



## Berber Languages and Linguistics

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### Introduction

Berber (aka Tamazight) is a branch of the Afro-Asiatic language phylum and counts about forty languages, which entirely cover North Africa, stretching from Morocco to Egypt, as well as from the Mediterranean Sea to the Sahara and the northern and western Sahel, including Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso. The number of Berber speakers is estimated at more than forty million, of which the majority lives in Morocco (about 70 percent speaks Berber, mainly along with other languages). Berber has a general “continuum” makeup, which means that one Berber language gradually merges into another Berber language when they are contiguous. As a result, Berber forms a tightly knit and coherent bloc, which makes its subclassification very tricky. On the typological level, three major subdivisions can be made. The first is Northern Berber, which mainly contains Tarifit (including Senhaja Berber; North, Northeast, and Northwest Morocco), Tamazight of the Middle Atlas (Central Morocco), Figuig Berber (East Morocco), Kabyle Berber (North Algeria), Tashawit (Aures, Northeast Algeria), and some oasis languages like Berber of Mzab (South Algeria) and of Ouargla (South Algeria). The second is Southern Berber, which comprises languages such as Zenaga (Mauritania), Tachelhit (South Morocco), and Tetseret and Tuareg Berber (Sahara, Sahel). The third is Eastern Berber, which includes languages such as Berber spoken in Siwa (West Egypt), Sokna and El-Fogaha (Fezzan, Central Libya), Yefren and Zuara (Tripolitania, North Libya), and Ghadames (East Libya), as well as all the Berber languages of Tunisia (e.g., Jerba, Tamazret, and Sened). Berber has its own writing system, tifinagh (Libyco-Berber script), an ancient indigenous system that the Tuaregs have preserved and developed and that has recently been renewed by other Berber peoples, especially in those countries where Berber acquired an official status, such as in Morocco and Algeria. Berber is also written in other scripts, generally Latin based or Arabic based. The latter script is also attested in manuscripts tracing back to ancient times.

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### General Overviews

There are no general overviews of the entire Berber family, but there are some general comparative introductions to Berber, such as the foundational work of Basset 1894 and later of Applegate 1971, Basset 1952, and Galand 1988. The latter contribution was recently worked out in more detail in Galand 2010.

**Applegate, Joseph R. 1971. *The Berber languages*. In *Afroasiatic: A survey*. Edited by Carleton T. Hodge, 96–118. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.**

A general introduction to some of the primary issues in Berber linguistics.

**Basset, André. 1952. *La langue berbère*. International African Institute. London and New York: Oxford Univ. Press.**

This detailed comparison of the Berber verbal morphology is an indisputable milestone in Berberology and still provides a valid framework for current linguistic descriptive and theoretical studies.

**Basset, René. 1894. *Études sur les dialectes berbères*. Paris: Leroux.**

The first comparative grammar of Berber, involving phonological, morphological, and lexical phenomena of about forty language varieties.

**Galand, Lionel. 1988. Le berbère. In *Les langues chamito-semitiques*. Vol. 3 of *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*. Edited by Jean Perrot, 207–242. Paris: Edition du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.**

A very solid overview of Berber's main comparative features.

**Galand, Lionel. 2010. *Regards sur le berbère*. Milan: Centro Studi Camito-Semitici.**

This landmark work provides the principal comparative-historical phenomena of Berber phonology, morphology, and syntax.

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## **Textbooks and Grammars**

There are no textbooks that cover the totality of the Berber language family, though many textbooks deal with individual languages. Some recent examples include El Mountassir 2009 and Prasse 2010. No comprehensive reference grammar of the individual Berber languages exists either, although some detailed descriptive grammars are available, such as Bentolila 1981, Chaker 1983, Heath 2005, Lux 2013, Mourigh 2016, Prasse 1972–2008a, and Prasse 1972–2008b. Some outdated grammatical descriptions were recently revisited, such as in van Putten 2014, which is based on Paradisi's work.

**Bentolila, Fernand. 1981. *Grammaire fonctionnelle d'un parler berbère: Aït Seghrouchen d'Oum Jeniba (Maroc)*. Paris: Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France.**

A comprehensive functionalist description of Aït Seghrouchen Berber (Northern Berber, Central Morocco).

**Chaker, Salem. 1983. *Un parler berbère d'Algérie (Kabylie): Syntaxe*. Aix-en-Provence, France: Univ. de Provence.**

A thorough description of Kabyle Berber (Northern Berber, North Algeria), with a special focus on syntax.

**El Mountassir, Abdallah. 2009. *Initiation au Tachelhit*. Paris: L'Asiathèque.**

This basic course introduces the reader to Tachelhit (Southern Berber, South Morocco) by means of grammar notes, vocabulary, and dialogues as well as a set of audio recordings.

**Heath, Jeffrey. 2005. *A grammar of Tamashek (Tuareg of Mali)*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.**

A detailed grammar of Tamashek (Southern Berber, Mali), with a special focus on phonology, noun phrase structure, and verbal morphology.

**Lux, Cécile. 2013. *Le tetserret, langue berbère du Niger: Description phonétique, phonologique et morphologique, dans une perspective comparative*. Berber Studies 38. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

The first description of Tetserret Berber (Southern Berber, Niger), which includes some comparisons with other Southern Berber languages.

**Mourigh, Khalid. 2016. *A grammar of Ghomara Berber (North-West Morocco)*. Berber Studies 45. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A descriptive grammar of Ghomara Berber (Northwest Morocco), including topics concerning the impact of Arabic on this Berber language.

**Prasse, Karl-G. 1972–2008a. *Manuel de grammaire touarègue (tahaggart)*. 3 vols. (I–VII: phonetics, phonology, morphology). Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.**

A three-volume foundational work on Tuareg Berber of Ahaggar (Southern Berber, South Algeria), covering many of the core features and constructions relating to phonetics, phonology, and morphology.

**Prasse, Karl-G. 1972–2008b. *Manuel de grammaire touarègue (tahaggart)*. 1 vol. (VIII–IX: syntax). Schwülper, Germany: Cargo.**

The final volume of Prasse's series of studies on Tuareg Berber of Ahaggar (Southern Berber, South Algeria), which is dedicated to syntax.

**Prasse, Karl-G. 2010. *Tuareg elementary course (Tahaggart)*. Berber Studies 29. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

This textbook forms an introduction to Tahaggart (Southern Berber, South Algeria), with a special focus on its verb system.

**van Putten, Marijn. 2014. *A grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya): Based on Paradisi's Work*. Berber Studies 41. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

An updated description of Awjila Berber (Eastern Berber, Libya), based on Paradisi's work.

