

The Role of Templates in the Morphology of Taqbaylit Berber Quality Verbs

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- 1 Introduction: Data and Issues
 - Inflection
 - Q-verbs: Morphosyntax
 - Summary
- 2 Framework: Affixes in Templates
 - The regular verbal template
 - The nominal template
 - Summary
- 3 Analysis: The template of Q-verbs
 - Identification of the positions
 - The vowels
 - Gemination
 - Q-verbs and nouns
 - The number of simultaneously activated positions
- 4 Discussion and conclusion
- 5 Selected references

One inflectional paradigm accross aspectual categories

1s		-B	1p	n-	
2s	θ-	-ð̣	2mp	θ-	-m
			2fp	θ-	-mt
3ms	i-		3mp		-n
3fs	θ-		3fp		-nt

perfective

+: θ̣-χð̣əm “she worked”

-: θ̣-χð̣im “she did not work”

imperfective

int: θ̣-χəddəm “she is working”

aor: að̣ θ̣-χð̣əm “she will work”

Taqbaylit Berber “quality” Verbs

quality-verb (Q-verb)	iβriç	“be/become black”
	aǰ θ-iβriç	“she will be blackening”
	θə-tt ^s iβriç	“she is blackening”
	βərriç-əθ	“she is black”
regular verb	xǰəm	“work”
	aǰ θə-xǰəm	“she will work”
	θ-xəddəm	“she is working”
	θə-xǰəm	“she worked”

The perfective stem of Q-verbs

Perfective stems of Q-verbs:

- 1 reduced agreement paradigm: suffixes, only
- 2 stative semantics
- 3 particular behaviour with directional *-d*

Perfective paradigm: reduced agreement

- Q-inflection:

1s		-B	1p		-iθ
2s		-Ǿ	2mp		-iθ
			2fp		-iθ
3ms			3mp		-iθ
3fs		-θ	3fp		-iθ

- regular inflection:

1s		-B	1p	n-	
2s	θ-	-Ǿ	2mp	θ-	-m
			2fp	θ-	-mt
3ms	i-		3mp		-n
3fs	θ-		3fp		-nt

Perfective stem: stative semantics

Semantic interpretation

- imperfective: eventive
- perfective: property

- (1) a. **βərriç** uqərrij-is
 be black.3MS head.CS-POSS3S
- b. aqərrij-is ð-**aβərçan**
 head.FS-POSS3S COP-black
 “His head is black”

Effect of directional *-d*

-d

- imperfective: introduces telicity
- perfective:
 - turns the pure state into a resultant state
 - enforces regular subject agreement

Bedar (forthc.)

Effect of directional *-d*

- (2) a. aǰ θ-iβriç
 FUT 3FS-be black.AOR
 “she will be blackening”
- b. a-d θ-iβriç
 FUT-DIR 3FS-be black.AOR
 “she will become black”
- (3) a. βərriç-əθ
 be black.PF-3FS
 “She is black.”
- b. θ-βərriç-əd
 3FS-be black.PF-DIR
 “She has become black.”

Bedar (forthc.)

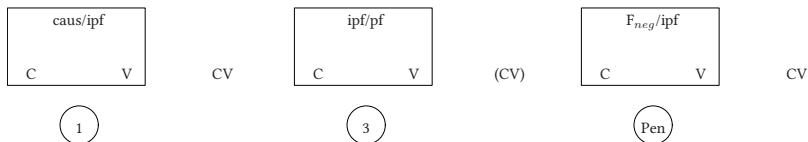
Perfective stem of Q-verbs

perfective of Q-verbs:

- stative semantics
- no prefix
- directional *-d* reintroduces eventive semantics, and prefixes

- Debate on N-properties:
 - “origine nominale de la conjugaison des verbes de qualité” (Galand 2002)
 - “déverbalisation” (Kossmann 2009)
- Strategy: study templates (N vs V vs Q)

[1], [3], [Pen]



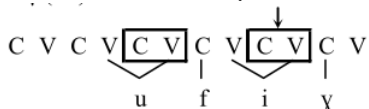
the linear order in the verb template is head-final

- lexical caus: always the left-hand member of any pair ; F_{neg}: always the right-hand member of any pair ; in between, Asp
- Berber clause structure is head-initial → the order of the markers in the template obeys the Mirror Principle in its linear interpretation

