

Ketama: ADJ and PTC

Short scheme (Number/Gender-marking)

			NEG				
MS	X		MS	ma	X		š
FS	X	-a	FS	ma	X	-a	š
PL	X	-in	PL	ma	X	-in	š
REL	a ylla X (X-a, X-in)		NEG	a yllan šay X (X-a, X-in) a ylla ma X (X-a, X-in) š aylla w X (X-a, X-in) š			

Full scheme (PNG-marking in AUX)

an example (FVS marking in NEG)

IMP						NEG	i VERB š/ši				
MS	yyi X					FS	i t-iyya š X				
FS	yyi X-a					MS	i t-iyya š X-a				
PL	yy-aṭ X-in					PL	i t-iyy-aṭ š X-in				
FUT	ša + verb (i)yi + X					NEG	ša + verb (i)yi + š(ay) + X				
SG						SG					
1MS	ša	yyi-ḡ		X		1MS	ša	yyi-ḡ	šay	X	
1FS	ša	yyi-ḡ		X	-a	1FS	ša	yyi-ḡ	šay	X -a	
2MS	ša	t-iyi-ḡ		X		2MS	ša	t-iyi-ḡ	šay	X	
2FS	ša	t-iyi-ḡ		X	-a	2FS	ša	t-iyi-ḡ	šay	X -a	
3MS	ša	y-yi		X		3MS	ša	y-yi	šay	X	
3FS	ša	t-iyi		X	-a	3FS	ša	t-iyi	šay	X -a	
PL						PL					
1P	ša	n-iyi		X	-in	1P	ša	n-iyi	šay	X -in	
2P	ša	t-iyi-m		X	-in	2P	ša	t-iyi-m	šay	X -in	
3P	ša	yyi-n		X	-in	3P	ša	yyi-n	šay	X -in	
PRES	(optional: verb lli) + X					NEG	u + verb lli + š(ay) + X				
SG						SG					
1MS		(lli-ḡ)		X		1MS	u	lli-ḡ	šay	X	
1FS		(lli-ḡ)		X	-a	1FS	u	lli-ḡ	šay	X -a	
2MS		(he-lli-ḡ)		X		2MS	u	he-lli-ḡ	šay	X	
2FS		(he-lli-ḡ)		X	-a	2FS	u	he-lli-ḡ	šay	X -a	
3MS		(ye-lla)		X		3MS	u	ye-lla	šay	X	
3FS		(he-lla)		X	-a	3FS	u	he-lla	šay	X -a	
PL						PL					
1P		(ne-lla		X	-in	1P	u	ne-lla	šay	X -in	
2P		(he-lla-m)		X	-in	2P	u	he-lla-m	šay	X -in	
3P		(lla-n)		X	-in	3P	u	lla-n	šay	X -in	
PST	ara + verb lli + X					NEG	ara + verb lli + š(ay) + X				
SG						SG					
1MS	ara	lli-ḡ		X		1MS	ara	lli-ḡ	šay	X	
1FS	ara	lli-ḡ		X	-a	1FS	ara	lli-ḡ	šay	X -a	

2MS	ara	he-lli- <u>d</u>		X		2MS	ara	he-lli- <u>d</u>	šay		X	
2FS	ara	he-lli- <u>d</u>		X	-a	2FS	ara	he-lli- <u>d</u>	šay		X	-a
3MS	ara	ye-lla		X		3MS	ara	ye-lla	šay		X	
3FS	ara	he-lla		X	-a	3FS	ara	he-lla	šay		X	-a
PL						PL						
1P	ara	ne-lla		X	-in	1P	ara	ne-lla	šay		X	-in
2P	ara	he-lla-m		X	-in	2P	ara	he-lla-m	šay		X	-in
3P	ara	lla-n		X	-in	3P	ara	lla-n	šay		X	-in
RF						NEG						
FUT	a ylla + ša + verb (<i>i</i>)yi + X					NEG	a ylla + ša + verb (<i>i</i>)yi + š(ay) + X					
3MS	ša	y-yi		X		3MS	ša	y-yi	šay		X	
3FS	ša	t-iyi		X	-a	3FS	ša	t-iyi	šay		X	-a
3P	ša	yyi-n		X	-in	3P	ša	yyi-n	šay		X	-in
PRES	a ylla + X					NEG	a yllan + šay + X ~ aylla ma + X + š(ay) ~ aylla u + X + š(ay)					
3MS	a	ylla		X		3MS	a	yllan	šay		X	
3FS	a	ylla		X	-a	3FS	a	yllan	šay		X	-a
3P	a	ylla		X	-in	3P	a	yllan	šay		X	-in
PST	ara + verb <i>lli</i> + X					NEG	ara + verb <i>lli</i> + š(ay) + X					
3MS	ara	ye-lla		X		3MS	ara	ye-lla	šay		X	
3FS	ara	he-lla		X	-a	3FS	ara	he-lla	šay		X	-a
3P	ara	lla-n		X	-in	3P	ara	lla-n	šay		X	-in

EXAMPLES

ADJ *mezyan* ‘to be nice, beautiful’

Short scheme:

			NEG				
MS	mezyan		MS	ma	mezyan		š
FS	mezyan	-a	FS	ma	mezyan	-a	š
PL	mezyan	-in	PL	ma	mezyan	-in	š

Long scheme

				NEG					
MS		mezyan		MS		ma	mezyan		š
FS		mezyan	-a	FS		ma	mezyan	-a	š
PL		mezyan	-in	PL		ma	mezyan	-in	š
REL	a ylla	mezyan (-a, -in)		NEG	a yllan	šay	mezyan (-a, -in)		
				~	a ylla	ma	mezyan (-a, -in)		š
				~	aylla	u	mezyan (-a, -in)		š

ADJ *mxiiyyer* ‘to be nice, beautiful’

