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

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Marijn van Putten
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## Abbreviations and glosses

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Morpheme boundary prog. progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>Clitic boundary pron. pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>grammatical information prox. proximal</td>
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<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3</td>
<td>1st, 2nd and 3rd person ptc. participle</td>
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<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective quant. quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb rel. relative pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>caus.</td>
<td>causative res. resultative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ccc, cc*</td>
<td>Verb type, see section 4.3 seq. sequential perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č* etc.</td>
<td>conjunction sg. singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunction sm, pm, m.sg., m.pl, f.sg. and f.pl (in glosses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dist.</td>
<td>distal stat.v. stative verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>Direct Object suff. suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>excl.</td>
<td>exclamation v.n. verbal noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>feminine PNG Person, Number, Gender</td>
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<tr>
<td>fut.</td>
<td>future TAM Tense, Aspect, Mood</td>
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<td>imperfactive</td>
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<td>io</td>
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<tr>
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<td>*pf.</td>
<td>pf. or seq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMPH</td>
<td>pre-modifier pronominal head</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.N.</td>
<td>place name</td>
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<tr>
<td>prep</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Chapter 1

Introduction

Awjila\(^1\) 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 \(ašāl n awilən\) in theAwjila language and as \(awžila\) (اوﺟﻠﺔ) in local Arabic. It is already mentioned by the name \(Αومة\) 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 2006\(^2\). 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).

---

\(^1\) Also written Awdjilah, Augila, Aoudjila, Ojila and Aujila.

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 ع from ع. This can be seen from numerous variant forms found throughout the word list, such as Achiever عمرت, both representing the same lexical item, but written alternatively 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: yewella يوّلʼ ‘pleurer’ for /ıvəllá/, yetawer يتواّر ‘bouillir’ for /ıtavər/, and tewerquiat تورقيات ‘rêver’ for /ıtəvərgàt/ ‘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> اليدّه ‘butter’, cf. Paradisi <alidâm> ‘id.’; téghardim, taghardim تغاردّيم ‘scorpion, reptile’, cf. Paradisi <tɡardîmt> ‘scorpion’, lahbou لحوّو ‘date, fruit’ cf. Paradisi <laḥbûb> ‘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 لليدّه and lahbou لحوّو, as can readily be seen from the Arabic transcription. Lack of knowledge also shows in certain other words such as: elakkenes الكّنس ‘prix, valeur’, which is clearly al-haqq cliticized with the Berber 3sg. possessive clitic =ənn-as. This word is also attested in a later source (Paradisi 1960b), which confirms that the word exists in Awjila, and that it is pronounced əlḥə̀qq, 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, têgîli, têgîlî> in Paradisi), which is written as the Classical Arabic word for ‘heavy’: cerveau; tête taqîleh ثقيله. 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, yeîkès يفکس ‘emprunter’ is transparently yaîk-is ‘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, miyeîkès میفکس ‘emprunt’, which seems to be the word <yeîkès> 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 تمنت ‘bee’, while this is in reality the well-attested Berber word for ‘honey’, recorded by Paradisi as: <tîment>.

There is some evidence that at least one of Müller’s informants communicated with Müller in Italian. Müller records the word tegûibibi تقبیبی as ‘peser’, i.e. ‘to weigh’. Paradisi has this same word with a completely different meaning: <tegbibi> ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>head</th>
<th>tignani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>schahr, suf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>fuss, fussum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>imin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>itfukt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cattle</td>
<td>funas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>loɣum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>date</td>
<td>tina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dried date</td>
<td>lachbub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*tignani* is perhaps *təgìli* ‘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: *šaʕr* ‘hair’ and *ṣūf* ‘wool’.

*fuss, fussum* ‘hand’ represents *afus* 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: *imin*; all other Berber languages have *aman*.

*itfukt* ‘sun’ is unusual. Paradisi records a form *tafùt* 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*.

*loɣum* is transcribed as *<logum>* , but is provided with a footnote of the editor that the original text had a *ژ* on top of the letter *g*. This word must certainly stand for *alə́ɣəm* ‘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 *v*.

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

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 (Beguinot 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 (Beguinot 1924) discusses $b$, $v$, and $f$ in Berber. It constitutes the first comprehensive analysis of Proto-Berber *β*. In this article, again, Beguinot 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 (Beguinot 1925) discusses the phonetic features of the Nefusi Berber dialect of Fassâṭo. In doing so, Beguinot compares two Nefusi words with Awjila cognates, providing us with two more Awjila words.

The next source is an ethnographic article by Zanon (1932), 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 $ɣ$ 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-

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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 ann-ùk in Paradisi, is found as ann-ùx in song II. The 1sg. PNG-marker -x is consistently -x in Paradisi, but is found once as -γ 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 -γ. In Zanon’s song I, we also find <kàm> for the 2sg.f. direct object marker -kam, the transcription gives the impression that Zanon meant to described /kam/ rather than
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.

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:

\[ uf \text{ ‘to find’} \]
\[ af \text{ ‘on’} \]
\[ taf\mathring{u}t \text{ ‘sun’} \]
\[ taft \text{ ‘wool’} \]

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 \( v \), \( c \), \( \check{c} \) and * are employed. \( v \) stands for any plain vowel, \( c \) stands for any consonant, \( \check{c} \) stands for a long consonant and * stands for a variable final vowel that vacillates between a, i, ø. 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 |...|.

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4This terminology has largely been based on the terminology used for Ayer Tuareg in Kossmann (2011).
For example, vcc verbs, have the scheme |a\text{cəc}| in the imperative, |u\text{cəc}| in the perfective and |t\text{a\text{cəc}}| in the imperfective, e.g. imp.sg. \text{arə́v}; pf. 3sg.m. \text{y\text{-}urə́v}; impf. 3sg.m. \text{i\text{-}tərə́v} ‘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 \text{a=} and resultative marker \text{=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 \text{ur=} is also considered a clitic. This is different from the more common negative particle \text{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 \textit{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).\textsuperscript{5} The vowels are written as \textit{a, i, u, e, o, \text{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

\textsuperscript{5}This method of transcription of the accent is inspired by the conventions in Heath (2005; 2006).
MartincanbefoundinMarçais2001:xxi-xxxvi);thissystemrepresentsonsonantsand
vowels sometimes diƦferent from conventions in Berber scholarship. My own tran-
scription of the language largely follows the transcription system also employed by
other researchers on Libyan and Egyptian Berber, such as Mitchell (2007; 2009), Souag
(2010) and Naumann (2013). The table below presents a comparison of Paradisi’s tran-
scription, as compared to my transcription. Some other common variants used in
Berber scholarship are given for reference. For an overview of the vowel system, see
the discussion in section 2.2.

In the lexicon, many words from other Berber languages and Arabic are referenced.
In the vast majority of the cases, the original transcriptions have been maintained.
Note that the transcription of Mali Tuareg words from Heath (2006) has been adapted
to the system used in Ritter (2009b), which means that <æ>is transcribed as <ā>.

For one source, Lanfry (1968; 1973) on Ghadames, transcriptions have been changed
considerably. Similar to Kossmann (2013b), I will use the following conventions, which
basically follow the phonetic explanation by Lanfry:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lanfry</th>
<th>Here</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧ</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ş</td>
<td>ĝ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Long vowels in Lanfry (1973) are marked with a macron, whereas in my transcrip-
tion they are marked with an acute accent (cf. Kossmann 2013b).

Modern Standard Arabic words are transcribed with the symbols presented in the
table below. The Modern Standard Arabic vowels and diphthongs are transcribed: a, i,
u, ā, ī, ū, ay, aw.

<p>| ء | b | t | ŧ | ž | ḥ | ẓ | d | ḍ | r | z | s | š | ṣ | ŋ | đ | ʕ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ع ظطضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض ضض |
| ǧ | f | q | k | l | m | n | h | w | y |
| ي وهن لم ل ك ق ف غ |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My transcription</th>
<th>Paradisi</th>
<th>Other common transcriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>tc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đ</td>
<td>đ</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ġ</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
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<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>l</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̄</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̥,r</td>
<td>ṛ</td>
<td>ṟ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ</td>
<td>ẓ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>β, ḃ, Ṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>ḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ž</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>'  ', '  , '  , '  ʃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 \textit{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 \textit{f} and \textit{v}, not present in most other Berber languages, and it has a contrast between short \textit{ɣ} and \textit{q} in native words. In most Berber languages \textit{qq} is the long counterpart of \textit{ɣ}.

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.
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 abiba, aviva 'smallpox', abán, avón 'to build, construct', anabdúr, anævdúr 'rope harness for animals'.

The variation between v and f is found in word-final position in ågzav, ågzaf 'to cut the bunches of dates from palms' and ayav, ayaf 'milk'. As a result of optional voicing assimilation to the following x it also occurs in the perfective, resultative and imperfective 1sg. of arav, úrav 'to write': uráfx; urífxa, urívxa; taróvx, tarófx.

There is one example of variation between v and f in a different position: the plural of the word tavúrt, tavvúrt (?tavvúrt) 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 <tevúrt> 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 ŝ and ź 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 ŝ are found in Paradisi:

*tabalbûst 'eyeball' ~ talbalbûst 'bulb of an onion' \(^1\)

---

\(^1\)The 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.
There are only a few examples of apparent free variation between \( s \) and \( š \), all to be found in the causative prefix: \( š-ə̀gzəl, s-ə̀gzəl \) ‘to shorten, lower’; \( š-ə̀γzəf, s-ə̀γzəf \) ‘to lengthen’; imp. sg. \( s-ukər, š-ukər \); impf. 1sg. \( s-ukərx, š-ukərx \) ‘to cause to steal’.

The contrast of the emphatic consonants \( ṭ, ṛ, ṃ \) is not adequately marked in Paradisi’s transcriptions. One time, Paradisi transcribes \( ṛ \) with a \( <r̥> \): \( <r̥ǻbbī> \) ‘God’, while other times he does not for this same word. \( ṭ \) and \( ṃ \) 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 \( ggʷ \) and \( y \) becoming \( qq \). In Awjila, however, there is no synchronic variation between \( w \) and \( ggʷ \), nor is there any evidence for morphological variation between \( y \) and \( qq \). The long counterpart of \( w \) is \( ww \) and the long counterpart of \( y \) is \( yy \) as can be seen in the verbs \( ərwə́k \) ‘to knead’, impf.3sg.m. \( irə́wwə́k \) and \( ânəɣ \) ‘to kill’, impf.3sg.m \( inəɣɣa \).

There seems to be variation in consonant length with the consonant \( v \). Thus the verb \( avə́r \) ‘to close (from the inside)’ has fut.3sm \( a-ívə́r, a-ıvvə́r \), while the impf.3sm invariably is \( itavvə́r \). We also find variation of consontal length in the word \( təvúrt, tavvúrt \) (\( ?təvvúrt \) ‘door’.

Simple consonants in front of long consonants are sometimes lengthened. This is most obvious in verbs of the patterns \( |cəc̄əc| \) and \( |cvc̄| \) (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.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ddəwwàrnət, idəwwàr} & \text{cf. ELA ədəwər ‘to look for; to search’} \\
yakkàmməl, kamm์lx ‘to finish’ & \text{cf. AR. kammala ‘to finish’} \\
rrəwwə̀ḥən, irə́wwəḥ ‘to return (home)’ & \text{cf. ELA ərəwə́x ‘to return (home)’} \\
issə́lləm, səlləmən ‘to greet’ & \text{cf. AR. səlləm ‘to greet’} \\
yəmmùdd & \text{cf. AR. madda ‘to extend; to stretch out’} \\
ilłąm ‘to gather, to stay together’ & \text{cf. AR. lamma ‘to gather’}
\end{array}
\]

\(^2\)There 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. *yəxəmmə́m* ‘to think, ponder’ and *ḥussix* ‘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 ǧ should be interpreted as separate phonemes, or as sequences of /tš/ and /dž/ respectively.

The sequences /tš/ and /tž/ (or /dž/) found in feminine plurals whose roots start with š or ẓ 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, ǧǧ in a root is treated as /dž/. The verb *əǧǧ, ədž* ‘to let go’ is clearly interpreted as a phonemic sequence /ədž/ as can be seen from its verbal noun formation *adə̀žžu*.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Front Rounded</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
<td>u [u]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near close</td>
<td>ē [e]</td>
<td>ū [o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close mid</td>
<td>e [ɛ]</td>
<td>ö [ø]</td>
<td>o [o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open mid</td>
<td>ē [ɛ]</td>
<td>ơ [ɔ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near open</td>
<td>ä [æ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a [a]</td>
<td>â [a]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
v & \text{Short unaccented} \\
v' & \text{Short accented} \\
v̄ & \text{Long unaccented} \\
v̂ & \text{Long accented} \\
v̆ & \text{Extra short}
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
i, í, ì, î \quad u, ú, ŭ, ŭ \\
e, é, ê \quad ũ, ũ̂ \quad o, ō, ō̂ \\
æ, â, à, ā, ā̂ \quad a, ā, ā̂
\]

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 \( ã, ã̂ \) (Kossmann 2011: 20), while Figuig has three plain vowels: \( a, i, u \) and one central vowel \( ë \) (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 \( [ø, ɐ] \). 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 \( <â, î, ŭ, ā, î̂, ŭ̂> \) are well-attested and they show a three-way contrast, and stand for the vowels \( [aː, iː, uː] \). These features line 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, ā, ĭ, ū> 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:

āġĕv, āgf, âgf ‘milk’
ām ‘mouth’
ûl ‘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, išf, 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>

afiš ‘face’
afîu ‘fire’
agmâr ‘horse’
tagmârēt ‘mare’
irîu ‘boy’
tirîut ‘girl’
tuqértā ‘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.
2.2. VOWELS

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ávoṭ</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ísem</td>
<td>‘ear; handle of a basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úmā</td>
<td>‘my brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gmâren</td>
<td>‘horses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mîwën</td>
<td>‘mouths’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grûṭân</td>
<td>‘treetrunks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žárren</td>
<td>‘abdomens, bellies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vírren</td>
<td>‘walls’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An exception is <túwŏg>/tùwəg/ ‘food, meal, plate’.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bâhi, bâhī</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tfílli, tfíllī</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tĕgîli, tĕgîlī</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tīsî</td>
<td>‘egg, genitalia’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddĕrî</td>
<td>‘thorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izî n agmár</td>
<td>‘horse fly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>albâširet</td>
<td>‘willingly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alidâm</td>
<td>‘butter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alhâţet</td>
<td>‘thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alégmet</td>
<td>‘friday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alimam</td>
<td>‘imam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alʿáded, elʿáded</td>
<td>‘number’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alûlī</td>
<td>‘midday, noon; midday prayer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 2. PHONOLOGY

Gîlu 'Jalu'
klâbu 'very thick animal skin'
adérrū ‘pressing’
adéžžū ‘letting go of’
agérrū ‘gathering, assembling’

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

Word-final accented /u/ is only found twice. One example is the word <arennú> cited above, the other word is <ažévû>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. <yûna, 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>.

abîba, avîva ‘smallpox’
res. 1sg. bnîḥa 3sg.m. ibnâya ‘to build, construct’
res. 1sg. ēddîrḥa 3sg.m. yeddîra ‘to live’
dîla ‘here’
tábğā ‘tobacco’
pf. 3sg.m. yéččā ‘to eat’
impf. 3sg.m. idéžžā ‘to let go of’
impf. 3sg.m. igérrā ‘to read’
wértmā ‘my sister’
sétmā ‘my sisters’

But:

tabérka ‘sesame (seeds)’
bážža ‘penis (of a boy)’
áčča ‘grave’
res. 2sg. tudînta ‘to wear’
úmā ‘my brother’
mámâ ‘my older brother’
nánâ ‘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: <ažévû>
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'     tebâqült  `jar, vase'
bâlek  `maybe'     tebârût  `way, street'
1pl. abbá-tñaḥ  `our father'     taqqîd, taqqîden  `fingers'
bážža  `penis (of a boy)'
adîrem  `masculine inflorescence'    alîdâm  `butter'
tfîgît  `animal excrement'    ddrîwîn  `thorns'
dîmmen  `blood'    tfilîgîšt  `swallow'
tîdînî  `mortar'    tfillî-yî  `towards the house'
There are several exceptions to this:

täbazârt ‘basket’
t продолжа́т ‘lizard (monitor lizard)’
funäsen ‘oxen’

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

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

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

ğär, gär ‘but’
iwînǟn, iwînān ‘one (m.sg.)’
res. 3sg.f. temmǻya, 3sg.m. yemmǻya ‘to be cooked, be ready, be ripened’
tmoqqårânt, tmoqqårânt ‘large (f.sg.)’
čılmışårêt, elmoğıårêt(-î) ‘cave’
elqâdi, ělqâdi ‘judge’
wâllâhi, wâllâhi /wəḷḷâhi/ ‘by God (I swear)’
tâgâfi, tâgâfi ‘palm leaf’

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

---

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

šṭåf, šťáf
atår, atár
üşålen, uşålęn
imperf. 1sg. qallâḥ 3sg.m. iqallâ
årrafåqâ-ñnes, årrafåqâ-ñnes

‘black (m.sg.)’
‘foot’
‘they arrived’
‘to roast’
‘companions' (cf. Ar. rufaqâʔ ‘companions’)

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

țärın, ṭårîn(-nûk)
ağåst pl. ġåstîn
tēkâbërt, tēkabërt pl. tekâbrîn

‘feet’
‘bone’
‘shirt’

Instances where the short notations <ǻ, å> demonstrably represent /a/ are rare (the examples above form an exhaustive list). Most instances of these vowel signs probably stand for the short vowel a. As for <ä, å> the situation is more problematic. A considerable amount of instances of <ä> cannot be assigned with certainty to either /a/ or /ə/. Some feminine nouns have an initial <tä-> 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 /takəmmùšt/or /təkəmmùšt/ ‘bundle (of sticks)’
täkrûmt /takrùmt/or /təkrùmt/ ‘joint of a bone’
tämnit /tamnît/or /təmnît/or /tmûrt/or /təmûrt/or /tmûrt/ ‘earth’
tävurîtdvurîtîn /tavurìt/or /tvərgàt/or /dvərgàt/or /təvərgàt/ ‘dream’
tävergât, dvèrgât, taøergât

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

akärbûš ‘trunk of a palm tree’
kâššîn ‘cores of fruits’
amâsâl ‘crossbar between the two poles of a well’
ázân ‘next year’
fut. 3sg.m. aittäţoţ ‘to be ground, be milled’
temêţbârt ‘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.

