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A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya) : based on Umberto Paradisi's material

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Citation

Putten, M. van. (2013, October 1). *A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya) : based on Umberto Paradisi's material*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/21848>

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Cover Page



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Issue Date: 2013-10-01

Chapter 7

Deixis

There are several elements that express deixis, all making use of the elements displayed in the table below.

	proximal	distal
sg.	-àya, -é, -ók	-íwan
pl.	-ìya, -ìyək	-idánin

These deictic elements may be combined with a variety of different heads. First, they can be placed after nouns. Second, they can be combined with the pronominal elements *w-/t-* which we already encountered in section 6.3.1. The third option is the combination of the deictic elements with the presentative element *akk-/akətt-*. Finally, the deictic elements may be combined with the adverbial deictics *dil-* and *sil-*. These different heads are discussed individually in the following sections.

There is another deictic element, which is only found cliticized to nouns, *ídin*, *-idìn* which will be discussed in more detail in section 7.1.

There are two words in the language that have a petrified deictic clitic =*a*, which is no longer productively added to noun in Awjila: *àšfa* ‘today’, cf. *íšf* ‘day’ and *àšəw(w)àša* ‘this year’, cf. MA *asgg^was* ‘year’.¹

7.1 Deictic clitics

Nominal deixis is achieved by cliticizing the demonstrative elements to the noun. The demonstrative clitics agree with the noun in number.

- (67) *mag i-nni amədən=é*
where 3sm-exist.*pf. man=prox.:s
‘Where is this man?’ [P: s.v. dove?]

- (68) *wəttì-mət šyirən, qámak a=ggà-γ=d afīw syàr=tafilli=yíwan.*
prepare:imp.-fp firewood now fut.=bring;fut.-1s=bring fire from=house=dist.:s
‘prepare firewood, now I will bring fire from that house.’ [PT:XV]

¹The deictic =*a* is found as a productive clitic in other Berber languages, for example Middle Atlas Berber (Penchoen 1973: 21) and Mali Tuareg (Heath 2005: 239).

- (69) *y-uná s=adbuš=ənn-əs əlmərrat=àya*
 3sm-enter:pf. with=clothes=of-3s time=prox.:s
 'He entered with his clothes this time.' [PT:IX]
- (70) *afīwa t-nə-d=dik ká (or: ur=t-nə-d=dik) žlan=īya u=nək*
 why 2s-say:*pf.-2s=IO.1s neg. neg.=2s-say:*pf.-2s=IO.1s words-prox.:p and=I
nni-x ar=ùta?
 be(loc.):*pf.-1s to=below
 'Then the beggar said to him: Why did you not tell me these words when (litt. and) I was still below?' [PT:VI]

In many Berber languages there exist anaphoric deictic clitics ('the one just mentioned before in the discourse'). In Awjila we find a deictic clitic that is only placed after singular nouns: =*idin*, =*idīn*, which Souag (2010: 258) suggests is an anaphoric. This cannot be the case. In the one attestation of this clitic in the text, it is cliticized to the word *avəṭ* 'night', which is introduced for the first time in the text in that sentence and therefore cannot be anaphoric.

- (71) *u=y-əmḥəṭ=ṭət avəṭ=idīn.*
 and=3sm-make.love:*pf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s
 'and he made love to her that night.' [PT:XV]

In fact, evidence suggests that Awjila does not express anaphoric deixis at all. Many sentences that are clearly anaphoric, do not have deictic clitics, e.g.

- (72) *Y-ušá=d Žhà mārri i-yəlli a=y-əssən akəllim=ənn-əs*
 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s
amakàn baḥīd ləkən akəllim i-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən
 place be.far:3sm but servant 3sm-know:*pf. neg. place and=3sm-know:*pf.
ká təbarūt u=y-ərwəṭ a=y-ùyar
 neg. way and=3sm-be.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut.
 'One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away. But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way and he became afraid to get lost.' [PT:X]
- (73) *U=t-axzár yār-əs təmìgni w=ət-n=ìs: i=kú a=wá=n*
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman and=3sf-say:*pf.=IO.3s hey=you voc.=PMPH:ms=of
ləmluxiyət. U=y-axzár nəttin yār-əs w=i-gá əlḥəməl=ənn-əs
 mulukhiya and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s
dīt n=təmìgni
 in.front of=woman
 'And a woman looked at him and said: Hey you there, the one of with the mulukhiya. And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman' [PT:III]

The definition that Paradisi gives for *=idin*, *=idìn* in the word list, “quello. Quando la cosa non è molto lontana” [That. When the thing is not very far away], suggests that it is a clitic of medial deixis. Example sentence (71) above and the example cited by Paradisi in the word list (s.v. quello): *amədən-idin* ‘that man’ give little support for this and the exact function of this clitic remains unclear.

