

Predication in Kabyle (Berber), KAB

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Introduction

The CorTypo project's aim is to provide a corpus-based cross-linguistic comparison of languages, through a linked database. It consists of annotated sound-indexed corpora, linked to a functional database. The database is organized into functional domains, and contains complex information about the functions grammaticalized in each language and the forms which code those functions. The database is linked to the corpus through a query engine so that constructions, and ultimately contextualized examples, can be retrieved.

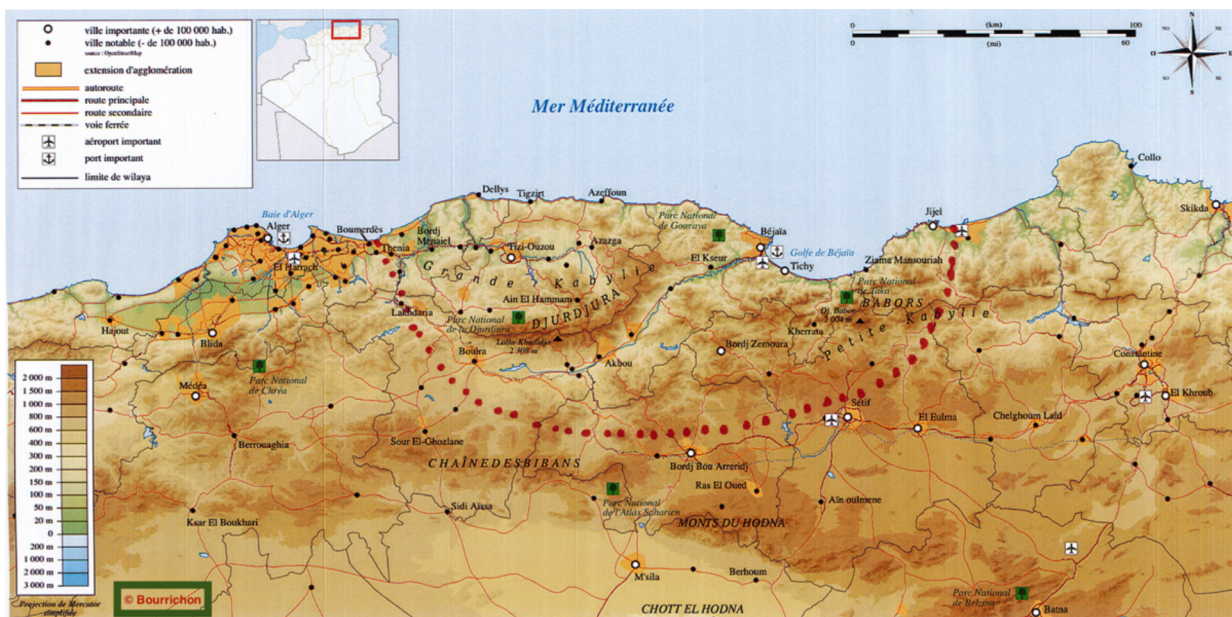
<http://cortypo.huma-num.fr>

Predication is understood in this chapter as the relationship between predicates and their participants. The method of investigation consisted in looking for all kinds of predicates in the language, and seeing how their relationships with their participants were coded, and in which contrastive and complementary distribution they entered. Each construction was analyzed language-internally, and its function was discovered. A crucial underlying assumption in our work is that a function does not exist unless it is marked by some formal means.

The result, for Kabyle, is a functional domain containing a series of verbal and non-verbal constructions coding different types of predications. Other languages in the project lack some of the functions discovered for Kabyle, or have some that do not exist in Kabyle. The comparison will be conducted in a later comparative paper, crucially avoiding such questions as « how is category X coded in language L », but aiming rather at comparing the internal composition of functional domains, and the way given functions, which share a resemblance across several languages, can indeed be compared ; as for this study, it focusses on the internal organization of the functional domain of predication in Kabyle.

This paper is organized as follows: first general information about Kabyle is given, then the various constructions pertaining to the functional domain of predication are listed, defined and illustrated by examples. The first two parts are automatically generated from the online database, and appear as blocks. The synthesis then elaborates on the relationships between those constructions, and the characterization of the domain in Kabyle, with a preliminary overview of the pronominal paradigms involved in those constructions in the domain of predication. In this part, the few predications which are not found in the corpus that was linked to the database are given examples from other sources.

Language information



https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Kabylie_topographic_map-fr.svg

Name and ISO code : Kabyle (**KAB**), alternatively called **Taqbaylit** by speakers and in some publications.

Speakers : 3.5 million speakers in Kabylie, at least 2 more millions in other regions of Algeria, in France and in Canada.

Region : Kabylie, which is situated in the north-east of Algeria, 50 km east of Algiers, is about 25 000 km². Geographically, mountains (the Djurdjura range and the Babors one) play an important role in the delimitation of the main dialectal zones. The current Kabyle-speaking zone is delimited on the map by a red dotted line. Beyond that line, Kabyle is at best residual, at worst completely lost. The Kabyle-speaking zone used to be much larger, and part of a continuum with Shawiya (spoken in the Aures mountains) (southwards), and other Berber-speaking zones (westwards)

Classification : Kabyle is a **Berber language** (Berber is a branch of the **AfroAsiatic phylum**).

Dialectology : Its main dialects are **Western Kabyle** (spoken in the Wilaya of Tizi-Wezzu (Tizi-Ouzou)), and **Eastern Kabyle** (spoken in the Wilaya of Bgayet

(Bejaia)). Two other (peripheral) zones have been labeled Extreme Western, and Extreme Eastern Kabyle. For more details on Kabyle dialectology, see Basset (1959), Nait-Zerrad (2004) and Guerrab (2014).

