

The Use of the Ventive Marker *dd* in Figuig Berber Narratives¹

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ABSTRACT

In this article, the uses of the ventive particle *dd* in Figuig Berber fairy tales (eastern Morocco) are studied. It is shown that the interpretation of this particle depends on the semantics of the verb it is associated with. While with most verbs the main meaning is ‘towards the speaker’ or a metaphorical extension of this, with some verbs, such as verbs of taking and holding, the meaning takes the subject of the verb into account rather than the speaker.

In the second part of the article, I illustrate the way the ventive is used in the narrative portions of the tales as a stylistic device that provides something like a camera perspective.

Keywords: *ventive, Berber, narrative style, perspective.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Most Berber languages have one or two verbal clitics that typically express whether the action takes place in the direction of the speaker (or some other deictic center) or away from the speaker. Following the tradition in Berber studies (e.g., Bentolila 1969a, 1969b; Penchoen 1973: 57; Galand 1988: 228; also Fleisch 2007; 2012), these will be called orientational particles.

In this article, we will focus on traditional narratives and anecdotes from Figuig in eastern Morocco.² In Figuig Berber, only one orientational clitic is used,

¹ I wish to thank here in the first place the story tellers who were so kind to let their traditions be recorded for me, their family members that made the recordings, or brought me into contact with them, and the many people that helped me in transcribing the recordings. Because of the importance attached to privacy by most Figuig women, the names of the story tellers have been anonymized. I should also like to thank Hassane Benamara Fouad Saa for discussions. Special thank goes to Axel Fleisch for his many important remarks and comments. Of course, all responsibility for errors or flaws in the argument are to be blamed on the author.

² Most important works on Figuig Berber are Saa (2010, originally 1995); Kossmann (1997); Ben-Abbas (2003); Sahli (2008); Benamara (2013). Kossmann (2000) studies Figuig Berber and other eastern Moroccan fairy tales from a stylistic perspective, and provides two stories told by <A>. Benamara (2011) is an edition of traditional tales of the same type that are the basis of our analysis. As Benamara did not transcribe the stories from tape (Benamara 2011: 5), I will not use his corpus in the present analysis; it should be noted, however, that he has succeeded in approaching traditional oral style remarkably well.

dd, that mainly conveys that an action takes place towards the speaker. This function will be called here “ventive”. Different from other Berber languages, such as Tashelhiyt (El Mountassir 2000), Middle Atlas Berber (Bentolila 1969a; 1969b), Western Kabyle (Mettouchi *fc.*), and Tuareg (Heath 2005), there is no orientational clitic that expresses direction away from the speaker. With the exception of the superficial and partly incorrect notes on *dd* in Kossmann (1997: 238–240), no analysis is available of its uses in Figuig Berber.

A short description of the function of the orientational clitics has been part of grammars of Berber languages from Hanoteau (1858: 196) onwards, and the importance of orientation with regard to the speaker is a generally mentioned fact. It has also been clear from early on that the orientational clitics cannot exclusively be defined in terms of spatial movement. This was eloquently expressed by André Basset: “Mais le jeu de ces particules, l’un des plus délicats de la langue, est infiniment plus complexe et nous restons souvent, pour la particule **d**, en présence d’emplois dont nous ne saisissons pas encore bien la raison d’être” (Basset 1952: 36).

Since Basset, a number of more specific investigations concerning the orientational clitics have shed light on this question. Bentolila (1969a; 1969b) provides an in-depth study of the use of the clitics in the Ayt Seghrushen variety spoken in Oum Jeniba (eastern Middle Atlas, Morocco). Aït Ahmed (1992) and Mettouchi (1997; *fc.*) show that in Kabyle (Algeria) the orientational clitic *d*

The following non-IPA transcription conventions were used: *š* for [ʃ], *ž* for [ʒ], *y* for [j]; *ε* for [ʁ], *h* for [ħ]. Except with *h*, a dot underneath the letter means pharyngealization. In Figuig, *dd* is pronounced as voiceless ([tː]). It remains opposed to *tt*, which has strong assibilation ([tːʰ]). The glossing system follows similar conventions to those used in Kossmann (2013: 6–10), although abbreviations are slightly different. The following abbreviations are used: A = Aorist; AD = the particle *ad/a/ala* that indicates a non-realized event; AS = Annexed State (état d’annexion); DIST = distal; DO = direct object; F = feminine; FS = Free state (état libre); FUT = future; I = Imperfective; IMPT = Imperative; IO = indirect object; M = masculine; NEG = (preverbal) negation; NEG2 = postverbal negation; NP = Negative Perfective; P = Perfective; PL = plural; PRX = proximal; S = singular; VNT = ventive. The abbreviations between <> refer to the different story tellers (see below).

One may note that some of the pronominal clitics in Figuig Berber are quite different in form from those found in other Berber varieties; for an overview, see Kossmann (1997: 177–184). Moreover, their placement is not always exactly as found elsewhere (cf. Kossmann 1997: 190–191). The analysis of cliticization is problematic; in the transcription, I have chosen to write the clitic complex (IO + DO + *dd*) as a whole, using = to distinguish the different clitics. When following the verb, the clitic complex is joined to the verb by means of =; when immediately preceding the verb, it is also joined by =. When an element comes in between the clitic complex and the verb, it is not joined to the verb orthographically. Note that in Figuig preverbal clitics cannot be analyzed as being cliticized to some preceding element, as the operation also occurs in contexts where such an element is absent, e.g. in relative clauses (Kossmann 1997: 265; 316–320).

The presentation of the examples includes contextual information wherever I think this is necessary for the interpretation. Elements between square brackets are hesitations, false starts, or, in the case of [xxx], elements I could not understand. Within a text example ... indicates that the word or the phrase was not completed.

expresses many more functions than movement in space alone. El Mountassir (2000) provides an elaborate taxonomy of usage of the orientational clitics in Tashelhiyt (southern Morocco), based to a large degree on native speaker intuitions. Recently, the question has been studied in more detail by Aoumer (2008; 2011) and Mettouchi (fc.) for Kabyle, as well as by Axel Fleisch for Tashelhiyt (2007; 2012)

In the presentation of the facts, researchers (excepting Mettouchi 1997) seem to agree that most usages of *dd* can be interpreted as being focussed on a deictic center, mostly the speaker. Depending on the author, non-directional meanings are presented as extensions of this directional meaning, or *dd* is given a more encompassing meaning that fits all usages, such as viewpoint (Mettouchi fc.) or subjectification; the latter process is considered by Fleisch (2007, 2012)³ as the driving force behind the (diachronic) semantic development he proposes.

Most researchers seem to accept a historical relationship between the orientational clitics and some of the nominal deictic clitics, e.g., Tashelhiyt *ad* ‘proximal’, *nn* ‘distal’. As stressed by Fleisch (2012), the latter elements are different from the verbal clitics, as they do not express direction but location. In the framework of the present article, which is not about the history of the clitic *dd* but about its use, we will not dwell further upon this question. In Figuig Berber, there is no synchronic relation between the single orientational clitic *dd* and the post-nominal deictic clitics *u* ‘proximal’ and *ənn* ‘distal’.

The article tackles two questions relevant to the use of *dd* in Figuig Berber. The first part focusses on its meaning in relation to types of event (see for comparable approaches Bentolila 1969a; 1969b; Aoumar 2008; Mettouchi fc.). It is not about lexical semantics of the verbs *per se*, although this plays an important role, and may be the leading force behind the choice of *dd* in some cases. However, many verbs can express meanings pertaining to different types of event, and in such cases it is the event, and not the lexical verb, that is taken as the basis of the discussion. Similar to Bentolila (1969a; 1969b), I think it is worthwhile to endeavor a reduction of the usages towards a basic directional meaning ‘towards a deictic center’ – the choice of the deictic center depends on the event type (see below). Obviously, this reduction does not explain all uses of *dd* (Mettouchi 1997; fc.). All this is meant to be a basis for the presentation of the usages of *dd*, not as a theoretical statement. No doubt, it would be possible to describe the same facts using different assumptions, and more elaborate theoretical embedding. I hope the presentation will be rich enough in order to allow for a reanalysis according to other approaches.

The second part focusses on the way the person-oriented uses of *dd* are employed in narrative style. Traditional fictional narratives are normally set in an undetermined geographical context in an undetermined past. Story tellers do not interfere personally in the story by commenting on what is happening, nor by expressing strong opinions about the events (see Kossmann 2000). Thus these

³ Penchoen (1973: 58) uses the same term, but in a more restricted sense.

tales are set in a world of which the story teller is not a part. Still the orientational clitics are very common in these stories, and therefore their function is important for understanding the way the narrative space is constructed by the story teller (cf. El Mountassir 2000: 147–152 for a similar analysis within Tashelhiyt).

The data on which this article is based come from a corpus of about 4.5 hours of (fastly) spoken narratives,⁴ recorded in the early 1990s in Figuig and Bouarfa. Almost all speakers come from the *kçar* Zenaga; only one speaker, <F>, comes from the *kçar* Elmaiz (on dialectal variation in Figuig, see Ben-Abbas 2003). Even within Zenaga, there are minor dialectal and idiolectal differences, especially in the use of forms with *l* or with *n* in the prepositions *l/n* ‘to’, *al/an* ‘until’ and in the negator *ul/un*. The transcriptions are true to the variant of the speaker. The stories were told by a number of different performers. In the first place, a number of middle-aged⁵ and older women, all experienced story tellers, were recorded: <A> (middle-aged woman; Zenaga); (old woman; Zenaga); <F> (old woman; Elmaiz); <C> (middle-aged woman; Zenaga). In addition, two other female story tellers were recorded, who were less sure in their performance, but still remarkable story tellers: <O> (middle-aged woman from Zenaga living in Bouarfa); <Z> (young woman; Zenaga). Two young males also recorded a number of traditional stories <D> and <E>. Although they have a good knowledge of the stories, and tell them with skill and delight, their style seems to be a bit different from that of traditional story telling, as visible, for example, in their lack of the use of the sequential Aorist (see Kossmann 1997: 348ff. on this construction). Two more middle-aged men were recorded telling anecdotes. From one of them only one anecdote has been taken down; the other, <M>, gave me a long series of anecdotes. The anecdotes told by <M>, as well as the fairy tales told by <O> were recorded by the author. The other recordings were made for him by members of the families of the story tellers. Most recordings are of reasonable sound quality; however, especially the recording of <F> has many technical problems. Unfortunately, parts of her stories are therefore difficult or impossible to interpret.

The stories were written down by the author in collaboration with native speakers of the language. These transcriptions were later on compared to the recordings and adjusted wherever necessary. No specific fieldwork was done studying the reactions of native speakers to certain uses. For the present article, no complementary data on *dd* were elicited.

The entire corpus used consists of narratives. As *dd* is an element entrenched in social interaction, this means that no doubt important shades of meaning and use remain undescribed. Thus, for example, I have no instances in the corpus of bodily fluids secretion events (Fleisch 2007: 60). On the other hand, I think using

⁴ This amounts to about 38,000 words in total. The same corpus is the basis of Kossmann (fc.).

⁵ I have no precise data as to the age of the story tellers, except for <F> who, according to the person who made the recording, was 90 years old. With “young” I mean below 25; “middle-aged” is between 40 and 60, while “old” is over 60. Ages are according to the time of recording.

(8)

yamma-tnəx u dd šay t-tis i lwəqt=u.
 mother-1PL NEG VNT NEG2 3S:F-come:NI in time=PRX
 ‘our mother does not come (*dd*) at this time’ <D>

The element *dd* has an allomorph *id* when following the 3S:M direct object pronoun *t*. With other pronouns only *dd* is found, e.g.:

(9)

t-isi=t=id yišš n twəssart
 3S:F-take:P=3S:M:DO=VNT one:F of old:S:F:AS
 ‘an old woman took him (*dd*)’ <O>

(10)

t-isi=tən=dd
 3S:F-take:P=3PL:M:DO=VNT
 ‘she took them (*dd*)’ <A>

(11)

isi=tət=dd
 take:A:IMPT:S=3S:F:DO=VNT
 ‘take her (*dd*)’ <A>

First person indirect objects normally imply (metaphoric) directionality towards the speaker, and are, in most Berber languages, very often combined with *dd*. In Figuig, this use has become obligatory, and it is impossible to have the 1S and 1PL indirect object clitics without *dd*. Thus the pronouns and *dd* form one single element, *idd*, *axdd* (Kossmann 1997: 183). Morphosyntactically, a third person direct object pronoun can come in between the indirect object pronoun and *dd*, examples:

(12)

nna-n=idd
 say:P-3PL:M=1S:IO
 ‘they said to me’ <Z>

(13)

nna-n=axdd
 say:P-3PL:M=1PL:IO
 ‘they said to us’ <Z>

(14)

day uš=i=t=id
 just give:A:IMPT:S=1S:IO=3S:M:DO=1S:IO
 ‘just give it to me’ <O>

(15)

day ruḥ awy=ax=t=id
 just go:IMPT:S carry:A:IMPT:S=1PL:IO=3S:M:DO=1PL:IO
 ‘just go and bring him to me’ <O>

Semantically, *axdd* and *idd* do no more express direction towards the speaker. This is especially clear from ethical uses of the dative (when something is done on behalf or to the detriment of the speaker), which can be combined with a movement away from the speaker. In this case, the *dd* element still appears, e.g.:

- (16) Context: An old woman complains how the people have made her son leave her.

mmi *ħarf-ən=ss,* *t-uzn=i=t=id*
 son send.away:P-3PL:M=3S:M:DO 3S:F-send:P=1S:IO=3S:M:DO=1S:DO

twəssart [*ad i...*] *ad i-mmət.*
 old:S:F:AS AD 3S:M-die:A

‘my son, they sent him away, an old woman sent him away (to my detriment) so that he would die’ <A>

In this context, the sending has taken place away from the speaker. However, the presence of a first person indirect object pronoun leads to the presence of *dd* in *tuzn=i=t=id*. For an analysis of the use of *dd*, the first person indirect object pronouns are therefore irrelevant, and they will not be taken into consideration further.

