكَّاتِن] أَرْبَا وَر إِضَاعِن؟

Who will hit the disobedient boy?

But also: Who is hitting the disobedient boy?

Contrast this with the following sentence that uses the tense indicator (the habitual participle):

مَائِي دَيْكَّاتِن أَرْبَا وَر إِضَاعِن؟

Who hits (regularly, repeatedly) the disobedient boy?⁸

Other examples

مَاكَّسَّانِ أَتَائِي؟

Who will drink the tea?

مَاكَّتَغِيمَانِ كَفَّ تَدَّارْتِ؟

Who will stay in the house?

وَ ر سَنَّخِ مَائِي إِتْعَاوَانِ.

I don't know who will help me.

وَفِيخِ تَرَبَاتِّ نَا إِتَّوَلْنِ مَمِّي.

I found the girl who will marry my son.

أَنْدُو غَرِّ تَرَبَاتِّ نَا إِزَّاضْنِ إِمْنَدِي.

Let's go to the girl who will grind the grain.

وَرِيدِ تَمَطُّوْطَا أَيْخِ [أَيْدَاخِ or] إِتَّافَانِ إِيدِينَّخِ.

It's not this woman who will find for us our dog.

⁸ Note that in everyday speech many people do not distinguish between the present and habitual participle. Thus, the present participle (the one without the tense indicator) can mean a currently happening action or a regular, habitual action. Context clues are what determine the meaning. Usually, however, the habitual participle (the one with the tense indicator) refers just to regular, habitual action.

A More Advanced Look at Verb Tenses

Part of what makes the tenses difficult in Tamazight is that language learners from an English or French background are used to looking at verbs in terms of the “time” that they express: past, present, future, etc. We have used these categories in the *Abrid* course, and, in fact, all grammars and courses explain how to express these “times” or tenses in Tamazight.

However, Tamazight is an example of a language whose verb stems (what we’ve been calling the four pillars of the verb) are not “time” or temporally oriented. Penchoen, in his *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*, page 29, says, “It should be understood that none of the stems has temporal value....” Rather, instead of reflecting past/present/future times the verb stems reflect completion of an action/attainment of a state/one-time action versus an uncompleted action/an on-going action/a continuing and repeating action. The verb stems are said to have an “aspectual” value rather than a temporal value. For this reason, as we have seen, what we’ve called “the past tense form” can have either a past or a present meaning, depending on the context. Many grammars have called this the “preterite.” However, words like “preterite,” “aorist,” and “aspectual value” just don’t communicate much meaning to most people learning the language. They want to know, rightfully so, how do I say “I drank,” “I’m drinking now,” “I will drink,” “I used to drink,” etc. Because of this, the *Abrid* course has sought to avoid the very technical, university-level linguistic jargon.

Yet some of the more subtle aspects of the use of the verb stems come from appreciating Tamazight’s “aspectual” orientation and the difference between completed or one-time actions and unfinished, on-going, repeated actions. To give a simple example:

ريخ آَدَسْوَالَخ س تَمَازِيغْت.

ريخ آَدَسْوَالَخ س تَمَازِيغْت.

Both technically mean “I want to speak Tamazight,” but the first one means to speak just one time or to make just one utterance in Tamazight (like “I want to say something in Tamazight” or “I want to speak (now) in Tamazight.”), while the second one means to speak continually and repeatedly. If you are speaking about your goal in language learning, you would want to use the second and not the first way. The first way is based on the simple imperative (expressing completion of an action/attainment of a state/one-time action), and the second is based on the continuous imperative (expressing unfinished, on-going, repeated action).

Although the above example is simple, keep it in mind. You will likely have people correct you as you speak, and this will be one of the areas you will certainly be corrected in. Being aware of this phenomenon will help you figure out why people are correcting you.

There are other subtle areas as well, but we won’t cover them here. The best way to learn the usage of the subtle areas is through practice: listening and speaking. If you want to consult more detailed grammars, see the brief bibliography at the end of the *Student Book*.

There are, however, a few items that need to be looked at. These involve the tense indicators for the continuous forms, some brief comments on other tenses, and some auxiliary verbs.

1. Tense indicators for continuous forms

A. Different tense indicators

In this course we've used mainly the tense indicator **د** for the present continuous tense, although we've seen, especially in the *Workbooks*, the use of the tense indicator **ل**. We've treated these two as interchangeable. We've also seen **أر** or **أل** used for sentence connection with the present continuous tense. Many regions also use **أر** or **أل** for the past continuous tense.

With these rules in mind you will be able to communicate quite well. However, the tense indicators that different regions use are more numerous than the ones mentioned above. It would be too confusing to go into all of them here, but you need to be aware that different regions may use different tense indicators, including **غا**, **خا**, **ل**, and **أل**. See Appendix B at the end of the *Student Book* for an in-depth presentation of the tense indicators. The appendix contains an English translation of a chapter from E. Laoust's *Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central*.

B. Distinguishing between **د** and **ل**

A further complicating point is that the different regions or tribes don't always use the continuous tense indicators in the same way or in the same grammatical conditions.

Below is an example of how the Ayt Ndhir and Ayt 'Ayyash distinguish between the continuous tense indicators **د** and **ل**. (Although some say **ل**, with a *shedda*, we will use the simplest form, the one without the *shedda*, since it, too, is used.) Be careful, however, to not automatically assume other regions or tribes do the exact same thing.

The Ayt Ndhir and the Ayt 'Ayyash do not treat the continuous tense indicators **د** and **ل** as exactly interchangeable. The meaning is the same, but the grammatical contexts in which they are used are different.

ل is the indicator used in normal conditions. However, in certain grammatical contexts, the **ل** changes to a **د**. These grammatical contexts are the following:

- i. The use of question words
- ii. The use of the negative **ور** (and related negatives that contain it)
- iii. A relative clause (that is, a clause with **نا** or **أي**)

The following contrasting pairs of sentences will illustrate the different uses:

The use of question words

- (a) لَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنَ غَرَ تِمَزِيدَا أَسَّ لَلْجُمُعَةِ.
People go to the mosque on Friday.
إِس دَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنَ غَرَ تِمَزِيدَا أَسَّ لَلْجُمُعَةِ؟
Do people go to the mosque on Friday?
مِيلْمِي أَ دَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنَ غَرَ تِمَزِيدَا؟
When do people go to the mosque?
- (b) مَاخَ أَلْيَكْ دَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنَ غَرَ تِمَزِيدَا؟
Why do people go to the mosque?
لَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنَ غَرَ تِمَزِيدَا حَمَا أَذْرَالَن.
People go to the mosque in order to pray.

The use of the negative

- (a) لَيْتَكَّا أَيَا خَفَ نَيْرْتِينُو.
He does this for my sake.
وَر دَيْتَكَّا أَيَا خَفَ نَيْرْتِينُو. لَتَ إِتَكَّا خَفَ
نَيْرْتَنَسَ نَتَّا.
He doesn't do this for my sake. He does it for his own sake.
- (b) لَتَسَاقَانِ إِنْغَمِيسَنَ خَانِينَ فِيسَاعَ.
Bad news travels/spreads fast.
وَر دَتَسَاقَانِ إِنْغَمِيسَنَ زُيَلِينَ فِيسَاعَ أَمَ إِنْغَمِيسَنَ
خَانِينَ.
Good news doesn't travel/spread as fast as bad news.

A relative clause

- (a) لَسَيَكِيدَخَ إِيدِيينَ كُو يَاسَّ.
I scare that dog every day.
إِس تَانَايدَ إِيدِي نَا دَسَيَكِيدَخَ كُو يَاسَّ؟
Did you (s.) see the dog that I scare every day?

(b) لَسْكَارُنْ إِشِيرَانِين زَا زَا كُو يَاسَّ.

Those children raise a racket every day.

وهو، أَرْبَايِينْ أَّ دَيْسْكَارُنْ¹ زَا زَا كُو يَاسَّ.

No, (it's) that boy who raises a racket every day.

For further illustrations of the differences between the tense indicators see Text 5 and Questions on Text 5 in the Supplementary Material of lesson 19 in the *Abrid 3 Workbook*, pages 131 to 133. There are numerous illustrations of the different uses of **د** and **ل** after questions and negatives.

2. Other tenses

There are some other tenses in English that we haven't yet covered. There is the past perfect ("I had done something."), the present perfect ("He has seen the movie."), and the future perfect ("By this time tomorrow I will have finished the book.").

The past perfect doesn't always have a specific form in Tamazight. It is usually expressed simply with the "past tense form," and the context shows that it is a past action before another past action. This is often true even in English sentences. For example, "After he had finished, he showed me his work" can also be "After he finished he showed me his work." There is a form in Tamazight, however, to sometimes express the past perfect. This will be covered below under the auxiliary verb **ك**.

The English present perfect is also simply given with the past form in Tamazight.

The future perfect ("I will have done something.") will be covered below under the auxiliary verb **إلي**.

For a more detailed (but also complicated) look at how our tenses are expressed in Tamazight and how Tamazight uses its tenses, see Appendix C of this *Student Book*. The appendix consists of an English translation of a chapter from E. Laoust's *Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central*.

3. Auxiliary verbs

We've seen all of these already. However, some of the auxiliary verbs have some meanings that we haven't yet seen.

A. **إلي** in its past form

We saw in lesson 9 (pages 60-61) that one way the past continuous tense is formed is by using **إلي** in its past conjugated form and adding it to the verb in its present continuous tense.

However, **إلي** also plays another auxiliary role.

¹ Note that before the present continuous tense indicator the **ي** in **أَي** drops out. Note also that the verb is in its participle form, since the relative pronoun is the subject of the verb.

إِلي plus a stative or qualitative verb in the past tense form

i. This role seems strange to those from an English background, and it has no equivalent in English, but the role is to simply reinforce or emphasize a state or quality, that is, a description of something. Those descriptions in Tamazight are usually done with verbs that function as adjectives. These verbs in their past form often have present meanings, although according to the context the verbs can also have a past meaning. The auxiliary verb *إِلي* emphasizes or reinforces the description either in the past or the present. In the present it emphasizes a permanent state. Taifi says (page 363, under “L”): “It marks a past state” or “it marks a permanent state in the present.”

ii. The structure is as follows:

the verb in its past tense form + the auxiliary verb *إِلي*
(Penchoen³ says that the verb must be a qualitative or stative verb.) in its past conjugated form²

iii. The conjugation of the auxiliary verb is as follows:

Plural		Singular	
nella	نَلَّا	lli	لِيخ
tellam	تَلَّام	tellid	تَلِيد
tallamt	تَلَّامْت	tellid	تَلِيد
llan	لَّان	illa	إِلَّا
llant	لَّانْت	tella	تَلَّا

iv. Some examples follow:

They (m.) are grown up. [present meaning] لَّان مَقَّورُن.

He is alive. [present meaning] إِلَّا إِدَّر.

She's still alive. [present meaning] تَلَّا تَسُول تَدَّر.

He's blind. [present meaning] إِلَّا إِعْمَا.

² The Ayt Seghroushen dialect, however, doesn't do this. It simply adds *لَّا* in front of the stative verb.

This *لَّا* stays the same no matter what the subject.

³ Page 43 of his *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndir*, 1973.

At that time I was young. [past meaning]

لَيْخ مَزَّيْخ لَوْقَتْنَا.

In the past she was married. [past meaning]

وَهَلِي تَلَّا تِيُول.

Each of these sentences is different from the same sentences without the verb **إِلي** in that the description is emphasized or strengthened. Yet often this strengthening is difficult to translate into English.

B. **إِلي** in its two-verbs-together format

The **future perfect tense** is formed as follows:

verb conjugated in its past form + **إِلي** in its two-verbs-together format + **أَد**

This is simply the future form of **إِلي**

أَدَايْ إِشْجَمَ أَرْبَانَشْ لَمْدْرَاسْتِ أَدِيلِيْخِ إِوَلْخِ.

By the time your (m.s.) son enters school, I will have gotten married.
[lit: When your son enters school, I will have married.]

أَدَايْ تَاوَضَّ مَكْنَسَ، أَدِيلِي حَمَّو إِشْمَلْ لَخْدَمْتِ.

By the time you (s.) reach (or: arrive at) Meknes, Hammou will have finished the work.

وَرِ إِتَاوَضَّ مَكْنَسَ أَلْ أَدِيلِيْنَ شَمَلْنَ لَخْدَمْتِ.

He will not reach (or: arrive at) Meknes before (or: until) they (m.) will have finished the work.

أَدَايْ تَكْرَدْ، أَدِيلِيْخِ دَيْخِ غَرِ فَاسِ.

By the time you (s.) get up, I will have gone to Fez.

C. **كَيَّ** in its past form

We saw in lesson 4 (pages 33-37) that the expression “used to do something” is formed by using **كَيَّ** in its past conjugated form and adding it to the verb in its present continuous tense. But **كَيَّ** in its past conjugated form at times plays other roles.

i. كَ points out the (relatively) distant past

However, كَ also plays another auxiliary role which is related to time in the past. Sometimes when كَ is used the meaning is not specifically “used to,” but rather a way to show that the action is far in the past. In this case the structure is:

the verb in the “past” form + the auxiliary verb كَ conjugated
in the past tense form

The translation into English is not always easy. The point is that the action occurred in the distant past. Because the “past” form of the main verb is used, it represents a one-time, limited or completed action (not something that was on-going or repeated). At times the structure can be translated with the past perfect “had done something.” Other times, the translation is more like “I did this once” or “I’ve done that before.” Sometimes it is simply the notion of the something happening in the distant past.

Have you (s.) ever bought a tractor? إِس وَرْدَجِين تَسْغِيد تَرَاكْتُور؟
Yes, I’ve bought a tractor before. or إِه، كَيخ سَغِيخ تَرَاكْتُور.
Yes, I bought a tractor once.

He’s gone to Agadir before. إِكَا إِدَا غَر أَكَادِير.
(It wasn’t his past habit or regular practice, but he’s been there before in the distant past.)

I’ve heard this word before. or كَيخ سَفَلَنَدَخ أَوَالَا.
I heard this word once. or
I heard this word some time ago.

Once there was a king who ruled justly.... إِكَا يُون أَكَلِيد أَرِيْتَحَاكَام
س لَمَعْقُول....

ii. Past perfect tense: “I had done something”

At times the auxiliary كَ is used with the past tense form of a verb to denote the past perfect tense or the *plus-que-parfait* French verb tense. In the more southern areas of the Middle Atlas language group, some regions add a ت after the auxiliary verb, but it isn’t necessary. Further to the southwest, some regions add a تَن after the auxiliary verb.

But overall this tense isn’t used as much in Tamazight as it is in English. In English this tense is the “past of the past,” used when one past action precedes another. In Tamazight, normally, when two past actions are put together, and one precedes the other,

both actions are simply given in the past form. However, if the time difference is relatively great between the two actions, the past perfect verb form will be used for the first action.

لَيْكِ دَيْخِ غَرِّ أَكَّادِيرِ سَيِّمَانَا نَّا إِزْرِينِ، إِوَيْخُدْ تِسُورَانُو نَّا
كَيْخِ زُرَيْخَنِ كُتِّ لُوطَيْلِ.

When I went to Agadir last week, I brought back my keys that I had left (there) in the hotel.

رِيخِ أَدَاوِيخِ مُحَنَّدِ غَرِّ مَوْلَايِ يَعْقُوبِ، مَشَانِ إِكَّا إِدَّا غُورْسِ.

I was going to take Muhand to Moulay Yacoub, but he had (already, at some time in the relatively distant past) gone to it.

