

Internal Structure of Verb Meaning

Internal Structure of Verb Meaning:
A Study of Verbs in Tamazight (Berber)

By

Karim Achab

**CAMBRIDGE
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P U B L I S H I N G

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To Numide, Tanite and Aksel

“You can fool some of the people all the time,
And all the people some of the time,
But you cannot fool all the people all the time.”
—Abraham Lincoln

A few quotes about Tamazight and Imazighen (Berbers):

“The Amazigh tribes no longer exist”

“Whoever wants to use Tamazight at home is free but this must end”

“If your mother transmits you this language [Tamazight], she nourishes you with the milk of the colonialist, she feeds you their poison”
(Muammar Gaddafi, former head of Libyan State)

“Never ever will Tamazight become an official language alongside Arabic”

(Abdelaziz Bouteflika, President of Algeria to the Amazigh population of Kabylia)

“Arabic is the official language of our identity, our Koran and our nation. The Moroccan citizen is duty-bound to speak his national language.”

(Khalid Shebal, Moroccan’s Institute for Arabization)

“To the Apaches of Nador, Al Hoceima, Tetouan [...] they will be treated with the most cruel treatment.”

(Hassan II, former king of Morocco to the Amazigh population of the Rif region)

“The old Berber ghost wants to come back to life”

(Habib Bourguiba, first President of Tunisia)

(Quotes gathered and translated by Ines El-shikh)

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PREFACE

This book is derived from my Ph.D. dissertation defended at the University of Ottawa in 2006, under the supervision of Professor Maria Luisa Rivero. Chapter 2, entitled “Tamazight Language Profile”, is an addition that aims to provide readers linguistic knowledge and facts about the language as well as to help situate the reader with respect to the political environment where Tamazight is evolving. It also retells the history of Tamazight and Imazighen (Berbers). This chapter is illustrated with maps situating the different Tamazight varieties spoken today across North Africa. While the central topic of investigation in the present book remains the internal structure of verb meaning in Tamazight, it is written in such a way that it serves as an introduction to lexical semantics. The aim of this approach is to describe how lexical semantics interacts with syntactic rules before and after spell-out in a way that incorporates both the Minimalist Program and the Government and Binding theories.

Chapter 3, entitled “The Organization of the Grammar”, clears out the confusion found in the literature between event, lexical and aspectual structures and traces the origin and the evolution of the concept related to these structures from Plato to modern linguistics. The chapter also untangles interwoven theoretical facts regarding the different levels at which event structure, lexical structure and predicate-argument structure are derived and how they are “mapped” together.

What makes the Tamazight facts investigated in this book so unique is the possibility for a special category of stative verbs to show up with accusative clitics or with nominative clitics. While these verbs are argued to be a vestige of nominal declension (Galand 1980, 1990), I demonstrate that these are the only verbs that contain the stative abstract verb BE. This serves as the basis for the derivation of other types of verbs by augmentation. The approach adopted in this book provides an original account that is coherent and that incorporates all other verb classes.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OR CHRONOLOGY

Acc	accusative
AZK	At Ziyān Kabyle Tamazight (Berber)
Caus	causative
CL	clitic
Cs	Construct state
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
ES	Event Structure
F	feminine
Fs	Free state
GB	Government and Binding Theory
LS	lexical structure
M	masculine
Nom	nominative
Perf	perfective
PAS	predicate-argument structure
Pl	plural
Sg	singular

CHAPTER ONE

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

1.1 Main objective

The main objective of the present book is twofold. On one hand, I investigate the internal structure of verb meaning and its role in predetermining the predicate-argument structure (PAS) in the syntax. On the other hand, I outline a model of the organization of the grammar specifying the levels at which the different subcomponents of both the internal and the predicate-argument structures are represented. Once such a model is articulated, I explain how it is applied to account for the derivation of the different verb classes considered in the present book. I assume the internal structure of verbs to be composed of two main subcomponents which, following the tradition in the linguistic literature is referred to as event structure (ES) and lexical-conceptual structure (LCS) or lexical structure (LS) for short. The verb classes investigated are those indicating state and change of state in Kabyle Tamazight¹. However, other regional varieties as well as comparison with equivalent verbs in English and French will also be appealed to where necessary. The verbs of state and change of state considered include the class of intransitive verbs traditionally referred to as verbs of quality in the linguistic literature on Tamazight (chapter 4), unaccusative verbs (chapter 4), verbs of spatial configuration (chapter 6) and causative verbs, both lexical and morphological (chapter 7).