2. USES OF THE VENTIVE

With most verbs, the ventive is basically used to convey that an action occurs in the direction of the speaker. This is most strongly visible in events – and with verbs – with a clear directionality. Thus, there is a clear difference between the two sentences below, depending on whether the speaker is in Figuig or not:

- (17)

y-iwəd=dd *l ifəyyəy*
 3S:M-arrive:P=VNT to Figuig
 ‘he has arrived (here) in Figuig’ (with *dd*) (Kossmann 1997: 238)

- (18)

y-iwəd *l ifəyyəy*
 3S:M-arrive:P to Figuig
 ‘he has arrived (there) in Figuig’ (without *dd*) (Kossmann 1997: 238)

The first sentence is only possible when the speaker is also in Figuig at the moment of speaking, while the second sentence can only be said when the speaker is not in Figuig.

Events with less inherent directionality can also be used with *dd*. The exact meaning of this usage is not always clear. In some cases it seems to convey temporal interpretations that are closer to the time of speaking; such uses can be

considered metaphorical extensions of the notion ‘towards the speaker’. This is the way my spokesmen explained the use of *dd* in the following elicited sentences:

(19)

i-syu=dd *taqədditt*
 3S:M-buy:P=VNT meat:FS
 ‘he has just bought meat’ (with *dd*) (Kossmann 1997: 239)

(20)

sa *dd=i-səy* *taqədditt*
 FUT VNT=3S:M-buy:A meat:FS
 ‘he will buy meat immediately’ (with *dd*) (Kossmann 1997: 240)

One notes, however, that in the corpus the verb *səy* ‘to buy’ is quite often constructed with *dd* without any clear temporal implication (see 2.7).

It is important to note that *dd* is never used with states. This includes verbs of being, like *ili* ‘to be’ and *xləq* ‘to be’, which, in our corpus, are never combined with *dd*.⁶

In the following, the uses of *dd* will be classified according to event type.

2.1 EVENTS OF HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT

With events in which the subject moves from one place to another in a basically horizontal direction, *dd* expresses that this movement takes place in the direction of the speaker (on vertical movement, see 3.1), e.g.:

(21) Context: A woman tells her son how she left her country, arrived at the ogre’s house and then fled to where she lives (and speaks) now. The ogre’s house is closer to her current location than where she originally came from.

n-əxləq *a* *wlidi* *n-əhžər=dd* *ləblad* *n-əxləq* *d* *lmasakin*,
 1PL-be:P o my.son 1PL-leave:P=VNT country 1PL-be:P PRED poor.people

*n-əqqəs=dd*⁷ *ikk* *idžən* *n* *uḍəwwar* *n-əttər* *yr-əs* *difrəppi* (...).
 1PL-explode:P=VNT in one:M of camp:AS 1PL-ask.for:P at-3S hospitality

n-ərɰwəl=dd *a* *wlidi*, *rəwl-əx=dd*.
 1PL-flee:P=VNT o my.son flee:P-1S-VNT

raḥ-əx *an* *ppa-š* *nni-γ=as:* “*aṛwaḥ* *an* *n-əzwa*”,
 go:P-1S until father-2S:M say:P-1S=3S:IO come! AD 1PL-go.away:A

⁶ This is different from Tashelhiyt, where *d* can be combined with *ili* in order to convey an inchoative (El Mountassir 2000: 140).

⁷ Here to be interpreted in the sense of ‘to arrive at a place that one had not foreseen’; see below.

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y-uyy=idd *ad* *i-zwa,*
 3S:M-refuse:P=1S:IO AD 3S:M-go.away:A

nətš [xxx] zwi-x=dd *yəl-da* *n* *unn* *n* *uḍəwwar*
 I go.away:P-1S=VNT to-here to this:AS of camp:AS
 ‘we had, my son, emigrated (*dd*) from our country as poor people, we came across (*dd*) a village and asked for hospitality (...). We fled (*dd*), my son, I fled (*dd*). I went to your father and told him: “come, let’s go away!”, he refused (to me) to go, so I went away (*dd*) here to this nomad camp.’ <A>

In this description, all movements taking place in the direction of the present location of the speaker are marked by *dd*: *hžər* ‘leave (a country)’; *ɾwəl* ‘flee’; *zwa* ‘go away’.

In a number of verbs, the difference between movement verbs with and without *dd* is particularly clear, e.g., *awəy* ‘to carry to’. Compare the following fragments, both from dialogues:

(22) Context: A mother orders her son to get grease.
ruh *awəy=dd* *s* *at=xali-š* *tadunt*
 go:IMPT:S carry:A:IMPT:S=VNT from those.of=uncle-2S:M grease:FS
 ‘go and bring (*dd*) grease from the family of your uncle.’ <D>

(23) Context: A servant is given order to bring food to the newly weds.
ɾwah *awəy* *i* *sidi-m* [*ad* *t-təš,*] *ad* *i-təš*
 come! carry:A:IMP:S to master-2S:F [AD 3S:F-eat:A] AD 3S:M-eat:A
 ‘come, bring to your master something [she can eat,] he can eat.’ <A>

In the latter case, the food is not taken to the speaker (not explicitly identified in the story, but no doubt the mother of the bridegroom), so *awəy* is used without *dd*.

In narrative stretches the ventive use of the particle *dd* can be used to present the perspective of the story, i.e., a deictic center constructed by the narrator. As this will be the subject of analysis in section 3.2, we will not go into detail about this here.

There are a number of verbs whose semantics explicitly focus on the source or on the goal of the movement. As shown above with *awəy* (a goal-oriented verb), the direction of the movement does not necessarily correspond to the place of the speaker, and both ventive and non-ventive constructions are possible.

A similar situation is found with the antonyms *ffəy* ‘to go out’ and *atəf* ‘to go in’. The presence or absence of *dd* with these verbs depends on the place of the speaker or, in narrative stretches, the deictic center constructed by the story teller, e.g.:

(24)
sad *atf-əx* *l* *lmalik.*
 FUT enter:A-1S to king
 ‘I want to enter at the king’s’ <M>

(25)

t-əxs-əd *a nanna a dd yr-i t-ətf-əd?*
 2S-want:P-2S o mylady AD VNT at-1S 2S-enter:A-2S
 ‘do you want, mylady, come in at my place?’ <Z>

In the first sentence, the speaker is standing outside the palace, and therefore the entering event is away from the speaker. In the second sentence, the speaker is inside the house, so the entering takes place towards him. Different from what is described in Bentolila (1969b: 91–93), there does not seem to be a strong correlation between the use of *ffəy* in the sense of ‘going out of an enclosed space’ and the use of *dd*. Compare the following sentences, where the presence or absence of *dd* is clearly an expression of different deictic centers:

(26)

si dd=i-ffəy sukk yəzzar
 since VNT=3S:M-exit:P from butcher:AS

wi ss mma i-lqa-n y-ini=yas
 who 3S:M:DO (who)ever PTC-meet:P-PTC 3S:M-say:A=3S:IO
 ‘From the moment he went out (*dd*) from the butcher’s, everyone he met said...’ <M>

(27)

day [mi d əhh] mi t-əffəy d ššqaq
 just when 3S:F-exit:P with alley

qqim təayar-ənt=tət tqəyyarin
 sit call.names:I-3PL:F=3S:F:DO girls:AS
 ‘every time she would go out (no *dd*) into the alley, the girls would call her names...’
 <A>

The first example comes from a scene where everything happens in the street; the deictic center is clearly outside, hence the use of *dd* with *ffəy*. The second example comes from a part of the story that is centered inside the house of the girl; here the deictic center is clearly in the house and *dd* is not used.

There are also a number of verbs whose semantics exclusively express the fact of movement and its orientation, similar to English ‘come’ and ‘go’. In Figuig Berber, such verbs show strong preferences for the presence or absence of *dd*.

With the source-oriented verb *zwa* (‘go away’), there is strong preference for non-ventive constructions: on a total of 140 instances, only 10 are expressed with *dd*. This is best considered an effect of pragmatics: when focusing on the source of a movement, it is unexpected that the deictic center of the sentence would be the goal.⁸ This is not impossible, though, as shown above (ex. 21), where the story

⁸ In elicitation *zwa* was not accepted with *dd*. Its appearance in the texts clearly shows that *zwa=dd* is possible, given the right context.

of how the woman came to live with the nomads includes a verb *z̄wix=dd* ‘I went away (towards this place)’. In narrative stretches, one can find similar effects, e.g.:

- (28) Context: A boy has hidden himself in order to spy on his servant, who turns out to be his sister.

yawkan i-z̄wa=dd yr-əs i-ttafəy, i-nna=yas:
 then 3S:M-go.away:P=VNT at-3S 3S:M-fly:I 3S:M-say:P=3S:IO
 ‘then he went away running (*dd*) towards her and said’ <A>

- (29) Context: A woman and her son make a plan that she will go out with jugs and that he will pretend to break them accidentally.

t-əkkər, t-əffəy=dd s iqlilən nn-əs, (...),
 3S:F-rise:P 3S:F-exit:P=VNT with jugs of-3S

i-z̄wa=dd i-ttafəy ann n mmi-s, s uyis,
 3S:M-go.away:P=VNT 3S:M-fly:I that of son-3S with horse:AS

i-ħazm=it, r̄r̄z-ən iqlilən nn-əs,
 3S:M-knock.over:P=3S:F:DO break:P-3PL:M jugs of-3S

t-əbda t-ill.
 3S:F-start:P 3S:F-cry:I

‘she went out (*dd*) with her jugs, (...), her son went away there (*dd*) running (i.e. galloping), knocked her over, her jugs broke and she started to cry’ <D>

In both fragments, the deictic center lies away from the source of the movement: in the case of the boy and his sister, the story has been focusing on the sister thus far; in the case of the woman and her son, the element *dd* in *təffəy=dd* ‘she went out’ makes clear that the deictic center is on the street where she takes her jugs and where her son is heading. In such contexts, the going away of the subject takes place towards the deictic center, and therefore *dd* is allowed.

This kind of explanation may not be applicable to two other verbs expressing movement: *raħ* ‘to go’ and *as* ‘to come’. These verbs strongly incorporate a notion of a deictic center in their semantics, *raħ* being a movement from the center, *as* being a movement towards it. In the case of *raħ* this leads to a ban on combining it with *dd*: among more than 175 attestations there is not one attestation of the verb taking *dd*.⁹

With the verb *as* ‘to come’, the movement takes place towards the deictic center, and the use of *dd* is all but obligatory. Among about 150 attestations, only

⁹ A similar situation is found with *ddu* ‘to go’ in Tashelhiyt (El Mountassir 2000: 137). In Ayt Seghrushen, on the other hand, *raħ* ‘to go’ is freely combined with the orientational clitics (Bentolila 1969a, 1969b); the same seems to be the case in Kabyle (Aoumer 2008: 208; Mettouchi *fc.*). Note that the absence of *ddu* in Bentolila’s work, cautiously cited by Fleisch as possible evidence for non-compatibility of the orientational clitics with this verb (Fleisch 2012: 133), is explained by the fact that Ayt Seghrushen, like Figuig, does not have the verb *ddu* at all.

very few cases without *dd* were found.¹⁰ In such cases, there seems to be a mismatch between the deictic center as constructed by the verb, and the perspective of the speaker. A relatively straightforward example is the following:

(30)

iwa day mikk rah-ən n ša n umšan,
 well just when go:P-3PL:M to some of place:AS
day mi t-us t-ini=yas
 only when 3S:F-come:P 3S:F-say:A=3S:IO
 ‘well every time they would go to a certain place, every time she would come (there), she would say’

In this case the unspecified location *n ša n umšan* ‘to a certain place’ is less suitable as a deictic center on the level of the story telling, and there seems to be a subtle play with different deictic centers. Even more intricate is the following passage:

(31) Context: Two women have fled the house of the ogress in her absence.

i t-ədwəl təmza t-tɾaεa=tənt
 when 3S:F-come.back:P ogress:AS 3S:F-wait.for:I=3PL:F:DO

a dd=as-ənt, a dd=as-ənt un usi-nt...
 AD VNT=come:A-3PL:F AD VNT=come:A-3PL:F NEG come:NP-3PL:F
 ‘when the ogress came back she waited for them that they would come (*dd*) that they would come (*dd*), but they did not come’ <A>

This passage plays on two perspectives: the perspective of the story teller and the perspective of the ogress. The perspective of the story teller does not have the house of the ogress as its deictic center, which is shown by the absence of *dd* in *tədwəl* ‘she came back’. The perspective of the ogress is expressed by *a dd=asənt* – it is almost as if the story teller gives a direct recording of her thoughts. In the last verb, *un usint*, ‘they did not come’, we return to the perspective of the story teller; however, the use of *as* ‘to come’ copies the previous ogress’ perspective.