Status : Kabyle is the mother-tongue of more than 80% of the inhabitants of the region. It is used in the home and for all interactions of everyday life. Almost all Kabyles born after 1970 are bi- or tri-lingual (with dialectal Arabic, French, standard Arabic). A considerable number of women born before 1970 (and almost all women born before 1950) are still monolingual. Children below school age are monolingual too. Since 2002, Berber (considered as one language) is mentioned in the Constitution as ‘second national language’, after Arabic, which is the first national (and only official) language. It is studied in the Universities of Tizi-Wezzu and Bgayet, and optionally taught in a number of schools. It is written mainly in **Latin** script (‘notation usuelle’), but also in **Tifinagh** and **Arabic** script. However, its use is still mainly oral.

Main typological features : Kabyle is a root-and-pattern, head-initial, pronominal-argument language, with flexible word order. Its phonology is complex, with a varied consonant inventory including affricates, a three-vowel system (plus a schwa), pervasive assimilation (internal and external sandhi), extensive fricativization of stops, pharyngealization, and labio-velarization. Verb roots are marked for mood, negation and aspect : there are four MAN forms (aorist, perfective, negative perfective, and imperfective). Some verbal affixes specify relationships between predicate and arguments, additional preverbs specify MAN distinctions. Nouns have two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers (singular and plural), and two states (absolute and annexed, on nouns). There are no articles, only demonstratives. Kabyle has verbal as well as nominal adjectives.

Functions in the domain of Predication for the language Kabyle (Berber), KAB

affecting subject

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | Affecting subject predication describes a state of affairs centered around its agentive source, and its impact on other participants. |
| Construction | Affecting subject predication is a verbal construction involving a predicate and one or more arguments. It has the form prefix s- (ss- before vowel)+ verb. The subject bound pronoun is affixed to the form. |
| Constraints | Not all verbs can appear in the Affecting subject predication. |
| Contrasts | Agent-affected subject predication; Non-controlling subject predication; Reciprocal predication; undergoer-oriented change of state predication; agent-oriented change of state predication |

▶ [jəssisənni ssbbwajəntas gguɣxam /](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0028)

jəssisnni **ssəwwajəntas** **g** **wəxxam** /
 jəssi -s -nni ssəwwaj -nt =as i wəxxam /
 daughter\ABS.PL KIN3SG CNS cook\CAUS.IPFV SBJ3PL.F DAT3SG LOC house\ANN.SG.M /
 N.KIN PRO DEM V24% PRO PRO PREP N.OV /

his daughters prepared his meals at home,

▶ [θinnaðigər ətsidsali /](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0634)

tin **aradd** **igərn** **adtidd** **təssali** /
 tin ara =dd i- gər -n ad =t =dd t- ssali /
 the_one\SG.F REL.IRR PROX RELSBJ.POS put\AOR RELSBJ.POS POT ABSV3SG.M PROX SBJ3SG.F go_up\CAUS.AOR /
 INDF.PRO N.INDF PTCL CIRC1 V23 CIRC2 PTCL PRO PTCL PRO V14 /

once one was in the sack she would pull her up,

▶ [istʰəbtʰəβ /](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0668)

istəbtəb /
 i- stəbtəb /
 SBJ3SG.M knock\CAUS.PFV /
 PRO V24 /

he knocked,

agent-affected subject

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | Agent-affected subject describes a state of affairs centered around its undergoer. The transformation is undergone due to an external agent (the agent being implied but almost always unmentioned). |
| Construction | Agent-affected subject is a verbal construction involving a predicate and one or more arguments. It has the form prefix ttw- + verb. The subject bound pronoun is affixed to the form. |
| Constraints | Not all verbs can be used in this predication |
| Contrasts | Contrasts with Affecting subject predication, Non-controlling subject predication, Reciprocal predication; undergoer-oriented change of state predication; agent-oriented change of state predication |

▶ [aðtʰwəʃtʰənt /](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0709)

ad **tʰwəččənt** /
 ad tʰwəčč -nt /
 POT eat\PASS.AOR SBJ3PL.F /
 PTCL V13% PRO /

to be eaten alive,

▶ [dajən ʃwəʃtʰənt //](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0800)

dajən t̪wəččənt //
 dajən t̪wəčč -nt //
 finished eat\PASS.PFV SBJ3PL.F //
 ADV V13% PRO //

(she thought) it was over, they had been eaten.

▶ hafatuʃin ara t̪əwʃənt // (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0872)

ħafa tuččin ara t̪wəččənt //
 ħafa tuččin ara t̪wəčč -nt //
 only eating REL.IRR eat\PASS.AOR SBJ3PL.F //
 ADV N.V N.INDF V13% PRO //

I won't accept anything else than their being eaten,

non controlling subject

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | Non-controlling subject predication describes a state of affairs centered around its undergoer, who has no control over the transformation. The change of state is not presented as originating from a causee or agent (although it may actually be). |
| Construction | Non-controlling subject is a verbal construction involving a predicate and one argument only. It has the form prefix nn- + verb. The subject bound pronoun is affixed to the form. |
| Constraints | Not all verbs can enter the non-controlling subject predication |
| Contrasts | Affecting subject ; Agent-affected Subject ; Reciprocal predication; undergoer-oriented change of state predication; agent-oriented change of state predication |

reciprocal

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | Reciprocal predication describes a state of affairs involving more than one participant, centered around both its agentive source(s) and its undergoer(s), each instance of the process requiring that the source and the undergoer should be different participants. |
| Construction | The reciprocal predication is a verbal construction involving a predicate and more than one argument. It has the form prefix my- or ms- + verb. The subject bound pronoun is affixed to the form. |
| Constraints | The subject is necessarily a plural. Not all verbs can be used in reciprocal predication. |
| Contrasts | Affecting subject ; Agent-affected subject ; non-controlling subject; undergoer-oriented change of state predication; agent-oriented change of state predication |

