

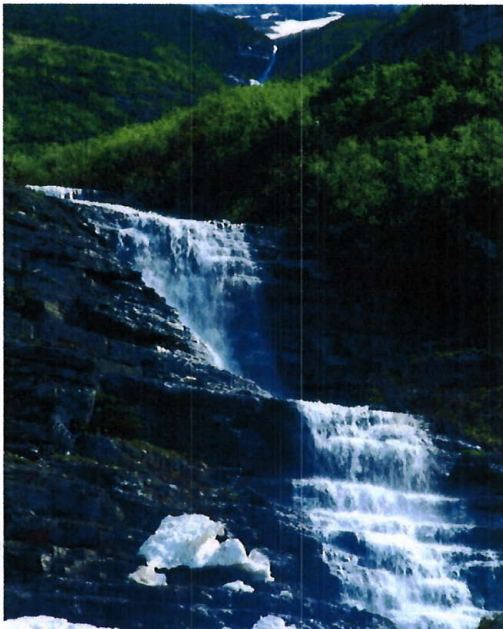
STUDENT BOOK

ABRID 4

LESSONS FOR ADVANCED
TAMAZIGHT

تَمَازِيْغَت

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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: أَذْأَيَّ Other forms of “when” Negation of the verb after أَذْأَيَّ (in the <i>Workbook</i>) | page 82 |
| Lesson 13 | A further look at the relative pronouns نَا and أَيَّ 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 أَيَّ doesn’t take a participle Complex forms of أَيَّ: in which, about which, etc. أَيَّ 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 كَ + 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 أَمَشِي and its forms أَكَا and أَكِي and their forms أَمِّي or أَمَانِي “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 <i>Cours de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte du Maroc Central</i> How to express in Tamazight various French verb tenses and How to express in French various Tamazight verb tenses | page 301 |
|-------------------|--|----------|

| | | |
|---------------------|--|----------|
| 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: **خَف** + 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 **خَف**
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 **أَكْثَرَ**
 - a. The verb by itself
 - b. The verb with the preposition **كَيْ**
 - c. The noun **وَكْثَارَ**
 - i. **وَكْثَارَ** by itself
 - ii. **وَكْثَارَ** with the possessive **نَ** and possessive pronoun endings
 - iii. **وَكْثَارَ** 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 **أَنْشَتْ**
 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 إِشَّوْ.**

Ishou is shorter than Moha. **إِشَّطَّيْنِ إِشَّوْ خَفَّ مَوْحَى.**

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

These roads are wider than those roads. **وَسَّعَنَّ إِبْرَدَانَا خَفَّ إِبْرَدَانِينِ.**

Those houses are bigger than these houses. **مَقَّوْرْنَتْ تَدَّرْوِينِينِ خَفَّ تَدَّرْوِينَا.**

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 **زَكَّ** or **زَيَّ**.

2. Complete conjugated pattern using the verb غَزِيفَ

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| I am taller than Rehhou. | غَزِيفَخْ خَفَ رَحَو. |
| You (m.s.) are taller than Rehhou. | تَغَزِيفَدْ خَفَ رَحَو. |
| You (f.s.) are taller than Rehhou. | تَغَزِيفَدْ خَفَ رَحَو. |
| He is taller than Rehhou. | إِغَزِيفَ خَفَ رَحَو. |
| She is taller than Rehhou. | تَغَزِيفَ خَفَ رَحَو. |
| We are taller than Rehhou. | نَغَزِيفَ خَفَ رَحَو. |
| You (m.pl.) are taller than Rehhou. | تَغَزِيفَمْ خَفَ رَحَو. |
| You (f.pl.) are taller than Rehhou. | تَغَزِيفَمْتْ خَفَ رَحَو. |
| They (m.) are taller than Rehhou. | غَزِيفَنَ خَفَ رَحَو. |
| They (f.) are taller than Rehhou. | غَزِيفَنْتْ 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 (غِيفَ²) is used plus the pronoun endings, as is shown in this example:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Itto is thinner than me. | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفِي. |
| Itto is thinner than you (m.s.). | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفُش. |
| Itto is thinner than you (f.s.). | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفَم. |
| Itto is thinner than him. | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفَس. |
| Itto is thinner than her. | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفَس. |
| Itto is thinner than us. | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفُنَخ. |
| Itto is thinner than you (m.pl.). | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفُن. |
| Itto is thinner than you (f.pl.). | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفُنْت. |
| Itto is thinner than them (m.). | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفَسَن. |
| Itto is thinner than them (f.). | تَسْدِيدَ إِطَو غِيفَسَنْت. |

² For the dialects that use زَكْ or زِي, its long form زِيكْ 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" كَى , but they form the comparative in a similar manner to the above verbal adjectives:

خَفَ + the adjective + the verb كَى

Examples :

This book is older than that book. إِكَا لَشْتَابَا أَقْدِيمِ خَفَ لَشْتَابِينَ.

This house is newer than that house. تَكَا تَدَارْتَا تَوْجْدِيَّتْ خَفَ تَدَارْتِينَ.

This leaf is greener than that leaf. إِكَا إِفْرَا أَزِيَاوْ خَفَ إِفْرِينَ.

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 طَوْمُوبِيْلَا خَفَ طَوْمُوبِيلِينَ.

This car, it's more expensive than that car. طَوْمُوبِيْلَا تَغْلَا خَفَ طَوْمُوبِيلِينَ.

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 شَوِين أَيْتَمَاس ن إِفْو غِيفِي.

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

| | |
|---|---|
| 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 إَغْلِي وَ خَف وَ. |
| Mine (m.) is nicer/prettier than theirs. | إِغودا وينو خَف وينسن. |
| This car is more economical than that one. | تَقْتَصِد طوموبيلًا خَف تَان. |
| But that one is smaller than it. | وَلَا يَنْبِي تَمْرِي تَان غيفس. |
| Mine, it's dirtier than both of them (f.). [lit: ...than them with two]. | تِينو تَخَوِّض غيفسنَت س سنات. |
| Are you (s.) heavier than them (f.pl.)? | إِس تَرَايْد غيفسنَت؟ |
| Are you (s.) heavier than them (f.pl.)? | إِس غيفسنَت تَرَايْد؟ |
| I will be smarter than him/her. | أَدَشُوخ غيفس. or أَد غيفس شُوخ. |
| They (m.) want to be smarter than me. | رَان أَدَشُوون غيفي. or رَان أَد غيفي شُوون. |
| I want him to be smarter than them (m.). | رِيخ أَدِشُوو غيفسن. or رِيخ أَد غيفسن إَشُوو. |

7. Comparatives using the past participle form

Whenever a question word or a relative pronoun (*نَا* or *أَيَّ*) 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 + إَغَزَّيْفَن] ، وَ مَا د وَ ؟
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.

ماڳشوان ، عيشة ماد توڳا؟

Who is smarter, Aisha or Tugga?

ماڳتَصَدَن ، بيجو ماد رونو؟

Which is more economical, Peugeot or Renault?

ماڳلڱاغن انڱراسن؟

Which is softer between them (m.)?

ماڳخاترن خف وايض؟

Who is bigger than the other?

ماڳمقورن غيفش؟ or ماي غيفش امقورن؟

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

ماڳغزيفن خف اريازين؟

Who is taller than that man?

ور ايلي ماي غيفن اريين.

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

ور ايلي ماي غيفم اريل [or : اريلن].

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

انايخ يوت ن تمطوط نا امقورن خف خالتي.

I saw a woman who is bigger than my aunt.

سنخ شا نا غيفس ايشوان.

I know someone who is smarter than him.

انايخ يون ارياز نا غيفش اشطين.

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

ور ايشوي كُما. ايشوا غيفس كو يون.

وهو، سنخ شا نا ور غيفس ايشوين.

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

أَكْرَ⁴ تَأْكُر يُوْكِر \ وِر يُوْكِر to be older/bigger/
more numerous/
superior

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 أَذْجَارَنَنخ. |
| You (s.) are better than my friend (f.). | تُوفَد تَمَدّاكُلْتِينو. |
| He is better than his brothers. | يُوف أَيْتَماس. |
| Me, I'm better than the others (m.). | نَكّين، وَفَخ وَيْنُض. or وَفَخ نَكّين وَيْنُض. |

⁴ Some dialects pronounce this verb with a "y" instead of a "g":
أَيّر تَأَيّر يُوَيّر \ وِر يُوَيّر

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 عَلِي. |
| His wife is better than him. | تُوفِتْ تَمَطُّوطَنَّس. |
| Her husband is better than her. | يُوفِتْ أُرْيَازَنَّس. |

Full conjugation pattern:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| Ali is better than me. | يُوفِي عَلِي. |
| Ali is better than you (m.s.). | يُوفِّش عَلِي. |
| Ali is better than you (f.s.). | يُوفِّم عَلِي. |
| Ali is better than him. | يُوفِتْ عَلِي. |
| Ali is better than her. | يُوفِتْ عَلِي. |
| | |
| Ali is better than us. | يُوفَاخ عَلِي. |
| Ali is better than you (m.pl.). | يُوفَكُّن عَلِي. |
| Ali is better than you (f.pl.). | يُوفَكُّنَتِ عَلِي. |
| Ali is better than them (m.). | يُوفَتَّنَ عَلِي. |
| Ali is better than them (f.). | يُوفَتَّنَتِ عَلِي. |

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 **كِي**.

| | |
|---|---|
| Aisha is better than me in music. | توفي عيشة كِي لموسيقى. |
| He is better than his wife in Tamazight. | يوف تَمَطَّوْطَنَّس كِي تَمَازِيْغَت. |
| But she is better than him in Arabic. | ولَايْنِي توفت كِي تَعْرَبَت. |
| Morocco is better than Algeria in sports. | يوف لَمَغْرِب دَزَايِر ⁵ كِي رِيَاضَا. |

⁵Some people might use a more Arabized pronunciation لَجَزَايِر.

f. Other expressions using أَف

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| I prefer milk to/over tea. | يُوف ⁶ غوري واغّو أَتاي. |
| But he prefers tea to/over milk. | ولايُنّي يوف غورس واتاي أَغّو. |
| It's better that (or: if) we go today. | يُوف إِس ⁷ نَدّا أَسّا. |
| It's better that (or: if) you (s.) be quiet. | يُوف إِس تَفْسْتِيد. |
| 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 نَدّا أَسّا. |

| | |
|---|-------------|
| هَدا حَسَن. This one (m.) is better. (Mor. Arabic) | وا يوف. |
| هَادي حَسَن. This one (f.) is better. (Mor. Arabic) | تا توف. |
| ديال هَدا حَسَن. Of (f.) this one (m.) is better. (Mor. Arabic) | تين وا توف. |
| ديال هَادي حَسَن. Of (m.) this one (m.) is better. (Mor. Arabic) | وين وا يوف. |
| ديال هَادي حَسَن. Of (f.) this one (f.) is better. (Mor. Arabic) | تين تا توف. |
| ديال هَادي حَسَن. Of (m.) this one (f.) is better. (Mor. Arabic) | وين تا يوف. |

g. أَف with participles

Which is better? مَاكُوفَن [مَاي + يُوَفَن] ؟

⁶ Another verb that can be used here is : إِعَزَّ \ وَر إِعَزَّ تَعَزِيز . 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, مَغْرِبْ مادْ ذَايِرْ؟
Morocco or Algeria?

Which is better, this one or this one? مَأْكَوْفَن، وَا مَادْ وَا؟

Which is better for you (m.s.)? مَاشْ يَوْفَن؟

Which is better for you (f.s.)? مَامْ يَوْفَن؟

Which do you (f.s.) prefer? مَائْ غُورْمْ يَوْفَن؟

Which do you (m.pl.) prefer? مَائْ غُورُنْ يَوْفَن؟

I found something/one better. وَفِيخْ شَا يَوْفَن.

I found someone better than you (m.pl.). وَفِيخْ شَاكُنْ يَوْفَن.

I found someone better than them (m.). وَفِيخْ شَاتَنْ يَوْفَن.

I found someone better than you (m.s.). وَفِيخْ شَاشْ يَوْفَن.

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.). وَرْ إِلِّي مَاشْ يَوْفَن.

There’s no one better than you (f.s.). وَرْ إِلِّي مَاشَمْ يَوْفَن.

There’s nothing better than it. or
There’s no one better than him. وَرْ إِلِّي مَاتْ يَوْفَن.

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

She has become better than Karim. تَاغُولْ تَوْفْ كَرِيم.

He wants to be better than Ishou in sports. إِرَا أَدْيَافْ إِشْوْ كْ رَّيَا.

She will be better than them (m.). or أَتَن تَاف.

May she be better than them!
(Depending on the context.)

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

Is he better than her? إِسْت يوف؟

We aren't better than him. ورت 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. يوْگَر موحى حَدّو.

Haddou is not older/bigger than Moha. و ر يوْگَر حَدّو موحى.

I'm older/bigger than Kettou. وْگَر خ 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.). نوْگَر تَن.

He has more than them (m.). يوْگَر تَن.⁸

He has more than them (m.) all. يوْگَر تَن اَوّك.⁹

Who is older? ماْگُوْگَرَن؟

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 **ك**

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| He is taller than his brother. [lit: He is more than his brother in height.] | يوڭر ڭماس ڤ تَغْزِي. |
| He has more apples than him. [lit: He is more than him in apples.] | يوڭرَت ڤ تَفَّاح. |
| She has more money than them (m.) all. | توڭرَتَن اَوُك ڤ اِذْرِيْمَن. |
| He is older than me. [lit: He is more than me in age.] | يوڭرِي ¹⁰ ڤ لَعْمَر. |
| He is smarter than me. | يوڭرِي ڤ لَعْقَل. |
| He is healthier than me. | يوڭرِي ڤ صَحْت. |
| I have more money than her. | وڭرَخْت ڤ اِذْرِيْمَن. |

c. The noun **وڭار**¹¹

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

i. **وڭار** by itself

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Every day I understand more. | كو ياس دَتَفْهَامَخ وڭار. |
| He paid more. | اِخْلَص وڭار. |
| Who drank more, Bassou or Assou? | ماڭسَوَان وڭار، بَسَو ماد عَسَو؟ |

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

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| He ate more than Ali. | اِتْشَا وڭار ن عَلِي. |
| This one (m.) is taller than this one (m.). [lit: This one is more than this one in height.] | وا وڭار ن وا ڤ تَغْزِي. |
| They (m.) bought more than Assou. | سَغَان وڭار ن عَسَو. |
| She has become worse than Hammou. (in the context of bad behavior) | تاغُول وڭار ن حَمَو. |

¹⁰ Note the vowel change.

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

لحو، إلّا غورس وڭار ن موحى لَعَمَر. Lhou, he's older than Moha.
[lit: Lhou, he has more than Moha in age.]

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

تَسْغَا وڭارينو ڭ تَفَّاح. She bought more apples than me.

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

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

ڭ مِي؟ ڭ واتاي. Of what [lit: in what?] ? Of tea.

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

iii. وڭار with a verb to make a verbal comparison

The structure for this is:

verb + مِي + ن + وڭار

إِس تَغَالِد تَرَبَاتِينو تارو إِيَالِيُون وڭار ن مِي تارو تَرَبَاتِنَش؟

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

إِعْجَبِي لِحَال دَا وڭار ن مَائِدَاش¹³ 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 مَائِغْسُوا حَمَو ن وَاْمَان خَف مَائِغْسُوا حَدَو.

Hammou drank less tea than Haddou.

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

إِذْرُوس مَائِغْلَان غورْم ن واتاي خَف مَائِغْلَان 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 ڭ.

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.

دُروسَن اِمَغْرَبِين كُ مَرْسِيلِيَا خَف اِزَايرِين.

There are fewer Moroccans in Marseille than Algerians.

اِذْرُوس وَاثَايْنَش خَف وَيْنُو.

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.

اِسْنُو قَلَّ ن حَدَّو.

You have less tea than me.

اِلَّا غُورْش قَلَّيْنُو كُ وَاثَاي.

c.

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------|---|--------|
| noun | + | ن ¹⁴ | + | دَّاوْ |
| indirect object pronouns | | | + | |

He worked less than Haddou.¹⁵

اِخْدَم دَّاوْ ن حَدَّو.

You have less tea than me.

اِلَّا غُورْش دَّاوِي كُ وَاثَاي.

C. Comparisons of equals: “as big as”

1. Using the word اَمَّ

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 اَمَّ gives the added meaning of “as ___ as.”

Moha is as tall as Ali.

اِغْزَيْف مَوْحِي اَمَّ عَلِي.

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

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 أَم كُمَاس.

I am as tall as Muhand.

غَزِيْفَخَ أَم مُحَنَد.

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

إِرْيَلِ إِيْسَنَشَ أَم وِين لِقَايْد.

She's not as smart as that girl.

وَر تَشْوِي أَم تَرْبَاتِيْن.

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

إِس إِخَاتَرِ أَم شَمِيْن؟

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

إِخْصَاشَ أَتَغُوْدَادِ أَم أَلْتَمَاش.

b. Without a verb

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

أَم تَدَارْتَنَّنْ أَم تَدَارْتَنَخ.

بِحَالِي بِحَالِكَ I'm like you.

أَم نَكِيْن أَم شَكِّيْن.

(Mor. Arabic)

[lit: Like me, like you.]

2. Using the word ¹⁶أَنْشَت

This word is a noun, and its dependent form is **وَأَنْشَت**. 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 **ن** plus nouns. For pronouns, the possessive pronoun endings are added onto the word **أَنْشَت**.

I didn't eat as much as Addi.

وَر تَشِيْخِ أَنْشَتِ نِ عَدِّي.

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

وَر تَشِيْخِ أَنْشَتَتَّس.

¹⁶ Some regions say **أَنْكَت**, and others drop the **ت** and reverse the letters to get **أَشَن**.

¹⁷ When two items are being compared, the word used is **أَنْشَت**. 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.). غورُنَخ اَنَشْتَنَنْ ن وولي.

You (m.s.) have as much money as me. اِلَا غورُش وانشتينو ن اِذْرِيْمَنْ.

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

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

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

My daughter is as big/old as yours (f.s.). تَرَبَاتِيْنُو اَنَشْت ن تِيْنَم.

Your (m.pl.) house is تَدَارْتَنَنْ اَنَشْت ن تَدَارْتَنَخ كُ تَمَنْ. the same as our house in price.

as many men as women اَنَشْت ن اِرِيْزَنْ اَنَشْت ن توتَمِيْن

شَحَال ن اِرِيْزَنْ اَكْغَلَان كُ لَفَرَح، د شَحَال ن توتَمِيْن؟
اَنَشْت ن اِرِيْزَنْ اَنَشْت ن توتَمِيْن نِيْشَان اَكْغَلَان.

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. اِلَا غورُش وڭارينو كُ واتاي.
more sheep كُ وولي.

You (m.s.) have as much tea as me. اِلَا غورُش وانشتينو كُ واتاي.
as many sheep ن وولي.

You have less tea than me. اِذْرُوس ماڭلَان غورُش ن واتاي
fewer sheep ن وولي

خَف ماڭلَان غوري.

or

إِلّا غورُش دّاوي [or قَلّينو] كْ وَاثاي. You have less tea than me.
 كْ وولّي. fewer sheep

3. The prepositions and ¹⁸دات and نّيل

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* داو pattern (preposition + indirect object pronouns) when combining with pronouns. See the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lesson 4, page 25 for details. نّيل is used more in the southern portions of the Middle Atlas Tamazight language group.

تَمْرُي مَكْناس دات [or نّيل] ن فاس.
 Meknes is small compared to Fes.
 إِشْطَيْن عَسَو دات [or نّيل] ن فاطمة.
 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 رَبّي آل إِتَنْبَاض خَف مَآگْلَان كُول.
 God is so great that he rules over all that there is.
 إِزور زَاهي آل وَرْت 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 زَايْد

He got more angry/angrier.

إِزَايْد إِزْعَف.

She became more angry/angrier.

تَزَايْد تَزْعَف.

They (m.) became bigger/older.

زَايْدَن مَقَّورَن.

¹⁸ Other regional variations include زَدَات , زَات , تَات .

F. It's too _____ for me.

Depending on the context the words شَيِّئًا and بَرَّاف 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 بَرَّاف. or إِخَا شَيِّئًا.

It's too bad for me. إِخَا بَرَّاف غِيفِي. or إِخَا شَيِّئًا غِيفِي.

It's small. إِمْرِي.

It's very or too small. إِمْرِي بَرَّاف. or إِمْرِي شَيِّئًا.

It's too small for me. إِمْرِي بَرَّاف غِيفِي. or إِمْرِي شَيِّئًا غِيفِي.

The word order for the preposition can vary:

The shirt is too small for me. تَمْرِي غِيفِي لَقَمِجَا بَرَّاف.
تَمْرِي لَقَمِجَا غِيفِي بَرَّاف.
تَمْرِي لَقَمِجَا بَرَّاف غِيفِي.

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

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|----|----------|
| like this (in this way) | إِمْشِي ¹⁹ | or | أَمْشِي |
| like that (in that way) | إِمْشِيس | or | أَمْشِيس |

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 أُمَاتَا_(u). So the whole phrase is س أُمَاتَا “s umata.”²⁰

إِحْلا لِحَالِ كُ جَانُوبِ نِ فَرَنْسَا، سِ أُمَاتَا كُ تَغْرِسْتِ.

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

تَعْجَبِي بَزَافِ لِفِيشِيْتِ، سِ أُمَاتَا أَضِيلِ.

I really like fruit, especially grapes.

²⁰ Other regional variations include لَوْمَا and نَوْمَارِ.

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 **أَيَّ**) 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 + **أَيَّ**

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

تَغُودَا فَانْتَا خَف بَوْمَز. Fanta is better than Poms.

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

b. **إْغَزَيَف عَدَي.** Addi is tall.

إْغَزَيَف إِشْو خَف عَدَي. Ishou is taller than Addi.

وَلَايْنِي حَمَّو أَكْغَزَيَفَن. or But Hammou is the tallest.

وَلَايْنِي حَمَّو أَكْغَزَيَفَن دِيْغْسَن. 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.

- c. تَغْزِيفَ مَرِيَمَ. Miriam is tall.
 تَغْزِيفَ تودَا خَفَ مَرِيَمَ. Tuda is taller than Miriam.
 وَلَايْنِي إِطَو أَكْغَزِيْفَنَ. or But Itto is the tallest. or
 وَلَايْنِي إِطَو أَكْغَزِيْفَنَ دِيْكَسَنْتَ. But Itto is the tallest of them.

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

2. مَائِ + participle

- a. مَاكْغَزِيْفَنَ؟ Who's the tallest?²
 مَاكْغَزِيْفَنَ كُ إِشِرَّانَ؟ Who's the tallest of the children?
 مَاكْغَزِيْفَنَ دِيْكَسَنَ؟ Who's the tallest of them (m.)?
 مَائِ دِيْكَسَنَ إِغَزِيْفَنَ؟ Who's the tallest of them (m.)?

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

- عِيْشَةُ أَكْغَزِيْفَنَ [أَيَّ + إِغَزِيْفَنَ]. Aisha is the tallest.
 بَسَو أَكْغَزِيْفَنَ دِيْكَسَنَ. Bassou is the tallest of them (m.)
 b. مَاكْمُرِّيْنَ؟ Who's the youngest?
 مَاكْمُرِّيْنَ كُ إِشِرَّانَ؟ Who's the youngest of the children?
 مَاكْمُرِّيْنَ دِيْكَسَنَ؟ Who's the youngest of them (m.)?
 مَائِ دِيْكَسَنَ إِمْرِيْنَ؟ Who's the youngest of them (m.)?
 يُوْسُفَ أَكْمُرِّيْنَ. Youssef is the youngest.

- c. مَاكْوَفَنَ دِيْكَنَ كُ رِيَاضَا؟ Who is the best of/among you (m.pl.) in sports?
 نَكِيْنَ أَكْوَفَنَ. I'm the best.

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

3. participle as adjective

a. ماڳان [ماي + اڳان] تَمازيرت اِمَقورن ڳا اِفرِيقيا؟

What is the biggest country in Africa?

مِصر. : short answer

Egypt.

مِصر اَڳان تَمازيرت اِمَقورن ڳا اِفرِيقيا. : long answer

Egypt is the biggest country in Africa.

مِصر اَڳَمَقورن ڳا اِفرِيقيا. : long answer

Egypt is the biggest in Africa.

b. ماڳان³ اَرِياز اِزِيل [اِزِيلن] ڳا اِغَرَمَنَم؟

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

مُحَنَد. : short answer

Muhand.

مُحَنَد اَڳان اَرِياز اِزِيل ڳا اِغَرَمِينو. : long answer

Muhand is the nicest man in my village.

مُحَنَد اَڳَزِيل ڳا 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 تَمازيرت اِمَقورن ڳا اِفرِيقيا؟

ii. ماني تَمازيرت اِمَقورن ڳا 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 مايدِ إغان تَمَازيرتِ إِمَقورنْ كْ 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 تَمَازيرتِ إِمَقورنْ كْ 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 تَمَازيرتِ إِمَقورنْ كْ 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:

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------|
| masculine singular noun | + | مَتَا نَتَا |
| feminine singular noun | + | مَتَا نَتَات |
| masculine plural noun | + | مَتَا نِتْنِي |
| feminine plural noun | + | مَتَا نِتْنَتِي |

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 كْ إِغْرَمَنْشْ؟

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

ماگْان لَشْتَاب وجْدید كْ تَدَارْتَنْنْ؟

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

ماگْان طوموبيلات توجْدیدین كْ سَوَقْ؟

What are the newest cars on the market?

ماگْان إِخْمِيْمَن وجْدیدَن خَف طِبِّ؟

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 كَيِّخ |
| 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 دَيْنَحْدَم كْ لِبُوسْطَا.

They (m.) used to go to Fes every day. كَّان دَتَدُون غَر فاس كو ياسْ.

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

We used to study Arabic there. نَكَّا دَنْقَار تَعْرَبْت دِين.

What did he use to do here? مَاثْكََا دَيْتْغَا دَا؟

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

I used to smoke. كَيِّخ دَتَكْمُوخ.

I used to like fava beans. كَيِّخ دَتِيرِيخ إِعْبَاوْن.

(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 **كَانَ** meaning "to be." Knowing which verbs fit this category comes only by usage. They include, however, **كَانَ**, **كَانَ**, **كَانَ**, and stative or descriptive verbs, that is, verbs used as adjectives.

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| He used to be a farmer. | كَانَ إِذَا أَفْلَحَ. |
| What did you (s.) use to be? | مَايَ تَكِيدُ تَكِيدُ؟ |
| She used to be my friend. | تَكَا تَكَا تَمَدَّاكُلْتِينُو. |
| He used to be in the army. | كَانَ إِذَا لَئِكَ لِعَسْكَرَ. |
| There used to be a lot of trees here. | كَانَ لَانَ بَزَافَ نَ إِسْكَلا دَا. |
| He used to live here. | كَانَ إِذَا زَدَغَ دَا. |
| She used to know French. | تَكَا تَسَنَ شَا نَ تَفَرَنْسِيَسْتِ. |
| He used to be fat. | كَانَ إِذَا زُورَ. |
| You (s.) used to be small. | تَكِيدُ تَمُرِّيْدَ. |
| كَانَ كَرِيمَ يَوْفَ عَيْشَةَ، وَلَايْنِي دُغِي تَاغُولَ تَوَفْتِ. | |
| 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 **كَانَ** 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.) | كَانَ إِذَا لَئِكَ 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.) | كَانَ دَيْتِيلِي لَئِكَ لَقَهْوَايَا. |

6. "Use to have something"

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

I used to have a mule. **إِكََا غُورِي أُسَرْدُون.**

The rule for forming this construction is:

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| the noun in its dependent form | + | various forms of pronouns + غور | + | the auxiliary verb ك conjugated 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. | إِكََا غُورِي أُسَرْدُون. |
| I used to have a she-mule. | تَكَا غُورِي تُسَرْدُونَتْ. |
| I used to have wells. | كَانَ غُورِي وَوَنَا. |
| I used to have eggs. | كَانَتْ غُورِي تَكْغَلَاي. |

Note the following tenses of "to have":

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| I have a mule. | غُورِي أُسَرْدُون. |
| I have a mule. | إِلَا غُورِي أُسَرْدُون. |
| I had a mule yesterday. | إِلَا غُورِي أُسَرْدُونِ أَسَنَظَّ. |
| I used to have a mule. | إِكََا غُورِي أُسَرْدُون. |
| I used to have a mule. | إِكََا إِلَا غُورِي أُسَرْدُون. |
| I will have a mule. | أَذِيلِي غُورِي أُسَرْدُون. |
| I'm going to have a mule. | إِذَا أَذِيلِي غُورِي أُسَرْدُون. |
| I want to have a mule. | رِيخَ أَذِيلِي غُورِي 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. دَيْتِيلِي غوري أُسَرْدُون.
(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. إِكَا دَيْتِيلِي غوري أُسَرْدُون.

I will have (repeatedly, frequently) a mule. أَدَيْتِيلِي غوري أُسَرْدُون.

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

| | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| نَكَا دَنخَدَمْ كْ لِبوسْطَا. | كَيْخ دَخْدَمَخْ كْ لِبوسْطَا. |
| تَكَام دَتَخْدَمْ كْ لِبوسْطَا. | تَكِيد دَتَخْدَمْد كْ لِبوسْطَا. |
| تَكَامْت دَتَخْدَمْت كْ لِبوسْطَا. | تَكِيد دَتَخْدَمْد كْ لِبوسْطَا. |
| كَان دَخْدَمَنْ كْ لِبوسْطَا. | إِكَا دِيخْدَم كْ لِبوسْطَا. |
| كَانْت دَخْدَمَنْت كْ لِبوسْطَا. | تَكَا دَتَخْدَم 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 إِزْدَغ or إِكَا) does not undergo a vowel change.

He didn't use to work at the Post Office. وَر إِكِي دِيخْدَم كْ لِبوسْطَا.

They (m.) didn't use to go to Fes every day. وَر كَيْن دَتْدُون غَر فاس كُو يَاسْ.

I didn't use to have a cow. وَر تَكِي غوري تَفُونَاست.

He didn't use to be a farmer. وَر إِكِي إِكَا أَفْلَاح.

She didn't use to be my friend. وَر تَكِي تَكَا تَمْدَاكْلَتِينُو.

He didn't use to live here. وَر إِكِي إِزْدَغ دَا.

You (m.pl.) didn't use to have money. وَر كَيْن 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. **اِکّا داس یاکّا اِذْرِیْمَن اِ مَمّیس.**

Did he use to give money to his son? **اِس اِکّا داس یاکّا اِذْرِیْمَن اِ مَمّیس؟**

He didn't use to give money to his son. **وَر اِکّی داس یاکّا اِذْرِیْمَن اِ مَمّیس.**

He used to help him in (his) studies. **اِکّا دَت اِتْعَاوَن اِکّ تَغُورِی.**

Did he use to help him in (his) studies? **اِس اِکّا دَت اِتْعَاوَن اِکّ تَغُورِی؟**

He didn't use to help him in (his) studies. **وَر اِکّی دَت اِتْعَاوَن اِکّ تَغُورِی.**

Indefinite Adjectives and Pronouns

A. The indefinite adjective "another": يَضْنِن (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 يَضْنِن |
| another book | لَشْتَاب يَضْن | or | لَشْتَاب يَضْنِن |
| another house | تَدَّارْت يَضْن | or | تَدَّارْت يَضْنِن |
| other boys | إِرْبَان يَضْن | or | إِرْبَان يَضْنِن |
| other houses | تَدَّرَوِين يَضْن | or | تَدَّرَوِين يَضْنِن |
| another time | تِكَلَّت يَضْن | or | تِكَلَّت يَضْنِن |
| other times | تِكَال يَضْن | or | تِكَال يَضْنِن |

مَشْتَا يَضْنِن ن وُلِّي آيْ 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 يَضْنِن |
| another house | يوت ن تَدَّارْت يَضْن | or | يوت ن تَدَّارْت يَضْنِن |
| some other man | شَا ن أُرْيَاز يَضْن | or | شَا ن أُرْيَاز يَضْنِن |
| another man | يون أُرْيَاز يَضْن | or | يون أُرْيَاز يَضْنِن |

¹ Regional variations include يَضْنِن, يَضْنِنِي, يَضْنِنِي, يَضْنِنِي, and يَضْنِنِي.

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

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

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

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

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| this (m.) other one | وَا \ يَضْنِين |
| this (f.) other one | تَا \ يَضْنِين |
| these (m.) other ones | وَي \ يَضْنِين |
| these (f.) other ones | تَي \ يَضْنِين |
| that (m.) other one | وَان \ يَضْنِين |
| that (f.) other one | تَان \ يَضْنِين |
| those (m.) other ones | وَيْن \ يَضْنِين |
| those (f.) other ones | تَيْن \ يَضْنِين |
| the other one (m.) who... | وَنَّا \ يَضْنِين |
| the other one (f.) who... | تَنَّا \ يَضْنِين |
| the other ones (m.) who... | وَيْنَّا \ يَضْنِين |
| the other ones (f.) who... | تَيْنَّا \ يَضْنِين |

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.) | وايُض | |
| another one, the other one (f.) | تايُض | |
| other ones, the other ones (m.) | وييُض or ويايُض | |
| other ones, the other ones (f.) | تاييُض or تيايُض | |

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

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

[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 وايُض.

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

Not like the other (m.). ورید أَم وايُض.

2. These words can also function as indefinite adjectives. However, unlike the words *يَضْنين* or *يَضْن*, the words *وايُض* 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 | وايُض أُرْيَاز |
| another egg / the other egg | تايُض تَغْلَيت |
| other wells / the other wells | وييُض وونا |
| other eggs / the other eggs | تاييُض تَغْلَيت |

C. Different phrases using the word "one": يوت , يون , and ييتس

1. The singular "one"

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 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 |

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 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. | أَنَّا يُون إِثَا أَسْكَايَرِي. |
| He's someone difficult. | يُون إِشْقَان أَثَا. |
| She's someone difficult. | يوت إِشْقَان أَي تَا. |
| 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 جَا وَاحِد رَجُل ("A man came.").

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| A man came. | إِدَاد يُون أُرْيَا. |
| A woman came. | تَدَاد يوت ن تَمَطَّوْط. |
| أَنَّا يُون شَا (يُون أَسْكَيْن) كُ تَدَارْت ن موحى ور سَنَخ مَتَا نَتَا. I saw something [a thing] in Moha's house that I didn't know what it was. | |
| He took another [an other] road. | إِكََا يُون أَبْرِيد 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 إِرِيَزَن**

some other men **شا ن إِرِيَزَن 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 شَوِي**

some place **شا ن اُدْغَار or وَاْنَسَا**

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 دَينَت غَر 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 دَدين 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 مَدَن ور سَنَخ

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

1. 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". English speakers tend to hear a "w" sound before the "k."

2. independent pronouns + أَوَك مَتَا

This construction means "whoever/whatever it is."

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| whoever/whatever I am | أَوَك مَتَا نَكِين |
| whoever/whatever you (m.s.) are | أَوَك مَتَا شَكِين |
| whoever/whatever you (f.s.) are | أَوَك مَتَا شَمِين |
| whoever/whatever he/it (m.) is | أَوَك مَتَا نَتَا |
| whoever/whatever she/it (f.) is | أَوَك مَتَا نَتَات |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| whoever/whatever we are | أَوَك مَتَا نَكْنِي |
| whoever/whatever you (m.pl.) are | أَوَك مَتَا كُنِّي |
| whoever/whatever you (f.pl.) are | أَوَك مَتَا كُنْمَتِي |
| whoever/whatever they (m.) are | أَوَك مَتَا نِتْنِي |
| whoever/whatever they (f.) are | أَوَك مَتَا نِتْنَتِي |

ماي ديگسن تريد؟ أَوَك مَتَا نَتَا.

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

ريخ يون لكاس. مَتَا لكاس؟ أَوَك مَتَا نَتَا.

I want a glass. Which glass? Anyone.

أَويد أَوَك مَتَا نَتَا ديگسن.

Bring anyone of them (m.).

تَخَصَّايي شَا ن لَخْدَمَت، أَوَك مَتَا نَتَات.

I need some work, whatever it is.

مَش ديگس توفيد شَا ن لعيب، أَوَك مَتَا نَتَا، راريتيد.

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

أَوَك مَتَا نَتَا إغِي أَدِيك أَيَا.

Anyone can do this.

أَدور دَتَقَرَّاب، أَوَك مَتَا شَكَّيْن.

Don't come closer, whoever you are.

3. other question words + أَوَك

a. أَوَك + مَكَّمَس anyone, whoever, n'importe qui

ريخ شَا ن يون أَدِي إِعَاوَن. مَكَّمَس؟ أَوَك مَكَّمَس.

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 مَس, the verb changes with gender and number.

ريخ سين مِدَّن أَدِي عَاوَن. ماي مَسَن؟ أَوَك ماي مَسَن.

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

ريخ شَا ن تَرْبَات أَدِي تَعَاوَن. ماي تَمَس؟ أَوَك ماي تَمَس.

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

b. أَوْك + ماني

any place, wherever, *n'importe où*

سِرْسَتْ أَوْك ماني.

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

أَوْك مانيت وفان، أَت نَغَن.

