

CONCLUSION

Although the historical reconstructions suggested in this paper are only hypothetical, the synchronic proportional relations discussed have been able to show several directions of change in 'Afar which exemplify the hypotheses set forth by Kuryłowicz. The value of considering general trends in linguistic change as explanations for exceptions to rules in a synchronic description is obviously shaky, but hopefully can contribute to a better understanding of the history of the language studied.

¹ Loren F. Bliese, 'Afar Vowel Dissimilation: A Problem in Rule Ordering, *Anthropological Linguistics*: 17, 3 (1975), pp. 102—106; also see Bliese's chapter on 'Afar in *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, M. Lionel Bender, ed. (forthcoming).

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ON THE SUBJECT OF AFFILIATED LEXICONS:
A STUDY OF MOROCCAN ARABIC AND BERBER

INTRODUCTION

I.1 *Berber and Arabic*

The three major Berber dialects spoken in Morocco are (a) *Tamazight*, also referred to as *Taberberit*, a dialect of the Middle Atlas and the eastern half of the High Atlas Mountains in central Morocco; (b) *Tachelhit* or *Shilha*, dialect of the High and Anti-Atlas Mountains, and the Sous Valley in southern Morocco; (c) *Tarifit* or *Rifian*, dialect of the Riff Mountains in northern and northeastern Morocco.

The use of the term „Berber” is limited here to the Tamazight dialect in general, as well as to the variety of Tamazight spoken by the tribes of Ayt Ayache and Ayt Seghronchen. Ayt Ayache (A.A. hereafter) is a tribe composed of twenty-two villages located along the Ansegmir River at the foot of the Ayachi Mountain, about thirty kilometers west of the town of Midelt. Ayt Seghronchen (A.S. hereafter) is a much larger tribe than Ayt Ayache, and is divided into three major sub-tribes. Its boundaries extend from about thirty kilometers south of the city of Fez to the limits of the towns of Midelt and Sefrou. Ayt Seghronchen Tamazight is mutually intelligible with that of Ayt Ayache and the neighboring tribes.

The term „Arabic” as used here refers to Moroccan Arabic, the variety of Arabic spoken in Morocco, also referred to as *Colloquial Moroccan Arabic* or *Moroccan Dialect of Arabic*.

I.2 Notes on the System of Transcription

The following consonants are used in Tamazight (A.A. and A.S. dialects): /b t d k g q f s š ž χ γ m n l r h ɕ h w y/ (see Table 1). The vowels which are used are /i u a/ (see Table 2).

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Back-Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
stop	voiceless			t				*k		q		ʔ
	voiced	b		d				*g				
fricative	voiceless		f	s		ʃ			χ		ħ	h
	voiced					ʒ			γ		ʕ	
nasal	voiced	m			n							
lateral	voiced			l								
flap	voiced					r						
semivowel	voiced	w					y					

Table 1. Tamazight Consonants and Semi9vowels *see I.2.2

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid			
Low		a	

Table 2. Tamazight Vowels

Moroccan Arabic has the same consonants, semi-vowels, and vowels as does Tamazight.

I.2.1 The Features of Tenseness, Emphasis, and Labialization

All of the features listed above are of central importance to Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic phonology.

Tenseness: In A.A., A. S., and M.A., a tense (also *fortis*) consonant in general is produced with more force than is its lax (also *lenis*) counterpart. Tenseness refers here to two identical

consonants, with no intervening vowel, which are pronounced with stronger articulation and greater tension on the part of the articulator. Thus /bb/ = /b:/ (: denotes tenseness). Lax refers here to a single consonant pronounced with lesser muscle tension and weaker, laxer articulation.

A tense consonant has twice the duration of a lax (single) consonant.

The intensity and aspiration which are characteristic of the tense consonants give them a syllabic quality (ie. maximum degree of sonority in the syllable, so that tense /b:/ is heard as [ʔbb]). Examples are as follows: A.A. /ixdm/ 'he worked', and /ixd:m/ 'he is working'; A.S. /iɕfu/ 'he forgave', and /iɕf:u/ 'he forgives'; M.A. /ktbu/ 'he wrote it', and /kt:bu/ 'he caused him to write'.

Emphasis: An emphatic consonant (also *flat*, *velarized* or *pharyngealized*) is one which is produced by pressing the blade of the tongue against the palate so that the articulation is velarized, alveolarized, or sometimes pharyngealized, rather than simply dental. /ɖ/ and /t/ are the emphatic counterparts of *plain* /d/ and /t/; e.g. A.A. /bdu/ 'to begin', and /bɖu/ 'to share'; A.S. /tizi/ 'value of a man', and /tɪzi/ 'pubic hair'; M.A. /tab/ 'to repent', and /tɔb/ 'to be cooked'.

