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Aspect-Mood and discourse in Kabyle (Berber) spoken narratives*

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The choice among aspectual forms in Kabyle (Berber) discourse that advance the storyline is a matter of stance and genre. Kabyle has at least five aspect-mood forms. Close examination of a folktale shows that Perfective is the main form in narrative sequences that relate events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse. In a personal recount contrasting the past and present condition of women, the preverbed Aorist is instead used in the foreground. In both genres, Perfectives are not in themselves foregrounding forms. Storyline advancement results from the co-occurrence of several features: perfectivity, sequenciality of dynamic verbs, word order, and the presence of a proximal clitic on the verbal form. By contrast, Imperfectives are backgrounding forms.

1. Preliminaries

1.1 Foregrounding, backgrounding and aspect

According to Hopper (1979:213), "It is evidently a universal of narrative discourse that in any extended text an overt distinction is made between the language of the actual story line and the language of supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events. I refer to the former – the parts of the narrative which relate events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse – as FOREGROUND and the latter as BACKGROUND." Further in the paper, Hopper defines background and foreground markers as complementary devices: "background tense markers signal happenings and states which are not 'in sequence' and which by their very temporal inconsistency cannot and do not move the discourse forward", saying that they convey "details of indirect relevance to the narrative" (1979:239).

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Those two concepts can be realized differently across languages, but Hopper selects aspect as a major dimension of the distinction, and even relates aspectual distinctions to pragmatics ones: “One finds, in other words, a tendency for punctual verbs to have perfective aspect (i.e. to occur in foregrounded sentences) and conversely for verbs of the durative/stative/iterative types to occur in the imperfective, i.e. backgrounded, clauses” (1979:214). In other parts of the paper, Hopper presents aspectual distinctions as specializing in the expression of backgrounding vs. foregrounding, instead of being equivalent to those pragmatic dimensions: “One finds typically an aspect marker specialized for foregrounding, or one specialized for backgrounding, or both functions indicated” (1979:239). This explains at least in part the existence of elaborate aspect-tense systems: “[t]he assumption that in a discourse the competent user of the language needs to mark out a main route through the narrative and divert in some ways those parts of the narrative which are not strictly relevant to this route suggests at least a partial explanation of the existence of elaborate tense-aspect systems in some languages but not in others” (1979:239).

In this paper, I will show that for Kabyle, a tenseless language with few aspect-mood distinctions, the Imperfective is indeed systematically associated with backgrounding, but foregrounding is conveyed through the co-occurrence of several features, among which is perfectivity, in the sense of completedness of the event or situation referred to. This feature is distributed over two forms in Kabyle, Perfective and Aorist.¹ In order to uncover the multidimensionality of foregrounding, after some introductory remarks about Kabyle, the paper presents a detailed study of a folktale and of a personal recount (Mettouchi 2012), focussing on word-order and aspect-mood profile. I then discuss the results and propose hypotheses concerning the role of markedness and perfectivity in relationship to foregrounding, and show that in this language, foregrounding indeed goes beyond aspect, into discourse, and more precisely, information-structure.

1.2 Kabyle

Kabyle is spoken in the north of Algeria by about five million speakers. It has two main dialects, Eastern and Western Kabyle. This paper is based on Western Kabyle data collected in the field between 2007 and 2010.²

1. While ‘perfectivity’ with a small ‘p’ is a semantic feature that may be present in various aspectual forms, capitalized Perfective and Aorist (traditionally called *accompli* or *prétérit* for the former, and *aoriste* for the latter, in the French berberologist tradition) are forms belonging to the system of Aspect-Mood in Kabyle.

2. All texts and sound files are available at (<http://corpafroas.huma-num.fr/>) (Resources → Corpus).

In Western Kabyle, nouns are either in the absolute state or in the annexed state³ (Mettouchi & Frajzyngier 2013; Mettouchi 2014); independent pronouns form a special paradigm. The possessor always follows the possessee, and adjectives are placed after nouns. Kabyle is head-initial, although word order at the level of the clause is quite flexible, and pragmatically motivated (Mettouchi 2008 and to appear-a). Predicates can be verbal or non-verbal, but I will focus on verbal predication.

1.2.1 Aspect-Mood

All verbs are necessarily composed of a verbal stem and a bound personal pronoun which refers to the main participant of the event or state.

- (1) *t-wwəðʔ*
 SBJ3SG.F-arrive.PFV
 ‘She arrived’

Aspect-Mood is morphologically marked on the verbal stem by vocalic alternations, prefixation, or root consonant gemination (see Table 1; more details can be found in Mettouchi 2006 and 2009).

Table 1. Aspect-Mood stems in Kabyle

Root ↓/Stem →	Aorist	Imperfective	Perfective	Negative Perfective
DD (accompany, go)	<i>ddu</i>	<i>ttə-ddu</i>	<i>dda</i>	<i>ddi</i>
KRZ (plough)	<i>krəz</i>	<i>kərrəz</i>	<i>krəz</i>	<i>kriz</i>

In the dialect under study, preverb *ad*, which has modal values (Mettouchi 2009), can precede the verbal form in the Aorist and Imperfective.

- (2) *ad t-ffəy*
 POT SBJ3SG.F-exit.AOR
 ‘She will go out’

Since Basset (1952), the system has been described as aspectual (as opposed to tense-based) in the literature on Berber (see Chaker 1989 for an overview). Aspect-Mood

3. This binary distinction is morphologically marked on nouns, and constitutes the backbone of the grammar of Kabyle and many Berber languages. In Kabyle, the annexed state is used when the noun is coreferent to an argumental affix or clitic, or to a kinship or possessive nominal suffix situated to its left, or when it follows most prepositions, numerals, and relational morphemes. The absolute state is used in all other contexts (see Mettouchi 2014 for a detailed presentation of those uses).

forms encountered in Western Kabyle are therefore: the Perfective, the bare Aorist (mostly in imperatives), the preverbed Aorist, the Imperfective, the preverbed Imperfective, the negative Perfective (almost only after negations). Given the focus of this paper on the advancement of the storyline, the study is based on verbal forms encountered in affirmative main or independent clauses.

Table 2. Distribution of Aspect-Mood forms in the two texts under study (affirmative main and independent clauses)

	Perfective	Bare Imperfective	<i>ad</i> +Aorist	<i>ad</i> +Imperfective	Imperative (Aorist)
Folktale	65.7%	10%	23.8%	0.1%	0.4%
Recount	29.4%	12.1%	50.4%	4.1%	4%

The Perfective form construes the propositional contents as “being the case” for a given (actual or fictional)⁴ point or period in time (Mettouchi 2000). It is never preverbed. It is the default aspectual form in narratives (between 60% and 80% of verbs).

The Imperfective form is a marked aspectual form that has habitual or progressive reading (Mettouchi 1998-b), and is infrequent in texts (between 6% and 18% of verbs across genres). It can be preverbed, but this is rarely the case in this variety of Kabyle.

