



Negation in Kabyle (Berber)

AMINA METTOUCHI

EPHE-PSL / CNRS-LLACAN

amina.mettouchi@ephe.psl.eu

ABSTRACT

Berber languages display a number of characteristic asymmetries in negative utterances as compared to positive ones. This paper focuses on Kabyle, and analyzes its main typological characteristics concerning negation, namely an asymmetry at the level of the aspect-mood system, a binary distinction between two non-verbal negative predications (existential-locative and attributive-equative), as well as a postverbal 'reinforcement' strategy whose grammaticalization and prosody will be analyzed in detail. Other dimensions of negation are presented, in order to give an overview of the system as a whole. The synthesis puts the Kabyle system of negation into perspective within the Berber language family.

KEY WORDS: negation, Berber, Kabyle, typology, aspect-mood





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1. Introduction¹

Berber languages display a number of characteristic asymmetries in negative utterances as compared to positive ones. This paper will focus on Kabyle, more precisely Central Kabyle, its main² dialect, and will analyze its main typological characteristics concerning negation, namely an A-Cat-TAM asymmetry, a binary distinction between two non-verbal negative predications (existential-locative and attributive-equative), as well as a postverbal ‘reinforcement’ strategy whose grammaticalization and prosody will be analyzed in detail. Other dimensions of negation will be presented, in order to give an overview of the system as a whole.

The synthesis will also place the Kabyle system of negation in perspective within Berber, a language family with considerable variation in that respect, from quasi-symmetrical systems (e.g. Siwi) to strongly asymmetrical ones (e.g. Tuareg varieties).

Throughout the paper, I will not only present the morphosyntactic features of Kabyle negation, but also comment on their semantic aspects. As stated by CONTINI-MORAVA (1989: 179): “negative-affirmative asymmetry is a natural consequence of the pragmatic function of negative sentences in ordinary discourse. [...] Since negated events are always potential rather than actual, there is no reason to assume that speakers need to convey the same information about them as they would in reporting actual occurrences”. This has been typologically generalized by MIESTAMO (2005: 237): “Symmetric negation is based on language-internal analogy and motivated by the pressure for cohesion in the system, whereas the different subtypes of asymmetric negation are motivated by language-external analogy from different aspects of the functional symmetry found between affirmation and negation”.

While those remarks are certainly accurate as generalizations, they do not fully account for the language-internal configuration of the system of negation in Kabyle. An analysis of its semantic organization points to an underlying opposition between factual/locative/existential on the one hand, and interpretive/evaluative/attributive on the other hand (METTOUCHI 1995), a semantic/pragmatic opposition which may also have been grammaticalized in

¹ Many thanks to colleagues who have read and appreciated this paper, and have discussed it with me (Martine Vanhove, Ljuba Veselinova, Matti Miestamo, as well as anonymous reviewers). Many thanks also to the audience of the Syntax of the World’s Languages SWL8 Conference in Paris (2018), where it was originally presented. My utmost gratitude goes to all the speakers I have recorded over the years, for their generosity and kindness. My admiration for their oral skills is renewed each time I work on their recordings.

² In terms of number of speakers and published references.



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the negative subsystems of other languages of the world (cf. METTOUCHI 2003, 2006).

2. The language

2.1 General information on Kabyle

Kabyle is a language spoken by more than three million speakers in the north of Algeria (about five if we include speakers of the diaspora, in France and Canada, where language maintenance is high). It belongs to the Northern branch of Berber languages, themselves a family within the Afroasiatic phylum.

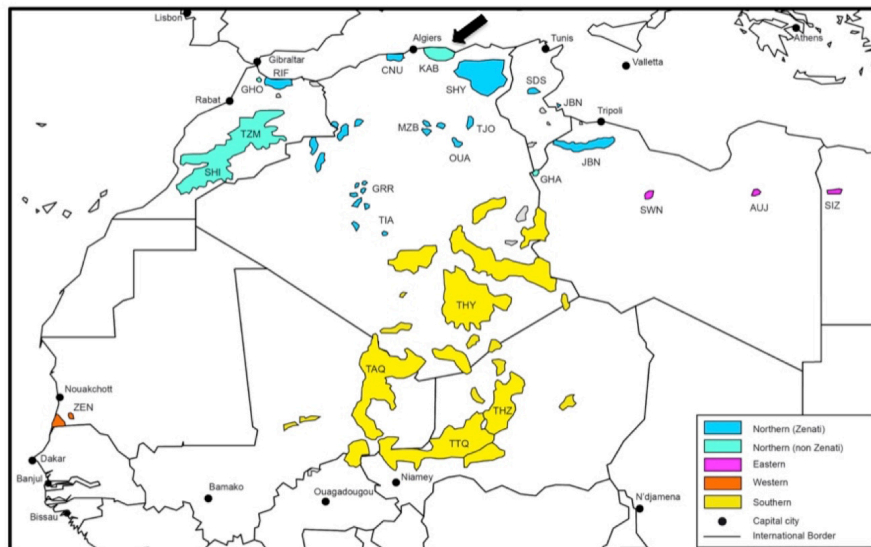


Figure 1 – Contemporary Berber-speaking zones

It is generally considered to be distinguishable into five (NÄIT-ZERRAD 2005, GUERRAB 2014) dialectal subgroups, the fifth (Tasaḥlit, 2.2 on map below, Figure 2) being now considered as a different language within the Northern Berber group. Bordering the zone in the north is the Mediterranean sea, and everywhere else, Arabic-speaking zones (where Berber used to be spoken, as shown by toponymy, among other evidence).



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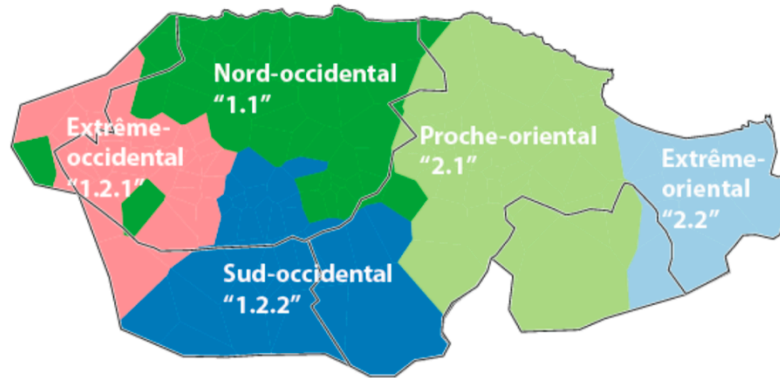


Figure 119 : carte des cinq zones infradialectales. Classification retenue.

Figure 2 – Dialectal map of the Kabyle region (GUERRAB 2014)

The variety from which examples are taken here belongs to the 1.1. dialectal zone (North-Western). The glottolog code corresponding to the whole Western zone (1.1, 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 on the map above, Figure 2) is *grea1281*, and the ISO code for Kabyle as a whole is KAB (*kaby1243* for glottolog). Central Kabylie (zone 1.1.) is remarkable within the Kabyle zone and among Berber-speaking regions for the fact that except for some suburbs of its capital (Tizi-Ouzou), Central Kabyle is spoken the whole zone, in all circumstances of life, by all generations, within and outside the home. Standard Arabic is limited to the classroom, TV, and written administrative documents; spoken Maghreban Arabic (Darja) is used alongside Central Kabyle by men when travelling outside of Kabylie. French is used alongside Central Kabyle by older generations, when interacting with French speakers, or among educated people of those generations. Kabyle people are very much involved in the promotion and defense of their language, which they consider an essential part of their identity.

I collected all the data on fieldwork between 1992 and 2019.³ The speakers are monolingual Kabyle women aged between 45 and 90 at the time of the recordings. Among that generation, few women have been to school, and

³ In the zone circled in white in the map (Figure 3). A few Central Kabyle examples are from other sources than my recorded corpus: the mention ‘field notes’ means that the sequence has been uttered by a Kabyle speaker but not recorded in audio or video; the mention ‘elicited’ means that the sequence has been uttered by a Kabyle speaker during an experiment or following a question, in the context of systematic verification or exploration of language data. Other types of sources are mentioned at the end of the relevant examples.



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although most men are multilingual (in Kabyle and spoken Arabic and/or French), this is not the case for those women. Women born after 1962 have massively had primary school education, and those born after 1972 have been highly exposed to standard Arabic which was promoted to sole language in school education after 1978 (before that, primary school was bilingual in French and standard Arabic). The generations born after 1962 are not included in my corpus data.

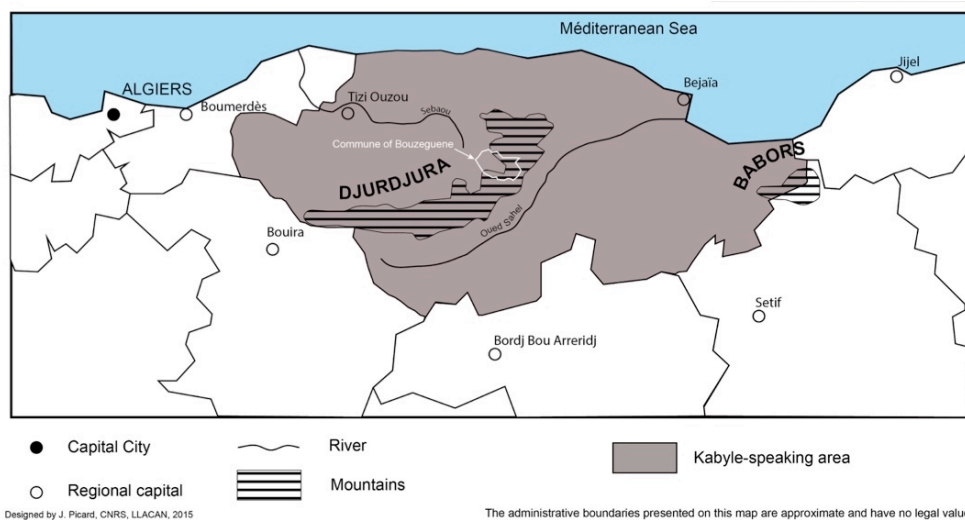


Figure 3 – Map of Kabylie (Berber-speaking area)

In Kabyle, as in all Berber languages, a minimal predication consists of a predicate and its main pronominal argument. The predicate can either be a verb, in this case it hosts a bound personal pronoun(s) as its argument(s), or it can be a non-verbal predicate of a copular or prepositional/adverbial nature. The latter type of non-verbal predicate hosts bound pronouns belonging to various argumental paradigms, depending on the nature of the non-verbal predicate (CHAKER 1983, METTOUCHI 2017a).

