



HAL
open science

The locus of gender in Tashlhiyt Berber nouns

Noam Faust, Mohamed Lahrouchi

► **To cite this version:**

Noam Faust, Mohamed Lahrouchi. The locus of gender in Tashlhiyt Berber nouns. Workshop on prefixes vs. suffixes in Afroasiatic, Mar 2022, Paris, France. halshs-03608028

HAL Id: halshs-03608028

<https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-03608028>

Submitted on 14 Mar 2022

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

The locus of gender in Tashlhiyt Berber nouns

Noam Faust & Mohamed Lahrouchi
UMR 7023 - SFL (CNRS & Université Paris 8)

1. Introduction

- Gender is a robust category in Afroasiatic languages; there is a binary distinction (masculine vs. feminine).
- Masculine generally has no overt marking, as opposed to feminine.
- Unlike in Semitic, where feminine gender is marked at the right edge of the noun (e.g. Arabic *tʰifl* ‘kid.MS’ / *tʰifl-a* ‘kid.FM’), Berber has this peculiar property of using what seems to be a “circumfix” (e.g. *afrux* ‘boy’ / *t-afrux-t* ‘girl’).
- Among feminine nouns, either part of this affix may not appear in certain nouns, giving rise to forms like:
 - *t-izi* ‘time’, *t-awda* ‘fear’, and *t-arg^{wa}* ‘stream, brook’
 - *l-bhim-t* ‘animal’, *l-ħrf-t* ‘profession’, and *l-mus^{ib}-t* ‘catastrophe’.
- The latter are borrowed nouns, mainly adapted from Arabic with their prefix /l-/ which does not denote definiteness.
- Interestingly, these loans may also exhibit a final vowel (usually [-a], feminine marker in Arabic) instead of suffix [-t] (e.g. *l-ħrf-a*, *l-mus^{ib}-a*).
- The existence of feminine nouns with only prefixed [t-] may lead to the conclusion that the canonical locus of gender is at the left edge of the noun.
- However, a key fact: feminine nouns of this type all end with a vowel.
- More generally, feminine nouns systematically end either with a vowel or with [t].
- No feminine noun ends with a consonant other than [t] (as opposed to masculine nouns which may end with any type of consonant).
- Based on evidence from native and loanwords morphology, we will propose that:
 - The canonical locus of gender is suffixal.
 - Its alleged circumfixal nature results from a copy of a [+gen] feature to an obligatory affixal position to the left of the nominal stem.
 - That is, a prefixal [t-] appears whenever the noun is feminine and the prefixal position is available.
- The proposal also explains several otherwise unmotivated facts in the nominal morphology:
 - The lack of feminine nouns ending in a consonant other than [t].
 - The complementary distribution, *among feminine nouns*, of final [t] and a stem final vowel (in triconsonantal stems).
 - The ubiquity of the prefix [l] in borrowed nouns.

2. Setting the problem: Gender inflection at both edges

2.1. Gender and other markers at the left edge

- Almost all studies of Berber morphology focus on the inflectional position at the left edge of the noun, in which not only gender, but also state/case and number can be marked (see Guerssel 1992, Ouhalla 1996, Annaji 2001, Bendjaballah 2011, Bendjaballah & Haiden 2008, Lahrouchi 2011, 2013, Shlonsky 2014, Ben Si Said 2020, among others).

(1) Gender, number and state alternations at the left edge

	SG				PL			
	FS		CS		FS		CS	
	MS	FM	MS	FM	MS	FM	MS	FM
'boy/girl'	a-frux	ta-frux-t	u-frux	t-frux-t	i-frx-an	ti-frx-in	i-frx-an	t-frx-in
'ox/cow'	a-funas	ta-funas-t	u-funas	t-funas-t	i-funas-n	ti-funas-in	i-funas-n	t-funas-in
'mouse'	a-Ɂrda	ta-Ɂrda-t	u-Ɂrda	t-Ɂrda-t	i-Ɂrda-jn	ti-Ɂrda-tin	i-Ɂrda-jn	t-Ɂrda-tin
'pigeon'	a-tbir	ta-tbir-t	u-tbir	t-tbir-t	i-tbir-n	ti-tbir-in	i-tbir-n	t-tbir-in

- The initial (thematic) vowel [a-] in the SG alternates with [i-] in the PL (coupled with -n suffixation).
- In the FM.PL, only initial [t-] appears (suffixed [-t] is replaced by a vowel -i-).
- FS [a-] alternates with CS [u-] in the M.SG forms, while the corresponding PL forms display an invariable vowel [i-].
- In the FM.SG, CS forms display only gender [t-] (without [u-]), similarly the corresponding PL forms lack the vowel [i-] in the CS.
- Table (2) summarizes the distribution of prefixes.

