Spatial Deixis in Moroccan Tachelhit Variety

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1. INTRODUCTION

One property that is unique to languages is conventionalism. This property allows the speakers of a certain speech community to use words agreeably irrespective of person, place, or time. A word such as '*cat*' represents the same thing for all the English-speaking people, a small feline furry mammal that is often kept as a pet. '*Chat*' and '*mao*' stand for the same animal in the French and Chinese communities, respectively. The use of the words *cat*, *chat*, and *mao* by the speakers of these communities will undoubtedly refer to the same thing regardless of the speaker, place, or time of speaking. A language in that sense is conventional.

However, there are some words whose meaning is context-bound, and their interpretation varies depending on who, to whom, when, and where they are used. A sentence such as `*there it is, bring it here*´ cannot be understood unless we know its immediate physical context. The sentence has what the Norwegian psycholinguist Ragnar Rommetveit (in Fillmore 1975) refers to as deictic anchorage. Deixis is a word of Greek origin that means `pointing' or `indicating' (Bühler 1934). Words that are used to point to space are called spatial deixis. In the above sentence, `*there*´ and `*here*´ are two spatial deictic expressions that point to a distant and a close place, respectively. The distinction can also be made depending on whether the movement is toward (e.g. come) or away (e.g. go) from the location of the speaker (Yule 1996). This research paper aims

at investigating deictic property and providing a pragmatic description of how spatial deixis operates in Berber.

1.1. Tamazight: A revitalized language

Berber is a branch of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. The map (see the appendix) shows the Berber-speaking regions in North Africa. Berber is not spoken only in North Africa, but also in Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Tetserret in Niger. This research paper is mostly concerned with Tachelhit variety in Morocco, and the map shows where the three varieties are spoken. 'Berber' remains a term widely used to refer to this language family (especially in English). However, this paper uses the term 'Tamazight' to refer to this language family since it is gaining space in the scientific field. Tamazight is spoken by 35-40 % of the Moroccan population, and it exists in three varieties that cover the mountainous regions of Morocco (Chaker & Mettouchi 2006). Tarifit is spoken in the Rif or the north; Tamazight is spoken in the central parts; Tachelhit is spoken in southwest Morocco. Tachelhit, which is the concern of this paper, is the language of the speakers who call themselves Shlhi (Chaker & Mettouchi 2006).

Even though the Amazigh issue was mentioned in the speech of the King Hassan II in 1994, it is with the speech of the king Mohammed VI in 2001 (Throne Speech and the Ajdir Speech) that marked a turning point to the Amazigh language to be official along with the creation of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM)). The institute holds as a mission the promotion of Amazigh culture and its integration in media, school, and public life (Boukous 2011). Tamazight was used only in family and street. But after the standardization, Tamazight became the name of one of Morocco's official languages in 2001 that expanded to cover not only education, but administration and the media as well. (Ennaji and Sadiqi 2008).

1.2. Statement of the problem

A myriad of research has been undertaken to study deixis in English. Lyons (1995), Levinson (1983), Yule (1996), Leech and Svartvrik (2002), and Cruse (2006) are among the scholars who have contributed to this field with their insights on how deictic system operates in English. However, despite this rise of scholarly interest, little attention has been given to investigate how deixis operates in Tachelhit.

Linguists of Tamazight such as Sadiqi, Abdel-Massih, and Boukhris did not deal with spatial deixis as pragmatic elements that are context-bound, but rather as grammatical categories that are devoid of pragmatic description. They only and solely describe these elements from a morpho-syntactic viewpoint. A pragmatically in-depth treatment will bring about informative insights on how spatial deixis system operates in Tachelhit and thus on how effective communication takes place. That is not to prefer pragmatic description on the detriment of grammar. Rather, a morpho-syntactic and pragmatic descriptions are both essentially needed to gain a full spectrum understanding of spatial deixis in Tachelhit.

The current research's mission is to investigate the problem which is stated as the following question: What kind of means does Tachelhit offer its speaker for spatial deictic reference? The study has the following objectives:

- To establish a descriptive framework of the spatial deixis in Tachelhit.

- To investigate the means for spatial deictic reference in Tachelhit.

- To investigate whether Tachelhit is a three-term or four-term system of demonstratives and adverbs of place.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section presents different definitions of deixis and how it differs from reference. It then outlines the kinds and modes of deixis, paving the way to the realm of demonstratives and adverbs and culminating with deictic vowel iconicity. Examples from languages with different typological features such as English, Latin, Turkish, Indonesian, and Bantu are considered for cross-linguistic comparison.

2.1. Definition of deixis

Deixis is a significant feature of all languages. 90% of the utterances we produce are deictic in nature. This fact nominates deixis as a pragmatic universal (Kryk 1990). The first and obvious evidence of deixis in general and of spatial deixis in particular to be a pragmatic universal is that all human beings in this world live in particular physical locations that have names. These locative names are spatial deixis in nature.

Levinson (1983) defines spatial deixis as "the encoding of spatial locations relative to the location of the participants in the speech event" (p. 62). He adds that most languages make use of two-term system of deictic reference, proximal and distal, while other languages show a much more elaborate system of deictic reference. According to Yule (1996), deixis is a technical term, of Greek origin, for most the things we do with words, pointing. All the utterances that point via language are called deictic expressions. These deictic expressions may be understood and deciphered in relation to the speaker's location, or *the deictic center*. Deixis is also defined, in Green's words (2006), as "the encoding of the spatiotemporal context and subjective experience of the encoder in an utterance" (p. 178). Cruse (2006) defines deixis as expressions which indicate the location of referents relative to the deictic center in a certain time and place of speaking. Deixis and reference are sometimes used interchangeably and without distinction. Lyons (2009) differentiates between the two thus saying:

