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A Grammar of Ghomara Berber

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IV Syntax

1. The noun phrase

The noun phrase consists at least of a core. All additional elements are optional. Different elements can function as the core of a noun phrase: nouns, adjectives, independent pronouns, demonstratives and numerals. The maximal structure of the noun phrase is:

(Indefinite + *n*) - (Quantifier / Composite prep. + *n*) - Core - (Poss) - (Indefinite/Deictic) - (Adjective) - (*n* + NP) (*kamel / kamla / kamlin*) - relative clause

The core can be modified by additional elements. Independent pronouns can only be modified by the adverb MS **kamel**, FS **kamla**, PL **kamlin** or by a relative clause (cf. III.14. for adverbs and IV.5. for relative clauses). Any noun phrase can be modified by a relative clause which always follows the core (most frequently in a focus construction cf. chapter IV.7.2.). Indefinites and quantifiers (including numerals) precede the core and are always linked to it by means of the prepositions **n** 'of'. The possessive slot immediately following the head is only meant for possessive pronouns suffixed to kinship terms (see III.11.4.). For obvious reasons, the indefinite determiner cannot cooccur with the deictic postnominal elements. Adjectives appear in postnominal position. In this chapter the elements that can constitute the noun phrase will be presented. First the noun including its determiners will be treated. The Arabic article and the genitive construction form separate subjects within this section. Then adjectives and their use in comparative and superlative constructions are dealt with. Independent and demonstrative pronouns will be treated and finally numerals and the distributive will be presented.

1.1. The noun

In this section several examples of noun phrases will be given in which the head is modified by different elements. We will present each of the possible modifiers of the NP. There are three prenominal indefinite modifiers (**ya**) **ḵra**, **ši ~ š** and **yan ~ ya / yaṯ ~ yah** and one postnominal modifier **inši ~ nši ~ iši** (cf. III.11.7. morphology for postnominal deictic clitics). The preposition **n** is always used to link the prenominal indefinite to the head. These modifiers are inextricably linked to definiteness. Another important factor is presence or absence of the article **l** in Arabic-morphology nouns (see 1.1.1. below). We follow Brustadt (2000: 18-31) in defining definiteness as a continuum along two axes; individuation and specificity. The modifier (**ya**) **ḵra** is used for non-individuated, non-specific. It is relatively rare in texts, and when it occurs it always modifies nouns referring to human beings (example (1)). This is the main difference with the other non-individuated, non-specific modifier, **ši**, which is more frequently attested and is also used for things. Example (2) and (3) show its use. (**ya**) **ḵra** is only used for plurals. The numeral **yan ~ ya / yaṯ ~ yah** 'one'

is used for specific, individuated enitities, as in example (4) (cf. III.12. on numerals). In example (5) the speaker refers to a specific brother to which something happened. Example (6) shows the reduced form of **ši**.

(1) *k̲ra n leḥšam*
some of children
'some children'

(2) *ši n leflus aḡ lla-n lwext=ahen g ṭanǧa*
some of money PST be:P-3PL time=S:ANP in Tangier
'A kind of money that there was in that time in Tangier.'

(3) *dda-n=d ši n irgazen*
go:P-3PL=DC some of men
'Some men came.'

(4) *nettaṯa ɣr-es ya n lxeddam iḏ̲-es das*
she at-3S one:M of worker with-3S there
'She has a servant with her there.'

(5) *ya n k̲ma nn-ax tweḍḍeṛ ṭṭarix=ahen g tanǧa*
one:M of brother of-1PL be.lost[3MS:PF] time=S:ANP in Tangier
'One of our brothers went missing that time in Tangier.'

(6) *ye-dda dar š n yaɣeḏ̲*
3S-go:P to some of ash:EA
'He went to some ash.'

The indefinite determiner **inši ~ nši ~ iši** differs from the preceding determiners in that it is postnominal. The different forms are in free variation. It is used with individuated non-specific referents and can be translated as 'some' in English. It is clear what kind of entity is referred to, but it is not clear or relevant which one out of the class of possibilities is referred to. Some examples from texts are:

(7) *mk̲i ṭleb-t xf-es lḥaža inši ma i-tweqqaf=ak̲ ši*
if ask.for-2S:PF on-3S thing some NEG 3S-stop:I=2MS:DO NEG
'If you ask him something, he will not refuse.'

(8) *mk̲i te-ll tameɣṛa ynši ilaxiri n lɛaʔila ynši nn-sen*

if 3FS-be:P wedding:EL some etc. of family some of-3PL
'If there is some wedding or so of some family of theirs.'

(9) *i nnhaṛ iši te-qql=as=d s ṣṣulṭan*
and day some 3FS-return:P=3S:IO=DC with sultan
'And one day she came back with the Sultan.'

Quantifiers, including numerals, are linked to the noun by means of the preposition **n**. In the following examples the use of a quantifier and a numeral is shown.

(10) *bezzaf n iḏawen*
many of beans
'many beans'

(11) *ažemmuɛ n leḥšam*
group:EL of children
'A group of children.'

(12) *žuž n temɣaṛan*
two of women:EA
'two women'

The numeral 'one' can be used to indicate appromixate number (cf. III.12.1.2. for numerals). For example:

(13) *bb=d yan žuž kilu*
take:IMP=DC one:M two kilo
'Bring approximately two kilo's'

Deictics are postnominal and agree in number with the core. In (14) an example of a deictic is shown (cf. III.11.7. for the whole paradigm).

(14) *leḥyif=iḏ*
stones=PL:PRX
'these rocks'

Adjectives can modify the core, as in (15). Adjectives agree with the core in number and gender (cf. III.9. for adjectival morphology).

(15) *leḥyif muqqṛ-eṯ*
stones big-PL
'big rocks'

1.1.1. The article

In most cases, non-berberised Arabic loans contain the Arabic definite article. In some rare instances in our text corpus, which we sum up below, the article is absent. However, in negative contexts where the article must be absent in Moroccan Arabic, it is present in Ghomara Berber, in example (16). Based on elicitiation it is therefore best to assume that there is free variation in the contexts given below.

(16) *ma ssaɣ-en lḥaža te-sḥa*
NEG buy:I-3PL thing 3FS-strong:P
'They do not buy good things.'

In non-negative context in Moroccan Arabic, the absence of the article marks an element *'quelconque non nul'* (Caubet, 1993: 265). This means that it refers to 'a certain X' not specifying its characteristics. In this sense it is individuated and non-specific. It may also be within the context of a general statement about the thing. In this situation sometimes the article is also absent in Ghomara Berber. Some examples are:

(17) *tɛayan-en l-beṛṛani*[127]*, a, beṛṛani. beṛṛani kamel*
look:I-3PL ART-foreigner, yes, foreigner foreigner all
'They look for foreigners, yes, foreigners.
aḡ lla-n tšebbaṛ-en=t
PST be:P-3PL grab:I-3PL=3MS:DO
They grabbed all foreigners.'

The article can also be absent when used in combination with the postnominal **inši** ~ **nši** ~ **iši**. In the following example, the noun **meɛmel** does not take an article, but the following noun **lqehwa** 'café' does. For example:

(18) *ama g l-ḥanuṯ, wella g meɛmel inši, wella g l-qehwa inši*
regarding in ART-shop, or in factory some, or in ART-café some
'However in the shop or in a factory or in a café.'

[127] This is a collective noun.

In the following example of a non-verbal predicate, the article in the noun **ḥimaya** ‘protection’ is absent. This use does not refer to any specific protection, but rather to protection in a very general way.

(19) *amla* *keği* *šwiya* *iḏ-i* *ḥimaya*
now:EL you:MS little with-1S protection
‘Now, you are giving me a bit of protection.’

In example (20) the generality of the statement is emphasised by the use of the verb **ll** ‘to be’.

(20) *u* *te-lli-t* *ma* *ga-ḵ* *ɣuš*
and 2S-be:A-2S NEG in-2MS falsehood
‘And you are not false.’

Example (21) shows a noun **ɛezri** ‘young adult’ which is on a very high level of generality as well.

(21) *aḵ* *te-lla-t* *ilaxirih* *ɛezri* *wella* *w* *aḵ* *te-lla-t* *meẓẓi*
PST 2S-be:P-2S etc bachelor or and PST 2S-be:P-2S young:MS
‘You were a bachelor and you were young.’

In the following elicited example, the absence of the article seems to indicate lack of identifiability to the listener. The speaker gives information with the idea that the listerener does not know which specific garden he/she is referring to.

(22) *ɣr-i* *ɣaṛṣeṯ* *mezyan-a,* *ɣr-i* *ɣaṛṣeṯ* *maši* *mezyan-a*
at-1S vegetable.garden good-FS, at-1S vegetable.garden NEG good-FS
‘I have a good vegetable garden, and a bad vegetable garden.’

When used as a modifier or as an attributive predicate, adjectives do not have the article. Example (25) shows that the use of the article in this position is ungrammatical. However, when the adjective is nominalised (i.e. the X one), it can be present. Nominalised adjectives are placed in core position and can take the definite article as shown in examples (23) and (24) (cf. III.9. for adjective morphology and the section on adjectives IV.2.2. below). Nominalised adjectives keep their original gender/number morphology.

(23) *te-nn=ay=t* *le-ɣliṭ-a=ahen*
3FS=say:P=1S:IO=3FS:DO ART-fat-FS=S:ANP

‘The fat one told me.’

(24) *fka-n = ay = t* *le-qṣiṛ-in = ihen*
give:P-3PL = 1S:IO = 3FS:DO ART-short-PL = PL:ANP
‘The short ones gave it to me.’

(25) **ẓṛ-ax* *tamɣaṛt = ahen* *l-eɣliṭ-a*
see:P-1S woman:EL = S:ANP ART-fat-FS
‘I saw the fat woman yesterday.’

1.1.2. Genitive constructions

Genitive constructions are formed by means of a prepositional phrase with **n** following the head noun. Genitive constructions often mark a relation of possession or ownership, as in example (26). However, different relationships between possessor and possessed are also possible including part-whole relationship as in (27).

(26) *axyam* *n* *ɛaziz*
room:EL of Aziz
‘Aziz’s house’

(27) *lqaɛ* *n* *lbir*
bottom of well
‘the bottom of the well’

Genitive constructions also express the material which an object is made of. The head noun is modified by another noun which refers to some material, like ‘wood’ in example (28). This type of modification is semantically close to adjectival modification (cf. III.9. for adjectives).

(28) *tažellaḇt* *n* *isɣaṛen*
djellaba:EL of sticks
‘djellaba of sticks/wooden djellaba’

There are also more abstract genitive-like constructions which are not a possessor - possessed relationship, which have an attributive function, for example:

(29) *lfuṛma* *n* *urgaz*
figure of man:EA
‘the figure of a man’

(30) *lqaḏiya n txʷraft*
case of story:EA
'the case of the story'

(31) *g tmunniṯt n iɛṛaḇen*
in ass:EA of Iraben
'in godforsaken Iraben' (lit. 'in the ass of Iraben')

When pronominalised, a lexically restricted set of nouns has adnominal suffixes rather than a construction with **n** in the singular: **ḵma** 'brother', **uleṯma** 'sister' and **ayeṯma** 'brothers and sisters'. When such a noun is modified by a non-pronominal genitival expression, there is double possessive marking, for example:

(32) *uleṯma-s n uɛeyyal=aḏ*
sister-3S of boy:EL=S:PRX
'the sister of this child'

A similar construction is used with kinship nouns that do not take the adnominal suffixes. In this case there are two **n**-phrases, for example:

(33) *yemma nn-es n firɛawn*
mother of-3S of Pharaoh
'Pharaoh's mother.'

Finally, the adjectival element **kamel** - **kamla** - **kamlin** 'all' can modify the whole noun phrase, which makes it different from other adjectives which can only modify the core and which can function as a predicate themselves. Compare the following examples.

(34) *irgaẓen n iɛraḇen kaml-in*
men of Iraben all-PL
'All the men of Iraben'

A relative clause can modify the head noun (cf. IV.5. for relative clauses).

(35) *i uɛebbiẓ a ye-dda-n*
to bull:EA REL RF-go:P-RF
'to the bull that went'

1.2. Adjectives

Adjectives form a separate word class (cf. III.9.). They can function as heads of a noun phrase as well. In this position they can, but need not, be prefixed by the Arabic article, which functions as a nominaliser. The meaning difference remains unclear. Both Arabic and Berber-morphology adjectives can take the article. Like nouns, these adjectives can be further modified by other elements. Compare the following examples:

(36) *i-dda = d* *meẓẓi* *i* *meqquṛ*
3S-go:P = DC big:MS and small:MS
'The big one and the little one have come.'

(37) *idda = d* *l-meẓẓi* *i* *l-meqquṛ*
3S-go:P = DC ART-big:MS and ART-small:MS
'The big one and the little one have come.'

(38) *le-kẖel* *i* *le-ḥmeṛ* *safṛ-en* *da* *ya* *tmazirt* *bɛiḏ-a*
ART-black:MS and ART-red:MS travel:P-3PL to one:F country:EA far-FS
'The black one and the red one travelled to a far away country.'

(39) *kẖel* *i* *ḥmeṛ* *safṛ-en* *da* *ya* *tmazirt* *bɛiḏ-a*
black:MS and red:MS travel:P-3PL to one:F country:EA far-FS
'A black one and a red one travelled to a far away country.'

It is not possible to modify adjectives by a genitive construction with **n**. It is possible to use a nominalised form of the adjective in this position. Compare the following examples:

(40) **yan* *ṭwil* *n* *urgaz?*
one:M tall:MS of man:EA
'a tall man'

(41) *i-dda = d* *ya* *uẖenṭwil* *n* *urgaz*
3S-go:P = DC one:M tall.man:EA of man:EA
'This taal man came.'

Note that de-adjectival colour nouns (which are also morphologically different from adjectives) cannot modify another noun (cf. III.4.3.), as shown in example (42). They function as normal nouns.

(42) **tiɛeyyalan* *tikeẖlawan*

girls:EL black:EL
'black girls'

1.2.1. Comparatives and superlatives

Adjectives can be used in comparatives and superlatives. Different from mainstream Moroccan Arabic, there are no special morphogical forms of the adjective expressing degree (cf. for example Aguadé & Vicente, 1997). The structure of comparatives is NP + adjective + **nešt n** 'as big as' / **am** 'as'. There is no special form for superlatives, the normal NP + adjective suffices. Depending on the context, other means such as adverbs **kteṛ** 'more' and preposition phrases with **zeg** 'of' and **x** ~ **fex** ~ **f** 'on' can be used as well. In elicitation the adjective in the superlative construction does not take the article. However, we have encountered an example with the article in a text, which is the adjective **le-qḏim-in** in example (46). In this particular sentence the other forms do not take an article.

Comparative:

(43) *axyam = ahen qḏim nešt n temzgiḏa = yahen*
house:EL = S:ANP old:MS like of mosque:EA = S:ANP
'That house is as old as that mosque.'

(44) *lbaṛku = an meqquṛ nešt n yaɣil*
ship = S:DIST big:MS as of mountain:EA
'That ship is as big as a mountain.'

(45) *nihma zhim-in kteṛ zg-asen*
they bad-PL more from-3PL
'They are uglier than them.'

Superlative:

(46) *u-hin a lla qḏim-in dhaḏin. tafrawt qḏim-a dha x*
those REL be:P old-PL here. Tafrawt old-FS here on M-
'They are the oldest here. *Tafrawt* is older here than
u-hiḏ a ḵ = nna-x kaml-in. tafrawt, lɛaʔila n lgawṭ,
PL:PRX REL 2MS:IO = tell:P-1S all-PL Tafrawt, family of lgawṭ,
all the others I have mentioned to you. *Tafrawt*, the family of *lgawṭ*,
nihma le-qḏim-in x u-hiḏ a ḵ = nna-x kaml-in.
they ART-old-PL on M-PL:PRX REL 2MS:IO = tell:P-1S all-PL
they are the oldest of the ones I have mentioned.'

The following examples show the use of adverbs and prepositions to express a superlative. Another option is to use a pronominal head followed by a relative form of the adjective, as in:

(47) *lebḥar=aḏ ɣareq*
see=S:PRX deep:MS
'This sea is deep/the deepest.'

(48) *nihma ẓhim-in zg-asen kaml-in*
they bad-PL from-3PL all-PL
'They are the ugliest (of them all).'

(49) *fk=ay=d w-a y-ṛqiq-in*
give:IMP=1S:IO=DC MS-PRH RF-DIM:thin-RF
'Give me the thin(nest) one.'

1.3. Independent and demonstrative pronouns

Independent pronouns can only be modified by the element **kamel** ~ **kamla** ~ **kamlin** 'all' and by a relative clause. Both follow the pronoun.

(50) *nihma kaml-in*
they all-PL
'All of them.'

Demonstrative pronouns consist of a pronominal form to which a deictic is added (cf. III.11.8. morphology). Demonstratives can function as the head of an NP, and can be modified by different elements: by adjectives, by a relative clause, and by the element **kamlin**, for example:

(51) *u-haḏ a ye-swa-n aman=ihen*
M-S:PRX REL RF-drink:P-RF water=PL:ANP
'The one who drank the water.'

(52) *u-hiḏ kaml-in*
M-PL:PRX all-PL
'All of these.'

(53) *u-hi muqqṛ-eṯ ma mezyan-in ši*

M-PL:PRX big-PL NEG good-PL NEG
'These big ones are not good.'

1.4. Numerals

A numeral can function as the head of a noun phrase. It can be modified by multiple modifiers, for example:

(54) *dda-n=d tlaṯa inši muqqṛ-eṯ*
go:P-3PL=DC three some big-PL
'Three big ones came.'

The numeral 'one' can refer to 'somebody', for example:

(55) *i-dda=d yan zeg uɛerqub*
3MS-go=DC one:M from aɛerqub:EA
'One man came from Aarhob (village)'

(56) *i-ḏra ssiha yan a y-ṭwil-in i yan a y-qṣiṛ-in*
3MS-pass:P from.here one:M REL RF-tall-RF and one:M REL RF-short-RF
'A tall one and a shot one went past here.'

1.4.1. The distributive

Numerals, nouns and adjectives can be repeated to give a distributive reading.

(57) *dda-n=d yan yan*
go:3PL=DC one:M one:M
'They came one by one.'

(58) *qeṭṭɛ=aṯ meẓẓi-ṯ meẓẓi-ṯ*
cut:IMP=3MS:DO small-PL small-PL
'Cut it in small pieces.'

(59) *ne-dda amaras amaras*
1PL-go:P riverbed:EL riverbed:EL
'We went all the way past the riverbed.'

(60) *i-ɛella taɣilt taɣilt*
3MS-go.up:P mountain:EL mountain:EL
'He went all the way over the mountains.'

2. Non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal predicates are subdivided in nominal, adjectival, prepositional and adverbial predicates. There are further subdivisions within the groups of prepositional and adverbial predicates. Nominal and adjectival non-verbal predicates are used as attributives. Nouns and adjectives which function as an attributive predicate always follow the subject noun. The subject need not be expressed in non-verbal clauses (depending on the context). Some examples will be given. In the following section the non-verbal predicates are presented (cf. IV.7. on information structure for marked structures). Included in this section are the locative predicate and the existential predicate. After that, the pronouns **haw** / **hay** / **ham** which play a role as markers of present relevance are presented. The elements **ha-** and **ɛend-** are treated separately. In the final section, the negation of non-verbal predicates is presented.

2.1. The nominal predicate

In an attributive construction the predicate noun is juxtaposed to the subject noun without any linking element. The two nouns are expressed to form an attributive nominal predicate (cf. Lafkioui, 2011: 35). There is no intonational pause between the noun phrases. The subject precedes the predicate. For example:

(1) *lxeddama = ihen* *rrwafa*
workers = PL:ANP riffians
'Those workers are riffians.'

(2) *i-nn = as:* *aḇaw* *aḇaw* *waha*
3MS-say:P = 3S:IO bean:EL bean:EL only
'He said: a bean is just a bean.'

In non-verbal sentences the subject need not be expressed. The answer to the question *šk a irebbḥen bezzaf*? 'Who earns most?' could be:

(3) *ṭṭḇiḇ* *maši* *aḇeḥri*
doctor not fisherman:EL
'It is the doctor, not the fisherman.'

Other examples are:

(4) *ssxun!*
hot
'It is very hot.'

(5) *nhaṛ = aḏ* *aywer!*
day = S:PRX moon:EL
'The moon is very bright today.'

(6) *lehwa!*
rain
'It is raining.'

(7) *tkeṛfis!*
trouble
'This is a lot of trouble.'

2.2. The adjectival predicate

In its attributive function, the adjective modifies a head. The adjective can function as an attributive predicate as well. In this situation it never gets the Arabic article. In examples (8) and (9) the predicative use is shown. The subject precedes the predicate to which it is juxtaposed.

(8) *nettaṯa ṭwil-a*
she tall-FS
'She is tall.'

(9) *ḍḍerḇa nn-eḵ* *ɛḏim-a*
hit of-2MS weak-FS
'Your punch is weak.'

2.3. The prepositional predicate

The prepositional predicate is a predicate consisting of a (pro)noun followed by a preposition. The preposition can be pronominalised. The (pro)noun functions as the subject (cf. III.13. for the meaning of the prepositions, cf. also Lafkioui 2011:43). Some examples of pronominalised and non-pronominalised prepositional predicates are:

(10) *axyam = ahen* *g* *umaras*
house:EL = S:ANP in riverbed:EA
'The house is in the riverbed.'

(11) *ga-s* *axyam = ahen*
in-3S house:EL = S:ANP
'The house is in it.'

(12) *aqrab* *nn-eḵ* *gum* *n* *teggurt*
bag:EL of-2MS front of door:EA
'Your bag is in front of the door.'

In prepositional predicates with **ɣer** 'at' the predicate precedes the subject, for example:

(13) *ɣr-es ya* *n* *ḍḍḵer*
at-3S one:M of male
'He has a boy'

(14) *ɣer* *muḥemmeḏ leflus* *nn-eḵ*
at Mohammed money of-2MS
'Mohammed has your money.'

(15) *nettaṯa* *ɣr-es* *g* *ya* *teɛšušt* *leḥšam = ihen*
she at-3S in one:F nest:EA children = PL:ANP
'She has those children in a nest.'

The genitive predicate is formed by a subject followed by a prepositional phrase with **n** 'of'. The subject is necessarily expressed as shown in (18).

(16) *axyam = ahen* *n* *ɛaziz*
house:EL = S:ANP of Aziz
'That house is Aziz's.'

(17) *t-haḏ* *nn-es*
F-S:PRX of-3S
'This one (F) is his.'

(18) *nn-es*
of-3S
'It is his/hers.'

Prepositional phrases with the instrumental preposition **s** can also function as predicates, for example:

(19) *w-in* *inu* *s* *ššɛar* *i* *w-in* *n* *ušnikef* *s* *isennanen*
M-PL:DIST my with hair and M-PL:DIST of hedgehog:EA with spines
'Mine have hair and those of the hedgehog have spines.'

Prepositional phrases with the prepositions **xef** ~ **fex** 'on' **zeg** 'from' can function as predicates as well.

(20) *fx-em* *lʔamen*
on-you:FS safety
'You are safe.'

(21) *taxʷṛaft=aḏ* *x* *uḡḏi* *iḏ* *ušnikef*
story:EL=S:PRX on jackal:EA and hedgehog:EA
'This story is about the jackal and the hedgehog.'

An example of a predicate with the preposition **zeg** 'from' is the following idiomatic expression.

(22) *zga-s* *kušši*
from-3S everything
'He provides everything.'

The comitative predicate is formed by using the comitative predicate **i** ~ **iḏ**, for example:

(23) *netta* *iḏ-i*
he with-1S
'He is with me'

(24) *amla* *keǧi* *šwiya* *iḏ-i* *ḥimaya*
now:EL you:MS bit with-1S safety
'Now, you are a bit of safety to me.'

The prepositions **am** ‘like’ and **nešt n** ‘as big as’ can form similative predicates:

(25) *ṣulḍi* *am* *lfṛank = ahen*
old.coin like franc = S:ANP
‘The *ṣulḍi* (old type of coin) is like that *franc*.’

(26) *netta* *nešt* *n* *uɛebbiz*
he like of cow:EA
‘He is (as big) as a cow.’

2.4. The adverbial predicate

Examples (27), (28) and (29) show adverbial predicates with different kinds of subjects, a nominal (27), a pronominal (28) and a demonstrative (29).

(27) *lɛaṛt = aḏ* *ssiha*
bull = S:PRX from.here
‘That is a lot/too much/too many.’

(28) *nuḵna* *ssiha*
we from.here
‘We are from here.’

(29) *u-hiḏ* *ssiha*
M-PRX:PL from.here
‘These are from here.’

The adverb **das** ~ **dan** ‘there’ is used in adverbial predicates. The subject follows the predicate, for example:

(30) *das* *ya* *n* *yaḡer*
there one:M of meadow:EL
‘There is one field.’

(31) *das* *yah* *lbelɛa* *n* *taliwan*
there one:F many of sources
‘There are many sources.’

2.5. The existential predicate

For existential predicates the borrowed Arabic element **kayen/kayna/kaynin** 'there is/exists' is used[128]. It has the morphological scheme of an active participle, however it only functions as a marker of the existential predicate. It cannot modify a noun, it does not function as a noun nor does it take the relative form. In non-marked phrases the subject follows the element **kayen**. Gender and number agreement with the subject are optional irrespective of the position of the existential predicate (preceding or following he subject). Some examples are:

(32) *kayen tasarka n lǧeld n wiffeṭ, kayen tasarka n lbuffa n lgumma*
EXST shoe:EL of leather of cow EXST shoe:EL of tube of rubber
'There exists a cow leather shoe and there exists a rubber shoe. '

(33) *kayn-a yah lmeṭmura*
EXST-FS one:F grain.storage
'There exists one grain storage.'

(34) *kayen nnžum ttuṯu-n*
EXST stars go:I-3PL
'There exist stars that move.'

There exists an element **ka** which is used in the idiomatic expressions, **ma ka ɣa** 'there is only'. This is probably a short variant of **kayen**, for example:

(35) *i netta i-sekr=as s umḡer ma ka ɣa ha*
and he 3MS-do:P=3S:IO with sickle:EA NEG EXST only PRES
'And he did like this with the sickle. (lit. there exists only *ha* = presentative 'here')'

2.6. The pronouns haw / hay / ham

The third person pronouns **haw** / **hay** / **ham** can be used in non-verbal as well as in verbal constructions. There are no first and second person forms. These pronouns function as present relevance markers, meaning that they indicate that what is said, is applicable to or relevant at the present moment (cf. Mourigh & Kossmann, forthcoming, for the Tarifiyt particle **qa** which has similar semantics). In texts they are often found with locative constructions, which often have present relevance, although they are not obligatory. For other non-verbal predicates the pronouns have the same function. **Haw/hay/ham** is

[128] In Moroccan Arabic it functions as a locative as well as an existenial (cf. Caubet 1993: 34-35).

consistently used in our corpus in sentences with the adverb **baqi** / **baqqa** / **baqin** ‘still’ (examples (39) and (40)). This is no wonder, as **baqi** (etc.) indicates that the event is still relevant in the present. Some examples of the present relevance marker are:

(36) *iḵenniwen ham das*
twins PR:3PL there
‘The twins they are there.’

(37) *ana ye-ll a žeḥḥa?’ iqqr̲=as: ‘haw g lbir.’*
where 3MS-be:P o Jeha say:I=3S:IO PR:3MS in well
‘Where is he, Jeha?’ He says: ‘He is in the well.’

(38) *inn=as: ‘ana he-ll?’ inn=as: ‘hay dan beṛṛa.’*
say:I=3S:IO where 3FS-be:P say:I=3S:IO PR:3FS there outside
‘He said: ‘Where is she?’ He said: ‘She is there outside.’

(39) *imežwaɛen, ham baqi imežwaɛen*
starvelings, PR:3PL still starvelings
‘Starvelings, they are still starvelings.’

(40) *te-qqel tasa, hay baqq-a tasa.*
3FS-become:P cow:EL PR:3FS still-FS cow:EL
‘She turned into a cow, she is still a cow.’

2.7. Expressions with presentative ha, and ɛend- ‘look out’

The presentative **ha** is used to present something (cf. Lafkioui, 2011:46).

(41) *ha t-haḏ a siḏi*
PRES F-S:PRX o sir
‘Here is this one, sir.’

ɛend- ‘look out’ is borrowed from Arabic and always takes the Arabic series of prepositional pronouns (cf. III.11.5. on borrowed pronouns).

(42) *ɛend-eḵ*
at-2MS
‘look out’

2.8. Negation of non-verbal predicates

There are two ways in which non-verbal predicates can be negated. Nominal, adjectival, prepositional, adverbial locative and existential predicates can all be negated by the negative particle **maši** which has the free variants **mawši** ~ **mayši**. This negative particle precedes the predicate. This negator is used to extend the scope of the negation to the whole clause. Furthermore, adjectival predicates, pronominalised prepositional predicates and one type of adverbial predicate can be negated by means of the discontinuous negation [**ma** predicate **ši**]. While it is the normal verbal negator, in non-verbal predicates the discontinuous negator is used '*dans des situations polémiques, pour répondre à un éconcé antérieur*' (Caubet, 1996:82) like in Moroccan Arabic. The verb **ll** 'to be' can always be placed between [**ma** predicate **ši]** yielding [**ma ll** predicate **ši**]. **ll** always precedes the negated element. In the following examples the negation of each type of predicate is presented.

2.8.1. The nominal predicate

In the following examples some of the variants of the negative particle are illustrated.

(43) *nihma mayši iɛraḇen*
they NEG Arabs
'They are not Arabs. (i.e. from the village of Iɛraben)'

(44) *nihma ma lla-n ši iɛraḇen*
they NEG be:P-3PL NEG Arabs
'They are not Arabs. (i.e. from the village of Iɛraben)'

(45) *t-haḏ maši yemma*
F-S:PRX NEG mother
'This is not my mother.'

2.8.2. The adjectival predicate

There are two possibilities for negating adjectival predicates, as in the examples below. The first and most frequently occurring possibility is negation by means of the negator **maši** which precedes the predicate. In (46) and (47) this is shown. The second possibility is the discontinuous negation **ma**…**ši**, as illustrated in (48) and (49). The third possibility is using the discontinuous negation in combination with the verb **ll** 'to be' in (50).

(46) *tamɣart = an* *maši* *ɣliṭ-a*
woman:EL = S:DST NEG fat-FS
'That woman is not fat.'

(47) *netta* *maši* *meqquṛ*
he NEG big:MS
'He is not big.'

(48) *ma* *waseɛ* *ši*
NEG wide:MS NEG
'It is not wide.'

(49) *ma* *meqquṛ* *ši*
NEG big:MS NEG
'It is not big.'

(50) *ma* *y-ell* *meqquṛ* *ši*
NEG 3MS-be:P big:MS NEG
'It is not big.'

2.8.3. The prepositional predicate

Pronominalised and non-pronominalised prepositional predicates, use the constructions [**ma** predicate **ši**], [**ma ll ši**] or [**maši**]. A few prepositions do not take pronominal suffixes (cf. III.13.). They can only be negated by means of **maši**. The genitive preposition **n** optionally links the postverbal negative element **ši** to a lexical complement which follows the possessive predicate (cf. IV.3.4. on verbal negation). Examples (51) - (53) show pronominalised prepositional predicates, while (54) - (59) shows non-pronominalised examples of the locative, genitive and similative predicates.

(51) *ma* *ɣr-es* *ši* *n* *tẓenniṭt*
NEG at-3S NEG of tail:EA
'He does not have a tail.'

(52) *ma* *ga-m* *ši* *n* *lğuhḍ*
NEG in-2FS NEG of strength
'He does not have any strength.'

(53) *ma* *ga-s* *ši* *taḍunt*
NEG in-3S NEG fat:EL

‘It has no fat.’

(54) *axyam maši g umaras*
house:EL NEG in riverbed:EA
‘The house is not in the riverbed.’

(55) *axyam ma g umaras ši*
house:EL NEG in riverbed:EA NEG
‘The house is not in the riverbed.’

(56) *netta ma ye-ll ši s tammart*
he NEG 3MS-be:P NEG with beard
‘He did not have a beard.’

(57) *ma s tammart ši*
NEG with beard NEG
‘He did not have a beard.’

(58) *ṣulḍi maši am lefṛank=ahen*
old.coin NEG like franc=S:ANP
‘A *ṣuḷḍi* (an old type of coin) is not like that franc (money).’

(59) *netta maši nešt n uɛeyyal=ahen*
he NEG like of boy:EA=S:ANP
‘He is not as big as that boy.’

The following examples show that negation of genitive and comitative predicates can use both the negative particle **maši / ma yell ši** (or one of the free variants) or the discontinuous negative particle **ma**…**ši** before the predicate.

(60) *maši nn-es*
NEG of-3S
‘It is not his/hers.’

(61) *ma nn-es ši*
NEG of-3S NEG
‘It is not his/hers.’

(62) *maši n lkaɣeṭ*

NEG of paper
'not (made) of paper'

(63) *netta maši iḏ-i*
he NEG with-1S
'He is not with me.'

(64) *netta ma iḏ-i ši*
he NEG with-1S NEG
'He is not with me.'

(65) *netta ma yell ḳma-s ši*
he NEG with brother-3S NEG
'He is not with his brother.'

2.8.4. The adverbial predicate

The locative adverbial predicate can be negated by means of the continuous and the discontinuous negative marker, for example:

(66) *nuḳna maši ssiha*
we NEG from.here
'We are not from here.'

(67) *nuḳna ma ssiha ši*
we NEG from.here NEG
'We are not from here.'

(68) *nuḳna ma n-ell ši ssiha*
we NEG 1PL-be:P NEG from.here
'We are not from here.'

(69) *ma das ši bezzaf n medden*
NEG there NEG many of people
'There are not many people.'

2.8.5. The existential predicate

Negation of existential predicates is achieved by the discontinuous negator **ma**…**ši**, for example in (70). The continuous negator **maši** extends the scope to the entire clause, for example in (72).

(70) *ma kayen ši ssaɛa*
NEG EXST NEG clock
'There is no clock.'

(71) *ma he-ll kayn-a ši ssaɛa*
NEG 3F-be:P EXT-FS NEG clock
'There is no clock.'

(72) *maši kayen ssaɛa*
NEG EXST clock
'It is not that there is no clock.'

3. The verbal predicate

In this chapter the verbal predicate is discussed. It is divided in four main parts; the verb and its arguments, verbal valency and derivation, clitic position and negation. In the first section, the core arguments will be discussed first after which obliques will be discussed. In the second paragraph valency increasing and valency decreasing operations are the subject of discussion. Ghomara Berber has a number of labile verbs which are restricted to Berber-morphology verbs. In the paragraph on clitic position the contexts in which attraction takes place are discussed. In a separate section the behaviour of the deictic clitic **d** / **id** will be discussed. The combination of the clitics in pre- and postverbal will be discussed in the final section of this paragraph and finally the negation of the verbal predicate will be treated.