Apparently, the perspective of ‘to come’ is not obligatorily the same as the perspective of the speaker. However, it is probable that with some speakers the use of *dd* with *as* has become obligatory indeed, in the same way as its absence is obligatory with *rah*. This would account for sentences such as the following, from a younger, and less experienced story teller than in the passages cited above:

(32)

yawkan tuy ttas-ən=dd yəl-din l uyu n tiddart
 then PAST come:I-3PL:M=VNT to-there to this:AS of house
 ‘then they had come (*dd*) there to this house’ <Z>

¹⁰ This does not include cases where *as* is used in the meaning ‘to find’, which are mostly used without *dd*. It is not clear if *as* in this usage is to be considered an idiomatic meaning of ‘to come’, or a homonym.

In this sentence, *yəldin* ‘towards there’ expresses movement away from the speaker. Still the verb *as* is constructed with the ventive particle *dd*.

In one other case, the presence of *dd* may be fully lexicalized: the verb *qqəs*. This verb has a large number of meanings, including ‘to explode’ and ‘to be started (party)’. When combined with *dd*, it can take the special meaning ‘to arrive at a place that one had not foreseen’, e.g.:

(33)

iwa rah-ən
well go:P-3PL:M

an i dd=qqəs-ən ikk išš n tiddart i ləxla
until when VNT=explode:P-3PL:M in one:F of house in desert
‘well they went (away), until they arrived at a house in the desert’ <A>

In the corpus, the verb is exclusively found in scenes where a protagonist moves from one place to another, which brings about a change in perspective (see 3.2). It is far from evident, and in fact unexpected, that in such situations the perspective would lie at the place where the protagonist arrives. Therefore, in this particular case, I consider the use of *dd* as fully lexicalized, and as (synchronically) devoid of directional meaning.

2.2 EVENTS OF COMING INTO EXISTENCE

A second main usage of *dd* is to convey that something that was previously inexistent or unknown comes into the attention, or that something changes entirely. One can consider this a metaphorical extension of the directional use: by becoming existent, a certain element moves towards the realm of the speaker, which, in this case, is the physical world.

There are a number of ‘become’ verbs of this type that are almost exclusively used with *dd*:¹¹

<i>dwəl</i>	‘to become’	(also ‘to return’; in this case <i>dd</i> is not obligatory)
<i>dħa</i>	‘to become’ ¹²	
<i>ffəy</i>	‘to turn out to be sth.’	(also ‘to go out’; in this case <i>dd</i> is not obligatory)

¹¹ The situation in Figuig is different from that in Kabyle, where *d* can only be combined with a verb of becoming when it implies a return to a previous state (Aoumer 2008: 231ff.).

¹² There may be idiolectal variation in the choice of *dwel* vs. *dħa* in the meaning ‘to become’. <A> only uses *dwel*, while other story tellers, both old and young, use *dħa*.

Examples:

(34)

i-swu [ikk əhh] ikk išš n tərǵa dǝg t-əswu
 3S:M-drink:P in one of ditch:AS in 3S:F-drink:P

tzərzərt, *i-dwəl=dd* *d* *izərzər.*
 female.gazelle:AS 3S:M-come.back:P=VNT PRED gazelle
 'he drank from a ditch from which a gazelle had drunk and became (*dd*) a gazelle' <A>

(35) Context: A heroine comes to a house in the desert where a man lives.

i-nna=yas [əhh]: "a šəmm=awy-əx." *i-ffəy=dd*
 3S:M-say:P=3S:IO AD 2S:F:DO=carry:A-1S 3S:M-exit:P=VNT

d *lmalik.*
 PRED king
 'he said to her: "I will marry you." He turned out (*dd*) to be a king.' <A>

(36) Context: The heroine flees the house of the ogress, taking a number of magical objects with her.

t-əyr *ayənn* n *uyəlzim,* *i-dha=dd* *d*
 3S:F-throw:A that of hoe:AS 3S:M-become:P=VNT PRED

aḍrər
 mountain:FS
 'she threw away that (magical) hoe, it became (*dd*) a mountain.' <F>

The only situation in which *dd* can be absent is when something is changed back to its previous state, e.g.:

(37) Context: The heroine is apparently dead because of a poisoned ring around her finger. A little girl takes off the ring and wakes up the heroine. The little girl is afraid and puts back the ring and the heroine relapses into her previous state.

t-ədwəl *dəxx* *kiləada.*
 3S:F-go.back:P then like.normally
 'she became (no *dd*) (again) like before (lit. like normally)' <O>

The element *dd* also appears with verbs where coming-into-existence is not inherent to the meaning, but present in the specific context, cf. the following fragments:

(38) Context: A woman has taken a pomegranate to her home.

iwa, *t-uf* *ayu* n *ṛṛəmmənət,* *t-iwy=it* *l* *tiddart*
 well 3S:F-find:P this of pomegranate 3S:F-carry:P=3S:F:DO to house

iwa an i t=id=i-yru i-žbər
 well until when 3S:M:DO=VNT=3S:M-throw:P 3S:M-be.complete:P
 ‘well he threw him up (*dd*), that... that... that ma(n)... that big bird. That big bird threw him up (*dd*), he threw him (*dd*), he threw him (*dd*) in complete shape. Well, just until he had thrown him in complete shape...’ <A>

- (42) Context: A girl has swallowed snake’s eggs, that have hatched in her belly. The snakes are forced to leave and are killed.

ann n twašunt yah t-əsxəf məskina,
 that of girl indeed 3S:F-faint:P poor.girl

qae ttuḍa-n=dd day iləfəy.
 entirely fall:I-3PL:M=VNT just snakes
 ‘the poor girl fainted, just snakes fell down (out of her body) (*dd*)’ <A>

- (43) Context: Some children have asked their father to build a new house. He refuses with the words:

mi dd lla i-təkkər nnəwwar s užanna n rraḍyu,
 when VNT be:P 3S:M-rise:I flowers on top:AS of radio

a dawəm=yy-əx tiddart tažditt.
 AD 2PL:M:IO=do:A-1S house new:S:F:FS
 ‘once flowers will be sprouting (lit. getting up *dd*) on the radio, I will make a new house for you’ <M>

Verbs denoting a qualitative change in the subject can, but must not take *dd*, cf. the two similar fragments from different versions of the same tale with the color verb *zəwəy* ‘to become red’.¹⁵

- (44) Context: An ogress, when she sleeps four months gets red eyes.

iwa t-ənnə=yas t-šəbr=as an yudənn
 well 3S:F-say:P=3S:IO 3S:F-be.patient:P=3S:IO until when

t-əttəš zəwəy-ənt tiṭṭawin nn-əs
 3S:F-sleep:P 3S:F-redden:P eyes of-3S
 ‘well, you know, she (the heroine) waited until she (the ogress) slept and her eyes had become red (no *dd*)’ <A>

- (45)

iwa t-əššutuš tamza t-əššutuš
 well 3S:F-lull.into.sleep:I ogress:FS 3S:F-lull.into.sleep:I

al yudənn i dd=zəwəy-ənt tiṭṭawin nn-əs
 until when when VNT=redden:P-3PL:F eyes of-3S
 ‘well she lulled the ogress into sleep, she lulled her into sleep until her eyes had become red (*dd*). <C>

¹⁵ This is different from Tashelhiyt where, according to El Mountassir (2000: 146–147), inchoatives based on stative verbs are always marked by *d*.

- (46) Context: A slave girl tells the heroine to swim in a black pond, while she will swim in a white pond.

šəm zʒall da, t-əlli-d t taməllalt a
 you:S:F swim:A:IMPT:S here 2S-be:P-2S PRED white:S:F:FS AD

dd=t-zəwəy-əd, nətš a da zʒall-əx a dd=məll-əx.
 VNT-redden:A-2S I AD here swim:A-1S AD VNT=whiten:A-1S

‘you, swim here, you are white and you will become red (i.e. brown) (*dd*), I will swim here and become white (*dd*)’ <C>

One way of interpreting the difference between *zəwəy* and *zəwəy=dd* would be to consider cases with *zəwəy* as focusing more on the resultant state, while *zəwəy=dd* would focus more on the process. While plausible, there is no way to prove this on the basis of the corpus.

It should be stressed that the use of *dd* with events of coming into existence only pertains to intransitive verbal expressions, in which the subject is coming into existence. When the thing coming into existence is the object of a transitive verb, as is common with verbs such as ‘to make’, the orientational clitic is normally not used.

An interesting exception to this is the verb *šəeəl* ‘to light’¹⁶ in which the object changes from a non-burning entity to a burning entity. In the corpus *šəeəl* is combined with *dd* when the focus is on the object; when the focus is on the more general notion of ‘making fire’ it is absent. Contrast the following two fragments from the same story:

- (47) Context: A number of people want to slaughter and cook a cow in the desert.

iwa us-ən=dd ad šəeəl-ən ad bna-n,
 well come:P-3PL:M=VNT AD light:A-3PL:M AD cook:A-3PL:M

ul ufi-n luqid.
 NEG find:NP-3PL:M match

‘well they came and wanted to light a fire (no *dd*) in order to cook, but they could not find a match’ <D>

- (48) Context: The son has taken a stick to a far-away fire, which turns out to be the eye of an ogre.

i-qqim i-ttʃud=as amm=ənn a dd zzi-s
 3S:M-sit:P 3S:M-blow:I=3S:IO like=DIST AD VNT with-3S

i-šəeəl.

3S:M-light:A

‘he started to blow into it in order to make fire (*dd*) with it’¹⁷ <D>

¹⁶ Benamara (2013) has *ssiγ* for ‘to light’ and does not give *šəeəl*. This usage of *ssiγ* is not attested in my corpus, and may be archaic.

¹⁷ In the larger context, the object that is taking fire is a *tarəttā*, a palm branch. As this is a feminine, the 3S:M form *i-šəeəl* can only refer to the actor of the lighting.

- (52) Context: Malicious women transform a girl into a bird by putting a needle in her head.

t-ənnə=yaš *yawka* *isi-nt* *tissubla*
 3S:F-say:P=2S:M:IO then take:P-3PL:F needle

rəkz-ənt=as=tt *ukk* *walli* *nn-əs,* *məskina*
 put.straight:P-3PL:F=3S:IO=3S:F:DO in brains:AS of-3S poor.girl

t-ufəy.
 3S:F-fly:P

‘then they took a needle, you know, they put it into her brains and the poor girl flew away’ <O>

With animate objects, the verb without *dd* is the normal choice when the object of the action can move by itself after having been grasped, e.g.:

- (53) Context: An ogre is looking for a girl with a green tooth

i *t-əḏṣu*
 when 3S:F-laugh:P

yawka *i-mmutər* *tayməss* *[əhh]* *tadalt* *y-isi=tt.*
 then 3S:M-see:P tooth:FS green:S:F:FS 3S:M-take:P=3S:F:DO

y-isi=tt *iwa* *i-rah* *y-iwy=it* *al*
 3S:M-take:P=3S:F:DO well 3S:M-go:P 3S:M-carry:P=3S:F:DO until

tiddart *nn-əs*
 house of-3S

‘when she laughed he saw her green tooth and took her. He took her and brought her to his house’ <C>

- (54)

y-isi *yis* *nn-əs* *i-zwa.*
 3S:M-take:P horse:FS of-3S 3S:M-go.away:P

‘he took his horse and went away’ <A>

When the speaker wants to emphasize that the subject takes the object and physically keeps it with him, *dd* is used. Thus, in a set scene, the hero, who wants to get information on something, takes the hand of his mother (or another woman) and puts it into hot soup (or something similar). In this situation, typically *isi=dd* is used, e.g.:

- (55)

t-əyy=as *təhrirt,* *[i-nna=yas* *əəhh,]*
 3S:F-do:P=3S:IO soup:FS [3S:M-say:P=3S:IO]

yawkan *y-isi=dd* *ifassən* *nn-əs*
 then 3S:M-take:P=VNT hands of-3S

sa das=tən=i-ssrəs [i tmər̄m...] i təžra.
 FUT 3S:IO=3PL:M:DO=3S:M-put:A in plate:AS
 ‘she made soup for him, then he took (and held, *dd*) her hands and wanted to put them in the plate’ <A>

With animates, *dd* is mainly used when the object is unable to move by itself, for example because he is still an infant, or because he is dead, e.g.:

(56) Context: An infant has been left behind in the house of the ogress.

t-rah a nanna ann n yəlli-s t-isi=tət=dd
 3S:F-go:P o mylady that of daughter-3S 3S:F-take:P=3S:F:DO=VNT

t-əmma=yas

3S:F-say:P=3S:IO

‘she (the mother) went, you know, this daughter of hers, she (i.e., the ogress) took her (*dd*) and said’ <A>

(57) Context: Two new-born children have been taken away from their mother.

