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A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya)
Based on Umberto Paradisi's Material

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Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Material	2
1.2	Linguistic variation	6
1.3	Notes on terminology of word structure	7
1.3.1	The accent unit	8
1.4	Notes on the transcription	8
I	Grammar	11
2	Phonology	13
2.1	Consonants	13
2.1.1	Consonantal contrasts	14
2.1.2	Consonantal length	15
2.1.3	Affricates	16
2.2	Vowels	16
2.2.1	Long vowel signs	17
2.2.2	Short vowel signs	25
2.2.3	Diphthong signs	31
2.2.4	Overview	35
2.2.5	Schwa in open syllables	37
2.2.5.1	Epenthetic schwa	38
2.2.5.2	Initial schwa	39
2.3	Assimilations	41
2.4	Syllable structure	42
2.5	Accent	43
2.5.1	Default accent	44
2.5.2	Phonological accent	44
2.5.2.1	Nominal phonological accent	44
2.5.2.2	Verbal phonological accent	45
2.5.3	Reliability of Paradi's accent transcriptions	46
2.5.3.1	Paradisi's accent transcriptions of Zuara Berber	46
2.5.3.2	Paradisi's accent compared to Beguinot's	50

3	Noun	53
3.1	Features of the noun	53
3.1.1	Gender	53
3.1.2	Number	53
3.1.3	State	54
3.2	Morphology of the noun	55
3.2.1	The prefix	55
3.2.1.1	Masculine sg. <i>a-</i>	56
3.2.1.2	Masculine sg. <i>ø-</i>	56
3.2.1.3	Masculine sg. <i>i-</i>	57
3.2.1.4	Isolated masculine formations	58
3.2.1.5	Feminine sg. <i>tə-</i>	58
3.2.1.6	Feminine sg. <i>t-</i>	59
3.2.1.7	Feminine sg. <i>ta-</i>	59
3.2.1.8	Feminine sg. <i>tu-</i>	61
3.2.1.9	Feminine sg. <i>ti-</i>	61
3.2.2	The suffix	61
3.2.2.1	Feminine singular suffix <i>-t</i>	62
3.2.2.2	Masculine plural <i>-ən</i>	62
3.2.2.3	Masculine plural <i>-awən</i>	63
3.2.2.4	Masculine plural <i>-iwən</i>	63
3.2.2.5	Masculine plural <i>-in</i>	64
3.2.2.6	Masculine plural <i>-an</i>	64
3.2.2.7	Masculine plurals <i>-wən, -win, -anən, -yin/-iyin</i> . . .	64
3.2.2.8	Feminine plural <i>-in</i>	65
3.2.2.9	Feminine plural <i>-tin, -itin</i>	65
3.2.2.10	Feminine plural <i>-win</i>	66
3.2.2.11	Feminine plurals <i>-iwin, -awin, -yin, -yat</i> and <i>-ən</i> . . .	66
3.2.3	The stem	67
3.2.3.1	<i>i</i> -infix plural	67
3.2.3.2	<i>a</i> -infix plural	68
3.2.3.3	Long vowel removal plural	68
3.2.3.4	<i>-iċ-ən</i> plurals	69
3.2.3.5	<i>i</i> -infix with plural suffix	69
3.2.3.6	Suppletion	69
3.2.3.7	Isolated formations	70
3.3	Arabic loans	70
3.4	Nominal derivation	71
3.4.1	Agent nouns	71
3.4.2	Instrument nouns	71

4	Verb	73
4.1	PNG-marking	73
4.1.1	Regular PNG-marking	73
4.1.2	Imperative PNG-marking	74
4.1.3	Stative PNG-marking	74
4.1.4	The participle	74
4.1.4.1	Other	75
4.1.5	Stem variation in Final * verbs	77
4.2	Derivational prefixes	78
4.2.1	Causative	78
4.2.2	Passive	80
4.2.3	Middle	81
4.2.4	Combined prefixes	81
4.3	Morphology of the verb stem	81
4.3.1	Verbal clitics	83
4.3.1.1	Negative clitic <i>ur=</i>	83
4.3.1.2	Future clitic <i>a=</i>	83
4.3.1.3	Object clitics	83
4.3.1.4	The lexicalized deictic clitic <i>=d</i>	84
4.3.1.5	Resultative clitic <i>=a</i>	84
4.3.2	Negation	85
4.3.3	Verb stems	85
4.3.3.1	ccc	86
4.3.3.2	cc*	86
4.3.3.3	nc*	88
4.3.3.4	cci	88
4.3.3.5	c̄c	89
4.3.3.6	c̄*	89
4.3.3.7	c̄i	90
4.3.3.8	cc	90
4.3.3.9	c*	91
4.3.3.10	ci	92
4.3.3.11	vcc	92
4.3.3.12	vc*	93
4.3.3.13	cccc	93
4.3.3.14	c̄c̄c̄ ~ c̄c̄c̄	94
4.3.3.15	c̄c̄*	95
4.3.3.16	c̄c̄i	95
4.3.3.17	cvcc	95
4.3.3.18	cvc̄(*) ~ c̄vc̄(*)	95
4.3.3.19	c̄vc̄(*)	96

4.3.3.20	cvc(*)/cvc*	96
4.3.3.21	ccvc(*)/ccvc	97
4.3.4	Verbs with final t/y variation	97
4.3.5	Further unclassifiable and irregular verbs	97
4.3.6	Stative verbs stems	99
4.3.6.1	c̄c̄c	99
4.3.6.2	ccvc	100
4.3.6.3	cvcc	100
4.3.6.4	c̄vc	100
4.3.6.5	vcvc	101
4.3.6.6	ccv	101
4.3.6.7	Stative verbs of Arabic origin	101
4.3.7	Causative verb stems	101
4.3.7.1	š-ccc	101
4.3.7.2	š-cc(*)	102
4.3.7.3	š-nc(*)	103
4.3.7.4	š-cci	103
4.3.7.5	š-c̄c	103
4.3.7.6	š-c̄*	103
4.3.7.7	š-vcc	104
4.3.7.8	š-vc(*)	104
4.3.7.9	š-ccvc	104
4.3.7.10	š-cvc	104
4.3.7.11	š-c̄vc	105
4.3.8	Passive verb stems	105
4.3.8.1	t-ccc	105
4.3.8.2	tt-cc(*)	105
4.3.8.3	tt-cc	105
4.3.8.4	tw-vcc	105
4.3.8.5	tw-vc(*)	106
4.3.8.6	t-cvcc	106
4.3.9	Middle verb stems	106
4.3.9.1	m-c(*)	106
4.3.9.2	m-cvcc	106
4.3.10	Combined prefix verb stems	106

6	Pronoun	109
6.1	Personal pronouns	109
6.1.1	Independent pronouns	109
6.1.2	Direct object clitics	111
6.1.3	Indirect object clitics	113
6.1.4	Prepositional suffixes	115
6.1.5	Kinship possessive suffixes	117
6.2	Reflexives	118
6.3	Relative pronouns	119
6.3.1	Pre-modifier pronominal heads	119
6.3.2	General relative pronouns	120
7	Deixis	123
7.1	Deictic clitics	123
7.2	Deictic pronouns	125
7.3	Presentative deictics	126
7.4	Adverbial deictics	127
8	Prepositions and postpositions	129
8.1	Prepositions	129
8.1.1	Basic prepositions	129
8.1.1.1	<i>id</i> 'with (comitative), and'	129
8.1.1.2	<i>af</i> 'on'	130
8.1.1.3	<i>ar</i> 'to'	131
8.1.1.4	<i>s, s-yar, s-ar</i> 'from'	131
8.1.1.5	<i>s</i> 'with'	132
8.1.1.6	<i>n</i> 'of'	133
8.1.1.7	<i>i</i> 'to, for'	133
8.1.1.8	<i>am</i> 'like'	134
8.1.1.9	<i>ir</i> 'until'	134
8.1.1.10	<i>bèyn</i> 'between'	134
8.1.2	Preposition-like constructions	134
8.1.2.1	<i>agùr</i> 'near, on the side'	135
8.1.2.2	<i>tammàst</i> 'in the middle'	135
8.1.2.3	<i>zùt</i> 'above'	135
8.1.2.4	<i>dáffar</i> 'behind, after'	136
8.1.2.5	<i>dít</i> 'in front of'	137
8.2	The locative postposition = <i>i</i>	137

9	Quantifiers	141
9.1	Numerals	141
9.2	Cryptic numerals	142
9.3	<i>kkull</i> 'all, whole'	143
9.4	<i>kull</i> 'each'	143
9.5	<i>aggùt</i> 'much, many'	144
10	Syntax	145
10.1	The basic sentence	145
10.2	Non-verbal sentences	148
10.2.1	Copular sentences	148
10.2.2	Prepositional sentences	148
10.2.3	Locative sentences	149
10.2.4	Possessive sentences	149
10.3	Yes/No-questions	149
10.4	Topicalization	150
10.5	The usage of TAM-stems	150
10.5.1	Imperative	151
10.5.2	Perfective	152
10.5.3	Sequential perfective	153
10.5.4	Resultative	155
10.5.5	Future	156
10.5.6	Imperfective	157
10.6	Relative clauses and relative clause-like formations	158
10.6.1	Subject relative clauses	158
10.6.2	Direct object relative clauses	159
10.6.3	Indirect object relative clauses	160
10.6.4	Prepositional relative clauses	160
10.6.5	Non-verbal relative clauses	160
10.6.6	Adjoined relative clauses	161
10.6.7	Cleft sentences	162
10.6.8	Question word sentences	162
10.6.8.1	<i>mag-wa</i> 'which? what?'	164
10.7	Clause linking	164
10.7.1	Coordination	164
10.7.1.1	Noun phrase coordination	164
10.7.1.2	Clausal coordination	165
10.7.2	Adversative conjunctions	166
10.7.3	Complementation	167
10.7.4	Comparison	167
10.7.4.1	The comparative <i>axir</i> 'better'	167

10.7.5	Subordination	168
10.7.5.1	Conditionals	168
10.7.5.2	Temporal conjunctions	169
10.7.5.3	Cause	170
10.7.5.4	Finality	170
II	Appendices	173
A	Müller's material	175
B	Beguilot's & Paradisi's transcriptions	179
C	Texts	181
C.1	Texts from Paradisi	181
C.1.1	Text I	181
C.1.2	Text II	183
C.1.3	Text III	188
C.1.4	Text IV	191
C.1.5	Text V	194
C.1.6	Text VI	198
C.1.7	Text VII	200
C.1.8	Text VIII	201
C.1.9	Text IX	203
C.1.10	Text X	205
C.1.11	Text XI	206
C.1.12	Text XII	207
C.1.13	Text XIII	209
C.1.14	Text XIV	210
C.1.15	Text XV	211
C.2	Texts from Zanon	222
C.2.1	Song I	222
C.2.2	Song II	223
C.2.3	Song III	224
C.2.4	Song IV	224
C.2.5	Song V	225
C.2.6	Song VI	226
C.2.7	Song VII	226
C.2.8	Song VIII	227
C.2.9	Song IX	228
C.2.10	Song X	228

C.2.11	Song XI	229
C.2.12	Song XII	230
C.2.13	Song XIII	231
D	Lexicon	233
D.1	Introduction to the lexicon	233
D.1.1	Structure of the Dictionary	233
D.1.2	Structure of an Entry	234
D.1.3	Abbreviations	235
Bibliography		335

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Abbreviations and glosses

-	Morpheme boundary	prog.	progressive
=	Clitic boundary	pron.	pronoun
:	grammatical information	prox.	proximal
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd and 3rd person	ptc.	participle
adj.	adjective	quant.	quantifier
adv.	adverb	rel.	relative pronoun
caus.	causative	res.	resultative
ccc, cc*	Verb type, see section 4.3	seq.	sequential perfective
ċ* etc.			
conj.	conjunction	sg.	singular
dist.	distal	sm, pm,	m.sg., m.pl, f.sg. and f.pl (in
		sf, pf	glosses)
DO	Direct Object	stat.v.	stative verb
excl.	exclamation	suff.	suffix
f.	feminine	v.n.	verbal noun
fut.	future	PNG	Person, Number, Gender
imp.	imperative	TAM	Tense, Aspect, Mood
impf.	imperfective		
inter.	interrogative		
interj.	interjection		
irreg.	irregular		
kin.	kinship term		
IO	Indirect Object		
m.	masculine		
mid.	middle		
neg.	negative		
num.	numeral		
pass.	passive		
pf.	perfective		
*pf.	pf. or seq.		
pl.	plural		
PMPH	pre-modifier	pronominal	
	head		
P.N.	place name		
prep	preposition		

Chapter 1

Introduction

Awjila¹ is a Berber language, spoken in the oasis of Awjila in eastern Libya, about 250 kilometers south of Ajdabiya, and 400 kilometers west of the Berber-speaking Egyptian oasis of Siwa. The oasis is known as *ašāl n awilān* in the Awjila language and as *awžila* (أوجلة) in local Arabic. It is already mentioned by the name Αὔγίλα by the classical Greek historian Herodotus (Histories 4.172).

Not much is known about the number of speakers of the Awjila language, which has been notoriously difficult to research due to the political situation in Libya in the past decades. A recent study says that there were 8,515 inhabitants in 2006². It is unknown how many of these inhabitants speak the Awjila language. Umberto Paradisi, who studied the language in the 1960s, makes no mention of the number of speakers. Recent information indicates that the language is still alive, although its sociolinguistics remain unclear. Adam Benkato, a researcher active at SOAS, has confirmed in personal correspondence that he has recently met speakers of the language in Benghazi. Moreover, after the fall of Gaddafi's regime, the present president of the Congrès Mondial Amazigh, Fathi N Khalifa, visited Awjila. According to him (p.c.), there are still people who speak the language in Awjila, but he expresses great concern about the vitality of the language, as all fluent speakers seem to be very old. Several years ago, Simone Mauri, another researcher at SOAS, went to Awjila in order to do fieldwork on the language. Due to issues with the local authorities, he was unable to continue this research project, but he also confirms that the language is still alive.

The political situation in Libya at the time of writing this book makes it impossible to do research on the spot. All data presented here is based on written sources.

This book aims to be a comprehensive study of the Awjila language, based on the published lexical and textual data. The grammatical part draws on a rich tradition of studying Berber languages, and much inspiration has been drawn from grammatical descriptions of other Berber languages such as Bentolila (1981), Penchoen (1973), Mitchell (2009), Souag (2010), Chaker (1983) and Kossmann (1997; 2000; 2011; 2013b). The grammar draws upon established terminology and well-established concepts within the Berberological tradition. For comprehensive overviews of Berber languages, the reader is referred to Basset (1952), Galand (2010) and Kossmann (2012).

¹Also written Awdjilah, Augila, Aoudjila, Ojila and Aujila.

²Taken from Wikipedia (<http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/أوجلة> accessed April 9 2013), which cites Al-Hajhāj (2008: 120).

The second part presents the Awjila texts published in two available text sources. These texts are given in their original form, provided with a phonemic analysis, glossed and translated.

The third part of the book presents what is known about the Awjila lexicon, drawing on the various sources available. Because Awjila retains some archaic features, and its internal development is not well understood, I also provide cursory notes on the etymology of the words.

1.1 Material

Not much has been published on the Awjila language, but its earliest attestation dates as far back as 1827. Müller (1827) is a lengthy word list of Awjila words, with a commentary by Joseph Élie Agoub (1795-1832), professor of Arabic at the Lycée Royal de Louis-Le-Grand in Paris (Pouillon 2008: 8). This earliest source of the language is a list of words in Arabic and Latin transcription, that spans over thirty pages. Sadly, the material is of very little use. As pointed out already by Agoub in his commentary, Müller does not adequately distinguish ت from ط, س from ص, ك from ق and ا from ع. This can be seen from numerous variant forms found throughout the word list, such as *Achever* عمّرت besides *Finir* امرت, both representing the same lexical item, but written alternately with ا and ع. It should be remarked, though, that Müller's transcription of Awjila *v* is highly consistent. While in the Arabic transcriptions *v* is not distinguished from *w* (both written with و), the Latin transcription distinguishes the two: *w* is written as <ou> and *v* is written as <w>. Examples of <w> include: *yéwella* يوله 'pleurer' for /ivallá/, *yétawer* يتور 'bouillir' for /itavər/, and *tewerquiat* تورقيات 'rêver' for /təvərgàt/ 'dream'.

Müller often did not hear the final consonants of words, which can be shown by comparing it to the much better material provided in later sources (especially Paradisi 1960a;b). For example: <alida> اليده 'butter', cf. Paradisi <alidâm> 'id.'; *téghardim*, *taghardim* تغرديم 'scorpion, reptile', cf. Paradisi <tgardímt> 'scorpion', *lahbou* لخبو 'date, fruit' cf. Paradisi <lahbûb> 'date (ripe)'.

Even though Müller was added to the expedition because of his knowledge of Arabic (Pacho 1827: v), this knowledge may have been rather restricted. He failed to recognize the Arabic origin of *alida* اليده and *lahbou* لخبو, as can readily be seen from the Arabic transcription. Lack of knowledge also shows in certain other words such as: *elakkenes* الكنس 'prix, valeur', which is clearly *al-ħaqq* cliticized with the Berber 3sg. possessive clitic =*ənn-əs*. This word is also attested in a later source (Paradisi 1960b), which confirms that the word exists in Awjila, and that it is pronounced *əlħàqq*, with a pharyngeal fricative and a uvular stop. Such a mistake would be unthinkable had he been really familiar with Arabic.

Müller's obvious lack of knowledge of Arabic makes it all the more remarkable that

some words in the list have a perfect Arabic spelling. Possibly Agoub not only marked Arabic loanwords with an asterisk (*), as he claims to have done, but also amended Müller's transcriptions when he was confident that he was dealing with an Arabic loanword. This is illustrated by his misinterpretation of the word 'head' (<tgîli, tĕgîli, tĕgîli> in Paradisi), which is written as the Classical Arabic word for 'heavy': *cerveau*; *tête taqileh* ثقيله; *cervelle taqileh* ثقيلة. The choice to represent *t* by ث does not occur elsewhere in the word list. It can only be understood if we assume that Agoub thought to recognize an Arabic loanword, and amended Müller's transcription to this effect.

Müller also produced demonstrably artificial verb forms, which cannot have come from a native speaker. For example, *yefkès* يفكس 'emprunter' is transparently *yafk-îs* 'he gave it to him'. While the translation is incorrect, the misunderstanding is understandable and the form no doubt comes from his informant. In addition to this, however, Müller lists another word, *miéfkes* ميفكس 'emprunt', which seems to be the word <yefkès> with the Arabic Passive Participle prefix *m-* placed in front of it. This form cannot come from his informant. Even if Awjila would have borrowed the passive participle prefix, for which there is no evidence whatsoever, it is inconceivable that it should be placed on a verb that has the 3sg.m. prefix *yə-* with the Indirect Object clitic =*is* still attached. Countless examples of such artificial passive participles can be found throughout Müller's word list.

Finally, Müller may have conducted part of his research with an informant that spoke Arabic rather than Awjila. While some words are clearly of Berber origin, and sometimes clearly loanwords from Arabic that went through a Berber mould, many words seem to represent Arabic rather than Berber.

This would explain the form of many of the non-Berberized Arabic 'loanwords' in the material. Arabic loanwords in Awjila, and Berber languages in general, are almost always borrowed with the Arabic article attached while the feminine ending *-a* appears as *-ət* (see section 3.3). In Müller's material we find many examples of Arabic 'loanwords' that lack the Arabic article, and feminine nouns that simply end in *-a*.

Müller and his informants apparently did not have a language in common in which they could communicate fluently. This is obvious from the many wrong translations of words. For example, Müller records *tement* تمننت 'bee', while this is in reality the well-attested Berber word for 'honey', recorded by Paradisi as: <tîmĕnt>.

There is some evidence that at least one of Müller's informants communicated with Müller in Italian. Müller records the word *teguibibi* تقيبيبي as 'peser', i.e. 'to weigh'. Paradisi has this same word with a completely different meaning: <tegbîbî> 'name of a sparrow'. We can understand this by assuming that Italian was the intermediary language. The Italian word for 'sparrow' is 'passero', which may have been misunderstood by Müller in the sense of French 'peser'.

Considering the amount of problems in Müller's material, one simply cannot draw *any* conclusions from the material, in terms of phonology and morphology, and one has to be extremely cautious when dealing with the lexicon. Only words that have very

obvious Berber cognates, or are also attested in Paradisi (1960a;b), have been included in the lexicon in part D.

Some other early data on the Awjila language are found in a letter by Moritz von Beurmann (1862), which contains ten words. The transcriptions are difficult to interpret, and some forms contradict what we find in later sources. The ten words are provided in the table below:

head	tignani
hair	schahr, suf
hand	fuss, fussum
water	imin
sun	itfukt
cattle	funas
mountain	loyum
date	tina
dried date	lachbub

tignani is perhaps *təgīli* ‘head’. If this word was transcribed from original Arabic, we may imagine that *l* and *n*, and final *ny* and *y* have gotten confused.

schahr, suf are clearly Arabic words: *šahr* ‘hair’ and *šūf* ‘wool’.

fuss, fussum ‘hand’ represents *afūs* and probably its plural *fissən*, note that the initial *a-* has been omitted.

imin ‘water’ is well known, and the form is unique to Awjila: *imìn*; all other Berber languages have *aman*.

itfukt ‘sun’ is unusual. Paradisi records a form *tafūt* without the final stem consonant *k* that is found in many other Berber languages. Perhaps this form was “corrected” by Beurmann on basis of the Siwa form that he also cites, with the same spelling.

funas ‘cattle’ is the common Berber word *afunas* ‘bull’, also attested in Awjila, once again without the initial *a*.

loyum is transcribed as <logum>, but is provided with a footnote of the editor that the original text had a *š* on top of the letter *g*. This word must certainly stand for *aləyəm* ‘camel’. The translation ‘mountain’ is probably the result of a confusion between Arabic *jamal* ‘camel’ and *jabal* ‘mountain’.

tina ‘date’ looks like the common Berber word for ‘date’ (not attested in the other sources on Awjila), but the form is unexpected in Awjila. From Tuareg and Ghadames attestations, we know that this word had a Proto-Berber **β* (Kossmann 1999; 2002), whose regular reflex in Awjila is *ν*.

The final word, *lachbub* ‘dried date’ is easily recognisable as the plural of *alḥəbb* ‘date’: *ləḥbùb*.

The first professional linguist working on Awjila was the Italian berberologist Francesco Beguinot (1879-1953), who cites words collected by himself in three of his articles.

The first article (Beguïnot 1921) is an overview on Berber studies, in which he cites over fifty lexical items from Awjila. The transcriptions are of high quality, and largely agree with those found in our later source, Paradisi (1960a;b).

The second article (Beguïnot 1924) discusses *b*, *v* and *f* in Berber. It constitutes the first comprehensive analysis of Proto-Berber **β*. In this article, again, Beguïnot cites several Awjila words. Among others, it provides the perfective paradigm of the verb *urəv* ‘to write’, the only complete paradigm available to us in the language.

The third article (Beguïnot 1925) discusses the phonetic features of the Nefusi Berber dialect of Fassâto. In doing so, Beguïnot compares two Nefusi words with Awjila cognates, providing us with two more Awjila words.

The next source is an ethnographic article by Zanon (1932)³, which includes the transcription of 13 short songs and sayings in the Awjila language. The transcriptions are sometimes difficult to interpret, but considerably better than those of Müller and Beurmann. Zanon appears to not have been familiar with Berber grammar, and often wrongly translates the grammatical person of the sentence. Some translations are very free. Unexpected reflexes such as *q* where we expect *g* and *γ* where we expect *g* strongly suggest that his transcriptions are based on texts first transcribed in Arabic, probably by native speakers. Despite its problems, the data is very useful.

The main source on Awjila is at the same time the last information that we have on the language. It consists of two articles, published shortly one after the other, by the Italian scholar Umberto Paradisi (1925-1965). Paradisi graduated in oriental languages, literature and institutions at the Naples L’Orientale University in 1951. He worked as a diplomat in Tripoli and Benghazi for several years, while continuing to publish articles on Berber linguistics and prehistoric rock art. He died in a car accident on April 14, 1965 in Benghazi (Serra 1965). The first article is a word list (Paradisi 1960a), containing 600 entries, which make up the bulk of lexical information available to us on the language. Paradisi purposely left out almost all Arabic loanwords in this word list (Paradisi 1960a: 157). Considering the large amount of Arabic loanwords that occur in the texts, the initial corpus of words that Paradisi collected during his fieldwork may have been twice as large as the material presented in the word list.

The second article presents fifteen texts (Paradisi 1960b), amounting to about 1,800 words in total. They are essential for a deeper understanding of the grammar, but they also are a source of the many Arabic loanwords present in the language. Anything said about the the grammar in the present study, is based on these two sources unless explicitly mentioned otherwise. Paradisi’s transcriptions are basically consistent, and inconsistencies seem to point to small variations in pronunciation which Paradisi has meticulously written down, rather than to mistakes or carelessness by the author.

The system of Paradisi’s vowel transcriptions is complex. One gets the impression that they are of high accuracy, but only a careful study allows to get a deeper under-

³I wish to thank Vermondo Brugnatelli, who was so friendly to send me a copy of this article.

standing of the phonemics and phonetics that lie behind the transcriptions. The vowel transcription system is discussed in section 2.2.

The notations of the accent also require special attention. While many of the accents in Paradisi's transcriptions appear to be consistent, there is considerable variation in some forms. The reliability of the accents will be studied in more detail in section 2.5.3.1 and 2.5.3.2.

Based on the primary sources mentioned above, several other authors have done research on aspects of the Awjila language, but none constitute a comprehensive descriptive work. Prasse (1989) is a short encyclopaedia article, providing an overview of the language, highlighting some of the unusual aspects of the language. Basset (1935; 1936) and Brugnatelli (1985) discuss the resultative formation in Awjila and Siwa. Kossmann (2000) is a study on the future formation in Ghadames and correctly notes that also in Awjila the imperative and future formations are morphologically distinct. Awjila also plays a significant role in Kossmann's reconstruction of the Proto-Berber phoneme **β* (Kossmann 1999). Vycichl (2005: 64-65) examines the widespread development of Berber *a* to *i* in Awjila. Souag (2010) frequently compares Siwa to Awjila, comparing several of its morphological and lexical features. Naït-Zerrad includes Awjila in his root dictionary (Naït-Zerrad 1999; 2002 but not in Naït-Zerrad 1998). Most recently, Kossmann (2013a) pays special attention to several specific points of Awjila syntax, and to what extent this can be attributed to Arabic influence.

This book constitutes the first systematic study of the grammar of the Awjila language. It provides a detailed analysis of its phonology, morphology and syntax. The final part of the thesis is a collection of all words attested in Awjila, ordered by root, and compared to other languages. In this way, I hope that the highly interesting grammatical and lexical features of Awjila will be accessible for future studies on historical linguistics, Berber grammatical systems, and more generally on the Eastern Berber languages.

1.2 Linguistic variation

An issue still open to further research is the linguistic unity of Awjila. The different sources on the language often show slight differences in morphology which cannot be explained easily without assuming a certain amount of linguistic variation.

Zanon's texts display several forms that are different from what we find in Paradisi (1960a;b). The 1sg. possessive marker, which is *ənn-ùk* in Paradisi, is found as *ənn-ùx* in song II. The 1sg. PNG-marker *-x* is consistently *-x* in Paradisi, but is found once as *-y* in Zanon's song I. In all other songs, it is found as *-x*, as in Paradisi. Beguinot sites one example of a verb with a 1sg. PNG-marker. Also with Beguinot, this marker is *-y*. In Zanon's song I, we also find *<kàm>* for the 2sg.f. direct object marker *-kəm*, the transcription gives the impression that Zanon meant to describe */kam/* rather than

/kəm/.

Another instance of language internal variation is found when comparing Paradisi's independent pronouns to those recorded by Beguinot. cf. Beguinot <nettî, net-tîn>, Paradisi <nettîn>; Beguinot <nekkeni, nekkin>, Paradisi <nekkenî>; Beguinot <neh-nîn>, Paradisi <nehîn>; Beguinot <nehnînet>, Paradisi <nehînet>, see also section 6.1.1.

1.3 Notes on terminology of word structure

Awjila morphology uses vocalic patterns, affixation and cliticization to form words. We will use several terms in the description of word formation to clarify the morphological processes.

A *root*, in this book, refers to a consonantal scheme, into which vowels may be inserted. The term root is only used as a means to organize words in the lexicon. A root with derivational affixes will be called the *extended root*. Once a vocalic scheme has been applied to a root with derivational affixes, the result is called a *stem*. A stem with inflectional affixes is called a *word*. A word with clitics, relevant to accentuation, will be called an *accent unit*. This is equivalent with the phonological word.⁴

Derivational affixes that are part of the *extended root* are not glossed as separate morphemes. Inflectional affixes, such as PNG-marking are marked with a dash (-), while clitics are marked with an equals sign (=).

To adequately describe the verbal morphology, it is useful to speak of verb types and verb schemes. The formation of verbs and nouns from a root cannot be explained by simply taking a consonantal root, and applying a vowel scheme to it, cf. the following entirely unrelated words, which would have the same root if only the consonant (F) were taken into account:

uf 'to find'

af 'on'

tafût 'sun'

taft 'wool'

For verbal morphology, it is advantageous to abstract these words down to an abstract *verb structure*. Verbs that have a similar verb structure share similar patterns of stem derivation. For describing verb structure, the symbols v, c, \bar{c} and * are employed. v stands for any plain vowel, c stands for any consonant, \bar{c} stands for a long consonant and * stands for a variable final vowel that vacillates between a, i, \emptyset . Schwa is not represented in these abstractions. Such verb structures can be supplied with a *scheme* to get the desired stem form. Schemes are marked with vertical bars |...|.

⁴This terminology has largely been based on the terminology used for Ayer Tuareg in Kossmann (2011).

For example, *vcc* verbs, have the scheme |acəc| in the imperative, |ucəc| in the perfective and |tacəc| in the imperfective, e.g. imp.sg. *arāv*; pf. 3sg.m. *y-urāv*; impf. 3sg.m. *i-tàrāv* ‘to write’.

1.3.1 The accent unit

The accent unit, or phonological word, is a complex of words and clitics, that share a single accent. Within this unit, it is not always easy to distinguish affixes from clitics, and the distinction that is made is somewhat arbitrary. All forms that represent inflection, such as PNG-marking, and pronominal suffixes to prepositions, i.e., elements that are necessary for having a well-formed word, are considered affixes, and marked with a dash (-).

The direct object and indirect object markers, that are part of the verbal accent unit, are considered clitics and are marked with an equals sign (=). The future marker *a=* and resultative marker *=a* are also considered clitics. In the case of the resultative marker this is because it follows object markers (which are considered to be clitics, too). In the case of the future marker, this is because it precedes the PNG prefixes, while the other markings of aspect are applied to the stem. For similar reasons, the preverbal negative marker *ur=*, is also considered a clitic. This is different from the more common negative particle *ká*, which comes after the verbal complex and has its own accent.

Within the nominal system, the possessive and deictic elements that follow the noun are considered clitics. Prepositions are also considered clitics to the noun as far as they form an accent unit with it.

The morphological processes that form the different TAM-stems and derivations of the verb, cannot be easily separated as affixes, and will not be marked in the glosses. In a similar vein, the prefixes of the noun, and its plural affixes—which are mostly lexically determined—are not separately glossed.

1.4 Notes on the transcription

This study is based on material that is transcribed according to various systems. In order to cope with this, the following conventions are used. Phonemic representations of Awjila words (i.e., my interpretation) are written in *italics*, while the transcription in the original source is given between <angular brackets>. In the phonemic representations, default accent is written with a grave accent, while lexical accent is written with an acute (see section 2.5).⁵ The vowels are written as *a, i, u, e, o, ə*.

Paradisi, Zanon and Beguinot follow the typical system of Arabic dialectological transcription of that period (an example of a recent description of this system by Aubert

⁵This method of transcription of the accent is inspired by the conventions in Heath (2005; 2006).

My transcription	Paradisi	Other common transcriptions
b	b	
č	č	tc
d	d	
ɖ	ɖ	
f	f	
g	g	
ɣ	ɣ	
h	h	
ħ	ħ	h
k	k	
l	l	
ɭ	ɭ	
m	m	
ɱ	m	
n	n	
ɲ	ɲ	
r	r	
ʀ	ʀ, r	
s	s	
ʂ	ʂ	c
š	š	
t	t	
ʈ	ʈ	
v	v	β, b, ʋ
w	w	
x	ħ	
y	y	
z	z	
ʐ	ʐ	
ž	ž	j
ʢ	ʢ	ʤ, ʥ, ʦ

Part I

Grammar

Chapter 2

Phonology

Because of the limited material we have available for Awjila, it is impossible to give an account of the phonology as thorough as one would like. This means that we will have to deal with several *a priori* assumptions on the phonology.

It is assumed that the consonants that Paradisi distinguishes in his transcription, are mostly phonemic. For the vast majority of these consonants it is not possible to establish minimal pairs, so such assumptions cannot be confirmed. The system is quite typical for a Berber language, except for a few peculiarities. Awjila has a well-established contrast between *f* and *v*, not present in most other Berber languages, and it has a contrast between short *γ* and *q* in native words. In most Berber languages *qq* is the long counterpart of *γ*.

As for the vowels, the assumption that Paradisi's transcription represents the phonemic reality cannot be upheld. The vast amount of different vowel signs used in his transcription would imply that Awjila had one of the largest vowel inventories in the world. Considering that all Berber languages have between three (Tashelhit, see Dell & Elmedlaoui 1985) and seven (Touareg, see Kossmann 2011: 20) vowels, such a conclusion does not seem likely. Moreover, we find seemingly free variation between certain vowel signs, often within a single text.

2.1 Consonants

The following table shows the consonant inventory of Awjila. The consonants marked as emphatic in the table, are clearly distinct from the regular consonants, but it is unclear what this entails. In general the term emphatic refers to pharyngealized consonants. But in Awjila, we cannot be sure whether these consonants are truly pharyngealized. Therefore I have decided to stick to the less specific term emphatic.

	Lab.	Dent.	Pal.	Vel.	Uvul.	Phar.	Glott.
stop		t, d		k, g	q		
emph. stop		ṭ, ḍ					
fric.	f, v	s, z	š, ž		x, ɣ	ħ, ʕ	h
emph. fric.		ṣ, ḏ					
nasal stop	m	n					
emph. nasal	(ṁ)						
sonorant		l, r					
emph. son.		ḷ, ṛ					
semivowel	w		y				

2.1.1 Consonantal contrasts

Different from most other Berber languages which have no voicing contrast of the labial fricatives, Awjila has a contrastive voiced labial fricative *v* that regularly corresponds to the Proto-Berber **β* (Kossmann 1999: 61-135). There is, however, a certain amount of free variation between *b* and *v* in a number of words, as well as some variation between *v* and *f*.

Variation between *v* and *b* is found in *abíba, avíva* ‘smallpox’, *abán, aván* ‘to build, construct’, *anəbdúr, anəvdúr* ‘rope harness for animals’.

The variation between *v* and *f* is found in word-final position in *əgzəv, əgzáf* ‘to cut the bunches of dates from palms’ and *ayəv, ayf* ‘milk’. As a result of optional voicing assimilation to the following *x* it also occurs in the perfective, resultative and imperfective 1sg. of *arəv, úrəv* ‘to write’: *uráfɣ; urífxa, urívxa; tarəvx, taráfɣ*.

There is one example of variation between *v* and *f* in a different position: the plural of the word *təvúrt, təvvúrt* (?*təvvúrt*) is *dvurr; dfurr* ‘door’. Beguinot (1924) discusses this variation in detail, providing several examples collected during his own fieldwork. He cites a variation <tefuret> besides <tevûrt> for ‘door’ and also <ežefû> besides <eževû> ‘hair’, whereas Paradisi only has <aževû, ažévû>.

A large percentage of the Proto-Berber consonants **s* and **z* have become *š* and *ž* respectively. The contrast between the dental and palatal sibilants has not been lost completely, even though the limited nature of the corpus does not provide for more than a couple of minimal pairs to support this claim. Nevertheless, the fact that the alveolar and the palatal sibilants occur in similar phonetic contexts strongly indicates that the difference is contrastive.

Two minimal pairs of *s* to *š* are found in Paradisi:

təbəlɸùst ‘eyeball’ ~ *təbəlɸùšt* ‘bulb of an onion’¹

¹The close semantic link between these two words suggests that the distinction may have come from a transcription error. Paradisi lists these words under the same lemma, with distinct transcription and meaning. This indicates that Paradisi perceived these two words as contrastive.

ṭras ‘to braid hair’ ~ *ṭraš* ‘to vomit’

There are only a few examples of apparent free variation between *s* and *š*, all to be found in the causative prefix: *š-àgzəl*, *s-àgzəl* ‘to shorten, lower’; *š-əyzəf*, *s-əyzəf* ‘to lengthen’; imp. sg. *š-ùkər*, impf. 1sg. *s-ukàrx* ‘to cause to steal’.

The contrast of the emphatic consonants *l*, *r* and *m* is not adequately marked in Paradisi’s transcriptions. One time, Paradisi transcribes *r* with a <ṛ>: <ṛábbi> ‘God’, while other times he does not for this same word. *l* and *m* are never marked in Paradisi’s transcriptions, and can only be inferred from the spelling of the surrounding vowels (see section 2.2).

2.1.2 Consonantal length

Consonants can be short or long,² length being indicated in the transcription by doubling of the consonant. Berber languages often have consonants that undergo changes when they are lengthened—a fact visible in morphological alternations. Notable changes are: *w* becoming *gg^w* and *ɣ* becoming *qq*. In Awjila, however, there is no synchronic variation between *w* and *gg^w*, nor is there any evidence for morphological variation between *ɣ* and *qq*. The long counterpart of *w* is *ww* and the long counterpart of *ɣ* is *ɣɣ* as can be seen in the verbs *ərwák* ‘to knead’, impf.3sg.m. *irəwwək* and *ənəɣ* ‘to kill’, impf.3sg.m. *inəɣɣa*.

There seems to be variation in consonant length with the consonant *v*. Thus the verb *avár* ‘to close (from the inside)’ has fut.3sm *a-ivár*, *a-ivvár*, while the impf.3sm invariably is *itavnár*. We also find variation of consonantal length in the word *təvúrt*, *tavnúrt* (?*tavnúrt*) ‘door’.

Simple consonants in front of long consonants are sometimes lengthened. This is most obvious in verbs of the patterns |cəcəc| and |cvċ| (see sections 4.3.3.14 and 4.3.3.18). Most verbs of this type are of Arabic origin, even though the Arabic forms do not have a lengthened initial consonant. The table below lists the verbs that show this alternation.

<i>ddəwwàrnət</i> , <i>idəwwàr</i>	cf. ELA <i>īdəwwər</i> ‘to look for; to search’
<i>yəkkəmməl</i> , <i>kəmməlx</i> ‘to finish’	cf. Ar. <i>kammala</i> ‘to finish’
<i>rrəwwəḥən</i> , <i>irəwwəḥ</i> ‘to return (home)’	cf. ELA <i>īrowwəḥ</i> ‘to return (home)’
<i>issəlləm</i> , <i>səlləmən</i> ‘to greet’	cf. LA <i>səlləm</i> ‘to greet’
<i>yəmmùdd</i> ‘to extend’	cf. Ar. <i>madda</i> ‘to extend; to stretch out’
<i>illùm</i> ‘to gather, to stay together’	cf. Ar. <i>lamma</i> ‘to gather’

²There exists a discussion on whether long consonants are mono-phonemic tense consonants or bi-phonemic geminates (Galand 1997). As this grammar aims to be a description of the language, and not a discussion on the theoretical analysis, the neutral term “long” consonant has been used.

Not all verbs of these types have lengthening, e.g. *yaxəmmám* ‘to think, ponder’ and *hussix* ‘to feel’ are only found with a short initial consonant; with the limited size of our corpus, it is possible that the absence of a lengthened form is accidental.

2.1.3 Affricates

It is unclear whether the affricates *č* and *ǰ* should be interpreted as separate phonemes, or as sequences of /tš/ and /dž/ respectively.

The sequences /tš/ and /tǰ/ (or /dž/) found in feminine plurals whose roots start with *š* or *ǰ* are always transcribed with affricates by Paradisi. These affricates can be readily interpreted as consonantal sequences.

In other cases, it is less easy to determine what the phonemic analysis of these fricatives should be.

In one case, *ǰǰ* in a root is treated as /dž/. The verb *əǰǰ*, *ədž* ‘to let go’ is clearly interpreted as a phonemic sequence /ədž/ as can be seen from its verbal noun formation *adəžžu*.

It is not possible to show that such a reinterpretation has taken place with the root *əčč* ‘to eat’ whose verbal noun is *əččú*.

2.2 Vowels

Paradisi has a complicated system of vowel notation (using over forty signs in total), which is highly explicit in phonetic detail, and does not aim at a phonemic representation or analysis. Beguinot (1942: 5), writing on Djebel Nefusa Berber, gives an explanation of this system. There are twelve basic vowel signs, which are presented in the table below and accompanied with their IPA equivalent.

	Front	Front Rounded	Back
Close	i [i]		u [u]
Near close	ɛ [ɪ]		ɔ̣ [ɔ]
Close mid	e [e]	ö [ø]	o [o]
Open mid	ɛ̣ [ɛ]		ɔ̣ [ɔ]
Near open	ä [æ]		
Open	a [a]		ɑ̣ [ɑ]

These basic vowel signs may be modified by five diacritics which denote length and accent. The available diacritics are:

v	Short unaccented
acute accent	Short accented
tilde	Long unaccented
circumflex	Long accented
breve	Extra short

The transcription system allows in principle for every diacritic to combine with every vowel sign. However, Paradisi does not employ all possible combinations of vowel signs in his transcriptions. The vowel signs in use in Paradisi's transcriptions are displayed in the table below.

i, í, î, î, ĭ	u, ú, ū, û, ŭ
ē, é, ê	ũ, ũ, û
e, é, ê, ě	o, ó, ô, õ
ç, ç	ö, ø
ä, á, ā, â, ä	â, á, ā, â
a, á, ā, â, ä	

There can be no doubt that this complicated system is a phonetic representation of a phonemically less elaborate system. Other Berber languages have between 3 and 7 vowel qualities and at most two length distinctions. The transcription system has 12 vowel types and 3 length distinctions. Through careful analysis we are able to uncover how these phonetic signs should be interpreted in terms of phonology.

2.2.1 Long vowel signs

In all Berber languages, we find a contrast between so-called plain vowels, and central vowels. The difference between these two sets of vowels can be identified in several ways. First, the plain vowels always have more contrasts than the central vowels. For example, Tuareg has five plain vowels: *a, i, u, e, o* and two central vowels *ə, ǣ* (Kossmann 2011: 20), while Figuig has three plain vowels: *a, i, u* and one central vowel *ə* (Kossmann 1997: 49ff.). Moreover, the quality of the central vowels, as the name suggests, is more central than the plain vowels. The plain vowels often take up the vowel slots of the periphery [a, i, u] the central vowels take up central values such as [ə, ɐ]. Usually, the plain vowels are also longer than the central vowels.³

It is safe to assume that Paradisi did not employ long vowel signs to write the central vowels. The long vowels <â, î, û, ā, ī, ū> are well-attested and they show a three-way contrast, and stand for the vowels [a:, i:, u:]. These features lign up perfectly with the

³For a general discussion on vowels and their phonemic status in Berber languages in general, see (Galand 2010: 73ff.).

definitions of Berber plain vowels, and therefore we may assume that these long vowel signs stand for the vowels /a/, /i/, /u/. Long vowels written with *e*- and *o*-signs only appear in their accented notations <ê> and <ô> and never as unaccented long vowels. They almost exclusively appear in words of Arabic origin.

<â, î, û, â, î, û> are often interchangeable or in complementary distribution with <á, í, ú, a, i, u>. This clearly indicates that at least part of the signs written without indication of length also represent the plain vowels.

In monosyllabic words, the initial vowel of nouns is written long:

āġëv, āġf, âġf	'milk'
ām	'mouth'
ūl	'heart'
īzd	'spindle'

An exception to this is the word for 'day' which is found both with a long and a short initial vowel: *išf, īšf, išf* 'day'

Four monosyllabic prepositions that start with a long initial syllable seem to have free variation between the long vowel signs and the short vowel signs in word-initial position.

ar, ār	'to, towards'
id, īd	'with (comitative), and'
i, ī	Dative preposition
ir, īr	'until'

The unaccented long vowels /a, i, u/ are never written with the long vowel signs in the initial syllable of polysyllabic words. We only find <a, i, u>

afīš	'face'
afīu	'fire'
agmâr	'horse'
tagmârëť	'mare'
irīu	'boy'
tirīut	'girl'
tuqérťā	'theft'

The sign <a> is also found as the initial vowel of Arabic loanwords that have the Arabic article *al-*. This sign probably represents the phonetically long vowel /a/. In most cases, the Arabic article is represented by *al-* in Awjila.

albâşîret	‘willingly’
alîdâm	‘butter’
alhâžet	‘thing’
alégmet	‘friday’
alimam	‘imam’
al‘áded, el‘áded	‘number’
alûlî	‘midday, noon; midday prayer’

In absolute initial position, the accented long vowels /a, i, u/ are only written as short accented <á, í, ú>. Cases of <á, í, ú> after an initial consonant are very rare, and they are the result of regular shortening of the long vowels in closed syllables in word-internal position (see below).

ávot	‘night’
ísem	‘ear; handle of a basket’
úmā	‘my brother’
gmâren	‘horses’
mîwęn	‘mouths’
grûţân	‘treetrunks’
žárren	‘abdomens, bellies’
vírren	‘walls’

An exception is <túwög> /tùwæg/ ‘food, meal, plate’.

In word-final position, there is partly free variation and partly complementary distribution of the short and long vowel notations <ā, ī, ū, a, i, u>.

Word-final <ī> and <i> are interchangeable and represent /i/:

bâhi, bâhī	‘good’
tfilli, tfillī	‘house’
tęgili, tęgīlī	‘head’

Word-final accented /i/ is rare and is written as <î>. The one exception to this is the verbal noun <arennú, arénnu, arenní> ‘increasing, adding, auction’.

tīšî	‘egg, genitalia’
ddĕrî	‘thorn’
izî n agmár	‘horse fly’

The distribution of word-final /a/ and /u/ is more complex. /u/ appears to be written as <u> after a long accented vowel in an open syllable, in other environments it is written as <ū>.

Gílu	‘Jalu’
klábu	‘very thick animal skin’
adérrū	‘pressing’
adéžžū	‘letting go of’
agérrū	‘gathering, assembling’

There is one exception: <arennú, arénnu, arenní> ‘increasing, adding, auction’

Word-final accented /u/ is only found twice. One example is the word <arennú> cited above, the other word is <aževû>⁴ ‘hair’.

The distribution of <a> and <ā> in word-final position is not entirely clear. There are only two examples of vacillating notations like we find for /i/: pf. 3sg.m. <yúna, yûnā> ‘to enter’, impf. 3sg.m. <ittéttā, itétta> ‘to eat’. As a general rule it seems that /a/ is written as <a> after a vowel in an open syllable, and usually written <ā> after an accented vowel in a closed syllable. There are exceptions to this, for example the resultative clitic /=a/, which is always written <a>.

abíba, avíva	‘smallpox’
res. 1sg. bnîḥa 3sg.m. ibnâya	‘to build, construct’
res. 1sg. ěddírḥa 3sg.m. yeddîra	‘to live’
díla	‘here’
tábḡā	‘tobacco’
pf. 3sg.m. yéččā	‘to eat’
impf. 3sg.m. idéžžā	‘to let go of’
impf. 3sg.m. igérrā	‘to read’
wértnā	‘my sister’
sétmā	‘my sisters’

But:

tabérka	‘sesame (seeds)’
bážža	‘penis (of a boy)’
áčča	‘grave’
res. 2sg. tudînta	‘to wear’
úmā	‘my brother’
mámā	‘my older brother’
nánā	‘my grandmother’

/i/ and /u/ clearly do not have phonemic length distinction in word-final position. This is not as obvious for /a/ as the distribution between <a> and <ā> cannot be fully

⁴This word is also found with penultimate accent: <ažévū>

explained. Nevertheless, there is no clear evidence in favour of a length distinction in this position, and the two examples with variation rather suggest the contrary.

Word-final accented /a/ is not very common, and mostly occurs in perfective 3sg.m. verbs with a final alternating vowel. In this position it is written both <â> and <á>, but never with the same verb. It is unlikely that some roots have a long vowel in this position whereas others have a short vowel. From a comparative perspective there is no reason to assume such a distinction either. Nevertheless, we only find free variation between <á> and <â> once, in the relative pronoun <alâ, alá>.

pf. 3sg.m. ibnâ	‘to build, construct’
pf. 3sg.m. idrá	‘to press; to massage’
pf. 3sg.m. yefká	‘to give’
pf. 3sg.m. yaqlâ	‘to roast’

A similar irregular distribution is present in the impf. 3sg.m. of these verbs. Note that three of the imperfectives mentioned below correspond to the perfectives cited above, and that the length distinction does not correspond regularly.

impf. 3sg.m. iderrâ	‘to press; to massage’
impf. 3sg.m. ifekká	‘to give’
impf. 3sg.m. igerrá	‘to gather, assemble’
impf. 3sg.m. iqallâ	‘to roast’

Word-internally, there appears to be complementary distribution in the use of the long vowel signs and the short vowel signs. In open syllables, the long vowel signs are used, while in closed syllables the short vowel signs are used.

bâhi	‘good’	tebâqûlt	‘jar, vase’
bâlek	‘maybe’	tebârût	‘way, street’
ɪpl. abbá-tnaḥ	‘our father’	taqqîd, taqqîḍen	‘fingers’
báẓẓa	‘penis (of a boy)’		

adîrem	‘masculine inflorescence’	alîdâm	‘butter’
tfigît	‘animal excrement’	ddrîwîn	‘thorns’
dîmmen	‘blood’	tfiggîšt	‘swallow’
tîdnî	‘mortar’	tfillî-yî	‘towards the house’

3sg.f. dĕrûšet	‘to be few, little’	dbūš-énnes	‘his/her clothes’
pl. grûṭān	‘tree trunks’	flūliš	‘inflorescences’
kúll	‘all’	čču-nnâḥ	‘our meal’
pf. 3sg.m. išúmma	‘to cook’	imp. pl.m. llummât	‘to gather’

There are several exceptions to this:

tābazârt	‘basket’
tfidîrt	‘lizard (monitor lizard)’
funāsen	‘oxen’

In accented word-final syllables with a plain vowel, usually the long notation is used.

tebât	‘type of palm tree’
elbâb	‘door’
tebâqûlt	‘jar, vase’

<ā̄, â̄> and their accented counterparts <â̂, â̂> stand for the vowel /a/. Often both spellings alternate with the usual <ā, â> spellings. There seems to be no obvious conditioning environment to the variants <ā̄, â̄>. On the other hand, <â̂, â̂> are clearly conditioned by emphatic or uvular consonants (but <temmâya> appears to be an exception to this.⁵)

ġār, ġār	‘but’
iwīnān, iwīnān	‘one (m.sg.)’
res. 3sg.f. temmâya, 3sg.m. yemmâya	‘to be cooked, be ready, be ripened’
tmoqqârânt, tmoqqârânt	‘large (f.sg.)’
ĕlmeġġâret, ĕlmoġġâret(-ī)	‘cave’
elqâḍī, ĕlqâḍī	‘judge’
wâllâhī, wâllâhi /wəllâhi/	‘by God (I swear)’
tâġâfi, tâġâfi	‘palm leaf’

The short accented counterparts <â̂> and <â̂> are occasionally used to denote /a/, although they more commonly stand for accented /ə/ (see below):

⁵This *mm* is the result of an assimilation of Proto-Berber **nw*. In Ouargla it has become a long emphatic labial nasal *mm̄*. The value of the vowel may be an indication that in Awjila the cluster **nw* has also yielded an emphatic *mm̄*.

šṭâf, šṭáf	‘black (m.sg.)’
aṭâr, aṭâr	‘foot’
uṣâlen, uṣâlen	‘they arrived’
impf. 1sg. qallâḥ 3sg.m. iqallâ	‘to roast’
ârrafâqâ-nnes, ârrafâqâ-nnes	‘companions’ (cf. Ar. <i>rufaḳâ?</i> ‘companions’)

Similarly, in a number of cases, unaccented <â, â> correspond to /a/, Usually, however, they represent unaccented /ə/ (see below).

ṭârîn, ṭârîn(-nûk)	‘feet’
aġâst pl. ġâstîn	‘bone’
têkâbert, têkabért pl. tekâbrîn	‘shirt’

Instances where the short notations <â, â> demonstrably represent /a/ are rare (the examples above form an exhaustive list). Most instances of these vowel signs probably stand for the short vowel ə. As for <â, ä> the situation is more problematic. A considerable amount of instances of <â> cannot be assigned with certainty to either /a/ or /ə/. Some feminine nouns have an initial <tâ-> prefix. In Awjila, a feminine noun may either have the prefix /ta-/ or /tə-/. Nouns with this initial prefix could either stand for /ta-/ or for /tə-/.

täkemmûšt	/takəmmûšt/ or /təkəmmûšt/	‘bundle (of sticks)’
tâkrûmt	/takrûmt/ or /təkrûmt/	‘joint of a bone’
tâmnît	/tamnît/ or /təmnît/	‘jar, vase’
tâmaqqušt	/taməqqûšt/ or /təməqqûšt/	‘dung, manure’
tâvurît dvurîtîn	/tavurît/ or /təvurît/	‘small plate, tray’
tâbazârt	/tabazârt/ or /təbazârt/	‘basket’
tâmûrt, temûrt, tmûrt	/tamûrt/ or /təmərt/ or /tmûrt/	‘earth’
tâvergât, dvergât, taverġât	/təvergât/ or /dvərgât/ or /təvərgât/	‘dream’

Other words where <â> cannot with certainty be determined to stand for either /a/ or /ə/ are:

akârbûš	‘trunk of a palm tree’
kâššîn	‘cores of fruits’
amâsâl	‘crossbar between the two poles of a well’
âzân	‘next year’
fut. 3sg.m. aittâžoṭ	‘to be ground, be milled’
temézbârt	‘a pot in which you burn incense’
amâzzîn	‘sons’

<é> stands for accented /i/ in several cases. There appears to be no conditioning environment for this spelling.

íllī, éllī	‘millet’
imp. sg. íreš, éreš	‘to descend’
rwíḥḥa, rwéḥḥa, ərweḥḥa	‘I am afraid’
ízlef, ézlef	‘summer’

<e> may stand for unaccented /i/, but it more commonly stands for /ə/.

tegešilt teštâft	‘black beetle’ (cf. tegišilt tağzîft ‘viper, snake’)
timzîn, temzîn	‘barley’
1sg. mmúyeḥ	‘he died’ (see 4.1.5)
res. 1sg. weḥḥa	‘I arrived’ (see 4.3)

In a few cases the sign <e> is found in Arabic loanwords, where it corresponds to the Classical Arabic short vowel *i*. This is unusual, as the Arabic dialects of the region merged short vowels *i* and *u* to *a*. It seems as if Awjila was in contact with a dialect that kept Classical Arabic *i* distinct.

elfekr-énnes	‘his thought’ (< Ar. <i>fikr</i>)
agûr mēnn-ī, agûr mēnn-ek, agûr minn-es	‘besides me, you, him’ (< Ar. <i>min</i>)
lâkēn, lâkân	‘but’ (< Ar. <i>lâkin</i>)

The actual length of this *i* that corresponds to the Classical Arabic *i* cannot be determined from the first two examples. The last example <lâkēn> could only have the accent on the penultimate syllable if the last syllable were short (/lakin/ would regularly have a final accent). But for <lâkēn> we also find the spelling <lâkân> which implies that we probably need to understand this as phonemically /lakən/, in which case <e> does not represent Arabic short *i*.

<û> and <ú> stand for accented /u/ and <ũ> stands for unaccented /u/. The exact conditioning for this spelling is not entirely clear.

ëbbûk	‘stinging’ (v. verbal noun formation of <i>ċc</i> verbs.)
zûṭ, zûṭ	‘above’
pf. 1sg. llûzîḥ 3sg.m. yellûz	‘to be hungry’
šûrûrû	‘weaking’
úwû	‘kneading (bread dough)’
tebedúqt	‘cotton’

<ê> almost always stands for accented /e/. This vowel is mostly found in Arabic loanwords. Accented /e/ is represented once with <é>.

bêin	'between' (Ar. <i>bayna</i>)
ba'adên, ba'adén	'afterwards, then' (ELA <i>baʕdên</i>)
ssalâmu 'alêikum	'peace be upon you'
itnên	'two'

The sign <é> is also used to mark word-final *e* in the contracted forms if the resultatives <igâya> 'he has done', and <ivâya> 'he has fallen': <igé, ivé>. The deictic clitic <=é> (see section 7) is probably a contraction of the synonym <=âya>. Similarly, the unaccented deictic pronouns <wê, tê> are probably contractions of <wâya, tâya>. These two pronouns constitute the only examples of unaccented /e/ in Awjila.

In two instances, <ê> stands for accented /i/ in an emphatic environment: res. 3sg.m. <iwêṭa> 'to arrive; to reach', <mmên, mmîn> 'when?'

The sign <ê> is attested twice and stands for accented /e/ or /i/: <aḥîr, aḥêr> 'better'; <wêṭn-mâ> 'as soon as' (ELA *wêṭn-mâ*)

<ô> stands for accented /o/ and is only found in a few Arabic loanwords; <aḥôlî> 'lamb', <ërrôšen> 'window'.

<o> is used twice to denote unaccented /o/: <ḥolâwen> 'lambs', <taḥolît> 'sheep'

<o> is also used once to denote unaccented /u/ in a pharyngeal environment: 1sg. <ḥossîḥ> 'to feel' (see section 4.3.3.18)

<ô> is used once to denote accented /u/ in a emphatic environment: <ṣôṭ, ṣût, ṣûṭ> 'above'

Twice, <ö> is used to denote /u/: <kull, köll> 'each'; <ëndú, úndu, undú, öndú, endú> 'if' (there appears to be phonemic variation of the initial vowel between /ə/ and /u/).

2.2.2 Short vowel signs

In the above section we have established that there are five plain vowels /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ which may be represented with a variety of vowel signs. More often than not, they are written with long vowel signs. But sometimes short vowel signs are used to represent these long vowels.

Far from all short vowel signs in Paradisi's transcriptions are employed to write plain vowels, however. These vowels must therefore be considered to represent actual short vowels.

The two most common short vowel signs are <e, ɛ> and their accented counterparts <é, ɛ́>. While <e> graphically has a long accented counterpart <ê>, the latter is exclusively found in Arabic loanwords, and it never alternates with <e>, nor is there a

long unaccented variant <ē> in Paradisi's transcriptions. The signs <e, ɛ> must therefore be considered exclusively short. The signs are 'neutral', in the sense that they are not conditioned by a specific phonetic environment, and therefore may appear in most environments, although they are less common in uvular, pharyngeal and emphatic environments. There is no complementary distribution between the two vowel signs, and they are often in free variation. <ɛ> is more common in word-final syllables than <e>. The table below shows some examples of free variation between the two vowel signs <e, ɛ>.

pf. 3sg.m. iǧélli, iǧélli	'he wants'
pf. 3pl.m. ǧallîyen, ǧallîyen	'they want'
ǧâr-ek, ǧâr-ɛk	'to you, you have'
amédɛn, amédɛn	'man'
3pl.m. nnîyen, ênnîyen	'they are'
impf. 3sg.m. itârev ptc. târeɛven	'to write'
pl. šǧîreɛn, šǧîren	'firewood'

Prasse (1989) has suggested that Awjila, similar to Tuareg and Ghadames, may have retained a contrast between two short vowels *ə* and *ǣ*. Careful examination of Paradisi's transcription shows that this cannot be the case. Indeed, several short vowel signs with an *a*-like quality are used to write short vowels such as <â, ä, a>. However, these often show free variation with the signs <ɛ, e>, or are in complementary distribution with these signs. Similarly, there is frequent alternation between <e> and <ɛ>, which shows that they denote the same vowel phoneme. Therefore there is no basis for positing a contrast between *ə* and *ǣ* in Awjila, and Paradisi's notations only point to a single short vowel /ə/. The cases of <â, ä, a> are discussed below.

<â> and its accented counterpart <ấ> are found in emphatic and uvular environments. In these environments <e> is very rare, and <ɛ> is unattested. When <e> is found, it is in free variation with <â>.

yâqqîm, yaqqîm, yâqqîm	'he stays, remains'
ělmegǧâret, elmâǧâret(-î)	'cave'
imp. sg. nžâǧ, nžâǧ́; pf. 1sg. nžehh	'to pull'
qâttâ'an, qettâ'an	'highwaymen'

<â> sometimes represents a long vowel (see above), and the presence of <â> is clearly determined by its emphatic or uvular environment. In cases where there is no variation in spelling with <e>, there are some means based on the morphology and word formation to determine with relative certainty that <â> stands for /ə/ and not /a/. For verbs, it is often possible to determine a vowel is /ə/ rather than plain /a/ through certain patterns in the verbal morphology. Thus /ə/ becomes /i/ if it stands

in the penultimate syllable of the resultative form (see section 4.3.1.5). So if we find that an <â> in the perfective stem becomes an /i/ in the resultative, this is clear evidence for /ə/ rather than /a/.

There are other means to establish that <â> probably represents /ə/. For example, from other verbs in the corpus we know that the vowel pattern of ccc verbs is |əccəc|, thus, if we find a ccc verb with the vowel <â> we can safely suppose that it represents a /ə/.

Resultative gives an indication

pf. 3sg.m. išéntâṭ; res. 3sg.m. išéntîṭa	‘to join’
pf. 3sg.m. yetṭâf; res. 3sg.m. yetṭîfa	‘to seize’
pf. 3sg.m. yaqqân; res. 3sg.m. yaqqîna	‘to tie’

ccc verbs have |əccəc| pattern

3sg.m. yélgâm, yelgóm	‘to refuse’
imp. sg. ɛṅṭâr	‘to let go, put down’

Twice, <â> represents /ə/ in labial environments: <mîwɛn, mîwân> ‘mouths’, <âu> (probably /əww/ ‘to knead [bread dough]’).

<a> and its accented counterpart <á> are often used to denote /a/, but they may also denote /ə/, especially in a pharyngeal environment, and sometimes in emphatic and uvular environments. Different from <â> which only rarely denotes a long vowel, <a> very often stands for /a/. Therefore, if we find an <a> in the environment where it may be either /a/ or /ə/, it is often impossible to establish its phonemic value. /ə/ does not occur in word final position, nor in word initial position in front of |cv|, so in these cases <a> and <á> can safely be considered to represent /a/. Free variation between <a, e, â> can also help to determine the presence of /ə/. Moreover, morphological patterns of the verbs can give us further evidence.

Resultative gives an indication

pf. 3sg.m. iság; res. 3sg.m. isíga	‘to buy’
pf. 3sg.m. yaǵáš; res. 3sg.m. yaǵíša	‘to love’
pf. 3sg.m. yerfá; res. yerfí‘a	‘take away, to raise’
pf. 3sg.m. yerwá; res. yerwí‘a	‘to fear’
pf. 3sg.m. ya‘ádd; res. ya‘ídda	‘to go’
pf. 3sg.m. yefrâh; res. yefrîḥa	‘to become happy’
pf. 3sg.m. išelḥám; res. išelḥîma	‘to light (a fire)’
pf. 1sg. šenṭâṭḥ; res. šenṭîṭḥa	‘to join, attach’

variation between <a, e>

pf. 3sg.m. yaqqán, yeqqán(-t)	‘to bind, tie, attach’
1sg. ġallîh, ġellîh	‘to want’
tarezzât, terazzât	‘creak’

ccc verbs have |æccæc| pattern

pf. 3sg.m. yaġrés	‘to slaughter’
yaħdef(-tēṇet)	‘he threw (them)’

ccc verbal nouns have |acæcac| pattern

aġarâš	‘slaughter’
anaṭâr	‘letting go, putting down’
ažamâk	‘sewing’

Some examples of ambiguous cases of <a> are: <tebaqqûšt> ‘pan’, <taġmâi> ‘thigh’, <aġaslém> ‘lizard’.

The vowel sign <ä> has both short and long variants <ä, á, ä, â>. There is never any variation between the long and the short vowels like we find with the vowel signs <â, î, û, â, î, û, á, í, ú, a, i, u>. This strongly suggests that <ä, á> basically represent a short vowel. However, as shown on page 23, there are a few ambiguous cases where it stands for either /a/ or /ə/. The notation <ä> appears mostly in a uvular and velar environments, but occurs in other environments too.

pf. 3sg.m. i'âyēt, ya'âyät	‘to yell, scream’
imp. sg. édž, äġġ	‘to let go of’
aġellâi pl. ġällâyen	‘circle, loop’
pf. 3sg.m. yäqqîm, yaqqîm, yâqqîm	‘to stay’
imp. sg. aġâš; res. 3sg.m. yaġîša	‘to love’ (cf. resultative)
tġâtten, tġittân	‘goat’
imp. sg. šéġzef; pf. 3sg.m. išäġzef	‘to lengthen’
imp. sg. eħħâr, ħħér	‘to take off; to remove’
pf.3sg.m. yâħzér, yeħzér	‘to see; to look at (+af)’
imp. sg. šäng, šénġ	‘to extinguish’
arâšâk	‘combing’ (ccc verbal nouns are acæcac)

There are several other, more marginal vowel signs which are used to represent the short vowel /ə/. These are <o, o, û, ö, e, i, u>. They are discussed individually below.

The character <o> is found once representing unaccented plain /o/, as found in the word <aħôli> pl.<ħolâwen> ‘lamb’, <aħolît> pl. <ħolîtîn> ‘sheep’. <ó> is never used

to represent a long vowel, and most instances of <o> clearly represent a short vowel. It shows some free variation with other vowel signs that denote /ə/, and it is mostly found in labial and uvular environments.

ělmeġġâret, elmoġġâret-ī	‘cave’
tamûrâġ, tamûroġ	‘grasshoppers (coll.)’
imp. sg. avot; impf. 1sg. tevvâtĥ 3sg.m. itevvât	‘to swear (an oath, etc.)’
pf. 1sg. mmeġġîĥ 3sg.m. yemmóg	‘to become, to be, to turn into’
pf. 3sg.m. yešwor; res. yešwîra	‘to dance’ (cf. resultative)
pf. 1sg. woĥĥ; res. weĥĥa	‘to arrive; to reach’ (cf. resultative)

<q> is only attested once, and seems to occur in the same environment as <o>: <ávot, avot(-idîn)> ‘night’

<û> and <ú> usually stand for /u/ but there are a few cases where they probably stand for /ə/:

alóġom, alöġom, alúġom	‘camel’
impf. 1sg. túwâtĥ 3sg.m. itâwót	‘to arrive; to reach’ (â û points to ə)
Perhaps: túéss, tawöss	‘bed’ (phonemically /təwəss/)

<ö> is not a very common vowel sign, and it never occurs accented. It can be shown to represent /u/ in some cases and /ə/ in others. It certainly represents /ə/ in the verb imp.sg. <ázöt>; impf.3sg.m. <itežžât> ‘to grind, mill’ (cc verbs have a imp.sg. pattern |acəc|), and it probably represents /ə/ in <túéss, tawöss> ‘bed’ /təwəss/.

The sign <ę> often represents /ə/. In most cases it is conditioned by a preceding /y/.

res. 3sg.m. yeĥbîba	‘to mount, climb’
yérden, írden, yeĥden	‘wheat’
temígnî, temígnî, tēmígnî	‘woman, wife’
yeškî, yeškî	‘to live’
res. 3sg.m. yeĥeménna	‘to wish’

While <i, u> are usually used to write the plain vowels /i/ and /u/, they sometimes represent /ə/ in front of /y/ and /w/ respectively. The transcriptions usually do not distinguish /əw/ and /əy/ from /u/ and /i/, and the phonemic contrast may in fact be neutralized in speech. Imperfectives of ccc verbs regularly have the |cəcəc| pattern. ccc verbs with a medial /y/ or /w/ have an <i, u> in the position of the first /ə/.

impf. 1sg. diyyezĥ 3sg.m. idíyyez	‘to sing’
impf. 1sg. síyyefĥ 3sg.m. isíyyef	‘to bathe’
impf. 1sg. ruwwélĥ 3sg.m. irúwwel	‘to flee’

Finally, there is a small set of extra-short vowel signs <ě, ǎ, ĩ, ǒ, ů, ǎ̃>. These are never accented, and may represent /ə/. In many cases the elements represented by these extra-short vowels are employed as epenthetic vowels.

<ě> is found in most environments, <ǎ> is found in emphatic and pharyngeal environments. Sometimes we find <ǎ> as the initial vowel of the definite article in Arabic loanwords. This is often found besides a reflex of the article as <ěl->: <ělhûdī, ǎlhûdī> ‘jew’, <ěddellâl, ǎddellâl> ‘auctioneer’.

<ě> is especially common at the beginning of words that would otherwise start with two consonants, but often varies freely with a form without this initial <ě>.

<ĩ> is only used once as a short epenthetic vowel before *y*, and <ũ> is used as a short epenthetic vowel before *w*.

<ǒ> is found once as a short vowel /ə/ in front of uvular consonants.

Twice we find the vowel sign <ǎ̃>, which in the context quite clearly stands for /ə/ or epenthetic [ə]: <ǎ̃žvót> ‘to measure (cereals)’ and res. 3pl.f. <ǎ̃nqāšnîta, ǎ̃nqāšnîta> ‘to be missing, to lack’.

The extra-short vowel signs are often used to write epenthetic vowels. The tabel below shows several examples where <ě, ǎ> alternate with \emptyset , and cases where the accent, which cannot stand on the antepenultimate syllable, shows that these vowels must be epenthetic.

m. etčû, ěččû, ččû	/(\ə)ččú/	‘food, meal, plate’
dděří	/dd(\ə)rí/	‘thorn’
imp. sg. ǎffok, ffok	/(\ə)ffək/	‘to pour’
tǎgili, tǎgili	/t(\ə)gíli/	‘head’
tagmârĕt	/tagmâr(\ə)t/	‘mare’
imp. sg. ǎkkéš, kkéš	/(\ə)kkéš/	‘to take off, remove’
elbáhâr, ǎlbáhâr	/əlbáh(\ə)r/	‘sea’
imp. sg. ǎqqán	/əqqən/	‘to bind, tie, attach’
imp. sg. aǎǎrés, aǎǎrés(-dîk)	/aǎ(\ə)rés/	‘to slaughter’
elǎǎǎdârĕt	/əlxəd(\ə)rət/	‘vegetables’ (cf. Ar. <i>ħuḍra(t)</i> ‘id.’)
qlâzen, ǎqlâzen	/(\ə)qlâzən/	‘lies’
f. sg. bâhĭyet	/báh(\ə)yət/	‘good’
űwût	/əwüt/	‘arriving; reaching’
imp. sg. šűwór	/š(\ə)wór/	‘to dance’
imp. sg. ǎqqûr, qqûr	/(\ə)qqûr/	‘to dry out’
alógom, alógom	/aləɣəm/	‘camel’

Note that not all instances of <ě> and <ǎ> are epenthetic vowels:

agěwâl	‘seeing’ (ccc verbal nouns have acəcac pattern)
aǎǎrâs	‘braiding of hair’ (ccc verbal nouns have acəcac pattern)

In two cases <ă> seems to stand for /a/: imp. sg. <ădér> ‘to press; to massage’: imp. of cc* verbs have an |acəc| vowel pattern; <ăbugérfa> ‘clay’: /ə/ never occurs in an open syllable at the beginning of a word, the only other plausible remaining initial vowel of a masculine noun is /a/.

Once, <ĭ> is used to represent unaccented /i/: <wéttĭ(-dikkénĭ)> ‘prepare (sg.) (for us)’ cf. <wettĭmet> ‘prepare! (pl.f.)’.

2.2.3 Diphthong signs

Another part of the vowel transcriptions are the transcriptions of the diphthongs. The system of the transcription of diphthongs is different from that of the monophthongs, and it is described separately by Beguinot (1942: 6) for Djebel Nefusa Berber.

Short unaccented diphthongs take a macron diacritic that spans both vowels of the diphthong. Short accented diphthongs take a macron diacritic with an acute accent on top that spans both vowels of the diphthong. Long unaccented diphthongs are represented by a succession of two vowels where the first one has a macron: *āu*, long unaccented diphthongs are unattested in Paradisi’s material. Long accented diphthongs are represented by a succession of two vowels where the first one has a circumflex: *âu*. For practical reasons, I have retranscribed the short diphthongs with two vowels, which both have a macron, and when accented, the accent is placed on the first of the two vowels, e.g. *ōū*, *óū*.

In Paradisi’s transcription long diphthongs are represented in two ways: either as *âi*, like Beguinot describes, but sometimes with *âĭ*. The examples below illustrate the three types of diphthongs present in Paradisi’s transcriptions.

érōū	Short unaccented
iróūwah	Short accented
aziwâi, išeglâĭ	long accented

The most commonly attested diphthongs in Paradisi’s transcriptions are: <âu, âi, âĭ, îu, îi, āū, ōū, āī, áĭ, óū>. Then there are some marginal diphthong transcriptions which will be discussed in more detail below: <áĭ, âĭ, ai, au, áĭ>

Many of the diphthong signs are phonemically transparent, but especially diphthongs of short vowels + semivowel need special examination.

The long accented diphthongs <âu, âi, âĭ, îu, îi> almost certainly stand for the sequence vowel + semivowel. There is no reason within the system of morphology or phonology to assume that there are true vocalic diphthongs in the phonology of Awjila. Therefore we may posit that these diphthongs stand for accented /aw/, /ay/, /ay/, /iw/ and /uy/ respectively. All these diphthongs are only found in the final syllable of a word. The consonantal value of the second part of the diphthong becomes apparent when we look at the plural formations of nouns that end in diphthongs:

sg.	pl.	
abešhâu	bešhâwen	'name of a sparrow'
aġellâi	ġällâyen	'circle, loop'
abeškîu	beškîwen	'horn'
irîu	irîwen	'boy, child'

For the diphthong <ûi> we do not have any examples of plural nouns, but the consonant surfaces in the conjugation of the stative verb: 3sg. m. <ažûi> f. <ažuyît> pl. <ažuyît> 'to be bitter'.

The diphthong <âi>, while presumably phonemically identical to <âi>, is only found in notations of the imperfective of verbs. The list below is exhaustive:

impf. 1sg. šeglâiḥ	3sg.m. išeglâi	'to show'
impf. 1sg. šembâiḥ	3sg.f. tšembâi	'to suckle'
impf. 1sg. šišâiḥ	3sg.m. išišâi	'to make (s.o.) sleep'
impf. 1sg. šentâiḥ	3sg.m. išentâi	'to make someone taste'
impf. 3sg.m. išerwâit		'to speak, tell'

The one attestation of the diphthong <âi> probably belongs here too: impf. 3sg.m. <igâi> 'to cultivate'.

Once, we find the diphthong <âi>, which appears to stand for accented /ay/: impf. 1sg. <šivâiḥ> 3sg.m. <išivâi> 'to cause to fall'.

The diphthongs <âū> and <âi> are generally found at the beginning of words and represent the future clitic *a= +u* in stems that start with /u/ or the future clitic *a= +* and the 3sg.m. prefix *i-*.

fut. 1sg. âūġerḥ	'to get lost; to lose s.th. (s-ġār + s.th.)'
fut. 3sg.m. âisébbaḥ	'to swim'
fut. 3sg.m. aižîž	'to sell'

In the few cases where these unaccented diphthongs are not the result of the future clitic + vowel, it is an unaccented variant of the long diphthongs:

tekšâimt pl.	tekšâimîn	'watermelon'
yôm pl.	âyâm	'day' (< Ar. ayyâm)
i'âyât		'to yell, scream'

The diphthongs <ai, au>, which are not described by Beguinot, are in free variation with <âi, âū>, and clearly do not represent a phonemically distinct diphthongs.

fut. 1sg. aušáǵd, āūšáǵd	‘to come’
fut. 3sg.m. ain-îs, āīni-(dík)	‘to say’
fut. 3sg.m. aižǵž, āīžǵž-(t)	‘to sell’

The diphthong <ai> is found once in word-final position: <tqárṭai> ‘paper’.

The diphthong <ái> occurs once in Paradisi’s text, and presumably represents accented /ay/: <zzái> ‘breast’.

As mentioned earlier, in front of /w/ , /ə/ is often represented by <u>. Therefore the phonemic sequence /əw/ is often represented with <uw>. This is the case in the verb <érwel>; impf. 3sg.m. <irúwwel> ‘to flee’, the imperfective of a ccc verb having the pattern |cəcəc| (cf. imp. sg. <édreš>; impf. 3sg.m. <idérreš> ‘to decrease [intrans.]’).

The diphthong <ōū>, and its accented variant <óū> also often stand for /əw/. The exact conditioning of these two reflexes is difficult to determine.

We find one verb that is structurally very similar to <érwel>: <erwá’>; impf. 3sg.m. <iróūwa’> ‘to fear’. Other verbs that have this diphthong include:

impf. 3sg.m. idōūwâr	‘to look around; to search’
imp. sg. áu; impf. 3sg.m. itóūwa	‘to knead (bread dough)’
3sg.m. zóūwaǵ 3sg.f. zóūǵat pl. zōūǵît	‘to be red’

Some words have both reflexes: 1sg. <zurâḥ> 2sg. <zōūrât> 3sg.m. <zúwor>; 3sg.f. <zōūret, zūret> pl. <zuwirît> ‘to be large’.

The verb <érōū> ‘to give birth’ has the reflex <ōū> throughout the whole paradigm, except in the impf. 3sg.f.: imp. sg. <érōū> pl.m. <eróūmet>; pf. 1sg. <eróūḥ>; 3sg.f. <teróū>; res. 1sg. <iríuḥa> 3sg.m. <tiríwa>; fut. 1sg. <aěróūḥ> 3sg.f. <attirōū>; impf. 1sg. <tárōūḥ> 3sg.f. <tárū> ‘to give birth’

Other verbs always have the notation <uww>: imp. sg. <šwóror>; impf. 1sg. <šuw-wérḥ> 3sg.m. <išúwwer> ‘to dance’

While it is clear that <ōū, óū> stands for /əw/, there is no clear distribution of the two overlapping transcriptions <uw> and <ōū, óū>.

A possible (but only partial) explanation for the distribution is the presence of an emphatic /r̥/. While Paradisi transcribes this consonant once with <r̥>, he does not transcribe it consistently: <ṛábbī, rábbī, rábbī, rábbī> ‘God’.

Perhaps the roots containing <r> that have the notation <ōū> are in fact roots that contain the emphatic /r̥/. This cannot be seen directly, but many of the words that have a diphthong <ōū, óū> contain <r>. Considering the vowel-lowering effect of emphatic /r̥/ in both Arabic and Berber, it seems likely that the lowered reflex of the sequence /əw/ points to the presence of an emphatic /r̥/. Moreover, the uvular consonant /χ/ may have had a similar lowering effect. With these assumptions it becomes possible to explain the majority of the <ōū, óū> diphthongs. But it does not help us explain the verb imp. sg. <áu>; impf. 3sg.m. <itóūwa> ‘to knead (bread dough)’.

The diphthong <îö> occurs only in the word <aẓîöṭ> ‘donkey’ (unaccented: <aẓîöṭ- (éennes)>) where it alternates with the monophthong <î>. Phonemically it should probably be interpreted as the result of a transitional vowel between the high vowel /i/ and the emphatic stop /t/: [iə] = /i/, but with just a single example it is difficult to determine.⁶

The diphthong <ûă> is found only in <fankûăḥ> ‘big buttocks’. The diphthong probably represents a transition of the high vowel /u/ to the pharyngeal /ħ/. This diphthongization looks similar to the diphthongization in front of Pharyngeal consonants that we find in Hebrew known as Patah Male.

A small category of diphthongs are the rising diphthongs. These are written by Paradisi, simply as a sequence of <i, u> followed by another vowel. Some of these rising diphthong show free variation between vocalic writing, and the consonantal writing, cf.

imp. sg. diéz; pf. 3sg.m. idyéz ‘to sing’
 imp. sg. siéf; pf. 3sg.m. isyéf ‘to bathe’

This variation indicates that the vowel <i> in this position must be considered to be a consonant *y*.

For rising diphthongs with the vowel sign <u>, this interpretation is less obvious. The consonant *w* is always written as <w> after a consonant and before a vowel, e.g. <érwel> ‘to sing’, <erwa‘, erwá‘> ‘to fear’, <erwók> ‘to knead’. But some passive verbs have a passive prefix <tu>, that is only found before long vowels (see section 4.2.2), cf.

ituáker ‘to be stolen’
 ituâr, yetuâr ‘to be opened; to open (trans.)’
 ituárev ‘to be written’

There are three other words that have the rising diphthong <uâ>, namely <zuâg> ‘red’ (also the feminine and plural formations have this diphthong) and the plural of <ẓûi, ẓẓûi> ‘palm’: <ẓuân>, and the pf. 3pl.m. of *šú* ‘to drink’: <šûân>.

<šûân> almost certainly points to *šwàn* (cf. pf. 3sg.m. *yəšwa*). <zuâg> appears to have the same |ccac| scheme as *šṭaf*, in which case it would stand for *zwây*. Because the plural formation of <ẓûi, ẓẓûi> is irregular, it is difficult to determine whether it stands for *ẓuwàn* or *ẓwàn*.

As in the cases where we can tell what this rising diphthong stands for, it stands for a sequence *wa*, I have decided to transcribe it as such in all cases. Therefore the passive prefix is considered to be *tw-*.

⁶An argument that might speak against the hypothesis of a transitional glide, is the reconstruction of this word in Proto-Berber as **ezyed* (Kossmann 1999: 229-232). The diphthong found in Paradisi may somehow be related to the original sequence **ye*.

2.2.4 Overview

To conclude, Paradisi's system of transcription gives us evidence for 6 contrastive vowels: /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /ə/.

/a/, /i/, /u/ can all be accented and occur in all positions of the word. Both /e/ and /o/ are rare and mostly found in Arabic loanwords. /e/ is never found unaccented, /o/ is only found unaccented in a single instance. /ə/ can be accented and it can occur in open syllable, but it is never found in word-final position.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

For reference an overview of the vowel notations is given in the tables on the next page. The first table below gives an overview of the vowel signs found in Paradisi, and to which phonemic vowel they correspond. The second table gives the reverse listing: It shows all the vowels found in the language, and what signs in Paradisi has used for these phonemes.

i	í	ī	î	ï
/i, (ə)/	/í, (é)/	/i/	/í/	/i, ə/
ɛ	é		ê	
/ə/	/í/		/í, (é?)/	
e	é		ê	ě
/ə/	/é/		/é/	/ə/
ɛ̃	é̃			
/ə/	/ə/			
ä	á	ā	â	ǎ
/ə, a/	/ə, á/	/a/	/á/	/ə/
a	á	ā	â	ǎ
/a, ə/	/á, é/	/a/	/á/	/ə, (a)/
ö				
/ə, u/				
u	ú	ū	û	ů
/u, (ə)/	/ú (é)	u	ú	ə
ũ	ú̃		û̃	
/u, (ə)/	/ú, (é)/		/ú/	
o	ó		ô	õ
/ə, (o, u)/	/é/		/ó/	/ə/
ɔ				
/ə/				
â	á̃	ā̃	ẫ	
/ə, (a)/	/é, (á)/	/a/	á	

	Front	Central	Back
High	i <i, í, ī, î, ï, é, (ê ?)>		u <u, ú, ū, û, ũ, ú̃, û̃, (o)>
Mid	e <ê, (ê ?)>	ə <e, é, ɛ, é̃, ɛ̃, ě, (i, í, ĭ), ä, á, a, á, ǎ, (ö, u, ú, ũ), ũ, ũ̃, o, ó, õ, â, á̃>	o <o, ô>
Low		a <ä, á, ā, â, a, á, ā, â, (ǎ, â, á̃), ā̃, ẫ>	

2.2.5 Schwa in open syllables

Awjila has many cases of schwa in open syllables. Most Berber languages that do not have a contrast between *a* and *ǎ* do not allow schwa to stand in an open syllable. This section shows that these schwas cannot be explained phonetically, and therefore must be considered phonemic.

One of the clearest examples of a contrast between a simple |cc| cluster and the sequence |cəc| can be found in the verbal noun of |ccc| verbs.

Imperative	Verbal noun	
dýáz	adəyaz	'to sing'
əgzəv	agəzàv	'to cut the bunches of dates from palms'
əlmád	aləmàd	'to learn'
mžór	aməžàr	'to reap, mow'
əndəl	anədàl	'to be covered'
ənsəg	anəsàg	'to whistle'
əntər	anətàr	'to let go'
qléz	aqəlàz	'to lie'
ršək	arəšàk	'to comb'
ərwák	arəwàk	'to knead'
ərwəl	arəwàl	'to flee'
sráf	asəràf	'to weave (palm leaves)'
syáf	asəyàf	'to bathe'
šfəṭ	ašfàṭ	'to clean'
tkár	atəkàr	'to fill up'
ṭrəs	aṭəràs	'to braid'
zmək	azəmàk	'to sew'

The contrast between |cc| in an open syllable and |cəc| can also be seen in other environments.

ədrəš	'to decrease (intrans.)'	dərùš	'to be few, little'
flališ	'inflorescence'	təfəlušt	'large spoon for cooking'
təfšəš	'lightness'	fəšùš	'to be light, agile'
yəlyám	'he refused'	aləyám	'camel'
aməzùn	'pin or hinge'	tamzəzza	'bee'
ərgìg	'to shake'	arəgàz	'person'
šbəḥ	'tomorrow'	šəbət	'yesterday'
ažəvú	'hair'	izvìn	'palm fibres'

Schwas may also be placed in open syllables through morphological suffixation. For example the verb *àker*, *ùker* 'to steal' in the pf. 3pl.m. adds the suffix *-ən* to form

ukàrən. No resyllabification of the schwa in the open syllable takes places, and the ə that is found in this open syllable is accented.

The schwas that are found in open syllables in the cases discussed above cannot be explained as a result of epenthesis, and are phonemic. This does not mean that the position of the schwa is completely unpredictable. There are several instances where we do find resyllabification of an (apparently) epenthetic schwa before the last consonant of the word. There also appears to be a phonetic rule that determines the position of schwa at the beginning of a word. The next two sections discuss these phenomena separately.

2.2.5.1 Epenthetic schwa

There are indications that some of the schwas are (at least, historically) epenthetic in nature. This can be seen either from their absence and ensuing resyllabification, or from variation in transcriptions.

As will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3.3.2, some verbs of the type *cc** have the shape |əcc|, while others have the shape |acəc| (or |əcəc|) in the imperative and future stems. The choice is governed by the the shape of the root. Whenever verbs with the shape |əcəc| are followed by a suffix that would open the final syllable of the stem, schwa is dropped, for example:

imp. sg. *avál*, *avál*; fut. 1sg. *avlàx*, 3sg.m. *ayàvəl*.

Interestingly, in spite of their apparent epenthetic nature, these schwas can take the lexical accent in the imperative, which is an indication that in the current stage of the language, they are completely phonemic.

Another case of is found in Arabic loanwords with the stem shape CVCC. There appears to be free variation between the presence of the epenthetic schwa between the last two consonants, and its absence. However, it is different from the schwa epenthesis formulated above, as suffixation of, for example, the possessive pronominal suffix, does not cause the schwa to be elided.

<elbáhär, älbáħr> ‘sea’ < Ar. *baħr* ‘id.’
 <elgedër> ‘cooking pot’ < LA *gidr* ‘id.’
 <elháml, elħamël-(énnes)> ‘load, burden’ < Ar. *ħaml* ‘id.’
 <elháđđärät> ‘vegetables’ < Ar. *xuđra(t)* ‘id.’
 <l’ášâr> ‘afternoon prayer’. < Ar. *šašr* ‘id.’

This type of vowel epenthesis is not limited exclusively to CVCC nouns. It is also found in several instances in native Berber words and Arabic loanwords of different stem shapes. Notice that in these words, the epenthetic vowel is invisible to the accent,

and that accent falls on the antepenultimate syllable, which would otherwise be forbidden. The table below shows several examples of epenthetic vowels, in the phonemic analysis, the epenthetic vowels are given in brackets. This type of epenthetic schwa appear to be non-phonemic.

Transcription	Phonemic analysis
<fárĕtek>	f̂ar(ə)tək 'to unstitch'
<āġĕv, āġf>	aɣ(ə)v 'milk'
<árba'a>	arb(ə)ʃa 'four'
<séba'a>	səb(ə)ʃa 'seven'
<tésa'a>	təs(ə)ʃa 'nine'

2.2.5.2 Initial schwa

The prefixes *y-*, *t-* and *n-* mark subject agreement on the verb. They all occur in two forms: *yə-/i-*, *tə-/ət-*, *nə/ən-*. The distribution of these forms is determined by phonetic conditioning. I will discuss the three prefixes individually.

The 3sg.m. prefix *i-/yə* is the best attested agreement prefix. The *yə-* allomorph occurs in a closed syllable, i.e. in front of a |cc| cluster or a long consonant |c̄|, while the *i-* allomorph occurs in open syllables, i.e. in front of a |cv| or |cə| sequence.

yərʃiʃa 'he carried'
yəfriħa 'he was happy'
yəkrí 'he returned'
yənyá 'he killed'
a-yə̀qləz 'he will lie'
igá 'he did'
a-išú 'he will drink'
isə̀lla 'he is hearing'
ivə̀rga 'he dreamt'

There is a significant amount of exceptions to the conditioning suggested above.

The cc* verbs have a few anomalous forms in the future: *a-yə̀qəl*, *a-yə̀səl*, *a-yə̀vəl*. As discussed in section 2.2.5.1 above, and in more detail in section 4.3.3.2, the ə in the second syllable historically must have been an epenthetic vowel. Apparently, for the vocalisation of the PNG-prefixes this epenthetic vowel is irrelevant. This contrasts sharply with the status of the epenthetic vowel in the accentual system, where it is treated as a full vowel and can take lexical stress (for example, imp. sg. əv́əl, av́əl).

The other group of verbs that form an exception to the rule are passive and imperative verbs that have a stem prefix *-tt-*. The passives that belong to this group are: pf. *ittə̀ny* res. *ittìnya* 'to be killed', pf. *ittə̀rz* res. *itt-irza* 'to be broken', res. *ittiž̀ita* fut.

aittäžəṭ ‘to be ground, be milled’, pf. *ittämt* res. *itĩmta* (sic) fut. *aittämt* ‘to be buried’, pf. *ittäwwəyəl* ‘to be dumbfounded, amazed’, pf. *ittäwi*, res. *ittuwīya* ‘to forget’⁷. The imperfects with prefix *-tt-* are: *ittätta* ‘to eat’, *ittärràs* ‘to descend’; other imperfects regularly have the short consonant prefix *-t-*.

Paradisi almost consistently transcribes the passive prefix with long *-tt-*, so we must conclude that the *i-* prefix found here is correct and that it is an exception to the rule. The imperfective prefix is usually written with the short prefix *-t-*, we find only a few cases with long prefix *-tt-*. Perhaps these must be considered transcriptions errors.

The passive *itzəwīta* ‘to be thrown on the ground’ and the imperfective *itqĩma* ‘to remain, stay, sit’ have the prefix *i-*, where *yə-* is expected. The prefixes in both cases are *-t-* instead of *-tt-*.

There are a number of verbs that show variation between *yə-* and *i-*. Verbs that have variation where *yə-* is expected are *yənni/inni* ‘to be (in a place)’, res. *immūta/yəmmūta* ‘to die’, pf. *imməktá* res. *yəmməktáya* ‘to remember’, *ifk-(ísin)/yəfk-(is)* ‘to give’, *inšəṭ-(t)/yənšəṭ-(t)* ‘to ask’, *yəggàda/iggàda* ‘to bring’, *<itùar/yətuàr>* ‘to be opened; to untie’.

Verbs that have variation where *i-* is expected are pf. *izik* fut. *a-yəzik* ‘to become well, recover, heal (intrans.)’, *ixəṭṭəm/yəxəṭṭam*⁸ ‘to drop by someone, visit, to meet with’.

Finally, there are a few verbs that show no variation that have an unexpected form. Verbs that have *yə-* that are expected to have *i-* are *yəyəs* ‘to love’, *yənəddəl* ‘to be covered’, *yəbəlbiša* ‘to form a bulb’, *yəxəmmám* ‘to think, ponder’, *yəfádd* ‘to go’. Verbs that have *i-* that are expected to have *yə-* are *issúdda* ‘to be enough’, *izzila* ‘to run’, *iššan* ‘to know’.

A group of verbs that have the shape *c̄c̄c* often have a variant *c̄c̄c̄*; this length variation is discussed in section 2.1.2. Verbs of this type, often have an unexpected form of the 3sg.m. prefix. For example, we find both *ikkəmməl* and *yəkkəmməl* ‘to finish’.

The 1pl. prefix *n-/nə-* is far less commonly attested. The distribution is less clear in this form. Below are the six verbs that are found with a 1pl. prefix.

nči(ti)ya ‘we have eaten (it)’
nəyəlli ‘we want’
nəšummi(ti)ya ‘we have cooked (it)’
nni ‘we are’
a=nnəfádd ‘we will go’
a=nmhəsəb ‘we will be responsible’

Notice that the prefix *n-/nə-* is assimilated completely in front of the *nn* of the verb

⁷Synchronically, the *-tt-* prefix of *ittäwi* appears to be part of the stem, but historically it probably was a passive prefix.

⁸One would expect variation in length on the onset of the stem, which may be the cause of the prefix variation (see section 2.1.2)

anni ‘to be’. Further conditioning can not be found; *nə-* is found in front of |cv| sequences, and *n-* is found in front of |cv|, |ccv| and |v| sequences.

The prefix *t-/tə-* is used in several PNG-markers. First of all it is used on its own as the 3sg.f. marker. In combination with a suffix *-t* it marks the 2sg. In combination with *-im* it marks the 2pl.m. and in combination with *-met*, it marks the 2pl.f.

The *t-/tə-* allomorphs are more clearly distributed than those of the prefix *n-/nə-*.

In front of the sequences |cv| and |v|, we find the allomorph *t-*, while in front of the sequences |ccv| and |c̄v| we find the allomorph *tə-*, cf. *taxzár* ‘she saw’, *ətn-ís* ‘she said (to him)’, *tìva* ‘she fell’, *tàkkər* ‘she stood up’.

The *t-* allomorph is voiced to *d-* before voiced consonants: *dgulit* ‘you saw’, *džížit* ‘you sold’.

The prefix *tə-* is lengthened to *ttə-* in the future, *t-* is also lengthened in the future if it is found in front of a vowel, cf. *attəm* ‘it (f.) will be cooked’, *attirəw* ‘she will give birth’, *attəqimam* ‘you (m.pl.) will give birth’. *t-* is not lengthened in preconsonantal position: *adgát* ‘you will do’.

The prefix is dropped completely in front of imperfectives that have the prefix *t-*: *tattá* (< **t-tattá*) ‘she is eating’, *taggit* ‘you are doing’, *tàrəw* ‘she is giving birth’.

There are only a few exceptions to the rules formulated above. Three verbs have a prefix *tə-* while one would expect *t-*: *təqəlləzt* ‘you are lying’, *təfəddit* ‘you went’, *təyənni* ‘it (f.) hurts’.

One verb has the prefix *t-* while one would expect *tə-*: *tknita* ‘you are beautiful’.

Two verbs have both the prefix *t-* and *tə-* attested, while one would expect the form *t-*: *tyəllit*, *təyəllit* ‘you want’, *tnəd-dik-ká* ‘you did not say to me’, *tənəd-dik* ‘you said to me’.

One imperfective with an initial *t-* retains the *t-* prefix: *ttákart* ‘you are stealing’.

While there are several exceptions to the rules, the distribution of the allomorphs *yə-/i-* and *tə-/t-* are largely predictable. The predictable nature of the *ə* in these forms, implies that it is automatically inserted to break up cluster, and is therefore not phonemic.

2.3 Assimilations

Affixation of PNG-marking and object clitics may cause consonants to come in contact. We find assimilation of voice of two subsequent consonants, where the voice of the second consonant is always dominant.

$\gamma x > xx$ ($> x$)	
nžəɣ-x	> nžəxx [P: attingere, tirare]
$dt > tt$	
d-tànnəs	> t-tànnəs [PT:V]
$tg > dg$	
t-gì-t-a	> dgìta [PT:II]

When an emphatic consonant comes in contact with a non-emphatic consonant, emphasis spreads to the other consonant.

$tt > ṭṭ$	
yəṃḥə̣ṭ-tət	> yəṃḥə̣ṭ-ṭət [PT:XV]

The collision of the pharyngeal fricative ʕ with the 1sg. fricative x causes an incomplete assimilation of both consonants. The ʕ undergoes voice assimilation according to the normal assimilation rule, while the x assimilates to the point of articulation of the ʕ , resulting in a sequence hh .

$\text{ʕ}x > hh$ ($> h$)	
ərwìʕ-x-a	> ərwìḥḥa [PT:X]

There is one example where the consonant n is completely assimilated to a following r .

$nr > rr$	
ən-ṛəbbi	> ər-ṛəbbi [PT:VI]

The 3sg.m. prefix y - assimilates completely when a vowel i follows it.

$\#y-i > \#i-$	
y-iša	> iša
y-iṛid=a	> iṛid=a

2.4 Syllable structure

With the phonemic quality of the schwa established, we can now determine which syllable structures are available in Awjila. Not all syllable structures are permitted in every position. We must distinguish between initial, medial and final positions. The table below summarizes the different permitted syllable structures. $|c|$ stands for any

consonant, |v| stands for any long vowel (*a, i, u, e, o*) and |ə| stands for the short vowel ə. Long consonants, marked with |c̄|, are heterosyllabic, and can be both the coda of one syllable and the onset of the next.

Initial	Medial	Final
əc		
vc		
ccə		
ccv		
cə	cə	
cv	cv	cv
cəc	cəc	cəc
cvc	cvc	cvc
		cəcc
		cvcc

For the position of the accent (discussed in Section 2.5), syllable weight is important. Syllables that end in |-vc|, |-əcc| and |-vcc| are all considered heavy. All other syllables are considered light.

Initial |əc| often varies with |c| in Paradisi's transcriptions.

When in morphology a |cv| syllable clashes with a clitic that starts with a vowel *a, i, u*, the vowel of the clitic is retained. When the clitic starts with *ə*, the vowel of the suffix is elided.

2.5 Accent

Awjila has distinct phonemic accent which has never received an in-depth study, despite being remarked before (e.g. Lux 2011: 257). This chapter aims to clear up the accentual system of Awjila.

Accent spans over multiple elements, which is called an *accent unit*. Nouns, accompanying possessive markers and deictic markers all form a single accent unit. Verbs, with their PNG-marking, object markers and peripheral tense markers also form a single accent unit. The accent unit is discussed in more detail in section 1.3.1

There are two types of Awjila accent:

1. Default accent
2. Phonological accent

Henceforth, default accent will be marked with $\grave{\text{v}}$ (grave accent), while phonological accent will be marked with $\acute{\text{v}}$ (acute accent).

2.5.1 Default accent

Default accent applies to all accent units in the language. Default accent falls on the final syllable when the accent unit ends in a heavy syllable $[-vc(c)\#]$ or $[-\text{acc}\#]$, e.g. *aqəštim* ‘antimony’, *tamirt* ‘beard’, *tərakəft* ‘caravan’ and *tisənt* ‘salt’; otherwise it is on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *iləs* ‘tongue’, *tfilli* ‘house’.

Suffixation of plural suffixes, possessive clitics and demonstrative clitics can therefore lead to the movement of accent, e.g.

<təğarît>	<i>təyarit</i>	Singular
<təğarīwîn>	<i>təyari-win</i>	Plural
<təğarīwîn-îyäk>	<i>təyari-win=iyäk</i>	Plural with pl. demonstrative

2.5.2 Phonological accent

A small amount of words do not follow the rule defined above. The place of the accent is still on one of the final two syllables, but not on the syllable that is predicted by the rule above. Within the nominal system, this only concerns a small group of nouns. Within the verbal system, phonological accent is used morphologically for distinguishing the perfective from the sequential perfective (see sections 10.5.2 and 10.5.3).

A noun with a phonological accent loses the phonological accent and gets default accent when a plural suffix, deictic clitic or possessive clitic is added to the word.

Verbs with a phonological accent lose it when PNG-marking follows the verbs, or if an object clitic follows the verb.

The following two sections discuss the nominal phonological accent and verbal phonological accent separately.

2.5.2.1 Nominal phonological accent

Within the nominal system there are several words that have phonological accent. Somewhat unexpectedly, in a number of cases Paradisi’s texts give forms with default accentuation, while the word list has a phonological accent. For example: <təkábərt> ‘shirt’ is found in Text XIII as <təkabərt>, <arennú> ‘bidding, auction’ is found in Text VIII as <arénnu>. Other nouns are found in the texts with the phonological accent as presented in Paradisi’s word list, e.g. <ušû>, the verbal noun of ‘to come’ is found as such in text XV.

An important group of nouns with have phonological stress are verbal nouns of the c^* , vc^* and $c^*\bar{c}$ type (see sections 4.3.3.9, 4.3.3.12, 4.3.3.6).⁹

⁹This distribution is of particular interest from a historical point of view. The verbs of these types have all lost the final Proto-Berber consonant $*ʔ$ which can still be found in Zenaga (Cohen & Taine-Cheikh 2000, Taine-Cheikh 2008; 2010).

<i>agú</i>	‘doing’	c*
<i>əččú</i>	‘food, meal, plate’	č̄*
<i>əssú</i>	‘spreading (a mat)’	č̄*
<i>əggú</i>	‘bringing’	č̄*
<i>əžžú</i>	‘planting’	č̄*
<i>ufú</i>	‘finding’	vc*
<i>uyú</i>	‘taking’	vc*
<i>ušú</i>	‘coming’	v*

Other nouns with phonological accent on the final syllable are *təžžər* ‘moon’, *təvəl* ‘sheep’¹⁰, *avú* ‘smoke’, *atalá* ‘linseed’, *izí n agmàr* ‘horse fly’.

There are only two examples with lexical stress on the penultimate syllable: *tʃfɪyt* ‘animal excrement’ and *tqərɕay* ‘paper’.

2.5.2.2 Verbal phonological accent

Within verbal morphology, phonological accent plays an important role, as the perfective receives phonological accent on the final syllable in a large number of verb classes.

The perfective is differentiated from the sequential perfective by this final phonological accent. This situation is, unfortunately, rendered opaque by the fact that Paradisi seems to confuse the two forms in his word list, giving perfective for one verb and sequential perfective for another.¹¹

The accent of these verbal nouns in Awjila, behaves as if the consonant was still there. A similar situation is found in Tuareg (Kossmann 2011: 50).

<i>agú</i>	* <i>agú?</i>
<i>əččú</i>	* <i>əččú?</i>
<i>əssú</i>	* <i>əssú?</i>
<i>əggú</i>	* <i>əggú?</i>
<i>əžžú</i>	* <i>əžžú?</i>
<i>ufú</i>	* <i>ufú?</i>
<i>uyú</i>	* <i>uyú?</i>
<i>ušú</i>	* <i>ušú?</i>

Besides the verbal noun there seems to be one other noun with an irregular accent that reflects an old PB *ʔ, *izí n agmàr* ‘horse fly (litt. fly of horse)’ cf. Zng. *iʔžž(iʔ)* ‘fly’. For further literature on the development of the PB *ʔ v. Taine-Cheikh (2004) and Kossmann (2001), Prasse (2011).

¹⁰These two words both seem to have had a final *e or *i in Proto-Berber cf. To. *tehāle* ‘sheep’ and Ghd. *tazíri* ‘full moon’. This loss of the final syllable is probably the background to the irregular accent.

¹¹This confusion is difficult to understand. It is not easy to elicit sequential forms. Without further information about Paradisi’s methods of elicitation, we cannot say more about the unusually high amount of sequential perfectives in the word list.

The difference is much clearer once one turns to the texts, however (see sections 10.5.2, 10.5.3)

As an example, one may take the verb *uf* ‘to find’, which is well-attested in the texts and gives us some insight into the distribution of the accent in the verbal system.

