Notes on the Algerian Arabic Dialect of Dellys
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The Arabic dialect of Dellys has been generally neglected in North African linguistics, despite the town's age - it was founded by the Phoenicians, and reestablished by the 11th century - and its location, on the sea just kilometers from the Arabic-Kabyle linguistic boundary. It belongs to the little-documented urban north-central Algeria dialect group, and - like most such dialects - it displays traits unusual in pre-Hilalian dialects, in particular the retention of interdentals. Berber, Andalusi, and later Bedouin influence are all observable in its lexicon, and occasionally in its grammar. Lexically, the Dellys dialect is particularly noteworthy for its extensive retention of precolonial vocabulary relating to fishing and sea creatures, largely replaced by French loanwords in other towns of the region; some of these terms appear to be unattested outside the town. This paper summarizes points likely to be of interest to dialectologists, in a framework loosely based on Dominique Caubet's dialectological questionnaire[1]; it focuses primarily on points specific to the dialect rather than those common to all Maghreb Arabic dialects.

1. Background

Dellys is a port town on the Algerian coast between Algiers and Bejaia, a few miles east of Oued Sébaou. The town proper extends along the eastern flanks of a small mountain, Assouaf, to the edge of the sea. The small coastal plain on the mountain's northern flanks is termed Ladjenna (officially Les Jardins/Al-Basātīn); traditionally the town's agricultural zone, it has now become a suburban extension. Dellys' dialect is on the whole of "sedentary" type, with a close kinship to the older Algiers dialect; it renders *qaf* as *q*, and formerly *t* as *ts*. Like other sedentary dialects of central Algeria (p. 4), it retains the Arabic interdentals.
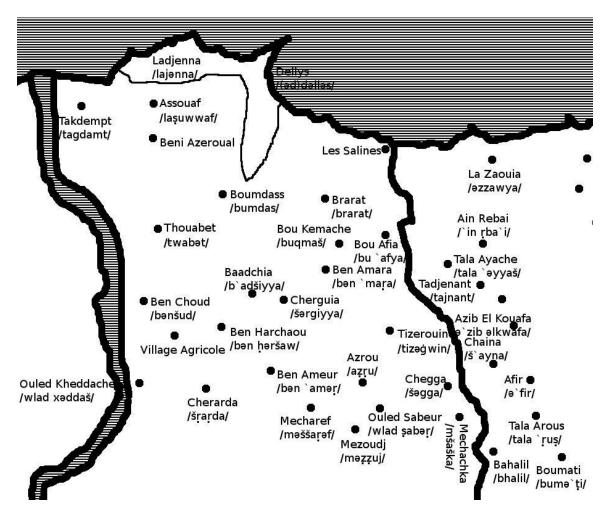
Dellys' immediate hinterland is an area formerly called Beni-Thour. It consists of a number of small villages between Oued Sébaou on the west and the smaller Oued Oubaï on the east; the nearest, such as Takdempt at the mouth of Oued Sébaou and Boumdass on the slopes south of Dellys, are increasingly being integrated into the town's suburbs. Judging by those I spoke with, the villages of Beni-Thour speak a dialect distinct from that of the town, with broadly Bedouin traits, such as general realization of *qaf* as *g*, or use of *lga* rather than *ṣab* for "found". Immigration from these villages has brought a number of speakers of the dialect into Dellys proper, particularly since independence.

East of Oued Oubaï begins the Kabyle-speaking municipality of Afir (whose region was formerly called Beni-Slyem), also consisting entirely of small villages, while south and east of Baghlia Kabyle begins in the Taourga region. Judging by an informant from Laâzib n'Kouafa, Abdelhamid Snaoui, the Afir area's dialect is broadly similar to the better-known southern dialects of Grande Kabylie. Some contractions, such as *-a* replacing first person singular *-ey* after a consonant, or *u* for preverbal negative *ur*, or *nuhni* for "you (pl.)", are conspicuous, while the vocabulary displays occasional divergences, such as *xiḷḷa* for "a lot", or *ṭamwaṭ* for "cow"[2], neither of which is found in

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[1]   Caubet 2001.
[2]   Vocabulary from one village of the area, Fejdan, is compared to other Kabyle dialects in Basset 1929.

Dallet 1982. A good command of dialectal Arabic, typically using a "Hilalian" *g*-dialect like that of the adjacent countryside, is common in the region. The map below (based on a map of unclear origin used by the local mayoralty[3]), with Oued Sebaou on the left and Oued Oubai on the right, illustrates the situation:

Ladjenna /lajənna/
Dellys /ad̦dəlləs/
Assouaf /laṣuwwaf/
Takdempt /tagdamt/
Beni Azeroual
Les Salines
La Zaouia /əzzawya/
Boumdass /bumdas/
Brarat /brarat/
Ain Rebai /l`in r̦ba`i/
Thouabet /ṯwabət/
Bou Kemache /buqmaš/
Bou Afia /bu `afya/
Tala Ayache /tala `əyyaš/
Baadchia /b`adšiyya/
Ben Amara /bən `mar̦a/
Tadjenant /tajnant/
Ben Choud /bənšud/
Cherguia /šərgiyya/
Azib El Kouafa /ə`zib əlkwafa/
Chaina /š`ayna/
Ben Harchaou /bən ḥər̦šaw/
Village Agricole
Tizerouin /tizəġwin/
Azrou /az̦r̦u/
Afir /ə`fir/
Ouled Kheddache /wlad xəddaš/
Ben Ameur /bən `amər̦/
Chegga /šəgga/
Cherarda /šr̦ar̦da/
Mecharef /məššar̦əf/
Ouled Sabeur /wlad ṣabər̦/
Mechachka /mšaška/
Tala Arous /tala `r̦uṣ/
Mezoudj /məẓẓuj/
Bahalil /bhalil/
Boumati /bumə`ṯi/

The Arabic-Kabyle linguistic boundary in this region appears to have have changed little since 1913[4]. Minor complications, however, are reported by local residents interviewed. Arabic is widely spoken in Ez Zaouia, slightly east of Oued Oubaï on the coast, while further inland, the adjacent Mrabtin villages of Chegga and Mechachka, in Beni-Thour but very close to Oued Oubaï, have both partly or largely shifted to Kabyle. The nearby village of Chaïna in Beni-Slyem is described as speaking an Arabic dialect liberally seasoned with Kabyle words, leading their neighbors to use *ṯaɛraḏt n-cɛina* as a proverbial term for exceptionally bad Arabic. Likewise, Dellys itself has a substantial minority of Kabyle-speakers; however, there is a strong tendency for Kabyle families to shift to Arabic in Dellys' Arabophone environment.

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3   Available for reference at http://e.1asphost.com/dellys/library/maps/beni.jpg .

4   « Dans le douar Beni-Thour et dans la ville de Dellys, les indigènes parlent et ont toujours parlé l'arabe. Une faible partie comprend le berbère, mais ne se sert de cette langue que lorsqu'elle se trouve en contact des Kabyles. » - Doutté and Gautier 1913, p. 41. ("In the douar of Beni-Thour and in the town of Dellys, the natives speak and have always spoken Arabic. A small number understand Berber, but use this language only when they find themselves in contact with Kabyles.")

A cursory comparison of the dialects of Dellys and Beni-Thour suggests that, like many another medieval town of the Maghreb, Dellys came to speak Arabic independently of, and prior to, its surroundings. The town cannot plausibly have shifted to Arabic any earlier than about 1100, when it first reappears[5], as Tedelles, under the Zīrids, who refounded many towns of the central Maghreb, including Algiers, Miliana, Médéa, and Bejaïa. These towns speak Arabic dialects of sedentary type, like Dellys, perhaps suggesting that the area's cities shifted to Arabic during the Zīrid/Hammādid period. Andalusi influence may have begun even at this period: in 1102, al-Manṣūr gave the former prince of Almeria, Mu`izz ad-Dawlah ibn Ṣumādiḥ, land in Dellys.[6]

Berber placenames are prominent in much of the Beni-Thour area, particularly on the southeast (Azrou, Tizeghouine, etc.) and in the north around Dellys itself (Dellys, Takdempt, Assouaf, Zerouali, Tala-Oualdoune, Tala-Ghiyan, etc.); this could be taken to suggest that Arabic entered the countryside from the west, beginning somewhere around Ouled-Kheddache, and expanded outwards, probably during the Turkish period. Local oral tradition has it that at least some families of Beni-Thour (including the founders of Ouled-Kheddache) originally came from the M'sila area, providing a possible clue as to the route Arabic must have taken. However, early sources provide only tantalizingly vague glimpses of the past linguistic environment. Before 1381 Ibn Khaldūn describes the Berber tribe of Kutāma as including "other tribes in the Tedelles area, in their hills surrounding it; they are numbered among the taxpaying tribes"[7], suggesting a Berber-speaking hinterland for the town. By 1842, Carette describes the Beni-Thour and Beni-Slyem in essentially their present position, asserting that the former was considered to be of Arab origin and the latter to belong to the Aït-Ouagennoun; however, he emphasizes Beni-Thour's acculturation to Kabyle ways and vaguely states that "it speaks two languages"[8]. More detail on the local tribes' situation during the Ottoman era is essential if the history of language shift in the region is to be fully understood.

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[5]   I have found no contemporary Arabic mentions of it earlier than al-Idrīsī (1154); it is not mentioned in Ibn Khurdādhbih (846), al-Muqaddasī (985), nor even the relatively Maghreb-focused al-Bakrī (1068). See Laporte 1995 for more detail on Dellys' history, or http://e.1asphost.com/dellys/library/brdesc.html for pre-modern mentions of the town.

[6]   Ibn Khaldūn: "وقدم عليه معز الدولة بن صمادح من المريةفاراً أمام المرابطين لما ملكوا الأندلس فنزل على المنصور وأقطعه تدلس وأنزله بها". "And Mu`izz ad-Dawlah ibn Ṣumādiḥ left from Almeria fleeing before the Almoravids when they took control of Andalus, and came to al-Manṣūr, who gave him Tedelles as a fief and settled him there."

[7]   "ومن بقايا كتامة أيضاً قبائل أخرى بناحية تدلس في هضابه مكتنفة بها، وهم في عداد القبائل الغارمة". He also notes that the Zouaoua proper lived between Bejaia and Tedelles: "...هذا البطن من أكبر بطون البربر ومواطنهم كما تراه محتفة ببجاية إلى تدلس في جبال شاهقة وأوعار متسنمة" ("This is among the largest Berber groupings, and their homeland is bounded by Bejaia and Tedelles, in lofty mountains and rugged peaks".)

[8]   Carette 1848, p. 120: "En face du k'âidat des Isser, c'est la tribu des Beni-Tour, située sur la rive droite. Considérée comme étant d'origine arabe, elle sortirait, à ce titre, du massif kabile, si son incorporation dans le k'âidat de Sebaou, et les diverses conditions de parenté signalées ci-dessus, ne compensaient largement la circonstance de son origine. Elle parle d'ailleurs deux langues, habite des villages, se livre à la culture des arbres fruitiers, et partage en tout point les habitudes berbères." ("Across from the Isser qaidate is the tribe of Beni-Thour, on the right bank. Considered to be of Arab origin, it would as such fall outside the Kabyle sphere, if the fact of its origins were not largely compensated for by its incorporation into the qaidate of Sebaou and the diverse conditions of parentage described above. Among other things, they speak two languages, live in villages, grow fruit trees, and partake in Berber habits in every respect.")

2. Phonology:

qāf: *q* is preserved in Dellys (including Ladjenna) in most words; in surrounding villages such as Takdempt, by contrast, it generally becomes *g*. Examples: *qbəl* قبل "before"; *qmər* قمر "moon"; `*aqəl* عاقل "calm, smart"; *səqsi* سقسي "ask"; `*ənqəṛba* عنقربة "scorpion"; *qaṛəs* قارص "sour, lemon"; *qul* قول (Takdempt *gul*) "say". However, as usual, some words have *g*: for instance *gis* ڨيس "hit, bump"; *gəšša* ڨشّة "autumn"; *gənṭṛa* ڨنطرة "bridge"; *mnagəš* مناڨش "earrings". In some words the two seem to alternate, eg *qəbli* or *gəbli* قبلي "scirocco"; the two forms were presumably originally used by different groups. However, contrasts such as *gis* ڨيس "hit, bump" with *qis* قيس "as much as", or *dəgdəg* دڨدڨ "chop up" with *dəqdəq* دقدق "knock", or *gəṛ`a* ڨرعة "bald" (presumably from "ringworm", but now synonymous with *fəṛtas* فرطاس) with *qəṛ`a* قرعة "squash" show the phonemic status of the difference.

