
Verb meaning and deictic paths in Taqbaylit Berber

Aicha Belkadi

Proceedings of Conference on

Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory 4

Edited by Aicha Belkadi, Kakia Chatsiou and Kirsty Rowan

7-8 December 2013, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project
Department of Linguistics
School of Oriental and African Studies
Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square
London, WC1H 0XG
United Kingdom

Department of Linguistics:
Tel: +44-20-7898-4640
Fax: +44-20-7898-4679
linguistics@soas.ac.uk
<http://www.soas.ac.uk/academics/departments/linguistics>

Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project:
Tel: +44-20-7898-4578
Fax: +44-20-7898-4349
elap@soas.ac.uk
<http://www.hrelp.org>

© Aicha Belkadi 2014

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, on any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the author(s) of that part of the publication, except as permitted by UK copyright law.

This publication can be cited as:

Aicha Belkadi. 2014. Verb meaning and deictic paths in Taqbaylit Berber. In, Aicha Belkadi, Kakia Chatsiou and Kirsty Rowan (eds.). *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory 4*. London: SOAS. www.hrelp.org/eprints/ldlt4_04.pdf

Verb Meaning and Deictic Path in Taqbaylit Berber

AICHA BELKADI

School of Oriental and African Studies

1. INTRODUCTION¹

Since Talmy's classification of languages (Talmy, 2000; Slobin, 2004), PATH-encoding in motion event descriptions has been a popular topic in linguistic documentation and typology. Findings suggest great intra-typological differences between languages with similar lexicalization patterns in the complexity in which path is described (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009), but also in the frequency at which one of its components, DEIXIS, is expressed. In particular, a few recent studies have highlighted asymmetries between languages in how deictic and other kinds of paths interact in a motion event description. In a comparative survey of motion encoding in French and Japanese, Morita (2011) shows that both verb-framed languages lexicalize deictic path in the main verb, but Japanese allows co-expression of deixis with other path verbs while French forbids it. Similarly, Choi-Jonin & Sarda (2007) present some evidence that Korean favours the co-occurrence of deictic path with specific kind of path-encoding verbs (i.e. those encoding ORIENTATION or VIA path).

The first aim of the present paper is to contribute to this research with a discussion of the deictic clitic =*d* in a dialect of Taqbaylit Berber (Afroasiatic) spoken in Tikicurt, a village located in the mountainous region of Tizi Ouzou in northern Algeria. This clitic is used to encode the direction 'to/toward the speaker' and co-occurs with motion verbs expressing all shapes of path, manner verbs and verbs not denoting motion, including stative verbs. Nevertheless, a deictic path modification is not entailed for all verbs and some give rise to associated or 'coerced' motion interpretations. In addition to a pragmatic context compatible with its speaker oriented semantics, whether a verb lexicalises a path or similar component appears to play a role in the distribution of =*d* and the kind of interpretations it gets. Crucially, unlike the aforementioned languages, lexicalization of a path does not hinder occurrence of the deictic component, but in fact seems to license it.

A number of core verbs are found across dialects, but lexical variation within Berber means similar semantic concepts or units may surface as distinct verb forms. Despite these formal differences and micro-variations in the meanings derived for some [V=*d*] expressions², the behaviour of =*d* in Tikicurt is overall mirrored in a number of dialects in which it is still productive and its uses extended outside descriptions of motion events. The second purpose of the paper is thus to contribute to current research in the Berber linguistics literature. It aims to show that an investigation of the clitic focusing on its basic function as a deictic

¹Many thanks to the participants of the LDLT4 conference, my informants Dahbia Benarab, Yemma Wardiya and Souad Lamrani (amongst others) for their help in getting this data, and Lameen Souag for comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper. All remaining errors are mine.

² See Belkadi (in preparation) for a summary of these variations.

path marker and from the point of view of its interaction with the path component of verbs highlights some regular patterns in its apparent puzzling verbal distribution.

