

## M. Kasmi

Mohamed First University,  
Oujda, 62702, Morocco

# Proximity deixis in Tarifit Berber: Demonstratives as a case

This paper attempts to partially reconstruct proximity from the speaker's point of view in Tarifit, and it uses demonstratives as the pointing mechanisms. Tarifit encodes proximity deixis through adnominal deictic morphemes. The morphemes, which express different degrees of proximity, are attached to the base words as suffixes. Tarifit expresses varying levels of proximity to the deictic center. Consequently, the referent can be proximal, distal, ultra-distal, or anaphoric. The morphemes, which express proximity to the speaker, show morphophonological effects on the preceding syllable of the base-word they attach to. This study examines the proximity deixis in light of the socio-pragmatic context.

**Key words:** Tarifit, Berber languages, spatial deixis, proximity, pragmatics, demonstratives

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**М. Касми**Университет Мохамеда Первого,  
62702 Уджда, Марокко

## Дейксис близости в тарифитском берберском языке: частный случай демонстративов

В данной статье предпринимается попытка частичной реконструкции близости с точки зрения говорящего в тарифите с использованием указательных местоимений в качестве механизмов указания. В тарифите близость кодируется посредством адноминальных дейктических морфем. Эти морфемы, выражающие разные степени близости, присоединяются к базовым словам в виде суффиксов. Тарифит выражает различные уровни близости к дейктическому центру, в результате чего референт может быть проксимальным, дистальным, ультрадистальным или анафорическим. Морфемы, обозначающие близость к говорящему, оказывают морфофонологическое воздействие на предшествующий слог базового слова, к которому они присоединяются. В исследовании рассматривается дейксис близости в свете социально-прагматического контекста.

**Ключевые слова:** рифский язык, берберские языки, пространственный дейксис, близость к говорящему, прагматика, указательные местоимения

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### 1. Introduction

Some units of a language can be understood context-free even if they are detached from their linguistic environment [Altmann, 1996]. Such a unit can be the word water, which simply means a distinct chemical compound composed of hydrogen and oxygen ( $H_2O$ ), which can be found in three forms: solid, liquid, and gas [Senthil, Yaashikaa, 2019]. To understand the linguistic

unit water, no aspect of person, time, or space is required. However, some linguistic units are subject to the so-called lexical ambiguity [Rodd, 2018]. The lexically ambiguous language units require further context. An instance of words that require further social context would be the words *here* and *there* in the following sentence: *I asked him to come here when I was there*. The meaning of the aforementioned two words is ambiguous unless we are aware of the speaker's spatial existence at the moment when the utterance was released.

Without that prior knowledge about the spatial aspect of the context of the utterance, the linguistic units *here* and *there* within the example sentence would be very ambiguous and put us in front of multiple interpretations. One interpretation of the units *here* and *there* would be that *here* is the space where the speaker was when the action of telling him to come took place, while *there* refers to the space where the speaker was when the action took place, but now from a different point of view of space and time. The second interpretation would be that *here* refers to the space where the speaker is located, while *there* is the space where the speaker was located at the moment of the utterance being released. Both interpretations of the two linguistic units *here* and *there* are from the speaker's point of view. The only difference between the two interpretations is what Bühler calls the "origo" [Bühler, 1934], or what others call the "deictic center". The sentence is deictically anchored; that is, it contains linguistic expressions with inbuilt contextual parameters whose interpretation is relative to the context of utterance [Fillmore, 1997].

Deixis belongs to the realm of the study of pragmatics, where the language structure is linked to the context of the language in use [Levinson, 1983]. In addition, deixis is a universal phenomenon in all languages [Kryk, 2011]. Different types of deixis are found in the literature [Levinson, 1983]. Such typologies of deixis include personal, temporal, and spatial deixis [Lyons, 1977; Fillmore, 1997] and other newer types such as social deixis and discourse deixis [Levinson, 1983].

This research attempts to partially reconstruct *spatial deixis* in Tarifit Berber, an Afro-Asiatic language spoken in North Morocco, and it also attempts to provide socio-pragmatic contextual possibilities for each spatial deictic expression. This paper claims that the socio-pragmatic context is highly essential for the correct interpretation of spatial deixis in Tarifit Berber. It also argues that the speaker in Tarifit dominates the deictic center as proximity to the origo, known as the deictic center, is always measured by how proximate or distant the referent is from the point of view of the speaker, following the so-called egocentric approach [Levinson, 1983; Fillmore, 1997].

