New Amazigh Grammar

By
Fatima Boukhris
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Translated by
Khalid Ansar

CAL – IRCAM

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Abbreviations

( )   :   variant or optional element

/   : or

[ ]   :   phonetic realization or pronunciation

<   : is derived from

=   :   is equivalent to

>   :   brings about

➔   :   is pronounced, generates

c   :   consonant

caus.   :   causative

cf.   :   confer

Comp :   complement

CS   :   Construct State

dir.   :   direct

DO   :   Direct Object

emph. :   emphatic

fem.   :   feminine

FS   :   Free State

indir.   :   indirect

IO   :   Indirect Object

masc. :   masculine

neg.   :   negative

NP   :   Noun Phrase

Ø   :   nothing

obj.   :   object

p.   :   page

Part.   :   particle

pass.   :   passive

pers.   :   person

plr.   :   plural

PP	:	Prepositional Phrase
pron.	:	pronoun
recip.	:	reciprocal
S	:	subject
sing.	:	singular
V	:	verb
v	:	vowel
vs.	:	versus

Preface

The process of progressively standardizing the Amazigh language (Berber) may well be viewed to be one of the central goals meant to be achieved by The Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM). In fact, huge efforts have been invested to achieve this goal, and important progress has been attained in this domain ever since the founding of IRCAM. Parallel to the standardization of the Amazigh language, another concomitant workshop which concerns the teaching of the Amazigh language has been underway since 2003. Nowadays, the language is taught at different Moroccan primary schools, the central thrust being to generalize its teaching both vertically (yearly progression from one level to another) and horizontally (extension to new schools).

Further to training trainers in Amazigh, teaching Amazigh means also the elaboration of tools and educational support, and making these tools available to pupils and teachers. This grammar book may well be viewed as one among the basic tools which are indispensable for any pedagogical activity, and without which a language could in no way be adequately taught at school.

Devising a grammar for a language is not something easy. Admittedly, any language, whether it is written or spoken only, has its own grammar, explicit in the first case and simply implicit in the second. It is, therefore, the task of grammarians to make the rules of the language more explicit.

Over the last two centuries at least, many Amazigh grammar works have been elaborated. Importantly, these works exhibit a lot of variation from the standpoint of conception, methodology, approach and presentation. This variation is ascribed to a broad range of reasons; foremost among which are the objectives meant to be achieved and the audience for which these works were intended. Under close scrutiny, all these works serve one common end at least, i.e. exhibiting the fundamentals of the Amazigh language which are shared between all Amazigh varieties no matter how diverse they are. The last three decades have further seen the emergence of a number of studies and works of research bearing on a broad range of Amazigh grammar aspects; these studies have been driven by a variety of theoretical modern linguistic underpinnings.

Paramount among the fundamental characteristics that distinguish the work undertaken, so far, on Amazigh grammar is the fact that it draws heavily on one language variety or, in the best scenario, on a dialect encompassing a composite of other neighbour lects.

This work is meant to be general; its main objective is to set out the functioning of the Amazigh language by paying special attention to the aspects that exhibit its unity. It is not, thereby, meant to lay out the grammar of a particular Amazigh variety but the grammar of Moroccan Amazigh grammar in its entirety, although it is not always an easy goal to be achieved. It is also worthwhile to contend that this work is construed to be part of a larger project meant to standardize the Amazigh language; a project which is still underway and whose central thrust is to equip the language with the necessary reference dictionary and grammar as well as standardize the grammatical and lexical uses of the language. An Amazigh writing system along with a whole range of graphic and spelling norms have already been settled and are under use in the textbooks dubbed ⵜⵉⴼⴰⵡⵉⵏ ⴰ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵖⵜ [tifawin a tamaziɣt] carried out by IRCAM in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education, Higher Teaching, Scientific Research and Executives' Training.

Proceeding to the elaboration of a grammar shared between all Amazigh varieties is beset by many insuperable problems. In fact, the main problem that befalls any linguist working on the unification of Amazigh grammar is variation itself. Notwithstanding the variation problem exhibited by the different Amazigh varieties, it goes without saying that the composite of various works undertaken on Amazigh grammar show that the unity of the Amazigh language is a categorical reality. The idea has been defended since early in the previous century, and it is at the morpho-syntactic level that such unity is more readily observed. Variation is also a categorical reality in Amazigh, and an adequate approach based on valid principles is essentially necessitated. This is why resort was made to the following principles:

- Targeting the unity of the language: the tools and morphemes that are retained are common to the different varieties;

- Trying to safeguard the richness of the language at the grammatical and structural levels. The same idea may well be expressed along various grammatical and lexical means. This explains the presence of a whole range of morphemes to express the same grammatical phenomenon (interrogation,

negation, topicalization, time, etc.). As an example, a yes / no question may well be asked by using either ⵉⵙ / is or ⵎⴰ / ma.

- Trying to leave some room to variation: variation is a source of linguistic richness, and can serve stylistic ends. Long term use of some forms may well establish particular semantic and linguistic usages.

This work is intended primarily for teachers, because it is conceived as an accompanying tool for teaching Amazigh in Moroccan schools. It is also intended for any person who is interested in Amazigh learning. This is why the presentation of its different elements follows an approach that proceeds from what is simple to what is more complex; the different grammatical components are also ordered along a pedagogical ranking: sounds and phonemes come first followed by the writing system, morphology and syntax. In each chapter, the same presentation procedure is adopted. The inventory of grammatical tools is set out in the first place, and then their morpho-syntactic attributes follows and finally their classification is provided when applicable.

Examples are of paramount importance in a grammar, irrespective of the nature and objective of such grammar. It is the range of examples provided that illustrate a grammatical rule. This explains why their choice is not always easy. With the principles provided above as well as the pedagogical objectives of this grammar work as background, the supplied examples fall, in large part, under the rubric of common Amazigh. When variation is relevant, a composite of various examples are provided to illustrate the same grammatical phenomenon while paying equal attention to lexical variation. The central thrust behind resorting to such measures is to sensitize readers to the richness of the language at different levels.

This grammar is meant to be a pedagogical grammar and not a work of research. A researcher may, nonetheless, find relevant Amazigh grammar-related information in it.

We have also invested lots of efforts in making this grammar as easy and clear as possible. This is why we have resorted to common terminology, of most concern here the terminology used in the Amazigh tradition at the colonial and post-colonial eras. And any terminological units that have specific meanings in particular linguistic theories have been largely sidestepped to avoid any confusion for the readers.

By making this grammar available to teachers and to the people interested in learning the Amazigh language, it is our hope that we have contributed in filling a linguistic gap by providing a milestone grammatical tool for teaching standard Amazigh.

Many thanks are due to El. Iazzi, M. Ameur, R. Laabdelaoui, N. El Azrak and A. Bouhjar for having contributed in a way or in another in the implementation of this work.

The authors

CHAPTER 1
Standard Amazigh phonemes[1]

1. Introduction

To transcribe the sounds of a language, we generally have recourse to two types of transcription: *phonetic transcription* and *phonological transcription*. Phonetic transcription may well be viewed as a way of rendering all the phonetic details of a sound or sequence of sounds in a faithful way to their actual pronunciation. Put in another way, the transcription is a narrow one. As for the transcription termed *phonological*, it is a broad transcription meant to render only the prime phonetic features essential for understanding the meaning of a word without paying any attention whatsoever to the phonetic details.

The transcription adopted in this work is phonological. Such transcription derives much of its appeal from its ability to capture the common features observed between different Amazigh varieties.

This chapter tries to give a handle on three points: (i) a presentation of the inventory of segments pertaining to the standard Amazigh phonological system (as construed in IRCAM), (ii) the criteria underlying the choice of Amazigh phonemes, (iii) the whole range of phonetic processes that are neutralised at the orthographic level.

1.1. Phoneme inventory

The phonological system recognises 33 phonemes:

- 27 consonants:

  ▪ labials: ⵎ / f, ⵀ / b, ⵍ / m;

  ▪ dentals: ⵜ / t, ⵄ / d, ⴻ / ṭ, ⴻ / ḍ, ⵉ / n, ⵔ / r, ⵇ / ṛ, ⵕ / l;

- alveolars: ⵙ / s, ⵣ / z, ⵚ / ṣ, ⵤ / ẓ;

- (alveo)palatals: ⵛ / c, ⵊ / j;

- velars: ⴽ / k, ⴳ / g;

- labiovelars: ⴽⵯ / Kʷ, ⴳⵯ / gʷ;

- uvulars: ⵇ / q, ⵅ / x, ⵖ / ɣ;
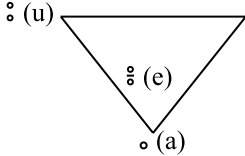
- pharyngeals: ⵃ / ḥ, ⵄ / ɛ;

- laryngeals: ⵁ / h.

- 2 semi-consonants: ⵢ / y, ⵡ / w.

- 3 full vowels: ⴰ / a, ⵉ / i, ⵓ / u.

- 1 neutral vowel: ⵦ / e.

Table 1: The consonantal system of standard Amazigh[2]

Point of articulation / Manner of articulation			Labials	Dentals	Alveolars	AlveoPalatals	Velars	Labiovelars	Uvulars	Pharyngeals	Laryngeals
Occlusives	Non-emph.	Voiceless		ⵜ			ⴽ	ⴽⵯ	ⵇ		
		Voiced	ⴱ	ⴷ			ⴳ	ⴳⵯ			
	Emph.	Voiceless		ⵟ							
		Voiced		ⴹ							
Fricatives	Non-emph.	Voiceless	ⴼ		ⵙ	ⵛ			ⵅ	ⵃ	ⵁ
		Voiced			ⵣ	ⵊ			ⵖ	ⵄ	
	Emph.	Voiceless			ⵚ						
		Voiced			ⵤ						
Nasals			ⵎ	ⵏ							
Rhotics	Non-emphatics			ⵔ							
	Emphatics			ⵕ							
Laterals				ⵍ							
Semi-consonants			ⵡ			ⵢ					

2- See Ameur, M. et *al* (2004), p. 16.

Table 2: The Vocalic system of standard Amazigh

Point of articulation / Manner of articulation	Back	Front
High	ⵓ̈ (u) ⵉ (i)	
Low	ⵖ̈ (e) ⵄ (a)	

Contrary to the vowels ⵄ / a, ⵓ̈ / u and ⵉ / i whose phonemic status is a categorical reality, the vowel ⵖ̈ / e, usually termed 'the neutral vowel'[3], stands out as a special vowel, in the sense that it functions as a phonetic unit whose absence affects in no way the meaning of the word.

The graphic system adopted herein, though not strictly phonological, has a phonological tendency. The neutral vowel, accordingly, appears only when its presence is fundamentally necessitated (*cf. 2.2*), namely in the following contexts:

▪ To foil the attempt to create a sequence of more than two identical consonants – a cluster usually difficult to articulate.

* ⵜⵜⵜⵔ / * tttr "she asked for"   ⇨ ⵜⵖ̈ⵜⵜⵔ / tettr

* ⵎⵎⵎⵉⵙ / * mmmis "his son"   ⇨ ⵎⵖ̈ⵎⵎⵉⵙ / memmis

* ⴷⵎⵎⵎ / * dmmm "to beg"   ⇨ ⴷⵎⵎⵖ̈ⵎ / dmmem

* ⵣⵎⵎⵎ / * zmmm "to write, to record" ⇨ ⵣⵎⵎⵖ̈ⵎ / zmmem

▪ In some verb stems containing two identical segments.

ⵎⵍⵖ̈ⵍ / mlel	" to be white"
ⵍⵖⵖ̈ⵖ / lɣeɣ	" to be soft, tender"
ⵙⵏⵖ̈ⵏ / snen	" to cook"

3- It is also termed schwa, "silent" e, zero vowel or null vowel.

1.2. The criteria adopted in the elaboration of the alphabet

Along the course of developing the alphabet of Tifinaghe-IRCAM, a composite of various criteria have been taken into account. Foremost among these criteria is the fact that the selection of the alphabet was phonology-based. A set of other criteria that were taken into consideration are laid out as follows:

▪ Univocity of the sign: Along this criterion, a one-to-one relationship is observed between the grapheme and the sound it refers to. This relationship foils the attempt to create diagraphs (such as ch [ʃ] or ph [f] in French).

▪ Geography extension: Only distinctive oppositions common to the three varieties are taken into consideration and retained. When an opposition is observed in some few Amazigh varieties, it is not retained.

▪ Functional productivity: Along this principle, only productive phonemic oppositions are retained. Put more clearly, an isolated minimal pair[4] is entirely rejected and its opposing units are denied any functional distinctive status (the case of non-emphatic ⵉ [j] opposed to emphatic ⵉ [j]).

▪ The neutralisation of linguistic variation: Irrelevant phonetic dialectal variation is not retained in the phonological system. Conversely, the same variation is freely tolerated in oral production.

1.3. Non-retained phonetic units

With the afore-mentioned criteria as background, the decision to abandon some phonetic units becomes sorely needed. Accordingly, some phonetic units that are either less productive or that ensue from regional variation are not retained in the graphic system.

1.3.1. Spirants

Spirantisation is one of the most prominent phonological processes that operate in Amazigh. The central thrust of this process is to alter stops into spirants. Under spirantisation, bilabial ⵀ / b, dental ⵜ / t and ⵍ / d coupled with velar ⴽ / k and ⵅ / g shift into their corresponding spirant forms (ⵀ / b > ⵝ / β,

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4- From the standpoint of structural phonology, a minimal pair refers to two words that are identical in all phonemes except one, for instance ⵣⵎ / izm "lion"- ⵉⵍⵎ / ilm "skin".

+ / t > Ж / θ, Λ / d > V / δ, ⱪ / k > ⱪ / ç, ⵞ / c and Ж / g > Ж / ɉ, ⵛ / y, I / j). The spirant forms of the above occlusive consonants are viewed as their regional variants. The exchange of stops with their corresponding spirant forms brings about no change in word meaning. Accordingly, the words ₒ⊕○ⵝV / aβriδ, ЖₒⵔⵞₒОЖ / θamɣarθ, ₒⱪ○ːⵔ / açsum, ₒОЖₒⵋ / arɉaz will be written respectively as ₒ⊖○ⵝΛ / abrid "way", +ₒⵔⵞₒО+ / tamɣart "woman", ₒⱪ○ːⵔ / aksum "meat" and ₒОЖₒⵋ / argaz "man".

The phonetic evolution of the velar sounds ⱪ / k and Ж / g has known many stages: first, spirantisation (ⱪ / ç, Ж / ɉ) and then palatalization (ⵞ / c, I / j, ⵛ / y).

ⱪ / k → ⱪ / ç[5] → ⵞ / c: ₒⱪ|ₒⵀ / aknaf → ₒⱪ|ₒⵀ / açnaf →ₒⵞ|ₒⵀ / acnaf "roasting"

Ж / g → Ж / ɉ → ⵛ / y: ₒЖⵔₒО / agmar →ₒЖⵔₒО / aɉmar → ₒⵛⵔₒО / aymar "horse"

Ж / g → Ж / ɉ → I / j: ₒЖО+ⵝⵍ / agrtil → ₒЖО+ⵝⵍ / aɉrtil →ₒIО+ⵝⵍ / ajrtil "mat"

No matter how the two phonemes ⱪ / k and Ж / g are realized, it is always the occlusive form that is retained at the writing level as an *archigrapheme* (main grapheme).

The only pertinent opposition that obtains between stops and fricatives in some Amazigh varieties is morpho-phonological in nature. This opposition is observed in the 3rd person singular direct object pronoun. The pronoun surfaces in two different ways: it surfaces as + / t in the feminine form and as Ж / θ in the masculine form.

⊙ⵛⵝⵛ + / sɣiɣ t "I bought it (fem.)."

⊙ⵛⵝⵛ Ж / sɣiɣ θ "I bought it (masc.)."

This morphological opposition is resolved in the graphic form by using + / t for the masculine form and ++ / tt for the feminine form.

⊙ⵛⵝⵛ ++ / sɣiɣ tt "I bought it (fem.)."

⊙ⵛⵝⵛ + / sɣiɣ t "I bought it (masc.)."

5- See the extended Tifinagh Alphabet in *Graphie et orthographe de l'amazighe* (2006), p. 160.

1.3.2. Affricates

This category of sounds may ensue from phonological alteration as evinced below:

ⵍⵍ / ll ➔ ⵝⵉ / dj: ⵣⵍⵍⵉ / illi "my daughter" ➔ [ⵣⵝⵉⵣ / idji]

ⵍⵜ / lt ➔ ⵜⵞ / tc: ⵄⵍⵜⵞⵯ / ultma "my sister" ➔ [ⵄⵜⵞⵞⵯ / utcma]

At the graphic level, basic non-affricate underlying forms are preserved to guarantee a maximum of morphological transparency of language units. Affricates are used in writing only if a significant opposition holds between the two units – the affricate and the non-affricate.

ⵯⵅⵉⵉⵯⵛ / aẖjjam "hairdresser" *vs.* ⵯⵅⵝⵯⵛ / aḥdjam "tattooing"

ⴲⵣⵉ / hij "to be agitated, bustling" *vs.* ⴲⵣⵝⵉ / hidj "poison, bitter dish"

1.3.3. Emphatics

The adopted alphabetical system includes basic emphatics: ⴹ / ṭ, ⴺ / ḍ, ⵇ / ṛ, ⵁ / ṣ and ⵝ / ẓ. Emphaticised consonants, where emphasis is not distinctive, are not taken into consideration. In pronunciation, emphaticised consonants usually ensue from adjacency to basic emphatics. For instance, in ⵛⴺⵍ / mḍl (which is phonetically realized as [nnl] due to a double assimilation process that operates on ⵛ / m and ⴺ / ḍ) both ⵛ / m and ⵍ / l are emphaticised owing to their adjacency to the basic emphatic consonant ⴺ / ḍ. In writing, emphaticisation is not graphically rendered. The word will, thereby, be written as ⵛⴺⵍ / mḍl.

The rare cases where emphatic ⵍ / l behaves as a phoneme are borrowings from Arabic or French. In the adopted graphic system, the coronal emphatic lateral consonant will be written as ⵍ / l as in ⵍⵍⵯⴲ / llah "God" and ⴱⵄⵍⵯ / bula "bulb".

In some very few Amazigh varieties, emphatic ⵉ / j exhibits a minimal pair relationship with non-emphatic ⵉ / j. This opposition is illustrated in the following examples: ⵉⵉⵄ / jju (without emphasis) means "to smell good" while ⵉⵉⵄ / jju (with emphasis) means "to smell bad".

Emphaticised ⵍ / l and ⵛ / m, on the one hand, and emphatic ⵉ / j, on the other, are not retained in the Amazigh graphic system.

1.3.4. Labiovelars

The two labiovelar consonants ⴿⵯ / kʷ and ⵅⵯ / gʷ are common in Amazigh; they pervade nearly all the lexicon of Amazigh and are, thereby, retained in the graphic system. Others, namely ⵆⵯ / xʷ, ⵖⵯ / ɣʷ, ⵇⵯ / qʷ are admitted in some Amazigh varieties but function as regional variants only. This is why they are not taken into account and are rejected entirely from the graphic system.

1.3.5. Sibilants

We term "sibilance" the phonetic alteration along which ⵜ / t shifts into ⵙ / s and ⴷ / d into ⵣ / z.

ⵜⵓⵙⵓ / tasa "liver " → [ⵙⵓⵙⵓ] / [sasa]

ⵓⴷⵎ / udm "face" → [ⵓⵣⵎ] / [uzm]

It is the basic occlusive forms that are retained in the graphic system. Hence, the two words above will be written as follows: ⵜⵓⵙⵓ / tasa and ⵓⴷⵎ / udm.

1.3.6. Rhotacism

Rhotacism may well be viewed as an alteration of lateral ⵍ / l into apical ⵔ / r.

ⵉⵍⵙ / ils "tongue" → [ⵉⵔⵙ] / [irs]

ⵓⵡⵓⵍ / awal "speaking" → [ⵓⵡⵓⵔ] / [awar]

Not unlike the former cases, the original basic form will be retained. The two words [ⵉⵔⵙ] / [irs] and [ⵓⵡⵓⵔ] / [awar] will, therefore, be written as ⵉⵍⵙ / ils and ⵓⵡⵓⵍ / awal respectively. Lateral ⵍ / l may also be mapped onto ⵉ / j ([ⵓⵉⵍⵎ] / [ajim] "hay", [ⵓⵉⵎⵓ] / [ajmu] "meadow, grassland"); yet, in writing, the basic lateral ⵍ / l will be adopted (ⵓⵍⵉⵎ / alim and ⵓⵍⵎⵓ / almu).

In broad terms, the abandoned consonants fall under one of the two categories: consonants with no functional productivity or consonants of narrow localized use.

As regards vowels, the adopted alphabet sidesteps long vowels ensuing from compensatory lengthening in particular contexts (ⵖⵓⵔ / ɣar "at" → ⵖⵓ: / [ɣa:][6]), as well as the nasalization of final vowels and the dropping of stem-

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6- A colon after vowels indicates vowel lengthening.

initial vowels in nouns with initial open syllables (ₒⵀⵙⵙ / afus "hand" →
ⵀⵙⵙ / fus).

1.4. Phonetic processes

In a spoken utterance, sounds are not a sequence of distinct discrete units.
Sounds are usually affected by the phonetic units that precede and follow
them. This influence triggers a whole range of phonetic alterations. In the
remainder of this section, we shall try to get around some of these alterations,
such as emphasis spreading and a number of other phonetic accidents.

1.4.1. Assimilation

Assimilation is a phonological process whereby two adjacent sounds
influence each other. Below, we shall try to contend with the phenomenon of
emphasis spreading as well as place and manner of articulation assimilation.

a. Emphasis spreading

In words, emphasis spreads from an emphatic consonant and contaminates
adjacent consonants, which appear emphaticised. When such spreading holds,
emphasis is realised phonetically in all nearby consonants. In the adopted
writing system, the change is observed only on ⵜ / t, ⴷ / d, ⵙ / s, ⵣ / z and ⵔ
/ r which shift to ⵟ / ṭ, ⴹ / ḍ, ⵚ / ṣ, ⵥ / ẓ and ⵕ / ṛ respectively.

> ⵉⵣⵔⵉ / iẓṛi "sight"
>
> ₒⴹₒⵕ / aḍaṛ "foot"
>
> ₒⵏⵥₒⵕ / anẓaṛ "rain"

b. Place and manner of articulation assimilations

■ *Partial assimilation*

Two sounds *x* and *y* are said to partially influence each other if one acquires
some phonetic feature(s) from the other while some distinctive mismatch is still
observed between the two sounds. Under this category of assimilation, point
of articulation or manner of articulation features (voicing or voicelessness)
are assimilated.

(i) Voice assimilation

A voiceless consonant is realised as voiced when adjacent to a voiced consonant:

ⵜⵥⵔⵉ / tzri "she came around" ➜ [ⴷⵥⵔⵉ] / [dzri]

(ii) Voicelessness assimilation

A voiced consonant loses voicing if it abuts against a voiceless consonant.

ⵜⴰⵎⵥⴷⴰⵢⵜ / tamzdaɣt "inhabitant" ➜ [ⵜⴰⵎⵥⴷⴰⵅⵜ] / [tamzdaxt]

(iii) Point of articulation assimilation

Under point of articulation assimilation, place of articulation is assimilated from one consonant to a contiguous consonant. A labial consonant, for instance, may become dental if it is adjacent to a dental consonant. A case in point is ⵎ / m which turns into ⵏ / n when adjacent to dental ⵜ / t:

ⵜⴰⵎⵎ�ⴻⵎⵜ / tammemt "honey" ➜ [ⵜⴰⵎⵎⵏⵜ] / [tammnt]

▪ *Total assimilation*

Total assimilation leads to the assimilation of all *x*'s features from a nearby consonant *y*. Under total assimilation, the result is usually a collapse of the two sounds into a single geminate consonant.

(i) Identical consonants

When a scenario holds where a consonant is directly followed by an identical consonant, the two identical consonants merge into a single tense consonant (a geminate).

- ⴰⵢⵜ ⵜⴰⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ "the house owners" ➜[ⴰⵢⵜⵜⴰⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ] (ⵜ ⵜ➜ⵜⵜ)

  ayt taddart "the house owners"➜ [ayttaddart] (t+ t➜tt)

- ⵏ ⵏⴰⴷⵢⴰ "of Nadia" ➜ [ⵏⵏⴰⴷⵢⴰ] (ⵏ + ⵏ➜ ⵏⵏ)

  n nadya "of Nadia" ➜ [nnadya] (n + n➜ nn)

- ⴼⴼⵖⵖ "I got out" ➜ [ⴼⴼⵖⵖ] or [ⴼⴼⵇⵇ] (ⵖ + ⵖ ➜ ⵖⵖ or ⵇⵇ)

  ffɣɣ "I got out" ➜ [ffɣɣ] or [ffqq] (ɣ + ɣ ➜ ɣɣ or qq)

(ii) Different consonants

When two different consonants happen to be adjacent to each other, assimilation may be progressive or regressive.

▪ *Regressive assimilation*

The sound receiving assimilation precedes the sound triggering assimilation:

- ⵣⵣⵉⵎⴰⵏⵜ ⴷⴰ. "They sat here." ⟶ [ⵣⵣⵉⵎⴰⵏⴷⴷⴰ] (ⵜ + ⴷ ⟶ⴷⴷ)

  qqimant da. "They sat here." ⟶ [qqimandda] (t + d ⟶dd)

- ⵉⵊⵊ ⵏ ⵡⴰⵙⵙ "one day" ⟶ [ⵉⵊⵊⵡⵡⴰⵙⵙ] (ⵏ + ⵡ ⟶ ⵡⵡ)

  ijj n was "one day" ⟶ [ijjwwass] (n + w ⟶ ww)

- ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⵖⵔ ⵍⵄⵢⵓⵏ. "He went to Laayoune." ⟶ [ⵉⴷⴷⴰⵖⵍⵍⵄⵢⵓⵏ]

  (ⵔ+ ⵍ ⟶ ⵍⵍ)

  idda ɣr lɛyun. "He went to Laayoune." ⟶[iddaɣllɛyun] (r+ l ⟶ ll)

▪ *Progressive assimilation*

Under this sort of assimilation, the sound receiving assimilation follows the sound triggering assimilation:

- ⵍ + ⵜ ⟶ ⵍⵍ: ⵜⴰⵎⵍⵍⴰⵍⵜ "the white one" ⟶ [ⵜⴰⵎⵍⵍⴰⵍⵍ]

  l + t ⟶ ll: tamllalt "the white one" ⟶ [tamllall]

- ⴳ + ⵓ ⟶ ⴳⴳⵯ: ⴳ ⵓⵥⵔⵓ "in Azrou" ⟶ [ⴳⴳⵯⵥⵔⵓ]

  g + u ⟶ ggʷ: g uẓru "in Azrou" ⟶ [ggʷẓru]

1.4.2. Vowel clusters

When two vowels, belonging to two different words, happen to be adjacent to each other, many phonetic alteration scenarios may hold: the resyllabification of high vowels, glide insertion or the collapsing of the two vowels into one vowel.

a. Resyllabification of the high vowels ⵉ / i and ⵓ / u

In a vowel cluster, the high vowels ⵉ / i and ⵓ / u are realised phonetically as ⵢ / y and ⵡ / w.

ⴰⵍⵍ ⴰⵥⴰⵏⵍ. / inna izlan. "He recited some poems." → [ⴰⵍⵍⴰⵢⴰⵥⴰⵏⵍ] / [innayzlan]

ⴰⵎⵎⴰ ⵓⵙⵓⵍⵍⴰⴻ. / illa uṣmmiḍ. "It is cold." → [ⴰⵎⵎⴰⵓⵓⵙⵓⵍⵍⴰⴻ] / [illawṣmmiḍ]

ⴰⴷⴷⴰ ⵓⵏⴱⴳⴰ. / idda unbgi. "The guest is gone."→ [ⴰⴷⴷⴰⵓⵓⵏⴱⴳⴰ] / [iddawnbgi]

b. Glide insertion

The palatal semi-vowel ⵢ / y is inserted between two adjacent vowels to avoid hiatus:

ⴰⵖⴰ ⴰⵀⵢⵓⴻ. / iga aḥyuḍ. "He is mad."→[ⴰⵖⴰⵢⴰⵀⵢⵓⴻ] / [igayaḥyuḍ]

ⴰⵍⵍⴰ ⴰⵙ / inna as "he told him / her" →[ⴰⵍⵍⴰⵢⴰⵙ] / [innayas]

ⴰ ⵓⵍ ⴰⵏⵓ ! / a ul inu ! "Oh, my heart!" →[ⴰⵢⵓⵎⴰⵏⵓ] / [ayulinu]

ⴰⵎⵏⵙⴰ ⴰⵢⴰ! / imnsi aya ! "What a dinner!"→[ⴰⵎⵏⵙⴰⵢⴰⵢⴰ] / [imnsiyaya]

ⴰⵎⵓ ⴰⴷ / almu ad "this grassland" → [ⴰⵎⵓⵢⴰⴷ] / [almuyad]

c. Vowel deletion

In a scenario where the final vowel of a transitive verb is identical to the first vowel of a following indirect object pronoun, two possibilities open up: either a palatal glide ⵢ / y impinges to break the hiatus of the two identical vowels or the two vowels demote by collapsing into a single vowel.

ⴰⵍⵍⴰ ⴰⵙ / inna as "he told him / her" → [ⴰⵍⵍⴰⵙ] / [innas]

The alterations observed in vowel contact in spoken Amazigh do not obtain in writing. Put in another way, no vowel contraction or glide insertion is observed in writing.

1.4.3 Compensatory lengthening

Compensatory lengthening pervades a whole range of Amazigh varieties. The central thrust of compensatory lengthening is to compensate for the dropped liquid ⵔ / r in final and initial positions of the syllable.

ₒⵍⵢₒⵔ / amɣar "chief, father-in-law"	→ [ₒⵍⵢₒ:] / [amɣa:]
ₒⵢⵔ:ⵍ / aɣrum "bread"	→ [ₒⵢ::ⵍ] / [aɣu:m]

In writing, we reproduce the basic form of the rhotic liquid ⵔ / r in an unscathed fashion and no compensatory lengthening is observed.

TIFINAGHE ALPHABET - ⵥⵓⵔⵔⵥⵯⵔ ⵏ ⵜⵀⵥⵉ°ⵢ [7]

	Tifinaghe	Latin	Arabic	examples
ya	°	a	أ	°ⵝⵓ°ⵔ
yab	ⵀ	b	ب	°ⵀⵔⵥⵝ
yag	ⵝ	g	گ	°ⵝⵞ°ⵔ
yag^w	ⵝ˘	g^w	گ	°ⵯⵝⵝ˘°ⵢ
yad	ⵝ	d	د	°ⵀ°ⵝ
yaḍ	E	ḍ	ض	°E°Q
yey	°	e	-	ⵜ°ⵜⵜⵔ
yaf	ⵀ	f	ف	°ⵀ°⊙
yak	ⵀ	k	ک	°ⵔ°ⵙ
yak^w	ⵔ˘	k^w	ک	°ⵞⵝⵝ°ⵔⵔ˘ⵙ
yah	Φ	h	ه	°Φⵝⵝ°ⵉ
yaḥ	ⵏ	ḥ	ح	°ⵏⵥⵝ°⊙
yaɛ	ⵏ	ɛ	ع	°ⵏⵀ°ⵉ
yax	ⵝ	x	خ	ⵜⵥⵝ⊙ⵥⵜ
yaq	ⵥ	q	ق	°ⵥQ°ⵀ
yi	ⵥ	i	ي	ⵥⵞⵥ
yaj	I	j	ج	°II
yal	ⵙ	l	ل	°ⵞⵙ°ⵙ
yam	ⵞ	m	م	°ⵞ°ⵉ
yan	ⵉ	n	ن	ⵥⵝⵝⵉ
yu	°	u	و	°ⵝⵞ
yar	O	r	ر	°ⵝ°ⵔ
yaṛ	Q	ṛ	ڕ	ⵀQQ°
yaɣ	ⵢ	ɣ	غ	°ⵢQ°ⵞ
yas	⊙	s	س	ⵥⵙ⊙
yaṣ	Ø	ṣ	ص	ØØ°ⵀⵜ
yac	ⵛ	c	ش	°ⵛⵛⵉ

7- Official Tifinaghe Alphabet Table as advocated by the Language Planning Centre (CAL), IRCAM.

yat	ⵜ	t	ت	ⵜⵉⵒⵒⵍⴰ
yaṭ	Ⴒ	ṭ	ط	ⵜⴻⴴⴴ
yaw	ⵓ	w	وْ	ⴰⵓⵍⵗ
yay	ⵢ	y	يْ	ⴰⵢⵢⴻⵙ
yaz	ⵥ	z	ز	ⴰⵌⴰⵥⴻⵢ
yaẓ	ⵥ	ẓ	ژ	ⴻⵥⴻ

Spelling rules

The spelling adopted in this book is based on two general principles supported by linguistic analysis. The first is the identification of the graphic word; the second is the segmentation of spoken utterances.

1. Graphic word categories

A graphic word consists of a sequence of letters or merely of a single letter flanked by two typographical white spaces. The graphic word in Amazigh falls under one of these categories:

▪ A noun coupled with its obligatory markers of gender (ⴰⵜⴱⵉⵔ / atbir (masc.) - ⵜⴰⵜⴱⵉⵔⵜ / tatbirt (fem.)), number (ⵉⵜⴱⵉⵔⵏ / itbirn (masc. plr.) - ⵜⵉⵜⴱⵉⵔⵉⵏ / titbirin (FS fem. plr.)) and state (ⵓⵜⴱⵉⵔ / utbir (CS masc. sing.) - ⵜⵜⴱⵉⵔⵜ / ttbirt (fem. sing)).

Contrarily, grammatical elements that specify nouns are graphically separated from them by a space.

ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ ⴰ / abrid a	"this way"
ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ ⵉⵏⵏ, ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ ⴰⵏⵏ / abrid inn, abrid ann	"that way"
ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ ⵍⵍⵉ (ⵏⵏⴰ / ⵏⵏⵉ / ⴷⴰ) / abrid lli (nna / nni / da)	"the way in question"
ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ ⵍⵍⵙ / abrid nns	"his / her way"
ⵃⴰⵇⵇⴰ ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ / haqqa abrid	"This is the way."

Kinship nouns, nonetheless, behave in a different fashion. Counter to other nouns, kinship nouns, along with their possessive pronoun, make up a single graphic word.

Table 1: paradigm of pronouns affixed to kinship nouns

	Masculine		**Feminine**	
Sing.	ⵀⵎⵀⵎ / baba	"my father"	ⵀⵎⵀⵎ / baba	"my father"
	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⴽ / babak	"your father"	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⵛ / babam	"your father"
	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⵙ / babas	"his father"	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⵙ / babas	"her father"
Plr.	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⵜⵏⵖ / babatnɣ	"our father"	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⵜⵏⵖ / babatnɣ	"our father"
	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⵜⵓⵏ(ⵡⵎ) / babatun (wm)	"your father"	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⵜⵓⵏⵜ(ⵡⵎⵜ) / babatunt (wmt)	"your father"
	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⵜⵙⵏ / babatsn	"their father"	ⵀⵎⵀⵎⵜⵙⵏⵜ / babatsnt	"their father"

▪ *A quality noun along with its morphological markers of:*

- gender (ⵎⵍⵓⵎⵢ / awraɣ (masc.) "yellow" - ⵜⵎⵍⵓⵎⵢⵜ / tawraɣt (fem.))

- number (ⵉⵍⵓⵎⵢⵏ / iwraɣn (masc. plr.) - ⵜⵉⵍⵓⵎⵢⵉⵏ / tiwraɣin (fem. plr.))

- state (ⵓⵍⵓⵎⵢ / uwraɣ (CS masc. sing.) - ⵜⵍⵓⵎⵢⵜ / twraɣt (CS fem. sing)).

▪ *A verb along with its:*

- person markers: ⵓⵙⵉⵢ / usiɣ "I took", ⵜⵓⵙⵉⴷ / tusid "You took", ⵢⵓⵙⵉ / yusi "He took", ⵏⵓⵙⵉ / nusi "We took"

- derivational morphemes:

  ○ the causative morpheme: ⵙⵙⵓⴼⵢ / ssufɣ "to go out+ caus.", ⵙⵙⴽⵛⵎ / sskcm "to get in + caus.", ⵙⵙⵉⴷⴼ / ssidf "to get in + caus.", ⵙⵙⵓⴽⴼ / ssukf "to uproot";

  ○ the reciprocal morpheme: ⵎⵢⵓⵙⵙⵏ / myussan "to know + recip.", ⵎⵙⵉⴼⴹ / msifiḍ "to send + recip. = to see off each other", ⵜⵜⵎⵢⴰⴼⵎ / ttmyafa, "to find + recip. + passive", ⵎⵣⴰⵔⴰⵢ / mzaray "to exceed + recip.";

  ○ the passive morpheme: ⵜⵜⵓⵢⵉⵙⵙⵏ / ttuyissn "to know + passive", ⵜⵜⵡⴰⴽⴽⵙ / ttwakks "to remove + passive", ⵜⵜⵢⵉⴽⴽⵙ / ttyikks "to remove + passive".

- aspect markers:

   o Prefixed: ⵜⵜⴰⵍⵉ / ttawi "to take", ⵜⵜⵉⵏⵉ / ttini "to say"

   o Infixed: ⵣⴷⴷⵖ / zddɣ "to dwell", ⵙⵙⴰⵖ / ssaɣ "to buy", ⵙⴽⴰⵔ / skar "to do", ⴽⵔⵔⵣ / krrz "to plow"

A typographical blank space holds between the verb and other potential grammatical elements that might precede or follow it, provided that the grammatical elements constitute themselves autonomous graphic words. Such grammatical elements are, among others, pronominal complements (pre-posed and post-posed) as well as aspect, orientation, negation and interrogation particles.

ⵎⵍⵉⵖ ⴰⵙⵏ ⵜ. / mliɣ asn t.	"I have shown it to them."
ⵉⵡⵉⵏ ⵜⵜ ⵉⴷ. / iwin tt id.	"They have brought it."
ⵓⵔ ⴷ ⴷⴷⵉⵏⵜ. / ur d ddint.	"They have not come."
ⵓⵔ ⵜⵏⵜ ⵉⴷ ⵉⵡⵉⵏⵜ. / ur tnt id iwint.	"They have not brought them."

▪ *The participle is considered as a graphic word along with:*

   - its causative, reciprocal and passive derivational morphemes:

      o causative: ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴼⵖⵏ / issufɣn "getting out + caus.", ⵉⵙⵙⴽⵛⵎⵏ / isskcmn "getting in + caus.", ⵉⵙⵙⵉⴷⴼⵏ / issidfn "getting in + caus.";

      o reciprocal: ⵎⵢⵓⵙⵙⴰⵏⵉⵏ / myussanin "knowing + recip.", ⵎⵙⴰⵡⴰⵍⵏⵉⵏ / msawalnin "speaking + recip";

      o passive: ⵉⵜⵜⵢⵓⵙⵙⵏⵏ / ittyussnn "knowing + passive", ⵉⵜⵜⵡⴰⴽⴽⵙⵏ / ittwakksn "removing + passive".

   - its aspect markers:

      o prefixed: ⵉⵜⵜⴰⵡⵉⵏ / ittawin "taking", ⵉⵜⵜⵉⵏⵉⵏ / ittinin "saying";

      o infixed: ⵉⵣⴷⴷⵖⵏ / izddɣn "dwelling", ⵉⵙⵙⴰⵖⵏ / issaɣn "buying", ⵉⵙⴽⴰⵔⵏ / iskarn "doing".

   - its markers of agreement in number:

      o ⵉⴷⴷⴰⵏ / iddan - ⴷⴷⴰⵏⵉⵏ / ddanin "going"

      o ⵉⴼⴼⵖⵏ / iffɣn - ⴼⴼⵖⵏⵉⵏ / ffɣnin "going out"

■ *Direct and indirect object pronouns:*

They are always written as separated units from the verbs they precede or follow:

ⵎⵇⵔⵖ ⵜ. / ẓṛiɣ tn.	"I have seen them."
ⵓⵔ ⵜ ⵎⵇⵔⵖ. / ur tn ẓṛiɣ.	"I have not seen them."
ⵍⵏ ⴰⵙⵏ ! / ml asn !	"Show them!"
ⴰⵏ ⴰⵙⵏ ⵍⵏⵖ. / ad asn mlɣ.	"I will show them."

■ *Independent pronouns:*

    ⵏⵜⵜⴰⵜ ⴰⵏ ⵎⵇⵔⵖ. / nttat ad ẓṛiɣ.   "It is she that I have seen."

■ *Proximity, remoteness and absence demonstratives:*

    ⴰⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⴰⵏ / ajjig ad - ⴰⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⴰ / ajjig a - ⴰⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⵓ / ajjig u "this flower"

    ⴰⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⴰⵏⵏ / ajjig ann - ⴰⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⵉⵏⵏ / ajjig inn "that flower"

    ⴰⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⵍⵍⵉ / ajjig lli - ⴰⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⵏⵏⵉ / ajjig nni - ⴰⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⵏⵏⴰ / ajjig nna "the flower in question"

■ *The preposition:*

The preposition stands as a graphic word by itself. It is, thereby, separated from the noun it governs by a blank space.

ⵙ ⵓⴹⴰⵔ / s uḍaṛ	"on foot / with the foot"
ⵖⵔ ⵅⵏⵉⴼⵔⴰ / ɣr xnifra	"to Khenifra"
ⵎⵉ ⵍⵉⴹⴰⵔ / zi miḍaṛ	"from Midar"
ⵅⴼ ⵜⵏⴰⴽⵔⴰ / xf tnakra	"on the mat"

Yet, when the preposition is followed by an objective pronoun, no blank space is tolerated between the two units. The preposition and the pronoun are conjoined into a single graphic word.

ⵖⵓⵔⵙ / ɣurs	"at his / her house"
ⴷⵉⴳⵙ / digs	"in him / her"
ⴷⴰⵔⵉ / dari	"in my house, at home+"

■ *Adverbs:*

Irrespective of its semantic value, the adverb stands as a single graphic word surrounded by two typographical blank spaces (ⴰⵢⴵ / dɣi, ⵥⵛⴰⵍ / imal, ⴰⴰ / da, ⵣⴰⴰⵜ / zdat, ⵙⵙ / ssa, ⵊⴰⵊ / jaj, ⵎⴰⵏⵉ / mani, ...).

■ *Interrogatives:*

ⵥⴻ ⵥⵢⴻⴰ? / is iɣra ?	"Did he study?"
ⵎⴰ ⵜⴼⴼⵢ? / ma tffɣ ?	"Did she go out?"

■ *Negative particles:*

ⵓⴻ ⴰⴰⵥⵉ. / ur ddin.	"They (masc.) did not go."
ⵓⴻ ⴼⴼⵢⵏⵜ. / ur ffiɣnt.	"They (fem.) did not go out."

■ *Aspectuals:*

ⴰⵇⵇⴰ ⵙⴰⵡⴰⵍⵏ. / aqqa sawaln.	"They are talking."
ⴰⴰ ⵥⴻⵙⵙⴰⵢ ⵥⴻⵍⵎⴰⵏ. / da issaɣ islman.	"He usually buys fish."
ⴰⴰ ⴰⵡⵉⵏ ⴰⵎⴰⵏ. / ad awin aman.	"They will bring water."

■ *Pre-posed and post-posed orientation particles (ⴰ / d - ⵏⵏ / nn):*

ⴰⵡⵉ ⴰ ! / awi d !	"Bring (here)!"
ⴰⵡⵉ ⵏⵏ ! / aw inn !	"Take (there)!"
ⵓⴻ ⴰ ⵢⴰⵡⵉ ⵉⴰⵔⵉⵎⵏ. / ur d yiwi idrimn.	"He did not bring money."
ⵓⴻ ⵏⵏ ⵢⴰⵡⵉ ⵉⴰⵔⵉⵎⵏ. / ur nn yiwi idrimn.	"He did not take money (there)."

■ *The predicative particle ⴰ / d:*

ⴰ ⴰⵚⴱⵃⴰⵏ ! / d aṣbḥan !	"It is nice / beautiful!"
ⴰ ⵏⵜⵜⴰⵜ. / d nttat.	"It is her / she."
ⵓⴻ ⴰ ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴰ ⴰ. / ur d abrid a.	"Not this way."
ⵥⴻ ⴰ ⴰⵣⴽⴽⴰ ? / is d azkka ?	"Is it tomorrow?"

■ *Conjunctions (ⵎⴻ / mr, ⵎⵍⴰ / mla, ⵎⴰⵔⴰ / mara, ⵉⴳ / ig, ⵉⵢ / iɣ):*

ⵎⴻ ⵥⴻⵙⵙⵉⵏ, ⵥⴻ ⴰ ⵥⴰⴰ.

mr issin, is d idda.

"If he knew, he would come."

▪ *Vocatives:*

　　○ ⵜⴰⵎⵖⴰⵔⵜ ! / a tamɣart !　　　"Hey, woman!"

▪ *Morphemes of presentation:*

　　ⵀⴰ ⵉⵏⴱⴳⵉⵡⵏ. / ha inbgiwn.　　"Here are the guests."

▪ *Lexicalised words introduced by* ⴱⵓ / bu, ⵎⵎⵓ / mmu, ⵎⵓ / mu, ⵎ / m, ⵓ / u, ⵓⵍⵜ / ult, ⴳⴳⵯ / ggʷ, ⴰⵢⵜ / ayt, *etc.:*

ⴱⵓⵜⴰⴳⴰⵏⵜ / butagant	"boar"
ⴱⵓⵄⵔⴼⴰ / buɛrfa	"Bouarfa" (toponym)
ⵎⵛⵍⵉⴼⵏ / miclifn	"Michlifen" (toponym)
ⴰⵢⵜⵎⴰ / aytma	"those (masc.) of / those belonging to my mother = my brothers"

When the string is not a lexicalised sequence, a blank space surfaces between the noun and the preceding element.

ⵙⴰⵡⵍⵖ ⵉ ⴱⵓ ⵜⴳⵎⵎⵉ. sawlɣ i bu tgmmi. "I talked to the owner of the house."
ⵖⵔ ⵉ ⵍⴰⵍ ⵏ ⵓⵅⵅⴰⵎ. ɣr i lal n uxxam. "Call the housewife."
ⵎ ⵜⵉⵟⵟⴰⵡⵉⵏ m tiṭṭawin "the woman with beautiful eyes"

▪ *Quantifiers:*

ⴰⵣⴳⵏ ⵏ ⵜⵓⵖⵔⵉⴼⵜ / azgn n tuɣrift	"half of a loaf of bread"
ⴰⵟⵟⴰⵙ ⵏ ⵉⵡⴷⴰⵏ / aṭṭaṣ n iwdan	"many people"
ⵜⵓⴳⵜ ⵏ ⵎⵉⴷⴷⵏ / tugt n middn	"most people"
ⴰⵎⴰⵜⴰ ⵏ ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎⵏ / amata n iɛrrimn	"most young people"

Should the quantifier have a pronominal complement, the latter surfaces as an independent graphic word.

ⴰⵟⵟⴰⵙ ⵏⵏⵙⵏ / aṭṭaṣ nnsn	" most of them"
ⵜⵓⴳⵜ ⵏⵏⵙⵏ / tugt nnsn	"the majority of them"
ⴰⵎⴰⵜⴰ ⵏⵏⵙⵏ / amata nnsn	"the majority of them"

2. Schwa writing rules

In writing, schwa, dubbed also the neutral vowel, is only resorted to foil the attempt to create a sequence of strictly adjacent identical consonants. Using the schwa in writing is, thereby, essentially necessitated in the following situations:

a. A sequence of more than two identical root consonants coexisting in a word:

ᐱꊰꊰⴻꊰ / dllel	"to sell by putting up for auction"
ᐱⵛⵛⴻⵛ / dmmem	"to implore"
ⵣⵥⵥⴻⵥ / fẓẓeẓ	"to chew"

b. Prefixation of the person marker ⵜ- / t- to verbal stems containing an initial ⵜⵜ / tt provided that the initial ⵜⵜ / tt is:

▪ *part of a stem:*

ⵜⵜⵓ / ttu	>	ⵜⴻⵜⵜⵓ / tettu
"to forget"		"She forgot."

▪ *an imperfective aspect marker:*

ⵜⵜⴰⵡⵉ / ttawi	>	ⵜⴻⵜⵜⴰⵡⵉ / tettawi
"to bring, to take"		"she usually brings / takes"

▪ a passive tense marker:

ⵜⵜⵢⴰⴽⴰⵔ / ttyakar	>	ⵜⴻⵜⵜⵢⴰⴽⵔ / tettyakr
"to be stolen, to be robbed"		"she was stolen / robbed"

Let it be known that there are extreme cases where the ⵜⵜ / tt belonging to the root, the person marker ⵜ / t and the imperfective aspect marker ⵜⵜ / tt abut against each other, as laid out in the example below:

Stem	Imperfective	Imperfective 3rd pers. (fem. sing.)
ⵜⵜⵓ / ttu	ⵜⵜⴻⵜⵜⵓ / ttettu	ⵜⴻⵜⵜⴻⵜⵜⵓ / tettettu

To obviate such undesired forms (i.e. ⵜⴻⵜⵜⴻⵜⵜⵓ / tettettu), truncation of the first consonant is resorted to, and the output looks as follows:

ⵜⵜⴻⵜⵜⵓ / ttettu (in place of ⵜⴻⵜⵜⴻⵜⵜⵓ / tettettu)

c. Verbal stems finishing with two identical consonants:

The insertion of schwa in such stems is essentially necessitated so as to obviate the gemination of the two adjacent identical stem consonants (*cf. 1.1*).

CHAPTER 3
The noun and the noun phrase

1. Noun formation

A noun is a lexical unit made up of a root and a stem. It can take a simple form (ⵄⵔⵯⵄⵥ / argaz "man", ⵄⴷⵍⵉⵙ / adlis "book", ⵜⵄⵎⵓⵜ / tamurt "land, ground"), a compound form (ⴱⵓⴶⵚⵚⵓⴼ / buhyyuf "hunger", ⴱⵓⵜⵅⵓⵜⵄⵎ / butxutam "annular") or a derived form (ⵄⵙⵍⵎⴷ / aslmd "teaching", ⵉⵢⵉⵎⵉ / iɣimi "stay", ⵄⵎⵙⵄⵡⴰⴹ / amsawaḍ "communication").

A noun may vary depending on its gender (ⵄⵎⵃⴹⴰⵔ / amḥḍaṛ "a pupil, masc.", ⵜⵄⵎⵃⴹⴰⵔⵜ / tamḥḍaṛt "a pupil, fem."), number (ⵄⵎⵃⴹⴰⵔ / amḥḍaṛ, sing. - ⵉⵎⵃⴹⴰⵔⵏ / imḥḍaṛn, plr.) and state (ⵄⵎⵃⴹⴰⵔ / amḥḍaṛ, FS - ⵓⵎⵃⴹⴰⵔ / umḥḍaṛ, CS).

1.1 Gender

Two gender types are recognised: masculine and feminine. In general, the feminine form gets its shape from the masculine form.

We recognise two gender types:

a. Natural gender, which is inextricably related to the semantic content of the noun in the sense of distinguishing between a "male" and a "female", is usually used for sexed creatures such as human beings and animals.

b. Grammatical gender relies on the grammatical formal properties portrayed by the gender morphological markers.

With regard to borrowings from other languages such as Arabic, the borrowed nouns preserve their original gender while receiving the Amazigh feminine markers.

Semantically, feminine nouns devoid of feminine morphological markers are identified as feminine nouns on the basis of the agreement that holds between the noun and the verb in a sentence.

a. Masculine nouns

Masculine nouns are, in general, preceded by one of the following vowels: ⵓ / a, ⵉ / i or ⵓ / u. The nouns that start by the vowel ⵓ- / a- make the majority of nouns:

ⵓⴼⵓⵙ / afus	"hand"
ⵓⴹⵓⵕ / aḍaṛ	"foot"
ⵓⴱⵔⵉⴷ / abrid	"way, path"
ⵓⵍ / ul	"heart"
ⵓⴷⵎ / udm	"face"
ⵉⵅⴼ / ixf	"head"
ⵉⵍⵙ / ils	"tongue"

In parallel to the vowel-initial class, another class consists of consonant-initial nouns:

ⵍⵓⵥ / laẓ	"hunger"
ⴼⵓⴷ / fad	"thirst"
ⵎⵉⴷⴷⵏ / middn	"people"
ⴱⵓⴹⴰⴹ / baḍaḍ	"love"

As a general rule, vowel-initial nouns are categorised as masculine nouns. Yet, exceptions to this rule are well admitted:

ⵉⵎⵎⵓ / imma	"mum"
ⵉⵍⵍⵉ / illi	"(my) daughter"
ⵓⵍⵜⵎⵓ / ultma	"(my) sister"

It is not an oddity for the masculine form which is derived from a feminine base to express an augmentative value:

ⵜⵉⴳⵎⵎⵉ / tigmmi	"house"	ⵉⴳⵎⵎⵉ / igmmi	"big house"
ⵜⵓⴷⴷⵓⵔⵜ / taddart	"house"	ⵓⴷⴷⵓⵔ / addar	"big house"
ⵜⵓⵎⵓⵔⵜ / tamart	"beard"	ⵓⵎⵓⵔ / amar	"big beard"

It is also not untypical of the masculine nouns that are derived from feminine nouns to have a derogatory meaning; especially if there is talk of sexed beings.

ⵜⵯⴰⵏⴱⵓⵔⵜ / tanburt	"spinster"	ⴰⵏⴱⵓⵔ / anbur	"mannish spinster (derogatory)"
ⵜⵯⴰⴷⴳⴰⵏⵜ / tadgalt	"widow"	ⴰⴷⴳⴰⵏ / adgal	"a woman with bad reputation"
ⵜⵯⴰⵎⵟⵟⵓⴹⵜ / tamṭṭuḍt	"woman"	ⴰⵎⵟⵟⵓⴹ / amṭṭuḍ	"mannish woman"

There are masculine nouns that have no feminine form.

ⴰⵏⵥⴰⵯ / anẓaṛ	"rain"
ⴰⴷⴼⵏ / adfl	"snow"
ⴰⵎⴹⵓ / amud	"seed"
ⵉⵖⵙⵙ (ⵉⵅⵙⵙ) / iɣss (ixss)	"bone"

b. Feminine nouns

The circumfix ⵜ…ⵜ / t…t expresses feminineness. To yield a feminine noun, the circumfix, more often than not, flanks the stem of the noun.

ⴰⴳⵎⴰⵔ / agmar	"horse"	ⵜⴰⴳⵎⴰⵔⵜ / tagmart	"mare"
ⵉⵙⵏⵉ / isli	"groom"	ⵜⵉⵙⵏⵉⵜ / tislit	"bride"
ⵓⵛⵛⵏ / uccn	"wolf"	ⵜⵓⵛⵛⵏⵜ / tuccnt	"wolf (fem.)"

A number of feminine nouns take either the initial or the final ⵜ / t of the feminine circumfix morpheme ⵜ…ⵜ / t…t, as set out below.

ⵜⴰⴷⵏⴰ / tadla	"bunch"
ⵜⴰⵡⵏⴰ / tawla	"fever"
ⵯⵯⵎⵓⵢⵜ / ṛṛmuyt	"tiredness"

As for other nouns, feminineness is evinced by lexical opposition. Put in another way, feminine nouns are not directly formed on the basis of a masculine stem.

ⴰⵢⵢⵉⵙ / ayyis	"horse"	→	ⵜⴰⴳⵎⴰⵔⵜ / tagmart	"mare"
ⵎⴹⵎⵎⵉ / memmi	"(my) son"	→	ⵉⵏⵏⵉ / illi	"(my) daughter"
ⴱⴰⴱⴰ / baba	"(my) father"	→	ⵉⵎⵎⵉ / ⵉⵎⵎⴰ // immi / imma	"(my) mother"
ⵉⵙⵎⴳ / ismg	"slave"	→	ⵜⴰⵡⴰⵢⵢⴰ / tawayya	"slave (fem.)"

(i). Diminutive, meliorative and collective nouns

Nouns in feminine form may denote diminutiveness.

ⵉⵜⵔⵉ / itri	"star"	→	ⵜⵉⵜⵔⵉⵜ / titrit	"small star"
ⴰⴼⵓⵙ / afus	"hand"	→	ⵜⴰⴼⵓⵙⵜ / tafust	"small hand"
ⴰⴹⴰⵔ / aḍaṛ	"foot"	→	ⵜⴰⴹⴰⵔⵜ / taḍaṛt	"small foot"

The diminutive form may express an appreciative function.

ⴰⴼⵓⵙ / afus	"hand"	→	ⵜⴰⴼⵓⵙⵜ / tafust	"cuffs"
ⴰⵇⵎⵓ / aqmu	"mouth"	→	ⵜⴰⵇⵎⵓⵜ / taqmut	"small mouth"

The feminine form may also refer to a unit noun, and thereby stands in a tangential relationship with its corresponding masculine form which refers to a collective noun. This phenomenon holds, most influentially, when the nouns belong to the fauna and flora domains.

ⴰⵥⴰⵍⵉⵎ / aẓalim	"onion"	→	ⵜⴰⵥⴰⵍⵉⵎⵜ / taẓalimt	"an onion"
ⴰⵔⴳⴰⵏ / argan	"argan "	→	ⵜⴰⵔⴳⴰⵏⵜ / targant	"an argan tree"
ⵅⵉⵣⵣⵓ / xizzu	"carrots"	→	ⵜⴰⵅⵉⵣⵣⵓⵜ / taxizzut	"a carrot"
ⴰⵙⵏⴳⴰⵔ / asngar	"corn"	→	ⵜⴰⵙⵏⴳⴰⵔⵜ / tasngart	"an ear of corn"

The feminine form may also refer to an action carried out by an agent, a physical or moral quality, or a (geographical, cultural, ethnic …) origin or affiliation.