In addition to this core, the clause may contain noun phrases (all of them except the nominal direct object being co-referential lexical-referential expansions of the argumental pronouns bound to the predicate), and prepositional phrases, as well as adverbs. Kabyle has few conjunctions and usually expresses dependency through word order, prosody, and mood-aspect sequences, as well as by morphology (state, subject relativization affixing).



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- (2) **ttəddu-y** **d** **stti**
accompany:IPFV-SBJ.1SG COM *grandmother:ANN.SG.F:KIN1SG*
 'I used to accompany my grandmother' (KAB_AM_NARR03_0153)
- (3) **ad** **ddu-y** **d** **stti**
 POT *accompany:AOR-SBJ.1SG* COM *grandmother:ANN.SG.F:KIN1SG*
 'I would accompany my grandmother' (KAB_AM_NARR03_0487)
- (4) **lukan**⁷ **i** **s = t-ffim-d^s** **ssər**
 if rel DAT3.SG.F=SBJ2-*understand:PFVNEG-SBJ2.SG* charm:ABSL.SG.M
 'if you had understood her secret charm'
- zhu** **jid-s** **a** **gma** **s^sahha**
 enjoy:AOR.IMP with-PREP3SG VOC brother:ABSL.SG.M happiness:ABSL.SG.F
 'you would happily enjoy the moment with her, o my brother'
- s** **ssxab** **d** **rriha**
 INSTR clove_necklace:ANN.SG.M ASSOC perfume:ANN.SG.F
 'in the clovey perfume of her bridal necklace'
 (A Lemri (O mirror) Poem by Cherif Kheddami)

Subject bound pronouns can be separated into two paradigms, one imperative, the other used both in indicative and non-indicative moods – it will be labelled 'standard' in Table 2 below.⁸

STANDARD (ST) SUBJECT PARADIGM					
Person	1	2		3	
Gender		M	F	M	F
SG	stem- y	t-stem- d^s		i-stem	t-stem
PL	n-stem	t-stem- m	t-stem- mt	stem- n	stem- nt

IMPERATIVE (IMP) PARADIGM		
Person	2	
Gender	M	F
SG	stem- Ø	
PL	stem- (w)t	stem- mt

Table 2 – Subject (standard) and imperative bound pronoun paradigms in Central Kabyle

⁷ **Lukan** 'if' can be followed by the perfective, imperfective and **ad** + *aorist* (see examples in NAÏT-ZERRAD 2001: 146), it is not necessarily followed by the negative perfective in Kabyle, which shows that the use of the negative perfective here is not conditioned, but functional. It is also evidence for the fact that conjunction **lukan** is not inherently 'negative'.

⁸ In the interlinear glosses of the examples, standard subject bound pronouns are labelled SBJ, imperatives ones IMP. The list of abbreviations is after the conclusion and before the References section.



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The verb stem itself can be in the aorist (e.g. **-ddu-** ‘accompany’), imperfective (*-ttaddu-* ‘accompany’), negative perfective (**-ddi-** ‘accompany’) or positive perfective (**-dda-** ‘accompany’). Those MAN forms are not linked to a specific *realis/irrealis*, or mood distinction. See (METTOUCHI 2002) for a survey of the aorist’s uses, METTOUCHI 2000 for the perfective and negative perfective, and METTOUCHI 1992 and 1998 for the imperfective, in Central Kabyle. Those MAN forms have different functional values in different Berber languages (METTOUCHI 2009c), even if their morphology is very similar.

PNG PARADIGM	MAN FORM	POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION	FUNCTION	INDICATIVE FREQUENCY
standard (ST)	aorist	aorist	after another verb in the perfective or ad + aorist or imperative: linked/ consecutive action	<1%
imperative (IMP)	aorist	aorist-IMP	command (imperative)	between 2% and 3%
imperative (IMP) & standard (ST)	aorist	ad +aorist-IMP+ST	hortative	<1%
standard (ST)	aorist	ad + aorist-ST	irrealis/dependency: potential, future, subjunctive, conditional, oath, optative, complement clause...	between 15% and 30%
standard (ST)	imperfective	ad + imperfective-ST	irrealis/dependency + activity: same as above, underlining Aktionsart	<1%
imperative (IMP)	imperfective	imperfective-IMP	intensive imperative (politeness, insistence)	<1%
standard (ST)	imperfective	imperfective-ST	progressive, habitual, conative, intensive...	between 10% and 16%
standard (ST)	perfective	perfective-ST	factual: state or situation is/was/has/had been the case	between 50% and 70%
standard (ST)	negative perfective	lukan or mazal + negative perfective-ST	counterfactual: if state or situation had been the case (lukan); state or situation not yet the case (mazal).	<1%

Table 3 – Positive constructions involving verbal predicates, with indicative frequencies (among positive verbal clauses) in recorded corpora (variable depending on genre)



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2.2.2 Positive non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are of various types (see METTOUCHI 2017a for more details): some are organized around a predicate whose origin is prepositional (5 and 6), adverbial (7) or locative (8), and some are composed of an invariable copula and an adjective or noun (9). The former type is characterized by the fact that the predicate has an obligatory pronominal affix belonging to various paradigms (METTOUCHI 2017a for details) that are distinct from the subject verbal paradigms. The copular type (9) does not involve bound pronouns, its arguments are nominals, or independent pronouns.

- (5) **ləħfij-inm** **dg-s** **ddwa**
herb:ABSL.SG.M-POSS2.SG.F STATLOC-PREP3.SG medicine:ABSL.SG.M
'In your vegetation there is medicine'
Djerdjera by Cherif Kheddami (song about the Djerdjera mountain which he addresses)
- (6) **yur^f-i** **aqzun** **d** **amllal**
AT.HUM-PREP1.SG dog:ABSL.SG.M COP white:ABSL.SG.M
'I have a dog who's white' (DALLET (1982: 124) 'j'ai un chien blanc')
- (7) **tigi** **kifkif-itnt**
these:PL.F same-ABSV3PL.F
'These (spoons) are alike' (field notes)
- (8) **anda = tnt** **tqsfjin-nni?**
where=ABSV3.PL.F girl:ANN.PL.F-SHAREDREF
'Where are they, those girls?' (field notes)
- (9) **añ** **d** **wltma-s //**
INTJ COP sister:ABSL.SG.F-KIN.3.SG //
'Ah she was his sister!' (KAB_AM_CONV01_SP2_166)

Negation of verbal predicates will be analyzed in part 2, and negation of non-verbal predicates in part 3.

3. Clausal negation (verbal predicates)

3.1 Standard negation

Standard negation, understood as the basic way Central Kabyle has for negating verbal declarative main clauses, involves preverbal negator **ur**, and possibly the postverbal marker **ara** (see part 4 for a study of the conditions of presence/absence of the postverbal 'reinforcement'). The verb must be in the imperfective, or the negative perfective. Not all verbs have a negative perfective that is morphologically distinct from the perfective, but if they do, then it is that



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form which is used. Unlike some other Berber languages, Central Kabyle does not have a negative imperfective distinct from the positive one, it is the general imperfective which is used in negative contexts.

The range of meanings/functions in the negative is not the same as in the positive domain: whereas the positive domain is mostly about asserting or construing situations or events under the angle of their (actual or imagined) realization, the negative domain is about situations or events that have failed to occur, have been imagined but not realized, or are contrary to expectations.

Table 4 below summarizes the main functional values associated with the forms that can be found in the negative domain.

PNG paradigm	MAN form	negative construction	function	Indicative Frequency
standard (ST)	aorist	awər + aorist-ST	negative optative (ex.21)	<1%
imperative (IMP)	imperfective	ur + imperfective-IMP	prohibitive (exs.16, 17)	between 4% and 5%
imperative (IMP) & standard (ST)	imperfective	ur + imperfective-IMP+ST	negative hortative (ex.19)	< 1%
standard (ST)	imperfective	ur + imperfective-ST	rejection of a potential situation or habit (ex.12), rejection of the characterization of a situation (ex.13), negative oath.	between 30% and 40%
standard (ST)	negative perfective	ur + negative perfective-ST	negative statement (stative or dynamic: 'situation X is not the case') (ex.10), negative oath (ex.11).	between 60% and 70%
standard (ST)	positive perfective	ma + perfective-ST	negative oath (ex.23)	<1%

Table 4 – Standard negative constructions involving verbal predicates, with indicative frequencies (among negative verbal clauses) in recorded corpora (variable depending on genre)

- (10) **ur** **t-zwiǧ** **ara** /
NEG *SBJ3.SG.F-marry:PFVNEG* *POSTNEG* /
 'She was not married' (KAB_AM_NARR01_0034)



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- (11) **wəllaf** **a** **jssi** / **ur=dd** **zwiǧ-y** /
by_God VOC daughter:ABSL.PL.F NEG=PROX marry:PFVNEG-SBJ.1SG /
alamma **t-əkks=dd** / **fat^ɛima tuhr^ɛift** /
until SBJ.3SG.F-remove:PFV=PROX / Fatima clever /
ayrum **g** **udkk^wan** //
bread:ABSL.SG.M LOC shelf:ANN.SG.M //
'I swear I won't marry until Clever Fatima grabs the bread on the shelf'
(KAB_AM_NARR_01_0086-91)
- (12) **a:::** **nna-n=as** **nkk^wni ur** **n-ttəddu** **ara** //
HESIT say:PFV-SBJ.3PL.M=DAT.3SG IDP.1PL NEG SBJ.1PL-accompany:IPFV POSTNEG
'Oh, they said, as for us we won't go.' (KAB_AM_NARR02_307)
- (13) **ur** **zəwwəǧ-n** **ara** **mddən** **i** **lantarnat** /
NEG marry:IPFV-SBJ.3PL.M POSTNEG people:ANN.PL.M LOC internet:ANN.SG.M /
'People didn't use to get married on the internet' (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0556)

The system of standard negation in Central Kabyle is therefore characterized by an A-Cat-TAM asymmetry: in asymmetric negation there are structural differences between affirmatives and negatives in addition to the presence of the negative marker. "In symmetric paradigms one finds a one-to-one correspondence between the members of affirmative and negative paradigms, whereas in asymmetric paradigms there is no such one-to-one correspondence" (MIESTAMO 2005: 52). The A-Cat type is an asymmetry where negatives differ from affirmatives in how grammatical categories are marked, A-Cat-TAM indicates that the marking differences occur in tense-aspect-mood (MIESTAMO 2005).

3.2 Negation in non-declaratives

Some non-declaratives (such as questions) use the same negator as declaratives, **ur**, some don't: the negative optative has a compound negator, **awər**, probably grammaticalized from the potential preverb **ad** and the negator **ur** (CHAKER 1983: 242), and some negative oaths are formed with the conjunction **ma** 'if' and the positive perfective, others with **ur** and the negative perfective. Interaction of mood and negation is intricate and involves morphemes, prosody, as well as MAN stem alternations.

