

The internal structure of the Berber DP: a hierarchical account

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Goal – In this paper, I deal with the internal structure of nominal projections in Berber, focusing on the Tikičurt variety of Taqbaylit (Algeria), and aim at accounting for the different orders in which modifiers and arguments of the noun occur. Adopting the hierarchical DP template analysis proposed by Cinque (1996; 2000; 2005), I argue that modifiers of the noun are merged in a fixed order within hierarchically organized functional projections dominating NP, but surface in a (restricted) number of alternative orders depending on the nature and target of nominal movement.

Data – Inside Taqbaylit DPs, modifiers – i.e. demonstratives, adjectives –, and possessor arguments of the noun can surface in a number of orders. However, as in Arabic (cf. Fassi-Fehri, 1999 & Cinque, 2000), alternative orders are overall fairly restricted in terms of possibilities. First, they must, in most contexts, follow the head noun (1).

- (1) a. axxam **n** **temeyra** / **nni** / **wayed**
house OF party / DEM / other
The house of the party / This house / The other house
b. ***n** **temeyra** / ***n****ni** / ***wayed** axxam

Second, when several modifiers co-occur, they surface in the restricted sequences below and further illustrated in (2) and (3):

- Demonstratives and adjectives appear canonically as an **N > DEM > Adj** sequence but can alternatively appear as **N > Adj > DEM**.
- In constructions containing demonstratives, adjectives and possessors, the order is canonically either **N > DEM > Adj > Poss** or **N > Poss > Adj > DEM**.
- Another order, **N > DEM > Poss > Adj** is more marked but nonetheless available.

- (2) a. aqcic nni amectuh **N > DEM > Adj**
boy DEM small
This small boy
b. aqcic amectuh nni **N > Adj > DEM**
boy small DEM
This small boy
- (3) a. avelu nni amelal n dada **N > DEM > Adj > Poss**
room DEM white OF dad
This white bike of dad
b. avelu n dada amelal nni **N > Poss > Adj > DEM**
bike OF dad white DEM
This white bike of dad
c. avelu nni n dada amelal **N > DEM > Poss > Adj**
bike DEM OF dad white
This white bike of dad

Proposal – Extending Cinque’s universal DP hypothesis (1996; 2000; 2005) to Taqbaylit DPs, I propose the underlying structure illustrated in (4), in which the projection of the nominal head, NP, is dominated by a number of hierarchically ordered functional projections and their corresponding agreement heads. I argue that demonstratives and adjectives in Taqbaylit are merged in that fixed order in their Specifier positions, while possessor arguments are merged inside NP.

- (4) $[_{DP} \mathbf{D} [_{AGR1P} AGR1 [_{FP1} \mathbf{DEMP} [_{FP1} F1 [_{AGR2P} AGR2 [_{FP2} \mathbf{AP} [_{FP2} F2 [_{NP} \mathbf{N} \text{POSS}}]]]]]]]]]]]$

The different orders in which modifiers and arguments are found are derived by the different types of movements undergone by the nominal head, N. In Taqbaylit, as in other Berber

varieties, N systematically moves to D (cf. El Moujahid, 1997; Ouhalla, 1997; and Ennaji, 2001). Here, I propose that the language allows for N-to-D movement to occur in three different modes, each giving rise to a particular order. Essentially:

- N can move as a head from its merge position all the way up to D. As illustrated in (5) this derivation gives rise to the N > DEM > Adj > POSS orders.

(5) avilu [~~avilu~~ nni [~~avilu~~ amelal [avilu n dada]]]
 bike DEM white OF dad
This white bike of dad

- N can move with the NP that contains it. NP movement targets the Specifier positions of the highest AgrP (merged by the highest functional projection dominating NP) and from there, N moves to D. In Taqbaylit, NP movement is successive – NP moves through all the available Spec-AgrP’s –, and obligatorily of the roll-up kind – i.e. NP obligatorily pied-pipes remnant AgrPs to higher positions. As illustrated in (6), this derivation gives rise to the N > POSS > Adj > DEM.

(6) avilu [~~avilu~~ n dada amelal [nni [~~avilu~~ n dada [amelal [avilu n dada]]]]]
 bike OF dad white DEM
This white bike of dad

- NP movement can stop in any intermediate Spec-AgrP and N-to-D movement follow. This derivation gives rise to the N > DEM > POSS > Adj order.

(7) avilu [nni [~~avilu~~ n dada amelal [avilu n ~~dada~~]]]
 bike DEM OF dad white
This white bike of dad

Further empirical evidence – Additional support for the argued derivation of Taqbaylit DPs comes from impossible modifier sequences. In constructions involving a demonstrative, an adjective and a possessor, the former cannot precede the demonstrative without the adjective (*hence* *N > Poss > DEM > Adj).

(8) *avilu n dada nni amectuh
 bike OF dad DEM_{AMB} small

Furthermore, when both a possessor argument and an adjective precede the demonstrative, the order in the sequence is obligatorily N > Poss > Adj > DEM (*hence* *N > Adj > Poss > DEM):

(9) *avilu amectuh n dada nni
 bike small OF dad DEM_{AMB}

These examples support the hypothesis that modifiers are merged in a fixed order in functional projections above NP and that these alternative orders follow a specific pattern.

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