2. VERBAL MORPHOSYNTAX

Tikicurt shares the morphosyntactic properties of other Taqbaylit dialects and more generally Berber languages. It follows an unmarked VSO word order, with uses of alternative orderings marking discourse functions, and a combination of concatenative and non-concatenative verbal morphology. TAM categories are primarily nonconcatenative, marked by an opposition between verb stems, but may be additionally realised by particles preceding the verb. Tikicurt displays an opposition between three verb stems: the perfective stem, the imperfective stem and the aorist stem. Subject-verb relations are marked by agreement affixes on the verb, which depending on the person and number features they encode may occur as prefixes, suffixes or circumfixes. In the VSO order, these are additionally marked by a phonological alternation on the subject head noun, the so-called CONSTRUCT STATE. All these properties are illustrated in (1).

- (1) *ad tə-gzəm təmyart azərmuc.*
 IRR 3SGF-cut.AOR old.woman.CS umbilical.cord
 ‘The old woman will cut the umbilical cord.’

Verbs in Tikicurt, similarly to most Berber languages, may additionally host clitics, which include pronouns and the deictic =*d*. These are, however, phonologically hosted by TAM particles and functional heads which directly precede the verb in some contexts. Clitics inside clusters follow the strict order DAT > ACC > DEIC.

3. THE DEICTIC PATH SEMANTICS OF =D

Canonically, =*d* occurs in descriptions of motion events where it expresses the deictic path notion ‘to/towards the speaker’ (ventive). This is shown in (2) below, where the use of the clitic locates the speaker at the endpoint of the path.

- (2) *t-kcm ∅ / =d samiya d nunu.*
 3SGF-enter.PRF =VENT Samiya with Nunu
 ‘Samiya entered (not directed to/ directed to the speaker) with Nunu.’

Many Berber languages contrast =*d* with the ‘itive’ clitic =*nn* whose most frequent function is to mark motion away from the speaker. But in some dialects, =*nn* seems to deictically specify paths whose endpoints do not intersect with the location of the speaker or are directed towards the addressee (Bentolila, 1969; Fleisch, 2007; 2012). These languages functionally encode a three-way distinction in their description of motion events, where an event can be depicted deictically (roughly toward vs. away from the speaker) or not. Taqbaylit dialects for the most

part have lost or are on the way of losing the clitic =*nn* (Mettouchi, 1998), and therefore this three-way distinction. In Tikicurt, events are semantically either described as deictically directed toward the speaker or not described deictically. Although, as demonstrated by Wilkins & Hill (1995: 215) for a range of unrelated languages, interpretations of ‘away from the speaker’ in the absence of the clitic are derived pragmatically ‘by opposition to an element that entails motion towards the speaker’.

The deixis of the clitic is primarily speaker-anchored but it can be shifted depending on the point of view adopted by the speaker in restricted contexts and the type of discourse involved. In narratives, a topic or a prominent location may function as a deictic anchor for =*d*. In discourse, a motion description can be anchored with respect to the addressee if they are at their home (the so-called ‘home base effect’ of Fillmore, 1997) or in some location habitually frequented by both speaker and addressee (e.g. a family home). With a special class of verbs, which I refer to as the V-*i*-NP class, the event can be anchored with respect to the indirect argument, provided the speaker is not a participant of the event described. V-*i*-NP verbs are ditransitive verbs whose indirect objects have a semantic role of goal and occur within a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *i*.³ In example (3) below the deictic anchor for =*d* can be the goal argument *təqict* ‘girl’.

- (3) *fka-n* =*as* =*d* [*i* *təqict*] *snat* *n* *tibwadin* *n* *lɡɡatu*.
 give.PRF-3PLM =3SG.DAT =VENT DAT girl.CS two of boxes of sweet
 ‘They gave her two boxes of sweets.’

The fact that the deictic path component is expressed externally from the verb makes it different from other components of path since in terms of Talmy’s typology, Tikicurt, like other Berber languages, is predominantly verb-framed. In narratives, little attention is given to manner (cf. Slobin, 2004), and path is lexicalised in the main verb. When manner is encoded, it occurs most canonically within an adverbial clause formed by the aspectual particle *lla* and a manner verb in the imperfective. In these structures, the deictic clitic cannot modify the manner verb heading the satellite clause, but some manner verbs, such as *yuzzəl*⁴ ‘run’, *ijjaləb* ‘jump’, and *yəlhu* ‘walk’ rarely occur as main verbs in a motion description, in which case they may be modified by the clitic, just like path verbs. These characteristics are illustrated, respectively, by examples (4) and (5).