1.2 The internal structure of verbs and the organization of the grammar

As will be discussed in Chapter 3, there is a significant confusion in the linguistic literature with regard to the representation and the terminology used to refer to the internal structure of verbs. For instance, the same representations are alternately called lexical-conceptual structures

1. A full description of the Tamazight language is provided in chapter 2.

(Jackendoff 1976, 1983, 1990; Guerssel 1987; Rappaport and Levin 1996 among many others) logical structures (Dowty 1979); event structures (Pustejovsky 1988, 1991, 1995); lexical cores (Pinker 1989) and Event templates (Rappaport and Levin 1998). Moreover, while some authors suggest that the lexical-conceptual structure is pre-syntactic² and therefore represented at a lexical level, others argue that it is derived in the syntactic component³. In addition to these two alternative views, other authors⁴ take an intermediate stand arguing that event structure is relevant to both levels. It is one of my commitments in the undertaken study to curb these ambiguities. To achieve such a goal, I argue that event structure is not part of the lexical knowledge corresponding to verbs but a mental representation of events happening in the external world. These mental representations are established from experience or memorized as conceptualized mental schemas by the language learner. By contrast, lexical structure is part of the speaker's lexical or encyclopaedic knowledge⁵. Accordingly, the organization of the grammar has to contain at least two distinct presyntactic levels, only one of which is lexical while the other is conceptual. Conversely, Argument structure, as will be demonstrated, is projected into the syntactic component on the basis of the lexical structure which is already established in the lexical knowledge of the language user. However, the predicate-argument structure is subject to further computation or transformation in the syntax following the syntactic rules of the language.

On the basis of the different verb classes of (change of) state investigated in the present study, I demonstrate that lexical structures are concatenative in the sense that they may be augmented or reduced depending on the composition of the event structure being considered. If used frequently enough, such lexical structures end up being "fossilized" in the user's mental lexical knowledge or encyclopedia. The verbs of (change of) state investigated in the present study share the common property of indicating a state which is either inherent or comes up as the result of an event. Accordingly, it is legitimate to expect this notion of state to be reflected in some way within the lexical structure. Following a

2. Jackendoff (1976, 1983, 1990); Hale and Laughren (1983); Hale (1986); Guerssel (1987); Rappaport and Levin (1986, 1996, 1998 and subsequent work); Pustejovsky (1988, 1991, 1995); Pinker (1989) among many others

3. Ritter and Rosen (2000); Borer (1994, 1996); Benua and Borer (1996); Tenny (1987, 1994) and Ritter & Rosen (2000) among others.

4. For instance Van Hout (2000) and Travis (2000)

5. This view is endorsed in the literature by Jackendoff (1983, 1990) and Pinker (1989).

long established tradition in lexical semantics, I indicate this notion of state at the lexical-structure level by means of the upper case verb BE in the present book. However, BE here is to be understood as merely notational, indicating an abstract verb archetype⁶ rather than a lexical verb. I demonstrate through the different chapters that the lexical structure of these verbs first starts up with a basic stative verb and builds up progressively using other abstract verb archetypes as building blocks. These abstract verbs reflect the semantic functions such as “(be)coming”, “acting”, and “causing” which are encoded in the event being described. Again, following the well established tradition in lexical semantics, I paraphrase such abstract verb archetypes as (BE)COME, ACT and CAUSE, etc. In addition to verb archetypes, a lexical structure also contains a lexical root which confers the lexical meaning to the verb. I use the mathematical symbol⁷ $\sqrt{}$ to indicate this root concept in conformity with the by now well-established tradition in lexical semantics. One way of illustrating the concatenative nature of the internal structure of the verbs under investigation is by using the familiar syntactic bracketing system as shown below:

(1.1)

a. Stative verbs of quality

[State BE ($\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$)]

b. Inchoative verbs of quality and unaccusative verbs

[Event COME [State BE ($\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$)]]

c. Verbs of spatial configuration (or unaccusative-disguised reflexives)

[Event ACT [Event COME [State BE ($\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$)]]]

d. Causative verbs

[Event CAUSE [Event COME [State BE ($\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$)]]]

6. For reasons that will be clear as we proceed I call these internal abstract verbs archetypes in the sense that their semantics is inherited although morphologically hidden. My use of this term was inspired from Jungian psychology.

