

Jewish and Muslim Dialects of Moroccan Arabic

Jeffrey Heath

 **RoutledgeCurzon**
Taylor & Francis Group

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xvii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 The ingredients of Moroccan Arabic	1
1.1.1 Broad classifications of Arabic dialects	1
1.1.2 The northern (sedentary, pre-Hilalian) type	2
1.1.3 The Saharan type	6
1.1.4 The central type and the modern koiné	8
1.1.5 The Jewish dialects	10
1.2 Fieldwork and library research	12
1.3 Maps	15
1.4 Organization of the volume	18
1.5 The dialects in detail	18
1.5.1 Far northern dialects (M)	18
1.5.2 Jebli dialects (M)	19
1.5.3 Ouezzane (J/M) and Masmouda (M)	20
1.5.4 The rural belt (M)	21
1.5.5 The urban belt (J/M)	21
1.5.6 Sefrou (J/M)	24
1.5.7 Eastern urban belt – Taza (M) and Oujda (J/M)	24
1.5.8 Northeastern towns (J)	25
1.5.9 Beduin M dialects inland from the Atlantic strip (Zaër, Chaouia)	26
1.5.10 The Atlantic strip (J/M)	26
1.5.11 Marrakesh (J/M), Ouarzazate (M), and the Sous (M)	28
1.5.12 The upper interior southwest (J)	29
1.5.13 The lower interior southwest (J)	30
1.5.14 Central and western oases including the Dra valley (M)	31
1.5.15 Tafilalt in the southeast (J/M)	33
1.5.16 Beni Sbih (J)	34

2	Lexicon	35
2.1	General	35
2.2	Verbs	36
2.2.1	Bodily function verbs	36
2.2.2	Other basic verbs	41
2.2.2.1	Other basic verbs A–D	41
2.2.2.2	Other basic verbs E–H	44
2.2.2.3	Other basic verbs I–P	51
2.2.2.4	Other basic verbs R–S	56
2.2.2.5	Other basic verbs T–Z	62
2.2.3	Animal vocalizations	67
2.3	Adjectives	70
2.4	Kin terms	78
2.5	Body parts	83
2.6	Plants and animals	96
2.7	Implements	107
2.8	Other nouns and adverbials	114
2.9	Summary of lexical choices	122
2.9.1	Jewish versus Muslim isoglosses	122
2.9.2	Northern-type stems	123
2.9.3	Central-type stems	125
2.9.4	Eastern stems	127
2.9.5	Southwestern and southern stems	128
2.9.6	Oasis and Saharan terms	129
2.9.7	Terms with unusual or bimodal distributions	130
3	Phonology	131
3.1	Consonants	131
3.1.1	Basic consonants	131
3.1.2	Preservation of alveolar spirants {ð ʈ θ}	131
3.1.3	*θ – > <i>f</i>	132
3.1.4	Sibilant point-of-articulation mergers	132
3.1.5	Sibilant harmony within stems	133
3.1.6	Lexically idiosyncratic sibilant point-of-articulation shifts	134
3.1.7	Assibilated release of <i>t</i>	135
3.1.8	Reflexes of Classical <i>jūm</i> (*j)	136
3.1.9	Affricate <i>č</i>	139
3.1.10	Replacement of {q k g} by glottal stop ʔ	139
3.1.11	Reflexes of *k	140
3.1.12	Spirantization of stops {k t d} to {x~ç θ ð}	140
3.1.13	Reflexes of Classical <i>qaaf</i> (*q)	141
3.1.14	*l –> <i>n</i> and *n –> <i>l</i>	148
3.2	Pharyngealized consonants	149
3.2.1	Pharyngealization harmony	149
3.2.2	Plain and pharyngealized <i>r</i> in underived stems	149