[kkər=dd] ann n nbəzz [t-isi...] t-isi=tən=dd,
 [rise=VNT] that of children 3S:F-take:P=3PL:M:DO=VNT

t-əyr=in

3S:F-throw:P=3PL:M:DO in box

i ssənɖuq t-əyr=in

3S:F-throw:P=3PL:M:DO

[i...] i ləbhər.

in sea

‘[so] these children, she took them (*dd*) and threw them into a box and threw them into the sea’ <A>

(58) Context: A girl wants to take home the Singing Bird.

a didd=t-ini-d manəš sa das=yy-əx a
 AD 1S:IO=2S-say:A-2S how FUT 3S:IO=do:A-1S AD

t=id=isi-x.

3S:M:DO=VNT=take:A-1S

‘you must tell me how I shall take it (*dd*)’ <A>

(59) Context: A man takes the dead body of his brother to the cemetery.

rəwl-ən, nətta y-isi=dd yuma-s, i-mədl=i
 flee:P-3PL:M he 3S:M-take:P=VNT brother-3S 3S:M-bury:P=3S:M:DO
 ‘they fled and he took (*dd*) his brother and buried him’ <D>

(60) Context: A girl has been buried alive by her brothers, but has been seen by the king.

rah-ən isi-n=tət=dd, y-isi=tt lmalik.
 go:P-3PL:M take:P-3PL:M=3S:F:DO=VNT 3S:M-take:P=3S:F:DO king
 ‘they went there, they took her (out) (*dd*), and the king took her (without *dd*)’ <C>

The first *isi* in this fragment describes how the girl is taken out of her grave, and therefore has *dd*, the second describes how the king takes her to his palace, for which using *dd* would be non-felicitous.

The use of *dd* is not obligatory in this kind of situation – not having *dd* does not necessarily rule out that the taken object remains in physical contact with the subject, it is only not explicit about it. This is clearly illustrated by the following passage, where the same object (an infant child) once appears with *dd*, and immediately afterwards without *dd*:¹⁸

- (61) Context: A woman wants to flee from the ogre and takes her infant with her.

nəttata yawkan t-isi=t=id t-ərwəl,
she then 3S:F-take:P=3S:M:DO=VNT 3S:F-flee:P

t-ənnə=yas: “lla, sa ss=isi-x.”
3S:F-say:P=3S:IO no FUT 3S:M:DO=take:A-1S

‘she took him (*dd*) and fled, she said to him (i.e. to the ogre): “No I will take him (without *dd*).”’ <A>

The use of *dd* in order to convey that the actor remains in contact with the (animate) object may go counter to the deictic center set by the narrator. Thus in the following fragment, the action that has been described before takes place in the room of the woman who gave birth to a son, and there is little doubt that the deictic center is there.¹⁹ The verb *isi* clearly involves the taking away of the boy, not that he is brought to a new deictic center. Still it is constructed with *dd*, showing that the newborn child is not walking by himself:

- (62) Context: A woman has given birth to a son. The son is taken away from her and given to an old woman.

yah ayu n nəɛwərt [t-isi=t=id y...]
well this of boy [3S:F-take:P=3S:M:DO=VNT ...]

t-isi=t=id yišš n twəssart a
3S:F-take:P=3S:M:DO=VNT one:F of old:S:F:FS AD

ss=t-yər ikk yzər.
3S:M:DO=3S:F-throw:A in river

‘well, this boy, an old woman took him with her (*dd*) in order to throw him into a river’ <O>

¹⁸ The difference in locution type between the two instances of the verb may be relevant to the choice of one or the other variant (Axel Fleisch, p.c.); the main point here is that what is physically the same event can be constructed both with and without *dd*.

¹⁹ As the passage does not have other verbs with *dd*, this cannot be proven, however.

2.3.2 *t̥t̥af* ‘to catch, to take hold of, to hold’

In its dynamic use, this verb has similar behavior to *isi*. When there is little focus on the question whether the subject keeps the object for himself, *t̥t̥af* is constructed without *dd*. In such cases, often a translation ‘to catch’ is called for:

- (63) Context: A girl has been changed into a bird. The king finds a way to trick her so he can catch her.

t-ənnə=yaš *i-wžəd* *qa* *kulši,* *t-ətšu* *afuḥ*
 3S:F-say:P=2S:M:IO 3S:M-prepare:P entirely everything 3S:F-eat:P bit:FS

at *t-afəy* *yawka* *i-t̥t̥f=it.*

AD 3S:F-fly:A then 3S:M-take.hold:P=3S:F:DO

‘you know, he prepared everything, she ate a bit and wanted to fly away and he caught her’ <O>

In many cases, the object of the action of *t̥t̥af* remains close to the subject, and the verb is constructed with *dd*, e.g.:

- (64) Context: An ogre amuses himself with an infant boy.

akəd *i-t̥t̥af=t=id* *dəxx* *i-šərd=i*
 with 3S:M-take.hold:P=3S:M:DO=VNT then 3S:M-swallow:P=3S:M:DO

an *žəž* *n* *ddiss* *nn-əs* *i-rr=t=id*

until inside of belly:AS of-3S 3S:M-return:A=3S:M:DO=VNT

‘and he took him (*dd*) and then swallowed him until inside his stomach and spit him out (*dd*)’ <A>

2.3.3 *kkəs* ‘to take off’

The verb *kkəs* means that something is removed from a larger entity by physical action. Similar to *isi*, the use of *dd* implies that the subject holds the removed object close to him. The absence of *dd* is less explicit, but mostly appears in contexts where the removed object is not kept.

- (65)

i-kkəs *ažərdal,* *i-ššn=as* *abšiš* *nn-əs*
 3S:M-take.off:P trousers:FS 3S:M-show:P=3S:IO penis:FS of-3S

‘he took off (no *dd*) his trousers and showed him his penis’ <M>

- (66) Context: Two fools try to make a donkey get up.

kkəs-n=as *aməzɯy* *nn-əs* *y-uyyay* *ad* *i-kkər*
 take.off:P-3PL:M=3S:IO ear:FS of-3S 3S:M-refuse:P AD 3S:M-rise:A

‘they took (cut) off (no *dd*) his ear, but he refused to get up’ <C>

- (67)

y-uləy *l* *uyənn* *n* *uḍraɾ,*
 3S:M-go.up:P to that:AS of mountain:AS

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i-kkəs=dd *yawkan* *yis* [*n...*] *n* *ppa-s*,
3S:M-take.off:P=VNT then horse:FS of father-3S

agəd *ssif* *n* *ppa-s*
with sword of father-3S

‘he went up that mountain, then he took away (*dd*) the horse of his father, and the sword of his father’ <O>

In the last example, it is clear that the hero does not only take away the horse and the sword, but also keeps them to himself.

The difference between *kkəs* with and without *dd* is illustrated very well by the following excerpt about a severely wounded man:

(68)

iwa *amm=ənn* *amm=ənn*
well like=DIST like=DIST

an *i* *dd=kk-ənt* *sənt* *n* *ššəžrat* *təməayar-ənt*.
until when VNT=rise:P-3PL:F two:F of trees brag.to.each.other:I-3PL:F

t-ənnə=yas:
3S:F-say:P=3S:IO

“*mta* *i-kkəs* *hədd* [*yišš* *n* *ššəžrat,*] *yišš* *n* *nwərqət*
if 3S:F-take.off:P anybody [one:F of tree] one:F of leaf

[*day* *si* *əhh* *s* *žžərḥ* *əhh*] *i-sskəfs=it* *i* *žžərḥ*
[just from eh from wounds eh] 3S:M-rub:P=3S:F:DO in wounds

nn-əs [*ad* *y-ini...*] *a* *dd=i-dwəl* *i-žžəy.*”
of-3S [AD 3S:M-say:A] AD VNT=3S:M-come.back:A 3S:M-be.healed:P

yišš *t-ənnə=yas:*
one:F 3S:F-say:P=3S:IO

“*mta* *i-kkəs* *hədd* *zz-i* *day* *yišš* *n* *nwərqət*
if 3S:M-take.off:P anybody from-1S just one:F of leaf

i-yr=it *ukk* *yəndubu* *nn-əs* [*n...*] *n* *nəhlib*
3S:M-throw:P=3S:F:DO in churning.skin:AS of-3S of milk

a *dd=i-dwəl* *kulši* *t* *tlussi.*”
AD VNT=3S:M-come.back:A everything PRED butter

iwa [*i...*] *i-hlušəm* *məskin* *s* *ifassən* *d* *iḍarən*
well 3S:M-crawl:P poor.guy with hands with feet

[*i-kkəs=dd* *əhh*] *i-kkəs=dd* *afuḥ* *n* *ššəžər* [*əhh*]
[3S:M-take.off:P=VNT eh] 3S:M-take.off:P=VNT bit:FS of trees

i-yy=it [i...] *ukk ysum nn-əs,*
3S:M-do:P=3S:F:DO in flesh:AS of-3S

i-dwəl=dd *qa i-žžəy.*
3S:M-come.back:P=VNT entirely 3S:M-be.healed:P

i-kkəs=dd [əhh a...] *ašəmmuš dəxx [n əhh n uy...] n*
3S:M-take.off:P=VNT pocket:FS then of

usəndu i-ffr=i.
churning:AS 3S:M-hide:P=3S:M:DO

‘well that’s the way it was until there grew two trees that bragged to each other. One said: “If somebody takes off (without *dd*) [one tree,] one leaf (from me), and rubs it on the wound he will become healed.” The other said: “If somebody takes off (without *dd*) a leaf from me and puts it into the churning skin for milk, everything will become butter.” Well, the poor guy crawled on his hands and feet (to them) and took off (*dd*) a bit from the trees and put it on his flesh and he became fully healed. He took off (*dd*) a pocketful of the churning and hid it.’ <A>

2.3.4 *qəss* ‘to cut off’

In the corpus, the verb *qəss* is only rarely found with *dd*. The one case we have seems to represent the same usage as with *isi* and *kkəs*, i.e. the fact that the subject keeps the cut-off object with her after the action.

(69) Context: A woman has killed her husband out of revenge.

t-rah t-isi=t=id, t-qəss=as aqəlqul nn-əs
3S:F-go:P 3S:F-take:P=3S:M:DO=VNT 3S:F-cut.off:P=3S:IO head:FS of-3S

t-əqqən qaε lbəyt t-adn=it.
3S:F-close:P entirely room 3S:F-cover:A=3S:F:DO

iwa day wi dd yr-əs y-us-ən si ləhlat nn-əs
well just who VNT at-3S PTC-come:P-PTC from female.folks of-3S

t-qəss=as=dd aruḍ nn-əs,
3S:F-cut.off:P=3S:IO=VNT intestines:FS of-3S

t-əssənw=in i yəssma-s tš-ənt.
3S:F-cook:P=3PL:M:DO to sisters-3S eat:P-3PL:F

‘she went and took him, she cut off his head (without *dd*), she closed the room entirely and covered it. Well, every time some woman from his family would come, she would cut off (*dd*) (part of) his intestines, she would cook them for his sisters and they would eat (it).’

In this passage, cutting off the head is used without *dd*, as the heroine does not keep the head with her in this scene. However, when cutting off the intestines, she does keep them with her as she uses them for cooking.