I had seen Moha. كَيْخِ أَنَايْخِ مَوْحِي.

He had gone with him.

إِكَّاتِ إِمَانِ إِدْسِ.⁴

Il était parti avec lui.

⁴ This dialect has a stem change between the simple imperative and the past form for the verb *مون*. Also the preposition is slightly different from what we learned. This dialect also adds a *ت* to the auxiliary verb. Changed to forms we learned, the sentence would be: *إِكَّا إِمُونِ دِيدْسِ*.

Like this, Like that

As we've seen in the past, the word **أَمَّ** means “like,” as in making a comparison. However, there are a number of different words related to **أَمَّ**. This lessons deals with those words.

1. **أَمْشِي** and its forms¹

For an explanation of the direction particle **س**, indicating farness, see lesson 27, page 216.

- | | | | |
|--|---|--|----|
| like this (near), in this way, thus
(And you can see what is being referred to,
it is physically present.) | — | أَمْشِي² or أَمْشِيد | .A |
| like that (far), in that way, thus
(And you can see what is being referred to,
it is physically present.) | — | أَمْشِيْس³ | .B |
| like that (in question), in that way (in question)
(Something already mentioned or referred to;
it is not physically present.) | — | أَمْشِيْنَا | .C |
| like what (you did...) | — | verb + أَمْشِيْنَا | .D |

The difference between this one and the previous word is that here the “nna” is the relative pronoun that starts a relative clause. Thus, literally the phrase is: “like this that (you did yesterday),” for example.

¹ These words are found in Taifi's dictionary on page 398, columns 1 and 2, under “M.”

² There are a number of regional variations. Some regions say **أَمْكِي** with a hard or a fricative “k” sound. Others use a **إِ** at the beginning instead of a **أَ** and say **إَمْشِي** or **إَمْكِي**. Others say **يِمْمَشِي** or **يِمْمَكِي**. Some also add the **د** of direction on the end, as illustrated above. **أَمْشِي** and **أَمْشِيد** are simply regional variations. They mean the same thing.

³ Regional variations also affect the endings put on **أَمْشِي**. Ayt ‘Atta, for example, in the southern portion of the Middle Atlas language group, use endings such as **دَغ** (meaning “like this”), **نَاغ** (meaning “like that”), **دَاغ** (meaning “like that over there”), **لَيَغ** (meaning “like that one in question”), and **دَاغ** (meaning “like that which happened earlier”). In fact, their word for “How?” is **مَانِي إِمْكِيدَا؟**. It is important to find out what the people around you are saying.

Examples:

A. أَمْشِي or أَمْشِيد⁴

Write "Ali."

#1 : أَرُو "علي".

Like this?

#2 : أَمْشِي؟

No, not like that. Like this.

#1 : وهو، وريد أَمْشيس. أَمْشِي.

B. أَمْشيس

رَاعَا أَرِيَازِينَ. دَيْتَدَو أَم مُحَنَد.

إِلَّا غورُش لِحَقِّ، أَمْشيس نَّيْت.

See that man. He walks like Muhand.

You're (m.s.) right, just like that.

هَبْضَن مِدَّن. نَتَّا يَانَايْتَن إِشَو أَمْشيس داي

إِنَايسَن "ماكن ياغن آ وي؟"

The people were terrified. When Ishou saw them like that, he said to them, "What's wrong, folks [lit: What is afflicting you, oh ones]?"

"What's wrong, you all?"

C. أَمْشِينَا

أَنَايخ كُ تَلْفَزَا ميمش أَي كَانَتْ دَتَكَّانَتْ توتَمين ن

وَهلي أَغروم. إِلَّا إِشَقَّا شِيكَّان. إِد أَمْشِينَا دَتَكَّامَتْ

دُغِي؟

I saw on TV how women in the past made bread. It was very difficult.

Do you (f.pl.) do like that now?

(دَسَوَالَن شان مِدَّن خَف زَنزَال ن الحُسَيْمَة ميسم

أَكْجَرَا.)

إِس إِجْرَا زَنزَال أَمْشِينَا؟

أَمْشِينَا نَّيْت. لَيخ دين.

(Some people are talking about the earthquake of AlHoceima, how it happened.)

⁴ Although these words mean "like this," sometimes when stories are being told the distinction between "like this" and "like that" can be very subtle. Thus, at times these words can be translated "like that." However, أَمْشيس is always "like that."

Did the earthquake happen like that ?
Exactly like that. I was there.

D. اَمْشِي نَا + verb

Because the نَا is the relative pronoun, it causes direct and indirect object pronouns, direction particles, and prepositions with pronouns to move in front of the verb. If the نَا is the subject of the following verb, the verb is in its participle form.

إِس تَرِيد اَتَدَوْد غَر خَنِيفْرَة مَاد مِيدَلْت؟
اَمْشِي نَا تَرِيد.

Do you (s.) want to go to Khenifra or Midelt?
Like whatever you (s.) want.

كَيْ اَيَا اَمْشِي نَاش سَنَعَتَخ كَيْ تَلْفَزَا.

Do this like what I showed you (m.s.) on TV.

اَمْشِي نَا تَانَايْم

like what you (m.pl.) saw

اَجْرَا لَمْشُكَيْل دَا كَيْ مَكْنَس اَمْشِي نَا اَجْرَان كَيْ فَاس.

The problem happened here in Meknes like what happened in Fes.

Write "Ali."

#1 : اَرُو "عَلِي".

Like this?

#2 : اَمْشِي؟

No, not like that. Like what

#1 : وَهُوَ، وَرِيد اَمْشِيَس. اَمْشِي نَاش

I showed you (m.s.) a little
while ago.

سَنَعَتَخ اِدَّخ.

2. The dependent form: ⁵وامْشِي

The dependent form of the word اَمْشِي is "a-constant" and thus takes a "wa" at the beginning: **وامْشِي**. The phrase **وامْشِي س** means "thus, in this way, *ainsi* [lit: with like this]."

This leads us to note a number of phrases used as synonyms. Even though the word **وامْشِي** by itself means "like this, in this way, thus," people will at times put the

⁵ For those areas that use the form **اِمْشِي**, the dependent form is **يِمْشِي**.

word **أَم** (“like”) or the preposition **س** (“with”) in front of it to mean the same thing.⁶
Thus, the following words are equivalent:

like this **أَمْشِي** or **أَمْشِيد** = **أَم** **وَأَمْشِي** = **س** **وَأَمْشِي**

like that **أَمْشِيَس** = **أَم** **وَأَمْشِيَس** = **س** **وَأَمْشِيَس**

إِشْمَلْ لِمَخْزَنَ س وَأَمْشِي أَيَّنَّا إِنَّا كُ لِنْتِخَابَات.

The government thus [in this way, *ainsi*] fulfilled what it said during the elections.

س وَأَمْشِي كَانَ أَيَّنَّاسَن نَّان إِسْمُونَنَّسَن.

Thus [in this way, *ainsi*] they (m.) did what their companions told them.

3. **أَكَا** and **أَكِي** and their forms⁷

It is recommended to learn the words used in parts 1 and 2 of this lesson. However, some regions don't use those words and instead use the words listed here in part 3. It is important for you to be aware of what people around you are saying. If the people are using the words in parts 1 and 2, then this part is merely for reference should you come across them in another region.

like this (near), in this way⁸ — **أَكَا** (wa) or **أَكِي** (wa) — **A.**

أَكِيد (wa) or

like that (far), in that way, thus — **أَكِيَس** — **B.**

like that (in question), in that way (in question) — **أَكِين** — **C.**
(Something already mentioned or referred to)

⁶ This is like Moroccan Arabic. In Moroccan Arabic the words **هَآكَ** and **هَآدَاك** mean “like this” and “like that” by themselves. However, you often hear people add the word **بَحَال** “like” in front of them, thus giving **بَحَال هَآكَ** “like this” and **بَحَال هَآدَاك** “like that.”

⁷ These words are found in Taifi's dictionary on page 321, columns 1 and 2, under “K.”

⁸ Although these words mean “like this,” sometimes when stories are being told the distinction between “like this” and “like that” can be very subtle. Thus, at times these words can be translated “like that.” However, **أَكِيَس** is always “like that.”

⁹ Other variations include **كَا**, **كِي**, **كِي**. Furthermore, certain regions use a **ش** instead of a **ك**.

Examples:

A. (or with ش) أَكِيد (wa) or أَكِي (wa) or أَكَا (wa)

سِرْسَتَن أَكِي.

Put them (m.) down like this.

أَشِيد أَكْثَرَا رَبِّي.

(It's) like this that God willed.

أَكَا د وَاكَا.

Like this and like that.

B. أَكِيَس

أَكِيَس أَكَا.

He went like that.

[lit: (It's) like that that he did.]

إِرورَا غِيْفَسَن أَشِيَس.

He answered them (m.) like that.

C. أَكِين

مَاخَ أَلِيكَ دَيْسَلْمَاد أَكِين؟

Why does he teach like that?

إِمزُورَا، كَان دَبَنُون تَدَرُوِين أَكِين.

(Our) ancestors, they used to build houses like that.

Even though the word أَكِي by itself means “like this, in this way, thus,” people will at times put the word أَم (“like”) in front of it to mean the same thing.¹⁰ Thus, the following words are equivalent:

like this أَم وَاكِي = أَكِيد or أَكِي

like that أَم وَاكِيَس = أَكِيَس

¹⁰ This is like Moroccan Arabic. In Moroccan Arabic the words هَاكَآ and هَاكَدَاك mean “like this” and “like that” by themselves. However, you often hear people add the word “like” بُحَال in front of them, thus giving بُحَال هَاكَآ “like this” and بُحَال هَاكَدَاك “like that.”

إِوَا أَوْدَ شَكَّيْنِ دَو تَكْذُ أَمِّ وَاشِيدِ.
 Therefore, you (m.s.) too, go and do like this.
 دَائِي أَمِّ وَاكِيسَ أَيِّ تَنَّا تَائِضِ.
 So (it was) like that that the other one (f.) did.

4. **أَمَّي** or **أَمَّانِي** as if

Note that these words¹¹ cause moveable items to move in front of the verb.

إِنَّا أَمَّي إِكْنِ.
 He pretended to sleep. [lit: He did as if he were sleeping.]
 مَشَانِ أَمَّي يَاسَنَ تَوَقَّنَتِ وَاللَّنِ وَرِ وَكِرْنَ إِمَّانَسَنِ.
 But as if their (m.) eyes were closed [lit: as if to them were closed eyes],
 they didn't recognize their mother.
 تَنَّا أَمَّانِي إِسَّنَ تَفْرَحِ.
 She pretended to be happy to see them (m.).
 [lit: She did as if she were happy with them.]

Before a noun or a pronoun, **أَمَّي** and **أَمَّانِي** are followed by the predicative **د**, that is, the **د** that means “it/he/she is” or “they are.”

دَيْسَمَّغُورِ سِ إِخْفَنَسِ أَمَّي دِ أَكَلِيدِ.
 He exalts himself as if he were a king.
 مَاخِ أَلْيَاكَ دِ دِيكِي تَسَمُوقُولِمِ أَمَّانِي دِ لَوْحَشِ أَيِّ كَيْخِ؟
 Why are you (m.pl.) staring at me as if I were an animal?
 [lit: as if it were an animal that I am]
 أَمَّانِي دِ نَتَّاتِ
 as if it were her

5. **أَمَّشِينَا** meaning “just did something”

When **أَمَّشِينَا**¹² is used in a non-comparative sense, it occurs before a verb and its meaning is that something “just” happened, that is, in the (relatively) recent past. Note that this word causes moveable items to move to a place in front of the verb.

¹¹ These words are found in Taifi's dictionary on page 398, columns 1 and 2, under “M.”

¹² Some regions use **أَكِين**. See part 3 of this lesson for this word.

أَمْشِينَا¹³ دَانْت.

They (f.) just left.

أَمْشِينَا إِرْكَيْغِي وَاشَال ، غَاس سِين دَقَائِقَ أَيَا.

The ground just trembled, just two minutes ago.

أَمْشِينَا دَاغُولَنْت.

They (f.) just got back.

They just came back.

6. Verbs meaning “to look like” or “to resemble”

The verb **أَغ** when used with the preposition **كِي** means “to look like/be like/resemble something.”

أَغ تَاغ يَاغ \ وَر يَاغ

تَاغ طَوْمُوْبِيلِين كِي تَكْلَايْت.

That car looks like an egg.

وَر يَاغ لَا كِي إِبَّاس لَا كِي مَائِس.

He resembles neither his father nor his mother.

The verb **رُووس** means “to look like/be like/resemble something.” The verb takes a direct object.

رُووس¹⁴ تَرُووس إِرُووس \ وَر إِرُووس

تَرُووس مَائِس كِي وَالَّن.

She has the same eyes as her mother.

[lit: She resembles her mother in eyes.]

أَدَاوَن إِنْخِ مَائِد إِرُووس.

I will tell you (m.pl.) what he is like [lit: what he resembles].

¹³ Some regions add **أَيُ** after **أَمْشِينَا** or after **أَكِين**, if they use that word.

¹⁴ Some dialects use **رُويس** for the simple imperative and past forms.

Emotions

This lesson covers various vocabulary words and expressions used to show different emotions. The vocabulary lists aren't meant to be exhaustive but rather to give you a feel for a wide range of emotional expressions. As always, there are many regional variations; thus, it is important to check with those around you to see if they use the following words or something similar. Although verb forms can vary with region, regional variations especially affect the noun. Thus, although some nouns are given below, check to see if your region uses that form or another form of the noun.

Many of the verbs below can be the basis for derived forms: the causative, reciprocal, and passive forms. Usually these are not mentioned below. However, check with a language helper to see if the derived forms exist.

We will start out with Tamazight expressions using the words **تاسا** and **ول** as well as the verbs **نَع** and **أَغ**. After that, we will look at various emotions based on English categories.

1. Expressions using ¹تاسا

The word **تاسا** is literally “liver,” but it is used in a wide variety of emotional expressions to show two main categories of feeling: fear and love. If you remember that **تاسا** equals fear and that it also equals love/tenderness/affection/pity, then you will be able to remember many of the following expressions using **تاسا**.

A. The meaning of fear

He/she is afraid/cowardly/a coward.

[lit: In him/her is liver.]

ديڭس تاسا. or
تَلَّا ديڭس تاسا.

He/she is brave/not afraid

[lit: Liver is not in him/her.]

ور ديڭس تاسا. or
ور تَلِّي ديڭس تاسا.

He/she was really afraid/terrorized.

[lit: The liver exploded in him/her.]

تَطَيِّقْس ديڭس تاسا.

She/he is afraid for her/his son.

[lit: Her liver trembles over her son.]

دَتَّرْڭِيڭِي تاسانَس خَف مَمَّيس.

He/she is fearful.

[lit: He/she has the liver of a chicken.]

غورَس تاسا ن أفولتوس.

¹ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 611, under “S.”

B. The meaning of love/tenderness/affection/pity

Come to me, my beloved. (romantic) [lit: Come to me, oh my liver.]	أَوْرَا غوري آ تاسانو.
Fadma is the apple of her brother's eye. (familial love) [lit: Fadma is her brother's liver/beloved.]	تَنَّا فاضمة تاسا ن كُماس.
He/she is insensitive/unfeeling/lacks tenderness. [lit: His/her liver is dry/hard.] It can also mean: He/she doesn't fear.	تَقَّور تاسانَس.
He inspires pity. He makes you feel sorry/bad for him. [lit: He makes killed in the liver.]	دَيْسَنَّا كُ تاسا.
I feel sorry/bad for her. [lit: She makes me killed in the liver.]	تَسَنَّاغايي كُ تاسا.