ílli, élli  ‘millet’
imp. sg. íreš, éreš  ‘to descend’
rwíḥha, rwéḥha, ĕrwéḥa  ‘I am afraid’
ízlef, ézlef  ‘summer’

<ẹ> may stand for unaccented /i/, but it more commonly stands for /a/.

teğẹšîlt tešṭâft  ‘black beetle’ (cf. tegišîlt tağzîft ‘viper, snake’)
timẓîn, tẹmẓîn  ‘barley’
1sg. mmųyẹḫ  ‘he died’ (see 4.1.5)
res. 1sg. wẹṭḫa  ‘I arrived’ (see 4.3)

In a few cases the sign <ẹ> 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.

elfẹkr-énnes  ‘his thought’ (<Ar. Ʀƪkr)
tagûrmẹ́nn-ī, tagûrmẹ́nn-ek, tagûrmẹ́nn-ek  ‘besides me, you, him’ (<Ar. min)
lâkẹn, lâkän  ‘but’ (<Ar. lākin)

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

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

čbbûk  ‘stinging’ (v. verbal noun formation of čć verbs.)
zűt, zűț  ‘above’
pf. 1sg. llůzîḫ 3sg.m. yellûz  ‘to be hungry’
šůrůrů  ‘weakling’
úwů  ‘kneading (bread dough)’
tebedů́qt  ‘cotton’
2.2. VOWELS

<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. bayna)
baʿadên, baʿadén ‘afterwards, then’ (ELA baṣdên)
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 <wę, tę> are probably contractions of <wâya, tàya>. 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’;
<wên-mâ> ‘as soon as’ (ELA wên-mâ)

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

<o> is used twice to denote unaccented /o/: <ḥolâwen> ‘lambs’, <taholît> ‘sheep’
<ô> is also used once to denote unaccented /u/ in a pharyngeal environment: 1sg. <ḥossîḫ> ‘to feel’ (see section 4.3.3.18)

<ô> is used once to denote accented /u/ in an emphatic environment: <ẓôṭ, ẓūṭ, ẓûṭ> ‘above’

Twice, <ö> is used to denote /u/: <kull, köll> ‘each’; <ĕndú, úndu, undú, ŏndú, endû> ‘if’ (there appears to be a phonemic variation of the initial vowel between /a/ 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, ë> and their accented counterparts <é, ë>. 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, ē> 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. <ē> is more common in word-final syllables than <e>. The table below shows some examples of free variation between the two vowel signs <e, ē>.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pf. 3sg.m. iġélli, iġélli</td>
<td>‘he wants’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf. 3pl.m. galliyen, galliyen</td>
<td>‘they want’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġár-ek, ġár-ĕk</td>
<td>‘to you, you have’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>améđen, améđen</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.m. nniyen, ēnniyen</td>
<td>‘they are’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impf. 3sg.m. itârev ptc. tâ rêven</td>
<td>‘to write’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. šgêren, šgêren</td>
<td>‘firewood’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<ā> and its accented counterpart <ā́> are found in emphatic and uvular environments. In these environments <ē> is very rare, and <ē> is unattested. When <ē> is found, it is in free variation with <ā>.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yâqqîm, yaaqqîm, yâqqîm</td>
<td>‘he stays, remains’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēlmeğgâret, elmâğgâret(-i)</td>
<td>‘cave’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. nţâg, nţâg; pf. 1sg. nţêhî</td>
<td>‘to pull’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qâţtâ‘ān, qeţtâ‘ān</td>
<td>‘highwaymen’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

There are other means to establish that <å> probably represents /a/. 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 <å> we can safely suppose that it represents a /a/.

Resultative gives an indication

| pf. 3sg.m. isënṭāt; res. 3sg.m. isënṭṭa | ‘to join’ |
| pf. 3sg.m. yeṭṭāf; res. 3sg.m. yeṭṭīfa | ‘to seize’ |
| pf. 3sg.m. yaqqān; res. 3sg.m. yaqqīna | ‘to tie’ |

ccc verbs have |əccəc| pattern

| 3sg.m. yēlgām, yelgōm | ‘to refuse’ |
| imp. sg. ēntār | ‘to let go, put down’ |

Twice, <å> represents /a/ in labial environments: <mīwēn, mīwān> ‘mouths’, <āu> (probably /āww/ ‘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 <å> 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 <å> can safely be considered to represent /a/. Free variation between <a, e, å> can also help to determine the presence of /a/. Moreover, morphological patterns of the verbs can give us further evidence.

Resultative gives an indication

| pf. 3sg.m. isāg; res. 3sg.m. isīgā | ‘to buy’ |
| pf. 3sg.m. yaqās; res. 3sg.m. yaqīsā | ‘to love’ |
| pf. 3sg.m. yerfā; res. yerfīa | ‘take away, to raise’ |
| pf. 3sg.m. yerwā; res. yerwīa | ‘to fear’ |
| pf. 3sg.m. yaʿādd; res. yaʿīdda | ‘to go’ |
| pf. 3sg.m. yefrāḥ; res. yefrīha | ‘to become happy’ |
| pf. 3sg.m. išelḥām; res. išelḥīma | ‘to light (a fire)’ |
| pf. 1sg. šenṭāṭḥ; res. šenṭīṭha | ‘to join, attach’ |
variation between <a, e>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pf. 3sg.m. yaqqăn, yeqqăn(-t)</th>
<th>‘to bind, tie, attach’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg. ġallîḥ, ġellîḥ</td>
<td>‘to want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tareẓẓât, terazzât</td>
<td>‘creak’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ccc verbs have |əccəc| pattern

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pf. 3sg.m. yağréš</th>
<th>‘to slaughter’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yahdef(-tə́nęt)</td>
<td>‘he threw (them)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ccc verbal nouns have |acəcac| pattern

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ağarâš</th>
<th>‘slaughter’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anaṭâr</td>
<td>‘leting go, putting down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aẓamâk</td>
<td>‘sewing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

pf. 3sg.m. ʾiʿâyeṭ, yaʿâyāṭ ‘to yell, scream’
imp. sg. édž, ägg ‘to let go of’
ağellâi pl. ġâllâyên ‘circle, loop’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pf. 3sg.m. yâqqîm, yaqqîm, yåqqîm ‘to stay’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. ağâš; res. 3sg.m. yağîša ‘to love’ (cf. resultative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tgangten, tgıttān ‘goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. şegzef; pf. 3sg.m. išâgţef ‘to lengthen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. ěḥhâr, ḥhér ‘to take off; to remove’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf. 3sg.m. yâḥzêr, yeţzêr ‘to see; to look at (+af)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. şâng, şêng ‘to extinguish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arâšâk ‘combing’ (ccc verbal nouns are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are several other, more marginal vowel signs which are used to represent the short vowel /a/. These are <o, ŵ, ũ, ŵ̂, ţ, i, u>. They are discussed individually below.

The character <o> is found once representing unaccented plain /o/, as found in the word <aḥôlî> pl.<ḥolâwen> ’lamb’, <taḥolît> pl. <ṭholîtîn> ‘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 /a/, and it is mostly found in labial and uvular environments.

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

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

alógom, alógom, alúgóm ‘camel’

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

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

res. 3sg.m. yełbība ‘to mount, climb’
yérden, ınterden, yérden ‘wheat’
temígni, temígni, těmígni ‘woman, wife’
yeškī, yeškī ‘to live’
res. 3sg.m. yetěménna ‘to wish’

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

impf. 1sg. diyyēzḥ 3sg.m. idîyyez ‘to sing’
impf. 1sg. siyyeʃɭ 3sg.m. isîyyeʃ ‘to bathe’
impf. 1sg. ruwwéɭɭ 3sg.m. irúwwel ‘to flee’
Finally, there is a small set of extra-short vowel signs <ĕ, ā, ĩ, ŏ, ŭ, ā>. These are never accented, and may represent /a/. In many cases the elements represented by these extra-short vowels are employed as epenthetic vowels.

<ĕ> is found in most environments, <ā> is found in emphatic and pharyngeal environments. Sometimes we find <ā> as the initial vowel of the definite article in Arabic loanwords. This is often found besides a reflex of the article as <ēl->: <ēlhûdī, ālhûdī> ‘jew’, <ēddellâl, āddellâl> ‘auctioneer’.

<ĕ> 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 <ĕ>.

<ī> is only used once as a short epenthetic vowel before ŭ, and <ū> is used as a short epenthetic vowel before w.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. etčû, ččû, ččû</td>
<td>/(ə)ččú/</td>
<td>‘food, meal, plate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddĕrî</td>
<td>/dd(ə)rí/</td>
<td>‘thorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. ēffok, ffok</td>
<td>/(ə)fâk/</td>
<td>‘to pour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tgîli, têgîli</td>
<td>/t(ə)gîli/</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagmârêt</td>
<td>/tagmâr(ə)t/</td>
<td>‘mare’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. ēkkéš, kkéš</td>
<td>/(ə)kkáš/</td>
<td>‘to take off, remove’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elbâhár, albâhr</td>
<td>/albâh(ə)r/</td>
<td>‘sea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. āqqân</td>
<td>/āqqán/</td>
<td>‘to bind, tie, attach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. āgârêš, agreš(-dîk)</td>
<td>/aɣ(ə)rə́š/</td>
<td>‘to slaughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elḫâdărât</td>
<td>/əlxàd(ə)rât/</td>
<td>‘vegetables’ (cf. Ar. ħuḍra(t) ‘id.’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qlâzen, qâlâzen</td>
<td>/(ə)qlàzən/</td>
<td>‘lies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. sg. bâhîyet</td>
<td>/bâh(ə)yət/</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŭwût</td>
<td>/əwût/</td>
<td>‘arriving; reaching’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. ūwór</td>
<td>/s(ə)wór/</td>
<td>‘to dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. sg. ôqqûr, qqûr</td>
<td>/(ə)qqûr/</td>
<td>‘to dry out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alôgôm, alôgôm</td>
<td>/alə̀ɣəm/</td>
<td>‘camel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that not all instances of <ĕ> and <ā> are epenthetic vowels:

agéwâl ‘seeing’ (ccc verbal nouns have |acacac| pattern)
aṭârás ‘braiding of hair’ (ccc verbal nouns have |acacac| pattern)
In two cases <ă> seems to stand for /a/: imp. sg. <ădér> ‘to press; to massage’: imp. of cc* verbs have an [acac] vowel pattern; <ăbugérfa> ‘clay’: /a/ 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/: <wéttî(-dikkénî)> ‘prepare (sg.) (for us)’ cf. <wettîmet> ‘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: āu. 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, ōū.

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

| érōū | Short unaccented |
| irōuwaḥ | Short accented |
| aziwâ, išeglâ | long accented |

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

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

The long accented diphthongs <âu, āi, āi, īu, ūi> 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:
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. <aẓûi> f. <aẓuyît> pl. <aẓuyît> ‘to be bitter’.

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

impf. 1sg. šeglâîḫ 3sg.m. išeglâî ‘to show’
impf. 1sg. šembâîḫ 3sg.f. tšembâî ‘to suckle’
impf. 1sg. šîšâîḫ 3sg.m. išîšâî ‘to make (s.o.) sleep’
impf. 1sg. šenṭâîḫ 3sg.m. išenṭâî ‘to make someone taste’
impf. 3sg.m. išęrwâît ‘to speak, tell’

The one attestation of the diphthong <áî> probably belongs here too: impf. 3sg.m. <igáî> ‘to cultivate’.

Once, we find the diphthong <âî>, which appears to stand for accented /ay/: impf. 1sg. <šivâîh> 3sg.m. <išivâî> ‘to cause to fall’.

The diphthongs <âû> and <âî> 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. âûgréh ‘to get lost; to lose s.th. (s-ğâr + s.th.)’
fut. 3sg.m. âisébbâh ‘to swim’
fut. 3sg.m. aîžîž ‘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:

tekšâîmt pl. tekšâîmîn ‘watermelon’
yôm pl. âiyâm ‘day’ (< Ar. ayyâm)
iîâyâṭ ‘to yell, scream’

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

fut. 1sg. aušāgd, āušāgd ‘to come’
fut. 3sg.m. ain-îs, āîni-(dîk) ‘to say’
fut. 3sg.m. aižîž, āîžîžî-(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 ac-
cented /ay/: <zzā́ī> ‘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<bréwel>; impf. 3sg.m. <irúwwel> ‘to flee’, the imperfective of a ccc verb having the
pattern |cca| (cf. imp. sg. <édreš>; impf. 3sg.m. <idérreš> ‘to decrease [intrans.’).

The diphthong <ōū>, and its accented variant <ṓū> 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. idōūwár ‘to look around; to search’
impf. sg. āu; impf. 3sg.m. itóūwa ‘to knead (bread dough)’
3sg.m. zōūwağ 3sg.f. zōūğağ pl. zōūgağ ‘to be red’

Some words have both reflexes: 1sg. <zurâḥ> 2sg. <zōūrât> 3sg.m. <zúwor>; 3sg.f.<zóūret, zūret> pl. <zuwirít> ‘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. <erōūmet>; pf. 1sg. <erōūh>; 3sg.f.<terōū>; res. 1sg. <irúuha> 3sg.m. <tiřwa>; fut. 1sg. <aerōūh> 3sg.f. <attirōū>; impf.
1sg. <tárōūh> 3sg.f. <tárū> ‘to give birth’

Other verbs always have the notation <uw>: imp. sg. <šûwór>; impf. 1sg. <šuw-
wérh> 3sg.m. <išûwwer> ‘to dance’

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

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

Perhaps the roots containing <r> that have the notation <ōū> are in fact roots that
contain the emphatic /ṛ/. This cannot be seen directly, but many of the words that have
a diphthong <ōū, ōū> contain <r>. Considering the vowel-lowering effect of emphatic
/r/ in both Arabic and Berber, it seems likely that the lowered reflex of the sequence
/əw/ points to the presence of an emphatic /ṛ/. Moreover, the uvular consonant /γ/
may have had a similar lowering effect. With these assumptions it becomes possible
to explain the majority of the <ōū, ōū> diphthongs. But it does not help us explain the
verb imp. sg. <āu>; impf. 3sg.m. <itóūwa> ‘to knead (bread dough)’.
The diphthong <iːõ> occurs only in the word <aẓõt> ‘donkey’ (unaccented: <aẓõt-(ënnes)>), where it alternates with the monophthong <iː>. Phonemically it should probably be interpreted as the result of a transitional vowel between the high vowel /iː/ and the emphatic stop /tː/: [iːa] = /iː/, but with just a single example it is difficult to determine.\(^6\)

The diphthong <ûã> is found only in <fankûãḥ> ‘big buttocks’. The diphthong probably represents a transition of the high vowel /u:/ to the pharyngeal /hː/. 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 diphthongs show free variation between vocalic writing, and the consonantal writing, cf.

\begin{verbatim}
imp. sg. diéz; pf. 3sg.m. idyéz  ‘to sing'
imp. sg. siéf; pf. 3sg.m. isyéf  ‘to bathe'
\end{verbatim}

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.

\begin{verbatim}
ituáker  ‘to be stolen'
ituár, yetuár  ‘to be opened; to open (trans.)'
ituárev  ‘to be written'
\end{verbatim}

There are three other words that have the rising diphthong <uá>, namely <zuág> ‘red’ (also the feminine and plural formations have this diphthong) and the plural of <zûi, zẓûi> ‘palm’: <zuán>, and the pf. 3pl.m. of šu ‘to drink’: <šuán>.