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## Atlas and Geolinguistic Studies

The Atlas provided in Lafkioui 2007 is the first and so far only existing linguistic Atlas of its kind in the field of Berber studies. Albeit still important as a data source, Basset's geolinguistic studies—sometimes called "Atlases"—were very sketchy and primarily based on lexical material only, obtained via methods that would be regarded as questionable nowadays. Moreover, Lafkioui's Atlas fills the gap left in Berber geolinguistics since Basset 1959. Based on the state-of-the-art methodology and techniques as well as on the original data and findings, qualitative and quantitative classifications of the linguistic varieties of the Rif area were provided in Lafkioui 2008a and Lafkioui 2011, which include computational algorithmic classifications (dialectometry and lexicostatistics) and complexity phenomena. Furthermore, Lafkioui 2008b and Naït-Zerrad 2009 show how algorithmic classifications are valuable for other kind of linguistic classifications and sociolinguistic applications.

**Basset, André. 1959. *Articles de dialectologie berbère*. Paris: Klincksieck.**

A wide-ranging collection of papers on Berber dialectology, with a special focus on linguistic geography in its Part 2.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2007. *Atlas linguistique des variétés berbères du Rif*. Berber Studies 16. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

This monograph is a milestone in Berber geolinguistics because of its original findings regarding the highly complex language continuum of Tarifit (including Senhaja; North, Northeast, Northwest Morocco) as well as its pioneering methodological framework. The Atlas includes 356 maps and deals with a wide array of linguistic phenomena relating to phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon, plotted on 141 georeferenced points. It also provides numerous descriptive, comparative, and diachronic analyses.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2008a. Dialectometry analyses of Berber lexis. *Folia Orientalia* 44:71–88.**

This article presents both an algorithmic classification of the Berber lexis of Tarifit (Northern Berber; North, Northeast, and Northwest Morocco) and a critical overview of the various computational techniques verified for this purpose.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2008b. Pour la démarche géolinguistique de la standardisation des variétés amazighes du Rif. *Afrika Focus* 21.1: 97–102.**

A paper on how qualitative and quantitative geolinguistic methods and studies benefit linguistic classifications in general as well as language planning in Berber.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2011. How system-internal linguistic factors indicate language change and diffusion: A geolinguistic analysis of Berber data. *Dialectologia et Geolinguistica* 19:62–80.**

The article discusses how language change and diffusion in Tarifit (Northern Berber; North, Northeast, and Northwest Morocco) can be explained by system-internal factors. The phonological and morphological cases examined concern several innovation processes triggered by the vocalization of the liquids /r/ and /r̥/.

**Naït-Zerrad, Kamal. 2009. Le calcul de la distance linguistique appliqué au berbère: Exploration des concepts et méthodes. In *Études de phonétique et de linguistique berbères: Hommage à Naïma Louali (1961–2005)*. Edited by Salem Chaker, Amina Mettouchi, and Gérard Philippson, 341–354. Ussun amazigh—Maghreb-Sahara 23. Louvain, Belgium, and Paris: Peeters.**

An example of how dialectometry can be useful for other linguistic classifications in Berber.

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## Dictionaries

Some major Berber dictionaries are Benamara 2013 (Figuig); Dallet 1982 (Kabyle); Delheure 1987 (Wargli); Heath 2006 (Tamashek); Naït-Zerrad 1998–2002 (comparative); Oussikoum 2013 (Tamazight); Prasse, et al. 2003 (Tamajeq); Serhoual 2002 (Tarifit); Taifi 1991 (Tamazight); and Taine-Cheikh 2008 (Zenaga).

**Benamara, Hassane. 2013. *Dictionnaire amazighe-français: Parler de Figuig et ses régions*. Rabat, Morocco: Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe.**

A fine Figuig Berber–French dictionary of over eight hundred pages long.

**Dallet, Jean-Marie. 1982. *Dictionnaire kabyle-français: Parler des Ait Mangellat (Algérie)*. Paris: Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France.**

At over one thousand pages long and including an informative appendix with illustrations, Dallet's Kabyle Berber–French dictionary is a reference in Berber studies.

**Delheure, Jean. 1987. *Agerraw n iwalen teggargrent-tarumit/Dictionnaire ouargli-français*. Études ethno-linguistiques—Maghreb-Sahara de l'Université de Provence 5. Paris: Société des Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France.**

Delheure's Ouargli-French dictionary is a welcome addition to the study of Wargla Berber (Northern Berber, South Algeria), hitherto poorly documented.

**Heath, Jeffrey. 2006. *Dictionnaire Touareg du Mali: Tamachek-anglais-français*. Paris: Karthala.**

A good dictionary of Tamashek (Mali).

**Naït-Zerrad, Kamal. 1998–2002. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*. 3 vols. Ussun- Maghreb-Sahara 11, 14, 19. Paris and Louvain, Belgium: Peeters.**

A three-volume dictionary of the Berber roots attested and useful for comparative analysis.

**Oussikoum, Bennasser. 2013. *Dictionnaire amazighe-français/le parler des Ayt Wirra: Moyen atlas, Maroc*. Rabat, Morocco: Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe.**

This is a lengthy dictionary of 1021 pages on the Tamazight variety of Ayt Wirra (Central Morocco), which includes an informative grammatical presentation at the beginning.

**Prasse, Karl-G., Ghoubeïd Alojaly, and Ghabdouane Mohamed. 2003. *Dictionnaire touareg-français (Niger)*. 2 vols. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum.**

A two-volume dictionary including about forty thousand entries on Tuareg Berber of Niger (Tawelemmet and Tayert). An indubitable reference in Berber linguistics.

**Serhoual, Mohammed. 2002. *Dictionnaire tarifit-français*. PhD diss., Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi.**

This Tarifit-French dictionary of 745 pages forms Serhoual's PhD dissertation and is of good quality. It mainly concerns the Rif Berber variety of Ayt Saïd (Central Rif Berber).

**Taifi, Miloud. 1991. *Dictionnaire Tamazight-Français (Parlers du Maroc Central)*. Paris: L'Harmattan-Awal.**

This is a general but rich dictionary documenting Tamazight Berber (Northern Berber, Central Morocco).

**Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 2008. *Dictionnaire zénaga-français*. Berber Studies 20. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

This is a detailed Zenaga Berber (Southern Berber, Mauritania)–French dictionary, with a somewhat complex structure for the less experienced reader. Its French-Zenaga counterpart is also available.

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## Collective Volumes and Special Issues

The most consistently published group of collectively authored editions dedicated to Berber languages and linguistics relate to the biannually held Bayreuth-Frankfurt-Leidener Kolloquium (BAFRALE), whose proceedings appear in the series of Berber Studies, edited by Harry Stroomer and published by Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Other recent Berber collections covering a range of topics include Allati 2017; Chaker, et al. 2009; El Aissati 2008; Lafkioui and Brugnatelli 2008; and Mettouchi 2011. There are some recent special issues that deal with Berber linguistics, such as Bendjaballah and Ben Si Saïd 2015, which mainly concerns linguistic corpora, and Taine-Cheikh and Lux 2014, which focuses on typology.