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

c. أَوْك ماي + verb

whatever I/you/he etc. does

أَوْك ماي تَكْاد²، غاس كَت فيساع.

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

روريخد أَوْك ماي تَشِيخ.

I threw up whatever I ate.

d. أَوْك + س مي³

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

بَنان تَدْرَوِين أَوْك س مي. أَيَّنَّا أَمِي تَوْتِينَتْ.

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 تَرِيد.

Whatever there is.

أَيَّنَّا إِلَّان.

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

أَيَّنَّاشِ إِعْجَبَن.

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

أَسِمْت أَيَّنَّا تَرَامْت.

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 غَرَّ فَلَانَ شَا نَ وُوسَّان.**

those of so and so, the people of so and so **أَيَّتَ فَلَان**

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

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

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

سَقَسَاخَ أَيْفَلَانَ دَ وَايْفَلَانَ دَ وَايْفَلَانَ.

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

أَنَسَا نَ وَايْفَلَانَ

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 إْتَشِي.**

I didn't understand. **ور فَهْمَخ.**

Why didn't he give you (m.s.) the book? **ماخ أَلَيْكَ وراش إشي لَشْتَاب؟**

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

He didn't help him. **ورْت إِعْلَوْن.**

2. With the past form and a present meaning

Where are they (m.) going? They're not going to Fes. **ماغَر دَان؟ ور دَيْن غَر فاس.**

I don't know. **ور سَنَخ.**

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

I'm not hungry. **وري إِنْغِي لَأْ.**

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.)

وَر إِنِّي أَدِيكُمُو لَشْ تَدَارْت. He won't smoke in the house.

وَر نَيْنِت أَدِينِيْنِت "وَهُو." They (f.) won't say "no."

4. With the present continuous tense

The **وَر** causes no vowel changes.

وَر دِيْنَكَات أَلْتَمَاس. He doesn't hit his sister.

وَر دِيْنْدُرْلَا. He doesn't pray.

5. With the past participle

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

أَكْسُوم وَر إِنُوِين uncooked meat

أَمَان وَر حَمِينِين water that's not hot ("not-hot" water)

لَفْلِم وَر إِغُودَان a film that's not good (a "not-good" film)

B. **وَرْتَا**

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

وَرْتَا إِتْشِي.² He didn't eat yet.

وَرْتَا دِيْدِي. He didn't come yet. مازال ماجاش.
(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 **وَر إِسُول إِتْشِي**.

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

Is the food/meal ready? Not yet. إِس إَوْجَدْ وَوَتْشِي؟ وَرْتَا.

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

He doesn't walk yet. وَرْتَا دَيْتَدُو س أْضَار.

not-yet-cooked meat أَكْسُوم وَرْتَا إِنْوِين

C. وَر يَاد

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

He doesn't smoke anymore. وَر يَاد دَيْكَمُو.³

I don't speak to him anymore. وَر يَاد دَاس سَوَالْخ.

I don't trust you (m.s.) anymore. وَر يَاد دَش تَامَنْخ.

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: مَاولْتَيْتْش مَشَيْت لِّلْسُوق.

I didn't end up going to the market. وَر يَاد دَيْخ غَر سَّوق.

He didn't end up working here. وَر يَاد إِخْدِم دَا.

They (m.) didn't end up drinking tap water. وَر يَاد سَّوِين أَمَان ن رَّوْبِينِي.

D. وَرِيد

This word is used to negate non-verbs.

Not me! وَرِيد نَكَّيْن!

Not these ones. وَرِيد وَي.

Are you okay? No, I'm not okay. إِدْ لَا بَاس؟ وَهْوَ، وَرِيد لَا بَاس.

³ Some regions don't use وَر يَاد. They would say here وَر إِقْتِم دَيْكَمُو.

⁴ Some regions don't recognize this construction.

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

E. ورْذَجِين

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 دَجِين without the ور for "positive" phrases⁵).

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

Has she ever smoked? إِس ورْذَجِين تَكْمِي؟

Did he ever come to your (m.pl.) place? إِس دَجِين 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. ورْذَجِينِي شِين إِذْرِيْمَن.

She has never gone abroad. ورْذَجِين تَفَّغ غَر لَخَارَج.

I never offended you (m.pl.). ورْذَجِينَاوَن نَّيَخ أَوَال ن لَعَار.
 [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 نين اذفرحن.**

We will never stop. **وسار ننني اننبد.**

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 رگل کف تدارت.**

Don't turn off the light anymore. **أدور ياد سخصاي 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.

أَدُوسَار سَغُويَو أَكْنَسُو ن تَدَّارْت. Don't ever scream inside the house.

أَدُوسَار تَنَاعِيْمَت. Don't ever fight (f.pl.).

J. أَدُوسَار يَاد

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

أَدُوسَار يَاد تَكَّا أَيَا. Don't ever do that again.

أَدُوسَار يَادِي كَات. Don't ever hit me again.

K. وِر + verb + شَا

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 شَا. I didn't eat anything.

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

When the order is reversed, that is, the phrase is شَا وِر, 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 شَا (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:

شَا وِرْت نَيخ. I didn't say anything!

شَا وِرْت إِتَشِي. He didn't eat anything!

شَا وِرْت كَيْنْت. They (f.) didn't do anything!

L. وِر + verb + آوَد حَا

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 كَيْنْ 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 ياغْن؟ أَوْد حاح.

Where are you (m.pl.) going? Nowhere.

ماغَر تَدَام؟ أَوْد حاح.

The word أَوْد by itself means "also" or "too." The equivalent in Moroccan Arabic is حَتَّى. Thus, in positive statements أَوْد has the same range of meaning as حَتَّى. 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 شَا ن وَاْنَسَا

nowhere, no place

أَوْد يُون وَاْنَسَا

nowhere, no place

أَوْد يُون اُدْغَار

I didn't go any place. I went nowhere.

ور دِيخْ غَر أَوْد شَا ن وَاْنَسَا.

M. **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 كَيْنْ أَوْد مَعْلَم.

N. **verb + والو**

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 تَشِيخْ والو. |
| They (m.) didn't do anything. | ور كَيْنْ والو. |
| I didn't go anywhere. | ور دِيخْ غَر والو. |

O. **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 أَنَّيْنْ أَوْد يُون. |
| They (f.) didn't speak about anyone (f.). | ور سَوَلَنْتْ خَفْ أَوْد يوت. |
| None of them (m.) went to France. | أَوْد يُون دِيكْسَنْ ور إِدِّي غَر 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 تَتَشِيدْ تِكْلَايْ؟ |
| I didn't eat any one (of them (f.)). | ور تَشِيخْ أَوْد يوت. |
| I don't have any one (of them (m.)). | ور غوري أَوْد يُون. |

P. **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 **كَاع**.

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| He doesn't come any more at all. | ور إِقِيمْ دَدِيْتَدَو قَاح. |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|

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

قَاح أَدوراس سَوَال.

Q. **ور + verb + أَوْك**

This is a way of saying "didn't do anything at all." It is similar to the previous construction with قَاح. The word أَوْك 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 كَاع.

We are choosing to write the word in this way: أَوْك "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 أَوْك.

ور تَشِيخ أَوْك أَسَا. I didn't eat at all today.

ور تَشِيخ أَوْك أَوْد حاح أَسَا. I didn't eat anything at all today.

I ate nothing at all today.

ور نَسِيْل أَوْك خَف أَينَا. We didn't speak at all about that.

أَوْك ور دِيْدِي قَاح. He didn't even come.

R. **ور + verb + غاس**

The word غاس 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 غِير (with a very similar range of meaning, including "as soon as").

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

They (m.) drank only water.

ور سَوِين غاس أَمَان.

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

ور نَسَوَلْ 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 أَغْروم ولا تَسُوا أَتاي. She didn't eat bread nor drink tea.
She neither ate bread nor drank tea.

ورْت أَنَايْخ ولا ياس سَوَلْخ. I didn't see him nor speak to him.
I neither saw him nor spoke to him.

أَدور تَكَّا أَبْريدا ولا وان. 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:

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

a man without health

وار صَحْت

an anonymous woman, a woman without a name

تار إِسْم

an unlucky man

وار زَهَر

U. **وهو**

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

إِس تَسْنَد تَرِيفِيْت؟ وهو. Do you know Rifi Berber? No.

إِثَّا "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 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 نَكَيْن ولا شَكَيْن

neither this river nor that river لا ياسيفا ولا ياسيفين

They (m.) ate neither meat nor bread. ور تَشِين لا ياكْسوم ولا ياغْروم.

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 | بلا نَكِين | |
| without you (m.pl.) | بلا كُنِّي | without you (m.s.) | بلا شَكِين | |
| without you (f.pl.) | بلا كُنْمَتِي | without you (f.s.) | بلا شَمِين | |
| without them (m.) | بلا نِتْنِي | without him (or it) | بلا نِتّا | |
| without them (f.) | بلا نِتْنَتِي | without her (or it) | بلا نِتّتات | |

Other regional variations include:

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------|----------------------------|-----|---|
| (without him/it) | بلا نَسْ | possessive pronoun endings | بلا | + |
| (without him/it) | بلا يَاسْ | 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 + بلا + أَد
ياد

إِزْرِي دَاتَاخْ بِلَا يَادَاخْ يِينِي أَوْدَ أَوَالْ.

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

بِلَا أَذْيِيرِي، إِسْحَرَقِي.

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 مَاكَايْنَشْ. The meaning, depending on the context, can also be in the past tense: "There wasn't something." In Moroccan Arabic, مَاكَانْشْ. 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 لبومبأ. |
| There isn't any bread. | والو ياغروم. |
| There isn't any money. ماكاينش فلوس | والو إذریمَن. |
| There's no electricity in it. | والو ديغس ضو. |
| This well, there's no water in it. | آنويا، والو ديغس أمان. |
| I went to the center of town last night. | ديخ غر آماس ن تمدينَت |
| There was nobody there! | إضلِّي. والو أود يون! |
| ماكان حتَّى حد. (Mor. Arabic) | |
| There's nothing in it. | والو ديغس. |

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 |
| والوكن | والوش |
| والوكننت | والوشم |
| والوتن | والوت |
| والوتنت | والوت |
| Is Lhou there? No, he's not. | إس إلّا لحو؟ والوت. |
| واش كاين لحو؟ ماكاينش. (Mor. Arabic) | |
| They (m.) aren't here. | والوتن. |
| ماكاينينش. (Mor. Arabic) | |
| Tell him/her I'm not here. | إنياس والويي. |
| I called you (m.s.), but you weren't there. | كخاش تلفون ولاينتي والوش. |
| ماكنتيش. (Mor. Arabic) | |
| I feared that there would be no one (m.). | كُدخ آد والو أود يون. |

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 إِي

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

| Plural | Singular |
|-------------------|---------------|
| nella نَلَّا | lli ليخ |
| 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 إَغْوِيَان.

I was working in the garden when I heard screams.

إِلَّا دِيْتَتَشَا أَكْسوم أَلِيكْ إِنَّاسْ شَا ن يُون "وين أَلْغَم³ أَيَا."

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

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

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

مَاكَّلَّا دِيْتَكَّا أَلِيكْت تَانَايْد؟

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

وَفِيخْتِيْن إِلَّا دِيْقَار.

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

مَاي تَلِيد دَتَكَّاد؟

What were you (s.) doing?

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

² Many regions pronounce this as أَلِي "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.

مَاخَ أَلَيْكَ دَتَخَادَ أَيْنَا؟

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:

لَيَخَ كُنِيخَ أَلَيْكَ إِكْشَمَ أَخَوَانِ.

I was sleeping when a thief entered.

إِلَّا إِلْسَا لَقَمِيحَا تَوْجَدِيَتَ أَلَيْكَ إِتَوْتِي كُ وَالْوَض.

He was wearing a new shirt when he fell in the mud.

لَيَخَ بَدِيخَ تَمَا ن تَدَارَتَ أَلَيْكَ تَتَوْتِي.

I was standing next to the house when it fell down.

لَيَخَ قِيمِيخَ غَرِ فُلَانِ أَلَيْكَ سَلِيخَ إِنْغَمِيَسَنَ.

I was staying at so and so's place when I heard the news.

تَلَا تَزْدَغَ كُ تُونْفِيَتَ أَلَيْكَ إِوَّتَ زَنْزَالِ.

She was living in Tounfit when the earthquake struck.

Note the following distinction for the verb دَو :

لَيَخَ دِيخَ غَرِ فَاَسَ أَلَيْكَ أَنَايَخَ يَوْتِ ن لَكْسِيْدَا.

I was going to Fez when I saw an accident.

كُنْتُ غَادِي ... *This is like in Moroccan Arabic:*

لَيَخَ دَتْدَوخَ غَرِ فَاَسَ أَلَيْكَ جَمْعَخَ دِيْدَسَ.

I was going to Fes [regularly in the past, that is, many times] when I met him.

كُنْتُ كَنَمَشِي ... *This is like in Moroccan Arabic:*

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:

ال + دَ the present continuous tense without the tense indicator

Some regions use أَر instead of أَل .

7. Some examples follow:

| | | | |
|--|-----------|----------------|---------------|
| He was drinking. | أَلِيسَا. | I was working. | أَلْخَدَمَخ. |
| They were drinking. | أَلْسَان. | He was eating. | أَلِيتَتَشَا. |
| They walked a long time. = They were walking and walking. أَلْتَدُون ، أَلْتَدُون. | | | |

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

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| (alnessa) | أَلْنَسَا | (alssah) | أَلْسَاخ |
| (altessam) | أَلْتَسَام | (altessad) | أَلْتَسَاد |
| (altessamt) | أَلْتَسَامَت | (altessad) | أَلْتَسَاد |
| (alssan) | أَلْسَان | (alissa) | أَلِيسَا |
| (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).

أَلِيتَرُو أَلْيَغَاسَ⁵ عَايَدَنْت وَاللَّنَسَ تَزْكَاغِين.

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

أَلْتَاَزَلَا أَلْيَكْ تَتَوْتِي.

She started running until she fell.

جَمَعَن 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 أَلْيَكْ 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 تَانَايْد عَلِي، سَلِّمْ غِيْفَس.

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 إِدْرِيمَن، أَدْسَغ¹ طَّوْمُوْبِيل.

If I find money, I will buy a car.

مَش أَنَايْخ عَلِي، أَدْسَلْمَخْ غِيْفَس.

If I see Ali, I will greet him.

مَش زُرِيخ، أَدَدُوخ.

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.

إِنْيَاسْت إِ عَلِي مَش إِرَا أَتْ يَيْسِين.

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

أَدْسَغ¹ طَّوْمُوْبِيل مَش وَفِيخ إِدْرِيمَن.

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.

أَدِيسَلَمَ خَفَ عَلِي مَشْت يَانَّاي.

He will greet Ali if he sees him.

بَلَّغَاس سَلَامَ إِ عَلِي مَشَاش إِكَّا تَلِيفُون.

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

أَرُوِيَّاس إِ كَتَو مَش وَرَام تَكْثِي تَلِيفُون.

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 دَي تَيِّنِي شَا، دَ إِسَّ تَكَّاخ.

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

دَاس أَكَّاخ إِ مَمِّي لَحَلَّوَا مَش دَي إِتْكَاس رَّاي.

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 نَكْ، أَدَاسِيخ تَنْبَاط.

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 إِمَّوَت.

Unless he died.

Perhaps he died.

لَابُدَّا أَدَّيْعَايْدَ غَاس مَش إِمَّوَت.

He must come back, unless he died.

وَر سَوَالْخ² غَاس مَشِي تَنْيِد.

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.

- ii. After: "If there is just," "*si ce n'est que*"

مَش د غاس آيْنَا، ورت ريخ.
If there is just that, I don't want it.

2. Unreal, Imaginary or Hypothetical Conditionals

A. The word used for "if" in these types of conditionals is **مور**, although **مَر** is also quite common. (Some other variations include **أَمَر**, **إِس**, **مَرِيد**, **مَرِيد**, **إِس**, **مور**, **إِس**, and **موند** **إز**.) As in Moroccan Arabic, the verb form that follows the word "if" is the past form. Thus, the "if" clause is formed like this:

verb in the past form + **مور**

B. One type of these unreal conditionals is like the sentence "If I found a lot of money, I would buy a car." **These are present unreal conditions.** We are speaking about a present or future situation, but in a hypothetical or imaginary way. In this type of sentence the "result" clause begins with **أَد**, and the following verb is in its future form, although in English we would translate the phrase not "I will buy a car" but "I would buy a car."

مور وفيخ إذرِيْمَن، أَدَسَغ طوموبيل.
If I found money [which is unlikely, imaginary], I would buy a car.
مور رْبِيْح كْ لَوَطُو، أَدْكَخ³ لَفِيْشْطَا.
If I won the lotto, I would give a party.

C. Another type of these unreal conditionals is like the sentence "If I had known, I would have come." In Moroccan Arabic: **لوكان عَرَفْت، لوكان جيت.** **These are past unreal conditions.** We are speaking about a situation that has already happened, but in a hypothetical or imaginary way.

This construction varies widely among dialects and regions. We will choose one way here, but you must verify with the people around you what they are saying. The way we are following in this lesson is from the Izayan, around Khenifra. In this type of sentence the "result" clause begins with the word **إِلِي**, which always stays the same, and the following verb is in the past form. (The regional variations all concern what word is used to start the result clause.)

مور وفيخ إذرِيْمَن، إِلِي سَغِيْخ طوموبيل.
If I had found money, I would have bought a car.

³ Some dialects frequently insert a **بْ** in these two-verbs-together formats and would say here **أَدْكَبِيْخ**.

مور تَسْنَن ، إِلِي تَدَاد.

If she had known, she would have come.

مور كُيخ شَكَّيْن ، إِلِي شِيخَاس إِذْرِيْمَن.

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

مور وَفِيخ ، إِلِي دِيخ أَسَا.

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 ، أَذْيِيْسِيْن مَآيْ 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 لَفِيْشْطَا مور رِيْحَخْ 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.

مورَاشْ كُيخ تَلِيْفُون ، أَدَاسْ تَكْغِيْدْ تَلِيْفُون.

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

مورَاشْ كُيخ تَلِيْفُون ، إِلِي تَكْغِيْدَاسْ تَلِيْفُون.

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

مورْتَن إِعَاوَن ، إِلِي فَرَحَن.

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 مورید or مورید.

مورید ور إبنی تدارتنس تما ن واسیف، اتّسول ألتو دین.

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

مورید ور یوت بسو بو تحانوت، إلی ورت ومیژن.

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 ورید or ورید as in نکین “It's not me.” Thus, in the case of unreal conditionals, the word used is مورید or مورید.

مورید نکین، اداس اینیخ إ أبوليسي "لا فوط ورید تینو."

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

مورید نکین، إلی نیخاس إ أبوليسي "لا فوط ورید تینو."

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 وَفِيغْ إِذْرِيْمَنْ، إِسْ سَنَغِيغْ طَوْمُوْبِيْل.
If I had found money, I would have bought a car.

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

أَمَّر تَلِّي غُورِي لَفِيْسَا، ثَالِي سَاْفَرَخْ غَر سَبَانْيَا.
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 سَنَخْ إِدَّ إِسْتْ تَرِيْدْ، لَيَخْ إِيْخَاشْتِيْد.
If I had known that you (m.s.) needed it (m.), I would have brought it to you.
مُورِيْدْ شَكُّ أَيْ إِسْ إِنْأَغْنْ، تَلِيْدْ تَرِيْتْ.
If it had been you (m.s.) who fought with him, you would have beat him.

- iv. **وَمَا⁵** is used in the “result” clause.

مُونْدَ إِزْ دَتَدِيْتْ، وَمَا نَدَّا غَلَّ⁶ إِسْلَانْ.
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).

مَرْتُ يُوْفِي، ____ إِنْغَاتْ.
If he had found him, he would have killed him.

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

مَر كُيَخْ لُوْزِيْر، لَا بَنِيَخْ يُونْ لَقْصَرْ.
If I had been a minister, I would have built a palace.

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

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

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

⁶ This dialect use غَلْ 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 زيك!
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 وما⁷ “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 أ واي + يوفان (lit: Oh! He who finds).⁸ Some regions insert a د to keep the two ي’s from coming together, and they say أ 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! أَّ واكّوفان إِذْرِيْمَن !

If only I had health! أَّ واكّوفان صَحَّت !

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

If only I had silence! أَّ واكّوفان إِفْسَتِي !

أَّ واكّوفان شَا ن لَخْدَمَت ، أَوْك 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 أَّ يَامَر وَفِيخ :

If only I had/found money! أَّ يَامَر وَفِيخ إِذْرِيْمَن !

ii. verb + واكّوفان

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

verb conjugated in the + أَد + (غاس⁹) + أَّ 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! أَّ واكّوفان غاس أَذِرْوَل !

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

⁹ Some regions say خاس , and others say غير .

أَ وَانْكَوْفَانْ غَاسْ أَدِيرْبَحْ كْ لَوَطُو !
If only I won the lottery!

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

أَ وَانْكَوْفَانْ غَاسْ أَدِيدُو غَرْ شَانْ تَمَازِيرْتْ !
إِوَا مَشْ وَرْ يَوْفِي، إِقْلَبْ أَرْدْ يَافْ.

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:

أَ وَانْكَوْفَانْ غَاسْ أَذِيدِيرْ مَمِّي !
If only my son would live!

أَ وَانْكَوْفَانْ غَاسْ أَذْيَاغُولْ أُرْيَازِينُو !
If only my husband would come back!

An exact equivalent uses the expression : أَمْرْ وَفِيخْ

أَمْرْ وَفِيخْ غَاسْ أَدِيرُولْ !
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 أَدْ , 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."

أَ وَانْكَوْفَانْ أَدِيرُولْ، أَدِيسَافَرْ غَرْ فَرَنْسَا !

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

أَ وَانْكَوْفَانْ غَاسْ أَذْيَانَّايْ إِمَّا، أَدِيمَّتْ كْ لَمَانْ !

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

أَ وَانْكَوْفَانْ غَاسْ أَذِيدِيرْ مَمِّي، أَتَرْلَاخْ كُو يَاسْ !

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 أَدْ . 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 وَانْكَوْفَانِ إِذْ رِيْمَنْ، أَدِيْسَغْ رُوْلَزْ رُوِيْس !
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 + وَايْ + أَ

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

أَ وَانْكَسَنَّ مَانِيْكَ إِلَّا أُسْمُوْنَ !
If (only) I knew where my love was!

أَ وَانْكَسَنَّ أَدِيْغَرْ يَارُو !
If (only) I knew how to read and write!

أَ وَانْكَسَنَّ إِدْ أَدِيْجُرُوْ أَئِيَا !
If (only) I knew that this would happen!

أَ وَانْكَانَ لِمُدِيْر !
If (only) I were the director!

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

أَ وَانْكَدَّانِ غَرْ فَرَنْسَا، أَدِيْسْمُوْنَ لَفْلُوْسْ بَزَّاف !
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 |
|---|-----------------|-------------|
| إَزْوَان | It's dry. | إَزْوَا |
| إَغُودَان | It's good. | إَغُودَا |
| إِمَسَّوَسْن | It's tasteless. | إِمَسَّوَسْ |
| إَزَّيْلَن ³ | It's good. | إَزَّيْل |

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 إَزَّيْل.

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

The third masculine plural past verb form plus “in”

Plural participle form
“in” + 3rd masc. pl.

The verb

| | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| زَوَانِين | They're dry. | زَوَان |
| غُودَانِين | They're good. | غُودَان |
| مَسَّوَسْنِين | They're tasteless. | مَسَّوَسَن |
| زِيلْنِين 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 ... مَآگْ (magge...)⁵.

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| What happened? | مَآگْجَرَان؟ |
| Who bought the house? | مَآگْسَغَان تَدَّارْت؟ |
| What is "kilma" in Tamazight? | مَآگْان "كَلِمَة" س تَمَازِيغْت؟ |
| Who died? | مَآگْمُوتَن؟ |
| What is there in his/her hand? | مَآگْلَان كْثِ 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 ... أَگْ (agge...)⁶.

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

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 مَآيْدِ إَجْرَان؟ instead of مَآگْجَرَان؟.

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 أَيْدِ إِسْوَان instead of أَگْسْوَان.

Examples with نَا :

He saw the man who sold the squash. يَانَايْ أَرِيَا ز نَا إِزْ نَزَان تَغْصَيْتْ.

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

last week [the week which passed] سَيْمَانَا نَا إِزْرِيْن

إِكَاتْ كُفْ يُوْتْ ن تَنْضَلَتْ نَا إِتْوَغْزَانْ كُفْ 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 آَيِ :

تَمَطَّوْطَا أَكْوَتَنْ [آَيِ + يُوْتَنْ] مَمِّي.

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

وَرِيْدْ نَكِّيْنْ أَكْسَوَانْ [آَيِ + إِسْوَانْ] لَكُوْكََا.

It's not me who drank the Coke.

أَغْرُوْمْ أَكْغَلَانْ كُفْ أَفُوْسَنْسْ.

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

وَرِيْدْ نُكْنِيْ أَكْغَرَانْ أَتَّدُوْ.

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 أَغْرُوْمْ إِحْمَانْ The bread is hot. إِحْمَا أَغْرُوْمْ.

hot soup تَحْرِيرْتْ إِحْمَانْ The soup is hot. تَحْمَا تَحْرِيرْتْ.

cooked meat أَكْسُوْمْ إِنْوَانْ The meat is cooked. إِنْوَا أَكْسُوْمْ.

boiling water أَمَانْ نُوَانِيْنْ The water is boiling. نُوَانْ وَامَانْ.

long days وَسَّانْ غَزْ يَفْنِيْنْ The days are long. غَزْ يَفْنْ وَوَسَّانْ.

expensive houses تَدْرُوِيْنْ غَلَانِيْنْ The houses are expensive. غَلَانْتْ تَدْرُوِيْنْ.

(In reality these adjectives are really cases where the relative pronoun **نَا** is not expressed but is understood. **أَغْرُومَ إِحْمَانَ** “hot bread” is really **أَغْرُومَ 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 إِنُوينَ the uncooked meat | وَرِ إِنُوي أَكْسُومَ. The meat isn't cooked. |
| أَمَانَ وَرَ نُوينَ the not-boiling water | وَرِ نُوينَ وَأَمَانَ. The water isn't boiling. |
| لُحَالَ وَرَ إِغُودَانَ the not-good atmosphere | وَرِ إِغُودَا لُحَالَ. 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 | إِتِينِنَ | he is telling | دَ يَتِينِي |
|--------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|

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

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|
| doing/is doing | إِتْكَانَ | he is doing | دَيْتَكَا |
| running/is running | إِرْكَلَنَ | he is running | دَيِرْكَل |
| laughing/is laughing | إِطْصَانَ | he is laughing | دَيِطْصَا |
| fighting/is fighting | إِتْنَاغْنَ | he is fighting | دَيِتْنَاغ |

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 أَي (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?
ماكْتَتَشَان أَكْسُوم ن وَا؟
Who is eating grilled meat?

Examples with relative pronouns:

ماني أَرِيَا نَا إِسْوَالَن س تَفْرَنْسِيست؟
Where is the man who is speaking French?
ماني أَرِيَا نَا إِسْوَالَن س تَفْرَنْسِيست؟
Where is the man speaking French?
ماني تَمْطُوط (نَا) إِتْبَيْن أَزَالِيم؟
Where is the woman (who is) cutting the onions?
ماني تَوْتَمِين (نَا) إِتْبَيْن [تَبَيْنين : or could be] أَزَالِيم؟
Where are the women (who are) cutting the onions?
نِيتْنِي أَكْتَسَوَالَن س تَعْرَبْت.
(It's) they (m.) who are speaking Arabic.
وَرِيد نِيتْنِي أَكْتَتَكَّان أَتَاي.
It's not they (f.) who are making tea.
إِمَّا أَكْتَتَبَيْن أَزَالِيم كْ لَكُوزِينَا.
(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 | دَيْتِينِن | he is telling/he tells | دَيْتِينِي |
| (who) does | دَيْتَنَّان | he is doing/he does | دَيْتَنَّا |
| (who) runs | دَيَرَكَلَن | he is running/he runs | دَيَرَكَل |
| (who) laughs | دَيَطَصَّان | he is laughing/he laughs | دَيَطَصَّا |
| (who) fights | دَيْتَنَّاغَن | he is fighting/he fights | دَيْتَنَّاغ |

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:

ماثَّقَارَن؟

Who is calling?

ماي دَيَقَارَن كَو يَاس؟

Who calls every day?

مايي إِتْسَدَّاعَن؟⁹

Who is bothering me?

ماي دَيي إِتْسَدَّاعَن كَو 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 تَمَطَّوطْ (نَا) إْتَيْنِين لْقِيسَاتْ؟

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

ماني تَمَطَّوطْ (نَا) دَيْتَيْنِين لْقِيسَاتْ؟

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

ماني أَرْيَاز (نَا) إِرْزَنْزَانِ إِشْضِيفَنْ؟

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

ماني أَرْيَاز (نَا) دَيْرْزَنْزَانِ إِشْضِيفَنْ؟

Where is the man (who) sells the carpets?

مَاكَّلَان (نَا) إِسْوَالَنْ س تَمَازِغْتْ كْ لَكُوْزِينَا؟

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

مَاكَّلَان (نَا) دَيْسْوَالَنْ س تَمَازِغْتْ؟

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 أَكْغْسْوَالَنْ س تَمَازِغْتْ كْ لَكُوْزِينَا.

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

عَمِّيمْ أَ [The أَي drops out.] دَيْسْوَالَنْ س تَمَازِغْتْ.

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

إِدْ كَتَّوْ أَ [The أَي drops out.] غِيفِي إِطَصَّانْ.

Is it Kettou who is laughing at me?

إِدْ كَتَّوْ أَ [The أَي drops out.] دَ غِيفِي إِطَصَّانْ.

Is it Kettou who laughs at me?

Note in the last three sentences that the أَي in أَي 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) دَيْتَدُون غَر فاس؟

Which is the taxi that goes to Fez (habitually)?

مَتَا نَتَّا طَّاكْسِي (نَّا) إِتَدُون 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 إِدَّان 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. | maḥ igan. mayi igan. | مايِ اِڭان. ماخِ اِڭان. |
| You (m.s.) // You (m.pl.) don't care/mind. | makun igan. maš igan. | ماشِ اِڭان. ماڪُنِ اِڭان. |
| You (f.s.) // You (f.pl.) don't care/mind. | makunt igan. mašem igan. | ماشَمِ اِڭان. ماڪُنْتِ اِڭان. |
| He // They (m.) do(es)n't care/mind. | mayten igan. mayt igan. | مايْتِ اِڭان. مايْتَنِ اِڭان. |
| She// They (f.) do(es)n't care/mind. | maytent igan. maytt igan. | مايْتِ اِڭان. مايْتَنْتِ اِڭان. |

Two different types of sample sentences:

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

_____ آد + اِڭان + direct object + ما \ مايِ
(past participle) pronouns

ماشِ اِڭان اَتَدَوْد غَر سَوَق؟ Do you (m.s.) mind going to the market?

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

مايِ اِڭان اَدَوخ غَر سَوَق. I don't mind going to the market.

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

verb in the past form + مَش + اِڭان + direct object + ما \ مايِ
(past participle) pronouns

ماشَمِ اِڭان مَش تَتَشِيد غاس لَفَرْمَاخ؟ Do you (f.s.) mind if you eat only cheese?

مايِ اِڭان. I don't mind.

مايِ اِڭان مَش تَشِيخ غاس لَفَرْمَاخ. I don't mind if I eat only cheese.

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: **أَلْيَكْ**² (allig).
This is often pronounced **أَلْيِي** (alliy).

Variations for this word include:

أَلْيِي (alli)
لْيَكْ (llig)
لْيَغْ كْ (llig g)

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

Variations for this word include:

أَدَا (adda)

4. Examples in the past:

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

أَلْيَكْ دَيَخْ غَر فاس، زُرِيخْ كُما.

When I went to Fes, I saw my brother.

أَلْيَكْ نَلَّا كْ فَرَنَسَا، نَسَلَمْ خَفْ مَمَّيسْ 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, **أَلْيَكْ**, 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 مُزْنِيخ، كَيْخ دَتَدُوخ غَر لَابِيسِين كُو يَاس.

When I was young, I used to go to the pool every day.

أَنَّاِيخ أَكَلِيد أَلَيْكَ لِيخ كُ وَامَّاس 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 وَمَزْنَت، نَغَانت.

When they (m.pl.) caught him, they killed him.

أَلَيْكَت وَمَزْن، نَغَانت.

When they (m.pl.) caught him, they killed him.

إِطْصَا أَلَيْكَ يَنَّاِي.

He laughed when he saw me.

إِطْصَا أَلَيْكِي يَنَّاِي.

He laughed when he saw me.

إِلَّا دِيخْدَم كُ جَرْدَا أَلَيْكَ تَغْرَاس إِمَّاس.

He was working in the garden when his mother called him.

إِلَّا دِيخْدَم كُ جَرْدَا أَلَيْكَاس تَغْرَا إِمَّاس.

He was working in the garden when his mother called him.

أَلَيْكَ يَاغُولد، وَرْت يَوْفِي.

When he came back, he didn't find her.

أَلَيْكَ ذِيَاغُول، وَرْت 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 تَدَوْدَ غَر فاس، سَلِّمْ خَفَ عَلَيَّ.

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

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

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

أَدَايْ تِيرِيد أَنَسَافَر، عَلِّمِي.

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

The main clause contains a future form:

أَدَايْ دَوخَ غَر كَنَدَا، أَدَانَايْخَ إِمْدَوكَالِينُو.

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

أَدَانَايْخَ مَرِيَمَ أَدَايْ دَوخَ غَر فاس.

I will see Miriam when I go to Fes.

أَكُنْتُ عَاوَنَخَ أَدَايْ شَمَلَخَ.

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

habitual, regular, or repeated meaning

أَدَايْ سُوخَ أَتَايْ، دَتِيرِيخَ أَذْتَشَخَ لَنَاطُو.

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

أَدَايْ تَاوُضَ تَكْرُسْتُ، دَتَرَحَالَنَ إِمَكْنَسَاوَنَ غَر أَزَاغَار.

When winter arrives, the shepherds move to the plain.

أَدَايْ إِمَّتْ يُونْ أُمُومِنَ، إِذَا رَوَحَنَّسَ أَدِيْزْدَغَ دَ سَيِّدِي 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 أَلَيْكَ, this happens all the time. It is not optional.

دَتَفْرَاح مِينَة أَدَايْتْ إِعَاوَن أُرْيَا زَنْسْ كْ لَكُو زِينَا.

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

أَدَايَسْ إِنْخِ شَا إِغُودَانْ ، دَتَّرُو.

When I tell her something good, she cries.

أَدَايْ دِيْعَايْدْ ، أَتْ وَتَخْ.

When he comes back, I will hit him.

أَدَايْ نِيَاوَضْ كْ أَكْغَادِيرْ ، أَدِيرْزُو لَخْدَمْتْ.

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

أَدَايْ غُورْشْ دِيدُو ، شَاسْ مَاشْ شَيْخْ.

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

مَايْ دَتَّكَانْ أَدَايْتَنْ يَاغْ شَا؟

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

6. A precision

Although the general rule is that أَدَايْ 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:

أَدَايْ سَاخْ أَتَايْ ، دَتَّيْرِيخْ أَدَتَّشَخْ لَكَاطُو.

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

دَتَفْرَاح مِينَة أَدَايْتْ إِتْعَاوَن أُرْيَا زَنْسْ كْ لَكُو زِينَا.

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 أَمَقُورَ نَ تَمْدِينَتَ، نَّانَاسَ....

When the messengers arrived at the city leader's place, they said to him....

نَتَّا إِذَا عَصَوْ، إِسْفَالَ أَمَدَّاكُلَنَسَ أَر دِيكْسَ إِسْوَالَ.

When Assou went away, his friend began to gossip about him.

نَتَّا تَاغُولْدَ زِي سَوَقَ، تَوْفَا لَوَاشُونَنَسَ أَرْتَنَّاغَنَ.

When she returned from the market, she found her children fighting.

دَايْ⁵ نَتَّا أَرْتَعَدَوْنَ إِمُوضِينَ، كَرْنَ إِضْبِيبَنَ أَرْتَشَكَّانَ كُتَّ
وَامَانَ وَرَ إِزْدِيكْنَ.

Now when (the number of) sick people were multiplying, the doctors started to suspect/suspecting unclean water.

8. Another way to say “when”: كُتَّ

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.”

كُتَّ دِيكَّاتَ أَنْزَارَ، دِيَتَاغُولَ كُلْشِي أَزِيَاوُ.

When it rains, everything turns green.

. كُتَّ could be used here in the place of أَدَايْ (

If so, the tense indicator دَ would drop out.)

إِرْعَبَ كُتَّ يَنْتَايَ إِسَ وَرَ إِسْرَدَ أَوْدَ يُونِ إِفَاسَنَنَسَ دَاتَ نَ
وَوْتَشِي.

He was astonished when he saw that no one washed his hands before eating.

(. كُتَّ could be used here in the place of أَلِيكْ)

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 نَتَّا , 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 لَوَاشُونِينُو خَفْ أَيْنَا إِجْرَانْ، سَفَالْنْ أَرْكَاتْنْ
تِسْعَضَارْ.