<yufâ>	<i>yufá</i>	Perfective, 3sg.m. [PT:VII]
<tûfa>	<i>tûfa</i>	Sequential perfective, 3sg.f. [PT:XV]
<yufiten>	<i>yufî=tæn</i>	Perfective, 3sg.m. with 3pl.m. Direct Object [PT:II]

2.5.3 Reliability of Paradisi’s accent transcriptions

In this study, we assume that the accent notations of Paradisi are reliable. While there is an obvious rule that governs the placement of accent, we find several exceptions. To confirm that these exceptions are to be considered meaningful, we must get a sense of the quality of Paradisi’s transcriptions in terms of accent. To do so, there are two different approaches. First we compare Paradisi’s transcriptions with others, of better-known Berber languages, and see to what extent they match up with other data.

Second we will compare Paradisi’s transcriptions to those by Beguinot. While Beguinot has not written much on Awjila, we have about 50 words that also occur in Paradisi’s material. The transcription system of Beguinot and Paradisi are similar, therefore it allows us to closely examine the two transcriptions, and see whether they correspond in the ways that we would expect.

2.5.3.1 Paradisi’s accent transcriptions of Zuara Berber

We only have very few publications by Paradisi with transcribed texts in other Berber languages. There is one word list with texts on the language of El-Foqaha (Paradisi 1963a), for which it constitutes the only source. Therefore this publication does not allow us to check the accuracy of Paradisi’s transcriptions. There is one publication by Paradisi which does discuss a better-known variety, Paradisi (1964), which describes a Zuara rite known as *awússu*.

Zuara Berber, spoken in a fishing port in western Libya, has been described and documented by Terence Frederick Mitchell, who collected an autobiography entitled *Ferhat* (Mitchell 2007). This text was republished, along with a grammatical introduction in Mitchell (2009). These publications provide us with a large corpus to check Paradisi’s transcriptions. In addition, I transcribed Paradisi’s text (without accents), and asked a native speaker of Zuara Berber (Fathi N Khalifa) to read it out.

The original text in Paradisi (1964) is as follows.

Télt iyyâm m uwússu āitémm dīs ělmizân g uženná. Īđ amezwâr ayeffôg ĩtrī, tânī ayeffôg tânī n ĩtrân, ěttâlet ayeffôg ttâlet n ĩtrân. Ba’dên elmîzân. Sébâ’a u ĥamsîn g unébdū ayeffôg l̥mîzân.

Télt iyyâm m uwéssu kméļen At Willûl áflen l-ílel a'úmmeñ u ba'dên aróu-
han s ílel. Sá'a árbá'a bá'd úzgên n eđ áflen l-ílel, qábél yeqqâs n tfuít,
a'úmmeñ. Lbá'd mmídden ggáien g ilogmân dī yīsān d iğyāl l-ílel. Kull
l'áilet at'úmm wáħdes af imānis. Argâz ayátef l-ílel gē tħazammît nağ g
tëkmîst, tamèttût atátef l-ílel gē tkëmîst. Aqqîmeñ g ílel sa'át nnağ sa'át d
úzgen. Lbá'd n mídden āīfāt ělmûžet sébā'a marrāt. Kull iğğen itkéttaħ g
áman af tātī. U ba'dên aróuħan ěl-tiddārt. Arékkēbeñ úččū d údi ħašš y
uwéssu. Atrékkēbed amān u ba'dên astāmbēred tísent u ba'dên ayāizeg u
ba'dên atēmbēred áreñ u ba'dên āīdāb, bá'd llī āīdāb athārrēked s ũğāngā
u ba'dên attāmbēred g ěžžēwā ěn qāšqūš u ba'dên atenāgled afellās údi.
Aččēn úččū bá'd llī aróuħan s ílel, tálğī qābl uzgēn mm ass. Azgēn mm ass
adīgeñ améklī, kēsksū nnāğ d ělmakrūnt; Tameddīt adīgeñ améssī.

'Arābeñ ennān g télt iyyâm m uwéssu dīs ělgáľtet, wa lākeñ tikerkās laínna
kull l'áilet ta'úmmu wáħdes. Netnīn qálldeñ ěl'ādet n imežwāreñ. At Willûl
fāleñ l-ílel g uwússu laínna ělmuffittis g ělgéseñ.

The transcription that I sent Mr. N Khalifa was adapted to agree with general tran-
scription practices of Berber, which allowed him to understand it and read it quite
fluently. Nevertheless, reading aloud a text is highly artificial—especially in a Berber
context—and one can imagine that different realizations of the text could have oc-
curred if it had been recorded from spontaneous speech.

The transcription below is my rendering of the recording, which I have checked
together with Maarten Kossmann.¹² Words in italics represent false starts and simi-
lar phenomena, and underlined words indicate phonetic and grammatical deviations
from the original text.

Télt iyyám n uwéssu áytəmm dis əlmizán g užənnə. Íđ aməzwár ayəffəy
ítri, táni ayəffəy táni n itrán, əttálət ayəffəy ttálət n itrán. Bařdín əlmizán.
Səbfa u xamsín g unəbdu ayəffəy əlmizán.

Télt iyyám n uwéssu kméləñ At Willul áfləl l íləl ařúmmeñ *da...* u bařdín
arəwwəñ s íləl. Sař(a) árbfa bařd ázgəñ n íđ áfləl l íləl, qábl yəqqas n
təfəwt, ařúmmeñ. Lbářđ nmíddeñ əggáyəñ g iləymán d yisán d iğyál [x]
íləl. Kúll lřáyłət atřúmme wəħħdəs af imanís. Árgaz ayátəf g íləl g tħazamít
nəy əg tkmíst, taməttút atátəf l íləl əg tkmíst. Aqqíməñ g íləl ssářət nnəy
ssářət d wəzgəñ. Lbářđ n míddeñ *ayátəf əlmúžət...* áyfat əlmúžət səbfa
məřřát. Kull ídžəñ ikəttəħ g áman af ttáni. U bařdín arəwwəñ l tíddart.
Arəkkəbən útsu d údi xař y uwéssu. Atrəkkəbəd áman u bařdín astəmbəd

¹²It should be stressed that neither of us has much experience with western Libyan varieties. There-
fore our transcription may present similar problems as Paradisi's. This puts considerable weight on the
comparison with Mitchell's material.

tísænt u baʕdín *ada...* ayáyzæg u baʕdín atómbôd áræn u baʕdín ayḍáb, báʕd lli ayḍáb, athérrkæd s uyəndža u baʕdín attómbôd g ædžiwa n qəšquš u baʕdín *asæn*— atnəylæd *fəll fəll* áfəllas údi. Átsæn útšu báʕd lli arəwwhən s íləl, talží qabl *iq*— ázɡæn mm áss. Ázɡæn mm áss adígæn amákli, kəksku nnəy d əlmakarúnat; taməddít adígæn aməssi.

ʕAṙábæn nnán g *tálæt yúm mm...nn...* n uwəssu dis əlyəlṭæt, walákin tíkærkas laʕinna kull lʕáyṭæt tʕúmm wəḥdəs. Nətnín qəlldæn lʕádæt n iməzwáræn. At Willul *fáləl* l íləl g uwəssu laʕinna *əlfáyttis* g əldžísæm.

Mr. N Khalifa's speech differs somewhat from what Paradisi recorded. The genitive particle *n* does not become *m* before *u* like it does in Paradisi's text, although it does change to *m* in front of *w*. Mr. N Khalifa consistently assimilates the final *n* of the 3pl.m. ending to a following *l*, an assimilation not recorded by Paradisi.

Some lexical items are slightly different, and Mr. N Khalifa consistently has the *État Libre ázɡæn* after *báʕd* and *qábl* where Paradisi consistently has the *État d'Annexion úzɡæn*.

With these differences adressed, we can now look at differences in accent. The vast majority of the words have the same accent in my notations, but several differ. The most commonly attested incorrect accents are found with words that end in a |cvc| syllable. Paradisi usually places the accent on this final heavy syllable, also where my data and Mitchell's data have another accent.

áytam corresponds to Paradisi's *āitémm*, this difference is not easily explained. According to Mitchell (2009: 20) the verb *tamm/tamma/ttamma* belongs to conjugation 8,¹³ which has accentuation agreeing with my recording:

ybədd — yttbədda — áybədd (dependent yəbədd) — əbədd¹⁴

ayəffəy corresponds to Paradisi's *ayəffəy* which is consistently written with a final accent four times. According to Mitchell (2009: 20) this verb belongs to conjugation 7, which has accentuation agreeing with my recording:

yəlləm — yttəlləm — (a)yəlləm — əlləm

yəqqas corresponds to Paradisi's *yəqqás*. My recording disagrees with what Mitchell (2009: 232) gives: *dyəqqás*, which agrees with that of Paradisi.

áyfat corresponds to Paradisi's *āifāt*, this is a conjugation 9 verb in Mitchell (2009: 21), which agrees in accentuation with my recording:

¹³I refer here to the numbers given to the different verb classes by Mitchell (2009). They are different from the conventions in the present book.

¹⁴The overview of the verbs provided by Mitchell follow the order: perfective-imperfective-aorist-imperative.

yyáb — yttáyab — áyyab (dependent yáyab) — éyab

Interestingly, *ayḏáb* corresponds to Paradisi's *āīḏáb*, where my accent corresponds to that of Paradisi. Because this is also a conjugation 9 verb, both Paradisi and I disagree with Mitchell.

atrákkəbəd corresponds to Paradisi's *atrekkébed*. My recording agrees with Mitchell's conjugation 2. The aor. 3pl.m. *arékkebeḡen* attested in Paradisi's text also has the correct accent:

yráqqəḡ — y(ə)ttráqqəḡ — (a)yráqqəḡ — ráqqəḡ

Nominal forms also occasionally differ in accent from what I have recorded, and from what is found in Mitchell's texts.

užánna corresponds to Paradisi's *uženná*, this final accent is certainly not present in my recordings, and disagrees with Mitchell's material: *alwžánna* (Mitchell 2009: 232)

əlmizán occurs twice in Paradisi's text: *əlmîzān* and *lmîzān*. Once it corresponds with my recording, the other time it does not.

The tribal name *At Willul* occurs twice in the text, both times Paradisi transcribed it as *At Willûl*, which disagrees with my data.

yisán corresponds to Paradisi's *yîsān*, the accent in my recordings disagrees with Paradisi's transcription.

Árgaz corresponds to Paradisi's *Argâz*. Mitchell (2009: 282) has *dárgaz* which agrees with my recordings.

ssáḑət corresponds to Paradisi's *sa'út* twice, both times with the accent on the final syllable. My transcription corresponds to *gəssáḑət* in Mitchell (2009: 252).

tiddart corresponds to Paradisi's *tiddârt*. The accent in my transcription has the same position as Mitchell (2009: 256): *ltiddart*.

áman occurs twice in the recording, once corresponding to *amân* and once corresponding to *áman* in Paradisi's transcription.

uyəndža corresponds to Paradisi's *úgānǰá*. My recordings disagree with Paradisi's transcription.

qəšquš corresponds to Paradisi's *qāšqūš*. Once again my recordings disagree with Paradisi's transcription.

talží corresponds to Paradisi's *tálǰī*. My recordings disagree with Paradisi's transcriptions, but Mitchell (2009) has this word many times as *tálži*, which thus agrees with Paradisi. Mitchell records a few instances where both *tálži* and *talží* appear to be possible (Mitchell 2009: 260).

Both my transcription *tíkərkas* and Paradisi's *tikerkâs* disagree with Mitchell, who has this word several times as *tikərkas* (Mitchell 2009: 228).

Twice we find that Paradisi writes *uzgén* and *azgén* where I have recorded *ázgəḡen*. In two other instances in the text, Paradisi has initial accent on this word, transcribed

as *úzgĕn, úzgen*. Both in the État Libre and État d'Annexion, Mitchell always has this word with initial accent (Mitchell 2009: 216, 248).

My *áfallas* disagrees with the corresponding *afellâs*, but it occurs right after a false start of this word, after which Mr. N Khalifa corrects himself. This may have affected the position of the stress. This construction is not attested in Mitchell's material.

As can be seen from the discussion above, there are many examples where Paradisi correctly heard the accent, but also many words where he did not. The most commonly returning incorrect accentuation in Paradisi can be narrowed down to a single type: he often writes an accent on word-final CVC syllables. 10 out of 25 differences in accent between Paradisi's and my transcriptions are cases where Paradisi recorded the accent on the final CVC syllable, where I recorded it on another syllable.

This has several implications for the interpretation of the Awjila material. As has been discussed in section 2.5.1, in Paradisi's transcription of Awjila the accent always falls on the final heavy syllable (either *cvc(c)*, or *cæcc*).

This rule must therefore be treated with some care, as Paradisi seems to apply the same rule to Zuara Berber, where it certainly does not apply. Paradisi's accent notations in cases where no final heavy syllable is available, seem to be more reliable.

2.5.3.2 Paradisi's accent compared to Beguinot's

Beguilot (1921; 1924; 1925) recorded several examples of Awjila Berber words, many of which are also attested in Paradisi's material. By comparing the material of these two sources, whose transcriptional methods are very similar, we can get a sense just how accurate Paradisi's transcriptions are.

There are 49 lexical items that Beguinot has in common with Paradisi, they are included in Appendix B. Nine of these lack accentuation in one of the sources. Most of these nine words are monosyllabic words.

35 lexical items have the accent in the same position in Beguinot and Paradisi. Even words that have the accent in an irregular position, are found both in Paradisi and Beguinot, cf. Beguinot <tišî> and Paradisi <tišî> 'egg', Beguinot <tevéł, tvel> and Paradisi <tevéł> 'sheep', Beguinot <yurév> and Paradisi <yurév> 'he wrote'. Some of these words are monosyllabic, which means that the accent, of course, could not have been on another syllable in one of the two sources. There are two monosyllabic nouns, three if you count <āgĕv, āgf, âgf> 'milk'.

While the majority of the lexical items have the same accent, there are three items that differ in accent between Beguinot and Paradisi, cf. Beguinot's <gĭdeven> and Paradisi's <gĭdeven> 'wolves, jackals', Beguinot's <tnebrét> and Paradisi's <tenébret> 'needle', Beguinot's <ágareš> and Paradisi's <ağărăš> 'to slaughter'.

There is one word where Beguinot lists two accentual variants, where Paradisi has one form, that agrees with one of the two variants: Beguinot <agĭdev, egĭdév> Paradisi <agĭdev> 'wolf, jackal'.

Finally, there is a form where Beguinot only has one variant, while Paradisi has two: Beguinot <ežefû, eževû, eževû> Paradisi <aževû, ažévû> 'hair'.

While Paradisi's transcriptions of Zuara may raise the suspicion that Paradisi was not particularly strong at hearing the place of the accent, the material of Awjila appears to be consistent with what Beguinot has. Paradisi obviously had a much deeper knowledge of Awjila than he did of Zuara, and his transcriptions may therefore be much more reliable.

Chapter 3

Noun

3.1 Features of the noun

3.1.1 Gender

Awjila has two genders, masculine and feminine. Gender is an important grammatical feature of Awjila nouns, which plays a role in the agreement of the PNG-marking of the verb, the object markers, the adjective and the pronominal suffixes after prepositions.

Gender is usually expressed in the noun by means of affixes. Kinship terms are not marked for gender. The natural gender of a kinship term determines its grammatical gender. Nouns of Arabic origin have the gender that they have in Arabic.

While gender is mostly lexically determined, some stems allow both a masculine and a feminine form. The main semantic relations between such masculine-feminine pairs are presented below:

Masculine	Feminine
male persons and animals <i>awil</i> 'man from Awjila' <i>afunàs</i> 'ox'	female persons and animals <i>tawilt</i> 'woman from Awjila' <i>tfunàst</i> 'cow'
things bigger than the feminine <i>akənzìr</i> 'big nose' <i>aməzùn</i> 'pin or hinge at the base of a door'	things smaller than the masculine <i>tkənzirt</i> 'nose' <i>taməzùnt</i> 'small pin or hinge at the base of a door'
collectives <i>bəzəlìm</i> 'onions (coll.)' <i>kšəym</i> 'watermelons (coll.)'	unit nouns <i>təbzəlìmt</i> 'onion' <i>təkšəymt</i> 'watermelon'

3.1.2 Number

Two numbers are distinguished in Awjila, the singular and the plural. The marking of number can be expressed in the prefix and the suffix, and, less commonly, in the noun stem. Like gender, number is a feature which plays a role in the agreement of the PNG-marking, object markers, the adjective and the pronominal suffixes after prepositions.

3.1.3 State

Like many of the Berber languages of the east, Awjila has no distinction between Free State (État Libre) and Annexed State (État d'Annexion). État Libre and État d'Annexion mark the function of a noun in a sentence. In Berber languages more to the west, the État d'Annexion marks the subject of a sentence when it is post-verbal, and it marks nouns that follow prepositions¹. The difference is marked in the prefix. The table below represents some Middle Atlas Berber nouns that illustrate this opposition of State (Penchoen 1973: 21).

	EL	EA	
m.	a-maziḡ	u-maziḡ	'Berber man'
f.	ta-maziḡ-t	t-maziḡ-t	'Berber woman'

It has been suggested for other eastern Berber languages, such as Siwa and Nefusa and El-Foqaha, that a shift of accent approximately has the same function as État d'Annexion in other Berber languages (Brugnatelli 1986, Louali & Philippson 2005). In these eastern Berber languages, after prepositions and subjects in post-verbal position, the accent of the noun shifts to the penultimate position.

Below follow some Siwa examples from Louali & Philippson (2005) that show a change of accent under influence of the preposition, (transcription adapted, an acute accent stands for the position of the accent):

zír	'child'	í-zir	'to the child'
taftált	'bottle'	i-táftalt	'in the bottle'
ak ^w əbbí	'boy'	n-ak ^w əbbi	'of the boy'
l̥arbiyá	'car'	s-l̥arbiya	'with the car'

An example by Louali & Philippson (2005) of retracted accent of the noun in subject position is given in the example below (transcription adapted):

- (1) *i-kátr=as* *ak^wəbbi amán i=tláʕʒust*
 3sg.m.-carry=IO.3sg. boy water to=old.woman
 'the boy carried the water to the old woman.'

Like the other Eastern Berber languages, Awjila has a contrastive accent. Therefore, it is relevant to examine whether Awjila also undergoes an accent shift under these syntactic positions.

Generally, the Awjila data contained in Paradisi's texts speak against such an accentual system. Compare, for example, *təmìgni* 'wife' in PT:III. *u taxzàr yàràs təmìgni*

¹For a more sophisticated analysis, see Mettouchi & Frajzyngier (2013)

wə tnìs ... ‘The woman saw him and said ...’, *w igà əlḥam(ə)lānnəs dit n təmìgni* ‘And he put his load in front of the woman’, *u tìva təmìgni təmmùt* ‘and the woman fell and died’. In all these cases we would expect an accent shift. If we then compare it to PT:XV *gan Abú-dabr yàrəs təmìgni* ... ‘Once Abu-dabr had a wife’, we see that no accent shift has taken place.

Another examples is found in PT:VII *w isáy azìt* ‘And he bought a donkey’ besides *yəqqán imānnəs amakàn n azìt* ‘He tied himself in place of the donkey’. One would expect the accent to shift in the second phrase (after the preposition *n*) and the phonological accent pattern in the first phrase (direct object position). In both examples, however, *azìt* ‘donkey’ maintains its final accentuation.

There are two cases of an accent shift under influence of the preposition *n* in lexicalized idioms with the noun *tisí* ‘egg’: *mlil n tìsi* ‘egg white’, *urày n tisi* ‘egg yolk (litt. gold of the egg)’. The phrases have the accent on the penultimate syllable, while the word *tisí* ‘egg’ has (lexical) accent on the final syllable. This suggests that in an earlier period the general eastern Berber accent shift after a preposition also applied in Awjila; apparently the ancient system is only retained in a few lexicalized expressions.

3.2 Morphology of the noun

The basic structure of the noun consists of a prefix, stem and, optionally, a suffix. The prefix can express gender and number. The stem may or may not express number and the suffix expresses gender and number.

Prefix	Stem	(Suffix)
gender	(number)	gender
number		number

The three elements of the Awjila noun (prefix, suffix and stem) will be discussed individually in the following sections.

3.2.1 The prefix

The prefix expresses gender and number. The feminine prefix is distinguished from the masculine by the presence of a word-initial *t-* that is absent in the masculine. Generally, the plural prefix is different from the singular.

In the following, the prefix classes are listed according to the singular form.

3.2.1.1 Masculine sg. *a-*

The largest group of masculine nouns (about 70 nouns) has a prefix *a-* in a singular, which is dropped in the plural, e.g.

sg.	pl.	
adbìr	dbìrən	'pigeon'
afùs	fissən	'hand'
agìdəv	gidəvən	'wolf, jackal'
agmàr	gmàrən	'horse'
arəgàz	rəgàzən	'individual'
agìw	gìwən	'leather bucket (for a well)'
àvəṭ	vəṭawən	'night'
aləyəm	ləymin	'canel'
agəllid	gəldən	'head of a tribe, gentleman'

Some nouns have a prefix *a-* which is maintained in the plural.² This group consists of only five nouns in the corpus.

addid	addidən	'goatskin'
ammùd	ammùdən	'mosque'
àmza	amzìwən	'ogre; strong, cunning person; lion (rare)'
awil	awilən	'Augila person'
ayùr	ayùrən	'new moon, month; button (of mother of pearl)'

3.2.1.2 Masculine sg. *ø-*

This second largest group of masculine nouns lacks a prefix both in the singular and plural. This group is significantly smaller than the nouns that start with *a-*. The list below displays all nouns of this type.

²Another interpretation is to consider this stable initial *a-* to be part of the stem, and that prefixes are dropped before vowel initial stems. Such an interpretation is possible for all nouns that have the same vocalic prefix in the singular and plural, but it does not work for nouns that have no prefix both in the singular and plural. For a similar interpretation see Penchoen (1973: 19-21).

flališ	fluliš	‘inflorescence’
glim	glimən	‘skin’
gnìš	gnìšən	‘male blossom of a date palm’
grùt	grùtən	‘wood, trunk of a tree’
gzìn	gzìnən	‘dog’
màgi	magiwìn	‘eyelid’
qərzàt	qərzàtən	‘dried dates for livestock’
vìw, vviw	əvviwən	‘bean; broad bean’
zzàý	zzìwən	‘breast’
zərr, zzər	zərrən	‘back’
zùý, zzùý	zwan	‘palm’
ənfùs (infùs)	ənfùsən (in- fùsən)	‘sleeve’
tàqt	taqqìd, taqqìdən	‘finger’

It is conceivable that the nouns of this group that start with a CC cluster, have an initial ə which has not been transcribed by Paradisi. In other Berber languages the automatic initial ə is optional (Chaker 1983: 43), this may also be the case in Awjila.

There is one case in the list above where this initial ə appears in Paradisi’s transcriptions, namely in <vîu, vviu pl. əvviwən> ‘bean’. Moreover, the transcriptions of Müller seem to indicate an initial vowel for three of these words: *eglim* اقليم [M: peau], *eghzin* ا غزين [M: chien] and *azouan* ا زون [M: palmier].

3.2.1.3 Masculine sg. *i-*

A small group of nouns has initial *i-* in the singular. Some of the nouns lose this initial *i-* while others retain it in the plural. There is no conditioning that determines whether the noun loses this initial *i-* in the plural or retains it. The first table gives all the words that have an initial *i-* that lack this vowel in the plural.

ìmgər, yəmgər	məg(ə)rən	‘sickle’
ìsəm	smìwən	‘ear; handle of a basket’
ìšyər	šyìrən	‘firewood’
ìšk	škiwən	‘horn’
ìškər	škirən	‘nail’

The next table give all the nouns that have initial *i-* in the singular and plural.

iləs	ilsən, ilsənən	‘tongue’
infüs (ənfüs)	infüsən (ən- füsən)	‘sleeve’
irìw	irìwən	‘boy, child’
ìštən	ìštìnən	‘a shoemakers awl’
ìšf	ìšfàwən, ìšfiwən	‘day’

3.2.1.4 Isolated masculine formations

Three nouns show unique patterns.

ul	ulàwən	‘heart’
yəqzər, ìqzər	aqzàr	‘mouse’
agəngùy	ngùwən	‘green date’

3.2.1.5 Feminine sg. *tə-*

The majority of the feminine nouns, have an initial prefix *tə-* in the singular. Most of these nouns have a plural prefix *t-*, cf.

təfəlùšt	tfəlšìn	‘large spoon for cooking’
təmuzìst	tmuzistìn, tmuzìs	‘threshold, doorstep’
təsili	tsiliwìn	‘sandal’
təvùrt (tavvùrt)	tvurr	‘door’
təbəršilt	tbəršil	‘pillar of a well on which the crossbar of the pulley rests.’

There are also several nouns that keep the plural prefix *tə-*. Some of these may be due to a epenthesis. Roots that start with a |cc| cluster, cannot have a prefix *t-*, as this would create an initial |ccc| cluster, which is never found anywhere else in the language. To avoid this, *ə* is inserted between the prefix and the root. Words that may have received the *tə-* prefix because of this phonetic rule are:

təbzàlimt	təbzàlimìn	‘onion’
təgzint	təgzintìn, təgz- inìn	‘bitch’
təkšaymt	təkšaymìn	‘watermelon’

However, the vast majority of nouns with the prefix *tə-* in the plural do not have an initial |cc| cluster in the root. There is no obvious phonetic conditioning, and therefore, the plural suffix of these nouns must be considered lexically determined.

təkábərt, təkabə̀rt	təkabrìn	‘shirt’
təmiṭàst	təmiṭaz	‘scissors’
tə̀rəkə̀ft	tə̀rəkfìn	‘caravan’
təmasùt	təmasutìn	‘boil, pimple’

3.2.1.6 Feminine sg. *t-*

A large group of feminine nouns has the prefix *t-* both in the singular and the plural. In all words in this class the syllable that follows the prefix is either |cəc|, or |cv|. This does not mean that roots that have |cəc| or |cv| after their prefix always belong to this class, e.g. *təmiṭàst* pl. *təmiṭaz* ‘scissors’.

tfunàst	tfunastìn	‘cow’
tfiyit	tfiya	‘animal excrement’
tfidirt	tfidrìn	‘lizard (monitor lizard)’
tkənzìrt	tkənzirìn, tkənzìr	‘nose’
tkərrìšt	tkərrìš	‘knot’
tkəttift	tkəttfìn	‘ant’
tšə̀rimt	tšə̀rmìn	‘gut (sg.), intestine (pl.)’
tɣardìmt	tɣardimìn	‘scorpion’
tsunùt, tsənùt	tsənutìn, tsənutìn	‘thick needle’

One exception to the phonological distribution is *tsunùt, tsənùt* pl. *tsənutìn, tsənutìn* ‘thick needle’, which has a variant with a |cə| syllable following the prefix in the singular, which is the only possible variant in the plural.

Another exception to this distribution is *tšə̀rimt* ‘gut’ pl. *tšə̀rmìn* ‘intestine’.

3.2.1.7 Feminine sg. *ta-*

Most feminine nouns that have a singular prefix *ta-*, have a plural prefix *t-*. The list below is an exhaustive list of nouns that belong to this group.

taḥolīt	tḥolītìn	‘sheep’
tamìrt	tmìra	‘beard’
taqəzzàlt	tqəzzalìn	‘kidney’
taṭl(ə)wīt	(t)ṭəlwítìn	‘turnip’
takəllimt	tkəllmìn	‘slave, servant’
tavvùrt (təvùrt)	dvurr	‘door’
tavərgàt (dvərgàt)	dvərgà	‘dream’
tavurīt (?)	dvurītìn	‘small plate, tray’
tabazàrt (?)	tbazrìn	‘basket’
taqəṭṭišt	tqəṭṭiṣ, tqəṭṭiṣìn	‘little hole; eye of the needle’

The nouns *tavurīt* ‘small plate, tray’ and *tabazàrt* ‘basket’ in fact may have an initial prefix *tə-*. Paradisi transcribes these words as <tävurīt, tábazârt>. There is no way to determine what the phonetic value of <ä> is in this context (see page 23).

Other nouns with the singular prefix *ta-* have the plural prefix *tə-*. Some of the nouns belong to this group because of the phonetic constraint forbidding initial |ccc| clusters. Not all nouns of this group can be explained in such a way, however.

takùkt	təkkìk	‘worm’
tazàrt	təzzàr	‘millstone, handmill’
tasìft, tasìwt	təssìw	‘(terraced) roof’
təyəmmirt	təyəmmirìn	‘armpit’
tamzəzza	təməzəzzáyat	‘bee’
takəmmùšt (?)	təkəmmiṣ	‘bundle of sticks, bundle’

təkəmmùšt ‘bundle of sticks, bundle’ may not belong here. The prefix is transcribed with <tä->. This spelling is ambiguous: <täkəmmùšt> pl. <tekəmmiṣ>.

Three nouns have the prefix *ta-* both in the singular and the plural:

tašùmt	tašumìn	‘pillow’
taržàlt	taržalìn	‘wing (of a bird)’
taymày (?)	taymawìn (?), taymáwin (?)	‘thigh’

Paradisi’s spelling of *taymày* (<taǧmâi> pl. *taǧmāwîn, taǧmāwîn*) is ambiguous, as the *ta* value of the prefix may be a result of colouring of initial *tə* under influence of the adjacent *ɣ*. The prefix could therefore stand for either *ta* or *tə*.

3.2.1.8 Feminine sg. *tu-*

The two nouns with the prefix *tu-* have this prefix both in the singular and in the plural.

<i>tuwəgilt</i>	<i>tuwəgilin</i>	'molar tooth'
<i>tuwənìt</i>	<i>tuwənìtin</i>	'pit, hole'

Because *ə* can be transcribed as <u> in front of *w*, both *tuwəgilt* 'molar tooth' and *tuwənìt* may in fact represent /təwəgilt/ and /təwənìt/ and therefore belong to the nouns that have *tə-* in the singular and plural.

3.2.1.9 Feminine sg. *ti-*

Three nouns have an initial prefix *ti-* in the singular and plural.

<i>tìxsi</i>	<i>tìxsiwìn</i>	'head of a sheep or goat (sg.), flock (pl.)'
<i>tit</i>	<i>tiwìn</i>	'eye; eye of a needle'
<i>tisí</i>	<i>tisiwìn</i>	'egg, genitalia'

3.2.2 The suffix

Most suffixes differ according to gender and number, although some plural suffixes can occur both in the masculine and the feminine. The masculine singular never has a suffix. The feminine singular usually has a suffix *-t*. When the stem ends in a vowel, sometimes the final *-t* is absent. In the plural both genders can take several suffixes to indicate the plural.

The table below shows the different plural suffixes. For some of the suffixes the numbers of attestations is mentioned.

	Masculine	Feminine
pl.	<i>-ən</i>	<i>-in</i>
	<i>-an</i>	
	<i>-in</i>	
		<i>-tin/-itin</i>
	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-ø</i>
	<i>-awən</i>	<i>-awin (1x)</i>
	<i>-win (1x)</i>	<i>-win</i>
	<i>-wən (1x)</i>	
	<i>-iwən</i>	<i>-iwin (2x)</i>
		<i>-ən (3x)</i>
	<i>-yin/-iyin (1x)</i>	<i>-yin (2x)</i>
	<i>-anən (1x)</i>	<i>-yat (1x)</i>

The vast majority of masculine nouns have a plural suffix *-ən*, the most common feminine plural is *-in*. In the following sections I will examine these suffixes individually.

3.2.2.1 Feminine singular suffix *-t*

Almost all feminine nouns whose stem end in a final consonant have the suffix *-t*. There are a few groups of nouns that form exceptions to this rule.

Abstract nouns derived from stative verbs never have a final *-t*, e.g. *tafšəš* 'lightness', *təγzaf* 'length', *təvrək* 'width, breadth', *tazzik*, *tazziq* 'heaviness, weight'.

Several nouns originally had a final *-i* which was dropped in Awjila. These nouns do not have a final *-t* in Awjila, e.g. *təvál* 'sheep' (cf. To. *tehǎle* 'id.'), *təžər* 'moon' (cf. Gh. *taziri* 'full moon')³ and *tamùr(ə)γ* 'grasshoppers (coll.)' (cf. Siwa. *təmərǵi* 'id.').

The two nouns whose stem ends in a diphthong *-ay* lack final *-t*: *taymày* 'thigh' and *tqártay* 'paper'.

The above examples give the impression that final vowels and diphthongs block the presence *-t*, but, as is common to all Berber languages, feminine nouns with stem-final *-u* always have the suffix *-t*, e.g. *tafūt* 'sun', *təbarùt* 'way, street'

There are not many nouns that end in stem-final *-a*. A slight majority of these nouns do not take the final suffix *-t*. Those that do take the suffix, are verbal nouns with stem-final *a*: *tšəwwàt* 'drink, beverage, drinking', *tənənnàt* 'being about to cook', *tnəššàt* 'sleep', *tnəvvàt* 'falling', *tərazzàt* 'creak', *təššàt* 'laughing' (< *t-təššàt*), *təvərgàt*, *tvərgàt* 'dream', *təfadàt* 'thirst', *təlazàt* (or *talazàt*) 'hunger'. Finally, there is one isolated noun, *təmədyàt* 'clay; red earth', which has the same pattern as *təvərgàt* 'dream' but does not have a verb associated with it.

Nouns with stem-final *-i* may or may not have the suffix *-t*. There seems to be no apparent distribution, e.g. *təkərdit* 'core of a palm', *təkərdi* 'measles', *tšiyit* 'animal excrement', *tǵili* 'head'. One word with stem-final *-i* is found both with and without the final *-t*: *tsigit*, *tsigi* pl. *tsigitin* 'rib'.

3.2.2.2 Masculine plural *-ən*

This is by far the most common masculine plural suffix. The table below gives several examples:

³Notice that both words have an irregular accent, caused by the loss of the final *-i*.

adbìr	dbìrən	‘pigeon’
agìdəv	gidəvən	‘wolf, jackal’
awìš	wìššən	‘sword’
agəllid	gəldən	‘head of a tribe, gentleman’
abžàw	bžàwən	‘cheek’
abəškìw	bəškìwən	‘horn’

3.2.2.3 Masculine plural *-awən*

A subset of masculine nouns takes the plural suffix *-awən*. The suffix is often found with nouns that have only one or two stem consonants or have a word-final |əcc| or |vcc| cluster in the singular. This tendency is by no means a rule.

adəy	dəyàwən	‘a bush of palms’
afiš	fišàwən	‘face’
agərt	gərtàwən	‘neck’
ul	ulàwən	‘heart’
arəg	rəggàwən	‘handle’
asìrf	sərfàwən	‘braid of palm leaves to make baskets’
išf	išfàwən (išfiwən)	‘day’
ašal	šalàwən	‘village’
avùr	vuràwən	‘plate, tray made of palm leaves’
avərg	vərgàwən	‘pestle (usually metal, to crush cores of dates)’
ayùf	yəfàwən	‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string’

Three out of four masculine nouns that end in *-i* replace the final vowel by *-awən* in the plural. The only masculine noun that ends in *-i* that does not take this suffix is *màgi* pl. *magiwìn* ‘eyelid’.

aḥòli	ḥolàwən	‘lamb’
alùzi	luzàwən	‘whip’
aləžži	ləžžàwən	‘ram’

3.2.2.4 Masculine plural *-iwən*

Some nouns take the plural suffix *-iwən*. One of them ends in a vowel *-a*, and another ends in *-ay*. Both of these final sequences are replaced by the plural suffix. Three out of five nouns in this group have an ic(ə)c word structure in the singular.

àmza	amzìwən	‘ogre’
zzàý	zzìwən	‘breast’
ìsəm	smìwən	‘ear; handle of a basket’
išk	škìwən	‘horn’
išf	išfiwən (išfawən)	‘day’

3.2.2.5 Masculine plural *-in*

Several masculine nouns have the plural suffix *-in*. From a synchronic perspective, this plural suffix is unusual, as it is normally associated with the feminine. This suffix is probably the regular reflex of the Pan-Berber plural suffix *-an* which has undergone an **a > i* shift before *-n*.

	gudìn	‘urine’
aləḡ(ə)m	ləḡmìn	‘camel’
	imìn	‘water’
arìng, anìrg	ringìn, nirgìn	‘neighbour’
ašùd	šudìn	‘(wooden) pole’
aṭàr	ṭarìn	‘foot’
	ižvìn	‘palm fibres’

3.2.2.6 Masculine plural *-an*

Three words have the masculine plural suffix *-an*.

azìṭ	ziṭàn	‘donkey’
zùý, zḡùý	zḡwàn	‘palm’
	zḡzan	‘excrement’

Also remark the suppletive plural of *awil* ‘word’: *žlàn* ‘speech, words, language’

3.2.2.7 Masculine plurals *-wən, -win, -anən, -yin/-iyin*

There are four masculine nouns that have a unique plural suffix. These words are *agəngùý* pl. *ngùwən* ‘green date’, *iləs* pl. *ilsànən* ‘tongue’ (also: *ilsən*), *màgi* pl. *magi-wìn* ‘eyelid’ and *awənu* pl. *wənyìn, wənniyìn* ‘well’

3.2.2.8 Feminine plural *-in*

This is the most common feminine plural suffix. The table below lists examples.

təfəlùšt	tfəlšìn	‘large spoon for cooking’
təkábərt	təkabrìn	‘shirt’
ayàst	yəstìn	‘bone’
tyardìmt	tyardimìn	‘scorpion’
tašùmt	tašumìn	‘pillow’
tirìwt	tiriwìn	‘girl’

In PT:XV, Paradisi lists an alternative plural for *tirìwt*: *tirìwi*. This plural suffix *-i* is unique to this noun.

3.2.2.9 Feminine plural *-tin, -itin*

The feminine plural suffix *-tin* is the second-most frequent plural among feminine nouns. It can be divided into two groups.

The first group consists of feminine nouns that denote female animals and persons that are the counterpart of a male noun that refers to a male animal or person. With such pairs the masculine noun usually has the plural suffix *-ən* while the feminine noun has the plural suffix *-tin*. If the masculine plural of such a pair ends in *-in*, the feminine plural suffix is *-itin*. Below is a list of all the pairs found that comply to this system.

m.sg.	m.pl.	f.sg.	f.pl.
afunàs	funasən ‘ox’	tfunàst	tfunastìn ‘cow’
agmàr	gmàrən	tagmàrt	tagmartìn ‘horse’
gzìn	gzìnən ‘dog’	təgzint	təgzintìn (also: təgzinìn) ‘bitch’
aləy(ə)m	ləymìn	tələymt	tləymitìn ‘camel’
aqəttùš	qəttùšən	təqəttùšt	təqəttùštìn ‘cat’
aqazìt	quzìt ‘rooster’	təkazìt	təkazìtìn ‘chicken’
aring	ringìn	təringìt	təringitìn ‘neighbour’
awil	awilən	tawilt	tawiltìn ‘Augila person’
azìt	ziṭàn	təzìt	tzittìn ‘donkey’

There are only two exceptions to this: *akəllim* pl. *kəlləmən*; f. *takəllimt* pl. *tkəllmìn* ‘slave, servant’, and *irìw* pl. *irìwən*; f. *tirìw* pl. *tiriwìn*, *tirìwi* ‘child’

There are two nouns with a similar formation, that is, *-tin* after a consonant-final root. These words refer to an object and have no attested masculine counterpart: *təmuzist* pl. *tmuzistìn*, *tmuzis* ‘threshold, doorstep’ and *tžiràt* pl. *tžiràttìn* ‘ribs of leaves’.

The second group of nouns that take the plural suffix *-tin*, are feminine nouns that end in *i-t* or *u-t* in the singular.

taḥolìt	tḥolìtìn	‘sheep’
tḥalkút	tḥalkútìn	‘bread’
təmasùt	təmasutìn	‘boil, pimple’
tsìgìt, tsìgī	tsìgìtìn	‘rib’
taṭl(ə)wìt	(t)ṭəlwìtìn	‘turnip’
tavurìt	dvurìtìn	‘small plate, tray’
tuwə̀nìt	tuwə̀nìtìn	‘pit, hole’
tsunùt, tsənùt	tsənuttìn, tsənutìn	‘thick needle’

Three nouns ending in *-it* take a different plural suffix. *tnavìt*, *tnuvìt* pl. *tnuvìn* ‘irrigation canal’, *twəržìt* pl. *twəržìn* ‘root of a plant’, *tit* pl. *tiwìn* ‘eye; eye of a needle’ and *təyarìt* pl. *tyariwìn* ‘stick’.

3.2.2.10 Feminine plural *-win*

Except for *tit* pl. *tiwìn* ‘eye; eye of a needle’ and *təyarìt* pl. *tyariwìn* ‘stick’, all plurals with the suffix *-win* are found with feminine singulars that end in *-i*.

tfilli	tfilliwìn	‘house’
tìxsi	tìxsiwìn	‘head of a sheep or goat’ pl.: ‘flock, cattle’
təmìdi	təmìdiwìn	‘point of attachment of a stalk to a date’
tisí	tisiwwìnn	‘egg, genitalia’
təsìli	tsiliwìn	‘sandal’
təžìri	tžiriwìn	‘small rope’
tgìli, təgìli	tgiliwìn	‘head’
təmìgni	təmìgniwìn, tmìgniwìn	‘woman, wife’

3.2.2.11 Feminine plurals *-iwìn*, *-awìn*, *-yin*, *-yat* and *-ən*

The remaining feminine plural suffixes only have marginal attestation.

Two words end in *-iwìn*, one drops its final *-a*, while the other drops the final *-ay*: *tələ̀ba* pl. *tələ̀biwìn* ‘barracan’ and *tqárṭay* pl. *tqərṭiwìn* ‘paper’⁴.

One word has the plural ending *-awìn* which replaces the word-final *-ay* of the singular: *taymày* pl. *taymawìn*, *taymáwìn* ‘thigh’⁵.

Two words have the plural suffix *-yin*, one drops its final *-it* from the singular, while the other undergoes a stem change in the plural: *təmmìt* pl. *tmə̀nyìn* ‘tamarisk’ and *tšə̀krìt* pl. *tšə̀kriyìn* ‘story, tale’.

⁴Perhaps to be read as *tqárṭay*, *tqərṭiwìn*.

⁵Perhaps to be read as *təymày* pl. *təymawìn*, *təymáwìn*.

One word has the plural suffix *-yat*: *tamzázza* pl. *təməzəzzáyat* ‘bee’. This suffix looks similar to the Arabic feminine plural suffix *-āt*. The word is not of Arabic origin, and the suffix is unique to Awjila. There is no obvious explanation for this form.

Finally, one word has the plural suffix *-ən*: *tyəṭ* pl. *tyəṭṭən*, *tyiṭṭən* ‘goat’.⁶ Perhaps the *plurale tantum* <ṭilīwən> ‘fenugreek’ also belong here, but the transcription is ambiguous. In the transcriptions <ɛ> might stand for an unaccented /i/.

3.2.3 The stem

The stem can undergo changes from the singular to the plural. These usually involve vowel changes and sometimes changes in length of consonants. When a stem change occurs, often no suffix is added to mark the plural. Plurals formed by vowel change are a much smaller group than those that form their plural by suffixation. The following sections describe the plural formations that mainly employ stem changes to form the plural.

3.2.3.1 *i*-infix plural

This is the largest internal plural formation in Awjila. An *i* is inserted before the last consonant of the stem. If there is a vowel in this position, it is replaced. If earlier in the stem there is a vowel *a*, it is changed to *u*.⁷ In many cases, the final vowel is already *i*, and the only way the plural can be distinguished from the singular is the absence of the feminine singular suffix *-t*.

takəmmùšt	təkəmmiš	‘bundle of sticks, bundle’
tkənzirt	tkənzir (tkənzirìn)	‘nose’
tkərriš	tkərriš	‘knot’
amərtùf	mərtif	‘a measure of capacity (for cereals)’
təmuzìst	tmuzis (tmuzistìn)	‘threshold, doorstep’
təništ	tniš (tnišìn)	‘key’
təqənvilt	təqənvil	‘mucus’
taqəṭṭišt	tqəṭṭiš (tqəṭṭišìn)	‘little hole; eye of the needle’
azàləq	zulìq	‘billy goat’
flališ	fluliš	‘inflorescence’
tasift, tasiwt	təssiw	‘(terraced) roof’

⁶This word commonly has this plural suffix in Berber languages and must be considered old, cf. MA *tayatt* pl. *tiyəṭṭən*; Tashl. *tayatt* pl. *tiyattn*

⁷Historically, these plurals have developed from the a-infix plural, commonly found in other Berber languages. Originally the plurals that ended in **ar*, **al*, **an*, **aš* shifted the **a* to *i*. This formation has become productive and has spread accross nouns that did not undergo the regular **a > i* shift.

There is one case where the consonant before the infixed *i* is lengthened. *takùkt* pl. *təkkik* ‘worm’.

3.2.3.2 *a*-infix plural

A smaller class infixes a vowel *a* before the last consonant of the stem. Any vowel that is in this position is replaced.

təmiṭàst	təmiṭaz	‘scissors’
təqəṭṭùšt	təqəṭṭaš	‘cat’
agəṭiṭ	gəṭaṭ	‘sparrow; bird’
ayìdəd	yidəd	‘kid (goat)’
yəqzər, íqzər	aqzər	‘mouse’

In one case the consonant before the infixed vowel is lengthened: *tazàrt* pl. *təzzàr* ‘millstone, handmill’.

3.2.3.3 Long vowel removal plural

This is the largest group of nouns that undergo change in the stem in the plural. Any long vowel in the final syllable is removed, and the regular plural suffixes *-ən* for masculine nouns and *-in* for feminine nouns are added.

tabazàrt	tbazrìn	‘basket’
tbəssiṭt	tbəsskin	‘bum, backside; vulva’ pl.: ‘fart’
tfidìrt	tfidrìn	‘lizard (monitor lizard)’
təfəlùšt	tfəlsìn	‘large spoon for cooking’
agəllid	gəldən	‘head of a tribe, gentleman’
təkədirt	tkədrìn	‘ear (botanical)’
akəllim	kəlləmən	‘(male) slave, servant’
takəllimt	tkəllmìn	‘(female) slave, servant’
tkəttift	tkəttfin	‘ant’
tšərimt ‘gut’	tšərmìn	‘intestine’
awəgil	wəgələn	‘canine tooth’
tuwəgilt	tuwəgəlìn	‘molar tooth’
twəllikt	twəllkin	‘louse’
twəlist	twəlsìn	‘big plate or bowl of wood’

Two nouns of this class have the plural suffix *-awən*: *asìrf* pl. *sərfəwən* ‘braid of palm leaves to make baskets’, *ayùf* pl. *yəfəwən* ‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string’.

tə̀rəkàft pl. *tə̀rəkfin* ‘caravan’ may belong here too, but loses a short final vowel in the plural rather than a long one.

3.2.3.4 *-iċ-ən* plurals

A small group of nouns with two consonants in their stem have their stem vowel replaced by *i* and their final root consonant lengthened. The plural suffix *-ən* is added to the root.

afùd, afùdd	fiddən	‘knee’
afùs	fissən	‘hand’
ayìz	yizzən	‘necklace’
avìr	vìrrən	‘wall’
awìš	wìššən	‘sword’
azìf	zìffən	‘tail’
tyə̀t	tyìtṭən (tyə̀tṭən)	‘goat’

Two nouns have lengthening of the final consonant, but do not shift the preceding vowel to *i*: *ažàr* pl. *žàrrən* ‘abdomen, belly’ and *tžíraṭ* pl. *tžíraṭṭìn* ‘rib of a leaf’. One noun lengthens its final consonant, but does not undergo a vowel change, and is followed by the plural suffix *-awən* instead of *-ən*: *arág* pl. *rəggàwən* ‘handle.’

dìmmən ‘blood’ may belong to this class too. But since this form is a *plurale tantum*, this cannot be confirmed.

3.2.3.5 *i*-infix with plural suffix

A small group of nouns replaces their final *ə* with *i* and add the plural suffix *-ən*. Three out of four nouns that belong to this group have the shape |išcəc| in the plural.

išyər	šyìrən	‘firewood’
iškər	škìrən	‘nail’
ištən	ištìnən	‘a shoemakers awl’
amə̀dən	mə̀dìnən (mìd- dən)	‘man’ pl.: ‘people’

3.2.3.6 Suppletion

A small group of nouns have a suppletive plural formation.

təvəl	dvittìn	‘sheep’
ìwi	aməzžìn	‘my son’
awìl	žlàn	‘word, speech’
uma	àtma	‘my brother’
wərtnā	sətma	‘my sister’

3.2.3.7 Isolated formations

Several isolated cases of plural formations remain. Two nouns only remove the feminine singular marker *-t* to mark the plural, e.g. *tavərgàt* pl. *dvərgá* ‘dream’ and *təvùrt*, *tavvùrt* pl. *dvurr*, *dfurr* ‘door’.

One noun shifts its root final *-i* to *-a*, e.g. *tḥḥit* pl. *tḥḥya* ‘animal excrement’.

One noun adds a final *-a* to the root, e.g. *tamìrt* pl. *tmìra* ‘beard’.

Three nouns have irregular plural formations: *agəngùy* pl. *ngùwən* ‘green date’, *tàqt* pl. *taqqid*, *taqqidən* ‘finger’, *təmmìt* pl. *tmənyìn* ‘tamarisk’.

One noun replaces its final vowel by *a* and places a suffix *-ən* behind the stem. The long consonant preceding the final vowel is shortened. *aqəlliz* pl. *əqlàzən* ‘lie’

3.3 Arabic loans

Arabic loans form a special class of nouns within Awjila Berber. Most Arabic loanwords are easily recognized by the Arabic definite marker *l-*, *əl* or *al* which may be assimilated to the next consonant according to the Arabic assimilation rules. The Arabic definite marker has no semantic value in Awjila, but is almost always present in such loanwords. The Arabic definite marker assimilates to dental and palatal stops and fricatives. This includes the voiced palatal fricative *ž* from the Arabic *ج*. The Arabic feminine suffix *-a(t)* has been taken over in Awjila as *-ət*. Once the *-a(t)* is taken over as *-a*: *sàna* ‘year’. Arabic loanwords inherit their plural formations from Arabic. Examples:

əlbàb ‘door’

əlbəḥr ‘sea’

əddələl ‘auctioneer’

alidàm ‘butter’

lḥəbb pl. *ləḥbùb* ‘date (mature)’

əlkətf pl. *ləktuf* ‘shoulder’

ssùq ‘market’

əlʕàləm pl. *əlʕulamá* ‘scholar’

əžžəḥim ‘hell’

əlḥəzmət ‘bundle’

əlḥàžət ‘thing’

Some Arabic loanwords have Berber morphology. These nativized loanwords lack the definite marker, and their plural formations follow Berber patterns.

aḥòli pl. *ḥolàwən* ‘lamb’

amakàn ‘place’

tzənàqt pl. *dzənqìn* ‘street’

3.4 Nominal derivation

There are very few examples of nominal derivations in Awjila by means of prefixation, something quite commonly found in other Berber languages.⁸

3.4.1 Agent nouns

There is one attested case of the common Berber *m-/n-* agent prefix.

anagàm pl. *nagàmən* ‘someone who draws water’, derived from *ugám* ‘to draw (water from a well with an animal)’

3.4.2 Instrument nouns

There are no unambiguous examples of the common Berber *s-* instrument noun prefix. A possible examples is *azədùz* ‘hammer’, which has no corresponding verb that it is derived from. In other Berber languages, this verb is attested, e.g. Middle Atlas Berber *edz* ‘to pound’, *azduz* ‘hammer’.

⁸For a short overview of the derivational prefixes *m-/n-* and *s-*, see Galand (2010: 149ff.).

Chapter 4

Verb

There are three morphological processes that influence the verb. These three processes are:

1. Person Number Gender (PNG) marking
2. Verbal derivation
3. Tense Aspect Mood (TAM) marking

4.1 PNG-marking

There are three types of PNG-marking, depending on mood and verb type.

1. Regular PNG-marking
2. Imperative PNG-marking
3. Stative PNG-marking

4.1.1 Regular PNG-marking

Regular PNG-marking is used for all non-imperative verbs that do not belong to the stative verb class. The imperative has its own PNG-marking. The table below displays the PNG-marking, and is supplied with the full perfective paradigm of *arón* 'to write', based on Beguinet (1924: 189) and Paradisi's word list.

1sg.	-x, -γ, -a	urəf-γ, urəf-x
2sg.	t...-t	t-urəf-t
3sg.m.	y-	y-urón
3sg.f.	t-	t-urón
1pl.	n-	n-urón
2pl.m.	t...-im	t-urəv-ìm
2pl.f.	t...-mət	t-urəv-mət
3pl.m.	-n	úrəv-ən
3pl.f.	-nət	urəv-nət

The 1sg. has three forms, *-x* is the form attested in Paradisi. This form is also the most common form in Zanon. Beguinot (1924) has *-y* and Zanon (1932) has both forms. The allomorph *-a* is used when the 1sg. is followed by an indirect object clitic.

- (2) *qàma a=nn-à=k* *ləhkàyət axìr n=tà=nn-ək.*
 now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=10.2sm story better of=PMPH=of-2sm
 ‘Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!’ [PT:IV]

4.1.2 Imperative PNG-marking

The imperative PNG-marking is limited to the second person, and is always attached to the imperative stem. Other Berber languages usually allow the imperative PNG-marking to be attached to the imperfective stem as well. Within the corpus, there is no evidence for this in Awjila. The imperative paradigm of the verb *ayəšš* ‘to love’¹ is given below as an example.

2sg	-ø	ayəšš-ø
2pl.m.	-at	ayəšš-ət
2pl.f.	-mət	ayəšš-mət

4.1.3 Stative PNG-marking

Awjila has a stative verb class, containing verbs expressing permanent qualities. In the singular, the stative verb is inflected for person and gender, while the plural has one single form.² The table belows gives the paradigm, and an example verb *šəttəf* ‘to be black’

1sg.	-ax	šəttəf-àx
2sg.	-at	šəttəf-ət
3sg.m.	-ø	šəttəf-ø
3sg.f.	-ət	šəttəf-ət
pl.	-it	šəttəf-it

4.1.4 The participle

There is a special form of PNG-marking that is normally called the “Participle” in Berber studies. The participle is used in relative clauses, and relative clause-like constructions,

¹*ayəšš* ‘to love’ is the only complete imperative paradigm that is attested that has a root that ends in a consonant.

²The plural form is not attested in the text with the 1pl. or 2pl. It is therefore not possible to determine that it is a common plural form from the texts. Paradisi’s word list explicitly states that it is a common plural form. I assume that this is correct.

when the head of the relative clause functions as the subject in the relative clause.³ The participle occurs with regular verbs and stative verbs.

The participle is formed by suffixing *-n* to the verb stem. Section 10.6 discusses its use and the syntax of relative clauses. Some examples of the participle are given below.

- (3) *i-šərw=ɪs ləhùdi s=alá šará-n=a.*
 3sm-tell:pf.=IO.3s Jew from=rel. happen:res.-ptc.=res.
 ‘the Jew told him about what had happened.’ [PT:V]
- (4) *u=bəʃədèn y-əxzár af=əlħəməl=ənn-əs wa zžàk-ən dax*
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʃ=t
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm
 ‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry’ [PT:III]

In several Berber languages such as Ghadames, Tuareg, the participle agrees in gender and number with its subject, e.g. Ayr Tuareg (Kossmann 2011: 69).

In Awjila subject relatives are only attested with masculine singular heads, so it is unclear whether there is any subject agreement.

4.1.4.1 Other

The words for ‘other, another’ are morphologically reminiscent of the participle as found in Tuareg. This is not unusual for this word, which often has participle-like forms in other Berber languages, cf. Figuig (Kossmann 1997: 162) and Ghadames (Lanfray 1968: 364).

Paradisi distinguishes two forms: an “indefinite” form, *aqùtən* ‘another’, and a “definite” form, *wàtən* ‘other’. Both forms agree in gender and number with the noun they modify, and both are placed behind it. The table below illustrates the different forms.

	Definite	Indefinite
m.sg.	wà-ṭən	aqùtən
m.pl.	wə-ṭnìn	aqùṭnìn
f.sg.	tà-ṭən	aqùtət
f.pl.	tə-ṭnìnət	aqùṭnìnət

The definite forms have an initial *wa-* for the masculine and *ta-* for the feminine. These forms are similar to the pre-modifier pronominal heads described in section 6.3.1. Different from pre-modifier pronominal heads, the plural forms start with *wə-* and *tə-* instead of *wi-* and *ti-*.

³The name “Participle” is unfortunate as it suggests that it is a nominal verb form. In fact, it is a purely verbal form (Galand 2010: 234). It would be better to call these forms subject-relative forms.

The definite/indefinite distinction that Paradisi makes, is contradicted by the textual evidence, cf.

- (5) *Bəṣadèn u=bəṣád səb(ə)ṣa ayyam y-əṣədd mərràt (mərràtət) aqùt-ət*
 then and=after seven days 3sm-go:*pf. time another-sf
 ‘Then after seven days he went another time’ [PT:IX]

Here the form *aqùtət* clearly has an indefinite meaning, as would be expected from Paradisi’s description. But compare this to the following example:

- (6) *šəmm-át=dik tirìwt tàtən, amišiw=ənn-ùk.*
 cook:imp.-pm=IO.is child other:sf dinner=of-is
 ‘Cook me another girl, (for) my dinner.’ [PT:XV]

In this sentence, a definite reading is impossible. This must certainly be read as ‘another girl’, and not ‘the other girl’. The story involves seven girls, and at this point of the story, the Ogre believes he has eaten one girl. This continues the next day, where the ogre says the following:

- (7) *U=šbaḥ=ənn-əs šəmm-át=dik tàtən.*
 and=tomorrow=of-3s cook:imp.-pm=IO.is other:sf
 ‘And the next day: cook another for me’ [PT:XV]

In both these sentences from the same text, Paradisi’s “definite” form *tàtən* must be read as indefinite, as there are seven children, if we would translate ‘the other’, it would imply there were only two girls.

The examples that Paradisi cites in the word list (pg. 159, s.v. altro) agree with his definite versus indefinite description:

- (8) *iwínan aqùtən*
 one:sm another:sm
 ‘another one’ [P: s.v. altro]
- (9) *àtma wəṭnìn*
 brothers other:pm
 ‘my other brothers’
- (10) *tfilliwìn təṭnìnət*
 houses other:pf
 ‘the other houses’
- (11) *iwátan t-ənni dila u=təṭən t-ənni ždàbyət*
 one:sf 3sf-be:*pf. at.here and=other:sf 3sf-be:*pf. Ajdabiya
 ‘one is here, and the other is in Ajdabiya’ [P: s.v. altro]

- (12) *mag ì-nni wàtən?*
 where 3sm-be(loc.):*pf. other:sm
 'where is the other one.' [P: s.v. altro]

4.1.5 Stem variation in Final * verbs

Several verb types have a final vowel that alternates in quality depending on PNG-marking. In the discussion of the verb stems (see below, section 4.3.3), these verbs are marked by a final * in their abstract verb structure (**cc***, **nc***, **vc*** etc.). The final vowel may either be *-a*, *-i* or *-ø*. Some PNG-markings are not attested in the corpus with final * verbs, therefore, several gaps are present in the table below.

	Fut.		Pf., Res., Impf.		Imp.	
1sg.	-a-x	a=fk-à-x	-i-x	fk-i-x		
2sg.	t...-a-t	a=d-g-a-t	t...-i-t	d-g-ì-t	-ø	əfk
3sg.m.	y...-ø	a=y-əfk	y...-a	y-əfk-á		
3sg.f.	t...-ø	a=tt-ùš	t...-a	t-ùf-a		
1pl.	<i>n.a.</i>		<i>n.a.</i>			
2pl.m.	t...-a-m	a=tt-əqqim-a-m	t...-a-m	t-əllum-à-m	-ø-at	fk-àt
2pl.f.	<i>n.a.</i>		<i>n.a.</i>		-i-mət	fk-ì-mət
3pl.m.	<i>n.a.</i>		-a-n	uf-à-n		
3pl.f.	-a-nət	a=mm-à-nət	-a-nət	uf-à-nət		

When a direct object clitic directly follows the stem of a verb of this type, with no intervening PNG-marking, the final vowel is always *-i*. The vowel *i* of the indirect object clitic always replaces the final vowel of these stem-types, when there is no intervening PNG-marking. In case of 1sg. *-dik* which does not start with a vowel, the vowel *-i* is used,⁴ as with the direct object clitics, cf.

<i>yəččá</i> 'he ate' [P:s.v. mangiare]	<i>yəčči=t</i> 'he ate it' [PT:XV]
<i>yəfká</i> 'he gave' [P: s.v. dare]	<i>yəfk=isin</i> 'he gave them' [PT:XV]
<i>ayəfk</i> 'he will give' [P: s.v. dare]	<i>ayəfk=is</i> 'I will give him' [PT:V]
<i>yəfká</i> 'he gave' [P: s.v. dare]	<i>yəfki=dik</i> 'He gave me' [PT:V]

Besides the regular verbs that have stem-final vowel variation, there is a second group which is different in that the 3sg.m. and 3sg.f. do not have an ending *-a* in the perfective. These verbs will be marked with a final (*), e.g. **cvċ(*)** (section 4.3.3.18).

⁴The 1pl. indirect object clitic *-dikkəni* is unattested with verbs with final *.

4.2 Derivational prefixes

Awjila verbs may have three derivational prefixes. These form new verbs with derived meanings, which are similar in form and function to those in other Berber languages (Galand 2010: 298-310): the causative prefix *š-*, the passive prefix *t-*, *tt-*, *tw-* and the middle prefix *m-*. There is one example of a combination of derivational prefixes. Verbs derived with these prefixes have default accent in all verb forms.

4.2.1 Causative

By far the most productive and best-attested derivation is the causative, which is formed with the prefix *š-*.

imp. sg. *šəndal* 'to cover', derived from *əndal* 'to be covered'
 imp. sg. *šuyər* 'to lose something', derived from *uyər* 'to get lost'

The causative prefix has an allomorph *s-* that is used when the first or second root consonant *z* or *ʒ*.

imp. sg. *səzik*, *səgzək* 'to heal (trans.)', derived from *zik* 'to get better'
 imp. sg. *səzwər* 'to swell; to make steep', derived from *zəwwər* 'to be large'
 imp. sg. *səzʒik* 'to make heavy', derived from *zʒək* 'to be heavy'

Some causative verbs with a consonant *z* as the second root consonant have free variation between *š-* and *s-*:

imp. sg. *šəgzəl*, *səgzəl* 'to shorten, lower', derived from the stative verb *gəzzəl* 'to be short, low'
 imp. sg. *šəyʒəf*, *səyʒəf* 'to lengthen', derived from the stative verb *yəzzəf* 'to be long'

The only causative verb with *s* in the root, has free variation between the allomorphs *š-* and *s-*:

imp. sg. *šəʔs*, *səʔs* 'to make someone laugh', derived from *aʔs*, *atʔ* 'to laugh'

imp. sg. *šəkər* 'to cause to steal' has an impf. 1sg. *sukər-x* with a causative prefix *s-* instead of *š-*.

There is one verb with *ʒ* in the root where the causative prefix has become *ž-*: *ž-iž* 'to sell', from *iž* 'to be sold'. The other causative that has a *ž* in the root has a regular causative prefix: *š-ərži* 'to cause to milk' from *ərži* 'to milk'.

The causative increases the valency of a verb, by adding a direct object. The increase of valency can have multiple effects, as it may be appended to an intransitive

verb, a transitive verb and even a ditransitive verb. The overview below gives several examples.

Intransitive verbs can be made transitive with the causative prefix:

<i>udán</i> ‘to get dressed’	> <i>š-ùdán</i> ‘to dress s.o.’
<i>glùl</i> ‘to play’	> <i>š-əglùl</i> ‘to make s.o. play’
<i>əkri</i> ‘to return’	> <i>š-əkri</i> ‘to return s.th.’
<i>akkār</i> ‘to get up’	> <i>š-akkār</i> ‘to make s.o. get up’

Similarly, intransitive stative verbs may also receive the causative prefix in order to make them transitive.⁵

<i>fəšùš</i> ‘to be light’	> <i>š-əfšəš</i> ‘to lighten’
<i>gəzzəl</i> ‘to be short, low’	> <i>š-əgzəl, s-əgzəl</i> ‘to shorten, lower’

A common feature in Berber languages is the lability of verbs (Galand 2010: 291ff.). Such verbs can be used both in intransitive and transitive constructions. Labile verbs may also receive the causative prefix. In such cases, the verb becomes purely transitive. There is only one unambiguous example of this process in Awjila:

<i>uyār</i> ‘to get lost; to lose s.th.’	> <i>š-ùyār</i> ‘to lose s.th.’
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Verbs that only have a transitive interpretation, become ditransitive by appending the causative prefix.

<i>əčč</i> ‘to eat’	> <i>š-əčč</i> ‘to make s.o eat’
<i>agəl, gul</i> ‘to see’	> <i>š-əgəl</i> ‘to show’
<i>ayār</i> ‘to read’	> <i>š-əyār</i> ‘to make s.o. read’
<i>àkər, ùkər</i> ‘to steal’	> <i>š-ùkər</i> ‘to make s.o. steal’

In one single case, a verb that is already ditransitive is made tritransitive by applying the causative prefix:

<i>əfk</i> ‘to give’	> <i>š-əfk</i> ‘to make s.o. give’
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Berber languages often employ the causative prefix on nouns to make denominal verbs. There is very little evidence for this process in Awjila, a single example may be: *gudìn* ‘urine’, and the related verb *š-əggəd* ‘to urinate, defecate’.

⁵We have one instance where the causative that is derived from

4.2.2 Passive

The passive is formed by a *tw-* prefix in front of verbs that start with a plain vowel, a *tt-* prefix before *a* and *t-* in front of a consonant.⁶ This following overview lists all attested passive verbs.

<i>amt</i> 'to bury'	> pf. 3sg.m. <i>i-tt-àmt</i> 'to be buried'
<i>any</i> 'to kill'	> pf. 3sg.m. <i>i-tt-àny</i> 'to be killed'
<i>azwàt</i> 'to slam; to throw'	> res. 3sg.m. <i>i-t-zawìta</i> 'to be thrown on the ground'
<i>àžət</i> 'to grind, mill'	> res. 3sg.m. <i>i-tt-ižìta</i> 'to be ground, be milled'
<i>yar</i> 'to open'	> imp. sg. <i>ttw-àr</i> , <i>tw-àr</i> 'to open, to be open, to be opened'
<i>àrəv</i> , <i>ùrəv</i> 'to write'	> pf. 3sg.m. <i>i-tw-àrəv</i> 'to be written'
<i>š-išəf</i> 'to sieve'	> res. 3sg.m. <i>i-t-š-išif=a</i> 'to be sieved'

Only one of these passive verbs appears in the texts: *ttw-àr* 'to be opened; to open'. This passive verb "has both a passive and non-passive reading. In the sentence below, the verb is clearly passive:

- (13) *əlbàb i-twàr=a*
 door 3sm-be.opened:res.=res.
 'The door is opened.' [P: s.v. aprire]

In the following sentence the verb could be read passive or active:

- (14) *U=y-ətwàr arəqùt u=y-əhsəb=tənət y-ufi=tənət*
 and=3sm-open:×pf. bag and=3sm-count:×pf.=DO.3pf 3sm-find:×pf.=DO.3pf
ənqəš-nit=a iwínan
 lack:res.-3pf=res. one:sm
 'And he opened the bag (or: the bag was opened) and counted them and found them lacking one (pound)' [PT:V]

In the next sentence, only an active reading is possible:

- (15) *Bəfədèn uša-n=iz=d itnèn ən=qəttášan, iwínan i-twàr*
 Then come:×pf.-3pm=10.3s=come two of=thieves, one:ms 3sm-open:×pf.
azìt u=y-ərfət idd-əs w=iwínan y-əqqən
 donkey and=3sm-take.away:×pf.=DO.3sm with-3s and=one:ms 3sm-tie:×pf.
imàn=n-əs amakàn n=azìt.
 self=of-3s place of=donkey
 'Then came two thieves, one untied the donkey and took it away with him, and one tied himself (in) place of the donkey.' [PT:VII]

⁶Paradisi always writes this passive prefix as *tu-* which may also stand for *tuw-*, see pg. ?? for a discussion.

4.2.3 Middle

The middle/reciprocal formation, found in other Berber languages with the *mm-* prefix, only has few attestations Awjila. There is only one clear example of the *mm-* prefix.

- (16) *Undú uši-γ=d ká, a=n-mhàsəb nək ɪdd-əs yom əlqiyàma.*
 if come:̣pf.-is neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection
 'If I do not come, we —him (who suffers) and me— will settle the score at the day of resurrection.' [PT:II]

The semantics of this verb must be understood as a middle that expresses togetherness. It is derived from the Arabic verb *ḥāsaba* 'to hold accountable', which is modified by the prefix to mean something like 'to hold accountable together' or 'to settle the score together'.

There are two verbs whose initial *mm-* probably goes back to the middle prefix.

- imp. sg. *əmməkt, mməkti* 'to remember', cf. Ghd. *əktət* 'to remember'; Kb. *mməkti* 'to remember'
 imp. sg. *əmməg* 'to become, to be, to turn into'. Probably derived from *ag* 'to do, put, place'.

4.2.4 Combined prefixes

There is one example of a combined prefix, a passive derived from a causative *šišəf* 'to sieve', which does not have a non-causative counterpart:

- res. 3sg.m. *i-t-š-išifa* 'to be sieved'

4.3 Morphology of the verb stem

There are six types of verbal stems that mark Tense, Aspect and Mood:

1. Imperative
2. Perfective
3. Sequential perfective
4. Resultative
5. Future
6. Imperfective

There are four different types of morphological marking to distinguish the different TAM stems.

1. Clitic TAM-marking
2. TAM-marking through prefixes
3. TAM-marking through apophony
4. Accentual TAM-marking

Clitic TAM-marking. There are two clitics that are used to mark TAM: the future clitic *a=* and the resultative clitic *=a*. They are discussed in detail in sections 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.1.5.

TAM-marking through prefixes. There are two types of TAM-prefixes: imperfective marker *t-* and imperative marker *a-*. *t-* is added directly to the root. It is the tool that some verb types use to mark the imperfective, e.g. pf. 3sg.m. *yattáf*, impf. 3sg.m. *itattáf* ‘to seize’. Some verb types receive an initial prefix *a-* in the imperative, e.g. imp. sg. *àsəy*, but pf. 3sg.m. *isáy* ‘to buy’.

TAM-marking through apophony. Apophony is another morphological tool to mark TAM. One apophonic process is the change of *u* to *a*. Some verb types show alternation between initial *a-* in the imperative stem, and *u-* in the future and perfective stem. The change from *u-* to *a-* is also found as a means to mark the imperfective. In one verb type, initial *ya-* in the imperative stem alternates with initial *u-* in the future and perfective stems; The imperative singular of some stems starts with *a-* which is absent in all other forms.

Lengthening of the middle or last consonant of a verb root is another apophonic tool to mark the imperfective in some verb types. Finally, some verb types have a vowel *a* before the last consonant of the stem to mark the imperfective.

- imp. sg. *àkər*; *ùkər*; pf. 3sg.m. *y-ùkər*; impf. 3sg.m. *i-tàkər* ‘to steal’
 imp. sg. *yar*; pf. 3sg.m. *y-urá* ‘to open’
 imp. sg. *àsəy*; imp. pl.m. *səy-àt*; pf. 3sg.m. *i-sáy* ‘to buy’
 imp. sg. *əlmád*; impf. 3sg.m. *i-ləmməd* ‘to learn’
 imp. sg. *fənzər*; impf. 3sg.m. *i-fənzàr* ‘to bleed (from the nose)’

Accentual TAM-marking. The presence or absence of a lexical accent may also mark TAM. Several verb types have a final phonological accent in the imperative stem and perfective stem. Phonological accent is the defining difference between the perfective and the sequential perfective. When object clitics follow either of these stems, it is

impossible to determine which of the two is represented, as the cliticization makes the accent fall on the final syllable of the stem, whether it were a phonological accent or not. Some verb types have phonological final accent in all TAM-stems. Some examples of accentual TAM-marking are given below.

pf. 3sg.m. *yufá*, seq. 3sg.m. *yùfa* 'to find'
 pf. 3sg.m. *yəčča*, seq. 3sg.m. *yəččá* 'to eat'

4.3.1 Verbal clitics

Several clitics may precede or follow the verb. The verb, together with its clitics, forms a single accent unit. Preceding the verb, we find the negative clitic *ur=* and the future clitic *a=*. Following the verb, we find the direct object and indirect object pronominal clitics, the resultative clitic *=a* and the lexicalized deictic clitic *=d*. These clitics appear in a fixed order around the verb which can be represented schematically as follows:

Negative=Future=[Verb]=Indirect Object=Direct Object=Resultative

4.3.1.1 Negative clitic *ur=*

The negative clitic *ur=* is sometimes used, but the negative particle *ká* (see section 4.3.2), which follows the verb, is much more common. In his word list, Paradisi (s.v. *non*) mentions the variants *wur*, *wul* and *ul*, which are not attested in the texts or example sentences in the vocabulary.

4.3.1.2 Future clitic *a=*

The clitic *a=* is used to mark future or non-real events. It is always followed by a future verb stem. Different from its cognate *a(d)* in other Berber languages, the presence of *a=* has no effect on the placement of post-verbal clitics, which remain behind the verb. The example below contains several futures with direct objects and indirect objects:

(17) *wəllàhi qàma a=hdaf-à=s* *təs(ə)fa məyət id=təs(ə)fa u=təsɿn*
 by.god now fut.=throw:fut.-1s=10.3s nine hundred with=nine and=ninety
žni w=a-ggula-x=t *a=y-uyí=tənət* *nay wəla.*
 pound and=fut.=see:fut-1s=DO.3sm fut=3sm-take:fut.=DO.3pf or not.

'By god, now I will throw to him 999 pounds and see if he will take it or not.'
 [PT:V]

4.3.1.3 Object clitics

The direct object clitics and indirect object clitics are discussed in more detail in sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3.

4.3.1.4 The lexicalized deictic clitic =*d*

Berber languages often have the post-verbal directional clitics =*dd* ‘hither’ and =*nn* ‘thither’, which indicate the direction of an action. These directional clitics are no longer productive in Awjila. There is no evidence of =*nn* left anywhere in the language. The clitic =*d* is still present as a lexicalized element found in the verbs *yi=d* ‘to come’ and *ayi=d* ‘to bring’⁷. Because the clitic no longer has a discernable semantic meaning, I have decided to gloss them as part of the verb: =*d* is glossed ‘come’ and ‘bring’, depending on which verb it follows.

While the =*d* no longer has meaning of its own, it still behaves as a clitic. It follows the indirect object clitic, e.g.

- (18) *Y-uš=iž=d* *Žhà.*
 3sm-come:P-IO.3s Jha
 ‘Jha came to him’ [PT:VI]

In the imperfective, the clitic =*d* has an allomorph =*da*.

- impf. 1sg. *tašì-γ=da*, 2sg. (*t*)*tašì-d=da*, 3sg.m. *i-tašà=da*
 impf. 1sg. *təggi-γ=da*, 3sg.m. *i-təggà=da*

Notice that the 1sg. PNG-marker *-x* is voiced to *-γ* in front of this clitic.

The future 3sg.m. and 3sg.f. of *yi=d* do not have the clitic.

- fut. 1sg. *a=ušá-γ=d* 3sg.m. *a=y-ùš* 3sg.f. *a=tt-ùš* [Z:VI]

4.3.1.5 Resultative clitic =*a*

The resultative clitic =*a* follows all other clitics. If the syllable that precedes the clitic =*a* contains *ə*, the vowel in that syllable is changed to *i*.

The sentences below show the 3sg.f. direct object marker =*tət* both with and without the resultative marker behind it. The second sentence also has the 3pl.f. subject marker =*nət* reflected as =*nìt* due to the resultative clitic =*a* behind it.

- (19) *u=ku t-γəlli-t a=tt-uyà-t=tət syàr-i?*
 and=you 2s-want:*pf.-2s fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3sf from=1s
 ‘and you want to take it from me?’ [PT:V]

- (20) *nək wa əhdəf-x=tìt=a i=kú dax a=ggulà-x=ku*
 I PMPH:sm threw.res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you in.order.to fut=see:fut.-1s=DO.2sm
a=t-tuyə-(t)=tənət ənqəš-nìt=a nəγ wàla.
 fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3pf lack.res.-3pf=res. or not

⁷Both verbs have suppletive imperatives. The other stems use the roots *vš*(=d)* and *gg*=d* respectively.

'I am the one who has thrown it to you in order to see if you would take them missing (one pound) or not.' [PT:V]

When the resultative clitic is directly preceded by the vowel *a*, the clitic has the allomorph =*ya*, e.g. pf. 3sg.m. *yəfká*, res. 3sg.m. *yəfká=ya* 'to give'. When the perfective stem of a verb ends in *i*, this vowel is changed to *a* in the resultative, and again, the resultative clitic is =*ya*, e.g. pf. 3sg.m. *yənṭí*, res. 3sg.m. *yənṭà=ya* 'to taste'.

4.3.2 Negation

Negation is normally marked with *ká* placed behind the verbal complex. This particle has its own accent. Alternatively, but only rarely, negative clitic *ur=* is used (see section 4.3.1.1). The sentence below present a typical sentence with the negator *ká*, which is also provided with an alternative negation with the negative clitic *ur=*.

- (21) *afíwa t-nə-d=dik ká* (or: *ur=t-nə-d=dik*) *žlan=íya u=nək*
 why 2s-say:pf.-2s=IO.1s neg. neg.=2s-say:pf.-2s=IO.1s words-prox.:p and=I
nnì-x ar=ùṭa?
 be(loc.):pf.-1s to=below

Why did you not tell me these words when (litt. and) I was still below?' [PT:VI]

There are a few cases where we find double negation in Awjila Berber. In these cases, besides the addition of a particle *ká*, the negative clitic *ur=* stands in front of the verb.

- (22) *ur=n-à=k=a ká bəṣàd a=t-qimà-t idd-í t-əṣaddi-t ká?*
 neg.=say:res.-1s=IO.2sm=res. neg. when fut.-2s-stay:fut.-2s with-1s 2s-go-impf.-2s neg.
 'Did I not tell you that when you stay with me not to go (anywhere?)' [PT:XIII]

4.3.3 Verb stems

The basic verb types are categorized here by their abstract structure. Every consonant of the verb is marked *c*, when a root has a long consonant it is marked as *c̄*. Long vowels are marked *v*, the final variable vowel is marked * and the variable vowel that does not end in *-a* in the 3sg.m. and 3sg.f. is marked (*). By applying schemes to these structures, we get the different TAM-stems of the verbs. For example a *ccc* structure receives a |*cəcəc*| scheme to form the imperfective.

The following sections discuss the verb type and their TAM-stem formations individually. Every verb type is presented with the imperative, perfective, future, imperfective stems and their verbal noun. The sequential perfective and the resultative have not been included. The resultative is regularly derived from the perfective by adding the resultative clitic =*a* (see section 4.3.1.5). The sequential perfective only occurs with

ccc, cc*, c̄* and vc* verbs. It is formed by giving the perfective default accent instead of phonological final accent.

4.3.3.1 ccc

This type is the most common verb type. There are no verbs with the full paradigm attested. The regular pattern is⁸:

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
əccác	əccác	əccəc	cəc̄əc	acəcac	
ədyáz	y-ədyáz	<i>n.a.</i>	i-dəyyəz	adəyáz	'to sing'
əqláz	<i>n.a.</i>	a=y-əqləz	i-qəlləz	aqəlàz	'to lie'
əyráš	y-əyráš	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	aḡərəš	'to slaughter'
ərwáf	y-ərwáf	<i>n.a.</i>	i-rəwwəf	<i>n.a.</i>	'to fear'

Besides this general pattern, there is some variation. Some imperatives have a |cəc̄ác| pattern, e.g. *gəbás* 'to encircle' and *kərás* (besides *əkərəš*) 'to tie, to knot'.

The two verbs that clearly have a |cəc̄ác| pattern in the imperative have a phonological accent on the final syllable in the imperfective: *ikərráš* 'to tie, to knot', *igəbbáš* 'to encircle'. One other verb has this irregular accent in the imperfective: *ətkár*, *itəkkár* 'to fill up'

The verbs *trəs* 'to braid hair' has an irregular imperfective formations of the shape |cəc̄àc| impf.3sg.f. *tḡərràs*.

The verb *ərwəl* 'to flee' has an unusual form in the resultative 3pl.m.: *ərwilina*, with *i* instead of *ə* as the final vowel in the root. This phenomenon is discussed in more detail in section 10.5.4 footnote 3.

4.3.3.2 cc*

This verb type has two root consonants and a final vowel *-a* in the 3sg.m. perfective and no vowel in the 3sg.m. future and imperative. The vowel alternation is discussed in section 4.1.5. The table below gives some of the verbs that belong to this type.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
əcc	əcc*	əcc*'	cəc̄*	acəcū	
əfk	y-əfká	a=y-əfk	i-fəkká	<i>n.a.</i>	'to give'
agəz	y-əgza	a=y-əgəz	i-gəzza	agəzzu	'to cut'
aqəl	y-əqlá	a=y-əqəl	i-qəllá	aqəllu	'to roast'
aṡs	y-əṡsa	a=y-əṡs	i-təṡṡá	təṡṡàt	'to laugh'

⁸Where possible, I give 3sg.m. examples for pf., fut. and impf. in the following sections

Verbs of this type undergo morphophonological epenthesis in this type: If the last consonant of the root stands word-finally and the last consonant of the verb is *r*, *l* or *n*, *ə* is inserted before the last consonant (cf. a similar situation in Tuareg Heath 2005: 66). This final inserted *ə* almost always has a phonological accent in the imperative.

Verb that insert *ə* usually have an initial vowel *a* in the imperative, cf. *abán* ‘to build, construct’, *agár* ‘to gather, assemble’, *aqál* ‘to roast’, but: *aṭs* ‘to laugh’, *ədz* ‘to let go of’, *əfk* ‘to give’, *ərz* ‘to break’, *əmt* ‘to bury’.

There are two verbs with inserted *ə* which have a variant with an initial *ə*: *əsəl*, *əsəl* ‘to hear’, *avál*, *əvál* ‘to cry, weep’.

One verb has final *z*, but still has an inserted *ə*: *agáz* ‘to cut’.

Two verbs, one with two stops, the other with two fricatives, also have an inserted *ə*: *aḥás* ‘to crush dates’, *ətəb* ‘to close the eyes’. Note that *ətəb* has default accent.

šəw ‘to drink’ has a different imperative than all other verbs.

The verb *ənəy* ‘to kill’ appears to have an inserted *ə*, while the rule specified above does not apply. Perhaps this *ə* in this word is truly epenthetic. While this is difficult to determine, the spelling by Paradisi may suggest this <áněǵ>. The sign <ě> is often employed to write epenthetic vowels (see pg. 30).

The forms that do not insert *ə* before the last consonant have two different formations. We find two schemes: |əcc| and |acc|. *əfk* ‘to give’, for example has the scheme |əcc|, but *əmt* ‘to bury’ has the scheme |acc|. The two other verbs with this shape, <arz> ‘to break’ and <aṭs> ‘to laugh’ are ambiguous as the <a> in these emphatic environments could represent both *ə* and *a*.

Note that *ə* is not inserted when a vowel is added to the stem. This is the only case in Awjila where resyllabification takes place when *ə* ends up in an open syllable.⁹

There are several instances in the data where the imperfective has a final accent, instead of the anticipated penultimate accent, e.g. *i-fəkká* ‘to give’, *i-qəllá* ‘to roast’.

The verb (*t*)*tla=ya* (res.3sg.f.) ‘to become pregnant’ belongs to the cc* verbs, but displays some irregularities: The initial cluster *tl* is sometimes replaced by *ll* (e.g. res. 1sg. *tli-x=a*, *lli-x=a*). Sometimes the PNG-prefix *t*- is lost in front of *t* of the root (e.g. 2sg. *tə-tli-t=a*, (*t*)*tli-t=a* 3sg.f. (*t*)*tla=ya*).

Two verbs in this group have an irregular verbal noun of the shape |tcəcāt|: *aṭs* ‘to laugh’ v.n. (*t*)*təṣṣət*;¹⁰ *šəw* ‘to drink’ v.n. *tšəwwət*.

The verb *əvəl*, *avəl* ‘to cry’ has an irregular verbal noun of an entirely different formation: *vlin*.

⁹From a historical perspective the vowel must be epenthetic. Roots of this type go back to PB *ǎccəʔ verbs. There was no short vowel present between the two root consonants. See Kossmann (2001).

¹⁰Paradisi often does not distinguish initial *tt*- from initial *t*-.

4.3.3.3 nc*

Verbs of this type have lost their initial radical *n* in all forms except for the imperfective and the verbal noun. There are three verbs that belong to this type. The verbal noun formation has the consonantal shape |tcācāt| that we also occur as an irregular verbal noun shape in the cc* verbs. Notice that the 3sg.m. prefix *y-* is lost in the perfective in front of the *i* of the root.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
ic	ic*'	ic*	nēc*	tnēcāt	
iš	iša	a=y-iš	i-nəšša	tnəššāt	'to sleep'
iv	ivá	a=y-iv	i-nəvva	tnəvvāt	'to fall'
iž	<i>n.a.</i>	a=y-iž	i-nəžža	<i>n.a.</i>	'to be sold'

4.3.3.4 cci

Verbs with two root consonants that end in a vowel *i* belong to this group. The stem formation is similar to the ccc and cc* verbs. The resultative formation of cci verbs is identical to that of the cc* verbs, with a root final *-a* rather than *-i*, e.g. *y-ənṭà=ya* (instead of the regular resultative: ***y-ənṭi=ya*).

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
əccí	əccí	əccí	cēcí	acēcí	
ənṭí	y-ənṭí	a=y-ənṭí	i-nəṭṭi	anəṭṭí	'to taste'
əngi	y-əngi	a=y-əngi	i-nəgga	anəggi	'to touch'
ərní	y-ərní	a=y-ərní	i-rənni	arənní	'to increase, bid'

The accent in this verb type is somewhat unpredictable. The perfectives usually have final accent, but *əngi* 'to touch' does not. The future form of *a=y-ənṭí* 'to taste' has a final accent, while *a=y-əngi* 'to touch' and *a=y-ərní* 'to bid, increase' do not. There is no obvious explanation for this.

The verb *škí* 'to leave' has an irregular perfective *y-əšk* besides the regular perfective *y-əškí*. This well-attested verb is only found with the regular perfective *y-əškí* in the text corpus. The verb has an irregular verbal noun *škùy*.

The verb *əngi* 'to touch' has an irregular impf. stem: *nəgga* rather than the expected *nəggi*. The verbal noun of this verb has the default accent, rather than a phonological accent found in the other two verbs.

ərní 'to bid, increase' has an irregular verbal noun which rather corresponds to the cc* verbs: *arənnú* (also: *arənnu*) besides the regular formation. We also find a pf. 3pl.m. form *rənnà-n* besides the regular *rənni-y-ən*, which is also a form that belong to a cc* verb.

4.3.3.5 $\bar{c}c$

This verbs type has a long initial consonant and a short second consonant. In most cases, it has a phonological accent on the final syllable in all stems.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
əčəč	əčəč	əčəč	təčəč	əčuc	
əttáf	y-əttáf	a=y-əttáf	i-təttáf	<i>n.a.</i>	'to seize'
əkkár	y-əkkár	a=y-əkkár	i-təkkár	əkkùr	'to get up'
əqqán	y-əqqán	<i>n.a.</i>	i-təqqán	əqqùn	'to bind, tie'
əššən	i-ššən	<i>n.a.</i>	i-təššən	(əš)šùn	'to know'
əmmág	y-əmmág	a=y-əmmág	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to become'
əwwáq	y-əwwáq	<i>n.a.</i>	i-təwwáq	əwwùq	'to uproot'
àzzəl	i-zzil=a (res.)	a=y-əzzəl	i-təzzəl	<i>n.a.</i>	'to have bowel movement'

Several verbs have default accent in the imperfective, namely: *əkkáš* impf. *i-təkkáš* 'to take off, remove', *əllák* impf. *i-təllák* 'to delouse' and *àzzəl* impf. *i-təzzəl* 'to have bowel movement'; *əkkár* ipf. *i-təkkár*. The verb *əwwáq* 'to uproot' has default accent in the perfective and imperfective.

Note that *àzzəl* 'to have bowel movement' has an unexpected initial long vowel *a* and an irregular accent in the imperative. Unlike the other verbs of this type, it has default accent in all attested stems.

Two verbs have an irregular imperfective formation *təčac*: *əggás* impf. *i-təggàs* 'to roast'. The other verb appears to have this formation in the impf.1sg. but not in the impf. 3sg.m.: *əššár* impf. 1sg. *təššàr-x* 3sg.m. *i-təššár* 'to mix, blend'.

The verb *əmmág* 'to become' has an irregular pf.1sg. *mməggi-x* instead of expected ***mmág-x*. Moreover, the res.3sg.m. also lengthens the final consonant of the stem as observed in the pf.1sg. *y-əmmìgg=a* instead of the expected ***y-əmmìg=a*.¹¹

4.3.3.6 \bar{c}^*

This verb type has a long initial consonant, followed by a variable final vowel. This is only a small group of verbs, two of them have irregular imperfectives.¹² The table below shows all verbs that belong to this group.

¹¹These irregular forms can probably attributed to the origin of this verb. This verb was probably originally a *mm-* derivation of the verb *ag* 'to do', a verb that also has variation in its final consonant length, and has a variable final vowel.

¹²For a discussion on the origin of *əčč* 'to eat' and *əmm* 'to be cooked, be ready, be ripened' see Kossmann (2008).

imp. əč	pf. əč̄*'	fut. əč̄*	impf. təč̄*	v.n. əč̄ú	
əčč	y-əččá	<i>n.a.</i>	i-ttətta	əččú	'to eat'
<i>n.a.</i>	y-əmmá	a=y-əmm	i-nənnna	tənənnàt	'to be cooked'
əww	y-əwwa	<i>n.a.</i>	i-təwwa	əwwu	'to knead'
əžž	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	əžžú	'to plant'
əss	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-təssá	əssú	'to spread (a mat)'

The imperfective 3sg.m. of əss 'to spread (a mat), to stretch (to make the bed)' (*i-təssá*) and the 3sg.f. of əčč 'to eat' (*(t-)təttá*) have phonological accent on the final syllable, while the accent in the rest of the examples have default accent. The verbal noun of əww 'to knead' has an unexpected default accent.

The irregular verb $\alpha\gamma\iota=d$, $\gamma\alpha\gamma\iota=d$ 'to bring' largely functions as a č̄* verb, but it has a suppletive imperative $\alpha\gamma\iota=d$, $\gamma\alpha\gamma\iota=d$ and it has a petrified directional clitic =*d* that has become part of the stem. The imperfective has an allomorph =*da* of this directional clitic. We find this same behaviour with the other verb that has the directional clitic, see section 4.3.3.12 $\gamma\iota=d$ 'to go'. The table below gives the paradigm of this verb:

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
$\alpha\gamma\iota=d$, $\gamma\alpha\gamma\iota=d$	y- əggà=d=a (res.)	a=y- əggá=d	i-təggà=da	əggú	'to bring'

4.3.3.7 č̄i

There is only one verb of this type, and it is only attested in the perfective: 3sg.m. $\gamma\lambda\eta\eta\eta\iota$ 'to be, to exist'. Paradisi claims that the morphologically perfective verb can also be used as a future. No instances of this use are found in the corpus.

4.3.3.8 cc

This group of verbs has only two root consonants. The imperfective has two different formations. Below follows an overview of all attested verbs in this class.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
acác	(ə)các	các	təcác təcāc	acuc	
ayǎš	y-əyǎš	a=i-yǎš	i-təyyǎš	<i>n.a.</i>	'to love'
àsəy	i-səy	a=i-səy	ai-təssəy	asùγ	'to buy'
avér	i-vér	a=i-v(v)ér	i-təvvér	avùr	'to close'
avət	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-təvvət	avùt	'to swear'
azém	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-təzzəm	azùm	'to shave'
àžət	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-təžžət	<i>n.a.</i>	'to grind, mill'
wət	i-wət	<i>n.a.</i>	i-təwwət	əwùt	'to arrive'

ayǎš 'to love' has a perfective stem |acác| while all other verbs have |các|. The verb *àsəy* 'to buy' has a different accent in the imperative, and an unexpected initial *a-* in the impf.3sg.m.; this is absent in the impf.1sg.: *təssàx-x*.

The imperative and verbal noun of *wət* 'to arrive; to reach' lacks an initial *a-*.

4.3.3.9 c*

Only three verbs belong to this verb class, all of them are listed below. With *ilaya*, only the resultative is attested. The verb *ag* 'to do, put, place' irregularly lengthens the final *g* in the future stem.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
ac	c*'	əc	təcā	acú	
ag	i-gá	a=y-əgg	i-təgga	agú	'to do, put'
an=ìs	i-n=ìs	a=i-n=ìs	i-tənn=ìs	<i>n.a.</i>	'to say to s.o.'
<i>n.a.</i>	i-lay=a (res.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to be a creditor'

The verb *an=ìs* belongs to this group, but it has taken on a somewhat different formation than *ag* 'to do, put'. *an=ìs* has an obligatory 3sg. indirect object marker. Because the initial vowel *i* of the 3sg. indirect object marker always replaces the final alternating vowel in many forms, the final alternating vowel does not show up in the surface form. The lack of an alternating vowel in the surface form has spread to some forms where we would expect it, e.g. pf. 2sg. *t-nə-d=ìs* not ***t-ni-d=ìs*. But the pf. 3pl.m. still retains a reflex of the alternating final vowel: *na-n=ìs*.

Because *i-la=ya* 'to be a creditor' is only attested as a resultative, it can also be a *ci* verb.

4.3.3.10 ci

There is only one verb with this structure, which is only found in the impf. 3sg.m. *i-gày* ‘to cultivate’.

4.3.3.11 vcc

This verb type can be split in two subtypes: first, verbs that have an initial vowel *u* or *a* in the imperative; second, verbs that have an initial *i* in the imperative. The verbs that belong to the first type, are well-attested in the texts, cf.

impf.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
ucác	ucác	ucác	tacác	ucuc	
udán	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-tádən	udùn	‘to be dressed’
ugám	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-tàgəm	ugùm	‘to draw wa- ter’
uyár	y-ùγər	a-y-ùγər	itàyər	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to get lost’
àkər, ùkər	y-ùkər	<i>n.a.</i>	i-tàkər	ukür	‘to steal’
aráv, ùrəv	y-uráv	a-y-ùrəv	i-tàrəv	arráv	‘to write’
asák, usák	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to take away’
<i>n.a.</i>	uşəl-ən	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to arrive’
uţár	y-ùţər	a-y-ùţər	i-tàţər	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to twist, roll up’

Three verbs of this type have an alternative imperative shape |acác| besides |ucác|: *àkər, ùkər* ‘to steal’, *aráv, ùrəv* ‘to write’ and *asák, usák* ‘to take away’.

Some verbs have a phonological final accent in the perfective, while others have default accent. We find one verb that has a phonological final accent (*yuráv* ‘to write’), while the two other forms that inform us about the accent have penultimate accent. Beguinot (1924: 189) has the full perfective paradigm of *aráv*. Here it has a phonological final accent in all forms where we would expect it (3sg.m. *y-uráv* 3sg.f. *t-uráv* and 1pl *n-uráv*). Beguinot also has an unexpected accent on the antepenultimate syllable in the 3pl.m.: *úrəv-ən*, this position is rarely found accented in Paradisi’s material. The imperative accent of this verb is variable as well, but the final phonological accent occurs more often.

aráv, ùrəv ‘to write’ has an irregular verbal noun *arráv*.

Verbs that have an initial long vowel *i* keep this *i* in all TAM-stems. The vowel is changed to *u* in the verbal noun. The verbal noun formation is therefore identical to the verbs described above. Note that initial *y-* of the 3sg.m. is lost in front of initial *i*. The future is unattested. The imperfective formation is different from the verbs described above. These verbs receive an imperfective marker *t-* and place a vowel *a* before the last consonant.

imp. icəc	pf. icəc	impf. ticac	v.n. ucuc	
<i>n.a.</i>	irìd=a (res.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to be washed'
irəš	iriš-in=a (res.)	i-tirəš	urüş	'to descend'
<i>n.a.</i>	irəy=a (res.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to be raw'
iwən	<i>n.a.</i>	i-tiwàn	<i>n.a.</i>	'to satiate'

The verb *irəš* 'to descend' has an unusual form in the resultative, with two *i* vowels in the stem. This phenomenon is discussed in more detail in section 10.5.4 footnote 3. The verb also has an alternative imperfective formation *i-ttərrəš* besides the regular *i-tirəš*.

The preceding schwa in the res. 3sg.m. *irə=ya* 'to be raw' is not changed to *i*, but the 3pl.m. and 3pl.f. have two *i* vowels in the stem: *iriyi-n=a*, *iri-nit=a*. This second vowel *i* in the stem should probably be considered a colouring of ə in the vicinity of *y*.

4.3.3.12 vc*

This verb type contains several well-attested verbs.

imp. yac	pf. ucá	fut. uc	impf. taca	v.n. ucú	
uf	ucá	a=y-ùf	i-tàfa	ufú	'to find'
yax	y-uýá	a=y-ùy	i-tàya	uyú	'to take'
yan	y-uná	a=y-ùn	i-tàna	unú	'to enter'
yar	y-urá	a=y-ùr	i-tàra	urú	'to open'
yi-d	y-ušà-d	a=y-ùš	i-tašà=da	ušú	'to go'

uf 'to find' has an irregular imperative based on the perfective stem, rather than the expected ***yaf*. The verb *yi=d*, *y-ušà=d* 'to go' has a suppletive imperative. The imperative, perfective, resultative and imperfective stems have the directional clitic =*d* as a petrified element. Note that this clitic has an allomorph =*da* in the imperfective. This is similar to the irregular verb *ayì=d* 'to bring' which is the only other verb with a petrified directional clitic, and has the imperfective *i-təggà=da*.

4.3.3.13 cccc

For this stem type, the future and perfective are not attested, and the derived resultative stem is found only once. All verbs except for *sərfəq* 'to slap, to smack' have default accent.

imp. cəccəc	pf. cəccəc (?)	impf. cəccac	v.n. acəccəc	
<i>n.a.</i>	y-əbəlbiš=a (res.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to form a bulb'
<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-ddəhwàr	<i>n.a.</i>	'to go around'
fənzər	<i>n.a.</i>	i-fənzàr	afənzər	'to bleed (from the nose)'
fàr(ə)tək	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	afərtək	'to unstitch'
qəstəm	<i>n.a.</i>	t-qəstàm	aqəstəm	'to apply collyrium'
sənsər	<i>n.a.</i>	i-sənsàr	ásənsər	'to blow one's nose'
sərfəq	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to slap, to smack'
šəkšək	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šəkšàk	ašəkšək	'to winnow barley'

sərfəq 'to slap, to smack', also appears as *sərfəg*.

The verbal noun *ásənsər* has a phonological accent on the antepenultimate syllable. This position is very rarely accented in Awjila.

4.3.3.14 c̄c̄c ~ c̄c̄c

The majority of the words of this class are loans from Arabic stem II verbs. Paradisi did not include Arabic loanwords in his word list, so most of these words are only attested in the texts. The initial consonant of the stem is sometimes lengthened (see 2.1.2).

imp. cəc̄c̄c	pf./fut. cəc̄c̄c	impf. cəc̄c̄c	v.n. acəc̄c̄m	
<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-dəwwàr	<i>n.a.</i>	'to look around'
<i>n.a.</i>	i-γəlləb=(tən)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to defeat s.o.'
<i>n.a.</i>	y-əhəşşila (res.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to obtain'
<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-xəbbar	<i>n.a.</i>	'to tell'
<i>n.a.</i>	y-əxəmməm	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to think, ponder'
<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-xəṭṭàm	<i>n.a.</i>	'to drop by someone'
kəffən=(tən)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to wrap'
<i>n.a.</i>	i-kkəmməl	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to finish'
nəddəm	<i>n.a.</i>	i-nəddàm	anəddəm	'to be sleepy'
rəwwəḥ	i-rəwwəḥ	i-rəwwəḥ	<i>n.a.</i>	'to return (home)'
<i>n.a.</i>	a=i-səbbəḥ (fut.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to swim'
<i>n.a.</i>	i-ssəlləm	səllàm-ən	<i>n.a.</i>	'to greet'
sənnəṭ	<i>n.a.</i>	t-sənnàṭ	<i>n.a.</i>	'to hear, to listen'
<i>n.a.</i>	t-şəddəqt=(i)=ya (res.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to believe'
şərrəṭ	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to draw a line'
šəqqəš	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šəqqàš	<i>n.a.</i>	'to clap your hands'
<i>n.a.</i>	i-wəddən	i-wəddàn	<i>n.a.</i>	'to crow (rooster)'
<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	ḡəyyàn-əx	<i>n.a.</i>	'to be ill'

The verb *sənnəṭ* ‘to hear, to listen’ is only attested in the imperative and imperfective. The imperfective forms attested in text XV, cannot be translated with an imperfective meaning. Despite their morphological imperfective shape, they behave like perfectives semantically.

4.3.3.15 cĕ*

Only one verb belongs to this verb type, which is only attested in the imperative sg. and pl.f., and perfective 3sg.f.

imp. sg. *wətti-(dikkəni)* pl.f. *wətti-mət*; pf. 3sg.f. *t-wətta* ‘to prepare’

This verb is a loan from ELA *wattī* ‘to make ready, to prepare’, a stem II derivation of the |vc*| verb *y-utà=ya* ‘to be ready’, derived from ELA *yūtī* ‘to be ready’.

4.3.3.16 cĭ

Only one verb belongs to this group, an auxiliary verb that does not distinguish aspect: *i-γəlli* ‘to want’.

4.3.3.17 cvcc

The *cvcc* type is not well-attested. The formation of the imperfective appears to be marked by *a*-infixation, but we only have one verb that provides evidence for this. The verbal noun is unattested for this type.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	
cvcəc	əcvcəc	cvcəc	cvcac	
<i>n.a.</i>	<i>y-əqàrəb</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to draw near’
<i>ṣùsəṃ</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to be quiet’
<i>n.a.</i>	<i>i-ṣayəṭ</i>	<i>a=ṣayyəṭ-ən=(dìk)</i>	<i>i-ṣay(y)əṭ</i>	‘to yell, scream’

4.3.3.18 cvĕ(*) ~ cĕv(*)

All but one verb in this group are Arabic loanwords of the type pf. *lamma* impf. *yalummu*. All verbs of this type have a long vowel *u* in the root, that appears to be a retention of the Arabic short *u*. Verbs of this type lack a final *-a* in the perfective 3sg. The imperfective and verbal noun are unattested. Note that the verbs of Arabic origin, that is, all but the verb *šugg*, usually have a long initial consonant.

imp. cuċ	pf. cuċ(*)	fut. cuċ(*)	
<i>n.a.</i>	y-əddùgg	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to knock’
llumm-àt	i-llum(m)	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to gather, to stay together’
<i>n.a.</i>	y-əmmùdd	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to extend’
šugg	i-šugg (but šuggì-x)	a=i-šugg	‘to wait for’

4.3.3.19 c̄vc(*)

This verb type behaves in a similar way to the *cvċ* verbs, in that the perfective has no final *-a* in the 3sg. forms. In the imperfective, the verb has final *-a*.

imp. ċvc	pf. əċvc(*)	fut. əċvc(*)	impf. tċac*	v.n. təcacat	
<i>n.a.</i>	y-əffùd=a (res.)	a=y-əffùd	i-təfàda	təfadàt	‘to be thirsty’
<i>n.a.</i>	y-əllùz	<i>n.a.</i>	i-tlàza	təlazàt	‘to be hungry’
əqqùr	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to dry out’
qim	y-əqqim (but: qqimì-x)	a=tt-əqqíma-m	i-tqqìma	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to remain, sit’

Note the stem vowels change in the imperfective forms of *y-əllùz* ‘to be hungry’ and *y-əffùd=a* ‘to be thirsty’, while the vowel of *qim* does not.

4.3.3.20 cvc(*)/cvc*

These verbs have no final vowel in the pf. 3sg.m., but this vowel is present in all other forms.

imp. cvc	pf. cvc(*)	fut. cvc(*)	impf. cvc*	v.n. acvc	
nàγ	i-nàγ	a=i-nàγ	<i>n.a.</i>	anàγ	‘to call’
sas	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-sàsa	asàs	‘to beg’
zìk	i-zìk	a=y-əzìk	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to become well’
zùm	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to fast’
mud	i-mùd	a=i-mùd	mudà-n	amùd	‘to pray’
žin	i-žina	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	təmžint	‘to divide’
<i>n.a.</i>	šarà-n=a (res.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to happen’

One verb has a final *-a* in the perfective, namely, *žin* pf.3sg.m. *i-žina* ‘to divide’. This verb may be more properly be defined as a *cvc** verb rather than a *cvc(*)* verb. It has an irregular verbal noun *təmžint*.