3.1. The verb and its arguments

There is a basic distinction between transitive and intransitive verbal predicates. In sentences with intransitive predicates the only argument is the subject, while transitive predicates have an object in addition to a subject. As these arguments can undergo changes by means of voice operations we consider them core arguments. In addition to the subject and object, some verbs take an indirect object. We consider indirect objects, prepositional arguments, as well as obligatory secondary predicates oblique grammatical arguments (cf. Andrews, 2007: 157). All other types of elements are considered adjuncts and fall outside of the scope of the verbal predicate. Arabic-morphology and Berber-morphology verbs behave in the same way and are treated together. Participles and other constructions are treated separately.

3.1.1. Core arguments

3.1.1.1. Subject

The subject argument is in the first place expressed by the verbal affixes which obligatorily accompany the verb. The main reason for treating the verbal affixes as the primary expression of the subject is the fact that the verb on its own can constitute a complete verb phrase. A lexical subject (pro)noun can precede or follow the verb. The lexical subject may be expressed in an NP following the verb or, in topicalisation, preceding it[129]. The obligatory conjugational affix functions as the subject. As the subject is attached to the verb, a single verb can constitute a full clause, for example:

(1) *i-ggez*

129 In a seminal paper Galand (1964) denies the existence of a lexical subject and calls the 'subject' in topic position the *indicateur de thème* while in the postverbal position it is the *complément explicatif* (for an elaboration see Mettouchi, 2007).

3MS-go.down:P
'He went down.'

(2) *ɛṭeš-t*
be.thirsty-1S:PF
'I am thirsty.'

Example (3) and (4) show the lexical subject in pre- and postverbal position. Different from many Berber languages, the lexical subject does not take the *état d'annexion* in postverbal position. The lexical subject, in pre- and postverbal position, agrees in number and gender with the verb.

(3) *aḡḏi* *i-ffeɣ*
jackal:EL 3MS-go.out
'The jackal went out.'

(4) *i-dda* *argaz*
3MS-go:P man:EL
'The man left.'

(5) *aḡḏi* *ka-ye-ḥmeq* *ɣa* *x* *tɣaṭen*
jackal:EL IMPP-3MS:IMPF-go.crazy only on goats:EA
'Well, the jackal is just crazy for goats.'

(6) *ka-ye-ḥmeq* *aḡḏi* *ɣa* *x* *tɣaṭen*
IMPP-3MS:IMPF-go.crazy jackal:EL only on goats:EA
'Well, the jackal is just crazy for goats.'

When a lexical subject is followed by two coordinated singular nouns there can be singular and plural agreement. Example (7) shows singular agreement while example (8) shows plural agreement in the same context.

(7) *i-dda* *ašnikef* *iy* *uḡḏi*
3MS-go:P hedgehog:EL and jackal:EA
'The hedgehog and the jackal went'

(8) *dda-n* *ašnikef* *iy* *uḡḏi*
go:P-3PL hedgehog:EL and jackal:EA
'The jackal and the hedgehog went'

The same is true for Arabic-morphology verbs; there is no necessary agreement in number with a post-verbal coordinated singular subject nouns. In (9) the verb shows singular agreement with a plural subject noun.

(9) *ka-ye-nbaɛ* *tteffaḥ* *i* *lbanan* *das*
IMPP-3MS:IMPF-be.sold apple and banana there
'Apples and banana's are sold there.'

(10) *ka-ye-nbaɛ-u* *tteffaḥ* *i* *lbanan* *das*
IMPP-3PL:IMPF-be.sold-3PL:IMPF apple and banana there
'Apples and banana's are sold there.'

However, when two noun phrases are coordinated in preverbal position there is always plural agreement on the verb.

(11) *aḡḏi* *i* *ušnikef* *ṣafṛ-en*
jackal:EL and hedgehog:EA travel:P-3PL
'The jackal and the hedgehog travelled'

(12) *tteffaḥ* *i* *lbanan* *ka-ye-nbaɛ-u* *das*
apple and banana IMPP-3PL:IMPF-be.sold-3PL:IMPF there
'Apples and banana's are sold there.'

Just like nouns, independent pronouns appear preceding or following the verb. They can add emphasis (cf. III.11.1. for independent pronouns). For example:

(13) *netta* *i-nṭeṛ*
he 3MS-fly:P
'He flew away.'

(14) *i-nṭeṛ* *netta*
3MS-fly:P he
'He flew away.'

The relative form has one form and does not show agreement with the subject (cf. III.7.4. morphology). Compare the following examples.

(15) *amaleḥ* *a* *ye-nwa-n* *i* *netta*
fish:EL REL RF-be.cooked:P-RF to he

‘the cooked fish is for him’

(16) *leḥšam a ye-dda-n dar lmeḍraṣa lekm-en amilla*
children REL RF-go:P-RF to school reach:P-3PL now
‘The children that went to school have arrived by now.’

Arabic participles agree in gender and number with the subject (cf. III.10. for the morphology of participles). For example (17) with preceding subject and (18) with following subject.

(17) *aḡḏi iḏ ušnikef mažy-in*
jackal:EL and hedgehog:EA come:AP-PL
‘The jackal and the hedgehog are coming.’

(18) *mažy-in aḡḏi i ušnikef*
come:AP-PL jackal:EL and hedgehog:EA
‘The jackal and the hedgehog are coming.’

With a coordinated subject, the participle can have singular agreement when it precedes it, but not when it follows it, for example:

(19) *maži aḡḏi i ušnikef*
come:AP:MS jackal:EL and hedgehog:EA
‘The jackal and the hedgehog are coming.’

There exist impersonal verbs which do not have lexical subject agreement. Among these are auxiliary verbs such as **xeṣṣ** ‘to have to, to need’ as in the examples below, which has optional PNG marking. It is often, though not necessarily, accompagnied by an indirect object pronoun.

(20) *xeṣṣ = aḵ ilaxirihi myaṯayn n rryal*
need:P = 2MS:IO etc two.hundred of rial
‘You need moreover two hundred rial.’

(21) *i nihma xeṣṣ = asen a t = nɣu-n*
and they need:P = 3PL:IO AD 3FS:DO = kill:A-3PL
‘And they want to kill her.’

The impersonal verb distinguishes different aspectual forms. The following example shows the Imperfective form. In (22) it is accompanied by a topicalised pronoun and a subject pronoun.

(22) *i* *netta* *i-txeṣṣ=as* *netta*
and he 3MS-need:I=3S:IO he
'And he needs him.'

Another impersonal verb with Arabic morphology is the verb **taṛ - iṭiṛ** 'to be fed up, to get angry', which is always feminine singular. This verb is used with an obligatory indirect object pronoun which agrees with the subject.

(23) *taṛ-eṯ=l-u* *aḡḏi*
fly-3FS:PF=IO-3MS jackal:EL
'The jackal got fed up.'

3.1.1.2. Direct object

Transitive and ditransitive predicates have a direct object argument. The direct object can be a pronoun or a noun (see III.11.2.1. for direct object pronouns). For example the following Berber-morphology (24, 25) and Arabic-morphology verbs (26, 27).

(24) *ṭṭf-en* *aḡḏi*
grab:P-3PL jackal:EL
'They caught the jackal.'

(25) *ṭṭf-en=t*
grab:P-3PL=3MS:DO
'They caught him.'

(26) *tlaqi-ṯ* *ḥmeḏ*
meet-1S:PF Ahmed
'I met Ahmed.'

(27) *tlaqiṯ=u*
meet-1S:PF=3MS:DO
'I met him.'

The lexical direct object can stand in topic position and precede the verb. In that case pronominal reference by means of a direct object pronoun is obligatory on both Berber- and Arabic-morphology verbs (see IV.7.1. for topicalisation). For example:

(28) *aɣyul* *umṛ-en = t* *ššurkan*
donkey:EL send:P-3PL = 3MS:DO peasants
'The peasants sent the donkey.'

(29) *tameṭṭuṯ = ahen* *tlaqa-ha* *argaz* *nn-es*
women:EL = S:ANP meet[:3MS:PF]-3FS:DO man:EL of-3S
'That women, her husband met her.'

A number of transitive verbs like **šš** 'eat' and **su** 'drink' can occur without an explicit indirect object argument as shown in example (30) and (31).

(30) *i-šš* *lmaḵla*
3MS-eat:P food
'He ate food.'

(31) *i-šš*
3MS-eat:P
'He ate.'

3.1.2. Obliques

Indirect objects, prepositonal arguments and secondary predicates fall under this category of obliques. Phrases occurring with verbs which are not idiosyncratically determined by verbal predicates are considered external functions and will not be discussed here.

3.1.2.1. Indirect object

A number of verbs select for an indirect object to express the recipient in a ditransitive construction. When the indirect object is expressed lexically, it is preceded by the preposition **i** ~ **iḏ** 'to'. Lexical indirect objects are often (but not obligatorily so) doubled by a coreferential indirect object pronoun, cf. example (32) and (33), which are equally acceptable. Expressing both of them simultaneously like in (33) is the preferred option, however.

(32) *i-fk = aṯ* *i* *ya* *tmeṭṭuṯ*
3MS-give:P = 3MS:DO to one:F woman:EA
'He gave it to a woman.'

(33) *i-fk = as = t* *i* *ya* *tmeṭṭuṯ*
3MS-give:P = 3S:IO = 3MS:DO to one:F woman:EA
'He gave it to a woman.'

When both a lexical direct object and a lexical indirect object is present, the orders direct object - indirect object and indirect object - direct object are equally possible, e.g.:

(34) *ḥmeḏ* *i-fk = as* *leflus* *i* *urgaz = ahen*
Ahmed 3MS-give:P = 3S:IO money to man:EA = S:ANP
'Ahmed gave that man money.'

(35) *ḥmeḏ* *i-fk = as* *i* *urgaz = ahen* *leflus*
Ahmed 3MS-give:P = 3S:IO to man:EA = S:ANP money
'Ahmed gave that man money.'

Examples (36) and (37) show the use of both orders without the indirect object pronoun.

(36) *ḥmeḏ* *i-fk* *i* *urgaz = ahen* *leflus*
Ahmed 3MS-give:P = 3S:IO to man:EA = S:ANP money
'Ahmed gave that man money.'

(37) *ḥmeḏ* *i-fk* *leflus* *i* *urgaz = ahen*
Ahmed 3MS-give:P = 3S:IO money to man:EA = S:ANP
'Ahmed gave that man money.'

The indirect object can be used to imply involvement of the participant without direct participation in the event, often to be interpreted as benefactive or malefactive. For example in (38) (cf. Rapold, 2010):

(38) *i-bb = aḵ = tet*
3MS-take = 3MS:IO = 3FS:DO
'He took it for you (or: to your detriment).'

Benefactives and malefactives do not allow the preposition **i** without doubling by a pronominal clitic. In the following two examples the intransitive reading of a labile verb is used, meaning that **afus** 'hand' is the subject. Example (39) is ungrammatical, and (40) is the only correct wording of the sentence.

(39) *i-ṛeẓ afus i ḥmeḏ
3MS-break:P hand:EL to Ahmed
'Ahmed broke his hand.'

(40) i-ṛẓ = as afus i ḥmeḏ
3MS-break:P = 3S:IO hand:EL to Ahmed
'Ahmed broke his hand.'

Example (41) is a example of a transitive phrase, where **ṭṭunubir** 'car' is the direct object.

(41) i-ṛẓ = as ṭṭunubir i urgaz = ahen
3MS-break:P = 3S:IO car for man:EA = S:ANP
'He broke that man's car.'

Arabic-morphology verbs use the prepositional pronoun **l** as the marker of the pronominalised indirect object, which is borrowed as part of the verbal complex (cf. chapter III.11.5. on pronouns). It functions as an indirect object pronoun accompanying the verb. In examples (42) and (43) it is shown that it is involved in the same non-obligatory doubling strategies as found with Berber-morphology verbs.

(42) ttεεṭa-w = l-u leflus i ilyas
be.given-3PL:PF = to-3MS money to Elias
'The money was given to Elias.'

(43) ttεεṭa-w leflus i xana = yahen
be.given-3PL:PF money to man = S:ANP
'The money has been given to that man.'

The type of indirect object which is not an argument is found with Arabic-morphology verbs as well, for example:

(44) mḵi εwaž-u = l-u
if be.crooked-3PL = to-3MS
'If they stray off (to his detriment).'

Interestingly, the strict rule on using indirect object doubling with malefactive/benefactive expression found with Berber-morphology verbs does not obtain with Arabic-morphology verbs. The following phrases are all grammatical:

(45) *ɛṛeq* *afus* *i* *ḥmeḏ*
sweat[3MS:PF] hand:EL to Ahmed
'Ahmed's hand sweated.'

(46) *ɛṛeq=l-u* *afus* *i* *ḥmeḏ*
sweat[3MS:PF]=to-3MS hand:EL to Ahmed
'Ahmed's hand sweated.'

(47) *ɛṛeq=l-u* *afus* *nn-es* *i* *ḥmeḏ*
sweat[3MS:PF]=to-3MS hand:EL of-3S to Ahmed
'Ahmed's hand sweated.'

3.1.2.2. Prepositional argument

It is often difficult to argue for or against the argumental status of a prepositional argument. A number of verbs in Ghomara Berber take an obligatory prepositional argument, for example the following verbs.

(48) *a* *sellem* *x* *yemma*
AD [3FS]-greet:A on mother
'She will greet my mother.'

(49) *tḵerraḵ-en* *x* *medden*
lie:I-3PL on people
'They lie to people.'

In most cases the prepositional phrase is an oblique argument, e.g.

(50) *š* *a* *qeṭṭṛ-en* *fx-essen*
FUT AD drip:A-3PL on-3PL
'They will drip on them.'

3.1.2.3. Secondary predicates

A verbal or non-verbal predicate can follow a coreferential (affixal) subject or direct object pronoun. In Strigin's terms who sums up Jespersen's hypothesis about secondary predicates (called nexus-arguments by Jespersen), '*a secondary predicate is a predicate embedded in a clause that is conjoined with the clause containing the primary predicate*' (Strigin, 2008: 382). Only a select group of verbs such as **af** ~ **uf** 'to find', **rri** 'to make (become)', **qqul** 'to become, to return', **ǧ** ~ **uǧ** 'to let, to leave', **ḇdu** 'begin', **ṭaḥ** 'to start and continue', **qqim** 'to sit, to remain' **ẓṛ** 'to see' and **sell** 'to hear', allow for a secondary predicate. Secondary

predicates can be subjective or objective, depending on the transitivity of the primary predicate. They cannot be substituted by a pronoun; substitutes are always adverbs (esp. **hamḵa** 'like this, in this way'). Verbs in secondary predication take normal inflection and can take the same aspectual form as the main verb. The basic criterion to identify a clause as a secondary predicate is the continuation of the intonation contour and the general meaning of the sentence, which is different when there are two separate sentences. For example the next Ghomara sentence (51) has one single intonation contour. The intonation contour assures the coherence between the two predicates. The meaning is different if there is an intonation break after the first verb (indicated by the comma), as shown in example (52):

(51) *qqim-en* *tɣewwaṯ-en* *kaml-in*
stay:P-3PL scream:I-3PL all-PL
'All of them kept on screaming.'

(52) *qqim-en,* *tɣewwaṯ-en* *kaml-in*
stay:P-3PL scream:I-3PL all-PL
'They sat down, (while) all of them were screaming.'

In the following examples the difference between a direct object and a secondary predicate is shown. In (53a) **argaz** 'the/a man' is not the direct object argument of the verb (cf. 53b), but a non-verbal predicate.[130] In (53c) the argument is a verbal secondary predicate.

(53a) *i-qqel* *argaz*
3MS-become:P man:EL
'He became a man.'

(53b) **i-qql=aṯ*
3MS-become:P=3MS
'*He became it.'

(53c) *i-qqel* *i-ttiṯu*
3MS-become:P 3MS-go:I
'He was able to walk (again).'

Example (54a) shows an object complement. It can not be considered a double direct object, as the noun phrase following the direct object pronoun cannot be substituted by a direct

[130] The whole phrase is marked by a rising intonation pattern. This is important because when the intonation pattern is rising until the end of the verb and lower over the the noun, the meaning is 'the man returned'.

object pronoun. The substitution of the noun is achieved by means of the adverb **hamḵa** in (54b).

(54a) *i-rry = aṯ* *argaz*
3MS-return:P = 3MS:DO man:EL
'He made him a man.'

(54b) *i-rry = aṯ* *hamḵa*
3MS-return:P = 3MS:DO like.this
'He made him like this.'

Secondary predicates can be verbal as well as non-verbal . Some examples are:

(55) *i-ttaf = aṯ* *mžebbeḏ*
3MS-find:I = 3MS:DO stretch:PP:MS
'He finds him lying flat.'

(56) *i-ẓṛ = aṯ* *i-ttiṯu*
3MS-see:P = 3MS:DO 3MS-go:I
'He saw him walking.'

(57) *i-ttaf = at* *ɣa* *zzayn*
3MS-find:I = 3FS:DO only beauty
'He finds that she is a beauty.'

(58) *i-ffeɣ* *mkellex*
3MS-go.out:P be.backward:PP:MS
'He turned out to be backward.'

(59) *i-qqel* *i-ṣḥa*
3MS-become:P 3MS-heal:P
'He became better.'

(60) *ḇda-n* *rri-n* *iḇawen*
begin:P-3PL sow:P-3PL beans
'They started to sow beans.'

(61) *he-ḇda* *te-ẓẓeḡ* *tarekkalt*
3FS-begin:P 3FS-milk:P dog:EL

‘She began milking the dog.’

(62) *b̲da-n* *daxl-in* *ssyan* *i* *ssyan* *i* *ssyan*
begin:P-3PL enter:AP-PL from.here and from.here and from.here
‘They started to enter from here and there.’

(63) *b̲da-n* *a* *k̲erz-en*
begin:P-3PL AD plough-3PL
‘They began ploughing’

(64) *dda-n* *dar* *urrar,* *ṭaḥ-u* *teddz-en*
go:P-3PL to threshing.floor:EA begin-3PL:PF pound:I-3PL
‘They went to the threshing floor and started pounding.’

(65) *ɛaweḏ* *ɛaw* *ṭaḥ-u* *ka-y-stɛeml-u* *ɛaweḏ*
again again begin-3PL:PF IMPP-3PL:IMPF-use-3PL:IMPF again
‘Then they started using…’

(66) *ṭaḥ* *maši,* *i-ttaf* *ya* *tmeɣṛa*
begin[:3MS:PF] go:AP:MS 3MS-find:I one:F wedding:EA
‘He went and encountered a wedding.’

(67) *ṭaḥ* *i-nn=as:* *‘a* *weddi,* *a* *b̲aḇa,* *nda* *daɣe* *ttuɛban’*
begin[:3MS:PF] 3MS-say:P=3S:IO o boy o father go at cobra
‘He started telling him: ‘My father, go to the cobra.’

The verbs do not necessarily follow each other immediately. A topicalised noun can be placed in between, for example:

(68) *saɛa* *ṭaḥ-u* *ifulusen* *tberraḥ-en,* *iṭan* *settn-en*
then begin-3PL:PF roosters yell:I-3PL dogs bark:I-3PL
‘The roosters started yelling, the dogs barking.’

The verb **qqim** ‘to sit, to stay’ is a durative auxiliary verb that indicates that an action spans a certain amount of time. The auxiliary verb can only be followed by the Imperfective or the active participle, for example:

(69) *i-qqim* *i-ḥemmu,* *qqima-n* *ḥemmu-n*
3MS-stay:P 3MS-heat.up:I stay:P-3PL heat.up:I-3PL

‘He kept on heating up, they kept on heating up.’

(70) *i-dda,* *i* *netta* *i-qqim* *maši* *yiḏ-es* *genna*
3MS-go:P and he 3MS-stay:P go:AP:MS with-3S sky
‘He went, he hept on going with him in the sky.’

The verb **af** ~ **uf** ‘to find’ can take an Imperfective, a Perfective, and passive and active participles as complements, as shown in the following examples:

(71) *y-ufa* *lɛafya* *mešɛul-a*
3MS-find:P fire light:PP-FS
‘He found that the fire was lit.’

(72) *tameṭṭuṯ* *nn-es,* *t-taf = aṯ* *mžebbeḏ*
woman:EL of-3S 3FS-find:I = 3MS:DO stretch:PP:MS
‘His wife found him lying.’

(73) *i* *lɣula = yahen* *te-ffeɣ* *beṛṛa,* *he-ttaf = ahen* *gals-in*
and ogress = S:ANP 3FS-go.out:P outside 3FS-find:I = S:ANP sit:AP-PL
‘And the ogress went out and (suddenly) found them sitting.’

(74) *i-ttaf* *i-ɣres* *haḏiḵ = ahen*
3MS-find:I 3MS-slaughter:P thing = S:ANP
‘He found that he had slaughtered that thing.’

Most secondary predicates are joined to the matrix verb without a complementiser, although it is possible to use the complementisers **billa** and **illa** for clausal complementation, but they are optional and only rarely attested in texts. The complementisers are attested with verbs of utterance, verbs of perception and verbs of knowledge. The following examples are all grammatical.

(75) *i-ɛaql = at* *billa* *tameṭṭuṯ = ahen*
3MS-recognise:P = 3FS COMP woman:EL = S:ANP
‘He recognised her to be that woman.’

(76) *i-ɛaql = at* *tameṭṭuṯ = ahen*
3MS-recognise:P = 3FS woman:EL = S:ANP
‘He recognised her to be that woman.’

(77) *t-han* *ɛaq-eṯ* *illa* *ɣr-es* *lmeṣkeṛ*
F-S:ANP be.aware-3FS:PF COMP at-3S intoxicant
'She became aware that he had intoxicant.'

(78) *i* *nettaṯa* *nya* *d* *ɛaq-eṯ* *is-sen* *rewl-en*
and she when AREL be.aware-3FS:PF with-3PL flee:P-3PL
'When she became aware of them, they fled.'

In the case of the verb **ssen** 'to know that, to know how to' (knowledge predicate) the use of the complementiser allows for the complement verb to have a different subject and different aspectual forms, compare for example (79) and (80) (cf. also Cadi, 1987: 81-82 for Riffian). Without the complementiser only **a** + Aorist is allowed after this verb, and the meaning is different.

(79) *ḥmeḏ* *i-ssen* *illa* *a* *sekr-en* *ṭṭɛam*
ahmed 3MS-know:P COMP AD make:A-3PL couscous
'Ahmed knows that they will make couscous.'

(80) *ḥmeḏ* *i-ssen* *a* *sekker* *ṭṭɛam*
ahmed 3MS-know:P AD [3MS-]make:A couscous
'Ahmed knows how to make couscous.'

3.2. Verbal valency and derivation

There exist intranstive, transitive, ditransitive and labile verbs in Ghomara Berber. The valency of the verb can be changed by means of formal operations on the verb, including systematic suppletion. Labile verbs have two valencies without formal change of the verb. Valency increase to derive the causative can be achieved by two formal operations: a number of verbs take an **ss** ~ **s** prefix, while other verbs geminate the second consonant, i.e. take the form of an Arabic stem II verb (see 3.2.1.2. below)[131]. Rarely one finds stems with insertion of **a** (Arabic stem III) to form a causative. Most causatives are derived from intransitive verbs (both **ss** ~ **s** and geminated verbs), whereas only a few transitive verbs have a causative (only geminated verbs). The passive is always formed by **t** ~ **n** derived Arabic-morphology forms (see 3.2.2. below).

[131] A causative consists of a complex situation as defined by Kulikov (2001: 886): '*verbs which refer to a causative situation, that is, to a causal relation between two events, one of which (P2) is believed by the speaker to be caused by another(P1). Syntactically the subject of the intransitive becomes the object of the transitive causative verb while there is morphological marking or suppletion of the verb (different from labile verbs which do not have any morphological marking whatsoever).*'

3.2.1. Valency increasing operations

3.2.1.1. ss ~ s prefix

The **ss** ~ **s** prefix has limited productivity. It is only used to form a causative within a limited set of Berber-morphology verbs (see III.7.7. morphology). Arabic-morphology verbs never occur with this prefix. No transitive verbs take the **ss** ~ **s** prefix. Some examples of verbs that take the **ss** ~ **s** prefix are:

Perfective			Perfective	
i-nes	'it is extinguished'	>	*i-s-nes*	'he extinguised'
i-ffuɣ	'he went out'	>	*i-ss-afeɣ*	'he let/made him go out'
i-kku	'it dried'	>	*i-ss-ku*	'he dried'

The only instance of a different use of the **ss** ~ **s** prefix is in **ss-kuḥ** 'to cough'. This verb corresponds to the Arabic verb **kuḥ** 'to cough', but it does not have a non-derived counterpart in the language. The verb does not have a causative meaning, but may be a unique instance in Ghomara of a verbalisation of an onomatopoea[132].

3.2.1.2. cCc causative

All **cCc** (stem II) verbs belong to the Berber-morphology class. The **cCc** (and **cacc**) verbs are considered causatives if they have a causative meaning in opposition with a non-derived form (**cCc** verbs have many other functions, see III.7.). Virtually all **cCc** verbs have an Arabic origin. The non-derived verb can belong either to the Arabic-morphology class or the Berber-morphology class. The interplay between non-derived Arabic- and derived Berber-morphology verbs is shown in the following (all examples are in the Perfective).

Non-derived			**Causative**	
Arabic-morphology			Berber-morphology	
wžeḏ	'be ready'	>	*weǧeḏ*	'make ready'
ṛɛeš	'shiver'	>	*ṛeɛɛeš*	'cause to shiver'
zɛem	'dare'	>	*zeɛɛem*	'make dare'

[132] In addition to its function as a causativiser, in many Berber languages the **ss** ~ **s** prefix has the (limited) function of a verbaliser of onomatopoeia and nouns (cf. Kossmann, 2012: 23). An often cited examples is the verb **siwel** 'to talk' which is derived from the noun **awal** 'word'. In Ghomara, the verb **siwel** is attested, but the corresponding noun does not exist (The Arabic borrowing **lkelma** 'a word, speech' is used).

There are also many causatives that are derived from verbs with Berber-morphology, e.g.

Berber-morphology			Berber-morphology	
fṛeḥ	'be happy'	>	*feṛṛeḥ*	'make happy'
šṭeḥ	'dance'	>	*šeṭṭeḥ*	'make dance'
ḍher	'appear'	>	*ḍehher*	'show, make appear'
fṛeq	'separate'	>	*feṛṛeq*	'make separate'
lseq	'stick'	>	*lesseq*	'make stick, glue'
ɛqel	'recognise'	>	*ɛeqqel*	'remind'

Berber roots with Berber etymologies can also take **cCc** causatives. In this case, not only the derivational process, but also the root of the causative is of Arabic origin. This results in suppletive pairs in which a non-derived etymologically Berber verb has an etymologically Arabic **cCc** causative counterpart, for example[133]:

Berber-morphology			Berber-morphology	
ḍeṣṣ	'to laugh'	>	*ṭeḥḥeḵ*	'make laugh'
ssen	'know'	>	*ɛerref*	'make acquaintance'
rwel	'flee'	>	*heṛṛeḇ*	'make flee'
wsir	'be old'	>	*šeṛṛef*	'make old'
ḵṣuṭ	'be afraid'	>	*xewwef*	'scare'

Rarely, one finds Arabic stem III verbs which have a causative meaning, for example:

Arabic-morphology			Berber-morphology	
shel	'be easy'	>	*sahel* (~ *sehhel*)	'to make easy'
tlaqa[134]	'to meet'	>	*laqi*	'to make meet'

Some verbs allow for the **ss** ~ **s** causative and the (suppletive) geminated causative. In such cases, speakers indicate that **cCc** verbs are preferred and more frequent in speech. This suggests that there is an on-going decline of the productivity of the **ss** ~ **s** causative type. Compare the following pairs:

Berber-morphology			Berber-morphology	
ḇdeḏ	'stop, stand'	>	*ss-eḇdeḏ* ~ *weqqef*	'get up'

[133] The link between the pairs was established during fieldwork by trying to make an **ss** ~ **s** causative and instead getting these forms.

[134] This is a **t**- derived form.

qqim	'sit'	>	*s-qim ~ gelles*	'let/make sit'
ḏri	'pass'	>	*ss-eḏri ~ gewwez*	'let/make pass'
ɛam ~ ɛum	'swim'	>	*s-ɛum ~ ɛewwem*	'let/make swim'
tru	'to cry'	>	*s-etru ~ bekka*	'let/make cry'

A very limited number of transitive verbs have a causative, which is always of the **cCc** type. These verbs differ semantically from other transitive verbs in that they have an affected agent, i.e., a subject argument which performs an action by which it is affected at the same time. According to Shibatani & Pardeshi (2001:95) such verbs '*have a dual property of assigning both an agent and a patient role to the subject of the base verb.*' Verbs of this type are often ingestive verbs like 'eating' and 'drinking'. Their valency is increased by one and the verb thus becomes a ditransitive. The underived verb can have Arabic or Berber morphology. Again, if the underived verb is etymologically Berber, the causative is suppletive, for example:

Berber-morphology			Berber- morphology	
šš	'eat'	>	*wekkel*	'feed'
su	'drink'	>	*šeṛṛeḇ*	'make/let drink'

Arabic- morphology			Berber- morphology	
qra	'study'	>	*qerra*	'teach'
fhem	'understand'	>	*fehhem*	'explain'

Causatives of transitive verbs have maximally three arguments. When all arguments are expressed in the ditransitive the subject of the non-derived verb becomes an indirect object (the causee). The original position of the subject is taken by the causer (the new subject). The original object remains in the original position. Compare examples (81) and (82). If the original direct object is not expressed the causee argument takes the direct object position, as in example (83).

(81) *aɛeyyal nn-es i-šš ayrum*
boy:EL of-3S 3MS-eat:P bread:EL
'His child ate bread.'

(82) *fariḏ i-wekkl=as ayrum i uɛeyyal nn-es*
Farid 3MS-feed:P=3S:IO bread to child:EL of-3S
'Farid fed bread to his child.'

(83) *fariḏ i-wekkel aɛeyyal nn-es*

Farid 3MS-feed:P child:EL of-3S
'Farid fed his child.'

3.2.2. Valency decreasing operation - the passive

The passive construction promotes the original object to subject position. The original subject is omitted. It cannot be expressed in any way in the passive clause. All passives are Arabic-morphology verbs which have a **tt ~ t** or an **n** prefix (for non-passive verbs with these prefixes, such as reciprocals, see III.8.3.). Similar to the situation with **cCc** causatives, underived etymologically Berber verbs use suppletive derived Arabic verbs in order to express the passive. In (84) the transitive verb **k̲rez** 'plough' has a subject argument with an agent role and a direct object with a patient role. In (85) the subject is suppressed and the direct object of (84) is the subject. The verb in (84) has been supplanted by its passive suppletive counterpart **tteḥṛet̲** 'to be ploughed' in (85).

(84) *i-k̲rez* *aḡer* *nn-es*
3MS-plough:P meadow:EL of-3S
'He ploughed his field.'

(85) *aḡer* *nn-es* *tte-ḥṛet̲* *azgaẓnet̤*
meadow:EL of-3S PASS-plough[3MS:PF] last.year:EL
'His meadow was ploughed last year.'

The following examples show the use of passives in texts. Examples (86) and (87) show **tt ~ t** derivations, while example (88) shows an **n** derivation.

(86) *n-tawi=d* *lḥebb* *n-degg=at̲* *g* *lmeqla=yahen*
1PL-take:I=DC barley, 1PL-put:I=3MS:DO in frying.pan=S:ANP
ne-qqely=at̲, *iwa, netta* *ka-y-tt-eqla*
1PL-fry:I=3MS:DO well he IMPP-3MS:IMPF-PASS-fry
'We take barley, we put it in that frying pan, we fry it, well, it is being fried'

(87) *ɛlaḥeqq* *ka-t-t-ḥekk,* *ka-t-t-ḥekk,* *ššuk̲a=yahen*
because IMPP-3FS:IMPF-PASS-rub, IMPP-3FS:IMPF-PASS-rub, needle=S:ANP
'because it is rubbed, it is rubbed, that needle'

(88) *ma* *aḡ* *i-ll* *ka-y-n-baɛ* *zziṯ,* *ma* *aḡ*
NEG PST 3MS-be:P IMPP-3MS:IMPF-PASS-sell oil, NEG PST
i-ll *ka-y-en-baɛ* *zzaytun* *ma* *aḡ* *i-ll*
3MS-be:P IMPP-3MS:IMPF-PASS-sell olives, NEG PST 3MS-be:P

ka-y-en-baɛ *imalḥen* *das*
IMPP-3MS:IMPF-PASS-sell fish there
'Oil was not sold, olives were not sold, fish were not sold there.'

The following examples show an Arabic-morphology verb which corresponds to the root of the derived passive.

(89) *kra* *axyam*
rent[:3MS:PF] house:EL
'He rented a house.'

(90) *tt-ekra* *axyam = ahen*
PASS-rent[:3MS:PF] house:EL = S:ANP
'That house has been rented.'

3.2.3. Labile verbs

Labile (or: ambitransitive) verbs are verbs in which the subject argument (S) of the intransitive verb corresponds to the direct object (O) of the transitive verb (cf. Kulikov 2001 for an overview) without any formal change. In the following examples **lkas** 'the glass' is the subject in (91). In (92) an agent is present in subject position, and the object corresponds to the subject in (91). [135] The intransitive has a resultative reading, while the transitive has a dynamic reading (see IV.8.1.2., cf. also Mettouchi, 2003c for Kabyle). Labile verbs never take the **ss**- ~ **s**- prefix. All labile verbs have Berber morphology; many are Arabic stem II verbs as in example (93) and (94).

(91) *lkas* *i-ṛeẓ*
glass 3MS-break:P
'The glass is broken.'

(92) *argaz = ahen* *i-ṛeẓ* *lkas*
man:EL = S:ANP 3MS-break:P glass
'That man broke the glass.'

(93) *i-ɛeqqeḏ*
3MS-tie:P
'it is tied'

[135] Labile verbs in Ghomara Berber are S = O labiles as opposed to S = A (A = Agent) labiles (see Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000).

(94) *i-ɛeqqeḏ = aṯ*
3MS-tie:P = 3MS:DO
'he tied him/it'

Valency alternation of the labile type does not occur with Arabic-morphology verbs. Out of a total of approximately 615 Berber-morphology verbs in our corpus 70 are labile, which amounts to 11% of the verbs[136]. Arabic which has very little labile verbs. In order to express state Arabic resorts to the use of the passive participle. As these have been massively borrowed in Ghomara Berber this may have led to the decline of the functioning of labile verbs. This can be illustrated by the differing opinions on the verb **ḇṭa** 'divide'. For a speaker in his seventies this was a labile verb, however, for a younger speaker (around thirty) the verb was strictly transitive. Thus, for the older speaker both (95) and (96) are acceptable, whereas the younger speaker only accepted (96).

(95) *talqimt* *te-ḇṭa*
bread:EL 3FS-divide:P
'The bread is divided'

(96) *i-ḇṭa* *talqimt*
3MS-divide:P bread:EL
'He divided the bread'

Instead of the intranstive the younger speaker uses the Arabic passive participle:

(97) *talqimt* *meqṣum-a*
bread:EL divide:PP-FS
'The bread is divided'

A further indication is that verbs which tend to be labile in other Berber languages, are strictly transitive in Ghomara (It is labile in Riffian and Kabyle Berber, though it is transitive in Tashelḥiyt, see Galand, 2010: 294). An example of such a verb is **ḵrez** 'to plough'. Example (98) can only have a transitive reading.