Imperatives in Kabyle have an aorist (14) or imperfective (15) stem and an imperative pronominal paradigm (IMP).



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its most frequent contexts (religious expressions), the subject pronoun is expanded through the use of the noun **R^ʕəbbi** ‘God’ in postverbal position.

- (20) **i-mmut** **ad = t** **i-rhəm** **R^ʕəbbi**
 SBJ3.SG.M-die:PFV POT=ABSV.3SG.M SBJ3.SG.M-bless:AOR God:ANN.SG.M
 ‘He died, may God have mercy on him’ (KAB_AM_CONV01_SP1_224)

The negative optative is a special dedicated construction involving the compound negator **awər**, and the aorist stem with standard subject bound pronouns. It is the only negative context where the aorist is possible in Central Kabyle.

- (21) **awər** **t-ʕəfəq-d^ʕ** **dg** **wzru**
 NEGOPT SBJ2-fall_in_love:AOR-2SG STATLOC rock:ANN.SG.M
mulaʃ **ad = t** **t-bibb-d^ʕ**
 otherwise POT=ABSV.3SG.M SBJ2-carry_on_back:AOR-2SG
 ‘may you not fall in love with a rock: you might have to carry it’
 (from a novel by S. Sadi, Askuti, p.113)

Negative oaths, when they are in the negative perfective with **ur**, have a special intonation profile (an extra-high F0 and Intensity peak on the negator), and lack a postverbal ‘reinforcement’ (see part 5.1.1.). They can be interpreted as an oath that a given situation is/was not the case, or an oath that a situation will not be the case.

- (22) **wəllafi** **a** **jssi /** **ur = dd** **zwiɣ-y /**
 by_God VOC daughter:ABSL.PL.F NEG=PROX marry:PFVNEG-SBJ.1SG /
alamma **t-əkks = dd /** **fat^ʕima tuhr^ʕift /**
 until SBJ.3SG.F-remove:PFV=PROX / Fatima clever /
ayrum **g** **udkk^wan //**
 bread:ABSL.SG.M LOC shelf:ANN.SG.M //
 ‘I swear I won’t marry until Clever Fatima grabs the bread on the shelf’
 (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0086-91)

The same interpretations are valid for another construction involving the use of a hypothetical, **ma** ‘if’, followed by the positive perfective. In this case, the structure works like the apodosis-less protasis of a conditional clause: “if P happens/is the case (then I be damned)”. The ‘negative’ interpretation is a pragmatic inference, sustained by the prosodic profile of the utterance, rather than a semantic value. This construction tends to be the most frequent in everyday interactions.



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- (23) **aḥqqa** **Rʿbbi** *ma* *ssn-y = t* //
 truth:ABSL.SG.M God:ANN.SG.M *if* *know:PFV-SBJ1.SG=ABSV3.SG.M* //
 ‘Truth be to God I don’t know him’ (KAB_AM_CONV01_SP2_080)

3.3 Configuration of the A-Cat-TAm asymmetry and semantics of the MAN system of Central Kabyle

In sum, while the aorist and the positive perfective are frequently used in positive contexts, they are excluded from negative ones in declarative sentences. Only in the (very unfrequent) negative optative can the aorist appear, with a dedicated negator (adding a constructional asymmetry to the paradigmatic one). On the other hand, the ‘negative perfective’ can be used in positive (hypothetical or persistive) contexts as a counterfactual.

Although all MAN stems can therefore, in principle, appear in positive as well as in negative contexts (there are no specifically ‘negative’ or ‘positive’ aspect-mood stems in Central Kabyle despite the misleading label ‘negative’), not all MAN constructions can: **ad + aorist** can only be used in positive contexts. Moreover, the function and discourse frequencies of each construction differ widely in negative as opposed to positive contexts (compare Tables 3 and 4). We therefore have a paradigmatic asymmetry that can be interpreted, in terms of frequency, as opposing mainly a tripartite subsystem in the positive (perfective, **ad + aorist**, imperfective) to a bipartite one in the negative (negative perfective, imperfective), with a number of modal values of the **ad + aorist** form (future, potential, tendencial...) being taken over by the imperfective in negative contexts.

An explanation for this situation is that in asymmetrical systems such as the Central Kabyle one, MAN stems have abstract semantics that preexist to their use in positive vs negative contexts, and are shaped by their contexts of use (METTOUCHI 1995).

In that perspective, the semantics of the imperfective are not “habitual” or “progressive”, since those readings are already informed by their occurrence in positive (actual) contexts (indeed, “habitual” or “progressive” imply the repeated or ongoing realization of an activity). Instead, the abstract semantics of the imperfective, before the stem enters into a positive or negative construction, can be expressed as “non-attainment of a construed representation of a situation”. In a positive construction, this translates as “the activity is under way but not completed” (e.g. ‘he is drawing a’ means that the person is drawing something which he intends to be a circle, but that the circle is not completed). In a negative construction, this translates as “an activity is under way, but it is not the one we had in mind” (e.g. ‘he’s not drawing a circle, he’s lazily doodling’), or as “an activity is considered, but rejected as not wished for” (e.g. “No way! He’s not



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drawing a circle! We had agreed on keeping this page blank”). Negative imperfective constructions involve competing viewpoints/representations about an activity, while positive imperfective constructions are about the degree or mode of correspondence between the targeted activity, and actual reality, and they take on various shades of contextual meaning: incompleteness, progressivity, conativity, iterativity or habituality.

Similarly, interpreting the ‘negative perfective’ as a counterfactual (i.e. “the construed situation is the exact opposite of what is actually the case”) and the ‘perfective’ as a factual (i.e. “the construed situation perfectly fits what is actually the case”) helps understand their different readings in an asymmetrical system.

If we adopt this perspective, we can then explain the fact that the *ad + aorist* form is not allowed in negative contexts in Central Kabyle (although it is, in other Berber languages). What both the negative perfective and the imperfective possess that *ad + aorist* lacks in Central Kabyle, is the possibility of construing, at the same time, two competing representations of the situation.

The *ad + aorist* form focusses on the potential or tendency to occur of a situation, in the past, present or future, without considering its actual occurrence or non-occurrence. There is no other option or alternative, it is a “flat”, monovalent construal. On the contrary, both the negative perfective (as a counterfactual) and the imperfective (as a ‘non-attained construed situation’) have that property, of keeping an alternative <P vs. non-P> at the core of their semantics. This possibility of holding together what might be and what actually is makes the negative perfective and the imperfective the natural aspect-mood stems for combination with negation, in an asymmetrical system like the one of Central Kabyle.

There is no reason to suppose that all A-Cat-TAM asymmetries are governed by the same functional features. The semantic configuration presented above (see also METTOUCHI 1995, 2009a) is language-internal: it is the result of diachronical processes that take on synchronic values, based on the resulting systemic oppositions. Other Berber languages, despite having similar MAN forms, have different MAN asymmetries with respect to negation, arising from internal innovations and innovations resulting from contact with other languages (see part 6); they each have to be explained in their own right, and their MAN forms have to be analyzed within their own systems of opposition. The fact that the *ad + aorist* construction is possible in negative contexts in Tashelhit (Northern Berber, South Morocco) points to a different function of that form in that language (despite some shared semantic features with the Kabyle construction). This is supported by the fact that Tashelhit extensively uses the unpreverbed



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aorist as a sequential or dependent form in narratives, a function that is only micro-residual in Central Kabyle.

3.4 Negation in dependent clauses: (restrictive) subject relativization

Whereas complement clauses and reported speech involve no special dedicated verb form in negative contexts, restrictive relative clauses (for subject relativization) do. Descriptive relativization is mainly marked by an appositive construction (GALAND 1988). A survey of relativization strategies across Berber can be found in METTOUCHI (2017b).

In Kabyle, restrictive negative relativisation of all roles except the subject role involves the use of standard preverbal negation **ur**, with no relativizer in the case of direct objects (indirect object relativizations, as well as locative ones involve a relativizer).

Restrictive subject relativization has an invariable form in Central Kabyle, for both genders and both numbers.

Positive restrictive subject relativization is marked by an invariable circumfix, **i/Ø-stem-n** (a form based on the third person masculine of the verb **i-stem** (or **Ø-stem** for quality (=adjectival) verbs)), suffixed with **-n**):

- (24) **jrna** **n-ħwəɖ** **tamt^tt^tut**
 moreover SBJ1.PL-need:PFV woman:ABSL.SG.M
ara = ay **iwansn //**
 REL.IRR=ABSV1.PL *keep_company:AOR:RELSBJPOS*
 ‘Moreover, we need a woman who will keep us company’ (KAB_AM_NARR01_0054)

Negative restrictive subject relativization is marked by a different invariable prefix, **n-stem**:

- (25) **i** **wmyar** **ur** **nsfi** **ara /**
 DAT old_person:ANN.SG.M NEG *possess:PFVNEG:RELSBJNEG* POSTNEG /
ur **nɜfid** **ara /**
 NEG *be_strong:PFVNEG:RELSBJNEG* POSTNEG
 ‘To a poor and feeble old’ (KAB_AM_NARR03_1064-65) (lit. to an old man who doesn’t own a thing, who isn’t strong)



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The distinction between specific and non-specific restrictive negative relative clause, which depends on the presence or absence of postverbal marker **ara**, is analyzed in 5.1.5.

3.5 Negation and clitic climbing

Another constructional asymmetry in verbal clauses is created by clitic climbing. The default position of the string of clitics¹⁰ in Central Kabyle is as enclitics to the verb. When the verbal negator **ur** appears, the string of clitics attaches as an enclitic to that new host.

- (27) **i-nna = jas** **nkk** **win-iw**
 SBJ.3SG.M-say:PFV=DAT.3SG IDP1SG the_one.SG.M-POSS1.SG
wwi-y = as = dd **g** **wəxxam //**
 bring:PFV-SBJ.1SG=DAT.3SG=PROX LOC house:ANN.SG.M //
ur = as **ttak-Ø** **ara //**
 NEG=DAT.3SG give:IPFV-IMP2SG POSTNEG
 ‘He said “mine (=my mule), I brought (fodder) for her at home (= I fed her myself). Don’t feed her”’. (KAB_AM_NARR02_352-53)

Clitic climbing is also triggered by potential (mood-aspect) preverb **ad**,¹¹ and by cleft pronouns, and relativizers (relative clauses can modify nouns but they also complement indefinites in interrogative clauses). There is no clitic climbing after **ma** ‘if’, even when used in negative oaths. Clitic-climbing is linked to the head status of the host: the verb is the default head of the clause, but its head status is superseded in Central Kabyle by the MAN and Dependency markers just listed above.