			NEG (no NEG of this ADJ possible)				
MS	mxiiyyer		MS				
FS	mxiiyyer	-a	FS				
PL	mxiiyyer	-in	PL				

PTC *mašši* ‘going’

				NEG					
MS		mašši		MS		ma	mašši		š
FS		maššy	-a	FS		ma	maššy	-a	š
PL		maššy	-in	PL		ma	maššy	-in	š
REL	a ylla	mašši (-a, -in)		NEG	aylla	w	mašši (-a, -in)		š

Taghzut: ADJ and PTC

Set a: short scheme (Number/Gender-marking, no Person marking)

MS				X	
FS				X	-a
PL				X	-in
RF	a ylla X (FS -a, PL -in)				

Set b: full scheme (PNG-marking)

FUT	ša + verb <i>iži</i> + X					NEG	(u) ša + verb <i>iži</i> + š(ay) + X				
SG						SG					
1S	ša	<u>d</u> -iži-ġ		X	-iġ	1S	ša	<u>d</u> -iži-ġ	š	X	-iġ
1MS	ša	<u>d</u> -iži-ġ		X		1MS	ša	<u>d</u> -iži-ġ	š	X	
1FS	ša	<u>d</u> -iži-ġ		X	-a	1FS	ša	<u>d</u> -iži-ġ	š	X	-a
2S	ša	t-iži- <u>d</u>		X	-id	2S	ša	t-iži- <u>d</u>	š	X	-id
3MS	ša	<u>d</u> -iži		X		3MS	ša	<u>d</u> -iži	š	X	
3FS	ša	t-iži		X	-a	3FS	ša	t-iži	š	X	-a
PL						PL					
1P	ša	n-iži		X	-in	1P	ša	n-iži	š	X	-in
2P	ša	t-iži-m		X	-im (-in)	2P	ša	t-iži-m	š	X	-im (-in)
3P	ša	<u>d</u> -iži-n		X	-in	3P	ša	<u>d</u> -iži-n	š	X	-in
PR	X					NEG	u/ ma + X + š(ay)/ u + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š + X/ mašši X (“set a”)				
SG						SG					
1S				X	-iġ	1S	u			X	-iġ
1MS				X							
1FS				X	-a						
2S				X	-id	2S	u				-id
3MS				X		3MS	u			X	
3FS				X	-a	3FS	u			X	-a
PL						PL					
1P				X	-in	1P	u			X	-in
2P				X	-im (-in)	2P	u			X	-im (-in)
3P				X	-in	3P	u			X	-in
PST	indi + (verb <i>lli/a</i>) + X					NEG	indi + w + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š(ay) + X				
SG						SG					
1S	indi	(lli-ġ)		X	-iġ	1S	indi	w	lli-ġ	š	X
1MS	indi	(lli-ġ)		X		1MS	indi	w	lli-ġ	š	X
1FS	indi	(lli-ġ)		X	-a	1FS	indi	w	lli-ġ	š	X
2S	indi	(te-lli- <u>d</u>)		X	-id	2MS	indi	w	te-lli- <u>d</u>	š	X

3MS	indi	(y-lla)		X		3MS	indi	w	y-lla	š	X		
3FS	indi	(te-lla)		X	-a	3FS	indi	w	te-lla	š	X	-a	
PL						PL							
1P	indi	(ne-lla)		X	-in	1P	indi	w	ne-lla	š	X	-in	
2P	indi	(te-lla-m)		X	-im (-in)	2P	indi	w	te-lla-m	š	X	-im (-in)	
3P	indi	(lla-n)		X	-in	3P	indi	w	lla-n	š	X	-in	
REL	aylla X (FS -a, PL -in)					NEG	aylla ma X (FS -a, PL -in) š						
	aylla X (FS -an, PL -in)						aylla ma X (FS -a, PL -in) š						

EXAMPLES

ADJ mezyan ‘to be nice, beautiful’

Set a: short scheme (Number/Gender-marking, no Person marking)

MS				mezyan	
FS				mezyan	-a
PL				mezyan	-in
RF	aylla mezyan (FS -a, PL -in)				

Set b: full scheme (PNG-marking)

FUT	ša + verb <i>iži</i> + X					NE G	(u) ša + verb <i>iži</i> + š(ay) + X							
SG						SG								
1S	ša	d-iži-ġ	mezyan	-iġ		1S	ša	d-iži-ġ	š		mezyan	-iġ		
1MS	ša	d-iži-ġ	mezyan			1MS	ša	d-iži-ġ	š		mezyan			
1FS	ša	d-iži-ġ	mezyan	-a		1FS	ša	d-iži-ġ	š		mezyan	-a		
2S	ša	t-iži-d	mezyan	-id		2S	ša	t-iži-d	š		mezyan	-id		
3MS	ša	d-iži	mezyan			3MS	ša	d-iži	š		mezyan			
3FS	ša	t-iži	mezyan	-a		3FS	ša	t-iži	š		mezyan	-a		
PL						PL								
1P	ša	n-iži	mezyan	-in		1P	ša	n-iži	š		mezyan	-in		
2P	ša	t-iži-m	mezyan	-im (-in)		2P	ša	t-iži-m	š		mezyan	-im (-in)		
3P	ša	d-iži-n	mezyan	-in		3P	ša	d-iži-n	š		mezyan	-in		
PR	X					NE G	u/ ma + X + š(ay)/ u + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š + X/ mašši X (“set a”)							
SG						SG								
1S			mezyan	-iġ		1S	u				mezyan	-iġ		š
1MS			mezyan								mezyan			
1FS			mezyan	-a							mezyan			