(98) *i-ḵrez* *aḡer* *nn-es*
3MS-plough:P meadow:EL of-3S

[136] This number is less than, for example, Chaker's count of Kabyle labile verbs (250 verbs, 1983: 298) and Cadi's count of Riffian (18% out of 850 verbs = 153 verbs, Cadi, 1987).

‘He ploughed his meadow.’

3.3. Clitic position

There are a number of clitics – known as satellites (Galand, 2010: 174-175) – that can be attached to the verb: the direct object, the indirect object and the deictic clitic **d / id**. The clitics have a set position in relation to the verb and cannot be separated from each other by any other element. The verb and the clitics together will henceforth be referred to as ‘the verbal complex’. Within the verbal complex, the clitics can be either in postverbal or in preverbal position. There are a number of contexts in which clitics assume preverbal position. This process is known as ‘attraction’ in the Berberological terminology. Below, all contexts in which this happens are discussed. It should be stressed that, although attraction is quite consistent in the relevant contexts, there is some variation as to its applicability. Speakers accept clitics in both post- and preverbal position after subordinating conjunctions and after AD (**š a, a, d a** and **ar a**). In relative constructions there is always attraction of verbal clitics. In texts, attraction mostly does apply in the relevant contexts. Conspicuously, all examples lacking attraction in the text corpus come from the youngest speaker who is in his late teens, but is a confident speaker of the language. [137] When the direct object and the indirect object are expressed at the same time, Ghomara allows for clitics in both pre- and postverbal positions, as will be discussed in section IV.3.3. Prepositions and adverbs do not undergo attraction and always remain in postverbal position. [138] Arabic clitics which accompany Arabic-morphology verbs do not participate in attraction and always maintain their postverbal position. In this section the three contexts in which attraction takes place will be discussed first, after which the combination of the clitics is presented (for the forms of the pronouns see III.11.). The deictic clitic **d / id** and its interaction with the pronouns will be the final part of this paragraph.

3.3.1. Subordinating conjunctions

The following subordinating elements can cause attraction (cf. IV.4.2. for all subordinating particles).

nya ~ yya ‘when’

(99) *nya* *t=ne-ẓẓaḍ*
when 3FS:DO=1PL-grind:I

[137] In elicitation sessions other speakers confirmed that these phrases are grammatical and accepted.

[138] In other Berber languages these elements can be attracted (cf. for example Kossmann, 1997: 271-272 for Figuig Berber and Dell & Elmedlaoui, 1989 for Tashelḥiyt).

‘When we grind it.’

(100) *nya* *y = zerri-n*
when 3MS:DO = pound:I-3PL
‘When they pound it.’

The following construction without attraction is possible as well.

(101) *nya* *ne-ẓẓaḍ = aṯ*
when 1PL-grind:I = 3FS:DO
‘When we grind it.’

ḥetta ‘until’
This subordinating particle can cause attraction as example (102) shows. Example (103) shows a text excerpt where attraction does not take place.

(102) *i-qqim* *i-kkaṯ* *ga-s, ḥetta ṯ = i-neɣ*
3MS-stay:P 3MS-hit:I in-3S until 3MS:DO = 3MS-kill:P
‘He kept on beating him until he had killed him.’

(103) *i-qqim* *i-kkaṯ* *ga-s,* *ḥetta* *ye-nɣ = aṯ*
3MS-stay:P 3MS-hit:I in-3S, until 3MS-kill:P = 3MS:DO
‘He kept on beating him until he had killed him.’

3.3.2. Relative constructions

In relative clauses and in related constructions, such as interrogatives and cleft sentences, the relativiser **a** causes obligatory attraction of the verbal clitics (see IV.6. and IV.7.2.). In the following examples fronting of each of the clitics is shown.

(104) *šebbṛ-en* *argaz* *a* *n = ye-wwṯ-en.*
capture:P-3PL man:EL REL 3PL:DO = RF-hit:P-RF
‘They caught the man who hit them.’

(105) *taɣaṭt* *a* *s = i-qqeṛ* *leɛqel* *nn-es*
goat:EL REL 3S:IO = 3MS-say:I mind of-3S
‘The goat that he would like (lit. that his mind told him).’

(106) *nnṣaṛa* *a* *d = i-ttiṯu-n* *dar* *žžbala* *ma* *ɣer-sen* *ši* *leflus*
Europeans REL DC = RF-go:I-RF to Jbala NEG at-3PL NEG money

‘The Europeans who come to the Jbala don’t have any money.’

amḵ a ‘when’
The conjunction **amḵ a** is a type of relative construction.

(107) *amḵ a hen = i-bb qṛiṛeɛ = ahen*
when REL 3PL:DO = 3MS-take:P baldy.person = S:ANP
‘When that baldy person took them.’

In some cases in our text corpus there is no attraction, and the clitics remain in the postverbal position after **amḵ a** ‘when’. This text excerpt is from a young, but confident speaker.

(108) *amḵ a bba-n = tet dar ya tfaṛiṭ*
when REL take:P-3PL = 3FS:DO to one:F pond:EA
‘When they took her to a pond.’

3.3.3. Preverbal elements

The preverbal elements **š a, a, d a** and **ar a** cause attraction as the next examples show (cf. IV.8.1.1.3. for analyses of these elements)[139].

(109) *š a n = te-šš*
FUT AD 3PL:DO = 3FS-eat:A
‘She will eat them.’

(110) *ne-ttuṯu a y = n-ẓeḏ g rrḥa*
1PL-go:I AD 3MS:DO = 1PL-grind:A in mill
‘We go and grind it in the mill.’

(111) *beṣṣiṭa, d a t = t-uf-et g feṛmaṣya*
peseta, CRT AD 3FS:DO = 2S-find:A-2S in pharmacy
‘The peseta, you will find it in the pharmacy.’

(112) *mḵi ma ar a wen = šša-x ši*
if NEG FUT AD 2PL:DO = eat:A-1S NEG
‘If I am not going to eat you.’

[139] Different from many Berber languages, which have the negative particle **ur** or a variant thereof the negative particle **ma** in Ghomara Berber does not cause attraction.

The following examples shows the optionality of attraction in this context (again, the example comes from the young speaker). In example (113) the direct object and in (114) the indirect object pronoun follow the verb.

(113) *iy* *uɣižd* *š* *a* *ne-ǧ=aṯ* *dar* *ḍḍaw*
and billy.goat:EA FUT AD 1PL-leave:A=3MS:DO to light
'And the billy goat, we will leave it until the morning.'

(114) *ma* *a* *ra* *ne-ǧ=as* *ḥetta* *smana* *h-teffeɣ*
NEG AD FUT 1PL-leave:A=3S:IO until from.where 3FS-go.out:I
'We will not even leave for her an exit.'

3.3.4. Combination of the clitics

In this paragraph we discuss the combination of the verbal clitics in preverbal and postverbal position (cf. III.11. on pronouns). The verbal clitics have a fixed order in postverbal position: *indirect object clitic - direct object clitic - deictic clitic*, for example:

Verb	IO	DO	Deictic
i-ml	*am*	*ten*	*d*
3MS-show:P	2FS:IO	3PL:DO	DC

'He showed them to you.'

In the following example the combination of indirect object and direct object clitics in postverbal position is shown:

(115) *taɛeyyalt=ahen* *te-nn=as=t* *i* *yemma* *nn-es*
girl:EL=S:ANP 3FS-say:P=3S:IO=3FS:DO to mother of-3S
'The girl told it to her mother.'

When a combination of clitics occur in attraction context, the indirect object pronoun is placed in preverbal position. The direct object pronoun is not fronted and retains its post-verbal position. Instead of the direct object being fronted, a petrified element **t** takes the position between the indirect object pronoun and the verb. Based on its shape and position (following the indirect object pronoun) this element could be interpreted as a petrified third person feminine singular direct object pronoun. However, synchronically, the element does not express (third) person, number or gender. We therefore consider it simply a preverbal indicator of the presence of a postverbal direct object pronoun. All examples examples below are taken from texts:

(116) *š a y=t=i-ml=ahen*
FUT AD 1S:IO=PDO=3MS-show:A=3PL:DO
'He will show them to me.'

(117) *netta i-dda dar uɣižd=ahen, š a*
he 3MS-go:P to billy.goat:EA=S:ANP, FUT AD
s=t=i-šš=at
3S:IO=PDO=3MS-eat:A=3FS:DO
'He went to the billy goat, he will eat it (to her detriment).'

(118) *i-tteḥtiž a s=t=i-šš=ahen aḡḏi*
3MS-want:I AD 3S:IO=PDO=3MS-eat:A=3PL:DO jackal:EL
'The jackal wants to eat them.'

(119) *a ddu-x a s=t=šša-x=ten*
AD go:A-1S AD 3S:IO=PDO=eat:A-1S=3PL:DO
'I will go and eat them'

3.3.5. The deictic clitic d / id 'hither'

The deictic clitic **d / id** can occur in postverbal as well as in preverbal position.[140] Furthermore, in attraction context it is optionally doubled in preverbal and postverbal position. The deictic element occurs most often with movement or action verbs, but sometimes accompanies other types of verbs as well. In the former case the movement or action takes place in the direction of the speaker, as in example (120). In the latter case it either signals involvement of the subject in the event, for example with the verb **nn** 'say' example (121) or a coming into existence or development, for example with verbs like **xleq** 'to be born, to emerge' and **ɣmuṛ** 'to grow' in examples (123) and (124).

(120) *aḡḏi i-ffeɣ=d*
jackal:EL 3MS-go.out:P=DC
'The jackal came out.'

In example (121) **d** is preverbal because of the attraction caused by **š a**.

[140] In our corpus there is one instance of the form **ḏ**. This is from a recording of the oldest man in the village. In the Colin texts this form is found as well.

(121) *š* *a* *d=y-enn:* *'allahwkḇaṛ'*
FUT AD DC=3MS-say:A God.is.greatest
'He then says (hither) 'God is the greatest.'

(123) *i-xelleq=d* *g* *imuras*
3MS-be.born:I=DC in riverbeds
'It grows (generally) in riverbeds.'

(124) *i-ɣmuṛ=d* *mezyan*
3MS-grow:P=DC good
'He has grown well.'

The following two verbs are obligatorily accompanied by the deictic clitic **d**. In the verb 'to fetch water' **d** has become part of the verb stem. In example (125) a **d** follows the conjugational prefix. It is preceded by a deictic clitic **d** which is attracted to preverbal position. In example (126) the form without the **d** in the stem is shown. The deictic clitic **d** is still obligatory. Example (127) shows the verb **us d** ~ **as d** 'to land, to be family of' which also has an obligatory **d**.

(125) *amella* *ma* *ra* *n-uf* *smana* *a* *d=n-dagem*
now:EL NEG FUT 1PL-find:A from.where AD DC=1PL-fetch.water:A
'We will not find from where to fetch water.'

(126) *š* *a* *d=n-agem*
FUT AD DC=1PL-fetch.water:A
'We will fetch water.'

(127) *i* *netta* *i-ttasa=d* *g* *wammas* *nn-sen* *'ddaf'*
and he 3MS-land:I=DC in middle:EA of-3PL bam
'And he landed in their middle 'bam'.'

The deictic clitic cannot be combined with Arabic-morphology verbs.

Arabic active participles can be followed by the deictic clitic as well. This is only attested when accompanying active participles of movement, for example:

(128) *nihma* *ražɛ-in=d*
they AP:return-PL=DC
'They are coming back (hither).'

(129) *nekki* *aḡ* *lla-x* *g* *taza* *i* *nihma* *talɛ-in = d* *daɣr-i*
I PST be:P-1S in Taza and they go.up:AP-PL = DC to-1S
'I was in Taza and they were coming (up) towards me.'

In attraction context, the deictic clitic can, but need not, be doubled. In such cases, the deictic clitic occurs both in preverbal as well as in postverbal position (example (129), (131), (132)). Example (130), which has a single deictic clitic preverbally, is given to contrast with example (129).

(129) *amk̲* *a* *d = i-da = d* *k̲ma-s = ahen,* *inn = as = t*
when REL DC = 3MS-go:P = DC brother-3S = S:ANP 3MS-say:P = 3S:IO = 3FS:DO
'When that brother of his came, he told it to him.'

(130) *amk̲* *a* *d = i-da* *k̲ma-s = ahen,* *inn = as = t*
when REL DC = 3MS-go:P brother-3S = S:ANP 3MS-say:P = 3S:IO = 3FS:DO
'When that brother of his came, he told it to him.'

(131) *š* *a* *d = i-ffuɣ = d* *g* *bellil*
FUT AD DC = 3MS-go.out:A = DC in night
'He will come out in the evening.'

(132) *saɛa,* *ɣa* *wi* *d = i-ttit̲u-n = d* *a* *su…*
then only PRH:PL DC = RF-come:I-RF = DC AD [3MS-]drink:A
'Then, anybody who comes to drink….'

3.3.5.1. Postverbal position

The deictic clitic **d** / **id** takes the final position in the clitic complex. When combined with a type 2 direct object clitic of the third person (singular and plural), a number of irregularities appear (type 1 postverbal pronouns have other forms when followed by the deictic clitic **d** / **id**, cf. III.11.2.1.1. on pronouns). Most of these irregularities can be analyzed as the result of (long distance) assimilation (see II.3.4.). The following assimilations and allomorphical variations occur:

1. The third person masculine singular pronoun assimilates to the following deictic clitic. There is regressive voice assimilation. The deictic clitic has an allomorph **id** in this context. Compare example (133) without the deictic clitic to example (134) where it is present.

(133) *i-bb = ay = t*
3MS = 1S:IO = 3MS:DO
'He took it (M) from me.'

(134) *amaleḥ = ahen,* *i-bb = ay = d = id*
fish:EL = S:ANP 3MS-take:P = 1S:IO = DC:3MS:DO = DC
'He brought that fish to me.'

2. The third person feminine singular pronoun (type 2) is **t** ~ **tet** ~ **te̲t** (cf. III.11.2.1. on pronouns). The form with the deictic clitic is always **ded** (never **ted**). Therefore it is impossible to decide whether it is the result of the **t** + **d** or **tet** ~ **te̲t** + **d**. (135a) presents forms without the deictic clitic and (135b) is an example with **ded**.

(135a) *i-bb = ay = tet* ~ *ibb = ay = te̲t*
3MS-take:P = 1S:IO = 3FS:DO ~ 3MS-take:P = 1S:IO = 3FS:DO
'He took it (F) from me.'

(135b) *i-bb = ay = ded*
3MS-take:P = 1S:IO = DC:3FS:DO
'He brought it (F) to me (in my direction).'

3. When combined with the deictic clitic, the third person plural pronoun **ten** has two possible forms. In the first place, there is an long distance assimilated variant **den**, which is combined with the deictic clitic (i.e. **den = d**). It is possible to leave out the final clitic, leading to a form **den** which combines the pronominal and the deictic information. One way to analyse this latter form is assuming that here (and only here) the deictic precedes the pronoun, i.e. **d = ten** > **den**. However, as the deictic clitic never precedes the pronoun in other cases and when the allomorph **ahen** is used, it is preferable to regard the pronoun as an allomorph of **ten** which has fused with the deictic clitic. In (136a) the form **ten** is shown. (136b) shows the use of the form **den** and (136c) shows the use of the same pronoun followed by the deictic clitic **d**. (136d) shows that the allomorph of the third person plural pronoun **ahen** does not assimilate to the deictic clitic.

(136a) *i-ml = ay = ten*
3MS-show:P = 1S:IO = 3PL:DO
'He showed them to me.'

(136b) *i-bb = ay = den*
3MS-take:P = 1S:IO = DC:3PL:DO

‘He showed them to me (in my direction).’

(136c) *i-bb = ay = den = d*
3MS-take:P = 1S:IO = DC:3PL:DO = DC
‘He showed them to me (in my direction).’

(136d) *i-bb = ahen = d*
3MS-take:P = 3PL:DO = DC
‘He brought them.’

The forms of the third person pronouns combined with the deictic clitic are summarised in the following table.

	Pronoun	**Pronoun + Deictic Clitic**
M	*t*	*did*
F	*t ~ tet ~ te̲t*	*ded*
PL	*ten*	*den ~ dend*

The deictic particle always follows the indirect object pronoun in postverbal position:

(137) *y-umṛ = a̲k = d* *amaleḥ*
3MS-send:P = 2S:IO = DC fish:EL
‘He has sent you a letter.’

3.3.5.2. Preverbal position

In attraction context, the deictic clitic follows the other clitics as shown in examples (138) and (139). When all clitics are expressed the preverbal direct object indicator **t** assimilates completely to the deictic clitic. In the latter context, the deicic clitic is obligatorily doubled in postverbal position (140), (141).

(138) *š* *a* *n = d = i-bb*
FUT AD 3PL:DO = DC = 3MS-take:A
‘He will bring them.’

(139) *š* *a* *k̲ = d = i-bb*
FUT AD 2MS:IO = DC = 3MS-take:A
‘He will bring (something) for you.’

(140) *š* *a* *sen = d = i-bb = ahen = d*
FUT AD 3PL:IO = DC:PDO = 3MS-take:A = 3PL:DO = DC
'He will take them to them (hither)'

(141) *a* *ddu-x* *a* *k = d = rri-x = ded*
AD go:A-1S AD 2MS:IO = DC:PDO = return-1S-DC:3FS:DO
'I will go and bring her back for you.'

3.4. Verbal negation

The verbal predicate is negated by a combination of the preverbal element **ma** and, optionally, a postverbal element which can be **ši**, or the more specific markers **walu ~ walaw** 'nothing', **wedqul ~ weḏqul ~ wetqul** 'nothing' and **ḥedd ~ ḥetta yan / ḥetta yaṯ** 'nobody'. The preverbal element does not cause attraction. The final element follows the entire verbal complex. The [**ma** verbal complex (**ši**)] negation negates the verbal predicate. Another negative element, **maši**, can be used for negation of the complete clause. The negative element **ɛemmeṛ-** 'never' can be combined with **ma** as well. Examples (142), (143) and (144) show examples of the [**ma** verb (**ši**)] negation. The examples show negation of the Imperfective in (142) and (143) and the Perfective in (144). Examples (144) and (145) show negation with some verbal clitics included.

(142) *ma* *h-ṛeqq* *ši* *ga-sen* *lɛafya*
NEG 3FS-light:I NEG in-3PL fire
'Fire does not ignite in them.'

(143) *lla* *walu,* *nekki* *ma* *txellaf-ax* *ši*
no nothing I NEG step:I-1S NEG
'No, I will not take a step.'

(144) *ma* *i-šš = ah* *ši* *aɛeyyal = ahen*
NEG 3MS-eat:P = 3MS:DO NEG boy:EL = S:ANP
'The boy has not eaten him.'

(145) *ma* *i-bb = as = den = d* *ši*
NEG 3MS-take:P = 3S:IO = 3PL:DO = DC NEG
'He has not brought them for him.'

The following examples show the use of the elements **walu ~ walaw**, **weḏqul** 'nothing', **ḥedd** 'nobody' and **ḥetta yan**.

(146) *ama* *w-in* *n* *ssuq,* *u-hin* *ma* *ssn-en* *walu*
as.for M-PL:DST of market M-PL:ANP NEG know:P-3PL nothing
'As for the people of the market, they do not know anything.'

(147) *ma* *twala-x* *walaw*
NEG see:I-1S nothing
'I cannot see anything.'

(148) *ma* *twala-x* *weḏqul*
NEG see:I-1S nothing
'I cannot see anything.'

(149) *ma* *ya* *n-šeḵšem* *ḥedd*
NEG AD 1PL-make.enter:A nobody
'We are not going take anybody inside.'

(150) *nuḵna,* *ḇaḇa* *i-nn=anax* *ma* *ɣer-nax* *ḥetta* *yan*
we father 3MS-say:P=1PL:IO NEG at-1PL not.even one:M
'We, our father told us we do not have anybody.'

In the case of operator verbs, a sequence of two verbs, or a verb and a participle, the negative elements always accompany the first verb, for example:

(151) *keği* *ma* *he-ssn-et* *ši* *a* *wṯ-et*
you NEG 2S-know:P-2S NEG AD [2S-]hit:A-2S
'You do not know how to hit.'

The negation of constructions with **a**, **ar a** or **š a** followed by an Aorist also uses [**ma** verbal complex (**ši**)]. The preverbal negative element precedes the other preverbal particles. The negation of **a** + Aorist can either be a prohibitive or the negation of the non-real, while the negation with **ar a** only has non-real interpretation. Conspicuously, in texts, the latter often precedes verbs conjugated in the first person, suggesting it is used to indicate a stronger modal sense than the negation of **a** + Aorist. The element **š a** does not occur in our texts following **ma**, but was accepted in elicitation. Example (152) shows a prohibitive. Example (153) shows the negation of the non-real. Example (154) shows the use of the postverbal element **wetqul** 'nothing' following the negation of the non-real (**a** + Aorist). Between the negator **ma** and the non-real marker there is always insertion of **y**. This is not the case of **ma ar a**, where there is coalescence of the two vowels.

(152) *a* *kem* *ɣa* *siwel,* *ma* *ya* *ḵṣut-et* *ši*
VOC you just speak:IMP NEG AD [2S-]be.afraid:A-2S NEG
'You (F.) just speak, don't be afraid.'

(153) *ma* *ya* *am=šša-x* *ši*
NEG AD 2FS:DO=eat:A-1S NEG
'I will not eat you.'

(154) *ma* *ya* *am=ḡḡ-aɣ* *wetqul*
NEG AD 2FS:DO=do:A-1S nothing
'I will not do anything to you.'

(155) *lla,* *ma* *ra* *ḡḡ-aɣ* *weḏqul*
no NEG AD do:A-1S nothing
'No, I'm not going to do anything.'

The verb **ll** 'to be' is negated in the same way as other verbs [**ma** verb **ši**], except when it forms a past marker together with **aḡ** ~ **aḵ** (see IV.9.5.). In this case the postverbal marker may, but need not, follow the final verb. In example (156) the negation of the verb on its own is shown. In (157) the position of the postverbal marker is after the first verb while in (158) it appears after the final verb.

(156) *ma* *ye-ll* *ši* *mnaḏem,* *ma* *yell* *ši* *ssḇeɛ*
NEG 3MS-be:P NEG man NEG 3MS-be:P NEG lion
'It is not a man, it is not a lion.'

(157) *ma* *aḡ* *lla-n* *ši* *ka-y-felḥ-u* *bezzaf*
NEG PST be:P-3PL NEG IMPP-3PL:IMPF-cultivate-3PL:IMPF a.lot
'They did not cultivate the land a lot.'

(158) *ma* *aḡ* *lla-n* *ka-y-felḥ-u* *ši*
NEG PST be:P-3PL IMPP-3PL:IMPF-cultivate-3PL:IMPF NEG
'They did not work the land.'

If there is a preposition the postverbal negative marker can follow either the verb or the preposition, for example:

(159) *axyam* *a* *lla* *ma* *sken-t* *ši* *ga-s*
house:EL REL be NEG live-1S:PF NEG in-3S

‘The house I did not live in.’

(160) *axyam a lla ma sken-t ga-s ši*
house:EL REL be NEG live-1S:PF in-3S NEG
‘The house I did not live in.’

The postverbal element can be absent in certain contexts (cf. Caubet 1996: 86-88 for Moroccan Arabic and Lafkioui 1996: 56-60 for Tarifiyt Berber). The cases found in our corpus largely correspond to those sketched by the aforementioned authors. Each of the contexts will be enumerated and illustrated below.

After **mki** ‘if’ and **baš** ‘so that’.

(161) *mḵi ma i-ssenkr=anax lefqi, šku š a ɣen=i-ssenkur?*
if NEG 3MS-wake.up:P=1PL:DO imam, who FUT AD 1PL:DO=3MS-wake.up:A
‘If the imam does not wake us up, who will wake us up?’

(162) *netta zeɛma-ḵ i-ḥtaž a fsex šškaṛa baš ma ya*
he kind.of-2MS 3MS-want:P AD [3MS-]open:A bag so.that NEG AD
te-fleṯ taɣaṭt
3FS-escape:A goat:EL
‘He kind of wanted to open the bag so that the goat does not escape.’

In relative clauses and interrogatives, e.g:

(163) *wa lla ma qaṛi haw maši mdewwex*
PRH:MS be NEG learn:AP:MS PR:3MS go:AP:MS confuse:AP:MS
‘The one who is uneducated goes along being confused.’

(164) *aḵ i-ll dhaḏin, ma ssn-ax šk a t=i-leqqṭ-en*
PST 3MS-be:P here NEG know:P-1S who REL 3MS:DO=RF-pick.up:P-RF
‘He was here, I do not know who picked it up.’

The postverbal element does not appear in a secondary predicate (cf. IV.3.1.2.3. for secondary predicates).

(165) *ma ḥtaž a t=te-wweṯ s leḥzam*
NEG [3FS-]want:P AD 3FS:DO=3SF-hit:A with belt
‘She does not want to hit her with a belt.’

The postverbal element is also absent when two predicates are contrasted (cf. Lafkioui, 1996:59).

(166) *i-sagūm a d=te-qqul ma he-qqel=d*
3MS-wait:P AD DC=3FS-return:A NEG 3FS-return:P=DC
'He waited for her to come back, but she did not come back.'

(167) *žeḥḥa i-ttɛiš netta i yemma nn-es, netta ma i-melleḵ,*
Jeha 3MS-live:I he and mother of-3S he NEG 3MS-marry:I
yemma nn-es ma h-melleḵ
mother of-3S NEG 3FS-marry:I
'Jeha lives with his mother, he does not get married, his mother does not get married.'

The postverbal element is sometimes absent when there is a topic (pro)noun preceding the verb. Examples are:

(168) *lqawm n wassa amella ma i-ssen haḏiḵ=ahen u-hen*
people of today:EA now:EL NEG 3MS-know:P thing=S:ANP M-S:ANP
'The people of today do not know that kind of thing.'

When there is coordination of two or more subsequent negations the postverbal element does not appear. For example:

(169) *ma ya ṛeẓ ma ya haḏiḵ*
NEG AD [3MS-]break:A NEG AD thingy
'It will not break and it will not do anyhting.'

(170) *i-qqr=as: 'ma tesla-x=aḵ, ma tesla-x=aḵ.'*
3MS-say:I=3S:IO NEG hear:I-1S=2S:IO NEG hear:I-1S=2S:IO
He tells him: 'I can not hear you, I can not hear you.'

In the non-inflected petrified expression **maɛet** (< **ma ɛṛeft**) 'I do not know.' borrowed from Arabic the postverbal element never appears. Some examples are:

(171) *i-dda ṣṣulṭan maɛet ana aḵ i-ll, i-qqel=d*
3MS-go:P sultan don't.know where PST 3MS-be:P 3MS-return:P=DC
'The sultan went, I do not know where he was, he came back.'

(172) *maɛet* *amḵ* *a* *ḡḡa-n* *leḥšam = ihen*
don't.know how REL do:P-3PL children = PL:ANP
'I do not know how the children did it.'

The element **ɛemmeṛ-** ~ **ɛummeṛ-** 'never' has special negative syntax, as it can be either followed or preceded by **ma**. It is never accompanied by a post-verbal negator. As example (175) shows, **ma** can be omitted. It takes borrowed pronominal suffixes (cf. III.11.5.).

(173) *ššelḥa* *ma* *ɛemmṛ-a* *de-nqteɛ,* *ššelḥa* *ɛemmr-a* *ma* *d-enqteɛ*
Berber NEG never-3FS 3FS:IMPF-stop Berber never-3FS NEG 3FS:IMPF-stop
'Berber will never die, Berber will never die.'

(174) *ɛemmṛ-eḵ* *ma* *he-šša-t* *aɣlal*
never-2S NEG 2S-eat:P-2S snail:EL
'Have you never eaten snails?'

(175) *ma* *ya* *af-et* *ši* *beṣṣiṭa* *ɛummṛ-eḵ* *t-uf-et = teṯ*
NEG AD [2S]find:A-2S NEG peseta never-2S 2S-find:P-2S = 3FS:DO
'You will not find the pessita, never will you find it.'

The negator **maši**, which is the normal negator for non-verbal predicates, can also be used to negate verbal clauses. In this case, the negation has scope over the whole clause. Compare the following examples. In (176) using **ma**…**ši** only the verbal predicate is negated whereas in (177) and (178) using **maši** the complete clause is negated.

(176) *ma* *i-wweṯ* *ši* *ḵma-s* *s* *rrekla*
NEG 3MS-hit:P NEG brother-3S with kick
'He did not kick his brother (lit. hit his brother with a kick).'

(177) *maši* *i-wweṯ* *ḵma-s* *s* *rrekla*
NEG 3MS-hit:P brother-3S with kick
'It is not that he kicked his brother (lit. hit his brother with a kick).'

(178) *te-nn = as:* *'u-hen* *a* *ḇaḇa maši š* *a* *ṯ = i-bb,*
3FS-say:P = 3S:IO M-S:ANP VOC father NEG FUT AD 1S:DO = 3MS-take:A
š *a* *ṯ = i-nuɣ* *u-henni.'*
FUT AD 1S:DO = 3MS-kill:A M-S:ANP
She said: 'That one dad, it is not that he is going to marry me, he is going to kill me.'

The negator **la** is used when there are several coordinated arguments of the verb. The verb itself is negated by **ma**. The element **la** is not used for prohibitives in Berber.[141] It can be translated in English by 'neither … nor'. Some examples are:

(179) *ma* *aḡ* *i-ll* *ka-y-nbaɛ* *la* *bṭaṭa*
NEG PST 3MS-be:P IMPP-3MS:IMPF-be.sold NEG potatoes
la *maṭiša* *la* *t-ha* *la* *t-ha* *la* *t-ha*
NEG tomatoes NEG F-S:PRXF-S:PRX F-S:PRX NEG F-S:PRX
'Neither potatoes nor tomatoes nor this or that were sold.'

(180) *ma* *kayen* *la* *g* *uṭar,* *la* *g* *ṭṭhar,* *la* *g* *tɛeddist*
NEG EXST NEG in foot:EA NEG in back NEG in belly:EA
'There is nothing on the leg, nor on the back, nor in the belly.'

[141] In local Arabic **la** is used in the prohibitive, for example **muṛu šettf = u la tfezzg = u** 'You should dry the Moor, not make him wet.' (from a set inserted Arabic phrase in a Ghomara Berber story).

4. Coordinative and subordinative conjunctions

Subordination and coordination both involve the linking of two clauses. The clauses can be linked without any overt element or by means of a conjunction. In this chapter, we will discuss subordinating and coordinating conjunctions (adjoined constructions are discussed in IV.5.11.). In subordinated constructions a dependent clause is linked to the main clause by a conjunction, whereas in coordinated constructions two clauses of equal status are linked to each other by means of a conjunction. In order to make a distinction between the two types it is necessary to find language-internal criteria which differentiate them. For Figuig Berber, Kossmann (1997:323-324) proposes two criteria which distinguish subordination from coordination. A subordinative conjunction cannot be followed by a topicalised (pro)noun (French: *anticipation*); rather a topic (pro)noun has to precede the conjunction, while a coordinative conjunction does allow for a topic immediately following it. Another criterion is that one of the two (main) clauses in a coordinative construction always follows the other, whereas the dependent clause can precede or follow the main clause in subordinate constructions. An additional criterion for subordination put forward by Bentolila (1981:314) in his analysis of Aït Seghrouchen Berber (Middle Atlas), is the attraction of verbal clitics – a criterion which Kossmann refutes. [142] In Ghomara most subordinators do not cause attraction, therefore this criterion is not used to distinguish them from coordinative conjunctions. The complementisers **illa** and **billa** occur sometimes in our text corpus. They will be treated in the final part. First, the coordinative conjunctions will be presented, after which the subordinative conjunctions will be discussed.

4.1. Coordination

In this section coordinative constructions are classified on the basis of the four types distinguished by Haspelmath (2007: 2).

Coordinative conjunctions	Can be followed by a topic	Main clause precedence	Attraction
Conjunctive coordinator *NP / PP* **i** ~ **id̲** / *Verb* **u** ‘and’	+	-	-
Disjunctive coordinator **wella** ~ **awella** ~ **aw** ‘or’	+	-	-
Adversative coordinator **walakin** ‘but’	+	-	-
Causal coordinator **liyanna**, **ɛlaḥeqq** **ɛlaqib̲al**, **ɛlaxaṭeṛ** ‘because’	+	-	-

142 Bentolila’s pseudo-subordinators, which do not allow topicalisation of an argument but do not have attraction either are considered subordinators by Kossmann (1997: 325).

Causal coordinator **semmen** ~ **semm a** 'so that'	+	-	optional
Causal coordinator **laba** ~ **bašma** 'so that not'	+	-	-[143]
fḥalli 'as if'	+	-	-

4.1.1. Conjunctive coordinators

The conjunctive coordinators **i** ~ **iḏ** and **u** 'and' are allomorphs. The borrowed conjunction **u** links verbs while non-borrowed **i** ~ **iḏ** only coordinates (pro)nouns and prepositional phrases. The coordinator **i** ~ **iḏ** is homophonous with the comitative preposition; as it can also precede prepositional phrases it is not considered the same element as the preposition (cf. III.13.2.1. for the use of **i** ~ **iḏ** as a preposition). The form **iḏ** only appears before vowels, never before consonants, where **i** is used. While **i** ~ **iḏ** is more often used by older people, younger speakers tend to generalise the use of **i** in all contexts.

4.1.1.1. Nominal / Prepositional coordinator i ~ iḏ

Noun phrases and prepositional phrases coordinated by **i** or **i** ~ **iḏ** immediately follow the coordinator. Example (1) shows coordination of a noun phrase. A following Berber-morphology noun gets the EA.

(1) *legrana i ukfer melḵ-en*
toad and turtle:EA marry:P-3PL
'The toad and the turtle married.'

Example (2) shows the use of **iḏ** before a noun with an initial vowel and **i** before a noun with an initial consonant.

(2) *tettan=t ɣa lebhayem iḏ iɣʷyal i tɣaṭen*
eat:I=3MS:DO only mules and donkeys and goats:EA
'Only mules and donkeys and goats eat it.'

In the examples (3) and (4) coordination of prepositional phrases is shown.

(3) *t-uf-et=teṯ g feṛmaṣya i g ṣṣaka*
2S-find:A-2S=3FS:DO in pharmacy and in tobacco.shop
'You will find it in the pharmacy and in the tobacco shop.'

[143] The conjunction itself does not cause attraction. However, as it is obligatorily followed by **a** + Aorist there can be attraction in this context.

(4) *tsawal-en s lɛarbiyya i s šše*l*ḥa*
talk:I-3PL with Arabic and with Berber
'They speak Arabic and Berber.'

i ~ id cannot coordinate predicates, e.g.

(5) **i-dda i(d) i-qqim*
3MS-go:P and 3MS-sit:P
'He went and he sat down.'

i ~ id is used for a topicalised nominal or prepositional element (cf. IV.7.1.1.5. for topicalisation), for example:

(6) *aɛeyyal n ṣṣulṭan i-dda ka-y-ɛiss fx-es, i netta*
child:EL of Sultan 3MS-go:P IMPP-3MS:IMPF-guard on-3S and he
i-ttaf = at ɛaweḍ
3MS-find:I = 3FS:DO again
'The son of the sultan kept an eye on him, and then he found her again.'