Emphatic consonants color plain consonants: the occurrence of an emphatic consonant will cause a plain consonant in the same syllable (sometimes in the preceding and/or the following syllable) to become emphatic. For example, A.A. /tɔlb/ = [tɔlb] 'to demand'; A.S. /tɪrz/ = [tɪrɪrɔz] 'embroidery'; M.A. /tɪlq/ = [tɪlɔq] 'to release'.

The influence of emphatic consonants on vowels is very noticeable. Examples follow: A.A. /sɔl/ = [sɔl] 'to ask', and /tɔlb/ = [tɔlb] 'to demand'; A.S. /sɔfr/ = [sɔfr] 'to travel', and /sɔlh/ = [sɔlh] 'to surrender'; M.A. /tab/ = [tɔb] 'to repent', and /tɔb/ = [tɔb] 'to be cooked' ([ɔ] as in English „fat”; [a] as in English „father”).

Labialization: Labialization is manifested as simultaneous lip-rounding when producing any of the labialized consonants A.A. has the following set of labialized consonants: /k̤ ɡ̤ χ̤ γ̤ — k̤̤ ɡ̤̤ χ̤̤ γ̤̤/; A.S. has two labialized consonants: /k̤̤ ɡ̤̤/; in M.A. labialization is a feature of the peripheral consonants /m̤ b̤ f̤/

and /k̂ ġ̂ χ̂ ȳ̂ ħ̂/. In all cases /χ̂/, for example, is pronounced as [χ^w] or [χ^w]; e.g. A.A. /ag:a/ 'he is', and /aġ:a/ 'a burden'; A.S. /imd:uk:al/ 'friends', and /amd:ak:l/ 'a friend'; M.A. /χra/ 'feces', and /χra/ 'other' (f).

I.2.2 Fricative as opposed to Stop

In A.A., lax /k ġ k̂ ġ̂/ are fricatives or *spirants* as opposed to tense /k: g: k̂: ġ̂:/, which are stops. In A.S., /k ġ k: k: g: k̂: ġ̂:/ are stops; lax /k̂/ and /ġ̂/ do not occur in A.S.

I.2.3 Notes on Vowel Allophones

All vowel allophones (positional vowel variants occurring in specific environments) are predictable in A.A., A.S., and M.A. (see Table 3). Notice the modification of the parameters Highs, Mid, and Low, as well as the fact that *Central* or *Centralized* vowels are shorter in duration than are the front or back vowels.

	Front	Central Shorter	Back
High	i		u
Low High	I	ĩ = I ^v ŭ = u ^w	u
High Mid	e		o
Mid		ə	
Low Mid			
High Low	æ	ǣ	
Low		ǣ	a

Table 3. Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic Vowel Allophones

/a/ is realized as [a] (as in English „father”) in the environment of an emphatic consonant; as [æ] (as in English „fat) in the environment of non-emphatic consonants; and as centralized [ǣ] in word final position. /i/ is realized as [e] (as in English „mate”) in the environment of emphatic consonants; as [i] (as in English „beat”) in the environment of non-emphatic consonants; and as centralized [ĩ] or [I^v] word finally, (in the environment of any consonant). /u/ is realized as [o] (the sound is between that of

English „door” and „soul”) in the environment of emphatic consonants and back velars; as [u] (as in English „cool”) in the environment of non-emphatic consonants; as [u] (as in English „wool”) word finally, in the environment of emphatic consonants; and as centralized [ŭ] or [u^w] word finally, in the environment of emphatic consonants.

I.2.4 Structure of the Syllable

If, in A.A., A.S., and M.A., a consonant is followed by another consonant without an intervening vowel, there is a predictable transition. Transition between consonants in this case is heard as *vocalic*, and is represented here by a superscript schwa, [ə], a purely phonetic — non-phonemic — aspect of Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic with no semantic significance. (Schwa occurs as the first speech sound formation in English „about”, or as the last speech sound formation in English „sofa”).

The vocalic transition [ə] has variants ranging from [ə] or [e] to [ǣ] or [ǣ]. [ǣ] and [ǣ] occur in the environment of /ʕ/ and /ħ/; [ə] and [e] occur elsewhere.

[ə] is also voiced in the environment of voiced consonants, and voiceless in the environment of voiceless consonants.