2S				mezyan	-iḑ	2S	u				mezyan	-iḑ	š
3MS				mezyan		3MS	u				mezyan		š
3FS				mezyan	-a	3FS	u				mezyan	-a	š
PL						PL							š
1P				mezyan	-in	1P	u				mezyan	-in	š
2P				mezyan	-im (-in)	2P	u				mezyan	-im (-in)	š
3P				mezyan	-in	3P	u				mezyan	-in	š
PST	indi + (verb <i>lli/a</i>) + X					NE G	indi + w + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š(ay) + X						
SG						SG							
1S	indi	(lli-ḡ)		mezyan	-iḡ	1S	indi	w	lli-ḡ	š	mezyan	-iḡ	
1MS	indi	(lli-ḡ)		mezyan		1MS	indi	w	lli-ḡ	š	mezyan		
1FS	indi	(lli-ḡ)		mezyan	-a	1FS	indi	w	lli-ḡ	š	mezyan	-a	
2S	indi	(te-lli-ḑ)		mezyan	-iḑ	2MS	indi	w	te-lli-ḑ	š	mezyan	-iḑ	
3MS	indi	(y-lla)		mezyan		3MS	indi	w	y-lla	š	mezyan		
3FS	indi	(te-lla)		mezyan	-a	3FS	indi	w	te-lla	š	mezyan	-a	
PL						PL							
1P	indi	(ne-lla)		mezyan	-in	1P	indi	w	ne-lla	š	mezyan	-in	
2P	indi	(te-lla-m)		mezyan	-im (in)	2P	indi	w	te-lla-m	š	mezyan	-im (in)	
3P	indi	(lla-n)		mezyan	-in	3P	indi	w	lla-n	š	mezyan	-in	
REL	aylla mezyan (FS -a, PL -in)					NE G	aylla ma mezyan (FS -a, PL -in) š						

PTC mašši ‘going’

Set a: short scheme (Number/Gender-marking, no Person marking)

MS				masši	
FS				masš(y)	-a
PL				masš(y)	-in
RF	a ylla masši (FS -a, PL -in)				

Set b: full scheme (PNG-marking)

FUT	ša + verb <i>iži</i> + X					NE G	(u) ša + verb <i>iži</i> + š(ay) + X						
SG						SG							
1S	ša	ḑ-iži-ḡ	masš[i]	-iḡ		1S	ša	ḑ-iži-ḡ	š		masš[i]	-iḡ	
1MS	ša	ḑ-iži-ḡ	masši			1MS	ša	ḑ-iži-ḡ	š		masši		
1FS	ša	ḑ-iži-ḡ	masš(y)	-a		1FS	ša	ḑ-iži-ḡ	š		masš(y)	-a	

2S	ša	t-iži-d	masš[i]	-id	2S	ša	t-iži-d	š		masš[i]	-id	
3MS	ša	d-iži	masši		3MS	ša	d-iži	š		masši		
3FS	ša	t-iži	masš(y)	-a	3FS	ša	t-iži	š		masš(y)	-a	
PL					PL							
1P	ša	n-iži	masš[i]	-in	1P	ša	n-iži	š		masš[i]	-in	
2P	ša	t-iži-m	masš(y)	-im (-in)	2P	ša	t-iži-m	š		masš(y)	-im (-in)	
3P	ša	d-iži-n	masš(y)	-in	3P	ša	d-iži-n	š		masš(y)	-in	
PR	X				NE G	u/ ma + X + š(ay)/ u + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š + X/ mašši X (“set a”)						
SG					SG							
1S			masš[i]	-ig	1S	u				masš[i]	-ig	š
1MS			masši							masši		
1FS			masš(y)	-a						masš(y)		
2S			masš[i]	-id	2S	u				masš[i]	-id	š
3MS			masši		3MS	u				masši		š
3FS			masš(y)	-a	3FS	u				masš(y)	-a	š
PL					PL							š
1P			masš[i]	-in	1P	u				masš[i]	-in	š
2P			masš(y)	-im (-in)	2P	u				masš(y)	-im (-in)	š
3P			masš(y)	-in	3P	u				masš(y)	-in	š
PST	indi + (verb <i>lli/a</i>) + X				NE G	indi + w + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š(ay) + X						
SG					SG							
1S	indi	(lli-ğ)		masš[i]	-ig	1S	indi	w	lli-ğ	š	masš[i]	-ig
1MS	indi	(lli-ğ)		masši		1MS	indi	w	lli-ğ	š	masši	
1FS	indi	(lli-ğ)		masš(y)	-a	1FS	indi	w	lli-ğ	š	masš(y)	-a
2S	indi	(te-lli-d)		masš[i]	-id	2MS	indi	w	te-lli-d	š	masš[i]	-id
3MS	indi	(y-lla)		masši		3MS	indi	w	y-lla	š	masši	
3FS	indi	(te-lla)		masš(y)	-a	3FS	indi	w	te-lla	š	masš(y)	-a
PL					PL							
1P	indi	(ne-lla)		masš[i]	-in	1P	indi	w	ne-lla	š	masš[i]	-in
2P	indi	(te-lla-m)		masš(y)	-im (in)	2P	indi	w	te-lla-m	š	masš(y)	-im (in)
3P	indi	(lla-n)		masš(y)	-in	3P	indi	w	lla-n	š	masš(y)	-in
REL	aylla masši (FS -a, PL -in)				NE G	aylla ma masši (FS -a, PL -in) š						

PTC saken ‘living, residing’ (< verb skn ‘to live, reside’)

Set a: short scheme (Number/Gender-marking, no Person marking)

MS				saken	
FS				sakn	-a
PL				sakn	-in
RF	aylla saken (FS sakna, PL saknin)				

Set b: full scheme (PNG-marking)