Words where *q > g* sometimes display compensatory emphasis on other consonants: thus *ẓlig* زليڨ "couscous rolling" (cf. *zləq* زلق "slipped"), rural *ḥṛəg* حرڨ "burned" for *ḥrəq* حرق. More interestingly, the converse is also attested, particularly among older speakers: compensatory de-emphasis in words where *q* has remained *q*, as in *triq* تريق "road", *tarəq* تارق "Tarek", *taqa* تاقة "window" (contrasting with *ṭaqa* طاقة in neighboring rural areas such as Takdempt), *ləsqa* لسقة "glue"[9]. Possibly these originated as hypercorrections by rural speakers emigrating to the city.

tā': *t* was pronounced [ts] within the town itself. This pronunciation, while well remembered (its shibboleth being [qoltslu] for *qŭltlu* قُلتلُه or rural *gŭltlu*, "I told him") has nearly vanished, being retained only sporadically by a few members of the older generation; I heard it personally only in a few consonant clusters among older male speakers and in a personal name diminutive *mxitər* [mxi:tsər] مخيتر (of Mokhtar.) This common sedentary pronunciation was a feature of the older Algiers dialect, and has vanished just as thoroughly there. Marçais (1977) notes that this was a frequent feature of urban dialects, within Algeria found in "Tlemcen, Nédroma, Alger, Dellys, Djidjelli, Constantine", while Grand'Henry (1972) documents it for Cherchell as well.

Interdentals: *t* appears to be retained in all words; *đ* in most. Accordingly, the dialect has *đ* not *ḍ*. Examples: *təmma* ثمّا "over there"; *tum* ثوم "garlic"; *tulal* ثولال "wart"; *tə`ləb* ثعلب "fox"; *tlata* ثلاثة three; *ktər* كثر "more"; *ḥṛət* حرث "work land"; *hađa* هاذا this; *đra`* ذراع "arm"; *đəbban* ذبّان "fly"; *xuđ* خوذ "take"; *kđəb* كذب "lied". But contrast such common words as *drari* دراري "children"; *dqən* دقن "chin"; *badənjal* بادنجال "eggplant"; or the rarer *qənfud* قنفود "hedgehog". The retention of interdentals appears to be an original trait of the urban dialect, not a result of colonial-era dialect mixing: Cantineau notes that Dellys is one of the few urban dialects to keep interdentals[10], and

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9   *lsq* is also attested elsewhere (Cohen 1902:427).
10   « dans le département d'Alger, les spirantes interdentales ne sont passées aux occlusives qu'à Alger seulement; dans les autres villes à parler sédentaires, Cherchell, Blida, Dellys, Médéa, Miliana, Vieux-Ténès, les spirantes interdentales sont conservées ». Cantineau 1960, p. 44. ("in the department of Algiers, the interdental spirants have not turned into occlusives anywhere except at Algiers; in the other

Marçais (1977) notes that, while the interdentals vanish in most city dialects, they are preserved in some Algerian cities such as « le vieux Ténès, Cherchell, Dellys, Constantine » and are unstable in « Miliana, Blida, Médéa, Alger ». Clearly the urban dialects around Algiers preserved interdentals well into post-Hilalian times, perhaps due to a Kabyle substratum. However, place names from Kabyle are consistently borrowed with *t* replacing *ṯ* (a hypercorrection?); thus *tagdamt* تاقدامت, *tala-waldun* تالا والدون in the immediate neighborhood, *tizi-wəzzu* تيزي و وّ and *tigzirt* تيڨزيرت in Kabylie itself. The curious fact that *ḏ* is retained less consistently than *ṯ* is noted for the Cherchell dialect as well by Grand'Henry (1972:7); it would be interesting to learn whether other central Algerian urban dialects display the same pattern. However, the words which lose it in Cherchell do not appear to be the same ones: there *gənfud* and *badənjal* coincide, but *dəbban* has lost it, while *ḏrari* retains it. As is common, two words – *ila* إيلا from *iḏa* إذا "if"[11], and *li* لي from *ḏi* ذي "who" – have undergone a change *ḏ > l*.

jīm: *j* is pronounced [dž], as in Algiers and most of central Algeria[12] (with the allophone [ž] before *d*, as in *jdid* جديد new); note *jaj* جاج "chicken", with no trace of the original initial *d*, and *dzira* دزيرة "island", *əddzayər* الدزّاير"Algiers".

New consonants: As usual for Maghreb dialects, certain new phonemes have emerged. In particular, *r* and *ṛ* are distinct, as shown by minimal pairs such as *dar* دار "he did" – *daṛ* دار "home, house", *rbəḥ* ربح "he won" - *ṛbə`* ربع "quarter". *z* and *ẓ* are distinguished, with the latter appearing not only in Berber loanwords such as the rare word *aẓayaṭ* أزاياط "hard rain" and words of unclear origin such as *zawəš* زاوش "sparrow" or *ẓiyyəṛ* زير "screw", but also in words of Arabic origin, particularly where a *q* has become *g*, eg *ẓlig* زليڨ "couscous rolling". It is not clear that *č* has emerged from any Arabic phoneme – or even by borrowing – but it is clearly a single phoneme; *čə`lula* تشعلولة "swing", *mčəxčəx* متشـختـشـخ"excellent", *yəččir* يتّشـدّير"child". *ḷ* occurs occasionally in native words, for instance *ḷḷah* الله "God" or *nthəḷḷa* لتّهلـى "take care of". Even more minor is *ḅ*, if it is even phonemic in native words, occurring in *ḅakuṛ* باكور "early figs".

Loanwords, not all well-integrated, have had significant phonological effects. *p*, though usually derived from French (including such well-integrated loanwords as *tippana* تيپّانة "a loaf of French bread"), appears even in a few pre-French loanwords, such as *tŭppana* طُپّانة"Toppana (a Turkish fortress above Ladjenna)" (from Turkish *tophane* "cannon house"), or *ṛŭppa* رپّة"dress" (Spanish *ropa*). *v*, too, is found in very well-integrated words, such as *viyyəs* ڥيّس "shirked work" (verbal noun *təvyas* تڥياس.) Emphatic vowels, while marginal to the system, are found not only in French loanwords but also in pre-French loanwords such as *čappa* الشّاپّة"type of digging tool". Other new phonemes resulting mainly or entirely from recent loanwords include nasalized vowels (eg *sõntim* سونتيم "centime"), a glottal stop (eg *qŭr'an* قرآن "Qur'an"), and *ž* (eg *žạval* جاڥال

towns with sedentary dialects... the interdental spirants are conserved.") Grand'Henry (1972:7) tentatively suggests that, at least in Cherchell, this is a result of Andalusi influence.

11   Marçais 1977 notes that *ila*, while common in Morocco, is relatively rare in Algeria; he mentions only Algiers, Cherchell and Laghouat. Dellys, like Cherchell and Algiers (cf. Grand'Henry 1972:158), also has both *iḏa* and *wəlla* meaning "if" side by side with *ila*, presumably all from the same root.

12   Including "Tlemcen, Ténès, Dellys, Constantine, Miliana, Médéa, Blida, Alger, Mila", according to Grand'Henry (1972:8).

"detergent".)

Bilabials + w: *mw* becomes [m̥m̥°], *bw* [b̥b̥°], and *fw* [f̥f°]: this happens in, for instance, *mwaʿən* مواعن dishes, *mwiyyəs* مويّس"little knife", *bwibəḍ* بويبض "whitish", *fwam* فوام mouths, even the fixed phrase *yərḥəm waldik* يرحم والديك > [jaḥṃṃɑ:ldi:k] "God bless your parents" and the loanword *bwạta* بواطة "box". Occasionally this is optional; thus [mwɛ:lɪf] and [ṃṃ°ɑ:lɪf] for *mwaləf* موالف "accustomed" are both found.

wl > wml: *wl* in some speakers has a tendency to become *wml*, particularly in the words *dyawmlu ه* ديـاوملـهُ and *tawm`u ه* تـلـومعـهُ instead of *dyawlu ه* ديـالـهُ and *taw`u ه* تـاوعـهُ "his (pl.)"; I also recorded *ma yəbqawmlək ḥətta ḥaja* ما يبقاوملك حتّى حاجة "nothing will remain for you." Like many other features, this one varies within single families and age groups.

hā': Historic *h* vanishes in a few isolated words: in *nuḍ* نوض "get up", *fakya* فاكية "fruit", and the 3ʳᵈ person masculine suffix –*u ـهُ* (although in the last named it reappears when further suffixes are added.) Perhaps it also vanishes in *kaf* كاف "cliff", if this is derived from classical *kahf* كـَهـْف"cave" rather than from another Semitic language[13]. In general, however, it remains even after and between vowels (eg *fhəm* فهم "understood".)

Sibilants: The words *səmš* سمْش "sun" and *sjər* سجر "trees" seem to show a prohibition on the sequence *š...s, š... j*. In addition, *s/š* and *z* appear not to co-occur. All other combinations of sibilants appear to be permissible: *jaj* جاج "chicken", *jiš* جيش "army", *jbisa* جبيسة "watchtower" (name of a building), *juz* جوز "pass", *zəmzi* زمزي "throwing stone", *zuj* زوج "two", *šašiyya* شلشيّة "hat", *sisnu* سيسنو "madrona fruit".

Short vowels: The short vowels have for the most part been reduced to *ə* (with various phonetic realizations depending on context) or nothing in the usual way: thus *qbər* قبر "tomb", *ʿərs* عرس "wedding", *nmər* نمر "tiger". However, in some cases – almost always next to a velar or uvular consonant, but occasionally near a bilabial – *ŭ* is retained or even innovated; thus *ḥŭqra* حـُقرة "bullying", *fŭmm* فـُم "mouth", *bŭrj* بـُرْج"crescent-shaped slice of fruit, section of orange, tower", *qŭlt* قـُلت"I said", *yŭqtəl* يـُقتل "he kills". It is clearly phonemic: *qədd* قد "size of" – *qŭddam* قـُدّام"in front of". This short *ŭ* is reduced to the ultrashort ° when it occurs in positions where short vowels are not admissible: thus *b°ṛaj* بـُراج"towers", *q°təlt ~ qtəlt* قتلت "I killed". This ultrashort sound does not appear to be totally stable, and is frequently not found. The short *ŭ* could be analyzed as an allophone of *ə* next to labialized consonants, as it normally is for Kabyle – such an analysis makes plural formation much easier to understand[14] – but the evanescence of ° and the formation of causatives are problems for such a view.

Diphthongs: The diphthongs *əy* and *əw* have been reduced uniformly to *i* and *u* by most of the younger generation; however, older speakers still retain them in some words and

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[13]Note Biblical Hebrew כֵּף *kep̄* "rock" (as in the Biblical Cephas = Peter); Hebrew and Phoenician were extremely similar in vocabulary, and this etymon's reflex in Punic would have been [kʰef] (judging by the Latin transcriptions *chyl, suffete, fel* for what corresponds to Hebrew כֹל, שֹ ׁפֵט, פֹעַל.) It appears slightly more similar to the dialect version – not only in sound, but in meaning – than the Classical Arabic term.

[14] Cf. Souag 2002. Heath 1987 (pp. 27-28, 254-263) discusses the same problem in Moroccan Arabic.

contexts (for instance, in one verse of *tbuġir* تبوغير, the partly improvised praise songs traditionally sung at weddings, we find *sərrəḥ əl`əwd* سرّح لعوْد rather than *əl`ud* العود.) A few speakers still say *wayən* واين "where?", and quite a lot of speakers still use *-ayən* ـاين as the dual (rather than *win* وين, *-in* or *-əyn* ـين); note also some animal names, like *xŭṭṭayfa* خُطّايفة "swift". On the other hand, original *ay* is sometimes reduced to *i*, as in *`iša* عيشة "Aicha" or *ḥiṭ* حيط "wall".

'imāla: *a* is fronted in all contexts except where it occurs either in the neighbourhood of an emphatic or at the end of a word, as is typical of the region. Its default phonetic value is about halfway between [ɛː] and [æː], with [ɑː] as an allophone next to emphatics, and [ʌ] word-finally; it is shortened when followed by two vowelless consonants.

Syllables: As is common in Algeria, when normal short vowel elision would lead to another short vowel being in an open syllable, we have slight lengthening on the first member so as to change the stress: *yəḍṛəb* يضرب "he hits" > *yəḍḍəṛbu* يضّربو "they hit", *rŭkba* رُكبة "knee" > *rŭkkŭbti* رُكُّبتي "my knee"; this gemination need not occur, however, if the consonant to be geminated is one of the sonorants *r, ṛ, l, n*, although for younger speakers it often does. I have the impression that these compensatory geminates are not held as long as normal geminates; this needs further investigation. This rule is broken to avoid ambiguity in two parts of the regular verb declension: *ḍəṛbət+ək* > *ḍəṛbatək* ضربا تك "she hit you"; *ḍəṛbət+u* > *ḍəṛbatu* ضرباتُه "she hit him". The application of this compensatory lengthening appears to vary from speaker to speaker, and forms such as *yhəḍṛu* بهدرو "they speak", with no audible lengthening, are not infrequent.