<šuán> almost certainly points to šwán (cf. pf. 3sg.m. yašwa). <zuág> appears to have the same |ccac| scheme as štâf, in which case it would stand for zwayne. Because the plural formation of <zûi, zẓûi> is irregular, it is difficult to determine whether it stands for zwàn or zwàn.

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-.

\(^6\)An 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.

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.
### CHAPTER 2. PHONOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>í</th>
<th>ì</th>
<th>î</th>
<th>ï</th>
<th>ĩ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɪ, (ə)/</td>
<td>/ɪ, (á)/</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/í/</td>
<td>/i̯, ə̃/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ñ</th>
<th>ñ̃</th>
<th>ñ̂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/á̃/</td>
<td>/á̃/</td>
<td>/á̃/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ẹ</th>
<th>ẹ́</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ə̃/</td>
<td>/ə̃/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ę̄</th>
<th>ę̂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ə̃/</td>
<td>/ə̃/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ǟ</th>
<th>ä̂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ə̃, ă/</td>
<td>/ə̃, ă/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>á</th>
<th>ā</th>
<th>â</th>
<th>ā̃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a, ə/</td>
<td>/a̍, á/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/á/</td>
<td>/ə̃, (a)/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ö</th>
<th>ë</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ə̃, ũ/</td>
<td>/ə̃/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u</th>
<th>ú</th>
<th>ū</th>
<th>û</th>
<th>ū̃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ũ, (ə̃)/</td>
<td>/ũ(á)/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/ú̃/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>û</th>
<th>û ū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ũ, (ə̃)/</td>
<td>/ũ, (á)/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ò</th>
<th>ô</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ə̃, (o, ũ)/</td>
<td>/ó/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ù</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ə̃/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ā</th>
<th>ā̃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ə̃, (a)/</td>
<td>/á̃, (á)/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u, ü, ū, ū̃, ũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;i, i, i, i, i, ẹ, (ê ?)&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;e, é, ẹ, ê, ē, ë, ë̃, (i, í, ĭ, ě)&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;o, ó, ō&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ê, (ê ?)&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;e, é, ë, é̃, ē, ë̃, (i, í, ĭ, ě)&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;o, ó&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ä, ā, ą̄, a, a, a, ā, ā, å, ǻ, ǻ, å̂&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ə and ā 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 imperative verbs of |ccc| verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Verbal noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dyáž</td>
<td>adayaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṟgzəv</td>
<td>agəzəv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ālmād</td>
<td>alamād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjumlah</td>
<td>aməžər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òndal</td>
<td>anadāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ānsāg</td>
<td>anəsāg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òntər</td>
<td>anətər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qlāz</td>
<td>aqlāz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ršək</td>
<td>arəšək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ārwāk</td>
<td>arəwāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ərwəl</td>
<td>arəwəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sráf</td>
<td>asərəf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syóf</td>
<td>asəyəf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šfx̂</td>
<td>aʃəfəṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tkə́r</td>
<td>atəkər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭrəs</td>
<td>aṭərəs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žmək</td>
<td>aẓəmək</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| òdṛəʃ | ‘to decrease (intrans.)’ |
| flališ | ‘infloration’ |
| təfʃəš | ‘lightness’ |
| yəlyəm | ‘he refused’ |
| amazùn | ‘pin or hinge’ |
| ʒbəḥ | ‘tomorrow’ |
| ažəvú | ‘hair’ |

| dərüş | ‘to be few, little’ |
| təfalūʃ | ‘large spoon for cooking’ |
| fəʃūʃ | ‘to be light, agile’ |
| aləɣəm | ‘camel’ |
| tamzəzza | ‘bee’ |
| arəgəz | ‘person’ |
| ʃəbaṭ | ‘yesterday’ |
| ižvin | ‘palm fibres’ |

Schwas may also be placed in open syllables through morphological suffixation. For example the verb ãker, ãker ‘to steal’ in the pf. 3pl.m. adds the suffix -ən to form...
**CHAPTER 2. PHONOLOGY**

* ukə̀rən. No resyllabification of the schwa in the open syllable takes place, 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 |acəc| are followed by a suffix that would open the final syllable of the stem, schwa is dropped, for example:

imp. sg. əvə́l, avə́l; fut. 1sg. avlə́x, 3sg.m. ayə́və́l.

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.

<elbáḥăr, älbáḥr> ‘sea’ < Ar. bahr ‘id.’
<elgedĕr> ‘cooking pot’ < LA gidr ‘id.’
<elháml, elhamĕl-(énnes)> ‘load, burden’ < Ar. ḥaml ‘id.’
<elḥáḍărät> ‘vegetables’ < Ar. xuḍra(t) ‘id.’
<lṭásăr> ‘afternoon prayer’. < Ar. ʕaṣr ‘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 schwas appear to be non-phonemic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Phonemic analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;fárētek&gt;</td>
<td>fə̀r(ə)tək ‘to unstick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;āġēv, āġf&gt;</td>
<td>aɣ(ə)v ‘milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;árba’a&gt;</td>
<td>ārb(ə)ʕa ‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;séba’a&gt;</td>
<td>sə̀b(ə)ʕa ‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;tésa’a&gt;</td>
<td>tə̀s(ə)ʕa ‘nine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.5.2 Initial schwa

The prefixes y-, t- and n- mark subject agreement on the verb. They all occur in two forms: ya-/i-, ta-/at-, na/an-. The distribution of these forms is determined by phonetic conditioning. I will discuss the three prefixes individually.

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

yərfiʕa ‘he carried’
yəfrīha ‘he was happy’
yəkrí ‘he returned’
yənyá ‘he killed’
a-yə́qlāz ‘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-yə́qəl, a-yə́səl, a-yə́vəl. 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. əvól, avól).

The other group of verbs that form an exception to the rule are passive and imperfective verbs that have a stem prefix -tt-. The passives that belong to this group are: pf. ittə́ny res. ittinya ‘to be killed’, pf. ittə́rə́z res. itt-ə́rə́ ‘to be broken’, res. ittiʒ̪ə́ta fut.
aittəžəṭ ‘to be ground, be milled’, pf. ittəmt res. itimta (sic) fut. aittəmt ‘to be buried’, pf. ittəwwə̀yəl ‘to be dumbfounded, amazed’, pf. ittiwə, res. ittuwiya ‘to forget’\(^7\). The imperfects with prefix -tt- are: ittəṭta ‘to eat’, ittərrə̀š ‘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 itzəwìṭa ‘to be thrown on the ground’ and the imperfective itqqìma ‘to remain, stay, sit’ have the prefix i-, where ya- is expected. The prefixes in both cases are -t- instead of -tt-.

There are a number of verbs that show variation between ya- and i-. Verbs that have variation where ya- is expected are yənni/inni ‘to be (in a place)’, res. immùta/yammùta ‘to die’, pf. immaktá res. yammaktàyə ‘to remember’, ifk-(isin)/yafk-(is) ‘to give’, inšə̀t-(t)/yanšə̀t-(t) ‘to ask’, yaggàda/iggàda ‘to bring’, <itùar/yətuàr> ‘to be opened; to untie’.

Verbs that have variation where i- is expected are pf. i̱zik fut. a-yəzik ‘to become well, recover, heal (intrans.)’, ixə̱ṯàm/yəxə̱ṯàm\(^8\) ‘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 ya- that are expected to have i- are yəyə̀š ‘to love’, yanòddal ‘to be covered’, yabarbiša ‘to form a bulb’, yaxə̱mmám ‘to think, ponder’, yaʃə̀dd ‘to go’. Verbs that have i- that are expected to have ya- are issùdda ‘to be enough’, i̱zzle ‘to run’, i̱šə̱n ‘to know’.

A group of verbs that have the shape ccc often have a variant ĉĉĉ; 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 i̱kkə̀mmal and yakə̀mmal ‘to finish’.

The 1pl. prefix n-/na- 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.

\[\begin{align*}
nči(tì)ya & \text{ ‘we have eaten (it)’} \\
nəɣə̀lli & \text{ ‘we want’} \\
nəʃə̱nmi(tì)ya & \text{ ‘we have cooked (it)’} \\
nni & \text{ ‘we are’} \\
a=nnəʃə̀dd & \text{ ‘we will go’} \\
a=nmhə̱sə̱b & \text{ ‘we will be responsible’} \\
\end{align*}\]

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

\(^7\)Synchronically, the -tt- prefix of ittiwə appears to be part of the stem, but historically it probably was a passive prefix.

\(^8\)One 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)
annî ‘to be’. Further conditioning can not be found; na- 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-/na-.

In front of the sequences |cv| and |v|, we find the allomorph t-, while in front of the sequences |ccv| and |cv| we find the allomorph ta-, cf. təxzə́r ‘she saw’, att- ‘she said (to him)’, tiva ‘she fell’, təkkər ‘she stood up’.

The t- allomorph is voiced to d- before voiced consonants: dgulît ‘you saw’, džižıt ‘you sold’.

The prefix ta- is lengthened to tta- 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’, attəqqimam ‘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’, tərəw ‘she is giving birth’.

There are only a few exceptions to the rules formulated above. Three verbs have a prefix ta- while one would expect t-: taqəlləzt ‘you are lying’, taʃəddıt ‘you went’, taʃənni ‘it (f.) hurts’.

One verb has the prefix t- while one would expect ta-: tkənta ‘you are beautiful’.

Two verbs have both the prefix t- and ta- attested, while one would expect the form t-: tyallît, təyallît ‘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: ttəkərt ‘you are stealing’.

While there are several exceptions to the rules, the distribution of the allomorphs ya-/i- and ta-/t- are largely predictable. The predictable nature of the a 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.
\[\gamma x > xx (> x)\]
\[\text{nžəɣ-x} > \text{nžəxx} \quad \text{[P: attingere, tirare]}\]
\[dt > tt\]
\[\text{d-tànnsəs} > \text{t-tànnsəs} \quad \text{[PT:V]}\]
\[tg > dg\]
\[\text{t-gilitatinge, tirare} \quad \text{[PT:II]}\]

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

\[\text{ṭṭ} > \text{ṭṭ}\]
\[\text{yəmḥə̀ṭ-ṭət} > \text{yəmḥə̀ṭ-ṭət} \quad \text{[PT:XV]}\]

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 \(hh\).

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

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

\[\text{nr} > \text{rr}\]
\[\text{ən-ṛə̀bbi} > \text{əṛ-ṛə̀bbi} \quad \text{[PT:VI]}\]

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

\[\#y-i > \#i-\]
\[\text{y-iša} > \text{iša}\]
\[\text{y-irid=ə} > \text{irid=ə}\]

\[\text{2.4 Syllable structure}\]

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 a. Long consonants, marked with |c̄|, are heterosyllabic, and can be both the coda of one syllable and the onset of the next.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>əc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ccə</td>
<td></td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ccv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cv</td>
<td>cv</td>
<td>cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cəc</td>
<td>cəc</td>
<td>cəc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cvc</td>
<td>cvc</td>
<td>cvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cəcc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cvcc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ò (grave accent), while phonological accent will be marked with ̀ (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 |-əcc#|, e.g. aqastım ‘antimony’, tamırt ‘beard’, tarakäßt ‘caravan’ and tisánt ‘salt’; otherwise it is on the penultimate syllable, e.g. ilas ‘tongue’, tfillı ‘house’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural with pl. demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;têğarît&gt;</td>
<td>tayarît</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;têğariwîn&gt;</td>
<td>tayari-win</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;têğariwin-iyäk&gt;</td>
<td>tayari-win=îyäk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 a 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: <têkábërt> ‘shirt’ is found in Text XIII as <têkabërt>, <arennû> ‘bidding, auction’ is found in Text VIII as <arennû>. 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 c̄* type (see sections 4.3.3.9, 4.3.3.12, 4.3.3.6).\(^9\)

\(^9\)This 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).
2.5. ACCENT

Other nouns with phonological accent on the final syllable are tažár ‘moon’, ta vál ‘sheep’

There are only two examples with lexical stress on the penultimate syllable: tfíyít
‘animal excrement’ and tqə́rṭay ‘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

¹⁰These two words both seem to have had a final *e or *i in Proto-Berber cf. To. tehâle ‘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.

\[
\begin{align*}
<yufâ> & \quad yufá & \text{Perfective, 3sg.m. [PT:VII]} \\
<tûfa> & \quad tûfa & \text{Sequential perfective, 3sg.f. [PT:XV]} \\
<yufî=tən> & \quad yufî=tən & \text{Perfective, 3sg.m. with 3pl.m. Direct Object [PT:II]}
\end{align*}
\]

### 2.5.3 Reliability of Paradi’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.

\[
\text{Télít iyyám m uwússu aîtêmm dis ēlmizán g uženná. Īḍ amezwár ayeffôg ītrî, tânî ayeffôg tânî n îtrân, ēttâlet ayeffôg ttâlet n îtrân. Ba’dên ēlmizán. Sébâ’a u ēmsên g unébdû ayeffôg lmizân.}
\]
Telt iyyâm m uwéssu kmélen At Willül áflên l-ílel a’úmmên u ba’dën aróů-
han s ílel. Sa’a árb’a’á bâ’d úzgen n éd áflên l-ílel, qâbél yeqqâs n tfuít,
a’úmmên. Lbâ’d mmidden ggáien g ilógman dì yisán d iğyál l-ílel. Kull l’ailet at’úmm wâhdes af imânís. Argâz ayátef l-ílel gê ññazammit någ g
têkmist, tamêtûtat atátef l-ílel gê tkêmist. Aqqîmên g ílel sa’ât nnaq sa’ât d úzgen. Lbâ’d n mmidden âffat ñmûžet sëb’a’á marrât. Kull îçêgen ikéttañ g àman af tânì. U ba’dën aróůhan él-tiddárt. Arékkebën úccû d údí haṣṣ y uwéssu. Attrekked amân u ba’dën astâmbèred tísent u ba’dën ayâizeg u ba’dën atëmbèred âren u ba’dën âidâb, bâ’d lîi âidâb athârücked s ñgângâ u ba’dën astâmbèred g eżâwåna qânâšqûs u ba’dën atenâgled afellâs údi. Àccên úccû bâ’d lîi aróûhan s ílel, tâñl qâbl uzgèn mm ass. Azzêng mm ass
adigên amékli, këskû nnâq d èlmakrûnt; Tameddît adigên amëssî.

‘Arâbën ennân g telt iyyâm m uwéssu ñis âlgálêt, wa lâkèn tikerkâs laïnna
dull l’ailet ta’úmmu wâhdes. Netnîn qâlldên él’âdet n imèzwârên. At Willûl
fâlên l-ílel g uwûssu laïnna ñmûfittis g ëlgésem.

The transcription that I sent Mr. N Khalifa was adapted to agree with general trans-
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.

Tôlt iyyâm n uwâssu áytâm dis ñmizân g užáanna. Ïd amazwâr ayâffay
îtri, tâni ayâffay tânì n itrân, áttláet ayâffay ñtâlêt n itrán. Ba’dín ñmizân.
Sëbbû u xamsîn g unôbdu ayâffay ñmizân.

Tôlt iyyâm n uwâssu kmòlân At Willûl áflû l îlêl a’sûmmân da... u ba’dín
arôwwôhan s îlêl. Sa’y(a) árbûa bâ’d ázgûn n ìd áflû l îlêl, qâbl yàqqas n
tàfàwt, a’sûmmân. Lbâ’d mmidden aggûyân g ilûyân d yisán d iyyûl [x]
îlêl. Kull ášâyêt at’sûmm wôhddas af imânîs. Árgaz ayâtañ g îlêl g ññazamît
này âg tkîmist, tamañûtat atàtâl îlêl âg tkîmist. Aqqîmûn g îlêl ssàfât nnay
ssàfût d wàzgûn. Lbâ’d n mmidden ayûtat almûzût... áyatalmúzat sëbbû
mârrât. Kull i’dòz ñkàttàñ g àman af ñtàni. U ba’dín arôwwôhan l tiddart.
Aråkkbën útsù d ñdì xaça y uwéssu. Atrâkkbêd âman u ba’dín astâmbàd

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.
tísənt u baʕdín adə... ayáyzəq u baʕdín atämbə́d árən u baʕdín ayə́dáb, báʕd lli ayə́dáb, athärrkəd s uyändža u baʕdín attämbə́d g ødzïwa n qéseš u baʕdín asən— atnøyə́ld fəll fəll áfəllas údí. Átøə̃ útu báʕd lli aráwwə́n s ílal, talji qabl iq— ázgə́n mm áss. Ázgə́n mm áss adigə́n amáklı, kôsksu nnə́y d ølməkkurunat; taməddít adigə́n amássı.

Verifier n nán g tállə́t yum mm...nn... n uwássu dis ølỹltə́t, walákín tıkə́rkəs laʔínna kull lñáylə́t tígə́mm wádə́s. Naṭnin qálldán lñádat n iməzwárə́n.