**Allati, Abdelaziz, ed. 2017. *Auréoles berbères: Mélanges offerts à Michael Peyron*. Berber Studies 47. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A Festschrift for Michael Peyron, with a collection of articles covering Berber linguistics, literature, anthroponomy, and lexicography.

**Bendjaballah, Sabrina, and Samir Ben Si Saïd, eds. 2015. *Special issue: Constitution et usage de corpus en linguistique berbère*. CORPUS 14.**

A special issue on building and using corpora in Berber linguistics.

**Chaker, Salem, Amina Mettouchi, and Gérard Philippson, eds. 2009. *Études de phonétique et de linguistique berbères: Hommage à Naïma Louali (1961–2005)*. Ussun amazigh—Maghreb-Sahara 23. Louvain, Belgium, and Paris: Peeters.**

A Festschrift for late Naima Louali, with various articles on Berber linguistics, including detailed phonetic studies.

**El Aissati, Abderrahman, ed. 2008. *The Amazigh language at home and at school: Perspectives on oral discourse structure and academic language skills*. Berber Studies 21. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A collection of articles on the linguistic and sociolinguistic variation of Berber in Europe and in Morocco, with a particular focus on the debate on institutional education in Berber.

**Lafkioui, Mena B., and Vermondo Brugnatelli, eds. 2008. *Berber in contact: Linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Berber Studies 22. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A collective volume with chapters dealing with different forms of language contact involving Berber in both North Africa and its diaspora, approached from a linguistic and sociolinguistic perspective.

**Mettouchi, Amina, ed. 2011. *Parcours berbères: Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand pour leur 90e anniversaire*. Berber Studies 33. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A Festschrift for Paulette and Lionel Galand's ninetieth birthday, including a variety of articles ranging from linguistics and sociolinguistics to literature, culture, and history.

**Taine-Cheikh, Catherine, and Cécile Lux, eds. 2014. *Special issue: Berber in typological perspective*. *STUF—Language Typologie and Universals* 67.1.**

A special issue on the Berber languages, considered from a typological perspective.

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## Bibliography

The most comprehensive bibliography of Berber is Bougchiche 1997. There is also the online bibliography of the Langues et cultures du Nord de l'Afrique et diaspora – Centre de Recherche Berbère (LACNAD-CRB) at the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO, Paris), although it lacks many major works and it is not up to date.

**Bougchiche, Lamara. 1997. *Langues et littératures berbères des origines à nos jours: Bibliographie internationale systématique*. Paris: Ibis.**

A comprehensive annotated bibliography of the Berber languages and literatures, comprising six thousand entries relating to works of twenty-three hundred authors.

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## Journals, Book Series, and Encyclopedia

There are a number of journals dedicated to Berber languages and cultures, the main ones being *Asinag*, *Awal: Cahiers d'études berbères*, *Etudes et documents berbères*, and *Studi Magrebini*. Even though these journals publish articles dealing with linguistics, their scope also covers other disciplines of humanities. For linguistics-specific topics, scholars also publish on Berber in journals with a more African or general linguistics orientation. As for book series, the following three series are the most consistent and productive ones (alphabetically ordered): Berber Studies, Série Etudes, and Ussun amaziġ—Maghreb-Sahara. Berber also has Encyclopédie berbère as encyclopedia.

***Asinag*. 2008–.**

A journal published by the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM), dedicated to promote research on Berber (Amazigh) language and culture. It regularly publishes special issues.

***Awal: Cahiers d'études berbères. 1985–.***

This biannual journal founded in 1985 in Paris by Mouloud Mammeri and Tassadit Yacine is set up to enrich and diffuse the knowledge of Berber languages and cultures from all perspectives of humanities.

***Berber Studies. 2011–. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.***

A linguistic- and text-oriented series on Berber languages, published by Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. About two volumes appear per year and comprise monographs as well as collections of papers.

***Encyclopédie berbère. 1970–. Paris and Louvain, Belgium: Peeters.***

This encyclopedic series founded by Gabriel Camps in 1970 and under editorial supervision by Salem Chaker since 2002 offers a wide range of contributions to Berber studies including all disciplines of humanities. Numerous entries deal with linguistic topics. Volumes 1 (*Abadir-Acridophagie*) to 41 (*Rif-Rusuccensis*) have been published so far.

***Etudes et documents berbères. 1985–.***

This journal, issued by L'Harmattan, is dedicated to the study and documentation of Berber languages and cultures.

***Série Etudes. 2004–. Rabat, Morocco: Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe.***

A book series on Berber language and culture, including topics on linguistics.

***Studi Magrebini. 1966–.***

Although this journal, published by the Istituto Universitario L'Orientale, includes publications on North African Arabic, it is an important source of study on Berber languages and literatures.

***Ussun amaziğ—Maghreb-Sahara. 1995–. Louvain, Belgium, and Paris: Peeters.***

A book series on Berber linguistics and sociocultural anthropology, published by Peeters.

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## **Conferences and Proceedings**

There exists one major international conference series dedicated to Berber languages and linguistics, the Bayreuth-Frankfurt-Leidener Kolloquium zur Berberologie (BAFRALE), which is organized every two years by Ibrizsimow, Vossen, and Stroomer. The proceedings of the papers are regularly published by Rüdiger Köppe Verlag in the series of Berber Studies. The papers cover an array of topics, including descriptive issues as well as historical-comparative and typological issues, and form an important indication as to how Berber linguistics is progressing. The most recent proceedings volume, Ibrizsimow, et al. 2012, is dedicated to Berber syntax primarily.

**Ibrizsimow, Dymitr, Rainer Voßen, and Harry Stroomer, eds. 2012. *Études berbères VI: Essais sur la syntaxe et autres articles; Actes du "6. Bayreuth-Frankfurt-Leidener Kolloquium zur Berberologie," Bayreuth, 19–21 juillet 2010. Berber Studies 35. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.***

Proceedings of the 6. Bayreuth-Frankfurt-Leidener Kolloquium zur Berberologie, an international conference on Berber languages and linguistics, whose main theme was syntax.