3. Grammar:

The dual has vanished from the verbal and pronominal systems, as usual, and is only partly productive on nouns; gender distinctions have vanished in the plural throughout the system, but in the singular only on the 2nd person suffix *–k*.

3.1 Verbs:

There are no invariable verbal prefixes analogous to Moroccan *ka-* in normal use, though the Egyptian future marker *ḥa-* is occasionally adopted. The future can be formed with *rayəḥ* رايح (*-a, -in*), and the continuous with the conjugated copula *ṛa-* را (realis) or *kun* كون (irrealis) plus the prefix conjugation of the verb (eg *ṛahi tqul ziduli* راهي تقول زيدولي "She's saying 'Give me more'"; *kanu ybumbaṛdiw* كانو يبومبارديو "they were bombarding".)[15]

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[15]This construction is widespread in Algeria. It has been documented in the Cherchell dialect (Grand'Henry 1972:174: *kânəṭ ṭdâwi ən-nâs*; 190, *wâš ṛâk ṭḥǎwwəs?*) and briefly described for the Algiers Jewish dialect (Cohen 1912:258.) Precisely comparable constructions can be found in more than one Berber dialect: thus Kabyle (Nait-Zerrad 2001: 116) has *lliɣ tesseɣ ayefki* (I-was I-drink milk) "I was drinking/used to drink milk", Chenoua (Laoust 1912) has *aqlay ṭeṭṭeɣ* (behold-me I-eat) "I am eating". The *ṛahu yqul* construction could well be a calque from Berber, while the *kan yqul* construction is familiar from classical Arabic; is this a case of areal convergence?

Imperatives: The imperative in verbs beginning with two consonants prefixes *a- ~ ə-*, or *ŭ-* if the present tense prefixes take it; thus *akđəb* أكذب "lie! (m.)", *ŭqqŭtlu* اُقُّتلو "kill! (pl.)". *a-* ([ɛ] unemphatic, [α] emphatic) appears to be the more traditional form. Suppletive imperatives include *aṛwaḥ* أرواح (*aṛwaḥi, -u*) "come!" (bizarrely, not "go!"), *ayya* أيّا (*-y, -w*) "come!", *bərka* بركا (*-y, -w*) "enough!, stop doing that!" (synonymous to the invariant form *baṛakat* باراكات), *balak* بالاك (*-i, -u*) "watch out!"; *hat* هات (*-i, -u*) "pass!", *aṛa* أرا "hand!" Those of these which are transitive can of course take object suffixes.

Final diphthongs: For verbs with a final vowel, the vowel generally remains throughout, as in Algiers: *nsaw* نساو "they forgot", *xəlliw* خلّيو "leave alone! (pl.)", *ma tənsayš* ما تنساي ش "don't forget (f.)!". However, when *-iw* results, it may optionally be abbreviated to *–u*: thus one may say *xəllu* خلّو to mean "leave alone! (pl.)", but not to mean "they left alone", which would have to be *xəllaw* خلّاو

Paradigms: Except for irregular verbs (discussed below), the full conjugation of the verb can be predicted from the imperative (minus prefixed *a-* where relevant), which I regard as the primary stem of the verb. The prefix conjugation is built directly on this form by adding the following affixes (with compensatory gemination where appropriate - see "Syllables" above):

	m	**f**	**pl**
1st	*n- (nəktəb* نكتب "I write"; *nšədd* نشد "I hold"; *nŭqtəl* نُقتل "I kill"; *nərqŭd* نرقُد "I sleep/recline"; *nxaf* نخاف "I fear"; *ndir* ندير "I do"; *nqul* نقول "I say"; *nəzgi* نزڤي "I shout"; *nənsa* ننسا "I forget"; *nəkḥal* نكحال "I turn black"; *nḥəwwəs* نحوّس "I look for/around")*	*n-*	*n- -u (nəkkətbu; nšəddu; nŭqqŭtlu; nərqᵒdu; nxafu; ndiru; nqulu; nəzgiw; nənsaw; nəkḥalu; nḥəwwsu)*
2nd	*t-*	*t- -i*	*t- -u*
3rd	*y-*	*t-*	*y- -u*

The suffix conjugation is constructed using two derived stems: one for the third person and one for the other persons. The 3rd person form is constructed by ablauting any final long vowel, or any long vowel immediately preceding a final consonant, to *a*; the non-3rd-person form is constructed by ablauting any final long vowel to *i*, removing any long vowel immediately preceding a final consonant, and adding *-i* to forms ending in two consonants. The marginal status of *ŭ/ᵒ* complicates this account: some hollow *-u-* verbs have *ŭ* in the non-3rd-person past stem, while others, such as *šuf* شوف "he saw" > *šəft* شُفْت "I saw", do not. There also appears to be evidence that some verbs lose the *ŭ* of their stem in the suffix conjugation, but the data is inconclusive. The following table should suffice to illustrate the formation:

	m	**f**	**pl**
1st	*-t (ktəbt; šəddit; qʰtəlt; rqŭdt; xəft; dərt; qŭlt; ẓgit; nsit; kḥəlt; ḥəwwəst)*	*-t*	*-na*
2nd	*-t*	*-ti*	*-tu*
3rd	*- (ktəb; šədd; qʰtəl; rqŭd; xaf; dar; qŭlt; ẓga; nsa; kḥal; ḥəwwəs)*	*-ət*	*-u*

Irregular verbs: The least regular verbs are *kul* كول "eat" and *xuđ* خوذ "take"; their suffix conjugation behaves like a regular triradical verb ending in *a*, eg *kla* كلا "he ate", *xđit* خذيت "I took", while their prefix conjugation behaves like one beginning in *a*, eg *yakŭl* ياكُل "he eats", *naxđu* ناخذو "we take", and their imperatives like a hollow verb with *u*, eg *kuli* كولي "eat! (f.)" and *xuđu* خوذو "take! (pl.)" Even their derived forms reflect a variety of stems: *wəkkəl* وكّل "feed", *makla* ماكلة "food", *ntkəl* انتكل "was eaten" (also attested at Cherchell[16], Jijel), *maxəđ* ماخذ "taking, taken"[17]. *ja* جا "he came" also displays slight irregularities (as well as suppletive imperative forms, described above): its participle can be either the regular *jayy* جاي or, more commonly, the slightly irregular *maji* ماجي (the latter is characteristic of urban dialects, and thus presumably older - cf. Grand'Henry 1972:55.)

Passives: The passive is in general *t(t)-* or *n-*: eg *ttŭqtəl* تُّقتل "he was killed", *ttərfəd* اتّرفد "it was lifted", *təbna* "it was built"; *nftəḥ* انفتح "it opened", *nẓar* انزار "it was visited". *ntkəl* انتكل "was edible" might reflect a prefixed *nt-*, or might just show another of *kul*'s several pseudo-stems to be *tkəl*. A few verbs irregularly form their passive with an infixed *-t- - rma* رمى "threw" > *ərtma* ارتمى "it was thrown", *nsa* نسا "forgot" > *əntsa* انتسا "it was forgotten".

Copula: Morphologically *ṛa-* belongs in a class of its own, along with *ha-* below, while *kun* is purely verbal. However, their distribution justifies treating them as different manifestations of the same word: *kan* occurs in the past tense, *ṛa-* or Ø in the indicative present, while *ykun* is reserved for the subjunctive mood and the future. In other words, the derivatives of *kun* express the non-present, while *ṛa-* and Ø express the corresponding present. *ṛa-* conjugates as follows: *ṛani* راني "I am", *ṛak* راك "you (m.) are", *ṛaki* راكي "you (f.) are", *ṛahu* راهو "he is", *ṛahi* راهي "she is", *ṛana* رانا "we are", *ṛaku/ṛakŭm* راكو/راكُم "you (pl.) are", *ṛahŭm* راهُم "they are". The *h* in the third person forms tends to be very faintly pronounced in rapid speech, if not altogether absent. The curious *ku* of *ṛaku*, like the *ki* of *ṛaki*, was probably introduced by analogy with the *-u* and *-i* suffixed in regular verbs' prefix conjugation forms. To a first approximation, *ṛa-* is used for impermanent situations while Ø is used for lasting ones, like Spanish *estar* versus *ser* (cf. Cohen 1912:252); Madouni (1993) describes other modal uses of the particle, not all of which appear to be applicable in this dialect. Delineating its full semantic range may require further research.

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[16] Grand'Henry (1972:64)

[17] *ttxəđ* اتّخذ means not "it was taken" but, roughly, "it was a total disaster".

Pronouns:

Personal: The pronouns are: *ana* أنا I, *ḥna* حنا we, *nta* انتا you (m.), *nti* انتي you (f.), *ntuma* انتوما you (pl.), *huwwa* هو he, *hiyya* هي she, *huma* هوما they. *Anaya* أنايا, *ntaya* انتايا, *ntiyya* انتيّ are emphatic forms. Forms like "you and I" are treated as if *w-* و were a preposition with the suffixed form *wiyya-*; thus we get *ana wiyyak* أنا ويّاك *nta wiyyah* انتا ويّاه etc. In appropriate contexts, some speakers use an oblique pronoun which seems to fulfill the cathartic functions of swearing without having impolite connotations, formed by suffixing the possessive suffixes to *jədd* جدّ presumably "grandfather", eg *ṭəffi jəddu* طفّي جدّه "turn it off!", *ya jəddək* يا جدّك "oh you!"; this is not restricted to Dellys, and may have been recently taken from another dialect.

Suffixed object pronouns are: *-ni* ـني me, *-na* ـنا us, *-ək* ـك you (m./f.), *-kum* ـكُم you (pl.), *-u* ـه him, *-ha* ـها her, *-hŭm* ـهُم them. "Him" varies according to context: *-u* after consonants, *-h* after vowels, *-əh* after semivowels, and *-hu-* when followed by an indirect object suffix. Suffixed indirect object pronouns are: *-li* ـلي me, *-lna* ـلنا us, *-lək* ـلك you (m./f.), *-lkum* ـلكُم you (pl.), *-lu* ـله him, *-lha* ـلها her, *-lhŭm* ـلهُم them; these always follow the direct object suffixes and precede the negative suffix.

Morphophonology: When a pronominal suffix beginning with *h* is inserted after a pharyngeal, it assimilates to [ḥḥ]; thus *xlə`hŭm* خلعهُم = [xlaḥḥum] خلعّهُم "he scared them", *ruḥha* روحها = [ro·ḥḥa] روحّا "herself".

Reflexive: The reflexive is formed using *ruḥ* روح "soul"; thus *q°təl ruḥu* قتل روحو "he killed himself", *šra lktab lruḥu* شرا الكتاب لروحه "he bought himself the book". It has no particular plural: *ruḥḥŭm* روحهُم "themselves".

Relative: The relative pronoun is *li* لي or *əlli* اللي; the variants do not appear to be linked to the definiteness of the noun modified. Marçais states that *di* دي "s'entend à Alger, Dellys"; if this was once the case, it is so no longer.

Demonstratives: Proximal (this): *haḏa* هاذا, *haḏi* هاذي, *haḏu* هاذو; occasionally abbreviated to *ḏ* ذ, as in *ḏ-ənnhaṛat* ذالنّهارات these days. When not modifying a noun, they can be emphasized with *haḏaya* هاذايا, *haḏiyya* هاذيّ, *haḏuya* هاذويا; *haḏuma* هاذوما seems to be a contraction of *haḏu huma* هاذو هوما. It normally comes before the noun, eg *haḏa ṛṛajəl* هاذا لرّاجل "this man", but for emphasis may be placed both before and after or even just after, eg *haḏa ṛṛajəl haḏa* هاذا لرّاجل هاذا or *əṛṛajəl haḏa* الرّاجل هاذا. Distal (that): *(ha)ḏak* هاذاك, *(ha)ḏik* هاذيك, *(ha)ḏuk* هاذوك. Like this: *hakḏa* هاكذا, *hakka* هكّ; like that, *hakḏak* هاكذاك.

Deictics: *ha-ni* ها ني; *ha-w(-lik)* هاو ليك, *ha-y(-lik)* هاي ليك, *ha-wm(-lik)* هاوم ليك "Here I am", *ha-k* هاك, *ha-ki* هاكي, *ha-na* هانا, *ha-kŭm* هاكُم. In other words, *ha-* takes the same endings as *ṛa-*, but with obligatory rather than optional elision of the suffixed *h*.

