

TAMASHEQ PREPOSITIONS

a semantic analysis of Tamasheq prepositions



Wilma M.C. Wolthuis

University of Leiden, the Netherlands
January 2006

TAMASHEQ PREPOSITIONS

a semantic analysis of Tamasheq prepositions

scriptie als vereiste ter verkrijging van de graad
van doctorandus in de Afrikaanse Taalkunde
onder begeleiding van Dr. M. Kossmann en Dr. F.K. Ameka

Wilma M.C. Wolthuis

University of Leiden, the Netherlands
January 2006

CONTENT

Chapter 1 Introduction	2
Chapter 2 Working methods	4
Chapter 3 overview of prepositions in Tamasheq(Tadraq)	6
Chapter 4 a semantic analysis of prepositions in Tamasheq (Tadraq)	10
4.1 dǎy ‘in’	11
4.2 yur ‘at’	14
4.3 daw ‘under’	16
4.4 fǎl ‘on’	18
4.5 dat ‘in front of’	21
4.6 qarǎt ‘behind’	21
4.7 jənnəj ‘above’	22
4.8 jer ‘between’	23
4.9 hār ‘until’	24
4.10 (ə)s- ‘towards’	25
Chapter 5 Conclusion	29
Bibliography	32
Appendix I	33
Appendix II	40
Appendix III	48

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Touaregs are a people group living in the heart of West-Africa. They are originally nomads, living in tents, moving from place to place in the desert to find pasture for their cattle: camels, goats, sheep and donkeys. They call themselves ‘Kel Tamasheq’: ‘the people of Tamasheq’. Their language is called Tamasheq/Tamajaq/Tamahaq. Tamasheq is spoken in north-eastern Mali (270.000 speakers), also known as Tadraq, and in northern Burkina Faso (20.000), also known as Tudalt. Tamajaq is spoken in the west and north of Niger and in the far east of Mali where it is called Tawellemet (670.000). And it is spoken east of Agadez in Niger where it is called Ayer (250.000) Tamahaq is spoken in the south of Algeria (57.000). There are also Touaregs living in Libya, Mauritania and Morocco. And there are immigrant Tamasheq speakers living in Europe, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and other places.

My interest for the Tamasheq people and their language dates back to 1992 when I did linguistic courses at the Wycliffe Centre in Horsleys Green in the UK. I met a Tamasheq pastor who later became the leader of the Tamasheq translation team that translated the New Testament which was published in 2004. I also met an English lady who became a good friend and colleague. She had worked for years in the north of Mali. I left for Mali in 1996 to work with SIL. I lived among the Tamasheq in Kidal and Gao for two years from 1997 till 1999 to study the language and the culture.

In September 2003 I left for the Netherlands to do an MA in African linguistics at the University of Leiden. In one of the semantics courses of Dr. F. K. Ameka, I wrote a paper with the heading: “Is Tamasheq a verb-framed language or a satellite-framed language”. In that course we had to read an article written by Dan Slobin (1996) in which he presents an attempt to apply insights of cognitive linguistics to uses of verbs of motion in two types of languages. He compares English and Spanish and concludes that Spanish is verb-framed because the core meaning of the motion event, the directionality, tends to be expressed by the verb itself, while English tends to express the directionality by a satellite (e.g. a preposition). My tentative conclusion in the paper was that Tamasheq is more likely to be verb-framed language because directionality tends to be expressed in the verb although Tamasheq also has satellites that express directionality.

While I was working on this paper I got fascinated by the use of prepositions in Tamasheq. It seemed to me that there are prepositions in Tamasheq that only express location and not direction. These prepositions could be used to describe the point of departure and the point of arrival. And I could see that there are prepositions that do express direction. Et voilà: the topic for my thesis had been born.

I want to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to my friends in Gao, esp. I.M. and his wife G., who welcomed me in December 2004 and supported me in the research I did for my thesis in the weeks I was in their midst. Special words of thanks go to M.A.T. and his wife for their hospitality, the wonderful meals that B. prepared for me and the endless patience with which M. worked on translating sentences from or into Tamasheq and explaining to me the secrets of his language.

I am grateful to C. who opened her house for me and provided a home for these weeks. And I am thankful to M.A.M. and his wife in Ansongo, M.A.H.H. and his family in Djebok and H. A. I. in Inelfis for their willingness to help me in my research and for their hospitality.

Thanks also go to my colleagues of SIL Mali who welcomed me in Bamako and provided housing and meals when necessary.

Without the expertise, support and encouragement of Dr. M. Kossmann and Dr. F.K. Ameka this thesis would never have been written. Bedankt!

Above all I am deeply grateful to my God and Father of Jesus Christ who has provided me with the energy and wisdom to carry out this research and supplied in all my material and financial needs.

“If any of you lacks wisdom, he should ask God, who gives generously to all without finding fault, and it will be given to him.” James 1: 5

Chapter 2

Working methods

To do the research for this thesis I was in Mali from the 18th of December 2004 till the 18th of January 2005. Most of that time I was in Gao, where I worked together with M. A. T. , a Tamasheq man of 43 years old, born in Menaka speaking Tadraq. I also visited Ansongo, where I worked with M. A. M. , a 30 year old Tamasheq man, born in Bourem (cercle de Tombouctou), speaking Tadraq. I went to Djebok, where I worked with M. A. H. H. , a 53 year old Tamasheq man born in Djebok. He is the coordinator of the 'l'école de Djebok premier cycle' . In Inelfis (commune de Djebok) I worked together with H. A. I., a 48 year old Tamasheq man born in the region of Tombouctou, speaking Tadraq. He is the director of the primary school in Inelfis.

During my time in the north of Mali I discussed with several Tamasheq speakers the meaning and usage of the different prepositions in their language. Besides the discussions with M. A., the comments of Z. A. D. and I. A. M., both born in Tarkint (region of Gao) were very helpful also.

In preparation for my field trip to Mali I had made a list of verbs with the following qualities:

- verbs with inherent movement plus direction (including the 'agent')
- verbs with inherent movement without direction (incl. 'agent')
- verbs with inherent movement (excluding the 'agent')
- verbs with inherent location
- verbs without inherent location nor movement

I'd prepared sentences in French with these verbs. And I had M. A. T. and M. A. M. translate these into Tamasheq. I checked these Tamasheq sentences with M. A. H. H. to see if he would give me the same French translation back. (see appendix I)

I also used the booklet of Bowerman Topological Relations Picture series developed by M. Bowerman. This consists of 71 pictures that show different topological relations. I had M. A. T. and M. A. H. H. describe these pictures in Tamasheq independently of each other. (see appendix II)

And I used 24 pictures that could evoke sentences with direction. I worked with H. A. I. who described these pictures in Tamasheq. (see appendix III)

For my research I also made use of the New Testament in Tamasheq (Tadraq) that was translated under auspicien of Wycliffe Bible Translators in collaboration with the Evangelical Baptist Church in Gao and Tombouctou from 1994 till 2004. In my research I used esp. the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John and Acts. In these books there are a lot of descriptions of events that could evoke the use of directional and topological prepositions.

To back up my findings I have made extensive use of secondary literature like the recently published Grammar by J. Heath, the notes on grammar and syntax by D. Sudlow (Berber studies vol. I), the dictionaries Touareg – Français of K-G Prasse and the 'Essai de grammaire touareg dialecte de l'Ahaggar' by J.M. Cortade.

Chapter 3

Overview of prepositions in Tamasheq (Tadraq)

The preferred constituent order in Tamasheq is VSO (verb-subject-object) where often clitics can be attached to the verb. These clitics can be object or dative pronominals, directional and/or prepositional phrases with pronominal complement. (Heath 2005: 17). When the direct object is expressed by a pronoun, this takes the form of an object clitic which is then attached to the first constituent of the phrase, usually the verb.

Morphologically, nouns belong to 2 different types. Type 1 are nouns consisting of a stem with a prefix (expressing gender, number and case) and a suffix (expressing gender and number) e.g.:

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|-----------|---|--------------|---|--------------|
| 1. | α-midi | / | ə-midi | / | i-mid-awǎn | / | ə-mid-awǎn |
| | EL-friend | / | EA-friend | / | EL-friend-PL | / | EA-friend-PL |
| | friend | | friend | | friends | | friends |

Type 2 are nouns consisting of a stem and a suffix (expressing gender (pl.only) and number (pl. only). e.g.:

- | | | | |
|----|--------|---|-----------|
| 2. | fǎke | / | fǎke-tǎn |
| | packet | / | packet-PL |

The first type are mostly nouns from Berber origin and the second type are mostly loanwords. Type 2 nouns do not express case. Type 1 nouns can have two cases, called in Berberology ‘état libre’ and ‘état d’annexion’. In the ‘état d’annexion’ the original first vowel is reduced to /ə/ or /ǎ/ or is deleted¹. When a noun has no case distinction I will not add EL/EA in my gloss. There are well-defined conditions where ‘état libre’ or ‘état d’annexion’ is used. Some of the contexts in which the reduced form (‘état d’annexion’) of the noun is used, are:

- the combination verb-subject; e.g.

3. əmnəs

EL/camel

ikša əmnəs tetǎte

3sm/PFT/eat EA/camel EL/food

The camel eats food

- after numerals; e.g.

4. imnas

EL/camels

ila kǎraq əmnəs

3sm/PFT/own three EA/camels

He owns three camels

¹ Because of several morphological reasons, many Class 1 nouns have no case distinction, however.

- and after most prepositions

5. iqqima əgədiq fäl äday
 3sm/LoPFT/sit EA/bird on EA/rock
 The bird is sitting on the rock

Nouns can be masculine or feminine. A feminine noun always has a t- prefix and in the singular often a t- suffix as well. Most of type 2 nouns are masculine. Many nouns (usually type 1 nouns) allow for both a masculine and a feminine form.

A NP (noun phrase) in Tamasheq begins with the head noun and can be followed by a demonstrative, a possessor (preceded by the preposition (ə)n) or a relative clause.

Numerals normally precede the noun which then takes the reduced form ('état d'annexion').

In a PP (prepositional phrase) the preposition precedes the noun. With most prepositions the noun appears in its reduced form. There are a number of prepositions that can take a pronominal complement expressed as a suffix on the preposition. e.g.:

6. ikka yur-əs
 3smPFTgo 'chez'-him
 he leaves for home

These combinations can also be treated as clitics in total and are then attached to the clause initial element, usually the verb. (Heath 2005: 18)

The prepositions are: (Heath 2005: 273)

before noun	before pronoun	gloss
e, i (y-)	-a-, -ha-	'to, for' (dative)
s, əs	sär-	'with' (instrumental)
d, əd	där-	'with, and' (comitative)
n, ən	(special clitics)	'of'
dəy (däy)	däy	'in, at'
yur (yur)	yur- (yur-)	'chez, at the place of'
daw, dagg	daw-	'under'
jənnəj	jənnəj-	'above'
fäl	fälla-	'on'
dat	data-	'in front of'
ḍarät	ḍara-	'behind'
dādes (edes)	dādes-	'next to'
jer	jer-, jere-	'between'
ebre	ebre-	'towards, in the direction of'

I add the preposition (ə)s – ‘towards’ which has the same form as the instrumental (ə)s but has a different meaning. It is unclear to me why Heath left this preposition out in his grammar.