3.2.3 Plain and pharyngealized <i>r</i> in ablaut derivatives	154
3.2.4 Plain and pharyngealized <i>l</i>	157
3.2.5 Plain and pharyngealized <i>s</i>	158
3.3 Consonantal assimilations	158
3.3.1 Nasal assimilation	158
3.3.2 Devoicing of pharyngealized *ḍ to ṭ	159
3.3.3 Voicing assimilations in consonant clusters	161
3.3.4 Spontaneous voicing shifts	164
3.3.5 Routine assimilations in coronal-obstruent clusters	166
3.3.6 Assimilation of <i>y</i> to preceding C in participles <i>mašy-</i> , <i>mažy-</i> , <i>baqy-</i>	167
3.3.7 Assimilation of Definite prefix <i>l-</i>	169
3.3.8 Assimilation of <i>l</i> to following <i>n</i>	171
3.3.9 Assimilations of verb-stem final C to t-suffixes	171
3.3.10 Assimilations involving {st št ts tš}	173
3.3.11 Darkened labial gemination and pharyngealized labials	174
3.3.12 Other consonantal assimilations	176
3.3.13 Metatheses and other shifts involving two liquids	177
3.3.14 Other metatheses	177
3.4 Loss of consonants	179
3.4.1 Loss of *ʕ	179
3.4.2 Loss of glottal stop *ʔ	179
3.4.3 Loss of *h	180
3.5 Semivowels	181
3.5.1 Vocalization of semivowels	181
3.5.2 Inserted <i>w</i> and <i>y</i> before V – initial nominal suffixes	183
3.5.3 Inserted and lexical <i>w</i> and <i>y</i> in ablaut derivation	186
3.5.4 Simple w/y alternations	186
3.5.5 Desyllabification or contraction of suffixal <i>-i</i> and <i>-u</i>	186
3.6 Vowels and diphthongs	187
3.6.1 Basic reflexes of Classical short and long vowels	187
3.6.2 Merger of vowel length	188
3.6.3 Short <i>ū</i> versus labialization or pharyngealization	192
3.6.4 Reflexes of Classical short diphthongs	197
3.6.5 Stem-initial vowels	200
3.7 Syllabification	201
3.7.1 Syncope of short vowels and “ressaut”	201
3.7.2 Groupings of C’s in long sequences	205
3.7.3 Resyllabification from *CəCC to CCəC	205
3.7.4 Idiosyncractic secondary (de-)gemination of C’s	206
4 Affixal morphology	209
4.1 External verbal affixes	209
4.1.1 Durative prefix or particle	209
4.1.2 Negative morphemes	212

4.2 Imperfective subject affixes	213
4.2.1 Typical imperfective paradigms	213
4.2.2 2nd person and 3FeSg imperfective prefix	214
4.2.3 2FeSg imperfective suffix	215
4.3 Future preverb	215
4.4 Perfective subject affixes	218
4.4.1 Typical perfective paradigm	218
4.4.2 Augment <i>-i-</i> or <i>-äy-</i> after geminate trilateral stems	218
4.4.3 Subject suffixes 1Sg <i>-t</i> and 2Sg <i>-t(i)</i>	220
4.4.4 2Pl subject suffix <i>-tu ~ -tiw</i>	221
4.4.5 3FeSg <i>-ət ~ -at</i> and mergers with 1Sg/2Sg subject suffixes	222
4.4.6 Syncope of 3FeSg <i>-ət</i> after <i>CaC-</i> stem	225
4.5 Prepositions	226
4.5.1 'in front of' and 'facing'	227
4.5.2 'beside'	230
4.5.3 'instead of'	231
4.5.4 'behind'	232
4.5.5 'between'	234
4.5.6 'like'	235
4.5.7 'over' (<i>fug</i>) and 'under' (<i>təħt</i>) before pronominal	236
4.6 Pronominal nonsubject suffixes and datives	237
4.6.1 Typical nonsubject pronominal paradigms	237
4.6.2 Dative preposition and enclitic	238
4.6.3 3MaSg nonsubject suffix	240
4.6.4 3FePl and 3Pl nonsubject suffixes	240
4.6.5 Third person object forms before datives	241
4.6.6 2Sg nonsubject suffixes	242
4.6.7 1Sg nonsubject suffix <i>-i, -y, -ya</i>	242
4.7 Semiverbs and suppletive imperatives	243
4.7.1 Suppletive imperatives for 'come!' and 'go!'	244
4.7.2 'Take!' (<i>hak</i> and variants)	245
4.7.3 'Watch out!' (<i>šndak</i> and <i>balak</i>)	245
4.7.4 'Give!' (<i>ara</i> and variants)	246
4.7.5 'Still' (<i>mazal</i> and <i>baqi</i>)	247
4.7.6 Negative <i>ma-ši</i> or <i>ma- ~ man-</i> plus pronominal	248
4.7.7 Adversative <i>iwa ~ aywa</i> .	249
4.7.8 Presentative <i>ha- ~ han-</i> plus pronominal	250
4.7.9 Presentative <i>ra-</i>	251
4.7.10 Interrogative <i>malək</i>	252
4.8 Nominal affixes	252
4.8.1 Definite prefix	252
4.8.2 Feminine gender marking	254
4.8.2.1 Feminine singular suffix	254
4.8.2.2 Covertly feminine nouns	254
4.8.2.3 Covert to overt feminines	257

