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Negation in Western Kabyle (Berber, Afroasiatic)

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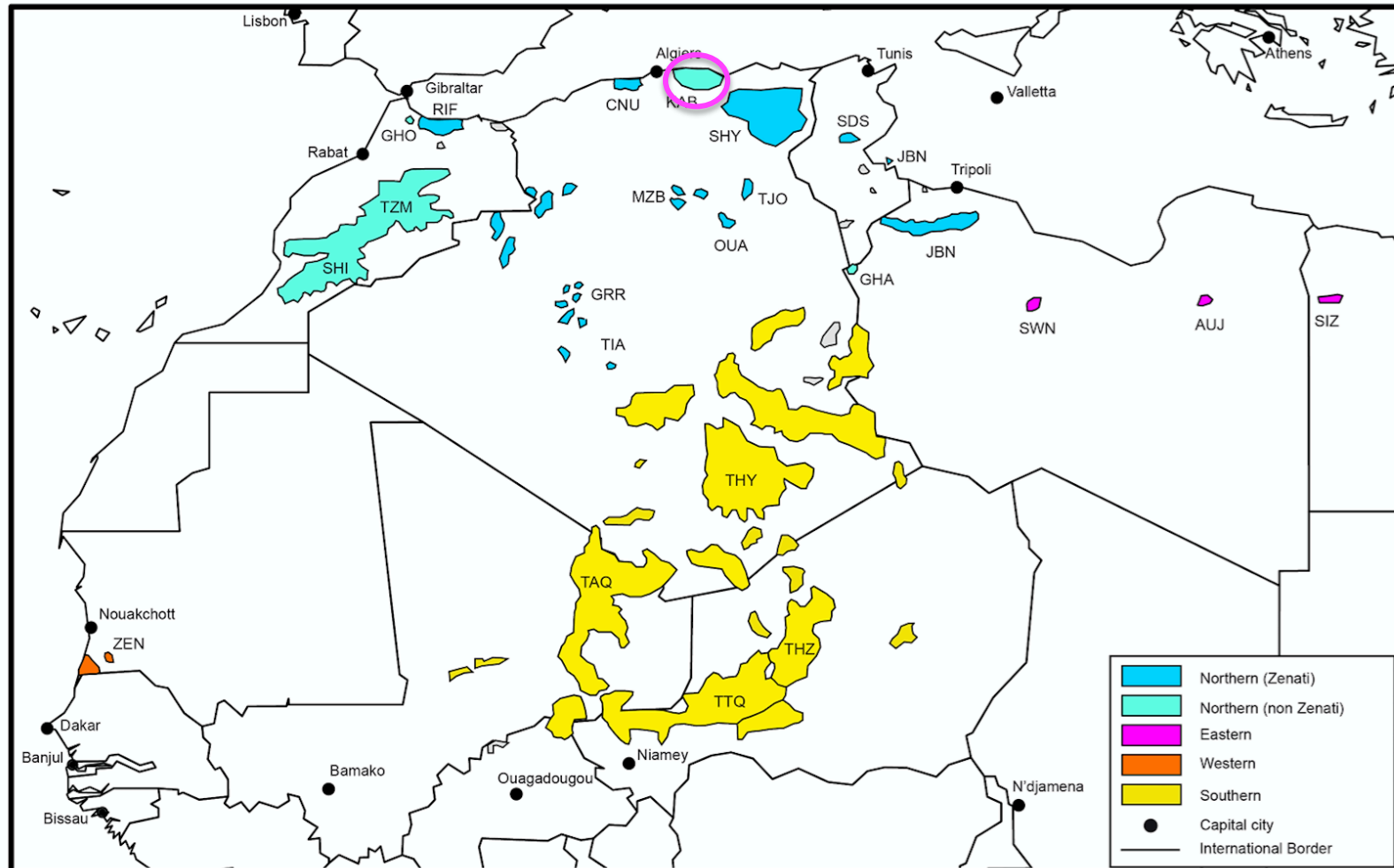


SWL8, Paris
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Langage, Langues et
LLACAN
Cultures d'Afrique Noire

Berber languages

Berber Languages



The borders presented on this map are approximate and have no legal value.

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- Negation systems in Berber are quite diverse

(Mettouchi 1996, 2006, 2009, 2012)

- verbal negative marker

- preverbal negative marker (**wər/ur/u/ul/ud/wəl... # ak # la**), with often a postverbal element (in a few varieties, only the postverbal negator remains)
- mood-aspect asymmetries
- negative subject relativization forms
- clitic climbing
- etc.

- non-verbal negative markers

- existence / location
- ascriptive

Variation in Mood-Aspect oppositions

- Aspect-Mood base forms in Berber

W. Kabyle aspectual stems (roots *DD* ‘come’, and *KRZ*, ‘plough’)

Aorist	Perfective	Negative perfective	Imperfective
-ddu-	-dda-	-ddi-	-ṭṭəddu-
-krəz-	-krəz-	-kriz-	-kərrəz-

Air Tuareg aspectual stems (roots *RTK*, ‘fall’, and *G*, ‘do’)¹

Aorist	Perfect	Perfective	Neg. PFV	Imperfective	Neg. IPFV
-rtək-	-rtak-	-rtaak-	-rtek-	-raattək-	-rəttək-
-g(u)- ²	-ge/a/ə-	-gee/aa-	-ge/a/ə-	-taagg(u)-	-təgg(u)-

- Bound pronouns

Imperative/Hortative (K)

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1		ad n-xdm-(w)t
2m	xdm	xdm-t
2f		xdm-wt

Standard (K)

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	xdm-y	n-xdm
2m	t-xdm-d ^f	t-xdm-m
2f		t-xdm-mt
3m	i-xdm	xdm-n
3f	t-xdm	xdm-nt

Western Kabyle & Tuareg (Tamashek): A-Cat-TAM asymmetry

W. Kabyle

PNG paradigm	Positive	Negative
standard		Awər + aorist (negative optative)
imperative	Aorist or Imperfective (imperative)	Ur + imperfective (prohibitive)
<u>imperative and standard</u>	Ad + Aorist (hortative)	
standard	Ad + Aorist Ad + Imperfective Imperfective Perfective	Ur + imperfective Ur + Negative Perfective