The pronominal suffixes after a preposition (except dative and possessive) are given below: (Heath 2005: 274)

person	after V or C	after V	after C
1sg	-i, -eγ		
2sgmasc.		-k	-ək
2sgfem.		-m	-əm
3sg		-s	-əs
1pl	-năγ		
2plmasc.		-wwăñ	-wăñ
2plfem.	-kmăt		
3plmasc.		-ssăn	-săn
3plfem.	-snăt		

In my research I will concentrate on the spatial prepositions (dăγ, γor, dăw, jənnəj, făl, dat, ɖarăt, jer) and the directional preposition (ə)s ‘towards’ and directional particle har ‘until’. These are the prepositions that can appear in sentences that express direction. Heath doesn’t include har in the list above because of its different behavior (takes ‘état libre’ and doesn’t combine with pronominal suffixes but takes independent pronouns). However I will include it because it does appear in sentences expressing direction. This raises the question of how one defines the class of prepositions in Tamasheq. Heath does this on the basis of the form (following NP undergoes prefix reductions; combine with pronominal suffixes particular for prepositions, etc.) (Heath 2005: 272). He is not consistent though because he calls dădes (edes) ‘beside’ and ebre ‘towards’ compound prepositions although they do not fulfill all the conditions for being a preposition while har ‘until’ is a particle according to him because it does “.. not satisfy the tests for true prepositional status,..” (Heath 2005: 291). I have decided to include har ‘until’ in my research because it does appear in sentences expressing direction. (see 4.9)

I will leave out the preposition –i because it has mainly a dative meaning and –n and –d because of the possessive and comitative meaning. They do not appear in sentences expressing direction.

Dădes (edes) ‘beside’ and (e)bərin ‘towards, in the direction of’ are left out also because they are, in my opinion, nouns rather than prepositions:

They are always followed by the possessive preposition (ə)n when followed by a noun, which shows their nominal state. e.g.:

7. ikkă Ālbāšer ebāren n-žəbāq
 3smPFTleave Albasher direction of-Djebok
 Albasher has left in the direction of Djebok

They can appear with pronominal suffixes but these are the possessive suffixes instead of the suffixes particular for prepositions. This is another indication that they are nominal instead of prepositional e.g.:

8. edes-in	edes-nānāy
side me	side-our
beside me	beside us

Heath calls these (dādes (edes) and (e)bārin) compound prepositions. (Heath 2005: 288, 290). Prasse treats them as nouns in his dictionary (Prasse 2003: 119)

Tamasheq has directional clitics. They appear usually at the end of the first word in the clause. The centripetal clitic has the form of ‘-ədd’ after a consonant and ‘-dd’ after a vowel. It specifies direction of movement towards the deictic center. This is usually the speaker but in a narrative it can be another deictic center. e.g.

9. əyḥāl -ədd!

sg.IMP/close-Centrip.

Close it (towards the speaker)! (telling a child sitting in the car to close the door of the car while the speaker is standing on the other side of the car)

The centrifugal clitic has the form of ‘-in’ after a consonant and ‘-hin’ after a vowel. It indicates movement away from the deictic center. e.g.

10. oṣɑ- hin

3ms/PFT/come- centrif.

he came (there)

(Heath 2005: 600)

In my research I’ve left out the directional clitics since they are not prepositions and they indicate a different aspect of direction (towards or away from the deictic center) than the prepositions. If necessary I’ll mention them on the side.

Chapter 4

A semantic analysis of prepositions in Tamasheq (Tadraq)

In their description of Tamasheq, K.-G. Prasse, J. Heath, J.M. Cortade and D. Sudlow have included prepositions and have given translation equivalents for them. However nobody has tried to give a semantic analysis of prepositions in Tamasheq. This is what I aim to do in my thesis. In the following chapter I will describe the prepositions: *dǎy*, *ɣor*, *dǎw*, *fǎl*, *dat*, *ɖarăt*, *jənnəj*, *jer* and (ə)s- and the particle *hər*. I will describe them with the help of terminology developed in cognitive semantics by L. Talmy, W. Frawley and others around the semantic structure of motion.

Frawley distinguishes 8 semantic properties:

1. theme or figure (thing displaced)
2. source (origin of the motion)
3. goal (destination of the motion)
4. path, including direction (trajectory of the motion)
5. site and medium (location of the motion)
6. instrument or conveyance (means by which the motion is carried out)
7. manner (way the motion is carried out)
8. agent (cause of the motion)

(Frawley 1992: 172)

Talmy puts 2. and 3. in one category, calling it ‘ground’ (the entity that the figure moves with reference to) (Frawley 1992: 173). Talmy defines figure as “..a moving or conceptually movable entity whose site, path, or orientation is conceived as a variable the particular value of which is the relevant issue.” And ground is defined as “.. a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the figure’s site, path or orientation is characterized. (Talmy 2000: 184). A reference object is a more detailed part of the ground. Talmy indicates it as more ‘suggestive’ than ground and he uses it interchangeably with ‘ground’. (Talmy 2000: 184). The reference object is the entity with respect to which the figure is located or moved.

In my description of 10 prepositions in Tamasheq I will especially concentrate on figure, ground, reference object and path.

4.1 dǎy

The meaning of dǎy² is locative in time and space The translation equivalent in English is ‘in’, ‘inside’, ‘at’.(Sudlow 2001: 112). The following noun is always with the reduced prefix (état d’annexion). According to Heath this preposition could be related to the noun edagg ‘place’ (Heath 2005: 281)

The meaning is one of containment (= to have the capacity to hold within itself), whether in a spatial sense like in example 11 or in a temporal sense like in example 12:

11. iqqima dǎy āhǎn

3sm/PFT/sit in EA/house.
he sits in the house/tent

12. dǎy kǎraḍ šil-an ad-ǎjǎy kǎraḍ hǎḍ- an dihen

in three EA/days-PL PROS-1s/AOR/spend three EA/nights-PL there.

In three days time I will spend three nights there.

(Sudlow 2001: 336)

Prasse mentions in his dictionary that dǎy can also mean ‘amongst’ or ‘of (material)’ (Prasse 2003; 89). This is the same meaning of containment. If we look at the following example:

13. Innǎ māssi-s n-ašǎkrǎš i- iyyǎn dǎy-sǎn: ‘Amidi-nin....’

3sm/PFT/say owner- his of-field to/DAT- one in- pron/3pm: ‘EL/friend-my....’
The owner of the land said to one amongst them: “My friend....”

(Tamasheq NT; Matth.20:13)

we see that one person (whom the landowner is speaking to) is part of a group of workers. The pronominal suffix -sǎn (3rd person plural masculine) refers to that group. The one being spoken to is in that group, is part of that group. He is contained in that group. Where English uses ‘amongst’ Tamasheq uses the preposition dǎy.

In the following example dǎy is used where English has ‘of (material)’. Again the general meaning of containment comes out:

² There is also the particle dǎy which has the same form as the preposition but has a different meaning (‘also, still’) and appears usually after a noun or pronoun

ǎnta dǎy
ind.pron3sm also
him also

(Prasse 2003: 89 dictionnaire. plus exx.)

When dǎy is used as a suffix to a noun or a demonstrative pronoun it means ‘this very/ this same’

ǎhalǎs wa-dǎy

ELman that-very

That very man/ that same man

14. *tende itajj dăy ašək*
 mortar 3sm/IMPF/made in wood
 a mortar is made of wood'

The mortar is contained of wood so the preposition *dăy* can be used.

This idea of 'containment' comes out in other contexts where one uses in English a preposition like 'on' or 'at'. In the Topological Relations Picture Series of M. Bowerman there is picture of a coat hanging on a coat rack. In the picture you can clearly see the loop of the coat hanging on the hook of the coat rack. The loop 'contains' the hook and that's how the coat stays on the rack. When asking two different informants to describe this picture in Tamasheq they both used *dăy* in their sentence including this concept of 'containment':

15. *olăy ărăswəy dăy ahəšk /ermam ărăswəy dăy əseləy (M)*
 3sm/PFT/hang EA/loincloth in tree.wood/ 3sm/PFT/fix EA/loincloth in hook
 The coat is hanging on the hook

16. *veste tolăy dăy əsăssărən (H)*
 coat 3sf/PFT/hang in EA/chain/PL
 The coat is hanging on the coat rack

In the same series is a picture of a painting hanging on a stone wall. In this picture one sees the string with which the painting is attached to a nail in the wall. This concept can be expressed with the same verb plus preposition *dăy* :

17. *tolay ăṭṭăswer dăy ăyalla (M)*
 3sf/PFT/hang EA/picture in wall
 The picture is hanging in the wall

This same meaning of containment also comes out when *dăy* is used in sentences that express direction e.g.:

18. *issotăf eyəs dăy anu*
 3sm/PFT/spit EL/bone in hole
 he spits the bone into the hole

19. *toḍa tayat dăy aman*
 3sf/PFT/fall Fem/goat in water
 The she-goat fell in the water.

In both the goal of the action of the verb is containment.

Prasse in his dictionary makes note of the fact that *dăy* can also have the meaning 'dedans, de' (= from within, from). (Prasse 2003 : 89 dictionary)

20. oşäd- du dăy Ayăr
 3sm/PFT/come- VENT in Ayar
 he came from Ayar
 (Prasse 2003 : 89)

And Sudlow mentions the same: “.....dăy can mean ‘starting from in’ and hence ‘out of’, ‘from’, ‘away from’. The verb used gives the context and fixes the meaning.” (Sudlow 2001: 113)

21. ähaləs inkăḍ dăy san
 man 3sm/PFT/cut in EAmeat.
 the man cut off some meat
 (Sudlow 2001: 113)

However these examples are not contrary to the meaning of containment. Dăy is a preposition that expresses the relationship between the figure and the ground. It does not include information about the path of the movement if there is any movement expressed in the sentence. This information comes from other elements in the sentence. The prepositional phrase with dăy can describe the starting point or the point of arrival of a movement.

22. iqqäl dăy əşşăyəl s- ähăn
 3sm/PFT/return in work towards-EAhouse
 He returns from work to his house.

Here əşşăyəl ‘work’ is conceived as something that can contain somebody, likewise in the following example the city of Gao is conceived as something that can contain something or somebody:

23. issekäl dăy Gawa har Bămako
 3sm/PFT/travelin Gao until Bamako
 he has traveled from Gao to Bamako

The meaning of the preposition dăy is ‘containment’ and the direction of the movement comes from the second preposition har which does express the path of the movement (as I will describe later on in this chapter)
 In the examples 20– 23 the containing region (PP with dăy) is the starting point of the action. In 18-19 the containing region (PP with dăy) is the goal or point of arrival of the movement. If the preposition dăy is combined with a noun expressing a place, the containing region can be a starting point or a goal. The preposition dăy only expresses the containment. It only says something about the relationship between the figure and the ground, not about the path. Clarification on the path of the action has to come from other parts of the sentence.