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## Text Collections, Manuscripts, and Archives

There are many editions of diverse Berber traditional texts, including folktales, lyrics, epic literature, ethnographic and historiographic narration, and all kinds of religious texts. These written sources are not only capital for the purpose of linguistic analysis and the directly connected disciplines like sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and literature but also serve other domains of humanities, such as historical study for instance. Some collections of Berber texts with translations are, for example, Benamara 2016 for Figuig Berber (Northern Berber, East Morocco), Heath 2005 for Tuareg Berber from Mali (Southern Berber), Lafkioui and Merolla 2002 for Tashawit (Northern Berber, Northeast Algeria), Mitchel 2007 for Zuara Berber (Eastern Berber, Northeast Libya), and Schiattarella 2017 for Siwa Berber (Eastern Berber, West Egypt). Furthermore, there exists the Fonds Arsène Roux collection of Berber archives, installed at the Institut de recherches et d'études sur les mondes arabes et musulmans (IREMAM) in Aix-en-Provence, France. It contains a rich and diversified set of archives that document the Berber oral tradition of Central (Tamazight) and South (Tashelhit) Morocco during the colonial period. This collection contains more than two hundred manuscripts (mostly Latin based) covering a wide range of subjects, such as the religious tradition of the Berber peoples of the area, their customary law, medicine, and alchemy practices and canons. A catalogue of these Berber archives is given in Stroomer and Peyron 2003. Another important collection of Berber manuscripts is conserved in the library of Leiden University in the Netherlands and contains more than a hundred texts of the literary tradition of the Sous region (South Morocco), most of them composed in verse and in Arabic-based script. It also contains the oldest-known manuscript in Tashelhit Berber, authored by Ibrahim Aẓnag, as well as Awzal's *Bahr ad-dumū'* ("The ocean of tears"), which is considered to be the masterpiece of the Sous Tashelhit literary tradition (van den Boogert 1997). Other manuscripts that received attention lately are in Eastern Berber and mainly concern early Ibāḍī Islamic religious and cultural matters (South Tunisia, North Libya, East Algeria). The longest Berber manuscript studied at present is the *Mudawwana*, an Arabic-based compendium of over a thousand pages on Ibāḍī jurisprudence by Abū Ḡānim Bišr b. Ḡānim al-Ḥurāsānī, which probably goes back to the 10th and 15th centuries (see Brugnatelli 2015, Ould-Braham 2008). Various detailed studies on written sources about Berber ranging from Antiquity to contemporary times are presented in Lafkioui and Brugnatelli 2018.

**Benamara, Hassane. 2016. *Poésie berbère de Figuig (ancienne et moderne)*. Berber Studies 48. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A fine collection of Figuig Berber poetry (Northern Berber, East Morocco), including both ancient and contemporary works, with French translation.

**Brugnatelli, Vermondo. 2015. Manuscripts and oral sources: New perspectives for the studies on Eastern Berber and the history of its speakers. In *L'Africa, l'Oriente mediterraneo e l'Europa: Tradizioni e culture a confronto*. Edited by Paolo Nicelli, 29–43. Africana Ambrosiana 1. Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana.**

A philological presentation of the *Mudawwana* and of its linguistic and historical perspectives.

**Heath, Jeffrey. 2005. *Tamashek texts from Timbuktu and Kidal (Mali)*. Berber Studies 13. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

Annotated texts from Tamashek (Southern Berber, Mali), with translation into English.

**Lafkioui, Mena B., and Vermondo Brugnatelli. 2018. *Written sources about Africa and their study*. Africana Ambrosiana 3. Milan: Centro Ambrosiano.**

This volume is dedicated to the study of written sources about Africa from different historical periods (i.e., Antiquity, medieval, modern, and contemporary periods) and brings together various disciplines. A good deal of the book deals with Berber.

**Lafkioui, Mena B., and Daniela Merolla. 2002. *Contes berbères chaouis de l'Aurès, d'après Gustave Mercier*. Berber Studies 3. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A revised selection of Mercier's stories in Tashawit (Northern Berber, Northeast Algeria), a language that up to then was largely unexplored. The texts and their French translation are preceded by an informative linguistic and literary introduction.



**Mitchel, Terence Frederick. 2007. *Ferhat: An everyday story of Berber folk in and around Zuara (Libya)*. Berber Studies 17. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

The original version of the longest corpus of Zuaran Berber texts (Eastern Berber, Northeast Libya), translated into English and with a bibliography of prior linguistic studies on Zuaran Berber.

**Ould-Braham, Ouahmi. 2008. Sur un nouveau manuscrit ibāḍīte-berbère: La Mudawwana d'Abū Ḡānim al-Ḥurāsānī traduite en berbère au Moyen Âge. *Études et Documents Berbères* 27:47–71.**

An introduction to the Ibāḍī Berber manuscript *Mudawwana*, written in North African Arabic script.

**Schiattarella, Valentina. 2017. *Berber texts from Siwa (Egypt)*. Berber Studies 46. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A look at some Berber tales and riddles from Siwa (Eastern Berber, West Egypt), introduced by a grammatical sketch.

**Stroomer, Harry, and Michael Peyron. 2003. *Catalogue des archives berbères du "Fonds Arsène Roux"*. Berber Studies 6. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A precise catalogue of the Berber archives contained in "Fonds Arsène Roux."

**van den Boogert, Nico. 1997. *The Berber literary tradition of the Sous: With an edition and translation of "The ocean of tears" by Muhammad Awzal (d. 1749)*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.**

A thorough and insightful presentation of the Berber manuscript tradition of medieval North Africa, including grammatical and lexical descriptions.

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## Prehistoric Epigraphy

Berber has a tradition of studying its oldest inscriptions, which date back to Antiquity and are written in Tifinagh, also called Libyco-Berber script. Significant insights are given in Galand 2001, Pichler 2007, and Springer Bunk 2014.

**Galand, Lionel. 2001. Un vieux débat: L'origine de l'écriture libyco-berbère. *Lettre de l'AARS* 20:21–24.**

A concise but solid overview of the debate on the origin of the Libyco-Berber script, with some convincing arguments in favor of its indigenous origin.

**Pichler, Werner. 2007. *Origin and development of the Libyco-Berber script*. Berber Studies 15. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A critical survey of the various hypotheses on the origin of the Libyco-Berber script since the 19th century, with a special focus on the scripts used in Morocco and the Canary Islands.

**Springer Bunk, Renata Ana. 2014. *Die libysch-berberischen Inschriften der Kanarischen Inseln in ihrem Felsbildkontext*. Berber Studies 42. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

An epigraphical study of the Libyco-Berber inscriptions of the Canary Islands, which indicates that the estimated date of settlement on these islands matches the period of the use of this script in North Africa.

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## Phonetics

Phonetics has been attracting more interest lately from scholars in Berber linguistics, including acoustic studies on gemination and syllabification in Bouarourou, et al. 2014; Louali and Maddieson 1999; Ouakrim 1994; Puech and Louali 1999; and Ridouane 2007 as well as on vowelless syllables in Ridouane 2008 and on vowel quantity and quality in Louali 2000.