³ In Taqbaylit and most other Berber languages, goal arguments of V-*i*-NP verbs are syntactically marked in a different way to goals occurring with canonical motion verbs, which are marked by the preposition *yər* (see (5)). A discussion of the differences between V-*i*-NP goals and goals found in motion events is outside the scope of this paper, but it seems that the former are terms and arguments listed in the lexical entries of their verbs, while goals of motion verbs are not.

⁴ Since Berber verbs have consonantal roots, I use their 3rd person singular perfective forms to refer to them outside of sentences.

(4) *i-sub* =*d* *umyar* =*im* *lla(*=d)y-ttazzl*.
 3SGM-descend.PRF =VENT old.man.CS =POSS.2SG PROG 3SGM-run.IMPRF
 ‘Your father-in-law ran down the stairs (to the location of the speaker).’

(5) *t-jjlb* =*d* *γr* *tabla*.
 3SGF-jump.PRF =VENT to table
 ‘She jumped on the table (in the direction of the speaker).’

4. DEICTIC PATH BEYOND MOTION

Across Berber languages, the clitic also occurs outside motion event descriptions with a range of verbs from various semantic classes, which at first sight do not seem to share a unique semantic property. Previous studies (Bentolila, 1969; Mettouchi, 1998; 2011; Heath, 2005; El Mountassir, 2000; Fleisch, 2007; 2012; Aoumer, 2011) focusing on the topic in other dialects distinguish particular event types, semantic arguments and grammatical contexts, which also trigger the appearance of the clitic on the lexicalising verb in Tikicurt (and which tend to trigger appearances of deictic directionals cross-linguistically).

Amongst the types of verbs found to be highly associated with the ventive are those depicting events perceived as involving motion. In Tikicurt, many verbs conceptualizing fictive motion — that is the metaphorical or perceived motion of some stimulus or other entity along an abstract path (Talmy, 2000; Slobin, 2008) — indeed allow deictic modification. Verbs of visual or auditory perception may in marked contexts be evaluated deictically by the clitic. But verbs of sound emission/ transmission, seemingly conceptualised as movement of a sound out into the speaker’s sphere (the world), are those occurring almost systematically with the clitic. Such verbs include *inna* ‘to tell’, *isəffər* ‘to whistle’, *yəḍsa* ‘to laugh’, or *iγəni* ‘to sing’ shown in (6).

(6) *t-γni* =*d* *taʕcit* *kaml!*
 3SGF-sing.PRF=VENT afternoon whole
 ‘She sang the entire afternoon!’

Visibility and whether an event entails the appearance of a theme or a state into the speaker’s sphere is another criteria claimed to trigger high uses of the directional. In Tikicurt many change of state verbs, but also many achievement verbs could be classified here. I exemplify this in (7) which can be analysed as involving the appearance of a group of women into the speaker’s sight.

(7) *n-ufa* =*d* *dg* =*s* *aṭas n tlawin*.
 2PL-find.PRF =VENT in =OBL.3SG many of women.CS
 ‘We found inside it (the room) many women.’

Viewpoint and lexical aspects have also been claimed to be triggers. Thus =*d* has been argued to be highly associated with telicity, particularly with verbs encoding change of states, and to participate in the marking of a resultative subtype of the

perfective (Mettouchi, 1998; 2011). Many [V=*d*] associations in Tikicurt seem to fall within this category. Example (8) describes a bounded event of *building* which ends with the completion of the house, and the verb may occur modified by the clitic. As for the perfective aspect, there is a tendency for the clitic, outside of motion events and the V-*i*-NP class of verbs, to indeed predominantly surface in perfective contexts, but no evidence that it contributes any aspectual notion in Tikicurt.

- (8) *y-vna* =*d* *uxxam*.
 3SGM-build.PRF =VENT house.CS
 ‘The house got built’.

Finally, verbs with an argument understood as the beneficiary or recipient of an event have also been claimed to trigger appearance of the clitic (Mettouchi, 1998; 2011). Example (4) which showed this with the verb *yafka* ‘to give’ is repeated in (9), but other verbs such as *icagga* ‘send’, *ipwi* ‘take’, *yuy* ‘buy’ often occur with the clitic too.