4.8.2.4 Gender of <i>CCa</i> nouns	259
4.8.3 Plural and dual suffixes	259
4.8.3.1 Feminine plural suffix	259
4.8.3.2 Dual <i>-in</i> and variants	260
4.8.3.3 Masculine plural <i>-a</i>	262
4.8.3.4 Plural <i>-in</i>	262
4.8.4 Paired body-part terms with singular <i>-in-a</i>	264
4.9 Suffixes in “construct” possessives	265
4.9.1 Phonology of simple construct forms	265
4.9.2 FeSg <i>-t-</i> in construct	265
4.9.3 Plural or singular <i>-i- ~ -äy-</i> in construct	266
4.9.4 Kin terms in construct	267
4.10 Independent pronouns	269
4.10.1 Independent personal pronouns	269
4.10.2 Demonstrative pronouns	271
4.11 Spatial deictic adverbials and existentials	272
5 Derivational ablaut	274
5.1 The ablaut system	274
5.2 Ablaut plural of nouns	274
5.2.1 Plural of strong and geminate trilaterals	275
5.2.1.1 Productive patterns	275
5.2.1.2 Plural of <i>šhəf</i> , <i>fərs</i> , <i>qənt</i> , <i>řhəf</i>	277
5.2.1.3 Plural of <i>fəñq</i> , <i>wžəh</i> , <i>fədm</i> , <i>šbəf</i> , and <i>dfəf</i>	278
5.2.1.4 Plural of <i>fəwd</i> and <i>xəyl</i>	281
5.2.1.5 Plural of <i>mqaš(š)</i> and <i>fūmm</i>	282
5.2.1.6 Plural of geminate trilaterals <i>mūxx</i> and <i>qəll</i>	283
5.2.2 Plural of weak tri- and biliteral (<i>CCV</i> , <i>CV</i>) nouns	284
5.2.3 Plural of hollow trilateral (<i>CVC</i>) nouns	286
5.2.3.1 Plural of <i>CaC</i> nouns	286
5.2.3.2 Plural of <i>CuC</i> and <i>CiC</i> nouns	289
5.2.4 Plural of <i>CCCV</i> and other weak quadriliteral nouns	291
5.2.4.1 Productive patterns	291
5.2.4.2 Plural of <i>žnwi</i> , <i>tali</i> , etc.	292
5.2.4.3 Plural of <i>rkn-a</i> , etc.	293
5.2.4.4 Plural of <i>dr̥r-a</i> , <i>snn-a</i> , <i>ħayy-a</i>	294
5.2.4.5 Plural of <i>fuṭ-a</i> , <i>mid-a</i> , <i>saṭ-a</i> , etc.	295
5.2.4.6 Plural of <i>klw-a</i> , <i>kdy-a</i> , <i>lhy-a</i> , <i>šuly-a</i> , <i>řiy-a</i>	296
5.2.4.7 Plural of <i>křb-a</i> , <i>kbd-a</i> , <i>nžm-a</i> , <i>nřž-a</i> , <i>mřz-a</i> , <i>mařk-a</i> , <i>nağ-a</i>	297
5.2.5 Quadrilaterals	299
5.2.5.1 Productive pattern	299
5.2.5.2 Plurals from singular <i>CCVC(-a)</i>	300
5.2.5.3 Phonologically problematic quadriliteral plurals	301
5.2.5.4 Final <i>a/i</i> switches in plurals of <i>šin̥iy-a</i> , etc.	303