> Deixis is like reference, with which it overlaps, it relates to their context of occurrence. But deixis is both broader and narrower than reference. Reference can be either deictic or non-deictic, and deixis does not necessarily involve reference. The essential property of deixis (the term comes from the Greek word meaning "pointing" or "showing" is that it determines that structure and interpretation of utterances in relation to the time and place of their occurrences, the identity of the speaker and the addressee, and objects and events in the actual situation of utterance. (p. 170)

Lyons (1995) further adds that deixis are pervasive grammatical categories in languages. According to him, deixis refers to "elements in language whose meaning is to be stated with reference to the deictic 'co-ordinates' of the typical situation of utterance" (p. 275). The typical situation of utterance is, in Lyons' words, *egocentric*. That is, the speaker is at the center of the situation of the utterance. Among these

elements in English are adverbials of place *here* (in the vicinity of the speaker) and *there* (not in the vicinity of the speaker), and demonstratives *this* (proximal to the speaker) and *that* (distant from the speaker). Deixis is sometimes referred to as exophoric words, which are known as indexicals in the philosophy of language (Crystal 2008). The property of language this paper studies thus is called indexicality. Deixis is sub-categorized into kinds and modes as we shall see shortly.

2.2. Bühler's Zeigarten and Zeigmodi

Research on deixis was first investigated by Karl Bühler (1879-1963). He is a German psychologist whose influential contribution to research on deixis is presented in his seminal *Sprachtheorie: Die Darstellangsfuktion der Sprache (Theory of Language: The representational function of language* [Bühler 1934; 1990]). Bühler makes a distinction between *Zeigarten* "kinds of pointing" and *Zeigmodi* "modes of pointing." Kinds of pointing (Bühler's Zeigarten) include personal, social, temporal, and spatial (Ehrich ,1992 as cited in Senft, 2014):

- **Personal deixis** are words or expressions that are used to refer to people and make a distinction among the speaker (*I*), addressee (*you*) and others (*he, she, they*).
- **Social deixis** designates the speaker's social relationship with others (*friend, sir, your honor*).
- **Temporal deixis** are deictic expressions that point in time (*now, then, today, tomorrow*).
- **Spatial deixis** (which is the concern of this paper) are words that point to space in relation to the speaker (*here, there, in front of*).

Bühler's Zeigmodi or modes of pointing are the following:

- **Anaphoric mode:** unlike the situative mode, anaphoric mode points to referents mentioned earlier in a text or discourse. The following is an example of anaphoric reference with the use of third person singular pronoun *he*:

    (1) Chomsky is an American linguist. He is the author of Syntactic Structures.
- **Cataphoric mode:** this mode makes use of expressions that point to referents to be mentioned later in a text. The third-person singular *she* is a cataphoric example introducing a referent, *Elizabeth II*, to be mentioned later:

    (2) Here she enters, the queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northen Ireland: Elizabeth II.
- **Situative mode:** or *ad oculos* in Bühler's terms meaning reference in front of the eyes, is a mode of pointing to referents within the perceived space of both speaker and hearer. For instance:

    (3) This is my car.

- **Imaginative mode:** or *deixis am phantasma* in Bühler's words. As the name suggests, this mode refers to an imagined situation which characterizes fiction.

(4)   As the moon became full, the man transfigured into a wolf.

2.3. Demonstratives and Adverbs
2.3.1.   Demonstratives in English, Latin, and Turkish.

Unlike English which has only a two-system of demonstratives: *this* and *that*, both Latin and Turkish have a three-term system of demonstrative pronouns: Latin, *hic, iste, ille*; Turkish, *bu, su, o* (Lyons 1995) as the following tables shows:

Table 1. English, Latin, and Turkish demonstratives.

	First Pronoun Demonstrative	**Second Pronoun Demonstrative**	**Third Pronoun Demonstrative**
English	This	that	**-**
Lati n	Hic	iste	**ille**
Turkish	**Bu**	**şu**	**o**

The Latin *hic* and Turkish *bu* indicate proximity to the speaker. Latin *iste* and Turkish *şu* indicate proximity to the hearer, whereas Latin *ille* and Turkish *o* designate remoteness from both speaker and hearer. The above table is recreated below using the proximity feature thus:

Table 2. Latin and Turkish demonstratives and proximity feature.

	Proximal to Speaker	**Proximal to Hearer**	**Remote from Speaker and Hearer**
hic/ bu	+	-	**-**
iste/ şu	-	+	**-**
ille/ o	**-**	**-**	+

Levinson (1999) analyses demonstratives in terms of proximity feature in relation to the speaker which is displayed as follows:

Table 3. English demonstratives and proximity feature.

	Close to Speaker	**Distal to Speaker**	**Far from Speaker**
this	+	-	**-**
tha t	-	+	**0**
yonder, yon	-	-	**+**

*From Deixis and Demonstratives. In D. Wilkins. (Ed.), *Manual for the 1999 Field Season*, **(29-40), (p.31), S. C. Levinson, 1999, Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.**

(0 = unmarked, medial by pragmatic contrast).

Elements like *this* and *that* are sometimes referred to as shifters (Cruse 2006). That is, *that* can become *this* (and vice versa) once the speaker changes their location nearer the referent in question. For instance:

(5)   *I love that place* becomes *I love this place.*

Although the definite article *the*, as in *I know the person*, does not deictically anchor its referent along any specific dimension, some linguists treat it as a deictic element. Spatial deictics can also designate psychological distance: *That theory is great/ this is good news.*

2.3.2. Spatial Adverbs in English.

Modern English is a two-term system (*here, there*), but older forms of the language have a third term *yonder* and *yon* which mean 'over there' and indicate far distance from the speaker (Cruse 2006). English also makes use of the archaic *hither* (to this place) and *thence* (from that place). These last two adverbs also have the meaning of motion towards and away from the speaker, respectively (Yule 1996).