Locatives: proximal (here): *hna* هنا, emphatic *hnaya* هنايا; medial (there): *hnak* هناك; distal (over there): *təmma* ثمّا, emphatic *təmmak* ثمّاك extreme distal (way over there): *lhih* الهيه, *lhiha* الهيها. *ləhna* لهنا, *ləhnak* لهناك (hither, thither) are stressed as if they were single words, with the accent on the first syllable; likewise *mənna* منّا, *mənnak* منّاك (hence, thence). *məlhih* ملهيه = from over there.

Interrogatives: The basic interrogatives are:

- *aškun* أشـكون "who?"
- *(w)aš(ən)* أش "what?" (but always *(w)ašnu* أشنُه / *(w)ašənha* أشـنها "what is it?"); whence: *baš* باش "with what?", *(wə)`laš* علاش (or *(wə)`lah* علاه) "why?", *ki(fa)š* كيفاش "how?", *waš bi* واش بي "what's wrong with?"(with *bi* used, presumably innovatively, before nouns as well as pronouns.)
- *mən* من expresses "who?", or sometimes "what?", after a preposition or noun, eg: *ta`mən* لمّن تاع من "whose?", *`ləmmən* علمّن or *`limən* عليمن "what about?", *ləmmən* لمّن or *limən* ليمن "for, to whom?", *m`a mən* معا من "with whom?".
- *ami* أمي or *ama* أما "which?" (also expressed by suffixed *-mən*, especially with time periods, eg *nhaṛ-mən* "what day?")
- *ašḥal* أشـحال "how many?, how much?"
- *qəddaš* قدّاش "how much?"
- *win* وين or older *wayən* واين "where?, to where?"
- *mnin* منين "whence?"
- *wəqtaš* وقتاش or *wəqt-mən* وقـْت من "when?, what time?"
- *winta* وينتا "when?"
- *wasm-* واسـمـ with possessive suffixes = "what name?".

3.2 Adverbs:

"Now" is the common Algerian word *đŭṛwək* ذُروك or variants thereof such as *đŭṛk* ذُرك *đŭkk* ضُكّ *đŭkka* ضُكّا and even the intensified *đŭkkatik* ضُكّاتيك eg *đŭkk ənji!* ضُكّ نجي! "I'm coming just now!" The emphatic suffix *–tik* (described by Cohen 1912:10 as characteristic of the Muslim Algiers dialect) is fairly productive on adverbs ending in *-a*: so we have *gana* ڨانى "also" > *ganatik* ڨاناتيك, *zə`ma* زعما "that is to say" > *zə`matik* زعماتيك, *immala* إمّالا "so, …" > *immalatik* إمّالاتيك. "Yes" is *ih* إيه (*aywah* أيواه being something like "yes, go on", while *an`am* أنعام means "what did you say?" as well as "yes"); "no" is *lala* لالا.

3.3 Nouns:

Diminutives: Noun diminutives are normally formed with an infixed *–i(y)-* after the second consonant: thus *kˤliyyəb* كليّب "little dog", *qtiyyəṭ* قطيّط "little cat", *šwiyyəx* شـوّخ "little old man", *ydida* يديدة "little hand", *bnita* بنيتة "little girl", *bwiba* بويبة "little door", *`wina* عوينة "little eye", *snidəq* سـنيدق "little box", *xninfa* خنينفة "little nose", *ḥwinta* حوينتة "little shop", *mṣiməṛ* مصيمر "little nail", *lḥiwa* لحيوة "little beard", and the adjective *šwibba* شـويبّة "cute" (from *šabba* شابّة "beautiful (f.)", which has the

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irregular masculine *šbab* شباب); note slightly irregular *fwiyyəm* فويّم or *fwima* فويمة "little mouth", *mwəyha* مويهة "a little water". The diminutive *ḥmiṭər* حميطر from *ḥmaṛ* حمار "donkey" is well-known but entirely irregular. In contrast, villages as near the town as Sahel Bouberak use the more classical, or Bedouin, form with a second *-i-* replacing a long vowel in the last syllable: eg *jridinat* جريدينات "little gardens".

Another method, common with adjectives, further doubles the middle radical if there are only three consonants: *kbibəṛ* كبيبر or *kbiwəṛ* كبيور "biggish", *smimən* سميمن "plump", *sfifər* صفيفر "yellowish", *kˁḥiḥəl* كُحيحل "blackish" (but *kḥiwəl* كحيول is also attested), *nqiqi* نقيقي "totally clean", *xtiti* ختيتي "Sis"[18], *xbibza* خبيبزة "little piece of bread". Marçais suggests that this doubling is of Andalusi origin. Other adjectives take a form with *-iw-*, described by Marçais as specific to the non-bedouin dialects of Morocco and the far north of Algeria (but by Grand'Henry (1972:113) as found all over the Maghreb, including at least one Bedouin dialect, that of Bou-Saada): *sġiwəṛ* صغيور "tiny", *qriwṣa* قريوصة "sorrel *(Oxalis pes-caprae)*", ie little sour stuff. *bwibəḍ* بويض, whitish, fits no category perfectly. An odd jocular diminutive I heard spontaneously produced -*aġˁṛiṛəm* أغُريرم from Kabyle *aġrum* أغروم "bread" – is interesting for the light it sheds on the underlying processes, as is the more normal loanword diminutive *šnibra* شنيبرة "little room", from *šõmbra* شوْبرة "room" (French *chambre*). The plurals of diminutives are invariably in *–in* (adjectives) or *–at* (nouns.)

As the previous list may suggest, the diminutive is quite productive, although more so in some speakers than others. No spontaneously produced augmentatives were recorded, in stark contrast to the wealth of diminutives: one speaker, on being asked about the diminutive of *xənnufa* خنّوفة "nose, snout", mentioned that it could perhaps take an augmentative *xənfuf* خنفوف "big nose", but this seems not to be widespread usage.

Elatives: A few comparative adjectives survive, eg *xiṛ* خير "better", *ktəṛ* كثر "more", قل *qəll* "less"; with these, "than" is translated *mən* من , as with reborrowed classical comparatives (which are extremely common.) However, most adjectives do not have such a form, and take *ˁla* على for "than"[19]. Thus *kbir ˁla Bašir* كبير على بَشير or the reclassicized *kbər mən Bašir* كبر من بَشير , *'əkbər mən Bašir* أكبر من بَشير all mean "bigger than Bachir". Superlatives may be constructed by adding *kaməl* كامل or *gaˁ* قع (eg *əlkbir kaməl* الكبير كامل "the biggest of all".)

Plurals: The commonest noun plural is that formed by infixing *–a–* after the second consonant[20]; unlike the more conservative Bedouin dialects, no *–i–* is inserted in the last syllable, so we have *mfatəḥ* مفاتح "keys", *snadəq* سنادق "boxes", *jnayən* جناين "gardens", *swayəˁ* سوايع "hours, watches", *twaqi* تواقي "windows" (sg. *taqa* تاقة),

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[18] I elicited *ḥlili* حليلي "sweetish", but never heard it used spontaneously.

[19] This common Maghrebi usage seems to be a calque of Berber; cf. Aguadé & Vicente (1997).

[20] Souag 2002 gives a more in-depth treatment of this issue, but may require elaboration. While its model accounts for nearly all plurals in the dialect, it does not account for a few of the plurals I give here. In *čwaləq* and *qmayəj*, the irregularity appears to be motivated by avoidance of a C₁VC₁ sequence - even though such sequences are perfectly possible in the dialect. Comparison with Cherchell (Grand'Henry 1972:106) allows us to dismiss the irregularity of *bˁaˁəš* as the result of an irregular degemination of the singular. But only use of the root-template model can account for *kṛaṭən*; I suspect dialect borrowing.

šyaṭən شياطن "devils", *twambəṛ* توانْبر "stamps" (from *tambəṛ* تانْبر; Fr. *timbre*), *kṛaṭən* كراطن "boxes" (from *kaṛtun* كارطون, Fr. *carton*), *kwamən* كوامن "trucks" (from *kamyun* كاميون, Fr. *camion*), *jwajla* جواجلة "people from Jijel", *dlalsa* دلالسة "people from Dellys"; the usual irregulars of this type are *myah* مياه "waters", *fwam* فوام "mouths", as well as the less common *ḍṛawəj* دراوج "stairs" (side-by-side with *ḍṛuj* دروج, from *dəṛja* درجة "step"), *grawəj* ڨراوج "toys" (no attested singular), *b`a`əš* بعاعش "bugs" (from قمايج *qmayəj*, شْلـايق *ba`uš* باعوش), *čwaləq* تْشـوالق "cleaning rags" (from *čəlliq* تْشـليق), *qmayəj* "shirts" (from *qməjja* قمجّة. *tqašir* تقاشـير "pair of socks" is a singular, with plural *tqašiṛat* تقاشـيرات; *dnaniṛ* دنانير "dinars" is clearly a reclassicization. Rare cases of –*a*– plus final -*a* from nouns not ending in -*i* are attested, eg *rəqqad* رقّـاد "fish sp." > *rqaqda* رقاقدة. M. Meouak (p.c.) notes that the situation in M'sila and Biskra is largely identical.

As usual, there is also a small class that take infixed –*u*–, and a smaller one with infixed –*i*–, as well as a semi-external plural by suffixing –*an* with internal ablaut (examples: *byut* بيوت "houses", *grun* ڤرون "horns", *sbu`a* سبوعة "lions"; *ḥmiṛ* حمير "donkeys", *`si* عصي "canes"; *kiṛan* كيران "buses", *təṛqan* ترقان "roads"). There are even a number of words which take a plural by long vowel deletion: *zwi* زوي "zaouias", *qṭaṭ* قطط "cats" (or *qṭuṭ* قطوط "Frenchmen", *jbəb* جبب "jubbas", *rwəḍ* روظ "wheels" (from *ṛuḍa* روظة), *gwər* ڨوَر (from *gawri* ڨاوري), *ġyəb* "forests, wilds" (from *ġaba* غابة), and more problematically *ġṛŭbba* غرُبّة "crows" from *ġṛab* غـراب A few professional nouns have a *fŭ`la* plural which may be a subclass of the infixed –*u*– plural, eg *qŭḍya* قـُضية "judges", *ṭŭbba* طـُبّة "doctors" (or homonymously "rat".) Other interestingly irregular plurals include *isumat* إسـومات or *(i)smawat* سـماوات or *asami* أسـامي "names" (traditionally from singular *ysəm* يسم ("his name" = *yəsmu* يسـمُه), but *asəm* أسـم is widely used now), *xawa* خاوة "brothers", *xwatat* خواتات "sisters", *ḍwawat* ضواوات "lights", *bṛawat* براوات "letters" (sg. *bṛiyya* بريّة), *ḥlawat* حلاوات "sweets". Note should also be made of the strong tendency, also found in Algiers, to replace older –*a* plurals (eg *xəyyaṭ* خيّـاط "tailor" > *xəyyaṭa* خيّـاطة) by plurals in –*in* (*xəyyaṭin* خيّـاطين); usage varies from person to person, and occasionally the same speaker will alternate both forms.

f`il-type adjectives usually take plurals by replacing –*i*– with –*a*–, eg *kbir* كبير "big" > *k°baṛ* كُبار, *mliḥ* مليح "good" > *mlaḥ* ملاح, *twil* طويل "long, tall" > *twal* طوال; but *jdid* جديد "new" > *jdəd* جدد, *qdim* قديم "old" > *qdəm* قدم. Other adjectives' plurals (apart from color-type ones) are in –*in*: *fayəḥ* فايح "stinking" > *fayḥin* فايحين, *ḥlu* حلو "sweet" > *ḥluwwin* حلوّين, *wa`ər* واعر "difficult" > *wa`rin* واعرين, *šaṭər* شاطر "smart" > *šaṭrin* شاطرين. Exceptions, at least for some speakers, include *`aqəl* عاقل > *`ŭqqal* عُقّـال "calm, smart", *jahəl* جاهل > *jŭhhal* جُهّـال "ignorant". The short adjectives *nqi* نقي "clean" and *`ma* عما "blind" have plurals *nqaya* نقاية or *nqiyyin* نقيّـين *`muya* عموية.

The basic color adjectives are *byaḍ* بيَض "white", *kḥəl* كحل "black", *ḥməṛ* حمر "red", *sfəṛ* صفر "yellow", *xḍəṛ* خضر "green", *zrəq* زرق "blue"; secondary colors are mainly derived from French (eg *gri* ڨري gray), with exceptions including *čini* تْشـيني "orange", *xuxi* خوخي "pink". The plurals of basic color adjectives are of the form *f`ula*, eg *byuḍa* بيوضى "white (pl.)", *kḥula* كحولى "black (pl.)", etc. This appears to be unusual - plurals in *fu`əl* (urban Maghreb dialects) or *fŭ`l* (Bedouin or non-Maghreb dialects) are more

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widely attested - but brings them more closely into line with the regular infixed –*u*– plural.

