

Stative and resultative structures of Amazigh verbs of quality*

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This study investigates a special class of intransitive verbs in Amazigh occurring with accusative clitics in the perfective aspect. Such a situation goes against the idea that objects of intransitive verbs are not assigned accusative case. Combined with accusative clitics, these verbs yield a simple stative interpretation as opposed to their combination with nominative clitics, which may yield either a simple stative or a resultative interpretation. It is argued that the structure associated with the accusative form contains only one verb corresponding to the abstract BE, while the structure associated with the nominative form contains two abstract verbs, corresponding to the stative BE and the inchoative COME, respectively. On the other hand, it is argued that the accusative clitic is hosted in Spec of Aspect, while the nominative clitic is hosted in Spec of T. Such an analysis provides an account for the different interpretation associated with these forms.

I. Introduction

In the present chapter I will examine a special class of intransitive verbs in Kabyle Amazigh¹, traditionally referred to as verbs of quality. The syntactic particularity of this class of verbs is that they show up with accusative object clitics in the perfective as illustrated in (1)²:

- (1) a. Zeggay-it
Red (PERF)³-CL. 3M.Sg.
It is red
- b. Zeggay-itt
Red (PERF)- CL.3F.Sg.
It is red

* I would like to thank Prof. M-L. Rivero and one CLO anonymous reviewer for their comments and suggestions on the earlier draft of this paper. I also thank A. Mahfoudhi for his suggestions and his help.

¹ While the widespread term used in the western literature to refer to the Amazigh language is Berber, which is derogatory, I prefer to use the term Amazigh which is the one preferred by native speakers. Kabyle Amazigh refers to the Amazigh dialect spoken in Kabylia, a region of Algeria.

² Unless otherwise specified, the examples illustrated in the present study belong to the Kabyle Amazigh variety referred to as AT Ziyane Kabyle (henceforth AZK) by A. Allaoua (1986 and 1993). See also Galand (1980 and 1990).

³ Abbreviations in the gloss are to be read as follows: F= feminine, M = masculine, Acc. Accusative, Nom. = nominative, Sg. = singular, Pl. = plural; PERF = perfective.

- c. *Zeggay-iten*
 Red (PERF)-CL.3M.PI.
 They are red
- d. *Zeggay-itent*
 Red (PERF)-CL.3F.PI.
 They are red

The examples above constitute evidence against the idea established in the literature that intransitive verbs do not assign accusative case to their object. The pronominal clitics they are combined with show up in the accusative, which means that the clitics are assigned accusative case. These clitics are the same as those indicating the object with transitive verbs as illustrated with the verb *wwet* ‘beat’ in the examples below:

- (2) a. *Iwwet-it*
 3M.Sg-beat (PERF)-CL.3M.Sg.
 He beat it / him
- b. *Iwwet-itt*
 3M.Sg-beat-CL.3F.Sg.
 He beat it / her
- c. *Iwwet-iten*
 3M.Sg-beat (PERF)-CL.3M.PI
 He beat them
- d. *Iwwet-itent*
 3M.Sg-beat CL.3M.PI.
 He beat them

The forms in (1) contrast with the unaccusative forms illustrated in (3) below which are associated with nominative subject morphemes⁴:

⁴ Because the forms in (1) combine with accusative clitics I will sometimes refer to them as accusative forms. Likewise, because the forms in (3) combine with nominative clitics, I will sometimes refer to them as nominative forms.

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- (3) a. I-zwiγ
CL.3M.Sg.NOM.-red
It / he reddened
- b. T-zwiγ
CL.3F.Sg. NOM.-red
It / she reddened
- c. Zwiγ-n
Re- CL.3M.Sg.NOM.
They reddened
- d. Zwiγ-nt
Red-CL.3F.Sg. NOM
They reddened

Although the clitics in (3a-b) appear as prefixes and those in (3c-d) as suffixes, they are nominative subjects in both situations. Unlike accusative object clitics, which always occur as suffixes, the position of nominative subject clitics is not as homogeneous since they occur as suffixes, as prefixes and also as discontinuous affixes. The complete paradigms of accusative object and nominative subject clitics occurring with verbs in Amazigh are given below:

(4)

	Nominative system	Accusative system
Singular		
1	-----γ	-iyi
2	t-----d / t	-ik
3m.	y-----	-it
3f	t-----	-itt
Plural		
1	n-----	-anay
2m.	t-----m	-ik ^w n
2f	t-----mt	-ik ^w nt
3m.	-----n	-iten
3f.	-----nt	-itent

Traditionally, the nominative subject morphemes in (3) and (4) have been considered as subject agreement markers. This view was challenged by Guerssel and Achab (2003). On the basis of syntactic extraction Guerssel (1995) concluded, “Subject-verb agreement in Amazigh has no expression other than that of the clitic”. On the other hand, in Achab (2003), I argued against the agreement marker status of these morphemes on the basis of the difference between free state and construct state nouns in Amazigh. After demonstrating that the former are DPs while the latter are bare NPs, I concluded that the subject morphemes such as the ones in (3a) are first generated as determiner heads, and subsequently incorporate onto V. The question why the positions of the nominative morphemes are so heterogeneous will not concern us here as its investigation goes far beyond the scope of the present paper. What needs to be clarified here is the fact that these differences do not have any incidence on the subject function of these morphemes. I will here restrict the investigation to the difference between the

structure of verbs of quality displaying accusative clitics as exemplified in (1) and the structure of unaccusative verbs which display the nominative system as exemplified in (3) above. Furthermore, I will restrict the investigation to third person singular, which has the particularity to display the subject clitic in the prefix position.