2.4. Vowel iconicity

In his article "Sound Symbolism in Proximal and Distal Forms,*"* Woodworth (1991) points that vowels have deictic iconicity. Vowels in proximal forms are high and narrow while vowels with distal forms are low and wide. The following examples from Indonesian adverbs of place *sini* (here) and *sana* (there) exhibit high narrow /i/ and low wide /a/ which have proximal and distal iconicity, respectively:

Table 4. Indonesian adverbs of place.

	Proximal	**Distal**
Adverbs	*sini*	*sana*

Vowel lengthening is also used as a means to designate distance. The following example from Nkore-Kiga (Bantu) shows iconic lengthening deixis where long vowels represent more distance:

Table 5. Vowel lengthening in Nkore-Kiga, Bantu. (Taylor, 1985).

	Proximal	**Address/ Medial**	**Distal/ Visible**	**Distal/ Invisible**
Singular	ogu	ogwo	oriya	**ori**
Singular	eri	eryo	ririya	**riri**

*From Spatial Deixis, (p. 35), S. Imai, 2003, Faculty of the Graduate School of the State University of New York at Buffalo.

Taylor (1985) stated that "when using forms in *-riya*, the form is for objects removed from speaker and hearer but not really far away. For very distant objects the final *-a* may be lengthened on a continuum of iconic representation" (p. 35). Even though iconic vowel lengthening is not common in many languages, some, like English, may still, to some extent, make use of vowel lengthening. For example, *there* may be in a certain context pronounced as *theeere* to designate more distance. In addition, English makes use of modifiers such as *over* and *way* to emphasize distance as in *over there* and

way over there (Imai 2003).

3. METHODOLOGY

The current research adopts a qualitative approach. According to Tavakoli (2012), a qualitative approach attempts to understand the phenomenon under scrutiny from the angle of the informants. It describes and explains language use in its social and cultural setting wherein it occurs (Trask and Stockwell 2007). This paper adopts a qualitative approach because it is synthetic and heuristic; two features that assist in discovering patterns and relationships in data (Tavakoli 2012).

3.1. Data collection

This research paper uses two data collection methods: content analysis and elicitation technique.

3.1.1. Content analysis

Content analysis is "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff 2004, 18). Content analysis is also briefly defined as "any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text" (Stone et al. 1966, p. 5). The current paper collects data from analyzing Tachelhit movies. The movies analyzed include: Boutfunast Da Hmad (1992), Sidi Mansor (2019), and Imiss (2019). Content analysis is used to mainly collect data about Tachelhit prepositions, motions verbs, and presentatives.

3.1.2. Elicitation technique

This study also resorts to elicitation technique for data collection. Elicitation technique is "any technique or procedure that is designed to get a person to actively produce speech or writing, for example asking someone to describe a picture, tell a story, or finish an incomplete sentence" (Tavakoli 2012, p. 187). This technique is used to elicit linguistic data from the native speakers of the language under investigation, Tachelhit in this context. The elicitation technique targeted 40 native speakers of Tachelhit living in Agadir (a city in the southwest of Morocco) aged between 18-30 years old. The elicitation of data took place at the University of Ibn Zohr (Faculty of Letters and Humanities) in Ait Melloul, Agadir. The subjects were asked one at a time:

- to refer to five objects (pictures of rats) which are continuously distant from the participant.

- to spatially locate the five objects.

    The five objects will have tags that designate virtual distances. Below is a relative illustration of the test:
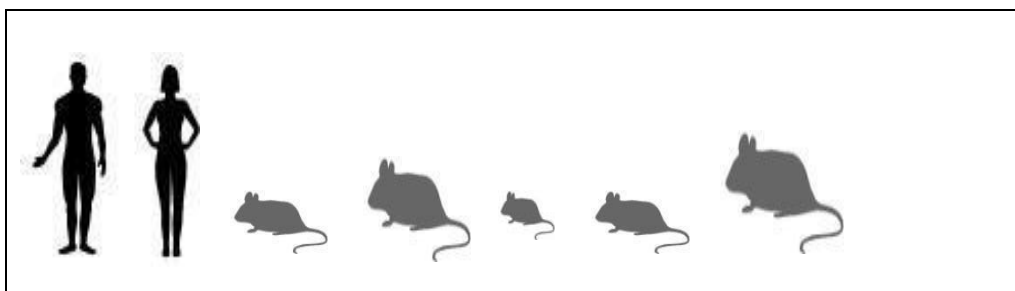
Figure 1. Elicitation test model.

Elicitation technique is utilized to mainly obtain data about Tachelhit demonstratives and adverbs of place. The major objective of the test is to find out whether Tachelhit is a three-term or a four-term system of demonstratives and adverbs of place.

3.2. Data analysis

Data analysis is the most important stage in research. It is a painstaking process that organizes and interprets the raw material garnered in research. Tavakoli (2012) defines data analysis as "the process of reducing accumulated data collected in research to a manageable size, developing summaries, looking for patterns, and performing statistical analysis" (p. 145). This study organizes and analyzes the data using the Thematic Analytic Technique. Kombo and Tromp (2006) state that the thematic analytic technique analyses the data in terms of themes. That is, this technique classifies the information and subcategories or what Walliman (2011) refers to as typologies and taxonomies. He points out that as the data amasses, the researcher has to "organize the shapeless mass of data by building typologies and taxonomies, i.e. classification by types or properties thereby forming subgroups within the general category at a nominal level of measurement" (pp. 132-133).

Data is classified and analyzed according to the following categories: Demonstratives, Locatives, Prepositions, Motion verbs, and Presentatives. The extracted data from content analysis and elicitation technique is presented in results and discussion using the Leipzig Glossing.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This part analyzes and discusses the research findings of spatial deixis in Tachelhit. The results are classified into five categories. The first two categories are concerned with demonstratives and adverbs of place. The next two categories are related to prepositions and motion verbs. The last category deals with representatives which are further sub-classified into directives and offeretives. It should be noted that the examples, tables and figures in this section are all derived from the data collected.