[ə] can either precede or follow a liquid or a nasal, i.e. /l m n r/. If a word has a tense consonant followed by a lax consonant, there is an [ə] before and after the tense consonant. [ə] is placed before the final consonant of a word if it is not preceded by a vowel. Examples follow:

A.A.	/χdm/	= [χd ^ə m]	'to work'
	/fs:r/	= [f ^ə ss ^ə r]	'to explain'
	/bd:/	= [b ^ə dd]	'to stand up'
	/š/	= [əš]	'to give'
	/sal/	= [sæl]	'to ask'
A.S.	/r:/	= [r ^ə rr]	'to give back'
	/šl/	= [š ^ə l]	'to spend'
	/f:r/	= [f ^ə ff ^ə r]	'to hide'
M.A.	/šk:/	= [š ^ə kk]	'to doubt'
	/d:r:i/	= [d ^ə dd ^ə rr ⁱ]	'the boy'
	/mux:/	= [moxx]	'brain'

I.2.5 Stress

Stress does not produce semantic differences in Tamazight or Moroccan Arabic. In general, the end of a word receives rather more stress than the beginning: last /v/ (vowel) or [ə] is stressed. Examples are A.A. /sál/ 'to ask', /adíniγ/ 'I will say', and /fs:r/ = [fəssə'r] 'explain!'; A.S. /χm:m/ = [χəmmə'm] 'think!'; and M.A. /mskin/ = [məskín] 'poor', /šawbt/ = [šawə'bt] 'I fixed'.

II. TAMAZIGHT AND MOROCCAN ARABIC VERB SYSTEMS

An examination of the Tamazight lexicon reveals a large number of Arabic loanwords, particularly in the area of the verb and its derivatives. The number of loanwords is so tremendous that one is likely to mistake them for cognates. It is interesting in particular to examine the various processes of borrowing, the accommodation of the loan-verb stems within an existing system, and the conformity and assimilation of the loanwords to native patterns and structures. This section presents a bird's-eye view of the verbal systems in A.A., A.S., and M.A., considering in particular the systematic way in which a certain class of verb stems borrowed from M.A. is accommodated in A.A. and A.S.

II.1 Methodology

The data for this article came from field recordings which were originally used for the writing of Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic textbooks, designed for language learning. For the purposes of this article, individual lexicons were prepared for A.A. and A.S. Each lexicon consists of five hundred basic verb stems and their derivatives. The basic verb stems are marked as native, i.e. Berber (Br. hereafter), or as borrowed, i.e. loanwords from M.A. The majority of the verb stems constituting the corpus of the two Berber lexicons are of the type ||-CV#|| (C = consonant, V = vowel, - = morpheme boundary, # = word boundary). Examples are M.A. /bda/, A.A. /bdu/, and A.S. /bda/, 'to begin'. For the purposes of comparison and illustration, a large number of verb stems of the types ||CCC|| and ||CC:C|| are included: e.g.

A.A. and A.S. /zdm/ 'to collect wood', and /fr:n/ 'to weed'; M.A. /χdm/ 'to work' and /fs:r/ 'to explain'. In Lists nos. 1—8, examples are cited from all classes and types of the *Verb* and its derivatives.

II.2 Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic Verb Morphology

Tamazight verbs may be classified as basic or derived. We will refer to a basic verb stem as „V”. Derived verb stems (Causative, Reciprocal, Recipro-Causative, Passive) are derived from basic stems through the use of the prefixes s, m, ms, and tu, and will be referred to as MV, sV, msV, and tuV, respectively. Another kind of derivation is the habitual stem VH (habitual of V); sVH, mVH, msVH and tuVH (habituals of the derived stems). The present tense is derived from the habitual stem (VH, sVH, mVH, msVH, tuVH); the past, future, and unmarked aorist are derived from V, sV, mV, msV, and tuV. There is one inflectional set for Person-Number-Gender (PNG) affixes for *all* tenses in Tamazight (see Tables 4 and 5 below). The modes (affirmative, negative, interrogative) are derived by prefixation.

PNG	Inflectional affix
1s	_____ γ
2s	t _____ d
3sm	i _____
3sf	t _____
1p	n _____
2pm	t _____ m
2pf	t _____ nt
3pm	_____ n
3pf	_____ nt

Table 4. A. A. PNG Affixes *

PNG	Inflectional affix
1s	_____ x
2s	t _____ t
3sm	i _____
3sf	t _____
1p	n _____
2pm	t _____ m
2pf	t _____ nt
3pm	_____ n
3pf	_____ nt

Table 5. A. S. PNG Affixes *

* s = singular, p = plural, m = masculine, f = feminine, d = dual, ø = zero, i.e., nothing.

The major tense and modal derivational prefixes are as follows: /ad-/; future; /da-/ ~ /l:a-/; present; /is-/; interrogative; /ur-/; negative; /isur/; negative interrogative in both A.A. and A.S. /ar-/ in A.A. and /al-/ in A.S., inchoative.

Imperative is derived by suffixation to V in both dialects (see Tables 6—9).