The *ad*+Aorist form construes the propositional contents as potential (Mettouchi 2009). This core meaning can be realized differently depending on context: future, hypothetical, habitual, complement clause after a volitional verb, purposive clause, etc. The Aorist only rarely appears without its preverb. The frequency of the *ad*+Aorist form is between 20% and 30% in fictional narratives, but it can be the default aspectual form in some genres (personal recounts, procedural texts). The existence of *ad*+Imperfective forms, as well as the fact that some Berber languages (such as Shilha) extensively use the bare Aorist as a narrative form in folktales, fictional or past stories, are evidence for the fact that the Aorist has a feature of perfectivity.

1.2.2 Word order

Kabyle is a pronominal argument language, where bound subject pronouns are obligatory, and nouns optional and coreferent to the bound pronouns. Most clauses (on average 70% to 90% of verbal clauses) have no lexical arguments or only the lexical direct object in its default position: after the verb and within the prosodic group of the verb (Mettouchi to appear-a). The presence of lexical arguments other than the

object in default position is a marked choice, and has information structure functions. Some arguments are detached by a prosodic boundary, either at the left or at the right periphery of the nuclear clause.

Clauses with no lexical subjects and no detached arguments serve as (sub-)topic continuation devices (Mettouchi to appear-a). Clauses where all lexical arguments are within the prosodic group of the verb, which delimits the core of the clause,⁵ fall into two constructions (in the sense of a group of structures having a common function):

- a. $[N_{ABS}-V-(N_{ABS})] = SV$ or AVO or OVA. This construction's function is to pragmatically link the contents of the clause to the preceding context (Mettouchi to appear-a).
- b. $[V-N_{ANN}-(N_{ABS})] = VS$ or VAO or VOA. This construction's function is to construe the contents of the clause as a new event or situation (Mettouchi to appear-a).

Among the remaining verbal clauses, those with left-detached arguments appear at (sub-)topic shifts and present the discourse topic of the following episode; those with right-detached arguments reactivate referents (Mettouchi to appear-a).

Linear ordering does not depend on the aspect-mood of the verb, nor aspect-mood on linear orders: all aspect-mood forms are possible with all linear orders and vice-versa, although statistically some aspect-mood forms are more frequent with some linear orders, as will be shown in §2 and §3 below.

2. Folktale ‘The seven daughters’⁶

The first text is a folktale recorded in 2007 in the village of Ait Ikhlef. Its duration is 13:29 minutes, and it was volunteered by the speaker during a recording session devoted to folktales. The speaker is a monolingual woman of 45, who uses Kabyle on an everyday basis for all communications in all domains, and is very talkative and humorous.

The tale recounts the story of Clever Fatima, who despite being abandoned by her father with her six sisters, managed to live a good life and eventually pardoned her father, while playing a good trick on her stepmother.

5. See Mettouchi (to appear-a) for more details on the role of prosodic boundaries in the delimitation of syntactic domains.

6. The full transcript, prosodically segmented, morphosyntactically annotated, and translated, with accompanying metadata, is accessible and searchable at (<http://corpafroas.humanum.fr/>).

4. Including conditionals in *if*-clauses.

2.1 Synopsis

The tale has five sections, each of them separated by a major prosodic break. Sections are identified both by unity of place and the fact that they end or start with pivotal formulas or structures.

The first section presents the protagonists of the tale, and the starting point of the narrative: a man has seven daughters. The girls' mother has died, and a woman of the neighborhood starts visiting them and cajoling them into asking their father to remarry. The father first refuses, but then is drawn to accept following a stratagem involving the daughters, devised by the woman. The stepmother then demands that he abandon his daughters. The section starts with a fictional expression 'Once among the days that God made', and ends with a clause which is repeated at the beginning of the second section, 'He went to the mountain'.

In the second section the father goes to the mountain, digs a deep well, then tricks his daughters into jumping in the well, and abandons them there. Once there, the girls start starving, and the eldest daughter proposes to eat the youngest one, who then cries and makes a fava bean tree grow thanks to her tears. The girls eat the favas. Then they start dying from thirst, and the eldest daughter proposes drinking the youngest one's blood. The youngest starts crying, and a fountain springs from her tears, which quenches their thirst. Then she asks her sisters to give her a leg-up and she manages to see a house in the distance. She decides to go there and see if she can save her sisters.

The third section takes place in the house. The youngest girl realizes it is the mountain cat's house, a formidable creature that has a herd of cattle and lives alone in an enchanted house. While stealing food for her sisters, she accidentally pours some melted butter on his pillow. This orients the cat's attention to the robbery. The cat turns his anger towards his own tail, which he thinks is responsible for the theft. Seeing that, the girl decides to pour an even greater quantity of melted butter on his pillow on the following day. The cat is enraged and, taking a stake that he puts into the fire, he impales himself through the mouth. Seeing that he is dead, the little girl goes back to her sisters and brings them to the house, where they enjoy the dead cat's wealth.

The fourth section takes us back to the father.⁷ One day the father decides to go to the well to see if the girls are dead or alive. He sees that they have escaped and goes to the nearby house, where he presents himself as a beggar. The little girl gives him food and water, and sends him back to his wife. He tells his wife how much the

7. This section is actually an episode that takes place before the little girls discover the cat's house in the traditional rendering of the folktale, but since the storyteller forgot the episode in her narration, she skilfully weaves it into the new narrative at another point in the story.

girls have prospered in the rich house that they found. The stepmother is jealous and demands that he kill them. The father goes back to the girls and takes them to the forest, under the guise of gathering wood, and he abandons them there. The little girl understands what is going on, and takes her sisters back to the father's house with the help of a lion who shows them the way. The stepmother is furious and again asks her husband to kill the girls. The little girl overhears and flees her father's house with her sisters.

The fifth section takes place in the mountain cat's house. In the morning the father realizes that the girls have gone and goes to that house. The little girl reproaches him for his actions. With each reproach, the father is swallowed by the ground a step further, until the little girl stops and tells him he is pardoned because it was because of the girls' insistence that he married the evil stepmother. They all eat and drink and reconcile themselves, and then the little girl sends her father back to his wife with a poisoned present.

2.2 Word order

As stated in §1.2.2, clauses with no lexical subjects and no detached arguments serve as (sub-)topic continuation devices. In the text there are 563 such clauses (88.5%). Among the remaining verbal clauses, 7 have left-detached arguments (1%), which represent the discourse topic of the following episode; 7 have right-detached arguments (1%), which are reactivated referents; and 60 (9.5%) contain lexical arguments within the prosodic group of the verb.

The 60 structures where all arguments are within the prosodic group of the verb fall into two constructions (in the sense of a group of structures having a common function):

- a. $[N_{ABS}-V-(N_{ABS})] = SV$ or AVO or OVA. This construction's function is to pragmatically link the contents of the clause to the preceding context (Mettouchi to appear-a). It occurs 21 times (3.3%) in the whole tale.
- b. $[V-N_{ANN}-(N_{ABS})] = VS$ or VAO or VOA. This construction's function is to construe the contents of the clause as a new event or situation (Mettouchi to appear-a). It occurs 39 times (6.2%) in the whole tale. This construction plays a crucial role in foregrounding when used in main or independent clauses, as will be shown in §2.3.

