Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

# A Grammar of Ghomara Berber

Mourigh, K.

**Citation**
Mourigh, K. (2015, February 3). *A Grammar of Ghomara Berber*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/31685

| | |
|---|---|
| Version: | Corrected Publisher's Version |
| License: | Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden |
| Downloaded from: | https://hdl.handle.net/1887/31685 |

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/31685 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

**Author:** Mourigh, Khalid
**Title:** A grammar of Ghomara Berber
**Issue Date:** 2015-02-03

# A Grammar of Ghomara Berber

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus Prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 3 februari 2015
klokke 13.45 uur

door

Khalid Mourigh
geboren te Sliedrecht in 1981

Promotiecommissie:

| | |
|---|---|
| Promotor: | Prof. dr. Harry Stroomer |
| Co-promotor: | Dr. Maarten Kossmann |
| | |
| Overige leden: | Prof. dr. Anthony Grant (Edge Hill University) |
| | Prof. dr. Maarten Mous |
| | Dr. Lameen Souag (LACITO, Paris) |
| | Dr. Ahmad Al-Jallad |

# Table of Contents

**I Introduction ..... 1**

*1.1. Berber in Morocco ..... 1*

*1.2. Previous studies ..... 1*

*1.3. General data ..... 2*

*1.4. Fieldwork and sociolinguistics ..... 2*

*1.5. Dialectal differences ..... 4*

*1.6. Arabic influence ..... 4*

*1.7. Code-switching or borrowing? ..... 6*

*1.8. Is Ghomara Berber a mixed language? ..... 10*

*1.9. The present grammar ..... 11*

**II Phonology ..... 13**

*1.1. Labial and labiodental consonants ..... 15*

*1.2. Interdental and alveolar consonants ..... 18*

*1.3. Post-alveolar consonants ..... 25*

*1.4. Lateral and rhotic consonants ..... 29*

*1.5. Velar consonants ..... 30*

*1.6. Semi-vowels ..... 35*

*1.7. Back-velar and uvular consonants ..... 37*

*1.8. Pharyngeal and laryngeal consonants ..... 38*

*1.9. Status of geminate consonants ..... 39*

*1.10. Summary of stops - fricatives ..... 40*

*1.11. Spread of pharyngealisation ..... 40*

**2. Vowels ..... 41**

*2.1. Vocalic system ..... 41*

*2.2. Diphthongs ..... 45*

*2.3. Mid central unrounded vowel e [ə] (schwa) ..... 46*

*2.3.1. Phonetic realisation* ..... *46*

*2.3.2. Phonemic status* ..... *47*

**3. Assimilations** ..... **51**

*3.1. Regressive voice assimilation* ..... *51*

*3.2. Assimilation to pharyngealised consonants* ..... *53*

*3.3. Assimilation of n and l* ..... *53*

*3.4. Long distance assimilation and metathesis* ..... *55*

*3.5. Voicing of first person singular suffix -ax* ..... *55*

*3.6. The Arabic article l-* ..... *56*

*3.7. Dropping of final consonants* ..... *57*

*3.8. Vocalic sandhi* ..... *57*

**4. Labialisation** ..... **59**

*4.1. Realisation of labialisation* ..... *59*

*4.2. Analysis of labialisation* ..... *60*

**III Morphology** ..... **63**

**1. The Berber-morphology noun** ..... **63**

*1.1. The categories expressed in the Berber noun* ..... *64*

*1.1.1. Gender* ..... *64*

*1.1.2. Number* ..... *66*

*1.1.2.1. Singularia tantum* ..... *66*

*1.1.2.2. Pluralia tantum* ..... *67*

*1.1.3. State* ..... *67*

*1.2. The prefix* ..... *68*

*1.2.1. The voyelle constante* ..... *69*

*1.2.2. Masculine singular* ..... *69*

*1.2.3. Masculine plural* ..... *71*

*1.2.4. Feminine singular* ..... *72*

*1.2.5. Feminine plural* ... 72