For sources concerning data other than Kabyle, see references in Mettouchi (2009a & b)

Aspectual oppositions in Aïr Tuareg

Positive	Negative
aorist or imperfective imperative ad + aorist ad + imperfective	wər ze/he + aorist wər + negative imperfective
resultative perfective	wər + negative perfective

Non-verbal negations

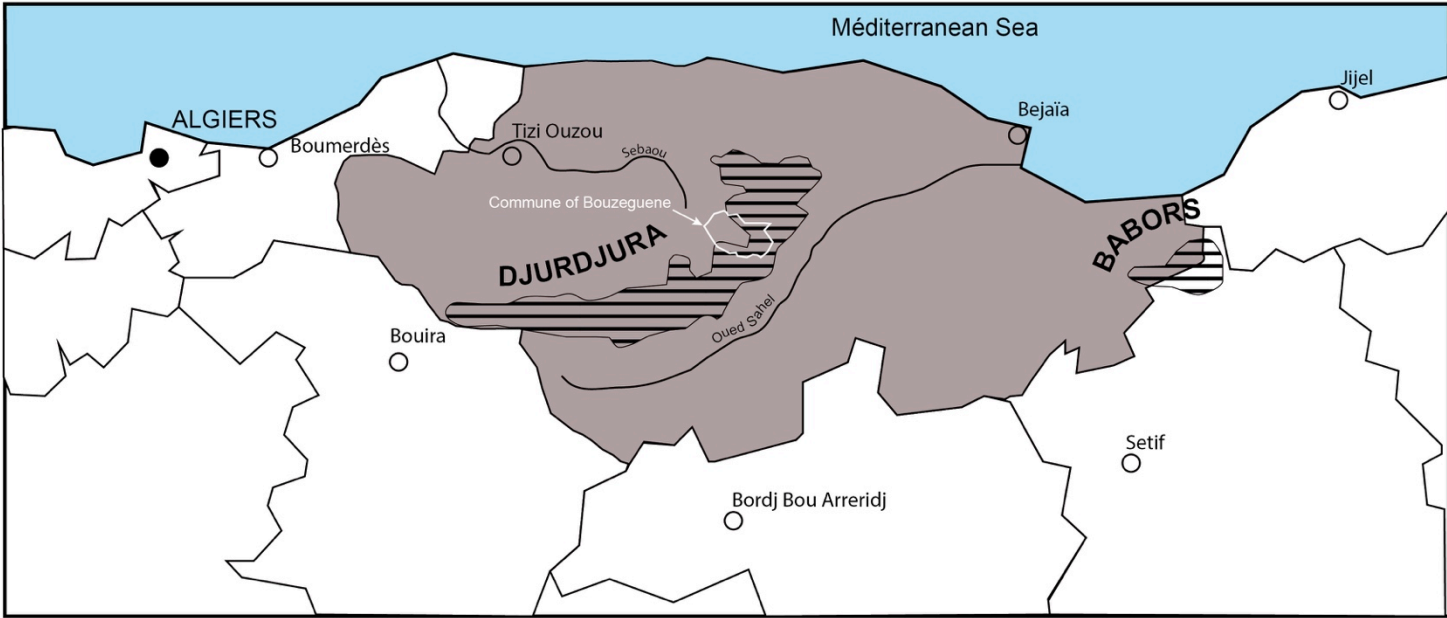
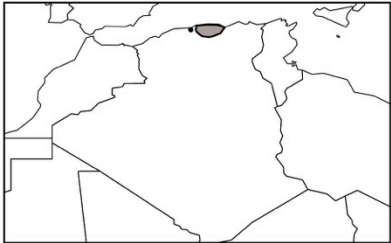
- Verbal vs non-verbal negators
 - ascriptive/attributive negation ‘it is not X’
 - existential negation ‘there is no X’

For sources concerning data other than Kabyle, see references in Mettouchi (2009a & b)

	Verbal	Existential	Attributive
Kabyle	ur (+ara)	ulaf	matʃʃi d
Tashawit	ud (+ʃa)	ud-illi, ullif	lifid, ixðʻa
Tarifit	ur (+ʃa)	u-din ʃa	ur-id, ulid u-dʒi-ʃa
Zuara	w ... ʃ wə ʃ	wəllif	wəʃʃá
Ghadamsi	ak / wāl	wāl d	a-d / awas
Siwa	la	la-di	qátʃʃi / átʃʃi
Tuareg (Ahaggar)	wər	aba	wər giy
Tuareg (Aïr)	wǎr	ba	wǎr ge



Kabyle (Western-Central)