PNG	Suffix
2sm	-ø
2fm	-ø
2pm	-at
2pf	-nt

Table 6. A. A. Second-Person Imperative Suffixes

PNG	Suffix
1dm	-aγ
1df	-am
1pm	-ataγ
1pf	-ntaγ

Table 7. A. A. First-Person Imperative Suffixes

PNG	Suffix
2sm	-ø
2fm	-ø
2pm	-m
2pf	-nt

Table 8. A. S. Second-Person Imperative Suffixes

PNG	Suffix
2sm	-aχ
2fm	-ntaχ
2pm	-maχ
2pf	-ntaχ

Table 9. A. S. First-Person Imperative Suffixes

In Moroccan Arabic, verbs are classified and discussed in terms of *Ten Forms*. Form I is referred to as Basic Form V, from which Forms II-X are derived. Another major dimension involved in the discussion of verbs in M.A. is the distinction between Sound and Weak stems. A sound verb stem is one whose radicals (constituents) are all consonants: an example is /ktb/ 'to write'. A weak stem contains a vowel as one of its radicals: e.g. /bda/ 'to begin', which is referred to as *Final Weak*. There is a perfective and an imperfective stem for each verb. Noticeable differences occur: e.g. /-bda-/ (perfective) and /-bdi-/ (imperfective); the imperfective stem corresponds to Tamazight VH. Perfective is achieved by a suffixed set, while imperfective is achieved by affixation (see Tables 10 and 11 below).

The present tense prefix is /ka-/ in M.A. The negative morpheme is /-š/. Imperative (second person only) is achieved by suffixing -ø, -i, -u to V for 2sm, 2fm, and 2p respectively.

PNG	Suffix
1s	_____ t
2ms	_____ ti
2fs	_____ ti
3ms	_____ ø
3fs	_____ at
1p	_____ na
2p	_____ tu
3p	_____ u

Table 10. M. A. Perfective Suffixes

PNG	Affix
1s	n _____
2ms	t _____
2fs	t _____ i
3ms	i _____
3fs	t _____
1p	n _____ u
2p	t _____ u
3p	i _____ u

Table 11. M. A. Imperfective Affixes

The present tense prefix is (ka-) in M.A. The negative morpheme is (-š). Imperative (second person only) is achieved by suffixing -ø, -i, -u to V for 2sm, 2fm, and 2p respectively.

II.3 The Role of Ablaut in Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic Verb Systems

The importance of ablaut to the Tamazight verbal system is demonstrated by the fact that Tamazight verbs are classified either as ablauted or unablauted. The term „ablaut” is used here as it is defined by Prof. J. Kurylowicz in his works on Semitics — particularly in his *Esquisse d'une théorie de l'apophonie en sémitique*, Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris 53, 1959, 1—38, and in *l'Apophonie en sémitique*, Warszawa 1961. Ablaut refers here to such vocalic changes as *a* to *i*, *u* to *i* or *a*, or even *ø* (zero) to *i*. Some examples are the change of /-u #/ of /bdu/, 'to begin' in A.A., to /-a #/ in third person masculine singular /i-bda/ 'he began'; the change of final /-a #/ of /bda/ 'to begin' (A.S.) to /-i/ in first person singular /bdix/ 'I began'. The verbal system of Tamazight is characterized by the past tense ablaut for particular classes of verbs. The classification of Berber verb stems is based primarily on the type of ablaut found in the past tense conjugations. The ablaut of the negative past is always a change to /i/ in all classes of ablauted verbs. Examples follow: A.A. /dawa/ 'to cure' is unablauted, whereas A.A. /bdu/ 'to begin' has an *i-a*

Ablaut; thus /dawa-γ/ 'I cured', /ur-dawa-γ/ 'I did not cure', /i-dawa/ 'he cured', /ur-i-dawa/ 'he did not cure', and /bdi-γ/ 'I began', /i-bda/ 'he began', /ur-i-bdi/ 'he did not begin'.

The most distinctive ablaut in Tamazight is the *i-a* Ablaut, mentioned above. This consists of a change of /-u #/ in A.A. /bdu/ 'to begin', and /-a #/ in A.S. /bda/ 'to begin' to /i/ in first and second person singular, and to /a/ elsewhere. It might be helpful to list complete conjugations of A.A. /bdu/ 'to begin' and A.S. /bda/ 'to begin', in order to illustrate *i-a* Ablaut in the affirmative past tense.

A.A. /bdu/	A.S. /bda/ 'to begin'
1sm bdiγ	bdiχ
2sm tbdid	tbdit
3sm ibda	ibda
3sf tbdā	tbdā
1p nbda	nbda
2pm tbdam	tbdam
2pm tbdant	tbdant
3pm bdan	bdan
3pf bdant	bdant

Both A.A. /bdu/ and A.S. /bda/, 'to begin', are loan stems from M.A. /bda/, 'to begin'. Borrowings from within this group of M.A. final weak verbs (having a vowel as last radical of verb stem) are of central importance to the concerns of this article.

