

Some new data on expressiveness in Berber

De quelques nouvelles données sur l'expressivité en berbère

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Abstract:

This article endeavors to uncover facets of the rich expressivity inherent in the Berber language, aiming to lay the groundwork for its future definition. Distinguishing itself from prior studies that relied solely on verbal data within a narrow monodisciplinary scope, this work adopts a novel, broader perspective by utilizing an interdisciplinary approach alongside a comprehensive, pan-Berber multimodal corpus.

It commences with a state-of-the-art review to gain a deeper understanding of the subject, highlighting the limitations of past research, which has perpetuated the reliance on monodisciplinary methods and delayed the phenomenon's precise definition. Subsequently, it introduces an innovative methodology that integrates three distinct approaches—both conventional and novel—for analyzing the constructed pan-Berber, verbocorporeal corpus. The article culminates in presenting and elucidating elements of multimodal and multichannel expressivity.

Keywords: Expressivity in Berber - Interdisciplinarity - Multimodality - Multichannel - Verbocorporeal.

Résumé :

Cet article tente de révéler quelques éléments jusqu'ici inconnus de l'expressivité inhérente à la langue berbère. Il se distingue de ses précédents, qui examinaient des corpus verbaux en approche monodisciplinaire, par l'adoption d'un cadre analytique interdisciplinaire s'appuyant sur des données pan-berbères et multimodales.

Ce travail s'étend sur trois parties essentielles : pour approfondir la compréhension du sujet, un état de l'art est présenté en premier. Il expose les limites des études antérieures qui ont perpétué la méthode monodisciplinaire et retardé la conception du phénomène en berbère. S'ensuit la description de l'approche ternaire (linguistique, sémiotique et psychologie) mise en place pour l'analyse du corpus verbo-corporel pan-berbère. En dernier lieu, seront présentés les nouveaux éléments multimodaux et multicanales de l'expressivité en berbère.

Mots-clés : expressivité en berbère - interdisciplinarité - multimodalité - multicanalité - verbo-corporelle.

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Introduction

The exploration of expressivity commenced in the twentieth century with the Geneva School stylistician, Charles Bally, in 1913. Since then, interest in this field has burgeoned, with research expanding to encompass numerous languages, notably French (Combettes: 2013; Laurent: 2022), English (Chauvin: 2007, 2010; Dalban: 2007), Brazilian Portuguese (Kohler: 2007), German (Gautier: 2007; Kauffer: 2007; Schmale: 2013), Spanish (Fretel: 2010), and Russian (Inkova: 2010, 2013), all of which have been the focus of scholarly articles. Linguistics has predominantly anchored these studies, given the plethora of works addressing various linguistic dimensions such as phonetics, rhetoric, pragmatics, discourse, syntax, and an array of expressive modes, including punctuation and stylistic devices like metaphor, hyperbole, and portmanteau words.

However, the inquiry into expressivity has also intersected with other disciplines, leading to the establishment of diverse approaches, including stylistics (Bally: 1913), linguistics (Guillaume: 1919), psychology (Bühler: 1934), and communication (Jakobson: 1963). The intrigue surrounding this topic has consistently engaged scholars, extending to contemporary times. The seminal article by Bordas (2022), which delineates the evolution of expressivity as a term and concept, its varied treatments across different fields and methodologies since the nineteenth century, is crucial for anyone seeking to comprehend the evolution and trajectory of this phenomenon.

In the realm of Tamazight, expressivity has been relatively overlooked within Berber studies, with serious academic attention emerging only in the latter half of the twentieth century. From Galand-Pernet (1965) to the most recent study by Tidjet (2013), the body of work, primarily by Francophone scholars, remains scant and lacks diversity. Scientific progress hinges on the thorough understanding of prior research, its limitations, and deficiencies, followed by concerted efforts to bridge these gaps.

To date, comprehension of expressivity in this context is confined to its nominal sense, underlining the imperative to elucidate the current research landscape, encompassing established definitions, contributing scholars, their respective fields, and methodologies. This endeavor is crucial for devising innovative research approaches and entering uncharted domains.

In Linguistics

Two types of sources are identified: four works in which expressivity is the primary subject of study, and two others where it forms one of the elements of the studied object.

Regarding the first type, the article "Emphasis and Expressivity: The Opposition $\check{z} \approx \check{z}$ in Berber (Southern Morocco)" by Galand-Pernet (1965) stands out, marking the first appearance of the term "expressive" in the Amazigh domain. The expressive pronunciation, essentially the emphasis on the initial phoneme $\check{Z}\check{Z}U$ (to smell bad), leads to the splitting of the original unit $\check{Z}\check{Z}U$ (to smell good) into two variants where the semantic opposition ($\check{Z}\check{Z}U$: to smell good / $\check{Z}\check{Z}U$ with emphasis: to smell bad) is distinguished by emphasis. In other words, the introduction of the emphatic feature can render certain words effective for expressive use: it endows them with the capability to convey meanings accurately, as its presence creates a semantic opposition.

The second type includes the study by Chaker (1997) focused on lexical expressivity in Berber. The use of the word "expressivity" in the title appears more honorary, lacking explicit meaning and not committing to any comprehensive theoretical framework but offering fragments of a procedural definition. From this, it is inferred that expressivity significantly influences the phonetics and lexicon of the Berber language; it is manifested through elongation, reduplication, and affixation; and it conveys functions of endearment, diminution, augmentation, or connotations of pejorativeness, vulgarity, and obscenity.