4.1. Demonstratives

Tachelhit has a range of demonstratives that differ in their spatial deictic reference and meaning according to gender, proximity, distance, absence, and emphasis. The table below lists the major *Tachelhit* demonstratives:

Table 6. Tachlhit demonstratives.

	MASCULINE		FEMININE	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	**Plural**
Proximity	ghwad/ghwa	wid/yina	khtad/khta	**khtid/khtina**
Distance	ghwaan	ghwiin	khtaan	**khtiin**
	ghwalli	**ghwili**	**khtalli**	**khtilli**

Absence				

Demonstratives can also be in the form of suffixes. The following table lists the major demonstrative suffixes in Tachelhit:

Table 7. Tachelhit demonstrative suffixes.

	Proximate	**Distal**	**Absent**
Suffixes	**/-a/ /-ad/**	**/-an/ /-inn/**	**/-lli/ /-nna/**

The suffixes in the table can be attached to any noun to designate proximity, distance or absence. For instance, *afrukh* (boy) becomes *afrukha* (this boy), *afrukhan* (that boy) or *afrukhlli* (the absent boy, invisible to both speaker and hearer). When the proximate and distal demonstrative suffixes listed above are attached to nouns ending in /a/, /i/ or /u/, an epenthetic /y/ is inserted. For example: *aydi* (dog) becomes *aydiya* (this dog).

Another Tachelhit demonstrative that is used specially to refer to objects is *gha* (this thing). It is also used to pejoratively refer to people. This demonstrative can, as those above, have a proximal, distal, and absent deictic reference by attaching the suffixes /-d/, /-n/ and /-lli/, respectively. Note that an epenthetic /y/ is also inserted before suffixation to separate the vowels and make pronunciation easier as the table below bears witness:

Table 8. Tachlhit demonstrative ɣ*a*.

	Proximate	**Distal**	**Far distal**	**Absent**
gha	*ghad, ghayad*	*ghan, ghayan*	*ghaan*	*ghalli, ghaylli*

The demonstrative *gha* can have either of the two suffixes in each column, depending on two factors. First is the spatial deictic emphasis which the second forms in each column have and display more than their first counterparts. Second is individual inclination to switch between the first or the second forms using the second forms for emphasis or pejoration. Speakers of Tachelhit variety use the demonstratives *ghwa* and *khta* to refer to a spatially proximate masculine and feminine singular person, respectively. More than 80% of the subjects who participated in the elicitation test referred to the far distal objects with the lengthened vowel demonstrative *ghwaan*. The lengthened vowel demonstrative is the far distal spatial deixis. Tachelhit is a language that benefits from deictic vowel iconicity.

Another test that was carried out with the research participants (see methodology) is a comparison test. They were asked to compare rats (in terms of size) that were located at the same and different distances. This test was conducted so as to check the validity of the data about demonstratives already collected using the elicitation technique (See the figure below):
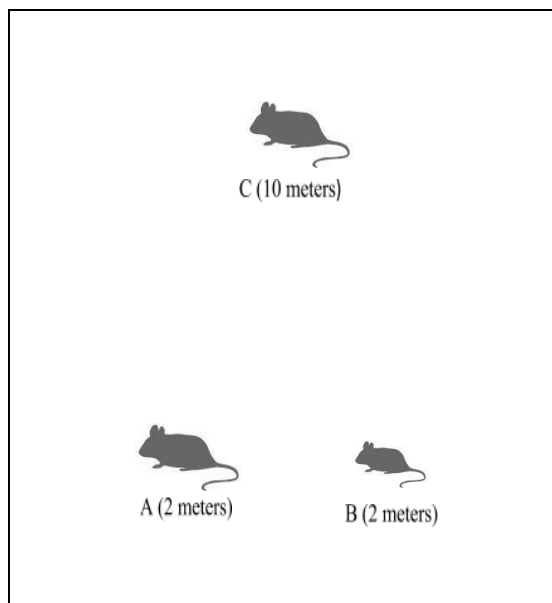
C (10 meters)

A (2 meters)   B (2 meters)

Figure 2. Demonstrative comparison model.

English Comparison Cases

Case 1: A native speaker of English, if asked to compare rat A with rat B in terms of size, they would say: This rat (A) is bigger than that rat (B).

Case 2: If they are again asked to compare rat B with rat C (which are located at different distances), they would say: This rat (B) is smaller than that rat (C).

English demonstratives, *this* and *that,* are used to refer to two things even if they are at the same distance (as in the first case above).

Berber Comparison Cases

Case 1: A native speaker of Tachelhit, comparing rat A with rat B, would say: *Aghrdayad (A) imkur f aghrdayad (B).* (This rat (A) is bigger than this rat (B)).

Case 2: A Berber speaker would compare rat B with rat C and say: *Aghrdayad (B) imzi f aghrdayan (C).* (This rat (B) is smaller than that rat (C)). A comparison case is similar to the second English one.

Tachelhit uses the same demonstrative to refer to two objects at the same distance. Tachelhit speakers only use different demonstratives to spatially locate two objects which are not at the same distance. In short, Tachelhit has a four-term system of demonstratives, proximal, distal, far distal, and absent.

4.2.Adverbs of place

Tachelhit has a number of adverbs of place. The major ones are *ghi*, *ghin*, *asgayan*, *asgayad,* and *ghilli* which are listed and discussed below:

Table 9. Tachlhit adverbs of place.

Proximal	Distal	Far Distal	Absent/ Invisible
ghi /ghid	ghin	ghiin/ asgayan	ghilli

The adverb *asgayan* (over there) is used by many subjects as the third-term

adverb of place which designates a far distance. Semantically speaking, *asgayan* is derived from the noun *asga* which means 'side'. But the word undergoes a semantic change once the suffix for distance is added. The far distal adverb of place displays a vowel lengthening as the distance increases. This is proved by the elicitation test wherein most participants referred to the far distal rats with a vowel-lengthened adverbs of place gh*iiiiiin*, sometimes also *asgayaan*. Tachelhit also has an absent adverb of place gh*illi* which indicates an invisible place, a place visited or talked about before the time of speaking. For example, *kiḥd ghilli* (I have been to that- absent or invisible- place). Absent or invisible means that the place the speaker is talking about is not within sight or vicinity. The speaker and the addressee both know which place gh*illi* refers to because they have a contextual knowledge that they share, which does not make the conversation vague.