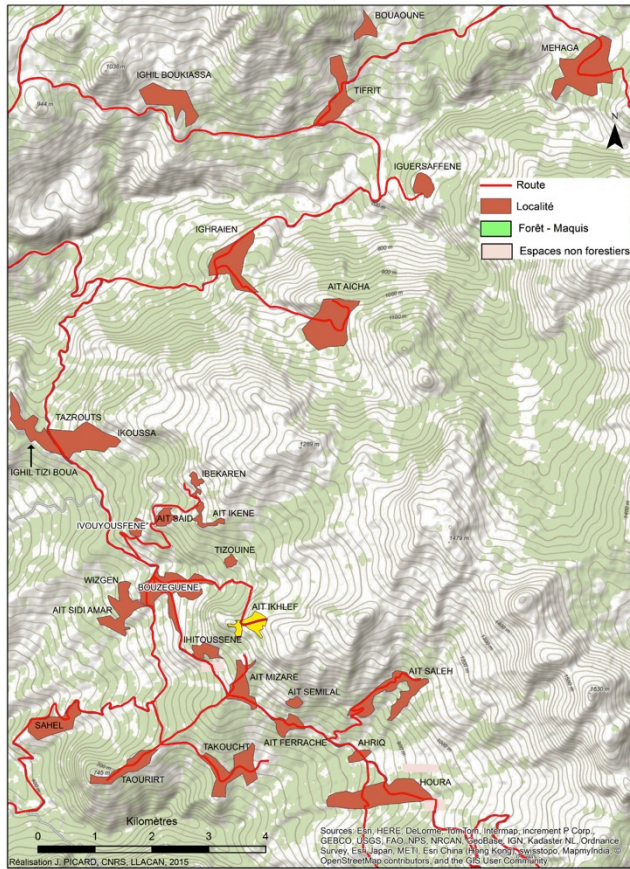


- Capital City
- Regional capital
- ~~~~~ River
- ==== Mountains
- Kabyle-speaking area

Designed by J. Picard, CNRS, LLACAN, 2015

The administrative boundaries presented on this map are approximate and have no legal value.

Kabyle (Ait Idjer variety)



Structure of the clause

- Clitic-climbing

j-əfka=jas=t=idd

3SG.M-give:PFV=DAT3SG=ABSV3SG.M=PROX

'he gave it to her/him'

ad=as=t=idd

POT=DAT3SG=ABSV3SG.M=PROX

'he will give it to her/him'

j-əfk

3SG.M-give:AOR

ur=as=t=idd

NEG=DAT3SG=ABSV3SG.M=PROX

'he did not give it to her/him'

j-əfki

3SG.M-give:NEGPFV

(ara)

(POSTNEG)

ayrum

i=s=idd

j-əfka

bread:ABS.SG.M

REL.REAL=DAT3SG=PROX

3SG.M-give:PFV

'the bread that he gave to her/him'

For abbreviations and notes on categories see
[List of Glosses](#)

idrimən i=s j-əfka / idrimən i=s i-tʰtsak / idrimən ara=s i-tʰtsak / idrimən ara=s j-əfk

money:ABS.PL.M REL.REAL=DAT3SG 3SG.M-give:PFV

money:ABS.PL.M REL.REAL=DAT3SG 3SG.M-give:IPFV

money:ABS.PL.M REL.IRR=DAT3SG 3SG.M-give:IPFV

money:ABS.PL.M REL.IRR=DAT3SG 3SG.M-give:AOR

‘The money that he gave (/is giving, usually gives) (/will be giving) (will give) to her/him’

idrimən ur=s j-əfki / idrimən ur=s i-tʰtsak

money:ABS.SG.M NEG=DAT3SG 3SG.M-give:NEGPfV

money:ABS.SG.M NEG=DAT3SG 3SG.M-give:IPFV

‘The money that he didn’t give (/won’t give / won’t be giving /isn’t giving...) to her/him’

argaz i=s j-əfka-n idrimən / argaz i=s i-tʰtsak-n idrimən / argaz ara=s i-tʰtsak-n idrimən / argaz ara=s j-əfk-n idrimən

man:ABS.SG.M REL.REAL=DAT3SG RELSBJ.POS-give:PFV-RELSBJ.POS money:ABS.PL.M

man:ABS.SG.M REL.REAL=DAT3SG RELSBJ.POS-give:IPFV-RELSBJ.POS money:ABS.PL.M

man:ABS.SG.M REL.IRR=DAT3SG RELSBJ.POS-give:IPFV-RELSBJ.POS money:ABS.PL.M

man:ABS.SG.M REL.IRR=DAT3SG RELSBJ.POS-give:AOR-RELSBJ.POS money:ABS.PL.M

‘The man who gave (/is giving, usually gives) (/will be giving) (will give) money to her/him’

argaz ur=s n-əfki idrimən / argaz ur=s n-tʰtsak idrimən

man:ABS.SG.M NEG=DAT3SG RELSBJ.NEG-give:NEGPfV money:ABS.PL.M

man:ABS.SG.M NEG=DAT3SG RELSBJ.NEG-give:IPFV money:ABS.PL.M

‘The man who didn’t give (/won’t give / won’t be giving /isn’t giving...) money to her/him’

Negative asymmetries (Miestamo 2005)

- Constructional asymmetry
 - « Symmetric negative constructions add (a) negative marker(s) to the corresponding affirmative with no further structural changes, whereas in asymmetric negative constructions the introduction of (a) negative marker(s) is accompanied by further structural changes. » (Miestamo 2005 : 52)
- Paradigmatic asymmetry
 - « In symmetric paradigms one finds a one-to-one correspondence between the members of affirmative and negative paradigms, whereas in asymmetric paradigms there is no such one-to-one correspondence. » (Miestamo 2005 : 52)
- Types of asymmetry
 - in the finiteness of verbal elements: Type A/Fin
 - in the marking of reality status: Type A/NonReal