Here again, the existence of clitic climbing depends on the Berber language: some have lost it completely, others show partial climbing.

4. Negative lexicalizations and stative predications

Negative lexicalizations cover in great part the negation of non-verbal predicates. The positive non-verbal predicates have been presented in 2.2.2. Non-verbal predicates are varied and frequently used in Central Kabyle. In the negative domain, two main negators are used, **matʃi** and **ulaʃ**. The first one is used for

¹⁰ In the invariable order: 1-indirect object, 2-direct object, 3-proximal or distal particle.

¹¹ As well as by some other mood-aspects preverbs (such as simultaneous preverb **la**) in some Central Kabyle varieties.



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equation, inclusion, attribution, the second one is used for existential, locative and possessive predications.

As an indication of the relative frequencies of verbal and non-verbal negations in connected speech, two homogeneous samples, one conversational (30 minutes) and the other narrative (40 minutes), show the following proportions:

	ur (verbal)	maʃʃi (ascriptive)	ulaʃ (existential)
Conversation 30mn	60 (65.2%)	17 (18.5%)	15 (16.3%)
Narratives 40mn	85 (56.7%)	23 (15.3%)	42 (28%)

Table 7 - Indicative frequencies of verbal and non-verbal negations in two sample recordings

4.1 maʃʃi

This negator is borrowed from the Arabic circumfix **ma---ʃi**, which can be used in front of nouns and adjectives under the form **maʃi** (see HEATH 2013: 248 for its form in Moroccan Arabic). Kabyle has geminated affricates **ʃʃ** instead of fricative **ʃ**, showing the insertion of that negator in the system of Kabyle, where it is not considered as an Arabic loanword, and is extensively used by Kabyle monolinguals.

4.1.1 Stative predication

Negation of equation/attribution/inclusion is marked by **maʃʃi**, followed by copula **d** if the following element is nominal (28) or adjectival (29).

(28) ʃalɟija-nni / **maʃʃi** **d** **jmma-s ##**
 Aldjiya-SHAREDREF / NEG.ATTR COP mother:ABSL.SG.F-KIN3.SG ##
 ‘This Aldjiya, she was not his mother ...’ (KAB_AM_CONV_01_SP3_04-05)

(29) **ma** **d** **aqdim** **ny** **maʃʃi** **d** **aqdim**
 if COP old:ABSL.SG.M or NEG.ATTR COP old:ABSL.SG.M
 ‘Whether it be old or not’ (KAB_AM_NARR03_0789)

If the negated element is adverbial, then it immediately follows **maʃʃi**:



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Matfɛɛi typically rejects a presupposition concerning identity, class inclusion and property attribution, with a noun (or an adjective) in its scope. It also typically rejects a presupposition concerning the choice of a characterization in terms of quantity, time, manner, and rejects the association of a focus to a presupposition in negative clefts.

It's a contradictory judgement (in the sense that it involves competing viewpoints on a referent, situation, etc.). In this sense, it is semantically close to the negation of imperfectives as described in 3.3 (see also METTOUCHI 1995, 2003, 2006 and 2009a for a development on the link between attribution and imperfective in negative contexts).

4.2 *ulaf*

This marker is composed of the standard negator **ur** and a collocate meaning 'be' or 'exist', like the majority of negative existentials in VESELINOVA's language sample (2013: 139). KAHLUCHE (2000) and BRUGNATELLI (2010), have decomposed it into **ur - illi - ja** (NEG - exist(PFVNEG) - thing).

4.2.1. Negative existential predication

The construction involves the existential negator **ulaf**, with the referent of the inexistent element being a noun in the absolute state, generally following the existential negator (but sometimes preceding it):

(35) **ulaf aybl**
NEG.EXS problem:ABSL.SG.M
'no problem!' (KAB_AM_NARR02_511)

The positive 'counterpart' of negative existentials is a fully verbal predicate, with verbe **ili** 'exist', and the argument referring to the existing element in the annexed state:

(35') **i-lla uybl**
SBJ3.SG.M-exist:PFV problem:ANN.SG.M
'There is a problem' (elicitation)

Depending on the noun phrase, all types of referents can be predicated as inexistent (here an indefinite noun grammaticalized as interrogative pronoun, followed by an *irrealis* relative clause):



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- (36) **nna-nt = as** **a** **wltma** **ulaf**
 say:PFV-SBJ3.PL.F=DAT3.SG VOC sister:ABSL.SG.F NEG.EXS
afu **ara** **n-əʃtʃ**
 what REL.IRR SBJ1.PL-eat:AOR
 ‘They said “O sister there’s nothing for us to eat”’ (KAB_AM_NARR01_0321)

The negative existential is formally and constructionally different from standard negation, as in the majority of languages in VESELINOVA’s sample (2013: 116).

4.2.2 Negative locative predication

Negative locative predication is distinct from negative existential in that the construction obligatorily takes a referential bound pronoun belonging to the absolutive paradigm, as the argument representing the absent referent (as opposed to the inexistent referent in 4.2.1).

- (37) **i-kkr = dd** **j-ufa = dd** **jssi-s**
 SBJ3SG.M-stand:PFV=PROX SBJ3SG.M-find:PFV=PROX daughter:ABSL.PL.F-KIN.3SG
ulaf = itnt
 NEG.EXS=ABSV.3PL.F
 ‘He woke up and found that his daughters were not there (had disappeared)’
 (KAB_AM_NARR01_0901)

The negative locative predication doesn’t express the inexistence of a referent (as the negative existential predication in 4.2.1 does), but it predicates absence in a given location (here the house), of a referent whose existence is presupposed (the man’s seven daughters), and represented by the absolutive pronoun **-(i)tnt**.

4.2.3 Negation of possessive predication

Negation of possessive predication is composed of **ulaf** followed by the prepositional predicate **dg** (from stative-locative preposition ‘inside’) suffixed with a bound pronoun belonging to the prepositional paradigm,¹² and a noun in the absolute state. The pronoun represents the possessor (actually the ‘locator’) relative to which the noun in the absolute state is situated.

¹² See METTOUCHI 2017a for the list of pronominal paradigms.



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- (38) **Az^ʃawan** **n id^ʃbbaln** **i-s^ʃfa**
 music_type:ABSL.SG.M GEN ceremonial_musician:ANN.PL.M SBJ3.SG.M-be_pure:PFV
am waman, **ulaf** **dg-s** **imslajn**
 like water:ANN.PL.M, NEG.EXS STAT.LOC-3SG word:ABSL.PL.M
 ‘The Azawan type of music played by festive bands is pure like water, it lacks/doesn’t have lyrics’ (lit. there are no lyrics inside it)
 (Newspaper article from the *Dépêche de Kabylie* - 10 August 2015, transcription adapted)

The positive ‘counterpart’ of the possessive locator predication is the prepositional predicate **dg** suffixed with a bound pronoun belonging to the prepositional paradigm, and a noun in the absolute state:

- (38’) **Urar,** **dg-s** **imslajn**
 festive_song:ABSL.SG.M, STAT.LOC-3SG word:ABSL.PL.M
 ‘As for *urar* (the festive song type), it has lyrics’. (elicitation)

In sum, **ulaf** typically asserts the absence of a referent: its absolute inexistence, as well as its absence at a given location (like 50% of languages in VESELINOVA 2013), and the lack of something inside the referent, interpreted as possessive negation (like 84% of the languages in VESELINOVA 2013). Like 33% of the languages in that same sample, it is not marked for tense, and it can be used as a negative reply for emphatic rejection (cf. part 5) like 16% of the languages of the sample.

Existential negation is semantically close to the negation of perfectives (‘situation X is not the case’) as described in 3.3, which can be paraphrased as ‘absence of an expected situation’ (see also METTOUCHI 1995, 2003, 2006 and 2009a for a development on the link between existential and perfective in negative contexts).

4.2.4. Other compounds involving **ula-**

These compounds are:

- ulahədd** ‘there’s no one’ (**hədd**: one (Arabic loanword))
- ulajyər** ‘there’s no reason/point’ (**ajyər**: why)
- ulamək** ‘there’s no way/means’ (**amək**: how)
- ulansi** ‘there’s no path/way’ (**ansi**: through/from where)
- ulanda** ‘there’s no place’ (**anda**: where)
- ulawumi** ‘there’s no goal’ (**umi**: to what/whom)



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one can summarize with FREUD (1925)¹³ in the following way: “The judgment function basically has two decisions to make. It must verbally assign or remove a property to a thing, and it must grant or challenge the existence of a representation in reality”. This opposition has been commented on by HIPPOLYTE (1966 (1954)) as involving a “judgement of attribution” and a “judgement of existence”, and further developed in linguistics by CULIOLI (1990) and DANON-BOILEAU (1994).

“1. There is a primitive operation of negation linked on the one side to subjective evaluation (good/bad, hence rejection, refusal) and on the other to spatio-temporal location (presence/absence, emptiness, appearance/disappearance, iteration). [...]

2. Derived from that primitive negation by a process of complexification, there is an operation of negation, here called elaborate negation, linked to the construction of categorial representation systems known as notional domains. ” CULIOLI (1990: 112)¹⁴

This elaboration of the semantics of negation stems from a different tradition than the developments found in HORN (1989), which are mostly based on propositional logics. The logical approach to negation reflects symmetrical negation systems, but viewed from the perspective of an asymmetrical negation system, it greatly reduces the complexity underlying linguistic negation. Freud’s approach and its adaptation to linguistic perspectives develop aspects of negation which are more relevant to asymmetric systems.

Not all languages grammaticalize (i.e. encode in their grammar) all the potentialities of the complex cognitive operation of negation and all its related features. In the case of Kabyle, the semantic features grammaticalized in the system through the articulated opposition (attribution-imperfective) vs. (existence-perfective) are the dimensions that Culioli calls “subjective evaluation” and “spatio-temporal location”.

¹³ English translation by A. Mettouchi, from original text: “Die Urteilsfunktion hat im wesentlichen zwei Entscheidungen zu treffen. Sie soll einem Ding eine Eigenschaft zu- oder absprechen, und sie soll einer Vorstellung die Existenz in der Realität zugestehen oder bestreiten”.

¹⁴ English translation by A. Mettouchi, from original text: “1. Il existe une opération primitive de négation liée d’un côté à la valuation subjective (bon/mauvais d’où rejet, refus) et de l’autre à la localisation spatio-temporelle (présence/absence; vide; apparition/disparition; itération) [...] 2. Dérivée de cette négation primitive par un processus de complexification, il existe une opération de négation, appelée ici négation construite, liée à la construction de systèmes de représentation catégorielle dit domaines notionnels [...]”.



