Notes on the clausal structure of Guezenaya Tarifyt Berber

Noureddine Elouazizi
Simon Fraser University
Table of Contents

0. Introduction

1. Structure and constituency of the verbal classes
   1.1. Introduction
   1.2. The aorist
   1.3. The imperfective
       1.3.1. The simple imperfective
       1.3.2. The imperfective negative
   1.4. The perfective
       1.4.1. The simple perfective
       1.4.1. The perfective negative
   1.5. Grammatical functions alternations
       1.5.1. Passive constructions
       1.5.2. Causative
       1.5.3. Reciprocal
       1.5.4. Reflexive
       1.5.5. Possessive

2. The preverbal particles: preverbal domain
   2.1. Introduction
   2.2. The TAM particles
       2.2.1. The irrealis mood/future particles ga /ad ‘will’
       2.2.2. The past tense particle da ‘was’
       2.2.3. The negation particle wa ‘not’
   2.3. The non-TAM particles
       2.3.1. Interrogative words
           2.3.1.1. A note on wh-words in GTB
       3.3.2. Relative clause particles
       2.3.3. Cleft particles
       2.3.4. Declarative complementiser
       2.3.5. Summary

3. Word order
   3.1. Introduction
   3.2. VSO vs. SVO and O, VS orders
   3.3. Subjects and pro drop
   2.4. Summary

4. Bibliography
0. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide a theory-neutral descriptive overview of the constituency and structural properties of the clause in Guezenaya Tarifyt Berber (Henceforth GTB). In section one, I describe the structure of the verbal domain, specifying and classifying the classes and properties of verbal stems attested in this variety. I also describe the structural encoding of the major grammatical functions alternations of passive, causative, possessive, reciprocal and reflexive. In section two, I describe the constituents and structure of the GTB preverbal ‘functional’ domain. In section three, describes the word order properties of GTB.

1. Structure and constituency of the verbal classes

1.1 Introduction

I follow the mainstream Berber linguists (Basset 1952, Galand 1977, Chaker 1983, Cadi 1987 and Sadiqi 1997) in assuming that Berber (GTB in my case) is mainly an aspectual language. The expression of the aspectual relations that relate GTB verbal stems to each other is founded on aspectual oppositions that are structurally encoded by massive morphophonological alternations. Like other Berber varieties, GTB has both derived and
underived verbs. These verbs have five different TAM stems. This includes the aorist, the perfective (referred to also in the literature as prétérít/accompli), negative perfective, imperfective (referred to also in the literature as aoriste intensif/inaccompli) and negative imperfective forms. These verbal forms/stems are respectively illustrated in (1.a-e).

(1) a. azzr
run.AOR
‘To run.’

b. θ-uzzr
Fatima  ꝱa θadar’θ
3S.F-run.PERF Fatima to home
‘Fatima ran home.’

---

2 I understand by the term “stem” the remains of a verbal form when the subject agreement affixes are removed.

3 The morphophonological transformations (apophony rules) which map the morphosyntactic transitions between the perfective, imperfective, perfective negative, imperfective negative, aorist and imperative verbal forms involve a great deal of morphophonological interactions. For ease of exposition, I will not go into specifications about how the phonological and the morphological environments regulate vowel shift and consonants/vowels insertions. For detailed descriptions of vowel shifts and alternations that take place so as to obtain different aspectual-temporal distinctions on the verbal forms, the reader is referred to works of Laoust, (1932) for Siwi Berber; Cadi (1987) and Bouyalmani (1999) for Tarifyt Berber; Bentolila (1982) for Ait Serghroushen Berber, among others.

4 Note that there are some differences among Berber linguists as to how many verbal classes are included in Berber TAM system. These differences in the naming of the different stems is based on the differences (the number of stems) in the languages that these linguists investigated. For example, the TAM system described by Basset (1952:13-16) includes six verbal classes/stems viz. aoriste, aoriste intensif, aoriste intensif negative, prétérít, prétérít intensif and prétérít négative. The one of Galand (1977:293) is equally constituted of six classes viz. aoriste ,inaccompli, inaccompli negative, accompli, accompli negative, accompli resultative. Bentolila (1981:116), on the other hand, includes four classes in his TAM system viz. aorist, imperfective, perfective and perfective negative. The one described by Guerssel (1986: 28) is a four classes system also viz. aorist, imperfective, perfective and irrealis.

5 Note that an aorist verbal stem cannot be used on its own to form a sentence in GTB, the single case of second person imperative aside. The translation of the aorist verbal stem as ‘infinitive’ does not imply by any means that the aorist is the equivalent of the infinitive verbal form in languages such as French or English. There is no infinitive inflection on GTB’s aorist stems. My use of the aorist as a citation form translated by the infinitive in these examples is for expository purposes, with an aim of showing the way the five verbal stems of GTB are derived and formally relate to each other.
Every verbal form in Berber is analysable into a combination of a stem and subject agreement affixes (i.e. affixes of gender, number and person) that are either prefixed, suffixed or circumfixed to the verbal stem. The occurrence of these subject agreement affixes is obligatory. The verbal stem itself is further decomposable/analysable into its morphophonological constituency; that is, its consonant roots and vocalic/consonantal melodies.