ⴰⵎⵅⵅⴰⵔ / amxxar	"thief"	→	ⵜⴰⵎⵅⵅⴰⵔⵜ / tamxxart	"thief (fem.)"
ⴰⵎⴳⴳⵯⴰⵍ / amggʷad	"coward"	→	ⵜⵉⴳⴳⵯⴷⵜ / tiggʷdt	"fear"
ⴰⵢⵥⴰⴼ / ayɣzaf	"big, tall"	→	ⵜⵉⵢⵥⵉ / tiɣzi	"length"

(ii). The feminine form of nouns preceded by ⵓ- / u-, ⴱⵓ- / bu-, ⴰⵢⵜ- / ayt-.

Nouns of concern here are the ones preceded by the morpheme (ⴱⵓ- / bu- "the one with / owning") that expresses belonging or by the morphemes

(ⵁ- / u-, ⵄⵚ†- / ayt- "the one / those belonging to, depending of") that express affiliation.

ⵀⵁ ⵥⵍⵀⵀⵄⵀⵉ / bu iḥllaln	"liar"	→	ⵔ ⵥⵍⵀⵀⵄⵀⵉ / m iḥllaln	"liar (fem.)"
ⵁ †ⵔⵄⵊⵥⵉ† / u tmaziɣt	"compatriot"	→	ⵁⵏ† †ⵔⵄⵊⵥⵉ† / ult tmaziɣt	"compatriot (fem.)"
ⵄⵚ† ⵁⵅⵅⵄⵔ / ayt uxxam	"family members"	→	ⵥⵙ† ⵁⵅⵅⵄⵔ / ist uxxam	"the house-wives"

c. Nouns with a single gender

Amazigh recognises a class of nouns that have only one gender, masculine or feminine.

ⵄⵉⵥⵄⵇ / anẓaṛ	"rain"
ⵄⵏⵃⵀ / adfl	"snow"
ⵄⵔⵄⵉ / akal	"ground, land"
†ⵄⵏⵥⵥⵄ / tawiza	"collective work»
†ⵄⵏⵉⵄ / tawja	"family"
†ⵄⵟⵄ / taḍa	"alliance pact"

1.2. Number

Amazigh nouns recognise two forms: singular and plural. It should also be noted that Amazigh nouns, not unlike most other languages, agree with verbs in number (*cf. 8.1.b*).

Under the plural form, nouns may take a variety of shapes depending on the kind of morphological alterations they are subject to. These alterations are set out below.

• Singular nouns initial vowel alteration;

• vowel alteration coupled with the suffixation of the plural marker -ⵉ / -n or one of its variants; this sort of plural form is conventionally termed *regular* plural;

• phonetic alterations observed in the singular noun stem; this sort of plural is dubbed the *broken* plural;

• two or three of the above processes conjoined in a single package in the plural form of the noun; this type is labelled *mixed* plural.

a. Regular plural

Under this category, nouns exhibit initial vowel alteration wedded with the affixation of - ⵏ / -n or one of its variants (-ⵉⵏ / -in, -ⴰⵏ / -an, -ⴰⵢⵏ / -ayn, -ⵡⵏ / -wn, -ⴰⵡⵏ / -awn, -ⵡⴰⵏ / -wan, -ⵡⵉⵏ / -win, -ⵜⵏ / -tn, -ⵢⵉⵏ / -yin).

To generate the plural form, vowel initial singular nouns, most influentially those with an initial ⴰ- / a-, undergo an alteration whereby the initial vowel is shifted to ⵉ- / i-.

While the ⴰ- / a- initial nouns may sporadically keep their initial vowel in the plural form, the nouns with initial ⵓ- / u- foil the attempt to undergo any change whatsoever when they are mapped on their plural form. As for nouns with initial ⵉ- / i-, they rarely undergo any change.

As a general rule, the initial vowel alteration is accompanied by the suffixation of the plural marker -ⵏ / -n or one of its variants, depending on whether the noun is masculine or feminine.

(i). ⴰ- / a- // ⵉ- / i- alternation

This alternation obtains in most nouns. It is not untypical of feminine nouns undergoing this process to exhibit an -ⵉ- / -i- just after the first element ⵜ- / t- of the circumfix ⵜ… (ⵜ) / t … (t).

ⴰⴷⵍⵉⵙ / adlis	"book"	→	ⵉⴷⵍⵉⵙⵏ / idlisn	"books"
ⴰⴹⴰⵕ / aḍaṛ	"foot"	→	ⵉⴹⴰⵕⵏ / iḍaṛn	"feet"
ⵜⴰⵃⵏⵊⵉⵔⵜ / taḥnjirt	"girl"	→	ⵜⵉⵃⵏⵊⵉⵔⵉⵏ / tiḥnjirin	"girls"

(ii). ⴰ- / a- // ⵉ- / i- alternation along with the suffixation of -ⵏ / -n or one of its variants (-ⵉⵏ / -in, -(ⴰ)ⵡⵏ / -(a)wn, -(ⵉ)ⵡⵏ / -(i)wn, -ⵢⵏ / -yn, -ⵜⵏ / -tn).

ⴰⵃⵏⵊⵉⵔ / aḥnjir	"boy"	→	ⵉⵃⵏⵊⵉⵔⵏ / iḥnjirn	"boys"
ⵓⵔⴰⵔ / urar	"game, feast"	→	ⵓⵔⴰⵔⵏ / urarn	"games, feasts"
ⵜⴰⵠⵔⴰⵜ / tabrat	"letter"	→	ⵜⵉⵠⵔⴰⵜⵉⵏ / tibratin	"letters"
ⵉⵅⴼ / ixf	"head"	→	ⵉⵅⴼⴰⵡⵏ / ixfawn	"heads"
ⵉⵣⵎ / izm	"lion"	→	ⵉⵣⵎⴰⵡⵏ / izmawn	"lions"
ⴰⵡⴰⵍ / awal	"talk"	→	ⵉⵡⴰⵍⵉⵡⵏ / iwaliwn	"talks"
ⴰⵏⴱⴳⵉ / anbgi	"guest"	→	ⵉⵏⴱⴳⵉⵡⵏ / inbgiwn	"guests"
ⴰⵖⵔⴷⴰ / aɣrda	"mouse"	→	ⵉⵖⵔⴷⴰⵢⵏ / iɣrdayn	"mice"
ⴰⵎⵏⵖⵉ / amnɣi	"dispute"	→	ⵉⵎⵏⵖⵉⵜⵏ / imnɣitn	"disputes"

b. Broken plural

Further to the initial vocalic alternation ⵂ- / a- // ⴻ- / i-, the plural form may also exhibit stem-internal vowel shifts. When such plural form holds, no suffixation process is resorted to.

ⵂⴲⵔⵂⵔ / adrar	"mountain"	→	ⴻⴲⵑⵔⵂⵔ / idurar	"mountains"
ⵂⴱⵂⵀⵑⵔ / abaɣus	"monkey"	→	ⴻⴱⵑⵀⵂⵔ / ibuɣas	"monkeys"
ⵂⵝⵂⴲⴻⵔ / agadir	"wall, castle"	→	ⴻⵝⵑⴲⵂⵔ / igudar	"walls, castles"
ⵂⵝⵔⵜⴻⵏ / agrtil	"mat"	→	ⴻⵝⵔⵜⵂⵏ / agrtil	"mats"
ⵜⴻⵀⵛⵔⵜ / tiɣmas	"tooth"	→	ⵜⴻⵀⵛⵂⵔ / tiɣmas	"teeth"
ⵂⵥⵛⵥ / azmz	"time"	→	ⴻⵥⵛⵂⵥ / izmaz	"times"
ⵂⵛⵂⴴⵑⵍ / amaḍun	"ill person"	→	ⴻⵛⵑⴴⵂⵍ / imuḍan	"ill people"

c. Mixed plural (suffixation and internal vocalic alteration)

The mixed plural form may well be created by an internal and / or final alteration of the noun stem vowel(s) as well as by the affixation of -ⵍ / -n.

ⴻⵏⴻ / ili	"part"	→	ⴻⵏⵂⵍ / ilan	"parts"
ⴻⵥⴻⵔⵔⵔ / izikr	"rope"	→	ⴻⵥⵂⵔⵔⵔⵍ / izakarn	"ropes"
ⵑⵔⵜⵑ / urtu	"orchard"	→	ⵑⵔⵜⵂⵍ / urtan	"orchards"
ⵑⴳⴳⵍ / uccn	"jackal"	→	ⵑⴳⴳⵂⵍⵍ / uccann	"jackals"
ⵑⵝⵏ / ugl	"tooth"	→	ⵑⵝⵏⵂⵍ / uglan	"teeth"

Sometimes, when the initial vowel is changed, a concomitant alteration obtains on the medial and final vowels.

ⵂⵛⵂⵏⵑ / amalu	"shade"	→	ⴻⵛⵑⵏⵂ / imula	"shades"
ⵂⵀⴱⵂⵏⵑ / aɣbalu	"spring"	→	ⴻⵀⴱⵑⵏⵂ / iɣbula	"springs"
ⵂⵛⵝⵝⵂⵔⵑ / amggaru	"the last (sing.)"	→	ⴻⵛⵝⵝⵑⵔⵂ / imggura	"the last (plr.)"

d. Plural of nouns preceded by ⵓ- / u- and ⵓⵍⵜ- / ult-

Sing.	Gloss		Plr.
ⵓ ⵜⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ / u tmazirt	"fellow citizen (masc.)"	→	ⵓⵢⵜ ⵜⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ / ayt tmazirt
ⵓⵍⵜ ⵜⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ / ult tmazirt	"fellow citizen (fem.)"	→	ⵉⵙⵜ ⵜⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ / ist tmazirt

e. The plural with ⵉⴷ / id

Under this category, singular nouns take a pre-nominal morpheme ⵉⴷ / id to shape their plural form. Nouns belonging to this category may be set out as follows: proper nouns, kinship nouns, compound nouns, numerals and some consonant-initial nouns. To this category, we can also add some borrowed nouns which may well be viewed to have integrated the morphology of the Amazigh language.

ⵎⵓⵔⵔⴰⵏ / murran	"strapping person"	→	ⵉⴷ ⵎⵓⵔⵔⴰⵏ / id murran	"strapping people"
ⴱⵔⴰⵀⵉⵎ / Brahim	"Brahim"	→	ⵉⴷ ⴱⵔⴰⵀⵉⵎ / id Brahim	"The Brahims"
ⴱⵓⵜⴳⵔⴰ / butgra	"turtle"	→	ⵉⴷ ⴱⵓⵜⴳⵔⴰ / id butgra	"turtles"
ⴱⵓⵜⴰⴳⴰⵏⵜ / butagant	"wild boar"	→	ⵉⴷ ⴱⵓⵜⴰⴳⴰⵏⵜ / id butagant	"wild boars"
ⴱⵓ ⵉⵙⵍⵎⴰⵏ / bu islman	"fish merchant"	→	ⵉⴷ ⴱⵓ ⵉⵙⵍⵎⴰⵏ / id bu islman	"fish merchants"
ⵎ ⵓⴼⵓⵙ / m ufus	"one-armed woman"	→	ⵉⴷ ⵎ ⵓⴼⵓⵙ / id m ufus	"one-armed women"
ⴱⴰⴱ ⵏ ⵜⴳⵎⵎⵉ / bab n tgmmi	"house owner"	→	ⵉⴷ ⴱⴰⴱ ⵏ ⵜⴳⵎⵎⵉ / id bab n tgmmi	"house owners"
ⵍⴰⵍ ⵏ ⵓⵅⵅⴰⵎ / lal n uxxam	"housewife"	→	ⵉⴷ ⵍⴰⵍ ⵏ ⵓⵅⵅⴰⵎ / id lal n uxxam	"housewives"
ⵡⴰⵔ ⵍⴰⵎⴰⵏ / war laman	"traitor"	→	ⵉⴷ ⵡⴰⵔ ⵍⴰⵎⴰⵏ / id war laman	"traitors"
ⵜⴰⵔ ⵍⴰⵎⴰⵏ / tar laman	"traitor (fem.)"	→	ⵉⴷ ⵜⴰⵔ ⵍⴰⵎⴰⵏ / id tar laman	"traitors (fem.)"
ⵅⴰⵍⵉ / xali	"uncle (my)"	→	ⵉⴷ ⵅⴰⵍⵉ / id xali	"my uncles"

ⵍⵔⴰⵡ / mraw	"ten"	→	ⵣⴺ ⵍⵔⴰⵡ / id mraw	"tens"
ⴰⵍⴼ / alf	"thousand"	→	ⵣⴺ ⵡⴰⵍⴼ / id walf	"thousands"
ⵍⴽⴰⵎⵢⵓ / lkamyu	"lorry"	→	ⵣⴺ ⵍⴽⴰⵎⵢⵓ / id lkamyu	"lorries"

f. The plural form of integrated borrowed nouns

Borrowings which abide by the laws of Amazigh morphology are labelled integrated borrowings. The borrowings which fall under this category map their plural form in the same fashion in which Amazigh nouns map their plural forms. Non-integrated borrowings keep their original plural form or take the pre-posed morpheme ⵣⴺ / id.

ⴰⴷⵔⵉⵎ / adrim	"coin (money)"	→	ⵉⴷⵔⵉⵎⵏ / idrimn	"money"
ⵜⴰⵡⵔⵉⵇⵜ / tawriqt	"a sheet (paper)"	→	ⵜⵉⵡⵔⵉⵇⵉⵏ / tiwriqin	"sheets (paper)"
ⴰⴼⵔⵎⵍⵉⵢ / afrmliy	"a nurse (masc.)"	→	ⵉⴼⵔⵎⵍⵉⵢⵏ / ifrmliyn	"nurses (masc.)"
ⴰⴱⵓⴽⴰⴷⵢⵓ / abukadyu	"sandwich"	→	ⵉⴱⵓⴽⴰⴷⵢⵓⵜⵏ / ibukadyutn	"sandwiches"
ⵍⵃⵎⵎⴰⵎ / lḥmmam	"steam bath"	→	ⵍⵃⵎⵎⴰⵎⴰⵜ / lḥmmamat	"steam baths"

g. Nouns in singular or plural form only

A whole range of nouns do not have more than one number specification. They surface as singular nouns or as plural nouns only. Other nouns derive their singular form from different roots.

(i) Singular nouns with no plural form

ⵍⴰⵥ / laẓ	"hunger"
ⴼⴰⴷ / fad	"thirst"
ⵍⵎⵓⵜ / lmut	"death"
ⵜⴰⴽⵔⵣⴰ / takrza	"ploughing"
ⴱⴰⴹⴰⴹ / ⵜⴰⵢⵔⵉ - baḍaḍ / tayri	"love"

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(ii) Plural nouns with no singular form

ⴰⵎⴰⵏ / aman	"water"
ⵉⴹⴰⵎⵎⵏ / idammn	"blood"
ⵉⵡⴹⴰⵏ / ⵎⵉⴹⴹⵏ - iwdan / middn	"people"

h. Nouns whose plural form is lexically different from their counterparts in the singular form

ⵜⵉⵙⵉⵜⴰⵏ / tisitan	"cows"	→	ⵜⴰⴼⵓⵏⴰⵙⵜ / tafunast	"cow"
ⵜⵉⵢⴰⵍⵍⵉⵏ / tiɣallin	"mares"	→	ⵜⴰⴳⵎⴰⵔⵜ / tagmart	"a mare"
ⵜⵉⵙⴹⵏⴰⵏ / tisdnan	"women"	→	ⵜⴰⵎⵟⵟⵓⴹⵜ / tamṭṭuḍt	"a woman"

1.3. State: free vs. construct

State opposition (*free state* vs. *construct state*) may well be viewed to fall under inflectional morphology since grammatical category does not change when nouns move from the free to the construct state. This phenomenon is replete in the lexicon. Under this phenomenon, the first syllable of a noun is morpho-phonologically affected if it meets the conditions necessary for the formation of the construct state.

Nouns subject to this rule are basically vowel-initial (ⴰ- / a-, ⵉ- / i-, ⵓ- / u-) masculine nouns. Consonant-initial nouns, no matter how and where they appear, never exhibit state opposition. Conversely, feminine nouns, when preceded by an initial consonant ⵜ / t, undergo the changes exercised by the construct state by dropping the vowel that comes after the first segment of the circumfix ⵜ…ⵜ / t … t.

a. Free State

Under the free state, the initial vowel of a masculine noun evinces no modification whatsoever. The same display holds also for the vowel that follows the marker ⵜ / t in feminine nouns.

ⴰⵔⴳⴰⵣ / argaz	"man"
ⵉⵣⵎ / izm	"lion"

ⵥⵓⵜⵥ / urtu	"orchard"
ⵜⴰⵎⵥⵓⵜ / tamurt	"land, country"
ⵜⵞⵀⵚⵙⵚ / tifiyyi	"meat"
ⵜⵥⵙⵙⵏⴰ / tussna	"knowledge, culture"

Generally, nouns take the free state form when they are isolated. In non-isolated contexts, nouns may take the free or the construct state form depending on syntactic position. The contexts in which nouns appear in the free state in non-isolated contexts are laid out below:

- *After a vocative, a deictic of presentation or an interrogative pronoun*

ⴰ ⵜⴰⵎⵖⵓⵜ ! / a tamɣart !	"Hey, woman!"
ⴰ ⵚⵓⴰⵏⵍ ! / a irban !	"Hey, children!"
ⵀⴰ ⴰⵢⵢⵓⵔ. / ha ayyur.	"Here is the moon."
ⵀⴰ ‖ ⴰⵙⵍⵎⴰⴷ. / ha nn aslmad.	"There is the teacher."
ⵀⴰ ‖ ⵥⵣⴽⴰⵢ. / ha nn uṣkay.	"There is the greyhound."
ⴰⵣⴰ ⴰⵙⵍⵎⴰⴷ. / aqa aslmad.	"Here is the teacher."
ⵍⴰⵏ ⴰⵀⵏⵊⵓ ? / man aḥnjir ?	"Which child?"
ⵍⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⵔⴱⴰⵜ ? / man tarbat ?	"Which girl?"
ⵍⴰⵜⵜⴰ ⵜⵎⵥⵓⵜ ⴰ ? / matta tmurt a ?	"What is this country?"

- *As a direct object of a verb:*

ⴷⴰ ⵜⵜⵥⵓⴰⵔⵏ ⴰⵀⵉⴷⵓⵙ. / da tturarn aḥidus.	"They are dancing Ahidus."
ⵢⵥⵣⵏ ⴰⵙⵏ ⵜⴰⵏⴱⴰⵜ. / yuzn asn tarbat.	"He sent them a letter."
ⵚⵙⵖⴰ ⵓⵙⵍⵎⴰⴷ ⴰⴷⵍⵉⵙ. / isɣa uslmad adlis.	"The teacher bought a book."
ⵣⵣⴰⵔⵏ ⴰⵙ ⵉⵣⵎ. / qqarn as izm.	"They call him the lion."

- *As a pre-posed subject, a topic indicator, a predicate or after the predication particle* ⴷ / d*:*

ⴰⵙⵍⵎⴰⴷ ⵉⵔⴰⵃ. / aslmad iraḥ.	"The teacher is gone."
ⴰⵙⵍⵎⴰⴷ, ⵉⵔⴰⵃ. / aslmad, iraḥ.	"The teacher, he is gone.
ⵖⵥⵔⵙ ⵜⴰⵏⴰⴽⵕⴰ ⵉⵖⵓⴷⴰⵏ. / ɣurs tanakṛa iɣudan.	"He has a nice mat."

ⵍ ⴰⵙⵍⵎ. / d aslm.	"It is a fish."
ⵓⵔ ⵍ ⵜⴰⵎⵓⵔⵜ ⵉⵏⵓ ⴰⵢⴰ. / ur d tamurt inu aya.	"This is not my country."
ⵉⵙ ⵍ ⴰⴱⴰⵖⵓⵙ ⴰⵢⴰ ? / is d abaɣus aya ?	"Is this a monkey?"
ⵎⴰ ⵍ ⴰⵔⴱⴰ? / ma d arba ?	"Is it a child?"
ⵉⴳⴰ ⵣⵓⵏ ⵍ ⴰⵖⵔⴷⴰ. / iga zun d aɣrda ?	"He is like a mouse."

- As a qualifier (quality noun) after a qualified noun:

ⴰⴳⵔⴰⵡ ⴰⵎⵇⵇⵔⴰⵏ / agraw amqqran	"The big crowd"
ⴰⵙⵉⵏⴰⴳ ⴰⴳⵍⴷⴰⵏ / asinag agldan	"The Royal Institute"
ⴰⵃⵉⴷⵓⵙ ⴰⴽⵙⵡⴰⵜ / aḥidus akswat	"Great Ahidus"

- After the following morphemes:

• ⴰⵍ / al "until, till" and ⴱⵍⴰ / bla "without"

ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⴰⵍ ⴰⴷⵔⴰⵔ. / idda al adrar.	"He went to the mountain."
ⵜⴷⴷⴰ ⴱⵍⴰ ⴰⵇⵔⴰⴱ. / tdda bla aqrab.	"She went without a bag."

• ⵖⴰⵙ / ɣas and ⵖⵉⵔ / ɣir "only"

ⵖⴰⵙ ⴰⴼⵔⵓⵅ ⴰⵢ ⵣⵔⵉⵖ. / ɣas afrux ay ẓrix. "I saw the child only."

• The privative ⵡⴰⵔ / war "without (masc.)", ⵜⴰⵔ / tar "without (fem.)" and the derogatory negator ⵖⴰⵔ / gar.

ⵡⴰⵔ ⵉⴷⵔⵉⵎⵏ / war idrimn	"without money, penniless"
ⵜⴰⵔ ⴰⵔⵔⴰⵡ / tar arraw	"without children, sterile woman"
ⵖⴰⵔ ⵜⴰⵡⵓⵔⵉ / gar tawuri	"nasty business"

b. Construct State

A noun in the construct state is specified by an alteration of the first vowel in specific syntactic positions. Construct state forms are conditioned by the nature of the initial vowel as well as by the gender (masc. and fem.) and the number (sing. and plr.) of the noun.

(i) Syntactic contexts in which the construct state obtains

The construct state obtains in the following syntactic positions:

• When the noun has the syntactic function of a lexical subject and it is post-posed to the verb:

ⵢⵙⴰ ⵠ ⴰⵙⵍⵎⴰⵠ. / yus d uslmad	"The teacher has come." (FS: ⵓⵙⵍⵎⴰⵠ / aslmad)
ⵜⴰⵙ ⵠ ⵜⵙⵍⵎⴰⵠⵜ. / tus d tslmadt	"The teacher (fem.) has come." (FS: ⵜⵓⵙⵍⵎⴰⵠⵜ / taslmadt)

• After a preposition, to the exception of ⵓⵍ / al "till, until" and ⴱⵍⵓ / bla "without":

ⵙⴰⵡⵍⵖ ⵣ ⵓⵏⵛⵛⴰⵠ. / siwlγ i unccad	"I have talked to the poet." (FS: ⵓⵏⵛⵛⴰⵠ / anccad)
ⵓⵡⵓⵍ ⵏ ⵜⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ / awal n tmazirt	"the homeland language " (FS: ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ / tamazirt)
ⵉⴼⴼⵖ ⵅ ⵓⵏⵥⴰⵕ. / iffγ g unẓaṛ.	"He went out while it was raining." (FS: ⴰⵏⵥⴰⵕ / anẓaṛ)
ⵉⵍⵍⵓ ⵅⴼ ⵓⴽⴱⴰⵔ. / illa xf ukabar.	"He leads the troop." (FS: ⵓⴽⴱⴰⵔ / akabar)
ⵉⵥⵕⴰ ⵜ ⵖⵔ ⵓⵎⵣⵉⵍ. / iẓṛa t γr umzil.	"He saw him at the smiths." (FS: ⵓⵎⵣⵉⵍ / amzil)
ⵉⵣⴷⵖ ⵅ ⵓⵊⴷⵉⵔ. / izdγ g ujdir.	"He lives in Ajdir." (FS: ⵓⵊⴷⵉⵔ / ajdir)

• After a coordinator:

ⴰⵏⵥⴰⵕ ⵠ ⵓⵙⵎⵎⵉⴹ / anẓaṛ d uṣmmiḍ   "rain and cold"

• After the morphemes ⵓ / u, ⵓⵍⵜ / ult, ⴰⵢⵜ / ayt, ⵉⵙⵜ / ist, ⴱⵓ / bu and ⵎ (ⵎⵎ) / m (mm) denoting attribution, affiliation or belonging:

ⵉⵙⵜ (ⵏ) ⵜⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ / ist (n) tmazirt	"fellow citizens (fem.)" (FS: ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ / tamazirt)
ⴱⵓ ⵓⵢⴰⵏⵉⵎ / Bu uγanim	"flute player" (FS: ⴰⵢⴰⵏⵉⵎ / aγanim)
ⵎ ⵜⵏⴰⴽⵕⵉⵡⵉⵏ / m tnakṛiwin	"the mat seller (fem.)" (FS: ⵜⵉⵏⴰⴽⵕⵉⵡⵉⵏ / tinakṛiwin)

• After a numeral, regardless if it is followed by the genitive preposition ⵏ or not:

ⵛⵓⵏ ⵞⵍⵓⵢ / yan umnay	" one knight" (FS: ⵓⵍⵓⵢ / amnay)
ⵉⵏⵏ ⵏ ⵞⵙⵙⵓ / ijj n urba	" one boy " (FS: ⵓⵙⵙⵓ / arba)
ⵛⵓⵜ (ⵍ) ⵜⵎⵟⵟⵓⴹⵜ / yat (n) tmṭṭuḍt	" one woman" (FS: ⵜⵓⵎⵟⵟⵓⴹⵜ / tamṭṭuḍt)
ⵉⵛⵜ ⵏ ⵜⵃⵏⵊⵉⵔⵜ / ict n tḥnjirt	" one girl" (FS: ⵜⵓⵃⵏⵊⵉⵔⵜ / taḥnjirt)
ⵙⵏⵓⵜ (ⵍ) ⵜⴼⵉⵔⴰⵙⵉⵏ / snat (n) tfirasin	"two pears" (FS: ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵔⴰⵙⵉⵏ / tifirasin)
ⴽⵕⴰⴹⵜ (ⵍ) ⵜⵄⵢⵢⴰⵍⵉⵏ / kṛaḍt (n) tɛyyalin	"three girls" (FS: ⵜⵉⵄⵢⵢⴰⵍⵉⵏ / tiɛyyalin)

• After ⵉⴷ / id "of":

ⵙⵉⵏ ⵉⴷ ⵡⴰⵍⴼ / sin id walf   "two thousand"

(ii) Construct state forms

• The construct state of singular masculine nouns with an initial vowel ⵓ- / a-, ⵓ- / u- or ⵉ- / i-:

- The alternation ⵓ- / a- → ⵓ- / u-:

FS	Gloss		CS
ⵓⴼⵉⵔⴰⵙ / afiras	"pear"	→	ⵓⴼⵉⵔⴰⵙ / ufiras
ⵓⵃⵡⴰⵛ / aḥwac	"Ahwash"	→	ⵓⵃⵡⴰⵛ / uḥwac
ⵓⵣⴰⵍⵉⵎ / aẓalim	"onion"	→	ⵓⵣⴰⵍⵉⵎ / uẓalim

- Preserving initial ⵓ- / a-, ⵓ- / u-, ⵉ- / i- while prefixing ⵡ- / w- and ⵢ- / y-:

FS	Gloss		CS
ⵓⵏⵓ / anu	"well"	→	ⵡⴰⵏⵓ / wanu
ⵓⵎⴰⵏ / aman	"water"	→	ⵡⴰⵎⴰⵏ / waman
ⵓⵙⵉⴼ / asif	"river"	→	ⵡⴰⵙⵉⴼ / wasif
ⵓⴷⵎ / udm	"face"	→	ⵡⵓⴷⵎ / wudm
ⵓⵔⵖ / urɣ	"gold"	→	ⵡⵓⵔⵖ / wurɣ
ⵉⵣⵉ / izi	"fly"	→	ⵢⵉⵣⵉ / yizi
ⵉⴼⵔⵉ / ifri	"cave"	→	ⵢⵉⴼⵔⵉ / yifri

• Construct state of singular feminine nouns with initial ⵜⴰ- / ta-, ⵜⵓ- / tu- or ⵜⵉ- / ti-:

- Loss of the initial vowel ⴰ- / a- or ⵓ- / u-:

FS	Gloss		CS
ⵜⴰⵎⵓⵔⵜ / tamurt	"land , country"	→	ⵜⵎⵓⵔⵜ / tmurt
ⵜⴰⵎⵖⴰⵔⵜ / tamɣart	"woman"	→	ⵜⵎⵖⴰⵔⵜ / tmɣart
ⵜⵉⵣⵉⴽⵔⵜ / tizikrt	"small rope"	→	ⵜⵣⵉⴽⵔⵜ / tzikrt
ⵜⵉⴼⵔⵉⵜ / tifrit	"small cave"	→	ⵜⴼⵔⵉⵜ / tfrit

- Preserving the initial vowel -ⴰ- / -a-, -ⵓ- / -u- or -ⵉ- / -i-:

FS	Gloss		CS
ⵜⴰⵏⵓⵜ / tanut	"small well"	→	ⵜⴰⵏⵓⵜ / tanut
ⵜⴰⴳⵓⵜ / tagut	"fog"	→	ⵜⴰⴳⵓⵜ / tagut
ⵜⴰⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ / taddart	"house"	→	ⵜⴰⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ / taddart
ⵜⴰⵢⴷⵉⵜ / taydit	"she-dog"	→	ⵜⴰⵢⴷⵉⵜ / taydit
ⵜⵓⵔⵜⵉⵜ / turtit	"small orchard"	→	ⵜⵓⵔⵜⵉⵜ / turtit
ⵜⵓⴷⵉⵜ / tudit	"butter"	→	ⵜⵓⴷⵉⵜ / tudit
ⵜⵓⵛⵛⵏⵜ / tuccnt	"she-wolf"	→	ⵜⵓⵛⵛⵏⵜ / tuccnt
ⵜⵉⵣⵉⵜ / tizit	"midge"	→	ⵜⵉⵣⵉⵜ / tizit
ⵜⵉⵜⵔⵉⵜ / titrit	"star"	→	ⵜⵉⵜⵔⵉⵜ / titrit

• Construct state of plural nouns:

- Preservation of the initial vowel ⵉ- / i- in the masc. plr. form and its loss in the fem. plr. form:

FS	Gloss		CS
ⵉⵍⵇⴰⵖⵏ / ilqaɣn	"lambs"	→	ⵉⵍⵇⴰⵖⵏ / ilqaɣn
ⵜⵉⵍⵇⴰⵖⵉⵏ / tilqaɣin	"ewe lambs"	→	ⵜⵍⵇⴰⵖⵉⵏ / tlqaɣin
ⵉⵛⵉⵔⵔⴰⵏ / icirran	"children"	→	ⵉⵛⵉⵔⵔⴰⵏ / icirran
ⵜⵉⵛⵉⵔⵔⴰⵜⵉⵏ /ticirratin	"girls"	→	ⵜⵛⵉⵔⵔⴰⵜⵉⵏ / tcirratin
ⵉⵣⵍⴰⵏ / izlan	"songs"	→	ⵉⵣⵍⴰⵏ / izlan
ⵜⵉⵣⵍⴰⵜⵉⵏ / tizlatin	"songs"	→	ⵜⵣⵍⴰⵜⵉⵏ / tzlatin
ⵉⵙⴰⴼⴼⵏ / isaffn	"rivers"	→	ⵉⵙⴰⴼⴼⵏ / isaffn
ⵜⵉⵙⴰⴼⴼⵉⵏ / tisaffin	"small rivers"	→	ⵜⵙⴰⴼⴼⵉⵏ / tsaffin

- Prefixing ⵓ / w in the masc. plr. form and preserving the vowel ⴰ- / a-, ⵓ- / u- in the fem. plr. form:

FS	Gloss		CS
ⴰⵔⵖⴰⵏ / argan	"argan"	→	ⵓⴰⵔⵖⴰⵏ / wargan
ⵜⴰⵔⵖⴰⵏⵉⵏ / targanin	"argan trees"	→	ⵜⴰⵔⵖⴰⵏⵉⵏ / targanin
ⵓⵏⴰ / una	"wells"	→	ⵓⵓⵏⴰ / wuna
ⵜⵓⵏⴰ / tuna	"small wells"	→	ⵜⵓⵏⴰ / tuna
ⵓⴷⵎⴰⵓⵏ / udmawn	"faces"	→	ⵓⵓⴷⵎⴰⵓⵏ / wudmawn
ⵜⵓⴷⵎⴰⵓⵉⵏ / tudmawin	"small faces"	→	ⵜⵓⴷⵎⴰⵓⵉⵏ / tudmawin

- Maintenance of the vowel ⵉ- / i- in the masc. plr. form and its loss in the fem. plr. form:

FS	Gloss		CS
ⵉⵣⴰⴽⴰⵔⵏ / izakarn	"ropes"	→	ⵉⵣⴰⴽⴰⵔⵏ / izakarn
ⵜⵉⵣⴰⴽⴰⵔⵉⵏ / tizakarin	"small ropes"	→	ⵜⵣⴰⴽⴰⵔⵉⵏ / tzakarin
ⵉⴼⵔⴰⵏ / ifran	"caves"	→	ⵉⴼⵔⴰⵏ / ifran
ⵜⵉⴼⵔⴰⵜⵉⵏ / tifratin	"small caves"	→	ⵜⴼⵔⴰⵜⵉⵏ / tfratin
ⵉⵅⴰⵎⵏ / ixamn	"houses"	→	ⵉⵅⴰⵎⵏ / ixamn
ⵜⵉⵅⴰⵎⵉⵏ / tixamin	"tents, houses"	→	ⵜⵅⴰⵎⵉⵏ / txamin

Summary tables of Construct State formation

	Masculine	
	Free State	**Construct State**
Singular	ⴰ…… / a….. ⴰ…… / a….. ⵉ…… / i….. ⵓ…… / u…..	ⵓ…… / u….. ⵓⴰ…… / wa….. ⵉ / ⵢⵉ…… / i / yi….. ⵓⵓ…… / wu…..
Plural	ⵉ…..ⵏ / i…..n ⴰ…..ⵏ / a…..n ⵉ…..ⵏ / i…..n ⵓ…..ⴰ(ⵏ) / u…..a(n) ⵉ…..ⵏ / i…..n ⵓ…..ⵏ / u…..n c[8]….. ⵉⴷ c….. / id c…..	ⵉ…..ⵏ / i…..n ⵓⴰ…..ⵏ / wa…..n ⵉ…..ⵏ / i…..n ⵓⵓ…..ⴰ(ⵏ) / wu…..a(n) ⵉ…..ⵏ / i…..n ⵓⵓ…..ⵏ / wu…..n c….. ⵉⴷ c….. / id c…..

8- c stands for a consonant.

	Feminine	
	Free State	**Construct State**
Singular	ⵜⵄ……(ⵜ) / ta…..(t) ⵜⵄ……(ⵜ) / ta…..(t) ⵜⵗ……(ⵜ) / ti…..(t) ⵜⵗ……(ⵜ) / ti…..(t) ⵜⵚ……(ⵜ) / tu…..(t)	ⵜ……(ⵜ) / t…..(t) ⵜⵄ……(ⵜ) / ta…..(t) ⵜ……(ⵜ) / t…..(t) ⵜⵗ……(ⵜ) / ti…..(t) ⵜⵚ……(ⵜ) / tu…..(t)
Plural	ⵜⵗ…..ⵍ / ti…..n ⵜⵄ…..ⵗⵍ / ta…..in ⵜⵗ…..ⵗⵍ / ti…..in ⵜⵚ…..ⵗⵍ / tu…..in ⵜⵗ…..(ⵍ) / ti…..(n) ⵜⵚ…..ⵗⵍ / tu…..in ⵜⵄ…..ⵗⵍ / ta…..in c…..(ⵄⵜ) / c…..(at)	ⵜ…..ⵍ / t…..n ⵜ…..ⵗⵍ / t…..in ⵜ…..ⵗⵍ / t…..in ⵜⵚ…..ⵗⵍ / tu…..in ⵜ…..ⵗⵍ / t…..in ⵜⵚ…..ⵗⵍ / tu…..in ⵜⵄ…..ⵗⵍ / ta…..in c…..(ⵄⵜ) / c…..at

2. Derived and compound nouns

Derived and compound nouns are complex forms of nouns that result from morphological or lexical processes. Both the derived and the compound forms obtain from the adjunction of two or more lexical units.

2.1. Derived nouns

A derived noun may well be formed by an initial or final affixation of a derivational morpheme to a simple noun. Yet, it should be contended that defining derivation along the above terms is but a pedagogical simplification. Affixal derivation does not hold via prefixation and suffixation only; some other alterations may obtain in the stem of the word. More often than not, derivation is more than affixation only; it involves alterations in the stem as well as in the vocalic melodies of the word.

It is on the basis of the strategies laid out above that nouns such as action, agentive, instrumental, place and quality nouns are derived.

a. Action nouns

An action noun is derived from a (simple or derived) verb that expresses an abstract or concrete action. Derivation, which takes the aorist theme (neutral form) as its basic form, is usually associated with some changes within the stem. The main procedures along which the derivation of action nouns is carried out are set out below:

(i) ⵄ- / a- prefixation;

(ii) ⵓ- / u- prefixation;

(iii) ⵉ- / i- prefixation;

(iv) circumfixation of the feminine morpheme ⵜ…ⵜ / t…t;

(v) ⵍ- / l- prefixation to loan words from Arabic.

(i) ⵄ- / a- prefixation along with some alterations in the stem

Noun	**Gloss**		**Verb**
ⵄⵣⵏⵣⵄ / ⵄⵥⵥⵏⵓⵥ aznza / azznuz	"selling"	<	ⵥⵥⵏⵥ / zznz
ⵄⴹⵍⵄⵔ / abdar	"mentioning"	<	ⴹⵍⵔ / bdr
ⵄⴼⵓⴼⵔⵓ / afrfr	"flying"	<	ⴼⵔⴼⵔ / frfr
ⵄⵙⵇⵙⵉ / asqsi	"question"	<	ⵙⵇⵙⵄ / sqsa
ⵄⵏⵍⵄⵔ / andar	"uprooting"	<	ⵏⵍⵔ / ndr
ⵄⵙⵜⵄⵙ / astay	"filtering"	<	ⵙⵜⵙ / sty
ⵄⵢⵎⵄⵙ / aɣmas	"covering"	<	ⵢⵎⵙ / ɣms
ⵄⴽⵜⵜⵄⵙ / akttay	"remembrance"	<	ⴽⵜⵉ / kti
ⵄⵢⵉⵎⵉ / aɣimi	"sitting"	<	ⵇⵇⵉⵎ / qqim
ⵄⴱⴱⵄⵙ / abbay	"bite, tearing"	<	ⴱⴱⵙ / bby
ⵄⵙⵍⵎⴷ / aslmd	"teaching"	<	ⵙⵙⵍⵎⴷ / sslmd
ⵄⵙⵓⵏⵙⵉ / asunsi	"wandering"	<	ⵙⵓⵏⵙⵉ / sunsi

(ii) ⵓ- prefixation associated with some alterations in the stem

Noun	Gloss		Verb
ⵓⴼⵓⵢ / ufuɣ	"going out"	→	ⴼⴼⵢ / ffɣ
ⵓⴹⵓⴹ / uḍuḍ	"suckling"	→	ⵟⵟⴹ / ṭṭḍ
ⵓⵏⵓⴹ / unuḍ	"loitering, sticking"	→	ⵏⵏⴹ / nnḍ
ⵓⵎⵉⵢ / umiɣ	"fight"	→	ⵎⵎⵄⵢ / mmaɣ

(iii) ⵉ- prefixation

ⵉⵥⵉⴹ / iẓiḍ	"milling"	→	ⵥⴹ / ẓḍ	"to grind"
ⵉⵥⵎⵉ / iẓmi	"pressure"	→	ⵥⵎⵎ / ẓmm	"to press"
ⵉⵎⵏⵢⵉ / imnɣi	"dispute, fight"	→	ⵏⵢ / nɣ	"to kill"

(iv) circumfixation of the feminine morpheme: ⵜ…(ⵜ) / t…(t), ⵜⴰ…(ⵜ) / ta…
(t), ⵜⵉ…(ⵜ) / ti…(t) *and* ⵜⵓ…(ⵜ) / tu…(t) *associated with vocalic alteration
of the initial or final vowel* ⴰ / a, ⵉ / i *or* ⵓ / u *and the gemination of a root
consonant in some action nouns*

Noun	Gloss		Verb
ⵜⴰⵎⵓⵏⵜ / tamunt	"company"	→	ⵎⵓⵏ / mun
ⵜⴰⵏⴽⵔⴰ / tankra	"getting up"	→	ⵏⴽⵔ / nkr
ⵜⴰⵡⴰⵔⴳⵉⵜ / tawargit	"dream"	→	ⵡⴰⵔⴳ / ⵡⴰⵔⴳⴰ // warg / warga
ⵜⵉⵣⵎⵎⴰⵔ / tizmmar	"ability"	→	ⵣⵎⵔ / zmr
ⵜⵉⴳⵏⵉ / tigni	"sewing"	→	ⴳⵏⵓ / gnu
ⵜⵉⵙⵙⵉ / ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴰ // tissi / tissa	"drinking"	→	ⵙⵓ / su
ⵜⵓⴷⵔⵜ / tudrt	"life"	→	ⴷⴷⵔ / ddr
ⵜⵓⵊⵊⵓⵜ / tujjut	"nice smell"	→	ⵊⵊⵓ / jju
ⵜⵓⵙⵙⵏⴰ / tussna	"knowledge"	→	ⵙⵙⵏ / ssn

(v) Prefixation of Arabic ⵍ- / l- *to some loan words*

The prefix ⵍ- / l- may assimilate to the initial consonant of the verb, forming,
thereby, a geminate with the consonant that follows.

ⵍⵅⵎⴰ / lḥmu	"heat"	→	ⵅⵎⵓ / ḥmu	"to be hot"
ⵔⵔⵅⵎⵜ / rrḥmt	"clemence"	→	ⵔⵅⵎ / rḥm	"to be clement"
ⵣⵣⵢⵢⴰⵕ / ẓẓyyaṛ	"tightening"	→	ⵣⵢⵢⵕ / ẓyyṛ	"to tighten"
ⵍⵉⵜⵉⵀⴰⵍ / litihal	"marriage"	→	ⵜⴰⵀⵍ / tahl	"to marry"

b. Agentive nouns

Agentive nouns are derived from action verbs. While the agentive noun
generally refers to the real doer of the action, it may refer as well to the patient
that receives the action. Agentive nouns usually refer to animate beings, a
situation which explains their variation in gender and number. The close
lexical and semantic connection that holds between an agentive noun and an

action noun is patently clear in most cases, namely when they are derived from the same verb. Some agentive nouns may well behave like quality nouns, most notably when the basic verb expresses an abstract action.

There are four different fashions in which an agentive noun can be derived, namely by prefixing one of the following four elements: ⴰ- / a-, ⴰⵎ- / ⴰⵍ- // am- / an-, ⵉⵎ- / im-, ⵉ- / i- to the verb stem. The stem may also recognize further vocalic alterations.

ⴰⵏⵡⵡⴰⵛ / anwwac	"slanderer"	→	ⵏⵡⵡⵛ / nwwc	"to slander"
ⴰⵎⴰⴽⵔ / amakr	"thief"	→	ⴰⴽⵔ / akr	"steal"
ⴰⵎⵏⴰⵢ / amnay	"knight"	→	ⵏⵢ / ny	"to ride"
ⴰⵎⴰⵔⵉⵔ / amarir	"singer, poet"	→	ⵓⵔⴰⵔ / urar	"to sing, dance"
ⴰⵏⵔⵣⵉf / anrzif	"visitor"	→	ⵔⵣⵣf / rzzf	"to visit"
ⴰⵏⴰⵥⵓⵎ / anaẓum	"faster (person)"	→	ⴰⵥⵓⵎ / aẓum	"to fast"
ⴰⵏⵎⵎⴰⴷⴷⵓ / anmmaddu	"traveller"	→	ⵎⵎⵓⴷⴷⵓ / mmuddu	"to travel"
ⵉⵎⴽⵔⵉ / imkiri	"day labourer"	→	ⴽⵔⵓ / kru	"to hire"

c. Instrumental nouns

An instrumental noun is derived from an action noun, regardless if it is simple or derived. Instrumental nouns refer to the tool or means by which the action is implemented.

Instrumental nouns are generally formed by the prefixation of ⴰ- / a- // ⴰⵙ- / as- to the verbal theme. Sometimes, the affixation is concomitant with some vocalic or consonantal alterations in the verb stem.

ⴰⵏⵣⵍ / anzl	"goad"	<	ⵏⵣⵍ / nzl	"to prick"
ⴰⵙⵔⴳⵍ / asrgl	"lid"	<	ⵔⴳⵍ / rgl	"to close"

ⵄⵙⴴⵏⵉ / ⵉⵙⵙⴳⵏⵉ asgni / issgni	"big needle"	<	ⴴⵏⵓⵄ / gnu	"to sew"
ⵄⵙⴷⴷⵓⵍ / ⵄⵙⴷⵍ asddul / asdl	"covering"	<	ⴷⵍ / dl	"to cover"
ⵄⵙⵇⵇⵓⵏ / asqqun	"lid"	<	ⵇⵇⵏ / qqn	"to close"
ⵄⵙⴽⵔⴼ / askrf	"hobble"	<	ⴽⵔⴼ / krf	"to hobble"
ⵄⵙⵎⵙⴷ / asmsd	"sharpener"	<	ⵉⵎⵙⵉⴷ / imsid	"to be sharpened"
ⵜⵄⵙⵅⵙⵉⵜ / tasxsit	"ashtray"	<	ⵅⵙⵉ / xsi	"to be put out (fire)"
ⵜⵄⵙⵔⵔⴰⵎⵜ / tasrramt	"pencil-sharpener"	<	ⵙⵔⵎ / srm	"to sharpen"

2.2. Compound nouns

Nominal compounding is less productive than derivation. Nominal compounding may well be viewed as a process whereby two elements are conjoined into a single noun that has a separate meaning. This meaning is usually the semantic combination of the meanings of the two words which are conjoined into the compound noun. The elements making up the compound noun may belong to the same lexical category as much as they may belong to different categories. The different fashions in which nominal compounding holds are laid out as follows:

a- Noun +l / n+ noun

This sort of compounding relates two nouns by the genitive preposition l / n "of"; the second element of the compound is a complement that determines the first. More often than not, the compound noun is lexicalised into an idiomatic fixed form. The combination "noun + l / n + noun" behaves syntactically as a single noun and its plural form is derived by the use of ⵉⴷ / id:

ⵄⵎⴰⵔⵉⵔ ⵏ ⵉⵣⵍⴰⵏ / amarir n izlan	"poems singer = sort of fish"
ⵄⴳⵔⵓ ⵏ ⵍⴱⵓⵔ / agru n lbur	"frog of uncultivated land = toad"

ⵜⵄⵣⵍⵓⵜⵉ ⵥⵙⵏⵜⵉⵏ / tagmart n ismḍal	"cemetary mare = unicorn"
ⵓⵥⵓⵏⵥⵛ ⵉ ⵍⵠⵛⵛⵉ / aẓalim n wuccn	"wolf onion = spring squill"
ⵓⵛⵓⵍ ⵉ ⵛⵓⵉⵙⵔ / aman n marur	"marur water = mirage"
ⵓⵉⵔⵥⵣ ⵉ ⵇⵔⵔⵣ / anbgi n ṛbbi	"God's guest = guest"
ⵜⵓⵏⵢⵣⵜⵉ ⵔⵓⵔⵓ ⵇⵔⵔⵣ / talɣmt n baba ṛbbi	"camel of my Lord = praying mantis"

b- Noun + noun

A compound noun may well take the form of two conjoined nouns where the modified noun comes first. It can be a quality noun:

ⵔⵓⵔⵓ ⵇⵔⵔⵣ / baba ṛbbi   "Father-God = God"

c- Noun + participle

Under this display, the noun is the subject of the participle (a quality verb) that follows. Considered more carefully, the string is a reduced relative clause without a relative pronoun to join the two elements.

ⵓⵛⵓⵍ ⵉⵇⵉⵣⵣⵉ / aman ḍṛnin	"falling water = dew"
ⵔⵓⵔ ⵛⵥⵥⵙⵉⵍ / bab mqqurn	"father being old = grandfather"

d- Verb + noun

Under this form, the sequence is made up of a transitive verb and its direct object; the whole string is lexicalised.

ⵍⵓⵞⵏ ⵓⵛⵓⵍ / waṣl aman	"follows water = raccoon"
ⵛⵔⵇⵉ ⵙⵏ / mkṛḍ ul	"scratch heart = misery"
ⵙⵏⵛ ⵓⵥⵥⵯⵉⵍ / slm aggʷrn	"suck up flour = butterfly"
ⵜⵜⵓⵢ ⵔⵔⵔⵓ / ttaɣ kra	"suffer from something = illnes"
ⵓⵔⵔ ⵛⵏⵏⵓⵏ / akr mllal	"steal white = off-white"

e- Verb + verb

We are dealing here with two adjacent verbs which behave syntactically as a single unit:

ⵀⵇⵇⵞ ⵉⵢⵙⵜ / br̩r̩m iɣus	"turn it; it is burning = barbecue"
ⵀⵀⵉ ⵅⵍⵉ / bbi zdi	"cut-stick = patched up and fixed"

3. Quality nouns

Quality nouns are generally derived from state or quality verbs. They can express a whole range of meanings such as an attribute, a quality, a peculiarity, a colour, a way of being, an imperfection, a form, an infirmity, a moral attitude and many others.

3.1. The structure of quality nouns

The structure of quality nouns is in no way different from the structure of agentive and patient nouns. Deriving quality nouns is implemented along the following strategies:

a- Prefixing ⵄ- / a- to the verbal theme along with a vocalic alternation in the penultimate position of the stem

ⵄⵢⵅⵄⵥ / aɣzzaf	"tall"	ⵉⵢⵅⵉⵥ / iɣzif	"to be tall"
ⵄⵀⵔⴽⵄⵏ / abrkan	"black"	ⵀⵔⴽⵏ / brkn	"to be black"
ⵄⴻⵇⵢⵄⵍ / adr̩ɣal	"blind"	ⴻⵇⵢⵍ / dr̩ɣl	"to be blind"
ⵄⵍⵙⵙⵄⵔ / awssar	"old"	ⵍⵙⵙⵉⵔ / ⵍⵙⵓⵔ / ⵍⵙⵉⵔ // wssir / wsur /wsir	"to be old"

b- Prefixing ⵄⵎ / am - ⵄⵏ / an to the verbal theme coupled with sporadic medial or final vocalic alterations

ⵏⵎⵢⵓⵔ / anmɣur	"big, important"	ⵎⵢⵓⵔ / mɣur	"to be big, important"
ⵏⵀⵓⵔ / anbur	"bachelor"	ⵀⵓⵔ / bur	"to be a bachelor"
ⵄⵎⵍⵍⵄⵥⵓ / amllaẓu	"hungry"	ⵍⵍⵓⵥ / lluẓ	"to be hungry"
ⵄⵎⴳⴳⵄⵔⵓ / amggaru	"last"	ⴳⴳⵔⵓ / ⴳⴳⵉⵔ / ⴳⴳⵔ // ggru / ggir / ggr	"to be the last"

c- ⵉ- / i- prefixation along with some internal vocalic alterations

    ⵉⴻⵉⵉⵉ / iḍili   "black"   ⴻⵉⵙ / ḍlu   "to be black"

d- ⵓ- / u- prefixation along with sporadic infixation of ⵉ- / i-

ⵓⵅⵛⵉⵏ / uxcin	"unkind, ugly"	ⵅⵛⵏ / xcn	"to be unkind, ugly"
ⵓⵍⵎⵉⵍ / umlil	"white"	ⵉⵍⵎⵓⵍ / ⵍⵎⵓⵍ // imlul / mlul	"to be white"
ⵓⵇⵎⵉⵔ / uqmir	"narrow"	ⵇⵎⵔ / qmr	"to be narrow"

3.2. Quality nouns uses

Morphologically, a quality noun functions in the same way as an ordinary noun. It takes gender markers (ⴰⵎⵣⵡⴰⵔⵓ / amzwaru "the first (masc.)" > ⵜⴰⵎⵣⵡⴰⵔⵓⵜ / tamzwarut "the first (fem.)"), number markers (ⴰⵎⵣⵡⴰⵔⵓ / amzwaru "the first (sing.)" > ⵉⵎⵣⵡⵓⵔⴰ / imzwura "the first (plr.)") and state markers (ⴰⵎⵣⵡⴰⵔⵓ / amzwaru "the first (FS)" > ⵓⵎⵣⵡⴰⵔⵓ / umzwaru "the first (CS)").

A quality noun can either be preceded by the particle ⴷ / d "it is" or the copula ⴳ / g "to be".

ⴷ ⴰⵎⵇⵇⵔⴰⵏ. / d amqqran.	"It is big."
ⴷ ⴰⵡⵔⴰⵖ. / d awraɣ.	"It is yellow."
ⵉⴳⴰ ⴰⵚⴱⵃⴰⵏ. / iga aṣbḥan.	"He is handsome."

As a noun modifier, a quality noun directly follows the modified noun with which it agrees in gender and number:

ⴰⵎⴽⵜⴰⵔ ⴰⵎⵍⵍⴰⵍ / amktar amllal	"the white horse"
ⵜⴰⴼⵓⵙⵜ ⵜⴰⵥⵍⵎⴰⴹⵜ / tafust taẓlmaḍt	"the (small) left hand"
ⵉⵃⵏⵊⵉⵔⵏ ⵉⵎⵥⵥⵢⴰⵏⵏ / iḥnjirn imẓẓyann	"the little children"

4. Numerals

Numerals have their own morphology and structure. They can, therefore, fill all the functions of an ordinary noun.

ⵎⵎⵓⵜⵏ ⵙⵉⵏ. / mmutn sin.	"Two died."
ⵥⵔⵉⵖ ⴽⴽⵓⵥ. / z̠ṛiɣ kkuẓ.	"I saw four."
ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ ⴰⵢ ⴰⵏⵏ. / mrawt ay ann.	"It is ten (fem.)."

4.1. Numbers from 1 to 10

Not all Amazigh varieties have preserved the original numeral paradigms.

The numbers from 1 to 10 vary in gender; the feminine form obtains by adding the suffix ⵜ- / t- to the masculine form:

Masc.		Fem.	
ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙ / smmus	>	ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙⵜ / smmust	"five"
ⵙⴰ / sa	>	ⵙⴰⵜ / sat	"seven"
ⵜⴰⵎ / tam	>	ⵜⴰⵎⵜ / tamt	"eight"

The noun that follows any of the numerals from 1 to 10 surfaces in the plural form as set out below:

ⴽⴽⵓⵥ (ⵏ) ⵉⵔⴳⴰⵥⵏ / kkuẓ (n) irgazn "four men"	>	ⴽⴽⵓⵥⵜ (ⵏ) ⵜⵎⵖⴰⵔⵉⵏ / kkuẓt (n) tmɣarin "four women"
ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙ (ⵏ) ⵉⵎⵃⴹⴰⵕⵏ / smmus (n) imḥḍaṛn "five pupils"	>	ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙⵜ (ⵏ) ⵜⵎⵃⴹⴰⵔⵉⵏ / smmust (n) tmḥḍarin "five pupils" (fem.)

Numerals list

Masc.	Gloss	Fem.
ⵢⴰⵏ, ⵢⵓⵏ, ⵉⵊⵊ / ⵉⴷⵊ // yan, yun, ijj / idj	"one"	ⵢⴰⵜ, ⵢⵓⵜ, ⵉⵛⵜ / yat, yut, ict
ⵙⵉⵏ / sin	"two"	ⵙⵏⴰⵜ / snat
ⴽⵔⴰⴹ, ⵛⵔⴰⴹ / kṛaḍ / cṛaḍ	"three"	ⴽⵔⴰⴹⵜ, ⵛⵔⴰⴹⵜ / kṛaḍt / cṛaḍt
ⴽⴽⵓⵥ / kkuẓ	"four"	ⴽⴽⵓⵥⵜ / kkuẓt
ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙ / smmus	"five"	ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙⵜ / smmust
ⵚⴹⵉⵚ / ṣḍiṣ	"six"	ⵚⴹⵉⵚⵜ / ṣḍiṣt
ⵙⴰ / sa	"seven"	ⵙⴰⵜ / sat
ⵜⴰⵎ / tam	"eight"	ⵜⴰⵎⵜ / tamt
ⵜⵥⴰ / tẓa	"nine"	ⵜⵥⴰⵜ / tẓat
ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / mraw	"ten"	ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / mrawt

4.2. Numerals from 11 to 19

All the numerals from 11 to 19 are noun phrases made up of the numbers ⵢⴰⵏ / yan (ⵢⵓⵏ / yun, ⵉⵊⵊ / ⵉⴷⵊ // ijj / idj) to ⵜⵥⴰ / tẓa conjoined with the number ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / mraw "ten" via the coordinator ⴷ / d "and".