Gender: Most body parts which come in pairs are feminine, as is *kərš* كرْش "stomach": eg *yədd* يد "hand", *`in* عين "eye", *wđən* وذن "ear", but curiously not *rjəl* رجل "leg". *qəlb* قلْب "heart", not being among these, is masculine. *bab* باب "gate", *daṛ* دار "house", *bit* بيت "room", *zit* زيت "oil", *tirẓəẓt* تيرززْت "small wasp", *ṣuf* صوف "wool", *šəmš* سمْش "sun", *naṛ* "fire", *ləṛđ* الارض "earth", *triq* تريق "road" are feminine (but not eg *mus* موس "knife", *qməṛ* قمر "moon", *ḥanut* حانوت "shop".) *ma* ما "water", *nda* ندا "dew", *nba* نبا "echo", *dwa* دوا "medicine", *hwa* هوا "air", *šta* شـتا "winter" are masculine; contrast *šta* شـتا "rain", *`ša* عشـا "dinner", *ġda* غدا "lunch", *`ṣa* عصى "stick", *sma* سـما "sky". Although the vast majority of nouns' gender can be most simply predicted with a phonological rule (if it ends in -*a* ـة, or less reliably -*t* ـت, it is feminine), the principal influence on recent French loanwords' gender seems to be neither their gender in the original language nor the phonological form, but the gender of the Arabic term they substitute for: *jat limaẓ* جات ليماژ, "the image has come" (of a broken TV), after *ṣuṛa* صورة, but *laplaž kbir* لاپلاژ كبير "the beach is big", after *šəṭṭ* شـط and *lapaṛay? jibha* لاپاراي جيبها "The camera? Bring it" after *ṣəwwaṛa* صوّارة[21]

Possession: The state of annexion is frequent, conveying the idea of an inalienable possessive: *məṛt xuya* مرْت خويا "my brother's wife", *lsan əl`əṣfuṛ* لسـان العصفور "bird's tongue" (also a type of pasta). Alienable possession is expressed with *ta`* تاع or more traditional *nta`* نتاع, eg *əlkəbš ta` `əmmi* الكبْش تاع عمّي, "my uncle's ram". However, with the pronominal suffixes *dyal* is most often used; so we can say *dyali* ديالي or *ta`i* تاعي to mean "mine", with no obvious difference in meaning. These forms vary according to the number of the possessed (with plurals *(n)tawə`* تاوع[22], *dyawəl* ديـاول), but not according to its gender.

Family terms, as well as *ṣaḥəb* صاحب "friend", express their possessives using a special construction with the personal suffixes (although most, like *baba* بابا and *yəmma* يمّا, can also use construct forms: *babat* بابات and *yəmmat* يمّـات): so for instance *jəddət yəmmaha ta` amina* جدّ ةْيمّـاها تاع أمينة "Amina's mother's grandmother"; *xuh ta` kamal* خوه تاع كَمال "Kamal's brother"; either *babat xuya* بابات خويا or *babah ta` xuya* باباه تاع خويا, my brother's father (but not *\*əlbaba nta` xuya*, which highlights one underlying reason: many kinship terms cannot take *əl*, and – although not technically inalienable – can be "alienated" only with a first-person meaning.) This pre-Hilalian construction is exactly paralleled in Kabyle, eg *gma-s n Yiḏir*, "Idir's brother" (Naït-Zerrad 2001:47); it is also recorded for the much more strongly Kabyle-influenced Jijel Arabic dialect by Marçais (1956).

Articles: Invariant *waḥd əl-* means "a" or "some" with singulars: eg *waḥd əṛṛajəl* واحد الرّاجل "a man" or "some guy", *waḥd əlmṛa* واحد المرا "a woman"; it can also be used appreciatively or emphatically (like English "some".) Invariant *kaš(i)* كاش means

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[21]   Contrast the Moroccan Arabic situation described by Heath 1989, where "In European borrowings... those which lack /-a/ are masculine" (p. 131).

[22]   Apparently not common in the Maghreb, but attested in several other areas (cf. Grand'Henry 1972:121).

"some… or other", and can be used with plurals: eg *kaš ḥaja* كاش حاجة "something or other", *kaš ktub* كاش كتوب "some books or other", *kaš waḥəd* كاش واحد "someone or other". Indefiniteness can also be expressed, most simply, by simply leaving the noun unmarked. M. Meouak (p.c.) notes that the situation in M'sila and Biskra is largely identical.

In modern speech, compound nouns in *bu-* take the definite article perfectly normally, and indeed the plural: thus *buslamat* بوسلامات "dolphins", *əlbuzəlluf* البوزلّوف "the sheep's head" (pl. *zlaləf* زلالف or *zlalfa* زلالفة). This is unusual, and surprising given their etymology; according to my father, their taking the article is a relatively recent development, although their taking the plural is older.

Marçais mentions Dellys as a region which has adopted the Berber masculine prefix *a-* with a few nouns; however, my experience provides little support for this claim. Placenames in the immediate vicinity that once featured this – *aṣuwwaf* أصوّاف *agiwaz* أڤِواز – are giving way to the alternative forms *laṣuwwaf, lagiwaz* (though another, *ansəm* أنسم, seems to be stable), and the very rare word *aẓayaṭ* أزاياط "hard rain" cited earlier seems to be an adverb rather than a noun (*əššta ṭṭiḥ aẓayaṭ* الشتا تطيح أزاياط "the rain is falling in sheets"). Most Berber loanwords – eg *sisnu* سيسنو "madrona", *bərkukəs* بركوكس "rough-grained couscous" - drop it, although the Berber feminine is retained in *tirẓəzt* "a type of small wasp". The noun *asəm* أسم "name", as a recent alternative to older *ysəm* يسم , can scarcely be cited in this connection. If anything, the morning greeting *axir* أخير is perhaps the only commonly used possibility - although the rare word *aqsil* أقسيل "grass sp." may be a case in point.

3.3 Numbers:

The dual per se seems to be restricted to Arabic measure nouns, where it may be *-ayən* or *-in*; the latter is only superficially similar (though historically identical) to a plural found mainly on nouns denoting body parts – usually but not always ones which come in pairs – of the form *-in* (*-i-* before personal suffixes.) On units of time it is required, while on a few measure other words it is optional; thus we can have *yumin* يومين or *yumayən* يوماين "two days", *`amin* عامين or *`amayən* عاماين "two years", where the dual is necessary, and *məṛṛtin* مرّتين or *zuj məṛṛat* زوج مرّات"twice", *wərqtin* ورقتين or *zuj wərqat* زوج وقات "two pieces of paper, two leaves" where it is optional, but never, say, **kiluwwin* for "two kilos", or **rajlin* "two men", or **zuj əyyam* "two days". The former dual on such words as *yəddin* يدّين "hands", *`inin* عيني "eyes", *sbə`tin* صبعتين "fingers", *jnaḥtin* جناحتين "wings" is now a true plural, eg: *jana waḥəd elwəḥš `əndu `əšra `inin* جانا واحد لوحْش عندُ عشرة عينين "A monster with ten eyes came to us."

"Two" is *zuj* زوج, although *tnin* ثنين is still used to form higher numbers (eg *tnin u `əšrin* زوج خُبزات = 22 ثنين وعشرين). So we have *zuj əktub* زوج كتوب "two books", *zuj xŭbzat* زوج خُبزات "two loaves of bread", *zuj drari* زوج دراري "two kids".

The numbers from 1 to 20 are: *waḥəd* واحد, *zuj* زوج, *tlata* ثلاثة, *ṛəb`a* ربعة, *xəmsa* خمسة, *sətta* ستّة, *səb`a* سبعة, *tmənya* ثمنية, *təs`a* تسعة, *`əšra* عشرة, *ḥdaš* حداش, *tnạ(`)š* ثنّاش

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ستّطاش ﺵ(٘)، خمسطاش ﺵ(٘)، ربعطاش ﺵ(٘) ʔəṛbəʿṭaš, xəmṣṭa(ʿ)š, səṭṭa(ʿ)š, tləṭṭa(ʿ)š, ثناعش ṭḷạṭtaš, ثناعش سبعطاش ﺵ(٘) sbəʿṭa(ʿ)š, سبعطاش tmənṭa(ʿ)š, ثمنطاش tsəʿṭaš, تسعطاش ʿəšrin عشرين. The numbers 3-10 have shortened forms used with nouns and other numbers: təlt ثلْت, ṛəbʿ ربْع, xəms خمْس, ثلْث ملاين eg təlt-əmlayən تسْع، ثمْن، təs، təmn تسْع، ثمْن، ʿəšr عشـْر، ʔəšr ʔəšr عشـْر، səbʿ سبْع, səb سبْع, səṭṭ ستّ satt, xəms خمْس, three million, təmn-əyyam ثمْن إيّام eight days, təmn-əktub ثمـْن كتوب "eight books". 11-19 have construct forms used in general when they preced a noun, made by adding -ən; eg tləṭṭašən sna سْنا ثلطّاشن thirteen years, xəmṣṭašən ktab كتاب خمسطاشـن, fifteen books. Above 19, the noun is in the singular: ʿəšrin ktab عشرين كتاب "twenty books".

3.4 Prepositions:

l- لـ is "to". With pronominal suffixes, both –li لي, -lək لك, -lu لهُ etc. attached to verbs to express the dative and liyya ليّا, lik ليك, lih ليه, etc. as independent forms which usually do not express the dative (except in cases of emphasis) are found; thus for instance we have aʿṭihuli أعطيهولي "give it to me!" but ṭah liyya (maši lik!) عطاه ليّا "he gave it to me (not to you!)" (ماشـي ليك!)

mən من (with suffixes mənn-, with the article mə-) is "from": mən tizi-wəzzu من تيـﭽي وزّو "from Tizi-Ouzou", məlʿaṣima ملعاصيمة "from the capital", mənnu منّهُ "from him", mən(n)hŭm منهُم "from them".

b- (with suffixes bi-) is "with (instrumental)": ja ḍḍib bəʿṣatu جا الذيب ﻋﺼﺎتهُ "the jackal came with his stick" (from a children's rhyme); fṛəht bik فرحْت بيك "I'm happy with you".

fi في or f- فـ (invariably f- with the article, fi- with suffixes, but either independently) is "in": win kŭnt əlbarəh? fi jnan bu-saləh وين كُنْت البارح؟ في جنان بو صالح "Where were you last night? In Bou-Salah's garden" (from the same children's rhyme); fəddaṛ في الدار "at home"; fiha فيها "in it (f.)", f-furgu في فورﭬو "in a bus".

ʿla على (ʿli- with suffixes, contracted to ʿə- with the article) is "on": ḍik əlyasmina li mʿərrša ʿəlhuš ذيك الياسـمينة لي هرّشـة علحوش, "that jasmine vine hanging on (the wall of) the courtyard" (from tbuġir تبوغير); wəʿlik əsslam wəṛṛəhma وعليك السـلام والرحمة "and on you be peace and mercy" (from a children's rhyme).

muṛ مور (muṛa- with suffixes) is "after" or "behind": muṛ ma tsəllək مور ما تسـلّك "after you finish", muṛaya مورايا "behind me".

bin بين "between" has an irregular suffixed plural form binat-; so we have bini w binək بيني وبينك "between you and me", bin ənnas بين النّاس "between people" but binatna بيناتنا "between us".

Other prepositions – mʿa معا "with", ʿənd عنْد "at", fuq فوق "on top of", təht تحْت "under", daxəl داخل "inside", qbəl قبل "before", qədd قد "size of", qis قيس "as much as", qŭddam قُدّام "in front of" – are regular (except that the article does not assimilate on

(الْداخل əldaxəl إلْتحت əltəḥt)

3.5 Negation:

Verbs (including prepositional verbs) and pronouns are negated by *ma... š(i)* ما شـي, where the *i* is rarely retained by the younger generation: *ma rqŭdtš(i)* لْ رقُدتْش "I didn't sleep", *ma qritš hađa lktab* ما قريتش هاذا الكتاب "I haven't read this book", *ma `ndiš ktab* ما عنديش كتاب "I haven't got a book", *ma `əndəkš əzzhər* ما عندكْش لزّهرِ "You haven't got good luck", *ma bġitš nŭxrəj* ما بغيتْشنُخرج "I don't want to go out", *ḥməd ma ṛahuš(i) mṛiḍ* حمد ما راهوش مريض "Hmed is not sick", *ma ṛanaš nṣəyydu* ما راناش نصيّدو "We aren't fishing". But, as usual, *ma `ndi ḥətta ḥaja* ما عندي حتى حاجة "I haven't got a thing; *ma qritu wala məṛṛa* ما قْريتُه ولا مّرة "I haven't read it once.

ma ṛahuš ما راهوش, *ma ṛaniš* ما رانيش, etc. can be abbreviated to *mahuš* ماهوش, *maniš* مانيش, etc.