2. Expressions using ²ول

The word **ول** is literally “heart,” but it used in a wide variety of emotional expressions. This seat of certain emotions is much more familiar to modern Westerners. The word is used with a variety of verbs to express a wide range of emotions.

seriously, conscientiously [lit: with heart]	س وول
Just joking; it's not serious. [lit: It's not from the heart.]	وريد زَكْ وول.
half-heartedly, without really wanting to [lit: without his/her heart]	بلا يولَنَس
He/she has no self-esteem, self- confidence. [lit: A heart isn't in him/her.]	ور ديكُس وول.
someone who has no self-esteem, self- confidence [lit: someone without a heart]	وار وول
He's apathetic. He has no spirit. [lit: His/her heart died.]	إِمَّوتاس وول.

² This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on pages 365-366, under “L.”

He/she is hard/lacks pity/unfeeling. [lit: His/her heart is hard.]	إِقْسَاحَسَ وول.
He/she's fallen in love/enfatuated/enamored with something (often material). [lit: The heart has fallen to him/her over sthg.]	إِضْرَاسَ وول خَفَ شَا.
He's no longer angry/vengeful. He's calmed down, satisfied his anger. [lit: He has extinguished/put out his heart.]	إِسْخَسِي وولَنَس.
He bears/keeps/holds a grudge. He's vindictive/spiteful. [lit: He keeps in his heart.]	دَيْتَامَرُ كُ وولَنَس.
Nothing bothers him. He keeps it all inside himself. [lit: He returns/ruminates with his heart.]	دَيْتَرَارَا س وولَنَس.
This makes me sick. This disgusts me. [lit: This causes the heart to stand/raise.]	دَيْسَكَّرَ أَيَا وول.
He/she's filled with jealous anger. [lit: The fire has lit in his/her heart.]	تَاغ لِعَافِيَتِ كُ وولَنَس.
He can't stand it. He can't tolerate it. [lit: His heart doesn't want it (m.).]	وَرَاَسَتِ إِرِي وولَنَس.

The direct object pronoun is the thing the person can't stand. The indirect object pronoun refers to the person whose heart can't stand the item. So, the indirect object pronoun and the possessive pronoun on the end of **وول** refer to the same person. Thus:

I can't stand it (m.).	وَرِيَتِ إِرِي وولِينُو.
We can't stand them (m.).	وَرَاَخْتَنَ إِرِي وولَنَنَخ ³ .
They (m.) can't stand fish problems, trouble	وَرَاَسَنَ إِرِي وولَنَسَنَ إِسْلَمَانَ. مَنْشَرْدُول ⁴

³ Although the people being referred to are plural, you can still use the singular for "heart," as is done here. But it is also possible to say **وولَاوَنَنَخ**.

⁴ The **ر** makes the **د** sound like a **ض**.

3. How do you feel? How are you?

The following are a few ways to ask this type of question. Most of these you've seen before as greetings. These can be asked, however, in ways that mean you want a deeper answer than just the superficial greeting formula response.

[lit: How is the situation to you (m.s.)?]

ماش إِنْخَا لِحَال؟

[lit: How is life/the world to you (m.s.) now?]

ماش تَنْخَا دُونِيْت دُغِي؟

[lit: How are you (s.) doing now?]

مِيْمَش تَنْكِيْد دُغِي؟

In English we often respond “I feel...,” but the answers in Tamazight (and Moroccan Arabic) are usually different. They often involve phrases referring to God. Yet at the same time, people do communicate how they feel using the various expressions, verbs, and nouns in this chapter.

4. The verbs نَع and أَع

These verbs are often used to express certain kinds of feelings. We saw these back in the *Abrid 1 Student Book*, lesson 22, pages 94-95.

إِنْعَا \ وَر إِنْعِي

نَع نَقَا

يَاغ \ وَر يَاغ

أَع تَاغ

He is dishonored.

يَاغْت لِعَار.

[lit: Dishonor has afflicted him.]

She misses her family.

إِنْعَا تْ أَمَارْكَ ن لَهْلَنْس.

[lit: Love for her family is killing her.]

5. Happiness

to be happy

إِفْرَح \ وَر إِفْرَح

فَرَح تَفْرَاح

to laugh

إِطْنَصَا \ وَر إِطْنَصِي

طَنْص طَنْصَا

He/she is having a good time. (indirect object pronouns)

إِعْجَبَاس لِحَال.

He/she is happy.

(lit: The time is pleasing to him/her.)

He/she is happy. (indirect object pronouns) إِرْشَقَاس. (lit: The time is pleasing to him/her.) (The understood subject is لِحَال .) or

He/she is happy. (indirect object pronouns) تَرْشَقَاس. (lit: Life is pleasing to him/her.) (The understood subject is دُونِيْت .)

They (f.) aren't happy. وِرَاسَنَت إِرْشِق.

Are you (f.s.) happy? إِسَام إِرْشَق؟

He is happy with us. (the preposition س) إِفْرَح إِسَنَخ.

6. Sadness

to be sad حَزَن تَحْزَان \ حَزَن \ وِر إِحْزَن

to sadden, make sad غَيْر تَغْيَار \ وِر إِغْيَر

to be bored and sad, to be homesick قَنَض تَقْنَاض \ وِر إِقْنِض

to be unhappy إِخُوب وَاضُو تَخُوب \ وِر إِخُوب
to be in an unhappy situation
(also: to be unlucky)

He's sad about what happened. إِحْزَن خَف أَيْنَا إِجْرَان.

The president's death greatly saddened them. تَغْيَرْتَن شِيْكَان لَمُوت ن رَّايِس.

He is unhappy/miserable. (indirect object pronouns) إِخُوبَاس وَاضُو.
(The subject is وَاضُو , that is, the wind.)
(lit: The wind is bad to him.)

7. Disgust, bitterness, to be fed up with

to be disgusted with, to detest عَفَا تَعَفَا \ وِر إِعَفَا

to be bitter رَزَاكَ تَرَزِيْكَ \ وِر إِرَزَاكَ

bitterness تَرَزَاكَت

to be fed up with مَقَّتْ مَقَّتْ | وَرَ إِمَّقَتْ

to be tired of,
to be fed up with مَلَّا تَمَلَّا | وَرَ إِمَلَّا

He's had enough of it.
[lit: Life has gone up to his head.]

تولياس دُونيت غَرَّ إِخْف. (indirect object pronouns)

I'm disgusted with them (m.)!

عَفَّاخْتَن!

I've had it! I'm fed up!
J'en ai marre!

مَقَّتَخ!

I've had it with life! I'm fed up with life!

مَقَّتَخ دُونيت!

She's tired of herself.
She's fed up with herself.

تَمَلَّا شوي إِخْفَنَس.

8. Jealousy, envy

to be jealous حَسَد حَسَد | وَرَ إِحْسِد

jealous (regular adjective) أَمْحَسَاد

jealousy تَمْحَسَتْ or لَحْسَد

حَسَدَن وَاوَاوَن يَعْقُوب كُتْمَاتْسَن.

The sons of Jacob were jealous of their brother.

They are/were jealous of their brother.

إِنْبَغَاتَن لِحَرَّ ن كُتْمَاتْسَن.

Moha is/was jealous.

إِحْرَاس لِحَالِ إِ موحى.

9. Pride

He thinks he's something.
[lit: He considers himself to be something.]

دَيْتُحَاسَاب إِخْفَنَس إِكَّا شَا.

He's proud. [lit: He makes himself big.]

دَيْسَخَاتَار إِخْفَنَس.

That man is proud [lit: puffed up].

أَرِيَازِين دَيْتَفَّاف.

He/she is stuck-up, pretentious, a snob.

دِيكْس شِيكِي.

to despise someone, **حَقَّرَ** **تَحَقَّرَ** **إِحْقَرَّ** \ **وَر** **إِحْقَرَّ**
to look down on someone

He looks down on/despises the poor. **دَيْتَحَقَّار** **إِمَزْلَاض**.

disdain, contempt **أَحَقَّرَ**

10. Anger, hatred

to be/get angry, **حَرَقَ** **تَحْرَاقَ** **إِحْرَقَ** \ **وَر** **إِحْرَقَ**
also: to pout

to be/get angry, **زَعَفَ** **تَزَعَفَ** **إِزْعَفَ** \ **وَر** **إِزْعَفَ**
irritated

to hate **كْرَهَ** **تَكْرَاهَ** **إِكْرَهَ** \ **وَر** **إِكْرَهَ**

to fight, quarrel, **نَاغَ** **تَنَاغَ** **إِنَّاغَ** \ **وَر** **إِنَّاغَ**
dispute

طَآيِرَ **طَآيَارَ** **إِطَآيِرَ** \ **وَر** **إِطَآيِرَ**

Used usually in the feminine singular with indirect object pronouns as an expression:
lit: “it (f.) flew off/flew away for me”—to be/get angry

Muhand was angry. **تَطَآيِرَاسَ إِ مَحْنَدَ.**

I was angry with Aisha. **تَطَآيِرِي خَفَ عَيْشَةَ.**

وَلِينَ + indirect object pronouns + **إِدَامَنَّ غَرَ إِخْفَ⁵**

An expression using the verb to go up **أَلِي**

lit: “the blood went up to my/your/his/etc. head”—to be/get angry

وَلِينَاسَ إِدَامَنَّ غَرَ إِخْفَ زِي شَا \ خَفَ شَا.

He got angry [lit: blood rose to his head] with someone / about something.

11. Revenge, keeping a grudge

to hold a grudge against someone **طَفَّ لَحْسَيْفَتَ كْ شَا.**

⁵ When said quickly this sounds like **غِيخْفَ**. There are also many Tamazight words for “head;” thus, this expression has many regional variations.

to hold a grudge against someone

أَمَرُ لَحْسِيفَتِ كَيْ شَا.

إِطْف [or يَوْمَزُ] دِيكْسَن لَحْسِيفَتِ.

He has/had a grudge against them (m.).

[أَمَرُ لِحَقِّ زِي شَا]

to take revenge on someone

يَوْمَزُ لِحَقَّقَنَّسِ زِي مُحَنَدِ.

He avenged himself on Muhand.

He took revenge on Muhand.

[lit: He took his part from Muhand.]

[أَمَرُ لِحَقِّ إِ شَا]

to avenge someone

يَوْمَزَّاسَن لِحَقِّ.

He avenged them (m.).

[lit: He took the part for them.]

12. Love

to love (especially in the continuous form)

إِ رَا \ وَر إِ رِي

تِيرِي إِ رِي

to love

إِحْبَا \ وَر إِحْبَا

تِحْبَا حُبَا

(Depending on the context, both of the above verbs can be romantic, familial, or religious love. Often the reciprocal form of these verbs is used: to love each other.)

noun: love

تَايِرِي = لِحُبِّ = لِمَحِيْبَا

noun: love

إِمُورَايْ \ إِمُورَاكْ

أَمَارِي \ أَمَارِكْ (u)

(with the element of missing someone, the desire to see/be with so.)

(This is a well-known word and is often used in poetry. The plural would be used especially in poetry.)

13. Emotional hurt, to feel bad for someone

I feel hurt (emotionally).

[lit : The situation stays in me.]

إِقِيْمَا دِيكْيِي لِحَالِ.

He/she feels hurt (emotionally).

إِقِيْمَا دِيكْسِ لِحَالِ.

I feel sorry/bad for this boy.

[lit: This boy stays in me.]

إِقِيْمَا دِيكْيِي أَرْبَايَا.

I feel bad for the Palestinian children.

قِيْمَانِ دِيكْيِي إِشِرَّانِ نِ فِلِسْطِيْنِ.

إِحْرَاسٍ لِحَالٍ إِ مِحْنَدٍ إِدْخِ وِرَاسٍ إِغْرِي عَمَّيسَ غَر تَمَغْرَا.
Muhand feels bad [lit : the situation is painful to him] because his
(paternal) uncle didn't invite him to the wedding.

تَحْرِي تَمَطَّوطين تَكَلَّيْنَت.
I feel bad for that poor woman. [lit: That poor woman pains me.]

I feel bad for him.

إِسْنَعَايِي كَف تَاسَا.

He inspires pity in me.

[lit: He makes me killed in the liver.]

14. Greed, ambition

to be greedy, ضَمَع ضَمَع | وِر إِضْمَع
to be ambitious, covetous

إِضْمَع كَف لَمَالِ نِ إِبَّاسِ.

He covets/is greedy for the wealth of his father.

15. Courage, bravery, daring

to be courageous, brave, دَزَعَم | وِر إِزَعِم
daring

courage, bravery, daring

زَعَامَت

She's courageous.

تَزَعِم.

I didn't dare tell it (m.) to him/her.

وِر زَعِمَخِ أَدَاسَتِ إِنِيخِ.

He/she is brave/not afraid.

وِر دِيكْسِ تَاسَا.

Be brave. [lit: Be a man.]

كَف أَرِيَا.

16. Grief

These are phrases that are often used to comfort people when they are experiencing grief. The translations given are literal.

لِبَرَشَا دِيكْسِنِ (خَف نَيْرَتِ نِ فَلَانِ).

Blessing upon you (m.pl.) (on behalf of so and so).

أَدَاوَنِ إِرْزَقِ رَبِّي صَبْرَ.

May God grant you (m.pl.) comfort/patience.

أَدَاخِ إِعَاوَنَ رَبِّي دَ لِمَوْتِ (أَدَايَ تَلَاوَضِ).

May God help us with death (when it comes).

إِشَاوَنَ لِعَوِينِ، صَبْرٍ....

May he [God] give you (m.pl.) help, comfort/patience, etc.

أَبْرِيدَنَّا أَيْأ.

This is our way/path [destiny].

مَانِي جَدُودٍ؟ مَانِي لِأَنْبِيَاءِ؟

Where are the ancestors? Where are the prophets?

[That is, we all must pass this way, even great ones of the past.]

غَاسٌ شَا دَيْزَگُورٌ⁶، وَلايُنِّي لِمَوْتِ دَتَاوِي كُو يُونِ.

Some just go first, but death takes everyone.

17. Regret, sorrow, repentance

to regret, to be sorry, to have remorse نَدَمٌ تَنَدَامٌ⁷ إِنْدَمَ \ وَرَ إِنْدَمَ

to regret, to be sorry (used only in this 3rd person feminine form with indirect object pronouns) تَنُكَّرَازُ

to repent تَوْبٌ تَتَوَّبُ إِتَوَّبَ \ وَرَ إِتَوَّبَ

إِنْدَمَ خَفَ طَوْمُوْبِيلِ أَلَيْغَتَ إِزَنْزَا.

He regrets that he sold the car.

[lit: He regrets about the car when he sold it.]

تَوْتِي نَدَامَتِ.

I have regrets. or I'm remorseful. [lit: Regret has hit me.]

مَشْ وَرَ تَنْعِمْدِ إِ لِقَايْدِ أَدَاشِ تَنُكَّرَازِ.

If you (m.s.) don't say yes to the Caïd, you'll regret it [lit: "she" will regret to you].

تَتَوَّبُ زِي لِمَعْصِيَاتِنَسْ.

She repented from her sins.

18. Hope, wish

These words have a range of nuance of meaning. They aren't limited to just an emotion of "hopefulness," but rather often mean "expect, hope for something, count on something." Be sure to test the words in various contexts to get their precise usage.

