

## Ketama: Stative verbs

### Scheme

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

MS				X	
FS				X	-t
PL				X	-n
RF			a	X	-n

Defective: used only in “P”. To refer to Future or Past: use of AUX.

Full/complete scheme (PNG-marking)

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

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

### REL clause

Referring to PRES: either *a X-n* (rel. form) or *a + ylla +* (not RF of) stative verb.  
(Past: not “relative form”?) RF(P) of the verb ‘to be’ is *arallan* (< ara + yllan).

There is no IMP of stative verbs. One can use IMP of the verb ‘to be’ or ‘to become’:  
‘to be’

IMP		NEG	i VERB š/ši
SG	yyi	SG	i t-iyya š
PL	yy-at	PL	i t-iyy-at š

‘to become’

IMP		NEG	i VERB š/ši
SG	werri	SG	
PL	wery-at	PL	

## EXAMPLES

VERB mzzi ‘to be small’

Short scheme

MS		mzzi	
FS		mzzi	-t
PL		mzzi	-n
RF	a	mzzi	-n

Full/complete scheme

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

2FS	ara	he-lli- <u>d</u>	mzzi	- <u>t</u>	2FS	ara	he-lli- <u>d</u>	šay	mzzi	- <u>t</u>
3MS	ara	ye-lla	mzzi		3MS	ara	ye-lla	šay	mzzi	
3FS	ara	he-lla	mzzi	- <u>t</u>	3FS	ara	he-lla	šay	mzzi	- <u>t</u>
PL					PL					
1P	ara	ne-lla	mzzi	-n	1P	ara	ne-lla	šay	mzzi	-n
2P	ara	he-lla-m	mzzi	-n	2P	ara	he-lla-m	šay	mzzi	-n
3P	ara	lla-n	mzzi	-n	3P	ara	lla-n	šay	mzzi	-n
<b>RF</b>					<b>NEG</b>					
<b>RF</b>	a X-n					a-X-n šay				
<b>RF</b>		a	mzzi	-n						

VERB meqqur ‘to be big’

darija (kun) kbir

Peculiarities: the underlying form is meqq<sup>w</sup>er; the labialization of *qq* is realized on the adjacent schwa (*e*) which is realized as *u*; schwa can change position (it is not allowed in open syllables), therefore there is an alternation of *meqqur*/ *meqqru*.

Short scheme

MS		meqqur	
FS		meqqru	- <u>t</u>
PL		meqqru	-n
RF	a	meqqru	-n

## Taghzut: Stative verbs

Set “a”: Short scheme (Number/Gender-marking, no Person marking)

MS				X	
FS				X	-t
PL				X	-n
RF					
SG		a		X	-n
PL		i		X	-n

Defective: used only in “P”. To refer to Future or Past: use of AUX.

“Set b”: Full scheme (PNG-marking)

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

1MS	indi	(lli-ġ)		X		1MS	indi	w	lli-ġ	š	X		
1FS	indi	(lli-ġ)		X	-t	1FS	indi	w	lli-ġ	š	X	-t	
2S	indi	(te-lli-d)		X	-d	2MS	indi	w	te-lli-d	š	X	-d	
3MS	indi	(y-lla)		X		3MS	indi	w	y-lla	š	X		
3FS	indi	(te-lla)		X	-t	3FS	indi	w	te-lla	š	X	-t	
PL						PL							
1P	indi	(ne-lla)		X	-n	1P	indi	w	ne-lla	š	X	-n	
2P	indi	(te-lla-m)		X	-m (-n)	2P	indi	w	te-lla-m	š	X	-n	
3P	indi	(lla-n)		X	-n	3P	indi	w	lla-n	š	X	-n	
<b>REL</b>						<b>NEG</b>							
SG	a		X	-n		SG	a		X	-n		š	
PL	i		X	-n		PL	i		X	-n		š	
~													
FUT	a ylla + ša + 'to be' + X					NEG	a ylla + ša + 'to be' + š(ay) + X						
M	a ylla	ša	d-iži	X		M	a ylla	ša	ša d-iži	š	X		
F	a ylla	ša	t-iži	X	-t	F	a ylla	ša	ša t-iži	š	X	-t	
PL	a ylla	ša	d-iži-n	X	-n	PL	a ylla	ša	ša d-iži-n	š	X	-n	
P(R)	a ylla X (F: -t, PL -n)					NEG	a ylla w + 'to be' + š(ay) + X						
M	a	ylla		X		M		w d-lla š	X				
F	a	ylla		X	-t	F		w te-lla š	X	-t			
PL	a	ylla		X	-n	PL		w lla-n	X	-n			
Past	indi + 'to be' + X (F: -t, PL -n)					NEG	indi + 'to be' + š(ay) + X						
M	indi	(y)lla	X			M	indi		(y)lla	š	X		
F	indi	t-lla	X	-t		F	indi		t-lla	š	X	-t	
PL	indi	lla-n	X	-n		PL	indi		lla-n	š	X	-n	