Nouns and adjectives are negated by *maši* ماشـي "not"; *hađa maši mliḥ* هاذا ماشـي مليح "This is not good", *huwa maši ṣəyyad* هوّا ماشـي صيّاد "He's not a fisherman", *hađi xbibza, maši xŭbza* هاذي خبيبزة، ماشـي خُبزة "This is a morsel of bread, not a loaf!"

4. Sociolinguistics:

Baby talk: Several words are used specifically in addressing small children, notably *həmmi* همّي "eat", *kəxxi* كخّي "yuck!, don't put that in your mouth!", *nənni* نّي "sleep", *tittit* تيتّيت "car", *məḥḥa* محّة "kiss", *dəddi* ددّي "wound", *čəčči* تشّتشّي "sit down". Of these, "eat" and "sleep" are conjugated as regular verbs. In such contexts, there is an additional tendency to simplify phonology in ways seemingly analogous to children's own speech: eg *r, ṛ > l* (eg *luḥ* for *ruḥ* روح "go"), *š > s* (eg *was ə`lih* for *waš ə`lih* واش عليه "it's OK".)

Triglossia: Algeria in general is currently in what could reasonably be described as a situation of triglossia, with two competing learned prestige languages, Modern Standard Arabic (Fusha) and French, operating side by side with the low-prestige dialect of everyday life (Darja). Educated speakers generally supplement their dialect with extensive use of one or both languages' resources. A small minority go so far as to code-switch, with a substantial proportion of their conversation being pure French or pure MSA; the language chosen depends at least on educational background (itself varying strongly with age, as a result of the gradual Arabization of the system following independence), religiosity (generally correlating with a preference for Arabic), and residence in other countries (whether Western or Arab.) A compromise solution, in which a dialect sentence is partially "reclassicized", is also used by some - eg *əl'an nəhtəflu* الآن نهتف لُّه "I will phone him now", corresponding to MSA *sa'ahtifu lahu al'ān* سأهتف له الآن and dialect *đŭṛk ntilifunilu* ضرك تيليفونيلُه[23]. The use of French or MSA words, whose pronunciation is accommodated to the dialect to a varying degree, to fill lexical

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[23]   Compare the Moroccan situation presented in Heath 1989, ch. 4.

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gaps is nearly universal; the choice in this case depends on subject matter as well as on the factors previously mentioned. For example, a humanities or religion-related topic would tend to provoke more Arabic and less French than a scientific or technological one. Dellys, as a socially conservative Arabic-speaking small town with a high literacy rate relative to the country as a whole, uses rather more Arabic in public environments, such as shop fronts, than nearby centers such as Algiers or Tizi-Ouzou; however, French retains a high public profile. This impressionistic summary merely recapitulates what is locally obvious; a more detailed investigation would require a carefully chosen larger sample.

Polite formulae: Greetings include *axir* أخير, *ṣbəḥ əlxir* صبح الخير, (more recently introduced) *ṣbəḥ ənnuṛ* صبح النور "good morning!"; *təṣbəḥ bxir/`la xir* تصبح بخير\على خير "good night!"; *`əslama* عسلامة "hello!"; *waš ṛak* واش راك "how are you?", *labas* لاباس "fine", *ạḷḷah y`awnək* الله يعاونك "God aid you" (said to person hard at work), *bqa `la xir* بقا على خير "goodbye! (to person staying)", grammatically imperative; *ạḷḷah ysəhhəl* الله يسهّل "goodbye! (to person leaving)"; *bəsslama* بالسلامة "goodbye"; *səlləm `lihum* سلّم عليهم "tell them I say hi"; to which may be added the MSA *ahlən* أهلاً, *ilalliqa′* إلى القاء, *ma`assalama* مع السلامة, *əssalamu `aləykŭm* السلام عليكم and the French *ṣava* (< "ça va"). In requests, one may use *ạḷḷah ysəjjik* الله يسجّيك "please", *səḥḥit* صحّيت *səḥḥa* صحّا "thank you", *ysəlmək* يسلمك "you're welcome"[24], as well as the MSA *šukrən* شكراً, *`əfwən* عفواً Condolences to the family of the deceased use the formula *baṛaka fikŭm* بّركة فيكُم "blessings be upon you", and a familiar dead person's name is typically followed by *ạḷḷah yrəḥmu* الله يرحمه "God have mercy on him". "Excuse me" is *əsməḥni* اسمحني. Mention of an "unclean" subject, such as garbage or donkeys, may be preceded by *ḥaša-k(ŭm)* حاشاك "pardon the phrase", while mention of a bad possibility may be followed by *b`id əššəṛṛ* بعيد الشر "far be the evil." When something is accidentally spilled, the formula *faḍ əlxiṛ* فاض الخير "fortune has overflowed" can be used. A number of formulas, such as inshallah, bismillah, alhamdulillah, etc., are used in more or less the manner prescribed by Islam.

Verbal arts: Many traditional verbal arts - stories *(mḥajiyyat* محاجيات*)*, riddles *(lŭǧz* لُغْز*)*, and most nursery rhymes - have fallen into disuse since the introduction of television. *tbuǧir* تبوغير - the partly improvised chants in praise of the bride and groom sung by women at weddings - are still in use, but it is unclear whether they will survive the next generation. Proverbs remain in common use. A local poet, Amer Chabani عامر شعباني, has written some lengthy dialect poetry describing the town and its traditions (not as yet published) in addition to his published corpus in literary Arabic, and has compiled a book (also unpublished) containing a number of local folktales, proverbs, riddles, and rhymes, as well as extensive vocabulary lists for particular semantic fields (fish, fruit, traditional clothing, placenames, etc).

5. Vocabulary:

Sea life: The Dellys dialect is noted for the diversity of its marine terminology, some of

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[24] Grammatically, this should have a geminate *l*. In practice, gemination is rarely noticeable here.

which can be traced back to late Latin via Andalusi Arabic[25]. Notable invertebrates include *mujnib* موجنيب "crab", *qəmṛun* قمرون "shrimp", * pạppạṣ* صّاصْلي "flat lobster sp.", *lŭggi* يّقْلُ "sea urchin"[26], *ḥərrayəq* "sea anemone, jellyfish", *qərniṭ* قرنيط "octopus", *qalamaṛ* قالامار "squid", *sipya* سيبية "cuttlefish", *kạtzạmaṛ* كاتزامار or *ḥmaṛ əlbḥəṛ* البحر حمار "sea cucumber", *nəjmət ləbḥər* البحر نجمة "starfish". Sea urchin eating being an important local custom[27], at least two types have specific names: *šadiyya* شادية (large with short blunt spikes), *yhudiyya* يهوديّة (dark black with long spikes, no meat.) Shellfish include *buq* بوق "conch", *srəmbəq* سرنبق "mussels", *ġ*ʷ*lal* غلال "periwinkle", *mḥaṛ* محار "limpet", *bčuq* بْتْشوق "shellfish". At least five species of seaweed are named: *ṭri*` طريع (long flat dark straight leaves), *tubrint*[28] توبرينْت (small, olive green, and branching), *xəzz* خز (green threadlike leaves, named after the thick dirty mud, *xəzz* خزّ in which it grows), *`sila* عسيلة (yellowish-green, branching), and *`ənqud* عنقود (large, brown and furry, shaped like a bunch of grapes). Cetaceans include *buslama* بوسلامة "dolphin" and *bạlina* بالينة "whale" (< Fr. *baleine*).

As for fish, collecting names proved much easier than finding translations...

- Identified with some certainty, by comparing photographs taken to those in Froese & Pauly 2000: *buzəllayəq* بوزلاَيق "blenny" (probably *Parablennius incognitus*), *sərdin* سردين "sardine", *šaġər* شاغر "sea bream" (*busnan* بوسنان: young *šaġər*), *`ənqərba* عنقربة "scorpionfish", *qaṛuṣ* قاروص "sea bass", *g*ʷ*rəng* قُرنق "conger" (regarded by fishermen as a male *səlbaḥa*), *mustila* موستيلة "forkbeard". A school of fish is *g*ʷ*laf* قُلاف[29].

- Identified by showing pictures to occasional fishermen, and somewhat less certain: *jaja* جـاجة "gurnard", *čuču* تْشوتْشو "ray" (bigger than *dərga*), *dərga* درڤة "ray", *zənkuṛ* زنكور "wrasse", *spạda* سپادة "swordfish", *ṣul* صول "sole", *čarniyya* تشارنيّة "grouper", *friyyxa* فريخة (very young *čarniyya*), *fərxa* فرخة (young *čarniyya*), *qạṭṭ əlbḥạṛ* البحر قطّ "spotted dogfish", *kəlb əlbḥəṛ* البحر كلب "dogfish".

- Identified verbally: *buniṭ* بونيط "bonito" (*bakuṛ* باكور: young *buniṭ*), *dəns* دنْس (Fr. "dentée", so English "dentex" or "seabream"), *r`ayda* رعايدة "electric ray", *ruži* روزي "mullet", *zarniyya* زارنية (Fr. "liche", so English "derbio" or "leerfish"), *səlbaḥa* سلباحة "moray eel", *ṭəyyaṛ* طيّار "flying fish", *lənčuba* لنتشوبة "anchovy", *mərnus*

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[25] Corriente (1997) gives etymologies for a number of these.

[26] The etymology of this distinctively Dellys term long puzzled me. It turns out to derive from Berber, as first suggested by Salem Chaker (p. c., 2004): specifically, Kabyle *ilegg*ʷ*i* "cytise (bot.)" (cytisus, laburnum: Dallet 1982). The direction of borrowing is confirmed by a number of cognates further afield: Haraoua Berber (Basset 1895:151) *tilouggith* تلوگيث "genêt" (needle-furze), Middle Atlas Tamazight (Taifi 1991) *alggu* pl. *ilgg*ʷ*a* "genêt, cytise", and even Tamajeq (Alojaly 1980) *əlogi* "esp. de plante". The semantic shift - from a spiny plant to a spiny sea creature - is natural enough.

[27] This custom itself cannot be attributed to the French; Thomas Shaw already makes note of it in the eighteenth century Maghreb. However, the method - eating them with bread and lemon - is likely of French inspiration; Shaw observed them being eaten with pepper and vinegar. The urchins are gathered with a *qŭṛṛaša* قُرّاشة "trident".

[28] The form of this word almost surely implies a Berber origin, but I have found no convincing comparison. The best match so far seems to be Tamajeq (Alojaly 1980) *tebăremt* "esp. de plante persistante" (Tuareg *e* regularly corresponds to northern *i,* and *ă* in an open non-initial syllable to Ø.)

[29] Cf. Kabyle *ag*ʷ*laf* (Dallet 1982) "essaim (d'abeilles, de guêpes, etc.)" (swarm); Tamajeq (Alojaly 1980) *gəluləf* "ê. entièrement réuni." (be completely reunited).

مرنوس "whiting".

- Unidentified: *bərjəmbaluq* برجمبالوق, *bəgrət ə lbḥər* بقرة ا لبحر, *busif* بوسيف, *bumaxyəṭ* بومخيَط, *bumənšaṛ* بومنشـار, *čalba* تشا لبة (a fish said to induce hallucinations if eaten to excess), *qŭṛṛaʕ* قـُّرَاع(young *čalba*), *đib* ذيب (small), *ranya* رانيا (resembles *čuču*), *rəqqad* رقـاد *zərrayqa* زرَايقة *ẓṛiṛga* زريرڤة, *šukla* شـوكلا (spiny, resembles *kəḥla*), *ṭəms* طمْس (said to sleep on the surface)[30], *ʕin əlḥəjla* عين الحجلة, *fəḥḥam* فحـّام(like *đib*, but greyer), *qajuj* قاجوج (like *šağər* but reddish), *g°miri* قُميري *buri* بوريْ (young *g°miri*), *kəḥla* كحلة (like *busnan*, but blacker), *luq* لوق, *mŭrsiṭ* مـرسيط(resembles *buniṭ*), *nəhri* نهري (a very bony river fish).

While existing dictionaries of fish names made this task far easier, they also revealed that dictionary comparison alone was not an adequate basis for fish identification: in two cases, *rəqqad* and *fərxa*, Moroccan homonyms (from Lataoui 1999) proved to refer to entirely different fish. Dictionaries could thus be used with confidence only when photographs of the fish in question were available. This list is far from complete; Amer Chabani lists several more fish names in his unpublished work mentioned above. I was told that the government had made a survey of the local fish names some years back, but have not as yet found out whether it was ever published.

Loanwords: French and standard Arabic loanwords are better treated under the heading of sociolinguistics (above); some examples can be seen in the brief texts given below. Of greater historical interest are precolonial loanwords.