7. The use of the symbol $\sqrt{}$ in linguistics to indicate lexical roots is by now widespread (see Pesetsky 1995; Marantz 1997; and Hale and Keyser 1998 and 2002 among many others.)

I further argue in subsequent chapters that the lexical structures above are then mapped onto their equivalent event structures yielding their corresponding predicate-argument structures in the syntax. A further discussion of the internal structure and model of the organization of the grammar is provided in Chapter 3. Having given an overview of the internal structure and the PAS and how they fit into the organization of the grammar, let me now introduce the verbs of (change of) state investigated in this study.

1.3 Verbs of (change of) state

In this section I introduce the different verb classes investigated in the undertaken study and the way I envision their internal structure along the lines revealed in the previous section. As already mentioned above, all these verb types share the common semantic particularity to refer to a state or a change of state. They include the class of intransitive verbs traditionally referred to as verbs of quality in the linguistic literature on Tamazight (§ 3.1), unaccusative verbs (§ 3.2), verbs of spatial configuration (§ 3.3), and causative verbs, both lexical and morphological (§ 3.4).

1.3.1 Verbs of quality

The main morpho-syntactic characteristic of verbs of quality as they occur in Taqbaylit (Kabyle) Tamazight resides in their possibility to combine with both accusative and nominative clitics. These two possibilities are illustrated with the verb⁸ *ZWT*⁹ ‘be red’ below¹⁰:

- (1.2) a. Combination of the verb *zwɣ* ‘be red’ with an accusative clitic
 Zeggay-it
 Red.perf-3m.sg.acc.
 It / he is red

8. For reasons of clarity, verbs are announced in their root form, stripped of all their morphological arguments.

9. The symbol *ɿ* is the uppercase of the Greek letter γ (gamma), which is used the velar sound.

10. Unless specified otherwise, the verbs of quality exemplified in the present dissertation are from the At Ziyen Kabyle variety spoken in the eastern part of Kabylia. A description of this variety is provided by Allaoua (1986). See also Galand (1980, 1990).

b. Combination of the verb *zwɣ* ‘be red’ with a nominative cliticI-*zwiɣ*

3m.sg.nom.-red.perf

It / he has become red

Both verb stems *zeggaɣ* in (1.2a) and *zwiɣ* in (1.2b) are derived from the same lexical root $\sqrt{\text{ZW}\gamma}$. The sound indicated as *gg* in the form *zeggaɣ* (1.2a) is simply the reduplication of the labial sound *w*, thus obeying a phonological rule in this language. The form *zeggaɣ* (1.2a) always indicates a pure state, while the form *zwiɣ* illustrated in (1.2b) may indicate either a resultative state or a change of state depending on the context. In view of this difference, I term the form in (1.2a) pure stative and the one in (1.2b) inchoative. This terminology is semantically grounded. In the same manner, I will appeal to syntactically grounded terminology and term the form in (1.2a) accusative because it shows up with an accusative clitic and the one in (1.2b) nominative as it shows up with a nominative clitic. A point to note here is that the possibility of verbs of quality to combine with accusative clitics as shown in (1.2a) is a counter example to the standard idea in Government and Binding that intransitive verbs lack the ability to assign accusative Case as was argued for by Burzio (1986). A number of questions arise at this point. For instance, how do we account for the different interpretations associated with the same verb form in (1.2b) such as the stative and the inchoative (change of state)? Another question that needs to be addressed with respect to this data has to do with the reason for why the internal argument in (1.2a), expressed with the accusative clitic, is not attracted to the nominative position. These and other relevant questions are dealt with in Chapter 4.

It is noteworthy that the accusative form (1.2a) exists only in a few varieties of Tamazight among which Kabyle is one of. In most other varieties of Tamazight, only the nominative form illustrated in (1.2b) is available. Galand (1980, 1990) argues that the accusative form (1.2a) is a remnant of an old nominal declension system that has progressively evolved into a verbal inflectional system. In the terminology adopted here, we can say that the system has evolved from accusative to nominative. In some varieties, this evolution is complete. This is for instance the case in Tashelhiyt, a variety of Tamazight spoken in Southern Morocco, as shown below:

- (1.3) I-zeggay
 3m.sg.nom.-red
 It / he became red

The form *i-zeggay* in (1.3) shares the prefix property with the Kabyle nominative form *i-zwiγ* in (1.2b), while its verb stem *zeggay* is identical to the accusative form in (1.2a). How are these facts accounted for? To the best of my knowledge, the questions seen here have never been addressed in the linguistic literature on Tamazight. They are dealt with in Chapter (4) along with other related questions.