## 2. Literature review

### 2.1. Deixis: An overview

Deixis comes from the romanized Greek word *deixis*, meaning ‘to show’ or ‘to display’ [Bühler, 1934; Yule, 1996]. According to B. Inwood, Chrysippus introduced a specialized meaning of deixis as the point of reference, a concept still widely used in contemporary linguistics [Inwood, 2004]. G. Yule defines deixis as pointing through language [Yule, 1996], and J. Lyons adds that deixis is a way of pointing to referents being talked about in a spatio-temporal context [Lyons, 1977]. Interestingly, it all begins with K. Bühler’s 1934 book, *Sprachtheorie*. K. Bühler laid the foundations of the study of deixis [Bühler, 1990]. Fillmore continues the tradition through his famous 1977 lectures, where he thoroughly simplified key concepts about the study of deixis [Fillmore, 1997].

Now, it has become clear that as a linguistics concept, deixis falls under the broader umbrella of the study of pragmatics, where the structure of language is tightly linked to the socio-pragmatic context in which the utterance is used [Levinson, 1983; Stapleton, 2017]. The socio-pragmatic context contains contextual information about the utterance, encompassing information about the speaker, the addressee, place, and time [Levinson, 1983]. In addition to that, A. Stapleton argues that the socio-pragmatic information the deictic expressions contain goes beyond the simple knowledge about who is the speaker, who is the addressee, and where and when the utterance is being produced to the idea of what/who is close or distant from the deictic center of the speaker [Stapleton, 2017]. This latter idea is called *proximity* to the deictic centre [Hanks, 2009].

Proximity to the origo is usually expressed through deictic expressions such as the demonstratives *this* and *that* [Fillmore, 1997; Stapleton, 2017], adverbials such as *here* and *there* [Levinson, 1983; Fillmore, 1997; Diessel, 1999, as cited in Horn, Ward, 2006], prepositions [Levinson, 1983], or motion verbs [Fleisch, 2007]. This paper focuses solely on the proximity to the deictic center through demonstratives. According to L.R. Horn and G. Ward, even though the study of deixis is of paramount importance, it is still understudied. They claim that deixis remains one of the least explored foundational topics in pragmatics; we still lack a clear understanding of its limits and do not yet have a sufficient cross-linguistic classification of deictic expressions [Horn, Ward, 2006]. On the same line, W.F. Hanks argues for extensive empirical research on deixis in local languages to gain more insight into its phenomena [Hanks, 2009].

### 2.1.1. *Person, spatial and temporal deixis*

According to S.C. Levinson, different types of deixis exist in the literature [Levinson, 1983]. These types of deixis include primarily person, temporal, and spatial deixis [Lyons, 1977; Fillmore, 1997]. In addition to that, newly recognized deictic types consist of social deixis and discourse deixis [Levinson, 1983]. As for person deixis, it positions an individual based on their relationship to the speaker or listener's perspective [Green, 2008]. Person deixis has to do with the first and second persons of speech, as the speaker and the addressee are the most active participants of the speech endeavor [Lyons, 1977]. Temporal deixis, or what Rommteit calls time deixis, relates to locating the speech act within a specific moment in time (in [Fillmore, 1997]). On the other hand, spatial deixis, what Rommteit names as place deixis, or the linguistic representation of the speaker's three-dimensional space, is one of the subcategories of deixis, according to Rommteit [Ibid.]. Spatial deixis localizes the speech utterance in three-dimensional space [Levinson, 1983]. Deictic expressions such as here and there [Fillmore, 1997; Diessel, 1999, as cited in Horn, Ward, 2006].