## EXAMPLES

VERB *mzzi* 'to be small'

Short scheme

MS				mzzi	
FS				mzzi	-t
PL				mzzi	-n
RF					
SG		a		mzzi	-n
PL		i		mzzi	-n

Full scheme

<b>FUT</b>	ša + verb <i>iži</i> + X					<b>NEG</b>	(u) ša + verb <i>iži</i> + š(ay) + X						
SG						SG							
1S	ša	d-iži-ġ		mzzi	-ġ	1S	ša	d-iži-ġ	š		mzzi	-ġ	

1MS	ša	d-iži-ġ		mzzi		1MS	ša	d-iži-ġ	š	mzzi		
1FS	ša	d-iži-ġ		mzzi	-t	1FS	ša	d-iži-ġ	š	mzzi	-t	
2S	ša	t-iži-d		mzzi	-d	2S	ša	t-iži-d	š	mzzi	-d	
3MS	ša	d-iži		mzzi		3MS	ša	d-iži	š	mzzi		
3FS	ša	t-iži		mzzi	-t	3FS	ša	t-iži	š	mzzi	-t	
PL						PL						
1P	ša	n-iži		mzzi	-n	1P	ša	n-iži	š	mzzi	-n	
2P	ša	t-iži-m		mzzi	-m (-n)	2P	ša	t-iži-m	š	mzzi	-m (-n)	
3P	ša	d-iži-n		mzzi	-n	3P	ša	d-iži-n	š	mzzi	-n	
<b>PR</b>						<b>NEG</b>	u ( <i>and/or</i> ma) + X + š(ay) = u + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š + X; mašši X;					
SG						SG						
1S				mzzi	-ġ	1S	u			mzzi	-ġ	š
1MS				mzzi								
1FS				mzzi	-t							
2S				mzzi	-d	2S	u			mzzi	-d	š
3MS				mzzi		3MS	u			mzzi		š
3FS				mzzi	-t	3FS	u			mzzi	-t	š
PL						PL						š
1P				mzzi	-n	1P	u			mzzi	-n	š
2P				mzzi	-m (-n)	2P	u			mzzi	-m (-n)	š
3P				mzzi	-n	3P	u			mzzi	-n	š
<b>PST</b>	indi + (verb <i>lli/a</i> ) + X					<b>NEG</b>	indi + w + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š(ay) + X					
SG						SG						
1S	indi	(lli-ġ)		mzzi	-ġ	1S	indi	w	lli-ġ	š	mzzi	-ġ
1MS	indi	(lli-ġ)		mzzi		1MS	indi	w	lli-ġ	š	mzzi	
1FS	indi	(lli-ġ)		mzzi	-t	1FS	indi	w	lli-ġ	š	mzzi	-t
2S	indi	(te-lli-d)		mzzi	-d	2MS	indi	w	te-lli-d	š	mzzi	-d
3MS	indi	(y-lla)		mzzi		3MS	indi	w	y-lla	š	mzzi	
3FS	indi	(te-lla)		mzzi	-t	3FS	indi	w	te-lla	š	mzzi	-t
PL						PL						
1P	indi	(ne-lla)		mzzi	-n	1P	indi	w	ne-lla	š	mzzi	-n
2P	indi	(te-lla-m)		mzzi	-m (n)	2P	indi	w	te-lla-m	š	mzzi	-m (n)
3P	indi	(lla-n)		mzzi	-n	3P	indi	w	lla-n	š	mzzi	-n
<b>REL</b>						<b>NEG</b>						
SG	a			mzzi	-n	SG	a			mzzi	-n	š
PL	i			mzzi	-n	PL	i			mzzi	-n	š
~	aylla X (ø, F: -t, PL: -n)											
M	a ylla			mzzi		M	a ylla	w d-lla š		mzzi		
F	a ylla			mzzi	-t	F	a ylla	w te-lla š		mzzi	-t	
PL	a ylla			mzzi	-n	PL	a ylla	w lla-n		mzzi	-n	

Example negation (Present):

SG: 'I am not small/young':

*u lli-ġ š(ay) mzzi* (M)/

*u lli-ġ š(ay) mzzi-t* (F)

*u lli-ġ š(ay) mzzi-ġ* (M=F)

*u mzzi-ġ š(ay)*

*ma mzzi-ġ š(ay)*

*u ma mzzi-ġ š(ay)* (*u+ma*: rare, but possible)

*nekki mašši mzzi* (M)/ *mzzi-t* (F)

Not possible: \**mašši mzzi-ġ*

Unlike in Ketama, in Taghzut, the relative form of the verb 'to be' (Ketama: *a yllan*) is not used in negation of relative forms of stative verbs. Ketama negation of *a mzzi-n* (~ *a ylla mzzi*) is *a yllan š(ay) mezzi* ('which is (not) small').