Thirdly, Nait-ZERRAD (2002) addresses the expressive derivation in Berber, considering both inter- and intra-dialectal variations. After analyzing the morphology and phonetics of the lexicon across more than fifteen variants, he concludes that expressivity is a phenomenon that enriches the Berber vocabulary through the addition of one or more phonemes to the lexicon. Five processes of expressive derivation are identified, with a particular emphasis on affixation, where prefixation is more prevalent than infixation and suffixation. Through affixation, words gain multiple expressive values, adding to those already identified by Chaker, such as repetitive, depreciative, positive, or meliorative. An expressive value is defined by Nait-Zerrad as one that conveys, through expression, the intended message.

Fourthly, Isaad (2012) discusses expressivity as a morpho-phonetic phenomenon. The study of expressive vocabulary within a linguistic framework reveals processes of vocabulary expressivity formation through onomatopoeia, expressive derivation, reduplication, and affixation. Thus, the derived definition posits that the expressive Berber vocabulary is distinguished from the non-expressive vocabulary by formal marks and is characterized by phonetic symbolism, word doubling, and vowel symbolism. Consequently, expressivity is synonymous with the ability to effectively communicate a message through vocabulary via morphological and phonetic marks.

For sources where expressivity is a secondary element, two doctoral theses are noted. Against the backdrop of a pan-Berber corpus drawn from several dictionaries and lexicons of various dialects and speeches, Haddadou (2003) utilizes the adjectival term "expressive" to define affixation as known in the common vocabulary of the Amazigh language. According to him, once the expressive morpheme is affixed to a nominal or verbal base, it enhances the general semantic value of the word by adding its semantic trait.

This trait, based on the examples used, aligns with all the semantic values that carry functions of pejoration, enhancement, degradation, process imperfection, repetition, etc., which intensify the intended idea. Haddadou attributes two characteristics to expressivity: affectivity and intellectuality, organizing the vocabulary into eight domains. Words that express emotions (e.g., hate, love, disgust, desire) and those that convey thought (e.g., reflect, guess, know, learn) are categorized under "feelings" and "thought, knowledge, language", respectively, within the "Qualities, properties, feelings, and knowledge" category. Expressive, in this context, denotes the state of articulating our emotions and thoughts clearly and forcefully.

In studying the morphology and semantics of the patronymy in Timezrit, Sidi-Aich, and Chemini, Tidjet (2013) examines one of the manifestations of expressivity, specifically expressive formation. In the first chapter, the occurrence of the expressive adjectival form is noted. Under "Rules for the Formation of the Berber Lexicon", three types of expressive formations are identified: expressive locutions, onomatopoeic vocabulary, and expressive derivation.

Tidjet makes a pertinent observation about these expressive formations and expressivity, noting their ancient, vibrant, and pan-Berber nature, yet their marginal status in Berber research. He remarks – significantly – that despite the prevalence of expressivity in the Berber lexicon, only derivation has been the focus of limited studies, overlooking other processes that embody diverse semantic and affective values. From this analysis, Tidjet aligns with his predecessors regarding the significance of this phenomenon for the Berber lexicon. He views expressive formations as components of expressivity; a purely linguistic phenomenon marked by affectivity, which, despite being the focus of only a few studies that mainly consider derivation, encompasses a broader range of semantic and affective values.

For Tidjet, expressivity, in its linguistic aspect, is synonymous with affectivity for two reasons: firstly, because an expressive morpheme imbues the base lexemes' primary meaning with an affective orientation, and secondly, because the resulting expressive derivatives invariably carry semantic affective values that supplement the existing meaning.

In Literature

Expressivity appears in three studies. Firstly, Galand-Pernet (1982), during her critique of Western approaches to the analysis of Berber literature, uses the term to denote what effectively expresses the intended message. The author specifies that alongside elements of music, rhythm, gesture, mimicry, and play in space, the expressive intonation, which is an intrinsic factor to the oral product, once excluded from the written reproduction, a limitation given the representational limits of the latter, alters the message (Galand-Pernet, 64 : 1982). It is evident that Galand-Pernet associates the expressive signifier with the signified "state of what announces what one wishes to express."

Following is Mammeri (1991), for whom expressivity is a characteristic of the nine-verse poem. He concludes that it is in this type of poem that expressivity is remarkably condensed. Its verses carry a unit of expressive content (word or phrase) that is a nucleus of ideas and expressions (Mammeri, 87 : 1991). It is simply multi-expressive. Thus, the word expressive here refers to the state of what, whether verse or particularly vocabulary, aptly, unambiguously, and exhaustively expresses the poet's message. The absence of enjambments in the following verse, semantically complementary to the previous one, confirms this interpretation.

Lastly, BOUAMARA (2003), in passing, discusses expressivity without directly involving the term, but rather a phrase that equates to the meaning of the adjective "expressive." In this study of the poetry of Si Lbachir Amellah, the term is introduced in the first sense commonly known to mean what has the virtue of expressing well. To draw attention to the importance that should be given in the analysis of Kabyle poetry to the non-verbal aspect of the poem, which, according to him, has been neglected so far, he notes, in implicit and concise words, that only the verbal aspect is represented in writing oral poetry to the detriment of other semantically significant aspects (Bouamara, 163 : 2003).

By "semantic point of view," it is the expressive value of the non-verbal that is targeted. In the same page context and for argumentative purposes, he cites a passage from the aforementioned Galand-Pernet (1982) who holds the same position but in clearer terms, thus confirming the accuracy of our interpretation.

In summary, expressivity in Tamazight is often conveyed with five main characteristics. Firstly, the disciplinary fields of application are not abundant (Linguistics and Literature). Then, three aspects remain unexploited: 1. The multimodality of the phenomenon (studies limited to the verbal aspect (poems and vocabulary)); 2. Its pan-Berberity (focus on Kabyle and mention of a few variants); 3. Its multichannel nature (posture, gesture, mimicry, silence, sobbing, etc.).