ⵢⴰⵏ / ⵢⵓⵏ / ⵉⵊⵊ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ // yan / yun / ijj d mraw	"eleven"
ⵙⵉⵏ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / sin d mraw	"twelve"
ⴽⵕⴰⴹ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / kṛaḍ d mraw	"thirteen"
ⵜⵥⴰ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / tẓa d mraw	"nineteen"

Nouns introduced by the preposition ⵏ / n "of " always take the singular form:

ⵙⵉⵏ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ ⵏ ⵓⵔⴳⴰⵣ / sin d mraw n urgaz	"twelve men"
ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ ⵏ ⵜⵎⵖⴰⵔⵜ / smmus d mrawt n tmɣart	"fifteen women"

If the numeral is followed by a feminine noun, the numbers of ones surface in the masculine form while the numbers of tens take the feminine marker:

Masc.	Fem.	
ⵢⴰⵏ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / yan d mraw	ⵢⴰⵏ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / yan d mrawt	"eleven"
ⵙⵉⵏ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / sin d mraw	ⵙⵉⵏ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / sin d mrawt	"twelve"
ⴽⵕⴰⴹ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / kṛaḍ d mraw	ⴽⵕⴰⴹ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / kṛaḍ d mrawt	"thirteen"
ⴽⴽⵓⵥ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / kkuẓ d mraw	ⴽⴽⵓⵥ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / kkuẓ d mrawt	"fourteen"
ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / smmus d mraw	ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / smmus d mrawt	"fifteen"
ⵚⴹⵉⵚ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / ṣḍiṣ d mraw	ⵚⴹⵉⵚ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / ṣḍiṣ d mrawt	"sixteen"
ⵙⴰ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / sa d mraw	ⵙⴰ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / sa d mrawt	"seventeen"
ⵜⴰⵎ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / tam d mraw	ⵜⴰⵎ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / tam d mrawt	"eighteen"
ⵜⵥⴰ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡ / tẓa d mraw	ⵜⵥⴰ ⴷ ⵎⵔⴰⵡⵜ / tẓa d mrawt	"nineteen"

4.3. Numerals with values of tens

These numerals consist of phrases where numbers from ⊙Ƨl / sin - ⊙lₒᵗ / snat to ᵗ⋇ₒ / tẓa / - ᵗ⋇ₒᵗ / tẓat are conjoined to the number ⊏Oₒⵞ / mraw via the plural morpheme Ƨ∧ / id.

These numerals exhibit regular agreement with the gender of the noun that follows (the counted noun). The only numeral which holds as an exception is ᵗƧ⊏ƧEƧ / timiḍi (100); it is always observed in the feminine form only.

⊙Ƨl Ƨ∧ ⊏Oₒⵞ / sin id mraw	"twenty"
ⴽQₒE Ƨ∧ ⊏Oₒⵞ / kṛaḍ id mraw	"thirty"
ᵗ⋇ₒ Ƨ∧ ⊏Oₒⵞ / tẓa id mraw	"ninety"
ᵗƧ⊏ƧEƧ / timiḍi	"a hundred"

4.4. Numbers greater than 20

The numbers of tens precede the numbers of ones to which they are associated by ∧ / d "and"; the whole is linked to the counted noun through the preposition l / n "of". The counted noun always surfaces in the singular form:

⊙Ƨl Ƨ∧ ⊏Oₒⵞ ∧ ⊙ₒ (l) ⵛ⊏⅄Eₒⵇ / sin id mraw d sa (n) umḥḍaṛ	"twenty-seven students"
ⴽQₒE Ƨ∧ ⊏Oₒⵞᵗ ∧ Ƨₒᵗ (l) ᵗ⊏⅄Eₒⵇᵗ / kṛad id mrawt d yat (n) tmḥḍaṛt	"twenty-one students (fem.)"

ᵗƧ⊏ƧEƧ *"a hundred" (plr. ᵗ⊏ₒE / timaḍ (FS) // ᵗ⊏ₒE / tmaḍ (CS))*

The noun that follows ᵗƧ⊏ƧEƧ is always in the plural form and is introduced by the preposition l / n "of":

ᵗƧ⊏ƧEƧ l ᵗⵊⵑlₒ⊙Ƨl / timiḍi n tfunasin	"a hundred cows"
ᵗƧ⊏ƧEƧ ∧ Ƨₒl / timiḍi d yan	"a hundred and one"
ᵗƧ⊏ƧEƧ ∧ ᵗ⋇ₒ / timiḍi d tẓa	"a hundred and nine"
ᵗƧ⊏ƧEƧ ∧ ⊙Ƨl Ƨ∧ ⊏Oₒⵞ / timiḍi d sin id mraw	"a hundred and twenty"
⊙lₒᵗ ᵗ⊏ₒE / snat tmaḍ	"two hundred"
ƧⵊE (plr. ₒⵊEₒl) / ifḍ (plr. afḍan)	"a thousand"
ᵗƧ⊏ƧEƧ l ⵞₒⵊEl / timiḍi n wafḍan	"a hundred thousand"

4.5 ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are nouns because they meet all the functions of ordinary nouns. They function also as modifiers of ordinary and kinship nouns. Ordinal numbers bifurcate into two types:

a. The "first" and the "last"

The two ordinal numbers, "the first" and "the last", are formed in the same fashion in which quality nouns are formed (i.e. with the prefixation of ₒⵛ / ₒⵍ– am / an).

ₒⵛⵥⵓₒⵔⵞ / amzwaru	"the first (masc. sing.)"	ⵜₒⵛⵥⵓₒⵔⵞⵜ / tamzwarut	"the first (fem. sing.)"
ⵉⵛⵥⵓⵔⵞⵔₒ / imzwura	"the first (masc. plr.)"	ⵜⵉⵛⵥⵓⵔⵞⵔₒ / timzwura	"the first (fem. plr.)"

The ordinal number presented above is derived from the verb ⵥⵓₒⵔ / ⵥⵓⵉⵔ – zwar / zwir "to precede, to be the first".

ₒⵛⵖⵖₒⵔⵞ / amggaru	"the last (masc. sing.)"	ⵜₒⵛⵖⵖₒⵔⵞⵜ / tamggarut	"the last (fem. sing.)"
ⵉⵛⵖⵖⵞⵔₒ / imggura	"the last (masc. plr.)"	ⵜⵉⵛⵖⵖⵞⵔₒ / timggura	"the last (fem. plr.)"

The afore-mentioned ordinal number is derived from the verb ⵖⵖⵔⵞ / ⵖⵖⵉⵔ / ⵖⵖⵔ – ggru / ggir / ggr "to lag behind, to be the last".

b. Ordinal numbers from "second"and on

To the exception of *last*, ordinal numbers that come after *first* consist of cardinal numbers (see above) preceded by the supporting determination morpheme ⵓⵉⵙ / wis "the one with (masc.)" or ⵜⵉⵙ / tis "the one with (fem.)".

ⵓⵉⵙ / *wis + figure (in masc. form)*
ⵓⵉⵙ ⴽⵔₒⴹ / wis kṛaḍ "the third (masc.)"
ⵜⵉⵙ / *tis + figure (in fem. form)*
ⵜⵉⵙ ⴽⵔₒⴹⵜ / tis kṛaḍt "the third (fem.)"

4.6. Fractions

To the exception of ₒⵥⵣⵍ / azgn "half", there is no specific term for fractions. The numerals for double, triple, quadruple, etc. are expressed by resorting to periphrasis.

ⵝⵣ ⵙⵍⵏ (ⵉ) ⵜⴻⵣⵣⵓⵍ / ⵜⵍⵓⵍ // xf snat (n) tikkal / twal	"twice"
ⵝⵣ ⵛⵙⵓⵍⵜ (ⵉ) ⵜⴻⵣⵣⵓⵍ / ⵜⵍⵓⵍ // xf mrawt (n) tikkal / twal	"ten times"

5. The noun phrase

The noun phrase may well be viewed as a syntactic structure which consists of a central nominal unit flanked or not by modifying or determining elements. It meets all the syntactic functions of a noun, and it can be substituted by a pronoun (free or bound).

The noun phrase can be:

- a noun (common, proper or kinship noun);

- a quality noun;

- an indefinite pronoun;

- an independent personal pronoun;

- a demonstative pronoun;

- a numeral;

- a possessive pronoun.

All the elements set out above can surface separately or adjoined to other modifiers and determiners. Only noun phrases with a predicative function can surface as separate units.

Noun modifiers and determiners may be laid out as follows:

- pre-determiners: indefinite morphemes, cardinal numbers, presenters, predicators and quantifiers;

- post-determiners: possessive morphemes, determining complements (genitive), demonstrative deictics, quality nouns (adjectives), modifying participials and relative pronouns.

5.1. Noun phrases without determination

a. Predicative use

We talk of predicative use when the noun phrase is a predicate without any determiners or specifiers around. In this form, the noun phrase is used in truncated expressions, particularly as an answer to a question.

• Noun:

ⵄⵍⵉⵙⵓ / adlis	"book = It is the book."
ⵜⵣⵍⵣⵍⵄ / tilila	"Tilila = It is Tilila."
ⵣⴱⴱⵄ / ibba	"my father = It is my father."

• Quality noun:

ⵄⵅⵄⵜⵓ / axatar   "the big = It is the big one."

• An independent personal pronoun:

ⴾⵍⵍⵣ�075 / knniw   "you (plr.) = It is you."

• A demonstrative pronoun:

ⵍⵄⵍ / wad   "this one = It is this one."

• Numeral (noun)

ⵛⵓⵄⵍ / mraw   "ten = It is ten."

b. Use with the predicator ⵍ / d

All nouns can be preceded by predicating ⵍ / d when they are used as nominal predicates (*cf. section 8.1.2*).

ⵍ ⵄⵍⵉⵙⵓ. / d adlis.	"It is the book."
ⵍ ⵄⵅⵄⵜⵓ. / d axatar.	"It is the big one."
ⵍ ⴾⵍⵍⵣⵓ. / d knniw.	"It is you."
ⵍ ⵍⵄⵍ. / d wad.	"It is this one."
ⵍ ⵛⵓⵄⵍ. / d mraw.	"It is ten."

In negative structures, the noun phrase with predicating ⵍ / d is preceded by the negative particle ⵓ / ur.

ⵓ ⵍ ⵄⵍⵉⵙⵓ. / ur d adlis.	"It is not the / a book."
ⵓ ⵍ ⵄⵅⵄⵜⵓ. / ur d axatar.	"It is not the big one."
ⵓ ⵍ ⵍⵄⵍ. / ur d wad.	"It is not this one."

5.2. Noun phrases with determiners or specifiers

a. Defined noun phrases

Counter to other languages that have distinct definite articles (Arabic: *al*, French: *le / la*, English: *the*, etc.), Amazigh lacks such morphemes. The definiteness of Amazigh NPs does not ensue from the function of the initial vowel of the noun, which is usually construed as a definite article. In fact, a vowel-initial noun may well be indefinite if it is preceded by the indefinite morpheme which has the same form of the numeral ⵢⴰⵏ / yan (also ⵢⵓⵏ / yun or ⴵⵉⵉ / ijj) "one (masc.)" and its variant feminine form ⵢⴰⵜ / yat (also ⵢⵓⵜ / yut or ⴵⵛⵜ / ict) "one (fem.)"

ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ / abrid	"way, road"
ⴵⵉⵉ (ⵏ) ⵓⴱⵔⵉⴷ / ijj (n) ubrid	"one way, one road"

The definiteness of NPs may also be expressed through other processes such as the semantism of nouns (proper nouns, place nouns, kinship nouns, etc.) and other noun extensions (possessive pronouns, noun complements, quality nouns, qualifying participles and relative clauses).

As for non-integrated words that are borrowed from Arabic (both classical and dialectal Arabic), they retain their definite article ⵍ / l which is no longer interpreted as such. In fact, despite the presence of the article ⵍ / l, the definiteness of these nouns is canceled by the introduction of the indefinite masculine and feminine singular numerals ⵢⴰⵏ / yan, ⵢⵓⵏ / yun and ⴵⵉⵉ / ijj and ⵢⴰⵜ / yat, ⵢⵓⵜ / yut and ⴵⵛⵜ / ict.

ⵢⴰⵏ ⵍⵇⴰⴹⵉ / yan lqaḍi	"a judge"
ⴵⵛⵜ ⵏ ⵍⵎⴰⴽⵉⵏⴰ / ict n lmakina	"a machine"

b. Indefinite NP

As mentioned before, the indefinite meaning of an NP is the result of determining the noun by an indefinite morpheme, i.e. ⵢⴰⵏ / yan, ⵢⵓⵏ / yun, ⴵⵉⵉ / ijj and ⵢⴰⵜ / yat, ⵢⵓⵜ / yut ,ⴵⵛⵜ / ict, or by a number of other morphemes that express indefiniteness, partition, uncertainty, etc. (ⴽⵔⴰ / kra, ⵛⴰ / ca):

ⵢⴰⵏ ⵓⵔⴱⴰ / yan urba	"a boy"
ⴵⵛⵜ ⵏ ⵜⵔⴱⴰⵜ / ict n trbat	"a girl"

ⵥⵉⵉ (ⵉ) ⵞⵡⵓⵍⵛⵛ / ijj (n) uḥrmuc	"a boy"
ⵔⵓⵄ ⵉ ⵜⵍⵞⵄⵓⵜ / kra n tmɣart	"some woman"
ⵛⵄ ⵉ ⵢⵥⵥⵆⵏⵥ / ca n yizli	"some poem"

c. NP introduced by a presenter

Depending on the predicate, an NP may consist of a nominal entity (noun, independent pronoun or affix) preceded by a presenter or a morpheme with a demonstrative or deictic value. These presenters may be combined with space orientation particles, i.e. proximity (Ʌ / d) and remoteness (ǁ / nn) particles.

ⵀⵄ ⵄⵍⵞⵄⵓ / ha amɣar "Here is the chief ."	ⵀⵄ Ʌ ⵜⵥⵓⵧⵄⵜⵥⵉ / ha d tirbatin "Here are the girls."
ⵀⵄⵔⵔⵄ ⵜⵄⵛⵟⵟⵓⵟⵜ / haqqa tamṭṭuḍt "Here is the woman."	ⵀⵄ ǁ ⵜⵄⵛⵟⵟⵓⵟⵜ / ha nn tamṭṭuḍt "There is the woman."

ⵀⵄ ⵉⵔⵏⵥ / ha nkni	"Here we are."
ⵀⵄ ⵍⵄɅ / ha wad	"Here is this one."
ⵀⵄ ⵍⵥⵉⵞ / ha winu	"Here is mine"
ⵀⵄ ⵜⵜ / ha tt	"Here is it. / It is here."

d. Noun topicalizers

• *Topicalizers employed with the morpheme* ⵄⵢ / ay and ⵄɅ / ad

A topicalized NP is made up of a nominal (noun or independent pronoun) preceded or not by the predicator Ʌ / d and followed or not by a topicalizer like ⵉⵥⵜ / nit "even, in person", ⵄⵔⵔⵯ / akkʷ "all", ⵔⵄ / ka "only" or ⵙ ⵢⵥⵆⵜ ǁⵙ / ⵙ ⵞⵣⵓⵓⵞ ǁⵙ / ⵍⵄⵄⵏⵞⵜ // s yixf nns / s uqrru nns / waḥdut "by himself / herself, only". A number of topicalizers, including ⵞⵄⵙ (ⵅⵄⵙ) / ɣas (xas), precede the nominal. The topicalizer is obligatorily correlated with the morpheme ⵄⵢ / ⵄ // ay / a, and followed by a relative clause without a relative pronoun. The two elements may well be viewed as the par excellence discontinuous morpheme of topicalization in Amazigh. These topicalizers are adverbial in nature. They are also used as predicate modifiers in verbal phrases.

Ʌ ..... ⵄⵢ // d ….. ay

(Ʌ) ⵄⵉⵆⵄ Ⓠ ⵄⵢ ⵄ(Ʌ). / (d) anẓaṛ ay a(d).	"Rain is this. = It rains."

(ⵗ) ⵄⵔⵕⵉⵙⵯ ⴰⵢ ⵣⵔⵔⵔⵜⵉ. / (d) amdyaz ay immutn.	"It is the poet that was dead."
ⵓⵔ ⵗ ⴰⵥⵔⵉⵙⵗ ⴰⵢ ⴰ(ⵗ) ! / ur d abrid ay a(d)!	"This is not the right road!"
ⵓⵔ ⵗ ⴰⵄⵔⵕⵉⵯ ⴰⵢ ⵣⵔⵔⵔⵜⵉ. / ur d amdyaz ay immutn.	"It is not the poet that was dead."

• ⵏⵉⵜ ⴰⵢ / nit ay

> ⴰⵙⵍⵎⴰⵙⵗ ⵏⵉⵜ ⴰⵢ ⵜ ⵣⵯⵯⵇⴰⵍ.
> aslmad nit ay t izṛan.
> "It is the teacher himself who saw him."

• ⴰⵕⵕⵯ ⴰⵢ / akkʷ ay

> ⴰⵙⵞⵏ ⴰⵕⵕⵯ ⴰⵢ ⵣⵇⵇⴰⵍ. / adfl akkʷ ay iḍṛn.   "It is snow that fell."

• ⵕⴰ ⴰⵢ, ⵖⴰⵙ ⴰⵢ / Ka ay, ɣas ay

ⵣⵝⵞⵞⴰⵏ ⵕⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵅⵣⵙ. / iḥllaln ka ay gis.	"He is always lying."
ⵖⴰⵙ ⵣⵘⵔⵥⵣ ⴰⵢ ⵕⵙⵯⵔ. / ɣas imndi ay krzn.	"They have cultivated wheat only."

• ⵙ ⵣⵣⵘⵔ ‖ⵙ ⴰⵢ / ⵙ ⵓⵇⵔⵔⵓ ‖ⵙ ⴰⵢ // s yixf nns ay / s uqrru nns ay

> ⴰⵄⵖⴰⵙ ⵙ ⵣⵣⵘⵔ ‖ⵙ ⴰⵢ ⵗ ⵣⵙⵙⵏ.
> amɣar s yixf nns ay d iddan.
> "The chief came in person."

• ⵡⴰⵝⵙⵓⵜ / ⴰⵝⵙⵯ ⴰⵢ // waḥdut / uḥdu ay

> ⴰⵄⵏⴰⵢ ⴰⵝⵙⵓⵜ ⴰⵢ ⵙ ⵢⵙⵙⵏ. /
> amnay uḥdut ay d yusin.
> "The knight came alone."

• ⴰⵄ ... ⴰⵢ / am ... ay

ⴰⵄ ⴰⵙⴱⴰⵏ ⴰ ⴰⵓ ⵣⵝⵝⵣ. / am aɛban a ur illi.	"You cannot find this sort of clothes anywhere."
ⴰⵄ ⵜⴰⵘⵄⴰⵔⵜ ⴰⵙ ⴰⵢ ⵙ ⵖⴰⵓⵔⵙ. / am tagmart ad ay d ɣurs.	"He has a mare like this one ."

• Other topicalizers: ⴰⵅ / ag, ⴰⵝⵯ / ula, ⵅⵜⵜⴰ / ḥtta, ⴰⵓⵙ / awd "even", ⵄⴰⵏ / man, ⵡⴰⵏ / wan

| ⵄⵍⵏ ⵂⵛⵄⵙ ⵣⵙⵄ / awd umas iraḥ. | "Even his brother went." |
| ⵍⵣⵣⵙⵙ ⵀ ⵙⵀⵙⵙⵣⵍ ⵂⵙ ⵖⵂⵙⵙ ⵣⵣⵍⴻ. / mqqar d aɛrrim ur ɣurs yiwḍ. | "Not even a single young man has paid him a visit." |

e. Numeral determiners

The numeral phrase falls under two categories: a noun phrase consisting of a cardinal number and a noun, and a noun phrase consisting of a noun and an ordinal number *(cf. 3.4.5)*.

• *NP with a cardinal number*

Under this category, the noun is determined by a cardinal number with which it agrees in gender and number. In this context, the noun appears in the construct state.

ⵣⵏ (ⵏ) ⵂⵖⵙⵏⵙ / ijj (n) uɣrda	"a mouse"
ⵣⴳⵜ ⵏ ⵜⵖⵙⵏⵙⵚⵜ / ict n tɣrdayt	"a small mouse"
ⵙⵣⵏ (ⵏ) ⵣⵅⵙⵍⵂⴳⵏ / sin (n) iḥrmucn	"two boys"
ⵙⵏⵙⵜ (ⵏ) ⵜⵅⵙⵍⵂⴳⵏ / snat (n) tḥrmucin	"two girls"

• *NP with an ordinal number*

Under this category, the NP is made up of a noun and an ordinal number. Ordinal numbers function as lexical determiners or modifiers of nouns to which they are attached, in the same fashion in which quality nouns (adjectives) modify nouns.

ⵙⵍⵏⵖ ⵙⵍⵊⵍⵙⵂ / amnay amzwaru	"the first knight"
ⵜⵙⴿⵙⵝⵜ ⵜⵙⵍⵊⵍⵙⵂⵜ / tafruxt tamzwarut	"the first girl"
ⵣⵖⵙⵏ ⵣⵍⵊⵍⵂⵙⵙ / iysan imzwura	"the first horses"
ⵜⵣⵖⵙⵏⵏⵣⵏ ⵜⵣⵍⵊⵍⵂⵙⵙ / tiɣallin timzwura	"the first mares"
ⵂⵙⵙⵏ ⵣⵍⵝⵝⵂⵙⵙ / ussan imggura	"the last days"
ⵜⵣⵝⵙⵍⵣⵏ ⵜⵣⵍⵝⵝⵂⵙⵙ / tifawin timggura	"the last light"

The NP consisting of a noun and an ordinal number may also take the shape of a noun modified or determined by a participial verb derived from the numerals ⵙⵍⵊⵍⵙⵂ / amzwaru and ⵙⵍⵝⵝⵙⵂ / amggaru. Under this display, the verb agrees only in number with the noun it modifies.

ⵄⵍⵄⵙ ⵥⵊⵓⵄⵙⵗⵉ / ⵥⵊⵓⵥⵗⵉ // amnay izwarn / izwirn	"the first knight"
ⵜⵄⵊⴹⵓⴰⵜ ⵥⵊⵓⵄⵗⵉ / ⵥⵊⵓⵥⵗⵉ // tafruxt izwarn / izwirn	"the first girl"
ⵥⵙⵗⵍ ⵊⵓⵗⵗⵉⵥⵉ / iysan zwurnin	"the first horses"
ⵜⵥⵄⵄⵗⵥⵉ ⵊⵓⵗⵗⵉⵥⵉ / tiɣallin zwurnin	"the first mares"
ⵄⵏⵅⴹⵄⵇ ⵥⵝⵝⵗⵗⵍ / ⵥⵝⵝⵗⵥⵗⵉ // amḥḍaṛ iggʷran / iggʷirn	"the last student"
ⵜⵄⵏⵅⴹⵄⵇⵜ ⵥⵝⵝⵗⵗⵍ / ⵥⵝⵝⵗⵥⵗⵉ // tamḥḍaṛt iggʷran / iggʷirn	"the last student (fem.)"
ⵗⵗⵍ ⵥⵝⵝⵗⵗⵍⵥⵉ / ⵥⵝⵝⵗⵥⵗⵉⵥⵉ // ussan iggʷranin / iggʷirnin	"the last days"
ⵜⵥⴹⵓⵗⵥⵉ ⵥⵝⵝⵗⵗⵍⵥⵉ / ⵥⵝⵝⵗⵥⵗⵉⵥⵉ // tifawin iggʷranin / iggʷirnin	"the last light"

The NPs with ordinal numbers, to the exception of ⵄⵄⵊⵓⵗⵗ / amzwaru "first" and ⵄⵏⵝⵝⵄⵗⵗ / amggaru "last", are made up of cardinal numbers (*cf. 3.4.5.b*) preceded by the morphemes ⵓⵥⵗ- / wis- or ⵜⵥⵗ- / tis- (the morphemes may sometimes surface as ⵓⵥⵗⵗ- / wiss- or ⵜⵥⵗⵗ- / tiss-). In the forms laid out below, the ordinal numerals precede the nouns that they determine; when such display is observed, the nouns always hold in the plural form.

ⵓⵥⵗⵗ ⵔⵇⵄⴻ (ⵉ) ⵥⵄⵗⵗⵉ / wiss kṛaḍ (n) imnayn	"the third knight"
ⵜⵥⵗⵗ ⵔⵇⵄⴻⵜ (ⵉ) ⵜⵄⵏⵗⵓⵊⵥⵉ / tiss kṛaḍt (n) tmdyazin	"the third poem"

The ordinal numerals may also follow the nouns they determine. When such a scenario holds, the nouns are singular and take the free state form.

ⵄⵍⵄⵙ ⵓⵥⵗⵗ ⵔⵇⵄⴻ / amnay wiss kṛaḍ	"the third knight"
ⵜⵥⵄⵗⵓⵊⵥⵉ ⵜⵥⵗⵗ ⵔⵇⵄⴻⵜ / timdyazin tiss kṛaḍt	"the third poems / poetess"

f. NPs with quantifiers

This category of NPs consists of a quantifier followed by a noun usually in the plural form; the two units are directly juxtaposed or linked by the presposition ⵉ / n or the predication morpheme ⴷ / d.

- ⵎⵍⵍⵓⵓ (l) / mnnaw (n) "many"

  ⵎⵍⵍⵓⵓ (l) ⵉⴼⵔⵅⵏ ⵓⴷ ⵖⵞⵔⵙ.
  mnnaw (n) ifrxan ad ɣurs
  "He has many children."

- ⵎⵏⵛⴽ ⴷ / mnck d "many, a lot of"

  ⵎⵏⵛⴽ ⴷ ⵉⵇⴰⵕⵉⴹⵏ / mnck d iqaṛiḍn   "a lot of money"

- ⴽⴷⴰ ⴷ / kda d, ⴰⵟⵟⴰⵚ ⵏ / aṭṭaṣ n, ⵜⵓⴳⵜ ⵏ / tugt n, ⴽⵉⴳⴰⵏ ⴷ / n // kigan d
  / n, ⴱⵣⵣⴰⴼ ⵏ / bzzaf n, ⴰⵣⵏⵏⵉⵔ ⵏ / aznnir n "many, a lot of"

ⴽⴰⴷⴰ ⴷ ⵎⵉⴷⴷⵏ / kada d middn	"many people"
ⴰⵟⵟⴰⵚ ⵏ ⵜⵎⵍⵍⴰⵍⵉⵏ / aṭṭaṣ n tmllalin	"many eggs"
ⴰⵟⵟⴰⵚ ⵏ ⵉⵎⴷⴷⵓⴽⴽⴰⵍ / aṭṭaṣ n imddukkal	"many friends"
ⵜⵓⴳⵜ ⵏ ⵡⴰⵡⴰⵍ / tugt n wawal	"too much talk"
ⴽⵉⴳⴰⵏ ⵏ ⵉⴷⵍⵉⵙⵏ / kigan n idlisn	"a lot of books"
ⴱⵣⵣⴰⴼ ⵏ ⵉⵃⵍⵍⴰⵍⵏ / bzzaf n iḥllaln	"a lot of lies"
ⴰⵣⵏⵏⵉⵔ ⵏ ⵓⵖⵔⵓⵎ / aznnir n uɣrum	"a lot of bread"

- ⴰⵏⵛⵜ ⴷ / anct d, ⵖⴰⵢⴷ ⴷ / ɣayd d "many"

ⴰⵏⵛⵜ ⴷ ⵜⵎⵓⵔⵖⵉ / anct d tmurɣi	"many crickets"
ⵖⴰⵢⴷ ⴷ ⵉⵣⴳⴰⵔⵏ / ɣayd d izgarn	"big cattle"
ⴰⵏⵛⵜ ⵓⵢⴰ ⵏ ⵓⴷⴼⵍ / anct uya n udfl	"a lot of snow"

- ⵇⴰⵄ / qaε, ⵇⴰⵃ / qaḥ "all"

ⵇⴰⵄ ⵎⵉⴷⴷⵏ / qaε middn	"all the people"
ⵇⴰⵃ ⵉⵔⴳⴰⵣⵏ / qaḥ irgazn	"all the men"
ⵇⴰⵃ ⵉⵙⵉⵡⴰⵏⵏ / qaḥ isiwann	"all the eagles"

- ⴽⵓ / ku, ⴽⵓⵍ / kul, ⴽⵓⴷ / kud "every"

ⴽⵓⵍ ⵜⵢⴰⵎⵔⵜ / kul tagmart	"each mare"
ⴽⵓ ⵜⴰⵎⵢⴰⵔⵜ / ku tamɣart	"each woman"
ⵎⴽⵓⵍ ⴰⵙⴳⴳⵯⴰⵙ / mkul asggʷas	"each year"

g. NPs with partitives

- ⴽⵔⴰ ⵏ / kra n, ⵛⴰ ⵏ / ca n "some"

ⵛⴰ ⵉ ⵜⴼⵙⵙⵧⵎⵤⵉ / ca n tɛyyalin	"some women / girls"
ⵛⴰ ⵉ ⵤⵍⴸⵧⵉ / can n iwdan	"some people"

- ⴸⵏⵛⵙ ⵉ / **drus n**, ⵤⵛⵤⵕⵕ ⵉ / **imikk n**, ⵛⵍⵧⵙⵜ ⵉ / **cwayt n**, ⵀⵔⴼⴻ ⵉ / **lbɛḍ n** "a little, some"

ⴸⵏⵛⵙⵜ ⵉ ⵤⵊⵔⵛⵗⵧⵉ / drust n izriran	"little make-up"
ⵤⵛⵤⵕ ⵉ ⵜⵤⴽⵉⵜ / imik n tisnt	"little salt"
ⵛⵍⵧⵙⵜ ⵉ ⵤⵍⵊⵧⵉ / cwayt n iwzan	"little wheat semolina"
ⵀⵔⴼⴻ ⵉ ⵤⵍⴸⵧⵉ / lbɛḍ n iwdan	"some people"

h. NPs with morphemes of otherness: ⵙⵧⴻⵉⵤⵉ / *yaḍnin*, ⵙⵧⴻⵉ / *yaḍn*, ⵉⵤⴻⵉ / *niḍn* "other"

The determiner ⵙⵧⴻⵉⵤⵉ / yaḍnin (and its variants) is post-posed to the noun it refers to.

ⴽⴽⵧⵧⵉ ⵙⵧⴻⵉⵤⵉ / ussan yaḍnin	"the other days"
ⵜⵤⴼⵙⵙⵧⵎⵤⵉ ⵙⵧⴻⵉ / tiɛyyalin yaḍn	"the other women"
ⵛⴽⵎⵎⴽ ⵉⵤⴻⵉ / mullu niḍn	"another time"
ⴽⵎⵜⵛⵧⴽ ⵉⵤⴻⵉ / ultmas niḍn	"his / her other sister"

i. NPs with demonstrative determiners

A demonstrative NP consists of a noun determined by a demonstrative morpheme expressing proximity ⴸ / d "by here", remoteness ⵉ / n "there" or absence ⵍⵧ / nna "in question". The demonstrative morphemes have a deictic locative value in the sense that they specify the time and space where the noun is located, i.e. whether it is near, far or absent. They confer a value of definiteness to the noun. These morphemes fall under three types; they are laid out in what follows:

- ⵧⴸ / **ad** (or one of its reduced forms ⵧ / a, ⴽ / u) to express proximity:

  ⵧⴻⵧⵤⴸ ⵧⴸ / ⵧⴻⵧⵤⴸ ⵧ / ⵧⴻⵧⵤⴸ ⴽ
  abrid ad / abrid a / abrid u
  "this way, path"

- ⵧⵍⵍ / **ann**, ⵤⵍⵍ / **inn** to express remoteness:

  ⵧⴻⵧⵤⴸ ⵧⵍⵍ / ⵧⴻⵧⵤⴸ ⵤⵍⵍ
  abrid ann / abrid inn
  "that way, path"

• ⵏⵏⵉ / lli, ‖ⵉ / nni, ‖ⵄ / nna to express absence:

ⵄⵧ̵ⵧⵉⵄⵄ̷ ‖ⵉ / ⵄⵧ̵ⵧⵉⵄⵄ̷ ‖ⵄ / ⵄⵧ̵ⵧⵉⵄⵄ̷ ⵏⵏⵉ
abrid nni / abrid nna / abrid lli
"the path in question"

j. Genitive NP: the noun and its complement

The genetive NP expresses possession. It consists of a noun (or one of its substitutes) followed by the genetive presposition ‖ / n "of" and another noun or pronominal complement.

ⵜ̵ⵧ̷ⵧ̷ⵧ̵ⵄⵜ ‖ ⵜⵄⵎ̵ / taddart n tima	"the house of my maternal grandfather"
ⵜ̵ⵧ̷ⵧ̷ⵧ̵ⵄⵜ ‖ⵙ / taddart nns	"his / her house"
ⵜ̵ⵧ̷ⵧ̷ⵧ̵ⵄⵜ ‖ⵖ / taddart nnγ	"our house"

k. NPs with quality nouns

This sort of NP consists of a noun and a quality noun. The quality noun defines and provides specifications about the quality and state of the noun it modifies:

ⵄⵗ‖ⵎⵄⵧⵉ ⵄⵛⵣⵣⵙⵧ̵ⵏ / iḥnjirn imẓẓyann	"young boys"
ⵜⵄⵜⵧ̵ⵄⵧⵉⵄⵉ ⵜ̵ⵛⵏⵄⵏⵄⵉ / titbirin tumlilin	"white doves"

l. NPs with a relative clause

This sort of NP is definite and bifurcates into three categories:

• **Without a relative pronoun**

ⵧⵗⵏⵄ ⵄⵛⵛ̵ⵜⵉ / aydi immutn	"the dog which is dead"
ⵧⵧ̵ⵧ̵ ⵄⵛⵛ̵ⵧ̷ⵧ̵ⵄⵉ / arba immuddan	"the child who has travelled"
ⵜⵄⵏⵛⵏ ⵄⵇⵣⵛⵉ / tinml iṛzmn	" The school which is open"

• **Antecedent (subject) + relative pronoun + participle**

ⵧⵗⵏⵄ ⵏⵏⵉ ⵄⵛⵛ̵ⵜⵉ / aydi lli immutn	"the dog which is dead"
ⵧⵧ̵ⵧ̵ ⵧ̵ ⵄⵛⵛ̵ⵧ̷ⵧ̵ⵄⵉ / arba da immuddan	"the child who has travelled"
ⵜⵄⵏⵛⵏ ‖ⵉ ⵄ ⵄⵇⵣⵛⵉ / tinml nni i iṛzmn	" the school which is open"

- **Antecedent (object, complement) + relative pronoun + conjugated verb**

ⵢⴰⴼⴰ ⵜⴰⵍⵖⵎⵜ ⵏⵏⵉ ⵖⴰ ⵉⵥⵥⴳ yufa talɣmt nni ɣa iẓẓg. "He found the she-camel to milk."
ⵉⵙⵖⴰ ⵜⵉⴳⵎⵎⵉ ⵍⵍⵉ ⵙ ⴰⵔ ⵉⵜⵜⵡⴰⵔⴳⴰ. isɣa tigmmi lli s ar ittwarga. "He bought the house in which he has always dreamt."

5.3. NP and coordination

An NP may consist of two nouns linked to each other by a coordinating morpheme. This sort of NPs meets all the functions of a noun.

The most commonly used morpheme of coordination in Amazigh is ⴷ / d "and, with":

ⵜⴰⴳⵯⵍⵍⴰ ⴷ ⵓⵢⵓ / taggʷlla d uyu	"porridge and milk"
ⵉⵃⵔⵎⵓⵛⵏ ⴷ ⵜⵔⴱⴰⵜⵉⵏ / iḥrmucn d trbatin	"the boys and the girls"
ⵜⴰⵎⵎⵎⵜ ⴷ ⵡⵓⴷⵉ / tammemt d wudi	"honey and butter"
ⵏⴽⴽⵉⵏ ⴷ ⵡⵓⵎⴰ / nkkin d wuma	"my brother and me"
ⵏⵜⵜⵏⵉ ⴷ ⵓⵙⵍⵎⴰⴷ / nttni d uslmad	"they and the teacher"

Coordinators include also:

- Coordinators used to choose between two alternatives: ⵏⵖ(ⴷ) / nɣ(d), ⵏⵉⵖ(ⴷ) / niɣ(d), ⵎⴰ(ⴷ) / ma(d) "or":

ⴰⵙⵙⴰ ⵏⵖ ⴷ ⴰⵙⴽⴽⴰ / assa nɣ d askka	"Today or tomorrow?"
ⴰⵣⴳⴳⵯⴰⵖ ⵏⵉⵖ ⴷ ⴰⵡⵔⴰⵖ / azggʷaɣ niɣ d awraɣ	"The red or the yellow?"
ⵡⴰⴷ ⵎⴰ ⴷ ⵜⴰⴷ / wad ma d tad	"This one or that one?"

- Coordinators with a cumulative value: ⵓⵍⴰ / ula "and, too"

ⵉⵔⴳⴰⵣⵏ ⵓⵍⴰ ⵜⵉⵄⵢⵢⴰⵍⵉⵏ / irgazn ula tiɛyyalin	"the men and the women, too"
ⴰⵏⵥⴰⵕ ⵓⵍⴰ ⴰⴷⴼⵍ / anẓaṛ ula adfl	"rain and snow, too"

CHAPTER 4
The pronoun

The pronoun stands for any unit that can be substituted by a noun or a noun phrase. Its prime function is to avoid the repetition of a noun by acting as a replacement of this noun in a phrase.

Pronouns include:

- personal pronouns;
- possessive pronouns;
- demonstrative pronouns;
- interrogative pronouns;
- indefinite pronouns.

1. Personal pronouns

A personal pronoun may take a variety of forms on the basis of the function it has in the phrase: subject pronoun (affix or independent), direct object, indirect object, object of a preposition or noun complement (ordinary or of kinship). Each set of pronouns has six person forms: three in singular and three in plural. Personal pronouns bifurcate into two categories: independent pronouns and affix pronouns or clitics.

1.1. Independent or autonomous personal pronouns

Independent pronouns, dubbed also autonomous pronouns, behave as NPs and have all their functions. Independent pronouns may function as:

- a subject (topic indicator)

ⴷⴷⵉⵢ ⵏⴽⴽⵉ. / ddiɣ nkki.	"I, myself, went."
ⵏⴽⴽⵉ ⴷⴷⵉⵢ. / nkki ddiɣ.	"I went."

- a predicate of a non-verbal phrase

Ʌ Iⵜⵜₒⵜ. / d nttat.	"It is her."
⵰Ο Ʌ Iⵜⵜₒⵜ. / ur d nttat.	"It is not her."

Not unlike the NP, an independent pronoun may be emphasized and, thereby, moved to an initial position of a sentence as much as it can be left at the end. It can also be used to highlight a subject or object clitic pronoun.

IⵣⵣⵞI, Οₒⵋⵌ. / nkkin, raḥɣ.	"I, myself, went."
Οₒⵋⵌ, IⵣⵣⵞI. / raḥɣ, nkkin.	"I went."
Iⵜⵜₒⵜ, ⵙⵙ Iⵌ ⵜⵜ. / nttat, ssnɣ tt.	"She, I know her."
ⵙⵙ Iⵌ ⵜⵜ, Iⵜⵜₒⵜ. / ssnɣ tt, nttat.	"I know her, (she)."

The independent pronoun is characterised by the diversity of its forms. It can take a simple form (Iⵣⵣ / nkk "me", ⵣⵎ / km "you, fem.") or a full form (IⵣⵣⵞI / nkkin, ⵣⵎⵎⵞI / kmmin). At the phonetic level, the pronouns' occlusive consonants may well take the form of fricatives, a case observed, for instance, in the first singular person pronoun (Iⵣⵣ / nkk → Iⵛⵛ / ncc).

Table 1: Independent personal pronouns

	Masculine	**Feminine**
Sing.	1st pers: Iⵣⵣ / nkk «I, me» 2nd pers: ⵣⵚⵚ / kyy «you» 3rd pers: Iⵜⵜₒ / ntta «he»	1st pers: Iⵣⵣ / nkk «I, me» 2nd pers: ⵣⵎⵎ / kmm «you» 3rd pers: Iⵜⵜₒⵜ / nttat «she»

Plr.	1st pers: Iⵣⵣ Iⵞ /
	        nkkni «we»
	2nd pers: ⵣ�II ⵞ /
	        knni «you»
	3rd pers: IⵜⵜIⵞ, IⵜIⵞI //
	        nttni, ntnin «they»
		1st pers: IⵣⵣIⵜⵞ, IⵣⵣⵞIⵜ //
		        nkknti, nkknint «we»
		2nd pers: ⵣIIⵞIⵜ, ⵣIIⵞIⵜⵞ //
		        knnint, knninti «you»
		3rd pers: IⵜⵜIⵜⵞ, IⵜIⵞIⵜ //
		        nttnti, ntnint «they»

As regards the first and second person, a whole range of other forms are observed:

1st person:

sing.: Iⵛ / nc, Iⵞⵛ / nic

masc. plr.: IⵛIⵞ / ncni, IⵛⵛⵞI / nccin, IⵛIⵞI / ncnin

fem. plr.: IⵛⵛⵞIⵜ / nccint, IⵛIⵞIⵜ / ncnint

2ⁿᵈ person:

masc. sing.: ⵕⵢⵢⴻ / kyyi, ⵞⵕⵕ / ckk, ⵞⵝⵝ / cgg

fem. sing.: ⵞⵎ / cm, ⵕⵞⵞⴻⵏ / kmmin, ⵕⵞⵞⴻⵏⴻ / kmmini

masc. plr.: ⵕⵏⵏⴻⵡ / knniw, ⵕⵏⵏⵓⵏⴻ / knnuni

fem. sing.: ⵕⵏⵏⴻⵎⵜ / knnimt

3ʳᵈ person:

*masc. plr.:*ⵏⴻⵜⵏⴻ (ⵏⴻⵀⵏⴻ) / nitni (nihni),ⵜⴻⵜⵏⴻ / titni

fem. plr.: ⵏⵏⴻⵜⵏⴻⵏⵜ / nnitnint

1.2. Affixal personal pronouns

Affixal personal pronouns stand for noun substitutes that are cliticised to verbs or affixed to nouns and prepositions. They stand out from independent pronouns by not having the same syntactic caracterisitics of the NPs they substitute. We can, therefore, say:

ⵀⵎⵎⵓ, ⵥⵔⵉⵖ ⵜ. / ḥmmu, ẕṛiɣ t	"Hemmou, I have seen him."
ⵏⵜⵜⴰ, ⵥⵔⵉⵖ ⵜ. / ntta, ẕṛiɣ t.	"(He), I have seen him."

But we cannot say:

  *ⵜ, ⵥⵔⵉⵖ ⵜ. / *t, ẕṛiɣ t.   "*him, I have seen him."

a. Subject affixal pronouns

Under this category, subject affixal pronouns, dubbed also person markers, are affixed to the stem of the verb. To the exception of the participle, any verbal form, obligatorily, has a person marker which is linked to its stem.

Depending on the person, the affixal pronoun may either be prefixed: ⴻ / i... (3ʳᵈ masc. sing.), ⵜ / t... (3ʳᵈ fem. sing.), ⵏ / n... (1ˢᵗ plr.), suffixed: ...ⵖ / ɣ (1ˢᵗ sing.), ...ⵏ / n (3ʳᵈ masc. plr.) ...ⵏⵜ / nt (3ʳᵈ fem. plr.), or discontinuous: ⵜ / t...ⵜ / ⴷ // t / d (2ⁿᵈ sing.), ⵜ / t...ⵎ / m (2ⁿᵈ masc. plr.) and ⵜ / t...ⵎⵜ / mt (2ⁿᵈ fem. plr.). The first singular or plural person as well as the second singular person do not exhibit any gender change. Put in another way, the affix pronoun does not change if the speaker is masculine or feminine.

Two sorts of personal pronouns are observed: the first can be used with all verbal moods except the imperative *(cf. Table 1, 5.1.2),* while the second is limited to the imperative mood only *(cf. Table 2, 5.1.2).*

b. Affixal pronouns that refer to the object

Amazigh recognises tow sorts of object pronouns: direct object pronouns and indirect object pronouns. These pronouns may well precede or follow the verb depending on the presence or absence of certain morphemes, such as aspectual particles, negation and interrogation tools as well as subordinate conjuctions.

₀Λ ₀ЏІ Λ ₀ЏƐІ ₀ᴄₒІ. / ad awn d awin aman. "They will bring you water."	
Ɛ⊙Џₒ ╪. / iswa t.	"He drank it."
ⵀ○ ╪ Ɛ⊙ЏƐ. / ur t iswi.	"He did not drink it."
Ɛ⊙ ╪ Ɛ⊙Џₒ ? / is t iswa ?	"Did he drink it?"

ⵢⵀᏟₒ ₀⊙ ╪. / yuca as t.	"He gave it to him."
ⵀ○ ₀⊙ ╪ ⵢⵀᏟƐ. / ur as t yuci.	"He did not give it to him."
Ɛ⊙ ₀⊙ ╪ ⵢⵀᏟₒ ? / is as tyuca ?	"Did he give it to him ?"

Table 2: Direct and indirect object pronouns

	Direct object pronouns	
	Masc.	**Fem.**
Sing.	1ˢᵗ pers: ƐⵢƐ / **iyi** 2ⁿᵈ pers: Ⰽ / **k** 3ʳᵈ pers: ╪ / **t**	ƐⵢƐ / **iyi** Ⰽᒆ / **km** ╪╪ / **tt**
Plr.	1ˢᵗ pers: ₀(І)Ⴑ / **a(n)ɣ** 2ⁿᵈ pers: Ⰽ"І╪ / Џ І // k"n / **wn** 3ʳᵈ pers: ╪І / **tn**	₀(І)Ⴑ / **a(n)ɣ** Ⰽ"І╪ / **k"nt** // Џ І╪ / **wnt** ╪І╪ / **tnt**

	Indirect object pronouns	
	Masc.	**Fem.**
Sing.	1ˢᵗ pers: ƐⵢƐ / **iyi** 2ⁿᵈ pers: ₀Ⰽ / **ak** 3ʳᵈ pers: ₀⊙ / **as**	ƐⵢƐ / **iyi** ₀ᒆ / **am** ₀⊙ / **as**
Plr.	1ˢᵗ pers: ₀(І)Ⴑ / **a(n)ɣ** 2ⁿᵈ pers:₀Ⰽ"І / ₀ЏІ // ak"n / **awn** 3ʳᵈ pers: ₀⊙І / **asn**	₀(І)Ⴑ / **a(n)ɣ** ₀Ⰽ"І╪ / ₀ЏІ╪ // ak"nt / **awnt** ₀⊙І╪ / **asnt**

Irrespective of the nature of the sentence (affirmative, negative, interrogative or exclamative), the indirect object pronoun always precedes the direct object pronoun.

Affirmative sentence:

verb + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron.

      ⵍⵄⵢ ⵄⵔⵉ ⵜ. / nniɣ asn t.   "I told it to them."

Negative sentence:

neg. + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron. + verb

      ⵓⵔ ⵄⵔⵉ ⵜ ⵍⵄⵢ. / ur asn t nniɣ.   "I did not tell it to them."

Interrogative sentence:

interro. + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron. + verb

      ⵢⵙ ⵄⵔⵉ ⵜ ⵜⵍⵄⵎ ? /   "Did you tell it to them?"
      is asn t tnnam ?

The yes / no interrogative morpheme ⵎⵄ / ma "is / are / have etc. ....?", a free variant of ⵢⵙ / is, does not engender the movement of object personal pronouns to a position before the verb.

      ⵎⵄ ⵙⵢⵓⵍⵍ ⵄⵔⵉ ? / ma siwln asn ?   "Did they talk to them ?"

c. Pronouns acting as a noun complement

The pronoun which behaves as a noun complement always follows the noun it specifies irrespective of the syntactic context in which the noun is used.

ⵜⵄⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ ⵍⵍⴽ / taddart nnk	"your (masc.) house"
ⵜⵄⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ ⵍⵍⵛ / taddart nnm	"your (fem.) house"
ⴰⵔⴳⴰⵣ ⵍⵍⵙ / argaz nns	"her husband"
ⵜⴰⵎⵢⴰⵔⵜ ⵍⵍⵙ / tamɣart nns	"his wife"

The nouns ⵜⴰⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ / taddart (fem.), ⴰⵔⴳⴰⵣ / argaz (masc.) and ⵜⴰⵎⵢⴰⵔⵜ / tamɣart (fem.) do not impose their gender markers on the pronoun.

The form of the pronoun varies depending on the nature of the noun it specifies, i.e. if it is a kinship or an ordinary noun. Interestingly, kinship nouns cannot exist without a pronominal complement.

Table 3: Ordinary and kinship pronominal complements

	Ordinary possessive pronominal complements	
	Masc.	**Fem.**
Sing.	1st pers: ⵣⵉⵢ / inu 2nd pers: ⵏⵏⴾ / ⵣⵉⵏⴾ // 　　　nnk / ink 3rd pers: ⵏⵏⵙ / ⵣⵉⵙ // 　　　nns / ins	ⵣⵉⵢ / inu ⵏⵏⵎ / ⵣⵉⵎ // nnm / inm ⵏⵏⵙ / ⵣⵉⵙ // nns / ins
Plr.	1st pers**:** ⵏⵏⵖ / nnɣ 2nd pers: ⵏⵏⵓⵏ / ⵏⵏⵡⵎ // 　　　nnun / nnwm 3rd pers: ⵏⵏⵙⵏ / nnsn	ⵏⵏⵖ / nnɣ ⵏⵏⵓⵏⵜ / ⵏⵏⵡⵎⵜ // nnunt / nnwmt ⵏⵏⵙⵏⵜ / nnsnt

	Kinship possessive pronominal complements	
	Masc.	**Fem.**
Sing.	1st pers: - Ø 2nd pers: - ⴾ / -k 3rd pers: - ⵙ / -s	- Ø - ⵎ / -m - ⵙ / -s
Plr.	1st pers: - ⵜⵏⵖ / -tnɣ 2nd pers: - ⵜⵓⵏ / -tun 3rd pers: - ⵜⵙⵏ / -tsn	- ⵜⵏⵖ / tnɣ - ⵜⵓⵏⵜ / -tunt - ⵜⵙⵏⵜ / -tsnt

In the first person, the pronoun that follows the kinship noun is covert and, therefore, not realized.

ⴱⴰⴱⴰ / baba	"my father, dad"
ⵓⵍⵜⵎⴰ / ultma	"my sister"

d. Affixal pronouns acting as objects of prepositions

Not unlike verbs and nouns, prepositions may well have affixal pronominal objects. To the exception of the preposition ⵣ / i "to, for" whose pronominal complement takes the form of an indirect object, all the other prepositions have identical pronominal object forms.

Table 4: affixal pronouns of prepositions

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1st pers: -ⵉ / **-i** 2nd pers: -ⴽ / **-k** 3rd pers: -ⵙ / **-s**	1st pers: -ⵉ / **-i** 2nd pers: -ⵎ / **-m** 3rd pers: -ⵙ / **-s**

Plr.	1st pers: -ⵏⵖ / **nɣ**
	2nd pers: -ⵡⵎ / ⵓⵏ //
	        wm / un
	3rd pers: -ⵙⵏ / **sn**
		1st pers: -ⵏⵖ / **nɣ**
		2nd pers: -ⵡⵎⵜ / ⵓⵏⵜ //
		        wmt / unt
		3rd pers: -ⵙⵏⵜ / **snt**

In writing, the preposition and its pronominal complement or object are united (ⵖⵓⵔⵙ / ɣurs, ⴷⴰⵔⵙ / dars "at his or her house / place"). It is also worthwhile to mention that most prepositions change their form when they are conjoined with a pronoun.

ⵉⵍⵍⴰ ⴳ ⵉⵎⵓⵣⵣⴰⵔ. / illa g imuzzar. ⵉⵍⵍⴰ ⴳⵉⵙ / illa gis.	"He is in Imouzzar." "He is in it."
ⵉⴼⴼⵖ ⵣⵉ ⵎⵏⵓⴷ. / iffɣ zi mnud. ⵉⴼⴼⵖ ⵣⵉⴳⵙ. / iffɣ zigs.	"He left Mnoud." "He left it."

The preposition ⵉ / i stands as an exception, as formerly explained, because it can only be followed by an indirect object pronoun.

ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍⵖ ⵉ ⵜⵎⵖⴰⵔⵜ. / ssiwlɣ i tmɣart. ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍⵖ ⴰⵙ. / ssiwlɣ as.	"I talked to the woman." "I talked to her."
ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍⵖ ⵉ ⵉⵎⵃⴹⴰⵔⵏ. / ssiwlɣ i imḥḍarn. ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍⵖ ⴰⵙⵏ. / ssiwlɣ asn.	"I talked to the students." "I talked to them."

2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns consist of a composite of various diectics that express proximity (ⴰⴷ / ad – ⴰ / a – ⵓ / u), remoteness (ⴰⵏⵏ / ann – ⵉⵏⵏ / inn) or absence (ⵍⵍⵉ / lli – ⵏⵏⵉ / nni – ⵏⵏⴰ / nna – ⴷⴰ / da) along with a supporting element of determination (ⵡ- / w- (masc.) // ⵜ- / t- (fem.)).

Table 5: demonstrative pronouns

	MASCULINE FORM	
	Singular	**Plural**
Proximity	ⵡⴾⵠ / ⵡⴾ // wad / wa	ⵡⵉⵠ / ⵢⵉⴾ // wid / yina
Remoteness	ⵡⴾⵏ / ⵡⵉⵏ // wann / win	ⵡⵉⵏ / ⵢⵉⵉⵏ // winn / yininn
Absence	ⵡⴾⵓⵉ / ⵡⵏⵏⵉ // walli / wnni ⵡⴾⵠⴾ / ⵡⵏⵏⴾ // wada / wnna	ⵡⵉⵓⵉ / ⵢⵉⵏⵉ // willi / yinni ⵡⵉⵠⴾ / ⵡⵉⵏⴾ // wida / winna

	FEMININE FORM	
	Singular	**Plural**
Proximity	ⵜⴾⵠ / ⵜⴾ // tad / ta	ⵜⵉⵠ / ⵜⵉⴾ // tid / tina
Remoteness	ⵜⴾⵏ / ⵜⵉⵏ // tann / tinn	ⵜⵉⵏ / ⵜⵉⵉⵏ // tinn / tininn
Absence	ⵜⴾⵓⵉ / ⵜⵏⵏⵉ // talli / tnni ⵜⴾⵠⴾ / ⵜⵏⵏⴾ // tada / tnna	ⵜⵉⵓⵉ / ⵜⵉⵏⵉ // tilli / tinni ⵜⵉⵠⴾ / ⵜⵉⵏⴾ // tida / tinna

3. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by conjoining supporting elements of determination (ⵡ / w- for the masculine form and ⵜ / t- for the feminine form) with the possessive pronominal complements of nouns (ⵉⵏⵓ / inu, ⵏⵏⴾ / ⵉⵏⴾ-nnk / ink, ⵏⵏⵙ / ⵉⵏⵙ - nns / ins) (*cf. 4.1.2.c*). The different paradigms of possessive pronouns are set out in the following tables:

Table 6: possessive pronouns with ⵓ / w (possessed masc. sing.)

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵓⵛⵉⵑ / winu «mine» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵗ / winnk «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵀ / winns «his»	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵓⵛⵉⵑ / winu «mine» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵛ / winnm «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵀ / winns «hers»
Plr.	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵓⵛⵍⵁ / winnɣ «ours» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵑⵏ/winnun «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵀⵏ/winnsn «theirs»	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵓⵛⵍⵁ / winnɣ «ours» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵑⵜ/winnunt «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵀⵜ/winnsnt «theirs»

Table 7: possessive pronouns with ⵓ / w (possessed masc. plr.)

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵓⵛⵉⵑ / winu «mine» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵗ / winnk «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵀ / winns «his»	1ˢᵗ pers.: ⵓⵛⵉⵑ / winu «mine» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵛ / winnm «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵀ / winns «hers»
Plr.	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵓⵛⵍⵁ / winnɣ «ours» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵑⵏ/winnun «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵀⵏ/winnsn «theirs»	1ˢᵗ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵁ / winnɣ «ours» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵑⵜ/winnunt «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵓⵛⵍⵀⵜ/winnsnt «theirs»

Table 8: possessive pronouns with ⵜ / t (possessed fem. sing.)

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵜⵛⵉⵑ / tinu «mine» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵜⵛⵍⵗ / tinnk «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵜⵛⵍⵀ / tinns «his»	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵜⵛⵉⵑ / tinu «mine» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵜⵛⵍⵛ / tinnm «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵜⵛⵍⵀ / tins «his»
Plr.	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵜⵛⵍⵁ / tinnɣ «ours» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵜⵛⵍⵑ / tinnun «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵜⵛⵍⵀⵏ / tinnsn «theirs»	1ˢᵗ pers. : ⵜⵛⵍⵁ / tinnɣ «ours» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: ⵜⵛⵍⵑⵜ / tinnunt «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: ⵜⵛⵍⵀⵜ / tinnsnt «theirs»

Table 9: possessive pronouns with + / t (possessed fem. plr.)

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1ˢᵗ pers.: +Ɛ�I° / **tinu** «mine» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: +ƐⅡⵣ / **tinnk** «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: +ƐⅡ⊙ / **tinns** «his»	1ˢᵗ pers.: +Ɛⵣ° / **tinu** «mine» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: +ƐⅡⵛ / **tinnm** «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: +ƐⅡ⊙ / **tinnsn** «his»
Plr.	1ˢᵗ pers.: +ƐⅡⵎ / **tinnγ** «ours» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: +ƐⅡ°l / **tinnun** «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: +ƐⅡ⊙l / **tinnsn** «theirs»	1ˢᵗ pers.: +ƐⅡⵎ / **tinnγ** «ours» 2ⁿᵈ pers.: +ƐⅡ°l+ / **tinnunt** «yours» 3ʳᵈ pers.: +ƐⅡ⊙l+/ **tinnsnt** «theirs»

4. Interrogative pronouns

An interrogative pronoun substitutes the NP on which the question is asked in a sentence. In general terms, an interrogative pronoun is built on the basis of the element ⵎ° / ma which might be followed with °Λ / ad or °ⵉ / ay "it is". The form of interrogative pronouns varies on the basis of their syntactic function.