The rest of the present paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 I will provide more data contrasting the situations exemplified in (1), where clitics show up as suffixed object clitics in the accusative, with the situations illustrated in (3), where verbs of quality are combined with prefixed subject clitics showing up in the nominative. As a background to the analysis that will be provided in subsequent sections, I will cite some authors who have argued that the two situations just mentioned involve different interpretations. That is, while the accusative form always yields a simple stative interpretation, the nominative form may yield two a stative and a resultative interpretation depending on the context involved.

In Section 3 I will argue that the accusative form is composed of a stative verb only, which corresponds to the stative BE, associated with a lexical Root which gives the verb lexical content. I will further argue that the verb thus derived is associated with an inner Aspect that assigns the clitic its accusative case to. The structure of the accusative form will be compared with the structure of the nominative form in Section 4 where I will argue that the latter is composed of a lower and a higher verb, corresponding respectively to a stative and an inchoative verb, respectively, together forming an inchoative verb paraphrased as BECOME. I will propose on the other hand that the different interpretations associated with the nominative form have different structures that are distinguishable with respect to the position of an operator they are associated with.

In Section 5, I will show that the accusative and the nominative forms also differ with respect to the type of perfective aspect they are associated with. That is, while the structure of the accusative form contains inner aspect, selecting the stative verb BE, the perfective aspect in the structure of the nominative form is of an outer type and selects the higher inchoative verb rather than the lower stative verb BE. To show that these two types of aspect are not necessarily related to the

nominative form I will introduce another nominative form with a different morphology from Tashelhiyt Amazigh, spoken in Southern Morocco, which shares the same type of aspect as the accusative form stated above. Section 6 will be devoted to the position of the clitics while Section 7 will conclude the present paper.

2. Accusative and nominative: competition between two systems

In the introduction I focused on the particularity of verbs of quality to occur with accusative clitics. However, I also mentioned that some verbs of quality do occur with nominative clitics as illustrated in (3) above. In fact three situations are possible in the AZK dialect under consideration here: (i) verbs of quality occurring only with accusative clitics as illustrated in (5) below; (ii) those behaving like unaccusatives, i.e. restricted to nominative clitics as illustrated in (6); and (iii) those occurring with both accusative and nominative clitics, as illustrated in (7) and (8) respectively:

- (5) a. Zzay-it
 Heavy -CL.3M.Sg.Acc.
 It / he is heavy
- b. Zzay-itt
 Heavy-CL.3F.Sg.Acc.
 It / she is heavy
- (6) a. I-rya
 CL.3M.Sg. NOM-burn
 It has burnt
- b. T-rya
 CL.3F.Sg. NOM.burn
 It has burnt
- (7) a. Zeggay-it
 Red-CL.3M.Sg.Acc.
 It / he is red
- b. Zeggay-itt

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- Red-CL.3F.Sg.Acc.
It / she is red
- (8) a. I-zwiγ
CL.3M.Sg.NOM.-red
It / he reddened
- c. T-zwiγ
CL.3F.Sg. NOM.-red
It / she reddened

It has been acknowledged by a number of Amazigh scholars that verbs restricted to the accusative system as in (5) always indicate a simple stative interpretation, while those that are restricted to the nominative system as in (6) may have either a stative or a resultative interpretation according to the context involved (Galand 1980; Prasse 1974, Chaker 1983, Allaoua 1993). On the other hand, verbs belonging to situation (iii) illustrated in (7) and (8) have a stative interpretation like those in (5) if they occur with accusative clitics as shown in (7) or a resultative interpretation like those in (6) if they occur with nominative clitics as illustrated in (8) (Allaoua 1993). Galand (1980: 358-359) argued that nominative forms such as those given in (6) and (8) always indicate a change of state and that whenever they yields a stative interpretation, the latter must be understood as referring to a resultative state yielded by the process of change of state rather than to a mere stative. I will argue in Section 3 that the structure associated with the mere stative interpretation yielded by the accusative form in (5) and (7) differs from the one associated with the stative interpretation yielded by the nominative form in (6). That is, while the former, as a mere stative, is not associated with any prior event or a state, the latter, I will sustain, is composed of a state associated with a prior event. On the other hand, the difference between the resultative and the stative interpretations associated with the same nominative form as in (6) will be accounted for in terms of scope taken by an operator contained within the structure.

Finally, let me mention here another nominative form from a Moroccan Amazigh dialect called Tashelhiyt Amazigh (spoken in the southern region of

Morocco) where the accusative form is lost in favour of the nominative form. The reason why I decided to include the Tashelhiyt nominative form here is because its morphology is somehow ambiguous in that it parallels the nominative forms mentioned above with respect to the clitics used, while it also differs from them with respect to the way perfective aspect is indicated. Compare for instance the Tachelhiyt nominative form illustrated in (9) below with the AZK accusative form illustrated in (7) above on the one hand, and its nominative counterpart illustrated in (8) on the other hand:

- (9) a. I-zeggay
 CL.3M.Sg.NOM.-red
 It / he reddened
- b. T-zeggay
 CL.3F.Sg. NOM.-red
 It / she reddened

I will argue later in § 5 that the difference between the stem *zeggay* in (7) and (9), and the stem *zwiγ* in (8) reflects the difference between the types of perfective aspect involved in each form. I will demonstrate that the aspectual marking in (7) and (9) obtains by reduplicating the second consonant *w* of the root $\sqrt{ZW\gamma}$, which in some situations yields the palatal sound *gg*. The reduplication involved here is not incidental but corresponds to the strategy used in the language to derive the perfective aspect with verbs of quality. In (8), on the other hand, the perfective aspect is indicated with the means of the vowel *i* only, which corresponds to another strategy used in the language to derive the perfective aspect of verbs. I will further argue that the aspect in (7) and (9) corresponds to inner aspect and is associated with the lower stative V while the one in (8) corresponds to outer aspect and is associated with an inchoative verb.