At Wíllul fálal l ílal g uwássu laʔínna øffyttis g øldžisə́m.

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 ázgə́n after báʕd and qábl where Paradisi consistently has the État d’Annexion úzgə́n.

With these differences addressed, 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.

áytə́mm corresponds to Paradisi’s aítémm, this difference is not easily explained. According to Mitchell (2009: 20) the verb tə́mm/tə́mma/ttə́mma belongs to conjugation 8, which has accentuation agreeing with my recording:

ybə́dd — yttbə́dda — áybədd (dependent yábədd) — ábədd14

ayáffə́y corresponds to Paradisi’s ayeuffóy 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:

yəllám — yttállə́m — (a)yəllə́m — ñəllə́m

yəqqə́s 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 aifə́t, this is a conjugation 9 verb in Mitchell (2009: 21), which agrees in accentuation with my recording:

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

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

yyáb — yttóyab — áyyab (dependent yáyab) — óyab

Interestingly, ayḍáb corresponds to Paradisi’s āīḍå̂b, where my accent corresponds to that of Paradisi. Because this is also a conjugation 9 verb, both Paradisi and I disagree with Mitchell.

atrókkəbd corresponds to Paradisi’s atrekkébed. My recording agrees with Mitchell’s conjugation 2. The aor. 3pl.m. arékkebən attested in Paradisi’s text also has the correct accent:

yróqqəf — y(a)ttróqqəf — (a)yróqqəf — róqqəf

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

užónna corresponds to Paradisi’s uženná, this final accent is certainly not present in my recordings, and disagrees with Mitchell’s material: abwžónna (Mitchell 2009: 232)

əlmizán occurs twice in Paradisi’s text: elmîzán and lmîzán. 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.

ssásət corresponds to Paradisi’s sa’át twice, both times with the accent on the final syllable. My transcription corresponds to gossásət in Mitchell (2009: 252).

tíddart corresponds to Paradisi’s tîddârt. The accent in my transcription has the same position as Mitchell (2009: 256): tîddart.

ámûn occurs twice in the recording, once corresponding to amán and once corresponding to áman in Paradisi’ transcription.

uyóndža corresponds to Paradisi’s ügâñŋâ. My recordings disagree with Paradisi’s transcription.

qásqûš corresponds to Paradisi’s qăšqûš. Once again my recordings disagree with Paradisi’s transcription.

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

Both my transcription tîkərkas and Paradisi’s tikerkâs disagree with Mitchell, who has this word several times as tikórkas (Mitchell 2009: 228).

Twice we find that Paradisi writes uzgén and azgén where I have recorded ázgên. In two other instances in the text, Paradisi has initial accent on this word, transcribed
as ú zgèn, ú zgen. Both in the État Libre and État d'Annexion, Mitchell always has this word with initial accent (Mitchell 2009: 216, 248).

My á fallas 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 cacc).

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

Beguinot (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 <tisî> and Paradisi <tisî> ‘egg’, Beguinot <tevél, tvel> and Paradisi <tevél> ‘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 <āġēv, āġf, âġf> ‘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 <gideven> and Paradisi’s <gidéven> ‘wolves, jackals’, Beguinot’s <tenbrét> and Paradisi’s <tenèbret> ‘needle’, Beguinot’s <ágareš> and Paradisi’s <aγaréš> ‘to slaughter’.

There is one words where Beguinot lists two accentual variants, where Paradisi has one form, that agrees with one of the two variants: Beguinot <agîdev, egîdev> Paradisi <agîdev> ‘wolf, jackal’.
Finally, there is a form where Beguinot only has one variant, while Paradisi has two: Beguinot <eżefû, eževû, eġevû> 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>male persons and animals</strong></td>
<td><strong>female persons and animals</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>awil</em> ‘man from Awjila’</td>
<td><em>tawilt</em> ‘woman from Awjila’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>afunás</em> ‘ox’</td>
<td><em>tfunást</em> ‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>things bigger than the feminine</strong></td>
<td><strong>things smaller than the masculine</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>akənzìr</em> ‘big nose’</td>
<td><em>tkənzìrt</em> ‘nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aməzùn</em> ‘pin or hinge at the base of a door’</td>
<td><em>taməzùnt</em> ‘small pin or hinge at the base of a door’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>collectives</strong></td>
<td><strong>unit nouns</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bẓalìm</em> ‘onions (coll.)’</td>
<td><em>təbẓalìmt</em> ‘onion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kšàym</em> ‘watermelons (coll.)’</td>
<td><em>təkšàymt</em> ‘watermelon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EL</th>
<th>EA</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>a-maziɣ</td>
<td>u-maziɣ ‘Berber man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ta-maziɣ-t</td>
<td>t-maziɣ-t ‘Berber woman’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’
- akʷəbbí ‘boy’ n-akʷábbi ‘of the boy’
- lʕarbiyá ‘car’ s-lʕarbíya ‘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-kə́tr=as akʷábbi amán i=tlə́ʕžust
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 accen
tual system. Compare, for example, təmīgni ‘wife’ in PT:III. u təxzə́r yəráš təmīgni

¹For a more sophisticated analysis, see Mettouchi & Frajzyngier (2013)
wətnis ... ‘The woman saw him and said ...’; w igà əlmən(ə)lənnəs dit n tamignə ‘And he put his load in front of the woman’, ətəvə tamignə təmmət ‘and the woman fell and died’. In all these cases we would expect an accent shift. If we then compare it to PT:XV gam Abū-dabr ɣərəs tamignə ... ‘Once Abu-dabr had a wife’, we see that no accent shift has taken place.

Another example is found in PT:VII w əstəːq əzīt ‘And he bought a donkey’ besides ɣamən imnelləsm əməkənn n əzīt ‘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, əzīt ‘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 tisi ‘egg’: mlīl n tisi ‘egg white’, uray n tisi ‘egg yolk (litt. gold of the egg)’. The phrases have the accent on the penultimate syllable, while the word tisi ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>(Suffix)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gender</td>
<td>(number)</td>
<td>gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number</td>
<td></td>
<td>number</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adbìr</td>
<td>dbìràn</td>
<td>'pigeon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afùs</td>
<td>fissàn</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agìdàv</td>
<td>gidàvàn</td>
<td>'wolf, jackal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agmàr</td>
<td>gmàràn</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aràgàz</td>
<td>ràgàzàn</td>
<td>'individual'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agiw</td>
<td>giwàn</td>
<td>'leather bucket (for a well)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àvàt</td>
<td>vàtàwàn</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alàyàm</td>
<td>layàmìn</td>
<td>'canel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agòllàd</td>
<td>gàldàn</td>
<td>'head of a tribe, gentleman'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| addid     | addidàn  | 'goatskin' |
| ammùd     | ammùdàn  | 'mosque'   |
| àmza      | amźìwàn  | 'ogre; strong, cunning person; lion (rare)' |
| awìl      | awìlàn   | 'Augila person' |
| ayùr      | ayùràn   | '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).
3.2. MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glim</td>
<td>glimən</td>
<td>‘skin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gniš</td>
<td>gnišən</td>
<td>‘male blossom of a date palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grùt</td>
<td>grùtən</td>
<td>‘wood, trunk of a tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gzin</td>
<td>gzinən</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màgi</td>
<td>magiwən</td>
<td>‘eyelid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qərzàṭ</td>
<td>qərzàṭən</td>
<td>‘dried dates for livestock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viw, vvìw</td>
<td>avviwən</td>
<td>‘bean; broad bean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zzày</td>
<td>zzìwən</td>
<td>‘breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zàrr, zzăr</td>
<td>zàrrən</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zùy, zzùy</td>
<td>zwàn</td>
<td>‘palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ənfùs (infùs)</td>
<td>ənfùsən (in-fùsən)</td>
<td>‘sleeve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàqt</td>
<td>taqqid, taqqìdən</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, vvîu pl. əvvîwuŋ> ‘bean’. Moreover, the transcriptions of Müller seem to indicate an initial vowel for three of these words: eglim [M: peau], eghzin [M: chien] and azouan [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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ìmgər, ýàmgər</td>
<td>màg(ə)rən</td>
<td>‘sickle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isam</td>
<td>smìwən</td>
<td>‘ear; handle of a basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išyər</td>
<td>šyìrən</td>
<td>‘firewood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išk</td>
<td>škiwən</td>
<td>‘horn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iškər</td>
<td>škirən</td>
<td>‘nail’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next table give all the nouns that have initial i- in the singular and plural.
CHAPTER 3. NOUN

3.2.1.4 Isolated masculine formations

Three nouns show unique patterns.

ul ulàwən ‘heart’
yàqzər, iqzər 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 tfəlšın ‘large spoon for cooking’
təmuzist tmuzistin, tmuzis ‘threshold, doorstep’
təsìli tsiliwin ‘sandal’
təvùrt (tavvùrt) tvurr ‘door’
təbəršìlt tbəršìl ‘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, a is inserted between the prefix and the root. Words that may have received the tə- prefix because of this phonetic rule are:

təbẓalìmt təbẓalimìn ‘onion’
təgzìnt təgzìntìn, təgz-inìn ‘bitch’
təkšàymt 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, təkabərt  
təmiṭàst, təmiṭaz  
tərəkə̀ft, tərəkfìn  
təmasùt, təmasutìn  

### 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  
-tfiyit, tfiya  
-tfidirt, tfidrin  
-tkanzirt, tkanzirìn, tkanzir  
-tkɔrrišt, tkɔrriš  
-tktɔffit, tktɔffin  
-tʃərìmt, tʃərmìn  
-tsɔntùt, tsɔntùt, tsənutìn, tsənutin  

One exception to the phonological distribution is *tsɔntùt, tsənut* pl. *tsənutìn, tsənutin* ‘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 *tʃərìmt* ‘gut’ pl. *tʃərmìn’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.

takábərt, takabərt  
təmiṭàst, təmiṭaz  
tərəkə̀ft, tərəkfìn  
təmasùt, təmasutìn  

-tʃərìmt, tʃərmìn  
-tsɔntùt, tsɔntùt, tsənutìn, tsənutin  

One exception to the phonological distribution is *tsɔntùt, tsənut* pl. *tsənutìn, tsənutin* ‘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 *tʃərìmt* ‘gut’ pl. *tʃərmìn’intestine’.
Chapter 3. Noun

The nouns *tavurit* ‘small plate, tray’ and *tabaz̄art* ‘basket’ in fact may have an initial prefix *ta-*. Paradisi transcribes these words as <ťavurît, tābaz̄ârt>. 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.

**takûkt** təkkik ‘worm’
**tazârt** təzzâr ‘millstone, handmill’
**tasïft, tasiw** təssïw ‘(terraced) roof’
**taɣmɔmirt** təɣmɔmirin ‘armpit’
**tamzǣzza** təmażɔzzɔyat ‘bee’
**takemmûšt (?)** təkemmîš ‘bundle of sticks, bundle’

*takemmûšt* ‘bundle of sticks, bundle’ may not belong here. The prefix is transcribed with <tä->. This spelling is ambiguous: <täkemmûšt> pl. <tekemmîš>.

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

**tâsûmt** taʃumîn ‘pillow’
**tarẓâlt** tarẓâlin ‘wing (of a bird)’
**taɣmɔwîn (?)** taɣmɔwîn (?) ‘thigh’

Paradisi’s spelling of *taɣmɔwîn* (<taɣmâi> pl. *taɣmɔwîn, taɣmâwîn*) is ambiguous, as the *ta* value of the prefix may be a result of colouring of initial *ta* under influence of the adjacent ɣ. The prefix could therefore stand for either *ta* or *tə*.
3.2.8 Feminine sg. *tu-*

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuwəgilt</td>
<td>tuwəgilin</td>
<td>‘molar tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuwənìt</td>
<td>tuwənìtìn</td>
<td>‘pit, hole’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.9 Feminine sg. *ti-*

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tìxsi</td>
<td>tixsiwin</td>
<td>‘head of a sheep or goat (sg.), flock (pl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tit</td>
<td>tiwin</td>
<td>‘eye; eye of a needle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisí</td>
<td>tisiwin</td>
<td>‘egg, genitalia’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ən</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-tin/-itin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-awən</td>
<td>-awin (1x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-win (1x)</td>
<td>-win</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wən (1x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iwin</td>
<td>-iwin (2x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ən (3x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yin/-iyin (1x)</td>
<td>-yin (2x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anən (1x)</td>
<td>-yat (1x)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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’, təɣəf ‘length’, təvrək ‘width, breadth’, tazzik, təzziq ‘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. təvə́l ‘sheep’ (cf. To. tehăle ‘id.’), təʃə́r ‘moon’ (cf. Ghd. taziri ‘full moon’) and tamùr(ə)ɣ ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’ (cf. Siwa. təmərgi ‘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. təfiút ‘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: təšə́wət ‘drink, beverage, drinking’, tanənnət ‘being about to cook’, tnaššət ‘sleep’, tənvə́t ‘falling’, tərəẓzət ‘creak’, təssət ‘laughing’ (< t-təssət), təvəråt, tvə́tə ‘dream’, tafə̀dət ‘thirst’, taləzət (or taləzət) ‘hunger’. Finally, there is one isolated noun, tamə́dət ‘clay; red earth’, which has the same pattern as təvəråt ‘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. tkərdət ‘core of a palm’, təkə́rdi ‘measles’, tfíyət ‘animal excrement’, tgili ‘head’. One word with stem-final -i is found both with and without the final -t: tsígət, tə¿gi pl. tə¿gitin ‘rib’.

### 3.2.2.2 Masculine plural -ən

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

---

3 Notice that both words have an irregular accent, caused by the loss of the final -i.
3.2. MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN

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 |acc| or |vcc| cluster in the singular. This tendency is by no means a rule.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adóy</td>
<td>dəyəwən</td>
<td>‘a bush of palms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afiš</td>
<td>fišəwən</td>
<td>‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agòrt</td>
<td>gərtəwən</td>
<td>‘neck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul</td>
<td>uləwən</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arág</td>
<td>rəggəwən</td>
<td>‘handle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asirf</td>
<td>sərfəwən</td>
<td>‘braid of palm leaves to make baskets’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išf</td>
<td>išfəwən</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašal</td>
<td>šaləwən</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avùr</td>
<td>vərəwən</td>
<td>‘plate, tray made of palm leaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avərg</td>
<td>vərgəwən</td>
<td>‘pestle (usually metal, to crush cores of dates)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayuf</td>
<td>yəfəwən</td>
<td>‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. magiwın ‘eyelid’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aḥòli</td>
<td>ḥoləwən</td>
<td>‘lamb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alùzi</td>
<td>luzəwən</td>
<td>‘whip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alàžzi</td>
<td>ləžʒəwən</td>
<td>‘ram’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Masculine Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>àmzą</td>
<td>amziwən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zzây</td>
<td>zziwən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išəm</td>
<td>smiwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išk</td>
<td>škiwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išf</td>
<td>išfiwen (išfawən)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gudin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'urine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alày(ə)m</td>
<td>laymin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'camel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aring, aniring</td>
<td>ringin, nirgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'neighbour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašùd</td>
<td>šudin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(wooden) pole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aṭàr</td>
<td>tarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ižvin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'palm fibres'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2.6 Masculine plural -an

Three words have the masculine plural suffix -an.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Masculine Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aẓìṭ</td>
<td>ziṭän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'donkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zùy, zẓùy</td>
<td>žwàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'palm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>žzàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'excrement'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also remark the suppletive plural of awìl '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 agəngùy pl. ngiwan 'green date', īlas pl. ilsànən 'tongue' (also: īlsən), màgi pl. magi-win 'eyelid' and awə̀nu pl. wənyin, wənniýin 'well'
3.2.8 Feminine plural -\textit{in}

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m.sg.</th>
<th>m.pl.</th>
<th>f.sg.</th>
<th>f.pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>təfəlùšt</td>
<td>tfəlšìn</td>
<td>‘large spoon for cooking’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takábart</td>
<td>takabrin</td>
<td>‘shirt’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayåst</td>
<td>ɣəstìn</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyardımt</td>
<td>tyardimin</td>
<td>‘scorpion’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tašùmt</td>
<td>tašumìn</td>
<td>‘pillow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiriwt</td>
<td>tiriwin ‘girl’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In PT: XV, Paradisi lists an alternative plural for \textit{tiriwt}: \textit{tiriwi}. This plural suffix -\textit{i} is unique to this noun.

3.2.9 Feminine plural -\textit{tin}, -\textit{itin}

The feminine plural suffix -\textit{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 -\textit{an} while the feminine noun has the plural suffix -\textit{tin}. If the masculine plural of such a pair ends in -\textit{in}, the feminine plural suffix is -\textit{itin}. Below is a list of all the pairs found that comply to this system.