Berber has contributed a substantial number, particularly botanical terms such as *timəlwin* تيملوين "a type of fig" (Kabyle *imelwi* "a pole for picking figs" < *elwi* "gather (fruit)"), *sisnu* سيسـنو "madrona" (Kabyle *isisnu*), *lŭggi* الـُڤّي"sea urchin" (Kabyle *ilegg°i* "cytisus", see note above), *magraman* ماڤرامان "*Inula viscosa*" (Kabyle *amagraman*), and zoological terms such as *tirzəzt* تيرززْت "small wasp", *zərdi* زردي "weasel" (Kabyle *izirdi*), *gənduz* ڤندوز "calf" (Kabyle *agenduz*), but including other terms such as *zəmzi* زمزي "throwing stone" (Kabyle *azemzi*), *buğər* "recite praise verses at a wedding" (Kabyle < *sbuğər*[31]), and even kinship terms: *lusa* لوسة "sister-in-law" (Kabyle *talwest*), and quite possibly even *yəmma* ايمْا"mother" and *baba* بابا "father". Direct calques are also to be found, such as *ʕərs əđđib* عرْس للذّيب "rain falling from a sunny sky", after Kabyle *tameɣra bb°uccen*; both forms mean "jackal's wedding". (All these Kabyle forms are from Dallet 1982). Kabyle's very extensive borrowings from Algerian Arabic make it harder to detect loanwords in the opposite direction with certainty, but this list is doubtless far from exhaustive.

In Dellys as elsewhere, several layers of Romance loanwords are discernible. A few were certainly borrowed via Berber, notably *fəllus* فلّوس"chick". Many of these terms are well-attested in Andalusi Arabic, where Corriente (1997) traces them directly to late Latin: these are conspicuous in marine vocabulary, eg *qəṛniṭ* قرنيط "octopus" (< *cornetum*), *čarniyya* تشـارنية"fish sp." (< *acernia*), *šluqi* شـلوقي "southeastern wind" (<

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[30] Misidentified in Souag 2002 as "seal". A more plausible - though still uncertain - word for "seal" is *bumnir* بومنير, said to be dolphin-like and to climb onto rocks.

[31] Salem Chaker (p. c., 2004) confirms that this root is a borrowing from, rather than into, Berber, deriving from the root *ğr* "call, cry out" plus the augmentative derivational prefix *b-*.

salus + pejorative *-ok*) but are also found in other semantic fields, eg *gnina* قُنينة "rabbit" (< *cunīculus*), *bərrayəq* بُرّايق "insect sp." (< *bruchus*), *bərdlaqa* بردلاقة "flower sp." (< *portulaca*.) Others seem likely to derive from Spanish at a later period, possibly via Lingua Franca: *timpu* تيمپو "good weather" (< *tiempo*), *malu* مالو "bad weather" (< *malo*), *čuču* تْشوتْشو "ray sp." (< *chucho*), *duru* دورو "d'oro" (< *d'oro*), *fišta* فيشطة "festival"[32] (< *fiesta*), *baṭaṭa* باطاطة "potato" (< *patata*), *tumaṭiš* طوماطيش "tomato" (< *tomates*), *šlaḍa* شلاظة "lettuce", *ṛuḍa* روظة "wheel" (< *rueda*), *guṣṭu* قوسطو "taste (personal preference)" (< *gusto*), or from other Romance languages, eg *lənčuba* لنتشوبة "anchovy" (compare Portuguese *anchova*.)[33]

Finally, the Ottoman period left a number of Turkish loanwords behind, eg *burak* بوراك "bourak (food)" (< *börek*), *baylək* بايلك "government, State" (< *beylik* "provincial government"), *tqašir* تقاشير "pair of socks" (< *çakşır* "a type of trousers"), *bərjəmbaluq* برجمبالوق "fish sp." (cf. Turkish *balık* "fish").

Calendar: Traditionally, as elsewhere in North Africa and previously in Moorish Spain, two calendars were used: the Julian "Berber" calendar, for timing agriculture, and the Islamic lunar calendar, for timing religious activities. The former, still common in Kabyle, has disappeared from local usage, leaving most of its month names effectively irrecoverable. Only a few of the more prominent months were recalled by my consultants; for example, *yənnayər* يَناير and *fuṛaṛ* فورار were encountered in a folktale of transparently Kabyle origins, while closer questioning revealed *məġṛəs* مغرس, *yəbrir* يبرير, *ġŭšt* غُشت and *dujəmbəṛ* دوجمبر . A number of vaguer traditional calendrical expressions relating to the solar year are, however, still in use: for example, *smayəm* سمايم for a hot period in August, and *ṣlaḥt ənnwadər* صلاحة لنّوادر for the first big rains of autumn.

The dialect words for the lunar months, apart from Ramadan, have also disappeared from regular use (being replaced by MSA terms, when used at all), but are still recalled by older people. According to my aunt, Khira Souag, they were as follows:

əl`ašuṛa	العاشورا	Muharram
ši` əl`ašuṛa	شيع العاشورا	Safar
əlmulud	المولود	Rabi' I
ši` əlmulud	شيع المولود	Rabi' II
jumad əlluwwəl	جومادللاّوّل	Jumada I
jumad əttani	جوماد الثّاني	Jumada II
ərjəb	رجب	Rajab
šə`ban	شعبان	Sha'ban
ṛəmḍan	رمضان	Ramadan
ləftaṛ	الفطار	Shawwal
ləjləb	الجلب	Dhul-Qi'dah
əlḥəjj	الحجّ	Dhul-Hijjah

[32] Noted for Cherchell in Grand'Henry 1972:165 as likely to be of Andalusi origin.
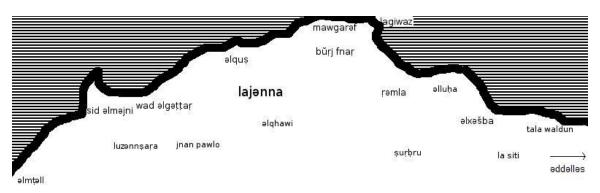[33] Most of these are also found in Algiers, and as such discussed in Cohen 1902:415 - as are many of the Turkish loanwords.

Nowadays, the Gregorian calendar with French month names is in general use. Other basic calendrical terminology is as typical elsewhere in Algeria.

Toponymy:

Dellys' name itself is variously pronounced *dǝlləs* دلّس or *ǝddǝlləs* لدّلس, revealing an interesting case of reanalysis. Historically, the *ǝd-* in the latter must derive, not from the definite article, but from the *t-* in *tdǝlləs (the name recorded by the medieval Arab geographers as *Tadallas* تدلّس.)[34] The Turkish name of the town, as recorded by Piri Re'is (1544), was Tillis (written in the text with a presumably non-distinctive long î, as ﺗﻠّﻴﺲْ but in the map with a short i); the /i/ of the French name, /delis/ (Dellys), presumably derives from this Turkish pronunciation. The name itself seems to derive from a Berber plant name widespread in toponyms, akin to the Dellys-dialect word *dalis* داليس "thatch" (called *dis* outside Dellys) or the Kabyle equivalent *adles*.

In general, most place names in Dellys derive from Arabic, with a significant minority from French; however, particularly around the border between Dellys and Ladjenna and in the mountains above, names of Berber or unidentifiable origin are frequent. As might be expected, every neighborhood has its own name; within the town itself, these are usually named after a local saint. The following map, while not exhaustive, covers the principal neighborhoods of Ladjenna:

The coast of the Dellys area being unusually rocky, most of the larger rock islands immediately offshore also have their own names, particularly those used for swimming. Notable examples include *ḥǝjra kǝḥla* حجرة كحلة "Black Rock" off Sahel Bouberak, *dzirǝt ǝrjǝb* دزيرة رجبْ "Rajab Island" west of Sid el-Medjni, *ḥǝjrǝt baba ššix* حجرة بابا الشيخ east of Sid el-Medjni, the two *mġazǝl* مغازل, *ǝlpwanta* اليوانتة and *ḥǝjra ṭwila* حجرة طويلة "Long Rock" off Qari-Achour (the beach around Oued el-Guettar), *ǝssṭuḥ* السّطوح "the Roofs" between Qari-Achour and el-Kouss, *ǝssǝnsǝl* السنسل "the Chain" off el-Kouss, and *ruši di mul* روشي دي مول (ie Rocher des Moules) and *ruši di kṛapp* روشي دي كراپ (ie Rocher des Crappes) north of Lagiouaz.

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34   As Dallet 1982 briefly suggests. The name تدلس is used by al-Idrīsī, Ibn Saʿd al-Maghribī, Ibn Khaldūn, and al-Ḥimyarī; see http://e.1asphost.com/dellys/library/brdesc.html. In an Ottoman land deed of the early nineteenth century shown me by its owner Mahmoud Belhaoua, I observed the hybrid spelling التدلس.

The Latin name for the town, adopted from Punic, was *Rusuccuro*[35], probably Phoenician for "partridge cape"; the name *Addyma*, attested in Ptolemy for a site between Dellys and Djinet, may refer to the mouth of Oued Sebaou (Laporte 1995.) I am aware of no toponym in the area that can plausibly be seen as reflecting either of these.

Comparative vocabulary: The following wordlist is provided to facilitate comparison with other dialects, after Caubet 2001:

do:	واسي *wasi* عمل *ʿməl*, دير *dir*
go down:	حبط *ḥbəṭ*
go up:	طلع *ṭləʿ*
go in:	دخُل *dxŭl*
go out:	خْرج *x˚rəj*
want/like/love:	بغي *bġi* حب *ḥəbb*
find:	لقى *lqi*, صيب *ṣib*
wait:	اسـنّـى *ssənna*
take away:	ادّي *ddi* (bring: جيب *jib*)
take:	خوذ *xuđ* (irregular; see above)
see:	شوف *šuf* (gaze: خْزر *x˚zər*)
listen, hear:	سمع *sməʿ*
sleep:	رقُد *rqŭd* (dream: نوم *num*)
sit:	قْعد *q˚˚əd*
stand:	وقف *wqəf*
work:	خدم *xdəm*
send:	بعث *bʿət*
throw:	رمى *ṛmi*
catch:	حكم *ḥkəm*, قْبض *gbəđ*
cough:	سعل *sʿəl* (sneeze: عطص *ʿṭəṣ*)
stop:	حبس *ḥbəs*
come back:	ولّي *wəlli*
tell a story:	حكى *ḥki*, حاجي *ḥaji*
become:	ولّي *wəlli*
close:	غْلق *ġ˚ləq*
ask:	سقسي *səqsi*
hide:	خبّي *xəbbi*
put down, place:	حطّ *ḥəṭṭ*
look for:	حوّس على *ḥəwwəs ʿla*
hurt:	وجع *wjəʿ*; راصي يوجعني *ṛaṣi yujəʿ(ni)*, my head hurts
quickly:	بالخفّ *bəlxəff*, بالغْصب *bəlġ˚ṣəb*, بيهبيه *bihbih* (slowly: بالعقل *bləʿqəl*)
all:	كُلّـش، كُلّ *kŭll* everything كُلّ شي *kŭlləš ~ kŭll-ši*
someone:	كاش واحد *kaš waḥəd*

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[35]   Attested variants include *Rusucurium, Rusuccuro, Rusuccuru,* possibly *Ascurum,* and the Greek *Ρουσοκκόρου* for the town, and *Rusucuritani* and *Rusuccuritani* for its citizens; see http://e.1asphost.com/dellys/library/brdesc.html, Viré 1912.