▶ atsəmjar'ð'alənt / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0134)

ad t̪mjərɔalnt /
 ad t̪mjərɔal -nt
 POT lend\RECP.IPFV SBJ.3PL.F
 PTCL V23.PRFX.APHO PRO

they would lend everything to each other,

undergoer-oriented change of state

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Definition | Undergoer-oriented change of state predication describes a change of state involving an agent and an undergoer, viewed from the perspective of the resulting state on the undergoer, and without mention of the agent. |
| Construction | Undergoer-oriented change of state predication involves a labile verb and only one argument, expressed either by a bound subject pronoun alone, or by a bound pronoun and a coreferent noun within the prosodic group of the verb. This predication underlines the fact that the event referred to by the labile verb is a change of state construed from the point of view of the undergoer, which is the subject of the labile verb. The construction has the form : labile verb+obligatory subject affix, with possibly one and only one (optional) NP, which is either a) a noun in the absolute state preceding the verb b) or a noun in the annexed state following the verb within the prosodic group of the verb. a) labile verb + subject affix, AND a noun before the verb and NO absolutive clitic (all this within the prosodic group of the verb) b) labile verb + subject affix, AND a noun in the annexed state after the verb and NO absolutive clitic (all this within the prosodic group of the verb). |
| Constraints | The noun must be inside the prosodic group of the verb |
| Contrasts | Actor-oriented change of state predication; agent-affected subject predication; affecting subject predication; non-controlling predication; reciprocal predication |

▶ idrimənim aɖfakkən / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0902)

idrimənim ad fakkən /
 idrimən -im ad fakk -n /
 money\ABSL.PL.M POSS.2SG.F POT finish\AOR SBJ.3PL.M /
 N.OV PRO PTCL V14.LAB AFFX /

You money will be spent,

▶ mulaf addər'zən wafarniw / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_1123)

mulaf addd ərzən wafarniw /
mulaf ad =dd ərz -n wafarn -iw /
if_not POT PROX break\AOR SBJ.3PL.M nail\ANN.PL.M POSS.1SG /
CONJ PTCL PTCL V23%.LAB AFFX N.ov PRO /

my nails might break,

agent-oriented change of state

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Definition | Agent-oriented change of state predication describes a change of state involving an agent and an undergoer, viewed from the perspective of the telic action performed by the agent on the undergoer. |
| Construction | Agent-oriented change of state predication involves a labile verb and two arguments, one expressed by a bound subject pronoun, the other by an absolutive clitic pronoun, or by a noun in the absolute state. This predication underlines the fact that the change of state referred to by the labile verb is perceived from the perspective of the agent, which is the subject of the labile verb, the undergoer being its object. The construction has the form : labile verb+obligatory subject affix, and either an obligatory absolutive clitic, or an obligatory noun in the absolute state. This construction aligns subject with agent, and object with undergoer. |
| Constraints | The only intervening element between verb and noun in the absolute state can be an adverb |
| Contrasts | stative predication; affected subject predication; controlling subject predication; non-controlling subject predication; reciprocal predication |

▶ nnanas lliits kəŋf / (KAB_AM_NARR_02_805)

nnanas lliit kəčč //
nna -n =as lli =t kəčči //
say\PFV SBJ3PL.M DAT3SG open\AOR.IMP2SG ABSV3SG.F IDP2SG.M //
V13% AFFX PRO V24.LAB PRO PRO //

They said, open it yourself.

▶ anŋtjər^o θakufiθ / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0375)

ad nččər takufit /
ad n- ččər takufit /
POT SBJ.1PL fill\AOR storing_jar\ABSL.SG.F /
PTCL PRO V14.LAB N.OV /

we would fill the storing jar,

quality

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | Quality predication attributes a property to a referent, as a potential support for a claim. The properties are expressed by a verb belonging to a special closed class which covers Dixon's seven semantic classes of property concepts (dimension, age, value, color, physical property, speed, human propensity) |
| Construction | Quality predication has the form: quality verb+ bound pronoun (special paradigm) |
| Contrasts | Quality predication contrasts both with Ascriptive predication, and with stative predication (where verbs have the standard pronominal subject paradigm) |

▶ nəkunti məqqrəθ / (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0053)

nəkunti məqqrit /
nəkunti məqqr -it /
IDP1PL.F big\PFV QLT.PL /
PRO VQLT PRO /

now we're big girls

▶ ulaf ixxamənagi ŋlajaniθ / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0259)

ulaf ixxamənagi ŋlajanit /
ulaf ixxamən -agi ŋlaj -an =it /
NEG.EXS house\ABSL.PL.M PROXb be_high\PFV(SBJ.3SG.M) ADJ QLT.PL /
PRED N.OV AFFX VQLT AFFX PRO /

there were not multi-storeyed-houses,

▶ jərna məz'z'ijəy // (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0506)

jərna məz'ijəy //
jərna məz'zi -y //
moreover be_young\PFV SBJ.1SG //
ADV VQLT PRO //

moreover I was little,

affirmative ascriptive

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | Affirmative ascriptive predication characterizes an entity or situation; it is a categorical judgement. |
| Construction | Affirmative ascriptive predication has the form: predicative copula d + adjective or noun |

Contrasts | Ascriptive predication contrasts with Quality predication. It also contrasts with negative ascriptive.