Interestingly, *asgayan* (on that side) and *asgayad* (in this side) are two adverbs of place which are used by Tachelhit speakers as if there is a mental line dividing space into two sides, *this side* closer to speaker and the other *that side* over there distal from the speaker. The mental line is fluid and objects fall within one of these two sides depending on how the speaker conceives of the space and distance. That is, there is no fixed mental line that separates the two sides, and which is invariable from one speaker to another. This mental deictic reference can be represented as follows:
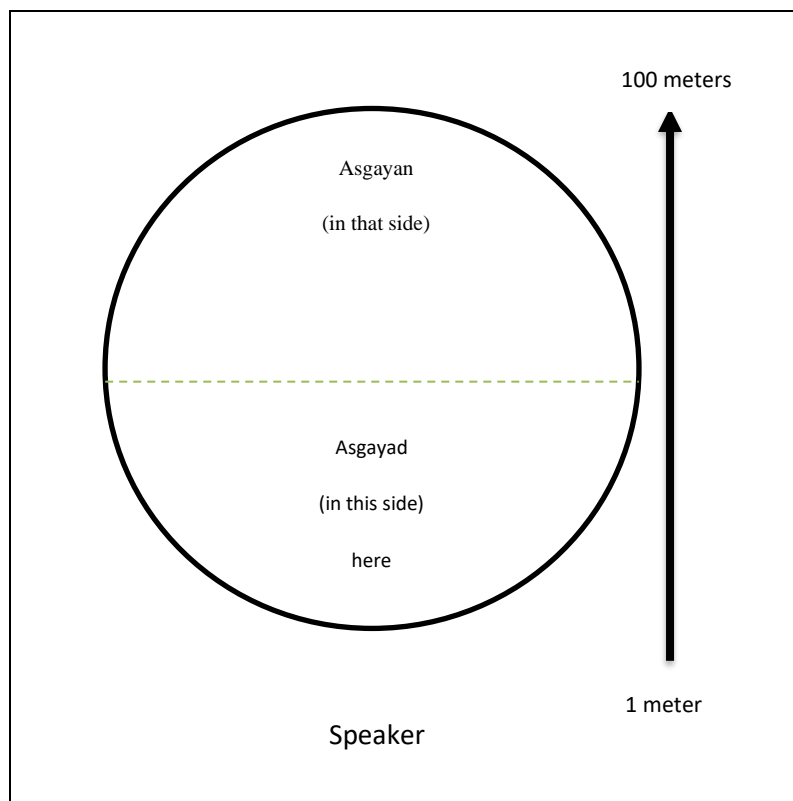

Figure 3. Mental deictic representation of *tasgayad* and *tasgayan.*

The two adverbs of place above also have the variant *tasgayad* or *tasgayan* with the prefix t- which are sometimes switched to denote spatial diminutiveness. The

following figure shows the mental deictic representation of the diminutively prefixed adverbs of place *tasgayan* and *tasgayad*.

In such a spatial circumstance, the speaker may use a prefixed adverb of place *tasgayad* or *tasgayan* to locate something spatially if they conceive of that space as smaller than the other vaster side. In other cases, and depending on spatial perception, a speaker may just feminize or masculinize both the adverb of place and thus *tasgayad/ tasgayan* or *asgayad/ asgayan,* respectively. To question the place of something, the interrogative adverb *mani* (where) is used. For instance:

> (6)   *Mani s idda Mustapha?*
>
> Where to went Mustapha?
>
> Where did Mustapha go?

Tachelhit has many other adverbs of place such as *tama* (near), *ammas* (in the middle), which also functions as a preposition (see 4.5.), *azlmad* (left), and *afasi* (right). All and all, Tachelhit has a four-term system of adverbs of place, proximal, distal, far distal, and absent or invisible.

4.3.Prepositions

Tachelhit has a great number of prepositions. There are many factors that account for that richness. First, Tachelhit prepositions are polysemous. Second, a preposition has many variant forms. Third, prepositions can combine to form new complex prepositions. The prepositions which have spatial deictic reference are listed below:

4.3.1.   Preposistions i (to) and s (to).

Preposition *i* indicates destination as the following examples show:

> (7) *I-fka adlis i aslmad-ns.*
>
> He-gave book to teacher his.
>
> He gave the book to his teacher.

In the Tachelhit sentence above, we notice that it has no article. Articles (a, an and the) are contextual in Tachelhit (a linguistic feature shared with some languages like Chinese). The preposition *i* is a spatial deixis which designates destination. In the above sentence, the destination is from the giver, obviously the student, to the receiver, the teacher.

The proposition *s* has many meanings. Among these are instrument (with), cause (of, because of), lastly direction and orientation (to). Only *s* with the spatial deictic reference is of concern here.

> (8)   *T-dda s mdrasa.*
>
> She-went to school.
>
> She went to the school).

4.3.2.   Prepositions gh (at/ in) and zg (from).

Gh is a preposition that marks spatial localization as is used in the following example:

(9) *T-lla gh tanwalt.*
She-is in kitchen.
She is in the kitchen.
(10) *T-lla gh tigmmi.*
She-is in home.
She is at home.

The preposition *zg* designates a spatial source or origin of things. *Zg* (from) is considered as a directional preposition because it indicates the spatial source of things and thus their direction. Example (12) shows both the source of the letter which is France and the direction which is the place of the recipient (the speaker).

(11) *Yushkad zg Mirikan.*
He-came from America.

He came from America).

(12) *Tabrat sg tamazirt.*
Letter from home.
A letter from home.