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

إِدَّخْ يِيُولْ أَكْثَمَوْتْ [أَيْ + إِمَّوْتْ] إِبَّاسْ.
(It was) when he [the son] got married that his father died.

إِدَّخَاسْ نَيِّخْ إِ فْلَانْ....
When I said to so and so....

10. Another way to say “when”: مَانِيَكْ⁸

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.

مَانِيَكْ إِذَا أُكْلِيدْ غَرْ لِمَنْفَى، لُولِيخْدْ.
When the king went into exile, I was born (here).
مَانِيَكْ دِيدَا مُحَنْدْ، سَالَخْتْ خَفْ أَيْنَا إِجْرَانْ.
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 أَينَا إِجْرَان.

Bring whatever there is.

أَوَيْدَ أَينَا إِلَّان.

Give me whatever is good.

شِيدَ أَينَا 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 |
| they (f.) who | <i>tinna</i> | تِينَا | she who | <i>tenna</i> | تْنَا |

وْنَا إِغْنَان مَمَّيس ن تَخْسِي أَتْ إِتْشْ وَوْشْن.

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 وَرْ إِغْنِيْن زَكْ تَمْنَطَيْنُو، نْتَا دَيْتَمَغَانَا 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 دِيدَان³ زِيكَ أَدَامَرْنَ يَوْتَ نَ لَهْدِيْت.

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

تَنَا إِسْنَّ شَا أَتَ تِيْنِي.

She who knows something, let her say it.

تِيْنَا إِرَان تَنْبَاطْ أَدَافَنْتَ تَزَقَّوْرْت.

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 تَانَايْد

the dog that he killed

إِيْدِي نَا إِنْغَا

the mule that they (m.) bought

تَسَرْدَوْنْت نَا سَغَان

He's the man that you helped.

نَتَا أَكْغَان أَرِيَا نَا تَعَاوَنْد.

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

Show me the ones (m.) I saw.

سَنَعْتِي وِينَا أَنَايْخ.

Whatever you (m.pl.) want.

أَيْنَا تَرَام.

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: دَدَانِين. But since the singular is acceptable everywhere, we will use only that. However, you may here others use a plural.

تَمَطُّوطٌ نَّاكَ لَّانِ وَاذْجَنُون

the woman in whom were demons

تَمَطُّوطٌ نَّازَاكَ إِسْوَفَغِ شُرَاضِ نِ وَاذْجَنُون خَّانِينِ

the woman from whom he cast out three evil spirits

تَمَطُّوطٌ نَّامِي إِمَّوتِ أُرْيَازَنَسْ

the woman whose husband died

[lit: the woman to whom her husband died]

تَمَطُّوطٌ نَّاعَرِ لَّانِ إِكْنِيُون

the woman who has twins

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

تَمَطُّوطٌ نَّاخَفِ دَسْوَالِنِ مِدَّنِ

the woman about whom the people are talking

تَمَطُّوطٌ نَّادِ نَمُونِ أَسَّنَّطِ

the woman with whom we went yesterday

تَمَطُّوطٌ نَّاسِ تَرْحَبْدِ

the woman you (s.) welcomed

(The verb رَحَب always takes

the preposition س.)

Important Note :

The نَّا 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 نَّا.

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 كْ لَطَّلَسِ أَنْمَّاسِ.

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

مَانِي أَقْرَابِ نَّاكَ لَّانِ إِذْرِيْمَن؟

Where is the sack in which is the money?

أَوَيْدِ لِمَجَلَّا 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 dialectal 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 نَاس تَغَزِيد أَخْبُو؟
 Where's the pickaxe with which you (s.) dug the hole?

These same complex forms can be used with أَينَا and تَنَا , etc.

شَاخْد أَينَاخَف دَسَوَالَن إِشِرَان.
 Give us the one about which the children are talking.
 نَتَا أَكْغَان وَنَاد مَوْنَخ.
 He's the one with whom I went.
 إِد نَتَات أَكْغَان تَنَامِي تَسَلَامَت؟
 Is she the one to whom you (f.pl.) listened?
 إِجْوَجِي وَيَنَّاكَ لَانَ وَاذْجَنُون.
 He healed those (m.) in whom were demons.
 إِشَاسَنَت لَمَخَزَن وَتَشِي إِ تِينَامِي مَوْتَن إِريزَنَنَسَنَت.
 The government gave food to those (f.) whose husbands died.
 أَينَاغَر تَدِيد، أَدِيدَش [أَد + دِيدَش] 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 طَبْلَا دَاو ن مي تَسِرْسَد 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... | بْنِيد 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.

أَنَايْخ إِمِشَر نَاتَن يوتَن.

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

تَغودَا تَنَاسَن [or تَنَاسَن] إِشَان تَفُونَاستَا.

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

أَوِيْمْدَ أَينَاوَنْتَ شَانْت.

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

تَفِير ن أَينَايِي إِكَا، وَر قِيمِيخ دَت تِيرِيخ.

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

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

أَنَايْخ أَجَنُوي نَاسْت تَبَي.

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

أَنَايْخ تَرَبَات نَامِيَت 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

سَغِيخْ إِدُوشَا نَّاسْ دُيُوسَانْ إِ تَجَلَّابَيْتْ.
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

أَدَاسْ غَرْنْ إِ أُرْيَازْ نَّا نَيُّوَضَنْ غَرَّ أَكَّادِيرْ.
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. أَيْ

Although أَيْ is a relative pronoun like نَّا, أَيْ is used in a different context than نَّا. Taifi describes the use of أَيْ 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, أَيْ 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 أَيْ (especially ones which use the verb كَى “to be”) in which no particular stress or emphasis is intended.

VII. When أَیْ does not take a participle

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

شَكَّ أَیْ تَانَّایْ.

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

إِدْ أَمَازِیْغْ أَیْ تَنَكِّیدْ؟

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

تَفُولْتَوَسْتَا دَاها أَیْ سَغِیْخْ.

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

إِدْ شَمَّیْنْ أَكَّغْنَا یِخْفْ؟

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

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

إِدْ إِسْتَمَامْ أَكَّغْ 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 یْ drops out and only أَ is used.

إِدْ كَتَّوْ أَ دَتَّیْرِیْنْ مِذَّنْ؟

Is it Kettou whom the people love?

إِفْلَاحِنْ أَ دَیْتَخْلَاصْ لِمَخْزَنْ كْ تَزْوِیْرِیْ نْ كُوْ أَیُورْ.

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

شَكَّیْنْ أَ وَرْ رَاعَانْ.

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

شَمَّیْنْ أَ غَانَاوِیْ⁸ غَرْ تُونْفِیْتْ.

(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 غَا or رَا in some dialects.

VIII. More complex forms of أَيَّ

Like نَا, there are more complex forms used with أَيَّ as well. These are formed in the same way, by adding the preposition to أَيَّ, except that when the preposition is added the ي 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 | + | أَيَّ | + | 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.

أَنُو أَكْ إِتَوْتِي.

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

لَسْتَادَ أَزَكْ دِيفَغْ⁹.

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

أَلْتَمَاسَ أَمِي يوزَن تَبَرَات.

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

إِمَّاسَ أَغَرِ إِقِيم.

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

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

مَرِيرْتِ أَغَرِ تَدَا.

Mrirt (is) where she went.

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

لَمُوتِ ن تَدَجَّارْتَنَسْنَتِ أَخَفِ دَسَوَالْنَتِ.

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

وَرِيدِ نَكَيْنِ أَدِ تَمُونَدِ.

It's not me with whom you went.

أَفُوسِ أَسِ تَزُضَا تَقَبَّوتِ. or سِ أَفُوسِ أَسِ تَزُضَا تَقَبَّوتِ.

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

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

ماني يَيَّيس¹⁰ أَخَف تَنِيد؟
On which horse did you (s.) mount?
ماني تَمَازِيرْت أَزَكْ ذِيوسا؟
From which country did he come?
ماني يَإَخَام¹¹ أَكْ إِمَّوت؟
In which tent did he die?
وَر سَنَخ مان تَخَامْت أَغَر دَان.
I don't know to which tent they (m.) went.

IX. أَئِي with prepositions of spatial and temporal relationships

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

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|------|---|-------|---|-------------|---|----------------|
| verb | + | أَي | + | 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 لَبَنَكَا تَفَّير ن مِي أَي تَزَدَغ عِيشَة؟
Is it the bank behind which Aisha lives?
Is it the bank which Aisha lives behind?
إِد تَدَارْتَنَش نِيكْ ن مِي أَكْزَدَغ 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 أَتَن يوفان.

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

نَتَا أَيَداس إِسْنَعَتَن تَدَارَت.

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

نَتَا أَيَداسَت إِسْنَعَتَن.

(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 **أَيْد**, 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.)

وريد أَكْلَزِيم أَسْت إِغْزَا.

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

إِد شَكَيْنَ أَمِيَتَن شَان؟

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

تَدَارَت تَزْخَاغَت أَزَاكَ دَفْعَن.

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

تَفُونَاست أَيُّ غورَسِ إِلَان.

(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 **إِنَان أَيُّ أَشْت** "(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 | A. كْ تَزْوِيرِي |
| secondly | B. كْ تِسْنَات |
| thirdly | C. كْ تَشْرَاطْ |
| fourthly | D. كْ تِسْرَبْعَة |
| last of all, lastly | E. كْ تِنْغِيرَا ¹ |

كْ تَزْوِيرِي سَرْدِ إِفَاسْن. كْ تِسْنَات أَوِيَاْسَن وَتْشِي إِ
 إِنْبِيَاوَن. كْ تَشْرَاطْ أَوِيَاْسَن مَائِ سُون. كْ تِنْغِيرَا
 بِي لَغَاطُو آهَآ² تَسِرْسْتْ خَفْ طَبْلَا نَا إِلَان تَمَا ن
 إِنْبِيَاوَن. إِس 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 تِيْغِيرَا, and some say كْ تِيْغِيرَا.

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

بَعْد هَاد الشِّي (Mor. Arabic)

بَعْد دَاك الشِّي (Mor. Arabic)

ور سولاخ دُغي. إِلّا شا كْ لَبِيرُو. تَفِير ن أَيَا
إِخْصَايِي أَدُوخ غَر لَبَانْكَ. سَمَحِي.

I'm not free now. There's someone in the office. After this, I have
to go to the bank. I'm sorry.

كَاس إِ وَاكْزَن تِيسَنْت د سَكَّر. تَفِير ن أَيَا
زَايْنَدَاس أَمَان.

Put into the flour salt and sugar. After this, add to it water.

G. تَفِير ن أَيِنَا

after that

بَعْد دَاك الشِّي (Mor. Arabic)

تَنَاس تَمَطَّوْطَ إِ لِنَقَاضِي "أَمْرِيِي لِحَقَّ زِي
أَنْضَلِيْبِينُو." دَايْ وَر دِيْكَس تَيِيوي⁴. مَشَان تَفِير ن أَيِنَا
إِنَّا كْ إِخْفَنْس "وَاللَّهِ أَلِيْكَ⁵ دِيْغِي تَقِيْمَا تَكَلِيْنَتْ."

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:

ضَارَتْ , 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": أَيَدَّغ , أَيَا

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 وَللَّهِ أَلِيْكَ 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 أيا** and **تَفِير ن أينا** 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 أيا** 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 أينا. On the other hand, **تَفِير ن أينا** 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 أيا** in past stories.

These same nuances apply to H and I below.

before this/before that

H. دات ن أيا

قَبْل هاد الشّي (Mor. Arabic)

قَبْل داك الشّي (Mor. Arabic)

ياغول موح د مَهّا كُين إِمْدَوَكّال آسّ ن لعِيد إِدْخ كّان
إِعْدَاوَن دات ن أيا.

Moh and Mahha became friends the day of the holiday, because
before this they had been [lit: were] enemies.

دَو أَوِيد أَلْتَمَاش زي ليكول، مَشان دات ن أيا سُمون
إِقْشَوْشَنَنْش.

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 أينا

قَبْل داك الشّي (Mor. Arabic)

يَوْمَر لَمَغْرِب لِسْتِقْلال كْ أَلْف وَهْ تَسْعَ مية و سِتّة
و خَمْسِين. دات ن أينا تَحْشَم فَرَنْسا تَمَازيرْت زي
أَلْف و تَسْعَ مية و طَنَاش.

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.

إِزْدَغْ كْ تُونَسْ سَطَّاشْ نْ أُسْكَاسْ.
 إِ دَاتْ نْ أَيْنَا؟
 دَاتْ نْ أَيْنَا إِكَا إِزْدَغْ دَا كْ لَمَغْرِبْ.

He lived in Tunisia for 16 years.

And before that?

Before that he lived [or: used to live] here in Morocco.

J. تَفِيرْ + نْ + noun after + noun

تَفِيرْ نْ شَا نْ ووسَّانْ دُرُوسْنينْ دَانْتْ كْ وَيَنَسَنْتْ.
After a few days they (f.) went on their way [lit: They went in theirs.]
 تَفِيرْ نْ شَا نْ ووسَّانْ كُودِينينْ أَغُولَنْتْ.
After many days they (f.) came back.

K. دَاتْ + نْ + noun before + noun

دَاتْ نْ واسَّا وَرْ لِيخْ دَتَّوسُوخْ.
Before today I wasn't coughing.
 دَاتْ نْ سَتَّيْنَاتْ إِكَا إِزْلَعَسْ رَّايْ إِ تَمَازِيرْتْ.
Before the sixties the country was divided (in opinions or ideas).

L. تَفِيرْ + verb after + verb

There are two main ways, depending on the region, to make this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist.⁷ **i. past**

verb in the two-verbs-together format + أَدْ + تَفِيرْ

or

verb in the past + مَايْ + نْ + تَفِيرْ

⁷ These variations concern the words used for "after," the word that follows "after," and whether or not there is a نْ which is used after the word "after." Any combination of the following may be used, depending on the region:

ضَارْتْ , دَقِيرْ , ذَقِيرْ , تَقِيرْ , تَفِيرْ , قِيرْ : "after"

The نْ may or may not be used. For example, تَفِيرْ نْ مَايْ or تَفِيرْ مَايْ. (Also true for M.)

The word مَايْ can also be مَاندْ , مَا , or مَانيْ. (Also true for M.) Some dialects use لِيكْ instead of مَايْ.

تَفِيرَ أَدَافَن طَالِب، سَقَسَانَت خَف وَاَرْوَم.

After they (m.) found the religious teacher, they asked him about fasting.

تَفِيرَ ن مَاكُشْمَل [مَائِي + إِشْمَل] وَاوَالِ ن أُمْغَار،
إِسْوَسَم كُو يُون إِلَان كُ لُبَيْت.

After the chief/elder finished talking [lit: After the word of the chief/elder finished], everyone (that) was in the room was silent.

تَفِيرَ ن مَائِي شَبَرْن دِيكُوسَ إِقْبَلِ أَدْ غُورَسَن إِقِيم.

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 this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist. **: future .ii**

verb in the two-verbs-together + أَدْ + تَفِيرَ
format

or

verb in the present continuous + مَائِي + ن + تَفِيرَ
without the tense indicator

تَفِيرَ أَتَّاغُولْدَه⁸، غُرِيد.

After you (s.) come back, call me.

تَفِيرَ أَتَّتَشْد، سَرْدِ إِفَاسَن.

After you (s.) eat, wash (your) hands.

تَفِيرَ ن مَائِي تَقَارِ عِشَّةِ إِ أَلْتَمَا، أَتَغَرِ إِ تِينَش.

After Aisha calls my sister, she will call yours (m.s.).

There are two main ways, depending on the region, to make this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist. **: present .iii continuous**

verb in the two-verbs-together + أَدْ + تَفِيرَ
format

or

verb in the present continuous + مَا + ن + تَفِيرَ
with the tense indicator

تَفِيرَ أَذْرَالْن دَتْمَسَلَامَن.

After they (m.) pray, they greet each other.

⁸ This form's pronunciation doesn't distinguish between "go back" and "come back."

تَفِيرَ أَدَمْسَلَامَن دَيْتَدَو كَو يُون لَك وَيَنَس.
After they (m.) greet each other, each one goes his (own) way.
 تَفِيرَ نَ مَا دَذُرْلَان دَتْمَسَلَامَن.
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

.i : past

verb in the two-verbs-together + دات + آد
 format

or

verb in the past + دات + ن + ماي

دات أَدِيدَو، إقَن تِفْلَوَت.
Before he went, he closed the door.
 دات ن ماي تَدَا غَر سوريَا تَدَا غَر سَعُودِيَّة.
Before she went to Syria, she went to Saudi.
 دات ن ماي ديغَرَا، سَنَخ مَاكْثَرَا 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.

.ii : future

verb in the two-verbs-together + دات + آد
 format

or

verb in the present continuous + دات + ن + ماي
 without the tense indicator

إِس غِيخَ أَش أَنَايَخ دات أَتَدَوْد؟
 Can I see you (m.s.) before you go?
 دات أَدَدَوخ غَر فَرَنَسَا خُصَانْتِي تَوْرِيْقِين.
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 سُدَات, زِدَات, زَات, or زَات. Those that use قَبْل don't use the ن after it.

أَذْجُرُون شَيْغَان نِ إِسْكَيْنِ دَات نِ مَائِ دِيْتَدَو¹⁰ 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 this construction. Other smaller regional variations also exist. **: present .iii continuous**

verb in the two-verbs-together + آد + دات
format

or

verb in the present continuous + ما + ن + دات
with the tense indicator

دات أَدِيْطُصْ دِيْتَالَا.

Before he laughs, he cries.

دات أَدَتَشَن دَسِيرِيْدَن إِفَاسَن.

Before they (m.) eat, they wash (their) hands.

دات نِ مَا دَتَتَشَان دَسِيرِيْدَن إِفَاسَن.

Before they (m.) eat, they wash (their) hands.

suddenly, tout un coup

.N شوي

لِيْخ دَسَارَاخ كُ سَوَق شوي أَنَايْخ أَخَوَان.

I was walking in the market (when) suddenly I saw a thief.

إِسْلَم غِيْفَنَخ يُون أُرْيَاذ. شوي ضَهَرَنَد دُغْيَا دِيْدَس

سِين إِرِيْزَن يَضْنِيْن، كُو يُون س لَمُوس.

A man greeted us. Suddenly there appeared (at that instant) with him
two other men, each one with a knife.

after some time, later

.O شوي

يَاغُوْلَن غَر تَمَازِيْرَتَنَسَن. شوي إِكْر يُون بُوْهَيُوْف كُ

تَمَازِيْرَت....

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 موحى لجامعة أها¹¹ ياف لخدمت ك يوت ن شركا
ن لنترنيت. شوي ياغول إمقور ك شركا، إتياسن
أود ك تمازيرت كول.

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.

.P تِنْغِيرَايَا or ك تِنْغِيرَايَا **recently**

ميلمى آي تديد؟ غاس تِنْغِيرَايَا.

When did you (s.) go? Just recently.

وهلي ور لين شيخان ن مدن دا. آل تِنْغِيرَايَا عاد
بدان دزدغن دا.

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.

.Q إِدْرُوس مَانِيك **rarely, it's rare that**

إدروس مانيك دتدوخ غر لقهوايين.

It's rare that I go to that café.

إدروس مانيك دتمساوالن.

They (m.) rarely speak to each other.

.R غاس¹² **as soon as**

غاس تفغد عايدخد.

As soon as you (s.) left, I came back.

غاس دت تحاداخ إسغوي.

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 "ğS." Regional variations for this word include خَس , غَس , خاس .

until ¹³ أَلَيْكَ .S

دُون أَلَيْكَ أَوْضَنَ إِفْرِي نَّاكَ وَفَان وَرْغ.

They (m.) went until they reached [or arrived at]
the cave in which they found the gold.

أَرَّتْ إِكَاتِ أَلَيْكَ إِمَّوت.

He hit [past, repeated action] him until he died.

from now on ¹⁴ زِي دُغِي .T

from now on زِي دُغِي غَر دَات

from today on زَكِّ وَاسَّا

from today on زَكِّ وَاسَّا غَر دَات

from today on زِي تَفِير ن وَاسَّا

زِي دُغِي غَر دَات أَدُوسَارَاخ سَوَال.

From now on [lit: from now to forward] don't ever talk to us.

زِي تَفِير ن وَاسَّا أَدِّيْغَشْ شَكَاخْ شِيْغَان.

From today on [lit: from after today] I will mistrust you (m.s.) a lot.

first ¹⁵ بَعْدَا .U

كَّسْ بَعْدَا لَيَّغَاتِ عَاد سَلَّمْ غِيْفِي.

First take off (your) gloves then greet me.

تَدَادْ بَعْدَا غُورِي عَاد أَدْ غُورْمْ تَدَّو.

First she came to my place, then she'll go to yours (f.s.).

أَنْتَسُو أَتَايْ بَعْدَا.

Let's drink tea first.

already ¹⁶ بَعْدَا .V

نَّانَاوَنْتَ بَعْدَا.

They (m.) already told it (f.)¹⁶ to you (m.pl.).

¹³ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 361, under "L."

¹⁴ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 57, under "Dg"

¹⁵ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 44, under "BcD." Regional variations for this word include أَبَعْدَا .

¹⁶ When the "it" in this type of sentence is something in general (as opposed to referring to a specific previous word that has a gender), then it is always feminine. This is the same in Moroccan Arabic.

تَدَاد بَعْدَا غوري وَهْلِي.
She already came to my place a long time ago.

while, as

كود¹⁷ .W

كود تَسَوْتور عيشة، تَسَدَّاقِ إْلَيْس.
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 سَوَالَن.
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

مَاحَد¹⁸ or مَاحَد .X

أَنْتَدُو غَرِ آسِيف مَاحَدِ إِسُولِ إِحْمَا لِحَالِ.
While it’s still hot let’s go to the river.
مَاحَدِ دَرَخِ تَغَا تَدَارْتَا تِينَمِ.
As long as I live this house is yours (f.s.).

and, then, so

دَايْ .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 كَو, 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 دغي هات إدَاد زَكْ تَمَازِزْتَنَس ور
 إِسِّن والو. دايْ إِسْقَسَا يون أَرْيَاز إِنَّاس "نَعْتِي شَا
 أَخَاتَر كْ تَمَازِزْت". إِنَّاس "دَو غَر فَلَان نَتَّا
 أَكْمَقُور [أَي + إِمْقُورَن]. دايْ يَلاوي غُورَس أَحُولي
 إِغْرَسَاس غِيفَس، دايْ إِتْرَاس أَمُور²⁰، إِنَّاس "وَسِيخَاش كْ
 تَقْبِيلْتِينو ور تَوَكِّيد إِ والو!" دايْ إِنَّاس....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

A. **بَزَايْدُ نَ أَيَا** ²² or **more than that**
بَزَايْدُ أَيَا

إِدَا كَمَا غَر تَمْدِينْت تَقْدِيمْت إِسَغ طَبَّلَا تَوَجْدِيْت.
 بَزَايْدُ نَ أَيَا يَنْتَايْ عَمِيشْ، وَنَا سُولَخ دَاس دَقُورَخ
 شَا نَ لَفْلُوس.

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: وَنَا إِسُولْن دَيِي إِدَقُور شَا نَ لَفْلُوس.

أَشْرِيكِينُو أَيَّ تَغِيد. أَسْمُونِينُو د أَمْدَاكُلِينُو أَيَّ تَغِيد.
بَزَايِد ن أَيَا أَم كَمَا أَيَّ تَغِيد. نَكْنِي س سِين أَم يُون
أَيَّ نَكَا.

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 **وَنَار 24 ن أَيَا** .B
وَنَار أَيَا

This is a synonym to the phrase in part A and can be substituted for it exactly.

etc. or **أَمْشِيس 25** .C
أَمْشِيس نَيْت

خَف مي دَتَسَوَالَم؟
خَف تَمَارَا د لَمَشَاكِيل د إِكَرْفِيصَن د أَمْشِيس نَيْت.

What are you (m.pl.) talking about?
About misery, problems, suffering(s), etc. [lit: and like that exactly].

مَاي تَانَايِد لُ تَمَغْرَا؟
أَنَايَخ مَمَّيس ن خَالِي د مَمَّيس ن خَالْتِي د مَمَّيس ن
عَمِّي د إِلَّيس ن مَمَّيس ن عَمِّي، إَوَا يَامَشِيس 26.
لَمُهُم، كَوَلَشِي إِلَا.

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. أيا د أيا (د أيا د أيا...) this and that (and that and that...)

Pronounced: “ayaduya” with additional “duya duya...” according to a person’s emphasis

إِخَا أُرْبَازِينُو. إِكَايِي أيا د أيا د أيا د أيا. أَهَّا²⁷،
سَوَفَغْت زِي تَدَارْت.

My husband is mean. He did to me this and that and that and that. So
I kicked him out of the house.

إِطَو، دَتَسَوَال كُ مِدَّن زِي صَبَاح آل تَدَثَات. تَنَّاس
إِ مَوْنَة أيا د أيا. تَفِير ن أَيْنَا تَنَّايِي أيا د أيا د أيا
د أيا د أيا. عَفَاخْت!

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. ماحَد ... ماحَد the more ... the more

ماحَد دَتَن تَوَصَّاح أَذْفَسْتَن ماحَد دَسْغَوِيُون.

The more I order them (m.) to be quiet, the more they yell.

ماحَد دَتَّكَّام س وَاوَالِينُو ماحَد تَيْسِينَم إِس إِلا
غوري لَحَقَّ.

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 كُتْمَاس وَعَسَّا مِدَّن يَضْن.

He ripped off his (own) brother, how much more other people.

وَر إِكْد²⁹ إِر 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 ع in this word is pronounced with rounded lips and therefore the word sounds like “igg”id.” .

G. **كْ لَمِتَال**³⁰ for example

مَش وَر دِيدِي، كْ لَمِتَال، مَا غُرَا نَكْ؟

If he doesn't come, for example, what will we do?

مَش لَمَدَخ تَفَرْنَسِيست، مامي غايي³¹ تَصْلَح؟

أَدَاش تَصْلَح كْ شِيْكَان ن لُمور. كْ لَمِتَال، عَنِيْخ أَتَافَد
لَخْدَمَت كْ لَقْنَصْلِيَا 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

H. **أَهَا**³² and (between verbs)

(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 أَغْرَابُو. رِين أَدِيْبِين
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 Ndhir*, 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 إِتْعَمَّار أَغَرَّابُونَسَن
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 لَمَخْفِي أَدِيدُو غَر تَمْدِينْت ن صَفَرُو.
دَائِي يَازَن إِمَازَانْ أَذْزَوِيرَن دَاتَاس. أَهَّا دُون كَشْمَن غَر
يُون إِغْرَم ن أَيْت سَغْرُوشَن 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 يَوْت ن تَكُمَارْت، نَتَّات دِ إِسْتَمَاس
تِمْرَّيَانِين س سَنَات. أَهَّا تَنَاسَنَّت "أَدُور تَكْدِيمْت"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 إِنَّيَاسَن "تَغُودَا".

When he saw the house ____ he said to them, “It’s good.”

دَو غَر إِغْرَمِين. دَائِي تَدَّارْت نَاغَر تَكْشَمْد، أَهَّا
تِينِيد كْ تَزَوِيرِي "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 تَكْدِيمْت in this word is pronounced with rounded lips and therefore the word sounds like تَكْدِيمْت.

iv) Other examples:

إِسْقَسَا أَضْبِيب يُون أُرْبِيع ن مِذَّن إِنْيَاسَن "ماوَن
يُوفَن، تِيسَنَت س لِيُود ماد بَلَش؟" إِسْوَل عَدِّي أَهَّا
إِنَّاس "عَنِيخ س لِيُود." دَائِي إِنَّاس أَضْبِيب "س تِيتْ أَيْ
تَنِيد." أَهَّا إِبْرَم غَر شَا يَضُن دَائِي إِنَّاس....

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

مِيسْمَنَّم بَعْدَا؟

What's your (f.s.) name by the way?

وَرْت سَنَخ 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.

دَاس تَيْنِين إِ تَمْدِينْتَا فَاس، زَعْمَا، أَكْلَزِيم س
تَمَازِيغْت.

They (m.pl.) call this city Fez, that is, "Agelzim" [pick-ax] in Tamazight.

مَتَّا وَاوَالَا؟ إِس تَرِيد زَعْمَا أَنْتَبْضُو؟

What are you saying [lit: What's this word?]

Do you mean you (s.) want us to separate/divorce?

إِس تَنِيد زَعْمَا نَكِّين وَر سَنَخ مَانِيكْ تَزْدَغْد؟!

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 لَمْهُمْ

لَمْهُمْ، مَشْ وِرامِ إِعْجِبْ لِحَالِ دَا، دَوْ كْ وَينَم.

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.]

كْ تَزْوِيرِي نَّان "وهو." تَفِيرِ نَ أَيْنَا نَّان "إِه." إِضَلِّي
نَّان دِيخ "وهو." لَمْهُمْ، 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 كْ تِنْغِيرَا

أَمَرْنَتْنِ إِمَقُورُنْ نَ إِغْرَمَ كُورِنَتْنِ³⁶ كْ لِحَبْسِ أَلْ
أَسْكَانَسْ. دَايْ غَرِينَا سَنَدْ سَبْدِينَتْنِ كْ وَامَّاسْ نَ
أَكْرَاوْ أَهَّا سَقْسَانَتْنِ. تَفِيرِ نَ أَيَا إِزِينْ غِيْفَسَنْ أَهَّا
سَيَكْدَنْتْنِ. كْ تِنْغِيرَا رُؤْمَانَسَن.

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 أَنْكَارُو

سَ وَاتِّرِ نَ وَأَوَالِ

لَمْهُمْ، سَ وَاتِّرِ نَ وَأَوَالِ، رِيخْ أَدَاوَنَ إِنْخِ....

Anyway, briefly, I want to tell you (m.pl.)....

لِحَصُولِ، إِخْصَايَاخْ أَنْكَ سَ مَاكَّنَّا.

In summary, we should put into practice what he said.

³⁶ From what we learned we would expect the form here to be كُورِنَتْنِ without the ڤ. But many people put in the ڤ for pronunciation purposes. This occurs in this paragraph three times.

³⁷ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 261, under "ḥL."

in general

D. س واول كول

إنيبي دغي، س واول كول، ماي ترید.

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 يضن

س يون لمعنى إعجبي لحال بزاف دا، ولإيني س
لمعنى يضن، 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، ولإيني

س لمعنى يضن ور غيخ آداذجخ 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 _____

C. إد³⁸ (or) إد + noun/pronoun

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."

وَإِذَا إِحْسًا. إِدْ وَانْ، إِحْلًا شَيْئَانِ.

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.

D. وَمَا³⁹ + noun/pronoun as for _____

This word is a synonym to إِدْ .

مَشْ تَرَامْ، دَوِيَاتْ. وَمَا نَكَيْنْ، أَذْقِيمَخْ.

If you (m.pl.) want, go. As for me, I will stay.

سَوْتَرِ إِ رَبِّي. وَمَا لَعَبْدُ وَرَاشِ إِتْكَأ⁴⁰ 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.]

E. غَاسْ مَشْ⁴¹ unless

هَاتْ وَرْ غُورِي إِلِّي غَاسْ تَحْرِيرْتْ دْ أَغْرُومْ كْ تَدَارْتْ،

غَاسْ مَشْ نَدَا أَذْنَسَغْ شَا نْ أَكْسُومْ.

I (surely) have only soup and bread in the house,
unless we go to buy some meat.

هَانَ إِلِّي دَا كْ لَخْمَسَة، غَاسْ مَشْ تَرِيدْ أَتْتَشْدْ أَمْعَرَاضْ.

(You'd better) be here at five o'clock, unless you (s.) want punished.

[lit: unless you want to eat the stick/rod]

F. غَاسْ except

وَرَاشِ إِكْمَزْ غَاسْ أَفُوسَنَشْ.

No one will scratch for you (m.s.) except your hand.

[a proverb: You can only count on yourself.]

أَنَّاخْتَنْ كُولَنَسَنْ غَاسْ شَا.

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 غَاسْ إِمَشْ. See lesson 10, page 63, for other regional variations of مَشْ. غَاسْ can also be said as خَاسْ, غَسْ, and خَسْ.

even if, although, in spite of ⁴²مَقَار or مَغَار **.G**

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 مَاكْسَن نَتَّا.
Even though you (s.) know a lot, you don't know what he knows.

وَ رُولَن مَغَار رَعْبَن.
 They (m.) didn't run away although they were astonished.

مَغَار أَيَا، أَدُوخ.
In spite of this, I will go.
 مَغَارَس نَنَّا لَحَقَّ، وَرَاخ يَوْمِن.
Even though we told him the truth, he didn't believe us.

even if, although, in spite of ⁴³وَخَا **.H**

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 تَاكَادَايْنَا غُورْشِ إِلَّان، وَرَاشِ إِرْنَزَا⁴⁴
 إِيَّيْسَنَسْ.

Even though you (m.s.) give him whatever you have,
 he won't sell you his horse.

وَخَايَاس تَشِيدَايْنَا غُورْشِ إِلَّان، وَرَاشِ إِرْنَزِي
 إِيَّيْسَنَسْ.

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 ⁴⁵وَلَايْنِي **.I**

وَ ر تَوَاتَاد لْخِير نَّاش كْخِيخ، وَلَايْنِي عَمِّي آيْ تَكْخِيد.
 You (s.) don't deserve the good that I did to you, but you are my uncle.

إِكْوَس إِقَارِيضَن شِيْكَان، وَلَايْنِي إِرْلَعْتَن.
 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. مَشان⁴⁶ but

إِتْفَارَس⁴⁷ أَكْزَارَ خَمْسَ آلَافِ نِ أُرْيَال⁴⁸ إِ حَدَّوْ ،
مَشان ور غورَس والو.

Haddou owes the butcher 250 dirhams, but he doesn't have anything.
[lit: The butcher pursues/is following Haddou (for) 5000 rials, but...]

إِزِّي غِيفْسُ إِبَّاسْ ، مَشان إِسول ورت إِضَاع.
His father reprimanded him, but he still didn't obey him.

K. إِمِيل⁴⁹ but

أَرْيَازِين ور غورَس شَا ، إِمِيل دَيْتَسَدَّاق.
That man has nothing, but he gives alms.

رَزِيخْ غِيفْكُنْ ، إِمِيل وَرْكُنْ وَفِيخْ.
I looked for you (m.pl.), but I didn't find you.

L. زِيخْ⁵⁰ but

نَّيخْ إِدْ شَكَّيْنِ زِيخْ نَتَّا.

I thought [lit: said] it was you (m.s.) but (it was) him.

نَّيخْ إِسَاشْ إِرورَا أَرْطَالْ زِيخْ إِرَا أَشْ إِنْشَر.
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 مَشا , مَشانَت , and مَكا .

⁴⁷ Or إِتْفَارَس .

⁴⁸ Some say واريال .

⁴⁹ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 416, under "ML." Regional variations of this word include إِمِيح and إِمِيَق .

⁵⁰ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 801, under "Zh." Regional variations of this word include زِيغ and إِرِيخ .

⁵¹ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 503, under "NT."

تاغولند تَرَبَاتْ غَر تَدَارْت، نَتَّا وَرْتْ إِقْبِلْ أَوْدْ يُون.

The girl came back to the house, but no one accepted her.

ياغولند لَوَزِيرْ أَمَزَوَارُو، نَتَّا سُولْن مِذْن حَقَرْنْت.

He became prime minister, but people still despised him.

but it was/it is

نَتَّا د⁵² .N

The word نَتَّا with this meaning varies according to the subject. It can be either نِتْنَتِي, نِتْنِي, نَتَات, or نَتَّا.

غَالِخْ إِدْ رَايِنُو آيْ دِيكَاتْ، نَتَّا دْ وَيْنَسْ.

I thought that it was (in) my interest he was acting, but it was (in) his.

نِيخْ تَمَسَوْتَرْتْ آيْ تَنَّا، نَتَاتْ دْ تَخَوَانْتْ.

I said she was a beggar, but she was a thief.

whereas

مَانِي + independent personal pronoun .O

غَالِخْ وَ أَرْيَازْ إِغُودَانْ، إِسَّنْ رَبِّي، مَانِي نَتَّا دْ بُو إِحْلَالْن.

I thought this one was a good man, (that) he knew God, whereas he's a liar.

تَنِيْدِي تَرِيْدْ أَتَدُوْدْ غَرْ لِيْكُولْ، مَانِي شَكِّيْنْ تَدِيْدْ غَرْ سَوَلِيْمَا.

You (s.) told me you were going to go to school, whereas you went to the movies.

5. Cause/effect or consequence

because, since

إِدَّخْ⁵³ .A

إِدَّخْ وَرْ تَسْنَنْدْ، فَسْتْ!

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 إِدَّخْ and إِدَّغْ.