Moreover, it is formulated for the descriptive circumstances of study, sometimes under the nominal form expressivity, other times under the adjectival expressive to name respectively "the character of what has the capacity to express" or "the state of what expresses." Concurrently, its use oscillates between, on one hand, the improvisation in literary metalanguage in its general meaning of "character of what is expressive" without theorization and approach, by the trio Galand-Pernet (1982), Mammeri (1991), Bouamara (2003) and, on the other hand, the linguistic definitions in a well-established and stabilized morpho-phonological approach by Galand-Pernet (1965), Chaker (1997), Nait-Zerrad (2002), Haddadou (2003), Issad (2012).

The pillars of this linguistic content consist of the conceptualization of the word expressivity implying the following elements: A significant, constant, and enriching phenomenon of the Berber vocabulary; the deviation from the norm manifested by formal, phonetic, semantic, and functional marking (i.e., morpho-phonetic-semantic traits or conveyed connotative values); the recorded formation processes numbering five (elongation, onomatopoeias, expressive derivation, reduplication, and affixation); and finally, it carries expressive values: (repetitive, depreciative, positive or meliorative, degradative, pejorative, diminutive, augmentative, imperfection of the process, of place or location, endearing).

This trend is beginning to take hold, as evidenced by its recurrence in successive studies. Lastly, the affective and affective-intellectual dimensions are explicitly stated and proven, even if it is by a minority including Tidjet and Haddadou. That being said, this conception is not far from the affective-intellectual mechanism in Bally's language theory (1952), although it doesn't align with the representational or functional communication concept in Bühler's (1934) and Jakobson's (1963) frameworks, or Guillaume's (1919) discourse formality.

From these observations, we will limit ourselves to two remarks for two reasons: they maintain a relationship of interdependence, and the resolution of this article's problem depends on their discussion. This is indeed about the dual methodological restriction:

First, it is noted that only two disciplines are featured in the study angles of the phenomenon. In linguistics, the established disciplinary choices have predetermined the few approaches implemented, such as morpho-phonology and semantics. A discipline only mobilizes the approaches that are suitable for it, and here, many disciplinary fields remain outside academic interest.

In literature, especially, the use of the word is reduced to the elementary understanding of a nominal or adjectival signifier often improvised in passing in descriptive situations and does not experience any evolution towards a comprehensive theoretical concept that could better grasp expressivity as a literary phenomenon within the Berber language.

Secondly, there is exclusive interest in the verbal dimension of language. Although the actors in both fields have agreed on the meaning of the adjectival form of the term expressive: the state of what is expressive, and the nominal form expressivity: the character of what is expressive, this consensus only involves the small verbal part of the language expressed linguistically and literarily. The one-sidedness of the linguistic approach being insufficient, the bodily or para-verbal manifestations of expressivity are disregarded.

These restrictions, characterizing all these studies, lead to unconvincing definitions. By striving to extract what can be, if one considers the multiple real dimensions of expressivity, one comes back, here and there, empty-handed, with tacit or non-exhaustive phrases. Although the aforementioned data in the conclusion of the state of the matter may, at first glance, be considered by the uninitiated as a theoretical and methodological advance, especially in linguistics, the examination of scattered definitional terms and statements dispels this illusion of perfection.

Consequently, two shortcomings seem impossible to ignore: first, the requirement of interdisciplinarity, which would have been very beneficial for a study aimed at defining expressivity, is not met; second, the imperfection of the formulated definitions, as they do not represent the extralinguistic reality of expressivity and the variational aspect of the Amazigh language.

Therefore, the main question that arises is what is the most appropriate approach capable of revealing the potential multimodal and multichannel content of expressivity in Berber? Also, what do these two dimensions concretely consist of?

We postulate that an interdisciplinary approach combining linguistics, semiotics, and psychology would be more adequate than monodisciplinarity for the perspective of taking into account the other tangible linguistic facets of expressivity. In addition to verbal units that must undergo linguistic analysis to identify, among other things, their expressive traits, the expressive values stemming from verbal and body languages will be revealed through semiotics. As for psychology, it will explain two aspects: the nature of these values and the motivations of the speakers.

From observations and personal experience in Amazigh-speaking environments, we have noted that these linguistic dimensions are manifested mainly through verbal and para-verbal forms, postures, body movements, and even the use of certain objects. From the verbal aspect, the transphrasal level such as proverbs and locutions is especially noteworthy.

Thus, the fixed Kabyle expression "yegzem tasa-w: he cut my liver" expresses the feeling of pity more pertinently than "iyad-iyi: he makes me feel pity," which can be considered ordinary. The paralinguistic includes multifunctional sounds and voices, such as the plaintive one following. A sharp, abruptly emitted cry reflects the feeling of dread, while a gradual and repetitive moan is closely linked to pain due to fever, for example.

Among body movements, there are manual gestures that can, more than others, fulfill the function of expressing exasperation (quick arm movement from left to right or vice versa, from bottom to top). Others, such as facial expressions and gestures (biting the lower lip), are more appropriate than any words to convey the imperative to remain silent or keep a secret.

It is known in Amazigh society that each type of female dance conveys a message: those performed in movements that highlight femininity and beauty, for example, indicate the state of singlehood and the desire to attract suitors among the guests of a party, belly dancing indicates a married status or connotes pride in fertility before peers and rivals, etc.

