

Senhaja Berber Varieties: Major Features

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Outline

- I. Introduction
- II. Phonology
- III. Morphology
- IV. Morphosyntax: the verbal complex

I. Introduction

Introduction

- Berber language family
- North Morocco, Western Rif
- Distinct from Tarifit and Ghomara
- Literature: Renisio 1932; Ibáñez 1959 (dictionary); Lafkioui 2007 (Atlas); Kossmann 2017 (article); Gutova 2021 (PhD thesis: multidialectal/polylectal grammar), based on fieldwork.

Sociolinguistics

- Number of speakers: 85,000 (HCP, 2014)
- Bilingualism: Berber+Darija
- Contact linguistics
- Lexical borrowing: ca. 30% in the basic lexicon
- Morphological borrowing including pattern borrowing.

II. Phonology

Consonants

- Oppositions: voice, length, pharyngealization
- Spirantization: not always regular (free variation)
- Spirantization may be blocked, e.g. after *n* (Zerqet)
- *b* and *g* are limited to specific varieties (*b* in Hmed, Taghzut, Bunsar; *g* in Seddat, Bunsar, parts of Zerqet)
- Labialized velars: absent in Ketama and Taghzut
- Ketama preserves traces of lost labialization: *e* > *u*.

*L

- Most varieties (K/S/H/B): **l* > *y*
- Taghzut: **l* > *ž*
- Mezduy: **l* > *r* (cf. Tarifit)
- Zerqet: **l* = *l*.

| Ketama/Seddat Hmed/Bunsar | Taghzut | Zerqet | Mezduy | Translation |
|------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|---------------|
| y | ž | l | r | <*l |
| ta(ha)ya | taža | tahala | tahara | (water)spring |
| asyi | asži | asli | asri | groom |
| uy | už | ul | ur | heart |
| aḍi (<aḍiy) | aḍiž | aḍil | aḍir | grapes |

***LL**

- Most varieties (S/B/Z/M): *ll > ġġ
- Ketama/Taghzut/Hmed: *ll = ll
- Taghzut: long counterpart of ž (<*l) can be ll or žž.

| Ketama/Hmed/Taghzut | Seddat/Bunsar/Zerqet/Mezduy | Translation |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| ll | ġġ | < *ll |
| llubiya | ġġubiya | beans |
| lluz | ġġuz | be hungry |
| lla-n | ġġa-n | they are |
| mellek | meġġek | IPFV of 'to marry' |

***L-LL (Aorist-Imperfective pairs)**

| Ketama/Hmed | Taghzut | Seddat/Bunsar | Zerqet | Translation |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| y – ll | ž – žž | y – ġġ | l – ġġ | *l–*ll |
| myek – mellek | mžek – mežžek | myek – meġġek | mlek – meġġek | marry |
| ħyaq – ħellaq | ħžeq – ħežžeq | ħyaq – ħeġġaq | ħlaq – ħeġġaq | be born |
| hyek – hellek | hžek – hežžek | hyek – heġġek | hleq – heġġek | be sick |

Spirantisation

| Stop | Fricative | Variety | Stage 2 | Variety |
|------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|---------------|
| b | b | T/H/B, parts of Z | | |
| d | d | pan-Senhaja | | |
| t | t | pan-Senhaja | h/a (> Ø) | K, parts of T |
| ḍ | ḍ | pan-Senhaja | | |
| k | k | pan-Senhaja | | |
| g | g | S/B, parts of Z | y (> Ø) | H/B/Z/M |

Examples *t* > h-/a- (> Ø)

Verb subject prefix (2S/3FS/2P)

| Most Senhaja incl. Taghzut (Lqela) | Ketama (Beni Aisi), Taghzut (Beni Khlef) | Ketama (Beni Hmed) | Translation |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| t-ekšem | h-ekšem | a(h)-kšem | she entered |

Nominal feminine prefix

| Most Senhaja incl. Taghzut (Lqela) | Taghzut (Beni Khlef) | Ketama | Translation |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|------------|-------------|
| t-azar-t | (h-)azar-t | (Ø-)azar-t | fig |