4.1.1.2. Clausal coordinator u

Clause linking is achieved by means of the clausal coordinator **u** (**w** adjacent to vowels) 'and, in addition' or by means of parataxis (i.e. without any linker between the clauses, cf. IV.5.11.). Example (7) is an example of a coordinative construction of two verbal clauses with **u**.

(7) *ssiriḍ-en = t g waḵal u tmeṛṛaḥ-en = t g tafuḵt*
wash:I-3PL = 3MS:DO in earth:EA and let.dry:I-3PL = 3MS:DO in sun
'They wash it in the soil and they let it dry in the sun.'

In the next example the coordinated clause is non-verbal. The example shows that a noun does not take the EA after following **u**.

(8) *ne-ttawi = d isɣaṛen dar uḥemmal = ahen u aywel ɣer-nex*
1S-take:I = DC sticks to bedstead:EA = S:ANP and at-1PL rack:EL
'We bring sticks to that bedstead, and we have a rack.'

Example (9) shows that multiple verbs can be coordinated consecutively by means of the coordinator **u**.

(9) *n-ɛellm = ahen* *u* *n-šeḵšm = ahen* *u* *zedq-u* *g* *wilḇa*
1PL-teach:P = 3PL:DO and 1PL-make.enter:P = 3PL:DO and end-3PL:PF in Huelva
'We tought them and got them in and the ended up in Huelva.'

u is also used for adverbial and adjectival coordination (the use of **i** ~ **iḏ** is only reluctantly accepted in this context), for example:

(10) *xeṣṣ = ay* *imalḥen* *muqqr-eṯ* *u* *bezzaf*
need:P = 1S:IO fish big-PL and many
'I want big and many fish.'

(11) *netta* *ṭwil* *u* *ɣliṭ*
he tall:MS and fat:MS
'He is tall and fat.'

The coordinator **u** appears in many adverbials and idioms which are borrowed from Arabic, such as **u kḏa** 'and so forth', **u ṣafi** 'that's all', **u ḥleq** 'whatever', **xyaṛ u xyaṛ** 'even better', **bi xir u ɛla xir** 'very good', **lil u nhaṛ** 'day and night'. It is used to link numerals as well (cf. III.12. on numerals). An example is:

(12) *i-mmuṯ* *u* *ḥleq*
3MS-die:P and what
'If he died, so what?'

4.1.2. Disjunctive coordination

There are two conjunctions for disjunctive coordination, **wella** ~ **awella** and **aw**, both meaning 'or'. They are borrowed from Arabic. Both conjunctions coordinate all types of phrases and clauses. A number of examples with **wella** will be presented first. In the following examples **wella** coordinates a prepositional phrase (14), a verbal predicate (15) with a preceding topic, a noun phrase (16), an adjectival phrase (17), and adverbs (18).

(14) *i-zzenz = at* *s* *tkemmišt* *n* *lḥebb* *wella* *s* *lxuḇza*
3MS-sell:P = 3FS:DO with handful:EA of wheat or with bread
'He sold it for a handful of wheat or for one bread.'

(15) *ssemlaḵ-en = ten* *i* *lemselmin* *wella* *i* *nnṣaṛa* *ssemlaḵen = ten?*
marry:I-3PL = 3PL:DO to muslims or to Christians marry:I-3PL = 3PL:DO
'Do they marry them to muslims or do they marry them to Christians?'

(16) *ma ssaɣ-en ši lḥaža te-sḥa wella lḥaža mezyana*
NEG buy:I-3PL NEG thing 3FS-good:P or thing good
'They do not buy a strong thing or a good thing…'

(17) *ḥtaž-et muqqṛ-eṯ wella meẓẓi-ṯ?*
[2S]want:P-2S big-PL or small-PL
'Do you want a big one or a small one?'

(18) *ḥtaž-et bezzaf wella šweyya?*
[2S]want-2S many or little
'Do you want a lot or a little bit?'

The conjunction can occur at the end of a sentence to add emphasis to a question.

(19) *ka š a m=i-ssker g intirnit wella?*
Q FUT AD 3FS:DO=3MS-do:A in internet or?
'Is he going to put you on the computer?'

wella has the variants **aw** and **awella**, which are infrequent in my corpus, e.g.

(20) *qalleḵ ḍḍḇaɛ š a ṯ=i-šš awella aḡḏi*
think:MS:PF hyena FUT AD 1S:DO=3MS-eat:A or jackal:EL
'He thought the hyena will eat me or the jackal.'

(21) *aɣeṛṛaf n iḇawen aw aɣeṛṛaf n taẓart, fhem-ti?*
bowl:EL of beans or bowl:EA of figs, understand-2S:PF
'A bowl of beans or a bowl of figs, you understand?'

4.1.3. Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination is always binary, i.e. it consists of maximally two conjoined clauses (cf. Haspelmath, 2007: 2). Other types of coordination allow for more than two conjoined clauses. There is one adversative conjunction namely **walakin** 'but'. Example (23) show the use of a topicalised noun following the conjunction.

(22) *lʔamana=yaḏ, xebbɛ=ay=tet, walakin ma ya*
safeguard=S:PRX hide:IMP=1S:IO=3FS:DO but NEG AD
te-ḡḡ-et ši sennig lɛafya
2S-do:A-2S NEG above fire

‘This safeguard, hide it for me, but do not put it above the fire.’

(23) *i-dda* *argaz = ahen* *walakin* *tamɣaṛt* *nn-es* *ma* *he-dda* *ši*
3MS-go:P man = S:ANP but woman:EL of-3MS NEG 3FS-go:P NEG
‘That man went, but his wife did not go.’

4.1.4. Causal coordination liyanna, ɛlaḥeqq, ɛlaqiḇal, ɛlaxaṭeṛ ‘because’

The coordinative conjunction **liyanna** ‘because’ indicates a causal relation between two phrases. **ɛlaḥeqq**, **ɛlaqiḇal**, **ɛlaxaṭeṛ** are equivalent to **liyanna**, although they are much less frequently used. The conjunction can be followed by a verb phrase or a noun phrase, for example in (24) an noun phrase immediately follows the conjunction.

(24) *tkeffṛ-eṯ* *fx-es,* *liyanna* *taḵna*
lie-3FS:PF on-3S because co-wife:EL
‘She lied to her, because she is a co-wife.’

In example (25) the conjunction is immediately followed by a verb phrase.

(25) *liyanna* *he-tɣima* *tmen* *eyyam* *n* *lehwa* *fx-ennex* *i-ḥeṣṣel*
because 3FS-stay:I eight days of rain on-1PL 3MS-fall:I
‘Because it keeps raining on us for eight days.’

A topicalised noun can precede the verb phrase, but it cannot precede the conjunction.

(26) *liyanna* *feṛmaṣya* *he-ttak-at = as* *ilaxirihi* *te-rri = d* *xf-eḵ*
because pharmacy 2S-give:I-2S = 3S:IO etc 3FS-return:P = DC on-2MS
‘Because you give it to the pharmacy, and she gives (money) back.’

In the following example the use of **ɛlaḥeqq** is illustrated from a text excerpt.

(27) *i-tšebbaṛ = ahen* *ṛṛemḏan* *g uḏrar.* *ɛlaḥeqq* *qḇel* *zeg* *u-haḏin*
3MS-grab:I = 3PL Ramadan in mountain:EA because before from M-PRX:S
aḡ *lla-n* *tɛemmaṛ-en* *ʔakṭareyya* *tɛemmaṛ-en* *g* *uḏrar*
PST be:P-3PL live:I-3PL mostly live:I-3PL in mountain:EA
‘They fasted in the mountains. Because in that time, most people lived in the mountains.’

semmen ~ **semm a** ‘so that’

The conjunction is composed of the instrumental preposition **s** combined with pronominal **men** (it functions as an interrogative as well, cf. IV.6.4.). The interpretation is either ‘with which’ or equivalent to **baš** ‘so that’. The relative marker **a** is optional after **semmen**, (which can result in **semmen** + **a** > **semm a**). In the following examples the use of the conjunction is shown. Example (28) shows a topicalised noun directly following the conjunction. Example (29) shows the use of an Imperfective after the conjunction. The relative marker causes attraction of verbal clitics.

(28) *n-sekr=as* *ši* *ḥaja* *n* *lemlaḥ* *semmen* *taẓemmiṯ=ahen*
1PL-do:P=3S:IO some thing of salt so.that fried.wheat:EL=S:ANP
h-till *ḥelwa*
3FS-be:I sweet:FS
‘We put a bit of salt in it, so that the baked wheat becomes sweet.

(29) *wṯ=ay* *s* *leḥzam* *semm* *a* *teqql-ax* *tameṭṭuṯ*
hit:IMP=1S:DO with belt so.that REL become:I-1S woman:EL
‘Hit me with the belt, so that I will become a woman.’

laba ~ **bašma** ‘so that not’

The elements **laba** and **bašma** are coordinative conjunctions. In example (30) a topic noun follows the conjunction. These elements are always followed by **a** + Aorist.

(30) *ẓeyyeṛ* *x* *šškaṛa=yahen* *laba* *taɣaṭt=ahen* *a* *ḵ=te-fleṯ*
press:IMP on bag=S:ANP so.that.not goat:EL=S:ANP AD 2MS:IO=3FS-flee
‘Press on that bag so that the goat will not escape.’

The conjunction **bašma** has the same meaning, cf. the following text excerpt:

(31) *netta* *zeɛma-ḵ* *i-ḥtaž* *a* *fsex* *šškaṛa* *bašma*
he kind.of-2MS 3MS-want:P AD [3MS]open:A bag so.that.not
ya *tefleṯ* *taɣaṭt*
AD 3FS-escape:A goat:EL
‘He wanted, so-to-say, unwrap the bag so that the goat would not escape.’

A topicalised noun phrase can precede the verb after **bašma**, for example:

(32) *asɣun* *tlewway-en=t* *i* *ḍḍmaɣ* *n* *tsa* *bašma*
rope:EL wrap:I-3PL=3MS:DO to head of cow:EA so.that.not

azaḡlu = ahen *a* *fleṯ*
yoke:EL = S:ANP AD [3MS]escape:A
'They wrap the rope around the head of the cow, so the yoke does not become loose.'

fḥalli 'as if'
The element **fḥalli** consists of the Arabic elements **fḥal** 'as' and the relative marker **lli**. It is considered one element here as **lli** does not function as a relative marker here (as it does in Arabic). For example:

(33) *i-ḡḡ = as* *tažellaḇt = ahen* *n* *iṣɣaṛen* *fḥalli* *t-ɛeddel* *lfuṛma*
3MS-do:P = 3S:IO djellaba:EL = S:ANP of sticks as.if 3FS-make:P form
n *urgaz* *tameṭṭuṯ = ahen*
of man:EA woman:EA = S:ANP
'He dressed her with that wooden *djellaba* (a type of gown) as if she had the form of a man, that woman.'

4.2. Subordination

Subordination means that there is an asymmetrical relation between the main clause and the subordinate clause, the latter being syntactically dependent on the former. In the introduction to this chapter the criteria that distinguish coordinative structures from subordinative structures were determined. The subordinative conjunctions presented below comply to at least one of the criteria. All subordinative conjunctions except for **mḵi** 'if' and **waxxa** 'even though' disallow a following topicalised element. In other words, when there is topicalisation, it precedes the subordinator. Furthermore, all subordinative conjunctions allow for the main clause to precede them. This is the reason **mḵi** and **waxxa** are considered subordinators. As mentioned above, attraction of post-verbal clitics to preverbal position is obligatory for some subordinative conjunctions and optional for others. After a subordinative conjunction an Arabic-morphology verb can be preceded by the Arabic relative marker **d** (cf. IV.5. for relative constructions). All conjunctions that causes attraction allow this optional marker as well. In this table the criteria are enumerated for each conjunction.

Subordinative conjunctions	Can be followed by a topic	Main clause precedence	Attraction[144]	Arab.Rel. Marker
amḵ a 'when'	-	+	+	+
nya ~ yya 'when'	-	+	+	+

[144] It is interesting to note that all conjunctions that (optionally) cause attraction are either followed by **a** or end in **a**, which is historically probably the relative marker **a**.

mḵi ‘if’	+	+	-	-
ka ‘if’	-	+	-	-
qeḇla ‘before’	-	+	optional	+
ḥetta ‘until’	-	+	optional	+
zegya ‘since’	-	+	+	+
waxxa ‘even though’	+	+	optional	+
baš ‘so that’	-	+	-[145]	-
bla ma ‘without’ **qbel ~ qeḇla ma** ‘before’ **ana ma** ‘where ever’	-	+	-	-

4.2.1. amḵ a ‘when’

The subordinating conjunction **amḵ a** ‘when’ indicates a temporal relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause in that one event necessarily follows the other. The conjunction is a combination of **ammeḵ** ‘how’ followed by the relative particle **a** (cf. IV.6.2.5. for its use as an interrogative pronoun). Therefore the clause following it is a relative clause with all its characteristics (attraction, use of the allomorph of **a**, cf. IV.5.). When the conjunction is followed by a clause that would contain a nominal predicate as a main clause, the verb **ll** is used (cf. IV.9. on **ll**). All aspectual forms, including **a** + Aorist, can be used in the subordinate clause. In example (34) the Perfective is used. The event in the subordinate clause occurs before the event in the main clause. The conjunctions **amḵ a** and **nya ~ yya** (see next paragraph) are similar in meaning, although there seems to be a preference to use **amḵ a** by younger people.

(34) *amḵ a bba-n baɛtiyaṯ-em akfer ye-wṯ=at*
when REL take:P-3PL each.other-3PL turtle:EL 3MS-hit:P=3FS:DO
‘When they had married each other, the turtle hit her.’

Example (35) shows an example with an Imperfective in the subordinate clause. The event in the subordinate clause is simultaneous with the event in the main clause.

(35) *amḵ a t-tiṯu dar teggurt te-qqṛ=asen*
when REL 3FS-go:I to door:EA 3FS-say:I=3PL:DO
‘Then, when she goes to the door, she says to them…’

A topic noun cannot follow the subordinate conjunction, for example:

[145] The conjunction itself does not cause attraction. However, as it is obligatorily followed by **a** + Aorist there can be attraction in this context.

(36) *amḵ a argaz=ahen i-ggez dar uxyam
when REL man:EL=S:ANP 3MS-go.down to house:EA
'When the man decsended to the house.'

Example (37) shows the use of **a** + Aorist after the conjunction. The allomorph **ar** is used (cf. IV.5.9. on relative clauses).

(37) amḵ a ar a ddu ḥmeḏ, š a d=uqql-aɣ nekkin
when REL FUT AD [3MS]go:A Ahmed FUT AD DC=return:A-1S I
'When Ahmed is going, I will return.'

An example of an Arabic-morphology verb preceded by **d** is:

(38) iwa amḵ a d wežḏ-eṯ leflaḥa i-nn=as: 'hala'
well when REL AREL be.ready-3FS:PF crops 3MS-say:P=3S:IO come:IMP
'Well, when the crops were ready, he said: 'come'.

4.2.2. nya ~ yya 'when'

This subordinating conjunction has two variants which are in free variation: **nya** and **yya** 'when'[146]. By far the most frequent variant in our corpus is **nya**. Like **amḵ a** 'when' this subordinative conjunction specifies a temporal relationship between the main and the subordinate clause. A number of examples are shown below:

(39) nya i-mleḵ fx-es, qellɛ-en
when 3MS-marry:P on-3S leave:P-3PL
'When he married another, they left'

In example (40) the variant **yya** is used, followed by a verb in the Imperfective.

(40) yya teqql-en a rnu-n dar ya taɣilt ɛaweḏ
when return:I-3PL AD add:A-3PL to one:F mountain again
'While they were going back, they continued again to a mountain.'

In the following example the conjunction is followed by the allomorph **ar** of the non-real marker followed by an Aorist.

[146] The neighbouring variant of Amṭiqan has **niga** for 'when' (El Hannouche 2010: 156). As there is no separate element **ni** or **yy** it is considered a single element together with **a**.

(41) *nya ar a ru meqḇeyy-a*
when FUT AD [3FS]give.birth:A be.almost-FS
'When she will almost give birth.'

After **nya ~ yya**, verbal clitics are put in preverbal position, for example:

(42) *nya t=i-ẓeṛ hamḵa mmerrṯ-a i-rry=as=d*
when 3FS:DO=3MS-see:P like.that be.sick:PP-FS 3MS-return:P=3S:IO=DC
leḥšam nn-es
children of-3S
'When he saw her sick like that, he returned her children.'

Topicalised nouns cannot follow this subordinative conjunction.

(43) **nya yemma nn-es h-tekker a ẓẓall, i-teffeɣ netta*
when mother of-3S 3FS-stand.up:I AD [3FS]pray:A 3MS-go.out:I he
'When his mother gets up to pray at night, he goes out.'

The correct form is:

(44) *yemma nnes nya h-tekker a ẓẓall, i-teffeɣ netta*
mother of-3S when 3FS-stand.up:I AD [3FS]pray:A 3MS-go.out:I he
'When his mother gets up to pray at night, he goes out.'

When an Arabic-morphology verb is used the Arabic relative element **d** can follow the conjunction.

(45) *i nettaṯa nya d ɛaq-eṯ is-sen rewl-en*
and she when AREL be.aware-3FS:PF with-3PL flee:P-3PL
'And when she became aware of them the fled.'

4.2.3. Hypothetical mḵi 'if'

This conjunction is used to indicate a hypothetic outcome in which there is nothing implied as to the outcome of the situation (cf. Longacre, 2007: 380-381). It states that an event may happen if the first event takes place. A topicalised argument can follow this conjunction, for example:

(46) *mḵi argaz=ahen i-dda, mezyan*
if man=S:PRX 3MS-go:P good
'If that man has gone, that's fine.'

Examples (47) shows the use of the Perfective after **mḵi**. In example (12) an Arabic-morphology verb is used in the Perfect.

(47) *mḵi t-sseḇzg-et=t i-qelleɛ*
if 2S-make.wet:P-2S=3MS:DO 3MS-leave:P
'If you make him wet, he is gone.'

(48) *mḵi tferreq-na nekki ḍḍaɛ-ax*
if split.up-1PL:PF I be.lost:P-1S
'If we split up, I will be lost.'

The (**š**) **a** + Aorist and the Imperfective can also follow **mḵi**, for example:

(49) *mḵi š a y=te-nɣ-em, ǧ-aweṯ a y=berrḥ-ax*
if FUT AD 1S:DO=2PL-kill:A-2PL, let:IMP-PL AD 3MS:DO=call:A-1S
'If you are going to kill me, let me call him.'

(50) *mḵi he-ttiṯu-m dar uxyam, bb=aweṯ iḏ-un aman*
if 2PL-go:I-2PL to house:EA take:IMP=PL with-2PL water:EL
'If you go home, take water with you.'

Some speakers use this conjunction in combination with preceding **ɣa** 'just'.

(51) *ɣa mḵi dda-x a žeṛṛḇ-aɣ a n-ɛayen amḵ a ye-ll*
only if go:P-1S AD try:A-1S AD 1PL-see:A how REL 3MS-be:P
zzayn=ahen
beauty=S:ANP
'If I go and try to see how this beauty is.'

When a locative or attributive non-verbal predicate is put in a subordinate clause with **mḵi**, forms related to the verb **ll** 'be' can be used. In the following example the verb does not agree with the following plural noun.

(52) *mḵi ll imalḥen inši waɛr-in, hayhay*
if be fish some good-PL well.well
'If they are good fish, well well.'

In attributive constructions, the non-verbal predicate can also be used without **ll**, for example:

(53) *myaṯayn n rryal, mḵi ssarḏin wella ššral wella taɣzalt*
two.hundred of rial, if sardine or jack.mackerel or bogue.fish:EL
'Two hunderd rial, if it is sardine or jack mackerel or bogue fish.'

An independent pronoun that immediately follows the conjunction yields the meaning 'if it were for…' as in the next example:

(54) *mḵi netta ilaxirih i-tett lɛeṭṭa=yahen i-teṭṭeṣ*
if he etc 3MS-eat:I bite=S:PRX 3MS-sleep:I
'If it were for him, he would eat a bite and sleep.'

4.2.4. Counterfactual ka 'if'

The counterfactual **ka** does not cause attraction. It functions as an interrogative as well (cf. IV.6.1.). Counterfactuals have a double implication which can be caught by the paraphrase '*something did not happen in event A, and because it did not happen, event B did not happen either*' (cf. Longacre 2007: 381). If the first part, the protasis, is a verbal predicate, it follows **ka** immediately. If it is a non-verbal predicate, the combination **aḡ ~ aḵ** + **ll** is used following **ka**. In the apodosis **ka** is facultative. In the apodosis, if there is a verbal predicate, the borrowed element **ḵun ~ iḵun** 'then' can be used. If the apodosis is a non-verbal predicate, **ll** is used. The following examples show the use of the verbal predicates in both parts. In example (56) the apodosis has **iḵun**.

(55) *ka i-qqim maši iḏ izref, ka i-lkem amilla*
CF 3MS-stay:P go:AP:MS with road:EA CF 3MS-arrive:P now
'If he had kept going on the road, he would have arrived by now.'

(56) *ka i-qqim maši iḏ izref, ka i-ḵun i-lkem amilla*
CF 3MS-stay:P AP:go with road:EA CF then 3MS-arrive:P now
'If he had kept going on the road, he would have arrived by now.'

(57) *ka* *i-šebbṛ=aḵ* *argaz=ahen,* *ka* *iqeṭṭɛ=aḵ* *s* *tuzzalt=aḏ*
CF 3MS-catch:P=2MS:DO man:EL=S:PRX CF cut:P=2MS:DO with knife=S:PRX
'If the man had caught you, he would have sliced you with this knife.'

In the next examples the use of **aḡ ~ aḵ + ll**, in the apodosis (58) and in the protasis (59) is shown.

(58) *ka* *qqim-aɣ* *mtebbeɛ* *lxiḏma* *inu,* *ka* *lla-x* *mezyan* *amilla*
CF stay:P-1S follow:PP:MS work POSS:1S CF be:1S good:MS now
'If I had pursued my work, I would have been fine now.'

(59) *ka* *aḵ* *te-ll-at* *argaz* *ma* *y-ḵun* *ši* *aḵemmiš* *n* *isennanen*
CF PST 2S-be:P-2S man:EL NEG then NEG bunch:EL of needles
'If you were a man you would not have been a bunch of needles that is thrown
mseyyeḇ *g* *teẓga*
throw:PP:MS in forest:EA
in the forest.'

In example (60) **ka** is only used in the protasis. In the apododis there is no further marking.

(60) *ma* *nekki* *ka* *dda-x* *amella* *refs-ax=t,* *šeɛl-aɣ=am,*
as.for I CF go:P-1S now:EL knead:P-1S=3MS:DO lite.oven:P-1S=2FS:IO
ḡḡ-aɣ=am
do:P-1S=2FS:IO
'As for me, if I had gone, I would have kneaded, lit the oven and done (something) for you by now.'

4.2.5. qeḇl a 'before'

The conjunction **qbel a** indicates that the event in the subordinate clause follows the event in the main clause. This conjunction consists of the preposition **qḇel** 'before' followed by the element **a** (cf. IV.5.). The subordinate clause can follow the main clause.

(61) *qeḇl* *a* *i-dda* *argaz=ahen,* *i-dda* *w-ayeṭ*
before REL 3MS-go:P man:EL=S:ANP 3MS-go:P M-S:other
'Before the man went, the other one went.'

Optional attraction is shown in the following examples:

(62) *qeḇl a ṯ = ye-wweṯ, i-dda = d daɣr-i*
before REL 3MS:DO = 3MS-hit:P 3MS-go:P = DC to-1S
'Before he hit him, he came to me.'

(63) *qeḇl a ye-wweṯ = aṯ, idda = d daɣr-i*
before REL 3MS-hit:P = 3MS:DO 3MS-go:P = DC to-1S
'Before he hit him, he came to me.'

An example of the Arabic relative marker with an Arabic-morphology verb is:

(64) *qeḇl a d stɛeml-u ṭṭunuḇiraṯ aḡ lla-n*
before REL AREL use-3PL:PF cars PST be-3PL
ka-y-stɛeml-u ɣa lekyader
IMPP-3PL:IMPF-use-3PL:IMPF only horses
'Before they used cars they used only horses.'

4.2.6. ḥetta 'until'

The conjunction **ḥetta** 'until' can only be followed by a verb (cf. III.13.3.3. for a similar form which functions as a preposition). This conjunction can cause attraction (65), but does not do so necessarily, as shown in example (66).

(65) *i-qqim i-kkaṯ ga-s ḥetta ṯ = i-neɣ*
3MS-stay:P 3MS-hit:I in-3S until 3MS:DO = 3MS:kill:P
'He kept on beating him until he killed him.'

(66) *ɛaweḏ ka-y-ṭiḥ fx-es 'puk', ḥetta ye-nɣ = aṯ*
again IMPP-3MS:IMPF-fall on-3S bam until 3MS-kill:P = 3MS:DO
'Then he falls upon him 'bam' (hit him), until he killed him.'

An example of the Arabic relative marker with an Arabic-morphology verb is:

(67) *ma dda-n = d dariha ḥetta d xwa-w sswasa*
NEG go:P-3PL = DC to.here untill AREL empty.3PL:PF Sousis
'They did not came until the Sousis left.'

4.2.7. zegya 'since, from the time'

The subordinative conjunction **zegya** 'since, from the time' causes attraction of verbal clitics. Below are two examples:

(68) *zegya* *d=dda-x* *nekkin* *meɛdum*
since CD=go:P-1S I sick:PP:MS
'Since I have arrived, I have been ill.'

(69) *te-ḇda* *ka-t-ḍɛef* *zegya* *h-su* *lbaṣteyya=ahen*
3FS-start:P IMPP-3FS:IMPF-loose.weight since 3FS-drink:P pill=S:ANP
'She started to loose weight since she drank that pill.'

An example of the Arabic relative marker with an Arabic-morphology verb is:

(70) *zegya* *d* *xṭaṛɛ-u* *ṭṭunuḇiraṯ* *mezyan*
since AREL invent-3PL:PF cars good
'Since they invented cars it has been good.'

4.2.8. waxxa 'even though'

The coordinative conjunction **waxxa** can be translated as 'even though' or 'even if'. It allows for a topic noun following it, as shown in example (71). It can, but does not necessarily cause attraction, as examples (72) and (73) show.

(71) *waxxa* *ḥmeḏ* *i-dda=d,* *ma* *ra* *sker* *walu*
even.though Ahmed 3MS-go:P=DC NEG FUT [3MS]do:A nothing
'Even if Ahmed came, he will do nothing.'

(72) *waxxa* *i-ẓṛ=aṯ* *aṭḡam,* *ma* *i-nn=as* *walu*
even.though 3MS-see:P=3MS:DO yesterday:EL NEG 3MS-say:P=3S:IO nothing
'Even though he saw him yesterday, he did not say anything to him.'

(73) *waxxa* *ṯ=i-ẓeṛ* *aṭḡam,* *ma* *inn=as* *walu*
even.though 3MS:DO=3MS-see:P yesterday:EL NEG 3MS-say:P=3S:IO nothing
'Even though he saw him yesterday, he did not say anything to him.'

An example of the Arabic relative marker with an Arabic-morphology verb is:

(74) *waxxa* *d* *ṣṣaḏ-tum* *nnhaṛ=aḏ* *ma* *he-bba-m=d* *weḏqul*
even.though AREL fish day=S:PRX NEG 2PL-take:P-2PL=DC nothing
'Even though you fished today, you haven't caught anything.'

4.2.9. baš 'so that'

The conjunction **baš** 'so that' is obligatorily followed by **a** + Aorist or an Arabic Imperfect

in the case of Arabic-morphology verbs. Only the negative marker can come between **baš** and the verb. The conjunction itself does not cause attraction, though the obligatory non-real marker attracts postverbal clitics to preverbal position. In example (75) the conjunction is followed by a negative particle, the non-real marker and an attracted indirect object clitic. Example (76) shows that a topic is not allowed after the conjunction.

(75) *nekki* *nna-x = aḵ* *ššwešk* *leḥšam* *nn-eḵ* *baš* *a*
I tell:P-1S = 2MS:IO make.dissappear:IMP children of-2MS so.that AD
ḡḡ-aɣ *leɛša*
do:A-1S supper
'I said to him, make your children dissappear so that I can make supper.'

(76) **ššwešk* *leḥšam* *nn-eḵ* *baš* *leɛša* *a* *ḡḡ-aɣ*
make.dissappear:IMP children of-2MS so.that supper AD do:A-1S
'Make your children dissappear so that I can make supper.'

4.2.10. Constructions with ma

The preposition **bla**, the conjunction **qeḇl a** and the interrogative **ana** can be combined with **ma** to form a conjunction (cf. IV.6.8. for the use of **ma** with interrogatives). In the case of **qeḇla**, **ma** is optional. The form of the conjunction can be **qbel** as well before **ma**. It is not possible to have a topicalised noun following **ma**. Some examples are:

(77) *i-ssen* *bla* *ma* *i-nn = as = t* *argaz = ahen*
3MS-know:P without MA 3MS-say:P = 3S:IO = 3MS:DO man:EL = S:ANP
'He knows without that man telling him.'

(78) *qeḇl* *a* *ma* *ye-qquṛ* *lebṣel,* *i-nn = as:* *hala*
before REL MA 3MS-dry:P onions 3MS-say:P = 3S:IO come:IMP
'Before the onions were dry, he said: 'come'

(79) *ana* *ma* *ufa-n* *tala* *i-qqṛ = as:* *'a* *weddi*
where MA find:P-3PL source 3MS-say:I = 3S:IO o boy
nekki *ḵemṭ-ax'*
I be.thirsty:P-1S
'Wherever they found a source, he said: 'Well, I am very thirsty.'

4.3. Complementisers illa and billa

In most secondary predicate constructions there is no linker. However, sometimes the particles **illa** and **billa** are used to link the argument to the matrix verb. The two particles

are in free variation. Their occurrence is very infrequent in our corpus. In example (80) the use of **billa** is shown with a non-verbal clause.

(80) *i* *ɣzizel=ahen,* *i-ɛaql=at* *billa* *tameṭṭuṯ=ahen*
and ɣzizel=S:ANP 3MS-recognise:P=3FS:DO COMP woman:EL=S:ANP
'And that *ɣzizel*, he recognised that she was that woman.'

(81) *ku* *nnhaṛ* *i-ẓẓaṛ=at* *das,* *billa* *i-thaḏiḵ*
every day 3MS-see:I=3FS:DO there COMP 3MS-do.thingy:I
'He sees him here doing thingy.'

(82) *t-han* *ɛaq-eṯ* *illa* *ɣr-es* *lmeṣkeṛ*
F-S:ANP be.aware-3FS:PF COMP at-3S anaesthetics
'That one was aware that she had anaesthetics.'

The particle **bihen** can optionally follow **illa**, for example:

(83) *š* *i-ɛiq-u* *is-sen* *illa* *bihen* *ham* *das*
FUT 3PL:IMPF-be.aware-3PL:IMPF with-3PL COMP COMP PR:3MS there
'There will be aware that they are there.'

5. Relative constructions

Relative clauses modify nouns and pronouns. In Ghomara Berber the relative clause always follows the head. Relative clauses based on non-verbal predicates necessarily have a verb or, in the case of the adjective and the participle, a relative form (see III.9. for adjectives). Ghomara Berber does not have a relative pronoun, but it has an obligatory relativiser **a**, which relates the relative clause to the head noun without reflecting any properties of the head (cf. Payne 1997:326 for the difference between a relativiser and a relative pronoun). The relativiser causes attraction of verbal clitics and it evokes the appearance of the allomorph **ar** of the non-real particle. The relativiser can occur on its own in free relatives.

Ghomara Berber resorts to different strategies to indicate which argument has been relativised (see Galand, 2002 [1988]: 219-240 for a typology of relative clauses in Berber). Berber-morphology verbs have a relative form when the subject is relativised. Adjectives have a relative form as well (see III.9.1.). For direct object arguments of Berber-morphology verbs a gapping strategy is used, meaning that there is no pronominal or other reference to the head in the relative clause. Other relativised positions, i.e. indirect objects, benefactive/malefactive, genitive and prepositional complements use resumptive pronouns.

The relative form of the verb is used with subject relatives and with benefactive/malefactive relative constructions; otherwise normal forms of the verb are used.

Arabic-morphology verbs behave differently from Berber-morphology verbs. They do not have a special relative form to indicate that the subject or malefactive/benefactive is relativised. The normal form of the verb is used in all relative clause types. Arabic-morphology verbs can be, and often are, accompanied by the Arabic relativiser **d** in all types of relative clauses, which follows the Berber relativiser **a**. Non-subject arguments are referred to by a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause, except for direct object relatives where the pronoun on the verb is facultative.

Verbal clitics of Berber-morphology verbs stand in preverbal position in a relative clause. They follow the relativiser. Like in non-relative clauses, prepositional phrases do not appear in preverbal position. Clitics of Arabic-morphology verbs do not change position.

Any aspectual stem of Berber or Arabic-morphology verbs can appear in the relative clause. The allomorph **ar** of the non-real marker appears before both Arabic and Berber-morphology verbs in the relative clause. As the non-real **a** cannot co-occur with an Arabic-morphology verb, its allomorph **ar** cannot co-occur with the Arabic relativiser **d** in relative clauses. In the following, all relative constructions are presented based on the function of the head noun within the relative clause. Berber-morphology and Arabic-morphology verbs will be treated together. We will treat subject relatives (which includes adjectival relatives and participial relatives), direct object relatives, indirect object relatives, benefactive / malefactive / genitive relatives and prepositional relatives (For relatives of non-verbal clauses the reader is referred to chapter IV.7.2.2. on focalisation of non-verbal constructions

and chapter IV.9. on the verb **ll** 'to be'). Adjoined relative clauses will be treated briefly, and after that the negation of relative constructions is presented. Finally, relative clauses which are headed by indefinite pronouns and free relatives are treated (interrogatives that function as free relatives are treated in the chapter on interrogatives).

5.1. Subject relatives

When the head noun is the subject of the relative clause, the Berber-morphology verb has the relative marking **i**-…-**en**. Adjectives of Arabic origin have the relative forms **i**-…-**in** and adjectives of Berber origin have free variation between **i**-…-**en** and **i**-…**-in** (see III.9.1.). The following example shows a subject relative clause and the relative form of the verb:

(1) *lekwaṣet=ihen a y-tḍewwar-en hamḵa*
tapes=PL:ANP REL RF-turn:I-RF like.this
'The tapes that go around like this.'

The next example has attraction of the direct object pronoun.

(2) *lmuɛellim=ahen a ḵ=ye-wṯ-en*
teacher=S:ANP REL 2MS=RF-hit:P-RF
'That teacher that hit you.'

The Aorist aspectual form (in relatives always preceded by **ar**) does not have the relative form in the subject relative clause, e.g.

(3) *t-ṣerreḏ dar-i irgazen a ar a yṯ=nɣʷ-en*[147]
3FS-send:P to-1S men REL FUT AD 1S:DO=kill:A-3PL
'She sent men to me who will kill me.'