4.3.3.21 ccvc(*)/ccvc

In one verb with the structure ccvc, we find the same alternating vowel pattern as other (*) final verbs (*gluli-x, i-glùl*), while the other verb lacks it (*žvùv-x, y-ážvuv*).

imp. ccvc	pf. ccvc(*)	impf. taccvc*	v.n. ccic(ən)	
glùl	i-glùl	i-təglùla	glilən	'to play'
ərgìg	<i>n.a.</i>	i-tərgìga	rgìg	'to shake'
šlil	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to rinse'
<i>n.a.</i>	y-əvrùr=a (res.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to be fertilized (a palm)'
žvùv	y-ážvuv	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to burn incense'

y-əvrùr=a 'to be fertilized (a palm)' has an irregular res.3pl.m. form *vrir-in=a*, which has a root vowel *i* instead of the expected *u*. This phenomenon is discussed in more detail in section 10.5.4 footnote 3

4.3.4 Verbs with final t/y variation

Some verbs have a final consonant *t* in the 3sg.m., and *y* in 1sg. These verbs come from a variety of different stems, but they all share this final consonant pattern. There are three verbs that belong to this class.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
mmùt	mmuy-ix, i-mmùt	a=mmúya-x, a=y-əmmùt	<i>n.a.</i> <i>n.a.</i>	təməttìnt	'to die'
šərwìt	šərwì-x, i-šərwìt	<i>n.a.</i> <i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i> i-šərwàyt	<i>n.a.</i>	'to speak, tell'
awìt	wì-x, i-wìt	a=i-wi-x, a=i-wìt	təwwì-x, i-təwwəyt	tìta	'to blow, hit'

mmùt 'to die' is essentially a $\bar{c}vc(*)$ verb, whose last consonant is *t/y*. The verbal noun is irregular.

šərwìt 'to speak, tell' is morphologically identical to \check{s} -cci verb (see below), except that there is an additional consonant *t* at the end of some forms.

awìt 'to blow, hit' is irregular, and does not behave like any other verb in the language.

4.3.5 Further unclassifiable and irregular verbs

Several verbs remain that are either unique in formation, or behave irregularly and therefore defy precise classification.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
agál, gul	i-gùl, i-gùla	a=i-gùl	i-gəwwól	agəwəl	'to see'
əmməkt	y-əmməktá	<i>n.a.</i>	i-mməktá	<i>n.a.</i>	'to remember'
əṛəw	t-əṛəw	a=tt-iṛəw	təṛəw	tərwa	'to give birth'
tùwi	i-ttùwi	<i>n.a.</i>	i-tàya	atùwi	'to forget'
<i>n.a.</i>	lləwəši-n=a (res.)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to wither'
<i>n.a.</i>	y-ətəmənna	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to wish'
uf tavərgàt	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-vərga	təvərgàt	'to dream'

The verb *agál, gul* 'to see' is an irregular verb. In the imperative, it has two forms, one of which appears to be a *cc** verb, while the other behaves like a *cvc(*)* verb. In the perfective we find the *cvc(*)* stem with two variants, one where the final variable vowel *-a* is missing in the 3sg.m. as would be expected with a *cvc(*)* verb, and one variant where it is present. The resultative and future both point to a root shape *gul*. Finally, the imperfective and the verbal noun appear to be derived from a *ccc* verb ***əgwəl*.

The verb *əmməkt, mməkti* 'to remember' is a verb with a unique structure. The imperative has two variants one without a vowel and one with a final vowel *i*. The perfective stem points to a final variable vowel, which would correspond to the imperative *əmməkt*. The imperfective is only distinguished from the perfective by a final phonological stress. This is the only imperfective stem that is distinguished from the perfective by means of a phonological stress..

The verb *əṛəw* 'to give birth' is an irregular verb whose stems seem to draw from different formations. The imperative and perfective appear to have a *cc* structure, while the resultative *t-iṛəw=a* and future appear to have a *icc* structure, finally the imperative formation is that of a *|vcc|* verb, the verbal noun is a unique formation.

tùwi 'to forget' has an irregular formation. Like the verb types *cvc(*)* and *cvċ(*)* this verb lacks a final alternating vowel in the 3sg.m. but it is present in the 1sg. form *tuwiyi-x*. The root shape would appear to be *cvci(*)*; this type of verb is otherwise unattested. From such a root shape, the verbal noun formation can readily be understood (*a-* prefixed in front of the root), but the imperfective is unexpected.

The verb *lləwəšina* 'to wither' (res.3pl.m.) is only attested in this one form, so nothing more can be said about its formation. It is clear, though, that this structure (*ċcc?*) is not attested for any other verb in the language. Similarly, pf. 3sg.m. *yətəmənna* 'to wish' is the only verb of its type (*ccċ*?*), and only found in this one form.

uftavərgàt has a suppletive, phrasal imperative that literally means 'to find a dream'. The attested imperfectives of the verb, use the root that we find in the noun *təvərgàt* 'dream' as a verbal stem with three root consonants, but its formation is completely different from verbs with a *ccc* structure. The noun *təvərgàt* should probably be considered a verbal noun, as it follows the same scheme *|t(ə)-cəccà-t|* as the verbal nouns of the *nc** type, and some of the *cc** type.

4.3.6 Stative verbs stems

Stative verbs are significantly different from other verbs in Awjila. First of all, they have different PNG-marking than the other verbs.

In other languages, for example Kabyle (Chaker 1983: 114-118), stative verbs have a special PNG-marking in the perfective, similar to the PNG-marking that the stative verbs in Awjila have. In Kabyle, these stative verbs may appear in other TAMS other than the perfective. In the other TAMS, the verb takes regular PNG-marking. There is little evidence for any TAM opposition of stative verbs in Awjila, but there is one verb that may point to such an analysis.

The verb *dərùš* ‘to be few’ has a related word that is only attested in the imperative and imperfective: *àdrəš*, *i-dərrəsh* ‘to decrease (intrans.)’. It is possible that these two verb belong to the same paradigm, and that similar to Kabyle, *dərùš* is the special perfective with a resultative meaning of the verb (cf. Mettouchi 2004: 106f.).¹³

There are only a few stative verb structures; *cċc* is by far the most common. The three smaller categories are *ccvc*, *cvcc* and *c̄vc*. The stem scheme changes according to PNG-marking. Below, I provide the full paradigm of each of these verbs.

4.3.6.1 *cċc*

By far the largest group of stative verbs have the structure *cċcċc* in the 3sg.m. The table below gives an overview of all of these verbs in Awjila.

One notices several interesting apophonic processes in this verb class. The 3sg.m. and plural always have a long medial consonant, which is shortened in the 1sg., 2sg. and 3sg.f. The plural form infixes a vowel *i* before the last consonant.

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.m.	3sg.f.	pl.	
cċcc-ax	cċcc-at	cċcċc	cċcc-ət	cċcċic-it	
gəzl-àx	gəzl-àt	gəzzəl	gəzl-ət	gəzzil-it	‘to be short’
γəzf-àx	γəzf-àt	γəzzəf	γəzf-ət	γəzzif-it	‘to be long’
ləqq-àx	ləqq-àt	ləqqəq	ləqq-ət	ləqqiq-it	‘to be thin’
məll-àx	məll-àt	məlləl	məll-ət	məllil-it	‘to be white’
məšk-àx	məšk-àt	məššək	məšk-ət	məššik-it	‘to be small’
šətf-àx	šətf-àt	šəttəf	šətf-ət	šəttif-it	‘to be black’
zəwγ-àx	zəwγ-àt	zəwwəγ	zəwγ-ət	zəwγ-it	‘to be red’
zəwr-àx	zəwr-àt	zəwwər	zəwr-ət	zəwwir-it	‘to be large’
məqər-àx, məqqər-àx	məqər-àt, məqqər-àt	məqqər	məqər-ət, məqqər-ət	məqqayr-it	‘to be big’

¹³The absence of the perfective of *àdrəš* may be an accidental lacuna in the word list (the future is also absent). It is possible that, like Zenaga, Awjila has a non-stative perfective verb that is semantically distinct from the stative verb (Taine-Cheikh 2003: 666).

màqqər ‘to be big’ has a few irregular formations. The 1sg. and 3sg.f., besides their regular formations, have formations based on the 3sg.m. stem: *màqqər-àx*, *màqqər-ət*. The plural form has a diphthong in the final root syllable rather than a long vowel *i*. Perhaps this is the same kind of diphthongization that we find in some of the forms of the verb *qim* ‘to remain, stay, sit’, although those forms are clearly transcribed differently in Paradisi, cf. <qqäimîḥ> and <moqqāirîṯ>. The antepenultimate accent in the 3sg.f. form *màqər-ət*, *màqqər-ət* suggests that the *ə* between *q* and *r* is epenthetic.

mállál ‘to be white’ has a phonological final accent in the 3sg.m., 3sg.f. and pl.; *məššák* ‘to be small’ shares this accent in the 3sg.m. and 3sg.f. but not in the pl.

zəwwəy ‘to be red’ lacks the inserted *i* before the last root consonant in the plural.

4.3.6.2 ccvc

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.m.	3sg.f.	pl.	
cəcúç-ax	cəcuc-at	cəcuc	cəcuc-ət	cəcuc-it	
fəšúš-ax	fəšuš-àt	fəšùš	fəšùš-ət	fəšuš-ìt	‘to be light’
<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	dərùš	dərùš-ət	dəruš-ìt	‘to be few’

The 1sg. of *fəšùš* has a phonological accent on the penultimate syllable.

4.3.6.3 cvcc

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.m.	3sg.f.	pl.	
cvcc-ax	cvcc-at	cvcc	cvcc-ət	cvc(i)c-it	
qarəz-àx	qarəz-àt	qàrəz	qàrəz-ət	qariz-ìt	‘to be narrow’
vurk-ax	vurk-àt	vurk, vurək	vùrk-ət	vurək-ìt	‘to be broad’

The *ə* between *r* and *z* in all forms of *qàrəz* is probably epenthetic. This explains the antepenultimate accent of the 3sg.f.

vurk ‘to be broad, wide’ does not have an inserted *-i-* before the last root consonant in the plural.

4.3.6.4 c̄vc

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.m.	3sg.f.	pl.	
c̄vc-ax	c̄vc-at	c̄vc	c̄vc-ət	c̄vc-it	
zḏák-ax	zḏák-at	zḏàk	zḏàk-ət	zḏak-ìt	‘to be heavy’
<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	mmùm	mmùm-ət	mmum-ìt	‘to be sweet’

The long vowel of the root has a lexical accent in the 1sg. and 2sg.

4.3.6.5 *vcvc*

There is one stative verb with the structure *vcvc*. Note that the 3sg.f. and pl. are identical.

3sg.m.	3sg.f.	pl.	
vcvc	vcvcit	vcvcit	
aʒùy	aʒuy-ìt	aʒuy-ìt	‘to be bitter’

4.3.6.6 *ccv*

One stative verb has the structure *ccv*. Note that the 3sg.m. has two forms, one without suffix as expected, and one with a suffix *-ən*. Perhaps this *-ən* is simply the participle ending, but we do not have any examples sentences where this form is used, so it cannot be confirmed.

3sg.m.	3sg.f.	pl.	
ccv(-ən)	ccvy-ət	ccvy-it	
mri, mriy- ən	mriy-ət	mriy-ìt	‘to be beautiful’

4.3.6.7 Stative verbs of Arabic origin

Arabic adjectives are treated as stative verbs. The attested Arabic adjectives are listed in the table below.

3sg.m.	3sg.f.	pl.	
bàhi	bàhəy-ət	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to be good’
aḥàš	aḥàš-ət	aḥàš-ìt	‘to be ugly, bad’
qərìb	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to be near’
qə̀wi	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to be strong’
bə̀fid	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to be far’
šə̀hìḥ	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to be healthy, truthful’
ʕə̀ryàn	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to be naked’

4.3.7 Causative verb stems

4.3.7.1 *š-ccc*

š-ccc verbs have a twofold origin: causatives regularly derived from the *ccc* verbs and causatives derived from stative verbs. Note that it is irrelevant what the original class of

the stative verb was, they always take the š-ccc causative. š-ccc has the same stems as cccc if one considers the causative prefix as a fourth root consonant. Below all attested verbs derived from stative verbs are given, and several examples of verbs derived from ccc verbs.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
šəccəc	šəccəc	šəccəc	šəccəc	ašəccəc	
šədrəš	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to decrease (tr.)’
šəfšəš	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to lighten’
š-(s-)əgzəl	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šəgzəl	asəgzəl	‘to shorten’
š-(s-)əγzəf	i-šəγzəf	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šəγzəf	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to lengthen’
šəməšək	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to reduce’
šəqrəz	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to make narrow’
šəvrək	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to broaden’
šəlhəm	i-šəlhəm	a=i-šəlhəm	i-šəlhəm	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to light (a fire)’
šəlməd	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šəlməd	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to teach’
šəntəṭ	i-šəntəṭ	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to join, attach’
šənfəl	šənfəl-x	<i>n.a.</i>	šənfəl-x	ašənfəl	‘to change’

š-əgzəl ‘to shorten, lower’ and š-əγzəf have variants with initial *s-* in the imperative: *s-əgzəl*, *s-əγzəf*. The verbal noun *asəgzəl* is only found with the initial *s-*.

There is one causative related to a stative verb that does not follow this pattern: *šəmlil* ‘to whiten’. Considering the vocalism of this formation, it should probably be considered a deadjectival derivation from the adjective *mlil* ‘white’, rather than a derivation from the stative verb.

4.3.7.2 š-cc(*)

This is the causative verb class of the cc* verbs. The alternating vowel is not present in the pf. 3sg.m. while present in all other forms. The imperfective stem ends in *-ay*. Verbal nouns are unattested for this type.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	
šəc(ə)c	šəc(ə)c(*)	šəc(ə)c	šəccay	
šəfk	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to cause to give’
šəg(ə)l	i-šəg(ə)l	a=šəgl-à=(k)	i-šəgləy	‘to show’
šəγər	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to cause to read’
šəny	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to extinguish’
šənt	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to prepare a meal’
šəṭs	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to make laugh’
šəvəl	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	‘to make cry’

4.3.7.3 š-nc(*)

These verbs are the causatives of the *nc** verbs. In the causative there is no evidence for the *n* that we still find in the imperfective of the non-causative. These verbs share the same imperfective ending *-ay* as we find in the *š-cc** verbs.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	
šic	šic(*)	šic	šicay	
šiš	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šišày	'to make s.o. sleep'
šiv	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šivày	'to cause to fall'
žiz	i-žiz	a=i-žiz	<i>n.a.</i>	'to sell'

4.3.7.4 š-cci

This is the causative to the *cci* verbs. This group also has the ending *-ay* in the imperfective.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	
šacci	šacci	šacci	šaccay	
šəkri	i-šəkrì-	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to return s.th.'
šəmbi	t-šəmbí	a=t-šəmbi	t-šəmbày	'to suckle'
šənki	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to make s.o. smell'
šəntí	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šəntày	'to make s.o. taste'
šərzi	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to cause to milk'
šəški	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to make s.o. leave'

4.3.7.5 š-ċc

This type is only attested twice. One is a denominal causative from the noun *gudìn* 'urine', the other is derived from the verb *əkkár* 'get up, take off'. From the sparse evidence available it seems that the formation is identical to the underived *cċc* verbs, where the causative prefix takes the position of the first root consonant.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
šəċəc	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	šəċəc	ašəċəd	
šəggəd	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šəggəd	ašəggəd	'to urinate, defecate'
šəkkər	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to make someone get up'

4.3.7.6 š-ċ*

Only two verbs are attested in this type. They are derived from original *cċ** verbs.

imp.	pf.	fut.	v.n.	
šəċ	šəċa	šəċ	tcəċat	
šəċč	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	'to cause to eat'
šəmm	i-šəmma	a-i-šəmm	tšəmmàt	'to cook'

əmm has an alternative causative derived from its irregular imperfective stem, only the imperative singular is known: *šnənn*.

4.3.7.7 š-vcc

This causative corresponds to the *vcc* verbs. The *vcc* verb *irəd* 'to be washed' retains the vowel *i* in the causative. These verbs appear to conjugate in the same way as the *cvcc* verbs, where the causative prefix takes up the place of the first root consonant.

imp.	pf.	impf.	v.n.	
švcəc	švcəc	švcac	ašvcəc	
šùdən	<i>n.a.</i>	i-šudàn	<i>n.a.</i>	'to dress'
širəd	<i>n.a.</i>	i-širad	aširəd	'to wash'
šùɣər	šuyir-x=a (res.)	i-šuyàr	<i>n.a.</i>	'to lose s.th.'

4.3.7.8 š-vc(*)

Only one verb is attested that belongs to this group: *šan* 'to make s.o. enter, insert', derived from the *vc** verb *yan* 'to enter'.

imp.	pf.	impf.	
šan	i-šan	šanà-y-x	'to make s.o. enter, insert'

4.3.7.9 š-ccvc

Two verbs belong to this group, and only their imp. sg. is known: *šəmlil* 'to whiten' which probably is a deadjectival verb and *šəglùl* 'to make (s.o.) play', which is the causative of the *|ccvc|* verb *glùl* 'to play'.

4.3.7.10 š-cvc

There is one causative that is derived from a *cvc* verb that belongs to this group: *səzik*, *səgzək* 'to heal (trans.)'. It is derived from the verb *zik*. The origin of the variant with the root consonant *g* is unclear.

Two verbs that are derived from $\bar{c}vc$ verbs belong here: *šqim* ‘to cause to remain, stay, sit’ and *šqar* ‘to cause to dry out’. They are derived from the $\bar{c}vc$ verbs, but have lost the long initial consonants that is present in the non-causative forms.

4.3.7.11 š- $\bar{c}vc$

One causative belong to this group, it is derived from the $\bar{c}vc$ stative verb *z̄zak* ‘to be heavy’: *s-əz̄zik* ‘to make heavy’.

4.3.8 Passive verb stems

4.3.8.1 t-ccc

Only one verb is attested in this group, and only the res. 3sg.m. is known. *i-tzwiṭ=a* ‘to be thrown on the ground’, which is derived from the ccc verb *əzwəṭ* ‘to slam; to throw’.

4.3.8.2 tt-cc(*)

This group of passives is derived from the cc* verbs. Only two verbs are attested in this group.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.
<i>n.a.</i>	ttəcc(*)	ttəcc	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>
<i>n.a.</i>	i-ttəmt	a=i-ttəmt	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i> ‘to be buried’
<i>n.a.</i>	i-ttəny	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i> ‘to be killed’

4.3.8.3 tt-cc

One passive form is found that is derived from the cc verb *əžəṭ* ‘to grind, mill’: res. 3sg.m. *i-ttəžṭ=a*; fut. 3sg.m. *a=i-ttəžəṭ* ‘to be ground, be milled’.

4.3.8.4 tw-vcc

Two passives, derived from the vcc verbs, belong to this group.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.
<i>n.a.</i>	twacəc	twacəc	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>
<i>n.a.</i>	i-twəkər	a=i-twəkər	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i> ‘to be stolen’
<i>n.a.</i>	i-twàrəv	a=i-twàrəv	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i> ‘to be written’

4.3.8.5 tw-vc(*)

One verb belong to this group. It is derived from a vc* verb.

imp.sg. *twár*; pf. 1sg. *twarì-x* 3sg.m. *i-twàr* ‘to open, to be open, to be opened’ derived from *yar* ‘to open’.

4.3.8.6 t-cvcc

The only verb that belongs to this group is imp.sg. *tràwəl*; res.3sg.m. *i-trawil-a*; fut.3sg.m. *a-i-tràwəl* ‘to be born’. This verb does not have an active counterpart.

4.3.9 Middle verb stems

4.3.9.1 m-c(*)

Only the verb *ag* ‘to do, put’ has a (lexicalized) *m*- derivation. The final alternating vowel of the underived verb is absent in the pf. 3sg.m. of the derived verb.

imp.sg. *əmmág*; pf.3sg.m. *y-əmmág*; res. 3sg.m. *y-əmmìgg-a*; fut.3sg.m. *a-y-əmmág* ‘to become, to be, to turn into’.

4.3.9.2 m-cvcc

One verb belongs to this group, and it is only found once in text II: fut.1pl. *a=n-mhàsəb* ‘to settle the score together’, derived from the Arabic verb *hāsaba* ‘to hold responsible’. The underived form is unattested in the corpus.

4.3.10 Combined prefix verb stems

There is one verb with two prefixes in a row. It is a passive derivation of a verb which is only found in the causative: res.3sg.m. *i-tšišf=a* ‘to be sieved’.

Chapter 5

Adjective

The adjectives, which can have various forms, correspond to stative verbs of the type *cċc*. This distribution suggests that adjectives can be made into stative verbs by means of applying the scheme of the *cċc* formation to the root. Due to the sparsity of our data, we cannot be certain whether this is truly a regular de-adjectival derivation, or whether this only seems to be the case due to a lack of data.

m.sg.	m.pl.	f.sg.	f.pl.	stat.v.	
gzil	gzilən	təgzilt	təgzilin	gəzzəl	‘short, low’
yzif	<i>n.a.</i>	təyzift	<i>n.a.</i>	yəzzəf	‘long, high’
mlil	mlilən	təmlilt	təmlilin	məlləl	‘white’
štəf	štəfən	təštəft	təštəfin	šəttəf	‘black’
zwəy	zwəyən	tzwəyt	tzwəyin	zəwwəy	‘red’
azuwàr	zuwàrən	tazuwàrt	tzuwarìn	zəwwər	‘large’
aləqqùq	<i>n.a.</i>	tələqqùqt	<i>n.a.</i>	ləqqəq	‘thin’
aməqqəràn	məqqrànən	taməqqərànt	tməqqranìn	məqqər	‘big’
aməškùn	məškùnən	taməškùnt	tməškúnin	məššək	‘small’

The m.pl. *məqqrànən* ‘big’ has an unexpected variant *məqqràrən*.¹ A variant of the f.sg. of the same adjective is found in text XV as *tməqqərànt* instead of *taməqqərànt*.

One Arabic adjective takes the adjectival endings: m.pl. *kəddimən*, which comes from Ar. *qadīm* ‘old’. The correspondence Awjila *k* to Ar. *q* and Awjila *dd* to Ar. *d* is unexpected.

As is the case in other Berber languages, the adjective is morphologically identical to the noun, and should be considered a sub-class of the noun that can be used appositionally after another noun to qualify it (see Galand 2010: 145). There are, however, no examples of adjectives being used independently in the corpus.

An example of an adjective that has lexicalized as a regular noun is the masculine plural noun *aməzzìn* ‘sons’, which is the suppletive plural of *lwi* ‘(my) son’. *aməzzìn* is not used adjectivally in the corpus, but is transparently related to the common Berber root *mZY* ‘to be small’. The adjectival meaning and the specialized nominal usage are

¹This cannot be a printing error as these variants are specifically cited in Paradisi as follows: <moqqrànən (moqqràrən)>

attested in El-Foqaha Berber: *mezẓâi* f. *tmezẓâit* pl. *imezẓâyen* f. *tmezẓâyīn* ‘small, son/daughter’ (Paradisi 1963a: 109ff. s.v. figlio).

Paradisi distinguishes between two types of adjectives, the indefinite and the definite adjective. His indefinite adjective is morphologically identical to the stative verb, and there is no reason to distinguish it from the stative verb in the way that Paradisi does. Stative verbs that are placed directly behind the noun, must then be considered verbs in attributive position, i.e. relative clauses (section 10.6.6).

When adjectives are placed after a noun, Paradisi claims that they give a definite meaning to the noun-adjective phrase. There are three attestations in the texts of such a “definite” adjective modifying a noun. In two of these examples, a definite reading is not possible. This suggests that Paradisi’s interpretation of the difference between attribution by means of adjectives and attribution by means of stative relative clauses is wrong. What the actual difference between adjectives and stative verbs is when used attributively remains unclear.

- (23) *Y-aški* *Žhà sar* (or: *syàr*)=*tafilli=nn-as w=iđd-as* *irìw fälli-s takabàrt*
 3sm-leave:pf. Jha from=house=of-3s and=with-3s child on-3s shirt
təzwàyt u=y-ərfəſ=tì=ya *af=agərət=ənn-as.*
 red:sf and=3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res. on=neck=of-3s
 ‘Jha left his house and with him (was his) child had a red shirt on and he carried him on his neck.’ [PT:XIII]
- (24) *d-gulì-t* *ká irìw fälli-s takabàrt təzwàyt?*
 2s-see:pf.-2s neg. child on-3s shirt red:sf
 ‘Have you not seen a child with a red shirt on?’ [PT:XIII]
- (25) *ayrəš=dik* *tirìwt tməqqərànt.*
 slaughter:imp.=IO.1s girl big:sf
 ‘Slaughter your oldest daughter for me.’ [PT:XV]

One example of the adjective in a definite reading is found in Paradisi’s word list:

- (26) *aməðən mlil* *bahi* *ká*
 man white:sm be.good:sm neg.
 ‘The white man is not good’ [P: s.v. bianco]

We only have a single example in the dictionary where a stative verb is translated with an indefinite meaning, it is not contrasted with an adjective.

- (27) *aməðən gəzzəl*
 man be.short:3sm
 ‘a short man’ [P: s.v. corto, basso]

Chapter 6

Pronoun

6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have different forms depending on their function. There are six different sets of personal pronouns.

1. Independent pronouns
2. Direct object pronouns
3. Indirect object pronouns
4. Prepositional suffixes
5. Possessive suffixes
6. Kinship possessive suffixes

6.1.1 Independent pronouns

The following table shows the independent pronouns in Awjila. Beguinot (1921: 390) also gives a full list of independent pronouns, which differ slightly from the forms found in Paradisi.

	Paradisi	Beguinot
1sg.	nək, nək	nek
2sg.m.	ku, kù	ku
2sg.f.	kəm	kem
3sg.m.	nəttìn, əntìn	nettî, nettîn
3sg.f.	ənnàt	ennât
1pl.	nəkkəní	nekkənî, neknîn
2pl.m.	kəmmìm	kemmîm
2pl.f.	kəmmìmət	kemmîmet
3pl.m.	nəhìn, ənhìn	nehnîn
3pl.f.	nəhìnət, ənhìnət	nehnînet

Most independent pronouns are attested in the texts, only *kəmmimət* is not found outside the word list.

The positions in which independent pronouns occur are:

- pronominal subject marking,
- topicalized pronominal subject marking,
- pronominal predicate marking in non-verbal sentences,
- after the dative preposition *i-*, and comparative preposition *am*,
- before a noun phrase marked with the preposition *id* ‘with’.

When an independent pronoun is used to mark the subject, it is placed in the usual position of the subject, after the verb. The pronoun is often explicitly mentioned when there is a switch of subject in two consecutive sentences.

The independent pronouns are not found in texts marking a direct object, not even in topicalization position. It is not clear whether this is due to the limited size of the corpus, or whether it is actually impossible.

Non-topicalized subject:

(28) *T-n=ìs* *ənnàt: s=àrbəša bəss.*

3sf-say:×pf.=IO.3s she: with=four enough

‘She said to him: for four (should be) enough.’ [PT:III]

(29) *u=y-əqqim* *i-ddəhwàr* *ašàl=i* *kkùll* *i-nəššəd* *əlʕulamá*

and=3sm-stay:×pf. 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars

u=i-ɣəlləb=tən *u=nəttin* *i-ddəhwàr* *ir=i-tùg*

and=3sm-defeat:impf.=DO.3pm and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:×pf.

Žhà.

Jha

‘and he started going around the whole village asking scholars (questions) and he defeated them and he continued to go around until he met Jha.’ [PT:VIII]

Following the dative preposition:

(30) *nək* *wa əhdəf-x=tit=a i=kú*

3sm-say:P=IO.3s Jew I

PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you

‘I am the one who has thrown it to you’ [PT:V]

After the comparative preposition *am* ‘like’:

(31) *nəttin məqqár* *am=nək*

he be.big:3sm like=I

‘he is as big as me’ [P: s.v. come]

After the predicative marker *d=*:

- (32) *aḥsáb-x=kù=yá ?ənn-ək ku d=nək.*
 think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmlpr.2sm you pred.=I
 '(so) I figured that you are me!' [PT:XI]

The coordination of pronouns, i.e. constructions like 'me and you', and similar pairs of pronouns, is achieved by means of an independent pronoun followed by the preposition *idd-* with a pronominal ending.

- (33) *nək a=nṭə̀r-əx=ku ká ir=a=nnə-fədd nək idd-ək ar=əlqə̀ḍi.*
 I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg. until=fut.=1p-go:fut. I with-2sm to=judge
 'I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.' [PT:V]

6.1.2 Direct object clitics

The direct object clitic is placed after the verb, but follows the indirect object clitic, when present.

1sg.	=i
2sg.m.	=ku
2sg.f.	=kə̀m
3sg.m.	=t
3sg.f	=tət
1pl.	=ax
2pl.m.	=kim
2pl.f.	=kmət
3pl.m.	=tən
3pl.f.	=tənət

When a direct object clitic directly follows a verb that ends in a final alternating vowel (such as verbs with the structure *cc**, *vc** and *c** verbs) with no intervening PNG-marking, the alternating vowel is always *-i*. There are no attestations of the 1pl. clitic after a verb of this type.

- (34) *i-γə̀lli a=i-rzì=tət, y-əzmər ká*
 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:*pf. neg.
 '(each one) wanted to break it, (but) could not.' [PT:I]
- (35) *i-γə̀lli a=i-žizì=t.*
 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
 'He wanted to sell it.' [PT:IV]

The resultative clitic =*a* follows the direct object clitic. According to a regular pattern (see 4.3.1.5) =*a* changes ə in the preceding syllable to *i* this also affects the direct object clitics, e.g. 3sg.f. direct object clitic =*tət* becomes =*tìt*=*a*. Most of the forms of the resultative variants are predictable, but the 3sg.m. direct object clitic =*t* behaves as though the phonemic form is /tə/. The predicted form of the resultative with a 3sg.m. clitic is ***/i(C)=t=a/*, but in reality we find =*tì*=*ya*, which would be the regular reflex of ***tə*.¹ The forms of the direct object pronouns when they precede the resultative marker are shown in the following table:

1sg.	=i=ya
2sg.m.	=ku=ya
2sg.f.	=kim=a
3sg.m.	=ti=ya
3sg.f.	=tit=a
1pl.	=ax=a
2pl.m.	=kim=a
2pl.f.	=kmit=a
3pl.m.	=tin=a
3pl.f.	=tnit=a

The direct object pronouns have no inherent accent, and form a single accentual unit with the verb. The accent of the verbal complex with a direct object clitic follows the default accentuation rules.

There is one exception to this: The 1pl. clitic *-ax* is unaccented, while the default accent rule would dictate that it would be accented (see 2.5.1). This suffix is unattested in the texts, but Paradisi provides an example sentence under the entry of the pronoun: <tgulît-aḥ> ‘you saw us’ [P: s.v. noi].

The accentuation found with =*tənət* sometimes falls on the antepenultimate syllable. This suggests a phonemic analysis /=*tnət*/ with epenthetic ə. Since there are also attestations where this supposedly epenthetic schwa is accented, the situation is unclear. Compare:

- (36) *ya=rəbbi əndú y-ənqis=a iwínan a=uyá-x=tənət ká.*
 voc.=god if 3sm-lack:res.=res. one fut.=take:fut.-1s=DO.3pf neg.
 ‘O God, if (even) one (pound) is lacking, I will not take it’ [PT:V]

- (37) *w=i-gi=tənət arəqùt=i u=y-əḥdəf=tənət dit nə=Žḥà*
 and=3sm-put:×pf.-DO.3pf bag=loc. and=3sm-throw:×pf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha

¹In (Mali) Tuareg, this clitic also behaves as though it had a lost vowel. The default accent in Mali Tuareg is on the antepenultimate syllable, but this clitic forces the accent to fall on the penultimate syllable (Heath 2005: 84-87).

sar=aròšən.

from=window

'And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.' [PT:V]

6.1.3 Indirect object clitics

The indirect object clitic is always placed immediately after the verb, and precedes the direct object clitic. It also precedes the final =*d* that is a remnant of the ancient Berber directional particle (see 4.3.1.4). An overview of the forms is provided below.²

1sg.	=dìk
2sg.m.	=ìk
2sg.f.	=ìm
3sg.	=ìs
1pl.	=dikəní, =dikkəní, =dikəni
2pl.m.	=ikìim
2pl.f.	=əkmət
3pl.m.	=isìn
3pl.f.	=ìsnət

In front of the frozen directional particle =*d*, the 3sg. marker =*is* becomes =*iz*.

- (38) *Y-uš=iz=d Žhà.*
 3sm-come:*pf.=10.3s Jha
 'Jha came to him' [PT:VI]

When the indirect object clitic is combined with a verb that has a final vowel, this final vowel is elided, or, in the case of the 1sg., changed to *-i*.

- (39) *y-əfk=is annùš n-əlbəràt.*
 3sm-give:*pf.=10.3s half of=money
 '(Jha) gave him half of the money (he owed him).' [PT:XIV]

- (40) *rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a am alá yəllì-x.*
 god 3sm-give:res.=10.1s=res. like rel. want:*pf.-1s
 'God has given like I wanted!' [PT:V]

²It is interesting to note that the 1sg. and 1pl. have an element *-d-* which is not usually found in Berber 1sg./1pl. indirect object clitics. This may be the directional particle =*d* found in other Berber languages, which has disappeared as a productive element in Awjila. The exact historical development that would explain the position of =*d* in front of the direct object clitic, is unclear.

It is not possible to determine whether the final vowel would be changed to *-i* with the 1pl. indirect object clitic. The word is only attested in the example below. The verb it is attached to, is only attested in this sentence, its basis may be *wàtti* rather than *wàtta/i*.

- (41) *wàtti=dikkəni* *čču=nn-àx šbàh* *id=bàšəd šəbàh*.
 prepare:imp.=10.1p food=of-1p tomorrow and=after tomorrow.
 ‘prepare food for us for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.’ [PT:XV]

According to the notations in the word list, the 1pl. form has a final accent. In the only attestation in the text corpus, shown in example (41), it has default penultimate accent. With the limited data available, it is impossible to say what this alternation in notations reflects.

When the 1sg. of a verb is followed by an indirect object pronoun, the *-x* and the following *i-* of the indirect object clitic are replaced by *-a-*. This *-a-* causes elision of any vowel that directly precedes it.

- (42) *nək šalamá* *fəkk-à=s* *aftw y-əlyám* *a=y-əmm*.
 I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=10.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
 ‘He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.’
 [PT:II]

- (43) *šəər-àt* *a=nn-a=kim* *nək d=awil* *tlàta marràt*
 wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-1s=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three times
ila yom əlqiyaàma:
 until.the.day.of.resurrection
 ‘Wait! I will say to you that I will be a person from Aujila three times until the day of resurrection.’ [PT:II]

In front of the resultative marker, the indirect object clitics undergo predictable changes (see 4.3.1.5), which have been displayed in the table below.

1sg.	=dìk=a
2sg.m.	=ìk=a
2sg.f.	=ìm=a
3sg.	=ìs=a
1pl.	=dikkəni=yə
2pl.m.	=ikim=a
2pl.f.	=əkmìt=a
3pl.m.	=isìn=a
3pl.f.	=isnìt=a

6.1.4 Prepositional suffixes

The prepositional suffixes are pronominal elements suffixed to prepositions.

In this section, the different suffixes are listed. The prepositions are discussed in section 8.

1sg.	-i
2sg.m.	-ək
2sg.f.	-əm
3sg.m.	-əs
1pl.	-nàx
2pl.m.	-kìm
2pl.f.	-əkmət
3pl.m.	-sìn
3pl.f.	-əsnət

Besides the Berber set of pronominal suffixes, there is a set of Arabic prepositional suffixes which occurs with the prepositions *dəffər* 'behind' and *dít* 'in front'. The accentuation of some of the forms of *dəffər* 'behind' is uncertain, as Paradisi only lists the endings. These uncertain forms are marked with a (?). A few forms have Berber prepositional suffixes besides the Arabic ones.

	dəffər	dít	
1sg.	dəffər-i	dít-i	
2sg.	dəffər-ək	dít-ək	
3sg.m.	dəffər-àh	dít-ah	
	dəffər-ah		
	dəffər-a	dít-a	
	dəffər-əs		(Berber suffix)
3sg.f.	dəffər(?)-ha	dít-ha	
1pl.	dəffər(?)-na	dít-na	
	dəffər-nàx		(Berber suffix)
2pl.m.	dəffər(?)-kum	dít-kum	
	dəffər-kìm	dít-kim	(Berber suffix)
2pl.f.		dít-kən	
	dəffər(?)-kmət	dít-kmət	(Berber suffix)
3pl.m.	dəffər(?)-hum	dít-hum	
		dít-sin	(Berber suffix)
3pl.f.	dəffər(?)-hən	dít-hən	
		dít-snət	(Berber suffix)

The preposition *af, fəlli-* 'on' has a 1sg. ending *-wi* rather than *-i*:

- (44) *lhùdi i-qàlləz fəlli-wi*
 Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s
 ‘The Jew is lying about me’ [PT:V]

The preposition *s-* ‘behind’ has irregular 3pl.m and 3pl.f. forms: *s-ìn*; *s-ìnət*, *sənət*. One would expect the forms ***s-sìn*; *s-sìnət*, *s-sənət*. Apparently, the sequence *s-s-* has been simplified.

- (45) *U=y-əfrəh Žhà s-ənət*
 and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf
 ‘And Jha became happy with it’ [PT:V]

Below follow several examples of prepositions from the texts.

- (46) *blaš, u=t-əqqəš əlbəb fəlli-s*
 forget.it and=3sf-close:pf. door on-3sg.
 ‘Forget it! and she closed the door on him,’ [PT:III]
- (47) *U=y-uyi=tət kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-γəlli*
 And=3sm-take:pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:pf.
a=i-rzi=tət, y-əzmər ká
 fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:pf. neg.
 ‘And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.’ [PT:I]

The prepositions with Arabic suffixes are also attested in the texts:

- (48) *u=y-əřədd w=azit dəffər-a (or: dəffər-ah).*
 and=3sm-go:pf. and=donkey behind-3sm
 ‘and he went and the donkey (was) behind him.’ [PT:VII]
- (49) *I-ggi=t dit-a*
 3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm
 ‘He put it in front of him’ [PT:II]

The suffixes used in combination with the preposition *n* ‘of’, are slightly different than those used with other prepositions. Moreover the pronominal genitive prepositions are placed directly after the noun and form an accent unit with it.

1sg.	=ənn-ùk
2sg.m.	=ənn-ək
2sg.f.	=ənn-əm
3sg.	=ənn-əs
1pl.	=ənn-àx
2pl.m.	=ənn-əkìmm, -n-əkìm
2pl.f.	=ənn-əkmət
3pl.m.	=ənn-əsìn
3pl.f.	=ənn-əsnət

- (50) *šəkri=dik əlbarat=ənn-ùk*
 return:imp.=IO.1S money=of-1S
 ‘Give back my money’ [PT:VII]

When the preceding noun ends in a vowel, the initial ə of the possessive clitic is absent. When the clitic is placed after a noun that ends in *-n*, the initial ə is also absent, the resulting sequence *-nnn-* is simplified to *-nn-*.

- (51) *bəʕədèn y-ušà=d iwínan i-sàsa əf=təfilli=nn-əs.*
 then 3sm-come:pf. one:sm 3sm-beg:impf. on=house-of-3s
 ‘Then someone came begging at his house.’ [PT:VI]

- (52) *w=iwìn n=išf i-llùm aməzžìn=n-əs*
 and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:*pf. sons=of-3s
 ‘And one day he gathered his sons’ [PT:I]

6.1.5 Kinship possessive suffixes

A group of kinship terms have special possessive pronouns, which are suffixed immediately to the noun instead of using a construction with the preposition *n* ‘of’. When a kinship term has no suffix, it is automatically interpreted as related to the first person singular, for example *àbba* ‘my father’, *abbà-s* ‘his father’. Note that the suffixes are similar to the prepositional suffixes, but the plural forms have an additional element *-t-*. All kinship terms follow the default accent rule.

1sg.	<i>no suffix</i>
2sg.m.	-k
2sg.f.	-m
3sg.	-s
1pl.	-tnàx
2pl.m.	-tkìm
2pl.f.	<i>Unattested</i>
3pl.m.	-tsìn
3pl.f.	<i>Unattested</i>

The kinship terms that are attested with these suffixes are: *àbba* ‘father’, *ḥənnùni* ‘grandfather’, *ḥàtta* ‘(maternal) aunt’, *mmà* ‘mother’, *àmmi* ‘(paternal) uncle’, *nàna* ‘grandmother’, *ìwi* ‘son’, *wàlli* ‘daughter’, *ùma* ‘brother’, *àtma* ‘brothers’, *wərtna* ‘sister’, *sàtma* ‘sisters’.

xàli ‘(maternal) uncle’ probably belongs here too, but there is not enough data to confirm this.

The plural of *ìwi* ‘son’, *aməzzìn* ‘sons’, takes the regular possessive clitics.

The noun *təmiḡni* ‘woman, wife’ is usually found with the regular possessive clitics, but once it is attested with a kinship possessive suffix. According to Paradisi, the regular possessive clitic is also possible in this context.

- (53) *Bəḥədèn əlḥəqqàb=i y-əqqim nətìn id=dəmiḡni-s* (or: *id=təmiḡni-nn-əs*)
 Then evening=loc. 3sm-stay:*pf. he with=wife-3s (with=wife=of-3s)
 ‘Then in the evening, he was with his wife’ [PT:IV]

6.2 Reflexives

Reflexives are formed with the noun *imàn* ‘self, oneself’ followed by the preposition *n* with possessive suffixes. This noun is not attested in Awjila outside of these reflexive constructions.

- (54) *llumm-àt iman=nə-kim, a=i-ssəḥəd=kim ɾəbbi.*
 gather:imp.-pm self=of-2pm fut.=3sm-help:fut.=DO.2pm God
 ‘Gather yourselves and God will help you.’ [PT:I]
- (55) *w=iwínan y-əqqán imàn=n-əs amakàn n=aẓiṭ.*
 and=one:ms 3sm-tie:*pf. self=of-3s place of=donkey
 ‘and one tied himself (in) place of the donkey.’ [PT:VII]

6.3 Relative pronouns

There are two types of relative pronouns in Awjila. First, there are the pre-modifier pronominal heads (PMPH)³, and second there are the general relative pronouns.

6.3.1 Pre-modifier pronominal heads

PMPHS consist of a deictic element *w-* (for masculine) / *t-* (for feminine) affixed by an element *-a* (for the singular) and *-i* (for the plural), forming a set of four PMPHS.

	sg.	pl.
m.	wa	wi
f.	ta	ti

Different from Tuareg which has three grades of definiteness in PMPHS (Galand 1974), the Awjila PMPHS do not distinguish definiteness.

PMPHS form the head of relative clauses; They function as relative pronouns with or without incorporated antecedent. The syntax of relative clauses will be discussed in more detail in section 10.6.

- (56) *u=bəʃadèn y-əxzár af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs wa zḥàk-ən dax*
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʃ=t
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm

‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry’ [PT:III]

- (57) *wa y-əfki=dik=a lṣàlla a=y-əfki=dik iwínan;*
 PMPH:sm 3sm-give:res=IO.1s=res. much fut=3sm-give:fut.=IO.1s one:sm
 ‘He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).’ [PT:V]

- (58) *nək wa əḥdəf:x=tit=a i=kú*
 I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you

‘I am the one who has thrown it to you’ [PT:V]

- (59) *u=nək rwiḥ-ḥ=a a=y-əqləz w=a-i-n=ìs ḥàtta*
 and=I become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s even
tłaba=nn-ùk ta t-ənní fəlli-wi t=tà=nn-əs nəttin
 gown=of-1s rel:sf 3sf-exist:*pf. on-1s pred.=PMPH:sf=of-3s he
id=aḥit=ənn-ùk a=i-n=ìs d=wà=nn-əs nəttin.
 with=donkey=of-1s fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s pred.=PMPH:sm=of-3s he

‘and I am afraid that he will lie and say that even the gown that is on me is his and that he will say that my donkey is his.’ [PT:V]

³Terminology following Kossmann (2011: 84, 113-119).

- (60) *Bəṣadèn y-əṣədd y-ənšəd ərrəfəq=ənn-əs wi ižinà-n=a*
 then 3sm-go:pf. 3sm-ask:seq. companions=of-3s PMPH:pm divide:res.-3pm=res.
nəttin id-sin ksùm.
 he with-3pm meat.
 ‘Then he went and asked his companions whom he had divided the meat with.’

There are no examples of the feminine plural pronoun *ti* in the text corpus.

PMPHS also form the head of possessive phrases by cliticization of the possessive preposition *n* ‘of’ in the meaning ‘that of ...’.

- (61) *la yar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk*
 no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res. robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s
w=əlṣəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk, əḥsəb-x=kù=ya ?ənn-ək ku d=nək.
 and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmplzr.2sm you pred.=I
 ‘No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!’

The pre-modifier pronominal heads with the genitive clitic can also be combined with the interrogative *màni* ‘who?’ to create the meaning ‘whose?’:

- (62) *gmaren=íya d=wi=n=máni?*
 horses=prox.:p pred.=PMPH:pm=of=who
 ‘Whose are these horses?’ [P: s.v. chi?]

6.3.2 General relative pronouns

There are two general relative pronouns. One is *wàsa* and the other is *alá*. *wàsa* is an indefinite relative pronoun that is attested twice, both times in Text II. The first time it is given as an alternative to *wa* to form the head of a relative clause.

The word is similar to Ghadames *was* ‘démonstratif en fonction de relatif, indéterminé de genre et de nombre’ (Lanfry 1973: 394).

- (63) *nək lukàn wa (or: wàsa) a=mmudà-n dáffər-i*
 I if PMPH:sm rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1s
a=i-ččì=t aḥw, məṣəðč a=mmudà-x s=ḥiddan.
 fut.=3sm-eat:fut.=DO.3sm fire, no.longer fut.=pray:fut.-1s with=anyone
 ‘If those who pray behind me would be eaten by fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.’ [PT:II]
- (64) *wàsa a=nzurrà-n syar-kim a=ṣəyyát-ən=dik təlàta marràt;*
 rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from-2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=10.1s three times
 ‘Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times;’ [PT:II]

The relative pronoun *alá* always has an incorporated antecedent. *alá* exclusively refers to non-human antecedents. For human antecedents, PMPHS are used.

- (65) *Y-əṣṭədd i-n=ìs=t am=alá na-n=ìs=a.*
 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s=DO.3s like=rel. say:res.-3pm=10.3s=res.
 ‘He went and told it to him like they had told him’ [PT:II]

- (66) *Bəṣád uṣəl-ən ar=əlqàḍi i-šərw=ìs ləhùdi s=alá*
 Then arrive:*pf.-3pm to=judge 3sm-tell:*pf.=10.3s Jew from=rel.
ṣará-n=a.
 happen:res.-ptc.=res.
 ‘Then they arrived at the Judge and the Jew told him about what had happened.’
 [PT:V]

The particle *alá* resembles the particle that introduces cleft sentences: *d-álá*. An etymological relation between these particles seems likely (see section 10.6.7).

Chapter 7

Deixis

There are several elements that express deixis, all making use of the elements displayed in the table below.

	proximal	distal
sg.	-àya, -é, -ók	-íwan
pl.	-ìya, -ìyək	-idánin

These deictic elements may be combined with a variety of different heads. First, they can be placed after nouns. Second, they can be combined with the pronominal elements *w-/t-* which we already encountered in section 6.3.1. The third option is the combination of the deictic elements with the presentative element *akk-/akətt-*. Finally, the deictic elements may be combined with the adverbial deictics *dil-* and *sil-*. These different heads are discussed individually in the following sections.

There is another deictic element, which is only found cliticized to nouns, *ídin*, *-idìn* which will be discussed in more detail in section 7.1.

There are two words in the language that have a petrified deictic clitic =*a*, which is no longer productively added to noun in Awjila: *àšfa* ‘today’, cf. *ìšf* ‘day’ and *àšəw(w)àša* ‘this year’, cf. MA *asgg^was* ‘year’.¹

7.1 Deictic clitics

Nominal deixis is achieved by cliticizing the demonstrative elements to the noun. The demonstrative clitics agree with the noun in number.

- (67) *mag ì-nni amədən=é*
where 3sm-exist.*pf. man=prox.:s
‘Where is this man?’ [P: s.v. dove?]

- (68) *wətti-mət šyirən, qámak a-ggà-γ=d afīw syàr=təfilli=yíwan.*
prepare:imp.-fp firewood now fut.=bring;fut.-1s=bring fire from=house=dist.:s
‘prepare firewood, now I will bring fire from that house.’ [PT:XV]

¹The deictic =*a* is found as a productive clitic in other Berber languages, for example Middle Atlas Berber (Penchoen 1973: 21) and Mali Tuareg (Heath 2005: 239).

- (69) *y-uná s=adbuš=ənn-əs əlmərrat=àya*
 3sm-enter:pf. with=clothes=of-3s time=prox.:s
 ‘He entered with his clothes this time.’ [PT:IX]
- (70) *afīwa t-nə-d=dik ká (or: ur=t-nə-d=dik) žlan=īya u=nək*
 why 2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s neg. neg.=2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s words-prox.:p and=I
nni-x ar=ùta?
 be(loc.):*pf.-1s to=below
 ‘Then the beggar said to him: Why did you not tell me these words when (litt. and) I was still below?’ [PT:VI]

In many Berber languages there exist anaphoric deictic clitics (‘the one just mentioned before in the discourse’). In Awjila we find a deictic clitic that is only placed after singular nouns: =*idin*, =*idin*, which Souag (2010: 258) suggests is an anaphoric. This cannot be the case. In the one attestation of this clitic in the text, it is cliticized to the word *avəṭ* ‘night’, which is introduced for the first time in the text in that sentence and therefore cannot be anaphoric.

- (71) *u=y-əmhəṭ=ṭət avəṭ=idin.*
 and=3sm-make.love:*pf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s
 ‘and he made love to her that night.’ [PT:XV]

In fact, evidence suggests that Awjila does not express anaphoric deixis at all. Many sentences that are clearly anaphoric, do not have deictic clitics, e.g.

- (72) *Y-ušá=d Žhà mǎrra i-yàlli a=y-əssən akəllim=ənn-əs*
 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s
amakàn bašid ləkən akəllim i-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən
 place be.far:3sm but servant 3sm-know:*pf. neg. place and=3sm-know:*pf.
ká təbarūt u=y-ərwəṭ a=y-ùyar
 neg. way and=3sm-be.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut.
 ‘One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away. But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way and he became afraid to get lost.’ [PT:X]
- (73) *U=t-axzár yār-əs təmìgni w=ət-n=ìs: i=kú a=wá=n*
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman and=3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s hey=you voc.=PMPH:ms=of
ləmluxiyət. U=y-axzár nəttin yār-əs w=i-gá əlħəməl=ənn-əs
 mulukhiya and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s
dīt n=təmìgni
 in.front of=woman
 ‘And a woman looked at him and said: Hey you there, the one of with the mulukhiya. And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman’ [PT:III]

The definition that Paradisi gives for =*idin*, =*idìn* in the word list, “quello. Quando la cosa non è molto lontana” [That. When the thing is not very far away], suggests that it is a clitic of medial deixis. Example sentence (71) above and the example cited by Paradisi in the word list (s.v. quello): *amədən-ídìn* ‘that man’ give little support for this and the exact function of this clitic remains unclear.

For the proximal deixis clitic, we notice the existence of variants with and without a final element *-k*. This also occurs in pronominal deictics (section 7.2). This is reminiscent of the situation in Siwa, which has medial demonstrative pronouns which express addressee agreement.² In this language, different pronouns are used depending on who is addressed. If the addressee is a man, *wok* is used, in case of a female singular addressee the medial deictic is *wom*, while with a plural addressee *werwən* is used (Souag 2010: 259-261).

For Awjila, we lack evidence to determine whether there is addressee agreement. Only two instances of a demonstrative with *-k* occur in the texts, both in the plural form *tyariwin-iyək* ‘these sticks’. The context is certainly fit for addressee agreement in the Siwa sense. Note that the addressee is clearly plural rather than singular. The *-k* in Siwa only refers to singular masculine addressees.

- (74) *Bəṣədèn i-n=isìn: akká, kəmmim am=tyariwin=iyək, àndu*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if
t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kim məṣá bəṣádkum a=tt-əqqíma-m
 2p-gather:*pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
am=təyariwin=iyək
 like=sticks-prox.:p

‘Then he said to them: look, you are like these sticks, if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.’ [PT:I]

7.2 Deictic pronouns

Deictic pronouns consist of the pronominal element *w-/t-* which marks gender, followed by the deictic elements that mark number and distance (proximal and distal). The proximal demonstrative pronouns have a large number of different forms, and are unfortunately largely unattested in the texts. As a result, differences in function cannot be determined.

Note that the deictic pronouns have an additional singular suffix *-a* which is not present in the nominal deictic clitics. This makes these deictic singular pronouns look identical to the PMPHS (see section 6.3.1), but their function is different, and the plural formation is different from the PMPHS. Therefore the deictic pronouns and PMPHS

²This similarity was already noticed by Souag (2010: 258)

cannot be considered to be the same element. Note further that the suffix *-íyak* that we find in the nominal deictic suffixes is unattested in the deictic pronouns.

There are no attestations of *w-a* and *t-a* where they are used as demonstratives. It is perhaps possible that Paradisi listed them as demonstratives, even though they are solely used as PMPHS.

	proximal	distal
m.sg.	w-a, w-e, w-àya, w-ák	w-íwan
f.sg.	t-a, t-e, t-àya, t-ák	t-íwan
m.pl.	w-ìya	w-idánin
f.pl.	t-ìya	t-idánin

Below follow several example sentences of the deictic pronouns in use.

- (75) *wàya d=aʒit fəšúš, qəwi u=d=aʒit mri.*
 this:sm pred.=donkey be.agile:3sm, be.strong:3sm and=pred.=donkey be.good:3sm
 ‘This is an agile and strong donkey, and it is a good donkey’ [PT:IV]
- (76) *wàya d=aʒit ká, wàya d=amədan.*
 this:sm pred.=donkey neg., this:sm pred.=man
 ‘this is not a donkey, this is a man.’ [PT:VII]
- (77) *we s=am=məgwa?*
 this:sm for=like=-what:sm?
 ‘how much does this cost?’ [P: s.v. quanto?]

7.3 Presentative deictics

The presentative deictics consist of an element *akk-* followed by the deictic elements. The presentative deictics can be compared in meaning to that of Italian *ecco* or French *voici, voilà*.

Paradisi gives a complete paradigm of the presentive deictics, which agree in gender and number with the noun they denote.

	proximal	distal
m.sg.	akk-á	akk-iwàn
f.sg.	ak(k)ətt-á	akk-iwàn
m.pl.	akk-í	akk-idánin
f.pl.	akətt-í	akk-idánin

The distal presentative deictics agree in gender in the singular, but not in the plural to the noun that they refer to. Note that the proximal plural deictic suffix *-i* is different

from the ones found in the nominal deictic clitics and in the deictic pronouns (-*ya*, -*yak*). The endings of the proximal rather resemble the PMPH endings.

In reality, we only have a single example where these words agree in gender and number with the noun they modify.

- (78) *akk-í* *mədinən*
 presentative:prox-pm people
 ‘Behold, the people’ [P:s.v. ecco]

In all other cases, the presentative deictic invariably takes the masculine singular form, and is only differentiated in proximal and distal deixis.

- (79) *akká, kəmmim* *am=tyariwin=iyək*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p
 ‘Then he said to them: look, you are like these sticks,’ [PT:I]
- (80) *afiw akká* *y-əlhim=a*
 fire this.here 3sm-to.be.lit.res.=res.
 ‘this here fire is lit’ [P: s.v. accendere]
- (81) *akká* *alá urif-x=a*
 this.here rel. write:res.-1s=res.
 ‘behold, that which I have written’ [P: s.v. quello]
- (82) *àbba, àbba akkiwàn əlbəqis* *n=afiw.*
 father father that.there glimmer of=fire.
 ‘Father, father! There! the glimmer of fire!’ [PT:XV]
- (83) *akkiwàn iriš-in=a* *dilíwan.*
 that.there descend:res.-3pm=res. at.there
 ‘Over there, they’ve descended down there.’ [PT:XV]

7.4 Adverbial deictics

Deictic adverbs distinguish between a locative and an allative function. The proximal form is found with the deictic suffix *-a* which we also saw in the deictic pronouns and presentative deictics. Moreover we find a suffix *-ak*, which appears to be a combination of the deictic suffix *-a* and the deictic suffix *-ək*. The distal form of the locative has the deictic suffix *-íwan*, but besides this regular form, we find an irregular *diššíwan*. For the allative adverbial deictics, there is no attested form of the distal.

	proximal	distal
Locative	dil-a, dil-ak	dil-íwan, diššíwan
Allative	sil-a, sil-ak	<i>unattested</i>

- (84) *yi=d dila.*
 come:imp. at.here
 ‘come here.’ [PT:VI]
- (85) *akkiwàn iriš-in=a dilíwan.*
 that.there descend:res.-3pm=res. at.there
 ‘Over there, they’ve descended down there.’ [PT:XV]
- (86) *y-axáttam síla wa žižà-n lamluxàyat,*
 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s 3sm-pass.by:impf. along.here PMPH:sm sell:impf-ptc. mulukhiya
 ‘A mulukhiya vendor came by here,’ [PT:IV]

Note that in example (84) the preceding imperative verb *yid* is unaccented. It seems to form an accent unit with *dila*, something which Paradisi also suggests with the spelling he employed: <yīd-dīla>. It is conceivable that the command ‘come here’ has become a fixed phrase with only one accent.

The adverb *gan* ‘there’ is a deictic that is not specified for distance. Paradisi considers it the Awjila form of expressing ‘there is, there are’, found in the word list under *essere*:

“Vi è, vi era, *gān* (cf. Siwa, *gen*, chez); non vi è, *gān-ká*; egli non c’era *yénnī-ká gān*.” [P: s.v. essere]

From the examples, especially in text XV, it is clear that the ‘there is, there are’ interpretation of the word is secondary to the adverbial meaning ‘there’.

- (87) *u=bəʕədèn nəhìnət ufā-nət aləyəm y-əmmūt=a u=kkàr-nət,*
 and=then they(f) find:*pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:*pf.-3pf,
ərfəʕ-nət z=gan šəmmà-nət y=àmza
 lift.up:*pf.-3pf from=there cook:*pf.-3pf dat.=ogre
 ‘and then they found a dead camel and they stood up and lifted (it) from there and cooked it for the ogre.’ [PT:XV]
- (88) *u=t-šan gan tirèwt təməqqərànt*
 and=3sf-make.enter:*pf. there girl big:sf
 ‘and (she) made oldest girl go in there,’ [PT:XV]

In the sentence below the ‘there is, there are’ interpretation seems the only logical interpretation:

- (89) *gan mīddən dila,*
 there people at.here,
 ‘there are people here,’

Chapter 8

Prepositions and postpositions

8.1 Prepositions

There are two types of prepositional construction in Awjila. The first are the basic prepositions, and the second group are preposition-like constructions, which behave like prepositions in various degrees.

8.1.1 Basic prepositions

Basic prepositions often have different forms depending on whether they precede a noun or a pronoun. The table below gives an overview of the prepositions.

Before noun	Before pronoun	
id	idd-	‘with (comitative), and’
af	fəllí-	‘on, at’
ar	ɣar-	‘nearby, at’
s, s-ɣar, s-ar	s-ɣár-	‘from’
s	s-	‘with’ (instrumental)
n	ənn-	‘of’
i, y-	—	dative preposition
am	—	‘like’
ir	<i>Unattested</i>	‘until’
bèyn	<i>Unattested</i>	‘between’

8.1.1.1 *id* ‘with (comitative), and’

The pronominal form of the comitative preposition has default accent in all positions. Text XIII has a sentence where the accent is in the (unexpected) final position: *iddí* ‘with me’.

The primary meaning of this preposition is the comitative ‘with, and’. It can only be used in the coordination of two nominal or pronominal phrases. It can never be used to coordinate two clauses.

- (90) *Bəṣadèn y-əqqim i-rənni id=middən.*
then 3sm-stay:˘pf. 3sm-bid:impf. with=people

‘Then he started bidding along with the people.’ [PT:IV]

- (91) *ur=n-à=k=a* *ká bəʕəd a=t-qimà-t* *idd-í t-əʕəddi-t* *ká?*
 neg.=say.res.-1s=10.2sm=res. neg. when fut.-2s-stay:fut.-2s with-1s 2s-go-impf.-2s neg.
 ‘Did I not tell you that when you stay with me not to go (anywhere?)’ [PT:XIII]

- (92) *a=n-nəʕədd* *kull* *idd-ək.*
 fut.=1p-go:fut. all with-2sm
 ‘We will all go with you.’ [PT:II]

- (93) *Undú uši-γ=d* *ká, a=n-mhàsəb* *nək* *idd-əs* *yom əlqiyàma.*
 if come:*pf.-1s neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection
 ‘If I do not come, we —him (who suffers) and me— will settle the score at the day of resurrection.’ [PT:II]

- (94) *u=tafüt t-əhmà=ya* *fəlli-s* *u=t-əqqim* *(t)-tattà* *afiš=ənn-əs*
 and=sun 3sf-burn.res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:*pf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3s
id=əlgəfà=nn-əs
 with=neck=of-3s
 ‘and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck,’ [PT:III]

8.1.1.2 *af* ‘on’

The preposition *af* can be used to mean ‘on’ in the physical sense. It can also be used to mark the object of a verb that has no power to affect the action. This often results in a malefactive implication. The latter use is similar to what Kossmann (1997: 223) calls the ‘implicative’ in Figui. The 1sg. ending irregularly gets a *-w-* before the *i*.

- (95) *nək* *ʕəyyán-əx* *u=zmar-x* *ká* *a=ʕəddà-x* *af=ṭarin=n-úk*
 I be.sick:impf.-1s and=be.able:*pf.-1s neg. fut.=go:fut.-1s on=legs=of-1s
 ‘I am sick and I am not able to go on my legs’ [PT:V]

- (96) *lhùdi i-qəlləz* *fəlli-wi*
 Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s
 ‘The Jew is lying about me,’ [PT:V]

- (97) *u=t-əqqás* *əlbàb* *fəlli-s*
 and=3sf-close:*pf. door on-3sg.
 ‘and she closed the door on him,’ [PT:III]

The verb *əxzár* ‘to look at’ uses the preposition *af* with nouns, but *yar* for pronouns:

- (98) *u=bəʕədèn y-əxzár af=əlḥəməl=ənn-əs wa zẓàk-ən dax*
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərʕəʕt
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm
 ‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry,’ [PT:III]

- (99) *U=t-əxzár yàr-əs təmìgni*
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman
 ‘And a woman looked at him’ [PT:III]

8.1.1.3 *ar* ‘to’

ar ‘to’ expresses motion towards or possession. The directional sense of this preposition is not attested very often in the texts, and it competes semantically with the locative clitic =*i* (see section 8.2). =*i* seems to be preferred.

- (100) *nək a=nṭər-əx=ku ká ir=a=nnə-ʕədd nək idd-ək ar=əlqədi.*
 I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg. until=fut.=1p-go:fut. I with-2sm to=judge
 ‘I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.’ [PT:V]

ar is mainly attested in possessive phrases. The sentence below illustrates this.

- (101) *Gan Abúdabr yàr-əs təmìgni*
 there Abu.Dabr to-3s wife
 ‘There once was (a man called) Abu-Dabr,’ [PT:XV]

The possessive use of the preposition can also be negated:

- (102) *u=yar-i ká təlāba.*
 and=to-1s neg. gown
 ‘and I do not have a gown.’ [PT:V]

8.1.1.4 *s, s-yar, s-ar* ‘from’

s, s-yar, s-ar is the ablative preposition. There seems to be free variation between the three variants, where *s-yar* is the most common. When the form of the ablative preposition is *s*, its complement can be followed by the locative clitic =*i*. This is similar to Ghadames, where the locative clitic is obligatory with the ablative preposition *s* (Kossmann 2013b: 112). The pronominal form only has the variant *s-yar*.

- (103) *Nək wa d=alá slī-x=a sar=middən ləwwəl kəddim-ən,*
 I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-1s=res. from=people formerly old:mp
 ‘This is what I heard from the old people once,’ [PT:II]

- (104) *Gan iwínan y-ərfiʕ=a af=təgíl=nn-əs əlhəml zək*
 there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
syār=ləmluxiyət
 from=mulukhiya
 ‘There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head,’
 [PT:III]
- (105) *uši-y=d=a s=ašəl=i nək id=ləhil=ənn-ùk.*
 come:res.-1s=come=res. from=village=loc. I with=family=of-1s
 ‘He said to him: I’ve come from the village, together with my family.’ [PT:XV]
- (106) *wàsa a=nzurrà-n syar-kim a=ʕəyyát-ən=dik talàta marràt;*
 rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from-2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=10.1s three times
 ‘Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times;’ [PT:II]

s, s-yar, s-ar may be used to indicate the material something is made of:

- (107) *wàya sar=zzil*
 this:ms from=iron
 ‘This is of iron’ [P: s.v. di]

8.1.1.5 *s* ‘with’

The instrumental preposition is used to express the object by means of which a certain action is accomplished. Because the 3pl.m. and 3pl.f. suffixes start with *s-*, the forms are somewhat irregular, as the *s-s-* sequence has been simplified (see 6.1.4).

This preposition is homophonous to the *s-* variant of the ablative preposition *s, s-yar, s-ar* in front of nouns. The pronominal form is always different from the ablative preposition.

- (108) *u=y-əqqən=t s=ažikər*
 and=3sm-tie:pf.-3sm=DO.3sm with=rope
 ‘And he tied it with a rope’ [PT:VII]
- (109) *U=y-əfrəh Žhà s-ənət*
 and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf
 ‘And Jha became happy with it’ [PT:V]

The preposition *s* is also used to express an amount of money:

- (110) *s=səbəfa n=millim.*
 with=seven of=milliem
 ‘For seven milliemes.’ [PT:III]

8.1.1.6 *n* 'of'

Possessions is expressed with the preposition *n* 'of'. When it is followed by prepositional endings, the full complex of preposition + prepositional endings cliticizes to the preceding word. The prepositional endings of this preposition differ slightly from those found with other prepositions (pg. 116).

- (111) *d=əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=ažit=ənn-ùk*,
 pred.=number of=hairs of=donkey=of-is
 'It is the number of hairs of my donkey' [PT:VIII]

The preposition *n* is also used for some specialized meanings. It is placed in front of a quantified noun that is preceded by a numeral (see section 9.1). It is used in some preposition-like constructions (see sections 8.1.2.1, 8.1.2.2, 8.1.2.4, 8.1.2.5).

It is also used to describe the material an object is made of, note that *s-*, *s-ar*, *s-γar* 'from' may also be used in this function:

- (112) *ayiz n=ùrəγ*
 necklace of=gold
 'a golden necklace' [P: s.v. di]

8.1.1.7 *i* 'to, for'

This preposition marks the indirect object. For the pronominal marking of the indirect object, the indirect object clitics are used (see section 6.1.3).

- (113) *Bəʕədèn y-aški əlhùdi w=i-n=ìs yə=Žhà: ayid*
 then 3sm-leave:*pf. Jew and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=Jha bring:imp.
əlbarat=ənn-ùk
 money=of-is
 'Then the Jew came out and said to Jha: Bring my money (back)' [PT:V]
- (114) *u=i-tənn=ìs i=kùll amàdən*
 and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s dat.=each person
 'and (started) saying to each person:' [PT:XIII]

The preposition *i* is usually substituted by the indirect object clitics, but once we find the preposition *i* followed by the independent pronoun *ku* 'you':

- (115) *nək wa əhdəf-x=tit=a i=kú*
 I PMPH:sm threw:res.-is=DO.3sf dat.=you
 'I am the one who has thrown it to you' [PT:V]

8.1.1.8 *am* ‘like’

The preposition *am* ‘like’ is used to make comparisons. Like the preposition *i*, it is followed by the independent pronoun, rather than the prepositional suffixes. The uses of this preposition will be discussed in more detail in section 10.7.4.

- (116) *nəttìn məqqár am=nək*
 he big:sm like=I
 ‘he is as big as me’ [P: s.v. come]

8.1.1.9 *ir* ‘until’

This preposition is not attested very often, and is never found in front of a pronominal form. This is unsurprising, as in many Berber languages, this preposition can only be placed in front of nouns (e.g. Kossmann 1997: 229).

- (117) *u=nəttìn i-ddəhwàr ir=i-tùg Žhà.*
 and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:*pf. Jha
 ‘and he continued to go around until he met Jha.’ [PT:VIII]

There is one example in the dictionary, where *ir* is used together with the locative particle *i*

- (118) *nəttìn y-əʕidd=a (ir=)tfilli=yi*
 he 3sm-go.res=res. until=house=loc.
 ‘he has gone to the house’ [P: s.v. a]

8.1.1.10 *bèyn* ‘between’

bèyn ‘between’ is not attested in the texts, and Paradisi provides no example sentences. Little more can be said about this preposition.

8.1.2 Preposition-like constructions

Several nouns or noun-like words, may be used to express location or direction, similar to functions that the basic prepositions have. These preposition-like elements all behave differently. Some use prepositional endings, while others do not. Some of these constructions can be placed directly in front of the noun they modify, while others cannot.

Some of these preposition-like constructions use the Arabic preposition *minn-* in combination with the preposition-like element to pronominalized it. The preposition *minn-* is never used outside of this context. This preposition takes the regular Berber pronominal endings.

8.1.2.1 *agùr* ‘near, on the side’

The word *agùr* ‘near, on the side’ is only attested combined with pronouns. Pronominal prepositional endings cannot directly follow it, and are either combined with the Berber preposition *n* ‘of’ or the Arabic preposition *minn-* ‘from’.

- (119) *u=y-əqqim y-əvdid=a agur=ənn-əs ir=a=y-ùš*
 and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-stand.res.=res. besides=of-3s until=fut.=3sm-come:fut.
əbulis.
 police
 ‘and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.’ [PT:III]

The constructions with *minn-* are only attested in the word list: 1sg. *agùr minn-i* 2sg.m. *agùr minn-ək*.

8.1.2.2 *tammàst* ‘in the middle’

This preposition-like construction is only attested in a single example sentence in Paradisi’s word list. *tammàst* may modify a noun with a genitive construction with the preposition *n* ‘of’:

- (120) *tammàst n=tfilli*
 middle of house
 ‘in the middle of the house’ [P: s.v. mezzo (in)]

8.1.2.3 *zùt* ‘above’

This word functions as a preposition in front of noun. It is placed directly in front of the noun it modifies:

- (121) *ərfəʕ=i zùt ləktuf=ənn-ək.*
 carry:imp.=DO.1s on.top.of shoulders=of-2sm
 ‘He (the ogre) said to him: Carry me on your shoulders.’ [PT:XV]
- (122) *u=y-ərfəʕ=ət zùt ləktuf=ənn-əs*
 and=3sm-carry:*pf.=DO.3sm on.top.of shoulders=of-3s
 ‘and he carried him on his shoulders’ [PT:XV]

Paradisi’s word list shows that this preposition cannot receive prepositional pronominal endings. *zùt* is combined with Berber preposition *fəll-* ‘on’ or the Arabic preposition *minn-* ‘from’: 1sg. *zùt minn-i*, *zùt fəlli-wi* 2sg.m. *zùt minn-ək*. The pronominal forms are not attested in the texts.

zùt may be combined with the prepositions *ar* ‘to’ and *s-ar* ‘from’ to form adverbial phrases *ar-zùt* ‘upward’, *s-ar-zùt* ‘from above’:

(123) *U y-əlbáb nəttin idd-əs ar=zùt*
 and 3sm-climb:pf. he with-3s to=up
 ‘And he climbed up with him’ [PT:VI]

(124) *Bəʕədèn y-àxzər Žhà sar=zùt*
 Then 3sm-look:seq. Jha from=above
 ‘Then Jha looked from above’

The antonym *ùta* ‘below’ is also combined with the prepositions *ar* ‘to’ and *s-ar* ‘from’ to form adverbial phrases *ar-ùta* ‘downward’ and *s-ar-ùta* ‘from below’. *s-ar-ùta* is only attested in the word list (s.v. sotto).

(125) *w=əfiwa t-ənə-d=dik irəš ar=ùta?*
 and=why 2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s descend:imp. to=below
 ‘And why did you tell me to come down?’

One would expect that *ùta* can also be used independently like *zùt*, but there is no evidence for this.

8.1.2.4 *dəffər* ‘behind, after’

This preposition-like construction is often a preposition in Berber languages, cf. Kabyle *dəffir*, Touareg *dəffər*. In Awjila it can only combine with a noun using a genitive construction:

(126) *dəffər n=tfilli*
 behind of=house
 ‘behind the house’ [P: s.v. dietro]

In front of pronouns, a set of Arabic pronominal endings is used (see section 6.1.4):

(127) *u=y-əqqən=t s=ažikər u=y-əʕədd w=ažit*
 and=3sm-tie:*pf.-3sm=DO.3sm with=rope and=3sm-go:*pf. and=donkey
dəffər-a (or: *dəffər-ah*).
 behind-3sm
 ‘And he tied it with a rope and went and the donkey (was) behind him.’ [PT:VII]

In Paradisi’s word list, a few forms with Berber prepositional suffixes are attested, for example *dəffər-əs* ‘behind him’.

8.1.2.5 *dīt* ‘in front of’

To modify nouns, this word uses a genitive construction:

- (128) *u=y-əħdǝf=tənət* *dīt* *nə=Žħà sar=ərròšən.*
 and=3sm-throw:*pf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha from=window
 ‘And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.’ [PT:V]

When used pronominally *dīt*, like *dǝffār*, uses Arabic pronominal endings (see section 6.1.4):

- (129) *I-ggì=t* *dīt-a*
 3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm
 ‘He put it in front of him’ [PT:II]

The word list contains some forms of this word where it combines with Berber prepositional endings. These forms are unattested in the texts

The antonyms *dīt* and *dǝffār* are the only two prepositions that are attested with Arabic prepositional suffixes.

dīt may be combined with the preposition *ar* ‘to’ to form adverbial phrase *ar-dīt* ‘forward’:

- (130) *žìgǝž* *ar=dīt*
 walk:imp. to=front
 ‘Walk forward!’ [P: s.v. andare]

8.2 The locative postposition =*i*

Besides a large amount of prepositions, Awjila has one postposition =*i*, which expresses location or movement towards a location. It is cliticized directly to the noun it modifies.

- (131) *w=ižìgǝž* *dzənqìn=i n=ašàl*
 and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village
 ‘and he would walk in the street of the village’ [PT:III]
- (132) *y-ùna* *ammùd=i*
 3sm-enter:seq. mosque=loc.
 ‘He entered the mosque’ [PT:II]

Brugnatelli (2005: 375ff.) suggests that the locative clitic indeed influences the accent, but from the data available this is not obvious. All but three nouns that have the locative particle =*i* end in the sequence |vc|. The default accent of both the sequence

|vc| and |vc=i| falls on the final vowel of the noun. Compare the two example sentences below. The first sentence shows *ašàl* without the locative particle with accent on the ultimate syllable. The second sentence has the same word, but this time with the locative clitic behind it. The accent still falls regularly on the final vowel of the noun.

- (133) *Gan iwínan n=amàdən ašàl n=awilən.*
 there one:ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people
 'There once was a man in the village of Aujila' [PT:II]

- (134) *u=y-əqqim i-ddəhwàr ašàl=i kkùll*
 and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole
 'A scholar left to go around outside, and he started going around the whole village' [PT:VIII]

In the texts, we find two forms that provide contradictory evidence. One has antepenultimate accent, which implies the =i has no influence, the other appears to have attracted accent, which implies that the =i is considered part of the accentual word unit. Neither of the words are found without the clitic =i, so nothing can be said with certainty about the accent in either case.

- (135) *Žhà y-əskìn=a lšàllì=yi*
 Jha 3sm-live:res.=res. high=loc.
 'Jha lived in a high (place)' [PT:VI]

- (136) *w=i-ggì=tət škàrət=i.*
 and=3sm-put:*pf.=DO.3sf bag=loc.
 'Then he bought some vegetables and put them in a bag.' [PT:XII]

The example Brugnatelli cites, comes from the word list, and this word is attested both with, and without the locative particle in the word list: *tfilli* 'house' is attested with a retracted accent in the example sentence below.

- (137) *nəttìn y-əšidd=a (ir=)tfillì=yi*
 he 3sm-go.res=res. until=house=loc.
 'he has gone to the house' [P: s.v. a]

In one case, the locative particle itself is accented. This gives the impression that =i is perhaps an independent word, rather than a clitic. This may also explain why =i does not have effect on the accent in one of the examples above.

- (138) *y-uyá y-əkrí s=ìs ssùq=í*
 3sm-take:pf. 3sm-return:*pf. with-3s market=loc.
 'he took (it) and returned with it to the market' [PT:VII]

The locative clitic =*i* cannot be combined with the possessive pronominal clitics. In sentences where we would otherwise expect the locative particle, it is absent if the noun has a possessive clitic. In such cases, there is no other marking of the locative.

- (139) *U=bəʕadèn y-əʕədd nəttin əlxərbuš=ənn-əs*
 and=then 3sm-go:pf. he garden=of-3s
 ‘And then he went to his garden’ [PT:XV]
- (140) *Y-ušá=d, y-uná nəttin idd-əs amakan=n-əsìn*
 3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm
 ‘He came and entered their place with her’ [PT:XV]

The locative postposition is only found in one other Berber language: Ghadames, in western Libya (Lanfry 1968: 366, Kossmann 2013b: 103). Unlike in Ghadames, the locative clitic is always =*i*, and does not undergo infixation.

Morphosyntactically, the locative particle behaves differently in Awjila and Ghadames. In Ghadames the locative marker stands at the end of a noun phrase, unless the noun phrase is determined by a deictic clitic, in which case the locative clitic is attached to the deictic clitic. Awjila places the locative marker after the noun, rather than after the entire noun phrase. There are no examples of a determined noun phrase with a locative postposition in Awjila. Compare:

Ghadames

- (141) *tali n təmzen=i*
 room of barley=loc.
 ‘in the room of the barley’ (Kossmann 2013b: 107)
- (142) *dáž=e=den n ašle*
 house=ANP:S=LOC of groom
 ‘in this house of the groom’ (Kossmann 2013b: 108)

Awjila

- (143) *dzəŋqìn=i n=ašəl*
 street=loc. of=village
 ‘in the street of the village’ [PT:III]

Chapter 9

Quantifiers

9.1 Numerals

Most numerals in Awjila have an Arabic origin. We only have fragmental information on numerals, as Paradisi did not include Arabic loanwords in his word list. Therefore all attestations of numerals above ‘one’ are from the texts.

1	m. <i>iwín</i> , <i>iwinàn</i> , <i>iwínan</i> f. <i>iwát</i> , <i>iwatàn</i>
2	<i>itnén</i>
3	<i>təláta</i>
4	<i>àrbəfa</i>
7	<i>səbəfa</i>
9	<i>təsəfa</i>
90	<i>təsīn</i>
100	<i>məyət</i>
1000	<i>əlf</i>

àrbəfa, *səbəfa* and *təsəfa* all have an antepenultimate accent. This position is very rare in Awjila. It is very well possible that the *ə* in front of *f* is epenthetic in these forms.

A numeral is attached to the quantified noun by means of the preposition *n* ‘of’. Only the numeral ‘one’ agrees in gender with the quantified noun, all other numerals have a fixed form. With ‘one’, the masculine and the feminine have two variants each: Masculine *iwin*, *iwínan* and feminine *iwát*, *iwatàn*. There appears to be no difference in meaning between these forms. Both forms can also be used to mark a noun phrase as indefinite.

- (144) *Gan iwínan n=amədən ašàl n=awilən.*
there one:ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people
‘There once was a man in the village of Aujila’ [PT:II]
- (145) *w=iwin n=išf i-llùm aməzžin=n-əs*
and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:*pf. sons=of-3s
‘And one day he gathered his sons’ [PT:I]

- (146) *Bəʕədèn i-n=ìs iwìn n=amə̀dən:*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s one:sm of=man:
 ‘Then a man said to him.’ [PT:XIII]
- (147) *t-əllumà-m ká iman=nə-kìm a=tt-əqíma-m am=iwatàn*
 2pm-gather:*pf.-2pm neg. self=of-2pm fut.=2pm-remain:fut.-2pm like=one:sf
n=təyarit
 of=stick
 ‘(If) you do not gather yourself, you will remain like one stick.’ [PT:I]
- (148) *nək n-à=k=a s=àrbəʕa n=millim*
 I say:res.-1s=10.2sm=res. with=four of=milliem
 ‘I’ve told you for four milliemes’ [PT:III]

Some Arabic constructions have been taken over as such, and do not have the preposition *n* ‘of’.

- (149) *šbər-àt a=nn-a=kìm nək d=awil tlàta marràt*
 wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-1s=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three times
ila yom əlqiyàma:
 until.the.day.of.resurrection
 ‘Wait! I will say to you that I will be a person from Aujila three times until the day of resurrection.’ [PT:II]
- (150) *Žhà y-ətamə̀nna syar=rəbbi a=y-əfk=ìs əlf žni*
 Jha 3sm-wish:*pf. from=god fut.=3sm-give:fut.=10.3s 1,000 pound
 ‘Jha prayed God to give him 1,000 Pounds’ [PT:V]
- (151) *Bəʕədèn u=bəʕád sə̀bəʕa ayyam y-əʕədd mərràt (mərràtət) aqùt-ət*
 then and=after seven days 3sm-go:*pf. time another-sf
 ‘Then after seven days he went another time’ [PT:IV]

9.2 Cryptic numerals

Zanon (1932: 264) describes a cryptic counting system that avoids the use of the Arabic numerals in order to discuss numbers without outsiders understanding them. He does not cite the terminology in Berber, but only gives an Italian translation. He gives an overview:

- 1 finger
- 2 two fingers
- 5 complete hand
- 7 a hand and two fingers, or two hands minus three fingers
- 10 two hands
- 15 two hands and a foot
- 20 two hands and two feet

Similar cryptic numeral systems are found in other Berber languages such as Siwa (Laoust 1931: 107, Souag 2010: 185), Nefusa (Beguinot 1942: 127) and El-Foqaha (Paradisi 1963a: s.v. quattro, cinque, sei, sette, otto, nove, dieci).

9.3 *kkull* 'all, whole'

The word *kkull* 'all' functions as a general quantifier that marks the entirety of a group. It is placed after the noun phrase it modifies. There is some variation between *kkull* and *kull* in these forms.

- (152) *wènma slà-n=t mǐddən n=ašàl kùll, ušà-n=d*
 as.soon.as hear:*pf.-3pm=DO.3sm people of=village all come:*pf.-3pm=come
yǎlliy-ən a=mmudà-n kull dáffər-a
 want:*pf.-3pm fut.=pray:fut.-3pm all behind-3sm
 'As soon as all the people of the village heard it, they came and all wanted to pray behind him' [PT:II]

- (153) *mag ì-nni ənnùšš ən=təmùrt kkùll?*
 where 3sm-be(loc.):*pf. middle of=earth whole
 'Then he asked him and said: where is the middle of the whole earth?' [PT:VIII]

9.4 *kull* 'each'

The distributive quantifier *kull* 'each' marks each single instance of a group. It is always placed in front of the noun phrase it modifies.

- (154) *u=y-əfká kull iwìn təyarit.*
 and=3sm-give:pf. each one:sm stick
 'and (he) gave each one a stick.' [PT:I]
- (155) *u=i-tənn=ìs i=kùll amàdən*
 and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s dat.=each person
 'and (he started) saying to each person.' [PT:XIII]

9.5 *əggùt* ‘much, many’

The indefinite quantifier *əggùt* ‘much, many’ is only attested once in the texts. In this one example it precedes the noun it modifies.

- (156) *W=i-žigàž* *əggùt išfīwən*
 and=3sm-walk:impf. many days
 ‘And he would walk many days’ [PT:III]

Chapter 10

Syntax

10.1 The basic sentence

The basic verbal sentence in Awjila can encode three functions that are integrated into the verbal complex when expressed pronominally: subject, direct object and indirect object. The subject is always marked through PNG-marking, also when it is expressed lexically. Except in topicalization, the lexical subject follows the verb.

- (157) *I-təhəyyər əlʕələm*
3sm-be.confused:*pf. scholar
V S
'The scholar was confused' [PT:VIII]

The direct object is marked with a lexical direct object, which always follows the verb. The direct object may also be expressed pronominally by means of a direct object clitic.

Instances where a sentence has both a lexical subject and a lexical direct object and no topicalization are very rare, but we do find two sentences of this type in the corpus. They display different orders of the lexical subject and lexical direct object:

- (158) *Bəʕədèn y-əslá Žhà žlan=iya*
Then 3sm-hear:pf. Jha words=prox.:p
V S DO
'Then Juha heard these words' [PT:IV]

- (159) *Y-əxəmmám əlfəkr=ənn-əs sidi Háməd,*
3sm-think:pf. thought=of-3s sidi.Hamid
V DO S
'Sidi Hamid thought his thought,' [PT:II]

Much more commonly, either the subject or the direct object is expressed lexically, while the other is pronominalized.

- (160) *w=iwìn n=išf i-llùm aməzzìn=n-əs*
and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:P sons=of-3s
V DO
'And one day he gathered his sons' [PT:I]

- (161) *Bəʕadèn y-əsli=t* *əlħùdi aringi=nn-əs*
 Then 3sm-hear:*pf.=DO.3sm. Jew neighbour=of-3s
 V=DO S
 ‘Then the Jew, his neighbour, heard him’ [PT:V]

There is one case of a ditransitive verb which takes two lexical direct objects, namely *əfk* ‘to give’. In the one example of such a construction, the first direct object is the beneficiary, while the second direct object is the object given. When the beneficiary is pronominalized, it is pronominalized as an indirect object. Compare the following two examples:

- (162) *u=y-əfká kull* *iwìn təyarit.*
 ... and=3sm-give:pf. each one:sm stick
 ‘and (he) gave each one a stick.’ [PT:I]
- (163) *w=i-fk-ísin* *əlħəzmət n=təyariwìn*
 and=3sm-give:P-IO.3pm bundle of=sticks
 ‘and gave them a bundle of sticks’ [PT:I]

The verb *əssən* ‘to send, send out’ may also belong to the ditransitive verb type:

- (164) *Y-ušá=d* *Žhà màrra i-yàlli* *a=y-àssən* *akəllim=ənn-əs*
 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s
amakàn baʕid
 place be.far:3sm
 ‘One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.’ [PT:X]

The person to whom something is sent takes the indirect object pronoun clitics when pronominalized:

- (165) *i-ssən=dik=a*
 3sm-send:res.=IO.1s-res.
 ‘He has sent me’ [P: s.v. io]

The lexical indirect object is marked by the preposition *i*. When the indirect object is pronominalized, the indirect object clitic is appended to the verb. The lexical indirect object follows the lexical subject. There are no attestations of both a lexical direct object and a lexical indirect object in one sentence.

- (166) *I-n=ìs* *əlqàdi i=Žhà:*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s judge dat.=Jha
 V S IO
 ‘The judge said to Jha.’ [PT:V]

- (167) *Bəṣadèn y-əfki=t* *i=ddəlləl* *dax* *a=i-žiži=t*.
 then 3sm-give:*pf.=DO.3sm dat.=auctioneer in.order.to fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
 V=DO IO

'Then he gave it to the auctioneer in order to sell it.' [PT:IV]

- (168) *qàma a=nn-à=k* *ləḥkàyəṭ axir* *n=tà=nn-ək*.
 now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=IO.2sm story better of=PMPH=of-2sm
 V=IO DO

'Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!' [PT:IV]

The verb *an=is* 'to say' has obligatory pronominal indirect object marking (Paradisi 1960a: 164 s.v. *dire*). Even when there is no specific addressee in the sentence, the default 3sg. marker *-is* is always present. The obligatory pronominal indirect object marking also implies that, when a lexical indirect object is expressed, we also find the pronominal indirect object marking.

- (169) *w=ižigəž* *dzənqin=i* *n=ašəl* *u=nəttin iṣayát*
 and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.
w=iṭann=is: *ləmluxiyəṭ bəh(ə)y-ət*.
 and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf

'and he would walk in the street of the village and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!' [PT:III]

- (170) *ṣədd* *an=is=t* *i=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq*.
 go:imp. say:imp.=IO.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
 'Go and tell it to sisi Hamid Zarrouq.' [PT:II]

Double indirect object marking is found with one other verb, namely *mməḥ* 'to kiss'.

- (171) *mməḥ=is* *i=tiriwt*
 kiss:imp.=IO.3s. dat.=girl
 'Kiss the girl!' [P: s.v. *baciare*]

Prepositions with pronominal suffixes occur before and after the lexical direct object:

- (172) *gì-x* *dìt-i* *ksùm*
 put:*pf.-1s in.front-1s meat
 'I put the meat in front of me' [PT:II]
- (173) *Gan iwínan y-ərfiɿ=a* *af=təgili=nn-əs alḥəml zṣək*
 there one:ms 3sm-lift.up.res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
syàr=ləmluxiyəṭ
 from=mulukhiya
 'There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head'

- (174) *a=d-gà-t ká škàrət af=ažìt?*
 fut.=2s-put:fut.-2s neg. bag on=donkey?
 ‘will you not put the bag on the donkey?’ [PT:XII]

Prepositions with pronominal suffixes also occur before and after the lexical subject.

- (175) *U=t-axzár yàr-əs təmìgni*
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman
 ‘And a woman looked at him’ [PT:III]
- (176) *U=y-axzár nattìn yàr-əs*
 and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s
 ‘And he looked at her’ [PT:III]

10.2 Non-verbal sentences

10.2.1 Copular sentences

A copular sentence is expressed by a subject followed by the predicate which is marked by the predicative particle *d*.

- (177) *nək d=awíl*
 I pred.=Awjilan
 ‘I will be an Awjilan’ [PT:II]
- (178) *wàya d=wà n=màni?*
 this:ms pred.=PMPH:ms of=who
 ‘whose is that one?’ [P: s.v. quello]

Copular sentences are negated by placing the predicative particle *d* before the predicate and the negative marker *ká* after the predicate.

- (179) *wàya d=ažìt ká*
 this:sm pred.=donkey neg.
 ‘this is not a donkey’ [PT:VII]

10.2.2 Prepositional sentences

Prepositions may be used in non-verbal sentences. In such sentences, the predicate is only marked by the preposition:

- (180) *wàya sar=zzil*
 this:ms from=iron
 ‘This is of iron’ [P: s.v. di]
- (181) *nəttin məqqór am=nək*
 he be.big:3sm like=I
 ‘he is as big as me’ [P: s.v. come]

10.2.3 Locative sentences

Locative non-verbal sentences are expressed with the adverbial deictic *gan* ‘there’.

- (182) *Gan iwínan n=amədən ašàl n=awilən.*
 there one:ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people
 ‘There once was a man in the village of Aujila’ [PT:II]

10.2.4 Possessive sentences

Possession is expressed by means of a construction with the preposition *ar* ‘to, toward’ + pronominal suffix.

- (183) *Gan Abúdabr yàr-əs təmìgni*
 there Abu.Dabr to-3s wife
 ‘There once was (a man called) Abu-Dabr, he had a wife’ [PT:XV]

Possessive sentences may also be negated with the negative particle *ká*:

- (184) *yar-i ká.*
 to-1s neg.
 ‘I don’t have (anything).’ [PT:VI]

10.3 Yes/No-questions

Yes/no-questions are not marked segmentally. Therefore questions must be inferred from the context (or possibly intonation, about which we know nothing).

- (185) *rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a albəşirət u=ku t-yəlli-t*
 God 3sm-give:res.=10.1s=res. willingly and=you 2s-want.*pf.-2s
a=tt-uyà-t=tət syàr-i?
 fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3sf from=1s
 ‘God has given me this willingly and you want to take it from me?’ [PT:V]
- (186) *šəhìh žlan=ìya?*
 be.true:3m words-PROX:p
 ‘Are these words true?’ [PT:V]

10.4 Topicalization

In Berber, topicalized elements are usually placed in the left periphery of the sentence (Galand 2010: 311ff.). There is left-periphery placement in Awjila as well. The use of the left periphery seems to be limited to topicalized subjects only, but with the restricted data we have, this is very difficult to ascertain.

An example of topicalization can be found in an exchange in text II:

- (187) *Na-n=ìs:* *nakkəní n-ašummi=tì=ya* *u=n-či=tì=ya.*
 say:*pf.-3pm=IO.3s we 1p-cook:res.=DO.3sm=res. and=1p-eat:res.=DO.3sm=res.
 ‘They said to him: We’ve cooked it and eaten it.’ [PT:II]

To this, the main character replies:

- (188) *I-n=ìsìn:* *nək ʔəlamá* *fəkk-à=s* *aftw y-əlyám*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3pm I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=IO.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf.
a=y-əmm.
 fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
 ‘He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.’
 [PT:II]

In these two sentences, the pronoun is clearly placed to the left side to indicate emphasis: ‘As for *us*, we’ve cooked it and eaten it’; ‘As for *me*, no matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.’

The two sentences are examples of placement of a pronominal subject in the left periphery. Nominal subjects can also be placed there:

- (189) *rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a* *am alá ʔəlli-x.*
 God 3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. like rel. want:*pf.-1s
 ‘God has given like I wanted!’ [PT:V]

10.5 The usage of TAM-stems

There are five stem types that express different tense, aspect and moods.¹ This section describes the usage of these stems. Stative verbs are not attested with different TAM-stems. Unlike many other Berber languages, Awjila does not have a special negative perfective or negative imperfective forms.

Within the Berberological tradition, there exists great variation in the terminology used to denote the TAM-stems. The most commonly used terminologies are the ones used by Basset (1952) and Galand (1964). The system of TAM-stems in Awjila is different from other Berber languages; therefore some of the terminology used here only

¹For the formation of these stem types see section 4.3.

applies to Awjila and not to other languages. The English terminology used here, is an adaptation that Kossmann (2013b) uses for Ghadames.

	Kossmann	Basset	Galand
Imperative	Imperative	—	—
Perfective	Perfective	prétérit	accompli
Sequential			
Perfective	—	—	—
Resultative	—	—	—
Future	Future	—	—
Imperfective	Imperfective	aoriste intensif	inaccompli
—	Aorist	aoriste	aoriste
—	Negative Perfective	prétérit négatif	accompli négatif
—	Negative Imperfective	aoriste intensif négatif	inaccompli négatif

10.5.1 Imperative

The imperative is solely used to express commands and wishes. The stem corresponds to the aorist stem in other Berber languages. However, unlike the other Berber languages, it is only employed as an imperative. The imperative stem is morphologically clearly distinct from the future stem. The imperative has its own PNG-marking. The imperative usually has a lexical accent on the final syllable.

(190) *ʕədd an=is=t* *i=sidi Ḥəməd əz-Zarruq.*
 go:imp. say:imp.=IO.3S=DO.3SM dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
 ‘Go and tell it to sidi Hamid Zarrouq.’ [PT:II]

(191) *yax-ət arɣ-ət=tət.*
 take:imp.-pm break:imp.-pm=DO.3SF
 ‘Take and break it!’ [PT:I]

In prohibitives, the imperfective stem is used, with regular, non-imperative PNG-marking.

dvəddətt ká ‘do not stand up!’
tnəššit ká ‘do not sleep!’
tarit ká ‘do not open!’
tánit ká ‘do not enter!’
tašidda ká ‘do not come!’

There are two instances of a prohibitive with a perfective stem instead of the imperfective stem.

ur=tunìt 'do not enter!
tnàdd=ìs ká 'do not speak'

10.5.2 Perfective

The perfective stem expresses a punctual dynamic event in the past or a non-dynamic event with no reference to time. Morphologically, the perfective usually has an accent on the final syllable of the stem, which clearly distinguishes it from the future and the sequential perfective, which have a similar root shape but penultimate accent.

The phonological accent is replaced by default accent when PNG-marking and/or object clitics are placed behind the verb. In such cases the perfective is indistinguishable from the sequential perfective.

(192) *U=t-axzár* *yàr-às tàmìgni*
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman
 'And a woman looked at him' [PT:III]

(193) *U=y-axzár* *nattìn yàr-às w=i-gá* *alhamal=ànn-às dít* *n=tàmìgni*
 and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s in.front of=woman
 'And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman'

Non-dynamic verbs that have no reference to time are used in the perfective. The non-dynamic verbs that are only attested in the perfective are *iyàlli* 'to want' and *inni* 'to be, to exist'.

(194) *U=y-uyì=tət* *kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-yàlli*
 And=3sm-take:*pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:*pf.
a=i-rzì=tət, *y-azmər* *ká*
 fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:*pf. neg.
 'And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.' [PT:I]

(195) *mag i-nni* *annùşş an=tàmùrt kkùll?*
 where 3sm-be(loc.):*pf. middle of=earth whole
 'Then he asked him and said: where is the middle of the whole earth?' [PT:VIII]

There are two non-dynamic verbs that occur both with the perfective and the resultative. The two verbs that belong to this group, *azmár* 'to be able', *agál, gul* 'to see' fluctuate between the perfective and resultative with no discernable difference in meaning.

(196) *Bəḡədèn i-gùl* *iwínan*
 Then 3sm-see:*pf. one:sm
 'Then he saw someone' [PT:XI]

- (197) *la yar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk*
 no but see:res.=1S=DO.2SM=res. 2S-wear:res.-2S=res. robe like=PMPH:SM=of-1S
w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk
 and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1S
 ‘No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine.’ [PT:XI]
- (198) *u=zmər-x ká a=ʕəddà-x əf=ʕarin=n-úk*
 and=be.able:pf.-1S neg. fut.=go:fut.-1S on=legs=of-1S
 ‘and I am not able to go on my legs’ [PT:V]
- (199) *i-zmìr=a kull iwìn a=y-ərzi=tət bišwàš.*
 3SM-be.able:res.=res. each one:SM fut.=3SM-break:fut.=DO.3SF easily
 ‘Everybody is able to break it easily.’ [PT:I]

10.5.3 Sequential perfective

The sequential perfective is morphologically identical to the perfective, except for the place of the accent. Unlike the perfective, the sequential perfective does not have a phonological accent, cf. perfective *yəččá* with sequential perfective *yəčča*.² As the phonological accent is effaced when a perfective is followed by PNG-marking or object clitics, in many cases it is impossible to distinguish the two stem forms. In a similar vein, it is impossible to distinguish the two when a verb ends in |vc| or |əcc|, as these shapes automatically receive the accent.

Some care should be taken when evaluating the sequential perfective. As was shown in the discussion on the accent (see section 2.5), Paradisi has some striking mistakes in terms of accent, at least in his transcriptions of Zuara Berber. As we only have very few other sources on Awjila, and only one source that consistently marks accent, it is very difficult to determine how accurate Paradisi’s accent notations are. However, in general, the accent notations in Paradisi’s materials from Awjila are relatively consistent. The only place where we find vastly variable different notations is with the position of the accent in the perfective. This suggests that the vacillations in the accent are not due to transcription errors, but rather represent different forms. This is strengthened by the fact that default accentuation is only found in sequential contexts, indicating a correlation between accentuation and syntactic function.

Not all verb types distinguish the perfective from the sequential perfective. Only the *ccc*, *cc**, *vc** and *c̄** distinguish the sequential perfective from the regular perfec-

²The verb *yi=d*, (pf. *yušà=d*) ‘to come’ contains the ancient directional clitic =*d*. This particle is no longer productive. The suffix forms a |cvc| syllable in word-final position. Final accentuation is therefore the default position, while penultimate accentuation is lexical. The sequential perfective of this verb has a lexical accent on the penultimate syllable *yúšà=d* while the non-sequential perfective has a default accent on the final syllable *yušà=d*.

tive. All other verb types either have default accent, or a phonological accent in all stems.

The sequential perfective is used to mark a sequence of dynamic actions in the past, introduced by a perfective. There are several examples:

- (200) *u=ʃaddà-n yállìy-ən a=zrəd-ən əlxərbusʃ=ənn-əsìn u=bəʃadèn*
 and=go:*pf.-3pm want:*pf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then
t-ìva tafùt təbarùt=i u=yállìy-ən a=šəllhəm-ən afìw;
 3sf-fall:seq. sun road=loc. and=want:*pf.-3pm fut.=light:fut.-3pm fire
 ‘And they went and they wanted to eat (in) their garden and then the sun fell on the road and they wanted to light a fire.’ [PT:XV]

tìva would be *tivá* in the regular perfective

- (201) *Y-əxzár abbàs žibərət=ənn-əs y-ùfa gal lùda n=afìw.*
 3sm-search:pf. father-3s travelling.bag=of-3s 3sm-found:seq. there nothing of=fire
 ‘The father searched his travelling bag (but) found there was nothing for (lighting the) fire.’ [PT:XV]

yufá is the form of the non-sequential perfective.

- (202) *Šbaḥ šəmmà-n aməklìw u=t-ùna ar=tiriwìn=n-əs*
 tomorrow cook:*pf.-3pm meal and=3sf-enter:seq to=children=of-3s
u=y-úša=d àmza u=y-əčča aməklìw=ənn-əs
 and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s
 ‘The next day, they the cooked the meal and (the mother) entered (the cave with her) children and the ogre came and ate his meal’ [PT:XV]

The expected non-sequential perfectives in this sentence would be *tuná*, *yušà-d*, *yəččá*.

- (203) *u=y-əxbət=ʔ af=təgìli n=təmìgni u=t-ìva təmìgni t-əmmùt*
 and=3sm-hit:*pf.=DO.3sm on=head of=woman and=3sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die:*pf.
 ‘He did not answer her (with any) words, and then he lifted the scales that he had carried and he hit them on the head of the woman, and the woman fell and died and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.’ [PT:III]

The use of the sequential perfective does not seem to be obligatory, and there are clear instances of sequential actions where both verbs have the regular perfective forms:

- (204) *Y-ušá=d, y-uná nəttìn idd-əs amakan=n-əsìn*
 3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm
u=y-əmhəʔ=ʔət avət=idìn.
 and=3sm-make.love:*pf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s

'He came and entered their place with her and he made love to her that night.'
[PT:XV]

10.5.4 Resultative

The resultative is derived from the perfective. It is formed by appending =*a* after the verbal complex (=ya when the verbal complex ends in a vowel), that is, including the PNG-endings and direct and indirect object markers. If this =*a* is preceded by a syllable containing *a*, this *a* is changed to *i*.³

The formation is also found in Siwa. This phenomenon was discussed in Basset (1935), Brugnatelli (1985), Leguil (1986) and in Souag (2010: 389-392). Earlier accounts interpret it as a resultative formation, similar in function to the so-called intensive perfective in Tuareg. Souag however, suggests that the formation, at least in Siwa, cannot simply be explained as a resultative, but rather as a particle that expresses 'relevance'. This is based on the fact that in Siwa the particle can also be added to imperfective stems.

This interpretation does not seem to apply in Awjila, as the resultative clitic =*a* is never found with the imperfective.

The formation in Siwa is slightly different from that of Awjila. Siwa, too, adds an element =*a* to the end of the verbal complex, and the *a* in a preceding syllable is also changed to *i*, but *only* if this *a* would end up in an open syllable. Because of this, Louali & Philippson (2005: 17) propose that the *i* is the regular result of accented *a* in an open syllable. This analysis is not possible in Awjila for two reasons: 1. both accented and unaccented *a* can stand in open syllables, 2. in the resultative *a* is always changed to *i* in the preceding syllable, regardless of whether the preceding syllable is open or closed.

The resultative expresses that a dynamic event has been finished in the past, but that the resulting situation is relevant or obvious in the present. Several examples below illustrate the resultative:

(205) *u=y-əʕədd* *y-əlbib=a* *af=aziṭ=ənn-əs*.
and=3sm-go:pf. 3sm-climb:res.=res. on=donkey=of-3s
'and he went sitting on the donkey (i.e. having climbed it).' [PT:XII]

(206) *U y-əlbáb* *nəttin idd-əs ar=zùt*
and 3sm-climb:pf. he with-3s to=up
'And he climbed up with him' [PT:VI]

³There are a few verbs where the vowel in the syllable that precedes the *i* that comes from *a* in the resultative is also changed to *i*. This process is not well-understood, cf. imp.sg. *irəš* res.3pl.m. *irišina* 'to descend'; imp.sg. *ərwəl* res.3pl.m. *ərwilina* 'to flee'; res.3sg.m. *yəvrūra* res.3pl.m. *vririna* 'to be fertilized (palm)'; fut.3sg.m. *aittəžəṭ* res.3sg.m. *ittizita* 'to be ground, be milled'.