Blocking of spirantisation

| | Ketama | Hmed | Zerqet | Translation |
|-----|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| -nt | aserdunt | taserdunt | taserdunt | f. mule |
| -mt | agelzimt | tayelzimt | tayelzimt | adze |

t* vs. *ṭ

- *t* > *ṭ* [ts] is found in Taghzut, Hmed, parts of Seddat
- *t* and *tt* also occur in these varieties
- In Hmed, *ṭ* can be followed by *t* or *ṭ*, e.g. *neṭṭa* 'she'
- In Hmed, *ṭ*- of the IPFV prefix does not assimilate to the following *t(t)*- of the verb stem or the passive: *ṭettežraḥ* (IPFV) < *ttežraḥ* 'to be injured'.
- In most other varieties (Ketama, Zerqet), the IPFV and the passive *t* coalesce.

Vowels

- Three full vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*
- The schwa ([ə], <e>) builds syllables:
i-kšem 'he entered' vs. *kešm-en* 'they entered'
- Sometimes, the schwa is inherent (not predictable):
izref (K/T/H) vs. *izerf* (S/B/Z) 'road'
- Schwa > *a* before back consonants in most Senhaja varieties, but not in all: *žraḥ* /žreḥ/ (K/H/B/most Z) vs. *žreḥ* /žreḥ/ (T/S/parts of Z) 'to injure'.

Summary of isoglosses in phonetics/phonology

| Isogloss | Ketama | Hmed | Zerqet | Notes |
|-------------------|--------|--------|-----------|----------------------------------------|
| Labialized velars | - | + | + | Ghm: +, Rif: no short velars |
| *I – *II | y – ll | y – ll | l – ġġ | T ž–žž, S/B y–ğğ. Ghm I–II, M/Rif r–ğğ |
| b > ɸ | - | + | dialectal | b > ɸ also in T, Ghm, Rif |
| g > ġ | - | - | + | g > ġ also in S, Ghm, Rif |
| g>ğ>y(>Ø) | - | + | + | Sporadically. Not in Rif |
| t>ṭ>h(>Ø) | + | rare | - | Also T, Ghm. Not in Rif |
| t > ṭ | - | + | - | Also in T/S. Not in Ghm/Rif |
| s–tts, z–ddz | - | - | + | Not in Ghm/Rif |
| š–čč | - | + | + | Also in S, T, Ghm. Not in Rif |

III. Morphology

Overview

1. Verbs
2. Nouns
3. Adjectives and Participles
4. Pronouns
5. Prepositions
6. Numerals

1. Verbs

Derivation

1) Causatives:

- a) prefix s- (Berber): *ǵer* > *sǵer* '(make) study'; *εum* > *sεum* '(make) swim';
 - b) geminated C2 (Ar. form II): *kmeḷ* 'finish' > *kemmel*; *kšem* 'enter' > *keššem* (K)
- Many form II causatives have optional prefix s-: *(s)deḥḥel* 'make enter' (H).

2) Passives:

- *t(t)*-, *n(n)*- (pan-Senhaja; Berber = Arabic):
nǵed 'thresh' > *ttenǵed*; *krez* 'plow' > *nnekrez*
- *m(m)*- is rare (3 exx.): *n(n)*- is not its allomorph:
mnez 'be sold', *mmečč* 'be eaten', *mεurǵež* 'to limp'
- dialectal: *ttya*- (K), *ṭtuya*- (H), *ttwa*- (Z/M=Tarifiyt):
ǵleb 'defeat' > *ttyaǵleb* (K), *ttwaǵleb* (Z).

Suppletion

- Suppletive causatives and passives (cf. Ghomara):
CAUS *ssen* 'know' > *εerref* 'make know' (pan-Snh.)
PASS *wwet* 'hit' > *tteḍreb*; *sell* 'hear' > *nnesmaε*;
ekk 'give' > *ttwaεta*; *šš* 'eat' > *ttyakel* (K).
- The verb can have multiple causatives and passives:
kšem 'enter' > CAUS *ssekšem* ~ *keššem* ~ *(s)deḥḥel*.

Pattern borrowing

Arabic morphology can be applied to Berber verbs (especially in Hmed):

| Base | II (CAUS) | V (t- x II) | VII (n- x I) | t- x I | n- x II |
|--------|-----------|-------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| rkem | rekkem | trekkem | nnerkem | tterkem | nrekkem |
| be wet | make wet | be made wet | | | |

Subject marking

- Most Senhaja: gender marked only in the 3:SG
- Eastern Senhaja (Z/M): gender marked also in 2P and 3P.