1.3.2 Unaccusative verbs

The nominative form of verbs of quality introduced in the previous subsection contrasts with unaccusative verbs such as *rγ* ‘burn’ exemplified with in (1.4):

- (1.4) I-rya wexxam
 3m.sg.-burn cs.house
 The house has burned down

Like the nominative form *i-zwiγ* (1.2b), the unaccusative verb *i-rya* (1.4) appears with the nominative suffix clitic *i-*. However, unlike the nominative verb *i-zwiγ* in (1.2b), the unaccusative verb *i-rya* in (1.4) lacks the possibility to combine with the accusative clitic. I argue in Chapter 4 that the reason why this is so has to do with the semantic content of this type of verb in the sense that they do not refer to an inherent property or state of the (internal) argument but to a property that always results from change of state. Remember from the previous section that the unaccusative form indicates a pure state as opposed to the nominative form which may also indicate a change of state.

Another interesting fact with respect to the unaccusative class of verbs such as the one illustrated in (1.4) is their behavior with respect to the intransitive/transitive alternation. Indeed, while a subclass of unaccusative verbs possess a transitive alternate, another subclass, which includes the verb *rγ* ‘burn’ (1.4), does not. This issue, which I refer to as split unaccusativity, is further introduced in the next subsection.

1.3.2.1 Split unaccusativity

The class of unaccusative verbs in Tamazight may be split into two subclasses depending on whether they have a causative alternate or whether their causative counterpart is derived by means of the causative morpheme *SS*¹¹. For instance, the verb *ry* ‘burn’ exemplified in (1.4) does not possess a transitive alternate¹² as shown in (1.5) below:

- (1.5) *I-rya Hemmu axxam-is
 3m.sg.-burned house-his
 Hemmu burned his house

Unlike the verb exemplified in (1.4) and (1.5), the unaccusative verb *ldi* ‘open’ exemplified in (1.6a) does have a transitive alternate as shown in (1.6b):

- (1.6) a. T-ldi tewwurt
 3f.sg.open cs.door
 The door is open / opened
- b. I-lli Aksel tawwurt
 3m.sg.open-perf. Aksel fs.door
 Aksel opened the door

The question that arises here is why some unaccusative verbs alternate with the causative use as in (1.6) while others cannot as shown in (1.5). This question is dealt with in Chapter 4, which is devoted to unaccusative verbs.

1.3.3 Verbs of spatial configuration

The different intransitive verb classes introduced in the previous sections contrast with verbs of spatial configuration such as *qqim* ‘sit’, *bedd*

¹¹ Causative verbs will be introduced in § 3.4.

¹² However, the transitive equivalent of the intransitive *ry* may be derived by means of the causative morpheme *SS* inserted between the pronominal morpheme *i-* and the verb stem as shown below.

I-ssery Hemmu axxam-is
 3m.sg.-burn house-his
 Hemmu burned his house

‘stand’, *kker* ‘stand up’, *knu* ‘lean, bend’, etc. Indeed, while the former class may have a maximum of only two interpretations, namely the pure stative and the inchoative (change of state), verbs of spatial configuration may have up to three different interpretations. That is, in addition to the two previously mentioned interpretations, these verbs may also yield an agentive interpretation depending on the context. As will be seen in Chapter 6, these three distinct interpretations are similar to those identified by Levin and Rappaport (1995) as (i) *simple state position*, (ii) *maintain position* and (iii) *assume position*. Therefore, this semantic property singles out this class of verbs from the verbs of quality and the unaccusative class introduced in the previous sections. This justifies why they are treated separately in Chapter 6 where I argue in favor of the following triadic lexical structure:

$$(1.7) \quad [V^{ACT} [V^{COME} [V^{BE} ([\sqrt{ROOT}])]]]$$

In Chapter 6 I also compare the Tamazight verbs of spatial configuration with their French equivalents. In French, spatial configuration verbs such as *s’asseoir* ‘sit down’, *se lever* ‘stand up, get up’, *se pencher* ‘to lean’, etc display the reflexive pronoun *SE*. I argue that the nature of verbs of spatial configuration in Tamazight is better understood when they are analyzed as disguised reflexives rather than as unaccusatives despite their lack of reflexive morphology. Accordingly, I demonstrate that this class of verbs in Tamazight has the same internal structure and the same predicate-argument structure as their equivalents in French which display reflexive morphology. Drawing inspiration from Alboiu *et al.* (2004), I further maintain that the differences between this class of verbs in Tamazight and their equivalents in French originate at the post-syntactic level, i.e. after Spell-Out.