### 1.2. The aorist

Prior to the study of Galand (1977), the aorist verbal stem has been considered one of the main poles around which the organization of Berber TAM system is structured (Cf. Basset 1952, among others). With Galand (1977: 291), the aorist verbal stem is excluded from the aspectual opposition upon which Berber TAM system is based. Being an unmarked stem, its functionality is confined to a restrictive use, namely with modal particles or in a chain of verb clusters out of which the aorist verbal stem acquires its aspectual-temporal specification. Considered as a neutral and ‘passe-partout’ verbal stem (Cf. Bentolila
1981:116 and Basset 1952:14), the aorist is taken as a starting point for comparing and describing the way the five TAM verbal stems relate to each other.

I assume along the lines of Guerssel (1986) and Bentolila (1981) that the aorist verbal stem is an aspectual-temporal neutral verbal form and I mainly follow Laoust (1920:107) in considering that the aorist verbal stem expresses a fact, a state, an action, a feeling with no specific determination of its aspectual-temporal dimension. These characteristics make the aorist structurally depend on other TAM particles so as to express its aspectual-temporal values. In GTB, like in most other Berber varieties, the aorist verbal stem cannot be used in a sentence without the occurrence of a preceding modal/tense particle as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (2.b) and (3.b). When used together with the mood/future particles and ‘will’ and ‘will’, the aorist expresses an irrealis mood/future action as illustrated by (2.a) and (3.a).

(2)  

a.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>3S.M-write.AOR</th>
<th>letter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>að</td>
<td>y-arri</td>
<td>øabrat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He will write a letter.’

b.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3S.M-write.AOR</th>
<th>letter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* y-arri</td>
<td>øabrat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He writes a letter.’
The structural dependency of the aorist verbal stem extends to syntactic contexts other than the ones which involve the presence of irrealis mood/future preverbal particles. For example, in Berber varieties other than GTB and as reported in Guerssel (1986:28), the aorist verbal stem in Ait Serghroushen Berber can occur without a mood/tense particle but it has to follow other verbal stems from which it acquires the specifications of its irrealis mood/future tense values. Consider the examples in (4) and (5). \(^6\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(4) a. } & \text{ ad } \text{ adf-x, } \text{ ttf-x, } \text{ sw-x} \\
& \text{M/F enter.AOR-1S eat.AOR-1S drink.AOR-1S} \\
& \text{‘I will go in, eat and drink.’} \quad \text{(Ait Seghroushen Berber, Guerssel 1986:28)} \\
\text{b. } & \text{*aδ } \text{ adf-x, } \text{ j-x, } \text{ ssw-x} \\
& \text{M/F enter.AOR-1S eat.AOR-1S drink.AOR-1S} \\
& \text{‘I will go in, eat and drink.’} \quad \text{(Guezenaya Tarifyt Berber)}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^6\) Note that the future particle \textit{ad} ‘will’ has two allomorphic realisations \textit{viz.} \textit{aδ} ‘will’ and \textit{a} ‘will’, depending on the phonological environment they occur in. This allomorphic variation has no bearing on the syntax of the irrealis mood/future particle \textit{aδ} ‘will’.
(5) að aðf-ð, að j-ð, að ssw-ð
M/F enter.AOR-1S M/F eat.AOR-1S M/F drink.AOR-1S
‘I will go in, eat and drink.’

As (4.b) shows, in GTB, the use of the aorist verbal stem following other verbs and without the occurrence of a preverbal mood/tense particle is ruled out. The only possible use of the aorist in such contexts and as illustrated by example (5) indicates that the structural realisation of the aorist stem requires the mandatory occurrence of a irrealis mood/future tense particle. As shown in examples (2-5), the GTB aorist verbal stem can not be used alone to form a sentence. Its structural realisation depends on the occurrence of a irrealis mood/future preverbal particle. However, the aorist verbal stem is used together with the imperative affix to express order, obligation and/or prohibition (negative imperative).

1.3. The imperfective

1.3.1. The simple imperfective

In the TAM system of Galand (1977), the ‘aoriste intensif’, referred to also as the ‘inaccompli’/ imperfective is assumed to be, together with the perfective/prétérit, one of the two main poles around which the Berber TAM system is organized.\(^7\) It describes the internal temporal structure of an ongoing process/event; that is, the way in which the event

\(^7\) I use the term imperfective to refer to both of ‘aoriste intensif’ and ‘inaccompli’. See Galand (1977) for discussion.
occurs in time (continuing, iterative). Unlike the aorist verbal stem, the imperfective/“aoriste intensif” verbal stem can form a sentence on its own and without the occurrence of an irrealis mood/future preverbal particle (Cf. 6.a and b).

(6)  

a. i-qaz armr  
    3S.M-dig.IMPERF sand  
    ‘He digs the sand.’

b. i-tuf s w-nza  
    3S.M-get wet.IMPERF with CS-rain  
    ‘He gets wet because of the rain.’