Imperative

- IMP:SG: no affixes: *krez* 'plow!'
- IMP:PL -*aṭ* (West), -(*e*)*t* (East): *kerz-aṭ* vs. *kerz-et* 'plow:PL!'
- Zerqet: -*em* with the ventive: *kešm-em=d* 'enter:PL here!'
- Prohibitive: a) *u kerrez š* 'Do not plow!'
b) (based on the AOR): *m^a^t-kerz-ed š* 'Do not plow!'

Variation in subject markers

- Variation due to phonological changes or reanalysis
- Variation is found in: 1S; 2S/3FS/2P; 3MS
- 1S suffix: *-*eǵ* > -*aǵ* (most Snh.) > -*a* (K):
**kešm-eǵ* > *kešm-aǵ* > *kešm-a* (K) 'I entered';
-*ǵ* with V-final verbs: *ddi-ǵ* 'I went'
- 2S/3FS/2P prefix *t*- > *h-/a-* (K):
t-ekrez (most Snh.) > *h-ekrez/ a-krez* (K) 'she plowed'.

3MS subject prefix

- Regular (PFV): *i-*, e.g. *i-krez* 'he plowed' (all Snh.)
- Variation in the Aorist following the NR marker *aḡ*:
Zerqet *aḡ i-krez*, Bunsar *aḡ i-krez* ~ *a krez*, Ketama *a y-ekrez*,
Taghzut/Seddat/Hmed *aḡekrez* 'he'll plow'.
- Reanalysis: *ḡ* of irrealis reanalysed as 3MS prefix.
Cf. negated PFV: Zerqet *uḡ i-krez* š, Bunsar *u(ḡ i-)krez* š,
Ketama *u y-ekrez* š, Taghzut/Seddat/Hmed *udekrez* š 'he did not plow'.

MAN (Mood, Aspect, Negation)

Overview

- Most Snh: 3 stems: Aorist (AOR), Perfective (PFV), Imperfective (IPFV)
- Mezduy and Eastern Zerqet: PFV.NEG and IPFV.NEG
- AOR and PFV can be homophonous (AOR=PFV)
- Formation of MAN stems is related to the make-up of the verb.

Stems

- Aorist = unmarked; with (*š*)-*a(ḡ)*: expresses future:
kšem! 'enter:SG!'; *a y-ekšem*, *aḡ (i)-kšem* 'he'll enter'
- PFV: a) dynamic event in the past: *i-krez* 'he plowed',
b) completed state: *i-šbah* 'it is good'
- IPFV: progressive, habitual: *i-kerrez* 'he is plowing';
inchoative with quality verbs: *i-šebbah* 'it's becoming good'.

Examples

| Stem | 'lift' | 'find' | 'draw water' | 'enter' | 'beat' | Variety |
|--------|--------|--------|--------------|---------|---------|----------|
| AOR | asi | aḡ | agem | kšem | degdeg | pan-Snh. |
| PFV | usi | ufa | ugem | kšem | degdeg | pan-Snh. |
| PFV.N | usi | ufi | ugim | kšim | degdig | Z/M |
| IPFV | ttasi | ttaf | ttagem | keššem | ddegdag | K |
| | tasi | taf | tagem | keččem | ddegdag | S/B/Z/M |
| | ṭasi | ṭaf | ṭagem | keččem | ṭdegdag | T/H |
| IPFV.N | tasi | tif | tagem | keččem | ddegdig | Z/M |

Perfective

Ways to form the Perfective:

- 1) initial vowel change, e.g. *a-* > *u-*: *asi* > *usi* 'lift';
 - 2) medial vowel change, in Ketama/Hmed: *fuṭ* > *faṭ* 'pass'
 - 3) final vowel insertion or alternation: *kes* > *kṣi/a* 'herd'.
- PFV.NEG: found in Mezduy and Eastern Zerqet.