 - in the marking of emphasis: Type A/Emph
 - in the marking of grammatical categories: Type A/Cat
 - A/Cat/TAM
 - A/Cat/PNG
 - other A/Cat

A-Cat-TAM asymmetry in W. Kabyle

- MAN forms in negative contexts

PNG paradigm	Positive	Negative
standard		Awər + aorist (negative optative)
imperative	Aorist or Imperfective (imperative)	Ur + imperfective (prohibitive)
imperative and standard	Ad + Aorist (hortative)	
standard	Ad + Aorist Ad + Imperfective Imperfective Perfective	Ur + imperfective Ur + Negative Perfective

- Almost no aorist in the negative domain
- No preverbs, only the standard negator **ur**, or a special negator in the negative optative

The negative MA domain in W.Kabyle

- **Awər** + [**SA**+**AOR**] : negative optative. (<1%)
- **Ur** + [**IA** + **IPFV**] : prohibitive. (<5%) (positive imperative 2.5%)
- **Ur** + [**SA** + **IPFV**] : negative hortative, oath, negated habitual, future, potential, progressive. (30-40%) (positive imperfective 10-16%; ad+aorist 15-30%)
- **Ur** + [**SA** + **NEG.PFV**] : negative statement (stative or dynamic), oath. (60-70%) (positive perfective 50-70%)
- **wəllʕəh ma** + [**SA** + **PFV**] : oath (<1%)

Percentages above are from various spoken corpora, in various genres, and are meant to give indications as to the frequency of the forms and their interpretation. In **pink** : % within negative utterances
In **orange** : % within positive utterances of the 'corresponding' positive forms.

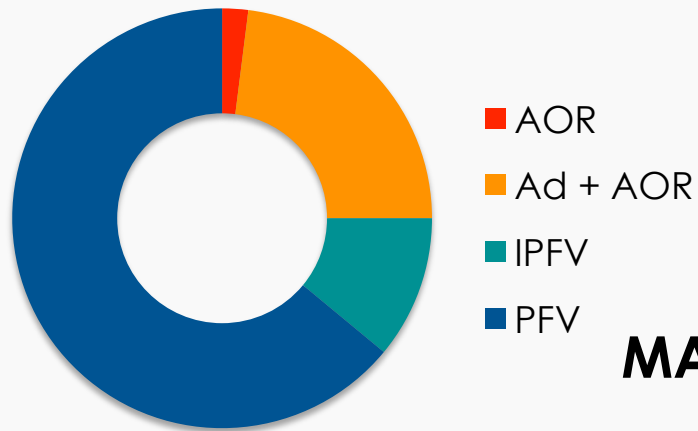
SA = Standard affixes

IA = Imperative affixes

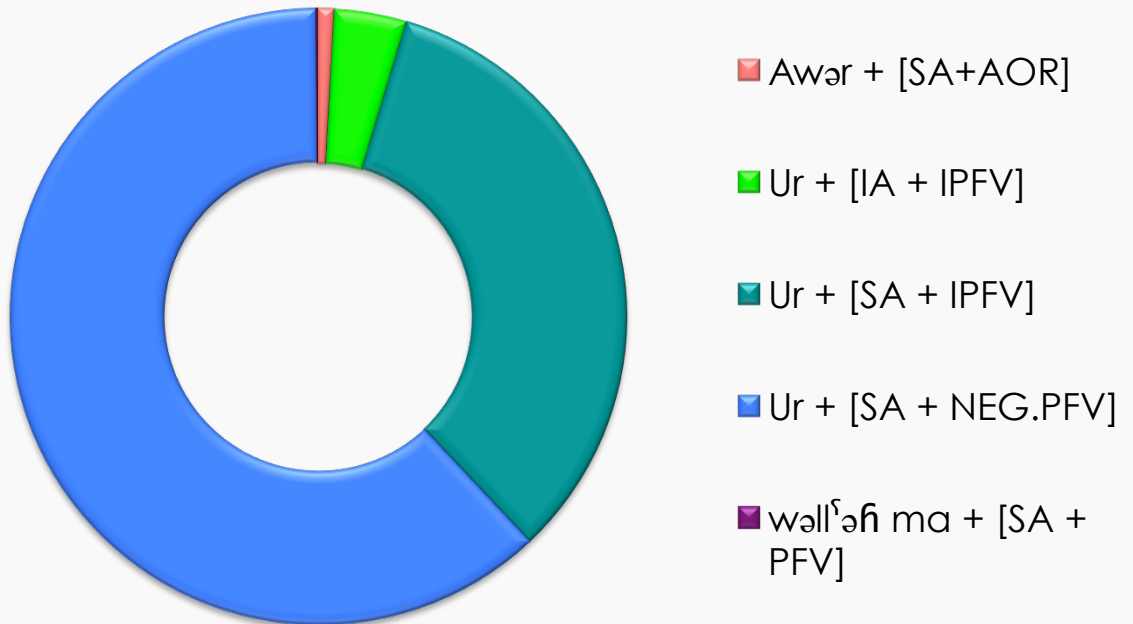
PNG paradigm	Positive	Negative
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imperative and standard	Ad + Aorist (hortative)	
standard	Ad + Aorist Ad + Imperfective Imperfective	Ur + imperfective
	Perfective	Ur + Negative Perfective

The negative MA domain in W. Kabyle

AM forms in positive utterances

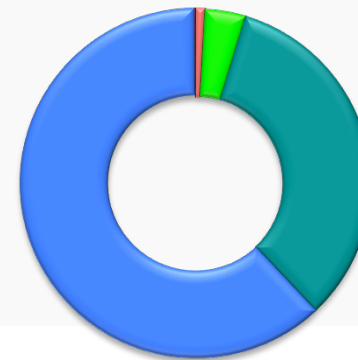


MAN FORMS in negative utterances



- negative optative

(1) Awər=dd j-uɣal
 NEG.OPT=PROX SBJ3.SG.M-come_back:AOR
 May he not come back !



- prohibitive

(2) innajas nəkwiniw bb°iyasidd guxxam // 224 ustsakara //
 i-nna=as nəkk win-iw wwi-ɣ=as=dd
 SBJ.3SG.M-say\PFV=DAT.3SG IDP1SG the_one\SG.M-POSS1.SG bring\PFV-SBJ.1SG=DAT.3SG=PROX
 g wəxxam // ur =as tʃak ara //
 LOC house\ANN.SG.M // NEG=DAT.3SG give\IPFV.IMP POSTNEG //
 My mule I fed it myself. Don't feed it.
 (KAB_AM_NARR_02_Midget_352-353)

- negative hortative, oath, negated habitual, future, potential, progressive

(3) uzəgg°əɖznara məddən i<lantərnət> /
 ur zəwwəğ-n ara məddən i <lantərnət> /
 NEG marry\IPFV-SBJ.3PL.M POSTNEG people\ANN.PL.M LOC internet\ANN.SG.M /
 People didn't use to get married on the internet,
 (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0556)

(4) a::: nnanas nuknuntsəddara //
 a::: nna-n=as nəkk°ni ur n-təddu ara //
 HESIT say\PFV-SBJ.3PL.M=DAT.3SG IDP.1PL NEG SBJ.1PL-come\IPFV POSTNEG //
 Oh, they said, as for us we won't go.