4.3.3. Prepositions dar (towards/ at) and gr (between/ among).

The preposition *dar* (*towards, at*, *next to*, *beside, to*) is used for marking direction and localization.

(13) *I-lla dar tgmmi.*
He is next home.
He is beside the house.
(14) *T-lla dar Fatima.*
She-is at Fatime.
She is at Fatima's house.

The preposition *dar* in example (14) is similar to the French *chez* (at) as in *chez David* meaning 'at David's place'.

(15) *Sir dar khtan.*
Go to that.
Go to her.

This sentence (15) is translated as 'go to her.' The meaningfulness of this sentence depends on understanding the meaning of the last word, *khtan. khta* is a feminine demonstrative that is attached a suffix /-n/ to designate distance (see table 4.1.). The demonstrative then refers to a female distal from the speaker.

The preposition *dar* can also be preceded with the proposition *s* to express and designate a deictic reference of direction as the following example bears testimony:

(16) *t-dda s dar tmdakult-ns.*

She-went to (female)-friend-her.
She went to her friend's place.

In the above sentence (16), the combination of the preposition *s* and *dar* is equivalent to the French preposition *chez*. The circumfix t- -t as in the Tachelhit word *t-mdakul-t* is used to indicate that the word in question is feminine.

The following preposition *gr*, meaning between or among, is used to locate an object spatially in relation to the other ones and is also realized as *ngr*:

(17) *Illa gr midn.*
He-is among people.
He is among people.

(18) *Tlla ngr Agadir d Marrakech.*

It-is between Agadir and Marrakech.

It is between Agadir and Marrakech.

(19) *Izri ngratngh.*
He-walked between us.
He walked between us.

Tachelhit makes use of these prepositions without any difference in the spatial reality. Unlike English, the number of objects within which another object is to be spatially located in Tachelhit does not affect the choice and use of the preposition. In English, *between* is used to spatially locate something between two things, while *among* is used to locate an object among many things. Thus, the difference in use between *between* and *among* is a matter of number. Tachelhit, on the other hand, does not take into consideration the number of objects in the spatial reality as the above examples demonstrates.

The word *amas*, a noun meaning 'center', is also used as a preposition (in the middle) as the following example shows:

(20) *Tlla amas udlis.*
It-is center book.
It is in the middle of the book.

4.3.4. Preposistions ar (until/ as far as).

The preposition *ar* and its variant *al* point out to the spatial limit to which someone or something reaches. The preposition *ar* is equivalent to the English preposition *until.* However, it is translated as *reached* to fully capture the exact spatial deictic meaning the Tachelhit example has:

(21) *Idda ar Fransa.*
He-went until France.
He reached France.

4.3.4. Complex prepositions

Complex prepositions are those that are comprised of two or three prepositions. The following table provides the major Tachelhit complex prepositions with the spatial deictic reference. Some Tachelhit complex prepositions such as *ammaas n* (in the middle of) may be used as if it were a simplex preposition meaning 'in'.

Table 10. Tachlhit complex prepositions.

Amnid n	In front of
G tama n	near
Izdar n	Beneath, below
aflla n/ iggi n	Above, on
Bṛṛa n	outside
Ammas n	In the middle of
gh dar	At (place)

Tachelhit has a great deal of both simple and complex prepositions with spatial deictic reference. Tachelhit spatial prepositions are of three types: directional prepositions which designate direction such as *s* (to) and *zg* (from), locative prepositions which locate objects in space like *gh* (in, at) and *gr* (between, among), and, last but not least, directional-locative prepositions which are used for both spatial direction and localization such as *dar* (at, towards, to..). Directional-locative prepositions express both direction and localization because they are polysemous.

Prepositions are important linguistic elements that are usually accompanied by nouns. Locative prepositions mentioned above ascribe dimensional properties to those nouns which are then perceived as a line/surface or a two/three-dimensional space (cf. Fillmore, 1975). For example, the preposition *iggi n* as in *iggi n taṭṭblat* (on the table) ascribes to the noun 'table' the property of being perceived as surface. The complex prepositions (see table 11) *izdar n*, *affla n, iggi n,* and *amnid n* all ascribe to the nouns they precede the surface-line property. The locative preposition *gh* as in *gh tanwalt* (in the kitchen), on the other hand, attributes to the noun 'kitchen' the quality of being perceived as a two or three-dimensional space. The complex prepositions *ammas n* and *bṛṛa n* also attribute to the nouns they precede the same two/three-dimensional property. A great number of Tachelhit nouns have the spatial property of having dimensions. That could be due to the fact that these nouns are restrictedly used with the locative prepositions from which they obtain the dimensionality.

4.4. Motion verbs

In Tachelhit, suffixes are used to denote position relative to the speaker. The suffix *-d* is used to indicate proximity or motion toward the speaker, while *-n* designates distance or motion away from the speaker. For example, the Tachelhit verb *awid* (bring here) and *awin* (bring there) represent motion towards and away from the speaker, respectively. The same is true in the case of the sentences *awitid* and *awitin* which have the proximal notion 'bring it here' and the distal notion 'bring it there'. Strictly speaking, the difference between *awid* and *awitid* is that *awitid* contains the infix /t/ acting as the

pronoun 'it' which renders *awitid* understood as a sentence rather than a single verb as *awid*.

Table 11. Tachlhit motion verbs.

	Proximal	**Distal**
verb	*awi-d*	***awi-n***
sentence		***awiti-n***

Unlike some languages that make a proximal and distal distinction using vowel iconicity (Woodworth, 1991), as in the Indonesian adverbs of place *sini* and *sana* (/i/ indicates proximity while /a/ indicates distance), Tachelhit would rather be said to make use of consonant iconicity in this case.