There are only two exceptions to this: \textit{akəllim} pl. \textit{kəlləmən}; f. \textit{təkəllim} pl. \textit{təkəlləmən} ‘slave, servant’; and \textit{iriw} pl. \textit{iriwən}; f. \textit{tiriw} pl. \textit{tiriwi}, \textit{tiriwi} ‘child’

There are two nouns with a similar formation, that is, -\textit{tin} after a consonant-final root. These words refers to an object and have no attested masculine counterpart: \textit{ta-muzist} pl. \textit{tmuzistin}, \textit{tmuzis} ‘threshold, doorstep’ and \textit{təzirət} pl. \textit{təzirətən} ‘ribs of leaves’.

The second group of nouns that take the plural suffix -\textit{tin}, are feminine nouns that end in -\textit{t} or -\textit{u-t} in the singular.
taḥolit  tḥolitin  ‘sheep’
thalkút  thalkútin  ‘bread’
tamasút  təmasutìn  ‘boil, pimple’
tsígít, tsígî  tsigìtin  ‘rib’
tatl(ə)wit  (t)ʕalwitìn  ‘turnip’
tavurit  dvuritin  ‘small plate, tray’
tuwənít  tuwənitìn  ‘pit, hole’
tsənút, tsənút  tsənuttìn, tənuttìn  ‘thick needle’

Three nouns ending in -it take a different plural suffix. tnawìt, tnawit  pl. tənwin
‘irrigation canal’, twəržìt  pl. twəržìn  ‘root of a plant’, tit  pl. tiwin  ‘eye; eye of a needle’
and təɣarìt  pl. tɣariwìn  ‘stick’.

### 3.2.2.10 Feminine plural -win

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tfìlli</th>
<th>tfìlliwìn</th>
<th>tfìlliwìn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tixsi</td>
<td>tixsiwìn</td>
<td>tixsiwìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmədī</td>
<td>təmədīwìn</td>
<td>təmədīwìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisi</td>
<td>tisiwìn</td>
<td>tisiwìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təsìli</td>
<td>təsìliwìn</td>
<td>təsìliwìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təžìri</td>
<td>təžìriwìn</td>
<td>təžìriwìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tgìli, təgìli</td>
<td>tgìliwìn</td>
<td>təgìliwìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmmìt</td>
<td>tmənyìn</td>
<td>tmənyìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tənəñìt</td>
<td>tənəñìtìn</td>
<td>tənəñìtìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təñut</td>
<td>təñutìn</td>
<td>təñutìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tənút</td>
<td>tənútìn</td>
<td>tənútìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təɣarìt</td>
<td>tɣariwìn</td>
<td>tɣariwìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tətəñìt</td>
<td>tətəñìtìn</td>
<td>tətəñìtìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tənəñìt</td>
<td>tənəñìtìn</td>
<td>tənəñìtìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tənút</td>
<td>tənútìn</td>
<td>tənútìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tənút</td>
<td>tənútìn</td>
<td>tənútìn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.2.11 Feminine plurals -iwin, -awin, -yin, -yat and -ən

The remaining feminine plural suffixes only have marginal attestation.

Two words end in -iwin, one drops its final -a, while the other drops the final -ay: talaba  pl. talabiwìn  ‘barracan’ and tqə́rṭay  pl. tqə́rṭiwin  ‘paper’.

One word has the plural ending -awin which replaces the word-final -ay of the singular: təymày  pl. təymawìn, təymáwin  ‘thigh’.

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: təmmít  pl. təmanyin  ‘tamarisk’ and təkə́rtìt  pl. təkə́rtiwin  ‘story, tale’.

---

4 Perhaps to be read as tqə́rτay, tqə́rτiwin.
5 Perhaps to be read as təymày  pl. təymawìn, təymáwin.
3.2. MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN

One word has the plural suffix -yat: tamzázza pl. təməzzzáyat ‘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: tɣəṭ pl. tɣəṭṭən, tɣìṭṭən ‘goat’. Perhaps the pluralale tantum <ṭilîwèn> ‘fenugreek’ also belong here, but the transcription is ambiguous. In the transcriptions <e> 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-inflix 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.

| takəmmûšt | takəmmiš | ‘bundle of sticks, bundle’ |
| tkonzirt | tkonzir (tkonzirìn) | ‘nose’ |
| tkɔrrišt | tkɔrriš | ‘knot’ |
| amɔrtif | mɔrtif | ‘a measure of capacity (for cereals)’ |
| təmuzist | tmuzis (tmuzistìn) | ‘threshold, doorstep’ |
| təništ | tniš (tnišìn) | ‘key’ |
| taqɔnvìlt | taqɔnvil | ‘mucus’ |
| taqɔṭṭìšt | tqɔṭṭìš (tqɔṭṭìšìn) | ‘little hole; eye of the needle’ |
| azaləq | zulìq | ‘billy goat’ |
| flalìš | flulìš | ‘inflorescence’ |
| tasìft, tasìwt | təssìw | ‘(terraced) roof’ |

6This word commonly has this plural suffix in Berber languages and must be considered old, cf. MA tɔyaṭṭ pl. tiyaṭṭon; Tashl. tɔyaṭṭ pl. tiyaṭṭın
7Historically, these plurals have developed from the a-inflix 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. \( takkik \) ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>təmiṭāst</td>
<td>təmiṭaž</td>
<td>‘scissors’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tqaṭṭūst</td>
<td>tqaṭṭaš</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agəṭit</td>
<td>gəṭat</td>
<td>‘sparrow; bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayədad</td>
<td>yidād</td>
<td>‘kid (goat)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yáqzər, íqzər</td>
<td>aqzār</td>
<td>‘mouse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In one case the consonant before the infixed vowel is lengthened: \( tazārt \) pl. \( təzzār \) ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tabazārt</td>
<td>tbazrin</td>
<td>‘basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tbəssikt</td>
<td>tbəsskin</td>
<td>‘bum, backside; vulva’ pl.: ‘fart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tfədirt</td>
<td>tfədir</td>
<td>‘lizard (monitor lizard)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafəlušt təfəlšın</td>
<td>‘large spoon for cooking’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agəllid</td>
<td>gə̀ldən</td>
<td>‘head of a tribe, gentleman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takədirt tkədrìn</td>
<td>‘ear (botanical)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akəllım tkəllmìn</td>
<td>‘(male) slave, servant’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takəllımt tkəttfìn</td>
<td>‘ant’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃərmınt ‘gut’ tʃərmınn</td>
<td>‘intestine’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awəgɪl  wə̀gələn</td>
<td>‘canine tooth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuwagılt tuwəgalın</td>
<td>‘molar tooth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twəllıkkt twəllkin</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twəllıst twəlsın</td>
<td>‘big plate or bowl of wood’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two nouns of this class have the plural suffix \(-əwən\): \( asıʃf \) pl. \( sərफəwən \) ‘braid of palm leaves to make baskets’, \( ayıʃf \) pl. \( yərफəwən \) ‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string’.
3.2. MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN

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

3.2.3.4 -ič-an 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>plural form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afùd, afùdd</td>
<td>fiddən</td>
<td>‘knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afùs</td>
<td>fissən</td>
<td>‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayig</td>
<td>yizzən</td>
<td>‘necklace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avir</td>
<td>virrən</td>
<td>‘wall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awiś</td>
<td>wiśšən</td>
<td>‘sword’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azif</td>
<td>ziffən</td>
<td>‘tail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyət</td>
<td>tyittən</td>
<td>‘goat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

dimmən ‘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 a with i and add the plural suffix -ən. Three out of four nouns that belong to this group have the shape |ištən| in the plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>plural form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>išyər</td>
<td>šyirən</td>
<td>‘firewood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iškər</td>
<td>škirən</td>
<td>‘nail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ištən</td>
<td>ištınən</td>
<td>‘a shoemakers awl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amàdən</td>
<td>mədinən (mid-dən)</td>
<td>‘man’ pl.: ‘people’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.6 Suppletion

A small group of nouns have a suppletive plural formation.
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. təvərgət pl. dvərgá ‘dream’ and təvurt, tavnurt pl. dvurr, dfurr ‘door’.

One noun shifts its root final -i to -a, e.g. tfiɣit pl. tfiya ‘animal excrement’.

One noun adds a final -a to the root, e.g. tamirt pl. tmira ‘beard’.

Three nouns have irregular plural formations: agənguɣ pl. nguɣuɣ ‘green date’, tàqt pl. taqqid, taqqidən ‘finger’, tammit pl. tmənyin ‘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. aqəllίz pl. aqləzaˈn ‘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, al or aļ 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 چ. 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:

əlbaˈb ‘door’
əlbaˈhr ‘sea’
addaləl ‘auctioneer’
alidəm ‘butter’
ləhəbb pl. ləhəbə ‘date (mature)’
alktəf pl. laktuf ‘shoulder’
ssuq ‘market’
aləצלəm pl. aləsulamə ‘scholar’
aʔaʔəhɪm ‘hell’
aləhəzмат ‘bundle’
aləhəzət ‘thing’
Some Arabic loanwords have Berber morphology. These nativized loanwords lack the definite marker, and their plural formations follow Berber patterns.

- *ahlì* pl. *holàwən* ‘lamb’
- *amakàn* ‘place’
- *tzənòqt* 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 *azòdzùz* ‘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’.

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\(^8\)For 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 *arə́v* ‘to write’, based on Beguinot (1924: 189) and Paradisi’s word list.

| 1sg. | -x, -ɣ, -a | urə́f-ɣ, urə́f-x |
| 2sg. | t-...-t | t-urə́f-t |
| 3sg.m. | y- | y-urə́v |
| 3sg.f. | t- | t-urə́v |
| 1pl. | n- | n-urə́v |
| 2pl.m. | t-...-im | t-urə́v-im |
| 2pl.f. | t-...-mət | t-urə́v-mət |
| 3pl.m. | -n | úrə́v-ən |
| 3pl.f. | -nət | urə́v-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 -ɣ 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 lakhâyāt axîr n=tà=nn-èk.

now fut.=tell:fut.-is=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 ayòš ‘to love’ is given below as an example.

- 2sg: -ø ayòš-ø
- 2pl.m.: -at ayòš-àt
- 2pl.f.: -mat ayòš-mat

### 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 šàṭṭaf ‘to be black’

- 1sg.: -ax šàṭf-àx
- 2sg.: -at šàṭf-àt
- 3sg.m.: -ø šàṭṭøf-ø
- 3sg.f.: -øt šàṭf-øt
- pl.: -it šàṭṭif-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, \(^1\)ayòš ‘to love’ is the only complete imperative paradigm that is attested that has a root that ends in a consonant.\(^2\)The 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. 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) \(i\-\text{šərw}=\text{is} \quad \text{ləhùdi} s=\text{alá} \quad \text{ṣará}-n=\text{a.}\)

3sm-tell:p.f.=10.3s Jew from=rel. happen:res.-ptc.=res.

‘the Jew told him about what had happened.’ [PT:V]

(4) \(u=\text{bəʕədèn} \quad \text{y-əxzə́r} \quad \text{af}=\text{əlḥəməl}=\text{ə̀nn}-\text{as} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{ẓẓàk}-\text{ən} \quad \text{dax}\)

and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be-heavy-ptc. in.order.to

\(a=y-\text{ərfə̀ʕ}=t\)

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. Fuguig (Kossmann 1997: 162) and Ghadames (Lanfray 1968: 364).

Paradisi distinguishes two forms: an “indefinite” form, \(a\text{qùṭən} ‘another’, and a “definite” form, \(wàṭən ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.sg.</td>
<td>(wà-\text{ṭən})</td>
<td>(a\text{qùṭən})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.pl.</td>
<td>(wə-\text{ṭnìn})</td>
<td>(a\text{qùṭnìn})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.sg.</td>
<td>(tà-\text{ṭən})</td>
<td>(a\text{qùṭət})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.pl.</td>
<td>(tə-\text{ṭnìnət})</td>
<td>(a\text{qùṭnìnət})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The definite forms have an initial \(wà\)- for the masculine and \(tə\)- 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 \(wî\)- and \(tî\)-.

\(^3\) The 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) \( Bəʕədèn u=bəʕə́d sə̀b(ə)ṣa ayyam y-əʕədd mərràt (mərràtət) aqùt-ət \)
then and=after seven days 3sm-go:*pf. time another-sf
‘Then after seven days he went another time’ [PT: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) \( šəmm-át=dik tiriwt tâ𝑡ən, amiśiw=ənn-ùk. \)
cook:imp.-pm=IO.1s child others:sf dinner=of-1s
‘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) \( U=ṣbaḥ=ə̀nn-əs šəmm-át=dik tâ𝑡ən. \)
and=tomorrow=of-3s cook:imp.-pm=IO.1s others:sf
‘And the next day: cook another for me’ [PT:XV]

In both these sentences from the same text, Paradisi’s “definite” form \( tâ𝑡ən \) 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) \( åtma wəṭnìn \)
brothers other:pm
‘my other brothers’

(10) \( tfilliwin təṭnìnət \)
houses other:pf
‘the other houses’

(11) \( iwátan t-ənni dï̇lā u=təṭən t-ənni ždàbyət \)
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 i-nni wàṭən?
    where 3sm-be(loc.):'pf. others: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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>-a-x</td>
<td>a=fk-à-x</td>
<td>-i-x</td>
<td>fk-i-x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>t-...-a-t</td>
<td>a=d-g-a-t</td>
<td>t-...-i-t</td>
<td>d-g-i-t</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m.</td>
<td>y-...-ø</td>
<td>a=y-øfk</td>
<td>y-...-a</td>
<td>y-øfk-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f.</td>
<td>t-...-ø</td>
<td>a=tt-ùš</td>
<td>t-...-a</td>
<td>t-ùf-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.m.</td>
<td>t-...-a-m</td>
<td>a=tt-aqqim-a-m</td>
<td>t-...-a-m</td>
<td>t-øllum-à-m</td>
<td>-ø-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.f.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-i-møt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.m.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-a-n</td>
<td>uf-à-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.f.</td>
<td>-a-nøt</td>
<td>a=mm-à-nøt</td>
<td>-a-nøt</td>
<td>uf-à-nøt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yəččá 'he ate' [P:s.v. mangiare]</td>
<td>yəčči=t 'he ate it' [PT:XV]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yəfkdá 'he gave' [P: s.v. dare]</td>
<td>yəfk=isin 'he gave them' [PT:XV]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayəfkd 'he will give' [P: s.v. dare]</td>
<td>ayfk=is 'I will give him' [PT:V]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yəfká 'he gave' [P: s.v. dare]</td>
<td>yəfki=dik 'He gave me' [PT:V]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. cvè(*)) (section 4.3.3.18).

\(^4\)The 1pl. indirect object clitic -dikkøni 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. šàndal ‘to cover’, derived from àndal ‘to be covered’
imp. sg. šúɣər ‘to lose something’, derived from uyár ‘to get lost’

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

imp. sg. s=əzìk, s-əgzək ‘to heal (trans.)’, derived from zik ‘to get better’
imp. sg. s=əzwər ‘to swell; to make steep’, derived from żəwwər ‘to be large’
imp. sg. s-əzzìk ‘to make heavy’, derived from żə̀kk ‘to be heavy’

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

imp. sg. š-əgzəl, s-əgzəl ‘to shorten, lower’, derived from the stative verb gə̀zzəl ‘to be short, low’
imp. sg. š-ə́yzəf, s-ə́yzəf ‘to lengthen’, derived from the stative verb ɣə̀zzəf ‘to be long’

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

imp. sg. š-əṭs, s-əṭs ‘to make someone laugh’, derived from aṭs, aṭṣ ‘to laugh’
imp. sg. š-ùkər ‘to cause to steal’ has an impf. 1sg. sukə́r-x with a causative prefix s- instead of š-.