- (9) *fka-n* =*as* =*d* *i* *tqcict snat n tibwadin n lggatu*.
 give.PRF-3PLM =3SG.DAT =VENT DAT girl two of boxes of sweets
 ‘They gave her two boxes of sweets.’

Note that beneficiary verbs are in fact a sub-class of V-*i*-NP verbs whose indirect arguments can be more generally described as goals, which depending on the pragmatic context can also be interpreted as recipients or beneficiaries of the event. And all verbs in the V-*i*-NP class, including some of the verbs of verbal emission or transmission, are modified by the clitic given the appropriate deictic context.

5. THE CONTRIBUTION OF VERBAL SEMANTICS

5.1. *Coercion effects and associated motion*

A systematic investigation of the verbs the clitic modifies and the interpretations construed for each particular [V=*d*] compound shows that it is not necessarily the case that any verb which describes an event involving motion, appearance or telicity can be modified by =*d* as expressing deictic goal. Actually, for a number of verbs encoding these precise semantic features, modification by the clitic gives rise to a ‘coercion effect’ (Pustejovsky, 1995; De Swart, 2000; Beavers, 2008b) whereby an associated motion event, involving a return-shape path or a simple path bounded at the end, is presupposed.⁵ As can be observed from the examples

⁵ The term ‘coerced motion event’, and the analysis of these examples as involving the creation of a motion event including a path modified by the deictic is largely inspired by a discussion in Beavers (2008b) on Japanese goal postpositions. Due to lack of space, it is not possible to discuss Beaver’s argument in detail and the reader is referred to the source. Alamin et al. (in Claudi & Mietzner, 2012) term similar phenomena in Tima (Niger-Congo) ‘alloying’, a process whereby elements expressing different events are conflated into one phonological word. The term

in (10-11), a motion event coerced from dynamic verbs presupposes an optional motion event to a distal location in which the event expressed by the main verb occurs, and a return-shape path to the speaker's location. For states or events involving the appearance of a new state (12), the coerced interpretation may also presuppose the new state coming about in a distal location, followed by motion of the theme to a goal location, where the speaker is.

(10) **Motion**

(a) *i-ɣum*.
3SGM-swim.PRF
'He swam.'

(b) *i-ɣum* =*d*.
3SGM-swim.PRF =VENT
* 'He swam (towards or to the location of the speaker).'
'He went somewhere, swam and came back (to the location of the speaker).'

(11) **Telicity**

t-ɣra =*d* *taktaf*
3SGF-read.PRF =VENT book
'She read the book somewhere else and came back (to the location of the speaker).'

(12) **Appearance of a state**

t-zz-bzgg =*d* *iman* =*is* *yawk*.
3SGF-CAUS-be.wet.PRF =VENT self =POSS.3SG all
'She went somewhere, soaked herself and came back' or 'She arrived soaking wet (to the location of the speaker).'

These alternative interpretations have been noted in the literature on =*d* (see Bentolila, 1969; Chaker, 1993; Heath, 1999), but never discussed in depth or in terms of coercion. While quite productive and occurring naturally in some Berber languages⁶, in Tikicurt, presupposition of a return path motion event arises only in elicitations (apart from a couple of idiomatic expressions). Whether productive or

associated motion is adopted after Wilkins (2006) and Guillaume (2009), although this term refers to an inflectional grammatical category, occurring mostly in Austronesian languages.

⁶ Previous sources do not specify whether coercion freely arises in natural discourse or in elicitations, but it is likely to be quite productive across Berber. Simone Mauri (pc) notes that coerced motion is a fully productive process in Ayt Atta, a dialect of Tamazight spoken in the village of Ayt el Frsi, located in the province of Tinghir (South-eastern Morocco). Lameen Souag (pc) describes the same property in Korandje, a Songhay language spoken in the oasis of Tabelbala (Southwestern Algeria), under heavy influence from Berber. Similar re-interpretations of ventive deictics are not unique to Berber, and seem not to be so rare cross-linguistically. They are also found, for instance, in Somali, Tima (Niger-Congo: Sudan), Datooga (Southern Nilotic: Sudan) (Mietzner & Claudi, 2012), and some Austronesian languages, mostly with stative verbs and dynamic verbs which do not express motion.