2.3 Aspect-Mood profile

Before investigating the relationship of word order to aspect, a general aspectual study of the folktale is needed. The total number of verbs is 628. Among them, 413 (65.7%) are in the Perfective, 153 (24.3%) are in the Aorist (including 28 imperatives), and 62 (10%) are in the Imperfective. The following excerpt is representative of the narrative

parts of the tale. Perfectives are bolded, Imperfectives are framed, and *ad*+Aorist forms are underlined.⁸

- (3) 1- θr^uh // BI-501 imiθbbəd^s a Aminarðinna /
t-ruh // imi *t-wwəd* a Amina
 SBJ3SG.F-go\PFV // when2 SBJ3SG.F-arrive\PFV VOC Amina
ar dinna /
 to there /
 'She left. When she arrived there, Amina,'
 2- tufa ðamfijbuðrar // 423
t-ufa *d* *amfij* *n* *wədrar* //
 SBJ3SG.F-find\PFV COP cat\ABS.SG.M GEN mountain\ANN.SG.M //
 'she found it was the Mountain Cat'
 3- iθizəðyən / wəxxamni // 271 BI-225
i=t *i-zəy-n* /
 REL.REAL=ABSV3SG.M RELSBJ.POS-dwell\PFV-RELSBJ.POS /
wəxxam-nni //
 house\ANN.SG.M-CNS //
 'who inhabited it, the house.'
 4- əntsa ðamfijagi / issa θaqəd^sit /
nəŋga *d* *amfij-agi* / *i-sa*
 IDP3SG.M COP cat\ABS.SG.M-PROXB / SBJ3SG.M-possess\PFV
taqədsit /
 herd\ABS.SG.F /
 'This cat, he had a herd,'
 5- itsffəy ikəss // 320
i-ttffəy *i-kəss* //
 SBJ3SG.M-exit\IPFV SBJ3SG.M-graze\IPFV //
 'he went out regularly to take it to pasture.'
 6- uwitsyimara guxxam // 434 BI-339
ur *i-ttym* *ara* *g* *wəxxam* //
 NEG SBJ3SG.M-stay\IPFV POSTNEG LOC house\ANN.SG.M //
 'he did not stay at home.'

8. Examples are prosodically segmented:/marks a non-terminal boundary and // a terminal one. Interrupted intonation units are marked by a double-hash symbol ##. The first line is transcribed phonetically into prosodic words, and :: marks phonetic length. The second line is transcribed morphophonologically into morphosyntactic words. This second line uses some non-IPA symbols: subscribed dots indicate pharyngealized consonants; ʧ and ʒ are affricates (respectively ts, tʃ and dʒ). False-starts are followed immediately by a hash symbol. Figures correspond to the length of silent pauses or breath intakes (BI) in milliseconds. Backslashes in the third glossing line indicate that the grammatical property is signaled by a morphophonological change (cf. Leipzig Glossing Rules).

- 7- θza aruχχamis kuləlxirjəllana
t-dla *ar wəxxam-is* *kul*
 SBJ3SG.F-visit\PFV to house\ANN.SG.M-POSS3SG all
lxir *jə-lla*
 good\ANN.SG.M SBJ3SG.M-exist\PFV
 'She visited the house, it was full of good things,'
 8- ʔamina // 418 BI-383 ðuði / tfunast /
a Amina // *d* *uði* / *n* *tfunast* /
 VOC Amina // COP butter\ABS.SG.M / GEN cow\ANN.SG.F /
 'Amina. Butter, from cows,'
 9- ðajfkin / ðə:: ðə# ðihβuβə::n/ðəzzi::θ /
d *ajfki* / *d#* *də#* *d* *ihbubən* / *d* *zzit* /
 COP milk\ABS.SG.M FS FS COP dried_fig\ABS.PL.M / COP oil\ABS /
 'milk, dried figs, oil,'
 10- BI-814 θχədməd tiyrifin / 580 θəʔfurd əʃkkar ##
t-xdəm=dd *tiyrifin*
 SBJ3SG.F-make\PFV=PROX pancake\ABS.PL.F
 / *t-ččur=dd* *aʃkkar ##*
 / SBJ3SG.F-be_full\PFV=PROX sack\ABS.SG.M ##
 'she prepared some pancakes, she filled a sack,'
 11- əfu əjnaθ að^səllas / BI-276 θərnad amrar / BI-327
əfu əjnat *aðəllas* / *t-rna=dd*
 what thing\ABS.SG.M basket\ABS.SG.M / SBJ3SG.F-add\PFV=PROX
amrar /
 rope\ABS.SG.M /
 'I mean a basket,'
 12- θəʔfuraθəntiddəzziθ/BI-312 dəməddas# ##
t-ččur=tnt=dd *d* *zzit*
 SBJ3SG.F-be_full\PFV=ABSV3PL.F=PROX COP oil\ABS.SG.M
 / *t-ddəm=dd* *as# ##*
 / SBJ3SG.F-grasp\PFV=PROX FS ##
 'she added a rope, she filled it with oil,'
 13- θa# θasumtanni itssummuθ akkən/wəmfijənni / 309
ta# tasumta-nni *i-tsummuθ*
 FS pillow\ABS.SG.F-CNS SBJ3SG.M-use_as_pillow\IPFV
akkən / *wəmfij* *-nni* /
 thus / cat\ANN.SG.M CNS /
 'she took the pillow on which he slept, the cat,'

14- ssurjasə:z zziθənni u:z# uzəmmur // 608
t-ssurug=as
 SBJ3SG.F-be_poured\CAUS.PFV=DAT3SG
 zzit-nni uzəmmur//
 oil\ABS.SG.M-CNS olive\ANN.COLL //
 'she drenched it with olive oil,'
 15- BI-600 θr^suhdar jəstmas / θəð^səgrasənt ##
t-ruh=dd ar jəstma-s
 SBJ3SG.F=go\PFV=PROX to sister\ANN.PL.F-KIN3SG
 / *t-dəggər=asnt* ##
 / SBJ3SG.F-throw\PFV=DAT3PL.F ##
 'she returned to her sisters, she threw them'
 16- θəð^səgrasakk amrar / 201 ətjənt // BI-339
t-dəggər=as akka amrar /
 SBJ3SG.F-throw\PFV=DAT3SG thus rope\ABS.SG.M /
 čča-nt //
 eat\PFV-SBJ3PL.F //
 'she threw the rope to them, they ate.'
 17- əfutufið^s /
 əfu t-ufi-d /
 what SBJ2-find\PFV-SBJ2SG /
 "What did you find?" (the sisters asked)' (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0411-0461)

2.3.1 Perfective

The high attestation of the Perfective form in all tales is linked to its use as a default form for assertive predications. The Perfective (bolded) can be used with all types of verbs, stative or dynamic.

In the long excerpt in (3) above, the Perfective is used for all predicates that are not marked as habitual, progressive, or modal (future, potential etc.) It cannot therefore be considered as an exclusively narrative form, and is not, in itself, necessary and sufficient for the advancement of the storyline, as is shown by its use with a stative verb line 7 'it was full of good things'.

