

Ketama Berber Pronouns

Abbreviations (tribes)

ABb = Ayt Bušibet
ABn = Ayt Bunsar
ABr = Ayt Bšir
AH = Ayt Ḥmed
AM = Ayt Mezduy
AS = Ayt Seddat
AX = Ayt Xennus
K = Ktama
T = Tayzut
Z = Zerqet

Independent pronouns

Comments: general

- Ketama Berber distinguishes between M and F forms in independent pronouns only in 2 and 3S (vs. e.g. Zerqet Berber)
- There are short and long forms of independent pronouns; they are used interchangeably
- There is variation among different Senhaja Berber varieties (e.g. Zerqet has a separate 2FP form). Variation in pronunciation: AH *tt* > *ṭṭ*, e.g. 3MS *netta* > *neṭṭa*

Forms

- 1S *nek(k)* in all Senhaja; cf. Rif *nešš*
- 2MS *keḡ* in all Senhaja; cf. Rif *šek*
- 2FS *kemm* in all Senhaja (except AM). In (northern) Ayt Mezduy (Ayt Buḡay) *kem(m)* and *šem*; in southern Ayt Mezduy (Buḡdi) only *kem* (*kmi(n(i))*). Cf. Rif *šem*
- 3MS *netta(n(i))* in all Senhaja; AA *neṭṭa(n(i))*; AM *netta* = Rif *netta*
- 3FS Ketama (and generally Western Senhaja) *nettaha(n(i))* < **nettata* (*t* > *h* here); Eastern Senhaja *nettata(n(i))* (AH *neṭṭata(n(i))*); cf. Rif *nettaṭ*
- 1P *nuk(k)ni*, *nukki* in Ketama, *nekkni/nekknu* in Tayzut and ABb; AA *nekk^wni*; cf. Rif *neššin*
2P (M/F) *kunni* in Ketama; Tayzut and ABb *kenniwi(i)* (2FP *kenniwi(i)*); AH *kenniwi(i)* (M=F); Zerqet 2MP *kennami*, *kenniwi*; 2FP *kennamṭi*, *kennumṭi*; AM 2MP *kenniwi* (South), *kenniwi* (North); 2FP *kenniwi* (South), *kenniwi* or *kennint* (North); cf. Rif *kenniwi* (2MP) and *kennint* (2FP);
- 3P (M+F) *nehnim* in Ketama, T and ABb *nehnim(i)*, *nehnum(i)*, *nhumi*; AH *nehnum(i)*; ABn, AX, AS *ntumi* (but AS *ntumṭi* for 3FP), Z *ntumi* and *ntami* (*ntumṭi* and *ntamṭi* for 3FP), ABr *ntami(n)*, *ntumi(n)*, AM *neṭnin* (optionally *neṭnint* for 3FP); cf. Rif 3MP *neṭnin*, *niṭni*, *neṭni*, *nihni* and 3FP *neṭnind*, *niṭenti*, *neṭenti*, *nihenti*

Table 1. Independent pronouns

SG	
1	nek(k), n(ek)ki, n(ek)kin(i)
2M	keğ, keği, keğın(i)
2F	kemm, kemmi, kemmin(i)
3M	netta
3F	nettaha
PL	
1	nuk(k)ni, nukki
2	kunni
3	nehnim

E.g. *ixssay asawiğ Ššelha anda kunni* 'I want to speak Berber like you (PL).'

Suffix/clitic pronouns

- after PREP
- after kinship terms
- DO and IO clitic pronouns (preverbal and postverbal)

Pronouns following prepositions (= prepositional suffixes)

- 2MS *k* in K and most Snh but *k* in T and ABb; *k* and *k* in Targist; Rif: *k* in Ayt Weryağel; *k*, *š* in in Central Rif; *k/k* in Ayt Tuzin; *k* in Iqeləiyen
- 2FP (same as 2MP) *wen* in most Snh; *kum*, *wen* in ABr; Z has both *wen* and *went* for 2FP; AM has both *wen* (South/Buədi) and *kent* (North/Ayt Buğay) for 2FP; cf. Rif 2FP *kent*, *kend* (Ayt Weryağel), *kent*, *šent* (Centre), *kent* (Ayt Tuzin, Tifersit and Eastern Rif/Iqeləiyen).