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4.4 mazal

This lexicalization (cf. VESELINOVA 2015) comes from Classical Arabic **ma-zaal** (lit. 'not-cessate', decomposable into negative **ma** and an inflected perfective triliteral verb **zal** (**zaal**)) (cf. HEATH 2013:248)).

In positive utterances, followed by a perfective, imperfective or the **ad** + *aorist* form, it is interpreted as a persistive (METTOUCHI 2017a).

- (41) **yas akkn abrid mazal-it i-d^sul!**
 even thus path:ABSL.SG.M not_cessate-ABS.V.3SG.M SBJ3.SG.M-be_long:PFV!
 'even if the path is still long' (even if it's still a long way)
 (Newspaper article from the *Dépêche de Kabylie* - 10 August 2015, transcription adapted)

- (42) **nk^wni mazal n-ttyaffar**
 IDP1.PL not_cessate SBJ1PL-visit:IPFV
 'As for us, we still practise the ritual family visit' (conversation in 1992 corpus)

- (43) **mazal ad t-rnu-d^s?**
 not_cessate POT SBJ2-add:AOR-2SG?
 'Are you going to continue like this?' (field notes)

However, when followed by a negative perfective, it can take on an antiresultative meaning of the "not yet" type:

- (44) **mazal i-rkid wallay-is**
 not_cessate SBJ3SG.M-be_calm:PFVNEG brain:ANN.SG.M-POSS3.SG
 'Her brain wasn't settled yet' (S. SADI, *Askuti* (novel), p.128)

This "not yet" antiresultative reading also applies when **mazal** is followed by negator **ur**:

- (45) **mazal ur = dd i-kjim ara //**
 not_cessate NEG=PROX SBJ3SG.M-enter:PFVNEG POSTNEG
 'He's not back home yet' (KAB_AM_NARR01_0464)

But if it is **mazal** itself which is negated with the standard negator **ur**, it takes on an antiresultative meaning of the 'no longer' type:



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- (46) *ur mazal ara ad = tt s-fəddi-n*
NEG not_cease POSTNEG POT=ABSL.3.SG.F CAUS-pass:AOR-SBJ3.PL.M
fəll-ay am zik.
on-1PL like early

'They will no longer trick us like they used to before' (S. SADI, *Askuti* (novel) p. 73)

5. Other aspects of negation: negative reinforcement, grammaticalization, and status of the negative statement

Negation in Kabyle is often presented as a "discontinuous morpheme" (CHAKER 1983, NAÏT-ZERRAD 2001), whereas actually, only the preverbal element is the proper negation, the postverbal one being a former nominal in the process of grammaticalization, but not compulsory. The contexts in which it doesn't appear are marked ones, a fact that contributes to the perception of its presence as the 'default' situation. Studying the contexts of occurrence and absence of the postverbal marker *ara* is crucial in order to better understand its value. The following development is expanded from METTOUCHI 1996, 2001, 2006 and 2009a.

The source of preverbal negator *ur* is debated, the most widely accepted hypothesis, dating back from LOUBIGNAC (1924) is that it originally was a verb, no longer used in Kabyle but found in residual contexts in Tamazight (Northern Berber, Central Morocco) under the form *uɫ*, meaning 'be empty, be desert'. Another hypothesis, developed by GALAND (2010), is that the original verb was in fact *iri* 'want, desire'.

As for *ara*, most studies consider it as a cognate of Ahaggar Tuareg *hārāt* 'thing' (CHAKER 1996), while BRUGNATELLI (2006) links it to preposition *ar*, 'until', and GALAND (2010) proposes the verb *iri* 'want, desire' as a source for *ara*, thus relating the preverbal and postverbal markers of negation as stages in a grammaticalization process.

For a survey of various hypotheses on negators in Berber, with references, see METTOUCHI (2012a and 2014a).

5.1 *Ur* only

5.1.1 Oaths and absolute (/hyperbolic) negations

The most salient contexts for negations with only the preverbal negator are oaths and absolute negations. They have an extra-high pitch (F0 peak) on *ur*.

Oaths have been presented in 3.2, the following example (47) is in the perfective, with *ur*. *Ara* is possible in utterances containing *wəlləfi* 'by God' (47'), but in



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that case the clause is in a separate intonation unit, and the oath cannot refer to rejection in the future: **ara** anchors the negative utterance, it selects the *realis* dimension of the negative perfective (what is actually the case in the counterfactual construal of the situation). **Ur** alone allows the negative perfective to remain unanchored to a specific moment in time.

- (47) **wəlləf ur swi-y!** //
by_God NEG drink:PFVNEG-SBJ1SG
'I swear I didn't drink! / I swear I won't drink!' (elicitation)
- (47') **wəlləf / ur swi-y ara!** //
by_God NEG drink:PFVNEG-SBJ1SG POSTNEG
'I swear I didn't drink!' (elicitation)

Other types of absolute negations are expressed by **ur** alone, they typically contain a fronted adverbial complement allowing the scanning of a period of time for which the construed representation (<we/go outside> in example (48)) has not occurred.

- (48) **dgwasmi = dd kəfɲm-y ar dagi ur n-ffiy**
from_day=PROX enter:PFV-SBJ1.SG to here NEG SBJ1.PL-exit:PFVNEG
'From the moment I entered this place here, we never went outside'
(oral folktale told by T. Rabia)

5.1.2 Indefinite nouns

Another context where **ur** appears on its own is when indefinite nouns are subjects or objects of the predication.¹⁵ As there are no dedicated negative indefinites such as English 'nobody/nothing', and no positive ones of the 'something/someone' type either, Central Kabyle uses weakly grammaticalized non-specific nouns or numerals, such as **jiwən/ jiwət** ('one'), or **kra**¹⁶ ('thing', 'small amount'):

- (49) **jiwn ur = k = t = idd i-kkis /**
one:ABSL.M NEG=DAT2SG.M=ABSV3.SG.M=PROX SBJ3.SG.M-take_off:PFVNEG /
'No one will take it off from you' (Oral folktale told by T. Rabia)
- (50) **aqɣir^f-is akkn kra ur = t j-uy //**
leg:ABSL.SG.M-POSS3.SG thus little NEG=ABSV3SG.M SBJ3.SG.M-seize:PFVNEG //
'His leg was as if nothing had happened to it' (his leg was unscathed) (Oral folktale told by T. Rabia)

¹⁵ With other arguments, **ara** can appear, showing that it is indeed grammaticalizing fast as a quasi-obligatory postverbal reinforcement of negation.

¹⁶ Another (with **ara**) probable cognate of Ahaggar Tuareg **hārāt** 'thing' (BRUGNATELLI 2006).



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Kabyle also uses prototypical nouns representing small (construed as 'negligible') quantities, objects or beings, as reinforcements, typically related semantically to the type of verb in the clause (here 'drop' with 'drink').

- (51) **ur t-swi tiqit^f**
 NEG SBJ3.SG.F-drink:PFVNEG drop:ABSL.SG.F
 'She didn't drink a drop' (elicitation)

However, the preferred word order is here again the fronting of the indefinite nominal (52), even if with the word order in (51), the obligatory F0 peak on **tiqit^f** highlights the prototypicality of that term in this context.

- (52) **tiqit^f ur = tt i-swi**
 drop:ABSL.SG.F NEG=ABSV3.SG.F SBJ3.SG.M-drink:PFVNEG
 'She didn't even drink a drop' (field notes)

Addition of **ara** radically changes the interpretation, from indefinite representative of a class, to specific, referential member of that class. The default reading of (52') is definite ("she didn't drink the drop"), but the interpretation can also be metalinguistic, with the proper intonation ("she didn't drink (just) a drop, she drank the (whole) jug").

- (52') **ur t-swi ara tiqit^f,**
 NEG SBJ3.SG.F-drink:PFVNEG POSTNEG drop:ABSL.SG.F
(t-swa lbila (mər^fr^fa)!)
 (SBJ3.SG.F-drink:PFV jug:ABSL.SG.F (all)!)
 'She didn't drink a drop, she drank the whole jug!' (elicitation)

In principle, any subject or object referring to a unit representing a class can be interpreted as an indefinite in the context of negation, provided that **ara** be absent:

- (53) **tawt^ft^fuft ur = tt nyi-γ!**
 ant:ABSL.SG.F NEG=ABSV3.SG.F kill:PFVNEG-SBJ1.SG
 'I wouldn't kill (even) an ant! (field notes)'

Example (53) above, due to the fronting of the object in the context of **ur**-only negation, with an extra high F0 and intensity peak on the second syllable of **tawt^ft^fuft**, is interpreted as referring to a potential situation: the speaker expresses his inability to kill even a tiny and supposedly unimportant being, implying his own inoffensive nature.



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With **ara**, as in example (53') and (53'') below, the meaning of the utterance drastically changes, reference now being to a specific, *realis* situation with an identifiable object:

(53') **tawt^tt^tuft** **ur = tt** **nyi-y** **ara!**
ant:ABSL.SG.F NEG=ABSV3.SG.F kill:PFVNEG-SBJ1.SG POSTNEG
'(As for) the ant, I didn't kill it!' (elicitation)

(53'') **ur** **nyi-y** **ara** **tawt^tt^tuft**
NEG kill:PFVNEG-SBJ1.SG POSTNEG ant:ABSL.SG.F
'I didn't kill the ant!' (elicitation)

The combination of prosody and word order is essential to the interpretation of the semantic and referential properties of negative utterances in Kabyle (see METTOUCHI 2009b for a detailed prosodic study of negative utterances).

5.1.3 Negative clause coordination

Positive clause coordination is done through intonation only, there being no associative clause coordinator in Central Kabyle (only the phrase coordinator **d**, which is a comitative-associative preposition). Negative coordination also requires a special prosodic pattern based on a series of rise-fall contours with a high onset on **ur**, a rising boundary tone on the penultimate coordinated clause, and a falling tone on the last clause. But contrary to what happens with uncoordinated clauses, the postverbal morpheme **ara** cannot appear, otherwise coordination is lost, and the clauses are only serially juxtaposed (intonation is then different, becoming a list intonation: each clause with a rising boundary tone, all with similar contours, the last one with a falling tone).