Imperfective

Ways to form the Imperfective:

- 1) C2 gemination: *krez* > *kerrez* 'plow' (pan-Senhaja)
 - 2) C1 gemination + *u*: *krez* > *kkruz* 'plow' (Zerqet)
 - 3) IPFV prefix *t(t)-* (+ vowel change): *krez* > *ttekraz* 'plow' (Ketama)
- > Multiple Imperfectives; dialectal preferences.
IPFV.NEG: partly preserved in Mezduy and Eastern Zerqet.

2. Nouns

Overview

- Class I nouns: Berber morphology (Berber prefix)
- Class II (borrowed) nouns: Ar. morphology (article /-)
- Class III: non-affix class, often lack a plural
- Distinguish gender (M/F), number (SG/PL), state:
Etat Libre (EL, 'Free State') and *Etat d'Annexion* (EA, 'Annexed State').
Restricted use of states in Snh. EA is used after most prepositions.

Class I fem. nouns

Feminine nouns start in *ṭ*- (*ṭ* > 'zero' in Ketama) and end in *-ṭ* (optional in Hmed):

ṭ-a-mǧar-ṭ (most Snh)

a-mǧar-ṭ (Ketama)

ṭ-a-mǧar(-ṭ) (Hmed)

'woman'.

Deictic clitics

- Three-way distinction: proximal, medial, distal (most varieties, not K/T)
- Anaphoric clitic *nna* (most varieties, not K/T)
- Ketama and Taghzut: distal clitics = anaphoric
- Ketama and Taghzut distinguish **number** in deictic clitics (cf. Ghomara), different from the rest of Senhaja and Tarifiyt.

3. Adjectives and Participles

Qualification in Berber

- Most Berber languages: no true adjectives
- Instead: quality nouns and verbs
- Some Berber languages have stative verbs
- Quality words in Senhaja: nouns, verbs, adjectives (a *hybrid* class).

Quality nouns

- Refer to things, can function as Subjects, but can be used attributively;
- Example: 'white' in Hmed:

| Masc. Sg. | Fem. Sg. | Masc. Pl. | Fem. Pl. |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| a-melluy | ṭ-a-melluy-ṭ | i-melluy-en | ṭ-i-melluy-in |

When a noun functions as a predicate, there is a predicative particle *ǧ* in some Berber languages, e.g. Central Senhaja (Hmed):

- (1) *aǧam ǧ amelluy*
house PRED white:one:MS
'The house is white.'

Quality verbs

- Express events, function as predicates, describe properties;
- Take subject indexes, mark person, number, and gender;
- Three aspects: Aorist (AOR), Perfective (PFV), Imperfective (IPFV);
- PFV = state/result; IPFV = inchoative
- For example (Z):

(2) *i-mžul*

3MS-be.white:PFV

'It (M) is white.' (state)

(3) *i-temžulay*

3MS-be.white:IPFV

'It (M) is becoming white(r).' (inchoative)

Stative verbs

- Some Berber languages have regularly conjugated vs. stative verbs;
- Stative verbs are conjugated by suffixes, e.g. Kabyle (Dallet 1982):

| | Regular PNG (pfx/sfx) | | Stative PNG (sfx) | |
|------------|-----------------------|----------|-------------------|------------|
| | | 'gather' | | 'be clean' |
| 3MS | y-... | y-egmer | ... | zeddig |
| 3FS | ṭ-... | ṭ-egmer | ...-ṭ | zeddig-eṭ |
| 3P | ...-n | gemr-en | ...-iṭ | zeddig-iṭ |

Adjectives

- Senhaja has a distinct morphological class of (true) adjectives
- They express properties, function as modifiers, agree with the noun in gender and number;
- Two sub-classes: borrowed Arabic adjectives (majority) and native Berber adjectives (few);
- Different markers, but the same function (cf. Ghomara).
- Arabic adjectives are borrowed with morphology, incl. apophonic plurals;
- Berber adjectives have markers similar to stative conjugation, e.g. Hmed:

| | Arabic adj. | 'white' | Berber adj. | 'white' |
|-----------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|
| MS | ... | byeḍ | ... | melluy |
| FS | ...-a | beyḍ-a | ...-ṭ | melluy-eṭ |
| PL | ...-in | beyḍ-in ~ buyeḍ | ...-n | melluy-en |

Adjectival phrases can function as predicates (without PRED *ḍ*), e.g. (Hmed):

- (4) (a) *aḥam ḍ amelluy*
house PRED white:one:MS
- (b) *aḥam melluy* (<Berber)
aḥam byeḍ (<Ar.)
house white:MS
'The house is white.'