Table 2. Pronouns following prepositions

SG	(C#/ V#)	id 'with'	axf 'on'	γur- 'at/with'
1	-i/y	id-i	axf-i	γur-i
2M	-(e) <i>k</i>	id-ek	axf-ek	γur-ek
2F	-(e)m	id-em	axf-em	γur-em
3	-(e)s	id-es	axf-es	γur-es
PL				
1	-na	id-na	axf-na	γur-na
2	-un/-wen	id-un	axf-un	γur-un
3	-sen	id-sen	axf-sen	γur-sen

Possession is expressed by *γur-* followed by suffix pronouns. E.g.

ka γur-ek ayyuy? 'Do you (MS) have a donkey?'

wah, γur-i 'Yes I have.'

lla, (u) γur-i šay 'No I don't.'

Possessive pronouns

- Subtype of pronouns following prepositions: GEN preposition *n* + suffix pronouns
- 1S is an exception
- 1P Western Snh (K, T, ABb) *nna(y)*, *nney*; Eastern Snh *nnay*, *nney*; Rif *nney* (Ayt Weryayel and Iqelēiyen), *nnex* (Temsaman), *nney/nnex* (Ayt Tuzin, Tafersit, Ayt Wlišek, Ayt Seid)
- 2MP *nnun*, *nwen* (K); *nwen* in the rest of Snh; AM has *nwen* (South) and *nwen*, *n̄kum* (North); Targist *nwem*; cf. Rif *nwem* (Ayt Weryayel *n̄kum*)
- 2FP = 2MP in all Snh except Z which has both *nwen* and *nwent* (in Ayennuy) for 2FP; AM has both *nwen* (South) and *n̄kum*, *n̄kent* (North); Targist *nkent*; cf. Rif 2FP *n̄kent*, *n̄kend* (Ayt Weryayel); *n̄sent* (Centre); *n̄sent*, *n̄š̄kent* (Ayt Tuzin); *n̄sent*, *nkent* (Ayt Seid); Iqelēiyen has *n̄sent*, *nkent* in the North and *nkent*, *n̄kent*, *n̄sent* in the South.
- 3FP (=3MP) *nsen* in all Snh but Z has *nsen*, *nsent* for 3FP (in the South)

Table 3. Possessive pronouns

SG	
1	inu
2M	nn-ek̄
2F	nn-em
3	nn-es
PL	
1	nn-a(y), nn-ey
2	nn-un, n-wen
3	n-sen

E.g. *ka ṭahaḍ lbursa nnek̄?* ‘Is this your bag?’

wah, inu ‘Yes, it is mine’ / *lla, uhllaš(i)/šay inu, nnes* ‘No it’s not mine, it’s his.’

Pronouns after kinship terms (= adnominal suffixes)

Comments: general

- Some kinship nouns (e.g. *(u)gma* ‘brother’), when in SG, express possession by adding a special adnominal suffix
- In PL, these nouns take genitive preposition *n* + suffix pronouns (i.e. they are followed by usual possessive pronouns)
- In 1SG, there is no suffix (suffix is Ø)

Forms

- 2MS *nnek̄* in Ketama; Tayzut and ABb *k*, *k̄*, *k̄* in the rest of Snh (i.e. Eastern Snh); cf. (Central) Rif *š* (Ayt Weryayel *k̄*, as Eastern Snh). In Targist and South Iqelēiyen both *k̄* and *š*
- 1P *nna(y)*, *nney* in K; *na(y)*, *ney* in T and ABb; *ney*, *nay* in the rest of Snh (i.e. Eastern Snh); cf. Rif *tney*, *tnex*