# VERB mqqr ‘to be big’

## Short scheme

MS				meqqur	
FS				meqqre	-t
PL				meqqre	-n
RF					
SG		a		meqqre	-n
PL		i		meqqre	-n

## Full scheme

FUT					NEG				
ša + verb <i>iži</i> + X					(u) ša + verb <i>iži</i> + š(ay) + X				
SG					SG				
1S	ša	d-iži-ġ	meqqre	-ġ	1S	ša	d-iži-ġ	š	meqqre -ġ
1MS	ša	d-iži-ġ	meqqur		1MS	ša	d-iži-ġ	š	meqqur
1FS	ša	d-iži-ġ	meqqre	-t	1FS	ša	d-iži-ġ	š	meqqre -t
2S	ša	t-iži-d	meqqre	-d	2S	ša	t-iži-d	š	meqqre -d
3MS	ša	d-iži	meqqur		3MS	ša	d-iži	š	meqqur
3FS	ša	t-iži	meqqre	-t	3FS	ša	t-iži	š	meqqre -t
PL					PL				
1P	ša	n-iži	meqqre	-n	1P	ša	n-iži	š	meqqre -n
2P	ša	t-iži-m	meqqre	-m (-n)	2P	ša	t-iži-m	š	meqqre -m (-n)
3P	ša	d-iži-n	meqqre	-n	3P	ša	d-iži-n	š	meqqre -n
PR					NEG				
					u (and/or ma) + X + š(ay) = u + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š + X; mašši X;				
SG					SG				
1S			meqqre	-ġ	1S	u			meqqre -ġ š
1MS			meqqur						meqqur
1FS			meqqre	-t					meqqre
2S			meqqre	-d	2S	u			meqqre -d š
3MS			meqqur		3MS	u			meqqur š
3FS			meqqre	-t	3FS	u			meqqre -t š
PL					PL				š
1P			meqqre	-n	1P	u			meqqre -n š
2P			meqqre	-m (-n)	2P	u			meqqre -m (-n) š
3P			meqqre	-n	3P	u			meqqre -n š
PST					NEG				
indi + (verb <i>lli/a</i> ) + X					indi + w + verb <i>lli/a</i> + š(ay) + X				
SG					SG				
1S	indi	(lli-ġ)	meqqre	-ġ	1S	indi	w	lli-ġ	š meqqre -ġ
1MS	indi	(lli-ġ)	meqqur		1MS	indi	w	lli-ġ	š meqqur
1FS	indi	(lli-ġ)	meqqre	-t	1FS	indi	w	lli-ġ	š meqqre -t

2S	indi	(te-lli-d)	meqqre	-d	2MS	indi	w	te-lli-d	š	meqqre	-d	
3MS	indi	(y-lla)	meqqur		3MS	indi	w	y-lla	š	meqqur		
3FS	indi	(te-lla)	meqqre	-t	3FS	indi	w	te-lla	š	meqqre	-t	
PL					PL							
1P	indi	(ne-lla)	meqqre	-n	1P	indi	w	ne-lla	š	meqqre	-n	
2P	indi	(te-lla-m)	meqqre	-m (n)	2P	indi	w	te-lla-m	š	meqqre	-m (n)	
3P	indi	(lla-n)	meqqre	-n	3P	indi	w	lla-n	š	meqqre	-n	
<b>REL</b>					<b>NEG</b>							
SG	a		meqqre	-n	SG	a		meqqre	-n		š	
PL	i		meqqre	-n	PL	i		meqqre	-n		š	
PR	aylla X (ø, F: -t, PL: -n)				NEG							
M	aylla		meqqur		M	aylla w d-lla š		meqqur				
F	aylla		meqqre	-t	F	aylla w te-lla š		meqqre	-t			
PL	aylla		meqqre	-n	PL	aylla w lla-n š		meqqre	-n			

Example negation (Present):

SG: 'I am not big/old':

*u lli-ġ š meqqur* (M)/

*u lli-ġ š meqqr-et* (F)

*u lli-ġ š meqqre-ġ* (M=F)

*u meqqre-ġ š*

*u ma meqqre-ġ š*

*ma meqqre-ġ š*

*nekki mašši meqqur* (M)/ *meqqre-t* (F)

Contrast with dynamic (non-stative):

vs dynamic VERB *mġur* 'become big/old, grow'

VERB 'to grow' (cf. stative verb 'to be big')

<b>IMP</b>	X(A)				<b>NEG</b>	u + X(IPF) + š(i)/šay						
IMP.SG			mġur		IMP.N.SG	u		tmġur			š	
IMP.PL			mġur	-at	IMP.N.PL	u		temġur	-at		š	
<b>AOR</b>	ša + X(A)				<b>NEG</b>	(u) ša + X(A) + š(i)/šay (u): facultative						
SG					SG							
A.1S	ša		mġur	-a	A.N.1S	ša		mġur	-aġ		š	
Lqel'a	ša		mġure	-ġ	Lqel'a	ša		mġure	-ġ		š	
A.2S	ša	t-	mġur	-d	A.N.2S	ša	t-	mġur	-d		š	

