

Ketama Berber Verbal Clitics

Verbal Clitics

- Also known as “verb satellites”
- DO and IO pronouns series, diectic clitic *d* (ventive)
- Order of clitics in a clitic complex: IO + DO + deixis
- “Unmarked” context (perfect, affirmative): clitics follow the verb
- “Marked” context (future, negation): clitics are fronted (“*attraction*”)
- *Attraction* is found in most Berber languages (except for Awjila, Siwi)

Clitic fronting

- After certain preverbal particles (future, negation)
- After certain particles of subordination (e.g. ‘where’)
- In relative clauses and similar constructions (e.g. content questions)

DO

Scheme: VERB + DO

Examples:

3MS DO *iz̤ra-t̤* ‘He saw him’
3FS DO *iz̤ra-t̤* ‘He saw her’
3MS DO *wwix-t̤ (ar d̤is)* ‘I brought (took) it (M)/him (there)’ (**wwiy-t̤* > *wwix-t̤*)
3FS DO *wwix-t̤ (ar d̤is)* ‘I brought (took) it (F)/her (there)’ (**wwiy-t̤* > *wwix-t̤*)

Note: DO can (optionally) be assimilated to the final C of the verb so that we get:

3S M=F *wwix^x (ar d̤is)* ‘I brought (took) it (M/F)/him/her (there)’

In this case, the distinction between M and F SG DO is lost.
(I use ^ to notate elision and assimilation.)

Attraction context:

Scheme: DO + VERB

Examples:

3MS DO *ša-h-iz̤er* ‘He will see him’
3FS DO *ša-t-iz̤er* ‘He will see her’

VENT

Scheme: VERB + VENT

Attraction context: VENT + VERB

Note: There is no verbal deixis denoting ‘itive’ (also called ‘andative’), i.e. direction/movement away from the speaker (opposite of ventive) in Ketama Berber. To denote ‘there’, adverb *ar d̤is* is used.

Combination of DO+VENT

Scheme: VERB + DO + VENT

3MS DO	<i>izra-h-id</i> 'He saw him' cf. form without VENT (<i>izra-t</i>) above ($t > h$)
3FS DO	<i>izra-h-ed</i> 'He saw her' cf. form without VENT (<i>izra-t</i>) above ($t > h$)
3MS DO	<i>wwix-t-id</i> (<i>ar di</i>) 'I brought it (M)/him here'
3FS DO	<i>wwix-t-ed</i> (<i>ar di</i>) 'I brought it (F)/her here'

Note: if we have VENT, then 3 DO M=F (t , h), but the form of VENT is different.

With the assimilation of DO:

3MS DO	<i>wwix^x-id</i> (<i>ar di</i>) 'I brought it (M)/him here'
3FS DO	<i>wwix^x-ed</i> (<i>ar di</i>) 'I brought it (F)/her here'

Here, the gender of the DO pronoun is visible only on the form of the VENT (M *id*, F *ed*).

Combination of IO+DO

Partial clitic fronting

In the attraction context (e.g. future, with the particle *ša*), the clitic complex is usually split: IO clitic pronoun is fronted (i.e. it follows the future particle and precedes the verb), while the DO clitic pronoun is left in place, i.e. following the verb (see *a*). This phenomenon is referred to as *partial clitic fronting*. Full (complete) clitic fronting, which is more common in Berber, is also possible in Ketama, but is less common (see *b*).

Scheme:

- a) IO+VERB+DO (partial clitic fronting: more common variant); or
- b) IO+DO+VERB (complete clitic fronting: less common variant).

Examples: 'I will bring it (M;F) to him/her':

- a) *ša-[a]s-awix-t(M)/t(F)*. With the assimilation: *ša-[a]s-awix^x* (M=F)
- b) *ša-[a]s-t(M)/t(F)-awix*.

Partial clitic fronting is also found in Tunisian Berber (Tamazret, see Collins), but it is extremely rare in Morocco and has not been studied in detail.

In Eastern Senhaja (e.g. in Ayt Hmed and Ayt Bušibet dialects), it is not possible to split the clitic complex, and all clitics are fronted, i.e. precede the verb (full clitic fronting). Example from AH (3MS DO is *t* in AH dialect):

ša-[a]s-t-yawi 'He will bring him to her/him'

Double reference

IO can be also expressed by an independent pronoun (usually added for emphasis) or a noun. When the sentence contains both an IO clitic pronoun and an independent (pro)noun, we are dealing with double reference (a.k.a. “clitic doubling” ~ doubling by means of a clitic). The scheme is:

- a) IO+VERB+DO / PERS.PRON/NOUN (partial fronting: more common);
- b) IO+DO+VERB / PERS.PRON/NOUN (complete fronting: rare).