⁶ There are many regional variations for this verb. Others here include دَيْزَگُورُ and دَيْنَزُورُ.

⁷ Some regions also use نَدَمٌ.

to hope	رَجَا	تَرَجَا	إِرَجَا \	وَرِ إِرَجَا
to hope, to expect	ذَمُو	تَذَمُو	إِذْمَا \	وَرِ إِذْمِي
to wish, to hope	رُتُو	تُرْتُو	إِرْتَا \	وَرِ إِرْتِي
to wish, to hope	تَمَنَّا	تَمَنَّا	إِتْمَنَّا \	وَرِ إِتْمَنَّا
to hope	نُورُز	تَنُورُوز	إِنُورُز \	وَرِ إِنُورُز

إِرَجَا مُحَنِّدٌ أَيْتَمَّاسُ أَدَّاسٌ سَغَنَ شَا ن تَحَانُوتٌ.
 Muhand hopes [with a meaning of “asked, begged”] his brothers will buy
 him a store.

كُ رَجَا كُ مَوْلَانَا.

Put (your (s.)) hope in the Lord.

وَرِ تَاوَاضٌ أَيِنَّا تَذْمِيدٌ.

You (s.) won't get [lit: arrive at] what you hoped for.

وَرَامَ رُتِيخَ غَاسٍ لُخَيْرٍ.

I wish you (f.s.) only well. [lit: I wish for you nothing but goodness.]

إِنُورُزُ كُ إِبَّاسُ أَدَّاسُ إِعَاوَنٌ.

He hopes [or: counts on] his father will help him.

19. Laziness

to be lazy	عَنَز	تَعَنَز	إِعْنَز \	وَرِ إِعْنَز
lazy	أَمَعْنَزَان	إِمَعْنَزَان	(regular adjective)	
	تَمَعْنَزَات	تَمَعْنَزَات		
laziness	لَعْنَز			

رِيخَ أَدَّوُخَ غَرَّ أَيَّت تَدَّارْتِ وَلَايِنِّي عَنَزَخَ.

I want to go to my family's place, but I'm (too) lazy.

يُوتَ لَعْنَزُ؛ قَاحٌ وَرِ دَيْنَحْدَمٌ.

He's lazy [lit: laziness hit him]; he doesn't work at all.

20. Tenderness, gentleness, compassion

to be tender, kind, gentle, compassionate	حَنَّا	تَحَنَّا	إِحْنَا \	وَرِ إِحْنَا
--	--------	----------	-----------	--------------

tenderness, kindness, gentleness, compassion لَحْنِيْنَت

tender, kind, gentle (regular adjective) اَمَحْنَان اِمَحْنَان
compassionate تَمَحْنَانَت تَمَحْنَانِيْن

or

tender, kind, gentle (regular adjective) اَحْنِيْن اَحْنِيْن
compassionate تَحْنِيْنَت تَحْنِيْنِيْن

تَحْنَانَا تَرَبَاتِيْن.

That girl is tender/kind/gentle/compassionate.

اِخْصَايَاخ اَنْتَحْنَانَا خَف [ك or ا] لُوَاشُوْن.

We should be tender/kind/gentle/compassionate with/to children.

21. Anxiety, nervousness

to worry, be anxious اِهْوَال \ وِر اِهْوَال تَهْوَال هْوَال
(also transitive : sthg worries us)

to worry, be anxious اِشْوَش \ وِر اِشْوَش تَشْوَاش شْوَش
(also transitive : sthg worries us)

تَهْوَال خَف مَمِيْس.

She's worried about her son.

اِنْغَات اُهْوَال ن لُوَاشُوْن.

She's worried about the children. [lit: Worry of children is killing her.]

اِشْوَشْتَن اَنْغَمِيْس ن لَكْسِيْدَا.

The news of the accident worried them (m.).

22. Zeal, determination, resolve

to be determined, resolute اِعْزَم \ وِر اِعْزَم عَزَم عَزَم

اِعْزَم اَدِيْدُو غَر بَرَا.

He's determined to go abroad.

غَاس وِر اِعْزَم، وِمَا يَاد اِبْنُو تَدَارْت.

He's just not determined, otherwise he would build the house.

23. Selfishness

He's selfish [lit: possessor of his thing that he is]. بُو لِحَاجَتِنَسْ أَكًّا.

She's selfish. مَّ لِحَاجَتِنَسْ أَيِّ تَكًّا.

He's selfish [lit: He loves himself.]. دَيْتِيرِي إِخْفَنَسْ.

He's selfish [lit: He's dear to himself.] إِعَزَّ غورَس [غيفَس] إِخْفَنَسْ.

24. Satisfaction, contentment

to be satisfied, content قَنَع تَّقْنَاع إِقْنَع \ وَر إِقْنِع

satisfaction, contentment لَقْنَاعَت

إِخْصَا إِبْنَادَمِ أَدِيقْنَعِ سِ وَنَاسِ إِشَا سِيدِي رَبِّي.

Man should be satisfied with what God gives him.

لَقْنَاعَت، لِكْ وول أَيِّ تَلَّا.

Contentment is in the heart. [lit: Contentment, in the heart (is where) it is.]

25. Gratitude

to thank شَكَر تَشَكَر إِشَكَر \ وَر إِشَكِر

شَكَرْخَتِ خَفَ لَهْدِيَّت.

I thanked him for the present.

26. Stubbornness

He is stubborn / hard-headed. إِقْسَحَاسِ إِخْف.

He is stubborn / contrary.
[lit: He goes only with the opposite.] دَيْتَدَوِ غَاسِ سِ لِعَكْس.

He is stubborn. [lit: He opposes.] إِعَكَّس.

27. Peace, tranquility

peace لِئَمَان = لَامَان

peace, serenity, calm, tranquility لَهْنَا

هَنَا تَهَنَا | وَر إِهَنَا
to be peaceful, serene,
calm, tranquil

أَذْغَارَا، إِلَّا دِيْغْس لِمَان.

This is a peaceful place. [lit: This place, in it is peace.]

نُعِيش دُغِي كُ لَهْنَا.

We live now in peace/calm [*i.e.*, no problems, worries, etc.].

إِس تَهَنَا كُ إِغْرَمَا؟

Is it peaceful in this village? [The verb is feminine because the understood subject is دُونِيْت.]

تَنْكَا لِمَان؟

Is there peace?

[The verb is the descriptive verb “to be” and it has an understood feminine subject like دُونِيْت or تَسَاعْتَا (this hour). Thus, the literal meaning is “Is the world/life peace?” or “Does the world/life equal peace?” or “Is it peace?”]

28. Respect, honor

He is dishonored.

يَاغْت لَعَار.

[lit: Dishonor has afflicted him.]

تِيوِيْد لَعَار إِ إِخْفَنَس د لَهْلَنَس.

She brought dishonor on herself and her family.

وَقَّر | تَوَقَّار | وَر إِوَقَّر | وَر إِوَقَّر
to respect

لُوقَّر
noun: respect

وَر يَوْمِن وَر إِوَقَّر وَيْنَا وَمَنِّيْن.

(Not only) doesn't he believe, (but) he (also) doesn't respect those who believe.

سَغْد | سَغْد | إِسْغَد | وَر إِسْغَد
to listen to

ضَاع | ضَاع | إِضَاع | وَر إِضَاع
to obey

دِيْسَغْد حَدَّو إِ مَائِس.

He listens to [that is, obeys] his mother.

وْنَا إِضَاعْن لُوَالْدِيْن أَمِّي إِضَاع رَبِّي.

He who obeys (his) parents (it's) as if he obeys God.

Noun Plural Patterns

You've been learning plural nouns for a long time now, and you've surely noticed some patterns for making plurals. This lesson focuses on a number of those patterns.

It is still true that for most plurals, even those that follow a pattern, you cannot predict the plural from the singular. Thus, the plural form always needs to be memorized alongside the singular. However, knowing some of the patterns can help you remember the plurals better and get used to the rhythm of the language.

The point of this lesson is not for you to memorize the patterns but rather for you to recognize them and increase your feel for the language.

Some of the patterns can get fairly detailed. Thus, the approach of this lesson will be to go from the most general rules to the most specific. For the students interested in just a general overview, they can pay the most attention to the general rules. For the students interested in every detail, they can pay the most attention to the numerous specific patterns.

Keep in mind that there are exceptions to all the rules and that different regions may use different plurals. In fact, even within the same region or tribe there may be a couple different plurals that are acceptable and used by people. Yet, most of the plurals will fit into the rules and patterns below.

Since the following material deals a lot with specific sounds, we will use mostly phonetics to talk about the plurals (to avoid, for example, having to refer to an "a" sound by both an *aliph* and a *fetha*).

1. The most general rules

A. The main, overarching pattern is that first vowel (usually an "a") either becomes or stays an "i" and an "n" is found at the end of the word. This is true for masculine and feminine words.¹

Masculine words: Speaking specifically of masculine nouns, the first vowel (usually an "a") either becomes or stays an "i" and an "n" is found at the end of the word.

Feminine words: Speaking specifically of feminine nouns, the first vowel (usually an "a") either becomes or stays an "i," the final "t" is dropped, and an "in" is found at the end of the word.

B. There are some words which form their plurals by adding "id" to the singular.

C. There are some words borrowed from Arabic that use the Arabic plural.

D. There are some words whose plurals are completely different from the singular or which are only used in the plural.

¹ Penchoen, in *Tamazight of the Ait Ndhir*, page 15, says "About 80% of all Tamazight nouns are characterized, in the plural, by a suffix with final 'n.' Generally the suffix is simply 'n' for masculine nouns, 'in' for feminine nouns (after dropping any suffix 't' of the singular)."

2. A more specific explanation

In all that follows in part A, it is generally the case that the first vowel (usually an “a”) either becomes or stays an “i.” This is true for masculine and feminine words. Those words whose first vowel is “u” keep the “u” and do not change. For the feminine words, the final “t” (if it exists) is dropped.

A. There are 3 main patterns for the plurals of both masculine and feminine nouns. These 3 are called:

External Plurals
Internal Plurals
Mixed Plurals

i. External plurals

An external plural is a plural formed by adding a suffix or ending to the singular word. There is no change to the middle (or internal structure) of the word. Whether masculine or feminine, these plurals usually have a suffix ending with “n.” There are 6 or so different suffixes for masculine nouns and 5 or so different ones for feminine nouns.

suffix: “en”	rooster	—	إِفُولَّوسَن	أَفُولَّوس
suffix: “iwen”	word	—	إِوَالِيُون	أَوَال
suffix: “in”	tribe	—	تِقْبِيلِين	تَقْبِيلَت
suffix: “awin”	lioness	—	تِزْمَاوِين	تِزْمَت

ii. Internal plurals

An internal plural is a plural formed by changing the internal vowels (and rarely consonants) of the singular word. No suffix is added at the end. Most of these words do not end with “n.”

pick-axe	—	إِكْتِزَام	أَكْتِزِيم
friend	—	إِمَدَّوَكَّال	أَمَدَّاكُل
she-mule	—	تِسْرَدَان	تَسْرَدُونَت
country, land	—	تِمِيزَار	تَمَازِيرَت

iii. Mixed plurals

A mixed plural is a plural that is a combination or mix of the external and internal² types. This means that there is both a change to the internal vowels (and rarely consonants) of the singular word and a suffix usually ending with “n” is added. These suffixes are the same as the ones used for just external plurals.

suffix: “an”	road, way	—	إِبْرَدَان	أَبْرِيد
suffix: “n”	hand, arm	—	إِفَاسْن	أَفَوس
suffix: “in”	stream	—	تِسَاقِين	تَسِيفْت
suffix: “iwin”	snake	—	تِفَاغْرِيوين	تِفِغْرَا

B. There are some words which form their plurals by adding “id” to the singular.

These words are often those dealing with family relationships and compound-noun headwords. The “id” is often also used with borrowed Arabic words, when somehow the Arabic plural didn’t make it into Tamazight. However, what one person or tribe uses “id” with, another might use the Arabic plural, and vice versa. Thus, there can be great regional variation among borrowed Arabic words between types B and C.

owner (m.)	—	إِد بَاب	بَاب
bat (animal)	—	إِد فَرَطِيطُو	فَرَطِيطُو ³
my maternal aunt	—	إِد خَالْتِي	خَالْتِي
owner, possessor (f.)	—	إِد مَّ	مَّ

C. There are some words borrowed from Arabic that use the Arabic plural.

Notice that for both the singular and plural borrowed Arabic word the Arabic article “al,” reduced to just “l” in Moroccan Arabic, is kept in the Tamazight word. This shows up either as an “l” or “le” at the beginning of the word (for Arabic “moon” letters) or a doubled initial consonant, that is, one with a *shedda* (for Arabic “sun” letters).

market	—	لَسَوَاق	سَوَاق
book	—	لَشْتَاب	لَشْتَاب

² Penchoen, page 17, says that virtually half the nouns undergo an internal vowel change. Thus, they are either of the internal plural type or the mixed plural type.

³ This word varies a lot by region. The meaning here is from the Ayt ‘Atta.

lawsuit	—	دَعَاوِي	دَعَوَات
story	—	لُقَيْسَات	لُقَيْسَات

D. There are some words whose plurals are completely different from the singular or which are only used in the plural.

person, people	—	مِدَّن	بِنَادِم
boy, children	—	لُؤَاشُون	لُعَيْل
water	—	أَمَان	
excrement	—	إِخَان	
ewe, sheep	—	وَلِي	تِخْسِي
eye, eyes	—	أَلَّن	تِطَّ
salary	—	تِغْرَاض	
writing	—	تِرَا	

3. An even more specific explanation

In all that follows in part A, it is generally the case that the first vowel (usually an “a”) either becomes or stays an “i.” This is true for masculine and feminine words. Those words whose first vowel is “u” keep the “u” and do not change. For the feminine words, the final “t” is dropped (if it exists).

The biggest exception to these rules are the nouns which keep their initial “a” vowel in the plural. Most of these words by far are external plurals. There is no way to predict which nouns will keep the “a” vowel.

Arab	—	أَعْرَبَن	أَعْرَب
a pair	—	أَنَاتِن	أَنَا
house	—	تَدْرُؤِين	تَدَارَتْ
owl	—	تَوُوكِين	تَوُوكَتْ

Sometimes the initial “a” can become a “u,” and sometimes an initial “i” can become an “a.” This can happen in both the masculine and feminine forms.

a well	—	وَنَا	أَنُو
a small well	—	تَوْنَا	تَنُوت

tongue	—	أَلْسِيُون	إِلْس
fingernail	—	أَسْكَارُن	إِسْكَر

Occasionally, a feminine word keeps its “t.” (Although in the examples below, one of the “t’s” in the doubled “t” disappears.)

letter	—	تِبْرَاتِين	تِبْرَات
girl	—	تِرْبَاتِين	تِرْبَات

A. The three types of plurals: external, internal, and mixed⁴

i. Masculine words

a. External plurals: the addition of a suffix

There are 4 main groups of suffixes that are added:

- 1) “n” (usually after a vowel) or “en” (usually after a consonant)
- 2) “wen” or “awen” or “iwen”
- 3) “an”
- 4) “ten”

1) “n” or “en” — This group is called the “regular” plurals. See pages 52 and 53 of the *Abrid 1 Student Book* for a review of these plurals. In some regions when the final consonant of the singular word is “r,” “l,” or “n,” the added “n” suffix assimilates into the final consonant and forms “rr,” “ll,” and “nn.”