Another clear contrast between the resultative and the perfective is found in examples with the verb *arfaʃ* ‘to lift up’. The resultative meaning is ‘the result of lifting up’ i.e. ‘to carry’, cf.:

- (207) *Gan iwínan y-arfiʃ=a af=təgɨlɨ=nn-əs əlhəml zək*
 there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
syàr=ləmluxɨyət
 from=mulukhiya
 ‘There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head’
 [PT:III]

- (208) *Bəʃadèn y-arfaʃ Žhà təgɨlɨ=nn-əs ar=zùt i-gùl irìw*
 Then 3sm-lift.up:pf. Jha head=of-3s to=up 3sm-see:*pf. child
 ‘Then Jha lifted his head up’ [PT:XIII]

Another example of the resultative as opposed to the perfective meaning can be found in text X for the verb *arwəʃ* ‘to be afraid’.

- (209) *ləkən akəllim i-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən ká təbarùt*
 but servant 3sm-know:*pf. neg. place and=3sm-know:*pf. neg. way
u=y-ərwəʃ a=y-ùγər w=i-n=ìs i=Žhà:
 and=3sm-become.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut. and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=Jha:
rwìh-h=a a=uyər-x.
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=get.lost:fut.-1s
 ‘But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way and he became afraid to get lost, and he said to Jha: I am afraid of getting lost.’ [PT:X]

As mentioned in the description of the perfective (section 10.5.2), some non-dynamic verbs are found both in the perfective and the resultative. One non-dynamic verb is only attested in the resultative:

- (210) *təwwəg t-irəy=a*
 food 3sf-be.raw:res.=res.
 ‘the food is raw’ [P: s.v. crudo]

10.5.5 Future

In the majority of the Berber languages, non-realized and future events are expressed by means of the particle *ad*, mostly combined with the aorist stem. The aorist stem is also used for the imperative. In Awjila (as well as in some other eastern Berber languages, see Kossmann 2000), the stem that is used to express non-realized and future

events is clearly distinct from the imperative stem. Following Lanfry (1968), I have adopted the term ‘future’ to describe this TAM.

In most cases, the future stem is identical to the perfective stem. The main means to distinguish the future from the perfective is by the clitic *a=*, which is placed in front of the future stem after PNG-marking is applied. The future and perfective stems are formally different in the case of *cc** verbs, and in such cases they can be distinguished by more than just the clitic *a=*. Moreover, the accent is different in the perfective and future stems (but the same as sequential perfective!), although the difference is neutralized in many cases, due to phonological constraints on accent placement.

The future expresses that an event has not yet been realized (i.e. it either will take place in the future or not at all).

- (211) *akká, kammim am=tyariwin=iyak, àndu t-állumà-m iman=nə-kim*
 this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if 2p-gather:*pf.-m self=of-2pm
məśá bəśádkum a=tt-əqqíma-m am=təyariwin=iyak
 with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m like=sticks-prox.:p
 ‘look, you are like these sticks, if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.’ [PT:I]

The operator verbs *γəlli* ‘to want to ...’, *əlyám* ‘to refuse to ...’ and *ərwáf* ‘to be afraid to ...’ are followed by a clause that has a main verb with the future stem:

- (212) *U=y-uyì=tət kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-γəlli*
 And=3sm-take:*pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:*pf.
a=i-rzì=tət
 fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf
 ‘And each one of them took it and wanted to break it’ [PT:I]
- (213) *rwih-ħ=a a=i-ni=dik: kəm t-tàkər-t syàr-i.*
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.1s you 2s-steal:impf.-2s from-1s
 ‘I was afraid he would say to me: You are stealing from me!’ [PT:IV]
- (214) *y-əlyám a=y-əfki=tənət y=əlhùdi.*
 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-give:fut.=DO.3pf dat.-Jew
 ‘He refused to give them to the Jew.’ [PT:V]

The conjunction *dax* ‘in order to’ is followed by a future. It is discussed in more detail in section 10.7.5.4

10.5.6 Imperfective

The imperfective primarily expresses a habitual or progressive action. The imperfective may express actions in the past, present and future.

An example of the progressive meaning of the imperfective is:

- (215) *ku t-əqəlləz-t šəhiḥ*
 you 2s-lie:impf.-2s be.true:3sm
 'You truly are lying!' [PT:V]

The habitual meaning is clearly illustrated in the following sentence:

- (216) *w=ižigàž dzənqin=i n=ašəl u=nəttin iṣayāt*
 and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.
w=iṭann=is: ləmluxiyət bəh(ə)y-ət.
 and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf
 'and he would walk in the street of the village and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!' [PT:III]

Often, the imperfective follows an auxiliary verb. In the texts we most commonly find *qim* which usually means 'to stay, sit' but, when used as an auxiliary can be translated as an inchoative auxiliary to the following imperfective verb. The particle *ṣamma*⁴, which has no verbal morphology is also followed by the imperfective, and expresses a continuous action.

- (217) *u=tafūt t-əhmà=ya fəlli-s u=t-əqqim (t)-təttà afiš=ənn-əs*
 and=sun 3sf-burn:res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:*pf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3s
id=əlgəfā=nn-əs
 with=neck=of-3s
 'and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck' [PT:III]

- (218) *Y-ufi=tən ṣamma mudà-n lṣəṣər;*
 3sm-find:*pf.=DO.3pm prog. pray:impf.-3pm afternoon.prayer
 'He found them praying the afternoon prayer.' [PT:II]

10.6 Relative clauses and relative clause-like formations

Relative clauses, cleft sentences and question word sentences have similar constructions. One of the distinguishing features of relative clauses and relative clause-like constructions is the use of the so-called participle of the verb when the antecedent functions as the subject in the relative clause(-like) construction (see section 4.1.4).

10.6.1 Subject relative clauses

Subject relative clauses are introduced by a PMPH (see 6.3.1) that agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The verb of the relative clause takes the participle ending.

⁴cf. Arabic *ṣammāl* that also expresses progressive aspect in dialectal Arabic. Siwa also uses this auxiliary verb with the same function.

When the antecedent is non-human and incorporated into the relative pronoun, the relative pronoun *alá* is used (see section 6.3.2).

- (219) *amàdàn wa táràv-àn nàttìn řayyàn*
 man PMPH:ms write:impf.-ptc. he be.ill:3sm
 ‘The man who is writing, is ill.’ [P: s.v. che, il quale]
- (220) *tirìwt ta taglúla-n díla mri-yàt*
 girl PMPH:sf play:impf.-ptc. at.here be.beautiful-3sf
 ‘The girl who is playing here, is beautiful.’ [P: s.v. che, il quale]
- (221) *təmìgni ta ušà-n=d-a řàbàř d=wàrtna*
 woman PMPH:sf come:res.-ptc=come=res. yesterday pred.=sister
 ‘The woman who came yesterday is my sister.’ [P: s.v. che, il quale]
- (222) *u=bàřadèn y-axzár af=alřaməl=ànn-əs wa řžàk-àn dax*
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərřàř=t
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm
 ‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry’ [PT:III]
- (223) *i-řàrw=ís ləhùdi s=alá řarà-n=a.*
 3sm-tell:pf.=IO.3s Jew from=rel. happen:res.-ptc.=res.
 ‘The Jew told him about what had happened.’ [PT:V]

In the text corpus there is one case of a subject relative that has regular PNG-marking rather than the participle. This verb is followed by an indirect object pronoun. It may be that the participle form cannot receive pronominalized object clitics, and therefore the regular PNG-marking is used instead. Without more examples, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated.

- (224) *wa y-əřki=dik=a lřàlla a=y-əřki=dik iwínan;*
 PMPH:sm 3sm-give:res=IO.1s=res, much fut=3sm-give:fut.=IO.1s one:sm
 ‘He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).’ [PT:V]

10.6.2 Direct object relative clauses

A direct object relative clause is introduced by a PMPH which agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The clause takes a finite verb with PNG-marking that agrees with the subject. The verb sometimes has a resumptive direct object clitic.

Also in case of direct object relative clauses with a non-human incorporated antecedent, the relative pronoun *alá* is used.

- (225) *amàdàn wa ššìn-x=a šəbət̪ yàr-əs lùda*
 man PMPH:ms know:res.-1S=res. yesterday to-3S nothing
 ‘The man whom I got to know yesterday is poor (litt. has nothing)’ [PT: s.v. che, il quale]
- (226) *u=šəmmà-n ksùm wa y-ər̥f̥iʃ=a;*
 and=cook:*pf.-3pm meat PMPH:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res.
 ‘and they cooked the meat that he had carried.’ [PT:II]
- (227) *u=bəʃədèn y-ər̥f̥əʃ əlmizàn=n-əs wa y-əhməl=tì=ya*
 and=then 3sm-lift:pf. scales=of-3S PMPH:ms 3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res.
 ‘and then he lifted the scales that he had carried’ [PT:III]
- (228) *alá d-gì-t bàhi.*
 rel. 2S-do:*pf.-2S be.good:3sm
 ‘What(ever) you do is fine.’ [PT:XV]

10.6.3 Indirect object relative clauses

Paradisi’s materials do not contain examples of indirect object relative clauses.

10.6.4 Prepositional relative clauses

Prepositional relative clauses are introduced by a PMPH that agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The relative clause receives a preposition with a resumptive pronoun suffix or a locative adverb.

- (229) *w=i-n=ís y=əttàžər wa y-uyà=ya syàr-əs azìt:*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3S dat.=merchant PMPH:ms 3sm-take:res.=res. from-3S donkey
 ‘and said to the merchant whom he had taken the donkey from:’ [PT:VII]
- (230) *amkàn wa t-nàšša gan təmìgni*
 place PMPH:sm 3sf-sleep:impf. there woman
 ‘The place where that woman is sleeping.’ [PT: s.v. che, il quale]
- (231) *ssuwàni ta škì-x=a z=gan màšk-ət*
 garden PMPH:sf leave:res.-1S=res. from=there be.small-2sf
 ‘The garden that I left is small’ [PT: s.v. che, il quale]

10.6.5 Non-verbal relative clauses

There is one example of a non-verbal relative clause. This is formed with the locative adverb *gan* ‘there’.

- (232) *bəʕədèn gi-x addəmləʒ n=əddəhəb əlkəffət ta gàn əlmizàn;*
 then put:*pf.-1s bracelet of=gold plate PMPH:sf there scales
 ‘then I put a golden bracelet on the plate that was on the scales.’ [PT:IV]

10.6.6 Adjoined relative clauses

It is possible to form a subject relative clause, with no marking at all. A finite verb simply follows the head clause, without using a PMPH or participle form of the verb. Such unmarked constructions also exist in other Berber languages, and are discussed in more detail in Galand (2010: 173). This use is especially common with stative verbs, but there are also examples where it occurs with non-stative verbs.

- (233) *u=nəttin iʕayát w=itənn=is: əmluxiyət bəh(ə)y-at.*
 and=he 3sm-yell:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf
 ‘and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!’ [PT:III]
- (234) *wəya d=azit fəšūš, qəwi u=d=azit mri.*
 this:sm pred.=donkey be.agile:3sm, be.strong:3sm and=pred.=donkey be.good:3sm
 ‘This is an agile and strong donkey, and it is a good donkey’ [PT:IV]

One gets the impression from these examples that these constructions are used only with indefinite antecedents of the relative clause. This would also explain why Paradisi considers the stative verbs indefinite adjectives. In the corpus, all stative verbs used in this way refer to indefinite antecedents. However, for the non-stative verbs in this construction, the indefinite reading does not work. In the first example below the antecedent is indefinite. But later in the same text, we find exactly the same construction, where it is clearly referring back to the same dead camel. It is therefore impossible to read this construction as indefinite.

- (235) *u=bəʕədèn nəhìnət ufä-nət ələyəm y-əmmùt=a*
 and=then they(f) find:*pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res.
 ‘and then they found a dead camel’ [PT:XV]
- (236) *U=šəmmá-n=is sar=ələyəm y-əmmùt-a*
 and=cook:*pf.-3pm=10.3s from=camel 3sm-die:res.=res.
 ‘and they cooked for him from the dead camel’ [PT:XV]

We find one other example of an adjoined relative class with a non-stative verb:

- (237) *bəʕədèn y-ušà=d iwínan i-sàsa af=təfilli=nn-əs.*
 then 3sm-come:pf. one:sm 3sm-beg:impf. on=house-of-3s
 ‘Then someone came begging at his house.’ [PT:VI]

10.6.7 Cleft sentences

The formation of cleft sentences can be divided into two categories: Clefts with an incorporated antecedent and clefts without. All examples of clefts are listed below.

Clefts without an incorporated antecedent are formed like relative clauses. Subject clefts are formed by the antecedent followed by a PMPH followed by the participle.

- (238) *bàlak nàttìn wa nnìy-ən af=əlkətʃ=ànn-ək.*
 perhaps he PMPH:sm be(loc.):*pf.-ptc. on=shoulder=of-2sm
 ‘perhaps he is the one that is on your shoulder?’ [PT:XIII]

Once we find a cleft without an incorporated antecedent in the first person. It does not take the participle, but rather the first person singular form. As was the case of the subject relative in section 10.6.1, this verb is followed by an object clitic.

- (239) *nək wa əhdəʃ-x=tit=a i=kú*
 I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you
 ‘I am the one who has thrown it to you’ [PT:V]

The two attested clefts that have an incorporated antecedent, function similar to other clefts, except that they take the element *d-ələ* after the PMPH. In both cases, the incorporated antecedent is inanimate. This form can be analyzed as the predicative particle *d*, followed by the inanimate relative pronoun *ələ* which apparently has a slightly different phonetic shape after the predicate marker *d* (see also section 6.3.2).

- (240) *wa d=ələ ʃarà-n=a.*
 PMPH:sm pred.=rel. happen:res.-ptc=res.
 ‘that is what happened.’ [PT:II]

- (241) *Nək wa d=ələ slì-x=a sar=middən ləwwəl kəddim-ən*
 I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-1s=res. from=people formerly old:mp
 ‘This is what I heard from the old people once’ [PT:II]

10.6.8 Question word sentences

Question word sentences behave like relative clauses, except that they do not use the PMPH to serve as relative pronouns. Therefore, subject questions word sentences take the participle form of the verb, while direct object question word sentences take the finite form, e.g.

- (242) *máni ušá-n=d=a díla?*
 who come:res.-ptc.=come=res. at.here
 ‘who came here?’ [P: s.v. chi?]

- (243) *ddiwa d-gì-t=a?*
 what 2s-do:res.-2s=res.
 ‘what did you do?’ [PT:II]

The attested question words are:

<i>ddiwa, di</i>	‘what?’
<i>af-ìwa</i>	‘why?’
<i>mag</i>	‘where?’
<i>s-màg</i>	‘from where?’
<i>mag-wa</i>	‘which?’
<i>ammàgwa</i>	‘how much?’
<i>z-di, z-dìwa</i>	‘how much (money)?’
<i>mmìn, mmèn</i>	‘when?’
<i>màni</i>	‘who?’

- (244) *mag ì-nni annùşş an=təmùrt kkùll?*
 where 3sm-be(loc.):*pf. middle of=earth whole
 ‘Where is the middle of the whole earth?’ [PT:VIII]
- (245) *màg annìy-ən ləhil=ənn-ək.*
 where exist:*pf.-3pm family=of-2sm
 ‘Where is your family?’ [PT:XV]
- (246) *mmìn t-uşì-d=d=a dila?*
 when 2s-come:res.-2s=come=res. at.here
 ‘when did you arrive here?’ [P: s.v. quando]
- (247) *afìwa t-nə-d=dik ká (or: ur=t-nə-d=dik) žlan=ìya*
 why 2s-say:*pf.-2s=IO.1s neg. neg.=2s-say:*pf.-2s=IO.1s words-prox.:p
 ‘Why did you not tell me these words?’ [PT:VI]
- (248) *am=màgwa əlʕàdəd nə=nžùm?*
 like=what:sm number of=stars
 ‘How much is the number of stars?’ [PT:VIII]

The question word *ddiwa* ‘what?’ and *mag* ‘where?’ can be combined with prepositions to form prepositional questions:

- (249) *af=dìwa ət-xəmmàm-t?*
 on=what 2s-think:impf.-2s
 ‘what are you thinking of?’ [P: s.v. che cosa?]
- (250) *s=màg t-uşì-d=d=a Abudàbr.*
 from=where 2s-come:*pf.-2s=come=res. Abu.Dabr
 ‘The ogre said to him: Where did you come from Abu-dabr?’ [PT:XV]

10.6.8.1 *mag-wa* ‘which? what?’

There is an interrogative ‘which? what?’ which agrees in gender and number with the noun it modifies. There are no examples of this question word in the texts or word list. Historically, it seems to consist of the question word *mag* ‘where?’ followed by a PMPH.

	sg.	pl.
m.	màg-wa	màg-wi
f.	màk-ta	màk-ti

While Paradisi provides the full paradigm of this interrogative, he does not provide any examples of its use, nor are there any attestations in the texts.

A specialized use of the interrogative *màg-wa* is found when it is combined with the preposition *am* ‘like’. This sequence *am=màg-wa* has the meaning: ‘how much? how many?’.

	sg.	pl.
m.	am=màg-wa	am=màg-wi
f.	am=màk-ta	am=màk-ti

Paradisi provides a full paradigm of this interrogative. Presumably, it agrees in gender and number with the noun that it refers to. The corpus provides us with two examples of this use of *am=màg-wa*, both in the masculine singular, agreeing with the predicate of the masculine singular word *əlʕə̀dəd* ‘number’ :

- (251) *am=màgwa əlʕə̀dəd nə=nžùm?*
 like=what:sm number of=stars
 ‘How much is the number of stars?’ [PT:VIII]
- (252) *am=màgwa əlʕə̀dəd n=ažə̀vu n=tamirt=ənn-ùk.*
 like=what:sm number of=hairs of=beard=of-is
 ‘How much is the number of hairs of my beard?’ [PT:VIII]

10.7 Clause linking

10.7.1 Coordination

10.7.1.1 Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrase coordination is achieved by placing the commitative preposition *id* ‘with, and’ between the two coordinated phrases.

- (253) *a=fk-à=k aziṭ id=talàba yar ʕədd idd-i ar=əlqàdi.*
 fut.=give:fut.-1s=10.2sm donkey with=gown but go:imp. with-1s to=judge
 ‘I will give you a donkey and a gown, but you have to go with me to the judge.’
 [PT:V]
- (254) *Undú uši-γ=d ká, a=n-mhàsəb nək idd-əs yom əlqiyàma.*
 if come:pf.-1s neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection
 ‘If I do not come, we —him (who suffers) and me— will settle the score at the
 day of resurrection.’ [PT:II]

10.7.1.2 Clausal coordination

Clauses can be coordinated with the particle *u*⁵ which has an allomorph *w* in front of vowels. This form of clause coordination is very common, and on this point Awjila differs radically from other Berber languages, that usually do not have a marking for clausal coordination (Kossmann 2013a: 339ff.).

- (255) *Màrra y-uyà=ya ksùm u=y-ušà=d y-axṭim=a*
 once 3sm-take:res.=res. meat and=3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-pass.by:res.=res.
af=ammùd n=sidi Hāməd əz-Zarrùq.
 on=mosque of-sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
 ‘One day, he had gotten meat and he passed by the mosque of Sidi Hamid
 Zarrouq’ [PT:II]

When there is a sequence of actions marked by a sequential perfective, the coordinator *u*, *w* is sometimes absent.

- (256) *u=t-iva təmìgni t-əmmùt u=y-əqqim y-əvdid=a*
 and=3sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die:pf. and=3sm-stay:pf. 3sm-stand:res.=res.
agur=ənn-əs ir=a=y-ùš əlbulis.
 besides=of-3s until fut.=3sm-come:fut. police
 ‘and the woman fell and died and he stayed and stood beside her until the po-
 lice would come.’ [PT:III]

The coordinator *nay* ‘or’ is placed between the two coordinated phrases.

- (257) *y-əʕžəb=kù=ya nay y-əʕžəb=kù=ya ká?*
 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. or 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. neg.
 ‘does it please you or doesn’t it please you?’ [PT:III]

⁵From Arabic *wa* ‘and’.

- (258) *wəllàhi qàma a=hdəf-à=s tàs(ə)ʕa məyət id=tàs(ə)ʕa u=təsʕin*
 by.God now fut.=throw:fut.-1S=IO.3S nine hundred with=nine and=ninety
žni w=a=ggulà-x=t a=y-uyí=tənət naɣ wəla.
 pound and=fut.=see:fut-1S=DO.3SM fut=3SM-take:fut.=DO.3PF or not.
 ‘By God, now I will throw to him 999 pounds and see if he will take it or not.’
 [PT:III]

10.7.2 Adversative conjunctions

There are two adversative conjunctions: *ləkən* ‘but’ and *ɣar* ‘but’. Due to the paucity of attestations, it is not possible to determine a difference in meaning.

- (259) *ləkən akəllim i-ššan ká amakən w=i-ššan ká təbarùt*
 but servant 3SM-know:*PF. neg. place and=3SM-know:*PF. neg. way
 ‘But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way’ [PT:X]
- (260) *ləkən y-əlyəm a=i-gì=tət af=azìt*
 but 3SM-refuse:seq. fut.=3SM-put:fut.=DO.3SF on=donkey
 ‘But he did not want to put it on the donkey’ [PT:XII]

There is one instance of *ləkən* in the text where the adversative meaning is not particularly pronounced:

- (261) *u=bəʕədèn y-axzár af=alḥəməl=ənn-əs wa zək-ən dax*
 and=then 3SM-look:PF. on=load=of-3S PMPH:MS be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərʕəʕ=t ləkən y-əkri y-əvdəd u=bəʕədèn
 fut.=3SM-lift:fut.=DO.3SM but 3SM-return:*PF. 3SM-stop:seq. and=then
y-əmmùdd afus=ənn-əs y-əddùgg af=əlbàb
 3SM-extend:*PF. hand=of-3S 3SM-knock:*PF. on=door
 ‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry, so he turned around and stopped and then he extended his hand and knocked on the door.’ [PT:III]
- (262) *a=ʕk-à=k azìt id=tələba ɣar ʕədd idd-i ar=əlqàdi.*
 fut.=give:fut.-1S=IO.2SM donkey with=gown but go:imp. with-1S to=judge
 ‘I will give you a donkey and a gown, but you have to go with me to the judge.’
 [PT:V]
- (263) *la ɣar guli-x=kù=yə t-udin-t=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk*
 no but see:res.=1S=DO.2SM=res. 2S-wear:res.-2S=res. robe like=PMPH:SM=of-1S
w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk
 and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1S
 ‘No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!’ [PT:XI]

10.7.3 Complementation

There is only one example of a complementizer in the texts, the Arabic particle *ʔann-ək* which combines with the verb *əhsəb* ‘to think’.

- (264) *əhsəb-x=kù=ya ʔann-ək ku d=nək.*
 think.res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmlpr.2sm you pred.=I
 ‘(so) I figured that you are me!’ [PT:XI]

Other forms of complementation are introduced without any marker, for example:

- (265) *la ɣar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk*
 no but see.res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear.res.-2s=res. robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s
w=əlɣəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk
 and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s
 ‘No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!’ [PT:XI]

10.7.4 Comparison

In comparisons, noun phrases are introduced with the preposition *am* ‘like’, verb phrases are introduced by *am* followed by the relative pronoun *alá*.

- (266) *U=ga-n=ìs am=tàtən.*
 and=do:P-3pm=10.3s like=other:sf
 ‘And they did to her like (they did to) the other.’ [PT:XV]
- (267) *nəttìn məqqár am=nək*
 he be.big:3sm like=I
 ‘he is as big as me’ [P: s.v. come]
- (268) *i-g=ìs am=alá i-gà=ya y=umà-s*
 3sm-do:pf.=10.3s like=rel. 3sm-do.res.=res. dat.=brother-3s
 ‘he did to him like he had done to his brother’ [P: s.v. come]

10.7.4.1 The comparative *axir* ‘better’

There is only one example of a dedicated comparative in Awjila, namely, *axir* ‘better’. There are only three examples of this word in the corpus, and all three of them have quite different construction. From the sparse data we can draw the following tentative conclusions:

The basic comparative sentence has a similar structure to other Berber languages (cf. Souag 2010: 157ff.), where the nominal complement is marked with the genitive particle *n*.

- (269) *qàma a=nn-à=k ləḥkàyəṭ axìr n=tà=nn-ək.*
 now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=10.2sm story better of=PMPH=of-2sm
 ‘Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!’ [PT:IV]

When the complement of *axìr* is verbal, no particle is placed in between *axìr* and the complement.

- (270) *a=unà-x s=ədbuš=ənn-ùk axìr a=ukər-ən=tən qəṭṭáṣan.*
 fut.=enter:fut.-1s with=clothes=of-1s better fut.=steal:fut.-3pm=DO.3sm thieves
 ‘it would be better if I would enter with my clothes than if they would be stolen by thieves.’ [PT:IX]

The word *axìr* is found in one other construction, where it is followed directly by the Arabic preposition + pronominal suffix *l-ək*.

- (271) *amùr d-žìžì-t s=alùwəl axèr lək ká?*
 if 2s-sell:*pf.-2s from=before better to.you neg.
 ‘Would it not have been better if you had sold (it) to me earlier?’ [PT:III]

10.7.5 Subordination

10.7.5.1 Conditionals

There are several words that introduce conditional clauses: *əndu*, *undú* ‘if’, *lukàn* ‘if’ and *amúr* ‘if’.

əndun undú ‘if’ is used with hypothetical conditional clauses.

- (272) *əndu t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kim məṣá bəṣáḍkum a=tt-əqqíma-m*
 if 2p-gather:*pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
am=təyariwin=iyək
 like=sticks-prox.:p
 ‘if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.’ [PT:I]
- (273) *Undú uši-γ=d ká, a=n-mḥàsəb nək idd-əs yom əlqiyàma.*
 if come:*pf.-1s neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection
 ‘If I do not come, we —him (who suffers) and me— will settle the score at the day of resurrection.’ [PT:II]

There is only one textual attestation of *amúr*, where it functions as counterfactual conditional.

- (274) *amùr d-žìžì-t s=alùwəl axèr lək ká?*
 if 2s-sell:*pf.-2s from=before better to.you neg.
 ‘Would it not have been better if you had sold (it) to me earlier?’ [PT:III]

There is one example of *lukàn* in the texts. Like *amúr*, it functions as a counterfactual conditional.

- (275) *nək lukàn wa* (or: *wàsa*) *a=mmudà-n dǎffər-i*
 I if PMPH:SM rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1S
a=i-ččì=t afiw, məʕəðdč a=mmudə-x s=ħiddan.
 fut.=3SM-eat:fut.=DO.3SM fire, no.longer fut.=pray:fut.-1S with=anyone
 'If those who pray behind me would be eaten by fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.' [PT:II]

10.7.5.2 Temporal conjunctions

The main temporal conjunction is probably *mməg* 'when', but it is not attested in the texts. There is only a fragmentary example in Paradisi's word list:

- (276) *mməg a=tt-uná-t ammúd=i*
 when fut.=2S-enter:fut.-2S mosque=loc.
 'when you will enter the mosque' [P: s.v. quando]

Posteriority is expressed with *bəʕəd* 'after, when', while *wén-ma* expresses 'as soon as, since'. Both *bəʕəd* and *wén-ma* are attested in the same sentence in text II:

- (277) *bəʕəd uši-γ=d unì-x ammúd=i, ufi-x=tən ʕamma*
 after go:*pf.-1S enter:*pf.-1S mosque=loc. find:*pf.-1S=DO.3PM prog.
mudà-n, gì-x dīt-i ksùm u=qqimì-x mudì-x, wènma
 pray:impf.-3PM put:*pf.-1S in.front-1S meat and=stay:*pf.-1S pray:impf.-1S as.soon.as
kəmməl-x ʕaddì-x;
 finish:*pf.-1S go:*pf.-1S
 'After I went and entered the mosque, I found them praying, I put the meat in front of me and started praying, as soon as I finished, I went (away);' [PT:II]

The temporal conjunction of posteriority *zgi* 'after' is not attested in the texts. Paradisi gives two examples in his word list:

- (278) *zgi a=kəmməl-x*
 after fut.=finish:fut.-1S
 'after I will have finished' [P: s.v. dopo]
- (279) *zgi y-ùna*
 after 3SM-enter:seq.
 'after he entered' [P: s.v. dopo]

ir 'until' is used as a preposition, but also occurs as a conjunction. The latter use is illustrated below.

(280) *U=škìy-ən idd-əs ir=a=hlàb-ən ašàl*
 and=leave:P-3pm with-3s until=fut.=surpass:fut.-3pm village
 ‘And they left with him until they were about to leave the village’

(281) *u=nàttìn i-ddəhwàr ir=i-ṭùg Žhà.*
 and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:*pf. Jha
 ‘and he continued to go around until he met Jha.’ [PT:VIII]

10.7.5.3 Cause

Causal subordinate clauses are introduced with *skàmma*, *sàmma* ‘because’. This is only attested once in the texts.

(282) *U=nàttìn i-xəṭṭàm af=middən u=middən səllàm-ən fəlli-s*
 and=he 3sm-meet.with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s
skàmma məktar n=middən ššən-ən=tì=ya.
 because many of=people know:res.-3pm=DO.3sm=res.
 ‘And he would meet people and they would greet him because many of the people knew him.’ [PT:XI]

10.7.5.4 Finality

Finality is expressed with the particle *dax* ‘in order to, so that’. This is followed by a verb with the future stem.

(283) *Bəṣadèn y-əfki=t i=ddəllàl dax a=i-žizì=t.*
 then 3sm-give:*pf.=DO.3sm dat.=auctioneer in.order.to fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
 ‘Then he gave it to the auctioneer in order to sell it.’ [PT:IV]

(284) *nək wa əhdəf-x=tì=a i=kú dax a=ggulà-x=ku*
 I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you in.order.to fut=see:fut.-1s=DO.2sm
a=t-tuyə-(t)=tənət ənqəš-nìt=a nəy wàla.
 fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3pf lack:res.-3pf=res. or not
 ‘I am the one who has thrown it to you in order to see if you would take them missing (one pound) or not.’ [PT:V]

(285) *u=bəṣadèn y-axzár af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs wa zžàk-ən dax*
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərǧəṣ=t
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm b
 ‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry’ [PT:III]

Zanon’s Song 12 also has this particle *dax* ‘in order to, so that’, but in this text, it is not followed by a future but by a perfective.

- (286) *ənṭər fəll-ək tita ən=tikwàyt dax t-ərfâṣ-t attəšwàyt*
 abandon:imp. on-2sm hitting of=ball in.order.to 2s-raise:*pf.-2s couscous
 'Abandon (to you) the playing (litt. hitting) of the ball; So that you may raise
 (the lid off) the couscous!'

Part II

Appendices

Appendix A

Müller's material

Much of Müller's material, as illustrated in the introduction of this book is of very bad quality. Whenever Müller has a word which is attested in Paradisi, or has very clear Berber cognates it has been included into the word list.

The vast majority of the remaining words appear to be Arabic words, which Müller collected from an Arab-speaking informant. Some of the words may be loanwords in Awjila.

For nouns it is often possible to determine that the words presented are Arabic, rather than Arabic loanwords in Awjila. As has been discussed in section 3.3, Arabic nouns are almost always loaned with the Arabic definite article attached, and feminine nouns usually have the suffix *-at* where Arabic has *-a*. Whenever Müller presents a word that lacks the definite article, or has *-a*, we are almost certainly dealing with a word that comes directly from Arabic, rather than through Awjila. These words need not be included in the present material. Some examples of words that are almost certainly Arabic, rather than loanwords are:

- bolghah* بلغه (sub: soulier), cf. Ar. *bulġa(t)* 'slipper of yellow leather'
- boum* بوم (sub: hibou), cf. Ar. *būm* 'owl'
- hasir* حصير (sub: natte), cf. Ar. *ḥašīr* 'mat'
- louh* لوح (sub: planche), cf. Ar. *lauḥ* 'board, plank'
- michmech* مشمش (sub: abricot), cf. Ar. *mišmiš* 'apricot'

Other times, we find words that are suspect, because they have *g* for Ar. *q*. The vast majority of the attested loanwords in Awjila have *q* for Ar. *q*. But in Müller's material Ar. *q* is usually represented as *g*. But Libyan Arabic though has *g* for Ar. *q*. It is therefore more likely that these words are Libyan Arabic rather than Awjila, e.g.:

- guird* قرد (sub: singe), cf. Ar. *qird* 'monkey'
- garaz* قرص (sub: piquer), cf. Ar. *qaraṣa* 'to bite, sting'
- gasem* قسم (sub: partager), cf. Ar. *qasama* 'to divide'
- magsoum* مقسوم (sub: peigné), cf. Ar. *maqṣūm* 'divided'
- rghig* رقيق (sub: menu), cf. Ar. *raqīq* 'thin; slender, slim'

Although the vast majority of the forms not discussed in the word list are clearly of Arabic origin, other words remain which look as if they have Berber morphology, but cannot be connected to a Berber cognate in other berber languages.

Some other words which have not been included are words that have Berber feminine noun morphology, but have an Arabic origin. It is likely that these are genuine Awjila loanwords, as we would not understand how Arabic acquired the Berber morphology in these nouns. It is not surprising that these words are not attested in Paradisi's material, as he specifically filtered Arabic loanwords from his word list as much as possible. The few words that belong to this group of likely real Awjila loanwords are:

tagasibat تقصبة (sub: roseau), cf. Ar. *qašaba(t)* 'reed'
tahallaqat تحلقت (sub: rond), cf. Ar. *ḥalqa(t)* 'ring, link; cirlice'
tekhimet تخيمة (sub: tente), cf. Ar. *ḥayma(t)* 'tent'
tékhandjiart تخنجرت (sub: couteau), cf. Ar. *ḥanžar* 'dagger'

Besides clear feminine derivations of Arabic nouns, we also find a few nouns that have Berber feminine noun morphology that do not have any obvious connection with other Berber languages. Nevertheless, this Berber morphology betrays that they are likely real Awjila words.

tahadit تحاديت (s.v.: echelle)
tharned طرنند (s.v.: hirondelle)
thazerdaght طزردغت (s.v.: chat)
talqomt تعلقمت (s.v.: salive)
tétoutah تطوطه (s.v.: femme), perhaps Pan-Berber *tamaṭṭutt* 'woman' >
tamṭutt > *tənṭutt* > *tiṭuṭ?*

A large amount of the verbs that Müller lists cannot be clearly distinguished as Berber verbs, and may just as well be Arabic words. In some cases this can be, more or less, confirmed because he provides a morphologically sound passive participle with the verb. There is no evidence at all that Awjila used these forms. Müller creates many artificial passive participles in his word list by using an *m-* prefix, but does not change the morphology of those words in any other way, forming an incorrect passive participle, even if the word is an Arabic loanword. This confirms that Müller did not know enough about Arabic morphology to make such forms. Whenever Müller's word list contains a correct passive participle, it is certainly something he elicited. Some examples of verbs that cannot be identified specifically as Awjila or Arabic, and verbs that can be confirmed to be Arabic are listed below.

berred برّد (s.v.: réfrigédir), cf. Ar. *barrada* 'to cool, chill'
hakk حكّ (s.v.: racler; ratisser), cf. Ar. *ḥakka* 'to rub, scrape'
gagem قسم (s.v.: partager), *magsoum* مقسوم (s.v.: peigné) cf. Ar. *qasama*, *maqsum* 'to divide'
haraq حرق (s.v.: brûler), *mahrouq* محروق (s.v.: brûlé), cf. Ar. *ḥaraqqa*, *mahrūq* 'to burn'

khalath خلط (s.v.: mêler), *makhlouth* مخلوط (s.v.: mêlé), cf. Ar. *ḥalaṭa*, *mahlūt* 'to mix'
retteb رطب (s.v.: adoucir; amollir), cf. Ar. *raṭṭaba* 'to moisten; to cool; to soothe'

Some verbs in Müller's list are obviously of Arabic origin, but have remnants of Awjila morphology, such as the resultative =a clitic, or object pronoun clitics. Müller clipped these words incorrectly, which results in several curious forms which cannot be analyzed morphologically. Such verbs have not been included in the main word list, but are probably genuine loanwords from Arabic in Awjila.

In case of resultative formations some care needs to be taken. From the many artificial passive participle forms that we find, we can deduce that Müller created some verb forms himself, rather than eliciting them from informants. Perhaps he interpreted the resultative formation as a form of making an infinitive, in which case such forms may be completely artificial. Examples are listed below.

fehmes فهمس (s.v.: comprendre), cf. Ar. *fahima* 'to understand' with the IO 3sg pronoun *-is*.

amartet امرتت (s.v.: finir) *tamartet* تامرتت (s.v.: fini), cf. Ar. *ṣamura* 'to thrive, prosper' with the DO 3sg.m. pronoun *-tət*

semmas سمّاس (s.v.: nommer) *mesemmas* مسمّاس (s.v.: nomme), cf. Ar. *sammā* 'to name' with the IO 3sg pronoun *-is*.

yédabah يدبه (s.v.: fondre), *médabah* مدبه (s.v.: fondu), cf. Ar. *dāba* 'to melt', probably a resultative.

yéghléthah يغلط (s.v.: abuser (s'), se tromper), cf. Ar. *ḡaliṭa* 'to make a mistake; to be mistaken'

yéghabah يغابه (s.v.: absenter) *aghab* اغاب (s.v.: absence), cf. Ar. *ḡāba* 'to be absent'

A few verbs morphologically look like resultatives, but do not appear to come from Arabic, but also lack any connection with other Berber languages. As Awjila has many words without an obvious Berber origin, these words may be actual Awjila words. It is difficult to imagine a scenario where completely non-existent words entered Müller's material. A large amount of the verbs, both of Arabic and unknown origin, that appear to be resultatives in Müller's material have already been identified by Basset (1935). Basset's meticulous study of the sparse materials of both Siwa and Awjila Berber at the time, perfectly show that these two languages share the resultative formation.

yedella يدلا (s.v.: approcher)

yéfella يفلا (s.v.: las (être))

yougheya يوغيه (s.v.: aider)

yekmiya يخميه (s.v.: pourri), *ekhmiya* اخميه (s.v.: pourriture)

yakareina ياكرينا (s.v.: carré)

attébaya اتبايه (s.v.: unir), *mettebaya* متبايه (s.v.: uni)

Appendix B

Beguinoť's & Paradisi's transcriptions

Beguinoť	Paradisi
gĭdeven [B24]	gĭdeven wolves, jackals
tnebrĕť [B21]	tenĕbret needle
Āgareš [B21]	aġareš to slaughter

Table B.1: Words with a different accent in Beguinoť

Beguinoť	Paradisi
agĭdev, egĭdev [B24]	agĭdev wolf, jackal
ežefŭ, eževŭ, eġevŭ [B21;B24]	aževŭ, ažĕvŭ hair

Table B.2: Words with a variable accent in Paradisi or Beguinoť

Beguinoť	Paradisi
ġaš [B21]	aġaš to love
kereš [B21]	keréš, ěkréš to tie, knot
keš [B21]	ěkkéš, kkéš to take off, remove
teništ [B21]	tĕništ key
ereš [B21]	íreš, ěreš to descend
šugg	šugg to wait
šen [B21]	ššen to know
štĀf [B21]	štĕf, štĀf black
šu [B21]	šu to drink

Table B.3: Words that lack accent in Beguinoť or Paradisi

Beguिनot	Paradisi	
tedûšt [B21]	tedûšt	belly
afúdd [B21]	afûd, afúdd	knee
tegîli [B21]	tgîli, tēgîli, tēgîli	head
tegîliwîn [B21]	tgîliwîn	heads
tagirîšt [B21], tigrîšt [B21;B25]	tegerîšt	winter
âgêf, âgêv [B24]	âgêv, âgf, âgf	milk
ettiwîn [B21]	tîwîn	eyes
tekdîrt [B21]	tēkedîrt	ear (bot.)
tkenzîrt, tkinzîrt [B21]	tkenzîrt	nose
tkerrišt [B21]	tkerrišt	knot
timzîn, temezîn [B21]	timzîn, temzîn	barley
imîn [B21]	imîn	water
terekéft [B21]	terekéft	caravan
uréfġ [B21;B24]	uréfġ	to write, pf.1sg.
yurév [B21;B24]	yurév	to write, pf.3sg.m.
arrâf, arrâv [B21;B24]	arrâv	writing
irû [B21]	irû	boy, child
tereggît [B25]	tēreggît	ember
tisî [B21]	tîsî	egg
tsunût, tsenût	tsunût, tsenût	thick needle
tsenûtîn	tsenûtîn, tsenûtîn	needle
šġîren [B21]	šġîren, šġîren	firewood
tašûmt [B21]	tašûmt	pillow
šwâša [B21]	ašuwâša	this year
âšfa [B24]	âšfa	today
vîu [B21]	vîu, vvîu	bean
vîwen, evîwen [B21]	ëvvîwën	beans
yevdîda [B24]	yevdîda	to stand, res.3sg.m.
tevéł, tvel [B24]	tevéł	sheep
tvitîn, dvittîn [B24]	dvittîn	sheep (pl.)
evrûn, vrûn [B24]	vrûn, ävrûn	flour
zîwen [B21]	zzîwen	breasts
azamâk [B21]	ažamâk	sewing
tižîri [B21]	težîri	small rope
zîu [B21]	zzâi	breast

Table B.4: Words with identical accent in Paradisi and Beguinot

Appendix C

Texts

C.1 Texts from Paradisi

C.1.1 Text I

C.1.1.1 Original transcription

Márra gān amédēn amoqqārān u qārīb ayemmūt w-iwīn n iṣf illūm amez-
zīnnes w-ifkīsīn elhāzmet n tēgarīwīn w-inīsīn: yaḥāt arzāttet. U yuḡītēt
kull iwīnān s-ḡarsīn igēlli āirzītēt, yezmeṛ-ká, baʿadēn yuḡītēt ṣṣāref u yuf-
fukkītēt u yefká kull iwīn tāḡarīt. Baʿadēn kull iwīn yuḡā tāḡarīt u yerzītēt
fisa fisa. Baʿadēn inīsīn: akká, kemmīm am tḡarīwīn-īyek, úndu tellūmām
(anche: tellummām) imannekīm maʿá baʿádkum attēqqīmām am tēgarī-
wīn-īyāk, úndu tellūmām-ká imannekīm attēqīmām am iwatān n tēgarīt
izmīra köll-iwīn ayerzītēt biṣwāš. U inīsīn: lllummāt imannekīm, āissaʿad-
kīm řábbi.

C.1.1.2 Phonemic transcription

Márra gan amədən aməqqərən u=qərīb a=yəmmūt w=iwīn n=iṣf illūm
aməz̄z̄i=nnəs w=ifk=isin əlhəzmət n=təyarīwīn w=in=isin: yaxət arzāt=tət.
U=yuyi=tət kull iwīnān s̄yar=sin iyəlli a=irz̄i=tət, yəzmər ká, bəʿədən yuyi
=tət ṣṣārəf u=yufukk̄i=tət u=yəfká kull iwīn təyarīt. Bəʿədən kull iwīn
yuyá təyarīt u=yərz̄i=tət fisa fisa. Bəʿədən in=isin: akká, kəmmīm am=t̄ya-
riwīn=iyək, əndu¹ təllumām (or: təllumàm) iman=nəkīm məʿá bəʿəd̄
=kum a=ttəqqīmam am=təyarīwīn=iyək, təllumàm ká iman=nəkīm a=ttə-
qīmam am=iwatān n=təyarīt izmīra kull iwīn a=yərz̄i=tət biṣwāš. U=ini
=sin: lllummāt iman=nəkīm, a=issəʿəd=kīm řəbbi.

C.1.1.3 Glossed translation

(287) *Márra gan amədən aməqqərən u=qərīb a=yəmmūt*

Once there man big:sm and be.near:3sm F-3sm-die:F

‘There once was an old (litt. big) man who was about to die.’

¹Perhaps *úndu*

- (288) *w=iwìn n=išf i-llùm aməzzìn=n-əs w=i-fk=ísin*
 and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:*pf. sons=of-3s and=3sm-give:*pf.=10.3pm
əlhəzmət n=təyarwìn w=i-n=ísin: yax-ət
 bundle of=sticks and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm take:imp.-pm
arz-ət=tət.
 break:imp.-pm=DO.3sf
 ‘And one day he gathered his sons and gave them a bundle of sticks and said to them: Take and break it!’
- (289) *U=y-uyi=tət kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-yəlli*
 And=3sm-take:*pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:*pf.
a=i-rzi=tət, y-əzmər ká
 fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:*pf. neg.
 ‘And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.’
- (290) *bəʕədèn y-uyi=tət ššàraf u=y-uffukkì=tət u=y-əfká*
 Then 3sm-take:*pf.=DO.3sf old.man and=3sm-untie:*pf.=DO.3sf and=3sm-give:pf.
kull iwìn təyarit.
 each one:sm stick
 ‘Then the old man took it and untied it and gave each one a stick.’
- (291) *Bəʕədèn kull iwìn y-uyá təyarit u=y-ərzi=tət fisa fisa.*
 Then each one:sm 3sm-take:P stick and=3sm-break:*pf.=DO.3sf quickly quickly
 ‘Then each one took the stick and broke it quickly.’
- (292) *Bəʕədèn i-n=ísin: akká, kəmmim am=tyariwin=iyək, àndu*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if
t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kim məʕá bəʕəḍkum a=tt-əqqima-m
 2p-gather:*pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
am=təyarwìn=iyək
 like=sticks-prox.:p
 ‘Then he said to them: look, you are like these sticks, if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.’
- *məʕá bəʕəḍkum* is a completely Arabic phrase.
 - *attəqqimam* breaks the general accent rule that a final heavy syllable always takes the accent. There is no obvious explanation for this.
- (293) *t-əllumà-m ká iman=nə-kim a=tt-əqima-m am=iwatàn*
 2pm-gather:*pf.-2pm neg. self=of-2pm fut.=2pm-remain:fut.-2pm like=one:sf
n=təyarit i-zmìr=a kull iwìn a=y-ərzi=tət bišwàš.
 of=stick 3sm-be.able:res.=res. each one:sm fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf easily

‘(If) you do not gather yourself, you will remain like one stick: Everybody is able to break it easily.’

- (294) *U=i-n=isìn: llumm-àt iman=nə-kìm,*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm gather:imp.-pm self=of-2pm
a=i-ssəʕəd=kìm rəbbi.
 fut.=3sm-help:fut.=DO.2pm God

‘And he said to them: Gather yourselves and God will help you.’

C.1.2 Text II

C.1.2.1 Original transcription

Gān iwīnān n-amēdēn ašāl n-awīlēn. Mārā yuġāya ksūm u yušād yaḥṭīma af ammūd n sīdi Ḥāmed ʕz-Zarrūq. Yufīten ‘amma mūdān l’āšār; yūnā ammūd-ī w-iddes ksūm. Iggīt dīta w-alimām sīdi Ḥāmed ʕz-Zarrūq u ba‘ād ikkēmmel ya‘ādd irrōūwah u šummān ksūm wa yerfī‘a; ‘ala-mā fekkān-īs afīu yelġām ayémm. Ba‘adēn ya‘ādd yēnšed ārrafāqānnes wi iżīnāna net-tīn idsīn ksūm. Nānīs: nekkenī nēšummitīya u nčītīya. Inīsīn: nek ‘ala-mā fekkās afīu yelġām ayémm. Nānīs: ddīwa dgīta? Inīsīn: ba‘ād ušīgd unīḥ ammūd-ī, ufīḥten ‘amma mūdān, gīḥ dītī ksūm u qqāimīḥ mūdīḥ, wēn-mā kemmelḥ ‘addīḥ; wa d-elā šārāna. Nānīs ʕrrafāqānnes: ‘ādd anīst i-sīdi Ḥāmed āz-Zarrūq. Ya‘ādd inīst am-alā nānīsa. Wēn-mā inīst i-sīdi Ḥāmed ʕz-Zarrūq, inīs: nek lukān wā (anche: wāsa) ammūdān déffer-ī āīččīt afīu, ma‘ādč ammudāḥ s-ḥīddan. Inīs: ksūm-āya gāreḥ ‘ādd keffent, u ‘ādd mtīt zebbānet; ya‘ādd yemtīt u yāqqīm iḥabbār mīddēn. Wēn-mā slānt mīddēn n ašāl kull, ušānd gālīyēn ammūdān kull déffer-a w-ammūd meššék igēlli-kā ayūg mīddēn n ašāl. Yeḥammēm elfekrēnnes sīdi Ḥaméd, illúff dbāšēnnes w-inīsīn: gālīḥ a‘ddaāḥ (sic) fḥālī. Nānīs lēhāl n ašāl: anna‘ādd kull-īddek. U škīyēn iddes ir ahlēben ašāl u ba‘adēn inīsīn: šbārāt annākīm nek d-awīl tlāta marrāt ilā yōm ʕlqiyāma: wāsa anzurrān s-garkīm a‘ayyāten-dīk tālāta marrāt; āūšāzd w-affukkāḥt. Undú ušīgd-kā, anmhāseb neḥ iddes yōm ʕlqiyāma.

Nek wa d-elā slīḥa s-ār mīddēn lóūwel keddīmen, ḥakkān-dīk af sīdi Ḥāmed ez-Zarrūq.

C.1.2.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan iwīnan n=amēdēn ašāl n=awīlēn. Mārā yuyā=ya ksūm u=yušād yəḥ-ṭīm=a af=ammūd n=sīdi Ḥāməd ʕz-Zarrūq. Yufī=tən ʕəmma mudān lʕəšə; yūna ammūd=i w=iddəs ksūm. Iggī=t dīta w=alimām sīdi Ḥāməd ʕz-Zarrūq

u=bəfəd ikkəmməl yəfədd irrəwwəḥ u=šəmmàn ksùm wa yərfi=a; falamá fəkkən=is afiw yəlyəm a=yəmm. Bəfədèn yəfədd yənsəd ərrəfəq=ən-nəs wi ižinàn=a nəttin idsin ksùm. Nan=is: nəkkəni nəsummi=tì=ya u nçi=tì=ya. In=isin: nək fəla-má fəkkà=s afiw yəlyəm a=yəmm. Nan=is: ddiwa dgìt=a? In=isin: bəfəd ušiy=d unix ammùd=i, ufix=tən fəmma mudàn, gix diti ksùm u=qqimix mudix, wèn-ma kəmməlx fəddix; wa d=əlá šaràn=a. Nan=is ərrəfəq=ənnəs: fədd an=is=t i=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq. Yəfədd in=is=t am=alá nan=is=a. Wèn-ma in=is=t i=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq, in=is: nək lukán wa (or: wása) a=mmudàn dəffəri a=iççi=t afiw, məfəddə ammudəx s=ħiddan. In=is: ksum=aya yàrək fədd kəffən=t, u=fədd mtì=t žəbbànət; yəfədd yəmtì=t u=yəqqim ixəbbàr middən. wèn-ma slàn=t mīddən n=ašəl kùll, ušàn=d yəlliyən a=mmudàn kull dəffəra w=ammud məš-šək iyəlli ká a=yüy mīddən n=ašəl. Yəxəmməm əlfəkr=ənnəs sidi Həməd, illuff dbaş=ənnəs w=in=isin: yəllix a=fəddəx fəli. Nan=is ləhəl n=ašəl: a=nnəfədd kull iddək. U=škìyən iddəs ir=a=hləbən ašəl u=bəfədèn in=isin: šbərət anna=kim nək d=awil tlàta marrət ila yom əlqiyàma: wása a=nzurràn syar=kim a=fəyyátən=dik təlàta marrət; a=ušà=z=d w=a=ffukxàx=t. Undú ušiy=d ká, a=nmhəsəb nək iddəs yom əlqiyàma.

Nək wa d=əlá slix=a sar mīddən ləwwəl kəddimən, həkkan=dik af=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq.

C.1.2.3 Glossed translation

- (295) *Gan iwínan n=amədən ašəl n=awilən.*
 there one.ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people
 ‘There once was a man in the village of Aujila’
- (296) *Màrra y-uyà=ya ksùm u=y-ušà=d y-əxtim=a*
 once 3sm-take:res.=res. meat and=3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-pass.by:res.=res.
af=ammud n=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq.
 on=mosque of-sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
 ‘One day, he had gotten meat and he passed by the mosque of Sidi Hamid Zarrouq’
- (297) *Y-ufi=tən fəmma mudà-n lšəşər;*
 3sm-find:pf.=DO.3pm prog. pray:impf.-3pm afternoon.prayer
 ‘He found them praying the afternoon prayer.’
- (298) *y-ùna ammud=i w=iidd-əs ksùm.*
 3sm-enter:seq. mosque=loc. and=with-3s meat
 ‘He entered the mosque, and with him (was) the meat’

- (299) *I-ggì=t dīt-a w=alimàm sidi Hāməd əz-Zarrūq u=bəʕád*
 3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm and=imam sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq and=after
i-kkəmməl y-əʕədd i-rrəwwəḥ u=šəmmà-n ksùm wa
 3sm-finish:*pf. 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-return:*pf. and=cook:*pf.-3pm meat PMPH:ms
y-ərfiʕ=a;
 3sm-lift.up:res.=res.
 ‘He put it in front of him and the imam (was) Sidi Hamid Zarrouq and after he finished, he went home and they cooked the meat that he had carried.’
- (300) *ʕalamá fəkkə-n=ìs aʕtəw y-əlyám a=y-əmm.*
 as.much.as give:impf.-3pm=IO.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
 ‘No matter how much fire they would give it, it refused to cook.’
- (301) *Bəʕədèn y-əʕədd y-ənšəd ərrəfəq=ənn-əs wi ižinà-n=a*
 then 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-ask:seq. companions=of-3s PMPH:pm divide:res.-3pm=res.
nəttìn id-sìn ksùm.
 he with-3pm meat.
 ‘Then he went and asked his companions whom he had divided the meat with.’
- (302) *Na-n=ìs: nəkkəní n-əšummi=tì=ya u=n-čì=tì=ya.*
 say:*pf.-3pm=IO.3s we 1p-cook:res.=DO.3sm=res. and=1p-eat:res.=DO.3sm=res.
 ‘They said to him: We’ve cooked it and eaten it.’
- (303) *I-n=isìn: nək ʕalamá fəkk-à=s aʕtəw y-əlyám*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3pm I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=IO.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf.
a=y-əmm.
 fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
 ‘He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.’
- (304) *Na-n=ìs: ddiwa d-gì-t=a?*
 say:*pf.-3pm=IO.3s what 2s-do:res.-2s=res.
 ‘They said to him: what did you do?’
- (305) *I-n=isìn: bəʕád ušì-γ=d unì-x ammùd=i, ufi-x=tən*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3pm after go:*pf.-1s enter:*pf.-1s mosque=loc. find:*pf.-1s=DO.3pm
ʕəmma mudà-n, gì-x dīt-i ksùm u=qqimì-x mudì-x,
 prog. pray:impf.-3pm put:*pf.-1s in.front-1s meat and=stay:*pf.-1s pray:impf.-1s
wənma kəmməl-x ʕəddi-x; wa d=əlá ʕarà-n=a.
 as.soon.as finish:*pf.-1s go:*pf.-1s PMPH:sm pred.=rel. happen:res.-ptc=res.
 ‘He said to them: After I went and entered the mosque, I found them praying, I put the meat in front of me and started praying, as soon as I finished, I went (away); that is what happened.’

- (306) *Na-n=ìs* *arrafaḡq=ànn-əs:* *ḡàdd* *an=ìs=t*
 say:*pf.-3pm=IO.3s companions=of-3s go:imp. say:imp.=IO.3s=DO.3sm
i=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarruq.
 dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarruq
 ‘His companions said to him: Go and tell it to Sidi Hamid Zarruq.’
- (307) *Y-əḡàdd* *i-n=ìs=t* *am=alá na-n=ìs=a.*
 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s=DO.3s like=rel. say:res.-3pm=IO.3s=res.
 ‘He went and told it to him like they had told him’
- (308) *Wènma* *i-n=ìs=t* *i=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq, i-n=ìs:*
 as.soon.as 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarruq 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s
nək lukàn wa (or: *wàsa*) *a=mmudà-n* *dáffər-i*
 I if PMPH:sm rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1s
a=i-ččì=t *aftw, məḡàdč* *a=mmudà-x* *s=ḡiddan.*
 fut.=3sm-eat:fut.=DO.3sm fire, no.longer fut.=pray:fut.-1s with=anyone
 ‘As soon as he had said it to Sidi Hamid Zarruq, he said to him: If those who pray behind me would be eaten by fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.’
- (309) *I-n=ìs:* *ksum=àya* *ḡàr-ək ḡàdd* *kəffàn=t,* *u=ḡàdd*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s meat*pf.prox.:s to-2sm go:imp. wrap:imp.=DO.3sm and
mtì=t žəbbànət;
 go:imp. bury:imp.=DO.3sm cemetery
 ‘He said to him: This meat you have, go wrap it and go bury it in the cemetery.’
- Note that *žəbbànət* lacks a locative *-i*, although it is clearly a locative ‘in the cemetery’
- (310) *y-əḡàdd* *y-əmtì=t* *u* *y-əqqìm* *i-xəbbàr* *míddən.*
 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-bury:*pf.=DO.3sm and 3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-tell:impf. people
 ‘He went and buried it and he started telling people (about what had happened).’
- (311) *wènma* *slà-n=t* *míddən n=ašàl* *kùll, ušà-n=d*
 as.soon.as hear:*pf.-3pm=DO.3sm people of=village all come:*pf.-3pm=come
ḡəlliy-ən *a=mmudà-n* *kull dáffər-a* *w=ammùd məššák*
 want:*pf.-3pm fut.=pray:fut.-3pm all behind-3sm and=mosque be.small:ms
i-ḡəlli *ká* *a=y-ùḡ* *míddən n=ašàl.*
 3sm-want:*pf. neg. fut.=3sm-take:fut. people of=village
 ‘As soon as all the people of the village heard it, they came and all wanted to pray behind him and the small mosque did not want to take the people of the village (because it was too small)’

- (312) *Y-axəmmám əlfəkr=ənn-əs sidi Háməd, i-llüff dbaş=ənn-əs*
 3sm-think:pf. thought=of-3s sidi.Hamid 3sm-wrap.up:*pf. stuff=of-3s
w=i-n=isìn: γəlli-x a=ʕəddà-x fḥàli.
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm want:*pf.-1s fut.=go:fut.-1s by.myself
 ‘Sidi Hamid thought his thought, wrapped up his stuff and said to them: I want to go by myself.’

• Notice that *yaxəmmám* has a final phonological accent. Verbs of this type are usually only found with default accent. Perhaps this verb distinguishes the perfective from the sequential perfective, but it would be the only verb that does so of the *cĕc* verbs.

- (313) *Na-n=is ləhəl n=ašàl: a=n-nəʕədd kull idd-ək.*
 say:P-3pm=10.3s people of=village fut.=1p-go:fut. all with-2sm
 ‘The people of the village said to him: We will all go with you.’
- (314) *U=škìy-ən idd-əs ir=a-hləb-ən ašàl u=bəʕədèn*
 and=leave:P-3pm with-3s until=fut.=surpass:fut.-3pm village and=then
i-n=isìn: šbər-àt a=nn-a=kìm nək d=awil tlàta
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-1s=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three
marràt ila yom əlqiyàma:
 times until.the.day.of.resurrection
 ‘And they left with him until they were about to leave the village and then he said to them: Wait! I will say to you that I will be a person from Aujila three times until the day of resurrection.’
- (315) *wàsa a=nzurrà-n syar-kìm a=ʕəyyát-ən=dik təlàta marràt;*
 rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from-2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=10.1s three times
a=uš-à=z=d w=a=ffukkà-x=t.
 fut.=come:fut.-1s=10.3s=come and=fut.=solve:fut.-1s=DO.3sm
 ‘Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times; and I will come and remove it (the suffering).’
- (316) *Undú uši-γ=d ká, a=n-mḥàsəb nək idd-əs yom əlqiyàma.*
 if come:*pf.-1s neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection
 ‘If I do not come, we —him (who suffers) and me— will settle the score at the day of resurrection.’
- (317) *Nək wa d=ələ sli-x=a sar=middən ləwwəl kəddim-ən,*
 I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-1s=res. from=people formerly old:mp
ḥəkkà-n=dik af=sidi Háməd əz-Zarrùq.
 tell:impf.-3pm=10.1s on=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq.
 ‘This is what I heard from the old people once, they always told me about Sidi Hamid Zarrouq.’

C.1.3 Text III

C.1.3.1 Original transcription

Gān iwīnān yerfī‘a af tēgīlīnnes elhāml zḡāk s-gār lemluḡīyet w-iḡgāḡ zen-qīn-ī n ašāl u nettīn i‘āyāt w-itennīs: lemluḡīyet bāhīyet. W-iḡgāḡ ggūt išfīwan u iḡḡ lūda u tāfūt taḡmāya fellīs u taqqīm tettā afišēnnes id elgefānnes u tāqqīm am ʔḡḡaḡīm fellīs u nettīn llekkā iḡgāḡ u i‘āyāt: ʔlm-luḡīyet bāhīyet. U taḡzér ḡāres tēmīgnī w-ʔtnīs: i-kú a-wán lemluḡīyet. U yāḡzér nettīn ḡāres w- igā elḡamēlēnnes dīt n tēmīgnī u tenšéd:t: z-dīwa? Inīs: sséba‘a n millīm. Tnīs ennāt: s-árba‘a béss. Inīs: árba‘a ḡénṡā. Tnīs: nek nāka s-árba‘a n millīm, ya‘ḡeb-kūya nāḡ ya‘ḡeb-kūya-ká? Inīs: ya‘ḡebīya-ká. Tnīs: blaš, u tāqqāš elbāb fellīs u ba‘adēn yeḡzér af elḡamēl-ēnnes wa-zḡāken daḡ ayerfā‘t lākēn yekrī yévded u ba‘adēn yemmúdd afūs-ēnnes yeddúgg af elbāb u teškī tēmīgnī ḡāres w-ʔtnīs: amūr dḡīḡīt s-alūwel aḡēr-lek-ká? Yekrī-ká fellīs ḡlān u ba‘adēn yerfā‘ ʔlmīzānnes wa yaḡmeltīya u yeḡbōṡt af tēgīlī n tēmīgnī u tīvā tēmīgnī temmūt u yeqqīm yevdīda aḡūrēnnes ir ayūš el-bulīs.

C.1.3.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan iwīnan yərɸiʔa af=təgīli=nnəs əlhəml zḡāk sɣar ləmluxiyət w=iḡgāḡ dzənqīn=i n ašāl u=nəttīn iʔayāt w=itənn=is: ləmluxiyət bəh(ə)yət. W=iḡgāḡ ggūt išfīwən u=iḡḡ lūda u=tafūt təḡmā=ya fəllīs u=təqqīm tettā afiš=ənnəs id=əlgəfā=nnəs u=təqqīm am=əḡḡəḡīm fəllīs u=nəttīn lləkkā iḡgāḡ u=iʔayāt: əlmluxiyət bəh(ə)yət. U=təxzər ɣərəs təmīgni w=ətn=is: i=kú a=wá=n ləmluxiyət. U=yəxzər nəttin ɣərəs w=igā əlhəm(ə)l=ənnəs dīt n=təmīgnī u=tənšəd=t: z=dīwa? In=is: ssəb(ə)ʔa n=millim. Tn=is ən-nāt: s=ərb(ə)ʔa bəss. In=is:ərb(ə)ʔa ḡénṡa. Tn=is: nək nā=k=a s=ərb(ə)ʔa n=millim, yəʔəb=kù=ya naɣ yəʔəb=kù=ya ká? In=is: yəʔəb=i=ya ká. Tn=is: blaš, u=təqqāš əlbāb fəllīs u=bəʔədən yəxzər af=əlhəm(ə)l=ənnəs wa zḡākən dax a=yərɸəʔ=t lākən yəkrī yəvdəd u=bəʔədən yəmmúdd afus=ənnəs yəddúgg af=əlbāb u=təškī təmīgni ɣərəs w=ətn=is: amūr dḡīḡīt s=alūwəl axər lək ká? Yəkrī ká fəll=is ḡlān u=bəʔəèn yərɸəʔ əlmīzān=nəs wa yəḡməl=tì=ya u yəxbəṡ=ṡ af=təgīli n=təmīgnī u=tīva təmīgnī təmmūt u=yəqqīm yəvdīd=a aɣur=ənnəs ir=a=yūš əlbulīs.

C.1.3.3 Glossed translation

- (318) *Gan iwīnan y-ərɸiʔa* *af=təgīli=nn-əs əlhəml zḡāk*
 there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
sɣar=ləmluxiyət w=iḡgāḡ *dzənqīn=i n=ašāl u=nəttīn iʔayāt*
 from=mulukhiya and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.

w=i-tənn=is: ləmluxiyət bəh(ə)y-ət.

and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf

‘There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head, and he would walk in the street of the village and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!’

- (319) *W=i-žigəž ggüt išfiwən u=i-žič lūda u=tafūt*
 and=3sm-walk:impf. many days and=3sm-sell:*pf. nothing and=sun
t-əhmà=ya fəlli-s u=t-əqqim (t)-tattà afiš=ənn-əs id=əlgəfā=nn-əs
 3sf-burn.res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:*pf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3s with=neck=of-3s
u=t-əqqim am=əžžəhəm fəlli-s u=nattin llakká i-žigəž
 and=3sm-stay:*pf. like=hell on-3s and=he still 3sm-walk:impf.
u=i-šayət: əmluxiyət bəhəy-ət.
 and=3sm-yell:impf. mulukhiya be.good-3sf

‘And he would walk many days and he sold nothing and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck, and stayed upon him like the (fires of) hell and still he would walk and yell: good mulukhiya!’

- (320) *U=t-əxzór yār-əs təmigni w=ət-n=is: i=kú a=wá=n*
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman and=3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s hey=you voc.=PMPH:ms=of
ləmluxiyət.
 mulukhiya.

‘And a woman looked at him and said: Hey you there, the one of with the mulukhiya’

- (321) *U=y-əxzár nattin yār-əs w=i-gá əlhəməl=ənn-əs dit n=təmigni*
 and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s in.front of=woman
u=t-ənšəđ=t: zdiwa?
 and=3sf-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm how.much

‘And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman and she asked him: how much?’

- (322) *I-n=is: s=səbəša n=millim.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s with=seven of=milliem
 ‘He said to her: For seven milliemes.’

- (323) *T-n=is ənnət: s=ərbəša bəss.*
 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s she: with=four enough
 ‘She said to him: for four (milliemes should be) enough.’

- (324) *I-n=is:ərbəša həntə.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s four little
 ‘He said to her: Four is (too) little.’

- (325) *T-n=is: nək n-à=k=a s=àrbəfa n=millim,*
 3sf-say:*pf.=IO.3s I say:res.-1s=IO.2sm=res. with=four of=milliem,
y-əʕžəb=kù=ya naɣ y-əʕžəb=kù=ya ká?
 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. or 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. neg.
 ‘She said to him: I’ve told you for four milliemes, does it please you or doesn’t it please you?’
- (326) *I-n=is: y-əʕžəb=i=ya ká.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s 3sm-please:res.=DO.1s=res. neg.
 ‘He said to her: It doesn’t please me.’
- (327) *T-n=is: blaš, u=t-əqqáš əlbàb fəlli-s*
 3sf-say:*pf.=IO.3s forget.it and=3sf-close:*pf. door on-3sg.
 ‘She said to him: Forget it! and she closed the door on him.’
- (328) *u=bəʕədèn y-əxzár af=əlħəməl=ənn-əs wa zžàk-ən dax*
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʕ=t ləkən y-əkri y-əvdəd u=bəʕədèn
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm but 3sm-return:*pf. 3sm-stop:seq. and=then
y-əmmùdd afus=ənn-əs y-əddùgg af=əlbàb
 3sm-extend:*pf. hand=of-3s 3sm-knock:*pf. on=door
 ‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry, so he turned around and stopped and then he extended his hand and knocked on the door.’
- *ləkən* ‘but’ does not translate well into the English translation here. But it seems to be indicate that the salesman has changed his mind.
- (329) *u=t-əški təmìgni yàr-əs w=ət-n=is: amùr d-žìžì-t*
 and=3sf-leave:*pf. woman to-3s and=3sf-say:*pf.=IO.3s if 2s-sell:*pf.-2s
s=alìwəl axèr lək ká?
 from=before better to.you neg.
 ‘And the woman came out of the house to him and said to him: Would it not have been better if you had sold (it) to me earlier?’
- (330) *Y-əkri ká fəll-ìs žlàn u=bəʕədèn y-ərfəʕ əlmizàn=n-əs wa*
 3sm-return:*pf. neg. on-3s words and=then 3sm-lift:pf. scales=of-3s PMPH:ms
y-əħməl=tì=ya u=y-əxbəʕt=ʕ af=təgìli n=təmìgni
 3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res. and=3sm-hit:*pf.=DO.3sm on=head of=woman
u=t-ìva təmìgni t-əmmùt u=y-əqqim y-əvdìd=a
 and=3sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die:*pf. and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-stand:res.=res.
agur=ənn-əs ir=a=y-ùš əlbulìs.
 besides=of-3s until fut.=3sm-come:fut. police

'He did not answer her (with any) words, and then he lifted the scales that he had carried and he hit them on the head of the woman, and the woman fell and died and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.'

C.1.4 Text IV

C.1.4.1 Original transcription

Yeškî Žhâ ssûq-î u iddes azîōténnes igélli āīzīzît. Ba'adên yefkît i-ddellâl dâh āīzīzît. Ba'adên yâqqîm êddellâl i'âyât (anche: i'āiyât) w-itennîs: wâya d-azîṭ fešûš, qâwî u d-azîṭ mrî. Ba'adên âqqîmân mîddēn rennîyen (anche: rennân) fellîs s-ar žlân-îya. Ba'adên yeslâ Žhâ žlân-îya w-inîs y-imânnēs: la-búdda azîōtēnnûk kuwéyes šahîḥ. Ba'adên yqâqîm [sic] irénni id mîddēn. Ba'adên yeškî elbârât u yefkîṭeṇet y-âddellâl u yugâ azîōṭ u ya'âdd yefrîḥa. Ba'adên êl'aqqâb-î yâqqîm nettîn id-dmēgnîs (anche: id-tēmignînnes) u yaḥkîs af laḥkâyet n-arennî (anche: arēnnu). Tnîs ênnât: qâma annâk laḥkâyet aḥîr n-tânnēk. Tnîs: yeḥâtṭâm sîla wa žizân lemluḥîyet, yâqqîm itâzândîk ba'adên gîḥ eddémlež n eddâhab êlkéffet ta-gân êlmizân; ba'adên yekkémmeḥ uzúnnes, êntârx êddemlež-ennûk elmizân-î rwîḥḥa āīnidîk: kem ttâkârt s-gâr-î. Ba'adên inîs Žhâ: bâhi, nek šügârḥ s-elhawâyî u kem s-arēzgiḡ u tudîk attâ'mîr tēfillinnâḥ.

Perhaps *y-âddellâl* is *y-âddelâl*, if so a dot was dropped in my copy of the print. The brevis is significantly higher than is usual, which gives the impression that something was below it.

C.1.4.2 Phonemic transcription

Yēškî Žhâ ssûq=i u iddēs aziyṭ=ēnnēs iyēlli a=ižizî=t. Bəfədēn yəfkî=t i=ddəllâl dax a=ižizî=t. Bəfədēn yəqqîm əddəllâl ifəy(y)ət w=itənn=îs: wâya d=azîṭ fəšûš, qəwi u=d=azîṭ mrî. Bəfədēn əqqîmân mîddən rənnîyən (or: rənnân) fəllîs sar žlan=îya. Bəfədēn yəslâ Žhâ žlan=îya w=in=îs y=imân=nēs: la-búdda aziyṭ=ənnûk kəwəyəs šəḥîḥ. Bəfədēn yəqqîm irən-ni id=mîddən. Bəfədēn yēškî əlbarət u=yəfkî=tənət y=əddəllâl u=yuḡâ aziyṭ u=yəfədd yəfrîḥ=a. Bəfədēn əlfəqqâb=i yəqqîm nəttîn id=dməgnî=s (or: id=təmignî=nnēs) u=yəḥk=îs af=ləḥkâyəṭ n=arənnî (or: arənnu). Tn=îs ənnât: qâma a=nnâ=k ləḥkâyəṭ axîr n=tâ nnək. Tn=îs: yəxəṭṭam sîla wa žizân ləmluxəyət, yəqqîm itazən=dîk bəfədēn gîx əddəmləž n=əddəhəb əlkəffət ta=gân əlmizân; bəfədēn yəkkəmməl uzùn=nēs, əntərx əddəmləž=ənnûk əlmizân=i rwîḥḥ=a a=ini=dîk: kəm ttākərt syəri. Bəfədēn in=îs Žhâ: bâhi, nək šuyàrx s=əlhəwəyî u=kəm sar=əzgiḡ u=tudîk a=ttəfîmrî tēfilli=nnâx.

C.1.4.3 Glossed translation

- (331) *Y-əški Žhà ssùq=i u=idd-əs azit=ənn-əs i-yəlli*
 3sm-leave:*pf. Jha market=loc. and=with-3s donkey=of-3s 3sm-want:*pf.
a=i-žiži=t.
 fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
 'Jha left for the market and with him (was) his donkey, he wanted to sell it.'
- (332) *Bəfədèn y-əfki=t i=ddəlləl dax a=i-žiži=t.*
 then 3sm-give:*pf.=DO.3sm dat.=auctioneer in.order.to fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
 'Then he gave it to the auctioneer in order to sell it.'
- (333) *Bəfədèn y-əqqim əddəlləl i-ŋə(y)ət w=i-tənn=is: wàya*
 then 3sm-stay:*pf. auctioneer 3sm-yell:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s this:sm
d=azit fəšùš, qəwi u=d=azit mrì.
 pred.=donkey be.agile:3sm, be.strong:3sm and=pred.=donkey be.good:3sm
 'Then the auctioneer started yelling and saying: This is an agile and strong donkey, and it is a good donkey'
- (334) *Bəfədèn əqqimà-n middən rənniy-ən (or: rənnà-n) fəlli-s sar=žlan=iyə.*
 Then stay:*pf.-3pm people bid:impf.-3pm on-3s from=words=prox.:p
 'Then the people started bidding on it because of these words.'
- (335) *Bəfədèn y-əslá Žhà žlan=iyə w=i-n=is y=imàn=n-əs:*
 Then 3sm-hear:pf. Jha words=prox.:p and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s dat.=self=of-3s
labùdda azit=ənn-ùk kəwəyəs şəhih.
 certainly donkey=of-1s very be.healthy:3sm
 'Then Jha heard these words and he said to himself: Certainly, my donkey is very healthy!'
- (336) *Bəfədèn y-əqqim i-rənni id=middən.*
 then 3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-bid:impf. with=people
 'Then he started bidding along with the people.'
- (337) *Bəfədèn y-əški əlbarət u=y-əfki=tənət y=əddəlləl*
 Then 3sm-take.out:*pf. money and=3sm-give:*pf.=DO.3pf dat.=auctioneer
u=y-uyá azit u=y-əfədd y-əfrih=a.
 and=3sm-take:pf. donkey and=3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-be.happy:res.=res.
 'Then he took out money and gave it to the auctioneer and took the donkey and went away satisfied.'

· *yəški* usually means 'to leave', but is to be read transitively here as 'to take out'.

- (338) *Bəʕədèn əlʕəqqàb=i y-əqqim nəttin id=dməgnì-s (or: id=təmignì-nn-əs)*
 Then evening=loc. 3sm-stay:*pf. he with=wife-3s (with=wife=of-3s)
u=y-əħk=iš af=ləħkàyət n=arənní (or: arənnu).
 and=3sm-tell:*pf.=10.3s on=story of=bidding

‘Then in the evening, he was with his wife and he told her the story of the auction.’

- (339) *T-n=iš ənnàt: qàma a=nn-à=k ləħkàyət axir*
 3pf-say:P=10.3s she now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=10.2sm story better
n=tà=nn-ək.
 of=PMPH=of-2sm

‘She said to him: Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!’

- (340) *T-n=iš: y-əxəttam sila wa žizà-n ləmluxəyət,*
 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s 3sm-pass.by:impf. along.here PMPH:sm sell:impf.-ptc. mulukhiya
y-əqqim i-tazən=dik bəʕədèn gì-x əddəmləž n=əddəħəb
 3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-weigh:impf.=10.1s then put:*pf.-1s bracelet of=gold
əlkəffət ta gàn əlmizàn;
 plate PMPH:sf there scales

‘She said to him: A mulukhiya vendor came by here, he started weighing for me, then I put a golden bracelet on the plate that was on the scales.’

- Morphologically, *yəxəttam* looks like an imperfective with an irregular accent on the penultimate syllable. Semantically, this verb rather looks like a perfective

- (341) *bəʕədèn y-əkkəmməl uzùn=n-əs, ənṭər-x əddəmləž=ənn-ùk əlmizàn=i*
 Then 3sm-finish:*pf. weighing=of-3s leave:*pf.-1s bracelet=of-1s scales=loc.
rwiħ-ħ=a a=i-ni=dik: kəm t-tàkər-t šyàr-i.
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.1s you 2s-steal:impf.-2s from-1s

‘Then (when) he finished the weighing, I left my bracelet on the scales, I was afraid he would say to me: You are stealing from me!’

- (342) *Bəʕədèn i-n=iš Žħà: bəħi, nək šuyàr-x s=əlhəwəyyi*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha: be.good:3sm, I lose:impf.-1s from=outside
u=kəm sar=əzgiğ u=tudik a=t-təʕmìr təfilli=nn-àx.
 and=you from=inside and=so fut.=3sf-do:fut. house=of-1p

‘Then Jha said to her: Good, I lost outside and you lost inside and that is how our house functions!’

- Morphologically, *šuyàrx* appears to be an imperfective. In the context of the text, a perfective would be expected.

C.1.5 Text V

C.1.5.1 Original transcription

Žhâ yętemęnna s-gār rābbī ayefkīs elf znī u yāqqīm itęlleb u itennīs: ya rābbī undū yenqīsa iwīnān auǵāh-tęneť-ká. Ba‘adēn yeslīt ęlhūdi aringīnnes ba‘adēn inīs lhūdi y-imānnes wāllāhī qāma aħdefās tesa‘a mīyet id tesa‘a u tes‘īn žnī w-aggulāht ayuǵitęneť naǵ wēlā. W-igītęneť arāqūt-ī u yaħdefťęneť dīt nę Žhâ s-ar ęrrōšen. U yefrāh Žhâ sęnet u inīs: rābbī yefkīdīka amalā ǵellīh. U yetuār arāqūt u yaħsebtęneť yufitęneť ānqāšnīta iwīnān u ba‘adēn inīs: Wa yefkīdīka l‘ālla ayefkīdīk iwīnan; ba‘adēn igītęneť ššundūq-ī u nettīn yefrīha. Ba‘adēn yeškī ęlhūdi w-inīs yę-Žhâ: aǵīd elbarāt-ennūk. Inīs Žhâ: rābbī yefkīdīka albāšīret u ku tǵallīt attuǵāttet s-ǵār-ī? Inīs ęlhūdi: nek wa aħdefťtīta ī-kú dah aggulāhku attuǵāttęneť ęnqāšnīta nāǵ wēlā. Yelǵóm ayefkitęneť y-elhūdi. Ba‘adēn inīs ęlhūdi: nek anťārāhku-ká īr anna‘add nek-īddek ar elqāđī. Inīs Žhâ: nek ‘ayyanāh u zmerh-ká a‘addāh af țārīnnūk w-ērweħa (‘h>hħ>h) s-gār šmut u ǵārī-ká telāba. Inīs ālhūdi: afkāk azīt id telāba ǵār ‘add īdd-ī ar ęlqāđī. Ba‘ad ušālęn ar elqāđī išerwīs lēhūdi s-alā šārāna. Inīs elqāđī i-Žhâ: šahīh žlān-īya? Ba‘adēn inīs: lhūdi iqāllez fellīwi u nek rwīhħa ayęqlez w-āinīs ħátta tlābannūk ta-tennī fellīwī t-tānnes (dt>tt) nettīn īd azītennūk āinīs d-wānnes nettīn. Ba‘adēn i‘ayeť elhūdi w-inīs y-elqāđī: wāllāhī t-tinnūk. Inīs elqāđī: ku teqāllezt šahīh ‘add ‘add rōūwah. U ya‘add Žhâ yefrīha yaħaššīla ędbūš īd azīt īd elbarāt.

C.1.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhâ yętęmęnna sȳar řębbi a=yęfk=īs ęlf žnī u=yęqqīm itęllęb u=itęnn=īs: ya řębbi ęndū yęnqīsa=i iwīnan a=uyǵx=tęnęť ká. Bęfędęn yęslī=t ęlhūdi aringī=nnęs bęfędęn in=īs lhūdi y=imān=nęs wāllāhī qāma aħdęfā=s tęs(ę)-fa męyęť id=tęs(ę)fa u=tęsīn žnī w=a=ggulāx=t a=yuyī=tęnęť naǵ wēla. w=igī=tęnęť aręqūt=i u=yęħdęf=tęnęť dīt nę=Žhâ sar=ęrrōšen. U=yęfrāh Žhâ sęnęť u=in=īs: řębbi yęfkī=dīk=a am=alā ȳęllīx. U=yętuwār aręqūt u=yęħsęb=tęnęť yufi=tęnęť ęnqęšnīt=a iwīnan u=bęfędęn in=īs: wa yęfkī=dīk=a l‘ālla a=yęfkī=dīk iwīnan; bęfędęn igī=tęnęť ššundūq=i u=nęttīn yęfrīh=a. Bęfędęn yęškī ęlhūdi w=in=īs yę=Žhâ: aȳī=d ęlbarat=ęnnūk. In=īs Žhâ: řębbi yęfkī=dīk=a albāšīret u=ku tȳęllīt a=ttuȳat=tęť sȳārī? In=īs ęlhūdi: nęk wa aħdęfęx=tīt=a ī=kú dax a=ggulāx=ku a=ttuȳa(t)=tęnęť ęnqęšnīt=a naǵ wēla. yęlȳęm a=yęfkī=tęnęť y=ęlhūdi. Bęfędęn in=īs ęlhūdi: nęk anťęr(ę)x=ku ká īr=a=nnęfędd nęk īdd=ęk ar=ęlqęđī. In=īs Žhâ: nęk fęȳȳānęx u=zmerx ká a=fęddāx af=țarin=nūk w=ęrwīh=a sȳar=šmut u=ȳārī ká tēlāba. In=īs ęlhūdi: a=fkā=k azīt id=tēlāba ȳar fędd īddī ar=ęlqęđī.

Bəfəd uşələn ar=əlqədi išərw=is ləhùdi s=alá şarán=a. In=is əlqədi i=Žhà: şəhīh žlan=iya? Bəfədèn in=is: lhùdi iqəlləz fəllīwi u=nək rwiḥḥ=a a=yəqləz w=a=in=is ḥəttə tlabə=nnùk ta tənnī fəllīwi t=tá=nnəs nəttin id=azit=ənnùk a=in=is d=wə=nnəs nəttin. Bəfədèn ifəyət əlhùdi w=in=is y=əlqədi: wəllàhi t=ti=nnùk. In=is əlqədi: ku təqəlləzt şəhīh fədd ədd rəwwəḥ. U=yəfədd Žhà yəfriḥ=a yəḥəşşil=a ədbùš id=azit id=əlbarət.

C.1.5.3 Glossed translation

- (343) *Žhà y-atəmàнна şyar=rəbbi a=y-əfk=is əlf žni*
 Jha 3sm-wish:*pf. from=God fut.=3sm-give:fut.=10.3s 1,000 pound
u=y-əqqim i-təlləb u=i-tənn=is: ya=rəbbi əndú
 and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-request:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s voc.=God if
y-ənqiş=a iwínan a=uyá-x=tənət ká.
 3sm-lack:res.=res. one fut.=take:fut.-1s=DO.3pf neg.
 ‘Jha prayed God to give him 1,000 Pounds and he started requesting and saying:
 O God, if (even) one (pound) is lacking, I will not take it’

- (344) *Bəfədèn y-əslī=t əlhùdi aringī=nn-əs bəfədèn i-n=is*
 Then 3sm-hear:P=DO.3sm. Jew neighbour=of-3s then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s
lhùdi y=imàn=n-əs wəllàhi qàma a=ḥdəf-à=s təs(ə)fa məyət
 Jew dat.=self=of-3s by.God now fut.=throw:fut.-1s=10.3s nine hundred
id=təs(ə)fa u=təsfin žni w=a=ggulà-x=t
 with=nine and=ninety pound and=fut.=see:fut-1s=DO.3sm
a=y-uyí=tənət nay wəla.
 fut=3sm-take:fut.=DO.3pf or not.
 ‘Then a Jew, his neighbour, heard him and then the jew said to himself: By God,
 now I will throw to him 999 pounds and see if he will take it or not.’

- (345) *w=i-gi=tənət arəqūt=i u=y-əḥdəf=tənət dit nə=Žhà*
 and=3sm-put:*pf.-DO.3pf bag=loc. and=3sm-throw:*pf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha
sar=ərrəşən.
 from=window
 ‘And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.’

- (346) *U=y-əfráh Žhà s-ənət u=i-n=is: rəbbi*
 and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s God
y-əfki=dik=a am alá yəllī-x.
 3sm-give:res.=10.1s=res. like rel. want:*pf.-1s
 ‘And Jha became happy with it and said: God has given like I wanted!’

- (347) *U=y-ətuwàr arəqùt u=y-əhsəb=tənət y-ufi=tənət*
 and=3sm-open:×pf. bag and=3sm-count:×pf.=DO.3pf 3sm-find:×pf.=DO.3pf
ənqəş-nit=a iwínan u=bəʕədèn i-n=is: wa
 lack:res.-3pf=res. one:sm and=then 3sm-say:×pf.=IO.3s PMPH:sm
y-əfki=dik=a lʕàlla a=y-əfki=dik iwínan;
 3sm-give:res=IO.1s=res, much fut=3sm-give:fut.=IO.1s one:sm
 ‘And he opened the bag and counted them and found them lacking one (pound)
 and then he said: He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).’
- (348) *bəʕədèn i-gi=tənət ʕʕundùq=i u=nəttìn y-əfriḥ=a.*
 then 3sm-put:×pf.=DO.3pf box=loc. and=he 3sm-be.happy:res.=res.
 ‘Then he put them in a box and he was happy.’
- (349) *Bəʕədèn y-əškí əlhùdi w=i-n=is yə=Žhà: ayid*
 then 3sm-leave:×pf. Jew and=3sm-say:×pf.=IO.3s dat.=Jha bring:imp.
albarat=ənn-ùk.
 money=of-1s
 ‘Then the Jew came out and said to Jha: Bring my money (back)’
- (350) *I-n=is Žhà: rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a albəširət u=ku*
 3sm-say:×pf.-IO.3s Jha God 3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. willingly and=you
t-γəlli-t a=tt-uyà-t=tət syàr-i?
 2s-want:×pf.-2s fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3sf from=1s
 ‘Jha said to him: God has given me this willingly and you want to take it from
 me?’
- (351) *I-n=is əlhùdi: nək wa əhdəf-x=tit=a i=kú dax*
 3sm-say:P=IO.3s Jew I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you in.order.to
a=ggulà-x=ku a=t-tuyà-(t)=tənət ənqəş-nit=a naγ wəla.
 fut=see:fut.-1s=DO.2sm fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3pf lack:res.-3pf=res. or not
 ‘The Jew said to him: I am the one who has thrown it to you in order to see if
 you would take them missing (one pound) or not.’
- (352) *y-əlyám a=y-əfki=tənət y=əlhùdi.*
 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-give:fut.=DO.3pf dat.-Jew
 ‘He refused to give them to the Jew.’
- (353) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is əlhùdi: nək a=nṭər-əx=ku ká*
 then 3sm-say:×pf.=IO.3s Jew I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg.
ir=a=nnə-ʕədd nək idd-ək ar=əlqəḏi.
 until=fut.=1p-go:fut. I with-2sm to=judge
 ‘Then the Jew said: I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.’

- Note that the 1sg. marker of *a-nṭār-əx-ku* is *-əx* rather than the regular *-x*. The epenthesis of this schwa is presumably there to break up the cluster *rxk*.

- (354) *I-n=ìs* *Žhà: nək řayyán-əx* *u=zmər-x* *ká a=řaddà-x*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha I be.sick:impf.-1s and=be.able:*pf.-1s neg. fut.=go:fut.-1s
af=řarin=n-úk w=ərwiḥ-(ḥ)=a *řyar=řmuṭ u=řar-i* *ká təlàba.*
 on=legs=of-1s and=be.afraid:res.-1s=res. from=cold and=to-1s neg. gown
 'Jha said to him: I am sick and I am not able to go on my legs and I am afraid of
 the cold and I do not have a gown.'
- (355) *I-n=ìs* *əlhùdi: a=fk-à=k* *ažiṭ* *id=təlàba řar řədd*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jew fut.=give:fut.-1s=10.2sm donkey with=gown but go:imp.
idd-i ar=əlqàdi.
 with-1s to=judge
 'The jew said to him: I will give you a donkey and a gown, but you have to go
 with me to the judge.'
- (356) *Bəřád uřàl-ən* *ar=əlqàdi i-řərw=ìs* *ləhùdi s=alá*
 Then arrive:*pf.-3pm to=judge 3sm-tell:*pf.=10.3s Jew from=rel.
řarà-n=a.
 happen:res.-ptc.=res.
 'Then they arrived at the Judge and the Jew told him about what had happened.'
- (357) *I-n=ìs* *əlqàdi i=Žhà: řəḥiḥ* *žlan=iya?*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s judge dat.=Jha be.true:3m words-PROX:pf.
 'The judge said to Jha: Are these words true?'
- (358) *Bəřadèn i-n=ìs:* *lhùdi i-qəlləz* *fəlli-wi u=nək*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s and=I
rwiḥ-ḥ=a *a=y-əqləz* *w=a=i-n=ìs* *ḥətta*
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.3s even
tłaba=nn-úk ta t-ənní *fəlli-wi t=tà=nn-əs* *nəttin*
 gown=of-1s rel:sf 3sf-exist:*pf. on-1s pred.=PMPH:sf=of-3s he
id=ažiṭ=ənn-úk *a=i-n=ìs* *d=wà=nn-əs* *nəttin.*
 with=donkey=of-1s fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.3s pred.=PMPH:sm=of-3s he
 'Then he said to him: The Jew is lying about me, and I am afraid that he will
 lie and say that even the gown that is on me is his and that he will say that my
 donkey is his.'
- (359) *Bəřadèn i-řayəṭ* *əlhùdi w=i-n=ìs* *y=əlqàdi: wəllàhi*
 Then 3sm-yell:*pf. Jew and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=judge by.God
t=ti=nn-úk.
 pred.=PMPH:PMPH=of-1s
 'Then the Jew yelled and said to the judge: By God, they are mine!'

- *tinnùk* is a feminine plural, but it is used to refer to a group of a mixed gender (masculine for *ažìt* and feminine for *tlàba*). It is surprising that a feminine form would be used for this rather than the masculine form, which is usually used for groups of mixed gender in Berber languages.

(360) *I-n=ìs əlqàdi: ku t-əqəlləz-t šəhùh fədd fədd rəwwəh.*
 3sm-say:* pf.=10.3s judge you 2s-lie:impf.-2s be.true:3sm go:imp. go:imp. return:imp.
 ‘The judge said to him: You truly are lying! Go! Go! Go away!’

(361) *U=y-əfədd Žhà y-əfrìh-a y-əhəşşil-a ədbùš id*
 And 3sm-go:P Jha 3sm-be.happy:res.=res. 3sm-obtain:res.=res. clothes
ažìt id=əlbarət.
 with=donkey with=money.
 ‘And Jha went satisfied, having obtained clothes, a donkey and money.’

C.1.6 Text VI

C.1.6.1 Original transcription

Žhà yəşkìna l'alli-y-ì, ba'adeñ [MvP: sic] yušád iwínān isāsa af tēfillinnes.
 Ba'adēn yáħzer Žhà s-ar-zùt w-inìs: ddiwa tğallit a-y-amédēn? Inìs amédēn:
 yīd-dīla. Yušizd Žhà. Ba'adēn inìs amédēn: fkiđik s-ar (anche: s-gār) elháqq
 ərǝábbi (nǝ > rǝ). Ba'adēn inìs Žhà: yid zòt. U yelbúb nettin iddes ar-zùt
 w-inìs: gār-ká. Ba'adēn inìs wa sāsān: af-ìwa tneddík-ká (anche: ur tned-
 dík) žlan-ìya u nek nnìh ar-ùtā? Ba'adēn inìs Žhà: w-afìwa tēneddík ərəš
 arùtā?

C.1.6.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhà yəşkin=a lʃəlli=yi, bəʃədèn yušà=d iwínān isāsa af=təfilli=nnəs. Bəʃə-
 dèn yəħzər Žhà sar=zùt w=in=ìs: ddiwa tǵəllit ay=amədən? In=ìs amədən:
 yi=d dila. Yuš=iz=d Žhà. Bəʃədèn in=ìs amədən: fki=dik sar=(or: syār=)
 əlhàqq ər=ɾəbbi. Bəʃədèn in=ìs Žhà: yid zùt. U=yəlbəb nəttin iddəs ar=zùt
 w=in=ìs: ɣari ká. Bəʃədèn in=ìs wa sāsān: af-ìwa tnəd=dik ká (or: ur=tnəd
 =dik) žlan=ìya u=nək nnix ar=ùtā? Bəʃədèn in=ìs Žhà: w=af-ìwa tənəd=dik
 ərəš ar=ùtā?

C.1.6.3 Glossed translation

(362) *Žhà y-əskìn=a lʃəlli=yi,*
 Jha 3sm-live:res.=res. high=loc.
 ‘Jha lived in a high (place),’

- (363) *bəʕədèn y-ušà=d iwínan i-sàsa af=təʕfilli=nn-əs.*
 then 3sm-come:pf. one:sm 3sm-beg:impf. on=house-of-3s
 ‘Then someone came begging at his house.’
- (364) *Bəʕədèn y-əxzər Žhà sar=zùt w=i-n=is:*
 Then 3sm-look:seq. Jha from=above and 3sm-say:*pf.-10.3s
 ‘Then Jha looked from above and said to him.’
- (365) *ddiwa t-ɣəlli-t ay=amədən?*
 what 2s-want:*pf.-2s voc.=man
 ‘What do you want, man?’
- (366) *I-n=is amədən: yi=d dila.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s man come:imp. at.here
 ‘The man said: come here.’
- *yid dila* bears only one accent, which implies that these two words form a single accent unit.
- (367) *Y-uš=iž=d Žhà.*
 3sm-come:*pf.=10.3s Jha
 ‘Jha came to him’
- (368) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is amədən: fki=dik sar (or: syàr)=əlhàqq*
 then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s man give:imp.=10.1s from=right
ər=rəbbi.
 of=God
 ‘Then he said to him: give me (something) from the right of God.’
- (369) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is Žhà: yid zùt.*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha come:imp. up
 ‘Then Jha said to him: come up.’
- (370) *U y-əlbáb nəttìn idd-əs ar=zùt w=i-n=is: ɣar-i ká.*
 and 3sm-climb:pf. he with-3s to=up and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s to=1s neg.
 ‘And he climbed up with him and he (Jha) said to him: I don’t have (anything).’
- (371) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is wa sása-n: aʕiwa t-nə-d=dik ká*
 then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s PMPH:ms beg:impf.-ptc. why 2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s neg.
 (or: *ur=t-nə-d=dik*) *žlan=iya u=nək nnì-x ar=ùta?*
 neg.=2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s words-prox.:p and=I be(loc.):*pf.-1s to=below
 ‘Then the beggar said to him: Why did you not tell me these words when (litt. and) I was still below?’

- (372) *Bəfədèn i-n=is* *Žhà: w=afīwa t-ənə-d=dik* *irəš*
 then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha: and=why 2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s descend:imp.
ar=ùta?
 to=below
 ‘Then Jha said to him: And why did you tell me to come down?’

C.1.7 Text VII

C.1.7.1 Original transcription

Ya’add Žhà ssùq-ī w-iság azīt u yeqqánt s-ažiker u ya’add w-azīōt déffer-a (anche: déffer-ah). Ba’adèn ušānīzd itnèn ěn-qāttā’an, iwīnān itūar azīōt u yerfát iddes w-iwīnān yaqqán imānnes amakān n-azīt. Ba’adèn yáhzar Žhà yufā améděn amakān n-azīt yugā yekrī sīs ssùq-ī w-inīs y-ettāžer wa-yugāya s-gāres azīt: šekrī-dik elbarātennūk, wāya d-azīt-ká, wāya d-améděn. W-igīs lěharžet. Ba’adèn išekrīs elbarātěnnes u ya’add Žhà iróūwah.

C.1.7.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəfədd Žhà ssùq=i w-isəy azīt u=yəqqən=t s=ažikər u=yəfədd w=aziyt dəffəra (or: dəffərah). Bəfədèn ušan=iz=d itnèn ən=qəttā’an, iwīnan itūar aziyt u=yərfət=t iddəs w=iwīnan yəqqən imən=nəs amakān n=azīt. Bəfədèn yəxzər Žhà yufā amədən amakān n=azīt yugā yəkri sīs ssùq=i w=in=is y=ettāžər wa yugāya sγārəs azīt: šəkri=dik əlbarat=ənnūk, wāya d=azīt ká, wāya d=amədən. W=ig=is ləhəržət. Bəfədèn išəkri=is əlbarat=ənnəs u=yəfədd Žhà irəwwəh.

C.1.7.3 Glossed translation

- (373) *Y-əfədd* *Žhà ssùq=i* *w=i-səy* *azīt*
 3sm-go:*pf. Jha market=loc. and=3sm-buy:*pf. donkey
 ‘Jha went to the market and bought a donkey.’
- (374) *u=y-əqqən=t* *s=ažikər* *u=y-əfədd* *w=azīt*
 and=3sm-tie:*pf.-3sm=DO.3sm with=rope and=3sm-go:*pf. and=donkey
dəffər-a (or: *dəffər-ah*).
 behind-3sm
 ‘And he tied it with a rope and went and the donkey (was) behind him.’
- (375) *Bəfədèn uša-n=iz=d* *itnèn ən=qəttā’an, iwīnan i-túwar*
 Then come:*pf.-3pm=10.3s=come two of=thieves, one:ms 3sm-open:*pf.
azīt *u=y-ərfət=t* *idd-əs w=iwīnan y-əqqən*
 donkey and=3sm-take.away:*pf.=DO.3sm with-3s and=one:ms 3sm-tie:*pf.

imàn=n-əs amakàn n=aẓiṭ.
 self=of-3s place of=donkey

‘Then came two thieves, one untied the donkey and took it away with him, and one tied himself (in) place of the donkey.’

- The phonological accent of *itúar* is unusual, and not found in this position for any other attestation of this word in the texts.

(376) *Bəṣadèn y-àxzər Žhà y-ufá amàdàn amakàn n=aẓiṭ y-uḡá*
 then 3sm-look:seq. Jha y-find:pf. man place of=donkey 3sm-take:pf.
y-əkrí s=ís ssùq=í w=i-n=ís y=attàžər wa
 3sm-return:*pf. with-3s market=loc. and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=merchant PMPH:ms
y-uḡá=ya syàr-əs aẓiṭ:
 3sm-take:res.=res. from-3s donkey

‘Then Jha looked (back) and found a man (in) place of the donkey, he took (it) and returned with it to the market and said to the merchant whom he had taken the donkey from.’

(377) *šəkrí=dik əlbarat=ənn-ùk, wàya d=aẓiṭ ká, wàya d=amàdàn.*
 return:imp.=10.1s money=of-1s, this:sm pred.=donkey neg., this:sm pred.=man
 ‘Give back my money, this is not a donkey, this is a man.’

(378) *W=i-g=ís lahəržət.*
 and=3sm-do:*pf.=10.3s noise
 ‘And he made a fuss to him.’

(379) *Bəṣadèn i-šəkr=ís əlbarat=ənn-əs u=y-əṣàdd Žhà*
 then 3sm-return:*pf.=10.3s money=of-3s and=3sm-go:*pf. Jha
i-rəwwəḥ.
 3sm-return.home:*pf.
 ‘Then he returned his money and Jha went home.’

C.1.8 Text VIII

C.1.8.1 Original transcription

Yeškî iwîn n el’âlem iddahwâr lhawáyyî u yâqqîm iddahwâr ašâli kkúll inéššed el’ulamâ u igellébtén u nettín iddahwâr ir itûg Žhâ. Ba’adên inšétt w-inîs: mäg innî ennûšš ên temûrt kkúll? Inîs Žhâ: amakân wa innî aẓiṭennûk w-öndú tšaddâqtîya-ká äžvôṭ temûrt. Itaháyyär el’âlem w-inšétt: ammágwa al’âded nē-nġûm? Inîs Žhâ: d-el’âded n aẓévû n aẓiṭennûk, undú tšaddâqtîya-ká aḥséb ênġûm w-aḥséb aẓévû n aẓiṭennûk. Ba’adên yenšétt amêdċen u inîs: ammágwa el’âded n aẓévû n tamîrtennûk.

Inîs Žhâ: el'áded n ažévū n tamirténnek am el'áded n ažévū n azif n azitēn-nūk w-undú tšaddāqtīya-ká aḥséb. Ba'adēn ittōūwīyel amédēn u yekrī yendīma.

C.1.8.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəški iwīn n=əlʕāləm iddəhwār lhəwāyī u=yəqqīm iddəhwār ašəl=i kkūll inəššəd əlʕulamá u=iyəlləb=tən u=nəttin iddəhwār ir itūg Žhâ. Bəʕədēn inšət=t w=in=ís: mag inni ənnúšš ən=təmurt kkūll? In=ís Žhâ: aməkàn wa inni ažit=ənnūk w=əndú tšəddəqt=i=ya ká əžvət təmurt. Itəḥəyyər əlʕāləm w=inšət=t: am=məgwa əlʕədəd nə nžum? In=ís Žhâ: d=əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=ažit=ənnūk, əndú tšəddəqt=i=ya ká əḥséb ənžum w=əḥséb ažəvu n=ažit=ənnūk. Bəʕədēn yənšət=t amədən u=in=ís: am=məgwa əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənnūk. In=ís Žhâ: əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt =ənnək am=əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=azif n=ažit=ənnūk w=əndú tšəddəqt=i =ya ká əḥséb. Bəʕədēn ittəwīyəl amədən u=yəkrī yəndim=a.

C.1.8.3 Glossed translation

- (380) *Y-əški iwīn n=əlʕāləm i-ddəhwār lhəwāyī u=y-əqqīm*
 3sm-left:*pf. one of=scholar 3sm-go.around:impf. outside and=3sm-stay:*pf.
i-ddəhwār ašəl=i kkūll i-nəššəd əlʕulamá
 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars
u=i-yəlləb=tən u=nəttin i-ddəhwār ir=i-tūg
 and=3sm-defeat:impf.=DO.3pm and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:*pf.
 Žhâ.

Jha

'A scholar left to go around outside, and he started going around the whole village asking scholars (questions) and he defeated them and he continued to go around until he met Jha.'

- (381) *Bəʕədēn i-nšət=t w=i-n=ís: mag i-nni*
 then 3sm-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm. and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s where 3sm-be(loc.):*pf.
ənnúšš ən=təmurt kkūll?
 middle of=earth whole

'Then he asked him and said: where is the middle of the whole earth?'

- (382) *I-n=ís Žhâ: aməkàn wa i-nni ažit=ənn-úk w=əndú*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha place PMPH:sm 3sm-be(loc.):*pf. donkey=of-is and=if
t-šəddəq-t=i=ya ká əžvət təmurt.
 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.IS=R neg. measure:imp. earth

'Juha said to him: It is the place where my donkey is, and if you do not believe me, measure the earth.'