5.2.5.5	<i>CCaCC-iy-a</i> plurals	304
5.2.6	Suppletive plurals	304
5.2.7	Ablaut plural before pronominal possessive suffix	305
5.3	Adjectival plural	307
5.3.1	Plural of <i>CCiC</i> and <i>CCuC</i> adjectives	307
5.3.2	Plural of <i>CCəC</i> color-defect adjectives	308
5.3.3	Plural of <i>CwəC</i> and <i>CyəC</i> color-defect adjectives	309
5.3.4	Plural of weak trilateral (<i>CCV</i>) adjectives	310
5.3.5	Feminine Plural <i>-at</i> with adjectives	311
5.4	Nominal diminutive	312
5.4.1	Covert and overt feminine gender	312
5.4.2	Diminutive of trilateral nouns	313
5.4.2.1	Diminutive of strong and geminate trilateral nouns	313
5.4.2.2	Diminutive of hollow (<i>CVC</i>) trilateral nouns	314
5.4.2.3	Diminutive of weak (<i>CCV</i>) trilateral nouns	314
5.4.3	Diminutive of <i>CCCV</i> and <i>CVCV</i> nouns	316
5.4.4	Diminutive of quadrilateral nouns	316
5.4.5	Rounding in diminutives	317
5.4.6	Semivowel problems (<i>ṭṛiq</i> , <i>lḥy-a</i> , <i>ryal</i> , <i>šəly-a</i> , <i>ḏuw</i>)	318
5.4.7	Diminutives with suffix <i>-allu</i> or <i>-alla</i> .	320
5.4.8	Diminutives of <i>ṣaṇḍal-a</i> , <i>ṭabl-a</i> , <i>lččin-a</i> , <i>ḥmaṛ</i> , <i>ḍaṛ</i> , <i>ma</i> , <i>ša(h)</i>	321
5.4.9	Plural of diminutives	323
5.5	Adjectival diminutive	324
5.5.1	Basic template and <i>C₃</i> -filling strategies	324
5.5.2	Rounding or secondary pharyngealization of initial <i>CC</i>	325
5.5.3	Diminutive of <i>CCiC</i> and <i>CCuC</i> adjectives	326
5.5.4	Saharan <i>CăyCəC</i> diminutive of <i>CCəC</i> adjectives	328
5.5.5	Mainstream <i>CCiC(ə)C</i> diminutive of <i>CCəC</i> adjectives	329
5.5.6	Diminutive of <i>CCV</i> adjectives	331
5.6	Elative (comparative) adjectives	332
5.6.1	'Bigger' and 'smaller'	333
5.6.2	'More' and 'less'	334
5.6.3	'Better' and 'worse'	334
5.6.4	Elative of <i>ṭwil</i> 'long, tall' and of <i>ždid</i> 'new'	337
5.7	Verb stem vocalism	338
5.7.1	Vestigial form I/IV alternations	338
5.7.2	Nonpassive ablaut derivations (forms II, III, V, VI, IX–XI)	339
5.7.3	Paradigmatic stem-shape alternations	340
5.7.3.1	Weak trilateral and quadrilateral verbs	340
5.7.3.2	Hollow trilateral verbs and <i>ṣaft</i> 'send'	341
5.7.3.3	Geminate trilateral verbs	345
5.7.3.4	Strong trilateral verbs	350
5.8	Passives	355
5.8.1	Regular passive of trilateral verbs	355
5.8.2	Stem shapes with passive prefix	357