## 2.2. Previous studies:

### Deixis of directionality in Berber languages

The language understudy is Tarifit. This language belongs to the Afro-Asiatic language family. In the northern Moroccan region of Rif, people speak Tarifit, a Zenati Berber language. According to the RGPH (2014)<sup>1</sup>, around 1,271,000 Riffians speak it as their first language, mostly in the Rif provinces of Al Hoceima, Nador, Driouch, and Taza. Apart from Morocco, Tarifit is also spoken in Melilla, the autonomous city of Spain. In addition, there is a Riffian-speaking population in Belgium and the Netherlands and other European countries. M.B. Lafkioui (1997) argues that Tarifit language has a great deal of dialectal variance [Lafkioui, 1997]. However, this paper focuses solely on the Tarifit language as a single language that differs from other Berber languages due to unique phonetic and morphemic changes [Wolff, 2024].

The linguistic study of Berber has been limited to certain Berber languages than others. Spatial deixis is an example of the overlooked aspects of language in use. There is a growing interest in local languages. However, Tarifit Berber

<sup>1</sup> Haut-Commissariat au Plan du Royaume du Maroc (2014) – Site institutionnel du Haut-Commissariat au Plan du Royaume du Maroc. URL: <https://www.hcp.ma/>. Abbreviation RGPH refers to the so-called “Recensement général de la Population et de l’Habitat” translated in English as the “General Population and Housing Census”. This census is carried out every 10 years to get demographical data.

remains understudied, with the majority of research centered on Tashelhit and Kabyle. This disparity has led to an uneven scholarly focus, where languages like Tashelhit receive attention while other languages remain scarcely documented. Although studies in recent years have begun to shed light on spatial deixis from both syntactic and pragmatic perspectives, they often provide broad overviews rather than detailed, language-specific insights. This section reviews the existing body of work on deixis in Berber languages, which informs the current study's focus on expanding knowledge in this area.

Previous studies on Berber deixis have primarily investigated syntactic aspects. The primary focus of this analysis is on directional clitics. For instance, Aoumer (2008) examined the clitics **=d** and **=nn** by identifying these as markers that indicate movement toward or away from a central reference point, which he argues aligns with a V-framed structure in which verbs inherently express the path of motion. In contrast, Fleisch's work (2007) on directional particles argues that Berber spatial deixis exhibits an equipollently-framed structure, distinguishing between proximity and distance through clitics such as **=d** and **=in**, and challenging the V-framed model proposed by Aoumer. Meanwhile, Belkadi's study (2015) introduces the narrative dimension, suggesting that these clitics can differentiate between animate and inanimate contexts, adding depth to their syntactic role. Recently, Y. Boussaid (2022) approaches deixis in Tachelhit from a pragmatic standpoint. He studies demonstratives and prepositions in light of expressing spatial relationships between the speaker and the referent. Finally, M. Kossman (2023) reconstructs proximal markers across different Berber languages [Kossman, 2023]. He also tries to trace the historical evolution of Berber deictics.

Solid contributions have been made to the study of spatial deixis in Berber languages. However, there is a huge gap in the study of spatial deixis from a pragmatic point of view. The existing research on spatial deixis is syntactically-oriented, with no attention given to the socio-pragmatic context consideration. This study has come to address the aforementioned gap by studying spatial deixis in a socio-pragmatic context. This study is both theoretical and empirical. That is, it tries to theorize for spatial deixis and based on how the Tarifit language is used in an authentic context. Therefore, this study is a synchronically fieldwork study where the data is elicited directly from its native speakers.

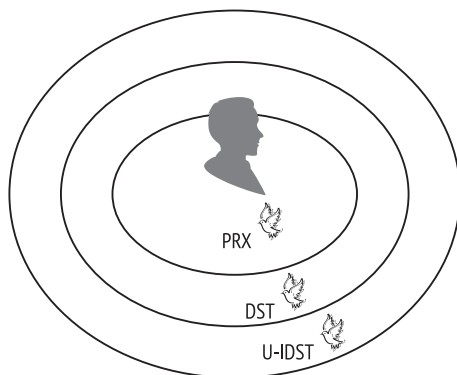
### **3. The Construction of spatial deixis in Tarifit**