There is one verb with ż in the root where the causative prefix has become ż-: ż-iż ‘to sell’, from iż ‘to be sold’. The other causative that has a ż in the root has a regular causative prefix: š-ərži ‘to cause to milk’ from arži ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (intransitive)</th>
<th>Causative (transitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>udón ‘to get dressed’</td>
<td>š-ùdan ‘to dress s.o.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glùl ‘to play’</td>
<td>š-əglùl ‘to make s.o. play’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əkri ‘to return’</td>
<td>š-əkri ‘to return s.th.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əkkár ‘to get up’</td>
<td>š-əkkár ‘to make s.o. get up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (stative)</th>
<th>Causative (transitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fošùš ‘to be light’</td>
<td>š-əfšəš ‘to lighten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gə̀zzəl ‘to be short, low’</td>
<td>š-ə̀gzəl, s-ə̀gzəl ‘to shorten, lower’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A common feature in Berber languages is the lability of verbs (Galand 2010: 291 ff.). 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (labil)</th>
<th>Causative (transitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uɣə́r ‘to get lost; to lose s.th.’</td>
<td>š-ùɣər ‘to lose s.th.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs that only have a transitive interpretation, become ditransitive by appending the causative prefix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (transitive)</th>
<th>Causative (ditransitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ačč ‘to eat’</td>
<td>š-əčč ‘to make s.o. eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agól, gul ‘to see’</td>
<td>š-əgəl ‘to show’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayár ‘to read’</td>
<td>š-əyər ‘to make s.o. read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âkər, ùkər ‘to steal’</td>
<td>š-ùkər ‘to make s.o. steal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (ditransitive)</th>
<th>Causative (tritransitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>əفك ‘to give’</td>
<td>š-əفك ‘to make s.o. give’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *ə* and *t*- in front of a consonant. This following overview lists all attested passive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Passive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>əmt ‘to bury’</td>
<td><em>i-tt-əmt</em> ‘to be buried’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ənty ‘to kill’</td>
<td><em>i-tt-ənty</em> ‘to be killed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əzwɔt ‘to slam; to throw’</td>
<td><em>i-t-zɔwɔt</em> ‘to be thrown on the ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əzəṭ ‘to grind, mill’</td>
<td><em>i-tt-iʒəṭ</em> ‘to be ground, be milled’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yar ‘to open’</td>
<td><em>ttw-àr, tw-àr</em> ‘to open, to be open, to be opened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ərəv, ʊrəv ‘to write’</td>
<td><em>i-tw-ərəv</em> ‘to be written’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ-iʃəf ‘to sieve’</td>
<td><em>i-t-ʃ-iʃəf</em> ‘to be sieved’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 arəqət u=y-əhsəb=tɔn=t  

and=3sm-open:pf. bag and=3sm-count:pf.=DO.3pf 3sm-find:pf.=DO.3pf

ənąqəs-nt=a ıwínən  

lack:res.-3pf=res. ones: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) Bəʕɔdèn uša-n=iz=d itnən ən=qəṭṭáʕan, ıwínən i-twàr  

Then come:pf.-3pm=10.3s=come two of=thieves, one:ms 3sm-open:pf.

azəṭ u=y-əʁʃə=t  

idd-as w=ıwínən y-əqqə́n  

donkey and=3sm-take.away:pf.=DO.3sm with-3s and=one:ms 3sm-tie:pf.

imàn=n-as amakàn n=azəṭ  

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]

---

6 Paradisi always writes this passive prefix as *tu-*, which may also stand for *tuv-*, 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 in Awjila. There is only one clear example of the *mm-* prefix.

(16) *Undú uši-ɣ=d ká, a-n-ṃḥásəb nak implicitly-y=əs yom əlqiyəama.
    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]

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. ammə̀kt, mmə̀kti ‘to remember’, cf. Ghd. əktət ‘to remember’; Kb. mməkti ‘to remember’
imp. sg. ammə́g ‘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 šišaf ‘to sieve’, which does not have a non-causative counterpart:

res. 3sg.m. i-t-š-išəfa ‘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. Resulative
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. $yəṭṭə́f$, impf. 3sg.m. $itəṭṭə́f$ 'to seize'. Some verb types receive an initial prefix $a$- in the imperative, e.g. imp. sg. $âsəɣ$, but pf. 3sg.m. $isə́ɣ$ '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. $ûkâr$, $ùkâr$; pf. 3sg.m. $y-ûkâr$; impf. 3sg.m. $i-tûkâr$ 'to steal'
- imp. sg. $yâr$; pf. 3sg.m. $y-ûrá$ 'to open'
- imp. sg. $âsəý$; imp. pl.m. $səý-ât$; pf. 3sg.m. $i-sâý$ 'to buy'
- imp. sg. $əlmə́d$; impf. 3sg.m. $i-ləmmed$ 'to learn'
- imp. sg. $fənʒər$; impf. 3sg.m. $i-fənʒâr$ '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. yūfā '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) wəḷḷàhi qàma a=ḥdəf-à=s tős(a)ʕa mə̀yət id=tős(a)ʕa u=təsʕìn by:god now fut=throw:fut.-1s=10.3s nine hundred with=nine and=ninety žnì w=a=ggulà-x=t a=y-uɣí=tənət ŋa=y-wòla.
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’. 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=ìz=d Ž hà.

3sm-come:P-10.3s Jha

‘Jha came to him’ [PT:VI]

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

impf. 1sg. taši-γ=da, 2sg. (t)taši-d=da, 3sg.m. i-tašà=da
impf. 1sg. taggi-γ=da, 3sg.m. i-taggà=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 a, 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-yəllì-t a=tt-uγà-t=tət syàr-i?

and=you 2s-want:’pf.-2s fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=D0.3sf from=1s

‘and you want to take it from me?’ [PT:V]

(20) nak wa əhdəf-x=tit=a i=kú dax a=ggulà-x=ku

I threw:res.-1s=D0.3sf dat.=you in.order.to fut=see:fut.-1s=D0.2sm

a=t-tuya-(t)=tət nit=a nay wòla.

fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=D0.3pf lack:res.-3pf=res. or not

Both verbs have suppletive imperatives. The other stems use the roots vš*(=d) and gg*=d respectively.
4.3. MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB STEM

'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. yafká , res. 3sg.m. yafká=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. yantí, res. 3sg.m. yantà=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) afîwa t-nə-d=dìk ká (or: ur=t-nə-d=dìk) žlan=inya u=nak
why 2s-say:pf.-2s=10.1s neg. neg.=2s-say:pf.-2s=10.1s words-prox.:p and=I
nni-x ar=ïṭà?
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 bəʕə̀d a=t-qimà-t idd-í t-əʕəddì-t ká?
eg=-say:res.-1s=10.2sm=res. neg. when fut.-2s-stay:fut.-2s with-is 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 č. 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 |cəčəc| 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*, ĉ* 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 is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍə́yáź</td>
<td>y-ə́dyáź</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-ḍə́yyə́z</td>
<td>ḍə́yáź</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍə́qláź</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>a-y-ə́qlə́z</td>
<td>i-&amp;qə́llə́z</td>
<td>ḍə́qláź</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍə́ɣrə́š</td>
<td>y-ə́ɣrə́š</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>ḍə́ɣrə́š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍə́rwáš</td>
<td>y-ə́rwáš</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-rə́wwə́š</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides this general pattern, there is some variation. Some imperatives have a |cə́cc| pattern, e.g. gabə́š ‘to encircle’ and kə́rə́š (besides əkrə́š) ‘to tie, to knot’.

The two verbs that clearly have a |cə́cc| pattern in the imperative have a phonological accent on the final syllable in the imperfective: ikə́rə́š ‘to tie, to knot’, igə́bbə́š ‘to encircle’. One other verb has this irregular accent in the imperfective: ətkár, itəkˈkár ‘to fill up’.

The verbs trəs ‘to braid hair’ has an irregular imperfective formations of the shape |cə́cc| impf.3sg.f. ttə́rrə́s.

The verb ə́rwə́l ‘to ŝee’ has an unusual form in the resultative 3pl.m.: ə́rwə́lə́nə, with i instead of e 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ə́f</td>
<td>ə́f*</td>
<td>a-y-ə́f</td>
<td>i-fə́kkə́</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə́gə́z</td>
<td>y-ə́gə́z</td>
<td>a-y-ə́gə́z</td>
<td>i-ġə́zza</td>
<td>agə́zzə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə́qə́l</td>
<td>y-ə́qə́l</td>
<td>a-y-ə́qə́l</td>
<td>i-ʮə́llə́</td>
<td>aqə́llu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə́tš</td>
<td>y-ə́tšə́</td>
<td>a-y-ə́tš</td>
<td>i-tə́ssə́</td>
<td>tə́ssə́t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. abón ‘to build, construct’, agór ‘to gather, assemble’, aqál ‘to roast’, but: ațs ‘to laugh’, ədž ‘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: àsəl, asól ‘to hear’, avól, avól ‘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: aḥəš ‘to crush dates’, āṭəb ‘to close the eyes’. Note that āṭəb has default accent.

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

The verb ānay ‘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 <ánēğ>. The sign HEME<ē> 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 āmt ‘to bury’ has the scheme |acc|. The two other verbs with this shape, <arz> ‘to break’ and <ats> ‘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. tlì-x=a, lli-x=a. Sometimes the PNG-prefix t- is lost in front of t of the root (e.g. 2sg. ta-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 |tcəc̄àt|: aṭs ‘to laugh’ v.n. (t)tasṣat;10 šəw ‘to drink’ v.n. tšəwwət.

The verb avól, avól ‘to cry’ has an irregular verbal noun of an entirely different formation: vlìn.

---

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

10 Paradisi 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 |tcačət| 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ic</td>
<td>ic(^*)</td>
<td>ic(^*)</td>
<td>nač(^*)</td>
<td>tnačat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iš</td>
<td>iša</td>
<td>a=y-ǐš</td>
<td>i-nàšša</td>
<td>tnaššat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>ivá</td>
<td>a=y-įv</td>
<td>i-nòvva</td>
<td>tnovvàt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iž</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>a=y-ǐž</td>
<td>i-nàʒžà</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3.4 cci

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acci</td>
<td>accí</td>
<td>acci</td>
<td>cači</td>
<td>acačí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣntí</td>
<td>y-əntí</td>
<td>a=y-əntí</td>
<td>i-nàṭṭi</td>
<td>anəṭṭí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əngi</td>
<td>y-əngi</td>
<td>a=y-əngi</td>
<td>i-nàggà</td>
<td>anəggi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ərní</td>
<td>y-ərni</td>
<td>a=y-ərni</td>
<td>i-rənní</td>
<td>arənní</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \( a=y-əntí \) ‘to taste’ has a final accent, while \( a=y-əngi \) ‘to touch’ and \( a=y-ərni \) ‘to bid, increase’ do not. There is no obvious explanation for this.

The verb ŝkì ‘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 ŝkûy.

The verb \( əngi \) ‘to touch’ has an irregular impf. stem: \( nàggà \) rather than the expected \( nàggi \). 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: \( arənnû \) (also: \( arənnu \)) besides the regular formation. We also find a pf. 3pl.m. form \( rənnà-n \) besides the regular \( rənnû-ən \), which is also a form that belong to a cc* verb.
4.3.3.5 c̄c

This verb 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>əṭṭáf</td>
<td>y-əṭṭáf</td>
<td>a=y-əṭṭáf</td>
<td>i-təṭṭáf</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əkkár</td>
<td>y-əkkár</td>
<td>a=y-əkkár</td>
<td>i-təkkár</td>
<td>əkkür</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əqqán</td>
<td>y-əqqán</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-təqqán</td>
<td>əqqùn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əşšən</td>
<td>i-ʃšən</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-təʃšə́n</td>
<td>(əš)ʃùn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əmmág</td>
<td>y-əmmág</td>
<td>a=y-əmmág</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àzzəl</td>
<td>i-zzəl=a</td>
<td>a=y-əzzə́l</td>
<td>i-tə̕zzə̕l</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(res.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several verbs have default accent in the imperfective, namely: əkkə́š impf. i-tə̕kkə̕š ‘to take off, remove’, allák impf. i-tə̀llək ‘to delouse’ and àzzə́l impf. i-tə̀zzə́l ‘to have bowel movement’; əkkár impf. i-tə̕kkər. The verb əwwə́q ‘to uproot’ has default accent in the perfective and imperfective.

Note that àzzə́l ‘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 təčác: əggə́s impf. i-təggàs ‘to roast’. The other verb appears to have this formation in the impf.1sg. but not in the impf. 3sg.m.: aššə́r impf. 1sg. taššə́r-x 3sg.m. i-təššə́r ‘to mix, blend’.

The verb əmmág ‘to become’ has an irregular pf.1sg. mmə́ggi-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-əmmią̕g=a instead of the expected **y-əmmią̕g=a.11

4.3.3.6 c̄*

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 ačč ‘to eat’ and amm ‘to be cooked, be ready, be ripened’ see Kossmann (2008).
The imperfective 3sg.m. of ḡaṣṣ ‘to spread (a mat), to stretch (to make the bed)’ (i-təssá) and the 3sg.f. of ḡačč ‘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 ḡaww ‘to knead’ has an unexpected default accent.

The irregular verb aɣi=d, yayi=d ‘to bring’ largely functions as a c* verb, but it has a suppletive imperative aɣi=d, yayi=d and it has a petrified directional clitic =d that has become part of the stem. The imperfective has an allomorph =da of this direction clitic. We find this same behaviour with the other verb that has the directional clitic, see section 4.3.3.12 yi=d ‘to go’. The table below gives the paradigm of this verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aɣi=d, yayi=d</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>a=y-</td>
<td>i-təggá=da</td>
<td>aŋgú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3.7 cī

There is only one verb of this type, and it is only attested in the perfective: 3sg.m. yɔnni ‘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.
4.3. MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB STEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acác</td>
<td>acác</td>
<td>acác</td>
<td>tačác</td>
<td>acuc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| aɣəš  | y-əɣəš | a=i-ɣəš | i-təɣəš | n.a.  | ‘to love’ |
| àsəɣ  | i-səɣ  | a=i-səɣ | ai-təssəɣ | asųɣ  | ‘to buy’  |
| avə́r | i-və́r  | a=i-v(ə)r | i-təvvə́r | avə́r  | ‘to close’ |
| avə́t | n.a.   | n.a.   | i-təvvə́t | avə́t  | ‘to swear’ |
| azə́m | n.a.   | n.a.   | i-təzəm | azə́m  | ‘to shave’ |
| àžə́t | n.a.   | n.a.   | i-təžə́t | n.a.  | ‘to grind, mill’ |
| wə́t  | i-wə́t  | n.a.   | i-təwwə́t | œwə́t  | ‘to arrive’ |

`aɣəš` ‘to love’ has a perfective stem |əcə́c| while all other verbs have |cə́c|. The verb `àsəɣ` ‘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.: `təssəɣ-x`.

The imperative and verbal noun of `wə́t` ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ac</td>
<td>c*</td>
<td>ac</td>
<td>tača</td>
<td>acú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ag    | i-gá | a=y-ə̀gg | i-tə́gga | agú  | ‘to do, put’ |
| an=ìs | i-n=ìs| a=i-n=ìs| i-tənn=ìs| n.a.  | ‘to say to s.o.’ |
| n.a.  | i-ла-а | n.a.   | n.a.   | n.a.  | ‘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-na-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ucác</td>
<td>ucác</td>
<td>ucác</td>
<td>tacác</td>
<td>ucuc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

udón  n.a. n.a. i-tàdən  udùn  ‘to be dressed’
ugám  n.a. n.a. i-tàngəm  ugùm  ‘to draw water’
uyár  y-ùygə́r a-y-ùygə́r itàygə́r  n.a.  ‘to get lost’
àkər, ùkər  y-ùkər i-tàkər  ukùr  ‘to steal’
arə́v, ūrə́v  y-úrə́v a-y-úrə́v i-tàrə́v  arrə́v  ‘to write’
asə́k, usə́k  n.a.  n.a.  n.a.  ‘to take away’
       n.a.  uṣə̀l-ən  n.a.  n.a.  n.a.  ‘to arrive’
       uṭə́r y-ùṭə́r a-y-ùṭə́r i-tàṭə́r  n.a.  ‘to twist, roll up’

Three verbs of this type have an alternative imperative shape |ucác| besides |ucác|: àkər, ùkər ‘to steal’, arə́v, ūrə́v ‘to write’ and asə́k, usə́k ‘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 (yurə́v ‘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 arə́v. Here it has a phonological final accent in all forms where we would expect it (3sg.m. y-urə́v 3sg.f. t-urə́v and 1pl n-urə́v). Beguinot also has an unexpected accent on the antepenultimate syllable in the 3pl.m.: úrə́v-en, 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.

arə́v, ūrə́v ‘to write’ has an irregular verbal noun arrə́v.

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.
4.3. MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB STEM

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-tərrəš* besides the regular *i-tirəš*.

The preceding schwa in the res. 3sg.m. *irə̀=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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yac</em></td>
<td><em>ucá</em></td>
<td><em>uc</em></td>
<td><em>taca</em></td>
<td><em>ucú</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uf</em></td>
<td><em>ucá</em></td>
<td><em>a=y-ùf</em></td>
<td><em>i-tàfa</em></td>
<td><em>ufú</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yax</em></td>
<td><em>y-uɣá</em></td>
<td><em>a=y-ùɣ</em></td>
<td><em>i-tàɣa</em></td>
<td><em>uɣú</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yan</em></td>
<td><em>y-uná</em></td>
<td><em>a=y-ùn</em></td>
<td><em>i-tàna</em></td>
<td><em>unú</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yar</em></td>
<td><em>y-urá</em></td>
<td><em>a=y-ùr</em></td>
<td><em>i-tàra</em></td>
<td><em>urú</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yi-d</em></td>
<td><em>y-ušà-d</em></td>
<td><em>a=y-ùš</em></td>
<td><em>i-tašà=da</em></td>
<td><em>ušú</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 *ayi=d* ‘to bring’ which is the only other verb with a petrified directional clitic, and has the imperfective *i-taggà=da*.