The imperfective/“aoriste intensif” verbal stem is derived by three affixational processes which operate either independently or jointly. The first process involves the prefixation of the affix {t-} or {ti-} to the verbal stem as respectively illustrated by the examples in (7 and 8).

(7)  

a. kkes  
    take off.AOR  
    ‘To take off.’

b. i-t-kkes arwð  
    3S.M-IMPERF-take off. clothes  
    ‘He takes off clothes.’
The second affixation process is realised by the affixation of a vowel jointly with the affix \{t-\} as shown by examples (9) and (10).

(9)  a.  azz
    break.AOR
    ‘To break.’

   b.  i-t-azz
    3S.M-IMPERF-break stones
    ‘He breaks stones.’

(10)  a.  dgdg
    smash.AOR
    ‘To smash.’

   b.  i-t-dgdg
    3S.M-IMPERF-smash stones
    ‘He smashes stones.’
Other affixational processes which derive the imperfective verbal stem independently and exclude the use of the prefixation of the affix \{t-\} or \{ti-\} are the phonological process of consonantal gemination and process of revowelisation as respectively shown by examples (11) and (12).

(11)  

a. fa‘n
   clear.AOR
   ‘To clear.’

b. i-farīm  fus ines zeg senanen
   3S.M-clear.IMPERF hand his from thorns.
   ‘He clears the thorns out of his hand.’

(12)  

a. ssīnef
   put away.AOR
   ‘To put away.’

b. i-ssanaf  lkatba
   3S.M-put away.IMPERF    book.this
   ‘He puts this book away.’

Note that the affixational processes which derive the imperfective verbal stems as shown by examples in (12-17) occur between the subject agreement affixes and the verb stem. At
times, they even form part of the internal segmental structure of the verbal stem (Cf. 17.b, 16.b and 15.b).

**1.3.2. The imperfective negative**

The combination of the ‘aoriste intensif’/imperfective with the negation particles induces a formal affixational alternation within the imperfective verbal stem. That is, the vowel quality on the imperfective verbal stem undergoes a negation-induced revowelisation. This revowelisation process signals the combination of the imperfective verbal stem with the negation particle. The verbal stem which results from the combination of the imperfective verbal stem together with the negation particle is referred to as the imperfective negative (henceforth IMN). For illustration, consider examples in (13.a and b) and (14.a and b).

\[(13)\]  
\[a. \quad \text{i-t\dhat{g}zzaz} \quad \text{lhalwa} \]
\[\text{3S.M-crunch.IMPERF} \quad \text{sweeties} \]
‘He crunches sweeties.’

\[b. \quad \text{wa y-t\dhat{g}zziz} \quad \text{lhalwa} \]
\[\text{NEG} \quad \text{3S.M-crunch.NEG.IMPERF} \quad \text{sweeties} \]
‘He does not crunch sweeties.’

\[(14)\]  
\[a. \quad \text{i-qaz} \quad \text{armr} \]
\[\text{3S.M-dig.IMPERF} \quad \text{sand} \]
‘He digs sand.’
What the examples in (13 and 14) show is that the IMN stem is derived from the imperfective stem by revowelising the vowel /a/ on the imperfective stem into /i/.

1.4. The perfective

1.4.1. The simple perfective

The perfective verbal stem, referred to in the Berber syntax literature also as ‘prêtérit’ or ‘accompli’ (Cf. Basset 1952, Galand 1977, Bentolila 1982, among others), describes the process of a completed event/action. It marks the end point of this ‘terminated/completed’ action/event. The derivation of the GTB perfective verbal stems is realised by two main phonological processes which involve suffixation of the vowel /a/ and vowel shift from /i/ to /a/ as respectively illustrated by examples in (15-16) and (17-18).

(15) a. azz
    break.AOR
    ‘To break.’

 b. y-azza azrw
    3S.M-break.PERF stone
    ‘He broke stone.’
(16) a. kk
   passby.AOR
   ‘To pass by.’

   b. i-kka zaði
   3S.M-passby.PRF before me
   ‘He passed in front of me.’

(17) a. arri
   write.AOR
   ‘To write.’

   b. y-wwra lktaθ
   3S.M-write.PRF book
   ‘He wrote a book.’

(18) a. inni
   say.AOR
   ‘To say.’

   b. y-nna s θhajit
   3S.M-say.PRF CLhim story
   ‘He told him a story.’
In some limited cases wherein the verbal stem bears a vowel /i/, the perfective verbal stem is derived without the two phonological processes described above (Cf. the examples in 19 and 20).

(19)  a. qim
       sit.AOR
       ‘To stay.’

       b. y-qim ðin
          3S.M-sit.PERF there
          ‘He stayed there.’

(20)  a. siwr
      speak.AOR
      ‘To speak.’

       b. y-siwr ag memi s
          3S.M-talk.PERF with son CL4sus
          ‘He talked with his son.’