(4) *t-umṛ=as tamɣaṛt a ar a xdem*
3FS-send:P=3S:IO wife:EL REL FUT AD [3MS]work:A
'She sent a woman who will work.'

In (5) an Arabic-morphology adjective is shown. In (6) and (7) both variants of the relative forms on Berber-morphology verbs are illustrated using the same adjective.

[147] This is the only example in the corpus that has the first singular direct object **yṯ** instead of **ṯ** in this position (cf. III.11.2.1.).

(5) *argaz a y-ṭwil-in*
man:EL REL RF-tall-RF
'The tall man.'

(6) *iḇeṛṛiyen a y-muqqṛ-in ga-sen taḏunt bezzaf*
sheep REL RF-big-RF in-3PL fat a.lot
'Big sheep contain a lot of fat.'

(7) *wa y-muqqṛ-en*
PRH:MS RF-big-RF
'The big one.'

Active and passive participles can have a relative form when the head noun is the subject. The form of the circumfix is **y-…-in**. The other option is to use the form **lla** of the verb **ll** 'to be' and the normal form of the participle, i.e. to use the construction used in relativisation of non-verbal clauses. Examples (8) and (9) show the use of the relative form of an active and a passive participle. Examples (10) and (11) show the other type of relative clause.

(8) *tamɣaṛt a y-nawy-in a ddu, ma he-dda ši*
woman:EL REL RF-plan:AP-RF AD [3FS]go:A NEG 3FS-go:P NEG
'The woman who was planning to go did not go.'

(9) *mnaḏem a y-mestans-in i tafuḵt ma ya*
person REL RF-be.used:PP-RF with sun NEG AD
hleḵ ši deɣɣa
[3MS]be.sick:A NEG quickly
'A person who is used to the sun will not get sick quickly.'

(10) *g ṭṭšeṛ=aḏ ga-s ya uɛeyyal a lla msemmi ilyas*
in village=S:PRX in-3S one:M boy:EA REL be call:PP Elias
'In this village there is one boy who's name is Elias.'

(11) *tamɣaṛt a lla naɛs-a, baqi ma he-kker ši*
woman:EL REL be sleep:AP-FS still NEG 3FS-get.up:P NEG
'The woman who is asleep, has still not got up.'

Arabic-morphology verbs do not have a special relative form. The verb agrees with the relativised subject (the head (pro)noun) as it would in non-relativised clauses. The relative clause has the obligatory relativiser **a** and an optional borrowed relativiser **d**. The Arabic

relativiser **d** is borrowed together with the non-integrated loan verb.[148] In texts the relativiser is always present, but according to my informants the utilisation of **d** is optional. The element **d** has a wider distribution than subject relatives only, and also occurs with direct object relatives and with subordinating conjunctions. In the following examples the presence (12) and absence (13) of the Arabic relativiser is shown.

(12) *argaz = ahen* *a* *d* *ḥṣel* *s* *leḥšiš* *i-mmuṯ*
man:EL = S:PRX REL AREL catch[:3MS:PF] with hashish 3MS-die:P
'The man who got caught with hemp died.'

(13) *argaz = ahen* *a* *ḥṣel* *s* *leḥšiš* *i-mmuṯ*
man:EL = S:PRX REL catch[:3MS:PF] with hashish 3MS-die:P
'The man who got caught with hemp died.'

The relativiser **d** also appears after demonstrative pronouns that function as a pronominal head of the relative clause, for example in the next text excerpt:

(14) *w-a* *d* *ḥreg* *lwext = ahen* *haw* *g* *mirikan*
MS-PRH AREL migrate.illegally time = S:PRX PR:3MS in America
'The one who migrated illegally in that time is in America now.

The verb agrees with the head in person, number and gender.

(15) *sswasa* *a* *d* *xwa-w* *ṭṭarix = ahen* *u-hen,*
Sousis REL AREL leave-3PL:PF period = S:ANP M-S:ANP
ḍebbṛ-en *x* *ḍḍmaɣ* *nn-sen*
manage:P-3PL on head of-3PL
'The Sousis that left in that period took care of themselves.'

Example (16) provides the same phrase from elicitation without the borrowed Arabic relativiser:

(16) *sswasa* *a* *xwa-w* *g* *lwext = ahen,* *ḍebbṛ-en*
Sousis REL leave-3PL:PF in period = S:PRX manage:P-3PL
x *ḍḍmaɣ* *nn-sen*
on head of-3PL
'The Sousis that left in that period took care of themselves.'

[148] In Jbala Arabic there exist different forms of the relativiser (see Heath, 2002: 494-495, Moscoso, 2003: 168-170, Vicente, 2000: 141 -143).

When the Imperfect is used, the relativiser **d** can be utilised as well, as is shown by the following two examples. It must be noted that **d** in this position was less easily accepted by the informants than before verbs in the Perfect.

(17) *irgazen* *a* *ka-y-sekṛ-u* *das,*
men REL IMPP-3PL:IMPF-get.drunk-3PL:IMPF there
bba-n = ten *da* *leḥbes*
take:P-3PL = 3PL:DO to prison
'The men who always drink over there have been taken to prison.'

(18) *irgazen* *a* *d* *ka-y-sekṛu* *das,*
men REL AREL IMPP-3PL:IMPF-get.drunk-3PL:IMPF there
bba-n = ten *da* *leḥbes*
take:P-3PL = 3PL:DO to prison
'The men who always drink over there have been taken to prison.'

In the text corpus there is one instance of a subject relative clause where a Berber verb is used that does not have the relative form (except for when **a** + Aorist is used). The normal form of the verb is used instead. This form is judged grammatical in elicitation. We therefore consider this a marginal but grammatical possibility.

(19) *ha* *t-an* *a* *d = te-dda = d* *mzizu-ṯ* *i-ṛebb = at*
PRES F-S:RL REL DC = 3FS-go:P = DC little:DIM-PL 3MS-raise:P = 3FS:DO
ṣṣulṭan, *i-mleḵ* *iḏ-es*
Sultan 3MS-marry:P with-3S
'There is the one who came as a small girl, the sultan raised her and married her.'

5.2. Direct object relatives

Direct object relatives with a Berber-morphology verb are characterised by gapping. The direct object position in the relative clause is left empty. The following two examples show relative constructions in which the direct object of a Berber-morphology verb is relativised:

(20) *šškaṛa* *a* *y-uḵer* *aɛeyyal = aḏ*
bag REL 3MS-steal:P boy:EL = S:PRX
'The bag that this boy stole.'

(21) *ayerni=ahen* *a* *i-tett* *alef*
arum.italicum=S:PRX REL 3MS-eat:I boar:EL
'The *arum italicum* that the boar eats.'

Direct object arguments of Arabic-morphology verbs can be relativised as well. There are two strategies in this case. The first one is the gapping strategy, in which the direct object position is left empty in the relative phrase. The second possibility is the use of a resumptive direct object pronoun. The head is linked to the relative clause by the relativiser **a** and optionally followed by the borrowed Arabic relativiser **d**. In the following examples (22) and (23) both direct object relatives with **d** and without **d** are shown:

(22) *iḇawen* *a* *d* *fleḥ-t* *azgazneṭ* *mezyan-in*
beans REL AREL cultivate-1S:PF last.year good-PL
'The beans I sowed last year are good.'

(23) *iḇawen* *a* *fleḥ-t* *azgazneṭ* *mezyan-in*
beans REL cultivate-1S:PF last.year good-PL
'The beans I sowed last year are good.'

The following examples show that the resumptive pronoun is optional.

(24) *iḇawen* *a* *d* *ka-ne-fleḥ* *kul* *ɛam* *mezyan-in*
beans REL AREL IMPP-1S:IMPF-cultivate every year good-PL
'The beans that I sow every year are good.'

(25) *iḇawen* *a* *d* *ka-n-felḥ=em* *kul* *ɛam* *mezyan-in*
beans REL AREL IMPP-1S:IMPF-cultivate=3PL:DO every year good-PL
'The beans that I sow (them) every year are good.'

(26) *lgaṛṛu* *a* *d* *tkeyyef-t* *nekki* *mezyan*
cigarette REL AREL smoke-1S:PF I good:MS
'The cigarette that I smoked was good.'

(27) *lgaṛṛu* *a* *d* *tkeyyeft=u* *nekki* *mezyan*
cigarette REL AREL smoke-1S:PF=3MS:DO I good:MS
'The cigarette that I smoked was good.'

In relative clauses of transitive active participles the gapping strategy is used and the conjugated form of the verb **ll** 'to be' appears. As expected, agreement on the participle is

with the subject, not with the head of the relative clause. Compare the following examples which have the same feminine head noun.

(28) *taḇayṣart a lla-x wakel hay baqq-a das*
peasoup:EL REL be:P-1S eat:AP[:MS] PR:3FS still-FS there
'The peasoup I have eaten is still there.'

(29) *taḇayṣart a lla-x wakl-a hay baqq-a das*
peasoup:EL REL be:P-1S eat:AP-FS PR:3FS still-FS there
'The peasoup I (F.) have eaten is still there'

(30) *taḇayṣart a ne-ll wakl-in hay baqq-a das*
peasoup:EL REL 1PL-be:P eat:AP-PL PR:3FS still-FS there
'The peasoup we have eaten is still there'

5.3. Indirect object relatives

As in the case of the subject and direct object relative, the relativiser **a** is used to link the head noun to the relative clause for indirect object relatives. There is an obligatory resumptive indirect object pronoun. Examples (31) and (32) show a Berber-morphology verb with pronouns in pre-verbal position which agree with the head noun. Examples (33) and (34) show an Arabic-morphology verb with pronouns in post-verbal position which agree with the head noun.

(31) *argaz a s=nna-x lkelma=yahen, i-dda fḥal-u*
man:EL REL 3S:IO=say:P-1S word=S:PRX 3MS-go:P way-3MS
'The man to whom I said something went away.'

(32) *irgazen a sen=nna-x lkelma=yahen, dda-n fḥal-em*
men REL 3PL:IO=say:P-1S word=S:PRX go:P-3PL way-3PL
'The men to whom I said something went away.'

(33) *argaz=ahen a d ṭleb-t=l-u imalḥen,*
man:EL=S:ANP REL AREL ask.for-1S:PF=IO-3MS fish
ma i-bb=ahen=d ši
NEG 3MS-take:P=3PL:DO=DC NEG
'The man from who I ordered fish did not bring them.'

(34) *irgazen=ihen a d ṭleb-t=l-em imalḥen,*
men=PL:ANP REL AREL ask.for-1S:PF=IO-3PL fish

ma *bba-n = den = d* *ši*
NEG take:P-3PL = 3PL:DO = DC NEG
'The men from who I ordered fish did not bring them.'

5.4. Benefactive / malefactive and genitive relatives

Indirect objects (benefactive/malefactive) which are not an argument of the verb, can be relativised. Ghomara Berber resorts to the same strategy as for the indirect object relatives with the difference that the relative form of the Berber-morphology verbs is used in the relative clause. This is the only construction in which the relative form is used when a non-subject argument is relativised. The relativiser **a** is followed by an obligatory indirect object pronoun which agrees with the head. In example (36) this type of relative construction is shown. Example (35) is given to illustrate the sentence from which it is derived. Example (37) shows plural agreement of the pronoun. The indirect object pronoun is obligatory on Arabic-morphology verbs as shown in example (38).

(35) *te-mmuṯ = as* *taɛeyyalt = ahen* *i* *tmeṭṭuṯ = ahen*
3FS-die:P = 3S:IO girl:EL = S:PRX to woman:EA = S:PRX
'That girl died to that woman's detriment.

(36) *tameṭṭuṯ = ahen* *a* *s = ye-mmuṯ-en* *taɛeyyalt = ahen*
women:EL = S:PRX REL 3S:IO = RF-die:P-RF girl = S:PRX
he-ttru *bezzaf*
3FS-cry:I much
'The woman whose girl has died cries a lot.'

(37) *timɣaṛan* *a* *sen = ye-mmuṯ-en* *tasa = yahen*
women:EL REL 3PL:IO = RF-die:P-RF cow = S:PRX
ttru-n *bezzaf*
cry:I-3PL much
'The women of whom the cow has died, cry a lot.'

(38) *ššaraḳa = ahen* *a* *d* *ɛiss-u = l-a* *medden = ihen*
company = S:PRX REL AREL guard-3PL:PF = IO-3FS people = PL:ANP
ma *he-qqim* *ši*
NEG 3FS-stay:P NEG
'The factory for which those people guarded, does not exist anymore.'

When the possessor of a genitive construction is the head of the relative construction, it is referred to in the relative clause by means of an indirect object pronoun. This type of

relative contruction resembles the benefactive/malefactive relative in that the relative form of the verb is utilised. There is an obligatory resumptive possessive pronoun filling the position in the relative clause from which the head noun has been extracted. An indirect object which agrees with the head can follow the relativiser, but is not obligatory present. The obligatory possessive pronoun already refers to the head noun. The relative constructions in (40) and (41) are derived from the sentence in example (39). The difference between (40) and (41) is the use of the indirect object pronoun. In (42) plural agreement with the head is shown.

(39) *i-ttiṯu* *ḵma-s* *n* *uɛeyyal=ahen* *da* *lxariž*
3MS-go:I brother-3S of boy:EA=S:ANP to abroad
'The boy's brother lives abroad.' (lit. 'goes abroad')

(40) *aɛeyyal=ahen* *a* *i-ttiṯu-n* *ḵma-s* *da* *lxariž*
boy=S:ANP REL RF-go:I-RF brother-3S to abroad
'That boy whose brother lives abroad.'

(41) *aɛeyyal=ahen* *a* *s=i-ttiṯu-n* *ḵma-s* *da* *lxariž*
boy=S:ANP REL 3S:IO=RF-go:I-RF brother-3S to abroad
'That boy whose brother lives abroad.'

(42) *irgazen=ihen* *a* *sen=i-ttiṯu-n* *ḵma* *nn-sen* *da* *lxariž*
men=PL:ANP REL 3PL:IO=RF-go:I-RF brother of-3PL to abroad
'The men whose brother lives abroad.'

5.5. Prepositional relatives

Complements of prepositions can be relativised as well. The preposition has a resumptive pronoun and remains in its original position. In example (43) and (45) we show the clause from which the relative is derived. In the relative clause (44) and (46) the relativiser **a** links the head to the relative clause, the preposition retains its position and has a resumptive pronoun (cf. III.13. for prepositions).

(43) *sers-aɣ* *lberraḏ* *x* *ṣṣiniya*
put:P-1S teapot on tray
'I put the teapot on the tray.'

(44) *ṣṣiniya* *a* *sers-ax* *fx-es* *lberraḏ*
tray REL put:P-1S on-3S teapot
'The tray on which I put the teapot.'

(45) *i-ttara* *s* *sstilu*
3MS-write:I with pen
'He writes with a pen.'

(46) *sstilu* *a* *ye-ttara* *id̲-es*
pen REL 3MS-write:I with-3S
'The pen he writes with.'

Prepositional complements that accompany Arabic-morphology verbs show the same behaviour. The preposition can only appear in post-verbal position. The following examples show the Imperfect (47) and the Perfect (48).

(47) *axyam* *a* *ka-ne-sken* *ga-s*
house:EL REL IMPP-1S:IMPF-live in-3S
'The house in which I live.'

(48) *axyam* *a* *d* *sken-t* *ga-s*
house:EL REL AREL live-1S:PF in-3S
'The house in which I lived.'

When the verb **ll** 'to be' is used in the relative clause the preposition can either immediately follow the verb or be in final position (see IV.9. for **ll** 'to be'). The pronominalised preposition can appear before or after the participle or verb as the next examples show (This behaviour of the prepositions is not restricted only to this kind of phrase).

(50) *sak̲en* *g* *uxyam=ahen*
live:AP:MS in house:EA=S:ANP
'I live in that house.'

(51) *axyam* *a* *lla-x* *ga-s* *sak̲en*
house:EL REL be:P-1S in-3S live:AS:MS
'The house that I live in.'

(52) *axyam* *a* *lla-x* *sak̲en* *ga-s*
house:EL REL be:P-1S live:AS:MS in-3S
'The house that I live in.'

(53) *axyam* *a* *lla-x* *ka-ne-sken* *ga-s*
house:EL REL be:P-1S IMPP-1S:IMPF-live in-3S
'The house that I live in.'

(54) *axyam* *a* *lla-x* *ga-s* *ka-ne-sken*
house:EL REL be:P-1S in-3S IMPP-1S:IMPF-live
'The house that I live in.'

5.6. Indefinite pronouns functioning as heads

The indefinite pronoun **ay** can function as the head of the relative clause (cf. III.11.9. for the pronoun). The pronoun is followed by the relativiser **a** and then by the verb. In example (55) the verb has a relative form showing that the pronoun takes the subject position in the relative clause. In (56) the verb has 'normal' inflection as the pronoun corresponds to the direct object position in the relative.

(55) *ay* *a* *s=i-mas-en,* *i-dda* *fḥal-u*
INDEF REL 3S:IO=RF-happen:P-RF 3MS-go:P way-3MS
'Whatever happened to him, he left.'

(56) *ay* *a* *ssn-ax,* *nn-ay=ak̲=t*
INDEF REL know:P-1S say:P-1S=2MS:IO=3FS:DO
'All that I know, I have told you.'

In the next examples an Arabic-morphology verb is shown preceded by the pronoun. Examples (57) and (58) show that it can occur with and without a direct object pronoun which functions as a resumptive pronoun. Example (59) shows that the Arabic relativiser **d** can be present in this context.

(57) *fk=ay* *ay* *a* *ṭleb-t*
give:IMP=1S:IO INDEF REL ask.for-1S:PF
'Give me what I demanded from you.'

(58) *ay* *a* *ṭleb̲-ti-ha* *mužud̲-a*
INDEF REL ask.for-2S:PF=3FS present-FS
'Whatever you demanded, it is here.'

(59) *ay* *a* *d* *ṭleb̲-ti-ha,* *mužud̲-a*
INDEF REL AREL ask.for-2S:PF=3FS present-FS
'Whatever you demanded, it is here.'

The indefinite pronoun can be used in the following idomatic expression.

(60) *i-sker* *ay* *nn-es*
3MS-do:P INDEF of-3S
'He got some property of his own.'

5.7. Demonstrative pronouns and the relativiser a

Demonstrative pronouns can be the head of a relative clause. Note that the singular pronouns end in **a** (**wa**, **ta**). As there is assimilation in this type of context, it is impossible to decide whether the relativiser **a** is present or not on the basis of these forms. However, the absence of **a** after the plural pronoun **wi** suggests that the relativiser is not used in this construction. Example (64) shows an example that causes attraction after the plural pronoun.

(61) *w-a* *y-muqqṛ-in*
M-PRH:S RF-big-RF
'The big one'

(62) *w-a* *ye-dda-n* *baqi* *ma* *i-qqel=d* *ši*
M-PRH:S RF-go.P-RF still NEG 3MS-return:P=DC NEG
'The one who left has still not returned.'

(63) *w-i* *y-muqqṛ-in*
M-PRH:PL RF-big-RF
'The big one'

(64) *wi* *d=i-ttiṯu-n=d* *a* *su*
M-PRH:PL DC=RF-go:I-RF=DC AD [3MS-]drink
'The ones who comes to drink.'

Demonstrative pronouns that function as pronominal heads can also function as a relativiser. Even though no examples appear in the text corpus, they were accepted in elicitation. It is not clear how and if this differs from relative clauses with the relativiser **a**. The examples are:

(65) *ṭṭuɛm* *w-a* *s=fk-ax,* *haw* *baqi* *ɣr-es*
bait M-PRH:S 3S:IO=give:P-1S PR:3MS still at-3S
'The bait I gave him , he still has it.'

(66) *lluḇya* *t-a* *ye-bb,* *i-šš=at* *aṭḡam*
kidney.beans F-PRH:S 3MS-take:P 3MS-eat:P=3FS:DO yesterday:EL
'The kidney beans he took, he ate them yesterday.'

(67) *lebwaṭel* *wi* *i-ffɣ-en,* *baqi* *ma* *qql-en=d* *ši*
boats PRH:PL RF-go.out:P-RF still NEG return:P-3PL=DC NEG
'The boats that went out have still not returned.'

5.8. The element 'a' as head

The element **a** on its own can be the head of a relative clause. Some examples are:

(68) *ɣr-i* *a* *sskar-ax*
at-1S REL do:I-1S
'I have something to do.'

(69) *ɣr-i* *a* *ss-ax*
at-1S REL drink:I-1S
'I have something to drink.'

The relativiser **a** can be used after the extistential **kayen** 'there is/are'. In a few cases in the text corpus the use of the relativiser instead of the pronominal head may indicate a difference between an unspecific reading when the relativiser **a** is used and a specific reading when a pronominal head is used. In example (69) there is no referent mentioned before in the previous discourse, contrary to example (70) where the speaker addresses the listener in the second person before using **kayen** followed by a pronominal head.

(70) *kayen* *a* *y-ttawi-n* *aqellawes* *n* *lḥebb,* *kayen* *a* *y-ttawi-n*
EXST REL RF-take:I-RF jug:EL of wheat EXST REL RF-take:I-RF
ila?axirihi *aɣʷleyyel,* *kayen* *a* *y-ttawi-n* *taḵint,* *kayen*
etc clay.pot:DIM:EL EXST REL RF-take:I-RF clay.bowel:EL EXST
a *y-ttawi-n* *šškaṛa*
REL RF-take:I-RF sack
'There are those who take a jug of wheat, there are those who take a small clay pot, there are those who take a clay bowl, there are those who take a sack.'

(71) *waxxa* *ma* *ya* *siwl-et* *iḏ-es,* *kayen* *w-a*
even.though NEG AD [2S]speak:A-2S with-3S EXST M-PRH:S
y-tsawal-en *iḏ-es*
RF-speak:I-RF with-3S

‘Even if you will not speak it, there is someone who speaks it.’

5.9. The non-real allomorph ar

In the relative clause the pre-verbal elements **maš** / **š** / **ɣa** / **d** are not allowed. Instead, the element **ar** is obligatory (cf. IV.8.1.1.3.3. for its use in non-relative context). The non-real element **a** follows **ar** before a Berber-morphology verb. Before an Arabic-morphology verb the **a** does not appear (cf. IV.8.2.4. for other preverbal particles). Example (72) shows a Berber-morphology verb, whereas (73) shows an Arabic-morphology verb.

(72) *i-šš=as* *leɣḏa=yahen* *a* *ar* *a* *bb* *iḏ* *išurkan*
3MS-eat:P=3S:IO lunch=S:ANP REL FUT AD [3MS]take:A with farmers
‘He ate the lunch which he would take to the farmers.’

For the non-real aspect of Arabic-morphology verbs **ar** is combined with the bare Imperfect form (without the preverbal marker **ka**-). It is not possible to have the relative particle **d** in this context.

(73) *lbeḥriyya* *a* *ar* *i-ṣṣaḏ-u* *alaẓen,* *š* *a*
fishermen REL FUT 3PL:IMPF-fish-3PL:IMPF tomorrow FUT AD
d=bb-en *bezzaf*
DC=take:A-3PL much
‘The fishermen who will fish tomorrow, will bring back a lot.’

5.10. Negation of relative constructions

When a relative construction is negated, the form **lla** of the verb **ll** ‘to be’ is used after the relativiser **a** (see IV.9. on **ll**). The negator **ma** precedes the (verbal) predicate or the participle. The verb does not take the relative form and there is no attraction, with the exception of genitive relatives. In example (74) negation of a subject relative is shown. Negation by means of only the negative particles is not possible, as shown in (75).

(74) *i-dda* *lmuɛellim=ahen* *a* *lla* *ma* *i-wṯ=aḵ* *ši*
3MS-go:P teacher=S:PRX REL be:P NEG 3MS-hit:P=2MS:DO NEG
‘The teacher that did not hit you left.’

(75) **idda=d* *lmuɛellim=ahen* *a* *ma* *ḵ=i-wṯ-en* *ši*
3MS-go:P=DC teacher=S:PRX REL NEG 2MS:DO=RF-hit:P-RF NEG
‘The teacher that did not hit you came.’

(76) *dda-n* *lmuɛellimin=ihen* *a* *lla* *ma* *wṯ-an=aḵ* *ši*
go:P-3PL teacher=S:PRX REL be:P NEG hit:P-3PL=2MS:DO NEG
'The teachers that did not hit you left.'

(77) *te-dda* *lmuɛellima=ahen* *a* *lla* *ma* *te-wṯ=aḵ* *ši*
3FS-go:P teacher=S:PRX REL be:P NEG 3FS-hit:P=2MS:DO NEG
'The teacher (F.) that did not hit you left.'

Adjectives do not take a relative form in negative relative clauses, for example:

(78) *leğmula* *a* *lla* *ma* *ɛiwaṛ* *ši* *fferḏ-en*
camels Rel be:P NEG blind:PL NEG eat:I-3PL
'The camels that are not blind eat.'

(79) *bba-n=d* *ɣa* *iḇeṛṛeyyen* *a* *lla* *ma* *muqqṛ-eṯ* *ši*
take:P-3PL=DC only sheep REL be:P NEG big-PL NEG
'They brought only sheep that were not big.'

Arabic-morphology verbs do not have the borrowed relative element **d** in a negation context, for example (80) and (81):

(80) *ẓṛ-aɣ* *argaz=ahen* *a* *lla* *ma* *ḥṣel* *ši* *leḥšiš*
see:P-1S man:EL=S:ANP REL be NEG fall[:3MS:PF] NEG hashish
'I saw the man who was not caught with hemp.'

(81) *w-a* *lla* *ma* *ḥṛeg* *ši* *g* *lwext=ahen,*
MS-PRH be NEG emigrate.illegally[:3MS:PF] NEG in time=S:ANP
i-qqim *dha*
3MS-stay:P here
'The one(s) who did not illegally emigrate in that time stayed here.'

In the negation of non-subject relatives any relative positon (direct object, indirect object, benefactive/malefactive, genitive, and prepositional complement) is filled by an obligatory resumptive pronoun. Arabic-morphology verbs have an optional resumptive pronoun. The constructions are to some degree similar to what is found in topicalisation, but in the direct object different from the affimative relative strategy, e.g:

direct object

(82) *te-qqim* *yah* *šškaṛa* *a* *lla* *ma* *y-uḵr=at* *ši* *amaḵar=ahen*
3FS-stay:P one:F bag REL be:R NEG 3MS-steal:P=3FS NEG thief:EL=S:ANP
'Just one bag was left that was not stolen by that thief.'

As in affirmative relative clauses, Arabic-morphology verbs have an optional resumptive pronoun in direct object position. Compare the following examples:

(83) *iḫawen=ihen* *a* *lla* *ma* *fleḥ-t=em* *ši* *aẓgaẓnet,*
beans=PL:ANP REL be NEG cultivate-1S:PF=3PL:DO NEG last.year
ham *baq-in* *dha*
PR:3PL still-PL here
'The beans that I did not sow last year are still here.'

(84) *iḫawen* *a* *lla* *ma* *ka-ne-fleḥ* *ši* *kul*
beans=PL:ANP REL be NEG IMPP-1S:IMPF-cultivate=3PL:DO NEG every
ɛam *tɣim-en* *dha*
year stay:I-3PL here
'The beans I do not sow every year stay here.'

Indirect Object

(85) *argaz=ahen* *a* *lla* *ma* *nn-aɣ=as* *ši* *lkelma=yahen*
man=S:ANP REL be NEG say:P-1S=3S:IO NEG word=S:ANP
i-dda *fḥal-u*
3MS-go:P way-3MS
'The guy to whom I did not say anything has gone.'

Benefactive/Malefactive

(86) *tameṭṭuṯ=ahen* *a* *lla* *ma* *he-mmuṯ=as* *ši* *taɛeyyalt=ahen,*
woman:EL=S:ANP REL be NEG 3FS-die:P=3S:IO NEG girl:EL=S:ANP
hay *das*
PR:3FS there
'The woman whose daughter did not die is still there.'

For the genitive there are two possibilities. The pronoun **as** is optional in (87). Contrary to expectation there is (optional) attraction of the pronoun to preverbal position when the

lexical subject **ḵma-s** is in postverbal position. This is the only negative relative construction where attraction occurs.

(87) *ẓṛ-aɣ aɛeyyal=ahen a lla ḵma-s ma i-ttuṯu=(as)*
see:P-1S boy:EL=S:ANP REL be brother-3S NEG 3MS-go:I=(3S:IO)
ši da lxariž
NEG to abroad
'I saw the boy whose brother does not go abroad.'

(88) *ẓṛ-ax aɛeyyal=ahen a lla ma (s)=i-ttuṯu ḵma-s*
see:P-1S boy:EL=S:ANP REL be NEG (3S:IO)=3MS-go:I brother-3S
ši da lxariž
NEG to abroad
'I saw the boy whose brother does not go abroad.'

Example (89) shows the negation of a relative which has an indefinite pronoun as its head.

(89) *fk=ay ay a lla ma ṭleb-t=eḵ ši*
give:IMP=1S:IO INDEF REL be NEG ask.for-1S:PF=2S:DO NEG
'Give me what I did not demand from you.'

The following examples show the negation of participles in the relative clause. There can not be a relative form in a negative context. In (90) an active participle is shown while in (91) a passive participle is shown.

(90) *berreḥ=d x leḥšam a lla ma naɛs-in ši*
call:IMP=DC on children REL be:P NEG sleep:AP-PL NEG
'Call the children who are not asleep.'

(91) *mnaḏem a lla ma mestanes ši i tafuḵt š a*
person REL be NEG used.to:PP:MS NEG with sun FUT AD
hleḵ deɣya
[3MS]be.sick:A quickly
'A person who is not used to the sun will get sick quickly.'

5.11. Adjoined relative clauses

An adjoined relative clause is a combination of a matrix clause and a paratactic relative without any relative marking. Each of the clauses '*could stand by themselves as independent sentences with approximately the same meaning*' (Noonan, 2007: 65). The two clauses are linked to each other by an uninterrupted intonation contour. In texts this type of relative prevails with indefinite head nouns, whereas other relative clauses predominantly have definite head nouns. Indefinite head nouns are however not excluded in other relative clauses. The elicited examples (92) and (93) are both accepted. Example (93) is a 'normal' relative which makes use of the relative particle **a**. The examples of adjoined constructions below show the use of a verbal predicate (94), a non-verbal predicate (95) and a participle (96).

(92) *š a k̲ = ml-aɣ ya urgaz i-ttiṯu = d daʔimen da lqehwa*
FUT AD 2S:IO = show:A-1S one:M man:EA 3MS-go:I = DC always to café
'I will show you a man who always comes to the café'

(93) *š a k̲ = ml-aɣ ya urgaz a d = i-ttiṯu-n daʔimen da lqehwa*
FUT AD 2S:IO = show:A-1S one:M man:EA REL DC = RF-go:I-RF always to café
'I will show you a man who always comes to the café'

(94) *u baqi d a k̲ = laqi-x i ya n xeyyna i-ttiṯu = d a qqim das*
and still FUT AD 2MS:IO = make.meet:A-1S to one:M of guy 3MS-go:I = DC AD [3MS]sit:A there
'I am still going to introduce you to a man who comes and sits there.'

(95) *aḡ i-ll ya urgaz ma ɣr-es ši n leḥšam*
PST 3MS-be:P one:M man:EA NEG have-3S NEG of children
'There used to be a man who had no children'

(96) *ɣer-sen ya n lefqi mšaṛeṭ ɣer-sen g tmezgiḍa*
have-3PL one:M of imam employed:PP:MS at-3PL in mosque:EA
'They have an iman who is employed in the mosque.'

6. Interrogatives

This chapter first treats yes-no questions and after this content questions. The part on content questions is divided in two parts; in the first part content interrogatives are discussed, in the second part the prepositional interrogatives are presented. Prepositional interrogatives consist of a preposition and the element **men**. Both simple and composite prepositions can form the basis of such an interrogative. An important difference is that many 'proper' interrogatives can be used as free relative elements whereas prepositional interrogatives cannot. At the end of the chapter the free interrogative pronouns for 'which', the element **aš ~ š**, the element **ma** and **kifaš ~ kif ~ ki** are discussed.

6.1. Yes-No Questions

There are two ways of marking yes-no questions. The first type only uses rising question intonation. Its segmental structure is identical to that of a declarative statement. The rising intonation is realised on the predicate, whether it is a verbal or a non-verbal predicate. Example (1) is an example with a non-verbal predicate:

(1) *ɣr-eḵ* *leflus?* [↗]
at-2S money
'Do you have money?'

In the following two examples the rising intonation is on the verbal predicate **idda** 'he went', irrespective of whether it is in first or in final position.

(2) *i-dda* *ḥasan?*
3MS-go:P Hasan
'Did Hasan go?'

(3) *ḥasan* *i-dda?*
Hasan 3MS-go:P
'Did Hasan go?'

The second type of yes-no question uses the particle **ka**, which precedes the entire clause. Its use is optional. The same particle is used in local Arabic.

(4) *iwa,* *ka* *he-zzenz-at=teṯ?*
and Q 2S-sell:P-2S=3FS:DO
'And, did you sell it?'

Another yes-no question particle, interchangeable with **ka** but less commonly used, is the particle **waš**.

(5) *waš* *i-fk = as = tet?*
Q 3MS-give:P = 3S:IO = 3FS:DO
'Did he give it to him?'

There is a minor difference between the question particles, for example when an 'either…either' question is used. Compare examples (6) and (7). In (6) **ka** is repeated in the second clause. In (7) **waš** cannot be repeated, but one has to take recourse to the conjunction **wella** 'or'. This is also possible with **ka**, as shown in example (8).

(6) *ka* *t-ha* *ka* *t-ha*?
Q F-PRX:S Q F-PRX:S
'This one or that one?'

(7) *waš* *t-ha* *wella* *t-ha?*
Q F-PRX:S or F-PRX:S
'This one or that one?'

(8) *ka* *t-ha* *wella* *t-ha*?
Q F-PRX:S or F-PRX:S
'This one or that one?'

6.2. Content questions

There are two uses of interrogatives; the first one is the type where it is followed by a relative clause, the second one is the independent use. In the first type of construction the interrogative is essentially a kind of cleft construction (cf. IV.7.2. for focus constructions). The interrogative is the head and is followed by the relativiser **a** and a relative clause. The verb assumes the relative form when the interrogative is the subject. There is always a verb in this construction; if a non-verbal predicate is used in this type of interrogative, the verb **ll** is used, exactly as with other relative clauses (cf. IV.5. relative clauses, cf. IV.9.2. for **ll** in the relative clause). Verbal clitics are attracted to preverbal position. It is not always possible to ascertain the presence of the relativiser, as some interrogatives end in the vowel **a**. Arabic-morphology verbs can be borrowed with the relativiser **d** (cf. IV.5. on relative clauses). There is no attraction of Arabic verbal clitics, nor does the Arabic verb assume a relative form. An example is:

(9) *šk**a*** *d* *xtarɛ-u* *tisarkiwan*?
who AREL invent-3PL:PF shoes:EL
'Who invented shoes?'

Almost all interrogatives are borrowed from Arabic, often with different forms in free variation. The interrogative can be preceded by a topicalised element. The topic is referred to by a resumptive pronoun in the question, for example:

(10) *imalḥen,* *šḥal* *a* *n = i-seɣ?*
fish how.much REL 3PL:DO = 3MS-buy:P
'Fish, how much does he buy them?'