4.3.3.13 cccc

For this stem type, the future and perfective are not attested, and the derived resulative stem is found only once. All verbs except for *sərfə́q* ‘to slap, to smack’ have default accent.
### Chapter 4. Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| n.a. | y-əbəlbiš=(res.) | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to form a bulb’ |
| n.a. | n.a. | i-ddəhwər | n.a. | ‘to go around’ |
| n.a. | n.a. | i-fənər | afənər | ‘to bleed (from the nose)’ |
| n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | afərtək | ‘to unstitch’ |
| n.a. | t-qəstəm | aqəstəm | ‘to apply collyrium’ |
| n.a. | i-sənsər | ásənsər | ‘to blow one’s nose’ |
| n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to slap, to smack’ |
| n.a. | i-ʃəkək | aʃəkək | ‘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 ccccc ~ ŋcccc

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf./fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| n.a. | n.a. | i-dəwwər | n.a. | ‘to look around’ |
| n.a. | i-ɣəlləb=(tən) | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to defeat s.o.’ |
| n.a. | y-əḥaṣṣələ (res.) | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to obtain’ |
| n.a. | n.a. | i-xəbər | n.a. | ‘to tell’ |
| n.a. | y-əxəmmə́m | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to think, ponder’ |
| n.a. | n.a. | i-xətəm | n.a. | ‘to drop by someone’ |
| n.a. | i-ʃəqəkə | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to wrap’ |
| n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to be sleepy’ |
| n.a. | i-nəddəm | anəddəm | ‘to return (home)’ |
| n.a. | a-i-səbbəh (fut.) | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to swim’ |
| n.a. | i-səlləm | səlləm-ən | n.a. | ‘to greet’ |
| n.a. | t-səndəqt=(i)=ya (res.) | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to believe’ |
| n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | ‘to draw a line’ |
| n.a. | i-ʃəqqəʃ | n.a. | ‘to clap your hands’ |
| n.a. | i-wəddən | i-wəddən | ‘to crow (rooster)’ |
| n.a. | n.a. | ʃəyyən-əx | n.a. | ‘to be ill’ |
The verb *sə̀nnəṭ* ‘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 c̄c*

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-(dikkə̀ni) pl.f. wətti-mət; pf. 3sg.f. t-wəṭta ‘to prepare’

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

### 4.3.3.16 c̄i

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cvcəc</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>y-əqàràb</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>‘to draw near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-ʕàyəṭ</td>
<td>a-ʕayəyəṭ-ən=(dik)</td>
<td>i-ʕay(y)əṭ 'to yell, scream’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3.3.18 cvc(*) ~ c̄vc(*)

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.
### 4.3.3.19 \( \text{cvc}^{(*)} \)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cvč</td>
<td>(\text{acvč}^{(*)})</td>
<td>cvč(*)</td>
<td>tćac*</td>
<td>tacacat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| n.a. | y-əffūd-a (res.) | a=y-əffūd | i-təfāda | tafadat  
| n.a. | y-əllūz     | n.a.     | i-tlāza | tālazat     |
| aqqūr| n.a.     | n.a.    | n.a.  | n.a.        |
| qim  | y-əqqūm (but: qqūm) | a=tt-əqqūm| i-tqqūm | n.a.        |

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

### 4.3.3.20 \( \text{cvc}^{(*)}/\text{cvc}^{*} \)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cvč</td>
<td>(\text{cvc}^{*})</td>
<td>(\text{cvc}^{*})</td>
<td>(\text{cvc}^{*})</td>
<td>(\text{cvc}^{*})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāγ</td>
<td>i-nāγ</td>
<td>a=i-nāγ</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>anāγ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sas</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-śās</td>
<td>āsās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zik</td>
<td>i-zik</td>
<td>a=y-əzik</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>żum</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mud</td>
<td>i-mūd</td>
<td>a=i-mūd</td>
<td>mudā-n</td>
<td>amūd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žin</td>
<td>i-źina</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>tāmźint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>źarā-n=a (res.)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ccvc</td>
<td>ccvc(*)</td>
<td>taccvc*</td>
<td>ccic(ən)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glûl</td>
<td>i-glûl</td>
<td>i-təglûla</td>
<td>glîlən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōrgig</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-tərgīga</td>
<td>rgîg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šlîl</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-əvrûr=a (res.)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žvûv</td>
<td>y-óžvûv</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

y-əvrûr=a ‘to be fertilized (a palm)’ has an irregular res.3pl.m. form vər-în=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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mmût</td>
<td>mmuy-ix,</td>
<td>a=mmûya-x,</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>təməttînt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-mmût</td>
<td>a=y-əmmût</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŝərwît</td>
<td>ŝərwî-x,</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-šərwît</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-šərwàyt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awît</td>
<td>wi-x,</td>
<td>a=i-wi-x,</td>
<td>təwvî-x,</td>
<td>tîta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-wît</td>
<td>a=i-wît</td>
<td>i-təwvɔyt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mmût ‘to die’ is essentially a ēvc(*) verb, whose last consonant is t/y. The verbal noun is irregular.

ŝərwît ‘to speak, tell’ is morphologically identical to š-cci verb (see below), except that there is an additional consonant t at the end of some forms.

awît ‘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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agə́l, gul</td>
<td>i-gûl, i-gûla</td>
<td>a-i-gûl</td>
<td>i-gəwwə́l</td>
<td>agəgwə́l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ammə́kt</td>
<td>y-əmmə́kt</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-mmə́ktá</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥrə́w</td>
<td>t-ə́rw</td>
<td>a-tt-ə́rw</td>
<td>tə́rw</td>
<td>ḥə́rw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʊ́wi</td>
<td>i-ttʊ́wi</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-tə́ya</td>
<td>atʊ́wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>lləwwə́ši-n=a</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>y-ə́twə́mə́nna</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uft tə́və́rgə́t</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-və́rga</td>
<td>tə́və́rgə́t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb *agə́l, 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 **əgwə́l**.

The verb *əmmə́kt, mmə́kti* ‘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 *əmmə́kt*. 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 *ḥə́rw* ‘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-i̊riw=a* and future appear to have an icc structure, finally the imperative formation is that of a |vcc| verb, the verbal noun is a unique formation.

*tʊ́wi* ‘to forget’ has an irregular formation. Like the verb types cvc(*) and cv̄e(*) this verb lacks a final alternating vowel in the 3sg.m. but it is present in the 1sg. form *tuwiyi-.loaded*. 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 *lləwwə́ši-n*a (res.) ‘to wither’ is only attested in this one form, so nothing more can be said about its formation. It is clear, though, that this structure (ecc?) is not attested for any other verb in the language. Similarly, pf. 3sg.m. *yatə́mə́nna* ‘to wish’ is the only verb of its type (ccc*?), and only found in this one form.

*uft tə́və́rgə́t* 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 *tə́və́rgə́t* ‘dream’ as a verbal stem with three root consonants, but its formation is completely different from verbs with a ccc structure. The noun *tə́və́rgə́t* should probably be considered a verbal noun, as it follows the same scheme |t(a)-caccà-t| as the verbal nouns of the ne* 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: ə̀drəš, i-də̀rrəsh ‘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.).

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

4.3.6.1 cc̄c

By far the largest group of stative verbs have the structure cəc̄əc 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.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg.</th>
<th>2sg.</th>
<th>3sg.m.</th>
<th>3sg.f.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cacc-àx</td>
<td>cacc-àt</td>
<td>cəc̄əc</td>
<td>cacc-ət</td>
<td>cəc̄ic-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gəzl-àx</td>
<td>gəzl-àt</td>
<td>gə̀zzəl</td>
<td>gə̀zl-ət</td>
<td>gəzzil-it ‘to be short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yəzf-àx</td>
<td>yəzf-àt</td>
<td>yə̀zzəf</td>
<td>yə̀zf-ət</td>
<td>yəzzif-it ‘to be long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləqq-àx</td>
<td>ləqq-àt</td>
<td>ləqqəq</td>
<td>ləqq-ə́t</td>
<td>ləqqiq-it ‘to be thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məll-àx</td>
<td>məll-àt</td>
<td>məllə́l</td>
<td>məll-ə́t</td>
<td>məllil-it ‘to be white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məšk-àx</td>
<td>məšk-àt</td>
<td>məššə̀k</td>
<td>məšk-ə́t</td>
<td>məššik-it ‘to be small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəṭf-àx</td>
<td>šəṭf-àt</td>
<td>šə̀ṭṭəf</td>
<td>šə́ṭf-ə́t</td>
<td>šəṭṭif-it ‘to be black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zəwɣ-àx</td>
<td>zəwɣ-àt</td>
<td>zə̀wwəɣ</td>
<td>zə̀wɣ-ə́t</td>
<td>zəwɣ-ìt ‘to be red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zəwr-àx</td>
<td>zəwr-àt</td>
<td>zə̀wwər</td>
<td>zə̀wr-ə́t</td>
<td>zəwwir-ìt ‘to be large’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məqər-àx, məqər-àt, mə̀qqər</td>
<td>mə́qər-ə́t, məqər-ə́t</td>
<td>mə̀qqər</td>
<td>mə́qər, məqqər-ìt ‘to be big’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

13 The absence of the perfective of ə̀drəš 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).
məqqər ‘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: məqqər-àx, məqqər-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. <qqāimîḥ> and <moqqāīrît>. The antepenultimate accent in the 3sg.f. form məqqər-ət, məqqər-ət suggests that the a between q and r is epenthetic.

mallól ‘to be white’ has a phonological final accent in the 3sg.m., 3sg.f. and pl.; maššāk ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg.</th>
<th>2sg.</th>
<th>3sg.m.</th>
<th>3sg.f.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cəcúc-ax</td>
<td>cəcuc-at</td>
<td>cəcuc</td>
<td>cəcuc-ət</td>
<td>cəcuc-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fašùş-ax</td>
<td>fašuš-ət</td>
<td>fašùš</td>
<td>fašùš-ət</td>
<td>fašuš-ıt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>ċ̄ařəz</td>
<td>qārəz</td>
<td>qārəz-ət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vurk-ax</td>
<td>vurk-ət</td>
<td>vurk</td>
<td>vurk-ət</td>
<td>vurək-ıt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4.3.6.3 cvcc

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg.</th>
<th>2sg.</th>
<th>3sg.m.</th>
<th>3sg.f.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cvcc-ax</td>
<td>cvcc-at</td>
<td>cvcc</td>
<td>cvcc-ət</td>
<td>cvcc(ı)c-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarəz-ax</td>
<td>qarəz-ət</td>
<td>qərəz</td>
<td>qərəz-ət</td>
<td>qəriz-ıt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vurk-ax</td>
<td>vurk-ət</td>
<td>vərk</td>
<td>vərk-ət</td>
<td>vərək-ıt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The a between r and z in all forms of qərəz 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 ċvc

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg.</th>
<th>2sg.</th>
<th>3sg.m.</th>
<th>3sg.f.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡ̄āk-ax</td>
<td>ḡ̄āk-at</td>
<td>ḡ̄āk</td>
<td>ḡ̄āk-ət</td>
<td>ḡ̄ak-ıt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>mmùm</td>
<td>mmùm-ət</td>
<td>mmum-ıt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3sg.m.</th>
<th>3sg.f.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vcvc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3sg.m.</th>
<th>3sg.f.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ccv(-ən)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3sg.m.</th>
<th>3sg.f.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bàhi</td>
<td>bàhəy-ət</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aḥāš</td>
<td>aḥāš-ət</td>
<td>aḥaš-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qərlb</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qɔwi</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəʕid</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəhih</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃəryən</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šəccəc</td>
<td>šəccəc</td>
<td>šəccəc</td>
<td>šəccəc</td>
<td>šəccəc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šədəş</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəfəš</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š-(s-)əgzəl</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-šəgzəl</td>
<td>asəgzəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š-(s-)əyzəf</td>
<td>i-šəyzəf</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-šəyzəf</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəməš</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəqərəz</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəvərək</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šələhəm</td>
<td>i-šəlhəm</td>
<td>a=i-šəlhəm</td>
<td>i-šəlhəm</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəlməd</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-šəlməd</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəntəš</td>
<td>i-šəntəš</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šənfəl</td>
<td>šənfəl-x</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>šənfəl-x</td>
<td>ašənfəl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

š-əgzəl ‘to shorten, lower’ and š-əyzəf have variants with initial s- in the imperative: s-əgzəl, s-əyzəf. 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: šəmləl ‘to whiten’. Considering the vocalism of this formation, it should probably be considered a deadjectival derivation from the adjective mələl ‘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 -əy. Verbal nouns are unattested for this type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šəfək</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəg(ə)l</td>
<td>i-šəg(ə)l</td>
<td>a=šəgl-ə=(k)</td>
<td>i-šəgləy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəyər</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəny</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šənt</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəts</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəval</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šić</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-šićay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šić(*)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-šićay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šićay</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| šićay | 'to make s.o. sleep' |
| i-šićay | 'to cause to fall' |
| n.a. | '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šəcci</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəcci</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəccay</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| šəccay | 'to return s.th.' |
| i-šəcrì-ašəcρ̃d | 'to return s.th.' |
| t-šəmbí-ašəmb̃d | 'to make s.o. smell' |
| t-šəmbay | 'to make s.o. smell' |
| t-šəmbay | 'to make s.o. leave' |

4.3.7.5  š-cc

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 ccc verbs, where the causative prefix takes the position of the first root consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šəċəc</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>šəċəc</td>
<td>ašəcəd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəggad</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-šəggad</td>
<td>ašəggad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəkkar</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.7.6  š-c̄*

Only two verbs are attested in this type. They are derived from original c̄* verbs.
4.3.7.7 š-vcc

This causative corresponds to the vcc verbs. The vcc verb *irad* ‘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.

### 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’.

### š-ccvc

Two verbs belong to this group, and only their imp. sg. is known: *šamlil* ‘to whiten’ which probably is a deadjectival verb and *šaglug* ‘to make (s.o.) play’, which is the causative of the |ccvc| verb *glül* ‘to play’.

### š-cvc

There is one causative that is derived from a cvc verb that belongs to this group: *səzik*, *səgəzək* ‘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 ĉvc verbs belong here: šqim ‘to cause to remain, stay, sit’ and šqar ‘to cause to dry out’. They are derived from the ĉvc verbs, but have lost the long initial consonants that is present in the non-causative forms.

4.3.7.11 š-ĉvc

One causative belong to this group, it is derived from the ĉvc stative verb ẓẓak ‘to be heavy’: s-əẓẓìk ‘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-tzwìṭ=a ‘to be thrown on the ground’, which is derived from the ccc verb azwàṭ ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>ttacc(*)</td>
<td>ttacc</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-ťtòmt</td>
<td>a=i-ťtòmt</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-ťtònûy</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.8.3 tt-cc

One passive form is found that is derived from the cc verb àžəṭ ‘to grind, mill’: res. 3sg.m. i-ttəṭìt=a; fut. 3sg.m. a=i-ttəţəṭ ‘to be ground, be milled’.