A.3MS	ša	<u>d</u> -	mǵur			A.N.3MS	ša	<u>d</u> -	mǵur		š
A.3FS	ša	t-	mǵur			A.N.3FS	ša	t-	mǵur		š
PL						PL					
A.1P	ša	n-	mǵur			A.N.1P	ša	n-	mǵur		š
A.2P	ša	t-	mǵure	-m		A.N.2P	ša	t-	mǵure	-m	š
A.3P	ša		mǵure	-n		A.N.3P	ša		mǵure	-n	š
<b>PERF</b>	X(P)					<b>NEG</b>	u + X(P) + š(i)/šay				
SG						SG					
P.1S			mǵur	-a		P.N.1S	u		mǵur	-aǵ	š
Lqel'a			mǵure	-ǵ		Lqel'a	u		mǵure	-ǵ	š
P.2S		h-	mǵure	- <u>d</u>		P.N.2S	u	h-	mǵure	- <u>d</u>	š
Lqel'a		<u>t</u> -	mǵure	- <u>d</u>		Lqel'a	u	<u>t</u> -	mǵure	- <u>d</u>	š
P.3MS		i-	mǵur			P.N.3MS	u	<u>d</u> -	mǵur		š
P.3FS		h-	mǵur			P.N.3FS	u	h-	mǵur		š
Lqel'a		<u>t</u> -	emǵur			Lqel'a	u	<u>t</u> -	emǵur		š
PL						PL					
P.1P		n-	emǵur			P.N.1P	u	n-	emǵur		š
P.2P		h-	mǵure	-m		P.N.2P	u	h-	mǵure	-m	š
Lqel'a		<u>t</u> -	emǵure	-m		Lqel'a	u	<u>t</u> -	emǵure	-m	š
P.3P			mǵure	-n		P.N.3P	u		mǵure	-n	š
<b>IPF</b>	X(I)					<b>NEG</b>	ula + X(I) + š(i)/šay				
SG						SG					
I.1S			ṭmǵur	-a		I.N.1S	ula		ṭmǵur	-aǵ	š
Lqel'a			ṭmǵure	-ǵ		Lqel'a	ula		ṭmǵure	-ǵ	š
I.2S		(h-)	ṭmǵur	- <u>d</u>		I.N.2S	ula	(h-)	ṭmǵur	- <u>d</u>	š
Lqel'a		( <u>t</u> -)	ṭmǵur	- <u>d</u>		Lqel'a	ula	( <u>t</u> -)	ṭmǵur	- <u>d</u>	š
I.3MS		i-	ṭmǵur			I.N.3MS	ula	y-	ṭmǵur		š
I.3FS		(h-)	ṭmǵur			I.N.3FS	ula	(h-)	ṭmǵur		š
Lqel'a		( <u>t</u> -)	ṭmǵur			Lqel'a	ula	( <u>t</u> -)	ṭmǵur		š
PL						PL					
I.1P		n-	ṭmǵur			I.N.1P	ula	n-	ṭmǵur		š
I.2P		(h-)	ṭmǵur	-m		I.N.2P	ula	(h-)	ṭmǵur	-m	š
Lqel'a		( <u>t</u> -)	ṭmǵur	-m		Lqel'a	ula	( <u>t</u> -)	ṭmǵur	-m	š
I.3P			ṭmǵur	-n		I.N.3P	ula		ṭmǵur	-n	š
<b>REL.F</b>						<b>NEG</b>					
<b>A</b>	a ylla ša + X(A)					<b>NEG</b>	a ylla (ma/(u)la) + ša + X(A) + š(i)/šay				
A.3MS	ša	<u>d</u> -	mǵur			A.N.3MS	ša	<u>d</u> -	mǵur		š
A.3FS	ša	t-	mǵur			A.N.3FS	ša	t-	mǵur		š
A.3PL	ša		mǵure	-n		A.N.3PL	ša		mǵure	-n	š
<b>RF.P</b>	a + y-X(P)-n					<b>NEG</b>	a + y-X(P)-n + š(i)/šay				
RF.P	a	y-	mǵure	-n		RF.P.N	a	y-	mǵure	-n	š

<b>RF.IPF</b>	a + y-X(I)-n					<b>NEG</b>	a + y-X(I)-n + š(i)/šay				
RF.I.	a	y-	ṭmgure	-n		RF.I.N	a	y-	ṭmgure	-n	š

## Ayt Seddat: Stative verbs

There is no “short scheme” vs. “long scheme”: there is no separate stative conjugation in Ayt Seddat Berber (all verbs bear the same markers (both prefixes and suffixes) and are always marked for person in addition to gender and number).