When the interrogative is used independently, it occurs either on its own or, depending on the interrogative, it is followed by a verb phrase, a noun phrase or another type of non-relative construction. Some interrogatives can take the following suffix pronouns: **ahu** (masculine singular), **ahi** (feminine singular) and **ahem** ~ **ahum** (plural). Some interrogatives can be used as adverbs (cf. III.14.). In the following table the forms of each interrogative is shown.

Independent	**Before rel. clause**	**Pronoun**	**Meaning**
šenni ~ šennu ~ šnu	*šu ~ ma*	*šn-* + pr.	'what'
šku(n) (+ pronoun*) ~*	*škun ~ šk*	*škun-* + pr.	'who'
šḥal	*šḥal*	-	'how much/many'
leyyaš ~ leyya	*leyyaš ~ leyya*	-	'why'
ammek̲	*amk̲*	-	'how'
faywex ~ fax	*faywex ~ fax*	-	'when'
ana	*ana*	-	'where'
smana	*smana*	-	'where from'
layn	*layn*	-	'whither'
kifaš ~ kif ~ ki	*kifaš*	-	'how'

6.2.1. šw a - ma / šenni ~ šennu ~ šnu / šn- + pronoun 'what'

There are a number of interrogative pronouns that signify 'what'. In the relative clause type the forms are **šu** and **ma**.[149] The independent form is **šenni** ~ **šennu** ~ **šnu.** Finally there is

[149] The interrogative never occurs without the relativiser **a**, so the form **šu** never occurs on its own it is always **šw a**.

a form **šn-** which is used when followed by a suffix pronoun. Some examples of verbal interrogative phrases are:

(11) *šw a ra a bb-et εaweḏ?*
what REL FUT AD [2S-]take:A-2S again
'What are you going to take now?'

(12) *šw a ḡḡa-n leḥšam = ihen?*
what REL do:P-3PL children = PL:ANP
'What did those children do?'

The difference in behaviour between Berber and Arabic-morphology verbs can be illustrated by the utterance 'what happened to him?'. Most commonly, **šu** is used, in combination with the Arabic-morphology verb **wqeε**. The relative clause is connected to the question word by means of the Berber relativiser **a** and the borrowed Arabic relativiser **d**:

(13) *šw a d wqeε = l-u?*
what REL AREL happen:3MS:PF = IO-3MS
'What happened to him?'

An alternative way to say 'what happened to him?', attributed to old people's speech, involves a Berber verb. The verb takes the subject relative form:

(14) *šw a s = i-mas-en*?
what REL 3MS:IO = RF-happen:P-RF
'What happened to him?'

Example (15) shows an interrogative of a non-verbal construction in

(15) *šw a lla ɣer-sen?*
what REL be at-3PL
'What do they have?'

An alternative interrogative pronoun, **ma** 'what', is restricted to a few idioms. In the following attestations from my corpus, **ma** once takes the subject role (16) and once has the direct object role (17). It is impossible to decide whether the relativiser **a** is present in these constructions, as it would be assimilated to preceding **ma.** However, as it has all properties of a relative clause it is assumed to be present.

(16) *ma* *a* *k̲=y-uɣu-n* *he-txemmam-et* *dha?*
what REL 2MS:DO=RF-catch:P-RF 2S-think:I-2S here
'Why are you pondering here?' (lit. 'what is the matter with you (that) you are pondering here?')

(17) *iwa,* *ma* *a* *ra* *a* *ne-sker,* *a* *ɛibadeḷḷah?*
well what REL FUT AD 1PL-do:A o people
'So, what shall we do, o people?'

There are a couple of instances in the text corpus of the independent forms **šenni**, **šennu** and **šnu**. These are all well-known from local and koinè Arabic. These pronouns are used in any instance outside of the relative clause constructions, such as independent use (18) and in a non-verbal sentence as in (19) and (20). As these are not relative clauses, the verb **ll** is not used.

(18) *šenni?*
what
'What?'

(19) *šenni* *lkaṛ?*
what bus
'What is a bus?'

(20) *šnu* *baqi* *l-ek̲?*
what left to-2MS
'What is left (for you)?

The following example shows the interrogative followed by a suffix pronoun.

(21) *šn=ahum* *iḡiḡen=id̲?*
what=PL trees=PL:PRX
'What are these trees?'

6.2.2. šku(n) (+ pronoun) / šk 'who'

This interrogative has two forms, **šk** and **šku(n)**. When followed by a relative clause, the interrogative pronoun is **šk** or **škun**, for example:

(22) *šk* *a* *i-tqerqab̲-en* *das?*
who REL RF-knock:I-RF there

‘Who is knocking there?’

(23) *škun a y-tqerqaḇ-en dha g laṭṭa=yaḏ?*
who REL RF-knock:I-RF here in bottle=S:PRX
‘Who is knocking here in this bottle?’

Interrogatives based on non-verbal predicates (including participles), use the verb **ll** ‘to be’, for example:

(24) *šk a lla gales gum nn-eḵ?*
who REL be sit:AP:MS in.front of-2S
‘Who is sitting in front of you?’

When used independently, only **šku**(**n**) is found (25). It can be followed by the personal suffixes **ahu** (26), **ahi** (27) and **ahem** ~ **ahum** (28). Example (29) shows the use of **šku**(**n**) in a verbal sentence which is not a relative clause.

(25) *te-nn=as: škun?*
3FS-say:P=3S:IO who
‘She said: Who (is there)?’

(26) *ɛemmi nn-em ašnikef u-haḏineṯ, te-nn=as: škun=ahu?*
uncle of-2FS hedgehog:EL M-PRX:S 3FS-say:P=3S:IO who=3MS
‘This is your uncle the hedgehog. She said: Who is that?’

(27) *škun=ahi t-ha?*
who=3FS F-PRX:S
‘Who is this (F.)?’

(28) *škun=ahum u-hi?*
who=PL M-PRX:PL
‘Who are they (these ones)?’

(29) *šku š a ddu a daḡum?*
who FUT AD [3MS-]go:A AD [3MS-]fetch.water:A
‘Who is going to fetch water?’

6.2.3. šḥal ‘how much/many’

The interrogative **šḥal** occurs both in relative clause constructions and independently. Furthermore it has several adverbial functions (cf. III.14. on adverbs).

(30) *šḥal* *a* *k̲=i-xeṣṣ-en?*
how.much REL 2MS:IO=RF-need:P-RF
‘How much do you need?’

(31) *šḥal* *a* *h-ttqima* *mmeṛḥ-a?*
how.much REL 3FS-stay:I dry:PP-FS
‘How long does it stay drying?’

In independent usage, **šḥal** is not followed by the relativiser **a**. The next example shows a non-verbal predicate immediately preceded by **šḥal**, for example:

(32) *šḥal* *ɣr-ek̲* *n* *lḥilat̲?*
how.many at-2MS of tricks
‘How many tricks do you have?’

šḥal occurs independently in final position as well, e.g.

(33) *amella* *leqnišṭa* *te-ssn-et* *šḥal?*
now:EL basket 2S-know:P-2S how.much
‘As for the basket, do you know how much (it costs)?’

6.2.4. leyyaš ~ leyya ‘why’

The interrogative ‘why’ has two forms, **leyyaš** and **leyya**, which are in free variation. The interrogative can be followed by a relative clause introduced by **a** (34), but this is not obligatory, and its absence entails the absence of other characteristics of the relative clause, such as the preverbal position of the verbal clitics (35). In (36) the alternative with attraction is shown.

(34) *leyyaš* *a* *h-ttru-t* *a* *taɛeyyalt?*
why REL 2S-cry:I-2S o girl:EL
‘Why are you crying girl?’

(35) *leyya* *h-zzenz-at=tet̲?*
why 2S-sell:P-2S=3FS:DO
‘Why did you sell it?’

(36) *leyya* *a* *t=tezzenz-at?*
why REL 3FS:DO=2S-sell:P-2:S
'Why did you sell it?'

In example (37) the interrogative is used independently.

(37) *te-nn=as:* *u* *leyya?*
3FS-say:P=3S:IO and why
'She said: And why?'

6.2.5. ammeḵ / amḵ 'how'

In the relative clause construction, the form of the interrogative is **amḵ**. The independent form is **ammeḵ** as shown in example (40).

(38) *amḵ* *a* *he-ll-at?*
how REL 2S-be:P-2S
'How are you?'

(39) *amḵ* *a* *h-kečm-et?*
how REL 2S-enter:I-2S
'How do you enter?'

(40) *ammeḵ*?
how
how?

6.2.6. faywex ~ fax 'when'

The two forms are in free variation. Example (41) shows the relative clause construction. It is preceded by a topic noun.

(41) *aserreɣyul,* *fax* *a* *y-tnewwaṛ?*
plant:EL when REL 3MS-bloom:I
'the *aserreɣyul* plant, when does it bloom?'

The following examples show the independent usage of the interrogative.

(42) *fax* *š* *a* *ṭṭs-et* *a* *ḥenna* *ɣula?*
when FUT AD [2S-]sleep:A-2S o lady ogress

‘When are you going to sleep, lady ogress?’

(43) *faywex leɛša*?
when dinner
‘When is dinner?’

The next example illustrates the alternative form **faywex**.

(44) *faywex š a d=t-uqql-et?*
when FUT AD DC=2S-return:A-2S
‘When will you return?’

6.2.7. ana ‘where’

The independent form of the interrogative **ana** ends in **a**, which makes it impossible to decide whether it is followed by the relative marker **a** or not. As it has all the characteristics of an interrogative with a relative clause (type one) it is assumed the **a** is there. An example of the interrogative is:

(45) *ana a i-xeddem*?
where REL 3MS-work:I
‘Where does he work?’

(46) *ana a y=t-seyyeḇ lmareyya*
where REL 1S:IO=3FS-throw:P tide
‘Where the tide has thrown me.’

The interrogative **ana** can be used as an adverb when pointing out something or someone. It must be preceded by **ha**. For example:

(47) *i leḥšam naɛs-in ha yana*
and children asleep:AP-PL PRES where
‘And the children are sleeping over there.’

6.2.8. smana 'whence'[150]

As with **ana**, it is assumed that the **a** follows the interrogative as the construction shows all necessary conditions.

(48) *smana (a) d=te-bb-at?*
whence (REL) DC=2S-take:P-2S
'From where did you take it?'

6.2.9. layn 'whither'

The relative marker **a** is optional after the interrogative **layn.** There is no attraction when **a** is absent. Compare the following two examples:

(49) *layen a n=ye-bb?*
whither REL 3PL:DO=3MS-take:P
'Where did he take them?'

(50) *layen ye-dda?*
whither 3MS-go:P
'Where has he gone?'

When the non-real (**š**) **a** + Aorist is used, only the construction without a relative clause can be used. For example:

(51) *layn š a ne-ddu?*
whither FUT AD 1PL-go:A
'Where are we going to?'

This interrogative also occurs as an adverb. In the first place it can follow the presentative particle **ha** preceding the pronoun in (52). In the second place it can follow the preposition **ḥetta** in (53).

(52) *ɛaweḏ ttiṯu-n am ssiha ha layn*
again go:I-3PL like from.here PRES whither
'Then they go like from here to there.'

[150] This interrogative can be analysed as instrumental preposition **s** + **mana**. The final element looks like **ana** 'where' and has similar forms in other Berber variants. As the form **mana** does not exist independently in Ghomara, there is no reason to separate them on the synchronic level.

(53) *i-qelleɛ* *am* *ssiha* *ḥetta* *layn*
3MS-leave:P like from.here until whither
'He went like from here to there.'

6.2.10. The use of kifaš ~ kif ~ ki 'how come'

The borrowed Arabic interrogative **kifaš ~ kif ~ ki** has the meaning 'how, how come'. Example (54) and (55) from a text shows the use of **kifaš**.

(54) *i-nn=as:* *'kifaš* *t-haḏin?'*
3MS-say:P=3MS:IO how F-PRX:S
'What is the matter with this one?'

(55) *kifaš* *a* *ye-dda* *dar* *uxyam?*
how REL 3MS-go:P to house:EA
'How did he go home?'

The form **kif** can be doubled for emphasis, for example:

(56) *taslaṯ* *nn-un* *xeṣṣ* *a* *sellem* *x* *yemma.* *kif* *kif?*
bride:EL of-2PL have.to AD [3FS-]greet:A on mother what what
'Your bride has to greet my mother. What?!'

Finally the interrogative can be combined with the prepositional interrogative **semmen** 'with what' to signify 'by means of what'.

(57) *ki* *semmen* *a* *ye-qqel* *muɛellim?*
what with.what REL 3MS-become:P teacher
'How did he become a teacher?'

6.3. Free relative clauses using interrogatives

Most interrogatives can be used in free relative clauses, except for *šenni ~ šennu ~ šnu* and *faywex* for which the following alternatives are used. In (58) the indefinitie pronouns is used. In (59) the **g lwext** 'in the time' is used.

(58) *i-sskar* *ay* *a* *qqṛ-en* *medden*
3MS-do:I INDEF REL say:I-3PL people
'He does what people tell him.'

(59) *lekm-aɣ g lwext a ye-lkem netta*
arrive:P-1S in time REL 3MS-arrive:P he
'I arrived when he arrived.'

Some examples of the use of the other pronouns are:

(60) *a ču nnžum ana a lekm-en*
VOC look:IMP stars where REL arrive:P-3PL
'Look at where the stars have gone.'

(61) *ma ɣr-es layn i-ttiṯu*
NEG at-3S whither 3MS-go:I
'He does not have anywhere to go.'

(62) *kul waḥeḏ smana d=i-ttiṯu*
every one whence DC=3MS-go:I
'Each one from whence he comes.'

(63) *i-sskar=as kifaš a s=i-sskar ḵma-s*
3MS-do:I=3S:IO how REL 3S:IO=3MS-do:I brother-3S
'He does to him how his brother does (to him).'

6.4. Prepositional interrogatives

Prepositional interrogatives consist of the preposition followed by the borrowed Arabic element **men** or **mmen** 'what/who'. Both simple and composite prepositions can be combined with **men** or **mmen**. After prepositions that consist of a single consonant as well as **zeg** 'from', **mmen** is used; in all other cases **men** is used. When a pronominal suffix is added to the prepositional interrogative, only **men** is used. All prepositional interrogatives are optionally followed by the relative marker **a**. If the form **mmen** is followed by **a**, the final part **n** can be clipped, e.g. **gemmen a** > **gemm a** 'in what'. The interrogatives **nemmen** and **ɣemmen** are the only ones that are obligatorily followed by a non-verbal predicate. They can take Arabic suffix pronouns: **ahu** for masculine singular, **ahi** for feminine singular and **ahem** ~ **ahum** for plural (cf. III.11.5.2.). As composite interrogatives all include the element **nemmen**, they all can take suffix pronouns. Only **fsi** ~ **sfi nemmen** 'behind whom/what' cannot take a suffix pronoun. The simple prepositions **bla** 'without', **am** 'like', **ḥetta** 'until', and the composite preposition **aḡʷemmaṭ n** cannot be followed by **men** and can therefore not be used as an interrogative. Prepositional interrogatives cannot be used as free relative elements. All prepositional interrogatives are presented in the tables below. A number of examples showing the different uses conclude this paragraph.

Simple Prepositions + men

Prep. + *men*	**Interrogative**	**Meaning**
i + men	*imen*	‘to whom, with whom’
n + men	*nemmen*	‘whose, of what’
g + men	*gemmen*	‘in what, in which, in whom’
s + men	*semmen*	‘with what’
x + men	*xemmen*	‘for what, for what reason, about whom’
dayer + men	*dayermen*	‘to whom’
dar + men	*darmen*	‘for what, for whom’
zeg + men	*zgemmen*	‘for which reason’
ɣar + men	*ɣemmen*	‘where (at whom)’
zdu + men	*zdumen*	‘under what/whom’
sennig + men	*sennigmen*	‘above what/whom’
qbel + men	*qbelmen*	‘before what/whom’

Composite Prepositions + men

Prep. + *men*	**Interrogative**	**Meaning**
gum + n	*gum nemmen*	‘in front of, beside of whom/what’
ammas + n	*g wammas nemmen*	‘in the middle of whom/what’
af + n	*g waf nemmen*	‘on top of whom/what’
nešt + n	*(ne)št nemmen*	‘as big as whom/what’
fsi + n ~ sfi + n	*fsi nemmen*	‘after whom/what’
ṭṭerf n	*ṭṭerf nemmen*	‘beside whom/what’

The following examples (64-67) show simple prepositions followed by suffix pronouns.

(64) *ne-mn = ahu*?
of.who = MS
‘Whose is it (M.)?

(65) *ne-mn = ahi*?
of.who = FS
‘Whose is it (F.)?

(66) *ɣe-mn = ahum*?
at-whom = PL
'At whose place are they?'

(67) *g waf ne-mn = ahum?*
in top:EA of-what = PL
'On top of what are they?'

The following text excerpts show the use of the simple and composite prepositional interrogatives. Example (68) has a topic noun preceding the interrogative.

(68) *sswasa ẓge-mmen a d xwa-w ssiha?*
Sousi's from.what REL AREL leave-3PL:PF from.here
'For which reason have the Sousi's moved from here?'

(69) *u se-mmen aḵ te-lla-t t-ẓumm-et keğin?*
and with-what PST 2S-be:P-2S 2S-fast:P-2S you:M
'And on the basis of what were you fasting?'

The preposition **i** functions as a dative and as a comitative which is reflected in the interrogatives as shown in example (70) and (71) (cf. III.13. for prepositions). In (72) and (73) non-verbal interrogatives are shown using **nemmen**. In example (73) the interrogative has a pronominal suffix.

(70) *i-men lmaḵla = yaḏ?*
for-whom food = S:PRX
'For whom is this food?'

(71) *i-men ar a ddu-t?*
with-whom FUT AD [2S-]go:A-2S?
'With whom are you going?'

(72) *ne-mmen keğin aɛeyyal?*
of-who you:M boy:EL
'Whose child are you?' (lit. 'of whom are you a child')

(73) *ne-mn = ahu* *lektaḇ = aḏ*
of-who = MS book = S:PRX
'Whose is this book?'

Example (74) shows the use of an interrogative on the basis of a composite preposition.

(74) *gum* *ne-mmen* *š* *a* *ddu-t?*
in.front of-who FUT AD [2S-]go:A-2S
'In front of whom will you go?'

Some other examples are:

(75) *nqes* *ši* *ḥaža* *zeg* *leflaḥa = yahen* *se-mmen* *a*
decrease:IMP some thing from crops = S:ANP with-what REL
h-teffɣ-et *fḥal-eḵ*
2S-go.out:I-2S way-2MS
'Decrease some of those crops so you can go out.'

(76) *kull* *waḥiḏ* *ge-mmen* *š* *a* *ḍebbeṛ*
every one in-what FUT AD [3MS-]arrange:A
'Everyone is going to arrange something.'

6.5. Free interrogative pronouns for 'which'

There exist a special interrogative pronoun meaning 'which one(s)'. This pronoun has three forms: a masculine singular, a feminine singular and a plural form. They consist of two parts: a masculine pronominal element **w** or a feminine element **t**. Number is expressed by **aytum** for the singular and **itum** for the plural. They can be followed by a verbal as well as a non-verbal predicate, as shown in examples (77) and (78).

MS	*w-aytum*	'which one'
FS	*t-aytum*	'which one'
PL	*w-itum*	'which ones'

(77) *w-aytum* *argaz*?
M-which.one:S man:EL
'Which one is the man?'

(78) *t-aytum* *a* *ye-dda-n*?
F-which.one:S REL RF-go:P-RF
'Which one (F.) has gone?'

(79) *saɛa* *te-dda* *dar* *yan* *haḏiḵ* *n* *iḡḏan.* *i-nn=as:* *'w-aytun?'*
then 3FS-go:P to one:M thing of jackals 3MS-say:P=3S:IO M-which.one:S
'Then she went to a thing of jackals. He said: Which one?
i-nn=as: *'ha* *haw!'*
3MS-say:P=3S:IO PRES PR:3MS
He said: 'There he is.'

6.6. aškayqululu 'whatchamacallit'

In the expression **aškayqululu** 'whatchamacallit' borrowed from Arabic but commonly used in Ghomara Berber when the speaker cannot retrieve the word, **aš** is used. The Arabic form is a short sentence ('what is it called'). In Ghomara Berber, the entire expression functions as a single noun, as shown in the following example, where it is followed by a postnominal deictic clitic.

(80) *hay* *he-tteftaf* *x* *haḏiḵ* *x* *aškayqululu=ahen,*
PR:3FS 3FS-search:I on thing on whatchamacallit=S:ANP
x *udideḡ*
on pounder:EA
'She is looking for the thing, that whatchamacallit, the pounder.'

6.7. šmen 'thingy'

The interrogative **šmen** 'what kind of' is composed of **š** + **men** (**š** is not a preposition). It cannot be used as an adverbial and it does not take a suffix pronoun. The use of **šmen** is illustrated in the next text excerpt:

(81) *ḷḷah ḷḷah,* *nya* *y=te-dda* *tamɣaṛt* *šmen* *ḥḇiḇa*
God God, when 1S:IO-3FS-go:P woman:EL what.kind love
ṯ=ye-qqim-an *i* *nekkineṯ*
1S:IO=RF-stay:P-RF for I
'By God, since my wife left, what love do I have left?'

6.8. The element ma '-ever'

All interrogatives, including prepositional interrogatives, except for **leyyaš** ~ **leyya** can be followed by the element **ma** which can be translated to English '-ever' as in 'whatever' etc. The interrogative is a free relative element and is only combined with verbal phrases.

(82) *xeddm=ahen* *amek̲* *ma* *k̲=i-nn* *leɛqel* *nn-ek̲*
work:IMP=3PL:DO how ever 2S:IO=3MS-say:P mind of-2MS
'Make them however you want.'

(83) *ana* *ma* *ufa-n* *tala* *i-qqr̲=as:* *'a* *weddi* *nekki* *k̲emṭ-ax.*'
where ever find:P-3PL source 3MS-say:I=3S:IO o boy I burn:P-1S
'Wherever they found a source he said: 'I am thirsty.'

(84) *b̲ab̲a* *nn-ek̲* *layn* *ma* *ye-dda,* *š* *a* *d=i-qqul* *argaz*
father of-2MS whither ever 3MS-go:P FUT AD DC=3MS-return:A man:EL
'Wherever your father goes, he will return as a real man.'

(85) *š* *a* *ne-ddu* *gemmen* *ma* *ye-lla-n*
FUT AD 1PL-go:A in.what ever RF-be:P-RF
'We will go in whatever there is.'

(86) *sers=at* *zdu* *men* *ma* *ye-lla-n*
put:IMP=3FS:DO under what ever RF-be:P-RF
'Put it under whatever there is.'

7. Information structure

In this chapter the syntax of pragmatically marked structures will be adressed, essentially the syntactic expression of topicalisation and focalisation. Other markers which correlate to topicalisation or focalisation, such as prosody, will be touched upon only in passing in the discussion on topicalisation and not be considered in the discussion on focalisation (cf. Mettouchi 2003 and Lafkioui, 2011). Topicalisation and focalisation are found in verbal as well as non-verbal sentences. The discussion will start with the topicalisation of verbal constructions after which non-verbal constructions will be treated. After this focalisation of verbal and non-verbal constructions is presented.

7.1. Topicalisation

A topic construction consists of two parts, the topic and the comment. In pragmatic terms, the topic refers to what the sentence is about, the comment is what the sentence says about it (cf. Andrews 2007: 149). Any argument, including oblique arguments, can be marked as the topic of a verbal sentence. A distinction is made between two types of topicalisations in verbal sentences. In the first type the topicalised element is referred to by a resumptive pronoun in the main sentence. In the second type, there is no resumptive pronoun. The topic can be either in initial position or in final position. In the latter case it will be referred to as a post-topic. The topic is can be distinguished from the rest of the sentence by an intonational contour. This is indicated by a comma, an optional intonational break is indicated by a comma between brackets.

7.1.1. Verbal constructions

7.1.1.1. Subject topicalisation

Topicalised subjects are put in sentence-initial position and can be marked by a rising intonation and a break before the predicate. This sets them apart as a topic from the rest of the sentence. The explicit subject topic is resumed by the verbal conjugational affix, which functions as a subject. This means that reference to the subject is obligatory, but as subject marking on the verb is obligatory anyhow this is as expected. In example (1) a noun is topicalised while in example (2) a pronoun is topicalised.

(1) *aɣižd = ahen(,)* *i-kker* *i-xebbeɛ*
billy.goat:EL = S:ANP 3MS-get.up:P 3MS-hide:P
'The billy goat, (he) got up and hid.'

(2) *nihma(,)* *ẓ̣ra-n=tet* *hamḵa*
they see:P-3PL=3FS:DO like.this
'They, they saw her like this.'

The same type of subject topicalisation is found with sentences with an Arabic-morphology verb, e.g.

(3) *taɛeyyalt=ahen(,)* *te-b̲da* *ka-t-ḍɛaf*
girl:EL=S:ANP 3FS-begin:P IMPP-3FS:IMPF-become.thin
'That girl, she began to loose weight.'

(4) *netta(,)* *ka-y-tlaqa* *yah* *tmeɣra* *maǧ-a.*
he IMPP-3MS:IMPF-meet one:F wedding:EA come:AP-FS
'He, he encountered a wedding coming his way.'

Topicalised (pro)nouns also occur with participles, for example:

(5) *netta(,)* *waqef* *argaz=ahen* *g* *teggurt*
he stand:AP:MS man:EL=S:ANP in door:EA
'He, that man is standing at the door.'

7.1.1.2. Direct object

When the direct object is topicalised it is always referred to by a resumptive direct object pronoun later in the sentence (cf. III.11.2.1. for direct object pronouns). Furthermore, the topic can be marked by an intonational contour, for example:

(6) *aɣyul(,)* *umṛ-en=t* *ššurkan*
donkey:EL send:P-3PL=3MS peasants
'The donkey, the peasants have sent it.'

(7) *taɣaṭt* *nn-em(,)* *i-bb=am=teṯ* *aḡḏi*
goat:EL of-2FS 3MS-take:P=2FS:IO=3FS:DO jackal
'Your goat, the jackal has taken it.'

7.1.1.3. Indirect object

A topicalised indirect object pronoun is referred to by a resumptive indirect object pronoun later in the sentence. As in the other cases of topicalisation, there is an intonational contour, for example.

(8) *leğmel = ahen(,)* *i-sell = as* *aɛeyyal = ahen* *n* *ṣṣulṭan*
camel = S:ANP 3MS-hear:P = 3S:IO boy:EL = SANP of sultan
'As for the camel, the child of the sultan heard him.'

7.1.1.4. Prepositional phrases

Complements of prepositional phrases can be placed in topicalised position as well. They are placed in initial position and subsequently referred to by a resumptive preposition with a pronominal suffix, as example (9) and (10) show. Furthermore, it is possible to extract the whole prepositional phrase, for example in (11).

(9) *lmaḥal* *n* *uxyam(,)* *ne-tɛemmaṛ* *ga-s* *leflaḥa*
room of house:EA 1S-fill:I in-3S crops
'A room in the house, we fill it with crops.' (lit. 'we fill in it crops')

(10) *ssuq* *nn-ax* *nuḵna(,)* *aḡ* *i-ll* *ka-y-tḇaɛ* *ga-s*
market of-1PL we PST 3MS-be:P IMPP-3MS:IMPF-be.sold in-3S
bufettiḥa = yahen
thing.with.hole = S:ANP
'As for our market, the thing with a hole in it was sold in it.'

(11) *g* *tesraft = ahen(,)* *ne-tɛemmaṛ* *ga-s* *leflaḥa*
in storage.cellar:EA = S:ANP 1PL-fill:I in-3S crops
'In the storage cellar, we put the crops in it.'

7.1.1.5. Topicalisation using i

Topicalised elements can be preceded by the nominal / prepositional coordinator **i** ~ **iḍ** 'and' (cf. IV.4.1.1.1.). Nouns get the EA after this preposition. The function of the topic thus introduced can be interpreted in different ways, but it always implies a continuation from the previous event. Examples (12) and (13) show two examples which have topicalised pronouns preceded by **i**. The second sentence begins with the preposition **i** before a topicalised noun. This type of topic, when the topic switches, can be interpreted as contrastive, e.g.

(12) *kunna(,)* *t-ɣelli-m* *ya* *taɣilt.* *i* *nettaha(,)* *t-ɣellay*
you:PL 2PL-climb:I-2PL one:F mountain and she 3FS-climb:I
aṛbɛa *n* *taɣilan*
four of mountains
'You, you climb one hill. As for her, she climbs four hills.'

(13) *ašnikef(,)* *š* *a* *qqim* *a* *slex,* *š* *a*
hedgehog:EL FUT AD [3MS-]stay:A AD [3MS-]skin:A FUT AD
qqim, *ilaxirihi* *a* *slex,* *i-qeddeḏ,* *i-weğeḏ,*
[3MS-]sit:A etc AD [3MS-]skin:A 3MS-salt:A 3MS-prepare:A
i *uḡḏi(,)* *i-dda* *a* *daḡum*
and jackal:EA 3MS-go:P AD [3MS-]fetch.water:A
'The hedgehog stayed to skin, he stayed to skin, to salt and prepare, while the jackal went to draw water.'

In the following example, there are two topics in two clauses. The first topic is referred back to by a third person singular feminine direct object pronoun. The second one is a topic introduced by **i**, whose position is filled by a preposition with a pronominal suffix. This topic can be interpreted as a contrastive topic in this case.

(14) *ya* *tferkiwt(,)* *i-kkerz=at* *s* *lḥebb,* *i* *t-ayeṭ(,)*
one:F garden:EA 3MS-cultivate:I=3FS with wheat and F-other:S
i-kkerz *ga-s* *žuž* *aw* *tlaṯa* *n* *lexṭuṭ* *n* *iḇawen*
3MS-cultivate:I in-3S two or three of furrows of beans
'He sows one garden with wheat, and the other with two or three furrows of beans.'

7.1.1.6. Adverbial phrases

Adverbs can be topicalised, but are not resumed by a pronoun later in the sentence. In the example below, the topicalised adverb is preceded by **i** to mark continuation from a previous event.

(15) *i* *nnhaṛ* *iši(,)* *te-qql=as=d* *s* *ṣṣulṭan*
and day some 3FS-return:P=3S:IO=DC with sultan
'And one day she came back with the sultan.'

7.1.2. Post-topic

In the previous section we have seen that the topicalised element is placed in initial position. Non-adverbial phrases have obligatory pronominal reference in the core part of the sentence. In another type of topicalisation, the post-topic, the topic follows the core of the sentence. All the argument types discussed above can occur in post-topic position as well. The split between the core proposition and the post-topic is marked by an intonational contour, even in cases where the subject is in post-topic position. For core arguments and complements of prepositional phrases there is an obligatory resumptive pronoun expressed on the verb. In the following examples each argument type is presented:

Subject

(16) *ggz-en* *fḥal-em* *a* *ḥmun,* *amušš* *i* *uḇeṛṛey*
go.down-3PL way-3PL AD [3MS-]heat.up:A cat:EL and sheep:EL
'They descended to warm up, the cat and the sheep.'

(17) *qqima-n* *mašy-in* *g* *lɛišṛa,* *amušš* *i* *wḇeṛṛey*
stay:P-3PL go:AP-PL in friendship cat:EL and sheep:EA
'They continued in friendship, the cat and the sheep.'

Direct Object

(18) *netta* *i-kkerz = aṯ,* *aḡer = ahen*
he 3MS-plough:I = 3MS:DO field:EL = S:ANP
'He ploughs it, the field.'

Indirect Object

(19) *fk-an = as = teṯ,* *argaz = ahen*
give:P-3PL = 3MS:IO = 3FS:DO man:EL = S:ANP
'They gave it to him, that man.'

Prepositional Phrase

There are two possibilities, in the first, the post-topic has the preposition, in the other it has not.

(20) *ne-tɛemmar* *ga-s* *leflaḥa,* *g* *lmaḥal* *n* *uxyam*
1S-fill:I in-3S crops, in room of house:EA
'We fill it with crops, the room in the house.'

(21) *ne-tɛemmar* *ga-s* *leflaḥa,* *axyam = ahen*
1S-fill:I in-3S crops house:EL = S:ANP
'We fill it with crops, that house.' (lit. 'we fill in it crops, that house')

Adverbial phrase

(22) *tsawalen* *s* *lɛarbbiyya,* *žžnanniš*
speak:I-3PL with Arabic Jnan.Nnich
'They speak Arabic, as for Jnan Nnich.'

7.1.3. Non-verbal constructions

In most non-verbal constructions, the normal (non-marked) order is *subject - predicate*. Topicalisation of the subject involves the reversal of this order, i.e. putting the subject in post-topic position. Different from post-topics in verbal sentences, there is no special intonation involved here. In the following examples topicalisations in non-verbal constructions will be shown (cf. chapter IV.2. on non-verbal predicates).

The Nominal Predicate

(23) *muɛellim* *nekkin*
teacher I
'I am a teacher.'

The Adjectival Predicate

(24) *ṭwil-a* *nettaṯa*
tall-FS she
'Tall is she.'

The Prepositional Predicate

(25) *g* *umaras* *axyam*[151]
in riverbed:EA house:EL
'The house is in the riverbed.'

(26) *n* *ɛaziz* *axyam = ahen*
of Aziz house = S:ANP
'That house is Aziz's'

[151] As this is a locative the present relevance pronoun is often used, e.g. **haw g umaras axyam** 'The house is in the valley.' (cf. IV.2.6. for present relevance pronouns).

(27) *inu* *aɣyul = ahen*
my donkey:EL = S:ANP
'It is mine, that donkey.'

(28) *iḏ-i* *netta*
with-1S he
'He is with me.'

(29) *x* *uḡḏi* *iḏ* *ušnikef,* *tawxṛaft = aḏ*
on jackal:EA and hedgehog:EL story:EL = S:PRX
'It is about the jackal and the hedgehog, this story.'

(30) *nešt* *n* *uɛebbiz* *netta*
as.big.as of bull:EA he
'He is a big as a bull.'

The Adverbial Predicate

(31) *ssiha* *nuḵna*
from.here we
'We are from here.'

In example (32) which is a locative the present relevance marker **ham** is obligatory.

(32) *iḵenniwen* *ham* *das*
twins PR:3PL there
'The twins are there.'

7.2. Focalisation: cleft constructions

A focus construction consists of two parts: the focus and the presupposition. The focus is '*the missing information, which the speaker presumes that the hearer wants to know*' while the presupposition '*presents incomplete information about a situation of which the speaker presumes the hearer to be aware*' (Andrews, 2007: 150). In Ghomara Berber focalisation is accomplished by means of cleft constructions. A definition of a cleft construction is a '*type of predicate nominal consisting of a noun phrase (NP$_i$) and a relative clause whose relativised NP is coreferential with NP$_i$*' (Payne, 1997:278). A cleft construction therefore is a non-verbal construction (the focus) followed by a relative clause (the presupposition) linked to the former by means of the relative particle **a** (cf. IV.5. for relative clauses). The non-verbal part can be of any kind ranging from (pro)nouns to prepositional phrases and adverbs (for non-verbal predicates cf. IV.2.). The focussed elements are negated in the same way as other non-verbal predicates (cf. IV.2.8.). This section is divided in two parts. In the first section focalisation in verbal sentences is presented. In the second part focalisation in non-verbal sentences is discussed.