1.3.4 Causative verbs

In the present section I introduce Tamazight causative verbs which induce a change of state. We need to keep in mind two types of distinctions with respect to this broad class of verbs. On the one hand, as briefly mentioned in the previous section, we need to distinguish lexical causatives ((1.8b) below) from morphological causatives ((1.9b) below). On the other hand, lexical causatives split into two categories, those which alternate with the intransitive use ((1.8) below) and those which do not ((1.10) below)

1.3.4.1 Lexical vs. morphological causatives

Tamazight has two types of causative verbs. One type, exemplified in (1.8), alternates with the intransitive use; the other type, illustrated in (1.9), is derived by means of the causative morpheme *SS*.

- (1.8) a. T-lli tewwurt
 3f.sg.open cs.door
 The door is open / opened
- b. Y-lli Aksel tawwurt
 3m.sg.open-perf. Aksel fs.door
 Aksel opened the door
- (1.9) a. T-wwa lqahwa
 3f.sg. cook coffee
 The coffee is ready
- b. Y-ss-ww Aksel lqahwa
 3m.sg-caus-make Aksel coffee
 Aksel has made (some) coffee

Following the tradition in linguistics I call the causative type in (1.8b) lexical and the one in (1.9b) morphological. I argue in Chapter 7 that the structure of the intransitive alternate in (1.8b) is derived by reducing its causative counterpart. By contrast, I argue that the lexical structure of morphological causatives such as the one in (1.9b) is derived by augmenting its intransitive counterpart.

1.3.4.2 Alternating vs. non-alternating lexical causatives

Lexical causatives do not behave coherently. Causatives which alternate with the unaccusative use such as the one in (1.8) above contrast with another type of lexical causatives which lack the intransitive alternate as illustrated with the verb *ny* ‘kill’ in (1.10):

- (1.10) a. Y-nya wemcic ayerda
 3m.sg-kill.perf cs.cat fs.rat
 The cat killed the rat

- b. *Y-nyā uyerda
 3m.sg-kill.perf cs. rat
 *The rat killed

I demonstrate in Chapter 7 that the lexical structure associated with the non-alternating causative *ny* ‘kill’ in (1.10a) has a different resultative state subcomponent from the one associated with the lexical structure of the causative-unaccusative alternating verb *lli* ‘open’ in (1.8a). In particular, I argue that the $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ involved in the lexical structure of the verb *ny* ‘kill’ (1.10a) conflates with the abstract verb archetype CAUSE at the lexical-conceptual level. In contrast, I further argue that the $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ involved in the lexical structure of the intransitive-alternating causative verb *lli* ‘open’ in (1.8a) conflates with the abstract verb archetype BECOME. This will be shown to explain the differences between these two types of causatives.

1.3.4.3 Cross-language differences

Causative verbs behave differently across languages. In Kabyle Tamazight the verb *bnu* ‘build’ alternates between the transitive and the intransitive use as shown in (1.11), while its English equivalent *build* is restricted to the transitive use as shown in (1.12):

- (1.11) a. Y-bna Aksel axxam
 3m.sg-build.perf. Aksel fs.house
 Aksel built a house
- b. Y-bna wexxam
 3m.sg.build.perf. cs.house
 The house is built
- (1.12) a. John built the house
- b. *The house built

I argue in Chapter 7 that the Tamazight verb *bnu* and its English equivalent *build* differ with respect to their lexical structures. This explains why the Tamazight verb has an unaccusative alternate while its counterpart in English is restricted to the causative use. Having introduced the main objectives and the primary verb classes to be investigated in this paper, let me now provide a brief description of Tamazight. Tamazight is

the main language considered in the present study, although discussions of English and French verbs are provided where appropriate for reasons of comparison.