► **wagi ðlhadj tʰaħarʰ //** (KAB_AM_CONV_01_SP2_152)

wagi d lħaġ ʰaħar //
wagi d lħaġ ʰaħar //
PROX1\M.SG COP pilgrim ʰaħar //
PRO PRED NP NP //

this one is Hadj Tahar.

► **aħ ðwəlθmas //** (KAB_AM_CONV_01_SP2_166)

aħ d wəltmas //
aħ d wəltma -s //
INTJ COP sister\ABSL.SG.F KIN.3SG //
INTJ PRED N.KIN.COV PRO //

ah she was his sister!

► **imi θqqʰl θplaktnni tʰsazggʰayθ akkən /** (KAB_AM_NARR_02_889)

imi tqʰl tʰplaktnni d tazggʰayt akkən /
imi t- qqʰəl tʰplakt -nni d tazggʰayt akkən /
when2 SBJ3SG.F come_aneu\PFV plaque\ANN.SG.F CNS COP red\ABS.SG.F thus /
CONJ PRO V24 N.OV DEM PRED N.OV ADV /

Wjen the plaque became all red,

negative ascriptive

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | Negative ascriptive denies the ascription of a property to an entity or situation. |
| Construction | Negative ascriptive predication has the form <i>maʃi</i> + COP + adjective or noun (or locution (LC) or prepositional complement...). |
| Contrasts | contrasts with Negative existential, Verbal negation, and with Ascriptive predication. |

► **ma ðaqðim nəy maʃi ðaqðim //** (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0789)

ma d aqdim nəy mačči d aqdim //
ma d aqdim nəy mačči d aqdim //
if COP old\SG.M or NEG.ATTR COP old\SG.M //
CONJ PRED ADJ CONJ PTCL PRED ADJ //

whether it be old or not,

presentative

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | The presentative predication attracts the addressee's attention to a new event which consists in the presence of a referent in the speech situation. |
| Construction | Presentative predication has 3 forms, (a) and (b) are specialized in 3rd person (singular and plural), while (c) is specialized in 1st and 2nd person (singular and plural) : a) <i>ha</i> +absolute clitic pronoun, where the form <i>ha</i> is the presentative predicate. This form can be followed by an NP in the annexed state that expresses the referent of the absolute clitic. b) <i>a</i> + Absolute clitic pronoun + <i>-an</i> or <i>-ad</i> suffix, where <i>a</i> is the presentative predicate, and <i>-an</i> a distal suffix, or <i>-ad</i> a proximal suffix. This form can be followed by a noun in the annexed state that corefers to the absolute clitic. c) <i>aql</i> +absolute clitic pronoun, where the form <i>aql</i> is the presentative predicate. This form can be followed by an NP in the annexed state that expresses the referent of the absolute clitic. |
| Contrasts | All other predications in the domain involving a non-verbal predicate + bound pronoun |

► **ħaθaðkwənmti tʰsidifərnən //** (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0145)

ħata d kunəmti iθidd ifərnən //
ħa =t -a d kunəmti i =t =dd i- fərn -n //
PRSTb ABSV3SG.M PROXa COP IDP2PL.F REL.REAL ABSV3SG.F PROX RELSBJ.POS select\PFV RELSBJ.POS //
PTCL PRO AFFX PRED PRO DEMPRO PRO PTCL CIRC1 V23 CIRC2 //

you will be the ones to choose,

► **ħatsan aʰaminan /** (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0156)

ħaʰan a amina /
ħa =t -an a Amina /
PRSTb ABSV3SG.F DIST VOC Amina /
PTCL PRO AFFX PTCL NP /

Here it was, Amina.

► **θənnajas nəkkaqli rʰuħəy //** (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0395)

tənnajas nəkk aqli ruħəy //
t- nna =as nəkk aql =iji ruħ -y //
SBJ3SG.F say\PFV DAT3SG IDP1SG PRSTc ABSV1SG go\PFV SBJ1SG //
PRO V13% PRO PRO PRED PRO V24 PRO //

I am gone,

persistive

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | The persistive predication expresses that contrary to expectations, the participant is still in a situation, a place or engaged in an action. |
| Construction | Persistive predication has the form mazal + absolutive clitic. It is necessarily followed by a verb, or a locative expression. |
| Constraints | The verb must be in the imperfective, or have a stative reading if in the perfective. |
| Contrasts | Negative locative, locative question, presentative. |

evaluative

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Definition | Evaluative predication expresses the speaker's assessment of a referent (implicitly compared to a norm, or another element) |
| Construction | Evaluative predication has the form (a) aʃk + absolutive clitic or fiwa + absolutive clitic, (b) kif-kif + absolute clitic, (c) predicative copula d + adjective iri 'bad' or lʃali 'good' + absolutive clitic OR predicative copula d + adjective iri 'bad' or lʃali 'good' + NP. |
| Constraints | This predication cannot involve nominal arguments (*fiwa+noun or aʃk+noun etc.), only the absolutive clitic, with possibly an NP coreferent to that clitic. |
| Contrasts | This predication contrasts with all other non-verbal predications involving a predicate and an absolutive clitic. And also with attributive predication. |

▶ [nnaŋas aʃkint //](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_02_286)

| | | | | |
|---------------|----------|---------------|--------------|-----------|
| nnaŋas | | aʃkint | | // |
| nna | -n | =as | aʃk | =tnt |
| say\PFV | SBJ3PL.M | DAT3SG | be_beautiful | ABSV3PL.F |
| V13% | PRO | PRO | PRED | PRO |

they said, they are beautiful.