no one:	*ḥətta waḥəd* حتّى واحد
nothing:	*walu* والو, *ḥətta ḥaja* حتّى حاجة
good:	*mliḥ* مليح
woman:	*mṛa* مرا (my wife: *məṛti* مرتي)
people:	*nas* ناس (with plural accord, except occasionally in *tbuġir*)
carrots:	*zṛudiyya* زروديّة
tomatoes:	*tumaṭiš* طوماطيش
oranges:	*čina* تْشينة
lemon:	*qaṛəs* قارص
pear:	*lənjaṣ* لنجاص
walnut:	*juz* جوز
nut:	no attested term other than MSA *mukassirat* مكسّرات
pumpkin:	*qəṛʿa kbira* قرع ة كبيرة (but in surrounding countryside *kabuya* كابوية)
gourd:	*qəṛʿa taʿ elmˣiḍ* قرعة تاع لمُ خيض , ie for churning. (but in surrounding countryside *šəkwa* شكوة.)
courgette:	*qəṛʿa* قرعة
spinach:	*səlq* سلْق (also "chard")
artichoke:	*qəṛnun* قرنون
lentils:	*ʿdəs* عدس
watermelon:	*dəllaʿ* دلاّع
pepper:	*fəlfəl* فلفل (*ḥlu* حلو sweet, *ḥəṛṛ* حر hot)
salt:	*məlḥ* ملْح
mint:	*nəʿnaʿ* نعناع
key:	*məftaḥ* مفتاح (pl. *mfatəḥ* مفاتح)
breakfast = coffee:	*qəhwa* قهوى (verb: *tqəhwi* تقهوى). Ramadan breakfast = *sḥur* سحور.
lunch:	*ġda* غدا (verb: *tġəddi* تغدّى)
dinner:	*ʿša* عشا (verb: *tʿəšši* تعشّى). Ramadan dinner = *fṭur* فطور.
evening:	*ləʿšiyya* لعشيّة
rain:	*šta* شتا (it's raining: *əššta ṭṭiḥ* الشّتا تطيح)
yesterday:	*əlbarəḥ* البارح
day before yesterday:	*lul-barəḥ* لول بارح
two days before ":	*qbəl lul barəḥ* قبل لول بارح
tomorrow:	*ġədwa* غدوة
day after tomorrow	*bəʿd ġədwa*
two days after ":	*bəʿd bəʿd ġədwa* بـ عْد بـ عْ ـد غدوة or the more rural *bəʿd ġəddəwtin* بعْد غدّ وتين
here:	*hna* هنا
mouth:	*fŭmm* فُـم (pl. *fwam* فوام)
nose:	*xənnufa* خنّوفة *nif* نيف (also pride)
throat:	*gərjuma* قرجومة
horse:	*ʿud* عود (pl. *ʿwad* عواد)
pig:	*ḥəlluf* حلّوف (pl. *ḥlaləf* حلالف). wild boar: *ḥəlluf əlġaba* حلّوف الغابة

الغابة

fish:	*ḥut* حوت (sg. *ḥuta* حوتة)
rooster:	*sǝrduk* سردوك (pl. *sradǝk* سرادك)
hen:	*jaja* جاجة (pl. *jajat* جاجات)
chick:	*fǝllus* فلّوس(pl. *flalǝs* فلالس)
chicken:	*jaj* جاج
sheep:	*ġnǝm* غنم
rug:	*zǝrbiyya* زربيّة(pl. *zraba* زرابة)
blanket:	*fǝṛsada* (pl. *fṛasǝd*); traditional wooly blanket: *ḥayǝk* حايك
village:	*dǝšṛa* دشـرة (pl. *dšuṛ* دشـور)
hot:	*sxun* سـخانة (heat: *sxana* سـخانة)
small:	*sġiṛ* صغير
turn white:	*byaḍ* بياض
turn red:	*ḥmaṛ* حمار
get fat:	*sman* سـمان
get thin:	*ḍ`af* ضعف or *ḍ`ǝf* ضعاف
get better:	*tḥǝssǝn* تـحسّـن (a reclassicization)
	bra برا (recover from an illness)
thicken:	*xšan*
ripen/become cooked:	*tib* طيب
father:	*baba* بابا (the *b* is not emphatic)
mother:	*yǝmma* يمّا Mom! *a yi!* آيي (vocative)
grandmother:	*mwani* مـواني *mammwani* مامّواني *mamma* ممّا; *jǝdda* جدّة
maternal uncle:	*xal(i)* خالي
any male in-law of a male (son-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law): *nsib* نسـيب
step-son:	*rbib* ربيب
daughter-in-law:	*`ṛuṣa* عروصة (=bride)
enough!	*bǝṛka!* بركا
watch out!	*balak!* بالاك
maybe	*waqila* واقيلة; *yǝmkŭn* يمكُـن; *qadǝr ykun* قادر يكون; *tǝnjǝm tkun* تنجم تكون; *balak* بالاك
must:	*bǝssif* بالـسّـيف strong necessity (borrowed into Kabyle); *lazǝm* لازم weak necessity
you must come:	(لازم لك تجي *bǝssif ǝ`lik ǝtji* بلِسـّيف عليك تجي or *lazǝm(lǝk) ǝtji* لازم لك تجي)
there is:	*kayǝn* كاين
there is not:	*maka(n)š* ماكاش. (*n* here lost within living memory.)
nearly:	*qrib* قريب (*qrib nsellek* قريب سلـّكْـت, I'm almost done.)
he just left:	*ḍŭk elli x°rǝj* ضـُك لي خـرُج
he/she/they hasn't/haven't come yet: *mazal ma ja(t/w)š* مازال ما جاو ش
he's still sleeping:	*mazalu raqǝd* مازالـه راقد
she's still sleeping:	*mazalha raqda* مازالـها راقدة
they're still sleeping:	*mazalhŭm raqdin* مازالـهُـم راقدين.
a lot:	*bǝzzaf* بزّاف sometimes *nǝzzah* نزّاه
	(both terms have been borrowed into Kabyle; the latter is originally

rural, while the former is characteristic of Algiers and neighboring cities.)

a lot of water:	*bəzzaf əlma*	بزّاف الما
a lot of people:	*bəzzaf ənnas*	بزّاف لنّاس
a lot of girls:	*bəzzaf əlbnat*	بزّاف البنات
a little:	*šwiyya*	شوّة.
a little water:	*šwiyya ma*	شوّة ما
a few people:	*šwiyya nas*	شويّة ناس

Text samples:

Speech samples:

(A man in his thirties.)

lala lazəmli nwərrihŭmlək. kayn ḥajat, kayn ḥutat li lazəmli nwərrihŭmlək, li baš təqdər naxđu... taxŭđ əl'ism nta`hŭm. 'imma ka š məṛṛa nətlə` m`ak, ṇtəl`u lə lmaṛši, wəlla fəlqhawi, otõ n`əṛfu fwəṣt əlmaṛši wəlla, təqdər tṣəwwəṛhŭm, tṣəwwəṛhŭm u nə... u nwasiwhŭm; nqŭllək əl'ismawat tawə`hŭm.

لالا لازملي ٻوَرّيهُملك. كاين حاجات، كاين حوتاتلي لازملي نور ّيهُملك، لي ٻاش تقدر ناخذو... ناخّذ الإسم نّاعهُم. إمّا ٻش مرّة نِطلع معاكِ، نطلعو للمارشي، ٷا للقهاوي، أوطو نعرفو فوسط المارشي ولا ، تقدرصّو رهُ مرتصوّ رهُ م و نـ... و ٷاسيهُم، قُللك الإسماوات ٹاوعهُم.

No, I need to show them to you. There are things, there are fishes that I need to show you, so we can... so you can take their name. Either some time I'll go up with you, we'll go up to the market, or in el-Qhawi. As far as we know, in the middle of the market or the like you can photograph them; you photograph them and we'll... we'll do them; I'll tell you their names.

(An woman in her sixties)

wəllat ṛaḥət, qaltəlha wahiba ana majya. bayni[36] ṛayḥa əṣṣbəḥ fạtma zzŭḥṛa. qaltəlha wafa, qaltəlha hani majya nŭq`əd ə... yəwmayən, qaltəlha w yjibni xuya.  qalt immalt maṛṛuḥši ḥətta yji wəṛṛuḥ m`ah. hakđak `ala yyi ḥal.

ولاّ ت راحت، قلتلها وَهيبة أنا ماجية. ٻايني رايحة الصبح فاطمة الزُهرة. قالتلها وفاء، قالتلها هاني ٲجية نَ قعد... يوماين، قالتلها ويجيبني خويا. قِلت إمّالة ما نروح شي حتّى يجي ونروح معاه. هاكذاك على أي حال.

She went again, and Wahiba told her "I'm coming". Fatma-Zohra was supposed to go in the morning. Wafa told her, she told her "I'm coming to stay, uh, two days", she told her "and my brother will bring me." She said "In that case, I won't go until he comes, and I'll go with him." Like that, in any case.

(A man in his sixties)

ṛak ətšuf haɖi l`əšša?  hna ɖŭrka xạtəṛ saxət.  `əndha `amin məlli ṛaḥət, `amin bəṛk. li kəmməl ṛaḥ, kəmməl ṛaḥ əlḥit. kan q`əd əlḥiṭ məbni bəlyajuṛ, mjiht ə...t̃ṛab.  haɖa `əndu `amin wəlla tlata məlli ṛaḥ. əssəmma əddyạṛ kanu apöpri ywəslu ḥətta lləhnaya. u haɖi kamla misaḥa ə... ḥjəṛ.

راك تشوف هاذي‌العشرّة؟ هنا ضركا خاطر ساخت. عندها عامين من اللي راحت، عامين
برك. لي هّل راح، هّل راح الحيط. كان قعد الحيط مبني بلياجور، من جيهة لتّراب. هاذا
عندهُ عامين ولاّ ثلاثة من اللي راح. سلدّمّى لدّيار كانو أ پو پري يوصلو حتّى للهنايا.
وهاذي كاملة مِساحة حجر.

You see this hut? It's here now because there was a landslide. It's two years since it
went, just two years. It went completely, the wall went completely. The wall was built
of brick, from the side of the... ground. It's been two or three years since it went. I.e., the
houses used to practically reach as far as here. And this whole place was an expanse... of
stone.

Proverbs:

- *əlfas   byədd   ənnas*
  الفاس يدّ لنّاس
  The axe is according to people's hands. (A tool is only as good as its user)
- *əlqᵒbayli   ll   i   yətbəld   a   k   i   ṭṭbəl   əll   i   yətnədd   a*
  القبايلي اللي يتبل   دا كي ا   لطّبل اللي تيندّى
  A citified Kabyle is like a drum ruined by dew. (It's better to be authentic.)
- *əlli yəstənn a xi r məlli yətmənna , wəlli yətmənn a xi r məll i yə qtə` layas*
  ا للي يستّى خ ي ر من اللي يتمنّى، واللي يتمنّى خ ي ر من ا للي يقطع لاياس
  He that waits is better than he that hopes, and he that hopes better than he that
  despairs.
- *ŭġsəb   t   ə`təl*
  عطل   أُغصب ت
  "festina lente" (More haste, less speed.)
- *əlqəššuṭ   əlli   trəġb   u   yə   `mik*
  عميك   ه يِ   رغبِ   لقشّوط اللي ت
  or   əl`ud    l    i        ṭhəgru    yə    `mik*
  عميك   العود لي تحقرُه يِ
  The twig you despise may blind you.
- *yən`əl đ-ərray li ydəbbə r li fih : jəbt l i yəxdə m  `liyya, `ədt nəxdə m  `lih!*
  !ينِ   عل لّرّاي لي يِدبّر لي   فيه: جبّت لي يخدمعِ لِيّا، عدْت نخد   م عليه
  Cursed be this advice that he gave me on it: I got someone to serve me, and ended up
  serving him!
- *ja   ytəbbu   `mah*
  ه عماه   ُ   ا يطبِ   جِ
  He came to cure him and blinded him.
- *ja yəs`a wəddər təs`a*
  جا يسطِ ودّ ر تسعة
  He came to try (to help find something) and lost nine (more.)
- *a`tini    bəntə    k    u    zid    i    `ulətha   dgig*
  ڧيڧ   ي بنتك وزيد   ي عولتها د   أعطينِ
  Give me your daughter, and add a year's food for her in flour (someone asking for a
  big favor and then topping it off with a totally unreasonable request.)
- *ma   yəkbə   r   raṣ ḥ   ətta   yši   b   raṣ*
  ما يِ   كبرِ را   ص حتّ   ّى يشيب راصِ
  No one grows up without turning someone else's hair white.

- *mul əlfu l yqu l ṭəyyab.*
  مول الفول يقول طيّاب
  A bean-seller will always say [the beans] are ready-to-cook.
- *atġədda wətmədda, at`əšša wətməšša*
  لُغدّى قمدّى، أ تعشّى و تمشّى
  Eat lunch then lay down, eat dinner then walk around.
- *ki təšbə ` əlkərš, ətqul lə rraṣ ġənni*
  كي تَ شبع الكرْش، تقول لمرّا ص غَذ ّي
  When the stomach is full, it tells the head to sing.
- *wəjh əlxru f mə `ruf*
  وجه الخروف معروف
  A lamb is known by its face.
- *aḍḍərbu yə `rəf mə ḍḍərbu*
  ه ُضّرب ُه يعرف م أضّ رب
  Hit him and he'll know his place.
- *ḥəjṛa mən yədd əlḥbib təffaḥa*
  حجرة من يَ الحبيب قّاحة
  A stone from a friend's hand is an apple.
- *kul ma y`əjbək wəlbəs ma yə`jəb ənnas*
  كول م ا يِ عجبك وا لبس م ا يِ عجب لذّاس
  Eat what you like, wear what other people like.
- *yṭəbbə` fì ḥmaṛ miyyət*
  يطبّع في حمار ميّت
  Pushing a dead donkey ("flogging a dead horse")
- *mə`za walu ṭaṛət*
  معزة ولو طارت
  It's a goat even if it flies (a metaphor for stubbornness)

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