For the proximal deixis clitic, we notice the existence of variants with and without a final element *-k*. This also occurs in pronominal deictics (section 7.2). This is reminiscent of the situation in Siwa, which has medial demonstrative pronouns which express addressee agreement.² In this language, different pronouns are used depending on who is addressed. If the addressee is a man, *wok* is used, in case of a female singular addressee the medial deictic is *wom*, while with a plural addressee *werwən* is used (Souag 2010: 259-261).

For Awjila, we lack evidence to determine whether there is addressee agreement. Only two instances of a demonstrative with *-k* occur in the texts, both in the plural form *tyariwin-iyək* ‘these sticks’. The context is certainly fit for addressee agreement in the Siwa sense. Note that the addressee is clearly plural rather than singular. The *-k* in Siwa only refers to singular masculine addressees.

- (74) *Bəṣadən i-n=isìn: akká, kəmmim am=tyariwin=iyək, àndu*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if
t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kim məṣá bəṣádkum a=tt-əqqíma-m
 2p-gather:*pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
am=təyariwin=iyək
 like=sticks-prox.:p

‘Then he said to them: look, you are like these sticks, if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.’ [PT:I]

7.2 Deictic pronouns

Deictic pronouns consist of the pronominal element *w-/t-* which marks gender, followed by the deictic elements that mark number and distance (proximal and distal). The proximal demonstrative pronouns have a large number of different forms, and are unfortunately largely unattested in the texts. As a result, differences in function cannot be determined.

Note that the deictic pronouns have an additional singular suffix *-a* which is not present in the nominal deictic clitics. This makes these deictic singular pronouns look identical to the PMPHS (see section 6.3.1), but their function is different, and the plural formation is different from the PMPHS. Therefore the deictic pronouns and PMPHS

²This similarity was already noticed by Souag (2010: 258)

cannot be considered to be the same element. Note further that the suffix *-íyak* that we find in the nominal deictic suffixes is unattested in the deictic pronouns.

There are no attestations of *w-a* and *t-a* where they are used as demonstratives. It is perhaps possible that Paradisi listed them as demonstratives, even though they are solely used as PMPHS.

	proximal	distal
m.sg.	w-a, w-e, w-àya, w-ók	w-íwan
f.sg.	t-a, t-e, t-àya, t-ók	t-íwan
m.pl.	w-ìya	w-idánin
f.pl.	t-ìya	t-idánin

Below follow several example sentences of the deictic pronouns in use.

- (75) *wàya d=aʒit fəšũš, qəwi u=d=aʒit mri.*
 this:sm pred.=donkey be.agile:3sm, be.strong:3sm and=pred.=donkey be.good:3sm
 ‘This is an agile and strong donkey, and it is a good donkey’ [PT:IV]
- (76) *wàya d=aʒit ká, wàya d=amədan.*
 this:sm pred.=donkey neg., this:sm pred.=man
 ‘this is not a donkey, this is a man.’ [PT:VII]
- (77) *we s=am=məgwa?*
 this:sm for=like-=what:sm?
 ‘how much does this cost?’ [P: s.v. quanto?]

7.3 Presentative deictics

The presentative deictics consist of an element *akk-* followed by the deictic elements. The presentative deictics can be compared in meaning to that of Italian *ecco* or French *voici, voilà*.

Paradisi gives a complete paradigm of the presentive deictics, which agree in gender and number with the noun they denote.

	proximal	distal
m.sg.	akk-á	akk-iwàn
f.sg.	ak(k)ətt-á	akk-iwàn
m.pl.	akk-í	akk-idánin
f.pl.	akətt-í	akk-idánin

The distal presentative deictics agree in gender in the singular, but not in the plural to the noun that they refer to. Note that the proximal plural deictic suffix *-i* is different

from the ones found in the nominal deictic clitics and in the deictic pronouns (-*ya*, -*yak*). The endings of the proximal rather resemble the PMPH endings.