 (KAB_AM_NARR_02_30)

- negative statement (stative or dynamic), oath

(5) çətfj urðəzmirð°araddəsɖad°əð° /
 kəççi ur t-zmir-ɖ ara ad=dd t-sɖəɖ-ɖ /
 IDP.2SG.M NEG SBJ2-be_able\NEGPFV-SBJ.2SG POSTNEG POT=PROX SBJ2-hunt\AOR-SBJ.2SG /
 you are not able to hunt,
 (KAB_AM_NARR_02_108)

Contini- Morava (1989:179)

“negative-affirmative asymmetry is a natural consequence of the pragmatic function of negative sentences in ordinary discourse. Because speakers generally try to avoid conveying superfluous information, negative sentences in natural discourse — unlike negative logical propositions — are used to refer only to events which a hearer might have expected to occur. Since negated events are always potential rather than actual, there is no reason to assume that speakers need to convey the same information about them as they would in reporting actual occurrences”

Analysis for W.Kabyle (Mettouchi 1995, 2009)

- Aspect-Mood forms have an abstract semantic value that is not the one they have in positive utterances, but a more general one, which is pragmatically actualized, differently, through their use in Positive or Negative contexts

NB: this is formally marked by the A-Cat-TAM asymmetry of Kabyle, but is generally true of the semantic-pragmatic interpretation of negative vs positive utterances in natural languages (cf Contini-Morava 1989)

- Only some of the AM forms are compatible with the presuppositional dimension of negative contexts
- The negative particle is a modifier of AM forms in the negative domain in the same way as preverbs are in the positive domain
 - e.g. NEGPFV in positive = counterfactual hypotheticals; NEG+NEGPFV = acknowledge SITUATION as contrary to expectations (reference-oriented)
 - IPFV in positive = not completed (progressive, habitual etc.) ; NEG + IPFV = non-coincidence of characterization of SIT and actual situation (evaluation-oriented)

Zoom on the Prohibitive

- Type 1: The prohibitive uses the **verbal construction of the second singular imperative** and a **sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives**.
- Type 2. The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy **not** found in (indicative) declaratives.
- Type 3. The prohibitive uses a verbal construction **other** than the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives.
- Type 4. The prohibitive uses a verbal construction **other** than the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy **not** found in (indicative) declaratives
 - (AUWERA, VAN DER J. ET AL. 2005)

Quick overview across Berber

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

	Languages			
Features	Kabyle	Shilha	Tamashek	Siwi
Stem	IPFV	AOR	PFV & IPFV	AOR & IPFV
Affix	IMP	STD	STD & IMP	STD & IMP
Preverb	no	yes	no	yes & no
Order NEG-PREVERB		PVB < NEG		NEG < PVB
Typology	Type 1	Type 3	Type 3 & Type 1	Type 3 & Type 1

Kabyle strategy for the Prohibitive

- Imperative: Aorist or Imperfective stem + imperative affixes