1.4.2. The perfective negative

The negative perfective verbal form (henceforth NPE) is a subclass of the perfective verbal stem. Like the IMN, the NPE verbal stem is derived by the occurrence of the perfective verbal stem together with the negation particle wa ‘not’. This combination results in a
phonological alternation on the vowel quality of the perfective stem. To illustrate this, consider the examples in (21.a and b).

(21) a. y-nna  s  0hajit
    3S.M-say.PERF  CL_{HIM}  story
    ‘He told him a story.’

b. wa  s  y-nni  0hajit
    NEG  CL_{HIM}  3S.M-say.NEG.PERF  story
    ‘He did not tell him a story.’

As the examples in (21) show, the occurrence of the negation particle wa ‘not’ changes the perfective stem vowel /a/ into /i/. It is this vocalic alternation process which formally signals the occurrence of the perfective verbal stem together with the negation particle.

1.5. Grammatical functions alternations

Note that at the beginning of this paper, reference is made to the existence of a second class of verbal forms/stems in GTB, as well as in other Berber varieties, which is referred to as derived verbal forms/stems. This class of derived verbal stems bears the same inflections of TAM system. In this section, I will describe this class of derived verbal stems as a subcomponent of the set of grammatical functions alternations in GTB verbal domain. This set of grammatical functions include, the formation of passive, causative, reciprocal, possessive and reflexive constructions. However, note that I do not analyse the
derivational (morpho-)syntactic processes that stand behind the transformations that generate such processes. First, I will describe the inflectional elements involved in coding the three first processes of passive, reciprocal and causatives constructions since these processes seem to operate on the verbal complex in Berber. Then, for the sake of completeness, I will briefly describe the formation of reflexive and possessive constructions. 8

1.5.1. Passive constructions

The passive verbal forms are derived by the affixation of {twa-}. Consider the example in (22).

(22) a. 0-mrʃ (Muna) Muhnd

3S.F-marry.PERF Muna Muhnd

‘Muna married Muhnd.’

b. y-twa-mrʃ (Muhnd)

3S.M-PASS-marry.PERF Muhnd

‘Muhand was married to X (eg. Muna).’

Note that the affix {twa-} is used to derive the passive construction in (22.a) from a transitive verb in (22.b). The postverbal subject in brackets in (22.a) is optional. Another inflection which flags the occurrence of the syntactic process of passivisation is indicated

8 For detailed descriptive discussions of these processes in Berber varieties other than GTB, the reader is referred to works of Cadi (1987), among many others.
by the agreement features on the subject agreement affix. In the active construction, the subject agreement affix /θ/ (3S.F) agrees in its phi-features with the postverbal subject ‘Muna’. When the construction undergoes the passive transformation, the agreement of the subject affix switches into agreeing with the object as in (22.b) where/y/ (3S.M) agrees with ‘Muhand’.

1.5.2. Causative

The occurrence of the affix {ss} derives a causative verbal stem from a transitive verb as show in (23).⁹

(23) y-ss-mrʃ Muhnd Muna i Jamal
     3S.M-CAUS-marry.PERF Muhnd Muna to Jamal
     ‘Muhnd made/caused Muna to marry Jamal.’

1.5.3. Reciprocal

In GTB, the reciprocal constructions can be derived by using two different strategies: The “affixational reciprocal” strategy and the “periphrastic reciprocal” strategy. To illustrate the “affixational reciprocal” strategy, consider the example in (24).

---

⁹ Note that the causative affix {ss} can also be used to switch the transitivity value of a intransitive verb into transitive, or creat verbs out of onomatopoeic nouns. For a more detailed description of this affix, see Cadi (1987,1994), among others.
The derived verbal stem in (24) is realized by the affixation of {mm}. Unlike this “affixational reciprocal” strategy, the “periphrastic reciprocal” strategy can co-occur with the affixational one in a single construction as shown in (25.d) or occur alone as illustrated in (25.e).

(25)  

(a)  θ-zawa Muna Fatima  
2S.F-insult.PERF Muna Fatima  
‘Muna insulted Fatima.’

(b)  t-mm-zawa-nt Muna δ Fatima  
2PL.F-RECI-insult-IMPERF-2PL.F Muna with Fatima  
‘Muna exchanges insults with Fatima.’ (lit.)  
‘Muna and Fatima insult each other.’ (translation)

(c)  t-mm-zawa-nt  
2PL.F-RECI-insult-IMPERF-2PL.F  
‘They insult each other.’
Moreover, while “affixational reciprocal” strategy is a marking on the verb (verbal complex), the “periphrastic reciprocal” strategy is a marking on a co-construed argument position.

Besides, an additional structural property which characterizes the derived verbs illustrated in (22-25), “periphrastic reciprocal” strategy, is that the affixes of passive, causative and reciprocals all occupy a structural position between the subject agreement affix and the verbal stem. This is exhibited more clearly even in the cases of complex derived verbal forms which attest to the occurrence of a reciprocal and a causative affix, for example. Consider (26).¹⁰

(26) y-ss-\textit{mm}-ruwðuf \textit{imfiðan}

3S.M-CAUS-RECI-catch.PERF students

‘He makes students catch each other.’ (eg. in a Judo lesson)

¹⁰ For a description of these verbal forms, the reader is referred to sadiqi (1986, 2000), Cadi (1987), among many others.
The three types of grammatical functions alternations described above indicate that the processes of causativisation, reciprocity (with affixal strategy) and passivisation all take place within the verbal complex. I approximate the order of these constituents within the verbal complex by (27).