2.4 EVENTS OF CHILDBIRTH

The verb *aṛəw* ‘to give birth, to get a child’ is often constructed with *dd*. This is only possible when dealing with a specific child; sentences focusing on the process of birth rather than on a specific product of this process do not have *dd*, e.g.:

(70) Context: Women slander about a girl that would be pregnant.

wətna-twəm t-əlla t-taṛəw.
 sister-2PL:M 3S:F-be:P 3S:F-give.birth:I
 ‘your sister is getting a child’ <A>

(71)

taməṭṭut i-ttaṛw-ən iyḍan at t-ṛaḥ at t-ṣəṛṛəḥ
 woman:FS PTC-give.birth:I-PTC dogs AD 3S:F-go:A AD 3S:F-herd:A

yah iyḍan.
 indeed dogs
 ‘A(ny) woman that gives birth to dogs should herd dogs’ <A>

In the first example, the focus is on the pregnancy of the unmarried sister, not on the child she might get. In the second example, the verb *aṛəw* is fit into a general statement about women that give birth to dogs.

When referring to the birth of a specific child, forms accompanied by *dd* and forms without *dd* are both possible. What seems to matter here is to what extent the child is relevant or interesting for the speaker. For example, when the woman giving birth or a kinsperson is speaking, mostly *dd* is used, e.g.:

(72)

mta uwy-əx lmalik a das=dd=aṛw-əx Qərndahab w
 if carry:P-1S king AD 3S:IO=VNT=give.birth:A-1S Goldhorn and

Qərnfəṭta.
 Silverhorn
 ‘if I marry the king, I will give birth for him (*dd*) to Goldhorn and Silverhorn.’ <A>

However, when somebody is speaking who has no positive interest in the child, *dd* is not used, e.g.:

(73) Context: An enemy of the family announces the birth of a boy.

tan t-urəw yamma-twəm læwərt.
 here! 3S:F-give.birth:P mother-2PL:M boy
 ‘look, your mother has given birth (no *dd*) to a boy.’ <A>

Within narrative stretches, the use of *dd* seems to be mainly guided by the sympathies of the story teller. Thus, the birth of the heroine is normally marked by *dd*, as is the case when the heroine herself gets a child, e.g.:

(74) Context: The heroine of the story is born.

iwa y-uš=as Rappi twašunt t-urəw=tət=dd.
 well 3S:M-give:P=3S:IO Lord girl 3S:F-give.birth:P=3S:F:DO=VNT
 ‘well, the Lord gave her a girl and she gave birth (*dd*) to her’ <A>

(75) Context: The heroine has married the king.

iwa t-urəw=dd akid-əs y-uš=as Rappi səbea
 well 3S:F-give.birth:P=VNT with-3S 3S:M-give:P=3S:IO Lord seven
 ‘She got children (*dd*) with him, the Lord gave her seven (boys)’ <A>

However, when a child is born to an unsympathetic character, such as the stepmother of the heroine, *dd* can be left out, e.g.:

(76) Context: The mother of the heroine has died and her father marries another woman.

lmatal y-iwəy xalti-s, t-urəw tayəd nəttata yišš
 for.example 3S:M-carry:P aunt-3S 3S:F-give.birth:P also she one:F

n twašunt
 of girl

‘so he married her maternal aunt, and she also gave birth (no *dd*) to a girl’ <O>

Another verb of child birth is *zayəd* ‘to be born’. This verb has two basic meanings: ‘to add, to go somewhere else’ and ‘to be born’. In the former meaning, *dd* may be used or not, depending on whether the adding happens in the direction of the speaker or not. In the meaning ‘to be born’, *zayəd* is obligatorily accompanied by *dd*, even when the speaker has little sympathy for the newborn child or the mother, e.g.:

(77) Context: Two jealous women want to take away the child from a woman in childbirth. They order the midwife.

mi dd yr-əs i-zayəd šra
 when VNT at-3S 3S:M-be.born:P something

t-uš-d=ax=t=id.

2S-give:A-2S=1PL:IO=3S:M:DO=1PL:IO

‘when something is born (*dd*) with her, you should give it to us’ <O>

The difference between the obligatory use of *dd* with *zayəd* in the sense of ‘to be born’ and its facultative nature with *arəw* ‘to give birth’ is best understood as an effect of transitivity. As shown above, verbs of coming into existence only have *dd* obligatorily when the subject is the intransitive undergoer. This is the case of *zayəd* too. *Arəw*, on the other hand, is a transitive verb, in which the subject “produces” the child. As such, it is no more expected that it takes *dd* than with a verb like *yy* ‘to make’.

2.5 EVENTS OF VISUAL PERCEPTION

With verbs of visual perception (to see, to look), the use of *dd* is relatively rare. It is, however, regularly found when the object is far away from the perceiver, e.g.:

(78)

i-mmutər=dd mmi-tsən yišš n tiṭṭ n umza,
3S:M-see:P=VNT son-3PL:M one:F of eye of ogre:AS

tuy t-tqisqis=dd i ləbeid.
PAST 3S:F-glow:I=VNT in far

‘their son saw (*dd*) the eye of an ogre that was glowing (*dd*) far away’ <D>

(79) Context: A girl is spotted on the roof terrace by a prince. The prince is not on the same terrace, and sees her from far away.

t-əqqim t-əssirid ulman t-əqqim t-fəttsr=in [i...] i
3S:F- 3S:F- threads:FS 3S:F- 3S:F- [i...] i
sit:P wash:I sit:P spread.out:I=3PL:M:DO on

ššduḥ. i-mmatər=tət=dd idžən [n əhh] n mmi-s n
roof 3S:M-see:A=3S:F:DO=VNT one:M of son-3S of

užəllid
king:AS

‘she washed the threads and put them to dry on the roof, and a son of a king saw (*dd*) her.’ <O>

(80) Context: A girl is buried alive by her brothers. The king is not present, and sees it happening from far away.

i-lla idžən [n...] n nmalik i-təqqəl=dd di-s,
3S:M-be:P one:M of king 3S:M-look:I=VNT in-3S

mədl-ən=tt t-əddər,
bury:P-3PL:M=3S:F:DO 3S:F-live:P

raḥ-ən isi-n=tət=dd, y-isi=tt lmalik
go:P-3PL:M take:P-3PL:M=3S:F:DO=VNT 3S:M-take:P=3S:F:DO king

‘a king was looking (*dd*) to it/her – they had buried her alive – and they came and took her (out) (*dd*), the king took her’ <C>

The same is true of the verb *ban* ‘to appear’ when used in the sense of ‘to become visible’, e.g.:

(81) Context: A family has forgotten to take matches with them when they want to slaughter a cow in the desert.

təqqəl-ən təqqəl-ən,
look:I-3PL:M look:I-3PL:M

t-ban=asən=dd *yišš* [n ən əəhh] n *nəafəyt*,
 3S:F-appear:P=3PL:M:IO=VNT one:F of fire

yišš n [...] *tšəεεalt* *ukk* *awir* *i* *ləbeid*.
 one:F of spark:AS in over.there:AS in far.away
 ‘they looked and looked and there appeared to them (i.e., they saw) (*dd*) a fire, a spark over there far away’ <E>

(82) Context: Jehha sleeps on top of the minaret.

yah *Žəḥḥa* *ikk* *iḍ* *tuy* *t-tiban=as=dd* *yišš* n
 indeed Jehha in night:AS PAST 3S:F-appear:I=3S:IO=VNT one:F of

tfawt, *t-bəεεəd* *bəzzaf*.
 light 3S:F-be.far:P much
 ‘well Jehha, during the night a light appeared to him (i.e., he saw) (*dd*), very far away.’
 <M>

2.6 EVENTS OF SPEAKING

The most frequent verb of speaking is *ini* ‘to say’. This verb is only rarely combined with *dd*. In a number of cases, the use of *dd* seems to indicate that the speaker is at a distance from the addressee, not unlike the situation found with events of visual perception (see 2.5), e.g.:

(83) Context: The heroine tells her necklace (that functions a bit like a telephone) about what her slave girl has told her.

t-ini=yas: “*a* *yəmma*, *t-ənna=yidd* *Yaya Ambruka:*
 3S:F-say:A=3S:IO o mother 3S:F-say:P=1S:IO Yaya Ambruka

hwa *xlas* *ad* *ny-əx*”.
 descend:A:IMPT:S enough AD mount:A-1S

yawka *y-ini=as=dd* [ann n əhh] ann n *ueəqqa...*
 then 3S:M-say:A=3S:IO=VNT that of pearl:AS
 ‘she would say to it: “O my mother, Yaya Ambruka has said to me: Dismount so I can mount!”, and then the pearl would say to her (*dd*)...’ <A>

(84)

şafi *iwa*, *y-uləy=dd* *ikk* *idžən* n *təḍrart*.
 enough well 3SM-go.up:P=VNT in one:M of hill:AS

i-nna=yas=dd...
 3SM-say:P=3S:IO=VNT
 ‘ok, well, he went up onto a hill and said to him (*dd*)...’ <D>

In other cases, this does not seem to play a role, and I have no clue as to the difference between *ini* with and without *dd*,²⁰ e.g.:

²⁰ Mettouchi (fc.) provides for Kabyle the following contexts for *ini* when combined with *dd*: answering and saying something relevant to the speaker, with polemical overtones. Example

- (85) Context: The hero wants to take his mother with him when invited at the king's palace.

iwa ḥaṣuləṣṣi ikk i-rzəm lmalik
 well finally when 3S:M-open:P king

y-uf=i amm=ənn [əhh] d ayənn, i-nna=yas:
 3S:M-find:P=3S:M:DO like=DIST PRED that 3S:M-say:P=3S:IO

“*arwah.*” *i-nna=yas:* “*la, day mta t-utəf=dd akid-i ayu*
 come! 3S:M-say:P=3S:IO no just if 3S:F-enter:P=VNT with-1S this

n nxəlqət.” *i-nna=yas=dd:* “*la.*”
 of creature 3S:M-say:P=3S:IO=VNT no

i-nna=yas: “*day mta t-utəf akid-i ayu n nxəlqət sad atf-əx.*”
 3S:M- just if 3S:F- with- this of creature FUT enter:A-
 say:P=3S:IO enter:P 1S 1S

‘well you know, when the king opened, he saw him like that and things, and he said to him (no *dd*): “come!” He said to him (no *dd*): “No, only if this creature enters with me.” He said to him (*dd*): “No.” He said to him (no *dd*): “Only if this creatures enters with me I will enter.”’ <O>

- (86) Context: The hero pretends he cannot ride a horse. They want him to mount his own horse that has been taken away from him. A nomad sees the horse and says that it recognizes its master.

i-qqim yah ann n uyis nn-əs i-thərrəb, an
 3S:M-sit:P indeed that of horse:AS of-3S 3S:M-gallop:I while

t’ammu, [siw... iyyu...] i-εqəl bab nn-əs.
 do.like.this:I 3S:M-recognize:P master of-3S

[*ihə...*] *i-həkk^wa amm=u, i-qqim i-thənhən,*
 3S:M-descend:I like=PRX 3S:M-sit:P 3S:M-neigh:I

i-nna=yasən=dd [ann əhh] ann n waɛrab...
 3S:M-say:P=3PL:M:IO=VNT [that ehh] that of nomad:AS

‘well this horse started to rear, to do things, [...] it recognized its master, It went down like this, it neighed, and then this nomad said to them (*dd*)...’ <A>

While there are several set expressions for ‘to answer’, they only rarely occur in the corpus. Most common among these is *yy* ‘to do, to make, to put on’. When referring to a speech act, this is often constructed with *dd*, but constructions without *dd* are also attested, without any obvious difference in use, e.g.:

(86) could fit the second definition. *Ini + dd* in example (85) is an answer, and therefore would fit Mettouchi’s first context. One should note, however, that the use of *ini* in answers is very common in our corpus, and that the use of *dd* in such situations is rare.

(87)

day wi dd yr-əs y-us-ən: “*manəš t-əlli-d a baba*
just who VNT at-3S PTC-come:P-PTC how 2S-be:P-2S o father

emər?” i-yy=asənt=dd uydi: “mmm.”
Omar 3S:M-do:A=3PL:F:IO=VNT dog:AS mmm

‘to everybody that would come to him (and say): “How are you, Father Omar?”, the dog answered (*dd*): “Mmm.”

(88)

day mi t-us t-ini=yas:
just when 3S:F-come:P 3S:F-say:A=3S:IO

“*aməḍra a ppa i-lla hədd amm=u nix la?”*
possibly o father 3S:M-be:P anybody like=PRX or no

i-yy=as: “lli-x a bniti, t-əlli-d, (...)”
3S:M-do:A=3S:IO be:P-1S o my.daughter 2S-be:P-2S

‘every time she would come there she said: “Father, is there perhaps somebody like this or not?” and he would answer (no *dd*): “There is me, my daughter, there is you (...)”