**Bouarourou, Fayssal, Béatrice Vaxelaire, Yves Laprie, Rachid Ridouane, Marion Bechet, and Rudolph Sock. 2014. Plosive and fricative geminates in Tarifit: An articulatory and acoustic study. Paper presented in Cologne, Germany, 5–8 May 2014. In *Proceedings of the 10th International Seminar on Speech Production (ISSP)*. Edited by Susanne Fuchs, Martine Grice, Anne Hermes, Leonardo Lancia, and Doris Mücke, 45–48. n.p.: International Seminar on Speech Production.**

An articulatory and acoustic study of singleton and geminate voiced and voiceless consonants in Tarifit (Northern Berber, North Morocco).

**Louali, Naima. 2000. Vocalisme berbère et voyelles touarègues. In *Etudes berbères et chamito-sémitiques: Mélanges offerts à Karl-G. Prasse*. Edited by Salem Chaker and Andrzej Zaborski, 263–276. Louvain, Belgium, and Paris: Peeters.**

An instrumental examination of the basic vowels of five Berber languages, that is, Rif Berber (Iznasen and Temsaman), Tashawit (Kays), Tachelhit (Anezi), Tamazight (Aït Sadden), and Tawellemmet (Abalagh).

**Louali, Naima, and Ian Maddieson. 1999. Phonological contrast and phonetic realization: The case of Berber stops. In *Proceedings of the 14th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, San Francisco, 1–7 August 1999*. Edited by John J. Ohala, Yoko Hasegawa, Manjari Ohala, Daniel Granville, and Ashlee C. Bailey, 603–606. Berkeley: Univ. of California.**

An instrumental study that addresses the contrast between singleton and geminate plosives when spirantized, which usually transforms into a contrast between fricative and plosive in Berber. Duration seems to be the underlying distinctive phonetic parameter.

**Ouakrim, Omar. 1994. Un paramètre acoustique distinguant la gemination de la tension consonantique. *Etudes et Documents Berbères* 11:197–203.**

An acoustic verification whether geminates are monophonemic tense consonants.

**Puech, Gilbert, and Naima Louali. 1999. Syllabification in Berber: The case of Tashlhiyt. In *Proceedings of the 14th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, San Francisco, 1–7 August 1999*. Edited by John J. Ohala, Yoko Hasegawa, Manjari Ohala, Daniel Granville, and Ashlee C. Bailey, 747–750. Berkeley: Univ. of California.**

An acoustic study of the way syllabification is organized in Tachelhit (Southern Berber, South Morocco), a language wherein all phonetic units, unvoiced stops as well, seem to function as syllabic.

**Ridouane, Rachid. 2007. Gemination in Tashlhiyt Berber: An acoustic and articulatory study. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 27.2: 119–142.**

An instrumental verification of the general claim that geminates in Tachelhit (Southern Berber, South Morocco) are simple segments that are discriminated from their corresponding singletons mainly by tenseness.

**Ridouane, Rachid. 2008. Syllables without vowels: Phonetic and phonological evidence from Tashlhiyt Berber. *Phonology* 25:1–39.**

An acoustic and electropalatographic investigation of the way vowelless syllables are phonetically structured in Tachelhit (Southern Berber, South Morocco).

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## Phonology

A large part of the Berber phonological debate has always centered around the phenomena of gemination, syllables and syllabification, like in Bensoukas 2001, Boukous 2009, Dell and Elmedlaoui 2002, and Saib 1976, whose formalist studies complement the historical-comparative and geolinguistic accounts presented in Galand 1997 and Lafkioui 2007 (cited under Atlas and Geolinguistic Studies, Part 2), for instance. The phenomenon of spirantization has also attracted particular attention in Berber studies, for which Kossmann 1999, Lafkioui 2006a, and Lafkioui 2007 (cited under Atlas and Geolinguistic Studies, pp. 38–58) provide some historical-comparative insights. In addition, vocalization and vowel quantity and quality have been the object of increased study, as is shown in Chtatou 1994, Lafkioui 2006b, Lafkioui 2007 (cited under Atlas and Geolinguistic Studies, pp. 17–37), Lafkioui 2011 (cited under Atlas and Geolinguistic Studies), Prasse 1972–2008a and Prasse 1972–2008b (both cited under Textbooks and Grammars), and Prasse 1975. These studies point to the fact that Berber can be divided into those languages with a basic vowel system consisting of the vowels /i/, /u/, and /a/ (the majority) and those with an extended system (the minority), to which belong Central Tarifit (Northern Berber, North Morocco) and Tuareg (Southern Berber, Sahara, Sahel). All these Berber questions are also of relevance to current general theories in phonology, whether considered within the typological-functional or formalist framework.

**Bensoukas, Karim. 2001. *Stem forms in the nontemplatic morphology of Berber*. PhD diss., Mohammad V University.**

A detailed study in optimality theory of the syllable structure in Tashelhit Berber (Southern Berber, South Morocco), including the prosodic morphological analysis of gemination and phenomena such as stem allomorphy, epenthesis, and vowel copying.

**Boukous, Ahmed. 2009. *Phonologie de l'amazighe. Etudes 10*. Rabat, Morocco: Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe.**

An insightful book dedicated to the phonology of Tashelhit (Southern Berber, South Morocco) and which provides an updated overview of various issues on which the author has published before.

**Chtatou, Mohamed. 1994. *La représentation vocalique dans les dialectes berbères du Rif. Etudes et Documents berbères 11:177–196*.**

An overview of the vowel system in Tarifit (only the varieties of Central Tarifit are considered; Northern Berber, North Morocco).

**Dell, François, and Mohamed Elmedlaoui. 2002. *Syllables in Tashlhiyt Berber and in Moroccan Arabic*. Kluwer International Handbooks in Linguistics 2. Dordrecht, The Netherlands, and Boston: Kluwer Academic.**

A work on generative phonology of Tashelhit (Southern Berber, South Morocco), with a special focus on its particular syllable structure, which has complex consonant sequences in the surface representations. Geminate consonants are extensively considered in this study, based on the claim that singleton/geminate contrast is one of phonological length.

**Galand, Lionel. 1997. *Les consonnes tendues du berbère et leur notation. Linguistique Africaine 19:57–77*.**

An alternative view on geminates, arguing that long and short consonants are contrasted by means of the tense/lax feature.