Regular plurals apply especially to people, nationalities, colors, professions, and defects (like lame, blind, bald, etc.).

Jew	—	وداين	وداي
tent	—	إِخَامَن	أَخَام
debt	—	إِمْرَ وَاَسَن	أَمْرَ وَاَس

2) “wen” or “awen” or “iwen” — Depending on the region, this group of endings can also be pronounced with a “u” sound: “un,” “aun,” and “iun.” Sometimes the difference is very subtle.

stone	—	إِسْلَيُون	إِسْلَي
shepherd	—	إِمْكَسَاوَن	أَمْكَسَا

⁴ The charts in the following sections are taken and adapted from the Tamazight version of *Teach Yourself Tashelhayt*, by Robert Aspinion, 1953, translated into English from French in 1997. Aspinion’s original work was called *Apprenons le Berbère*.

head	—	إِخْفَاوَن	إِخْف
heart	—	وَلَاوَن	وَل
horn	—	أَشْيَوَن	إِشَّ
word	—	إِوَالْيَوَن	أَوَال

3) “an”

night	—	إِضَان	إِض
day	—	وَسَّان	أَسَّ
root, artery	—	إِزُّورَان	أَزُّور

4) “ten”

pasture	—	إِلْمَوْتَن	أَلْمُو
wind	—	إِزُّووتَن	أَزُّوُو

GENERAL SCHEMA FOR MASCULINE EXTERNAL PLURALS	
Singular	Plural
<i>a/i.....</i>	<i>i.....(e)n</i>
<i>a/i.....</i>	<i>i.....wen, awen, iwen</i>
<i>a/i.....</i>	<i>i.....an</i>
<i>a/i.....</i>	<i>i.....ten</i>
<i>u.....</i>	<i>u.....(e)n</i>
<i>u.....</i>	<i>u.....awen</i>
<i>u.....</i>	<i>u.....an</i>
<i>u.....</i>	<i>u.....ten</i>

b. Internal plurals: changing the internal vowels

For the internal plurals, there is a change of the internal vowels (and occasionally a consonant) of the singular word. The main feature is that the last vowel of the word (either at the very end of the word or before final consonants) is an “a” vowel.

No suffixes are added.

GENERAL SCHEMA FOR MASCULINE INTERNAL PLURALS	
Singular	Plural
a/i.....e/i/u.....	i.....a....
a.....u	i.....a
u.....e....	u.....a....
a.....a.....i....	i.....i.....a....
a.....a.....u....	i.....u.....a....
a.....a.....u	i.....u.....a

c. Mixed plurals: changing internal vowels and adding a suffix

Mixed plurals combine the external and internal types. However, not all the suffix endings of the external types are used, and the internal vowel changes aren't always as regular as the patterns in part b. For example, although an "a" is often the final vowel of the word, sometimes there is an "i" or a "u." In the mixed plurals there are more internal consonant changes than with the purely internal plurals.

What this means is there are many plurals that don't fit in a big pattern or a certain pattern may only have a few nouns in it. This group is much harder to make a chart for. Below will be some of the main patterns:

- 1) "a" replaces the final vowel and the suffix "n" is added
- 2) the final vowel "i" is dropped and the suffix "an" is added
- 3) aCCvC becomes iCeCCan⁵
- 4) a single consonant becomes doubled (with a *shadda*)
- 5) other examples that can't really be categorized

- 1) "a" replaces the final vowel and the suffix "n" is added

jackal, wolf	—	وَشَانّ	وَشَنّ
ox	—	إِزْكَارَن	أَزْكَر

- 2) the final vowel "i" is dropped and the suffix "an" is added

cave	—	إِفْرَان	إِفْرِي
star	—	إِثْرَان	إِثْرِي
a fly	—	إِزَان	إِزِي

⁵ Where "C" is any consonant and "v" is any vowel.

3) aCCvC becomes iCeCCan

road, way	—	إِبْرَدَان	أَبْرِيد
village	—	إِغْرَمَان	إِغْرَم
fish	—	إِسْلَمَان	أَسْلَم

4) a single consonant becomes doubled (with a *shedda*)⁶

knee	—	إِفَادَّن	أَفُود
river	—	إِسَافَّن	أَسِيف
hand, arm	—	إِفَاسَّن	أَفُوس

5) other examples that can't really be categorized

finger	—	إِضُودَان	أَضَاد
king	—	إِكْلَدَان	أَكْلِيد
medicine	—	إِدِيوَان ⁷	دُوا

GENERAL SCHEMA FOR MASCULINE MIXED PLURALS	
Singular	Plural
a/i.....a/i/u...	i.....a/(i)/(u)...en/an/iwen
u.....e..	u.....a....n
aCCvC	iCeCCan

⁶ Penchoen, on page 18, says that somewhat more than twenty nouns among the Ayt Ndhir have a difference in the singular and plural between consonants that either gain or lose a *shedda*.

⁷ This is from the Ayt 'Atta.

Summary chart for masculine nouns

Below is a summary chart for all the masculine plural patterns:

GROUPS	FORMS	
	Singular	Plural
External Plurals	<i>a.....</i> <i>i.....</i> <i>u.....</i>	<i>i.....(e)n/wen/awen/iwen/an/ten</i> <i>i.....(e)n/wen/awen/iwen/an/ten</i> <i>u.....en/awen/an/ten</i>
Internal Plurals	<i>a.....e/i/u....</i> <i>i.....e/i/u....</i> <i>a.....u</i> <i>u.....e...</i> <i>a...a....i...</i> <i>a...a...u...</i> <i>a...a.....u</i>	<i>i.....a.....</i> <i>i.....a.....</i> <i>i.....a</i> <i>u.....a.....</i> <i>i... i...a...</i> <i>i...u...a...</i> <i>i...u.....a</i>
Mixed Plurals	<i>a.....a/i/u...</i> <i>i.....a/i/u..</i> <i>u.....e..</i> <i>aCCvC</i>	<i>i...a/(i)/(u).....en/an/iwen</i> <i>i...a/(i)/(u).....en/an/iwen</i> <i>u...a.....n</i> <i>iCeCCan</i>
Exceptions	<i>a.....</i> <i>i.....</i> <i>a.....</i>	<i>a.....en/ten/iwen</i> <i>a.....en/an/iwen</i> <i>u.....a/an</i>
Special	(1) Arabic plurals (2) Plurals using the 'id-' prefix (3) Plurals different from the singular	

ii. Feminine words

a. External plurals: the addition of a suffix

There are 3 main groups of suffixes that are added:

- 1) "in"
- 2) "win" or "awin" or "iwin"
- 3) "tin"

1) "in" — This group is called the "regular" plurals. See pages 52 and 53 of the *Abrid 1 Student Book* for a review of these plurals. For masculine singular words ending in "i," as in "akanadi," when the "in" encounters the "i," the two "i" vowels can't go together. Thus, a consonant "y" is inserted between them. This results in an "iyin" ending. For example: "tikanadiyin," "tiromiyin," etc.

Regular plurals apply especially to people, nationalities, colors, professions, and defects (like lame, blind, bald, etc.).

old woman	—	تِمغارين	تَمغارت
vegetable plot	—	تَبحيرين	تَبحيرت
foreigner, European (f.)	—	تِروميين	تَروميت

2) “win” or “awin” or “iwin”

study	—	تِغوريوين	تَغوري
lioness	—	تِزماوين	تِزمت
little horn	—	تَشيوين	تِشت

3) “tin”

sieve	—	تِلاتين	تِلا
little door	—	تَلبابوتين	تَلبابوت
letter	—	تِبراتين	تِبرات

Note that this last example is really an example of a regular plural. Since there is a doubled “t” at the end of the singular, one of those “t’s” is dropped, and “in” is added to it, giving an appearance that “tin” was added.

GENERAL SCHEMA FOR FEMININE EXTERNAL PLURALS	
Singular	Plural
<i>ta.....(t)</i>	<i>ti.....in/win/awin/iwin/tin</i>
<i>ti.....(t)</i>	<i>ti.....in/win/awin/iwin/tin</i>
<i>tu.....(t)</i>	<i>tu.....in/iwin</i>

b. Internal plurals: changing the internal vowels

For the internal plurals, there is a change of the internal vowels (and occasionally a consonant) of the singular word. The main feature is that the last vowel of the word (either at the very end of the word or before final consonants) is an “a” vowel. These patterns are very similar to the masculine internal plural patterns.

No suffixes are added.

There are 3 main types of vowel changes:

- 1) an “a” simply replaces the final vowel of the singular word or it remains if it is already the final vowel
- 2) an “a” in the singular switches places with an “i”
- 3) an “a” in the singular switches places with an “u”

1) an “a” simply replaces the final vowel of the singular word or the “a” remains if it is already the final vowel

This happens in 2 general cases: when the final vowel has a consonant after it
when the vowel is the last letter of the word

pitchfork	—	تِزَّار	تَزَّرَتْ
a reed mat	—	تِغَّرْ تَال	تَغَّرَتْ
a time	—	تِكَّال	تَكَّلَتْ
house	—	تِدَّار ⁸	تَدَّارَتْ
little hole	—	تِخْبَا	تَخَّبَتْ
heir (f.)	—	تِمَكَّوسَا	تَمَكَّوسَتْ
a drop	—	تِمَقَّا	تَمَقَّتْ

2) an “a” in the singular switches places with an “i”

country, land	—	تِمِيزَار	تَمَازِيرَتْ
little wall	—	تِغِّيدَار	تَغَّادِيرَتْ

3) an “a” in the singular switches places with an “u”

This happens in 2 general cases: when the final vowel has a consonant after it
when the vowel is the last letter of the word

friend (f.)	—	تِمَدَّ وِكَّال	تَمَدَّ اِكَّلَتْ
hatchet	—	تِشَوَّقَار ⁹	تَشَاقُّورَتْ
key	—	تِسُورَا	تَسَارُوتْ
store	—	تِحُونَا	تَحَانُوتْ

⁸ This is one of the many regional plurals for “house.”

⁹ This is from someone of the Ayt ‘Atta.

GENERAL SCHEMA FOR FEMININE INTERNAL PLURALS	
Singular	Plural
ta/ti.....a/e/i/u.....(t)	ti.....a....
ta/ti.....a/e/i/u.....(t)	ti.....a
tu.....a/e/i/u.....(t)	tu.....a....
ta/ti...a...i.....(t)	ti...i...a....
ta/ti...a...u.....(t)	ti...u...a....
ta/ti.....a.....u(t)	ti.....u.....a

c. Mixed plurals: changing internal vowels and adding a suffix

Mixed plurals combine the external and internal types. However, not all the suffix endings of the external types are used, and the internal vowel changes aren't always as regular as the patterns in part b. For example, although an "a" is often the final vowel of the word, sometimes there is an "i" or a "u." In the mixed plurals there are more internal consonant changes than with the purely internal plurals.

What this means is there are many plurals that don't fit in a big pattern or a certain pattern may only have a few nouns in it. This group is much harder to make a chart for. Below will be some of the main patterns:

- 1) "a" replaces the final vowel and the suffix "in," "iwin," or "tin" is added
- 2) The final "a" is removed and the suffix "iwin" is added
- 3) a single consonant becomes doubled (with a *shedda*)
- 4) a doubled consonant (with a *shedda*) becomes single

- 1) "a" replaces the final vowel and the suffix "in," "iwin," or "tin" is added

she-wolf	—	توشانين	توشانت
snake	—	تفاغريوين	تفيغرا
small cave	—	تفراطين	تفريت

- 2) The final "a" is removed and the suffix "iwin" is added

liver	—	تاسيوين	تاسا
co-wife	—	تكنيوين	تكنا

- 3) a single consonant becomes doubled (with a *shedda*)

stream	—	تساقين	تسيفت
small hand	—	تفاسين	تفوست

- 4) a doubled consonant (with a *shedda*) becomes single

trap — تَزَقُّورَتْ
house — تَدَّارَتْ

GENERAL SCHEMA FOR FEMININE MIXED PLURALS	
Singular	Plural
<i>ta/ti.....(t)</i>	<i>ti.....a.....in/iwin/tin</i>
<i>ta.....a</i>	<i>ta.....iwin</i>
<i>tu.....(t)</i>	<i>tu.....a.....in</i>

Summary chart for feminine nouns

Below is a summary chart for all the feminine plural patterns:

GROUPS	FORMS	
	Singular	Plural
External Plurals	<i>ta.....(t)</i> <i>ti.....(t)</i> <i>tu.....(t)</i>	<i>ti.....in/win/awin/iwin/tin</i> <i>ti.....in/win/awin/iwin/tin</i> <i>tu.....in/iwin</i>
Internal Plurals	<i>ta/ti...a/e/i/u...(t)</i> <i>ta/ti...a/e/i/u...(t)</i> <i>tu.....a/e/i/u...(t)</i> <i>ta/ti...a...i.....(t)</i> <i>ta/ti...a...u.....(t)</i> <i>ta/ti.....a.....u(t)</i>	<i>ti.....a.....</i> <i>ti.....a</i> <i>tu.....a....</i> <i>ti...i...a....</i> <i>ti...u...a....</i> <i>ti.....u.....a</i>
Mixed Plurals	<i>ta/ti.....(t)</i> <i>ta.....a</i> <i>tu.....(t)</i>	<i>ti.....a.....in/iwin/tin</i> <i>ta.....iwin</i> <i>tu.....a.....in</i>
Exceptions	<i>ta.....(t)</i> <i>ti.....(t)</i> <i>ta.....(t)</i>	<i>ta.....in/win/iwin</i> <i>ta.....win/iwin</i> <i>tu.....a</i>
Specials	(1) Arabic plurals	
	(2) Plurals using the 'id-' prefix	
	(3) Plurals different from the singular	

Verb Patterns

Finding patterns for Tamazight verb forms and trying to categorize verbs occupies major space in Tamazight grammars. Any look at Tamazight or Tashelhayt grammars will leave the language learner wondering if it really is possible to put the verbs in categories that can be easily used by a language learner.

It appears that very complex categories can be made, but the categories are so complex, there are so many exceptions, and different regions and tribes use different categories for the same verbs that in the end these complex categories don't help the average language learner.

It is for this reason that the *Abrid* course has not focused on these types of categories that grammars such as Laoust, Aspinion, and Penchoen spend a lot of time on. After my examination of all these categories and systems, by far the easiest and most practical system for learning verbs is the system presented in *Abrid*:

1. learning the regular and irregular "past" form conjugation patterns¹
2. learning the 4 pillars for each verb:
 - the simple imperative form,
 - the continuous imperative form,
 - the third person masculine singular of the "past" form, and
 - the third person masculine singular negative of the "past" form.

For the advanced student who is interested (and who may consult other grammars of Tamazight) I want to explain briefly the philosophy behind the system used in *Abrid*.

First of all, the words "regular" and "irregular" were originally put in quotes in *Abrid 1* because most students have already used these terms referring to English or French verbs. However, the meaning is not at all the same: the terms have a definition that is specific to Tamazight.

Now, why do I use these categories? Others have divided them up differently. The *Peace Corps* book and Laoust's grammar call "regular verbs" those verbs whose stems don't change when they are conjugated. These same books call "irregular verbs" those verbs whose stems do change when they are conjugated. Whereas this division (which inverts the *Abrid* categories) follows a certain logic (regular means no change; irregular means a change), the division is not grammatically helpful.