#### **3.1. Proximity to the origo**

From the speaker's origo or the deictic center, deictic expressions of location serve as a pointing mechanism that situates the utterance within a spatio-temporal relationship between the speaker and the referent. According

to W.F. Hanks (2009), the measurement of the proximity or distance of the referent (object pointed at) is traditionally based on the ‘I-here-now’ view. This latter view of the speaker-centered origo was developed by K. Bühler (1934) and later explained by C.J. Fillmore (1997) in his lectures. In Tarifit Berber, the referent can be proximate, distal, ultra distal, anaphoric, ostensive, or double ostensive to the speaker’s deictic center. Tarifit language is rich from a deictic perspective, making use of different proximities to the deictic center. This paper adopts the ‘I-here-now’ view, focusing solely on the (-here-) spatial deictic system in the Tarifit variety. In other words, this research attempts to describe and analyze the means (deictic expressions) by which Tarifit language speakers point at a spatial point in a three-dimensional space surrounding the deictic center.

Fillmore (1997) argues that the most common manifestations of the deictic categories in languages appear in demonstrative systems, such as ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘here’, and ‘there’. Additionally, the demonstratives ‘here’ and ‘there’ are widely applicable examples of spatial deixis (Diessel, 1999) (as cited in [Horn, Ward, 2006]). In Tarifit, the deictic system functions as an adnominal system. That is, deictics are added directly to the noun [Kossmann, 2023]. Like most Berber varieties, the Tarifit variety lacks gender and number distinctions in adnominal deixis [Ibid.]. Figure 1 demonstrates the different levels of proximity pointage based on the deictic center of the speaker.



**Fig. 1.** Deictic center in Tarifit

### 3.1.1. *Proximals*

According to Kossmann, Berber languages use the morpheme {-a} to mark close proximity to the speaker. Kossmann sheds light on the fact that the Tarifit variety lacks gender and number distinctions in adnominal deixis

[Kossmann, 2023]. However, Kossmann's falls short in explaining how this morpheme {-a} is morphologically adnominally fused to the base word. This paper adds to the current literature many aspects of Tarifit proximal deictics that are fused into the base words, how phonologically these morphemes affect the preceding sounds of the base, and how these deictic particles are tied to the socio-pragmatic context of their production and use. First, this morpheme {-a} is only valid when the base word is consonant-final. The examples provided consecutively in (1), (2) demonstrate how the consonant-final base word takes the proximal deictic {-a}. This morpheme is attested, using a huge corpus<sup>2</sup>, to be the proximal deictic in Tarifit base words that are consonant-final.

- (1) a. Asnus-**a** (M:SG:PRX)  
       ‘**This** foal’
- b. Ahdid-**a** (M:SG:PRX)  
       ‘**This** baby’
- c. Abrid-**a** (M:SG:PRX)  
       ‘**This** road’
- (2) a. Amnus-**a** (M:SG:PRX)  
       ‘**This** worry’
- b. Lhub-**a** (M:SG:PRX)  
       ‘**This** love’

However, for base words that are vowel-final, the morpheme {-a} is no longer an option. The vowel-final bases take the morpheme {-ya}, which has a double pragmatic function in spatial deixis in Tarifit. One of these functions of the morpheme {-ya} is to mark proximity to the speaker for bases that are vowel-final. The impossibility of the two vowels (the last vowel of the base and the proximity deictic) being put one after another is due to a linguistic phenomenon called vowel hiatus avoidance. The latter linguistic phenomenon addresses a specific type of syllable interaction between two vowel nuclei, occurring when a syllable lacking a coda is followed by a syllable without an onset or what is referred to as a naked syllable. Tarifit language restricts hiatus. Therefore, a consonant is inserted in between the two syllables. The latter resolution to the phenomenon of hiatus is referred to as epenthesis. Therefore, the consonant used for the resolution of hiatus in Tarifit is the glide y. In (3), the example *afa-ya* ‘**this**

<sup>2</sup> This morpheme reoccurs thousands of times in the Tarifit version of the Bible which can be found in the official Bible website at <https://www.bible.com/versions/2807-rif-Tarifit-2020>



*leaf*’ demonstrates how vowel-final bases are suffixed with the morpheme {-*ya*} instead of {-*a*} to avoid hiatus.