Some sentences expressing direction with *dăy* can be ambiguous like we see in the next example. In my research I asked my informant to give me the sentence “*l’oiseau tombe de l’arbre sur le rocher*” into Tamasheq and he came up with the following phrase:

24. oḍa- dd ḡḡḍeḍ dăy ahəšk fäll ḡḍay
 3sm/PFT/fall- VENT EA/bird in tree on EA/rock
 The bird fell from the tree onto the rock

He added that this sentence in Tamasheq could also mean “the bird fell in the tree that is on top of the rock”.³ The reason why the meaning of this sentence is ambiguous is that neither the verb nor the two prepositions say anything about the path of the action. As we will see in the next paragraph, *fäll* is also a preposition that expresses the relationship between the figure and the ground but does not include information about the path of the movement. Apparently the verb *oḍa* does not contain information about the path of the movement either. That’s why a Tamasheq speaker will consider this sentence ambiguous if he sees it out of context.

My conclusion is that *dăy* carries the meaning of containment. It describes the relation of the figure to the ground as one of containment. It describes the relationship of the figure to part of the reference object. (only the inside part of the object). Other information (e.g. the path or goal of the movement) has to come from other parts of the sentence.

4.2 *yur/yor*

The translation equivalent of *yur* is ‘at’ in English. The noun that follows is always with the reduced prefix (état d’annexion). The meaning of *yur* is one of coincidence (instance of occurring together) whether in place like in example 25 or in time like in 26:

25. ḡzzubbe-y yor əmidi-nin
 LoPFT/stay-1s at EAfriend-poss/1s
 I’m lodging at my friend’s
 (Sudlow 2001: 342)

26. əjəl yur kərəḍ həḍan
 sm/IMP/leave at three EA/nights/PL
 leave after around 3 days.
 (Cortade 1969 : 113)

When used with a phrase expressing time, *yur* means ‘about, around’ . Interesting is the difference in meaning with the preposition *dăy* in sentences expressing time, where the meaning of *dăy* as containment means at *exactly that time* and the use of *yur*

³ In that case the prepositional phrase ... *fäll ḡḍay* is subordinate to *ahəšk*, it is an adjunct of *ahəšk*. In the first meaning both prepositional phrases (‘*dăy ahəšk*’ and ‘*fäll ḡḍay*’) are on the same level and adjunct to the verb *oḍa-dd*.

in a sentence expressing time has the meaning of *approximately that time*. Compare 26 with 27:

27. əjəl dǎy kǎraḍ hǎḍan
smIMPL leave in three EAnightsPL
leave after exactly 3 days.

We see the same difference in meaning when we look at the use of ‘dǎy anu’ (in the well) and *γur anu* (at the well). ‘*γur anu*’ is used when one refers to the surroundings of the well. The expression ‘dǎy anu’ is only used when referring to something that is really inside the well e.g.:

28. wǎr t- illa aman dǎy anu
 NEG 3sm/DO-3sm/PFT/be water in well
There is no water in the well

These differences in meaning between dǎy and *γur* show that dǎy is a preposition that describes the relationship of the figure to a part of the reference object and that *γur* is a preposition that describes the relationship to the reference object as a whole. *γur* is not specified for the parts of the reference object. And the relationship is one of coincidence.

γur is also used in sentences expressing direction, e.g.:

29. ikkǎ *γur* əmidi-nes
3sm/PFT/go at EAFriend-poss3sm
he went to his friends’ (house)

Prasse in his dictionary states that *γur* also has the meaning of ‘from...on’ (Prasse 2003: 293) and Cortade mentions the same e.g.:

30. yewəy erəd *γur* əγrəm əs hǎnan
3sm/AOR/carry EL/flour at EAvillage towards EAhousePL
he carried flour from the village towards the tents.
(Cortade 1969:113)

Sudlow mentions the same:

31. ara ošǎl *γor* anu har əγrəm
 EL/child 3sm/PFT/ran at well until EL/town
The child ran from the well to the town.
(Sudlow 2001: 342)

This however does not contradict the basic meaning of *γur* as coincidence. *γur* expresses the relationship between the figure and the ground and it does not carry information on the path or the goal of the movement. The path of the movement (in

English expressed in the preposition ‘from’) has to come in Tamasheq from other elements in the sentence. The PP with *ɣur* can be the starting point of a movement or the point of arrival. In my data I also found several examples where the PP with *ɣur* (coincidence region) is the starting point of a movement:

32. *təwäy-dd aman ɣur anu i- äħän*
 3sf/PFT/carry-VENT water at well towards-EAhouse
 She carried the water from the well to the house.

33. *əktəb ɣur 200 ħar 210*
 smIMPwrite at 200 until 210
 write from 200 till 210!

34. *ɣur təmməḍrit-näsän ħar əqqälän meddän.*
 at EAchildhood-poss3pm until PFTbecome3pm manPL
 from their childhood until they’ve become men.

My conclusion is that the meaning of *ɣur* is coincidence. It describes the relationship of the figure to the ground as one of coincidence. The path is not included in the semantics of this preposition. It is not specified as to the part of the reference object, like the preposition *däy* but it describes the relationship to the reference object as a whole.

4.3 daw

The translation equivalent of *daw* is ‘under’ (Sudlow 2001: 331). According to Heath and Cortade the form is *daw* before consonants (not /y/ or /w/) and in front of pronoun affixes. And it is either *däg* or *daw* before vowels and /y/, /w/. (Heath 2005: 284) (Cortade 1969: 117). In my data I mostly found *daw*. The noun that follows always has the reduced prefix (état d’annexion).

35. *daw äħäket ill- e əgəḍiḍ*
 under EAtempt(velum) 3sm/PFT/be- 3sm/DO EAbird
 Under the tent is the bird.

Daw can also express inferiority in the domain of social hierarchy. e.g.:

36. *illa daw-əs*
 3smPFTtobe under-DO3sm
 he/it is inferior to him (in force, quality, to be less, to be weaker, worse than)
 (Prasse 2003 : 121)

Daw describes the relationship between the figure to the reference object as ‘under’. It describes the relationship to the underside of the reference object which is only a part of that. So like *däy* ‘in’ (4.1) and *fäl* ‘on’ (4.4) it is a non-regional preposition that describes

the relationship of the figure to part of the reference object. It also refers to the region around the underside of the reference object which makes daw also a regional preposition. I will come back to this in the general conclusions at the end of this chapter.

In 35 the reference object is the tent that is made of pieces of leather or cloth that one usually sits under, protected from the sun and the wind.⁴ In 36 the reference object is the social or health status of the person who functions as the object in this sentence. The subject is ‘under’ him. This is the same as we express it in English or in Dutch for example.

Daw can also be used in sentences expressing direction

37. iwăḏ daw tabəl
 3sm/PFT/arrive under table
 he(the frog) arrived under the table

38. okäy Axmudu daw täšdayt
 3sm/PFT/passby Axmudu under EA/palmtree
 Axmudu walks under the palmtree

Because daw only describes the relationship between the figure to the ground and does not express the path, PP with daw can be used to describe the point of arrival as well as the starting point of a movement. e.g.:

39. izjār- dd äjār daw tabəl
 3sm/PFT/goout- VENT EAfrog under table
 the frog came from under the table

40. ejār ifäll- dd daw tabəl
 frog 3smPFTleave- VENT under table
 the frog leaves from underneath the table

In this example the French sentence I asked my informant to translate was ‘le crapeau apparaît de dessous de la table’ (= the frog appears from underneath the table). My first informant used the verb əzjər (= to pass by, to go past) and my second informant used the verb əfəl (=leave from). In both these verbs the path of the movement is described. The preposition daw is only used to describe the relationship to a part of the reference object. In these last two examples the reference object is the table and the PP ‘daw tabəl’ is the point of departure.

Cortade makes note of the additional meaning for daw as being “...de sous, d’au-dessous de”(=from under(neath)). However this is not contrary to the meaning of daw

⁴ That the prepositional phrase is fronted and so in focus may have to do with the fact that my informant thought it quite unusual that a bird (!) would be sitting under the tent. After he’d translated this sentence into Tamasheq he made a comment like: “what a luxury for just a bird!”

like I have put it in this paragraph. Daw only describes the relationship between the figure and the ground. Information about the path of the movement has to come from other elements in the sentence.

My conclusion is that daw describes the relationship of the figure to part of the reference object and to the region around that part as being ‘under’. Other interpretations, like the path of the movement, have to come from other elements in the sentence.

4.4 fāl

The translation equivalent in English for this preposition is ‘on, upon’. The noun that follows is always with the reduced prefix (état d’annexion). In the Mali orthography for Tamasheq the preposition is written as fäll but there is no linguistic basis for this (Heath 2005: 286). I will continue to write fāl.

The preposition could be related to the noun afälla ‘north; top, upper part’ (Heath 2005:286)

Fāl describes the relationship of the figure to the ground as one of ‘support/contact’. It describes the relationship to part of the reference object. It can be used in a spatial context e.g.

41. iqqima əgədiḍ fāl ăḍay
 3sm/LoPFT/sit EA/bird on EA/rock
 The bird is sitting on the rock

There are several extended uses of fāl where the basic meaning of support is consistent, but where there is no real contact. Only in the topological sentences like 41 does fāl express physical contact. In all the other uses the meaning of fāl is more metaphorically. When used in a phrase expressing time the meaning can be expressed in English by ‘in, within, after’ e.g.:

42. yoṣa Tamănyăṣăt fāl kăraḍ ăḍan
 3smPFTgo Tamanrassat on three EAnightPL
 he went to Tamanrassat in 3 days (it took him 3 days to get there.)

43. α- dd- əqqəlăy fāl səmmos ăḍan
 PROS- VENT- 1sAORreturn on five EAdayPL
 I will return in 5 days.
 (Prasse 2003:159)

Fāl in 42 means that the ‘going’ of 3 days supported the travel to Tamanrasset. It is only after 3 days of traveling that the subject of the sentence arrived. If you see days that you travel as being stacked on top of each other, then it is quite logical to use the preposition fāl to express the days it took you to get somewhere.

In another context it means ‘during, while’. In this context fāl is usually followed by a verbal noun expressing an action:

44. əyyāḍ wār ārhen mājrad fāl tātāte
MASC/other NEG 3pm/NegPFT/want speech on EAeating
Others don’t like talking while eating
(Sudlow 2001: 115)

The action of eating (in this example) is seen as the reference object (or the ground) and the other action in the sentence (of speaking) is seen as the figure. (The meaning of ‘while’ expresses overlap in time of the two actions). In a time frame, in Tamasheq language, these two actions are seen as ‘on top of each other’ being performed at the same time. The main activity (here eating) is supporting the secondary activity (speaking) and that gives the meaning of ‘while’.

We see the same extended use when fāl is combined in a sentence with a qualitative verb/property verb. The meaning of fāl is extended to one of comparison:

45. ākāl lāmed fāl tōhun
earth 3sm/PFT/be soft on EA/stone
earth is soft compared to stone
(Sudlow 2001: 115)

The stone in this example is seen as the reference object/ground and the earth is the figure. It is the verb that gives the additional meaning. The relationship between the figure (earth) and the ground (stone) is one of support, the ground supporting the figure. Fāl can be used as standard of comparison in a comparative construction like in 45. When these two: the ground (stone) and the figure (earth) are compared in Tamasheq language they are seen as on top of each other, the ground supporting the figure expressed in the prepositions fāl. And then it becomes a comparative construction when combined with a qualitative verb.