CHAPTER TWO

TAMAZIGHT LANGUAGE PROFILE

2.1 Geographical area where Tamazight is spoken

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the main language investigated in the present study is Tamazight, more specifically the Kabyle (or Taqbaylit) variety. This variety is spoken in a region of Algeria traditionally called *Tamurt n Leqbayel* by its inhabitants (literally the “Country of the Kabyles”). In Western languages however, the Tamazight language is better known by the name of Berber, while the names *Taqbaylit* and *Tamurt n Leqbayel* are called Kabyle and Kabylie (or Kabylia) respectively.



Fig 2-1 Administrative departments that constitute the region of Kabylia, with recently arabicised area shown in shade

Tamazight is the language spoken by the Amazigh, who are the indigenous people of North Africa. This language was once spoken all over the area stretching from the Oasis of Siwa (in western Egypt) to the Canary Islands all the way through Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. It was also spoken from the northern coast of the Mediterranean Sea all the way south

to Mauritania, Mali and Niger. Although still spoken in its various regional forms in all the aforementioned countries with the exception of the Canary Islands, Tamazight has now lost a lot of ground to local varieties of Arabic. This latter language was introduced into North Africa along with the Islamic religion as a consequence of successive military conquests by Islamic armies from Middle Eastern countries belonging to different dynasties. Although the first incursions go as far back as the 7th century, the process of massive Arabicization did not start then but much later, around the 10th and 11th century¹. The association between Islam and the Arabic language of course played a substantial role. Beyond the fact that Tamazight remained exclusively oral, that is, without any substantial written tradition, Arabic was more highly valued both for its supposedly sacred status and its written tradition. The reasons that led the native population to adopt the newly arrived religion are as diverse as they are numerous, and we cannot cover them all here as they fall out of the scope of the present study. Islamic conversion became almost synonymous with language and cultural Arabicization, which transformed the Berber speaking population into a linguistic minority. Over time, with a fading of identity awareness along with the loss of language, the Arabo-Islamic ideology transformed this linguistic partition into an ethnic partition without the Arabicized population discerning it. As a consequence, the area where Tamazight is spoken today is not contiguous but is constituted of islands that are distant from one another and disrupted by large Arabicized zones. Tamazight has somehow survived in naturally “protected” zones, which were mostly mountainous or desert areas. Lack of contact between such distant areas has favored the process of dialectalization to a substantial degree. However, the nature of dialectal variation is more phonological and lexical than syntactic.

It is difficult to put forward any number estimating the Tamazight-speaking population today because no census taking this question into consideration has ever been made in any country in North Africa. Chaker (1989, 1990) evaluates the number of Tamazight speakers somewhere between 7 and 8 million in Algeria ($\pm 25\%$ of the Algerian population) and around 10 million in Morocco (35 to 40 % of the Moroccan population). However, the author does not provide the source of these figures nor does he specify in what manner he has obtained them. For this reason, we are only indicating the areas where Tamazight is spoken in its different local varieties.

1. (See Ibn Khaldun 1927; André Julien 1951; W. Marçais 1932; Guatier 1937; Courtois 1942; G. Marçais 1946; Camps 1983, 1995; Brett and Fentress 1996)