Marking of adjectives

- Different behavior in different dialects;
- In some dialects, adjectives are conjugated;
- Conjugation can be regular, as found with verbs (prefixes + suffixes), or special (suffixes only, cf. stative conjugation);
- Difference in borrowed vs. native adjectives.

Berber Adjectives

- Different types of behavior: a) special conjugation; b) regular conjugation; c) adjectives are not conjugated;
- Different types can co-occur; there is no real dialect continuum.

- (5) (a) (*keğgi*) *mezzi-d* (T)
(2MS) small-2S
(b) (*keğgi*) *t-mezzi-d* (S)
(2MS) 2S-small-2S
(c) *keğgi* *mezzi* (K/T)
2MS small:MS
'You are small/young.'

Marking of Berber adjectives across Senhaja

| | Ketama | Taghzut/Bunsar | Seddat | Hmed | Zerqet |
|------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|------|--------|
| a) special conjugation | | + | | | + |
| b) regular conjugation | | | + | | + |
| c) non-conjugated | + | + | | + | + |

Emergency of adjectives (hypothesis)

- (a) The original situation: stative conjugation (remnants in Taghzut, Bunsar, Zerqet). Different developments:
- (b) Conjugation is regularized (Seddat), or
- (c) Conjugation ceases (an Arabic model) > native adjectives emerge (the only option in Ketama, Hmed; a possibility in Taghzut, Bunsar, Zerqet).

Arabic adjectives

- Not conjugated in most Senhaja;
- Can be conjugated in Taghzut and Bunsar;
- Special markers, similar to Berber adjectives (suffixes only):

- (6) *mezyan-id* (T)
good-2S
'You (SG) are good.'

Conjugated Adjectives

Conjugated and non-conjugated adjectives are found in the same context, e.g. (Taghzut):

- (7) (a) *t-ugul-ed* *meqqur*
 2-become:P-2S big:MS
 (b) *t-ugul-ed* *meqqr-ed*
 2-become:P-2S big-2S
 ‘You became big/old.’

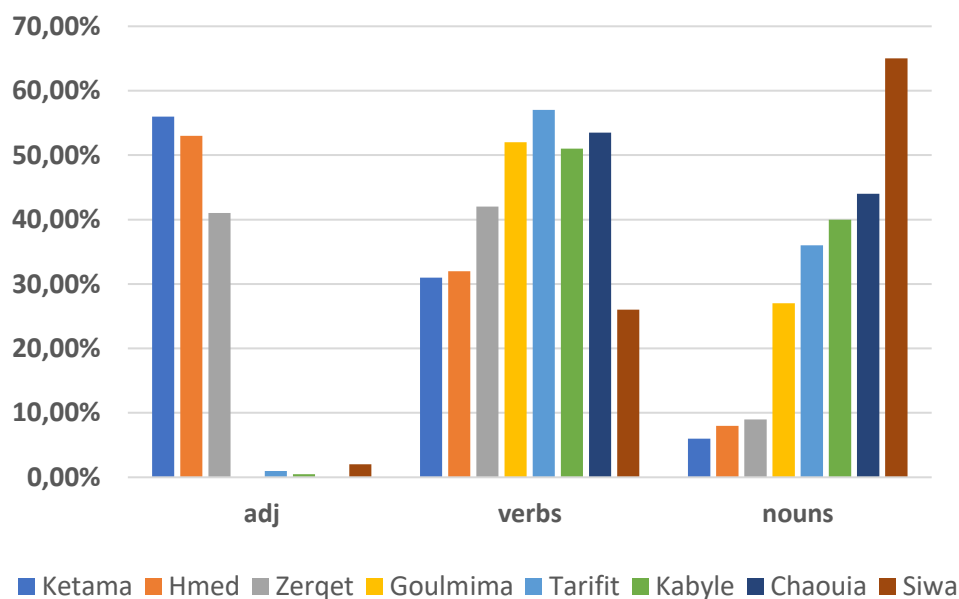
Conjugated adj/ are distinct from normally conjugated verbs, e.g. Taghzut:

- (8) (a) *meqqur-aġ*
 big-1S
 ‘I am big/old.’
 (b) *mġur-aġ*
 grow:P-1S
 ‘I grew up.’