not, coercion seems to be triggered by a mismatch between the deictic path semantics of the clitic and the verb it modifies. Given this function, coercion can therefore be used to suggest an account of =*d*. Indeed, by modifying their presuppositions on the events denoted by the verbs in such a way, speakers provide some clues about the function of the clitic, and what it requires in the verb it modifies. The main idea of the idea presented here is that verbs which trigger coerced motion are ‘deficient’ in some way, lacking the property which makes deictic modification by =*d* possible with other verbs. And the semantic component they are missing is the very one thing speakers coerce: a path. Indeed, the motion event that speakers create is one that has a path (either a return path or a goal path), and this path is the entity directed to the speaker’s location, rather than the event encoded by the verb. If the events in (10-12) were the entities deictically anchored, other types of interpretations would be possible. For the verb *i-ḡum* ‘to swim’, the manner of motion would simply be understood as occurring in the direction of the speaker. For the other verbs in those examples, since the events are respectively telic and involve the appearance of a new state, the ventive clitic could mark visibility or take on the aspectual and telic functions described by Mettouchi (1998; 2011).

5.2. *The role of lexicalised paths and scales*

Looking at the distribution of the clitic from the point of view of its relationship with paths, it can be observed that its directional meaning ‘to/toward the speaker’ is mostly available for events conceptualised by verbs which also either lexically specify a path, a change of state or a goal. Although they are slightly different notions, the three entities are somehow related. A goal is a specific type of path (a subcomponent of the category path) which is bounded at the end (Jackendoff, 1990; Talmy, 2000), while change of states have been shown across the literature to share similarities with spatial paths. One proposal followed here is that both path and change of state verbs involve scalar change; that is a change of values in a particular direction along some scale (Rappaport Hovav, 2006; RH & Levin, 2010; Beavers, 2011). For path predicates, the lexicalised scale is a directed path, while it is a property scale for change of state verbs (Beavers, 2011). Let us start by considering the examples in (13) below:

(13) (a) **Motion + lexicalised path scale**

i-sub =*d* *umyar* =*im*.
 3SGM-go.up.PRF =VENT old.man.CS =POSS.2SG
 ‘Your father-in-law came up.’

(b) **Appearance + lexicalised property scale**

lsi-γ =*d* *asndal d lisukat imlaln*.
 be.wearing.PRF-1SG =VENT sandals and socks white
 ‘I wore sandals and white socks; I put on sandals and white socks.’

(c) **Telicity +lexicalised property scale**

t-ħma =*d* *imnsi*.
 3SGF.be.hot.PRF =VENT dinner
 ‘She heated the dinner (completely).’

In terms of the events they denote, these verbs are very similar to those in (10-12), but do not trigger coercion effects. Where the two sets of verbs differ is in terms of their lexical properties. This is obvious for the verbs denoting motion events: *isub* ‘to go up’ lexicalises a direction, therefore a path, in addition to motion, while *išum* ‘to swim’ only lexicalises a manner⁷. For the other verbs under discussion, the distinction is more subtle. The verbs *yalsa* ‘to wear’ and *yħma* ‘to be hot’ belong to a special class of stative verbs, broadly discussed in the Berber literature (Guerssel, 1986; Chaker, 1993; Mettouchi, 2004), which can also encode change of states. Within the framework adopted here, these verbs can therefore lexicalise a property-type scale that is not available in *yəbzəgg* ‘to be wet’ and *yəγra* ‘to read’, which are respectively stative and activity verbs. Evidence that verbs like *yalsa* and *yħma* lexicalise a change of state, and hence a property scale comes from the fact that they can be interpreted with an inchoative meaning in the perfective, as well as a stative one (14a). By contrast, for a purely stative verb, like *yəbzəgg*, an inchoative reading is not available (14b).

- (14) (a) *y-ħma* *yimnsi*.
 3SGM-be.hot.PRF dinner.CS
 ‘The dinner is hot’ or ‘The dinner became hot.’
- (b) *t-bzgg* *yawk*.
 3SGF-be.wet.PRF all
 ‘She is completely soaked.’
 *‘She got completely soaked.’