▶ [θəsʃaθajazʰitʰ jəmmanuzakka fwats /](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_02_607)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|------|-------------|-----------|-------------|--|-------------|--|---|
| θəsʃa | | tajazit | | jəmma | | Nuʒa | | akka | | fwat | | / |
| t- | sʃa | tajazit | jəmma | Nuʒa | akka | fiwa | =t | | | | | / |
| SBJ3SG.F | possess\PFV | hen\ABS.SG.F | mother\SG | Nuʒa | thus | great | ABSV3SG.F | | | | | / |
| PRO | V13% | N.OV | N.KIN | N.P | ADV | PRED | PRO | | | | | / |

Mother Nuja has a wonderful hen,

negative locative

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Definition | Negative locative denies the location of a referent in a place (by default in the speaker's place). |
| Construction | Negative locative predication has the form ulaf+absolutive clitic, where the form ulaf is the negative existential predicate. The referent of the absolutive clitic can be expressed either by an NP in the annexed state following the predicate+clitic, or by an NP in the absolute state preceding the predicate+clitic ulaf + absolutive pronoun |
| Contrasts | Negative existential predication is different from negative locative predication because in the former there must not be any absolutive clitic attached. It contrasts with other predications involving a non-verbal element and an absolutive clitic. |

▶ [ikkærd jufad jæssisulafitənt /](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0901)

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|----------|---------------|------|------------------|--------|---------|
| ikkærd | | jufad | | jæssis | | ulafitənt | | / |
| i- | kk | =dd | i- | ufa | =dd | jæssis | -s | ulaf |
| SBJ3SG.M | stand_up\PFV | PROX | SBJ3SG.M | find\PFV | PROX | daughter\PL | KIN3SG | NEG.EXS |
| PRO | V24 | PTCL | PRO | V13% | PTCL | N.KIN | PRO | PRED |

the father woke up and found that his daughters were no longer there,

▶ [nətʃsaθqqaras ulafʃmar ðinna //](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_02_556)

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|----------------|--------|-------------|-------|--------------|--|-----------------|
| nətʃtat | | tqqaras | | ulaf | | Aʃmar | | dinna // |
| nətʃtat | t- | qqar | =as | ulaf | aʃmar | dinna | | // |
| IDP3SG.F | SBJ3SG.F | say\IPFV | DAT3SG | NEG.EXS | Aʃmar | there | | // |
| PRO | PRO | V13%.GEM | PRO | PRED | NP | ADV | | // |

She didn't think Amar was there.

negative existential

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Definition | Negative existential denies the existence of a referent, or a situation. |
| Construction | Negative Existential has the form ulaf, with NO clitic attached, preceded or followed by an NP in the absolute state, where the form ulaf is the negative existential predicate. ulaf + NO absolutive pronoun or proper noun |
| Constraints | No absolutive clitic attached to ulaf The NP is in the absolute state |

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Contrasts | Negative existential predication is different from negative locative predication because in the former there must not be any absolutive clitic attached, nor proper noun. |
|------------------|---|

▶ [ulaf ipajasn /](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0240)

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|---|
| ulaf | ipajasn | / |
| ulaf | ipajasn | / |
| NEG.EXS | mattress\ABSL.SG.PL.M | / |
| PRED | N.COV | / |

there were no mattresses,

▶ [ziç ulaf akkagi læswaqagi //](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0865)

| | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------|-------|----|
| zik | ulaf | akka | lswaqagi | // | | |
| zik | ulaf | akk | -agi | lswaq | -agi | // |
| long_ago | NEG.EXS | thus | PROXb | market\ABSL.PL.M | PROXb | // |
| ADV | PRED | ADV | DEMPRO | N.cov | AFFX | // |

In the past there were no markets like this,

▶ [ulaf afrizidar ulaf /](#) (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0925)

| | | | |
|-------------|------------------|-------------|---|
| ulaf | afrizidar | ulaf | / |
| ulaf | afrizidar | ulaf | / |
| NEG.EXS | fridge\ABSL.SG.M | NEG.EXS | / |
| PRED | N.ov | PRED | / |

there was no fridge or,

locative question

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | The locative question predication allows the speaker to inquire about the location of a referent. |
| Construction | The locative question predication has the form anda, plus a bound pronoun belonging to the absolutive paradigm (ABSV) |
| Constraints | There has to be a bound pronoun (absolutive) |
| Contrasts | The locative question predication contrasts with other locative predications. |

stative locative

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | Stative Locative predication localizes a referent (animate or inanimate) within a zone, which is represented by the clitic pronoun of the construction |
| Construction | Stative Locative predication has the form dag+prepositional clitic, where the form dag is the stative locative predicate. This form can be preceded (in a different prosodic unit) or followed (in the same prosodic unit) by an NP in the absolute state that expresses the localized referent dag + prepositional pronoun + optional following NP in the Absolute state, or preceding NP in the Absolute state |
| Contrasts | Stative Locative predication contrasts with other non-verbal predicates based on prepositions. |

possessive

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Definition | Possessive predication attributes a referent (animate or inanimate) or a concept to a possessor, who is represented by the bound pronoun of the construction |
| Construction | Possessive predication has the form yur+prepositional affix, where the form yur (also a preposition in other contexts) is the possessive predicate. This form is followed (in the same prosodic unit) by an NP in the absolute state that expresses the possessed referent. |
| Contrasts | Possessive predication contrasts with other non-verbal predicates built from prepositions. |

Synthesis & Discussion

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1. General background

1.1. Pronominal paradigms in Kabyle

1.1.1 Subject pronouns

Subject pronouns (annotated SBJ in ge and PRO in rx) are affixes that attach to verbs, and verbs only, regardless of the verb valency or derivation. They are obligatory. A verb cannot appear without a subject affix. Together, a verb and its subject affix form a minimal clause.