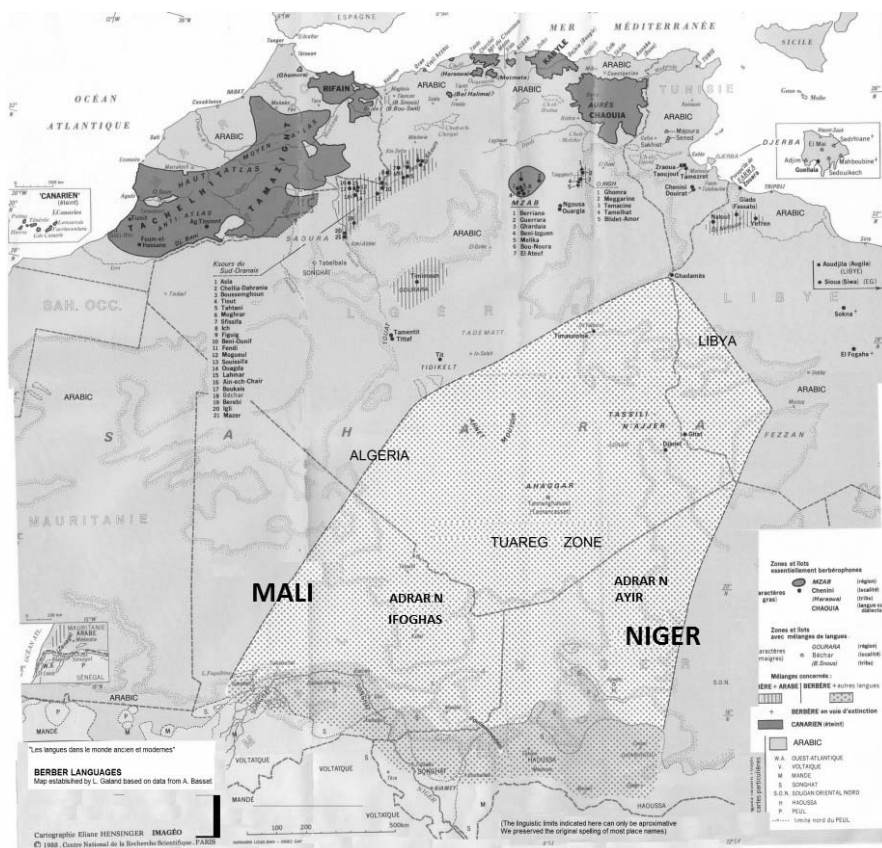


Fig 2-2: *Tamazight-speaking areas* (map reproduced/adpted from D. Cohen (1988). In: Perrot, J. and D. Cohen (Ed.) *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*. Vol.3, *Langues chamito-sémitiques*. Paris : CNRS.

Morocco: There are three important Tamazight-speaking areas in Morocco. The variety spoken in the Riffian mountainous area (including Ayt Werrayghel, Beni Zennasen, El Hoceima, etc.) is referred to as Tarifit. This variety also includes the form spoken in Melilla and Ceuta, two enclaves located in the Riffian area which belong to Spain. Heading south, we come across another important Tamazight-speaking area in central Morocco, stretching all along the mountainous Middle Atlas zone. Further south and west is the domain of another variety, referred to as Tachelhit, occupying the Anti-Atlas mountain area and the plains from Sous, stretching from Agadir

down to Ifni on the western coast, and going as far east as the Draa. The High Atlas Mountains somehow represent an intermediate area between the domains of central Moroccan Tamazight and Tachelhit.

Algeria: The Tamazight-speaking zones in Algeria are less homogenous than in Morocco. Starting from the north, Kabylia represents one of the most important areas where the language is still in use. This is also the area where linguistic and cultural awareness has been developed to a high extent among the population. The Kabylia region contains four full administrative departments: Tizi-Ouzou, Bgayet (or Bejaia), Bouira and Boumerdes, although there are some parts in the two latter departments affected by the Arabicization process. Kabyle Tamazight is also in use in another department, Setif, which borders Bgayet, and more precisely in At Wartilen, Bougaa and the surrounding areas. It is also spoken in the Chenoua region, from Cherchel to Tipasa, located in another department (Tipasa) and, as one heads south, in Haraoua, Metmata and Bel Halima, situated west of Algiers.

The next important area where the Tamazight language is spoken which we come across as we head southwest from Kabylia is another mountainous region bordering Tunisia called Aures (Batna, Khenchla, Oum El Bouaghi, Biskra, Tebessa and Souk Ahras). The variety spoken there is locally referred to as ‘Tachawit’. In addition to the areas described above, other local varieties of Tamazight are spoken in many other linguistic islands scattered in different areas such as the south Oranian region, called the Mountains of the Ksours, close to the Algero-Moroccan borders (Ain Sefra, Figuig, Bechar, etc.) and Algerian Sahara (Mzab, Tougourt, Gourara and Touat and Tidikelt). Further south is the land of the Tuareg, a desert area which stretches into Mali and Niger.

Land of the Tuareg: The Tuareg are among the few Amazigh people to have retained the name Tamazight, which as we said earlier is the original name of the language. However, it is sometimes phonologically altered to Tamachaq, Tamajaq or Tamahaq depending on the area. Accordingly, the people refer to themselves as *Imuhagh* / *Imuchagh* / *Imujagh*, meaning ‘Amazigh people’ or as *Kel Tmajaq* / *Tmachaq* / *Tmajaq*, meaning the people belonging to (speaking) the Tamazight language.

Among the areas where the Tuareg people live are the Hoggar and Tasili n Ajjer (in Algeria), and in the mountainous zones of Ayir (in Mali) and Ifoghas (in Niger). The land of the Tuareg also includes an important part in southern Libya, the zone stretching from Ghat to the vicinity of the Fezzan region, as well as some smaller zones in Mauritania and Senegal.