- 2MP *nnun*, *nwen* in K; *wen* in the rest of Snh (including T and ABb); cf. Rif *twem* (Ayt Weryayel *kum*, *tkum*)
- 2FP = 2MP in all Snh, i.e. *nnun*, *nwen* in K; *wen* in the rest of Snh (including T and ABb) but Zerqet (Ayennuy) has *wen*, *went* for 2FP; cf. Rif *kent*, *tkent*, *kend*, *tkend* (Ayt Weryayel), *tšent* (Temsaman), *tkent* (Ayt Tuzin and Tafersit), *tkent*, *tkent*, *tšent* (Iqelɛiyen)
- 3FP = 3MP *nsen* in all Snh; Z and AM have both *nsen* and *nsent* for 3FP; cf. Rif 3FP *nsent* (Ayt Weryayel *nsent*, *nsend*)

Table 4. Pronouns after kinship terms

SG		(u)gma 'brother'	PL		(u)gma 'brother'
1	-Ø	(u)gma	1	nna(ɣ), nney	(u)gma nna
2M	-k, k, nnek	(u)gma-k	2M/F	nnun, nwen	(u)gma nn-un
2F	-m	(u)gma-m			
3	-s	(u)gma-s	3	nsen	(u)gma nn-sen

E.g. *ka wahaɖ (u)gmaɖ?* 'Is this your brother?' - *wah, (u)gma* 'Yes, it's my brother.'

Borrowed pronouns (Arabic suffix pronouns)

- Arabic suffix pronouns are taken over with non-integrated Arabic loanwords

Table 5. Borrowed pronouns

SG		εemmr- 'never'
1	-i/-y ; -ni (verbal suffix)	εemmr-i
2	-(e)k	εemmr-ek
3M	-u/-h	εemmr-u
3F	-a/-ha	εemmr-ha
PL		
1	-na	εemmr-na
2	-kum	εemmr-kum
3	-em/-hen, ~-hum	εemmr-hum

E.g. (*kegi(n)/kemmi(n)*) *εmmr-ek ka heddiɖ ar lkuɬamen*
 'You (SG, M/F) never went/have never been to Ketama.'

Clitic pronouns (DO and IO)

DO clitic pronouns (preverbal and postverbal)

General comments

- Gender is distinguished only in 2 and 3SG
- Preverbal and postverbal paradigms
- Preverbal: in “marked” contexts (Future, Negation)
- Preverbal DO pronouns always follow a particle that ends in -a; even if their underlying form start on a, this a is elided
- Forms with VENT (ventive) are given in parentheses

Postverbal DO clitic pronouns

- 1S *ay(i)*, *y(i)* in all Snh = Rif
- 2MS *k*, *k*, *keġ*, *keġ* in all Snh but *k*, *kež(ž)*, *keġ* in AH and ABn; cf. Rif *š*, *šek* (Ayt Weryaġel *k*, *š*, *šek*)
- 2FS *kem*, *kem* in all Snh but only *kem* in AH and ABn; cf. Rif *šem* (Ayt Weryaġel *šem*, *m*)
- 3FS *t* (K > h in some contexts) in all Snh = Rif (Iqelġiyen *t*, (t)*tet*)
- 1P *ana(y)*, *a(y)*, *aney* in all Snh; central Rif *aney*, *anex*, *aġ*, *ax*; Ayt Weryaġel *aney*, *aġ*; Iqelġiyen *aney*, *aġ*
- 2MP *wen* in most Snh; *wen/ken* in ABb and T; *wen*, *kum*, *kum* in ABr; *wen*, *ken*, *kun* in Zerqet; cf. Rif *kum/kum*, *škum*, *kenniw/kenniw*; *wem*, *šwem*
- 2FP same as 2MP in most Snh (i.e. *wen* in most Snh; *wen/ken* in ABb and T; *wen*, *kum*, *kum* in ABr); Zeqet *wen*, *ken*, *kun* (same as M) or a separate F form (in Ayennuy): *ken*, *kun*, *went*, *kent*, *kunt*, *kent*, *kunt*; cf. Rif 2FP *kend/kend*, *škend*, *kennind/kennind*, *kent/kent*, *škent/škent*, *kennint/kennint*, *šent*
- 3MP *ten*, *hen*, *n* in Western Snh; *ten*, *n* in Eastern Snh and Rif (Iqelġiyen *ten*)
- 3FP same as 3MP in all Snh except Zerqet (Ayennuy) which has *ten*, *tent*, *n*, *nt* for 3FP; cf. Rif *tend*, *nd*, *tent*, *nt*