(27) \( v[A_{GR_{SUB.}} > \text{CAUSATIVE} > \text{RECIPROCAL} > V > A_{GR_{SUB.}}] \)

1.5.4. Reflexive

The encoding of the anaphoric relation of reflexivity in GTB is realised by a reflexive pronominal complex ‘ixefinnes’ of the form [N (head)+Clitic/Pronoun]. The nominal constituent in this complex is the word for ‘head’ referred to as ‘ixef / ažif’ (head), which is combined with a dative preposition /i/. This preposition /i/ is similar to the one which appears with dative full pronominal forms (but not with datives clitic). This /i/ appears only with the singular (but not plural) forms of the pronoun inside the reflexive complex. For an illustration of the structure of the reflexive pronouns in GTB and their use, consider (28) and (29), respectively.

(28) Myself ixef-inw
    Yourself ixef-inf
    Yourself ixef-inem
    Himself ixef-ines
1.5.5. Possessive

A possessive construction in GTB can convey the notions of belonging/possession (Cf. 30.a), an attribute (Cf. 30.b), and origin (Cf. 30.c).

(29) a. 通行证 nga ixefines

3S.F-kill.PERF self.her

‘She killed herself.’

b. 通行证 w0i-nt ixenkent

2PL.F-hit.PERF-2PL.F self.your

‘You hit yourselves.’

(30) a. 通行证 inw /nf/ nsent

book mine/yours/their

‘The book of mine/ of yours/ of theirs.’
2. The preverbal particles: preverbal domain

2.1. Introduction

I categorize Berber preverbal particles into two main classes. The first class, which I label Tense-Aspect-Mood particles (henceforth TAM), includes the irrealis modal (future) particles ḍra ‘will’ and ḡa ‘will’, the past tense particle ḍa ‘was’ and the negation particle wa ‘not’. The second class which I name non-TAM preverbal particles (for lack of a better term) includes interrogative words, declarative complementisers and relative clause particles. The term preverbal particle is used as a cover term for a set of preverbal elements that are neither affixes nor inflections on other grammatical forms. That is, these morphemes have the following structural properties: (i) they occur in a preverbal position.
and never in a postverbal one, (ii) they are neither verbs, nouns, adjectives nor prepositions, (iii) they are free morphemes and (iv) the aspectual-temporal realisation of some verbal stems is related to the occurrence of some of these preverbal particles.

2.2. The TAM particles

2.2.1. The irrealis mood/future particles \( \dot{g}a / lad \) ‘will’

GTB makes use of two preverbal future particles \( a\dot{\alpha} \) ‘will’ and \( \dot{g}a \) ‘will’ to encode the irrealis mood/future. The preverbal particle \( a\dot{\alpha} \) ‘will’ which is the most discussed in the Berber syntax literature is attributed the status of a future marker in some parts of the literature (see Hanoteau 1858/1906:101-105, Laoust 1920:110 and Dell and Elmedlaoui 1989:172-175) and the status of both a modality marker and a future marker in others (see Bentolila 1981:139 and Chaker 1983:223). I follow Chaker (1983: 223-§15.21) in assuming that the preverbal particles \( a\dot{\alpha} \) ‘will’ and \( \dot{g}a \) ‘will’ are irrealis mood/future particles. Combined with an aorist verbal stem, they encode a future event/action which is virtual, uncertain, probable and hypothetical.

(32)   a. *(a\dot{\alpha}) y-arri lktab
      M/F  3S.M-write.AOR book
      ‘He will write a book.’

      b. (a\dot{\alpha}) i-t-arri lktub
      M/F  3S.M-IMPERF-write books
      ‘He will keep writing books (frequently and habitually).’
As the examples (32.a) and (33.a) show, the preverbal modal/tense particle *a∅ ‘will’ combines with an aorist verbal stem to express the notion of the unreal state of the event (future/irrealis mood). The absence of *a∅ ‘will’ in (32.a and 33.a) can result in ungrammaticality because the aorist verbal stem is a structurally dependent verbal stem and cannot form a sentence on its own. Similar to the use of *a∅ ‘will’, the irrealis mood/future preverbal particle ǧa ‘will’ combines with the aorist verbal stem to express an unrealised/future event as illustrated in (34).

(34) i-t-ssn  min  ǧa/*a∅  y-arri
     3S.M-IMPERF-know what M/F  3S.M-write.AOR

    ‘He knows what he will write.’