The verb ‘to be’ is used as AUX (just as in Ketama and in Taghzut). The difference with Ketama and Tagzut is that in Ayt Seddat, the verb ‘to be’ used in P. refers to the (recent?) past (and to remote past when preceded by *ǧa*). When the reference is made to present, no verb is used.

[illegible]

<b>PST</b>	(ǵa: <i>optional</i> ) + ‘to be’ + X					<b>NEG</b>	u(r) + (ǵa) + ‘to be’ + š + X				
SG						SG					
1S	ǵǵi-ǵ		X	-ǵ		1S	u(r)		X	-ǵ	š
2S		ṭ-	X	-ḍ		2S	u(r)	ṭ-	X	-ḍ	š
3MS	(i)ǵǵa	i-	X			3MS	ur	∅	X		š
						Tmda	u	ḍ-	X		š
3FS	(t)ǵǵa	ṭ-	X			3FS	u(r)	ṭ-	X		š
PL						PL					
1P		n	X			1P	u(r)	n-	X		š
		-									
2P		ṭ-	X	-m		2P	u(r)	ṭ-	X	-m	š
3P	ǵǵa-n		X	-n		3P	u(r)		X	-n	š
<b>REL</b>						<b>NEG</b>					
<b>A</b>	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + X					<b>NEG</b>	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
MS	ša	ḍ-iya	i-	X		MS	ša	ḍ-iya	š	i-	X
FS	ša	ṭ-iya	t-	X		FS	ša	ṭ-iya	š	t-	X
PL	ša	ḍ-iya-n		X	-n	PL	ša	ḍ-iya-n	š		X -n
<b>RF.P</b>	na + (y)-X(P)-n					<b>NEG</b>	na + w(r) + X + š(i)/šay				
RF.P	na	(y-)	X	-n			na	w(r)	X	-n	š

## Examples

VERB mẓẓi ‘to be small’

<b>P</b>	X					<b>NEG</b>	u(r) + X + š(i)/šay ~ mašši X				
SG						SG					
1S			mẓẓi	-ǵ		1S	u(r)		mẓẓi	-ǵ	š
2S		ṭ-	emẓẓi	-ḍ		2S	u(r)	ṭ-	emẓẓi	-ḍ	š
3MS		i-	mẓẓi			3MS	ur		mẓẓi		š
						Tmda	u	ḍ-	mẓẓi		š
						~	netta maši (i-)mẓẓi netta ur ǵǵa š i-mẓẓi netta u ḍ-ǵǵa š i-mẓẓi				
3FS		ṭ-	mẓẓi			3FS	u(r)	ṭ-	mẓẓi		š
PL						PL					
1P		n-	emẓẓi			1P	u(r)	n-	emẓẓi		š
2P		ṭ-	mẓẓi	-m		2P	u(r)	ṭ-	mẓẓi	-m	š
3P			mẓẓi	-n		3P	u(r)		mẓẓi	-n	š
<b>REL</b>						<b>NEG</b>					
<b>FUT</b>	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + X					<b>NEG</b>	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X				
MS	ḍ-iya	i-	mẓẓi			MS	ḍ-iya	š	i-	mẓẓi	

FS	t- <i>iya</i>	<u>t</u> -	mẓzi		FS	t- <i>iya</i>	š	<u>t</u> -	mẓzi		
PL	<u>d</u> - <i>iya-n</i>		mẓzi	-n	PL	<u>d</u> - <i>iya-n</i>	š		mẓzi	-n	
<b>P</b>	na + (y)-X(P)-n				<b>NEG</b>	na + w(r) + X + š(i)/šay					
RF.P (M/F, SG/PL)	na	(y-)	mẓzi	-n	M/F, SG/P L	na	w(r)		mẓzi	-n	š
<b>Past</b>	na + (ǵa) + verb ‘to be’ + X				<b>NEG</b>	na + (ǵa) + verb ‘to be’ + š + X					
MS	(y-)ǵǵa	y-	mẓzi		MS	(y-)ǵǵa	š	i-		mẓzi	
FS	( <u>t</u> -)ǵǵa	<u>t</u> -	mẓzi		FS	( <u>t</u> -)ǵǵa	š	<u>t</u> -		mẓzi	
PL	ǵǵa-n		mẓzi	-n	PL	ǵǵa-n	š			mẓzi	-n

RF in the Past, 3MS:

- na ǵa y-ǵǵa y-mezẓi
- na ǵa ǵǵa y-mezẓi
- na y-ǵǵa y-mezẓi
- na ǵǵa y-mezẓi

VERB meqqr ‘to be big/old’