(2) The distribution of nominal prefixes

	SG		PL	
	MS	FM	MS	FM
FS	a-	ta-	i-	ti-
CS	u-	t-	i-	t-

- Some nouns show a stable initial vowel (3b), which remains unchanged in SG and PL, FS and CS: we shall refer to it as the “non-thematic” vowel.

(3) Thematic vs. non-thematic vowel (see Dell & Jebbour 1991)

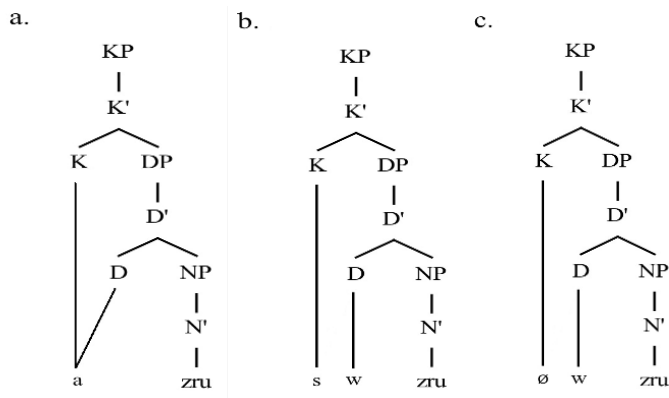
		SG	PL
a. ‘mountain’	FS	a-drar	i-drar-n
	CS	u-drar	i-drar-n
b. ‘widower’	FS	adgal	adgal-n
	CS	w-adgal	w-adgal-n

2.2. Previous analyses

Guerssel (1992)

- In the FS, initial [a] is analyzed as a kind of "portmanteau" morpheme which realizes two functional heads D and K.
- In the CS, initial [w] stands for D.

(4) [azru] 'rock-FS', [s wzru] 'with the rock', [wzru] 'rock-CS'



- According to Guerssel, the initial site is complex: it realizes two distinct syntactic heads.
- This point of view is further developed in Bendjaballah & Haiden (2008): each head corresponds to a CV unit.

Bendjaballah & Haiden (2008): Kabyle nouns

- In the FS, both CVs of the prefixal site (in bold) are filled (5a), in the CS only the inner CV is (5b).
- Following Lowenstamm (1991), peripheral vowels are analyzed as being underlyingly long.

(5) M.SG

a. FS: [axxam] 'house'

b. CS: [wəxxam]

CV CV CV CV CV CV

CV CV CV CV CV CV

\ / \ / | |

| \ / \ / |

a x a m

w x a m

(6) F.SG

a. FS: [θaxxamθ] 'room'

b. CS: [θəxxamθ]

CV CV CV CV CV CV CV

CV CV CV CV CV CV CV

| \ / \ / \ / | |

| \ / \ / | |

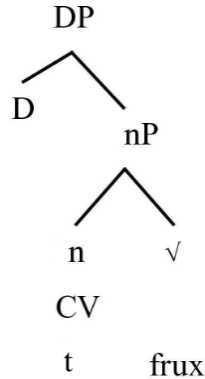
θ a x a m θ

θ ə x a m θ

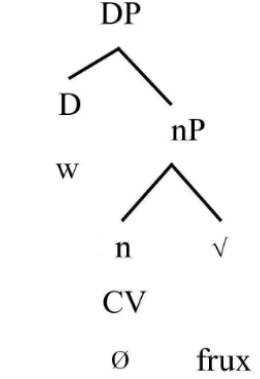
- FM marker [θ-] is associated to the outer CV in the FS form (6a), but to the inner CV in the CS (6b).
- [w-] and [θ-] compete for the same position (inner CV) in the CS.

Lahrouchi (2013) motivates the selection of [t-] through its lower morphosyntactic position.

(7) a. F CS: *tfruxt* ‘girl’



b. M CS: *wfrux* > [*ufrux*]



Bendjaballah (2011)

- Non-thematic vowels invade the inner CV of the prefixal site.