The default pronominal set (A) is used by default with all verbs, in all contexts except for:

- The Perfective of the quality verbs (B)
- The Imperative mood for all verbs (C)
- The Hortative mood for all verbs (which also involves a preceding POT potential particle) (D)

A- Default set of subject bound pronouns (with verb $r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}$, 'leave', in the perfective)

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---------------------------------|--|---|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | $r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}\gamma$ | | $n\text{-}r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}$ | |
| 2 | $t\text{-}r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}d^{\text{S}}$ | | $t\text{-}r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}m$ | $t\text{-}r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}mt$ |
| 3 | $i\text{-}r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}$ | $t\text{-}r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}$ | $r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}n$ | $r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}nt$ |

B- Quality verb set of subject bound pronouns (with verb $mqq^w r^{\text{S}}$, 'be big', in the perfective)

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | $mqq^w r^{\text{S}}\text{-}\gamma$ | | $mqq^w r^{\text{S}}\text{-}it$ | |
| 2 | $mqq^w r^{\text{S}}\text{-}d^{\text{S}}$ | | | |
| 3 | $mqq^w r^{\text{S}}$ | $mqq^w r^{\text{S}}\text{-}t$ | | |

C- Imperative set of subject bound pronouns (with verb $r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}$, 'leave', in the aorist)

| 2 nd Singular | 2 nd plural masculine | 2 nd plural feminine |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| $r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}$ | $r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}wt$ | $r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}mt$ |

D- Hortative set of subject bound pronouns (with verb $r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}$, 'leave', in the aorist, the verb is preceded by potential preverb *ad*)

| 1 st singular+2 nd plural masculine | 1 st singular+2 nd plural feminine |
|---|--|
| <i>ad</i> $n\text{-}r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}wt$ | <i>ad</i> $n\text{-}r^{\text{S}}u\dot{h}\text{-}mt$ |

1.1.2. Absolutive pronouns

Absolutive pronouns (annotated ABSV in ge and PRO in rx) are clitics that are hosted by verbs, and the following non-verbal predicates:

- negative existential *ulaf* in NEGATIVE LOCATIVE predication;
- morphemes *afk* 'beautiful' or *fiwa* 'great', *iri* 'bad' or *Isali* 'good', *kif-kif* 'same' in EVALUATIVE predication;
- presentatives *a*, *ha* or *aql* in PRESENTATIVE predication
- adverbial predicate *mazal* 'still' in PERSISTIVE predication

When they attach to verbs, they code the direct object in transitive constructions. When the clause is negative, relative, or the verb form contains a potential particle, the absolutive pronoun undergoes clitic climbing.

When they attach to non-verbal predicates, absolutive pronouns code the sole argument of those predicates

E- Absolutive set of bound pronouns (with verb *ny*, 'kill', in the perfective ($n\gamma a$), with a 3rd person masculine subject pronoun *i*-) (elements in parenthesis are epenthetic) (feminine =tt is realized as an affricate [ts], orthographically noted †)

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}(j)i$ | | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}(j)a\gamma$ | |
| 2 | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}k$ | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}km$ | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}k^w n$ | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}k^w nt$ |
| 3 | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}t$ | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}tt$ | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}tn$ | $i\text{-}n\gamma a\text{=}tnt$ |

F- Absolutive set of bound pronouns (with (invariable) negative predicate *ulaf*, forming negative locative construction) (elements in parenthesis are epenthetic) (feminine =tt is realized as an affricate [ts], orthographically noted †)

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | $ulaf\text{=}(ij)i$ | | $ulaf\text{=}a\gamma$ | |
| 2 | $ulaf\text{=}(i)k$ | $ulaf\text{=}(i)km$ | $ulaf\text{=}(i)k^w n$ | $ulaf\text{=}(i)k^w nt$ |
| 3 | $ulaf\text{=}(i)t$ | $ulaf\text{=}(i)tt$ | $ulaf\text{=}(i)tn$ | $ulaf\text{=}(i)tnt$ |

1.1.3. Indirectly affected argument pronouns

Indirectly affected argument pronouns (annotated DAT in ge and PRO in rx) are bound morphemes that have animate reference, and are cliticized to the verb (or to the head of the clause). IAA indicates that the noun with which it is coreferent is not directly affected (transformed, or changed in its location) by the subject, but that it is impacted by the subject's action, in a benefactive, detrimental or neutral way.

G- Indirectly affected argument set of bound pronouns (with verb *fk*, 'give', in the perfective (*fka*), with a 3rd person masculine subject pronoun *i-*) (elements in parenthesis are epenthetic)

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|-------------|-------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | i-fka=(j)i | | i-nya=(j)aɣ | |
| 2 | i-fka=(j)ak | i-nya=(j)am | i-fka=(j)a ^w n | i-fka=(j)ak ^w nt |
| 3 | i-fka=(j)as | | i-fka=(j)asn | i-fka=(j)asnt |

1.1.4. Locative argument pronouns

Locative argument pronouns (annotated PREP in ge and PRO in rx) are bound morphemes that are affixed to some prepositions (*yur*, animate locative; *dæg*, stative locative; *dffir*, 'behind', *zzat*, 'in front of'; *sddaw* 'under'; *snnig*, 'above').

Only the animate locative and the stative locative prepositions are grammaticalized as predicates.