Fāl is associated with particular verbs. e.g.: ərrəfta fāl = to be frightened by (something) (Heath 2005: 286) (the use of fāl is optional). And it is also used in conjunction-like phrases e.g. :
ma fāl =(lit. what on?) why?
mi fāl =(those on?) for whom? f
fāl(-as) = because
(Cortade 1969: 114) (Heath 2005: 286)

Fāl can also be used in sentences expressing motion e.g.:

47. Iggād əgəḍḍ fāl āfālla n-āhān
3sm/PFT/fly EA/bird on EA/roof of-EA/house
The bird flies onto the roof of the house.

48. ođǎ əgədeđ fǎl ǎđay
3sm/PFT/fall EA/bird on EA/rock
The bird fell on the rock

Prasse in his dictionary gives also the meaning of ‘de sur’ (from upon, off) (Prasse 2003: 150) and Cortade mentions the same. (Cortade 1969: 114). Sudlow makes note of the same additional meaning of fǎl, giving the following example:

49. ođǎ fǎll əmnəs
3sm/PFT/fall on EA/camel
he fell off the camel

However this is not an additional meaning of fǎl. Because fǎl only expresses the relationship of the figure to the ground and it is neutral to the path or goal of the action, it is understandable that it can also be used expressing the support/contact region as a starting point. In my data I found evidence that a PP with fǎl can also be the starting point/region of a movement.

50. tayat təggəd fǎl ǎyalla s- ǎhǎn
goat 3sf/AOR/jump on enclosure towards- EA/house
The goat jumped from the fence towards the house

51. Iggǎd əgədeđ fǎl eyǎy s- ahǎšk
3sm/PFT/fly EA/bird on EA??/mountain towards-tree
The bird flew from the rock to the tree

In 50 and 51 the path is expressed in the preposition s- (see 4.9) and the PP with fǎl expresses the starting point of the movement.

52. Inkǎr ʏisa fǎll tǎsǎqqaymut
3sm/PFT/standup Ghisa on FEM/chair
Ghisa got up from the chair

This last sentence was obtained while showing pictures of motion verbs to one informant and asking him to describe the action. This sentence belongs to a combination of two pictures. One of a man sitting on a chair and the other one of the same man getting up from that chair. So clearly in this case the PP with fǎl is used to describe the location of the subject which is the point of departure.

My conclusion is that fǎl describes the relationship of the figure to the ground as one of support/contact. It describes the relationship to part of the reference object. Other interpretations, like the path of the movement, have to come from other elements in the sentence. Fǎl is also a preposition that has several extended uses and is associated with certain verbs where it has a more abstract use.

4.5 dat

The meaning of dat is anterior in space ('in front of') and in time ('before'). (Sudlow 2001: 330), (Prasse 2003: 120). The noun that follows is always with the reduced prefix (état d'annexion). There is a noun dat (According to Heath data) 'front, face' (Prasse 2003: 120) to which this preposition is related (Heath 2005: 287).

55. *ijjāš* *āwelān* *dat* *təjrəst*
3sm/PFT/enter EA/hotseason before winter
The hot season comes before winter.

56. *irkāy* *dat* *Yisa*
3sm/PFT/kneel before Jesus
he knelt in front of Jesus
(Tamasheq NT; Luk.5:8)

Dat describes the region in front of the reference object and is different in that respect to the prepositions I described so far.

Cortade adds the meaning 'de devant, d'avant' (= from in front of, from before) but he doesn't give any examples for this use of dat. (Cortade 1969: 116).

This is not an additional meaning of dat. Because dat only expresses the relationship between the figure and the ground and doesn't include information about the path of the movement, it could be used to indicate the starting region of a movement.

I do not have any examples in my data for the meaning of dat indicating the point of departure, but I would not be surprised if further research would show that that is possible.

Dat is a regional preposition, indicating the relationship between the figure and the ground as a region in front of (or before) the ground. It relates to the reference object as a whole. Dat doesn't give any indications to the path of the movement. That information has to come from other elements in the sentence.

4.6 ɖarāt

The preposition ɖarāt refers to posteriority in time and space. The translation equivalent in English is 'after, behind' (Sudlow 2001: 331). The noun that follows is always with the reduced prefix (état d'annexion). According to Heath there is a related noun ɖara 'rear', mostly used in adverbial phrases like əs ɖara 'in the rear' (Heath 2005: 288)

57. *issotāf* *eyās* *ɖarāt* *āhān* ⁵
3sm/PFT/spit EL/bone behind EA/tent
he spits the bone behind the tent

⁵ Me: "why ɖarāt (= behind)?" Moh: "behind the tent/ house is for the dirty things" When eating you sit either in or in front of the tent, never behind the tent.

58. Ašāl wa n-ḏarāt wen
 EL/day that of-after pron.dem.that
 the day after that
 (Tamasheq NT; Luk. 7:11)

Prasse and Cortade mention another preposition for posteriority in time and space: dæffər. This is the form used in Tamahaq and the tawələmmət dialect. (Prasse 2003: 82) (Cortade 1969: 116). Like the preposition dat ‘in front of, before’, ḏarāt is also a regional preposition describing the region behind the ground. Only Cortade mentions the additional meaning : ‘de derrière, d’après’ (from behind, from after) but again he doesn’t give any examples. I did not find any examples either in my data of ḏarāt in the meaning of ‘from behind, from after’. However this is not an additional meaning for ḏarāt. A PP with ḏarāt can indicate the point of departure or starting region of a movement, because ḏarāt only indicates the relationship between the figure and the ground. Information about the path of the movement has to come from other elements in the sentence. My conclusion is that ḏarāt is a regional preposition indicating the relationship between the figure and the ground as the region behind (or after) the ground. It relates to the reference object as a whole. It doesn’t give any information about the path of the movement.

4.7 jənnəj

The translation equivalent of jənnəj is ‘above, over, higher than’ (Prasse 2003: 109). According to Sudlow and Cortade it has the same meaning ‘above’ (Sudlow 2001:331) (Cortade 1969: 116). The noun that follows is always with the reduced prefix (état d’annexion).

59. Iggäd ägäḏeḏ jənnəj äḏay
 3sm/PFT/fly EA/bird above EA/rock
 The bird flew above the rock

60. Näkk, əllan- t imənokalän jənnəj-i, ley day
 Pers.pron.1s, 3pm/PFT/exist-DO/3sm EL/master/PL above-1spron, ?? though
 näkk əssärdusa daw-i t- əllanen
 pers.pron.1s EAsoldiersPL under-1spron. DO3sm-3pmPFTexist
 For I myself am a man under authority, with soldiers under me.
 (Tamasheq NT; Luk.7:8)

None of the authors I consulted mentions the meaning of jənnəj as indicating the point of departure (‘from above’). I did not find any examples of that meaning of jənnəj in my data either, but I would not be surprised if in further research examples could be found showing that a PP with jənnəj indicates the starting point/region of a movement.

Jənnəj is a regional preposition indicating the relationship between the figure and the ground as the region above the ground. It relates to the reference object as whole. It probably doesn't give any information about the path of the movement.

4.8 jer(e)

The translation equivalent of jer is: 'between, in the center of, among' (Prasse 2003:232). Sudlow and Cortade mention the same preposition with the meaning 'between' (Sudlow 2001: 331) (Cortade 1969: 114). The noun that follows is always with the reduced prefix (état d'annexion). Heath calls jer a compound preposition because it can appear with the commitative preposition d- 'with'

61. əllan- t ihānan əjjootnen jer nižerien d-sindi
 3pm/PFT/exist- DO3sm EL/tentPL PTC/be.many/PL between Nigerian and-Cindy
 There are many houses between (the house of) Nigerian (propername) and Cindy

Calling it a compound preposition is unlikely though. Because of the meaning of this preposition ('between') it needs a second element to make the comparison if the noun is singular. It can appear by itself when followed by pronoun affixes (plural forms) or by a mass noun or a noun in plural form. Jer indicates the region between two things so it needs more than one entity. It is only then that you get the reading 'among, between'

62. jer əddinət.⁶
 among people, everyone
 among all people.
 Tamasheq NT; Luk.1 :25b)

63. ibdād Yisa jere-sən
 3sm/PFT/standup Jesus among-pron/3pm
 Jesus stood up amongst them
 (Tamasheq NT; Luk.4:17)

When followed by a singular noun or a pronomen in singular form it always appears with -d which is also followed by a singular noun or pronoun :

64. jer- i dər-ək
 between- pron.1s with-pron/2sm
 between you and me
 (Heath 2005: 289)

Jer is a regional preposition indicating the region between two entities.

None of the authors I consulted mentioned the meaning of jer as indicating the point of departure 'from between' (Prasse 2003: 232) (Cortade 1969: 114-115) although Sudlow

⁶ 'əddinət' is a mass noun.

gives the general comment that any of the prepositions in Tamasheq can have the meaning ‘from’.(Sudlow 2001: 330). He doesn’t give specific examples of jer in the meaning of ‘from between’.

Because jer is a preposition that indicates the relationship between the figure and the ground and does not include information about the path of the movement, it is not unlikely that jer can indicate a region between two or more entities which is the source or the starting point of an action. In my data I found some examples that illustrate this:

65. *Yisa wa imməḍkälän jere-wän s- išənnawän,*
 Jesus pron/3sm 3sm/PTC/PFTmedial/tobetaken among-pron3pm towards- ELheavensPL,
ilkam a dd- iqqəl s-əmmək- wa-däy s- t- tənħäyäm
 later that PROS- 3sm/AOR/return with-manner-that-very ?- 3smDO- 2pmPFTsee
ikk’- en.

3smPFTgoto-ALL

This Jesus, who has been taken up from you into heaven, will come in just the same way as you have watched Him go into heaven. (Tamasheq NT Acts 1: 11)

66.*sənnəfrənät jere-wän əssa meddən....*

.....Caus/IMP/set.aside/3pm among-pron/3pm seven man/PL
 ...select from among you seven men... (Tamasheq NT Acts 6:3)

67. *Ifäl Buləs jere-sän əlwäqq- wen-däy məšan,.....*

3sm/PFT/leave Paul among-pron/3pm time- these-very conj??
 Paul went out of their midst (Tamasheq NT Acts. 17:33)

These examples illustrate the basic meaning of jer and we see that any additional information about the path or goal of the action comes from other elements in the sentence.

My conclusion is that jer is a regional preposition that describes the relationship between the figure and the ground as the region between two or more entities. It relates to the reference object as a whole. It doesn’t give any information about the path of the movement.

4.9. har

Har has in English the translation equivalent ‘until’ (Prasse 2003: 339). It can be used in reference to time and to place. (Sudlow 2001:114-115). In contrast to all the other prepositions I have so far talked about, the particle har is always followed by the noun in ‘état libre’ (no prefix reduction).

68. *har ašəkka*

until ELMorning
 until tomorrow

69. issekäl dăy Gawa har Bămako
 3sm/AOR/travel in Gao until Bamako
 he travels from Gao to Bamako

It can also precede a clause. The verb is then in the perfective or the imperfective. It expresses a result:

70. inăy ăwadəm amnəs har oḍa
 3sm/PFT/climb EA/person EL/camel until 3sm/PFT/fall
 Someone rode a camel until he fell
 (Sudlow 2001; 115)

Prasse in his dictionary makes the difference between the preposition har (with noun) and the conjunction har (with verb). Heath in his grammar of Tamasheq calls har a ‘preposition-like particle’. He stresses that with a few others (like ar ‘except’; mey ‘or’; wăla ‘without’; kud ‘even’) har doesn’t “...satisfy the test for true prepositional status.” (Heath 2005: 291). These preposition-like particles combine, not with pronominal suffixes like the others, but with independent pronouns

71. dunkət har kăy əjjədăy
 2s/IMP/bend.over until 2smDO AOR/jump1s
 Bend over so that I can jump over you.