• ⵎ° / ma - ⵁⵣ / wi - °⁚ / u "who"

When ⵎ° / ma, ⵁⵣ / wi or °⁚ / u has a subjective function, the verb should surface in the participial form (*cf. 5.1.2.c*):

ⵎ° °Λ ⵣ⊙ⵁ°l °+°ⵉ ? / ma ad iswan atay ?	"Who drank tea?"
ⵎ° °ⵉ ⵣ⊙ⵎ°l °Λ�II ⵣ⊙ ? / ma ay isγan adlis ?	"Who bought the book?"
ⵁⵣ °⊙ ⵣII°l °ⵁ°ⵙ °Λ ? / wi as innan awal ad ?	"Who told him these words?"
°⁚ °⊙ ⵣ⊙ⵎ°l ⵣΛII⊙l ? / u as isγan idlisn ?	"Who bought him the books?"

The form ⵎ° °ⵉ / ma ay is realized as [ⵎ°ⵣ] / [mag] when it is followed by the participial form ⵣ...l / i … n.

• ⵎ° / ma - ⵎⵣl / min - °⁚ / u "what"

When the interrogative pronouns ⵎ° / ma, ⵎⵣl / min and °⁚ / u fill a direct object function, the verb does not take the participial form and is conjugated in one of the four basic themes (*cf. 5.1.3*):

ⵎⴰ ⴰⴸ ⵜⵞⵛⴰⵎ ? / ma ad tccam ?	"What did you eat?"
ⵎⵉⵏ ⵜⵏⵏⵉⴸ ? / min tnnid ?	"What did you say?"
ⵎⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵜⵥⵕⵉⴸ? / ma ay tzṛid ?	"What did you see?"

• ⵎⴰⵏⵡⴰ / **manwa** // ⵎⴰⵏⵡⵏ / **manwn** "which (masc.)" ⵎⴰⵏⵜⴰ / **manta** // ⵎⴰⵏⵜⵏ / **mantn** "which (fem.)"

Linked to the proximity deictic ⵡⴰ / wa or to the remoteness deictic ⵡⵏ / wn, the form ⵎⴰ / ma is realized as ⵎⴰⵏⵡⴰ / manwa or ⵎⴰⵏⵡⵏ / manwn. The latter two interrogative pronouns exhibit variation in number and gender as the examples below show.

ⵎⴰⵏⵡⴰ / ⵎⴰⵏⵡⵏ // manwa / manwn	"which one"
ⵎⴰⵏⵡⵉ / ⵎⴰⵏⵢⵏ // manwi / manyn	"which ones"
ⵎⴰⵏⵜⴰ / ⵎⴰⵏⵜⵏ // manta / mantn	"which one (fem.)"
ⵎⴰⵏⵜⵉ / ⵎⴰⵏⵜⵉⵏ // manti / mantin	"which ones (fem. plr.)"
ⵎⴰⵏⵡⵉ ⵏⵏⴰⵉⵏ ? / manwi ddanin ?	"which ones left?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵜⴰ ⵜⵙⵖⵉⴸ ? / manta tsɣid ?	"which one (fem.) did you buy?"

• *Interrogative pronoun as object of a preposition*

Such an interrogative pronoun is used when the question targets the object of a preposition. The examples below exhibit the different forms in which interrogative pronouns appear when they target the object of a preposition:

ⵉ ⵎⵉ / ⵉ ⵓⵎⵉ // i mi / i umi	"to whom"
ⵙ ⵎⵉ / ⵙ ⵎⵉⵏⵣⵉ // s mi / s minzi	"with what"
ⵅⴼ ⵎⵉ / xf mi	"on what"
ⵖⵓⵔ ⵎⵉ / ɣur mi	"at whose house"
ⴰⴳⴷ ⵎⵉ / agd mi	"with whom"
ⵉ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵙⴰⵡⵍ ? / i mi isawl ?	"To whom did he speak?"
ⵉ ⵓⵎⵉ ⵉⵡⵛⴰ ⵜⵜⵎⵏⵢⴰⵜ ? / i umi iwca ttmnyat ?	"To whom did he give the money?"
ⵙ ⵎⵉ ⵉⴱⴱⵉ ⴰⵥⴰⵍⵉⵎ ? / s mi ibbi aẓalim ?	"With what did he cut the onion?"
ⴰⴳⴷ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵔⴰⵀ ? / agd mi iraḥ ?	"With whom did he go?"

5. Indefinite pronouns

Among the main indefinite pronouns, we may well mention:

a. ⴽⵔⴰ / kra "something, someone"

The indefinite pronoun ⴽⵔⴰ / kra is realized also as ⵛⵔⴰ / cra or ⵛⴰ / ca. The form ⴽⵔⴰ / kra, which refers to inanimate objects or things, surfaces unscathed regardless of gender and number variation.

ⵉⵇⴻⵢ ⴽⵔⴰ. / ẓriɣ kra.	"I saw something."
ⵜⵏⵉⴷ ⵛⴰ. / tnnid ca.	"You told something."

The indefinite pronoun ⴽⵔⴰ / kra (and its variants) can be followed by the preposition ⵉ / n along with another indefinite pronoun like ḥdd "someone, noone" or yan / ijj "one" leading to the appearance of phrases like ⴽⵔⴰ ⵉ ⵢⴰⵏ / kra n yan, ⵛⴰ ⵉ ⵉⵊⵊ / ca n ijj, ⵛⵔⴰ ⵉ ⵢⵉⵡⵏ / cra n yiwn "someone":

ⵉⵇ ⴽⵔⴰ ⵉ ⵢⴰⵏ ! / ẓr kra n yan !	"Try to find someone!"
ⵙⵓⵍⵢ ⵣ ⵛⴰ ⵉ ⵉⵊⵊ. / sawlɣ i ca nijj.	"I talked to someone"."
ⵉⵇⴻⵢ ⵛⴰ ⵉ ⵅⵏⵏ. / ẓriɣ ca n ḥdd.	"I saw someone."

b. ⵡⴰⵢⴻ / ⵡⴰⵢⵢⴻ / ⵡⵏⵏⴷⵏⵉ (ⵏ) - wayḍ / wiyyaḍ / wnnḍni (n) "other(s)"

Masc. Sing.	ⵡⴰⵢⴻ / ⵡⴰⵢⵢⴻ / ⵡⵏⵏⴷⵏⵉ(ⵏ) wayḍ / wayyaḍ / wnnḍni(n)
Masc. Plr.	ⵡⵢⵢⴻ / ⵡⵉⵏⵏⴷⵏⵉⵏ / ⵢⵉⵏⵏⴷⵏⵉ wiyyaḍ / winnḍnin / yinnḍni
Fem. Sing.	ⵜⴰⵢⴻ / ⵜⴰⵢⵢⴻ / ⵜⵏⵏⴷⵏⵉ(ⵏ) tayḍ / tayyaḍ / tnnḍni(n)
Fem. Plr.	ⵜⵢⵢⴻ / ⵜⵉⵏⵏⴷⵏⵉ(ⵏ) tiyyaḍ / tinnḍni(n)

ⵜⵏⵏⴰⵎ ⴰⵡⴰⵍ ⵍⵍⵉ ⵣ ⵡⵢⵢⴻ. / tnnam awal lli i wiyyaḍ.	"You told that to others."
ⵜⴷⴷⴰ ⴷ ⵜⴰⵢⴻ. / tdda d tayḍ.	"Another one (fem.) came."
ⵢⵇⴻⵢ ⵣ ⵜⵏⵏⴷⵏⵉ. / ɣriɣ i tnnḍni.	"I called the other (fem.)."

c. ⴰⵎⴰⵜⴰ / amata "the majority"

ⴰⵎⴰⵜⴰ ⵣⴷⴷⴰ ⴷ. / amata idda d.	"The majority of them came."
ⴰⵎⴰⵜⴰ ⵏⵏⵙⵏ ⵣⵇⵇⵣⵎ. / amata nnsn iqqim.	"The majority of them did not come."

The indefinite form ⴰⵎⴰⵜⴰ / amata is also used in the expression ⵙ ⵓⵎⴰⵜⴰ / s umata "the majority".

ⴷⴷⴰⵏ ⴷ ⵙ ⵓⵎⴰⵜⴰ. / ddan d s umata. "The majority of them came."

CHAPTER 5
Verbs and verb phrases

Verbs may well appear in a simple form (ₒ𝕏ᒉ / agm "to draw water", ₒ𝕏𝕀 / agl "to hang", ⊙ₒ⊔𝕀 / sawl "to talk") or in a derived form (╫╫⊔ₒ𝕏ᒉ / ttwagm, ╫╫⊔ₒ𝕏𝕀 / ╫╫ϟₒ𝕏𝕀 // ttwagl / ttyagl, ᒉ⊙ₒ⊔ₒ𝕀 / msawal). In both cases, verbs are conjugated in one of the following four themes: the aorist, the perfective, the perfective negative or the imperfective. Simple or derived, verbs receive the same verbal markers. Depending on the theme, verbs are preceded by one of the following aspectual particles: ₒΛ / ad, OₒΛ (⊙ₒΛ, 𝕏ₒΛ) / rad (sad, xad), Λₒ / da, 𝕀ₒ / la, ₒO / ar and ₒℤℤₒ (ℤₒ) / aqqa (qa).

1. Simple verbs

1.1. The root and the stem

A simple verb is made up of a root and a stem. The root consists of a consonant or a sequence of consonants that express the lexical and semantic meaning of the verb. The verbs ₒℋ / af "to find" and ₒ𝕏𝕀 / agl "to hang", for instance, are made up of the roots ℋ / f and 𝕏𝕀 / gl. The root does not belong to any grammatical category; it is neither a verb nor a noun.

To be realized, a root must be put in the mould of a stem, a sort of frame which usually includes vowels, making it possible for the sequence of vowels and consonants to have a grammatical category. The roots ℋ / f and 𝕏𝕀 / gl are mapped onto the following stem patterns: vc[9] and vcc, hence the forms ₒℋ / af and ₒ𝕏𝕀 / agl.

The combination of a root and a stem makes up the verb radical. The conjugated form of the verb obtains by adding verbal markers (gender and person, for instance) to the radical (cf. *4.1.2 a* and *5.1.2*).

In general terms, verbs are classified on the basis of the number of consonants they have. There are monoliteral (consisting of one consonant),

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9 c stands for a consonant and v for a vowel.

biliteral (2 consonants), triliteral (3 consonants), quadriliteral (4 consonants) and quinquiliteral (5 consonants) verbs.

a. Monoliteral

ⵝ / g	"to be, to do"
ⵔⵜ / ru	"to weep, to cry"
ⵯⵂ / ⵞⵂ // af / if	"to find"
ⵞⵉⵞ / ini	"to say"
ⵞⵔⵞ / iri	"to like, to love"

b. Biliteral

ⵉⵙ / ns	"to spend the night"
ⵝⵉ / gn	"to sleep"
ⵏⵏⵣ / ddz	"to grind"
ⵝⵉⵜ / gnu	"to sew"
ⵯⵝⵛ / agm	"to draw water"
ⵙⵜⴹ / suḍ	"to blow"
ⵜⵝⵜⵔ / ugur	"to walk"

c. Triliteral

ⵉⵛⵏ / lmd	"to learn"
ⵣⵏⵖ / zdɣ	"to live, to dwell"
ⵙⵇⵙⵯ / sqsa	"to ask"
ⵙⵙⵞⵍⵉ / ⵙⵯⵍⵉ // ssiwl / sawl	"to speak"

d. Quadriliteral

ⵏⵔⵖⵉ / drɣl	"to be blind"
ⵝⵛⵝⵛ / gmgm	"to stammer"
ⵏⵔⵏⵛ / drdm	"to stumble"
ⵠⵠⵔⵔⵉ / bbrkn	"to be black"

1.2. Verbal inflections

Three types of verbal inflection markers are observed in Amazigh: the non-imperative form (*cf. 4.1.2 a*), the imperative form and the participial form markers.

a. Inflectional markers of the non-imperative form

These inflectional markers are affixed to the verb irrespective of the theme in which it is conjugated (aorist, perfective, negative perfective or imperfective). The inflectional markers can be prefixed and / or suffixed as laid out in the table below:

	Masculine form	**Feminine form**
Sing.	1ˢᵗ pers. ---- ⵓ / ---- ɣ 2ⁿᵈ pers. ⵜ ---- ⵏ / t ---- d 3ʳᵈ pers. ⵉ ---- / i ----	1ˢᵗ pers. ---- ⵓ / ---- ɣ 2ⁿᵈ pers. ⵜ ---- ⵏ / t ---- d 3ʳᵈ pers. ⵜ ---- / t ----
Plr.	1ˢᵗ pers. ⵍ ---- / n ---- 2ⁿᵈ pers. ⵜ ---- ⵎ / t ---- m 3ʳᵈ pers. ---- ⵍ / ---- n	1ˢᵗ pers. ⵍ ---- / n ---- 2ⁿᵈ pers. ⵜ ---- ⵎⵜ / t ---- mt 3ʳᵈ pers. ---- ⵍⵜ / ---- nt

- Some of the markers set out above have variants. The first singular person ⵓ / ɣ is also realised as ⵅ / x or ⵣ / ḥ.

- The discontinuous inflectional morpheme ⵜ ... ⵏ / t ... d of the second singular person can also appears as ⵜ ... ⵜ / t ... t (ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵖⵏ / tffɣd or ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵖⵜ / tffɣt "you got out").

The inflectional marker ⵉ / i of the third masculine singular person is pronounced ⵢ / y when the verb has a vocalic initial.

$$ⵉ + ⵟⵎⵥ → ⵢⵟⵎⵥ / \text{yumẓ "He grasped, he held"}$$

$$ⵉ + ⵉⵡⵉ → ⵢⵉⵡⵉ / \text{yiwi "He took"}$$

The inflectional marker ⵜ ... ⵎⵜ / t … mt of the second feminine plural person may be realized as ⵜ … ⵍⵜ / t … nt by assimilation of ⵎ / m to ⵜ / t.

b. The imperative mood inflectional markers

The inflectional markers of the imperative form are always suffixed to the verbal stem:

Table 2: inflectional markers of the imperative form

	Masculine form	**Feminine form**
Sing.	2ⁿᵈ pers. ---- Ø	2ⁿᵈ pers. ---- Ø

Plr.	2ⁿᵈ pers. ---- ₒⵜ / ⵜ //
	        ---- at / t
	 2ⁿᵈ pers. ---- ⵎ / ---- m
		2ⁿᵈ pers. ---- ₒⵎⵜ / ⵎⵜ //
		        ---- amt / mt

As the table shows, no inflectional marker specifies the second singular person, as is apparent in ⵜⵜⴼⵖ / ffɣ ! "Get out!", ⴰⴷⴼ / adf ! "Get in!".

When the speaker is involved in the action that the interlocutor is ordered to perform, the pronoun aɣ (anɣ) is added to the imperative verb.

ⵜⵜⴼⵖ ⴰⵖ ! / ffɣ aɣ !	"Let us go out (you and me)!"
ⵜⵜⴼⵖⴰⵜ ⴰⵖ ! / ffɣat aɣ !	"Let us go out (you (masc.) and me)!"
ⵜⵜⴼⵖⵎⵜ ⴰⵏⵖ ! / ffɣmt anɣ !	"Let us go out (you (fem.) and me)!"

c. Inflectional markers of the participial form

A third form of inflectional markers is used with the participial form. This form is observed in specific contexts, such as the relative clause, the topicalized clause and the interrogative sentence provided that the subject is the antecedent of the relative pronoun or the object of a topicalization or a question.

ⴰⵔⴳⴰⵣ ⵍⵍⵉ ⵉⵜⵜⴼⵖⵏ ⵓⵔ ⴷ ⵏⵜⵜⴰ.
argaz lli iffɣn ur d ntta
"The man who went out is not him."

| ⴰⵎⵇⵇⵔⴰⵏ ⵏⵏⵙⵏ ⴰⵢ ⴷ ⵉⵙⴰⵡⵍⵏ. |
| amqqran nnsn ay d isawln |
| "It is their chief who spoke." |

| ⵡⵉ ⵉⵔⴰⵃⵏ ? |
| wi iraḥn ? |
| "Who went?" |

The participial form has an inflectional marker that is specific to it; it is different from the markers of the neutral and imperative forms. The inflectional marker takes the following shape ⵉ...ⵏ / i...n (ⵉⵜⵜⴼⵖⵏ / iffɣn, ⵉⴷⴷⴰⵏ / iddan and ⵉⵔⴰⵃⵏ / iraḥn). This marker is used with all verbal themes to the exception of the aorist which is preceded by ⵔⴰ / ra. The marker is also realised as ⵢ...ⵏ / y...n if the verb starts with a vowel (ⵢⵓⴷⴼⵏ / yudfn "entering"). In the plural form, the marker surfaces as ...ⵏⵉⵏ / ....nin, as displayed in the examples below:

- Masc. / fem. sing. ⵉ ... ⵏ / i … n

- Masc. / fem. plr. ... ⵏⵉⵏ / … nin

ⴰⵔⴳⴰⵣ (ⵍⵍⵉ) ⵉⵜⵜⴼⵖⵏ / argaz (lli) iffɣn	"the man who went out"
ⵉⵔⴳⴰⵣⵏ (ⵍⵍⵉ) ⵜⵜⴼⵖⵏⵉⵏ / irgazn (lli) ffɣnin	"the men who went out"

ⵜⵎⵗⵗⵓⵜ ⵥⵀⵣⵠⵢ / tamɣart iffɣn	"the woman who went out"
ⵜⵥⵗⵗⵓⵥⵏ ⵀⵣⵢⵥⵏ / timɣarin ffɣnin	"the women who went out"
ⵓⵄⵅⵓ ⵥⵜⵜⵀⵣⵢ / arba ittffɣn	"the boy who always goes out"
ⵓⵄⵓ ⵁⵓ ⵥⵀⵣⵢ / arba ɣa iffɣn	"the boy who will go out"
ⵓⵄⵓ ⵏⵏⵥ ⵦⵓ ⵥⵀⵣⵁ / arba lli ra iffɣ	"the boy who will go out"

The participial form of the aorist may well be used with ⵁⵓ / ɣa and ⵦ ⵁⵓ / a ɣa which are contextual variants of ⵓⵄ / ad.

ⵗⵛⵛⴰ ⵥ ⵁⵓ ⵥⵕⵕⴰⵏ. / ḥmmu i ɣa iddun.   "It is Hemmou who will go."

1.3. Verbal themes

a. The aorist

The aorist surfaces in the same form of the stem of the second singular person of the imperative mood (*cf. 5.1.4*). However, the usual verbal markers are cliticised to the verb when it is conjugated.

ⵓⵡⵥ / awi "take+aorist"	ⵓⵡⵥ ! / awi! "take ! (imperative)"
ⴾⵛⵛ / kcm "enter+aorist"	ⴾⵛⵛ ! / kcm! "enter ! (imperative)"
ⵥⵗⵥ / zri "cross+aorist"	ⵥⵗⵥ ! / zri! "cross ! (imperative)"

The aorist may well be construed as the basic form from which all the other verbal themes are derived. More often than not, it is preceded by the particle ⵓⵄ / ad which expresses different semantic values, the future included, or by ⵔⵓⵄ / rad which expresses the future value only.

ⵓⵄ ⵥⵔⵡⵏ. / ad irwl.	"He will run away."
ⵥⵏⵥ ⵓⴰ ⵓⵄ ⵥⵀⵣⴰ. / ini as ad iddu.	"Tell him to leave."
ⵔⵓⵄ ⵥⵀⵣⵁ. / rad iffɣ.	"He will go out."
ⵔⵓⵄ ⵇⵇⵥⵛⵏ ⵅ ⵜⵥⵛⵛⵥ. / rad qqimn g tgmmi.	"They will stay at home."

If the verb is used in listing a number of actions or in narration contexts, the aorist is not preceded by the particle ⵓⵄ / ad and may express semantic values other than the future.

- ⵓⵄ ⵥⵔⵓⵗ ⵄ ⴱⵓⴱⵓⴰ, ⵥⵥⵇ ⴰⵛⵓⴰ, ⵥⵔⵔⵥⵏⵏ ⵓⴰ ⵅⵣ ⵜⵛⵁⵔⵓ.

ad iraḥ d babas, iẓṛ umas, issiwl as xf tmɣra.

He will go with his father, see his brother and talk to him about the marriage ceremony.

- ⵊⵏⵏⴰ ⵀ ⵜⵛⵥⵊⵛⵏⵜ, ⵢⴰⵡⵢ ⵊⵍⵏⵛⵏⵙ ⵊ ⵊⵍⵏⵛⴰⵏⵉ, ⵊⵙⵢ ⴰⵙⵏ ⵊⵛⴰⵙⵙⵏ.

idda s tmazirt, yawy idlisn i inlmadn, isɣ asn imassn.

He went to his hometown, took books to the pupils and bought school supplies for them.

- ⴰⵏ ⵊⵡⵡⵜ ⵓⵏⵥⴰⵕ, ⵊⵍⵏⵉ ⵡⴰⵛⴰⵏ, ⵜⵓⵖⵓⵜ ⵜⵓⵖⴰ, ⵍⵍⴰⵡⵍⵍ ⵊⵥⴳⵥⴰⵏⵉ.

ad iwwt unẓaṛ, ilin waman, tugut tuga, jjawnn izgarn.

The rain will fall, there will be water, grass will be abundant and cows will eat their fill.

Table 3: conjugation of the verb ⵉⵏⵉ / ini in the aorist form (with ⴰⵏ / ad)

	Masculine form	**Feminine form**
Sing.	ⴰⵏ ⵉⵏⵉⵢ / ad iniɣ «I will say» ⴰⵏ ⵜⵉⵏⵉⵏ / ad tinid «you will say « ⴰⵏ ⵢⵉⵏⵉ / ad yini «he will say «	ⴰⵏ ⵉⵏⵉⵢ / ad iniɣ «I will say» ⴰⵏ ⵜⵉⵏⵉⵏ / ad tinid «you will say « ⴰⵏ ⵜⵉⵏⵉ / ad tini «she will say «
Plr.	ⴰⵏ ⵏⵉⵏⵉ / ad nini «we will say « ⴰⵏ ⵜⵉⵏⵉⵛ / ad tinim «you will say» ⴰⵏ ⵉⵏⵉⵏ / ad inin «they will say «	ⴰⵏ ⵏⵉⵏⵉ / ad nini «we will say « ⴰⵏ ⵜⵉⵏⵉⵛⵜ / ad tinimt «you will say» ⴰⵏ ⵉⵏⵉⵏⵜ / ad inint «they will say «

ⴰⵏ / ad and ⵔⴰⵏ / rad are pronounced as ⴰ / a and ⵔⴰ / ra (reduced forms) respectively before a verb that starts with a consonantal marker. This marker may either be ⵜ / t (2nd sing. or plr. person) or ⵏ / n (1st plr. person).

ⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⵡⵉⵏ ad tawid	"you will take"	→	[ⴰⵜⵜⴰⵡⵉⵏ] [attawid]
ⴰⵏ ⵏⴼⴼⵢ ad nffɣ	"we will get out"	→	[ⴰⵏⵏⴼⴼⵢ] [annffɣ]
ⵔⴰⵏ ⵜⵏⵙⵜ rad tnst	"you will spend the night"	→	[ⵔⴰⵜⵏⵙⵜ] [rattnst]
ⵔⴰⵏ ⵏⵏⵙ rad nns	"we will spend the night"	→	[ⵔⴰⵏⵏⵙ] [ranns]

b. Positive perfective

The positive perfective theme (which goes also under the name of the positive preterite) shows that the action of the verb is finished. To be conjugated, perfective verbs get the same verbal markers (person markers) as the ones seen before (*cf. 5.1.2. table n°1*).

For a number of verbs, the perfective and aorist themes are identical. When such identity holds, the verbs are considered to be regular.

Aorist		Perfective	
∘Λ Ɛⵄⵙⵉ ad imun	"he will accompany"	Ɛⵄⵙⵉ imun	"he accompanied"
∘Λ Ɛⵣⵣⵕ ad iffɣ	"he will go out"	Ɛⵣⵣⵕ iffɣ	"he went out"
∘Λ ƐⵝΛⵕ ad izdɣ	"he will live"	ƐⵝΛⵕ izdɣ	"he lived"

For other verbs, the perfective theme is different from the aorist theme. These verbs are irregular.

Aorist		Perfective	
∘Λ ƐⵏƐⵉ ad ilin	"they will be"	ⵏⵏ∘ⵉ llan	"they were"
∘Λ ƐⵉƐⵕ ad iniɣ	"I will say"	ⵍⵍƐⵕ nniɣ	"I said"
∘Λ ∘ⵣⵕ ad afɣ	"I will find"	ⵂⵣƐⵕ ufiɣ	"I found"
∘Λ ƐOƐⵉ ad irin	"they will need"	O∘ⵉ ran	"they need(ed)"

The perfective form of this class of verbs is different from the aorist form by a vocalic alternation sometimes concomitant with consonantal gemination.

More often than not, it is vocalic alternation that is observed and not consonantal gemination. In fact, the vowel of the stem is subject to change and alternates with another vowel that may obtain at the initial, middle or final position. The different alternations observed are laid out as follows:

• ⵄ- / a- > ⵓ- / u- alternation at the initial position

Aorist		Perfective	
ⵄⴰ ⵄⵛⵥⵙ ad amzɣ	"I will hold"	ⵓⵛⵥⵙ umzɣ	"I held"
ⵄⴰ ⵄⵝⵏⵙ ad aglɣ	"I will hang"	ⵓⵝⵏⵙ uglɣ	"I hung"
ⵄⴰ ⵄⵥⵥⵏⵙ ad azzlɣ	"I will run"	ⵓⵥⵥⵏⵙ uzzlɣ	"I ran"

It should also be noted that verbs with an initial vowel ⵄ- / a- followed by a semi-consonant ⵓ / w exhibit a different vocalic alternation. The alternation of the initial vowel of such verbs obtains in the following pattern: ⵄ- / a- > ⵉ- / i-:

Aorist		Perfective	
ⵄⴰ ⵄⵓⵉⵙ ad awiɣ	"I will take"	ⵉⵓⵉⵙ iwiɣ	"I took"
ⵄⴰ ⵄⵓⵏⵙ ad awlɣ	"I will marry"	ⵉⵓⵏⵙ iwlɣ	"I got married"
ⵄⴰ ⵄⵓⴹⵙ ad awḍɣ	"I will arrive"	ⵉⵓⴹⵙ iwḍɣ	"I arrived"

• ⵄ- / a- > ⵓ- / u- alternation at the medial position

Aorist		Perfective	
ⵄⴰ ⵝⵝⵄⵏⵏⵙ ad ggallɣ	"I will swear"	ⵝⵝⵓⵏⵏⵙ ggullɣ	"I swore"
ⵄⴰ ⵛⵛⵄⵔⵙ ad ccarɣ	"I will fill"	ⵛⵛⵓⵔⵙ ccurɣ	"I filled"
ⵄⴰ ⵉⵏⵄⵏ ad ilal	"he will be born"	ⵉⵏⵓⵏ ilul	"he was born"

• Zero alternation and final vowel insertion

This class of verbs, when conjugated in the perfective form, is characterized by the appearance of a vowel at the ultimate position, a vowel absent in the aorist form.

Aorist		Perfective	
ⵄⴰ ⵝⵙ / ad gɣ	"I will be"	ⵝⵉⵙ / giɣ	"I am / was"
ⵄⴰ ⵉⵏⵥ / ad inz	"It will be sold"	ⵉⵏⵥⵄ / inza	"It is / was sold"
ⵄⴰ ⵉⵥⵔ / ad iẓṛ	"he will see"	ⵉⵥⵔⵄ / iẓṛa	"he saw"

In the first and second singular persons, the perfective theme of a number of verbs is marked by the appearance of a final vowel ⵉ- / i-; in other persons, the same vowel is rendered as ⴰ- / a-, as set out in the conjugation of the verb ⵙⵖ / sɣ "to buy" below:

Table 4: Conjugation of the verb ⵙⵖ / sɣ "to buy"

	Masculine form	**Feminine form**
Sing.	ⵙⵖⵉⵖ / sɣiɣ «I bought» ⵜⵙⵖⵉⴷ / tsɣid «you bought» ⵉⵙⵖⴰ / isɣa «he bought»	ⵙⵖⵉⵖ / sɣiɣ «I bought» ⵜⵙⵖⵉⴷ / tsɣid «you bought» ⵜⵙⵖⴰ / tsɣa «she bought»
Plr.	ⵏⵙⵖⴰ / nsɣa «we bought» ⵜⵙⵖⴰⵎ / tsɣam «you bought» ⵙⵖⴰⵏ / sɣan «they bought»	ⵏⵙⵖⴰ / nsɣa «we bought» ⵜⵙⵖⴰⵎⵜ / tsɣamt «you bought» ⵙⵖⴰⵏⵜ / sɣant «they bought»

Final alternation is not observed only in verbs with the pattern zero alternation and final vowel insertion; it is also observed in verbs with double alternations (initial and final) as in ⵉⵔⵉ / iri "to want", ⵉⵏⵉ / ini "to say" and ⵉⵍⵉ / ili "to be, to exist":

ⵔⵉⵖ / riɣ	"I need"	ⵏⵏⵉⵖ / nniɣ	"I told"
ⵜⵔⵉⴷ / trid	"you need"	ⵜⵏⵏⵉⴷ / tnnid	"you told"
ⵉⵔⴰ / ira	"He needs"	ⵉⵏⵏⴰ / inna	"He told"
ⵔⴰⵏ / ran	"They need"	ⵏⵏⴰⵏ / nnan	"They told"

• Verbs with double vocalic alternations (initial and final)

ⴰⴷ ⴰⵊⵊⵖ / ad ajjɣ	"I will let"	ⵓⵊⵊⵉⵖ / ujjiɣ	"I let"
ⴰⴷ ⴰⵊⵊⵏ / ad ajjn	"they will let"	ⵓⵊⵊⴰⵏ / ujjan	"they let"
ⴰⴷ ⴰⴼⵖ / ad afɣ	"I will find"	ⵓⴼⵉⵖ / ufiɣ	"I found"
ⴰⴷ ⴰⴼⵏ / ad afn	"They will find"	ⵓⴼⴰⵏ / ufan	"they found"

• Vocalic alternation (vowel > zero vowel (in initial position)) along with consonantal gemination and final ⵉ / i - ⴰ / a alternation

ⵉⵍⵉ / ini "to tell" →	ⵍⵍⵉⵖ / nniɣ	"I told"
	ⵜⵍⵉⵏ / tnnid	"you told"
	ⵉⵍⵍⵄ / inna	"he told"
	ⵍⵄⵍ / nnan	"they told"

ⵉⵏⵉ / ili "to be" →	ⵏⵏⵉⵖ / lliɣ	"I am"
	ⵜⵏⵏⵉⵏ / tllid	"you are"
	ⵉⵏⵏⵄ / illa	"he is"
	ⵏⵏⵄⵍ / llan	"they are"

c. Negative perfective

The negative perfective theme (which goes also by the name of negative preterite) is a variant of the positive perfective theme. It is used when the verb is preceded by the morpheme of negation ⵓⵔ / ur (cf. 8.2.1). The main feature that specifies this theme is the appearance of vowel ⵉ / i before the final consonant of the verb stem if such consonant exists.

Perfective		Negative Perfective	
ⵓⵎⵥⵖ / umẓɣ	"I held"	ⵓⵔ ⵓⵎⵉⵥⵖ / ur umiẓɣ	"I did not hold"
ⴾⵔⵣⵖ / krzɣ	"I ploughed"	ⵓⵔ ⴾⵔⵉⵣⵖ / ur krizɣ	"I did not plough"
ⵉⵍⵍⵄ / inna	"he said"	ⵓⵔ ⵉⵍⵉ / ur inni	"he did not say"
ⵔⵄⵍ / ran	"they want"	ⵓⵔ ⵔⵉⵍ / ur rin	"they do not want"

Some verbs do not exhibit any alteration in their negative form; put in another way, their positive and negative forms are identical.

Perfective		Negative Perfective	
ⵎⵓⵍⵖ / munɣ	"I accompanied"	ⵓⵔ ⵎⵓⵍⵖ / ur munɣ	"I did not accompany"
ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵔ / nurar	"We danced."	ⵓⵔ ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵔ / ur nurar	"We did not dance."
ⵄⵥⵓⵎⵏ / aẓumn	"They fasted."	ⵓⵔ ⵄⵥⵓⵎⵏ / ur aẓumn	"They did not fast."

ⵜⵛⵛⵓⵜ / tmmut	"She died."	ⵓⵔ ⵜⵛⵛⵓⵜ / ur tmmut	"She did not die."
ⵉⵛⵎⵎⵓⵎ / imllul	"It is white."	ⵓⵔ ⵉⵛⵎⵎⵓⵎ / ur imllul	"It is not white."

d. The imperfective

The imperfective theme expresses action progressiveness; it usually meets habitual, intensive or iterative ends. The repetition of the action may hold in the past, present or future. To the exception of some Amazigh varieties, the imperfective theme of a verb is preceded by one or another of the following aspectual particles ⵄⵔ / ar, ⵏⵄ / da, ⵍⵄ / la, ⵄⵣⵣⵄ / aqqa or ⵄⵏ / ad // ⵔⵄⵏ / rad (and their variants) when the action takes place in the future (*cf. 5.3*).

The imperfective theme is derived from the aorist by applying one or more of the following morphological alterations: ⵜⵜ / tt- prefixation, gemination of a root consonant and the insertion of a vowel.

- ⵜⵜ / tt- prefixation: one of the most prominent markers of the imperfective theme:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ⵄⵅⵓ / azu	"to skin"	ⵜⵜⵄⵅⵓ / ttazu
ⵉⵏⵉ / ini	"to say"	ⵜⵜⵉⵏⵉ / ttini
ⵏⵏⵓ / ddu	"to go"	ⵜⵜⵏⵏⵓ / ttddu
ⵄⵍⵉ / awi	"to take"	ⵜⵜⵄⵍⵉ / ttawi
ⵓⵙⵓ / usu	"to cough"	ⵜⵜⵓⵙⵓ / ttusu
ⵜⵜⵓ / ttu	"to forget"	ⵜⵜⵓⵜⵜⵓ / ttettu
ⵛⵓⵍ / mun	"to be united"	ⵜⵜⵛⵓⵍ / ttmun
ⵉⵛⵉⵛ / imim	"to be sweet"	ⵜⵜⵉⵛⵉⵛ / ttimim

- Gemination of one of the root consonants: a simple consonant in the aorist form becomes tense in the imperfective form. Gemination is generally observed in the medial consonant of triliteral verbs as well as in the first or second consonant of bilateral verbs:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ⵍⵛⵏ / lmd	"to learn"	ⵍⵛⵛⵏ / lmmd
ⵇⵅⵛ / ṛẓm	"to open"	ⵇⵅⵅⵛ / ṛẓẓm

ⵎⵖⵔ / mgr	"to reap"	ⵎⵖⵖⵔ / mggr
ⵣⵄⵯ / zdɣ	"to live"	ⵣⵄⵄⵯ / zddɣ
ⵇⴻⵍ / ṛḍl	"to lend, borrow"	ⵇⴻⴻⵍ / ṛṭṭl
ⵔⵓⵍ / rwl	"to flee"	ⵔⵖⵖⵯⵍ / rggʷl
ⵔⵀ፧ / rbu	"to put on the back"	ⵔⴰⴰ፧ / rbbu
ⵉⵯ / nɣ	"to kill"	ⵉⵇⵇ / ⵉⵇⵇⵧ // nqq / nqqa
ⴾⵍ / kl	"to spend the day"	ⴾⵍⵍ / ⴾⵍⵍⵧ // kll / klla
ⵊⵇ / z̧r	"to see"	ⵊⵇⵇⵧ / zrra

The verbal root consonants ⴻ / ḍ, ⵓ / w and ⵯ / ɣ undergo phonetic changes when they are geminated. ⴻ / ḍ shifts to ⴻⴻ / ṭṭ, ⵓ / w becomes ⵖⵖ / gg and ⵯ / ɣ surfaces as ⵇⵇ / qq.

• Vowel insertion:

ⵙⵧⵓⵍ / ⵙⵄⵓⵍ / sawl / siwl	"to speak"	ⵙⵙⵧⵓⵧⵍ / ssawal
ⵙⴾⵔ / skr	"to do"	ⵙⴾⵧⵔ / skar
ⵙⵙⴼⵍⵡ / ssfld	"to listen"	ⵙⵙⴼⵉⵄⵡ / ssflid
ⵙⵙⵯⵡ / ssɣd	"to listen"	ⵙⵙⵯⵧⵡ / ssɣad

• The gemination of a verbal root consonant along with the alternation: zero vowel > vowel:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ⵉⵊ / nz	"to be sold"	ⵉⵊⵊⵧ / nzza
ⴾⵙ / ks	"to graze"	ⴾⵙⵙⵧ / kssa
ⵖⵉ / gn	"to sleep"	ⵖⵖⵧⵉ / ggan
ⵯⵊ / ɣz	"to dig"	ⵇⵇⵧⵊ / qqaz
ⵊⴻ / zḍ	"to grind"	ⵊⵊⵧⴻ / zzaḍ
ⵙⵯ / sɣ	"to buy"	ⵙⵙⵧⵯ / ssaɣ

As is clear in the aforementioned examples, gemination may affect the first (ⵙⵙⵧⵯ / ssaɣ) or second (ⵉⵊⵊⵧ / nzza, ⴾⵙⵙⵧ / kssa) consonant of a verb root.

• Vocalic alternation along with ⵜⵜ-(ⵜ) / tt-(t) prefixation. The vocalic alternation may well hold inside or at the end of the verb.

- Inside the verbal stem:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
Iⵙⵙⵙ / ns	"to spend the night"	ⵜⵜIⵙⵙⵙ (Iⵙⵙⵙ) // ttnus (nssa)
Iⵣ / nz	"to be sold"	ⵜⵜIⵙⵣ (Iⵣⵣ) // ttnuz (nzza)
ⵄⵣⵣⵏ / azzl	"to run"	ⵜⵜⵄⵣⵣⵄⵏ (ⵜⵜⵄⵣⵣⵏ) / ttazzal (ttazzla)
ⵔⵛⵎ / kcm	"to enter"	ⵜⵜⵔⵛⵄⵎ / ttkcam
ⵔⵄⵣ / krz	"to dig"	ⵜⵜⵔⵄⵣ / ttkraz
ⵍⵔⵍⵔ / drdr	"to sprinkle"	ⵜⵜⵍⵔⵍⵄⵔ (ⵜⵜⵍⵔⵍⵄⵔ) // ttdrdir (ttdrdar)
ⵀⵔⵔI / brkn	"to be black"	ⵜⵜⵀⵔⵔⵄI / ttbrkin

- At the end of the verb: a final vowel, absent in the aorist form, is added in the imperfective form:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ⵄⴼ / af	"to find"	ⵜⵜⵄⴼⵄ / ttafa
ⵇⵣ / ṛz	"to break"	ⵜⵜⵇⵣⵣⵄ / ttṛẓẓa
ⵛⵙⵍ / mud	"to braid"	ⵜⵜⵛⵙⵍⵄ / ttamuda
ⵄⵣⵣⵏ / azzl	"to run"	ⵜⵜⵄⵣⵣⵏⵄ / ttazzla
ⵅⵅⵄⵏⵏ / ggall	"to swear"	ⵜⵜⵅⵄⵏⵏⵄ / ttgalla
ⵙⵏⵏ / sll	"to listen"	ⵜⵜⵙⵏⵏⵄ / ttslla
ⵣⵣⵄⵏⵏ / ẓẓall	"to pray"	ⵜⵜⵣⵄⵏⵏⵄ / ttẓalla
ⵣⵣⵉⵎ / qqim	"to sit"	ⵜⵜⵖⵉⵎⵄ / ttɣima

The imperfective form of a whole range of verbs is concomitant with the degemination of one of the consonants of the verb root. This is what is observed in verbs like, ⵣⵣⵉⵎ / qqim "to sit", ⵣⵣⵄⵏⵏ / ẓẓall "to pray" and ⵅⵅⵄⵏⵏ / ggall "to swear".

Some verbs may have two imperfective forms: one with the gemination of a root consonant, the other with tt- prefixation along with a vocalic alternation (ⵔⵛⵎ / kcm "to get in" > ⵔⵛⵛⵎ / kccm or ⵜⵜⵔⵛⵄⵎ / ttkcam).

Special imperfective forms

Some verbs exhibit special forms when they are conjugated in the imperfective theme. These forms are at odds with the forms provided before.

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ⵓⵟ / ⵓⵓⵟ // ut / wwt	"to beat"	ⵇⵇⵄⵟ / kkat
ⵛⵛ / cc	"to eat"	ⵛⵟⵟⵄ / ⵟⵓⵟⵟ // ctta / tett
ⵜⵇ / fk	"to give"	ⵄⵇⵇⵄ / akka
ⵙⴻⵓ / bḍu	"to divide"	ⵄⴻⴻⵄ / aṭṭa

1.4. The imperative

The imperative mood bifurcates into two sorts of forms: the simple form and the intensive form. The first consists of the aorist form of the verb along with the imperative inflectional markers (*cf. 5.1.2 b*).

ⵜⵜⵢ ! / ffɣ !	"go out!"
ⵜⵜⵢⵄⵟ / ⵜⵜⵢⵛ ! // ffɣat / ffɣm !	"go out (plr. masc.)!"
ⵜⵜⵢⵄⵛⵟ / ⵜⵜⵢⵛⵟ ! // ffɣamt / ffɣmt !	"go out (plr. fem.)!"

The second form of the imperative mood, dubbed *intensive imperative*, is characterized by the use of the imperfective theme alongside with the imperative markers. It expresses a repeated process:

ⵟⵟⵜⵜⵢ ! / ttffɣ !	"(always) go out!"
ⵟⵟⵜⵜⵢ(ⵄ)ⵛⵟ ! // ttffɣ(a)mt !	"(always) go out (plr. fem.)!"
ⵙⵙⵄⵓⵏ ⵄⵙ ! // ssawl as !	"(always) talk to him!"

In the negative imperative form, it is the intensive form of the verb that is frequently used:

ⵓⵔ ⵟⵟⵜⵜⵢ ! ur ttffɣ !	or	ⵄⵏ ⵓⵔ ⵟⵟⵜⵜⵢ ! ad ur ttffɣ !	"Do not go out!"
ⵓⵔ ⵟⵟⵜⵜⵢⵄⵛⵟ ! ur ttffɣamt !	or	ⵄⵏ ⵓⵔ ⵟⵟⵜⵜⵢⵄⵛⵟ ! ad ur ttffɣamt !	"Do not go out (plr. fem.)!"
ⵓⵔ ⵇⵛⵛⵛ ! ur kccm !	or	ⵄⵏ ⵓⵔ ⵇⵛⵛⵛ ! ad ur kccm !	"Do not enter!"

Let it be noted that the imperative form with ⵄⵏ ⵓⵔ / ad ur expresses a slight semantic undertone if compared to the negative imperative form without ⵄⵏ / ad. The use of ⵄⵏ / ad expresses shades of meaning associated with threatening and prohibition.

The ₒʌ ⵣ○ / ad ur negative imperative form is also used with the aorist form of the verb and the usual verbal markers (*cf. 5.1.2 a*).

ₒʌ ⵣ○ ††ʌʌⵣⵌ ! / ad ur ttddum !	"Do not go (plr. masc.)!"
ₒʌ ⵣ○ ††ⵝⵝ५ⵌ ! / ad ur ttffɣm !	"Do not go out (plr. masc.)!"

2. Derived verbs

Derived verbs obtain from simple verbs, by virtue of prefixation of one of the following morphemes: the causative ⊙ / ⊙⊙ // s / ss, the passive †† / tt and the reciprocal ⵌ / ⵌⵌ // m / mm. However, non-derived verbs do not all have a corresponding derived form. Furthermore, while some verbs obtain in the three derived forms, other verbs accept only one or two forms.

Not unlike non-derived forms, the derived forms are conjugated in all the four afore-mentioned themes; they also have an imperative form. In some special contexts, they are observed in the participial form. In the aorist and imperfective themes, the derived forms are used with the same aspectual particles employed with non-derived verbs.

⊙⊙ⵣⵝ५ ⵥⵌⵀⵗₒ◯I ! / ssufɣ imḥḍaṛn !	"Get the students out!"
ⵥ⊙⊙ⵣⵝ५ ⵥⵌⵀⵗₒ◯I. / issufɣ imḥḍaṛn.	"He got the students out!"
ⵌ⊙ₒⵞₒⵙIⵥI / msawalnin	"who talked to each other"
ₒʌ ⵥ⊙⊙ⵥʌⵝ ⵥI⊖ⵝⵥⵞI ! / ad issidf inbgiwn !	"that he brings the guests in!"
ⵝₒ ⵥ⊙⊙ⵣⵝⵣ५ ₒⵞₒⵝ. / la issufuɣ awal.	"He discloses secrets."
ⵌ⊙ₒⵞₒⵝₒ† ! / msawalat !	"Talk to each other!"

2.1. The causative form

a. Structure

The causative form, which expresses causality, is used to confer the idea of "making do" or "making happen". The causative form obtains by prefixing ⊙ / s-(simple) or ⊙⊙ / ss- (geminate) to intransitive verbs.

- The non-tense prefix ⵙ- / s- is generally used with verbs that start with a consonant.

ⵏⵢ / ny	"to ride"	→	ⵙⵏⵢ / sny	"to help someone ride"
ⵅⵏ / gn	"to sleep"	→	ⵙⵅⵏ / sgn	"to make someone sleep"
ⴻⵇ / ḍr	"to go down"	→	ⵙⴻⵇ / sḍr	"to drop"
ⵇⵇⴻⵛ / qqim	"to sit down"	→	ⵙⵄⴻⵛ / sɣim	"to make someone sit"
ⵛⵜⵏ / mun	"to keep company"	→	ⵙⵛⵜⵏ / smun	"to assemble"
ⵤⵔⵉ / zri	"to cross"	→	ⵣⵤⵔⵉ / zzri	"to make someone cross"
ⴱⴷⴷ / bdd	"to stand up"	→	ⵙⴱⴷⴷ / sbdd	"to make someone stand up"
ⵍⵓⵎⵓ / wala	"to be near"	→	ⵙⵍⵓⵎⵓ / swala	"to place near"

- The geminate prefix ⵙⵙ- / ss- is generally used with vowel-initial verbs and sporadically with consonant-initial. The initial vowel may undergo some alterations.

ⵓⵔⵓ / aru	"to give birth to"	→	ⵙⵙⵓⵔⵓ / ⵙⵙⵉⵔⵓ // ssaru / ssiru	"to help a woman deliver ....."
ⵓⵎⵎⵓ / alla	"to weep"	→	ⵙⵙⵓⵎⵎⵓ / ssalla	"to make someone weep"
ⵉⵔⵉⵡ / iriw	"to be broad"	→	ⵙⵙⵉⵔⵉⵡ / ssiriw	"to broaden"
ⵓⵅⵓⵔ / ugur	"to walk"	→	ⵙⵙⵓⵅⵓⵔ / ssugur	"to make someone walk"
ⵓⵍⴻ / awḍ	"to arrive"	→	ⵙⵙⵉⵍⴻ / ssiwḍ	"to send something to somebody"
ⵓⵔⵉⴷ/ⵉⵔⵉⴷ/ arid / irid	"to be washed"	→	ⵙⵙⵉⵔⴷ / ssird	"to wash"
ⵟⵟⴹ / ṭṭḍ	"to be breastfed"	→	ⵙⵙⵓⴹⴻⴹ/ⵙⵙⵓⵟⵟⴹ// ssuḍeḍ / ssuṭṭḍ	"to breastfeed"
ⴽⵛⵛ / kcm	"to get in"	→	ⵙⵙⴾⵛⵛ / sskcm	"to bring in"

- The causative morpheme ⵙ- / s- is realised as ⵣ / z, ⵛ / c or ⵊ / j, by assimilation, if the basic form of the verb includes one of the three afore-mentioned consonants:

ⴰⵣⵣⵍ / azzl	"to run"	→	ⵙⵙⵉⵣⵣⵍ [ⵣⵣⵉⵣⵣⵍ] ssizzl [zzizzl]	"to make run, to commute"
ⴽⵛⵎ / kcm	"to get in"	→	ⵙⵙⴽⵛⵎ [ⵛⵛⴽⵛⵎ] sskcm [cckcm]	"to bring in"
ⵊⵊⵉ / jji	"to be cured"	→	ⵙⵙⵉⵊⵊⵉ [ⵊⵊⵉⵊⵊⵉ] ssijji [jjijji]	"to cure"
ⵊⵊⵓ / jju	"to smell good"	→	ⵙⵓⵊⵊⵓ [ⵊⵓⵊⵊⵓ] sujju [jujju]	"to perfume"

- The prefixation of the causative morpheme ⵙ- / s- may induce the degemination of one of the consonants of the verb root (ⵇⵇⵉⵎ / qqim > ⵙⵖⵉⵎ / sɣim, ⵟⵟⴹ / ṭṭḍ > ⵙⵙⵓⴹⴹ / ssuḍeḍ.

- The verbs that start with ⵙ- / s- are not necessarily causative. The morpheme ⵙ- / s- can also function as a verbalizer, i.e. it enables the derivation of a verb from a noun, as illustrated in the following examples:

ⴰⴹⵓ / aḍu	"wind"	→	ⵙⴹ / suḍ	"to blow"
ⴹⴼⵙⴰⵏ / ufsan	"spitting"	→	ⵙⵙⴹⴼⵙ / ssufs	"to spit"
ⴰⵡⴰⵍ / awal	"talk"	→	ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍ / ⵙⴰⵡⵍ // ssiwl / sawl	"to talk"
ⴰⵖⵓⵢⵢⵓ / aɣuyyu	"screaming"	→	ⵙⵖⵓⵢⵢⵓ / ⵙⵖⵓⵢⵢ // sɣuyyu / sɣuyy	"to scream"

b.Conjugation

Not unlike the other derived forms, the causative form is conjugated in the different verbal themes.

- The perfective form

The perfective form of causative verbs is identical to their aorist form.

Aorist	Perfective	Gloss
ⵙⵙⵓⴼⵖ ssufɣ	ⵙⵙⵓⴼⵖ ssufɣ	"to get someone out"

ⵙⵯⴰⴷⴷ sbdd	ⵙⵯⴰⴷⴷ sbdd	"to make someone stand up"
ⵙⵯⵯⵯⵯ sgall	ⵙⵯⵯⵯⵯ sgall	"to make someone swear"
ⵙⵯⵯⵯ smun	ⵙⵯⵯⵯ smun	"to assemble"

- The imperfective form

The same processes observed in the formation of the imperfective form may well hold for the causative form, i.e. vocalic alternation and ⵜⵜ- / tt-prefixation. However, it is the vocalic alternation that is more observed.

- Vocalic alternation

In general terms, the verbs consisting of a set of consonants and a single vowel evince an alternation within the root, i.e. the appearance of a second vowel (ⴰ / a, ⵓ / u or ⵉ / i) before the final consonant of the imperfective verb. The alternation may also hold at the end of the verb. The verbs made up of consonants only may also be subject to vowel insertion.

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ⵙⵙⴰⴷⴼ ssadf	"to bring in"	ⵙⵙⴰⴷⴰⴼ ssadaf
ⵙⵙⵓⴼⵖ ssufɣ	"to get someone out"	ⵙⵙⵓⴼⵓⵖ ssufuɣ
ⵙⵙⵓⴽⴼ ssukf	"to uproot"	ⵙⵙⵓⴽⵓⴼ ssukuf
ⵙⵙⵉⵔⴷ ssird	"to wash"	ⵙⵙⵉⵔⵉⴷ ssirid
ⵙⵙⵉⵡⴹ ssiwḍ	"to send something to somebody"	ⵙⵙⴰⵡⴰⴹ ssiwḍ
ⵙⵙⵏⵙ ssns	"to make someone spend the night"	ⵙⵙⵏⵙⴰ ssns
ⵙⵙⵔⵖ ssrɣ	"to light"	ⵙⵙⵔⵖⴰ ssrya
ⵙⵙⵖⵍⵉ ssɣli	"to lift"	ⵙⵙⴰⵇⵇⵍⴰⵢ ssaqqlay
ⵙⵙⴽⵛⵎ sskcm	"to bring in"	ⵙⵙⴽⵛⴰⵎ sskcam

ⵙⵙⵍⴽⵎ sslkm	"to send something to somebody"	ⵙⵙⵍⴽⴰⵎ sslkam
ⵙⵙⵔⵓⵜ / ⵙⵙⵔⵓⵜ ssrwt / ssrut	"to thresh"	ⵙⵙⵔⵡⴰⵜ ssrwat

-ⵜⵜ / tt- prefixation

This phenomenon may be accompanied with a vocalic alternation, as shown in the following examples:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ⵙⴱⴷⴷ / sbdd	"to arrest"	ⵜⵜⵙⴱⴷⴷⴰ / ttsbdda
ⵙⵏⵉ / sni	"to help someone ride"	ⵜⵜⵙⵏⵓⵢⴰ / ttsnuya

The imperfective form of causative verbs may exhibit a double vocalic alternation (ⵙⵙⵗⵍⵉ - ⵙⵙⴰⵇⵇⵍⴰⵢ / ssɣli – ssaqqlay).

2.2. The passive form

a. Structure

Compared to the causative form, the passive form is not used frequently. The passive form is rivaled by the third plural person of non-derived verbs (ⵓⵎⵥⵏ ⵜ / umẓn t "they arrested him" in place of ⵉⵜⵜⵡⴰⵎⵥ / ittwamẓ "he was arrested"). In addition, the passive form affects only direct transitive verbs and does not have a direct object. It is expressed by prefixing one of the following morphemes ⵜⵜⵢ / tty-, ⵜⵜⵡ / ttw-, ⵜⵜⵓ / ttu-, or ⵜⵜⵉⵡ / ttiw- to the aorist form of the verb.

The morphemes ⵜⵜⵢ / tty- and ⵜⵜⵡ / ttw-, which are variants, are generally used with vowel-initial verbs.

ⴰⴳⵎ / agm	"to draw (water)"	→	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⴳⵎ / ttwagm // ⵜⵜⵢⴰⴳⴰⵎ / ttyagam // ⵜⵜⵢⵉⴳⵉⵎ / ttyigim	"to be drawn (water)"
ⴰⴳⵍ / agl	"to hang"	→	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⴳⵍ / ttwagl // ⵜⵜⵢⴰⴳⴰⵍ / ttyagal // ⵜⵜⵢⵉⴳⵉⵍ / ttyigil	"to be hung"
ⴰⴽⵔ / agr	"to steal"	→	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⴽⵔ / ttwakr // ⵜⵜⵢⴰⴽⴰⵔ / ttyakar // ⵜⵜⵢⵉⴽⵉⵔ / ttyikir	"to be stolen"

ⵙⵛⵥ / amẓ	"to arrest"	→	ⵜⵜⵡⵙⵛⵥ / ttwamẓ // ⵜⵜⵢⵙⵛⵥ / ttyamaẓ // ⵜⵜⵢⵉⵛⵉⵥ / ttyimiẓ	"to be arrested"

Conversely, the morphemes ⵜⵜⵓ / ttu- and ⵜⵜⵉⵡ / ttiw- are, more often than not, prefixed to consonant-initial verbs.

ⵀⴻⵓ / bḍu	"to divide"	→	ⵜⵜⵓⵀⴻⵓ / ttubḍu // ⵜⵜⵉⵡⵀⴻⵓ / ttiwbḍu	"to be divided"
ⵛⵖⵄ / mgr	"to reap"	→	ⵜⵜⵓⵛⵖⵄ / ttumgr // ⵜⵜⵉⵡⵛⵖⵄⵄ / ttiwmgir	"to be reaped"
ⴽⵄⵥ / krz	"to plow"	→	ⵜⵜⵓⴽⵄⵥ / ttukrz // ⵜⵜⵉⵡⴽⵄⵉⵥ / ttiwkriz	"to be plowed"

ⵜⵜⵡ / ttw-, which is usually observed with vowel-initial verbs, may also appear with verbs with initial tense consonants.

ⵇⵇⵏ / qqn	"to close"	→	ⵜⵜⵡⵙⵇⵇⵏ / ttwaqqn	"to be closed"
ⵥⵥⵓ / ẓẓu	"to plant"	→	ⵜⵜⵡⵙⵥⵥⵓ / ttwaẓẓu	"to be planted"
ⵍⵍⵥ / ddz	"to grind"	→	ⵜⵜⵡⵙⵍⵍⵥ / ttwaddz	"to be ground"
ⵥⵥⴳ / ẓẓg	"to milk"	→	ⵜⵜⵡⵙⵥⵥⴳ / ttwaẓẓg	"to be milked"

With respect to the derivational morpheme ⵜⵜⵓ / ttu-, it can appear before a vowel (when this scenario holds, the first vowel of the verb is deleted) or a consonant.

ⵉⵏⵉ / ini	"to tell"	→	ⵜⵜⵓⵏⵏⵙ / ⵉ // ttunna/i	"to be told"
ⵖⵄ / gr	"to throw"	→	ⵜⵜⵓⵖⵄ / ttugr	"to be thrown"

Another form with ⵏ / nn-, although not frequently used, may also be used to express the passive form.

