



SPEAKING FROM THE HEART

Semantics of some negative emotion terms in
Tarifiyt

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgement.....	1
Abstract	3
Introduction	3
Literature review	4
Methodology and issues	6
Data and speakers	11
The locus of emotions in Tarifiyt	14
Emotions and negative emotion terms	16
Hate-like emotions: <i>mell, çarh, i-qere=as=d ur</i>	18
Anger-like emotions: <i>eaşşeb, tiyar, kfar, i-s-kaberyar=as, ammuzzar</i>	23
Sadness-like emotions: <i>xiyyeq, i-qqs=as rhar, i-s-ruba=t</i>	30
Worry-like emotions: <i>amnus, yufa, i-tet=it wur</i>	36
CONCLUDING REMARKS	42
Consulted Literature	43

Abstract

This thesis discusses emotion lexicon in Tarifiyt, an Afro-Asiatic Berber language of North Morocco. I will discuss the meaning of several negative emotion terms and expressions in this language. In the study of anthropological linguistics, the meaning of emotions in several languages has received attention. However, until now, the semantic field of emotions in Tarifiyt has not been researched. I will use the Natural Semantic Metalanguage and linguistic examples in order to discuss the semantics of these terms and expressions. I will conclude that there is a diverse emotion lexicon in Tarifiyt and that emotions are presented as verbs or as nouns and are something internal to a human being. The seat of emotions, *ur* ('heart') is crucial in understanding emotional expression in Tarifiyt. Furthermore, emotions are often expressed via emotion symptom expressions, so by expressing the bodily sensations that typically accompany the emotion.

Introduction

When I was living in Morocco and trying to learn Tarifiyt, the local Tamazight dialect, I asked a friend how he would translate 'happiness' or 'to be happy' in his language, Tarifiyt. He answered that there is no such word in Tarifiyt. At that time, I wondered how people would talk about how they feel in Tarifiyt. Luckily, a few years later, after several courses on anthropological linguistics, I got to understand a lot more about diversity in linguistic expression across languages. As for emotions, this means that even though a lot of human actions and decisions are based on emotional arguments, these emotions are not expressible in the same way in every language. I wanted to know more about them and therefore I wrote my thesis about emotions in Tarifiyt. Emotions and feelings affect our actions, thinking and perception of the world around us. Therefore, the topic of emotions has not only been studied in psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, sociology, history and political science, but also from a linguistic perspective (Brise 2017, 27). The linguistic view on emotions explains the meaning of words like 'happiness' and 'sadness'. Hence, the cultural meaning of the phenomena of emotions are explained by linguistic analysis.

In this way, the existence of linguistic emotional expression as universal human phenomena is questioned. According to anthropological linguistics, these differences in language actually change the way reality is experienced. The hypothesis that language changes experience originates from thinkers like Franz Boas, Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir. In different languages, emotions are experienced differently. So 'happiness' in English is not the same as '*geluk*' in Dutch or '*bonheur*' in French and, according to these cultural relativists, this also changes the experience. In this study, I will discuss negative emotion terms in the Tarifiyt language and the way they are expressed. Tarifiyt is an Afro-Asiatic language and is the Tamazight — or Berber — variety spoken in the Rif mountains in the North of Morocco (Mourigh and Kossmann forthcoming, 9). It is spoken by 4.4 million people of which the majority lives in the area of the Rif (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig (eds.) 2020). Morocco is a multi-lingual country. Most of the inhabitants that speak a variant of Tamazight as mother tongue are bilingual and also speak Moroccan Arabic (also known as *Darija*) (Mourigh and Kossmann forthcoming, 9). Other languages that play an important role in Morocco are French, with about 10.8 million L2 speakers in Morocco, and Spanish, with 1.5 million L2 speakers (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig (eds.) 2020). French still plays a major role in the country as the language of business and sciences (Mourigh and Kossmann forthcoming, 9-10). In the Rif, Spanish has been very important because of the Spanish colonization of the region from 1912 to 1956 (idem).

There has been extensive research on emotions in various languages. Tarifiyt emotion terms and their usage have never been studied. Therefore, in this thesis, I will discuss emotion expressions in Tarifiyt. I will answer the following main question: how are some hate-like,

anger-like, sadness-like and worry-like emotion terms expressed linguistically in Tarifiyt? To answer this question, I will first discuss the locus of emotions in Tarifiyt. The locus of emotions is a place in the body that is presented in a language as the seat or origin of emotional experience. The locus of emotion in Tarifiyt, *ur* ('heart'), will give account of the way some emotion terms are expressed and experienced. After this, I will be able to discuss the meaning of some negative emotion terms and the way they are expressed according to the premises of anthropological linguistics. To accomplish this, I will use the approach of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage —mentioned as NSM in the following (Goddard 2010; Wierzbicka 1999; Wierzbicka 2009). This study offers a view on the experience of certain emotions of speakers of Tarifiyt in their daily communication.

Literature review

A lot has been published about emotional expression in several languages. Important linguistic research on emotional expression came from Anna Wierzbicka. She explored the field of emotionology for emotional universals — using the constraints of Natural Semantic Metalanguage — and she studied emotion expressions in language cross-culturally. She argues the following:

Crosslinguistic evidence shows that speakers of different languages tend to conceptualize the links between feelings, thoughts, wants, and bodies in different ways. In English (modern English), these links are indeed often conceptualized as “states” (and described by adjectives, e.g., angry), but for example in Russian, they are typically conceptualized in terms of processes or inner activities and described by means of verbs. (Wierzbicka 2009, 10)

So emotional expression across languages is rather diverse. Lucia Omondi discusses how these emotions can be understood cross-linguistically. Amongst others, she studied the language of emotion in Dholuo and concludes that the language of emotions in this language ‘raises issues of the relationships between reason, feeling, and human biology that make it difficult to crystallize what a common word for an everyday emotion really means’ (Omondi 1997, 106). She argues that the difference between certain terms can only be understood in the specific culture (idem, 95). This idea is important in order to explain emotion terms cross-linguistically.

Despite the diversity of emotional expression in human language, the idea of some emotional universals has been explored before. Ekman did extensive research on facial expression and emotions cross-culturally based on fieldwork in several parts of the world. He found that even in isolated cultures, people were able to recognize the same feelings, based on facial expressions, like the expressions of anger, happiness, disgust, sadness, fear and surprise (Ekman 2003). Ekman points out that emotions trigger us to react or do something, and they are a survival mechanism (idem, 32). According to him ‘emotions change how we see the world and how we interpret the actions of others and because of emotions we evaluate what is happening in a way that is consistent with the emotion we are feeling, thus justifying and maintaining the emotion’ (idem, 39). Therefore, facial expression under similar circumstances might be similar, but this does not explain how the way emotions are expressed in human language can be this extremely diverse.

However, some universals can be determined. In ‘Emotional Universals’, Wierzbicka proposes a set of emotional universals that are tested cross-culturally. She discusses emotional phenomena and their representations in spoken language and argues that all concepts of emotions are culturally based (Wierzbicka 1999). Wierzbicka proposes four universal types of emotion concepts in human societies: ‘fear-like’, ‘anger-like’, ‘shame-like’ and ‘happy/love-

like' (idem, 43-51). Many studies have been conducted using the premises posed by Wierzbicka. Lillian Brise conducted one. She studied emotional concepts using the Natural Semantic Metalanguage in Igala in Nigeria (Brise 2017). The data for her study came from interviews, storytelling and church sermons. She demonstrated that emotions construct a network and have an area of overlap (idem, 101). In this study, I will use the way Brise analyzed her data. The way she categorized emotion terms in Igala appealed to me since she successfully identified those terms without introducing an English cultural bias in her results.

Some ways of expressing a specific emotion are more common than others. This is something that is discussed by Lidija Iordanskaja. She wrote about Emotion Symptom expressions in Russian. According to her, in Russian as in other languages, the intensity of an emotion is often conveyed by indicating those physical manifestations which typically accompany it (Iordanskaja 1986, 249). She calls this type of expressions Emotion Symptom expressions. In this study, I will show that some kind of similar process takes place in Tarifiyt. However, she argues that a distinction should be made between standard and non-standard Emotion Symptom expressions (idem). She defines standard emotion symptom expressions in the following way:

A standard [Emotion Symptom] expression is a cliché, or a set expression, with a fixed lexical composition and syntactic structure. It is also highly idiomatic, i.e. language-oriented in its semantics: its meaning represents a language-specified relationship between an emotion and the corresponding physical change. Thus, while in one language 'one's eyes pop out of one's head' from amazement, in another language this same meaning might imply anger rather than amazement. (idem, 250)

Therefore, some emotion expressions are marked while others are not and are used daily. In this study, I look into standard Emotion Symptom expressions in Tarifiyt as well, and I will explain commonly used Emotion Symptom expressions in Tarifiyt.

These kinds of expressions are often expressions in which the human body plays a central role. This process is studied by Iwona Kraska-Szlenk. She studied embodiment cross-linguistically (Kraska-Szlenk 2014). For this study, she drew upon own data from Swahili and Polish. She discusses embodiment in general and comes up with 4 categories of embodiment: Extension of body part terms in grammaticalization, semantic extensions in the domain of emotions, extensions in the domain of knowledge and reasoning, extensions in the domain of social interactions and values and external domains. She states some universals and common embodiment patterns. This information is useful in my study because emotions are often expressed via bodily experience in Tarifiyt.

I will now discuss the lexical sources I will use in this study. Amédé Renisio composed a work consisting of texts, grammar and a list of lexical entries from Tarifiyt to French and French to Tarifiyt in *Étude sur les dialectes Berberes des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Sraïr*. Furthermore, I will use the dictionaries composed by Esteban Ibáñez. He wrote a Spanish-Tarifiyt dictionary in 1944 and a Tarifiyt-Spanish dictionary in 1949. These works are both based on a corpus that was gathered and elaborated on by Father Pedro Hilarión Sarrionandia. The work of Ibáñez focusses on translational equivalents and is less precise on linguistic information. The most complete lexical work on Tarifiyt is the Tarifiyt-French dictionary composed by Serhoual in *Dictionnaire Tarifit-Français*, which is a study of other lexical sources on the language. More importantly, Serhoual gives a better account of morphological and syntactical processes with the entries he provides than the earlier mentioned lexical works on Tarifiyt. The latter work, however, is less clear on information on regional variation of the terms mentioned. These three lexical sources contain information on several

emotion terms. However, they are never explained in a linguistic context that would describe their referential range more precisely. Lastly, to give account of the grammatical processes, I will use the work of Khalid Mourigh and Maarten Kossmann, *Introduction to Tarifiyt*, which is a compact grammar of Tarifiyt. I will use this grammar because I was already familiar with this work and its explanations of grammatical processes suffice for this study.

Methodology and issues

The methodology for this study is based on the theory of linguistic relativity. This theory is also known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and states that language changes experience (Foley 1997, 201-202). Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir were influential in the making of this theory. This idea is explained by Whorf in the following way.

It was found that the background linguistic system (in other words, the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for the synthesis of his mental stock in trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational in the old sense, but is part of a particular grammar, and differs, from slightly to greatly, between different grammars. We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds.

(Whorf 1956, 212-13)

Briefly put, this vision implies that the world is evaluated differently, depending on the language one speaks. Thus, in this way of thinking, emotions are expressed and categorized differently according to the language.

This is confirmed by Wierzbicka. According to her, all emotions are culturally based, so it is impossible to claim that emotions are expressed in a universal way in all languages (Wierzbicka 1999). To study emotions in another language asks for a definition of the term 'emotion' itself that is not culturally specific. Wierzbicka herself also rightfully problematizes the term 'emotion' in the following way.

The English word emotion seems to combine in its meaning a reference to 'feeling', a reference to 'thinking', and a reference to a person's body. For example, one can talk about a "feeling of hunger", or a "feeling of heartburn", but not about an "emotion of hunger" or an "emotion of heartburn", because the feelings in question are not thought related. The English word emotion, however [...] does not have exact equivalents in other languages. In fact, it embodies a concept which is itself an artefact of the English language.

(Wierzbicka 1999, 24)

Therefore, defining the term 'emotion' is rather problematic. The question then is how this can be studied in languages in which a similar term does not seem to exist. In addition to this, Omondi mentions that 'a significant aspect of the meaning of many emotional items in language is that they relate to certain behaviors so much that from the physical or mental collocation it becomes difficult to say whether the term names the emotion of the actions or behavior that the emotions probably predispose people to' (Omondi 1997, 97). Thus, the question then is, to what

extent terms like ‘rage’ or ‘madness’ refer to a certain behavior, more than to a kind of feeling-thought process. This is an issue that is also manifested when looking into the Tarifiyt emotion terms. I will also discuss this in this study. Omondi defines the word ‘emotion’ as follows.

Emotion is an experience or is something to be experienced by the human being. Secondly, there is an attempt to locate the experiences somewhere within the human dimensions of body, mind and soul. Thirdly, as the opposite of reason, emotion is a feeling, an experience not controlled by the will. (idem, 89)

According to Omondi, emotion refers to something that happens in the body in combination with something that people feel and/or think. However, the use of the term ‘mind’ in this definition is rather problematic. This term is also culture-specific. Therefore, the explanation of the term ‘emotion’ is still one based on the English conceptualization. Nevertheless, Omondi makes a valid argument in pointing out that emotion is an experience and a feeling, and that emotional experience is not so much a product of the human will. People do not so much as choose to feel ‘sad’ or ‘angry’, but rather end up feeling this way. Notwithstanding, some people get ‘angry’ more easily than others. So, the term ‘emotion’ in itself is a culture-specific word that refers to some kind of involuntary experience that makes a person ‘feel’ something. This ‘feeling’ affects the way this person may ‘think’. A feeling is caused because this person ‘knows’ something. This could be as simple as noticing that somebody else is pushing him or her or knowing that a son or daughter did not come home yet. In this study, I will use the beforementioned definitions of Omondi and Wierzbicka to be able to distinguish emotion terms in Tarifiyt. I will discuss the terms ‘feel’, ‘know’ and ‘think’ later, when talking about the Natural Semantic Metalanguage.

If emotions are culture-specific, the study of emotions in a certain language presupposes the existence of specific terms that only refer to an emotion in that specific language. Besides, it poses a problem on what there is to be investigated. Wierzbicka argues that there are some universals in emotional expression among languages. The premises Wierzbicka makes in this aspect are the following.

1. All languages have a word for FEEL
 2. In all languages, some feelings can be described as "good" and some as "bad" (while some may be viewed as neither "good" nor "bad").
 3. All languages have "emotive" interjections (i.e. interjections expressing cognitively-based feelings).
 4. All languages have some "emotion terms" (i.e. terms for cognitively based feelings).
 5. All languages have words overlapping (though not identical) in meaning with the English words angry, afraid, and ashamed.
 6. All languages have words comparable (though not necessarily identical) in meaning to cry and smile.
 7. In all languages, people can describe cognitively-based feelings via observable bodily symptoms.
 8. In all languages, cognitively-based feelings can be described via figurative "bodily images".
 9. In all languages, there are alternative grammatical constructions for describing (and interpreting) cognitively-based feelings.
- (Wierzbicka 1999, 36)

I will follow these premises and focus on how the emotion terms and the bodily images in Tarifiyt are expressed and how they overlap.