The wearing of certain jewelry in specific situations is also significant. A fibula positioned on the forehead of a woman in Kabylia signifies that she has just had a boy. This ornament is more expressive and practical than repeating to the multiple encounters or visits of the villagers "d aqcic i yernan yur-i: I just had a boy."

1. The Interdisciplinary and Multimodal Alternative

KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI (2009) in *"the enunciation of subjectivity in language"* notes that it is sometimes impossible to adequately describe verbal acts without considering the non-verbal context in which they are produced. It is after testing deictics that she notes the profitability of opening up to related disciplines (ORECCHIONI, 03 : 2009).

For her, integrating the extralinguistic into linguistic analysis, in particular, is a necessity. Thus, several disciplines and sub-disciplines such as physiology, neurology, rhythmology, anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, phonetics, linguistics, and ethnology, are called to cooperate through their methods and tools in the examination of other linguistic forms according to Marcel Jousse (cited in Candau et al 2012, 16).

Making the phenomenon of expressivity a central object of study with the problem of its multimodal and multichannel content analyzable through the interdisciplinary approach would allow unveiling its substantial richness and deeply understanding its functioning. In other words, interdisciplinarity and multimodality are avenues leading to the expansion of the current definition of the phenomenon in Tamazight.

Because in addition to the very important verbal element, other linguistic forms (para-verbal, corporal, verbo-corporal, or object-related- appearance) no less important will be taken into consideration. Moreover, this approach will engage various and new levels of analysis: both within already tested disciplines (linguistics and literature) or those not yet tested. For our part, of all these other linguistic forms, we will limit ourselves here to the verbo-corporal, supposed to be part of expressivity.

1.1 Linguistic Data

The analyzable data of this research are verbo-corporal, pan-Berber, and simulated. We chose them for their availability compared to the authentic corpus, which was inaccessible due to the health confinement decreed following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. This simulated state of the corpus does not diminish the expected value. True authenticity is being imbued with cultural implicits (Charaudeau, 348 : 2001).

To not prejudice scientific rigor, the randomness of corpus selection is carefully avoided. We believe that the analyzable corpus should be made up of highly relevant filmography, faithfully reproducing the linguistic behaviors of North Africans. The choice fell on the film *Macahu* (Once Upon a Time) made in 1996 by Hadjadj Belkacem and *La Maison Jaune* (The Yellow House) made in 2007 by Hakkar Amor, whose scenes respectively deal with honor in the Kabyle context and drama in the Chaoui context. The performances of the actors, which show no deviation from real life, raise the value and relevance of the linguistic acts to authenticity. From these films, we randomly extracted four scenes.

From *Macahu*, a first representation brings together Farroudja with her relative in the open fields, discussing the partridge eggs that one of them easily finds during the traditional spring festival. In the second, there is another exchange at the entrance of the house between Arezki and his wife Tasaadit who tries to stop him to inquire about his destination as he was furiously preparing to leave on his mule to avenge his honor.

From the film *La Maison Jaune*, we selected the scene of Fatima lamenting and tearing herself apart after receiving the bad news of her son's death in military service and the scene where the same character silently retreats to her room holding her child in her lap.

After submitting the four scenes to procedural choices, the description of which will follow immediately, we obtained nine linguistic acts (table 1).

<i>Macahu</i> Movie	
Localization	Linguistic Act
(1 st) 16:08-16:10	Fixed expression (<i>D allen n umcic i teseid!</i>) + facial expression (Narrowed forehead) Grimace (Furrowed brows + raised upper lip + nostril dilation and

	raising) Gesture (Left hand open, moving outward)
(2 nd) 23:0-23:02	Religious oath expression (<i>Jmaeliman</i>) + gesture (Sharp nodding of the head upward)
(3 ^d) 23:04-23:05	Facial expression (Lower jaw slightly pushed forward) + semi-fixed expression (<i>ma di lqaea i yella ad t-id-skefley</i>) + gesture (Head shaking left and right)
(4 th) 23:05-23:06	Facial expression (Lower jaw strongly pushed forward) + semi-fixed expression (<i>ma deg yigenni ad t-id-yedley</i>) + facial expression (Raised eyebrows) + gesture (Head turned away from the interlocutor)
(5 th) 23:01-23:02	Nominal insult (<i>Mmi-s n teqjunt</i>) + gesture (Head slightly shaking left and right)
<i>La maison jaune</i> Movie	
(6 th) 03:29-03:36	Gesture (Both hands hitting the nape of the neck) + posture (Slightly leaning back torso) + deep breath (Maximal expansion of the respiratory system) + piercing scream (<i>Aaa</i>) + sob (<i>Ehhaaa</i>) + affectionate term (<i>yemmaaa!</i>) + minimal non-verbal phrase (<i>a yemma-inewww!</i>)
(7 th) 03:41-03:44	Minimal non-verbal phrase (<i>A yemma-inew!</i>) + gesture (Both hands hitting both thighs) + posture (Strongly leaning forward torso) + simple phrase (<i>Belqasem yemmuuut!</i>)
(8 th) 03:46-03:52	Minimal non-verbal phrase (<i>A yemmaaa</i>) + sobs (<i>Ehhe he</i>) + gesture (Both hands hitting the nape of the neck) + minimal non-verbal phrase (<i>a yemmaaa!</i>) + simple phrase (<i>Belqasem yemmu-sob (heee)-uut!</i>)
(9 th) 08:26-08:46	Posture (Sitting) + gesture (Elbow of the arm on the knee, palm on the area connecting the frontal, sphenoid, parietal, and temporal regions of the head) + silence

Table 1. Linguistic Acts.