What is grammatically helpful and important to the student is not really to know that there are 2 types of verbs, those whose stems change and those whose stems don't change, but rather to know the 2 different conjugation patterns. It's the 2 conjugation patterns which are fundamental to the Tamazight verb and grammatically useful to the language learner. It is foundational to the language learner to know which conjugation pattern to use. Whether the stem changes or not must be known, but that is not primordial.

¹ These patterns are shown, explained, and illustrated on pages 85-88 in the *Abrid 1 Student Book*. What we have called the "past tense form" is called in various grammars the preterite or *l'accompli* (accomplished). Although we've used the word "past tense," it is in form only and not necessarily meaning. As we've seen, many "past tense" forms can also have present tense meanings. The tense really shows one-time or completed action, regardless of the time period.

Furthermore, the conjugation pattern which I call "regular" makes great sense, since it is the conjugation pattern that is applied to **ALL other tenses of Tamazight**. In this sense it is extremely "regular," that is, used all the time. The "stem-change" category just doesn't carry this grammatical usefulness to the language learner.

It is the "stem changes" that really complicate the analysis of the verb and lead to the very complex categorization schemes. Other grammars² have broken down the Tamazight verb into many detailed divisions reflecting various stem-change patterns. These are useful and interesting to a degree, although not to the beginning or intermediate language learner. Thus, it isn't helpful to go into these detailed divisions. Some broad patterns can be somewhat helpful, but to be able to say for every verb what stem-change category it fits in, among the many available divisions, is a great burden.

The categories I use in *Abrid* are the simplest and most useful to a person learning Tamazight in order to speak it in an everyday way. The stem-change information does get dealt with, but under the four pillars of the Tamazight verb.

This leads to the other essential aspect to learning the Tamazight verb—to know what must be learned for every verb in order to have all the necessary information needed to conjugate the verb in its entirety in all its tenses and aspects. The following are **the essential elements to learning the Tamazight verb**:

- the simple imperative form,
- the continuous imperative form,
- the third person masculine singular of the "past" form, and
- the third person masculine singular negative of the "past" form.

These are the four pillars of the Tamazight verb. Students must learn these pillars.

In Moroccan Arabic the most basic form of the verb is the third person masculine singular. However, in Tamazight the most basic form of the verb is the simple imperative form. This is what all conjugations are based on. The simple imperative plus the "regular" conjugation prefixes and suffixes give what we've called the two-verbs-together format, the future, and the sentence connection forms (for the "past" and the imperative).

The continuous imperative plus the "regular" conjugation prefixes and suffixes give all the different habitual and continuous tenses. Although the continuous imperative is related to the simple imperative (and there are some general patterns for how the simple imperative becomes the continuous imperative—these are described on pages 80 and 81 of the *Abrid 2 Student Book*), it generally cannot be predicted and must be memorized. Hence, it is a second pillar.

The third pillar is the "past" form. This is where all the complex stem-change categories come in. Again, with so many categories, exceptions, and regional variations, using the category strategy is quite difficult. In the end, learning the third masculine singular (and comparing it to the simple imperative) tells you both what the specific stem-change is and whether the conjugation of the verb in the "past" form is regular or irregular. As you learn a number of verbs, you will quickly see some general stem-change patterns (although with many exceptions) emerge. These general patterns will help you remember the stem changes, without your having to get lost in trying to categorize each

² For example, see E. Laoust, *Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central*, Paris, 1939, pages 87-129; Thomas G. Penchoen, *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*, Undena Publications, Los Angeles, 1973, pages 28-39; Robert Aspinion, *Teach Yourself Tashelhayt*, (originally *Apprenons le Berbère*), 1953 (translated into English in 1997), p. 115-157; and Mohammed Chafik, *Forty-four Lessons in Tamazight* (The book is entirely in Arabic with the Tamazight in Arabic script.), Infoprint, 2003, pages 173-270.

and every verb. Furthermore, the third masculine singular is a form you can and will often use in speaking. Thus, it is a practical form as opposed to just a grammatical category.

Finally, the fourth pillar is necessary because it can't always be predicted when the vowel will change in the negative form. There are broad patterns, however (mentioned very simply on pages 100 and 101 of the *Abrid 1 Student Book*), and these can be learned easily through usage rather than trying to fit them into a verb-category scheme.

In Taifi's Tamazight dictionary the verbs are listed in this four-pillar fashion (although he uses a slightly different order of the four). These four pillars really do give all the information you need to know to conjugate a verb in every tense and aspect.

Verb stem-change patterns

All verbs follow either the regular or the irregular conjugation patterns (as defined in the *Abrid 1 Student Book*, page 85) in their "past tense form."

"Regular" verbs have 2 types:

- A. The simple imperative stem doesn't change when conjugated.
- B. The simple imperative stem does change when conjugated.

"Irregular" verbs have 2 types:

- A. The simple imperative stem doesn't change when conjugated.
- B. The simple imperative stem does change when conjugated.

Without entering into the complex verb categorization schemes of the grammar books, the following lists give a number of the major patterns of stem changes that occur. These categories concern how the simple imperative relates to the "past tense form." Remember that stem changes occur both for certain regular verbs and for certain irregular verbs. No doubt, you've already observed some of these patterns. The patterns are not listed for memorization but rather to help you recognize some broad patterns which will help you remember the type of change when you see it. You will say, "Oh, that's like such and such."

Remember, also, that there are exceptions to almost every type below.

- i. Verbs like **دَو** and **حَمَو** : The consonants stay the same.
They follow the "irregular" conjugation pattern.
The simple imperative ends in **و**

	third masculine singular "past" form	simple imperative
to go	— إِدَّا	دَو
to be hot	— إِحْمَا	حَمَو
to be strong	— إِصْحَا	صَحَو
to build	— إِبْنَا	بَنَو
to be expensive	— إِغْلَا	غَلَو

- ii. Verbs like **كُتِّ** and **تَشَّ**: The consonants stay the same.
They follow the “irregular” conjugation pattern.
The simple imperative consists of just one or two consonants (and no vowels or only a schwa vowel needed to pronounce two consonants together)

		third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to be (descriptive)	—	إِثَّا	ئِثَّ
to pass by	—	إِكَآ	ئِكَ
to give	—	إِشَا	ئِشَّ
to eat	—	إِثَّشَا	ئِثَّشَّ
to kill	—	إِنِّغَا	ئِنِّغَّ
to drink	—	إِسَّوَا	ئِسَّوَا ³
to be cooked, to be ripe	—	إِنَّوَا	ئِنَّوَا

- iii. Verbs like **رَارَ**: The consonants stay the same (although a *shedda* may appear or disappear).
They follow the “irregular” conjugation pattern.
The middle vowel changes (usually from **ا** to **و**)

		third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to give back	—	إِرَّوَرَا	رَّارَا
to be born	—	إِلَّوَلَا	رَّالَا
to swear	—	إِكَّوَلَا	رَّكَّالَا
to pray	—	إِرَّزَّالَا	رَّزَّالَا

- iv. Verbs like **أَفَّ**: The consonants stay the same.
They follow the “irregular” conjugation pattern.
The first vowel changes from **ا** to **و**

		third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to find	—	يُوفَا	أَفَّ

³ Technically the verb is سَوَّ (sw or sew). The **و** is a consonant. The same is true for the next verb.

to lose	—	يوشكَا	أَشْكُ
to leave, permit	—	يودُجَا	أَدْجُ

- v. Verbs like **أَسِي** and **أَزَن**: Everything after the **أَ** stays the same. They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern. The first vowel changes from **أَ** to **و**

	third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to pick up	— يوسي	أَسِي
to send	— يوزن	أَزَن
to believe	— يومن	أَمَن
to go up	— يولي	أَلِي
to be better than	— يوف	أَف

- vi. Verbs like **غودَا**: The simple imperative ends in **ا**. They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern. There is no stem change at all.

	third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to be good	— إِغودَا	غودَا
to ask	— إِسَقْسَا	سَقْسَا

- vii. Verbs like **بِّي**: The simple imperative ends in **ي**. They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern. There is no stem change at all.

	third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to cut	— إِبِّي	بِّي
to get in or on	— إِنِّي	نِّي
to be able	— إِغِي	غِي
to get better, to be healed	— إِجِّي	جِّي

- viii. Verbs like **أَرُو**: The simple imperative starts with a **أَ**.
They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern.
There is no stem change at all.

	third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to write	— يارو	أَرُو ⁴
to return, to go back	— ياغول	أَغول

- ix. Verbs like **كَشَم** and **خَدَم**: The verbs have 3 consonants (in different configurations, as noted to the left).
or like **شَمَل** and **بَرَم**
or like **عَاوَن** and **حَوَدَر** They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern.
or like **كَّر** and **فَغ** There is no stem change at all.

	third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to enter	— إِكْشَم	كَشَم
to work	— إِخْدَم	خَدَم
to finish	— إِشْمَل	شَمَل
to turn	— إِبْرَم	بَرَم
to help	— إِعَاوَن	عَاوَن
to bend over, lean over	— إِحَوْدَر	حَوْدَر
to get up	— إِكَّر	كَّر
to go out	— إِفَغ	فَغ

- x. Verbs like **بَرَشَم** and **بَعَكَاك**: The verbs have 4 consonants (in different configurations, as noted to the left).
or like **هَنْهَن** and **فَرْفَر**
or like **نَتَخَب** They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern.
There is no stem change at all.

	third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to braid	— إِبْرَشَم	بَرَشَم

⁴ For some dialects the simple imperative is **ورو**, but the third masculine singular remains the same.

Other dialects use **أَرِي** as the simple imperative and **ياري** as the third masculine singular. This just illustrates the need to use the four pillars of the Tamazight verb as your basis for learning verbs and to use the verb patterns as helpful, general observations rather than grammatical verb categories.

to hesitate, be indecisive	—	إِبْعَكَ	بَعَكَ
to neigh	—	إِهْنَهْنَ	هْنَهْنَ
to beat wings	—	إِفْرَقَر	فْرَقَر
to elect, to vote	—	إِنْتَاخَب	نْتَاخَب

- xi.** Verbs like غَزِيف and صَمِيض: The verbs usually have 3 consonants and a long vowel. They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern. The middle consonant is given a *shedda*. The verbs are usually stative or descriptive

verbs.

	third masculine singular “past” form	simple imperative
to be tall, long	—	غَزِيف
to be cold	—	صَمِيض
to be white	—	مَلُول
to be small	—	مَرِّي
to be heavy	—	إِرِّي
to be short	—	شَطِين
to be big, important	—	مَقُور
to be red	—	زُويغ

Note for these last three that when the middle consonant is doubled it also changes. These types of phonetic changes are fairly typical, even in other contexts:

A غ that’s doubled becomes a قّ .

A ض that’s doubled becomes a طّ .

A و that’s doubled becomes a شّ (said with rounded lips).

This explains why, for example, the continuous imperative of قِيم is تَغِيما .

xii. Derived verbs: causative verbs

The general rule is that causative verbs will not have any stem changes, that is, the consonants and vowels of the simple imperative will stay the same. The difference will be that some causative verbs follow the regular conjugation pattern, and some follow the irregular pattern. However, in general, you can predict this. It is generally true that a

causative verb derived from a regular verb will also be regular, and a causative verb derived from an irregular verb will also be irregular.

	third masculine singular "past" form		simple imperative
to stand someone up	—	إِسْبَدَا irr.	سَبَدْ
to make so. stand or stop			
to give someone a drink	—	إِسَّنُوا irr.	سَّنُو
to water something			
to wash something	—	إِسْرَدَ reg.	سَّرِدْ
to explain	—	إِسْفَهَمَ reg.	سَفَّهَمْ

xiii. Derived verbs: reciprocal verbs

The general rule is that reciprocal verbs will not have any stem changes, that is, the consonants and vowels of the simple imperative will stay the same. Also, it appears that all the reciprocal verbs follow a regular conjugation pattern.

xiv. Derived verbs: passive verbs

The general rule is that passive verbs will not have any stem changes, that is, the consonants and vowels of the simple imperative will stay the same. Most passive verbs seem to follow the regular conjugation pattern, but some follow the irregular pattern. Those that follow the irregular pattern are derived from verbs that are irregular in their basic form.

Passive verb forms vary greatly among regions.

	third masculine singular "past" form		simple imperative
to be drunk (by someone)	—	إِتَّوَسُوا irr.	تَّوَسُو
to caught, arrested	—	إِتَّيَوْمَزُ reg.	تَّيَوْمَزْ
to be robbed, stolen	—	إِتَّيَاشَرُ reg.	تَّيَاشَرْ

Appendix A

Soussi¹ or Tashelhayt Numbering System

Although Middle Atlas or Central Moroccan Tamazight uses Arabic numbers above the number three, one of the goals of IRCAM (The Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture) is the standardization of Tamazight. Although that is a formidable goal and it remains to be seen if it is even possible to achieve in everyday speech, one of the implications of this is to introduce the Soussi or Tashelhayt numbering system into all Berber areas. This is being done via the Tamazight school books for children.

The following list² is for those who are interested in knowing the basics of that numbering system. I use the words “basics” because there are regional variations in pronunciation, the formation of some of the higher numbers, the order in which the numbers appear, and when and if the feminine forms are used. It is yet unknown what standard forms IRCAM will choose for the higher numbers.

<u>Feminine</u>		<u>Masculine</u>
يات	1	يان
سَنَات	2	سين
كْرَاطْ	3	كْرَاض
كَّوْرَت	4	كَّوْر
سَمَّوْسَت	5	سَمَّوْس
سَنْضِيْسَت	6	سَنْضِيْس
سَّات	7	سَّا
تَّامْت	8	تَّام
تَّزَّات	9	تَّزَّا
مَّرَاوْت	10	مَّرَاوْ

¹ I use the word “Soussi” here, even though that is not the preferred term, because the word Tashelhayt (like the word Tamazight) is ambiguous by itself and by itself does not connote a specific geographic area or language group. For example, within the Middle Atlas language group there are tribes who refer to their own language with the term “Tashelhayt” and who specifically refer to others as speaking “Tamazight.” This includes the tribe of Ayt Seghroushen, located in the far northeastern side of the Middle Atlas language group, about as far away as one can get from the “Soussi” area. A peculiarity of the Ayt Seghroushen is that not only do they use the Arabic numbers from 4 and above, they also use the Arabic number for 3, that is, they use Berber numbers only for 1 and 2.

² Most of the list and comments are taken from the English translation of *Teach Yourself Tashelhayt* (originally *Apprenons le Berbère*) by Robert Aspinion, 1953, pages 252-255.

Regional variations affect things like whether or not a *shedda* is used. For example, variations exist for the numbers 4, 7, 8, and 9. Some people don't use a *shedda* for these numbers and say just: كور, سا, تام, and تزا respectively. For the number 6, the ض influences the final س and makes it sound emphatic. Thus, some people write it سضيص.

Although the feminine is used when referring to feminine nouns, for simple counting and arithmetic just the masculine is used.

To count from eleven to twenty the literal translation is “one and ten,” “two and ten,” “three and ten,” etc. There are still masculine and feminine forms; however, in forming the feminine only the tens are feminine while the units stay masculine. (In some dialects both tens and units take their feminine form and in other dialects it is the units that are feminine while the tens remain in their masculine form.) However to remain with the more common form:

<u>Feminine</u>		<u>Masculine</u>
يان د مراوت	11	يان د مراو
سين د مراوت	12	سين د مراو
كراض د مراوت	13	كراض د مراو
كور د مراوت	14	كور د مراو
سموس د مراوت	15	سموس د مراو
سضيص د مراوت	16	سضيص د مراو
سا د مراوت	17	سا د مراو
تام د مراوت	18	تام د مراو
تزا د مراوت	19	تزا د مراو
عشرينت	20	عشرين

Above twenty the ten is placed before the unit [e.g., twenty-one, literally “twenty and one”]. In the feminine both parts of the number take their feminine form.