I will now address another matter that is raised by Omondi regarding the expression of emotions in language. She states that every utterance can contain emotional stance, depending upon the context of this utterance (Omondi, 90). So, the preposition ‘the door is open!’ can bear a lot of emotions in certain contexts, while the statement in itself does not mention any emotion. On the other hand, a word that describes a feeling can have no emotional value for the speaker uttering it. So, I could say ‘my friend is very sad’ without that I would be expressing my emotions at that moment. The expression of emotions is called *emotional stance*, i.e. how a speaker intends an utterance emotionally — a topic which I will not cover in this thesis.

I will use Kraska-Szlenk's observations about the extension of body part terms to explain emotions. She observes that the locus of emotion is often the heart, liver or stomach (Kraska-Szlenk 2014, 35). This offers some testable premises for this thesis. In English for example, ‘pain in the heart’ is a figurative bodily image to express a certain kind of sadness. This kind of process is a common process in the conceptualization of emotions. Omondi offers more insight to understand this kind of process in the following way.

Dholuo has a rather widespread tendency to associate emotions with body parts and some feeling or sensation therein. This association would seem to be part of a larger process of what we might call concretization which, as it were, defines the internal feeling of a more accessible experience. (Omondi 1997, 97)

This process that Omondi calls concretization is also something that can be found in the field of negative emotions in Tarifiyt. Problematic however is the assumption that the expressions containing bodily images represent emotions and not the other way around. Briefly put, the problem is that Omondi presupposes the existence of some kind of concept of emotion, instead of considering the bodily image as an emotional expression itself.

I will use the Natural Semantic Metalanguage to define the Tarifiyt emotional terms in this paper. This is a common tool in the linguistic study of emotions. Wierzbicka explains this methodology in the following way.

The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) is a minilanguage which corresponds to the intersection — the common core — of all languages. This intersection of all languages has been discovered empirically, through extensive cross-linguistic studies undertaken by many scholars over many years. (Wierzbicka 2009, 3)

Wierzbicka further explains that to define emotional concepts in a way that would be truly explanatory, they must be defined in terms of words that are intuitively understandable (non-technical) and which themselves are not names of specific emotions or emotional states (Wierzbicka 1999, 27). This can be done using a small set of simple and universal concepts such as 'FEEL', 'WANT', 'SAY', 'THINK', 'KNOW', 'GOOD', 'BAD', and so on, which have been independently justified as plausible candidates for the status of conceptual primitives (idem). Wierzbicka started to collect and test these words and many other linguists continued to do this and tested these words cross-linguistically. This language is called the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). Please note that these concepts are written in capital letters because they do not only refer to the English meaning they have. The fact that these concepts are explained in words is in itself problematic and also mentioned by proponents of this metalanguage like Goddard. According to him, these concepts are considered to be culture-free and non-linguistically present in the human mind (Goddard 2018, 315). He also mentions that there is no mechanical procedure for semantic analysis according to the NSM (Goddard 2010,

464). Thus, there is no standardized way of processing data that will result in a description in this metalanguage. I will now give the lists of concepts of the NSM.

Substantives	I, YOU, SOMEONE (PERSON), SOMETHING (THING), PEOPLE, BODY
Relational substantives	PART(S)
Determiners	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER, ELSE
Quantifiers	ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MANY, MUCH
Evaluators	GOOD, BAD
Attributes	BIG, SMALL
Mental predicates	THINK, KNOW, WANT, DON'T WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR, IMAGINE
Location, existence, specification	BE (SOMEWHERE), THERE IS, BE (SOMEONE/SOMETHING)
Possession	BE (MINE), HAVE
Speech	SAY, WORDS, TRUE
Actions, events, movement	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
Life and death	LIVE (ALIVE), DIE
Logical concepts	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF, VERY, MORE
Time	WHEN (TIME), NOW, AFTER, BEFORE, MOMENT
Place	WHERE, PLACE, FAR, BELOW, HERE, UNDER, ABOVE, NEAR, SIDE
Augmentor, intensifier	VERY, MORE
Similarity	LIKE, WAY, AS

(Peeters, 2019)

I will use these concepts to explain the emotional terms I encountered in my corpus. Note that essential concepts for the definition of emotion terms like 'feel', 'think' and 'know' are all part of these concepts. This study will talk about words in linguistic context and I will also discuss the syntactical and morphological structures in this linguistic context. I will use the categorization of emotions that is proposed by Brise 'anger-like', 'happy-like' etc. (Brise 2017 76-77). I will only discuss some hate-like, anger-like, sadness-like and worry-like terms in Tarifiyt using this methodology. I chose these terms because of their overlap in semantics. According to Wierzbicka, these semantic primes have lexical representations in some way in every human language (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014, 83). However, the linguistic shape of the primes does not necessarily bear a one-to-one correspondence across languages. Thus, a particular prime might be a morpheme in one language, a phrase in another, and a word in yet another.

To transcribe Tarifiyt, I will use a standard orthography for linguistic transcription with some small adjustments. I will now present a list of IPA signs and their corresponding sign in my orthography.

IPA sign	Sign in transcription
a	a
æ	a
i	i
u	u

ə	e
b	b
β	b
d	d
ð	d
d ^ɬ	ɖ
ð ^ɬ	ɖ
ɖʒ	dj
f	f
g	g
j	ǰ
ɣ	ɣ
ɦ	h
ħ	ħ
j	y
k	k
ç	ç
l*	r*
m	m
n	n
ŋ	n
p	p
p ^ɬ	p
q	q
r* ^l	r
r ^ɬ *	r
r*	r
s	s
s ^ɬ	ʂ
ʃ	c
ʃ ^ɬ	c
t	t
t ^ɬ	ʈ
θ	t
ʈ	tc
w	w
x	x
z	z
z ^ɬ	ʐ
ʒ	j
ʕ	ɛ

¹ * According to Mourigh and Kossmann, the phonetic realization of the phonemes /l/ and /r/ are pronounced in a very similar way in various variants of Tarifiyt (Mourigh and Kossmann, forthcoming, 27). I was not always able to hear the difference between them. Therefore, when I heard a tap or trill during the interviews, I always transcribed it as *r*. If I heard a lateral sound during the interviews, I transcribed this as *l*.

Data and speakers

For this study, I gathered data from different sources. I used elicitation with informants. I also looked for emotion terms in existing corpora of Tarifiyt *izran* and sayings. To get an overview of the emotional terminology and categorization in the Tarifiyt language, I used existing books about sayings and *izran* and the Tarifiyt dictionary from Serhoual (2002). The sayings were gathered by Benzakour (2018) and by Bentolila (1993). Both of these works are a collection of sayings and proverbs that were gathered in the Rif. I also analysed existing collections of *izran*. *Izran* are riming verses, mostly consisting of two lines that were sung by groups of women while doing domestic tasks or during marriages and parties, in order to comment upon daily life (Rachida and Mourigh 2015, 5).² *Izran* can be considered as reflections about happenings in the lives of the people of the Rif and are therefore full of emotional expressions. I found a lot of useful emotional expressions in *izran*. I used two existing corpora of *izran* in which I looked for emotional expression, namely that of El Yaakoubi (1992) and Mourigh (2015). However, I quickly found out that most of the expressions found in *izran* are not used in daily life or normal expression. So most of these expressions are only understood in the context of *izran*. I also used the dictionary of Serhoual to get an overview of the emotional terms that I could run into (Serhoual 2002). I tested these terms with the informants by asking them sentences and explanations of these terms. I composed a list of words that are mentioned throughout this dictionary. I was able to test this list with only one of the informants. For more lexical information about these terms, I consulted the dictionaries of Renisio and Ibáñez (Renisio 1932; Ibáñez 1944; Ibáñez 1949).

I gathered data according to the methodology proposed by Le Guen. He proposes a questionnaire for elicitation that focusses on building a repertoire of emotion terms in languages in order to understand how emotions are categorised and linguistically carved in different cultures (2009). The methodology of this interview coincides with Ekman's idea that emotions are evaluations of actions (Ekman 2003, 39). Thus, Le Guen introduces scenarios for elicitation in which he names and describes emotions. These scenarios are supposed to be culturally neutral. The idea is to elicit contexts in which everyone in the world would feel the same way. However, people could still render these emotions in different ways. This is one of the challenges of this methodology. I tried to tackle this issue by asking the informants how they would feel if x happened to them in Dutch and then asked them to translate it to Tarifiyt. I would also ask them if they knew of other ways of expressing the same emotion. When an emotion term was mentioned I asked what people would be doing when they say x or what would trigger them so say x. A general challenge of using elicitation for this kind of studies is the fact that it is not natural language that is studied, so, in real life, people could express themselves differently just because the language is not taken out of its social context. Besides, translational equivalents do not necessarily account for the cultural meaning of expressions in Tarifiyt because my metalanguage was mostly Dutch. I tried to solve this problem by asking follow up questions ('what would you do when you feel x?', 'when do you say x?', 'what is the difference between term x and y?' etc). Luckily, my informants also volunteered a lot of words and terms, which I then checked with other informants.

For this study, I conducted structured elicitation sessions with six speakers, all from different regions of the western Rif area. Two of the speakers are women and four men. Their age was between 28 and 56. All of them had lived a great part of their youth in the Rif in North Morocco. Only one of them (age 36) lived his whole life in the Rif. I conducted more extensive elicitation sessions with this speaker. He has been the only speaker with whom I tested all the emotional terms I found in the dictionary of Serhoual. A lot of them were just informal texts

² These poems were usually accompanied by an *adjun*, a musical instrument that is comparable to a tambourine (Rachida and Mourigh 2015, 5). Nowadays these songs have lost their traditional context and are mostly sung by professional musicians (Idem, 6).

and voice messages. With the informant in question, I conducted an elicitation session in Tarifiyt, each of which lasted between five minutes and one hour. The elicitation sessions with the other speakers were conducted in Dutch. The exemplary linguistic examples in this study are taken from elicitation sessions and the already existing corpus of *izran*, sayings and dictionaries. I translated most of the examples myself. Despite the fact that translations are never a representation of the original and exact meaning of a text, I tried to stay as close as possible to the original meaning.

Most of the informants have been living most of their lives in the Netherlands but speak Tarifiyt on a daily basis at home or with friends. I tried to find Tarifiyt speakers from different areas that speak a linguistic variant from the western Rif in order to obtain a more consistent set of data. According to Lafkioui, there are differences in the language depending on the region. This difference is mostly dependent upon the tribal area (Lafkioui 2011, 186-190). One male informant was born and raised in Adouz in the tribal area of Ibequyyen(/Bokkoya), thirty kilometers east of al-Hoceima. Two male informants came originally from Imzouren, a village located at fifteen kilometers southwest of El Hoceima, in the Ayth Waryaghel tribal area. Two female informants were born in the Netherlands but speak Tarifiyt at home and with their family. Their parents were born in the region of Kasita, some 60 kilometers south of El Hoceima, and they told me they speak the same variant of Tarifiyt. During the interviews, I asked the speakers to translate Dutch sentences containing emotional terms into Tarifiyt. I also asked them to translate and explain several emotion expressions I found in my corpus of *izran* and proverbs. I also requested them to explain the differences between these terms by asking them about a scenario in which one word could be used and a scenario a similar term cannot be used. Below I have given a list of essential background information of the informants I could include in this study.

Name	Gender	Age	Tribe of Origin
Achraf Bellaali	Male	36	Aith Waryaghel
Chahid Aoulad El Arbi	Male	28	Aith Waryaghel
Mohamed El Hammouti,	Male	56	Aith Waryaghel
Mostafa El Hantati	Male	52	Ibequyyen
Samira Aouragh,	Female	28	Igzennayen
Sanaa El Bouzidi,	Female	28	Igzennayen

Lastly, I will present the list of linguistic abbreviations I used to gloss the exemplary sentences.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	aoist
AD	the particle <i>a(d)</i> ³
AS	annexed state
CAUS	causative particle
DO	direct object
F	female
FS	free state
IPF	imperfective
IO	indirect object
M	masculine
N	nominalizer
NEG	negative marker
NSM	Natural Semantic Metalanguage
P	perfective
PART	participle
PAST	past particle
PL	plural
POS	possessive
PRED	predicative particle
REL	relative clause marker
SG	singular
QA	aqqa particle ⁴
VOC	vocative

³ This is a modal preverbal clitic (Mourigh and Kossmann forthcoming, 79).

⁴ According to Mourigh and Kossmann this particle could be interpreted as a ‘presentative’ particle (idem, 86).

The locus of emotions in Tarifiyt

Emotions can often be explained by means of bodily expressions. In English for example, one could say ‘my heart is broken’. In general, this expression does not refer to someone’s heart being actually broken or malfunctioning, but it is a way of referring to a specific kind of sadness. In the abovementioned expression, the heart then can be considered as the locus of emotions. Kraska-Szlenk observed that in many languages the locus of emotional expression is the heart, the liver or the stomach (Kraska-Szlenk 2014, 23-24). In the semantic field of emotions, a process of embodiment also takes place in Tarifiyt in which the locus of emotions is mostly *ur* (‘heart’) and to a very small extent the *tsa* (‘liver’). According to Kraska-Szlenk the heart is often presented in language as some kind of container in which all kinds of emotions may be kept (*idem*). I will now discuss how this linguistic phenomenon of the heart being used as locus of emotions is expressed in Tarifiyt in order to get a better understanding of the way in which emotions are expressed and viewed in the language.

In *izran*, *ur* is extensively used when expressing emotions. Therefore, in most cases, when an emotion is described in these songs with reference to the body, the emotion is expressed by using *ur* as seat or container of the emotion. It seems that any feeling can take place in the heart, which I will now show in the following exemplary sentences.