**Kossmann, Maarten. 1999. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

An attempt at historical reconstruction of a number of phonological phenomena in Berber, based on preceding contributions such as Prasse 1972–2008a and Prasse 1972–2008b (both cited under Textbooks and Grammars) and Prasse 1975 and on the comparison of a set of documented Berber languages.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2006a. *La spirantisation dynamique de la vélaire occlusive simple /k/ dans les variétés berbères du Rif. Studi Magrebini, Studi Berberi e Mediterranei, Nuova Serie 3:219–228*.**

A diachronic study of the spirantization of the velar /k/ in Tarifit (Northern Berber; North, Northeast, and Northwest Morocco), based on the geolinguistic data of the Atlas of the Rif (see Lafkioui 2007, cited under Atlas and Geolinguistic Studies, pp. 38–58). It also includes

a historical-comparative reconstruction of this consonant in Berber.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2006b.** La vocalisation des alvéolaires /r/ et /rr/ dans les variétés berbères du Rif. In *Etudes berbères III: Le nom, le pronom et autres articles; Actes du 3. Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie, 1–3 juillet 2004*. Edited by Dymitr Ibriszimow, Rainer Vossen, and Harry Stroomer, 175–184. *Berber Studies* 14. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

A detailed phonological study of the vocalization phenomenon of /r/ and /rr/ across the Rif Berber language continuum (Northern Berber; North, Northeast, Northwest Morocco), including new developments and findings on the matter.

**Prasse, Karl-G. 1975.** The reconstruction of Proto-Berber short vowels. Paper delivered at the University of London, 18–20 March 1970. In *Hamito-Semitic: Proceedings of the 1st Colloquium on Hamito-Semitic Linguistics*. Edited by James Bynon and Theodora Bynon, 215–231. Paris and The Hague: Mouton.

A major contribution to the linguistic historical reconstruction of the short vowels in Proto-Berber.

**Saib, Jilali. 1976.** A phonological study of Tamazight Berber: Dialect of the Ayt Nahir. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

An extensive generative phonological study of Tamazight (Northern Berber, Central Morocco), with coverage of many topics including geminate consonants, whose contrast with singletons is regarded as a phonological length question, a view hitherto widely accepted among generativists.

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## Morphology

One of the topics that attracted much attention in Berber morphological studies is the origin of the prefix *w(a)-* of masculine nouns. An interesting diachronic scenario is recently developed in Brugnatelli 1998. The prefix would be the result of the grammaticalization of former demonstrative pronouns that became articles before their reanalysis as an inflectional prefix. Another well-studied matter of noun morphology in Berber is its state, that is, the two inflectional forms of independent versus dependent state, for which Berber provides the typologically rather unusual phenomenon of marked nominative, as is explained in Aikhenvald 1990, Brugnatelli 1997, and Mettouchi and Frajzyngier 2013. A detailed geolinguistic study of the inflectional forms of the noun is given for Rif Berber (including Senhaja Berber, Northern Berber) in Lafkioui 2007 (cited under Atlas and Geolinguistic Studies, pp. 113–115), which demonstrates that those cases of dependent state nouns without the preposed possessive are generally the result of assimilation with the subsequent noun. This analysis confirms the findings presented in Galand 1966a and in Brugnatelli 1997, consistent with, for example, Prasse 1972–2008a and Prasse 1972–2008b (cited under Textbooks and Grammars). As for the Berber pronoun, Galand 1966b provides an important general historical-comparative analysis, whereas Lafkioui 2007 (cited under Atlas and Geolinguistic Studies, see pp. 116–136) accounts for its highly complex system of dependent (affixes, clitics) and independent pronouns in Rif Berber (Northern Berber, including Senhaja). Research on the verbal morphology of Berber has been focused primarily on Tense–aspect–mood (TAM), derivation and state verbs, which are dealt with in, for example, Cadi 1987, Lafkioui 2007 (cited under Atlas and Geolinguistic Studies, pp. 164–205), Leguil 2000, and Prasse 1972–2008a and Prasse 1972–2008b (cited under Textbooks and Grammars). Major comparative overviews are given in Basset 1952 (cited under General Overviews) and Galand 1977. One of the assumptions underlying these studies is that roots consist of consonants only, as is also observed in, for example, Naït-Zerrad 1998–2002 (cited under Dictionaries). Because of its significant irregularity, root formation and derivation in Berber poses particular theoretical challenges for scholarship in both Berber and general linguistics. Furthermore, Berber's verbal system has been the object of some remarkable innovations, which are extensively presented in Lafkioui 2018 and Leguil 2000.

**Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 1990.** On Berber case in the light of Afroasiatic languages. Paper presented at a conference held in Vienna, 1987. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*. Edited by Hans G. Mukarovski, 113–119. Vienna: Afro-Pub.

An interesting comparative look at case marking in Berber.

**Brugnatelli, Vermondo. 1997. L'état d'annexion en diachronie. Paper presented at the 8th Italian Meeting of Afroasiatic Linguistics, held in Naples, Italy, 25–26 January 1996. In *Afroasiatica Neapolitana: Contributi presentati all'8° Incontro di Linguistica Afroasiatica (Camito-Semítica)*. Edited by Alessandro Bausi and Mauro Tosco, 139–150. Studi Africanistici: Seria Etiopica 6. Naples, Italy: Istituto Univ. Orientale.**

An important contribution to the understanding of the dependent state and its origin in Berber.

**Brugnatelli, Vermondo. 1998. La morphologie des noms berbères en *w-*: Considérations diachroniques. In *Actes du Premier Congrès Chamito-sémitique de Fès (12–13 mars 1997)*. Edited by Mohamed Elmedlaoui, Saïd Gafaiti, and Fouad Saa, 51–67. Fes, Morocco: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaine Sais-Fès.**

A diachronic analysis of the *w-* prefix of Berber nouns, which is regarded here as a former demonstrative.

**Cadi, Kaddour. 1987. *Système verbal rifain: Forme et sens*. Paris: Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France.**

A detailed morphosyntactic study of the verb system of the Iqel'iyen variety of Tarifit (Central Tarifit, Northern Berber, North Morocco).

**Galand, Lionel. 1966a. La construction du nom complément de nom en berbère. *Comptes rendus du G.L.E.C.S.* 10:166–172.**

A seminal paper on noun phrase complements, including findings on the origin of the dependent state of the noun, which would relate to demonstratives.

**Galand, Lionel. 1966b. Les pronoms personnels en berbère. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 61.1: 286–298.**

A general historical-comparative analysis of the personal pronoun in Berber.

**Galand, Lionel. 1977. Continuité et renouvellement d'un système verbal: Le cas du berbère. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 72.1: 275–303.**

An influential paper on the verbal system in Berber and its linguistic historical developments.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2018. The imperfective in Berber: Evidence of innovated forms. In *Perspectives in Afro-Asiatic linguistics*. Edited by Mauro Tosco, 85–103. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.**

This article analyzes in detail the innovated morphological oppositions and the semantic distinctions of which the imperfective in Berber has been the subject.