The verb *rr* ‘to give back’ can also refer to an answer. In that case it is always constructed with *dd* and a noun meaning speech. In the meaning ‘to answer’ the verb is only attested in the corpus in negation, but in Benamara (2011), it is freely used in affirmative sentences. In these texts it is not always accompanied by *dd* and it does not have to be collocated with a speech noun:

(89) Context: The heroine asks her mother through means of a necklace for advice. The necklace has been taken apart, so the mother cannot respond (the two examples come from two different versions of the same story).

walu u das=dd qae i-rrri hədd awal.
nothing NEG 3S:IO=VNT entirely 3S:M-return:NP anybody speech:FS

‘nothing, absolutely nobody answered (*dd*) her (lit. nobody gave her back speech’) <A>

(90)

t-ənnə=yas=s tlata n tikkal.
3S:F-say:P=3S:IO=3S:M:DO three of times

qae u das=dd=t-ərri ləhḍərt.
entirely NEG 3S:IO=VNT=3S:F-return:NP speech

‘she said it three times. She did not at all answer (*dd*) (lit. give back speech)’ <Z>

(91)

i-rru xf-əs yinsi
3S:M-return:P on-3S hedgehog:AS

‘Hedgehog answered him’ <Benamara 2011: 42>

There are a few attestations of the loan verb *wažəb* ‘to answer’, none of which have *dd*. The examples are not really about a dialogue but concern answers to riddles or summons, e.g.:

(92) Context: The king wants to know who is most intelligent among his people.

i-bərrəḥ *wikk ala [n...] n-nəs* *itt*
 3S:M-summon:P who AD PTC-spend.night:A night:FS

aziṛar *s użəanna n ssuməət.*
 long:S:M:FS at top:AS of minaret

qaε *u* *ss=i-wažəb* *ḥədd* *day Žəḥḥa.*
 entirely NEG 3S:M:DO=3S:M-answer:NP anybody just Jehha
 ‘he summoned who would spend all night on top of the minaret. Nobody responded (no *dd*) except Jehha.’ <M>

2.7 EXAMPLES OF OTHER TYPES OF EVENT: ‘TO BUY’ AND ‘TO DRAW WATER’

There are a number of event types that are not covered by the above groupings, but where the use of *dd* is common. As examples, two such verbs will be studied: *səy* ‘to buy’ and *ayəm* ‘to draw water’. These verbs have little in common, except that the object of the verb is normally transported by the subject to another place later on. One way to understand the use of *dd* with these verbs is therefore ‘to buy/draw water and bring (home)’.²¹ This would not be unlike the use of *dd* with verbs of taking, where it implies that the object remains close to the subject after the taking.

In the corpus, the verb *səy* ‘to buy’ is mostly constructed with *dd*. All attestations of the verb refer to moveable goods, so the interpretation ‘to buy and take (home)’ is very well possible, e.g.:

(93) Context: A mother makes preparations for her daughter’s journey.

t-əsy=as=dd *aeəttuṣ,* *t-əsy=as=dd* *aeəqqa,*
 3S:F-buy:P=3S:IO=VNT palanquin:FS 3S:F-buy:P=3S:IO=VNT pearl:FS

(...). *t-əsy=as=dd* *tanəxdamt*

(...) 3S:F-buy:P=3S:IO=VNT female.servant:FS

‘she bought her (*dd*) a palanquin, she bought her (*dd*) a pearl, she bought her (*dd*) a servant.’ <A>

Still, there are some major caveats to this interpretation. In the first place, the corpus does not allow us to establish a difference between *səy* with and without

²¹ Note that this is a common meaning of the ventive stem (grade 6) in Hausa, cf. *sàya* ‘to buy’, *sayō* (grade 6) ‘to buy for, to buy and bring back’ (Newman 2007: 181).

dd: the ‘buy and take’ meaning is purely our own interpretation²² and some of the contexts where *dd* is not found are not less fitting to this interpretation than those where it is found, e.g.:

(94)

idžən n wass i-kkər ann n næwərt, i-syu tadunt,
 one:M of day:AS 3S:M-rise:P that of boy 3S:M-buy:P grease:FS

i-yy=as=tt i tfunass nn-əs [əhh] ikk məzyan
 3S:M-do:P=3S:IO=3S:F:DO to cow:AS of-3S in ears
 ‘one day this boy bought (without *dd*) grease, and put it in the ears of his cow’ <E>

Second, there are some instances with *dd* where the ‘buy and take’ interpretation, though not strictly impossible, does not seem to impose itself, e.g.:

(95)

i-xləq Žəhha, d ass n nžəmea
 3S:M-be:P Jehha PRED day:FS of friday

i-rah i-syu=dd tadəwwart, s səbeamiyat frank.
 3S:M-go:P 3S:M-buy:P=VNT intestines:FS with 700 franc

si dd=i-ffəy sukk yəzzar
 since VNT=3S:M-exit:P from butcher:AS

wi ss mma i-lqa-n y-ini=yas...
 who 3S:M:DO (who)ever PTC-meet:P-PTC 3S:M-say:A=3S:IO
 ‘Jehha, one friday went and bought (*dd*) intestines, for 700 franc. From the moment he went out from the butcher’s, everyone he met said...’ <M>

The verb *ayəm* ‘to draw water’ has two elements that make it potentially fitting for a combination with *dd*. Like ‘to buy’, ‘to draw water’ often involves that a woman goes to a well outside the house and brings the water back home; moreover, drawing implies that the water is taken from invisible depth into the visible world, which makes the verb somehow similar to ‘become’ verbs (see also 3.1 for events of vertical movement). From this, one would expect that *ayəm* is almost always constructed with *dd*. This is indeed the case and contexts where *dd* is not found strongly focus on the action itself, and not on the object of the action, e.g.:

²² Moreover, the interpretation was not confirmed in elicitation, cf. the examples with *səy* in Kossmann 1997: 239–240, cited above (exx. 19 and 20).

(96)

day mi t-əffəy d ləblad at t-rah at
 just when 3S:F-exit:P with country AD 3S:F-go:A AD

t-ayəm t-əssrəs mmi-s t-ənnə=i
 3S:F-draw.water:A 3S:F-put:A son-3S 3S:F-swaddle:A=3S:M:DO

t-əzwa.

3S:F-go.away:A

‘every time she went out into the country, in order to go drawing water (no *dd*), she would put down her son, swaddle him and go away’ <A>

In this fragment, drawing water is only given as the reason for leaving, and the object of the action is totally irrelevant.

Contrast this with the following passage, where the water is the focus of attention:

(97) Context: The hero and his lover are fleeing. She gets thirsty and they stop.

i-hwa n wanu a das=dd=y-ayəm
 3S:M-go.down:P to well:AS AD 3S:IO=VNT=3S:M-draw.water:A

aman

water:FS

‘he dismounted to the well in order to draw water (*dd*) for her’ <A>

The difference between the action-oriented forms without *dd* and the object-oriented forms with *dd* is nicely illustrated in the following passage, where *ayəm* takes the idiomatic meaning of ‘eat soup with a spoon’.

(98) Context: Children have put a bicycle bell into the soup without the mother knowing it. The husband comes home and eats from the soup.

ikk y-uyəm taydurt y-uyəm=dd nnaquş
 when 3S:M-draw.water:P pan:FS 3S:M-draw.water:P=VNT bell

agi-s.

with-3S

‘when he put (no *dd*) the spoon in the pan, he spooned up (*dd*) the bell with it’ <M>

The phrase without *dd*, *ikk y-uyəm taydurt*, lit. ‘when he drew (from) the pan’, focuses on the action; the second phrase, *y-uyəm=dd nnaquş*, lit. ‘he drew a bell’ focuses on the object. In this case, *dd* also has a clear connotation of making visible (‘bringing to light’).

2.8 CONCLUSION

In the large majority of cases, the ventive particle *dd* indicates movement towards a deictic center. It depends on the semantics of the verb how the deictic center is

constructed. With verbs of vertical movement, the deictic center is the locus of the speaker of the sentence. On a more abstract level, this also applies to verbs which denote a change ('to become') and coming into being ('to be born'). In the latter cases, there is a difference between the former absence of the subject or object from the world, and its coming into being can be seen metaphorically as a movement towards the present world, which the speaker is a part of. At least with one verb, *arəw* 'to give birth', *dd* is used in order to make clear that the birth is of interest to the speaker.

With verbs of 'taking', the deictic center does not lie with the speaker of the sentence, but with the actor in the event (i.e. the taker). In such verbs, adding the use of *dd* usually implies that the object remains physically in contact with the actor.

3. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A SPEAKER-ORIENTED DEICTIC CENTER IN NARRATIVES

In normal conversation, the speaker is part of the context of the text, and the construction of a speaker-oriented deictic center is essentially straightforward. This is not the case in the narrative sections of fictional narratives (dialogues of course construct the deictic center according to the person that is speaking). In the Berber tradition, fictional narratives take place in an undetermined place at an undetermined moment in the past (Kossmann 2000: 33–38). As such, the story teller is in no way physically present in the story – the story being fictional means that the speaker is neither close nor distant from the action.

Still, in narrative parts, the ventive *dd* is very often found (cf. El Mountassir 2000: 147–152). When found in event types that have a speaker-oriented interpretation of *dd*, this means that the story teller constructs a deictic center within the story, i.e. the place from which or towards which actions take place. One can consider this a way of constructing the perspective of the story telling.

In the following, some general characteristics of the construction of the deictic center within the narrative parts of stories will be studied. Note that only those cases where the deictic center is speaker-oriented will be studied, those that are actor-oriented (as is the case with 'take' verbs) are irrelevant to the discussion. Moreover, we shall not look further into verbs of becoming and coming-into-being. As discussed above, such verbs are consistently constructed with the ventive *dd*, and do not allow an opposition with non-*dd* constructions.

In our presentation, we will distinguish two types of perspective: the vertical and the horizontal perspective.

3.1 THE VERTICAL PERSPECTIVE

The vertical perspective concerns the way upward and downward actions are described in relationship to a deictic center. The vertical perspective has three basic elements: the earth, what is below the earth, and what is higher.

Within the “earth” perspective, the protagonist that receives the focus of attention is the deictic center. This is shown by the use of *dd* ‘hither’ with the verb *kkər* ‘to get up’ when used in its positional meaning.²³ In all instances in the corpus the focus of attention is in upright position, so the person that is standing up does so in the direction of this focus of attention, e.g.:

- (99) Context: Jehha has told his mother to drop on the ground as if she were dead. She does so, he kicks her and she gets up.

y-əwt=it s rrkəl t-əkkər=dd.
 3S:M-hit:P=3S:F:DO with kick 3S:F-rise:P=VNT
 ‘he kicked her and she got up’ <M>

- (100) Context: A woman enters the mosque during the Friday prayers. One may imagine that the the men are sitting on the ground.

kkər-ən=dd middən a stt=nγ-ən.
 rise:P-3PL:M=VNT people AD 3S:F:DO=kill:A-3PL:M
 ‘the people stood up to kill her’ <A>

Kkər ‘to get up’ often occurs in imperatives in the conversational part. In this case, it is not combined with *dd*, e.g.:

- (101) Context: A cow that is lying on the ground is ordered to get up.

kkər, a i-tta=šəkk uxədmi
 rise:A:IMPT:S o 3S:M-forget:P=2S:M:DO knife:AS

mani i-tta emər Faḍna ut eisa.
 where 3S:M-forget:P Omar Fadna that.of:F Isa
 ‘get up (no *dd*)! the knife has forgotten you where Omar has forgotten Fadna ut eisa.’

Inversely, the verb *qqim* ‘to sit down’ is normally not constructed with *dd* in the corpus, e.g.:²⁴

²³ *Kkər* has a number of other uses. Most frequent among these is that of a narrative marker that starts a new series of events. In this use it is never combined with *dd*. One also remarks a number of instances where *kkər* + *dd* describes the coming into existence of something that ends up in an upright position (see 2.2), as in *tbədd təkəkər=dd dis yišš n rṛəmmanət* ‘then a pomegranate tree sprouted’, lit. ‘a pomegranate tree stood up, got up (*dd*)’.

²⁴ While *qqim* is extremely common as a durative auxiliary, and also in the stative meaning ‘to stay’, there are only few instances in the corpus where *qqim* clearly means ‘to sit down’.

(102) Context: The heroine hides in the place where the Singing Bird always comes.

iwa t-isi tifəlfəlt t tisənt t tmussəyt.
 well 3S:F-take:P pepper:FS with salt with knife:AS

iwa t-isi tifəlfəlt t tisənt iwa t-əqqim.
 well 3S:F-take:P pepper:FS with salt well 3S:F-sit:P

‘Well, she took pepper and salt and a knife. She took pepper and salt and sat down (no *dd*).’ <A>

(103) Context: A number of girls have gone swimming.

i-hwa=dd i-rah umza,
 3S:M-go.down:P=VNT 3S:M-go:P ogre:AS

i-qqim=asənt s ləhwayəž n-sənt.
 3S:M-sit:P=3PL:F:IO on clothes of-3PL:F

‘the ogre went down into the subterranean swimming pool) and went and sat down (no *dd*) on their clothes’ <Z>

There is one instance where *qqim* is combined with *dd*. In this case, the subject is a man changed into a bird. The movement here is from the sky towards the earth.