(3) Afa-*ya* (M:SG:PRX)  
‘**This** leaf’

Tarifit may refer to some abstract concepts through the use of deictic expressions of space to bring the concept very close to the discussion. The proximal demonstrative *this*, which is equivalent to the morpheme {-*a*}, is used to reduce the distance between the speaker and the concept; see (2). In other words, the proximal demonstrative {-*a*} brings an abstract concept to the table, making the concept very proximate to the utterer of the speech. An example of this proximity of abstract concepts to the discourse would be in (2). *Lhub-a waydji wayxriq* ‘**This** love is one of a kind’ in (2) is a simple example of how the abstract concept of love could be brought very close to the speaker’s deictic center through using the spatial expression {-*a*}. This exists in most languages due to the universality of deixis [Lyons, 1977; Kryk, 1990]. However, in Tarifit language, the use of spatial expressions to bring an abstract concept close to the speaker’s deictic center involves a sort of gestural movement as if the abstract concept is physically present at the moment of utterance production. The gestural movement when pointing at a proximate abstract concept in Tarifit is attested to be true through close observation of participants of this study. This gestural pointage is realized through head movement, pointing at the abstract concept as if it is on the table.

This paper partially agrees with Kossmann’s claim that the proximal deictics are not conditioned by gender and number in Berber languages. However, this research finds out that the effect on the base word shows a sort of phonological effect. These phonological effects of the proximal deictics on the base word manifest in modifying the preceding syllable in many ways; First, vowel hiatus avoidance is a valid example of the phonological modification where the codaless syllable preceding the proximal deictic {-*a*} cannot collide with the following onsetless syllable. The resolution of this vowel hiatus is done through epenthesis or insertion, where the semi-vowel ‘*y*’ is inserted between the two syllables; see the example in (3). Second, the proximal deictic {-*a*} sometimes causes backward affect on the last consonant of the coda. In other words, the last consonant of the coda is geminated, as exemplified in (4a). The latter regressive phonological process is referred to as morphophonemic gemination. It is attested that the morphophonemic gemination, caused by the proximal deictic {-*a*} on the preceding syllable coda, is unique to the masculine singular and masculine plural. In feminine masculine base words, the regressive morphophonemic gemination is not applicable; see (4b). Therefore, the morphophonemic gemination the proximal deictic {-*a*}

causes, in a regressive way, is gender and number conditioned. An example of this gemination that occurs only with the masculine would be the sentence *Ibriynn-a tiran* ‘**these** boys are playing.’ In addition to that, this gemination does not occur with the feminine as can be seen in this sentence *Tibriyn-a tirant* ‘**these** girls are playing.’ This gemination phenomenon needs more research, and it is beyond the scope of this paper.

(4) a. Ibridann-**a** (M:PL:PRX)

‘**These** roads’

b. Tibridin-**a** (F:PL:PRX)

‘**These** pathways’

### 3.1.1.1. Ostensive evidentials

Ostensive is a Latin word *ostēnsīvus* meaning to present or to display. I. Guevara and C. Rodríguez argue that ostensives, the act of closely showing objects, is one of the earliest developments in child communication [Guevara, Rodríguez, 2023]. A. Ninio (1980) adds that ostensives are very effective in vocabulary teaching, where the object is shown to the learners in all its attributes. The link between the ostensive definition of an object and reality is usually ambiguous [Hacker, 1975]. Therefore, further context is required to make the ostensive pointage well interpreted [Kotarbińska, 1960]. In linguistics, ostensive evidential is a linguistic phenomenon in the study of pragmatics where the speaker (the utterer) uses ostensive evidential expressions to present or display something as being very close in front of the speaker. The proximity in ostensive is evidential in the sense that the speaker mainly uses them for argumentation, not for neutral presentation. Ostensive deictics involve what C.J. Fillmore (1997) refers to as the gestural use of deixis.