innajas ijjakka jəmmanuz // (KAB_AM_NARR_02_Midget_765)

innajas		ijja	akka	a	jəmma	Nuz //				
i-	nna	=as	ijja	akk -a	a	jəmma	Nuza //			
SBJ.3SG.M	say	PFV	DAT.3SG	come	AOR.IMP.2SG	thus PROXa	VOC	mother	ABSL.SG.F	Nuza //
PRO	V13%	PRO	V	DEF.IMP	ADVAFFX	PTCL	N.KIN.COV	N.P	//	

he said come here Mother Nuja,

- Prohibitive: NEG + Imperfective stem + imperative affixes

asinin jəfmarənʳnʳəfʳsʳ / (KAB_AM_NARR_02_Midget_132)

ads		inin		i	Aʃmar	nnəfʃ /	
ad	=as	ini	-n	i	aʃmar	nnəfʃ /	
POT	DAT.3SG	say	AOR	SBJ.3PL.M	DAT	Aʃmar	half /
PTCL	PRO	V13%	AFFX	DEMPRO	NP	QNT	/

they would tell Amar the Midget,

çəfʃfutsəddara jidnəy // (KAB_AM_NARR_02_Midget_133)

kəčči	ur	ʃəddu	ara	jidnəy	//
kəčči	ur	ʃəddu	ara	jid -nəy	//
IDP.2SG.M	NEG	come	IPFV.IMP	POSTNEG	COM PREP.1PL.M //
PRO	PTCL	V13%.PFX	N.INDF	PREPPRO	//

you, don't come with us !

Kabyle Prohibitive

- Aorist is excluded from prohibitive; prohibitive involves imperative PNG affixes.
 - **Type 1**: The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives.
 - **But it is the IMPERFECTIVE** imperative stem which is used (rare in positive imperatives)

Non-verbal negations

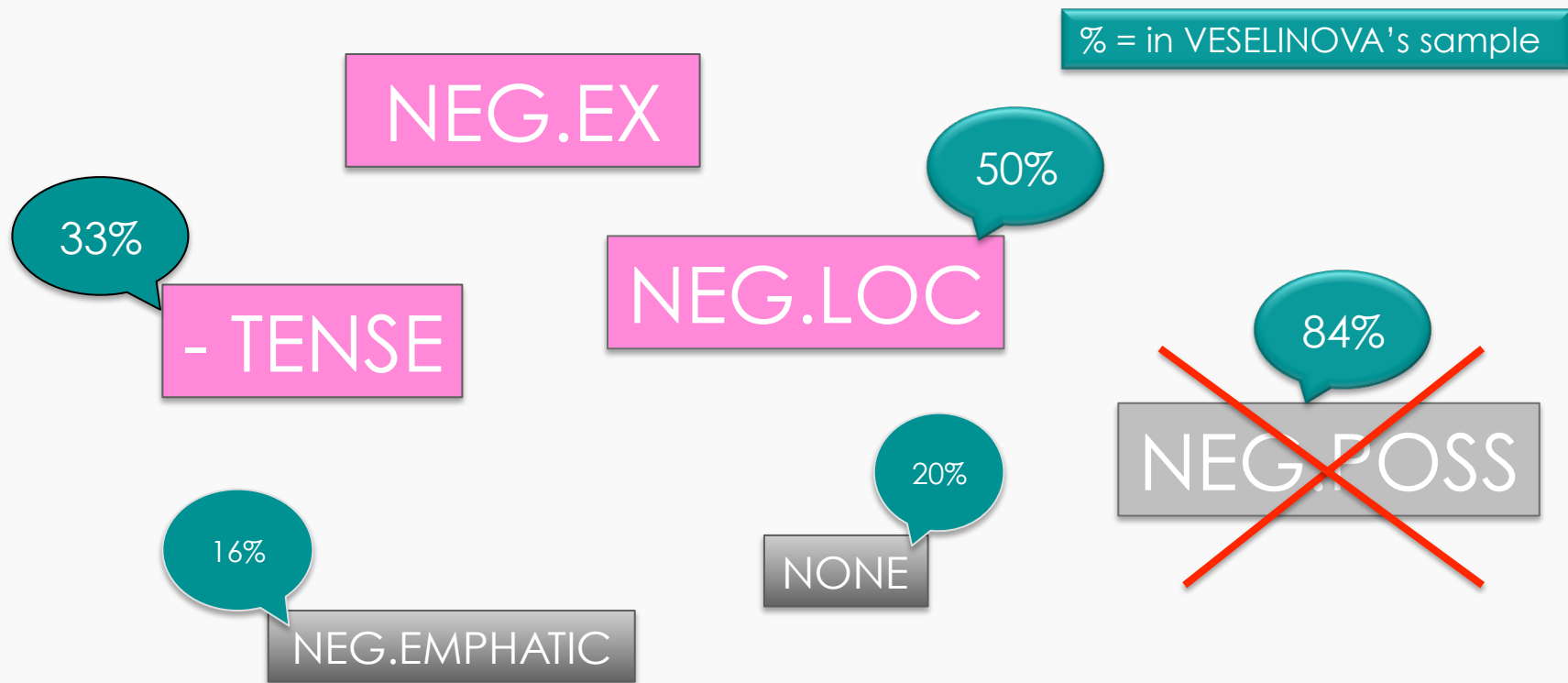
- Verbal vs non-verbal negators
 - ascriptive/attributive negation ‘it is not X’
 - existential negation ‘there is no X’

	Verbal	Existential	Attributive
Kabyle	ur (+ara)	ulaf	matfɛ d
Tashawit	ud (+fa)	ud-illi, ullif	lifid, ixðʻa
Tarifit	ur (+fa)	u-din fa	ur-id, ulid u-dʒi-fa
Zuara	w ... f wə f	wəllif	wəʃá
Ghadamsi	ak / wāl	wāl d	a-d / awas
Siwa	la	la-di	qátʃʃi / átʃʃi
Tuareg (Ahaggar)	wər	aba	wər giy
Tuareg (Aïr)	wǎr	ba	wǎr ge

Existential negation

- **ulaʃ** > **ur j-lli** ʃra (NEG SBJ3.SG.M-exist:NEGPFV thing)
 - univerbation between Standard Negation and another word as in 27% of NEG.EXS in Veselinova (2013)'s sample
- No dedicated positive existential construction
- Existence and Location : different constructions
 - Existence : ulaʃ + noun in the absolute state
 - (6) ulaʃ idrimən /
NEG.EXS money\ABSL.PL.M /
'There was no money'.
 - Location : ulaʃ + absolutive bound pronoun (+ noun in the absolute (before the predicate) or annexed state (after the predicate))
 - (7) lkarlaʒ-agi zik / ulaʃ=it /
floor-tile\ABSL.SG.M-DEM.PROX long_ago / NEG.EXS=ABS.3SG.M
'This tiled floor, in the old days, it wasn't there'

Mapping (cf Veselinova 2013)



Rather prototypical, except for the lack of
NEG.POSS function

(instead : standard verbal construction (verb sfu, 'possess'))

Ascriptive/attributive negation

- typically rejects a presupposition concerning identity, class inclusion and property attribution, with a noun (or an adjective) in its scope

(8) ʕalǧija -nni / **matʕʕi** d jəmma-s ## **COP+Noun**
ʕalǧija-CNS / NEG.ATTR COP mother\ABSL.SG.F-KIN.3SG ##
'This Aldjiya, she was not his mother ...'

- but also concerning the choice of a characterization in terms of quantity, time, manner...

(9) ʕfi-ɣ=dd atʕas **matʕʕi** ʕitʕuħ / **QNT**