Further evidence that the property scale lexicalised by change of state verbs is what makes modification by the deictic clitic available comes from the fact that, in contexts where such verbs co-occur with =*d*, only an inchoative reading is possible. This is shown in (15) with the verb *ili* ‘to open’.

- (15) *t-li* =*d* *tppurt*
 3SGF-open.PRF =VENT door.CS
 ‘The door opened.’ / *‘The door is open.’

Other stative-inchoative verbs – including *ili* ‘be open’, *ičad* ‘be burn’, *yəvna* ‘be built’, *ikər* ‘be awake/ stand’, *qim* ‘sit’ – also trigger use of the clitic as ‘to/toward

⁷As mentioned previously some manner verbs can be modified by the clitic, in which case the motion they describe is directed to or towards the speaker, which under the analysis developed here is unexpected since manner verbs of motion do not lexicalise a path. Interestingly, the manner verbs which allow modification by =*d* in Tikicurt include verbs such as *run*, *walk*, *jump*, which cross-linguistically have been found to often behave on a par with verbs lexicalising path, given the right context (Gehrke, 2006; Nikitina, 2008).

the speaker' in relevant pragmatic contexts. On the other hand, purely stative verbs like *yəbzəgg*, such as *yəzra* 'to know' or *ičud* 'to be attached', which do not lexicalise a scale, trigger coerced motion.

Apart from stative verbs, most of the verbs triggering coercion effects are incremental theme verbs. As well as *yəyra* 'to read', discussed in example (12), those include, amongst others, *itəlləm* 'to learn', *icucəf* 'to shower', *yəvdəl* 'to change', *yəctəh* 'to dance', *iduwəʔ* 'to hang out', *yəčč* 'to eat'⁸ (...). As is well-known, the main characteristic of incremental theme verbs is that the events they denote can be categorised as either activities (atelic) or accomplishments (telic) depending on whether their theme arguments provide a boundary or not (Vekuyl, 1989; Krifka, 1992; Tenny, 1994). The data from Tikicurt shows that whether these verbs occur within telic or atelic phrases does not alter coercion effects, something which would be expected if, as proposed in the literature, =*d* marked telicity. This can be illustrated again with the verb 'to read' in (16), where with both bounded and unbounded incremental themes, coerced motion is similar to what has been seen so far, the agent becomes the figure of a motion event whose path is a return-shape one.

(16) (a) *t-ayra* *taktat*.
 3SGF-read.PRF book
 'She read the book.'

(b) *t-ayra* =*d* *taktat* / *tiktabin*.
 3SGF-read.PRF =VEN book / books
 'She read the book/ books somewhere else and came back.'

Now, unlike stative verbs, incremental theme verbs are associated with a scalar change — one which involves a change of values along some scale —, so this raises the question why they do trigger coerced motion. A possible answer to this comes from parts of the literature where it has been argued (for English) that the scales on which these events are measured are provided by the incremental theme arguments rather than lexically encoded in the verbs (Rappaport Hovav, 2006; Levin & RH, 2010). An example such as (16b), 'she read the book/books', can be argued according to this view to involve a change in value over an extent or volume scale. Thus, as the event progresses more of the book is read. The volume scale on which the event is measured is however not lexically provided by the verb, as 'read' does not involve a change of volume or extent by itself, but it is indeed provided by the incremental theme 'book'. Incremental theme verbs are therefore additional evidence that the lexicalisation patterns of verbs also play a role in determining whether a particular event can be modified by =*d* or not.

⁸ The fact that an event of eating necessarily involves the disappearance of the theme argument does not seem to be what triggers coerced motion. Indeed some dialects, in which the itive clitic =*nn* contrasts with =*d*, use it with verbs semantically expressing disappearance. In such dialects, such as Tamashek (as reported in Heath, 1999), modification of 'eat' by either directional also gives rise to associated motion interpretations.

Before concluding, a couple of examples further highlighting the asymmetry between path/scale verbs and activity/ accomplishment verbs are discussed. The first pair of examples involves the verb *iduwər*, a motion verb which canonically describes a directed motion which can be translated as ‘to turn’. Interestingly, the verb can also describe an activity that can be translated as ‘to hang out’ or ‘to wander’. As shown in (17), this verb triggers coerced motion when used as an activity, but not when it is used as a path motion verb.