- (383) *I-təhəyyər əlfələm w=i-nšət=t: am=màgwa əlfədəd*
 3sm-be.confused:*pf. scholar and=3sm-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm: like=what:sm number
nə=nžùm?
 of=stars
 ‘The scholar was confused and he asked him: How much is the number of stars?’
- (384) *I-n=is Žhà: d=əlfədəd n=ažəvu n=ažit=ənn-ùk, əndú*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha pred.=number of=hairs of=donkey=of-1s if
t-šəddəq-t=i=ya ká əhsáb ənžùm w=əhsáb ažəvu
 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. neg. count:imp. stars and=count:imp. hairs
n=ažit=ənn-ùk.
 of=donkey=of-1s
 ‘Jha said to him: It is the number of hairs of my donkey, if you do not believe me, count the stars and count the hairs of my donkey.’
- (385) *Bəfədən y-ənšət=t amədən u=i-n=is: am=màgwa*
 Then 3sm-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm. man and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s like=what:sm
əlfədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənn-ùk.
 number of=hairs of=beard=of-1s
 ‘Then the man asked him and said: How much is the number of hairs of my beard?’
- (386) *I-n=is Žhà: əlfədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənn-ək am=əlfədəd n=ažəvu*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha: number of=hairs of=beard=of-2sm like=number of=hairs
n=ažif n=ažit=ənn-ùk w=əndú t-šəddəq-t=i=ya ká əhsáb.
 of=tail of=donkey=of-1s and=if 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. neg. count:imp.
 ‘Jha said to him: The number of hairs of your beard is like the number of hairs of the tail of my donkey, and if you don’t believe it, count.’
- (387) *Bəfədən i-ttəwwiyəl amədən u=y-əkri*
 then 3sm-be.dumbfounded:*pf. man and=3sm-return:*pf.
y-əndim=a.
 3sm-become.sad:res.=res.
 ‘Then the man was dumbounded and he returned saddened.’

C.1.9 Text IX

C.1.9.1 Original transcription

Ya‘ádd Žhà elbáħār-ī igéllī āīsébbaħ u yekkéš dbūšénnes; ba‘adên ušând qáttá‘ān ukéren ědbūšénnes. Ba‘adên yekrī tfillinnes ‘aryān. Ba‘adên u

ba'ád séba'a āiyām ya'ádd marrát (anche: marrátet) aqûtet igélli āiséb-
baḥ elbáḥr-ī; yuná s-edbūšennes elmarrát-āya. Ba'ádên igulît iwînân n-
eşşahbennes, inîs: ddiwa ttudîk, attûnat s-edbūšennek ālbáḥr-ī. Yekrí fel-
lîs Žḥâ w-inîs: aunâḥ s-edbūšennûk aḥîr āūkerénten qeṭṭâ'an.

C.1.9.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəfədd Žḥâ əlbəhr=i iyəlli a=isəbbəḥ u=yəkkəš (ə)dbuš=ənnəs; bəfədèn
ušan=d qəṭṭáfan ukə̀rən ədbuš=ənnəs. Bəfədèn yəkrí tfilli=nnəs fəryàn.
Bəfədèn u=bəfəd səb(ə)fa ayyam yəfədd mərrát (mərrátət) aqûtet iyəlli
a=isəbbəḥ əlbəhr=i; yuná s=ədbuš=ənnəs əlmərrat=āya. Bəfədèn igulî=t
iwînàn n=eşşahb=ənnəs, in=îs: ddiwa ttudîk, a=ttúnat s=ədbuš=ənnək
əlbəhr=i. Yəkrí fəllîs Žḥâ w=in=îs: a=unàx s=ədbuš=ənnək axîr (axèr)
a=ukə̀rən=tən qəṭṭáfan.

C.1.9.3 Glossed translation

- (388) *Y-əfədd Žḥâ əlbəhr=i i-yəlli a=i-səbbəḥ u=y-əkkəš*
3sm-go:pf. Jha sea=loc. 3sm-want:pf. fut.=3sm-swim:fut. and=3sm-take.off:pf.
(ə)dbuš=ənn-əs;
clothes=of-3s;
'Jha went to the sea, he wanted to swim and he took off his clothes.'
- (389) *bəfədèn ušan-n=d qəṭṭáfan ukə̀r-ən ədbuš=ənn-əs.*
then come:pf.-3pm=come thieves steal:P-3pm clothes=of-3s
'then thieves came and stole his clothes.'
- (390) *Bəfədèn y-əkrí tfilli=nn-əs fəryàn.*
then 3sm-return:pf. house=of-3s be.naked:3sm
'Then he returned to his house naked.'
- (391) *Bəfədèn u=bəfəd səbəfa ayyam y-əfədd mərrát (mərrátət) aqût-ət*
then and=after seven days 3sm-go:pf. time another-sf
i-yəlli a=i-səbbəḥ əlbəhr=i
3sm-want:pf. fut.=3sm-swim:fut. sea=loc.
'Then after seven days he went another time, he wanted to swim in the sea.'
- (392) *y-uná s=ədbuš=ənn-əs əlmərrat=āya*
3sm-enter:pf. with=clothes=of-3s time=prox.:s
'He entered with his clothes this time.'

- In the first sentence 'time' was written as *mərrát* and in that sentence it was indefinite. In this sentence it is written as *əlmərrát*, and here it is definite. It appears

that the Arabic definite marker *al-* actually marks definiteness here, while in the rest of the language, and in most other Berber languages, this marker is oblique.

- (393) *Bəʕdèn i-gulì=t* *iwinàn n=aššahb=ənn-əs,*
 then 3sm-see:*pf.=DO.3sm one of=friend=of-3s
 ‘Then a friend of his saw him.’
- (394) *i-n=is:* *ddìwa ttudik, a=tt-úna-t* *s=adbuš=ənn-ək* *əlbəhr=i.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s what so fut.=2s-enter: fut.-2s with=clothes=of-2sm sea=loc.
 ‘What are you doing! (litt. what so) you are entering the sea with your clothes on.’

· *attúnat* irregularly has the accent on the penultimate syllable.

- (395) *Y-əkrí* *fəlli-s Žhà w=i-n=is:* *a=unà-x*
 3sm-return:*pf. on-3s Jha and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s fut.=enter: fut.-1s
s=adbuš=ənn-ùk axir a=ukər-ən=tən *qəttáʕan.*
 with=clothes=of-1s better fut.=steal: fut.-3pm=DO.3sm thieves
 ‘Jha answered him and said: it would be better if I would enter with my clothes than if they would be stolen by thieves.’

C.1.10 Text X

C.1.10.1 Original transcription

Yušâd Žhâ mârâ igélli ayéssen akelliménnes amakân baʕid lâkən akellim iššen-ká amakân w-iššen-ká tebārût u yérwaʕ ayúger w-inîs i-Žhâ: rwəḥḥa aūgəṛḥ. Inîs Žhâ: undú tuğərt yid-dîla ašəglâk tebārût.

C.1.10.2 Phonemic transcription

Yušâ=d Žhâ mârâ iɣəlli a=yəssən akəllim=ənnəs amakân baʕid ləkən akəl-lim iššən ká amakân w=iššən ká təbārūt u=yərwəʕ a=yùɣər w=in=îs i=Žhâ: rwihḥ=a a=uɣərx. In=îs Žhâ: əndú tuyərt yi=d dila a=šəglà=k təbārūt.

C.1.10.3 Glossed translation

- (396) *Y-ušá=d* *Žhâ mârâ i-ɣəlli* *a=y-əssən* *akəllim=ənn-əs*
 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-send: fut. servant=of-3s
amakân baʕid
 place be.far:3sm
 ‘One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.’

- (397) *lākən akəllim i-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən ká təbarùt*
 but servant 3sm-know:*pf. neg. place and=3sm-know:*pf. neg. way
u=y-ərwəf a=y-ùγər
 and=3sm-become.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut.

'But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way and he became afraid to get lost.'

- Especially in verbs with no object suffixes, the negative particle *ká* and the verb seem to share one accent.

- (398) *w=i-n=ìs i=Žhà: rwìh-ħ=a a=uyər-x.*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=Jha: become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=get.lost:fut.-1s
 'and he said to Jha: I am afraid of getting lost.'

- (399) *I-n=ìs Žhà: andú t-uyər-t yi=d dila*
 3sm-say:*pf.-10.3s Jha: if 2s-get.lost:*pf.-2s come:imp.=come here
a=šəgl-à=k təbarùt.
 fut.-show:fut.-1s=10.2sm way
 'Jha said to him: If you get lost, come here and I will show you the way.'

- Apparently *yi=d dila* forms a single accentual word, *yi=d* is unaccented.

C.1.11 Text XI

C.1.11.1 Original transcription

Márra Žhà ya'idda ssùq-ì. U nettîn ihâttâm af mîddən u mîddən sellâmən fellís s-kémma máktar n-mîddən ššənən-tíya. Ba'adèn igùl iwínān, yušád Žhà isséllem fellís l'álla. Ba'adèn amédən yənséd Žhà w-inís: ku tsəntíya s-əlōwâl? Ba'adèn inís Žhà: lā ġār gulih-kúya tudînta elqábbùt am wannûk w-el'amámet am tannûk, aħsəbh-kúya 'annek ku d-nék.

C.1.11.2 Phonemic transcription

Márra Žhà yəfidd=a ssùq=i. U=nəttîn ixəttâm af=mîddən u=mîddən səl-lâmən fəllís skəmma məktar n=mîddən ššənən=tí=ya. Bəfədèn igùl iwí-nan, yušà=d Žhà issəlləm fəllís l'əlla. Bəfədèn amədən yənsəd Žhà w=in=ís: ku tsənt=ì=ya s=ələwwâl? Bəfədèn in=ís Žhà: la γar gulix=kù=ya tudînt=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nnùk w=əl'əmámət am=ta=nnùk, əħsəbx=kù=ya ʔənnək ku d=nək.

C.1.11.3 Glossed translation

- (400) *Màrra Žhà y-əṣidd=a ssùq=i.*
 once Jha 3sm-go:res.=res market=loc.
 ‘Once, Jha had gone to the market.’
- (401) *U=nəttin i-xəṭṭàm af=middən u=middən səllàm-ən fəlli-s*
 and=he 3sm-meet.with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s
skəmma məktar n=middən ššən-ən=tì=ya.
 because many of=people know:res.-3pm=DO.3sm=res.
 ‘And he would meet people and they would greet him because many of the
 people had met him (before).’ [PT:XI]
- The verb *ššən* ‘to know’ in the resultative takes on the meaning ‘to have gotten to know, to have met’, see also the example sentence in the dictionary sub *wa*.
- (402) *Bəṣadèn i-gùl iwīnan, y-ušà-d Žhà i-ssəlləm fəlli-s lʕəlla.*
 Then 3sm-see:*pf. one:sm 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha 3sm-greet:*pf. on-3s greatly
 ‘Then he saw someone and Jha came and greeted him greatly.’
- (403) *Bəṣadèn amədən y-ənsəd Žhà w=i-n=is: ku*
 Then man 3sm-ask:pf. Jha and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s: you
t-šən-t=i=ya s=ələwwàl?
 2s-know:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. from=before?
 ‘Then the man asked Jha and said: Do you know me from before?’
- (404) *Bəṣadèn i-n=is Žhà: la yar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha: no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res.
əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk,
 robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s
əḥsəb-x=kù=ya ʔənn-ək ku d=nək.
 think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmlpr.2sm you pred.=I
 ‘Then Jha said to him: No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban
 like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!’

C.1.12 Text XII

C.1.12.1 Original transcription

Iwīn n iṣf yeškī Žhà ssùk-ī² w-iddes ažiṭennes. Ba‘adèn isáğ hénṭā n el-
 ḥáḍārāt w-iggītet skāret-ī³ lākān yélgām āīgītet af ažiṭ w-igītet af elket-
 fennes u ya‘ádd yeḷbība af ažiṭennes. Ba‘adèn igulīt iwīnān n-əššāḥbennes

²Unusually Paradisi writes *ssuq* with a *k* here.

³Probably a printing error of <škāret>.

tēbarūt-ī yensédēt w-inîs: adgát-ká škâret af aziöt? Inîs Žhâ: erwá‘ s-gâr rábbi a-y-amédēn; issúdda-ká nek elbúbħa af aẓit u tēgellit-ī aħméllħ fellîs škâret u arnâs etta‘áb af etta‘abénnes.

C.1.12.2 Phonemic transcription

Iwîn n=išf yəški Žhâ ssùq=i w=iddəs aẓit=ənnəs. Bəfədèn isəy ħənta n=əlxəð(ə)rət w=iggì=tət škárət=i⁴ làkən yəlyəm a=igì=tət af=aẓit w=igì=tət af=əlkətf=ənnəs u=yəfədd yəlbīb=a af=aẓit=ənnəs. Bəfədèn igulì=t iwìnàn n=əşşahb=ənnəs təbarùt=i yənsəð=t w=in=îs: a=dgát ká škárət af=aẓit? In=îs Žhâ: ərwáʕ syar=rəbbi ay=amədən; issúdda ká nek əlbəbx=a af=aẓit u=təyəllit=i a=ħməlx fəllis škàrət u=a=rnà=s əttəfəb af=əttəfəb=ənnəs.

C.1.12.3 Glossed translation

- (405) *Iwîn n=išf y-əší Žhâ ssùq=i w=idd-əs aẓit=ənn-əs.*
 one of=day 3sm-leave:*pf. Jha market=loc. and=with-3s donkey=of-3s
 ‘One day Jha left for the market and with him (he had) his donkey.’
- (406) *Bəfədèn i-səy ħənta n=əlxəðərət w=i-ggì=tət škárət=i.*
 then 3sm-buy:*pf. bit of=vegetable and=3sm-put:*pf.=DO.3sf bag=loc.
 ‘Then he bought some vegetables and put them in a bag.’
- (407) *lākən y-əlyəm a=i-gì=tət af=aẓit w=i-gì=tət*
 but 3sm-refuse:seq. fut.=3sm-put:fut.=DO.3sf on=donkey and=3sm-put:*pf.=DO.3sf
af=əlkətf=ənn-əs u=y-əfədd y-əlbīb=a af=aẓit=ənn-əs.
 on=shoulder=of-3s and=3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-climb:res.=res. on=donkey=of-3s
 ‘But he did not want to put it on the donkey and put it on his shoulder and he went sitting on the donkey (i.e. having climbed it).’
- (408) *Bəfədèn i-gulì=t iwìnàn n=əşşahb=ənn-əs təbarùt=i*
 Then 3sm-see:*pf.=DO.3sf one:sm of=friend=of-3s road=loc.
y-ənsəð=t w=i-n=îs: a=d-gà-t ká škàrət
 3sm-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s fut.=2s-put:fut.-2s neg. bag
af=aẓit?
 on=donkey?
 ‘Then a friend of his saw him on the road and asked him: will you not put the bag on the donkey?’
- (409) *I-n=îs Žhâ: ərwáʕ syar=rəbbi ay=amədən;*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha fear:imp. from=god voc.=man;
 ‘Jha said: Fear god o man!’

⁴On the discussion of the accent see section 8.2.

- (410) *i-ssùdd=a* *ká nək əlbəb-x=a* *af=aʒit*
 3sm-be.enough:res.=res. neg. I climb:res.-1s=res. on=donkey
u=t-əyalli-t=i *a=ħməl-x* *fəlli-s škàrət*
 and=2s-want:*pf.-2s=DO.1s fut.=load:fut.-1s on-3s bag
u=a-rn-à=s *attəʕəb af=attəʕəb=ənn-əs.*
 and=fut.=increase:fut.-1s=IO.3s burden on=burden=of-3s

'Is it not enough that I mount the donkey? and you want me to load the bag on the donkey and increase the burden upon his burden!'

- One would expect *əlbəb-x-a* to be ***əlbib-x-a*.

C.1.13 Text XIII

C.1.13.1 Original transcription

Yeškí Žhâ s-ar (anche: s-gâr) tēfillînes w-iddes irîu fellîs tēkabêrt tēzwâgt u yerfa'tîya af agârâţennes. Ba'adên ittuwît u yâqqîm idōwâr fellîs u net-tîn af agârâţennes u itennîs i-kull amêdçen: dgulît-ká irîu fellîs tēkabêrt tēzwâgt? Ba'adên inîs iwîn n amêdçen: bâlek nettîn wa nnîyen af êlketfêç-nek. Ba'adên yerfa' Žhâ tēgîlînes ar-zûţ igûl irîu w-inîs y-irîu: ur-nâka-ká ba'ád atqîmât iddî ta'addît-ká?

C.1.13.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəškí Žhâ sa= (or: syâr=) tēfillî=nnəs w=iddəs irîw fəllîs təkabêrt təzwəyt u=yərfəʕ=tî=ya af=agərəţ=ənnəs. Bəʕədèn ittuwî=t u=yəqqîm idəwwâr fəllîs u=nəttîn af=agərəţ=ənnəs u=itənn=îs i=kull amədçen: dgulît ká irîw fəllîs təkabêrt təzwəyt? Bəʕədèn in=îs iwîn n=amədçen: bələk nəttîn wa nnîyən af=əlkətf=ənnək. Bəʕədèn yərfəʕ Žhâ tēgîlî=nnəs ar=zûţ igûl irîw w=in=îs y=irîw: ur=nà=k=a ká bəʕəd a=tqîmât iddî təʕəddît ká?

C.1.13.3 Glossed translation

- (411) *Yəškí* *Žhâ sar (or: syâr)=təfîllî=nn-əs w=idd-əs* *irîw fəllî-s təkabêrt*
 3sm-leave:*pf. Jha from=house=of-3s and=with-3s child on-3s shirt
təzwəyt u=y-ərfəʕ=tî=ya *af=agərəţ=ənn-əs.*
 red:sf and=3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res. on=neck=of-3s

'Jha left his house and with him (was his) child had a red shirt on and he carried him on his neck.'

- (412) *Bəʕədèn i-ttuwì=t u=y-əqqim i-dəwwàr fəlli-s*
 Then 3sm-forget:*pf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-look.around:impf. on-3s
u=nəttin af=agərət=ənn-əs u=i-tənn=is i=kùll amədən
 and=he on=neck=of-3s and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s dat.=each person
 ‘Then he forgot him and he started looking around for him, and he was (still)
 on his neck, and started saying to each person.’
- (413) *d-gulì-t ká irìw fəlli-s təkabàrt təzwàyt?*
 2s-see:*pf.-2s neg. child on-3s shirt red:sf
 ‘Have you not seen a child with a red shirt on?’
- (414) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is iwìn n=amədən: bələk nəttin wa*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s one:sm of=man: perhaps he PMPH:sm
nniy-ən af=əlkətf=ənn-ək.
 be(loc.):*pf.-ptc. on=shoulder=of-2sm
 ‘Then a man said to him: perhaps he is the one that is on your shoulder?’
- (415) *Bəʕədèn y-ərfəʕ Žhà təgìlì=nn-əs ar=zùt i-gùl irìw*
 Then 3sm-lift.up:pf. Jha head=of-3s to=up 3sm-see:*pf. child
w=i-n=is y=irìw:
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s dat.=child:
 ‘Then Jha lifted his head up and saw the child and he said to the child.’
- (416) *ur=n-à=k=a ká bəʕəd a=t-qimà-t idd-í t-əʕəddì-t ká?*
 neg.=say:res.-1s=IO.2sm=res. neg. when fut.-2s-stay:fut.-2s with-1s 2s-go-impf.-2s neg.
 ‘Did I not tell you that when you stay with me not to go (anywhere?)’

C.1.14 Text XIV

C.1.14.1 Original transcription

Žhà d-ələšlá; ba‘adèn iwìn n išf ya‘add i-wa tezzàmən u izemîs. Ba‘adèn ikkémmeł yefkîs ennûs n elbarât. Ba‘adèn inîs wa tezzàmən: af-iwá tēfkî-dîk nnûs n elhəqqennûk? Inîs Žhà: s-kémma (or: sémma) nek d-aləšla‘.

C.1.14.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhà d=ələšləʕ; bəʕədèn iwìn n=išf yəʕədd i=wa təzzàmən u=izəm=is. Bə-ʕədèn ikkəmməl yəfk=is ənnûs n=əlbərât. Bəʕədèn in=is wa təzzàmən: af-iwá təfki(t)=dik (ə)nnûs n=əlḥəqq=ənnûk? In=is Žhà: skəmma nək d=ələšləʕ.

C.1.14.3 Glossed translation

(417) *Žhà d=aləšləʕ*
 Jha pred.=bald
 'Juha was bald.'

- *aləšləʕ* has an unexpected final accent. The final sentence of this text has the word with the correct accent in the same syntactic environment.

(418) *bəʕədèn iwìn n=išf y-əʕədd i=wa təzzàm-ən*
 then one:sm of=day 3sm-go:*pf. dat.-PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.
u=i-zəm=iš.
 and=3sm-shave:*pf.=IO.3s

'Then one day he went to the barber (litt. He who shaves) and he (the barber) shaved him.'

(419) *Bəʕədèn i-kkəmməl y-əfk=iš ənnùš n-əlbərət.*
 then 3sm-finish:*pf. 3sm-give:*pf.=IO.3s half of=money

'Then he finished and he (Jha) gave him half of the money (he owed him):'

(420) *Bəʕədèn i-n=iš wa təzzàm-ən: aʕtəwá t-əfki-(t)=dik*
 then 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.: why 2s-give:*pf.-2s=IO.1s
(ə)nnùš n=əlħəqq=ənn-ùk?
 half of=right=of-1s?

'Then the barber said: Why did you give me half of what is rightfully mine?'

- Note that in Paradisi's transcription of *təfki(t)=dik* <təfkiðik> the final *-t* of the 2sg. is lost.

(421) *I-n=iš Žhà: skəmma nək d=aləšləʕ.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha: because I pred.=bald
 'Jha said to him: Because I am bald!'

C.1.15 Text XV

C.1.15.1 Original transcription

Gān Abû-dabār gâres tēmígnī w-iggâda s-gâres sébaʕa n tirîwîn (anche: tirîwî) wě nettîn gâres əlħarbüşənnəs innī ʕangarā w-išúwwa gān əlgârsāt-ənnəs w-igāi gān timzîn id əlgafûli (anche: ñgafûli) u gares gān tnūvîn nə bẓālīm w-išuwitəneṭ af afusənnəs w-irōūwāḥ af tfillinnes w-ayaʕádd elgábeš w-ayûš mnišiu u gān tirîut tmoqqârânt tnīs y-abbās: arfáʕ-ī id-dek aggūlaḥ sâwāninnāk. Yekrî fellis, inīs: qámak ammāneṭ timzîn w-annaʕádd gān kúll, kem id əmmām id setmām. U baʕadèn yaʕádd nettîn

elħarbūšennes u yāqqîm išúwwa tnūvînes w-irrôūwah mnišîu w-inîsneţ i-tirîwînes id emmâtsneţ: şbâĥ annaśadd suwânînnâĥ. U fráĥneţ tirîwîn u šîredneţ ksûmennésneţ (anche: ġâstînnésneţ = le loro ossa) u yuśâd âr temignînes w-inîs: neġâllî annaśadd şbâĥ u ddiwa dgulî? Tekrî fellîs ênnât w-êtnîs: alá dgît bâĥî. W-inîs: wétti-dikkénî ččunnâĥ şbâĥ id báśad şábâĥ. Tekrî fellîs, tnîs: kullî šei yutâya. Yuśâd, yunâ nettîn iddes amakânnesîn u yemĥâţţât avoţ-idîn. Kkêreĥ elġâbeš, iwâtân twétta elmetŝatenésneţ w-iwâtân tčîrâd u baśadên udênneţ udûn kuwâyes u ŝaddân ġallîyen azréden elħarbūšennesîn u baśadên tívâ tafût tebârût-î u ġallîyeĥ ašelĥâmen afîu; yeĥzêr abbâs žibereténnes yûfa ġallûda n afîu. Ĥzêrneţ tirîwîn u nânêtis: ábbâ, ábbâ akkiwân elbâqîs n afîu. Inîs abbâs: wettîmet šġîren, qâmak aggâġd afîu s-ġâr tēfilli-y-îwan. Yaśadd abbâs, yufit d-âmzâ, inîs: ssalâmu ŝalêikum. Inîs âmzâ: s-mâġ tušidda Abû-dábâr. Inîs: ušġda s-ašâli nek id lêhilennûk. W-inîs âmzâ: mâġ ênnîyeĥ lêhilennek. Inîs Bû-dábâr: akkiwân eřišina dilîwân. W-inîs: ġallîĥ afîu. Inîs: arfâŝi zûţ lektûfénnek. Yerwaŝ Bû-dabar s-ar âmzâ u yerfâŝât zûţ lektûfénnes u yaśadd ar lêhilennes. Uşâleĥ w-inîs âmzâ: aġrešdîk tirîut tmoqqârânt. U yefkišîn afîu w-inîsîn: âuśâġd âufâĥtet temmâya. Yaśadd âmzâ w-âqqîmân abbâs n tirîwîn id emmâtsneţ vellânneţ u yeqâreb ušû n âmzâ

Têkker temîgnî w-êtnîs i-tirîwînes: kkêrmet, ĥzêrmet. W-ekkêrneţ tirîwîn id emmâtsneţ qqâimânneţ ddôūwârneţ u baśadên neĥînet ufânet alúġom yemmûta u kkêrneţ, erfâŝneţ z-ġân šummânneţ y-âmzâ u taĥzêr emmâtsneţ tmûrt-î u túfa êlmeġġâret u ččân (tš > čč) ġân tirîut tēmoqqârânt u yuśâd âmzâ u fkânîs ksûm wa mmâna u yeččît w-inîsîn: šummât-dîk tirîut tâten, amišîw-ennûk. U ġân-îs am tâten. U şbahénnes: šummât-dîk tâten. U ġân-îs am-alâ ġâna i-wertnâs u yuśad âmzâ u yeččâ amekliwénnes w-inîsîn: šummât-dîk amišîwennûk. U šummân-îs s-ar alóġom yemmûta u yuśad âmzâ u yeččâ amišîúnnes w-inîsîn: şábâĥ amekliu af temignînek. U nânîs bâĥî. Şbah šummân amekliu u túna ar tirîwînes u yuśad âmzâ u yeččâ amekliúnnes w-inîs âmzâ: amišîu fellîk-kú Abû-dabâr. U yaśadd Bû-dabar yeggâd ġâstîn id ġlîménnes id mlâl w-igîten elgedêrénnes u yûna ar tirîwînes u yuśad âmzâ u yeččâ ġâstîn wē nettîn itétta yâqqîm itennîs: Ksûménnek aĥâš, kkull d-ġâstîn. W-ênhînet sennâţnet žlân n âmzâ.

Baśad yeččâ, âmzâ yekkêr u yâqqîm inékki u baśadên yeslâ žlân elmoġġâret-î u yaśâyâţ âmzâ, slân amziwen ušând lahhéden, nânîs: kénnek? Inîsîn: ġân mîddeĥ dîla, qqâimât dîla u nek aunâĥ elmaġġâret-î w-endú iškî azîfennûk de-šţâf, rwelât. Tsennâţ temîgnî alá itennîs âmzâ; yuśad âmzâ, išan azîfénnes elmoġġâret-î. Tekkêr temîgnî u tegġâd tebaqqûšt u tšêţţâf azîf n âmzâ w-iškî azîf n âmzâ d-šţâf u ġulânt amziwen dē-šţâf w-êrwelêĥ kkull u tēškî ênnât [X?]id amédénneş it-tirîwînes ufân âmzâ id

amzîwen ərwilîna kkull wë fráhnɛt tirîwîn u faddân elħarbüşennɛsîn u baƒadên uşâlen gân u ççân u şuân w-ëkkérɛn rrôuwâhan tfillinnesîn.

C.1.15.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan Abú-dabr ƒarəs təmigni w=iggà=d=a syàrəs səbəfa n=tiriwîn (or: tirîwi) wə=nəttin ƒarəs əlxərbuš=ənnəs inni ƒángara w=işəwwa gan əlyərsat=ən-nəs w=igây gan timzîn id=əlgafûli (or: ngafûli) u=ƒarəs gan tnuvîn nə=bza-lim w=işəwwi=tənət af=afus=ənnəs w=irəwwəh af=tfilli=nəs w=a=yəfədd əlyəbəš w=a=yüş mnišiw u=gan tirîwt tməqqərânt tn=is y=abbà=s: ər-fəf=i iddək a=gguləx səwanî=nnək. Yəkrî fəllis, in=is: qámak a=mmànət timzîn w=a=nnəfədd gan kùll, kəm id=əmmàm id=sətmàm. U=bəfədèn yəfədd nəttin əlxərbuš=ənnəs u=yəqqim išəwwa tnuvîn=nəs w=irrəwwəh mnišiw w=in=isnət i=tiriwîn=nəs id=əmmà=tsnət: şbah a=nnəfədd səwanî=nnax. U=frəhnət tirîwîn u=širədnət ksum=ənnəsnət (or: ƒəstin=nəsnət) u=yuşà=d ar=təmigni=nəs w=in=is: nəyəlli a=nnəfədd şbah u=ddiwa dgu-lit? Təkrî fəllis ənnət w=ətn=is: alá dgît bahi. W=in=is: wətti=dikkəni ççu=nnax şbah id=bəfəd şbah. Təkrî fəllis, tn=is: kùlli šəy yutà=ya. Yuşà=d, yuná nəttin iddəs amakan=nəsîn u=yəmhət=tət avət=idin. Kkərən əlyəbəš, iwátan twətta əlmətƒat=ənnəsnət w=iwátan tsírad u=bəfədèn udənnət udùn kəwəyəs u=fəddàn ƒəlliyan a=zrədən əlxərbuš=ənnəsîn u=bəfədèn tiva tafút təbarút=i u=ƒəlliyan a=šəlhəmən afiw; Yəxzər abbàs žibərət=ən-nəs yufa gal=lüda n=afiw. xzərnət tirîwîn u=nanət=is: əbba, əbba akki-wàn əlbəqis n=afiw. In=is abbàs: wəttimət šyirən, qámak a=ggây=d afiw syàr=təfilli=yíwan. Yəfədd abbàs, yufi=t d=àmza, in=is: ssalámu ƒalèy-kum. In=is àmza: s=màg tušid=d=a Abu-dàbr. In=is: ušiy=d=a s=ašàl=i nək id=ləhil=ənnək. W=in=is àmza: màg ənniyən ləhil=ənnək. In=is Bu-dàbr: akkiwàn irišin=a dilíwan. W=in=is: ƒəllix afiw. In=is: ərƒəf=i zut ləktuf=ənnək. Yərwəfí Bú-dabr sar=àmza u=yərfəf=ət zut=ləktuf=ənnəs u=yəfədd ar=ləhil=ənnəs. Uşələn w=in=is àmza: aƒrəs=dik tirîwt tməqqər-ànt. U=yəfk=isîn afiw w=in=isîn: a=ušây=d a=ufàx=tət təmmà=ya. Yə-fədd àmza w=əqqimàn abbàs n=tiriwîn id=əmmàtsnət vèllànət u=yəqàrəb ušú n àmza.

Təkkər təmigni w=ətn=is i=tiriwîn=nəs: kkərmət, xzərmət. W=əkkərnət tirîwîn id=əmmàtsnət qqimànət ddəwwərnət u=bəfədèn nəhinət ufànət aləƒəm yəmmùta u=kkərnət, ərƒəfnət z=gan šəmmànət yàmza u=təxzər əmmàtsnət tmürt=i u=tùfa əlməƒƒərət u=tšan gan tirîwt təməqqərânt u=yuşà=d àmza u=fkán=is ksùm wa mmàn=a u=yəççi=t w=in=isîn: šəmmát =dik tirîwt tàtən, amišiw=ənnək. U gan=is am=tàtən. U=şbah=ənnəs: šəmmát=dik tàtən. U gán=is am=alá gán=a i=wərtnàs u=yúša=d àmza u=yəçça aməkliw=ənnəs w=in=isîn: šəmmát=dik amišiw=ənnək. U=šəm-

mán=is sar=aləyəm yəmmùt=a u=yúša=d àmza u=yəčča amišiw=ənnəs
w=in=isin: šəbàh aməklīw af=təmigñi=nnək. U=nan=is: bāhi. Šbah šəm-
màn aməklīw u=tùna ar=tiriwìn=nəs u=yúša=d àmza u=yəčča aməklīw
=ənnəs w=in=is àmza: Amišiw fəllik=kú Abu-dabər. U=yəfədd Bú-dabr
yəggà=d yəstìn id=glim=ənnəs id=mlàl w=igì=tən əlgədər=ənnəs u=yùna
ar=tiriwìn=nəs u=yúša=d àmza u=yəčča yəstìn wə=nəttìn itətta yəqqim
itənn=is: Ksum=ənnək aḥàs, kull d=yəstìn. W=ənhinət sənnàṭnət žlàn
n=àmza.

Bəfəd yəčča, àmza yəkkər u=yəqqim inəkki u=bəfədèn yəslá žlàn əlməy-
yərət=i u=yəfəyət àmza, slàn amziwən ušan=d ləhhədən, nan=is: kən-
nək? In=isin: gan mīddən dila, qqimət dila u=nək a=unəx əlməyərət=i
w=əndú iški azif=ənnək də=štəf, rwəlāt. Tsənnàṭ təmigñi alá itənn=is
àmza; Yušà=d àmza, išàn azif=ənnəs əlməyərət=i. Təkkər təmigñi u=təggà
=d təbəqqūst u=tšəttəf azif n=àmza w=iški azif n=àmza d=štəf u=gùlant
amziwən də= štəf w=ərwlən kkull u=təški ənnət id=amədən=nəs it=tiri-
wìn=nəs ufàn àmza id=amziwən ərwilìn=a kkull wə=frəḥnət tiriwìn u=
fəddàn əlxarbuš=ənnəsìn u=bəfədèn ušələn gan u=ččàn u=šwàn w=əkkə-
rən rəwwəḥən tfilli=nnəsìn.

C.1.15.3 Glossed translation

- (422) *Gan Abúdabr yār-əs təmigñi w=i-ggàd=a* *šyār-əs səbəfa*
there Abu.Dabr to-3s wife and=3sm-bring:res.=res. from-3s seven
n=tiriwìn (or: tiriwi)
of=girls

‘There once was (a man called) Abu-Dabr, he had a wife and he received seven girls from her.’

- (423) *wə=nəttìn yār-əs əlxarbuš=ənn-əs ì-nni* *ŷàngara w=i-šəwwa*
and=he to-3s garden=of-3s 3sm-exist:*pf. ŷAngara and=3sm-water:impf.
gan əlyərsat=ənn-əs w=i-gày *gan timzìn*
there young.palms=of-3s and=3sm-cultivate:impf. there barley
id=əlgafūli (or: ngafūli) u=yar-əs gan tnuvìn *nə=bzəlīm*
with=maize and=to-3s there irrigation.canals of=onions
w=i-šəwwi=tənət *af=afus=ənn-əs w=i-rəwwaḥ*
and=3sm-water:impf.=DO.3sm on=hand=of-3s and=3sm-return:impf.
af=tfillì=nn-əs
on=house=of-3s

‘And he had a garden that lay in ŷAngara and he always watered his young palms there and cultivate the barley and maize there and he had irrigation canals of onions and he would water them by himself, and he would go home.’

- *af=afus=ənn=əs* literally means ‘on his hand’, Paradisi translates ‘da solo’. This is probably an expression that indeed has the meaning that Paradisi translates.

(424) *w=a=y-əfədd əlyəbəš w=a=y-ùš mnišiw u=gan tirìwt*
 and=fut.=3sm-go:fut. morning and=fut.=3sm-come:fut. evening and=there girl
tməqqərànt t-n=ìs y=abbà-s: əfəf=i idd-ək
 big:3f 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=father-3s take:imp.=DO.1s with-2sm
a=ggùl-əx səwanì=nn-ək.
 fut.=see:fut.-1s garden=of-2sm

‘He would go in the morning, and come (back) in the evenings, and the oldest girl there said to her father: take me with you so I can see your garden.’

- One would expect *əlyəbəš, mnišiw* to take the locative postposition *-i*.

(425) *Y-əkrí fəlli-s, i-n=ìs: qámak a=mmà-nət timzìn*
 3sm-return:*pf. on-3s 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s now fut.=be.ready:fut.-3pf barley
w=a=n-nəfədd gan kùll, kəm id=əmmà-m id=sətmà-m.
 and=fut.=1p-go:fut. there all, you with=mother-2sf with=sisters-2sf

‘He answered to her and said: Now, when the barley will have ripened, we will all go there, you, your mother and your sisters.’

(426) *U=bəfədèn y-əfədd nəttìn əlxərbus=ənn-əs u=y-əqqìm i-šəwwa*
 and=then 3sm-go:*pf. he garden=of-3s and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-water:impf.
tnuwin=n-əs w=i-rrəwwəh mnišiw w=i-n=ìsnət
 irrigation.canals=of-3s and=3sm-return:*pf. evening and=3sm-say:*pf.=DO.3pf
i-tiriwin=n-əs id=əmmà-tsnət: šbàh a=n-nəfədd səwanì=nn-ax.
 dat.=children=of-3s and=mother-3pf: tomorrow fut.=1p-go:fut. garden=of-1p

‘And then he went to his garden and started watering his irrigation canals and he returned that evening and said to his daughters and their mother: Tomorrow we will go to our garden.’

(427) *U=frəh-nət tiriwin u=širəd-nət ksum=ənn-əsnət (or:*
 and=be.happy:*pf.-3pf girls and=wash:*pf.-3pf meat=of-3pf
yəstin=n-əsnət) u=y-ušà=d ar=təmiḡnì=nn-əs
 bones=of-3pf and=3sm-come:*pf.=come to=woman=of-3s
w=i-n=ìs: nə-ḡəlli a=n-nəfədd šbàh u=ddiwa d-gulì-t?
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s 1p-want:*pf. fut.=1p-go:fut. tomorrow and=what 2s-see:*pf.-2s

‘The girls became happy and washed themselves and he came to his wife and said to her: We want to go tomorrow, what do you think? (litt. what do you see?)’

- (428) *T-əkrí fəlli-s ənnət w=ətn=is: alá d-gì-t bàhi.*
 3sf-return:*pf. on-3s she and=3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s rel. 2s-do:*pf.-2s be.good:3sm
 ‘She answered to him and said: What(ever) you do is fine.’
- (429) *W=i-n=is: wətti=dikkəni čču=nn-àx šbàh id=bəʔəd*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s prepare:imp.=10.1p food=of-1p tomorrow and=after
šəbàh.
 tomorrow.
 ‘And he said to her: prepare food for us for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.’
- (430) *T-əkrí fəlli-s, t-n=is: kùlli šəy y-utà=ya.*
 3sf-return:*pf. on-3s 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s everything 3sm-be.prepared:res.=res.
 ‘She answered to him: Everything is prepared.’
- (431) *Y-ušá=d, y-uná nəttin idd-əs amakan=n-əsìn*
 3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm
u=y-əmḥəṭ=ṭət avəṭ=idìn.
 and=3sm-make.love:*pf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s
 ‘He came and entered their place with her and he made love to her that night.’
- (432) *Kkə̀r-ən əlyəbəš, iwátan twə̀tta əlmətʔat=ənnəsənət w=iwátan*
 get.up:*pf.-3pm morning, one:sf 3sf-prepare:*pf. stuff=of-3pf and=one:sf
tšírad u=bəʔədèn udən-nət udùn kəwəyəs
 3sf-wash:impf. and=then dress:*pf.-3pf clothing good
 ‘They got up in the morning, one (of the girls) prepared their stuff and one washed, and then they dressed in fine clothes’
- *tšírad* looks like an imperfect (albeit with the wrong accent), but must be translated as a perfect.
- (433) *u=ʔəddà-n yəlliy-ən a=zrəd-ən əlxərbuš=ənn-əsìn u=bəʔədèn*
 and=go:*pf.-3pm want:*pf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then
t-iva tafūt təbarùt=i u=yəlliy-ən a=šəllə̀m-ən afīw;
 3sf-fall:seq. sun road=loc. and=want:*pf.-3pm fut.=light:fut.-3pm fire
 ‘And they went and they wanted to eat (in) their garden and then the sun fell on the road and they wanted to light a fire.’
- (434) *Y-əxzár abbà-s žibərət=ənn-əs y-ùfa gal lùda n=afīw.*
 3sm-search:pf. father-3s travelling.bag=of-3s 3sm-found:seq. there nothing of=fire
 ‘The father searched his travelling bag (but) found there was nothing for (lighting the) fire.’

- The *n* of *gan* has assimilated to the *l* of *lùda*.

- (435) *xzàr-nət tiriwìn u=na-nət=ìs: àbba, àbba akkiwàn əlbəqìs n=afìw.*
 look:*pf.-3pf girls and=say:*pf.-3pf=10.3s: father father that.there glimmer of=fire.
 ‘The girls looked around and said to him: Father, father! There! the glimmer of fire!’
- (436) *I-n=ìs abbà-s: wətti-mət šyirən, qámak a=ggà-γ=d*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s father-3s prepare:imp.-fp firewood now fut.=bring:fut.-1s=bring
afìw syàr=təfilli=yíwan.
 fire from=house=dist.:s
 ‘The father said: prepare firewood, now I will bring fire from that house.’
- (437) *Yə-řədd abbà-s, y-ufi=t d=àmza, i-n=ìs:*
 3sm-go:*pf. father-3s, 3sm-find:*pf.=DO.3sm pred.=ogre, 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s
ssalāmu řaləykum.
 as-salāmu řalaykum
 ‘The father went and found out that it was an ogre and he says yo him: *as-salāmu řalaykum*’
- (438) *I-n=ìs àmza: s=màg t-uři-d=d=a Abudàbr.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s ogre from=where 2s-come:*pf.-2s=come=res. Abu.Dabr
 ‘The ogre said to him: Where did you come from Abu-dabr?’
- (439) *I-n=ìs: uři-γ=d=a s=ařàl=i nək id=ləhil=ənn-ùk.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s come:res.-1s=come=res. from=village=loc. I with=family=of-1s
 ‘He said to him: I’ve come from the village, together with my family.’
- (440) *W=i-n=ìs àmza: mąg ənnìy-ən ləhil=ənn-ək.*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s ogre where exist:*pf.-3pm family=of-2sm
 ‘And the ogre said: Where is your family?’
- (441) *I-n=ìs Budàbr: akkiwàn iriř-ìn=a dilíwan.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Abu.dabr that.there descend:res.-3pm=res. at.there
 ‘Abu-dabr. said to him: Over there, they’ve descended down there.’
- (442) *W=i-n=ìs: γəlli-x afìw.*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s want:*pf.-1s fire
 ‘And he said to him: I want fire.’
- (443) *I-n=ìs: əřfəř=i zut=ləktuf=ənn-ək.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s carry:imp.=DO.1s on.top.of shoulders=of-2sm
 ‘He (the ogre) said to him: Carry me on your shoulders.’

- (444) *Y-ərwəʕ* *Bú-dabr sar=àmza u=y-ərʕəʕ=ət*
 3sm-be.afraid:*pf. Abu.dabr from=ogre and=3sm-carry:*pf.=DO.3sm
zùt=ləktuf=ənn-əs *u=y-əʕədd* *ar=ləhil=ənn-əs.*
 on.top.of=shoulders=of-3s and=3sm-go:*pf. to=family=of-3s
 ‘Abu dabr was afraid of the ogre and he carried him on his shoulders and went to his family.’
- (445) *Uşəl-ən* *w=i-n=ìs* *àmza: ayrəş=dik* *tirìwt*
 arrive:*pf.-3pm and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s ogre slaughter:imp.=IO.1s girl
tməqqərànt.
 big:sf
 ‘They arrived and the ogre said to him: Slaughter your oldest daughter for me.’
- (446) *U=y-əʕk=isìn* *aftw w=i-n=isìn:* *a=uşà-γ=d*
 and=3sm-give:*pf.=IO.3pm fire and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3pm fut.=come:fut.-1s
a=ufà-x=tat *t-əmmà=ya.*
 fut.=find:fut.-1s=DO.3sf 3sf-be.cooked:res.=res.
 ‘And he gave them fire and said to them: I will come (back) and I will find her cooked.’
- (447) *Y-əʕədd* *àmza w=əqqimà-n* *abbà-s n=tiriwìn* *id=əmmà-tsnət*
 3sm-go:*pf. ogre and=stay:*pf.-3pm father-3s of=children with=mother-3pf
vəllà-nət *u=y-əqàrəb* *uşú* *n=àmza.*
 cry:impf.-3pf and=3sm-draw.near:*pf. coming of=ogre.
 ‘The ogre went (away) and the father of the children and their mother started to cry and the coming of the ogre drew near.’
- (448) *T-əkkər* *təmìgni w=ət-n=ìs* *i=tiriwìn=n-əs:* *kkàr-mət,*
 3sf-get.up:*pf. woman and=3sf-say:*pf.=IO.3s dat.=children=of-3s get.up:imp.-pf
xzàr-mət.
 look:imp.-pf
 ‘The woman stood up and she said to her children: get up and look around.’
- Verbs of the *ċc* type usually have a phonological final accent in all stems. The verb *təkkər* here is the only exception.
- (449) *W=əkkàr-nət* *tiriwìn* *id=əmmà-tsnət* *qqimà-nət* *ddəwwàr-nət*
 and=get.up:*pf.-3pf children with=mother-2pf stay:*pf.-3pf go.around:impf.-3pf
u=bəʕədèn nəhìnət ufà-nət *aləyəm y-əmmùt=a* *u=kkàr-nət,*
 and=then they(f) find:*pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:*pf.-3pf,
əʕəʕ-nət *z=gan* *şəmmà-nət* *y=àmza*
 lift.up:*pf.-3pf from=there cook:*pf.-3pf dat.=ogre

'And the children and the mother got up and started going around and then they found a dead camel and they stood up and lifted (it) from there and cooked it for the ogre.'

- (450) *u=t-əxzár ammà-tsnət tmùrt=i u=t-ùfa əlməyyàrət*
 and=3sf-look:pf. mother-3pf land=loc. and=3sf-find:seq. cave
u=t-šan gan tirìwt təməqqərànt u=y-ušà=d àmza
 and=3sf-make.enter:*pf. there girl big:sf and=3sm-come:pf.=come ogre
u=fká-n=is ksùm wa mmà-n=a
 and=give:*pf.-3pm=10.3s meat PMPH:sm be.cooked:res.-ptc.=res.
u=y-əččì=t w=i-n=ísìn: šəmm-át=dik tirìwt
 and=3sm-eat:*pf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm cook:imp.-pm=10.1s child
tàtən, amišiw=ənn-ùk.
 other:sf dinner=of-1s

'And the mother searched the area and found a cave and made oldest girl go in there, and the ogre came and they gave him the meat that had been cooked and he ate it and said: Cook me another girl, (for) my dinner.'

- (451) *U=ga-n=is am=tàtən.*
 and=do:P-3pm=10.3s like=other:sf
 'And they did to her like (they did to) the other.'
- (452) *U=šbaḥ=ənn-əs šəmm-át=dik tàtən.*
 and=tomorrow=of-3s cook:imp.-pm=10.1s other:sf
 'And the next day: cook another for me'

Notes 1 *šbaḥ=ənn-əs* literally translates to 'his/her tomorrow'. This construction is only found here, so little more can be said about it.

- (453) *U=gá-n=is am=alá gà-n=a i=wərtná-s*
 and=do:*pf.-3pm=10.3s like=rel. do:res.-3pm=res. dat.=sister-3s
u=y-úša=d àmza u=y-əčča aməklīw=ənn-əs
 and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s
w i-n=ísìn: šəmm-át=dik amišiw=ənn-ùk.
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm cook:imp.-pm=10.1s dinner=of-1s
 'And they did to here like they had done to her sister and the ogre came and ate his meal and he said to them: cook me dinner.'
- (454) *U=šəmmá-n=is sar=aləyəm y-əmmùt-a u=y-úša=d*
 and=cook:*pf.-3pm=10.3s from=camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=3sm-come:seq.=come
àmza u=y-əčča amišiw=ənn-əs w=i-n=ísìn: šəbàḥ
 ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. dinner=of-3s and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm tomorrow
aməklīw af=təmiǵnì=nn-ək.
 meal on=woman=of-2sm

'and they cooked for him from the dead camel and the ogre came and ate his dinner and said: tomorrow (I will have) a meal on your wife.'

(455) *U=na-n=is: bāhi.*

and=say:*pf.-3pm=10.3s be.good:3sm

'And they said to him: fine.'

(456) *Šbah šammà-n aməklīw u=t-ùna ar=tiriwīn=n-əs*

tomorrow cook:*pf.-3pm meal and=3sf-enter:seq to=children=of-3s

u=y-úša=d àmza u=y-əčča aməklīw=ənn-əs

and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s

w=i-n=is àmza: Amišīw fəllī-k kú Abudabár.

3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s ogre: dinner on=2sm you Abu.dabr

'The next day, they the cooked the meal and (the mother) entered (the cave with her) children and the ogre came and ate his meal and the ogre said to him: Dinner (will be) on you, Abu-dabr.'

(457) *U=y-əfədd Búdabr y-əggà=d yəstīn id=glim=ənn-əs id=mləl*

and=3sm-go:*pf. Abu.dabr 3sm-bring:pf.=bring bones with=skin=of-3s with=sand

w=i-gī=tən

əlgədar=ənn-əs u=y-ùna

ar=tiriwīn=n-əs

and=3sm-put:*pf.=DO.3pm pot=of-3s and=3sm-enter:seq. to=children=of-3s

u=y-úša=d àmza u=y-əčča yəstīn wə=nəttīn i-təttā

and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. bones and=he 3sm-eat:impf.

y-əqqīm i-tənn=is: Ksum=ənn-ək aḥàš, kùll d=yəstīn.

3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-say:impf.=10.3sm meat=of-2sm bad all pred.=bones

'and Abu-dabr went and brought the bones and skin and sand and put it in the cooking pot and he entered (the cave with his) children and the ogre came and ate the bones and he while eating he kept on saying: your meat is bad, all of it is bones.'

(458) *W=ənhīnət sənnàt-nət žlàn n=àmza.*

and=they(f) hear:impf.-3pf words of=ogre

'And they heard to the words of the ogre'

- *sənnàt-nət* looks like an imperfect but must be a perfect (cf. *tšīrad* earlier in the text).

(459) *Bəfəd y-əčča, àmza y-əkkár u=y-əqqīm i-nəkki*

After 3sm-eat:seq. ogre 3sm-get.up:*pf. and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-smell:impf.

u=bəfədèn y-əslá žlàn əlməyyàrat=i u=y-əfāyət àmza,

and=then 3sm-hear:pf. words cave=loc. and=3sm-scream:*pf. ogre,

slà-n amzìwə̀n ušà-n=d ləhhəd-ən, na-n=ìs:
 hear:*pf.-3pm ogres came:*pf.-3pm=come run:impf.-3pm say:*pf.-3pm=10.3s
kə̀nnək?
 what is it?

'After the ogre had eaten he got up and started sniffing, and then he heard words from the cave and the ogre screamed and (other) ogres heard (it) and came running and said to him: What is it?'

- (460) *I-n=ìsìn: gan mìddən dila, qqim-àt dila u=nək*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm there people at.here, stay:imp.-pm at.here and=I
a=unà-x əlmə̀yàrət=i w=əndú i-ški azif=ənn-ùk də=štə̀f,
 fut=enter:fut.-1s cave=loc. and=if 3sm-leave:*pf. tail=of-1s pred.=black:sm,
rwəl-àt.
 flee:imp.-pm

'He said to them: there are people here, stay here and I will enter the cave, and if I come out and my tail is black, flee!'

- (461) *T-sənnàt təmìgni alá i-tənn=ìs àmza:*
 3sf-hear:impf. woman rel. 3sm-say:impf.=10.3s ogre
 'The woman heard what the ogre was saying'

- (462) *Y-ušà=d àmza, i-šàn azif=ənn-əs əlmə̀yàrət=i.*
 3sm-come:*pf.=come ogre 3sm-insert:*pf. tail=of-3s cave=loc.
 'The ogre came and inserted his tail into the cave.'

- (463) *T-əkkár təmìgni u=t-əggà-d təbəqqùšt u=t-šə̀ttə̀f*
 3sf-get.up:*pf. woman and=3sf-take:pf.=take pan and=3sf-make.black:*pf.
azif n=àmza w=i-ški azif n=àmza d=štə̀f
 tail of=ogre and=3sm-leave:*pf. tail of=ogre pred.=black:sm
u=gùla-n=t amzìwə̀n də=stə̀f w=ərwəl-ən kkull
 and=see:*pf.-3pm=DO.3sm ogres pred.=black:sm and=flee:*pf.-3pm all

'The woman got up and she took the pan and she made the tale of the ogre black, and the tale of the ogre came out being black and the ogres saw it being black and they all fled.'

- (464) *u=t-əškí ənnàt id=amədàn=n-əs it=tiriwìn=n-əs ufà-n àmza*
 and=3sf-leave:*pf. she with=man=of-3s with=children=of-3s find:*pf.-3pm ogre
id=amzìwə̀n ərwilì-n=a kkull
 with=ogres flee:res.-3pm=R all

'And she came out with her husband and her children and she found that the ogre and the ogres had all fled.'

- (465) *wə=frəh-nət* *tiríwin* *u=ʕəddà-n* *əlɣarbuš=ənn-əsìn*
 and=become.happy:*pf.-3pf children and=go:*pf.-3pm garden=of-3pm
u=bəʕədèn uʂəl-ən *gan* *u=ččà-n* *u=šwà-n*
 and=then arrive:*pf.-3pm there and=eat:*pf.-3pm and=drink:*pf.-3pm
w=əkkàr-ən *rrəwwəh-ən* *tfilli=nn-əsìn.*
 and=get.up:*pf.-3pm return:*pf.-3pm house=of-3pm
 ‘And the children became happy and they went to their garden and then they arrived there and they ate and drank and they got up and returned to their house.’

C.2 Texts from Zanon

C.2.1 Song I

C.2.1.1 Original transcription

ǧillig kàm uggūt uggūt. / min ǧair tǧelli tikra⁵

C.2.1.2 Phonemic transcription

ǧəllig=kəm uggut uggut. / min ɣayr tɣəllit=i kra

- (466) *ɣəlli-ɣ=kəm* *uggut uggut.*
 want:*pf.-1s=DO.2sf much much
 ‘I want you so much’

- notice that the form *ǧillig* still has the original Berber *-ɣ* as 1sg. ending rather than *-x* as is found universally in Paradisi (1960a).
- In Paradisi (1960a), the 2sg.f. direct object is *-kəm*, as this is the common form in Berber languages, it would seem that this was misheard by Zanon, rather than an archaism.
- In Paradisi (1960a), *uggūt* is found as *əggūt / əggút/*. In Sokni (Sarnelli 1924) we find *uggút* ‘much, many’, perhaps this *u* had not yet shifted to *ə* in the time of Zanon’s fieldwork.

- (467) *min ɣayr t-ɣəlli-t=i* *kra*
 without 2s-want:*pf.-2s-DO.1s neg.
 ‘without you wanting me’

⁵As pointed out by Brugnatelli (1987: 54), the second line should be reanalysed as *min ǧair tǧellit-i kra*.

- *min γayr* ‘without’ < Ar. *min ġayri* ‘id.’ does not usually take negation in Arabic.
- *kra* is found in Paradisi (1960a;b) as *ká*. The form found in Zanon (1932) appears to be an archaism, reflecting the origin of *ká* to be from *kára* ‘thing’ (Brugnatelli 1987: 55). But if this really is an archaism, then we find a striking anachronism in the much earlier wordlist of Müller (1827), where we find *ghaleika* غليكة /γəli-ka/ from Ar. *γali* ‘expensive’ with the negative particle *-ká*.

C.2.2 Song II

C.2.2.1 Original transcription

ul-innôḥ iṭāra aî-mma / iğàlli wullis inṡamma

C.2.2.2 Phonemic transcription

ul-innùx iṭara ay-əmma / iyəlli wulli-s ən ṡamma

C.2.2.3 Glossed translation

(468) *ul=ənn-ùx i-ṭar=a ay=əmma*
 heart=of-1s 3sm-fly:res.=res. voc.=mother
 ‘my heart has flown, o mother!’

- The possessive 1sg. in this text is *-innôx*, probably /-ənnùx/. This is different from Paradisi (1960a;b) which have /-ənnùk/. This may be an indication that the Au-jila of Paradisi represents a slightly different dialect than that of Zanon.
- The form <aîmma> ‘for (my) mother’ is remarkable. Paradisi (1960a) has *mmá*, the form found in Zanon rather implies that there is an initial ə which was accented, as per the regular accent rules.

(469) *i-γəlli wulli-s ən=ṡamma*
 3sm-want:*pf. daughter-3s of=aunt
 ‘it wants the daughter of my aunt’

- Note that <inṡamma> must stand for *ən ṡamma*, where the <i> stands for ə.
- Paradisi (1960b) has *ámmī* for ‘uncle’. *ṡamma*, probably means ‘aunt’, cf. Ar. *ṡamma* ‘id.’. It is remarkable that the masculine form has lost its ṡ, and the feminine form has not.

C.2.3 Song III

C.2.3.1 Original transcription

gilliḥ kîra šāināt / ‘ali simeḥ diwîs uāmmi

C.2.3.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəlliḥ kîra šəynat / ʕali simiḥ d=iwî-s n=ammi.

(470) *ɣəlli-x kîra šəynat*
 want: *pf.-1s neg. ugly.ones
 ‘I do not want ugly ones’

- Unlike the first Zanon text, this time *ɣəllix* has a final *-x* rather than *-y* for the 1sg. PNG-marking.

(471) *ʕali símiḥ d=iwî-s n=ammi*
 Name kind pred.=son-3s of=uncle
 ‘(I want) kind Ali, he is the son of my uncle’

- <simeḥ> must be ELA *símiḥ* ‘sweet, pretty, handsome’ (p.c. Benkato).
- The <u> in <uāmmi> is probably a misreading of *n*. A cursively written *u* can easily be confused for an *n*, combine that with unfamiliarity with the language, and it does not seem unlikely that these two sounds were confused. If we assume this confusion, we have a perfect parallel between text II and text III. Text II has *wulli-s ən ʕamma* ‘daughter of my aunt’, this text has ‘son of my uncle’.

C.2.4 Song IV

C.2.4.1 Original transcription

Jā rijù lû rāit Bālǰu / Gān laḥbùb imrijét

C.2.4.2 Phonemic transcription

ya iriw lu rayt Balǰu / gan laḥbùb əmrijèt.

C.2.4.3 Glossed translation

(472) *ya=irìw lù rayt Balǰú*
 voc.=child if you could see Place
 ‘O child, if you could see Balǰu’

- *Jā rijù*, and should be read as *ya irìw*. The loss of the initial *i* is not easily understood.
- *lû rāit Bālǧu* is a codeswitch to Arabic. This is a fixed expression, very common in poetry. Many short poems open with, e.g. *yā lu reytu feyn el-bneyya* ‘O if you (pl.) only saw the girl’s eyes...’. (p.c. Benkato)

(473) *Gan laħbùb əmriy-ìt*
 there dates be.beautiful-p
 ‘There the dates are (so) beautiful.’

C.2.5 Song V

As Zanon (1932: 272) points out, this song is a nonsense text. It is a joke concerning a Bedouin custom. When a girl addresses a song to her lover, it is customary for the Bedouin to respond on the same topic. Because the girl singing is Berber, and the boy responding is a Bedouin Arab, his form of ‘response’ on the same topic, is answering the nonsense he hears, with nonsense.

Because there this text is not meant to make sense, no attempt has been made to make a translation.

C.2.5.1 Original transcription

Agennîmen da Šuf / Taqabbît dār awlāfná

C.2.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Agənnìnən da Šuf / Taqəbbīt dar awlafná

C.2.5.3 Notes

- Zanon explains that <Agennîmen> is a circle that women put on their head to carry a pitcher of water. Thus is surely equivalent to Paradisi’s *agennîn* pl. *gen-nîneḡ* ‘a small cushion one wears on the head to carry loads’. It is unclear whether the form is the singular or the plural form, as it has features of both.
- *Šuf* and *Taqəbbīt* are both placenames.
- *dar* is the common North-African Arabic word for ‘house’.
- *awlāfná* is probably *ā ullāf-na* ‘O our lover!’

C.2.6 Song VI

This is a song that is sung during ‘Fantasia’s’ while men sit in a circle, looking forward to the coming of the dancer, who is getting dressed in a secluded place and, allegedly, will execute the long and grueling task without being properly nourished before, (performing) it purely (on a meal of) rice, like the song says (translated from Zanon 1932: 272).

C.2.6.1 Original transcription

'amma tqábbiš qāma attûš / kázán itkîra sorróz

C.2.6.2 Phonemic transcription

ʕamma tǵəbbəš qama attûš / kazàn itkîra s-ərrùz

C.2.6.3 Glossed translation

(474) *ʕamma t-gəbbəš qama a=tt-ùš*
 prog. 3sf-gird:impf. now fut.=3sf-come:fut.

‘She is getting dressed (litt. girding herself), now she will come’

- Not that *tǵəbbəš* is written with a *q* in the original transcription by Zanon. This gives the impression that the text was originally written down in Arabic script. Both *g* and *q* would be written with Arabic ق.

(475) *kazàn i-tkîr=a s=ərrùz*
 pot 3sm-full:res.=res. with=rice
 ‘(Her) pot (fig. belly) is filled with rice.’

C.2.7 Song VII

C.2.7.1 Original transcription

ǵillîḥ tika Dimmîs / 'ali hw lli ǵān iǵǵilib.

C.2.7.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəllix=t əka Dimmîs / ʕali hu əlli gan əžžələb.

C.2.7.3 Glossed translation

(476) *ɣəlli-x=t əka Dimmîs*
 want:*pf.-1s=DO.3sm neg. Dimmis

‘I do not want him, Dimmis’

- There are no attestations in Paradisi's text where a direct object is marked both pronominally and lexically. This of course does not mean it is impossible, the corpus of texts is so small that this gap may simply be due to chance, but it makes the analysis of this sentence somewhat problematic. Especially because Dimmis is a highly unusual name.
- Zanon translates this sentence as *Non voglio saperne de Dimmis*, there is clearly no reflex of 'to get to know' in 'I do not want to get to know Dimmis' in this sentence.

(477) *ʕali hu əlli gan əžžələb*

Ali he.who there riches

'(who I want) is Ali, where the riches are'

- This is a hybrid Arabic-Berber sentence. *hu əlli* is clearly the introduction of a relative clause.
- <ğān> betrays that the text was written down in Arabic script, it must be the locative adverb *gan* 'there; there is, there are', which introduces the locative relative phrase.

C.2.8 Song VIII

C.2.8.1 Original transcription

tūšidda s Tangġum / tit'ġbta 'alā šān Nānna

C.2.8.2 Phonemic transcription

tūšidda s Tangižəm / tit'ġbta ʕala šan Nānna

C.2.8.3 Glossed translation

(478) *t-ušġ-d=d=a* *s=Tangižəm*
 2s-come:res.-2s=come=res. from=Tangijem
 'You have come from Tangižəm'

(479) *t-ət'ġb-t=a* *ʕala šan Nānna*
 2-toil:res.-2s=res. for.the.sake.of Nanna
 'You have exerted yourself for Nanna'

C.2.9 Song IX

C.2.9.1 Original transcription

mabrūk 'alàik tulî'a / fi zinîm wóḥra twṣ̌gi

C.2.9.2 Phonemic transcription

mabruk ʕalàyk tuliʕa / fi zənìm w əxra təʕyəl.

C.2.9.3 Glossed translation

(480) *mabruk ʕalàyk* *t-uliʕ=a* *fi=zənìm*
 congratulations.to.you 3sf-fall.in.love:res.=res. in=bastard
 'Congratulations to you! She has fallen in love with a bastard!'

- This sentences is a strange mix between Berber and Arabic. Every single word is of Arabic origin, but *t-uliʕ-a* has a Berber conjugation. The object of the verb is marked with the Arabic preposition *fi*.

(481) *w əxra t-əʕyəl*
 and shit 3sf-work:*pf.
 'And she works (in) shit!'

- *twṣ̌gi* probably is a very badly transcribed reflex of Arabic word *šaǧala* 'to occupy, busy'.

C.2.10 Song X

This song is sung about a girl that is waiting for a promised wedding. The father of her boyfriend is constantly travelling between the two respective places where the lovers live, constantly talking and making arrangements, but never deciding on anything concrete. Today, this song serves as a proverb that corresponds to the english 'All talk, no walk'.

C.2.10.1 Original transcription

îuna s Timillîl iškî Sawilhāǧ / abbāk jā Moḥammed iām išina mqlázîn

C.2.10.2 Phonemic transcription

yùna s Timillîl iški Sawilhāž / abbak ya Məḥəmməd yam išina əqlazən

C.2.10.3 Glossed translation

(482) *y-una s=Timillil i-ški Sawilḥaž*
 3sm-enter:*pf. from=Place 3sm-leave:*pf. Sawilhaj
 ‘He has entered Timillil and left Sawilhaj’

- *s* in Paradisi is always the ablative preposition ‘from’. But in this context such an interpretation does not make sense. It seems like it rather has an allative meaning.

(483) *abba-k ya=Məḥəmməd yam i-šin=a əqlazən*
 father-2sm voc.=Mohammed only 3sm-know:res.=res. lies
 ‘Your father, O Mohammed, only(?) knows tall tales (litt. lies).’

- *yam* is an otherwise unattested word, in the context it seems likely that it means ‘only’.
- Zanon transcribed <mqłázīn>, the initial <m> is certainly incorrect. Perhaps it was a misread *u*, which stood for the *ə* in front of *q*.

C.2.11 Song XI

This song is a nursery rhyme, singing the praise of a child who will be circumcised. The translation provided by Zanon deviates strongly from the actual text.

C.2.11.1 Original transcription

ingûli, ingûli, nittîn iġlāia ġġûli / ġ'āl laslām inšûnit.

C.2.11.2 Phonemic transcription

əngùli, əngùli, nəttin iɣlaja ġġ-ùl-i / ʒʔəl ləsləm ən-sùnit

C.2.11.3 Glossed translation

(484) *əngùli, əngùli, nəttin i-ɣla=ya ġġ=ùl=i*
 see(nursery) see(nursery) he 3sm-be.expensive:res.=res. in=heart=loc.
 ‘Come and see, come and see, he is dear in the heart!’

- *əngùli* is probably related to the verb *agál, gul* ‘to see’, but a further morphological analysis is not possible.
- *ġġ* is a common Berber preposition for ‘in’, but it is unattested as such in Paradisi, which only has a compound preposition *ar-z-ġġ*. In this phrase it is combined with the locative suffix *i*

- Zanon translates this line as: Vedilo, vedilo! L'amo con tutto il fegato: Come and see, come and see! I love him with all my liver. He points out that, like the Arabic, Aujila considers the liver as the source of warm emotions. This is of course wrong, as the text actually has the word for 'heart' rather than liver. Therefore Aujila follows the European tradition of considering the heart as the source of warm emotions.

(485) *ğʕal ləslam ən=šùnət*
 believe:imp. islam of=sunnah
 'Believe the Islam of the Sunnah!'

- *šùnət* Probably stands for *sunna(t)* 'Habitual practice (of the Islam)', but the *š* instead of *s* and the long vowel *u* are unexpected.
- The second line is translated as: e farò cresca da buon musulmano. Lett: 'sarà da musulmano circonciso': And I will make him become a good muslim: litt.: He will become a circumcized muslim.; clearly both the literal and non literal translations do not correspond to the actual text. Although also the actual text is clearly a wish, or command to the child for it to become a good muslim.

C.2.12 Song XII

This story refers to an old custom in Koran school, where, if a student has been able to learn some important sura's, he will offer lunch to his fellow students. He will have to serve the lunch himself, and will, among other things, remove the lid that covers the couscous. This song is a incitement to study.

C.2.12.1 Original transcription

inṭar fillik tītín tik'waît / ddāḥ tarfá't ittiš'waît

C.2.12.2 Phonemic transcription

ənṭər fəllək tita n tikwàyt / ddax tərɸəʔt əttəšwàyt

C.2.12.3 Glossed translation

(486) *ənṭər fəll-ək tita ən=tikwàyt*
 abandon:imp. on-2sm hitting of=ball
 'Abandon (to you) the playing (litt. hitting) of the ball'

- Zanon's transcription does not reflect the final *-a* of the verbal noun *tita* of the verb *awit* 'to hit'. Perhaps Zanon's form reflects a variant *titi*.

(487) *dax* *t-ərfəf-t* *əttəšwàyt*
 in.order.to 2s-raise:*pf.-2s couscous
 'So that you may raise (the lid off) the couscous!'

- In Paradisi's texts, *dax* is always followed by a future stem. In this text, it appears to be followed by a perfective.

C.2.13 Song XIII

C.2.13.1 Original transcription

alḥamdülillàḥi azîṭannek iškî iddîra

C.2.13.2 Phonemic transcription

alḥamdulillàhi azít=ənnək iški iddîr=a

C.2.13.3 Glossed translation

(488) *alḥamdulillàhi* *azít=ənn-ək* *i-ški* *i-ddîr=a*
 praise.be.to.god donkey=of-2sm 3sm-leave:*pf. 3sm-live:res.=res.
 'Praise be to god, your donkey came out alive!'

Appendix D

Lexicon

D.1 Introduction to the lexicon

This part contains the complete known lexicon of the Awjila language. The lexicon is Awjila-English, and the Awjila words have been categorized by roots. It gives an overview of the attested forms of every single word in the language, with references to the source.

Moreover, etymological information is provided whenever it is possible. Whenever a word is of Berber origin, I have provided it with several examples of the etymologically related word in other Berber languages. Whenever a word comes from Arabic, this has been noted by means of references to Libyan Arabic or to Standard Arabic.

D.1.1 Structure of the Dictionary

The dictionary is alphabetized by roots. These roots are artificial abstractions of the language that consist of the consonants of the lexical basis of a word. The abstract roots in this lexicon, do not necessarily represent linguistic reality, but rather allow for an easy way to alphabetize words in a way that facilitates placing words that are related under the same entry.¹

The method of deriving the root of a word is inspired by that found in well-known dictionaries such as Taifi (1992), Dallet (1982) and Delheure (1985). Different from these dictionaries, whenever a root has multiple identical root consonants in a row, I have counted these as two separate root consonants. For example, *l̥qq̥q̥q̥* has been placed under the root LQQ, and not LQ as it would be in the conventions used by the dictionaries mentioned above.

The root of a word can be extracted with the following steps:

1. prefixes and suffixes are not taken into consideration.
2. vowels are not taken into consideration.
3. gemination is not taken into consideration.

¹For a discussion on the Berber root, see Galand (2010: 84ff.).

Whenever two words have the same abstract root, but are semantically unrelated, they have been categorized as two different roots. A number behind the root distinguishes the two. For example, *afūd* ‘knee’ and *yəffūda* ‘to be thirsty’ are unrelated semantically, while their root is FD in both cases. In this case, *afūd* ‘knee’ has been categorized as FD₁ and *yəffūda* as FD₂.

A few words only contains vocalic elements, these have been categorized under the respective vowel sign in the dictionary. The alphabetical order of the dictionary is as follows:

A ? B Ć D F G Ÿ H Ĩ I K L M N Q R S Ş Š T Ṭ V W X Y Z Ž Ɔ

D.1.2 Structure of an Entry

A typical entry in the dictionary has the following form:

ROOT

Word [word category] ‘meaning’

Grammatical information in regular type *attested forms in italics* [source in square brackets]

References to attestations in Paradisi, Zanon, Beguinot and Müller

▷ example sentences

○ comments

◆ Information on the origin of the word

The word in the entry is written in a phonemic transcription according to the analysis given in the grammatical part. Verbs are always cited in the entry with the imperative, in cases where the imperative is unattested, a reconstructed form is provided with an asterisk (*) in front of it. Nouns are cited in the singular, and the plural when both are available. Verbs have an overview of the different TAM-stems of the verb, below the main entry of the word.

The forms of the word are cited below the entry. Every single spelling of the word that is attested is cited, supplied with a place of attestation. When the word is found with a clitic behind it that has influence on the position of the accent, this clitic is placed behind it in brackets. When there is no indication of the source behind a word, it means it is taken from the first source cited in the list of attestations below it. This is usually Paradisi’s word list.

Below the forms, we find a list of attestations, which are marked with abbreviations that refer to the source. These abbreviations are explained in Table D.1 below.

After the list of attestations, sometimes example sentences and comments are provided, marked with their respective signs.

Finally, where possible, lemmas have a section on their etymology. In such cases several examples from other Berber languages are given, or in case of an Arabic origin, dialectal Arabic or standard Arabic.

Other researchers have already written comparative information on the words that I am discussing. I refer to these sources with abbreviations. K: stands for Kossmann (1999), the number stands for the numbered entry in that book. NZ: stands for Naït-Zerrad (1998; 1999; 2002), which is a synchronic overview of Berber roots. The letters stand for the entry under which the related words are categorized. Finally TC: stands for the Zenaga-French dictionary by Taine-Cheikh (2008), which contains many footnotes with etymological information. The number refers to the number of the footnote.

Many different sources have been consulted for the entry on the word origin. Whenever there is an entry with a Berber origin, words from Kabyle (Dallet 1982), Mali Tuareg (Heath 2006) and Zenaga (Taine-Cheikh 2008; 2010) have always been cited. Also the Libyan dialects of Ghadames (Lanfry 1973), El-Foqaha (Paradisi 1963a), Sokna (Sarnelli 1924), Djebel Nefusa (Beguinot 1942) and the Egyptian dialect of Siwa (Laoust 1931, Souag 2010, Naumann 2013), have been cited whenever possible.

Sometimes, a word with a solid Berber origin, has not been attested in the above languages. In such cases, I occasionally give forms from other Tuareg dialects (Ritter 2009a;b), Middle Atlas Tamazight (Taifi 1992), Mzab Berber (Delheure 1985), Ouargla Berber (Delheure 1987), Figuig (Kossmann 1997), and Tashelhiyt (Stroomer fthc.).

When a word is of Arabic origin, I cite several different dialects. First of all, when possible, I make mention of the Modern Standard Arabic form (Wehr 1979). Besides Modern Standard Arabic, mention is made of Moroccan Arabic (Prémare 1993, Harrell 1966), Egyptian Arabic (Hinds 1986), and Eastern Libyan Arabic (and Benghazi Arabic) (Panetta 1958; 1962a;b; 1964a;b; 1980, Owens 1984 and Benkato fthc.).

D.1.3 Abbreviations

In the dictionary several abbreviations are used to the sources and languages. These abbreviations are listed in the tables below.

P: <i>lemma</i>	The lemma in Paradisi (1960a)
PT: <i>number</i>	The text number in Paradisi (1960b)
B21: <i>page</i>	The page number where the word is attested in Beguinot (1921)
B24: <i>page</i>	The page number where the word is attested in Beguinot (1924)
B25: <i>page</i>	The page number where the word is attested in Beguinot (1925)
Z: <i>number</i>	The text number in Zanon (1932)
M: lemma <i>latin arabic</i>	The lemma name, latin transcription and arabic transcription of the word attested in Müller (1827)

Table D.1: Source abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic
ELA	Eastern Libyan Arabic
Ghd.	Ghadames
Foq.	El-Foqaha
Zng.	Zenaga
To.	Tuareg
Nef.	Nefusa
Kb.	Kabyle
Sok.	Sokna
Mor. Ar.	Moroccan Arabic
Ouar.	Ouargla
MA	Middle Atlas Berber
LA	Libyan Arabic
Eg. Ar.	Egyptian Arabic
Gk.	Classical Greek
Lat.	Latin

Table D.2: Language Abbreviations

A

a [interj.] vocative interjection

a, ā, ā-(mma) [Z:II]

▷ *áy-amédeŋ* ‘o man’

P: o, ovvero PT: III, VI, XII Z: II

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *a* ‘vocative interjection’

ʔN

ann-ək [complementizer]

2sg.m. *ʔann-ək*

PT: XI

▷ *aḥsébh-kû-ya ʔannek ku d-nék* ‘I thought that you were me’ [PT:XI]

◆ Ar. *ʔanna* a particle that introduces subclauses that imply transfer of knowledge. *ʔaʕrifu ʔanna fi l-bayti rajulan* ‘I know that there is a man in the house’.

ELA uses this in the form *inn*, and optionally takes pronominal suffixes. Owens (1984: 138) cites the following example: *ni'kar inn-a 'sa:riq il-if'lu:s* ‘He has denied that he has stolen the money’. The 2sg. suffix in ELA is *-ak*, and thus corresponds perfectly with the form found in the Awjila sentence.

B₁

àbba [kin.m.] ‘father’

2sg.m. *abbà-k*, 3sg. *abbà-s*, 1pl *abbá-tnax*,

2pl.m. *abbá-tkim*, 3pl.m. *abbá-tsin*

1sg. *ábbā* 2sg.m. *abbâ-k*, *abbā-k* [Z:X] 3sg.

abbâ-s 1pl. *abbá-tnaḥ* 2pl.m. *abbá-tkim* 3pl.m. *abbá-tsin*

P: padre PT: XV Z: X

▷ *abbâ-s n tirîwîn* ‘the father of the children’

◆ NZ:B₅

Berber, cf. Siwa *abba* ‘father’; To. *ábba* ‘father’; Zng. *bābāh* ‘father’

B₂

təbît [f.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar. *rattāba*)’

tebît

P: palma

BB₁

əlbàb [m.] ‘door’

elbâb

PT: III

◆ Ar. *bāb* ‘door’

BB₂

abîba, avîva [m.] ‘smallpox’

abîba, avîva

P: vaiulo M: vérole (petite) *habéba* هبیه

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *abîba* ‘smallpox’

BDQ

təbədùqt [f.] ‘cotton’

tebedúqt

P: cotone

◆ NZ: BDY/Q₃

Berber, cf. To. *tàbdoqq* ‘cotton’; Sok. *tabdúḥt* ‘cotton’.

The final cluster *qt* in Awjila is unexpected, one would rather expect Sokna *ḥt* and Tuareg *qq* to correspond to Awjila *-ḡt* or *-ḥt* in this position. This may be an indication that the word is a loanword from Tuareg.

This word may ultimately come from Hausa *auduga* ‘cotton’

BGRF

abugə̀rfa [m.] ‘clay’

ābugérfa

P: argilla

BY

tàbya [f.] ‘tobacco’

tábgā

P: tabacco M: tabac *thabgha* طبعه

◆ Mor. Ar. *tabja* ‘tobacco’

BHY

bàhi [stat.v.] ‘to be good’

3sg.m. *bàhi* 3sg.f. *bàh(ə)yət*

3sg.m. *bâhi* [PT:IV], *bâhī* [PT:XV] 3sg.f.

bâhÿyet [PT:III]

PT: III, IV, XV

◆ ELA *bâhī* ‘good’

BĤR**əlbəħr** (or: **albəħr**) [m.] ‘sea’*elbáhǎr, älbáhǎr*

PT: IX

◆ Ar. *baħr* ‘sea’**BK****əbbák** [v.ċc] ‘to sting; to plant vegetables, onions etc.’impf. *təbbák*imp. sg. *əbbók*; impf. 3sg.m. *itebbók*P: *pungere; piantare*

◆ K: 526

Berber, cf. Kb. *bbi* ‘to sting’; Ghd. *əbbək* ‘to collect one by one’**əbbùk** [v.n.m.] ‘stinging’*əbbùk*P: *pungere***BLBS****təbəlbùst** [f.] ‘eyeball’*tebelbùst*P: *bulbo*

◆ ► BLBŠ

BLBŠ**təbəlbùšt** [f.] ‘bulb of an onion’*tebelbùšt*P: *bulbo*◆ Probably from Latin *bulbus* ‘bulb’****əbəlbəš** [v.cccc] ‘to form a bulb’res. *bəlbəš*res. 3sg.m. *yebelbîša*P: *bulbo*▷ *bzālîm yebelbîša* ‘the onion has formed a bulb’**BLK****bələk** [adv.] ‘maybe’*bâlek*

PT: XIII

◆ ELA *balək, belkî* ‘maybe’ ultimately from Turkish *belki* ‘why’ (p.c. Benkato)**BLS****əbulis** [m.] ‘police’*el-bulîs*

PT: III

◆ Ar. *būlîs* ‘police’ ultimately from Fr. *police* ‘id.’**BLŠ****blaš** [interj.] “forget about it!”*blaš*

PT: III

◆ LA *blaš* ‘free, forget about it!’ (p.c. Benkato); Mor. Ar. *blā šî, blāš* ‘free’; Ar. *bi-lā šay?* ‘free (litt. For nothing)’**BLŽ****Balžu** [P.N.] Name of a palm grove in*Awjila**Bālǧu*

Z: IV

BN₁**abən, avən** [v.cc*] ‘to build, construct’pf. *bná* impf. *bənnna, ivənnna*imp. sg. *abén, avén*; pf. 1sg. *bnîħ* 3sg.m. *ibnâ*;res. 1sg. *bnîħa* 3sg.m. *ibnâya*; impf. 1sg.*bennîħ* 3sg.m. *ibénna, ivénna*P: *costruire*

◆ K: 194

Berber, cf. To. *əbnu* ‘to establish oneself (in a place), to begin construction on’; Siwa *abnú* ‘to build’ (Naumann 2010: 376), perhaps related to words for ‘tent’: To. *éhăn* ‘tent’; Zng. *în* ‘tent’.**BN₂****bèyn** [prep.] ‘between’*bêin*P: *fra*◆ Ar. *bayna* ‘between’**BQL****təbaqùlt** [f.] ‘jar, vase’*tebāqùlt*P: *giarra*◆ NZ: BQL₂Berber, cf. Kb. *abuqal* ‘drinking pot’; Siwa

təboqələt ‘jug, pitcher’; cf. also ELA *būqâl* ‘jug’, perhaps ultimately from Gk. βύκαλις.

BQS

əlbəqīs [m.] ‘twinkle, glimmer’

elbāqīs

PT: XV

◆ ELA *bəgis* ‘twinkle (of a star, etc.)’ (p.c. Benkato). This word seems to exist only in ELA. It is surprising then, that the *g* in ELA is reflected as *q* in Awjila, which rather suggests a different (unknown) origin, or a hypercorrection when the word was loaned.

BQŠ

təbəqqūšt (or: **təbaqqūšt**) [f.] ‘pan’

tebaqqūšt

PT: XV

◆ NZ: BQC₁

Berber, cf. Kb. *tabaqəšt* ‘earthenware dish’; Sn. *tabqešt* ‘a large bowl for couscous’; Rif. *tabqešt* ‘large dish for making couscous’ Kb. And Rif. *-əšt* go back to **əyt*. Perhaps **əyt* becomes *-ušt* in Awjila, there are no other examples of this sequence in Awjila. The exact development of this word is therefore unclear.

BR

təbarūt [f.] ‘way, street’

tebārūt [PT:X], *təbarūt* [PT:XII], *tebārūt-(i)* [PT:XV]

P: strada, via PT: X, XII, XV M: chemin

tabarouth تباروت

◆ NZ: BR₃₀, BRD₁, K: 285

Berber, cf. To. *ābara*, *tābarāt* ‘road, path’

təbarūt n aləygm [phrasal n.] ‘caravan track’

tebārūt n alógm

P: pista carovaniera

BRK

tabərka [f.] ‘sesame (seeds) (in Benghazi)

tabérka is the seed of a colocynth)’

tabérka

P: sesamo

BRN

əbrən [v.ccc] ‘to twist, to roll up’

imp. sg. *ébrən*

P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: entortillé

ebrénah ابرنه; entortiller *brénah*

برنه; tordre *yébrən* يبرن

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *abrən* ‘to roll, to wind up’;

Ghd. *ābrən* ‘to roll up’

BRNK

Bərník [P.N.] ‘Benghazi, northern part of Cyrenaica’

Berník

P: Bengasi

▷ *Yušáda s-Berník* ‘he came from the north’

▷ *ǧallíh a‘addâh Berník* ‘I want to go to Benghazi’

◆ This word comes from the old name of Benghazi: *Berenice*.

BRRŠ

abərrarış [m.] ‘hawk’

aberrārış

P: falco

◆ Common word in both Maghrebine Arabic and Berber, cf. MA *bərrarž* ‘stork’ Mor. Ar. *ballārāj*, *bərrārāj* ‘stork’. Ultimately from Gk. *πελαργος* ‘stork’, or the unattested variant **πελλαργος* (Vycichl 2005: 27-27).

BRŠL

təbəršilt [f.] pl. *təbəršil* ‘pillar of a well on which the crossbar of the pulley rests’

teberšilt pl. *tberšil*

P: pozzo

BRT

pl. **əlbaràt** [f.] ‘money’

pl. *elbaràt* [PT:XIV], *elbārāt* [PT:IV,V],

elbarāt-(ennúk) [PT:V,VII]

PT: IV, V, VII, XIV M: argent, monnaie

barah بره

◆ Dial. Ar. *barāt* ‘money’ a loanword from Turkish *Para*, an old Turkish currency. (p.c. Souag)

BS

bəss [adv.] ‘only’

béss [PT:III]

PT: III M: seulement *bess* بَسَّ

◆ ELA *bəss* ‘just, only’ (p.c. Benkato)

BSK

abəssik [m.] pl. *bəssikən* ‘vulva’

abessik pl. *bessiken*

P: vulva

◆ NZ: BC₂

Perhaps Berber, cf. Siwa *bašša* ‘vulva’

tbəssikt [f.] ‘bum, backside; vulva’ pl.

tbəssikən ‘fart’

tbessikt pl. *tbessikən*

P: deretano; vulva; peto

BŞR

albəşirət (or: *əlbəşirət*) [adv.] ‘willingly’

albəşirət

PT: V

◆ Ar. *bašira(t)* ‘insight, penetration, discernment’, the function of this word in Awjila is similar to the Arabic syntagm *šan baširati* ‘deliberately, knowingly’

BŞKW

abəškiv [m.] pl. *bəškivən* ‘horn’

abəškiv pl. *bəškivən*

P: corno

◆ Berber, ► ŠK₂

BŞXW

abəšxaw [m.] pl. *bəšxawən* ‘name of a sparrow’

abəšxaw pl. *bəšxawən*

P: passero

təbəšxawt [f.] pl. *təbəšxawin* ‘base of leaves of a palm tree that have been cut’

tebešxawt pl. *tebešxawin*

P: palma

BŞWŞ

bišwəš [adv.] ‘easily’

bišwəš

PT: I

◆ Eg. Ar. *bi-šweš* ‘a little’, derived from *bi* ‘with, by’ with reduplicated *šweyy* ‘a little’, ie. ‘with a little (effort)’ (p.c. Souag)

BṬ

abùṭ [m.] ‘navel’

abùṭ

P: ombelico

◆ K: 288 NZ: BḌ₁₁

Berber, cf. Kb. *abuḍ* ‘neck of a bottle’, To. *təbùtutt* ‘(nonprotruding) navel’, Zng. *bùṭ* ‘protruding navel’; MA *tacebutṭ* ‘navel’

BṬŽ

abəṭṭiž [m.] ‘ember’

abəṭṭiž

P: tizzo, tizzoncino

BZN

abazin [m.] ‘tagliatelle made of flour of wheat’

abazin

P: pasta del pane

◆ NZ: BZN₁, K: 290

Berber, cf. Kb. *abazin* ‘dish made of flour, tubers, arum and several herbs’; Ghd. *əlbazin* ‘dish of flour made into patties, thrown into boiling water and seasoned with fresh olive oil’

BZR

tabazàrt [f.] pl. *tbazrìn* ‘basket’

təbazàrt pl. *tbazrìn*

P: cesta M: panier *abazart* ابا زارت

BZLM

bžalim [m.] ‘onions(coll.)’

bžālīm, bžālīm [PT:XV]

P: cipolla PT: XV M: oignon *bazalim*

بصلیم

◆ K: 242, 297

Ultimately from Punic. cf. Hebrew *bāšāl* ‘onion’ (Vycichl 2005: 3)

təbʒalimt [f.] pl. təbʒalimìn ‘onion’

tebʒālimt pl. *tebʒālīmìn*

P: cipolla

BŽ1

abʒàw [m.] pl. bʒàwəwən ‘cheek’

abʒàw pl. *bʒàwəwən*

P: guancia

BŽ2

bàʒʒa [m.] ‘penis (of a boy)’

bàʒʒa

P: penis

BƆD

bəʃ(ə)d [conj.] ‘after, when’

baʿad, *báʿad*, *baʿád* [PT:II,IX,XIII]

P: dopo; quando PT: II, IX, XIII

◆ ELA *baʿd* ‘after’; Ar. *baʿda* ‘after’

bəʃid [stat.v.] ‘to be distant’

3sg.m. *baʿíd*

PT: X

◆ Ar. *baʿid* ‘distant’

BƆDN

bəʃ(ə)dèn [conj.] ‘afterwards, then’

baʿadèn, *baʿadén* [PT:II], *baʿadeñ* (sic) [PT:VI]

PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XI, XII, XIII,

XIV, XV

◆ ELA *baʿdèn* ‘after’; Ar. *baʿda an* ‘after’

Č1

əčč [v.c*] ‘to eat’

pf. əččá seq. = res. əčča fut. əčč impf.

tətta

imp. sg. *ečč* pl.m. *ččât* pl.f. *ččîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ččîh*

3sg.m. *yeččá*, *yetčá*, *yéččā* [PT:XV], *yeččî-(t)*

[PT:XV] 3pl.m. *ččân* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ččîha*

3sg.m. *yeččáya* 1pl. *nči-(tî)-ya* [PT:II]; fut.

3sg.m. *āiččî-(t)* [PT:II] impf. 1sg. *tettîh* 3sg.m.

ittéttā, *itétta* [PT:XV] 3sg.f. *tettā* [PT:III]

P: mangiare PT: II, III, XV M: dîner *yetch*

یتش; supper, v. *etch* تش

◆ NZ: C9, TC: 946

Berber, cf. Foq. *ékk*, *éjkj* ‘to eat’; Ghd. *ášš* ‘to eat’; Kb. *eçç* ‘to eat’; Nef. *ečč* ‘to eat’; Siwa *ač* ‘to eat’; Sok. *éčč* ‘to eat’; To. *ăks* ‘to eat’; Zng. *ätʃi(?)* ‘to eat’. Kossmann (2008) discusses the reconstruction of this root.

əččú [v.n.m.] ‘food, meal, plate’

etčú, *ěččú*, *čču-(nnâh)* [PT:XV], *ččū*

[P:example]

P: mangiare; cibo; pasto, vitto PT: XV

▷ ččū id *ěččuwât* ‘food and drinks’

təwəg [v.n.f.] ‘food, meal, plate’

túwög

P: mangiare; cibo; pasto, vitto M: pain

thaouegt طا وقت

○ This noun functions as the verbal noun of *əčč*, but is etymologically unrelated.

š-əčč [caus.v.] ‘to cause to eat’

imp. sg. *šečč*

P: mangiare

Č2

áčča [m.] pl. ččàwəwən ‘grave’

áčča pl. *ččàwəwən*

P: tomba M: tombeau *atcha* اتشه

◆ NZ: C56

Berber, cf. Siwa *akəčča* ‘tomb’; perhaps also

Kb. *ažəkka* ‘tomb’

ČR ► ŠR1

ČT ► ŠT

D1

d [part.] predicate marker

d-, *de-* [PT:XV], *d-* [Z:III]

PT:II,IV,VII,VIII,XI,XIV,XV Z:III

◆ Pan-Berber predicate marker *d*

D2

id [prep.] ‘with (comitative), and’

1sg. *idd-i* 2sg.m. *idd-əl* 2sg.f. *idd-əm* 3sg

idd-əs 1pl. *id-nàx* 2pl.m. *id-kim* 2pl.f.

idd-əkmət 3pl.m. *id-sin* 3pl.f. *idd-əsnət*

id, *īd*, *it-* (*tirīwīnnes*) [PT:XV]; 1sg. *idd-ī*, *idd-ī*

[PT:XIII] 2sg.m. *idd-ek* 2sg.f. *idd-em* 3sg.m. *idd-es* 1pl. *id-nâh* 2pl.m. *id-kîm* 2pl.f. *idd-ékmet* 3pl.m. *id-sîn* 3pl.f. *idd-ésnet*
 P: con; e P:II,III,IV,V,VII,XII,XIII,XV
 ◆ NZ: D14, TC:153

Berber, cf. Kb. *d, id* 'with, and'; To. *d* 'with; and'; Zng. *əḏ* 'with, and'

dī [inter.] ► DW DBR

adbîr [m.] pl. dbîrən 'pigeon'

adbîr pl. *dbîren*

P: piccione

◆ NZ: DBR4, K: 293

Berber, cf. Ghd. *adaber* 'pigeon'; Kb. *itbir* 'pigeon'; To. *edāber, tedābert* 'pigeon or dove'

DBŠ

pl. (ə)dbūš [m.] 'clothes'

ēdbūš [PT:V], *dbūš-(énnes)* [PT:IX],

ēdbūš-(énnes) [PT:IX], *edbūš-(énnek, énnûk)* [PT:IX]

PT:V,IX

◆ Ar. *dabaš* pl. *adbāš* 'junk, rubbish, trash'
 LA *dbaš* pl. *dbuša* 'stuff' (p.c. Souag), ELA *dibeš* 'stuff, luggage, bags; clothes' (p.c.

Benkato) Mor. Ar. *dbəš* 'rags'

pl. *dbaš-(ənnəs)* [m.] 'stuff'

pl. *dbāš-(énnes)*

PT:II

◆ ELA *dbāš* 'baggage'; Ar. *dabaš* pl. *adbāš* 'junk, rubbish, trash'

DD₁

(ə)ddád [v.čc] 'to bite'

impf. *təddád*

imp. sg. *ēddéd*; impf. 3sg.m. *iteddéd*

P: mordre M: mordre *édédé* عَضَّص

◆ NZ: D70

Berber, cf. To. *àdəd* 'to bite'

(ə)ddùd [v.n.m.] 'biting'

ēddùd

P: mordre

DD₂

addid [m.] pl. addidən 'goatskin'

addid pl. *addidən*

P: otre M: outre pour l'eau *addi* اِدَّ ا

◆ TC: 1035, K: 621

Berber, cf. To. *iddid* 'goatskin'; Zng. *äyDʷəḏ* 'goatskin (for water)'

taddit [f.] 'small goatskin'

taddit

P: otre

DFR

dəffər [prep.] 'behind, after'

dəffər n (before a noun); 1sg. *dəffər-i* 2sg. *dəffər-ək* 3sg.m. *dəffər-áh, dəffər-ah* 3sg.f.

?*dəffər-ha* 1pl. ?*dəffər-na, dəffər-nàx*

2pl.m. *dəffər-kim, ?dəffər-kum* 2pl.f.

?*dəffər-kmət* 3pl.m. ?*dəffər-hum* 3pl.f.

dəffər-hən

déffer, déffer n (in front of a noun); 1sg. *déffer-ī,*

2sg. *-ék, 3sg.m. -áh, déffer-ah* [PT:VII], *déffer-a*

[PT:II, VII], *-és* 3sg.f. *-ha* 1pl. *-nā, -nâh* 2pl.m.

-kîm, -kum 2pl.f. *-kmet* 3pl.m. *-hum* 3pl.f. *-heṅ*

P: dietro PT:II, VII

◆ NZ: DFR2

Berber, cf. Kb. *dəffir* 'behind'; To. *dəffər* 'behind'

DG

****əddùgg** [v.cč] 'to knock'

seq. *əddùgg*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeddúgg*

PT:III

◆ ELA *idógg* 'to knock'; Ar. *daqqa* 'to knock, rap, bang (on the door)'

DŸ

adáy [m.] pl. dəyàwən 'a bush of palms'

adáy pl. *dāgâwəṅ*

P: palma

◆ NZ: DŸ10

Perhaps Berber, cf. MA *idj* 'sheaf (of wheat, barley or alfalfa). The semantic shift from

'sheaf' to 'a bush of palms' proposed by

Naït-Zerrad is not particularly convincing.

DHB

(ə)ddəhəb [m.] 'gold'

eddáhab

PT:IV

◆ Ar. *dahab* 'gold'**DHWR**

**ddəhwər [v.cccc] 'to go around'

impf. ddəhwàr

impf. 3sg.m. *iddahwâr*

PT:VIII

◆ ELA *idahwar* 'to take a tour, to walk around' (p.c. Benkato)**DK**

=dik [pron.]1sg. indirect object pronoun

-dik, -dik [PT:II,IV,V,VI,VII,XIV,XV], res. -dika

P: io PT: II, IV, V, VI, VII, XIV, XV

DKN

=dikəní, =dikkəní, =dikəni [pron.]1pl.

indirect object pronoun

-dikenî, dikkenî, dikkəni [PT:XV], res.

-dikkenîya

P: noi

DL₁

š-īdəl [caus.v.] 'to harness (a donkey or camel)'

impf. š-īdəl

imp. sg. *šidel*; impf. 1sg. *šidâlḥ* 3sg.m. *išīdâl*

P: bardare

◆ NZ: DL₁**DL₂**

dīla, dīlak [adv.] 'here'

dīla, dīlak

P: qui PT: VI, X, XV

dīlīwan, dīššīwan [adv.] 'there'

dīlīwān, dīššīwān

P: la PT: XV

DLL

(ə)ddəlləl [m.] 'auctioneer'

ēddellâl, ddellâl, āddellâl

PT:IV

◆ Ar. *dallāl* 'auctioneer'**DLŠ**adəliš [m.] 'herb (*Aristida Pungens*)'*adeliš*

P: erba

◆ NZ: DLS₁The *Aristida Pungens* is a type of grass. One may imagine a connection with Kb. *adellas* 'thatch, straw'; Rif. *adlis* 'diss (a type of grass)' etc.**DM₁**

alīdām (or: əlīdām) [m.] 'butter'

*alīdām*P: burro M: beurre *alida* الیده◆ Mor. Ar. *īdām* 'fatty substance'; Ar. *ʔidām* 'anything eaten with bread; shortening, fatty ingredient'**DM₂**

pl. dīmman [m.] 'blood'

pl. *dīmman*P: sangue M: règles des femmes *demen*

دمن

◆ NZ: DM₅, TC: 191Berber, cf. Foq. *īdāmmen* 'blood'; Ghd. *dāmmān, dammān* 'blood'; Kb. *idim* pl. *dammān* 'blood'; Nef. *idēmmen* 'blood'; Sok. *idā*mmen* 'blood'; Zng. *adāmmān* 'blood';**DMLŽ**

(ə)ddəmləž [m.] 'bracelet'

eddémlež, ēddemlež-(ennúk)

PT:IV

◆ ELA *démlež* 'bracelet'; Ar. *dumluž* 'bracelet, bangle'**DN₁**

udən [v.vcc] 'to get dressed'

pf. / seq. = res. *ūdən* impf. *tādən*imp. sg. *udén*; pf. 3pl.f. *udēnnēt* [PT:XV]; res.2sg. *tudīnta* [PT:XI]; impf. 3sg.m. *itāden*P: vestirsi PT:XI,XV M: nu *youdenah*

يودنه

◆ NZ: DN₇, TC:195Berber, cf. Ghd. *ádən* ‘to cover, to be covered’;Zng. *ädən* ‘to be covered’**udùn** [v.n.m.] ‘clothing’*udûn*

P: vestirsi PT: XV

š-ùdən [caus.v.] ‘to dress’

impf. š-udàn

imp. sg. *šúden*; impf. 3sg.m. *išudân*

P: vestirsi

DN₃**tìdni** [f.] ‘mortar’*tídni*

P: mortaio

◆ NZ: DN₁₄Berber, cf. Ghd. *tadənt* ‘big wooden mortar of Sudanese origin’; Siwa *tadni* ‘mortar’

Naumann (2013: 377)

; Ouar. *tidni* ‘mortar’; To. *tènde* ‘mortar’**DN₄**

=ídin, =idìn [demonstrative]medial (?)

deictic clitic

-ídīn, -idīn [PT:XV]

P: quello PT: XV

▷ *aməḍəŋ-ídīn* ‘that man’**DNN**

=idánin ► =íwan

DQL**?idak(ə)l** [m.] ‘?palm of the hand’*edaql* ادكل

M: main

◆ NZ: DKL₁Kb. *idikəl* ‘palm of the hand’; To. *edékəl*

‘underside of the hand (palm and fingers)’;

Zng. *ədīgīy* ‘palm of the hand’**DR₁****adár** [v.cc*] ‘to press; to massage’

pf. drá res. drà impf. dərrá

imp. sg. *ădér* pl.m. *drât* pl.f. *drîmet*; pf. 1sg.*driḥ* 3sg.m. *idrâ*; res. 1sg. *driḥa* 3sg.m. *idrâya*;impf. 1sg. *derrîḥ* 3sg.m. *iderrâ*

P: premere

◆ NZ: DR₄Ghd. *ădər* ‘to press, squeeze’; To. *ădər* ‘push or pres down hard on (sth)’.The connection with Zng. *aḍur* ‘to fall’ as proposed by Naït-Zerrad seems unlikely. It is both semantically and phonetically dissimilar.**adərru** [v.n.m.] ‘pressing’*adərrū*

P: premere

DR₂**dd(ə)rī** [f.] pl. *ddriwìn* ‘thorn’*ddəri* pl. *ddriwîn*P: spina M: épine *deri* د ري; fourchette*dəri* د ري◆ NZ: DR₃₂Berber, cf. Ghd. *tədra* ‘thorn of a palm’; Siwa*tədri* ‘thorn’; Sok. *tədri* ‘thorn’; Nef. *tadrâ*

‘thorn of a palm’

DR₃**(ə)ddár** [v.ċc] ‘to live’

pf. əddár res. əddər

imp. sg. *eddér*; pf. 1sg. *eddérḥ* 3sg.m. *yeddér*;res. 1sg. *əddírḥa* 3sg.m. *yeddíra, iddíra* [Z:XIII]

P: vivere Z: XIII

◆ NZ: DR₁Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăddər* ‘to live’; Kb. *ăddər* ‘to live’; To. *ăddər* ‘to be alive’.

Ref. Basset (1929)

(ə)ddùr [v.n.m.] ‘life’*əddûr*

P: vita

DRM****ədrám** [v.ccc] ‘to bloom; to open (the inflorescence of palms)’

res. = fut. ədrəm impf. dərrəm

res. 3sg.m. *yedrîma* 3pl.m. *dremîna*; fut.3sg.m. *ayédrem*; impf. 3sg.m. *idérrem*

P: sbocciare, aprirsi

◆ NZ: DRM11

adîrəm [m.] ‘masculine inflorescence’

adîrem

P: palma

DRŠ

ədrəš [v.ccc] ‘to decrease (intrans.)’

impf. *dərrəš*

imp. sg. *édreš*; impf. 3sg.m. *idérreš*

P: diminuire

◆ NZ: DRS1, TC216

Berber, cf. Kb. *udrus* ‘to be few’; To. *idras* ‘to be few, not much’; Zng. *ədrəš* ‘to be discrete’

š-ədrəš [caus.v.] ‘to decrease (trans.)’

imp. sg. *šédreš*

P: diminuire

dərùš [adv.] ‘little’

děrúš

P: poco

dərùš [stat.v.] ‘to be few, little’

3sg.m. *dərùš* 3sg.f. *dərùšət* pl. *dərušit*

m.sg. *děrúš* f.sg. *derúšet* pl. *děrúšit*

P: poco M: facile *derouch* د ر و ش; vain

dérouch د ر و ش, diminuer *dérouch* د ر و ش

DŠ

tədùšt [f.] ‘belly’

tedùšt

P: stomaco B21: 291

◆ NZ: DS1, K: 760

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tadist*, *tadiss* ‘stomach, belly’;

Kb. *tadist* ‘stomach, belly’

DŠF

dīšf [adv.] ‘last year’

dīšf

P: anno

▷ *nāfn dīšf* ‘two years ago’

DŠƆ

dəššāƆ [adj.] ‘mean, inhospitable’

deššāƆ

P: avaro, inospitale

◆ Paradisi says that this is a loanword from Cyrenaic Arabic. I have been unable to find a reference to this word.

DT

dīt [prep.] *dīt* n (before a noun) 1sg. *dīt-i*

2sg.m. *dīt-ək* 2sg.f. *dīt-əm* 3sg.m. *dīt-ah*,

dīt-a 3sg.f. *dīt-ha* 1pl. *dīt-na* 2pl.m.

dīt-kim, *dīt-kum* 2pl.f. *dīt-kmət*, *dīt-kən*

3pl.m. *dīt-sin*, *dīt-hum* 3pl.f. *dīt-snət*,

dīt-hən

‘in front of’

dīt, *dīt* n (before a noun) [PT:III] 1sg. *dīt-ī*

2sg.m. *dīt-ek* 2sg.f. *dīt-em* 3sg.m. *dīt-āh*, *dīt-ā*,

dīt-a [PT:II] 3sg.f. *dīt-ha* 1pl. *dīt-nā* 2pl.m.

dīt-kīm, *dīt-kum* 2pl.f. *dīt-kmēt*, *dīt-kən* 3pl.m.

dīt-sin, *dīt-hum* 3pl.f. *dīt-snēt*, *dīt-hən*

P: davanti PT: II, III, V

▷ *dīt* n *tfilli* ‘in front of the house’

▷ *žigež ar-dīt* ‘Walk forward!’