**Leguil, Alphonse. 2000. Une opposition fluctuante en touareg. In *Études berbères et chamito-sémitiques: Mélanges offerts à Karl-G. Prasse*. Edited by Salem Chaker and Andrzej Zaborski, 257–262. Paris and Louvain, Belgium: Peeters.**

A comparative study of the series of secondary morphological verbal oppositions that Tuareg Berber has developed.

**Mettouchi, Amina, and Zygmunt Frajzyngier. 2013. A previously unrecognized typological category: The state distinction in Kabyle (Berber). *Linguistic Typology* 17:1–30.**

A study of the functional distinction between the dependent and independent states of Berber nouns, arguing that the dependent state in Berber forms a hitherto unrecognized typological category.

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## Syntax

Berber languages provide numerous syntactic phenomena that are typologically interesting, among which those related to the expression of sentential and constituent negation, considered from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective and including various grammaticalization features and constructions. Brugnatelli 2014 and Galand 1994, for instance, examine negation marking in Berber from a general diachronic perspective, whereas Lafkioui 2013b (cited under Language Contact) addresses a specific case of negation diachrony, that is, the grammatical origin of the negator NEG \_\_\_ *bu* in Tarifit (North Morocco), involving various grammaticalization and language contact issues. Mettouchi 2009 explores the negation system of Berber from a synchronic viewpoint, based on data of some different Berber languages. Clause linking and chaining has also received some attention in Berber linguistics. Leguil 1992 and Leguil 2002, for instance, point to the particular connection between clausal hierarchy and verbal morphology in Berber, which is briefly considered in Mauri 2015 for Ayt Atta Berber (Southeast Morocco). Moreover, Chaker 1995 (chapter 7), Lafkioui 2002, and Lafkioui 2009 account for the significant role prosody plays in clause linking and chaining in Berber.

**Brugnatelli, Vermondo. 2014. Berber negation in diachrony. In *The diachrony of negation*. Edited by Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen and Jacqueline Visconti, 167–183. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.**

A significant diachronic survey of the negation system in Berber.

**Chaker, Salem. 1995. *Linguistique berbère: Etudes de syntaxe et de diachronie*. Paris and Louvain, Belgium: Peeters.**

A book presenting some important syntactic issues of Kabyle Berber (Northern Berber, North Algeria) as well as some diachronic issues of a more pan-Berber nature.

**Galand, Lionel. 1987. Les emplois de l'aoriste sans particule en berbère. In *Proceedings of the Fourth International Hamito-Semitic Congress: Marburg, 20–22 September 1983*. Edited by Herrmann Jungraithmayr and Walter W. Mueller, 361–379. *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 44. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.**

A paper on the functions of the aorist in the Berber verbal system, including the issue of clause chaining.

**Galand, Lionel. 1994. La négation en berbère. *Matériaux Arabes et Sudarabiques* 6:169–181.**

A comparative outline of the negation system in Berber.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2002. L'intonation et ses fonctions syntaxiques en rifain. In *Articles de linguistique berbère: Mémoial Werner Vycichl*. Edited by Kamal Naït-Zerrad, 253–281. Paris: L'Harmattan.**

A detailed study of the syntactic functions of intonation parameters in Tarifit (Northern Berber, North Morocco).

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2009. L'intonation et sa fonction de structurateur hiérarchique des syntagmes propositionnels sans indice morphématique: Le cas du tarifit. In *Etudes de phonétique et linguistique berbères*. Edited by Salem Chaker, Gérard Philippson, and Amina Mettouchi, 109–121. *Maghreb-Sahara* 23. Paris and Louvain, Belgium: Peeters.**

A study of the essential role of prosody in structuring information on a syntactic and discursive level in Tarifit (Northern Berber, North Morocco), including various prosodic clause linking mechanisms.

**Leguil, Alphonse. 1992. *Structures prédicatives en berbère: Bilan et perspectives*. Paris: L'Harmattan.**

A reference work on the morphosyntax of predication in Berber, considered from a functionalist perspective.

**Leguil, Alphonse. 2002. La corrélation d'enchaînement en berbère. In *Articles de linguistique berbère: Méorial Werner Vycíchl*. Edited by Kamal Naït-Zerrad, 283–291. Paris: L'Harmattan.**

A paper on the morphosyntax of clause chaining in Berber and its relationship with verbal morphology.

**Mauri, Simone. 2015. Formal and functional properties of grammatical aspect in Ayt Atta Tamazight. PhD diss., University of London.**

A PhD dissertation on the morphosyntax of aspect in Tamazight spoken in the Ayt Atta area (Northern Berber, Southeast Morocco).

**Mettouchi, Amina. 2009. The system of negation in Berber. In *Negation patterns in West African languages and beyond*. Edited by Norbert Cyffer, Erwin Ebermann, and Georg Ziegelmeyer, 287–306. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.**

An overview of some salient properties of negation marking in Berber.

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## The Syntax-Prosody-Pragmatics Interface

Addressed topics in Berber linguistics that are of particular relevance for general linguistic theories concern the complex and subtle interface between syntax, prosody, and pragmatics and include research on topicalization and focalization. Lafkioui 2011a examines, from a comparative perspective, the pragmatic strategy of topicalization in Berber and its intricate relationship with intonation. Furthermore, Lafkioui 2014 deals with topicalization in Berber from a typological perspective and provides its major syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic properties, which point to a tight formal and functional interdependency between them. As for focalization, Chaker 1998 presents a concise general outline of this issue in Berber and discusses whether it should be regarded as a syntactic phenomenon or a discursive phenomenon. Mettouchi 2003, on the other hand, explores contrastive focus phenomena in Kabyle Berber (Northern Berber, North Algeria) and suggests that the it-clefts in question have a different prosodic configuration compared to the prosodic properties of other languages of the world examined in this respect. Roetger 2017 provides an acoustic analysis of a set of contrastive focus constructions in Tashelhit (Southern Berber, South Morocco). Prosody also plays a vital role in the predication of noun phrases, which in many Berber languages are complex in nature and functioning, as is demonstrated in Lafkioui 1999, Lafkioui 2006, and Lafkioui 2011b.