	X				<b>NEG</b>	u(r) + X + š(i)/šay ~ mašši X					
SG					SG						
1S			meqqre	-ǵ	1S	u(r)		meqqre	-ǵ	š	
2S		<u>t</u> -	meqqre	- <u>d</u>	2S	u(r)	<u>t</u> -	meqqre	- <u>d</u>	š	
3MS		i-	meqqur		3MS	ur		meqqur		š	
					<i>Tmda</i>	u	<u>d</u> -	meqqur		š	
					~	netta maši (i-)meqqur netta ur ǵǵa š i-meqqur netta u <u>d</u> -ǵǵa š i-meqqur					
3FS		<u>t</u> -	meqqur		3FS	u(r)	<u>t</u> -	meqqur		š	
PL					PL						
1P		n-	meqqur		1P	u(r)	n-	meqqur		š	
2P		<u>t</u> -	meqqre	-m	2P	u(r)	<u>t</u> -	meqqre	-m	š	
3P			meqqre	-n	3P	u(r)		meqqre	-n	š	
<b>REL</b>					<b>NEG</b>						
<b>FUT</b>	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + X				<b>NEG</b>	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X					
MS	<u>d</u> - <i>iya</i>	i-	meqqur		MS	<u>d</u> - <i>iya</i>	š	i-	meqqur		
FS	t- <i>iya</i>	<u>t</u> -	meqqur		FS	t- <i>iya</i>	š	<u>t</u> -	meqqur		
PL	<u>d</u> - <i>iya-n</i>		meqqre	-n	PL	<u>d</u> - <i>iya-n</i>	š		meqqre	-n	
<b>P</b>	na + (y)-X(P)-n				<b>NEG</b>	na + w(r) + X + š(i)/šay					
RF.P (M/F, SG/PL)	na	(y-)	meqqre	-n	M/F, SG/P L	na	w(r)		meqqre	-n	š

<b>Past</b>	na + (ğ̣a) + verb ‘to be’ + X				<b>NEG</b>	na + (ğ̣a) + verb ‘to be’ + š + X			
MS	(y-)ğ̣ğ̣a	y-	meqqur		MS	(y-)ğ̣ğ̣a	š	i-	meqqur
FS	(t-)ğ̣ğ̣a	ṭ-	meqqur		FS	(t-)ğ̣ğ̣a	š	ṭ-	meqqur
PL	ğ̣ğ̣a-n		meqqre	-n	PL	ğ̣ğ̣a-n	š		meqqre -n

NB: 2PL: *ṭ-meqqre-em*

NEG: *u ṭ-meqqre-m š* (NB: u!), or *mašši ṭ-meqqre-em*

VERB *şbeḥ* ‘to be beautiful’

<b>PERF</b>	X(P)				<b>NEG</b>	u(r) + X(P) + š(i)/şay ~ mašši X			
SG					SG				
1S			şbḥe	-ğ̣	1S	u(r)		şbḥe	-ğ̣ š
2S		ṭ-	şbḥe	-ḍ	2S	u(r)	ṭ-	şbḥe	-ḍ š
3MS		i-	şbeḥ		3MS	ur		şbeḥ	š
					<i>Tmda</i>	u	ḍ-	şbeḥ	š
3FS		ṭ-	şbeḥ		3FS	u(r)	ṭ-	şbeḥ	š
PL					PL				
1P		n-	şbeḥ		1P	u(r)	n-	şbeḥ	š
2P		ṭ-	şbḥe	-m	2P	u(r)	ṭ-	şbḥe	-m š
3P			şbḥe	-n	3P	u(r)		şbḥe	-n š
<b>REL</b>					<b>NEG</b>				
<b>FUT</b>	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + X				<b>NEG</b>	na + ša + verb ‘to be’ + š + X			
MS	ḍ- <i>iya</i>	i-	şbeḥ		MS	ḍ- <i>iya</i>	š	i-	şbeḥ
FS	ṭ- <i>iya</i>	ṭ-	şbeḥ		FS	ṭ- <i>iya</i>	š	ṭ-	şbeḥ
PL	ḍ- <i>iya</i> -n		şbḥe	-n	PL	ḍ- <i>iya</i> -n	š		şbḥe -n
<b>P</b>	na + (y)-X(P)-n				<b>NEG</b>	na + w(r) + X + š(i)/şay			
RF.P (M/F, SG/PL)	na	(y-)	şebḥe	-n	M/F, SG/P L	na	w(r)	şebḥe	-n š
<b>Past</b>	na + (ğ̣a) + verb ‘to be’ + X				<b>NEG</b>	na + (ğ̣a) + verb ‘to be’ + š + X			
MS	(y-)ğ̣ğ̣a	y-	şbeḥ		MS	(y-)ğ̣ğ̣a	š	i-	şbeḥ
FS	(t-)ğ̣ğ̣a	ṭ-	şbeḥ		FS	(t-)ğ̣ğ̣a	š	ṭ-	şbeḥ
PL	ğ̣ğ̣a-n		şbḥe	-n	PL	ğ̣ğ̣a-n	š		şbḥe -n