7.2.1. Focalisation in verbal sentences

The focalisation of the different syntactic positions will be shown on the basis of the following ditransitive phrase. Note that the indirect object pronoun as is optional and not present in this sentence.

(32) *y-umeṛ* *ḥmeḏ* *leflus* *i* *urgaz=ahen* *aṭḡam*
3MS-send:P Ahmed money to man:EA=S:ANP yesterday:EL
'Ahmed sent the money to that man yesterday.'

Subject focus

(33) *ḥmeḏ* *a* *y-umṛ-en* *leflus* *i* *urgaz=ahen* *aṭḡam*
Ahmed REL RF-send:P-RF money to man:EA=S:ANP yesterday:EL
'It is Ahmed who sent the money to that man yesterday.'

Direct object focus

(34) *leflus* *a* *y-umeṛ* *ḥmed* *i* *urgaz=ahen* *aṭḡam*
money REL 3MS-send:P Ahmed to man:EA=S:ANP yesterday:EL
'It is money that Ahmed sent to that man yesterday.'

Indirect object focus

Like in the non-focalised sentence, the use of the indirect object pronoun is optional as shown in the following examples.

(35) *i* *urgaz=ahen* *a* *y-umeṛ* *ḥmed* *leflus*
to man:EA=S:ANP REL 3MS-send:P Ahmed money
'It is to that man that Ahmed sent money yesterday.'

(36) *i* *urgaz=ahen* *a* *s=y-umeṛ* *ḥmed* *leflus*
to man:EA=S:ANP REL 3S:IO=3MS-send:P Ahmed money
'It is to that man that Ahmed sent money yesterday.'

Adverbial focus

(37) *aṭḡam* *a* *y-umeṛ* *ḥmeḍ* *leflus* *i* *urgaz=ahen*
yesterday:EL REL 3MS-send:P Ahmed money to man:EA=S:ANP
'It is yesterday that Ahmed sent money to that man.'

7.2.2. Focalisation in non-verbal sentences

In focus constructions of non-verbal sentences a verbal form is used after the relative linker **a**. The subject and the predicate of the non-verbal construction can be the focus. The verb **ll** 'to be' is used for subject and predicate focus of all types of non-verbal predicates. However, for subject focus of attributive constructions (nominal and adjectival predicates) the relative form **i-ḡa-n** can be used as well. The verb **ḡ** 'to be' is not used outside of focus constructions in Ghomara Berber, but it is a well-known 'be'-verb in other Berber languages (cf. e.g. Tašelḥiyt **g** 'to be', Aspinion, 1953: 128, cf. chapter IV.9. for **ll** 'to be'). Below we will discuss subject focus construction first after which predicate focus constructions will be discussed.

7.2.2.1. Cleft sentences with i-ḡa-n: subject focus of nouns and adjectives

The element **i-ḡa-n** only occurs when the original non-verbal sentence has a nominal or adjectival predicate. The element that is focalised is the subject of the non-verbal sentence. The verb **i-ḡa-n** is obligatorily accompanied by a direct object pronoun, referring to the predicate. Only third person singular and plural direct object pronouns are used which agree in number and gender with the predicate. The predicate can be expressed by a noun phrase following the verb, which is essentially a post-topic construction:

(38) *keğ̆i a t̲=i-ḡa-n mul axyam*
you REL 3MS:DO=RF-do:P-RF owner house:EL
'It is you who is the owner of the house.'

(39) *nekki a t̲=i-ḡa-n argaz*
I REL 3MS:DO=RF-do:P-RF man:EL
'It is me who is a (real) man.'

(40) *kunna a n=i-ḡa-n irgazen*
you:PL REL 3PL:DO=RF-do:P-RF men
'You are (real) men.'

The direct object pronoun can be the only marker of the predicate, cf. example (41).

(41) *t-haḏ a t=i-ḡa-n*
F-PRX:S REL 3FS:DO=RF-do:P-RF
'This is what it is.'

The next example shows the use of a topic and negation of the focalised nominal predicate:

(42) *lmeɣreb̲ mayši u-hen a t̲=i-ḡa-n*
sunset.prayer NEG M-S:ANP REL 3MS:DO=RF-be:P-RF
'The sunset prayer, it's not that (that it is).'

Examples of adjectives in this type of construction are:

(43) *kunna a n=i-ḡa-n ṭwil-in*
you:PL REL 3PL:DO=RC-be:P-RC tall-PL
'You are the ones who are tall.'

(44) *nettaṯa a t=i-ḡa-n ṭwil-a*
you:PL REL 3FS:DO= RC-be:P-RC tall-FS
'She is the one who is tall.'

7.2.2.2. Cleft sentences with ll 'to be'

In all clefts based on non-verbal sentences with predicate focus the verb **ll** is used. In the case of subject focus, the full relative form **yellan**, used mainly by older speakers, or a more generally used reduced form **lla** is used (cf. IV.9. for **ll** 'to be'). Different from the construction with **i-ḡa-n**, there is no obligatory direct object pronoun. Examples of both

subject and predicate focus are presented below. The subject is a post-topic which is not necessarily expressed, e.g.

Nominal predicates

(45) *argaz = ahen a ye-lla-n rrifi*
man = S:ANP REL RC-be:P-RC Riffian
'It is that man who is a Riffian.'

(46) *rrifi a ye-ll, (argaz = ahen)*
Riffian REL 3MS-be:P man:EL = S:ANP
'He is a Riffian, (that man.)'

Adjectival predicates

(47) *argaz = ahen a ye-lla-n ṭwil*
man:EL = S:ANP REL RF_be:P-RF tall:MS
'It is that man who is tall.'

(48) *ṭwil-in a lla-n, (irgazen = ihen)*
tall-PL REL be:P-PL (men = PL:ANP)
'He is tall, that man.'

Prepositional predicates

(49) *axyam = ahen a lla g umaras*
house:EL = S:ANP REL be:P in riverbed:EA
'It is that house which is in the riverbed.'

(50) *ya wɛeyyal a lla ɣr-es*
one:M boy:EA REL be:P at-3S
'It is one child which he has.'

(51) *t-ha ay-haḍ a lla ga-s*
F-PRX:S INDEF-PRX REL be:P in-3S
'This is all there is.' (lit. 'this one is that what is in it')

(52) *axyam = ahen a ye-lla-n n ɛaziz*
house:EL-S:ANP REL RF-be-RF of Aziz

‘That is the house which is Aziz’s.’

(53) *netta a ye-lla-n iḏ-i*
he REL RF-be:P-RF with-1S
‘It is he who is with me.’

(54) *iḏ-i a ye-ll, (netta)*
with-1S REL 3MS-be:P (he)
‘He is with me.’

(55) *am netta a ye-ll ḥmeḏ*
like he REL 3MS-be:P Ahmed
‘Ahmed is like him.’

(56) *x uḡḏi iḏ ušnikef a he-ll tawxṛaft=aḏ*
on jackal:EL and hedgehog:EA REL 3FS-be:P story:EL=S:PRX
‘This story is about the jackal and the hedgehog.’

The Adverbial Predicate

(57) *yan yaḡer a lla das*
one:M field:EA REL be:P there
‘It is one field which is there.’

The Passive Participle

The following example shows a passive participle in the relative clause (cf. IV.10.1.).

(58) *taɛeyyalt a ye-lla-n meḍṛuḇ-a he-ttru*
girl:EL REL RF-be:P-RF hit:PP-FS 3FS-cry:I
‘It is the girl who was hit who is crying.’

8. Mood and aspect

In this chapter Berber-morphology and Arabic-morphology verbs are described separately. Mood and aspect of Berber-morphology verbs will be treated first. Berber-morphology verbs have three aspectual stems, the Perfective, the Imperfective and the Aorist, which can be distinguished on the basis of their morphology (though not all stems can cf. IV.7.1. morphology). The uses of these stems will be described in four consecutive sections: the bare Aorist, the Aorist in combination with modal particles, the Perfective and the Imperfective. In the section on the Imperfective a part is dedicated to the sequential Imperfective. Arabic-morphology verbs distinguish two forms: the Perfect and the Imperfect. The Imperfect can be preceded by a prefix **ka**- and other preverbs. It can occur on its own as well. Finally, the Arabic active and passive participles will be presented. Arabic active participles are used for the progressive aspect of a group of semantically defined verbs. Other active and passive participles function as stative predicates. The Berber Aorist, the Berber Imperfective and the Arabic Imperfect have sequential functions. These uses are facultative and are connected to style of speech. They are often encountered in story telling.

8.1. Berber-morphology verbs

8.1.1. The bare Aorist

In Berber studies, the bare Aorist (i.e. the Aorist without the non-real marker **a**), is described as a neutral aspectual form. André Basset calls the Aorist '*le thème employé sans intention particulière*' (Basset, 1952: 14). In many Berber varieties the Aorist is the aspect used as a consecutive form whose aspectual interpretation is determined by the aspect of a preceding verb (Galand, 2010: 228). In Ghomara Berber the bare Aorist figures mainly in consecutive constructions, and in a few other cases.

8.1.1.1. The consecutive Aorist

In Ghomara Berber, the consecutive Aorist is used after an initial verb which has the Perfective, Imperfective or Aorist aspectual form.[152] The Aorist being a neutral form, it takes over the aspectual interpretation of the preceding verb (Galand 2002 [1983]: 261 calls it '*une forme à tout faire*'). In Tashelḥiyt Berber texts there may be long strings of subsequent Aorist verbs with the same aspectual value in narrative texts. In Ghomara Berber texts strings of more than one identifiable consecutive Aorist are rare.

[152] According to Galand the consecutive Aorist is only habitually used after the Perfective (accompli) in the center and south of Morocco (in Kabyle and Touareg this form is limited to only to literary texts, Galand, 2002: 265).

Bentolila (1981:153-154) describes the use of the consecutive Aorist (and Imperfective) in Middle Atlas Berber as a way to firmly establish a link to the former process. The consecutive Aorist thus marks the continuity of the process, which can result in the effect of rapidity. The series of events is presented as a whole. To the contrary if a non-consecutive is used, the actions or events can be seen as '*ilôts indépendants, sans relation, sans point de contact.*' (Bentolila, 1981: 153-154). In addition, it can describe '*les phases d'une activité habituelle*' (Galand, 2010: 228). In Ghomara Berber the consecutive Aorist functions in the same way in that it establishes a firm link to the previous sequence of events or processes. Many verbs do not formally distinguish the Aorist from the Perfective, therefore it is often not possible to identify the Aorist. However, there are enough verbs which mark the difference, for example the high-frequency verb **ddu** 'to go'. All verbs that have been identified as consecutive Aorists are action verbs. In example (1) a number of actions are described which form a coherent event.

(1) *i-qqen* *aɛebbiz* *nn-es,* *i-siwel* *i* *leḥšam* *nn-es,* *i-ddu*
3MS-tie.up:P bull:EL of-3MS 3MS-talk:A with children of-3MS 3MS-go:A
'He tied up his bull, talked to his children and went away.'

In stories, often the high-frequency verb **ddu** 'to go' is identifiable as an Aorist, e.g.

(2) *i-leqqeṭ* *aḇaw=ahen,* *i-ḡḡ=aṯ* *g* *lǧim* *nn-es,* *i-ddu.*
3MS-pick.up:P bean:EL=S:ANP 3MS-do:P=3MS:DO in pocket of-3S 3MS-go:A
'He picked up the bean, put it in his pocket and went away.'

(3) *i-šš* *afeṛṛuž=ahen,* *i-lewᵂ=as* *aḏan* *nn-es* *iy*
3MS-eat:P rooster:EL=S:ANP 3MS-wrap:P=3S:IO intestines of-3S to
isekkawen *n* *uɣižd,* *a* *yyih,* *i-ddu* *fḥal-u*
horns of billy.goat:EA VOC yes 3MS-go:A way-3MS
'He ate the rooster, wrapped his intestines around the horns of the billy-goat and went away.'

Bare Aorist forms are usualy the final part of a sequence. However, one can find examples, though rare, of Aorists which are not in the final position. The next example shows this clearly. In this story the story-teller, using the consecutive Aorist, jumps immediately to the part where the jackal returns to get his deposition in the morning. The speaker then adds information which belongs to the previous event again using an Aorist form, namely **iffuɣ** 'he went away' (the Perfective is **iffeɣ**).

(4) *i-leww = as = ten* *i* *wqḇay* *a* *y-muqqṛ-in,*
3MS-wind:P = 3S:IO = 3PL:DO to billy.goat:EA REL RF-big-RF
i-ddu = d *g* *ṣṣḇaḥ.* *i-ffuɣ* *fḥal-u,* *g*
3MS-go:A = DC in morning 3MS-go.out:A way-3MS in
ṣṣḇeḥ *i-qqel = d.*
morning 3MS-return:P = DC
'He wound them around the biggest billy-goat and came back in the morning. He went out, in the morning he came back.'

The use of the consecutive Aorist is a stylistic choice which remains optional. It is more consistently used in well-told stories. Evidence for this is provided by the same story told by two speakers, a man in his forties, who knows the story very well and his younger brother who does not know the story that well. The older story-teller uses the consecutive Aorist much more often. Example (5) is told by the younger brother. It is the same part of the story as example (2) above, however, instead of the consecutive Aorist, the Perfective form of the same verb is used.

(5) *i-šebbṛ = aḵ* *aḇaw = ahen,* *i-ḡḡ = aṯ* *g* *lğim*
3MS-grab:P = 2MS:IO bean:EL = S:ANP 3MS-do:P = 3MS:DO in pocket
nn-es, *i-dda,* *aḡḏi.*
of-3S 3MS-go:P jackal:EL
'He took the bean, put it in his pocket and left, the jackal.'

The consecutive Aorist is not necessarily the last verb of a sequence, for example in texts when it is a main verb, as in example (6) and (7), where it is followed by a complement verb.

(6) *i-ḵšem* *i-weṭṭeṛ* *ilaxrihi,* *g* *lɣaṛ* *g* *uḥfaṛ.* *i-ḇdu*
3MS-enter:P 3MS-stretch:P etc in cave in hole:EA 3MS-begin:A
i-qqṛ = as: *ffuɣ = d* *a ɛemmi* *aḡḏi.*
3MS-say:I = 3S:IO come.out:IMP = DC VOC uncle jackal:EL
'He entered and stretched, in the cave, the hole. He began saying: Come out, jackal.'

(7) *i-kečem* *hamkaḏin,* *i-qqul* *a* *d = i-ffuɣ*
3MS-enter:I like.this 3MS-return:A AD DC = 3MS-go.out:A
'He goes in like this, and comes back.'

The bare Aorist does not appear as the initial verb in a sequence. Verbs preceding the consecutive Aorist can have different aspects. Example (8) and (9) show the Perfective aspectual forms preceding the Aorist (the Aorist of 'to tie' is **qqun**).

(8) *i-qqn = as = ten* *i* *uɛebbiz = ahen,* *g* *isekkawen,* *i-ddu* *fḥal-u*
3MS-tie:P = 3S:IO = 3PL:DO to bull:EA = S:PRX in horns 3MS-go:A way-3MS
'He tied them to the bull, to its horns, and went.'

(9) *te-qqn = aṯ,* *i-ddu* *fḥal-u* *fsi* *n* *ššɣul* *nn-es*
3FS-tie:P = 3MS:DO 3MS-go:A way-3MS after of job of-3S
'She tied him up and left to her job.'

Example (10) shows an instance of the Imperfective stem preceding multiple Aorists.

(10) *tawi-n = d* *zerriɛa* *zeg* *ssuq,* *ɛaweḏ* *bb-en = d* *ɛaweḏ,* *ɛaweḏ* *ḡḡ-en*
take:I-3PL = DC seeds from market again take:A = DC again, again make:A-3PL
ɛaweḏ *tagursa,* *ḡḡ-en* *ɛaweḏ* *aḥettaš,* *ww-en* *ɛaweḏ* *awellu.*
again ploughshare:EL make:A-3PL again slash:EL make:A-3PL again plough:EL
'They bring seeds from the market, and they also bring, they make ploughshares, they also make slashes and make ploughs.'

Perfect Arabic-morphology verbs can be followed by a Berber verb in the consecutive Aorist, as example (11) shows.

(11) *ttfahm-u,* *i-ddu* *ḇaḇa* *nn-sen* *a* *xdem*
agree-3PL:PF 3MS-go:A father of-3PL AD [3MS-]work:A
'They agreed, and their father went to work.'

The Imperative can be followed by a consecutive Aorist in the second person as the following text excerpt shows.

(12) *šeṭṭeḇ* *axyam* *t-ɛelli-t* *dar* *tuḡnaṯ*
wipe:IMP house:EL 2S-go.up:A-2S to *tuḡnaṯ*
'Wipe the house and go up to *tuḡnaṯ* (part of the village).'

The initial verb can also be (**š**/**d**/**ar**) **a** + Aorist. In the following example the use of the non-real markers **š a** is shown.

(13) *u-hen* *alef* *š* *a* *su* *i-ddu* *fḥal-u,* *ya* *ɛayša*

M-S:ANP boar:EL FUT AD [3MS-]drink:A 3MS-go:A way-3MS o Aisha
'That is a boar, it will drink and leave, o Aisha, my daughter.'

As shown in example (14) it is possible to have multiple consecutive Aorists following each other. Again, Aorists can follow any aspectual form in the sequence. The Aorists in (14) follow an initial **a** + Aorist.[153] Notice that the final verb is an Arabic-morphology verb in the Imperfect. Example (15), (16), (17) and (18) are examples from elicition where the Aorist follows an initial (Berber and Arabic-morphology) Perfect(ive) and an Imperfective.

(14) *ma ya ṭṭṣ-aɣ ḥetta ya settn-en iṭan g tɛeddist inu,*
NEG AD sleep:A-1S until AD bark:A-3PL dogs in belly:EA of:1S
berrḥ-en ifulusen g tɛeddist inu, ɣewwṯ-en medden g tɛeddist
call:A-3PL chickens in belly:EA of:1S scream:A-3PL people in belly:EA
inu, i-nehq-u iɣʷyal g tɛeddist inu
of:1S 3PL:IMPF-bray-3PL:IMPF donkeys in belly of:1S
'I will not sleep until the dogs bark in my belly, the chickens cackle in my belly, people scream in my belly, the donkeys bray in my belly.' (the speaker is an ogress)

(15) *i-ḵšem dar uxyam, i-ḥmu i tɣeṛɣaṛt,*
3MS-enter:P to house:EA 3MS-warm.up:A to hearth:EA
i-siwel i leḥšam nn-es, i-ffuɣ fḥal-u
3MS-talk:A with children of-3S 3MS-go.out:A way-3MS
'He entered the house, warmed up at the fire, talked to his children and went out.'

(16) *ṣṣaḏ-u imalḥen, siwl-en i baɛṭ-em, ddu-n fḥal-em*
fish-3PL:PF fish talk:A-3PL with each.other-3PL go:A-3PL way-3PL
'They fished, talked to each other and went.'

(17) *i-teqqen aɛebbiz nn-es, i-siwel i leḥšam nn-es, i-ddu fḥal-u*
3MS-tie:I bull:EL of-3S 3MS-talk:A with children of-3S 3MS-go:A way-3MS
'He always ties his bull, talks to his children and goes away.'

(18) *treṭṭal-en=t s leqseḇ. taqseḇt hamḵa,*
cover.roof:I-3PL=3MS:DO with reed. reed:EL like.this
i ta-yeṭ hamḵa, i ta-yeṭ hamḵa, i

[153] The verbs in this example can not be distinguished from their Perfective counterparts. However, in this context one would not expect the Perfective stem to be used.

and	F-S:other	like.this	and	F-S:other	like.this	and		
ta-yeṭ	*hamḵa, i*	*ta-yeṭ*	*hamḵa,*	*i*	*ta-yeṭ*			
F-S:other	like.this and	F-S:other	like.this	and	F-S:other			
hamḵa, i	*ta-yeṭ*	*hamḵa,*	*ḡḡ-en*	*fx-es aḵal.*				
like.this and	F-S:other	like.this	do:A-3PL	on-3S earth:EL				

'The cover the roof with reed. One stick (of reed) like this, the other like this, the other like this, the other like this, the other like this, the other like this, the other like this, and they put earth on it.'

8.1.1.2. Other uses of the bare Aorist

The bare Aorist is also found after the conjunctions **ḥetta** and **amḵ a** as in examples (19) and (20). It is not obligatory in these cases.

(19)

netta	*i-tteɣmur*	*ḥetta*	*i-qqul*	*meqquṛ*
he	3MS-grow:I	until	3MS-become:A	big:MS

'He grew until he became big.'

(20)

amḵ	*a*	*ṯ = i-nuɣ,*	*saɛa*	*i-dda = d*
when	REL	3MS:DO = 3MS-kill:A	then	3MS-go:P = DC

'When he had killed him, he came.'

It is also used following the presentative particle **ha** and means something like 'so what if ....?' Examples (21) and (22) show such a use.

(21)

ha	*šš-en = t*
PRES	eat:A-3PL = 3MS:DO

'So what if they eat it?'

(22)

ha	*ddu-n*
PRES	go:A-3PL

'So what if they go.'

8.1.1.3. The Aorist with non-real marker

The Aorist aspect with a pre-verbal element expresses a non-realised happening or event. This is different from the other aspectual stems which describe a concrete, real event. It often expresses the value future, possibility, probability and wish (cf. Bentolila 1981: 146). The preverbal non-real marker is **a**, which immediately precedes the verb. The non-real marker causes attraction of verbal clitics (cf. IV.3.3. on clitic position).

8.1.1.3.1. š and a

Examples of the use of **a** + Aorist to express possibility, probablity and wish are given in the next examples:

possibility

(23) *wella a d=i-bb lmaqla inši, tafellunt inši*
or AD DC=3MS-bring:P frying.pan some earthenware.frying.pan:EL some
'Or he brings a frying pan, an earthenware frying pan.'

probability

(24) *laba n=i-nuɣ, a y=nɣ-en s rrekla inši*
so.that.not 3PL:DO=3MS-kill:A AD 3MS:DO=kill:A-3PL with kick some
'So that he will not kill them, they will kill him with a kick or so.'

wish

(25) *a xalti, a šebbṛ-et aqḇay=aḏ, a y=ǧ-et*
o aunt, AD [2S-]grab-2S billy.goat=S:PRX AD 3MS:DO=[2S-]leave:A-2S
dha ɣr-em
here at-2FS
'O aunt, take this billy goat and leave it here with you.'

Very often the non-real marker **a** is preceded by the borrowed preverbal element **š** which adds a degree of certainty or desire to the meaning[154] (cf. 8.2.4. below on preverbal **š** in Arabic loans). It is the default way to refer to the future. This difference is quite subtle, as will be shown by a number of text excerpts. The first example is about a partridge in a sealed-off room, and the use of **š** indicates the certainty that the partridge will get out.

(61) *te-nn=as: mḵi t-ḵešm-et, š a perper,*
3FS-say:P=3S:IO if 2S-enter:P-2S FUT AD [3MS-]fly:A
š a ffeɣ fḥal-a.
FUT AD [3MS-]go.out:A way-3FS
'She said: If you go in, it will fly, it will get out.'

[154] The variant **baš** is used in the neighbouring dialect of Amṭiqan. This particle also precedes the non-real marker **a**.

In another story, a horse wants to get back the turtle's wife (the frog) after several failed attempts by other animals. The horse tells the sad turtle the same thing as its predecessors, using the non-real particle **a**:

(27) *i-nn=as:* *a* *ddu=x* *a* *k̲=d=rri-x=ded* *a* *saḥb̲i.*
3MS-say:P=3S:IO AD go:A-1S AD 2MS:IO=DC=return:A-1S=DC:3FS:DO o friend
Then he said: I will get her back, friend.'

The turtle replies by saying that several attempts have been made, but nobody has succeeded. The horse replies with the same phrase, except that this time he adds the preverbal **š** to the nonreal to emphasise that he will certainly bring her back. This shows how a degree of certainty of a non-realised event is added by means of this particle.

(28) *i-nn=as:* *ha* *nekk* *š* *a* *ddu-x* *a*
3MS-say:P=3S:IO PRES I FUT AD go:A-1S AD
k̲=d=bba-x=ded
2MS:IO=DC=take:A-1S=DC:3FS:DO
'He said: I will go and bring her back.'

The element **š** cannot be used with verbal complements nor does it appear in relative clauses.

8.1.1.3.2. maš

The non-real particle **maš** is borrowed from Arabic and stands in the same position as **š**. This particle is only used by speakers who are over sixty years old. It differs from **š** in that it is mostly only used with the initial verb of a sequence, e.g.

(29) *maš* *a* *gguz* *ilaxirihi* *g* *lbir,* *š* *a* *d=i-seɛli*
FUT AD [3MS-]go.down:A etc in well FUT AD DC=3MS-raise:A
ḍḍmaɣ *n* *lefqi*
head of imam
'He will go into the well and get out the head of the imam.'

The two particles express similar meanings. As noted above, **š** adds a degree of certainty or desire to the non-real, as does **maš**. However, **maš** may be even more emphatic about the certainty of a certain event. The next example illustrates such a difference. In the preceding text the speaker has been speaking about using a sickle. One has to be experienced to use such a dangerous object, otherwise one will certainly cut one's hand. This emphasis on the fact that it is certainly going to happen is expressed by the use of **maš**. In example (30) **maš**

is used in initial position, whereas example (31) is one of the few examples where **maš** does not occur initially.

(30) *ssḇeɛ* *tlaqa* *yan* *iši* *g* *umaras.* *i-nn = as:*
lion encounter[:3MS:PF] one:M some in riverbed:EA 3MS-say:P = 3S:IO
maš *a* *ḵ = šš-ax.*
FUT AD 3MS:DO = eat:A-1S
'The lion encountered someone in the riverbank. He said: 'I'm going to eat you.'

(31) *ma* *w-a* *lla* *ma* *ye-ssen* *a* *mger* *š*
as.for M-S:PRH be:R NEG 3MS-know:P AD [3MS-]harvest:A FUT
a *sekker* *hamḵa* *maš* *a* *qeṭṭeɛ* *afus*
AD [3MS-]do:A like.this FUT AD [3MS-]cut:A hand:EL
'However, he who does not know how to harvest, will do this (shows it) and cut his hand.'

8.1.1.3.3. ar

The preverbal particle **ar** is used instead of **š** in subordination: in relative clauses (including content questions) and after certain conjunctions. It is followed by the non-real marker **a**. **ar a** can also occur in non-subordinated contexts, although there are very few instances in my corpus. [155] In this position it varies with **š / maš**. It is not clear whether there is a semantic difference between **ar** and **š / maš**. It cannot be combined with them. An example is:

(32) *ar* *a* *ddu-x* *bihabiha* *a* *šš-aɣ* *leḥšam* *nn-es*
FUT AD go:A-1S directly AD eat:A-1S children of-3S
'I will go directly to eat his children.'

8.1.1.3.4. d

The preverbal non-real particle **a** can be preceded by an element **d**. It adds a modal meaning of emphasis comparable to English 'certainly, without a doubt, indeed.' This particle is identical to the element **d** used in Aït Seghrouchen Berber (cf. Bentolila, 1981:173). The following examples illustrate the use of the preverbal marker.

(33) *leqnišṭa = yahen* *d* *a* *rfeɛ,* *d* *a* *rfeɛ,* *d*
box = S:ANP CRT AD [3MS-]lift:A CRT AD [3MS-]lift:A CRT
a *rfeɛ* *ɛišrin* *kilu*

[155] The fact that **ar** is a separate element from **a** is shown by its use with Arabic-morphology verbs where it has the form **ar**. The non-real particle **a** can only occur before Berber-morphology verbs (cf. IV.8.1.1.3.1.).

AD [3MS-]lift:A twenty kilo

'The box wil certainly carry twenty kilograms.'

(34) *iwa amella, keğ ma ar a ḡḡ-et, š a*
well now:EL, you:MS what FUT AD [2S-]do:A-2S FUT AD
ttru-t ɛaweḏ? a i-nn=as: nekki d a
[2S-]cry:A-2S again well 3MS-say:P=3S:IO I CRT AD
ttrux ḥetta ya ṛẓ-aɣ isekkawen inu.
cry:A-1S until AD break:A-1S horns of:1S

'And now, what are you going to do, are you going to cry again? He said: I will indeed cry until I break my horns.'

8.1.2. The Perfective

The Perfective oscillates between on the one hand a dynamic and on the other hand a (resultative) stative meaning (cf. Mettouchi, 2003 and Galand, 2010:207-224 on the stative-dynamic opposition in other Berber languages). Many stative verbs allow for a dynamic as well as a stative interpretation depending on the context (e.g. become hungry vs. be hungry), and one could interpret the stative usage as a resultative. In this regard, verbs are different from the purely stative active and passive participles and the adjective which generally express 'pure' stative value. The extensive use of the participles may be the reason behind the low frequency of stative Perfectives in Ghomara Berber in comparison to other Berber languages. In the following example the use of a resultative verb is illustrated. In the example the Perfective verb **iqqur** 'be dry', which can be interpretated as a result, is on the same level as the adjective **xḍ̲er** 'be green' which is a state.

(35) *i* *lɛafya* *ne-ssruɣ=at* *s* *isɣaṛen,* *asɣaṛ* *n* *teẓ̲ḡa,*
and fire 1PL-lite:I=3FS:DO with sticks stick:EL of forest:EA
asɣaṛ *i-qqur,* *maši* *xḍ̲er*
stick:EL 3MS-dry:P NEG green:MS
'And we lite the fire with sticks, sticks from the forest, dry sticks, not green ones'

A resultative interpretation is possible as well. If the adverb **deɣya** is used the interpretation is that of 'becoming dry'. The interpretation is that of a resultant state.

(36) *asɣaṛ=ahen* *i-qqur* *deɣya*
stick:EL=S:ANP 3MS-dry:P quickly
'The stick has become dry quickly'

Another example of a resultative verb is **lluẓ̣** 'to be hungry'. For this verb we have a corresponding adjective. The difference between the verb and the adjective can be shown by using the adverb **deɣya** 'quickly'. If 'being hungry' is the outcome of a process then the use of the adverb should result in a grammatical expression, which is indeed the case. As resultatives imply a process, the expression can therefore be interpreted as 'becoming hungry' as well, in other words, as a resultant state. Compare examples (37) and (38).

(37) *lluẓ̣-ax*
be.hungry-1S
'I'm hungry.'

(38) *lluẓ̣-aɣ* *deɣya*
be.hungry-1S quickly

‘I’ve quickly become hungry.’

The corresponding adjective is a pure state. It cannot be accompanied by the adverb **deɣya** ‘quickly’, e.g.:

(39) **nekki* *ǧiɛan* *deɣya*
I hungry:MS quickly
‘I’m hungry quickly’

Another example is the contrast between the verb **hleḵ** ‘to be sick’ and the corresponding passive participle **meɛdum** ‘sick’. The verb allows for the adverb **deɣya** whereas the stative passive participle does not. This means that example (40a) and (40b) are best considered resultatives, implying a preceding process, whereas (41) is a pure state.

(40a) *aɛeyyal* *nn-es* *i-hleḵ*
boy:EL of-3S 3MS-be.sick:P
‘His child is sick.’

(40b) *aɛeyyal* *nn-es* *i-hleḵ* *deɣya*
boy:EL of-3S 3MS-be.sick:P quickly
‘His child has become sick quickly.’

(41) **aɛeyyal* *nn-es* *meɛdum* *deɣya*
boy:EL of-3S be.sick:PP:MS quickly
‘His child is sick quickly.’

Futhermore it is possible to use the adverb **amilla** ‘now’ in combination with the passive participle whereas the Perfective does not allow the same adverb.

(42) *nekki* *meɛdum* *amilla*
I be.sick:PP:MS now:EL
‘I’m sick now.’

(43) **nekki* *helḵ-aɣ* *amilla*
I be.sick:P-1S now:EL
‘I’m sick now.’

The stative verb ‘to know’, which does not have an Imperfective form, shows the same behaviour. In the Perfective it can be combined with **deɣya** implying a process resulting in a

state, whereas the active participle does not allow such an interpretation. In the latter case it can only be interpretated as a pure state. Compare examples (44) and (45).

(44) *i-ssen* *medden = ihen* *deɣya*
3MS-know:P people = PL:ANP quickly
'He knows those people quickly.'

(45) **netta* *ɛaref* *medden = ihen* *deɣya*
he know:AP:MS people = PL:ANP quickly
'He knows those people quickly.'

However, there are a few contexts where the difference between the Perfective and the passive participle is not maintained and where the resultative meaning of the Perfective is less conspicuous. This is the case of the following examples (both accepted in elicitation), in which the sketched situation cannot be viewed as the result of a process.

(46) *iɛṛaḇen* *ḍewwṛ-en = tet* *iɣallen*
Iraben surround-3PL = 3FS:DO mountains
'Iraben is surrounded by mountains.' (lit. 'Iraben, mountains surround it')

(47) *iɛṛaḇen* *mḍewwṛ-a* *s* *iɣallen*
Iraben surround:PP-FS with mountains
'Iraben is surrounded by mountains.'

One could say that the Perfective has a dynamic value, which can be interpreted as a resultative. Examples of transitive and labile verbs are shown here:

(48) *ye-wṯ = aṯ,* *i-nɣ = at*
3MS-hit:P = 3MS:DO 3MS-kill:P = 3MS:DO
'He hit him, he (has) killed him…'

(49) *lkas* *i-ṛeẓ*
glass 3MS-break:P
'The glass is broken.'

(50) *argaz = ahen* *i-ṛeẓ* *lkas*
man:EL = S:ANP 3MS-break:P glass
'That man broke the glass.'

8.1.3. The Imperfective

The Imperfective expresses habitual, iterative, durative and progressive meanings. A particular use of the Imperfective is the sequential. The habitual refers to a process that occurs habitualy or regularly. In example (51) such a habitual is used. A closely linked use of the Imperfective is the iterative in example (52). Example (53) shows the use of the durative.

(51) *i-nn = as:* *i-ttiṯu* *dar-i* *yan* *lğmel.*
3MS-say:P = 3S:IO 3MS-go:I to-1S one:M camel
'He said: 'A camel comes to me.'

(52) *ku* *nnhaṛ* *i-ttuṯu = d* *w-ayeṭ* *dar* *lbir = aḏ*
every day 3MS-go:I = DC M-other:S to well = S:PRX
'Every day the other one came to this well.'

(53) *žeḥḥa* *i-ttɛiš* *netta* *i* *yemma* *nn-es*
Jeha 3MS-live:I he with mother of-3S
'Jeha lives with his mother.'

The durative Imperfective can be used to express general truths, as in the following example.

(54) *asɣaṛ = ahen* *xḏer,* *i-sskar* *dduxxan*
stick:EL = S:ANP green:MS 3MS-do:I smoke
'Fresh sticks produce a lot of smoke.'

A minor use of the habitual Imperfective is similar to the use of the bare Imperfect in Moroccan Arabic for describing an inevitable situation (cf. Caubet, 1993: 167 - 168). In the following example the Imperfective follows two instances of direct speech.