(5) a. Ahnja-**ya** (M:SG:OE)

‘**This** boy’

b. Tahnjat-**aya** (F:SG:OE)

‘**This** girl’

c. Adba-**ya** (M:SG:OE)

‘**This** pigeon’

d. Asnus-**aya** (M:SG:OE)

‘**This** foal’

In Tarifit, the difference between the morpheme {-**ya**} that works as a proximal deictic and the ostensive evidential deictic is the discursal context. Morphologically, the ostensive evidential deictic {-**ya**} is added

to bases that are vowel-final, as in (5a; 5c). On the other hand, if the base word is consonant-final, the ostensive evidential deictic would be {-*aya*} instead of {-*ya*}, see (5b; 5d). Discoursally, a proximal deictic is used to present something as close to the deictic center of the speaker (e.g. *ahnja-ya ysbah* ‘this boy is good’ (proximal)). On the other hand, the ostensive evidential deictic is mainly used to make the referent (the object being pointed at) explicitly observable to the listener (e.g. *tilifona-ya gfos-ino yxsa*. ‘this phone at my hand is not working.’ (ostensive)). Therefore, the proximal deictic {-*ya*} can be confused with the ostensive evidential deictic {-*ya*}. The data in (3) and (5a; 5c) shows how confusing it is to distinguish between the proximal deictic {-*ya*} and the ostensive evidential deictic {-*ya*}. Therefore, to distinguish between the two aforementioned deictics, it would be necessary to consult the socio-pragmatic context in which the utterance was produced or could be possibly produced.

### 3.1.1.2. Double ostensive evidentials

In Tarifit, ostensive evidential pointing can be doubled in terms of the use of the ostensive deictics. An additional deictic morpheme is added after the ostensive evidential morpheme to express higher degrees of presentative pointage. The examples in (6) manifests the double ostensive at a morphological level where the ostensive *asnus-a-ya-wa* ‘**this** foal, **this** foal, **over here**’, where the base word takes the proximal deictic {-*a*}, the ostensive {-*ya*}, and the double ostensive {-*wa*}. The double ostensive adds to the ostensive word a pragmatic meaning of this sort: ‘look at this thing’, ‘this thing’, ‘over here’. Therefore, the double ostensive deictic morpheme in Tarifit is {-*wa*}, which is only added to the ostensive word.

- (6) a. *Asnus-a-ya-wa* (M:SG:DOE)  
 ‘**This** foal, **this** foal, **over here**’  
 b. *Ayrum-a-ya-wa* (M:SG:DOE)  
 ‘**This** bread, **this** break, **over here**’  
 c. *Amcan-a-ya-wa* (M:SG:DOE)  
 ‘**This** place, **this** place, **over here**’

### 3.1.2. Distals

The proximity to the deictic center in Tarifit is very interesting. Tarifit has special reference to distant objects from the speaker, but it also has reference to objects far away from the speaker. Tarifit shows a proximity category known as medial proximity in some languages. Tarifit uses the morpheme {-*in*} to point to something relatively distant from the speaker [Kossmann, 2023]. However, Kossmann’s study does not take the morphemic environment

of the morpheme {-in}. The distal deictic morpheme {-in} when in collision with a preceding codaless syllable, the insertion of the semi-vowel 'y' takes place; see (7a). That is, the naked syllable cannot be directly in contact with the onsetless syllable of {-in}. The insertion of the semi-vowel 'y' helps with the hiatus avoidance. Tarifit uses the distal deictic expression {-in} to refer to an object not present in front of the speaker but not very far away. That is, the referent is medially distant from the speaker. In (7a), *ahnja-yin* 'that boy' is used to point to a boy neither close nor far from the speaker, but medially close and medially far. The boy is at a distance where the speaker and the boy can still communicate through speaking out loud. This distal deictic morpheme {-in} is something in-between this and that. The distals in Tarifit can be used to create imaginary distance where the referent can be only one meter away, but it is still referred to as a distant referent, as in (7a), where *That boy* can be very close to the speaker, but the speaker decides to distance him from the deictic center, which is dominated by the speaker.

(7) a. *Ahnja-yin* (M:SG:D)

'That boy'

b. *Tabat-in* (F:SG:D)

'That girl'

c. *Aman-in* (M:PT<sup>3</sup>:D)

'That water'

d. *Adrar-in* (M:SG:D)

'That mountain'

### 3.1.3. Ultra distals

At a surface level, the ultra distal morpheme in Tarifit does not seem different from the distal morpheme {-in}. However, there is difference at the phonological level. If the preceding syllable is a naked syllable (codaless), the insertion of the semi-vowel 'y' is necessary. The difference between distals and ultra distals in Tarifit is at a pragmatic level. That is, the socio-pragmatic context of the utterance is required to make a correct interpretation of the utterance. One of the distinctive features of the ultra distals, in the spoken discourse is that the first vowel of the morpheme {-in} is lengthened. In other words, when the first vowel of the morpheme is uttered in the spoken discourse, the vowel is stretched based on the ultra distance of the referent. The more the referent is ultra distant, the more the vowel is stretched to express the greatness of the distance between the speaker and the referent. For this study, we use the colon between the two sounds of the morpheme {-i:n} to express the ultra distance. For example, *aman-i:n*

<sup>3</sup> ST stands for pluralia tantum.