1. *ssbar ssbar aya tin ur=a uca ad*
 patience patience VOC that FS.heart=this then AD
*i-farḥ*⁵
 3SG.M-get.happy
 ‘patience, patience, you there, the heart will get happy’⁶
2. *y-exs icem wur inu war gg-iy bu řeḥsab*⁷
 3SG.M-want 2SG.F.DO AS.heart of.1SG NEG do-1SGNEG account
 ‘my heart loves you, I did not count on that’⁸
3. *bismilla a ne-kkes zegg wur nney axeyyeq*⁹
 in.the.name.of.God AD 1PL-take.A from AS.heart of.1PL N.xiyyeq.FS
 ‘in the name of God, we take from our heart *xiyyeq*’¹⁰
4. *nic ruxa ur inu i-yufa*
 I now FS.heart of.1SG 3SG.M-yufa
 ‘my heart *yufa* now’

In the four exemplary sentences above, several rather different emotion terms are named with reference to *ur* as the place where this emotion is contained. I will now roughly discuss what these emotion terms are in order to point out that these terms refer to some kind of emotion. In example (1) the emotion term *farḥ* is used. According to Serhoual, the verb *farḥ* means something like ‘*être content, gai; être satisfait; se réjouir*’ (Serhoual 2002, 109). Despite the fact that his explanation does not give account of the exact meaning of this verb, some defining criteria can already be deducted. Such criteria could be that the verb *farḥ* refers to a positive emotion; thus, a feeling in which someone thinks something like ‘good things happened’, ‘I want this’ and that person feels good because of this. In example (2), the emotion expression consisting of the verb *exs* with a direct object that refers to a person is used. According to

⁵ Source: Rachida and Mourigh 2015, 6.

⁶ The translation of this sentence that is given in the source is: ‘*Heb geduld, jij daar, het hart zal blij worden*’.

⁷ Source: *Idem*.

⁸ The translation of this sentence that is given in the source is: ‘*Mijn hart verlangde naar je en ik had het niet kunnen dromen*’.

⁹ Source: *Idem*, 62.

¹⁰ The original translation of this sentence given in the source is: ‘*In naam van God verwijderen wij de droefheid uit ons hart*’.

Serhoual, the verb *exs* means something like ‘*aimer; vouloir; espérer, désirer, souhaiter*’ (idem, 217). If it is followed by a direct object that refers to a person, the expression refers to a love-like emotion. Serhoual translates ‘*i-t-exs=it*’ (<3SG.M-IPF-*exs*=3SG.F.DO) as ‘*il l’aime*’ (idem). In such way, this expression can roughly be explained as a term that refers to some kind of good feeling towards someone else in which the person that experiences the feeling thinks something like ‘I want good things to happen to this someone’ and ‘I think good things happen when I see this someone else’. More importantly, the combination *exs*=DO(animate) refers to an emotion. In example (3) the nominalized realization of a sadness-like emotion *xiyyeq* is used. Lastly, in example (4) worry-like emotion like *yufa* is used with *ur* as subject. Example (4) was a volunteered proposition when I asked him about the meaning of the verb *yufa*. In the next chapter, I will discuss the meaning of the emotion terms *xiyyeq* and *yufa* in depth. For now, it is important to notice that these two terms refer to two different kinds of negative emotions.

In example (1), (2) and (4) the heart is used as subject of the emotion terms, *farh*, *yufa* and *exs* (with an animate direct object). In example (3) the nominalized emotion term *xiyyeq* is expressed as something carried in *ur* with the preposition *zegg* (‘from’). Hence, the emotions are contained in *ur* in the previous examples. Note that the emotion terms in example (1) to (4) could also be used without the use of *ur* as the container of the emotion. Therefore, these are no emotion symptom expressions, which will I will discuss in the next chapter. Similar expressions are found throughout the corpus of *izran* using the heart as the seat of emotions. However, the examples found here are a rather marked way of presenting these specific emotions. Still, these kinds of expressions have to be understandable by a broad public of Tarifiyt speakers. If *ur* is commonly used in *izran* as a bodily image for the expression of emotions, it should still be an understandable way of expressing these kinds of emotions.

There are also linguistic expressions in Tarifiyt that refer to a specific emotion only if the heart is an internal part of the construction. In Tarifiyt, there are expressions like *i-qree=as=d ur* (<3SG.M-rip.out=3SG.M.IO=hither FS.heart) and *i-tet=it wur* (3SG.M-eat.IPF=3SG.M.DO AS.heart) which respectively refer to a hate-like emotion and a worry-like emotion. The exact meaning of the abovementioned expressions will be explained in the following. However, *ur* is either direct object or subject in these expressions; the verbs do have a basic meaning that does not refer to some kind of emotion expression. The verb *qree*, for example, is translated by Serhoual as ‘*arracher (végétal), enlever, extaire, extirper*’ (Serhoual 2002, 434). Thus, this verb has no emotional meaning in the expression *i-qree=as=d ur*. The construction needs *ur* as a necessary part of the emotion expression. Thus, *i-qree=as=d ur* seems to be an emotion symptom expression. For now, it only is important to know that *ur* is used as a container of emotions in Tarifiyt and that there are emotional expressions in which the heart is a necessary part of the construction.

There also seems to be some semantical extension in the semantic domain of emotions with *tsa* (‘liver’). The use of *tsa* in emotion expression is more limited than the use of *ur*. The informants told me that the expression *tsa inu* (<liver of.1SG) is a common affective way for parents or grandparents to call their (grand)children. The expression *tsa inu* can also be used to call or refer to the partner, boyfriend or girlfriend of the one speaking. It can be translated as ‘my dear’. This is confirmed by Serhoual. He translates *tsa inu* as ‘*chéri(e), terme d’affection*’ (idem, 505). In short, *tsa* combined with a first person possessive pronoun can refer to a loved person. However, this might not be an emotion term per se. It only reflects on the way someone feels about someone else, so it is probably more used to express a personal trait than as an emotion term. The use of *tsa* combined with a first person possessive pronoun is the only expression I encountered that uses *tsa* to refer to some emotion-like term. According to Kraska-Szlenk ‘one more very common extension gradually built upon the initial ‘locus’ metaphor involves the usages of ‘heart’ (or some modification of it, as for example the English word sweetheart) in reference to a loved person, which is also used as a term of address, typically

accompanied by the possessive pronoun ‘my’ (Kraska-Szlenk 2014, 24). In Tarifiyt, a similar process takes place for someone loved, only with the use of the *tsa* (‘liver’) instead of the heart. I did not find other expressions in which *tsa* is used as some kind of container of emotions. The term *tsa* is commonly used to express personal traits. An informant mentioned that if somebody is a hateful person, it can be expressed by saying *ya=s tsa t t-abarrcan-t* (<to=3SG.M.IO liver PRED F-black-F). This is translated literally as ‘he has got a black liver’. Serhoual translates it as ‘*celui don’t le foie est noir, il a le foie noir, il est dur, implacable, rancunier et vincidatif*’ (idem, 504). Thus, Serhoual confirms the statement of the informant that this expression refers to a negative personal trait. Similarly, other informants mentioned that to express that someone is a loving person, *ya=s tsa t t-acmra-tc* (<to=3SG.M.IO liver PRED F-white-F) could be said. It is translated literally as ‘he has a white liver’ and is another way of using *tsa* to describe a certain personal trait. This way of using *tsa* seems to be more common than the use of *tsa* to express emotions.

Emotions and negative emotion terms

I will now discuss emotional terminology in Tarifiyt. I will also discuss whether the term ‘emotion’ has a counterpart in Tarifiyt and to what extent the semantic prime FEEL is expressed in Tarifiyt. Brise already mentions that the generic word ‘emotion’ is culture-specific (Brise 2017, 75). Emotion terms in Tarifiyt seem to consist of both generic Tarifiyt terms, as well as loanwords from Arabic. According to Kossmann, Arabic — and mostly Moroccan-Arabic — has influenced the lexicon Tarifiyt greatly in the course of the last centuries, which is visible in lexical borrowings from Arabic in Tarifiyt (Kossmann 2009, 194-197). Lexical borrowing from Arabic also takes place in the lexical domain of emotions.

An example of lexical borrowing in the domain of emotions is the existence of the sensory verb *s-hiss*, which is the causative inflexion of the Arabic verb *hess*. I cannot explain the change of the vowel in this verb *hess*>*s-hiss*. According to Harrell, the Moroccan-Arabic verb *hess* can be best translated as ‘1. to feel [...] 2. to feel, to perceive’ (Harrell 1966, 248). It seems then that the Moroccan-Arabic verb *hess* is used to refer to a tactile or sensory way of feeling and seems not to be used to refer to internal or thought-related feeling (as in the English ‘I feel sad’). In Tarifiyt, the causative realization of this borrowing, *s-hiss*, seems to be used in a similar way the verb *hess* is used in Moroccan-Arabic. However, I did encounter a limited amount of utterances of one of the informants in which the verb *s-hiss* seems to refer to emotion-like feeling which I will now show. However, these examples are not exhaustive to prove it.

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 5. | <i>s-hiss-ey</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>lwehdaniyat</i> |
| | CAUS- <i>hess</i> -1SG | with | loneliness.PL |
| | ‘I feel lonely’ | | |
| 6. | <i>u s-hiss-ey</i> | <i>ci</i> | <i>mlih</i> |
| | NEG CAUS- <i>hess</i> -1SG | NEG | well |
| | ‘I do not feel well’ | | |
| 7. | <i>s-hiss-ey wenni d</i> | <i>aholandi</i> | |
| | CAUS- <i>hess</i> -1SG that is | Dutch | |
| | ‘I have the feeling that he is Dutch’ | | |

Example (5) was a response to the request to translate the sentence ‘I feel lonely’. In this example, the causative verb *s-hiss* is used with an indirect object marked by the preposition *s* (‘with’) that refers to some kind of feeling, namely *lwehdaniyat*. The latter is a Moroccan-Arabic loanword with the Arabic plural inflexion and the Arabic article *l-*. According to Harrell, the singular form of this Arabic word is *wehdaniya*, which he be translated as ‘1. unity, singleness (of God) 2. solitude, state of being alone’ (idem, 211). I cannot explain why

lwaḥdaniyat is borrowed in the plural realization. In addition, example (5) does not successfully prove that this term refers to an emotion or some kind of neutral state. I also asked how one would say ‘I do not feel well’ in Tarifiyt. Example (6) is the answer to my question according to one of the informants. In this example, the verb *ṣḥiss* is used with the adverb *mliḥ* (‘well’). However, it is still not clear as to whether this sentence actually refers to an emotion of not feeling well, or to a state of not feeling well (as in feeling ill or some similar not emotion-related feeling). Moreover, most informants translated the sentence ‘I do not feel well’ as *u=idji-γ ci mliḥ* (<NEG=be-1SG NEG well). I also asked the other informants whether example (6) is correct, which they hesitated to accept. Thus, the use of the verb *s-ḥiss* as in example (6) is presumably not commonly accepted.

Example (7) uses the verb *s-ḥiss* in a ‘I have the feeling’-like way. However, the use of the verb in this way does not fully prove that *s-ḥiss* is related to some kind of emotion. So it is still doubtful as to whether the verb *s-ḥiss* in Tarifiyt can refer to emotion-like feeling. This doubt is confirmed in another way; when one wants to say ‘I feel happy’, the verb *ṣḥiss* is not used. According to the informants, ‘I feel happy’ can only be translated as *farḥ-ey* (<*farḥ*-1SG) and not as **s-ḥiss-ey farḥ-ey* (<CAUS-*ḥiss*-1SG *farḥ*-1SG). Therefore, the verb *s-ḥiss* does probably not refer to the semantic prime FEEL as used to refer to an emotion-like process. According to Serhoual, there is another verb that refers to some FEEL-like verb, which is the verb *aca*. Serhoual mentions that *aca* means something like ‘*sentir, se sentir; pressentir; s’éveiller (à la suite d’un bruit); se rendre compte; prendre conscience; s’apercevoir; constater; se ressaisir*’ (Serhoual 2002, 564-7). The verb *aca* seems to have a wider referential range than the semantic prime FEEL. Moreover, the informants never used *aca* when asked to translate any sentence containing the Dutch verb ‘*voelen*’ (‘to feel’).¹¹

The word ‘emotions’ is mostly translated as *iḥsas* by the informants. Still, this does not mean that the referential range of the English term ‘emotions’ and the term *iḥsas* is the same. The term *iḥsas* refers to a process of thought related to feeling something and it can be used to refer to certain kind of feelings. It is an Arabic loanword and the *masdar* of stem IV of the stem *ḥ-s-s*. According to the informants, a term like *djaḥ* (‘to be hungry’) does not enter in the category *iḥsas*, whereas a term like *farḥ* (‘to be happy’) does enter in the category in some way. However, to state that this term is the Tarifiyt equivalent of the term ‘emotions’ would not be correct merely on this basis. It is not clear to what the term *iḥsas* refers to and to what extent speakers of Tarifiyt would actually use this term in daily communication.

In the following, I will explain some basic negative Tarifiyt emotion terminology. The following terms are words or expressions that can only refer to a negative emotion. A lot of these terms are expressed as verbs and refer to an internal process or state. There are a few negative emotions that are expressed as a noun a kind of attributive way. The Tarifiyt terms I will discuss are similar to some hate-like feelings, anger-like feelings, sadness-like feelings and worry-like feelings (cf. Brise 2017). Besides, I will explain these categories using the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) in English. I will discuss the terms one by one and I will focus on the differences between them as precisely as possible. The differences can mostly be explained using the NSM and contrasting scenarios. I will focus on the negative emotions that cause a person to feel bad. These kinds of terms are by far the biggest in number in my corpus and I find them the most interesting ones. In NSM, they all bear the following criteria:

¹¹ When I asked people that speak a variant of Tarifiyt of the Eastern Rif — the surroundings of Nador — they seemed to use the verb ‘*aca*’ in the same way my informants from the Western part of the Rif used the verb *ṣḥiss*.

Someone *x*
 This person feels something
 Sometimes a person thinks like this
 Something (very) bad is happening/happened/will happen
 I do not want this.
 Because of this, this person feels something (very) bad

I will now give the list of the terms I will discuss. Whenever an expression needs either a direct or indirect object, it is realized in the list as a third person masculine direct or indirect object.

	emotion term	free translation
Hate-like	<i>mell</i>	to be fed up
	<i>çarh</i>	to hate
	<i>i-qerε=as¹²=d ur</i>	to loathe
Anger-like	<i>εaşşeb</i>	to be angry
	<i>tiyar</i>	to be irritated
	<i>kfar</i>	to be mad
	<i>i-s-kaberyar=as</i>	to be infuriated
	<i>amuzzar</i>	rage
Sadness-like	<i>xiyyeq</i>	to be upset
	<i>i-qqs-as rhar</i>	misfortune/to be upset
	<i>i-s-ruba=t¹³</i>	to feel sorry for someone/to be moved
Worry-like	<i>amnus</i>	worry
	<i>yufa</i>	to feel distressed
	<i>i-tet=it wur</i>	to be agitated

Hate-like emotions: *mell*, *çarh*, *i-qerε=as=d ur*

A. *mell* (to be fed up)

The verb *mell* is an Arabic loanword that refers to a hate-like feeling. In Moroccan-Arabic, it can be translated as ‘to be tired of, to be fed up with’ (Harrell 1966, 81). According to Serhoual, *mell* means ‘*détester; être dégoûté, lassé, excedé, harassé*’ in Tarifiyt (Serhoual 2002, 301). I always encountered this term presented as a verb and it features either with or without a direct object. The term refers to an emotion that is directed towards or caused by somebody or somethi, expressed in the direct object, which I will now show in the following examples.