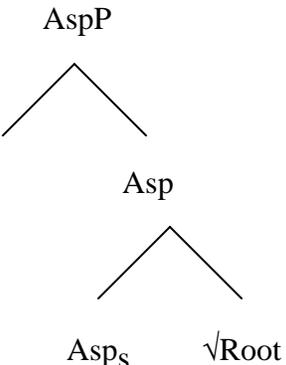
3. Accusative form and simple stative interpretation

In the present section I will investigate the structure of the accusative form and the stative interpretation associated with it. More particularly, I will argue that the

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structure of the accusative form contains only one abstract stative verb, which corresponds to the abstract BE proposed for instance by Dowty (1979); Jackendoff (1983, 1990 and other works); Pinker (1989); Kratzer (1993) among many others. Accordingly, the accusative form can only yield a simple stative interpretation. This structure will be contrasted later with the structure of the nominative form which is composed of a stative verb BE and an inchoative verb corresponding to Jackendoff's (1983, 1990) abstract GO or Dowty's (1979) abstract COME (see Section 4).

In his discussion of English statives Embick (2004: 363 (23)) proposed the structure in (10b) for the stative sentence in (10a):

- (10) a. The door is open
b. 

The main argument behind Embick's structure given above lies in his assumption that statives lack little ν , unlike resultative and eventive verbs which, the author assumed, contain a fientive⁵ ν and an agentive ν respectively. The structure illustrated in (10) on the other hand contrasts with the one illustrated in (11b) below which was proposed for the stative sentence (11a) (from Ouhalla 1994: 31 (67b)):

- (11) a. John is tall
b. 

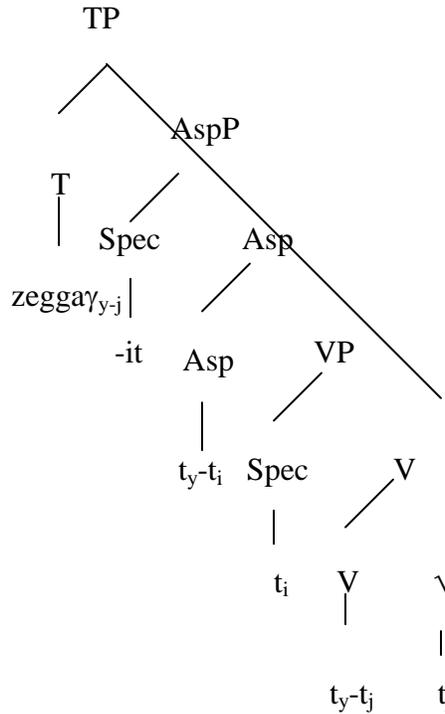
⁵ The verb referred to as fientive by Embick is of the same nature as the inchoative BECOME. The author preferred the term fientive to the term BECOME because he considers that the latter is associated with telicity.

V	AP
is	tall

I will here adopt the structure in (11b) over Embick’s structure illustrated as (10) above because (11b) contains a stative verb BE which confers the stative interpretation to the sentence as opposed to Embick’s structure where the lexical Root is directly associated with Aspect. Accordingly, I propose that the stative interpretation associated with the accusative form of the verb of quality introduced above, reproduced as (12) below, has the structure represented in (13):

- (12) a. Zeggay-it
 Red-CL.3M.Sg.Acc.
 It / he is red

(13)



In (13) the Root, which contains only semantic features, is generated as the complement of the stative V. It then incorporates onto or conflates with the stative V. The verb so derived further adjoins to the head Aspect and then to T.

On the other hand, the clitic argument is generated in the specifier position of V and subsequently moves to the specifier position of Aspect where it checks the accusative case feature. This conclusion is in accordance with the idea argued for by Travis (2000) holding that features of the object are checked in Spec of Aspect. Further movement of the object clitic to Spec of TP is not necessary because the Aspect whose specifier hosts the clitic argument is part of the same verb inflection (INFL) as T. Nash and Rouveret (1997: 8-9) argued that for the purpose of EPP, referred to as D-feature by the authors, the functional category T “requires that at least one argument (normally, the one generated in the closest position from T) leave its original position within VP” (p. 8). However, the authors acknowledged that “the D feature may be exceptionally satisfied by the pronominal / argument property of the verbal inflection.” (p. 9). This makes the accusative clitics function as quirky subjects. Leguil (1992) referred to these clitics as subject clitics although admitting that they correspond to logical object.

Having dealt with the structure of the accusative form and its relevant stative interpretation, I will now move to the structure of the nominative forms and the two interpretations associated with it, namely the resultative and the stative.

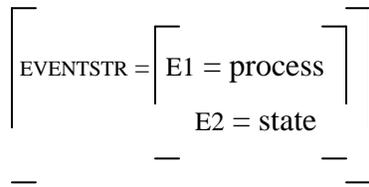
4. The Nominative structure and the resultative / stative interpretations

The resultative interpretation is a property of verbs often referred to as verbs of change (of state) or inchoative verbs, which indicate a transition or motion from a state to another. Therefore, these verbs are associated with a dyadic structure containing two subevent components, one of which refers to the prior state and the other of which refers to the current resulting state. In the literature this transition from the prior to the current state has been formalized in varied ways, usually with the means of verb operators paraphrased as BECOME (Dowty 1979), COME TO BE (Guerssel 1986) or GO (Jackendoff 1983 and 1990). Adopting the change-of-state T-calculus formulated by von Wright (1963; 1968), Dowty (1979: 75) defined the operator BECOME as in (14) below, where p refers to a state; the symbol \neg to negation; and T to a dyadic operator paraphrased as “And NEXT”:

(14) BECOME (P) = _{def.} ¬pTp

Conceptually, the transition between the two alternative states corresponds to the dyadic Transition event type proposed by Pustejovsky (1995), composed of a higher event and a lower state in the way illustrated below (from Pustejovsky 1995: 80, (35)), where E1 stands for the higher event and E2 for the lower state:

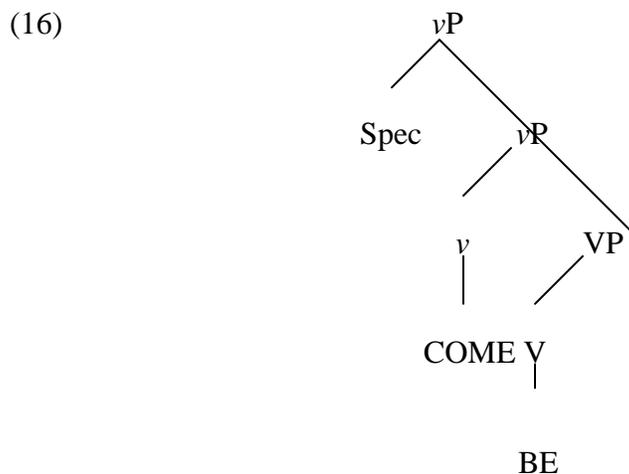
(15)



The structure reproduced above was proposed by Pustejovsky for the class of verbs such as *break* alternating between the causative and the unaccusative use. The author interpreted this alternation in terms of foregrounding, whereby the lower state (E2) was seen as foregrounded in the unaccusative use, whereas the higher event (E1) is considered as foregrounded in the causative use. Foregrounding in Pustejovsky’s analysis takes place at a pre-syntactic level. As a consequence, if only the lower E2 is foregrounded, only its relevant subcomponent is projected into the syntax. If on the other hand the higher level is foregrounded, both subcomponents are projected (see also Demirdache and Davis 2000). The dyadic structure proposed by Pustejovsky to account for the causative and unaccusative alternation will differ from the structure proposed for the alternation between the resultative and the stative interpretations under discussion in the present analysis. In the latter situation both the higher and the lower event subcomponents have to be projected into the syntax in both situations. For, if only the subcomponent corresponding to the lower state is projected, only the stative interpretation would be available and, as a result, the structure derived would correspond to the structure illustrated in (13) above for the accusative form dealt

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with in Section 3. Consequently, although I will adopt the idea of subcomponent foregrounding as proposed by Pustejovsky, I will nevertheless assume that such foregrounding takes place within the syntax where both components are projected. In the syntax, heads of events correspond to verbs. The lower event component representing the current state corresponds to the lower stative verb paraphrased as BE above, while the higher eventive component corresponds to the inchoative verb paraphrased as COME or GO. Accordingly, the verb structure counterpart of Pustejovsky's Transition event structure, illustrated in (15) above, looks as follows:



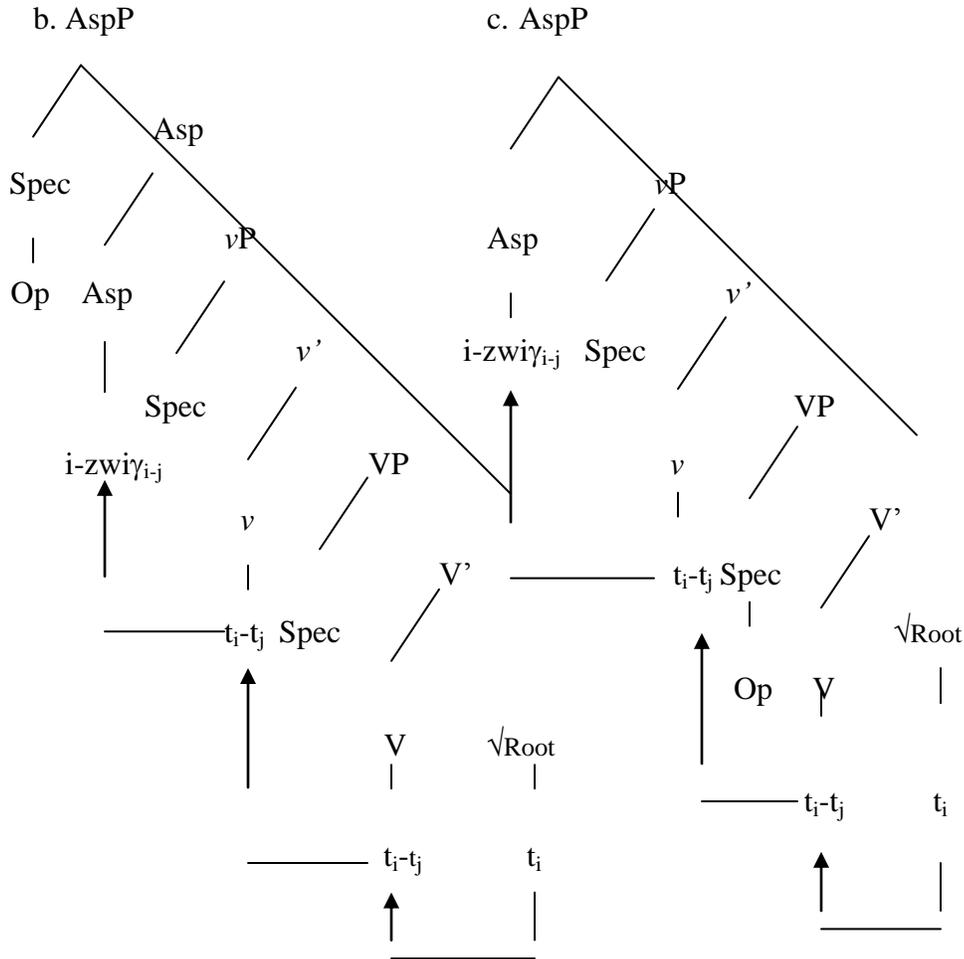
The idea of foregrounding can also be restated in terms of scope, by supposing for instance an operator of some sort to have scope on the higher inchoative verb or the lower stative verb, thus yielding the resultative or the stative interpretation accordingly. Suppose that the structure in (16) contains an operator with two scope options. If the operator has scope on the higher v the structure will yield a resultative interpretation. If on the other hand the scope of the operator is restricted to the lower V , the interpretation will be stative. Such an operator-based approach, which I will consider in more detail shortly, is akin to the analyses proposed in the literature to account for the difference between stage-level and individual-level interpretations (see for instance Diesing (1992) Kratzer (1995), Chierchia (1995) and Manninen (2001) among others. For instance,