In my data I never found examples of har being used to indicate the point of departure. It was always used to indicate the place of arrival or to indicate the result of an action. My conclusion is that this preposition is not a topological one but a directional one. The path of the action is included in the semantics of har. It does not give indications about the ground or the reference object. It only expresses the path of the movement. It is interesting that har doesn’t require the following noun (often expressing the ground) in the ‘état d’annexion’. All the other prepositions I talked about so far do describe the relationship to the ground and these prepositions ‘attach’ themselves to the following noun (expressing the ground) requiring it to change into the form with reduced prefix (état d’annexion). Har doesn’t describe the relationship to the ground. It expresses the path of the movement. In that respect it is quite logical that it doesn’t require the following noun to change into the état d’annexion. Har can also precede a clause which all the topological prepositions I talked about so far cannot. Concluding: Har is a directional particle, expressing the path of the movement.

4.10. (ə)s- (sər)

The translation equivalent in English of (ə)s- is ‘towards’ (Prasse 2003:695). According to Prasse in this sense it is always followed by a noun in the ‘état d’annexion’. Heath mentions that sometimes (ə)s- doesn’t require the reduced prefix (‘état d’annexion’) of the following noun. e.g. s-ehăḍ = at night. (Heath 2005:276). Cortade likewise mentions

that the noun in *s-afəlla* doesn't take the 'état d'annexion'. He calls it an exception. (Cortade 1969: 106). Heath argues that it is typical for "...such adverbial uses" (Heath 2005: 277) and he adds that presence of prefix reduction is common in true instrumental function (another meaning of (ə)s-, see below).

The form is *s-* before a vowel. Before a consonant and preceded by a pause or another consonant the form is *əs-*. Before a pronominal affix the form is extended to *sər-*. (Heath 2005: 277).

It can be used in topological phrases:

72. *Iggäd ägädeḍ fäll eyäy s- ahəšk*
 3sm/PFT/fly EA/bird on EA??/rock towards-tree
 The bird flew from the rock towards the tree

73. *ifäl Gawa s- Kidal*
 3sm/PFT/leave Gao towards-Kidal
 he left Gao to go towards Kidal.

The difference in meaning with *har* is that the latter refers to a specific point: In 69 '*har Bāmako*' means 'until the city of Bamako' while '*s-Bāmako*' means 'in the direction of Bamako'. So the goal of (ə)s- is not a point but a region.

When (ə)s is used in the context of time it refers to a region around that time:

74. *əs- tifäwt*
 towards- morning
 in the morning (according to Prasse until 8 p.m. Prasse 2003: 185).

75. *əs- tərut*
 towards- EA/(mid)day
 during the day
 (Prasse 2003: 644 & 695)

The preposition (ə)s- in the meaning of 'towards' refers to a region and not a specific point. It is more open-ended. 75 is a nice illustration of this aspect of the meaning of (ə)s- It refers here to a temporal period around which is a more extended time. It is not referring to the exact time of 'midday' but it refers to the whole period around that point of the day.

The preposition (ə)s-⁷ also has an instrumental usage. This is a case of polysemy:

⁷ (ə)s can also take the place of *i-/y-*, which is the dative particle. Especially in relative clauses where it follows the demonstrative pronoun *wa*.

Əkney tärük y- ähaləs wa
 PFT/make/1s saddle for- man that
 I made a camel saddle for that man

76. ikattăb s- bik
3sm/IMPF/write with- pen
he writes with a pen

77. ifrăš isan s- əbsăr
3sm/PFT/cut ELmeat with- EA/knife
He cut the meat with a knife

Prasse in his dictionary has put the usage of (ə)s- in temporal expressions as part of the preposition (ə)s- expressing instrumental use. I do not agree with this idea. The temporal use of (ə)s- is part of the directional meaning of this preposition.

The directional preposition (ə)s- has two aspects: The main aspect that describes the path of the movement and the other aspect that indicates that the goal is a region and not a specific point. When used in topological phrases (ə)s- expresses both aspects. However when used in temporal phrases there is no path to express because there is no movement and then the second aspect of this preposition comes out. It could be that this is another meaning of (ə)s- but I think it is actually the same meaning but a different aspect coming out in non-topological phrases.

None of the authors I consulted mentioned the use of (ə)s- indicating the point of departure. And when we consider (ə)s- as a directional preposition referring to the path of the movement and not including anything about the relationship between the figure and the ground, it is not surprising that it is never used indicating the point of departure. When I discussed this with one of my informants in Mali, he could think of only one situation that, in his opinion, (ə)s- could indicate the point of departure and this is when it is used with cardinal points (north, east, south, west). In the Tamasheq NT I found an example of (ə)s- with cardinal points in the story of Jesus' birth when wise men come from the east to Jerusalem asking after the king of the Jews mentioning that they saw his star in the east:

78....atăr- net a- s dd- izjăr s- emăynăj;
...EL/star- his who- DAT VENT- 3sm/PFT/go.out towards-EL/east
...his star that goes out from the east (Tamasheq NT Matth.2:2)

Cardinal points are absolute points. They can be used in language to refer to the region around this point. In 78 the second aspect of the directional (ə)s- comes out. Here (ə)s- refers to the region around 'the east'. In the ventive particle dd- the path of the movement is expressed. The PP with (ə)s- is not used as a point of departure or source. It is the second aspect of the semantics of the directional preposition (ə)s- that comes out in expressions with cardinal points.

ăhaləs wa-s əkney tărik, os- id
man that-for PFT/make/1s saddle, 3smPFTcome- VENT
The man for whom I made a camel saddle, came (here)
(Sudlow 2001: 108)

It is interesting that Cortade makes note of the fact that s- can precede certain topological prepositions:

əʒ-dət = in front of, forward

əʒ-dəw = underneath, beneath

əʒ-dəffər = afterwards, backwards

(Cortade 1969: 106)

It seems that (ə)ʒ- can combine with topological prepositions to make them dynamic, to add the path of the movement.

Concluding we have to say that there are two different meanings for the preposition (ə)ʒ-. One is the instrumental meaning and the other one has the equivalent meaning of 'towards'. This (ə)ʒ- is a directional preposition carrying two aspects in its semantics. Firstly it expresses the path of the movement and secondly it indicates that the goal is a region. In topological phrases both aspects come out. In non-topological phrases and expressions with cardinal points the second aspect is prominent. (ə)ʒ- does not carry information in it about the figure nor the ground. In contrast to the directional particle hær I discussed in the previous chapter, (ə)ʒ- is usually followed by the noun in the 'état d'annexion' but there are a few exceptions (like s-ehǎǎ = at night, s-afəlla = at the top). In this context it is interesting to note that in other Berber languages like Kabyle, the directional preposition (ə)ʒ- always takes the noun in the 'état libre' while the instrumental preposition (ə)ʒ- takes the reduced prefix ('état d'annexion'). It seems that in Tamasheq these 2 things have collapsed into one and the exceptions mentioned in this paragraph could be archaic forms.

Chapter 5

General conclusions

In Tamasheq there are different kinds of prepositions: Those that are purely topological and those that are directional. The topological prepositions only define the relationship between the figure and the ground and are neutral in respect to the path and the directional ones define the path and are neutral in respect to the ground or the figure.

In form there are also the same two groups: the topological prepositions: *dǎy*, *ɣor*, *daw*, *fǎl*, *dat*, *ɖarǎt*, *jənnəj*, *jer* are all followed by a noun with a reduced prefix (état d'annexion).

The other two are directional prepositions of which *har* is always followed by a noun in the état libre and (ə)s- is usually followed by the noun with the reduced prefix but there are exceptions to be found where (ə)s is followed by the noun in état libre. Both Heath and Cortade mention that (ə)s does not always require the noun with the reduced prefix.

The topological prepositions can be divided into different groups again:

The non-regional topological prepositions and the regional topological prepositions. The non-regional prepositions can be divided into two groups:

Those that describe the relationship to *part* of the reference object:

- *dǎy* containment ('in')
- *fǎl* contact/support ('on')
- *daw* * 'under'

And those that describe the relationship of the figure to the reference object as *a whole*:

- *ɣur* coincidence ('at')

The regional topological prepositions are:

- *jer* 'between'
- *jənnəj* 'above'
- *dat* 'in front of, before'
- *ɖarǎt* 'behind, after'
- *daw* * 'under'

* I have added *daw* in both categories because it can refer to part of the reference object and also to the region around that reference object. In 79 *daw* refers to the region around part of the reference object. The reference object in this sentence is the table and the part of the table that *daw* refers to is the underside. The cat sits in the region "under the underside" of the table.

79. mos illa	daw	tabəl
cat 3smPFTbe	under	table

The cat is under the table

In 80 though, daw refers to only the part of the reference object (in this example also the table). The chewing gum is directly attached to the underside of the table.

80. šuwgom iltay daw tabəl.
 chewing gum 3smPFTstickto under table
 The chewing gum is stuck underneath the table

So daw falls in both categories: non-regional and regional. One could say that daw is neutral to region. In the non-regional prepositions describing the relationship to part of the reference object, daw is the opposite of fäl ‘on’ and in the regional prepositions daw is the opposite of jənnəj ‘above’.

fäl ‘on’ ↔ daw ‘under’
 jənnəj ‘above’ ↔ daw ‘under’

TOPOLOGICAL PREPOSITIONS		
non-regional		regional
part of ref. obj.	ref.obj. as a whole	jer ‘between’
fäl ‘on, upon’		jənnəj ‘above’
däy ‘in’	yur ‘at’	dat ‘in front of’
daw ‘under’		ḍarāt ‘behind’
		daw ‘under’

The directional prepositions can be divided into anchored and non-anchored. With ‘anchored’ I mean that the goal is precise, it is a point in time or place.

- har ‘until’ is an anchored directional preposition
- (ə)s- ‘towards’ is a non-anchored directional preposition.

DIRECTIONAL PREPOSITIONS	
anchored	non-anchored
har ‘until’	(ə)s- ‘towards’

The topological prepositions do not give any indications about the path of the movement. They only give information about the relationship between the figure and the ground. And the ground in Tamasheq includes the source as well as the goal. This is the reason why all of these topological prepositions can be used to indicate the point of arrival (goal) as well as the point of departure (source). In my research I found especially examples of the non-regional topological prepositions being used in a PP that could indicate both source and goal of the motion. This is because these prepositions are non-regional. The ground described in these non-regional prepositions is a point. This is why they are easier used to indicate both source and goal. Of the 5 regional topological prepositions I found good examples of jer ‘between’ and daw ‘under’ as being used to describe the point of departure or source. I suppose similar examples could be found for the other 3 regional topological prepositions as well but these did not occur in my corpus.

Except for daw ‘under’; jənnəj ‘above’; and jer ‘between’ all the different prepositions can be used in the temporal domain. Daw ‘under’ and jənnəj ‘above’ can be used in the social hierarchy where they are each others converse.