<u>Feminine</u>		<u>Masculine</u>
عشرينت د يات	21	عشرين د يان
عشرينت د سنات	22	عشرين د سين

Feminine

Masculine

عَشْرِيْنَت د كَرَاطٍ	23	عَشْرِيْن د كَرَاض
عَشْرِيْنَت د كَوْرَت	24	عَشْرِيْن د كَوْرُ
عَشْرِيْنَت د سَمَوَسْت	25	عَشْرِيْن د سَمَوَس
عَشْرِيْنَت د سَضِيْسْت	26	عَشْرِيْن د سَضِيْس
عَشْرِيْنَت د سَات	27	عَشْرِيْن د سَا
عَشْرِيْنَت د تَامَت	28	عَشْرِيْن د تَام
عَشْرِيْنَت د تَرَات	29	عَشْرِيْن د تَرَا
عَشْرِيْنَت د مَرَاوَت	30	عَشْرِيْن د مَرَاوُ
عَشْرِيْنَت د يَان د مَرَاوَت	31	عَشْرِيْن د يَان د مَرَاوُ
عَشْرِيْنَت د سِيْن د مَرَاوَت	32	عَشْرِيْن د سِيْن د مَرَاوُ
سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت	40	سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْن
سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د يَات	41	سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د يَان
سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د سَنَات	42	سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د سِيْن
سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د مَرَاوَت	50	سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د مَرَاوُ
سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د يَان د مَرَاوَت	51	سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د يَان د مَرَاوُ
سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د سِيْن د مَرَاوَت	52	سِيْن إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د سِيْن د مَرَاوُ

Feminine

Masculine

کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ	60	کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ
کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ يَاتِ	61	کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ يَانِ
کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ سَنَاتِ	62	کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ سِيْنِ
کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ مَرَاوَتِ	70	کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ مَرَاوُ
کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ يَانِ دِ مَرَاوَتِ	71	کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ يَانِ دِ مَرَاوُ
کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ سِيْنِ دِ مَرَاوَتِ	72	کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ سِيْنِ دِ مَرَاوُ
کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ	80	کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ
کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ يَاتِ	81	کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ يَانِ
کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ سَنَاتِ	82	کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ سِيْنِ
کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ مَرَاوَتِ	90	کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ مَرَاوُ
کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ يَانِ دِ مَرَاوَتِ	91	کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ يَانِ دِ مَرَاوُ
کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَتِ دِ سِيْنِ دِ مَرَاوَتِ	92	کَوْرُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنِ دِ سِيْنِ دِ مَرَاوُ
no separate feminine forms	100	مِيَة
(The word مِيَة is itself feminine.)	101	مِيَة دِ يَانِ
	115	مِيَة دِ سَمَّوْسِ دِ مَرَاوُ

	200	سین ³ إِد مِیة
	300	کِراضِ إِد مِیة
	400	کَوْرُ إِد مِیة
	999	تَنْزَا إِد مِیة د کَوْرُ إِد عَشْرین د تَنْزَا د مُرَاوُ
no separate feminine forms	1000	أَلْف
	2000	سین إِد وَالْف
	3000	کِراضِ إِد وَالْف
	4000	کَوْرُ إِد وَالْف

The Ishelhayn are more and more giving up their system of counting in favor of the Arabic one, particularly for those numbers above twenty. But up to twenty they still use the Tashelhayt forms.

³ Because the word مِیة is feminine, some people use the feminine numbers to tell how many hundreds there are. Yet, others use the masculine as is written here.

Appendix B

Translation of pages 141 to 147 of E. Laoust's *Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central*¹

Concerning the Habitual or Continuous Form

§ 183. — It was said in § 86 that the imperfect and the negative imperative require the use of a special form, distinctive to the Berber language, called the habitual form. That was one of the uses of this form. There are others. Adding to the original sense of the verb an idea of regularity, being on-going, continuity, and duration of action, the form is used each time one wants to translate one of these ideas.

In this phrase “The Berber lives under the tent” the verb is in the present. In reality, this present does not indicate a specified time. In fact, the action of “to live” in this condition is repeated, for the Berber, in all time periods. The idea of regularity, continuity, and duration of action contained in the verb “to live” is translated with the help of the verb *زَدَغ*, used in its reinforced form *تَزْدَاغ*, called the habitual form:

خَيْتَزْدَاغ أْمَايَغ كْ أَخَام.

From the preceding we see that every simple form is also paired with a habitual form since it can always express the idea of frequency, intensity, or something that is on-going in action or state.

Example:

أَدَايْ يُوَكِّ إِمْنِي، خَنْتَامَزْ إِخْدَامَنْ، خَنْمَدَجَرِ إِمْنِي.

When the grain is ripe, we hire workers and we harvest.

The verb *أَمَزْ* “to hire” in its modified form *تَامَزْ*, and the verb *مَجَر*, in the form *مَدَجَر*, indicate that the action of “to hire harvesters” like that of “to harvest” occur and are repeated each time the grain is ripe: *تَامَزْ* and *مَجَر* are the habitual forms.

In this other example *لَكَ تَتَرِّخْ شَا إِمْنِي* “I’m asking you for a little grain,” the verb *تَر* “to ask for” in its form *تَتَر* indicates a present continuous idea: *تَتَر* is the habitual form of *تَر*.

¹ Because Laoust is referring to at least six dialects within Middle Atlas Tamazight, there may be numerous forms that you are not familiar with in this chapter. As we have said before, regional variations affect every aspect of the language. That being said, I can’t help but wonder if some *sheddas* aren’t missing in a number of the words in this chapter. It’s true that sometimes some people use a *shedda* and some don’t for certain words, but there seems to be a number of clear words where Laoust doesn’t list the doubled consonant. In any case, the words here faithfully reflect what Laoust has written, even if you are familiar with a word having a *shedda* and he records the word without it.

§ 184. — **Conjugation of the habitual form** — Apart from the very rare case where it is substituted for the simple form, the habitual form is conjugated in just one tense: the imperfect without a particle. It never, therefore, uses the particles *أَرَا*, *رَا*, *غَا*, or *أَد*; its conjugation is regular: the verb does not undergo any vocalic modification and remains insensitive to the influence of the negative.

However, in the examples given earlier, the habitual form is preceded by a particle *خَ* or *لَ* that one cannot translate into French [or English] and that is not used indifferently the one from the other.

The use of these particles, called “particles of the habitual form,” presents certain difficulties: they aren’t synonymous, and they can vary according to dialects. It is important to study them more in detail in the major dialects, those of the Ayt Ndhir, the Zayan, and the Zemmour.

Let’s begin by saying that, in the Beraber group, a habitual form can be used sometimes alone (rare) or preceded by the verb *إِلِي* “to be” conjugated in the perfect [what we’ve called the past tense form] (generally in the third person).

He is knocking at the door (A.N.). *إِلَا إِتْدَوْقُور (دَوْقَر).*

He is speaking. *إِلَا إِسْوَال (سِوَل).*

One day, he was grazing... *إِذْجِ وَاسَّ إِلَا إِتْوَهْدَّو (هَدُو).*

§ 185. — **Particles of the habitual form** *Aïth Ndhir*. — The particles are: *لَ*, *أَر*, *دَ*.

Use of *لَ*. — The verb which it precedes generally indicates the present, something currently happening, regularity:

The fire is burning. *لَتَاغ (أَغ) لَعَايْت.*

He is waving to him with the cloak. *لَاس إِتَلِي (أَلِي) سَ أُزَنَار.*

I’m waiting for him. *لَاس تَاغَاغ (أَكْ) إِخْف.*

*أَدَايْ إِنْغَ يُونْ يُونْ، لَرَوَكَّلَ (رَوَل) لَهْلْ وَنَا إِنْغَانْ غَرْ
إِقْبِيلْ.*

When someone kills someone else, his relatives flee to (other) tribes.

أَدَايَ رِينَ إِقْبِيلَ أَذْغَوْغَنَ، لَتَجْمُوعَنَ، كُو إِغْسَ، لَ دِيكْسَ
تَدُون (دَو) سِي إِخَاتَرَ، تَمْدَاشَارَ (مَدَاشَار) إِنْغَرَسَنَ، لَتِينِينَ
(إِنِي): مَائِي نَتْكَأ (أَكْ) دَ أَمْغَارَن تُوْكَأ؟

When the tribes want to revolt, (their delegates) get together, and each faction sends two leaders, and they consult each other and say, "Who will we nominate leader of the rebellion?" (شَيْخ الرَّبِيْع)

The use of لَ is not exclusive of that of إِلا noted below :

He was eating.... إِلا لَيْتَتَا (تَش).

I found him reading. وفيختين إِلا لَيْتَقْرَا.

The form لَ is sometimes reduced to لَ :

He was looking.... لَ لَيْتَرَا...

Use of أَر . — This particle means "to begin to, to be in the middle of" and gives to the verb the sense of the past. Its use, less frequent than لَ, is justified in phrases like these:

لَيْكَجَم (كَشَم) ، أَرَيْتَفَنَغ (فَنَغ) كَفَ وَاوَال.
He's saying any old thing (he's entering and leaving).

or in the narration of events which come after each other and are repeated:

لَيْتَدُو أَمْغَار دَ إِمَاسَايْنَسَ، أَرْتَرَاغان إِمِيزَارَنَّا كَفَ زَدَغَن
إِغَزْدِيو...

The *amghar* and his guarantors go away and examine the camps where the *douars* have settled.

Use of دَ . — The use of دَ is quite clear. It is necessary each time the verb is dependent on a relative or interrogative pronoun, a conjunction, or an adverb of negation:

Does he come? (habitually) إِس دَدَيْتَدُو؟

I only take walks. غَاس إِس دَتْنِيوَدُوغ (نِيوَدُو).

What is his family relationship? (compared to him) مائي داس إتاتسا؟

What is being asked of you? مائي داش إتونضفار؟

He says only what he's heard. ور ديتيني غاس آينا إسل.

ور دتغان (أك) مدن طاضا غاس مش وكندن آدمسنغان خف شا روح.

People don't make an alliance unless they fear fighting over a murder.

لعادا إمازيغن نيتني إروس ونا ديتاول س لمال، غاس إس
دتمسبدال، شا ليتاول س ألتماس، شا س إليس.

The custom of the Imazighen (is) that few people marry for money.
They prefer to exchange (women). One marries the sister (of another who
then gets the other's) daughter.

§ 186. — *Izayan, Ait Sgougou, Ishqern.* — The particles are *ل*, *أر*, *غا*, or *خ*.

Use of *ل*. — It indicates the present, on-going action, regularity and it is used in the same way that the Ait Ndhir uses it. Sometimes it is pronounced *ل*:

لاس تينين أمقور.
They call it Ameqqur.

لت إتاسي أعرّيم، إسنيت خف أيس.
The young man takes her² and puts her on the horse.

أدائي جنّ مدن ليتكر (كر) أمسناي أدياوي تسليت إ
إسلي؛ لتفنغن إسلان غر برا أхам، ليتغيم غاس
أمسناي د إسلي تسليت؛ أمسناي لاس إتكراف (كراف)
تسليت س أبوكس نخد رزت....

When the people went to sleep, the *amesnay* takes the young woman to the
groom; the groom's attendants withdraw to the outside of the tent, and (inside)

² Great effort was made to transcribe the Tamazight exactly as Laoust wrote it. At times it seems that he left out some *sheddas*, but I've made no effort to correct this, since the regional variations are so numerous and some of the variations concern the presence of a *shedda*. Here, however, the "her" should require the pronoun *ت* to be with a *shedda* *ت*, but Laoust doesn't write the word with a doubled consonant.

there remains only the *amesnay*, the groom, and the bride. The *amesnay* ties up (the legs) of the bride with a belt or a turban....

Use of **أَر** . — The distinctive way of pronouncing the **ر**, especially at the end of a word, causes one to sometimes hear **أَل** . This particle gives to the habitual form the sense of our definite past [French: *passé défini*] or our imperfect [French: *imparfait*], mainly when it is itself preceded by **إِلَّا** .

He goes every day to the city. **أَلَيْتَدَّو كُو يَاسَّ غَر تَنِّين.**

Use of **غَا** . — This is used especially after **وَر** to translate a future negative.

We will not eat. **وَر غَانْتَتَّ (أَتَش) شَا.**

They (m.) won't go. **وَر غَاتَدَّوَن شَا.**

You (s.) won't do/make. **وَر غَاتَّكَدَّ شَا.**

The **ر** of the negation generally disappears and one hears:

We will not eat. **وَر غَانْتَتَّ شَا.**

There will only be darkness. **وَر غَاتَّيَلِي غَاس تَالَّسَّت.**

But apart from this very specific case, **غَا** translates, in the same way as **لَ** or **أَر**, the French present or imperfect.

The same particle pronounced with a reinforcement of the **غ** precedes the negation **وَر** and translates a negative imperative:

Don't say anything! **خَا وَر تِينِي شَا!**

One often also sees the form **وَر غَالَّ** :

Don't (sing.) hit. **وَر كَات شَا.**

Don't (m.pl.) hit. **وَر كَاتَات شَا.**

§ 187. — *Zemmour.* — The particles are خَ , لَ , أَل , or أَر .

Use of خَ . — This is by far the most used. It indicates regularity, the present continuous, and it corresponds to the لَ of the Aït Ndhir.

لُكْ خَيْتِيرِي (إِرِي) أَذْيَوَلْ إِذْجِ أَمْطَرُوفْ، خَيْسْكَارْ غَلْ
إِبَّاسْ، خَيْتِينِي "أَوْلِي!"

When a young man wants to get married, he sends someone to his father
and he says, "Marry me!"

لَوْقْتْ مَاكْمِي خَتِيرِينْ أَذْدَوْنْ غَرَّ أَلْمَا مَوْلَايْ ذُرَيْسْ، أَسَّ نْ
سَوَقْ، خَيْتَبْرَاحْ أَبْرَاحْ، خَاسَنْ إِتِينِي....

When they want to go to the *mousssem* of Moulay Idriss, the day of the market,
the public crier informs (the people), saying to them....

Use of لَ . — This particle is used concurrently with خَ ; it signifies "to be in the middle of, to be busy doing something" and generally gives to the habitual form the meaning of the French imperfect:

لَسْرُوسَنْ سَكْ أَسْرَدُونْ. They were unloading the mule.

لَتِينِيخْ كِينْ دْ أَمَدَّاكْلِينُو. I thought that you (m.s.) were my friend.

Use of أَر or أَل . — It's meaning is "to begin doing something":

أَلْيَكْ كَشْمَنْ، بَدْعَانْ أَرْتَتَيْنْ.

When they (m.) entered they began to eat.

This particle is sometimes pronounced أَل and أَل (before a verbal form starting with a vowel):

إِكْرَ بَابْ أُخَامْ أَلْيَسْغُويُو إِيْتْ وَسُونْ.

The master of the tent got up and began to speak to the people of the *douar*.

أَلْنَتَّضُورْ إِي وَسُونْ أَلْنَتِينِي....

We are going around the *douar* saying....

أَسْكَاسْ لَعَادَاوْتْ، أَلْتَمْسَاسَانْ تَقْبِيلِينْ أَكَارَاسَنْ خَفْ أَيُورْ.