remember\PFV-SBJ.1SG=PROX a_lot NEG.ATTR a_little /
'I remember a lot of things, indeed' (lit. I remember a lot, not a little)

(10) **matʕʕi** akk-agi zik-nni / **ADV**
NEG.ATTR thus-PROXb long_ago-CNS /
'It wasn't like this in the past'

- and rejects the association of a focus to a presupposition in negative clefts

(11) **matʃi** d baba aʃli i=ṭ
 NEG.ATTR COP father\ABSL.SG.M Aʃli REL.REAL=ABS.3SG.F
 j-uɣ-ən //
 RELSBJ.POS-take\PFV-RELSBJ.POS // **CLEFT**
 'It's not father Ali who married her'.

- it's a contradictory judgement (in the sense that it involves competing viewpoints on a referent, situation, etc.)

Corpus-based sample study

- Proportions

- 30mn conversation = 60 verbal / 32 non-verbal
(64.5% / 35.5%)

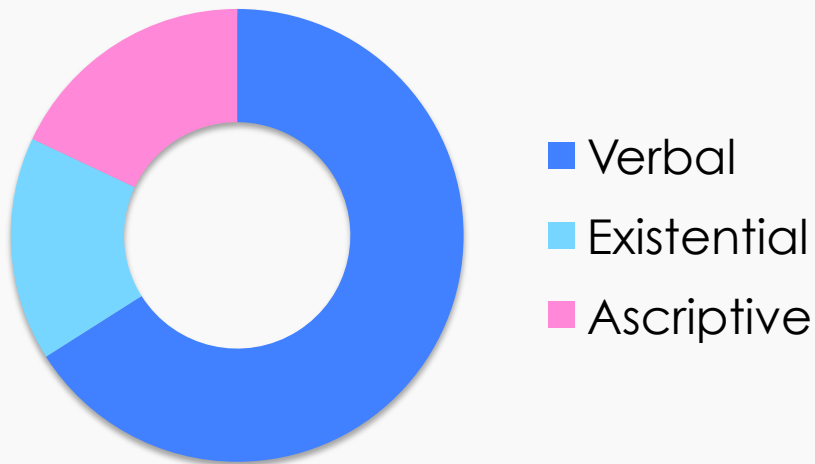
- Non-verbal = 15 existential / 17 attributive (47% / 53%)

- 40mn narratives = 85 verbal / 65 non-verbal
(56.5% / 43.5%)

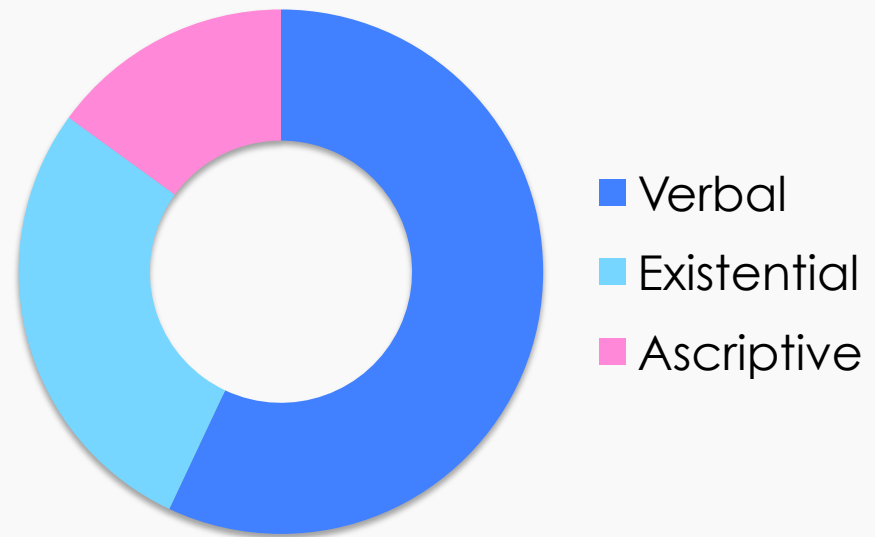
- Non-verbal = 42 existential / 23 attributive (64.5% / 35.5%)

Negation Types in sample spoken corpus

Conversation



Narrative



Semantics of negative predication in Western Kabyle

- Verbal negation : binary opposition between NEGPFV and IPFV
- Non-verbal negation: binary opposition between EXS.NEG and ASCR.NEG

NEG + IPFV & Ascriptive NEG

+ EVALUATIVE/JUDGEMENTAL

Characterization does not
apply to the situation

Competing judgements about
the situation/the referent

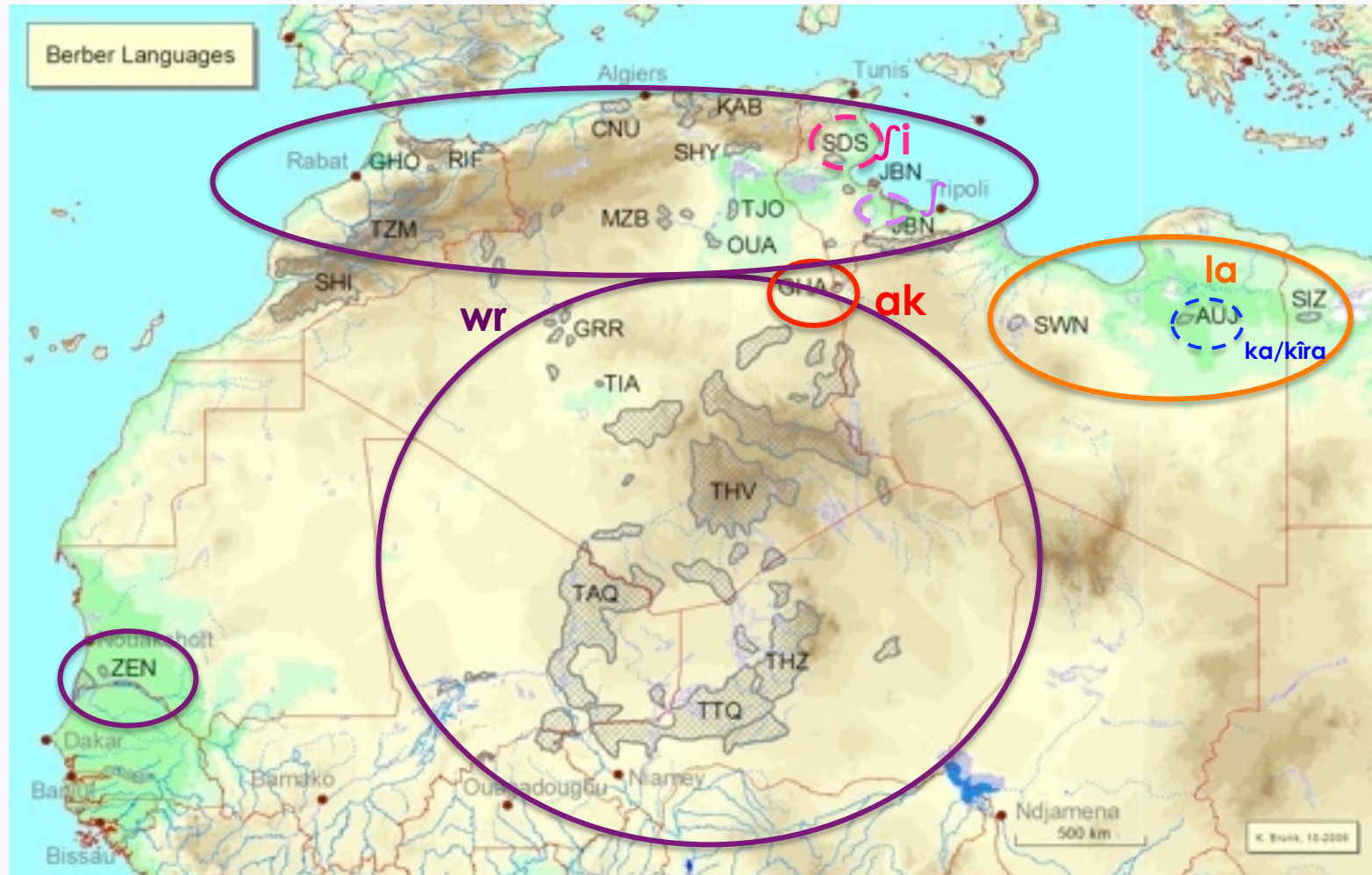
NEG + NEGPFV & Existential NEG

+ REFERENTIAL

Situation 'is not the case'

Referent 'is not there'
Referent 'does not exist'

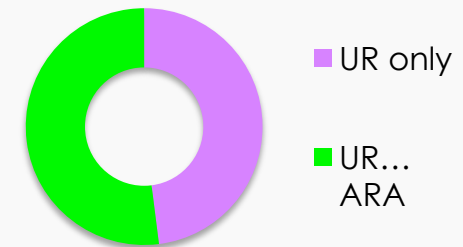
pre/post-verbal negators



Kabyle : UR ... (ARA)

Postverbal modulation of negation

- Conditions of absence for Kabyle : 48% of negations in corpus (Mettouchi 2001, 2009)
 - Ur only
 - negative polarity constructions (indefinite nouns)
 - oaths or polemical statements
 - negative coordination
 - negative subordination
 - negative restrictive relativization
 - Ara obligatory
 - negative conditional clause
 - negative informative answers/statements



- Ur only

- negative polarity constructions (indefinite nouns)

(12) **ur** j-ddi jiwn
NEG SBJ.3M.SG-accompany:NEGPV one:ANN
'no one came'

- oaths or polemical statements

(13) wəlləh **ur** swi-y
by_God **NEG** drink:NEGPV-SBJ1SG
'I swear I didn't drink!'

- negative coordination

(14) **ur** uli-n jxxamən **ur** t-rbiḥ tfəllaḥt
NEG go_up:NEGPV-SBJ.3M.PL house:ANN.PL.M
NEG SBJ3.SG.F-improve:NEGPV cultivation:ANN.SG.F
'neither were houses built nor was cultivation improved'

– negative subordination

(15) ttməslaj-γ **ur** faq-γ

talk:IPFV-SBJ.1SG **NEG** realize:NEGPFV-SBJ.1SG

‘I talked without realizing (what I was doing)’ (unawares)

– negative restrictive relativization

(16) n-wala argaz **ur** n-ssin

SBJ.1PL-see:PFV man:ABS **NEG** SBJ.1PL-know:NEGPFV

‘We saw a man we didn’t know’ (unknown)

- Ara obligatory

– negative conditional clause

(17) ma **ur** n-ruħ **ara** s axxam a=γ tʃtʃ-n ləwħuf