2.2.2. The past tense particle dža ‘was’

Another preverbal particle which falls within the class of TAM preverbal particles is the past tense particle dɛa ‘was’ (henceforth PTP). It is a grammaticalised form of the auxiliary
verb *i-dža* ‘to be’ and it shows up in a position that precedes the verb. The auxiliary *i-dža* ‘to be’, unlike the past tense particle *dža*, inflects for number, person and gender. It assumes three forms viz. *iri*, *tiri* and *dža* which respectively correspond to its uses with irrealis mood, imperfective and perfective. This is illustrated by (35.a, b and c).

(35)  
a. að y-iri ð a˚ yaz  

M/F 3S.M-be.AOR COP man  
‘He will be a man/He will become a man.’  
b. i-tiri ðin  
3S.M-be.IMPERF there  
‘He is /stays there.’  
c. *(dža) i-dža*  
ijj w-a˚ yaz ði Îada˚Î  
PTP 3S.M-be.PERF one CS-man in house  
‘There was a man in the house.’

### 2.2.3. The negation particle *wa* ‘not’

GTB makes use of a preverbal negation particle *wa* ‘not’ to negate propositions. This negation particle is optionally followed by another negation *fa* ‘not’ similar to the French negation ‘*pas*’. When occurring together, they constitute a discontinuous negation form, which is *wa*…(*fa*). The negation element *wa* ‘not’ always precedes the verb and *fa* ‘not’ element always follows it as illustrated in (36) (see Lafkioui, 1996).
(36) wa i-tguzziz (ja) lhalwa
  NEG 3S.M-crunch.NEG.IMPERF not sweets
  ‘He does not crunch sweets.’

2.3. The non-TAM particles

The class of non-TAM preverbal particles that will be described below includes interrogative words, relative clause particles, cleft construction particles and declarative clause particles.

2.3.1. Interrogative words

The data in (37.a-e) provide examples of GTB interrogative words in their clause initial position: \textit{min} ‘what’ (37.a), \textit{uw} ‘who’ (37.b), \textit{ma} ‘yes/no question’ (37.c), \textit{mayemmi} ‘why’ (37.d) and \textit{mermi} ‘when’ (37.e).

\begin{align*}
(37) & \quad a. \quad \text{min y-wja Jamal i Mena ?} \\
& \text{what 3S.M-give.PERF Jamal to Mena} \\
& \text{‘What did Jamal give to Mena?} \\
& \quad b. \quad \text{uw (g) y-wji-n lktab i Mena?} \\
& \text{who X PART-give.PERF-PART book to Mena} \\
& \text{‘Who gave the book to Mena?} \\
& \quad c. \quad \text{ma y-wja Jamal lktab i Mena ?} \\
& \text{Q 3S.M-give.PERF Jamal book to Mena}
\end{align*}
‘Did Jamal give the book to Mena?’

d. mayemmi y-wja Jamal lktab i Mena ?
   why 3S.M-give.PERF Jamal book to Mena

‘Why did Jamal give the book to Mena?’

e. mermi y-wja Jamal lktab i Mena ?
   when 3S.M-give.PERF Jamal book to Mena

When did Jamal give the book to Mena?’

2.3.1.1. A note on wh-words in GTB

In GTB, to form a direct question, it is necessary to have the wh-phrase in a clause initial position as in (Cf. 38.a). In case a GTB sentence is a question about two things, then one of the wh-phrase is fronted and the other remains in-situ (Cf. 38.b&c). Fronting of multiple wh-words is not possible (Cf (38.d) and (38.e)).

(38) a. uw 0-zra Muna
   Who 3S.F-see.PERF Muna

   ‘Who did Muna see?’

b. uw 0-zra Muna y-tafia manyn
   Who 3S.F-see.PERF Muna 3S.M-steal.IMPER what

   ‘Who did Muna see stealing what?’
c. uw g y-sgi-n manayn
   Who X PART-buy.PERF-PART what
   ‘Who bought what?’

d. * uw manayn g y-sgi-n
   Who what X PART-buy.PERF-PART
   ‘Who what bought?’

e. * y-sg-a uw manayn
   3S.M-buy.PERF who what
   ‘bought who what?’

3.3.2. Relative clause particles

GTB relative clauses are introduced by: (i) the relative clause particle \( i \), (ii) free relative clause pronouns (\( wnni \) ‘the one who/masculine’, \( \theta nni \) ‘the one who/feminine’) or (iii) zero relative clause particle as illustrated by examples in (39), (40) and (41) respectively.

(39)   a. a’yaz y-ssqad lktab i Mena
       man 3S.M-send-PERF book to Mena
       ‘A man sent the book to Mena.’

   b. zri-x a’yaz i (g) y-ssqad-n lktab i Mena
      see.PERF-1S man RM X PART-send.PERF-PART book to Mena
      ‘I saw the man who sent the book to Mena.’
(40)  a. wnni ġa y-ġa'-n lktaba að y-njah
    RP M/F PART-read.AOR-PART book.this M/F 3S.M-succeed.AOR
    ‘The one who will read this book will succeed.’

b. ṭnni ġa y-ġa'-n lktaba a t-njah
    RP M/F PART-read.AOR-PART book.this M/F 3S.F-succeed.AOR
    ‘The one who will read this book will succeed.’