Survey on qualification

Within Senhaja, number of adjectives grows from East to West, number of quality verbs (and also quality nouns) grows from West to East.

Qualification in Berber



Lexeme *messus* ‘insipid’

| | Adj. Arabic (Ketama/Hmed) | Adj. Berber (Hmed) | | Verb (Zerqet) |
|-----------|------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|------------------|
| MS | messus | messus | 3MS | i-messus |
| FS | messus-a | messus-et | 3FS | t-messus |
| PL | messus-in | messus-en | 3P | messus-en |

Lexeme 'white'

| | Adj. Ar. Ketama | Adj. B. Hmed | | Noun Hmed, Zerqet |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| MS | byed | melluy | MS | a-melluy (H), a-meğğul (Z) |
| FS | beyd-a | melluy-et | FS | ta-melluy-t (H), ta-meğğul-t (Z) |
| PL | buyad | melluy-en | MP | i-melluy-en (H), i-meğğul-en (Z) |
| | | | FP | ti-melluy-in (H), ti-meğğul-in (Z) |

Summary regarding adjectives

- Quality words are a hybrid class in Berber
- Snh: quality nouns, verbs, adjectives (Ar.+Berber)
- Adj. = most likely an innovation in Snh: Ar. adj. are loans, Berber adj. evolved from stative verbs
- Conjugated adj. are quasi-verbs: mark the person (like verbs), but lack aspectual distinctions. Borders between word classes are fluid.

4. Pronouns

- Native Berber and borrowed Arabic pronouns
- Independent and bound pronouns
- Pronominal clitics are part of the verb complex.

Berber Independent Personal Pronouns

- Express person, number, and gender
- Gender is distinguished in the 2S and 3S
- Eastern Snh (Z/M) distinguishes 2P and 3P.

Berber pron. suffixes

- Used with prepositions and some kinship nouns
- Differences between the forms:
 - 1) in 1S, the suffix *-i* is used with prepositions vs. Ø with kinship nouns;
 - 2) Mezduy inserts *t* after the plural suffixes with kinship nouns.

Borrowed Arabic pronouns

- Ar. 3rd person pronouns are used in specific contexts, e.g. presentatives: *ha hiyya* 'Here she is!'
- Ar. pronominal suffixes are usually used with borrowed elements (exceptionally, Ar. suffixes are suffixed to native Berber words)
- East Snh: Ar. suffixes are found only in fixed expressions and are not as frequent as in West Snh.

5. Prepositions

- Simple and complex prepositions
- Some prepositions have nominal characteristics
- Some borrowed Ar. prepositions take Ar. pron. sfx
- Most prepositions take the noun in EA
- Following some prepositions ending in *-g* (T/Z)/*g^w* (H), MS nouns have a special form of EA lacking the initial full vowel (dialectal): *g ehyam* 'in the house'.

Prepositional interrogatives contain the elements *mmen* or *mi(di)*:

- prep.+ *mmen*: *s emmen* 'with what' (Ketama)
- *mi* + prep.: *miyy-es* 'with what' (Hmed)
- prep. + *mi* + prep.: *s-miyy-es* 'with what' (Zerqet).

6. Numerals

Cardinal numerals

- All cardinal numerals except for 'one' are Ar. loans
- Numerals are followed by the Genitive *n* + noun
- There is a native numeral for 'one' = indef. marker
- Gender distinguished when the numeral 'one' is used independently.

Ordinal numerals

- All borrowed from Arabic (including 'first')
- Two sets: set 1 after a noun; set 2 before a noun
- Hmed behaves differently from the rest of Snh:
set 1 can appear before a noun, set 2 after a noun
- Construction 'with the (X number) of us/you/them':
 - most Snh: *s* 'with' + NUM + *yes/is-* + Berber pron. sfx
 - Ketama: *b* (<Ar.) 'with' + NUM + *bi-* + Ar. pron. sfx.