1.2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Based on the objectives and questions posed, the analytical framework can be, without limitation, always monodisciplinary, but completely new, or bi-disciplinary, tri-disciplinary, or even more. Herein, the preferred ternary method engages approaches (linguistic, semiotic, and psychological). Broadly, it is designed to take into account the contextual factors of production, in the broadest sense possible, that influence the expressive linguistic act. This will unveil expressive aspects and traits not yet revealed. Thus, a more comprehensive perception of the studied phenomenon will be possible.

The interdisciplinary examination of linguistic acts will be conducted through approaches already attested or designed by us according to the analytical needs of this research. After locating the beginning and end of each linguistic act in the video scene and identifying the modes of linguistic production, we will begin the linguistic analysis consisting of three stages.

The first is the phraseological examination (Legallois and Tutin: 2013) of the verbal aspect, revealing the types of phrases to which these linguistic acts belong. The second involves the transcription of verbal and para-verbal elements, and the description of organic points of

interest by naming the mobilized organs, and spatial points of interest, which consist of locating the extent of the movements of these organs, whether in the bodily space (mimics and facial expressions, etc.) or peribody space (gestures, postures, and attitudes, etc.) of each linguistic act. The third, relying on the parameter of expressive traits by Inkova (17 : 2007), Monneret (01 : 2010), Legallois and François (13-22 : 2011), we will identify the linguistic and extralinguistic expressive marks of each linguistic act.

The semiotic analysis intervenes to detect the connotative meaning (Barthes: 1970) of the linguistic acts. Finally, the psychological analysis involves, on one hand, Bally's (1952) psychological approach to language, with which we will determine the affective or intellectual nature of the linguistic acts and, on the other hand, the emotional domains approach adopted by Jacques Cosnier (1994), allowing the detection of the speakers' mental states during linguistic activity.

For the sake of conciseness and, sometimes, spatial necessity, certain elements of the analytical process will be represented by the following initials, symbols, and font characters: Initials: Semio: semiotic; Psycho: Psychological; loc: speaker. Acronyms: V. E. A. L: expressive value of the linguistic act; Exp: expression, Loc: Locution. Symbols: Quotation marks "": start and end of a linguistic act; the barred O Ø: not concerned; double dash --: intra-word position; plus +: compositional state of linguistic elements; bold horizontal lines in tables 1 and 2: separate the linguistic acts. Italic type: indicates verbal and para-verbal productions.

1.2.1 Operational Constraints

We identify three problematic elements of intra and inter-linguistic acts. The first concerns the order of certain bodily actions, which are difficult to specify. The fact that they occupy a median position between two verbals makes the entire production, even if pronounced linearly, perceived as a single unit. Two reasons are the cause: either it is spatio-temporally short, or this spatio-temporality presents a continuum.

Therefore, indicating their exact spatio-organic status (preverbal, coverbal, or postverbal) is not easy. The second problematic element is segmental. For example, in a context of contiguity, distinguishing one production from another is not straightforward. According to the classificatory consideration, qualifying a production as a sememe, *sémème*, or linguistic act without a normative referent goes against scientific rigor.

To overcome these two obstacles, we propose a logical and easily provable criterion, which is to rely on the spatio-temporal pause as a demarcation element, where the longer its duration, the more obvious its identification is. In the same situation, the sob also presents a double dilemma. Besides the difficulty of finding a faithful graphic transcription once produced independently of the verbals, naming it in an intra-word context where it permeates a sememe becomes a problem: e.g., "*Belqasem: yemmu-heee-uut: Belkacem is dea- sob-eaead*".

The representation of the sob would be made by the letters closest to it, and its classification would be handled by the aforementioned spatio-temporal pause criterion. The two words being produced without interval and the sob part intervening as an expressive infix, the two overlapping words will be considered as a sememe in their own right.

2. Results of the Approach

At the stage of identifying the productions, three modes and their respective channels appear: verbal (terms, phrases, expressions, and locutions), para-verbal (breathing, scream, sob, and silence), and corporal (mimicry, grimace, gesture, posture, and attitude).

The first step of the linguistic analysis, a phraseological test of the first mode (verbal), revealed these types of translexical linguistic acts: fixed expression; semi-fixed expression; religious oath expression; nominal locution of insult and contempt; affectionate term; minimal verbless phrase, and simple phrase. The second step, after transcribing the verbal and para-verbal elements, the description of the initial organic points of interest in the corporal mode revealed the following mobilizable physical elements: forehead, eyebrows, lips, nostrils, left hand, head, lower jaw, both hands, nape, torso, respiratory system, thighs, elbow, knee, palm, and the region connecting the frontal, spheroid, parietal, and temporal regions of the head.

For the spatial points of interest, we located the extent of the movements of these organs in the bodily space (mimics and facial expressions) or peribody space (gestures, postures, and attitudes). The attested movements are narrowing; furrowing; raising; dilation; opening outward; sharp nod upwards; slight forward push; shaking left and right; strong forward push; turning away; slight shaking left and right; hit; slight backward lean; strong forward lean; sitting position, and above.

In the third stage, relying on the parameter of expressive traits, we identified the linguistic and extralinguistic elements obeying the criteria of degree, linguistic context, and deviation from the norm that elevate each sememe from an ordinary status to an expressive one. The degree criterion appears in two dimensions: The horizontal degree occurs when a variety of modal elements or channels converge to form a fortifying density of meaning, as in the two grimace or gestural sememes in the first linguistic act.

The vertical degree concerns the intensity, that is, the extent and force of realization of a sememe. As for the deviation criterion, it involves other traits such as emphasis, tension, elongation, vibration, suffixation, speed, lightness, and semantic opacity.