Table 6. DO clitic pronouns

	Preverbal	Postverbal
SG		
1	(a)y(t), y(t)	(a)y(i)
2M	k, k	k, k
2F	kem, kem, m	kem, kem, m
3M	t, h (t-id, h-id)	t, h (t-id, h-id) (t)^t (assimilation after t/t, e.g. IMP.PL)
3F	t, h (t-ed, h-ed)	t, h (t-ed, h-ed) (t)^t (assimilation after t/t, e.g. IMP.PL)
PL		
1	hen	ana(y), aney, a(y)
2	wen	wen
3	hen, ten, n	hen, ten, n (t)^ten (assimilation after t/t, e.g. IMP.PL)

Examples of preverbal DO clitic pronouns

Example: 'he will see me/you', etc.

	Dialect	Forms without VENT	Forms with VENT
SG			
1	K	ša-y _t -izer	ša-y-d-izer
	AH	ša-y-izer	ša-y-d-izer
	ABn	ša-y-izer	ša-y-d-izer
	AM	a-y-izer	a-y-d-izer
2M	K	ša-k _t -izer	ša-k _t -d-izer
	AH	ša-k-izer	ša-k-id-izer
	ABn	ša-k _t -izer	ša-k _t -d-izer
	AM	a-k-izer	a-g-d-izer
2F	K	ša-(k)m-izer	ša-(k)m-d-izer
	AH	ša-km-izer	ša-km-id-izer
	ABn	ša-(k)m-izer	ša-(k)m-d-izer
	AM	a-km-izer	a-km-d-izer
3M	K	ša-h-izer	ša-h-d-izer
	AH	ša-t-izer	ša-t-id-izer
	ABn	ša-t _t -izer	ša-t _t -id-izer
	AM	a-t _t -izer	a-t _t -id-izer
3F	K	ša-t-izer	ša-h-d-izer
	AH	ša-t _t -izer	ša-t _t -id-izer
	ABn	ša-t-izer	ša-t-id-izer
	AM	a-t-izer	a-t-id-izer
PL			
1	K	ša-hn-izer	ša-hn-d-izer
	AH	ša-yn-izer	ša-yn-(i)d-izer
	ABn	ša-yn-izer	ša-yn-d-izer
	AM	a-yn-izer	
2	K	ša-w(k)n-izer	ša-w(k)n-d-izer
	AH	ša-kn-izer	ša-kn-(i)d-izer
	ABn	ša-wn-izer	ša-wn-d-izer
	AM	a-kun-izer	a-kun-d-izer
3	K	ša-hn-izer	ša-hn-d-izer
	AH	ša-tn-izer	ša-tn-id-izer
	ABn	ša-tn-izer	ša-tn-d-izer
	AM	a-tn-izer	a-tn-d-izer

Examples of postverbal DO clitic pronouns

Two forms: long (*izray-ay*) and short (*izr-ay*)