رَضَلْخَاسْ شَا نِ إِقَارِيضَنْ إِدَّخْ أَمَزْلُوضْ أَكْغَا تَسَاعْتًا.
I lent him some money because he's poor (at) this moment [lit: this hour].

because or **عَلَى حَقٍّ** **.B**
عَلَى حَقَّاشْ⁵⁴

أَرْيَازِينَ، وَرْ غُورْسْ إِلَيَّ مَانِيكَ إِتْسَنَادْ أَوْدْ أَقَرَّوْنَسْ
عَلَى حَقٍّ تَسَوْفَغْتْ تَمَطَّوْطَنَسْ زِي تَدَارْتْ.
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.
مُسَافَاضَنْ سِ إِمَطَّوْنْ عَلَى حَقٍّ سَنْ إِسْ وَرْ
تَمَّيَانَيْنْ⁵⁵ دِيخْ كْ دُونِيَتَا.
They said good-bye with tears because they (m.) knew that they wouldn't
see each other again in this world.

because, since **أَلِيكَ** **.C**

إِحْرَقْ أَلِيْكَاسْ نِيخْ آيْنَا.
He got angry because I told him that.
تَغَالْ إِسْ وَرْ غُورْسْ زَهْرْ أَلِيْكَاسْ إِجْرَا شَا وَرْ إِحْلِينَ.
She thinks that she's not lucky since something bad [lit: not good]
happened to her.

therefore, that's why **خَفْ أَيَا**⁵⁶ **.D**
عَلَى هَادِ الشَّيِّ (Mor. Arabic)
عَلَى دَاكِ الشَّيِّ (Mor. Arabic)

خَفْ أَيَا إِنَّايِي...
Therefore he said to me...
خَفْ أَيَا سَوَّجْدَاتْ إِخْفَاوْنَنْ، هَانْ أَكَلِيدْ أَدِيدُو غَرْ
مَكْنَسْ.
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 خَفْ أَيَادْ.

إِنَّا "نَكِين، ور سولاخ. خَفَ أَيَا هَاتِين ور تَغِيخ⁵⁷
أَنْدَوخ."

He said, "Me, I'm not free. That's why I can't [lit: won't be able to]
go (there)."

so, therefore

E. إَوَا⁵⁸

(Mor. Arabic) إِذْن

إَوَا، شَاتِ أَيْنَا إِثَانِ وَين قَائِصَرِ إِ قَائِصَرِ، دِ أَيْنَا
إِثَانِ وَين رَبِّي إِ رَبِّي.

Therefore, give (m.pl.) what is Ceasar's to Ceasar, and what is
God's to God.

إَوَا، إِنِّيي مَانِ كِ سِينَا أَيْدَاشِ 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

F. إِس⁵⁹

ور إِرِي أَدِيدُو إِسِ إِثْغَد⁶⁰.

He doesn't want to come because he's scared.

مَشْ 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.

G. مَاحَدْ وَر or مَاحَدْ وَر + before verb

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 **ث** in this word is pronounced with rounded lips and therefore the word sounds like **إِثْغَد**.

أَوْرَا أَتَتَشُدَّ مَاحَدَ وَر إِصْمِيضَ وَوَتَشِي.
 Come and eat before the food gets cold.
 أَوْرَا أَتَتَشُدَّ دَانُونِ مَاحَدَ وَرْتِ إِتَشِي كُماش.
 Come and eat the yogurt before your (m.s.) brother eats it.
 إِخْصَا مُحَنَدَ أَديَغَرِ مَاحَدَ وَر إِمْقُور.
 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**

سَنَخِ إِس وَر تَفْهَمِ.
 I knew that she didn't understand.
 إِسِينَاتِ إِس وَسَارِ تَنِيمِ أَتَنْجَحَمَ بَلَا نَكِينِ.
 Know that you (m.pl.) will never succeed without me.
 غَالَخِ إِسْكُنْتَ يَاغِ شَا.
 I thought that you (f.pl.) were sick.
 تَتَوِّ إِس وَر تَسُولَا.
 She forgot that she wasn't free.
 إِس تَوْشِيدِ إِس وَرَاسَنِ إِعْجَبَ لِحَالِ؟
 Did you (s.) feel that they (m.pl.) weren't happy?
 [lit: that the situation wasn't pleasing to them]
 يَوْفِ إِس 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): **إِسِينِ** (to know), **غَالِ** (to think, suppose), **ضَنَّا** (to think, suppose), **تَوِّ** (to forget), **عَقِّلِ** (to remember), **فَهَمِ** (to understand), **أَنَّا** (to see), **زَرِ** (to know, to see), **سَلِ** (to hear), **أَفِ** (to be better), **نَعَتِ** or **سَنَعَتِ** (to show), **ضَهَرَ** (to seem), **أَفِ** (to find), **أَشِي** (to feel, to realize), and others.

B. إِد (or) إِدَّ (**that** (before non-verbs)

سَنَخ إِد أَرَبَانُو آي تَكِيد.

I know that you are my son.

غَالَخ إِد شَمِين آيْدِي تَغْرِيد.

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.

C. زَمَار + أَد **lest**

إِفَر مُحَنَد تَقِير ن لَكُونَطَوَار زَمَار أَت يَانَّايِ إِبَّاس
لَقَّهَوَا.

Muhand hid behind the counter lest [fearing that] his father see him
in the café.

وَمَزَخ طَاكْسِي زَمَار أَد غِيْفِي إِدَّو لِحَال.

I took a taxi lest I be late.

D. بَعْدَا **in any case, at least**

أَنْتَرَبِح بَعْدَا غَاسِ إِمْنَسِي.

We will earn at least our dinner.

دَيَخ غَر تَمَغْرَا. بَعْدَا تَشِيخ وَخَا تَخَا تَمَغْرَا.

I went to the wedding. At least I ate even though the wedding was bad.

E. هَات and هَاتِين and هَان⁶¹ **(for emphasis)**

These three words are extremely common in stories and other speech. As with دَائِي and آهَا, 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 توعرْدْ أْ يامدّاكُلْ!

You’re really difficult (my) friend [lit: oh friend]!

ونّا إِرْحَبَن س لَهْلِينو هاتين إِرْحَب إِسِّي.

He who welcomes my family [or : my parents] _____ welcomes me.

نّاس "هاتين نانّايْ أَكَلِيدَ أَسّا كْ رَّبّاض."

They (m.) said to him, “_____ We saw the King today in Rabat.”

إِوا هات دَزيْغَش تَتَرَخْ أْ خالي أَدي تَعاونَد.

So I’m really asking (from) you, (my) uncle, to help me.

إِنّا لِقاضي "هان نَكّين ور وفيخ أَوْد يون لَعيب كْ
تَمَطّوطّا."

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 يون إِشِرّي إِسْمَنَس أَفّي 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 + لِحال

Since لِحال 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: يافَد لِحال.

يُوفاد لِحال مِدَّن لَّان دَتَتَشان إِسْلَمان.

It happened that people were eating fish.

Il se trouvait que des gens mangeaient des poissons.

دَّان غَر يُون زَّابوق ن عاري نَّامي دُيُوفَا لِحال تَتَّوبُنَا
غِيفَس تَمْدِينَتَنَسَن.

They (m.) went to a cliff of a mountain to which it happened that
their city was built on it.

نَكْشَم غَر تَدَارَت ن ذريس، داي يافَد لِحال
تَضَغَّالَتَنَس ياعَتَّ شَا.

We entered Driss’ house. Now it happened that his sister-in-law was sick.

يُون واسَّ إِلَا دِيْگِي لَار. جَمَعَخ د سين إريزن كْ أَبْرِيْد،
مَشان يافَتَنِيْد⁶⁴ لِحال أَوْد نِتْنِي س سينَنَسَن ور
غورَسَن أَوْد شَا ن ووتشي.

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.

إْرِيل لِيْغَاخ دُيُوفَا لِحال داها حَمَا أَكُن نَعَاون.

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: ياف + تَن (“them”) + (for pronunciation) + د.

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 (+ وَر) | .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 | إِسْ |
| | that | .2 | |
| | a "yes/no" question word, <i>est-ce que...?</i> | .3 | |
| | if, whether | .4 | |
| Used before non-verbs: | as for _____ | .1 | إِذْ |
| | 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 + مَحْرَا¹

The word مَحْرَا 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. مَحْرَا إِفْعَ.

I just came. مَحْرَا دَدِيخ.

مَحْرَا غورسَن دِيْدَا شِيْكَان 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 دُغي + آيْ

(It was) just now that he called (here). غاس دُغي آيْ دِيْغَرَا.

(It was) just now that he went. غاس دُغي أَكْغَدَا.²

(It was) only just now that he went. غاس دُغي عَاد أَكْغَدَا.

C. Another way to say a similar meaning is with the word آمَشِينَا³. 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 أَبَحْرَا and بَحْرَا. In some regions these words don't cause pronouns, etc. to move. Some regions also add آيْ after this word.

² The word دُغي can also come after the verb: غاس أَكْغَدَا دُغي.

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 دَّان س طَّيارا.

They (m.) just left by plane.

أَمْشِينَا دِيْعَايْد.

He just returned (here).

2. I almost did something

A. With the word ذَرُوخ

This expression is formed in the following ways:

verb in the past tense form + ذَرُوخ

verb in the past tense form + أَئِي + ذَرُوخ

verb in the past tense form + ذَرُوخ + نَتَّا⁵

verb in the past tense form + أَئِي + ذَرُوخ + 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.

ذَرُوخ نَمَّوت.

We almost didn't arrive (here).

ذَرُوخ وَر ذَنْيَوَض.

I almost fell.

ذَرُوخ أَئِي 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.

دَيخ تَشِيخ أَكْسوم.

⁴ Some regions add أَئِي 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 لُمُونَادَا.
 [lit: I found him he almost drank the soda.]
 I found that he had almost drank the soda.
 They (m.) almost finished. دَانَ شَمَلَن.

Note that this construction is different from دَو + أَد:

He is going to drink the soda. إِذَا أَدِيسُو لُمُونَادَا.

C. With the word عَلاَحَال

almost, on the point of;
 soon عَلاَحَال

Used with **the future tense**:

He will come back soon. عَلاَحَال أَدَّيَاغُول.

He is on the point of getting out
 of [lit: from] prison. عَلاَحَال أَدِيفَغَ زِي لَحَبَس.

But in **the past tense** there are a number of different ways of expressing this idea:

He almost fell in the well. عَلاَحَال إِتَوَتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 عَلاَحَال وَمَا إِتَوَتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 شَوَيْت وَمَا إِتَوَتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 شَوِي وَمَا إِتَوَتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 غَاسَ شَوِي وَمَا إِتَوَتِي كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 شَوَيْت أَكْثَوَتِي [أَيَّ + إِتَوَتِي] كُفْ وَأَنُو. or
 غَاسَ رَبِّي وَمَا إِتَوَتِي 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 ⁶إري

(This has the exact same form as “I/he/she/etc. wants to do something.”)

ريخ أَذْسَقْ⁷ طوموبيل، إميل والو إِذْرِيْمَن.

I was going to buy a car, but I didn't have any money.

ريخ أَنْدَوَخْ أَذْسَقْ طوموبيل، إميل والو إِذْرِيْمَن.

I was going to go (there) (to) buy a car, but I didn't have any money.

إِرا أَذْيَدُو، مَشَان إِدَايَاس لِحَال.

He was going to come, but it got too late [or: the time slipped away on him].

ريخ أَنْدَوَخْ أَدْ غورْشْ كَخْ، 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).

تومَرْتْ توستْ أَلِيكْ إِرا أَذِيخْنَق.

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 ^ك in front of ^{إري}. They seem to mean about the same, although at times the addition of ^ك means that the action was further in the past.

كَيخ رِيخ أَدَاشْ أَذْجَخْ شَوِي، مَشَان تَشِيخْت.

I was going to leave you (m.s.) some, but I ate it.

إِكا إِرا أَدِيَسْغْ طوموبيل، 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 ^{بار}:

i. To express a wish or possibility, the structure is:

⁶ Some regions use ^{إني}.

⁷ Or أَذْسَغْ or أَذْسَخْ or أَذْسَخْ, depending on how the region phonetically handles a first person singular verb that ends in ^غ.

verb conjugated in the two-verbs-together format + اَد + بار⁸

شاس اَسافارا بار اَدِجِّي.

Give him this medicine. Maybe he will get better.

اَرْت وَحَطَوْنَ اَرورَزَوْنَ بار اَد غيفَس اَمَزَن شَا ن وَاوَال زَكْ
اِمِينَس حَمَا اَد اِس قَرَقَرَن.

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 + اِس + بار

noun or non-verb + اِد + بار

بار اِس⁹ اِدَا اَدِجَمَع د اِمَدَوَكَالَنَس.

Maybe he went to meet his friends. or

Maybe he's going to meet his friends.

ضَنَخْ بار اِس وَر اِنِّي اَدَّيَاوَض اَسَا.

I think maybe he won't come [arrive here] today.

بار اِد اِطَو اَكْيُول [اَي + اِوَلَن].

Maybe it's Itto who got married.

B. Another way to express doubt or uncertainty is with the word عَنِخ :

عَنِخ اَدَّيَدُو. Maybe he will come.

عَنِخ اَرِيدَا.¹⁰ or Maybe he left.

عَنِخ اِدَا. or

عَنِخ اِس اِدَا.

⁸ Other areas say اَد اِمَكَن or اَد اِلايَن.

⁹ Instead of اِس بار, some regions say اِلايَن.

¹⁰ See Taifi's dictionary, page 847, under "عN," for the use of اَر after عَنِخ 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 أَلْتَمَسَ.**

She began to breast-feed her child. **تَوْمَ أَرْتَسَوِّطِيضَ لَعِيلَنَسَ.**

- 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 أَرِيَسَوَالَ.**

They (m.) began to cry. **سَفَالَنَ أَرْتَرُون.**

- 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 أَنْزَارَ أَرِيكَاتِ.**

He began to chant the Koran. **إِبْدَا أَرِيَتَجَوَادَ لِقُرَان.**

- D. Another way to express the idea is with the verb **كَرَّ**¹¹.

verb in its continuous form + **أَر** + **كَرَّ** conjugated in its past form

They (m.) began to sing [lit: to say] the song. **كَرَنَ أَرْتَيْنِينَ إِزْلَان.**

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 **كَرَّ**.

He began to stir up/provoke the people. **إِكَّرْ أَرِيَسْحورْوش مِدَّن.**

Note, however, that this verb can't always be translated easily into English. Penchoen¹² writes of “the frequent use of **كَّرْ** ‘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. **إِكَّرْ أَرِيَاز يَامَرْت.**

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 **كَّرْ** 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 **قَمِ** verb in its continuous form + **أَر** + **قَمِ** conjugated in its past form

He began to laugh. **إَقَمِيا¹³ أَرِيَطْصَا.**

They (m.) began to consult among themselves. **قَمِيانَ أَرْتَمْشاوارَنَ إِنْكَرَاتْسَن¹⁴.**

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 **قَمِ** 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. **إَقَمِيا أَرِيَتْدَو.**

The woman kept on crying. **تَقَمِيا تَمَطْوطْ أَرْتَالَا.**

¹² Page 43 of *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*.

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 **إِنْكَرَاتْسَن**.

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 **إِلْأَزَمَ** (stronger than **خَصَا**)

i. This verb is only used in its third masculine singular form **إِلْأَزَمَ**. 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 + **إِلْأَزَمَ**
conjugation

When a noun is used instead of a pronoun, the structure is as follows:

verb in two-verbs-together + **أَدَ** + noun + **إِلْ** + **إِلْأَزَمَ**
conjugation

Examples:

إِلْأَزَمَاخَ أَنْفَرَحَ إِذَّخَ تَوْفَا أَلْتَمَامَ لَخْدَمْتِ.

We must be happy because your (f.s.) sister found a job.

كَيْخَ أَيْنَايِي إِلْأَزَمَنْ.

I did what I had to [lit: I did what was necessary for me (to do)].

إِلْأَزَمَ إِلْ أُمَكْسَا أَدِيحَاسَبَ وَلَيَنْسَ.

It's necessary for the shepherd to count his sheep.

وَنَا إِرَانِ أَدِيكَ بُو سَيَاسَا إِلْأَزَمَ¹⁵ أَدِيكَ أَمْطَرَحَ.

The one who wants to be a politician must be a rich man.

وَرِ إِلْأَزَمَ غَاسَ يُونِ أَسَكَيْنِ.

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 إِلْأَزَمَ \ وَرِ إِلْأَزَمَ

¹⁵ Or **إِلْأَزَمَاسَ**. The indirect object pronoun **أَسَ** is optional here.

The structure is:

verb in two-verbs- + أَد + someone خَف + the verb لَزَم 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 أَذْخَمَخَ.

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 طَوْمُوبِيلَ.

Salt is necessary for sheep. لَابُدَّا نَ تَيْسَنَتَ إِ وُلِّي.

Salt is necessary for sheep. تَيْسَنَتَ لَابُدَّا إِ وُلِّي.

¹⁶ Some people say here وَلَا بُدَّ.

137

ii. Examples

إِقْنَاخُنْ أَنْمَت.

We are (all) mortal.

[lit: It's obligatory that we die.]

إِقْنَكُنِينَ أَدَاسَ تَخْلَصَم.

You (m.pl.) must pay for him.

[lit: It is obligatory for you that you pay for him.]

إِقْنَشْمِينَ أَتَدَّودَ غَرَّ أَضْبِيب.

You (f.s.) must go to the doctor.

[lit: It is obligatory for you that you go to the doctor.]

وَرْتِينَ إِقْنْ أَدِيدَو.

It's not necessary that he go.

[lit: It's not necessary for him that he go.]

إِسْكُنِينَ إِقْنْ أَتَشَارْمَ لَكْ أَمَكْرَاوْ؟

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 the two-verbs- together format | + | أَدَ | + | the noun | + | the ن of farness | + | إِقْنْ |
|--|---|------|---|----------|---|---------------------|---|--------|

| | | | |
|------------|------|-----------|-----------------|
| he do sthg | that | (for) Ali | It is necessary |
|------------|------|-----------|-----------------|

إِقْنَنَ عَلِيَّ أَدِيبِي لَكَارَو.

Ali must quit smoking.

[It is obligatory (for) Ali that he cut cigarettes.]

إِقْنَنَ عَسَّو د حَدَّو أَدْبَذَرْنَ أَوَالَا دَات ن لَمَقَدَّم.

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 نِيَقْنْ تودَا أَتَلَسْ تَجَلَّابَيْتْ توجْدَيْتْ؟

Is it necessary for Tuda to wear a new jellaba?

سَنَخْ إِسْ نِيَقْنْ أَيَا أَدِجَرَو.

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.”

إِنَّا يَا 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 غِيفَسْ إِمْرُؤَاسَن.

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.

ماخَف² دَيَسَوَال؟

About what is he speaking?

What is he speaking about?

إِنِغَات س لُكَابُوس.

He killed him with a revolver.

ماس إِنِغَا 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 كْ لَمِيكَ.

The bread is in the plastic bag.

مَائِكْ إِلَا أَغْرُوم؟

In what is the bread?

What is the bread in?

دَيَخْ غَر فاس.

I'm going to Fes.

مَاغَر⁴ تَدِيد؟

Where are you (s.) going?

[lit: To what are you going?]

¹ These complex question 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 ماخَف, ماغَر, and ماس can at times mean “about what?” or “with what (reason)?” that is, “why?”

³ Some regions say مَائِد. Ayt Seghroushen says واكْد.

⁴ In regions where س is the preposition of movement, the question “Where are you going?” is ماس تَدِيد؟.

سَغِيخْتْ زِي مَرْجَان.
I bought it from Marjane.

مازي⁵ تَسْغِيد لِقَمِيْجَا؟
From where did you (s.) buy the shirt?
Where did you buy the shirt from?

إِشَاسْتَنْتْ إِرْ 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 تَدَارْت؟
Where is the house?
[lit: In where is the house?]

كَيْخْ زِي فَرَنْسَا.
I'm from France.

ماني زِي⁶ تَكْغِيد؟
From where are you (s.)?
Where are you from?

2. مِي + preposition

A. In this way of asking a complex question, the preposition is followed by the word مِي, and there is a question tone in the voice. مِي can mean either “who” or “what.” There is no مَا used in this method.

إِلَّا خَفْ طَبَّلَا.
The bread is on the table.

خَفْ مِي إِلَّا أَغْرُوم؟

On what is the bread?
What is the bread on?

خَفْ طَبَّلَا.
On the table.

خَفْ مِي؟
On what?

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 تَكْغِيد؟ [lit: “Of where are you?”]. Also in the southern areas of the Middle Atlas language group إِشَا is used with certain verbs and expressions to mean “from.” Thus, in those regions مَانِيْكَ can also mean “from where?” in certain expressions (although not this one here).

إِغْرَسَاسْ سْ لَمُوسْ.
He slaughtered it with a knife.

سْ مِي إِغْرَسْ إِ أَفُولُوسْ؟
With what⁷ did he slaughter the rooster?
What did he slaughter the rooster with?

سْ لَمُوسْ.
With a knife.

سْ مِي؟⁸
With what?

إِغْرَسَاسْ سْ لَمُوسْ.
He slaughtered it with a knife.

إِمُون دْ⁹ بُوْدُوْفْتْ.
He went with Buduft.

دْ مِي إِمُون عَسَّوْ؟
With whom did Assou go?
Who did Assou go with?

دْ بُوْدُوْفْتْ.
With Buduft.

دْ مِي؟¹⁰
With whom?

إِمُون عَسَّوْ دْ بُوْدُوْفْتْ.
Assou went with Buduft.

إِلَّا كْ لَمِيكَ.
The bread is in the plastic bag.

كْ مِي إِلَّا أَغْرُومْ؟

In what is the bread?

What is the bread in?

كْ لَمِيكَ.
In the plastic bag.

كْ مِي؟
In what?

إِلَّا أَغْرُومْ كْ لَمِيكَ.
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 سْ is also used in certain expressions to mean “for (a certain reason).” Thus, in those regions سْ مِي can also mean “for what reason?,” that is “why?”

⁸ Some regions also say سْ مَاسْ؟, literally, “with what with?”

⁹ Ayt Seghroushen says أَكَّدْ for the preposition دْ.

¹⁰ Some regions also ask here أَكَّدْ مَنْ؟ 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.” سْ 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 غَر أَمَدَاكْلَنَس.
He stayed at his friend's place.

غَر¹² مِي إِنْسَا؟
At whose place did he stay?
Whose place did he stay at?
Chez qui did he stay?

غَر أَمَدَاكْلَنَس. غَر مِي؟
At his friend's place. Whose place?
Chez qui?

إِنْسَا غَر أَمَدَاكْلَنَس.
He stayed at his friend's place.

غَر مِي can also mean "to what?," that is, "where?" with a verb of movement.¹³

فَغْنَد زِي تَمَزِيدَا.
They came out from the mosque.

زِي مِي دَفَغْن مِدَّن؟
From where did the people come out?
Where did the people come out from?

فَغْنَد مِدَّن زِي تَمَزِيدَا. زِي مِي؟¹⁴
From the mosque. From where? The people came out from the mosque.

إِشَاسْتَن إِمَمِيم.
He gave it to your (f.s.) son.

إِ مِي إِشَا إِقَارِيضَن؟
To whom did he give the money?
Who did he give the money to?

إِشَاس إِقَارِيضَن إِمَمِيم. إِم مِي؟¹⁵
To your son. 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.

فَغْنَد زِي تَمَزِيدَا.
They came out from the mosque.

فَغْنَد مِدَّن 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 *غَر*, 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 *س مِي* 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 دَقْعَن.

It's from the mosque that they came out.

زي مي آي دَقْعَن مِدَن؟

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 دَاوْ ن طَبْلَا.¹⁷

It's under the table.

دَاوْ ن مي¹⁶ إِلَّا أُغْرُوم؟

Under what is the bread?

What is the bread under?

دَاوْ ن مي؟ دَاوْ ن طَبْلَا.

Under the table.

Under what?

إِلَّا أُغْرُوم دَاوْ ن طَبْلَا.

The bread is under the table.

Other prepositions (See the *Abrid 3 Student Book*, lesson 4, page 25):

أَبْوِ ن مي؟¹⁸ نِيَكْ

Above what...?

Inside what...?

جَا ن مي؟

بَيْنَ ن مي؟¹⁹ إِنْكَرْ

Between what...?

Inside what...?

أَكْنَسُو ن مي؟

بَرَا ن مي؟²⁰ دَات ن مي؟

Before what...?
In front of what...?

Outside of what...?

بَرَا ن مي؟

أَفْلَا ن مي؟¹⁹ تَفِير ن مي؟

After what...?

On top of what...?

أَفْلَا ن مي؟

Behind what...?

أَسْكَ ن مي؟²⁰ بَنِيد ن مي؟

Across from what?

Beside what...?

أَسْكَ ن مي؟

Next to what...?

تَمَا ن مي؟

In the middle of what...?

كَ وَامَّاس ن مي؟

At the bottom/back (*au fond*) of what...?

كَ وَابُوض ن مي؟

¹⁶ Some regions leave out the ن and say دَاوْ ن مي؟ .

¹⁷ Some regions leave out the ن and say دَاوْ ن طَبْلَا .

¹⁸ For all the prepositions in this column, certain regions will leave out the ن between the preposition and the word مي .

¹⁹ Remember that there are many regional variations for this preposition, which has both a temporal and spatial meaning: ضَارَتْ , دَقِير , دَقِير , دَقِير , تَفِير , تَفِير , فَير . The preposition دَات also has both a temporal and spatial meaning, and it has variations such as زَات , تَات , and زَدَات .

²⁰ Some regions say بَلِيد or مَنِيد (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 لَمِيكَ.

The bread is in the plastic bag.

مَاكُ مِي إِلَّا أُغْرُوم؟

In what is the bread?

What is the bread in?

إِشَاسْتَن إ مَمِّم.

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 **ما + إ + مي**. 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 غَرْسَخ إ أَفُولُوس.

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 إِمون عَسَو.

They (m.) saw with whom Assou went.

They saw who Assou went with.

أَنَّا يَنْ ماد إِمون عَسَو.

They (m.) saw with whom Assou went.

They saw who Assou went with.

تَسَّن ك مي إِلَّا أُغْروم.

She knows in what is the bread.

She knows what the bread is in.

تَسَّن ماك مي إِلَّا أُغْروم.

She knows in what is the bread.

She knows what the bread is in.

تَسَّن مانيك إِلَّا أُغْروم.

She knows where the bread is.

[lit: She knows in where is the bread.]

أَنَّا يَنْ مامي إِشا إِقارِضَن.

They (m.) saw to whom he gave the money.

They saw who he gave the money to.

تَسَّن دَاو ن مي إِلَّا أُغْروم.

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. كُول¹ and كُو

These words, depending on their context, mean “each/every” or “all.” Although at times كُو and كُول 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 كُو and كُول are in their non-dependent form. The words don't vary for gender, although in general كُو is used with singular nouns and كُول is used with plural nouns or expressing the idea of “all.”²

1. Each and every

This idea is usually expressed with the word كُو. Although the following noun is not in its dependent form, since the word كُو ends with a vowel, a “y” sound is inserted between كُو 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 | كُو يِيض | each/every house | كُو تَدَارْت |
| each/everyone (m.) | كُو يُون | each/every city | كُو تَمْدِينْت |
| each/everyone (f.) | كُو يُوْت | each/every time | كُو تِكَلْت |
| everyone else (m.) | كُو يُون يَضْن | each/every time | كُو لَمَرْت |
| everyone else (f.) | كُو يُوْت يَضْن | each/every thing ³ | كُو لِحَاجَت |
| every wolf | كُو يُوْشْن | each/every day | كُو يَاسْ |

Everyone has his own trouble.
[lit: Everyone with his trouble.]

Each one took his part/share.

كُو يُون س تَمَارَانْس.

يُوسِي كُو يُون أَمُورَانْس.

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 إِرِيزَن |
| all the tents | كول إِخَامَن | all the women | كول تِوَتَمِين |
| all the dogs | كول إِيْضَان | all the people | كول مِدَّن |

He killed all the opponents. إِنْغَا كُول إِنْضَلِيبَن.

The word can also refer to singular items:

تَشَان كُول أَينَآيَاسَن نَشَا.
They (m.) ate all that we gave them.
إِثْغَا كُول أَينَآس إِنَّا إِبَّاس.
He did all that his father told him.
دَتَمَشَاوَارَن خَف كُول مَائِ رَان أَذْكَن.
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 | إِرِيزَن كُول |
| all the tents | إِخَامَن كُول | all the women | تِوَتَمِين 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.

غَرِيخَ إِ وَاذْجَارَن كُول.

The word can also refer to singular items:

They (m.) told all that (had) happened.

قَيَّسَنَ أَينَّا إِجْرَان كُول.

[lit: They told this that happened all.]

in the whole world

لَّكَ دُونَيْت كُول

with all your (m.s.) heart

س وَلَنْش كُول

in all of Meknes

لَّكَ 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

كُولَنَّاخ

all of you (m.pl.)

كُولَنُّن

all of you (f.pl.)

كُولَنُّنْت

all of them (m.)

كُولَنَّسَن

all of them (f.)

كُولَنَّسَنْت

He asked all the people.

إِسْقَسَا مِدَّن كُولَنَّسَن.

I saw you (m.pl.) all/all of you.

أَنَّاخَكُن كُولَنُّن.

I saw them (m.) all/all of them.

أَنَّاخَتَن كُولَنَّسَن.

All the women were astonished.

رُعَبَنْت تَوْتَمِين كُولَنَّسَنْت.

They (m.) all went.

دَّان كُولَنَّسَن.

All of them went.

The whole assembly went.

دَّان كُولَنَّسَن س أَكْثَرَاو.

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.) | كُولُوكُنْ | or | كُولُكُنْ |
| all of you (f.pl.) | كُولُوكُنْتِ | or | كُولُكُنْتِ |
| all of them (m.) | كُولُوتَن | or | كُولْتَن |
| all of them (f.) | كُولُوتَنْتِ | or | كُولْتَنْتِ |

He asked all the people. إِسْقَسَا مِذَّنْ كُولُوتَن.

I saw you (m.pl.) all. أَنَايْخَكُنْ كُولُكُنْ.

All the women were astonished. رُعَبَنْتِ تَوْتَمِينْ كُولُوتَنْتِ.

B. أَوُكْ⁶ “awk” or “ak”

We are writing the word "awk" in the above fashion, although technically it would be just أَكْ. 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."

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. دَانْدْ أَوُكْ.

All of them came.

All the people came. دَانْدْ مِذَّنْ أَوُكْ.

I threw up all that I ate. رُورِيخْدْ أَوُكْ مَايْ تَشِيخْ.

I threw up whatever I ate.

They (m.) ate all that we gave them. تَشَانْ أَوُكْ أَيَنْيَايَسَنْ 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. روريخْد مايْ تَشِيخْ أَوْك.
I threw up whatever I ate.
They (m.) ate all that we gave them. تَشَانْ أَيْنَايَسَنْ نَشَا أَوْك.

In negative phrases the word means “at all.”

We didn't speak at all about that. وَرْ نَسْوَلْ أَوْكْ خَفْ أَيْنَا.
He doesn't know at all how to drive. وَرْ إِسَّنْ أَوْكْ أَدِيحْرِي.
He didn't come at all. أَوْكْ وَرْ دِيدِي.

With the meaning “at all,” there are three different possibilities for word order:

We didn't speak at all about that. أَوْكْ وَرْ نَسْوَلْ خَفْ أَيْنَا.
We didn't speak at all about that. وَرْ نَسْوَلْ أَوْكْ خَفْ أَيْنَا.
We didn't speak at all about that. وَرْ نَسْوَلْ خَفْ أَيْنَا أَوْكْ.

C. (أَوْكْ (a synonym of قَاح⁷

1. Examples

They (m.) ate all that we gave them. تَشَانْ قَاحْ أَيْنَايَسَنْ نَشَا.
They (m.) all came. دَّانْدْ قَاحْ.
All of them came.
All the people/everyone came. دَّانْدْ مِدَّنْ قَاحْ.
They (f.) all came. دَّانْدْ قَاحَنْسَنْتْ.
All of them came.

The following word order is also acceptable:

They (m.) ate all that we gave them. تَشَانْ أَيْنَايَسَنْ نَشَا قَاحْ.

⁷ This word is found in Taifi's dictionary on page 528, under “Qh.”

In negative phrases the word means “at all.”

ور نسوَل قَاح خَف أَيَّنَّا. We didn't speak at all about that.

ور إِسَّن قَاح أَدِيمَسَا د مِدَّن. He doesn't know at all how to get along with people.

قَاح أَدوراس سَوَال. Don't speak to him/her at all.

As with أَوَك , there are three different possibilities for word order for the meaning “at all”:

قَاح ور نسوَل خَف أَيَّنَّا. We didn't speak at all about that.

ور نسوَل قَاح خَف أَيَّنَّا. We didn't speak at all about that.

ور نسوَل خَف أَيَّنَّا قَاح. We didn't speak at all about that.

2. Some people use the following:

plural possessive pronouns + قَاح + plural noun or pronoun

all of us قَاحَنَّا

all of you (m.pl.) قَاحَنُّن

all of you (f.pl.) قَاحَنُّنَّت

all of them (m.) قَاحَنَّسَن

all of them (f.) قَاحَنَّسَنَّت

إِسْقَسَا مِدَّن قَاحَنَّسَن. He asked all the people.

أَنَّايْخَكُن قَاحَنُّن. I saw you (m.pl.) all.

رُعَبَنَّت تَوْتَمِين قَاحَنَّسَنَّت. All the women were astonished.

دَّان قَاحَنَّسَن. They (m.) all went.

All of them went.

D. The expression: _____ مَآيْدَ إِكْغَانِ

This phrase is used to express “every” or “all” plus a noun, as in “every city” or “all cities.” The structure is:

singular noun + مَآيْدَ إِكْغَانِ⁸
(in its non-dependent form)

يُوزِنُ أَكْغَلِيدَ إِمْزِيلَزْنَسْ أَذْزُورُنْ دَاتَسْ غَر مَآيْدَ إِكْغَانِ
تَمْدِينَتْ د مَآيْدَ إِكْغَانِ أَذْغَار نَّأَغَرِ إِعَوَّلْ أَدِيدُو.

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.

إِسْكَشَم سِيدْنَا نُوح دِيدْسْ كْ أَغْرَابُو يُوْت ن تِيُوْكَأ، أَوْتَم
تَوْتَمَتْ، زِي كُول مَآيْدَ إِكْغَانِ دَات نَّا إِدْرُنْ، سِين زِي مَآيْدَ
إِكْغَانِ شَا حَمَّا أَدِيدِيرُنْ أَوْد 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: _____ س مَاسْ إِلَا

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.

إِسَاقَا أَنْغَمِيسْ كْ مَكْنَسْ س مَاسْ تَلَا.

The news spread throughout Meknes / in all Meknes.

إِسَاقَا أَنْغَمِيسْ كْ أَزْرُو س مَاسْ إِلَا.

The news spread throughout Azrou / in all Azrou.

هَنَّا مِدَّنْ كْ إِكْغَرْمَانِ نْ أَيْتْ عَطَا س مَاسْ لَّان.

The people had peace throughout the villages of Ayt ‘Atta. or

The people had peace in all the villages of Ayt ‘Atta.

إَوِين لَبُولِيسْ مِدَّنْ قَاحَنَسَّنْ س مَاسْ لَّان.

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 مَآكْغَانِ.

Expressions with لُحَال

The word لُحَال is very common and is used in many different expressions. In lessons 14 and 15 we saw one of these expressions : يوفاد لُحَال . In this lesson we will look at numerous other expressions using لُحَال . Many of these expressions you've seen before. This lesson groups them all together.

1. لُحَال can mean "weather," "temperature," or "state of the atmosphere."

It's hot. إِحْمَا لُحَال.

It's cold. إِقْرَف لُحَال.

(There are many other weather expressions.)

It's light out.
(That is, it's not dark anymore.) إِسِيد لُحَال.

It's daybreak. إِفْو لُحَال.

2. لُحَال can mean "time."

It's late.
It's too late. إِدَا لُحَال.

I'm late. إِدَا غِيفِي لُحَال.

There's still time.
It's not late.
It's not the time yet. إِسُول لُحَال.

in the olden days,
in the past كْ زِيك ن لُحَال

مَش + indirect object + ت + إِثْا لِحَال
pronouns

If we are able. مَشَاخْت إِثْا لِحَال.
[lit: If the time/situation permits it to us.]

If you (m.pl.) are able. مَشَاوَنْت إِثْا لِحَال.

3. لِحَال can mean “circumstance,” “situation” or “state.”

يُوفَاد لِحَال
It happened that...
Il se trouvait que...
(See lessons 14 and 15, pages 123-124,
for more details.)

رِيخ أَذْ عَوْمَخْ كْ وَاسِيفْ، مَشَان
يُوفَاد لِحَال مِدَّنْ لَّانْ دَتَصَيَّاضَنْ.
I was going to swim in the river, but
it happened that people were fishing/
hunting.

مَاش إِثْا لِحَال؟
How are you (m.s.)?
[lit: What is the situation to you?]

مَاس إِثْا لِحَال إِ أُمُوضِين؟
How is the sick person?

إِزَايْدْ غِيفَسْ لِحَال.
He has gotten worse.
His state has gotten worse.
[lit: The state has advanced on him.]

إِعْجَبَاسَنْ لِحَال.
They (m.) are happy.
They are having a good time.
[lit: The situation is pleasing to them.]

إِقَيِّمَ دِيغِي لِحَال.
I'm hurt (emotionally).

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.)

إِثَّا لِحَالٍ + أَد + verb in two-verbs-
together format

We have to visit him/her.
[lit: We are constrained to go to his place.]

إِثَّا لِحَالٍ أَدْ غُورْسْ نَدَّو.