In the literature on English deictic verbs, the verbs *go* and *come* which indicates a movement away from and towards the speaker, respectively, are the prototypical motion verbs. Berber, on the other hand, has a different deictic system regarding motion verbs. The Tachelhit verb *du* (to go) does not have a very strong away-towards deictic movements. This deictic anchorage is fulfilled by attaching to the verb the suffixes /-d/ and /-n/ which denote proximity and distance. Therefore, *du* becomes *dud* (come here) and *dun* (go there). The same rule is applicable in past tense. For example, *idad* (he came) becomes *idan/* (he went there). We notice that the verb *du* (to go) yields another verb (to come) if the proximal suffix /-d/ is attached to it.

Tachelhit has other verbs which also mean 'come' in English. *Ashkid* and *rwah*. The word *ashkid* as a whole has a proximate meaning 'to come'. If the word is stripped from its suffix /-d/ and thus *ashk*, what meaning would it still have? Of course, that word without its suffix is semantically and, thus, deictically lacking. Whether or not /d/ in *ackid* is an intrinsic part of the verb root or just a suffix needs further research into the word's history.

Another example of the Tachelhit verb that undergoes semantic change if the deictic proximal suffixes /-d/ or the distal one /-n/ is attached to it is the verb *sli* which means 'to touch'. It becomes a proximal motion verb *slid* meaning 'pass by here' or a distal motion verb *slin* meaning 'pass by there.'
The Tachelhit suffixes /-d/ and /-n/ can also be attached to verbs such as *su* (drink) to designate proximity and distance of action, thus, *sud* (drink here) and *sun* (drink there), respectively. The use of the verbs *sud* and *sun* are rare and are used only if the source or place of water is not very near to the speaker or the addressee. The verb *su* (imperative) is, in most cases, used provided that the source or place of water is very near to both the speaker and the addressee. Most significantly, the suffixes can also be added to Tachelhit mental verbs such as *swingim* or *khmim* (think) to indicate a mental action that is spatially proximate and distal. For example:

(22) *Khmimn.*

You-think-there.

Think in there.

(23) Aicha tswingimd.
Aicha she-thought-here
Aicha thought in here.

The deictic suffixes /-d/ and /-n/ can thus be attached to almost all Tachelhit verbs to designate proximity and distance.

4.5. Presentatives

Presentatives are the last category to be dealt with in this paper. They are words such as *here is* in English or *voici* in French starting sentences or introducing topics as in '*here is Mbark*' or '*voici le docteur qui arrive.*' This section will look firstly and briefly at the Tachelhit presentational particles. It will then explain the difference between directives and offeratives followed by an illustrative table of proximal and distal Tachelhit presentatives in comparison to that of English and French ones.

4.5.1. Presentational practices.

Ha (here is) and *han* (there is) are the first Tachelhit presentatives which are always followed by a noun. For example:

(24) Ha Khadija.
Here Khadija.
Here is Khadija.

(25) Han Lahcen iddad.
There Lahcen went-here.
Here comes Lahcen.

(26)   *Han aylal.*
There bird.
There is a bird.

The presentative *hat* (here she/he/ it is), on the other hand, is followed by a verb. For instance:

(27)   Hat idda.

There he-went.

There he went.

Hat is also used to mean 'there …is' by adding the spatially distal suffix /-n/. The result is *hatn*. An epenthetic /i/ is added to separate the cluster /tn/ and thus have *hatin* as the following example shows:

(28)   Hatin.
There-he-is.
There he is.

The pronoun suffix /-t/ in the Tachelhit presentative *hat* can either refer to the masculine third singular pronoun *he* or the feminine third singular pronoun *she* depending on the context of speaking (a fact that is similar to the Pinyin *ta* 'he/she'). To

refer to the masculine third plural pronoun *they* or the feminine third plural pronoun *they* (a distinction which is made in Tachelhit but not in English and Chinese), the presentative *hat* has to be attached the masculine (m.) plural suffix /-n/ and the feminine (f.) plural suffix /-nt/. Note that the same suffix pronouns /-n/ and /-nt/ that are added to the presentative below are concordantly added to the verbs that followed them showing the subject-verb agreement. The next examples will elucidate the matter:

> *(29) Hatn arkrzn.*
>
>   There-they-are-ploughing. MAS
>
>   There they are, ploughing.

> *(30) Hatnt arsififnt aggrn.*
>
>   Here-they-are sifting flour. FEM
>
>   Here they are sifting flour.

The Tachelhit presentative *hatn* and *hatnt* can also, and again, be suffixed /-n/ and /-d/ to indicate spatial distance and proximity. As stated above, an epenthetic /i/ is inserted between consonant clusters to make pronunciation much easier. For example:

> *(31) Hatnin.*
>
>   There-they-are. MAS
>
>   There they are.

> *(32) Hatntnin.*
>
>   There-they-are. FEM
>
>   There they are.

> *(33) Hatnid.*
>
>   Here-they-are. MAS
>
>   Here they are.

> *(34) Hatntnid.*
>
>   *Here-they-are. FEM*
>
>   *Here they are.*

4.5.2. Directives and offeratives.

Presentatives are deictic words that perform two tasks. First, they direct the addressee spatially towards an object (directive). Second, it performs the task of offering or handing over something to the addressee (offerative) (Imai, 2003).

Directives are primarily used to draw the addressee's attention to something. They are used to spatially direct or guide the addressee towards an object. The sentence below is an example of a Tachelhit directive. The speaker is explicitly directing or guiding the addressee towards the door:

> *(35) Ha tagurt.*
>
>   Here door.
>
>   Here is the door.

Offeratives are the second sub-category of Tachelhit presentatives. Their main

function, as its name suggests, is to offer or handle over something to the addressee as the example below shows. The instance below can also be written as *'hayadlisnk'* with an epenthetic glide /y/ inserted in an intervocalic position for pronunciation smoothness.

> *(36) Ha adlisnk.*
>   Here book-your.
>   Here is your book.

A special case in this subcategory is when the offerative *ha* is combined with the suffix /-k/ to form a verb *hak* (take) that has the meaning of offering or giving something and asking the addressee to take it. As exemplified below, the speaker is offering water to the address:

> *(37) Hak aman.*
>   take water.
>   Here you are, water.