In reality, we only have a single example where these words agree in gender and number with the noun they modify.

- (78) *akk-í* *mādinān*
 presentative:prox-pm people
 ‘Behold, the people’ [P:s.v. ecco]

In all other cases, the presentative deictic invariably takes the masculine singular form, and is only differentiated in proximal and distal deixis.

- (79) *akká*, *kāmmīm* *am=tyariwin=iyək*
 Then 3sm-say:pf.=10.3pm this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p
 ‘Then he said to them: look, you are like these sticks,’ [PT:I]
- (80) *afīw akká* *y-əlḥīm=a*
 fire this.here 3sm-to.be.lit:res.=res.
 ‘this here fire is lit’ [P: s.v. accendere]
- (81) *akká* *alá urif-x=a*
 this.here rel. write:res.-1s=res.
 ‘behold, that which I have written’ [P: s.v. quello]
- (82) *ābba*, *ābba akkiwān* *əlbəqīs n=afīw*.
 father father that.there glimmer of=fire.
 ‘Father, father! There! the glimmer of fire!’ [PT:XV]
- (83) *akkiwān* *iriš-in=a* *dilíwan*.
 that.there descend:res.-3pm=res. at.there
 ‘Over there, they’ve descended down there.’ [PT:XV]

7.4 Adverbial deictics

Deictic adverbs distinguish between a locative and an allative function. The proximal form is found with the deictic suffix *-a* which we also saw in the deictic pronouns and presentative deictics. Moreover we find a suffix *-ak*, which appears to be a combination of the deictic suffix *-a* and the deictic suffix *-ək*. The distal form of the locative has the deictic suffix *-íwan*, but besides this regular form, we find an irregular *diššíwan*. For the allative adverbial deictics, there is no attested form of the distal.

	proximal	distal
Locative	dil-a, dil-ak	dil-íwan, diššíwan
Allative	sil-a, sil-ak	unattested

- (84) *yi=d dila.*
 come:imp. at.here
 ‘come here.’ [PT:VI]
- (85) *akkiwàn iriš-in=a dilitwan.*
 that.there descend:res.-3pm=res. at.there
 ‘Over there, they’ve descended down there.’ [PT:XV]
- (86) *y-axáttam síla wa žižà-n lamluxàyt,*
 3sf-say:*pf.=IO.3s 3sm-pass.by:impf. along.here PMPH:sm sell:impf-ptc. mulukhiya
 ‘A mulukhiya vendor came by here,’ [PT:IV]

Note that in example (84) the preceding imperative verb *yid* is unaccented. It seems to form an accent unit with *dila*, something which Paradisi also suggests with the spelling he employed: <yīd-dīla>. It is conceivable that the command ‘come here’ has become a fixed phrase with only one accent.

The adverb *gan* ‘there’ is a deictic that is not specified for distance. Paradisi considers it the Awjila form of expressing ‘there is, there are’, found in the word list under *essere*:

“Vi è, vi era, *gān* (cf. Siwa, *gen*, chez); non vi è, *gān-ká*; egli non c’era *yénnī-ká gān*.” [P: s.v. *essere*]

From the examples, especially in text XV, it is clear that the ‘there is, there are’ interpretation of the word is secondary to the adverbial meaning ‘there’.

- (87) *u=bəʕədèn nəhìnət ufā-nət aləyəm y-əmmùt=a u=kkàr-nət,*
 and=then they(f) find:*pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:*pf.-3pf,
ərfəʕ-nət z=gan šəmmà-nət y=àmza
 lift.up:*pf.-3pf from=there cook:*pf.-3pf dat.=ogre
 ‘and then they found a dead camel and they stood up and lifted (it) from there and cooked it for the ogre.’ [PT:XV]
- (88) *u=t-šan gan tirèwt təməqqərànt*
 and=3sf-make.enter:*pf. there girl big:sf
 ‘and (she) made oldest girl go in there,’ [PT:XV]

In the sentence below the ‘there is, there are’ interpretation seems the only logical interpretation:

- (89) *gan mīddən dila,*
 there people at.here,
 ‘there are people here,’