## Ayt Bunsar: Stative verbs

<b>P</b>	X				<b>NEG</b>	u + X + š(i)/šay					
SG					SG						
1S			X	-(a)ġ	1S	u		X	-(a)ġ	š	
2S		(t-)	X	-ġ	2S	u	(t-)	X	-ġ	š	
3MS		i-	X		3MS	u	(ġ-i-)	X		š	
3FS		t-	X		3FS	u	t-	X		š	
PL					PL						
1P		n-	X		1P	u	n-	X		š	
2P		t-	X	-m	2P	u	t-	X	-m	š	
3P			X	-n	3P	u		X	-n	š	
<b>REL</b>					<b>NEG</b>						
<b>RF.P</b>	nna + y-X-n				<b>NEG</b>	nna + w + X + š(i)/šay					
		y-	X	-n			w		X	-n	š

## EXAMPLES

VERB şbeḥ ‘to be beautiful’

P	X				NEG	u + X + š(i)/šay					
SG					SG						
1S			şebḥ	-(a)ğ	1S	u		şebḥ	-(a)ğ	š	
2S		(t-)	şebḥe	-ḍ	2S	u	(t-)	şebḥe	-ḍ	š	
3MS		i-	şbeḥ		3MS	u	(ḍ-i-)	şbeḥ		š	
3FS		t-	şbeḥ		3FS	u	t-	şbeḥ		š	
PL					PL						
1P		n-	şbeḥ		1P	u	n-	şbeḥ		š	
2P		t-	şbḥe	-m	2P	u	t-	şbḥe	-m	š	
3P			şbḥe	-n	3P	u		şbḥe	-n	š	
RF	nna + y-X-n				NEG	nna + w + X + š(i)/šay					
		y-	şbḥe	-n			w		şbḥe	-n	š

## Summary Stative Verbs in Senhaja

### Ketama

In Ketama, stative verbs are morphologically distinct from the usual (dynamic) verbs. There is thus a separate stative PNG. Stative PNG is carried out by suffixes only. Stative verbs are marked only for gender and number, and not for person. This makes them similar to adjectives borrowed from Arabic, although the markers are different. There are three forms: MS ( $\emptyset$ ), FS ( $-\underline{t}$ ) and PL ( $-n$ ).

Stative verbs occur only in Perfective (the reference is then usually to the present). To refer to Future or Past: AUX is used (FUT: *ša* + verb ‘to be’, Past: *ara* + verb ‘to be’). In Present (Perfective), 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. RF: *a X-n* (there is thus no prefix).

Examples:

1SG: ‘I am small/young’:

*nekki mzzi* (M), *nekki mzzi- $\underline{t}$*  (F), *lli-ġ mzzi* (M), *lli-ġ mzzi- $\underline{t}$*  (F).

Past: ‘I was small’:

*ara lli-ġ mzzi* (M)/ *mzzi- $\underline{t}$*  (F)

*eid a mzzi-n* ‘Lesser Eid’

1SG: ‘I am big/old’:

*nekki meqqur* (M), *nekki meqqru- $\underline{t}$*  (F), *lli-ġ meqqur* (M), *lli-ġ meqqru- $\underline{t}$*  (F).

Past: ‘I was big’: *ara lli-ġ meqqur* (M)/ *meqqru- $\underline{t}$*  (F)

*eid a meqqru-n* ‘Big Eid’

### Taghzut

As in Ketama, in Taghzut, stative verbs are morphologically distinct from the usual (dynamic) verbs. Again, stative PNG is carried out by suffixes only. There are two subsets of stative marking. In “set a”, as in Ketama, verbs are marked only for gender and number, and not for person. There are three forms (identical with Ketama): MS ( $\emptyset$ ), FS ( $-\underline{t}$ ) and PL ( $-n$ ).

In “set b”, stative verbs bear suffixes that mark them also for person. There are six forms (and not seven as with dynamic verbs, because 1P and 3P merge; furthermore, 2P  $-m$  optionally merge with general PL  $-n$  as well): 1SG ( $-\dot{g}$ ), 2S ( $-\underline{d}$ ), 3MS ( $\emptyset$ ), 3FS ( $-\underline{t}$ ), 1P=3P ( $-n$ ), 2P ( $-m/ \sim n$ ).

As in Ketama, stative verbs occur only in Perfective (reference to the present). To refer to Future or Past: AUX is used (FUT: *ša* + verb ‘to be’, Past: *indi* + (optionally, unlike in Ketama) verb ‘to be’). (In Ketama, *ara* + verb ‘to be’: ‘to be’ is obligatory!) In Present (Perfective), the use of the verb ‘to be’ is optional (as in Ketama).