(54) **jrna** **lqut-nni /** **ur = km** **i-fillək**
moreover food:ABSL.SG.M-SHAREDREF / NEG=ABSV2.SG.F SBJ3.SG.M-be_ill:IPFV
ur = km **j-wqim //**
NEG=ABSV2.SG.F SBJ3.SG.M-exhaust:PFVNEG
'Moreover that food, it neither ails you, nor is insufficient for you'.
(KAB_AM_NARR03_0890-91)

This underlines, again, the anchoring value of **ara**, which gives the clause independent status as regards the preceding and following clauses. In this case, lack of **ara** allows the clauses to be interpreted in relation to each other, more than in relation to each referential situation, as is the case for the following series of negative clauses, whose pragmatic effect is more additive, reinforcing each statement with the next.



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(55)	tura now	ur NEG	t-zmir-d^ɛ SBJ2-be_able:PFVNEG-SBJ2.SG	ara POSTNEG
	ad POT	t-kɣm-d^ɛ SBJ2-enter:AOR-SBJ2.SG	to to	jiwn / one:ANN.SG.M /
	ur NEG	t-zmir-d^ɛ SBJ2-be_able:PFVNEG-SBJ2.SG	ara POSTNEG	
	ad POT	t-qqim-d^ɛ SBJ2-stay:AOR-SBJ2.SG	d COM	jiwn / one:ANN.SG.M /
	ur NEG	t-zmir-d^ɛ SBJ2-be_able:PFVNEG-SBJ2.SG	ara POSTNEG	
	ad POT	t-qs^ɛs^ɛr^ɛ-d^ɛ SBJ2-discuss:AOR-SBJ2.SG	d COM	jiwn / one:ANN.SG.M /

'Now you cannot enter someone's house, you cannot stay at someone's place, you cannot converse with anyone' (KAB_AM_NARR03_0456-0458)

Compare with (56), where the absence of **ara** creates a much more integrated view of the two predicates.

(56)	ur= ay NEG=DAT1.PL	t-ttqər^ɛr^ɛh SBJ3.SG.f-hurt:IPFV	tɣbbut^ɛ-nny / belly:ANN.SG.F-POSS1PL
	ur= ay NEG=DAT1.PL	i-ttqər^ɛr^ɛh SBJ3.SG.M-hurt:IPFV	uqr^ɛr^ɛuj-nny / head:ANN.SG.M-POSS1PL

'Neither our bellies nor our heads would hurt' (KAB_AM_NARR03_0817-18)

Negative coordination can even occur within the same intonation unit, as in (54), which is not the case for a series of negation containing **ara**.

5.1.4 Negative subordination

The same potential for clause linking is at play in negative subordination, where the lack of **ara**, together with prosodic liaison within the same F0 contour, allows the clause to be interpreted as dependent in relation to the preceding one:

(57)	ttməslaj-ɣ talk:IPFV-SBJ.1SG	ur NEG	faq-ɣ realize:PFVNEG-SBJ.1SG		
	d COP	nəttat IDP.3SG.F	i REL.REAL	illan exist:PFV:RELSBJPOS	dəffir-i behind-PREP1.SG

'I talked without realizing that it was her who was behind me' (field notes)

This again is a contrario evidence for the anchoring role of **ara**, which would give independent status to the clause.



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- (57') **ttmɛslaj-γ / ur faq-γ ara**
 talk:IPFV-SBJ.1SG / NEG realize:PFVNEG-SBJ.1SG POSTNEG
d nɛttat i illan dɛffir-i
 COP IDP.3SG.F REL.REAL exist:PFV:RELSBJPOS behind-PREP1.SG
 'I talked, I hadn't realized that it was her who was behind me' (elicitation)

5.1.5 Non-specific restrictive negative relativization

I have already presented (3.3) the two forms of restrictive subject relativization of kabyle, one positive and the other negative. Those forms are obligatory when the subject is relativized. For other roles, word order and dedicated relativizers encode restrictive relativization. For negative restrictive relative clauses, the negator is the same as in standard verbal negation, but presence vs. absence of **ara** change the interpretation of the referentiality of the antecedent.

Absence of **ara** tightens the dependency between the relative clause and its antecedent, and allows an interpretation of the antecedent as non-specific:

- (58) **n-ħfd^s ajn ur n-ssin /**
 SBJ.1PL-learn:PFV what NEG SBJ.1PL-know:PFVNEG
n-xdm ajn ur=ay n-ʔzib /
 SBJ.1PL-do:PFV what NEG=DAT1PL RELSBJNEG-please:PFVNEG
 'We learnt what we didn't know, we did things we didn't like'
 (recorded conversation 1992)

Compare with (59), from the same conversation (and speaker), with **ara**:

- (59) **n-ttmɛnni nʃal^sl^safi arraw-nny**
 SBJ1.PL-hope:IPFV God_willing offspring:ABSL.SG.M-POSS1PL
ur = dd ttaf-n ara ddunit am tagi //
 NEG=PROX find:IPFV-SBJ3.PL.M POSTNEG existence:ABSL.SG.F like this:F
 (...) **ad = dd af-n ajn i bya-n /**
 (...) POT=PROX find:AOR-SBJ3.PL.M what REL.REAL want:PFV- SBJ3.PL.M
ad = dd af-n ak^w
 POT=PROX find:AOR-SBJ3.PL.M all
ajn ur = dd n-ufi ara nk^wni zik-nni
 what NEG=PROX SBJ1.PL-find:PFVNEG POSTNEG IDP.1PL long_ago-SHAREDREF
 "We hope, God willing, that our children won't find a life like this one (=won't live a life like ours), (...) that they will find what they want, that they will find everything we didn't find ourselves in the past (=everything we weren't able to enjoy)".
 (recorded conversation 1992)



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An explanation for this construction is that **ara** provides a stable starting point, a given (even if hypothetical) condition, for the construal of the consequence. It is impossible to have **ur** only, in that morphosyntactic context.

5.2.2 Deontic complement clause

Another dependent clause where **ara** is obligatory is the complement clause of deontic verb **ilaq**, ‘it is necessary’.

The deontic verb **ilaq** (<i-ilaq SBJ3.SG.M-be_necessary:PFV>) is grammaticalizing as a deontic modal (see METTOUCHI 2009c). In positive utterances it is naturally followed by an **ad** + *aorist* form, but when the situation that is targeted is construed negatively (i.e. as a disfavoured option), the verb of the complement clause contains the negator **ur** and the postverbal element **ara**.

- (63) **ilaq ur t-tətsu-mt ara**
 DEON NEG SBJ2-forget:IPFV-2.PL.F POSTNEG
 “it’s necessary that you should not forget (traditional cooking)” (= you must remember it)
 (YouTube cooking video on *abazin* <https://youtu.be/nNZ290Yoe18>)

The negative dependent clause must contain the postverbal negator **ara**. This can be interpreted in a similar way as for hypothetical **ma** ‘if’ in (5.2.1): the contents of the clause targeted by a deontic modal (involving a clearcut alternative between P and not-P) must be construed as a stable negative content.

The negation can be raised to the main clause:

- (63') **ur ilaq ara ad t-tətsu-mt**
 NEG DEON POSTNEG POT SBJ2-forget:AOR-2.PL.F
 ‘you shouldn’t/musn’t forget (it)’ (elicitation)

This shows that negative transport (neg-raising) occurs in Kabyle – it is actually more frequent as a construction than having the negation in the dependent clause.

- (64) **lfadda mr^ss^sumn ur ilaq ara**
 tradition:ABSL.SG.F establish:PFV:QLT:RELSBJPOS NEG DEON POSTNEG
ad = tt n-kkəs
 POT=ABSV3.SG.F SBJ1.PL-remove:AOR
 ‘Established traditions should not be altered’ (DALLET 1982: 735)

Negative transport occurs with verbs of volition and hope, as well as deontic verbs.



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5.2.3 Negative informative answers/statements

Similarly, but this time at the level of interaction, **ara** stabilizes the proposition, presents it as a factual statement, something that can/might be independently verified:

- (65) SP1: nna-n=dd kan j-uy sbfa //
 say:PFV-SBJ3.PL.M=PROX only SBJ3.SG.M-take:PFV seven
- SP2: Lhadɟ T^saħar^s **ur** j-uy **ara** sbfa //
 Hajj Tahar NEG SBJ3.SG.M-take:PFVNEG POSTNEG seven
- SP1: sbfa //
 seven
- SP1: it is said that he married seven women
 SP2: Hajj Tahar didn't marry seven women!
 SP1: he did! (KAB_AM_CONV01_SP1/SP2_040-045)

This doesn't mean that a negation containing **ara** is necessarily consensual. But its polemical charge is different from the hyperbolic dimension of **ur**-only negations: despite the disagreement, the two speakers have set up the topic of that conversation (Hajj Tahar's number of wives) as common ground.

But when the stance of the speaker is clearly grounded in the speaker's will, intention, involvement, and removed from any negotiation with the co-speaker, then **ara** is not used, as in the following declaration by the father of the seven girls, who is stating the conditions under which he considers remarrying after the loss of his first wife:

- (66) wəllah a jssi / **ur=dd** **zwiɟ-y** /
 by_God VOC daughter:ABSL.PL.F NEG=PROX marry:PFVNEG-SBJ.1SG /
- alamma** **t-əkks=dd** / **fat^sima tuħr^sift** /
 until SBJ.3SG.F-remove:PFV=PROX / Fatima clever /
- ayrum** **g** **shelf:ANN.SG.M** //
 bread:ABSL.SG.M LOC shelf:ANN.SG.M //
- 'I swear I won't marry until Clever Fatima grabs the bread on the shelf'
 (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0086-91)

Ara anchors the negative statement in interaction, it makes the negative statement 'negotiable'. It is a 'common ground' marker. This might be due to the nominal origin of **ara** (*'thing'), probably an ancient indefinite, cognate to Ahaggar Tuareg **ħārāt** 'thing' (CHAKER 1996), in the process of grammaticalization as postverbal negator. Its nominal dimension is still palpable in Kabyle, as shown for instance by the residual use of its annexed state form in ritual salutations:



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- (67) **ur = km** **j-uy** **wara?**
 NEG=ABSV:2SG.F SBJ3.SG.M-take:PFVNEG thing:ANN.SG.M
 ‘Nothing ails you?’ (‘are you in good health?’, lit. ‘THING didn’t seize you?’) (field notes)

In fine, the study of the contexts of occurrence or **ur**-only versus **ur-ara** shows that **ara** is neither the suffix or enclitic of a discontinuous negative morpheme (as is the case in synchrony for *f* in spoken Maghreban Arabic varieties) nor a simple ‘negative reinforcement’. It anchors the negative judgement referentially or interactionally (in a given situation, as a factual proposition), or syntactically (as an independent clause). Its use in Central Kabyle is governed by subtle, and nevertheless consistent, semantic and syntactic factors.