H- Locative argument set of bound pronouns (with preposition *yur*, 'animate locative')

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------------------|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | yur-i | | yur-ny | yur-nty |
| 2 | yur-k | yur-m | yur-wn | yur-k ^w nt |
| 3 | yur-s | | yur-sn | yur-snt |

1.1.5. Relational origo argument pronouns

Relational origo argument pronouns (annotated POSS in ge and PRO in rx) are bound morphemes that have human reference, and are suffixed to a noun. POSS indicates that the noun with which the pronoun is coreferent is the origo of the relation binding it with the noun to which it is affixed.

I- Default Relational origo argument set of bound pronouns (with noun *axxam*, 'house')

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|------------|------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | axxam-(i)w | | axxam-ny | axxam-nty |
| 2 | axxam-(i)k | axxam-(i)m | axxam-nwn | axxam-nk ^w nt |
| 3 | axxam-(i)s | | axxam-nsn | axxam-nsnt |

J- Marked Relational origo argument set of bound pronouns (with noun *axxam*, 'house', and an intervening determiner (usual context for the marked form))

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | axxam-nni-inu | | axxam-nni-ny | axxam-nni-nty |
| 2 | axxam-nni-ink | axxam-nni-inm | axxam-nni-nwn | axxam-nni-nk ^w nt |
| 3 | axxam-nni-ins | | axxam-nni-nsn | axxam-nni-nsnt |

1.1.6. Kinship origo argument pronouns

Kinship origo argument pronouns (annotated KIN in ge and PRO in rx) are bound morphemes that have human reference, and are suffixed to a noun. KIN indicates that the referent of the noun with which the pronoun is coreferent is in a kinship relationship with the referent of the noun to which it is affixed, that noun expressing the nature of the kinship relation (those nouns are labelled N.KIN (kinship nouns) in rx).

K- Kinship origo argument set of bound pronouns (with kinship noun *baba*, 'father')

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|---|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------------------|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | baba | | baba-tny | baba-tnty |
| 2 | baba-k | baba-m | baba-twn | baba-tk ^w nt |
| 3 | baba-s | | baba-tsn | baba-tsnt |

1.1.7. Independent pronouns

Independent pronouns (annotated IDP in ge and PRO in rx) are free morphemes that have animate reference, code information structure functions (e.g. contrast), either before of after the verb in verbal clauses (where they can be coreferent with all the pronominal affixes or clitics of Kabyle), or as the argument of non-verbal predications.

I- Independent pronouns. The forms in parentheses are intensive forms (argumentative/emotional)

| | Singular | | plural | |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | masculine | feminine | masculine | feminine |
| 1 | nkk (/nkki / nkkini) | | nk ^w ni | nk ^w nti |
| 2 | kjǰ (kǰǰi / kǰǰini) | kmm (kmmi / kmmimi) | k ^w nwi | k ^w nmti |
| 3 | ntta | nttat | nutni | nutnti |

1.2. Verbs in Kabyle

In Kabyle, verbs cannot appear without their subject pronominal paradigm (see the part on Pronominal Paradigms above). Depending on the transitivity of the clause, verbs can also bear the absolutive pronominal paradigm and/or the indirectly affected argument pronominal paradigm. Verbs used without derivational prefixes have either fixed syntactic orientation (transitive, or intransitive), or labile orientation. Inherently transitive or intransitive verbs can be Undergoer-oriented or Actor-oriented. Transitivity and Agentivity are not correlated. Whereas labile verbs are Undergoer-oriented in intransitive constructions, and Actor-oriented in transitive ones.

1.3. Non-verbal predicates in Kabyle

Kabyle has a number of non-verbal predicates: a non-verbal copula ('d') followed by a nominal, a negative existential predicate, and a number of grammatical units that can become predicates through the affixation of a pronoun belonging to the locative argument or absolutive paradigms (see above). Examples of non-verbal predicates in their dedicated predications are given in the preceding part, and commented on in the following

2. Predications

2.1. Examples from other sources

Some predications do not appear in the annotated corpus, and are therefore exemplified below, from other sources, thus complementing the first part of this paper.

2.1.1. Non-controlling subject

j-nn-rna=jas dg wul-is
 SBJ.3.SG-MID-add\PFV=DAT.3.SG inside heart\ANN.SG.M-POSS.3.SG
 PRO-AFFX-V13%=PRO PREP N.ov-PRO
 'He rises in her esteem'
 (adapted (transcription, segmentation into morphemes, annotation and English translation) from Dallet (1982:788) 'il augmente dans son estime')

2.1.2. Persistentive

llubjan (...) mazal=itt laqqaq-t
 bean\ANN.COLL (...) not_yet=ABSV.3.SG.F be_tender\PFV-QLT.3.SG.F
 N.cov (...) PRED=PRO V.QLT-PRO
 'Beans (...) are still tender'
 (adapted (transcription, segmentation into morphemes, annotation and English translation) from Dallet (1982:540) 'les haricots, tant que la cosse n'est pas ouverte sont tendres')

mazal=itn dinna
 not_yet=ABSV.3.PL.M there
 PRED=PRO ADV
 'They are still there' (own field notes)

2.1.3. Locative question

anda=tnt tqǰǰin-nni
 where=ABSV.3.PL.F girl\ANN.PL.F-CNS
 PRED=PRO N.ov-DEM
 'Where are they, those girls ?' (own field notes)

2.1.4. Stative locative

ǰǰy^wl-agi dg-s lbiš
 occupation\ABS.SG.M-PROXb inside-PREP.3.SG treason\ABS.SG.M
 N.cov-DEM PRED-PRO N.cov
 'There's treason in this affair'
 (adapted (transcription, segmentation into morphemes, annotation and English translation) from Dallet (1982:61) 'Il y a de la trahison dans cette affaire')

2.1.5. Possessive

yur^t-i aqzun d amllal
 AT.HUM-PREP.1.SG dog\ABS.SG.M COP white\ABS.SG.M
 PRED-PRO N.ov PRED ADJ
 'I have a dog who's white'
 (adapted (transcription, segmentation into morphemes, annotation and English translation) from Dallet (1982:124) 'j'ai un chien blanc')

2.2. Types of predications

In this part, predications are grouped according to form: those based on derivation together, those involving labile verbs together, those involving a copula and no bound pronouns together, etc. This allows to see for instance, that manifestation and evaluation are characterized by very similar formal constructions, whereas quality and attribution, semantically close notions a priori, are in fact formally marked by different constructions.