The conjugation of M.A. /bda/ 'to begin' in the affirmative past is given here in order to show the kind of *i-a* Ablaut that is characteristic of this class of weak verbs in M.A.

bda 'to begin'

i-a Ablaut

1sm bdi-t

2s bdi-ti

3sm bda

3sf bda-t

1p bdi-na

2p bdi-tu

3p bda-w

II.4 Borrowings and Accomodation Processes; Assimilation to the Native Patterns

In this section, we will systematically introduce self-explanatory Lists of native and loan verb stems and their derivations. The lists are provided in order to acquaint the reader with native (Tamazight) patterns which illuminate the areas of borrowings and accomodations of the loanwords in an existing native system. The choice of two Tamazight speech groups (or subdialects) makes the comparison more interesting and more valuable to the reader, as we shall see, A.A. and A.S. accomodated their borrowings from M.A. in slightly different ways.

In the present effort we are principally concerned with borrowings from M.A. final weak verbs of the /bda/ 'to begin' type. A comparison of the forms listed in List 1 below reveals that A.A. has systematically transformed the /-a #/ of the M.A. verb forms into /-u #/, whereas A.S. has retained the M.A. /-a #/ in its borrowed forms. Further: in both A.A. and A.S., the borrowed verb stems are ablauted with *i-a* Ablaut (note that M.A. /bda/ 'to begin' has an *i-a* Ablaut).

LIST 1

M.A. verbs of the type /-a #/ (final weak verbs) and corresponding loans in A.A. and A.S., all of the i-a Ablaut type:

	M.A. /-a #/ <i>i-a</i>	A.A. /-u #/ <i>i-a</i>	A.S. /-a #/ <i>i-a</i>	
1) V	bda	bdu	bda	'to begin'
VH	bda	bd:u	bd:a	
2) V	bna	bnu	bna	'to build'
VH	bni	bn:u	bn:a	
3) V	dʒa	dʒu	dʒa	'to pray for'
VH	dʒi	t:dʒu	t:dʒa	
4) V	fta	ftu	fta	'to dictate'
VH	fti	t:ftu	ft:a	
5) V	hda	hdu	hda	'to give a present'
VH	hdi	t:hdu	t:ihd:a	
6) V	hda	hdu	hda	'to watch over'

VH	h̥di	h̥d̥:u	h̥t̥:a	
7) V	h̥fa	h̥fu	h̥fa	'to become dull'
VH	h̥fa	t:h̥fu	t:i:h̥fa	
8) V	h̥ma	h̥mu	h̥ma	'to be hot'
VH	h̥ma	t:h̥mu	t:i:h̥ma	
9) V	m̥ha	m̥hu	m̥ha	'to erase'
VH	m̥hi	t:m̥hu	m̥h̥:a	
10) V	q̥da	q̥du	q̥da	'to accomplish'
VH	q̥di	t:q̥du	q̥t̥:a	
11) V	q̥wa	q̥wu	q̥wa	'to be strong'
VH	q̥wa	t:q̥wu	t:i:q̥wa	
12) V	r̥da	r̥du	r̥da	'to bless'
VH	r̥da	t:r̥du	rt̥:a	
13) V	r̥sa	r̥su	r̥sa	'to be quiet'
VH	r̥sa	t:r̥su	t:r̥sa	
14) V	χwa	χwu	χwa	'to empty'
VH	χwi	t:wχu	χg̥:a	

List 2 demonstrates that the M.A. final weak verb stems are accommodated in A.A. and A.S. to a pre-existing pattern: /-u #/ in A.A., and /-a #/ in A.S.

LIST 2

Native verb stems ending in /-u #/ in A.A., and in /-a #/ in A.S., all of the i-a Ablaut type:

A.A.		A.S.	
<i>i-a</i>		<i>i-a</i>	
1) V	γbu Br. 'to be deep'	γba Br. 'to be deep'	
VH	t:γbu	t:iγba	
2) V	h̥du Br. 'to watch over'	h̥da Br. 'to watch over'	
VH	h̥d̥:u	h̥t̥:a	
3) V	g:ru Br. 'to be last'	zγa Br. 'to bleat'	
VH	t:g:ru	zq̥:a	
4) V	fru Br. 'to pay debts'	h̥ada Br. 'to touch'	
VH	fr̥:u	t:h̥ada	

- 5) V gnu Br. 'to sew' sula Br. 'to be available'
 VH gn̥:u t:sula

It is interesting to note that the native class of verbs of the type /-u #/ has *i-a* Ablaut in A.A. and *No* Ablaut in A.S. Examples of such verb stems are found in List 3.