IF **NEG** SBJ.1PL-go:NEGPFV **POSTNEG** to house:ABS.SG.M

POT=ABSV1PL eat:AOR-SBJ.3M.PL beast:ANN.PL

‘if we don’t go home the wild beasts will eat us’

– negative informative answers, or statements

(18) - anda=t ?

where=ABSV.3SG.M ?

‘where is it ?’

- **ur**=t=id

j-ufi

ara.

NEG=ABSV3M.SG=PROX

SBJ.3M.SG-find:NEGPFV **POSTNEG**

‘He didn’t find it’

- Ara anchors the negative statement in interaction, it is a ‘common ground’ marker.
 - ara > kara > harət, ‘thing’
 - it is also the relativizer for potential/irrealis relative clauses (cf Mettouchi 2001 for grammaticalization)

Variation in Subject Relativization

- Many Berber languages have a special subject-relativization verbal form which has fewer PNG distinctions than standard verbal constructions
- This form generally has a formally different corresponding negative

Language	Positive		Negative
Kabyle	j-stem-n		ur n-stem
Ayr Tuareg (Niger)	M.SG	j-stem-ǎn	wǎr n-stem
	F.SG	t-stem-ăt	
	PL	stem-nin	
Adagh Tuareg (Mali)	M.SG	stem-ǎn	wǎr ǎn-stem
	F.SG	t-stem-ăt	wǎr ăt-stem
	PL	stem-nin	wǎr ǎn-stem

Subject Relativization forms

azəmmur aθan ar'ið'a / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_1079)

azəmmur	atan	ar'iða	/
azəmmur	atan	ar'iða	/
olive\ABSL.SG.M.COL	PRSTd	completely	/
N.OV	PTCL	ADV	/

olive-trees are still here

llan igad tit't'fən / (KAB_AM_NARR_03_1080)

llan	igad	it		jətt'fən	/
lla -n	igad	i =t		i- tt'əf -n	/
exist\PFV.SBJ.3PL.M	those_which\ABSL.PL.M	REL.REALABS.3SG.M		RELSBJ.POS catch\PFV.RELSBJ.POS	/
V13% AFFX	PRO.INDF	DEMPRO PRO		CIRC1 V23 CIRC2	/

some people go on with it,

llan igað tið'ðan // (KAB_AM_NARR_03_1081)

llan	jigad	it		jəğ'ðan	//
lla -n	jigad	i =t		i- g'ğa -n	//
exist\PFV.SBJ.3PL.M	those_which\ANN	REL.REALABS.3SG.M		RELSBJ.POS leave\PFV.RELSBJ.POS	//
V13% AFFX	PRO.INDF	DEMPRO PRO		CIRC1 V13% CIRC2	//

some people don't.

lla-n igad ur=t n-t't'if
 exist:PFV-SBJ3.PL.M those_which **NEG**=ABSV3.SG.M **RELSBJ.NEG**-catch:**NEG**PFV
 'some people don't go on with it (lit. there are those who don't retain it (the tradition))'

argaz ur n-xəddəm fk=as tar'uka ad j-lləm
 man:ABS.SG.M **NEG** **RELSBJ.NEG**-make:IPFV give:AOR:IMP=DAT3.SG distaff:ABS.SG.F POT SBJ3.SG.M-spin:AOR

A man who doesn't work, just give him a distaff to spin (he's not a real man)

Conclusion on Western Kabyle

- Typology of negation:
 - A-Cat-TAM asymmetry
 - Existential vs Ascriptive constructions
 - Type 1 prohibitive but with AM asymmetry (IPFV)
 - Constructional asymmetry in subject relativization
- Language-internal analysis : the negative domain in Western Kabyle is characterized by two types of predications, manifest in verbal as well as in non-verbal predications (Mettouchi (1995, 2009)):
 - non-occurrence of an event or situation (NEGPFV/ Existential)
 - disagreement about/non-coincidence of the characterization of a referent or situation (IPFV / Ascriptive)

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