FUT					NEG					(u) ša + verb <i>iži</i> + š(ay) + X				
SG					SG									
1S	ša	ḍ-iži-ḡ	sakn	-iḡ	1S	ša	ḍ-iži-ḡ	š		sakn	-iḡ			
1MS	ša	ḍ-iži-ḡ	saken		1MS	ša	ḍ-iži-ḡ	š		saken				
1FS	ša	ḍ-iži-ḡ	sakn	-a	1FS	ša	ḍ-iži-ḡ	š		sakn	-a			
2S	ša	t-iži-ḍ	sakn	-iḍ	2S	ša	t-iži-ḍ	š		sakn	-iḍ			
3MS	ša	ḍ-iži	saken		3MS	ša	ḍ-iži	š		saken				
3FS	ša	t-iži	sakn	-a	3FS	ša	t-iži	š		sakn	-a			
PL					PL									
1P	ša	n-iži	sakn	-in	1P	ša	n-iži	š		sakn	-in			
2P	ša	t-iži-m	sakn	-im (-in)	2P	ša	t-iži-m	š		sakn	-im (-in)			
3P	ša	ḍ-iži-n	sakn	-in	3P	ša	ḍ-iži-n	š		sakn	-in			
PR					NEG					u/ ma + X + š(ay)/ u + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š + X/ mašši X (“set a”)				
SG					SG									
1S			sakn	-iḡ	1S	u				sakn	-iḡ	š		
1MS			saken							saken				
1FS			sakn	-a						sakn				
2S			sakn	-iḍ	2S	u				sakn	-iḍ	š		
3MS			saken		3MS	u				saken		š		
3FS			sakn	-a	3FS	u				sakn	-a	š		
PL					PL							š		
1P			sakn	-in	1P	u				sakn	-in	š		
2P			sakn	-im (-in)	2P	u				sakn	-im (-in)	š		
3P			sakn	-in	3P	u				sakn	-in	š		
PST					NEG					indi + w + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š(ay) + X				
SG					SG									
1S	indi	(lli-ḡ)	sakn	-iḡ	1S	indi	w	lli-ḡ	š	sakn	-iḡ			
1MS	indi	(lli-ḡ)	saken		1MS	indi	w	lli-ḡ	š	saken				
1FS	indi	(lli-ḡ)	sakn	-a	1FS	indi	w	lli-ḡ	š	sakn	-a			

2S	indi	(te-lli-d)	sakn	-id	2MS	indi	w	te-lli-d	š	sakn	-id	
3MS	indi	(y-lla)	saken		3MS	indi	w	y-lla	š	saken		
3FS	indi	(te-lla)	sakn	-a	3FS	indi	w	te-lla	š	sakn	-a	
PL					PL							
1P	indi	(ne-lla)	sakn	-in	1P	indi	w	ne-lla	š	sakn	-in	
2P	indi	(te-lla-m)	sakn	-im (in)	2P	indi	w	te-lla-m	š	sakn	-im (in)	
3P	indi	(lla-n)	sakn	-in	3P	indi	w	lla-n	š	sakn	-in	
REL	aylla saken (FS sakna, PL saknin)				NEG	aylla ma saken (FS sakna, PL saknin) š						

Ayt Seddat: ADJ and PTC

ADJ

As in Ketama (and unlike in Taghzut, and unlike in Ayt Seddat “stative verbs”), person marking is impossible on Arabic ADJ in Ayt Seddat Berber. But it is possible on PTC (see below).

Short scheme (Number/Gender-marking, no Person marking)

			NEG ma X š ~ mašši X				
MS	X		MS	ma	X		š
FS	X	-a	FS	ma	X	-a	š
PL	X	-in	PL	ma	X	-in	š
REL	na X (F: -a, PL -in)		NEG	na ma X (-a, -in) š			

Full scheme (PNG-marking by means of AUX)

FUT	ša + verb 'to be' + X					NEG	ša + verb 'to be' + š + X				
SG						SG					
1S	ša	ḍ-iyi-ḡ	X	(-a)		1S	ša	ḍ-iyi-ḡ	š	X	(-a)
2S	ša	t-iyi-ḍ	X	(-a)		2S	ša	t-iyi-ḍ	š	X	(-a)
3MS	ša	ḍ-iya	X			3MS	ša	ḍ-iya	š	X	
									š	X	
3FS	ša	t-iya	X	-a		3FS	ša	t-iya	š	X	-a
PL						PL					
1P	ša	n-iya	X	-in		1P	ša	n-iya	š	X	-in
2P	ša	t-iya	X	-in		2P	ša	t-iya	š	X	-in
3P	ša	ḍ-iya-n	X	-in		3P	ša	ḍ-iya-n	š	X	-in
PRS	(no verb 'to be') X					NEG	mašši X ~ ma X š				
SG						SG					
1S			X	(-a)		1S	ma	X	(-a)	š	
2S			X	(-a)		2S	ma	X	(-a)	š	
3MS			X			3MS	ma	X		š	
3FS			X	-a		3FS	ma	X	-a	š	
PL						PL					
1P			X	-in		1P	ma	X	-in	š	
2P			X	-in		2P	ma	X	-in	š	
3P			X	-in		3P	ma	X	-in	š	