*1.3. The base and the suffix* ... 73

*1.3.1. The suffix -t ~ -ṯ 'feminine singular'* ... 74

*1.3.2. The suffix -et ~ -t 'feminine singular'* ... 75

*1.3.3. The suffix -en 'masculine plural'* ... 76

*1.3.4. The suffix -an 'masculine or feminine plural'* ... 77

*1.3.5. Change without base extension* ... 80

*1.4. Apophonic plurals* ... 82

*1.5. Different masculine and feminine plurals* ... 85

*1.6. Irregular plural formations* ... 86

*1.7. Compounds* ... 87

**2. The Arabic-morphology noun ... 89**

*2.1. Definiteness* ... 89

*2.2. Gender* ... 90

*2.3. Number* ... 91

*2.3.1. The dual* ... 92

*2.3.2. Singularia tantum* ... 92

*2.3.3. Pluralia tantum* ... 93

*2.3.4. The external plural* ... 93

*2.3.4.1. The plural suffix -aṯ* ... 95

*2.3.5. The internal plural* ... 98

*2.3.5.1. m- derived nouns* ... 99

*2.3.5.2. The suffix type* ... 104

*2.3.5.3. Exceptional types* ... 105

*2.3.6. Borrowings from Standard Arabic* ... 107

*2.3.7. Summary* ... 108

**3. Size derivation ... 111**

*3.1. The diminutive: function* ... 111

*3.2. Internal diminutives: morphology* ... *116*

*3.2.1. Quadriliteral bases* ... *116*

*3.2.2. Triliteral bases* ... *118*

*3.2.3. Exceptions* ... *122*

*3.2.4. Schemes with suffixes* ... *122*

*3.2.5. Exceptional Berber feminine nouns* ... *122*

*3.2.6. Diminutive of nominalised adjectives* ... *123*

*3.3. The diminutive plural* ... *124*

*3.3.1. Arabic-morphology plurals* ... *124*

*3.3.2. Berber-morphology plurals* ... *124*

*3.3.2.1. Masculine plurals* ... *125*

*3.3.2.2. Feminine plurals* ... *125*

*3.4. Mixed Berber and Arabic forms* ... *126*

*3.5. Augmentative* ... *127*

*3.5.1. Berber-morphology nouns* ... *127*

*3.5.2. Arabic-morphology nouns* ... *128*

**4. Interaction of Arabic and Berber systems** ... **131**

*4.1. Collective and unity nouns* ... *131*

*4.2. Berber singular - Arabic plural* ... *133*

*4.3. Deadjectival nouns* ... *135*

*4.4. Nisba type and tribal affiliation* ... *136*

*4.5. Pre-nominal elements bu-, sḥaḇ, mul* ... *137*

**5. Non-affix nouns** ... **139**

**6. The verbal noun** ... **141**

*6.1. Non-derived nouns* ... *141*

*6.2. Derived nouns* ... *142*

*6.3. Berber verbal nouns* ... *144*

**7. The Verb** ..... **145**

*7.1. The Berber-morphology verb* ..... *146*

*7.2. The verbal affixes* ..... *147*

*7.3. The Imperative and injunctive affixes* ..... *148*

*7.4. The relative form* ..... *149*

*7.5. The aspectual stems* ..... *150*

*7.5.1. The Aorist* ..... *151*

*7.5.2. The Perfective* ..... *151*

*7.5.2.1. Addition of the vowel a in the Perfective* ..... *153*

*7.5.2.2. cc verbs* ..... *153*

*7.5.2.3. (w)C verbs* ..... *154*

*7.5.2.4. cu verbs* ..... *154*

*7.5.2.5. Ci verb* ..... *155*

*7.5.2.6. Initial vowel change* ..... *155*

*7.5.2.7. Medial vowel change* ..... *156*

*7.5.2.8. Final vowel change* ..... *160*

*7.5.2.9. Exceptional cases* ..... *163*

*7.5.2.10. Defective verbs* ..... *163*

*7.6. The Imperfective* ..... *164*

*7.6.1. Gemination* ..... *166*

*7.6.1.1. ccc verbs with gemination of the first consonant and vowel insertion* ..... *166*

*7.6.1.2. Verbs with gemination of the second consonant* ..... *168*

*7.6.2. tt ~ t Imperfectives* ..... *170*

*7.6.2.1. Verbs with initial vowel* ..... *170*

*7.6.2.2. Other verbs which take tt- ~ t-* ..... *176*

*7.6.3. Prefix tt ~ t, gemination and substitution of a labial consonant* ..... *177*