IV. Morphosyntax: the Verbal Complex

The Verbal Complex

Introduction

- Verbal complex = verb + verbal clitics and particles
- Particles can express mood/aspect or negation
- Irrealis *a(d)*, future (*ma*)*š-a(d)*, Taghzut also *I^a(d)*
- Verbal clitics: pronominal and ventive.

Negation Particles

Postverbal: *š~ši~šay*, in free variation (normally...)

Preverbal: *u* (general, pan-Senhaja, most contexts),

- *ma*: with AOR in Hmed, merged with FUT *ma-ša?*
- (*u*)*la*: with IPFV in Hmed/Taghzut, merged with the IPFV *la* < 'to be'?
- *ur*: with PFV in parts of Seddat
- *i*: prohibitive negator in Ketama.

Verbal Clitics

- Pronominal clitics: DO, IO, and ventive
- Clitics: postverbal or preverbal, depending on the syntactic context.

DO clitics

- Normally in Berber, post- and preverbal 1S:DO is *y*.
Ketama: preverbal 1S:DO is *ỵ*
Taghzut: preverbal 1S:DO is *ỵd*
- Fronted 1P *ġen*, cf. postverbal **neġ* > *naġ* (> *na*)
- Fronted 3P is *ten* (most Snh.) > *hen* in Ketama/Hmed.

IO clitics

- Often homophonous with the DO, except 3rd person
- Varieties differ in the distinctions they make:
 - in some varieties, IO=DO except 3rd person
 - in some varieties, IO and DO clitics differ in other persons as well.

Ventive

- Expresses direction toward the speaker ('here')
- The only deictic clitic in Senhaja: its opposite (ientive), does not occur
- Allomorphs depending on the context and dialect
- The most common form is *d*
- Following a C-final verb stem, *id* or *d* (dialectally):
i-kešm=id vs. *i-kšem=d* 'he entered (here)'.

Past/Future markers

- Past markers: *ara~ala* (Ketama), *iža* (Zerqet), *indi* (Taghzut)
- Hmed: past marker *g* + 'to be' blended together:
gelli/a, optionally conjugated
- Reference to the Future with non-verbal predicates: 'to be' in the AOR preceded by *ađ* (pan-Snh.)
- Construction based on *af* 'to find' in Hmed:
š-a^taft-, can take Ar. pron. suffixes: *š-a^taft-ni* for 1S, etc.

AQA particle

- Across Snh: can take 2:DO clitics to seek attention
aq-a-k (2MS) 'I warned you! I told you! hey!'
- Zerqet: can be a marker of relevance of the utterance for the present
- Zerqet: found in locative expressions with non-verbal predicates (cf. the verb 'to be' in Ketama), compare:

- (9) (a) *aq-a-y g ehyam* (Z)
AQA-1S in house:EA
(b) *lli-g g uhyam* (K)
be:P-1S in house:EA
'I am at home.'

Verbal Clitics (movement)

- Verbal clitics also known as "verb satellites" (Galand 2010)
- Clitics appear in a chain: IO + DO + ventive
- "Unmarked" contexts (Perfective, affirmative): clitics **follow** the verb
- "Marked" contexts (future, negation): clitics **before** the verb (*attraction*)
- Prepositions with pronominal suffixes and deictic adverbs do not undergo fronting in Snh. (vs. Tarifiyt).

Clitic chain: IO + DO + ventive, e.g.

- (10) *i-wwwy =as =t ^id* (K)
3MS-take:P =3S:IO =3MS:DO ^VC
'He brought it (M) to him/her.'

Clitic Fronting

- Most Snh: *complete* clitic fronting
- Taghzut and Ketama behave differently...

Taghzut

Divergent clitic behavior in the following contexts:

- the negated Imperfective (negator *ula*),
- the prohibitive (negator *u*)

Divergent clitic behaviour includes:

- clitics can be left *postposed*
- clitics can be fronted *partially*
- clitics can be *doubled* (clitic repetition).

Negated Imperfective:

(11) *ula* [^]*s*= *ʔak-m* =*aʔ* *š*
NEG [^]3S:IO= (2:)give:I-2P =3MS:DO NEG
'You (PL) are not giving it (M) to him/her.'

Prohibitive:

(12) *u* [^]*s*= *ʔak-aʔ* =*aʔ* *š*
NEG 3S:IO= give:I-IMP:PL=3MS:DO NEG
'Do not give (PL) it (F) to him/her!'