I had to drink during Ramadan because
it was so hot.

إِثَّا لِحَالٍ أَذْ سُوخْ كْ رَمَضَانَ
إِدَّخْ إِغْرَا لِحَالٍ شِيْكَان.

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.

إِثَّا لِحَالٍ أَذْ سِرْسَن مِدَّنْ لَكْنَزَتْ
كْ وَامَّاسْ نْ أَبْرِيْدْ إِدَّخْ وَحَلَن.

almost, on the point of;
soon

عَلَّاحَالٍ

He will arrive (here) soon.

عَلَّاحَالٍ أَذْ يَاوَضْ.

He is on the point of dieing.

عَلَّاحَالٍ أَدِيْمَتْ.

But in the past tense there are a number of different ways of expressing this idea:

He almost fell in the well.

عَلَّاحَالٍ إِتَوْتِيْ كْ وَانَو. or
عَلَّاحَالٍ وَمَا إِتَوْتِيْ كْ وَانَو. or
شَوِيْتْ وَمَا إِتَوْتِيْ كْ وَانَو. or
شَوِي وَمَا إِتَوْتِيْ كْ وَانَو.

4. The word لِحَالَتْ 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 كْ يَوْتْ نْ لِحَالَتْ إِسَّرُون.

How are the roads these days
out your way?

ماني لُحالت ن إِبْرَدان غورُن وسّانا ؟
or

Take a bath!
Clean yourself up!
Wash yourself!

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 تَمَطُّوطْ | Oh my friend | أَ وَدِّي |
| 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 يَارِيَا |
| 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,” **أَإِمَّا**, is pronounced “aymma” and not “a yimma.”

Oh my daughter **أَيِّلِي** Oh my mother **أَيِّمَّا**

More examples:

So, my friend, what’s up? **إِوَا، أَ وَدِّي، مَتَا وَا؟**

How are you doing, Moha? **مَاي تَعْنِيَت، أَ مَوَحِي؟**

Come, oh my brother, to me!
(from a love song) **أَدَّود، أَ كُثْمَا، غُورِي.**

Hey, Aisha, do you hear me? **أَ عَيْشَةَ، إِسِي تَسَلَّيْد؟**

Oh God, I praise and thank you. **أَ رَبِّي، دَش تَحْمَادَخ أَرَش تَشْكَارَخ.**

Oh what luck/happiness you (m.s.) have! **أَ يَاعْرِيْنَش!**

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 مَاي تَعْنِيَت، أَ بَسَّو؟**

C. The vocative may also explain the **أَ** in the imperative “Come!”: **أَدَّود**. 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.

نَيَخَاش، أَ وَا، أَدُورَاس رَطَّل إِذْرِيْمَن.

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. | قَيِّم أَتَسُود أَتَاي. |
| I'm not free. I have to go. | وَر سَوَلَاخ. إِخْصَايِي أَدَّوْخ. |
| Come on (to a woman), stay! | أَ تَا، قَيِّم! |
| [lit: Oh this one, stay!] | |
| Be quiet. | فَسْت. |
| Hey, be quiet! | أَ فَسْت! |
| Hey you (m.s.), be quiet!! | أَ وَا، فَسْت!! |
| | أَ وَا، غَرِيخَاش أَدْ زِيْغِي تَسْبَعَدْ شَيْضَان. |
| | 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*.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{أَ يَا} & = & \text{أَيَّ} & + & \text{ي} & + & \text{أَ (the vocative)} \\ & & \text{the “y” in “ay”} & & \text{“y” added for} & & \\ & & \text{drops out} & & \text{pronunciation} & & \end{array}$$

We will see examples of these two words **أَ يَا** (not to be confused with the word **أَيَا** 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 **مَشْتَا**¹

| | |
|--|--|
| How many children he has! (He's got a lot of children!) | شَحَال ن إِشِيرَان أَيَّ غورَس! |
| | مَشْحَال ن وولِي أَيَّ تَزْنَزِيدَ أَسَا! |
| | How many sheep you've (s.) sold today! (You've really sold a lot of sheep today!) |
| How much she paid! (She really paid a lot!) | مَشْتَا أَيَّ تَخَلَّص! |
| How much he paid! (He really paid a lot!) | مَشْتَا أَكْثَخَلَّص! |
| How much she spent on it! (She really spent a lot on it!) | شَحَال أَيَّ تَصَرَفَ دِيكْس! |
| How much they (m.) wasted! (They really wasted a lot!) | شَحَال أَيَّ سَخَسَرَن! |
| How long (it's been) since I've seen you! (I haven't seen you (f.s.) in a long time!) | شَحَال أَيَّا وَرْشَمَ أَنَايْخ! |

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 وَاس! |
| What beauty! | مَتَا زَيْن! |

iii. With **مَائِي**

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| How beautiful that girl is! (That girl is really beautiful!) | مَائِي تَزِيلُ تَرْبَاتَيْن! |
| How long this road is! (This road is so long!) | مَاكْغَزَيَفْ أَبْرِيدَا! |

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!) | أَمْشَتَا أَيَّ تَخَلَّصَ! |
| Oh what a day! | أَمْتَا وَاسَّ! |
| Oh how long this road is! (Oh this road is so long!) | أَمْكُغَزَّيْفَ أَبْرِيدَا! |

B. With the vocative and the word يَار

The word يَار 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 | + | يَار | | |
| a bad woman | يَار تَمْطُوطَ | a bad man | يَار أَرْيَا | |
| a bad omen | يَار لَفَال | bad words | يَار إِوَالْيُونَ | |

د يَار أَرْيَا.
It's a bad man.
(The “d” is the predicative “d” meaning “it is.”)

يَار أَرْيَا يَوْفَت بَلَّاش.
“Having no husband” is better than a bad husband.
[lit: A bad husband, without one is better than him.]

The vocative is used with يَار plus an independent personal pronoun:

| | |
|---|---|
| Boy, is she bad! She's really bad! Isn't she bad! | أَ يَار نَتَّات! |
| What a bad boy! | أَ يَار نَتَّاد أَرْبَا! |
| How despicable I am being married to a bad woman! | أَ يَار نَكَّيْن يِوَلَّن يَار تَمْطُوطَ! |

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. ياقّ! ياقّ!

Similar to the above exclamation. إش²! إش!

An exclamation of disgust or despal. Yuck! إخّ!

I've had enough of children! إخّ زي لّواشون!

I wish I didn't have children!

I've really had it with the world! إخّ زي دّونيت!

This world is yucky/terrible!

You (m.s.) disgust me! إخّ زيغّش!

Be quiet! عوسّ!

That serves _____ right! noun + خيشّت ك

That serves me (you, him, her, etc.) right! خيشّت ديغّي³ (ديغّش ، ديغّم ، etc.)
C'est bien fait pour toi (moi, lui, etc.)!

Well! or So! *Hé bien!* إوا!

A cry to get a donkey or mule to stop شّا!

This is often preceded by the vocative أّ شّا! : أّ

A cry to get a donkey or mule to go رّا!

This is often preceded by the vocative أّ رّا! : أّ

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 قسّ. These words can vary a lot between regions.

³ Some regions don't use the preposition كى but rather indirect object pronouns :
 etc. خيشّتاش \ ام \ اس \ etc.

Why, he didn't (even)!
Que ne ...!

نَعْلَا أَ مور ... !

Why, he didn't come!
(Notice the negative form of the verb.)

نَعْلَا أَ مور دِيْدِي !

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 ! ور تَدَّود.

Is that so?!

هَآكَ !

Too bad for you! That's tough on you!

لَهْلَا !

If you don't want (any), too bad for you!

مَش ور تَرِيْد ، 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 أَدْياشَر شا 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 أَتَّعَطِّر !

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 طَمَعَ !

Different regions express these ideas slightly differently. Regional variations include:

خِيرَاش ، خِيرَام ، خِيرَاوَن ، خِيرَاوَنْت ، etc.

خَارَاش ، خَارَام ، خَارَاوَن ، خَارَاوَنْت ، etc.

غِيرَاش ، غِيرَام ، غِيرَاوَن ، غِيرَاوَنْت ، etc.

B. رَار With the verb

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 ! رَارِيْمَت لُبَالَنُّنْت !

Watch out for something!
Pay attention to something!

رَار لُبَال إِ + noun !

Watch out (m.pl.) for thieves!

رَارَات لُبَال إِ يِمَاشَرْن !

Another expression is used in an equivalent way (although without possessive pronouns):

Watch out! Pay attention! (sing.) رار تَغْضَفْتِ !

Watch out for something! رار تَغْضَفْتِ إِ + noun !
Pay attention to something!

رار تَغْضَفْتِ إِ وُلِّيْ أَدْ وَرْ أَشْكِينَتْ.
Pay attention to the sheep so that they don't get lost.

رارات تَغْضَفْتِ إِ بُو تَحَانُوتْ، هَات دَيْتَغَشَّا.
Watch out (m.pl.) for the shop owner, he cheats.

Another phrase is:

Listen to me well! رَارْدِ إِمَجَّانَنْشْ غُورِي !
[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 إِمَجَّانَنْشْ غُورُسْ !

Listen to me well! رَزْمِ إِمَجَّانَنْشْ غُورِي !
[lit : Open your ears to me!]

C. With هَاتين , هَات , or هَان

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.

هَات أَشْ وَتَخْ ! I will (surely) hit you!

هَات وَرْ تَسِيرِيدِ إِضَارَنْشْ دَات 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 وَيَض! |
| Watch it lest someone hit someone else! | |
| May no one hit another! | هان شا إِكَّاتَن وَيَض! |
| 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) ! عَنَدَاكَ | | |
| | عَنَدَاكُنْتَ ! | عَنَدَاشَم ! |

Watch out (m.s.), the landlord
will rip you off! عَنَدَاش، بو تَدَارَت أَش إِتَش !

The expression can also mean “Woe to....”

Woe (to) the shepherd if he loses
the sheep! عَنَدَا يَمَكْسَا مَش إِزَلَا 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 إِخْفَاوَنَنْشْ⁶!**
 Be on your guard! or
 Be vigilant! **حَضُو إِخْفَنَمْ!** **حَضُومْتْ إِخْفَاوَنَنْتْ!**
 [lit: Watch yourself!]

حَضُو إِخْفَنَمْ! 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 إِخْفَاوَنَنْشْ زَكْطَاعْنْ [زِي + إِقْطَاعْنْ]!
 Watch out (m.pl.) for bandits!

Another expression:

Guard your mouth! **حَضُو أَقْمُونَشْ!** **حَضُويَاتْ إِقْمَانْشْ!**
 Watch what you say!
حَضُو أَقْمُونَمْ! **حَضُومْتْ إِقْمَانْتْ!**

F. With the verb **فَافَا**, which means “to be awake” (among other meanings)

Stay alert! **قَيِمَاتْ تَفَافَامْ!** **قَيِمْ تَفَافَادْ!**
قَيِمِيمْتْ تَفَافَامْتْ! **قَيِمْ تَفَافَادْ!**

⁶ One can also say **إِخْفَنَشْ**, 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.]

إِلَيَّ كُ إِخْفَنْشْ!

H. Maledictions: “Woe to you!”

This expression uses direct object pronouns:

Woe to you! أَ يَكُنْ يَاغْنُ! أَ يَاشْ يَاغْنُ!
[lit: Oh that it afflict you!] أَ يَكُنْتُ يَاغْنُ! أَ يَاشَمْ يَاغْنُ!

The structure is:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|---|---|------------------------|---|----------|
| يَاغْنُ | + | direct object pronoun | + | أَيَّ | + | يَ | + | أَ |
| past participle form of | | | | relative | | a “y” added for | | vocative |
| the verb أَغَّ | | | | pronoun “ay” | | pronunciation | | “Oh” |
| “to afflict,” “to attain” | | | | (The “y” often disappears when it encounters a consonant in the direct object pronoun.) | | to separate two vowels | | |

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 يَاحْ يَاغْنُ! | Woe is me! | أَ يَاشَمْ يَاغْنُ! ⁸ |
| Woe to you (m.pl.)! | أَ يَكُنْ يَاغْنُ! | Woe to you (m.s.)! | أَ يَاشْ يَاغْنُ! |
| Woe to you (f.pl.)! | أَ يَكُنْتُ يَاغْنُ! | Woe to you (f.s.)! | أَ يَاشَمْ يَاغْنُ! |
| Woe to them (m.)! | أَ يَكُنْ يَاغْنُ! | Woe to him! | أَ يَاشْ يَاغْنُ! |
| Woe to them (f.)! | أَ يَكُنْتُ يَاغْنُ! | Woe to her! | أَ يَاشَمْ يَاغْنُ! |

⁷ See Taifi, page 1, bottom of column 2, under “a/ay/ayd.”

⁸ This comes from أَيَّ يَاشَمْ يَاغْنُ. With all the “y” sounds, this gets shortened to what is listed above.

أَ يَكُنْ يَاعْنَ أَ يَقْطَاعْنَ نَ أُبْرِيدَ نَ خَنْفِرَةَ!

Woe to you oh bandits of the Khenifra road!

أَ يَاشَمْ يَاعْنَ أَ تَمْطُوطْ يَوْشَكَانْ! إِدَّخْ تَفْغَدَ زَكْ أُبْرِيدَ
نَ رَبِّي.

Woe to you oh lost woman! because you've left the way of God.

أَ يَكُنْ يَاعْنَ أَوْدَ كُنِّي أَ يِيرِيزَنَ خَانِينَ!

Woe to you also oh evil men!

مَشانْ أَ يَإِيدْ⁹ يَاعْنَ وَنَا إِثْغَانَ أَيَا سَ أَفُوسَنْتَسْ!

But woe to the one who does this with his (own) hand!

أَ يَكُنْ يَاعْنَ وَيْنَا إِتَاشَرْنَ!

Woe to those of you who steal!

أَ يَإَيْتَ يَاعْنَ مَشْ إِسْحِيلَلْ خَفَ إِبَّاسْ!

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 + أَيَ + يَ + أَ

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.” كَاعَ غَيْفَشْ!
Honte à toi ! Malheur à toi!

Woe to you (m.s.) if أَ حَيَّ غَيْفَشْ مَشْ....

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.)!

ويهانَّش ! or آويهانَّش !

J. Verbs meaning “to curse”

direct object pronouns + رَگَم رَگَم \ ور إرَگَم

He cursed him.

إرَگَمَت.

direct object pronouns + نَعَلَ تَنَعَلَ \ ور إنَعَلَ

(But only God does this cursing that uses this verb.)

God cursed the ground.

إنَعَلَ سَيِّدِي رَبِّي أَشَال.

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... آَ يَعْرِيتَنَش...

Blessed are you...

آَ يَعْرِيتَنَم... آَ يَعْرِيتَنَّت...

The structure is:

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------------------|
| possessive pronoun | + | أَعْرِيت | + | ي | + | آَ |
| | | a word for “luck” or “happiness.” Some people use just . أَعْرِي | | a “y” added for pronunciation to separate two vowels | | vocative “oh” (optional) |

What luck! He found a treasure.

أَعْرِيتَنَس يَوْفَا لَكَنْز.

[lit: His luck/happiness he found a treasure.]

آَ يَعْرِيتَنَش آَ يَمَزَلَا ضِإَّخ ور غُورُن لَّيْن لَمَشَاكِل
ن إِذْرِيْمَن.

Happy are you, oh poor people, because you don't have the problems of money.

أَ يَعْرِيتَنَّم مَش دَشَم إِتِيرِي أُرْيَا زَنَّم.
Happy are you if your husband loves you.

When a noun is used instead of a pronoun, the preposition ن is used :

أَعْرِيت ن أُرْيَا زَنَّا غَر تَلَّا تَمَطَّوْطَ إِغُودَان.
Happy is the man who has a good wife.

But note the different ways to say the same thing:

أَعْرِيت ن وَنَّا إِتْكَانْ لْخَيْر.
Happy is he who does good.
أَعْرِيتَنَسْ إِ وَنَّا إِتْكَانْ لْخَيْر.
Happy is he who does good.
أَعْرِيت إِ وَنَّا إِتْكَانْ لْخَيْر.
Happy is he who does good.

B. The benediction “Blessed are...” with the adjective أَنْبَارْش

The structure is :

the verb شَى + أَئِي + the regular adjective that agrees
with the following “to be” verb

Blessed are you (m.s.)! أَنْبَارْش أَئِي تَكْئِيد!

Blessed are you (f.s.)! تَنْبَارْشَت أَئِي تَكْئِيد!

Blessed are you (m.pl.)! إَنْبَارْشَن أَئِي تَكْأَم!

Blessed are you (f.pl.)! تِنْبَارْشِين أَئِي تَكْأَمَت!

They (m.) are blessed! إَنْبَارْشَن أَئِيَان [أَي + كَان]!

أَنْبَارْش أَكْأَا أَكْئِيد نَّا دَيْتَعَاوَانْ شَعْبَنَس.
Blessed is the king who helps his people.
أَنْبَارْش أَكْأَا وَنَّا إِتْكَانْ لْخَيْر.
Blessed is he who does good.

C. Other expressions of encouragement

A congratulatory exclamation : Bravo! Hat's off! Well done! بَارْ !
Bravo! Chapeau! C'est extraordinaire!

Bravo! Hat's off to you (f.s.)! Well done (to a woman)! بَارْ نَمَّ !
This construction uses possessive pronouns.

In certain contexts, بَارْ can have a negative meaning:

Said, for example, about a woman who has lots of money بَارْ وَر دَتَحَشَام.
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: **وَالله** “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

وَالله !
By God!
I swear!

ii. A positive past oath

The structure for this is:

verb in the past form + **أَر** + **وَالله**

وَالله أَرْيُوشَر !
By God he stole!

وَالله أَرَأْسْتُ نَيِّخ !
I swear to God I told it (m.) to him/her!

iii. A negative past oath

The structure for this is:

verb in the past form + **مَش**¹¹ + **وَالله**

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!]

وَلِلّٰهِ مَشْ سَحِيْلًا !

I swear I didn't rob him!
[lit: By God if I robbed him!]

وَلِلّٰهِ مَشْت وَشَرَخ !

iv. A conditional oath

The structure for this is:

verb in the past form + مَر¹² + وَلِلّٰهِ

The result clause uses the present continuous form without the tense indicator¹³.
Note that the مَر 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.)! وَلِلّٰهِ مَر غوري إِلَيَّ، رَطَّلَخَشْت !
By God, if he found it (m.),
he would give it to you (m.s.). وَلِلّٰهِ مَرْت يوفي، ياكَّاشْت !

v. A future positive oath

There are two possible structures. The meaning is the same:

a)

the verb in the continuous tense + وَلِلّٰهِ
(which has a future meaning without the tense indicator)

I swear I will kill you (m.s.)! وَلِلّٰهِ نَقَّخَش !

b)

the verb in the two-verbs-together format + وَلِلّٰهِ
(simple imperative plus regular conjugation affixes)

I swear I will kill you (m.s.)! وَلِلّٰهِ أَش نَخ !

I swear I will hit you (m.s.)! وَلِلّٰهِ أَش وَتَخ !

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** + **والله**
(which has a future meaning without the tense indicator)

والله وراس نَسْوَال.
By God we will not speak to him/her.
والله وساراس نَسْوَال.
By God we will never speak to him/her.
والله ور سَاخ شَرَاب.
By God I won't drink alcohol.

b)

the verb in the past tense form + **ور** + **والله**
(but in this case there is a future meaning)

والله وراس نَسِوَل.
By God we will not speak to him/her.
والله وساراس نَسِوَل.
By God we will never speak to him/her.
والله ور سَوِيخ شَرَاب.
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 إِمّا نّايي إسْوَطَضَنْ مَش وَشَرَخ!
I swear by my mother who nursed me that I didn't steal!

و حَقَّ غَاسٍ تَكْثَمَاتٍ مَشْ دِيْغَشْ سَوَلَخْ !
 I swear by (our) brotherhood (or fraternity) that I didn't gossip about you (m.s.)!
 و حَقَّ رَبِّيْ مَشْكَمْ غَنْدَرَخْ !
 I swear to God I didn't betray you (f.s.)!
 و حَقَّ سِيْدِيْ رَبِّيْ أَر دِيْدِيْ كُ لَوْقَت !
 I swear to God he came on time!

Notice in the above two sentences there is no **غَاسٍ** . It's not always necessary.
 When **غَاسٍ** is used it adds emphasis to the oath.

ii. Using maledictions: "May I _____ if I _____ !"

أَدِيْ يِيْكَ [أَد + ي + "y" for pronunciation + إِكْ] أَمَوْتَلْ مَشْ وَشَرَخْ !
 May I suffer divine judgment if I stole!
 [lit: May he (that is, God) do to me punishment if I stole!]
 أَتَاغْ دِيْغِيْ لِنَعَايَتِ مَشْ نِيْخْ دِيْغَشْ أَوَالْ نْ لِنَعِيْب !
 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 — أَمَوْتَلْ إِمَوْتِيْلَنْ (u)

iii. Using the verb "to swear"

تَغَالَا إِنْغُولَا \ وَر إِنْغُولِيْ — to swear
 تَغَالِيْت — an oath (tg)

إِنْغُولَايَاس "وَرِيْدْ نَكَيْنْ !" He swore to him, "It's not me!"

أَرَّاسْ إِنْغَالَا "وَرِيْدْ نَكَيْنْ !" He kept swearing to him, "It's not me!"

إِرْژَا تَغَالِيْتَنَسْ. He broke his oath.

إِنْغُولَا لَعْمَا. or
 إِنْغُولَا خَفْ إِحْلَالْ. He swore falsely. [lit : He swore blindness.]

أَدُوْرْ تَغَالَا لَعْمَا. or
 أَدُوْرْ تَغَالَا خَفْ إِحْلَالْ. Don't swear falsely.

Swear by God!

ثَالَّ س رَبِّي !

إِثْلَا س لَجْدَ \ س وَتَشِي \ س إِدَامَن.

He swore by (his) ancestors / by food / by blood.

He swore off food.

إِثْلَا خَف وَتَشِي.

The same structures (positive, negative, conditional, and future oaths) are used as mentioned above in part 5A:

I swear he stole!

كُولِيخ أَرْيُوشَر !

I swear I didn't rob him!

كُولِيخ مَشْت وَشَرَخ !

[lit: I swear if I robbed him!]

I swear (that) if I had it, I would
lend it (m.) to you (m.s.)!

كُولِيخ مَر غُورِي إِلِي، رَطَّلَاخَشْت !

كُولَان وَر بَطُون إِنْكَرَاسَن غَاس مَش إِمُوت يُون دِيْكَسَن.

They swore they wouldn't separate from each other unless one of them died.

They swore not to separate from each other unless one of them died.

نَكُولَا وَرَاس نَسْوَال [or نَسْوَال].

We swore we would not speak to him/her.

نَكُولَا وَسَارَاس نَسْوَال [or نَسْوَال].

We swore we would never speak to him/her.

كُولِيخ وَر سَاخ [or سَوِيخ] شَرَاب.

I swear I won't drink alcohol.

Another way people swear with this verb is:

or يَا
what one swears + independent + ¹⁴أ + the verb ثَالَّ
personal pronoun
a swearing formula

The above formula works with all the different structures of swearing (the positive, negative, conditional, and future oaths mentioned in part 5A above):

¹⁴ This is explained in part 1E, page 160, and in part 3H, page 169.

إِغُولَا يَا [a “y” added for pronunciation] نَتَّا مَشَاخ يَوْشَر إِذْرِيْمَن.

He swore that he didn't steal our money.

[lit: He swore if he stole to us money.]

كُولَان أ نِتْنِي وَر تَحَاضَارُن إِ تَمَغْرَا ن كُتْمَاتْسَن.

They (m.) swore they wouldn't attend their brother's wedding.

[lit: They swore not to be present at the wedding of their brother.]

تَكُولَا يَا نِتَات وَر تَغَدَّر أَرْيَازَنَس.

She swore she wouldn't betray her husband.

She swore not to betray her husband.

إِغُولَا أ يَا نَتَّا وَسَارَاس سِيَوَلَخ.

I swore I would never speak to him/her.

نَكُولَا أ يَا نُكْنِي وَسَارَاس نَسِيَوَل.

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 بَكَّو "فَسْت."

Ahsiku said to Bakku, "Be quiet."

إِنَّاسِ إِحْسِيكُو إِ بَكَّو أَدِيفَسْت.

Ahsiku told Bakku to be quiet.

[lit: Ahsiku said to Bakku that he be quiet.]

إِنَّاسِ إِ مَوْحِي "بَلَّغَسِ سَلَامِ إِ مَمَّيش."

He said to Moha, "Transmit greetings to your son."

إِنَّاسِ إِ مَوْحِي أَدَاسِ إِ بَلَّغِ سَلَامِ إِ مَمَّيس.

He told Moha to transmit greetings to his son.

[lit: He said to Moha that he transmit greetings to his son.]

إِنِّيَاسِ إِ وَانِ "أَدَّودِ ذَغِيَا."

Tell that one (m.), "Come immediately."

إِنِّيَاسِ إِ وَانِ أَدَّيْدُو ذَغِيَا.

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 مَوْحَى بَحْنِينِي "مِيلْمِي أَيَّ تَانَايْدُ أَلْتَمَا؟"

Moha asked Bahnini, "When did you see my sister?"

إِسَال مَوْحَى بَحْنِينِي مِيلْمِي أَكْثَانَايْ أَلْتَمَاسْ.

Moha asked Bahnini when he saw his sister.

تَسَقْسَا كَتَّو لَوِيْزَة "إِس تَسَنْد تَمْدَاكُلْتِينُو إِطَّو؟"

Kettou asked Lwiza, "Do you know my friend Itto?"

تَسَقْسَا كَتَّو لَوِيْزَة "إِس تَسَنْ تَمْدَاكُلْتَنَسْ إِطَّو.

Kettou asked Lwiza if she knew her friend Itto.

تَسَال تِيْفَا إِسْتَمَاس "مَآخْ أَلْيَكْ وَرْذَجِينِي تَغْرِيْمْت؟"

Tifa asked her sisters, "Why don't you ever call me?"

تَسَال تِيْفَا إِسْتَمَاس مَآخْ أَلْيَكْ وَرْذَجِينَاسْ غَرِيْنْت.

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.).

(دَاسْ إِسْوَالْ حَدَّوْ إِ عَلِي.) إِنْيَاسْ إِ بُوْدُوْفْتْ "وَفِيْخْ لَخْدَمْت."

(Haddou is talking to Ali.) Tell Buduft, "I found work."

إِنْيَاسْ عَلِيْ إِ بُوْدُوْفْتْ يُوْفَا حَدَّوْ 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.]

نَّانْ أَيْت سَيَّاسا "نَدَا أَنْسَنَاقْسَ لْ ضَرِّبات."

The politicians said, "We're going to lower taxes."

نَّانْ أَيْت سَيَّاسا دَانْ أَدْسَنَاقْسَنَ لْ 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 + غاس¹

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|------------|
| (by) ourselves | غاس نُكْنِي | (by) myself | غاس نَكْ |
| (by) yourselves (m.) | غاس كُنِّي | (by) yourself (m.) | غاس شَكْ |
| (by) yourselves (f.) | غاس كُنْمَتِي | (by) yourself (f.) | غاس شَم |
| (by) themselves (m.) | غاس نِتْنِي | (by) himself | غاس نَتَّا |
| (by) themselves (f.) | غاس نِتْنَتِي | (by) herself | غاس نَتَات |

Did you (f.s.) come by yourself?
[lit: Is it just you that came?]

إِد غاس شَم أَي ديدان؟

Is it only you (m.s.) who did this? or
Did you do this yourself?

إِد غاس شَك أَكَّان أَيَا؟

Did you (m.s.) do this yourself? or
Is it only you who did this?

إِس تَكْيد أَيَا غاس شَك؟

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 لنعيل سَرَوَال غاس نَتَّا.

They (m.) saw Hammou was
by himself (that is, alone).

أَنَّاين حَمَو إِلَا غاس نَتَّا.

¹ Regional variations for this word include خاس , غَس , and خَس .

B. Sometimes people use the following expression:

possessive pronouns + وَحْدٌ²

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------|
| (by) ourselves | وَحْدَنَّا | (by) myself | وَحْدِي |
| (by) yourselves (m.) | وَحْدَكُمْ | (by) yourself (m.) | وَحْدَكَ |
| (by) yourselves (f.) | وَحْدَكُنَّ | (by) yourself (f.) | وَحْدَكَ |
| (by) themselves (m.) | وَحْدَهُنَّ | (by) himself | وَحْدَهُ |
| (by) themselves (f.) | وَحْدَهُنَّ | (by) herself | وَحْدَهَا |

تَدَّادَ وَحْدَهَا. She came by herself.
(Either she came alone or she came without anyone helping her.)

إِسْ تَكْدِ أَيْ وَحْدَكَ؟ Did you (m.s.) do this yourself? or
Is it only you who did this?

كَشَمَنَ وَحْدَهُنَّ. They (m.) went in by themselves.
(Either they went in alone or they went in without anyone helping them.)

إِهْ، كَيْخَ أَيْ وَحْدِي. Yes, I did this myself.
(Either it was only me who did it or no one helped me do it.)

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: “uḥdinu,” etc., instead of “weḥdinu,” etc.

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| by ourselves | س إِخْفَاوَنَنْخُ ³ | by myself | س إِخْفِينُو |
| by yourselves (m.) | س إِخْفَاوَنَنْنُ | by yourself (m.) | س إِخْفَنْشْ |
| by yourselves (f.) | س إِخْفَاوَنَنْنَتْ | by yourself (f.) | س إِخْفَنْمَ |
| by themselves (m.) | س إِخْفَاوَنَنْسَنَ | by himself | س إِخْفَنْسَ |
| by themselves (f.) | س إِخْفَاوَنَنْسَنْتَ | by herself | س إِخْفَنْسَ |

Did you (m.s.) do this by yourself? إِس تَكْدِيدَ آيَا س إِخْفَنْشْ؟

The boy put on the pants by himself. إِلْسَا لَعِيلَ سَرَّوَالِ س إِخْفَنْسَ.

I went to the Caïd personally. دِيخْ س إِخْفِينُو غَر لَقَايدَ.

2. The meaning of your own self, as in doing something to “yourself”

The structure for this is:

possessive pronouns + إِخْفَ

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|---------------|------------|
| ourselves | إِخْفَاوَنَنْخُ | myself | إِخْفِينُو |
| yourselves (m.) | إِخْفَاوَنَنْنُ | yourself (m.) | إِخْفَنْشْ |
| yourselves (f.) | إِخْفَاوَنَنْنَتْ | yourself (f.) | إِخْفَنْمَ |
| themselves (m.) | إِخْفَاوَنَنْسَنَ | himself | إِخْفَنْسَ |
| themselves (f.) | إِخْفَاوَنَنْسَنْتَ | herself | إِخْفَنْسَ |

He did it (f.) to himself. إِكَاتَ إِ إِخْفَنْسَ.

You (f.s.) will see yourself in the mirror. أَتَرَاعَادَ إِخْفَنْمَ كُ لَمْرَايَا⁴.

He bought sandals for himself. إِسْغَا إِدُوشَا إِ إِخْفَنْسَ.

³ One can also say just س إِخْفَنْخُ, 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 لَمْرَايْتِ, 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 | — | إَبُوَح \ وَر إِبُوَح | تَبُوَح | بُوَح |
| My son is cute. | | (addressed to one's son) | إِبُوَح مَمِّي. | |
| The food is good. (To try to convince a child to eat it.) | | | إِبُوَح وَوَتَشِي. | |
| Who's better, me or your (f.s.) dad? (Said playfully by a mother to her young daughter.) | | | مَاكْتَبُوَحَن، نَكَّ مَا د بَام؟ | |
| a kiss | — | | بَّحَا | |
| Give a kiss to your (m.s.) uncle. | | | كَّاس بَّحَا إِ عَمَّيش. | |
| a booboo | — | | دِيْدِي | |
| This will hurt! | | | هَان دِيْدِي ! | |
| Be careful, that will hurt you! | | | دَّاح دَّاح | |
| a hit, a spanking | — | | أَدَاش كَخْخ دَّاح دَّاح. | |
| I'm going to spank you (m.s.). | | | بَاح ! | |
| All gone! | — | | فَو ! or تَشِّي ! | |
| It's hot! | | | | |
| (فَو 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 | — | عَبُوض |
| meat | — | شيشي or جي |
| mouth | — | ميميش |
| eyes | — | تَلَنِي |
| sheep (sing. or plural) | — | بَعَا |
| sheep (sing.) | — | تَبَعَت |
| cow | — | موهو |
| an item of clothing | — | بَعْبَا |
| sugar | — | مَخَا |
| It's dirty. | — | خيخي or خَشِي |
| shoe | — | بَهَبَا |
| mother's breast | — | تَبُوبُوت |
| donkey | — | شاشَا |
| water (pronounced with a fricative "b": mbbua) | — | مَبَّوَا |
| dog | — | هوبهوب هاوْهاوْ |
| candy, anything sweet and desirable to kids | — | لولو or قاقَا |
| money | — | سَتَا سَتَا |
| A word used to encourage a child to walk when he's just learning | — | دَدُوش |
| 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، أَشْ يَآوِي!

hide-and-seek — قَن يوفَر²

The kids are playing hide-and-seek. دَتْلَاهَان³ لَوَاشُون قَن يوفَر.

a children's game somewhat like
"jacks" using small stones — تِقُولَا or إِسْكَوَر

— 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.

— هِيَه

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.

— جَارَا

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. أَوَيْد تَفُوسَت.

Where's (your) little foot? مَانِي تَضَارَت؟

² There are quite a few regional variations of this word.

³ The simple imperative is لَاهَا. 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 | — | حنونا |

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:

| Euphemism or substitute word | Meaning | Word that shouldn't be said in the morning ⁶ |
|------------------------------|---------|---|
| وار صَبَاح ⁸ | monkey | — |
| وار صَبَاح | mouse | — |

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 مَيْل).

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 أَمْصَبَّاح "the one who comes in the morning." The feminine is تَمْصَبَّاحَت.

⁹ Some regions say أَغْرَدَا.

| Euphemism or substitute word | Meaning | Word that shouldn't be said in the morning |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| تار صَبَاح | owl | — تَوَوَّكْتُ |
| وار صَبَاح | crow | — أَهَقَّار |
| ¹⁰ لَبْيَاض | charcoal | — لَفَاخَر |
| ¹¹ وَمَلِيل | earthenware plate used to cook bread | — بُو أَغْرُوم |
| وَمَلِيل | same as above | — تَفَانَتْ |
| ¹² تَلْمَعُونَتْ | earthenware pot | — تَسِيلَتْ |
| ¹⁴ تَلْمَفْتَاخَتْ | sewing needle | — تِسْكَنِيَتْ ¹³ |
| أَحْدَادِي | donkey | — أَغْيُول |
| ¹⁵ إِنْسَلَمَنْ | <i>jnun</i> , evil spirits | — أَذْجُونُونْ |
| ¹⁶ أَيْتَ إِسْمَاوَنَ رَبِّي | | |
| ¹⁷ أَبُولْخِير | 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). نَصَبَّحَ خَفَ رَبِّي.

Don't start the morning with that word. أَدُورْ تَصَبَّاحَ خَفَ وَاوَالَا.

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. 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 تَرار إرورا \ ور إروري
 —
 to return something,
 to give something back,
 to reimburse,
 to make someone become sthg.,
 to reply, respond
2. رارد تَراراد إروراد \ ور ديروري
 —
 (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. رارد تَراراد إروراد \ ور ديروري
 —
 (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. ورار¹ تَورار يورار \ ور يورار —
 to sing

¹ Some regions in the south use : يرير تيرير يارور \ ور يارور

Other regions use : يرير تيرير إرير \ ور إرير

Regions in the northern areas of the Middle Atlas/Central Moroccan Tamazight language region don't use these words. Instead they say for “sing” إزْلان إني, 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. إِرورا إِذْرِيمَن. رَار لِّبَال! |
| He brought back the money. He didn't bring back the money. Answer! (or Respond!) [lit: bring/give back a word] | 2. إِروراد إِذْرِيمَن. ور دِيروري إِذْرِيمَن. رَارِدْ أَوَال! |
| He threw up yesterday because he was sick. He will throw up in the car. | 3. إِروراد إِضَلِّي إِذَّخ يَاغْت شَا. أَدِيرار كْ طَوْموبِيل. |
| Sing! He sang at the party. When people are happy they sing. | 4. ورار! يورار كْ لَنفِيشْتَا. 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 | — | إِرا \ ور إِري | تِيرِي | إِري | 5. |
| to be empty to empty something | — | يورا \ ور يوري | تَار | أَر | 6. |
| to protect, to spare | — | يوري \ ور يوري | تَارِي | أَرِي | 7. |

8. رَيَّ رَّايَ — إِرَيَّ \ ور إِرَيَّ
to undo
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 **خَو** 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.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| I want that one (m.). | 5. رِيخ وان. |
| He wants to go to Fes. | إِرا أَدِيدُو غَر فاس. |
| Love (s.) your (m.) neighbor as yourself. | تِيرِي أَدْجَارَنَشْ أَم إِخْفَنَشْ. |
| The glass is empty. | 6. يورا لُكاس. |
| The market will be empty at 2:00. | أَذْيَار سَوَق كْ جَوَج. |
| May God protect you (m.s.) from evil. | 7. أَدَاش يَارِي رَبِّي إِ لُبَاس. |
| God spared me! | يُورِي رَبِّي! |
| The cape came undone. | 8. إِرِي أَزَنَار. |
| The knot will come untied. | أَدِيرِي أَكْرُوس. |
| Untie for me the knot, please (m.s.). | رِيي أَكْرُوس ، عَافَاش. |

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 رَنو 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. أَرَو ² |
| to give birth, to father (a child), to produce, yield, to lay eggs (hen) | — | يارَو \ ور يارَو | تارَو | 10. أَرَو ³ |
| to cry, lament | — | إرو \ ور إرو | ترو | 11. رَو |
| to defeat, to beat someone, to have victory over someone | — | إرّا \ ور إرّي | 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 | رَكّي | 14. رَوّي |

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 أري تاري .