(17) (a) *t-duwr* =*d* *tumubil*.
 3SGF-turn.PRF =VENT car.CS
 ‘The car turned (in the direction of the speaker).’

(b) *t-duwr* =*d* *dunit kaml*.
 3SGF-hang.out.PRF =VENT world whole
 ‘She wandered around the world and came back (to the speaker).’

The second pair of examples involves the verb *iwala*, ambiguous between an achievement, ‘to see’, and an activity ‘to watch’. When the verb is used as an achievement (and thus involves a scale), it can be modified by the clitic (18a). However, speakers tend not to accept modifications by the clitic when *iwala* is used as an activity (18b).

(18) (a) *wala-γ* =*km* =(i)*d*, *illi*.
 see.PRF-1SG =ACC.2SGF =VEN daughter
 ‘I have seen you, my daughter.’
 *‘I watched you, my daughter.’

(b) ? *wala-γ* =*d* *tilivisiun tlatin n qiqā*.
 see.PRF-1SG =VEN television thirty of minute
 ‘I watched television thirty minutes.’

6. CONCLUSION

The small set of data presented here shows some correlation between the clitic encoding deictic path in Tikicurt and whether a verb lexicalises a scale such as directed paths and property scales. The claim here is not that the features outlined in the previous studies on =*d*, namely motion, visibility, appearance or telicity, do not contribute to its occurrence. These are of course pivotal as its ventive deixis makes it more likely to occur in these contexts. However, it seems that these factors are taken into account in addition to verbs lexicalization patterns. What this means if correct is that any verb which lexicalises a scale (and has an encyclopaedic meaning compatible with the deictic semantics of =*d*) can potentially be deictically anchored. From a typological point of view this makes Berber deictic path less restricted than deictic paths in the languages presented in the introduction, and makes it frequent, appearing outside motion contexts with deictically related meanings. The question has not been addressed here but this

frequency, originally led by paths, possibly manifests a particular typological property of Berber: the fact that deixis is salient, in the same way that manner is salient in a range of languages (Slobin, 2004), and that given the right pragmatic and semantic contexts, any event can be evaluated deictically.

This paper has presented preliminary results based on some verb classes only, so before concluding, I would like to briefly mention two classes of verbs that have not been explicitly discussed. The first one is a subclass of manner verbs of motion which do not trigger coerced reinterpretations. As briefly mentioned in a footnote, similar verbs have been found cross-linguistically to behave on a par with path verbs (Nikitina, 2008; Gehrke, 2006). One proposal (Nikitina, 2008) is that the motion described by these verbs involves traversal of a path, even though this is not encoded semantically. Given the right pragmatic context, these verbs can therefore function like lexical path verbs. In Tikicurt, it could be suggested that the reinterpretations arising when such verbs are modified by =*d* does not have to be as complex as the creation of motion event, but instead can simply reconstruct the path they are pragmatically associated with. Given that =*d* is primarily an expression of spatial deixis and thus probably primarily used in motion contexts, it is not surprising that its behaviour there is more complex than outside motion events. The second class are verbs which lexically select goal arguments, the V-*i*-NP class. The analysis presented here is still very much under development, but one hypothesis is that the specification of a goal in the lexical entry of these verbs is what makes the events they describe modifiable by the clitic.

REFERENCES

- Beavers, J. (2008b) On the nature of goal marking and delimitation: Evidence from Japanese. *Journal of Linguistics* 44: 283-316.
- Beavers, J. (2011) Aspectual Classes and Scales of Change in *Linguistics* (special issue).
- Bentolila, F. (1969) Les modalités d'orientation du process en berbère. *La Linguistique*, 1.
- Chaker, S. (1993) L'orientation du prédicat verbal in S. Chaker (ed) *Linguistique berbère : études de syntaxe et de diachronie*. Peeters Publishers : Louvain
- Choi-Jonin, I. & L. Sarda (2007) The Expression of Semantic Components and the Nature of Ground Entity in Orientation Motion Verbs: a Cross-Linguistic Account based on French and Korean in Aurnague et al. (Eds) *The Categorization of Spatial Entities in Language and Cognition*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- El Mountassir, A. (2000) Langage et espace. Les Particules d'orientation –*d*/–*nn* en berbère (tachelhit). In S. Chaker & A. Zaborcky (eds) *Études berbères et chamito-sémitiques: mélanges offerts à Karl-G. Prasse*. Peeters publishers.
- Fillmore, C. (1997) *Lectures on Deixis*. Centre for the Study of Language and Information.
- Fleisch, A. (2007) Orientational clitics and the expression of PATH in Tashehit Berber. *APAL* 5, pp. 55-72
- Fleisch, A. (2012) Directionality in Berber: Orientational clitics in Tashelhit and related varieties in Mietzner & Claudi (Eds) *Directionality in Grammar and Discourse: Case Studies from Africa*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Gehrke, B. (2006) "Putting Path in Place", in E. Puig-Waldmüller, ed., *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 11*, 244-260.