	Dialect	Verb 'to see': 'he saw...'	Verb 'to know': 'he knows...'	Verb 'to take/bring': 'he took/brought...'
SG				
1	K	izr(ay)-ay(-d)	i(t)ssn(ay)-ay	iwy-ay(-d)
	AH	izr-ay(-d)	i(t)ssn-ay	
	ABn	izr(ay)-ay(-d)		
	AM	izr-ay(-d)	issn-ay	
2M	K	izr(ay)-ak(-d)	i(t)ssn(ay)-ak	iwy-ak(-d)
	AH	izr-ak(-id)	i(t)ssn-ak	
	ABn	izr(ay)-ak(-d)		
	AM	izr-ak, izr-aḡ-d	issn-ak	
2F	K	izr(ay)-am(-d)	i(t)ssn(ay)-am	iwy-am(-d)
	AH	izr-akm(-d)	i(t)ssn-akm	
	ABn	izr(ay)-am(-d)	i(t)ssn-am	
	AM	izra-kem(-d), izr-am(-d) (<i>rare</i>)	issna-kem (*issn-am)	
3M	K	izra-ṭ (/h-id)	i(t)ssn-iṭ	iwwi-ṭ (/h-id)
	AH	izra-ṭ(-id)	i(t)ssn-iṭ	
	ABn	izra-ṭ(-id)	i(t)ssn-iṭ	
	AM	izra-ṭ(-id)	issn-iṭ	
3F	K	izra-t (/h-ed)	i(t)ssn-it	iwwi-t (/h-ed)
	AH	izra-ṭ(-id)	i(t)ssn-iṭ	
	ABn	izra-ṭ(-id)	i(t)ssn-it	
	AM	izra-t(-id)	issn-it	
PL				
1	K	izr(ay)-ana(-y-d)	i(t)ssn(ay)-ana	iwy-ana(y-d)
	AH	izr-anay(-d)	i(t)ssn-anay	
	ABn	izr(ay)-anay(-d)		
	AM	izr-anay(-d)	issn-anay	
2	K	izr(ay)-awn(-d)	i(t)ssn(ay)-awn	iwy-awn(-d)
	AH	izr-akn(-d)	i(t)ssn-awn	
	ABn	izr(ay)-awn(-d)		
	AM	izr-akun(-d)	i-ssn-akun	
3	K	izra-hn(-d)	i(t)ssn-ihn	iwwi-hn(-d)
	AH	izra-tn(-d)	i(t)ssn-itn	
	ABn	izra-tn(-d)		
	AM	izra-ten(-d)	issn-itn	

Postverbal DO clitic pronouns following the verb form in plural

	Dialect	Verb 'to see': 'they saw...'	Verb 'to know': 'they know...'	Verb 'to take/bring': 'they took/brought...'
SG				
1	K	ẓran-ay(-d)	(t)ssnan-ay	wyan-ay(-d)
	AH	ẓran-ay(-d)	(t)ssnn-ay	
	ABn		(t)ssnenn-ay	
	AM	ẓran-ay(-d)	(t)ssnenn-ay	
2M	K	ẓran-ak(-d)	(t)ssnan-ak	wyan-ak(-d)
	AH	ẓran-ak(-id)	(t)ssnn-ak	
	ABn		(t)ssnenn-ak	
	AM	ẓran-ak (/aḡ-d)	(t)ssnenn-ak	
2F	K	ẓran-akem(-d)/am(-d)	(t)ssnan-am/ -akem	wyan-am(-d)
	AH	ẓran-akm(-d)	(t)ssnn-akm	
	ABn		(t)ssnenn-am	
	AM	ẓran-akm(-d)		
3M	K	ẓran-ṭ(-id)	(t)ssnen-ṭ	wwin-ṭ(-id)
	AH	ẓran-ṭ(-id)	(t)ssnen-ṭ	
	ABn		(t)ssnenn-ṭ	
	AM	ẓran-ṭ(-id)	(t)ssnenn-ṭ	
3F	K	ẓran-ṭ (/ṭ-ed)	(t)ssnen-ṭ	wwin-ṭ (/ṭ-ed)
	AH	ẓran-ṭ(-id)	(t)ssnen-ṭ	
	ABn		(t)ssnenn-ṭ	
	AM	ẓran-ṭ(-id)	(t)ssnenn-ṭ	
PL				
1	K	ẓran-ana(-y-d)	(t)ssnana-na	wyan-ana(y-d)
	AH	ẓran-anay(-d)	(t)ssnna-nay	
	ABn		(t)ssnenn-anay	
	AM	ẓran-anay(-d)	(t)ssnenn-anay	
2	K	ẓran-awn(-d)	(t)ssnana-wn	wyan-awn(-d)
	AH	ẓran-akn(-d)		
	ABn		(t)ssnenn-awn	
	AM	ẓran-akun(-d)	(t)ssnenn-kun	
3	K	ẓran-tn(-d)	(t)ssnen-tn	wwin-tn(-d)
	AH	ẓran-tn(-d)		
	ABn		(t)ssnenn-tn	
	AM	ẓran-ten(-d)	(t)ssnenn-ten	

IO clitic pronouns

- IO pronouns differ from DO only in 3 person (SG and PL)