Chierchia (1995) defended the idea that when a predicate has an individual-level interpretation, the operator is located in the domain of VP; whereas if the interpretation yielded corresponds to stage-level, the operator raises to the domain of Aspect. Following Chierchia's proposal, let's identify VP as the scope domain of the operator when the interpretation is stative, and AspectP as the scope domain of the operator when the interpretation is resultative. Accordingly, I will provisionally represent the structures of the resultative and the stative interpretations associated with the nominative form, reproduced in (17a), as in (17b) and (17c) below, respectively (they will be modified later):

(17)

- a. I-zwiγ
CL.3M.Sg.NOM.-red
It / he reddened

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In (17a) the operator has scope over both the inchoative v and the stative V . Accordingly, the interpretation must include both verbs, whence the resultative interpretation. In (17b) instead, the scope of the operator is restricted to the stative V , therefore only the stative interpretation is available. That is, because the inchoative v in (17b) falls out of the scope of the operator, the relevant resultative interpretation is excluded.

However, something else must distinguish (17a) from (17b). In the former, the stative V incorporates onto the eventive v to form a full inchoative verb corresponding to the English verb BECOME. That is, despite the incorporation of the lower stative BE onto the higher eventive COME the operator still has scope on the whole complex verb BECOME. Now if we suppose that a similar incorporation takes place in (17b), it will drive the stative BE out of the scope domain of the operator, making a resultative interpretation available, not a welcome result. It is

important to keep the stative verb, and only the stative verb, in order to account for the stative interpretation. To solve this problem, we have to make sure that incorporation of the stative verb is prevented in (17b), unlike the situation in (17a). Applying this hypothesis to an inchoative verb such as BECOME, supposedly derived from the incorporation of BE onto COME, we would obtain a structure that is similar to [COME [Op [BE]]] whereby the inchoative COME falls out of the scope of the operator at the surface level. Such a verb structure exists in the English periphrastic form COME TO BE, which has already been adopted in the past as the LCS of verbs of change of state. For instance, Guerssel (1986) proposed the LCS illustrated in (18b) below for verbs of change, as opposed to the one in (18a) proposed for mere stative verbs:

- (18) a. [x BE IN STATE y]
 b. [x COME [TO BE IN STATE y]]

The LCS in (18a) is stative and does not make any reference to a prior event, while the one in (18b) is inchoative because it contains both the eventive verb COME and the stative verb BE. However, while such a structure is attracting, it cannot be adopted as an alternative to (17b) for the simple reason that the stative verb corresponding to BE do have to incorporate onto the inchoative verb corresponding to COME. The reason why incorporation is necessary here is because the lexical content of the verb is associated with the stative verb; if the latter remains in situ, the lexical content will never achieve the resultative ν , which would not be a welcome result. Note that even a hypothetical LF incorporation is to be excluded as it would drive the stative V out of the scope operator, which will annihilate the stative interpretation we are trying to account for. To solve this dilemma, I will suppose that the stative verb does move to ν but it is reconstructed at LF. Reconstruction is a syntactic phenomenon applying at LF to elements derived by movement (Hornstein 1984, Barss 1986, Chomsky 1995 and Aoun & Benmamoun 1998). It means that “the moved phrase [is] treated “as if” it were in the position of its trace.” (Chomsky 1995: 71). Thus

considered, the stative interpretation of the nominative form is an LF property. This is a welcome result as it not only accounts for the stative interpretation of the resultative structure but it also explains why such an interpretation is only available with verbs of quality whose accusative form is lost. The fact that the stative interpretation associated with the nominative is only available when the accusative form is not possible means that the difference cannot be syntactic but interpretive. That is, reconstruction is only involved in situations where the accusative form is not available.

Having dealt with the resultative and stative interpretations, I will now deal with the aspectual and morphological differences between the AZK nominative form *i-zewiγ* and the Tashelhiyt counterpart *i-zeggay*.

5. Inner and outer aspect

In the present section I will argue that the AZK nominative form, reproduced as (19a) below, and the Tashelhiyt nominative form, reproduced as (19b) below, involve two different types of perfective aspect. On the other hand, I will further argue that the Tachelhiyt nominative form in (19b) and the AZK accusative form *zeggay* in (19c) are associated with the same type of aspect.

- (19) a. I-zwiγ
 CL.3M.Sg.NOM.-red
 It / he reddened
- b. I-zeggay
 CL.3M.Sg.NOM.-red
 It / he reddened
- c. Zeggay-it
 Red-CL.3M.Sg.Acc.
 It / he is red

As was already mentioned in the introduction, the radical form *zwiγ* in Kabyle Amazigh occurs only with the nominative clitic as illustrated in (19a),

while the radical form *zeggay* occurs only with accusative clitics as shown in (19c). This situation contrasts with the Tashelhiyt one exemplified in (19b) where the form radical form *zeggay* occurs with the nominative clitic. I will first elaborate on the difference between (19a) and (19c) two forms before getting back to the Tachelhiyt nominative form illustrated in (19b).