5.8.3 Prefix allomorphs <i>t- ~ tt- ~ d-</i>	360
5.8.4 1Sg perfective of <i>t-CaC</i> , <i>n-CaC</i> , and <i>CCaC</i> verbs	362
5.9 Participles and ordinals	364
5.9.1 Active participles 'going' and 'coming'	364
5.9.2 Ordinals of type <i>CaC(ə)C</i>	365
5.9.3 Hollow trilateral passive participles	366
5.10 Verbal noun (masdar)	366
5.10.1 Verbal noun of strong trilateral verbs	367
5.10.2 Verbal noun of geminate trilateral verbs	371
5.10.3 Verbal noun of weak trilateral verbs and of <i>-ži</i> 'come'	372
5.10.4 Verbal noun of <i>CiC</i> and <i>CuC</i> verbs	373
5.10.5 Verbal nouns of <i>bat</i> 'spend the night'	375
5.10.6 Verbal noun of quadrilateral verbs	376
6 Case studies of idiosyncratic lexical items	379
6.1 Verb stems	379
6.1.1 'Eat' (Classical $\sqrt{\text{?kl}}$)	379
6.1.2 'Take' (Classical $\sqrt{\text{?xð}}$)	385
6.1.3 'Take away' (<i>ddi</i>)	387
6.1.4 'Crawl' (<i>ħbu</i>)	388
6.1.5 'Send' (<i>šifəṭ ~ šafəṭ</i>)	388
6.1.6 'Come' (<i>-ži</i>)	389
6.1.7 'Go' (<i>mši</i>)	390
6.1.8 'Be born' (<i>xlaq</i> and <i>zid</i>)	390
6.1.9 'Fix' (<i>šwwəb</i>)	391
6.1.10 'Ask' (<i>sqṣi</i>)	393
6.1.11 'Go down' (<i>hwwəd</i>)	395
6.1.12 'Hide' (<i>d-drrəg</i>)	395
6.1.13 'Put down' (<i>wḍəṭ</i>)	396
6.1.14 'Search for' (<i>fttəš</i>)	396
6.1.15 'Steal' (<i>xwən</i>)	397
6.1.16 'Bray' (<i>ħṛnəṭ</i>)	397
6.1.17 'Buzz' I (<i>znzən</i>)	398
6.1.18 'Buzz' II (<i>gəzz, gzgəz</i>)	399
6.2 Irregular Kin terms	400
6.2.1 'Father'	400
6.2.2 'Mother' (<i>ḥḥw-, imma</i> , etc.)	403
6.2.3 'Brother' and 'sister'	406
6.2.4 Construct forms of kin terms before noun possessor	409
6.2.5 Definite of 'father', 'mother', 'brother', 'sister'	411
6.2.6 Diminutive of 'father', 'mother', 'brother', 'sister'	412
6.2.7 Diminutive of <i>bənt</i> 'daughter' and 'girl'	418
6.2.8 'Maternal uncle' (<i>xal-, ḥbib-</i>) and 'maternal aunt' (<i>xal-t-</i>)	420
6.2.9 'Paternal uncle' (<i>ṣmm-</i>) and 'paternal aunt' (<i>ṣmm-t-</i>)	422
6.2.10 'Grandfather'	424