6. Non-clausal negation: negative replies

The neutral negative reply is **aha**, ‘no’, accompanied either by the negated predicate or a focussed rectification (as in example (65) above with **səbfa** ‘seven’), or for stronger rejection, by a polemical/absolute negative reply: **xat^fi**, **ulaf** (negative existential) or **zami** (< French *jamais* ‘never’). Those polemical/absolute negative replies can also be used on their own.

- (68) SP3: **nna-n = dd** **maʃʃi** **d** **jmma-s** **ə:: /**
 ʃaldʒija-nni / NEGATT COP mother-KIN3SG HESIT
urzqi-agi **at** **mħnd //**
 Arzqi:ANN-PROX son_of Mħnd
 SP1: **xat^fi //** **tinna /** **d** **baba** **aʃli** **i /**
 NEG++ // that_one:SG.F.DIST / COP father Ali:ABSL REL.REAL
d **dadda** **waʃli** **i = tt = idd** **juyn //**
 COP elder_brother Ali:ANN REL.REAL=ABSV3.SG.F=PROX RELSBJPOS:take:PFV
 SP3: That Aljiya, isn’t she his mother - Arzqi son of Mhend’s mother?
 SP1: Absolutely not! That Aljiya, it’s father Ali who... it’s uncle Ali who married her.
 (KAB_AM_CONV01_sp3_04-06, sp1_111-120)

7. Central Kabyle negation within Berber

This analysis of the properties of negation in Central Kabyle can usefully be put into perspective by a brief survey of its position within the whole of the Berber family, whose internal variation is comparable to that within Germanic or Romance, and which is characterized by various levels and types of A-Cat-TAM asymmetry.



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7.1 A-Cat-TAM asymmetry

7.1.1 Systemic oppositions

Details on the various asymmetries among Berber languages can be found in METTOUCHI (2003, 2004, 2006, 2009a, and 2012a). What characterizes Berber languages is mainly the reduction and/or asymmetry of aspect-mood forms in the negative domain as compared to the positive one.

While the stems themselves (Aorist, Perfective, Negative Perfective, Perfect, Imperfective, Negative Imperfective) are morphologically very similar across Berber, their constructions, values and systems of opposition, as well as their relative frequencies in discourse, are varied. Each system should therefore be studied in itself. Below are two tables presenting the variation and common features between Aspect-Mood systems in two languages belonging to different subbranches of Berber, Central Kabyle (Northern Berber, Algeria) and Ayr Tuareg (Southern Berber, Niger).

AORIST	PERFECTIVE	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE ¹⁷
-ddu-	-dda-	-ddi-	-ttəddu-
-krz-	-krz-	-kriz-	-kərrəz-

Table 8 – Kabyle aspect-mood stems (roots **DD** ‘accompany’ and **KRZ** ‘plough’)

AORIST	PERFECTIVE	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	PERFECT	IMPERFECTIVE	NEGATIVE IMPERFECTIVE
-rtək-	-rtak-	-rtek-	-rtaak-	-raattək-	-rəttək-
-gu-	-ge/a/ə- ¹⁸	-ge/a/e-	-gee/aa-	-taaggu-	-təggu-

Table 9 – Ayr Tuareg aspect-mood stems (roots **RTK**, ‘fall’ and **G** ‘do’) (GALAND 1974 (2002: 126-127))

While they don’t represent all the attested systemic possibilities, the following three summaries give an idea of the variation across Berber.

In Tashelhit (Northern Berber, Morocco, GALAND 1994), *ad ur + aorist* is the negative ‘corresponding opposite’ of the optative (*ad + aorist*), the potential (*ad + aorist* or *ad + imperfective*), and the aorist imperative. *Ur rad + aorist* is the ‘corresponding opposite’ of the future (*rad + aorist*). The imperfective, with or without preverbal particles, has *ur (a) + imperfective* as a ‘corresponding opposite’, while the perfective’s ‘corresponding opposite’ is the negative

¹⁷ Historically, the imperfective is derived from the aorist either by prefixation of **tt-**, or by gemination of the second consonant of the root, as well as by infixation of **-a-** (especially for derived forms marking various types of valency).

¹⁸ e/a/ə or ee/aa alternate depending on the PNG affix (GALAND 1974(2002:127)).



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perfective (when this form, which has almost disappeared, is still in use - otherwise, the general perfective is used after **ur**).

In the Tamashek (Southern Berber) varieties of Mali studied by HEATH (2005, 330-340), the prohibitive is either marked by a specific 'prohibitive stem' (very similar to the negative imperfective), bearing imperative affixes, and preceded by negator **wær**, or by **wær** followed by the negative perfective, with standard affixes (the latter construction being identical to the second person perfective negative). Commands are marked by the aorist or imperfective imperatives. The negative hortative is marked by **wær** + *prohibitive* stem, prefixed by the standard first plural morpheme, and suffixed by the hortative **-et/-het**. The negative perfective after negator **wær** is the 'corresponding opposite' of both the perfective and the perfect, while the negative imperfective is the 'corresponding opposite' of the imperfective. The **ad** + *aorist* form's 'corresponding opposite' is the form **u-mar** + *aorist* (**u-** being the reduced form of standard negator **ur**).

In Zenaga (Western Berber, Mauritania, TAINE-CHEIKH 2011), commands are expressed by the aorist stem bearing imperative affixes, while prohibitives have two constructions: one with negator **wär** followed by the regular imperfective bearing imperative affixes; the other with the construction **äd** + **wär** + *aorist*, with standard second person affixes. The negative perfective is the 'corresponding opposite' of the perfective, and the negative imperfective that of the regular imperfective, of the aorist, and of **äd** + *aorist* in main and independent clauses: in dependent clauses, **äd** + **wär** + *aorist* is the 'corresponding opposite' of positive **äd** + *aorist*.

7.1.2 'Negative' stems in Berber

The developments above, as well as the analysis of the A-Cat-TAM asymmetry of Central Kabyle, have underlined the presence of 'negative' aspect-mood forms in a number of Berber languages. A few words are needed here. In general, two forms are labelled 'negative' in Berber studies: the 'negative perfective' and the 'negative imperfective'.

The 'negative perfective' can be found in almost all¹⁹ Berber languages in the four subbranches, it is marked by an **-i-** vocalic alternation in the stem, and clearly belongs to the group of morphologically primary aspect-mood stems. There is consensus on its being an ancient form. Based on its uses in positive contexts, PICARD (1957) considers it as a former 'intensive' form whose use in negative contexts can be explained by those 'intensive' semantics, while

¹⁹ When it is not found its residual traces show that it has disappeared.



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BRUGNATELLI (2002) considers that it is derived from a positive perfective by infixation of a postverbal negator *i/aj*,²⁰ and that its uses in positive contexts always have an underlying negative component. The Central Kabyle data supports PICARD (1957)'s hypothesis, of a non-inherently negative form belonging to the most ancient layer of Berber (a retention rather than an innovation). I have analyzed it, not as an 'intensive', but as a counterfactual, within a proto-Berber system which I claim was tripartite, originally opposing factual ('perfective'), counterfactual ('negative perfective') and non-factual ('aorist').

The imperfective is an ancient 'intensive' form, derived from the aorist stem through several morphological processes. A former cluster of Aktionsart forms, it has entered the aspect-mood system (BASSET 1929) at a later stage of the evolution of proto-Berber. The 'negative imperfective', which can be found in Tuareg (Southern Berber), Ghadamsi (Northern Berber, non-Zenati), Zenaga (Western Berber), and most (but not all) the Northern Berber languages belonging to the Zenati subbranch, is considered by some (BASSET 1952: 14) as an innovation, and by others (KOSSMANN 1989) as belonging to proto-Berber. In both cases, it is more recent than the Aorist/Perfective/Negative Perfective triad, and is either morphologically derived from the positive imperfective, or (as for Ayr Tuareg in Table 9 above) it is a former positive imperfective retained in (conservative) negative contexts while a newly derived positive imperfective is used in positive contexts.

7.1.3 The Prohibitive

7.1.3.1 The typology of prohibitives

Van der AUWERA and LEJEUNE (2005 (2013)) propose a four-type typology for prohibitives in the world's languages:

Type 1: The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives.

Type 2. The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives.

²⁰ This hypothesis has recently been reactivated and developed in LAFKIOUI and BRUGNATELLI (2020).



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Type 3. The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives.

Type 4. The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives

7.1.3.2 Prohibitive types in Berber

In Central Kabyle, the prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives (Type 1).

(69) **kk̄r-Ø!**
stand:AOR-IMP2SG!
'Stand up!' (field notes)

(70) **ur ttnkar-Ø ara!**
NEG stand:IPFV-IMP2SG POSTNEG!
'Don't stand up!' (elicitation)

However, the stem cannot be in the aorist (as in the positive command construction), it must be in the imperfective.

In Tashelhit (Northern Berber, Morocco, GALAND (1994)), the prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative (namely **ad** + aorist with standard PNG affixes) and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives (Type 3).

(71) **als-Ø!**²¹
do_again:AOR-IMP2SG!
'Do it again!'

(72) **ad ur t-als-t!**
POT NEG SBJ2-do_again:AOR-2SG!
'Don't do it again!'

However, the negator is between the preverb and the aorist stem, whereas preverb **ad** normally directly precedes the verbal stem in positive contexts.

²¹ Tashelhit examples are from GALAND (1994: 182-183), translated "recommence!" and "ne recommence pas!" by Galand.



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In the Tamashek (Southern Berber) of Mali (HEATH 2005), there are two strategies for the prohibitive, both “widely distributed in Tamashek dialects” (HEATH 2005: 338). One is similar to the Kabyle one and involves the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives (Type 1).

- (73) **wær** **tællæz-Ø**
NEG insert:NEGIPFV-IMP2SG²²
'Do it again!'

The other involves the negative perfective and standard bound pronouns: a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives (Type 3).

- (74) **wær** **t-əlləz-æd**
NEG SBJ2-insert.PFVNEG-2SG
'Don't insert!' (or 'you didn't insert')

In Zenaga (Western Berber, Mauritania, TAINE-CHEIKH 2011) there are also two prohibitive strategies. One involves the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and the standard negator **wär** (Type 1).

- (75) **wär** **žässä**
NEG drink:IPFV:IMP2SG
'Don't drink!'

The other involves the verbal construction of the general irrealis **äd** + *aorist*, with standard bound pronouns, and the negator **wär** between the preverb and the verb (Type 3).

- (76) **äd** **wär** **t-axtiša-d** **aǧmä-n-k**
POT NEG SBJ2-cut:AOR-2SG brother:SG.M-GEN-2SG.M
'Don't cut your brother!'