*7.6.4. Irregular verbs* ..... *178*

*7.6.4.1. Irregular vowels* ..... *178*

*7.6.4.1.1. Insertion of a* ..... *178*

*7.6.4.1.2. Insertion of i* ..... *179*

*7.6.4.1.3. Irregular consonants* ..... *179*

*7.6.4.1.4. Irregular consonants and vowels* ..... *179*

*7.6.5. Suppletion* ..... *179*

*7.7. The ss causative derivation* ..... *180*

*7.7.1. Some remarks about the prefix and the base* ..... *181*

*7.7.2. Perfective formation* ..... *182*

*7.7.2.1. Addition of a before suffix* ..... *182*

*7.7.2.2. Vowel change u > a* ..... *183*

*7.7.2.3. Vowel change i > a* ..... *185*

*7.7.2.4. Labialisation* ..... *186*

*7.7.2.5. Aorist = Perfective* ..... *186*

*7.7.3. Imperfective formation* ..... *187*

*7.7.3.1. Insertion of a* ..... *188*

*7.7.3.2. Insertion of u* ..... *189*

*7.7.3.3. Insertion of i* ..... *190*

*7.7.3.4. No change* ..... *190*

**8. The Arabic-morphology verb ..... 193**

*8.1. Verbal Affixes* ..... *193*

*8.2. Verb types* ..... *195*

*8.2.1. Verb types with vowel change* ..... *195*

*8.3. Derived verbs* ..... *199*

*8.3.1. tt ~ t Derived verbs* ..... *199*

*8.3.2. n- derived verbs (stem VII)* ..... *201*

*8.3.3. Other derivations* ..... *202*

**9. The adjective ..... 205**

*9.1. The relative form* ..... *208*

*9.2. Arabic adjectives* ... *210*

*9.2.1. Major types* ... *210*

*9.2.2. Exceptional types* ... *212*

*9.2.3. Spanish-type adjectives* ... *213*

*9.2.4. Diminutives of adjectives* ... *213*

*9.2.5. The element 'other'* ... *214*

**10. Participles** ... **217**

*10.1. Passive participles* ... *217*

*10.1.1. Non-derived participles* ... *217*

*10.1.2. Participles of derived forms* ... *219*

*10.1.3. Quadriliteral verbs* ... *221*

*10.2. The active participle* ... *222*

**11. Pronouns** ... **227**

*11.1. Independent pronouns* ... *227*

*11.2. Clitic pronouns* ... *228*

*11.2.1. Direct object pronouns* ... *228*

*11.2.1.1. Postverbal direct object pronouns* ... *229*

*11.2.1.2. Preverbal direct object pronouns* ... *231*

*11.2.2. Indirect object pronouns* ... *234*

*11.3. Prepositional suffixes* ... *235*

*11.4. Adnominal suffixes* ... *235*

*11.5. Borrowed pronouns* ... *236*

*11.5.1. Other elements that take suffix pronouns* ... *238*

*11.5.2. Suffix pronouns -ahu, -ahi, -ahem ~ -ahum* ... *239*

*11.6. Reciprocal and reflexive pronouns* ... *239*

*11.7. Postnominal deictic clitics* ... *240*

*11.8. Demonstrative pronouns* ... *241*

*11.9. Indefinite pronouns* ... *243*

**12. Numerals** ..... **245**

*12.1. Cardinal numbers* ..... *245*

*12.1.1. The numeral 'one'* ..... *247*

*12.1.2. Nouns with special morphology* ..... *248*

*12.1.3. Money units* ..... *249*

*12.1.4. Time reference* ..... *250*

*12.2. Ordinal numbers* ..... *251*

*12.3. Collective numerals* ..... *251*

**13. Prepositions** ..... **253**

*13.1. Types of prepositions* ..... *253*

*13.1.1. Simple prepositions* ..... *253*

*13.1.2. Simple prepositions without pronominal forms* ..... *254*

*13.1.3. Prepositional complexes* ..... *254*

*13.1.4. Arabic prepositions* ..... *255*

*13.2. Simple prepositions* ..... *255*

*13.2.1. Comitative preposition i ~ iḏ at / with* ..... *255*

*13.2.2. Instrumental preposition s 'with'* ..... *256*