◆ NZ: DT1

Berber, cf. Ghd. *dāt* ‘in front of’; To. *dāt* ‘in front of’

DW1

di, **dīwa** [inter.] ‘what, what thing?’

dī, *dīwa*, *ddīwa*, *ddīwa* [PT:IX]

P: che cosa?, come PT: II, VI, IX, XV

▷ *af dīwa athemmāmt* ‘what are you thinking of?’

▷ *ddīwa ttudīk* ‘what are you doing? (litt. what so)’ [PT:IX]

◆ NZ: D9, DW17

DWR

idəwwàr [v.ccc]= impf.

‘to look around; to search’

impf. 3sg.m. *idōiwwār* [PT:XIII] 3pl.f.

ddōiwwārnet [PT:XV]

PT: XIII, XV M: entourer *édourah* ا د و ر ه

◆ ELA *idāiwwar*, *idāiwwar* ‘to look for; to search’ < Ar. *dāra* ‘to revolve, turn, etc.’

DX

dax [prep.] ‘for, in order to’

daḥ, dāḥ, dáḥ [P: example], *ddāḥ* [Z:XII]

P: per, affinché PT:III,IV,V Z:XII

▷ *dáḥ ayémm* ‘in order to cook’

◆ NZ: DX4, K: 733

Berber, cf. Kb. *day* ‘again’; To. *dáy* ‘also, too’;

Ghd. *daḥ* ‘also, too’

DYN

?ddáyənt [f.] ‘fat’

ddíent

P: grasso M: graisse *eddind* اَدِينْد

◆ NZ: DH/W/YN, TC: 182, K: 123, 148

Berber, cf. Zng. *tādūn(ə)t* ‘(animal) fat’, *ädgəñ*

‘to be greased’; Nef. *tadūnt* ‘fat’; Siwa *tadəmt*

‘fat’

DYS

?ddáyəst [f.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar.

tédsa)’

ddíest

P: palma

DYZ

dyáz [v.ccc] ‘to sing’

pf. *dyáz* impf. *dəyyəz*

imp. sg. *díéz*; pf. 1sg. *ədyézh* 3sg.m. *idyéz*;

impf. 1sg. *diyyézh* 3sg.m. *idyyyez*

P: cantare M: chant *yediz* يَدِيْز, chanter

yaghlediz يَغْلِيْدِيْز

◆ NZ: DYZ1

Berber, cf. Ghd. *díz* ‘to dance’; Siwa *ədyəz* ‘to

sing’; Sok. *édīyīz* ‘to sing’

adəyaz [v.n.m.] ‘singing’

adiyāz

P: cantare

DŽ

ədz [v.cc*] ‘to let go of’

seq. = res. *ədzə* impf. *dəžža*

imp. sg. *édž, əğğ*; pf. 1sg. *dğih* 3sg.m. *yéğğa*;

res. 1sg. *ğğīha* 3sg.m. *yeğğāya*; impf. 1sg.

dežžih 3sg.m. *idéžžā*

P: lasciare M: laisser *yédji* يَجِي, quitter

dgi جِي

◆ NZ: G41, TC: 230, K: 706

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əğğ* ‘to leave, let go of’; Kb.

əjj ‘to leave’; To. *əyy* ‘to leave (s.th.)’; Zng.

əDyi(?) ‘to leave, let go of’

adəžžu [v.n.m.] ‘letting go of’

adéžžū

P: lasciare

F1

uf [v.vc*] ‘to find’

pf. *ufá* seq. = res. *ùfa* fut. *ùf* impf. *tàfa*

imp. sg. *uf* pl.m. *ufât* pl.f. *ufîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ufîh,*

ufîh-(təñ) [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yúfa, yufâ* [PT:VII],

yufî-(ten) [PT:II], *yufî-(t)* [PT:XV], *yufî-(təñet)*

[PT:V], 3sg.f. *túfa* [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *ufân* [PT:XV]

3pl.f. *ufânet* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ufîha* 3sg.m.

yufâya; fut. 1sg. *aufâh, aūfâh-(tet)* [PT:XV]

3sg.m. *ayûf*; impf. 1sg. *tafîh* 3sg.m. *itâfa*

P: trovare PT: II, V, VII, XV

◆ NZ: F10

Berber, cf. Ghd. *af* ‘to find’; Kb. *af* ‘to find’;

Zng. *əffi(?)* ‘to find, gain’

ufú [v.n.m.] ‘finding’

ufû

P: trovare PT:II

uf tavergât ► VRG

F2

af [prep.] ‘on, at’

1sg. *fəlli-wi* 2sg.m. *fəlli-k* 3sg. *fəlli-s*

af 1sg. *fellî-wi* 2sg.m. *fellî-k, fillî-k* [Z:XII] 3sg.

fellî-s

P: su PT: II, III, IV, V, VI, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XV

Z: XII

◆ af: NZ: F16

fell: NZ: FL3

Berber, cf. Kb. *f af* ‘on’; To. *fâl* ‘on, against’

af-îwa [inter.] “why”

af-îwa, af-dîwa, af-â

P: perché PT: VI, IX, XIV M: cependant;

heure; retourner *afioua* اَفِيُوْه

▷ *af-îwa teggîd-ká?* ‘why did you not

bring (it)' (response) *s-kémma* 'because'

F3

tafüt [f.] 'sun'

tāfüt, tafüt [PT:XV]

P: sole PT: III, XV

◆ NZ: F12, TC: 20, K: 576

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tófət, tófətt* 'sun'; Kb. *tafukt* 'diffuse sunlight'; To. *táfukk, tǎfukk* 'sun'; Zng. *toʔf(f)ukt, toʔf(f)ugt, tāʔfukt* 'sun'

F4

taft [f.] 'wool'

tāft

P: lana

◆ NZ: D7, TC: 11

Berber, cf. Kb. *taḍut, tadut* 'wool'; To. *təḍuft* 'wool'; Zng. *taʔḍuḍ* 'wool'; Ghd. *tódaft* 'raw wool'.

The radical **d* is missing in Awjila. This is highly problematic.

Ref.: Kossmann (1996)

FD1

afùd, afùdd [m.] pl. *fiddən* 'knee'

afùd, afùdd pl. *fiddən*

P: ginocchio B21: 386 M: genou; tibia

afoud افود

◆ NZ: FD4, TC: 16

Berber, cf. Foq. *afùd* 'knee'; Ghd. *ófəd* 'knee'; Kb. *afud* 'lower leg'; Nef. *uféd* 'knee'; Sok. *fūd* 'knee' To. *áfud* 'knee'; Zng. *oʔf(f)ud* 'knee'

FD2

****əffùd** [v.čvc*] 'to be thirsty'

res. = fut. *əffùd* impf. t(ə)*fàda*

res. 1sg. *fudíha* 3sg.m. *yeffùda*; fut. 1sg.

affùdah 3sg.m. *ayeffùd*; impf. 1sg. *tfādíh*

3sg.m. *itefàda*

P: sete M: soif *yéfouyé* يفويه

◆ NZ: FD6, TC: 270

Berber, cf. Ghd. *fād* 'to be thirsty'; Kb. *fad* 'to be thirsty'; To. *ifad* 'to be thirsty'; Zng. Aor. 3sg.m. *yuffud* 'to be thirsty'

təfadàt [f.] 'thirst'

tefadât

P: sete

FDR

tfidirt [f.] pl. *tfidrìn* 'lizard (monitor lizard)'

tfidirt pl. *tfidrìn*

P: lucertola

◆ NZ: FDR2

FY

tfiyit [f.] pl. *tfiḡa* 'animal excrement'

tfiḡit pl. *tfiḡa*

P: escremento

◆ NZ: FY1

FHL

fḡàli [phrase] 'by myself'

fḡâlī

PT: II

◆ Mor. Ar. *fḡâl-*, used as a complement with verbs of motions, this also appears to be the function in text II of Paradisi, where it combines with the verb *ṣadd* 'to go'

FK1

əfk [v.cc*] 'to give'

pf. *əfká* fut. *əfk* impf. *fəkká*

imp. sg. *efk, fki-(dík)* [PT:VI] pl.m. *fkât* pl.f.

fkîmet; pf. 1sg. *fkiḡ* 2sg. *těfki-(dík)* [PT:XIV]

3sg.m. *yefká, ifk-(îsîn)* [PT: I], *yefk-(îs)*

[PT:XIV], *yefkî-(t, tənət)* [PT:IV] *yefk-(isîn)*

[PT:XV] 3pl.m. *fkân-(îs)* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg.

fkíha 3sg.m. *yefkáya, yefkî-(dík)-a* [PT:V]; fut.

1sg. *afkáḡ, afká-(k)* [PT: V, P: example] 3sg.m.

ayéfk, ayefk-(îs) [PT:V], *ayefkî-(dík)* [PT:V],

ayefkî-(tənət) [PT:V]; impf. 1sg. *fekkíḡ,*

fekkâ-(s) [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ifekká* 3pl.m

fekkân-(îs) [PT:II]

P: dare PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, XIV M:

emprunter *yefkès* ييفكس; emprunt

??*miéfkès* ميفكس

▷ *a-fká-k* 'I will give you'

◆ NZ: FK2 TC: 599, K: 491

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎkf* ‘to give’; Kb. *ǎfk* ‘to give’;

To. *ǎkf* ‘to give’; Zng. *ǎkfi(?)* ‘to give’

š-ǎfk [caus.v.] ‘to cause to give’

imp. sg. *šefk*

P: dare

FK2

**ǎffukk [v.cċ] ‘to untie, solve’

pf. / seq. = fut. *ǎffukk*

pf. 3sg.m. *yuffukkî-(tēt)* [PT:I]; fut. 1sg.

ǎffukkâh-(t) [PT:II]

PT: I, II

◆ Ar. *fakka* ‘to separate, disjoin, disconnect, sever, sunder’

FK3

(ǎ)ffæk [v.cċ] ‘to pour’

impf. *tæffák*

imp. sg. *ǎffok, ffok*; impf. 3sg.m. *iteffók*

P: versare, colare

◆ NZ: FY3 TC: 177 K: 528

Berber, cf. Kb. *ffi* ‘to draw water’; To. *affǎy* ‘to pour’; Zng. *ǎtǎfi(?)* ‘to spill’

FKR

ǎfíkr-(ǎnnəs) [m.] ‘thought’

elfekr-(énnes)

PT: II

◆ Ar. *fíkr* ‘thinking, reflection; thought’

FL

tfilli [f.] pl. tfilliwìn ‘house’

tfilli, tfilli, tfilli-(nnes) [PT:IX] *těfilli-(nnes)*

[PT:VI,XIII], *tfilli-(nnes)* [PT:XV], *těfilli-(nnâh)*

[PT:IV], *těfilli-(yîwan)* [PT:XV], *tfilli-(nnesîn)*

[PT:XV] pl. *tfilliwîn*

P: casa PT: IV, VI, IX, XIII, XV

◆ NZ: FL39

Perhaps derived from NZ: FL4, cf. To. *ǎfǎl* ‘to have a roof’

fellí- [prep.] ► F2

FLGŠ

tfiliggíšt [f.] ‘swallow’

tfiliggíšt

P: rondine

◆ NZ: FLGC, FLS4

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tafǎllélast* ‘swallow’; MA

tafllillist ‘swallow’; Kb. *tiflǎllast* ‘swallow’;

FLLŠ

flalš [m.] pl. fluliš ‘inflorescence’

flǎlš pl. *flulš*

P: palma

◆ NZ: FLC5

Berber, cf. Nef. *teflllést* ‘inflorescence’

FLŠ

tǎfǎlúšt [f.] pl. tǎfǎlšîn ‘large spoon for cooking’

těfǎlúšt pl. *tǎfǎlšîn*

P: cucchiaio M: cuillère *těfǎloucht*

تفلوشت

◆ NZ: FLC4, FLW2

Kb. *tiflut, tiflǎwt* ‘spoon’

FNKḤ

fankùh [m.] ‘big buttocks’

fankùâh

P: deretano

◆ NZ: FNKWH

FNS

afunàs [m.] pl. funasən ‘ox’

afunâs pl. *funâsen*

P: bue M: quadrupède; taureau *afounas*

افوناس ; vétérinaire *founaséh* فوناسه

‘veterinary’

◆ NZ: FNS1

Berber, cf. Kb. *tafunast* ‘cow’

tfunàst [f.] ‘tfunastìn’

‘cow’

tfunâst pl. *tfunâstîn*

P: vacca

FNŽR

fǎnžǎr [v.cccc] ‘to bleed (from the nose)’

impf. *fǎnžǎr*

imp. sg. *fěnžǎr*; impf. 3sg.m. *ifěnžǎr*

P: sanguinare

◆ NZ: FNZR2, TC: 993

Berber, cf. Ghd. *fənzər* ‘to bleed from the nose’; Kb. *ffunzər* ‘to bleed from the nose’; To. *hùnsər* ‘to have a nose-bleed’; Zng. *ünzər* ‘to bleed from the nose’; Siwa *izənfār idammən* ‘to bleed from the nose’.

Zenaga and Tuareg point to Proto-Berber **βənzər*, Awjila and Ghadames point to **fənzər*.

afənzər [v.n.m.] ‘bleeding (from the nose)’

afénzər

P: sanguinare

FRĤ

****əfrəḥ** [v.ccc] ‘to become happy, become satisfied; to become happy with s.th (+ s-)’

pf. *əfrəḥ* res. *əfrəḥ*

pf. 3sg.m. *yefrāḥ* [PT:V], 3pl.f. *frāḥnət*

[PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m. *yefriḥa* [PT:IV,V]

PT: IV, V, XV M: gai; joie ??*méfreha*

مفرحه; gaité ??*farha* فرحه

◆ Ar. *fariḥa* ‘to be glad, happy, delighted’

FRTK

fər(ə)tək [v.cccc] ‘to unstitch’

imp. sg. *fārētek*

P: scucire

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *fərkəkk* ‘to crack, open’ To. (H.) *fərkəkkət* ‘to untie (of a knot intr.)’; Ghd. *färrək* ‘to separate in two.’

afərtək [v.n.m.] ‘unstitching’

afértek

P: scucire

FS1

afūs [m.] pl. *fissən* ‘hand’

afūs, *afūs-(énnes)* [PT:III,XV] pl. *fissen*

P: mano PT: III, XV M: bras; etendre *afous*

افوس

◆ NZ:FS2, TC: 266

Berber, cf. Foq. *afūs* ‘hand’; Ghd. *ófəss* ‘hand’;

Kb. *afus* ‘hand’; Nef. *ufēs* ‘hand’; Sok. *fūs* ‘hand’; To. *áfus* ‘hand’; Zng. *ävuʔš* ‘hand’

FS2

fīsa [adv.] ‘quickly’

fīsa

PT: I M: promptement *fisaâ* فيسه

◆ Dial. Ar. *fissaʕ* ‘quickly’ < Ar. *fī(a)s-sāʕa(t)* ‘in the hour’ (also attested in Siwa, and South-west Algerian Arabic) (p.c. Souag). ELA *fīsa*, in fast speech, and *fisaʕ*, when emphasized (p.c. Benkato).

FŠ

afiš [m.] pl. *fīšəwən* ‘face’

afiš, *afiš-(énnes)* [PT:III] pl. *fīšəwən* (sic)

P: viso PT: III

FŠŠ

fəšūš [stat.v.] ‘to be light, agile’

1sg. *fəšūšax* 2sg. *fəšūšət* 3sg.m. *fəšūš* 3sg.f.

fəšūšət pl. *fəšūšit*

1sg. *fešūšah* 2sg. *fešūšât* 3sg.m. *fešūš* 3sg.f.

fešūšet pl. *fešūšit*

P: leggero PT: IV M: agile *féchouch* فشوش;

agilité *féchach* فشاش; alléger *fech* فش

◆ NZ: FC9, FS1

Berber, cf. Kb. *ifsus*, *ufsus* ‘to become light’;

To. *ifsas* ‘to be or become light (in weight)’

š-əfšəš [caus.v.] ‘to lighten’

imp. sg. *šéfšeš*

P: alleggerire; leggero

təfšəš [f.] ‘lightness’

tefšeš

P: leggerezza

FTW

afəttiw [m.] ‘unity’

afəttiu

P: uno M: grain *eftéhou* افتهوه

▷ *afəttiu n-azévū* ‘one hair’

▷ *afəttiu n-yérden* ‘one granule of grain’

FW

afiw [m.] ‘fire’

afū

P: fuoco PT: II, XV M: flamme *afou* افو

▷ *šenġ afū* ‘extinguish the fire!’

◆ NZ: FW₁

To. *éfew* ‘fire’

G

ag [v.c*] ‘to do, put, place’

pf. g(g)á res. gà fut. àgg impf. təgga

imp. sg. *ag*; pf. 1sg. *gih, gih* [PT:II], *dgît*

[PT:XV] 3sg.m. *igâ, iggî-(t)* [PT:II], *iggî-(tet)*

[PT:XII], *igî-(s)* [PT:VII], *igî-(tet)* [PT:XII],

igî-(ten) [PT:XV], *igî-(ténēt)* [PT:V] 3pl.m.

gān-(îs) [PT:XV], *gân-(îs)* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg.

gîha 2sg. *dgîta* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *igâya, igé* 3pl.m.

gâna [PT:XV]; fut. 1sg. *aggâh* 2sg. *adgât*

3sg.m. *ayégg, āigî-(tet)* [PT:XII]; impf. 1sg.

teggîh 2sg. *teggît* [P:example] 3sg. *itéggâ*

P: fare, mettere, porre PT: II, III, IV, V, VII, XII, XV

▷ *teggît-lû* ‘do not do anything!’

◆ NZ: G₃, TC: 326, K: 431

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăġ* ‘to do, put’; Kb. *əg* ‘to do’;

To. *ăġ* ‘to do, make’ Zng. *ăgi(?)* ‘to put down, put’

agú [v.n.m.] ‘doing’

agû

P: fare, mettere, pore

ăggû ► Ȳ-D

GBB

təgbibi [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’

tegbîbî

P: passero M: peser *teguibibi* تقيبيبي

○ Müller has ‘to weigh’ for this word. This indicates that Müller used Italian as the intermediary language when conducting his fieldwork. Italian passero ‘sparrow’ was somehow confused with the Italian pesare ‘to weigh’.

GBŠ

gəbăš [v.ccc] ‘to gird’

impf. gəbbăš

imp. sg. *gebēš*; impf. 1sg. *gebbēšh* 3sg.m.

igebbēš 3sg.f. *tqăbbiš* [Z:VI]

P: cingere Z: VI

◆ NZ: GBS₁, BGS₁, GS₃, TC: 555, K: 387

Berber, cf. Kb. *bgəs* ‘to gird, put on a belt’; To.

əjbəs ‘to tie one’s belt (at waist)’; Zng. Aor.

3sg.m. *yăwgəš* ‘to gird, put on a belt’.

Awjila and Tuareg have a metathesized form.

The metathesis took place after the *βC > βC

shift (Kossmann 1999: 120-121). Awjila usually

does not undergo this shift, eg. *vdéd* ‘to stop;

to stand up’.

agəbăš [v.n.m.] ‘girding’

agebăš

P: cingere

G-D₁, Ȳ-D

ayî=d, yaġî=d [v.c*.irreg.] ‘to bring’

pf. = fut. əggá=d res. àgga=d impf.

təggà=d-a

imp. sg. *agîd, yaġîd* pl.m. *agîyâd, aġâdd* pl.f.

agîmet; pf. 1sg. *əggiġd* 3sg.m. *yeggâd* 3sg.f.

teggâd [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ggiġda* 3sg.m.

yeggâda, iggâda [PT:XV]; fut. 1sg. *aggâġd*

3sg.m. *ayeggâd*; impf. 1sg. *teggîġda* 3sg.m.

iteggâda

P: portare PT: V, XV

◆ TC: 984

Berber, cf. Kb. *awi* ‘to carry’; To. *àwəy* ‘to take,

convey, carry’; Zng. *ăwih* ‘to take’

aggú (or: əggú) [v.n.m.] ‘bringing’

ăggû

P: portare

GD2

pl. gudîn [m.] ‘urine’

pl. *gudîn*

P: orina

◆ NZ: GD₁

š-əggəd [caus.v.] ‘to urinate, defecate’

š-əggəd

imp. sg. *šəgged*; impf. 1sg. *šəggâdh* 3sg.m.

išeggâd

P: orinare

aš-əggəd [caus.v.n.m.] ‘urinating, defacating’

ašégged

P: orinare

GDR

əlgəd(ə)r-(ənnəs) [m./f.] ‘cooking pot’

elgedër-(énnés)

PT:XV M: marmite *elgadir* القادر

◆ Ar. *qidr* m. or f. ‘cooking pot; kettle’

GDV

agîdäv [m.] pl. *gidävən* ‘wolf, jackal’

agîdev, agîdev [B24], *egîdév* [B24] pl. *gîdéven, gîdeven* [B24]

P: lupo M: loup *akidaf* اكيدف B24: 193

◆ TC: 1079, K: 15, 161

Perhaps berber, cf. Zng. *äzādih* ‘jackal’; Siwa *azidi* ‘jackal’, the correspondence Awjila *g* to Zng. and Siwa *z* is irregular.

GF

əlgafâ-(nnəs) [m.] ‘back of the head’

elgefâ-(nnes)

PT:III

◆ Ar. *qafa(n)* ‘nape; occiput, back of the head; back; reverse’

GG

gìg [prep.] ‘inside’

gìg-(ûli)

Z:XI

○ This preposition is only attested in Zanon’s text. In Paradisi we only find this preposition as a compound preposition *ar-zgìg*

◆ ► ZGG

GÿD ► YÿD

GL₁/GWL

agál, gul [v.irreg.] ‘to see’

pf. / seq. *gùl, gùla* res. *gùla* fut. *gùl* impf. *gəwwə́l*

imp. sg. *agél, gùl* pl.m. *aglât, gùlât* pl.f.

aglîmet, gùlîmet; pf. 2sg. *dgulît*

[PT:XII,XIII,XV] 3sg.m. *igùl, igùla, igulî-(t)*

[PT:IX,XII] 3pl.m. *gùlân-(t)* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg.

guliḥ-(kû)-ya [PT:XI] 3sg.m. *igulâya*; fut. 1sg.

aggulâḥ-(t) [PT:V], *aggulâḥ* [PT:V], *aggulâḥ*

[PT:XV] 3sg.m. *aigùl*; impf. *igūwél*

P: vedere PT:V,IX,XI,XII,XIII,XV M: visiter

yégoult يغولت

▷ *igūwél-î* ‘he sees me’ [P: io (example)]

◆ NZ: GL₃₃

igəwwəl-ká [phrase] ‘blind (litt. ‘He doesn’t see’)

igūwel-ká

P: cieco

agəwàl [v.n.m.] ‘seeing’

agəwâl

P: vedere

š-əgəl [caus.v.] ‘to show’

seq. = fut. *š-əgəl* res. *šəglá* impf. *š-əglày*

imp. sg. *šəgel*; pf. *šəglîḥ* 3sg.m. *išəgel*; res. 1sg.

šəglîḥa 3sg.m. *išəglá*; fut. 1sg. *ašəglâ-(k)*

[PT:X] impf. 1sg. *šəglâiḥ* 3sg.m. *išəglâi*

P: mostrare; vedere PT: X

əngùliA type of nursing word, which, going by Zanon’s translation is probably related to the verb *agál, gul* ‘to see’

ingùli

Z:XI

GL₂

tgìli [f.] pl. *tgiliwìn* ‘head’

tgìli, tēgìli, tēgìli [PT:III] *tegìli* [B21],

tēgùlî-(nnes) [PT:III,XIII] pl. *tgiliwìn, tegiliwìn* [B21]

P: testa; cima B21: 384 PT: III, XIII M:

cerveau; tête *taqileh* ثقيلة; cervelle

taqileh ثقيلة

◆ NZ: GL₆₃

GL₃

Gilu [place name] ‘Jalu (an oasis 30km south-east of Awjila)’

Gîlu

P: Giallo

GLD**agəllid** [m.] pl. gəldən 'head of a tribe, gentleman'*agellid* pl. *gelden*P: capo M: gouverneur *kellad* قَلَاد;
gouverner ??*mekellid* مَقْلِيد

◆ K: 331

Berber, cf. Kb. *agəllid* 'king'; Ghd. *ašəllid* 'king'; MA *agellid*, *ažellid* 'king'**GLL****glùl** [v.ccvc] 'to play'

pf. / seq. = res. glùl impf. təglùla

imp. sg. *glùl*; pf. 1sg. *glùlîh* 3sg.m. *iglùl*; res.1sg. *glùlîha* 3sg.m. *iglùla*; impf. 1sg. *teglùlîh*3sg.m. *iteglùla* ptc. *teglùlān* [P:example: che, il quale]

P: giocare

glilən [v.n.m.] 'playing'*glilen*

P: giocare

š-əglùl [caus.v.] 'to make (s.o.) play'imp. sg. *šəglùl*

P: giocare

GLM₁**glim** [m.] pl. glimən 'skin'*glim*, *glim-(énnes)* [PT:XV] pl. *glimen*P: pelle PT: XV M: peau *eglim* اقليم◆ NZ: GLM₂, TC: 1046, K: 364Berber, cf. Kb. *ag^wlim* 'skin'; To. *ájlem* 'prayer skin, sheepskin used as prayer mat'; Nef. *uglím* 'skin'**GLM₂****agilum**, **agilùm** [m.] 'garlic'*agilùm*, *agilùm*

P: aglio

◆ NZ: GLM₁₀Berber, cf. Ghd. *agelum* 'garlic'. Probably ultimately from Lat. *allium* 'garlic'.**GM₁****ugəm** [v.vcc] 'to draw (water with an animal)'

impf. tągəm

imp. sg. *ugəm*; impf. 1sg. *tągemh* 3sg.m.*itągem*

P: attingere

◆ NZ: GM₃, K: 409Ghd. *agəm* 'to draw water'; Kb. *ag^wəm* 'to draw water'; To. (N) *ągəm* 'to draw water';Zng. *ägum* 'to draw water'.**ugùm** [v.n.m.] 'drawing of water'*ugùm*

P: attingere

anagəm [m.] pl. nagəmən 'someone who draws water'*anagəm* pl. *nagəmen*

P: attingere

GM₂**aləgmət** [f.] 'friday'*aləgmet*

P: venerdì

◆ Ar. *žumʕa(t)* 'friday'. Note the irregular loss of Arabic ʕ, which Awjila shares with Siwa, el-Foqaha, Ghadames and Nefusa: Cf. Siwa *əlmət* 'friday' (Souag 2010: 118); Foq. *ležmat* 'friday'; Ghd. *əlgamət* 'friday'; Nef. *ligmēt* 'week', and the unexpected correspondence of Auj. *g* Ar. *ž*, which does not occur anywhere else in the language.**GMR₁****agmàr** [m.] pl. gmàrən 'horse'*agmàr* pl. *gmàren*, *gmàren-(ÿa)* [P: chi? (example)]P: cavallo M: cheval *aghmar* اغمار◆ NZ: GMR₅, TC: 373, K: 368Berber, cf. Ghd. *agmar* 'horse'; Kb. *tagmart* 'mare'; Zng. *ägmar* 'boy, young adolescent', *tägmar*, *tägmart* 'mare'**tagmàr(ə)t** [f.] pl. tagmartìn 'mare'*tagmàrèt* pl. *tagmartîn*

P: cavallo

GMR2

pl. **gmìrən** [m.] ‘chest’

pl. *gmîren*

P: petto

◆ NZ: GMR10, DMR1, TC: 193

Berber, cf. Kb. *idmarən* ‘chest’; Zng. *äd̄m̄ari(?)* ‘chest bone’; Nef. *idmâren* ‘chest’. Awjila has undergone an shift from *d* to *g* in preconsonantal position. Not all instances of pre-consonantal *d* becomes *g*, e.g. *adbir* ‘pigeon’, but a similar irregular shift is observed in Benghazi Arabic Benkato (2012: 10)

GMZ

agamzûy, agàmzū [m.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar. *zôūsami, abyad*)’

agamzûi, agámzū

P: palma

◆ NZ: GMZ4

A compounds of unknown element *agam* and *zûi* ‘palm tree’

GN

gan [adv.] ‘there; there is, there was’

gân, gal-(lûda) [PT:XV], *ġân* [Z:VII]

P: essere PT: I, II, III, XV Z: IV, VII

▷ *gân-ká* ‘there is not’

▷ *yénni-ká gân* ‘there was not’

▷ *gallûda* ‘there being nothing’ [PT:XV]

GNG

agəngùy [m.] pl. *ngùwən* ‘green date’

agengûi pl. *ñġûwen*

P: dattero

◆ Sok. *agingín* ‘small date palm’; Foq. *gingín, gengén* ‘green date’

agəngùy [m.] ‘name of a sparrow’

agəngûi

P: passero

○ This bird name seems to be derived from the word *agengûi* ‘green date’ above. Why this bird was named after a green date is

unclear. One may imagine that the shape of a date somewhat resembles the shape of a sparrow, the colour though, is very different.

GNN

agənnìn [m.] pl. *gənnìnən* ‘a small cushion one wears on the head to carry loads’

agennîn, agennîmen [Z:V] pl. *gennînən*

P: cuscino Z: V

◆ K: 415

Ghd. *tažnent* ‘wicker basket’; Siwa *agənin* ‘basket’

GNŠ

gnìš [m.] pl. *gnìšən* ‘male blossom of a date palm’

gnîš pl. *gnîšen*

P: palma

GNW

agnàw [m.] pl. *gnàwən* ‘black slave’

agnâu pl. *gnâwen*

P: schiavo, servo

◆ NZ: GNW2 TC: 406

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ġanaw* ‘slave (from Sudan)’; Kb. *tagnawit* ‘incomprehensible language, language of black slaves’; Zng. *ägənwī(?)* ‘black man, negroid African’ Nef. *agnâu* ‘slave, black’

GR1

agùr [prep.] ‘near, on the side’

1sg. *agùr mìn̄n-i*, *agur-ənnùk* 2sg.m. *agùr mìn̄n-ək* *agur-ənnək* 3sg. *agùr mìn̄n-əs*, *agur-ənnəs*

agûr; 1sg. *agûr mēnn-ī*, *agûr-ennùk* 2sg.m.

agûr mēnn-ek, *agûr-énnek* 3sg. *agûr mìn̄n-es*, *agûr-énnes*

P: vicino; fianco, lato PT: III

◆ NZ: GR64, K: 303

Perhaps Berber, cf. Ghd. *ġár* ‘between’; To. *jèr* ‘between’

Ar. *min* ‘from’

GR2

agár [v.cc*] ‘to gather, assemble’

pf. əgrá res. əgra impf. gərrá

imp. sg. *agér*; pf. 3sg.m. *yegrá*; res. 3sg.m.

yegráya; impf. 3sg.m. *igerrá*

P: raccogliere, radunare

◆ NZ: GRW₁

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎgruw* ‘to gather’; Kb. *grəw* ‘to meet, to get together’; To. *əjrəw* ‘to get, obtain, find’

agərru [v.n.m.] ‘gathering, assembling’

agərrū

P: raccogliere, radunare

GRF

tagirft, tagrifft [f.] ‘crow; owl’

tagirft, tagrifft

P: corvo; gufo

◆ NZ: GRF₁, GRFW K: 305

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ogǎrf* f. *toǎrft* ‘crow’; Kb. *tagərfa* ‘crow’; Sok. *tžárfi* ‘crow’

Ultimately from Latin *corvus*.

GRŠ₁

təgirišt [f.] ‘winter’

tegerišt, tagirišt [B21], *tigirišt* [B21;B25]

P: inverno B21: 386, 391 B25: 330 M:

automne *téghéricht* تغرشت; hiver

téghéricht تقرشت

◆ NZ: GRS₃ TC: 434, K: 341, 627

Berber, cf. Ghd. *asəgrəs* ‘winter’; Nef. *tegrést* ‘winter’; Foq. *ǧarišt* ‘winter’; Sok. *tagrést* ‘winter’; To. *təjrəst* ‘cold season, winter’; Zng. *tgārS* ‘cold season, winter’

GRT

agəraṭ [m.] pl. gərtəwən ‘neck’

agárāt, agárāt-(énnes) [PT:XIII] pl. *gertáwən*

P: collo PT:XIII M: cou *agarat* ا ق ا ر ا ت

◆ NZ: GRD₁ K: 628

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ayurəṭ* ‘shoulder’; Kb. *ag^wərđ* ‘neckline’; To. *tejǎrdǎwt* ‘base of cranium just above nape’; Zng. *agard* ‘neck’

grūt [m.] pl. grūtən ‘wood, trunk of a tree’

grūt, grūt pl. *grūtən*

P: legno; palma; tronco d'albero

GRZN

?gərzəni [m.] ‘dog’

guerzeni قرزنى, *guerzen* قرزن

M: aboiement, aboyer

◆ Siwa *agurzəni* ‘dog’

GS

(ə)ggəs [v.cc] ‘to roast’

pf. əggəs res. əggəs impf. təggàs

imp. sg. *əggés*; pf. 1sg. *ggesh* 3sg.m. *yeggés*;

res. 1sg. *ggışha* 3sg.m. *yeggışa*; impf. 1sg.

teggāsh 3sg.m. *iteggās*

P: arrostitore M: rôti *?eggaça* ا ق س ه ; rôti

??meggaça م ق ا س ه

◆ NZ: GS₁₀

(ə)ggùs [v.n.m.] ‘roasting’

əggùs

P: arrostitore

GŠL

təgišilt təštàft [f.+adj.] ‘black beetle’

tegešilt teštàft

P: scarabeo

◆ NZ: GCL₂, Perhaps also: NZ: GLZ₈

Perhaps related to Sok. *tažlōšt* ‘cockroach’;

Siwa *taǧlāšt* ‘spider’Naumann (2013: 377); Fig.

tajlišš ‘beetle’.

təgišilt təyziift (or: ... tayziift) [f.+adj.]

‘vipera, snake (litt. long beetle)’

tegišilt tajziift

P: scarabeo; vipera M: serpent *tekéchilt*

تكشلت

GT

(ə)ggūt[quant] ‘much, many’

əggūt, ggūt [PT:III] *uggūt* [Z:I]

P: molto PT:III Z: I M: abondance *daggout*

د ق ق و ت ; accroître *daggat* د ق ا ت ; allonger

edgout ا د ق و ت ; beaucoup *doggout*

د ق ق و ت ; davantage *dakket* د ك ت ; force

degoud د ق و د ; suffire *dakout* د ك و ت ;

suffisament *dakou* دكو

◆ NZ: GT1 K: 359

Berber, cf. Sok. *uggūt* ‘much, many’

GṬṬ

agəṭṭ (or: **agəṭṭ** [m.]) pl. gəṭəṭ ‘sparrow; bird’

agəṭṭ pl. *gəṭṭ*

P: passero; ucello M: perdrix *ghethat*

قطاط

◆ NZ: GD2 TC: 486 K: 328

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aḡadīd* ‘bird’; Foq. *žadīd*

‘bird’; Sok. *aždit* ‘bird’; Siwa *aštīt* ‘bird’

(Naumann 2013: 416); To. *ejādēd* ‘bird’; Zng.

aḡdud ‘bird’

GW1

agiw [m.] pl. giwən ‘leather bucket (for a well)’

agiu pl. *gīwen*

P: pozzo

◆ NZ: G11 TC: 25 K: 304

Berber, cf. To. *āja* ‘waterbag’; Zng. *ä?gäh*

‘bucket’

GY

****gi** [v.ci] ‘to cultivate’

impf. gày

impf. 3sg.m. *igái*

PT:XV

○ Probably a impf. of a root *gi*.

◆ To. (Y) *əgyək* ‘to cultivate’

GZ

agáz [v.cc*] ‘to cut’

seq. = res. yəgza fut. əgəz impf. gəzza

imp. sg. *agéz*; pf. 3sg.m. *yégza*; res. 3sg.m.

yegzáya; fut. 3sg.m. *ayégěz*; impf. 3sg.m.

igézzā

P: tagliare

◆ NZ: GZ5, K: 243

Berber, cf. Ghd. *gəzgez* ‘to be torn out, torn up with teeth’

agəzzu [v.n.m.] ‘cutting’

agézzū

P: tagliare

GZL

gəzzəl [stat.v.] ‘to be short, low’

1sg. gəzlāx 2sg. gəzlāt 3sg.m. gəzzəl 3sg.f.

gəzlət pl. gəzzilīt

1sg. *gezlāh* 2sg. *gezlāt* 3sg.m. *gəzzel* 3sg.f.

gəzlet pl. *gezzilīt*

P: corto, basso

▷ *wāya gəzzel* ‘this is short’

▷ *amédəŋ gəzzel* ‘a short man’

◆ NZ: GZL1

Berber, cf. Ghd. *gəzzəl* ‘to be short’; Nef.

gezzél ‘short, low’; Siwa *azal* ‘short’; Sok.

gəzzél ‘short’

gzil [adj.].pl. gzilən f. təgzilīt pl. təgzilīn ‘short, low’

m. sg. *gzil* pl. *gzilen* f. sg. *tegzilīt* pl. *tegzilīn*

P: corto, basso

š-əgzəl, s-əgzəl [caus.v.] ‘to shorten, lower’

impf. š-əgzəl

imp. sg. *šəgzəl, səgzəl*; impf. 1sg. *šəgzālḥ*

3sg.m. *išəgzāl*

P: corto, basso

as-əgzəl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘shortening’

asəgzəl

P: corto, basso

GZN1

gzin [m.] pl. gzinən ‘dog’

gzin pl. *gzinen*

P: cane M: chien *eghzin* اغزين

◆ K: 749

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əgzén* ‘puppy, small dog’; Kb.

aqjun ‘dog’; Nef. *ugzín* ‘small dog, puppy’

təgzint [f.] pl. təgzintìn, təgzinìn ‘bitch’

tegzînt pl. *tegzintîn, tegzinîn*

P: cane

GZN2

agəzzùn [m.] pl. gəzzùnən ‘orphan’

agezzûn pl. *gezzûnen*

P: orfano

◆ NZ: GZN₅

Siwa *agezzun* ‘orphan’

GZR₁

agəzzàr [m.] pl. *gəzzàrən* ‘leaf of a turnip’

agezzâr pl. *gezzâren*

P: foglia M: navet *aghzar* ا غز ا

◆ NZ: GZR₃

GZV

əgzəv [v.ccc] ‘to cut the bunches of dates from palms’

imp. sg. *əgzev*, *egzéf*

P: tagliare

◆ NZ: GZB K: 169, 243

Berber, cf. Ghd. *agezâβ* ‘a palm whose leaves have been cut off’; Siwa *agəzzu* ‘bunch of shoots at the foot of an old trunk of a date palm’

agəzàv [v.n.m.] ‘cutting the bunches of dates from palms’

agezâv, *agezâf*

P: tagliare

Y

yax [v.vc*] ‘to take (+IO)’

pf. *uyá* seq. = res. *ùya* fut. *ùy* impf. *tàya*

imp. sg. *yah* pl. *yahât* [PT:I]; pf. 1sg. *ugîh*

3sg.m. *yúga*, *yugâ* [PT:IV,VII], *yugî-(tēt)* [PT:I];

res. 1sg. *ugîha* 3sg.m. *yugâya*; fut. 1sg. *augâh*,

augâh [PT:V] 2sg. *attugât-(tēnēt)* [PT:V]

3sg.m. *ayûg*, *ayugî-(tēnēt)* [PT:V]; impf. 1sg.

tāgîh 3sg.m. *itâga*

P: prendere PT: I, II, IV, V, VII M: apporter

heggad حَقَّاد; payer *aghiz* ا غيز ‘to take to him’?

◆ K: 736

Berber, cf. Kb. *ay* ‘to take’; Nef. *ag* ‘to take’;

Sok. *ag* ‘to take’; Siwa *agəd* ‘to take (imp. only)’

uyú [v.n.m.] ‘taking’

ugú

P: prendere

YBŠ

əlyàbəš [m.] ‘morning’

elgábes

PT: XV

◆ Probably from Ar. *gabaš* ‘darkness, dark, duskiess; the twilight before sunrise, last shadows of the night’. Cf. Ouar. *gabešša* ‘matin, début du jour’

Y-D ► G-D

YDD

ayìdəd [m.] pl. *yìdàd* ‘male kid (goat)’

agìded pl. *gìdâd*

P: capretto

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *iyid* ‘billy goat’; Nef. *gìd* ‘kid (goat)’; Sok. *igíd* ‘kid (goat)’

tyìdət ‘female kid (goat)’

tgìdet

P: capretto

YF₁

ayúf [m.] pl. *yəfàwən* ‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string’

agúf pl. *gefâwen*

P: cesta

YF₂

təyàfi [f.] pl. *tyafiwìn* ‘palm leaf’

tāgâfi, *tāgâfi* pl. *tāgâfîwîn*

P: foglia; palma

YL₁

****yàlli** [v.cci] ‘to want’

pf. = fut. *yàlli*

pf./fut. 1sg. *gállih*, *gèllih* [PT:V], *gillig* [Z:I]

gillig [Z:III], *gèllih* [Z:VII], *gálláh* [P: example],

gállá [P: example], *állá* [P: example] 2sg.

tgállit, *tègèllit-(i)* [PT:XII] *tgèlli t-(i-kra)* (sic)

[Z:I] 3sg.m. *igállih*, *igèlli* [PT:I], *igèlli* [PT:X]

igèlli (sic) [PT:IX], *igèlli* [PT:IV], *igèlli* [PT:II],

igállī [Z:II] 3sg.f. *tǰállī* 1pl. *nǧǰállī*, *nǧǰállī*
 [PT:XV] 2pl.m. *tǰallīyīm* 2pl.f. *tǰallīmet* 3pl.m.
ǧallīyen, *ǧallīyēn* [PT:II] 3pl.f. *ǧallīnet*
 P: volere PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, IX, X, XII, XV Z:
 I, II, III, VII M: cher *yéghalayeh* يغلايه;
 falloir *yéghally* يغالى
 ▷ *ǧallīh-ká*, *ǧalláh-ká* 'I do not want';
 ▷ *ǧalláh* (or *ǧallá*, *álla*) *a-šwâh* 'I want to
 drink'

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *yill* 'to think,
 believe'; To. *iyal* 'to believe'
 The Berber cognates have quite a different
 meaning, but the semantic shift may be
 possible.

YL2

ayəllày [m.] pl. *yəllàyən* 'circle, loop'
agəllâi pl. *ǧəllâyen*
 P: cerchio, giro
 ▷ *agəllâi n tebazârt* 'a circle of bread to
 make baskets with'
 ◆ To. (Gh.) *taǧălait* 'circle'

YL3

****ayól/yli** [v.cc*/cci] 'to be dear'
 res. *yła*
 pf. 3sg.m. *iglāia*
 Z: XI
 ◆ Ar. *ʔajlā* 'to be dear or precious'
yəli-ka [stat.v.+neg.] 'to be cheap'
ghaleika غليكة
 M: bon-marché
 ◆ From Ar. *ǧālī* 'expensive' + Awjila negative
 particle *ká*.

YLB

****yəlləb** [v.cċc] 'to best s.o., to defeat s.o.'
 pf. / seq. *yəlləb*
 pf. 3sg.m. *igəlləb-(ten)*
 PT: VIII M: par force *yéghlebah* يغلبه
 ◆ Ar. *ǧalaba* 'to subdue, conquer, vanquish,
 defeat', the Awjila reflex appears to refer to a
 Stem II derivation *ǧallaba*, which in MSA is
 the causative of *ǧalaba*. The meaning in the

text is certainly not causative.

YM

taymày (or: **təymày**) [f.] pl. *taymawìn*,
taymáwin 'thigh'
taǧmâi pl. *taǧmāwīn*, *taǧmāwīn*
 P: coscia M: cuisse *thaghmay* طاغماي
 ◆ TC: 669
 Berber, cf. Ghd. *tayma* 'thigh'; Nef. *tāǧmâ*,
taǧmâ 'thigh'; Sok. *táǧma* 'thigh'; Siwa *taǧma*
 'thigh'; To. *tāyma* 'thigh'; Kb. *tayma* 'thigh';
 Zng. *tāmâ^h* 'thigh'

YMR

tayəmmirt [f.] pl. *təyəmmirìn* 'armpit'
taǧəmmirt pl. *teǧəmmūrīn*
 P: ascella M: aisselle *teghmert* تغمرت
 ◆ TC: 60
 Berber, cf. Ghd. *taymārt*, *tayəmmārt* 'corner,
 elbow'; Kb. *tiymārt*, *tīy^mmārt* 'corner, elbow';
 To. *áymar*, *tāymārt* 'elbow'; Zng. *oʔmri(?)*,
uʔmār, *iʔmmār* 'elbow'; Siwa *tayəmmārt*
 'armpit'; Nef. *tuǧumért*, *tuǧmért* 'elbow';

YN1

ayùn [m.] 'a rope to which a 'delou' is
 tied to draw water'
agún
 P: corda
 ○ Perhaps a derivation of *āqqán* 'to bind, tie,
 attach' ► QN

YN2

iyənni [v.cċi] 'to hurt'
 3sg.m. *igənnī*, *igənnī-(y-ī)* [P: example] 3sg.f.
tǧənnī
 P: dolere, far male
 ○ May either be an imperfective of a |cci|
 verb, or the perfective of a |cċi| verb.
 ▷ *aṭār-ennúk igənnī-y-ī* 'my foot hurts'
 ◆ Berber, cf. To. *ayána* 'suffering, hardship';
 Siwa *ǧənn* 'to hurt'

YR1

uyər [v.vcc] 'to get lost; to lose s.th. (s-ɣar

+ s.th.)'

seq. = res. = fut. *ùḡər* impf. *tàḡər*

imp. sg. *uḡér*; pf. 2sg. *tujért* [PT:X] 3sg.m.

yúger; res. 3sg.m. *yugîra*; fut. 1sg. *āuḡérh*

[PT:X] 3sg.m. *ayúger* [PT:X]; impf. 1sg. *tâḡarh*

[P: example] 3sg.m. *itâḡar*

P: perdersi, smarrirsi PT: X M: aller

youghera *يوغره*

▷ *tâḡarh ässerîr-î* 'I always get lost in the desert'

▷ *yugîra s-gâr-î elmêšhâf* 'I have lost the book (litt. the book is lost from me)'

◆ K: 357, 630

Probably related to Foq. *úḡâr* 'to go'. The meaning found in Müller matches that of El-foqaha. This implies that Awjila underwent a semantic shift in between the publications of Müller and Paradisi.

š-ùḡər [caus.v.] 'to lose s.th.'

res. š-ùḡər impf. š-uḡər

imp. sg. *šújer*; res. 3sg.m. *šugîrha*; impf. 1sg.

šugârḡ [PT:IV] 3sg.m. *išugâr*

P: perdersi, smarrirsi PT: IV

○ *šugârḡ* in PT:IV, morphologically looks like an imperfective, but must be translated as a perfective.

▷ *šugîrha elmêšhâf* 'I have lost the book'

YR2

təyarît (or: təyərît) [f.] pl. t(ə)yariwîn 'stick'

tâḡarît pl. *tḡariwîn*, *tḡarîwîn* [PT:I],

tḡarîwîn-(îyek) [PT:I], *tḡarîwîn-(îyäk)* [PT:I]

P: bastone PT: I M: bâton *tagharit*

تغريت; révolté (être) *tégharit* تغريت

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tayärit* 'stick'; Kb. *tiyrit* 'stick'

YR3

yar [conj.] 'but'

ḡār [PT:V], *ḡār* [PT:XI]

PT: V, XI

◆ Ar. *ḡayr* 'but', the reflex of the *ay* diphthong

as a plain vowel *a* is unexpected.

YR4

ayər [v.cc*] 'to read'

seq. = res. *əḡra* impf. *ḡərra*

imp. sg. *aḡár*; pf. 3sg.m. *yéḡra*; res. 3sg.m.

yéḡrâya; impf. 1sg. *ḡarrîh* 3sg.m. *igérrā*

P: leggere

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *əär* 'to read'; Kb. *yər* 'to read'; To. *əḡər* 'to read; to study, go to school'

š-əḡər [caus.v.] 'to cause to read'

imp. sg. *šáḡar*

P: leggere

ayərru [v.n.m.] 'reading'

aḡérrū

P: leggere

YR5

ar [prep.] 'to, near, at'

1sg. *ḡâr-i* 2sg.m. *ḡâr-ək* 2sg.f. *ḡâr-əm* 3sg.

ḡâr-əs 1pl. *ḡâr-nax* 2pl.m. *ḡâr-kim* 2pl.f.

ḡâr-əkmət 3pl.m. *ḡâr-sin* 3pl.f. *ḡâr-əsnət*

ar, *ār* [PT:XV] (before a noun), *ḡār* (before

pronouns) 1sg. *ḡâr-î*, *ḡâr-î* [PT:V,VI] 2sg.m

ḡâr-ek, *ḡâr-ək* [PT:II] 2sg.f. *ḡâr-em* 3sg. *ḡâr-es*

1pl. *ḡâr-nāh* 2pl.m. *ḡâr-kīm* 2pl.f. *ḡâr-ekmet*

3pl.m. *ḡâr-sin* 3pl.f. *ḡâr-esnet*

P: presso PT: III, V, VI, XV

▷ *irîu inni ar améden* 'the child is by the man'

◆ TC: 70

Berber, cf. Foq. *ḡūr* 'near, at'; Nef. *ḡer* 'near,

at'; To. *ḡòr* 'chez, at the home of, in the

presence of'; Zng. *ärr*, *är* 'near, at'

YRDM

tyardimt (or: tyərdimt) [f.] pl. tyardimîn 'scorpion'

tḡardimt pl. *tḡardimîn*

P: scorpione; M: reptile *taghardim*

تغرديم; scorpion *téghardim* تغرديم

◆ K: 633

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tašarḏämt* 'scorpion'; Kb.

iyirdəm ‘scorpion’; To. *eyérdəm* ‘large scorpion’; Foq. *tagurdémt* ‘scorpion’; Sok. *tqardémt* ‘scorpion’; Nef. *tǵardémt* ‘scorpion’; Siwa *taqərǵúmt* ‘scorpion’ (Naumann 2013: 322) For the Ghadames form, see Vycichl (1990).

YRF

ayàrf (or: **ayərf**) [m.] ‘type of palm tree’

agárf

P: palma

YRM₁

ayàrəm [m.] ‘castle, police post’

agârem

P: castello, posto di polizia

◆ Tashl. *iyrm* ‘fortified granary’

YRR

tayrart [f.] ‘sack, bag’

thaghrart ط ا غ ر ا ر ت ‘sack, bag’

M: sac

◆ Siwa *tǵarārt* ‘small sack made of camel skin’; Ghd. *tayrārt* ‘large sack of wool and hair for grain’; Kb. *tayrart*, *tay^wrart* ‘roughly woven bag with dual pockets for transporting wheat on a camel’s back’

YRS

pl. əlyərsat-(ənnəs) [f.] ‘young palms’

pl. *əljārsāt-(ənnəs)*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *ǵarsa(t)* pl. *ǵarsāt* ‘plant’ Mor. Ar. *ǵarsa* ‘garden’

YRŠ

əy(ə)rəš [v.ccc] ‘to slaughter s.th. (+ IO)’

pf. *əyrəš* res. *əyrəš*

imp. sg. *agārəš*, *agreš-(dík)* [PT:XV], *ágareš*

[B21]; pf. 3sg.m. *yagrəš*; res. 3sg.m. *yagrīša*

P: sgozzare PT: XV B21: 391 M: boucher, s.

yégharrech يَغْرَش; immolé ??*magharich*

مَغَارَش; immoler *gharich* غ ا ر ش

◆ TC: 82

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əyrəs* ‘to immolate; to

slaughter’; To. *əyrəs* ‘to slaughter’; Zng. *oʔrəš* ‘to be slaughtered’

ayəràš [v.n.m.] ‘slaughter’

agaráš

P: sgozzare

YSLM

ayəsləm (or: **ayəsləm** [m.] ‘lizard (male)’

agəsləm

P: lucertola

təyasləmt (or: **təyəsłəmt**) [m.] ‘lizard

(female)’

tǵəslémt ‘lizard (female)’

P: lucertola

YST

ayəst [m.] pl. *yəstìn* ‘bone’

agást pl. *ǵástìn*, *ǵástìn-(nésneṭ)* [PT:XV]

P: osso PT: XV M: os *aghazt* ا غ ا ز ت

◆ TC: 85, K: 721

Berber, cf. GGhd. *yäss*, *yāš* ‘bone’; Kb. *iyəss* ‘bone’; To. *éyäss* ‘bone’; Zng. *iʔsi(?)* ‘bone’.

Awjila has an extra final *t* in the root, not present in any other Berber language.

YŠ

ayəš [v.cc] ‘to love’

pf. *əyəš* res. *yəš* fut. *yəš* impf. *təyyəš* (or: *təyyāš*)

imp. sg. *agáš*, *ǵaš* [B21] pl.m. *agášât* pl.f.

agəšmet; pf. 1sg. *ǵašh* 3sg.m. *yagáš*; res. 1sg.

ǵišha 3sg.m. *yagíša*; fut. 1sg. *agášh* 3sg.m.

aigáš; impf. *taggášh*, *tagášh* 3sg.m. *itaggáš*

P: amare B21: 391 M: aimer *yéghachtia*

يَغَشْتِيَه

▷ *taggášh-kem* ‘I love you’

◆ K: 724

Berber, cf. Nef. *ǵəss*, *ǵäss* ‘to love’; Siwa *ašs* ‘to love, want’

YTM + GLW (Move to QTM)

****əqtóm təgiliwin** [v.] ‘to execute (?)’

impf. *yəqəṭṭəm təgiliwin*

3sg.m. impf. *yeghettem igiliouy* يَغْتَم

يجيلوي

M: bourreau

◆ Probably to be analyzed as: *yəqəttəm*
tigiliwin 'he is cutting heads'; Cf. Ar. *qaṭama*
 'to cut off, break off'

YṬ1

tɣəṭ [f.] pl. tɣəttən, tɣittən 'goat'

tǵāt pl. tǵāttən, tǵittān

P: capra

◆ TC: 9

Berber, cf. Ghd. *téeat* 'goat'; Kb. *tayaṭ* 'goat';
 Nef. *tǵāt* 'goat'; Siwa *tǵāt* 'id.'; To. *təyatt* 'goat';
 Zng. *taʔD* 'goat'.

YV

ay(ə)v [m.] 'milk'

āǵəv, *āǵf*, *āǵf* [P:example], *āǵəf* [B24], *āǵəv*
 [B24]

P: latte B24: 186

▷ *āǵf d-atrâr* 'fresh milk'

◆ TC: 113, K: 11, 160, 738

Berber, cf. Kb. *iyi* 'whey'; To. *áxx* 'milk'; Zng.
iʔž, *iʔž(ž)* 'milk'

YVL

əyvəl, əgvəl [m.] 'ash'

əgvəl, *əgvəl*P: cenere M: cendre *aghwel* ا غول

◆ TC: 99

Maybe connected to Zng. *tiʔyift* 'ash'. To
 connect these two forms, we have to assume
 a metathesis of *l and *β in Zenaga (or,
 vice-versa in Awjila). The reflex of
 Proto-Berber *β is not commonly f in Zenaga.

YZ1

ayiz [m.] pl. yizzən 'necklace'

agiz pl. *gizzen*

P: collana

▷ *agiz n úrǵ* 'golden necklace' [s.v. di]

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *agiz* 'necklace of coral,
 golden parts and old coins'

YZF

yəzzəf [stat.v.] 'to be long, be high'

1sg. *yəzfāx* 2sg. *yəzfāt* 3sg.m. *yəzzəf* 3sg.f.*yəzfət* pl. *yəzzifit*1sg. *ǵazfāh* 2sg. *ǵazfāt* 3sg.m. *ǵázzef* 3sg.f.*ǵázfet* pl. *ǵazzifit*

P: lungo, alto

◆ TC: 105

Berber, cf. Kb. *iyʷzif* 'to be long'; Zng. *oʔZuf*
 'to be long'

yɣiz [adj.]f. təyziṭ (or: tayziṭ) 'long, high'

m. *ǵizf* f. *taǵizif*

P: lungo, alto

š-əyɣəf [caus.v.] 'to lengthen'

pf. / seq. = res. šəyɣəf impf. š-əyɣàf

imp. sg. *šəǵzef*, *šəǵzef*; pf. 1sg. *šəǵzəfh* 3sg.m.*išəǵzef*; res. 1sg. *šəǵzifha* 3sg.m. *išəǵzifa*;impf. 1sg. *šəǵzāfh* 3sg.m. *išəǵzāf*

P: allungare; lungo, alto

təyɣəf [f.] 'length'

táǵzef

P: lunghezza

H ► I4

HD

əlhùdi [m.] 'jew'

əlhùdī, *lhùdī*, *elhùdī*, *əlhùdī*, *lēhùdī*

PT: V

◆ ELA *ihùdī* 'jew'; Ar. *al-hūd* 'jewry',*al-yahūdīy* 'jew, jewish'

HL

ləhàl [m.] 'people, family'

lēhál [PT:II], *lēhil*-(*ənnúk*, *énnek*) [PT:XV]

PT: II, XV

◆ Ar. *ʔahl* 'relatives, folks, family; kin; people,
 members, followers etc.'; ELA *hāl* 'family' (p.c.
 Benkato)

HLB

**əhləb [v.ccc] 'to surpass'

fut. əhləb

fut. 3pl.m. *ahləbən*

PT: II

HRŽ**ləharžət** [f.] ‘noise’*ləharžet*

PT: VII

◆ ELA *hárža* ‘noise’**HWY****alhəwáyyi, əlhəwáyyi** [adv.] ‘outside, outdoors, out, abroad’*alhawáyyi* [PT:VIII], *lhawáyyi* [PT:VIII],*elhawáyyi* [PT:IV]

P: fuori PT: IV, VIII

▷ *alhawáyyi af ášal* ‘out of the village’◆ Ar. *hawāʔi* ‘airy, breezy; aerial’, the meaning underwent quite a radical semantic shift in Awjila.**HB****lḥəbb** [m.] pl. ləḥbùb ‘date (ripe)’*lḥabb* pl. *lḥbùb*P: dattero Z: IV M: datte, fruit *lahbou*

لحبو

◆ Ar. *ḥabb* ‘grains; seed’**ḤDF****ḥədəf** [v.ccc] ‘to throw’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. əḥdəf

imp. sg. *ḥədəf*; pf. 3sg.m. *yaḥdef-(tənet)*[PT:V]; res. 1sg. *aḥdefḥ-(tít)-a* [PT:V]; fut. 1sg.*aḥdefâ-(s)* [PT:V]

P: gettare PT: V

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *əʃdəf* ‘to throw’ (Naumann 2013: 297)**ḤDN****ḥiddan** [pron.] ‘anyone’*ḥiddan*

P: nessuno PT: II

◆ Ar. *ʔaḥad-an* ‘anyone’ with retention of Tanwin.**ḤK(Y)******əḥk** [v.cc*] ‘to tell’

pf. / seq. əḥka impf. ḥəkkə

pf. 3sg.m. *yaḥk-(is)* [PT:IV]; impf. 3pl.m.*ḥakkân-(dík)* [PT:II]

PT: II, IV

◆ Ar. *ḥakā* ‘to tell’**ləḥkàyəṭ** [f.] ‘story’*lahkàyet*

PT: IV

◆ Ar. *ḥikāya(t)* ‘story, tale’**ḤL****aḥòli** [m.] pl. ḥolàwən ‘lamb’*aḥòlī* pl. *ḥolàwen*P: agnello M: mouton *haoli* حولى◆ ELA *ḥòlī* ‘(one year old) lamb’; Ar. *ḥawlī* ‘periodic, temporary, interim; one year old (animal), yearling; young animal; lamb, wether’**taḥolīt** [f.] pl. ṭholitìn ‘sheep (more common than *təvól*)’*taholīt* pl. *ṭholitìn*

P: pecora

ḤLKT**ṭḥalkùt (or: ṭḥəlkùt)** [f.] pl. ṭḥəlkútìn ‘bread’*ṭḥalkùt* pl. *ṭḥəlkútìn*

P: pane

ḤM₁**áḥəmm** [v.cc?] ‘to guard the palms’imp. sg. *áḥamm*

P: custodire

◆ Ar. *ḥamā* ‘to defend, guard, protect’**ḥəmmày** [m.] ‘guardian of date palms’*ḥammâi*

P: custodire

◆ A CaCCāC agentive formation off the Arabic root *ḥmy* ‘to protect’.**ḤM₂******əḥm/əḥmí** [v.cc*/cci] ‘to burn, scorch’

res. əḥma/əḥmí

res. 3sg.f. *taḥmàya*

PT: III

◆ Mor. Ar. *ḥmā* ‘to become very hot’

HML

**əhməl [v.ccc] ‘to load, carry’

res. = fut. əhməl

res. 3sg.m. *yahmel-(tī)-ya* [PT:III]; fut. 1sg.

aħmelħ [PT:XII]

PT: III, XII

◆ Ar. *ħamala* ‘to carry, bear’

əlhəm(ə)l [m.] ‘load, burden’

elħáml, elħamēl-(énnes)

PT: III

◆ Ar. *ħiml*, (colloq.) *ħaml* ‘cargo, load, burden’

HMṢ

ħəmmuš [m.] ‘penis’

ħammúš

P: penis

HNN

ħənnūni [kin.m.] ‘grandfather’

2sg. *ħənnunī-k*

1sg. *ħannūnī* 2sg. *ħannunī-k*

P: nonno

◆ In ELA, the usual word for grandfather and grandmother are *žedd* and *žedda* respectively. But an alternative word for grandmother is *ħanna*, which is usually used in the diminutive is *iħneyna*.

Benkato (p.c.) points out that, while this word is unattested in ELA, it follows a rare masculine diminutive pattern. A hypothetical ***ħənn* could have had a diminutive formation ***ħannūn*, rather than the regular diminutive ***ħanneyn*. This rare diminutive pattern is usually used for names, for example *Adəm* dim. *Addūm*.

HNṬ

ħənṭa [adv.adj.] ‘a bit’

ħéntā

P: poco PT: III, XII

◆ Ar. *ħinṭa(t)* ‘kind of hard wheat’, the semantic shift is comparable to *ħabba* in Siwa (‘grain’ > ‘a little’) (p.c. Souag)

HQ

əlhəqq [m.]

‘one’s due, rightness’

elħáqq [PT:VI], *elħáqq-(ennúk)* [PT:XIV]

PT: VI, XIV M: prix, valeur *elakkenes*

الكنس ◆ Ar. *ħaqq* ‘truth, correctness, rightness; rightful possession, property; one’s due’

HS

**ħùss [v.cċ] ‘to feel’

pf. / seq. *ħùssa*

pf. 1sg. *ħossíħ*

P: freddo

○ This verb is only found in the construction ‘I feel cold’ in Paradisi’s vocabulary.

◆ Ar. *ħassa* ‘to feel, sense’

HSB

əhsəb [v.ccc] ‘to count; to think, figure’

pf. / seq. = res. əhsəb

imp. sg. *aħséħ*; pf. 3sg. *yahseb-(tēnēt)* [PT:V];

res. 1sg. *aħséħ-(kū)-ya* [PT:XII]

PT: V, VIII, XI

◆ Ar. *ħasaba* ‘to compute, reckon, calculate; to count’; Ar. *ħasaba* ‘to take s.th or s.o into account or into consideration’

**m-ħàsəb [mid.v.] ‘to settle the score’

fut. m-ħàsəb

fut. 1pl. *anmħâseb*

PT: II

○ This only example of the Berber Middle prefix **mm-* in Awjila.

◆ Ar. *ħāsaba* ‘to hold responsible’

HŠL

**ħəššəl [v.cċc] ‘to obtain’

res. *ħəššəl*

res. 3sg.m. *yahəššīla*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *ħaššala* ‘to obtain’

HŠI

aħàš [stat.v] ‘to be ugly, bad’

3sg.m. aḥàš 3sg.f. aḥàšət pl. aḥàšit
 aḥàs, aḥàs [PT:XV] f. aḥàšet pl. aḥàšit
 P: brutto, cattivo PT: XV M: avare *ahach*
 ح ا ش ; imparfait *hhach* ح ا ش

◆ Probably from Ar. *waḥš* ‘wild, untamed’

ḤŠ2

aḥàs [v.cc*] ‘to crush dates’

impf. ḥàšša

imp. sg. *aḥàs*; impf. 3sg.m. *iḥéšša*

P: pestare datteri

aḥəššū [v.n.m.] *aḥàššū* ‘grinding dates’

P: pestare datteri

ḤT1

ḥətta [kin.f.] ‘(maternal) aunt’

2sg.m. ḥəttà-k 3sg. ḥəttà-s

1sg. *ḥəttā* 2sg.m. *ḥəttà-k* 3sg. *ḥəttà-s*

P: zio M: tante *attak* ا ت ك

ḤT2

ḥətta [adv.] ‘even’

ḥátta

PT: V

◆ ELA *ḥáttā* ‘even’

ḤZM

əḥəzmət [m.] ‘bundle’

elḥázmət

PT: I

◆ Ar. *ḥuzma(t)* ‘s.th. wrapped up or tied up; bundle, fagot fascine’

ḤŽ

alḥàžət (or: **əḥàžət**) [f.] ‘thing’

alḥàžət

P: cosa

◆ Ar. *ḥāža(t)* ‘need, necessity; matter, concern; thing, object’

ELA *ḥāža* ‘thing’

I1

-i [suff.] ‘towards’

-ī

P: a PT: II, IV, V, IX, XI, XII, XV Z: XI

▷ *nettîn ya’idda (ir) tfillî-y-ī* ‘he has gone

to the house’

◆ The same directional suffix *-i* is also found in Ghadames.

I2

i, y [prep.] dative preposition

ī, i [PT:II,IV,X,XIII,XV], *y-* [P:example;

PT:V,XV], *yě-* [PT:V]; 2sg. *ī-kú* [PT:V]

P: a PT: II, IV, V, X, XIII, XV

▷ *urifḥ i-temígnī* ‘I wrote to the woman’

▷ *fkīḥ wāya y-amédēn* ‘I gave this to the man’

◆ Pan-Berber, cf. Kb. *i*, Zng. *i*, Ghd. *i* etc.

I3

tīt [f.] pl. *tiwìn* ‘eye; eye of a needle’

tīt, tīt pl. *tīwîn, ettīwîn* [B21]

P: occhio; cruna dell’ago B21: 391 M: oeil

athi ا ط ي ; source *tiouen* ت ي و ن

◆ NZ: D1 TC: 238

Berber, cf. To. *tètt* ‘eye’; Zng. *tuD* ‘eye’. There is an unexpected absence of emphatic *t* in Awjila.

I4

?ih [excl.] ‘yes’

ī, ih, hī

P: si

◆ Siwa *hi* ‘yes’

I5

i [interj.] ‘hey!’

i-(kú)

PT: III

○ Only attested in the phrase *i-kú* ‘hey you!’

I6

=i [pron.] 1sg. direct object pronoun

-ī, -î [PT:XII], res. *-îya*

P: io PT:III XII

K1

-ká [part.] negative particle placed after

verbs, nouns and adjectives. Sometimes

used in conjunction with the negative

particle *wur, ur, wul, ul*.

-ka, ká [PT:I,II,III,V,VI,VII,VIII,XII,XIII] kra
[Z:I], kîra [Z:III], -ika [Z:VII]

P: non PT: I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, XII, XIII
Z: I, III, VII

▷ *igalli-ká* 'he doesn't want'

▷ *tânîr-ká* 'do not enter!'

▷ *nettîn d-awîl-ká* 'he is not Awjilan'

▷ *ur nâka-ká* 'did I not tell you?'

◆ TC: 603 K: 485

Probably related to the common second element in double negations in Berber, cf. Kb. *ur...ara*; Fig. *ul...šay*; Rif. *waa...ša*; MA *ur...ša* etc.

For a discussion on the history of this particle and the negative perfective see Brugnatelli (1987; 2002)

K2

kú [pron.]2sg.m. independent pronoun

ku [PT:V,XI] *kú* [PT:III,V,XV]

P: tu PT: III, V, XI, XV

=**ku** [pron.]2sg.m. direct object pronoun

-ku [PT:V], res. *kîya* [PT:III,XI]

P: tu PT: III, V, XI

=**ik** [pron.]2sg.m. indirect object pronoun

-ik, â-k (< *x-ik*) [PT:IV,V,X], res. *-îka, â-ka* (< *x-îka*) [PT:XIII]

P: tu PT: IV, V, X, XIII

KBR

təkábərt, təkabərt [f.] pl. təkabrîn 'shirt'

təkábərt, təkabərt [PT:XIII] pl. *tekabrîn*

P: camicia PT: XIII M: chemise *tékabert*

تكبرت; habit *tékébert* تكبرت

◆ K: 291

Berber, cf. Siwa *akbər* 'shirt'

KDM

****kəddim** [adj.]pl. kəddimən 'old'

m. pl. *kəddimən*

PT: II

◆ Probably from Ar. *qadīm* 'old', but both the *k* for *q* and the geminate *dd* for *d* are

unexpected, but cf. Sok. *qaddim* 'old'

KDR

təkədirt [f.] pl. təkədrîn 'ear (botanical)'

təkədirt, təkədrirt [B21] pl. *təkədrîn*

P: spiga B21: 384 M: épi *tékadert* تكدرت

◆ K: 588

Berber, cf. Nef. *tiddért* 'ear (botanical)'; Ghd. *tašaddart* 'ear of grain'; MA *taydert* 'ear of grain'; Foq. *tádrī* 'ear (botanical)';

KF

əlkəffət [f.] 'scale/plate of a scales'

əlkəffət

PT: IV

◆ Ar. *kiffa(t)* 'scale/plate of a scales'

KFN

****kəffən** [v.cċc] 'to wrap'

imp. sg. *kəffən-(t)*

PT:II

◆ Ar. *kaffana* 'to wrap s.th., to cover s.th.'

KK

takùkt [f.] pl. təkəkik 'worm'

takùkt pl. *tekkik*

P: verme M: ver *thaqouq* طاوق

◆ K: 500

Berber, cf. Kb. *awəkkīw, tawəkka* 'worm'; To. *təwəkke* 'earthworm; maggot'; Siwa *takəčči* 'earthworm'

KL

kull [quant.] 'each, every; all'

kull [PT:I,II,VIII] *kúll* [PT:XIII,XV], *köll* [PT:I]

PT: I, II, VIII, XIII, XV M: chacun

koullionkesimani كل ينقسmani

surtout *afkoul* افكول; tout *koullou* كل

▷ *u yefkâ kull iwîn tăğarît* 'and he gave each one a stick' [PT:I]

▷ *ušând gallîyēn ammūdân kull déffer-a* 'they came and they all wanted to pray behind him' [PT:II]

◆ Ar. *kull* 'all, each, every'

kkull [quant.] 'all, whole'

kkúll [PT:VIII], *kkull* [PT:XV], *kúll* [PT:II]

PT: II, VIII, XV

▷ *u yâqqîm iddahwâr ašâli kkúll inéššed ɛl'ulamâ* 'and he started going around the whole village asking scholars (difficult questions)' [PT:VIII]

kùlli šây [m.] 'everything'

kùlli šéi

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *kulli šay?* 'everything'

KLB

klâbu [m.] "very thick animal skin"

klâbu

P: pelle

◆ From Hausa *kilābò* 'tanned ox-hide' (Souag 2013), also attested in Ghd. *klabo* 'id.'

KLM

akəllim [m.] pl. kəll(ə)mən 'male slave, servant'

akəllim, akəllim-(énnes) [PT:X] pl. *kéllemən*

P: schiavo, servo PT: X

◆ Perhaps related to Kb. *akli* 'slave', the additional m in the Awjila word is not easily explained.

takəllimt [f.] pl. tkəllmìn 'female slave, servant'

takəllimt pl. *tkəllmìn*

P: schiavo

KM₁

kəm [pron.]₂sg.f. independent pronoun
kem

P: tu B₂₁: 390 PT: IV, XV

=kəm [pron.]₂sg.f. direct object pronoun
-kem, res. *-kîma*

P: tu

KM₂

=kîm [pron.]₂pl.m. direct object pronoun

-kîm, -kîm [PT:I], res. *-kîma*

P: voi PT: I

=ikîm [pron.]₂pl.m. indirect object pronoun

-ikîm, â-kîm (< *x-ikîm*) [PT:II], res. *-ikîma*

P: voi PT: II

=kmət [pron.]₂pl.f. direct object pronoun

-kmet, res. *-kmîta*

P: voi

=əkmət [pron.]₂pl.f. indirect object pronoun

-ekmèt, res. *-ekmîta*

P: voi

KMM

kəmmim [pron.]₂pl.m. independent pronoun

kəmmim

P: voi B₂₁: 390 PT: I

kəmmimət [pron.]₂pl.f. independent pronoun

kəmmimət

P: voi B₂₁: 390

KML₁

****kkəmməl** [v.cċc] 'to finish'

seq. *kkəmməl*

pf. 1sg. *kəmməlh* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ikkəmmel* [PT:II, XIV], *yekkəmmel* [PT:IV]

PT: II, IV, XIV M: tout-à-fait *ekmella*

اكمله; entire *ekmeleh* اكمله

◆ Ar. *kammala* 'to finish'

KMŠ

kməš [v.cċc] 'to tie together a bundle'

imp. sg. *kməš*

P: legare, attaccare

◆ TC: 375

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əkməs* 'to fold; to tighten'; Kb. *əkməs* 'to tie in a knot'; Zng. *əgməš* 'to be in a knot'; Siwa *akəmūs* 'knot'; To. (a.D) *əkməs* 'to tie together'

təkəmmùšt (or: **takəmmùšt**) [f.] pl.

təkəmmiš 'bundle of sticks, bundle'

täkemmûšt pl. *tekemmîš*

P: fagotto, involto

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *tayəmmust*, *tawəmmust* ‘a small tied up bundle’; Ouar. *takəmmust* ‘small tied up package’

KNK

kənn-ək [particle] ‘what is it with you?’

kənn-ək

PT: XV

◆ ELA *kann-ək*, *kann-ha*, etc. ‘what’s with you, what’s the matter with you’ (p.c. Benkato)

KNVL ► QNVL

KNY

**əkna/əkni [v.cc*/cci] ‘to be beautiful’

res. əkna/əkni

res. 1sg *knîha* 2sg. *tknîta* 3sg.m. *yeknâya*

P: bello

◆ Berber, cf. Fig. *cen* ‘be beautiful’

KNZR

tkənzîrt [f.] pl. *tkənzîrîn*, *tkənzîr* ‘nose’

tkənzîrt, *tkənzîrt* [B₂₁], *tkinzîrt* [B₂₁] pl.

tkənzîrîn, *tkənzîr*

P: naso B₂₁: 384 M: nièce (sic; nez) *tenzert*

تنزرت

○ M: nez and M: nièce were switched around accidentally in the wordlist.

◆ TC: 559

Berber, cf. Foq. *tinzért* ‘nose’; Kb. *tinzərt*

‘nose’; Nef. *tinzért* ‘nose’; To. *tîñšárt* ‘nose’;

Siwa *tanzärt* ‘nose’; Sok. *tunzä*rt* ‘nose’; Zng.

tîñžärt ‘nose’.

Awjila has a root initial *k* not commonly found in other Berber languages.

Surprisingly, Müller’s word for ‘nose’ does not (yet?) have the *k* element.

akənzîr [m.] ‘big nose’

akənzîr

P: naso

KR₁

əkri [v.cci] ‘to return; (+af) to answer’

pf. / seq. *əkri* res. *əkri* impf. *kərrî*

imp. sg. *ėkrî*; pf. 3sg.m. *yekrî*, *yekrî-(ká)*

[PT:III] 3sg.f. *tekrî* [PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m.

yekrâya; impf. 3sg.m. *ikėrrî*

P: ritornare PT: III, VII, VIII, IX, XV M:

rendre *aikri* ايكري; retour *kėri* كرى

revenir *ėkeri* كرى ا

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *əkri* ‘to return; to become’;

Zng. *uñmugrih* ‘to return’

š-əkri [caus.v.] ‘to return s.th.’

pf. / seq. = š-əkri

imp. sg. *šėkrî*, *šėkrî-(dik)* [PT:VII]; pf. 3sg.m.

išėkr-(is) [PT:VII]

P: ritornare; restituire PT: VII

KR₂

əkər, ukər [v.vcc] ‘to steal’

seq. = res. = fut. *ukər* impf. *təkər*

imp. sg. *əkər*, *ukər*; pf. 3sg.m. *yúker* 3pl.m.

ukėren [PT:IX]; res. *yukîra*; fut. 3pl.m.

āukėrėn-(ten) [PT:IX]; impf. 2sg. *ttākärt*

[PT:IV] 3sg.m. *itaker*

P: rubare PT: IV, IX

◆ TC: 38

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ókər* ‘to steal’; Kb. *akʷər* ‘to

steal’; To. *əkər* ‘to steal, rob’; Zng. *oʔgər* ‘to

steal’

ukùr [v.n.m.] ‘stealing’

ukùr

P: rubare

š-ukər [caus.v.] ‘to cause to steal’

impf. s-ukàr

imp. sg. *šúker*; impf. 1sg. *sukârḥ*

P: rubare

****tw-əkər** [pass.v.] ‘to be stolen’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *tw-əkər*

pf. 3sg.m. *ituáker*; res. 3sg.m. *ituakîra*; fut.

3sg.m. *aituáker*

P: rubare

kkùr, ikkùr ► LK₁

KR₃

əkkār [v.ċc] ‘get up, take off’

pf. = fut. əkkār seq. = res. əkkār impf.

təkkər

imp. sg. *əkkér* pl.m. *kkerât* pl.f. *kkérmet*; pf.

1sg. *kkerh*, *kerh* 3sg.m. *yekker* 3sg.f. *tékker*

[PT:XV], *tekkér* [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *kkéren* [PT:XV]

əkkéren [PT:XV] 3pl.f. *ekkémet* [PT:XV],

kkémet [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *kírha* 3sg.m. *yekkíra*;

fut. 1sg. *akkérh* 3sg.m. *ayekker*; impf. 1sg.

tekkérh 2sg. *tekkért* [P:example] 3sg.m. *itékker*

P: alzarisi, levarsi PT: XV M: dresser *kerr*

كّر; dressé ??mekerr مكر

▷ *tekkért-ká* ‘do not get up’

◆ TC: 408, presents an alternative origin than proposed below.

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əkkər* ‘to get up, to lift up’; Kb.

əkkər ‘to get up’; Zng. *əgur* ‘to get up’

(ə)kkūr [v.n.m.] ‘getting up’

kkūr

P: alzarisi, levarsi

š-əkkər [caus.v.] ‘to make someone get up’

imp. sg. *šékker*

P: alzarisi, levarsi

KR4

kíra (or: **kàra**) [m.] ‘thing, nothing (in negative sentences)’

kéra, *kéra*

P: cosa; niente

▷ *kéra-y-àya ddíwa* ‘what (thing) is this?’

▷ *wur gári kéra* ‘I have nothing’

◆ TC: 603

Berber, cf. Ghd. *kara* ‘thing’; Foq. *šíra* ‘thing’;

Kb. *kra*, *ka* ‘thing’; Zng. *kārā(h)* ‘thing’

KRBŠ

akərbüş (or: **akarbüş**) [m.] ‘trunk of a palm tree’

akərbüş

P: palma; tronco d'albero

KRD1

təkərđi [f.] ‘measles’

tekérđi

P: morbillo

KRD2

təkərđit [f.] ‘core of a palm’

tkerđit

P: palma

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *takərđya* ‘spathe of the inflorescence of a date palm’

KRM

təkərúmt (or: **takrúmt**) [f.] ‘joint of a bone in general’

täkrúmt

P: osso

◆ Berber, cf. To. *əkrəm* ‘to twist, bend’; Nef. *akrúm* ‘back’, *tukrúmt* ‘neck’; Sok. *takrúmt* ‘neck’.

The formation is similar to that of Sokna, but the meaning is very different.

KRŠ1

kəráš, **əkráš** [v.ccc] ‘to tie, knot’

imp. sg. *keréš*, *ėkréš*, *kereš* [B21]

P: legare, attaccare B21: 391

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *əkrəs* ‘to tie in a knot’; Kb. *əkrəs* ‘to tie in a knot’; To. *əkrəs* ‘to tie in a knot’

akrâš [v.n.m.] ‘tying, knotting’

akrâš

○ The regular verbal noun would be *akərâš*.

The absence of ə is unexpected.

P: legare, attaccare

tkərrišt [f.] pl. *tkərriš* ‘knot’

tkerrišt, *tkerrišt* [B21] pl. *tkerriš*

P: nodo B21: 391

◆ Berber, cf. To. *tekərrest* pl. To. *tikərras* ‘knot’; Siwa *akərrús* (Naumann 2013: 378)

KRŠ2

əkráš, **kəráš** [v.ccc] ‘to hoe, dig’

impf. *kərráš*

imp. sg. *əkréš*, *kéréš*; impf. 3sg.m. *ikerréš*

P: zappare

◆ Ghd. *ākraz* ‘to plough’; MA *krez*, *šrez* ‘to plough’; Nef. *ékrez* ‘to plough’

akəràš [v.n.m.] ‘hoeing, digging’

akērāš

P: zappare

KRZ

tkirzá [f.] ‘ploughing’

tkirzâ

B21: 384

○ Beguinot does not explicitly mention the meaning of this word, but connects it with the Nefusi word *tirzâ* of which we know the meaning.

◆ Berber cf. Nef. *tirzâ* ‘ploughing, cultivation’; MA *takerza* ‘ploughing’. ► KRŠ2

KSM

ksùm [m.] ‘meat’

ksûm, *ksûm*-(âya) [PT:II] *ksûm*-(ennésneṭ) [PT:XV]

P: carne PT: II, XV M: chair *aksoum*

اكسوم

◆ K: 574

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aksəm* ‘meat’; Kb. *aksum* ‘meat’; Sok. *aksûm* ‘meat’; Siwa *askûm* ‘meat’.

KŠ

(ə)**kkəš** [v.čc] ‘to take off, remove’

pf. *əkəkəš* impf. *təkəkəš*

imp. sg. *ėkkéš*, *kkéš*, *keš* [B21]; pf. 3sg.m.

yekkéš [PT: IX]; impf. 3sg.m. *itekkeš*

P: togliere, levare PT: IX B21: 391 M:

arracher *ekkech* اكش; fermé ??*makkecha*

يکش; fermer *yekkecha* يکشه

◆ TC: 610

Berber, cf. Ghd. *akkəs* ‘to remove, take off’;

Kb. *akkəs* ‘to take away, remove’; To. *akkəs* ‘to take away, remove’; Zng. *akkəš* ‘to remove, take off’

(ə)**kkùš** [v.n.m.] ‘taking off, removing’

kkùš

P: togliere, levare

KŠM

təkšəymt [f.] pl. *təkšəymîn* ‘watermelon’

tekšâimt pl. *tekšâimîn*

P: cocomero

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *taməksa* ‘watermelon’;

Ghd. *taməksa* ‘melon’.

Awjila underwent metathesis. Vycichl

(2005: 9) considers this word a Punic

loanword, cf. Hebr. *qiššu?* ‘cucumber’,

compare also ► KŠN.

kšəym [m.] ‘watermelons (coll.)’

kšâim

P: cocomero

KŠN

akəššin, **akšin** [m.] pl. *kəššin* ‘core of a fruit’

akeššîn, *akšîn* pl. *käššîn*

P: nocciolo

◆ Perhaps related to Mzab/Ouar. *tayessimt* ‘cucumber’.

Ref.: Vycichl (2005: 9)

KTF1

tkəttift [f.] pl. *tkəttifîn* ‘ant’

tkettift pl. *tkettifîn*

P: formica M: fourmi *tékétfi* تكتفي

◆ NZ: ḌF1 TC: 971 K: 618

Berber, cf. Foq. *tgótfîn* ‘ants (coll.)’; Ghd.

takətfet ‘ant’; Kb. *awəttuf*, *tawəttuft* ‘ant’; Zng.

ōḍuf, *oḍuf* ‘ant’, *tōḍduft* ‘female or small ant’;

Nef. *túqtteft* ‘ant’; Sok. *tagēdfit* ‘ant’

KTF2

əlkətf(-ənnəs) [m.] pl. *ləktuf(-ənnəs)*

‘shoulder’

elketf(-énnes) [PT:XII], *ėlketf* [PT:XIII] pl.

lektūf(-énnek, énnés) [PT:XV]

PT: XII, XIII, XV

◆ Ar. *katif*, *kitf* pl. *?aktāf* ‘shoulder’

KTL

akītəl [m.] ‘date born from bad

pollenation’

akîtel

P: dattero

KTT

akəttùt [adj.]pl. kəttùtən f. takəttùt pl. təkəttùtin ‘small of stature, thin, weak’
m. sg. *akettût* pl. *kettûten* f. *takettût* pl.

tekettûtîn

P: piccolo

KWY

təkwayt [f.] ‘ball’

tik'waît

Z: XII

KWYS

kəwəyəs (or: **kuwəyəs**) [adv.] ‘good; very’

kuwéyes [PT:IV] *kuwáyés* [PT:XV]

PT: IV, XV

◆ Ar. *kuwayyis* ‘nice, fine, pretty, comely, handsome, beautiful’

KZN

kazàn [m.] ‘pot’

kāzán

Z: VI

L1

la [conj.] ‘no’

lā

PT: XI

◆ Ar. *lā* ‘no’

la-bùdda [adv.] ‘certainly’

la-búdda

PT: IV

◆ Ar. *lā budda* ‘certainly’; ELA *lā búdda* ‘certainly’

lū ► **lûda**

L2

alá [pron.]relative pronoun with incorporated non-human antecedent
alá

P: quello PT: V, XV

▷ *akká alá uríḥa* ‘behold, that which I have written’

L3

tàla [f.] ‘kitchen’

tālā

P: cucina

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tali* ‘room’

L4

ul [m.] pl. ulàwən ‘heart’

ûl, ul-(innôḥ) [Z:II] pl. *ulâwen*

P: cuore Z: II M: cœur *ouelnis* اَوْلَنَس

◆ TC: 1010 K: 121, 133

Berber, cf. Kb. *ul* ‘heart’; To. *ùlh* ‘heart’; Zng.

ûy ‘heart’

ul nə-ẓẓùy [phrasal n.] ‘core of a palm’

ûl nə-ẓẓûi

P: palma

L5

illi [m.] ‘millet’

illī, éllī

P: miglio

L6

tîli [f.] ‘shadow’

tîlī

P: ombra M: ombre *tilly* طَلَى

▷ *tîlî-y-î* ‘in the shadow’

◆ TC:1027

Berber, cf. Kb. *tîli* ‘shadow’; Ghd. *téle*

‘shadow’; To. *tèle* ‘shade’; Zng. *tîyih* ‘shadow’;

Siwa *tlá* (Naumann 2013: 377)

L7

****al/li** [v.c*/ci] ‘to be a creditor to s.o. (+ *fəll*)’

res. là/li

res. 1sg. *lîḥa* [P:example] 2sg. *tlîta*

[P:example] 3sg.m. *ilāya* [P:example]

P: avere

▷ *nek lîḥa fellîk* ‘I owe you money’

▷ *ku tlîta fellîwi* ‘you owe me money’

▷ *nettîn ilāya* ‘He has a debt’

◆ Siwa *ili* ‘to have’; Kb. *ili* ‘to be, exist’; To. *āl* ‘to have’; Ghd. *āl* ‘to have’; Zng. *äyi(?)* ‘to have’

LB

t(ə)lāba [f.] pl. təlabiwîn ‘barracan’
telāba, tlāba-(nnûk) [PT:V] pl. *telābiwîn*

P: barracano PT: V M: couverture

thalabah طلابه

◆ K: 294

Berber, cf. Kb. *talaba* ‘piece of hand woven wool: clothes, covering’; Foq. *talāba* ‘barracan’; Sok. *tlāba* ‘baraccan’

LBB

əlbùb/əlbəb [v.ccc/ccvc] ‘to mount, climb’

res. əlbùb/əlbəb impf. ləbbùb

imp. sg. *elbùb, albúb* res. 1sg. *elbùbħa* [PT:XII]

3sg.m. *yelbìba* [PT:XII]; impf. 3sg.m. *ilebbùb*

P: montare, salire PT: XII M: cavalier

elbeba الببه

▷ *albúb afagmár* ‘mount a horse!’

○ The reflexes of this verb are ambiguous: res.

1sg. points to a verb *əlbùb* and res. 3sg.m.

point to a verb *əlbəb*.

aləbàb [v.n.m.] ‘mounting, climbing’

alebàb

P: montare, salire

š-əlbub/š-əlbəb [caus.v.] ‘to cause to mount’

impf. š-əlbàb

imp. sg. *šəlbùb*; impf. 3sg.m. *išəlbàb*

P: montare, salire

LBĤR ► BĤR**LBLS ► BLS****LBRS**

təlabrəst [f.] ‘lizard’

telabrést

P: lucertola

LBRT ► BRT**LBŠ**

tələbbišt [f.] pl. tələbbiš, tləbbišin ‘peel

(of a fruit, vegetable etc.), leaf’

telebbišt pl. *telebbiš, tlebbišin*

P: buccia, scorza; foglia

◆ Perhaps a Berber diminutive from ELA *lébēs* ‘suit’ > ‘little suit’ > ‘peel’. Arabic *s* does not shift to *š* usually.

LD

lùda [adv.] ‘nothing’

lùda, lū

P: niente PT: III M: rester *laouada* لواده

▷ *gārī lùda* ‘I have nothing’

LDM ► DM**LDN**

tildùnt [f.] ‘tin’

tildùnt

P: stagno (metallo) M: étain *tildount*

طلدونت

◆ K: 245

Berber, cf. Kb. *aldun* ‘lead’; Zng. *aldūn* ‘lead’

LF1

**llùff [v.cċ] ‘to wrap up’

pf. / seq. llùff

pf. 3sg.m. *illúff* [PT:II]

PT: II M: enveloppé ??*mélouffi* ملفى

enveloppe *louffi* لفى

◆ ELA *ilúff* ‘to wrap up’; Ar. *laffa* ‘to wrap up’

LF2

əlf [num.] ‘thousand’

elf

PT: V

◆ Ar. *ʔalf* ‘thousand; millennium’

LF3

(ə)lláf [v.cċ] ‘to divorce’

imp. sg. *əlléf, llef*

P: ripudiare

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *atlaf* ‘to divorce’; Ghd. *ätlaf*

‘to lose, get lost’; Siwa *allaf* ‘to divorce’

(ə)llùf [v.n.m.] ‘divorcing’

əllúf

P: ripudiare

LFNK ► FNK

LFYD ► FYD

LGFL ► GFL

LGMT ► GM₂

LY

allày [m.] 'bottom (of a recipient, of a wadi etc.)'

allâj

P: fondo

LYBŠ ► YBŠ

LYM₁

**əlyəm [v.ccc] 'to refuse; to not want'

pf. / seq. / fut. əlyóm

pf./fut. 1sg. elǰámḥ 3sg.m. yelǰám [PT:II],

yelǰám [PT:XII], yelǰóm [PT:V] 3sg.f. telǰám

3pl.m. elǰámḥen 3pf.f. elǰámneṭ

P: rifiutare PT: II, V, XII M: nié

??mielghoun ميلغون; nier yelghoun

يلغون

LYM₂

aləyəm [m.] pl. ləymìn 'camel'

alógom, alǒgom, alúgom [PT:XV] alógǒm

[PT:XV] pl. loǰmîn

P: cammello PT: XV

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. aly^wəm 'camel', taly^wəmt

'she-camel'; To. tāllǎmt 'she-camel'; Zng.

äyi^rm, täyi^rmt 'camel'

təlyəmt [f.] pl. tləymitìn 'she-camel'

telóǰmt pl. tloǰmitìn

P: cammello

LHD₁

**əlhəd [v.ccc] 'to run'

impf. ləhhəd

impf. 3pl.m. lahhéden

PT: XV

◆ ELA yəlhəd 'to run on a horse' (p.c.

Benkato)

LHD₂ ► HD

LHL ► HL

LHRŽ ► HRŽ

LHWY ► HWY

LḤB ► ḤB

LḤKY ► ḤK(Y)

LḤM

**əlhəm [v.ccc] 'to be lit'

res. əlhəm

res. 3sg.m. yelḥîma [P:example]

P: accendere

▷ afîu akká yelḥîma 'the fire here is lit'

◆ Perhaps related to the verb taḥmâya 'to burn, scorch'

š-əlhəm [caus.v.] 'to light (a fire)'

pf. = fut. š-əlhəm res. š-əlhəm impf.

š-əlhəm

imp. sg. šélḥam pl.m. šélḥamât pl.f.

šélḥamməṭ pf. 1sg. šelḥámḥ 3sg.m. išelḥám;

res. 1sg. šelḥímḥa 3sg.m. išelḥîma; fut. 1sg.

ašelḥámḥ 3sg.m. aišelḥám 3pl.m. ašelḥamen

[PT:XV]; impf. 1sg. šelḥámḥ 3sg.m. išelḥám

P: accendere PT: XV M: allumer chelhamt

شلمت

LḤML ► ḤML

LḤQ ► ḤQ

LḤRR ► ḤRR

LḤZM ► ḤZM

LḤŽ ► ḤŽ

LK₁

lləkka [particle] 'still'

llékka, illékka, llekká [PT:III]

▷ irîu llékka ínni ar amédəŋ 'the child is still with the man'

▷ ufânt illékka yeddîra 'They found him still alive'

P: ancora PT: III M: encore elikka اَلِيكَا

illəkk-ùr [adv.] 'not yet'

illekkûr, lekkûr, kkûr, ikkûr

P: ancora

▷ irîu illekkûr iżîgež 'The child did not

walk again'

▷ *nettîn kkûr yušâd* 'He has not come yet'

○ Consists of the particle *llékka*, *illékka*, *llekká* 'still' combined with the negative particle *ur*.

LK2

(ə)lák [v.ċc] 'to delouse'

impf. təllək

əllék, *llek*; impf. 3sg.m. *itéllek*

P: spidocchiare

◆ Transparently derived from the same root as *twellíkt* pl. *twellkîn* 'louse' ► WLK; cf. Ghd. *əllək* 'to delouse'

LK3

-lək- [prep.+pron.] 'to you, for you'

-lek-

PT: III

◆ Ar. *li-ka* 'to you'

LKN1

lukàn [conj.] 'if (counterfactual)'

lukân

P: se PT: II

◆ ELA *lū-kân* 'even if', also found in Siwa *lukan* 'if' (p.c. Souag) and other Berber languages.

LKN2

lækən [conj.] 'but'

lækən [PT:III,X] *lækän* [PT:XII]

PT: III, X, XII

◆ Ar. *lākin* 'but'

LKTF ► KTF

LKR ► LK

LL1

alùli [m.] 'midday, noon; midday prayer'

alûlî

P: mezzogiorno; preghiera

◆ Ar. *al-ʔulā* 'first, foremost (f.)'; Cf. Siwa *luli* 'midday prayer'.

The connection of 'first' with 'Dhuhr prayer' is unclear, but widespread in Berber languages and beyond. Usually the word for Dhuhr in Berber languages is constructed

with derivations from the Berber root ZWR 'to be first', for example Tashl. *tizwarn* 'Dhuhr' (Souag 2009: 56(footnote 4)). The *luli* forms must either be an Arabized calque on Berber, or the Berber forms with ZWR are a calque on an unknown Arabic dialect where *al-ʔulā* came to stand for 'Dhuhr'.

LL2

alâl [m.] 'tableware'

alâl

P: stoviglia

LM1

llùmm [v.cċ] 'to gather, to stay together'

pf. / seq. llùmm

imp. pl.m. *llummât* [PT:I]; pf. 3sg.m. *illûm*

[PT:I] 2pl.m. *tellûmâm* [PT:I], *tellummâm*

[PT:I]

PT: I

◆ Ar. *lamma* 'to gather'

LM2 (ə)llóm/əlləm [v.ċc] 'to spin (wool)'

impf. təllóm

imp.sg. *éllem*, *llém*; impf. 3sg.m. *itellém*

P: filare

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *əlləm* 'to spin'; To. *əlləm* 'to braid'

(ə)llùm [v.n.m.] 'spinning'

ellûm

P: filare

azəllùm [m.] 'thread, yarn'

azellûm

P: filo M: fil *ezzeloum* اَزْلُوم

◆ This word seems to be an instrumental derivation of the verb *əlləm*. Usually, Berber instrumental derivations are made with an *s-* it is unclear why this form has voicing of the *s-* to *z-*, but cf. Kb. *azellum* 'a light belt made of several round cords'

LM3

taləmma [f.] 'mist, haze'

taləm̄ma

P: nebbia, foschia

LMD

əlməd [v.ccc] ‘to learn’

impf. *ləmməd*

imp. sg. *elméd*; impf. 3sg.m. *ilémmed*

P: imparare M: apprendre, enseigner
elmeida الميدا ; apprendre, s'instruire
yelmeida يلميدا

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *əlməd* ‘to be used to; to learn’; Kb. *əlməd* ‘to be used to’; To. *əlməd* ‘to learn, know’.

Ultimately from Punic or Hebrew *lāmad* ‘to learn’ (Vycichl 2005: 3)

aləmād [v.n.m.] ‘learning’

alemād

P: imparare

š-əlməd [caus.v.] ‘to teach’

impf. *š-əlməd*

imp. sg. *šelméd* impf. 3sg.m. *išelmād*

P: imparare

LMGƆD ▶ MGƆD

LMƳR ▶ MƳR₂

LMLXY ▶ MLXY

LMM ▶ MM₅

LMR ▶ MR₁

LMŠHF ▶ MŠHF

LMŠ

tələmmùšt [f.] ‘spider’

telemmùšt

P: ragno

LMTƆ ▶ MTƆ

LMZN ▶ ZN

LQBT ▶ QBT

LQM

alùqəm (or: aləqəm) [m.] ‘a small cushion one wears on the head to carry loads’

alúqom

P: cuscino

LQQ

ləqqəq [stat.v.] ‘to be thin’

1sg. *ləqqàx* 2sg. *ləqqàt* 3sg.m. *ləqqəq*

3sg.f. *ləqqàt* pl. *ləqqiqit*

1sg. *laqqâh* 2sg. *laqqât* 3sg.m. *láqqâq* 3sg.f.

laqqât pl. *laqqîqît*

P: magro

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *ilqiq* ‘to be soft, tender’; Ouar. *ilqiq* ‘to be very soft, fine’; Mzab *ləqq* ‘to be thin, light’. Perhaps also somehow related to MA *ilwiġ* ‘to be soft, tender’; Kb. *ilwiġ* ‘to be smooth, soft’; Tashl. *lgʷiy* ‘to be soft, tender’
aləqqùq (or: təlaqquq) [adj.]f. *tələqquqt* ‘thin’

m. *alaqqûq* f. *telaqqûqt*

P: magro

LQYM ▶ QYM

LQZ

Tələqzi [P.N.] ‘small village in the oasis of Awjila’

Teláqzi

P: Teláqzi

LS

iləs [m.] pl. *ilsən, ilsənən* ‘tongue’

ilës pl. *ilsen, ilsänen*

P: lingua M: langue *elsuo* الصو

◆ TC: 945

Berber, cf. Ghd. *éləs* ‘tongue’; Kb. *iləs* ‘tongue, language’; To. *iləs* ‘tongue’; Zng. *əTʷši(?)* ‘language’

LŠLƆ ▶ ŠLƆ

LŠQ

lləšiq, aləšiq [m.] pl. *ləšqàwən* ‘oven’

llešiq, alešiq pl. *lešqâwen*

P: forno M: four *lésikh* لسيخ

LŠ

alùšši [m.] ‘grain or barley that is still soft’

alùšt

P: erba

LWL ► WL2

LWŠ

****lləwəš [v.irreg.]** ‘to wither (said about unripe grain that is destroyed by the “ghibli”)’

res. lləwəš

res. 3pl.m. *llowešîna* [P:example]

P: appassire M: mouillé *mélouachoun*

ملو اشون; mouiller *elouachoun*

الواشون

▷ *yérdeŋ llowešîna* ‘the grains withered’

▷ *timzîŋ llowešîna* ‘the barley withered’

LXDR ► XDR

LXRBS ► XRBS

LZ1

****llùz [v.ċvc]** ‘to be hungry’

pf. / seq. = res. əllùz impf. tlàza

pf. 1sg. *llùzîh* 3sg.m. *yellùz*; res. 1sg. *llùzîha*

3sg.m. *yellùza*; impf. 1sg. *tlàzîh* 3sg.m. *itlâza*

P: fame M: faim *loza* لوزه

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *laz* ‘to be hungry’; Kb. *əllaz* ‘to be hungry’

təlazàt [f.] ‘hunger’

tälāzât

P: fame

LZ2

alùzi [m.] pl. luzàwəŋ ‘whip’

alùzi pl. *luzâwen*

P: frusta

LŽ

aləžži [m.] pl. ləžžàwəŋ ‘ram’

aləžži pl. *ležžâwen*

P: montone

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *aléğgi* ‘ram’

Lſ

****uləſ [v.vcc]** ‘to fall in love with s.o. (+ *fi*)’

res. ùləſ

res. 3sg.f. *tulî’a*

Z: IX

◆ Ar. *waliſa* ‘to catch fire, burn; to be madly in love’

LſDD ► ſDD

LſL ► ſL

LſLM ► ſLM

LſMM ► ſMM

LſQB ► ſQB

LſŠR ► ſŠR

M1

am [prep.] ‘like’

am, amalá (<*am-alá*), *amalá* [PT:V], *am-alá*

[PT:II], *am-alá* [PT:XV]

P: come PT: I, II, III, V, XI, XV

○ *am-alá* is found in comparisons of verbal sentences

▷ *nettîn moqqár am nek* ‘he is as big as me’

▷ *əntîn igâya am amédəŋ* ‘he did like the man’

▷ *igîs amalá igâya y-umâs* ‘he did to him like he had done to his brother’

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *am* ‘like’; Siwa *am* ‘like’, etc.

M2

****əmm [v.ċ*]** ‘to be cooked, be ready, be ripened’

pf. əmmá res. əmma fut. əmm impf.

nənna

pf. 3sg.m. *yummâ*; res. 3sg.m. *yummâya*,

yemmâya [P:example] 3sg.f. *temmâya*

[PT:XV] 3pl.m. *mmâna* 3pl.f. *mmanîta*

[P:example] ptc. *mmâna* [PT:XV]; fut. 3sg.m.

ayémm 3sg.f. *attémm* 3pl.f. *ammânət* [PT:XV];

impf. 3sg.m. *inénna* 3sg.f. *tnénna*

P: cuocere PT: II, XV

▷ *timzîŋ mmanîta* ‘the barley is ripened’

▷ *ksûm yemmâya* ‘the meat is cooked’

◆ TC: 767

Berber, cf. Ghd. *änn* ‘to cook’; Kb. *əbb* ‘to

cook'; To. *əñña* 'to ripen'; Zng. *änwi(?)* 'to cook'. The diverse reflexes of this root are the result of various assimilations of the

Proto-Berber cluster **nw* (Kossmann 2008).

tənnənnàt [v.n.f.] 'being about to cook'

tenennât

P: cuocere

š-əmm [caus.v.] 'to cook'

seq. = res. šəmma fut. šəmm

imp. sg. *šumm* pl.m. *šummât-(dīk)* [PT:XV];

pf. 1sg. *šummīḥ* 3sg.m. *išúmma* 3pl.m.

šummân [PT:II,XV] 3pl.f. *šummânet* [PT:XV];

res. 1sg. *šummīḥa* 3sg.m. *išummâya* 1pl.

nəšummi-(tī)-ya [PT:II]; fut. 1sg. *ašummāḥ*

3sg.m. *aišúmm*

P: cuocere PT: II, XV M: cuisinier

éhouman اشومان

tšəmmàt [caus.v.n.f.] 'cooking'

čummât (<tš-ummât)

P: cuocere; cottura M: cuire *tchoummat*

تشومات

š-nənn [caus.v.] 'to cook'

imp. sg. *šnenn*

P: cuocere

◆ This causative has been derived from the imperfect stem, which gives the impression that to some extent the irregular imperfect stem os not consider to be fully part of the paradigm of the verb.