In my research I have become fascinated by the way Tamasheq expresses locations and movements in prepositions. Closely related to this is what the semantics of the different verbs are in Tamasheq, which verbs have the path of direction included into their meaning and which ones have the relationship between figure and ground included in their semantics. What is the interaction with the ventive/allative clitic (-dd/-en)? All this is beyond my thesis but would be a good subject for future research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Cortade, J.M.; Essai de grammaire touareg dialecte de l'Ahaggar; 1969; Université d'Alger, Institut de Recherches Sahariennes.
- Frawley, William; Linguistic Semantics; 1992; univ.of Delaware; Lawrence Erlbaum associates, Publishers; Hillsdale, New Jersey;
- Heath, J; A grammar of Tamashek (Tuareg of Mali); 2005; Mouton de Gruyter; Berlin
- Prasse, K-G.; Alojaly, G.; Mohamed, G.; Dictionnaire Touareg – Français (Niger); 2 Vol.; 2003; Museum Tusculanum Press, Univ. of Copenhagen
- Sudlow, D.; The Tamasheq of North-East Burkina Faso; 2001; Rudiger Koppe Verlag, Cologne; Berber studies Vol.I.
- Talmy, L.; Toward a Cognitive Semantics, Vol. I; 2000; Massachusetts Inst. of Technologies;
- Le Nouveau Testament en Tamacheq; Wycliffe Bible Translators; 2003

Appendix I

M1 = M. A. T.

M2 = M. A. M.

M3 = M. A. H. H. (directeur de l'école premier cycle de Djebok) I checked the Tamasheq sentences with him and asked what the French equivalent was. Only discrepancies with the original French sentence are noted.

A. verbs avec direction et mouvement (agens inclu)

1. *le chevre grimpe dans l'arbre*

M1 tayat tənāy ahešk

M2 tayat tənay ahāšk, fäll ahāšk²

2. *le chèvre grimpe du rocher dans l'arbre*

M1 tenāy tayat eḃāy iha ahāšk⁸

M2 (tayat fäll ahāšk) tenay fäll-id eḃāšār (oued) fäll ahāšk

3. *le chèvre descend de l'arbre*

M1 təzzubāt-dd tayat ahāšk

M2 tayat fäll-id ahāšk (le chevre quitte l'arbre)

4. *le chèvre monte sur la maison*

M1 təggaṅ tayat ehān

M2 tayat tənay (acc.) fäll ehān (Moh : il est déjà sur la maison)

5. *le chèvre monte sur la montagne/ le chèvre grimpe la montagne*

M1 tayat təggaṅ esāwāl⁹ / tiskən tayat esāwāl

M2 tayat tənnay(inacc.) tejeft (Moh. : təggaṅ)

6. *le chèvre grimpe de la mur sur la maison*

M1 toskān tayat āḃalla har afälla n-ehān¹⁰

M2 tayat təggəd-dd(acc.) āḃalla i-ahān (Moh. : sujet est dans le court.)

M : tayat təggəd fäll āḃalla s-ahān (le chevre a commence sur la mur pour monter sur la maison)

7. *le chèvre grimpe dans le court (il entre le court par grimper la mur)*

M1 tiskən tayat dāy afāraj (təjjāš afāraj s-amurəd¹¹)

M2 tayat təjješād-dd(acc.) āḃalla (parleur est dans le court)

8. *l'oiseau vole dans l'air*

⁸ M. told me later that this sentence means: the goat climbs the rock on top of where there is a tree. The correct translation of sentence 2 acc. to M. is : tenāy tayat eḃāy s-ahāšk

⁹ acc. to M.: 'təggaṅ' (= climb) cannot be used in the perfective. You must use then : tənay tayat esāwāl

¹⁰ acc. to M: 'har' can be replaced with 'i-'

¹¹ amurəd = crawl (for a person, not an animal)

- M1 Iggad egädeḍ dāy ašenna
M2 egädeḍ iha(etre) išənnawän / egädeḍ itiyəläləy (planer, zweven) dāy išənnawän
9. *l'oiseau vole au rocher*
M1 Iggäd egädeḍ jənnəj aḍay
M2 iggad (voler) egädeḍ yur eyäšär
10. *l'oiseau vole du rocher à l'arbre*
M1 Iggäd egädeḍ fäll- eyäy s-ahəšk
M2 itiyələyələy egädeḍ ahəšk (Moh : oiseau tourne autour de l'arbre)
egädeḍ ifäll-dd eyäšär i-ahəšk
11. *l'oiseau vole de l'arbre à la mur*
M1 Iggäd egädeḍ fäll-ahəšk s-äyalla
M2 iggad-dd egädeḍ ahəšk i-äyalla
12. *l'oiseau vole dans la cage/le piège*
M1 Iggäd egädeḍ ijjaš tanḍərbat
M2 egädeḍ iha asäkok (nit)
13. *l'oiseau vole dans la cage (quand il est déjà dedans)*
M1 egädeḍ itaggäd dāy-tanḍərbat (šāmad tāt ijjaš)
M2 itəggad egädeḍ dāy asäkok
14. *l'oiseau vole sur le toit de la maison*
M1 Iggäd egädeḍ fäll- afälla n-ehän
M2 egädeḍ itiyəliyələy fäll-afälla n-ahän
15. *il part*
M1 Iglä
M2 iglä
16. *il part à la maison/il part chez lui*
M1 ikka ehän / ikka yur-s
M2 ikkä ehän
17. *il part en ville*
M1 ikka ayrəm
M2 ikkä ayrəm
18. *il part pour Kidal*
M1 ikka Kidal
M2 ikkä Kidal
19. *il part de Gao*
M1 ifäl Gawa
M2 ifäll-dd Gao
20. *il part de Gao pour aller à Kidal*
M1 ifäl Gawa s-Kidal
M2 ifäll-dd Gao i-Kidal (Moh. :parleur est a Kidal)
21. *il part chez son ami*

M1 ikka amidi-net

M2 ikkă yur amidin-es

22. *le chèvre marche (va) au mar/lac*

M1 tərjaš tayat təkka eyăzăr

M2 tayat t-illă yur ejărew (Moh. : le chevre est deja au mar)

23. *le chèvre marche du lac à l'arbre*

M1 təfăl tayat eyăzăr s-ahəšk

M2 tayat fäll-dd ejărew i-ahəšk (Moh: parleur est a cote de l'arbre ou proche de la)

24. *le chèvre quitte l'eau*

M1 təfăl tayat aman

M2 tayat fäll-dd aman (Moh. le parleur est loin de fleuve)

25. *le crapeau apparaît de dessous la table*

M1 izjăr-dd ejăr daw tabəl

M2 ejăr ifäll-dd dăw tabəl

B. verbs sans direction mais avec mouvement (agent inclu)

26. *l'oiseau tombe de l'arbre*

M1 oḍa-dd egăḍeḍ fäll ahəšk¹²

M2 oḍă-dd ahəšk egăḍeḍ (Moh. : = l'arbre tombe sur l'oiseau)

27. *l'oiseau tombe sur le rocher*

M1 oḍă egăḍeḍ fäll aḍay

M2 egăḍeḍ oḍă-dd fäll eyăšăr

28. *l'oiseau tombe de l'arbre sur le rocher*

M1 oḍa-dd egăḍeḍ dăy ahəšk fäll aḍay

M2 oḍă-dd ahəšk fäll eyăšăr (Moh. : l'arbre est tombe sur le rocher)

29. *le chèvre tombe de le rocher*

M1 toḍa-dd tayat fäll-aḍay

M2 tayat toḍă-dd d-ahəšk (Moh : la chevre est tombe avec l'arbre)

M3 : The first sentence means : the goat fell on top of the rock. M3 suggested the following sentence for 'the goat fell from the rock'

toḍa-dd tayat daw tahunt

30 *le chèvre tombe dans l'eau*

M1 toḍa tayat dăy-aman

M2 tayat toḍă dăy aman

31 *l'enfant saute*

¹² Me: "why not dăy?" M: 'oḍa-dd dăy ahəšk = il est tombé dans l'arbre.'

M1 Iggäd alyaq

M2 itaggäd alyaq

32. *l'enfant saute du rocher*

M1 Iggäd-dd alyaq fäll aḍay

M2 ifäll-dd alyaq eyäšär (Moh : l'enfant quitte la mar)

M3: Good translation for sentence of M1 is: l'enfant a sauté sur le rocher.

33. *l'enfant saute sur le rocher*

M1 Iggäd alyaq fäll-aḍäy

M2 etaggäd alyaq fäll eyäšär

M3 : translation of M1 is : l'enfant a sauté sur le rocher.

34. *l'enfant saute de la fenetre*

M1 Iggäd-dd alyaq s-fənetär

M2 oḍä-dd alyaq fäll fənetär (Moh : l'enfant est tombe sur la fenetre)

M3: good translation is : l'enfant a sauté par la fenetre

35. *l'enfant saute dans les bras de son papa*

M1 Iggäd alyaq däy ifassän n-ti-s

M2 iggäd-dd alyaq fäll ifassän n-amyar-net

36. *l'enfant saute de la mur sur le rocher*

M1 Iggäd-dd älyaq fäll-äyalla s-aḍay

M2 ifäll-dd alyaq eyäšär (Moh. : l'enfant a quitte le rocher)

M3 translation : l'enfant a sauté de la mur au rocher

37. *l'enfant saute sur le matelas*

M1 Iggäd älyaq fäll-mätäla

M2 alyaq itaggäd fäll matäla

M3 translation of M1: l'enfant suate sur le matelas (commence à dehors du matelas)

C. verbs avec direction (agent exclu)

38. *il crache*

M1 issotäf

M2 isituf

39. *il crache l'os*

M1 issotäf eyäs

M2 isituf eyäs

40. *il crache l'os sur le sol*

M1 issotäf eyäs fäll-äkall

M2 isituf eyäs fäll-akäll

41. *il crache l'os sur le rocher*

M1 issotăf eḡās fäll-aḡay
M2 isituf eḡās fäll eḡăšăr

42. *il crache l'os à dehors de la tente*

M1 issotăf eḡās ḡarăt ehăn¹³

M2 isituf eḡās dăḡ aḡăma

43. *il crache l'os dans le trou*

M1 issotăf eḡās dăḡ-anu

M2 isituf eḡās dăḡ anu

44. *il lui crache dans le visage*

M1 issotăf-as dăḡ-idəm

M2 isituf fäll idem-nes

45. *il emmene l'enfant*

M1 iwwăy alyaqḡ

M2 itilwəy alyaqḡ (Moh: malprononce, ilway alyaqḡ)

46. *il emmene l'enfant à la maison*

M1 iwwăy alyăd s-ehăn

M2 ilway alyaqḡ ḡur ehăn (Moh: malparle)

47. *il emmene le chèvre dans un autre village*

M1 iwwăy taḡat s-aḡrəm iyyăn

M2 ilway taḡat dăḡ ḡur aḡrəm iyyăn (Moh. pas de bonne Tamasheq)

48. *il ammene le thé*

M1 iwwăy atay

M2 iwwăy-dd atay

49. *elle porte le bol*

M1 təwway bol

M2 təwway foti

50. *elle porte l'eau*

M1 tədbal aman

M2 təwway aman

51. *elle porte l'eau du puits à la maison*

M1 tədban aman n-anu s-ehăn¹⁴

M2 təwway-dd aman ḡur anu i-ehăn

52. *elle porte l'eau dans la rue*

M1 tədbal aman dăḡ tăšarrit

M2 təwway aman dăḡ tăšarrət

¹³ Me: “why ḡarăt (= behind)?” Moh: “behind the tent/ house is for the dirty things”

¹⁴ M: “Point de départ n'est pas connu.”