PST	(ǵa: <i>optional</i>) + ‘to be’ + X					NEG	u(r) + (ǵa) + ‘to be’ + š + X				
SG						SG					
1S	ǵǵi-ǵ			X	(-a)	1S	u(r)	ǵǵi-ǵ	š	X	(-a)
2S	t-ǵǵi-d			X	(-a)	2S	u(r)	t-ǵǵi-d	š	X	(-a)
3MS	i-ǵǵa			X		3MS	ur	ǵǵa	š	X	
				X		Tmda	u	d-ǵǵa	š	X	
3FS	t-ǵǵa			X	-a	3FS	u(r)	t-ǵǵa	š	X	-a
PL						PL					
1P	n-ǵǵa			X	-in	1P	u(r)	n-ǵǵa	š	X	-in
2P	t-ǵǵa			X	-in	2P	u(r)	t-ǵǵa	š	X	-in
3P	ǵǵa-n			X	-in	3P	u(r)	ǵǵa-n	š	X	-in
REL						NEG					
A	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + X					NEG	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
MS	ša	d-iya		X		MS	ša	d-iya	š	X	
FS	ša	t-iya		X	-a	FS	ša	t-iya	š	X	-a
PL	ša	d-iya-n		X	-in	PL	ša	d-iya-n	š	X	-in
RF.P	na + X					NEG	na + ma + X + š				
RF.P	na	X		(F -a, PL -in)			na	ma	X	(a, -in)	š
PST	na + ǵa + verb ‘to be’ + X					NEG	na + ǵa + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
MS	ǵa	(i)ǵǵa		X		MS	ǵa	(i)ǵǵa	š	X	
FS	ǵa	(t)ǵǵa		X	-a	FS	ǵa	(t)ǵǵa	š	X	-a
PL	ǵa	ǵǵa-n		X	-in	PL	ǵa	ǵǵa-n	š	X	-in

EXAMPLES

ADJ mezyan ‘to be good’

Short scheme (Number/Gender-marking, no Person marking)

			NEG ma X š ~ mašši X			
MS	mezyan		MS	ma	mezyan	š
FS	mezyan	-a	FS	ma	mezyan	-a
PL	mezyan	-in	PL	ma	mezyan	-in
REL	na mezyan (F: mezyana, PL mezyanin)		NEG	na ma mezyan š (F mezyana, PL mezyanin)		

Full scheme (PNG-marking by means of AUX)

FUT ša + verb ‘to be’ + X					NEG ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
SG					SG				
1S	ša	d̥-iyi-ġ	mezyan	(-a)	1S	ša	d̥-iyi-ġ	š	mezyan (-a)
2S	ša	t̥-iyi-d̥	mezyan	(-a)	2S	ša	t̥-iyi-d̥	š	mezyan (-a)
3MS	ša	d̥-iya	mezyan		3MS	ša	d̥-iya	š	mezyan
								š	
3FS	ša	t̥-iya	mezyan	-a	3FS	ša	t̥-iya	š	mezyan -a
PL					PL				
1P	ša	n-iya	mezyan	-in	1P	ša	n-iya	š	mezyan -in
2P	ša	t̥-iya	mezyan	-in	2P	ša	t̥-iya	š	mezyan -in
3P	ša	d̥-iya-n	mezyan	-in	3P	ša	d̥-iya-n	š	mezyan -in
PRS X					NEG mašši X ~ ma X š				
SG					SG				
1S			mezyan	(-a)	1S	ma	mezyan	(-a)	š
2S			mezyan	(-a)	2S	ma	mezyan	(-a)	š
3MS			mezyan		3MS	ma	mezyan		š
3FS			mezyan	-a	3FS		mezyan	-a	š
PL					PL				
1P			mezyan	-in	1P	ma	mezyan	-in	š
2P			mezyan	-in	2P	ma	mezyan	-in	š
3P			mezyan	-in	3P	ma	mezyan	-in	š
PST (ġa: optional) + ‘to be’ + X					NEG u(r) + (ġa) + ‘to be’ + š + X				
SG					SG				
1S	ġġi-ġ		mezyan	(-a)	1S	u(r)	ġġi-ġ	š	mezyan (-a)
2S	t̥-ġġi-d̥		mezyan	(-a)	2S	u(r)	t̥-ġġi-d̥	š	mezyan (-a)
3MS	i-ġġa		mezyan		3MS	ur	ġġa	š	mezyan
					Tmda	u	d̥-ġġa	š	
3FS	t̥-ġġa		mezyan	-a	3FS	u(r)	t̥-ġġa	š	mezyan -a
PL					PL				
1P	n-ġġa		mezyan	-in	1P	u(r)	n-ġġa	š	mezyan -in
2P	t̥-ġġa		mezyan	-in	2P	u(r)	t̥-ġġa	š	mezyan -in
3P	ġġa-n		mezyan	-in	3P	u(r)	ġġa-n	š	mezyan -in
REL					NEG				
A na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + X					NEG na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
MS	ša	d̥-iya	mezyan		MS	ša	d̥-iya	š	mezyan
FS	ša	t̥-iya	mezyan	-a	FS	ša	t̥-iya	š	mezyan -a
PL	ša	d̥-iya-n	mezyan	-in	PL	ša	d̥-iya-n	š	mezyan -in
RF.P na + X					NEG na + ma + X + š				

RF.P	na	mezyan	(F -a, PL -in)		na	ma	mezyan	(F a, PL-in)	š
PST	na + ġa + verb ‘to be’ + X				NEG	na + ġa + verb ‘to be’ + š + X			
MS	ġa	(i)ġġa	mezyan		MS	ġa	(i)ġġa	š	mezyan
FS	ġa	(t)ġġa	mezyan	-a	FS	ġa	(t)ġġa	š	mezyan -a
PL	ġa	ġġa-n	mezyan	-in	PL	ġa	ġġa-n	š	mezyan -in

PTC

Unlike in Ketama (and like in Taghzut “set b”, and like in Ayt Seddat “stative verbs”), person marking is possible on Arabic PTC in Ayt Seddat Berber. In stative verbs, it is required, and with PTC, it is just an option.