2.2.1. Affectedness and control

The first group of constructions which forms a subdomain in the domain of predication is composed of Affecting Subject, Agent-Affected Subject, Non-Controlling Subject and Reciprocal predications. They are all formally characterized by the fact that they are marked by a derivational prefix (or combination of prefixes) attached to the verb. Those constructions are in complementary distribution along the semantic features of agentivity and control.

2.2.2. Change of state phase and agent/undergoer perspective

The second group of constructions is composed of change of state constructions viewed in their static phase (undergoer perspective) or their dynamic phase (agent perspective). They are characterized by the fact that there is no change in the form of the verb, only in the expression vs. non-expression of its arguments. The verbs that enter in those constructions are labile.

2.2.3. Quality

The third type is represented by one construction, the quality predication, which assigns a core adjectival property (dimension, age, value, color) to an entity represented by a pronoun belonging to a dedicated subset of subject pronouns. This subset is only used with quality verbs in the perfective.

2.2.4. Attribution

Two predications in the domain convey what is characterized as ‘categorical judgement’ in semantics, i.e. characterization, by the speaker, of an entity through a predicate expressing a quality, role, or any other feature of that entity.

This subdomain is composed of affirmative and negative ascriptive, formally marked by copula *d* in the affirmative, and negative ascriptive marker *mafi* in the negative.

2.2.5. Manifestation and Evaluation

A series of predications in the domain convey an assessment, or location, or coming/persistence into existence, or more radically absence of a referent, in relation to the spatio-temporal coordinates of the speaker.

This subdomain is composed of various morphemes hosting a bound pronoun belonging to the Absolutive paradigm. Namely : Evaluative predication; Negative locative; Locative question; Persistent predication; Presentative predication.

2.2.6. Relation

A series of predications in the domain convey the relation between a quality, feature, or location and the spatio-temporal coordinates of a human source represented by a pronoun belonging to the Prepositional paradigm. Namely : Possessive predication; Stative locative predication.

2.2.7. Absence

Whereas the affirmative existential is expressed by a default verbal predication using verb *ili*, ‘be’, the negative existential predication is coded in Kabyle by a dedicated construction which stands on its own as having no bound pronoun, and featuring a post-predicate argument in the absolute state. It’s interesting that only absence is grammatically coded by a special construction in Kabyle, not existence.

Conclusion

In Kabyle, default predication is verbal, and consists of a verb, always hosting a bound pronoun, or several, depending on valency and orientation. Non-verbal predications are marked, and semantically specialized.

The organization of the domain underlines some features of Kabyle which also play a role in other parts of the grammar :

Affectedness and control, as well as perspective of the agent vs. undergoer in relation to the Dynamic vs Static phase of the change of state, point to an equal distribution between situations viewed as dynamic, and situations viewed as static. There is no prevalence of the agentive format in Kabyle, and subjects are by no means typical agents. If we include the orientation of non-verbal predications, then the system’s balance is clearly tipped towards the +undergoer/+static pole of the opposition.

Another pole of the system is attribution to an entity of a quality, role or feature. Qualification of an entity by a property concept is formally treated differently from attribution. The importance of qualification is also mirrored in other parts of the grammar (nominal adjectives, subject relativization).

The notions of manifestation and location are central in the grammar of Kabyle, as shown by the existence of dedicated constructions. Presentative and persistent predications clearly belong to that pole, in the sense that they refer to occurrences, in front of the speaker’s eyes, of situations contrary to expectations (expectations being a status quo, or a situation naturally coming to an end). Evaluation is treated differently from qualification or quality attribution: whereas the latter are not specifically anchored in a situation, evaluation is clearly construed relative to the speaker’s spatio-temporal coordinates.

This points to the importance of specificity in Kabyle, a feature also reflected in the Mood-Aspect-Negation system and the system of Reference.

Non-existence is treated differently from manifestation or location, which shows that referentiality is a distinctive feature for predications.

Manifestation, location, and existence can be subsumed under the concept of theticity, in the etymological or philosophical sense of the term. This dimension is pervasive in the grammar of Kabyle, and is manifested in the internal organization of the domains of Reference, Information structure, Mood-Aspect-Negation, among others.

Relationship of an entity to another one is also an important feature of the system of predication in Kabyle.

It is interesting to find this subdomain of Relation also grammaticalized in relational nouns.

For all those predications, the importance of the speaker’s coordinates, standpoint and stance is crucial, as it is clearly from that vantage point that all predications are considered. This fact is also central for the internal organization of the domains of Mood-Aspect-Negation, and reported speech, among others.

The analysis and delimitation of other functional domains of Kabyle will ultimately draw a portrait of the language that will not be limited to a survey of the usual rubrics, but will show the language’s overall architecture and its fundamental defining oppositions, thus paving the way for more complex and richer cross-linguistic comparisons.

The presence of a linked corpus allows analyses to be checked, criticized and falsified.

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