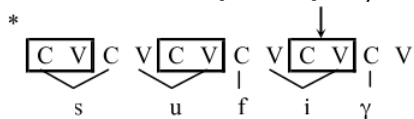
Bendjaballah (2007, 2012, 2014)

Max. 2 positions can be simultaneously activated

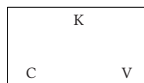
- BASE.PF.NEG. ufij “fly”



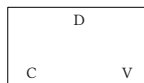
- CAUS.PF.NEG. ssufəj, *ssufij, “fly.caus”



[1], [2], [Pen]

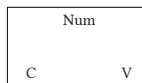


1



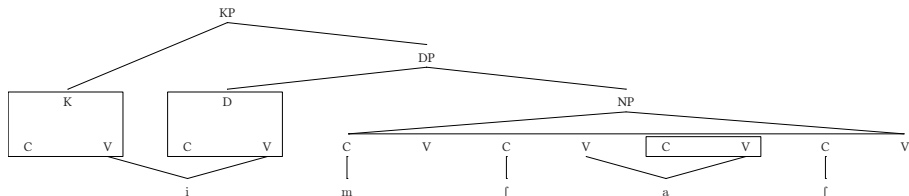
2

CV (CV) CV



Pen

CV



$\sqrt{m}fij$ "cat" FS sg: a-m fij pl: i-m faj
 CS sg: wə-m fij pl: jə-m faj

the nominal template

- the 2 affixal positions at the left-edge are not separated by a root-CV
- no limit on the simultaneous activation of affixal positions
- the linear order at the left-edge is head-initial ($K > D$)

Guerssel (1987, 1992), Bendjaballah & Haiden (2005, 2008, 2013)

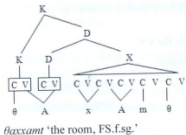
Left-edge vs right-edge

Fem feature

- realized at the right-edge in the NP domain, and
- at the left-edge as gender agreement of D/K

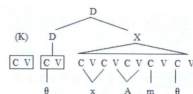
√xxam “house” sg FS: θ -a-xxam- θ CS: θ - θ -xxam- θ

(25)

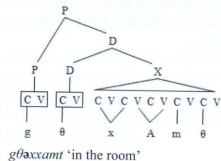


θaxxamt 'the room, FS.f.sg.'

(26)



θaxxamt 'the room, CS.f.sg.'



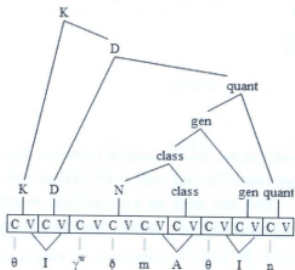
gθaxxamt 'in the room'

Bendjaballah & Haiden (2008): 37-38

Prefix vs Suffix correlates with a directionality change

More features: θ -i-j^wəð̣ma- θ -i-n (class < gen < quant etc)

(49) feminine mixed plural



Bendjaballah & Haiden (2008): 50

Verbal vs nominal template

- affixes:
 - verb = [1], [3], [Pen]
 - noun = [1], [2], [Pen]

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 - noun = no limit
- linear order:
 - verb = head-final
 - noun = left-edge: head-initial vs right-edge: head-final
- noun: root-material can be prefixal

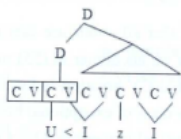
The template of vowel-initial nouns

- √izi “fly”, FS: *izi*, CS: *j-izi* (since Basset 1932, and many others)

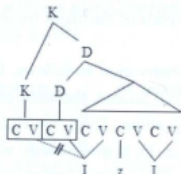


- the root-initial vowel spreads into [2]

(59) a. CS: *jizi*



b. FS: *izi*



Bendjaballah & Haiden (2008): 50-54

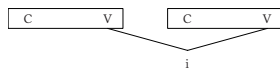
The different types of Q-verbs

	#	aor.3ms	√
i C ₁ C ₂ i C _{2,3}	27	i ws i ŋ	wsŋ ‘be/become broad’
i C ₁ C ₂ u C _{2,3}	5	i fs u s	fs ‘be/become light’
a C ₁ C ₂ a J	4	a lq a j	lqj ‘be/become deep’
i,a C ₁ i,a C ₂	2	i z i ð	zð ‘be/become sweet’