The semiotic examination revealed several connotations which are, in reality, expressive values in a cultural context based on all the sememes of the linguistic act. From these productions stem the values of astonishment and discontent; oath; commitment; insult; lamentation and laceration; and mourning.

Lastly, following the psychological test, we noticed, on one hand, that the expressive value of the linguistic acts is of both affective and intellectual nature and presents in a simple (affective or intellectual) or combined (affectivo-intellectual) form. On the other hand, the mental states of the speakers during the linguistic activity vary between jealousy; determination; violent contempt; dejection and shock; sorrow; irritation and despair; and finally, silent anxiety.

<i>Macahu Movie</i>			
Local	Linguistic	Semiotic	Psychological

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	Identification of linguistic act	Transcription of linguistic act	Expressive Traits	V.E.A.L	Locative state	Expressive nature
16 :08 - 16:10	Fixed Exp.	" <i>D allen n umcic i teseid !</i> "	Deviation (from syntactic order)	Surprise and discontent	Jealousy	Affective and Intellectual
	+ Mimic	Narrowed Forehead	Formal degree gap			
	Grimace	Frowning eyebrows + raised upper lip + nostril flaring	Degree			
	Gesture"	Left hand open moving outward	Deviation (orientation and speed)			
23:01-23:02	Religious Oath Exp.	" <i>Jmaeliman</i>	Deviation (focus)	Serment	Determined	Intellectual
	+Gesture"	Head shaking left and right	Deviation (orientation and speed)			
23 :04-23 :05	"Mimic	Lower jaw strongly pushed forward	Formal deviation	Engagement	Determined	Intellectual
	Semi-fixed Exp.	+ <i>ma di lqaæa i yella ad t-id-skefley</i>	Semantic opacity			
	+Gesture"	Secouement de la tête à gauche et à droite	In itself			
23 :05 - 23 :06	"Mimic	Lower jaw strongly pushed forward	Formal degree deviation	Engagement	Determined	Intellectual
	+ Semi-fixed Exp.	+ <i>ma deg yigenni ad t-id-yedley "</i>	Semantic opacity			
	+ Mimic	Eyeblink raising	In itself			
	+ Gesture"	Head turned away from the interlocutor	Linguistic context			
23:01-3:02	Nominal Loc. of Insult	" <i>Mmi-s n teqjunt</i>	Deviation by cliché	Insult	Violent contempt	Affective
	+ Gesture"	Head slightly shaken left and right	Deviation (speed and lightness)			
La maison jaune Movie						
03:29 - 03:36	"Gesture	Clap of both hands on the neck	Deviation of emphasis	Lamentation and tearing	Dejected and shocked	Affective
	+ posture	Bust slightly leaned back	Deviation from neutral posture			

	+ Deep Breathing	Maximum respiratory system dilation	Degree deviation			
	+ Scream	Aaa (piercing)	In itself + Deviation of tension, elongation			
	+ Sob	Ehhaaa	In itself + Deviation of tension, elongation			
	Affectionate Term	+ <i>yemmaaa</i> !	Deviation (tension, elongation)			
	Minimal Averbial Phrase	+ <i>a yemma-inewww</i> ! "	Deviation: (particle, suffixation, elongation)			
03:41 - 03:44	Minimal Averbial Phrase	" <i>A yemma-inew</i> !	Suffixation deviation	Lamentation and tearing	Grieved	Affective
	+ Gesture	Clap of both hands on the thighs	Emphasis deviation			
	+ Posture	Bust strongly leaned forward	Degree deviation from neutral posture			
	Simple Phrase	+ <i>Belqasem yemmuuut</i> ! "	Deviation of tension, elongation			
03:46 -03:52	Minimal Averbial Phrase	" <i>A yemmaaa</i>	Deviation by elongation	Lamentation and tearing	Crumpled, Desperate	Affective Intellectual
	+ Sob	Ehhe he	Deviation of vibration, elongation			
	+ Gesture	Clap of both hands on the neck	Emphasis deviation			
	Minimal Averbial Phrase	+ <i>a yemmaaa</i> !	Deviation by elongation			
	Simple Phrase + Sob	+ <i>Belqasem yemmu - heee -uut</i> ! "	Deviation (consonant tension, vowel elongation)			
08:26 - 08:46	"Posture	Seated	Linguistic context	Mourning	Silent Anxiety	Affective
	+ Gesture	Elbow on knee, palm on head region	Deviation from the neutral hand position			
	+ Silence"	Ø	Linguistic context			

→ Orientation of the analytical procedures →

Table 2. Analytical Procedure.

3. Content of Verbo-Corporal Expressivity

Expressivity is certainly a linguistic phenomenon, but not only that. Phrases like "*D allen n umcic i teseid!* : you have cat's eyes" and "*Mmi-s n teqjunt!* : son of a bitch," for example, go beyond the lexical order so studied. In addition to the possibility of a lateral use, the first phrase is a fixed expression that denotes pejoration, while the second is a nominal locution of insult.

However, the intervention of other sememes, in other words, contextual multichannel elements, reveals semantic nuances. The psychological state of the speaker of "*D allen n umcic i teseid!* : you have cat's eyes" in a competitive situation, even playful, generates jealousy. What externalizes this state of mind is the mobilization by the actress of verbal eloquence (fixed expression) complemented simultaneously by the mode of bodily expression, namely the channels of gesture and facial expression.

Without the corporal aspect, i.e., in a neutral written or oral situation, the expression could have taken other forms like "*allen-im ččabint yer tid n umcic*: your eyes resemble those of a cat" or "*ad tinid d allen n umcic i teseid*: it looks like you have cat's eyes," which would make us think of a simple description without any expressive charge.