(8) A non-thematic vowel occupying part of the initial site: [asif] ‘river’ (CS [wasif])



2.3 Loanwords

- In loans (from Arabic or other languages), an [l-] is realized in the same site, **blocking all other markers.**

(9) Prefix [l-] in loanwords

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| a. | lbanju | ‘bathtub’ (Sp. [baɲo]) |
| | lbar ^ʕ aʒ ^ʕ | ‘dam’ (Fr [baʁaʒ]) |
| | las ^ʕ l | ‘ancestry’ (Ar [as ^ʕ l]) |
| | l ^ʕ or ^ʕ dinatur | ‘computer’ (Fr. [oʁdinatœʁ]) |
| | ladris | ‘address’ (Fr. [adʁes]) |
| b. | lkuzina | ‘kitchen’ (Sp. [kosina]) |
| | lmus ^ʕ ibt~lmus ^ʕ iba | ‘catastrophe’ (Ar. [mus ^ʕ iba]) |
| | lh ^ʕ rf~lh ^ʕ rfa | ‘profession’ (Ar. [h ^ʕ rfa]) |
| | lbakit _F | ‘package’ (Fr. [pake] _M) |
| | loqt _F | ‘time’ (Ar. [wəqt] _M) |
| | l ^ʕ anba | ‘lamp’ (Sp. [lampa]) |

- We are not aware of any study which has addressed this issue.

Summary From all of the above, it emerges that:

- Space in the initial site is limited: markers compete for realization in this site.
- Gender marking may be absent from the left edge (when there is an [l-])
- Gender marking is regular; it is always [t-].

- Not so at the right edge of the noun:

2.4 Gender at the right edge

- Less attention has been devoted in published work to gender inflection at the *right* edge of the noun (but see Idrissi 2000: 109).

(10) Gender marking at the right edge: C-final stems => form feminine with [-t]

M.SG		FM.SG	
afruχ	‘boy’	t-afruχ-t	‘girl’
afunas	‘ox’	t-afunas-t	‘cow’
azalim	‘onion (coll.)	t-azalim-t	‘onion (sing)’
aglaj	‘testicle’	t-aglaj-t	‘egg’
aʕalim	‘reed’	t-aʕalim-t	‘fishing rod’
iskr	‘fingernail’	t-iskr-t	‘garlic’

(11) Gender marking at the right edge, V-final stems: masculine+[-t] => feminine

M.SG		FM.SG	
isli	‘groom’	t-isli-t	‘bride’
aʕzri	‘teenager’	t-aʕzri-t	‘teenager’
ifili	‘string’	t-ifili-t	‘necklace’
azuknni	‘oregano’	t-azuknni-t	‘thyme’

FSG	t-urfa	‘alley’
	t-aguni	‘sleep’
	t-awda	‘fear’
	t-azzla	‘running’
	t-igmimi	‘house’

Summary:

	Stem C-final	Stem V-final
Masculine N	√	√
Feminine N	√ -t	√ no -t

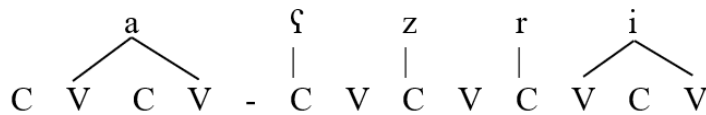
- Unlike at the left edge:
 - Gender is always marked; but
 - Gender marking is variable: it is either [-t] or a final vowel.
- Note that final vowels do not necessarily imply feminine gender.

▪ We will now show that the tools presented above predict the variability of gender marking at the right edge.

3. analysis

3.1. Basic cases

(12) M.SG V-final nouns



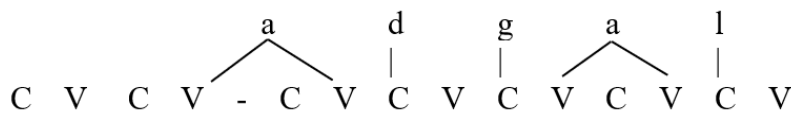
(13) Corresponding F form:



(14) Thematic vs. non-thematic nouns - reminder

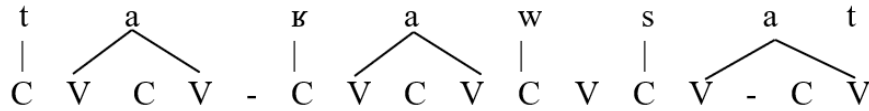
		SG	PL
a. 'mountain'	FS	a-drar	i-drar-n
	CS	u-drar	i-drar-n
b. 'widower'	FS	adgal	adgal-n
	CS	w-adgal	w-adgal-n

(15) Non-thematic vowel invading initial site (blocking number inflection)



- Prediction: at the right edge, too, a final vowel can spread to occupy the final site, thereby blocking gender inflection [-t].