Short scheme (Number/Gender-marking, no Person marking)

			NEG ma X š				
MS	X		MS	ma	X		š
FS	X	-a	FS	ma	X	-a	š
PL	X	-in	PL	ma	X	-in	š
REL	na X (F: -a, PL -in)		NEG	na (ma) X (-a, -in) š			

Full scheme (PNG-marking by means of AUX)

FUT	ša + verb ‘to be’ + X					NEG	ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
SG						SG					
1S	ša	ḍ-iyi-ḡ	X	-iḡ		1S	ša	ḍ-iyi-ḡ	š	X	-iḡ
1MS	ša	ḍ-iyi-ḡ	X			1MS	ša	ḍ-iyi-ḡ	X		
1FS	ša	ḍ-iyi-ḡ	X	-a		1FS	ša	ḍ-iyi-ḡ	X		-a
2S	ša	t-iyi-ḍ	X	-iḍ		2S	ša	t-iyi-ḍ	š	X	-iḍ
3MS	ša	ḍ-iya	X			3MS	ša	ḍ-iya	š	X	
3FS	ša	t-iya	X	-a		3FS	ša	t-iya	š	X	-a
PL						PL					
1P	ša	n-iya	X	-in		1P	ša	n-iya	š	X	-in
2P	ša	t-iya	X	-in		2P	ša	t-iya	š	X	-in
3P	ša	ḍ-iya-n	X	-in		3P	ša	ḍ-iya-n	š	X	-in
PRS	X					NEG	ma + X + š (“set a”) mašši X (“set a”)				
SG						SG					
1S			X	-iḡ		1S					
1MS						1MS	ma		X		š
1FS				-a		1FS	ma		X	-a	š
2S			X	-iḍ		2S	ma		X	(-a)	š
3MS			X			3MS	ma		X		š
3FS			X	-a		3FS	ma		X	-a	š
PL						PL					

1P			X	-in		1P	ma		X	-in	š
2P			X	-in		2P	ma		X	-in	š
3P			X	-in		3P	ma		X	-in	š
PST	(ğa: <i>optional</i>) + ‘to be’ + X					NEG	u(r) + (ğa) + ‘to be’ + š + X				
SG						SG					
1S	ğği-ğ			X	(-a)	1S	u(r)	ğği-ğ	š	X	(-a)
2S				X	(-a)	2S	u(r)		š	X	(-a)
3MS	(i)ğğa			X		3MS	ur	(i)ğğa	š	X	
				X		Tmda	u		š	X	
3FS	(t)ğğa			X	-a	3FS	u(r)	(t)ğğa	š	X	-a
PL						PL					
1P				X	-in	1P	u(r)		š	X	-in
2P				X	-in	2P	u(r)		š	X	-in
3P	ğğa-n			X	-in	3P	u(r)	ğğa-n	š	X	-in
REL						NEG					
A	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + X					NEG	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
MS	ša	ḍ-iya		X		MS	ša	ḍ-iya	š	X	
FS	ša	t-iya		X	-a	FS	ša	t-iya	š	X	-a
PL	ša	ḍ-iya-n		X	-in	PL	ša	ḍ-iya-n	š	X	-in
RF.P	na + X					NEG	na + ma + X + š				
RF.P	na	X		(F -a, PL -in)			na	ma	X	(a, -in)	š
PST	na + ğa + verb ‘to be’ + X					NEG	na + ğa + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
MS	ğa	(i)ğğa		X		MS	ğa	(i)ğğa	š	X	
FS	ğa	(t)ğğa		X	-a	FS	ğa	(t)ğğa	š	X	-a
PL	ğa	ğğa-n		X	-in	PL	ğa	ğğa-n	š	X	-in

EXAMPLES

PTC mašši ‘going’

Short scheme (Number/Gender-marking, no Person marking)

				NEG ma X š			
MS	mašši			MS	ma	mašši	š
FS	maššy	-a		FS	ma	maššy	š
PL	maššy	-in		PL	ma	maššy	š
REL	na mašši (F: -a, PL -in)			NEG	na (ma) X (-a, -in) š		

Full scheme (PNG-marking by means of AUX)

[illegible]

FUT	ša + verb 'to be' + X					NEG	ša + verb 'to be' + š + X				
SG						SG					
1S	ša	<u>d</u> -iyi-ġ	sakn	-iġ		1S	ša	<u>d</u> -iyi-ġ	š	sakn	-iġ
1MS	ša	<u>d</u> -iyi-ġ	saken			1MS	ša	<u>d</u> -iyi-ġ		saken	
1FS	ša	<u>d</u> -iyi-ġ	sakn	-a		1FS	ša	<u>d</u> -iyi-ġ		sakn	-a
2S	ša	t-iyi- <u>d</u>	sakn	-i <u>d</u>		2S	ša	t-iyi- <u>d</u>	š	sakn	-i <u>d</u>
3MS	ša	<u>d</u> -iya	saken			3MS	ša	<u>d</u> -iya	š	saken	
3FS	ša	t-iya	sakn	-a		3FS	ša	t-iya	š	sakn	-a
PL						PL					
1P	ša	n-iya	sakn	-in		1P	ša	n-iya	š	sakn	-in
2P	ša	t-iya	sakn	-in		2P	ša	t-iya	š	sakn	-in
3P	ša	<u>d</u> -iya-n	sakn	-in		3P	ša	<u>d</u> -iya-n	š	sakn	-in