LIST 3

Native and loan verbs of the type /-u #/ in A.A. (i-a Ablaut) and A.S. (No Ablaut):

A.A. /-u #/ <i>i-a</i> Ablaut	A.S. /-u #/ <i>No</i> Ablaut
1) V rzu Br.	rzu 'to look for'
VH t:rzu	t:rzu
2) V s:u Br.	s:u 'to make the bed'
VH t:s:u	t:s:u
3) V z:u Br.	z:u 'to plant'
VH t::z̥u	t:z̥:u
4) VH f:u Br.	f:u 'to dawn'
VN t:f:u	t:f:u
5) V d:u Br.	----- 'to go'
VH t:d:u	
6) V ----- Br.	t:u 'to forget'
VH	t:t:u
7) V k:u Br.	----- 'to cut grass'
VH t:k:u	
8) V ----- Br.	ndu 'to shake milk'
VH	nd:u
9) V ----- Br.	γlu 'to follow'
VH	γl:u
10) V ʃfu M.A.	ʃfu 'to forgive'
VH t:ʃfu	ʃf:u
11) V h̥bu M.A.	h̥bu 'to crawl'
VH t:h̥bu	t:h̥bu

Note in particular that the native class of verbs of the type /-a #/ has *No* Ablaut in A.A. and *i-a* Ablaut in A.S. Examples of such verbs as well as loan stems of the same type are found in List 4.

LIST 4

Native and loan verbs of the type /-a #/ in A.A. (No Ablaut) and A.S. (i-a Ablaut).

A.A. No Ablaut			A.S. i-a Ablaut		
1) V	wala	Br.	wala	'to be near'	
VH	t:wala		t:wala		
2) V	warya	Br.	warya	'to dream'	
VH	t:warya		t:warya		
3) V	msasa	Br.	msasa	'to agree'	
VH	t:msasa		t:msasa		
4) V	fa	Br.	fa	'to yawn'	
VH	t:fa		t:fa		
5) V	fafa	Br.	fafa	'to wake up'	
VH	t:fafa		t:fafa		
6) V	dawa	M.A.	dawa	'to cure'	
VH	t:dawa		t:dawa		
7) V	sf:a	M.A.	sf:a	'to be disgusted'	
VH	t:sf:a		f:sf:a		
8) V	sl:a	M.A.	sl:a	'to make high'	
VH	t:sl:a		t:sl:a		
9) V	rafa	M.A.	rafa	'to see'	
VH	t:rafa		t:rafa		
10) V	rb:a	M.A.	rb:a	'to educate'	
VH	t:rb:a		t:rb:a		
11) V	sm:a	M.A.	sm:a	'to name'	
VH	t:sm:a		t:sm:a		
12) V	wʃ:a	M.A.	wʃ:a	'to advise'	
VH	t:wʃ:a		t:wʃ:a		

A comparison of the previous Lists (1—4) makes it clear that Tamazight A.A. and A.S. both had a verb form corresponding to the M.A. Final Weak form /-V #/, and that Tamazight A.A. and A.S. borrowed more forms from this particular class of verbs which were accommodated differently in each of the two Berber subdialects — in conformity with the existing native subdialectal patterns, and subject to their ablaut structures.

The same process may be observed in other verb classes: we here cite some examples from what is considered the largest class of verbs in Tamazight, verbs of the structures ||CCC|| and ||CC:C|| (the first form corresponds to M.A. Form I Sound; e.g. /frh/ 'to be happy'; the latter corresponds to M.A. Form II Sound, e.g. /fs:r/ 'to explain'). Examples in List 5 show conformity in the derivation of the Habitual stem VH from V, wherein both native and loan stems derive their VH's. This is an area of heavy borrowings from M.A.

LIST 5

VH derivations of native and loan verb stems of the types CCC and CC:C in A.A. and A.S.

A.A.			A.S.		
1) V	zdm	Br.	zdm	'to collect wood'	
VH	zd:m		zd:m		
2) V	χdm	M.A.	χdm	'to work'	
VH	χd:m		χd:m		
3) V	hr:f	Br.	hr:f	'to carry'	
VH	t:hr:af		t:hr:af		
4) V	fs:r	M.A.	fs:r	'to explain'	
VH	t:fs:ar		t:fs:ar		
5) V	frh	M.A.	frh	'to be happy'	
VH	fr:h		fr:h		
6) V	mgr	Br.	mžr	'to harvest'	
VH	mg:r		mž:r		
7) V	lsb	M.A.	lsb	'to play'	
VH	t:lsab		t:lsab		
8) V	dʎs	Br.	-----	'to lie down'	
VH	t:dʎas		-----		
9) V	qr:r	M.A.	qr:r	'to decide'	
VH	t:qr:ar		t:qr:ar		
10) V	qr:ʃ	Br.	qr:ʃ	'to scream'	
VH	t:qr:aʃ		t:qr:aʃ		

List 6 illustrates similar derivational processes for native and loan derived verb stems: Causative, Reciprocal, Recipro-Causative, and Passive, in a number of verb classes (ablauted and unablauted).