The year of war, the tribes agree to a truce for a month.

جَمَعَن إِشْوَالَن الْمَدَّجَرَن.

The harvesters got together and began to harvest.

§ 188. — The use of these particles is not without analogy to the use of the Arabic particles كَ, دَ, and تَ of the Moroccan dialects. These are placed before an imperfect, the habitual form doesn't exist, to indicate a present continuous in the same way as Berber. Their etymology is uncertain. كَ in particular derives possibly from كان “to be”; it's إِلِي “to be” that could possibly explain the لَ or لِّ of Berber.

One can believe, in fact, in the verbal origin of these different particles: أَر deriving from إِرِي “to want” and also “to go, to start doing something”; دَ from دَو “to go, to start doing something”; غَا and خَا from غِي “to be able”; this last one would explain the قَا of the Beni-Snous and of the Zekkara, and the كَا of the Siwa.

These expressions can be considered as invariable remains of verbs having in the past played the role of an inchoative [expressing the beginning of an action] or an auxiliary.

Appendix C

Translation of pages 166 to 171 of E. Laoust's *Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central*¹

How to Express [in Tamazight] Various French Verb Tenses

[Note: The following show how Laoust's names for the Tamazight verb tenses match those used in the *Abrid* course. Laoust's names are more scientifically precise, yet they communicate almost nothing to the average language learner. The *Abrid* course uses less precise names but tries to connect the tenses to an English/French background.]

<u>Laoust</u>	<u>Abrid</u>
the perfect [<i>le parfait</i>] also called at times the preterite [<i>le préterit</i>]	the "past tense" form (even though it can have present tense meanings at times)
the imperfect [<i>l'imparfait</i>]	the two-verbs-together format, including ⵏⵉ (formed by the simple imperative plus the regular conjugation prefixes and suffixes)
the aorist [<i>l'aoriste</i>] the imperfect without the particle	the two-verbs-together format, with no particle
the habitual form [<i>la forme d'habitude</i>]	the continuous form (without any particle) (formed by the continuous imperative plus the regular conjugation prefixes and suffixes)

¹ Because Laoust is referring to at least six dialects within Middle Atlas Tamazight, there may be numerous forms that you are not familiar with in this chapter. As we have said before, regional variations affect every aspect of the language. That being said, I can't help but wonder if some *sheddas* aren't missing in a number of the words in this chapter. It's true that sometimes some people use a *shedda* and some don't for certain words, but there seems to be a number of clear words where Laoust doesn't list the doubled consonant. In any case, the words here faithfully reflect what Laoust has written, even if you are familiar with a word having a *shedda* and he records the word without it.

Furthermore, since verb tenses don't always translate very well, I've included the original French tense name and the names Laoust uses for the Tamazight tenses alongside the English translation.

§ 201. — The present [*le présent*]. — It can be expressed:

a) by the perfect [*le parfait*]:

إِذَا دَاهَا. He is here.
مَا تَرِيتِ؟ What do you want?
مَآيَ غَرَّ تَدَّيْتِ؟ Where are you going?
أَكُنْدُ إِذْجَ وَرَ إِسْنِ مَآيَ تَمَسَّيْتِ. No one knows who you are.

b) by a habitual form [*une forme d'habitude*] preceded by ل if it is a present continuous [*un présent d'actualité*]:

لَيَتَّأَ أَيِّنَ إِقِيمَنَّ. He is eating what is left.
لَيَتَّأَسِي خَفَ أُسْرَدُونَ مَاكْسَغَا. He is loading on the mule what he bought.

or preceded by خ if it is an action which happens at all times (duration) [*duratif*]:

The shepherds watch (their) flocks, and the women milk.
إِمَكْسَاوَنَ خَكْسَنَ وَلِي، تَعَالِيَنَ خَتْرَ كَنْتَ.

When we want to change *douars*, we choose a field where there is no manure; the day before the departure we catch the chickens and tie them up.

كَا خَنْتِيرِي أَنْكَادْجَ، خَنْتَخِيرَ إِذْجَ أُمَازِيرَ أَكْمِي وَرَ
إِلِّي لُغْبَارَ؛ إِضْنَاكِينِ كُفَّ خَنْسَنَسَا سَ أَكْدَجِي، خَنْتَامَزَ
إِفُولُوسَنَ، نَكْرَفِيَتَنَ.

c) by the imperfect [*l'imparfait*] conjugated without a particle (aorist) [*aoriste*]²:

When we stop in front of a tent, the woman takes a bowl, fills it with water and throws its contents on us; she (then) takes two or three eggs that she gives us, and we go to another tent.

أَدَّايَ نَبَدَّ زَاتَ أُخَامَ، تَامَزَ لَالَ أُخَامَ إِذْجَ لَنْقَبَ، تَعَمَّرْتِ
سَ وَامَانَ، تَوَوْتَآخَ سَيْسَ؛ تَاسِيدَ سَنَاتَ غَنْدَ شَارْطَ نَ كُتْلَايَ،
تَوَشَاخْتَنَ، نَدَّوْ غَلَّ أُخَامَ ضَنْيَنَ.

² This is an example of what *Abrid* has called sentence connection grammar; in this case the first verb in the sentence is in its two-verbs-together format but with a present meaning. The following verbs, due to sentence connection grammar, are in the two-verbs-together format and have the same “time” or “tense” meaning as the first verb, in this case a present meaning.

§ 202. — The past continuous [*l'imparfait*]. — This is expressed with the help of a habitual form [*une forme d'habitude*] preceded by لَ: ³

لَيَسْغَدُ مَايَ تَيْنِينَ. He was listening to what they were saying.

or with a preterite [*un prétérit*] [that is, a perfect [*un parfait*]] also preceded by لَ:

أَلَيْكَ دِيدًا غَيْرَسَ، يوفات لَيَجْنَا. He was sleeping when he arrived at his place.

§ 203. — The definite past [*le passé défini*] and the past anterior [*le passé antérieur*]. — These are translated:

a) by the perfect [*le parfait*]:

ور يوفي ماكوشا. He didn't find anything to give.

sometimes preceded by لَ to indicate an absolute past [*un passé absolu*]:

عالان لباب وفانت لَيَقَنَّ. They looked at the door and found it closed.

b) by the imperfect [*l'imparfait*] conjugated without a particle (aorist) [*aoriste*]:⁴

They stayed until they ate, (then) they got up and left.

قيمين آل تشان، كَرَن، دُون.

§ 204. — The past perfect [*le plus-que-parfait*]. — In the following example it is expressed by the perfect [*le parfait*]:

When I arrived at the market, they had sold their sheep.

أَلَيْكَ دَدِيخَ غَل سَوَقَ، زَنَزَانَ وَلَيَنْسَن.

³ There are many regional variations to this tense. We learned in Abrid آل or آر plus the habitual or continuous form. The tense is also formed by the auxiliary verb إَلِي plus the present continuous tense (including the particle). See lesson 9 of the *Abrid 4 Student Book*, pages 60-62.

⁴ This is another example of sentence connection grammar; in this case the first verb in the sentence is in its "past tense" form and with a past meaning. The following verbs, due to sentence connection grammar, are in the two-verbs-together format and have the same "time" or "tense" meaning as the first verb, in this case a past meaning.

§ 205. — The future [*le futur*]. — The imperfect [*l'imparfait*] is used and preceded, according to the case and dialect, by *أَد* or *أَلَا*, *رَا*, *غَا*, § 80:

When I come back to (my) country, I will get married.
 أَدَّايْ إِذْ عَائِدْخْ غَلْ تَمَازِيرْتْ أَدَاوَلْخْ.
 When will they (m.) leave?
 مِيلْمِي أَرَادُونْ؟

The future negative [*le futur négatif*] is expressed by a habitual form [*une forme d'habitude*] § 87.⁵

§ 206. — The conditional [*le conditionnel*]. —

If you (s.) had come, we would have gone to the party.
 or مَوْن دِيز د تَدَّيْتْ وَمَا نَدَّا غَلْ إِسْلَانْ.
 مَوْر دِيز د تَدَّيْتْ أَنْدَوْ غَلْ إِسْلَانْ.

The verb in the conditional clause, that is, the verb which follows *مَوْن دِيز د* is in the perfect [*le parfait*]; the verb of the result clause is in the imperfect [*l'imparfait*] conjugated with *أَد*, or in the perfect [*le parfait*] preceded by *وَمَا*.

§ 207. — The imperative [*l'impératif*]. — The positive imperative [*l'impératif positif*] is translated by the most reduced form of the verb § 68 [what *Abrid* has called the simple imperative]⁶; the negative imperative [*l'impératif négatif*] by the habitual form [*la forme d'habitude*] preceded by *وَر... شَا*, etc.⁷ § 86.

If a sentence is made up of two imperatives, the second is translated by the imperfect [*l'imparfait*] conjugated without a particle (aorist) [*aoriste*]:⁸

تَشْ ⁹ تَسْوَتْ.	Eat and drink.
أَغْ تَزْنَزَتْ.	Buy and sell.

⁵ In some regions the future negative is also formed by using the auxiliary verb *إِنِي*, which is negated, and put in front of the normal future construction. See the *Abrid 2 Student Book*, lesson 23, pages 74-75.

⁶ But the continuous imperative can also be used in making positive commands. The command would be to do something regularly, habitually, or continually.

⁷ We learned preceded by *أَدُور* or, stronger, *أَدُوسَار*.

⁸ This is an example of sentence connection grammar with imperatives.

⁹ Laoust originally wrote “etš.”

§ 208. — The optative [*l'optatif*].¹⁰ —

أَتِ إِشَافَا رَبِّي!
أَكْنَ إِعَاوُنَ رَبِّي!

May God heal him!
May God help you¹¹ (m.pl.)!

§ 209. — The subjunctive [*le subjunctif*]. — According to the case, it is expressed by an imperfect [*l'imparfait*] preceded by أَدْ , or expressed by a habitual form¹² [*une forme d'habitude*]:

رِيخَ أَدِيدُو.

Je veux qu'il parte.
(I want him to go.)¹³

كُذِّخَ أَتِينَع.

Je crains qu'il ne le tue.
(I'm afraid that he will kill him.)¹⁴

The imperfect [*l'imparfait*] is sometimes preceded by Arabic expressions : لَازِمٌ , لَابَدًا , لَابَدًا , لَابَدًا , “it's necessary that” § 82 or the impersonal verb إِقَان or إِقْن “it's absolutely necessary that” followed by a direct object pronoun and an orientation particle إِد or إِن.¹⁵

§ 210. — The infinitive [*l'infinitif*]. — It is translated by the imperfect [*l'imparfait*]:

رِيخَ أَدَاسَ إِنِيخَ شَا.

I want to tell him/her something.

or by a noun of action [*un nom d'action*]:

إِدَا غَلَ تَسِيَات.

Il est allé chasser.
(He went hunting.)¹⁶

¹⁰ *Abrid* called this the two-verbs-together format used with benedictions and maledictions.

¹¹ Laoust originally wrote “us” *nous*.

¹² Although no example is given of this.

¹³ Which is not a subjunctive in English. A literal subjunctive would be: I want that he go.

¹⁴ Also not a subjunctive in English. A literal subjunctive would be: I fear lest he kill him.

¹⁵ In lesson 16 of the *Abrid 4 Student Book*, we learned this as إِقْن plus direct object pronouns plus the ن of farness.

¹⁶ This is not an infinitive in English. A literal infinitive would be: He went to hunt.

corresponding to مَر إِدِيس, أَمَر, مَر (Aït Ndhir) and مور إِس (Izayan).

§ 213. — Use of the aorist [*l'aoriste*] (imperfect [*l'imparfait*] without a particle). — This tense translates the present [*le présent*] § 201 c ; the absolute past [*le passé absolu*] § 203 b; the imperative [*l'impératif*] § 207; on the condition that it comes, respectively, after a verb conjugated in the perfect [*le parfait*], the imperfect [*l'imparfait*], or the imperative [*l'impératif*].¹⁹ It sometimes is substituted for a habitual form [*une forme d'habitude*]. The aorist [*l'aoriste*] does not specify a specific time or tense, and it must absolutely be that the first verb in the discourse shows what tense the action is in.

The aorist is used notably in the following cases:

a) When a sentence is made up of juxtaposed main clauses and the verb of the first main clause is a perfect [*un parfait*] or an imperfect [*un imparfait*], or a habitual form [*une forme d'habitude*], the verbs of the following clauses are put into the aorist [*l'aoriste*]:

(Aït Ndhir) إِدَا يُون وِشْنْ أَرِيغَلَوْ أَمَكْسَا، يَافَدُ أُسْكََا غُورْسْ.

The jackal went to rob the shepherd, (but) he found the greyhound there.

b) When a sentence starts by a subordinate, the verbs of the main clauses which follow may be put in the aorist [*l'aoriste*]:

أَدَاي إِزْرَع تِسِيرِيْتَنَسْ، إِبْدُو أَرِيكَرَزْ. [إِبْدُو، aorist of بَدُو]

When he has sown his area, he begins to plow.

أَلِّي إِنْوَا أَحْرِيرْ، غُرِينْ أَيْتْ أُخَامْ إِ إِحْرَاتَنْ. [Aït Ndhir]
[غُرِينْ، aorist of غَر]

When the soup is ready, the people of the tent call the plowmen.

أَلِّي تَشَانْ، رَارِينْ تَزْ لَافْتْ إِ تَوْتَمِينْ، أَسِينْ لَفَاتِحَةَ. [رَارِينْ،
[رَارْ، aorist of رَارْ؛ أَسِينْ، aorist of أَسِي]

When they've eaten, they return the plate to the women and take up the Fatiha
[begin to say the opening chapter of the Koran].

c) The aorist [*l'aoriste*] is used after the following particles:

1. أَدْ § 79 and أَرَا، أَلَا § 80 called future particles.

2. أَدَايْ، أَدَايْ “when” (to indicate a future)

When we (will) go....

أَدَايْ نَدَوْ....

¹⁹ These are all examples of sentence connection grammar.

3. أَل “until + verb”

أَحْرَاتٍ وَر دَيْتَكَسَ أَزَّارَنْسَ، وَلَا إِسِيرِيدَ إِعَابَانَنْسَ أَل
إِمْغَرِ إِمْنِي، أَدِيلِي إِنْشَتْ وَازَّارَنْسَ.

The plowman doesn't cut his hair or wash his clothes until the grain is high
and is as long as his hair.

4. دَائِي § 85 a

دَائِي نَدَّو غورس، نَغْرَسُ غِيفَس، نِينِيَّاس "نَتْرَاشَ أَنْبِي
رَبِّي!"

We go to him, we sacrifice in his honor, and we say to him, “We ask from you
the hospitality of God!”

§ 214. — Use of the imperfect [*l'imparfait*]. — The imperfect [*l'imparfait*] translates our simple future [*le futur simple*] § 205-80 ; the infinitive [*l'infinitif*] § 210-81 ; the optative [*l'optatif*] § 208-82; the subjunctive [*le subjonctif*] § 209-82.

Conjugated with **أَد** and preceded by a particle **دَ**, often reduced to **د**, it translates imminence of action:

We will leave tomorrow. دَنَدَّو أَسْكَا.

I'm going to buy a horse. دَسْغَخَ إِذْجَ أُمَكْتَار.

So, we're going to celebrate the wedding. هَا نَكْنِي، دَنَاكَ إِسْلَان.

داك وشخ [and : دَاك وشخ] أَيْنِي تَبْعَات.

I'm going to give you (m.s.) what I owe you.

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