Both the radicals *zwiγ* and *zeggay* are derived from the same lexical Root $\sqrt{zw\gamma}$. The geminate *gg* within the radical *zeggay* is simply a reduplication of the consonnant *w*. Following a general phonological rule with verbs of quality, when the sound *w* is reduplicated or geminated it yields the geminate *gg*. Reduplication, however, corresponds to the morpho-syntactic rule applied with verbs of quality to derive the perfective aspect when combined with accusative clitics. Unlike the form *zeggay* just considered, the perfective aspect of the form *zwiγ* is not derived by reduplication but by applying another morpho-phonemic rule which consists of vowel insertion. That is, there are two different strategies available for deriving the perfective form of verbs of quality in Kabyle Amazigh according to whether the verb is associated with a nominative clitic as in (19a) or with an accusative clitic as in (19c). Compare for instance the accusative forms listed below with their nominative counterparts:

(20)	Root	Accusative	Nominative	
	$\sqrt{zw\gamma}$	<i>zeggay</i>	<i>izwiγ</i>	(be red)
	$\sqrt{m\gamma r}$	<i>meqqar</i>	<i>imγur</i>	(be big; grown up)
	$\sqrt{\gamma z f}$	<i>γezzif</i>	<i>iγzif</i>	(be tall; long)
	$\sqrt{wz l}$	<i>wezzil</i>	<i>iwzil</i>	(be small)
	$\sqrt{br k}$	<i>berrick</i>	<i>ibrik</i>	(be black)

Let me now get back to the Tashelhiyt nominative form illustrated in (19b) above. As already mentioned previously, the possibility of combining verbs of quality with accusative clitics in Tachelhiyt Amazigh is lost, while the reduplication strategy deriving the perfective aspect with accusative forms, as explained above with respect to the AZK form in (19c), is applied with

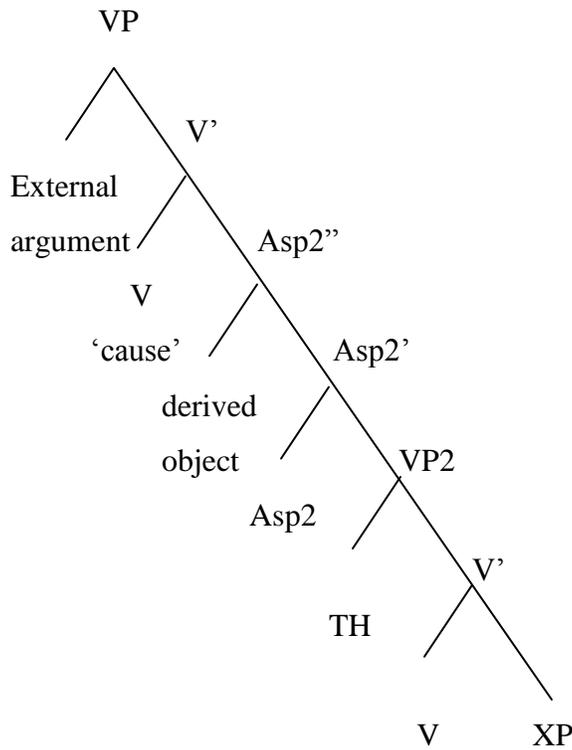
nominative clitics. As a result, we get the form *i-zeggay* in Tashelhiyt instead of the form *i-zwiγ* in Kabyle. I will now attempt to illustrate the syntactic structures corresponding to the three different forms considered so far, as illustrated in (19), taking into consideration the aspectual differences which I have just highlighted. Aspect is inflectional rather than derivational, which means that the differences are encoded in the syntax not in the lexicon⁶. Accordingly, what we need is a syntactic rather than a lexical account.

As a first step, I will adopt the hypothesis that verbs may be associated with two distinct aspectual heads. Such an idea was for instance argued for by Travis (1992). Adopting the by now established terminology, I will refer to these two aspects as inner and outer aspect. Travis (1992) suggested that inner aspect is associated with the lower V, while outer aspect is associated with the higher V⁷. The structure proposed by Travis is reproduced below (from Travis 1992: 139 (19)), where inner aspect is glosed as Asp2:

⁶ View shared by Travis (1992) with respect to aspect in Tagalog.

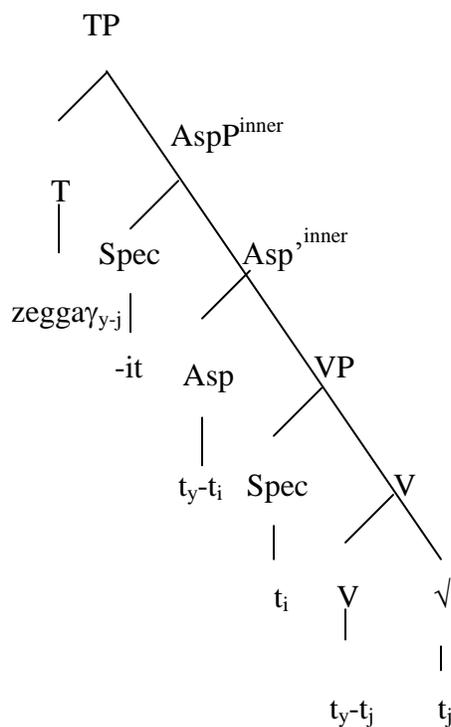
⁷ Although Travis did not discuss the latter association, it was implicit in her analysis.