M3

mmá [kin.f.] 'mother'

2sg.m. *mmà-k* 2sg.f. (ə)mmà-m 3sg.

mma-s 1pl. *mmá-tnax* 3pl.f.

(ə)mmà-tsnət

1sg. *mmá*, *mma* [Z:II] 2sg.m. *mmâ-k* 2sg.f.

əmmâ-m [PT:XV] 3sg. *mmâ-s* 1pl. *mmâ-tnaḥ*

3pl.f. *əmmâ-tsnət* [PT:XV], *emmâ-tsnət*

[PT:XV]

P: madre PT: XV Z: II M: mère *omm* اوم

▷ *mmâs n irû* 'the mother of the child'

◆ TC: 1053

Berber, cf. Ghd. *má*, *ma* 'mother'; Kb. *yamma* 'mother'; Zng. *yumḥih* 'mother'; Siwa *əḥḥma* 'mother' (Naumann 2013: 377)

M4

am [m.] pl. *mìwə̀n* 'mouth'

ām pl. *mîwə̀n*, *mîwân*

P: bocca M: bouche *amennes* امنس

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ame* 'mouth'; Kb. *imi*

'mouth'; Nef. *imî* 'mouth'; Sok. *imî* 'mouth';

To. *émm* 'mouth'

M5

ùma [kin.m.] pl. *àtma* 'brother'

sg. 2sg.m. *umà-k* 3sg. *umà-s* 1pl. *umá-tnax*

pl. 2sg.m. *atmà-k* 3sg. *atmà-s*

1sg. *úmā* 2sg.m. *umâ-k* 3sg. *umâ-s* 1pl.

umá-tnaḥ; pl. 1sg. *átmā* 2sg.m. *atmâ-k* 3sg.

atmâ-s

P: fratello M: frère *oumak* اومك ; neveu

omak امك

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *ammâi*, *ummâi* 'brother';

Sok. *ummâ* 'brother'; Siwa *amma* 'brother'

M6

àmmi [kin.m.] '(paternal) uncle'

2sg.m. *ammî-k* 3sg. *ammî-s*

1sg. *ámmī*, *āmmi* [Z:III] 2sg.m. *ammî-k* 3sg.

ammî-s

P: zio Z: III M: oncle *ammis* عمس

◆ Ar. *ʕamm* 'paternal uncle'

ʕamma [kin.f.] '(paternal) aunt'

ʕamma

Z: II

◆ Ar. *ʕamma(t)* 'paternal aunt'

M7/MNY

təmmìt [f.] pl. *tṁənyìn* 'tamarisk'

temmît pl. *tṁənyìn*

P: tamarice M: tamarix *temmet* تمّت

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *tämmâit* 'tamarisk'; Kb.

aməmmay, *taməmmayt* 'tamarisk'; To. (Y)

təmiyawt 'tamarisk'

M8

pl. **imìn** [m.] ‘water’

pl. *imîn*

P: acqua B21: 393 M: eau *imen* يمن; nager *yemin* يمين; larme *yémannes* يمنس
▷ *imîn tâvérên* ‘the water boils’

◆ TC: 666

Berber, cf. Kb. *aman* ‘water’; Foq. *âman* ‘water’; Ghd. *âman* ‘water’; Nef. *amêñ, amân* ‘water’; Siwa *aman* ‘water’; Sok. *amân* ‘water’; To. *âman* ‘water’; Zng. *ämän* ‘water’

imìn n əttiwìn [phrasal n.] ‘tears (litt. water of the eyes)’

pl. *imîn n ettiwîn*

B21: 391

Mg

=**im** [pron.] 2sg.f. indirect object pronoun
-*îm*, res. -*îma*

P: tu

MB ► **NB**

MD1

mud [v.čvc] ‘to pray’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *mùd* impf. *mùda*
imp. sg. *mūd*; pf. 1sg. *mūdîh* 3sg.m. *imūd*; res. 1sg. *mudîha* 3sg.m. *imūda*; fut. 1sg. *ammūdah*, *ammudáh* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *aimūd* ptc. *ammūdân* [PT:II]; impf. 1sg. *mūdîh* [PT:II] 3pl.m. *mūdân* [PT:II]

P: pregare PT: II M: prier *yemout* يموت

◆ K: 126, 223

Berber, cf. Ghd. *mūd* ‘to pray’; To. *àməd* ‘to pray’

amùd [v.n.m.] ‘prayer’

amûd

P: preghiera

ammùd [m.] pl. *ammùdän* ‘mosque’

ammûd pl. *ammûden*

P: moschea PT: II

MD2

****əmmùdd** [v.cč] ‘to extend’

pf. / seq. *əmmùdd*

pf. 3sg.m. *yemmùdd* ‘to extend’

PT: III

◆ Ar. *madda* ‘to extend; to stretch out’

MD3

təmìdi [f.] pl. *təmidiwìn* ‘point of attachment of a stalk to a date’

temîdi pl. *təmidīwîn*

P: dattero M: vigne *temmedeh* تمده

MD4

təmìdi [f.] ‘woodworm’

temîdi

P: tarlo

◆ K: 122, 131

Berber, cf. To. *tèmedhe* ‘termite’; Sok. *tmîdi* ‘woodworm’

MDY

təmədyàt [f.] ‘clay; red earth’

temedgât, temedgât

P: argilla; terra M: boue; fange *témédghat*

تمدغات

◆ NZ: DQ1, K: 637

MDL

amadùl [m.] pl. *madùlən* ‘lid, cover’

amadûl pl. *madûlen*

P: coperchio

◆ NZ: DL1 ► NDL

MDN

amədän [m.] ‘man’ pl. *mədinən, mïddän* ‘people’

amédên, amédên [PT:I,II,VI,VII,VIII,XI,XIII],

amédén-(nēs) [PT:XV] pl. *mədînen, mïddên*

P: uomo; gente, persone PT: I, II, IV, VI, VII, VIII, XI, XI, XII, XIII, XV M: homme

amaden امان

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *mäddén* ‘people’; Kb.

mäddän ‘people’; To. *médän* ‘men’

MDY ► MDY

MG1

màg [adv.] ‘where?’

māg, māg [PT:XV]

P: dove? PT: VIII, XV

▷ *māg inni amēḏen-é?* ‘Where is this man?’

s-màg [adv.] ‘from where?’

s-māg, s-mâg [PT:XV]

P: dove? PT:XV

màg wa/ta/wi/ti [inter.adj.] ‘which? what?’

m.sg. *mágwa* f.sg. *mákta* m.pl. *mágwi* f.pl. *mákti*

P: quale?

am màg wa [inter.adj.] ‘how much?’

ammágwa, ammágwa [PT:VIII] pl. *ammágwi* f. *ammákta* pl. *ammákti*

P: quanto? PT: VIII M: âge *ammagoua*

اماقوع

▷ *wē s-ammágwa?* ‘how much does this cost?’

◦ *am + màg wa* litt: ‘like what?’

s-am màg wa [inter.adv.] ‘how much?’

s-ammágwa

P: quanto? M: combien *samaghoua*

صمغوه

▷ *wē s-ammágwa?* ‘how much does this cost?’

MG2

(ə)mmóg [v.ċc.irreg.] ‘to become, to be, to turn into’

pf. = fut. *əmmóg* res. *əmməgg*

imp. sg. *emmóg*; pf. 1sg. *mmeggîh* 3sg.m.

yemmóg [P: example]; res. 3sg.m. *yemméggā*;

fut. 3sg.m. *ayemmóg* [P: example]

P: divenire, essere, transformarsi

▷ *yemmóg amoqqārān* ‘he became big’

▷ *ayemmóg dē-mlîl* ‘he will become white’

◆ This probably originally was a *mm*-derivation of *ag* ‘to do’. It explains the irregular variation between *g* and *gg*, which is similar to the verb *g* ‘to do’ ► G1.

MG3

màgi [m.] pl. *magiwîn* ‘eyelid’

mági pl. *magiwîn*

P: palpebra

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *timmi* ‘eyebrow’; Ouar.

tammi ‘eyebrow’; Mzab *tammi* ‘eyebrow’;

Ghd. *təmmi* ‘eyebrow’

MG4

mmóg [conj.] ‘when’

mmóg, mmog [P: example]

P: quando

▷ *mmog a-ttunât ammûd-î* ‘when you will enter the mosque’

MGN

təmìgni [f.] pl. *t(ə)migniwîn* ‘woman, wife’

təmìgnî, temìgnî [PT:III,XV], *tēmìgnî* [PT:III],

tēmìgnî-(nnes) [PT:IV], *dmegnî-(s)* [PT:IV]

tēmìgnî-(nnes) [PT:XV], *tēmìgnî-(nnek)*

[PT:XV] pl. *tēmìgnîwîn, tmēgnîwîn* ‘woman, wife’

P: donna PT: III, IV, XV M: femelle

temighni تمیغنی

◦ This noun can take both the kinship suffix and normal possessive suffix.

◆ NZ: GN50

MGR

ìmgər, yəmgər [m.] pl. *məg(ə)rən* ‘sickle’

ìmger, yémger pl. *mégèren*

P: falce M: faux, instrument *emker* امكر

◆ K: 317

Berber, cf. Kb. *amgər* ‘sickle’; Foq. *amžér*

‘sickle’; Nef. *měžér* ‘sickle’; Sok. *amžér* ‘sickle’;

Siwa *amžir* ‘sickle’ ► MŽR

MYR

əlməy(y)àrət [f.] ‘cave’

əlməğğàret, elmoğğàret-(î), elmàğğàret-(î),

elmogğàret-(î)

PT:XV

◆ Ar. *mağāra(t)* ‘cave, cavern; grotto’

MĤ**mməḥ** [v.ċc] ‘to kiss’

pf. / seq. = res. əmməḥ+is impf.

təmməḥ+is

imp. sg. *mmaḥ*; pf. 1sg. *mmaḥ-â-s* 3sg.m.*yummaḥ-îs*; res. 1sg. *mmaḥ-âs-a* 3sg.m.*yummaḥ-îs-a*; impf. 1sg. *temmaḥ-â-s* 3sg.m.*itemmaḥ-îs*P: baciare M: baiser v. *yammahessa*يمهسه; baiser s. *yammahess* يمهس▷ *mmaḥ-îs i-tirîūt* ‘kiss the daughter’

○ The 3sg. indirect object marker is obligatory in all TAMs but the imperative.

◆ Maghr. Ar. *maḥḥa* ‘a kiss (baby talk)’ (p.c. Souag)**əmmùḥ** [v.n.m.] ‘kissing’*emmùḥ*

P: baciare

MĤT**məḥəṭ** [v.ccc] ‘to have sexual intercourse’

pf. / seq. əmḥəṭ

imp. sg. *măḥăt*; pf. *yemḥăt-(tăt)* [PT:XV]

P: coire PT: XV

aməḥəṭ [v.n.m.] ‘having sexual intercourse’*aməḥəṭ*

P: coire

MKLW**aməklîw** [m.] ‘lunch’*aməklîu, aməklîw-(əñnes)* [PT:XV]

P: pranzo PT: XV

▷ *aməklîw-î* ‘at lunch’◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *iməkli* ‘meal during a journey, afternoon lunch’, Rif. *mekla* ‘meal’ etc.**MKN****amakàn, amkàn** [m.] ‘place’*amakân* [PT:VII,VIII,X], *amkân* [P:example:che, il quale], *amakân-(nesîn)* [PT:XV]

PT: VII, VIII, X, XV

◆ Ar. *makân* ‘place’**MKT****(ə)mməkt, mməkti** [v.irreg.] ‘to remember’

pf. / seq. = res. əmməktə impf. mməktá

imp. sg. *əmmékt, mmékti*; pf. 3sg.m.*yimméкта*; res. 3sg.m. *yemmektâya*; impf.3sg.m. *immektâ*P: ricordarsi; M: souvenir (se) *makti*

مكتى

◆ TC: 626, K: 562, 577

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăktət* ‘to remember’; Kb.*mməkti* ‘to remember’; To. *ăktu* ‘toremember’; Zng. *oktîh* ‘to remember’.This is an *mm-* medio-passive derivation of which the original form has been lost.**MKTR****məktar** [m.] ‘a large part, majority’*măktar*

P: XI

◆ Clearly a derivation from the Arabic root *ktr* ‘to be plentiful’, but the exact derivation is unknown in Arabic.**MLYL****təməlyùlt** [f.] ‘fontanelle’*teməlgùlt*

P: fontanella

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *taməlyiyt* ‘fontanelle’; Foq. *tməlgíjt* ‘fontanelle’.The development of the Awjila form is not entirely clear. Rather than the *ɣ* being doubled as in the two languages cited above, the root consonant *l* is doubled instead.**MLL1****məllól** [stat.v.] ‘to be white’1sg. *məllàx* 2sg. *məllăt* 3sg.m. *məllól* 3sg.f.*məllát, məllət* pl. *məllílit*1sg. *məllâḥ* 2sg. *məllât* 3sg.m. *məllél, məllet*[P:example] 3sg.f. *məllét* pl. *məllílit*

P: bianco

▷ *guliḥa tfilli məllet* ‘I’ve seen a white house’

◆ TC: 693

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əmləl* ‘to be white’; Kb. *məllul* ‘to be white’; To. *məlləl* ‘to be or become white’; Zng. *məlliy*, *mʷəlliy* ‘to be white’
š-əmlil [caus.v.] ‘to whiten’

imp. sg. *šəmlil*

P: bianco; imbiancare

mlil [adj.] pl. mlilən f. təmlilt pl. təmlilin
 ‘white’

m. sg. *mlil* pl. *mlilen*; f. *temlilt* pl. *temlilin*

P: bianco

▷ *amédəŋ mlil bāhi-ká* ‘The white man is not good’

▷ *mlil n tīsī* ‘egg white’

MLL2

mləl [m.] ‘sand; dust’

mləl, *mləl* [PT:XV]

P: sabbia; polvere PT:XV M: poussière

melan ملان; *sable hemlal* هملال

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamallilt* ‘dune sand’; To. *teməllilt* ‘white sand’

MLL3

Timillil [P.N.] Place name

Timillil

Z: X

MLM

millim [m.] ‘milliem (1000 milliemes is 1 Libyan pound)’

millim

PT: III

MLXY

ləmluxiyət [f.] ‘mulukhiya’

ləmluxiyət [PT:III,IV], *əlmuxiyət* [PT:III]

PT: III, IV

◆ Ar. *mulukhiya(t)* ‘mulukhiya’

MM1

alimam [m.] ‘imam’

alimam

PT: II

◆ Ar. *ʔimām* ‘imam’

MM2

mmùm [stat.v.] ‘to be sweet’

3sg.m. *mmùm* 3sg.f. *mmùmət* pl. *mmumit*

3sg.m *mùm*, *mmùm* 3sg.f *mmùmət* pl.

mmùmît

P: dolce M: doux *moumeh* مومه;

douceur *moum* موم

◆ Tashl. *imim* ‘to be, become sweet’

MM3

màma [m.] ‘older brother’

2sg.m. *mamà-k* 3sg. *mamà-s*

1sg. *mámā* 2sg.m. *mamá-k* 3sg. *mamá-s*

P: fratello

MM4

amimi n tît [phrasal n.] ‘pupil of the eye’

amîmi n tît

P: pupilla dell’occhio

◆ K: 16

Berber, cf. Ghd. *təmmi* ‘eyebrow’; Kb.

mummu ‘pupil of the eye, iris’

MN1

imàn [pron.] ‘self, by oneself’

1sg. *iman-n-ùk* 2sg.m. *imàn-n-ək* 3sg.

imàn-n-əs 1pl. *imán-n-ax* 2pl.m.

iman-nəkim

imân; 1sg. *iman-nûk* 2sg.m. *imán-nek* 3sg.

imân-nes, *imán-nes* [PT:IV], *imán-nes* [PT:V]

1pl. *imán-naḥ* 2pl.m. *iman-nekim* [PT:I]

P: stesso; solo PT: I, IV, V, VII M: forcé

??*msimanès* مسيمانس; forcer *simanes*

سيمانس

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *iman* ‘oneself’; Kb. *iman* ‘oneself’; To. *imān* ‘soul, life force’

MN3

təmnit (or: tamnit) [f.] ‘jar, vase’

təmnit

P: giarra

MN4

tímənt [f.] ‘honey’

tîmənt

P: miele M: abeille *tement* تمننت

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamənt* 'honey'; Kb. *tamənt* 'honey'; Nef. *taməmt*, *tamənt* 'honey'; Sok. *taməmt* 'honey'

MN₅

mmèn, mmìn [inter.adv.] 'when?'

mmèn, mmìn

P: quando

▷ *mmìn tušidda dila* 'when did you arrive here?'

MN₆

màni [inter.pron.] 'who?'

mànī, mână

P: chi?

▷ *mànī ušānda dila?* 'who came here?'

▷ *d-mànī?* 'who is?'

▷ *d-wa-n mână?* 'whose is?'

▷ *gmāren-īya d-wi-n mână?* 'Whose are these horses?'

▷ *wāya d-wan mână?* 'whose is this?'

MNDR

təmandürt (or: **təməndürt** [f.] pl.

tmandir 'rock pigeon'

temändürt pl. *tmändîr*

P: piccione

MNYYR

mən ɣayr [prep.] 'without'

mîn ɣair

Z: I

◆ Ar. *mîn ɣairi* 'without'

MNŠ ► NŠ

MQR

məqqər [stat.v.] 'to be big'

1sg. *moq(q)(ə)rəx* 2sg. *moq(ə)rət* 3sg.m.

məqqər 3sg.f. *məq(q)(ə)rər* pl. *məqqayrīt*

1sg. *moqārəh*, *moqārāh* 2sg. *moqārāt* 3sg.m.

móqqār, *móqqar* 3sg.f. *móqāret*, *móqqāret*,

móqaret, *móqqaret* pl. *moqqāūrīt*

P: grande M: agrandir *makkar* مكار

grande *mokar* مكار

◆ TC: 672

Berber, cf. Ghd. *amqór* 'to be big'; Kb.

məqqʷər 'to be big'; To. *māqqor* 'to be or

become big'; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yāmuʔr* 'to be big'

aməqq(ə)ràn [adj.] pl. *moqqrànən*,

moqqrārən f. *taməqqərànt*,

t(ə)məqq(ə)rànt pl. *tməqqranən* 'big, old'

m.sg. *amoqqāràn* pl. *moqqrānen* (*moqqrāren*)

f.sg. *tamoqqārānt*, *tmoqqārānt* [PT:XV],

tmoqqārānt [PT:XV], *təmoqqārānt* [PT:XV] pl.

tmoqqrānîn

P: grande PT:I, XV

MQŠ

təməqqùšt (or: **tamaqqùšt**, **taməqqùšt**,

təmaqqùšt) [f.] 'dung, manure'

tāmaqqùšt

P: letame

◆ Berber, cf. To. (D N WE Y) *tamāqqost* 'dung'

MR₁

màrra [adv.] 'once'

márra

PT: I, II, X, XI

◆ Ar. *marrā(t-an)* 'once'

əlmarrat-(āya) [f.] 'time, turn'

elmarrāt-(āya) [PT:IX]

PT: IX

◆ Ar. *marrāt* 'times, turns'

marrāt [f.] 'time. turn'

marrāt [PT:II,IX], *marrātet* [PT:IX]

PT: II, IX

◆ Ar. *marrāt* 'times, turns'

MR₂

amùr [conj.] 'if (counterfactual)'

amûr

P: se PT: III

MR₃

t(ə)mùrt [f.] 'earth'

tāmùrt, *temùrt* [PT:VIII], *tmùrt* [PT:XV]

P: terra PT: VIII, XV M: prairie *témourt*

تمورت

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tammurt* ‘earth, soil’; Kb. *tamurt* ‘earth, terrain’; Nef. *tamûrt*, *tamûrt* ‘earth’; Siwa *tamārt* ‘country’

MR4

tamîrt [f.] pl. tmîra ‘beard’

tamûrt, *tamûrt*-(*ennûk*) [PT:VIII] pl. *tmîra*

P: barba PT: VIII M: barbe *taamert*

تعمرت

◆ TC: 58

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tómārt* ‘beard’; Kb. *tamart* ‘beard’; To. *tāmārt* ‘beard’; Zng. *taʔmmārt* ‘beard’

MR5

mri [stat.v.] ‘to be beautiful’

3sg.m. *mri*, *mriyən* 3sg.f. *mriyət* pl. *mriyit*

3sg.m. *mri*, *mri* [PT:IV], *mriyen* 3sg.f. *mriyet*

pl. *mriyit*, *imrijet* [Z:IV]

P: bello PT: IV Z: IV

MRḤ

amərfəḥ [m.] ‘spleen’

amārfāḥ

P: milza

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *aranfaḥ* ‘spleen’; Ouar. *imərfəḥ*, *inərfəḥ* ‘spleen’

MRȲ1

tamûrəȲ [f.] ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’

tamûrāȲ, *tamûroȲ* [P:example]

P: cavalletta

▷ *iwāt n tamûroȲ* ‘one grasshopper’

◆ TC: 59 K: 636

Berber, cf. Foq. *tamûrgī* ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’; Nef. *tamerġī* ‘grasshopper’; Siwa *təmərġī* ‘grasshopper’; Ghd. *tomarše* ‘grasshopper’; Zng. *toʔm̄murih* ‘grasshopper’.

A reflex of the final *Ȳ is not instantly apparent Zenaga, it may have metathesized to the front of the root. Ghadames underwent palatalization of *Ȳ to š (Vycichl 1990)

MRȲ2

aməryāw [m.] pl. məryāwən ‘yellow date, close to ripeness’

amerġāu pl. *merġāwen*

P: dattero

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *arġāu* ‘date’

MRR

pl. mrārən [m.] ‘harness’

pl. *mrāren*

P: finimenti

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *amrar* ‘corde, cable’; To. *tāmrrat* ‘rope bridle on youn camel’s head (for pulling its head down)’

MRTF

amərtuf [m.] pl. mərtif ‘a measure of capacity (for cereals), corresponds to 3 šī‘án’

amārtuf pl. *mertif*

P: misura di capacità M: charge

ammertouf امرتوف ; M: charger *mertouf*

مرتوف

MS1

təmasūt [f.] pl. təmasutin ‘boil, pimple’

temāsūt pl. *temāsūtīn* ‘boil, pimple’

P: foruncolo

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *timmist* ‘boil, carbuncle, pimple’

MS2

tammāst [f.] ‘in the middle’

tammāst

P: fra; mezzo (in)

▷ *tammāst n tfillī* ‘in the middle of the house’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ammas* ‘middle, center’; Kb. *imassən* ‘inside of a loaf of cake’; To. *āmmas* ‘middle, center, inside’

MSL

amasāl (or: aməsāl) [m.] ‘crossbar between the two poles of a well’

amāsāl

P: pozzo

MSN

tamə̀sna [f.] ‘the outside’

taməsna

P: fuori M: étranger *estamsna* اسطمسنه

▷ *ušānd s taməsna* ‘They came from outside’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamasna* ‘desert’

MṢḤF

əlmə̀ṣḥaf [m.] ‘book’

elməṣḥāf

P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)

◆ Ar. *muṣḥaf* ‘volume; book; copy of the Koran’

MŠK

mə̀ššək [stat.v.] ‘to be small’

1sg. mə̀škàx 2sg. mə̀škàt 3sg.m. mə̀ššək

3sg.f. mə̀škàt pl. mə̀ššikìt

1sg. *meškàh* 2sg. *meškàt* 3sg.m. *meššək* 3sg.f.

meškét pl. *meššikìt*

P: piccolo M: jeune *métchik* متشيك

◆ K: 682

Perhaps Berber, cf. Nef. *meššək* ‘small’; To.

màtkây ‘to be or become small’

š-ə̀mšək [caus.v.] ‘to reduce’

imp. sg. *šémšek*

P: piccolo

amə̀škùn [adj.] pl. mə̀škùnən f.

tamə̀škùnt pl. tmə̀škúnin ‘small’

m. sg. *ameškùn* pl. *meškùnən* f. sg. *tameškùnt*

pl. *tmeškùnìn* ‘small’

P: piccolo

MŠW ► NŠ

MT

ə̀mt [v.cc*] ‘to bury’

seq. = res. ə̀mta impf. mətta

imp. sg. *ə̀mt, mtì-(t)* [PT:II]; pf. 3sg.m. *yəmta,*

yemtì-(t) [PT:II] res. 3sg.m. *yemtàya*; impf.

3sg.m. *imétta*

P: seppellire PT: II

◆ Zuara *əmt* ‘to bury’ (Mitchell 2009: 17)

i-tt-ə̀mt [pass.v.] ‘to be buried’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ttə̀mt

pf. 3sg.m. *ittémt*; res. 3sg.m. *itímta*; fut. 3sg.m.

aittémt

P: seppellire

amə̀ttu [v.n.m.] ‘burying’

améttū

P: seppellire

MT/Y

mmùt [v.irreg.] ‘to die’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. mmùt/y

imp. sg. *mmùt*; pf. 1sg. *mmúyeh* 3sg.m. *immùt*

3sg.f. *temmùt* [PT:III]; res. 1sg. *mmuyíha*

3sg.m. *immùta, yemmùta* [PT:XV]; fut. 1sg.

ammúyah 3sg.m. *aimmùt, ayemmùt* [PT:I]

P: morire PT: I, III, XV M: tué *mauta*

يموته; tuer *yémauta* يموته

◆ TC: 696

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əmmət* ‘to die’; Kb. *əmmet* ‘to die’;

To. *əmmu-t* ‘to die’; Zng. *əmṣih* ‘to die’

tə̀mə̀ttint [v.n.f.] ‘death’

temə̀ttint

P: morire, morte

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamə̀ttant* ‘death’; Foq.

tamə̀ttânt ‘death’; Sok. *tamə̀ttânt* ‘death’; To.

tamə̀ttant ‘death’; Zng. *tmə̀ttánt, tmə̀ttánt*

‘death’

MṬṢ

pl. **ə̀lmə̀tṣə̀t-(ə̀nnə̀snə̀t)** [f.?] ‘things’

pl. *elmet‘at-(ə̀nnə̀snə̀t)*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *matāṣ* pl. *ṣamtiṣa(t)* ‘object, thing,

utensil; stuff, objects, commodities’

MṬS ► MṬZ

MṬZ

tə̀miṭàst [f.] pl. tə̀miṭaz ‘scissors’

temiṭàst pl. *temiṭaz*

P: forbici

◆ NZ: ḌZ₁

Berber, cf. Foq. *tmīḍàst* ‘scissors’; Ghd.

tamiḏāst ‘scissors’; Sok. *tmiṭāst* ‘scissors’; Siwa *tiṃiṭāš* ‘scissors’ (Naumann 2013: 377)

MY

mīyət [num.] ‘hundred’

mīyet

PT: V

◆ ELA *mīya* ‘hundred’; Ar. *miʔa(t)* ‘hundred’

MZD

aməzzid [m.] ‘semolina for couscous’

amezzid

P: semolino per kuskûs

MZN₁

təməzînt [f.] ‘herb (Mercury)’

temezînt

P: erba

○ Paradisi says this plant name corresponds to Ar. *buzenzîr*, which is the name for ‘mercury’ (Kerdja 2006: 26)

MZN₂

aməzûn [m.] ‘pin or hinge at the base of a door’

amezûn

P: porta

taməzûnt [f.] ‘small pin or hinge at the base of a door’

tamezûnt

P: porta

MZS

təmuzîst [f.] pl. *tmuzistîn*, *tmuzîs* ‘threshold, doorstep’

təmuzîst pl. *tmuzistîn*, *tmuzîs*

P: soglia

MZZ

tamzəzza [f.] pl. *təməzəzzáyat* ‘bee’

tamzəzza pl. *təmezezzáyāt*

P: ape

◆ Berber, cf. Nef. *tezizwi*

MZ₁

pl. **timzîn** [f.] ‘barley’

pl. *timzîn*, *temzîn*, *timzîn* [B₂₁], *temezîn* [B₂₁]

P: orzo B₂₁: 385 PT: XV

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *túmzîn* ‘barley’; Kb. *timzîn* ‘barley’; Ghd. *təmzet* pl. *təmzén* ‘barley’; Nef. *ṭāmzîn* ‘barley’; Sok. *tímzîn* ‘barley’; Siwa *tomzîn* ‘barley’

MZ₂

àmza [m.] pl. *amzìwən* ‘ogre; strong, cunning person; lion (rare)’

ámzā pl. *amzìwen*

P: orco PT: XV

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *amzìw* f. *tamza* ‘ogre’; Nef. *amzìu* f. *tamzâ* ‘ogre’; Siwa *əmzā* ‘ogre’

tàmza [f.] ‘ogress’

támzā P: orco

MZL

təmazzàlt [f.] ‘muscle’

temazzàlt

P: muscolo

◆ Berber, cf. To. (H.) *tāmaḏwəlt* ‘flexor muscle’, perhaps also Zng. *əmžəlli(?)* ‘large muscle of the neck’

MŽN

aməžžîn (pl. of *iwi* ► W)

MŽZ

Məžùz (or: **Məžùz**) [place name] ‘name of a small palm grove north of Awjila’

Məžùz

P: *Məžùz*

MŽBR

təməžžbərt [f.] ‘a pot in which you burn incense’

teməžžbärt

P: profumi

MŽR₁

(ə)**mžér** [v.ccc] ‘to reap, mow’

imp. sg. *mžer*, *emžér*

P: mietere; falciare

◆ K: 316

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əmžər* ‘to reap mow’; Foq.

émžer 'to reap mow'; Nef. *émger*, *ámger* 'to reap, mow'; Siwa *əmžər* 'to harvest'
aməžār [v.n.m.] 'reaping, mowing'
amežār

P: mietere

MṢDĊ

maṣādš [adv.] 'no longer'

maṣādč

PT: II

◆ Maghr. Ar. *mā-ṣād-š* 'no more, no longer' (p.c. Souag)

N₁

n [prep.] 'of'

1sg. -ənn-úk 2sg.m. -ənn-ək 3sg. -ənn-əs
 2pl.m. -ənn-əkīm 2pl.f. ənn-əkmet 3pl.m.
 ənn-əsìn 3pl.f. -ənn-əsnət
n, *en*, *nē*, *ēn* [PT:VII,VIII], *ēr*-(*rābbī*) [PT:VI], *in*
 [Z:II,XI], *u* (sic) [Z:III]; 1sg. -*enn-úk*
 [PT:IV,VIII,XIV] 2sg.m. -*enn-ek* [PT:IX]
 -*ann-ek* [Z:XIII], -*nn-äk* [PT:XV] 3sg. -*enn-es*
 [PT: I,IV,IX,X,XV] 2pl.m. -*enn-ekīm* 2pl.f.
 -*enn-əkmet*, 3pl.m. -*enn-esìn* 3pl.f. -*enn-ésnet*,
 -*enn-ésnet* [PT:XV]

P: di; suo; mio; tuo; nostro; loro; vostro

PT: passim Z: II, III

○ Can be used interchangeably with *s* to indicate the material of which something is made.

▷ *wāya s-ar zzīl* 'this is made of iron'

▷ *ağíz n úrāğ* 'golden necklace'

◆ Pan-Berber *n* 'of'. Kb. *n* 'genitive particle'; To. *n*, *ən*- 'possessive preposition' Zng. (ə)*n*(*n*) 'genitive particle'

N₂

an-ís [v.c*] 'to say; to say to s.o. (+ IO)'

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. n impf. tənn(a)
 imp. sg. *an-ís*, *an-ís-(t)* [PT:II] pl.m. *anāt-ís*,
annadd-ís pl.f. *anāmēt-ís*; pf. 1sg. *nā-s* 2sg.
tneit-ís, *tnedd-ís*, *tned-(dík)* [PT:VI],
tēned-(dík) [PT:VI] 3sg.m. *in-ís*, *in-(ísìn)*

[PT:I,II], *in-(ísnet)* [PT:XV], *in-ís-(t)* [PT:II]
 3sg.f. *ētn-ís* [PT:III,XV], *tn-ís* [PT:IV,XV] 3pl.m.
nān-ís [PT:II,XV], *nān-ís* [PT:XV] 3pl.f.
nānet-ís [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *nā-s-a*, *nā-(k)-a*
 [PT:III,XIII] 2sg. *tnedd-ís-a* 3sg.m. *in-ís-a* 1pl.
nān-ís-a [PT:II]; fut. 1sg. *annā-s*, *annā-(k)*
 [PT:IV] *annā-(kīm)* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ain-ís*,
āni-(dík) [PT:IV], *āin-(ís)* [PT:V]; impf. 1sg.
tennā-s 3sg.m. *itenn-ís* 'to say to s.o.'

P: dire PT: passim

▷ *tnedd-ís-ká* 'do not speak'

▷ *a-nnā-k* 'I will tell you'

▷ *inī-dík* 'he told me'

▷ *in-ík* 'he told you'

○ This verb always takes an automatic indirect object 3sg.m. pronoun suffix. If the person whom something is said to is determined, this automatic indirect object is replaced with the appropriate pronominal suffix.

◆ TC: 768

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ān* 'to say'; Kb. *ini* 'to say'; To. *ān* 'to say'; Zng. pf. *yənnāh* 'to say'

N₃

yan [v.vc*] 'to enter'

pf. uná seq. = res. ùna fut. ùn impf. tàna
 imp. sg. *yān* pl.m. *yānāt* pl.f. *yānīmet*; pf. 1sg.
unīh 2sg. *tānīt* [P: example], *tunīt* [P:
 example] 3sg.m. *yúna*, *yúnā* [PT:II], *yunā*
 [PT:IX,XV], *yúna* [PT:XV], *únā* [Z:X] 3sg.f.
túna [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *unīha* 3sg.m. *yunāya*;
 fut. 1sg. *aunāh* 2sg. *attúnat* [PT:IX] 3sg.m.
ayún; impf. 1sg. *tānīh* 3sg.m. *itāna*

P: entrare PT: II, IX, XV Z: X M: entrée

younaah *يونة*

▷ *tānīt-ká* 'do not enter!'

▷ *ur-tunīt* 'do not enter!'

unú [v.n.m.] 'entering'

unú

P: entrare

š-an [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. enter, insert'

pf. / seq. š-à̀n impf. š-anà̀y
imp. sg. *šān*; pf. 3sg.m. *išān* [PT:XV] 3sg.f.
ččān [PT:XV] impf. 1sg. *šanāiḥ*

P: entrare PT: XV

N4

yə̀nni [v.ci] ‘to be (in a place)’

pf. / seq. = fut. ə̀nni, ə̀nní

pf./fut. 1sg. *ə̀nniḥ, nniḥ* [PT:VI] 2sg. *tennūd*
3sg.m. *yə̀nnī, innī* [PT:VIII,XV] 3sg.f. *tennī* 1pl.
nnī 3pl.m. *nnīyen, ə̀nnīyən* [PT:XV] ptc.
nnīyen [PT:XIII]

P: essere, trovarsi PT: VI, VIII, XIII, XV

▷ *yə̀nnī-ká dīla* ‘There is not’

N5

?taniya [f.] ‘pulley of a well’

tanīa

P: pozzo

◆ Perhaps related to *awénū* ► WN.

NB

ə̀mbí [v.cci] ‘to suck’

impf. *nə̀bbi*

imp. sg. *ə̀mbí, mbí*; impf. 3sg.m. *inə̀bbi*

P: allattare; poppare M: allaiter *iembeya*

يمبيه; sucer *emben* امين ; téter

yembeya يمبيه

◆ K: 559

Berber, cf. Foq. *énbi* (*émbi*) ‘to suck’; Siwa
umbäi ‘to suckle’

?anə̀bbi [v.n.m.] ‘sucking’

anə̀bbi انبى

M: téton

○ Müller translates this word as *téton* ‘breast’,
but it is clearly the verbal noun derivation.

š-ə̀mbi [caus.v.] ‘to suckle’

pf. / seq. š-ə̀mbí res. = fut. š-ə̀mbi impf.

š-ə̀mbà̀y

imp. sg. *šémbí*; pf. 1sg. *šembíḥ* 3sg.f. *ččembí*;

res. 1sg. *šembíḥa* 3sg.f. *ččembâya*; fut. 1sg.m.

ašembíḥ 3sg.f. *aččémbi*; impf. 1sg. *šembâiḥ*

3sg.f. *tšembâi* ‘to suckle’

P: allattare

aš-ə̀mbi [caus.v.n.m.] ‘suckling’

ašémbi

P: allattare

NBR

tə̀nə̀brət [f.] ‘needle’

tenébrət, tnebrét [B21]

P: ago B21: 391 M: mépris *tenebret* تنبرت

◆ NZ: NBR2

Beguinet (1921: 391) considers this a loanword
from Ar. *al-ʔibra(t)* ‘needle’, with
dissimilation of *l...r* to *n...r*.

ND

ə̀ndú, undú [conj.] ‘if’

ə̀ndú, úndu, undú [PT:II,V,VIII,X], *öndú*

[PT:VIII], *endú* [PT:XV]

P: se PT:I, II, V, VIII, X, XV

NDL1

ə̀ndəl [v.ccc] ‘to be covered’

impf. *nə̀ddəl*

imp. sg. *éndel*; impf. *yenéddel*

P: coprire M: couvercle *yendeltia*

يندلتيه

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ə̀mdəl* ‘to close (the eyes)’;

Kb. *dəl* ‘to cover’

anə̀dəl [v.n.m.] ‘being covered’

anedəl

P: coprire

š-ə̀ndəl [caus.v.] ‘to cover’

impf. š-ə̀ndəl

imp. sg. *šéndel*; impf. 1sg. *šendâlḥ* 3sg.m.

išendâl

P: coprire

aš-ə̀ndəl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘covering’

ašéndel

P: coprire

NDM1

nə̀ddəm [v.ccc] ‘to be sleepy; to doze off’

impf. *nə̀ddəm*

imp. sg. *néddem*; impf. 3sg.m. *ineddâm*

P: sonno

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *nəddəm* ‘to sleep’; Kb. *nnudəm* ‘to doze, sleep’; To. *nùddəm* ‘to doze’
anəddəm [v.n.m.] ‘sleep’

anəddem

P: sonno M: sommeil *eneddem* اندم

NDM2

****əndəm** [v.ccc] ‘to be sad, regretful’

res. əndəm

res. 3sg.m. *yendīma*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *nadima* ‘to repent, rue, regret’

NFL

****ənfəl** [v.ccc] ‘to be changed’

res. ənfəl

res. 3sg.m. *yenfīla*

P: cambiare M: changer *yenfela* ينفلا

◆ TC: 739

Berber, cf. MA *sənfəl* ‘to replace (of childrens teeth)’; Zng. pf. 3sg.m. *yäššānfāy* ‘to change’; Ouar. *ənfəl* ‘to be exchanged’

š-**ənfəl** [caus.v.] ‘to change’

pf. / seq. š-ənfəl res. š-ənfəl impf. š-ənfəl

imp. sg. *šənfel*; pf. 1sg. *šənfelḥ*; res. 1sg.

šənfīlḥa; impf. 1sg. *šənfālḥ*

P: cambiare

aš-**ənfəl** [caus.v.n.m.] ‘changing’

ašənfel

P: cambiare

NFS1

anafūs [m.] ‘right’

anafūs

P: destra

▷ *afanafūs* ‘on the right’

◆ NZ: FS3

Berber, cf. Ghd. *anfūs* ‘right’; Kb. *ayeffus* ‘right’; Siwa *roh aləmfusi* ‘to go right’

NFS2

ənfūs, infūs [m.] pl. ənfūsən, infūsən
‘sleeve’

ənfūs, infūs pl. *ənfūsən, infūsən*

P: manica M: manche *onfos* انفوس

◆ K: 68

To. (H.) *ahānfous* ‘sleeve’; Ghd. *anβəs* ‘sleeve’
Surprisingly, no reflex of *β is found in Awjila, while Ahaggar Tuareg does have it. The Ghadames formation is quite different and may not be related.

NF

****ənf/ənfī** [v.cc*/cci] ‘to be useful; to be good’

res. ənfə

res. 1sg. *ənfīḥa* 2sg. *tenfīta* [P:example] 3sg.m.

yənfāya

P: utile

▷ *ku tenfīta lūda* ‘you are good for nothing’

◆ TC: 737

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ənfu* ‘to be useful’; Zng. *änfih* ‘to be worth, to have value’; To. (H.) *ənfu* ‘be useful’

This may be an early loanword from Ar. *nafaḥa* ‘to be useful’.

NG

ngi [v.cci.irreg.] ‘to touch’

seq. = res. = fut. əngi impf. nəgga

imp. sg. *ngi*; pf. 1sg. *ngīḥ* 3sg.m. *yéngi*; res. 1sg.

ngīḥa 3sg.m. *yengāya*; fut. 1sg. *angīḥ* 3sg.m.

ayéngi; impf. 1sg. *neggīḥ* 3sg.m. *inéggā*

P: toccare

anəggi [v.n.m.] ‘touching’

anəggī

P: toccare

NGDR

Təngidrət [P.N.] ‘A ḥatia north-west of Awjila’

Təngídret

P: Tengídret

NGFL

(ə)**ngafūli, əlgafūli** [m.] ‘maize’

əngafûli, ŋgafûli [PT:XV], *əlgafûli* [PT:XV]

P: granoturco PT: XV

◆ Ultimately from Kanuri *ngawûli* 'sorghum'
see Cyffer & Hutchison 1990, Kossmann 2005,
Souag (fthc.)

NGŦM

Təngədžùm [P.N.] 'village in the oasis of
Awjila'

Tengeğûm, Tangedğûm, Tangiğûm [Z:VIII]

P: Tengeğûm o Tangedğûm Z: VIII

NGŽV

əngàžv [m.] 'type of palm tree (Arabic
nakfûš)'

əngàžv

P: palma

NY1

naŋ [conj.] 'or'

nāğ, nağ [PT:V]

P: o, ovvero PT: III, V

◆ TC: 720 K: 732

Berber, cf. Foq. *nağ* 'or'; Kb. *nəy, ny* 'or'; Nef.
nağ 'or'; Zng. *naʔd* 'or'

NY2

nàŋ [v.cvc] 'to call'

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *nàŋ*

imp. sg. *nâğ*; pf. 1sg. *nāğîh* 3sg.m. *inâğ*; res.

1sg. *nāğîha* 3sg.m. *inâğa*; fut. 1sg. *anağáh*

3sg.m. *ainâğ*

P: chiamare M: appeler *naghy* ناعى;

crier *enagha* ناعه

▷ *nāğî-t* 'call him!'

◆ Perhaps related to Ar. *nağā* 'to speak'; Ar.
nāğā 'to whisper; to talk gently, kindly,
tenderly' Eg. Ar. *nāğa* 'to speak tenderly to a
child' (Hinds 1986)

anàŋ [v.n.m.] 'calling'

anâğ

P: chiamare

NY3

ànəŋ [v.cc*] 'to kill'

pf. *ənyá* impf. *nəŋŋa*

imp. sg. *áněğ*; pf. 3sg.m. *yengá*; impf. 3sg.m.

ineğga

P: uccidere M: assassin *yanghia* ينغيه;
assassiner *anghia* انغيه

◆ TC: 65

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎnn* 'to kill'; Kb. *nəy* 'to kill';

To. *ǎny* 'to kill'; Zng. *aʔni(?)* 'to kill'

anəŋŋu, anəŋŋa [v.n.m.] 'killing'

aněğğū, aněğğā

P: uccidere

š-əny [caus.v.] 'to extinguish'

imp. sg. *šǎng, šéng*

P: spegnere; uccidere

itt-əny [pass.v.] 'to be killed'

pf. / seq. = res. *ttəny*

pf. 3sg.m. *itténg*; res. 3sg.m. *ittínğa*

P: uccidere

NHN

nəhìn [pron.] 3pl.m. independent
pronoun

nehîn, ǎnhîn, nehnîn [B21]

P: essi B21: 390

nəhìnət [pron.] 3pl.f. independent
pronoun

nehînet, ǎnhînet [PT:XV] *ǎnhînet* [PT:XV],

nehnînet [B21]

P: essi B21: 390

NĠM

pl. (ə)nžùm [m.] 'stars'

pl. *nğûm, ǎnğûm*

PT: VIII M: étoile *negmet* نجمة

◆ ELA *néžem* pl. *nžùm* 'star'; Ar. *nažma(t)* pl.
nuzùm 'star'

NK1

(ə)nkí [v.cci] 'to sniff, smell'

seq. = res. *ənki* impf. *nəkki*

imp. sg. *nkí, ǎnkí*; pf. 3sg.m. *yénki*; res. 3sg.m.

yenkâya; impf. 3sg.m. *inékki*

P: fiutare, odorare PT: XV M: flairer

yénéki; M: tabac à priser *ennekeh* انكه

◆ TC: 749

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăkk* 'to smell'; Zng. *änki(?)* 'to smell'

anəkki [v.n.m.] 'sniffing, smelling'

anėkkī

P: fiutare, odorare

š-ənki [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. smell'

imp. sg. *šėnki*

P: fiutare, odorare

NK₂

nək [pron.]1sg. independent pronoun

nek, nək [PT:II], *-nėk* [PT:XI]

P:io, B₂₁:390 PT:II,III,V,VI,XI,XII,XIV,XV

◆ K: 504;

Berber, cf. Ghd. *năšš* 'T'; Kb. *nekk* 'T'; To. *năkk* 'T'; Zng. *ni?K* 'T'; Foq. *nėkki, nek*; Nef. *neč* 'T';

Sok. *nīš* 'T'

NKN

nəkkənī [pron.]1pl. independent pronoun

nekkenī, nekñīn [B₂₁]

P: noi, B₂₁:390 PT: II

NKT

ənkat [v.ccc] 'to spill (usually solid things)'

imp. sg. *enkėt*

P: versare, colare

NN₁ ► M₂

NN₂

nàna [kin.f.] 'grandmother'

2sg. *nanà-k*

1sg. *nánā* 2sg. *nanà-k*

P: nonna

◆ Nef. *nannā* 'grandmother'

NQŠ

****ənqəš** [v.ccc] 'to be missing, to lack'

res. *ənqəš*

res. 3sg.m. *yenqāša* 3pl.f. *ănqāšnīta, ėnqāšnīta*

PT: V M: rabattre, diminuer *naqqas* نقس

◆ Ar. *naqāša* 'to decrease, become less, diminish, be diminished, be reduced'

NRG ► RNG

NSG

ənsəg [v.ccc] 'to whistle'

impf. *nəssəg*

imp. sg. *ėnsėg*; impf. 3sg.m. *inėssėg*

P: fischiare M: siffler *yėnassek* ينسك

◆ To. (H.) *ensey* 'to whistle'; MA *sinseg* 'to whistle'

anəsàg [v.n.m.] 'whistling'

anesàg

P: fischiare

NŠ

(ə)nnùš(š) [m.] 'half, middle'

ennùš [PT:XIV], *nnùš* [PT:XIV], *ennùšš*

[PT:VIII]

PT: VIII, XIV

◆ Mor. Ar. *nošš, nəšš* 'half, middle'; Ar. *nišf, nušf* 'half'

NŠ₁

təništ [f.] pl. *tništ, tnišin* 'key'

tėništ, teništ [B₂₁] pl. *tništ, tnišin*

P: chiave B₂₁: 391

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tonest, tonėss* 'key'; Foq. *tanāst* 'key'; Sok. *tnāst* 'key'; Nef. *tunīst* 'key'; Siwa *tnāst* 'key'.

This word may be a derivation of *anīš* 'nickel' which originally meant 'copper', which is not an unlikely material to have been used for making keys.

NŠ₂

anīš [m.] 'nickel'

anīš

P: nichel M: cuivre *anich* انيش

○ Müller has the meaning 'copper' for this word, as we find in other Berber languages.

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *nās* 'copper'; Tashl. *anas* 'copper'

NŠ₃

iš [v.nc*] 'to sleep'

seq. = res. iša fut. iš impf. nəšša

imp. sg. iš; pf. 1sg. išīh 3sg.m. iša; res. 1sg.

išīha 3sg.m. išāya; fut. 1sg. aišāh 3sg.m. ayiš;

impf. 1sg. neššīh 2sg. tneššīt [P:example]

3sg.m. inéšša

P: dormire M: coucher (se) ychayeh

يشايه; dormir ichayeh يشايه

▷ tneššīt-ká 'do not sleep'

◆ NZ: C10, TC: 758

Berber, cf. Kb. əns 'to spend the night'; To.

əns 'to lie down, go to bed'; Zng. ənši(?) 'to

spend the night'

tnəššāt [v.n.f.] 'sleep'

tneššāt

P: dormire

š-iš [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. sleep'

impf. š-išəy

imp. sg. šiš; impf. 1sg. šišāh 3sg.m. iššāh

P: dormire

amišiw [m.] 'dinner'

amišiu, amišiw-(ennúk) [PT:XV],

amišiu-(nnes) [PT:XV]

P: cena PT: XV

▷ ččīha amišiw-ennúk 'I have eaten my dinner'

▷ amišiw-ī 'at dinner'

◆ TC: 760

Berber, cf. Ghd. amisi 'supper'; Nef. mensi

'dinner'; Foq. ménsī 'dinner'; Sok. amənsi

'dinner'; Kb. imənsi 'supper'; To. əmənsi

'evening meal, supper'; Zng. əmənsəh 'dinner'

mnišiw [m.] 'evening, evening prayer'

mnišiu

P: tramonto; preghiera PT: XV

◆ TC: 760

Berber, cf. Ghd. amisi 'supper'; Kb. imənsi

'supper'; To. əmənsi 'evening meal, supper';

Zng. əmənsəh 'dinner'

NŠD

**ənsəd [v.ccc] 'to ask'

seq. ənsəd impf. nəššəd

pf. 3sg.m. yenséd-(t) [PT:XII], yənsəd [PT:II],

inšét-(t) [PT:VIII], yensét-(t) [PT:VIII] 3sg.f.

tenšéd-(t) [PT:III]; impf. 3sg.m. inéššəd [PT:

VIII]

PT: II, III, VIII, XI, XII

◆ ELA yinšəd 'to ask' (p.c. Benkato); Ar.

našada 'to seek, look, search; to adjure,

implore'

NT1

**ənt/əntí [v.cc*/cci] 'to be cooking, be on fire (food)'

res. ənta

res. 3sg.m. yentāya

P: preparare un pranzo

▷ ameklū yentāya 'the meal is cooking'

◆ To. (H.) ənt 'to start'

š-ənt [caus.v.] 'to prepare a meal'

imp.sg. šent

P: preparare un pranzo

NT2

ənnət [pron.] 3sg.f. independent pronoun

ənnət [PT:III, B21], ənnət [PT:IV,XV]

P: essa B21: 390 PT: III, IV, XV

NTN

nəttin [pron.] 3sg.m. independent pronoun

nettín [PT:III,IV,V,VIII,XV], əntín, nittín [Z:XI]

nettí [B21]

P: egli B21: 390 PT: III,IV,V,VIII,XV Z: XI

NT

əntí [v.cci] 'to taste'

pf. = fut. əntí res. ənta impf. nətṭi

imp. sg. əntí; pf. 1sg. əntíh 3sg.m. yentí; res.

1sg. əntíha 3sg.m. yentāya; fut. 1sg. antíh

3sg.m. ayentí; impf. 1sg. netṭíh 3sg.m. inéttí

P: assaggiare

◆ TC: 731, K: 560

Berber, cf. Ghd. mətṭəg 'to taste'; Zng. andug

'to taste'; Ouar. əmḍi 'to taste'; Mzab əmḍi 'to

taste'

anəṭṭí [v.n.m.] 'tasting'

anattî

P: assaggiare

š-ənṭí [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. taste'

impf. š-ənṭày

imp. sg. *šentî*; impf. 1sg. *šentâih* 3sg.m. *išentâi*

P: assaggiare

NṬR

ənṭár [v.ccc] 'to let go, put down, abandon'

pf. / seq. = fut. *ənṭər*

imp. sg. *əntár*, *inṭar* [Z:XII]; pf. 1sg. *əntárh*

[PT:IV]; fut. 1sg. *anṭárǎh*-(ku) [PT:V]

P: lasciare PT: IV, V Z: XII

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āṇḍar* 'to pull down; to drop'; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yanḍur* 'to fly'. The Zenaga correspondence may not belong here, as the meaning is quite different, nevertheless, a correspondence between 'fall, drop' and 'fly' is not unheard of. Cf. Sanskrit *pat-* 'to fall; to fly'.

anəṭâr [v.n.m.] 'letting go, putting down, abandoning'

anaṭâr

P: lasciare

NṬṬ

ənṭəṭ [v.ccc] 'to be joined, attached'

imp. sg. *əntəṭ*

P: unire, attaccare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āṇḍəḍ* 'to adhere, stick; to be stuck'

š-ənṭəṭ [caus.v.] 'to join, attach'

pf. / seq. = res. š-ənṭəṭ

imp. sg. *šəntəṭ* pf. 1sg. *šəntáṭh* 3sg.m. *išəntáṭ*;

res. 1sg. *šəntíṭha* 3sg.m. *išəntíṭa*

P: unire, attaccare

NV₁

iv [v.nc*] 'to fall'

pf. *ivá* seq. = res. *ivá* fut. *iv* impf. *nəvva*

imp. sg. *iv* pl.m. *ivât* pl.f. *ivîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ivîh*

3sg.m. *ivá* 3sg.f. *tívā* [PT:III,XV]; res. 1sg. *ivîha*

3sg.m. *ivâya*, *ivé*; fut. 1sg. *aiváh* 3sg.m. *ayív*;

impf. 1sg. *nevvíh* 3sg.m. *inévñā*

P: cadere PT: III, XV

◆ TC: 539, K: 170

As Kossmann (1999: 170) points out, the Awjila word does not belong to the words listed in TC: 539 and K: 170 (To. *eh* 'to be inside', etc.), as this root has an initial *n* that is lost in a preconsonantal position.

tnəvvàt [v.n.f.] 'falling'

tnəvvât

P: cadere

tnəvvàt n tafût [phrase] 'evening (litt.

The fall of the sun)'

tnəvvât n tāfût

P: tramonto

š-iv [caus.v.] 'to cause to fall'

impf. š-ivày

imp. sg. *šiv*; impf. 1sg. *šivâih* 3sg.m. *išivâi*

P: cadere

NV₂

tnuvìn [f.] pl. *tnuvìn* 'irrigation canal'

tnavít, *tnūvít* pl. *tnūvîn*, *tnūvîn*-(nes) [PT:XV]

P: canale d'irrigazione PT: XV

NVDR

anəvdùr, **anəbdùr** [m.] pl. *nəvdír* 'small

rope to tie hedges; rope harness for

animals; rope tied to a *tāšāqqi*'

anəvdùr, *anəbdùr* pl. *nevdir*

P: cordal; finimenti

NZR

****nzùrr** [v.cē] 'to suffer, to have difficulty'

fut. *nzùrr*

fut. ptc. *anzurrân*

PT: II

NŽ

iž [v.nc*] 'to be sold'

res. *iža* fut. *iž* impf. *nəžža*

imp. sg. *iž*; res. 3sg.m. *ižáya*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayíž*;

impf. 3sg.m. *inéžžá*

P: vendere

◆ TC: 776

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ānz* ‘to sell’; Foq. *zénz* ‘to sell’;

Sok. *zənz* ‘to sell’; Nef. *senz* ‘to sell’; Kb. *zzənz*

‘to sell’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yänžih* ‘to sell’

ž-iž [caus.v.] ‘to sell’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *ž-iž* impf. *ž-iža*

imp. sg. *žíž*; pf. 2sg. *džížít* [PT:III] 3sg.m. *ižíž*;

res. 3sg.m. *ižíža*; fut. 3sg.m. *aižíž*, *āižíž*-(t)

[PT:IV]; impf. ptc. *žížán* [PT:IV]

P: vendere PT: III, IV M: vendre *yédjidj*

يبيع

NŽY

nžəy [v.ccc] ‘to pull; to draw (water without an animal)’

pf. / seq. = res. *ənžəy* impf. *nəžžəy*

imp. sg. *nžəg*, *nžág*; pf. 1sg. *nžəh*; res. 1sg.

nžíh; impf. 1sg. *nežžáh* (*gh* > *h* > *h*) 3sg.m.

inéžžaj

○ The assimilation in impf. 1sg. is surprisingly different from pf. 1sg.

P: attingere, tirare

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *énzāg* ‘to draw water

without an animal’; Ghd. *ānzəy* ‘to pull’; Nef.

énzaj ‘to pull’; Sok. *önzāg* ‘to pull from

somewhere’

QBT

əlqəbbūt [m.] ‘coat’

əlqəbbūt

PT: XI

◆ ELA *kabbūt* ‘coat’, ultimately from Turkish *kaput* ‘coat’ (p.c. Benkato)

QD

tàqt [m.] pl. *taqqid*, *taqqidən* ‘finger’

táqt pl. *taqqid*, *taqqiden*

P: dito M: doigt *ghed* قد; pouce *thaght*

طاعت

◆ NZ: D6 TC: 245

Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *aḍad* ‘finger’; To. *áḍad*

‘finger’; Zng. *aḍaḍdi*(?) ‘finger’.

The correspondence with Berber words for ‘finger’ is highly problematic.

But cf. Nef. *tukkád*, *tuqqád* pl. *itukkád* ‘finger’.

QD

əlqədi [m.] ‘qadi, judge’

əlqədi, *əlqədi*, *elqədi*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *qādi*(n) ‘judge, cadí’

QL₁

aqál [v.cc*] ‘to roast’

pf. *əqlá* res. *əqla* fut. *əq(ə)* impf. *qəllá*

imp. sg. *aqál* pl.m. *qlát* pl.f. *qlímət*; pf. 1sg.

aqlíh 3sg.m. *yaqlá*; res. 1sg. *aqlíha* 3sg.m.

yaqláya; fut. 1sg. *aqláh* 3sg.m. *ayáqál*; impf.

1sg. *qalláh* 3sg.m. *iqallá*

P: abbrustolire

◆ Ar. *qalā* ‘to fry, bake, roast’

aqəllu [v.n.m.] ‘roasting’

aqəllū

P: abbrustolire

QLZ

qləz [v.ccc] ‘to lie’

fut. *əqləz* impf. *qəlləz*

imp. sg. *qléz*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayéqlez* [PT:V]; impf.

2sg. *teqálləzt* [PT:V] 3sg.m. *iqálləz* [PT:V]

P: mentire PT: V

◆ K: 573

Berber, cf. Foq. *óklaz* ‘to lie’; To. *əkləz* ‘to tell a lie (completely fabricated)’; Siwa *talláz* ‘lie’;

Sok. *óklez* ‘to lie’

aqəláz [v.n.m.] ‘lying’

aqəláz

P: mentire

aqəlliz [m.] pl. *əqləzən* ‘lie’

aqəlliz pl. *qləzən*, *əqləzən*, *mqləzīn* (sic) [Z:X]

P: bugia Z: X

QM₁

qim [v.čvc] ‘to remain, stay, sit’ Used as an inchoative auxiliary verb.

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *qqim* impf. *təqqim*
 imp. sg. *qim* pl.m. *qqāimāt* [PT:XV]; pf. 1sg.
qqāimlḥ [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yaqqim, yāqqim*
 [PT:II,IV,V,XIII,XV], *yqāqim* (sic) [PT:IV],
yāqqim [PT:IV] 3sg.f. *taqqim, tāqqim* 3pl.m.
āqqimān [PT:IV,XV] 3pl.f. *qqāimānēt* [PT:XV];
 res. 3sg.m. *yaqqīma*; fut. 2sg. *atqimāt*
 [PT:XIII] 2pl.m. *attēqqimām* [PT:I]; impf.
 3sg.m. *itqqīma*

P: stare, restare, sedere PT: I, II, III, IV, V,
 XIII, XV M: habitant *yakimeh* يكيمة

◆ TC: 52

Berber, cf. Ghd. *qém* ‘to stay’; Kb. *qqim* ‘to
 stay; to be seated’; To. *yāym* ‘to sit, be seated’;
 to remain, be left’; Zng. *iʔmi(?)* ‘to be seated’
 š-*qim* [caus.v.] ‘to cause to remain, stay,
 sit’

imp. sg. *šqāim*

P: stare, restare, sedere

QM2

qāma, qāmak [adv.] ‘now’

qāma, qāmak, qāmak, qāma [Z:VI]

P: ora; adesso PT: IV, V, XV Z: VI

QMŽ

aqāməž [m.] ‘the far end of a palm tree
 from where the inflorescence grows’

aqāmež

P: palma

QN

(ə)*qqən* [v.ċc] ‘to bind, tie, attach’

pf. *əqqən* res. *əqqən* impf. *təqqən*

imp. sg. *āqqān*; pf. 3sg.m. *yaqqān, yeqqān-(t)*
 [PT:VII]; res. 3sg.m. *yaqqīna*; impf. *itaqqān* ‘to

bind, tie, attach’

P: legare, attaccare PT: VII

◆ TC: 64

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āqqən* ‘to bind, attach’; Kb.
əqqən ‘to attach’; To. *əqqən* ‘to tie up, to tie
 s.th. to s.th. else’ Zng. *aʔn* ‘to be attached’

aqqùn [v.n.m.] ‘tying’

aqqùn

P: legare, attaccare

QNVL

təqənvilt, təkənvilt [f.] pl. *təqənvil,*
təkənvil ‘mucus’

teqənvilt, tekənvilt pl. *teqənvil, tekənvil*

P: muco

QR

(ə)*qqur* [v.ċvc] ‘to dry out’

imp. sg. *ōqqūr, qqūr*

P: seccarsi M: desséché ??*mikourah*

ميكورة; dessécher *ikourah* يکوره; dur
yékorah يکوره; sec *yakkaora* يکوره;
sécher akkaora اکاوره

◆ TC: 95

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əqqar* ‘to be dry’; Kb. *qqar* ‘to
 be dry’; To. *iyar* ‘to be or become dry’; Zng.

aor. 3sg.m. *yoɔwur* ‘to be dry’

š-*qar* [caus.v.] ‘to cause to dry out’

šqār

P: seccarsi

QRB1

qərīb [stat.v.] ‘to be near’

3sg.m. *qarīb, qārīb* [PT:I]

P: vicino PT: I

◆ Ar. *qarīb* ‘near’

***qārəb* [v.cvcc] ‘to draw near’

pf. / seq. *qārəb*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeqāreb*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *qāraba* ‘to be near; to come near, come
 close, get close’

QRBZ

aqarbùz (or: *aqərbùz*) [m.] ‘stem, stalk,
 petiole’

aqarbùz

P: gambo, picciuolo

◆ NZ: GRBZ2

The connection with Zng. *garbūs* ‘knob (of a
 moorish saddle)’ (Taine-Cheikh 2010),

ultimately a loanword from Ar. *qarbūs* ‘pommel (of a saddle)’, suggested by Nait-Zerrad is not convincing.

QRT₁

tqártay (or: **tqártay**) [f.] pl. **tqartiwìn** ‘paper’

tqártai pl. *tqartiwìn*

P: carta M: date *tékartay* تكرتاي; lettre *tékhartey* تخارتي; papier *karthayah* كارتايه

◆ K: 592

Berber, cf. Siwa *tiarta* ‘paper’

QRT₂

tuqərtā, tuqərtá [f.] ‘theft’

tuqértā, tuqartá

P: furto

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tukərḍa* ‘theft’; Kb. *tukk^wərda* ‘theft’; Foq. *tukérḍā* ‘theft’; Sok. *tukərtā* ‘theft’

QRZ

qàr(ə)z [stat.v.] ‘to be narrow, tight’

1sg. *qar(ə)zàx* 2sg. *qar(ə)zàt* 3sg.m.

qàr(ə)z 3sg.f. *qàr(ə)zət* pl. *qarizit*

1sg. *qarezâh* 2sg. *qarezât* 3sg.m. *qárez* 3sg.f.

qárezet pl. *qarizît*

P: stretto M: étroit *qarez* قارز

◆ Berber, cf. To. *ikraz* ‘to be tight’

š-əqrəz [caus.v.] ‘to make narrow’

imp. sg. *šâqräz*

P: stretto

QRZṬ

qərzàṭ [m.] pl. **qərzàṭən** ‘dried dates for livestock’

qârzâṭ pl. *qârzâṭen*

P: dattero

QSTṬM

aqəstîm [m.] ‘antimony’

aqâstîm

P: antimonio

taqəstîmt [f.] ‘collyrium container’

taqâstîmt

P: portacollirio

qəstəṃ [v.cccc] ‘to apply collyrium’

impf. *qəstəm*

imp. sg. *qâstâm*; impf. 3sg.f. *tqâstâm*

P: mettere, porre

aqəstəṃ [v.n.m.] ‘applying collyrium’

aqâstâm

P: mettere, porre

QŠ

qqəšš [v.ċc] ‘to close, to be closed (from the outside)’

pf. *əqqəš* res. *əqqəš* impf. *təqqəš*

imp. sg. *qqâšš*; pf. 3sg.f. *tâqqâš* [PT:III]; res.

3sg.m. *yâqqîša*; impf. 1sg. *taqqâšh*

[P:example] 3sg.m. *itaqqâš*

P: chiudere PT: III

▷ *elbâb yâqqîša* ‘the door is closed’

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *ôqqəš* ‘to close (from the outside)’; Siwa *əqqəš* ‘to close’

qqûš [v.n.m.] ‘closing’

qqûš

P: chiudere

QŠR₁

taqəširt, taqəšrit [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’

taqâšîrt, taqâšrît

P: passero

◆ While the initial consonant is different, the word looks similar to Figuig *tabcirt* ‘sparrow’.

QT/WṬ

wàṭən [def.adj.] pl. **wəṭnìn** f. **tàṭən** pl.

təṭnìnət ‘the other, another’

wâṭen pl. *wəṭnîn* f. *tâṭen, tâṭen* [P:example] pl.

teṭnîneṭ

P: altro PT: XV

▷ *âtmā wəṭnîn* ‘my other brothers’

▷ *tḥilliwîn teṭnîneṭ* ‘the other houses’

▷ *iwâtan ténni dîla u tâṭen ténni ždâbiet*

‘one is here, and the other is in Ajdabiya’

▷ *mag ínni wâṭen?* ‘where is the other’

one'

◆ NZ: DN6 TC: 249 K: 218

Berber, cf. Foq. *wayād* 'other, another'; Kb. *wayəd, tayəd* 'other, another'; Nef. *wâit, wâyet* 'other, another'; Zng. *yudan* 'other, another'

aqùtən [indef.adj.] pl. aqutnìn f. aqùtət
pl. aqutnìnət 'other, another'

aqùten pl. *aqutnìn* f. *aqùtet* pl. *aqutnìnet*

▷ *iwīnan aqùten* 'another'

P: altro PT: IX

QTŠ1

aqəttiš [m.] 'hole (little used)'

aqəttiš

P: buco

taqəttiš [f.] pl. tqəttiš, tqəttišin 'little hole; eye of the needle'

taqəttiš pl. *tqəttiš, tqəttišin*

P: buco; cruna dell'ago

QTŠ2

aqəttüş [m.] pl. qəttüşən '(male) cat'

aqəttüş pl. *qəttüşən*

P: gatto

◆ K: 590

Berber, cf. Nef. *qəttüş* 'cat'; Sok. *yəttüş* 'cat'; Siwa *yəttos* 'cat'. A loanword from Latin *cattus* 'cat'.

təqəttüş [f.] pl. tqəttüşin '(female) cat'

təqəttüş pl. *təqəttüşin*

P: gatto

tqəttəš [f.] 'cats (coll.)'

pl.? *tqəttəš*

P: gatto

QTŦ

aqəttət [m.] pl. qəttətən 'nit'

aqəttət pl. *qəttətən*

P: pidocchio

◆ To. *awəd* 'nits'; Zng. *ūd(d)an* 'nit(s)'; Kb. *iwətt* 'nit'; Ghd. *əttəd* 'nit'; Siwa *iqəttən* 'nits' (Naumann 2013: 322)

QTŦ

qəttāsan [m.] 'highwayman'

pl. *qəttā'an* [PT:VII, IX], *qəttā'an* [PT:IX]

PT: VII, IX

◆ From the Arabic verb *qata'a* 'to cut' in a metaphorical used to refer to 'road-cutters' — people who block the road to demand money (*quttāf at-turuq*). (p.c. Souag)

QWY

qəwi [stat.v.] 'to be strong'

3sg.m. *qāwī*

PT: IV M: gras *gaouy* قَوَى

◆ Ar. *qawīy* 'strong'

QYN

aqəyùn [m.] '(male) black slave (little used)'

aqəyùn

P: schiavo, servo

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *qāyū* 'servant'; Sok. *qāyu* 'moor, servant'

taqəyyunt [f.] '(female) black slave (little used)'

taqəyyunt

P: schiavo, servo

QŽŦ (K/GŽŦ)

aqəžit [m.] pl. qužit 'rooster'

aqəžit pl. *qužit*

P: gallo M: coq *akadjet* كَا جَة

◆ TC: 1012 K: 622

Berber, cf. Foq. *yəžit, yəžid* 'rooster'; Ghd. *ažid* 'rooster'; Kb. *ayaziid* 'rooster'; *tayaziit* 'chicken'; Zng. *awāžud, awāyžud* 'rooster', *tawāžud* 'chicken'; Siwa *yəžit* 'rooster' (Naumann 2013: 374).

Basset (1959) provides a detailed discussion on the words for 'chicken' in Berber.

təkažit, təgažit [f.] pl. təkəžitìn, təgažitìn 'chicken'

təkəžit, təgažit pl. *təkəžitìn, təgažitìn*

P: gallo M: poule *tékadjet* تَكَا جَة

QZR

yəqzər, iɣzər [m.] pl. aqzàr ‘mouse’

yáqzer, éqzer pl. aqzár

P: topo M: rat *éghzrt* اغزرت

◆ See the discussion in Paradisi (1963b).

QZL

taqəzzəlt [f.] pl. tqəzzəlin ‘kidney’

taqázzəlt pl. tqázzəlin

P: rene

◆ NZ: GZL₁ K: 326

Berber, cf. Kb. *tigəzzəlt* ‘kidney’; Ghd.

tajázzəlt ‘kidney’; To. *tajəzzəlt* ‘kidney’

R₁

ir [prep.] ‘until’

īr, ir [PT:II,III,VIII]

P: fino a, finché PT: II, V, III, VIII

▷ *īr Gīlu* ‘up to Jalu’

▷ *īr mnišīu* ‘until sunset’

◆ TC: 560 K: 109, 217

Berber, cf. Kb. *ir* ‘until’; To. *hàr* ‘until’; Zng. *ār* ‘until’.

Tuareg and Zenaga point to an initial *β, this is absent in Awjila.

R₂

yar [v.vc*] ‘to open’

pf. urá res. ùra fut. ùr impf. tàra

imp. sg. yār pl.m. yārât pl.f. yārîmet; pf. 1sg.

urîh 2sg. *tārît* [P:example] 3sg.m. *yurâ*; res.

1sg. *urîha* 3sg.m. *yurâya*; fut. 1sg. *aurâh* 3sg.m.

ayûr; impf. 1sg. *tārîh* 3sg.m. *itârâ*

P: aprire

▷ *tārît-ká* ‘do not open’

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *ar* ‘id.’; Ghd. *ár* ‘to open’; Nef. *ar* ‘to open’; Sok. *ār* ‘to open’; To. *àr* ‘to open’.

urú [v.n.m.] ‘opening’

urú

P: aprire

tw-àr [pass.v.] ‘to be open, opened; to open, untie [PT: V, VII]’

pf. / seq. = res. twàr

imp. sg. *ttuâr*, *tuâr*; pf. 1sg. *ttuarîh* 3sg.m.

ituâr, *yetuâr* [PT:V], *itûar* [PT:VII]; res. 1sg.

ttuarîha 3sg.m. *ituâra* 3sg.f. *tetuâra*

[P:example]

P: aprire PT: V, VII

▷ *elbâb ituâra* ‘the door is opened’

▷ *tavûrt tetuâra* ‘the door is opened’

R₃

tùra [f.] ‘lung’

tûra

P: polmone

◆ TC: 784

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ţóra* ‘lung’; Kb. *turəţ* ‘lung’;

To. *tòrr* ‘lung’; Zng. *təriʔd* ‘lung’

R₄

ur [particle] negative particle, usually found in combination with negative particle –*ká*

ur, *wur*, *wul*, *ul*

P: non PT: XIII

RB₁

řàbbi [m.] ‘god’

rábbi [PT:V], *řábbi* [PT:VI], *rábbi* [PT:V],

rábbi [PT:XII]

PT: V, VI, XII

◆ Ar. *rabb-iyy* ‘my lord’

RB₂

ə̀rbi [v.cci] ‘to earn; to prosper’

pf. ə̀rbí res. ə̀rba fut. ə̀rbi impf. rə̀bbi

imp. sg. *érbi*; pf. 3sg.m. *yerbí*; res. 3sg.m.

yerbâya; fut. 2sg. *atterbît*; impf. 3sg.m. *irébbi*

P: guadagnare

○ The fut.2sg. *atterbît* is used as a greeting and is a calque on Ar. *térbaḥ*, *marbûḥa* which is said as a goodbye to someone.

◆ Perhaps from Ar. *rabiḥa* ‘to gain, profit’

arə̀bbi [v.n.m.] ‘earning’

arébbi

P: guadagnare

RBS

rabùs [m.] ‘measure of capacity (cereals), corresponds to one sixth of a *ṣā*’

rabùs

P: misure di capacità

RBĠ

àrb(ə)fa [num.] ‘four’

àrbaʿa

PT: III

◆ Ar. *arbaʿa(t)* ‘four’

RD₁

****irəd** [v.icc] ‘to be washed’

res. *irəd*

res. 3sg.m. *irída* 3sg.f. *tirída*

P: lavare

◆ TC: 791

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎrəd* ‘to be washed’; Kb. *irid* ‘to be washed’; To. *irəd* ‘to bathe’; Zng. aor.

3sg.m. *yǎrəd* ‘to be washed, to wash (intr.)’

š-irəd [caus.v.] ‘to wash’

pf. / seq. *š-irəd*, *š-irad* impf. *š-irad*

imp. sg. *šired*; pf. 3sg.f. *tširād* [PT:XV] 3pl.f.

širédnēt [PT:XV]; impf. 3sg.m. *iširād*

P: lavare PT: XV M: frotté *échéred* اشرد

frotter *châred* شار

aš-irəd [caus.v.n.m.] ‘washing’

ašired

P: lavare

RD₂

irdən, yərdən [m.] ‘wheat’

pl. *irden, yerden, yerden* [P: example, appassire]

P: grano M: bled *yarden* ياردن

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *yérdən* ‘wheat’; Kb. *irəd* pl.

irdən ‘wheat’; Nef. *yerden* ‘wheat’; To. *érəd*

‘whole-grained wheat semolina (for pasta)’;

Sok. *irden* ‘wheat’; Siwa *irdən* ‘wheat’

RDM

ərdəm [v.ccc] ‘to bury’

imp. sg. *érdem*

P: interrare

◆ ELA *rədam* ‘to bury’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar.

radama ‘to fill up with earth’

RFQ

pl. **ərrafəqà-(nnəs)** [m.] ‘companions’

pl. *ərrafāqā-(nnes), ərrafāqā-(nnes)*

PT: II

◆ cf. ELA *rfiq* pl. *rfāgā* ‘companion’; Ar. *rafīq*

pl. *rufaqa?* ‘companion’

RFĠ

ərfəġ [v.ccc] ‘to take away; to raise’

pf. *ərfəġ* res. = fut. *ərfəġ*

imp.sg. *arfā’-(i)* [PT:XV]; pf. 2sg. *tarfāt*

[Z:XII] 3sg.m. *yerfā’* [PT:XIII], *yerfā’-(t, āt)*

[PT:VII,XV] 3pl.f. *erfā’net* [PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m.

yerfī’a [PT:III], *yerfī’a* [PT:II], *yerfa’-(tī)-ya*

[PT:XIII]; fut. 3sg.m. *ayerfā’-(t)* [PT:III]

PT: II, III, VII, XIII, XV Z: XII M: hausser

erfāa ارفع

◆ ELA *yérfaġ* ‘to raise’; Ar. *rafaʿa* ‘to lift, lift up’

RG₁

təraggīt [f.] ‘ember’

təreggīt, tereggīt [B25]

P: brace B25: 330 M: braise *teragghiat*

ترقية

◆ TC: 813 K: 324, 625

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tarəggīt* ‘ember, coal’; Kb.

tirgətt, tiraggətt ‘cinder, ember’; Zng. *turuğd*

‘ember’

RG₂

arəg [m.] pl. *rəggàwən* ‘handle’

arég pl. *reggàwen*

P: manico

◆ TC: 806 K: 319

Perhaps related to Berber, cf. To. *árjəy*

‘wooden handle’; To. (BF) *argəḍ* ‘handle of an

axe’; Zng. *tarğəḍ* ‘handle’.

RGG

ərgìg [v.cvc] ‘to shake’

impf. *tərgìga*

imp. sg. *ərgìg*; impf. 3sg.m. *itergìga*

P: tremare

◆ TC: 808 K: 323

Berber, cf. Siwa *rəǧriǧ* ‘to shake’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yərgəgi(?)* ‘to shiver, shake (of sickness, fear etc.)’

rgìg [v.n.m.] ‘shaking’

rgìg

P: tremare

RGZ

arəgàz [m.] pl. *rəgàzən* ‘person’

aregàz pl. *regàzen*

P: individuo; uomo

◆ TC: 810 K: 427

Berber, cf. Kb. *argaz* ‘man’; To. *əɾjəš* ‘to walk’; Zng. *ärägäž* ‘man’

təɾəgàzt ‘(female) person’

teregàzt

P: individuo

RY

ùrəy [m.] ‘gold’

úrâj

P: oro M: or *oro* و ر و ا

▷ *agîz* n *úrâg* ‘golden necklace’

◆ TC: 784

Berber, cf. Ghd. *oray*, *oräy* ‘gold’; To. *óräy* ‘gold’; Zng. *uri(?)* ‘gold’

urày n tîsi [phrasal n.] ‘egg yolk (litt. gold of the egg)’

urâj n tîsî

P: tuorlo

RĤ

rîĥa [adv.] ‘little’

rîĥa

P: poco

◆ cf. Mor. Ar. *rîĥa* ‘smell’, but figuratively also ‘very little (barely able to smell, barely noticeable etc.)’; A similar use of this word is found in Nef. *errîĥat*, *arrîĥat* ‘little, a bit’.

RK

təɾiikt [f.] ‘bread dough’

terîikt

P: pasta del pane

◆ K: 578

Berber, cf. MA *arekti*, *arektu*, *arešti* ‘dough’; Siwa *arakti* ‘dough’

RKF

təɾəkəft [f.] pl. *təɾəkfin* ‘caravan’

terekəft pl. *terekfin*

P: carovana B21: 386

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *tākəft*, *terəkəft* ‘caravan’; Kb. *tirkəft* ‘caravan’; Nef. *terkəft* ‘caravan’; Sok. *tirkəft* ‘caravan’; To. *erákāf* ‘herd of donkeys in an expedition; large caravan’

RN

əɾní [v.cci/cc*] ‘to increase, add; to bid’

pf. *əɾní* res. *əɾna* fut. *əɾni* impf.

rənni/rənnna

imp. sg. *əɾní* pl.m. *əɾnîyât* pl.f. *əɾnîmet*; pf.

1sg. *ernîh* 3sg.m. *yernî*; res. 1sg. *ernîĥa* 3sg.m.

yernâya; fut. 1sg. *arnîh*, *arnâ-(s)* [PT:XII]

3sg.m. *ayérni*; impf. 1sg. *rennîh* 3sg.m. *irénni*

3pl.m. *rennân* [PT:IV], *rennîyen* [PT:IV]

P: accrescere, aggiungere PT: IV, XII

◆ TC: 815 K: 124, 157

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əɾnəβ* ‘to add’; Kb. *əɾnu* ‘to add’; Zng. *aɾih* ‘to increase’.

Awjila lacks a reflex of PB *β

arənnú, **arənnî** [v.n.m.] ‘increasing, adding, auction’

arənnú, *arənnu* [PT:IV], *arənnî*

P: accrescere PT: IV

RNG

arìng, **anìrg** [m.] pl. *ringìn*, *nirgìn* ‘neighbour’

arìng, *aringí-(nnes)* [PT:V], *anìrg* pl. *ringîn*, *nirgîn*

P: vicino PT: V

◆ Berber, cf. To. (H.) *anārag* ‘neighbour’; To. (N.) *anhəraǧ* ‘neighbour’; Sok. *arámag* ‘neighbour’

təɾingìt [f.] pl. *təɾingitìn* ‘(female)

neighbour’

teringût pl. *teringûtîn*

P: vicino

RQṬ

arəqùṭ [m.] ‘rag, piece of sewn cloth’

arâqût

P: straccio PT: V

RŠ1

irəš [v.icc.irreg.] ‘to descend’

res. *iriš* (irreg.) impf. *tirəš*, *tərrəš*

imp. sg. *یرهš*, *یرهš*, *یرهš* [B21]; res. 3pl.m.

ერიშინა [PT:XV] impf. 3sg.m. *itirəš*, *itterrəš*

3pl.m. *terrəšen* [P:example]

P: scendere B21: 391 PT: VI, XV

▷ *imîn terrəšen* ‘the water flows down’

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *ərs* ‘to descend’; To. *əras* ‘to be brought down, be unloaded; go down (in well or container)’

urüş [v.n.m.] ‘descending’

urüş ‘descending’

P: scendere

š-irəš [caus.v.] ‘to place, put down’

impf. *š-irəš*

imp. sg. *šireš*; impf. 1sg. *širəšh* 3sg.m. *iširəš*

P: mettere, porre

aš-irəš [caus.v.n.m.] ‘placing, putting down’

ašireš

P: mettere, porre

RŠN

ərròšən [m.] ‘window’

ərròšen

PT: V

◆ ELA *ròšen* ‘window’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar. *rawšan* ‘skylight, scuttle; peep-window, peep-hole, spy-hole’

RŠK

ršək [v.ccc] ‘to comb’

imp. sg. *ršek*

P: pettinare

arəšək [v.n.m.] ‘combing’

arəšək

P: pettinare

tùst n arəšək [phrasal n.] ‘comb’

tùst n arəšək

P: pettine

RṬL

ərṭəl [v.ccc] ‘to lend’

imp. sg. *ərṭəl*

P: prestare M: prêté ??*martal* مرتل

prêter *artal* ارتل

◆ TC: 798

Berber, cf. Kb. *ərḍəl* ‘to lend’; Ghd. *ərḍəl* ‘to lend’; Zng. *arḍiy* ‘to lend’

RV

arəv, ùrəv [v.vcc] ‘to write’

pf. *urəv* res. = fut. *ùrəv* impf. *tàrəv*

imp. sg. *arəv* (rarely: *úrev*) pf. 1sg. *urəfh*, *urəfġ*

[B21; B24] 2sg. *turəft* [B24] 3sg.m. *yurəv*, *yurév*

[B21; B24] 3sg.f. *turév* [B21; B24] 1pl. *nurév*

[B24] 2pl.m. *turəvîm* [B24] 2pl.f. *turəvmet*

[B24] 3pl.m. *úreven* [B24] 3pl.f. *urévnet* [B24];

res. 1sg. *urífhā*, *urívha* 3sg.m. *yurívā*; fut. 1sg.

aurévġh 3sg.m. *ayúrev*; impf. 1sg. *tàrəvġh*, *tàrəfh*

3sg.m. *itàrev* ptc. *tàrevġen*

P: scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189

◆ TC: 77 K: 156

Berber, cf. Ghd. *óraβ* ‘to write’; Kb. *aru* ‘to write’; Zng. *irih*, *iṛih* ‘to dictate’

arràv [v.n.m.] ‘writing’

arràv [P; B24], *arráf* [B21; B24]

P: scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189 M: écriture

arrab عَرَب

š-ùrəv [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. write’

imp. sg. *šúrev*

P: scrivere

****tw-àrəv** [pass.v.] ‘to be written’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *twàrəv*

pf. 3sg.m. *ituárev*; res. 3sg.m. *ituarívā*; fut.

3sg.m. *aituárev*

P: scrivere

RW

əṛəw [v.irreg.] 'to give birth'

pf. əṛəw res. = fut. iəṛəw impf. tərəw
imp. sg. éróū pl.m. eróūmet; pf. 1sg. eróūh;
3sg.f. teróū; res. 1sg. iríuḥa 3sg.f. tiríwa; fut.
1sg. aěróūh 3sg.f. attirōū; impf. 1sg. tárōūh
3sg.f. tárū

P: partorire, generare M: naître erro اَرَو;
né nerro نَرَو

◆ TC: 804

Berber, cf. Ghd. árəw 'to give birth; to
produce'; Kb. arəw 'to give birth'; To. àrəw 'to
give birth'; Zng. ärug 'to give birth; to
produce'

tàrwa [v.n.f.] 'giving birth'

tárwa

P: partorire, generare

š-irəw [caus.v.] 'to cause to give birth'

imp. sg. širōū

P: partorire, generare

irīw [m.] pl. irīwən 'boy, child'

iríu, riju [Z:IV] pl. iríwen

P: ragazzo, bambino; figlio PT:XIII B21:

386 Z:IV M: enfant yéréhou يَرَهُو

○ M: nez and M: nièce were switched around
accidentally in the wordlist.

◆ MA araw 'children, offspring'

tirīwt [f.] pl. tiriwən, tirīwi 'girl, child'

tiríut pl. tirīwīn, tirīwī [PT:XV], tirīwīn-(nes)
[PT:XV]

P: ragazzo; bambino PT: XV M: fille

thériout تَريوت; nez (sic; nièce) térouet
تَروَة

RWT/Y ► ŠRWT/Y

RWĤ

ṛəwwəḥ [v.cċc] 'to return (home)'

seq. ṛəwwəḥ impf. řəwwəḥ

imp. sg. róūwah [PT:V]; pf. 3sg.m. iróūwah
[PT:II,VII,XV] 3pl.m. rróūwáhan [PT:VII,XV];
impf. 3sg.m. iróūwāḥ [PT:XV]

PT: II, V, VII, XV M: démarche aroukh

ا ر و خ

◆ ELA ĩrowwəḥ 'to return (home)' (p.c.

Benkato); Ar. rāḥa 'to go in the evening; to go
away, depart, leave, go'

RWK

ərwák [v.ccc] 'to knead (pasta of barley
etc.)'

impf. irəwwək

imp. sg. erwók; impf. 3sg.m. iráwwok

P: rimenare

◆ TC: 832 K: 544

Berber, cf. Ghd. ārwak 'to mix'; Zng. ärwih 'to
be stirred, be mixed'; Nef. érwi; To. H. ərwəy,
ārwi 'to stir, mix'

arəwàk [v.n.m.] 'kneading'

arawák

P: rimenare

taráwəkt [f.] 'Polenta (dish made from

maize flour cooked in salted water to
accompany various foods or with various
dressings)'

taráwəkt

P: pasta del pane

RWL₁

ərwəl [v.ccc.irreg.] 'to flee'

pf. / seq. ərwəl res. ərwil (irreg.) impf.

rəwwəl

imp. sg. érwel pl.m. rwelât [PT:XV]; pf. 3pl.m.

ěrwélen [PT:XV]; res. 3pl.m. ěrwilína [PT:XV];

impf. 1sg. ruwwélḥ 3sg.m. iríuwwel

P: fuggire PT:XV M: échapper (s'); enfuir

(s') yéréouel يَروَل; fuir yérouwel يَروَل

◆ TC: 835

Berber, cf. Ghd. ārwal 'to run away, escape';

Kb. ərwəl 'to flee, escape'; To. àrwəl 'to take
refuge under (s.th.); to take evasive action; to
hide, be hidden'; Zng. ärwiy 'to run away'

arəwàl [v.n.m.] 'fleeing'

arāwāl

P: fuggire

RWǾ

ǝrwǝǾ [v.ccc] ‘to fear’

pf. ǝrwǝǾ seq. = res. ǝrwǝǾ impf. rǝwwǝǾ

imp. sg. *erwaʿ*, *erwáʿ* [PT:XII]; pf. 1sg. *rwáh*

3sg.m. *yerwáʿ*, *yérwaʿ* [PT:X], *yerwaʿ* [PT:XV];

res. 1sg. *rwíh̄ha*, *rwéh̄ha* [PT:X], *ǝrwéh̄ha* [PT:V]

(*h* < *h̄* < *h̄*) 3sg.m. *yerwíʿa*; impf. 1sg. *róúwah*

3sg.m. *iróúwaʿ*

P: temere PT: IV, V, X, XII, XV M: craindre

yérouaha يرواها; crainte ??*arouaha*

اروها; peureux *yérouaha* يرواها

◆ Ar. *rāʿa* ‘to fright, scare, alarm’

RY

***irǝy* [v.icc.] ‘to be raw’

res. *irǝy*

res. 3sg.m. *iréya* 3sg.f. *tiréya* 3pl.m. *iriyîna*

3pl.f. *irîníta*

P: crudo M: cru *yérayah* يرايه

▷ *túwög tiréya* ‘the food is raw’

◆ Berber, cf. To. *irah* ‘to be unripe; to be raw or undercooked’; Zng. *ärāh* ‘raw’; Sok. *râyyi* ‘raw’

RZ

ǝrǝz [m.] ‘rice’

(*s*-)*orróz*

Z: VI

◆ Ar. *ruzz*, *aruzz* ‘rice’

RZ

ǝrǝ [v.cc*] ‘to break’

pf. / seq. = fut. ǝrǝza

imp. sg. *arǝ* pl.m. *ǝrǝât*-(*tet*) [PT:I]; pf. 3sg.m.

yerǝî-(*tēt*) [PT:I]; fut. 3sg.m. *āūrǝî*-(*tēt*) [PT:I]

ayerǝî-(*tēt*) [PT:I]

P: rompere PT: I M: brisé; cassé *erzay*

ارزاي; briser *erzayeh* يرزايه; briser

(*se*); casser *yerzayeh* يرزايه

◆ TC: 841

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǝrǝ* ‘to break’; Kb. *ǝrǝ* ‘to

break’; To. *ǝrǝ* ‘to break’; Zng. *arǝî*(?) ‘to be

broken’.

arǝzzu [v.n.m.] ‘breaking’

arǝzzū

P: rompere

tarǝzzât [v.n.f.] ‘creak’

tarezzât, *terazzât*

P: rompere; scricchiolio

š-ǝrǝ [v.caus.] ‘to cause to break’

imp. sg. *šarǝ*

P: rompere

***tt-ǝrǝ* [v.pass.] ‘to be broken’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *tt-ǝrǝ*

pf. 3sg.m. *ittérǝ*; res. 3sg.m. *ittírǝza*; fut. 3sg.m.

aittérǝ

P: rompere

RŽ

ǝrǝži [v.cci] ‘to milk’

imp. sg. *ǝrǝži*

P: mungere

arǝžži [v.n.m.] ‘milking’

arǝžži

P: mungere

š-ǝrǝži [caus.v.] ‘to cause to milk’

imp. sg. *šérǝži*

P: mungere

RŽL

tarǝžât [f.] *tarǝžât* pl. *tarǝžâlîn* ‘wing (of a bird)’

P: ala (di uccello)

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tarǝžât* ‘feather of a bird’;

Sok. *tarǝžât* ‘feather of a bird’; Zng. *tärgäl*

‘feather’

S1

s, *šyar*, *sar* [prep.] ‘from’

1sg. *šyar-i* 3sg.m. *šyar-əs* 3pl.m. *šyar-sîn*

s, *sě*, *s-gār* [PT:V,XII], *s-gār* [PT:III,XV], *s-ar*

[PT:IV,V,XIII,XV], *s-ār* [PT:II], *s* [Z:VIII]; 1sg.

s-gār-ī [PT:IV,V] 3sg.m. *s-gār-es*, *s-gār-es*

[PT:VII,XV]; 3pl.m. *s-gār-sîn*

P: da PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, XII, XIII, XV

Z: VIII,X

▷ *sě tfilli n amédɛn* ‘from the house of the man’

○ Nouns governed by *s* can be followed by *-i*:

▷ *yeskî s-tfillî-y-î* ‘he came out of the house’

▷ *ħħâr s-tebârût-î* ‘he took off from the road’

○ *s-ar* can be used interchangeably with *n* to indicate the material of which something is made.

▷ *wâya s-ar zzîl* ‘this is made of iron’

▷ *agîz n úrâġ* ‘golden necklace’

◆ Siwa *sg* (< *s-g*) ‘from’

skəmma, səmma [**conj.**] ‘because’

s-kemma, sémma [PT:XIV]

P: *perché* PT: XI, XIV

s-əlwəwəl [**conj.**] ‘already’

s-əlōwəwəl

PT: XI

◆ Ar. (*a*)-*l-ʔawwal* ‘earlier, previous, former’

S2

s [**prep.**] ‘with (instrumental)’

3sg. *si-s* 3pl.m. *s-in* 3pl.f. *s-înət, sənət*

s, sě, s-(orróz) [Z:VI]; 3sg. *sî-s* [P:example]

3pl.m. *s-în* 3pl.f. *s-înet, s-énet* [PT:V]

P: *con* PT: III, VII, IX Z: VI

▷ *‘addîħa sî-s* ‘I went with it’

◆ Pan-Berber, cf. Zng. *əs* ‘with’; Kb. *s* ‘with’ etc.

z-di, z-diwa [**phrase**] “how much does it cost?”

z-dî, z-dîwa

P: *quanto* PT: III

○ An expression composed of *s* ‘with’ + *di, diwa* ‘what, what thing?’. ► DW

S3

əss [**v.ċ***] ‘to spread (a mat), to stretch (to make the bed)’

impf. *təssá*

imp. sg. *ess* pl.m. *ssât* pl.f. *ssîmet*; impf. 1sg.

tessîħ 3sg.m. *itessá*

P: *distendere*

◆ Berber, cf. Nef. *éssa* ‘to spread, to stretch (a net, etc.)’

(ə)**ssú** [**v.n.m.**] ‘spreading (a mat)’

éssú

P: *distendere*

S4

tisi [**f.**] ‘liver’

tísî

P: *fegato*

◆ TC: 87

Berber, cf. Kb. *tasa* ‘liver’; To. *tàsa* ‘belly’;

áwsa ‘liver’; Zng. *taʔšäh* ‘liver’; Siwa *tsa* ‘liver’

S5

tisi [**f.**] pl. *tisiwîn* ‘egg, genitalia’

tísî, tísî [B21] pl. *tisîwîn*

P: *uovo* B21: 385 M: *pondre tésiouy*

تصوي

◆ TC: 1018

Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *täwžih, toʔwžih* ‘egg’

S6

tist n agəwəl [**phrasal n.**] ‘mirror’

tíst n agəwəl

P: *specchio*

◆ Berber, cf. Nef. *tisît* ‘mirror’; To. *tisset*

‘mirror; eyeglasses’; Sok. *tisît n udém* ‘mirror’

tist n arəšək [**phrasal n.**] ► RŠK

S7

=is [**pron.**] 3sg. indirect object pronoun

-is, -ís [PT: *passim*], *â-s* (< *x-is*) [PT:II,V,XII],

-iz(-d) [PT:VI,VII] *â-z-d* (< *x-is-d*) [PT:II], *res.*

-îsa [PT:II]

P: *egli* PT: *passim*

SBĠ

a-isəbbəħ [**v.ċċ**] ‘to bathe’

fut. 3sg.m. *āisəbbəħ*

PT: IX

◆ ELA *sábbəħ* ‘to bathe’

SBĠ

ssəb(ə)ħa [**num.**] ‘seven’

(s-)séba'a [PT:III], séba'a [PT:IX,XV]

PT: III, IX, XV

◆ Ar. *sabʿa(t)* 'seven'

SD

****ssùdd** [v.cē] 'to be enough'

res. *ssùdd*

res. 3sg.m. *issúdda, issuddi-(dík)-a* [P:

example]

P: bastare PT: XII M: assez *aéssoud* عَصُود

▷ *issuddi-dík-a* 'it is enough for me'

◆ ELA *isédd* 'to be satisfied'; Ar. *sadda* 'to fill a gap, to remove or remedy deficiencies'

SF/SW

tasíft, tasiwt [f.] pl. *təssiw* '(terraced)

roof'

tasíft, tasiwt pl. *tessú*

P: tetto M: toit *thasiout* طاسيوت

SG

tsígit, tsígi [f.] pl. *tsigitìn* 'rib'

tsígit, tsígi pl. *tsígūtín*

P: costola

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tasíget* 'medium-length bone'; Kb. *tasga* 'side'; To. *tàsāja* 'flank, side of the body (at ribs)'

SY

àsəy [v.cc] 'to buy'

pf. = fut. *səy* res. *səy* impf. *təssay*

imp. sg. *ásaǰ* pl.m. *sagât* pl.f. *sáǰmet*; pf. 1sg.

sahh 3sg.m. *isáǰ*; res. 1sg. *ssíhha* (ǰh>hh)

3sg.m. *isíǰa*; fut. 1sg. *asáhha* 3sg.m. *aisáǰ*;

impf. 1sg. *tessáhha* 3sg.m. *aitessáǰ*

P:comperare PT: II, VII, XII M: acheter

yéséggha يسغه

◆ TC: 89

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ásæ* 'to buy'; Kb. *ay* 'to buy';

Zng. *äʔši(?)* 'to buy, pay'

asùǰ [v.n.m.] 'purchase, buying'

asùǰ

P: comperare, compera

SK₁

(ə)**ssák** [v.cē] 'to fart'

imp. sg. *ěssék*

P: peto

(ə)**ssùk** [v.n.m.] 'farting'

ěssúk

P: peto

SK₂

asók, usók [v.vcc] 'to take away'

imp. sg. *asék, usék*

P: portare M: soulever *asekt* اسكت ; voler,

dérober *yousek* يوسك

◆ K: 546

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ósak* 'to take (imperative only)'; MA *asy* 'to take'

SK₃

təskənni [f.] 'thyme'

teskénni

P: timo

SK ► SQ

SKN

****əskən** [v.ccc] 'to live'

res. *əskən*

res. 3sg.m. *yəskîna*

PT: VI

◆ ELA *yésken* 'to live'; Ar. *sakana* 'to live, to reside'

SKR₂ ► ŠKR

SL₁

əsl, əsəl [v.cc*] 'to hear'

pf. *əslá* res. *əsla* fut. *əs(ə)l* impf. *səlla*

imp. sg. *esél, ásel* pl.m. *slât* pl.f. *slîmet*; pf. 1sg.

eslîh 3sg.m. *yelá, yeslî-(t)* [PT:V] 3pl.m. *slân*

[PT:XV], *slân-(t)* [PT:II]; res. 1sg. *slîha* 3sg.m.

yeláya; fut. 1sg. *asláh* 3sg.m. *ayésel*; impf. 1sg.

sellîh 3sg.m. *iséllā*

P: sentire PT: II, IV, V, XV M: sourd

eslalodah اسلالوده

○ The analysis of Müller's *eslalodah*

اسلالوده is difficult, but it clearly consists of the root SL 'to hear' + *lûda* 'nothing'.

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎsl* ‘to listen’; Kb. *səl* ‘to listen’; To. *əsól* ‘to listen, hear’

asəllú [v.n.m.] ‘hearing’

asellú

P: sentire

SL₂

t(ə)sìli [f.] pl. *tsiliwìn* ‘sandal’

təsìli pl. *tsilwìn*

P: sandalo

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *tasìli*, *tasìlē* ‘sandal’ Ghd. *tasile* ‘sandals for traveling’; Sok. *tsila* ‘sandal’

SL₃

sìla, **sìlak** [adv.] ‘along here’

sìla, *sìlak*

P: qui PT: IV

SLM

****sə̀lləm** [v.cċc] ‘to greet’

pf. / seq. *sə̀lləm* impf. *sə̀lləm*

pf. 3sg.m. *issə̀llem*; impf. 3pl.m. *sellə̀mən*

PT: XI

◆ A stem II denominal derivation of Ar. *salām* ‘well-being, peace; salutation, salute’, non-classical, but very common in the Arabic dialects.

lə̀slam [m.] ‘Islam’

laslām

Z: XI

◆ Ar. *islām* ‘Islam’

SM₁

isəm [m.] pl. *smìwən* ‘ear; handle of a basket’

ísem pl. *smîwen*

P: orecchio M: oreille *esem* اسم

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ésəm* ‘ear’

Bynon (1984: 255) discusses a Proto-Afro-Asitiac origin of this word. He states that the Ghadames word *ésəm* ‘ear’ has nog cognates in Berber, but Awjila shows a clear parallel.

SM₂

asàm [m.] ‘a stick for threshing barley in a special mortar’

asâm

P: bastone; pestello

SMĤ

?sə̀m(ə)ĥ [stat.v.] ‘to be sweet, pretty, handsome’

3sg.m. *simeĥ*

Z: III

◆ ELA *semĥ* ‘sweet, pretty, handsome’

SN₁

(ə)ssən [v.cċc] ‘to send, send out’

res. = fut. *ə̀ssən* impf. *tə̀ssən*

imp. sg. *ssen*, *ěssén*; res. *issen-(dík)-a*

[P:example: io]; fut. 3sg.m. *ayéssen* [PT:X];

impf. 1sg. *tessénĥ* 3sg.m. *itessén*

P: inviare, mandare PT: X M: envoyé

??*maïsen* معيسن; envoyer *aïsen* عيسن

▷ *issen-dík-a* ‘he sent me’ [P: sub io

(example)]

▷ *Yušád Žĥâ márra igéllī ayéssen*

akelliméennes amakân ba’íd ‘One day Juha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.’ [PT:X]

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Foq. *ázen* ‘to send’; Ghd. *ázən* ‘to send, delegate’; Siwa *uzən* ‘to send’.

z does not usually correspond to *ss* in Awjila, so the correspondence is uncertain.

ssun [v.n.m.] ‘sending’

ssūn

P: inviare, mandare

SN₂

tsunùt [f.] pl. *tsənuttìn*, *tsənutìn* ‘thick needle’

tsunût, *tsenût* pl. *tsenüttîn*, *tsenütîn*

P: ago B21: 384 M: aiguiseur *sounnit* سَنَيْت

◆ TC: 393 NZ: GNF

Berber, cf. Zng. *tuššugnaḌ*, *tuššugnaḍ*

‘needle’; Foq. *tsegnit* ‘needle’; Kb. *tissəgnit*

‘needle’; Siwa *tizignət* ‘needle’; Nef. *tissegnit*

'needle'; Sok. *tasnût* 'awl'.

Kossmann (1996) reconstructs **tisəgnVβt* for 'needle'. The correspondence with the Awjila word is problematic, as we would expect a reflex of the **g*. Nothing is known about the behavior of **β* in Awjila in this context.

SN₃

sàna [f.] 'year'

sána

P: anno

◆ Ar. *sana(t)* 'year'

SN₄

asìn [m.] pl. sìnən 'tooth'

asîn pl. sînen

P: dente M: dent *sennou* سَنُو

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *asén* 'tooth'; To. *ésen* 'tooth'

SN₅

tisənt [f.] 'salt'

tisént

P: sale M: salé *tessan* تَسَّان

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tésənt* 'salt'; Nef. *tisént* 'salt'; Siwa *tisənt* 'salt'; Sok. *tisént* 'salt'; To. *tèsəmt* 'salt'

SN₆

=isìn [pron.] 3pl.m. indirect object pronoun

-isîn, -îsîn [PT:I,II,XV], -îsîn [PT:I,XV], res.

-isîna

P: essi PT: I,II,XV

=isnət [pron.] 3pl.f. indirect object pronoun

-isnət, -îsnət [PT:XV], res. -isnîta

P: essi PT: XV

SNDS

səndàs [m.] pl. səndàsən 'lavatory'

sendâs pl. sendâsen

P: latrina

SNSR₁

sənsər [v.cccc] 'to close with a chain'

impf. sənsàr

imp. sg. *sənsər*; impf. 1sg. *sənsàrh* 3sg.m.

isənsàr

P: chiudere

SNSR₂

sənsər + təqənvil [phrasal v.] 'to blow one's nose'

impf. sənsàr təqənvil

imp. sg. *sənsər təqənvil*; impf. 3sg.m. *isənsàr təqənvil*

P: soffiarsi il naso M: éternuer *esenser*

اسنسر ; moucher (se) *esansar*

اسانسار ; rhume *ésenser* اسنسر

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *sənsər* 'to sniff'

ásənsər təqənvil [phrasal v.n.m.]