Other regions, especially in the south, use: يارو \ ور يارو ورو تورو .

³ Some regions in the south use : يورَو \ ور يورَو أَرَو تارَو .

⁴ Some regions use : إرنا \ ور إرني رَنو تَرنو .

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. تارو تَبْرَات. She wrote a letter.
دَيْتَارو تَبْرَاتين كو ياس. He writes letters every day.
10. تارو لعيل. She gave birth to a boy.
دَتَارو تَفُولُوسْتَا كو ياس. This hen lays (eggs) every day.
11. ماخ أَلَيْك دَتَرود؟ Why are you (s.) crying?
أَلَيْتَرو. He was crying.
12. إِرَّايي. He beat/defeated me.
إِرَّات كُ تَرولا. He beat him in the (running) race.
أَش إِرَّو. He will beat you (m.s.).
وري إِرِّي. He didn't beat me.
13. إِرَّوَا لَحَال. The weather is nice.
تَمَّن إِرَّوَان a good (reasonable/cheap) price
14. رَوِين وَاْمَان. The water is cloudy, unclear.
[lit: stirred up, troubled]
تَرَوَي دُونِيْت. Nothing is going right.
[lit: Life is confused/mixed up/in turmoil.]
إِرَّوَي وولَنَس. 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) | أَرَو (wa) |
| writing | — | | تِرَا |
| love | — | | تَايْرِي |
| victory, triumph | — | | تِيرِيْت |
| lamb (male) | — | أَرَاتَنَ (wa) | أَرَا (wa) |
| lamb (female) | — | تَرَاتِين (ta) | تَرَات (ta) |
| edge (like of a table) | — | إِرَان (yi) | إِر (yi) |
| lung | — | تورين | تورْت |
| offspring; also: birth, delivery | — | | تَارُوا |
| irrigation canal | — | | تَرَكَا (tr) |
| children | — | | أَرَاو (wa) |
| length | — | | تِيروت |
| goodness, niceness | — | | تِيروِي |
| stable | — | | رَّوَا |
| porcupine (male) | — | أَرُوَيْنَ (wa) | أَرُوِي (wa) |
| porcupine (female) | — | تَرُوِيْن (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 أَنْسَانَسْ س إِرِيرَان. |
| payment (paying back) of debts | تَرَارِيْت ن إِمَرَّوَأَسَن |
| He sang a song. | يُورَار وَرَار. |
| That's enough crying! | بَرَشَا زَكْ وَارَوْتَن! |
| 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 تِيرِيَت ن لَمُنْتَخَب. |
| The lamb saw the porcupine. | إِرَاعَا وَاَرَا أَرْوِي. |
| the edge of the table | إِر ن طَبْلَا |
| They (m.) are like lungs and heart. (That is, they are inseparable.) | كَانَ أَم تَوْرِين د وول. |
| She had a difficult delivery. | تَوَعْرَاس تَارُوا. |
| There's water in the irrigation canal. | لَان وَاْمَان كُ تَرْكَا. |
| his/her children | أَرَاوَنَس |
| He cut it (m.) lengthwise. | إِبْيَت س تِيْرَوَت. |
| goodness of the heart | تِيْرَوِي ن وول |
| The horse is in the stable. | إِلَا يِيْس كُ رَوَا. |

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 | — | إِمْرَارَا \ وَر إِمْرَارَا | تَمْرَارَا | مَرَارَا |
| to cool off a liquid by pouring it back and forth. This is often done with tea for children. | — | إِسْمَرَارَا \ وَر إِسْمَرَارَا | سَمْرَارَا | سَمْرَارَا |
| to write to each other | — | إِمْيَارُو \ وَر إِمْيَارُو | تَمْيَارُو | مْيَارُو |
| to love each other | — | إِمْيِيرِي \ وَر إِمْيِيرِي | تَمْيِيرِي | مْيِيرِي |

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 اَوَال.

سَمَرَارَايِي اَتَايْ، اَ بابَا.

دَتَمَيَارُونِ كُو اَيُور.

تَمَيِيرِيَاتِ اِنْكَرَاوَن.

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 | أَيَّورَن (wa) | أَيَّور (wa) |
| year | إِسْكَاسَن | أَسْكَاس ¹ (u) |

the day after the day after tomorrow (nnif nennif usekka) نَّيْف ن نَّيْف أَسْكََا

the day after tomorrow نَّيْف أَسْكََا

tomorrow أَسْكََا² (u)

today أَسَّا (wa)

yesterday أَسَّنَّاطْ = إِضْلَي (wa)

the day before yesterday (asslid or isslid) أَسْلِيد = إِسْلِيد (yi) (wa)

the day before the day before yesterday أَسْلِيد ن وَاسَّنَّاطْ

¹ The ثِي is said with rounded lips.

² Some regions treat this as an “a-constant” noun and use as the dependent form وَاسْكََا.

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 وَاحِد وَ عَشْرِين 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: ... شَحَال أَكُلْتَان [أَيَّ + إْتَان] ...

| | |
|---|---|
| What's today? | مَتَا واسّا؟ |
| Saturday / Saturday / Today is Saturday. | سَبْت اَسَّ ن سَبْت اَسّا سَبْت. |
| What's tomorrow? | مَتَا يوسكا ⁷ ؟ |
| Sunday / Sunday / Tomorrow is Sunday. | لَحَد اَسَّ لَحَد ⁸ اَسكا لَحَد. |
| What was yesterday? | مَتَا واسنّاط؟ |
| Friday / Friday / Yesterday was Friday. | لَجُمعة اَسَّ لَجُمعة اَسنّاط لَجُمعة. |
| Today is nice. | إِغودا واسّا. |

D. Group 4

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| next year | إِمال |
| the year after next | نَّيف إِمال |
| last year | نَّضانت |
| two years ago [lit: the one above last year] | وانيك ⁹ ن نَّضانت |
| three years ago [lit: the one above the one above last year] | وانيك ن وانيك ن نَّضانت |
| two years in a row, two years consecutively | عامين إِزدين |
| New Year's day the first of the year [lit: the head of the year] | إِخْف ن اُسْكاس |
| the first of the month | إِخْف ن وايور |

⁷ The “y” sound is added for pronunciation to keep the two vowels from coming together: مَتَا + ي + اَسكا . Those who use “wa” in the dependent form say مَتَا واسكا؟ .

⁸ This comes from اَسَّ ن لَحَد . The ن assimilates into the ل to form لَّ . Some dialects, however, pronounce the ن .

⁹ Literally : وانيك + ا “this above,” that is, “this above last year.”

after the first of the month

تَقِير¹⁰ نِ إِخْفِ نِ وَايُور

before the first of the month

دَات¹¹ نِ إِخْفِ نِ وَايُور

these days, nowadays

وَسَانَا

Has the month ended or
not yet?

إِسْ إِمَّوْتِ وَايُور مَادِ إِسُول؟

E. Group 5

last night

إِضْ نِ إِضَلِّي¹²

morning

صَبَّاح

this morning

صَبَّاحَا

dawn

تِفَاوْتِ

around dawn

غَرِ تِفَاوْتِ

midday, noon

أَمَّاسْ نِ وَاَسْ^(wa)

at midday, at noon

كُ وَاَمَّاسْ نِ وَاَسْ

afternoon

تَدَكَّاتِ¹³

this afternoon

تَدَكَّاتَا

night

إِضْ^(yi)

this night

إِضَا

midnight, the middle
of the night

أَمَّاسْ نِ يِيضْ^(wa)

¹⁰ Some regions don't use the تَقِيرِ إِخْفِ نِ وَايُور. Instead of تَقِيرِ (and its related words), some regions use ضَارْتِ.

¹¹ Some regions don't use the دَاتِ إِخْفِ نِ وَايُور.

¹² This phrase varies a lot with regions. Some regions use just the word إِضَلِّي to mean "last night." Other regions say إِضْكَامِ.

¹³ Some people seem to say this with a تَلَكَّاتِ ل. In both cases the كُ is said with rounded lips.

at midnight, in the middle
of the night

كُ وَاَمَّاس ن يِيض

I saw him in the morning.

اَنَّاِيخت صَّبَّاح.

F. Group 6

tomorrow morning

صَّبَّاح ن اُسَكَّا

tomorrow afternoon

تَدَكَّتَات ن اُسَكَّا

tomorrow night

اِض ن اُسَكَّا

yesterday morning

صَّبَّاح ن وَاَسَّنَّاطْ

yesterday afternoon

تَدَكَّتَات ن وَاَسَّنَّاطْ

yesterday night

اِض 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) ¹⁴اَسَكَّانْس (u)

the day after the next day

وَانِيك ن اَسَكَّانْس

a week ago today

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا اِزْرِين اَمَّ وَاَسَّا

a week ago yesterday

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا اِزْرِين اَمَّ وَاَسَّنَّاطْ

a week ago tomorrow

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا اِزْرِين اَمَّ اُسَكَّا

a week from today

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا دِيْدَان اَمَّ وَاَسَّا

a week from yesterday

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا دِيْدَان اَمَّ وَاَسَّنَّاطْ

¹⁴ Technically this is اَسَكَّانْس “asekkannes,” but the ending is shortened to “asekkans.”

a week from tomorrow

سَيِّمَانَا نَّا دِيدَانْ أَمْ أُسْكََا

every day

كو يَاسَّ

H. Group 8

per day, for a day

إِ وَاسَّ

He works for 1000 rials per day.

دَيْنَحْدَمْ سِ وَالْف نِ وَاِرِيَالْ إِ وَاسَّ.

There are television programs in
Tamazight 3 hours per day.

لَّانْ لِبْرَامِيْجْ كْ تَلْفَازا سِ تَمَازِيْغْتْ
شُرَاضْ نِ تَسَّاعِيْنْ إِ وَاسَّ.

by day

سِ وَاسَّ

He works by day (not at night).
He works by the day (not by
the month, etc.).

or

دَيْنَحْدَمْ سِ وَاسَّ.

She did that by day (not at night).

تَنَّا أَيَا سِ وَاسَّ.

She did that in broad daylight.
(i.e., publicly, out in the open)

تَنَّا أَيَا كْ وَامَّاسْ نِ وَاسَّ.

He finished the work in one day

إِشْمَلْ لَخْدَمْتْ كْ يُونْ وَاسَّ.

in the night

كْ إِضْ (كُيُضْ pronounced)

I. Group 9

time (as in “two times”)

تِيْكَالْ (ti) تِيْكَالْتْ (ti)

time (as in “two times”)

لَمَرَاتْ¹⁵ لَمَرَاتْ

two times

مَرَّتَيْنْ

sometimes

شَا نِ تِيْكَالْ or شَا لَمَرَاتْ

one time, once

يُوتْ نِ تِيْكَالْتْ or يُوتْ لَمَرَاتْ

this time

تِيْكَالْتَا or لَمَرَاتَا

¹⁵ Some people say تِلْمَرَاتْ .

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| the first time | تِكَلَّتْ تَمَزْواروت or لَمَرَتْ تَمَزْواروت |
| the last time | تِكَلَّتْ تَنْكَاروت or لَمَرَتْ تَنْكَاروت |
| time, a period of time | لوقت لوقات |
| They (m.) came on time. | داند ك لوقت. |

J. Group 10

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| See you tomorrow. (until) tomorrow | أل ¹⁶ أَسْكَا |
| (until) next year | أل إِمَال |
| (until) some day (until) one day | أل يون واسّ |
| (until) some other day (until) another day | أل يون واسّ يَضْن |
| later (until) later | أل أَسْرا |
| another time (until) another time | أل شا ن لوقت يَضْن |
| Until when? | أل مي؟ |

K. Group 11

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| now, currently, in our days, this time | أَذْوالي |
| every time, continually | كو ذوال or كو ثوال |
| without ceasing, continually | بلا إِبْدِي |
| <i>tout-à-l'heure</i> , just a while ago | إِدْخ ¹⁷ or ذَماد |

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 , إِدْغ , لِيناث , إِنْثَماد , إِنْثَماد , إِدْماد .

I saw him a little while ago.

أَنَّاخْت إِدَّخ.

immediately, at once

اَكْ وانسا

immediately

دُغيا \ دُغيا دُغيا \ فيساع

now or soon
(depending on the context)

دُغيا

nowadays

دُغيا

لِوَأشُون ن دُغيا وَر سَنّ لَا يَذْكُرْنَ¹⁸ لَا يَذْمُكْرْنَ.

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

—

إِنْزَا \ وَر إِنْزِي

نَزَو

نَزَو

to be/do early

to be late
to take a long time

—

إِعْطَر \ وَر إِعْطَر

تَعْطَار

عَطَّر

to make
someone late

—

إِسْعَطَّر \ وَر إِسْعَطَّر

سَعْطَار

سَعْطَر

to spend the night
to do something
all night
to last all night

—

إِنْسَا \ وَر إِنْسِي

نَسَا

نَس

to spend the day
to do something
all day
to last all day

—

إِشْلَا \ وَر إِشْلِي

شَلَا

شَل¹⁹

I went early to the Post Office.

نَزِيخ غَر لِبُوسْطَا.

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 ك instead of a ش.

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.

إِعَطَّرَن غَر كُتْمَاس.

The rain made us late.

إِسْعَطَّرَاخْ أَنْزَار.

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 دَخْدَمَن.

The dance lasted all night.

إِنْسَا أَحِيدُوس.

The rain lasted all day.

إِشْلَا أَنْزَار.

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 مَشُحَال
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."

شَحَالْ أَيْآ ورْش أَنْآيْخْ؟

How long has it been since I've seen you (m.s.)?

[lit: How long this I haven't seen you.]

شَرَاَضْ نْ إِسْكَاسَنْ أَيْآ وري تَنْآيْدْ.

It's been three years since you've (s.) seen me.

[lit: Three years this you haven't seen me.]

أَمْ مَشَحَالْ أَيْآ ورْ تَنْآيْدْ حَدَّو؟

About how long has it been since you've (s.) seen Haddou?

أَمْ عَامَيْنْ أَيْآ ورتْ أَنْآيْخْ. or just أَمْ عَامَيْنْ أَيْآ.

أَمْ عَامَيْنْ. 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.

أَتَّيْلِي²⁰ شَهْرَيْنْ أَيْآ ورتْ أَنْآيْخْ. or just أَتَّيْلِي شَهْرَيْنْ أَيْآ.

أَتَّيْلِي شَهْرَيْنْ. or just

It's been about two months. or just

About two months. or just

It's been about two months since I've seen him.

مَشْتَا أَيْآ ورْ تَخْدِمْدْ غَرْ فُلَانْ؟

How long has it been since you've (s.) worked for so and so?

ورْ خْدِمَخْ غورْس²¹ آيُورْ أَيْآ.

آيُورْ أَيْآ ورْ خْدِمَخْ غورْس.

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 زَغْيِس²² (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.

شَحَالْ أَيْآ زَغْيِسْ بَضَانْ؟

How long has it been since they divorced?

²⁰ The words أَتَّيْلِي 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 شَهْرَيْنْ 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 غورْس can also go between the negation word and the verb.

²² Taifi lists زَغْيِس on page 621, under "SG." Other variations include سَنُغُوس, سَنُغْيِس, and زَغُوس.

²³ Or سَكْ or زَكْ.

أَسْكَاسَ آيَا زُكَّيسَ بَضَانٌ²⁴.

It's been a year since they divorced.

أَمَّ أَسْكَاسَ آيَا زُكَّيسَ بَضَانٌ.

It's been about a year since they divorced.

أَسَا أَسْكَاسَ آيَا زُكَّيسَ بَضَانٌ.

Today it's been (exactly) a year since they divorced.

سَيَمَانَا نَا دِيدَانِ أَدْيِيلِي أَسْكَاسَ آيَا زِي مَائِي بَضَانٌ.

Next week it will be a year since they divorced.

شَحَالِ آيَا زُكَّيسَ تَيُولْدُ؟

How long have you (s.) been married?

How long has it been since you married?

زُكَّيسَ إِلَا كْ مَكْنَسَ يَاجْتِ شَا.

Since he's been in Meknes he's been sick.

زُكَّيسَ دِيدَا غَر مَكْنَسَ يَاجْتِ شَا.

Since he's come to Meknes, he's been sick.

وَر دَتَمَسَوَالَن زُكَّيسَ نَاغْنِ.

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** + **آيَا** + or **شَحَالِ**
with no tense indicator or **مَشَحَالِ**
مَشْتَا

Answer:

verb in the present continuous + **زُكَّيسَ** + (**آيَا**) + 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 **لَفَنَ**, from : **لَفَ** \ **وَرِ** **لَفَ** **تَلَفَ** **لَفَ** .
Others use the verb **رَزَمَنَ**, from : **رَزَمَ** \ **وَرِ** **رَزَمَ** **رَزَمَ** **رَزَمَ** .

مَشْتَا أَيَا زُغَيْس تَسَاد دَوَايَا؟

How long have you (s.) been taking [lit: drinking] this medicine?

شَحَال أَيَا زُغَيْس سَوَالْن س تَمَازِيغْت؟

How long have they (m.) been speaking Tamazight?

سِين إِسْكَاسَن (أَيَا) زُغَيْس سَوَالْن س تَمَازِيغْت.

They've (m.) been speaking Tamazight for two years.

[lit: (It's been) two years that they've been speaking Tamazight.]

دَسَاخ دَوَايَا زُغَيْسِي تَوْمَزْ تَوْسَوْت.

I've been taking this medicine since I caught a cough [lit: a cough caught me].

Note that the word زُغَيْس 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 زُغَيْس. They use essentially the above method, but drop the word زُغَيْس.

مَشَحَال أَيَا تَسَوَالْد س تَمَازِيغْت؟

How long have you (s.) been speaking Tamazight?

أَم أُسْكَاس أَيَا سَوَالْخ س تَمَازِيغْت.

I've been speaking Tamazight for about a year.

[lit: (It's been) about a year that I've been speaking Tamazight.]

وَكَار ن عَشْرَة ن إِسْكَاسَن أَيَا إِتْبِي إِزْلَان.

For more than 10 years he's been composing songs.

دَيْتَبِي إِزْلَان تَسْعَة 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 زُغَيْس

وَرْتُ أَنَايْخ زُغَيْس دَدِيْخ.

I haven't seen him since I came.

وَر تَخْدِم غُورْس زُغَيْسْت يَاغ شَا.

She hasn't worked at his place since she got sick.

دَتَّخْدَمْ دَا زَغْيَسَاس²⁵ تَمَّوت مَائِس.
She's been working here since her mother died.

ii. Second way: with **أَيَا**

وَرْت أَنَايْخ أَيَا دَدِيْخ.
I haven't seen him since I came.
وَر تَخْدِم غورْس أَيَاتْ يَاغ شَا.
She hasn't worked at his place since she got sick.
دَتَكَّات لَنُكَيْطَار أَيَا تَمُرِّي.
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 شَرِيف؟
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 زَغْيَسَاس 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 أَيْآ.

I saw her fifteen days ago.

أَنَايْخَتْ أَمَّ وَايُورَ أَيْآ.

I saw her about a month ago.

أَنَايْخَتْ تَسَاعَتْ أَيْآ.

I saw her an hour ago.

Other time phrases:

أَنَايْخَتْ كْ لَجُمْعَة نَا إِرْزَرِين. [a date + كْ]

I saw her last Friday [lit: in the Friday which passed].

أَنَايْخَتْ إِدَّخْ [or ذَمَاد].

I saw her just a while ago.

أَنَايْخَتْ صَبَّاحْ كْ لَخْدَمَتْ.

I saw her (in) the morning at work.

إِرَا أَتْ يَنْأَيْ 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 نَاغ and لِيغ.

كو تيمزيدا تَلَّا س طَالِبَنَس. طَالِبَنَّا 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.

نِيخاس "وهو." وَلَايْنِي إِنَّا أُرْيَا زَنَّا يَضُن "يَاللَّهِ، أَنَدَّو."

I told him, "No." But that other man said, "Come on, let's go."

إِس وَرْدَجِين وَمِرَّن إِمَاشَرَنَّا؟

Did they (m.) ever catch those thieves?
(that is, for example, the ones the TV was talking about)

نَان شَان مِدَّن زِي تَمَازِيرَتَنَّا....

Some people from that land said....

The above suffixes are often used in various time phrases:

In that time...

كَ لَوْقَتَنَّا...

In this time, nowadays

كَ لَوْقَتَا

In those days...

كَ وَوَسَّانَنَّا...

Around that time...

أَتَايْن ن لَوْقَتَنَّا

At about that time...

Since that day...

زَاكَ وَاسَّانَّا...

When...

أَسَّانَاكَ...

[lit: that day in which...]

at that time, in that period;
back then, in the past,
in the olden days

لَوْقَاتَلِي

back then, in the olden days,
in the former days

لَوْقَاتَلِي

إِس تَعْقَلَد خَف لَوْقَتَنَّا كَ لَقَهُوا؟

Do you remember that time at the café?

زَاكَ وَاسَّانَّا وَرْدَجِين كَمِيخ قَاح.

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 لَيْخْ كْ أَرْفُود كَيْخْ غُورْشْ مَشَانْ وَرْ تَلِيدْ.

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 مَرْيَخْ كَيْخْ دَسَارَاخْ كْ لَغَابَتْ كُو يَاسْ. كْ وَوَسَانْنَا

كَانَ لَانَ إِسْكَلَا شِيْكَانْ كْ كُو يَازْ غَارْ، إِمِيلْ أَسَا وَرْ إِسُولْ

أَوْدْ يُونْ 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.

لَوْقَتَلِيْ غُودَانْ مِدَّنْ كُولَنْسَن. دُغِي، غَاسْ إِغْدَارْنْ أَيْآنْ.

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

وَهْلِيْ

long ago,
in the olden days

وَهَوَا

in the past, long ago,
in the olden days
[lit: the beginning]

تِزْوِيرِيْ

in the past, long ago

كُو يَاسْ

وَهْلِيْ وَرْ لَيْنْ شِيْكَانْ نْ مِدَّنْ دَا.

In the past there weren't many people here.

إِلَا يُونْ أَكْغَلِيدْ وَهَوَا غُورْشْ سَنَاتْ نْ تَشِيرَاتِينْ....

Long ago there was a king (who) had two daughters....

تِزْوِيرِيْ أَرْتَفْرَاحَنْ مِدَّنْ سْ أَوْدْ حَاحْ.

In the olden days people were happy with nothing.

مِدَّنْ نْ وَهَوَا

people from long ago

مِدَّنْ نْ زَمَانْ

people from olden times

مِدَّنْ نَا إِزْرِينْ وَهْلِيْ

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 \ وَر إِذْرُوس | تَذْرُوس | ذُرُوس |
| to be of a little amount | | | |
| to be a lot, — | إِثْغُودِي \ وَر إِثْغُودِي | تَثْغُودِي | ثْغُودِي |
| to be in abundance | | | |
| to multiply — | إِسْثْغُودِي \ وَر إِسْثْغُودِي | سَثْغُودِي | سْثْغُودِي |
| to make something numerous | | | |
| to be a lot, — | إِعْدَا \ وَر إِعْدَا | تَعْدُو | عْدُو |
| to be in abundance | | | |
| to multiply — | إِسْعَدَا \ وَر إِسْعَدَا | تَسْعَدُو | سْعَدُو |
| to make something numerous | | | |
| to be enough — | إِقْدَا \ وَر إِقْدَا | تَقْدَا | قْدَا |
| | | | |
| to still be left — | إِسُول \ وَر إِسُول | تَسُول | سُول |
| | | | |
| to be finished, — | إِقْضَا \ وَر 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)

شِیْگَان

شِیْگَان ن وَآگُو

a lot of smoke

شِیْگَان ن إِقَاوَلَن

a lot of promises

لَان شِيْكَان ن إِيَالِيُون كْ تَمَازِيْغَت.

There are a lot of words in Tamazight.

إِلَا شِيْكَان ن وَاكُّو كْ إِكْنَا.

There is a lot of smoke in the sky.

لَان شِيْكَان ن وَاْمَان 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.

أَرِيْكَات اُدْفَل شِيْكَان كْ مَرِيْرَت.

It was snowing a lot in Mrirt.

غَاس يَانَايْ إِرْم إِهْبَض شِيْكَان.

He just saw the lion (and) he was greatly terrorized.

أَلِيْكَ تَسُوَا شِيْكَان ن وَاْتَايْ، يَاْغْت شَا.

Since she drank too much tea, she got sick.

دَيَسُوَال شِيْكَان.

He talks too much.

Often it's the context that distinguishes between the meaning of "a lot" and "too much."

وَنَّا وَر إِسْنَّ اَدِيْعِيْش س إِمِيْل وَر إِتْعِيْش س شِيْكَان.

He who doesn't know how to live with little won't (know how to)
live with a lot/much.

The word بَزَّاف 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 .

عَنْوَكَّا

Used in all the same contexts as شِيْكَان .

قَبَالَا¹

Used as "a lot" of something, but not as an adverb or as "too much."

تِيْكَت

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 لَكْ 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)

شَوِي

a little (as a noun)

a little (of something—but not with a countable noun)

إِمِيل²

a little (as a noun)

a little bit (of something—but not with a countable noun)

شَا ن شَوِي

a little bit (as a noun)

a little bit (of something)

شَا إِدْرُوسَن

a little bit (as a noun)

أَوَيْد 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 أَغْرُوم.

Give him/her a little bread.

شَاس إِمِيل.

Give him/her a little.

إِتْشَا شَوِي ن أَغْرُوم.

He ate a little bread.

² Regional variations of this word include إِمِيق and إِمِيح.

إِتْشَا شَوِي.

He ate a little.

إِتْشَا شَا ن شَوِي ن أَكْسُوم.

He ate a little bit of meat.

إِتْشَا شَا ن شَوِي.

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

شَوِي س شَوِي or شَوِي شَوِي

D. Some

some _____

شَا ن + plural noun

some _____

شَا ن + uncountable noun

some _____

يَيْتَس ن + plural noun

some _____

رُبْعَت ن + plural noun

some people

شَا ن مِدَّن

some tea

شَا ن وَاتَايْ

some days

يَيْتَس ن وَوسَّان

some people

رُبْعَت 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 **أَنْشَتِي** (Its dependent form is **وَأَنْشَتِي**), 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 أَنْشَتِي |
| this quantity of | <u>noun</u> | | <u>noun</u> ن أَنْشَتِيد |
| (the noun is close to the speaker) | | | |
| so much / so many | <u>noun</u> | | <u>noun</u> ن أَنْشَتِيس |
| 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 **إ**. 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 **أَرِيَا** (“this man”).

In the above quantity expressions, **أَنْشَتِي** and **أَنْشَتِيد** both refer to items that are close to the speaker. They are synonyms, being just regional variations meaning the same thing. The word **أَنْشَتِيس** 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.

ماي تَّكَّاد س وانشتي ن إذرِيمَن؟

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 أَنشتيد ن لَمَشاكيل.

I want God to take from me this quantity of problems.

ور تَنيد أَتَسْغَد أَنشتيس 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: أَديش رَبِّي أَم لَواشونين ن أَرِيازين.

شا يَضَن: ما غَاغْخ⁴ 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

تَسْكِيفْت⁵ ن وامن

a mouthful of bread

إمي ن أَغْروم

a handful of money

تومَرْت⁴ ن إذرِيمَن

two-handed scoop of money

وراو ن إذرِيمَن

two hands cupped together

وراو^(wu) وراو^(wu)

He drinks with his two hands cupped together.

دَيَسَا س ووراو.

a spoonful of oil

تَغَنْجاوْت ن زَيْت

a cupful of honey

لُكاس ن تَمِيمْت

a plateful of flour

تَقْصَرِيْت ن واكْغَرْن

⁴ This form of the future will be covered in lesson 28. Basically, it uses غَا 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 غَايَخ “ma gaye^h.” 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

إِحْزِيفَن أَحْزِيفَ (u)

G. Most ...

There are a number of different ways to express this idea, the first one below being perhaps the most colloquial.

گودین [or عَدَان] وینَا دَیْسَان⁶ اَتَايْ س نَعْنَاعْ كْ لَمَغْرَب.

The majority (of people) / most (people) in Morocco drink mint tea.

[lit: Numerous are those who drink mint tea in Morocco.]

دُروسَن وینَا دَیْسَان شَرَبْ كْ لَمَغْرَب.

A minority (of people) in Morocco drink alcoholic beverages.

[lit: Few are those who drink alcoholic beverages in Morocco.]

شا إگودین [or إِعْدَان] كْ لَمَغْرَب دَسَان اَتَايْ س نَعْنَاع.

The majority (of people) / most (people) in Morocco drink mint tea.

[lit: Numerous (people)...]

شا إِدروسَن كْ لَمَغْرَب دَسَان شَرَب.

A minority (of people) in Morocco drink alcoholic beverages.

[lit: A few (people)...]

مِدَّن إگودین كْ لَمَغْرَب دَسَان اَتَايْ س نَعْنَاع.

The majority of people [lit: Numerous people] in Morocco drink mint tea.

مِدَّن إِدروسَن كْ لَمَغْرَب دَسَان شَرَب.

A minority of people [lit: A few people] in Morocco drink alcoholic beverages.

عَلَّاحَال قَّاح مِدَّن لَمَغْرَب دَسَان اَتَايْ س نَعْنَاع.

Almost all the people of Morocco drink mint tea.

most people

شیگان ن مِدَّن

H. Fractions

half

أَمْنَصَف (u) إِمْنَصَفَن
تَمْنَصَفْت (tm) تِمْنَصَفِن (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 **أَمْنَصَف ن يَغْر**

half of the house **أَمْنَصَف ن تَدَارَتْ**

more than half or **وْغَار ن أَمْنَصَف**
بُزَايْد ن أَمْنَصَف

less than half **دَاوُ ن أَمْنَصَف**

about half or **أَذْيَلِي أَمْنَصَف**
إِنِّي أَمْنَصَف

not quite half **وَرِ إِتَاوَضْ أَمْنَصَف**

أَمْنَصَفَا ن يَغْر وَينو، أَمْنَصَفِين وَينش.

This half of the field is mine, that half is yours (m.s.).

He cut it (m.) in half. **إِبَّيْت خَفْ أَمْنَصَف.**

three halves **شُرَاض ن إِمْنَصَفَن**

Another word used in some regions for “half” is:

| | | |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| half | إَزْكَنَان | أَزْكَن⁷ (u) |
| half (the feminine means the same as the masculine) | تِزْكَنِين (tz) | تَزْكَنَتْ (tz) |

a half of a leg of lamb **أَزْكَن ن أَضَار ن أَكْسُوم**

a half of a loaf of bread **تَزْكَنَتْ ن تَوْغْرِيفَتْ**

three halves **شُرَاض ن إِرْكَنَان**

⁷ Some areas pronounce the singular and plural as **إَزِين** and **أَزِين**.

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 | سُدُسُ | one third | ثُلُثُ |
| one tenth | لِعَشْرُ | one seventh | سَبْعُ | one fourth | رُبْعُ |
| | | one eighth | تُمْنُ | one fifth | لِخْمُسُ |

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 شَرَاظُ نِ إِدِ رُبْعُ

five-sixths خَمْسَةُ نِ إِدِ سُدُسُ

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 أَمُور وَيَسْطَنَاشُ.

He takes a twelfth. دَيْتَاوِي وَيَسْطَنَاشُ.

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 أَخْمَاسُ .

He takes a fifth part of the wheat. دَيْتَاوِي أَمُور وَيَسْخَمْسَةُ كُ⁸ إِمْنَدِي.

He takes a fifth of the wheat. دَيْتَاوِي وَيَسْخَمْسَةُ كُ إِمْنَدِي.

He takes a fifth of the wheat. دَيْتَاوِي لِخْمُسُ كُ إِمْنَدِي.

⁸ Or ن . This applies to the following two sentences as well.

All decimal numbers use Arabic:

3,5 ثَلَاثَةٌ فَاصِلَةٌ خَمْسَةٌ
(lit: three comma five, that is,
"three point five" in English)

I. Math operations

i. Zero

zero زيرو or صِفْر

ii. Percentages

Percentages use Arabic numbers but the preposition is **كُ**:

100 percent مِئَةُ كُ لَمِئَةٍ

32 percent ثَلَاثِينَ وَ ثَلَاثِينَ كُ لَمِئَةٍ

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. خَمْسَةٌ غَرَّ سَبْعَةٌ تَكَا⁹ طُنَاش.

5 and 7 makes 12. خَمْسَةٌ دَ سَبْعَةٌ دَتَكَا طُنَاش.

5 plus ("add to it") 7 gives 12. خَمْسَةٌ زَايِدَاسَ سَبْعَةٌ دَتَاكَ طُنَاش.

iv. Subtraction

40 from 100 leaves 60. رُبْعِينَ زِي مِئَةٍ تَقِيمُ¹⁰ سَتَيْن.

100 take away from it 40 gives 60. مِئَةُ كَسَّ زِيْغَسَ رُبْعِينَ دَتَاكَ سَتَيْن.

⁹ From Arabic grammar, almost all numbers over two take a feminine singular verb. An exception is the word for 1000 **أَلْف**, which is masculine singular.

¹⁰ Some regions conjugate this as a regular verb and others as an irregular verb.

v. Multiplication

خَمْسَةَ نِ إِدْ خَمْسِينَ تَغَا مِيتَيْنِ وَ خَمْسِينَ.

(pronounced

نيد)

5 times 50 is 250.

[lit: five of fifties is 250]

خَمْسَةَ دِي خَمْسِينَ دَتَّغَا مِيتَيْنِ وَ خَمْسِينَ.

(pronounced “di”)

5 times 50 makes 250.

vi. Division

خَمْسَ مِية خَفْ خَمْسِينَ دَتَاكَا عَشْرَةَ. 500 (divided) by 50 gives 10.

بُضُو خَمْسَ مِية خَفْ خَمْسِينَ، أَتَّشْ عَشْرَةَ.

Divide 500 by 50, and you get [lit: it will give] 10.

خَمْسَ مِية بُضُوتْ خَفْ خَمْسِينَ تَغَا عَشْرَةَ.

500 divide it by 50 is 10.

J. More verbs of quantities and measurements

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|----------------------------|-----------|---------|
| to count | — | إِحَاسَبْ \ وَرْ إِحَاسَبْ | تَحَاسَبْ | حَاسَبْ |
| to estimate, to calculate | — | إِمِيزْ \ وَرْ إِمِيزْ | تَمِيزْ | مِيزْ |
| to reduce, to lower | — | إِنَاقَسْ \ وَرْ إِنَاقَسْ | تَنَاقَسْ | نَاقَسْ |
| to add, to raise | — | إِزَايْدْ \ وَرْ إِزَايْدْ | تَزَايْدْ | زَايْدْ |
| to weigh, to measure | — | إِعْبَرْ \ وَرْ إِعْبَرْ | تَعْبَرْ | عَبَرْ |

K. Numbers 11 to 19

There are two ways people say these numbers: with or without an ع .

| | | | |
|---------------|----|-------------|----|
| حَضَاعَش | or | حَضَاش | 11 |
| طَنَاعَش | or | طَنَاش | 12 |
| تَلَطَّاعَش | or | تَلَطَّاش | 13 |
| رُبَّعَطَاعَش | or | رُبَّعَطَاش | 14 |
| خَمْسَطَاعَش | or | خَمْسَطَاش | 15 |
| سَطَّاعَش | or | سَطَّاش | 16 |
| سَبَّعَطَاعَش | or | سَبَّعَطَاش | 17 |
| تَمَنَّطَاعَش | or | تَمَنَّطَاش | 18 |
| تَسَعَّطَاعَش | or | تَسَعَّطَاش | 19 |

L. 100

مائة or مِاتِ or إِد مِية hundred

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) ثَلَاثَ مِية
300 (more Berberized, but less common) شُرَاط¹¹ 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) مِيتَيْنِ
200 (more Berberized, but less common) سَنَات ن إِد مِية

M. 1000

أَلْف (wa) or أَلْفِيُونَ (wa) or أَلَف or إِد وَالْف thousand

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) | ثَلَاثَ أَلْفٍ |
| 3000 (more Berberized, but less common) | شُرَاضْ نِ إِدِ وَالْفِ |
| 3000 (more Berberized, but much less common) | شُرَاضْ نِ وَالْفِيُونِ |

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) | أَلْفَيْنِ |
| 2000 (more Berberized, but less common) | سِينِ ¹² إِدِ وَالْفِ |
| 2000 (more Berberized, but much less common) | سِينِ وَالْفِيُونِ |

N. More measurements

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| measuring, measurement, weighing gauging distance | لَعْبَار |
| length duration | تَغْزِي ¹³ |
| width | تِيْرُوْت |
| height | لَعْلُو |
| depth | تَغْبِي ¹⁴ |

لَان سِين لُمِيْتْرُوِيَات كُ تَغْزِيْنَسْ.