(21)



Applied to the structure illustrated in (17) for the AZK nominative form given in (19a) for instance, inner aspect will select the lower (stative) V while outer aspect will select the higher (eventive) *v*. However, while the verbs under discussion are associated with only one perfective aspect, albeit different, I don't have evidence that both outer and inner aspects are projected into their structure. Having no evidence that two Aspect categories are needed, I will suppose that each structure contains only one Aspect, which may correspond to inner or outer aspect depending on the type of verb it is associated with. In the structure represented in (17) for the AZK nominative form *i-zwiγ*, the category Aspect selects *vP*. Following Travis' proposal recalled above, the Aspect involved in (17) corresponds to the outer type. Conversely, the aspect contained in the structure illustrated in (13), reproduced below as (22), for the AZK accusative form (19c) corresponds to the outer type because the structure contains only the lower stative V:

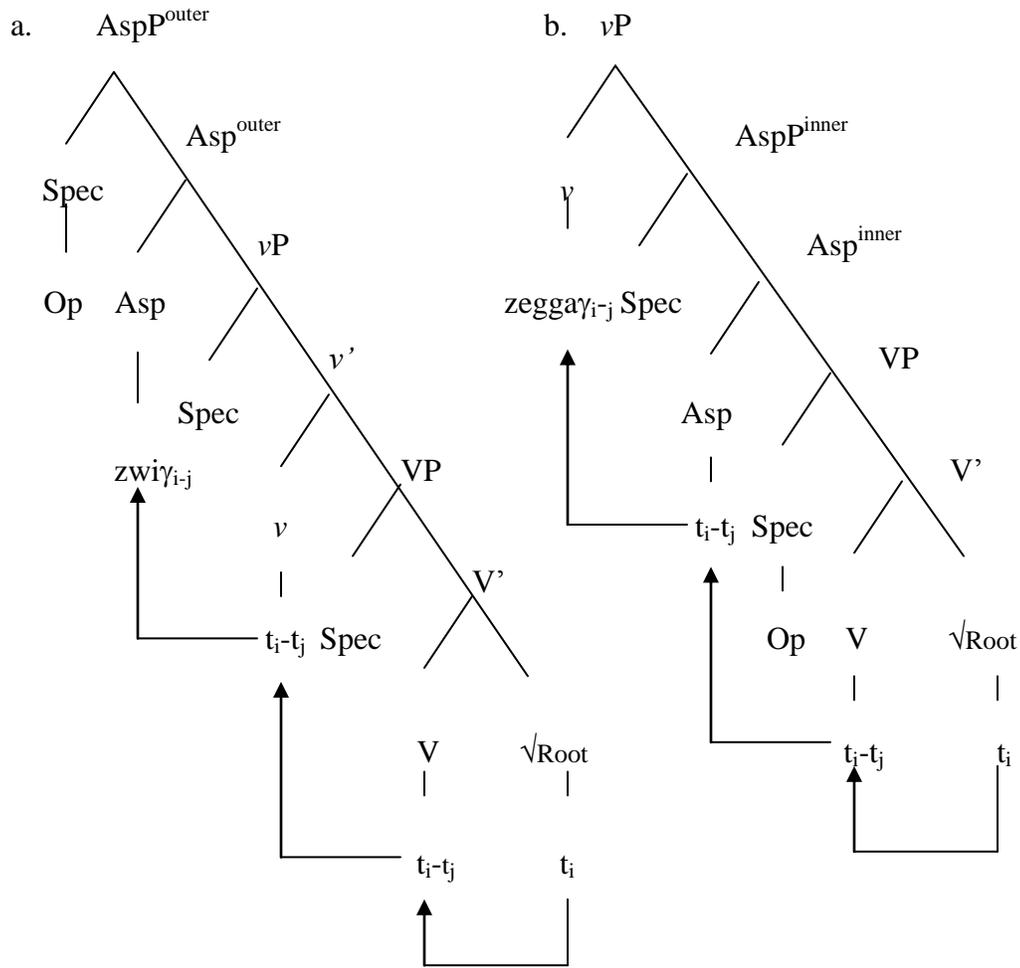
(22)



Remember from above that we related the difference between the radical forms *i-zwiγ* and *zeggay* to the different strategies applied to derive the perfective aspect. The fact that both the AZK accusative form *zeggay-it* (19c) and the Tashelhiyt nominative form *i-zeggay* (19b) have the same aspectual morphology means that they are associated with the same type of aspect, i.e. outer aspect. Accordingly, the structures associated with the AZK accusative form *zeggay-it* in (19c) and the Tashelhiyt nominative form *i-zeggay* in (19b) will look as in to (23a) and (23b) below, respectively⁸:

⁸ The clitic *i-* associated with the verb forms is omitted in both structures, it will be dealt with in the next section.

(23)



Having dealt with the differences between the AZK and Tashelhiyt nominative forms and the AZK accusative form, along with their different interpretations, I will now move to the clitics associated with them.

6. Position of clitics

The present section will be dedicated to the position of the nominative clitic *i-* displayed by the AZK nominative form reproduced as (24a), and the Tashelhiyt nominative counterpart reproduced as (24b), as compared to the AZK accusative form reproduced as (24c) below and whose position was illustrated as (22) above:

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- (24) a. I-zwiγ
CL.3M.Sg.NOM.-red
It / he reddened
- b. I-zeggay
CL.3M.Sg.NOM.-red
It / he reddened
- c. Zeggay-it
Red-CL.3M.Sg.Acc.
It / he is red

The structure illustrated in (22) above for the AZK accusative form in (24c) shows the clitic *-it* in the specifier position of inner Aspect. I also concluded in Section 3 with respect to the same structure that movement of the clitic *-it* to Spec of T is not necessary because the D-feature (EPP) of T is checked under Spec of Aspect because the latter belongs to the same inflectional category as T. Such an account also explains why the clitic occurs as a suffix in the accusative.