(41)  aɣ yaz (g) y-ssqad-n ktab i Mena
    man X PART-send.PERF-PART book to Mena
    i-xf ġa fransa
    3S.M-arrive.PERF to France
    ‘The man who sent the book to Mena arrived in France.’

2.3.3. Cleft particles

Cleft constructions in GTB are a particular type of relative clause constructions. They are also referred to in the Berber syntax literature as ‘focus’ constructions (Cf. Basset 1952, Galand 1957). The displacement of the clefted constituents is marked by the appearance of cleft markers ī and umī which are preceded by the clefted element as shown in examples (42), (43) and (44).
(42)  

a. i-sqad Jamal θabraτ
   3S.M-send.PERF Jamal letter
   ‘Jamal sent the letter.’

b. (t) tabraτ i (g) i-sqad Jamal
   COP letter CM X 3S.M-send.PERF Jamal
   ‘It is a letter which Jamal sent.’

c. (ð) Jamal i (g) y-sqad-n θabraτ
   COP Jamal CM X PART-send.PERF-PART letter
   ‘It is Jamal who sent the letter.’

(43)  

a. wfi-x lktab i Jamal
   give.PERF-1S book to Jamal
   ‘I gave a book to Jamal.’

b. (ð) Jamal umi wfi-x lktab
   COP Jamal CM give.PERF-1S book
   ‘It is to Jamal that I gave the book.’

(44)  

(ð) nʃ i (g) y-wfi-n lktab i Jamal
   COP me CM X PART-give.PERF-PART book to Jamal
   ‘It is me who gave the book to Jamal.’
2.3.4. Declarative complementiser

In addition to the relative clause particle mentioned above, GTB makes use of another complementiser form-declarative complementiser qa ‘that’ (Cf. 45.a and b).

\[(45) \quad \text{a. ssn-x qa i-ssqad lktab i Mena} \]
\[\text{Know.PERF-1S that 3S.M-send.PERF book to Mena} \]
\[\text{‘I know that he sent the book to Mena.’} \]
\[\text{b. ssn-x qa dža wa i-ssqid lktab i Mena} \]
\[\text{Know.PERF-1S that PTP NEG 3S.M-send.NEG.PERF book to Mena} \]
\[\text{‘I know that he did not send the book to Mena.’} \]

Among the syntactic characteristics that distinguish the declarative complementiser qa ‘that’ from the rest is the fact that it occurs just after verbs like ⱥhir ‘think’, ssn ‘know’, inni ‘say’ which select sentential complements.

2.4. Summary

I sum up the order-sequencing scheme for pre-verbal particles by (46).

\[(46) \quad \text{Wh-word/REL/CLE/DECL} > \text{PTP} > \text{NEG/M/F} > \text{V} \]
3. Word order

3.1. Introduction

This section describes the word orders of the subject, verb and object in GTB. It also describes the general properties of subjects.

3.2. VSO vs. SVO and O, VS orders

The word order of GTB variety, like other Berber varieties and some of the Hamito-Semitic languages is canonically a VSO word order. Consider the following examples.

(47) a. i-ffa Jamal agram (VSO order)
3S.M-eat.PERF Jamal bread
‘Jamal ate bread.’

b. Jamal i-ffa agram (SVO order)
Jamal 3S.M-eat.PERF bread
‘Jamal ate the bread.’

c. i-ffa agram
3S.M–eat.PERF bread
‘He ate bread.’

d. i-ffa w-a’ba agram (VSO order)
3S.M-eat.PERF CS-boy bread
‘The boy ate bread.’
The derivation of the SVO order in (47.b) involves the fronting of the lexical subject to the initial position in the sentence.\textsuperscript{11} Besides, in addition to SVO and VSO word orders, GTB allows the occurrence of the O,VS word order in a restricted syntactic environment which requires the presence of a resumptive pronoun in the position wherein the object originally occurs. Consider example in (48.a and b).

\begin{align*}
(48) & \quad \text{a. } \text{ağrum, i-iffies} \quad * (\theta) \quad \text{Jamal} \quad \text{(O,V,CL,S order)} \\
& \quad \text{bread 3S.M-eat.PERF CL_{IT} Jamal} \\
& \quad \text{‘The bread, Jamal ate it.’} \\
& \quad \text{b. } \text{ağrum, i-iffies} \quad * (\theta) \quad \text{(O,V,CL order)} \\
& \quad \text{bread 3S.M-eat.PERF CL_{IT}} \\
& \quad \text{‘The bread, he ate it.’}
\end{align*}

Note that the presence of a left-dislocated lexical object in the preverbal position, unlike its lexical subject counterpart (Cf. 47.b), is characterised by the occurrence of a clear prosodic break (marked in (48.a) by a comma). In such contexts, the preverbal object receives a