(55) *ne-qqṛ = asen :* *'a weddi* *nuḵna* *lbeḥriyya g* *lbaṛku* *flani.*
1PL-say:I = 3PL:IO VOC dear we fishermen in ship so-and-so
he-ttaka-t = as *lmeɛlumat ana* *he-lla-t* *xeddam.*
2S-give:I-2S = 3S:IO information where 2S-be:P-2S work:AP:MS
i-qqṛ = aḵ: *aṛa* *lkaḡiṭ.* *ttaka-t = as* *lkaḡiṭ,*
3MS-say:I = 2S:IO give:IMP paper [2S-]give:I-2S = 3S:IO paper
i-tɛayan *ga-s* *l̩l̩ah* *i-ɛawen.*
3MS-look:I in-3S God 3MS:IMPF-help

‘We say: We are fishermen from that boat. You give him the information where you are working. He tells you: Give me the paper. You give him the paper, he looks at it, bye bye.’

The Imperfective is used for expressing the progressive, for example:

(56) *saɛa* *i-berreḥ* *x* *ya* *urgaz,* *u-hen* *a* *s=i-qqeṛs-en.*
then 3MS-call:P on one:M man:EA M-S:ANP REL 3S:IO=RF-slaughter:I-RF
ka-t-semma *i-tmeḍḍay* *tuzzalt* *š* *a*
IMPP-3FS:IMPF-be.called 3MS-sharpen:I knife FUT AD
ṯ=i-ɣṛeṣ.
3MS:DO=3MS-slaughter:A
‘Then he called a man, the one who will slaughter for him. He was sharpening the knife to slaughter it.’

(57) *netta* *i-twala* *lmayta inši.* *medden inši* *g* *lmaqaḇir,*
he 3MS-see:I corpse some people some in graveyard
g *lemqaber* *ttemṛ-en* *lmayta* *iši*
in graveyard bury:I-3PL dead.person some
‘He saw a corpse. In the graveyard, they were burying a dead person.’

A number of semantically defined verbs use the Arabic active participle to express the progressive. The Imperfective of these verbs does not express the progressive aspect. In section 8.3. and 8.4. on Arabic participles this issue will be discussed further.

8.1.3.1. The sequential Imperfective

The sequential Imperfective is used to focus on an event that happens immediately after a preceding event. This usage is identical to the usage of the Imperfective with the preverbal element **ka**- in Moroccan Arabic (cf. Caubet, 1993: 195-198 who calls it ‘*mettre en vedette*’). The sequential Imperfective always follows another verb and cannot be the initial verb in a sequence. A topicalised (pro)noun often precedes the consecutive Imperfective. Example (58) shows the use of a sequential Imperfective.

(58) *i-žž* *uleṯma-s a* *ddu* *ɣa* *hamḵa* *ši* *ḥaža,*
3MS-let:P sister-3S AD [3FS-]go:A only like.this some thing
lmasafa ynši hamḵa. *i* *netta* *i-tteggez* *x* *uqemmum*

distance some like.this and he 3MS-go.down:I on mouth:EA
'He let his sister go a little bit, some distance. And then he went down (I) on his mouth.'

There can be multiple sequential Imperfectives in a row. The sequence can be broken by the use of another aspectual form, in this case the Perfective, after which the Imperfective is used again, e.g.

(59) *t-šebbeṛ zga-s aqḇay = ahen, te-qqn = aṯ i lefḥula.*
3FS-grab:P from-3S billy.goat = S:ANP 3FS-tie.up:P = 3MS:DO with cattle.
g bellil i-teqqel dar-es, i-tett aɣižd = ahen, i-šebbṛ
at night 3MS-return:I to-3MS 3MS-eat:I billy.goat = S:ANP 3MS-grab:P
aḏan = ahen i-tlewwa = as = ten ɛaweḏ
intenstines = S:PRX 3MS-wrap:I = 3S:IO = 3PL:DO again
i uɛebbiz a y-muqqṛ-in.
with bull:EA REL RC-big-RC.
'She took the billy goat from me, tied him together with the bulls. At night he went back to it, ate that billy goat, took the intestines and wrapped them around the biggest bull.'

The most frequently occurring verb in our text corpus used in this way is **af** 'to find'. The next example illustrates such a use.

(60) *i lɣula = yahen te-ffeɣ beṛṛa, he-ttaf = ahen gals-in*
and ogress = S:ANP 3FS-go.out:P outside 3FS-find:I = S:ANP sit:AP-PL
'And the ogress went out and (suddenly) found them sitting.'

The use of the sequential Imperfective is a matter of choice. Other aspectual stems can be used in the same context, as the examples (61) and (62) show. In this recurring sentence in a fairy tale, example (61) has a Perfective which is followed by a sequential Imperfective, while example (62) has two Perfectives.

(61) *a mni, kkr-aɣ g ṣṣḇaḥ ttaf-aɣ ɣa yaḏan nn-es*
o son, get.up:P-1S in morning find:I-1S only intestines:EL of-3S
mleww-in iḏ isekkawen n uɣižd
wrap:PP-PL with horns of billy.goat:EA
'My son, I woke up in the morning and found (I) his intestines around the horns of the billy-goat.'

(62) *a mni, kkr-aɣ g ṣṣḇaḥ uf-aɣ ɣa yaḏan nn-es*
o son, get.up:P-1S in morning find:P-1S only intestines:EL of-3S
mleww-in i iṭaṛen n lebhima.
wrap:PP-PL with legs of mule
'My son, I woke up in the morning and found (P) his intestines around the legs of the mule.'

The sequential Imperfective can be preceded by any type of aspectual form, including the Imperfective and participles, be it a Berber-morphology or an Arabic-morphology verb, for example:

(63) *ka-de-wqeɛ ilaxirihi lehrawa, i tmeṭṭuṯ t-ruggl=as.*
IMPP-3FS:IMPF-happen etc. stick and wife:EA 3FS-flee:I=3S:IO
'Then fighting happens and the wife flees (I).'

(64) *maši iḏ izref i netta i-tett taɣʷlalt=ahen*
go:AP:MS with road:EA and he 3MS-eat:I pea-soup:EL=S:ANP
'He is going along the way and eating (I) the pea-soup.'

(65) *netta ye-dda š a qleḇ hamḵaḏineṯ i*
he 3MS-go:P FUT AD [3MS-]turn.around:A like.this and
'He turned around like this and then fell (I)
netta i-ttasa=d g wammas nn-sen 'ddaf'.
he 3MS-land:I=DC in middle:EA of-3PL bam
amongst them 'bam'.'

After the causal coordinator **semmen** ~ **semm a** 'so that' the Imperfective is used. The value of the Imperfective is that of a non-real. Some examples are:

(66) *wṯ=ay s leḥzam semm a teqql-ax tameṭṭuṯ.*
hit:IMP=1S:DO with belt so.that REL become:I-1S woman:EL
'Hit me with the belt, so that I will become a woman.'

(67) *nqes ši ḥaža zeg leflaḥa=yahen semmen a*
reduce:IMP some thing from crops=S:ANP so.that REL
h-teffɣ-et fḥal-eḵ
2S-go.out:I-2S way-2S
'Reduce some of those crops so that you can go out.'

8.2. Arabic-morphology verbs

In this section the aspect of Arabic-morphology verbs will be discussed. This type of verb keeps all aspects of Arabic morphology including the preverbal particle for the Imperfect **ka-**[156] (cf. III.8.). In Ghomara Berber the Arabic Perfect (or: suffix conjugation), the Arabic Imperfect (or: prefix conjugation) and the active and passive participles form an integral part of the verbal system. In most of the discussion on aspect in Arabic the analysis by Caubet will be followed (1993: 155-251, cf. also Maas, 2011: 83-88). In the presentation each of these categories will be discussed separately, focusing on how the Arabic system interacts with the Berber system. The role of concomitance, which plays an important role in the aspectual system, will be discussed as well.

8.2.1. The Perfect

The Perfect basically distinguishes two values: a dynamic and a resultant state (which differs from the pure stative expressed by the participle). In this respect the system does not differ from the Berber-morphology Perfective. The following examples show the dynamic use of the Perfect.

(68) *ma* *dda-n=d* *dariha ḥetta* *xwa-w* *sswasa*
NEG go:P-3PL=DC to.here until leave-3PL:PF Soussis
'They only came here after the Soussis left.'

(69) *ṣṣaḏ-na* *bezzaf* *n* *imalḥen aṭḡam*
fish-1PL:PF a.lot of fish yesterday:EL
'We caught a lot of fish yesterday.'

In example (70a) the Perfect resultative verb presents a state. The verb **wžeḏ** 'to be ready' presents the situation as a result of a previous event that has implications for the contextual situation described. It implies a preceding process. This can be contrasted with the corresponding active participle shown in (71a) which presents a pure state. The adverb **deɣya** 'quickly' only combines with the Perfect as shown in (70b) and not with the active participle (71b).

(70a) *ḵerz-en* *iḇawen,* *wežḏ-u* *iḇawen,* *wežḏ-u* *iḇawen,*
cultivate:P-3PL beans be.ready-3PL:PF beans be.ready-3PL:PF beans
ḡḡa-n *tixeṛṛuḇan.*
make-3PL fruits:EL

[156] Other preverbal particles such as **š**, **d**, **ar** do not belong to this category. They occur before Berber-morphology verbs as well and should therefore be considered independent elements.

‘They planted beans, the beans were ready, the beans were ready, they had fruit.’

(70b) *wežḏ-u* *iḇzaḡen* *deɣya*
be.ready-3PL:PF beans quickly
‘The beans have been quickly cooked.’

(71a) *iḇzaḡen = ihen* *wažḏ-in*
beans = PL:ANP be.ready:AP-PL
‘The beans are cooked.’

(71b) **iḇzaḡen* *wažḏ-in* *deɣya*
beans be.ready:AP-PL quickly
‘The beans are cooked quickly.’

In the case of verbs expressing a mental state such as **fhem** ‘to understand’ the same difference between the Perfect and the active participle is found. For example in (72) **deɣya** can be combined with the Perfect while the active participle in example (73) does not allow this adverb.

(72) *nekki* *deɣya* *fhem-t* *lheḍṛa* *nn-es*
I quickly understand-1S:PF speech of-3S
‘I quickly understood his speech.’

(73) **nekki* *deɣya* *fahem* *lheḍṛa* *nn-es*
I quickly understand:AP:MS speech of-3S
‘I quickly understood his speech.’

8.2.2. The Imperfect with ka-

The Arabic form **ka**- + Imperfect basically covers the same aspectual distinctions as the Berber Imperfect: the habitual, the iterative, the durative and the progressive. The sequential Imperfect is expressed by the Arabic Imperfect as well. In a few contexts the preverbal marker does not occur, only the bare Imperfect is used. The preverbal markers **š**, **maš**, **ɣa**, **d** and **ar** can precede the Imperfect stem. Each of these is discussed below. The Arabic Imperfect preceded by the **ka**- prefix expresses the habitual in the following example. The Arabic Imperfect with a habitual meaning follows the Berber Imperfective.

(74) *yemma* *nn-es* *he-tṣalla,* *ka-de-ɛḇeḏ* *lḷah,* *netta* *lla*
mother of-3S 3FS-pray:I IMPP-3FS:IMPF-worship God he no
‘His mother prays, she worships God, he does not.’

A usage which is close to the habitual is the iterative. In the following example a passive verb is used to express the iterative. This iterative event is stressed by repeating the verb. In the example it is preceded by a number of Imperfective Berber-morphology verbs.

(75) *n-tawi=d lḥebb, n-degg=aṯ g lmeqla=yahen,*
1PL-take:I=DC barley 1PL-put:I=3MS:DO in frying.pan-S:PRX
'We take barley, we put it in that frying pan,
ne-qqely=aṯ, iwa, netta ka-y-tt-eqla, ka-y-tt-eqla
1PL-fry:I=3MS:DO well he IMPP-3MS:IMPF-PASS-fry IMPP-3MS:IMPF-PASS-fry
we fry it, well, it is being fried and fried…'

An example of the durative is:

(76) *leğmula=ihen, ma n=y-uɣu-n ka-y-ḍɛaf-u?*
camels=PL:ANP what 3PL:DO=RC-be.matter:P-RC IMPP-3PL:IMPF-lose.weight-3PL:IMPF
'Those camels, how come they are losing weight?'

In the following example the use of the progressive aspect is shown:

(77) *leḥšam=ihen msaḵen, qqim-en das msaḵen ttaḵṣaṭ-en,*
children=PL:ANP poor.people stay:P-3PL there poor.people be.afraid:I-3PL
'Those poor children, they stayed there being afraid,
sskar-en hamḵa. ka-y-ṛɛš-u msaḵen
do:I-3PL like.this IMPP-3PL:IMPF-shiver-3PL:IMPF poor.people
they did like this, they were shivering.'

The Imperfect can be used, as with Berber-morphology verbs, to express a sequential event. In the part above it was shown that the Berber Imperfective expresses 'succession of events' in this way (cf. 8.1.3.1. above, cf. also Caubet 1993: 195 for Moroccan Arabic).

(78) *i-ssana=at x lebhima nn-es, i-šebbeṛ iḏ-es azref.*
3MS-put:P=3FS:DO on mule of-3S 3MS-grab:P with-3S road:EL
netta ka-y-tlaqa yah tmeɣṛa maǧ-a.
he IMPP-3MS:IMPF-meet one:F wedding:EA come:AP-FS
'He put her on the mule and started travelling with her. Then he encountered a wedding.'

8.2.3. The bare Imperfect

The Imperfect without a preverbal element can be used in a number of contexts including the potential, the future, but also wishes and injunctions. It can also be used as a consecutive, similar to the Berber Aorist. We do not include in this discussion the Imperfect in dependent clauses.

The next examples illustrates the use of a bare Imperfect indicating a potential event.

(79) *a* *y=te-lqeṭ* *tafulust* *inši* *n-zeḏq-u*
AD 3MS:DO=3FS-pick.up:A chicken:EL some 1PL:IMPF-end.up-1PL:IMPF
nekki *i* *keğin* *g* *ṯḥešuman*
I and you:MS in embarrasment
'A chicken will pick it up and we will end up being embarrased.'

(80) *d* *a* *ḵ=bb-en* *is-sen* *dar* *uxyam*
CRT AD 2MS:DO=take:A-3PL with-3PL to house:EA
w *i-ʔamn-u* *ga-ḵ*
and 3PL:IMPF-believe-3PL: IMPF in-2MS
'They will take you home and they will trust you.'

The following example illustrates an injunction.

(81) *yaḷḷah* *ne-ṣṣaḏ-u* *a* *saḥbi*
come.on 1PL:IMPF-fish-1PL:IMPF o friend
'Come on, let's go fishing my friend.'

Following **ḥetta** 'until' the bare Imperfect is used as the following examples show.

(82) *ma* *xeṣṣ=aḵ* *ši* *a* *qqim-et* *dhaḏi* *ḥetta*
NEG need:P=2MS:IO NEG AD [2S-]-stay:A-2S here until
y-fuṯ=l-eḵ, *ḥetta* *i-fuṯ* *lpaṣpuṛ* *awella?*
3MS:IMPF-pass=IO-2MS until 3MS:IMPF-pass passport or
'You must not stay here until it expires, until the passport expires, don't you?'

The following fragment, already given above, shows the use of the consecutive Imperfect after a series of Berber-morphology Aorist forms.

(83) *ma ya ṭṭṣ-aɣ ḥetta ya settn-en iṭan g tɛeddist inu,*
NEG AD sleep:A-1S until AD bark:A-3PL dogs in belly:EA of:1S
berrḥ-en ifulusen g tɛeddist inu, ɣewwṯ-en medden g tɛeddist
call:A-3PL chickens in belly:EA of:1S scream:A-3PL people in belly:EA
inu, i-nehq-u iɣʷyal g tɛeddist inu
of:1S 3PL:IMPF-bray-3PL:IMPF donkeys in belly of:1S
'I will not sleep until the dogs bark in my belly, the chickens cackle in my belly, people scream in my belly, the donkeys bray in my belly.'

8.2.4. The preverbs š, maš, ɣa, d, ar

The non-real element **a** does not occur before Arabic-morphology verbs[157]. As in the case of the Berber Aorist the preverbal marker **š** adds a nuance of certainty or desire to the non-real Imperfect. [158] Berber has borrowed this preverbal marker as we have seen in 8.1.1.3.1. above. An alternative marker is **maš** which is less frequent and mainly used by older speakers. Furthermore, to a lesser extent the Moroccan Arabic koiné variant **ɣa** is encountered as well. The latter variant occurs only with one single younger speaker. In the following examples the use of **š** is illustrated. In example (84) it is used in a sequence of verbs which includes Berber Aorist forms and Arabic Imperfects preceded by **š**, all stressing the certainty of the occurrence of the non-realised event.

(84) *š i-ɛiq-u iḏ-es, š a y=šš-en,*
FUT 3PL:IMPF-be.aware-3PL:IMPF with-3S FUT AD 3MS:DO=eat:A-3PL
'They will notice him, they will eat him,
š a bẓeḏ, š a qeṭṭr-en fx-essen.
FUT AD [3MS-]urinate:A FUT AD drip:A-3PL on-3PL
he will urinate, they (the drops) will drip on them.'

The next example provides another instance of the use of **š** preceding an Arabic Imperfect.

(85) *mḵi ne-dda ḥetta tferreq-na, š i-ɛiss-u=l-i*
if 1PL-go:P until split-1PL:PF FUT 3PL:IMPF-guard-3PL:IMPF=IO-1S
aḡḏi ulla nnmer
jackal:EL or leopard
'If we go until we split up, the jackal or the leopard will watch me.'

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[157] On the basis of Berber-morphology verbs only it would be impossible to decide whether the elements are **ša** / **š a**, **maš** / **maša**, **da** / **d a** or **ara** / **ar a**.

[158] In the neighbouring dialect of Amṭiqan the variant **baš** is used in Berber as well as in Arabic. The speakers from this village living in Bou Ahmed use this variant.

The next example shows the use of **maš** preceding an Arabic Imperfect. As pointed out before, **maš** may stress the certainty of a non-real event (cf. 8.1.1.3.2. above).

(86) *maš n-tɛašṛ-u*
FUT 1PL:IMPF-accompany-1PL:IMPF
'We are going to accompany each other.'

The Arabic koinè form **ɣa** occurs only in the Berber speech of a young person (16 years old) who uses it interchangeably with **š**. The full variant of the particle, **ɣadi**, is considered unacceptable. In the following example the use of **ɣa** is illustrated.

(87) *saɛa, i-dda argaz = ahen maɛat ɣa y-ṣṣaḍ,*
then, 3MS-go:P man:EL = S:ANP don't.know FUT 3MS:IMPF-fish
'Then, that man went, I don't know what he is going to hunt, he went to the forest,
i-dda dar teẓga maɛat šw a ar a sekker
3MS-go:P to forest:EA don't.know what REL FUT AD [3MS-]do:A
I don't know what he was going to do'.

In the following examples the elements **d** and **ar** are shown. As these elements These examples are from elicitation as they don't appear with Arabic-morphology verbs in our text corpus. The element **d** the modal value of certainty to the non-real event (cf. 8.1.1.3.4. above), for example:

(88) *d i-ṣṣaḍ-u*
CRT2 3PL:IMPF-fish-3PL:IMPF
'They will certainly fish.'

As pointed out before, the element **ar** is possible in non-relative contexts and then has the same function as **š**.

(89) *alaẓen ar i-ṣṣaḍ-u beḵri*
tomorrow:EL FUT 3PL:IMPF-fish-3PL:IMPF early
'Tomorrow they will fish early.'

8.3. The active participle

In Moroccan Arabic the active participle is a widely used form. It has a special place in the verbal system in that it covers a broad range of aspectual and modal functions. Caubet (1993: 221-248) discusses its use extensively. According to her analysis the active participle is essentially a concomitant. Depending on the verb it can express different values such as

progressive, prospective and resultative Perfect. It has some modal uses as well. Caubet (1993) distinguishes three verb classes based on their semantic composition, two of which make use of the active participle. The first class of verbs contains movement verbs, verbs of mental and body activities and quality verbs (cf. Caubet, 1993: 228). This situation is also found in Ghomara Berber where the Arabic active participle expresses the progressive (or: *actuel* in Caubet's words) with the verbs belonging to this class. For this particular group of verbs, this has resulted in a split between the progressives, for which the active participle is used, and the habitual (and related) aspect, for which the Imperfective / Imperfect are used. For all other verbs which have an active participle (Caubet's class 2), the active participle in Ghomara expresses a non-resultative state. At this point Ghomara Berber is different from Moroccan Arabic as described by Caubet, where the active partiple in these classes is rather a resultative (*parfait*). In addition, it is possible to use the active participle to express a prospective by adding an adverb, but it is not possible to situate it in the past.

The following examples show class I verbs which express the progressive.

(90) *nekki* *maši* *dar* *uxyam*
I go:AP:MS to house:EA
'I am going home.'

In the following example the past time marker **aḡ** / **aḵ** + **ll** precedes the verb.

(91) *nuḵna* *aḡ* *ne-ll* *mašy-in* *daɣr-eḵ* *a* *ɣen=te-ḇṭu-t*
we PST 1PL-be:P go:AP-PL at-2MS AD 1PL:DO=2S-divide:A-2S
leḥšam *nn-ax*
children of-1PL
'We were heading towards you for you to select our children.'

Contrary to other participles, the progressive use of the active participle is dynamic in nature. This can be shown by a phrase that contains the adverb **deɣya** 'quickly', for example:

(92) *nettaṯa* *mažž-a* *fsir-sen* *deɣya*
she come:AP-FS behind-3PL quickly
'She quickly came after them.'

The active participle can be used to express the prospective, for example:

(93) *alaẓen* *nekki* *ṭaleɛ*
tomorrow:EL I go.up:AP:MS
'Tomorrow I will go up.'

(94) *alaẓen* *nekki* *haṛeb* *zeg* *lmuṭeɛ = aḏ*
tomorrow:EL I flee:AP:MS from place = S:PRX
'Tomorrow I will flee from this place.'

Other active participles indicate a state without the implication of a preceding stage. Contrary to the active participle used as a progressive, the adverb **deɣya** can not be combined with these active participles. In examples (95) and (96) there simply is a state without any implication of a preceding process. In example (95) the suppletive active participle of the movement verb **ḇdeḏ** 'to stand up' is used. Example (96) is an example of the use of the active participle of the verb **qqim** 'sit'. [159]

(95) *netta* *waqef* *argaz = ahen* *g* *teggurt*
he stand:AP:MS man:EL = S:ANP in door:EA
'That man was standing in the doorway'

(96) *zeg* *waṯgam* *nuḵna* *gals-in* *dha*
from yesterday:EA we sit:AP-PL here
'We have been sitting here since yesterday.'

The following example illustrates the stative value of the active participle. In example (97) the active participle cannot combine with adverbs indicating a time span. A Perfect/resultative interpretation is not possible. Instead, as example (98) shows, in such cases the Perfective (or: Perfect) has to be used.

(97) **nuḵna* *ṣaym-in* *telt* *eyyam*
we fast:AP-PL three days
'We have been fasting three days.'

[159] During fieldwork there was a discussion between speakers pertaining to the phrase **zeg waṯgam nuḵna galsin dha** 'We have been sitting here since yesterday.' One speaker suggested that this was not 'real' Berber because the active participle **gales** is used. He proposed an alternative with the Imperfective: **zeg waṯgam nuḵna ntɣima dha** 'We have been sitting here since yesterday.'. None of the other speakers accepted this and eventually the speaker who proposed this agreed with them.

(98) *nuḵna* *n-ṣam* *telt* *eyyam*
we 1PL-fast:P three days
'We have fasted / been fasting three days.'

The active participle of verbs such as **qṛa** 'to learn' also presents a state. Even though example (99) could be interpreted as a resultant state (or Perfect), example (100) shows that the active participle cannot be followed by the adverb **deɣya**, implying a state and not a process (**deɣya** does combine with the Perfective **qṛa**).

(99) *taḇṛat = aḍ,* *nekki* *qaṛi = ha*
letter:EL = S:PRX I read:AP:MS = 3FS:DO
'This letter, I have read it.'

(100) **netta* *qaṛi* *taḇṛat = ahen* *deɣya*
he read:AP:MS letter:EL = S:ANP quickly
'He has read the letter quickly.'

The active participle can be repeated several times to indicate an ongoing event. In the following example it is preceded by the auxiliary verb **qqim** 'to stay, sit, keep on' (cf. 3.1.2.3. on secondary predicates).

(101) *qqima-n* *mašy-in,* *mašy-in,* *mašy-in* *dar* *ḍḍaw = ahen*
stay:P-3PL go:AP-PL go:AP-PL go:AP-PL to light = S:PRX
'They kept on walking, walking, walking towards the light.'

8.4. The passive participle

The passive participle is frequently used in Ghomara Berber. It is used both attributively and as predicatively. Passive participles are non-verbal predicates that are derived from verbs (cf. Caubet 1993: 49, cf. III.10.1.). They can be derived from transitive as well as from intransitive verbs. They can only function intransitively. Passive participles always express states, and do not imply any preceding process whatsoever. The following examples illustrate passive participles in texts. In the examples the use of passive participles modifying a noun, and the independent use are shown.

(102) *aḡ* *lla-n* *zznuz-en* *kawkaw,* *iḇawen,* *lḥummis* *mmelḥ-a,*
PST be:P-3PL sell:I-3PL peanuts beans chickpeas be.salted:PP-FS
iḇawen mmelḥ-in
beans be.salted:PP-PL
'They sold peanuts, beans, salted chick peas, salted beans.'

(103) *lla, netta mestanes iḏ iɣežden u kḏa*
no he be.used.to:PP:MS with billy.goats and thing
'No, he is used to billy-goats and so forth.'

(104) *tsemmay-en = teṯ tamezgiḏa awzeqqur,*
call:I-3PL = 3FS:DO mosque:EL awzeqqur:EL
meḇniyy-a g ya n yaḡer mseddeq x tmezgiḏa.
build:PP-FS in one:M of field:EL give.to:PP:MS on mosque:EA
'They call it the mosque of the *awzeqqur*, it is built in a field that is given to the mosque.'

(105) *wa leḥḇiḇ inu, mḥeššm-a zga-ḵ*
well dear of:1S be.embarrassed:PP-FS from-2MS
'My dear, I am embarrassed.'

The following example shows the same stative usage of active and passive participles.

(106) *ma kayen la g uṭar, la g ṭṭhar,*
NEG EXST NEG in leg:EA NEG in back
'There is nothing on the foot nor on the back nor in the belly. Everything
la g tɛeddist. kušši mferreṭ, kušši ḍayeɛ
NEG in belly:EA everything be.depraved:PP:MS everything be.wasted:AP:MS
is depraved, everything is wasted.'

8.5. Summary

In the following table the uses of the aspectual forms are summarised. The Berber-morphology and Arabic-morphology Perfect(ive) and Imperfect(ive) (**ka**- + Imperfect for Arabic-morphology verbs) cover the same meanings. The bare Aorist (Berber-morphology) and the bare Imperfect (Arabic-morphology) essentially cover the same meanings as well. Furthermore, the active and the passive participle have been integrated into the aspectual system of Ghomara Berber.

Berber-morphology	**Meaning**
bare Aorist	consecutive event
particle + Aorist	non-real
Perfective	dynamic / resultative
Imperfective	habitual, iterative and progressive

Arabic-morphology	
Perfect	dynamic / resultative
ka- + Imperfect	habitual, iterative and progressive
(particle +) Imperfect	potential, future, whishes and injunctions
active participle stative	progressive (only some verbs), prospective,
passive participle	stative

9. The verb ll ‘to be’

The verb **ll** ‘to be’ has some specific syntactic characteristics (cf. III. 7.5.1. morphology). The Perfective form of the verb follows the element **aḡ** ~ **aḵ** to form the past marker. In relative clauses derived from a non-verbal predicate or a negative verbal predicate **ll** is obligatory and follows the relative marker **a** (cf. IV.7.2.2. on focalisation of non-verbal constructions). The relative form of the Perfective is **yellan** or **lla**. The Imperfective can only be used in its habitual meaning while the Aorist appears in non-real contexts and after **mḵi** ‘if’.

9.1. The past marker aḡ ~ aḵ + ll

To refer explicitly to the past, the element **aḡ** ~ **aḵ** followed by a Perfective form of **ll** is put before the predicate. The conjugated verb **ll** agrees with the subject. The allomorph **aḵ** only appears before the conjugational prefix **t**- (2S, 3FS, 2PL). Before other verbal prefixes both **aḡ** and **aḵ** occur, although the former is much more frequent. The past marker can accompany any type of predicate, be it verbal or non-verbal. It places the event in the past, or, if the event is already in the past, it expresses a pluperfect. In combination with **a** + Aorist it refers to an anterior non-realised event. If it is not followed by a predicate it can be translated as ‘there was’. Some examples of its use are:

(1) *aḵ* *i-ll* *ya* *wrgaz* *i* *ya* *tmeṭṭuṯ* *ma* *ɣer-sen*
PST 3MS-be:P one:M man:EA and one:F woman:EA NEG at-3PL
ši *n* *leḥšam*
NEG of children
‘There were a man and a woman who had no children.’

(2) *tameṭṭuṯ* *aḵ* *te-ll* *h-tett* *iḇzaḡen*
woman:EL PST 3FS-be:P 3FS-eat:I beans
‘A woman used to eat beans.’

(3) *sspanyuḷ* *aḡ* *i-ll* *ɣr-es* *leflus* *nn-es*
Spaniards PST 3MS-be:P at-3S money of-3S
‘The Spaniards used to have their own money.’

(4) *nuḵna* *aḡ* *ne-ll* *mašy-in* *daɣr-eḵ*
we PST 1PL-be:P go:AP-PL at-2MS
‘We were coming to you.’

Example (5) shows the pluperfect interpretation when a Perfective verb follows the past marker.

(5) *nya lekm-aɣ daɣr-es aḵ i-ll i-ḵrez*
when arrive:P-1S at-3S PST 3MS-be:P 3MS-plough:P
'When I arrived, he had ploughed.'

Example (6) shows the use of the anterior non-real.

(6) *saɛa aḵ lla-n š a t=šš-en.*
then PST be:P-3PL FUT AD 3FS:DO=eat:A-3PL
'Then they were going to eat it.'

9.2. Relative clauses

The use of **ll** is obligatory in relative clauses based on non-verbal predicates (including participles). Before verbal predicates it is optional. Its use seems to add the meaning of general relevance to the situation. In subject relative clauses the relative form of **ll** can be used. The full relative form is only used by old people, younger people prefer to use an abbreviation, **lla**. Example (7) and (8) show a non-subject relative. In (9) an adverbial predicate is in the interrogative clause. In (10) a prepositional predicate is in the relative clause. In (11) an adjectival predicate is used.

(7) *nešt n muḥemmeḏ a ye-ll ḥmeḏ*
as.big.as of Mohamed REL 3MS-be:P Ahmed
'Ahmed is as big as Mohamed.'

(8) *imalḥen a ne-ll wakl-in mezyan-in*
fish REL 1PL-be:P eat:PL-PL good-PL
'The fish we have eaten are nice.'

(9) *škun a ye-lla-n daxel?*
who REL RF-be:P-RF inside
'Who is inside?'

(10) *t-an a lla g lbir*
F-REL:S REL be:P in well
'The one who is in the well.'

(11) *iṣɣaṛen=ihen a lla xuḏeṛ ma mezyan-in ši*
sticks=PL:ANP REL be:P green:PL NEG good-PL NEG
'Sticks that are green (i.e. wet) are not good.'

After conjunctions the use of **lla** is optional, for example:

(12) *amḵ a lla ɣr-es seḇɛa n leḥšam*
when REL be:P at-3S seven of children
'When she had seven children.'

In the following text excerpt, example (13), the first verb is in the subject relative form while the second verb is preceded by **lla**. Example (14) shows a non-subject relative. In such a case the verb has the normal conjugation.

(13) *zeɛma t-a ye-nwa-n i netta, i tḇurgayezt,*
so.to.say F-PRH:S RF-be.cooked:P-RF for he and unripe:EA F-
t-a lla ma he-nwa ši
PRH:S be:P NEG 3FS-be.cooked:P NEG
'So to say the ripe one for him, and the unripe one,
the one that is not ripe…'

(14) *u x uy a lla-x ḥaḏ̣-ax*
and on INDEF:EA REL be:P-1S be.present:P-1S
'And it is this which I had witnessed.'

After the negative element **ma** sometimes the Perfective form of **ll** is used. It is not entirely clear whether there is a difference in meaning with **maši**, compare the (lack of) contrast between (15) and (16).

(15) *lla, t-ha ma he-ll taɛeyyalt inu*
no F-PRX:SNEG 3FS-be:P girl:EL of-1S
No, this is not my daughter'

(16) *t-ha maši yemma*
F-PRX:SNEG mother
'He says to them: 'this is not my mother.'

9.3. The Imperfective

The Imperfective of **ll** can only be used to indicate the habitual, for example:

(17) *awellu = ahen a siḏi i-ttill mabayen, mabayen lɛaṛt i lɛaṛt,*
plough = S:PRX VOC Sir 3MS-be:I between between ox and ox
i-ttill g wammas

3MS-be:I in middle:EA
'That plough is between an ox and an ox, it is in the middle.'

9.4. A + Aorist

The Aorist form of **ll** 'to be' is required for non-verbal predicates which have non-real **a**, for example:

(18) *i muḥemmeḏ i-tḍewwar netta i tmeṭṭuṯ, netta i*
and Mohamed 3MS-go.round:I he and wife:EA he and
leḥšam nn-es gum nn-eḵ, gum nn-eḵ, baqi š a ll
children of-3S in.front of-2MS in.front of-2MS still FUT AD [3MS-]be:A
mxebbeɛ?
hide:PP:MS
'And Mohammed and his wife walk around, he and his children in front of you, in front of you, will he still be hidden?'

The construction **a** + **ll** 'to be' can be used before a Perfective verb to express an anterior non-real. Other aspectual forms cannot appear in this position.

(19) *š a ll i-dda=d*
FUT AD [3MS-]be:A 3MS-come:P=DC
'He will have come'

The following is an example of the Imperative (which is the Aorist form):

(20) *ll argaz*
be man:EL
'Be a man!'

The use of the Aorist after **mḵi** 'if' is optional. An example is:

(21) *mḵi te-lli-t qriḇ da lmeṛṣa, š a ḵ=i-bb ḥettar lbaṛku*
if 2S-be:A-2S close to port FUT AD 2MS:DO-take:A until ship
'If you are close to the port, he will take take you to the ship.'

9.5. Negation of ll 'to be'

The verb **ll** 'to be' is negated as other verbs (cf. IV.3.4.). Some examples are:

(22) *ma aḡ i-ll ši lkaṛ*

NEG PST 3MS-be:P NEG bus
'There was no bus.'

(23) *taɛeyyalt=ahen ma ar a ll ši ɣliṭ-a*
girl:EL=S:PRX NEG FUT AD [3SF-]be:A NEG fat-FS
'That girl will not be fat.'

(24) *t-an a ma lla ši g lbir*
F-REL:S REL NEG be:P NEG in well
'The one (F.) who is not in the well.'