ⴽⵄⴼ / krf	"to hobble"	→	ⵏⵏⴽⵄⴼ / nnkrf	"to be hobbled, to suffer from rhumatism"
ⵇⵥⵛ /ṛẓm	"to open"	→	ⵏⵏⵇⵥⵛ / nnṛẓm	"to be loosened"
ⵖⵥⵛ /gzm	"to cut"	→	ⵏⵏⵖⵥⵛ / nngzm	"to be cut"

The Amazigh language recognizes another sort of passive form, termed *primitive* passive. Under this category, the verb appears in an ordinary non-derived form without a direct object. The verbs of this category confer a passive meaning by themselves; they do not necessarily need the common

passive prefixes (ⵜⵜⵡ / ttw, ⵜⵜⵢ / tty …). Examples of such verbs are ⴽⵔⵥ / krz "to plough, to be ploughed", ⵎⴳⵔ / mgr "to saw, to be sawed", ⵇⵇⵏ / qqn 'to close, to be closed", ⴷⴷⵥ / ddz "to grind, to be ground" and ⵔⵥ / r̲z "to break, to be broken" which often appear in the passive primitive form.

ⵉⴽⵔⵥ ⵢⵉⴳⵔ. / ikrz yigr.	"The field is ploughed."
ⵉⵎⴳⵔ ⵢⵉⴳⵔ. / imgr yigr.	"The field is reaped."
ⵜⵇⵇⵏ ⵜⴼⵍⵓⵜ. / tqqn tflut.	"The door is closed."
ⵉⴷⴷⵥ ⵓⵥⴰⵔⵉⴼ. / iddz uẓarif.	"The alum is ground."
ⵉⵔⵥⴰ ⵓⵖⴰⵏⵉⵎ. / ir̲za uɣanim.	"The reed is broken."

b. Conjugation

The perfective form of passive verbs is always identical to the aorist form of ordinary non-derived verbs.

| ⴰⵎⵥ / amẓ | "to grab" | → | ⵜⵜⵡⴰⵎⵥ / ttwamẓ | "to be grabbed" |
| ⴰⴳⵍ / agl | "o hang" | → | ⵜⵜⵡⴰⴳⵍ / ttwagl | "to be hung" |

The negetive perfective form may well be accompanied by an insertion of the vowel ⵉ / i before the final consonant.

Aorist	Gloss	Perfective Pass.	Neg. Perfective Pass.
ⵛⵎⵜ cmt	"to dupe"	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⵛⵎⵜ / ⵜⵜⵓⵛⵎⵜ ttwacmt / ttucmt	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⵛⵎⵉⵜ / ⵜⵜⵓⵛⵎⵉⵜ ttwacmit / ttucmit

The imperfective form is generally characterized by the insertion of a vowel before the final consonant of the verb.

Aorist	Gloss	Aorist Pass.	Imperfective Pass.	Gloss
ⵇⵇⵏ qqn	"to close"	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⵇⵇⵏ ttwaqqn	ⵜⵜⵡⵇⵇⴰⵏ ttwaqqan	"to be closed"
ⵎⵍ ml	"to show"	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⵎⵍ ttwaml	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⵎⴰⵍ ttwamal	"to be shown"
ⵍⵎⴷ lmd	"to learn"	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⵍⵎⴷ ttwalmd	ⵜⵜⵡⴰⵍⵎⴰⴷ ttwalmad	"to be learnt"

2.3. The reciprocal form

a. Structure

The reciprocal form is used to express the simultaneity of an action effected or undergone by two or more participants. It is marked by prefixing ⵎ- / m- (or its variants ⵎⵎ- / mm- and ⵎⵢ- / my-) to the simple form of the verb.

ⵎⵎⵏⵖⴰⵏ. / mmnɣan.	"They quarreled (one with another)."
ⴷⴰ ⵜⵜⵎⵙⵇⵙⴰⵏ. / da ttmsqsan.	"They are informing each other."
ⵎⵎⵥⵕⴰⵏ ⴳ ⵙⵙⵓⵇ. / mmẕṛan g ssuq.	"They saw each other at the market."

A vowel is usually inserted before or after the final consonant of the reciprocal verb, depending on the category of the verb used.

Aorist	Gloss		Reciprocal Form	Gloss
ⵛⴰⵡⵔ / cawṛ	"to consult"	→	ⵎⵛⴰⵡⴰⵔ / mcawaṛ	"to consult each other"
ⵙⵙⴰⴼⴹ / ssafḍ	" to send "	→	ⵎⵙⴰⴼⴰⴹ / msafaḍ	"to see off (each other)"
ⵥⵕ / ẓṛ	" to see "	→	ⵎⵎⵥⵕⴰ / mmẕṛa	"to see each other"
ⵖⵔ / ɣr	" to call "	→	ⵎⵎⵖⵔⴰ / mmɣra	"to call each other"

Let it be noted that the variant ⵎⵢ- / my- is used with vowel-initial verbs or with verbs that contain a geminate consonant.

ⴰⵡⴹ / awḍ	"to arrive"	→	ⵎⵢⴰⵡⴰⴹ / myawaḍ	"to join each other"
ⴽⴽⵙ / kks	"to remove"	→	ⵎⵢⵓⴽⴽⴰⵙ / myukkas	"to remove mutually"
ⴰⴼ / af	"to find"	→	ⵎⵢⴰⴼⴰ / myafa	"to find each other"

b. Conjugation

- The perfective form

The perfective form of a broad range of reciprocal verbs exhibits a vowel insertion before the final consonant:

ⵛⵓⵍⵔ / cawṛ	"to consult"	→	ⵎⵛⵓⵍⵓⵔ / mcawaṛ	"to consult each other"
ⵙⵙⵓⴼⴹ / ssafḍ	"to send"	→	ⵎⵙⵓⴼⴹ / msafaḍ	"to see off (one another)"
ⵓⵍⵙ / aws	"to help"	→	ⵎⵢⵓⵍⵙ / myawas	"to help each other"

The perfective form of verbs like ⵖⵔ / ɣr "to call" and ⵥⵔ / ẓṛ "to see, to watch" is identical to the simple form.

ⵥⵔⴰ / ẓra	"to have seen"	→	ⵎⵎⵥⵔⴰ / mmẓṛa	"to have seen each other"
ⵏⵖⴰ / nɣa	"to have killed"	→	ⵎⵎⵏⵖⴰ / mmnɣa	"to have quarreled with each other"
ⵖⵔⴰ / ɣra	"to have called"	→	ⵎⵎⵖⵔⴰ / mmɣra	"to have called each other"

- The imperfective form

The reciprocal form is generally characterized by the prefixation of ⵜⵜ / tt-:

ⵥⵔ / ẓr	"to see"	→	ⵜⵜⵎⵎⵥⵔⴰ / ttmmẓra	"to see each other frequently"
ⵏⵖ / nɣ	"to kill"	→	ⵜⵜⵎⵎⵏⵖⴰ / ttmmnɣa	"to quarrel with each other"
ⵙⵓⵍⵏ / ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍ // sawl / ssiwl	"to talk"	→	ⵜⵜⵎⵙⵓⵍⵏ / ttmsawal	"to talk to each other frequently"

2.4. Overderived forms

An overderived form is a form that combines two derivational prefixes with different values:

	Gloss	**Derivation**	**Overderivation**	
		Causative Form	*Passive + Causative*	*Reciprocal + Causative*
ⵣⵣⵖ / ffɣ	"to go out"	ⵙⵙⵓⵖ / ssufɣ	ⵜⵜⵓⵙⵙⵓⵖ / ttusufɣ	ⵎⵙⵓⴼⴰⵖ / msufaɣ
ⵣⵅⵓⵍⵍ / ggall	"to swear"	ⵙⵅⵓⵍⵍ / sgall		ⵎⵙⵅⵓⵍⵍ / msgall
ⵉⵖ / nɣ	"to kill"			ⵎⵙⵏⵖ / msnɣ

The forms ⵎⵙⵓⴼⴰⵖ / msufaɣ, ⵜⵜⵓⵙⵙⵓⵖ / ttusufɣ, ⵎⵙⵏⵖ / msnɣ and ⵎⵙⵅⵓⵍⵍ / msgall are overderived verbs. These forms show that the causative affix ⵙ- / s- can be conjoined with the reciprocal morpheme ⵎ / m or with the passive morpheme ⵜⵜⵓ / ttu- (bringing about complex affixes such as ⵎⵙ- / ms-and ⵜⵜⵓⵙ- / ttus-). The complex affix ⵙⵎ / sm- is also used as in: ⵙⵎⵉⴳⴳⵉⵔ / smiggir "to get two people to meet", ⵙⵎⴰⵖ / smaɣ and ⵙⵎⵏⵢⴰ / smnɣa "to cause a quarrel".

3. Aspectual particles

Very few contexts are observed where the aorist and perfective verbs stand alone. They are, frequently, preceded by particles, dubbed aspectual particles. These aspectual particles are set out below:

• ⴰⵔ / **ar, ⵍⴰ / la, ⴷⴰ / da** and ⴰⵇⵇⴰ / **aqqa**: They are used, in a mutually exclusive fashion, before verbs which are conjugated in the imperfective theme.

ⴰⵔ ⵉⵜⵜⴷⴷⵓ. / ar ittddu.	"He always leaves."
ⴰⵇⵇⴰ ⵉⴳⴳⵓⵔ. / aqqa iggur.	"He is walking."
ⴷⴰ ⵜⵙⵙⵉⵔⵉⴷ ⵜⴰⴹⵓⵜ. / da tssirid taḍut.	"She is washing the wool."
ⵍⴰ ⵏⵜⵜⵉⵏⵣⵉⵣ. / la nttinziz.	"We are singing."

• ⴰⴷ / **ad** and ⵔⴰⴷ / **rad** (or ⵔⴰ / **ra**): These particles precede verbs in the aorist form. ⴰⴷ / ad expresses the future and a number of other modal values such as wishing, fear, etc. ⵔⴰⴷ / rad, conversely, expresses the future only.

ⴰⴷ ⵙⵖⵏ ⴰⴷⵍⵉⵙ. / ad sɣn adlis.	"They will buy the book."
ⵔⵉⵖ ⴰⴷ ⵉⴷⴷⵓ / riɣ ad iddu	"I want him to go."
ⵔⴰⴷ ⵉⴹⵔ ⵓⴷⴼⵍ. / rad iḍr udfl.	"The snow will fall."

• ⵔⴰⴷ / **rad** (ⵔⴰ / **ra** is the abbreviated form) has another variant ⵙⴰⴷ / **sad** that expresses certainty in the future:

ⵙⴰⴷ ⵉⵔⴰⵃ. / sad iraḥ.   "He will surely go."

• The particle ⴰⴷ / **ad** has two variants, ⵖⴰ / ɣ**a** and ⵔⴰ / **ra**, which are used in environments where ⴰⴷ / **ad** is excluded. ⵔⴰ / **ra** is used with the aorist or the imperfective; ⵖⴰ / ɣ**a** is used with the participial form after ⴰⵢ / **ay** and ⴰⴷ / **ad**:

(ⴷ) ⵎⴻⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⴰⵢ ⵖⴰ ⵉⵔⴰⵃⵏ. / (d) memmis ay ɣa iraḥn.	"It is his brother who will go."
ⵛⵃⴰⵍ ⴰⵢ ⵖⴰ ⵜⵉⵛⴷ ? / chal ay ɣa tucd ?	"How many / much will you give?"

The topicalizers ⴰⴷ / ad and ⴰⵢ / ay are realised as ⴰ / a.

4. Verb phrase

A verb phrase is made up of a verb and its complement(s). It may, nonetheless, take the form of a single verb without complements.

ⵔⵡⵍⵏ. / rwln.   "They fled."

The verb phrase in the afore-mentioned example consists of a verbal stem ⵔⵡⵍ / rwl along with its person, gender and number marker ⵏ / n (*cf. 5.1.2.a*).

The verb along with its inflectional markers are inseparable; the second singular person of the imperative is, nonetheless, an exception because it lacks any overt inflectional person markers: ⴽⵛⵎ / kcm "get in", ⵇⵇⵉⵎ / qqim "sit down".

The minimal structure of the verb phrase may, therefore, be formulated in the following fashion:

(affix) + verb stem + (affix)

The form in the example above may well be extended by adding a postposed noun phrase that has the function of a lexical subject (usually optional).

ⵉⴼⴼⵖ (ⵓⵔⴱⴰ). / iffɣ (urba).   "He got out, (the boy)."

Other than the lexical subject, the verb phrase may include a complement or a bunch of complements depending on the nature of the verb.

(affix) + verb stem + (affix) + (lexical subject) + complement

4.1. Intransitive verbs

Put more broadly, this sort of verbs do not have direct or indirect objects, as is the case for the following verbs: ⵃⵃⵟ / ffɣ, ⵇⵓⵄ / ṛaḥ and ⵎⵎⵜ / mmt.

ⵉⵃⵞⵎ ⵄⵉⵀⵏⵞ. / ikcm unbdu.	"Summer is here."
ⵉⵇⵓⵄ ⵉⵄⵍⵍⵓⴻ. / iṛaḥ iḍnnaṭ.	"He went yesterday."
ⵉⵎⵎⵓⵜ. / immut.	"He is dead."

4.2. Direct transitive verbs

Direct transitive verbs have direct object complements. The following elements can serve as direct objects of transitive verbs:

- **An ordinary noun:**

  ⵉⵃⵙⵔ ⵉⵇⵙⵏⵞⵎⵏ. /   "He put the clothes out to dry."
  ifsr ihdumn.

- **A proper noun:**

  ⵉⵣⵇⵓ ⵎⵓⵎⵓ. /   "He saw Mama."
  iẓṛa Mama.

- **A noun phrase:**

  ⵉⵣⵇⵓ ⵎⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵏ ⵓⵎⵓⵙ. /   "He saw his nephew."
  iẓṛa memmis n umas.

- **A numeral noun phrase:**

  ⵉⵣⵇⵓ ⵙⵏⵜ (ⵏ) ⵜⵔⴱⵓⵜⵉⵏ. /   "He saw two girls."
  iẓṛa snat (n) trbatin.

- **An indefinite pronoun:**

  ⵉⵣⵇⵓ ⵓⵔⵓ. /   "He saw something."
  iẓṛa kra.

- **A demonstrative pronoun:**

  ⵉⵣⵇⵓ ⵓⵓ. /   "He saw this (one)."
  iẓṛa wa.

- **A possessive noun:**

  ⵉⵣⵇⵓ ⵓⵔⵓ. /   "He saw something."
  iẓṛa kra.

ⵥ⵰Qⵯ �étodo. /   "He saw mine."
iẓra winu.

4.3. Indirect transitive verbs

An indirect transitive verb is a verb whose complement is introduced by a preposition:

ⵥⵓⵀⵯ ⵥ ⵉⴻⵝⵝⵯⵕ ⵍⵍⵙ. / iɣra i uḍggal nns.	"He called his father-in-law."
ⵙⵙⵥⵉⵍⵉ ⵥ ⵉⵎⵏⵉⵍⵠ. / ssiwln i umnay.	"They talked to the knight."
ⵜⴻⵇ ⵝⵔ ⵉⵥQⵘ. / tḍr xf uẓru.	"She fell on a stone."

4.4. Symmetrical verbs

These verbs keep the same form irrespective of the nature of voice, active or passive.

1.a. ⵥQⵥⵏ ⵰ⵙ ⵰ⵝ⵰ⵏ. / iṛzm as axam.	"He opened the (door of the) house for her."
1.b. ⵥQⵥⵏ ⵉⵝ⵰ⵏ. / iṛzm uxam.	"The (door of the) house is open."

2.a. ⵜⵏⵏⵥ ⵰ⵥ⵰Qⵥⵘ. / tddz aẓaṛif.	"She ground alum."
2.b. ⵥⵏⵏⵥ ⵉⵥ⵰Qⵥⵘ. / iddz uẓaṛif.	"Alum is ground."

3.a. ⵥⵣⵣⵉ ⵜⵯⵍⵍⵉⵙⵓⵜ. / iqqn tawwurt.	"He closed the door."
3.4. ⵜⵣⵣⵉ ⵜⵍⵍⵉⵙⵓⵜ. / tqqn tawwurt.	"The door is closed."

In the sentences (1a), (2a) and (3a), all the verbs are transitive and have a direct object. Conversely, the sentences (1b), (2b) and (3b) are passive structures even if the verbs do not have morphological passive markers (*cf.5.2.2*). Importantly, the direct object of their active equivalents becomes a lexical subject with the role of a patient and takes the construct state inflectional morphology (ⵉⵝ⵰ⵏ / uxam, ⵉⵥ⵰Qⵥⵘ / uẓaṛif, ⵜⵍⵍⵉⵙⵓⵜ / twwurt). As regards the verbs, no mismatch is observed between their active and passive voice forms. And the only observed change is the agreement that holds between the verb and the new subject.

Let it also be noted that a number of verbs admit the two passive forms, as the verb ⵏⵏⵣ / ddz "to grind" shows below:

ⵉⵏⵏⵣ ⵓⵥⵓⵔⵉⴼ. / iddz uẓaṛif.	"Alum is ground."
ⵉⵜⵜⵡⴰⴷⴷⵣ ⵓⵥⵓⵔⵉⴼ. / ittwaddz uẓaṛif	"Alum was ground."

4.5. Link verbs

In general terms, a link verb introduces a quality noun and links the subject to the nominal predicate. The sentence with a link verb is characterized by the presence of the verb ⴳ / g which has the meaning of "to be, to do". In the remainder of this section, only the first meaning will be addressed. In the examples set out below, it is the nouns ⵓⵛⵛⵏ / uccn, ⴰⴼⵍⵍⴰⵃ / afllaḥ and ⴰⵣⴳⴳⵯⴰⵖ / azggʷaɣ that function as the nominal predicates of the sentences, given their essential semantic contribution to the meaning of the sentences.

ⵎⴰⵙⵉⵏ ⵉⴳⴰ ⵓⵛⵛⵏ. / masin iga uccn.	"Massine is a wolf."
ⴱⴰⴱⴰⵙ ⵉⴳⴰ ⴰⴼⵍⵍⴰⵃ. / babas iga afllaḥ.	"His father is a farmer."
ⵉⴳⴰ ⴰⵣⴳⴳⵯⴰⵖ. / iga azggʷaɣ.	"It is red."

At the syntactic level, the copula ⴳ / g is a full-fledged verb. It does not only behave like an ordinary verb in the sentence but it is also conjugated in the various verbal themes and receives the same verbal morphological markers.

ⴳ / ⴳⴳ // g / gg + NP:

ⵉⴳⴰ ⴰⵡⵔⴰⵖ. / iga awraɣ.	"It is yellow."
ⵉⴳⴰ ⴰⵏⵖⵎⴰⵙ. / iga anɣmas.	"He is a journalist."
ⵜⴳⴰ ⵜⴰⵏⵖⵎⴰⵙⵜ. / tga tanɣmast.	"She is a journalist."

4.6. Particles of orientation ⴷ / d and ⵏ / n

ⴷ (ⵉⴷ) / d (id) and ⵏⵏ (ⵉⵏⵏ) / nn (inn) are two particles that are used to indicate the orientation of an action. ⴷ / d orients the action towards the speaker, while ⵏⵏ / nn orients it towards the interlocutor. These two directional particles can be combined with dynamic verbs as well as with verbs that presuppose movement.

• *With dynamic verbs*

ⵢⵓⵛⴽⴰ ⴷ. / yucka d.	"He came here."
ⵢⵓⵛⴽⴰ ⵏⵏ. / yucka nn.	"He came (over there)."
ⵉⴼⴼⵖ ⴷ. / iffɣ d.	"He went out (from here)."

• *With ordinary verbs*

ⵢⵓⴼⴰ ⴷ. / yufa d.	"He found (over here)."
ⵢⵓⴼⴰ ⵏⵏ. / yufa nn.	"He found (over there)."
ⵉⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍ ⴷ. / issiwl d.	"He talked (here)."

The two particles can express a temporal value (ⵉⴽⴽⴰ ⵜⵜ ⵉⵏⵏ / ikka tt inn "once upon a time"):

ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⴷ ⵓⵏⴱⴷⵓ. / idda d unbdu.	"Summer is drawing near."
ⵉⵎⵇⵇⵓⵔ ⴷ. / imqqur d.	"He has become old."

More often than not, the particles ⴷ / d and ⵏ / ll-n / nn obtain after the verb. However, in some specific contexts and with a particular range of morphemes, the particles hold in a preverbal position.

• *The aspectual morphemes ⴰⴷ / ad, ⵔⴰⴷ / rad, ⵍⴰ / la and ⴷⴰ / da:*

ⴰⴷ ⴷ ⵢⴰⵙ. / ad d yas.	"He will come (over here)."
ⵔⴰⴷ ⴰⵡⵏ ⵏⵏ ⴰⵡⵉⵖ ⴰⵎⴰⵏ. / rad awn nn awiɣ aman.	"I will bring you water (from there)."
ⴷⴰ ⴷ ⵜⵜⴷⴷⵓⵏ ⵖⵓⵔⵏⵖ. / da d ttddun ɣurnɣ.	"They will visit us."

• *The negative morpheme ⵓⵔ / ur:*

ⵓⵔ ⴷ ⵢⵓⵙⵉ. / ur d yusi.	"He did not come here."
ⵓⵔ ⵏⵏ ⵉⴷⴷⵉ. / ur nn iddi.	"He did not go (there)."

• *Interrogative pronouns:*

ⵡⵉ ⴷ ⵉⴼⴼⵖⵏ ? / wi d iffɣn ?	"Who got out (from here)?"
ⵎⴰ ⴰⴷ ⴷ ⵢⵓⵛⴽⴰⵏ? / ma ad d yuckan ?	"Who arrived (here)?"
ⵎⴰ ⵏⵏ ⵢⵓⵛⴽⴰⵏ ? / ma nn yuckan ?	"Who came (over there)?"
ⵉⵙ ⴷ ⵉⵔⵡⵍ ? / is d irwl ?	"Did he flee (from here)?"
ⵉⵙ ⵏⵏ ⵉⵔⵡⵍ ? / is nn irwl ?	"Did he flee (from there)?"

• *Subordinators:*

ⵍⵓⵔ ⴷ ⵢⵙⴰⵓ ⵔⵓⵔ ⵍⵍⵏⵢ ⵓⵔ ⵜ. / mri d yusa iri nniɣ ak t.	"If he had come (over here), I would have told it to you."
ⵍⵓⵔ ⵍⵍ ⵢⵙⴰⵓ ⵔⵓⵔ ⵍⵍⵏⵢ ⵓⵔ ⵜ. / mri nn yusa iri nniɣ ak t.	"If he had come (over there), I would have told it to you."
ⵍⵣⵣⵓⵄ ⴷ ⵔⴷⴷⵓ ⵣⵄ ⵓⵄ ⵄⵓⵍⵙⵢ. / mqqar d idda ur as samḥɣ.	"Even if he comes (over here), I will not excuse him."
ⵙⵙⵏⵢ ⵓⵄⵃⵓ ⵍⵍⵔ ⴷ ⵢⵙⴰⵓⵍ. / ssnɣ arba lli d yusan.	"I know the boy who came (over here)."
ⵙⵙⵏⵢ ⵓⵄⵃⵓ ⵔ ⵢⵓ ⵍⵍ ⵙⵓⵄⵍ. / ssnɣ arba i ɣa nn yasn.	"I know the boy who will come (over there)."

The particles ⴷ / d and ⵍⵍ / nn always obtain after the direct object pronouns, and are realized respectively as ⵔⴷ / id and ⵔⵍ / in if they follow an obstruent dental stop.

ⵓⵍⵔ ⵜ ⵔⴷ ! / awi t id !	"Take it!"
ⵓⵍⵔ ⵜ ⵔⵍ ! / awi t in !	"Take it!"
ⵙⵢⵔⵍ ⵜⵜ ⵔⴷ. / sɣin tt id.	"They bought it."

CHAPTER 6
The preposition

The preposition is a part of speech that belongs to the category of link words. The central function of a preposition is to link up words and combine them in larger constructions. The preposition never appears without an object; the latter may take the form of a noun, pronoun or another preposition.

There are two sorts of prepositions: simple and complex. They have different semantic values, such as spatio-temporal, instrumental, directional and possessive, among other values.

1. Ordinary prepositions

a. The preposition ⵏ / n

Depending on the context where it is used, the preposition ⵏ / n "of, to" may have different semantic values, such as possession, belonging, determination and origin (source).

- *Possession*

ⵄⵛⵙ�O ⵏ ⵙⵛⵄ / amur n uma	"my brother's share"
ⵙOⴼⵙ ⵏ ⵍⵙⵀⴻⵛⵄ / urtu n wultma	"my sister's orchard"

- *Belonging*

ⵎⵎⵔⵌⵇⵄⵏ ⵏ ⵜⵄⵍⵥⵍⵥⵏ / ẓẓεfṛan n taliwin	"saffron of Taliwin"
ⵥⵛⵏⵙⵄⵎⵏ ⵏ ⵄⵔⵔⵥⵌ / imdyazn n arrif	"the singers of Rif"

- *Determination*

ⵄⵢⵙⵙO ⵏ ⵇⴻⵙⵔⵇ / ayyur n kṭubṛ	"the month of October"
ⵥⵛⴼ ⵏ ⵜⵛⵢⵄOⴼ / ict n tmγart	"a woman"

- Origin and provenance

ⵄⵎⴰⵏ ⵜⵔⴳⵯⴰ / aman n trgʷa	"the channel water"
ⵉⵙⵍⵎⴰⵏ ⵏ ⵡⴰⵙⵉⴼ / islman n wasif	"the fish of the river"

- Matter, nature and qualification

ⵜⴰⵎⵎⵏⵜ ⵏ ⵓⵣⵓⴽⵏⵏⵉ / tammnt n uzuknni	"the honey of thyme"
ⵜⵉⵙⵖⵏⵙⵜ ⵏ ⵓⵣⵔⴼ / tisɣnst n uz̧rf	"silver fibula"

b. The preposition ⵉ / i "to, for"

The preposition ⵉ / i "to, for" expresses attribution or destination and usually precedes the indirect object of a transitive verb.

ⴼⴽⵉⵖ ⵜⴰⵙⴰⵔⵓⵜ ⵉ ⵡⵓⵎⴰⴽ. / fkiɣ tasarut i wumak.	"I have given the key to your brother"
ⵉⵙⴰⵡⵍ ⵉ ⵓⴷⴳⴳⴰⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ. / isawl i uḏggal nns.	"He talked to his son-in-law"

c. The preposition ⵙ / s

The preposition ⵙ / s "to, towards, with, by means of" has directional (towards, to), instrumental (with, by means of) or causal values.

• *Direction*

ⴷⴷⴰⵏ ⵙ ⵜⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ. / ddan s tmazirt.	"They went to their homeland."
ⴰⴷ ⵏⴷⴷⵓ ⵙ ⵎⵔⵉⵔⵜ. / ad nddu s mrirt.	"We shall go to Mrirt."
ⵜⴷⴷⴰ ⵙ ⵎⵉⴷⵍⵜ. / tdda s midlt.	"She went to Midlt."

When the preposition ⵙ / s expresses a directional value, it can conjoin with the prepositions ⵖⵔ / ɣr or ⴷⴰⵔ / dar "at, towards" along different orders.

- ⵖⵔ + ⵙ / ɣr + s expresses direction and does not exercise any effect on the case of the noun that follows, i.e. the noun does not take the construct state:

ⴷⴷⴰⵏ ⵖⵔ ⵙ ⴰⵃⴼⵉⵔ. / ddan ɣr s aḥfir.	"They went to Ahfir."

- ⊙ + ᐱₒO / s + dar expresses the notion of "being at someone's house":

ᐱᐱƐꟼ ⊙ ᐱₒO ⵝ"ⵍₒ./ ddiɣ s dar gʷma.	"I went to my brother's home."

- Means

Ɛ⵿Qₒ † ⊙ †Ɛⴱⴱₒ�1Ɛⵏ �II⊙. / iẓṛa t s tiṭṭawin nns.	"He saw him with his own eyes."
ᐱᐱₒI ⊙ ⵛⵍₒQ. / ddan s uḍaṛ.	"They went on foot"

- Cause

ⵍⵍⵛ†ꟼ ⊙ ⵃₒᐱ. / mmutɣ s fad.	"I am extremely thirsty."
Ɛⵏⵊⵏ ⊙ †ⵏⵛOƐ. / iwḥl s twuri.	"He is tired because of work."

d. The preposition ⵝ / g

The preposition ⵝ / g "in, at", which may well surface as ꟼ / ɣ, ⵆ / x and ⵝ / ḥ, expresses a spatio-temporal value.

• *Spatial localization*

ⵛⵃƐꟼ † ⵝ †ₒᐱᐱₒO†. / ufiɣ t g taddart.	"I found him / it in the house."
Ɛⵏⵏₒ ⵝ ⵢƐꟼOⵍ. / illa g yiɣrm.	"He is in Ighrm."

• *Temporal localization*

OₒⵊI ⵝ ⵢƐE. / raḥn g yiḍ.	"They went at night."
ᐱₒ ƐⴱⴱₒQ ⵛᐱⵃⵏ ⵝ †ⵝO⊙†. / da iṭṭaṛ udfl g tgrst.	"Snow falls in winter."

e. The preposition ᐱƐ / di

The preposition ᐱƐ / di "in, at (space)" expresses localization in space. It is realised as ᐱⵝ / dg before a vowel-initial noun.

ᐱⵝ �1ₒⵍₒI / dg waman.	"in water"
ᐱƐ †ⵍⵛO† �IIꟼ / di tmurt nnɣ.	"in our country"
ᐱƐ †ƐⴱⴱₒⵏƐI / di tiṭṭawin	"In Tetouan"

f. The preposition ⵣⴳ / zg

The preposition ⵣⴳ / zg "from", and its variants ⵙⴳ / sg and ⵣⵉ / zi, express spatio-temporal origin and provenance.

ⴰⴷ ⵏⴱⴷⴰ ⵣⴳ ⵡⴰⵙⵙⴰ. / ad nbda zg wassa.	"We shall start as of today."
ⵜⵓⵙⴰ ⴷ ⵣⴳ ⵜⴰⵏⵊⴰ. / tusa d zg Tanja.	"She came from Tangier."
ⵣⵉ ⵔⵅⵅⵓ / zi rxxu	"From now on"
ⵣⴳ ⵉⴷⵎⴰⴷ / zg idmad	"just now"

g. The prepositions ⵖⵔ / ɣr and ⴷⴰⵔ / dar

The prepositions ⵖⵔ / ɣr and ⴷⴰⵔ / dar "towards, at" express a whole range of semantic values such as direction, time and possession.

• *Direction*

This value is expressed by the preposition ⵖⵔ / ɣr that has the same semantic value as ⵙ / s, i.e. directional.

ⴰⵡⵔⴰ ⵖⵔ ⴷⴰ! / awra ɣr da.	"Come here!"
ⴷⴷⵉⵖ ⵖⵔ ⴳʷⵍⵎⵉⵎⴰ. / ddiɣ ɣr gʷlmima.	"I went to Goulmima."
ⵜⵔⵓⵃ ⵖⵔ ⴳⵎⴰⵙ. / truḥ ɣr gmas.	"She went to see her brother."
ⵏⵎⵎⵣ̣ⵔⴰ ⴷⴰⵔ ⵜⴳⵎⵎⵉ. / nmmẓra dar tgmmi.	"We have seen each other near the house."

• *Time*

ⵖⵔ / ɣr may also serve the semantic value of time and can be followed by the preposition ⵙ / s.

ⵏⵛⵛⴰ ⵙⴽⵙⵓ ⵖⵔ ⵉⵎⴽⵍⵉ. / ncca sksu ɣr imkli.	"We had couscous at lunch."
ⵖⵔ ⵜⵎⴷⴷⵉⵜ / ɣr tmddit	"at night, in the afternoon."
ⵖⵔ ⵙ ⴰⵏⵇⵇⵔ ⵏ ⵜⴰⴼⵓⴽⵜ / ɣr s anqqr n tafukt	"at sunrise"

h. The preposition ⵅⵎ / xf

The preposition ⵅⵎ / xf "on, concerning, for" can appear in an abbreviated form ⵅ / x. The preposition takes its full form when it precedes an affixal personal pronoun (ⵅⵄⵎ / xaf, ⵞⵟⵎ / ɣif ...). ⵅⵎ / xf denotes the general meaning of "on", but can also mean the idea of superiority, domination and force.

ⵙⵔⵙ ⵄⵎⵄⵏ ⵅⵎ ⵜⵜⵟⴱⵍⵄⵜ ! / srs aman xf tṭṭblat.	"Put the water on the table!"
ⴱⴹⵓ ⵅⵎ ⴽⵇⵄⴹ ! / bḍu xf kṛaḍ !	"Divide into three!"
ⵍⵄ ⵟⴽⴽⵄⵜ ⵅⵎ ⵅⵍⵄⵙ. / la ikkat xf gmas.	"He sides with his brother."
ⵟⴽⴽⵄ ⵅⵎ ⵟⵎⵣⵓⵔⵏ. / ikka xf imzurn.	"He passed through Imzouren."

i. The prepositions ⵄⵅⴷ / agd, ⴷ / d

The prepositions ⵄⵅⴷ / agd and ⴷ / d mean "with, in company of". The first preposition has another variant which is ⵄⴽⴷ / akd.

ⵜⴼⴼⵞ ⵄⵅⴷ ⵜⵎⴷⴷⵓⴽⴽⵄⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ. / tffɣ agd tmddukkal nns..	"She went out with her friends."
ⵜⵣⵢⵄⵔⵜ ⵄⵅⴷ ⵓⵕⵎⵎⵄⵏ / tẓyaṛt agd uṛmman	"grapes and pomegranate"
ⵟⵎⵓⵏ ⴷ ⵓⵎⴷⴷⵄⴽⴽⵯⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ. / imun d umddakkʷl nns.	"He accompanied his friend."

j. The preposition ⵅⵔ / gr

The preposition ⵅⵔ / gr "between, among" designates distance between two points in space or time. The preposition has a whole range of variants, namely ⵉⵄⵔ / jar, ⵏⵅⵔ / ngr and ⵟⵏⵅⵔ / ingr.

ⵅⵔ ⵡⵄⵣⴷⵡⵟⵜ ⴷ ⵟⵎⵏⵙⵟ / gr wazdwit d imnsi	"between snack time and dinner"
ⵉⵄⵔ ⵟⵄⵟⵄ ⴷ ⵢⵟⵞⵔⵎ / jar ṭaṭa d yiɣrm.	"between Tata and Ighrem"
ⵄⵊⵊ ⵄⵡⵄⵍ ⵄ ⵟⵏⵅⵔⵄⵜⵏⵞ ! / ajj awal a ingratnɣ !	"keep this conversation between us!"

k. The preposition ⵄⵏ / ⵄⵔ - al / ar

The preposition ⵄⵏ / ⵄⵔ - al / ar "till, until" designates time and space limits. This preposition exhibits an important pecularity in the sense that the noun that follows it does not take the construct state marker.

ⵉⴱⴱⵄ ⵄⵔ ⵄⵛⵎⵣⵉⵛ. / idda ar amẓmiẓ.	"He went to Amzmiz."
ⵣⴳ ⵢⵉⵅⴼ ⵄⵏ ⵉⴹⵄⵔⵏ /zg yixf al iḍaṛn	"from head to toe"
ⵄⵔ ⵜⵄⵎⴱⴱⵉⵜ / ar tamddit	"till the evening"
ⵄⵏ ⴱⵄ / al da	"(till) here"

l. The preposition ⴱⵏⵄ / bla

The preposition ⴱⵏⵄ / bla "without" denotes absence, lack, exclusion or deprivation. Not unlike ⵄⵏ / ⵄⵔ - al / ar, ⴱⵏⵄ / bla does not require the noun that comes after it to take the construct state inflectional marker.

ⴱⵄ ⵉⵜⵜⵃⴼⴼⵄⴼ ⴱⵏⵄ ⵄⵎⵄⵏ. / da ittḥffaf bla aman.	"He shaves without using water. (He is clever)"
ⵉⴱⴱⵄ ⴱ ⴱⵏⵄ ⵉⵇⵄⵔⵉⴹⵏ. / idda d bla iqaṛiḍn.	"He came with no money on him."

2. Complex prepositions

This sort of prepositions is made up of two or three conjoined prepositions, one of which has an adverbial function. More often than not, the preposition ⵏ / n or ⵉ / i follows the preposition that has an adverbial function. There are, nonetheless, a host of other situations where the adverbial preposition is preceded by other prepositions such as the locative ⴳ / ⵖ // g / ɣ, the directional ⵙ / s or the spatio-temporal ⵣⴳ / zg.

ⵣⴱⵄⵜ ⵏ / ⵉ // zdat n / i	"in front of"
ⵄⵎⵉⵏⴱ ⵏ, ⵜⵄⵏⵉⵏⵄ ⵏ // amnid n, tanila n	"opposite"
ⵏⵏⵉⴳ ⵏ, ⵄⴼⵏⵏⵄ ⵏ, ⵉⴳⴳⵉ ⵏ // nnig n, aflla n, iggi n	"on, over, above"
ⵉⵣⴱⵄⵔ ⵏ / izdar n	"under"
ⴱⵔⵔⵄ ⵏ / bṛṛa n	"outside"
ⴹⵄⵔⵄⵜ ⵏ / ḍaṛat n	"behind"

ⵝ ⵜⵄⵎ ⵉ / g tama n	"near, next to"
ⵙ �} ⴱⵯⵯⵯⴰ ⵄ / ⵉ // s wadday i / n	"under"
ⵙ ⵏⵏⵊ ⵄ / s nnj i	"on, over""
ⵥⵄ ⵣⵉⵉⵯⵙ, ⵥⵄ ⵣⵉⵉⵄⵙ // zi dffar, zi dffir	"behind"
ⵖⵙ ⵙ / ɣr s	"towards"
ⵙ ⵣⵎⵙ / s dar	"at someone's house"

ⵉⵣⵣⵄⵛ ⵣⵉⵉⵄⵙ ⵉ ⵜⵙⵖⵯⵙⵜ. / nqqim diffir n tsɣart.	"We sat behind the tree."
ⵄⵏⵏⵎ ⵥⵙⵎⵜ ⵉ ⵜⵎⴱⴱⵎⵙⵜ. / illa zdat n taddart.	"He is in front of the house."
ⵝⵥⵄⵉ ⵜⵙⵡⵡⵉⵙⵜ ⵥⵙⵎⵜ ⵄ ⵜⵥⵥⵄⵙⵜ. / ggin tawwurt zdat i tgzirt.	"They put the door opposite the island."
ⵄⵏⵏⵎ ⵛⵉⵄⵙ ⵉ ⵓⵖ⵰ⵎ⵰. / illa mnid n uɣbalu.	"He is in front of the well."
ⵙⵙⵙⵙⵖ ⵜ ⵏⵏⵝ ⵉ ⵜⵏⵥⵇ⵰. / ssrsɣ t nnag n tnakṛa.	"I put it on the mat."

3. The morphology of prepositions

Depending on the context where it appears, a preposition can take a broad range of forms. Of prime importance among the contexts of use of prepositions, we mention the following.

3.1. A preposition followed by a noun or a free pronoun

Before any nominal (noun, free pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, possessive pronoun), the preposition surfaces unscathed. Often, the noun that follows the preposition takes the construct state form (cf. 3.1.3.). The only exceptions that hold are the prepositions ⵄⵏ / al "till, until"and ⴲⵏⵎ / bla "without" which are followed by nouns in the free state form.

ⵙ + ⵜⵎⵛⵎⵙⵜ / di + tamurt	→	ⵙ ⵜⵛⵎⵙⵜ / di tmurt	"in the country"
ⵙ + ⵎⵣⵎⵙ / s + afus	→	ⵙ ⵝⵣⵎⵙ / s ufus	"with the hand"
ⵙ + ⵎⵛⵙⵙⵎⵞⵞⵯⵏ / d + amddakkʷl	→	ⵙ ⵝⵛⵙⵙⵎⵞⵞⵯⵏ / d umddakkʷl	"with the friend"

ⵉ + ⵄⵓⵅⵅⴾⵄⵓ / n + asggʷas	→	ⵉ ⵜⵓⵅⵅⴾⵄⵓ / n usggʷas	"of the year"
ⵅⵖ + ⵄⵅⵁⵜⵗⵏ / xf + agrtil	→	ⵅⵖ ⵜⵅⵁⵜⵗⵏ / xf ugrtil	"on the mat"

When the object of a preposition is vowel-initial, some prepositions are pronounced differently because of phonetic assimilation phenomena.

$$\wedge \varepsilon + \varepsilon \mathbb{H} \mathbb{O} \circ l \quad \rightarrow \quad [\wedge \overline{X} \varepsilon \mathbb{H} \mathbb{O} \circ l] \qquad \text{"in the caves"}$$
di + ifran [dgifran

3.2. A preposition followed by an affixal pronoun

Ordinary prepositions, of most concern here the prepositions which consist of one letter, take their full form (through the reappearance of the vowels which are absent in the basic forms of the prepositions) when they are followed by affixal personal pronouns:

ⵅⵖ (ⵅ / ⵖ) / xf (x / f) + 3rd pron. sing	→	ⵅⵄⵁⵙ / ⵞⵉⵁⵙ // xafs / ɣifs
ⵏⵗ / di + 3rd pron. sing	→	ⵏⵄⵙⵙ / days
ⵅ / ⵞ // g / ɣ + 3rd pron. sing	→	ⵅⵗⵙ / ⵏⵗⵅⵙ // gis / digs
ⵞⵔ / ɣr + 3rd pron. sing	→	ⵞⵄⵔⵙ / ⵞⵜⵔⵙ / ⵞⵗⵔⵙ // ɣars / ɣurs / ɣirs
ⵙ / s + 3rd pron. sing	→	ⵙⵔⵙ / ⵙⵗⵙ // srs / sis

Scarce are the prepositions that preserve their form irrespective of the element that follows. One such preposition is ⵏⵄⵔ / dar, as set out in the example below:

ⵏⵄⵔ ⵗⵏⵏⵔ / dar iddr   →   ⵏⵄⵔⵙ / dars
"at Idder's house"   "at his house"

The prepositions ⵄⵏ / ⵄⵔ // al / ar "till, until" and ⴸⵏⵄ / bla "without" exhibit a peculiar oddity; they are never followed by affixal pronouns.

Table 1: ordinary prepositions and context of use

Context / Preposition	Before a noun	Before an affixal pron.[10]
I / n	I ⵍⵓⵎⴰⵏ / n waman	‖ⵙ / ⵥⵉⵙ // nns / ins
ⵥ / i	ⵥ ⵜⵂⵔⵓⵝⵜ / i tfruxt	ⵄⵙ / as
ⵅ (ⵌ) / g (ɣ)	ⵅ ⵣⴻⵓⵥⵠ / g ubrid	ⵅⵥⵙ / ⵠⵥⵅⵙ // gis / digs
ⵙ / s	ⵙ ⵣⵂⵣⵙ / s ufus	ⵙⵥⵙ, ⵙⵓⵙ // sis, srs
ⵅⵂ (ⵅ) / xf (x)	ⵅⵂ ⵥⵄⵅⵂ / xf yixf	ⵅⵄⵂⵙ / ⵌⵥⵂⵙ // xafs / ɣifs
ⵂ / f	ⵂ ⵣⵌⵄⵔⴰⴱ / f uɣrab	ⵂⵏⵏⵄⵙ / fllas
ⵠ / d	ⵠ ⵣⵙⵏⵍⵄⵠ / d uslmad	ⵠⵥⵙ / ⵠⵥⵠⵙ // dis / dids
ⵠⵥ / di	ⵠⵅ ⵣⵅⵅⵄⵛ / dg uxxam	ⵠⵥⵅⵙ / ⵠⵄⵅⵙ // digs / dags
ⵥⵅ (ⵥⵥ, ⵙⵅ) / xg (zi, sg)	ⵥⵅ ⵣⵠⵣⵔⵄⵔ / zg udrar	ⵥⵥⵥⵅⵙ / ⵥⵥⵄⵅⵙ // zzigs / zzags
ⵄⵅⵠ / ⵄⵅ // agd / ag	ⵄⵅⵠ ⵣⵓⵣⵣⵄ / agd urba	ⵄⴽⵥⵠⵙ / ⵄⵅⵥⵠⵙ // akids / agids
ⵌⵔ / ɣr	ⵌⵔ ⵣⵥⵄⵌⵄⵔ / ɣr uzaɣar	ⵌⵄⵔⵙ / ⵌⵣⵔⵙ / ⵌⵥⵔⵙ // ɣars / ɣurs / ɣirs
ⵠⵣⵔ / dar	ⵠⵣⵔ ⵅⵛⵛⵥ / dar ḥmmu	ⵠⵣⵔⵙ / dars
ⵅⵔ (Iⵅⵔ, Iⵣⵔ) / gr (ngr, jar)	ⵅⵔ ⵥⵙⵣⵂⵂⵏ / gr isaffn	ⵅⵔⵣⵜⵙⵏ / gratsn
ⵄⵏ / ⵄⵔ // al / ar	ⵄⵏ ⵂⵥⵅⵥⵅ / al figig	Never before an affixal pronoun
ⴱⵏⵣ / bla	ⴱⵏⵣ ⵣⵇⵔⴰⴱ / bla aqrab	Never before an affixal pronoun

4. Prepositions and their semantic values

The semantic value of a preposition ensues, in large measure, from the elements that surround it, i.e. the verb and the object of the preposition. This

10- To make things easy for the reader, the examples are given in the third person singular.

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is why some prepositions are polysemic, as is illustrated in the following examples:

ⵉⵏⵏⵓ ⵓⴳⴷ ⵜⵙⵔⵡⵉⵜ. / idda agd tsrwit.	"He went early in the morning."
ⵉⵏⵏⵓ ⵓⴳⴷ ⵓⵍⵜⵎⴰⵙ. / idda agd ultmas.	"He went with his sister."

The meaning of some prepositions is, nonetheless, relatively stable and easily identifiable. Of the different semantic values that prepositions have, we may well mention the following:

- Atrribution: ⵉ / i

- Location: ⴳ / ⴶ // g / ɣ, ⵣⴳ / zg, ⴷⵉ / di, ⴶⵔ / ɣr, ⵅⴼ / xf, ⴰⵔ / ar

- Direction: ⵙ / s, ⴶⵔ / ɣr, ⴷⴰⵔ / dar

- Time: ⴳ / ⴶ // g / ɣ, ⴰⵔ / ar, ⴷⵉ / di

- Insrument: ⵙ / s

- Possession and belonging: ⵏ / n

- Accompaniment: ⴷ / d, ⴰⴳⴷ / ⴰⴽⴷ // agd / akd

5. Prepositional phrase

The prepositional phase is any phrase which consists of a preposition followed by a noun phrase or any equivalent nominal (independent pronouns as well as affixal, demonstrative, indefinite and possessive pronouns).

Prep. + noun	ⵙ ⴰⴼⵓⵙ / s ufus	"with the hand"
Prep. + indep. pron.	ⵙ ⵏⵜⵜⴰ / s ntta	"with / (thanks to) him"
Prep. + affixal pron.	ⴷⴰⴳⵉ / dagi	"in / on me"
Prep. + dem. pron.	ⴰⵔ ⵜⴰ / ar ta	"until (we reach) this one"
Prep. + numeral	ⵙ ⴽⵔⴰⴹ / s kṛaḍ	"by three"
Prep. + poss. pron.	ⴰⴳⴷ ⵡⵉⵏⵓ / agd winu	"with mine (plr.)"

5.1. The object of a preposition

The object of a preposition can either be a noun or an affixal pronoun (see *6.3.1* and *6.3.2*). More often than not, the object of a preposition takes the construct state form; the only exception that stands in fundamental conflict with this rule is the case of the two prepositions ⵄⵀ / ar and ⴻⵏⵁ / bla, which are always followed by a noun in the free state form.

ⵞⵀ ⵂⵝⵝⵁⵛ / ɣr uxxam	"to the house" (CS.)
ⵙ ⵂⵊⵂⵙ / s ufus	"with the hand" (CS.)
ⵉ ⵂⵞⵀⵁⴻ / f uɣrab	"on the wall" (CS.)
ⴻⵏⵁ ⵁⵣⵀⵁⴻ / bla aqrab	"without the bag"
ⵄⵀ ⵁⵍⵂ / ar anu	"until the well (is reached)"

The preposition along with its object make up the prepositional phrase. Depending on the preposition used, the prepositional phrase may well function as a noun complement, an indirect object complement or an adverbial phrase.

Let it be noted that the role of affixal pronouns is to substitute the nouns or phrases governed by the preposition. To the exception of ⵉ / i which blends with indirect object pronouns (*cf. 4.1.2.b*), all the other prepositions are compatible with the putative (preposition + affixal personal pronoun) paradigm addressed in (*4.1.2.d*).

5.2. The syntactic function of a prepositional phrase

The function of a prepositional phrase depends on the relationship that it has with other constituents of the sentence as well as on the type of preposition used. Among these functions, we may well distinguish between:

    a. Indirect object

    b. Noun complement

    c. Adverb phrase

a. Prepositional phrase as an indirect object

The prepositional phrase assumes the function of an indirect object when it is part of a verbal phrase and it is introduced by the preposition ⵉ / i along with its object. The prepositional phrase can be reduced to a linked structure

made up of a preposition and an affixal pronoun; the linked structure has the function of an indirect object of the verb.

ⵓⵍⵢ ⵜⵐⵟⵓⵜ ⵓⵏ ⵢ ⵟⵓⵟⵓⵓⵔ ! / awy tabrat ad i babak!	"Take this letter to your father!"
ⵓⵍⵢ ⵓⵙ ⵜⵜ ! / awy as tt !	"Take it to him!"

Prepositional phrases that function as indirect objects consist of the preposition ⵢ / i along with:

• a noun:

ⵓⵏ ⵢⵙⵢⵓⵍⵏ ⵢ ⵎⵑⵎⵎⵙ ! / ad isiwl i memmis !   "That he talks to his son!"

• an independent pronoun:

ⵢⵓⵛⵓ ⵢⵣⵓⵇⵢⵍⵏ ⵢ ⵏⵜⵜⵓ ⵓⵔ ⵏ ⵢ ⵕⵢⵢⵢ.
iwca iqaṛiḍn i ntta ur d i kyyi.
"He gave the money to him not to you."

• an affixal pronoun:

ⵏⵏⵢⵖ ⵖⵜⵓⵔⵙ. / ddiɣ ɣurs.   "I was at his house."

• a demonstrative pronoun:

ⵢⵏⵢ ⵜ ⵢ ⵓⵢⵏⵏ ! / ini t i winn !   "Tell it to that one."

• an indefinite pronoun:

ⵜⵏⵏⵓⵎ ⵜ ⵢ ⵕⵔⵓ. / tnnam t i kra.   "You told it to someone."

• a possessive pronoun:

ⵢⵏⵏⵓ ⵜ ⵢ ⵓⵢⵏⵏⵕ. / inna t i winnk.   "He told it to yours (to your friends)."

b. Prepositional phrase as a noun complement

The noun complement consists of the genetive preposition ⵏ / n followed by one of the following elements:

• a noun:

ⵢⵎⵢ ⵏ ⵜⵓⵏⵏⵓⵔⵜ / imi n taddart	"the door of the house"
ⵟⵟⵓⵊⵏⵏ ⵢⵙⵍⵎⵓⵏ / ṭṭajin n islman	"a fish tajine"

• an adverb:

ⵎⵉⴷⴷⵏ ⵏ ⵣⵉⴽ / middn n zik	"our ancestors"
ⴰⵎⵓⴷⴷⵓ ⵏ ⵉⵎⴰⵍ / amuddu n imal	"The trip of next year"

• an affixal pronoun:

ⴰⵢⵢⵉⵙ ⵏⵏⵙ / ayyis nns	"his horse"
ⵉⵅⴼ ⵏⵏⵙ / ixf nns	"his head"

After the preposition ⵏ / n, personal affixes take special forms (*cf. 4.1.2.c*).

c. Prepositional phrase as an adverb phrase

The prepositional phrase may assume the function of an adverbial phrase if it is introduced by prepositions other than ⵉ / i "to" and ⵏ / n "of" (*cf. 6.1* and *6.2*). The adverb phrase may express diverse semantic values, such as:

• time:

ⵍⴰ ⵉⵜⵜⴰⵕ ⵓⴷⴼⵍ ⴳ ⵜⴳⵔⵙⵜ. /   "Snow falls in winter."
la iṭṭaṛ udfl g tgrst.

• location:

ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⵙ ⵜⵉⵏⵎⵍ. / idda s tinml.	"He went to school."
ⴳ ⴰⴽⵙⵓⵎ ⵅⴼ ⵜⵎⵙⵙⵉ ! / g aksum xf tmssi !	"Put the meat on the fire!"
ⵢⵓⵙ ⴷ ⵣⵉ ⵙⵙⵓⵇ. / yus d zi ssuq !	"He came back from the souk."
ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⴷ ⵙⴳ ⵉⵎⵏⵢⵉ. / idda d sg imnɣi.	"He has returned from the fight."

• means:

ⵉⵅⴷⴷⵎ ⵙ ⵓⴼⵓⵙ. / ixddm s   "He is working with his own
ufus.   hands."

• cause:

ⵉⵎⵎⵓⵜ ⵙ ⵓⵚⵎⵎⵉⴹ. / immut   "She is dying of cold."
s uṣmmiḍ.

• manner:

ⵣⵗⵗⵚ ⵗ ⵙ ⵜⵔⵓⵎⵚ. / idda d s trwla.	"He came running."
ⵣⵌⵌⵖ ⵙ ⵜⵚⵜⵜⵎⵚ. / iffɣ s tazzla.	"He went out running."

• accompaniment:

ⵣⵎⵉⵍ ⵚⵝ ⵍⵚ. / imun ag wa.	"He came with this one."
ⵣⵛⵛⵚ ⵚⵝ ⵉⵎⵚⵙ. / icca ag umas.	"He ate with his brother."

CHAPTER 7
The adverb

An adverb is a grammatical category that modifies the meaning of a verb. Put more precisely, an adverb modifies the process and state expressed by the verb:

ⵉⵖⵉ ⵅⵣⵕⵕ. / ign zikk.	"He slept early."
ⵓⵔ ⵜⵙⴰⵓⵍⵎⵍⵛ ⵓⵎⵎⵓⵚ. / ar tsawalm aṭṭaṣ.	"You speak a lot."

The class of adverbs is heterogenous. A broad range of adverbs have a nominal origin (ⵓⵥⵍⵍⵓ / aflla "over, upstairs", ⵓⵎⵎⵓⵙ / ammas "centre", ⵜⵓⵙⵖⵓ / tasga "side", ⵉⴷⵉⵙ / idis "side"); others result from the combination of nouns or adverbs with prepositions (ⵙ ⵓⵓⴷⴷⴰⵢ / s wadday "down, downstairs", ⵖⵔ ⵅⴷⴰⵜ / ɣr zdat "to the front, in the future").

Adverbs serve a variety of symantic values such as place, time, quality and manner.

1. Adverbs of place

The paradigm of adverbs of place is set out as follows:

• ⴸⴰ, ⴸⴰⴹⴰ, ⵖⵉ / da, daha, ɣi "here"

ⵓⵓⵔⴰⵜ ⴸⴰ / ⴸⴰⴹⴰ ! // awrat da / daha !	"Come here!"
ⵇⵇⵉⵎ ⴷⵉⵀⵉⵏ ! / qqim dihin !	"Stay there!"
ⵓⵉ ⴷⵉⵏⵏ ? / wi dinn ?	"Who is there?"
ⵓⵉ ⴷⵉⵏⵏⵉ ? / wi dinni ?	"Who is there (the place in question)?"
ⴷⵉⵏⵏ ⵖⴰⵔⵙ / dinn ɣars	"There, at his house"
ⴷⴷⵓ ⵙ ⵖⵉⵏⵏ. / ddu s ɣinn.	"Go there!"

The adverb ⴸⴰ / ⴸⴰⴹⴰ // da / daha can be followed by the remoteness particle ⵏⵏ / nn, bringing about the forms ⴷⵉⵏⵏ / ⴷⵉⵀⵉⵏ // dinn / dihin "there", or by the absence particle ⵏⵏⵉ / nni (ⴷⵉⵏⵏⵉ / dinni "there (the place in question)".

Conversely, the adverb ᔦᔦ / ɣi may be followed by all orientation particles. It can be followed by the proximity particle ᴧ / d (ᔦᔦᴧ / ɣid "by here"), the remoteness particle ‖ / nn (ᔦᔦ‖ / ɣinn "there") as well as by the absence particle ⵏⵏᔦ / lli (ᔦᔦⵏⵏᔦ / ɣilli "the place in question").

- ᴧⵂⵂᔦⵔ / dffir, ⴻₒⵇₒⴹ / ḍaṛaṭ, ⵜᔦⵕⵔⵔᔦⵏ / tikrmin "behind"

ⵣⵣᔦⵔ ᔦⵔ ᴧⵂⵂᔦⵔ ! / qqim ɣr dffir !	"Stay behind."
ₒⵔ ᔦ⋇⋇ᔦⵔᔦ⋇ ⴻₒⵇₒⵜ. / ar izzigiz ḍaṛaṭ.	"He walks backwards."

- ᔦⵕⵔⴰ / iwra "here"

  ₒⵕⵔⴰ ₒⵕⵔⴰ ! / awra awra   "Come here!"

- ⋇ᴧₒⵜ / zdat "in front of"

  ⵊⵅⵊⵔⵜ ᔦₒⵔ ⋇ᴧₒⵜ. / ugurt ɣar zdat.   "Go ahead."

- ⵔⵔₒ / ssa, ⵔⵔᔦₒ / ssya, ⵔ ᔦᔦ / s ɣi, ⵔⵔₒⵏᔦⵜₒ / ssanita "by here, from here"

ⵅⵔᔦ ⵔⵔₒ ᔦₒ ⵜₒⵁᴧⵔ ... / xmi ssa ɣa traḥm ...	"when you depart from here"
ⵅⵔᔦⵏ ⵔ ᔦᔦ. / zrin s ɣi.	"They passed by here."
ⵔⵔₒⵏ ⵔⵔᔦₒ. / kkan ssya.	"They passed by here."