*13.2.3. Allative preposition dar ~ da 'to'* ..... *256*

*13.2.4. Preposition day ~ dayer 'chez'* ..... *257*

*13.2.5. Locative preposition g 'in'* ..... *258*

*13.2.6. Ablative preposition zeg ~ zga- 'from'* ..... *259*

*13.2.7. Locative preposition xf ~ fx ~ x ~ f 'on'* ..... *259*

*13.2.8. Genitive preposition n 'of'* ..... *261*

*13.2.9. Possessive / locative preposition yer ~ y / yer- 'at'* ..... *261*

*13.2.10. Preposition zdu 'under'* ..... *262*

*13.2.11. Preposition sennig 'above'* ..... *262*

*13.3. Simple prepositions without pronominal forms* ..... *263*

*13.3.1. Dative preposition i ~ iḏ to / for* ..... *263*

*13.3.2. Preposition am 'like, the same as'* ... *264*

*13.3.3. Preposition ḥettar 'until'* ... *264*

*13.3.4. Preposition bla 'without'* ... *265*

*13.3.5. Preposition qḇel 'before' (temporal)* ... *265*

*13.4. Prepositional complexes* ... *266*

*13.4.1. Prepositional complex gum n 'in front of / beside'* ... *266*

*13.4.2. Prepositional complex af n ~ afel 'on top of'* ... *266*

*13.4.3. Prepositional complex ammas n 'in the middle of'* ... *267*

*13.4.4. Prepositional complex aḡʷemmaṭ (n) / i 'opposite side'* ... *268*

*13.4.5. Prepositional complex i ṭṭeŗf n 'side of, beside'* ... *268*

*13.4.6. Prepositional complex nešt n 'as big as/as old as'* ... *269*

*13.4.7. Prepositional complex fsi n ~ sfi n / fsir- 'behind'* ... *269*

*13.5. Arabic prepositions* ... *270*

**14. Adverbs** ... **271**

**IV Syntax** ... **275**

*1. The noun phrase* ... *275*

*1.1. The noun* ... *275*

*1.1.1. The article* ... *278*

*1.1.2. Genitive constructions* ... *280*

*1.2. Adjectives* ... *282*

*1.2.1. Comparatives and superlatives* ... *283*

*1.3. Independent and demonstrative pronouns* ... *284*

*1.4. Numerals* ... *285*

*1.4.1. The distributive* ... *285*

**2. Non-verbal predicates** ... **287**

*2.1. The nominal predicate* ... *287*

*2.2. The adjectival predicate* ... *288*

*2.3. The prepositional predicate* ..... *288*

*2.4. The adverbial predicate* ..... *291*

*2.5. The existential predicate* ..... *292*

*2.6. The pronouns haw / hay / ham* ..... *292*

*2.7. Expressions with presentative ha, and ɛend- 'look out'* ..... *293*

*2.8. Negation of non-verbal predicates* ..... *294*

*2.8.1. The nominal predicate* ..... *294*

*2.8.2. The adjectival predicate* ..... *294*

*2.8.3. The prepositional predicate* ..... *295*

*2.8.4. The adverbial predicate* ..... *297*

*2.8.5. The existential predicate* ..... *297*

**3. The verbal predicate** ..... **299**

*3.1. The verb and its arguments* ..... *299*

*3.1.1. Core arguments* ..... *299*

*3.1.1.1. Subject* ..... *299*

*3.1.1.2. Direct object* ..... *303*

*3.1.2. Obliques* ..... *304*

*3.1.2.1. Indirect object* ..... *304*

*3.1.2.2. Prepositional argument* ..... *307*

*3.1.2.3. Secondary predicates* ..... *307*

*3.2. Verbal valency and derivation* ..... *312*

*3.2.1. Valency increasing operations* ..... *313*

*3.2.1.1. ss ~ s prefix* ..... *313*

*3.2.1.2. cCc causative* ..... *313*

*3.2.2. Valency decreasing operation - the passive* ..... *316*

*3.2.3. Labile verbs* ..... *317*

*3.3. Clitic position* ..... *319*

*3.3.1. Subordinating conjunctions* ..... *319*