\textsuperscript{11} The judgements of my GTB speakers indicates that there is no prosodic break after the lexical subject (in declarative, non clefted constructions), especially if compared with the prosodic break that straightforwardly occurs in constructions which involve the fronting (topicalisation) of the lexical object. However, judgements from other adjacent Berber varieties indicate that there might be a prosodic break following the lexical subject. Hence it remains to be determined whether the position that the lexical subject occupies in the SVO order is a topic position or not, especially if the intralanguage judgements and facts are taken into account. This Berber intralanguage microvariation with respect to the position that the lexical subject occupies has been observed in earlier studies. It is reported in Galand (1979a:137) that the southern Berber variety of Touareg, unlike its northern counterparts, marks the order SVO rather than VSO. This stands in contrast with other studies carried out on the northern Berber varieties. In Cadi (1987:122), it is reported that the use of VSO in Tarifit Berber is of an average of 78\% than the use of the SVO order.
focus interpretation and the presence of a postverbal resumptive pronoun is obligatory as shown in example (48.b).

3.3. Subjects and pro drop

Note that a construct state inflection appears on the post verbal lexical nominal category, except for proper names (Cf. 49.d).12

(49) a. i-ʃʃa Jamal öğrum
   3S.M-eat.PERF Jamal bread
   ‘Jamal ate the bread.’

b. i-ʃʃa w-aʼba öğrum
   3S.M-eat.PERF CS-boy bread
   ‘The boy ate the bread.’

c. aʼba i-ʃʃa öğrum
   boy 3S.M-eat.PERF bread
   ‘The boy ate the bread.’

---

12 For a descriptive/functional view about the syntactic contexts of construct state, the reader is referred to works of Bentolila (1981:46), among others. Within the generative approach, the appearance of the construct state marking on the postverbal lexical subject is assumed to be a subject agreement reflex (signature) which attests to the fact that the postverbal lexical DP has moved to an agreement projection (AGRS.P) to check its case feature (see Ouhalla 1988, 1993, Ennaji 1997, among others).
d. *w- a’ba i-fja aqrum

CS-boy 3S.M-eat.PERF bread

‘The boy ate the bread.’

e. * i-fja a’ba aqrum

3S.M-eat.PERF boy bread

‘The boy ate the bread.’

Note that the construct state inflection does not appear on the same lexical subject when the latter occupies a preverbal position (SVO order) as illustrated by the grammatical (49.c). Like other Berber varieties, the presence of a lexical subject is optional in GTB as shown by (47.c). In (47.c), there is no postverbal or preverbal lexical subject. The interpretation of the sentence maintains the presence of an implicit subject/agent. This interpretation is maintained thanks to the presence of subject agreement affixes which appear on the verb. For an illustration of the distribution of these subject agreement affixes vis-à-vis the verb, consider table.1 in (50).13

13 The phonetically transcribed segment / ð/ stands for a spirantised interdental segment. The third person singular fi/ is at times realised in certain restrictive phonological context as / y/. This is the case when the verb to which the subject prefix {i-} gets prefixed starts with a vowel. Hence the following phonological rules apply i → y/ -V.
Table 1: Distribution of subject affix agreement markers in GTB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject markers distribution</th>
<th>distribution with verb ω/‘give’ conjugated into perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.sg.ms/fe</td>
<td>X - x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.sg.ms/fe</td>
<td>θ - X - δ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg.masc.</td>
<td>i - X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg.fem.</td>
<td>θ - X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.pl.</td>
<td>n - X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.pl.masc.</td>
<td>θ - X - m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.pl.fem.</td>
<td>θ - X - nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.pl.masc.</td>
<td>X - n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.pl.fem.</td>
<td>X - nt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of example (47.c) above, it is the presence of the third person singular masculine affix /i - / which ensures the interpretation of a subject. This observation has been articulated since the early studies which describe the grammatical system of Berber language in general either within descriptive functional framework (Cf. Laoust 1928, Galand 1977, Bentolila 1981 and Cadi 1987 a.o) or within generative framework (Cf. Sadiqi, 1986 and Ouhalla 1988 a.o).

Moreover, GTB, like other Berber varieties, apparently uses two syntactic elements to encode the notion “subject”. These are the lexical subject and the subject agreement affixes. The occurrence of the lexical subject is optional and it inflects for construct state inflection when it occurs in the postverbal (but not preverbal) position as described above. Unlike lexical subjects, the position of the subject agreement affixes is fixed and its occurrence is obligatory. The omission or displacement of these subject affix affixes result in ungrammaticality as respectively shown by (51.b) and (51.c).
Furthermore, GTB can also be classified as a null subject language/pro drop language along the lines of other null subject languages like Italian and Hebrew. The following examples illustrate the point.

(52)  

a. uðf-nt  pro  
enter.PERF-3PL.F  
‘They entered.’

b. uðf-n  pro  
enter.PERF-3PL.M  
‘They entered.’
3.4. Summary

GTB variety allows four word orders in general. These word orders are the VSO and SVO in addition to O, VS and S,O,V which involve the left dislocation (fronting) of lexical object, lexical subject or both. Word orders such as OSV and SOV are not possible. Moreover, GTB, like Italian and Hebrew, qualifies for a pro drop /null subject language.

4. Bibliography