The passages where the narrative unfolds are of two types: simple sequences of chronologically-organized events (default), and pivotal advances in the storyline (marked, by the fact that they are infrequent). Both types are foregrounding, if we follow Hopper's definitions in §1.1. The first type is exemplified in the excerpt by the use of clauses containing no lexical argument, or only a postverbal object (lines 1, 2, 6, 7, etc.). As stated in §2.1, this is the default information structure construction in Kabyle. Its frequent co-occurrence with the Perfective is a side-effect of the frequency of both forms in texts; Imperfectives and Aorists also occur in such information structure constructions, as exemplified in the excerpt line 5 by *i-ttffəy i-kəss* 'he took out his

herd to pasture regularly'. I will not consider those default clauses in the Perfective as a coding means for foregrounding (although they may also correspond to foregrounded passages) because they are also extensively used for the description of states of affairs and the characterization of protagonists:

- (4) jəlla θar^rfasi // 274 ičəss gwəðrar //
jə-lla d arrasi // *i-kəss*
 SBJ3SG.M-exist\PFV COP shepherd\ABS.SG.M // SBJ3SG.M-graze\IPFV
 'He was a shepherd.'
 243 isə θaqəðxiθ /
 g wəðrar // *jə-ssa* taqəðsit /
 LOC mountain\ANN.SG.M // SBJ3SG.M-possess\PFV herd\ABS.SG.F /
 'He took his herd to pasture in the mountain. He had a herd.'
 (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0023)

For foregrounding to occur, verbs have to be additionally dynamic, and sequentially ordered. Default foregrounding structures therefore involve default word-order, Perfective and dynamic verbs in sequence. Default word order, dynamic verbs in sequence and Imperfective can occur (example (3) lines 5 and 6), but in this case the combination of features results in backgrounding. It can therefore be stated that perfectivity is a feature of, but not a one-to-one marker of foregrounding.

More salient constructions are clauses in the Perfective containing no lexical argument (apart from the postverbal object) and in which the verb has a proximal clitic, as in text (3), lines 10, 11, 12 and 15. The proximal clitic, which has grammaticalized extensively in Kabyle (it appears in about 20% of verbal predicates – only with dynamic verbs), has semantics that revolve around the notion of speaker-centered goal. Mettouchi (to appear-b) describes its several functions as follows (see also Mettouchi 1998-a):

With verbs of motion, the proximal clitic tends to focus on the endpoint of the movement, which is by default the speaker's deictic center, or a previously mentioned deictic center. If there is a locative complement, it is construed as the endpoint of the movement, and the process is viewed from that endpoint. If the verb is not a motion verb, =*dd* underlines the present relevance of the process, or its result, or impact on the speaker or another deictic source (see also Mettouchi 1998-a). If the verb is a verb of saying in the first/second person and/or bears a dative pronoun, =*dd* underlines the relevance of the process on the speech situation, and the viewpoint of the speaker or another deictic source. When cliticized to a particle or clause marker, =*dd* may underline the completion or relevance of the process in relation to the speech situation or to another clause. In sum, the proximal clitic subsumes the following subfunctions: direction towards a deictic center (different from direction towards the addressee), standpoint of the speaker, or of a reported speaker,

polemical or counter-expectative stance, reaching of a goal, current relevance or resultative (change-of-state). I therefore propose the general function 'Situation viewed from the vantage point of the (direct or reported) speaker (or protagonist)' for the proximal clitic in Western Kabyle, the distal clitic expressing the fact that the situation is viewed from the addressee's viewpoint." (Mettouchi to appear-b)

Note that the varied semantics of the proximal clitic include focus on the endpoint of a movement, focus on the transition between states, present relevance, completion of a process, and impact on the speaker. The presence of this clitic characterizes the second part of excerpt (3), and gives it a special dynamic quality in terms of storytelling and suspense, from the preparation of the pancakes to the return of the little girl towards her sisters. This dynamic quality is a feature of foregrounding as it moves the narrative forward, and the proximal clitic is therefore one of the features involved in the expression of foregrounding in Kabyle discourse.

The second construction associated with advancement of the storyline is the VS/VAO/VOA structure, where the prosodic group begins with a verb, followed by its subject (a noun in the annexed state) and possibly by an object (a noun in the absolute state). Mettouchi (to appear-a) shows that this construction, which isthetic, introduces a new pivotal event or situation in the narrative. This construction is found in lines 1 and 5 (bolded) in the following example. Activation state is not at stake here, so referents are not necessarily new; what is new is the event as a whole: the fall of the stick, the death of the cat.

- (5) 1- **jəylidsfuð** / aʔamina /
jə-ɣli=dd **sfud** / a Amina /
 SBJ3SG.M-fall\PFV=PROX firebrand\ANN.SG.M / VOC Amina /
 The stick fell, Amina,
 2- **jəhmajəhmajəhmajəhma** / BI-360
jə-ħma **jə-ħma** **jə-ħma**
 SBJ3SG.M-be_hot\PFV SBJ3SG.M-be_hot\PFV SBJ3SG.M-be_hot\PFV
jə-ħma /
 SBJ3SG.M-be_hot\PFV /
 it became hotter and hotter,
 3- **ijiθməskin** / iθanzarinis // BI-469
i-ga=t **məskin** /
 SBJ3SG.M-do\PFV=ABSV3SG.M poor\SG.M /
i tanzarin-is //
 LOC nostril\ANN.PL.F-POSS3SG//
 he put it, poor him, inside his nostrils.

- 4- itəʒgəlliβ / itəʒgəlliβ / itəʒgəlliβ / itəʒgəlliβ /
 i-ttəʒgəllib / i-ttəʒgəllib / i-ttəʒgəllib /
 SBJ3SG.M-jump\IPFV / SBJ3SG.M-jump\IPFV / SBJ3SG.M-jump\IPFV /
i-ttəʒgəllib
 SBJ3SG.M-jump\IPFV
 He jumped, and jumped, and jumped, and jumped,
 5- jəmmuθwəmjɣənnin //
jə-mmut **wəmjɣ-nni** //
 SBJ3SG.M-die\PFV cat\ANN.SG.M-CNS //
 and then he died. (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0577-0588)

For this construction, there is a strong bias towards the use of the Perfective (29 times) (or the preverbed Aorist, 10 times), and against the use of the Imperfective. The co-occurrence of Perfective and the VS/VAO/VOA construction is a salient foregrounding construction in narratives of the folktale genre.

As for the SV/AVO/OVA construction, it occurs 5 times in the Imperfective, 3 times in the preverbed Aorist, 11 times in the Perfective, and twice in the negative Perfective. Given the scarcity of the Imperfective in the text (0.1% of verbs), the correlation of Imperfective with this construction is significant.

2.3.2 Imperfective

The Imperfective (enclosed in a square) is used with all types of verbs, with a habitual or progressive reading. In text (3), the habitual reading is exemplified in lines 5, 6 and 13. The progressive/iterative/intensive reading can be found in example (5) line 4. In the folktale, verbs in the Imperfective are very often repeated four times in a row, and this creates iterative/intensive meaning. This repetition is part of the intensivity effect (and it also occurs with Perfectives when the verb is stative, as is shown in example (5) line 2).