Its length is two meters. [lit: There are two meters in its length.]

رِيْخْ يُوْتْ نِ طَبْلَا يُوْنْ لُمِيْتْرُوْ خَفْ يُوْنْ دِ أُمْنَصَفْ.

I want a table one meter by one and a half.

سِ تَغْزِيْ نِ لَعْمَرْ.

May you live a long life.

[lit: With longevity/length of life/age.]

¹² The نِ for “of” isn’t necessary here, since the word for “two” ends in an نِ.

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 تَعُوْبْت or أَعُوْب.

إِبَّيت س تِروت.

He cut it (m.) lengthwise.

عَبَر لَعْلَو ن تَفْلَو.

Measure the height of the door.

مَشْتَا أَكْغَلَان كُف تَغْبِي ن وَاوِيَا؟

What is the depth of this well?

[lit: How much is in the depth of the well?]

مَشْتَا أَكْغَبَا وَاوِيَا؟

How deep is this well?

[lit: How much is this well deep?]

O. Quantity qualifiers

almost

عَلَّاحَال¹⁵

عَلَّاحَال كُلُّشِي دَيْتَرَلَا تِين ووتشي.

Almost everyone prays the sundown prayer [lit: that of food].

about, approximately, nearly

أَم

about, approximately

س لَمِيز

about, nearly

أَتِيلِي

[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 + يُون or يَوْت

رَان أَدَسَغْن يَوْت ن طَوْمَوْبِيل.

They (m.) want to buy the same car.

كُغْمَان كُف يَوْت ن تَدَارْت.

They (m.) grew up in the same house.

رَانْت أَدَاوَلَنْت يُون أَرِيَا.

They (f.) want to marry the same man.

¹⁵ Some regions say عَلَّاحَال.

3. Other expressions with numbers

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| one by one | يُون يُون |
| two by two | سِين سِين |
| three by three | شُرَاض شُرَاض |
| four by four | رَبْعَة رَبْعَة or رَبْعَة س رَبْعَة |

(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 أَعْرَابُون 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 وَيَسْرُبْعَة \ تيسْرُبْعَة "fourth," for example.

Literally these phrases are made up of three words: رَبْعَة + س + وَي \ تِي.
 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.). <i>Ils sont cinq.</i> [lit: They are with five.] | لَان س خَمْسَة. |
| you (m.) four | كُنِّي س رَبْعَة |
| the two of them (m.) | س سِينَسَن |
| the two of you (m.), both of you (Mor. Arabic) بَجُوجَكُم | س سِينَن |
| the three of them (f.) | س شُرَاطَنَسَنَت |
| the three of you (f.) | س شُرَاطَنَنَت |

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) **بُجُوجْكُمْ**

س سين إدُنْ

the two of them (f.)

س سَنَات إدْسَنَّتْ

the three of you (m.)

س شَرَاَض إدُنْ

the three of them (m.)

س شَرَاَض إدْسَن

إِس تَدَام غَر لَغَابْت، س شَرَاَض إدُنْ؟

Did the three of you go to the forest?

مَوْتَن س سَبْعَانْسَن.

All seven of them (m.) died.

شَحَال أَس [أَيّ + س = أَس] تَلَام كُف 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 [or تَبْعَد] نِيو يورْك د لاس أَنْجَلَس؟

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 أَنْجَلَس س خَمْس أَلَا ف ن
لِكِيلُومِتَر.

New York and Los Angeles are 5000 kilometers apart.

[lit: New York is far from Los Angeles by 5000 kilometers.]

وَر تَبْضِي تَمْدِينْت د عَارِي غَاس س أَم تَوَادَا ن يُون تَمَنْ
مِيَة ن أَحُورِيف.

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)? مَانِيْكَ أَرَا تَاكْمَت¹؟

When will they (m.) leave? مِيلْمِي أَرَا دَدُون؟

How will we do (it)? مَاكَا² أَرَا نَكْ؟

Why will they (m.) kill this man? مَاخَمِّي³ أَرَا نَغْنِ أَرِيَا؟

The particle **أَرَا** or **أَلَا** corresponds to **أَغَا** or **غَا** [Ayt Sgougou, Ayt Seghroushen, Ayt Mgild, Izayan (rare)] and **غَرَا** [Izayan, Ayt Mgild], used in the same conditions:

When will they (m.) come? مِيلْمِي غَا دَدُون؟

When will they (m.) come? مِيلْمِي غَرَا 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 **مَخَفْ مِي**. We've used here the phrase **مَاخِ أَلِيْكَ** 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:

مِلْمِي أَكْتَدَو [أَيَّ + إِتَدَو]؟
When will he go?

” . دَو being the habitual form of تَدَو

1. Different tense indicators besides أَد

A. أَد 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 (أَيَّ or نَا), or a conjunction (like أَدَايْ), other tense indicators such as أَرَا, أَلَا, غَا, and غَرَا 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 أَد cannot be used.

Note that, like أَد, the other tense indicators also cause moveable items to move to a place in front of the verb. Just like أَد, the moveable items go between the tense indicator and the verb.⁴ Note the positions of pronouns and direction particles below.

مِلْمِي أَغَا [أَيَّ + غَا] رَارَن إِمَاشَرَن أَيَدَا إِرِيد بَابَنَسَن؟

When will the thieves return the goods to their owners?

مَاخَ أَلَيْكَ⁵ غَرَات مَرَّتَن أَيَّت تَنْبَاط؟

Why are the authorities going to punish him?

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

مَايْ غَا ذِيَا زَن لَعَامِل؟

Who will the governor send (toward the speaker)?

[Notice the “d” of direction and its position.]

مَايْ غَا دِيدُون؟

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 غَرَا may use a different word for “why” than the one used here.

مِلْمِي أَغَا [أَيَّ + غَا] نَيَاوَضْ؟

When will he arrive (there)?

[Notice the “n” of direction and its position.]

سَنَخْ شَا ن 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 أَرْيَا أَمِي [أَيَّ + مِي] غَرَا شَنْ إِذْرِيْمَنْ؟

Is it this man to whom they (m.) will give money?

[Note the complex relative pronoun.]

عَدِّي أَغَا [أَيَّ + غَا] ذِيَاظَنْ لَعَامِلْ.

Addi (is the one) whom the governor will send (toward the speaker).

[Notice the “d” of direction and its position.]

بَسَّوْ أَغَا [أَيَّ + 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 | It will happen. أَد إَجْرُو |
| | غَا إَغُودَان | It will be good. أَد إَغُودَا |
| (Notice it is not : إِمَّوْتَن .) | غَا إِمَّتَن | It will die. أَد إِمَّت |
| (Notice it is not : يَوْمَزَن .) | غَا يَامَزَن | It will take. أَد يَامَزْ |

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 : جُرَانِين .) | غَا جُرُونِين | They will happen. أَد جُرُون |
| | غَا غُودَانِين | They will be good. أَد غُودَان |
| (Notice it is not : مَّوْتَنِين .) | غَا مَّتَنِين | They will die. أَد مَّتَن |
| (Notice it is not : مَرَّزَنِين .) | غَا أَمَرَّزَنِين | They will take. أَد أَمَرَّزَن |

ii. Examples:

With question words

مارا [ماي + أَرَا] يوتَن أَرَبَا ور إِضَاعُن؟

Who will hit the disobedient boy?

ماي غُرَا إِسْوَلَن كُثْ وانْسَانَس؟

Who will speak in his/her place?

مَا غَا إَجْرُون مَشْ تَشِيخْ أَكْسُوم إِرْصُوضَن؟

What will happen if I eat spoiled meat?

مَا غَاكُن إِسْوَحَلَن؟

What will make you (m.pl.) tired?

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

مَا غَاسِ إِسْغَدَن إِرْ فَلَان؟

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 برّا.

I saw the children who will go abroad.

سَنَخ شا ن یون نا غایاخ [or غاخ] ایرارن نَطَرَح.

I know someone who will make us (to be) rich.

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

مانی 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.]

مانی 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.]

آسگّاس نا غا دیراحن

the coming year [lit: the year that will come]

[Notice the "d" of direction and its position.]

آریاز نا غا نیلواضن

the man who will arrive (there)

[Notice the "n" of direction and its position.]

إد آریازا آغات [آي + غا + ت] إسقسان؟

Is it this man who will ask her?

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

تکورّت آغاکن [آي + غا + کن] إسوحلن.

Football (is) what will make you (m.pl.) tired.

[Note the position of the direct object pronoun.]

إد آریازا 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 تمطوطّا 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

مِلْمِيَاخْ إِتْنِي لِحَقَّ؟

When will he tell us the truth?

س مي [or ماس] إِكَّاتْ أَغْيُولْ؟

With what will he hit the donkey?

مَاسَن تَغَّاخْ إِنْ بِيَاوَنْ؟

What will I prepare for the guests (m.)?

[Note that the **اسَن** is the indirect object pronoun “for them (m.).”]

After relative pronouns

وَفِيخْ تَرْبَاتْ نَا إِتَّوَلْ مَمِّي.

I found the girl my son will marry.

س تِيدِينَشْ أَسِي [أَيْ + س + ي] تَخَلَّاصْد.

It's with your (m.s.) sweat that [lit: with which] you will pay me.

After negatives

وَر إِتَّوِي أُمَازَانْ تَبْرَاتْ.

The messenger won't take the letter.

وَر دِيْتَدُو أَلْد⁷ إِشْمَلْ لَخْدَمْتَنَسْ.

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.”

مورید ور ابنی تدارتنس تما ن واسیف، ورت تآوین 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:

مور ابنی تدارتنس تما ن واسیف، آت آوین
[أَد + ت + آوین] وامان.

If he had built his house next to the river, the water would have taken it away.

إس ور نتدو غر سوق آسكآ؟

Aren't we going to the market tomorrow?

ور غوري ديتدو ييطس غاس مش سويخ لكينا.

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 | إتینین | he is telling | دیتینین |
| (who) will do | إتگن | he is doing | دیتگن |

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 | تینینین | they are telling | دتینین |
| they (who) will do | تگنن | they are doing | دتگن |

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.

مَاكَّكَاتَن [مَائِي + إِكَّاتَن] أَرَبَا وَر إِضَاعَن؟

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 دَيْكَاتَن أَرَبَا وَر إِضَاعَن؟

Who hits (regularly, repeatedly) the disobedient boy?⁸

Other examples

مَاكَّكَسَّانَ أَتَائِي؟

Who will drink the tea?

مَاكَّكَتَغِيمَان لَشْ تَدَّارْت؟

Who will stay in the house?

وَ ر سَنَخ مَائِي إِتْعَاوَان.

I don't know who will help me.

وَفِيخ تَرْبَات نَّا إِتَّوَلَن مَمِّي.

I found the girl who will marry my son.

أَنْدَو غَر تَرْبَات نَّا إِزَّاضَن إِمْنَدِي.

Let's go to the girl who will grind the grain.

وَرِيد تَمْطُوطَا أَيَّاخ [or أَيَّادَا] إِتَّافَان إِيدِينَّخ.

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 آَدَسَوَلَخ س تَمَازِيغْت.

ريخ آَدَسَوَالَخ 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 **نَا** or **آيْ**)

The following contrasting pairs of sentences will illustrate the different uses:

The use of question words

- (a) لَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنْ غَر تِمَزِيْدَا اَسَّ لَلْجُمْعَةِ.
People go to the mosque on Friday.
اِس دَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنْ غَر تِمَزِيْدَا اَسَّ لَلْجُمْعَةِ؟
Do people go to the mosque on Friday?
مِلْمِي اَ دَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنْ غَر تِمَزِيْدَا؟
When do people go to the mosque?
- (b) مَاخ اَلِيْكَ دَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنْ غَر تِمَزِيْدَا؟
Why do people go to the mosque?
لَتَدَوْنَ مَدَّنْ غَر تِمَزِيْدَا حَمَا اَذْرَالَن.
People go to the mosque in order to pray.

The use of the negative

- (a) لِيْتَكَا اَيَا خَف نَيْرْتِينُو.
He does this for my sake.
وَر دِيْتَكَا اَيَا خَف نَيْرْتِينُو. لَت اِتَكَا خَف
نَيْرْتَنَس نَتَا.
He doesn't do this for my sake. He does it for his own sake.
- (b) لَتَسَاَقَان اِنْغَمِيْسَن خَانِيْن فِيسَاع.
Bad news travels/spreads fast.
وَر دَتَسَاَقَان اِنْغَمِيْسَن زِيْلِيْن فِيسَاع اَم اِنْغَمِيْسَن
خَانِيْن.
Good news doesn't travel/spread as fast as bad news.

A relative clause

- (a) لَسِيْغِيْدَخ اِيْدِيِيْن كُو يَاس.
I scare that dog every day.
اِس تَانَايْد اِيْدِي نَا دَسِيْغِيْدَخ كُو يَاس؟
Did you (s.) see the dog that I scare every day?

(b) لَسْكَارُنْ إِشِيرَانِين زَا زَا كُو يَاسْ.

Those children raise a racket every day.

وهو، أَرْبَايِين أَ دَيْسْكَارُنْ¹ زَا زَا كُو يَاسْ.

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 **آي** 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 in its past conjugated form²
must be a qualitative or
stative verb.)

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

| Plural | Singular |
|-------------------|----------------|
| nella نَلَّا | lli ليخ |
| tellam تَلَّام | tellid تَلَّيد |
| tallamt تَلَّامْت | tellid تَلَّيد |
| llan لَّان | illa إِلَّا |
| llant لَّانْت | tella تَلَّا |

iv. Some examples follow:

They (m.) are grown up. [present meaning] لَّان مَقَّورَن.

He is alive. [present meaning] إِلَّا إِدَّر.

She's still alive. [present meaning] تَلَّا تَسُول تَدَّر.

He's blind. [present meaning] إِلَّا إَعْمَا.

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 Nahir*, 1973.

At that time I was young. [past meaning]

لَيْخ مَزِيخ لَوْقَتْنَا.

In the past she was married. [past meaning]

وَهَلِي تَلَا تِيُول.

Each of these sentences is different from the same sentences without the verb **إِلِي** in that the description is emphasized or strengthened. Yet often this strengthening is difficult to translate into English.

B. **إِلِي** in its two-verbs-together format

The **future perfect tense** is formed as follows:

verb conjugated in its past form + **إِلِي** in its two-verbs-together format + **أَد**

This is simply the future form of **إِلِي**

أَدَايْ إِشْجَمْ أَرْبَانَشْ لَمْدَرَاَسْتْ أَدِيلِيخْ إِيُولَخْ.

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 تَاوُضْ مَكْنَسْ، أَدِيلِي حَمُو إِشْمَلْ لَخْدَمْتْ.

By the time you (s.) reach (or: arrive at) Meknes, Hammou will have finished the work.

وَرِ إِيَتَاوُضْ مَكْنَسْ أَلْ أَدِيلِي شَمَلْنْ لَخْدَمْتْ.

He will not reach (or: arrive at) Meknes before (or: until) they (m.) will have finished the work.

أَدَايْ تَكْرُدْ، أَدِيلِيخْ دِيخْ غَر فَاَسْ.

By the time you (s.) get up, I will have gone to Fez.

C. **لَكْ** in its past form

We saw in lesson 4 (pages 33-37) that the expression “used to do something” is formed by using **لَكْ** in its past conjugated form and adding it to the verb in its present continuous tense. But **لَكْ** in its past conjugated form at times plays other roles.

i. كْ points out the (relatively) distant past

However, كْ also plays another auxiliary role which is related to time in the past. Sometimes when كْ 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 كْ 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? إِسْ وَرْذَجِين تَسْغِيد تْرَاكْتُور؟
Yes, I’ve bought a tractor before. or إِهْ، كَيَخ سَغِيخ تْرَاكْتُور.
Yes, I bought a tractor once.

He’s gone to Agadir before. إِكَا إِدَا غَر أَغَادِير.
(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 كَيَخ سَفْلَدَخ أَوَالَا.
I heard this word once. or
I heard this word some time ago.

Once there was a king who ruled justly.... إِكَا يُون أَكْلِيد أَرِيْتَحَاكَام
سْ لَمْعَقُول....

ii. Past perfect tense: “I had done something”

At times the auxiliary كْ 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 تَنْ 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.

لَيْك دِيخْ غَر أَكَادِير سَيْمَانَا نَا إِزْرِين، إَوِيخْد تِسُورَانُو نَا
كَيِخْ زُرِيخَن كْ لُوطِيل.

When I went to Agadir last week, I brought back my keys that I had
left (there) in the hotel.

رِيخْ أَدَاوِيخْ مُحْنَدْ غَر مَوْلَايْ يَعْقُوبْ، مَشَانْ إَكَا إِدَا غُورْس.

I was going to take Muhand to Moulay Yacoub, but he had (already, at
some time in the relatively distant past) gone to it.

كَيِخْ أَنَايْخْ مَوْحِي.
I had seen Moha.

He had gone with him.

Il était parti avec lui.

إِكَاتْ إِمَانْ إِدْس.⁴

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: *إَكَا إِمُونْ دِيْدْ س*.

Like this, Like that

As we've seen in the past, the word **أَم** means "like," as in making a comparison. However, there are a number of different words related to **أَم**. 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.

A. **أَمْشِي**² or **أَمْشِيد** — like this (near), in this way, thus
(And you can see what is being referred to,
it is physically present.)

B. **أَمْشِيس**³ — like that (far), in that way, thus
(And you can see what is being referred to,
it is physically present.)

C. **أَمْشِينَا** — like that (in question), in that way (in question)
(Something already mentioned or referred to;
it is not physically present.)

D. **أَمْشِي نَا** + verb — like what (you did...)

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 **إ** at the beginning instead of a **أ** and say **إَمْشِي** or **إَمْكِي**. Others say **يَمْشِي** or **يَمْكِي**. Some also add the **د** of direction on the end, as illustrated above. **أَمْشِيد** and **أَمْشِينَا** 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 **دَّغ** (meaning "like this"), **نَاغ** (meaning "like that"), **يَنْدَغ** (meaning "like that over there"), **لَيْغ** (meaning "like that one in question"), and **دَاغ** (meaning "like that which happened earlier"). In fact, their word for "How?" is **مَانِي إْمَكِيدَا ؟**. 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 أَرْيَازِينَ. دَيْتَدَو أَم مُحَنَد.

إِلَّا غُورُشَ لِحَقَّ، أَمْشيس نَّيْت.

See that man. He walks like Muhand.

You're (m.s.) right, just like that.

هَبْضَن مِدَّن. نَّتَا يَنْأَيْتَن إِشَو أَمْشيس دَائِي

إِنِّيَاسَن "مَكْن يَاعْن أَوِي؟"

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

أَنْأَيْخَ كْ تَلْفَزَا مِيْمَشَ أَيْ كَانَتْ دَتَكَّانَتْ تَوْتَمِينَ ن
وَهْلِي أَغْرُوم. إِلَا إِشَقَّا شِيْكَان. إِدْ 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 شَان مِدَّن خَفَ زَنْزَالَن الْحُسَيْمَةِ مِيْسَم
أَكْجَرَا.)

إِسْ إِجْرَا زَنْزَالَن أَمْشِينَا؟

أَمْشِينَا نَّيْت. لَّيْخَ دِينَ.

(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.

كُ اَيَا اَمْشِي نَاش سَنَعَتَخ كُ تَلْفَزَا.

Do this like what I showed you (m.s.) on TV.

اَمْشِي نَا تَانَايْم

like what you (m.pl.) saw

إِجْرَا لَمْشَكِيل دَا كُ مَكْنَس اَمْشِي نَا إِجْرَان كُ 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 اَمْشِي نَاش.

I showed you (m.s.) a little
while ago.

سَنَعَتَخ إِدَّخ.

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 س وامْشِي 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 اَمْشِي 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 **أَمْ** (“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** = **أَمْ** **وَأَمْشِي** = **س** **وَأَمْشِي**

like that **أَمْشِيس** = **أَمْ** **وَأَمْشِيس** = **س** **وَأَمْشِيس**

إِشْمَلْ لِمَخْزَن س وَأَمْشِي أَيْنَا إِنَّا كُ لِنْتِخَابَات.

The government thus [in this way, *ainsi*] fulfilled what it said
during the elections.

س وَأَمْشِي كَانَ أَيْنَاسَن نَّان إِسْمُونَنَسَن.

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) — **أَكِيد** (wa) or

like that (far), in that way, thus — **أَكِيس** .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, **أَكِيس** is always “like that.”

⁹ Other variations include **كَا**, **كِي**, **أَك**. Furthermore, certain regions use a **ش** instead of a **ك**.

Examples:

A. أَكَا (wa) or أَكِي (wa) or أَكِيد (wa) (or with ش)

سِرْسَتْن أَكِي.

Put them (m.) down like this.

أَشِيد أَثْغَرَا رَبِّي.

(It's) like this that God willed.

أَكَا د وَاكَا.

Like this and like that.

B. أَكِيَس

أَكِيَس أَثْغَا.

He went like that.

[lit: (It's) like that that he did.]

إِرُورَا غِيْفَسَن أَشِيَس.

He answered them (m.) like that.

C. أَكِين

مَاخَ أَلِيَكْ دَيْسَلْمَاد أَكِينْ؟

Why does he teach like that?

إِمَزُورَا، كَانْ دَبَنُون تَدَرُوِين أَكِينْ.

(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 أَكِي or أَكِيد = أَم وَاكِي

like that أَكِيَس = أَم وَاكِيَس

¹⁰ This is like Moroccan Arabic. In Moroccan Arabic the words هَاكَذَا and هَاكَذَاكَ 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 هَاكَذَا “like this” and بُحَال هَاكَذَاكَ “like that.”

إِوَا أَوْدَ شَكَّيْنِ دَو تَكْدَ أَمَ وَاشِيدَ.

Therefore, you (m.s.) too, go and do like this.

دَايَ أَمَ وَاكِيسَ أَيَّ تَنَّا تَايَضَ.

So (it was) like that that the other one (f.) did.

4. أَمَّانِي or أَمِّي as if

Note that these words¹¹ cause moveable items to move in front of the verb.

إِنَّا أَمِّي إِغْنِ.

He pretended to sleep. [lit: He did as if he were sleeping.]

مَشَانِ أَمِّي يَاسَنَ تَوَقَّنَتِ وَالَّنَ وَرَ وَكِرَنَ إِمَّانَسَنَ.

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 تَفَرَحَ.

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, أَمَّانِي and أَمِّي are followed by the predicative د , that is, the د that means "it/he/she is" or "they are."

دَيَسَمَغُورَ سَ إِخْفَنَسَ أَمِّي دَ أَكَلِيدَ.

He exalts himself as if he were a king.

مَاحَ أَلَيْكَ دَ دِيكِي تَسْمُوقَوْلَمَ أَمَّانِي دَ لَوْحَشَ أَيَّ كَيْخَ؟

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 دَ نَتَّاتَ

as if it were her

5. أَمَشِينَا meaning "just did something"

When أَمَشِينَا¹² 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 إِرْكِيْغِيْ وَاشَال ، غاس سين دَقَائِقْ 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 ياغ \ ور ياغ

تَاغ طوموبيلين كُ تَغْلَايْت.

That car looks like an egg.

ور ياغ لا كُ إِبَّاس لا كُ مَائْس.

He resembles neither his father nor his mother.

The verb رُوس means “to look like/be like/resemble something.” The verb takes a direct object.

رُوس¹⁴ تَرُوس إِرُوس \ ور إِرُوس

تَرُوس مَائْس كُ وَالْن.

She has the same eyes as her mother.

[lit: She resembles her mother in eyes.]

أَدَاوَن إِنْخِ مَائِد إِرُوس.

I will tell you (m.pl.) what he is like [lit: what he resembles].

¹³ Some regions add أَيْ 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 **نَغ** 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.]

دَتَرڭيڭي تاسانَس خَف مَمَّيس.

He/she is fearful.

[lit: He/she has the liver of a chicken.]

غورَس تاسا ن أَفولتوس.

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.] | دَيَسَنَّا 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 is used in a wide variety of emotional expressions. This set 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] | بَلَا يولَنَس |
| He/she has no self-esteem, self- confidence. [lit: A heart isn't in him/her.] | ور ديگَس 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.] | إِمَوَتاس 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.] | إِقْسَاحَسْ وول. |
| He/she's fallen in love/enfatuated/enamored with something (often material). [lit: The heart has fallen to him/her over sthg.] | إِضْرَاسْ وول خَفْ شَا. |
| He's no longer angry/vengeful. He's calmed down, satisfied his anger. [lit: He has extinguished/put out his heart.] | إِسْخَسِي وَلَنْسْ. |
| He bears/keeps/holds a grudge. He's vindictive/spiteful. [lit: He keeps in his heart.] | دَيْتَامَرْ كْ وَلَنْسْ. |
| Nothing bothers him. He keeps it all inside himself. [lit: He returns/ruminates with his heart.] | دَيْتَرَارَا سْ وَلَنْسْ. |
| This makes me sick. This disgusts me. [lit: This causes the heart to stand/raise.] | دَيْسَكَّرْ أِيَا وَل. |
| He/she's filled with jealous anger. [lit: The fire has lit in his/her heart.] | تَاغْ لِعَافِيَتْ كْ وَلَنْسْ. |
| He can't stand it. He can't tolerate it. [lit: His heart doesn't want it (m.).] | وَرَاَسْتْ إِرِي وَلَنْسْ. |
| 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.). | وَرِيَتْ إِرِي وولِينُو. |
| We can't stand them (m.). | وَرَاخْتَنَ إِرِي وولَنْخْ ³ . |
| They (m.) can't stand fish. problems, trouble | وَرَاَسَنَ إِرِي وولَنْسَنَ إِسْلَمَان. مَشْرَدُول 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 وولَاوَنْخْ.

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 تَنْغِيد 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 نَغ and أَغ

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.

نَغ نَقَا إِنْغَا \ وَر إِنْغِي

أَغ تَاغ يَاغ \ وَر يَاغ

ياغْت لِعَار. He is dishonored.
[lit: Dishonor has afflicted him.]

إِنْغَاتْ أُمَارَكْ ن لَهْلَنْس. She misses her family.
[lit: Love for her family is killing her.]

5. Happiness

فرَح تَفْرَاح إِفْرَح \ وَر إِفْرَح to be happy

طَنص طَصَا إِطْصَا \ وَر إِطْصِي to laugh

إِعْجَبَاس لِحَال. (indirect object pronouns) He/she is having a good time.
He/she is happy.
(lit: The time is pleasing to him/her.)

He/she is happy. (indirect object pronouns) إِرْ شَقَّاس. or
(lit: The time is pleasing to him/her.) (The understood subject is لِحَال .)

He/she is happy. (indirect object pronouns) تِرْ شَقَّاس.
(lit: Life is pleasing to him/her.) (The understood subject is دُونِيَت .)

They (f.) aren't happy. وِرَاسَنَت إِرْ شَق.

Are you (f.s.) happy? إِسَام إِرْ شَق؟

He is happy with us. (the preposition س) إِفْرَح إِسَنَخ.

6. Sadness

to be sad حَزَن تَحْزَان \ وَر إِحْزَن

to sadden, make sad غَيْر تَغْيِير \ وَر إِغْيِير

to be bored and sad, to be homesick قَنَض تَقْنَض \ وَر إِقْنَض

to be unhappy إِخُوب \ وَر إِخُوب
to be in an unhappy situation
(also: to be unlucky)

He's sad about what happened. إِحْزَن خَف أُيْنَا إِجْرَان.

The president's death greatly saddened them. تَغْيِيرَتَن 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 \ وَر إِعَفَا

to be bitter رَزَك تَرَزِيْكَ \ وَر إِرَزَكْ

bitterness تَرَزَكْت

to be fed up with مَقَّتْ مَقَّتْ \ مَقَّتْ مَقَّتْ \ مَقَّتْ مَقَّتْ

to be tired of, مَلَا مَلَا \ مَلَا مَلَا \ مَلَا مَلَا
to be fed up with

He's had enough of it. تولىاس دُونيت غَرِ إْخَف.
[lit: Life has gone up to his head.] (indirect object pronouns)

I'm disgusted with them (m.)! عَفَاخْتَن!

I've had it! I'm fed up! مَقَّتَخ!
J'en ai marre!

I've had it with life! I'm fed up with life! مَقَّتَخ دُونيت!

She's tired of herself. تَمَلَا شوي إْخَفَنَس.
She's fed up with herself.

8. Jealousy, envy

to be jealous حَسَد حَسَد \ حَسَد حَسَد \ حَسَد حَسَد

jealous أَمْحَسَاد (regular adjective)

jealousy تَمَحَسَت or لَحَسَد

حَسَدَن وَاوَاو ن يَعْقُوب كُتْمَاتْسَن.
The sons of Jacob were jealous of their brother.

They are/were jealous of their brother. إِنْغَاتَن لَحَرَّ ن كُتْمَاتْسَن.

Moha is/was jealous. إِحْرَاس لِحَال إِ موحى.

9. Pride

He thinks he's something. دَيْتُحَاسَاب إْخَفَنَس إِنْكَا شَا.
[lit: He considers himself to be something.]

He's proud. [lit: He makes himself big.] دَيْسَخَاتَار إْخَفَنَس.

That man is proud [lit: puffed up]. أَرِيَازِين دَيْتَاف.

He/she is stuck-up, pretentious, a snob. دِيكْس شِيكي.

to despise someone, **حَقَّر** **تَحَقَّر** **إِحْقَر** \ **وَر** **إِحْقَر**
to look down on someone

He looks down on/despises the poor. **دَيْتَحَقَّار** **إِمَزْلَاض**.

disdain, contempt **أَحْقَر**

10. Anger, hatred

to be/get angry, **حَرَق** **تَحْرَاق** **إِحْرَق** \ **وَر** **إِحْرَق**
also: to pout

to be/get angry, **زَعَف** **تَزْعَاف** **إِزْعَف** \ **وَر** **إِزْعَف**
irritated

to hate **كْرَه** **تَكْرَاه** **إِكْرَه** \ **وَر** **إِكْرَه**

to fight, quarrel, **نَاغ** **تَنَاغ** **إِنَّاغ** \ **وَر** **إِنَّاغ**
dispute

طَايِر **طَايار** **إِطَاير** \ **وَر** **إِطَاير**
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. **تَطَايرَاس** **إِ مُحَنْد**.

I was angry with Aisha. **تَطَايري** **خَف** **عِيْشَة**.

ولين + indirect object pronouns + **إِدَامَنَّ غَر** **إِخْف**⁵

An expression using the verb to go up **أَلِي**
lit: “the blood went up to my/your/his/etc. head”—to be/get angry

وليناس **إِدَامَنَّ غَر** **إِخْف** **زِي** **شَا** \ **خَف** **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 **طَف** **لَحْسِيْفَت** **كْ** **شَا**.

⁵ When said quickly this sounds like **غِيخْف**. There are also many Tamazight words for “head,” thus, this expression has many regional variations.

to hold a grudge against someone

أَمَرُ لَحْسِيفَتِ كُ شَا.

إِطْف [or يَوْمَز] دِيكْسَن لَحْسِيفَت.

He has/had a grudge against them (m.).

[أَمَرُ لَحَقَّ زِي شَا]

to take revenge on someone

يَوْمَز لَحَقَّ نَس زِي مُحَنَد.

He avenged himself on Muhand.

He took revenge on Muhand.

[lit: He took his part from Muhand.]

[أَمَرُ لَحَقَّ إِ شَا]

to avenge someone

يَوْمَزَسَن لَحَقَّ.

He avenged them (m.).

[lit: He took the part for them.]

12. Love

to love (especially in the continuous form)

إِرا \ وَر إِري

تِيرِي إِري

to love

إِحْبَا \ وَر إِحْبَا

تَحْبَا 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 = لَحْبَّ = لَمَحِبَّا

noun: love

إِمُورَايْ \ إِمُورَاكْ

أَمَارِي \ أَمَارَكْ (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.]

إَقِيْمَا دِيكِّي لَحَال.

He/she feels hurt (emotionally).

إَقِيْمَا دِيكْسَ لَحَال.

I feel sorry/bad for this boy.

[lit: This boy stays in me.]

إَقِيْمَا دِيكِّي أَرْبَايَا.

I feel bad for the Palestinian children.

قَيِّمَان دِيكِّي إِشِرَّان ن فِلَسْطِين.

إِحْرَاسَ لِحَالٍ إِ مَحْنَدٍ إِذْخَ وَرَاسَ 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.

تَحَرِّي تَمَطَّوطين تَكَلَّيْنَت.
 I feel bad for that poor woman. [lit: That poor woman pains me.]

I feel bad for him.

إِسْنَعَايِي كُ تَاسَا.

He inspires pity in me.

[lit: He makes me killed in the liver.]

14. Greed, ambition

to be greedy, ضَمَعَ ضَمَعَ \ وَرِ إِضْمَعَ
 to be ambitious, covetous

إِضْمَعَ كُ لِمَالِ نِ إِبَّاس.

He covets/is greedy for the wealth of his father.

15. Courage, bravery, daring

to be courageous, brave, دَزَعَمَ \ وَرِ إِزْعِمَ
 daring

courage, bravery, daring

زَعَامَت

She's courageous.

تَزْعَم.

I didn't dare tell it (m.) to him/her.

وَ زَعِمَخَ أَدَاسَتِ إِنيخ.

He/she is brave/not afraid.

وَ دِيكْسَ تَاسَا.

Be brave. [lit: Be a man.]

كُ أَرِيَا.

16. Grief

These are phrases that are often used to comfort people when they are experiencing grief. The translations given are literal.

لِبَرَشَا دِيكْنِ (خَفَ نَيْرَتِ نِ فُلَان).

Blessing upon you (m.pl.) (on behalf of so and so).

أَدَاوَنَ إِرْزَقَ رَبِّي صَبْر.

May God grant you (m.pl.) comfort/patience.

أَدَاخِ إِعَاوَنَ رَبِّي دَ لِمَوْتِ (أَدَايَ تَلَوُضَ).

May God help us with death (when it comes).

إِشَاوَنَ لِعَوِينِ، صَبَّرَ....

May he [God] give you (m.pl.) help, comfort/patience, etc.

أَبْرِيدَنْخَ أَيَا.

This is our way/path [destiny].

مَانِي جُدُودَ؟ مَانِي لَانَبِيَا؟

Where are the ancestors? Where are the prophets?

[That is, we all must pass this way, even great ones of the past.]

غَاسَ شَا دَيْنَزْكَوَر⁶، وَلَايْنِي لِمَوْتِ دَتَاوِي كُو يُون.

Some just go first, but death takes everyone.

17. Regret, sorrow, repentance

to regret, to be sorry, نَدَمَ تَنَدَامَ⁷ إِنْدَمَ \ وَرَ إِنْدَمَ
to have remorse

to regret, to be sorry (used only in this 3rd person feminine form
with indirect object pronouns) تَنْكَرَا

to repent تَوْبَ تَتَوْبَ إِتَوْبَ \ وَرَ إِتَوْبَ

إِنْدَمَ خَفَ طَوْمُوْبِيلَ أَلِيْكَتَ إِرَنْزَا.

He regrets that he sold the car.

[lit: He regrets about the car when he sold it.]

تُوْتِي نَدَامَت.

I have regrets. or I'm remorseful. [lit: Regret has hit me.]

مَشْ وَرَ تَنْعِمْدَ إِ لِقَايْدَ أَدَاشَ تَنْكَرَا.

If you (m.s.) don't say yes to the Caïd, you'll regret it [lit: "she" will regret to you].

تَتَوْبَ 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 دَيْنَزْكَوَر and دَيْنَزْوَوَر.

⁷ Some regions also use نَدَمَ.

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------|-----------|----------------------------|
| to hope | رَجَا | تَرَجَا | إِرَجَا \ ور إِرَجَا |
| to hope, to expect | ذَمُو | تَذَمُو | إِذْمَا \ ور إِذْمِي |
| to wish, to hope | رُتُو | تُرْتُو | إِرْتَا \ ور إِرْتِي |
| to wish, to hope | تَمَنَّا | تَمَنَّا | إِثْمَنَّا \ ور إِثْمَنَّا |
| to hope | نُورُز | تَنُورُوز | إِنُورُز \ ور إِنُورُز |

إِرَجَا مُحَنَدٌ أَيَّتَمَّاسُ أَدَاسُ سَغَنَ شَا نَ تَحَانُوتُ.
 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.

ور تَاوَضْ أَيْنَا تَذْمِيدُ.
 You (s.) won't get [lit: arrive at] what you hoped for.

ورَامَ رُتِيخَ غَاسَ لُخِيرُ.
 I wish you (f.s.) only well. [lit: I wish for you nothing but goodness.]

إِنُورُزُ كُ إِبَّاسُ أَدَاسُ إِعَاوَنُ.
 He hopes [or: counts on] his father will help him.

19. Laziness

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|
| to be lazy | عَنَزَ | تَعَنَزَ | إِعْنَزَ \ ور إِعْنَزَ |
| lazy | أَمَعْنَزَانُ | إِمَعْنَزَانُ | (regular adjective) |
| | تَمَعْنَزَاتُ | تِمَعْنَزَاتُ | |
| laziness | لَعْنَزُ | | |

رِيخَ أَدُوخَ غَرَّ أَيْتَ تَدَارَتَ وَلَايْنِي عَنَزَخَ.