PRS	X					NEG	ma + X + š mašši X				
SG						SG					
1S			sakn	-iġ		1S					
1MS			saken			1MS	ma		saken		š
1FS			sakn	-a		1FS	ma		sakn	-a	š
2S			sakn	-id		2S	ma		sakn	(-a)	š
3MS			saken			3MS	ma		saken		š
3FS			sakn	-a		3FS	ma		sakn	-a	š
PL						PL					
1P			sakn	-in		1P	ma		sakn	-in	š
2P			sakn	-in		2P	ma		sakn	-in	š
3P			sakn	-in		3P	ma		sakn	-in	š
PST	(ġa: optional) + ‘to be’ + X					NEG	u(r) + (ġa) + ‘to be’ + š + X				
SG						SG					
1S	ġġi-ġ		sakn	(-a)		1S	u(r)	ġġi-ġ	š	sakn	(-a)
2S			sakn	(-a)		2S	u(r)		š	sakn	(-a)
3MS	(i)ġġa		saken			3MS	ur	(i)ġġa	š	saken	
			saken			Tmda	u	d-ġġa	š	saken	
3FS	(t)ġġa		sakn	-a		3FS	u(r)	(t)ġġa	š	sakn	-a
PL						PL					
1P			sakn	-in		1P	u(r)		š	sakn	-in
2P			sakn	-in		2P	u(r)		š	sakn	-in
3P	ġġa-n		sakn	-in		3P	u(r)	ġġa-n	š	sakn	-in
REL						NEG					
A	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + X					NEG	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
MS	ša	d-iya		saken		MS	ša	d-iya	š	saken	
FS	ša	t-iya		sakn	-a	FS	ša	t-iya	š	sakn	-a
PL	ša	d-iya-n		sakn	-in	PL	ša	d-iya-n	š	sakn	-in
RF.P	na + X					NEG	na + ma + X + š				
RF.P	na	saken	(F -a, PL -in)				na	ma	saken	(a, -in)	š
PST	na + ġa + verb ‘to be’ + X					NEG	na + ġa + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
MS	ġa	(i)ġġa		saken		MS	ġa	(i)ġġa	š	saken	
FS	ġa	(t)ġġa		sakn	-a	FS	ġa	(t)ġġa	š	sakn	-a
PL	ġa	ġġa-n		sakn	-in	PL	ġa	ġġa-n	š	sakn	-in

Summary: marking of ADJ and PTC in Western Senhaja

Ketama

In Ketama, ADJ and PTC are morphologically distinct from verbs (as well as from “stative verbs”~“Berber-morphology ADJ”). They thus form a separate word class. They are marked by suffixes only (just as “stative verbs”). ADJ and PTC are marked only for gender and number, and not for person. This makes them similar to “stative verbs” (=Berber-morphology ADJ), although the markers are different. There are three forms: MS (\emptyset , just as “stative verbs”), FS (-*a* vs. stative -*t*) and PL (-*in* vs. stative -*n*).

ADJ and PTC do not have aspectual forms; when used on their own (preceded by the personal pronoun or the form of the verb ‘to be’ in Perfective), the reference is made to the present). To refer to the Future or to the Past, AUX is used (FUT: *ša* + verb ‘to be’, Past: *ara/ala* + verb ‘to be’). In Present, the use of the verb ‘to be’ is optional (in positive sentences), while in NEG counterparts, the verb ‘to be’ is negated.

To form IMP, the verb ‘to be’ (or ‘to become’) is used.

Differently from stative verb, ADJ and PTC do not have their own morphological relative form. When used in a REL sentence, the construction is *a ylla* X (cf. stative: *a* X-*n* with suffix -*n*).

Examples:

ADJ

1SG: ‘I am good/nice/beautiful’:

nekki mezyan (M), *nekki mezyan-a* (F), *lli-ġ mezyan* (M), *lli-ġ mezyan-a* (F).

Past: ‘I was good’:

ara lli-ġ mezyan (M)/ *mezyan-a* (F)

PTC

1SG: ‘I am going’:

nekki mašši (M), *nekki maššy-a* (F)

Past: ‘I was walking’: *ara lli-ġ mašši* (M)/ *maššy-a* (F)

Taghzut

As in Ketama, in Taghzut, ADJ and PTC are morphologically distinct from verbs (including “stative verbs”). ADJ and PTC acquire suffixes only (just as “stative verbs”). As with “stative verbs”, there are two subsets of ADJ/PTC marking. In “set a” (short series), as in Ketama, ADJ and PTC are marked only for gender and number, and not for person. There are three forms (identical with Ketama): MS (\emptyset), FS (-*a*) and PL (-*n*). In “set b” (long series), ADJ and PTC are marked for person. This is comparable with stative verbs “set b”, although the markers are not identical. There are six forms (and not seven as with dynamic verbs, because 1P and 3P merge; furthermore, 2P -*im* optionally merge with general PL -*in* as well): 1SG (-*ġ*), 2S (-*ġ*), 3MS (\emptyset), 3FS (-*a*), 1P=3P (-*in*), 2P (-*im*/ ~-*in*). Compare stative forms: 1SG (-*ġ*), 2S (-*ġ*), 3MS (\emptyset), 3FS (-*t*), 1P=3P (-*n*), 2P (-*m*/ ~-*n*).

As in Ketama, ADJ and PTC do not have different aspectual forms. To refer to Future or Past: AUX is used (FUT: *ša* + verb ‘to be’, Past: *indi* + (optionally, unlike in

Ketama) verb ‘to be’). In Present, the use of the verb ‘to be’ is also optional (as in Ketama).

In contrast to Ketama, in Taghzut Berber, Arabic adjectives can (optionally) be integrated into Berber verbal system: they can acquire personal indices. However, those indices are different in form than dynamic and stative verbs. Furthermore, there are some differences in syntax. As the word originates from Arabic, the (Arabic) NEG *ma* is more common with it than with Berber verbs. Also, there is no morphological RF of Arabic ADJ or PTC (as in Ketama). REL construction is formed by *a ylla* + ADJ/PTC (as in Ketama). All Arabic ADJ and PTC can be integrated into Taghzut verbal system.