LIST 6

Comparison of derived verb stems of the native A.A. and A.S. verbs which follow: /rzu/ 'to look for', /ʕrm/ 'to know', and /zawd/ 'to throw away'. Included as well: loan verbs /hdu/ 'to watch', /xʕm/ 'to indemnify', and /qawn/ 'to help'.

		Br.	'to look for'	Caus.	Recip.	Recip.-Caus.	Passive
1) V	rzu	Br.	'to look for'	s:rzu	m:rzu	---	t:urzu
	VH rz:u			s:rzu	t:m:rzu	---	t:urzu
2) V	hdu	M.A.	'to watch'	s:hdu	m:hdu	---	t:uhdu
	VH hɖ:u			s:hdu	t:m:hdu	---	t:uhdu
3) V	ʕrm	Br.	'to know'	s:ʕrm	---	mʕram	---
	VH ʕr:m			s:ʕram	---	t:mʕram	---
4) V	ʕrm	M.A.	'to indemnify'	s:ʕrm	---	mʕram	---
	VH ʕr:m			s:ʕram	---	t:mʕram	---
5) V	zawd	Br.	'to throw away'	---	mzawd	---	t:uzawd
	VH t:zawd			---	t:mzawd	---	t:uzawd
6) V	qawn	M.A.	'to help'	s:qawn	m:qawn	---	t:uqawn
	VH t:qawn			s:qawn	t:m:qawn	---	t:uqawn

List 7 cites temporal and moral derivatives for native and loan verb stems, showing the relevant morphological structures and ablauts.

LIST 7

Temporal and modal derivations of A.A. /šnu/, Br., 'to kneel'; /bnu/, M.A., 'to build'; /bd:/, Br., 'to stand up'; /qz:/, M.A., 'to be dear'; A.S. /wala/, Br., 'to be near' and /dawa/, M.A., 'to cure', (all of the i-a Ablaut type), in the affirmative, negative, interrogative, and negative-interrogative * past.

A.A. --- /šnu/ --- Br. --- 'to kneel' --- i-a Ablaut

	1s	3sm
past affirmative	šniɣ	išna
past negative	uršniɣ	urišni
past interrogative	isšniɣ	isišna
past neg.-interr.	isuršniɣ	isurišni

A.A. --- /bnu/ --- M.A. --- 'to build' --- i-a Ablaut

	1s	3sm
past affirmative	bniɣ	ibna
past negative	urbniɣ	uribni
past interrogative	isbniɣ	isibna
past neg.-interr.	isurbniɣ	isuribni

A.A. --- /bd:/ --- Br. --- 'to stand up' --- i-a Ablaut

	1s	3sm
past affirmative	bd:iɣ	ibd:a
past negative	urbd:iɣ	uribd:i
past interrogative	isbd:iɣ	isibd:a
past neg.-interr.	isurbd:iɣ	isuribd:i

* Notice that ablaut occurs (for certain verb classes) only in the affirmative and/or negative past. The ablaut of the interrogative past follows that of the affirmative past; the negative-interrogative ablaut is the same as the negative last. See examples below.

A.A. -- /ʕz:/ --- M.A. -- 'to be dear' ----- i-a Ablaut

	<u>1s</u>	<u>3sm</u>
past affirmative	ʕz:iʔ	iʕz:a
past negative	urʕz:iʔ	uriʕz:i
past interrogative	isʕz:iʔ	isiʕz:a
past neg.-interr.	isurʕz:iʔ	isuriʕz:i

A.S. -- /wala/ --- Br. --- 'to be near' ----- i-a Ablaut

	<u>1s</u>	<u>3sm</u>
past affirmative	waliʔ	iwala
past negative	urwaliʔ	uriwali
past interrogative	iswaliʔ	isiwala
past neg.-interr.	isurwaliʔ	isuriwali

A.S. -- /dawa/ --- M.A. -- 'to cure' ----- i-a Ablaut

	<u>1s</u>	<u>3sm</u>
past affirmative	dawiʔ	idawa
past negative	urdawiʔ	uridawi
past interrogative	isdawiʔ	isidawa
past neg.-interr.	isurdawiʔ	isuridawi

List 8 (on p. 69). presents the verbal nouns, Noun of action (N-act), Noun of agent (N-agt), Noun of place (N-pl), Noun of occupation (N-occup), and Noun of instrument (N-instr), which are derived from native and loan verb stems.

Notes to List 8: The notes are meant to further illuminate the conformity of loan words to existing native patterns.

1. /aʔd:am/ 'worker', sm, is derived from the loan stem /ʔdm/, 'to work'. Compare derivations of this loan stem and the native stem /zdm/ 'to collect wood':

aʔd:am	'worker'	m	azd:am	'wood collector'	m
iʔd:amn	'workers'	m	izd:amn	'wood collectors'	m
taʔd:amt	'worker'	f	tazd:amt	'wood collector'	f
tiʔd:amin	'workers'	f	tizd:amin	'wood collectors'	f

We might add such nouns as /aʔb:az/ 'baker', an idts plural, /iʔb:azn/, m, to the same pattern as /azd:am/, /izd:amn/,

LIST 8

Noun derivatives of native and loan verb stems in A.A. (see Notes at the end of List 8).