8. *mell-ey=t*
mell-1SG=3SG.M.DO
 ‘I *mell* it’
9. *mell-ey* *ajjar* *inu*
mell-1SG neighbor of.1SG
 ‘I *mell* my neighbor’
10. *mell-ey* *ssukar*
mell-1SG sugar
 ‘I *mell* sugar’
11. *mell-ey*

¹² The pronoun =*as* is the first person singular masculine indirect object pronoun (Mourigh and Kossmann forthcoming, 70).

¹³ The pronoun =*t* is the third person masculine direct object pronoun(idem, 68).

mell-1SG
'I *mell*'

Example (9) shows that the verb *mell* can be followed by a direct object — in this case, the third person masculine singular — which can be both animate — as shown in example (9) where the direct object is *ajjar inu* ('my neighbor') — and inanimate — as shown in example (10) where the direct object is the inanimate object *ssukar* ('sugar'). Thus, the emotion *mell* can be directed towards something or someone. Still, the direct object is not necessary. It is shown in example (11) where the verb *mell* is not followed by a direct object.

Example (9) was a response to my question how one would feel if his or her neighbor is very loud all the time. Example (10) was explained as the feeling someone has when all of a sudden this person does not want to consume any *ssukar* ('sugar') anymore. He/she is then fed up with sugar, meaning that nothing about the thing or situation that caused this emotion changed, only the feeling and thoughts this person has about sugar. The same situation did not bother this person before. The meaning of (11) was clarified as if someone were completely done or fed up with something. In certain situations, it could mean that somebody would feel bad about him or herself. An informant gave the following explanation of the meaning of the verb *mell*.

mell-ey=c. Its meaning is the opposite of I love you. [...] If we want the opposite of I love you, I *mell* you. [...] I cannot meet. I do not want to talk. I do not want to make a plan together, so the relationship stops.

Therefore, if someone feels *mell* towards someone else, that person will not talk to the other and does not want to see him/her. Someone can also *mell* something as shown in example (10). In this example, *mell* has sugar as direct object. This person is then expressing that he/she will never want to eat sugar again. Thus, if *mell* is caused by a person, it will lead to wanting to avoid this person; whenever caused by a thing, it will lead to a person not using it. Someone experiencing the emotion *mell* does not want to do something anymore or does not want to see someone anymore because that something or someone made this person feel bad many times and this person does not want it to happen again. This person knows it and therefore does not want to see or do it or see that person again.

B. *çarh* (hate)

The term *çarh* refers to a hate-like feeling. It originates from the Arabic verb *kreh* that Harrell translates as 'to hate, to dislike, to detest' (Harrell 1966, 64). None of these translations covers the exact referential of the term because he also mentions that the negation of this verb in Moroccan Arabic *ma=kreh=c* (<NEG-*kreh*-NEG) can be translated as 'to not mind, to be glad to' (idem). According to Renisio, the noun *elmekruh* (pl. *lemkärih*) means 'détesté' and is a term used by the Beni Iznassen, a tribe in the Eastern Rif (Renisio 1932, 344). Ibáñez mentions a similar meaning of the verb *çarh*, or *karh*, namely 'aborrecer, odiar' (Ibáñez 1949, 267)¹⁴.

I always encountered the term *çarh* presented as a verb containing a direct object. I will now show an exemplary sentence to prove it.

12. *wenni, çarh-ey=t*.
that, *çarh*-1SG=3SG.M.DO
'that one, I *çarh* him'

¹⁴ In English this could be translated as 'to abhor, to hate'.

In the example above, the verb *çarh* bears the third person masculine direct object pronoun. The example excludes the possibility that the verb is accompanied by an indirect object because the third person masculine indirect object pronoun is *-as*. The direct object can refer both to something animate and inanimate. I will now show it with the following two examples.

13. *çarh-ey* *ajjar* *inu* *min* *zitek* *lharaj, i-t-eaşşeb=ay*
çarh -1SG neighbor of.1SG ? ? fuzz 3SG.M-IPF-*eaşşeb*=me.DO
 ‘I *çarh* my neighbor. He is always noisy. He makes me *eaşşeb*.’
14. *çarh-ey* *anzar*
çarh -1SG rain.FS
 ‘I *çarh* rain’

Example (13) shows that the direct object of the term *çarh* can be a person. Example (14) shows that the direct object can also be inanimate, namely *anzar* (‘rain’). Hence, this emotion can be directed towards a person or a thing but the expression has to go with direct object.

According to the informants, a prototypical scenario for the emotion term *çarh* could be the same as the scenario I mentioned for the term *mell*, namely the emotion someone could have towards his or her neighbor when this person is noisy. Example (13) shows this scenario. Example (14) is an utterance that reflects upon a negative feeling towards the rain. Since ‘rain’ has no will of its own, it cannot ‘do’ anything, so I consider it an inanimate object. Hence, the direct object of *çarh* can also be inanimate. However, the use of the verb *çarh* with an inanimate direct object was not preferred by the informants. Example (14) — in which *anzar* (‘rain’) is the direct object — was uttered by an informant when I asked whether the use of the term *çarh* was correct in that way. It was then approved by this informant. However, it might be that the informant only favored me. I asked another informant how he would translate ‘I hate the government’. This informant did not use the verb *çarh* in their translation. I will now show it.

15. *iwðan* *u=sen* *i-t-ejeb* *ci* *lhukuma*
 FS.people.M.PL NEG=3PL.M.IO 3SG.M-IPF-please NEG government
 ‘people *çarh* the government’

In example (15) the concept ‘hate’ is translated as the negation of the verb *ejeb* (‘to like’ or ‘to please’). Only after asking another informant whether the use of the term *çarh* would be correct, could I elicit the same sentence with the use of *çarh* instead of the negation of *ejeb*. Thus, it only seems that the use of an inanimate direct object with the verb *çarh* is accepted, but not necessarily preferred.

To give more context about the meaning of the term *çarh*, an informant explained its meaning in the following way.

al-karahiya is on a higher level, so, more than *mell-ey=c*¹⁵. [...] When you *çarh* someone, it is very difficult to say it to this person in the face. He is afraid to say ‘Sjef, *çarh-ey=c*’¹⁶. But if I meet with a friend, I say to him ‘x, I hate him’. He does this to me. [...] It is hard to say this face-to-face to him. It is possible to say this to him but then you become a dangerous *eaşşabiya*. Then you really do not see anything anymore, nothing. ‘*çarh-ey=c*, do not come close to me. You are bad’ [...] I cannot say to a friend ‘*çarh-ey=c*’ in his face. But if I say to a friend ‘*çarh-ey=t*’¹⁷

¹⁵ *mell-ey=c* (<*mell*-1SG=2SG.M.DO)

¹⁶ *çarh-ey=c* (<*çarh*-1SG=2SG.M.DO)

¹⁷ *çarh-ey=t* (<*çarh*-1SG=3SG.M.DO)

I do not want to meet with that person. If people say ‘*çarh-ey=c*’, a lot of words have passed.

The term *al-karahiya* is the Arabic noun that comes from the Arabic term *kreh* according to the abovementioned informant. In addition, according to him, one of the differences between the terms *çarh* and *mell* is the intensity of the feeling. The term *çarh* refers to a feeling that makes a person feel worse than *mell*. Moreover, it is socially undesirable to express the feeling of *çarh* towards the person to which the emotion is directed because it reflects very negative thoughts towards that person for an indefinite amount of time. The term *çarh* seems to be a more accumulative term that makes someone feel that nothing can be done to stop a bad thing from happening. Note that one does not necessarily do anything towards the cause of the emotion *çarh*, only in some cases.

Both the verb *mell* and *çarh* can be explained as negative feelings towards somebody or something because of something bad that person or thing causes or caused. The verb *çarh* refers to an intenser emotion than *mell* and needs a direct object. The emotion term *çarh* also reflects upon a less changeable feeling towards somebody. As opposed to *mell*, there does not seem to be one specific action that causes someone from not feeling *çarh* to feeling *çarh* towards someone else, there have to be many. Hence, only in a situation where there is constantly a lot of rain and one does not like it, that person can express example (14), and only when a neighbor is constantly loud and a person experiences this a lot of times as negative, someone can feel *çarh* towards him or her as in example (13).

C. *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* (loathe)

The construction *i-qere(=IO)d ur* (3SG.M-tear.out.P(=IO)=hither FS.heart) literally means ‘it tore out the heart from him’¹⁸ and refers to a hate-like emotion. According to Benzakour, the expression means ‘*van iets of iemand walgen*’ (Benzakour 2018, 142). It is an emotion symptom expression which means that it is always a combination of the verb *qere* with *ur* (‘heart’) as direct object together with the deictic particle *=d*. The expression can be accompanied by an indirect object that refers to the experiencer. The subject is the event that caused the emotion. According to Serhoual, the verb *qere* means ‘*arracher (végétal), enlever, extraire, extirper*’ (Serhoual 2002, 434). Ibáñez mentions that the verb *qerae* means ‘*arrancar, sacar de raíz o violentamente*’¹⁹ (Ibáñez 1944, 64). Thus, the verb *qere* in itself does not bear any emotional meaning because it can easily be used in non-emotional contexts. It is proved by Serhoual in the following example.

16. *i-qedjee* *baṭaṭa*
 3SG.M-tear.out.IPF potatoe
 ‘*il extrait des pommes de terre*’²⁰

Example (16) proves that the verb *qere* does not refer to any kind of emotion in itself, except when it is expressed with *ur* as direct object with the deictic particle *-d*. I encountered this expression only accompanied by an indirect object. Serhoual also proves that the indirect object referring to the experiencer is optional in using this emotion expression. Serhoual gives the following example.

¹⁸ This can be translated in English as ‘to be disgusted by someone or something’.

¹⁹ In English, it could be translated as ‘to pull out, pull out from the root or violently’.

²⁰ Source: Serhoual 2002, 434.

17. *i-qedje=d* *ur*
 3SG.M-tear.out.IPF=hither FS.heart
 ‘il soulève le coeur de sa base, il est écoeurant’²¹

Example (17) shows that the expression does not require an indirect object to refer to the same disgust-like feeling.

I will now focus on the meaning of the expression *i-qere(=IO)=d ur*. I will give some exemplary sentences to be able to discuss it.

18. *i-qere=ay=d* *ur* *s* *tmaziyt=nni*
 3SG.M-tear.out.P-1SG.DO=hither FS.heart with Tamazight=that
 ‘his language, it tore me out the heart’
19. *ijn* *i-qere=aç=d* *ur,* *yaeni* *i-ceṭṭeh*
 one 3SG.M-rip.out.P=2SG.M.IO=hither FS.heart so 3SG.M-lie
bezzaf
 much
 ‘someone who rips you out the heart, he lies a lot’
20. *sid=nni* *çarh-ey=θ,* *i-qedjeε=ay=d* *ur,*
 sir=that *çarh*-1SG=3SG.M.DO 3SG.M-rip.out.IPF=1SG.IO=hither FS.heart
i-teççar. *d* *acfar.*
 3SG.M-steal PRED thief
 ‘that man, I *çarh* him, he rips me out the heart, he steals, he is a thief’

From example (18) and (19) can be derived that the emotion *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* can be directed towards something bad somebody says. Furthermore, sentence (18) was explained as a negative evaluation of somebody’s language or way of speaking or when you are disgusted by something someone says. According to the informant, that is a prototypical scenario in which one could use this emotional expression. Example (19) also proves that the experiencer who is expressed in the indirect object can also be modified. Example (20) proves that the emotion term *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* and the emotion term *çarh* can be used in a similar situation. Furthermore, it shows that the emotion term *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* can also be directed towards an action, namely *teççar* (‘steal’).

The emotion symptom expression *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* can only be used as a reflection upon someone’s action according to the informants. They mentioned that they would use this expression when they feel disgusted by someone or someone’s actions. As example (20) shows, this emotion term can be used in a similar situation as *çarh*. However, the difference in meaning is that the expression *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* is not caused by accumulated actions as *çarh*. As opposed to the emotion term *çarh*, the emotion *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* has a more specific starting and ending point. Hence, it is more temporal. As opposed to the emotion term *mell*, the emotion *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* cannot be directed towards things. Thus, the emotion *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* refers to a bad feeling in which someone thinks something like ‘somebody did something very bad and I do not want it to happen’. This person feels bad because of it. Subsequently, the construction is presented as a bodily image that takes the heart as the seat of the emotion. In this way, the emotion *i-qere(=IO)=d ur* is experienced as THE HEART MOVING FROM THE BODY.

²¹ Source: Serhoual 2002, 434.

Anger-like emotions: *eaṣṣeb*, *ṭiyar*, *kfar*, *i-s-kaberyar=as*, *ammuzzar*

D. *eaṣṣeb* (to be angry)

The term *eaṣṣeb* refers to an anger-like feeling. Neither Serhoual nor Renisio mentions the term *eaṣṣeb* in their works. It originates from Arabic. According to Harrell, the verb *eaṣṣeb* can mean either ‘to stiffen, to make stiff (arm, leg, body, in contrast to relax)’ or ‘to wrap with a strip of cloth’ in Moroccan Arabic (Harrell 1966, 263). Thus, according to him, the Arabic term does not necessarily refer to an emotion but to a bodily reaction or a visible action. Kossmann and Mourigh do mention the verb *aeṣṣeb*. They translate it as ‘to be angry’ (Mourigh and Kossmann forthcoming, 264). The term *eaṣṣeb* was used extensively by the informants.

I will now show the several uses of this term in a few exemplary sentences.

21. *i-eaṣṣeb*
 3SG.M-*eaṣṣeb*
 ‘he *eaṣṣeb*’
22. *cek s-eaṣṣeb-ed d=ay*
 you CAUS-*eaṣṣeb*-1SG in=1SG.IO
 ‘you, made me *eaṣṣeb*’
23. *i-s-eaṣṣeb=it*
 3SG.M-CAUS-*eaṣṣeb*=1SG.DO
 ‘he made him *eaṣṣeb*’

The examples above prove that the term is productive in many different linguistic shapes. I encountered the term *eaṣṣeb* mostly presented as a verb as shown in the examples (21), (22) and (23). In example (21), the verb *eaṣṣeb* is introduced as a simple verb with a third person masculine conjugation. In this case, the experiencer is the subject, and the verb *eaṣṣeb* does not need any object. In example (22) and (23), the verb is used with the causative particle *-s-*. Therefore, the cause of the emotion is expressed in the subject. The experiencer is expressed as the direct object. Moreover, in example (22) the emotion is placed inside of the experiencer because the preposition *d=* (‘in’) is used followed by an indirect object referring to the experiencer of the emotion *eaṣṣeb*.

The emotion term *eaṣṣeb* can also be presented as noun or adjective. I will now give some exemplary sentences to prove it.