Ketama

Clitic behavior depends on the nature of the clitics rather than on the context:

- no clitic fronting (NCF)
- complete clitic fronting (CCF)
- partial clitic fronting (PCF)
- clitic repetition (CR).

Hierarchy

- IO: cannot be postposed or repeated in *attraction* contexts
- DO can be preverbal, postverbal (if IO is fronted), or seemingly repeated (fronted DO is "dummy")
- Ventive can be preverbal, postverbal, or repeated (depends on other clitics)
- There are dialectal differences.

Partial Clitic Fronting (PCF)

PCF: if the IO is fronted, the DO is often left postposed:

(13) *š-a* [^]*s*= *awi-ʔ^* *t*
FT-NR [^]3S:IO= bring:A-1S[^] 3MS:DO
'I will bring it (M) to him.'

Complete Clitic Fronting (CCF)

CCF: possible for the IO+DO in parts of Ketama (esp. Sahel dialect):

(14) *š-a* [^]*s*= *t*= *i-k*
FT-NR [^]3S:IO= 3S:DO= 3MS-give:A
'He will give it (M/F) to him/her'.

Dummy DO

- (15) $\check{s}-a$ $^s=$ $t=$ $i-kk$ $=it$
 FT-NR $^3S:IO=$ **DO** $=$ 3MS-give:A $=$ 3MS:DO
 'He will give it (M) to him/her (MS).'

Cf. plural DO clitic:

- (16) $\check{s}-a$ $^s=$ $t=$ $i-kk$ $=ihen$
 FT-NR $^3S:IO=$ **DO** $=$ 3MS-give:A $=$ 3P:DO
 'He will give them to him/her.'

Fronted 3P:DO followed by the dummy DO (the Sahel dialect of Ketama):

- (17) (a) $\check{s}-a$ $^s=$ $en=$ $t=$ $y-ek \sim$
 FT-NR $^3S:IO=3P:DO=$ **DO** $=$ 3MS-give:A
 (b) $\check{s}-a$ $^s=$ $en=$ $t=$ $i-kk$ $=ihen$
 FT-NR $^3S:IO=3P:DO=$ **DO** $=$ 3MS-give:A $=$ 3P:DO
 'He will give them to him/her.'

Ventive doubling

Ventive can be doubled with partial clitic fronting:

- (18) $\check{s}-a=$ $^s=$ $d=$ $awi-h^{\wedge}$ t id
 FT-NR $^3S:IO=VC=$ take:A-1S $^{\wedge}$ 3MS:DO VC
 'I will bring it (M) to him/her here'

Complete fronting: no ventive doubling:

- (19) $\check{s}-a=$ $^s=$ t $^id=$ $awi-g$
 FT-NR $^3S:IO=3MS:DO$ $^VC=$ take:A-1S

Symbols and abbreviations

| | | | |
|--------|---------------------------------------|------|----------------------|
| - | Morpheme boundary | IO | Indirect Object |
| ^ | Assimilation, vocalic elision | K | Ketama |
| = | Clitic boundary | M | Mezduy |
| 1,2,3 | 1, 2, 3 person | M | Masculine |
| A(OR) | Aorist | NEG | Negation |
| B | Bunsar | NR | Non-real |
| C | Consonnant | P(L) | Plural |
| DO | Direct Object | PFV | Perfective |
| EA | Annexed state, <i>état d'annexion</i> | PRED | Predicative particle |
| EL | Free state, <i>état libre</i> | S | Seddat |
| F | Feminine | S(G) | Singular |
| FT | Future | T | Taghzut |
| H | Hmed | V | Vowel |
| I(PFV) | Imperfective | VC | Ventive clitic |
| IMP | Imperative | Z | Zerqet |

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Links:

PhD thesis: <https://theses.hal.science/tel-03652350/document>

Texts in Senhaja online (cf. <http://youtube.com/@lsnhajn>) :

- Lhaguz (Hmed): <https://youtu.be/nq00d6egB8k>
- Lmejdub (Zerqet): <https://youtu.be/0W4jWlsFFwg>, cf. also <https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0007913>.

Senhaja dictionary (preview): <http://webonary.org/senhaja/>.