6.2.11	'Grandmother'	424
6.2.12	'Wife' (<i>mra-t-</i> , <i>mr-t-</i>)	425
6.2.13	'Wedding', 'bride', 'groom' (Classical $\sqrt{\text{irs}}$)	426
6.2.14	'Friend'	430
6.3	Irregular Body part terms	430
6.3.1	'Armpit' (<i>baʔ</i>)	430
6.3.2	'Body' (<i>ksd-a</i>)	431
6.3.3	'Elbow' (<i>qbʔal</i>)	432
6.3.4	'Lip' (<i>šnnuf-a</i> , etc.)	432
6.3.5	'Nose' (<i>mnxər</i>)	433
6.3.6	'Hand' (<i>yədd</i>)	434
6.4	Other nouns	434
6.4.1	'Name' (<i>ism</i> , etc.)	434
6.4.2	'Pears' (MLA <i>ijjaas-</i>)	435
6.4.3	'Eggplants' (<i>bʁan-iy-a</i> , <i>bdnʒal</i> , etc.)	436
6.4.4	'Carrots' (<i>xizzu</i>)	438
6.4.5	'Potato(es)' (<i>bʔaʔ-a</i>)	439
6.4.6	'Watermelon' (<i>dllaʔ</i>)	439
6.4.7	'Fork' (<i>mtkk-a</i> , etc.)	439
6.4.8	'Scissors' (<i>mqəʃ</i> , etc.)	440
6.4.9	'Chair' (<i>šuly-a</i>)	441
6.4.10	'Spoon' (<i>mʃlq-a</i>)	441
6.4.11	'Spoon' (<i>ʔašəq</i>)	441
6.4.12	'Spoon' (<i>kutar-a</i>)	442
6.4.13	'Spoon, ladle' (<i>mʃruf</i>)	442
6.4.14	'Knife' (<i>mus</i> , etc.)	443
6.4.15	'Winter' (<i>šta</i>) and 'summer' (<i>ʃif</i>)	444
6.4.16	'Hiccough' (<i>fwwaq-a</i>)	446
6.4.17	'Hiccough' (<i>šhaq-a</i>)	446
6.5	Days	447
6.5.1	'Monday' (<i>l-tnin</i> , etc.)	447
6.5.2	'Tuesday' (<i>l-tlat-a</i>)	449
6.5.3	'Wednesday' (<i>l-ərbəʃ</i> , etc.)	450
6.5.4	'Today' (<i>lyum</i>)	451
6.6	Adverbs	452
6.6.1	'Now' (<i>druk</i>)	452
6.6.2	'There' (<i>tmma</i> and <i>lhih</i>)	453
6.6.3	'Here' (<i>hna</i>)	454
6.7	Adjectives	454
6.7.1	'Left side' (<i>iʃr</i>) and 'right side' (<i>imən</i>)	454
6.7.2	'Hunchback(ed)' (<i>ħdibb-i</i> , etc.)	455
6.7.3	'Other' (<i>axur</i>)	456
6.7.4	'First' (<i>lwwəʃ</i>) and 'last' (<i>lxxər</i>)	458

7 Simple phrasal structures	460
7.1 Possessive phrases	460
7.1.1 Possessive prepositions	460
7.1.2 Analytic (periphrastic) versus construct	463
7.1.3 Kin terms	464
7.2 Numeral phrases	464
7.2.1 Independent numerals	464
7.2.2 Numerals with nouns	467
7.2.3 Noun-stem suppletion with numerals and dual suffix	472
7.3 Interrogatives	473
7.3.1 'Who?'	473
7.3.2 'What?'	477
7.3.3 'When?'	481
7.3.4 'Where?' and 'from where?'	483
7.3.5 'Which?'	484
7.3.6 'How?', 'why?', 'how much?'	487
7.3.7 Intercalated <i>-n-</i> before third person pronoun	487
7.4 Conditionals	489
7.4.1 Hypotheticals	490
7.4.2 Counterfactuals	491
7.5 Clausal subordination	493
7.5.1 'That' (quotative and purposive) complementizers	493
7.5.2 Relative clauses	494
7.5.3 Temporal adverbial ('when ...') clauses	495
7.5.4 'Because' clauses	499
7.5.5 Obligational ('must') constructions	500
7.5.6 Use of Durative morpheme in clausal complements	501
7.5.7 'Not yet' and 'no longer'	502
<i>Maps</i>	505
<i>References</i>	592