24. *idennad ira i-kfar, i-dewr=ed ijn*
 yesterday PAST 3SG.M-*kfar* 3SG.M-become=hither one
eaṣṣabiya xaṭar
eaṣṣabiya danger
 ‘yesterday he got mad. It turned into a dangerous *eaṣṣabiya*’
25. *nic mēaṣṣeb i dji-γ*
 I *mēaṣṣeb* REL is.P-1SG
 ‘I am *mēaṣṣeb*’

Sentence (24) shows the use of the term *eaṣṣeb* with the Arabic nominalizer *-iya*. If this term is realized as a noun, it is always nominalized as in the example. Subsequently, in example (24), the emotion term *eaṣṣeb* is directed towards the experiencer by means of the verb *dewr* (‘become’) with the deictic particle. In example (25), the term is used as an adverb in which it takes the Arabic participle marker *m-*. Contrary to other emotion terms, *eaṣṣeb* is the only emotion term I encountered that can be expressed with the existential verb *iri* (‘to be’), which is realized as *idji* in example (25). So in this way, *m-eaṣṣeb* is a state. The verb *eaṣṣeb*, on the other hand, cannot be distinguished either as a process or state.

The meaning of the term *eaşşeb* can be explained to some extent with example (13). Thus, a loud neighbor can make someone *çarh*, but the same scenario can also cause someone to feel *eaşşeb*. In example (24), one feels some extreme way of *eaşşeb*. From example (24) can be deducted that an extreme form of *eaşşabiya* makes a person dangerous and that the emotion is temporal. So, if yesterday someone felt *eaşşeb*, it does not necessarily make this person feel that way today. Example (24) is an excerpt of the explanation of the term *çarh* given by one of the informants, which is quoted on page 19 and 20. In that explanation, the informant expounded that if someone feels *çarh* towards someone else, that person will not necessarily do something bad towards the other unless he or she also feels *eaşşeb* at the moment. Therefore, the term *eaşşeb* can be described as a bad feeling that causes people to do something bad because of something someone did. It is directed towards the person that caused the bad action that the experiencer did not want to happen.

Typical of the emotion term *eaşşeb* is that it has a specific beginning and ending point—the beginning point being a specific action done by someone else, and the ending point after the point when someone does not want to do anything bad anymore towards someone else. The following was explained by the informants: as opposed to *çarh*, someone does not *eaşşeb* anymore after a certain amount of time. The emotion term *eaşşeb* can go away after a while. According to the explanation of *çarh* given by the informant on page 19-20 of the present work, the experiencer can swear or scream to another person if the experiencer feels some kind of severe *eaşşabiya*. From this explanation, a last semantic criterium can be established, namely that there seem to be several ways of feeling *eaşşeb*. In this way, the possibility that the term *eaşşeb* refers to a certain kind of behavior is excluded. The overlapping NSM criteria for all this behavior is that the experiencer feels bad and thinks that ‘bad things are happening because of something done by person X’, ‘I do not want it’, ‘I want to do something bad to that someone because of this’. Because of this, the experiencer feels something bad. One last comment should be made about the meaning of *eaşşeb*. One of the informants mentioned that sentence (25) could also mean that someone cannot let loose of his land or country. That sentence can have a similar meaning in a specific context. It is not clear how it relates to the emotion of *eaşşeb* as explained in this section. The term *eaşşeb* was used extensively during elicitation especially to explain terms that have some overlap in referential range, so it is a salient term in the semantic field of emotions in Tarifiyt.

E. *țiyar* (to be irritated)

The term *țiyar* refers to an anger-like feeling. Serhoual mentions that the expression *i-s-țiyar=ayi=t* (<3SG.M-CAUS-țiyar=1SG.IO=3SG.F.DO) means ‘*il m’a énérvé*’ (Serhoual 2002 145). Unfortunately, neither Serhoual nor Renisio or Ibáñez mentions the verb *țiyar* as a solo entrance. Serhoual, however, presents the following sentence containing the term.

26. *i-s-țiyar=ay=t* *uca* *geεεd-ey* *aki=s*
 3SG.M-CAUS-țiyar=1SG.IO=3SG.F.DO then raise-1SG with=3SG.M
 ‘*Il m’a énérvé et je lui ai répondu sur un ton dur*’²²

In example (26) the verb *țiyar* has a direct and an indirect object; the experiencer is expressed in the latter. It seems that the direct object refers to the event that caused the experiencer to feel *țiyar*. The indirect object does not seem to be required in the construction for it to refer to an emotion. I will now show some elicited sentences containing the emotion term *țiyar* in order to discuss its linguistic components.

²² Source of this example and the translation: Serhoual 2002, 145.

27. *a-ç* *s-ṭiyar-y*
 AD=2SG.M.IO 3SG-IPF-CAUS-ṭiyar
 ‘I cause you to ṭiyar’
28. *i-s-ṭiyar-d=ay=t*
 3SG.M-CAUS-ṭiyar-2SG=1SG.IO=3SG.F.DO
 ‘you caused me to ṭiyar it’
29. *u=i-t-yir* *ci* *ad* *i-rah* *ar* *lḥefla lianna*
 NEG=3SG.M-IPF-think NEG AD 3SG.M-go to party because
t-ṭiyar=as
 3SG.F-ṭiyar=3SG.M.IO
 ‘he thinks he will not go to the party because she ṭiyar him’
30. *y-ṭiyar=ay* *zay=s*
 3SG.M-ṭiyar=1SG.DO from=3SG.M
 ‘he ṭiyar me from him’

Example (27) shows that the causative verb construction *s-ṭiyar* does not require a direct object. The experiencer is expressed in the indirect object and the cause of *ṭiyar* seems to be the subject. Example (27) can be translated as ‘he makes you angry’ according to the informant. Example (28) proves that the subject refers to the cause of the emotion *ṭiyar*, because I asked the informant to translate ‘you made me angry’. In example (28) the second person singular is the subject of the verb and, therefore, the cause of the emotion *ṭiyar*. Whenever the verb *ṭiyar* with the causative particle *-s-* has a direct object, the informants always use the female direct object *-t*. I was not able to find out what it refers to. Example (29) and (30) show that the verb *ṭiyar* does not necessarily need the causative particle to have emotional meaning. It is not clear why in (29) the subject is female and in (30) it is masculine or what causes this. Example (30) also shows that the verb can go with the preposition *zay=* (‘from’), followed by the thing or person that caused the feeling.

I will now focus on the meaning of the emotion term *ṭiyar*. In example (26), the expression seems to refer to some kind of bad feeling that makes one think ‘something bad happened’, ‘I did not want this’, ‘I want to do something’. However, only example (26) is not sufficient to explain the meaning of *ṭiyar*. According to an informant, example (27) is a way to express a similar feeling as when someone feels *s-εaṣṣeb* (<CAUS-εaṣṣeb). He also mentioned that the emotion term *ṭiyar* can cause the following: ‘We have a meeting and suddenly *t-ṭiyar=as*²³, he walks away.²⁴’ Another informant told me that if someone feels *ṭiyar*, he or she will not become aggressive towards the person that caused him or her to feel like that way. Besides, it can be deduced from example (29) that the emotion term *ṭiyar* is a negative feeling that causes a reaction to the experiencer. I will now give some exemplary sentences in order to define the meaning of the term *ṭiyar* more clearly.

31. *i-s-ṭiyar=ay=t* *Sjef.*
 3SG.M-CAUS-ṭiyar=1SG.IO=3SG.F.DO Sjef.
u=d *y-usi* *ci* *yar* *lmeweid* *ines*
 NEG=hither 3SG.M-come NEG to appointment of.3SG.M
 ‘Sjef caused me to ṭiyar it; he did not come to his appointment’
32. *i-s-ṭiyar=ay=t* *unzar*
 3SG.M-CAUS-ṭiyar=1SG.IO=3SG.F.DO AS.rain
 ‘the rain caused me to ṭiyar it’

²³ *t-ṭiyar=as* (<3SG.F-ṭiyar=3SG.M.IO)

²⁴ This explanation was given in Dutch except for the part *y-t-ṭiyar-as*.

‘*eaşşabiya xaţar*’ (‘dangerous *eaşşabiya*’). Thus, if a person *kfar*, he or she experiences some kind of intense form of *eaşşeb*. It, however, does not suffice for the exact semantics of this term. One of the informants explained *kfar* in the following way.

Yesterday he *kfar*. So it became stress, *eaşşabiya*. [...] Like in that movie we saw.²⁶ [sbaqsbaq]!²⁷ So he got angry. So he stopped watching. [...] *i-eaşşeb*²⁸. He made something really big, a problem.

In the example above, the term *kfar* cannot refer to the act of apostasy. Hence, the term *kfar* is used here to refer to some aggressive state of mind, or a state of mind in which one wants to do really bad things because a lot of bad things are happening or have happened. To discuss the meaning of *kfar* further, I will now give some exemplary sentences.

36. *i-zεεf*, *i-kfar* *wa* *y-ssin* *min* *y-qqar*
 3SG.M-bite 3SG.M-*kfar* NEG 3SG.M-know what 3SG.M-say.IPF
 ‘*il es ten colère, il abjure, il ne réalise pas ce qu’il dit*’²⁹
37. *ira* *i-kfar*, *yaeni safi*, *u* *y-qimm* *ci* *i-twara*
 PAST 3SG.M-*kfar* so done NEG 3SG.M-stay NEG 3SG.M-see:I
 He *kfar*, so he did not see anything anymore’

According to example (36), the meaning of the term *kfar* refers to the act of not knowing what someone is saying. It suggests that the meaning of *kfar* bears NSM criterium ‘I do not know what to do’. The same is suggested by example (37) in which one cannot see anymore because of *kfar*. According to the informant, it means that this person is blinded by anger. Some other NSM criteria that are suggested by this example are ‘very bad things happened’ and ‘I want to do something very bad because of that’. Example (34) suggests that the emotion *kfar* has a specific beginning and ending point. So the emotion is temporal. The emotion does not seem to be directed towards a person specifically because the cause of the emotion is not necessarily expressed. Therefore, it refers to some kind of aggressive mood of a person as a reaction to a lot of things that are reflected upon badly by the experiencer. As opposed to *eaşşeb*, the term *kfar* refers to an emotion in which the experiencer does have to do something bad, while *eaşşeb* does not necessarily reflect upon actually doing something bad, although it is possible. The term *eaşşeb* does not necessarily reflect upon a certain kind of behavior as opposed to *kfar*. The difference between *kfar* and *ţiyar* is that the latter does not refer to doing something bad while *kfar* refers to wanting to do something very bad because a lot of bad things are happening or have happened.

G. *i-s-kaberyar=as* (to be infuriated)

The causative verb *s-kaberyar* in combination with an indirect object refers to an anger-like emotion. The indirect object refers to the experiencer of the feeling. None of the Tarifiyt dictionaries nor the dictionary of Harrell mentions the existence of this word. My informants mentioned it originates from Spanish. The term probably originates from the Spanish verb ‘*cabrear*’ that means ‘to infuriate’, and the reflexive verb ‘*cabrear=se*’ can be translated as ‘to get angry, get mad [...], to get fed up with something/somebody, get sick of something/somebody’ (Jarman and Russell 2008, 119). The term probably has a similar

²⁶ The informant and I just came from watching a movie ‘Adios Carmen’ (director Mohammed Amin Benamraoui). So this quotation talks about it.

²⁷ The informant referred to beating or hitting with this sound.

²⁸ *i-eaşşeb* (<3SG.M-*eaşşeb*).

²⁹ Both the meaning and the example have the following source: Serhoual 2002, 254.

meaning in Tarifiyt. I will first give some examples to define the word boundary and how this term is used linguistically.

38. *nhara i-msagar gi x, i-s-kaberyar=as, a saḥbi*
 today meet-1SG in x 3SG.M-CAUS-*kaberyar*=3SG.M.IO VOC friend
 ‘today I met with X, it *kaberyar* me, friend’
39. *u d=ay i-s-kaberyar ci*
 NEG in=1SG 3SG-CAUS-*kaberyar* NEG
 ‘it did not make me *kaberyar*’

The two exemplary sentences above show the only ways in which I encountered the emotion term *s-kaberyar*. Sentences (38) and (39) prove that the term is used as a verb. I always encountered it with the causative particle *-s-*. In this case, the subject refers to the cause of the emotion. I asked my informants whether it is possible to say **kaberyar-ey* (<*kaberyar*-1SG), but they told me that term is not normally used in this way. Thus, the emotional expression probably does not exist without causative. Sentence (38) proves that *s-kaberyar* goes with an indirect object, which refers to the experiencer of the emotion. That sentence also proves that the subject of the expression refers to the cause of the feeling, in this case, ‘x’. In example (39), the preposition *d-* (‘in’) is used with an indirect object, which proves that the term *s-kaberyar* refers to something internal.

An informant mentioned the following prototypical scenario and explained the following about the meaning of this verb.

eaṣṣeb and *i-s-kaberyar=ay*³⁰ are the same. [...] If *s-kaberyar-y d=ay*³¹, we are friends and today perhaps *i-s-kaberyar=ay*³². Tomorrow, when you call me, you tell me ‘give me ten euro’. I could give it to you.

According to the informant, the causative verb *s-kaberyar* with indirect object refers to something similar to *eaṣṣeb*. However, there is a difference between *eaṣṣeb* and *s-kaberyar=IO* in the intensity of the emotion. The emotion term *s-kaberyar=IO* seems to be more intense because he told me the following: ‘*i-s-kaberyar=ay*³³. Then it is a level, maybe he beats you.’ He also mentioned that *s-kaberyar=IO* refers to some feeling that makes someone think he or she wants to do something bad because one or more bad things have happened. One of my informants translated *eaṣṣeb* as ‘getting angry’ and *i-s-kaberyar=ay* as ‘getting really angry’. Hence, the emotion term *s-kaberyar=IO* should have an NSM criterium of a person thinking ‘I want to do something bad because bad things happened’, or ‘because of *s-kaberyar=ay*, I feel really bad’. I also asked an informant whether he would think badly of someone if he or she would *s-kaberyar* the informant. He answered that he would not think badly of that person. According to the informants, the term *s-kaberyar=IO* cannot have something inanimate as subject. I asked them if *anzar* (‘rain’) could be subject, but they did not approve. Thus, *s-kaberyar=IO* refers to a temporal feeling that is directed towards something somebody did. The term *s-kaberyar* can be explained in NSM terms as feeling something bad and thinking ‘bad things happened or are happening’, ‘I do not want it’ and ‘because of it I want to do something very bad’. I will now briefly discuss the difference between the other similar terms and *s-kaberyar*. As opposed to *ṭiyar*, the term *s-kaberyar* refers to an emotion that makes the experiencer want to do something bad while *ṭiyar* refers to an emotion that makes the

³⁰ *i-s-kaberyar=ay* (<3SG.M-CAUS-*kaberyar*=1SG.IO).