Guerssel, M. (1986) *On Berber Verbs of Change: A Study of Transitivity Alternations. Lexicon Project Working Papers 9*. MIT: Cambridge, MA. Guerssel, M. (1992) On the case system of Berber. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*. Vol. 37, n°2: pp. 175-95

Guillaume, A. (2009) Les suffixes verbaux de 'mouvement associé' en cavineña, in *Faits de Langues, Les Cahiers, N.1*. OPHRYS

Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I. (2009) Path Saliency in Motion Events in Guo et al. (Eds) *Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Psychology of Language: Research in the Tradition of Dan Isaac Slobin*. Psychology Press: New York

Jackendoff, R. (1990) *Semantic Structures*. Current Studies in Linguistics. MIT Press.

Krifka, M. (1992) Thematic relations as links between nominal reference and temporal constitution in Sag, I. A. & A. Szabolcsi (eds) *Lexical Matters*. Stanford University Press.

Levin, B. & M. Rappaport Hovav (2010) Lexicalized Scales and Verbs of Scalar Change, 46th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, April 8-10, 2010

Mettouchi, A. (1998) La Particule D en berbère (kabyle): transcatégorialité des marqueurs énonciatifs. In: Bernard Caron (ed.), *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Linguists, Paris 20-25 juillet 1997*. Oxford: Pergamon, Paper nr. 0270.

Mettouchi, A. (2004) Diathesis, Aspect and Stativity in Taqbaylit Berber. In *Nouvelles études berbères : le verbe et autres articles*. Berber Studies, vol.8. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag : Köln.

Mettouchi, A. (2011) The Grammaticalization of directional clitics in Berber, paper presented at the workshop 'Come and Go off the grammaticalization path', convened by J. van der Wal and M. Devos at the 44th Annual meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea.

Mietzner, A. & U. Claudi (2012) *Directionality in Grammar and Discourse: Case Studies from Africa*. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag: Köln.

Morita, T. (2011) Intratypological Variations in Motion Events in Japanese and French: Manner and Deixis as Parameters for Cross-Linguistic Comparison in *Revue de l'Association Française de Linguistique Cognitive*,

Nikitina, T. (2008) "Pragmatic Factors and Variation in the Expression of Spatial Goals: The Case of into vs. in", in A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, and R. Nouwen, eds., *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 175-209.

Rappaport Hovav, M. (2006) *Lexicalized Meaning and the Internal Temporal Structure of Events*. Ms The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Slobin, D. (2004) The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events. In S. Strömquist & L. Verhoeven (Eds.), *Relating events in narrative: Typological and contextual perspectives*.

Slobin, D. (2008) Relations between Paths of Motion and Paths of Vision, in V. M. Gathercole (Ed.) (2008), *Routes to Language: Studies in Honor of Melissa Bowerman* (pp.197-221).

Talmy, L. (2000) *Towards a Cognitive Semantics*. MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass.

Tenny, C. (1994) *Aspectual roles and the syntax-semantics interface*. The Language of Science series. Kluwer.

Verkuyl, H.J. (1989) Aspectual Classes and Aspectual Composition, in *Linguistics and Philosophy 12*, pp. 39-94.

Wilkins, D. (2006) Towards an Arrernte grammar of space, pp.24-62 in Stephen C. Levinson and D.P. Wilkins, [Grammars of space: explorations in cognitive diversity](#). CUP