Its use to focus on the subject makes the Imperfective a typical backgrounding aspect, and indeed, this aspectual form is never associated with the advancement of the storyline. As noted at the end of the preceding section, the Imperfective tends to correlate with the SV/AVO/OVA construction, whose value is to pragmatically link the contents of the clause to the preceding context (Mettouchi to appear-a). Instances of the combination of Imperfective and SV (§1.1 and §3) and OVA (§1.2) are found in example (6).

- (6) 1- nət̃simidirʔuh / θəqjuntənni θssəjləf / BI-408
 nət̃ta imi=dd i-ruħ / taqjunt-nni
 IDP3SG.M when2=PROX SBJ3SG.M-go\PFV / dog\ABS.SG.F-CNS
t-ssəglaf /
 SBJ3SG.F-bark\CAUS.IPFV /
 'As for him, when he left, the dog was barking.'

- 2- azdduzni jtsawiθuβəhri / 219
 azdduz-nni i-ttawi=t
 big_stick\ABS.SG.M-CNS SBJ3SG.M-bring\IPFV=ABSV3SG.M
 ubəhri /
 wind\ANN.SG.M /
 'the wind was moving the stick,'
 3- nutənti zədmənt / nnantas illaβaβa //
 nutənti zddəm-nt / nna-nt=as
 IDP3PL.F gather_wood\IPFV-SBJ3PL.F / say\PFV-SBJ3PL.F=DAT3SG
 jə-lla baba //
 SBJ3SG.M-exist\PFV father //
 'the girls were gathering wood. They thought their father was there.'

This paragraph recapitulates a complex series of preceding events and situations. As such it is pragmatically linked to the previous passage, and at the same time, each of the clauses describes the activity in which its subject is engaged. None of the clauses introduce a new event since those events have already been mentioned in the preceding context. Those clauses rephrase the preceding events and situation in a condensed way, as a synthetic explanatory comment on the preceding discourse; this excerpt is totally backgrounding as far as discourse organization is concerned.

2.3.3 Preverbed Aorist

Apart from its use in imperative forms, the Aorist is almost always used with potential preverb *ad*. In this text, the most frequent functions of this preverbed form (underlined) is reference to future event or situation, often in dialogues (7) as well as complement clause (8):

- (7) tsr'uhud arjəssis /
 t-truħu=dd ar jəssi-s /
 SBJ3SG.F-go\IPFV=PROX to daughter\ANN.PL.F-KIN3SG /
 'She regularly visited the girls,'
 θənnajas asθinimt iβaβaθkwənt /
 t-nna=as ad=as t-ini-nt
 SBJ3SG.F-say\PFV=DAT3SG POT=DAT3SG SBJ2-say\AOR-SBJ2PL.F
 i baba-tk'nt /
 DAT father\ANN.SG.M-KIN2PL.F /
 'she told them "you will tell your father,
 ajiɣay / 338 aɣwənt χəðməyəlχir // 296
 ad=iji j-ay / ad=k'nt
 POT=DAT1SG SBJ3SG.M-take\AOR / POT=DAT2PL.F
 xdəm-y lxir //
 make\AOR-SBJ1SG good\ABS.SG.M //
 to marry me. I will be good to you," (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0040-43)

- (8) θuwajlaq atzəwdzəð' //
 tura ilaq ad t-zwəg-d //
 now DEON POT SBJ2-marry\AOR-SBJ2SG //
 'now you must get married' (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0051)

While in the folktale the preverbed Aorist is encountered mainly in dialogues with a future or potential reference (hypothetical, subjunctive etc.), it can also be used in texts with past reference, to refer to series of events. This is the case in the personal recount discussed in §3.

3. Personal recount: 'The traditional vs. contemporary life of women'

The discussion in this section is focused around a text contrasting the traditional vs. contemporary life of women. It is a 15:19 minute-long monologue recorded in 2010 in the village of Ait Ikhlef. The speaker is the same monolingual woman of (then) 48 who volunteered the folktale described in Section 2 above. She recounts the way life used to be for Kabyle women in the old days (before the 1980s), and contrasts that with modern life involving the advent of mobile phones, fridges, supermarkets, etc. General statements alternate with personal memories.

3.1 Discourse organization

The text is based on contrasts between life in the old days and life nowadays. Twelve sections can be delimited, both through the use of temporal expressions ('in the past' vs. 'now') and through thematic unity (cooking, modern appliances, differences between men and women, etc.) Each section ends with a major prosodic boundary. The general stance unfolds from empathy towards the difficult condition of the Kabyle woman in the old days, to criticism of the present-day Kabyle woman who is presented as lazy. The complexity of the speaker's assessments is most probably linked to the fact that her 25-year-old daughter was within hearing distance, in the kitchen preparing dinner, during the recording.

Before the recount starts, the speaker explicitly says that she will talk about the way Kabyle women lived in the old days (i.e. when the speaker was a child), as compared to the present day. Then the recording unfolds, with recurring themes: (a) everyday chores and surroundings of the Kabyle woman in the past, (b) fact that today one can buy anything from shops, (c) souvenirs of the speaker's life with her grandmother, (d) Kabyle women's rights, (e) grandmother's cooking and children's

9. The full transcript, prosodically segmented, morphosyntactically annotated, and translated, with accompanying metadata, is accessible and searchable at <http://corpafroas.huma-num.fr/>

activities, as well as adults' traditional activities, (f) friendliness in the old days, and indifference now, (g) the past when women were given as brides by their father without consultation, vs. the present when young women and men can have love affairs thanks to the Internet, (h) the toughness of life especially for young women in the old days when they were controlled by their husbands' mothers, (i) food, (j) a section assessing the speaker's preference for women of the past, (k) the wheat harvest season when the speaker was young, as opposed to modern abandonment of traditional activities, (l) the laziness of today's women. The last utterance deplors the loss of the traditional woman.

Clauses with no lexical argument other than the lexical object in postverbal position serve as (sub-)topic continuation devices. In the text there are 451 of them (81%). Among the remaining verbal clauses, 19 (3.5%) have left-detached arguments, which present the discourse-topic of the following episode, 2 (0.5%) have right-detached arguments, which reactivate referents, and 84 (15%) contain lexical arguments within the prosodic group of the verb.

Among the last-mentioned 84 utterances, 32 (38%) are SV/AVO/OVA constructions, and 52 (62%) are VS/VAO/VOA.

- a. SV/AVO/OVA is used several times to contrast events concerning men with events concerning women, or with independent pronouns contrasting the speaker with other referents. This, as well as the number of clefts with contrastive focus value, is in keeping with the judgmental overtones of the monologue. The contrasting value is consistent with the backward-looking dimension of this construction, which pragmatically links the contents of the clause to the preceding context (Mettouchi to appear-a).
- b. Among the 52 occurrences of VS/VAO/VOA, 20 (38%) occur with verb of existence *ili*, which adds to thethetic (sentence-focus) value of the construction, the function of introducing a new referent. This verb is massively used in the Perfective, only once in the preverbed Aorist. When it is not used with *ili*, or in subordinate clauses, the VS/VAO/VOA construction mostly features the *ad*+Aorist form.