(16) Non-thematic vowel invading final site, blocking [-t]



- This derives vowel-final feminine nouns.

=> A feminine noun can be either vowel-final or [t]-final.

3.2. Support form loans

- The obligatoriness of gender marking at the right edge is also true of loanwords, where - as will be recalled - [l] blocks all inflection at the *left* edge.

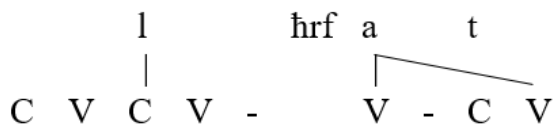
- Again, one finds either a final vowel *or* a final [t], and *sometimes variation* between the two.

(17) V-final feminine loanwords

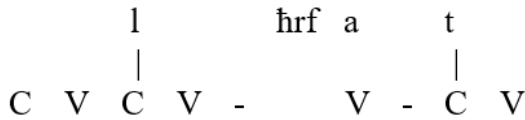
lkuzina	‘kitchen’ (Sp. [kosina])
lmus ^s ibt~lmus ^s iba	‘catastrophe’ (Ar. [mus ^s iba])
lħrft~lħrfa	‘profession’ (Ar. [ħrfa])
lbakit _F	‘package’ (Fr. [pake] _M)
loqt _F	‘time’ (Ar. [wəqt] _M)
lʿanba	‘lamp’ (Sp. [lampa])

- Sometimes, loans with original masculine gender become feminine because they are vowel final: [lpartma]_F ‘apartment’ [lmagaza]_F ‘store’ (both M in French).

(18) Vowel-final feminine loan



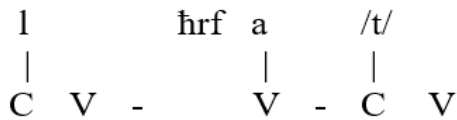
(19) Same noun, [t]-final: /a/ cannot associate, only one position



- We do not know *why* [t-] is blocked from the *left* edge in these cases, only that [l] blocks it as it does all other inflection.

- Possibly, since loans are not inflected for state, they simply lack the first of the two prefixal CVs:

(20) No place for gender-marking prefix [t-] in loans



To summarize, loans show that

- Final vowels and [t] alternate in gender marking.
 - Assuming [l] occupies the only initial CV, [t-] is blocked from appearing at the left edge.
- => appears only in its canonical position, at the right edge.

4. Thematization

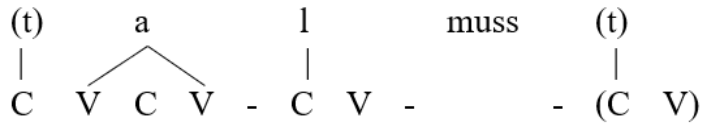
- loans carrying [l-] *can* undergo a process of thematization in evaluative morphology; and the blocking of regular inflection by [l] is undone:

(21) Thematized loans

<i>Loan</i>	<i>Augmentative</i>	<i>Diminutive</i>	
l-muss	a-l-muss	t-a-l-muss-t	‘knife’
l-kamjun	a-l-kamjun	t-a-l-kamjun-t	‘truck’
l-gar ^ʕ aʒ ^ʕ	a-l-gar ^ʕ aʒ ^ʕ	t-a-l-gar ^ʕ aʒ ^ʕ -t	‘garage’
l-brmil	a-l-brmil	t-a-l-brmil-t	‘barrel’

- We interpret this as the addition of another inflectional site on top of the lower one; as well as the final site in diminutives.

