Syllabification in ITB

Notes

1. All data comes from the following source.

- François Dell and Mohamed Elmedlaoui. 1985. Syllabic consonants and syllabification in Imdlawn Tashlhiyt Berber. Journal of African Languages and Linguistics, 7:105–130.

2. Bold-faced segments are syllabic nuclei.
3. The exclamation point indicates that the consonants are emphatic.
4. D&E use the abbreviation HV to mean "high vocoid" which encompasses [i u j w].
5. Syllabification is provided by a native speaker (ME). The article does discuss areas where ME expressed uncertainty.

Data

High glides [j w] are in complementary distribution with high vowels [i u], respectively. The underlying phoneme is realized as a full vowel when serving as the nucleus of a syllable, and is realized as a glide otherwise.

j-**attuj**	'it is high'	i-sk**r**	'he does'
imi-nn-**un**	'your mouths'	**i**-k**r**z-**a**-wn	'he ploughed for you'

Below there are syllabicity alternations in the initial consonant of verbs.

3m.sg.	3f.sg	
il.d**i**	t**l**.d**i**	'pull'
ir.b**a**	t**r**.b**a**	'carry on one's back'
in.d**a**	t**n**.d**a**	'shake (milk)'
im.d**a**	t**m**.d**a**	'be worn out'
iz.d**i**	t**z**.d**i**	'put together'
iʒ.l**a**	t**ʒ**.l**a**	'get lost'
iʁ.z**a**	t**ʁ**.z**a**	'dig'
iɦ.d**a**	t**ɦ**.d**a**	'give (gift)'
is.t**i**	t**s**.t**i**	'select'

3m.sg.	3f.sg	
if.si	**tf.si**	'untie'
ix.si	**tx.si**	'go out (fire)'
iħ.ba	**tħ.ba**	'cover'

Below there are syllabicity alternations in the last consonant of verbs. On each line the form on the left is the 2 sg. perfective (the 2 sg. marker is /t- … -t) and that on the right is 3 f. sg. perfective (3 f. sg. is /t-/) with a dat. 3 m. sg. object (/-a-s/).

2.sg perfective	3f.sg. perfective	
tr.glt	**trg.las**	'lock'
ts.krt	**tsk.ras**	'do'
tx.znt	**txz.nas**	'store'
tz.dmt	**tzd.mas**	'gather wood'
!tl.bzt	**!tlb.zas**	'step onto'
tl.bʒt	**tlb.ʒas**	'idem'
tr.kst	**trk.sas**	'hide'
tn.ʃft	**tnʃ.fas**	'graze (skin)'
tm.sxt	**tms.xas**	'transform'

Here are some especially interesting cases.

Underlying	Surface	
/t-agrur-t/	**tag.rurt**	'stable'
/saul-x/	**sa.wlx**	'I spoke'
/ra-t-lul-t/	**rat.lult**	'you will be born'
/ra-t-rgl-t/	**ra.tr.glt**	'you will lock'; ra- future, t- … -t 2sg

Notice that ITB permits syllables syllables of the form C**V**C (tag) and C**V**CC (rurt), as well as C**V** (sa) and C**C**C with glide in onset position and a sonorant consonant as a peak (w**l**x).

Why then is /ra-t-lul-t/ syllabified as [**rat.lult**] instead of [**ra.tl.wlt**]?

D&E page 110: "Call GR syllables (G a mnemonic for"glide" and R for "resonant") those syllables which, like [w**l**x] in (7), have a HV as their onset and a consonantal sonorant as their peak. In ITB words, GR syllables only occur immediately after a syllabic peak."

Underlying	Surface	
/t-iun-t-a-s/	**ti.wn.tas**	'you climbed on him'
/ra-i-mmʁl/	**ra.jmm.ji**	'he will grow'
/ra-i-!rz/	**!ra. jrz**	'it will be broken'

Underlying	Surface	
/ħaul-tn/	**ħa.wl.tn**	'make them (m.) plentiful'

Additional Examples

Underlying	Surface	
ra-t-kti	**ra.tk.ti**	'she will remember'
t-ftk-t	**tf.tkt**	'she suffered a sprain'
ugl-x-tnt	**u**.g**l**x.t**n**t	'I hung them (f.)'
ħaul-tn	**ħa.wl.tn**	'make them (m.) plentiful'
rgl-x	**r**.g**l**x	'I locked'
sxxn	s**x**.x**n**	'dip (in sauce)'
t-xzn-t	t**x**.z**n**t	'you (sg.) stored'
t-xzn-a-s	t**x**z.**n**as	'you (sg.) stored for him'
ar-i-stai=i=lqqaid	**a**.ris.**ta**.ji.**lq**.qa.j**d**	'he selects for the chief'

Sonority Scale

voiceless stop < voiced stop < voiceless fricative < voiced fricative < nasal < liquid < HV < low vowel