Examples:

ADJ

1SG: ‘I am nice/good/beautiful’:

(a) (same as in Ketama): *nekki mezyan* (M), *nekki mezyan-a* (F), *lli-ġ mezyan* (M), *lli-ġ mezyan-a* (F); plus (b) (different from Ketama): *mezyan-iġ* (1SG: M=F), *lli-ġ mezyan-iġ*;

Past: ‘I was nice’: (a) *indi (lli-ġ) mezyan* (M)/ *mezyan-a* (F);

(b) *indi (lli-ġ) mezyan-iġ* (1SG)

PTC

1SG: ‘I am going/walking’:

(a) *nekki masši* (M), *nekki masš(y)-a* (F)

(b) *masš[i]-iġ* (1SG)

Past: ‘I was going’:

(a) *indi (lli-ġ) masši* (M)/ *masš(y)-a* (F);

(b) *indi (lli-ġ) masš[i]-iġ* (1SG)

Negation:

u + X + *š(ay)*; *ma* X *š(ay)*:

‘I am not good/nice’:

ma mezyan-iġ š(ay)

u mezyan-iġ š(ay)

‘I am not going’:

ma masš[i]-iġ š(ay)

u masš[i]-iġ š(ay)

Ayt Seddat

ADJ

ADJ form a different class in Ayt Seddat Berber, distinct from stative verbs, because person marking is impossible on them (just as in Ketama ADJ, and differently from Taghzut ADJ and Ayt Seddat “stative verbs”). Unlike Ketama and Taghzut, Ayt Seddat lacks a morphological class of stative verbs (stative verbs are marked just as dynamic ones, and there is only one series, e.g. *mẓẓi-ġ* ‘I am small’: there is no **nek mẓẓi*). Note that person marking is possible on PTC, so PTC marking is different from ADJ marking in Ayt Seddat.

ADJ in Ayt Seddat bear only suffixes (marking them for gender and number and not for person). The forms are identical to Ketama and Taghzut (MS \emptyset , FS *-a*, PL *-in*). This class thus behaves differently from stative verbs.

PTC

Participles borrowed from Arabic behave differently from adjectives borrowed from Arabic in Ayt Seddat Berber, because they can (optionally, in the long series/ set b) bear person markers. This makes them different from PTC/ADJ in Ketama and similar to Taghzut PTC/ADJ (which also have “set b” markers), as well as to Ayt Seddat “stative verbs”. In stative verbs, person marking is required (there is only one series), while with PTC, it is just an option next to short series (“set a”).

The similarity with stative verbs is that ADJ and PTC do not have aspectual forms, and make use of AUX when reference to the FUT or Past is made. There is no morphological RF of ADJ or PTC.

Negation:

When the person form (e.g. *mašš-iġ*) is negated, the construction is *ma mašši š* (M)/ *ma maššya š* (F); **u/ma mašš-iġ š* is agrammatical.

Examples:

ADJ

1SG: ‘I am good’:

(a) (same as in Ketama): *nek mezyan* (M), *nek mezyan-a* (F)

(No **mezyan-iġ* as in Taghzut; no use of the verb ‘to be’);

Past: ‘I was good’: (*ġa*) *ġġi-ġ mezyan* (M)/ *mezyan-a* (F)

(the use of the verb ‘to be’ is sufficient to make a reference to the past; the use of marker *ġa* is optional).

PTC

1SG: ‘I am going/walking’:

(a) *nek masši* (M), *nek masš(y)-a* (F)

(b) *masš[i]-iġ* (1SG)

Past: ‘I was going’:

- (a) (ǧa) ǧǧ-iǧ *mašši* (M)/ *mašš(y)-a* (F);
 (b) (ǧa) ǧǧ-iǧ *mašš[i]-iǧ* (1SG)

Negation:

Negation is achieved by means of *mašši* or *ma* (and rarely/not by means of Berber NEG *u*) due to difference in word origin (Arabic word --> Arabic negator). Examples:

‘I am not good/nice’:

nek ma mezyan(a) š~ mašši mezyan(a)
 not **nek ma mezyan-iǧ š(ay)*
 not **nek u mezyan(a) š*

‘I am not going’:

nek ma mašši (F *maššy-a*) *š*
 not **nek ma/u mašš[i]-iǧ š(ay)* as in Taghzut

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If one wants to know: can ADJ and PTC (e.g. *mezyan* ‘good’, *mašši* ‘going’) be conjugated for 1 person (by means of suffix *-(i)ǧ*), the answer is:

It depends on the Senhaja variety:

- 1) Ketama Berber: ADJ and PTC cannot be marked for person; person is marked on the AUX verb ‘to be’ or by means of a personal pronoun (*lli-ǧ mezyan* (MS) ~ *nekki mezyan*); there is no * *mezyan-iǧ* or *mašš[i]-iǧ*
- 2) Taghzut Berber: as in Ketama, person *can* be marked on AUX ‘to be’ or by means of a pronoun (the forms are identical to Ketama: *lli-ǧ mezyan* (MS) ~ *nekki mezyan*) – “set a”. In addition, person can be marked directly on ADJ or PTC: *mezyan-iǧ* (1S: M=F) – “set b”. Note that *lli-ǧ mezyan-iǧ* is also grammatical. PTC: *mašš[i]-iǧ*.
- 3) Ayt Seddat: ADJ cannot bear person markers (as in Ketama and differently from Ayt Seddat, and also in contrast to stative verbs in Ayt Seddat). 1S form is *nek mezyan* (the verb ‘to be’ is not used in this context: it is used when reference is made to the past). PTC can be marked either as ADJ (“set a”/short series) or can have person indices (set b/ long series). 1SG form is: a) *nek mašši* (F *maššy-a*) or b) *mašš[i]-iǧ* (as in “set b” in Taghzut).

CONCL: in Western Senhaja, person can be marked on ADJ/PTC in: Taghzut (set b: *mezyan-iǧ*, *mašš[i]-iǧ*), and in Ayt Seddat PTC (set b: *mašš[i]-iǧ*). Person cannot be marked on ADJ/PTC in Ketama (*mezyan*, *mašši*) and in ADJ in Ayt Seddat (*mezyan*).