(104)

iwa i-qqim=dd yah ayənn n ubərdal, nətta d ann n
 well 3S:M-sit:P=VNT indeed that of bird:AS he with that of

wətna-s, iwa eiš-ən yah s sənn=əyd-sən
 sister-3S well live:P-3PL:M indeed with two:M=DISTRIBUTIVE-3PL:M

‘well, this bird sat down (*dd*) together with his sister, and they lived together the two of them’ <E>

According to the same principle, the verb *uḍa* ‘to fall’ is constructed without *dd* when somebody simply falls on the ground, e.g.:

(105) Context: Somebody finds out that he has lost a great amount of money.

yawkan y-əwḍa i-sxəf i-mmut.
 then 3S:M-fall:P 3S:M-faint:P 3S:M-die:P

‘then he fell down (no *dd*), he fainted and died.’ <M>

When dealing with movements concerning a location below the earth, the deictic center is always constructed at the ground level. This is even the case when the character in focus is situated below the earth, e.g., because she has been buried alive or because she has been thrown into a well.

(106) Context: A king wants to save his wife and children that have been thrown into a well with snakes. He takes some meat.

i-yr=in [uy...] *i təzgawt,*
3S:M-throw:P=3PL:M:DO in basket:AS

nəttata yawkan t-əyr=as=tən
she then 3S:F-throw:P=3S:IO=3PL:M:DO

t-əyr=as=dd arra nn-əs i təzgawt,
3S:M-throw:P=3S:IO=VNT children:FS of-3S in basket:AS

[i...] *i-zzuyəɾ* [əhh,] *i-zzuyəɾ* [əhh ayənn,]
3S:M-pull:P 3S:M-pull:P

asyun [is...] *i-ssiləy=tən=dd.*
node:AS 3S:M-make.go.up:P=3PL:M:DO=VNT

ha itnin mənε-ən=dd lbəzz nn-əs.
here! they:M be.saved:P-3PL:M=VNT children of-3S

i-εawəd dəxx i-yru tixsi [i... ti...]
3S:M-repeat:P then 3S:M-throw:P sheep

t-əyru=dd di-s iman nn-əyd nəttata ukk unn n təzgawt,
3S:F-throw:P=VNT in-3S self of-3S with she in that:AS of basket:AS

yawkan t-uləy=dd məskina t-uləy=dd.
then 3S:F-go.up:P=VNT poor.girl 3S:F-go.up:P=VNT

'he threw (no *dd*) them (the meat) into a basket and then she threw (no *dd*) them (the meat) to him (the snake); she threw (*dd*) her children for him (the king) into the basket and he pulled, he pulled the node and made them go up (*dd*). So her children were saved (*dd*). Then again he threw (no *dd*) a sheep. She threw (*dd*) herself also into it, into this basket, and then she went up (*dd*) the poor one, she went up (*dd*). <A>

In this fragment, all movements towards the earth level are marked by *dd*, while movement towards the woman is marked by the absence of *dd*. Interestingly, the marker *dd* is used when something is put into the basket when it is bound to go up, while it is not used when it is bound to go down.

When it comes to higher dimensions, there is variation in the choice of perspective. This can be illustrated by two versions of the same scene. In the Rapunzel story, the heroine lives in a high place, and lets down her hair to the ground so that her adoptive mother, the ogress, can go up by it. In the version by <A>, the letting down of the hair is entirely constructed from the earth perspective:

(107a) Context: The ogress has the habit to ask the heroine to let down her hair so she may climb up.

iwa t-əssəhwa=yas=dd ssaləf nn-əs yawkan
 well 3S:F-make.go.down:P=3S:IO=VNT hair of-3S then

t-aləy di-s.
 3S:F-go.up:A in-3S

‘well, she let down to her (*dd*) her hair and she climbed up (no *dd*) by it.’ <A>

(107b) Context: Her cousin overhears this and does the same.

t-əssəhwa=dd ssaləf nn-əs yawkan
 3S:F-make.go.down:P=VNT hair of-3S then

an i di-s y-uləy t-əmmatr=i d argaz
 until when in-3S 3S:M-go.up:P 3S:F-see:A=3S:M:DO PRED man:FS

‘she let down (*dd*) her hair and then when he had climbed up (no *dd*) she saw that it was a man’ <A>

(107c) Context: She hides him. When the ogress comes back:

t-əssəhwa=yas=dd ssaləf nn-əs
 3S:F-make.go.down:P=3S:IO=VNT hair of-3S

‘she let down (*dd*) her hair to her’ <A>

(107d) Context: A next time, the situation repeats itself:

t-əssəhwa=yas=dd ssaləf nn-əs t-aləy di-s.
 3S:F-make.go.down:P=3S:IO=VNT hair of-3S 3S:F-go.up:A in-3S

‘she let down to her (*dd*) her hair and she climbed up (no *dd*) by it.’ <A>

In the version by <F>, however, the perspective lies with the girl:

(108)

t-əyr=as [ixf nn-əs, əhh] ssaləf nn-əs
 3S:F-throw:P=3S:IO [head:FS of-3S eh] hair of-3S

y-aləy=dd di-s
 3S:M-go.up:A=VNT in-3S

‘she threw her hair, down <no *dd*> to him and he climbed up (*dd*) by it’ <F>

Within the house, the perspective seems to be on the ground floor. Thus, when a person comes to meet somebody in his house, the movement of the owner of the house is often described by means of *hwa=dd* ‘to go down’, implying a movement from the upper floor of the house to the ground floor, e.g.:

(109) Context: A man has knocked at the door of the ogre. After a conversation (apparently with the door still closed), the ogre opens up.

an i dd=i-hwa yawkan i-ttf=i.
 until when VNT=3S:M-go.down:P then 3S:M-take.hold:P=3S:M:DO

‘until he (eventually) came down (*dd*) and took him’ <A>

Verbs of mounting and dismounting are never constructed with *dd* in the corpus. This may be considered idiomatic, as the absence of *dd* is even found in situations where the speaker is present. Thus, in the following dialogue, the speaker is walking on foot, while the addressee is in a palanquin on a camel. This is clearly a situation where the addressee is in a higher position than the speaker, and where dismounting would involve movement towards the speaker. Still *dd* is not used:

(110) Context: A slave girl summons her mistress to dismount from the camel so she can ride.

hwa *xlaʃ* *ad* *ny-əx*.
descend:A:IMPT:S enough AD mount:A-1S
'come down (no *dd*), it's enough, I want to mount' <A> <C>

3.2 THE HORIZONTAL PERSPECTIVE

In fictional narratives the speaker or his/her physical position is irrelevant, and *dd* is used to convey a kind of camera perspective (Bentolila 1969a:95), i.e., the story teller takes a standpoint within the narrative space, and tells the story from this standpoint. This is especially the case where horizontal movement is concerned, a type of event that is very commonly expressed in the narratives in our corpus.

Verbs and uses in which *dd* refers to the actor of the event (e.g., with *isi* 'to take', 2.3.1) do not offer evidence for the story teller's perspective. Theoretically, expressions of coming into existence (see 2.2) can be considered cases of story teller's perspective, but they do not provide us with detailed information about this perspective, as they are always constructed with *dd*.

From the analysis of the narrative parts in the stories told by the most experienced and traditional story tellers in the corpus, <A> and , a relatively clear pattern emerges.

The main story teller perspective lies within a house or a tent. As in most stories people move from one place to another, the perspective moves with them, but, where possible, it takes a dwelling as its deictic center. In order to illustrate this, we will look at the longest story in our corpus, the story of Nnayer Bugrem, as told by <A>.²⁵ In the following, numbers are given to major scenes²⁶ that have more or less one place as their focus. Numbers followed by (a) are transitional scenes that describe travelling. While the deictic center is largely consistent within the main scenes, it is ambiguous or unclear in the transitional scenes, which typically combine the verb *rah* 'to go' (away from the deictic center) with the

²⁵ The story is not included in Benamara (2011). Hassane Benamara (p.c.) said he had never heard it. It seems to be relatively rare in northern Africa; regionally not too far away is the Arabic version from Oran published by Edmond Douuté (1903).

²⁶ Note that the notion 'scene' is defined here for the purposes of the article, i.e., as a part of the story that does not involve a major change in location. For a different, and more elaborated analysis of the structure of this kind of stories, see Kossmann 2000: 39–51.

(113)

i-zwa *d* *laxla* *i-ttazəl*
 3S:M-go.away:P with desert 3S:M-run:I

y-uhəl *mta* *i-ləhhəg* *ann* *n* *tməffut*,
 3S:M-get.tired:P if 3S:M-reach:P that of woman:AS

walu, *u* *tt=i-ləhhəg*.
 nothing NEG 3S:F:DO=3S:M:reach:NP

i-dwəl=dd *yah* *an* *tiddart* *nn-əs*.
 3S:M-come.back:P=VNT indeed until house of-3S

'he went away (no *dd*) running to the desert and tried in vain to get to (no *dd*) the woman, to no effect, he did not get to her (no *dd*). He returned (*dd*) to his house.' <A>

Scene (2a) The woman flees to a nomad's camp and is received there. Besides the ubiquitous *rah* 'go away' and *qqəs=dd* 'arrive unexpectedly', the passage does not provide evidence for the narrative perspective.

Scene (3) Nnayer grows up and learns about his father's death. He goes to the ogre and kills him. When he comes back everybody is afraid of him. In order to get rid of him, an old woman tells him about the most beautiful girl in the world. In this part, the narrative perspective lies in the house (or tent) of his mother. This is most clearly shown by the two instances of *zwa* that embrace the journey to the ogre's house and back:

(114)

y-isi *yis* *nn-əs* *i-zwa*.
 3S:M-take:P horse:FS of-3S 3S:M-go.away:P
 'he took his horse and went away (no *dd*)'. <A>

When he has killed the ogre, he cuts off his head, and goes back home. The return is expressed by *izwa=dd* 'he went away (*dd*)':

(115)

i-kks=as=dd *aqəlqul* *nn-əs*
 3S:M-take.off:P=3S:IO=VNT head:FS of-3S

i-yyu=t=id *[i...]* *i* *təlawt* *nn-əs* *n* *uyis*
 3S:M-do:P=3S:M:DO=VNT in saddle.bag:AS of-3S of horse:AS

i-zwa=dd. *an* *uyənn* *n* *uḍəwwar*.
 3S:M-go.away:P=VNT until that:AS (*sic!*) of camp:AS

'he cut off his head and put it in the saddle bag of the horse and went away (*dd*). Until that camp.' <A>

Scene (3a) Nnayer goes to the end of the world in order to find the princess. The perspective seems to be rather at his own camp than at the palace:

(116)

iwa i-rah an ayənn n tiddart n uyənn n nmalik (...).
 well 3S:M-go:P until that of house of that:AS of king (...)

i-rah yəl-din ay nnta
 3S:M-go:P to-there also he

ann n urgaz [əh] d zzin
 that of man:AS PRED beautiful:S:M

i-rah n uyənn n tməttut
 3S:M-go:P to that:AS of woman:AS

a tət=dd=i-xṭəb d zzina.
 AD 3S:F:DO=VNT=3S:M-ask.in.marriage:A PRED beautiful:S:F
 ‘so he went (no *dd*) to that house of that king (...). So this beautiful man went (no *dd*) there in order to ask the hand (*dd*) of that beautiful girl.’ <A>

The use of *dd* with *xṭəb* ‘ask a girl in marriage’ refers to the fact that girls go to the house of the husband after marriage, and thus takes Nnayer’s house as its point of reference.