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

RF (which is invariable for number and gender) has only a suffix (-n). With the REL element, the forms are: SG *a X-n*, PL *i X-n*. Unlike in Ketama, Taghzut Berber distinguishes between SG and PL form by means of the REL element. Examples: (MS) *arb(a) a mezzi-n* ‘the boy which is small, small boy’, (FS) *tarbat a mezzi-n* ‘small girl’, (PL) *ddra(y) i mezzi-n* ‘small boys’, *tirbatin i mezzi-n* ‘small girls’.

Compare:

*argaz mezzi* (stative verb, 3MS) ‘a young man’ (indefinite)

*argaz a mezzi-n* (relative form of the stative verb, SG) ‘the man who is young, young man’

*argaz a ylla mzzi* (relative sentence, but without a special relative form of the verb; instead: *a ylla* ‘which is’ + finite form of the stative verb ‘to be small’) ‘the man who is young/that is young’. (It is difficult to show the difference by English translations!)

Examples:

1SG: ‘I am small/young’:

(a) (same as in Ketama): *nekki mzzi* (M), *nekki mzzi-t* (F), *lli-g mzzi* (M), *lli-g mzzi-t* (F);

plus (b) (different from Ketama): *mzzi-g* (1SG: M=F), *lli-g mzzi-g*;

Past: ‘I was small’: (a) *indi (lli-g) mzzi* (M)/ *mzzi-t* (F);

(b) *indi (lli-g) mzzi-g* (1SG)

*eid a mzzi-n* ‘Lesser Eid’

1SG: ‘I am big/old’:

(a) *nekki meqqur* (M), *nekki meqqre-t* (F), *lli-g meqqur* (M), *lli-g meqqre-t* (F);

(b) *meqqre-g* (1SG), *lli-g meqqre-g*;

Past: ‘I was big’:

(a) *indi (lli-g) meqqur* (M)/*meqqre-t* (F);

(b) *indi (lli-g) meqqre-g* (1SG);

*eid a meqqru-n* ‘Big Eid’

There are many negation strategies, e.g.

*u* + verb ‘to be’ + *š* + VERB;

*u* (and/or *ma*) + VERB + *š(ay)*;

*mašši* VERB (set a):

SG: ‘I am not big/old’:

*u lli-g š meqqur* (M)/

*u lli-g š meqqre-t* (F)

*u lli-g š meqqre-g* (M=F)

*u meqqre-g š*

*u ma meqqre-g š*

*ma meqqre-g š*

*nekki mašši meqqur* (M)/ *meqqre-t* (F)

Unlike in Ketama, in Taghzut, the relative form of the verb ‘to be’ (Ketama: *a yllan*) is not used in negation of relative forms of stative verbs. Ketama negation of *a mzzi-n* (~ *a ylla mzzi*) is *a yllan š(ay) mezzi*.

### Ayt Seddat

There is no “short scheme” vs. “long scheme”: there is no separate stative conjugation in Ayt Seddat Berber. All verbs bear the same markers (both prefixes and suffixes) and are always marked for person in addition to gender and number.

The difference between “stative” and “dynamic” verbs in Ayt Seddat Berber is that “stative” verbs have a defective conjugation. They do not have IMP, and have only one aspectual stem (Perfective).

In RF, prefix (y-) is optional (unlike with dynamic verbs), which can be seen as remnants of the ancient stative conjugation. Example: *eid na (y)mzzi-n* ‘Lesser Eid’, *eid na (y)meqqre-n* ‘Big Eid’ (cf. Ketama *eid a mzzin*, *eid a meqqru-n*).

### Ayt Bunsar

In Ayt Bunsar, the situation is similar to Ayt Seddat, in that there is no separate stative conjugation. All verbs have the same markers (prefixes and suffixes) that mark person, number, and gender. As usual, “stative” verbs are defective, lacking aspectual distinction and IMP. In 2S, prefix (t-) is optional (remnants of the ancient stative conjugation?).

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If one wants to know: can stative verbs (e.g. the verb ‘to be big’) be conjugated for 1 person (-ġ), the answer is:

It depends on the Senhaja variety:

- 1) Ketama Berber: stative verbs themselves cannot be marked for person; person is marked on the AUX verb ‘to be’ or by means of a personal pronoun (*lli-ġ meqqur* (MS) ~ *nekki meqqur*); there is no \* *meqqru-ġ/ meqqre-ġ/ meqqre-a(ġ)*.
- 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-ġ meqqur* (MS) ~ *nekki meqqur*) – “set a”. In addition, person can be marked directly on the stative verb: *meqqre-ġ* (1S: M=F) – “set b”. Note that *lli-ġ meqqre-ġ* is also grammatical.
- 3) Ayt Seddat: stative verbs are marked as dynamic verbs, although they lack aspectual distinction. 1S form is *meqqre-ġ* (as in “set b” in Taghzut).
- 4) Ayt Bunsar: like Ayt Seddat: stative verbs bear usual PNG markers.