The sememes of this mixed mode (verbo-corporal), by the deviation from the linguistic norm of the fixed expression, the degree of mimicry and grimace, and finally, the orientation and speed of the gesture, elevate the entire linguistic act to an expressive rank. It becomes bearer of an expressive value connoting simultaneously astonishment and discontent about the rival's minor achievement.

This double connotation, so to speak, is of an affective-intellectual nature. Similarly, in the fifth linguistic act, the actor supports the insult conveyed by the locution "*Mmi-s n teqjunt!* : son of a bitch" with the corporal mode to express his violent contempt towards the young foreigner who betrayed his trust right after he saved his life. The mixed nature of the linguistic act, co-verbality, and the deviation of the head gesture from the nominal locution contribute to the expressivity of this linguistic act.

The sixth linguistic act involves other aspects, bodily, acoustic, and verbal, which respectively act as expressive modifiers. This sequence in time concerns only the beginning of these aspects, after which their simultaneous realization continues until the end. The actress, being in shock and dejected by the death of her eldest son, initiates the dramatic monologue scene with three movements to express her affect.

These are the gesture of both hands delivering a blow to the nape, the posture of the torso slightly leaning backward, and the dilation of the respiratory system. What makes these movements expressive is the trait of deviation by emphasis of the hand motion, deviation from the neutral posture of the torso, and the maximum degree of respiration. The scream and the sob that follow are expressive components in themselves as they are related to affect and often associated with states of mind such as sadness, pain, and even joy. The sharp character and elongation allow these components to fortify the group of bodily sememes.

In the expressions "*yemmaaaa*: mother" and "*a yemma-inewww*!: oh mother maaa," expressivity does not solely stem from the affectionate quality of the term "*yemmaaaa*: mother," but from the tense articulation and significant vocalic elongation of the vowel *a*. The expressivity of the second expression consists in preceding the name *yemma* with the interpellative particle *a*, adding the possessive pronoun *-inewww*, and especially elongating this latter vocally.

We notice that the presence of these three elements intensifies the call for help conveyed by the affective term *yemma*. It is an intensification proportional to the deep pain and urgent need for compassion. The expressivity of this linguistic act, that is, its relevance to the state of mind of the grieving woman and what she wanted to externalize, is highlighted by the solidarity of the verbal, bodily, and acoustic sememes. These bodily, acoustic, and verbal sememes together connote well-known expressive values in Amazigh culture, namely lamentation and laceration. The complete or partial compositionality of this expressivity is quite clear.

Two other facts are also noteworthy. In the eighth linguistic act, we notice a linguistic phenomenon probably rare in writing and undoubtedly specific to the oral form. It is a verbal production interspersed with another of an acoustic nature. Indeed, it is the simple phrase that, in another context, would have taken the syntactically usual form (noun + verb), which sees an acoustic element (sob) inserted in the middle of the verb, resulting in the form "*belqasem yemmu-heee-uut*!: Belkacem is mo-heee-oort!".

The paradox is that the expressive sememe, originally based on the vocalic elongation of the verb *yemmuuut*, instead of losing its expressivity once cut from its elongation, gains much more. It turns out that the sob, expressive in itself, introduced here as an infix, acts as an expressive intensifier. The influence of the mother's state of mind of irritation and despair, in this unique realization, is clearly visible.

The last act reveals one of the most expressive corpo-acoustic combinations. This other form of expression is manifested by a sitting posture accompanied by the gesture of the elbow on the knee and the palm of the hand on the head, more precisely at the point connecting the frontal, spheroid, parietal, and temporal areas of the head. All of this, enveloped in silence, is suitable for the great misfortune that has befallen the family.

The sitting posture is essentially polysemic, but the presence of the hand gesture on the head is a form of rallying leading to semantic solidarity. It's a complementarity that makes the first a sememe of moral and physical exhaustion and the second one of mourning. If great pains are mute, it is because words are not always expressive and lack relevance in certain situations. The deceased's mother finds no expressive refuge capable of soothing her suffering and anxiety other than in silence.

Crying, sobbing, or lacerating in such situations are certainly expressive, but retreating into oneself in the corner of the house, hand on the head, in a long and heavy silence, is highly expressive: It highlights, in a way, the expressive insufficiency of gestures and cries in this case. This attitude is described by the expression "*atta-n tettef arken*: she isolated herself in the corner" and is well known among Berber women to mark the height of pain, aversion, and depression.

The importance of the contribution of each sememe, the simultaneity of their production, the deviation, or the high degree of their realization are so imposing that the pilot expressive sememe within the linguistic act becomes unrecognizable. This is the case with the first act. By applying the principle of salience (Landragin: 2004), it becomes easily identifiable alongside a neutral sememe or one of lesser expressivity than it.

In the fifth act, the nominal locution "*Mmi-s n teqqunt !* : son of a bitch" aptly expresses the violent contempt of father Arezki towards the dishonest youth. Whereas the slight shaking of the head leans more towards signifying a refusal of the dishonorable situation into which the youth plunged the small family. Between the feelings of refusal and contempt, the latter is more imposing, and it is the locution that places it in a remarkable position.

Finally, we deduce that it is indeed what we will call expressivity with modal and channel alternation. These two traits are more or less recurrent in all the examined linguistic acts. In the sixth linguistic act, a trimodal alternation (corporal-acoustic-verbal) appears, while in the first and ninth acts, the alternation is bimodal (respectively verbal-corporal and corporal-acoustic).