³¹ *s-kaberyar-y d=ay* (<CAUS-*kaberyar*-1SG in=1SG.IO).

³² Gloss: see footnote 31.

³³ Gloss: see footnote 30.

experiencer want to do something. The main difference between *kfar* and *s-kaberyar* is that *kfar* refers to a person thinking ‘I do not know what to do’ and because of that, this person wants to do something very bad. The emotion *s-kaberyar* does not have the same NSM criterium.

H. *amuzzar* (rage)

The term *amuzzar* is anger-like feeling. It refers to a negative feeling because of which the experiencer acts uncontrollably. The term *amuzzar* is a noun, but it is more often used as a verb by using the stem *mmuzzar*. Ibáñez translates the noun *amuzzar* as ‘*rabia (enfermedad)*’³⁴ and the verb *temuzzor* as ‘*rabiar [...] padecer rabia*’ (Ibáñez 1944, 350). According to him, the Spanish adverb ‘*rabiosamente*’ can be translated as *semuzzar* (idem). Lastly, he mentions that the Spanish adjective ‘*rabioso, -sa*’ can be translated in Tarifiyt as verb as ‘*immuzzar, pl., immuzzaren; timmuzzart, pl., timmuzzarin*’ (idem). According to Serhoual, *muzzar* means something like ‘*être enrage, atteint de la rage*’ (Serhoual 2002, 334). Interestingly, he also mentions that this term can mean ‘*pourri, empoisonné, décomposé (poisson, viande)*’ as well (idem). The noun *amuzzar* can be translated as ‘*rage; pourriture (poisson, viande)*’ (idem). Renisio does not mention this term. Serhoual gives the following exemplary sentences to support the statements.

40. *aqzin i-mmuzzar*
 dog.FS 3SG.M-*muzzar*
 ‘*le chien est enragé*’³⁵
41. *asrem i-mmuzzar*
 fish.FS 3SG.M-*muzzar*
 ‘*un poisson pourri, décomposé*’³⁶

According to examples (40) and (41), the verb *mmuzzar* can both refer to a ferocious dog or process or a state of decay. I did not encounter the use of the term *muzzar* in the meaning shown in sentence (41) in the corpus — referring to some kind of rotting state or process. I could test sentence (41) with only one informant. I asked him whether sentence (41) is correct. He mentioned that the verb *mmuzzar* normally refers to a dog with rabies as shown below.

42. *aqzin i-te-ddem, wa y-qarn=as amuzzar*
 dog.FS 3SG.M-IPF-bite this 3SG.M-call.P=3SG.M.IO N.*muzzar*
 ‘*a dog bites, that is called amuzzar*’

In example (42), the term *muzzar* is modified as a noun, *amuzzar* with the nominalizer *a-*. The verb *mmuzzar* can also be used to refer to an anger-like emotion when a human being is the subject, which I will now show.

43. *bnadem=nni i-mmuzzar, i-kkar=d, i-t-hezza kisan gi*
 person.FS=that 3SG.M-*muzzar* 3SG.M-get.up=hither 3.SG.M-IPF-lift glasses in
taddart
 house.FS
 ‘*that person muzzar, he got up and he threw glasses around in the house*’

In (43), it is inflected as a verb with the stem *mmuzzar* used with a human being as subject. One of the informants explained the meaning of the term *muzzar* in the following way.

³⁴ It could be translated as ‘rabies (illness)’ in English.

³⁵ Source of sentence and translation: Serhoual 2002, 334.

³⁶ Source of sentence and translation: idem.

Do you know a dog? He has teeth. When he grows, the dog [...] he bites, those teeth. He bites. He bites people. That is called *amuzzar*. So it is dangerous to people. So we took that word. We say ‘what is wrong? *i-mmuzzar*?³⁷’ so ‘[wahwahwah]’. Normally, dogs have a vaccine to take this away. So that they do not become dangerous. [...] that person, I do not know what is wrong with him today. *i-mmuzzar*,³⁸ he gets up, he throws glasses at home. What is wrong? *i-mmuzzar*³⁹ at some great level of *eaşşabiya*. [...] everything is possible. He beats around. He talks fiercely. He has foam in his mouth. He has hysteria.

According to the explanation above, the term *muzzar* literally refers to the mood of a ferocious dog but that it can also refer to an anger-like emotion. This emotion is metaphorically derived from the illness of rabies.

An informant mentioned that if someone *muzzar*, ‘at a certain moment this person does not *muzzar* anymore; this can be after a while, some hours or a day’. Therefore, the term *muzzar* refers to a temporal emotion. The informant also mentioned that if a person *muzzar*, he or she can throw glasses and act in a very violent way. These characteristics suggest the following NSM criteria for someone who *mmuzzar*: person thinks something like ‘something bad happened’, ‘I only want to do bad things now’ and ‘everything is bad now’. As a result, that person feels something very bad. The difference between *muzzar* and *eaşşeb* is that *muzzar* refers to an emotion in which a person only wants to do bad things. The term *eaşşeb* describes an emotion in which a certain kind of bad behavior is more directed towards a specific person or persons. Something similar goes for the difference between *muzzar* and *s-kaberyar*. The latter is namely an emotion directed towards an action done by someone. The term *muzzar* differs in meaning from the term *kfar* because *kfar* refers to an emotion that reflects more upon bad behavior because of despair. Lastly, *muzzar* differs in meaning from the term *ţiyar* because the latter does not refer to an emotion that makes someone think ‘I want to do something bad’.

Sadness-like emotions: *xiyyeq*, *i-qqs=as rħar*, *i-s-ruba=t*

I. *xiyyeq* (to be upset)

The term *xiyyeq* refers to a sadness-like emotion and it covers a broad referential range. According to Serhoual, it means ‘*s’ennuyer, se fächer, s’attrister, s’affliger, se désoler; et pass.*’ (Serhoual 2002, 222-3). Serhoual also mentions that the noun *axiyyeq* means ‘*fait, état d’être fâché; désappointement*’ (idem). According to Mourigh and Kossmann, it means ‘to be angry, to be sad’ (Mourigh and Kossmann forthcoming, 232). A similar concept is mentioned by Renisio. He translates the term *xeyeq* as ‘*être affligé, mécontent, irrité, taciturne*’ (Renisio 1932, 365). Ibáñez translates it as ‘*causar enfado*’⁴⁰ (Ibáñez 1944, 194). Thus, there are a lot of ways in which the term *xeyyeq* can be translated. I will now give some exemplary sentences to show how this term is normally used.

44. *xeyyeq-ey umi t-mut t-ajjar-t inu*
xiyyeq.P -1SG when 3SG.V-die F-neighbor-F of.1SG
 ‘I got sad when my neighbor died’
45. *i-xeyyeq z=ay*
 3SG.M-*xiyyeq.P* from=1SG
 ‘he is upset with me’

³⁷ *i-mmuzzar* (<3SG.M-*muzzar*).

³⁸ Idem.

³⁹ Idem.

⁴⁰ It can be translated in English as ‘to cause anger’.

46. *temsrayt=a t-s-xeyyeq=it*
 thing=this 3SG.F-CAUS-*xiyyeq*=3SG.M.DO
 ‘this thing made him *xiyyeq*’

The examples (44), (45) and (46) show how the term *xiyyeq* is used normally as a verb. In these examples, the term is used as a verb. The experiencer of the emotion *xiyyeq* in examples (44) and (45) is expressed as the subject of the sentence. The verb *xiyyeq* does not go with an object in these examples and, therefore, refers to an emotion that is not directed towards something or someone in particular. In order to express it, the verb has to be combined with the preposition *z=* (‘from’) with an indirect object as shown in (45). A way to express that *xiyyeq* is caused by someone is shown in example (46). In that sentence, the verb is inflected with the causative particle *-s-*. The direct object refers to the experiencer, and the subject is the person that caused the emotion (which will be proved later). The emotion is placed in *ur* (‘heart’) as well, but it is not compulsory. I will now show it in the following example.

47. *i-s-xeyyeq=ay g wur inu*
 3SG.M-CAUS-*xiyyeq*=1SG.DO in AS.heart of.1SG
 ‘it made me *xeyyeq* in my heart’

Example (47) shows that the emotion *xiyyeq* is contained in *ur*. In this way, the expression also places the emotion *xiyyeq* on the inside of the experiencer. I was not able to check whether the placement of this emotion in *ur* is a marked or a normal way of expressing it.

According to Serhoual, the term *xiyyeq* can be modified as a noun with the nominalizer *a-*. According to him, *axeyyeq* means ‘*fait, état d’être fâché*’ (Serhoual 2002, 223). I only found the following exemplary sentence in the *izran* in which the abovementioned noun is used.

48. *a ne-kkes zegg wur nney axeyyeq⁴¹*
 AD 1PL-take.A from AS.heart of.1PL N.*xiyyeq*.FS
 ‘we will take the *xiyyeq* from our heart’

In example (48), *xiyyeq* is presented as a noun by adding the prefix *a-* — in an identical way to the nominalization of the term *muzzar*. The term *axeyyeq* in (48) is expressed as something that is seated in *ur* of the experiencer. Note that the verb used to express the location is *kkes*, which means ‘*se déshabiller; enlever (couverture, drap)*’ (Serhoual, 265). According to this example, *a-xeyyeq* can be taken away and thus seems to be something temporal.

I will now further discuss the meaning of the term *xiyyeq*. According to example (44), one can experience *xiyyeq* when a neighbor passes away. An informant mentioned that *xiyyeq* is the generic Tarifiyt word for the Arabic loanword *eaşşeb*. It could be true in some cases. However, this explanation would not suffice to explain why *xiyyeq* was used in (44), because *eaşşeb* was never used in this situation by the informants. Thus, the terms *eaşşeb* and *xiyyeq* cannot cover the same referential range. According to another informant, example (45) means that someone is in a fight with the utterer. It is notable in that this person wants to avoid interacting with the utterer because he or she knows or thinks that the utterer has done something bad. When that person interacts with the utterer again then, he or she does not *xiyyeq* anymore. So if someone *xiyyeq* because of another person, he or she has a conflict with the other person. Most of the informants translated the term as ‘being angry’ or ‘being sad’. I will now give some exemplary sentences to facilitate the explanation of the meaning of the term *xiyyeq*.

⁴¹ Source of the sentence and translation: Rachida and Mourigh 2015, 63.

49. *mera ijn i-t-xeyyaq, mumkin i-tru*
 if one 3SG.M-IPF-*xiyyeq*.IPF maybe 3SG.M-cry
 ‘when someone *xiyyeq*, he could cry’
50. *çarh-ey ajar inu. rebda i-s-xeyyeq=ay*
çarh -1SG neighbor.FS of.1SG always 3SG.M-CAUS-*xiyyeq*=1SG.DO
 ‘I *çarh* my neighbor. He always makes me *xiyyeq*.’

Example (49) shows that someone can cry because of *xiyyeq*. One of the informants mentioned that a prototypical scenario in which one could feel *xiyyeq* is when a child is not allowed to play or to do something by his or her parents. Example (50) proves that *xiyyeq* is a temporal emotion because of the use of the adverb *rebda* (‘always’). It also proves a semantic overlap between the emotion term *çarh* and *xiyyeq*.

One of the informants presented the following scenario to explain the term *xiyyeq*.

We were just sitting and eating eggs in the coffeehouse [...]. There you showed me a woman of one hundred and thirty years old. I, *i-s-xeyyeq=ay*⁴². Why [...]? If a woman is old like that, she should have her house, a wheelchair, a bed of herself. That poor old lady. When you look, *i-s-xeyyeq=ay*⁴³ in my heart. It did not please me to see that.

According to the explanation above given by the informant, *xiyyeq* is caused by something that happened and cannot be changed, or that cannot be influenced by the experiencer of the emotion. The same goes for the beforementioned scenario of a child not being allowed to do something by his or her parents. Something similar can be said about (44), in which someone’s death can cause someone to *xiyyeq* and example (50) in which someone feels *çarh* towards a neighbor. Thus, the term *xiyyeq* should bear the NSM condition ‘bad things happened or are happening’, ‘I do not want it and ‘I know I cannot do anything to stop bad things from happening’. As a result, the experiencer feels something bad. The term does not reflect on a feeling towards somebody and it is an internal experience. Lastly, *xiyyeq* does not necessarily trigger the experiencer to do something specific to feel better or good again.

J. *i-qqs=as rħar* (misfortune/to be upset)

There is a sadness-like emotion of the type *i-qqs=IO rħar*. Serhoual mentions that the expression *i-qs*⁴⁴=*as rħar* (>3SG.M-*qs*=3SG.M.IO) means ‘*il souffre moralement, il est choqué, vexé*’ (Serhoual 2002, 184). The expression is a construction consisting of the verb *qqes* with the prefix indicating third person masculine singular in combination with the noun *lħar* as direct object and the experiencer as indirect object. The verb *qqes* means ‘*piquer quelqu’un, mordre (animal, venimeux) [...] causer une démangeaison, une cuisson (par piqûre, brûlure ou par une substance forte) [...] faire pitié, souffrir, partager aux souffrances d’autrui*’ according to Serhoual (idem, 436). According to him, the noun *rħar* means ‘*temps; état du temps (cosmique)*’ (idem, 184). I will now give some exemplary sentences to be able to prove these statements.

51. *i-qqs=ay zizwit*
 3SG.M-bite=1SG.IO bee
 ‘a bee stung me’

⁴² *i-s-xeyyeq=ay* (<3SG.M-CAUS-*xiyyeq*=1SG.DO).

⁴³ Idem.

⁴⁴ The term *qs* is probably mistakenly written down in the dictionary, and the basic verb, according to the informants, should be *qqes*.

52. *nmi-γ=aç=d* *ijn* *wawer,* *i-qqs=aç* *rħar*
tell.P-1SG=2SG.M.IO=hither one AS.word 3SG.M-bite=2SG.M.IO situation
‘I told you words, it bites you, the situation’
53. *i-qqs=aney* *rħar* *zi* *yemma* *t-ameqqran-t*
3SG.M-bite=1PL.IO situation from mother F-big-F
‘the situation from our grandmother bit us’

Example (51) shows that the verb *qqes* does not have emotional meaning in itself because in this example it refers to the stinging of a bee. The translation and the sentence were volunteered by the informant. Example (52) and (53) show that the expression refers to an emotion in which the verb is always in the third person masculine inflexion with the noun *rħar* as the direct object and a varying indirect object that refers to the experiencer of the emotion.

I will now further discuss the meaning of the expression *i-qss=IO rħar*. Prototypical scenarios that could explain this expression according to the informants are when somebody is talking badly about someone else, he or she knows it but cannot do anything about it. Another prototypical scenario is when a child is not allowed to play a game and he or she feels bad about it. Example (52) shows that *i-qss=IO rħar* can be the result of something said by someone. Example (53) shows that this emotion can also be the result of the passing away of a close relative. That sentence was a response to the request to translate ‘we are sad because of the death of grandmother’. The following explanation of the meaning *i-qss=IO rħar* was given.