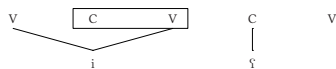
Stem-internal alternations: where?

	imperfective		perfective
	aor.	int.	pf
base	iwsiŋ iβriç	tt ^s iwsiŋ tt ^s iβriç	wsiŋ βərriç
V	++	++	- +
GEM	-	-	-/+
caus	ssiwsəŋ ssiβrəç	ssiwsiŋ ssiβriç	ssawsəŋ ssaβrəç
V	+ -	++	+ -
GEM	-	-	-

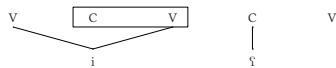
[1], [2], [Pen]

C
|
w

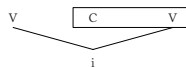
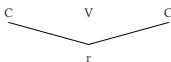
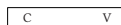
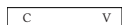
V

C
|
saor. **i**ws*i*ʔC
|
w

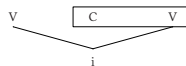
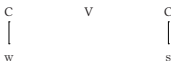
V

C
|
spf. **w**s*i*ʔ

[2] identified by ✓

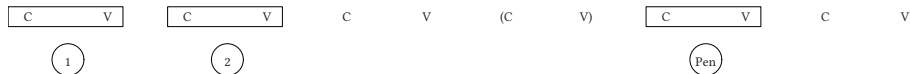


pf. βərric “be/become black”
V-initial nouns izi “fly”



pf. wsiŋ “be/become black”
C-initial nouns a-xxam “house”

Q-verbs: N, V or something else?



Parallelism with nouns

- active positions: [1], [2] and [Pen]
- position [2] may be identified by \checkmark

Number of positions that can be simultaneously activated?

Attested forms

	aor.	int.	pf.
base	iwsiŋ [1], [2], [Pen]	tt ^s iwsiŋ [1], [2], [Pen]	wsiŋ/ βərric [Pen] / [2], [Pen]
caus	ssiwsəŋ [1], [2]	ssiwsiŋ [1], [2], [Pen]	ssawsəŋ [1], [2]

All 3 templatic sites may be simultaneously activated

The constraint on maximal realization typical of the regular verbal template does not apply in the paradigm of Q-verbs.

The 'blue' forms: [1], [2], [Pen]



No reduction of the vowel in Pen.

- base.aor. iwsiʔ; base.int. tt^siwsiʔ
- caus.aor. ssiwsiʔ

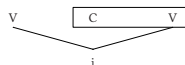
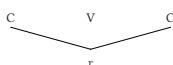
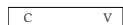
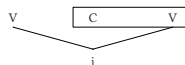
The 'green' forms: [1], [2]



Causative: always initial vowel

- caus.aor. ssiwsəʔ
- caus.pf. ssawsəʔ

The 'magenta' forms: ([2]), [Pen]



Perfective: systematic emptiness of [1], spreading of $\sqrt{\quad}$ into [2]

- base.pf. wsiʃ
- base.pf. βærric

Summary

- templatic level: all stems of Q-verbs have a nominal template
- however, externally, they behave like verbs: nouns do not combine with caus, take no arguments etc.

Conclusion

imperfective stems

- verbal affixal paradigm
- eventive semantics
- nominal templatic pattern: [1], [2], [Pen]
- > 2 active positions
- verbal features on [1], [2]

all ipf forms have initial i: $iws_i\Omega$; $tt^s iws_i\Omega$; $ssiws_\Theta\Omega$; $ssiws_i\Omega$

Conclusion

perfective stems

- reduced affixal paradigm
- non eventive semantics
- defective templatic pattern: only root material on [1], [2]

Outlook

options

silent N/A: [1] [2] express non V features, *V-prefix

no features: [1] [2] are templatically present, syntactically absent; prefixes require locally adjacent host

default: N-template must host explicit V-material in order to become V

Outlook

overt verbal features in [1], [2]: causative

- initial V expressed: → verbal features on [1], [2]
- eventive semantics
- full paradigm

perfective causative: θə-ssawəsəŋ

coerced verbal features in [1], [2]: directional -d

- [1], [2] host silent verbal features
- eventive semantics
- full paradigm

perfective base with -d: θ - $\beta\text{ərri}\text{ç}$ - əd

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