Out of 535 verbs, 157 (29.4%) are in the Perfective, 291 (54.4%) are in the Aorist (among them 270 are preverbed, the others are imperatives), and 87 (16.2%) are in the Imperfective (among which 22 are preverbed). Preverbed forms represent 54.6% of verbal forms in the text.

3.2 Aspect-Mood profile

Remarkably, despite the fact that what is recounted belongs to the past and to the present, both time layers that are describable with the Perfective, it is the preverbed Aorist

that massively prevails. Given the thematic organization of the discourse (see above), one could expect to find a match between remembrance sections and the Perfective on the one hand, and more general sections and the preverbed Aorist or the Imperfective on the other hand. However, a close study of aspect-mood sequences and switches presents us with a different picture.

In example (9), the preverbed Aorist expresses repeated habitual events in the past:

- (9) 1- *ziç ffiydd ə:xi / θamt'tut lləqβajəl /*
zik ffi-γ=dd ə:xi / tamttut
 long_ago remember\PFV-SBJ1SG=PROX HESIT / woman\ABS.SG.F
n lqbjəl /
 GEN kabyle_tribe\ANN.PL.M/
 'Long ago, I remember, the Kabyle woman,'
 2- *addkkər / BI_323 atrs'uh*
ad=dd t-kkr / ad t-ruh
 POT=PROX SBJ3SG.F-stand_up\AOR / POT SBJ3SG.F-go\AOR
 'she would stand up, she would go'
 3- *addəzðəm /*
ad=dd t-zdəm /
 POT=PROX SBJ3SG.F-gather_wood\AOR /
 'gather wood,'
 4- *addawi isyarən bb'əðrar / BI_461*
ad=dd t-awi isyarən
 POT=PROX SBJ3SG.F-bring\AOR firewood\ABS.PL.M
g wədrar /
 LOC mountain\ANN.SG.M /
 'she would fetch wood in the mountain,'
 5- *baç addawəð' /*
baç ad=dd t-awəd /
 so_that POT=PROX SBJ3SG.F-arrive\AOR /
 'so that she would arrive,'
 6- *addfšəl θiməs iwarrawis /*
ad=dd t-fšəl timəs
 POT=PROX SBJ3SG.F-light\AOR fire\ABS.SG.F
i warraw-is /
 DAT offspring\ANN.PL.M-POSS3SG /
 'so that she would light a fire for her children.'
 (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0040-0050)

However, the same events can be presented in the Imperfective, also with a habitual reading:

- (10) 1- *ziç nækki ffiydd /* 185 *ntsiffi /* 440
zik nækki ffi-γ=dd / / *n-ṭsiffi /* /
 long_ago IDPLSG remember\PFV-SBJLSG=PROX / SBJ1PL-live\IPFV /
 'in those days, I remember, we lived,'
- 2- *ulaf trisitijagi //* 292 *BI_442 nfaslaj lambaḡallgaz //* 610
ulaf trisiti-agi // *n-faslaj lamba*
 NEG.EXS electricity\ABS.SG.F-PROXB // SBJ1PL-light\IPFV lamp\ABS.SG.F
n lgaz //
 GEN gas\ANN.SG.M//
 'there wasn't this electricity, we used to light a gas lamp,'
- 3- *addö ## atənsɔl akka / ḡlamba /*
ad=dd ## ad=ṭ n-fsəl akka /
 POT=PROX ## POT=ABSV3SG.F SBJ1PL-light\AOR thus /
d lamba /
 COP lamp\ABS.SG.F /
 'we would light it thus, it was a lamp'
- 4- *atsəntfjərṣ ḡalgaz / BI_489*
ad=ṭ n-ččər d lgaz /
 POT=ABSV3SG.F SBJ1PL-fill\AOR COP gas\ABS.SG.M /
 'we would fill it with gas,'
- 5- *aḡəxḡəm akka sətstsi ḡaftilḡ / BI_459*
ad t-xḡəm akka sətṭi taftilt /
 POT SBJ3SG.F-make\AOR thus grandmother\ANN.SG.F wick\ABS.SG.F /
 'my grandmother would prepare a wick'
- 6- *afṭstəl ə:: /*
ad=ṭ t-fsəl ə:: /
 POT=ABSV3SG.F SBJ3SG.F-light\AOR HESIT /
 'she would light it,'
- 7- *tswaliy aryurs ḡəggiḡ //* 317 *BI_566*
ṭwali-γ ar yur-s dg jid //
 see\IPFV-SBJLSG to at\HUM-PREP3SG ASSOC.LOC night\ANN.SG.M //
 'I used to watch it at night' (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0014-0032)

Example (10) suggests that the Imperfective acts as a frame for repeated actions in the past. And indeed, passages in the preverbed Aorist are often preceded by an introduction in the Imperfective, with the verb repeated afterwards in the preverbed Aorist:

- (11) 1- *nækki ffiydd / tsədduy ḡsətstsi //*
nækki ffi-γ=dd / *ṭəddu-γ*
 IDPLSG remember\PFV-SBJLSG=PROX / come\IPFV-SBJLSG
d sətṭi //
 ASSOC grandmother\SG //
 'I remember, I used to go with my grandmother'
- 2- *ḡmaḡa ḡəlla / nəstə ḡifunasin /*
ḡmada i jə-lla / n-sə
 what REL.REAL SBJ3SG.M-exist\PFV / SBJ1PL-possess\PFV
tifunasin /
 COW\ABS.PL.F /
 'in any case, we had cows,'
- 3- *nəstə lmal amftuḡ / nəstə ḡiyətṣṣənt /*
n-sə lmal amftuḡ /
 SBJ1PL-possess\PFV herd\ABS.COLL small\ABS.SG.M /
n-sə tiyətṣṣən /
 SBJ1PL-possess\PFV goat\ABS.PL.F /
 'we had sheep, we had goats,'
- 4- *ajfki/BI_414 ḡajfki lmal / 192*
ajfki / d ajfki n lmal /
 milk\ABS.SG.M / COP milk\ABS.SG.M GEN herd\ANN.COLL /
 'milk, milk from our livestock,'
- 5- *igisətsən warraw ə:: / ənsənt // 250*
i i-təṭṭ-n warraw
 REL.REAL RELSBJ.POS-eat\IPFV-RELSBJ.POS offspring\ANN.PL.M
ə:: / -nsənt //
 HESIT / -POSS3PL.F//
 'that our children drank.'
- 6- *annṣuḡ aḡḡduy ḡsətstsi*
ad n-ruḡ ad ḡdu-γ d sətṭi
 POT SBJ1PL-go\AOR POT come\AOR-SBJLSG COM grandmother\ANN.SG.F
 'we would go grandma and I,'
- 7- *aḡksəy aḡəmmas/BI_225 anawəḡṣ taməddiḡ /*
ad əks-γ aḡəmmas / ad
 POT graze\AOR-SBJLSG village_herd\ABS.SG.M/ POT
n-awəḡ taməddiḡ /
 SBJ1PL-arrive\AOR evening\ABS.SG.F /
 'I would take the village herd to pasture, we would arrive in the afternoon,'