The adverb ⵔⵔᔦₒ / ssya can be followed by the remoteness particle ‖ / nn, bringing about the forms ⵔⵔᔦⵏ / ⵔⵔᔦⵏ - ssyn / ssin "by there".

ᔦⵔⵔⵔₒ ᔦᔦᔦ ᴧ ⵜₒⴱⵔₒⵜ ⵔⵔᔦⵏ. / iskka iyi d tabrat ssin.	"He sent me a letter (from there)"
ᔦⵔⵔₒ ⵔⵔᔦⵏ. / ikka ssin.	"He passed by there."

- ᴧᴧₒⵓ / ddaw, ⵔ ⵓₒᴧᴧₒᔦ / s wadday, ᔦ⋇ᴧᴧₒⵔ / izddar "down, below"

ᔦⵔ ᴧᴧₒⵓ / ɣr ddaw	"downwards"
ⴱⵓₒ ⵔ ⵓₒᴧᴧₒᔦ ! / hwa s wadday !	"Go downwards!"
⋇ⵇ ᔦ⋇ᴧᴧₒⵔ ! / ẓṛ izddar !	"Look downwards!"

- ⴱⵇⵇₒ / bṛṛa "outside"

  ⵂⵂᔦ ⴱⵇⵇₒ ! / ffɣ bṛṛa !   "Go out!"

- ⵄⵅⵯⵍⵙ / ag°ns, ⵉⵄⵉ / jaj, ⵄⵛⵛⵄⵙ / ammas "inside"

ⵇⵇⵄⵝⵜ, ⵛⵔ ⵜⵜ ⵛⵥⵥⵢ ⵏⵄ ⵉⵄⵉ ⵏⵄ ⵦⵇⵇⵄ. / ṛṛaḥt, ur ttufiɣ la jaj la bṛṛa.	"I can't find tranquility neither at home nor outside."
ⵥⵊⵥⵇ ⵅ ⵍⵄⵛⵛⵄⵙ ! / iẓiṛ g wammas !	"Search inside!"

- ⵏⵥⵛⵄⵍ / nican "straightforward, straight ahead, right"

ⵝⵝⵛ ⵏⵥⵛⵄⵍ. / ddu nican.	"Go straight ahead."
ⵢⵄⵔⵔ ⵍⵝⵇ ⵏⵥⵛⵄⵍ. / ɣark lḥq nican.	"You are right."

When the question has to do with place or location, we use the interrogative adverb ⵛⵄⵍⵥ / mani "where".

ⵛⵄⵍⵥ ⵥⵥⵥⵥⵛ ? / mani iqqim ?	"Where is he sitting?"
ⵛⵄⵍⵥ ⵜⵏⵏⵥⵝ ? / mani tllid ?	"Where are you?"
ⵛⵄⵍⵥ ⵏⵏⵄⵜ ⵜⵝⵍⵥⵔⵔⵥⵏ ? / mani llant tḥnjirin ?	"Wher are the girls?"

When the question bears on a prepositional phrase that has the function of an adverb of time, the interrogative ⵛⵄⵍⵥ / mani can be followed by a preposition (ⵢⵔ / ɣr, ⵥⵥ / zi, ⵔ / s, ⵅ (ⵢ) / g (ɣ)),.

ⵛⵄⵍⵥ ⵢⵔ ⵥⵝⵝⵄ ? / mani ɣr idda ?	"Where did he go?"
ⵛⵄⵍⵥ ⵔ ⵥⵝⵝⵄ ? / mani s idda ?	"Where did he go?"
ⵛⵄⵍⵥ ⵅ ⵥⵏⵏⵄ ⵛⵦⵔⵥⵝ ? / mani g illa ubrid ?	"Where is the way?"
ⵛⵄⵍⵥ ⵥⵅ ⵝ ⵔⵛⵔⵄ ? / mani zg d yusa?	"Where did he come from?"

2. Time adverbs

Time adverbs are, in the most majority, of nominal origin.

- ⵄⵔⵔ ⵄ (ⵢ ⵄⵔⵔ ⵄ) / ass a (ɣ ass a) "today"

ⵥⵥⵓⵎ ⵄⵔⵔ ⵄ. / yiwḍ ass a.	"He has arrived today."
ⵥⵇⵥⵢ ⵜ ⵄⵔⵔ ⵄ. / ẓṛiɣ t ass a.	"I have seen him today."

The adverb ⵓⵙⵙ ⴰ / ass a may well be combined with the deictics of proximity (ⴷ / d), remoteness (ⵏⵏ / nn) or reference (ⵍⵍⵉ / lli), bringing about the following forms: ⵓⵙⵙ ⴰⴷ / ass ad "today", ⵓⵙⵙ ⵍⵍ / ass nn "that day", ⵓⵙⵙ ⵍⵍⵉ (ⵖⵓⵙⵙ ⵍⵍⵉ) / ass lli (ɣass lli) "the day in question".

- ⵓⵥⴽⴽⴰ (ⵓⵙⴽⴽⴰ) / azkka (askka), ⵜⵉⵡⵛⵛⴰ / tiwcca "tomorrow"

| ⴰⴷ ⴷ ⵏⴰⵙ ⵜⵉⵡⵛⵛⴰ. / ad d nas tiwcca. | "We shall come tomorrow." |
| ⴰⴷ ⵓⵔ ⵜⵎⵎⵓⴷⴷⵓⵎ ⵓⵥⴽⴽⴰ ! / ad ur tmmuddum askka ! | "Do not travel tomorrow." |

- ⵉⴹⵏⵏⴰⵟ / iḍnnaṭ, ⵉⴹⴳⴰⵎ / iḍgam "yesterday", ⵉⴹⵍⵍⵉ / iḍlli "yesterday night", ⴰⵙⵙⵏⵏⴰⵟ / assnnaṭ "yesterday during the day"

| ⵉⴳⴳⴰ ⵓⵔⴰⵔ ⵉⴹⵏⵏⴰⵟ. / igga urar iḍnnaṭ. | "He celebrated his marriage yesterday." |
| ⵏⵥⵔⴰ ⴳⵎⴰⴽ ⴰⵙⵙⵏⵏⴰⵟ. / nẓra gmak assnnaṭ. | "We saw your brother yesterday." |

- ⴰⵙⵙⴼⴰⵏⵏ / assfann, ⵏⴰⴼⵉⴹⴳⴰⵎ / nafiḍgam, ⴰⵙⵙⵍⵉⴷ / asslid, ⴼⵔⵉⴹⵏⵏⴰⵟ / friḍnnaṭ, ⴰⵙⵏⵉⴳ ⵏ ⵡⴰⵙⵙⵏⵏⴰⵟ / asnig n wassnnaṭ "the day before yesterday"

| ⵙⵖⵉⵖ ⵜⵏ ⴰⵙⵙⴼⴰⵏⵏ. / sɣiɣ tn assfann. | "I bought them the day before yesterday." |

- ⵏⴰⴼⵓⵥⴽⴽⴰ / nafuzkka, ⵏⴰⴼⴰⵥⵏ / nafaẓn, ⴷⴼⵔ ⵜⵉⵡⵛⵛⴰ / dfr tiwcca, ⴼⴰⵔⵡⵉⵛⵛⴰ / farwicca, ⴰⵙⵏⵉⴳ ⵏ ⵡⴰⵥⴽⴽⴰ / asnig n wazkka "after tomorrow"

| ⵇⵇⵍⴰⵜ ⴰⵔ ⵏⴰⴼⵓⵥⴽⴽⴰ. / qqlat ar nafuzkka. | "Wait till the day after tomorrow." |
| ⴰⴷ ⵔⴰⵃⵏ ⴼⴰⵔⵡⵉⵛⵛⴰ. / ad raḥn farwicca. | "They will leave the day after tomorrow." |

- ⵏⴹⴰⴹⴰⵏⴰ / nḍaḍana, ⵏⵏⴰⴹⴰⵏⵜ / nnaḍant, ⵓⵥⵥⵖⴰⵜ / azzɣat, ⴰⵙⴳⴳ̌ⵡⴰⵙⵙⵏⵏⴰⵟ / asggʷasnnaṭ "last year"

| ⵏⴹⴰⴹⴰⵏⴰ, ⵓⵔ ⵎⵎⵓⴷⴷⵉⵖ. / nḍaḍana, ur mmuddiɣ. | "I did not travel last year." |
| ⵉⵢⵡⵍ ⵓⵥⵥⵖⴰⵜ. / yiwl azzɣat. | "He got married last year." |

- ₀ⴻⵣⵉⵣⵍⵍ / aḏininn, ⵥⵀⵄ⵰ⵓ⵰ⵥⵢⵓⵜ / **farwazɣat** "two years ago"

  ₀ⴻⵣⵉⵣⵍⵍ, ⵙⵓ ⵣⵓⵉⵜ ⵉⵥⵓ⵰Q. / aḏininn, ur iwit unẓaṛ.   "It has not rained for the last two years."

- ⵣⵛ⵰ⵏ / **imal**, ⵍⵉⵂ⵰ⴳ / **mnεac** "next year"

₀ⵙ ⵥⵇⵉ ₀ⵓ₀ⵓⵍⵉ ⵍⵍⵐ ⵣⵛ⵰ⵏ. / ad zṛn arawn nnsn imal.	"They will see their children next year."
ⴻⴻⵥ ⵜ ⵢ₀ⵓⵕ ₀ⵏ ⵍⵉⵂ⵰ⴳ! / ṭṭf t ɣark al mnεac!	"Keep it till next year."

- ⵜⵣⵅⵣⵓ⵰ / ⵜⵣⵉⵅⵣⵓ⵰ - **tigira** / **tingira** "after"

  ₀ⵓ ⵜⵣⵅⵣⵓ⵰ ⵜⵀⵏⵙⵉ. / ar tigira tddum.   "You will go after."

- ⵥⵣⵕ / **zik**, ⵓ⵰ⴲⵓ⵰ / **wahwa** "early, formerly, long ago"

ⴻⴻⵢⵉ ⵥⵣⵕ. / ffɣn zik.	"They left early."

- ⵅ ⵢⵣⴻ / **g yiḏ**, ⵢⵓ ⵜⵍⵀⵏⵣⵜ / **ɣr tmddit** "at night"

ⵏⵏ₀ⵉ ⵣⵉⴱⵅⵣⵓⵍⵉ ⵢⵓ ⵜⵍⵀⵏⵣⵜ. / ddan inbgiwn ɣr tmddit.	"The guests went at night."
ⵣⵓⵓⵜ ⵉⵥⵓ⵰Q ⵅ ⵢⵣⴻ. / iwwt unẓaṛ g yiḏ.	"It rained at night."

- ⴱⵏⵏ⵰ / **bdda** "always, all the time"

  ⵏ⵰ ⴱⵏⵏ⵰ ⵣⴻⵔⵕ⵰. / la bdda iḍṣṣa.   "He always smiles."

- ⵢⵣⵏ⵰ⵏ / **ɣilad**, ⵏⵢⵣ / **dɣi**, ⵓ⵰ⵔ⵰ / **wasa**, ⵏⵢⵣⵕ / **dɣikk**, ⵢⵥⵜⵙ / **lxtu**, ⵔⵙⵅ⵰ / **ruxa**, ⵣⵏⵥⵥⵙ / **ilqqu** "now"

₀ⵓⵣ ₀ⵢ ⵏ ⵣⵍⵕⵏⵣ ⵢⵣⵏ. / awi aɣ d imkli ɣil.	"Bring us lunch now."
ⵔⵍⵙⵉ ⵣⵛ⵰ⵔⵔⵉ ⵍⵍⵕ ⵔⵙⵅ⵰! / smun imassn nnk ruxa.	"Pick up your things, now."
ⵏⵏⵙ ⵓ⵰ⵔ⵰ ! / ddu wasa	"Go right now!"

When the question bears on a temporal prepositional phrase, the interrogative adverbs that are used are set out as follows:

• ⵎⴰⵏⴰⴳⵯ / **managʷ**, ⵎⵍⵎⵉ / **mlmi**, ⵎⴰⵏ ⵜⵉⵣⵉ / **man tizi** "when"

ⵎⴰⵏⴰⴳⵯ ⵔⴰⴷ ⴷⴷⵓⵏⵜ ? / managʷ rad ddunt ?	"When will they go?"
ⵎⵍⵎⵉ ⵖⴰ ⴷ ⵜⴰⵙ ? / mlmi ɣa d tas ?	"When will she come ?"
ⵎⵉⵍⵎⵉ ⴰⵢ ⴼⴼⵖⵏ ? / milmi ay ffɣn ?	"When did they go out?"

3. Adverbs of quantity

• ⴷⵔⵓⵙ / **drus**, ⵉⵎⵉⴽⴽ / **imikk**, ⵉⵎⵉⵇⵇ / **imiqq**, ⵛⵡⴰⵢⵜ / **cwayt**, ⵛⵡⵉ / **cwi** "a little"

ⵢⵓⵣⵣⵍ ⴷⵔⵓⵙ. / yuzzl drus.	"He did not run much."
ⴼⴽ ⵉⵢⵉ ⵖⴰⵙ ⵉⵎⵉⵇⵇ ! / fk iyi ɣas imiqq.	"Give me just a little!"
ⵢⵉⵡⵛⴰ ⴰⵙ ⵛⵡⴰⵢⵜ. / yiwca as cwayt.	"He gave him / her a little."

• ⴽⵉⴳⴰⵏ / **kigan**, ⴰⵟⵟⴰⵚ / **aṭṭaṣ**, ⴱⴰⵀⵔⴰ / **bahra**, ⴱⵣⵣⴰⴼ / **bzzaf** "a lot, many"

ⵉⵡⵜ ⵓⵏⵥⴰⵕ ⴽⵉⴳⴰⵏ. / iwt unẓaṛ kigan.	"It rained a lot."
ⴰⵇⵇⴰ ⵜⵙⵙⴰⵡⴰⵍⵎ ⴰⵟⵟⴰⵚ. / aqqa tssawalm aṭṭaṣ.	"You talk a lot."
ⵉⵛⵛⴰ ⴱⴰⵀⵔⴰ. / icca bahra.	"He ate a lot."
ⵢⵓⵣⵣⵍ ⴱⵣⵣⴰⴼ. / yuzzl bzzaf	"He ran a lot."

• ⴰⴽⴽⵯ / **akkʷ**, ⵇⵇⴰⵃ (ⵇⵇⴰⵄ) / **qqaḥ (qqaɛ)**, ⴽⵓⵍⵍⵓ / **kullu**, ⵎⴰⵕⵕⴰ / **maṛṛa** "all, everything"

ⵥⵔⵉⵖ ⵜⵏ ⴰⴽⴽⵯ. / ẓriɣ tn akkʷ.	"I saw all of them."
ⵉⴱⴱⵉ ⵇⴰⵃ ⴰⵢⵏⵏⴰ ⵢⵓⴼⴰ. / ibbi qaḥ aynna yufa.	"He tore all what he found."
ⵎⴰⵕⵕⴰ ⵛⵛⵉⵏ, ⵎⴰⵕⵕⴰ ⵙⵡⵉⵏ. / maṛṛa ccin, maṛṛa swin.	"They ate and drank everything."

If used in a negative sentence, ⴰⴽⴽⵯ / akkʷ means "nothing, not at all, not even" and ⵇⵇⴰⵃ / qqaḥ "not ... at all".

ⴰⴽⴽ" ⵓⵔ ⵢⵓⵙⵉⵢ ⵉⵅⴼ ⵏⵏⵙ. / akkʷ ur yusiy ixf nns.	"He does not even provide for his own needs."
ⵓⵔ ⴰⴽⴽ" ⵉⵙⵙⵉⵏ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵖⵜ. / ur akkʷ issin tamaziɣt.	"He does not know Amazigh at all."
ⵇⵇⴰⵃ ⵓⵔ ⵟⵟⵉⵙⵖ. / qqaḥ ur ṭṭisɣ.	"I did not sleep at all."
ⵓⵔ ⵉⵇⵇⵉⵎ ⵍⴰ ⴷ ⵉⵜⵜⴷⴷⵓ ⵇⵇⴰⵃ. / ur iqqim la d ittddu qqaḥ.	"He no longer comes."

Asking about quantity is accommodated through the following morphemes: ⵎⵛⵜⴰ / mcta, ⵎⵏⵛⴽ / mnck, ⵎⵛⴰⵍ / mcḥal.

ⵎⵛⵜⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵙ ⵍⵍⴰⵏ ? / mcta ad s llan ?	"How many are they?"
ⵎⵏⵛⴽ ⴰⴷ ⵜⵥⵔⵉⴷ ? / mnck ad tẓṛid ?	"How many did you see?"
ⵎⵛⴰⵍ ⴰⵢ ⵜⴽⴽⵉⴷ ⴳ ⵎⵉⴷⵍⵜ ? / mcḥal ay tkkid g midlt ?	"How long did you stay in Midelt?"

4. Adverbs of manner

The adverbs of manner do not have a stable form. In general terms, the idea of *manner* is expressed via a whole range of prepositional phrases (preposition + noun). Most of these prepositional phrases are introduced by the preposition ⵙ / s which specifies the meaning of the verb that it modifies. As way of illustration, we set out the following adverbial constructions:

ⵙ ⵜⴰⵣⵣⵍⴰ, ⵙ ⵜⴼⵙⵙⵉ / s tazzla, s tfssi	"quickly"
ⵙ ⵜⵜⴰⵡⵉⵍ / s ttawil	"slowly"
ⵙ ⵍⵃⵉⵍ / s lḥil	"smoothly"
ⵙ ⵡⴰⴼⵓⴷ, ⵙ ⵓⵖⵉⵔ / s wafud, s uɣir	"by force"
ⵙ ⵡⵓⵍ, ⵙ ⵏⵏⵉⵢⵜ / s wul, s nniyt	"sincerely"
ⵙ ⵍⵃⵙⵙ // s lḥss	"quietly"
ⵙ ⵜⵉⴷⵜ, ⵙ ⵚⵚⴰⵃⵜ / s tidt, s ṣṣaḥt	"really"
ⵙ ⵍⵅⴰⵟⵔ / s lxaṭṛ	"willingly"
ⵙ ⴱⵣⵣⴻⵣ / s bzzez	"by force"

A category of adverbs of manner is generally made up of invariable words or fixed forms:

ⵎⵍⵉ�103, ⵎⵣⵢⴰⵏ / mliḥ, mzyan	"good"
ⴼⵉⵙⴰⵄ / fisaε	"quickly"
ⴱⵣⵣⵉⵣ, ⴱⵙⵙⵉⴼ / bzziz, bssif	"compulsorily"
ⴼⴰⴱⵓⵕ, ⴱⴰⵟⵍ / fabuṛ, baṭl	"for free"
ⵏⵡⴰ, ⵏⵎⴷⴰ / εnwa, nεmda	"intentionally, willingly"
ⴷⴰⵖ, ⴰⵍⵜⵓ // daɣ, altu	"anew, another time"

Repetition may also be employed to express manner.

ⵉⵎⵉⴽⴽ ⵙ ⵉⵎⵉⴽⴽ / imikk s imikk	"slowly"
ⴽⵔⴰ ⵙ ⴽⵔⴰ / ⵛⴰ ⵙ ⵛⴰ // kra s kra / ca s ca	"little by little"
ⵛⵡⴰⵢ ⵛⵡⴰⵢ / ⵛⵡⵉ ⵙ ⵛⵡⵉ // cway cway / cwi s cwi	"little by little"
ⴱⴰⵀⵔⴰ ⴱⴰⵀⵔⴰ / bahra bahra	"intensely"

Interrogation about manner obtains by using the following interrogative morphemes: ⵎⴰⵏⵉⴽ / manik, ⵎⴰⴽⴽⴰ / makka, ⵎⴰⵎⵏⴽ (ⵎⴰⵎⵎⴽ) / mamnk (mammk), ⵎⴰⵎⵛ / mamc, ⵎⵉⵎⵛ / mimc, ⵎⵓⵅ / mux "how".

ⵎⴰⵏⵉⴽ ⴰⴷ ⵜⵙⵙⵏⵡⴰⵎ ⵜⴰⴳⵯⵍⵍⴰ ? / manik ad tssnwam tag^wlla ?	"How do you prepare the porridge?"
ⵎⴰⴽⴽⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵜⴳⵉⵜ ? / makka ay tgit ?	"How did you do?"
ⵎⴰⵎⵛ ⵉⴳⴳⴰ ? // mamc igga ?	"How did he do?"
ⵎⵓⵅ ⵜⴳⴳⵉⵎ ? / mux tggim ?	"How are you (plr.)?"

The interrogative adverbs of manner ⵎⴰⵏⵉⴽ / manik and ⵎⴰⴽⴽⴰ / makka are followed by the morphemes ⴰⴷ / ad and ⴰⵢ / ay.

CHAPTER 8
Simple sentence

1. Affirmative sentence

The affirmative sentence is the simplest sentence in Amazigh grammar. The other forms, i.e. the negative, interrogative and exclamative sentences, are but modified forms of the simple sentence. Depending on the presence or absence of verbal predicates, a simple sentence is either verbal or non-verbal.

1.1. Verbal sentence

a. Constituants

Besides the main elements that are mandatory for making up a minimal or basic verbal sentence (i.e. the verbal stem and the person markers (*cf. 5.1*)), the basic verbal sentence may well be expanded by adding other constituents that have different syntactic functions. Paramount among these constituents, there are:

• *Lexical subject:*

ⵉⵡⵜ ⵓⴷⴼⵍ. / iwt udfl.	"It snowed."
ⵉⴼⴼⵖ ⵃⵎⵎⵓ. / iffɣ ḥmmu	"Hemmou went out."

• *Direct object:*

ⵜⵙⵡⴰ ⵜⵙⵍⵎⵢⴰ ⵓⴽⴼⴼⴰⵢ. / tswa tslmya akffay.	"The baby drank milk."

• *Indirect object:*

ⵉⵡⵛⴰ ⵓⴷⵍⵉⵙ ⵉ ⴳⵎⴰⵙ.
iwca adlis i gmas.
"He gave the book to his brother."

When these elements coexist in a single sentence, the canonical order is as follows:

<div align="center">

V + S + DO + IO + PP

</div>

ⵣⴺⴻ ⵁⵒⵏⵞⵚⴰ ⵣⵒⵏⵥⵟⵉ ⵝⵣ ⵥⵉⵏⵞⵚⴰⵉ ⵝ ⵜⵥⵉⵞⵏ. / ibḍa uslmad idlisn xf inlmadn g tinml. "The teacher distributed the books to the pupils at school."
ⵚⴰ ⵣⵐⵢ ⵣⵞⵞⵁ ⵜⵥⵝⵞⵞⵥ ⵥ ⵚⵥⵏⵏⵥⴻ ⵥⵞⵚⵏ. / ad isɣ ḥmmu tigmmi i yillis imal. "Hemmou will buy a house to his daughter next year."

(i) Subject

The subject is placed either before or after the verb. When it is placed after the verb, it usually appears in the construct state (CS), a state that modifies the initial vowel of masculine nouns, as well as the vowel that appears after the first ⵜ / t of the discontinuous circumfix ⵜ ... (ⵜ) / t ... (t) in feminine nouns (*cf. 3.1.3.b*).

The function of the CS marker is of prime importance because it distinguishes the subject from the object (complement), the latter always holds in the free state (FS), as evinced in the following examples:

ⵥⵞⵞⴰ ⵁⵒⵏⵞ. / icca uslm.	"The fish has eaten."
ⵥⵞⵞⴰ ⴰⵒⵏⵞ. / icca aslm.	"He ate the fish (one fish)."

When the subject is at the top of the sentence, it surfaces in the free state form.

ⴰⵃ�Oⵞⵝ ⵣⵓⵞⵏ. / afrux irwl.	"The boy fled."
ⴰⴻⵣⵥⵒ ⵚⴰⵝⵝⵞⵝ. / abrid yaggug.	"The way is long."

Generally speaking, the function of a subject can be assumed by a variety of elements, such as:

• *A noun (kinship or ordinary noun):*

ⵚⵏⵙⵓⵥ ⵒ ⵏⵞⵞⴰⵒⵒⵏ. / yusi d unmaddu.	"The traveller came back."
ⴰⵞⴰⵒⵒⵏ ⵚⵏⵙⵓⵥ ⵒ. / anmaddu yusi d.	"The traveller came back."
ⵥⵃⵃⵢ ⵏⵙⴻⴰ. / iffɣ urba.	"The boy went out"
ⵏⵞⴰ ⵣⵃⵃⵢ. / uma iffɣ.	"My brother went out."

• *A quality noun:*

ⵥⵙⵙⵥⵓⵏ ⵏⵞⵣⵣⵏⴰⵉ. / issiwl umqqran.	"The old man spoke."

ⵓⵎⵇⵇⵔⴰⵏ ⵉⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍ. / amqqran issiwl.	"The old man spoke."

- *A free pronoun:*

ⵉⵔⵓⵃ ⵏⵜⵜⴰ. / iraḥ ntta.	"He went."
ⵏⵜⵜⴰ ⵉⵔⵓⵃ. / ntta iraḥ.	"(He), he went."

- *A demonstrative pronoun:*

ⵢⵓⵙⵉ ⴷ ⵡⴰⵏⵏ. / yusi d wann.	"He came, that one."
ⵡⴰⵏⵏ ⵢⵓⵙⵉ ⴷ. / wann yusi d.	"That one came."

- *An indefinite pronoun:*

ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⴷ ⵛⴰ ⵏ ⵢⵉⴷⵊ. / idda d ca n yidj.	"Someone came."
ⵛⴰ ⵏ ⵢⵉⴷⵊ ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⴷ. / ca n yidj idda d.	"Someone came."

- *A possessive pronoun:*

ⵉⵎⵇⵇⵓⵔ ⵡⵉⵏⵓ. / imqqur winu.	"Mine is big."
ⵡⵉⵏⵓ ⵉⵎⵇⵇⵓⵔ. / winu imqqur.	"Mine is big."

- *A numeral:*

ⴼⴼⵖⵏⵜ ⵙⵏⴰⵜ. / ffɣnt snat.	"Two went out."
ⵙⵏⴰⵜ ⴼⴼⵖⵏⵜ. / snat ffɣnt.	"Two went out."

(ii) Topic indicator

Some elements, usually postposed to the verb, are subject to topicalization. Put in another way, these elements are subject to movement to the head of the sentence, hence the name "topic indicator". Their position at the head of the sentence is concomitant with a change in their primary function. Topicalized elements are always in the free state. Irrespective of their basic function (subject, direct object or indirect object), they are endorsed by affixal personal pronouns with which they agree in gender and number. In writing, a topic indicator is separated by a comma from the verb. Topicalization is one among a varied set of focalization processes in Amazigh.

In general terms, the function of a topic indicator can be carried out by the following categories:

- *A noun:*

ⵓⵔⴳⴰⵣ, ⵉⴼⴼⵖ. / argaz, iffɣ.	"The man, he went out."

ⵄⵓⵣⵄ, ⵥⵇⵉⵢ ⵜ. / argaz, ẓṛiɣ t.	"The man, I saw him."
ⵄⵓⵣⵄ, ⵝⵔⵉⵢ ⵄⵗ ⵣⵡⵍⵄⵈ. / argaz, fkiɣ as aẓnnaṛ.	"The man, I have given him the Bournous."

• *A quality noun:*

ⵄⵢⵥⵥⵄⵝ, ⵥⵇⵉⵢ ⵜ. / ayẓzaf, ẓṛiɣ t.	"The tall man, I saw him."
ⵄⵛⵣⵣⵄⵏ, ⵢⵓⵉⵢ ⵄⵗ. / amqqran, ɣriɣ as.	"The big man, I called him."
ⵄⵛⵥⵥⵢⵄⵏ, ⵉⴰⵄ ⵄⵅ ⵓⵈⵛⵄⵗ. / amẓẓyan, idda ag wumas.	"The young boy, He went with his brother."

• *A numeral:*

ⵙⵉⵏ ⵣⵍⵍ, ⵍⴰⵏ ⵍ. / sin ann, ddan d.	"Those two, they have come (here)."
ⵙⵉⵏ ⵣⵍⵍ, ⵥⵇⵉⵢ ⵜⵍ. / sin ann, ẓṛiɣ tn.	"Those two, I have seen them."
ⵙⵉⵏ ⵣⵍⵍ, ⵝⵔⵉⵢ ⵣⵗⵍ ⵣⵏⵉⵣⵗ. / sin ann, fkiɣ asn adlis.	"Those two, I have given them the book."

• *An independent pronoun:*

ⵍⵜⵜⵣ, ⵉⵓⵣⵄ. / ntta, iraḥ.	"(He), he went."
ⵍⵜⵜⵣ, ⵥⵇⵉⵢ ⵜ. / ntta, ẓṛiɣ t.	"(He), I saw him."
ⵍⵜⵜⵣ, ⵓⵛⵉⵢ ⵄⵗ ⵜⵉⵍⵄⵛⵉⵍ. / ntta, uciɣ as tineɛacin.	"(He), I have given him the money."
ⵍⵜⵜⵣ, ⵉⴰⵣ ⵄⵅ ⵀⵣⵀⵣⵗ / ntta, idda ag babas.	"(He), he went with his father."

• *A demonstrative pronoun:*

ⵓⵣⵍⵍ, ⵉⵓⵣⵄ. / wann, iraḥ.	"(That one), he went."
ⵓⵉⵍⵍ, ⵛⵏⵉⵢ ⵄⵗ ⵣⵀⵓⵉⵏ. / winn, mliɣ as abrid.	"(That one), I showed him the way."
ⵓⵉⵍⵉⵍ, ⵓⵛⵉⵢ ⵄⵗⵍ ⵜⵣⵍⵍⵓⵏⵜ. / winin, uciɣ asn tammemt.	"(Those ones), I have given them honey."

ⵜⵓⵍ, ⵜⵍⵍⵓ ⵓⵎ ⵜⵛⵍⵍⵓⵕ"ⵏⵜ ⵏⵏⵙ / tan, tdda ag tmddak{w}lt nns.	"(This one), she went with her friend."

• *A possessive pronoun:*

ⵓⵗⵏⵓ, ⵜⵛⵋⵋⵗ. / winu, imẓẓi.	"Mine is small."
ⵓⵗⵏⵙⵏ, ⵋⵇⵗⵖ ⵜ. / winsn, ẓṛiɣ t.	"Theirs, I have seen it."
ⵓⵗⵏⵙⵏ, ⵙⵙⵗⵓⵍⵖ ⵓⵙ. / winsn, ssiwlɣ as.	"Theirs, I have talked to him."

(iii) Direct object

The direct object comes immediately after the verb in a minimal sentence (i.e. a sentence without a lexical subject), or after the lexical subject in an expanded sentence. The direct object is always in the free state.

ⵉⵙⵖⵓ ⵓⵏⵍⵎⴰⴷ ⵓⴷⵍⵉⵙ. / isɣa unlmad adlis.	"The boy has bought a book."

The direct object can be replaced by an affixal pronoun with the same function. When the direct object is replaced by a pronoun, the pronoun appears immediately after the verb and before the lexical subject (if there is one) provided that no pronoun-attracting preverbal element holds in the sentence, i.e. elements, like (ⵓⵔ / ur, ⴰⴷ / ad, ⵉⵙ / is ...), which require the pronoun to move to a position before the verb:

ⵉⴰⵢ ⵜ ⵓⵚⵎⵎⵉⴹ. / yaɣ t uṣmmiḍ.	"He is cold."
ⵓⵔ ⵜ ⵉⴰⵢ ⵓⵚⵎⵎⵉⴹ. / ur t yaɣ uṣmmiḍ.	"He is not cold."

In general terms, the direct object function can be assumed by:

• *A noun:*

ⵉⵙⵖⵓ ⵜⴰⴽⵏⴰⵔⵉⵜ. / isɣa taknarit.	"He bought prickly pears."

• *A numeral:*

ⵉⵜⵜⴼ ⴽⵔⴰⴹ (ⵏ) ⵉⵙⵍⵎⴰⵏ. / iṭṭf kṛaḍ (n) islman.	"He caught three fish."

• *A noun phrase:*

ⵢⵉⵛ ⵄⵙ ⵥⵟⵏⵛⵄⵏ ⵂⵄⵊⵥⵟ. /   "He gave him river fish."
iwca as islman n uɣzr.

• *A quality noun:*

ⵥⵊⵇⵄ ⵄⵅⵄ†ⵄⵟ. /   "He saw the big one."
iẓṛa axatar.

• *An affixal pronoun:*

ⵥⴲⴲⵥ †. / ibbi t.   "He cut it."

• *A demonstrative pronoun:*

ⵥⵕⵙⵄ ⵡⵄ. / iɛla wa.   "He saw this one."

• *An indefinite pronoun:*

ⵥⵊⵇⵄ ⵛⵄ ⵏ ⵢⵥⵉⵉ. /   "He saw someone."
iẓṛa ca n yijj.

• *A possessive pronoun or phrase:*

ⵥⵔⵄ ⵍⵥⵏⵉ. / ira winu.   "He wants mine."

(iv) Indirect object

The indirect object is always intoduced by the dative preposition ⵥ / i "to"; it also surfaces in the construct state owing to the influence exercised by the preposition.

ⵥⵊⴾⵄ ⵂⵟⵏⵛⵄⴲ ⵥⵐⵏⵥⵟⵏ ⵥ ⵥⵏⵏⵛⵄⴲ. /
ifka uslmad idlisn i inlmadn.
"The teacher gave the books to pupils."

The indirect object can be substituted by an affixal personal pronoun. The latter intervenes between the verb and the lexical subject, and the whole is followed by the direct object.

ⵥⴱⵕⵄ ⵄⵟⵏ ⵂⵟⵏⵛⵄⴲ ⵥⵐⵏⵥⵟⵏ. /
ibḍa asn uslmad idlisn.
"The teacher distributed the books to them."

When the direct and indirect pronominal objects coexist in the same sentence, it is the second the comes before the first:

ⵣⴰⴸⴻ₀ ⵑⵔⵎⴵₒⴸ ⵣⴸⵀⵣⵔ ⵣ ⵣⵉⵏⴵₒⴸⵉ. / ibḍa uslmad idlisn i inlmadn.	"The teacher distributed the books to the students."
ⵣⴰⴸⴻ₀ ₒⵔⵉ ⵜⵉ ⵑⵔⵎⴵₒⴸ. / ibḍa asn tn uslmad.	"The teacher distributed them (the books) to them."

b. Agreement

There are three types of agreement:

• Agreement between the subject and the verb;

• Agreement between the topic indicator and the verb;

• Agreement between the topic indicator and the endorsing affixal pronouns.

(i) Agreement between the subject and the verb

The verb agrees in gender, number and person with the lexical subject irrespective of its position relative to the verb, preposed or postposed.

ⵣⵔⵔⵢ ⵑⴰⴰₒ. / iffɣ urba.	"The boy went out."
ₒⴰⴰₒ ⵣⵔⵔⵢ. / arba iffɣ.	"The boy, he went out."
ⵜⵔⵔⵢ ⵜⴰⴰₒⵜ. / tffɣ trbat.	"The girl went out."
ⵜⴰⴰₒⵜ ⵜⵔⵔⵢ. / tarbat tffɣ.	"The girl, she went out"
ⵔⵔⵢⵉ ⵣⴸⵉⵣⴰⵉ. / ffɣn iḥnjirn.	"The boys went out."
ⵣⴸⵉⵣⴰⵉ ⵔⵔⵢⵉ. // iḥnjirn ffɣn.	"The boys, they went out."
ⵔⵔⵢⵉⵜ ⵜⵛⵣⴰⴰₒⵜⵣⵉ. / ffɣnt tcirratin.	"The girls went out."
ⵜⵣⴸⵉⵣⴰⵣⵉ ⵔⵔⵢⵉⵜ. / tiḥnjirin ffɣnt.	"The girls, they went out."

When the subject is a noun phrase, two scenarios are observed depending on whether the subject is postposed or preposed to the verb. If the subject is postposed to the verb, agreement in gender and number with the first element of the noun phrase is observed, as illustrated in the following examples:

ⵣⴰₒⵌ ⵑⴰⴰₒ ⴸ ⵜⴰⴰₒⵜ. / iraḥ urba d trbat.	"The boy and the girl went."
ⵜⴰₒⵌ ⵜⴰⴰₒⵜ ⴸ ⵑⴰⴰₒ. / traḥ trbat d urba."	"The girl and the boy went."
ⴰₒⵌⵉ ⵣⴰⴰₒⵉ ⴸ ⵜⴰⴰₒⵜⵣⵉ. / raḥn irban d trbatin.	"The boys and the girls went."
ⴰₒⵌⵉⵜ ⵜⴰⴰₒⵜⵣⵉ ⴸ ⵣⴰⴰₒⵉ. / raḥnt trbatin d irban.	"The girls and the boys went."

If the noun phrase is preposed to the verb, and if the nouns that make up the noun phrase are of different gender, the verb takes the masculine plural form:

ⵄⵄ. / argaz d tmṭṭuḍt ddan.	"The man and the woman went."
ⵄ. / tamṭṭuḍt d yiwis ddan.	"The woman and her son went."

(ii) Agreement between the topic indicator and the verb

Agreement holds between the topic indicator and the verb if the moved element is the subject of the verb:

ⵄⵄ. / aḥrmuc, iraḥ.	"The boy, he went."
ⵄⵄ. / taḥrmuct, traḥ.	"The girl, she went."
ⵄⵄ. / iḥrmucn, raḥn.	"The boys, they went."
ⵄⵄ. / tiḥrmucin, raḥnt.	"The girls, they went."

(iii) Agreement between the topic indicator and the endorsing affixal pronouns

When the topic indicator is a complement, it is endorsed by a direct object pronoun that has the same morphological features (the same gender, number and person of the topic indicator).

- Agreement between the topic indicator and the direct object affixal pronouns

ⵄⵄ. / ayyis, unniɣ t.	"The horse, I saw it."
ⵄⵄ. / tafruxt, ẓriɣ tt.	"The girl, I saw her."
ⵄⵄ. / ilɣman, ẓriɣ tn.	"The camels, I saw them."
ⵄⵄ. / timdyazin, ẓriɣ tnt.	"The singers, I saw them."

- Agreement between the topic indicator and the indirect object affixal pronouns

ⵄⵄ. / tarbat, uciɣ as ijjign.	"The girl, I have offered her flowers."
ⵄⵄ. / imnayn, mliɣ asn abrid.	"The knights, I have shown them the way."
ⵄⵄ. / istma, uciɣ asnt amur nnsnt.	"My sisters, I have given them their share."

- Agreement between the topic indicator and the noun complement affixal pronouns

ⵞⴰⵙⵉ, ⵙⵙⵏⵖ ⵜⴰⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ ⵏⵏⵙ. / masin, ssnɣ taddart nns.	"Massin, I know his house."
ⵜⴰⵔⴱⴰⵜ ⴰ, ⵙⵙⵏⵖ ⵓⵍⵜⵎⴰⵙ. / tarbat a, ssnɣ ultmas.	"This girl, I know her sister."
ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵢⵏ ⴰⴷ, ⵙⵙⵏⵖ ⵉⵖⵔⵎ ⵏⵏⵙⵏ. / imnayn ad, ssnɣ iɣrm nnsn.	"These knights, I know their village."
ⵜⵉⵔⴱⴰⵜⵉⵏ ⵏⵏⴰ, ⵙⵙⵏⵖ ⴱⴰⴱⴰⵜⵙⵏⵜ. / tirbatin nna, ssnɣ babatsnt.	"Those girls, I know their father."

c. Word order in the verbal sentence

The order of the constituents of the verbal sentence depends on the nature of the elements from which it is made. The elements can either be nouns or affixal personal pronouns; each scenario recognises a specific order. In general terms, the canonical order of a verbal sentence is as follows:

V + S + DO + IO + Comp

ⵉⵙⵙⴽⴽ ⵎⵉⵎⵓⵏ ⵜⴰⴱⵔⴰⵜ ⵉ ⵎⴻⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⴰⴳ ⵓⵎⴷⴷⴰⴽⴽⵯⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ.
isskk mimun tabrat i memmis ag umddakkʷl nns.
"Mimoun sent the letter to his son with his friend."

If one of the complements is an affixal personal pronoun, and if the sentence does not contain any preverbal element (ⵓⵔ / ur, ⴰⴷ / ad, ⴷⴰ / da, ...), the order is as follows:

V + DO Pron + S + IO + Comp

ⵉⵙⵙⴽⴽ ⵉⵜⵜ ⵎⵉⵎⵓⵏ ⵉ ⵎⴻⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⴰⴳ ⵓⵎⴷⴷⴰⴽⴽⵯⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ.
isskk itt mimun i memmis ag umddakkʷl nns.
"Mimoun sent it to his son with his friend."

V + IO Pron + S + DO + Comp

ⵉⵙⵙⴽⴽ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵜ ⵎⵉⵎⵓⵏ ⴰⴳ ⵓⵎⴷⴷⴰⴽⴽⵯⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ.
isskk as tt mimun ag umddakkʷl nns.
"Mimoun sent the letter to him with his friend."

V + IO Pron + DO Pron + S + Comp

ⵣⵉⵙⵙⴾⴾ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵜ ⵎⵉⵎⵓⵏ ⴰⴳ ⵓⵎⴷⴷⴰⴾⴾ⵿ⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ.

isskk as tt mimun ag umddakkʷl nns.

"Mimoun sent it to him with his friend."

If a sentence has one of the particles of attraction (ⵓⵔ / ur, ⴰⴷ / ad, ⵉⵙ / is, ...), the customary order of constituents in the sentence changes, and the pronouns appear in a preverbal position. Hence, we obtain the following orders:

Part. + DO pron. + V + S + IO + Comp

ⵓⵔ ⵜⵜ ⵣⵉⵙⵙⴾⴾ ⵎⵉⵎⵓⵏ ⵉ ⵎⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⴰⴳ ⵓⵎⴷⴷⴰⴾⴾ⵿ⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ.

ur tt isskk mimun i memmis ag umddakkʷl nns.

"Mimoun did not send it to his son with his friend."

Part. + IO pron. + V + S + DO + Comp

ⵓⵔ ⴰⵙ ⵣⵉⵙⵙⵉⴾⴾ ⵎⵉⵎⵓⵏ ⵜⴰⵠⵔⴰⵜ ⴰⴳ ⵓⵎⴷⴷⴰⴾⴾ⵿ⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ.

ur as issikk mimun tabrat ag umddakkʷl nns.

"Mimoun did not send the letter to him with his friend."

Part. + IO pron. + DO pron. + V + S + Comp

ⵓⵔ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵜ ⵣⵉⵙⵙⵉⴾⴾ ⵎⵉⵎⵓⵏ ⴰⴳ ⵓⵎⴷⴷⴰⴾⴾ⵿ⵍ ⵏⵏⵙ.

ur as tt issikk mimun ag umddukl nns.

"Mimoun did not send it to him with his friend."

Besides the canonical order *verb – subject – complement*, a composite of other orders are observed and are generally used to express emphasis. From the foregoing, it can be concluded that all constituents, to the exception of verbs, are able to fill the function of a topic indicator and be placed at the beginning of a sentence *(cf. 8.1.1.a)*.

1.2. Non-verbal sentence

A non-verbal sentence is dubbed so because it does not have a verb. Of the two main constituents that make up a non-verbal sentence, the predicate is obligatory whereas the subject is optional. Amazigh recognises a composite of various non-verbal sentences depending on the nature of the predicate and on the presence / absence of predication morphemes.

a. Predicates introduced by the predication particle ∧ / d

The predication particle ∧ / d "it is" is invariable, and the nominal predicate (or its equivalents, i.e. a quality noun, an independent pronoun, a numeral, etc.) that it introduces always takes the free state form:

∧ ₒᴄⴰᴇₒꝗ. / d amḥḍaṛ.	"It is a student."
∧ +ₒᴄꝐₒꝋ+. / d tamɣart.	"It is a woman."
∧ ₒⴸⴸⵯₒꝐ. / d azggʷaɣ.	"It is red."
∧ ⵣⴼ+ᴄₒ⊙. / d ultmas.	"It is his sister."
∧ ⵏ++ₒ+. / d nttat.	"It is her."
∧ +ₒ. / d ta	"It is this one (fem.)."
∧ ⵏₒ∧. / d wad.	"It is this one (masc.)."
∧ ⵏⴻⵏⵚ. / d winu.	"It is mine."

Preceded by the particle ∧ / d, the nominal sentence expresses many semantic values, such as existence, introduction, identification and emphasis.

The subject of a nominal sentence is placed at the head of the sentence:

ⴰᴄᴄⵚ ∧ ₒᴄⴰᴇₒꝗ. / ḥmmu d amḥḍaṛ.	"Hemmou is a student."
∧ₒ∧∧ₒ⊙ ∧ ₒᴄꝐₒꝋ. / daddas d amɣar.	"His elder brother is the chief."
ⵀⴻᴳₒ ∧ +ₒᴄⴸⴸⵙₒⵏ+./ ɛica d tamzẓyant.	"Aicha is the youngest."

Non-verbal phrases introduced by ∧ / d may contain the presenter morpheme ⴸₒ / qa "here is"; this morpheme is realized also as Ⴔₒⴸₒ / haqa:

ⴸₒ ∧ ₒᴄ∧∧ₒⴽⴽⵯⵏ ⴻⵚ. / qa d amddakkʷl inu.	"This is my friend."

b.Predicates introduced by Ⴔₒ / ha or Ⴔₒⴸₒ / haqa

The morpheme Ⴔₒ / ha "here is" and its variant Ⴔₒⴸₒ / haqa function in the same way as the predication particle ∧ / d "it is", in the sense that all of them introduce different types of predicates, such as nominals and their substitutes which all appear in the free state.

Ⴔₒ ₒⵙⵙⴻ⊙. / ha ayyis.	"Here is a horse."
Ⴔₒⴸₒ ₒⴸⴸⵯₒꝐ. / haqa azggʷaɣ.	"Here is the red one."

ⵞⵣ ⵍⵣ. / ha wa.	"Here is this one."
ⵞⵣⵥⵣ ⵉⵣⵣⵉⵥ. / haqa nkkni.	"Here we are."
ⵞⵣ ⵣⵇⵣⴻⵜ (ⵍ) ⵜⵀⵢⵣⵜⵥⵉ. tbratin.	"Here are three letters"
ⵞⵣ ⵜ. / ha t.	"Here it is."
ⵞⵣ ⵜⵍ. / ha tn.	"Here they are."

c. Predicates without introducing morphemes

There are various types of predicates that are devoid of any introducing morphemes. Among these predicates, we may well mention:

- *The prepositional phrase*

A preposition along with its affixal pronoun may well fill the role of a predicate and make up a non-verbal sentence with the noun phrase that follows:

ⵛⵙⵢⵢ ⵉⵍⵣⵛⵙⵉ. / ɣurs lwacun.	"He / she has children."
ⵏⵣⵢⵢ ⵥⵣⵣⵇⵥⴻⵉ. / dars iqaṛiḍn.	"He / she has money."
ⵛⵙⵢⵥ ⵥⵉⵉ ⵍ ⵙⵄⵉⵥⵢⵢ. / ɣuri ijj n uḥnjir.	"I have a boy."
ⵏⵥⵅⵢ ⵣⵛⵣⵉ. / digs aman.	"There is water inside."

The morpheme ⵣⵣ / qa "here is / there is", which it is used in non-verbal structures with ⵏ / d, can also be used with prepositional predicates.

    ⵣⵣ ⵏⵥⵉⵉ ⵥⵛⵜ ⵍ ⵜⵣⵥⵣⵣⵢⵜ. /
    qa dinni ict n tfirast.
    "A pear tree is there."

- *An adverb*

ⴻⵇⵇⵣ ! / bṛṛa !	"Outside!"
ⵏⵣ / ⵛⵥ / ⵏⵣⵞⵣ ? // da / ɣi / daha ?	"Here?"
ⵍⵣⵢⵣ. / wasa.	"Now."

- *A noun phrase specified or not by a complement*

ⵙⵢⵢⵉ ⵣⵏ / ussan ad	"these days"
ⵣⵙⵉ ⵥⵉⵉ ⵢ ⵙⵛⵙⵢ ⵍⵢ. / kul ijj s umur nns.	"Everyone has his own share."
ⵣⵙ ⵛⵣⵉ ⵢ ⵙⵏⵉⵥⵢ ⵍⵢ. / ku yan s udlis nns.	"Each one has his own book."

• *A comparative noun phrase*

ⵓⵍⵓⵎ ⵏⵏⴽ ⵓⵎ ⵓⵓⵍⵓⵎ ⵏⵏⵙ. / awal nnk am wawal nns.	"Your words are the same as his."
ⵉⵜⵜⵓ ⵣⵓⵏ ⴷ ⵄⵍⵉ. / Iṭṭu zun d ɛli.	"Itto is like Ali."

• *An interrogative structure*

ⵎⴰⵜⵜⵓ ⵓⴰ ? / matta wa ?	"What is this ?"
ⵎⴰⵢⴰⵔ ⵜⴰ ? / maɣar ta ?	"Why this one?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⵓⴰ ? / mani wa ?	"Which one?"

2. Negative sentence

The negative sentence is either verbal or non-verbal. In both cases, it is characterised by the use of the morpheme of negation ⵓⵔ / ur "not".

2.1. Verbal negation

Under verbal negation, we mean a verbal sentence made up of a verb and the morpheme of negation ⵓⵔ / ur "not". The function of the morpheme ⵓⵔ / ur is to deny and negate the process expressed by the predicate of the sentence, i.e. the verb. ⵓⵔ / ur can either be used alone or accompanied with a second element of negation.

a. The morpheme ⵓⵔ / ur

ⵓⵔ / ur always holds in a preverbal position. It has a composite of variants, like ⵓ / u, which is a reduced form of ⵓⵔ / ur (or ⵓⵍ / ul), as well as ⵓⴰ / wa and ⵓⴰⵔ / war.

In general terms, negation brings about some alterations on the perfective theme by intoducing the vowel ⵉ / i at the end of the verb or before the final consonant (*cf. 5.1.3 c*).

ⵓⵔ ⵉⵙⵡⵉ ⵓⵎⴰⵏ. / ur iswi aman.	"He did not drink water."
ⵓⵔ ⵉⵏⵏⵉ ⵓⵍⵓⵎ ⴰ. / ur inni awal a.	"He did not say these words."
ⵓⵔ ⵉⴽⵍⵉ ⴳ ⵜⴳⵎⵎⵉ. / ur ikli g tgmmi.	"He did not spend the day at home."

As a negative answer to a question, resort is made to a verb phrase introduced by ⵓⵔ / ur, or to one of the following adverbs: ⵓⵀⵓ / uhu, ⵉⵀⵉ / ihi, ⴰⵔⴰⵃ / araḥ or ⵍⴰⵡⴰⵀ / lawah "no":

ⵉⵙ ⴼⴼⵖⵏ ? / is ffɣn ?	"Did they go out?"
ⵓⵔ ⴼⴼⵉⵖⵏ. / ur ffiɣn.	"No, they did not go out."
ⵓⵀⵓ / ⵉⵀⵉ / ⵍⴰⵡⴰⵀ. / uhu / ihi / lawah.	"No, they did not."

b. Discontinuous negation

The morpheme ⵓⵔ / ur can be accompanied by a second element of negation. When such a scenario holds, structures like ⵓⵔ ⵙⴰⵔ / ur sar and ⵓⵔ ⵊⵊⵉⵏ / ur jjin, and a number of other discontinuous forms, like ⵓⵔ ... ⵄⴰⴷ / ur ... ɛad, ⵓⵔ ... ⵡⴰⵍⵓ / ur ... walu, ⵓⵔ ... ⵛⴰ / ur ... ca, ⵓⵔ ... ⵢⴰⵏ / ur ... yan, ⵓⵔ ... ⵢⴰⵜ / ur ... yat, ⵓⵔ ... ⴰⵎⵢⴰ / ur ... amya, are observed. These diverse forms express different semantic values.

• ⵓⵔ ⵙⴰⵔ / **ur sar** *"never"*

ⵓⵔ ⵙⴰⵔ / ur sar has another reduced variant form, namely ⵓ ⵙⴰⵔ / u sar. The main specifity of this morpheme is to situate the negation of the process in the future, irrespective of the theme in which the verb is conjugated (perfective or imperfective).

ⵓⵔ ⵙⴰⵔ ⴰⵙ ⵙⵉⵡⵍⵖ. / ur sar as siwlɣ.	"I will never talk to him again."
ⵓⵔ ⵙⴰⵔ ⴰⴷ ⴰⵡⵏ ⵙⴰⵡⵍⵖ. / ur sar ad awn sawalɣ.	"I will never talk to you again."
ⵓⵔ ⵙⴰⵔ ⴰⴷ ⴰⵙ ⵉⵏⵉⵏ ⵢⴰⵜ. / ur sar ad as inin yat.	"They will never tell him anything again."

Let it be noted that the form ⵓⵔ ⵙⴰⵔ / ur sar is much more observed in swearing contexts:

ⵓⵍⵍⴰⵀ ⵓⵔ ⵙⴰⵔ ⵖⵓⵔⵙ ⴷⴷⵉⵏ. / ullah ur sar ɣurs ddin.	"I swear by God, they will never go to see him."

• ⵓⵔ ⵊⵊⵉⵏ / ⵓⵔ ⵊⵊⵓⵏ // **ur jjin / ur jjun** *"never"*

ⵓⵔ ⵊⵊⵉⵏ (ⵓⵔ ⴷⵊⵉⵏ) / ⵓⵔ ⵊⵊⵓⵏ // ur jjin (ur djin) / ur jjun are also realised as ⵓⵔ ⵊⵊⵉ / ⵓⵔ ⵊⵊⵓ // ur jji / ur jju. These morphemes, usually, situate the process in the past and are followed by verbs in the aorist and perfective forms.

ⵣⵓ ⵏⵏⵞⵏ ⵓ�印ⵠ ⵄⵔⵎ ⵄⵎⵄⵓⵞⵓ. / ur jjun rad ak iml aɣaras.	"He will never show you the way."
ⵣⵓ ⵏⵏⵄⵏ ⵄⵯⵇⵄ ⵎⵞⵎⵎⵄⵓ. / ur jjin iẓṛi memmis.	"He has never seen his son."
ⵣⵓ ⵏⵏⵞⵏ ⵄⵏⵏⵄ ⵄⵯⵏⵄ ⵓ. / ur jjun inni izli a.	"He has never sung this song.."
ⵣⵓ ⵏⵏⵄⵏ ⵜ ⵞⵎⵄⵯⵏ. / ur jjin t umiẓn.	"They have never arrested him."

From an aspecto-temporal standpoint, the morphemes ⵣⵓ ⵙⵓ / ur sar and ⵣⵓ ⵏⵏⵄⵏ (ⵣⵓ ⵏⵏⵞⵏ) / ur jjin (ur jjun) are complementary; the first situates the process in the future while the second situates it in the past.

- ⵣⵓ ⵜⵓ / ur ta, ⵣⵓ ... ⵔⵓⵠ / ur ... ɛad *"not ... yet"*:

ⵣⵓ ⵜⵓ ⵠ ⵄⵝⵔⵄⵎ. / ur ta d ilkim.	"He has not arrived yet."
ⵣⵓ ⵄⵓⵙⵄⵓⵞ ⵔⵓⵠ. / ur issiwl ɛad.	"He has not spoken yet."
ⵣⵓ ⵠ ⵙⵣⵙⵄ ⵔⵓⵠ. / ur d yusi ɛad.	"He has not come yet."

- ⵣⵓ ... ⵙⵣⵏ / ur ... sul *"never (future)"*:

ⵣⵓ ⵙⵣⵏ ⵯⵇⵄⵢ ⵣⵎⵓ. / ur sul ẓṛiɣ uma.	"I have not seen my brother anymore."
ⵣⵓ ⵙⵣⵏ ⵄⵠⵠⵄ ⵙ ⵜⵎⵓⵯⵄⵓⵜ. / ur sul iddi s tmazirt.	"He has not been to the country anymore."

- ⵣⵓ ... ⵇⵇⵓⵄ (ⵣⵓ ... ⵇⵇⵓⵔ) / ur ... qqaḥ (ur ... qqaɛ), ⵣⵓ ⵓⵔⵔ゛ / ur ... akkʷ *"not at all, not even"*:

ⵣⵓ ⵄⵟⵟⵄⵙ ⵇⵇⵓⵄ. / ur iṭṭiṣ qqaḥ.	"He has not slept at all."
ⵣⵓ ⵓⵔⵔ゛ ⵛⵛⵄⵏ. / ur akkʷ ccin.	"They have not even eaten."

The morpheme ⵇⵇⵓⵄ (ⵇⵇⵓⵔ) / qqaḥ (qqaɛ) can be used at the head of the sentence:

ⵇⵇⵓⵄ ⵣⵓ ⵓⵙ ⵙⵙⵓⵓⵏ.
qqaḥ ur as ssawal.
"Never speak to him again."

- ⵌⵔ ... ⵖⵄⵙ (ⵅⵄⵙ) / ur ... ɣas (xas), ⵌⵔ ⵄⴱⵍⴰ (ⴱⵍⴰ) / ur ... abla (bla) *"no / nobody / nothing ... but"*:

ⵌⵔ ⵉⴷⴷⵉ ⵖⵄⵙ ⵏⵜⵜⴰ. / ur iddi ɣas ntta.	"Nobody left but him."
ⵌⵔ ⵏⵥⵔⵉ ⵄⴱⵍⴰ ⵉⵜⵜⵓ. / ur nẓri abla ittu.	"We have not seen but Iṭṭo."