According to the typology, Kabyle, Tamashek and Zenaga belong to Type 1, because in all of them the prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives. But it is the imperfective rather than the aorist stem which is used.

Tashelhit, Tamashek and Zenaga belong to Type 3, since in all of them the prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative

²² Examples are from HEATH (2005), with adapted glosses.



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and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives. But those constructions are different: Tamashek uses the negative perfective, whereas Tashelhit and Zenaga use *ad + aorist*, with the standard negator inserted between the preverb and the verb.

Not only do Tamashek and Zenaga (as well as other Berber languages) have two types of prohibitives in the typology, but when the constructions are analyzed in more details, it appears that several features makes the prohibitive strategy/ies distinct in each language, even within the same type:

- Either the aspect-mood stem is different
- Or the order of negative and preverb is different
- And/or the person paradigm is different (standard vs imperative)

A more precise typology of the prohibitive in Berber is presented in Table 10 below. It would need to be completed by a thorough study of the prohibitive in all Berber languages.

FEATURES	LANGUAGES					
	Central Kabyle	Tashelhit	Tamashek		Zenaga	
Negator	ur	ur	wær	wær	wär	wär
Stem	IPFV	AOR	NEG.PFV	NEG.IPFV	IPFV	AOR
PNG affix paradigm	imperative	standard	standard	imperative	imperative	standard
Preverb	no	yes	no	no	no	yes
Order Neg-Preverb	-	ad < NEG	-	-	-	äd < NEG
Typology	Type 1	Type 3	Type 3	Type 1	Type 1	Type 3

Table 10 – Prohibitive constructions in four Berber languages

7.2 Negative morphemes

Apart from the cognates of **wr/ur** (the most widespread preverbal negator), negative markers vary according to the syntactic or pragmatic status of the clause. For instance, Ghadamsi has two negators, **ak** and **wel** (LANFRY 1968), **ak** being, according to GALAND (2010: 280) a variant of adverb **ak, akw, akk** ‘totally, all’.



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(77) **taləqqi-y-i** **ak** **tet** **ibri**
poor:SG.F-EPENTH-ANAPH NEG1 OBJ3:SG:F SBJ3.SG.M:desire:PFVNEG
'The poor one (among his two wives), he didn't love her.' (LANFRY 1968: 32))²³

(78) **iđen-ədd,** **wel** **yufi** **ħabba.**
SBJ3.SG.M:turn:PFV-PROX, NEG2 SBJ3.SG.M:find:PFVNEG thing:SG.F
'He turned round and found nothing.' (LANFRY 1968: 38))

KOSSMANN (2013) presents that distinction as opposing **ak** 'for non-subordinated and non-prohibitive clauses' to **wäl**: '1. in subordinated clauses (...) 2. as a sequential, marking that the different clauses are temporarily and informationally connected (...) 3. as a prohibitive' (KOSSMANN 2013: 178-9).

In Tashawit (Northern Berber, Zenati), the standard negator is **ud**, but for the prohibitive, it is **la**, and negative oaths are introduced by **ma** (PENCHOEN 1973).

(79) **la** **hən-dd-ttuƣat**
NEG OBJ3M.PL-PROX-bring:IPFV.2PL
'Don't bring them back' (PENCHOEN 1973: 56)

In Eastern Kabyle (Northern Berber, zone 2.1. in the map of Kabylie in Figure 2) (RABDI 2004), the preverbal negator is either **ur** or **it^sħa**. In Tasahlit (Northern Berber zone 3.2 in the map of Kabylie in Figure 2), the preverbal negator is **ul**, and coexists with several forms, **attha ittha itha aha. ha, tħa** (< Arabic **ħu** 'become'), and **xa, axa** (< Arabic **xaħ** 'not') (GARAOUN 2019)

(80) **xa** **cca-γ** **aħella**
NEG eat:PFV-SBJ1SG yesterday
'I didn't eat yesterday' (Aït Laâlam (Tamridjet) (Garaoun p.c))

(81) **u** **tt = i-neal** **u** **tt = i-fa**
NEG OD3SG.F=SBJ3SG.M-search:PFV NEG OD3SG.F=SBJ3SG.M-find:PFV
'He didn't look for neither found it" (Aït Bouyseg (Tamridjet) (Garaoun p.c))

Postverbal reinforcements are sometimes almost fully grammaticalized as in Central Kabyle, sometimes less so, such as in Eastern Kabyle and Tasahlit (zones 2.1 and 2.2 in the map of Kabylie in Figure 2), where various postverbal reinforcements (**ani, ula...**) are used (RABHI 1992, GARAOUN 2019).

There are also negators which are strictly postverbal without a preverbal negator: **ka/kīra** in Augila (BRUGNATELLI 1987: 53-55), **š/ši** in Sened (PROVOTELLE 1911: 73). They are most probably postverbal reinforcements which have taken

²³ Glossing and translations by A. Mettouchi.



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on a full negative function with the disappearance of the preverbal negator, following Jespersen's Cycle.

In non-verbal predications, there are specific negators for existential negation (**ulaʃ** in kabyle, **aba** in Ahaggar Tuareg, **ba** in Ayr Tuareg, **lah** in Tachelhit, etc.) and for ascriptive-attributive negation (**maʃʃi** in Kabyle, **awas** in Ghadames, **lišid** in Tashawit, etc.). Some lexicalizations involve the standard negator together with other elements, others don't (see METTOUCHI 2006, 2009a and 2012a for more details on those lexicalizations).

7.3 Types of asymmetries and contact with Arabic

The limited presentation in part 6. above shows that negative A-Cat-TAM asymmetries are not the same across the whole of Berber. Some of them concern the core MAN forms, i.e. the stems themselves. This is the case for Kabyle (where the aorist is excluded from negative contexts, and where the negative perfective is extensively used) or various Tuareg varieties (with their dedicated negative perfective and negative imperfective forms, and the exclusion of the perfect from negative contexts). Other asymmetries concern the MAN constructions, i.e. the presence and order of preverbs relative to the negator and the aorist stem. This is the case for Tachelhit, which has lost the morphological distinction between the negative and positive perfective and does not have a negative imperfective. The whole system is symmetrical (GALAND 1994) except for the order of negator and preverb for non-declarative modal predications: **ad + ur + aorist** and not ***ur + ad + aorist** is the 'corresponding opposite' of **ad + aorist**, whereas **ur + rad + aorist** is the corresponding opposite of **rad + aorist**, **ur + perfective** (not **ur + negative perfective**) that of the perfective, and **ur + imperfective** that of the imperfective. Among the most symmetrical systems as far as MAN forms and constructions are concerned, we find Siwi (SCHIATTARELLA 2017 and forthcoming).

The most symmetrical Berber languages are also the ones that are in most intense contact with Arabic, in the sense that speakers are all bilingual in the two languages, in the home and outside. It is interesting to note that standard Arabic opposes prohibitive/negative optative negator (**lam**), and non-past negator (**la**) to a declarative/past negator (**ma**), and that Maghreban Arabic varieties, which have retained only **la** and **ma**, use negator **la** only with the prefixal conjugation in prohibitive/negative optative clauses, whereas **ma** (or the circumfix **ma...ʃ**) is generalized to all other contexts (CAUBET 1996). The asymmetry is constructional and limited to marked non-declarative modal contexts (prohibitive, oaths, warnings). This might explain as convergence phenomena the profile of Berber languages such as Tachelhit, which have only retained a constructional asymmetry at the level of mood/modal forms.



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More work on the role of contact in the reshaping of negative/positive asymmetries in Berber would be needed.

8. Conclusion

Negation in Central Kabyle is characterized by a preverbal negator **ur**, with a postverbal element in the process of grammaticalization, **ara**, whose presence or absence modulates the negative statement, referentially and interactionally. The language features an A-Cat-TAM asymmetry which opposes two aspect-mood forms in the negative domain (imperfective, and negative perfective) whose semantics imply holding together what might be and what actually is, to a series of aspect-mood forms in positive contexts, some of which share those semantics, while others imply only one perspective (*realis* or *irrealis*) on the situation. The forms that semantically construe only one perspective are excluded from the negative domain (except for the negative optative) in Central Kabyle.

The prohibitive shows constructional symmetry but paradigmatic A-Cat-TAM asymmetry, while the negative hortative shows both constructional and paradigmatic Cat-TAM asymmetry. Central Kabyle has dedicated lexicalizations for existential and attributive-equative negations that are distinct from the standard negator. Their frequency in conversation, and the semantic features they respectively share with the two verbal negative constructions (**ur** + *negative perfective* and **ur** + *imperfective*) allows a semantic analysis of the domain of negation, in Central Kabyle, as opposing an evaluative perspective (with competing viewpoints on a situation or a referent) to a referential perspective (with a focus on the non-occurrence of a situation, or the absence or inexistence of a referent).

Beside morphosyntactic descriptions of the forms themselves and their possible combinations, detailed studies of discourse contexts, textual frequencies, and prosodic features have been conducted in this paper.

The short development on negation in other Berber languages shows how varied the configurations are with respect to negation, and how inaccurate it would be to take one single language as a “representative” of the language family. One can see however that some features are shared - namely an A-Cat-TAM asymmetry, and a binary distinction between equative-attributive negation and existential negation for negative lexicalizations. Long-term contact with Arabic has resulted in a number of morpheme borrowings, as well as systemic convergence phenomena which it would be interesting to study in more details. Contact of Berber languages spoken in the Sahara with various sub-Saharan languages



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belonging to other Afroasiatic branches (Chadic) or to other phyla (Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan) is also a rich area of potential discoveries concerning negation.

Abbreviations

ABSL: absolute state; ABSV: absolutive bound pronoun; ANN: annexed state; AOR: aorist; AT.HUM: human locative ; COM: comitative; COP: copula; DAT: dative; DEICT: deictic demonstrative; F: feminine; FS: false start; GEN: genitive; HESIT: hesitation; IDP: independent; IMP: imperative; INTJ: interjection; IPFV: imperfective; KIN: kinship; M: masculine; NEG: standard negator; NEG.ATTR: attributive negator; NEG.EXS: existential negator; NEG.OPT: optative negator; PFV: perfective; PFVNEG: negative perfective; PL: plural; POSS: possessive; POSTNEG: postverbal reinforcement of negation ; POT: potential preverb; PREP: bound pronoun paradigm hosted by prepositions; PROX: proximal verbal clitic ; DIST: distal; REL.IRR: *irrealis* relativizer; REL.REAL: *realis* relativizer; RELSBJ: subject relativization; SBJ: subject; SG: singular; SHAREDREF: shared reference demonstrative; STATLOC: stative-locative preposition; VOC: vocative.



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