- 8- addənz'z'əj θayət'nni / 927
ad=dd n-zzəg tayət-nni /
 POT=PROX SBJ1PL-milk\AOR goat\ABS.SG.F-CNS /
 'we would milk the she-goat,'
 9- addənsəbb° ajfki ə: /
ad=dd n-səw ajfki ə: /
 POT=PROX SBJ1PL-drink\AOR milk\ABS.SG.M HESIT /
 'we would drink milk' (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0051-0169)

The effect of the switch from the Imperfective to the preverbed Aorist is to shift perspective from a situation recounted as factually involving the protagonists to events evoked through the eyes of the speaker and presented to the hearer. This modal shift in perspective is primarily evoked by the preverb *ad*, since the unpreverbed Aorist can sometimes be used as a bare form in folktales with a simple sequential value (12). This is extremely rare in this dialect of Western Kabyle though, and the bare Aorist was not used in the recording under study other than in the imperative form. In (12) the first two Aorists are preverbed and used in complement or purposive clauses, while the third instance (underlined> is unpreverbed and has a punctual, sequential reading:

- (12) *mi=dd j-sdda ad i-gən /*
 when=PROX SBJ3SG.M-pass\PFV POT SBJ3SG.M-sleep\AOR
 'When he came home to sleep,'
j-xdəm akka ad i-gən /
 SBJ3SG.M-make\PFV thus POT SBJ3SG.M-sleep\AOR
 'he settled thus in order to sleep,'
j-af tasumta-nni t-tfufu
 SBJ3SG.M-find\AOR pillow\ABS.SG.F-CNS SBJ3SG.M-stink\IPFV
d udi /
 COP butter\ABS.SG.M
 'and found the pillow stinking of melted butter'
 (This is another version of the folktale presented in §2, by the same speaker.)

This sequential use of the bare Aorist in narratives, which is much more systematic in some other Berber languages such as Shilha, points towards the perfectivity of the simple Aorist form – a hypothesis corroborated by the fact that the Aorist is in complementary distribution with the Imperfective after preverb *ad*.

When the Imperfective is preceded by preverb *ad*, its purpose is to present the event as repeated or ongoing, while the preverb conveys the speaker-oriented perspective that is shared with the preverbed Aorist. In (13), the reading is progressive, and together with the topicalization of the independent subject pronoun, the preverbed Imperfective creates a (temporal) frame for the following predications:

- (13) 1- umbsað / imiddjəbb°əð° akka lwəqθagi
umbsad / imi=dd jə-wwəð
 after / when2=PROX SBJ3SG.M-arrive\PFV
akka lwəqt-agi
 thus moment\ANN.SG.M-PROXB
 'After that, when winter came,'
 2- nʃəθwa / anʃʃər° θakufiθ / BI_244
n ʃəθwa / ad n-ččər takufit /
 GEN winter\ANN.SG.F / POT SBJ1PL-fill\AOR storing_jar\ABS.SG.F /
 'we would fill the storing jar,'
 3- akkihβuβən / BI_344 ma nqim alkanun / 303
akka d ihbubən / ma n-qim
 thus COP dried_fig\ABS.PL.M / if SBJ1PL-stay\PFV
ar lkanun /
 to hearth\ANN.SG.M /
 'with dried figs, when we stayed near the fire,'
 4- ayddərnu zziθ / 198
ad=ay=dd t-rnu zziθ /
 POT=DAT1PL=PROX SBJ3SG.F-add\AOR oil\ABS.SG.M /
 'she would give us olive oil,'
 5- nətstsaθ ayiddtstawi θimufufia /
nəttat ad=ay=dd t-ttawi timufufia /
 IDP3SG.F POT=DAT1PL=PROX SBJ3SG.F-bring\IPFV tale\ABS.PL.F /
 'and while she would tell us tales,'
 6- nəkk°ni nsəts ihβuβənənni θzziθnni // 384
nəkk°ni n-tətt ihbubən-nni d zziθ-nni //
 IDP1PL SBJ1PL-eat\IPFV dried_fig\ABS.PL.M-CNS ASSOC oil\ANN.SG.M-CNS //
 'we ate those figs with olive oil,'
 7- nɔʃhəd /
n-ghəd /
 SBJ1PL-be_in_good_health\PFV /
 'we were in good health.' (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0372 -0385)

As for the Perfective, it factually (as opposed to the speaker-oriented perspective of preverbed forms) presents the event or situation as being the case, either in the past or in the present. In (14), Perfective forms (bolded) simply state facts that took place in the past or the present.

(14) 1- nəkki ffiydd ziçni / BI_547 ə: / mi xas akənni /
 nəkki ffi-y=dd zik-nni / ə: / mi
 IDP1SG remember\PFV-SBJ1SG=PROX long_ago-CNS/ HESIT / when1
 xas akənni /
 too_bad thus /

'I remember the past, ehm, but even with the difficult aspects,'

02- jəlla lxir / θəlla lxawa /
 jə-lla lxir // θəlla lxawa //
 SBJ3SG.M-exist\PFV good\ANN //
 t-lla lxawa /
 SBJ3SG.F-exist\PFV fraternity\ANN.SG.F /

'there were positive things, there was brotherhood,'

3- θəlla θagmats / n# n# nəmsəhməl /
 t-lla tagma / n# n#
 SBJ3SG.F-exist\PFV fraternity\ANN.SG.F / FS FS
 n-msəhməl /
 SBJ1PL-love\RECIP.PFV /

'there was fraternity, we loved each other,'

4- nddukəl / BI_487 mafakkam θura //
 n-ddukəl / maççi akka am tura //
 SBJ1PL-be_friends\PFV / NEG.ATTR thus like now //
 'we were friendly to each other, it's not like today,'

5- ziç atskəjməd arwəxxam ggiwən /
 zik ad t-kfam-d ar wəxxam
 long_ago POT SBJ2-enter\AOR-SBJ2SG to house\ANN.SG.M
 n jiwən /
 GEN one\ANN.SG.M /

'in the past when you entered someone's house,'

6- anəqqim anqəs's'ar/ 868 addə: ##
 ad n-qqim ad n-qəssər / ad=dd ##
 POT SBJ1PL-stay\AOR POT SBJ1PL-converse\AOR / POT=PROX ##
 'we would stay and converse,'

7- addnəhku mər'r'a/addnətsawi θimufuħa /
 ad=dd n-ħku mər'ra / ad=dd n-ttawi
 POT=PROX SBJ1PL-tell\AOR all / POT=PROX SBJ1PL-bring\IPFV
 timufuħa /
 tale\ABS.PL.F /

'we would tell things, we would tell rounds of folktales,'

6- addnətsawi/mi θura θsawəd dduniθ // BI_373
 ad=dd n-ttawi / mi tura t-sawəd
 POT=PROX SBJ1PL-bring\IPFV / when1 now SBJ3SG.F-change\PFV
 ddunit //
 life\ANN.SG.F //

'we would tell... but now life has changed,'

7- θura uzmirθ'ara atskəjməd arjiwən /
 tura ur t-zmir-d ara ad
 now NEG SBJ2-be_able\NEGPFFV-SBJ2SG POSTNEG POT
 t-kfam-d ar jiwən/
 SBJ2-enter\AOR-SBJ2SG to one /