The channel alternation is of two types: the first occurs at the level of the linguistic act and is of two kinds: verbal alternation as in the sixth act (affectionate term-minimal verbless phrase) and in the eighth act (minimal verbless phrase-simple phrase); corporal order alternation like those of the first act (mimic-gesture) and the sixth (gesture-postural). The second type of channel alternation occurs at the sememe level. Although rare, we found one within the fifth sememe of the eighth act, which was realized by infixing the verbal channel with another acoustic one (infixing the sob in the simple phrase "*Belqasem yemmu - aneskef - uut!*": Belkacem is dea-sob-eaead!").

4. Discussion

In light of this research, we were able to confirm our hypothesis which suggested that from a methodological standpoint, an interdisciplinary approach in ternary combination is suitable for a corpus that is both linguistic and extralinguistic, and that these, from a content perspective, consist of a multimodal (verbal, paraverbal, bodily, and verbo-corporal) and diverse and rich multichannel substance (lexical and transphrastic; grimace, mimicry, gesture, and posture; cry, sob, and silence).

The defining elements proposed are the result of analyzing sequences from dramatic scenes. The examination of other situations (comical, playful, work-related, etc.) might reveal other expressive linguistic modes than those discussed in this article, akin to the object mode-appearance (Terrier, 06 : 2013). This expansion of modes and situations to be analyzed could lead to new elements upon which the reconsideration of the current definition of expressiveness in Berber will later rely, making way for another more exhaustive and more subtle definition.

The provisional nature of this analytical framework is sufficiently evident. Parametric elements can be refined, modified, moved, or completely replaced by others. To determine the semantic contribution of a bodily gesture to the entire expressive value of the verb-corporal linguistic act, it is subjected to the same aforementioned semiotic parameter. The acoustic parameter can also act as a detector, more precise than the cognitive psychology parameter, of certain psychological states (being moved, shocked, etc.), and consequently, of the expressive

value of the production, by measuring the intonative, melodic, and accentual levels of one or both linguistic aspects.

The expansion of examination to other disciplines and approaches remains always possible and desirable. Possible, depending on the issue and research questions that need to be addressed. Desirable, considering the exploitable potential of expressiveness. Research aiming at cultural identification can benefit from the remarkable cultural nature evident at first glance in this linguistic phenomenon.

Conclusion

To conclude, it is worth reminding that a comprehensive understanding of any phenomenon requires, among other things, a plethora of studies and an accumulation of knowledge. However, the general context of Amazigh studies has delayed the development of a more complete and precise definition. For a language that has been neglected throughout its millennial existence, it is natural that in half a century of research, the tendency towards foundational research, monodisciplinarity, and the study of basic linguistic elements would prevail over other levels. If interdisciplinarity and transphrastic and discursive levels are waiting their turn or are at the bottom of the scale, it is because neither time nor resources are in their favor.

Nevertheless, the approach implemented here, although imperfect, represents an important step towards significant progress in this regard. The interdisciplinary approach provides us with significant insights into the gaps identified in previous work, namely the absence of interdisciplinarity and the flawed conception of the phenomenon. It also complements the answers already provided to the question regarding the possible tangible elements of expressiveness. Thus, it confirms the imposing and rich nature of expressiveness as it supports the existence of some elements already attested in previous studies, unveils others that are completely new, and opens up valuable research perspectives.

From the elements already attested, we note those of a general and definitive nature such as phenomenality, verbality, affectivity, and intellectuality of expressiveness. However, the elements revealed here are much more significant. First, we note the multimodal (verbal, acoustic, bodily, verb-corporal, verb-corporo-acoustic) and multichannel aspect of each of these modes through which expressiveness is realized. The verbal mode includes the lexical channel (affectionate terms); the transphrastic channel with its various constructions such as fixed and semi-fixed expressions, nominal locutions, simple phrases, and minimal averbal phrases.

The bodily mode encompasses grimaces, mimicry, gestures, and postures, each with several sub-elements that manifest in different spatio-organic ways. The acoustic mode consists of cries, sobs, and silence. The verb-corporal and verb-corporo-acoustic modes are where the elements of the aforementioned channels combine. Added to these are the following procedural characteristics: the procedural traits of the expressive act; the positioning of bodily expressives in the verb-corporal mode; multiple expressive values; two types of communication situations, the diversified mental states of the speaker from which derive three psychological natures of the expressive content.

Among the elements that open a chain of new research perspectives is the notion of the "degree" of expressiveness. It is a concept that suggests the idea of a gradation of the expressiveness phenomenon by levels. This gradation could range, for example, from non-expressive to expressive, through less expressive, depending on the relevance of the signifier-signified relationship, in order to identify the constitutive elements of expressiveness. Consequently, one can concretely distinguish the expressive from the inexpressive, which is not straightforward given the current borderline ambiguity. Once the boundaries between expressive and inexpressive are established, identifying the recurring expressive levels of the modes of expression will become easier.

In addition to other foundations to be established, all of this will enable the recognition of expressiveness in its diversity. Expressiveness, as a linguistic parameter in the broad sense, can be beneficial for new studies in linguistic anthropology, cultural ethnology, and interpretation. In the latter, for example, the exact meaning of a statement can be more easily grasped by considering the significance of the accompanying bodily expressions. This is a parametric element whose consideration will reveal aspects of the substance of cultures and identities of peoples.

Finally, we can introduce the concept of expressiveness, in its phenomenal substance, into another field, which is rhetoric. Monolingual speakers of Kabyle and Chaoui, in certain linguistic situations, spontaneously draw from their linguistic reservoirs verbal, bodily, and especially verb-corporal and acoustic expressions highly marked by expressiveness, to convince or persuade. While the argumentative strategies of each differ in form and substance, isn't the expressiveness of these Berber speakers one of the tools of argumentative performance?

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