*3.3.2. Relative constructions* ... *320*

*3.3.3. Preverbal elements* ... *321*

*3.3.4. Combination of the clitics* ... *322*

*3.3.5. The deictic clitic d / id 'hither'* ... *323*

*3.3.5.1. Postverbal position* ... *325*

*3.3.5.2. Preverbal position* ... *327*

*3.4. Verbal negation* ... *328*

**4. Coordinative and subordinative conjunctions ... 335**

*4.1. Coordination* ... *335*

*4.1.1. Conjunctive coordinators* ... *336*

*4.1.1.1. Nominal / Prepositional coordinator i ~ iḏ* ... *336*

*4.1.1.2. Clausal coordinator u* ... *337*

*4.1.2. Disjunctive coordination* ... *338*

*4.1.3. Adversative coordination* ... *339*

*4.1.4. Causal coordination liyanna, ɛlaḥeqq, ɛlaqiḇal, ɛlaxaṭeṛ 'because'* ... *340*

*4.2. Subordination* ... *342*

*4.2.1. amḵ a 'when'* ... *343*

*4.2.2. nya ~ yya 'when'* ... *344*

*4.2.3. Hypothetical mḵi 'if'* ... *345*

*4.2.4. Counterfactual ka 'if'* ... *347*

*4.2.5. qeḇl a 'before'* ... *348*

*4.2.6. ḥetta 'until'* ... *349*

*4.2.7. zegya 'since, from the time'* ... *349*

*4.2.8. waxxa 'even though'* ... *350*

*4.3. Complementisers illa and billa* ... *351*

**5. Relative constructions ... 353**

*5.1. Subject relatives* ... *354*

*5.2. Direct object relatives* ... *357*

*5.3. Indirect object relatives* ... *359*

*5.4. Benefactive / malefactive and genitive relatives* ... *360*

*5.5. Prepositional relatives* ... *361*

*5.6. Indefinite pronouns functioning as heads* ... *363*

*5.7. Demonstrative pronouns and the relativiser a* ... *364*

*5.8. The element 'a' as head* ... *365*

*5.9. The non-real allomorph ar* ... *366*

*5.10. Negation of relative constructions* ... *366*

*5.11. Adjoined relative clauses* ... *370*

**6. Interrogatives** ... **371**

*6.1. Yes-No Questions* ... *371*

*6.2. Content questions* ... *372*

*6.2.1. šw a - ma / šenni ~ šennu ~ šnu / šn- + pronoun 'what'* ... *373*

*6.2.2. šku(n) (+ pronoun) / šk 'who'* ... *375*

*6.2.3. šḥal 'how much/many'* ... *377*

*6.2.4. leyyaš ~ leyya 'why'* ... *377*

*6.2.5. ammeḵ / amḵ 'how'* ... *378*

*6.2.6. faywex ~ fax 'when'* ... *378*

*6.2.7. ana 'where'* ... *379*

*6.2.8. smana 'whence'* ... *380*

*6.2.9. layn 'whither'* ... *380*

*6.2.10. The use of kifaš ~ kif ~ ki 'how come'* ... *381*

*6.3. Free relative clauses using interrogatives* ... *381*

*6.4. Prepositional interrogatives* ... *382*

*6.5. Free interrogative pronouns for 'which'* ... *385*

*6.6. aškayqululu 'whatchamacallit'* ... *386*

*6.7. šmen 'thingy'* ... *386*

*6.8. The element ma '-ever'* ... *386*

**7. Information structure** ..... **389**

*7.1. Topicalisation* ..... *389*

*7.1.1. Verbal constructions* ..... *389*

*7.1.1.1. Subject topicalisation* ..... *389*

*7.1.1.2. Direct object* ..... *390*

*7.1.1.3. Indirect object* ..... *390*

*7.1.1.4. Prepositional phrases* ..... *391*

*7.1.1.5. Topicalisation using i* ..... *391*

*7.1.1.6. Adverbial phrases* ..... *392*

*7.1.2. Post-topic* ..... *392*

*7.1.3. Non-verbal constructions* ..... *394*

*7.2. Focalisation: cleft constructions* ..... *396*

*7.2.1. Focalisation in verbal sentences* ..... *396*

*7.2.2. Focalisation in non-verbal sentences* ..... *397*

*7.2.2.1. Cleft sentences with i-ğa-n: subject focus of nouns and adjectives* ..... *397*