Scene (4) Nnayer decides to elope with the princess. He is followed by the soldiers of the king. He comes to a well, where his fiancée wants to drink. In this part, the point of reference is the palace of the king, as shown by the absence of *dd* in the fragment describing his escape:

(117)

yawkan i-yy=it ukk yis nn-əs i-zwa.
 then 3S:M-do:P=3S:F:DO on horse:AS of-3S 3S:M-go.away:P

amm=ənn amm=ənn amm=ənn
 like=DIST like=DIST like=DIST

an i [da] kid-əs faq-ən ləhḡg-ən=ss.
 until when with-3S wake.up:P-3PL:M reach:P-3PL:M=3S:M:DO
 ‘so he put her on his horse and went away (no *dd*). Like this like this like this, until they got aware of him and went after him (no *dd*).’ <A>

Scene (5) Nnayer descends into the well in order to draw water. The soldiers come to him and fight with him. They take his horse and the girl with them and leave him for dead at the well. Two trees brag about their magical powers in healing and in churning milk. He takes leaves from the trees and gets healthy again. This is a scene where there is no relevant dwelling place. The story teller takes the surroundings of the well as her deictic center, e.g.:

(118)

i-hwa *n wanu* *a* *das=dd=y-ayəm*
 3S:M-go.down:P to well:AS AD 3S:IO=VNT=3S:M-draw.water:A

aman *yawkan* *ħəḍr-ən=dd* *xf-əs* *lməxzən,* *qqim-ən*
 water:FS then be.present:P-3PL:M=VNT on-3S soldiers sit:P-3PL:M

nəqq-ən=ss. *i-zwa* *t-əyyu* *ann n* *twašunt* *iman*
 kill:I-3PL:M=3S:M:DO 3S:M-go.away:P 3S:F-do:P that of girl self

nn-əs *t* *tazənzunəyt.*
 of-3S PRED mute:S:F:FS

‘he dismounted to the well to get her water, and then the soldiers came to him (*dd*) and started to kill him. (...). He (i.e., a soldier?) went away (no *dd*) and the girl pretended she had become mute.’ <A>

Scene (5a) Nnayer goes back to the king’s country disguised as a scabby poor person specialized in churning. He comes to an old woman’s house and asks for hospitality. This transitional part is, again, somewhat ambiguous in its orientation. On the one hand, *qqəs=dd* is used, on the other hand, when Nnayer asks for hospitality, the perspective is outside the house and not inside, as shown by:

(119)

t-əssitf=i *yr-əs.*
 3S:F-make.enter:P=3S:M:DO at-3S

‘she let him (no *dd*) in at her place’ <A>

Scene (6) Nnayer stays at the old woman’s house and becomes famous for his marvellous churning. The king hears about him and sends servants to get him. This part is one of the few non-transitional parts that have a change in deictic center. When the news arrives at the king, *awəḍ=dd* ‘to arrive (hither)’ is used, showing the king’s place as the deictic center, while after this, when the king’s servants come to the house of the old woman, *as + dd* ‘to arrive (hither)’ is used, placing the deictic center there:

(120)

an *i* *das=səll-ən* *middən,* *[i...]* *aħbib* *i-qqar* *ukk*
 until when 3S:IO=hear:P-3PL:M people friend:FS 3S:M-say:I to

ħbib *an* *dd=y-awəḍ* *ləxbar* *n* *nmalik.*
 friend:AS until VNT=3S:M-arrive:A news to king

as-ən=dd *yr-əs* *iħəḍdanən* *nna-n=as*
 come:A-3PL:M=VNT at-3S servants say:P-3PL:M=3S:IO

‘until people heard about him, a friend would tell a friend, until the news arrived (*dd*) at the king’s place. (His) servants came (*dd*) (i.e., to the house of the old woman) and said to him’ <A>

Scene (7) Nnayer comes to the king's palace where he pretends that he is just a poor scabby guy. He and the girl make a plan that a servant will tell the king that the only way to heal the girl from her deafness is to make her run on a horse with the scabby guy (supposed not to be able to ride a horse) as her driver. They do so and Nnayer elopes once more with his fiancée. This long passage only provides little evidence about perspective. It seems to lie at the girl's place, as shown by the use of *rah* 'to go' when the servant informs the king and his family:

(121)

iwa t-rah yər-sən ann n tnəxdamt
 well 3S:F-go:P at-3PL:M that of female.servant:AS
 'so this servant went (no *dd*) to them' <A>

Similarly, the escape is constructed with the palace as its point of reference:

(122)

iwa y-irəd ləksəwt nn-əs, y-irəd ssif nn-əs
 well 3S:M-put.on:P clothes of-3S 3S:M-put.on:P sword of-3S

iwa i-zwa i-thərrəb i-thərrəb
 well 3S:M-go.away:P 3S:M-gallop:I 3S:M-gallop:I

and [... d] i-ssəmda yis nn-əs i-səxxn=i
 until 3S:M-sharpen:A horse:FS of-3S 3S:M-warm.up:A=3S:M:DO
 'so he put on his clothes, he put on his sword and went away (no *dd*) galloping galloping until he had made his horse sharp and warmed up.' <A>

Scene (7a) Nnayer comes back home and finds that his mother has become very poor. He comes to her. Again, this transitional scene is unclear in the construction of its deictic center. It seems to lie outside the house of the mother until Nnayer eventually gets in, e.g.:

(123) Context: Nnayer has asked the people of the village where his mother lives.

i-rah yr-əs
 3S:M-go:P at-3S
 'he went (no *dd*) to her' <A>

Scene (8) The story ends in the restoration of Nnayer and his mother to their former importance in the village. Nnayer demands that everything that has been taken from his mother should be given back. The perspective lies at the house of the mother:

(124)

iwa [əhhh] rr-ən=dd yah qa ləḥwayəž nn-əs
 well return:P-3PL:M=VNT indeed entirely things of-3S
 'so they brought her back all her stuff' <A>

Scene (1) Fadna learns about the existence of Omar, who is from another part of Figuig. When she is going to be married to her cousin, he elopes with her and kills all members of the entire bridal party. He leaves her at a cave and forgets about her. She is found by a woman and goes to live there. This part takes the house of Fadna as its deictic center, e.g.:

(126)

ikk rəšl-ən yah ikk i-qqəs yah rršəl
 when marry:P-3PL:M indeed when 3S:M-explode:P indeed wedding

n-sən, nətta y-as=dd i-yy iman nn-əs t
 of-3PL:M he 3S:M-come:A=VNT 3S:M-do:A self of-3S PRED

taməttut. (...) al ayənn n wass [xxx] sad rəšl-ən
 woman:FS (...) until that of day:AS FUT marry:A-3PL:M

[əhh] t-əssufy=i i-ffəy yah d [əh] ləxla.
 3S:F-make.go.out:P=3S:M:DO 3S:M-go.out:P indeed with desert

ikk i-ffəy d ləxla,
 when 3S:M-go.out:P with desert

iwa day aəttuš i-rah-ən [in əhh] i-yərs=as
 well just palanquin:FS PTC-go:P-PTC 3S:M-slaughter:A=3S:IO

ayu n emər, aəttuš i-rah-ən i-nəy bab nn-əs,
 this of Omar palanquin:FS PTC-go:P-PTC 3S:M-kill:A master of-3S

aəttuš i-rah-ən ald i-nəy.
 palanquin:FS PTC-go:P-PTC until 3S:M-kill:A
iwa yah t-əqqim amm=ənn amm=ənn
 well indeed 3S:F-sit:P like=DIST like=DIST

al idžən n umullu y-ašr=it.
 until one:M of time:AS 3S:M-steal:A=3S:F:DO

iwa zwa-n yah t-ənnə=yas:
 well go.away:P-3PL:M indeed 3S:F-say:P=3S:IO

‘when they were going to have the wedding, when the wedding was about to begin, he (i.e. Omar) came (*dd*) disguised as a woman (...). Until the day that they were going to have the marriage, she let him out (no *dd*) and he went out into the desert (no *dd*). When he had gone out into the desert (no *dd*), this Omar killed every palanquin (i.e. of the bridal party) that went (out) (no *dd*), he killed the owner of every palanquin that went out (no *dd*), every palanquin that went out (no *dd*), until he had killed (them all). Well she stayed like that until one day he stole her (no *dd*). Well they went away (no *dd*) and she said...’

Scene (2) Fadna lives at the house of the old woman. Omar lends out oxen for fattening, and the old woman gets one very sick cow. Fadna fattens the cow, but

when Omar's people come she tells the cow not to get up. Omar comes to make the cow get up and he recognizes Fadna. The perspective of this part lies entirely at the house of the old woman, where Fadna stays, e.g.:

(127)

al idžən n umullu y-awəy=dd ayu n emər ifunasən.
 until one of time:AS 3S:M-carry:A=VNT this of Omar cows

t-əffəy yah ayu n twəssart nəttat t-ənna=yas:
 3S:F-go.out:P indeed this of old:S:F:FS she 3S:F-say:P=3S:IO
 'one day, this Omar brought (*dd*) oxen. The old woman went out (no *dd*) and said...'

(128)

iwa y-azn=as=dd lbəzz bda-n
 well 3S:M-send:A=3S:IO=VNT children begin:P-3PL:M

ttšat-ən=t, walu. ttšat-ən=t ad i-ffəy,
 hit:I-3PL:M=3S:M:DO nothing hit:I-3PL:M=3S:M:DO AD 3S:M-go.out:A

ul i-ffiy. y-as=dd
 NEG 3S:M-go.out:NP 3S:M-come:A=VNT
 'well he (Omar) sent (*dd*) boys to it (to the ox) and they started to beat it, to no effect. They beat him so he would go out (no *dd*), he didn't go out (no *dd*). He (Omar) came (*dd*).'

Scene (3) Fadna comes to live with Omar. They make an agreement that she will not do a couple of things as long as he doesn't speak to anybody about the way he killed her family. When Omar starts to tell his family, she breaks her part of the agreement too. After this, she kills Omar with his own sword, and feeds his guts to his family. She cuts off his head and takes it with her to her village. In this part, the perspective lies at the place where Fadna stays. This is very clear from the following fragment, which describes how Fadna goes back to her place once she has witnessed how Omar, at another house, brags about his deeds:

(129)

iwa t-əzwa t-azzəl si ššduḥ l ššduḥ si ššduḥ l
 well 3S:F-go.away:A 3S:F-run:A from roof to roof to roof to

ššduḥ al ss=t-af,
 roof until 3S:M:DO=3S:F-find:A

t-əbda t-ill t-ədwəl=dd al tiddart nn-əs,
 3S:F-begin:P 3S:F-cry:I 3S:F-come.back:A=VNT until house of-3S

t-əssingəl tiṭṭ nn-əs, t-aməs azəṭṭa nn-əs
 3S:F-put.on.make.up:A eye of-3S 3S:F-press:A loom:FS of-3S

t-ədwəl=dd. y-as=dd, i-nna=yas:

3S:F-come.back:A=VNT 3S:M-come:A=VNT 3S:M-say:P=3S:IO
'so she went away (no *dd*) and ran from roof terrace to roof terrace to roof terrace until she found him; she started to cry and went back (*dd*) to her house, she put make-up on her eye, she worked at the loom and came back (*dd*). He came (*dd*) and said...'

Scene (4) Fadna stays at the village with her sister and asks the community council forgiveness, which she is granted. This passage does not contain much information about the deictic center, but it does not seem to be in the house of the sister (which is only mentioned in passing), as follows from the following fragment:

(130)

al ass n nžamea lla-n ttzałla-n i tməzgida
until day:FS of friday be:P-3PL:M pray:I-3PL:M in mosque:AS

ləžmaεət t-əffəy=dd yawkan
village.council 3S:F-go.out:P=VNT then
'until that friday the village council was praying at the mosque and she went out (*dd*).'

3.3 CONCLUSION

The study of the construction of the deictic center shows an important difference between the vertical and the horizontal domain. Parts of the vertical domain are strongly conventionalized; thus, things happening under the ground are consistently “away from the speaker”, irrespective of the place of the main protagonist of the scene. The story teller apparently puts him/herself on the ground level. Similarly things moving down from a high position towards the ground level are consistently “towards the speaker”. The horizontal domain is much less ruled by this strong kind of conventions, and the placement of the deictic center is a matter of stylistic choice. As shown above on the basis of the stories with some of the best (or at least: most traditional) performers, the choice of the deictic center is mainly regulated by the dwelling place of the main protagonist of the scene.

4. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In this article, I have tried to disentangle the semantics and stylistics of the use of *dd* in Figuig Berber. The investigation shows that, in general, a basic meaning ‘towards the speaker’ fits the data quite well. As long as one is willing to accept metaphorical extensions from this meaning, there is no need to formulate a more abstract meaning as proposed, for example, by Mettouchi *fc.*, who refers to the viewpoint of the speaker or the protagonist.

For some types of event, esp. those of taking (off) and cutting (off), the deictic center is not the speaker but the actor. Thus there is a major split in the meaning of *dd*; this has not been attested or recognized in other Berber varieties. For some verbs, the combination with *dd* seems to be lexicalized. This is the case of a number of verbs with inherent perspective towards or from the speaker (*rah* ‘to go’), but may also be found in a couple of other verbs.

For those verbs and contexts where *dd* is basically speaker-oriented, its use in narrations is a major stylistic device, which allows the story teller to construct a point of reference within the narrative space. There are relatively strict stylistic conventions at play here, and, at least in our corpus, the story teller follows clear lines in the construction of the deictic center.

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