**Chaker, Salem. 1998. Focalisation. In *Filage–Gastel*. Vol. 19 of *Encyclopédie berbère*. Edited by Gabriel Camps, 2865–2868. Aix-en-Provence, France: Edisud.**

A brief overview of the major focus constructions in Berber.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 1999. Syntaxe intégrée de l'énoncé non-verbal berbère. PhD diss., Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales.**

An in-depth typological study of the interface between morphosyntax, semantics, and pragmatics of noun phrase constructions in Tarifit (Northern Berber, North Morocco), including comparative examinations with other Berber languages for each noun phrase type.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2006. Complémentarité syntactico-énonciative entre morphèmes et intonèmes: Le cas du berbère. *Faits de Langues* 27:141–149.**

A study of the interdependent relationship between syntax-prosody-pragmatics in Tarifit (Northern Berber, North Morocco) noun phrase utterances, including instrumental analysis.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2011a. Intonation et topicalisation en berbère. In *Parcours berbères: Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet & Lionel Galand pour leur 90ème anniversaire*. Edited by Amina Mettouchi, 387–339. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A comparative examination of topicalization in Berber and the role of intonation in this pragmatic strategy.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2011b. *Etudes de la variation et de la structuration linguistiques et sociolinguistiques en berbère du Rif*. Berber Studies 32. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

This book presents detailed studies on language variation and structuring in Rif Berber (Northern Berber, North, Northeast, Northwest Morocco), including the formal and functional typology of non-verbal predication, intonation and its structuring role in oral discourse, a general typology of speech acts, and the study of certain structural geolinguistic phenomena.

**Lafkioui, Mena B. 2014. Topicalization in Berber: A typological perspective. *Language Typology and Universals* 67.1: 75–88.**

A comprehensive study of topicalization in Berber, considered from a typological perspective.

**Mettouchi, Amina. 2003. Focalisation contrastive et structure de l'information en kabyle (berbère). In *Fonctions et moyens d'expression de la focalisation*. Edited by Jean François and Anne Lacheret, 81–97. Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, Nouvelle Série 13. Paris and Louvain, Belgium: Peeters.**

An interesting paper on contrastive focus constructions in Kabyle Berber (Northern Berber, North Algeria).

**Roetger, Timo B. 2017. *Tonal placement in Tashlhiyt: How an intonation system accommodates to adverse phonological environments*. Studies in Laboratory Phonology 3. Berlin: Language Science.**

A quantitative study that explores stress and intonation in Tashelhit (Southern Berber, South Morocco).

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## Language Contact

Scholars in Berber linguistics have lately taken a great interest in language contact in the region of North Africa (including Sahara and northern and western Sahel) as well as in its diaspora, which is examined in, for example, Lafkioui 2008, which concentrates on bilingual Berber-Dutch code-switching. Although most studies are dedicated to lexical borrowing issues, as in Kossmann 2005 and Souag 2013b for Saharan and sub-Saharan lexical influence, some recent studies involving grammar and hence more deep forms of language contact are also available. Some recent studies on grammar issues involving language contact are presented in Christiansen-Bolli 2010, Kossmann 2013, Lafkioui 2013a, Lafkioui 2013b, Lafkioui 2013c, Lafkioui and Brugnatelli 2008 (cited under Collective Volumes and Special Issues), Mourigh 2016 (cited under Textbooks and Grammars), Souag 2013a, and Tilmatine 2011, even if the direction of this kind of contact is sometimes difficult to prove, especially with respect to Berber-Arabic contact.

**Christiansen-Bolli, Regula. 2010. *A grammar of Tadaksahak: A Berberised Songhay language (Mali)*. Berber Studies 31. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A thorough description of Tadaksahak, a strongly Berberized Songhay language (Northern Songhay, Nilo-Saharan) spoken in East Mali and West Niger. It shows by means of numerous cases how this Songhay language has been deeply affected by contact with Tuareg Berber.

**Kossmann, Maarten. 2005. *Berber loanwords in Hausa*. Berber Studies 12. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.**

A study of a set of Berber loanwords in Hausa, based on the works of Claude Gouffé and Neil Skinner.

**Kossmann, Maarten. 2013. *The Arabic influence on northern Berber*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.**

An overview of some effects of a prolonged contact between Arabic and a group of Northern Berber languages, mainly from the perspective of the latter affected group, including grammatical and lexical issues.



Lafkioui, Mena B. 2008. Identity construction through bilingual Amazigh-Dutch “digital” discourse. In *Berber in contact: Linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Edited by Mena B. Lafkioui and Vermondo Brugnatelli, 217–231. Berber Studies 22. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

A study of Berber-Dutch code-switching in computer-mediated discourse.

Lafkioui, Mena B. 2013a. Reinventing negation patterns in Moroccan Arabic. In *African Arabic: Approaches to dialectology*. Edited by Mena B. Lafkioui, 51–94. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

A comprehensive study on how new negation patterns are created in Moroccan Arabic (Oujda region, Northeast Morocco) through contact with Berber (Tarifit, North Morocco), affecting the morphological data as well as the related syntactic structuring and semantic functioning.

Lafkioui, Mena B. 2013b. Negation, grammaticalization and language change in North Africa: The case of the negator NEG \_\_\_bu. In *Tilelli: Scritti in onore di Vermondo Brugnatelli*. Edited by Giorgio Arcodia, Federica da Milano, Gabriele Iannàccaro, and Paolo Zublena, 113–130. Cesena, Italy, and Rome: Caissa Italia.

This article examines the grammatical origin of the negator NEG \_\_\_bu, which has been created in Moroccan Arabic (Oujda, Northeast Morocco) by contact with Tarifit Berber. It develops two main diachronic scenarios: (1) the grammaticalization of a verbal form related to *iba* “there is no” and presently occurring in Tuareg Berber and (2) the grammaticalization of the nominal head *bu*, attested in Berber as well as in Arabic.

Lafkioui, Mena B., ed. 2013c. *African Arabic: Approaches to dialectology*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

This book studies from a dialectological perspective various African Arabic varieties. Different specific linguistic aspects related to phonetics and phonology as well as to morphology, syntax, and lexicology are discussed. Furthermore, the African Arabic theme is also approached from a more general perspective analyzing the contact effects on linguistic features and systems from a broader typological and universal viewpoint. The volume contains a great deal of contact phenomena involving Berber.

Souag, Lameen. 2013a. *Berber and Arabic in Siwa (Egypt): A study in linguistic contact*. Berber Studies 37. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

This work addresses the contact history of Siwa Berber (Eastern Berber, West Egypt) with respect to Arabic, of which different varieties from different time periods seem to have been involved, with a special focus on loanwords and calques.

Souag, Lameen. 2013b. Sub-Saharan lexical influence in North African Arabic and Berber. In *African Arabic: Approaches to dialectology*. Edited by Mena B. Lafkioui, 211–236. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

A sound investigation of the impact of trans-Saharan trade—in particular the importation of slaves from the Sahel—on the linguistic landscape and the history of the region, a field that remains virtually undocumented despite the existence of significant study material, with an overview of sub-Saharan loans across North Africa.

Tilmatine, Mohand. 2011. Berber and Arabic language contact. In *The Semitic languages: An international handbook*. Edited by Stefan Weninger, 1001–1014. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

An informative outline of linguistic features relating to the Berber-Arabic language contact.

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