*7.2.2.2. Cleft sentences with ll 'to be'* ..... *398*

**8. Mood and aspect** ..... **401**

*8.1. Berber-morphology verbs* ..... *401*

*8.1.1. The bare Aorist* ..... *401*

*8.1.1.1. The consecutive Aorist* ..... *401*

*8.1.1.2. Other uses of the bare Aorist* ..... *406*

*8.1.1.3. The Aorist with non-real marker* ..... *406*

*8.1.1.3.1. š and a* ..... *407*

*8.1.1.3.2. maš* ..... *408*

*8.1.1.3.3. ar* ..... *409*

*8.1.1.3.4. d* ..... *409*

*8.1.2. The Perfective* ..... *411*

*8.1.3. The Imperfective* ..... *414*

*8.1.3.1. The sequential Imperfective* ... 415

*8.2. Arabic-morphology verbs* ... 418

*8.2.1. The Perfect* ... 418

*8.2.2. The Imperfect with ka-* ... 419

*8.2.3. The bare Imperfect* ... 421

*8.2.4. The preverbs š, maš, ɣa, d, ar* ... 422

*8.3. The active participle* ... 423

*8.4. The passive participle* ... 426

*8.5. Summary* ... 427

**9. The verb ll 'to be'** ... **429**

*9.1. The past marker aḡ ~ aḵ + ll* ... 429

*9.2. Relative clauses* ... 430

*9.3. The Imperfective* ... 431

*9.4. A +Aorist* ... 432

*9.5. Negation of ll 'to be'* ... 432

**Appendix I Texts** ... **435**

*Text 1 ta n tyaṭṭ / Story about the goat* ... 435

*Text 2 ssebta - Ceuta* ... 442

*Text 3 Description of living in Iɛṛaben* ... 445

**Appendix II Wordlist** ... **449**

**Bibliography** ... **531**

**Samenvatting** ... **535**

**Summary** ... **541**

**Curriculum Vitae** ... **545**

**Acknowledgements**

Writing a dissertation is a hard but rewarding experience. Like life in general it goes with ups and downs. The excitement of the beginning soon changes to worries about the ability to succefully complete the dissertation. In hindsight, this is all part of the learning experience which forms and shapes the researcher. This process cannot be completed without the help of others, whom I would like to thank here.

I wish to thank my supervisor Harry Stroomer for his support and for sharing his knowledge about Berber throughout the period I have been in Leiden. A special thanks goes to Maarten Kossmann for his support, for always being available and providing key comments without which this book would not have been what it is now. Thank you very much. I would like to thank the staff and my collegues at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics which have been very helpful throughout the years. Many PhD-students and collegues especially at African Linguistics have helped my with all kinds of matters ranging from discussing linguistics to personal life. Therefore I would express my gratitude to Maarten Mous, Felix Ameka, Connie Kutsch Lojenga, Daniela Merolla, Victoria Nyst, Ongaye Oda Orkaydo, Heleen Smits, Ramada Elghamis, Christian Rapold, Rebecca Voll, Jenia Gutova, Linda Badan, Enrico Boone, Andreea Geambasu, Margarita Gulian, Olga Kepinska, Marieke Meelen, Laura Migliori, Jessie Nixon, Judith Nobels, Gareth O'Neill, Leticia Pablos Robles, Amanda Post da Silveira, Bobby Ruijgrok, Alexander Schwager, David Shakouri, Kalinka Timmer, Giuseppe Torcolacci, Mulugeta Tsegaye, Daan van de Velde, Marijn van 't Veer, Barend Beekhuizen, Tano Angoua Jean-Jacques, Kate Bellamy, Jean Chavula, Martin Kohlberger, Borana Lushaj, Paul Noorlander, Francien de Dreu, Sima Zolfaghari, Ahmad Al-Jallad, Jamal El Hannouche, Fatima Ballah.