'blowing one's nose'

ásenser təqənvil

P: soffiarsi il naso

SNT

sənnəṭ [v.cċc] 'to hear, listen'

pf. / seq. sənnət

imp. sg. *sánnəṭ*; impf. 3sg.f. *tsənnâṭ* [PT:XV]

3pl.f. *sənnâṭnet* [PT:XV]

P: sentire PT: XV

○ The words *tsənnâṭ*, *sənnâṭnet* are morphologically imperfectives, but they function as perfectives in text XV.

◆ ELA *ṣənnəṭ* 'to listen' (also cf. Algiers Jewish Arabic *ṣənnəṭ* 'écouter'), probably metathesis of Classical Ar. *naṣṣata*. (p.c. Benkato)

SQ₁

ssùq [m.] 'market'

ssûq, ssûk [PT:XII]

PT: IV, VII, XI, XII

◆ Ar. *sûq* 'market'

SRF

(ə)srəf [v.ccc] 'to weave cords or strands of palms'

impf. sərrəf

imp. sg. *srəf*; impf. 3sg.m. *isərrəf*

P: intrecciare

◆ Kb. *əsraf* ‘to tie in a knot’

asərâf [v.n.m.] ‘weaving cords or strands of palms’

aserâf

P: intrecciare

asîrf [m.] pl. *sərfâwən* ‘braid of palm leaves to make baskets’

asîrf pl. *serfâwen*

P: treccia di capelli

SRFG ► SRFQ

SRFQ

sərfâq, sərfâg [v.cccc] ‘to slap, smack’

imp. sg. *serfâq, serfâg*

P: schiaffeggiare

SRM

tsərrîmt [f.] pl. *tsərmîn* ‘the middle of a palm leaf from which the leaves sprout’

tsərrîmt pl. *tsermîn*

P: palma M: *écaille téserimt* تسریمت;

écorce taserimt طسریمت; *feuille tesserim* تسریم; *pelure taserimt* تسریمت

SRR

assərir (or: *əssərir*) [m.] ‘desert’

ässərir

P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)

◆ ELA *sərir* ‘stony, sandy desert’

SS

sas [v.cvc*] ‘to beg’

impf. *sàsa*

imp. sg. *sās*; impf. 3sg.m. *isása* [PT:VI] ptc.

sāsān [PT:VI]

P: mendicare PT: VI

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *sās* ‘to beg’; Nef. *sása* ‘to beg’

asàs [v.n.m.] ‘begging’

asàs

P: mendicare

wa sásan [phrasal noun] ‘beggar’

wa sāsān

PT: VI

STM ► WRTN

SWLĤŽ

Sawilĥaž [P.N.] Place name

Sawilĥāğ

Z: X

SWN

ssəwàni [f.] ‘garden’

ssuwānī [P:example: che, il quale],

sāwānī-(nnāk) [PT:XV], *suwānī-(nnāĥ)*

[PT:XV]

PT: XV

◆ Mor. Ar. *swāni* ‘irrigated garden’; Ar.

sāniya(t) pl. *sawānin* ‘water scoop’.

This word is derived from the Arabic plural, but it functions as a feminine singular in Awjila.

SYF

(ə)**syáf** [v.ccc] ‘to bathe’

pf. *əsyáf* res. *əsyáf* impf. *səyyəf*

imp. sg. *siéf*; pf. 1sg. *siéfh* 3sg.m. *isyéf*; res.

1sg. *siyífha* 3sg.m. *isiyífa*; impf. 1sg. *síyyefh*

3sg.m. *isíyyef*

P: bagno M: *baigner (se) yésiéfa* يسيفه;

rafraichir essiaf اسياف

◆ Berber, cf. To. *əššaf* ‘to swim’; Siwa *síyaf* ‘to swim’

asəyàf [v.n.m.] ‘bathing’

asiyáf

P: bagno

SŽR ► ŠŽR

SƧD₁

?a-i-ssaƧəd-(kìm) [v.cvc?] ‘to help’

fut. 3sg.m. *āissaʿad-(kìm)*

PT: I

◆ Ar. *sāƧada* ‘to help’

SƧD₂

ssəƧida [m.] ‘penis’

ssaƧida

P: penis

◆ Probably a euphemistic use of Ar. *saʿīda(t)* ‘the happy one (f.)’

ŞBH

şbəḥ [m.] ‘tomorrow’

şbáh, şábáḥ [PT:XV], şbah-(éñnes) [PT:XV],

şbah [PT:XV]

P: domani PT: XV

◆ Ar. *şabāḥ* ‘morning’

ŞBR

**şbár [v.ccc] ‘to wait’

imp. pl.m. *şbârât*

PT: II M: attendre *sbordik* صبر ديك

◆ Ar. *şabara* ‘to bind, to be patient’

ŞBT

şəbət [m.] ‘yesterday’

şábâṭ, şábâṭ, şábâṭ [P:example: che, il quale]

P: ieri

◆ Paradisi claims an Arabic origin, but no equivalent in an Arabic dialect has been found.

ŞDQ

**şəddəq [v.cċc] ‘to believe’

res. 2sg. *ţşáddâqt-(î)-ya*

PT: VIII M: certainement *ezdaqa* اصدقة

◆ Ar. *şaddaqa* ‘to believe’

ŞHB

əşşahb-(əñnəs) [m.] ‘friend’

eşşāḥb-(éñnes) [PT:IX], *ěşşāḥb-(éñnes)*

[PT:XII] ‘friend’

PT: IX, XII

◆ Ar. *şāḥib* ‘friend’

ŞHH

şəḥiḥ [stat.v.] ‘to be healthy, truthful’

şahih

PT: IV, V

◆ Ar. *şahih* ‘healthy, well, sound, healthful, truthful’

ŞL

**uşál [v.vcc] ‘to arrive’

pf. / seq. *uşəl*

pf. 3pl.m. *uşálen* [PT:V], *uşálen* [PT:XV],

uşálen [PT:XV]

PT: V, XV

◆ ELA *yúşál* ‘to arrive, to reach’; Ar. *waşala* ‘to arrive’

ŞLF

aləşláf, aləşláf [adj.] ‘bald’

m. sg. *aləşlá’, aləşlá’*

PT:XIV

◆ Ar. *aşlaf* ‘bald’

ŞNDQ

şşundùq [m.] ‘crate, box’

şşundūq

PT: V

◆ Ar. *şundūq* ‘crate, box; chest’

ŞQT

ţşuqùṭ [f.] pl. *ţşuquṭin* ‘braid of hair’

ţşuqūt pl. *ţşuqūtīn*

P: treccia di capelli

ŞR

**şàr [v.cvc] ‘to happen’

res. *şàra*

res. ptc. *şāràna*

PT: II, V

◆ ELA *şàra* ‘to occur, happen’; Ar. *şàra* ‘to become; to occur, happen’

ŞRT

?şərrət [v.cċc] ‘to draw a line’

imp. sg. *şarrát*

P: linea, riga

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ášrəḍ* ‘to draw a line’; To. *tasərret* ‘line, stripe’

aşərrit [m.] pl. *şərritən* ‘line, stripe’

aşərrit pl. *şərritən*

P: linea, riga

ŞSM

şúsəm [v.cvcc] ‘to be quiet’

şúsem, şúsem

P: tacere

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *súsem* ‘to be quiet’; Nef.

súsem ‘to be quiet’; To. *sùsəm* ‘to be quiet, shut up’; Sok. *súsem* ‘to be quiet’; Siwa *sísəm* ‘to be quiet’

Š1 ► NŠ3

Š2/ŠF

tìšt [f.] ‘sieve’

tìšt

P: setaccio

š-ìšəf [caus.v.] ‘to sieve’

impf. š-ìšəf

imp. sg. *ššəf*; impf. 1sg. *ššəfl*

P: setacciare

◆ Siwa *sífəf* ‘to sieve’

aš-ìšəf [caus.v.n.m.] ‘sieving’

aššəf

P: setacciare

**t-š-ìšəf [pass.caus.v.] ‘to be sieved’

impf. res. t-š-ìšəf res. 3sg.m. *itššəfa*

P: setacciare

Š(-D), Y-D

yi-d [v.vc*.irreg.] ‘to come’

pf. ušá-d seq. = res. ùša-d fut. ùš impf.

tašà-d-a

imp. sg. *yīd* pl.m. *yīdāt* pl.f. *yīdīmet*; pf. 1sg.

ušígd, *ušígd* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yušád*, *yúšad*

[PT:XV], *yuš-(íz)-d* [P: example; PT:VI] 3pl.m.

ušánd [PT:II,IX,XV], *ušan-(íz)-d* [PT:VII]; res.

1sg. *ušígd* 2sg. *tušídda* [PT:XV], *tūšidda*

[Z:VIII] 3sg.m. *yušáda* ptc. *ušánda*

[P:example: chi?]; fut. 1sg. *aušágđ*, *āušágđ*

[PT:XV], *āušá-(z)-d* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ayúš* 3sg.f.

attúš [Z:VI]; impf. 1sg. *tašígd* 2sg. *tašidda*

[P:example] 3sg.m. *itašáda*

P: venire PT: II, III, VI, VII, IX, X, XI, XV Z:

VI, VIII M: arrivée *youchada* يوشاد ه

arriver *chada* شاد ه; voyageur *youchad*

يوشاد

▷ *tašidda-ká* ‘do not come!’

▷ *yīd díla* ‘come here!’

▷ *yuš-íz-d* ‘he came to him’

◆ TC: 878

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ás* ‘to come’; To. *ás* ‘to come’;

Zng. *ášši(?)* ‘to come, arrive’

ušú [v.n.m.] ‘coming’

ušú

P: venire PT: XV

ŠD1

ašùd [m.] pl. *šudin* ‘(wooden) pole’

ašúd pl. *šūdīn*

P: asta (di legno); bastone

◆ NZ: CD

Berber, cf. To. *ášádəd* ‘prop, support; stick’;

Zng. *áššād* pl. *šugdān* ‘stick’, Zenaga points to an assimilation, and may not belong to this root.

ŠD2 ► ŠYD

ŠDL ► DL

ŠF

išf [m.] pl. *išfawən*, *išfiwan* ‘day’

išf, *išf* [PT:I], *išf* [PT:XII,XIV] pl. *išfawen*,

išfiwan [PT:III]

P: giorno PT: I, III, XII, XIV M: jour *fich*

فیش

◆ TC: 928

Ghd. *ášf* ‘day’; Kb. *ass* ‘day’; Zng. *aš* ‘day’

ášfa [adv.] ‘today’

ášfa, *ášfa* [B24]

P: oggi B24: 188

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *ášfa* ‘today’

šišf [adv.] ‘by day’

šišf

P: giorno

ŠFT

(ə)šfəṭ [v.ccc] ‘to clean’

imp. sg. *šfāt*

P: pulire

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ášfəṭ* ‘to clean by rubbing’;

To. (H.) *əsfād* ‘to dry up’; MA *šfəṭ* ‘to wipe,

clean’; Kb. *šfəṭ* ‘to wipe, clean’

ašəfəṭ [v.n.m.] ‘cleaning’

ašefât

P: pulire

ŠG

šugg [v.cc] 'to wait for'

pf. = seq. = fut. šùgg res. šùgga

imp. sg. šugg pl.m. šuggât pl.f. šuggîmet; pf.

1sg. šuggîh 3sg.m. išúgg; res. 1sg. šuggîha

3sg.m. išuggâya; fut. 1sg. ašuggâh 3sg.m.

aišugg

P: aspettare B21: 391

▷ šugg-îs 'wait for him'

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. súggöm 'to wait for'; Nef. súggem 'to wait for'.

Awjila lacks the final radical *m* found in el-Foqaha and Nefusi. There is no obvious explanation for the absence of this radical.

ŠYL

**əšyâl [v.ccc] 'to work, toil'

pf. / seq. əšyəl

pf. 3sg.f. twšji (sic)

Z: IX

◆ Ar. šaġala 'to occupy, busy'

ŠYR

išyar [m.] pl. šyîrən 'firewood'

išġâr pl. šġîrən, šġîren [PT:XV; B21]

P: legna PT: XV B21: 391 M: bois *sghaghin*

صغارين

◆ NZ: CYR₃

Berber, cf. Foq. išġârən, yešġârən 'wood'; Ghd.

asyér 'wood'; Kb. asyar 'wood'; Nef. isġâren

'wood'; To. esâyer 'firewood'; Zng. äššaʔr

'tree'; Siwa šyarân 'firewood' (Naumann

2013: 375).

Presumably related to the words for 'ax' (see NZ: CQR₁).

ŠK₁

škí [v.cci] 'to leave; to come out; to take out (PT: IV)'

pf. əšk, əški res. əška impf. šəkki

imp. sg. škî; pf. [P:example: che, il quale]

3sg.m. yešk, yeškî [PT:IV,V,VI,XII,XIII], yeškî

[PT:IV], iškî [PT:XV; Z:X], iškî [Z:XIII] 3sg.f.

teškî [PT:III], tēškî [PT:XV] 3pl.m. škîyən

[PT:II]; res. 1sg. škîha 3sg.m. yeškâya; impf.

išékki

P: uscire PT: II, IV, V, VI, XII, XIII, XV Z: X,

XIII M: éteindre *chekka* شَكَّة; éteint *echka*

اشكة

◆ NZ: CK6

Cf. Ntifa ašk(-d) 'to come'

škùy [v.n.m.] 'leaving'

škûi

P: uscire

š-əški [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. leave'

imp. sg. šéškî

P: uscire

ŠK₂

išk, abəškîw [m.] pl. škîwən, bəškîwən 'horn'

išk, abeškûi pl. škîwen, beškîwen

P: corno

◆ NZ: CK₁₁, CKW₁ TC: 856 K: 514

Ghd. aškaw 'horn'; Nef. aššâu 'horn'; Kb. išš

'horn'; Siwa aččâw 'horn'; Sok. iš 'horn'; To.

isakk 'horn'; Zng. taskäh 'horn'

ŠKR₁

škàrət [f.] 'sack'

škâret, skâret

PT:XII

◆ ELA škâra 'sack' (p.c. Benkato)

ŠKR₂

tšukkùrt [f.] pl. tšukkurin 'a strand of hairs on the middle of the head of children'

tšukkùrt, tčukkùrt pl. tčukkûrîn

P: capelli, peli

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Ghd. tažakkurt 'strand of hair on the middle of the head of children'

◆ NZ:CKR₁₁

ŠKR₃

tšəkrît [f.] pl. tšəkriyìn ‘story, tale’

ččekrît, tšekrît pl. *ččekrîyîn*

P: favola

◆ NZ:CKR12

ŠKR4

iškər [m.] pl. škìrən ‘nail’

išker pl. *škîren*

P: unghia

◆ TC: 86o

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aškar* ‘nail’; Siwa *aččér* ‘nail’ (Naumann 2013: 415); Sok. *iššér* ‘nail’; To. *éskār* ‘fingernail’; Zng. *əskār* ‘nail’; Nef. *aššār* ‘nail’

ŠKŠK

šəkšək [v.cccc] ‘to winnow barley’

impf. šəkšək

imp. sg. *šékšek*; impf. 3sg.m. *išekšák*

P: spulare l’orzo

◆ Berber, cf. To. *sàksák* ‘sift couscous to separate lumps from remaining bits of flour’

ašəkšək [v.n.m.] ‘winnowing barley’

ašékšek

P: spulare l’orzo

ŠKTF

škùtəf [v.ccvcc] ‘to spit’

imp. sg. *škùtef, štúkef*

P: sputare

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *skut* ‘to spit’; Nef. *eskúfs* ‘to spit’; Sok. *skúttəf* ‘to spit’; Siwa *sukəf* ‘to spit’

ŠL1

ašəl [m.] pl. šaləwən ‘village’

ašal, ašəl [PT:II,III] *ašəl-(ī)* [PT:VIII,XV] pl. *šālāwen*

P: paese, villaggio; Awjila PT: II, III, VIII

M: village *echal* اشل

▷ *ašal n awīlen* ‘Awjila (litt. the village of Awjilans)’

◆ TC: 4o K: 48g

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ókāl* ‘earth’; Kb. *akal* ‘earth, soil’; To. *ákall* ‘land, country; sand’; Zng. *a?gäy* ‘earth, soil’; Siwa *šal* ‘country, land’

The correspondence of Awjila š to PB *k is irregular. Considering the quite different meaning, perhaps the Awjila word does not belong to this lexeme.

ŠL2

ašil [m.] ‘straw’

ašil

P: paglia M: paille *echil* ا شيل

◆ NZ: CL28

Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *āžäyi(?)* ‘straw or palm used for weaving’

ŠL/ ŠLL

təšlīt, təšlīt [f.] ‘bride’

tešlīt, tešlīt

P: sposa

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *taslīt* ‘bride’

ŠLL

šlil [v.ccvcc] ‘to rinse’

imp. sg. *šlil*

P: sciacquare

◆ To. *islal* ‘to be or become smooth, sleek’

ŠLŠ

tšəllišt [f.] ‘darkness’

tšəllišt, čellišt

P: tenebre, oscurità

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *təsalast* ‘darkness’; Sok. *tasullást* ‘darkness’; Mzab *sulləs* ‘darkness’; Ouar. *tsallast* ‘darkness’

ŠM1

tašūmt [f.] pl. tašūmìn ‘pillow’

tašūmt pl. *tašūmîn*

P: cuscino B21: 391 M: oreiller *thachoum*

طاشوم

◆ NZ: CM3

Berber, cf. Kb. *tasumta, tasummta* ‘pillow’; Nef. *tsūmtá* ‘pillow’; To. *sūmə-t* ‘to place one’s head or feet on (cushion)’; Sok. *tsūmti* ‘pillow’; Siwa *tsənti* ‘pillow’ (Souag 2010: 79).

Bynon (1984: 255) suggests that the words for ‘pillow’ are related to the word Ghd. *ésəm* ‘ear’ and (missed by Bynon) AuJ. *isəm* ‘ear’.

Awjila has the radical S in *isəm*, while it has the radical Š in *tašùmt*. It is unclear how we should explain this difference on consonants, but we find it in several other roots as well (van Putten fthc.)

ŠMT

šmùt [m.] ‘cold’

šmùt, šmūt [PT:V]

P: freddo PT: V

▷ ḥossih šmùt ‘I feel cold’

◆ TC: 896

Berber, cf. Kb. *ismaḍ* ‘to be cold’; To. *ismaḍ* ‘to be cold, cool’; Zng. *šāmmuḍ* ‘to be cold’

ašəmmàt [adj.]pl. šəmmàtən f.

təšəmmàt ‘cold’

m. sg. *ašəmmât* pl. *šəmmâtan* f. *tešəmmât*

P: freddo

ŠN₁

(ə)ššən [v.ċc] ‘to know’

pf. / seq. ššən res. əššən impf. təššən

imp sg. *ššen, šen*; pf. 3sg.m. *iššen* [PT:X]; res.

1sg. *ššinhā* [P:example: che, il quale] 2sg.

tšent-(t)-ya [PT:XI] 3sg.m. *išina* [Z:X] 3pl.m.

ššəneḥ-(t)-ya [PT:XI]; impf. 3sg.m. *iteššén* [P:example]

P: sapere B21: 391 PT: X, XI Z: X

▷ *iteššén-ká* ‘he did not know’

◆ TC: 869

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āssən* ‘to know’; Kb. *əssən* ‘to know’; To. *əssən* ‘to know’; Zng. *āssən* ‘to know’

(š)šùn [v.n.m.] ‘knowing’

šùn

P: sapere

ŠN₂

šùnət [f.] ‘Sunnah’

šūnit

Z: XI

◆ Ar. *sunna(t)* ‘Sunnah’, the long vowel *u* and initial *š* are unexpected, but there appears to be no other clear explanation for this word in

the context of the text.

ŠQ

t(ə)šəqqi [f.] ‘sticks that go below the belly of an animal to which a harness is attached’

tāšáqqi, ččáqqi

P: finimenti

ŠQŠ

šəqqəš [v.ċc] ‘to clap your hands’

impf. šəqqəš

imp. sg. *šáqqəš*; impf. 1sg. *šaqqāšh* 3sg.m.

išaqqāš

P: battere

◆ NZ: CQC

Berber, cf. To. *əqqəš* ‘to clap (hands)’; Ghd. *əqqəš* ‘to clap your hands’

ŠR₁

tšarət [f.] ‘a fence (of palm leaves)’

ččārət

P: siepe

◆ Perhaps this noun is ultimately derived from the root *ar* ‘to open’.

ŠR₂

(ə)ššár [v.ċc] ‘to mix, blend’

impf. təššár

imp. sg. *ššer, ęššér*; impf. 1sg. *teššārḥ* 3sg.m.

iteššér

P: mescolare M: brouiller echchera

◆ NZ: CR₁₅

Berber, cf. Zng. *āššír* ‘to be mixed’

(ə)ššur [v.n.m.] ‘mixing, blending’

ššūr

P: mescolare

ŠRF

ššàrəf [m.] ‘old man’

ššáref

PT: I

◆ Ar. *šārif* ‘old (camel mare)’; Siwa has undergone the same semantic shift *šarəf* ‘old (man)’ (Souag 2010: 146).

ŠRY

ašəryɨn [m.] pl. šəryɨnən ‘bedouin, Arab’
ašərgîn, ašərgîn [P:example] pl. šərgînən

P: beduino, arabo

▷ *Nettîn d-ašərgîn, d-awîl-ká* ‘he’s an Arab, not an Awjilan’

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *asərgîn* ‘camel rider’

ŠRM

tšərimt [f.] ‘gut’ pl. tšərimin ‘intestine’
tšərimt pl. *tšərimîn*

P: budello; intestine M: boyaux *tchermin*

تشرمين

◆ NZ: CRM₄

Berber, cf. Siwa *tašəramt, tašərumt* ‘intestine’;
 Mzab *tašəramt* ‘bowels’

ašərim [adj.] ‘greedy, glutinous’

ašərim

P: ingordo, goloso

ŠRR₁

šurùru [m.] ‘weakling’

šurùru

P: debole, fiacco

▷ *ku d-šurùru, tenfîta lûda* ‘You are a weakling, you’re good for nothing’

◆ NZ: CR₃₄

ŠRT

ašərriṭ [m.] ‘cut, tear; vulva’

ašərriṭ

P: strappo, taglio; vulva M: fendre *charreit*

مشریط; fendu ??*mecharreita* مشریطه

◆ Looks like Ar. *šərriṭ* ‘band, ribbon, tape’, but semantically comes closer to Ar. *šərṭ* incision; long cut, rip slash, slit’.

This word is probably a native derivation of the Arabic root, but compare the semantically similar *ašərriṭ* ‘line, stripe’ derived from a native Berber root, ► ŠRT.

ŠRWT/Y

š-ərwiṭ [caus.v.irreg.] ‘to speak, tell’

pf. / seq. = res. š-ərwiṭ/y impf. š-ərwàyṭ

imp. sg. *šərwiṭ*; pf. 1sg. *šərwîh* 3sg.m. *išərwiṭ*, *išərw-(îs)* [PT:V]; res. 1sg. *šərwîha* 3sg.m. *išərwîta*; impf. 3sg.m. *išərwàyṭ*

P: parlare, raccontare PT: V M: parler
echérouy اشروى

ŠŠF

šišf ► ŠF

ŠŠL

š-išəl [caus.v.] ‘to thresh’

impf. š-išəl

imp. sg. *šišel*; impf. 3sg.m. *išišəl*

P: trebbiare

◆ K: 653

Berber, cf. Ghd. *šišəl* ‘to thresh (barley)’; Nef. *šišel* ‘to thresh’; Siwa *šənšəl* ‘to thresh’

aš-išəl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘threshing’

ašišel

P: trebbiare

ŠŠW ► ŽŽW

ŠTKF ► ŠKTF

ŠTN

ištən [m.] pl. ištənən ‘a shoemaker’s awl’

išten pl. *ištînen*

P: punteruolo

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *tistənt* ‘awl’; To. *tîstənt* ‘awl for working hides’; Zng. *təssənt* ‘awl (for fine leather)’

ŠT

tšəṭ [f.] ‘bundle of wood’

ččəṭ

P: fascina di legna

◆ NZ: CḌ₃

Perhaps related to MA *tušəṭṭ* ‘oak tree’

ŠTF

šəṭṭəf [stat.v.] ‘to be black’

1sg. *šəṭṭəx* 2sg. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg.m. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg/f/
šəṭṭəf pl. *šəṭṭifiṭ*

1sg. *šəṭṭəḥ* 2sg. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg.m. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg.f. *šəṭṭəf*
 pl. *šəṭṭifiṭ*

P: nero M: noir *echtaf* اشطاف; teindre

echtaf اشتاف ; teint ??*méchtaf* مشتاف ;
teinture *echtāfeh* اشتافه ; teinturier
méchtaf مشتاف

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *šeṭṭāf.seṭṭāf* 'black'; Ghd.
aẓḍaf 'to be black'; Kb. *aṣ̌ḍaf* 'to be black';
Nef. *zeṭṭāf* 'black'; Sok. *sēṭṭōf* 'black'; Siwa
aẓətṭāf 'black'

ṣ̌ṭàf [adj.] ṣ̌ṭàfən f. ṭəṣ̌ṭàft pl. ṭəṣ̌ṭafin
'black'

m. sg. *ṣ̌ṭāf, ṣ̌ṭāf* [PT:XV], *sṭāf* (sic)[PT:XV],
ṣ̌ṭāf [B21] pl. *ṣ̌ṭāfen*; f. sg. *teṣ̌ṭāft, teṣ̌ṭāft*
[P:scarabeo] pl. *teṣ̌ṭāfin*

P: nero; scarabeo PT: XV B21: 386

**ṣ̌ətṭəf [caus.v.] 'to make black'

pf. / seq. ṣ̌ətṭəf

pf. 3sg.f. *tṣ̌ətṭāf*

PT: XV

○ This verb is not transparently a causative
verb, but in the context certainly behaves as
one. It seems likely that the cluster t-š-š- was
simplified to t-š-. As a result the
causative-prefix is no longer visible.

ŠTW

ṣ̌ṭàw [m.] 'loom'

ṣ̌ṭâu

P: telaio

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *aẓōṭta, aẓēṭta* 'loom'; Kb.
aẓeṭta 'loom'; Nef. *ẓēṭṭā* 'loom'; Sok. *aṣ̌ēṭta*
'loom'; Siwa *aṣ̌ətṭta* 'loom'; Ghd. *aṣətṭta* 'loom'

ŠW

ṣ̌u [v.cc*] 'to drink; to make drink
[PT:XV]'

pf. / seq. əṣ̌wa res. əṣ̌wa fut. ṣ̌ù impf.

ṣ̌əwwa

imp. sg. ṣ̌u pl.m. *ṣ̌uwât* pl.f. *ṣ̌uîmet*; pf. 1sg.

ṣ̌uîh 3sg.m. *yeṣ̌wā, iṣ̌uwi-(ṭənet)* [PT:XV]

3pl.m. *ṣ̌uân* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ṣ̌uîha* 3sg.m.

iṣ̌uwāya; fut. 1sg. *aṣ̌wâh* 3sg.m. *aiṣ̌û*; impf. 1sg.

ṣ̌uwwîh 2sg. *tṣ̌uwwît* [P: example] 3sg.m.

iṣ̌úwwa

P: bere PT: XV B21: 391 M: abreuver

yéhouaya يشو آيه; boire *yechou* يشو

▷ *tṣ̌uwwît-ká* 'do not drink'

▷ *efkî-dîk a-swâh* 'give me something to
drink'

▷ *efkidi kachoua* افكیدی كشوه

'donnez-moi à boire' [M: boire], same
sentence as above.

◆ TC: 881

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āsw* 'to drink'; Kb. *səw* 'to
drink'; To. *asú, asəw* 'to drink'; Zng. *āšbi(?)* 'to
drink'

t-ṣ̌əwwât [v.n.f.] 'drink, beverage,
drinking'

č̣č̣uwât (<t-ṣ̌uwâ-t)

P: bere, bevanda

ŠWL

ṣ̌əwal-(āya) [m.] 'bag'

ṣ̌uwāl-(āya)

P (example): togliere, levare

◆ ELA *ṣ̌əwāl* 'sack, bag' (p.c. Benkato)

ŠWR

ṣ̌əwár [v.ccc] 'to dance'

seq. = res. əṣ̌wər impf. ṣ̌əwwər

imp. sg. *ṣ̌wórw*; pf. 1sg. *ṣ̌wārḥ* 3sg.m. *yeṣ̌wor*;

res. 1sg. *ṣ̌uwérḥa* 3sg.m. *yeṣ̌wíra*; impf. 1sg.

ṣ̌uwwérḥ 3sg.m. *iṣ̌úwwer*

P: danzare

aṣ̌əwàr [v.n.m.] 'dancing'

aṣ̌əwâr

P: danzare M: danse *choua* شوة; danser

echoua اشوة; danseur *châoua* شآوه

ŠWŠ

aṣ̌əw(w)áša [m.] 'this year'

aṣ̌uwáša, ṣ̌wáša [B21]

P: anno B21: 391

◆ TC: 883 K: 3

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aẓāggas* 'year'; Zng. *āššābbāš*

'year'; Foq. *ṣ̌aggāšá, ṣ̌aggāsá* 'this year'; Nef.

suggés, sūggés 'year'; Siwa *aṣəggasa* 'this year'

(Souag 2010: 265); Sok. *aṣuggāsa* 'year'

ŠWY

əttəšwàyt [f.] ‘couscous’

ittiš‘waît

Z: XII

ŠXR

Šxərra [m.] ‘Gicherra (an oasis north-west of Awjila)’

Šhərra

P: Gicherra

ŠYN

pl. ?šeynat [f.] ‘ugly ones’

pl. šaināt

Z: III

◆ ELA šēnāt ‘ugly (f.pl.)’

ŠŽR

šəžəʔ [m.] ‘chamomile (the type of chamomile that the Arabs call *gréisa*)’

šəžar, séžar

P: camomilla

◆ ELA šžar ‘trees(coll.)’; Ar. sažar ‘trees; shrubs (coll.)’

T₁ ► WTT₂

=t [pron.]3sg.m. direct object

-t, (t)-ṭ [PT:III], -āt [PT:XV], res. -ṭya

P: egli PT: passim

=tət [pron.]3sg.f. direct object

-tet, -tət [PT:I], (t)-tāt [PT:XV], res.ṭta [PT:V]

P: egli PT: I, V, XII, XV

TDK

tudìk [adv.] ‘so’

tūdìk, ṭudìk, tudìk [PT:IV], ttudìk [PT:IX]

P: così PT: IV, IX M: ainsi *toudig* تودق

▷ *ddiwa ttudìk* ‘why?’ [PT:IX]

TḤYR

**təḥəyyər [v.tcċc] ‘to be confused’

pf. / seq. təḥəyyər

pf. 3sg.m. *itəḥəyyär*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *təḥayyara* ‘to become confused’

TKR

(ə)tkár [v.ccc] ‘to fill up’

res. ətkər impf. təkəkór

imp. sg. *etkér*; *tker*; res. 3sg.m. *itkîra* [Z:VI];

impf. 3sg.m. *itekkér*

P: riempire Z:VI M: empli ??*maëtker*

معتكر; emplier *aëtker* عتكر; plein

etkerreh اتكره; riche *etkeira* اتكيره

◆ NZ: CR₄ K: 525

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ətkur* ‘to fill’; Foq. *kkār* ‘to fill’;

Siwa *iččūr* ‘to be full’

atəkàr [v.n.m.] ‘filling up’

atekâr

P: riempire

TL₁

**atəl [v.cc*] ‘to become pregnant’

pf. / seq. təla, lla res. tla impf. tlàna, llàna

pf. 3pl.f. *tělānet* [P:example]; res. 1sg. *tliha*,

llíha 2sg. *tetlíta*, *tlíta* 3sg.f. *tlāya* 3pl.f. *tlāníta*,

llāníta

P: incinta

▷ *nəhînet tělānet* ‘they became pregnant’

◆ Probably ultimately from the Pan-Berber verb *lla* ‘to have’; but the 3sg.f. prefix seems to have lexicalized, although the variant forms with initial *ll-* still betray its prefixal origin. cf. Ghd. *təlo taddəss* ‘pregnant (litt. She has belly)’.

TL₂

atəlá [m.] ‘linseed’

atələá

P: seme di lino

TLT

tlàta [num.] ‘three’

tlàta, *tălàta*

PT: II

◆ Ar. *talāta(t)* ‘three’

TMN

**təmənn [v.irreg.] ‘to wish’

pf. / seq. *təmənna*

pf. 3sg.m. *yəteménna*

PT:V

◆ Ar. *tamannā* ‘to desire, wish’

TN

=**tən** [**pron.**]3pl.m. direct object pronoun

-*ten* [PT:II,VIII,XV], -*tən* [PT:II,IX], res. -*tīna*

P: essi PT: II, VIII, IX, XV

=**tənət** (or =**tnət**) [**pron.**]3pl.f. direct object pronoun

-*tēnet*, -*tēnēt* [PT:IV,V], -*tēnēt* [PT:V,XV], res.

-*tnīta*

P: essi PT: IV, V, XV

TNGR

atəngîr [**m.**] pl. *təngîrən* ‘square-plot of irrigation’

atəngîr pl. *təngîrən*

P: *giadùla*

○ Paradisi glosses this *giadùla* an Italian rendering of ELA *ždùla* which Panetta (1958) glosses as *aiuola* ‘flowerbed’. As Benkato (p.c.) points out, this is surely the plural of ELA *žadwal*, which refers to a specific square-plot of irrigation. ‘Aiuola’ is probably Panetta’s attempt to describe this word in Italian, while Paradisi did not attempt to translate the very specific cultural word at all.

TNN

itnèn [**num.**] ‘two’

itnèn

PT:VII

◆ ELA *itnēn* ‘two’; Ar. *itnān* ‘two’

TRR

atràr [**adj.**]pl. *tràrən* f. *tatràrt* pl. *tətrārîn* ‘new, fresh’

m. sg. *atrâr* pl. *trâren* f. sg. *tatrârt* pl. *tetrârîn*

P: nuovo, fresco M: nouveau *athar* اطار

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *atrâr* ‘new’; Sok. *trîr* ‘new’; Siwa *atrar* ‘new’ (Souag 2010: 146)

TRS

atərsi n təbazàrt [**phrasal n.**] ‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket mad of small string’

atərsi n tēbazârt

P: *cesta*

TRWL₂

tràwəl [**v.ccvcc**] ‘to be born’

res. = fut. *tràwəl*

imp. sg. *trâwel*; res. 1sg. *trawîlha* 3sg.m.

itrawîla; fut. 3sg.m. *aitrâwel*

P: *nascere*

◆ Perhaps somehow related to the verb *ērōū* ‘to give birth’.

TSŨ

təs(ə)ŋa [**num.**] ‘nine’

tésa’a

PT:V

◆ Ar. *tisŋa(t)* ‘nine’

təsŋin [**num.**] ‘ninety’

tes’în

PT:V

TŞ ▶ TŞ/TŞ

tettâ ▶ ečč

TW/Y

tùwi [**v.irreg.**] ‘to forget’

pf. / seq. = res. *tùwəy(a)* impf. *tàya*

imp. sg. *túwi*; pf. 1sg. *tuwiyîh* 3sg.m. *ittúwî*,

ittuwî-(t) [PT:XIII]; res. 1sg. *tuwiyîha* 3sg.m.

ittuwîya; impf. 1sg. *tâyéh* 3sg.m. *itâya*

P: *dimenticare* PT: XIII

▷ *túwi žlān-îya* ‘forget these words’

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *úttu* ‘to forget’; Ghd. *əttu* ‘to forget’; Kb. *ətt* ‘to forget’; Nef. *étta* ‘to forget’; To. *itaw* ‘to forget’; Siwa *əttu* ‘to forget’; Sok. *öttu* ‘to forget’

atùwi [**v.n.m.**] ‘forgetting’

atúwi

P: *dimenticare*

TWYL ▶ WYL

TŽR

əttāžər [m.] ‘merchant’

əttāžər

PT: VII

◆ Ar. *tāžir* ‘merchant’

TṢB

****ətṣəb** [v.ccc] ‘to toil’

res. ətṣəb

res. 2sg. *tit’ibta*

Z: VIII

◆ Ar. *taṣiba* ‘to work hard, toil, slave, drudge’

əttəṣəb [m.] ‘burden’

əttə’əb, etta’ab-(énnes)

PT: XII

◆ Ar. *taṣab* ‘trouble, exertion, labor, toil, drudgery; burden, nuisance etc.’

Ṭ

ar-ùṭa [adv.] ‘below’

ar-ùṭā

P: sotto PT: VI

▷ *s-ar-ùṭā* ‘from below’

ṬB

àṭəb [v.cc*] ‘to close the eyes’

pf. əṭbá res. əṭba

imp. sg. *átāb*; pf. 1sg. *tbiḥ* 3sg.m. *yeṭbá*; res.

1sg. *tbiḥa* 3sg.m. *yeṭbāya*

P: chiudere

▷ *átāb tiwînnək* ‘close your eyes!’

◆ NZ ḌB₃

To. (Burkina Faso) *ăḍəb* ‘to close’ (Sudlow 2009)

ṬF

(ə)**ṭṭəf** [v.c̄c] ‘to seize’

pf. əṭṭəf res. = fut. əṭṭəf impf. təṭṭəf

imp. sg. *ettəf* pl.m. *ettəfāt* pl.f. *ettəfmet*; pf.

1sg. *ttəfh* 3sg.m. *yettəf*; res. 1sg. *ttifha* 3sg.m.

yettifā; fut. 1sg. *attəfh* 3sg.m. *ayettəf*; impf.

1sg. *tattəfh* 3sg.m. *itettəf*

P: afferrare M: retenir *thaff* طاف; serrer

thaf طاف

◆ NZ: ḌF₁ TC: 240

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əttəf* ‘to seize, hold, keep’; To.

əttəf ‘to seize, hold, keep’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m.

yäḍḍuf ‘to have, possess’

ṬG

****ṭùg(g)** [v.c̄c] ‘to reach’

pf. / seq. ṭùg(g)

pf. 3sg.m. *itùg*

PT: VIII

◆ ELA *itégg* ‘to reach, arrive at’

ṬL

pl. **ṭilwən** [m.] ‘fenugreek’

pl. *ṭilwən*

P: fieno greco

◆ A connection with Kb. *aḍil* ‘grape’ comes to mind. The semantic connection is improbable, fenugreek looks nothing like a grapevine.

ṬLB

****əṭləb** [v.ccc] ‘to request’

impf. ṭəlləb impf. 3sg.m. *itélleb*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *ṭalaba* ‘to look, search; to request etc.’

ṬLW/ ṬLY

aṭəlüy, áṭəlwī [m.] ‘turnips (coll.)’

aṭəlúy, áṭəlwī

P: rapa

◆ NZ: ḌLW

taṭləwīt [f.] pl. ṭəlwítin ‘turnip’

taṭluwīt pl. *ṭəlwítin*

P: rapa

ṬR₁

uṭər [v.ccc] ‘to twist, roll up’

seq. = res. = fut. uṭər impf. tàṭər

imp. sg. *uṭár*; pf. 1sg. *uṭárh* 3sg.m. *yúṭar*; res.

1sg. *uṭírha* 3sg.m. *yuṭíra*; fut. 1sg. *auṭérh*

3sg.m. *ayúter*; impf. 1sg. *taṭárh* 3sg.m. *itáṭar*

P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: tortu

yauthérah يوطره; tortu, rendre tortu

??*mayauthera* ما يوطره

◆ NZ: ḌR₁₈

TR₂**aṭar** [m.] pl. ṭarīn 'foot'*aṭâr, aṭâr* pl. *ṭârīn, ṭârīn-(nûk)* [PT:V]P: piede PT: V M: pied *athar* اطار◆ NZ: DR₃ TC: 235Berber, cf. Ghd. *aḍar* 'foot'; Kb. *aḍar* 'foot';To. *ādār* 'foot, leg' Zng. *aḍaʔr* 'leg'**TR₃******ṭâr** [v.cvc] 'to fly'

res. ṭar

res. 3sg.m. *iṭāra*

Z: II

◆ Ar. *ṭāra* 'to fly'**TRS****ṭrās** [v.ccc.irreg.] 'to braid hair'

impf. ṭerràs

imp. sg. *ṭrās*; impf. 3sg.f. *ṭṭerrās* (*irreg.*)

P: intrecciare

◆ NZ: DR₅/S₂Berber, cf. Ghd. *āḍrās* 'to braid (hair); to comb'; Siwa *əṭrās* 'to braid hair'**aṭrās** [v.n.m.] 'braiding of hair'*aṭrās*

P: intrecciare

TRŠ**ṭrəš** [v.ccc.irreg.] 'to vomit'

impf. ṭerrəš

imp. sg. *ṭrəš*; impf. 1sg. *ṭarrāšh* (*irreg.*)

P: vomitare

◆ Ar. *ṭaraša* 'to vomit'**TS/TŞ****aṭs** [v.cc*] 'to laugh'

seq. = res. əṭṣa fut. əṭs impf. təşşá

imp. sg. *aṭs, aṭs* pl.m. *tşât* pl.f. *tşîmet*; pf. 1sg.*ătşîh* 3sg.m. *yétşa*; res. 1sg. *tşîha* 3sg.m.*yetşâya*; fut. 1sg. *aṭşáh* 3sg.m. *ayétş*; impf. 1sg.*teşşîh* 3sg.m. *iteşşá*P: ridere M: rire *etsa* ائه◆ NZ: DS₂ TC: 259Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăds* 'to laugh'; Zng. *aṭşi(?)* 'to

laugh'

təşşât [v.n.f.] 'laughing'*teşşât*

P: ridere

š-əṭs, s-əṭs [caus.v.] 'to make s.o laugh'imp. sg. *šats, sats*

P: ridere

V**avú** [m.] 'smoke'*avú*

P: fumo

◆ NZ: B6 TC: 3 K: 206

Berber, cf. Ghd. *oβu* 'smoke'; Kb. *abbu*'smoke'; To. *ăho* 'smoke'; Zng. *oβbih* 'smoke'**avúv** [m.] 'smoke of incense'*avúv*

P: fumo

V ► NV**VDD****vdád** [v.ccc] 'to stop; to stand; to stand up'

seq. = res. əvdəd impf. vəddəd

imp. sg. *vdéd*; pf. 3sg.m. *yévded* [PT:III]; res.3sg.m. *yevdída* [PT:III], *yevdída* [B24] 3sg.f.*tevdída* [B24]; impf. 1sg. *veddédh* 2sg.*dveddét* [P: Example] 3sg.m. *ivédded*

P: fermarsi PT: III B24: 191

▷ *dveddét-ká* 'do not stand up!'◆ NZ: BD₁ TC: 955 K: 248Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăβdəd* 'to stand up'; Kb. *bdəd*,*bədd* 'to stand up'; To. *əbdəd* 'to stand up; toremain on foot; stop'; Zng. *ăwḍəd* 'to be

standing'

avdád [v.n.m.] 'stopping'*avdád*

P: fermarsi

š-əvdəd [caus.v.] 'to cause to stop'imp. sg. *ševded*

P: fermarsi; arrestare, fermare

VL₁**əvəl, avəl** [v.cc*] 'to cry, weep'

pf. əvlá res. əvla fut. əv(ə)l impf. vəllá

imp. sg. *evél, avél*; pf. 1sg. *vliḥ* 3sg.m. *yevlá*;
res. 1sg. *vliḥa* 3sg.m. *yevláya*; fut. 1sg. *avláḥ*
3sg.m. *ayével*; impf. 1sg. *vellíḥ* 3sg.m. *ivellâ*
3pl.f. *vellânḥet* [PT:XV]

P: piangere PT: XV M: pleurer *yéwella*

يُولِه

◆ TC: 577 K: 118, 201

Berber, cf. To. *álh* 'to weep, cry'; Zng. *äyyi(?)*
'to cry'

(ə)vlin [v.n.m.] 'crying'

vlin, evlin

P: piangere

š-əvəl [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. cry'

imp. sg. *šével*

P: piangere

VL2

təvəl [f.] pl. tvittin, tvitin 'sheep'

tevél, tevél [B24], *tvel* [B24] pl. *dvittin, tvitin*

[B24], *dvittin* [B24]

P: pecora B24: 193

◆ NZ: BL2 TC: 576 K: 193, 226

Berber, cf. To. *təḥäle* pl. *tihatten* 'sheep'; Kb.
ulli 'sheep'; Zng. *tīyih* pl. *tātən* 'sheep'

VN

avùn [m.] 'rain'

avún, avùn

P: pioggia

VN ► BN

VR1

**uvár [v.vcc] 'to cook'

res. = fut. *ùvər* impf. *tavər*

res. 3sg.m. *yuvıra* 3pl.m. *uverína*; fut. 3sg.m.

ayúver 3pl.m. *auvéren*; impf. 3sg.m. *itāver*

3pl.m. *tāvéren* 'to cook'

P: bollire M: bouillir *yétawer* يتور

▷ *imîn uverína* 'the water is cooked'

▷ *imîn tāvéren* 'the water cooks'

◆ NZ: BR2 K: 173, 233

Berber, cf. Ghd. *áβar* 'to boil', *βarβar* 'to
bubble (of boiling water)'; Nef. *áwer* 'to boil'

VR2

avór [v.cc] 'to close (from the inside)'

pf. = fut. *vər* res. *vər* impf. *təvvər*, or:

tavvər

imp. sg. *avér*; pf. 1sg. *virḥ* 3sg.m. *ivér*; res. 1sg.

avírḥa 3sg.m. *ivíra*; fut. 1sg. *avérḥ, avvérḥ*

3sg.m. *aivér, aivvér*; impf. 1sg. *tavvérḥ* 3sg.m.

itavvér

P: chiudere

◆ NZ: BR1 K: 204

Berber, cf. Ghd. *áβar* 'to be closed'; To. *àḥar*
'to be covered, be closed'

av(v)ür [v.n.m.] 'closing'

avür, avvür

P: chiudere

avìr [m.] pl. vìrrən 'wall'

avìr pl. *vìrren*

P: muro M: batir *hawir* ها وير; bati *wir*

وير

təvùrt, tavvùrt [f.] pl. tvurr 'door'

tevùrt, tavvùrt, tefùret [B], *tevùrt* [B] pl. *dvurr,*

dfurr, dfurr [B]

P: porta B: 189

◆ NZ: GR28, BR1 K: 210

Berber, cf. Kb. *tabburt* 'door'; Ghd. *taββurt*
'door'; Sok. *tawórt* 'door'

VR3

avùr [m.] pl. vuràwən 'plate, tray made of

palm leaves; also used to cover other

vessels'

avùr pl. *vuràwen*

P: piatto, vassoio

təvurìt (or: tavurìt) [f.] pl. tvurìtìn 'small

plate, tray'

tāvurît pl. *dvurîtìn*

P: piatto, vassoio

VRG1

uf tavərgàt [v.irreg.] 'to dream'

impf. *ivərga*

imp. *uftavərgât* (litt. find dream); impf. 1sg.

vergîh 3sg.m. *ivérğa*

P: sognare

◆ NZ: BRG10 K: 177, 320

Berber, cf. Ghd. *βərg* ‘to dream’; Foq. *óržu*;

Kb. *argu* ‘to dream’; To. *hùrjə-t* ‘to see in dream, dream of’

təvərgàt, tvərgàt [v.n.f.] pl. *tvərgá*
‘dream’

tävərgât, dvergât, tavergât [P: sub sognare] pl.
dvergâ

P: sogno M: rêver *tewerquiat* تورقيات

◆ K: 175, 321

Ghd. *taβǎrgot* ‘dream’; Kb. *targit* ‘dream’; MA
tawargit ‘dream’

VRG2

avərg [m.] pl. *vərgàwən* ‘pestle (usually metal, to crush cores of dates)’

avérg pl. *vergâwen*

P: pestello

VRK

vùr(ə)k [stat.v.] ‘to be broad, wide’

1sg. *vurkax* 2sg. *vurkât* 3sg.m. *vùr(ə)k*

3sg.f. *vùrkət* pl. *vur(ə)kìt*

1sg. *vurkâh* 2sg. *vurkât* 3sg.m. *vurk, vùrĕk*

3sg.f. *vùrket* pl. *vurĕkìt*

P: largo

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. To. *ihraw* ‘to be spacious, wide’. Tuareg *w* does not commonly correspond to Awjila *k*.

š-əvrək[caus.v.] ‘to broaden, widen’

imp. sg. *šévrek*

P: allargare; largo

təvrək [f.] ‘width, breadth’

tévrek

P: larghezza

VRN

(ə)vṛùn [m.] ‘flour’

vṛūn, ävrūn, evrūn [B24], *vṛūn* [B24]

P: farina M: farine *newroun* نورون B24:

192

◆ NZ: BRN1 K: 171

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aβǎrn* ‘flour’; Kb. *awrən* ‘flour’

VRR

****vrùr [v.cvc.irreg.]** ‘to be fertilized (a palm)’

res. *əvrùr, vrìr* (irreg.)

res. 3sg.m. *yevrûra* 3pl.m. *vrûrna*

P: fecondare

○ The vowel change of the root in the 3pl.m. is unexpected.

◆ NZ: BR5 K: 267

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăβrər* ‘to be fertilized (a palm)’; To. (H.) *sirār* ‘to be fertilized’

š-əvrər [caus.v.] ‘to fertilize (a palm)’

imp. sg. *šévrrer*

P: fecondare

aš-əvrər [caus.v.n.m.] ‘fertilizing (a palm)’

ašévrrer

P: fecondare

VT ► VL2

VṬ1

àvəṭ [m.] pl. *vəṭàwən* ‘night’

ávot, avot-(idîn) [PT:XV] pl. *voṭàwen*

P: notte PT: XV M: nuit *awed* ا و د

▷ *d-ávot* ‘tonight’ The *d* here seems to be the retained preposition *di* ‘in’ which is otherwise lost.

◆ NZ: D8 TC: 643 K: 189

Berber, cf. Kb. *id* ‘night’; Ghd. *éβăd* ‘night’; To. *éhăd* ‘night’; Zng. *id* ‘night’

tan d-àvəṭ [f.] ‘Owl (Litt.: The one of the night)’

tan d-ávot

P: gufo

VṬ2

avəṭ [v.cc] ‘to swear (an oath, etc.)’

IPtəvvəṭ

imp. sg. *avot*; impf. 1sg. *tevvəṭh* 3sg.m. *itevvât*

P: giurare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎβəḍ* ‘to swear’; To. *əhəḍ* ‘to swear, make an oath’

avùṭ [v.n.m.] ‘swearing’

avùṭ

P: giurare

VV1 ► V

VV2 ► BB2

VW

(əv)vìw [m.] pl. əvviwəŋ ‘bean; broad bean’

vîu, vîû pl. *əvvîwəŋ, vîwen* [B21], *evîwen* [B21]

P: fava B21: 385 M: *fève éwéouen* ا و و ن

◆ NZ: BW1 K: 247

Berber, cf. Ghd. *abǎbba* ‘bean’; Kb. *bubu, bubbu, ibîw* ‘bean’; Siwa *awaw* ‘bean’

W1

u, w ‘and’

u, w, wě [PT:XV], *w-*

P: e PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV Z: IX

◆ Ar. *wa-* ‘and’

W2

iwi [kin.m.] pl. aməzzìn ‘son’

sg. 2sg.m. iwî-k 2sg.f. iwî-m 3sg. iwî-s 1pl.

iwî-tnax 2pl.m. iwî-tkim 3pl.m. iwî-tsin;

pl. 1sg. aməzzìn-nnùk

iwî pl. *aməzzîn, aməzzîn-(nes)* [PT:I]; sg.

2sg.m. *iwî-k* 2sg.f. *iwî-m* 3sg. *iwî-s, (d-)iwî-s*

[Z:III] 1pl. *iwî-tnaḥ* 2pl.m. *iwî-tkîm* 3pl.m.

iwî-tsin; pl. 1sg. *aməzzîn-nûk*

P: figlio; ragazzo, bambino PT: I Z: III

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *o* ‘son of’; Kb. *u, w-* ‘son of’; Sok. *yâi* ‘son’; Foq. *yâi* ‘son’; aməzzìn: Berber, cf. Foq. *mezẓâi*

W3

əww [v.ċ*] ‘to knead (bread dough)’

seq. = res. əwwa impf. təwwa

imp. sg. *áu* pl.m. *wwât* pl.f. *wwîmet*; pf. 3sg.m.

yúwa; res. 3sg.m. *iwâya*; impf. 3sg.m. *itóúwa*

P: impastare

▷ *áú teríkt* ‘knead the bread dough!’

◆ Kb. *gg^w* ‘to knead’; MA *əg^w* ‘to knead’; Mzab *əgg^w* ‘to knead’; Siwa *agg^wi* ‘to knead’

(Naumann 2013: 323)

əwwu [v.n.m.] ‘kneading (bread dough)’

úwú

P: impastare

W4

wa [interj.] ‘no’

wa

P: no!

W5

wa f. ta [pron.] pl. wi f. tipre-modifier pronominal head

wa f. ta pl. *wi f. ti*

P: che, il quale

▷ *amédəŋ wa târəven nettîn ‘ayyân* ‘The man who is writing is ill.’

▷ *amédəŋ wa ššînḥa šábât gâres lûda* ‘The man whom I met yesterday is poor.’

▷ *tirîut ta teglûlân dîla mrîyet* ‘The girl that is playing there is beautiful.’

▷ *temígni ta ušânda šábât d-wértnâ* ‘The woman that has come yesterday is my sister.’

▷ *amkân wa tnéššâ gān temígnî* ‘The place where the woman is sleeping.’

▷ *ssuwānî ta škîḥa z-gān méšket* ‘The garden that I left from is small.’

wa, we, wàya, wək f. ta, te, tâya, tək [pron.] pl. wîya f. tîya Proximal deictic pronoun

wa, we, wāya, wāya [PT:IV, VII], *wék f. ta, te, tâya, tək* pl. *wîya f. tîya*

P: questo PT: IV, VII

WDF

awədúf [m.] ‘shoulder bone’

awədúf

P: osso

WDN1

****wəddən** [v.cċc] ‘to crow (of a rooster)’
 pf. / seq. wəddən impf. wəddən
 pf. 3sg.m. *iwədden*; impf. 3sg.m. *iweddân*
 P: cantare M: minaret *éouadden* ا و د ن
 ◆ Mor. Ar. *wedden* ‘to crow’ (Harrell 1966)

WG ► Ć₁

WGL

awəgìl [m.] pl. wəg(ə)lən ‘canine tooth’
awegìl pl. *wégĕlen*

P: dente

◆ TC: 978 K: 401

Berber, cf. Kb. *ugəl* ‘canine, tooth’; To. *tajəllatt* ‘lower wisdom tooth’; Zng. *tāwgəL* ‘canine’

təwəgìlt (or: tuwəgìlt) [f.] pl. təwəgìlin
 ‘molar tooth’

tuwegìlt pl. *tuwegìlin*

P: dente

WL₁

awìl [m.] pl. awìlən ‘person from Awjila’
awìl pl. *awilen*, *awìlən* [PT:II]

P: aujilino PT: II

tawìlt [f.] pl. tawìltìn ‘woman from
 Awjila’

tawìlt pl. *tawìltìn*

P: aujilino

WL₂

s-aləwwəl [adv.] ‘first; once, formerly’

s-aləwwəl [PT:III], *lōūwel* [PT:II]

PT: II, III

◆ Ar. *ʔawwal* ‘first; foremost’ Dialectal Arabic
 ‘once, formerly’ (p.c. Souag)

s-aləwwəl [adv.] ‘before’

s-əlōūwāl

PT: XI

WL₃

wəlli [kin.f.] ‘daughter’

2sg.m/ wəlli-k 2sg.f. wəllim 3sg. wəlli-s

1sg. wəllī 2sg.m. wəllī-k 2sg.f. wəllī-m 3sg.

wəllī-s, wəllī-s [Z:II]

P: figlio Z: II

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *elli* ‘daughter’; Kb. *yəlli*
 ‘daughter’; Nef. *yelli* ‘daughter’

WL₄

awìl [m.] ‘word’ pl. žlən ‘words, language’

awìl pl. *žlən* ► ŽL

P: parola

◆ TC: 575

Berber, cf. Ghd. *awal* ‘speech’; Kb. *awal*
 ‘word, speech’; To. *awal* ‘speaking, talk’; Zng.
āwāy ‘talking, speech, language’

WL₆

wəla [adv.] ‘not’

wələ

PT: V

◆ cf. Siwa *ula* negative particle, for a
 discussion on the origin of this word see Souag
 (2010: 435).

WLH

wəllāhi [interj.] ‘by god (I swear)’

wəllāhi, *wəllāhi*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *wa llāhi* ‘by god!’

WLK

twəllikt [f.] pl. twəllkìn ‘louse’

twəllikt pl. *twəllkìn*

P: pidocchio M: pou *thaoullekh* ط و ل ك ت

◆ K: 492, 581

Berber, cf. Ghd. *talləkt* ‘louse’; Kb. *tilkit*
 ‘louse’; To. *tillikk* ‘louse’; Zng. *tilləkt* ‘louse’

WLS

twəlist [f.] pl. twəlsìn ‘big plate or bowl
 of wood’

twəlist pl. *twəlsìn*

P: piatto, vassoio M: table *taouélest*

ط و ل س ت

WN₁

iwínan, iwínàn, iwìn [num.]f. iwátan,

iwàt ‘one’

m. *iwínan*, *iwínàn* [PT:IX,XII], *iwínān* [PT:III],

iwínan [PT:V], *iwínān* [PT:II,V,XI], *iwín* f.

iwātan, iwâtān [PT:XV], *iwât*

P: uno PT: I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV M: seul *yéouénan*

يوان

◆ TC: 1028 K: 444, 615

Berber, cf. Ghd. *yón* f. *yot* 'one'; Kb. *yivən* f. *yivət* 'one'; Zng. *yuʔn* 'one'

WN2

awənu [m.] pl. wənyìn, wənnəyìn 'well'
awénū pl. *wenyîn, wennyîn*

P: pozzo M: puits *aouénou* اونو

◆ TC: 718

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ánu* 'well'; Kb. *anu* 'chasm, well'; To. *ánu* 'well'; Zng. *tāniʔd* 'well')

təwəniṭ (or: **tuwəniṭ**) [f.] pl. təwəniṭin 'pit, hole'

tuweniṭ pl. *tuweniṭin*

P: buca

WN3

iwəṇ [v.icc] 'to satiate, satisfy'

impf. *tiwàn*

imp. sg. *íwəṇ*; impf. 3sg.m. *itiwān*

P: saziarsi M: rassasié *eiyouaneh*

ايوانه; rassasier *eiouan* ايوان

◆ K: 707

Ghd. *gévān* 'to be satisfied'; Foq. *gíwen* 'to satisfy'

š-íwəṇ [caus.v.] 'to make satisfied'

impf. *š-íwàn*

imp. sg. *šíwəṇ*; impf. 1sg. *šiwānh*

P: saziarsi

WN4

=íwan [demonstrative] pl. =idánindistal
deictic clitic

-íwan, -íwan [PT:XV] pl. -idánīn

P: quello PT: XV

▷ *aməḍəṇ-íwan* 'that man'

▷ *temígni-y-íwan* 'that woman'

WNM

wèn-ma [conj.] 'when, as soon as'

wəṇ-mā

PT: II

◆ ELA *wəṇ-mā* 'when, as soon as'

WQ

əwwəq [v. čc?] 'to uproot; to dig out'

seq. = res. *əwwəq* impf. *təwwəq*

imp. sg. *uwóq*; pf. 3sg.m. *yúwoq*; res. 3sg.m.

yuwúqa; impf. 3sg.m. *itúwoq*

P: sradicare, estirpare

əwwùq [v.n.m.] 'uprooting; digging out'

uwúq

P: sradicare, estirpare

WRTN

wərtna [kin.f.] 'sister'

sg. 2sg.m. *wərtná-k* 3sg. *wərtná-s* 1pl.

wərtná-tnax; pl. 2sg.m. *sətmà-k* 2sg.f.

sətmà-m

sg. 1sg. *wértnā* 2sg.m. *wertná-k* 3sg. *wertná-s*,

wertná-s [P:example] 1pl. *wertná-tnah* pl. 1sg.

sétmā 2sg.m. *setmà-k* 2sg.f. *setmà-m* [PT:XV]

'sister'

P: sorella PT: XV

▷ *wertnās* n *aməḍəṇ* 'the sister of the man'

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *wəltma* pl. *yəssətmā* 'sister';

Nef. *wəltmû* pl. *tsetmû* 'sister'; Sok. *últmā*

'sister'; Foq. *ulətmái* pl. *sátmái* 'sister'; Siwa

ʔl̥tma 'sister'; Zng. *yäd̥mäh*, *ʔäd̥mäh* pl.

ʔšäd̥mäh 'sister'

WRŽ

twəržit [f.] pl. twəržin 'root of a plant'

tweržit pl. *tweržin*

P: radice di pianta

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *tägržäh*

'underground root'

WS1

təwəss [f.] 'bed'

túéss, tawöss

P: letto M: lit *thaoues* طوس; tapis *thaoues*

طاس

▷ *ess tûéss* ‘make the bed!’

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *usu* ‘bed’; To. *tãwsett* ‘simple mat for sleeping’

WS₂

wàsa [**pron.**] indefinite relative pronoun

wàsa

PT: II

WŠ

awiš [**m.**] pl. *wiššən* ‘sword’

awiš pl. *wiššen*

P: spada M: sabre *hauch* حوش

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *aus* ‘sword’

WT/Y

awît [**v.irreg.**] ‘to hit, strike’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *wît/y* impf. *təwwît/y*

imp. sg. *awît* pl.m. *awiyât* pl.f. *awîmet*; pf. 1sg.

wîh 3sg.m. *iwît*; res. 1sg. *ăwîha* 3sg.m. *iwîta*;

fut. 1sg. *awîh* 3sg.m. *aiwît*; impf. 1sg. *tuwîh*,

tâwêih 3sg.m. *ituwêit*

P: battere M: abattu *youayah* يَوَايَه;

coup *eioued* ايواد

◆ TC: 985 K: 594

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăwət* ‘to hit, strike’; Kb. *wət* ‘to hit, strike’; To. *əwət* ‘to hit, strike’; Zng. *ăwih* ‘to hit, strike’

tîta [**v.n.f.**] ‘blow, hit’

tîta, *tîti(n)* [Z:XII]

P: battere; colpo Z: XII

awît avùn [**phrasal v.**] ‘to rain (litt. rain hits)’

awît avùn

P: piovere

WT

wótti-(dikkəni) [**v.cċ***] ‘to prepare’

impf. pf. / seq. *wətta* imp. sg.

wétti-(dikkéni) pl.f. *wettîmet*; pf. 3sg.f. *twétta*

PT: XV

◆ ELA *wattī* ‘to make ready, to prepare’ (Stem II) (p.c. Benkato)

****ut/uti** [**v.vci/vc***] ‘to be ready’

res. *ùta*

res. 3sg.m. *yutâya*

PT: XV

◆ ELA *yūtī*, Stem I of the above, thus *yūtī* ‘to be ready’. (p.c. Benkato)

Ultimately from Ar. *ʔatā* ‘to come, arrive’

WT₁

wəṭ [**v.cc**] ‘to arrive; to reach’

pf. *wəṭ* res. *wəṭ* impf. *təwwəṭ*

imp. sg. *wəṭ*; pf. 1sg. *wəṭh* 3sg.m. *iwəṭ*; res. 1sg.

wəṭha 3sg.m. *iwəṭa*; impf. 1sg. *tūwəṭh* 3sg.m.

itəwəṭ

P: arrivare; raggiungere M: atteindre

yéouath يَوَاث

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăwəṭ* ‘to reach’; Kb. *awəṭ*

‘to reach, arrive’; To. *əwəṭ* ‘to arrive’

əwūṭ [**v.n.m.**] ‘arriving; reaching’

ūwūṭ

P: raggiungere

WT₂ ► QT

WWN

wíwan f. tíwan pl. *widánin* f. *tidánin*

[**pron.**] distal deictic pronoun

wíwan f. *tíwan* pl. *widânin* f. *tidânin*

P: quello

WYL

ittəwwiyəl [**v.???**] ‘to be dumbfounded, amazed’

pf. 3sg.m. *ittōūwýel* [PT:VIII]

PT: VIII

◆ ELA *yetwayyel* ‘to be dumbfounded, to wonder at’ (p.c. Benkato)

X

=**ax** [**pron.**] 1pl. direct object pronoun

-*aḥ*, res. -*āḥa*

P: noi

XBR

****xəbbər** [**v.cċc**] ‘to tell’

impf. *xəbbər*

impf. 3sg.m. *iḥabbâr*

PT: II

◆ Ar. *ḥabbara* ‘to tell’

XBṬ

****əxbəṭ** [v.ccc] ‘to hit, strike’

pf. / seq. *əxbəṭ*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeḥbót-(t)*

PT: III

◆ Ar. *ḥabaṭa* ‘to beat, strike’

XDR

əlxəḍ(ə)rət [f.] ‘vegetable’

elḥáḍārät

PT: XII M: fruits *elkhodret* الخضرة

◆ Ar. *ḥuḍra(t)* ‘vegetation, verdure, greenery, greens’

XL

xàli [m.] ‘(maternal) uncle’

ḥālī

P: zio

◆ Ar. *ḥāl* ‘uncle’

XMM

****xəmməm** [v.cċc] ‘to think, ponder’

pf. *xəmməm* impf. *xəmmàm*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeḥammém* [PT:II]; impf. 2sg.

aḥemmámt [P:example: che cosa?]

PT: II

◆ Ar. *ḥammaṇa* ‘to guess, conjecture, surmise’

XR₁

axìr [m.] ‘the better (thing)’

aḥîr [PT:IV,IX], *aḥêr* [PT:III]

PT: III, IV, IX

◆ Ar. *ḥayr* ‘better’, perhaps the initial *a* in Awjila comes from a regularized superlative formation *aḥyar*.

Alternatively, this word may come from Ar. *aḥîr* ‘last’, which underwent a semantic shift of ‘the last’ > ‘the best’

XR₂

(ə)xxár [v.cċc] ‘to remove (oneself); to

remove, take away’

imp. sg. *əḥḥār*; *ḥḥér* [P: example]

P: togliere, levare

▷ *ḥḥér s-tebārût-ī* ‘Get off the road!’

▷ *ḥḥér šuwāl-âya* ‘remove that bag!’

XR₃

əxra ‘feces’

óhra

Z: IX

◆ Ar. *ḥarāʔ* ‘feces’

XRBṢ

əlxərbuṣ-(ənnəs) [m.] ‘garden’

əlḥarbūṣ-(énnes), *elḥarbūṣ-(énnes)*

PT: XV

◆ Certainly derived from Ar. *ḥarbūṣ* ‘tent’, but the semantic shift is unusual.

XS

tìxsi [f.] pl. *tixsiwìn* ‘flock, cattle’

tìhsī ‘head of a sheep or goat’ pl. *tìhsiwìn*

P: capo (ovino o caprino); gregge

◆ TC: 618, K: 722

Berber, cf. Kb. *tixsi* ‘sheep’; To. *tèyse* ‘sheep or goat, head of small livestock’; Zng. *təkših* ‘female goat’

XṬM

****əxṭəm** [v.ccc] ‘to pass by’

res. *əxṭəm*

res. 3sg.m. *yaḥṭîma* [PT:II]

PT:II

****xəṭṭəm** [v.cċc] ‘to drop by someone (+ *af*), visit, to meet with’

impf. *xəṭṭàm*

impf. 3sg.m. *yeḥəṭṭām* [PT: IV], *iḥəṭṭām* [PT: XI]

PT: IV, XI

◆ LA *ixəṭṭəm salā* ‘to pick someone up, to drop by someone’ (p.c. Benkato)

XZR

****əxzər** [v.ccc] ‘to see; to look at s.o/s.th. (+ *af*)’

pf. əxzər seq. əxzər

imp. pl.f. *ħzérmet* [PT:XV] pf. 3sg.m. *yáħzer* [PT:VI,VII], *yähzér* [PT:III], *yehzér* [PT:III,XV] 3sg.f. *taħzér* [PT:III,XV] 3pl.f. *ħzérnet* [PT:XV] PT: III, VI, VII, XV M: voir *eghzart*

يغزارت; vue *yaghzart* يغزارت

◦ Pronominal direct objects are indicated with the particle *gār*.

◆ Ar. *ħazara* 'to look askance, give s.o. a sidelong glance'

Algerian Ar. *ħzər* 'look, stare, look disparagingly' (p.c. Souag)

Y₁

ya [interj.] 'o! (vocative particle)'

ya [PT:V], *jā* [Z:IV,X]

PT: V Z: IV, X

◆ Ar. *yā* 'o!'

Y₂

=*áya*, =*é*, =*ák* [demonstrative] pl. =*iya*, =*iyə*kproximal deictic clitic

-*áya*, -*é*, -*ek*, -*ék* [P: example] pl. -*íya*, *íyäk* [PT:I]

P: questo PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, IX

▷ *aməḍen-áya*, *aməḍen-ék* 'this man'

Y-D ► Š(-D), Y-D

YK

=*iyək* ► =*áya*

YM₁

yom [m.] pl. *ayyam* 'day'

yōm pl. *āyām*

PT: II, IX

◦ The singular *yōm* is only found in a code-switch to Arabic in the texts. *īlā yōm əlqiyāma* 'until the day of resurrection' [PT:II]

◦ The plural is only found with a numeral.

◆ Ar. *yawm* pl. *ayyām* 'day'

YM₂

yam [adv.] 'only, just'

yām

Z: X

YN ► N₃

YQZR ► QZR

YR

ayūr [m.] pl. *ayūrən* 'new moon, month; button (of mother of pearl)'

ayūr, *ayūr* pl. *ayūren*

P: luna, mese; bottone M: lune *ayour*

ايور

◆ TC: 115 K: 712

Berber, cf. Ghd. *óyār* 'moon'; Kb. *aggur*, *agur* 'moon'; To. *íyor*, *áyyor*, *íyu*, *áyyur* 'moon'; Zng. *ä?ž(ž)ər* 'moon'

YX ► Y

Z₁

zzày [m.] pl. *zzìwən* 'breast'

zzái, *zú* [B₂₁] pl. *zzíwən*, *zúwən* [B₂₁]

P: mammella B₂₁: 384

◦ Beguinot has a very different singular than Paradisi. The singular form of Beguinot would be the regular singular to correspond to the plural attested in Paradisi.

z-di, **z-díwa** ► S₂

Z₂

izí n agmàr [phrasal n.] 'horse fly'

izí n agmár

P: mosca

◆ TC: 107

Berber, cf. Ghd. *izi* 'fly'; Kb. *izi* 'fly'; To. *éšš* 'fly'; Zng. *i?ž(i)?* 'fly'; Siwa *izí* 'fly' (Naumann 2013: 374).

ZBD

zbùd [m.] 'spit, saliva'

zbùd

P: sputo

◆ Perhaps from Latin *sputum* 'spit' or Italian *sputo* 'spit'

ZDZ

azədúz [m.] '(wooden) hammer'

azedúz

P: martello

◆ NZ: DZ₁

Berber, cf. Kb. *azduz* ‘mallet’; MA *azduz* ‘mallet’

ZF

azif [m.] pl. *ziffən* ‘tail’

azif, *azif*-(*ennúk*) [PT:XV] pl. *ziffen* ‘tail’

P: coda PT: VIII, XV M: queue *azif* ا زيف

ZG

zgi [conj.] ‘after that’

zgi

P: dopo

▷ *zgi a-kemmélh* ‘after I will have finished’

▷ *zgi yûna* ‘after he had entered’

◆ ► **ZGG**

ZGG

ar-zgîg [adv.] ‘inside’

ar-zgîg, *ar-ëzgîg*, *zgi*

P: dentro PT: IV M: dedans *azkik* ا ذكك

○ Historically to be analysed as *ar* ‘towards’ s ‘along’ *gîg* ‘inside’

▷ *yân ar-zgîg* ‘go inside!’

◆ K: 688 Foq. *žāž* ‘inside’; Sok. *žaz* ‘inside’; MA *žaz* ‘inside’; Ghd. *daž* ‘house’

ZK

zìk [v.cvc] ‘to become well, recover, heal (intrans.)’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *zìk*

imp. sg. *zìk*; pf. 3sg.m. *izìk*; res. 3sg.m. *izìka*;

fut. 3sg.m. *ayezìk*

P: guarire

◆ TC: 1144 K: 549, 701

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzìk* ‘to heal’; To. *àzzəy* ‘to get well’; Zng. *āžžig* ‘to heal’

s-əzìk, **s-əgzək** [caus.v.] ‘to heal (trans)’

imp. sg. *sezìk*, *ségzek*

P: guarire

ZL₁

àzzəl [v.ċc.irreg.] ‘to run (imperative

only); to have bowel movement’

res. = fut. *əzzəl* impf. *təzzəl*

imp. sg. *ázzel*; res. 3sg.m. *izzila*; fut. *ayézzel*;

impf. *itézzel*

P: andare; correre M: courir *yétazzeħ*

ا ز ا ل; traverser *azzal* ا ز ا ل

▷ *ažār-ennúk itézzel* ‘I have diarrhea (litt.

My belly is running)’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzzəl* ‘to run’; Kb. *əzzəl* ‘to run’; To. *āšəl* ‘to run’

ZL₂

zzìl [m.] ‘iron’

zzìl

P: ferro M: fer *zel* ز ل

◆ TC: 1109

Berber, cf. Foq. *uzzâl* ‘iron’; Kb. *uzzal* ‘iron’;

Nef. *zzel* ‘iron’; Sok. *uzâl* ‘iron’; Zng. *uzzäy* ‘iron’

ZL₃

azzàl [m.] ‘saddle’

azzâl

P: finimenti

ZLF

ìzləf [m.] ‘summer’

ìzlef, *ézflef*

P: estate

ZLMT₁

azəlmàt [m.] ‘left’

azelmât

P: sinistra

▷ *afazelmât* ‘on the left’

◆ TC: 1140

Berber, cf. Ghd. *azəlməd* ‘left’; Kb. *azəlməd*

‘left’; To. *šəlməd* ‘to be left-handed’; Zng.

žäymud ‘left-handed’

ZLQ

azàləq [m.] pl. *zuliq* ‘billy goat’

azâləq pl. *zuliq*

P: caprone M: bouc *zala* ز لعه

○ Also called: *ajîded amoqqarân* (litt: big kid)

○ Müller has *ʕ* instead of *q*.

◆ Berber, cf. To. *āšólay* ‘stud goat, uncastrated adult billy-goat’; Siwa *zalaq* ‘billy goat’; Sok. *zâlaq* ‘large goat’; Zng. *āžäyi(?)* ‘billy goat’

ZM

azám [v.cc] ‘to shave’

pf. / seq. *zəm* impf. *təzzàm*

imp. sg. *azém*; pf. 3sg.m. *izem-(ís)* [PT:XIV];

impf. 3sg.m. *itezám* ptc. *tezzámən*

P: radersi PT: XIV M: barbier *yezem* يـيـم;

cheveu *ezem* اذم; raser *hezam* هزام

raser (se) *hezameh* هزامه

azùm [v.n.m.] ‘shaving’

azùm

P: radersi

wa təzzámən [m.] ‘barber (litt. The one who is shaving)’

wa-tezzámən, wa tezzámən [PT:XIV]

P: radersi PT:XIV

ZMR

əzmər [v.ccc] ‘to be able’

pf. / seq. *əzmər* res. *əzmər* impf. *zəmmər*

imp. sg. *ezmér*; pf. 1sg. *zmerh-(ká)* [PT:V]

3sg.m. *yezmer* [PT:I]; res. 3sg.m. *izmíra* [PT:I];

impf. 1sg. *zémmerh* 3sg.m. *izémmer*

P: potere PT: I, V

◆ TC: 1125

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzmər* ‘to be able (physically)’; Kb. *əzmər* ‘to be able’; To. *āšmər* ‘to endure, put up with’; Zng. *āžmər* ‘to support (without the risk of health)’

ZN1

****uzən** [v.ccc] ‘to weigh’

impf. *tazən*

impf. 3sg.m. *itāzän-(dík)*

PT: IV

◆ Ar. *wazana* ‘to weigh’

uzùn-(nəs) [v.n.m.] ‘weighing’

uzùn-(nes)

PT: IV

əlmizàn [m.] ‘balance, scales’

əlmizân [PT:IV], *əlmizân-(nes)* [PT:III],

elmizân-(i) [PT:IV]

PT: III, IV M: poids *meizan* ميزان

◆ Ar. *mizân* ‘balances, scales’

ZN2

àzən [m.] ‘next year’

ázän

P: anno

◆ Siwa *azən* ‘next year’

ZNM

zənìm [m.] ‘bastard’

zinîm

Z: IX

◆ Ar. *zanîm* ‘bastard’

ZNQ

tzənəqt [f.] pl. *tzənqîn* ‘street’

tzenáqt pl. *ženqîn, dzanqîn*

P: strada, via PT: III

◆ Mor. Ar. *zanqa* ‘street’; Ar. *zinaq* ‘narrow street, lane, alley, bystreet’

ZR1

zərr, zzər [m.] pl. *zərrən* ‘back’

zerr, zzer pl. *zərren*

P: dorso M: dos *ghezzer* قَزَر

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *azagur* ‘back’; Siwa *ərrāo, ərrau* ‘back’

ZR2

tazàrt [f.] pl. *təzzàr* ‘millstone, handmill’

tazârt pl. *tezzâr*

P: macina

◆ Kb. *tissirt, tassirt, tasirt* ‘mill’; Foq. *tasârt* ‘millstone’; Siwa *tasârt* ‘handmill’

ZRD

****əzrəd** [v.ccc] ‘to eat, gulp, devour’

fut. *əzrəd*

fut. 3pl.m. *azrédén*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *zarada* ‘to choke (s.o.), strangle; to gulp,

swallow, devour'

ZRF

azarîf [m.] 'alum'

azārîf

P: allume

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *aẓarîf* 'alum'; Ghd. *aẓarîf* 'alum'.

Ultimately from Punic, cf. Hebrew *šārîf* 'alum' (Vycichl 1958)

ZRG

azərg [m.] pl. zərgən 'stone'

azərg pl. *zərgen*

P: pietra

◆ MA *azerg* 'handmill'

ZRM

tazərmît [f.] 'name of a sparrow'

tāzərmît

P: passero

ZRQ ► LZRQ

ZṬ

azît [m.] pl. zîṭàn 'donkey'

azît, azît, azîṭ, azîṭ-(énnes, ennúk)

[PT:IV,VIII], *aziṭ-(énnes)* [PT:XII],

azît-(énnes) [PT:XII], *azîṭ-(ennúk)* [PT:VIII],

azîṭ-(annek) [Z:XIII] pl. *zîṭân, zîṭân*

P: asino PT: IV, V, VII, VIII, XII Z: XIII M:

âne *azeit* ا ز ي ت

◆ K: 708

Berber, cf. Ghd. *azéd* 'donkey'; To. *ešed* 'donkey'. For a discussion on the historical development of this word see Kossmann (1999: 231)

təzît, tizît [f.] pl. tzittîn 'she-donkey'

tezît, tizît pl. *tzittîn, dzittîn, zittîn*

P: asino

ZW

aziwà [m.] pl. ziwàyən 'bunch of dates'

aziwâi pl. *ziwâyen*

P: grappolo di datteri

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *aziwa* 'bunch of dates'; Fig.

aziwa 'stem of a female palm'; Ouar. *taziwayt* 'bunch'; Mzab *taziwayt* 'complete bunch' To. (H Y) *tezewt* 'small branch'

ZWY

zəwwəy [stat.v.] 'to be red'

1sg. *zəwɣàx* 2sg. *zəwɣàt* 3sg.m. *zəwwəy*

3sg.f. *zəwɣət* pl. *zəwɣît*

1sg. *zōūgâh* 2sg. *zōūgât* 3sg.m. *zōūwaj* 3sg.f.

zōūgât pl. *zōūgît*

P: rosso M: rougir *zouagh* ز و ا غ; rouge

nézouagh ن ز و ا غ

◆ TC: 1114

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əzɣəy* 'to be red'; Kb. *əzwəy* 'to become red, become brown'; To. *išway* 'to be or become red'; Zng. *žobhâ(?)* 'to be red'

zwəy [adj.] pl. zwəyən f. t(ə)zwəyt pl.

tzwəyin 'red'

m. sg. *zuâg* pl. *zuâgen*; f. sg. *tzuâgt, tēzwâgt*

[PT:XIII] pl. *tzuâgîn*

P: rosso PT: XIII

ZWR

zəwwər [stat.v.] 'to be large'

1sg. *zəwràx* 2sg. *zəwràt* 3sg.m. *zəwwər*

3sg.f. *zəwrət* pl. *zəwwirît*

1sg. *zurâh* 2sg. *zōūrât* 3sg.m. *zúwor*; 3sg.f.

zōūret, zūret pl. *zuwirît*

P: grosso M: fort *zor* ز و ر; rude *ezaouar*

ا ز و ا ر

◆ TC: 1145 K: 94, 127, 222

Berber, cf. Ghd. *zuwwər* 'to be thick'; Kb.

zzuzər 'to largen'; Zng. *žəɽw(w)ur* 'to be thick, be large'; Siwa *zwər* 'to become big'

s-əzwər [caus.v.] 'to swell (trans.); to make erect'

imp. sg. *sézwor*

P: grosso

azəw(w)àr [adj.] pl. zəw(w)àrən f

tazəw(w)àrt pl. tzəw(w)àrîn 'large'

m.sg. *azuwâr* pl. *zuwâren* f.sg. *tāzuwârt* pl.

zuwarîn

P: grosso M: épais *azouar* ا ز و ا ر

ZWT**zwōt** [v.ccc] ‘to slam; to throw’imp. sg. *zwát*

P: sbattere, gettare

****t-zəwəṭ** [pass.v.] ‘to be thrown on the ground’

t-zəwəṭ

res. 3sg.m. *itzūwīta*

P: sbattere, gettare

ZZR**z-ùzər** [caus.v.] ‘to winnow’impf. *z-uzàr*imp. sg. *zúzer*, *zōzar*; impf. 3sg.m. *izuzâr*

P: vagliare

◆ Siwa *zuzər* ‘to winnow’; Fig. *zzuzzər* ‘to winnow’**az-ùzər** [caus.v.n.m.] ‘winnowing’*azúzer*

P: vagliare

Z₁**ažùy** [stat.v.] ‘to be bitter’‘3sg.m. *ažùy* 3sg.f. *ažuyìt* pl. *ažuyìt*’sg. m. *ažúi* f. *ažuyìt* pl. *ažuyìt*

P: amaro

▷ *imîn ažuýt* ‘bitter water’◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *zâi* ‘bitter’; Siwa *žai* ‘to be bitter’**Z₂****z(ž)ùy** [m.] pl. *žwàn* ‘palm’*žúi*, *žžúi* pl. *žwân*P: palma M: palmier *azouan* *ازون*◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *tažwat* ‘palm leaf’**ZD****īžd** [m.] ‘spindle’*īžd*P: conocchia per filare M: quenouille *ezd**ازد*◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. the Berber words for ‘loom’, that appear to have a similar root: Foq. *ažóṭta*, *ažéṭta* ‘loom’; Kb. *ažetta* ‘loom’; Nef.*žetta* ‘loom’; Sok. *ašéṭta* ‘loom’; Siwa *ašəṭta* ‘loom’; Ghd. *asəṭta* ‘loom’, cf. also *šṭâu* ► ŠṬW**ZK****žžàk** [stat.v.] ‘to be heavy’1sg. *žžákax* 2sg. *žžákat* 3sg.m. *žžàk* 3sg.f.*žžàkət* pl. *žžakit*1sg. *žžákah* 2sg. *žžákāt* 3sg.m. *žžák* 3sg.f.*žžáket* pl. *žžákīt*; ptc. *žžáken* [PT:III]P: pesante PT: III M: pesant *ezzag* *زَق*

◆ TC:118 K: 551

Berber, cf. Ghd. *žak* ‘to be heavy’; To. *izak* ‘to be or become heavy’; Zng. *ažž(ž)ag* ‘to be heavy’; Kb. *ažay* ‘to be heavy’; MA *žžay* ‘to be heavy’; Ouar. *žža* ‘to be heavy’**s-əžžik** [caus.stat.v.] ‘to make heavy’imp. sg. *s-ažžik*

P: pesante

tazžik, **tazžiq** [f.] ‘heaviness, weight’*tazžik*, *tazžiq*

P: pesantezza

ZM₁**žum** [v.cvc] ‘to fast’imp. sg. *žūm*

P: digiunare

◆ TC: 1153

Berber, cf. Ghd. *žúm* ‘to fast’; Kb. *užum* ‘to fast’; To. *əžum* ‘to fast’; Zng. *užum* ‘to fast’. An early loanword from Ar. *šāma* ‘to fast’ (Kossmann & Van den Boogert 1997)**ZM₂****tazùmt** [f.] ‘herb (Ar. (Cyrenaica)*šamma*, Ar. (Tripolitania) *bersîm*’*tazùmt*

P: erba

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. To. *tàžemme* ‘type of grass, Chloris prieurii’**ZMK/Y****žmæk** [v.ccc] ‘to sew’impf. *žəmmæk*imp. sg. *žmāk* impf. 1sg. *žemmākḥ* 3sg.m.

izémmâk

P: cucire M: couture *ezzoumak* اَزْوَ مَك

◆ TC: 1158 K: 550

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăzmək* ‘to sew’; To. *əzməy* ‘to be sewn’; Zng. *ažmug* ‘to sew’

ažəmàk [v.n.m.] ‘sewing’

ažamâk, azamâk [B21]

P: cucire B21: 384

ažmày [m.] ‘joining (of mats)’

ažmâi

P: giungo

○ Paradisi’s definition ‘giungo (per stuoie)’ is open to interpretation. It may mean: ‘The action of sewing mats together’, or perhaps ‘the seam of mats sown together’.

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *ažamma* ‘sewing’

ZN

zžan [m.] ‘excrement’

pl. *zžân*

P: escremento

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *izžan* ‘excrements’; Siwa *zžan* ‘faeces’ (Naumann 2013: 374)

ZT₁

zùt [prep.] ‘above’

1sg. *zùt mînn-i zùt fəlli-wi* 2sg.m. *zùt mînn-ək*

zùt, zòt [PT:VI], *zùt* [PT:VI,XV] 1sg. *zùt mînn-i,*

zùt fəlli-wi 2sg.m. *zùt mînn-ək*

▷ *ar-zùt* ‘upward’

▷ *s-ar-zùt* ‘from above’ [PT:VI]

P: sopra PT: XIII, XV

ar-zùt [adv.] ‘upward’

ar-zùt, ar-zùt [PT:VI]

P: sopra PT: VI

ZT₂ ► **ZT**

Ž

əžž [v.c*] ‘to plant’

imp. sg. *ežž*

P: piantare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăzž* ‘to plant’; Kb. *əzžu* ‘to

plant’; Nef. *ăzžâ, ézžâ* ‘to plant’; Sok. *özžu* ‘to plant’

əžžú [v.n.m.] ‘planting’

ežžú

P: piantare

iž ► **NŽ**

ŽBN

žəbbànət [f.] ‘cemetery’

žebbânet

PT: II

◆ Ar. *žabbāna(t)* ‘cemetery’

ŽBR

žibərət-(ənnəs) [f.] ‘travelling bag’

žiberet-(énnes)

PT: XV

ŽDBY

ždàbyət [f.] ‘Ajdabiya’

ždâbiet

P: altro (example)

◆ Ar. *Aždābiyā*

ŽGŽ

ž-igəž [caus.v.] ‘to walk’

pf. / seq. = res. *ž-igəž* impf. *ž-igəž*

imp. sg. *žigež*; pf. 1sg. *žigežh* 3sg.m. *ižigež*; res.

1sg. *žigizha* 3sg.m. *ižigiza*; impf. 1sg. *žigəžh*

3sg.m. *ižigəž*

▷ *žigež ar-dit* ‘to walk forward’

P: camminare; andare PT: III M: aller

devant *djeghez* جَغَز; rapprocher *djighez*

جِغَزِه; rapprocher (se) *djighezeh* جِغَزِه

◆ NZ: GZ29

Berber, cf. Zng. *ižigž* ‘walking’, suppletive

verbal noun to *ābdih* ‘to walk’; Ghd. *ziyyəz* ‘to travel’

až-igəž [caus.v.n.m.] ‘walking’

ažigež

P: andare

ŽYDŠ

ažəydiš [m.] ‘false ribs’

ažəgdīš

P: costola

◆ MA *ayəsdis* ‘rib’; Mzab *asəydis* ‘side of the chest, flank’

Originally this word was a compound of *ayəs* ‘bone’ + *adis* ‘belly’. Like MA, Awjila has undergone metathesis.

tažəydišt [f.] ‘girth of rope that ties to the saddle’

tažəgdišt

P: finimenti

ŽĤM

əžžəħim [m.?.f.?] ‘hell’

əžžəħim

PT: III

◆ Ar. *žəħim* ‘fire, hellfire, hell’ f. (also m.)

ŽKR

ažikər [m.] ‘large rope (also made of *ižvin*)’

ažiker

P: corda PT: VII

◆ Kb. *izikər* ‘braided rope’; Nef. *zukér, zukár* ‘rope’

ŽLB

əžžələb [m.] ‘riches’

iğğilib

Z: VII

◆ Ar. *žalb* ‘bringing, fetching, procurement, acquisition’, developed to mean ‘riches’

ŽLN

pl. **žlān** [m.] ‘speech, words, languages’

pl. *žlān, žlān* [PT:III,XV], *žlān-(ĥya)* [PT:V]

P: discorso, parole; lingua PT: III, IV, V, VI, XV

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *žilān n isĥwan* ‘The Siwi language’

ŽM₁

Tažəmmit [P.N.] ‘name of a garden in the village of Awjila’

Tažəmmit

P: Tažəmmit

ŽM₂

?ažəm [m.] ‘deer, gazelle’

adjem ا د جم

M: daim, gazelle

◆ NZ: DM₅

Berber, cf. To. (H.) *ehəm* ‘antelope’; Zng.

əžəmmi(?) ‘gazelle’; Siwa *izəm* ‘gazelle’

ŽN₁

žin [v.cvc.irreg.] ‘to divide’

pf. / seq. = res. *žina*

imp. sg. *žin*; pf. 1sg. *žinĥ* 3sg.m. *ižĥna*; res. 1sg.

žinĥa 3sg.m. *ižinĥa* 3pl.m. *ižinĥana* [PT:II] ‘to divide’

P: dividere PT: II

◆ TC: 1159 K: 619

Berber, cf. Foq. *izin* ‘to divide’; Ghd. *əžən* ‘to divide’; To. *užan* ‘to divide, share’; Zng. *ažun* ‘to divide’

təmžint [v.n.f.] ‘dividing’

temžint

P: dividere

ŽN₂

žnĥ [m.] ‘Libyan pound’

žnĥ, znĥ

PT: V

◆ ELA *žənay* (Benkato 2012: 9); Ar. *žunaih* ‘(Libyan) pound’

ŽNQ ► ZNQ

ŽR₁

təžiri [f.] pl. *tžiriwĥn* ‘small rope’

težirĥ, tižiri [B₂₁] pl. *ğiriwĥn* (<*tžiriwĥn*)

P: corda B₂₁: 386 M: chaîne *tedjiri*

ا ج ر ي; corde *édjiri*

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tazara* ‘rope’

ŽR₂

ižir [m.] ‘son (also used for animals)’

ižir

P: figlio

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *ğir, žir* ‘son’

ŽR₃

təžór [f.] ‘moon’

težér

P: luna

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *tiziri* ‘moonlight’; Ghd. *tazíri* ‘full moon’; Siwa *tazíri* ‘moon’

ŽR4

ažàr [m.] pl. žàrrən ‘abdomen, belly’

ažár pl. *žárren*

P: ventre

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *ğār* ‘abdomen, belly’

ŽRT

tžiràt [f.] ‘ribs of leafs (coll.)’

tžirât

P: palma

tžiraṭ [f.] pl. tžiraṭṭin ‘rib of a leaf’

tžiraṭ pl. *ğirāṭṭin*

P: palma

ŽT

àžəṭ [v.cc] ‘to grind, mill’

impf. təžžàṭ

imp. sg. *ázōṭ*; impf. 3sg.m. *itežžàṭ*

P: macinare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzəd* ‘to grind’; To. *əzəd* ‘to grind, crush’

****tt-əžəṭ** [pass.v.] ‘to be ground, be milled’

impf. = fut. ttəžəṭ

res. 3sg.m. *ittižžàṭa*; fut. 3sg.m. *aittäžəṭ*

P: macinare

ŽV

ažəvú, ažəvu [m.] pl. əžəvùwəŋ? ‘hair’

ažəvú, ažəvú, ežəfú [B21; B24], *ežəvú* [B24]

eğəvú [B21] pl. *eğəfúen* [B21; B24] ‘hair’

P: capelli, peli PT: VIII B21: 384 B24: 189

▷ *afəttú n ažəvú* ‘one hair’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *azaw* ‘hair’; Foq. *azâu n iyáf* ‘hairs of the head’; Nef. *zâu* ‘hairs’; Sok. *zâu* ‘hairs’

ŽVN

pl. **ižvìn** [m.] ‘palm fibres’

pl. *ižvìn*

P: palma

◆ K: 132

Nef. *asân* ‘palm fibres’; Foq. *asân* ‘palm fibres’; Ghd. *azβan* ‘palm fibres’. Kossmann (2002) suggests that this word is originally a loanword from Egyptian.

ŽVT

(ə)žvət̚ [v.ccc] ‘to measure (cereals)’

imp. sg. *žvât, ažvót* [PT:VIII]

P: misurare PT: VIII

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzβəd* ‘to measure’

ažvət̚ [v.n.m.] ‘measuring (cereals)’

ažvât

P: misurare

ŽVV

žvùv [v.cvc] ‘to burn incense’

pf. / seq. óžvuv res. žvùv

imp. sg. *žvív*; pf. 1sg. *žvívŋ* 3sg.m. *yéžvūv*; res.

1sg. *žvívŋha* 3sg.m. *ižvúva*

P: bruciare profumi

◆ Probably a causative derivation of *avúv* ‘smoke of incense’, the voicing of the š- prefix is unexpected.

žvùv [m.] ‘incense’

žvív

P: profumi

ŽŽW

ažžiw, aššiw [m.] ‘chick’

ažžíu, aššíu

P: pulcino M: poulet *edjijiau* ا ج ي ج ي و

◆ K: 648

Berber, cf. Kb. *içəwçəw* ‘chick’; Nef. *ššiw* ‘young bird’ cf. also ELA *šowšəw* pl. *šowāšiw* ‘chick’ (Benkato 2012: 13).

ŽŖL

žŖal [v.ccc] ‘to believe’

imp. sg. *ğ’āl*

Z: XI

◆ Ar. *žafala* ‘to make; to put, place, lay; to believe’

ᚼᚩ

ᚼᚰᚩᚩ [v.cċ(*)] ‘to go’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ᚼᚰᚩᚩ

imp. sg. ‘*add*, ‘*add* [PT:V] pl.m. ‘*addât* pl.f.‘*addîmet*; pf. 1sg. ‘*addîh* 2sg. *ta’addît* [P:example] 3sg.m. *ya’add* 3pl.m. ‘*addân*[PT:XV]; res. 1sg. ‘*addîha* 3sg.m. *ya’idda*; fut.1sg. *a’addâh*, *a’ddaâh* (sic) [PT:II] 3sg.m.*ayá’add*, *aya’add* [PT:XV] 1pl. *anna’add*

[PT:II,V,XV]

P: andare PT: II, IV, V, VII, IX, XI, XII, XIII,

XIV, XV M: voyager *yaad* يعد▷ *ta’addît-ka* ‘do not go’◆ ELA *iṣáddi* ‘to leave’

ᚼᚩᚩ

ᚰᚼᚰᚩᚩ, ᚰᚼᚰᚩᚩ [m.] ‘number’

al’áded, *el’áded*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *ṣadad* ‘number, numeral’

ᚼᚱ

I(ə)ᚼᚰᚰᚰ [adj.adv.] ‘much, many, very’

lǎ’alla, *l’alla* [PT:V,XI] ‘much, many, very’

P: molto PT: V, XI

◆ Ar. *ṣāli(n)* ‘high, tall, elevated; loud, strong; lofty, exalted, sublime’, the Awjila reflex of this word underwent a radical semantic shift.

Iᚼᚰᚰi-(yī) [m.] ‘high place’

l’allī-(yī)

PT: VI

◆ Ar. *ṣalīy* ‘high, tall, elevated’

ᚼᚰᚰᚰ-ᚰᚰᚰ [adv.] ‘as much as’

‘ala-ᚰᚰᚰ

PT: II

◆ Mor. Ar. *ṣlā* ‘according to, by’

ᚼᚰᚰᚰ ᚼᚰᚰ [prep.] ‘for the sake of’

‘alā ᚼᚰᚰ

Z: VIII

◆ ELA *ṣala ᚼᚰᚰ*, *ṣaᚼᚰᚰ* ‘for the sake of; because of’ (p.c. Benkato)

ᚼᚱᚱ

ᚰᚼᚰᚰᚰᚰ [m.] pl. ᚰᚼᚰᚰᚰᚰᚰ ‘scholar’

el’âlem pl. *el’ulamâ*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *ṣālim* pl. *ṣulamā* ‘scholar’

ᚼᚱᚱ

ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚰ, ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚰ [adv.] adverb that

expresses progressive aspect.

‘ammâ, *‘amma* [PT:II], *‘amma* [Z:VI]

P: stare, restare, sedere PT: II Z: VI

▷ *ksûm ‘ammâ inénna* ‘the meat is about to cook’▷ *‘ammâ mudân* ‘(they) are praying’◆ Ar. *ṣammāl* has the same function in dialectal Arabic and Siwi Souag (2010: 374).The loss of the *l* in Awjila is irregular.

ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚰ ▶ M6

ᚼᚱᚱᚱ

ᚰᚼᚰᚰᚰᚰᚰᚰ [f.] ‘turban’

el’amámet

PT: XI

◆ Ar. *ṣimāma(t)* ‘turban’

ᚼᚱᚱᚱ

**ᚰᚼᚱᚱᚱ [v.cċic?] ‘to function; to do’

fut. ᚰᚼᚱᚱᚱ

fut. 3sg.f. *atta’mûr*PT: IV M: achevé *taamartet* تعمّرتتachever *ammartet* غمّرتت◆ Ar. *aṣmura* ‘to thrive, prosper, flourish, flower, bloom’; cf. this to the Siwi use of this word *ṣmaṣ* ‘to be, to do’ (Souag 2010: 154). The *i* vowel in the root is unexpected, and this root shape is unique to this word.

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ

ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚱ(ə)ᚱᚰ (or: ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚱ(ə)ᚱᚰ) [P.N.] place name

‘angarā

PT: XV

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ

ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚱᚰᚰ [stat.v.] ‘to be naked’

3sg.m. *‘aryân*

PT: IX

◆ Ar. *ʕuryān* ‘naked’

ƆSR

Ɔʕəʕər [m.] ‘afternoon prayer’

l’áʕár

PT: II

◆ Ar. *ʕaʕr* ‘afternoon (prayer)’

ƆQB

əɫʕəqqàb-(i) [m.] ‘evening’

əl’əqqâb-(î)

PT: IV

◆ Must be somehow derived from Ar. *ʕaqb* ‘after’

ƆYN

**Ɔəyyən [cċc] ‘to be ill’

impf. Ɔəyyàn

impf. 1sg. *ʕyyânah*

PT: V M: peste *ayyaneh* اِيَّانَه

◆ Ar. *ʕayyān* ‘exhausted, tired, ill’

ƆYT

**Ɔâyət [v.cvcc] ‘to yell, scream’

pf. / seq. = fut. Ɔâyət impf. Ɔay(y)àt

pf. 3sg.m. *i’âyət* [PT:V], *ya’âyät* [PT:XV]; fut.

3pl.m. *a’ayyâten-(dík)* [PT:II]; impf. 3sg.m.

i’âyât [PT:III,IV], *i’âyât* [PT:IV]

PT: II, III, IV, V, XV M: voix *aiät* اِيَّات

◆ Ar. *ʕayyaṭa* ‘to yell, scream, cry out’

ƆŽB

**əƆžəb [v.ccc] ‘to please’

res. əƆžəb

res. 3sg.m. *ya’žəb-(kû)-ya*, *ya’žeb-(kû)-ya*

PT: III

◆ Ar. *ʔaʕžaba* ‘to please’

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Marijn van Putten was born on 10 March, 1988 in Amsterdam. In 2006 he received his tvwo diploma at the Jan Tinbergen College in Roosendaal. That same year he started the Bachelor Comparative Indo-European linguistics at the University of Leiden, which was directly followed by the Research Master Linguistics: Structure and Variation in the Languages of the World at the University of Leiden.

During the Research Master, he became fascinated by the Berber languages, and specifically, the historical linguistics of Berber. In 2012, he started his PhD research on the grammar of Awjila Berber at the Leiden University Centre of Linguistics. He finished his PhD thesis in a year, and is currently looking for a Post-Doc position.

During his Bachelor and Masters, he was a student assistant at the department of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics, where he assisted in database work, literature collection and bibliography work on several large etymological dictionaries of Indo-European.

During his Research Master, he also worked as a student assistant at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (NIAS), where he worked on a pilot of a Digital Enhanced Publication of Prof. dr. Harry Stroomer's forthcoming Tashelhiyt Berber Dictionary.

After his Research Master, Marijn worked at the department of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics as a research assistant. He prepared the indexes of several etymological dictionaries, and did database work for the New Indo-European Dictionary Project.

Summary

English

The Awjila language is a small Berber language spoken in the Libyan oasis of Awjila. It has several features that make the language different from other Berber languages, such as a phonemic accent, schwa in open syllables and the retention of the Proto-Berber **β* as *ν*.

This thesis consists of three parts: the grammar, the texts and the lexicon. The grammar is the main analytical part of this thesis, but could not exist without the in-depth study of the available Awjila texts and the lexicon. Due to the political situation in Libya, it was not possible to conduct fieldwork on the language. This thesis is therefore based on the published sources on the language. The texts and word list by Umberto Paradisi are the most important of these sources.

The grammar contains a lengthy discussion on the interpretation and analysis of the transcription and phonology. This part give us many new insights into the interpretation of many factors of the language. Besides the phonology, the grammar also discusses the morphology of the noun and verb, and the syntax of the language.

In the appendix all published Awjila texts have been included, provided with a phonemic transcription and a word-by-word analysis. This analysis is essential for the understanding of the language, and it is referenced extensively in the grammar.

The lexicon contains all lexical material available to us on the Awjila language, with a new phonemic analysis of the transcriptions, and a full concordance of all the attestations of the words in its different grammatical forms in the available sources. The lexicon also contains some etymological notes, comparing Awjila to the other Berber languages which will aid future research into the linguistic history of Awjila and other Berber languages.

Dutch

De Awjila taal is een kleine Berbertaal die gesproken wordt in de Libische oase Awjila. Het heeft enkele kenmerken die anders zijn dan andere Berber talen, zoals een fonemisch accent, schwa in open syllabes en het behoud van de Proto-Berber **β* als *ν*.

Dit proefschrift bestaat uit drie delen: de grammatica, de teksten en het lexicon. De grammatica is het voornaamste analytische deel van dit proefschrift, maar zou niet kunnen bestaan zonder grondig onderzoek van de teksten en lexicon. Vanwege de politieke situatie in Libië was het niet mogelijk om veldwerk te doen over de taal. Dit

proefschrift is daarom gebaseerd op eerder gepubliceerde bronnen over de taal. De teksten en woordenlijst van Umberto Paradisi zijn de belangrijkste van deze bronnen.

De grammatica bevat een lange discussie over de interpretatie en analyse van de transcriptie van de taal, en de fonologie. Dit deel geeft ons nieuwe inzichten in de interpretatie van vele onderdelen van de taal. Naast de fonologie, wordt ook de morfologie van het naamwoord en werkwoord, en de syntax van de taal besproken.

De appendix bevat alle gepubliceerde Awjila teksten. Ze zijn voorzien van een fonemische transcriptie en een woord-voor-woord analyse. De analyse van deze teksten is essentieel voor het begrip van de taal, en er wordt uitgebreid naar gerefereerd in de grammatica.

Het lexicon bevat al het lexicaal materiaal dat beschikbaar is voor Awjila, met een nieuwe fonemische analyse van de transcripties en een volledige concordantie van de attesties van de woorden in hun verschillende grammaticale vormen. Het lexicon bevat ook etymologische noten, waarin het Awjila woord wordt vergeleken met andere Berbertalen. Dit zal helpen bij toekomstig onderzoek naar de taalkundige geschiedenis van Awjila en andere Berbertalen.