Postverbal IO pronouns

- 1S *ay(i)* in all Snh and Rif
- 2MS *ak*, *aḵ* in most Snh (only *aḵ* in ABn and parts of Z); Rif *aḵ*, *ak*, *aš*
- 2FS *am*, *akem* in Western Snh; *am*, *akem*, *aḵem* in Eastern Snh; cf. Rif *am*
- 3MS and 3FS *as* (different from a DO clitic pronoun 3MS *t*, *h*; 3FS *t*, *h*)
- 1P *ana(y)*, *aḡ*, *aney* in Western Snh; *anaḡ*, *aḡ*, *aney* in Eastern Snh; Rif *aney*, *aḡ*, *anex*, *ax*
- 2MP *akun*, *aḵun*, *awen* in K and AS; *awen* in the rest of Snh (including T and ABb); *akum*, *aḵum*, *awen* in ABr; Rif *awem* (Ayt Weryaḡel *aḵum*)
- 2FP = 2MP in Snh: *akun*, *aḵun*, *awen* in K and AS; *awen* in the rest of Snh (including T and ABb); *akum*, *aḵum*, *awen* in ABr; Zerqet (Aḡennuy) has *akun*, *aḵun*, *awen*, *akunt*, *aḵunt* for 2FP; Central Rif *akent*, *ašent* (Ayt Weryaḡel *akend*, *akent*, *akent*, *aḵumt*; Iqelḡiyyen *akent*, *aḵent*, *ašent*)
- 3P *asn* vs. DO 3P *t*_n, *hn*
- 3FP = 3MP: *asen* in all Snh; Zerqet (Aḡennuy) has *asen*, *asent* for 3FP; Rif *asent* (Ayt Weryaḡel *asend*, *asent*)

Table 7. DO and IO clitic pronouns

	DO pronouns		IO pronouns	
	preverbal	postverbal	preverbal	postverbal
SG				
1	(a)y _t , y _t (ay-d)	(a)y(i)	[a]y _t ([a]y-d)	ay(i)
2M	k, k	k, k	[a]k, [a]ḵ	ak, aḵ
2F	ḵem, kem, m	ḵem, kem, m	[a]m	akem, am
3M	t, h (t-id, h-id)	t, h (t-id, h-id) (t)^t (assimilation)	[a]s	as
3F	t, h (t-ed, h-ed)	t, h (t-ed, h-ed) (t)^t (assimilation)	=3MS	=3MS
PL				
1	hen	ana(y), aney, a(y)	[a]hen	ana(y), aney, aḡ
2	wen, wḵn	wen	[a]wen	awen, akun, aḵun
3	hen, t _n , n	hen, t _n , n (t)^ten (assimilation)	[a]sen	asn

Examples of IO clitic pronouns

Preverbal IO clitic pronouns ('he will give me, you', etc.)

	'he will give...'	'they will give...'
SG		
1	ša-y _t -ik (ša-y-d-ik)	ša-y _t -kkin (ša-y-d-kkin)
2M	ša-k _i -ik (ša-k _i -d-ik)	ša-k _i -kkin (ša-k _i -d-kkin)
2F	ša-m-ik (ša-m-d-ik)	ša-m-kkin (ša-m-d-kkin)
3	ša-s-ik (ša-s-d-ik)	ša-s-kkin (ša-s-d-kkin)
PL		
1	ša-hen-ik (ša-hen-d-ik)	ša-hen-kkin (ša-hen-d-kkin)
2	ša-wen-ik (ša-wen-d-ik)	ša-wen-kkin (ša-wen-d-kkin)
3	ša-sen-ik (ša-sen-d-ik)	ša-sen-kkin (ša-sen-d-kkin)

Postverbal IO clitic pronouns ('he gave me, you', etc.)

	'he gave...'	'they gave...'
SG		
1	ikk(ay)-ay-d	kkan-ay-d
2M	ikk(ay)-ak _i (-d)	kkan-ak _i (-d)
2F	ikk(ay)-am(-d)	kkan-am(-d)
3	ikk(ay)-as(-d)	kkan-as(-d)
PL		
1	ikk(ay)-ana(y-d)	kkan-ana(y-d)
2	ikk(ay)-awen(-d)	kkan-awen(-d)
3	ikk(ay)-asen(-d)	kkan-asen(-d)