Special thanks goes to Stanly Oomen for sharing his knowledge of Berber linguistics and Tarifiyt in particular. I'm very glad that Thilo Schadeberg was prepared to design a database for me. That saved me a lot of time and I'm still benefiting from that work. My gratitude goes to Marijn van Putten who provided invaluable and very precise comments. A special mention goes to Eleanor Dutton for innumerable matters.

This research would not have been possible without the permission of the Moroccan governement. Especially the local authority in Bou Ahmed have been of great help. Furthermore I would like to thank the *Nederlands Instituut in Marokko* (NIMAR) for their efforts in attaining a research permit. I would also like to thank Jacques Vignet-Zunz, Fatima Bouchmal, Ángeles Vicente, Dominique Caubet and all the other people who are involved in

the Jbala-Ghmara research group in Morocco.

This grammar could not have been written without the help of the Ghomara speakers. Even though they will not be able to read this, I want express the deepest gratitude to the people who were willing to share their knowledge of the language with me. Especially Aziz, 'Uncle' Lamin, Mohammed 'Ddiɛaya', Adil, Ahmed, Morad, Ghali have helped me a lot in *Iɛṛaben*. Without Mohsin who showed me around and introduced me to many people the fieldwork would have been much harder. They have made doing fieldwork a wonderful experience. In Bou Ahmed special thanks goes to Mohammed El Hudda and his family.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family for their support, especially Elias and my uncle and aunt Xaři Ahmed and Xatci Isette. I dedicate this dissertation to my dear mother who passed away too soon. I still think of you every day.

*Yemma, yemma, yemma, yemma*

**Glosses and Abbreviations**

All elements are glossed are as completely as possible except for nouns. This saves a lot of space on the glossing line. Number is inferrabale from the translation gloss. Where visible only state distictions are indicated on nouns in most sections. Only in the sections where the noun is discussed are they fully glossed. Verbs are always fully glossed. Person, number and gender of verbal (and other) suffixes are not separated by any sign in order to save space on the glossing line (e.g. 3MS). The abbreviations used are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| - | = | Morpheme Boundary |
| = | = | Clitic Boundary |
| : | = | Grammatical Information |
| 1,2,3 | = | First, second and third person |
| A | = | Aorist |
| CF | = | Counterfactual |
| AD | = | Non-real particle **a** |
| ANP | = | Anaphoric deictic clitic |
| AP | = | Active participle |
| AREL | = | Arabic relative marker |
| ART | = | Article |
| ASP | = | Aspect |
| be:R | = | Relative form of be |
| CAUS | = | Causative prefix |
| COMP | = | Complementizer |
| CRT | = | Certainty marker **d** |
| DC | = | Deictic clitic |
| DC | = | Deictic clitic |
| DIST | = | Distal postnominal clitic |
| DO | = | Direct object |
| EL | = | État libre |
| F | = | Feminine |
| FR. | = | French |
| FUT | = | **š** |
| I | = | Imperfective |
| IMP | = | Imperative |
| IMPF | = | Imperfect |
| IMPP | = | Imperfective particle **ka**- |
| INDEF | = | Indefinite pronoun |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| INTJ | = | Interjection |
| IO | = | Indirect object |
| EXST | = | Existential **kayen** |
| EA | = | État d'annexion |
| M | = | Masculine |
| MA | = | The element **ma** |
| NEG | = | Negation |
| ONM | = | Onomatopei |
| P | = | Perfective |
| PASS | = | Passive prefix / infix |
| PDO | = | Preverbal indicator of the direct object **t** / **d** |
| PF | = | Perfect |
| PL | = | Plural |
| PP | = | Passive participle |
| PR | = | Present relevance particle |
| PRES | = | Presentative particle |
| PRH | = | Pronominal head |
| PRX | = | Proximate |
| PST | = | Past marker |
| Q | = | Question particle **ka** / **waš** |
| REL | = | Berber relative marker |
| RF | = | Relative form |
| S | = | Singular |
| sp. | = | Species |
| SP. | = | Spanish |
| VOC | = | The vocative element **a** |