- ⵌⵔ ... ⵄⵎⵢⴰ / ur ... amya, ⵌⵔ ⵡⴰⵍⵓ / ur ... walu, ⵌⵔ ... ⵢⴰⵜ / ur ... yat *"not ... anything"*, ⵌⵔ ... ⵢⴰⵏ / ⵉⵊⵊ // ur ... yan / ijj, ⵌⵔ ... ⵃⴷⴷ / ur ... ḥdd *"not ... anybody"*

The above different negative forms are used when negation is partial. Put in another way, the forms are observed when negation bears on one of the constituents of the sentence that has a specific grammatical function.

ⵌⵔ ⵉⵙⵙⵉⵏ ⵄⵎⵢⴰ. / ur issin amya.	"He does not know anything."
ⵌⵔ ⵏⵏⵉⵖ ⵡⴰⵍⵓ. / ur nniɣ walu.	"I did not say anything."
ⵌⵔ ⵉⴼⴼⵉⵖ ⵃⴷⴷ. / ur iffiɣ ḥdd.	"Nobody went out."
ⵌⵔ ⵉⵙⴰⵡⵍ ⵢⴰⵏ. / ur isawl yan.	"Nobody spoke."
ⵌⵔ ⵥⵔⵉⵏ ⵢⴰⵜ. / ur ẓrin yat.	"They did not see anything."

Along with the negative forms ⵌⵔ ... ⵢⴰⵏ (ⵉⵊⵊ) / ur ... yan (ijj), it is possible to use the morphemes ⴰⴳ / ag, ⴰⵡⴷ / awd, ⵓⵍⴰ / ula and ⵃⵜⵜⴰ / ḥtta "even" which surface immediately before ⵢⴰⵏ / yan and ⵉⵊⵊ / ijj.

ⵌⵔ ⵉⴷⴷⵉ ⵃⵜⵜⴰ ⵢⴰⵏ. / ur iddi ḥtta yan.	"Nobody went."
ⵌⵔ ⴷ ⵢⵓⵙⵉ ⴰⴳ ⵉⵊⵊ. / ur d yusi ag ijj.	"Nobody came."
ⵌⵔ ⵜⵜ ⵢⵓⵎⵉⵏ ⵓⵍⴰ ⵉⵊⵊ. / ur tt yumin ula ijj.	"Nobody believed her."
ⵌⵔ ⵉⵙⴰⵡⵍ ⴰⵡⴷ ⵢⴰⵏ. / ur isawl awd yan.	"Nobody spoke."

The morphemes ⴰⴳ ⵉⴷⵊ / ag idj, ⴰⵡⴷ ⵢⴰⵏ / awd yan, ⵓⵍⴰ ⵉⵊⵊ / ula ijj and ⵃⵜⵜⴰ ⵢⴰⵏ / ḥtta yan can appear at the head of a sentence:

ⴰⴳ ⵉⴷⵊ ⵌⵔ ⴷ ⵢⵓⵙⵉ. / ag idj ur d yusi.	"Nobody came."
ⵃⵜⵜⴰ ⵢⴰⵏ ⵌⵔ ⵉⴷⴷⵉ. / ḥtta yan ur iddi.	"Nobody went."
ⴰⵡⴷ ⵢⴰⵏ ⵌⵔ ⵉⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍ. / awd yan ur issiwl.	"Nobody spoke."
ⵓⵍⴰ ⵉⵊⵊ ⵌⵔ ⵜⵜ ⵢⵓⵎⵉⵏ. / ula ijj ur tt yumin.	"Nobody believed her."

• // ur ... kra / ur ... ca / ur ... ci *"not ... anything"*

ⵔⴰⵓⵔ / kra, ⵛⴰ / ca and ⵛⵉ / ci are indefinite morphemes that are used when negation is partial.

ⵓⵔ ⴰⵓⵖⵉⵏ ⵛⴰ. / ur sɣin ca.	"They have not bought anything."
ⵓⵔ ⵢⵓⴼⵉ ⵛⴰ. / ur yufi ca.	"He has not found anything."

• ⵓⵔ ... ⵓⵍⴰ / ur ... ula, ⵓⵔ ... ⵍⴰ ... ⵍⴰ / ur ... la ... la *"neither ... nor"*

These morphemes are used when negation bears on a coordinate NP.

ⴰⵏⵏⴰⵢⵖ ⵃⵎⵎⵓ ⴷ ⵢⵉⴷⵉⵔ. / annayɣ ḥmmu d yidir.	"I saw Hemmou and Idir."
ⵓⵔ ⵢⴰⵏⵏⴰⵢ ⵃⵎⵎⵓ ⵓⵍⴰ ⵉⴷⵉⵔ. / ur yannay ḥmmu ula idir.	"He saw neither Hemmou nor Idir."
ⵓⵔ ⵉⵏⵏⵉ ⵢⴰⵀ ⵓⵍⴰ ⵍⴰⵡⴰⵀ. / ur inni yah ula lawah.	"He said neither yes nor no."
ⵓⵔ ⵉⵣⵕⵉ ⵍⴰ ⵜⴰⵃⴷⴷⵓⵜ ⵍⴰ ⴱⴰⵊⵊⵓ. / ur iẓṛi la taḥddut la bajju.	"He saw neither Tahddout nor Bajjou."

• ⵓⵔ ... ⴱⵓ / ur ... bu *"not ... at all"*

The morpheme ⵓⵔ / ur can be followed by ⴱⵓ / bu (ⵓⵔ ... ⴱⵓ / ur ... bu) to express a semantic value of intensity missing in the form without ⴱⵓ.

ⵓⵔ ⵓⵖⵉⵖ ⴰⴹⵉⵍ. / ur sɣiɣ aḍil.	"I bought no grapes."
ⵓⵔ ⵓⵖⵉⵖ ⴱⵓ ⵡⴰⴹⵉⵍ. / ur sɣiɣ bu waḍil /	"I have not bought any grapes."
ⵓⵔ ⵓⵎⵉⵥⵏ ⴱⵓ ⵜⵎⵏⴰⵢⵜ. / ur umiẓn bu tmnayt.	"They received no money."
ⵓⵔ ⵖⵓⵔⵙ ⴱⵓ ⵓⵅⵅⴰⵎ. / ur ɣurs bu uxxam.	"He does not have any house."

The constituent that follows ⴱⵓ / bu takes the construct state form if it is a noun.

2.2. Non-verbal negation

A non-verbal negative sentence (*cf. 8.1.2*) is introduced by ⵓⵔ / ur "not" which comes right before the non-verbal predicate:

Ʌ ₒⵛɅⵙₒⵇ. / d amdyaz.	"He is a poet."
ⵦO Ʌ ₒⵛɅⵙₒⵇ. / ur d amdyaz.	"He is not a poet."
Ʌ ₒⵛⵇⵇⵙₒⵍ. / ur d amẓẓyan.	"It is the small one."
ⵦO Ʌ ₒⵛⵇⵇⵙₒⵍ. / ur d amẓẓyan.	"It is not the small one."
Ʌ ⵏ†ₒ. / d ntta.	"It is him."
ⵦO Ʌ ⵏ†ₒ. / ur d ntta.	"It is not him."
�⊙ ₒⵍɅₒⵇ. / ɣurs andaz.	"He is lucky."
ⵦO ⵢⵦⵒⵙ ₒⵍɅₒⵇ. / ur ɣurs andaz.	"He is not lucky."
Ʌ ⵍⱼₒ. / d wa.	"It is this one."
ⵦO Ʌ ⵍⱼₒ. / ur d wa.	"It is not this one."
Ʌ ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵦ. / d winu.	"It is mine / they are mine."
ⵦO Ʌ ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵦ. / ur d winu.	"It is not mine / they are not mine."
ⵦO Ʌ ⵣⵉⵍₒE, ₒⴹ ₒⵇⵔⵔₒ. / ur d idnnaṭ, al azkka.	"It is not yesterday, it is until tomorrow."
ⵦO Ʌ ⵍⱼ⊙ₒ ⵦⴹₒ †ⵣⵍⵛⵛₒ. / ur d wasa ula tiwcca.	"It is neither now nor tomorrow."

When the predicate is a noun or an equivalent, ⵦO / ur precedes the particle of predication Ʌ / d "it is", hence the form ⵦO Ʌ / ur d "it is not". The latter structure undergoes a whole range of different alterations. Paramount among these alterations are ⵦO ⵣɅ / ur id and ⵦⵉⵉⵣ Ʌ / ulli d. The common feature between these different realisations is the presence of ⵦO / ur (in a full or reduced form) as well as the predicator Ʌ / d.

2.3 The negation of a completive or noun clause

To form negation, the completive clause introduced by ⵣ⊙ / is "that" is preceded by the morpheme ⵦO / ur and followed by the predicator Ʌ / d:

ⵦO Ʌ ⵣ⊙ ⵣ⊙ⵢₒ †ₒɅɅₒO†. / ur d is isɣa taddart.	"It is not the fact that he bought a house."
ⵦO Ʌ ⵣ⊙ ₒ⊙ ⵍⵍⵣⵢ ⵣⵣⵣⵛ. / ur d is as nniɣ qqim.	"It is not the fact that I told him to stay."

2.4. Position of direct / indirect object pronouns and orientation particles

In a negative sentence, the direct and indirect object affixal pronouns along with the particles of spatial orientation Λ / d and I / n appear in a preverbal position, immediately after the adverb of negation ⵓⵔ / ur. The order of the remaining elements of the sentence is left unscathed.

ⵢⵓⴽⵎ Λ. / yukm d.	"He came in (from here)."
ⵓⵔ Λ ⵢⵓⴽⵉⵎ. / ur d yukim.	"He did not come in (from here)."

ⵖⵔⵉⵖ ⴰⵙ. / ɣriɣ as.	"I called him / her."
ⵓⵔ ⴰⵙ ⵖⵔⵉⵖ. / ur as ɣriɣ.	"I did not call him / her."

ⵥⵔⵉⵖ ⵜ. / ẓṛiɣ t.	"I saw him."
ⵓⵔ ⵜ ⵥⵔⵉⵖ. / ur t ẓṛiɣ.	"I did not see him."

ⵓⵛⵉⵖ ⴰⵙ ⵜ. / uciɣ as t.	"I gave it to him."
ⵓⵔ ⴰⵙ ⵜ ⵓⵛⵉⵖ. / ur as t uciɣ.	"I did not give it to him."

3. Interrogative

The interrogative sentence is used to ask a question or get information from an interlocutor. Questions in Amazigh are divided into two categories: closed questions (also called yes / no questions) and open-ended questions. The first category of questions bears on the whole sentence and is answered by using yes or no while the second category bears only on a single part of the sentence.

When a question is given to a present interlocutor, the interrogative sentence is termed *direct*. Conversely,when the question is introduced (within a clause) by a verb like ⵙⵇⵙⴰ / sqsa "ask", ⵥⵔ / ẓṛ "see", etc., it is dubbed *indirect*.

3.1. Closed questions

Linguists recognise two types of closed questions: direct closed questions and indirect closed questions.

a. Direct closed questions

Direct closed questions are always answered by yes or no. If the answer is positive, we get: ⵢⵢⵉⵀ / yyih, ⵢⴰⵀ / yah, ⵡⴰⵀ / wah "yes". If it is negative, we get: ⵓⵀⵓ / uhu, ⵉⵀⵉ / ihi, ⵍⴰⵡⴰⵀ / lawah, ⵍⵍⴰ / lla, ⴰⵔⴰⵃ / araḥ "no".

In writing, a direct closed question is an independent sentence characterized orally by an interrogative intonation and by a question mark. A direct closed question is used when we speak directly to an interlocutor. Two processes are deployed to express interrogation: intonation and interrogative morphemes.

(i) Direct closed questions marked by intonation only

ᐱᐱⵓ⵿ ? / ddan ?	"They went?"
ⵢⵉⵓ⵿ ⵂⵉⵊⴰⵓ. / yiwt unẓaṛ.	"It rained."

(ii) Direct closed questions with interrogative morphemes

Under this category, the interrogative morphemes ⵉⵙ / is and ⵎⴰ / ma are used to ask questions; they are compatible with verbs, nouns, quality nouns, adverbs and pronouns. Put in another way, ⵉⵙ / is and ⵎⴰ / ma are made avail of in verbal as well as non-verbal sentences.

- Verbal sentences

ⵉⵙ ⵛⵛⵓ⵿ ? / is ccan ?	"Did they eat?"
ⵎⴰ ⵔⵓⵅⵏ ? / ma raḥn ?	"Did they go?"

- Non-verbal sentences

In a non-verbal sentence where the predicate is a noun (or an equivalent) or an adverb (*cf. 8.1.2.*), the interogative morphemes ⵉⵙ / is and ⵎⴰ / ma are used with the predicative particle ⴸ / d to formulate the close question:

ⵉⵙ ⴸ ⴱⴰⴱⴰⴽ ? / is d babak ?	"Is it your father?"
ⵎⴰ ⴸ ⵉⵍⵍⵉⵙ ? / ma d illis ?	"Is it his / her daughter?"

ⵉⵙ ⴸ ⴽⵎⵎ ? / is d kmm ?	"Is it you (fem.)?"
ⵎⴰ ⴸ ⵏⵜⵜⴰⵜ ? / ma d nttat ?	"Is it her?"

ⵉⵙ ⴸ ⴰⵡⵔⴰⵖ ? / is d awraɣ ?	"Is it the yellow one?"
ⵎⴰ ⴸ ⴰⴱⵔⴽⴰⵏ ? / ma d abrkan ?	"Is it the black one?"

ⵉⵙ ⴸ ⴽⵔⴰⴺ ? / is d kṛaḍ ?	"Is it three?"
ⵎⴰ ⴸ ⵙⵎⵎⵓⵙ ? / ma d smmus ?	"Is it five?"

ⵉⵙ ⴸ ⴰⵥⵢⴰⵡ ? / is d ddaw ?	"Is it down?"
ⵎⴰ ⵙ ⵡⴰⴷⴷⴰⵢ ? / ma s wadday ?	"Is it down?"

ⵎⴰ ⴷ ⵓⴰ ? / ma d wa ?	"Is it this one?"
ⵉⵙ ⴷ ⵉⵎⴰⵍ ? / is d imal?	"Is it next year?"

When the interrogative morpheme ⵉⵙ / is is used, the orientation particles (ⴷ / d, ⵏ / n) and the direct and indirect object pronouns are placed before the verb, as set out in the examples below.

ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⴷ. / idda d.	>	ⵉⵙ ⴷ ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ? / is d idda ?	"Did he come?"
ⵉⵍⴽⵎ ⵏⵏ. / ilkm nn.	>	ⵉⵙ ⵏⵏ ⵉⵍⴽⵎ ? / is nn ilkm ?	"Did he arrive (there)?"
ⵉⵥⵔⴰ ⵜⵏ. / iẓra tn.	>	ⵉⵙ ⵜⵏ ⵉⵥⵔⴰ ? / is tn iẓra ?	"Did he see them?"
ⵜⵖⵔⵉⴷ ⴰⵙ. / tɣrid as.	>	ⵉⵙ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵖⵔⵉⴷ ? / is as tɣrid ?	"Did you call him / her?"

As for the interrogative morpheme ⵎⴰ / ma, it does not entail the movement of the orientation particles (ⴷ / d, ⵏ / n) and the direct and indirect object personal pronouns to a preverbal position. Conversely, when the interrogative morpheme is followed by the particle ⴰⴷ / ad (of the future) or the negative particle ⵓⵔ / ur, movement of the afore-mentioned elements is observed.

ⵎⴰ ⵢⵓⵙⵉⴷ ⴷ ⵏⵉⵖ ⵍⵍⴰ ? / ma yusi d niɣ lla ?	"Did he come or not?"
ⵎⴰ ⴰⴷ ⴷ ⵢⴰⵙ ? / ma ad d yas ?	"Is he coming?"
ⵎⴰ ⵓⵔ ⴷ ⵜⵓⵙⵉ ? / ma ur d tusi ?	"Didn't she come?"

b. Indirect closed questions

An indirect closed question is made up of a main clause and a subordinate interrogative clause introduced by ⵉⵙ / is or ⵎⴰ / ma:

ⵙⵇⵙⴰ ⵜ ⵉⵙ ⵉⵙⵡⴰ ⴰⵜⴰⵢ ! / sqsa t is iswa atay!	"Ask him if he drank tea!"
ⴻⵍⵓ ⵉⵙ ⴷ ⵉⵡⴹⵏ ! / ɛlu is d iwḍn !	"See if they have come!"
ⵙⴰⵍ ⵎⴰ ⵜⵓⵙⵉ ⴷ ⵉⵎⵎⴰⵙ ! / sal ma tusi d immas !	"Ask if his mother came!"
ⵙⵇⵙⴰ ⵜⵏ ⵎⴰ ⵞⵞⵉⵏ ! / sqsa tn ma ccin !	"Ask (them) if they have eaten!"

3.2. Open-ended questions

An open-ended question tries to get information on one of the constituents of the sentence and always requires an explanatory answer. It is recognised by the use of a definite interrogative tool (pronoun or adverb).

a. Asking a question on the subject

To ask a question on the subject, we resort to the interrogative pronouns ⵎⴰ / ma or ⵡⵉ / wi which are followed by the participial form of the verb. The interrogative morphemes ⵎⴰ / ma and ⵡⵉ / wi are invariable. The morpheme ⵎⴰ / ma is followed by the topicalizers ⴰⵢ / ay or ⴰⴷ / ad, hence the forms ⵎⴰ ⴰⵢ / ma ay or ⵎⴰ ⴰⴷ / ma ad. At the phonetic level, ⵎⴰ ⴰⵢ / ma ay is realized as ⵎⴰⵢ / may or ⵎⴰⴳ / mag and ⵎⴰ ⴰⴷ / ma ad is realized as ⵎⴰⴷ / mad or ⵎⴰ / ma. The different realizations are dependent on the context of use.

ⵎⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵢⴼⴼⵖⵏ ? / ma ay iffɣn ?	"Who went out?"
ⵎⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵢⴷⴷⴰⵏ ? / ma ad iddan ?	"Who went?"
ⵡⵉ ⴷ ⵢⵓⴷⴼⵏ ? / wi d yudfn ?	"Who came in?"
ⵡⵉ ⵜ ⵢⵏⵏⴰⵏ ? / wi t innan ?	"Who told it?"
ⵡⵉ ⴷ ⵢⵓⵙⵉⵏ ? / u d yusin ?	"Who came?"

Before a nominal subject, it is the interrogative morpheme ⵎⴰⵏ / man that is employed. The latter is invariable and does not exercise any influence whatsoever on the state of the noun that it specifies. The verb that follows remains in the participial form.

ⵎⴰⵏ ⴰⵎⵃⴹⴰⵕ ⵏⵏ ⵉⴱⴱⵉⵏ ⵉⵎⴰⵍⴰⵙⵙ ⴰⴷ ? / man amḥḍaṛ nn ibbin imalass ad ?	"Which student has been absent this week?"
ⵎⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⵎⵟⵟⵓⴹⵜ ⵉⵙⵖⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⵏⴰⴽⵕⴰ ? / man tamṭṭuḍt isɣan tanakṛa ?	"Which woman bought the rug?"

b. Asking a question on the direct object

Asking about the direct object necessitates the use of one of the following interrogative morphemes: ⵎⴰ / ma (followed by ⴰⴷ / ad or ⴰⵢ / ay), ⵎⵉⵏ / min, ⵎⴰⵢⵏ / mayn or ⵡⵉ / wi "what, whom". The verbs that follow these interrogative morphemes do not take the participial form and are conjugated normally.

ⵎⴰ ⴰⵠ ⵜⵛⵛⴰⵎ ? / ma ad tccam ?	"What have you eaten?."
ⵎⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵜⵯⵢⵉⴷ ? / ma ay tsɣid ?	"What have you bought?"
ⵎⵉⵏ ⵜⵏⵏⵉⵎ ? / min tnnim ?	"What did you (plr.) say?"
ⵎⴰⵢⵏ ⴷ ⵉⵡⵉⵏⵜ ? / mayn d iwint ?	"What did they (fem.) bring?"
ⵍⵉⵣ ⵜⵥⵔⵉⴷ ? / wi tẓrid ?	"What have you seen?"
ⵓ ⵥⵔⵉⵏⵜ ? / u ẓrint ?	"Who did they (fem.) see?"

Before a direct object, the interrogative morpheme ⵎⴰⵏ / man can be employed. Under this display, the interrogative morpheme functions as a determiner.

ⵎⴰⵏ ⴰⵥⵏⵏⴰⵕ ⴰⴷ ⵜⵔⵉⴷ ? /
man aẓnnaṛ ad trid ?
"Which bournous would you like?"

c. Asking a question on the indirect object

When the inquiry holds on an indirect object, the interrogative sentence is introduced by the morpheme ⵎⴰ / ma or ⵓ / u, followed by the morpheme ⵎⵉ / mi and / or the preposition that precedes the indirect object. The three elements may coexist, bringing about complex forms like: ⵎⴰ ⵉ ⵎⵉ / ma i mi "to whom", ⵎⴰ ⵙ ⵎⵉ / ma s mi "with what" and ⵎⴰ ⵅⴼ ⵎⵉ / ma xf mi "on what, about what …".

ⵉⵡⵛⴰ ⵉⵇⴰⵕⵉⴹⵏ ⵉ ⵄⵍⵉ. / iwca iqaṛiḍn i ɛli.	"He gave the money to Ali."
ⵎⴰ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵡⵛⴰ ⵉⵇⴰⵕⵉⴹⵏ? / ma mi iwca iqaṛiḍn ?	"To whom did he give the money?"

ⵎⴰ / ma and ⵓ / u always appear at the beginning of the interrogative sentence followed by ⵎⵉ / mi (ⵎⴰ ⵎⵉ / ma mi, ⵓ ⵎⵉ / u mi "to whom") especially when the preposition ⵉ / i introduces the indirect object. The preposition ⵉ / i may also hold before the morpheme ⵎⵉ / mi (ⵉ ⵎⵉ / i mi).

ⵎⵍⴰⵏ ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ ⵉ ⵓⵎⴰⵠⵠⴰⵙ. / iwca iqaṛiḍn i ɛli.	"They showed the way to the traveller."
ⵎⴰ ⵎⵉ ⵎⵍⴰⵏ ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ ? / ma mi mlan abrid ?	"To whom did they show the way?"
ⵓ ⵎⵉ ⵎⵍⴰⵏ ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ ? / u mi mlan abrid ?	"To whom did they show the way?"

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| ⵣ ⵍⵥ ⵍⵏⵓⵍ ⵄⵀⵓⵥⵠ ? /
i mi mlan abrid ? | "To whom did they show the way?" |

When the indirect object is introduced by a preposition other than ⵥ / i, the preposition may follow (ⵍⵄ ⵀ / ma s "with what", ⵍⵄ ⵞⵟ / ma ɣr "at whose house") or precede the interrogative pronoun. When the preposition precedes the interrogative pronoun, it is ⵍⵥ / mi or its variant ⵍⵥⵥⵥ / mizi that is employed (ⵀ ⵍⵥ / s mi, ⵀ ⵍⵥⵥⵥ / s mizi "with what" ...):

ⵜⵀⵀⵥ ⵄⵥⵓⵍⵥⵍ ⵀ ⵜⵏⵥⵥⵥⵓⵍⵜ. / tbbi aẓalim s tuzzalt.	"She cut onions with a knife"
ⵍⵄ ⵀ ⵜⵀⵀⵥ ⵄⵥⵓⵍⵥⵍ ? / ma s tbbi aẓalim ?	"What did she cut onions with?"
ⵀ ⵍⵥⵥⵥ ⵜⵀⵀⵥ ⵄⵥⵓⵍⵥⵍ ? / s mizi tbbi aẓalim ?	"What did she cut onions with?"
ⵀ ⵍⵥ ⵜⵀⵀⵥ ⵄⵥⵓⵍⵥⵍ ? / s mi tbbi aẓalim ?	"What did she cut onions with?"

d. Interrogative sentences bearing on adverbs and adverb phrases

Interrogative sentences can also be used to get information on time, place, manner, quantity and cause, and be expressed by a host of interrogative adverbs.

(i) interrogative adverbs of time

To ask about time, we resort to a set of adverbs such as ⵍⵓⵍ�ⵯ / managʷ and ⵍⵥⵏⵍⵥ / milmi "when".

ⵍⵓⵍⵯ / managʷ is followed by the topicalizer ⵄⵏ / ad which may undergo truncation and surface as ⵄ / a:

| ⵍⵓⵍⵯ ⵄⵏ ⵥⵥⵞⵍ ? /
managʷ ad ffɣn ? | "When did they go out?" |
| ⵍⵓⵍⵯ ⵄⵏ ⵔⵄⵏ ⵍⵍⵓⵍ ? /
managʷ ad rad ddun ? | "When will they go?" |

ⵍⵥⵏⵍⵥ / milmi (or ⵍⵏⵍⵥ / mlmi) is followed by ⵄⵢ / ay when the verb is in the perfective or imperfective form and by ⵄ ⵔⵄ / a ra, ⵄ ⵟⵔⵄ / a ɣra or ⵄ ⵟⵄ / a ɣa when the verb is in the aorist theme.

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ⵎⵥⵏⵎⵥ ⴰⵢ ⵥⵛⵛⴰⵜ ? / milmi ay immut ?	"When did he die?"
ⵎⵥⵏⵎⵥ ⴰⵢ ⵜⵏⵏⴰⵎⵜ ? / milmi ay tddamt ?	"When did you (plr. fem.) go?"
ⵎⵥⵏⵎⵥ ⵉ ⵢⴰ ⵜⵛⵛⴰⵜⵜⵥⵎⵜ ? / milmi i ɣa tmmattimt ?	"When are you (plr. fem.) going to move house?"
ⵎⵥⵏⵎⵥ ⴰ ⵔⴰ ⴸ ⵢⴰⵡⴹ ? / milmi a ra d yawḍ ?	"When will he arrive?"
ⵎⵥⵏⵎⵥ ⴰ ⵢⴰ ⵜⵥⵥⵟⵎ ? / milmi a ɣa tṭṭṣm ??	"When will you (plr.) sleep?"

Let it be noted that ⵎⵥⵏⵎⵥ ⴰⵢ / milmi + ay is realized as ⵎⵥⵏⵎⵥ ⴰⴴ / milmi + ag when the verb is conjugated in the third masculine singular person.

ⵎⵥⵏⵎⵥ ⴰⵢ ⵥⵛⵛⴰⵜ ? / [ⵎⵥⵏⵎⵥ ⴰⴴ ⵛⵛⴰⵜ] milmi ag mmut ?	"When did he die?"

(ii) Interrogative adverbs of place

When the question holds on place or location, the interrogative adverb ⵎⴰⵏⵥ / mani "where", which is usually followed by a preposition, introduces the interrogative sentence. The prepositions that follow ⵎⴰⵏⵥ / mani express one of the following values:

• Location:

ⵎⴰⵏⵥ ⴴ ⵥⵊⵙⴷⵢ ? / mani g izdɣ ?	"Where does he live?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵥ ⴴ ⵥⵏⵏⴰ ⵥⵢⵔⵎ ⵏⵏⵓⵏ ? / mani g illa iɣrm nnun ?	"Where is your (plr. masc.) village?"

• direction and movement:

ⵎⴰⵏⵥ ⵢⵔ ⵜⵏⵏⵥⵏ ? / mani ɣr tddid ?	"Where are you going?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵥ ⵙ ⵥⵔⵡⵏ ? / mani s irwl ?	"Where did he flee?"

• Origin:

ⵎⴰⵏⵥ ⵣⴳ ⵜⵣⵥⵏ ? / mani zg tgid ?	"Where are you from?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵥ ⵙ ⵛⴽⴽ ? / mani s ckk ?	"Where are you from?"

The interrogative ⵎⴰⵏⵥ / mani can be followed directly by:

- a verb:

ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⵉⵔⵓⵃ? / mani iraḥ ?	"Where did he go?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⵜⵍⵍⴰⵎ ? / mani tllam ?	"Where are you (plr. Masc.) ?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⵜ ⵢⵓⴼⴰ ? / mani t yufa ?	"Where did he find it?"

- a noun or pronoun:

ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⵓⵯⵔⵉⴷ ? / mani abrid ?	"Where is the way?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⵙ ⵎⴷⴷⴰⴽⴽⵯⵍ ⵏⵏⴽ ? / mani s amddakkʷl nnk ?	"Where is your friend?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⵜ ? / mani t ?	"Where is he?"

In general terms, there is a tendency to favour the verbal sentence with the following structure:

ⵎⴰⵏⵉ / Mani + (preposition) + verb ⵉⵍⵉ / ili

ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⵍⵍⴰⵏ ⵍⵡⴰⵛⵓⵏ ? / mani llan lwacun ?	"Where are the children?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⴳ ⵉⵍⵍⴰ ⵓⵖⴰⵔⴰⵙ ? / mani g illa uɣaras ?	"Where is the way?"

We also obtain ⵎⴰⵏⵣⴰ / manza "where" before a noun or pronoun:

ⵎⴰⵏⵣⴰ ⵜⴰⵔⵡⴰ ⵏⵏⴽ ? / manza tarwa nnk ?	"Where are the children?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵣⴰ ⵜ ? / manza t ? ?	"Where is he?"
ⵎⴰⵏⵣⴰ ⵉⵎⵉ ? / manza imi ?	"Where is the entrance?"

(iii) Interrogative adverbs of manner

When the inquiry holds on the manner in which something has been done, the main interrogative morphemes deployed are: ⵎⴰⵏⵉⴽ / manik, ⵎⴰⵎⵏⴽ / mamnk, ⵎⴰⵎⵎⴽ / mammk, ⵎⴰⴽⴰ / maka, ⵎⵉⵎⵛ / mimc and ⵎⴰⵏⵛ / manc "how":

ⵎⴰⵏⵉⴽ ⴰⴷ ⵜⵙⴽⵔⵎ? / manik ad tskrm ?	"How did you do?"
ⵎⴰⵎⵏⴽ ⴰⴷ ⵜⴳⵉⴷ ? / mamnk ad tgid ?	"How are you?"
ⵎⴰⴽⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵜⵇⵇⵉⵎⴷ ? / maka ay tqqimd ?	"How are you? (after a misfortune)"
ⵎⴰⴽⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵖⴰ ⵏⴳ ? / maka ay ɣa ng ?	"What are we going to do?"

Not unlike the interrogative morphemes of time, interrogative morphemes of manner are followed by ⵄⵏ / ad - ⵄⵙ / ay (or their short forms).

(iv) Interrogative adverbs of quantity

The interrogative adverbs of quantity are: ⵎⵛⴽ / mnck, ⵎⵛⵜⴰ / mcta, ⵎⵛⵀⴰⵍ / mcḥal and ⵎⵏⵏⴰⵡ / mnnaw "how much, how many":

- ⵎⵛⴽ / mnck, ⵎⵛⵜⴰ / mcta, ⵎⵛⵀⴰⵍ / mcḥal

When these adverbs specify a noun, they are always followed by the genitive preposition ⵏ / n:

ⵎⵛⵀⴰⵍ ⵏ ⵜⵎⵖⴰⵔⵉⵏ ? / mcḥal n tmɣarin ?	"How many women?"
ⵎⵛⵜⴰ ⵏ ⵉⵅⴰⵎⵏ ? / mcta n ixamn ?	"How many houses?"
ⵎⵛⴽⴽ ⵏ ⵡⴰⵜⴰⵢ ? / mnckk n watay ?	"How much tea?"

When they are followed by a verb, the adverbs of quantity are used along with the topicalizers ⵄⵏ / ad and ⵄⵙ / ay or their variant ⵄ / a:

ⵎⵛⵀⴰⵍ ⵄⵙ ⵉⵇⵇⵉⵎⵏ ? / mcḥal ay iqqimn ?	"How many remain?"
ⵎⵛⴽ ⵄⵏ ⵜⵓⵖⵎ ? /	"How many did you (plr. masc.) buy?"
ⵎⵛⵜⴰ ⵄⵏ ⵙ ⵜⵍⵍⴰⵎ ? / mcta ad s tllam ?	"How many are you?"

- ⵎⵏⵏⴰⵡ / mnnaw

The adverb ⵎⵏⵏⴰⵡ / mnnaw, which is used only with countable nouns, is not followed by a preposition; yet, it induces the noun that comes right after it to take the construct state form. Agreement in gender also holds between the interrogative morpheme and the noun:

ⵎⵏⵏⴰⵡ ⵡⵓⵙⵙⴰⵏ ? / mnnaw wussan?	"How many days?"
ⵎⵏⵏⴰⵡⵜ ⵜⵎⵖⴰⵔⵉⵏ ? / mnnawt tmɣarin?	"How many women?"

(v) Interrogative adverbs of cause and reason

When we want to ask about cause or reason, we resort to the following interrogative adverbs: ⵎⴰⵅⴼ / maxf (reduced forms ⵎⴰⵅ / max // ⵎⴰⴼ / maf), ⵎⴰⵢⴰⵔ / maɣar or ⵎⴰⵢⵎⵎⵉ (ⵎⴰⵅⵎⵎⵉ) / maymmi (maxmmi) "why".

The interrogative morpheme ⵎⵄⵅ / max, counter to ⵎⵄⵂ / maf and ⵎⵄⵞⵄⵔ / maɣar, is followed by ⵄⵙ ⵏⵏⵉⵅ / ay llig or one of its variants (ⵄⵙ ⵏⵏⵉⵅ / ay llix or ⵄⵙ ⵏⵏⵉⵞ / ay lliɣ).

ⵎⵄⵅ ⵄⵙ ⵏⵏⵉⵞ ⵜⵓⵍⵏⵉ ? / max ay lliɣ trwld ?	"Why did you flee?"
ⵎⵄⵅ ⵄⵙ ⵏⵏⵉⵅ ⵉⵂⵂⵞ ? / max ay llig iffɣ?	"Why did he go out?"
ⵎⵄⵂ ⵛⵔ ⵉⵗⵗⵉ ? / maf ur iddi?	"Why didn't he go?"
ⵎⵄⵞⵄⵔ ⵜⵛⵅⵉⵍ ⵄⵗ ⵜⵄⵄⵗⵍ? / maɣar tugid ad traḥd ?	"Why did you refuse to go?"
ⵎⵄⵞⵄⵔ ⵜⵅⵅⵉⵍ ⵄⵎⵎⵛ ? / maɣar tggid ammu ?	"Why are you like this?"

4. The exclamative sentence

An exclamative sentence expresses a strong feeling (surprise, anger, indignation, pleasure, joy, etc.) or a speaker's emotional judgement on a an event or situation.

ⵉⵔⵓⵍ ! / irwl !	"He fled!"
ⵍⵍⵄⵏ ! / ddan !	"They went!"
ⵉⵔⵣⴰ ! / iṛẓa !	"He is broken!"

The make-up of an exclamative sentence is in no way different from the make-up of interrogative and affirmative sentences. The only exception observed between an exclamative sentence and the other afore-mentioned sentences is the use of an exclamative intonation in speaking and an exclamation mark in writing. Orally, an exclamative intonation is realized by lengthening the final vowel.

ⵍⵍⵄⵏ. / ddan.	(assertion)	"They went."
ⵍⵍⵄⵏ ! / ddan !	(exclamation)	"They went!"
ⵍⵍⵄⵏ ? / ddan ?	(question)	"They went?"

Besides intonation, exclamation can also be marked by exclamative morphemes belonging to different classes (interrogative morphemes, indefinite morphemes, interjections).

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4.1. Expressing exclamation by intonation

Exclamation may well be expressed by intonation only. When this happens, the structure of the sentence is identical to the affirmative sentence:

ⵢ�::ⵄⵄⵄ ⵜⵜ ! / yufa tt !	"He found her!"
ⵜⵢ:ⵏ° ! / tɣuda !	"She is beautiful!"
ⵏ °ⵛⵣⵣⵓⵍ ! / d amqqran !	"It / He is big!"
ⵉⵛⵣⵣ:ⵄ ! / imqqur !	"He is big!"

Some exclamative sentences are made up of a noun phrase whose determiner is a stressed indefinite morpheme:

• ⵢⵓⵍ / ⵉⵍⵍ // **yan** / **ijj** *"one (masc.)"*, ⵢⵓⵜ / ⵉⵛⵜ // **yat** / **ict** *"one (fem.)"*

ⵢⵓⵍ ⵜⵜⵄⵉⵣⵉ ! / yan ṭṭajin !	"a tagine! = What a tagine!"
ⵢⵓⵜ ⵜⵛⵢⵓ° ! / yat tmɣra !	"a ceremony (marriage)! = What a ceremony!"

• ⴾⵔ° / **kra** // ⵛ° / **ca** *"some, something"*

ⴾⵔⵓⵍ ⵍⵓⵄ:ⵎⵔⵉ ! / kra n wafulki !	"What a beauty!"
ⵛ° ⵍ ⵜ°ⴼ ⵉ ! / ca n taḍfi !	"What sweetness!"

A noun phrase introduced by ⵀ° / ha may express exclamation if it is uttered with an exclamative intonation accompanied by stress on ⵀ° / ha.

ⵀ° ⵜ°ⵛⵛ°ⵔ° ! / ha tammara !	"What a pain!"
ⵀ° ⵜⵉⵛⵢ°ⵔⵉⵍ ! / ha timɣarin !	"These are really good ladies!"
ⵀⵓⵍ °ⵓ°ⵎ ! / han awal !	"It is well said!"

4.2. Exclamation by using exclamative tools

Some morphemes express both interrogation and exclamation (*cf. 8.3.2*), as set out below:

• ⵛ°ⵜⵜ° / **matta** *"what"*

When reduplication (ex. 1, 2) or expansion (ex. 3) of ⵛ°ⵜⵜ° / matta is noted, the sentence evokes a positive opinion:

1. ⵛ°ⵜⵜ° ⵣⵣⵉⵍ ⵛ°ⵜⵜ° ! / matta zzin matta !	"What a beauty!"

2. ⵎⴰⵜⵜⴰ ⵜⵎⵖⵔⵉⵡⵉⵏ ⵎⴰⵜⵜⴰ ! / matta tmɣriwin matta !	"What beautiful mariages!"
3. ⵎⴰⵜⵜⴰ ⵓⵢⵢⵉⵙ ⵉⵙⵖⴰ ⵜ ! / matta ayyis isɣa t !	"What a beautiful horse he bought!"
4. ⵎⴰⵜⵜⴰ ⵜⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ ⴰⴷ ! / matta tmazirt ad !	"What a (bad) country!"

• ⵎⴰⵏⴰ / **mana** *"what"*

ⵎⴰⵏⴰ ⵓⵎⵉⵖⵉⵙ ⴰ ⵏ ⵓⵃⵏⵊⵉⵔ !
mana umiɣis a n uḥnjir !
"What an intelligent boy!"

• ⵎⵉⵏ / **min** **"*how, how much, how many*"**

ⵎⵉⵏ ⵉⵎⵖⵔ ⵎⵎⵎⵉⴽ ! / min imɣar memmik !	" (look) How much your son has grown!"
ⵎⵉⵏ ⵖⴰⵔⵙ ⵣⵉ ⵡⴰⴳⵔⴰ ! / min ɣars zi wagra !	"How much property he has!"

• ⵎⴰⵎⵏⴽ / **Mamnk**, ⵎⴰⵏⵉⴽ / **manik**, ⵎⴰⵎⴽ / **mamk** *"how, how much, how many"*

ⵎⴰⵎⵏⴽ ⴰⴷ ⵉⵜⵜⵉⴽⵚⵓⴹ ! / mamnk ad ittikṣuḍ !	"How fearful he is!"
ⵎⴰⵎⵏⴽ ⴰⴷ ⵢⴰⵎⵓⵎ ! / mamnk ad yamum !	"How thin he became!"
ⵎⴰⵎⴽ ⵉⵚⴱⵃ ⵓⵖⵔⵓⵎ ⴰ ! / mamk iṣbḥ uɣrum a !	"How nice is this bread!"

• ⵎⴰⵢⵏ / **mayn** *"how, how much, how many"*

| ⵎⴰⵢⵏ ⵜⴼⵙⵓⵙⴷ ! / mayn tfsusd ! | "How quick are you !" |

• ⵎⵛⵜⴰ / **mcta**, ⵎⵛⵃⴰⵍ / **mcḥal**, ⵎⵏⵛⴽ / **mnck** *"how much / many"*

ⵎⵛⵜⴰ ⴷ ⵉⵃⵍⵍⴰⵍⵏ ⴰⵢ ⴷ ⴰ ⵉⵜⵜⵇⵇⵉⵙ ! / mcta d iḥllaln ay da ittqqis !	" He says nothing but lies!"
ⵎⵛⵃⴰⵍ ⴷ ⴰⴷⴼⵍ ! / mcḥal d adfl !	"A lot of snow!"
ⵎⵏⵛⴽ ⴰⴷ ⵍⴰⵏ ! / mnck ad lan!	"How big are they!"

When they introduce a non-verbal sentence with a nominal predicate, ⵎⵛⵜⴰ / mcta, ⵎⵛⵃⴰⵍ / mcḥal and ⵎⵏⵛⴽ / mnck are used with the predication particle

Λ / d. Conversely, when they introduce a verbal sentence, the interrogative adverbs are used with ₒΛ / ad or ₒ𐤔 / ay.

• ⵎₒⵍ𐤔 / **mani** *"where"*

ⵎₒⵍ𐤔 ⵏⵏₒⵍ ⵍⵜⵊⵊₒⵍ ⵞⵜⴰⵍₒⵍ𐤔ⵍ ! /   "How beautiful were those days!"
mani llan wussan ɣudanin !

Word repetition may also be used to express exclamation, as is clear in the following examples:

ₒⵊⵊ ₒΛ ⵥⵝₒⵍ ₒⵊⵊ ₒ ! / ass ad igan ass a !	" What a great day!"
ₒ ₒⵕⵔ𐤔, ₒ ₒⵕⵔ𐤔 ! / a aɛri, a aɛri !	"Oh, my happiness!"

Other processes (expressions, words)

𐤔ⵜⵌ ! / yuf !	" That's for the best!"
ⵔₒⴽⴽₒⴽ ! / hakkak !	(astonishment)
ⵥⵓⵞⵜΛ ₒⴽ ⵇⴱⴱ𐤔 ! / irɣud ak ṛbbi !	"Congratulations!"
ⵓₒⵔⵔ𐤔 ! / wahli !	"By Jove, of course! "

CHAPTER 9
Complex sentence

A sentence is termed complex when it consists of two or many clauses. Complex sentences bifurcate into three categories: sentences with subordinate clauses, sentences with coordinate clauses and sentences with juxtaposed clauses.

ⵉⵜⵜⵓ ⵄⵡⵄⵍ ⵍⵍⵉ ⵄⵙ ⵜⵏⵏⵉⴸ. / ittu awal lli as tnnid.	" He forgot what you told him"
ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⵏⵉⵢ ⵓⵔ ⵉⴷⴷⵉ ? / idda niɣ ur iddi ?	"Did he go or not?"
ⵜⴽⵛⵎ ⴸ, ⵜⴰⵙⵉ ⵎⴻⵎⵎⵉⵙ, ⵜⴼⴼⵖ. / tkcm d, tasi memmis, tffɣ.	"She came in, she took her son, she left."

The sentences above are complex. This is ascribed to the following reasons: The first contains a subordinate clause (relative clause), the second consists of two coordinated clauses (linked by the coordinator niɣ "or" (nɣ is its variant)) and the third has three juxtaposed clauses devoid of any subordination morphemes (conjunctions).

One of the main attributes of the subordination complex sentence is the fact that it is made up of two clauses: an independent clause (main clause) and a dependent clause (subordinate clause); both clause are related to each other via a morpheme or conjunction of subordination. We recognise three categories of subordinate clauses: relative, noun and adverbial clauses.

1. Relative clauses

In general terms, a relative clause functions as an expansion of a precedent noun phrase. The expansion concerns one of the following elements: a subject, a direct object, an indirect object or an adverbial phrase. A relative clause can be linked to a main clause by a relative morpheme or pronoun. Relative clauses bifurcate into two types: relative clauses with antecedents and relative clauses without antecedents.

1.1. Relative pronouns

A relative clause is introduced by one of the following pronouns or morphemes: ⵍⵍⵉ / lli, ⴷⴰ / da, ⵏⵏⴰ / nna, ⵏⵏⵉ / nni and ⵉ / i. These pronouns share the same syntactic behaviour and have the same distribution:

ⵓⵔ ⵉⵥⵉ ⵡⴰⵡⴰⵍ ⵍⵍⵉ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵏⵏⵉⴷ. / ur iṣḥi wawal lli as tnnid.	" What you told him is not right."
ⵜⴰⵔⴱⴰⵜ ⵏⵏⵉ ⵜⵣⵔⵉⴷ ⵉⵍⵍⵉⵙ ⵏ ⵓⵎⴰ. / tarbat nni tẓṛid illis n uma.	"The girl you saw is my niece."
ⵜⴷⴷⴰ ⵜⴼⵔⵓⵅⵜ ⵏⵏⴰ ⵜⵣⵔⵉⴷ. / tdda tfruxt nna tẓṛid.	"The girl you saw left."

The relative pronouns presented above share the following characteristics:

a. To the exception of ⵉ / i, they are optional. In fact, their absence does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence.

ⴰⴼⵔⵓⵅ ⵉⵔⵡⵍⵏ ⵉⴳⴳʷⴷ. / afrux irwln iggʷd.	" The boy who fled was frightned."
ⵜⴷⴷⴰ ⵜⴼⵔⵓⵅⵜ ⵜⵣⵔⵉⴷ. / tdda tfruxt tẓṛid.	"The girl you saw left."
ⵓⵔ ⵉⵥⵉ ⵡⴰⵡⴰⵍ ⵜⵏⵏⵉⴷ. / ur iṣḥi wawal tnnid.	"What you said is wrong."

b. They always obtain at the beginning of a relative clause, just after the antecedent. However, they may well be separated from the antecedent by a specifying morpheme, such as the demonstrative pronouns ⴰ / a (and its variant ⵓ / u), ⴰⵏⵏ / ann, ⵉⵏ / in and ⵏⵏⵉ / nni.

ⵜⵓⴷⴰ ⵜⵏⴽⵔⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵍⵍⵉ ⵜⵚⵉⴷ. / tγuda tnkṛa ad lli tsγid.	"It is beautiful, this mat you bought."
ⴰⵅⵏⵊⵉⵔ ⵏⵏⵉ ⵉ ⵜⵣⵔⵉⴷ ⵎⴼⵍⵍⵉⵙ ⵏ ⵓⵎⵜⴰ. / aḥnjir nni i tẓṛid memmis n ultma.	"The boy you saw is my nephew."
ⵉⵔⵉⵡ ⵓⵄⴱⴰⵏ ⵏⵏⵉ ⴷⴰ ⵜⵚⵉⴷ. / iriw uεban nni da tsγid.	"They are large the clothes you bought."

c. Relative pronouns are invariable: they preserve the same form no matter what the morphological features of the antecedent are:

⊙⊙I4 ₒ⊙𐤈ₒӾ II𐤄 𐤄𐤈𐤈Ч।. / ssnɣ argaz nni iffɣn.	"I know the man who went out."
⊙ₒШН4 𐤄 ┼⊏Чₒ⊙┼ IIₒ 𐤄⊙𐤈𐤈⁚⊙I Λ𐤄II. / sawlɣ i tmɣart nna iskkusn dinn.	"I talked to the woman who is sitting there."
⊙ₒШН4 𐤄 ┼⊏Чₒ⊙𐤄I ИИ𐤄 ⊙𐤈𐤈⁚⊙I𐤄I Λ𐤄II. / sawlɣ i tmɣarin lli skkusnin dinn.	"I talked to the women sitting there."

1.2. Relative clauses with antecedents

A relative clause with a nominal antecedent exhibits a whole range of specificities on the basis of the nature of the relative clause used and the grammatical function of the relative pronoun. The latter can be the subject, direct object, indirect object or object of a preposition of the relative clause.

a. The relative pronoun as a subject

Φₒ ₒ⊙Θₒ II𐤄 𐤄⊙ₒI ₒ𐤈Ӿ𐤄I. / ha arba nni iran akzin.	"Here is the boy who wants the dog."
ₒ𐤈I𐤈⊙ II𐤄 𐤄 𐤄⊙ₒ𐤈I Λ ⁚⊏ₒ. / aḥnjir nni i iraḥn d uma.	"The boy who went is my brother."
ₒ𐤈Λ𐤄 ИИ𐤄 𐤄┼┼ₒЧI ⁚⊙ ₒ⊙ 𐤄┼┼ΘΘ𐤄. / aydi lli ittaɣn ur ar ittbbi.	"The dog that barks does not bite."

When the relative pronoun is a subject, the verb takes the participial form (*cf.5.1.2.c*), hence the verb forms 𐤄⊙ₒI / iran "having wanted", 𐤄⊙ₒ𐤈I / iraḥn "having gone" and 𐤄┼┼ₒЧI / ittaɣn "barking" used in the three examples presented above. The preverbal particles ₒ ⊙ₒ / a ra, ₒ Чₒ / a ɣa and 𐤄 Чₒ / i ɣa are free variants and can substitute ₒΛ / ad (the future morpheme) when the verb is conjugated in the aorist form:

┼𐤄⊏𐤄⊙⊙ₒ┼𐤄I Чₒ Ӿ𐤄I𐤄I 𐤄IЧ⊏𐤄⊙I ΛΛₒI┼.
ticirratin ɣa yinin inɣmisn ddant.
"The girls who will tell the news are gone."
⁚⊙ ┼ИИ𐤄 ⁚I┼⊏ₒ ₒ ⊙ₒ 𐤄⊙⊙I⁚I 𐤄⊏I⊙𐤄 𐤄 𐤄IΘӾ𐤄ШI
ur tlli ultma a ra issnun imnsi i inbgiwn.
"My sister who will prepare dinner to the guests is not here."

b. The relative pronoun as a direct object

When the relative pronoun is a direct object, the verb of the relative clause is conjugated and takes the usual inflectional markers that the verb takes in the different themes (*cf. 5.1.2.a*).

ⵣⵓⵥⵍⵓ ⵛⵍⵓⵣⵔ ‖ⵓ ⵜⵓⵔⵓ. / iɣuda udlis nna tara.	" The book she wrote is interesting."
ⵜⵓⵔⵓⵎⵓⵔⵜ ⵍⵓ ⵥⵥ○ⵓ ⵜⵛ⊏ⵘ. / tasɣart da ẓẓan tumẓ.	"The tree they planted held."
ⵣⵞⵣⵣⵓ ⵛ⊖ⵓⵥⵏ ⵎⵎⵣ ⵓⵓ ⵜⵓ⊏ⵘⵞ. / icqqa ubrid lla ɣa tamẓm.	"The way you are going to take is difficult."
ⵛⵞ ⵓ⊙ ⵓⵣⵉ○⊖ ‖ⵣ ⵜⵓⵓⵓ ⵣⵉ‖ⵓⵉ. / uc as aqrab nni tsɣa iḍnnaṭ.	"Give her the bag she bought yesterday."

c. The relative pronoun as an indirect object

When the relative pronoun is a an indirect object, the relative clause is introduced by the preposition ⵣ / i "to" followed by the relative pronoun ⊏ⵣ / mi or ⵛ⊏ⵣ / umi "that". The use of the preposition remains optional, as laid out in the following examples:

ⵓⵖ○ⵛⵘ (ⵣ) ⊏ⵣ ⵝⵔⵣⵓ ⵣⵣⵓⵇⵣⵉⵉ ⵣⵝⵜⵓ. afrux (i) mi fkiɣ iqaṛiḍn ifta. " The boy to whom I have given the money left."
�O○ⵥⵉ ⵣⵥⵉⵘⵣⵓⵉ (ⵣ) ⵛ⊏ⵣ ⵜⵛⵞⵥⵏ ⵜⵜ⊏ⵉⵓⵓⵜ. raḥn iḥnjirn (i) umi tucid ttmnyat. " The boys to whom you have given the money left."

The use of the relative pronouns (ⵎⵎⵣ / lli, ⵏⵓ / da, ‖ⵓ / nna, ‖ⵣ / nni, ⵣ / i) is possible with ⊏ⵣ / mi "to which":

ⵓⵖ○ⵛⵘ ⵎⵎⵣ ⊏ⵣ ⵝⵔⵣⵓ ⵣⵣⵓⵇⵣⵉⵉ ⵣⵝⵜⵓ. afrux lli mi fkiɣ iqaṛiḍn ifta. " The boy to whom I have given the money left."

d. The relative pronoun as an object of a preposition other than ⵣ / i

Two scenarios are observed when the relative pronoun is an object of a preposition other than ⵣ / i "to":

• The relative clause is introduced by a preposition followed by the relative pronoun ⵎⵉ / mi (as in the case of the relative pronoun that refers to an indirect object);

• the relative pronoun is followed by a preposition.

The sequences *preposition + ⵎⵉ / mi* and *relative pronoun + preposition* form what we might call a prepositional relative or a complex relative.

(i) Preposition + ⵎⵉ / mi

ⵜⴰⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ ⴳ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵣⴷⵖ ⵜⴰⴳⴳⵓⴳ. / taddart g mi izdɣ taggug.	"The house where he lives is far."
ⵜⴰⵎⴷⵉⵏⵜ ⵖⵔ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵔⴰⵃ ⵜⵚⴱⵃ. / tamdint ɣr mi iraḥ tṣbḥ.	"The city where he is going to live is beautiful."
ⵓⵔ ⵏⵙⵙⵉⵏ ⵎⴷⴷⵏ ⵖⵓⵔ ⵎⵉ ⵉⴷⴷⴰ. / ur nssin mddn ɣur mi idda.	"We do not know the people to whom he paid a visit."
ⵜⵛⵏⴰ ⵜⵎⵓⵔⵜ ⵣⴳ ⵎⵉ ⴷ ⵢⵓⵙⴰ. / tcna tmurt zg mi d yusa.	"The country from which he came is beautiful."
ⵜⵛⵇⵇⴰ ⵜⵎⵙⵍⴰⵢⵜ ⵅⴼ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵙⴰⵡⴰⵍ. / tcqqa tmslayt xf mi isawal.	"The issue he is talking about is delicate."
ⵓⵔ ⵏⵙⵙⵉⵏ ⵉⵡⴷⴰⵏ ⴰⴳⴷ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵔⴰⵃ. / ur nssin iwdan agd mi iraḥ.	"We do not know the people he went with."
ⵉⵎⵇⵇⵓⵔ ⵓⵥⵔⵓ ⵙ ⵎⵉ ⵜ ⵢⵓⵜ. / imqqur uẓru s mi t yut.	"The stone with which he hit him is big."

(ii) Relative pronoun + preposition

In general terms, the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun followed by a preposition; the nature of the latter depends on the verb used.

ⵉⵛⵡⴰ ⵡⴰⵢⵢⵉⵙ ⵏⵏⴰ ⵅⴼ ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴷⴰ. / icwa wayyis nna xf issuda.	" The horse on which he is riding is beautiful."
ⵜⴰⵎⴷⵉⵏⵜ ⵏⵏⵉ ⵣⵉ ⴷ ⵢⵓⵙⴰ ⵜⴰⴳⴳⵓⴳ. / tamdint nni zi d yusa taggug.	"The city from which he came is far."
ⴰⵏⵓ ⵍⵍⵉ ⴳ ⵉⴺⵔ ⵉⴷⵔⴰ. / anu lli g iḍr idra.	"The well in which he fell is deep."

1.3. Relative clauses without antecedents

A relative clause without antecedent is a clause whose relative pronoun is devoid of an overt nominal antecedent:

ⵖⵔ ⵥ ⵍⴰⵏⵏⵥ ⵥⵌⵌⵓⵉ ! / ɣr i walli iffɣn !	"Call the one who went out!"
ⴰⵙⵥ ⵍⵥⵉ ⵏⵏⵥ ⵜⵔⵥⴷ ! / asi win lli trid !	"Take the one you want!"

In the examples presented above, the relative clauses ⵍⴰⵏⵏⵥ / walli iffɣn and ⵍⵥⵉ ⵏⵏⵥ ⵜⵔⵥⵜ / win lli trit are not expansions of a nominal antecedent. They are introduced by ⵍⴰⵏⵏⵥ / walli and ⵍⵥⵉ / win which are made up of demonstrative ⵍⴰ / wa and ⵍⵥ / wi. In this sort of relative clauses, we use other elements to support the relative pronoun; these elements are demonstrative pronouns which are variable in gender and number. The combination of demonstrative pronouns and relative pronouns brings about the following paradigms:

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ⵏⵏⵥ / lli

ⵍⴰⵏⵏⵥ / walli	"the one (masc.) who"
ⵜⴰⵏⵏⵥ / talli	"the one (fem.) who"
ⵍⵥⵏⵏⵥ / willi	"those (masc.) who"
ⵜⵥⵏⵏⵥ / tilli	"those (fem.) who"

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ⴷⴰ / da

ⵍⴰⴷⴰ / wada	"the one (masc.) who"
ⵜⴰⴷⴰ / tada	"the one (fem.) who"
ⵍⵥⴷⴰ / wida	"those (masc.) who"
ⵜⵥⴷⴰ / tida	"those (fem.) who"

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ⵍⵍⴰ / nna

ⵍⴰⵍⵍⴰ / ⵍⵍⵍⴰ // wanna / wnna	"the one (masc.) who"
ⵜⴰⵍⵍⴰ / ⵜⵍⵍⴰ // tanna / tnna	"the one (fem.) who"
ⵍⵥⵍⵍⴰ / winna	"those (masc.) who"
ⵜⵥⵍⵍⴰ / tinna	"those (fem.) who"

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ⵍⵍⵥ / nni

ⵍⴰⵍⵍⵥ / ⵍⵍⵍⵥ // wanni / wnni	"the one (masc.) who"
ⵜⴰⵍⵍⵥ / ⵜⵍⵍⵥ // tanni / tnni	"the one (fem.) who"
ⵍⵥⵍⵍⵥ / winni	"those (masc.) who"

ⵜⵉⵏⵏⵉ / tinni	"those (fem.) who"
ⵄⵢⵏⵏⵉ / aynni	"what, that"

ⴼⴾ ⵜ ⵉ ⵍⵍⵉⵏⵉ ⵜ ⵉⵔⴰⵏ ! / fk t i walli t iran !	"Give it to the one who wants it!"
ⵍⵉⵄⵏⵉ ⵜⵥⵔⵉⴷ ⴷ ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎⵏ. / willi tẓṛid d iɛrrimn.	"Those you have seen are young."
ⵡⵏⵏⴰ ⵉⵖⵔⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⵠⵔⴰⵜ ⵢⵉⵏⵉ ⵜ. / wnna iɣran tabrat yini t.	"The one who read the letter says it."
ⵡⵉⵏⵏⴰ ⵓⵔ ⵇⴱⵉⵍⵏⵉⵏ ⵉⵏⵉⵏ ⵜ ! / winna ur qbilnin inin t !	"The ones who do not accept say it!"
ⴰⵢⵏⵏⴰ ⵜⵏⵏⵉⴷ ⵉⴳⴰ ⵍⵄⵉⴱ. / aynna tnnid iga lɛib.	"What you said is not appropriate!"