‘**That** water over there’ in (8d) can be used by a speaker to refer to water that is very distant, as water falling down a far-distant waterfall.

- (8) a. Ahnja-**yi:n** (M:SG:UD)  
‘**That** boy **far over there**’
- b. Tabat-**i:n** (F:SG:UD)  
‘**That** girl **far over there**’
- c. Tabat-**i:n** (F:SG:UD)  
‘**That** girl **far over there**’
- d. Aman-**i:n** (M:ST:UD)  
‘**That** water **far over there**’
- e. Adrar-**i:n** (M:SG:UD)  
‘**That** mountain **far over there**’

### 3.1.4. Anaphorics

This paper employs anaphora in a deictic manner. That is, anaphora in Tarifit is used to talk about someone or something already known to the speaker and the listener, but the referent is around. In other words, the deictic anaphora in Tarifit distances someone or something from the actual discussion, even if the referent is physically very close to the speaker. Deictic anaphora, in Tarifit, is also used to talk about someone or something close to the speaker but not directly involved in the discussion. In Tarifit’s spoken discourse, deictic anaphora is also used when the speaker is trying to talk about someone around without explicitly doing so. The examples in (9) present the deictic anaphora morpheme {-**nni**}. In the sentence Ahnja-**nni** wada ydji cha. ‘**That** boy is not here.’, the morpheme {-**nni**} serves as a deictic anaphora morpheme. That is, the boy is known to the speaker and the listener as he was there before and the morpheme {-**nni**} is used to anaphorically refer to the boy who is not present at the moment of the speech act. This morpheme is neither gender nor number-conditioned, and it also does not affect the preceding syllable. The deictic anaphora in Tarifit is very context-sensitive. That is, it requires a good knowledge of the contextual information about the utterance.

- (9) a. Ahnja-**nni** (M:SG:ANPH)  
‘**That** boy’
- b. Tabat-**nni** (F:SG:ANPH)  
‘**That** girl’
- c. Ihnjan-**nni** (M:PL:ANPH)  
‘**Those** goys’
- d. Tabatin-**nni** (F:PL:ANPH)  
‘**Those** girls’

## 4. Conclusion

This paper is an attempt to analyze the Tarifit proximity deictic morpheme. It also explains the pragmatic motives behind choosing one deictic expression over another. The proximity deictic expressions in Tarifit are attested to be abnormal because they are suffixes added to the end of a nominal base word. These suffixes are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Proximity deictics in Tarifit

PRX	OE	DOE	D	UD	ANPH
{-a}	{-ya}	{-a} + {-ya} + {-wa}	{-in}	{-i:n}	{-nni}

This paper proposes that Tarifit has three types of proximals: proximal, ostensive, double ostensive, distals, ultra distals, and anaphorics. Each proximity aspect has a specific suffix and a socio-pragmatic contextual possibility.

The paper concludes that the proximity deictic suffixes are neither gender nor number-conditioned. However, these suffixes enforce regressive effects on the preceding syllable. These micromorphological effects are explained in each case in which they occur. The socio-pragmatic explanation of the proximity deictic expressions is what this paper tries to achieve.

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## About the author / Сведения об авторе

**Morad Kasmi** – PhD in Linguistics; Researcher in Linguistics at the Culture and Identity Studies Research Group of the Multidisciplinary Faculty of Nador, Mohamed First University, Oujda, Morocco

**Касми Морад** – PhD (лингвистика); научный сотрудник в области лингвистики исследовательской группы по изучению культуры и идентичности междисциплинарного факультета Надора, Университет Мохамеда Первого, г. Уджда, Марокко

E-mail: morad.kasmi@ump.ac.ma