D. verbs de location

53. *l'oiseau est assis sur le rocher*

M1 iqqima egädeḍ fäll-aḍay

M2 iwar egädeḍ (däy) fäll eyäšär (Moh : pas bonne Tamasheq)

54. *l'oiseau est assis dans l'arbre*

M1 iqqima egädeḍ däy-ahəšk

M2 iwar egädeḍ ahəšk

55. *l'oiseau est assis dans la tente*

M1 iqqima egädeḍ däy-ehän

M2 daw ehäket ill-e egädeḍ

56. *l'oiseau est dans la cage*

M1 iha egädeḍ tanḍerbat

M2 egädeḍ iha asäkok

57. *la viande est suspendu à l'arbre*

M1 olayän isan däy ahəšk

M2 isan olayän däy ahəšk

58. *la viande est suspendu du bâton*

M1 olayän isan däy äbori

M2 olayän isan fäll äbori

M3: translation of M1: la viande est suspendu au bâton.

59. *la viande est suspendu pour sécher*

M1 olayän isan i-ad uyarän

M2 olayän isan i-teyart

60. *le sac est pendillé de la branche*

M1 olay šäkköš däy-eläkät

M2 olay sak fäll awluleja n-ahəšk

M3 translation of M1: le sac est pendillé à la branche.

E. verbs sans location inherente ni motion inherente

61. *il écrit une livre*

M1 ikattäb əkəttab

M2 ikattäb əlkəttab

62. *il écrit à l'école*

M1 ikattäb yur läkkol¹⁵

M2 ikattäb däy läkkol

¹⁵ the speaker doesn't know the exact place where the child is so he uses 'yur'

63. *il écrit dans une livre à l'école*

M1 ikattäb däy əlkəttab yur läkkol

M2 ikattäb däy əlkəttab yor läkkol

64. *il écrit avec un bic*

M1 ikattäb s-bik

M2 ikattäb s-bik

65. *il écrit sur la planche*

M1 ikattäb fäll-blans

M2 ikattäb fäll əlxor

66. *il écrit à la maison*

M1 ikattäb yur ehän

M2 ikattäb yor ehän

67. *il écrit une lettre*

M1 ikattäb təkarde

M2 ikattäb letär

68. *il prie*

M1 itumad

M2 itumad

69. *il prie à la maison*

M1 itumad yur ehän

M2 itumad yor ehän

70. *il prie sur le tapis*

M1 itumad fäll-ajlem

M2 itumad fäll tapi

71. *il prie la prière*

M1 itumad amud

M2 itumad əmud-nes

72. *il prie dans le mosque*

M1 itumad däy taməzjədda¹⁶

M2 itumad däy əlkənisät

73. *il prie pour ses enfants*

M1 itumad i-aratän-net

M2 itumad i-aratän-nes

¹⁶ here the speaker always will use 'däy' because a mosque is usually a place that is encircled by a wall.

Appendix II

Bowerman's Topological Relations

M. =M. A. T.

H. = M. A. H. H. ¹⁷

EL = Etat Libre

EA = Etat d'Annexion (when not marked in front of a noun, then EL=EA in form)

1. The cup and saucer are on the table

M: insa bol fäll tabəl/ iwar bol tabəl

3smPFTto be bowl upon table / 3smPFTorLoP?tobeontopof bowl table

H: Akäbar iwar tabəl/ akäbar insa fäll tabəl

ELvase 3smPFTorLoP?tobeontopof table/ Elvase 3smPFTto be upon table

2. The apple is laying inside the bowl

M: iha äboräy teyert / äkoss

3smAORTobein ELapple bowl??/ ??

H.:Mangoro iha ekäbes

Mango 3smAORTobein ??

3. The stamp is on the letter

M: təwar tənbər təkərde/ teltay tənbər təkərde

3sfPFTtobeontopof EAstamp ELpaper/ 3sfPFTstick EAstamp ELpaper

H: tənbər təwar fäll təkərde / tənbər təwar enbelob

EAstamp 3sfPFTtobeontopof upon ELpaper/ EAstamp 3sfPFTtobeontopo ELenvelope

4. The ribbon is around the candle

M: Buži tǎqqan s- äyan / äyan iqqan buži

ELcandle 3sfIMPtieup with- EArope/ EArope 3smIMPtieup ELcandle.

H: tenälle tǎqqan buži / tenälle tǎqqan fäll buži (focus)

ELthreat 3sfIMPtieup ELcandle/ ELthreat 3sfIMPtieup upon ECandle.

5. The hat is on top of the head of the man

M: takəbbut təwar eyäf / təwar takəbbut eyäf

ELhat 3sfPFTtobeontopof ELhead/ 3sfPFTtobeontopof Elhat ELhead

H: takəbbut təwar eyäf

ELhat 3sfPFTtobeontopof ELhead.

6. The dog is sitting next to the doghouse

M: edi isiwäkkät ides n-ahän-net

ELdog 3smPFTsit side of-EAhouse-his

H: edi illa dat ehän

Eldog 3smPFTtofindoneself infrontof ELhouse

7. The spider is hanging on the ceiling

M: iltay saras afälla n-ehän

3smPFTstickto EAspider ELroof of-ELhouse.

H: saras iwar ehän / saras iwar s-afälla

EAspider 3smPFTtebeontopof ELhouse/ EAspider 3smPFTtebeontopof towards-ELroof

¹⁷ The answers from Mr. H. were taped and later transcribed by M. A. AFTER he had given his own possible answers.

8. *The book is standing on the shelf*

M: insa əlkəttab fäll tabəl / iwar əlkəttab tabəl
3smPFTto be EAbok upon ELtable/ smPFTtebeontopof EAbok ELtable

H: əlkəttab iwar tabəl / əlkəttab insa fäll tabəl
ELbook smPFTtebeontopof ELtable/ ELbook 3smPFTto be upon EAtable

9. *The coat is hanging on the coatrack*

M: oläy eräswəy dāy ahəšk / ermam eräswəy dāy əsaləy

H: veste toläy dāy isässärän

10. *The ring is around the finger*

M: təha tađhud təssəkäđt

H: tazəbut təha əssəkäđ

11. *The sailing boat is sailing on the sea*

M: toroft təwar aman

boat sfPFTtebeontopof ELwater

H: ekäränbäw igla fäll aman

EAbendedthing 3smPFTgo ontopof ELwater

12. *The butter is on the knife*

M: iwar udi absär

H: widi iwar teläyt /udi fäll teläyt

13. *The lamp is hanging above the table*

M: tolay tefätelt¹⁸ jənnəj tabəl

3sfPFThang Ellampe above ELtable

H: ənnor iwar tabəl¹⁹

EL?light smPFTtebeontopof ELtable

14. *The box is in the bag*

M: iha bəkäti šəkkoš

H: takbät təha dāy šəkkoš²⁰ / takbät təha šəkkoš

15. *The fence is around the house*

M: iylay afəraj ehän

H: afəraj iylay-dd tayəšamt

16. *The ball is under the chair*

M: tella bal daw šez

H: kärej təlla daw tasəqqimit

17. *The tree is standing on the slope of the hill.*

M: ibdad ahəšk dāy əlata n-ejef/ iha ahəšk əlata n-ejef

3smPFTstandup EA?tree in/on EA?top of-?dune/ 3smAORTobein tree EA?top of-?dune

H: ahəšk iwar ehel n-ejef

tree smPFTtebeontopof EL?? of-EA?dune

¹⁸ Pg.183 'tefätelt' is EL but it should be EA because it is the subject of the sentence....

¹⁹ comment from M.A.t. "donc, la lumiere touche la table! » = so, the light is touching the table! This is because he uses the verb 'iwar'

²⁰ acc. to M. A. T. this is not good Tamasheq. And M. H. corrects himself in the next sentence.

18. *The hole is in the towel*

M: taha tanəbbekt sərbet

H: tanəbbekt taha sərbet

19. *The apple is laying in the ring*

M: iha bom təgänze

H: mangoro iha ammas n-titämbäwt

20. *The balloon is attached at the end of the stick*

M: tolay bal dəy äbori

H: tolay kärej dəy täborit

21. *The shoe is on the foot*

M: efäkel iha ađar

H: iha efäkel ađar

22. *The pieces of paper are stuck on the pin*

M: tännimbäj täzoli alkađan

? iron thing ELpapers

H: alkađan ihän esässär/ alkađan olayän dəy esässär

Elpapers 3pmPFTtoein ELMetalchain Elpapers 3plmPFTcut in ELMetalchain

23. *The gardenhose is laying on top of the trunk*

M: ayan insa fäll tadra n-ahəšk

ELrope 3smPFTtofindoneself upon ELtrunkof-EAtree

H: tiyo təwar tadra n-ahəšk

hose 3sfPFTtebeontopof ELtrunkof-EAtree

24. *The spoon is laying under the tea towel*

M: täsokält tälla daw ekäršey

H: täsokält tälla daw tarät

25. *The telephone is hanging on the wall*

M: telefon tənsa fäll äyalla

telephone 3sfPFTtofindoneself upon fence

H: toläy telefon dəy äyalla

3sfPFTthang phone in fence

26. *In the cup is a crack*

M: iha ässarre bol

3smPFTtoein ?? bowl

H: takäbart təržä / teräze təha takäbart

ELlittlevase 3sfPFTbreak/ ELbreak 3sfPFTtoein ELlittlevase

27. *The apple is hanging on the branch of the tree*

M: olay bom dəy eläkät n-ahəšk

3smPFTthang EAapple in ELbranch of-tree

H: mangoro ila daw äla / oläy mangoro dəy eläkät

Mango 3smPFTbe under leave/ 3smPFTthang Mango in ELbranch

28. *The head of the queen is on the stamp*

M: tele n-eyäf fäll tenbər

H: tele n-äwadəm təwar tənbər

29. *The tablecloth is on the table*

M: ekāršey iwar tabəl

H: ekāršey iwar tabəl

30. *The arrow sticks through the apple*

M: imbaj āmor bom

H: allay imbaj mangoro/ allay iha mangoro

31. *The cat sits under the table*

M: mos daw tabəl

cat under table

H: mos illa daw tabəl

cat 3smPFTbe under table

32. *The fish is swimming in the fish bowl*

M: iha emän aləkkın

H: emän iha aləkkın

33. *The clothpin is attached to the cloth line*

M: olayän iyəmdan dəy ayən

H: olayän iyəmdan dəy esässär

34. *The man walks on the roof of the house*

M: iwar žäk ehän/ žäk ibdad/irjaš fäll ehän

H: āhaləs iwar ehän /

35. *The plaster(band-aid) is on the leg*

M: iltay pansement ađär

H: ahəyoj fäll eläy²¹

36. *The cloud is floating above the mountain*

M: təllä tejäräkt jənnəj ađay

H: tijäraken əllanät jənnəj ađayän

37. *The cloths are hanging on the line*

M: olayän isəlsa dəy ayän²²

3pmPFThang Elclothes in ELrope

H: isəlsa olayän fäll ayän

Elclothes 3pmPFThang upon ELrope

38. *The man is sitting next to the fire*

M: iqqimä āhaləs edes n-efew

3smPFTsit ELman side of-ELfire

H: āwadəm isinākräf dägman n-efew

person 3smPFT??? next to of-ELfire

²¹ acc. to M.A.T.: this means: “The wound is on the leg”. (la plaie sur la jambe)

²² M. A. T. : » quand c’est accroché de la corde, on dit ‘dəy’ parce que la corde est entourée par les vêtements.