Examples:

‘I will bring it (M)/him to him’:

- a) *ša-[a]s-awix-ṭ i netta*
- b) *ša-[a]s-ṭ-awiy i netta*

Combination of IO+DO+VENT

Ventive doubling

In the attraction context (e.g. future), there are two variants possible in Ketama Berber. When clitic fronting is partial (more common variant), the ventive clitic is doubled (“double ventive”): one precedes, and one follows the verb (see *a*). In the case of full clitic fronting, which is less common, there is no doubling of the ventive (see *b*). The order of clitics in each variant is fixed and cannot be changed.

Scheme:

- a) IO+VENT(*d*)+VERB+DO(M=F *ṭ*)+VENT(M *iḍ*; F *eḍ*) (partial fronting); or
- b) IO+DO(M=F *ṭ*)+VENT(M *iḍ*; F *eḍ*)+VERB (complete fronting; rare)

Note that VENT clitic has different forms depending on the gender of 3S DO. 3FS DO clitic pronoun is underlyingly *ṭ*, but becomes identical to 3MS DO before VENT. Therefore the distinction between M and F SG forms of DO clitic pronoun in this context is visible only in the form of the VENT.

Examples:

- a) partial fronting: ventive doubling

3MS DO *ša-[a]s-d-awix-ṭ^iḍ (ar ḍi)* ‘I will bring it (M) to him/her here’
3FS DO *ša-[a]s-d-awix-ṭ^eḍ (ar ḍi)* ‘I will bring it (F) to him/her here’

With the assimilation of DO clitic to the final C of the verb:

3MS DO *ša-[a]s-d-awix^x^iḍ (ar ḍi)* ‘I will bring it (M) to him/her here’
3FS DO *ša-[a]s-d-awix^x^eḍ (ar ḍi)* ‘I will bring it (F) to him/her here’

b) complete fronting (rare): no ventive doubling

3MS DO	<i>ša-[a]s-tʰid-awiy</i>	'I will bring it (M) to him/her here'
3FS DO	<i>ša-[a]s-tʰed-awiy</i>	'I will bring it (F) to him/her here'

In AH Berber, only construction (b) is possible (complete fronting), e.g.

3MS DO	<i>ša-[a]s-tʰid-awiy</i> (M)	'I will bring it (M) to him/her here'
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The (a) construction with double ventive sounds strange to AH speakers, while the (b) construction, albeit being grammatical, sounds strange to Ketama speakers.

IO can be expressed by an independent personal pronoun (without an IO clitic).

Scheme:

DO+VENT+VERB / PERS.PRON

Example: *ša-h-ed-awiy (ar di) i netta* 'I will bring it here for him'

If IO is expressed by a clitic pronoun, **ša-[a]s-h-ed-awiy* is ungrammatical. Instead, we get one of the constructions treated above ('I will bring it to him/her here'):

- a) *ša-[a]s-d-awix-tʰid*; *ša-[a]s-d-awix-xʰid* (M);
ša-[a]s-d-awix-tʰed; *ša-[a]s-d-awix-xʰed* (F)
- b) *ša-[a]s-tʰid-awiy* (M); *ša-[a]s-tʰed-awiy* (F)

Additional examples:

(partial clitic fronting, ventive doubling)

3MS DO	<i>ša-[a]s-d-yawi-hʰid</i>	'He will bring it (M) to him/her here'
3FS DO	<i>ša-[a]s-d-yawi-hʰed</i>	'He will bring it (F) to him/her here'

When there is no VENT, we get the usual constructions involving two clitics (IO+DO, discussed above). Cf.

- a) *ša-[a]s-yawi-t* (*ar di*) 'He will bring it (M) to her (there)'
- b) *ša-[a]s-t-yawi* (*ar di*) 'He will bring it (M) to her (there)'

It is possible to omit the IO. In this case, the DO (that in construction (a) was following the verb) is fronted:

3MS DO	<i>ša-h-yawi</i> (<i>ar di</i>)	'He will bring it (M) (there)'
3FS DO	<i>ša-t-yawi</i> (<i>ar di</i>)	'He will bring it (F) (there)'