Unlike the accusative form in (24c), the nominative clitic in (24a) and (24b) occurs as a prefix. Supposing the verb to occupy the head position of T in both situations, the best candidate position for the clitic is the specifier position of T. In what follows, I will argue in favour of this hypothesis. I will start with the Tashelhiyt form in (24b) by contrasting it with the AZK accusative form in (24c) dealt with in Section 3 and with which it shares the same type of aspect as shown in Section 5.

I demonstrated in the previous section that the AZK accusative form in (24c) and the Tashelhiyt nominative form in (24b) are associated with the same type of (perfective) aspect, namely inner Aspect, dominating the stative VP in both situations. The question that arises here is then why is the movement of the object clitic to the subject position in the Tashelhiyt nominative form (24b) necessary, as evidenced by its nominative subject prefix status, unlike the situation in (24c) where the clitic shows up as an accusative suffix? The

outstanding difference between the Tashelhiyt nominative form *i-zeggay* in (24b) and the AZK accusative form *zeggay-it* in (24c) is that the former contains both an eventive v and a stative V , while the latter contains only a stative V , lacking the eventive v . As argued for in Section 4 above, the eventive v is necessary in order to yield the resultative interpretation. I will show below that it is also this eventive v that is responsible for the raising of the clitic to the subject position in (24b). However, I by no means intend that the higher v is responsible for the projection of the clitic in the way proposed in the literature for the light agentive v and the external argument (Kratzer 1993 and 1996; Harley 1995; Travis 2000 and Embick 2004 among many others). I only mean that the eventive v is indirectly responsible for the raising of the clitic to the Spec of T in a way to become clear shortly.

In both the nominative form (24b) and the accusative form (24c) the clitic argument corresponds to logical object. In the structure illustrated as (22) for the accusative form in (24c) the clitic occupies the specifier position of Aspect. I argued in Section 3 that movement of the clitic to T in (22) is not necessary because inner Aspect and T belong to the same inflectional system that is related to the stative verb V (see discussion in Section 3 for more details). With the nominative form in (24b) the situation is different because the higher eventive verb intervenes between inner Aspect and the category T as illustrated in (23b). Indeed, (23b) shows that inner Aspect is related to the lower stative V , while T is related to the inchoative v . Remember that it is T that requires its D-feature (or EPP) to be checked by a pronominal / argument property (Nash and Rouveret (1997) not Aspect. As there is no pronominal or argument element in the vicinity of T, i.e. in the inflectional environment of the higher v , movement of the clitic becomes compulsory. Accordingly, the structure given as (23b) for the Tashelhiyt nominative form in (24b) must be completed as follows:

specifier position of T because inner Aspect and T do not belong to the same inflectional system, the outer Aspect and T in (24a) do belong to the same inflectional system. If so, then why does the clitic still have to move to the specifier of T as evidenced by its showing as a nominative prefix? The answer to this question lies in the assumption made earlier in Section 5 that the specifier position of outer Aspect hosts an operator, as illustrated in (22a), in order to account for the resultative (or inchoative) interpretation. Therefore, if the clitic remains in the specifier position of ν the D-feature of T will not be checked because unlike Aspect and T, the verb noted as ν is not part of the inflection. The only remaining possibility is the specifier position of T. On its way the clitic can skip the specifier position of Aspect for two reasons. First the verb will have already moved to Asp and then to T, which widens the domain of ν and renders the specifier positions of T and Aspect as equidistant with respect to the specifier position of ν ⁹. The second reason why the specifier position of Aspect may be skipped is that Aspect belongs to the same inflection as T, which means that it forms a subdomain of INF rather than a domain of its own. The latter idea is reminiscent of the notion of relativized minimality developed by Rizzi (1990). Accordingly, the structure represented as (23a) above for the AZK nominative form *i-zeggay* in (24a) must be completed as follows:

⁹ See Chomsky 1995 on the notion of equidistance.

- b. I-zeggay
CL.3M.Sg.NOM.-red
It / he reddened
- c. Zeggay-it
Red-CL.3M.Sg.Acc.
It / he is red

The accusative form in (27c) is used in AZK, while it is lost in some other dialects such as Moroccan Tashelhiyt. The data relevant to these forms was presented in Sections 1. In Section 2 I provided further data showing that the accusative form indicates simple states while the nominative form have both a resultative and a simple stative interpretation. In Section 3 I argued that the structure of the accusative form indicating a simple state contains only a stative verb paraphrased as BE. The stative verb is selected by an inner Aspect, which confers the accusative case to the clitic in its specifier position. I further argued that inner Aspect belonging to the same inflectional category as T, there is no need for the clitic to move further to the Spec of T, thus accounting for the accusative case of the clitic and its occurrence as a suffix.

In Section 4 I argued that the structure of the nominative forms is composed of the stative verb BE plus another eventive verb paraphrased as COME. Together these two verbs form an inchoative type of verb, paraphrased as BECOME. I further argued that the resultative and the stative interpretations yielded by the nominative form are possible because its structure contains an operator occupying two different positions. If the operator is in Spec of V, its scope is restricted to the stative V, yielding a stative interpretation. If on the other hand the operator is located in Spec of the outer Aspect, i.e. above the higher eventive v , the interpretation yielded is resultative.

From the morphological point of view, I argued in § 5 that the difference between the the AZK nominative form *i-zwiγ* in (27a) and the Taselhiyt form *i-zeggay* in (27b) is due to the type of aspect involved in each structure. I concluded that the structure of the AZK nominative form (27a) contains outer Aspect,

selecting the higher eventive ν , while those associated with the Tashelhiyt nominative form (27b) and the AZK accusative form (27c) contain inner aspect, which selects the lower stative V.

In Section 6 I argued that the nominative clitic *i-* showing as a prefix in both the AZK and the Tashelhiyt forms, (27a) and (27b) respectively, is in the specifier position of T.

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