I tell you some word, *i-qss=aç rħar*⁴⁵. So you find no way to meet that word. So *i-qss=aç*⁴⁶ *rħar*. [...] So, *i-qss=aç rħar*⁴⁷ or *t-ṭiyar=aç*⁴⁸. it is the same. What is the matter? Do you *ṭiyar*? Or what is the matter? Why *i-qss=aç rħar*⁴⁹?

The informant above claims that the emotion expression *i-qss=IO rħar* refers to the same emotion as the term *ṭiyar*. The explanation does not give account of the reason why *i-qss=IO rħar* is used in (53) because none of the informants mentioned that *ṭiyar* it. Thus, when a relative would die, *ṭiyar* is not used to reflect on the emotion it could cause, while *i-qss=IO rħar* does in some way. The distinguishing NSM condition in this matter could then be that *i-qss=IO rħar* is an emotion in which the experiencer would be thinking something like ‘I do not know what to do’. Instead, that person would be thinking something like ‘I want to do something’. Therefore, *i-qss=IO rħar* is an emotion in which the experiencer would think something like ‘bad things are happening or happened’, ‘I do not want this’, ‘I do not know what to do’ and probably another NSM condition of thinking something like ‘everything is bad now’. As a result, the experiencer feels bad. The NSM condition of thinking ‘everything is bad now’ could be deducted from the fact that one of the informants mentioned that one remains thinking of the thing that happened.

According to the informants, one cannot say *i-qss=IO rħar* to reflect on a feeling of illness, unless somebody is unhappy because of that. So it has to refer to some kind of emotion. The term differs from *xiyyeq* because one does not feel *i-qss=IO rħar* when suffering from an unpleasant neighbor as depicted in sentence (44). That neighbor can make that person *xiyyeq* but not *i-qss=IO rħar*, according to the informants. Thus, *xiyyeq* should have an NSM criterium ‘I do not want to do anything’ while as *i-qss=IO rħar* does not have the same criterium.

⁴⁵ *i-qss=aç rħar* (<3SG.M-bite=2SG.M.IO).

⁴⁶ Idem.

⁴⁷ Idem.

⁴⁸ *t-ṭiyar=aç* (<3SG.F-ṭiyar=2SG.M.IO).

⁴⁹ Gloss: idem footnote 46.

K. *i-s-ruba=t* (to feel sorry for someone/to be moved)

The construction of the type *i-s-ruba=DO* is used to express a sadness-like emotion. The expression consists of the term *ruba* with the causative *-s-*, the verbal third person masculine conjugation and a direct object that refers to the experiencer. According to Serhoual, *ruba* means ‘être trop cuit, mou (viande; être blet, avarié (fruit) [...] être compatissant, tendre (pers., fig.).’ He also mentions that the causative verb *s-ruba* means ‘attendrir, toucher, apitoyer’ (Serhoual 2002, 455). Lastly, he mentions that the noun *a-rrub* means ‘vapeur’, ‘affliction, drame; tragédie’ or ‘vin cuit et doux’ (idem). One of the informants confirmed that the verb *ruba* refers to some process or state of food when she mentioned the following sentence.

54. *aysum* *i-ruba*
 meat.FS 3SG.M-*ruba*
 ‘the meat is overcooked’

Sentence (54) and its translation were volunteered by the informant when I asked her the meaning of the verb *ruba*. So the verb *ruba* can have *aysum* (‘meat’) as subject.

However, the term can also clearly refer to some kind of emotion. The emotion expression requires that the verb is inflected as causative with a direct object referring to a person. The following examples can give account of this statement.

55. *wenni* *i-s-ruba=t*
 that 3SG.M-CAUS-*ruba*=3SG.M.DO
 ‘he, it made him *ruba*’

56. *rmut* *n* *yemma* *i-s-rub=ay*
 death of mother 3SG.M-CAUS-*ruba*=1SG.DO
 ‘mother’s death made me *ruba*’

57. *x* *i-s-rub=ay* *idennad,* *yemm=as* *t-mut*
 x 3SG.M-CAUS-*ruba*=1SG.DO yesterday mother=3SG.M.POS 3SG.F-die
meskin
 poor
 ‘x he made me *ruba* yesterday, his mother died, poor him’

58. *iḥamuc-en=nni* *s-ruba-n=c*
 child.FS-PL=that CAUS-*ruba*-3PL=2SG.M.DO
 ‘those children make you *ruba*’

Sentence (55) proves that the expression needs a direct object. The informant also explained that *wenni* (‘that’) refers to a person in this case. The subject has the same reference in this case as the direct object, which is supported by the fact that the direct object in (56) and (57) changes according to the person that experiences *i-s-ruba=DO*. I never encountered the emotion expression without a direct object and the causative particle *-s-*. Sentence (56) also proves that the construction *i-s-ruba=DO* has to refer to some kind of emotion that, in this case, is caused by the death of the utterer’s mother. This is confirmed by another informant in sentence (57). The informant mentioned that the emotion of *i-s-ruba=DO* is less temporal despite the adverb of time *idennad* (‘yesterday’); ‘if he makes me *ruba*, it stays in me also if it happened yesterday’. The same informant mentioned that the subject ‘x’ could only refer to a human, which is confirmed in example (58), where the emotion *i-s-ruba=DO* clearly has a human subject.

Sentence (58) was uttered by the same informant that gave me the scenarios that would make him feel *i-s-ruba=DO*, namely when he would see a child that is in a very bad state

walking alone in the streets, or when children known by him would become orphans. It was explained by the informant in the following way.

I will say *i-s-rub=ay*⁵⁰ if I see someone walking on the street. He walks on the road, poor thing. The child is very sick. He has no hand, he has no feet. I will say ‘oh *i-s-rub=ay* because of that’. That boy is suffering a lot. He does not have a hand. He does not have anywhere to go. I will now tell you *a-rrubi*⁵¹. A man dies. He has five children. These children are young. If you see them then you *s-ruba-n=c*⁵². Poor them, their future. Now their father is dead and they cannot do anything. They do not have a way to go to school. So these kids *s-ruba-n=c*. [...] They are orphans. [...] They are very poor. You need a great effort in the house. Children need their father and mother.

The informant gave two prototypical scenarios for a person to *i-s-ruba=DO*. Both of them describe someone seeing helpless people and feeling bad about it. Thus, *i-s-ruba=DO* refers to some kind of bad feeling caused by something really bad that happened to someone else which the experiencer cannot change. The emotion is thus directed towards a specific event.

The subject of the causative verb construction *i-s-rub=DO* refers to an emotion that is caused by something that happened to a person. That person can be the subject of the verb. However, it is not always the case, as can be derived from the *izran* I found in the corpus of El Yaakoubi. I found the following sentence that could prove it.

59. *ahajar* *nnec* *i-edm=ayi*, *i-s-rub=ayi*
 migration.FS of.2SG.M.IO 3SG.M-destroy=1SG.IO 3SG.M-CAUS-rub=1SG.IO
 ‘jouw emigratie heeft mij vernield en verdrietig gemaakt’⁵³

The *izran* in which sentence (59) occurs, talks about the feeling someone has when someone else, who is dear to this person, goes far away. El Yaakoubi translated *i-s-rub=ayi* in that sentence as ‘*mij verdrietig gemaakt*’ (‘made me sad’). From the sentence, it can be deduced that the construction *i-s-rub=ayi* refers to an emotion that is caused by something bad that has happened to someone else that cannot be changed by the experiencer and which makes the experiencer feel bad. Example (59) does show that this term explains some negative emotion. The meaning of the expression *i-s-ruba=DO* in NSM can be described as ‘something very bad happened or is happening to someone I know’, ‘I do not want this’, ‘I know I cannot do anything to stop this bad thing from happening’. As a result, the experiencer feels something bad. It is also a passive feeling in the way that the experiencer does not want to do anything and thinks nothing can be done because of that feeling. Therefore, the difference between *xiyyeq* and *i-qqs=as lħar* and *i-s-ruba=DO* is that *xiyyeq* and *i-qqs=as lħar* are emotions that are directed towards some kind of event or events that directly affect the experiencer, as opposed to a bad feeling because of something bad that happened or happens to someone else, as is the case with *i-s-ruba=DO*.

⁵⁰ *i-s-rub=ay* (<3SG.M-CAUS-ruba=1SG.DO).

⁵¹ *a-rrubi* (<NOM-ruba).

⁵² *s-rub-an=c* (<CAUS-ruba-3PL=2SG.M.DO).

⁵³ Source of the sentence and the translation: El Yaakoubi 1992, 22; The translation in English would be something like ‘your migration has destroyed me and made me sad’.

Worry-like emotions: *amnus*, *yufa*, *i-tet=it wur*

L. *amnus* (worry)

The term *amnus* is a noun that refers to a worry-like feeling. According to the informants, the plural should be either *amnusen* or *imunas*. Renisio translates the plural form *amnusen* as ‘*querelle*’, and *amnus* with the plural form *imnusen* as ‘*préoccupation, tracas*’ (Renisio 1932, 390). According to Ibáñez, *amnus* refers to something like ‘*inquietud, afán, zozobra, venganza*’⁵⁴ (Ibáñez 1949, 34). The term only occurs as a noun and is expressed with the verb *ksi*. According to Mourigh and Kossmann, *ksi* can be translated as ‘to lift, to take’ (Mourigh and Kossmann forthcoming, 219). The subject of the verb is the experiencer of *amnus*. The emotion *amnus* is expressed as something internal because it can also be normally expressed with the preposition *d-* (‘in’) with an indirect object referring to the experiencer of the emotion. I will now give some exemplary sentences to prove that *amnus* is realized in the abovementioned ways.

60. *ksi-y* *s* *wumnus* *i* *ħenna* *umi* *t-herç*
 lift.P-1SG with *amnus*.AS to grandmother when 3SG.F-be.ill
 ‘I carried with *amnus* to grandmother when she was ill’
61. *ksi-y* *amnus* *i* *yemma* *i* *herc-en*
 lift.P-1SG *amnus*.FS to mother REL be.ill-PART
 ‘I carried *amnus* to mother when she got ill’
62. *day=i* *amnus* *mermay* *war-d* *ya-y* *y-arwad* *memm-i*
 in=1SG *amnus*.FS when NEG=hither to-1SG 3SG.M-return son=1SG.POS
 ‘In me is *amnus* when my son does not come home’

Examples (60) and (61) show that *amnus* is normally expressed as a direct object with the verb *ksi* (‘lift’). Therefore, it seems that the verb *ksi* is used in a FEEL-like way but it is not clear to what extent it substitutes the semantic prime FEEL. It seems that this way of expressing can go both with and without the preposition *s* (‘with’). There seems to be no difference in meaning if this preposition is used or not. The term *amnus* is expressed as some kind of attribute in these examples. The examples also show that the cause of the emotion *amnus* can be something that happened to someone else and those persons are relatives of the experiencer in those particular cases. The cause is expressed with the preposition *i* (‘to’) in those two exemplary sentences. Thus, *amnus* is an emotion directed towards something that is not sure. Example (62) expresses the emotion *amnus* as something within the experiencer with the preposition *day* (‘in’). The cause of the emotion *amnus* in example (62) is not expressed with the preposition *i* (‘to’) as in (60) and (61).

According to the informants, the plural of the noun *amnus* is *imunas*, as used in the following example.

63. *day=ney* *imunas*
 in=1PL *amnus*.PL
 ‘we experience *imunas*’

Example (63) shows that *imunas* is expressed as something internal. The indirect object refers to the experiencer and comes after the preposition *day* (‘in’). Moreover, it seems that the use of the plural of the noun *amnus* can only go with a plural indirect object.

The informants translated the term *amnus* in Dutch mostly as ‘*zorgen*’ (‘sorrows’). One informant also mentioned that if someone is ‘very worried’, it can be expressed with the verb

⁵⁴ The words ‘*inquietud, afán, zozobra, venganza*’ can be translated respectively as ‘restlessness, trying, anxiety, vengeance’.

ney, that according to Serhoual means something like ‘*tuer, assassiner, abattre*’ (Serhoual 2002, 352). I will now show it in the following example.

64. *i-ny=it* *wumnus*
3SG.M-kill.P=3SG.M.DO *amnus.AS*
‘*amnus* killed him’

In example (64), *amnus* is subject of the verb *ney* and the direct object is the experiencer of *amnus*. It seems that *amnus* could be something that causes people to *ney*. Example (64) was a response to the question what a person would feel if he or she is not able to pay his or her bills and rent and can not do anything about it. The informant then translated (64) as something like ‘he is very worried’.

One of the informants explained the meaning of the term *amnus* in the following way.

You can say to me: “Tomorrow I have an appointment at six in the morning.” *kssi-y amnus*⁵⁵. We go to Amsterdam. So you have it a lot. Perhaps there is a lot of traffic. Perhaps there is no parking there. It is necessary to go back early.

Therefore, *amnus* refers to some kind of feeling that causes the experiencer to think that bad things will happen and that he or she cannot do anything to prevent it. Moreover, according to examples (60) and (61), the term *amnus* expresses an emotion that someone can have when a close relative would fall ill. Both those scenarios cannot be influenced by the experiencer because one can do relatively little to prevent illness if one is already ill. Something similar can be said about the scenario that is pointed out in example (62). The emotion term *amnus* refers to a bad feeling in which one would think something like ‘I think bad things are happening or will happen because of something’, ‘I do not want this’, ‘I do not know what to do’, ‘I do not know what it is that is going to happen’ and ‘I think more bad things are going to happen’. As a result, this person feels something bad.

M. *yufa* (to feel distressed)

The term *yufa* refers to a worry-like emotion. The basic term *yufa* is a verb. There is a disagreement regarding its phonemic realization. Both the literature and the informants themselves mention different phonemes. According to Serhoual, the term should be realized as *yufa* which means ‘*être étouffé, oppressé, irrité, affligé, mécontent*’ (Serhoual 2002, 380). He also mentions that the causative of the verb *s-yuff* means ‘*oppresser, irriter, affliger, étouffer*’ (idem). According to Ibáñez, the people of the Ibequyyen tribe realize the basic verb as *yufer* (=/*yufel*/), and he mentions that it should mean something like ‘*afligir, causar congoja*’⁵⁶ (Ibáñez, 1949, 163). Renisio mentions that the term *yufel* is used by the Senhaja of Sraïr, but he also mentions that the term can be realized as *yuf* (Renisio 1932, 359). According to him, the verb means ‘*être oppressé, irrité, affligé, mécontent*’ (idem). My informants realized the verb sometimes as *yufta* but mostly as *yufa*. Since the literature and most of the informants mentioned the term to be *yufa*, I will refer to it likewise. The term *yufa* is used either as a verb or a noun, which I will now show.