39. *The cigaret is in the mouth of the man*

M: eṭṭaf āhaləs eben s-idlay-net (l'homme tiens la cigarette avec ses levres) /

iha eben em n-āhaləs

H: sigāret iha em n-āhaləs

40. *The cat is sitting on the mat*

M: mos issiwākāt fäll āssārer

cat 3smPFTsit?? upon mat

H: mos iwar tāṣəftāyt²³

cat smPFTtebeontopof FEMEL?littlemat (pg182)

41. *The leaf is on the branch*

M: ālā iwar ahəšk

H: tālāfast təwar afälla n-elākāt (la feuille est sur le toit de la branch)

42. *The belt is around the waist of the woman.*

M: təqqan tamāḍt taməntəka/ taməntəka təqqan dəy tejāše n-tamāḍt

3sfPFTattach Eawoman ELbelt/ ELbelt 3sfPFTattach in ?? of-ELwoman

H: tamāḍt təjbas s-taməntəka / taməntəka təlla yortadist

n-tamāḍt

Eawoman 3sfPFTwear with-ELbelt /ELbelt 3sfPFTbe at ELstomachof-ELwoman

43. *The gardenhose is spread out over the tree trunk*

M: tuyo təssorāf tadra

hose 3sf????? ELtrunck

H: tāxut təwar tadra n-ahəšk /

3sfPFTtebeontopof Eltrunck of-?tree

tuyo təwar tadra n-ahəšk /

hose sfPFTtebeontopof Eltrunck of-?tree

tuyo təwar āfalla n-tadra n-ahəšk

hose sfPFTtebeontopof ELroof of-Eltrunck of-?tree

44. *The picture is hanging on the wall*

M: tolay āṭṭāswer dəy āyalla

3sfPFThang ??? in ?fence

H: āssorāt təwar āyalla

??? sfPFTtebeontopof ?fence

45. *The apples are hanging in the tree*

M: olayān aratan n-ahəšk dəy ahəšk

smpPFThang thingsPL of-tree in tree

H: mangoro iwar ahəšk

Mango smPFTtebeontopof tree

46. *The headband is around the head of the man*

M: tikəst tāqqan eyāf

H: tikəst tāqqan eyāf / iqqan eyāf-net s-tikəst

²³ asəftəy/isəftay (ə/-) m. n.instr. tapis (qcq) (pg. 182; Prasse; 2003)

47. *The dog is sitting in his basket*

M: edi isiwākāt dāy aḏāwa

H: edi iha aḏāwa / edi isiwākāt dāy aḏāwa

48. *The rain is beating against the window*

M: təggatnāt tiṭṭab/tiddam fənetār n-ehān

H: tinefəsen əggatnāt fənetār

49. *The tree is standing next to the church/ in front of the church*

M: ahəšk illa edes n-taməzjədda

tree 3smPFTbeside of-ELmosque

H: ahəšk illa dat tayāšamt

tree 3smPFTbeinfrontof ??

50. *The hooks are in the wall*

M: inəsmar əhan āyalla (les pointes sont dans la mur)

ELpnails 3pmPFTto bein fence

H: isulay əntamān dāy āyalla

??<əSəIIA5? 3pmPFTfix in fence

51. *The string of beads is around the neck of the woman.*

M: tasyalt təha err n-tamāḏt

H: tasyalt təha err / takāza təylyay-dd err

52. *The insects are on the wall*

M: iltay ešš āyalla

3smstickto fly fence

H: ešš d-saras əwarān āyalla

fly and- EAspider 3pmPFTtebeontopof fence

53. *The chewing gum is stuck underneath the table*

M: šuwgom iltay daw tabəl

H: taynust təltay daw tabəl

54. *The rabbit is sitting in the cage*

M: temärwält təha ehan-net

H: temärwält təha ehan-net

55. *The garden hose is around the tree*

M: tuyo təmitältäl fäll tadra n-ahəšk

hose 3sfPFTrest upon Eltrunck of-tree

H: tašelt təylyay-dd tafāja

femsgEL/Easnake 3sfPFTcircle-VENT ?trunck?

56. *The flag is on the poal*

M: tikəst təzəzaj s-abori /tikəst təzəzaj dāy abori

piece of material 3sfPFT??? with-stick/ piece of material 3sfPFT?? in stick

H: ekāršeyolay dāy tajəttewt

ELhenscarf 3smPFThang in Elpole/post

57. *The brooch is on the chain*

M: tazəbut təha ekāžānkāž/ tasyalt
Elbrooch 3sfPFTtoein Elbracelet/ Elbracelet of clay or fibres
H: tāmaywant təha tenälle
ELEA?fem.smallpearl 3sfPFTtoein ELthreat

58. *The ladder is standing against the wall*

M: ibdad eskalye s-ehän
3smPFTstandingup ladder towards-ELhouse
H: isəffətan əwarän äyalla
3pmtobeontopof fence

59. *The pen is laying on the table*

M: insa ayänib²⁴ fäll tabəl
3smPFTto be ?pen on table
H: ayänib iwar tabəl
?pen 3smPFTtoeon table

60. *The house is inside the fence*

M: ehän iha äyalla/afäräj
H: ehän iha ammas n-äyalla

61. *The handle is on the door*

M: əsađəf iha ashär n-arməwar
Elhandle 3smPFTtoein Eltop/door of-wardrobe
H: əfuss intam dəy ashär / ashär iha afuss
hand 3smPFTfix in Eldoor / Eldoor 3smPFTtoein hand

62. *The cork is in the bottle*

M: ashär ihar butəl
H: tashärt təhar butəl

63. *The lamp is hanging from the ceiling*

M: tolay tefätelt dəy ehän / tefätelt təkireyrey dəy ehän
3sfPFThang Ellampe in ELhouse/ Ellampe 3sfPFThang in ELhouse
H: ənnor olay dəy äfalla n-ehän
EL?light 3smPFThang in ELroof of-ELhouse

64. *The boy is hiding behind the chair*

M: ähaləs iybar đarät šez
H: alyaq iffar đarät təsəqqäymut

65. *The tree is standing on top of the hill*

M: ahəšk iwar ejef
H: ahəšk iwar äfalla n-ejef

66. *The handles are on the bag*

M: isulay ähan šäkköš
?? 3pmPFTtoein bag
H: əsawəy n-šäkköš ikireyrey
Elcord of-bag 3smPFTThang

²⁴ äyanib (ə/-) stylo, crayon (pg.291; Prasse; 2003)

67. *The owl is sitting in the trunk of the tree*

M: egədəḍ iha anu dăy tadra n-ahəšk

H: egədəḍ iha tadra n-ahəšk

68. *The letters are on the shirt*

M: ikətban warən terəsweyt

H: akătab iwar ijərjar n-alyaḍ / akătab ija făll ijərjar n-alyaḍ

69. *The earring hangs on the ear*

M: tazəbut təha tanəbekt n-taməzzuyt

H: tazəbut təha (dăy) taməzzuyt²⁵ (pas enregistre)

70. *The apple is pierced through with a steel pin*

M: mangoro inbak-t anazmay

mango 3sm???- ??

H: pointi inbaj mangoro

nail 3smPFTcomeoutof mango

71. *The dog is laying in his dog house*

M: edi insa dăy em n-ahăn

dog 3smPFTtobe in mouth of-??house

H: edi iha em n-ahăn

dog 3smPFTtobein ELmouth of-??house

²⁵ from 69 to 71, the answers of Mr. H. were not taped anymore because the tape was full. I wrote down his answers. This makes it less reliable.

Appendix III

Movement Verbs

1. itajjāš edi n-tenāsse-net
The dog enters his house
2. Izajjār edi asānso-net
The dog leaves the(his) doghouse
3. tārjaš faḍimata fāll-kaḍārka wa iwarān ejārew
Fadimata walks over the bridge over the rive
4. tessibdād talyaḍt ešeḍ tārha ad-t-tāzzəm
The girl jumps on the donkey, she wants to ride it.
5. āhaləs ifāll - ifāll yisa ehān. itənsālif d-āddināt
Yisa leaves the house.
6. yarre fatime i-ad-dd iqqel
Fatima calls him to come back
7. Iqqāl-dd
He returns
8. – 9. Inhāy Yisa wašil ijjəḍḍ (irmāy iggād dāy azzal)
Yisa sees the lion jump out (... he enters into running)
10. Irhā ad-ijjaš ehān
He wants to enter the house
11. Ikka Ahmed tawāgost-net
Ahmed goes to his field
12. Efalān-dd ilyadān ehān əkka. Massān dāy tawagost. Təha Fatma tawāgost
əmallān-tāt-dd ilyaḍān
When the children come home, they go to the field where Fatima is.
13. Inkār Yisa fāll tasāqqaymut
Yisa stands up from the chair
14. Iggād ənkār fāll tasāqqaymut
He enters into standing up from the chair
15. Itajjāš egāḍeḍ ehān s-fənetār. Ifforāt egāḍeḍ har-dd eras ehān s-fənetār
The bird enters the house via the window.
16. Təzajār-dd tāxxut anu
The snake enters via the hole
17. Ošāl s-ehān iraqqān
he runs to the house that is burning.
18. Ajewādān āddināt i-efew n-ehān wa iraqqān. Išāj ezāh n-efew āddināt fāll-
ehān
The people run from the fire of the house that is burning.

19. Iqqāl-dd Āyali edāgg n-ehān wa iryān
Āyali returns to the place of the house that is burnt down.
20. Yallāy-dd. Tasārayt iman-net
The top is spinning by itself.
21. Yallāy-dd tasārayt iman-net hundāy har toḍa
It turns around, the spinner itself untill it falls
22. Irjaš Āxmudu ija āsakāy
Āxmudu walks while singing
23. Okay Axmudu daw tašdayt
Āxmudu walks under the palmtree
24. Asiwālōwāl aḍu tulōft.
The wind makes the flag move.

Abbreviations

AOR = Aorist
AUX = auxiliar verb
centrif. = centrifugal
centrip. = centripetal
comm.= committative
COP = copular verb
DAT/dat. = dative
DO = Direct Object
EL = état libre
EA = état d'annexion
fem. = feminine
IMPF = imperfective
IMP = imperative
INF = infinitive
IO = Indirect Object
LoPFT = Long Perfective
masc. = masculine
NegPFT = Negative Perfective
NEG = negation
O = Object
PFT = Perfective
PL = plural
PP = Prepositional/Postpositional Phrase
pers.pron. = personal pronoun
PRES = present
PROS = Prospective
PTC = participium
REL. CL = Relative Clause
S = Subject
sing. = singular
V = Verb
VENT = ventive
QUES = question marker
1s = first person singular
2s = second person singular
3s = third person singular
3sm = third singular masculine
3sf = third singular feminine
1p = first person plural
3p = third person plural
3pm = third plural masculine