1.4. The position of personal pronouns in relative clauses

In a relative clause, direct and indirect object personal pronouns appear in a preverbal position, between the relative pronoun and the verb.

ⴰⵡⴰⵍ ⵍⵍⵉ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵏⵏⵉⴷ ⵉⵇⵙⵃ. / awal lli as tnnid iqsḥ.	"What you told him is harsh."
ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⵓⵎⵙⴰⵖ ⵏⵏⴰ ⵜⵏⵉ ⵉⵙⵜⵉⵏ. / idda umsaɣ nna tni istin.	"The buyer who chose them left."
ⵓⵔ ⵏⵙⵙⵉⵏ ⴰⵔⴳⴰⵣ ⵡⵏⵏⵉ ⵉ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵏ ⵢⵓⴽⵔⵏ. / ur nssin argaz wnni i as tn yukrn.	"We do not know the one who stole them from him."
ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍⵖ ⵉ ⵡⵏⵏⴰ ⴰⵙⵏ ⵉⵣⵣⵏⵣⵏ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔⵜ. / ssiwlɣ i wnna asn izznzn tamazirt.	"I talked to the man who sold them the land."

2. Noun clauses

A noun clause consists of a main clause and a subordinate clause. It usually functions as a complement of the verb of the main clause and may also meet a number of other grammatical functions. The noun clause plays the role of a noun and has its diverse grammatical functions. It is linked to the main clause by the following subordinators: ⵉⵙ / is, ⴰⵇⵇⴰ / aqqa and ⴰⴷ / ad "that". Each of these morphemes has a specific context of use.

Three types of noun clauses are recognised: declarative noun phrases introduced by ⵉⵙ / is or ⴰⵇⵇⴰ / aqqa, interrogative noun clauses introduced

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by an interrogative morpheme and modal noun clauses introduced by ₒΛ / ad.

2.1. The morphemes ⵣⵔ / is, ₒⵥⵥₒ / aqqa and ₒΛ / ad

a. The morpheme ⵣⵔ / is

The morpheme or subordinator ⵣⵔ / is has the following features:

- It is morphologically invariable and keeps the same form irrespective of the context in which it is employed.

- It appears at the beginning of a noun clause:

  ‖ₒⵍ ⵣⵔ ⵣⵔⵍⵍⵏ. / nnan is irwl.   "They thought he fled away."

- If the noun clause includes direct and indirect personal pronouns or the orientation particles Λ / d and ‖ / nn, the pronouns and particles are placed in a preverbal position immediately after ⵣⵔ / is.

ⵣⵔⵔⵍ ⵣⵔ ₒⵔ ⵜⵍ ⵓⵜⵛ. / issn is as tn yuca.	"He knows that he has given them to him."
ⵣⵢₒⵍ ⵣⵔ Λ ΛΛₒⵍ. / iɣal is d ddan.	"He thought they have come (over here)."

- ⵣⵔ / is can introduce a declarative noun clause as much as it can introduce an indirect interrogative noun clause:

ⵔⵍⵍⵢ ⵣⵔ ⵣⵜₒⵔⵍⵍ. / sllɣ is itahl.	"I have heard he got married."
ⵔⵥⵔₒ ⵣⵔ ⵏΛₒⵍ ! / sqsa is ɛdan !	"Ask if they have left or not!"

ⵣⵔ / is, in the second sentence, behaves as an interrogative morpheme that introduces an interrogative noun clause. In fact, it is the meaning of the verb of the main clause that determines the value of ⵣⵔ / is. The verb ⵔⵥⵔₒ / sqsa of the main clause shows that we are dealing with a question.

- ⵣⵔ / is, whether used in a declarative or interrogative noun phrase, can introduce a subordinate clause devoid of a verb predicate:

  ‖ⵣⵢ ⵣⵔ ⵓⵔ ⵢⵓⵔⵔ ⵣⵛⵣⵔⵔₒⵍ. / nniɣ is ur ɣurs icirran.   "I thought he did not have any children."

- When the noun clause is a yes / no indirect interrogative clause, the clause may also be introduced by ⵎₒ / ma "if":

ⵔⵉⵖ ⴰⴷ ⵙⵙⵏⵖ ⵎⴰ ⴷ ⴼⵟⵟⵓⵛ ⵉ ⴷ ⵢⵉⵡⵍⵏ./ "I want to know if it is
riɣ ad ssnɣ ma d fṭṭuc i d yiwln. Fettouch who got married."

- When the interrogative noun clause is partial. Put in another way, when
  the question holds on one of the constituents of the subordinate clause,
  the latter is introduced by an interrogative morpheme depending on the
  grammatical function of the element on which the question holds:

ⵙⵇⵙⴰ ⵎⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵉⴷⴷⴰⵏ ! / sqsa ma ay iddan !	"Ask who left!"
ⵜⵙⵇⵙⴰ ⵓⵎⵉ ⵓⵛⴰⵏ ⵜⵜⵎⵏⵢⴰⵜ. / tsqsa umi ucan ttmnyat	"She wants to know to whom they gave the money."
ⵙⵇⵙⴰ ⵎⵉⵍⵎⵉ ⴰⵢ ⴼⴼⵖⵏ ! / sqsa milmi ay ffɣn !	"Ask when they left!"

b. The morpheme ⵄⵇⵇⴰ / aqqa

As a subordinator, ⵄⵇⵇⴰ / aqqa "that" may equally introduce the declarative
noun phrase:

ⵙⵍⵉⵖ ⵄⵇⵇⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵉⴷⵡⵍ. / sliɣ aqqa ad idwl.	"I heard he will be back."
ⵉⵏⵏⴰ ⵃⵎⴷ ⵄⵇⵇⴰ ⵉⵡⴷⴰⵏ ⵔⴰⵃⵏ. / inna ḥmd aqqa iwdan raḥn.	"Ahmed said that the people went."

Unlike ⵉⵙ / is, the morpheme ⵄⵇⵇⴰ / aqqa attracts neither personal
pronouns (direct and indirect object pronouns) nor orientation particles to a
preverbal position.

ⵙⵙⵏⵖ ⵄⵇⵇⴰ ⵉⵡⵛⴰ ⴰⵙ ⵜ. / "I know that he has given
ssnɣ aqqa iwca as t. it to him."

The declarative noun phrase may obtain without an introduc ing morpheme:

ⵉⴷⵀⵕ ⵉⵀⵔⴼ. / iḍhṛ ihrc.	"He looks sick."
ⵏⵏⵉⵖ ⵉⴷⴷⴰ. / nniɣ idda.	"I thought he went."

c. The morpheme ⴰⴷ / ad

- ⴰⴷ / ad is invariable and appears at the beginning of a noun clause:

ⵏⵏⵉⵖ ⴰⵙ ⴰⴷ ⵉⵕⵥⵎ ⵜⴰⴳⴳⵓⵔⵜ. "I told him to open the door."
nniɣ as ad iṛẓm taggurt.

- It has a modal value and expresses different semantic nuances such as contingency, injunction and conviction depending on the meaning of the verb of the main clause:

ⵝⵝⵯⵍⵉ ⵄⴰ ⵄⵞⵔⵉ. / ggʷdn ad ackn.	"They are afraid to get lost."
ⵔⵛⵃ ⵄⴰ ⵟⴰⵏⵗⵉ. / riɣ ad ɛdun	"I want them to go."
ⵥⵉⵛ ⵄⵙ ⵄⴰ ⵕⵗⵝⵗⵔ ! / ini as ad yugur	"Tell him to leave."
ⵥⵔⵔⵉ ⵄⴰ ⵕⵄⵔⵗ. / issn ad yari	"He knows how to write."
ⵥⵇⵇⴰⵉ ⵄⴰ ⴰⴰⵗⵉ. / iqqan ad ddun	"It is necessary for them to go."

- ⵄⴰ / ad is, more often than not, followed by a verb in the aorist form; the imperfective form is also frequently encountred:

| ⵥⵝⵔⵔ ⵄⴰ ⵥⵜⵜⴰⴰⵗ ⴰⵄⵔ ⴱⵄⴱⵄⵔ./ ixss ad ittddu dar babas. | "It is necessary for him to always visit his father." |

- The use of ⵄⴰ / ad is obligatory:

| ⵥⵔⵔⵉ ⵄⴰ ⵥⵔⵄⵓⵍⵍ ⵔ ⵜⵛⵄⵯⵥⵛⵜ. / issn ad isawl s tmaziɣt. | "He knows how to speak (in) Amazigh." |
| * ⵥⵔⵔⵉ ⵥⵔⵄⵓⵍⵍ ⵔ ⵜⵛⵄⵯⵥⵛⵜ. / * issn isawl s tmaziɣt. | "He knows how to speak (in) Amazigh." |

The second example is ungrammatical due to the absence of ⵄⴰ / ad as a subordinator that introduces the noun clause.

- Not unlike the subordinator ⵥⵔ / is, ⵄⴰ / ad attracts orientation particles as well as personal pronouns that function as verb objects:

| ⵥⵉⵛ ⵥ ⵝⵔⵔⵗ ⵄⴰ ⵄⵔⵉ ⵕⵗⵞ ⵜⵜⵔⵉⵕⵄⵜ ! ini i ḥmmu ad asn yuc ttmnyat | "Tell Hemmou to give them the money!" |

2.2. Verbs that introduce noun clauses

A verb, belonging to this category, takes a noun clause as its complement.

- Declarative noun clauses introduced by ⵥⵔ / is and ⵄⵣⵣⵄ / aqqa

The verbs, under this category, denote an assertion (ⵉⵏⵉ / ini "to say", ⵙⵙⵏ / ⵉⵙⵉⵏ // ssn / isin "to know" ...), perception (ⵥⵔ / ẓṛ, ⵀⵍⵓ / ɛlu "to see", ⵏⵏⴰⵢ / annay, ⵙⵎⴰⵇⵇⵍ / smaqql, ⵕⴰⵄⴰ / ṛaɛa "to watch", ⵔⵡⵓⵙ / ⵔⵡⵉⵙ // rwus / rwis, ⴹⵀⵕ / ḍhṛ "to appear", ⵙⵍⵍ / sll, ⵙⴼⵍⴷ / sfld, ⵙⵙⵢⴷ / ssɣd "to hear", ⵎⵍ / ml "to show"), an opinion (ⵖⴰⵍ / ɣal "to believe"), cognition (ⵜⵜⵓ / ttu "to forget") and doubt (ⵛⴽⴽⵓ / ⵛⴽⴽⴰ // ckku / ckka "to doubt"), among other values.

• Interrogative noun clauses

The verbs that introduce interrogative noun clauses are verbs that express or imply a question. Of prime importance among these verbs, there is ⵙⵇⵙⴰ / sqsa "ask", ⵥⵔ / ẓṛ, ⵀⵍⵓ / ɛlu and ⵙⵎⴰⵇⵇⵍ / smaqql "to see".

• Modal noun clauses with ⴰⴷ / ad

The verbs of the main clause generally express an action of virtual nature (ⵉⵔⵉ / iri "to want"), a future action (ⵇⴰⵡⵍ / qawl "to promise", ⴹⵎⵏ / ḍmn "to guarantee"), a feeling (ⴳⴳⵯⴷ / ggʷd, ⵉⴽⵙⵓⴹ / ikṣuḍ "to fear, to be scared") or an obligation (ⵉⵅⵙⵙ / ixss, ⵉⴼⵓⴽⴽ / ifukk, ⵉⵍⴰⵣⵎ / ilazm, ⵉⵇⵇⴰⵏ / iqqan "to be necessary").

2.3. The grammatical function of a noun clause

More often than not, noun clauses assume the function of a direct object of the verb of the main clause. They might also function as subjects or noun complements.

• Subject function: This function is met by a number of verbs that are conjugated in the third singular person and that could be qualified as impersonal verbs.

ⵉⵔⵡⴰⵙ ⵉⵙ ⵉⵔⵥⵎ. / irwas is iṛẓm.	"He seems to be ill."
ⵉⵅⵙⵙ ⴰⴷ ⵉⴽⵔⵣ ⵉⵅⵔ ⵏⵏⵙ. / ixss ad ikrz igr nns.	"He has to till his field."
ⵉⵍⴰⵣⵎ ⴰⴷ ⵢⴰⵣⵏ ⵉⴷⵔⵉⵎⵏ ⵉ ⴱⴰⴱⴰⵙ. / ilazm ad yazn idrimn i babas.	"He has to send the money to his father."

• Noun complement function: very few nouns accept the noun clause to be their complement.

| ⵥⵍⵥⵢ ⵠ ⵏₒⵞⵀₒⵔ ⵥⵙ ⵥⵔⵍⵡ ⵛₒⵝⵍⵠ. iwiɣ d laxbar is irwl muḥnd. | "I have come to know that Muhnd has fled." |

3. Topicalized sentences

A topicalized sentence is characterised by highlighting or emphasising one of the constituents of the sentence through a whole range of appropriate syntactic processes. Topicalization obtains by the movement of the topicalized element to the beginning of a sentence coupled with the use of the topicalizing morpheme ₒⵠ / ad or ₒⵢ / ay "it is ... that / which". These morphemes follow immediately the highlighted element.

3.1. Topicalization morphemes

The topicalization morphemes are ₒⵠ / ad, ₒⵢ / ay and ⵥ / i. When adjacent to some vowels, ₒⵢ / ay may exhibit some phonetic alterations. ₒⵠ / ad, ₒⵢ / ay and ⵥ / i have the same features and are employed in the same context, in the sense that they follow immediately the topicalized constituent. Among their most prominent attributes, we may well mention:

- ₒⵠ / ad, ₒⵢ / ay and ⵥ / i are invariable. Regardless of the gender and number of the topicalized element, they keep the same form:

ₒⵔⵞₒⵖ ₒⵠ ⵥⵔⵔⵢⵍ. / argaz ad iffɣn.	"(He is) the man who got out."
ₒⵔⵞₒⵖⵍ ₒⵢ ⵥⵔⵔⵢⵍ. / argazn ay iffɣn.	"(They are) the men who got out."
ⵜⵥⵛⵢₒⵔⵥⵍ ⵥ ⵥⵔⵔⵢⵍ.. / timɣarin i iffɣn..	"(They are) the women who got out."

However, they may undergo some phonetic modifications. ₒⵠ / ad, for instance, is realised as ₒ / a (reduced form) before a vowel.

| ₒⴴⵥⵎ ₒⵠ ⵥⵛⵛₒ. / aḍil ad icca. [aḍil ay icca] | "It is grapes that he ate." |

As for ₒⵢ / ay, it is pronounced ₒⵞ / ag, ⵥⵞ / ig or ₒⵢⵞ / ayg before a verb that is conjugated in the third masculine singular person (i.e. the verb is introduced by the inflectional marker ⵥ- / i-), or before a verb in the participial form.

ⵜⴰⵎⵎⴰⵎⵜ ⴰⵢ ⵉⵔⴰ ⵓⵎⵓⴹⵉⵏ. / tammemt ay ira umuḍin [ⵜⴰⵎⵎⵉⵜ ⴰⵥ ⵔⴰ ⵓⵎⵓⴹⵉⵏ]	"It is honey that the ill person wants."
ⵜⴰⵥⴷⴰⵢⵜ ⴰⵢ ⵉⵥⵥⴰ. / tazdayt ay iẓẓa [ⵜⴰⵥⴷⴰⵢⵜ ⴰⵥⵥ / ⵥⵥⴰⵥ ⵥⵥⴰ]	"It is a palm tree that he planted."
ⵜⴰⴼⵔⵓⵅⵜⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵉⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍⵏ. / tafruxt a ay issiwln [ⵜⴰⴼⵔⵓⵅⵜⴰ ⴰⵥ ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍⵏ]	"It is this girl who spoke."

• Not unlike preverbal particles or interrogative and relative pronouns, ⴰⵍ / ad, ⴰⵢ / ay and ⵉ / i attract both the direct / indirect object personal pronouns of the verb and the space orientation particles to a preverbal position:

ⵉⴼⴽⴰ ⴰⵙ ⴰⵊⵊⵉⴳ. / ifka as ajjig	"He gave her a flower."
ⴰⵊⵊⵉⴳ ⴰⵍ ⴰⵙ ⵉⴼⴽⴰ. / ajjig ad as ifka	"It is a flower that he gave her."
ⵢⵓⵙⴰ ⴷ ⵣⵉ ⵓⵊⴷⵉⵔ. / yusa d zi ujdir	"He came back from Ajdir."
ⴰⵊⴷⵉⵔ ⴰⵢ ⵣⵉ ⴷ ⵢⵓⵙⴰ. / ajdir ay zi d yusa	"It is from Ajdir that he came."

3.2. Topicalized constituents

To the exception of verbs, all the elements of a sentence can be topicalized by means of ⴰⵍ / ad, ⴰⵢ / ay and ⵉ / i.

a. Topicalization of the subject

ⵉⵙⵖⴰ ⵓⵎⴷⴷⴰⴽⴽⵯⵍ ⵉⵏⵓ ⴰⵢⵢⵉⵙ ⵉ ⵎⴻⵎⵎⵉⵙ. isɣa umddakkʷl inu ayyis i memmis. "My friend bought a horse to his son."
ⴰⵎⴷⴷⴰⴽⴽⵯⵍ ⵉⵏⵓ ⴰⵍ ⵉⵙⵖⴰⵏ ⴰⵢⵢⵉⵙ ⵉ ⵎⴻⵎⵎⵉⵙ. amddakkʷl inu ad isɣan ayyis i memmis. "It is my friend who bought a horse to his son."
ⵏⵜⵜⴰ ⴰⵢ ⵉⵏⵏⴰⵏ ⵉⵣⵍⴰⵏ ⴰⵍ. ntta ay innan izlan ad. "It is he who told these poems."

When the topicalized element is a subject, the verb appears in the participial form specified by the addition of the discontinuous inflectional marker ⵉ ... ⵏ / i ... n to the verb, hence the forms ⵉⵙⵖⴰⵏ / isɣan "having bought" and ⵉⵏⵏⴰⵏ / innan "having told" in the two examples mentioned above. If the topicalized constituent has a function other than a subject, the verb appears in a conjugated form (with agreement markers).

b. Topicalization of the direct object

ⵓⵢⵢⵉⵙ ⵓⵢ ⵉⵙⵖⴰ ⵅⵎⵎⵓⵜ ⵉ ⵎⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ. / ayyis ay isɣa ḥmmu i memmis.	"It is a horse that Hemmou bought for his son."
ⵓⴷⵍⵉⵙ ⵓⴷ ⴼⴽⴰⵏ ⵉ ⵓⵏⵍⵎⴰⴷ ⴰ. / adlis ad fkan i unlmad a.	"It is a book that they gave to this pupil."

c. Topicalization of the indirect object

Two scenarios are observed when the topicalized constituent is an indirect object:

• Movement of the prepositional phrase to the beginning of the sentence (dative preposition and its object) followed by a topicalization morpheme and the relative pronoun ⵎⵉ / mi or ⵓⵎⵉ / umi "to whom":

ⵉⵙⵖⴰ ⵅⵎⵎⵓⵜ ⵓⵢⵢⵉⵙ ⵉ ⵎⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ. / isɣa ḥmmu ayyis i memmis.	"Hemmou bought a horse for his son."
ⵉ ⵎⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵓⵢ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵙⵖⴰ ⵅⵎⵎⵓⵜ ⵓⵢⵢⵉⵙ. / i memmis ay mi isɣa ḥmmu ayyis.	"It is for his son that Hemmou bought a horse."
ⵉ ⵡⴰⴷⵊⴰⵔ ⵉⵏⵙ ⵉ ⵓⵎⵉ ⵉⵡⵛⴰ ⵜⵉⵙⵓⵔⴰ. / i wadjar ins i umi iwca tisura.	"It is to his neighbour that he gave the keys."

• Movement of the indirect object without the preposition ⵉ / i "to" that precedes it followed by the topicalization morpheme ⵎⵉ / mi or ⵓⵎⵉ / umi "to whom":

ⵉⵙⵖⴰ ⵓⵔⴳⴰⵣ ⵓⴷ ⴰⵢⵢⵉⵙ ⵉ ⵎⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ. / isɣa urgaz ad ayyis i memmis.	"This man bought a horse for his son."
ⵎⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⴰⴷ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵙⵖⴰ ⵓⵔⴳⴰⵣ ⴰⴷ ⵓⵢⵢⵉⵙ / memmis ad mi isɣa urgaz ad ayyis.	"It is for his son that this man bought a horse."
ⵎⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵓⵢ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵙⵖⴰ ⵓⵔⴳⴰⵣ ⴰⴷ ⵓⵢⵢⵉⵙ / memmis ay mi isɣa urgaz ad ayyis.	"It is for his son that this man bought a horse."

d. Topicalization of the object of a preposition

The point of interest here is the object of a preposition other than ⵉ / i "to", such as ⵖⵔ / ɣr, ⴷⴰⵔ / dar, ⵙ / s, ⴰⴳ / ag and ⵣⴳ / zg, among others (*cf. 6.1*). The object of a preposition, not unlike the indirect object, appears at the beginning of the sentence preceded by the preposition and followed by a topicalization morpheme along with the rest of the sentence.

ⵙ ⵓⵥⵔⵓ ⴰⵢ ⵜ ⵉⵇⵇⵉⵙ. / s uẓru ay t iqqis.	"It is with a stone that he hit him."
ⴰⴳ ⵓⵍⵜⵎⴰⵙ ⴰⵢ ⵉⵔⴰⵃ. / ag ultmas ay iraḫ.	"It is with his sister that he went."
ⴳ ⵜⵎⴷⵉⵏⵜ ⴰⴷ ⴳ ⵣⴷⵖⵏ. / g tmdint ad g zdɣn.	"It is in the city that they live."
ⴷⴰⵔ ⴱⴰⴱⴰⵙ ⴰⴷ ⵙ ⵉⴷⴷⴰ. / dar babas ad s idda.	"It is to his father's home that he went."

The object of a preposition may well surface at the beginning of a sentence followed by a topicalization morpheme and the preposition.

ⴰⴼⵓⵙ ⴰⵢ ⵙ ⵜ ⵉⴽⴽⵙ. / afus ay s t ikks.	"It is with his hand that he removed it."
ⴱⴰⴱⴰⵙ ⴰⴷ ⴷⴰⵔ ⵉⴷⴷⴰ. / babas ad dar idda..	"It is to his father's home that he went."
ⴰⵢⵜⵎⴰⵙ ⵉ ⵖⵓⵔ ⵉⵇⵇⵉⵎ. / aytmas i ɣur iqqim.	"It is in his brothers' house that he stays."

e. Topicalization of other constituents

In addition to the already treated elements that fill a grammatical function in the sentence, a number of other constituents may equally be topicalized, such as quality nouns, adverbs and noun clauses.

• Topicalization of quality nouns

ⴰⵣⴳⴳⵯⴰⵖ ⴰⵢ ⵉⴳⴰ ⵓⵄⴱⴰⵏ ⵏ ⴼⴰⴹⵎⴰ. / azggʷaɣ ay iga uɛban n faḍma.	"Red are the clothes of Fadma."
ⴰⵎⵍⵍⴰⵍ ⴰⴷ ⵉⴳⴰ ⴰⵢⵢⵉⵙ ⵏ ⵃⵎⵎⵓ. / amllal ad iga ayyis n ḥmmu.	"White is Hemmou's horse."

In the above examples, the quality nouns ⴰⵣⴳⴳⵯⴰⵖ / azggʷaɣ and ⴰⵎⵍⵍⴰⵍ / amllal, which are colour nouns, are moved to the beginning of the sentence

and are followed by the morpheme ⴰⴷ / ad or ⴰⵢ / ay to serve topicalization ends.

- Topicalization of adverbs

ⵣⴻⵍⵍⵉⴺ ⴰⵢ ⵜⵓⵛⵯⴰ ⴹⵓⵞⴰ ⴰⵙⴰⴼⴰⵔ. / iḍnnaṭ ay tsɣa ṭuca asafar.	"It is yesterday that Toucha bought the drugs."
ⵣⴻⵅⴰⵛ ⴰⴷ ⴷ ⵢⴵⵛⵔ ⵢⵉⵡⵙ. / iḍgam ad d yucka yiws.	"It is yesterday that his / her son came."
�ⵔⵔ ⴰⵢ ⵜⴼⴼⵖ. / zikk ay tffɣ.	It is early in the morning when she went out."

- Topicalization of noun clauses

The examples below show how a noun clause can be highlighted:

| ⴰⴷ ⴰⵙ ⵜⴰⵔⵉⵜ ⵜⴰⴱⵔⴰⵜ ⴰⵢ ⵣⵔⴰ ⵣⴱⴱⴰⵛ. / ad as tarit tabrat ay ira ibbam. "That you write a letter to him is what your father wants." |
| ⴰⴷ ⵜⵓⵛⴷ ⵣⴷⵍⵉⵙⵏ ⵣ ⴷⵎⵃⴹⴰⵇ ⴰⴷ ⵜⵔⴰ ⴼⴰⴹⵎⴰ. / ad tucd idlisn i umḥḍaṛ ad tra faḍma. "That you give the books to the pupil is what Fadma wants." |

3.3. The use of ∧ / d before the topicalized constituent

In a topicalized structure, the topicalized noun (or its equivalent) may well be preceded by the predication morpheme ∧ / d "it is". When such a scenario holds, the addition of the predication morpheme ∧ / d yields the following structure (∧) / (d) ... ⴰⴷ / ad or ⴰⵢ / ay ...:

(∧) ⵜⵜⵎⵏⵢⴰⵜ ⴰⵢ ⵣⵔⴰ ⴷⵎⵃⵏⵊⵔ. / (d) tmnyat ay ira uḥnjir.	"Money is what the child needs."
(∧) ⵄⵍⵉ ⵣ ⵣⵢⵔⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⴱⵔⴰⵜ. / (d) ɛli i iɣran tabrat.	"It is Ali who read the letter."
(∧) ⴰⵣⴳⴳⵯⴰⵖ ⴰⴷ ⵣⴳⴰ ⴷⵅⵔⵜⵣⵍ. / (d) azggʷaɣ ad iga ugrtil.	"Red is the mat."

A noun clause can be topicalized by ∧ / d:

| ∧ ⵣⵙ ⴰⵙ ⵣⴼⴽⴰ ⵜⴷⵎⵣⵣⵏ. / d is as ifka tumẓin. "It is the fact that he gave her barley." |

Predicator ∧ / d becomes mandatory after the negator ⵓⵔ / ur "not" and the interrogative morphemes ⵉⵙ / is and ⵎⴰ / ma "is he / she / it, are we / you / they?" when the latters precede a topicalized nominal (or its variant) or a noun clause:

ⵓⵔ ∧ ⵀⴰⴱⴰ ⴰⵢ ∧ ⴷⵢⵓⵙⵉⵏ. / ur d baba ay d yusin.	"It is not my father who came."
ⵉⵙ ∧ ⵏⵜⵜⴰ ⵉ ∧ ⴷⵢⵓⵙⵉⵏ ? / is d ntta i d yusin ?	"Is it he who came?"
ⵎⴰ ∧ ⵏⵜⵜⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵉⵖⵔⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⴱⵔⴰⵜ ? / ma d ntta ad iɣran tabrat ?	""Is it he who read the letter?"
ⵓⵔ ∧ ⵉⵙ ⵉⵛⵛⵉ ⴰⵙⵜⵛⵉ. / ur d is icci astci.	"It is not the fact that he ate the poison."

4. Adverbial clauses

Another category of complex sentences includes an independent main clause and a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction of subordination. These subordinate clauses are termed adverbial clauses. Counter to a noun clause or a relative clause, an adverbial clause cannot be substituted by a noun phrase nor modify it. It can, nonetheless, replace adverbial prepositional phrases. Its role is to show the conditions in which the verb action has been carried out.

Each subordinator that introduces an adverbial clause expresses a specific semantic value. Depending on the semantic values they imply, adverbial clauses are divided into a number of categories: adverbial clauses of time, cause, goal, opposition, condition, consequence, comparision and manner.

ⵍⴰ ⵏⵜⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵍ ⵃⵓⵎⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵏⵍⴽⵎ ⵣⵉⴽⴽ. / la nttazzal ḥuma ad nlkm zikk. "We are hurrying up to arrive early."

In the example above, it is the subordinator ⵃⵓⵎⴰ / ḥuma "so as to, so that" that introduces the subordinate clause ⴰⴷ ⵏⵍⴽⵎ ⵣⵉⴽ / ad nlkm zik in the main clause ⵍⴰ ⵏⵜⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵍ / la nttazzal. In semantic terms, the central thrust of an adverbial clause is to modify the action expressed by the verb of the main clause.

From a morphological standpoint, subordinators bifurcate into two categories: simple subordinate conjunctions which are introduced by single

subordinating conjunctions, like ⵎⵄⴰ / maca "but", ⴽⵓ / ku "as long as", ⵖⴰⵙ / ɣas "as soon as", ⵉⵖ / iɣ "if, only", ⴰⵛⴽⵓ / acku "because" and ⵃⴰⴷ / fad "so as to" among others, and complex subordinate conjunctions, consisting of more than one element, like ⵙ ⴳⵏⵏⵉⴼ ⵎⴰ / s gnnif ma "after ..." and ⴰⴷ ⵓⵔ ⵉⵎⵉⵍ [ⴰⵡⵔⵉⵎⵉⵍ] / ad ur imil [awrimil] "it is possible that, eventully".

Traditionally, the morphemes of subordination are classified along logical categories: cause, goal, hyothesis, time, ... etc. In some contexts, the nuances between many semantic values are not easily determined; the same subordinator may well have more than one semantic value.

Furthermore, some subordinators are used with one verbal theme only while others freely tolerate being followed by verbs conjugated in different themes. ⴰⴷ / ad, for instance, does not set any restriction on the theme of the verb that follows it; this means that the verb that comes after ⴰⴷ / ad can surface in the aorist theme as much as it can surface in the perfective and imperfective themes.

At the syntactic level, some subordinating conjunctions trigger the attraction of affixal pronouns (DO and IO) and space orientation particles (ⴷ / d and ⵏ / n) to a preverbal position.

ⵎⵉⵅⴼ ⴷ ⵓⵙⵉⵖ ⵉⵙⵇⵔⵇⴱ ⵅⴰⴼⵉ. / mixf d usiɣ isqrqb xafi.	"As soon as I arrived, He knocked at the door."
ⵉⵙⵓⵙⵎ ⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⴰⵙ ⵓⵛⴰⵏ ⴰⵎⵓⵔ ⵏⵏⵙ. / isusm llig as ucan amur nns.	"He kept quiet when they gave him his share."
ⵖⵉⴽ ⵍⵍⵉ ⵜ ẓⵔⵉⵖ, ⵙⵙⵏⵖ ⵎⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵉⵍⵍⴰⵏ. / ɣik lli t ẓriɣ, ssnɣ ma ad illan.	"As soon as I saw him, I knew what happened."

In the examples presented above, the attraction of the orientation particle ⴷ / d and the pronouns ⴰⵙ ⵜ / as t (DO and IO) to a preverbal position is due to the presence of the morphemes ⵎⵉⵅⴼ / mixf "as soon as", ⵍⵍⵉⴳ / llig "when" and ⵖⵉⴽ ⵍⵍⵉ (ⵎⴽ ⵍⵍⵉ) / ɣik lli (mk lli) "as soon as".

4.1. Adverb clauses of time

This category of clauses includes the adverb clauses introduced by conjunctions that convey different temporal shades of meaning. In general terms, the action expressed by the verb of the main clause takes place before, during or after the action of the subordinate clause, reflecting, thereby, the

putative relationship of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority observed between the main and the subordinate clauses.

a. Relationship of simultaneity

We speak of simultaneity when the two actions expressed by the verbs of the two clauses, the main and the subordinate, take place at the same time. The morphemes expressing this value are:

ⵎⵉ, ⵄⴰⴷⴷⴰⵢ, ⵄⵙ ⵎⵉ / umi, adday, ass mi	"when."
ⴽⵓ, ⴽⵓⴷ / ku, kud	"as long as, while"
ⵎⴰⵃⴷ / maḥd	"as"
ⴽⵓⴷⵏⵏⴰ / kudnna	"when, everytime"
ⵎⵉⵅⴼ (ⵎⵉⵅ) / mixf (mix)	"when, while, as soon as"
ⵍⵍⵉⴳ / llig	"when"
ⵙⴳⵎⴰ, ⵙⴳⴳⵯⵉⵙ // sgma, sggʷis	"since"

The morphemes ⵎⵉ / umi, ⵄⵙ ⵎⵉ / ass mi, ⴽⵓⴷⵏⵏⴰ / kudnna, ⵎⵉⵅⴼ / mixf (mix) and ⵍⵍⵉⴳ (ⵍⵍⵉⵢ) / llig (lliɣ) are used not only with the perfective and imperfective themes but also with the aorist theme if the verb is preceded by ⴰⴷ / ad (or one of its variants). With the morphemes ⴽⵓ / ⴽⵓⴷ // ku / kud, the verbs of the main and subordinate clauses obtain in the imperfective form. With ⵙⴳⵎⴰ / sgma, ⵙⴳⴳⵯⵉⵙ / sggʷis, the verb takes the perfective form. As for ⴰⴷⴷⴰⵢ / adday, the verb that follows this conjunction is always conjugated in the aorist form.

ⴰⴷ ⵔⴰⵃⵢ ⵎⵉ ⵢⴰ ⴷ ⵢⴰⵙ. / ad raḥɣ umi ɣa d yas.	"I will go as soon as he arrives."
ⴷⴷⵉⵢ ⵎⵉ ⴷ ⵉⵍⴽⵎ. / ddiɣ umi d ilkm.	"I went when he arrived."
ⴳⴳⵓⵔⵢ ⵎⵉ ⴷ ⵉⵜⵜⴰⵙ. / gguɣ umi d ittas.	"I (usually) leave when he arrives."
ⵍⵍⵉⵢ ⴰⵔ ⵣⵣⵉⴳⵉⵣⵏ ⴰⵔ ⵙⴰⵡⴰⵍⵏ. / lliɣ ar zzigizn ar sawaln.	"While walking, they are speaking."
ⴽⵓⴷⵏⵏⴰ ⵉⴷⴷⴰ ⵜⵎⵓⵏⵜ ⴷⵉⴷⵙ. / kudnna idda tmunt dids.	"When he leaves, you will keep him company."
ⵄⵙ ⵎⵉ ⵉⵔⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵉⴷⴷⵓ, ⵓⵛ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵜⵎⵏⵢⴰⵜ. / ass mi ira ad iddu, uc as ttmnyat.	"The day when he decides to leave, give him the money."

ⵕⵁ ⵥⵜⵜⵓⵝ ⵦⵍⵣⵖⵯ ⵯⵔ ⵯⵙ ⵥⵜⵜⵥⵯⵎⵯⵙⵌ ⵇⵣⵣⵥ. / ku ittru umxib ar as ittzayad ṛbbi.	"As the unfortunate cries, God increases his suffering."
ⵞⵛ ⵯⵙ ⵥⵣⵯⵇⵥⵉⵏ ⵎⵯⵋⵀ ⵥⵎⵎⵯ ⵂⵯⵁⵯ. / uc as iqaṛiḍn maḥd illa daha.	"Give him the money as long as he is here."
ⵯⵂⵂⵯⵉ ⵉⵯⵞⵗ ⵞⵀⵁⵯⵝ ⵎⵯ ⵜⵜⵝⵝⵉ ⵌⵥⵂⵂⵉ ⵜⵥⵌⵖⵯⵥⵗⵥⵉ. / adday yawḍ unbdu la ttggn middn timɣriwin.	"When summer arrives, people celebrate marriage ceremonies."
ⵙⵖⵖⵯⵉⵙ ⵂ ⵜⵥⵗⵗ ⵂ ⵏⵜⵜⵯⵜ ⵎⵯ ⵜⵖⵉ. / sggʷis d tiwḍ d nttat la tgn.	"She has been sleeping since she arrived."

b. Relationship of anteriority

Another category of subordinate clauses introduced by specific conjunctions conveys the semantic value of anteriority. When a conjunction that expresses anteriority is used in such clauses, the action of the verb of the subordinate clause takes place before the action of the verb of the main clause. The morphemes expressing anteriority are set out as follows:

ⵞⵔ ⵜⵯ / ur ta	"before"
ⵂⵯⵜ ⵎⵯ / dat ma	"before"
ⵎⵯⵋⵀ / maḥd	"before"
ⵖⵯⵗ / ⵅⵯⵗ // ɣas / xas	"as soon as"
ⵖⵥⵔ / ɣir	"as soon as"

The morphemes presented above are used with different verbal themes. They are used with the aorist if the verb is preceded by ⵯⵂ / ad (or its variant ⵖⵯ / ɣa); they are also used with the perfective and imperfective themes.

ⵖⵯⵗ ⵯⵂ ⵥⵀⵂⵂ, ⵝⵯⵂ ⵂⵥⵗ ⵙⵙⵥⵞⵓⵎⵖ. / ɣas ad ibdd, rad dis ssiwlɣ.	"As soon as he stops walking, I will talk to him."
ⵖⵯⵗ ⵥⵀⵂⵂ, ⵙⵙⵥⵞⵓⵎⵖ ⵯⵔⵔⵥⵂⵙ. / ɣas ibdd, ssiwlɣ akkids.	"As soon as he stopped walking, I talked to him."
ⵖⵯⵗ ⵯⵝ ⵂ ⵥⵏⵔⵔⵎ, ⵯⵝ ⵯⵙ ⵯⵔⵔⵯⵏ ⵯⵅⵯⴼⵯⵗ. / ɣas ar d ilkkm, ar as akkan agʷfay.	"As soon as he arrives, they serve him milk."

ⴼⴻⵔ ⵂⵂⵏ ⵏⵍⵝⵝⵏⵔ, ⵇⵊⵍ ⴻ ⵍⵂⵙⵏ. / ɣir ufan amxxar, ṛẓmn i muḥnd.	"As soon as they arrested the thief, they set Muhnd free."
ⵂⵂⵏ ⵔⵏ ⵏⵍⵝⵝⵏⵔ ⵇⵊⵍ ⴻ ⵍⵂⵙⵏ. / ufan ka amxxar ṛẓmn i muḥnd.	"As soon as they arrested the thief, they set Muhnd free."
ⴻⵂⵂⵓ ⵍⵏⵔⵣⵏ ⵂⵔ ⵜⵏ ⵏ ⵜⵂⵛⵔⴻ ⵜⵏⴻⵎⵏ. / iffɣ masin ur ta d tucki tlila.	"Massin got out before Tilila came (here)."
ⵔⵔⴻⵍⵎ ⴻ ⵙⵍⵍⵂ ⵍⵙⵏ ⵂⵔ ⴻⵝⴻ ⵏⵝⵏⵔⵏ. / ssiwl i ḥmmu maḥd ur igi aznnir.	"Speak to Hemmou before he does something foolish."
ⴻⵂⵂⵓ ⵏⵏⵜ ⵍⵏ ⴼⵏ ⴻⵏⵏⵂ ⴰⵏⴰⵏⴰ. / iffɣ dat ma iddu babas.	"He went out before his father leaves."

c. Relationship of posteriority

The morphemes of subordination that express the relationship of posteriority between the main and subordinate clauses are:

ⵂⵂⵔⵏ ⵍⵏ / ⵏⵂⵂⵔⵏ ⵍⵏ / ffir ma / dffir ma	"after"
ⴻⵝ ⵏⵏⴻⵂ ⵍⵏ / sg nnif ma	"after"
ⵔⵂⵏⵏⵏ / kudnna	"when, after"

These morphemes are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by the preverbal particle ⴰⵏ / ad (or one of its variants); they are also used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

ⴰⵏ ⵏⵏⵂⵏ ⵂⵂⵔⵏ ⵍⵏ ⵏⵏ ⴰⵂⵏ ⵔⵝⴰⵇⵔⵏⵏ. / ad ddun ffir ma ɣa afn iqaṛiḍn.	"They will leave when they find the money."
ⵏⵏⴰⵏ ⵂⵂⵔⵏ ⵍⵏ ⵂⵂⵏⵏ ⵔⵝⴰⵇⵔⵏⵏ. / ddan ffir ma ufan iqaṛiḍn.	"They went after they had found the money."
ⴰⵏ ⵏⵂⵂⵓ ⵔⵂⵏⵏⵏ ⵝⵔⵍⴻ ⵂⵏⵝⴰⵇ. / ad nffɣ kudnna yiwi unẓaṛ.	"We will go out once it stops raining."
ⵔⴰⵏ ⵝⴰⵍⵔ ⵍⵏ ⴰⵏ ⵔⴻⴻⴰ ⵔⵂⵏⵏⵏ ⵔⴰⵏ ⵏ ⵝⴰⵛⵔ. / rad yawi ma ad issa kudnna rad d yack.	"He will bring something to drink when he comes."
ⵜⵂⵂⵓ ⵂⴰⴻⵔⵍⵏ ⴻⵝ ⵏⵏⴻⵂ ⵍⵏ ⵔⵏⵏ ⵂⵝⴻⵏ. / tffɣ faṭima sg nnif ma ign urba.	"Fatima got out after the child had slept."

4.2. Adverb clauses of purpose

These adverb clauses are introduced by morphemes that express the goal of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. The subordinators used to convey this meaning are: ⵎⵎⴰ (ⵃⵎⴰ) / ḥma (ḥuma), ⵜⴰⴼⴰ / tafa, ⴰⴽⴰ / aka, ⴼⴰⴷ / fad and ⴱⴰⵛ / bac "so as to, so that". They are used only with verbs conjugated in the aorist form (if preceded by ⴰⴷ / ad or one of its variants) or in the imperfective form.

ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍ ⴰⵙ ⵎⵎⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵉⵎⵓⵏ ⴷ ⵓⵍⵜⵎⴰⵙ ⵠⵢⵔ ⵓⴹⴱⵉⴱ. / ssiwl as ḥma ad imun d ultmas vyr uḍbib.	"Tell him to take his sister to the doctor."
ⵙⵙⵉⵡⵍ ⴰⵙ ⵜⴰⴼⴰ ⵓⵔ ⵉⵜⵜⴷⴷⵓ ⴳ ⵢⵉⴹ ! / ssiwl as tafa ur ittddu g yiḍ !	"Tell him not to go at night !"
ⴼⴽⴰⵏ ⴰⵙ ⴰⵎⵓⵔ ⵏⵏⵙ ⴼⴰⴷ ⴰⴷ ⵉⴼⵙⵙ. / fkan as amur nns fad ad ifss.	"They gave him his share so that he keeps quiet."
ⵉⵢⵔⴰ ⴰⵙⵏ ⴰⴽⴰ ⵙⵎⵓⵏⵏ ⵉⵎⴰⵙⵙⵏ ⵏⵏⵙⵏ. / iɣra asn aka smunn imassn nnsn.	"He asked them to gather their things."

4.3. Adverb clauses of cause

Adverb clauses of cause are introduced by conjunctions expressing the reason behind the action undertaken by the verb of the main clause. The conjunctions that serve this function are: ⵎⵉⵏⵣⵉ / minzi, ⴰⵛⴽⵓ / acku, ⵓⵎⵉ / umi and ⵙⴳ ⵎⴰ / sg ma "because". These conjunctions are employed with verbs in the aorist form preceded by the preverbal particle ⴰⴷ / ad (or one of its variants); they are also used with verbs conjugated in the perfective and imperfective forms.

ⵇⵇⵉⵎⵢ ⴳ ⵜⴰⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ ⵎⵉⵏⵣⵉ ⴰⴷ ⴷ ⵢⵓⵔⵉ ⴰⵙⵏ ⵉⵏⴱⴳⵉⵡⵏ. qqimɣ g taddart minzi ad d ɣuri asn inbgiwn. "I am staying at home because guests will visit me."
ⵉⵇⵇⵉⵎ ⴳ ⵜⴳⵎⵎⵉ ⵎⵉⵏⵣⵉ ⵢⵓⴹⵏ. iqqim g tgmmi minzi yuḍn. "He stayed at home because he was ill."
ⴳⴳⴰⵡⵔⵢ ⴳ ⵜⴰⴷⴷⴰⵔⵜ ⴰⵛⴽⵓ ⵔⴰⴷ ⴷ ⴷⴰⵔⵉ ⴰⵛⴽⵏ ⵉⵏⴱⴳⵉⵡⵏ. ggawrɣ g taddart acku rad d dari ackn inbgiwn. "I am staying at home because guests will visit me."

ⵓⵔ ⵉⴷⴷⵉ ⵙ ⵜⴰⵎⵖⵔⴰ ⵄⴽⵓ ⵢⵉⵡⵂⵍ.

ur iddi s tmɣra acku yiwḥl.

"He did not go to the marriage ceremony because he was ill."

ⵡⵉ ⴰⵥⵏⵏⴰⵕ ⵄⴽⵓ ⴰⵔ ⵖⵉⵏⵏ ⵉⵜⵜⵉⵍⵉ ⵓⵚⵎⵎⵉⴹ.

awi aẓnnaṛ acku ar ɣinn ittili uṣmmiḍ.

"Take the burnous because it is cold there."

ⵓⵔ ⵜⴼⴼⵉⵖ ⵉⴹⵏⵏⴰⵟ ⵓⵎⵉ ⴷⴰⵢⵙ ⵜⵉⵎⵙⵙⵉ.

ur tffiɣ iḍnnaṭ umi days timssi.

"She did not go out yesterday because she had a fever."

ⵜⵃⵔⵇ ⵙⴳ ⵎⴰ ⵓⵔ ⴰⵙ ⵓⵛⵉⵏ ⴰⵎⵓⵔ ⵏⵏⵙ.

ṭḥrq sg ma ur as ucin amur nns.

"She is unhappy because they did not give her her share."

The morpheme ⵍⵍⵉⴳ / llig "because" may also be used to express causality:

ⵉⵇⴱⵍ ⵍⵍⵉⴳ ⴰⵙ ⵢⵓⵛⴰ ⵉⴱⴱⴰⵙ ⵜⵉⴳⵎⵎⵉ.

iqbl llig as yuca ibbas tigmmi.

"He accepted because his father gave him the house."

4.4. Adverb clauses expressing concession and opposition

Adverb clauses of concession and oppsition introduce an action that opposes the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. These clauses are introduced by a whole range of conjunctions; some of which are set out below:

- ⵡⴰⵅⵅⴰ / waxxa, ⵎⵇⵇⴰⵔ / mqqar "even if, despite, in spite of". These conjunctions are used with verbs conjugated in the perfective and imperfective forms as well as with verbs in the aorist form if they are preceded by the particle ⴰⴷ / ad:

ⴰⴷ ⴷⴷⵓⵖ ⴰⴳ ⵉⵜⵜⵓ ⵡⴰⵅⵅⴰ ⴰⴷ ⵢⵉⵍⵉ ⵓⴷⴼⵍ. /

ad dduɣ ag iṭṭu waxxa ad yili udfl.

"I will go with Itto even if there is snow."

ⴷⴷⵉⵖ ⵖⵓⵔⵙ ⵡⴰⵅⵅⴰ ⵓⴹⵏⵖ. /

ddiɣ ɣurs waxxa uḍnɣ.

"I went to see him although I was ill."

ⵎⵇⵇⴰⵔ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵙⵙⴰⵡⴰⵍⵜ, ⵓⵔ ⴷⴰ ⵉⵙⵙⵖⴰⴷ. /

mqqar as tssawalt, ur da issɣad.

"Even if you talk to him, he will not listen."

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- ⴲⴰⴳⴰ / maca, ⴲⴰⴳⴳ / macc, ⴼⴳⴼⵎ / imil "but". They are used with all verbal themes.

ⴼⴡⴡⴰ ⵌⵔ ⴼⵌⵔⴰⴳ ⴲⴰⴳⴰ ⵉⵔ ⴰⴡ ⴼⴡⴡⴰⵝ ⵌⵝⵔ ⵝⴳⴳⵝ. / idda γr iγrm maca ur ad iddu γur ḥmmu. "He went to the village but he is not going to pay Hemmou a visit."
ⴡⴡⴼⵔ ⴡⴰⵔⵝ ⴲⴰⴳⴰ ⵉⵔ ⵜ ⴼ�II ⵉⵝⴼⵔⵔ. / ddiγ dars maca ur t inn uffiγ. "I went to see him but I did not find him."
ⴡⴰ ⴼⵜⵜⵇⴰⵉ ⵌⵔ ⴼⵌⵔⴳⵍ ⴲⴰⴳⴳ ⵉⵔ ⴡⴰ ⴼⵜⵜⴡⴡⵝ ⵔⵝⴳⴳⵔ. / da ittṛaḥ γr iγrm macc ur da ittddu γurs. "He usually goes to the village but he does not pay him a visit."
ⴼⵔ�ⴼⵝⴰ ⴰⵉⵔⴼⵔ ⴼⴳⴼⵎ ⵝⵔⵔⵍ ⴰⵝ ⵜ. / isγa ayyis imil ukrn as t. "He bought a horse but they stole it from him."

4.5. Adverb clauses of condition

The conjunctions that introduce the adverb clauses of condition convey a hypothesis or condition on which the implementation of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause depends. Some conjunctions filling this function are used with verbs in the aorist form provided these verbs are preceded by ⴰⵏ / ad (or one of its variants); the same conjunctions are also used with verbs in the perfective or imperfective forms. A whole range of conjunctive morphemes are laid out below:

-ⴲⴰⵍⴰ (ⴲⵍⴰ) / mala (mla), ⴲⵔⴼ (ⴲⵔ) / mri (mr), ⴼⵅ (ⴼⵢ) / ig (iγ), ⴲⵔ (ⵔⴲ) / mk (km), ⴲⵝⵏ / mud, ⴲⵜⴰ / mta "if"

ⴲⴰⵍⴰ ⴰⵏ ⴼⴡⴡⵝ ⵌⵔ ⴱⴰⴱⴰⵙ ⴰⵏ ⴽⵉⵙ ⴲⵝⵔ. / mala ad iddu γr babas ad kis munγ. "If he goes to see his father, I will go with him."
ⴲⴰⵍⴰ ⴼⴡⴡⴰ ⵌⵔ ⴱⴰⴱⴰⵙ ⴰⵏ ⴽⵉⵙ ⴲⵝⵔ. / mala idda γr babas ad kis munγ. "If he had gone to see his father, I would have gone with him."

The morphemes ⴼⵅ (ⴼⵢ) / ig (iγ) and ⴲⵔ (ⵔⴲ) / mk (km) convey a condition in the future, whereas ⴲⵝⵏ / mud and ⴲⵜⴰ / mta express a hypothesis in the past:

ⴲⵔ ⴼⵝⴳⴳⵔ ⴼⵍⴼ ⴰⵉ ⴰⵏ ⴼⵔⵔ ⴰⵏⵍⴼⵔ ⵏ ⴼⵝⴳⴳⵔⵍ. / mk iffγ ini as ad isγ adlis d iffγn. "If he goes out, tell him to buy the book that has just appeared."

ⵉⵢ ⵜⵏ ⵉⵥⵕⴰ ⵉⴼⴾ ⵓⵙⵏ ⵜⵉⵙⵓⵔⴰ. /

iɣ tn iẓṛa ifk asn tisura.

"If he sees them, that he gives them the keys."

ⵎⵓⴷ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵓⵙⵉⵡⵍⴷ ⴰⵙⵓⵏⵏⴰⵟ, ⵓⵔ ⴷ ⴰⴷ ⵉⴳ ⴰⵢⴰ. /

mud as tssiwld assnnaṭ, ur d ad ig aya.

"If you had spoken to him yesterday, He would not have done this."

ⵎⵜⴰ ⵜⵏ ⵥⵕⵉⵢ, ⵓⵔ ⵔⴰⴷ ⴷⴷⵓⵏ ⴷⴰⵔⵙ. /

mta tn ẓṛiɣ, ur rad ddun dars.

"If I had seen them, they would not have visited him."

When the morphemes of condition are employed, the affixal personal pronouns of the verb and the orientation particles are moved to a preverbal position.

4.6. Adverb clauses of consequence

The conjunctions that introduce the adverb clauses of consequence express a fact or action which is the real or possible consequence of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. Paramount among the conjunctions that meet this end, there are: ⵄⵍⵄⵎⵉ / alami and ⵄⵢⵍⵍⵉⵖ (ⵄⵢⵍⵍⵉⵢ) / ayllig (aylliɣ) "until, till". These conjunctions can be used with all verbal themes; however, when they are used with aorist verbs, they should be preceded by ⵄⴷ / ad.

ⵜⵓⵙⵉⵡⵍ ⵄⵟⵟⴰⵙ ⵄⵍⵄⵎⵉ ⵜⵡⵃⵍ. tssiwl aṭṭaṣ alami twḥl. "She talked a lot until she got tired."
ⵜⵔⵓ ⵜⵙⵍⵎⵢⴰ ⵄⵢⵍⵍⵉⵖ ⵜⵡⵃⵍ. tru tslmya ayllig twḥl. "The baby has wept so much that she got tired."
ⵜⵛⵛⴰ ⵄⵢⵍⵍⵉⵖ ⵜⴳⵓⵙⵎⴰ. tcca ayllig tgusma. "She ate so much that she got an indegestion."
ⵄⵔ ⵥⵥⵉⴳⵉⵣⵏ ⵄⵢⵍⵍⵉⵢ ⵕⵎⵉⵏ. ar zzigizn aylliɣ ṛmin. "They have walked so much that they got tired."

4.7. Adverb clauses of comparison

The adverb clauses expressing comparison are introduced by conjunctions that exhibit a comparison between the facts and actions expressed in the main

clause and the facts and actions expressed in the subordinate clause. The morphemes responsible for this function are: ⵄⵍ (ⵄⵍⵥ / ⵄⵍ⵿ⵅ) / am (ami / amux) and ⵣⵓⵏ / zun "like, as". They are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by ⵄⵏ / ad as much as they are used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

ⵄⵣⵣⵓ ⵥⵙⵙⵓⵏⵓⵍⵓⵏ ⵄⵍ ⵥⵙⵢⵓⵢⵢⵓ. aqqa issawal am isɣuyyu. "He is talking as if he is screaming."
ⵄⵔ ⵙⵉⵙ ⵙⵓⵍⵓⵏⵢ ⵣⵓⵏ ⵥⵢ ⵄⵔ ⵙⵓⵍⵓⵏⵢ ⵙ ⵓⵢⵔⵓⴱ. ar sis sawalɣ zun iɣ ar sawalɣ s uɣrab. "I am talking to him as if I am talking to a wall."
ⵍⵓ ⵥⵜⵜⵏⵏ⵿ ⵄⵍⵥ ⵢⵥⵊⵙ ⵜⵜⵓⵣⵣⵓⵍⵏ. la ittddu ami ɣifs ttazzaln. "He is walking as if he is being pursued."

4.8. Adverb clauses of manner

This variety of adverbial clauses expresses the manner in which the verb of the main clause has been undertaken. The conjunctions used in the adverbial clauses of manner are identical to the conjunctions used in adverb clauses of comparison: ⵄⵍ (ⵄⵍⵥ / ⵄⵍ⵿ⵅ) / am (ami / amux) and ⵣⵓⵏ / zun "like, as". They are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by ⵄⵏ / ad as much as they are used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

ⵥⵙⴽⵔ ⵣⵓⵏ ⵏ ⵥⵢ ⵓⵄⵏ ⵥⴳⵏ. / iskr zun d iɣ rad ign. "He pretends he is going to sleep."
ⵥⵅⵓ ⵄⵍⵥ ⵍⵓ ⵥⵜⵜⵓⵣⵣⵓⵍⵏ. / iga ami la ittazzal. "He pretends to be running."
ⵥⵅⵓ ⵄⵍ⵿ⵅ ⵥⵜⵜⵚ. / iga amux iṭṭṣ. "He pretends being asleep."
ⵥⵙⴽⵔ ⵣⵓⵏ ⵥⵍⵍⵓⵜ. / iskr zun immut. "He plays dead."

Manner may also be expressed by merely juxtapposing the main clause with the subordinate clause.

ⵜⴼⴼⵢ ⵄⵔ ⵜⵜⵓⵣⵣⵓⵍⵏ. / tffɣ ar ttazzal.   "She went out running."

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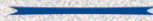
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The central thrust of this book is to shed light on the grammatical rules of Amazigh. The originality of this work is reminiscent of the fact that it is a grammar of standard Moroccan Amazigh and not a a grammar of one of the Amazigh varieties. It is, therefore, meant to offer a reference grammar to Standard Amazigh. Foremost among the principles taken into consideration in its preparation is the unity of the language, the preservation of Amazigh richness in terms of grammatical structures and tools as well as a rational planning of variation.

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