	N-act	N-agt	N-pl	N-occ	N-instr	
1) hl:s	ahl:s					
2) br:h	abr:h	abr:ah				
3) rgm	rg:m	argam				
4) rkm	rk:m	arkam				
5) mgr	mg:r					amgr
6) zdm	azdam	azd:am				
7) ʔdm	ʔdmt	aʔd:am ¹				
8) ndl						
9) gz:r	agz:r	agz:ar	tindlt			
10) hm:m	ahm:m	bulh:mam ²	lhm:am ³	tagz:art (= N-pl)		
11) sm:r	aʕm:r					tasm:art ⁴
12) sty	astay					tast:ayt
13) wzn	awzan					lmizan ⁵

noting that Tamazight has *no verb* /χbz/, 'to bake'. This verb does exist in all dialects of Arabic, including M.A.

2. /bulħm:am/, 'public bath attendant', is derived from the loan stem /ħm:m/, 'to bathe', with a native prefix /bu-/, meaning 'owner of', 'he who' (m). Compare derivatives of this stem and those of the native stem /arid/, 'to be washed'.

bulħm:am	'public bath attendant'	m	butarda	'washer'	m
idbulħm:am	'public bath attendants'	m	idbutarda	'washers'	m
m:lħm:am	'public bath attendant'	f	m:tarda	'washer'	f
istm:lħm:am	'public bath attendants'	f	istm:tarda	'washers'	f

Also note the native /m:/, meaning 'owner of', 'she who' (f); native plural morphemes /id-/ (pm) and /ist-/ (pf), 'those who'.

3. /lħm:am/, 'bathroom', (m), is derived from a loan stem. Its plural is /idlħm:am/ (see Note 2 above in connection with native plural morpheme /id-/).
4. /tasm:art/, 'nail', is derived from the loan stem /sm:r/, 'to nail'. Notice the native feminine morpheme /t --- t/. Compare /tast:ayt/, 'filter', (f), derived from the native stem /sty/, 'to filter', (f), in example #12, List #8, above.
5. /mizan/, 'scales', (m), is derived from the loan stem /wzn/, 'to weigh'. The plural of /lmizan/ is derived by a native prefix /id-/ (see note 2 above): /idlmizan/.

Lists 1—8 have made it possible for us to see the complete assimilation of the M.A. verbs to native existing patterns in each of the two Tamazight dialects under consideration. We are hopeful that the data presented in this article can also be applied by linguists, for comparative purposes, to the verbal systems of the Semitic, Hamitic, and Afro-Asiatic languages.

LUDWIG WÄCHTER

DAS BAUMHEILIGTUM BEI SICHEM¹

Wie die Vätergeschichten der Genesis erkennen lassen, bestand zur Zeit der Erzväter kein fundamentaler religiöser Gegensatz zwischen den sesshaften Bewohnern Palästinas, den Kanaanäern bzw. Amoritern, und den nomadisierenden Protoisraeliten. Erst die Übernahme des Jahweglaubens durch die Israeliten, die in der alttestamentlichen Überlieferung mit der Gestalt Mose verbunden wird, ließ einen Gegensatz aufbrechen.

Ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der Vätergeschichten sind die Schilderungen von Gottesbegegnungen, die zur Gründung von Kultstätten führen. Es liegen hier gewiß Erinnerungen an die Frühzeit Israels vor. Man wird allerdings daran zweifeln müssen, daß die in Frage kommenden Heiligtümer wirklich von Protoisraeliten gegründet worden sind. Es liegt vielmehr näher — darauf hat O. Eißfeldt hingewiesen² —, daß die Heiligtümer schon zuvor bestanden hatten und sich Protoisraeliten dort am Kult beteiligten. Es ist eine Fülle von Kultstätten in Kanaan voranzusetzen, und die Grenzen zwischen der El-Verehrung der nomadisierenden Protoisraeliten und der Baal- und El-Verehrung der sesshaften Kanaanäer waren gewiß fließend.

Nun werden durchaus nicht alle wichtigen Heiligtümer Kanaans auf die Erzväter zurückgeführt. Daraus läßt sich schließen, daß nur ein Teil von den Protoisraeliten frequentiert worden ist. Um welche Art von Kultstätten wird es sich dabei handeln: um feste Stadtheiligtümer oder um offene — im Alten Testament meist

¹ Vortrag vor der Komisja Orientalistyczna Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie am 22. Mai 1974.

² *Jahwe, der Gott der Väter*, ThLZ 88 (1963), Sp. 481ff., besonders Sp. 488.