(22) A thematized loan



5. Concluding remarks

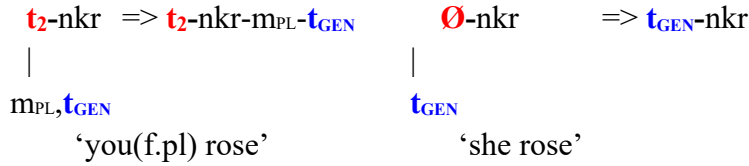
- All feminine nouns are marked on the right edge either by [t] or by the occupation of the gender position by the stem final vowel.
- This position is *always* realized.
- Its realization by the vowel or [t] is an unpredictable, idiosyncratic property of the feminine noun, (as opposed to the realization of [t] at the *left* edge, which is completely regular).
- We therefore designate the final position as the basic/canonical position.
- The initial [t] is the realization of a copied gender feature; it is realized unless blocked by [l].

Extension: An alleged circumfix also appears in verbs (in color).

(23) Verbal paradigm [nkr] ‘rise’

		Sg		pl
1		nkr-∅		n-nkr
2	M	t-nkr-t		t-nkr-m
	F			t-nkr-m-t
3	M	i-nkr		nkr-n
	F	t-nkr		nkr-n-t

- However, one can assume that the initial [t] stands for 2p (as evidenced by the two 2p plurals); only the 2nd [t] is a feminine marker.
- In the 3p.f.sg, feminine [t] can appear at the left edge *because* there is no person marking (see Harbour 2007: Person dominates gender/number and pushes them to the right edge).



- Under this view, verbs, unlike nouns, have a canonical position at the *left* edge.

(There are complications, but they’re for future research!)

References

- Bendjaballah, S., 2011. Note sur la voyelle initiale stable en kabyle. In: Mettouchi, A. (Ed.) *Parcours berbères : Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand pour leur 90ème anniversaire*, 417–434. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Bendjaballah, S. & Haiden, M., 2008. A Typology of Emptiness in Templates. In: Hartmann, J., Hegedüs, V. & van Riemsdijk, H. (eds.), *Sounds of Silence: Empty Elements in Syntax and Phonology*, 2-59. Elsevier, Oxford, Amsterdam.
- Ben Si Said, S., 2020. La voyelle initiale des noms et l’état d’annexion en kabyle (berbère). *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue Canadienne De Linguistique* 65(2): 155-180.
- Dell, F. & Jebbour, A., 1991. Phonotactique des noms à voyelle initiale en berbère (chleuh de Tiznit, Maroc). *Linguistic Analysis* 21, 119-147.
- Ennaji, M., 2001. The Construct State in Berber. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 31/2, 55-72.
- Guerssel, M., 1992. On the Case System of Berber. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 37/2: 175-195.
- Harbour, D., 2007. Against PersonP. *Syntax* vol. 10 (3): 223 - 242
- Idrissi, A., 2000. On Berber plurals. In: Lecarme, J., Lowenstamm, J. & Shlonsky, U. (Eds.), *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar*, 101-124. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Lahrouchi, M. 2011. Têtes et gabarits. *Études et Documents Berbères* 29-30: 255-274.
- Lahrouchi, M. & Ségéral, P., 2010. Peripheral vowels in Tashlhiyt Berber are phonologically long: Evidence from Tagnawt, a secret language used by women. *Brill’s Annual of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 2: 202-212.
- Lahrouchi, M., 2013. Templates, markers and syntactic structure. *Lingua* 133: 53-72.
- Lowenstamm, J., 1991. Vocalic length and centralization in two branches of Semitic (Ethiopic and Arabic). In: Kaye, A. (Ed.), *Semitic Studies in honor of Wolf Leslau on the occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday*, 949-965. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden
- Lowenstamm, J., 1996. CV as the only syllable type. In: Durand, J. & Laks, B. (Eds.), *Current Trends in Phonology: Models and Methods*, vol. 2, 419-441. European Studies Research Institute, University of Salford.
- Lowenstamm, J., 1999. The Beginning of the word. In: Rennison, J. & Kühnhammer, K. (Eds.), *Phonologica*, 153-166. Holland Academic Graphics, The Hague.
- Ouhalla, J., 1996. The Construct State in Berber. In: Lecarme, J., Lowenstamm, J. & Shlonsky, U. (Eds.), *Studies in Afroasiatic Grammar*, 278-301. Holland Academic Graphics: The Hague.

Shlonsky, U. 2014. A note on labeling, Berber states and VSO order. In: Bendjaballah, S., Faust, N., Lahrouchi, M. & Lampitelli, N. (Eds.), *The Form of Structure, the Structure of Form*, 349-360. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.