65. *u=yuf-ed* *ci* *ruX*
NEG=*yufa*-2SG NEG now
‘you do not *yufa*’

⁵⁵ *kssi-y amnus* (<carry-1SG *amnus*.FS).

⁵⁶ It could be translated in English as ‘to afflict, distress, to cause grief, to cause anguish’.

66. *i-s-yuft=it*
 3SG.M-CAUS-yufta=3SG.M.DO
 ‘it made him *yufa*’
67. *wenniti a seħbi, ijn i-s-yuft=ay*
 that VOC friend one 3SG.M-CAUS-yufa=1SG.DO
 ‘that, my friend, someone made me *yufa*’
68. *nic ur inu i-yufa*
 I FS.heart of.1SG 3SG.M-yufa
 ‘my heart *yufa*’

Example (65) shows that the verb *yufa* is something that can be done by a person because the informant addressed me at that moment. In example (67), the subject of the verb is also clearly a person. Example (65) shows that the basic verb does not require any kind of object. Example (66) shows that the verb can be used with the causative particle *-s-* with a direct object. The cause of the emotion *s-yufa* can be animate. It is shown in example (67) where the subject of the verb is *ijn* (‘someone’). Example (68) proves that the term *yufa* is a of emotion because the use of the locus of emotion — *ur* (‘heart’) with reference to a person — is the subject of the verb.

The term can also be modified as a female noun *tyufi*. I will now show it.

69. *i-ny=it tyufi*
 3SG.M-kill-3SG.M.DO *tyufi*.AS
 ‘*tyufi* killed him’
70. *ira ksi-y tyufi nhara*
 PAST carry.P-1SG *tyufi* today
 ‘I carried *tyufi* today’

Example (69) and (70) show that there are various ways in which the noun *tyufi* is combined with a verb. Example (69) shows that *tyufi* can be expressed with the verb *ney* (‘kill’) in the same way *amnus* can, which is shown in example (64). Example (70) shows that *tyufi* can also be expressed with the verb *ksi* (‘lift’) in the same way *amnus* is expressed with it — as shown in examples (60) and (61). Example (70) also shows that *yufa* refers to something temporal because of the adverb *nhara* (‘today’).

The plural of the noun *tyufi*, according to the informants, is *tiyufawin*. According to Serhoual, it should be ‘*tiyufiwin*’ (Serhoual 2002, 380). I will now give an exemplary *izran* one of my informants gave me in which the term *tiyufawin* is used.

71. *yi-ṭarbet wur inu*
 3SG.M-P-fall.in.love AS.heart of.1SG
g-ay tinayn n tumatin
 in-1SG. two of sisters
ict-en qa d lhayat
 one.F-of QA PRED life
ict-en tiyufawin
 one.F-of *tyufi*.PL
 ‘My heart fell in love; with me two sisters; One is life, one is sorrow.’

According to the *izran*, my informant gave me — as shown in example (71) —, the plural of the term is *tiyufawin*. In that *izran*, *tiyufawin* are reflected upon as a possible result of falling in love with someone (*ṭarbet*). I also elicited the following examples with the plural *tiyufawin*.

72. *day=s* *tiyufawin*
 in=3SG.M. *tyufi.PL*
 ‘in him are *tiyufawin*’
73. *t-ukt=id* *tiyufawin*
 3SG.F-hit.P-hither *tyufi.PL.AS*
 ‘*tiyufawin* hit him’

According to example (72), *tiyufawin* are something experienced in someone because of the use of the preposition *day=* (‘in’) followed by an indirect object that refers to the experiencer. In (73) *tiyufawin* are expressed as something that hits the experiencer. According to the informant, this use of the noun *tiyufawin* means that someone is unhappy because everything is going bad. That person wants to do something but knows that nothing can be done.

I will now further discuss the meaning of the term *yufa*. An informant explained that he would say (67) as a result of some unpleasant conversation, or if your boss at work makes you work a lot more than one should but you cannot do anything about it. It would cause that person to *yufa*. The meaning of this term refers to some kind of feeling of suffocation according to the informant. The question then is whether *yufa* refers to some kind of bodily reaction because of feeling and thinking something, or only a bodily reaction. The following exemplary sentence can prove that *yufa* refers to some kind of emotion.

74. *nic* *nhara* *u=kar-y* *mani*, *qqim-ey* *gi* *taddart* *waha*
 I today NEG=get.up.P-1SG where stay-1SG in house.AS only
 yuft-ey
 yufta-1SG
 ‘today I did not go anywhere, I only stayed in the house, I *yufa*’

Example (74) shows that *yufa* has to refer to some kind of emotion because it is something that can be done by someone when he or she is alone in his or her house, under normal circumstances. Apparently, *yufa* does not cause some kind of behavior, as is the case with *kfar*. Hence, *yufa* refers to a thinking process in connection with the experiencer feeling something because of it.

An informant mentioned that if he would be walking through the desert for hours, without water or knowing where to go, he would *yufa*. The informant then explained something similar about the meaning of *yufa*.

I go with a cousin and he says to me: ‘I will go to the shop. You stay in the car.’
 [...] He takes a lot of time. I sit for three hours in the car. *yufta-y*⁵⁷. From the inside,
*yufta-y*⁵⁸. No toilet. No coffee. Nothing at all. I am in the car. He is in the shopping
 center.

The above explanation can be translated in NSM as bad feeling in which the person thinks something like ‘something bad is happening’, ‘I not want this’, ‘I do not know to do’, ‘I want to do something because of this’. Another thing he mentioned was the following:

⁵⁷ *yufta-y* (<*yufa*-1SG).

⁵⁸ *idem*.

My heart now *i-yufa*⁵⁹. The meaning of this I will tell you. No work. Crisis. So my heart *i-yufa*⁶⁰. It is not good. It is hard like some kind of *eaşşabiya*. Like some kind of stress. In it is some kind of cocktail, in it *eaşşabiya*, in it stress, in it a lot. Then you say my heart *i-yufa*⁶¹. People can say it about themselves. [...] If you do not have a person that has patience, he raises problems. Perhaps, someone if he is weak, he dies. Done, his heart *i-yufa*⁶².

The meaning of *yufa* also requires an NSM criterium of very bad feeling because a lot of bad things that are happening. The experiencer cannot change those things from happening and he or she does not know what to do. The semantics of *yufa* differs from that of *amnus* because the cause of *yufa* seems to refer to a lot of bad things that are happening and to a more intense bad feeling. The cause of *yufa* seems to be clearer than the cause of *amnus* because *yufa* is directed towards more specific events. Therefore, *amnus* is preferred in example (62), because the experiencer does not know if something bad is actually happening to his or her son. As the informants explained, *yufa* is caused by many bad things happening at the same time.

N. *i-tet=it wur* (to be agitated)

The construction *i-tet=DO wur* refers to a worry-like emotion. The construction needs the verb *ecc* in imperfective aspect with the seat of emotions *ur* ('heart') as subject and a direct object that refers to the experiencer. The verb stem in this construction has a very wide use. According to Renisio, the verb *etc* and *ecc* are local variants of the same verb and they mean 'manger' (Renisio 1932, 302-3). He also mentions that the variant of the verb *itci*, of the tribe Izennayen, means 'démangeaison, cuisson' (idem). According to Serhoual, *ecc* can mean the following.

Manger, s'alimenter, se nourrir, consommer [...] dévorer, goinfrer [...] boire, absorber [...] accaparer un dû, spolier, usurper, confisquer, mettre main basse sur (un bien) [...] être battu, frappé [...] consommer (engine, ,moteur, voiture); user [...] dépenser, dissiper, dilapider [...] ronger (en parlant des vers) [...] piquer (insecte) [...] démanger (partie du corps) [...] brûler, incendier, détruire, ravager, dévaster (feu) [...] user, corroder (liquide, vegetal, métal, produit corrosif [...] avoir beaucoup de cheveux (tête, barbe); être chevelu, hirsute [...] être passionné pour [...] être victim de quelque chose'
(Serhoual 2002, 565-7).

The referential range of the verb *ecc* is rather wide according to Serhoual, and it does not refer to an emotion. It is proved in the following example, given by Serhoual.

75. *i-tet* *aksum*
3SG.M-eat.IMP FS.meat
'he eats meat'⁶³

According to example (75) the imperfective of the verb *ecc* just refers to 'eating' and so does not refer to any kind of emotion. According to Benzakour, *i-t-tet=ayi wur inu* (3SG.M-?⁶⁴-eat.IPF=1SG.DO AS.heart of.1SG) can be translated as 'mijn hart eet mij op/mijn hart jeukt aan

⁵⁹ *i-yufa* (<3SG.M-*yufa*).

⁶⁰ Idem.

⁶¹ Idem.

⁶² Idem.

⁶³ Example and translation originate from: Serhoual 2002, 566.

⁶⁴ It is unclear to me what the linguistic content of this infix *-t-* is.

mij'⁶⁵, and he explains the meaning of this expression as 'when you cannot bear to see something' and 'when your hands are itching to do something' (Benzakour 2018, 143). Thus, according to him, the expression refers to some kind of emotion in which one feels bad, knows what makes him/her feel bad and wants to do something. I will now give some exemplary sentences to give an overview of the uses of this expression and its boundaries.

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--|------------------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 76. <i>i-tet=it</i> | | <i>wur</i> | | | |
| | 3SG.M-eat.IPF=3SG.DO | AS.heart | | | |
| | 'the heart is eating him' | | | | |
| 77. <i>i-cca</i> | <i>ur</i> | <i>ines,</i> | <i>u=yar=s</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>karama</i> |
| | 3SG.M-eat.P | FS.heart | of=3SG.M.IO | NEG=to=3SG.M | NEG |
| | pride | | | | |
| | 'he ate his heart, he does not have pride' | | | | |
| 78. <i>mera</i> | <i>yemmat-herç,</i> | <i>i-tet=ay</i> | | <i>wur</i> | <i>inu</i> |
| | if | mother 3SG.F-get.ill.P | 3SG.M-eat.IPF=1SG.DO | AS.heart | of.1SG |
| | 'if my mother gets ill, my heart eats me' | | | | |

Example (76) shows that the expression needs a direct object. An informant mentioned that her mother uttered (76) when she heard the news that a boy committed suicide because he was bullied at school. She also mentioned that it is used when something makes someone angry and that person cannot do anything to change the situation. In order to refer to a worry-like emotion, *ur* ('heart') has to be subject and the verb *ecc* has to be in the imperfective aspect with a direct object that refers to a person. If the verb is in the perfective and *ur* is the object, the meaning does not reflect on a worry-like emotion, which is shown in example (77). According to the informant, *i-cca ur ines* (>3SG.M-eat.P FS.heart of.3SG.M.IO) can be said about a person who does not have pride. Other informants mentioned that *i-cca ur ines* means that someone is lazy or does not want to do anything, or refers to someone who does not care about other people. Hence, the expression *i-cca ur ines* refers to a personal trait, while the expression *i-tet=it wur* refers to an emotion. Example (78) proves that the direct object of the expression *i-tet=DO wur* changes according to the experiencer of the emotion, because the direct object is in first person singular in (78), as opposed to the third person masculine singular, *-it*, in example (76). The possessive construction *n=IO* with reference to *ur* is not necessary to express the emotion because that construction is absent in example (76), and the informants told me it means the same. Thus, the basic emotion construction, in this case, is *i-tet=DO wur*.

Example (78) proves that *i-tet=DO wur* has to be understood as some kind of emotion that can be triggered by a sick relative. One of the informants gave me the following exemplary scenario in which he would feel something like *i-tet=ay wur* (<3SG.M-eat.IPF=1SG.DO AS.heart).

I will give you an example. I want to [help] a dog. Poor thing, it is sick and my heart eats me when I try to help him but I cannot.

The construction *i-tet=DO wur* can be translated in NSM as a bad feeling in which someone thinks something like 'something bad is happening to someone', 'I do not want this', 'I want to do something' and 'I know I cannot do anything now'. As a result, that person feels something bad. It differs in meaning from *amnus*, because *i-tet=DO wur* refers to an emotion in which someone knows what the emotion caused, or what the bad thing that happened or is happening is and the emotion is directed towards that event. It opposes *amnus* because the person who experiences *amnus* does not know exactly what is wrong. The emotion *i-tet=DO wur* differs

⁶⁵ This Dutch sentence '*mijn hart eet mij op/mijn hart jeukt aan mij*' can be translated as 'my heart is eating me/my heart itches me'; I do not know why Benzakour chose to translate the imperfective of *ecc* (<*tet*) as 'itch'.

from *yufa* in that the latter refers to an emotion because a lot of bad things are happening, and *i-t-tet=DO wur* is directed towards a specific event.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this work, I gave an overview of the linguistic expression of Tarifiyt negative emotion. I explained the meaning of some of these terms to give a general impression of the expression of negative emotions. The presence of these terms proves that there is an emotion lexicon in Tarifiyt, which is diverse both morpho-syntactically, and etymologically. Tarifiyt uses more generic Tarifiyt terms and loanwords from Moroccan-Arabic and sometimes Spanish to express the emotions. The heart, *ur*, is the seat of emotions and is used extensively for emotion expression. It can be used in various ways, both in emotion symptom expressions — where *ur* is a necessary part in order to express a certain emotion — and it can also be used as some kind of intensifier or container of emotions. In the emotion symptom expressions containing *ur*, the emotion is expressed as the physiological reaction that typically accompanies it.

There are several ways in which negative emotions are experienced in Tarifiyt. The most common way is emotion expression in a verb-like way. The verbs can sometimes go with or without a direct or indirect object. Emotional expressions are typically conceptualized in terms of inner activities. The fact that emotions are something internal is often described with the preposition *day* ('in') with an indirect object referring to the experiencer. However, there does not seem to be any consistency in what kind of emotions this preposition can be used with. The experiencer is often expressed as the direct or indirect object, mostly in combination with a verb with the causative particle *-s-*. Many verb-like ways of emotion expression express the cause of the emotion, which is often an event. Other emotions are described by a noun and are often expressed as the direct object of the verb *ksi* ('lift') or before the preposition *day* ('in').

Defining some of these terms as emotions is problematic because some seem to refer more to a certain behavior than others. The question is whether these terms are descriptions of either behavior, some kind of emotion or some combination of both. I also proved that the primes Wierzbicka mentions for the description of emotions have lexical representation in Tarifiyt. However, the results of this study do pose a challenge to the claim of Wierzbicka about the universal existence of the semantic prime FEEL. It is questionable to what extent the use of the preposition *day* with an indirect object referring to a person or the use of the verb *ksi* with the experiencer as subject successfully substitute the prime. Further research in this area could answer this question. The present study did clarify the meaning of some emotional terms. However, I was not able to really place them within another reality because the corpus did not consist of natural conversation but of elicited data. Elicitation is a good basis for semantic study but research with natural language could perhaps explain the meaning of these kinds of terms more successfully. Sociolinguistic research might also give more insights into the specific use of different terms in a social context.

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