'now you cannot enter someone's house,'

8- uzmirθ'ara atsqimθ' djiwən /
 ur t-zmir-d ara ad t-qqim-d
 NEG SBJ2-be_able\NEGPFFV-SBJ2SG POSTNEG POT SBJ2-stay\AOR-SBJ2SG
 d jiwən /
 ASSOC one\ANN.SG.M /

'you cannot stay at people's house,'

9- uzmirθ'ara atsqəs's'arθ' djiwən / BI_450 i: /
 ur t-zmir-d ara
 NEG SBJ2-be_able\NEGPFFV-SBJ2SG POSTNEG
 ad t-qəssər-d d jiwən /
 POT SBJ2-converse\AOR-SBJ2SG ASSOC one\ANN.SG.M /
 'you cannot converse with anyone,'

10- i: / qqwan lhass /
 i: / qqwa-n lhass /
 HESIT/ be_numerous\PFV-SBJ3PL.M illness\ANN.PL.M /
 'there are plenty of ailments' (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0436-0462)

From this, and other instances of the Perfective in the text, it appears that while that form is used for the factual description of situations, or single events, the preverbed Aorist is used for repeated events or situations in the past – a reading triggered by the combination of perfective aspect, potential mood-component, and past reference -, and the preverbed Imperfective for repeated activities in the past; both preverbed forms are viewed from the perspective of the speaker. If repetitive events are viewed as factual, the Imperfective is used without a preverb.

In terms of advancement of the storyline, the preverbed Aorist in the personal recount plays the same role as the Perfective does in the folktale, while the Perfective is here limited to backgrounding information. This shows that forms in

themselves do not necessarily correlate with foregrounding, whereas features, such as perfectivity, do.

4. Discussion

The Aspect-Mood profile of the two narratives studied in this paper is very different (recall Table 1 from §1). Depending on genre, the advancement of the storyline is conveyed by two different forms which share an aspectual dimension of perfectivity: the Perfective in the folktale, and the preverbed Aorist in the personal recount. In both cases, however, the Perfective and the preverbed Aorist can be used in contexts of backgrounding, especially for the predication of situations rather than events. Thus, aspect-mood forms with a perfective component, in themselves, do not mark foregrounding.

When associated to the proximal clitic, dynamic verbs in the Perfective may refer to salient events if the clauses are organized in sequences. In that case, the proximal clitic focusses on change of state, result, or attainment of a goal. But this clitic also has other semantic or pragmatic effects (Mettouchi 1998-a and to appear-b), and it does not, in itself, mark foregrounding. When cliticized to a potential preverb, if the verb is not a motion verb, it tends to underline modal dimensions (impact on the speaker or speech situation). (If the verb is a motion verb, the particle may simply indicate the direction of movement.)

Word order in itself does not mark foregrounding or the advancement of the storyline either. However, some linear orders tend to be associated with foregrounding: the default configuration V(O) and the marked one containing overt lexical expression of the subject VS/VAO/VOA. The situation is different for the two configurations. V(O) codes topic continuation, and as such it is associated with events as well as situations, all aspect-mood forms, all kinds of syntactic contexts. VS/VAO/VOA, on the contrary, is a marked construction whose role, in affirmative main and independent clauses, is to introduce a new event or situation (and a new referent as well if the verb is *ili* 'exist'). In this respect, it participates in foregrounding when associated with Perfective or *ad*+Aorist. (In the few cases where this marked configuration is encountered with an Imperfective, it loses its foregrounding effect.) Backgrounding can be expressed by the bare Imperfective alone, as well as by the use of Perfective or *ad*+Aorist with non-dynamic verbs.

It appears therefore that foregrounding is the outcome of the interaction of perfective aspect-mood forms with other features, which include dynamicity of the verb, sequencing, nominal expression of arguments other than the postverbal object in verb-initial constructions, presence of a proximal clitic, and clause status (affirmative

main clause). Given those formal characteristics, two aspect-mood forms can be used to advance the storyline: the Perfective and *ad*+Aorist. Both share an aspectual feature of perfectivity and differ by their modal component: factual for the former, and anchored in speaker stance (speaker-evaluated) for the second. The choice of one or the other is linked to genre: Perfective is used for factual or fictional narrative passages, and *ad*+Aorist is used for recounts involving the speaker's stance on tendential actions or events in the past, reconstructed and evoked from the standpoint of the speaker (not just factually narrated).

Backgrounding can be marked by the use of the Imperfective alone, and it is also conveyed by combination of markers: stativity of verbs, AV or SV or OV orders, subordinate clauses, most non-verbal clauses, negation, among others. Since the focus of this paper has been on aspect, the study of backgrounding has been limited to ascertaining the fact that Imperfectives were in themselves backgrounding markers, regardless of other markers.

This in turn triggers a reflection on the default vs. marked status of the aspectual form in relation to foregrounding in narratives: the default aspect-mood forms are compatible with foregrounding (as well as backgrounding), and the determining factors for an interpretation in terms of advancement of the storyline are dynamicity of the verb and ordering of verbs in sequence. If the verb is stative, or if the clause is isolated, or dependent, then the interpretation is towards backgrounding (description, characterization, modification, assessment, etc.) If the default aspect-mood is associated with a marked form such as the proximal clitic, or if the default aspect-mood is associated with a marked construction such as VS/VAO/VOA, then the predication is foregrounded. On the other hand, it is enough for a marked aspect-mood form such as the bare Imperfective to occur, regardless of word-order or other formal marking, in order to background a situation.

The fact that the proximal clitic or VS/VAO/VOA (as well as SV/AVO) can occur with backgrounding aspect-moods or types of clauses indicates that those formal means are not sufficient in themselves to code foregrounding.

In conclusion, this study supports Hopper's claim concerning the role of features other than specialized aspects or tenses for the expression of foregrounding and backgrounding: he mentions different word-order, voice mechanisms, focus-indicating mechanisms, and "particles which (...) indicate the discourse status of the event" (1979:240). For Kabyle, the correlation of perfectivity (as a feature of both Perfective and Aorist) with foregrounding is confirmed, but only in as far as other cues are involved: verb dynamicity, verb sequencing, verb-initial constructions with expression of A or S, and presence of a proximal particle. As far as aspect is concerned, perfective forms alone are not markers of foregrounding, whereas the Imperfective is in itself a marker of backgrounding.

Abbreviations

ABS	absolute state	IPFV	imperfective
ABSV	absolutive pronominal paradigm	KIN	kinship pronominal paradigm
ANN	annexed state	M	masculine
AOR	aorist	NEG	negation
ASSOC	associative	PFV	perfective
BI	breath intake	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POS	positive
CNS	consensual (jointly construed)	POSS	possessive pronominal paradigm
	referent	POT	potential preverb
COM	comitative	PREP	prepositional pronominal paradigm
COP	copula	PROX	proximal
DAT	dative	SBJ	subject pronominal paradigm
DEON	deontic	REAL	realis
EXNEG	existential negative	REL	relator
F	feminine	RELSBJ	subject relativization circumfix
FS	false start	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	VOC	vocative
HESIT	hesitation		
IDP	independent pronoun		

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