I want to go to my family's place, but I'm (too) lazy.

يُوتَ لَعْنَزُ قَاحَ وَر دِيخَدَمُ.

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 \ ور 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

تَحْنَا تَرْبَاتِيْن.

That girl is tender/kind/gentle/compassionate.

اِخْصَايَاخ اَنْتَحْنَا خَف [ك or ك] لَوَاشُوْن.

We should be tender/kind/gentle/compassionate with/to children.

21. Anxiety, nervousness

to worry, be anxious هَوَل تَهَوَال اِهَوَل \ وَر اِهَوَل
(also transitive : sthg worries us)

to worry, be anxious شَوَش تَشَوَاش اِشَوَش \ وَر اِشَوَش
(also transitive : sthg worries us)

تَهَوَل خَف مَمِيْس.

She's worried about her son.

اِنْغَات اُهَوَل ن لَوَاشُوْن.

She's worried about the children. [lit: Worry of children is killing her.]

اِشَوَشْتَن اَنْغَمِيْس ن لَكْسِيْدَا.

The news of the accident worried them (m.).

22. Zeal, determination, resolve

to be determined, عَزَم عَزَم اِعْزَم \ وَر اِعْزَم
resolute

اِعْزَم اَدِيْدُو غَر بَرَا.

He's determined to go abroad.

غَاس وَر اِعْزَم، وَمَا 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 لِحَاجَتَنِّسْ أَكَّا.

She's selfish. مَّ لِحَاجَتَنِّسْ آيْ تَكَّا.

He's selfish [lit: He loves himself.]. دَيْتَيَّرِي إِخْفَنِّسْ.

He's selfish [lit: He's dear to himself.] إِعَزَّ غُورُسْ [or غِيْفَسْ] إِخْفَنِّسْ.

24. Satisfaction, contentment

to be satisfied, content قَنَعْ تَقْنَاع إِقْنَعْ \ وَرْ إِقْنِعْ

satisfaction, contentment لَقْنَاعَتْ

إِخْصَا إِبْنَادَمْ أَدِيقْنَعْ سْ وَنَّاسْ إِشَا سَيِّدِي رَبِّي.

Man should be satisfied with what God gives him.

لَقْنَاعَتْ، كْ وَوَلْ آيْ تَلَّا.

Contentment is in the heart. [lit: Contentment, in the heart (is where) it is.]

25. Gratitude

to thank شَكَرْ تَشْكَارْ إِشْكَرْ \ وَرْ إِشْكَرْ

شَكَرْخَتْ خَفْ لَهْدِيَّتْ.

I thanked him for the present.

26. Stubbornness

He is stubborn / hard-headed. إِقْسَحَاسْ إِخْفْ.

He is stubborn / contrary.
[lit: He goes only with the opposite.] دَيْتَدَّوْ غَاسْ سْ لَعَكْسْ.

He is stubborn. [lit: He opposes.] إِعَكَّسْ.

27. Peace, tranquility

peace لُئْمَانْ = لَامَانْ

peace, serenity, calm, tranquility لَهْنَا

هَنَا تَهَنَا | هَنَا \ وَرِ إِهَنَا
to be peaceful, serene, calm, tranquil

أَذْغَارَا، إِلَّا دِيْغْس لَمَان.

This is a peaceful place. [lit: This place, in it is peace.]

نَعِيشْ دُغِي كْ لَهَنَا.

We live now in peace/calm [*i.e.*, no problems, worries, etc.].

إِس تَهَنَا كْ إِغْرَمَا؟

Is it peaceful in this village? [The verb is feminine because the understood subject is دُونِيْت.]

تَنْكَا لَمَان؟

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 إِخْفَنْس د لَهْلَنْس.

She brought dishonor on herself and her family.

وَقَر \ تَوَقَّار \ وَرِ إِوَقَّر
to respect

لُوقَر
noun: respect

وَرِ يَوْمِن وَرِ إِوَقَّر وِينَا وَمَنْيِن.

(Not only) doesn't he believe, (but) he (also) doesn't respect those who believe.

سَغْد \ سَغْد \ وَرِ إِسْغِد
to listen to

ضَاع \ ضَاع \ وَرِ إِضَاع
to obey

دَيْسْغَاد حَدَّو إِ مَايس.

He listens to [that is, obeys] his mother.

وَنَّا إِضَاعْن لَوَالْدِين 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 | — | إِوَالْيُون | أَوَال |
| suffix: “in” | tribe | — | تِقَبِيلِين | تَقَبِيلَت |
| suffix: “awin” | lioness | — | تِزْمَاوِين | تِزَمَت |

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 | — | إِكْلَزَام | أَكْلَزِيم |
| friend | — | إِمَدَّوَكَّال | أَمَدَّاكُل |
| she-mule | — | تِسَرْدَان | تَسَرْدُونَت |
| 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 | أَفُوس |
| suffix: “in” | stream | — | تِسَاقَيْن | تَسِيفْت |
| suffix: “iwin” | snake | — | تِفَاغْرِيوين | تِيفِغْرَا |

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 باب | باب |
| bat (animal) | — | إِد فَرَطِيْطُو | فَرَطِيْطُو 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 | — | لَسْوَاق | سَّوْق |
| book | — | لَشْتَبْ | 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 | — | دَّعَاوِي | دَّعَوَات |
| story | — | لُقَيْسَات | لُقَيْسَت |

D. There are some words whose plurals are completely different from the singular or which are only used in the plural.

| | | | |
|----------------|---|-----------|----------|
| person, people | — | مِذَّن | بِنَادَم |
| boy, children | — | لُؤَاشُون | لُعِيل |
| 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 | — | أَنَاتَن | أَنَا |
| house | — | تَدْرُوِين | تَدَارِت |
| owl | — | تَوُوكِين | تَوُوكِت |

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 |
| finger nail | — | 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 | تَبْرَات |
| girl | — | تِرْبَاتِين | تَرْبَات |

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 وَاسَن | أَمْرَ وَاس |

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 | — | إِمَكْسَاوَن | أَمَكْسَا |

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 | — | إِخْفَاوْنَ | إِخْفَ |
| heart | — | وَلَاوْنَ | وَلْ |
| horn | — | أَشْيَوْنَ | إِشَّ |
| word | — | إِوَالْيَوْنَ | أَوَالْ |

3) “an”

| | | | |
|--------------|---|-------------|----------|
| night | — | إِضَانَ | إِضْ |
| day | — | وَسَّانَ | أَسَّ |
| root, artery | — | إِزُّورَانَ | أَزُّورْ |

4) “ten”

| | | | |
|---------|---|--------------|----------|
| pasture | — | إِلْمَوْتَنَ | أَلْمُوْ |
| wind | — | إِزْوَوْتَنَ | أَزْوُوْ |

| 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.

There are 3 main types of vowel changes:

- 1) an “a” simply replaces the final vowel of the singular word
- 2) an “a” in the singular switches places with an “i”
- 3) an “a” in the singular switches places with a “u”

- 1)** an “a” simply replaces the final vowel of the singular word

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

| | | | |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-------------|
| resident, inhabitant | — | إِمَزْدَاغ | أَمَزْدَوغ |
| pick-axe | — | إِكْلَزَام | أَكْلَزِيم |
| hole (in wall, door) | — | إِخْبَا | أَخْبُو |
| heir | — | إِمَكَّوسَا | أَمَكَّوسُو |

- 2) an “a” in the singular switches places with an “i”

This is not that common.

encampment — إِمِيزَار

- 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

| | | | |
|------------|---|-----------------|----------------|
| late fruit | — | إِمْرَازُ | أَمَارُوزُ |
| friend | — | إِمَدَّ وَكَّال | أَمَدَّ أَكَّل |
| rope | — | إِخْطَا | أَكْطَاو |
| first one | — | إِمْنُ وُورَا | أَمْنُ وَارُو |

| 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 *shedda*)
- 5) other examples that can't really be categorized

- 1) "a" replaces the final vowel and the suffix "n" is added

| | | | |
|--------------|---|-------------|-----------|
| jackal, wolf | — | وَشَّانْ | وَشَّانْ |
| ox | — | إِزْكَارَنْ | أَزْكَارْ |

- 2) the final vowel "i" is dropped and the suffix "an" is added

| | | | |
|-------|---|-----------|---------|
| cave | — | إِفْرَانْ | إِفْرِي |
| star | — | إِثْرَانْ | إِثْرِي |
| a fly | — | إِزَانْ | 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 | دُوَا |

| 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.....(e)n/wen/awen/iwen/an/ten</i> |
| | <i>i.....</i> | <i>i.....(e)n/wen/awen/iwen/an/ten</i> |
| | <i>u.....</i> | <i>u.....en/awen/an/ten</i> |
| Internal Plurals | <i>a.....e/i/u....</i> | <i>i.....a.....</i> |
| | <i>i.....e/i/u....</i> | <i>i.....a.....</i> |
| | <i>a.....u</i> | <i>i.....a</i> |
| | <i>u.....e...</i> | <i>u.....a.....</i> |
| | <i>a...a....i...</i> | <i>i... i...a....</i> |
| | <i>a...a....u...</i> | <i>i...u....a....</i> |
| | <i>a...a.....u</i> | <i>i...u.....a</i> |
| Mixed Plurals | <i>a.....a/i/u...</i> | <i>i...a/(i)/(u).....en/an/iwen</i> |
| | <i>i.....a/i/u..</i> | <i>i...a/(i)/(u).....en/an/iwen</i> |
| | <i>u.....e..</i> | <i>u...a.....n</i> |
| | <i>aCCvC</i> | <i>iCeCCan</i> |
| Exceptions | <i>a.....</i> | <i>a.....en/ten/iwen</i> |
| | <i>i.....</i> | <i>a.....en/an/iwen</i> |
| | <i>u.....</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 “iwin” ending. For example: “*tikanadiyin*,” “*tiromiyin*,” etc.

Regular plurals apply especially to people, nationalities, colors, professions, and defects (like lame, blind, bald, etc.).

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---|-------------|------------|
| old woman | — | تِمْغَارِين | تَمْغَارَت |
| vegetable plot | — | تَبْحِيرِين | تَبْحِيرَت |
| foreigner, European (f.) | — | تِرُومِيِين | تِرُومِيَت |

2) “win” or “awin” or “iwin”

| | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|----------|
| study | — | تِغُورِيُون | تَغُورِي |
| lioness | — | تِزْمَاوِين | تِزْمَت |
| little horn | — | تَشْيُويِن | تَشَّت |

3) “tin”

| | | | |
|-------------|---|----------------|-------------|
| sieve | — | تِلَاتِين | تِلَا |
| little door | — | تَلْبَابُوتِين | تَلْبَابُوت |
| letter | — | تِبْرَاتِين | تِبْرَات |

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 |
| ta.....(t) | ti.....in/win/awin/iwin/tin |
| ti.....(t) | ti.....in/win/awin/iwin/tin |
| tu.....(t) | tu.....in/iwin |

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”

| GENERAL SCHEMA FOR FEMININE INTERNAL PLURALS | |
|---|-------------------------|
| Singular | Plural |
| <i>ta/ti.....a/e/i/u.....(t)</i> | <i>ti.....a....</i> |
| <i>ta/ti.....a/e/i/u.....(t)</i> | <i>ti.....a</i> |
| <i>tu.....a/e/i/u.....(t)</i> | <i>tu.....a....</i> |
| <i>ta/ti...a....i.....(t)</i> | <i>ti....i....a....</i> |
| <i>ta/ti...a....u.....(t)</i> | <i>ti....u....a....</i> |
| <i>ta/ti.....a.....u(t)</i> | <i>ti.....u.....a</i> |

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 | — | تَوْشَانِين | تَوْشَانَت |
| snake | — | تِفَاغْرِيُون | تِفَاغْرَا |
| small cave | — | تِفَرَاتِين | تِفَرِت |

- 2) The final "a" is removed and the suffix "iwin" is added

| | | | |
|---------|---|------------|---------|
| liver | — | تَاسِيُون | تَاسَا |
| co-wife | — | تَكْنِيُون | تَكْنَا |

- 3) a single consonant becomes doubled (with a *shedda*)

| | | | |
|------------|---|-----------|----------|
| stream | — | تَسَاقِين | تَسَافَت |
| small hand | — | تِفَاسِين | تَفُوسَت |

- 4) a doubled consonant (with a *shedda*) becomes single

| | | | |
|-------|---|------------|--------------|
| trap | — | تَزَعْرِين | تَزَقَّوْرَت |
| house | — | تَدْرُوْن | تَدَّارَت |

| GENERAL SCHEMA FOR FEMININE MIXED PLURALS | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Singular | Plural |
| ta/ti.....(t) | ti.....a.....in/iwin/tin |
| ta.....a | ta.....iwin |
| tu.....(t) | tu.....a.....in |

Summary chart for feminine nouns

Below is a summary chart for all the feminine plural patterns:

| GROUPS | FORMS | |
|------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| | Singular | Plural |
| External Plurals | ta.....(t) | ti.....in/win/awin/iwin/tin |
| | ti.....(t) | ti.....in/win/awin/iwin/tin |
| | tu.....(t) | tu.....in/iwin |
| Internal Plurals | 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 |
| Mixed Plurals | ta/ti.....(t) | ti.....a.....in/iwin/tin |
| | ta.....a | ta.....iwin |
| | tu.....(t) | tu.....a.....in |
| Exceptions | ta.....(t) | ta.....in/win/iwin |
| | ti.....(t) | ta.....win/iwin |
| | ta.....(t) | tu.....a |
| 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 | — إِذَا | دَو |
| to be hot | — إِحْمَا | حَمَو |
| to be strong | — إِصْحَا | صَحَو |
| to build | — إِبْنَا | بَنَو |
| to be expensive | — إِغْلَا | غَلَو |

ii. Verbs like **كُ** and **تَش**:

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) | — إِثَا | إِثْ |
| to pass by | — إِكََا | إِكَْ |
| to give | — إِشَا | شْ |
| to eat | — إِثْشَا | تَشْ |
| to kill | — إِنْغَا | نَغْ |
| to drink | — إِسْوَا | سُو³ |
| to be cooked, to be ripe | — إِنْوَا | نُو |

iii. Verbs like **رَار**:

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 | — إِرُورَا | رَار |
| to be born | — إِلُولَا | لَال |
| to swear | — إِكْوَلَا | كَالْ |
| to pray | — إِرْزَلَا | رُالْ |

iv. Verbs like **أَف**:

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 | أَفْ |

³ Technically the verb is **سَو** (sw or sew). The **و** is a consonant. The same is true for the next verb.

| | | | |
|------------------|---|-----------|---------|
| to lose | — | يوشكَا | أَشْكُ |
| to leave, permit | — | يُودِّجَا | أَدِّجُ |

- v. Verbs like **أَسَى** and **أَزَنَ**: 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 | — يوسِي | أَسَى |
| to send | — يوزَن | أَزَن |
| to believe | — يومَن | أَمَن |
| to go up | — يولي | أَلِي |
| to be better than | — يوف | أَف |

- vi. Verbs like **غُودَا**: The simple imperative ends in a **ا**.
They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern.
There is no stem change at all.

| | third masculine singular “past” form | simple imperative |
|------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| to be good | — إِغُودَا | غُودَا |
| to ask | — إِسْقَسَا | سَقَسَا |

- vii. Verbs like **بَيَّ**: The simple imperative ends in a **ي**.
They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern.
There is no stem change at all.

| | third masculine singular “past” form | simple imperative |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| to cut | — إِبَيَّ | بَيَّ |
| to get in or on | — إِنَي | نَي |
| to be able | — إِغَي | غَي |
| to get better, to be healed | — إِجَيَّ | جَيَّ |

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 | أَغُول |

ix. Verbs like **كَشَمَ** and **خَدَمَ**:

The verbs have 3 consonants (in different configurations, as noted to the left).

or like **شَمَلَّ** and **بَرَّم**

They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern.

or like **عَاوَنَ** and **حَوَدَّرَ**

There is no stem change at all.

or like **كَّرَ** and **فَغَّ**

| | third masculine singular “past” form | simple imperative |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| to enter | — إِكْشَمَ | كَشَمَ |
| to work | — إِخْدَمَ | خَدَمَ |
| to finish | — إِشْمَلَّ | شَمَلَّ |
| to turn | — إِبَرَّمَ | بَرَّمَ |
| to help | — إِعَاوَنَ | عَاوَنَ |
| to bend over, lean over | — إِحَوَدَّرَ | حَوَدَّرَ |
| to get up | — إِكَّرَ | كَّرَ |
| to go out | — إِفَغَّ | فَغَّ |

x. Verbs like **بَرَشَمَ** and **بَعَكَكَ**:

The verbs have 4 consonants (in different configurations, as noted to the left).

or like **هَنْهَنَ** and **فَرْفَرَ**

They follow the “regular” conjugation pattern.

or like **نَتَخَبَ**

There is no stem change at all.

| | third masculine singular “past” form | simple imperative |
|----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| to braid | — إِبَرَشَمَ | بَرَشَمَ |

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 | — | إِهْنَهْن | هْنَهْن |
| to beat wings | — | إِفْرَفَر | فَرَفَر |
| to elect, to vote | — | إِنْتَخَب | نْتَخَب |

- 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 | — إِرْغَزِيف | غَزِيف |
| to be cold | — إِرْصَمِيض | صَمِيض |
| to be white | — إِرْمَلُول | مَلُول |
| to be small | — إِمْرِي | مْرِي |
| to be heavy | — إِرْأِي | رْأِي |
| to be short | — إِرْشَطِين | شَطِين |
| to be big, important | — إِمَقُور | مَقُور |
| to be red | — إِرْزُغَاغ | زُغَاغ |

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 | — | إِسْنُوا irr. | سَنُو |
| to water something | | | |
| to wash something | — | إِسْرَدْ reg. | سَرَدْ |
| to explain | — | إِسْفَهَم reg. | سَفْهَم |

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 | — | إِتَّيَوْمَزْ reg. | تَّيَوْمَزْ |
| to be robbed, stolen | — | إِتَّيَاشَرْ 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 |
| كُرَاطْ | 3 | كُرَاض |
| كَوْرَت | 4 | كَوْر |
| سَمَّوسْت | 5 | سَمَّوس |
| سَنُضَيْسْت | 6 | سَنُضَيْس |
| سَات | 7 | سَا |
| تَامْت | 8 | تَام |
| تَّزَات | 9 | تَّزَا |
| مُرَاوْت | 10 | مُرَاوْ |

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: كَوْرُ, سا, تَام, and تَزْا respectively. For the number 6, the ض influences the final س and makes it sound emphatic. Thus, some people write it سَضِيص.

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> |
|--------------------|----|-------------------|
| يَان د مَرَاوْت | 11 | يَان د مَرَاوْ |
| سِين د مَرَاوْت | 12 | سِين د مَرَاوْ |
| كَرَاض د مَرَاوْت | 13 | كَرَاض د مَرَاوْ |
| كَوْرُ د مَرَاوْت | 14 | كَوْرُ د مَرَاوْ |
| سَمَّوس د مَرَاوْت | 15 | سَمَّوس د مَرَاوْ |
| سَضِيص د مَرَاوْت | 16 | سَضِيص د مَرَاوْ |
| سَا د مَرَاوْت | 17 | سَا د مَرَاوْ |
| تَام د مَرَاوْت | 18 | تَام د مَرَاوْ |
| تَزْا د مَرَاوْت | 19 | تَزْا د مَرَاوْ |
| عَشْرِينْت | 20 | عَشْرِين |

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> |
|---------------------|----|------------------|
| عَشْرِينْت د يَات | 21 | عَشْرِين د يَان |
| عَشْرِينْت د سَنَات | 22 | عَشْرِين د سِين |

Feminine**Masculine**

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| عَشْرِيْنَت د كَراَطَ | 23 | عَشْرِيْن د كَراض |
| عَشْرِيْنَت د كَوَزَت | 24 | عَشْرِيْن د كَوَز |
| عَشْرِيْنَت د سَمَوَسَت | 25 | عَشْرِيْن د سَمَوَس |
| عَشْرِيْنَت د سَضِيْسَت | 26 | عَشْرِيْن د سَضِيْس |
| عَشْرِيْنَت د سَات | 27 | عَشْرِيْن د سَا |
| عَشْرِيْنَت د تَامَت | 28 | عَشْرِيْن د تَام |
| عَشْرِيْنَت د تَوَزَات | 29 | عَشْرِيْن د تَوَزَا |
| عَشْرِيْنَت د مَراوَت | 30 | عَشْرِيْن د مَراو |
| عَشْرِيْنَت د يان د مَراوَت | 31 | عَشْرِيْن د يان د مَراو |
| عَشْرِيْنَت د سين د مَراوَت | 32 | عَشْرِيْن د سين د مَراو |
| سين إِد عَشْرِيْنَت | 40 | سين إِد عَشْرِيْن |
| سين إِد عَشْرِيْنَت د يات | 41 | سين إِد عَشْرِيْن د يان |
| سين إِد عَشْرِيْنَت د سَنَات | 42 | سين إِد عَشْرِيْن د سين |
| سين إِد عَشْرِيْنَت د مَراوَت | 50 | سين إِد عَشْرِيْن د مَراو |
| سين إِد عَشْرِيْنَت د يان د مَراوَت | 51 | سين إِد عَشْرِيْن د يان د مَراو |
| سين إِد عَشْرِيْنَت د سين د مَراوَت | 52 | سين إِد عَشْرِيْن د سين د مَراو |

Feminine

Masculine

| | | | |
|---|-----|--------------------------------------|--|
| کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت | 60 | کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن | |
| کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د يات | 61 | کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د يان | |
| کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د سَنات | 62 | کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د سين | |
| کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د مَراوَت | 70 | کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د مَراوُ | |
| کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د يان د مَراوَت | 71 | کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د يان د مَراوُ | |
| کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د سين د مَراوَت | 72 | کَراضِ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د سين د مَراوُ | |
| کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت | 80 | کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن | |
| کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د يات | 81 | کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د يان | |
| کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د سَنات | 82 | کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د سين | |
| کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د مَراوَت | 90 | کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د مَراوُ | |
| کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د يان د مَراوَت | 91 | کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د يان د مَراوُ | |
| کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْنَت د سين د مَراوَت | 92 | کَوُزُ إِدِ عَشْرِيْن د سين د مَراوُ | |
| no separate feminine forms | 100 | مِیة | |
| (The word مِیة is itself feminine.) | 101 | مِیة د يان | |
| | 115 | مِیة د سَمَوَس د مَراوُ | |

| | | |
|----------------------------|------|--|
| | 200 | سِين ³ إِد مِة |
| | 300 | كُراضِ إِد مِة |
| | 400 | كُوزُ إِد مِة |
| | 999 | تَنْزَا إِد مِة د كُوزُ إِد عَشْرِينَ د تَنْزَا د مُرَاوُ |
| no separate feminine forms | 1000 | أَلْف |
| | 2000 | سِين إِد وَالْف |
| | 3000 | كُراضِ إِد وَالْف |
| | 4000 | كُوزُ 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 مِة 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 أَمَازِيغ 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 يوكْ إِمْنِي، خَنْتَامَزْ إِخْدَامَنْ، خَنْمَدَجَرْ 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 تَتَرَخْ 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 (هَدَّو)...*

§ 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) لَعَايِت.*

He is waving to him with the cloak. *لَاس إِتْلِي (أَلِي) سَ أَزَنَار.*

I’m waiting for him. *لَاس تَاكَاغ (أَكَّ) إِخْف.*

*أَدَايْ إِنْغَ يُونْ يُونْ، لَرَوَكْلَ (رَوَل) لَهْلْ وَنَا إِنْغَانْ غَرِ
إِقْبِيل.*

When someone kills someone else, his relatives flee to (other) tribes.

أَدَايَ رِينَ إِقْبِيلَ أَذْغَوْغَنَ، لَتَجْمُوعَنَ، كُو إِغْسَ، لَ دِيْغْسَ
تَدُون (دَو) سِي إِخَاتَرَّ، تَمْدَاشَارَّ (مَدَاشَار) إِنْغَرَّاسَنَ، لَتَيْنِينَ
(إِنِّي): مَائِ نَتْكَ (أَكْ) دَ أَمْغَارَ نَ تَوْكَ؟

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 الرَّبِيع)

The use of لَ is not exclusive of that of إِلا noted below :

He was eating.... إِلا لَيْتَتَا (تَش).

I found him reading. وَفِيخْتِينَ إِلا لَيْتَقْرَا.

The form لَ is sometimes reduced to لَا :

He was looking.... لَا 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 (كَشَمَ)، أَرَيْتَفَغ (فَغ) كَفْ وَوَال.
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:

لَيْتَدَو أَمْغَارَ دَ إِمَّسَايْنَسَ، أَرْتَرَاغانَ إِمَّيْزَارَنَّا كَفْ زَدَغَنَ
إِغَزْدِيُو....

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 دَدَيْتَدَو؟

I only take walks. غَاس إِس دَتْنِيوَدَوغ (نِيوَدَو).

ماي داس إِتاتسا؟ What is his family relationship? (compared to him)

ماي داش إِتُونَضْفار؟ What is being asked of you?

ور دَيْتيني غاس آيْنَا إِسَل. He says only what he's heard.

ور دَتْغان (أَكْ) مَدَّن طاضا غاس مَش وَكْدَن أَذْمَسَنْغان خَف شا رَّوح.
People don't make an alliance unless they fear fighting over a murder.

لُعَادَا إِمَازِيغَن نِتَنِي إِدْرُوس وَنَا دَيْتَاوَل س لَمَال، غاس إِس دَتْمَسَبْدَال، شا لَيْتَاوَل س أَلْتَماس، شا س إِليس.

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 لَ , غا , آر , or خَ .

Use of لَ . — 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 لَّ :

لَاس تينين أَمَقَّور.

They call it Ameqqur.

لَت إِتاسي أَعَرِّيم، إِسْنيت خَف أَييس.

The young man takes her² and puts her on the horse.

أَدَاي جَن مَدَّن لَيْتَكَّر (كَّر) أَمَسْناي أَذْيَاوي تِسْلِيَت إِ
إِسْلِي؛ لَتَفْتَن إِسْلان غَر بَرَّا أَخام، لَيْتَغِيما غاس
أَمَسْناي د إِسْلِي تَسْلِيَت؛ أَمَسْناي لَاس إِتْكَراف (كَرَف)
تِسْلِيَت س أَبوكْس نَخْد رَزْت....

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 *sheddass*, 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* تَ , 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. **أَلَيْتَدَو كَو يَاسَّ غَر تَنِّين.**

Use of **غَا** . — This is used especially after **وَر** to translate a future negative.

We will not eat. **وَر غَانْتَت (أَنْش) شَا.**

They (m.) won't go. **وَر غَاتَدَوْن شَا.**

You (s.) won't do/make. **وَر غَاتَّكَد شَا.**

The **ر** of the negation generally disappears and one hears:

We will not eat. **وْغَانْتَت شَا.**

There will only be darkness. **وْغَاتِيلِي غَاس تَالْسَت.**

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 غَال** :

Don't (sing.) hit. **وَر غَال كَات شَا.**

Don't (m.pl.) hit. **وَر غَال كَاتَات شَا.**

§ 187. — *Zemmour.* — The particles are خَ , لَ , أَلْ , 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.

لَ خَيْتِيرِي (إِرِي) أَذْيُولَ إِذْجَ أَمَطْرُوفَ، خَيْسْكَارَ غَلْ
إِبَّاسَ، خَيْتِينِي "أُولِي!"

When a young man wants to get married, he sends someone to his father
and he says, "Marry me!"

لَوْقَتَ مَاكْمِي خَتِيرِينَ أَذْدُونِ غَرَّ أَلَامَا مَوْلَايْ ذَرِيسَ، أَسَّ ن
سَّوْقَ، خَيْتَبْرَاحَ أَبْرَاحَ، خَاسَنَ إِتِينِي....

When they want to go to the *moussem* 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:

لَسْرُوسَنَ سَكْ أَسْرَدُونِ. They were unloading the mule.

لَتِينِيخَ كِيْن دَ أَمَدَّاكْلِينُو. I thought that you (m.s.) were my friend.

Use of أَر or أَل . — It's meaning is "to begin doing something":

أَلْيَكْ كَشْمَنَ، بَدْءَانِ أَرْتَتَيْنِ.

When they (m.) entered they began to eat.

This particle is sometimes pronounced أَلْ and أَلْ (before a verbal form starting with a vowel):

إِكَّرَ بَابَ أَخَامِ أَلْيَسْغُويُو إِرَ أَيْتَ وَسُونِ.

The master of the tent got up and began to speak to the people of the *douar*.

أَلْنَتَّضُورِ إِرَ وَسُونِ أَلْنَتِينِي....

We are going around the *douar* saying....

أَسْكَاسَ لَعَادَاوَتَ، أَلْتَمَسَاسَانِ تِقْبِيلِينَ أَكَارَاسَنَ خَفَ أَيُورِ.

The year of war, the tribes agree to a truce for a month.

جَمَعْنَ إِشْوَالَنَ الْمَدَّجَرْنَ.

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 إِي "to be" that could possibly explain the لَ or لْ 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 خَ from غِي "to be able"; this last one would explain the قَ of the Beni-Snous and of the Zekkara, and the كَ 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 prétérît</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 ⵎⵓⵏⵉⵢⵓⵔ (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*]:

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| إِلَّا دَاهَا. | He is here. |
| مَا تَرِيتْ؟ | What do you want? |
| مَانِي غَر تَدَّيْتْ؟ | Where are you going? |
| أَكْدَ إِذْجَ وَرَ إِسِّنْ مَايْ تَمْسِتْ. | No one knows who you are. |

b) by a habitual form [*une forme d'habitude*] preceded by لَ if it is a present continuous [*un présent d'actualité*]:

| | |
|---|---|
| لَيْتَتْ أَيْنَ إِقِيمَن. | He is eating what is left. |
| لَيْتَاسِي خَفَ أُسَرْدُونْ مَاكْسُغَا. | He is loading on the mule what he bought. |

or preceded by خَ if it is an action which happens at all times (duration) [*duratif*]:

The shepherds watch (their) flocks, and the women milk.
 إِمَكْسَاوَنَ خَكْسَنَ وَلِي، تَعَالَيْنَ خَتْرَ كَنْتْ.

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، خَنْتَخِيَارَ إِذْجَ أُمَازِيرَ أَكْمِي وَرَ
 إِلِّي لُغْبَارَ؛ إِضْنَاكِينْ كُ 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.

أَدَّايْ نَبَدَّ زَاتَ أُخَامَ، تَامَزَ لَالَ أُخَامَ إِذْجَ لَقُبَّ، تَعَمَّرَتْ
 سَ وَامَانْ، تَوَوْتَاحَ سَيْسْ؛ تَاسِيدَ سَنَاتَ غَنْدَ شَارُطَ نَ كُلايْ،
 تَوَشَاخْتَنَ، نَدَّوْ غَلَّ أُخَامَ ضُنَيْنَ.

² This is an example of what *Abriid* 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

لَيسْغَاد مَائِ تِينِينَ. 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 دِيدَا غِيرَسْ، يوفات لَيجْنَا. 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 ماڭوشا. He didn't find anything to give.

sometimes preceded by لَ to indicate an absolute past [*un passé absolu*]:

عالان لَبَاب وفانت لَيقَنَّ. 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.

قِيمِينَ أَل تَشَان، كَرْن، 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 دَدِيخْ غَل سَوَق، زَنْزَان وَلَينْسَن.

³ There are many regional variations to this tense. We learned in Abrid أَل or أَر plus the habitual or continuous form. The tense is also formed by the auxiliary verb إِلِي 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 عَايَدَخْ غَلْ تَمَازِيرْتْ أَدَاوَلَخْ.
 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 تَسَوْتْ. | Eat and drink. |
| أَغْ تَزْنَزَتْ. | Buy and sell. |

⁵ In some regions the future negative is also formed by using the auxiliary verb *إِنِّي*, 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 *أَدَوْر* or, stronger, *أَدَوْسَار*.

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 أَدَ , or expressed by a habitual form¹² [*une forme d'habitude*]:

رِيخَ أَدِيدُو.

Je veux qu'il parte.
(I want him to go.)¹³

تُذَخَ 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 : لَازِمَ , “it's necessary that” § 82 or the impersonal verb إِقَنَّ or “it's absolutely necessary that” followed by a direct object pronoun and an orientation particle إِدَ or إِنْ.¹⁵

§ 210. — The infinitive [*l'infinitif*]. — It is translated by the imperfect [*l'imparfait*]:

رِيخَ أَدَاسَ إِنْخِ 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 إِقَنَّ plus direct object pronouns plus the نَ of farness.

¹⁶ This is not an infinitive in English. A literal infinitive would be: He went to hunt.

§ 211. — The present participle [*le participe présent*]. — This is expressed by a verbal noun [*un nom verbal*] or by a habitual form [*une forme d'habitude*]:

| | | |
|----|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| or | إِدَاد لِيْتَيْنَزِيْز. | He came singing. |
| | إِدَاد س يِيْنَزِيْز. | |
| or | لِيْتَدُوْ س تَحِيْزَنْت. | <i>Il marche en boitant.</i> |
| | لِيْتَدُوْ س أُسَاحِيْزَنْ. | (He walks with a limp.) ¹⁷ |

The habitual form may be preceded, in this case, by the particle **كو** or **كود** “while, as”:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| كو تَتْن سَوَالْن. | They (m.) talk while they are eating. |
| كو تَمِيْغَنْ ، تَشِيْبَنْ. | One turns gray as he is getting old. ¹⁸ |

While they were going away, the horsemen were firing their guns.
كو تَدُوْن ، إِمْنَايْن سُوْفُوْغَنْ لُبَارُوْد.

[How to Express in French Various Tamazight Verb Tenses]

§ 212. — Use of Berber tenses. — Use of the perfect [*le parfait*]. — The perfect can indicate a present [*un présent*] § 201 a ; the most often an absolute past [*un passé absolu*] § 203 ; a past continuous [*un imparfait*] preceded by **ل** § 202 ; a past perfect [*un plus-que-parfait*] § 204 ; or a conditional [*un conditionnel*] preceded by **وما** § 206.

It is used after certain particles like the following:

a) **أَلْيَكْ** “until, when”:

when they arrived أَلْيَكْ دِيَوْضَنْ

b) **مَشْ** (Aït Ndhir) and **مَكْ** (Izayan). **خَم** **إِلَّا** , “if” (affirmative), **خَم** “if there is,” corresponding to **مَشْ** (Aït Ndhir) and **مَكْ** (Izayan).

c) **مُون دِيْز د** or **مُوْر دِيْز د** , “if” (doubtful, hypothetical):

if you (s.) had come مُون دِيْز د تَدَيْت

¹⁷ This is not a present participle in English. A literal participle would be: He walks limping.

¹⁸ The subject in the Tamazight sentence is “they (m.pl.).” Since the sentence expresses a generality we could translate it into English by “You turn gray as you’re getting old.”

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) *إِذَا يُونُ وَشَنَّ أَرِيغَلَوُ أُمَكْسَا، يَافَدُ أُسْكََا غُورْسُ.*

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*]:

أَدَّايِ إِزْرَعُ تِسِيرِيْتَنَسْ، إِبْدُو أَرِيكَرَزْ. [إِبْدُو، aorist of *بَدُو*]

When he has sown his area, he begins to plow.

(Aït Ndhir) *أَلِّي إِنْوَا أَحْرِيرْ، غُرِينْ أَيْتْ أُخَامْ إِرْ إِحْرَاتَنْ.* [غُرِينْ، aorist of *غَر*]

When the soup is ready, the people of the tent call the plowmen.

أَلِّي تَشَانْ، رَارِينْ تَزْلَافَتْ إِرْ تَوْتَمِينْ، أَسِينْ لِفَاتِحَة. [رَارِينْ، aorist of *رَار*؛ أَسِينْ، aorist of *أَسَى*]

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. *أَدَّ* § 79 and *أَرَا*, *أَلَا* § 80 called future particles.

2. *أَدَّايِ*, *أَدَّايِ* “when” (to indicate a future)

When we (will) go....

أَدَّايِ نَدَّو....

¹⁹ These are all examples of sentence connection grammar.

3. أَل “until + verb”

أَحَرَّاتٍ وَر دَيْتَكَسَ أَزَّارَنْسَ، وَلَا إِسِيرِيدَ إِعَابَانَنْسَ أَل
إِمْغَرِ إِمْنِي، أَدِيلِي إِنْشَتَ 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 غورُس، نَغْرُسْ غِيفَسْ، نِينِيَّاسَ "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 دَّ and preceded by a particle دَّ, often reduced to د, it translates imminence of action:

دَنْدَوَ أَسْكَا. We will leave tomorrow.

دَسْغَخَ إِذْجَ أُمَكْتَار. I'm going to buy a horse.

ها نَكْنِي، دَنْكَ إِسْلَان. So, we're going to celebrate the wedding.

داك وشَخ [and : دَاك وشَخ] أَيْنِي تَبْعَات.

I'm going to give you (m.s.) what I owe you.

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