4.5.3. Proximal and distal presentatives.

The presentative *ha* is attached the Tachelhit suffixes /-d/ and /-n/ to refer to proximal and distal objects, respectively. The result is similar to that in French and English as the table below illustrates:

Table 12. Tachlhit, French, and English presentatives.

Tachlhit Presentatives		French Presentatives		English Presentatives	
Proximal	stal	roximal	Distal	Proximal	stal
d		voici	voilà	here is	ere is

The unsuffixed *ha* is also used to indicate proximity while the suffixed *had* is sometimes used to emphasize proximity as the following examples show:

> *(38) Ha adlis.*
>   Here book.
>   Here is the book.
> *(39) Had adlis.*
>   Here book.
>   Here is the book.

5. Conclusion

Tachelhit has a four-term spatial deictic system of demonstratives: proximate (suffixing /-d/), distal (suffixing /-n/), far distal (vowel lengthening), and absent (suffixing /-lli/). Demonstratives has been shown to change in form and thus function according to gender (prefixing /t-/), proximity, distance, and absence.

Tachelhit adverbs of place have a four-term spatial deictic system: proximate (suffixing /-d/), distal (suffixing /-n/), far distal (vowel lengthening or through the use of *asgayan*), and absent or invisible (suffixing /-lli/). Prepositions, on the other hand, are

either simplex or complex in Tachelhit. Spatial prepositions are of three kinds: directional, locative, and directional-locative. Locative prepositions attribute dimensional properties to the nouns they precede. A fact that can be attributed to the very adjoined use of prepositions and nouns. Tachelhit motion verbs depend heavily on spatial deictic suffixation. The suffixes /-d/ and /-n/ designate proximity and distance, respectively. The suffixes can be attached to almost all Tachelhit verbs and sometimes result in semantic change with, still, a spatial deictic reference. Last but not least, presentatives in Tachelhit are of two kinds: directives and offeratives. Directives draw the attention of the addressee to something while offeratives are used to handle over something to the addressee. Most of languages share the same five categories discussed in this paper, although they may differ in form and function.

This study of spatial deixis in Tachelhit has faced many limitations. Among these are the scarcity of references in the field of Tachelhit deixis, especially those conducted and written in English. The study is limited in that it does not account for deictic reference differences that exist in Tamazight varieties in Morocco nor does it deeply explore the psychological dimensions of spatial deixis in them. From this point, I recommend further research to investigate the difference in spatial deixis among Amazigh varieties in Morocco. The difference in spatial deixis in Amazigh varieties may result in the speakers of these varieties to perceive the spatial 'reality' differently.

Another point worth researching is the study of the gestures that accompany spatial deictic expressions as well as the expressions that express time and mental spaces through the use of spatial deixis. Body language is an aspect of human behavior that is of paramount importance to fully understand the intricacies of language and thus of communication. The significance of this aspect is overlooked in most pragmatic theories. An in-depth research with interdisciplinary tools from pragmatics, cultural studies, kinesics, and neuroscience is to be conducted to further explore how body language punctuates and adds an inherently inseparable layer of meaning to the human language.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix

Map of the Berber speaking regions

Figure 4. Map of the Berber speaking regions
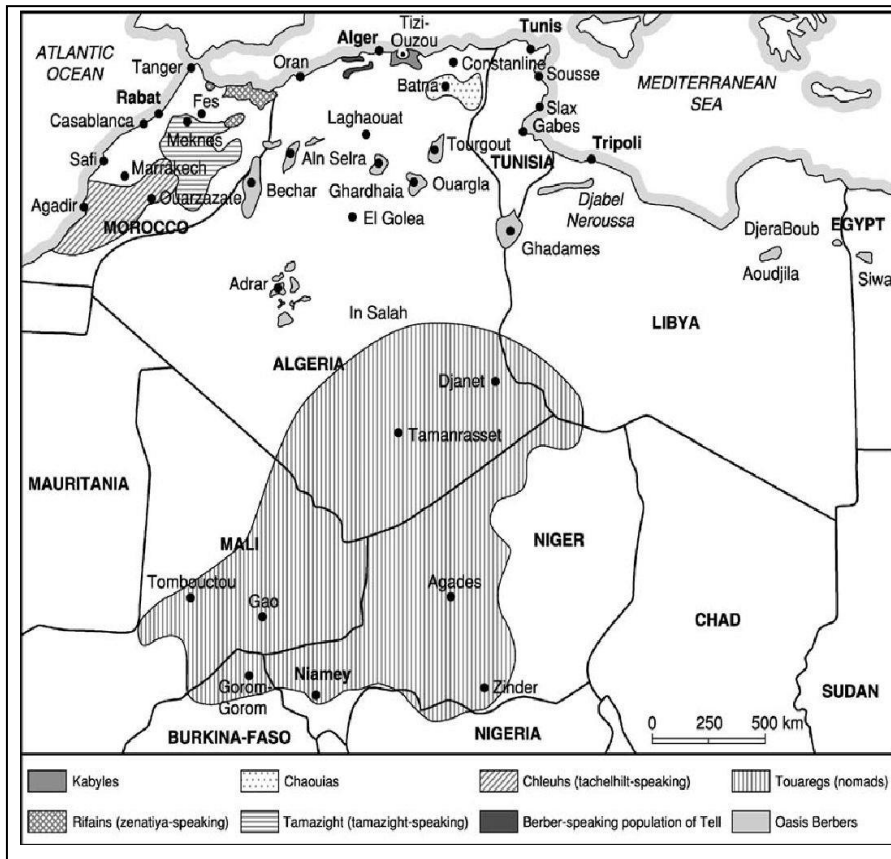
*From Concise Encyclopedia of the World's Languages, (p. 153), S. Chaker, A. Mettouchi, 2006, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.