4.3.8.4 tw-vcc

Two passives, derived from the vcc verbs, belong to this group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imp.</th>
<th>pf.</th>
<th>fut.</th>
<th>impf.</th>
<th>v.n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>twacəc</td>
<td>twacəc</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-twàkər</td>
<td>a=i-twàkər</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>i-twàrəv</td>
<td>a=i-twàrəv</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.8.5  tw-vc(*)

One verb belong to this group. It is derived from a vc* verb.

imp.sg. twár; pf. 1sg. tward-x 3sg.m. i-twár ‘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-trawəl ‘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. əmmə́g; pf.3sg.m. y-əmmə́g; res. 3sg.m. y-əmmigg-a; fut.3sg.m. a-y-əmmə́g
‘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-mḥāsəb
‘to settle the score together’, derived from the Arabic verb ḥāsaba ‘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-tšišif=a ‘to be sieved’.
Chapter 5

Adjective

The adjectives, which can have various forms, correspond to stative verbs of the type ccc. This distribution suggests that adjectives can be made into stative verbs by means of applying the scheme of the ccc 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m.sg.</th>
<th>m.pl.</th>
<th>f.sg.</th>
<th>f.pl.</th>
<th>stat.v.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gzil</td>
<td>gzilən</td>
<td>təgzilt</td>
<td>təgzilìn</td>
<td>ɡàzzəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣzif</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>təɣzıft</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>ɣāzzəf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mlīl</td>
<td>mlīlən</td>
<td>təmlīl</td>
<td>təmlīlin</td>
<td>məllə́l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šṭaf</td>
<td>šṭəfən</td>
<td>təșṭəft</td>
<td>təșṭəfin</td>
<td>šəṭṭəf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zwāɣ</td>
<td>zwāɣən</td>
<td>tzwāɣt</td>
<td>tzwāɣin</td>
<td>ẓəwwəɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azuwār</td>
<td>zuwārən</td>
<td>tazuwārt</td>
<td>tzuwarin</td>
<td>ẓəwwər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aləqqùq</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>tələqqùqt</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>ləqqəq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aməqqəràn</td>
<td>məqqrànən</td>
<td>taməqqərànt</td>
<td>tməqqranìn</td>
<td>mə̀qqər</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. kəddımən, 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 aməẓẓìn ‘sons’, which is the suppletive plural of ɪwì ‘(my) son’. aməẓẓìn is not used adjectivally in the corpus, but is transparently related to the common Berber root mژ’y ‘to be small’. The adjectival meaning and the specialized nominal usage are

\(^{1}\)This cannot be a printing error as these variants are specifically cited in Paradisi as follows: <mo-qqrânen (moqqrâren)>

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-əškí Žḥà sar (or: syár)=tafilli=nn-as w=idd-as irìw fəllî-s təkabòrt 3sm-leave:pf. Jha from=house=of-3s and=with-3s child on-3s shirt təzwàɣyt u=y-ərřʃ=ti=ya af=agərə=ənn-as. red:sm 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 fəllî-s təkabòrt təzwàɣyt? 2s-see:pf.-2s neg. child on-3s shirt red:sm
‘Have you not seen a child with a red shirt on?’ [PT:XIII]

(25) aɣrəš=dìk tirìwt tmaqqərànt. slaughter:imp.=10.1s girl big:sm
‘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) amə̀dən mlìl 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) amə̀dən gòzzəl 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradisi</th>
<th>Beguinot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg. nək, nə̀k</td>
<td>nek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.m. ku, kù</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.f. kəm</td>
<td>kem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m. nəttìn, əntìn</td>
<td>nettî, nettîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f. ənnât</td>
<td>ennât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl. nəkkəní</td>
<td>nekkenî, nekñîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.m. kəmmim</td>
<td>kemmîm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.f. kəmmimət</td>
<td>kemmîmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.m. nəhin, ənhin</td>
<td>nehnîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.f. nəhinət, ənhinət</td>
<td>nehnînet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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=ârbəʕa bòss.*
3sf-say:pf.=10.3s she: with=four enough
‘She said to him: for four (should be) enough.’ [PT:III]

(29) *u=y-əqqìm*  *i-ddəhwàr*  *ašàl=i*  *kkùll*  *i-nàššəd*  *əlʕulamá*  
*and=*3sm-stay:pf. 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars
*u=i-yəllàb=tòn*  *u=nattin*  *i-ddəhwàr*  *ir=i-ṭùg*  
*and=*3sm-defeat:impf.=DO.3pm and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:pf.
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) *nak*  *wa*  *əḥdəf-x=tìt=a*  *i=kú*  
3sm-say:pf.=10.3s 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) *nattin məqqàr  am=nək*
he  be.big:3sm like=I
‘he is as big as me’ [P: s.v. come]
After the predicative marker \( d = \):

\[(32) \quad \text{əḥsə́b-x=kù=ya} \quad ?ənn-ək \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{d=nə̀k}.
\]

\[\text{think:res.-1s=آؗ 2sm=res. cmplzr.2sm you pred.=I} \]

\[\text{‘(so) I figured that you are me!’ [PT:XI]}\]

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 \( ɪdd- \) with a pronominal ending.

\[(33) \quad \text{nə̀k} \quad \text{a=nṭə̀r-əx=ku} \quad \text{ká} \quad \text{ir=a=nnə-ʔə̀dd} \quad \text{nə̀k} \quad ɪdd-ək \quad \text{ar=əlqə̀dɨ}. \]

\[\text{I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg. until=fut.=1p-go:fut. I with-2sm to=judge} \]

\[\text{‘I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.’ [PT:V]}\]

### 6.1.2 Direct object clitics

The direct object clitic is placed after the verb, but follows the indirect object clitic, when present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg.</th>
<th>=i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg.m.</td>
<td>=ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.f.</td>
<td>=kəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m.</td>
<td>=t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f</td>
<td>=tət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>=ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.m.</td>
<td>=kim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.f.</td>
<td>=kmət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.m.</td>
<td>=tən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.f.</td>
<td>=tənət</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

\[(34) \quad \text{i-ɣə̀lli} \quad \text{a=i-ʁzi=tat,} \quad \text{y-əzmər} \quad \text{ká}
\]

\[\text{3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:*pf. neg.} \]

\[\text{‘(each one) wanted to break it, (but) could not.’ [PT:I]}\]

\[(35) \quad \text{i-ɣə̀lli} \quad \text{a=i-žiţi=t.}
\]

\[\text{3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm} \]

\[\text{‘He wanted to sell it.’ [PT:IV]}\]
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 $=tit=a$. 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 $/ta/$. The predicted form of the resultative with a 3sg.m. clitic is $*/i(C)=t=a/$, but in reality we find $=ti=ya$, which would be the regular reflex of $*/ta/$. The forms of the direct object pronouns when they precede the resultative marker are shown in the following table:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>$=i=ya$</td>
<td>2sg.m.</td>
<td>$=ku=ya$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.f.</td>
<td>$=kim=a$</td>
<td>3sg.m.</td>
<td>$=ti=ya$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f</td>
<td>$=tit=a$</td>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>$=ax=a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>$=ax=a$</td>
<td>2pl.m.</td>
<td>$=kim=a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.f.</td>
<td>$=kmit=a$</td>
<td>3pl.m.</td>
<td>$=tin=a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.f.</td>
<td>$=tnit=a$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: <tgulít-əḥ> ‘you saw us’ [P: s.v. noi].

The accentuation found with $=tnət$ 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) $yə=\text{rəbbi} \quad \text{əndú} \quad y-ənqış=a \quad \text{iwínan} \quad a=uyá-x=tnət \quad ká.$  
  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) $w=\text{i-gi}=tnət \quad \text{aɾəqūt}=i \quad u=\text{y-əḥdəf}=tnət \quad \text{dit} \quad nə=\text{ Żhà}$  
  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).
6.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

sar=ərròšən.
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. =dik
2sg.m. =ik
2sg.f. =im
3sg. =is
1pl. =dikə́nî, =dikkə́nî, =dikòni
2pl.m. =ikim
2pl.f. =əkmə́t
3pl.m. =isin
3pl.f. =isnət

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=îs ənnûs n-əlbaràt.
3sm-give:*pf.=10.3s half of=money
‘(Jha) gave him half of the money (he owed him).’ [PT:XIV]

(40) ròbbi y-əfki=dik=a am alá γəllî-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 wɔtti rather than
wɔtta/i.

\[(41) \text{wɔtti} = \text{dikkənì} \quad \text{cču=nn-āx şbàh} \quad \text{id=bɔjəd şbàh}.\]
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.

\[(42) \text{nək} \text{ ẓəlamá} \quad \text{fəkk-ā=s} \quad \text{afīw y-əlyám} \quad a=y-əmm.\]
I as.much.as. give:impf.=1s=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]

\[(43) \text{ṣbər-āt} \quad a=nn-a=kim \quad \text{nək} \text{ d=awìl} \quad \text{tlàta marràt}\]
wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-1s=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three times
entiful.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.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>=dik=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.m.</td>
<td>=ik=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.f.</td>
<td>=im=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>=is=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>=dikkənì=ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.m.</td>
<td>=ikimin=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.f.</td>
<td>=akmıt=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.m.</td>
<td>=isin=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.f.</td>
<td>=isınıt=a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. -kim
2pl.f. -ə̀kmət
3pl.m. -sin
3pl.f. -ə̀snət

Besides the Berber set of pronominal suffixes, there is a set of Arabic prepositional suffixes which occurs with the prepositions də̀Ʀfər ‘behind’ and dıt ‘in front’. The accentuation of some of the forms of də̀Ʀfər ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>də̀Ʀfər</th>
<th>dit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>də̀Ʀfər-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>də妤r-ək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m.</td>
<td>də妤r-əh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>də妤r-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>də妤r-ə́s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f.</td>
<td>də妤r(?)-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>də妤r(?)-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>də妤r-nàx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.m.</td>
<td>də妤r(?)-kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>də妤r-kim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.f.</td>
<td>də妤r(?)-kmət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.m.</td>
<td>də妤r(?)-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>də妤r(?)-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.f.</td>
<td>də妤r(?)-hən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The preposition af, fəlli- ‘on’ has a 1sg. ending -wi rather than -i:
CHAPTER 6. PRONOUN

(44) lhudi i-qə̀lləz  fəllì-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-in; s-inət, s-ə̀nət.
One would expect the forms **s-sin; s-sə̀nət, s-ə̀nət. Apparently, the sequence s-s- has
been simplified.

(45) U=y-əfrə́ḥ  Žḥà  s-ə̀nət
        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-əqqə́š  ŋəlbấb  fəllì-s
   forget.it and=3sf-close:*pf. door  on-3sg.
   ‘Forget it! and she closed the door on him,’ [PT:III]

(47) U=y-uɣi=tət  kull  iwinàn  syar-sin  i-yəllì
   And=3sm-take:*pf. DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:*pf.
   a=i-rẓì=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-əʕə̀dd  w=azit  dáffər-a (or: dáffər-ah).
   and=3sm-go:*pf. and=donkey behind-3sm
   ‘and he went and the donkey (was) behind him.’ [PT:VII]

(49) I-ggì=t  dít-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 prepo-
tions are placed directly after the noun and form an accent unit with it.
6.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

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-ə̀kmət
3pl.m. =ənn-əsin
3pl.f. =ənn-ə̀snət

(50) šəkri=dìk  ałbarat=ənn-ùk
return:imp.=10.1s 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  af=təfìli=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=iwin  n=išf  i-llùm  aməzzìn=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 àbbà ‘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.

xàli ‘(maternal) uncle’ probably belongs here too, but there is not enough data to confirm this.

The plural of īwì ‘son’, amàzzìn ‘sons’, takes the regular possessive clitics.

The noun tèmìgni ‘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)  Bàʃèdèn əlʕəqqàb=i  y-əqqìm  nəttìn id=dmagnì-s (or: id=tèmìgni-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  imàn=nà-kim, a=i-ssəʕəd=kìm  ṛəbbi.
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=azìt.
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)

### 6.3.1 Pre-modifier pronominal heads

The 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \(u=bəʔədən \ y-axzər \ af=əḻəml=əmn-as \ wa \ ẓẓàk-an \ dax\)

and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy- ptc. in.order.to a=y-əfəʕ=t

fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm

‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry’ [PT:III]

(57) \(wa \ y-əfkī=dìk=a \ l’ālla \ a=y-əfkī=dìk \ iwīnan;\)

PMPH:sm 3sm-give:res=10.is=res. much fut=3sm-give:fut.=10.is one:sm

‘He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).’ [PT:V]

(58) \(nəʔ \ wa \ əḥdəf-x=tìt=a \ i=kú\)

I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you

‘I am the one who has thrown it to you’ [PT:V]

(59) \(u=nəʔ \ rwìḥ-h=a \ a=y-əqləz \ w=a=i-n=ìs \ həttə\)

and=I become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.3s even tlabə=nn-ūk \ t-ənnī \ fəllī-wi \ t=tà=nn-əs \ nəttìn\)

gown=of-1s rel: sf 3sf-exist:pf. on-1s pre.d.=PMPH:sf=of-3s he ìd=aẓīt=ənn-ūk a=i-n=ìs \ d=wà=nn-əs \ nəttìn\)

with=donkey=of-1s fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.3s pre.d.=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]

---

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 ...’:

> ‘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?’:

> ‘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).

> ‘If those who pray behind me would be eaten by *ṢṬre*, I would no longer pray with anyone.’ [PT:II]

> ‘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.

\[(65)\] \( Y \- \text{ə́dd} \quad i \- n=i\text{s}=t \quad am=\text{alá} \quad na \- n=i\text{s}=a. \)
\[
\text{3sm-go:}'\text{pf. 3sm-say:}'\text{pf.}=10.3s=\text{DO.3s like=rel. say:res.-3pm}=10.3s=\text{res.}
\]
‘He went and told it to him like they had told him’ [PT:II]

\[(66)\] \( \text{Bə́́d} \quad u\text{ṣ\-ə́n} \quad ar=\text{əłqàḍi} \quad i \text {-şə́rw}= \text{i} \)
\[
\text{Then arrive:}'\text{pf.-3pm to=}\text{judge 3sm-tell:}'\text{pf.}=10.3s \text{Jew from=}\text{rel.}
\]
\[
\text{ṣará-n}=a. \quad \text{happen:res.-ptc.}=\text{res.}
\]
‘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: \( d \- \text{ə́lá} \). 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proximal</th>
<th>distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. -àya, -é, -ák</td>
<td>-íwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. -ïya, -ïyək</td>
<td>-idánin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \( akk-/aktt- \). 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, \( ídin, -idîn \) 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. \( íšf \) ‘day’ and \( àšəw(w)àša \) ‘this year’, cf. \( ma \) \( asgg^as \) ‘year’.

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) \( mag \ i-nni \ aməðən=έ \)

where 3sm-exist:pf. man=prox.:s

‘Where is this man?’ [P: s.v. dove?]

(68) \( wəttì-mət \ šyırən, qámk a=ggà-γ=å \ afiw syår=təfills=bìwan. \)

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]

\(^1\)The 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).
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: \(=\text{idin}, =\text{idin}\), 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 \(=\text{idin}\) 'night', which is introduced for the first time in the text in that sentence and therefore cannot be anaphoric.

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) \(y\text{-ušá=d} \ Žhà màrra i-γəlli a=y-əssən \ akəllim=ənn-əs\)
\(\text{3sm-come:pf. come Jha once 3sm-want: pf. fut. servant=of-3s}\)
\(\text{amakàn ba} id \ làkən akəllim i-ššən \ ká \ amakàn w=i-ššən\)
\(\text{place be.far:3sm but servant 3sm-know: pf. neg. place and=3sm-know: pf.}\)
\(\text{ká täbarüt u=y-ərwəʕ a=y-ùɣər}\)
\(\text{neg. way and=3sm-be.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut.}\)
\(\text{‘One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away. But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way and he became afraid to get lost.’ [PT:X]}\)

(73) \(U=t\text{-axzár γår-əs tamigni w=ət-n=ɪs:}\)
\(\text{i=kú a=wá=n}\)
\(\text{and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman and=3sf-say: pf.=10.3s hey=you voc.=PMPH:ms=of}\)
\(\text{lmuxiyət. U=y-axzár nəttìn γår-əs w=i-gá aḥəmal=ənn-əs}\)
\(\text{mulukhiya and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s}\)
\(\text{dit n=tamigni}\)
\(\text{in.front of=woman}\)
\(\text{‘And a woman looked at him and said: Hey you there, the one of with the mulukhiya. And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman’ [PT:III]}\)
The definition that Paradisi gives for $=\text{idin}$, $=\text{idin}$ 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): $\text{am}=\text{idon-\text{idin}}$ ‘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. In this language, different pronouns are used depending on who is addressed. If the addressee is a man, $\text{wok}$ is used, in case of a female singular addressee the medial deictic is $\text{wom}$, while with a plural addressee $\text{werwən}$ 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 $\text{tyariwin-\text{iyək}}$ ‘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) $\text{Bəʕədèn i-n=isin: akká, kəmmim am=tyariwin=\text{iyək}, òndu}$
Then 3sm-say: “pf.=10.3pm this here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if
$t-\text{əllumà-m} \quad \text{iman=nə-kəm məʃá bəʃədəkum a=tt-qəqəma-m}$
2p-gather: “pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
$\text{am=tyariwin=\text{iyək}}$
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 \(-\text{ýak}\) 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.

Below follow several example sentences of the deictic pronouns in use.

(75) \(wàya\) \(d=a\text{ẓìṭ}\) \(fəšùš\), \(qə̀wì\) \(u=d=a\text{ẓìṭ}\) \(mṛì\).
   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) \(wàya\) \(d=a\text{ẓìṭ}\) \(ká\), \(wàya\) \(d=amòdìn\).
   this:sm pred.=donkey neg., this:sm pred.=man
   ‘this is not a donkey, this is a man.’ [PT:VII]

(77) \(wè\) \(s=am= mà̀gwa\)?
   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 \(a\text{kk}-\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proximal</th>
<th>distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.sg.</td>
<td>akk-á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.sg.</td>
<td>ak(k)ətt-á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.pl.</td>
<td>akk-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.pl.</td>
<td>akətt-í</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (-îya, -îyak). 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-î mədīnən
    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=îyək
    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) afîw akká y-əlhîm=a
    fire this.here 3sm-to.be.lit:res.-3m like=fire
    ‘this here fire is lit’ [P: s.v. accendere]

(81) akká alá urîf-x=a
    this.here rel. write:res.-1s=res.
    ‘behold, that which I have written’ [P: s.v. quello]

(82) àbba, àbba akkiwân əlbaqîs n=afîw.
    father father that.there glimmer of=fire.
    ‘Father, father! There! the glimmer of fire!’ [PT:XV]

(83) akkiwân irîš-in=a dilîwan.
    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 -îwan, but besides this regular form, we find an irregular diššîwan. For the allative adverbial deictics, there is no attested form of the distal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>proximal</th>
<th>distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>dil-a, dil-ak</td>
<td>dil-îwan, diššîwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>sil-a, sil-ak</td>
<td>unattested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(84) \( yi=d \quad dìla. \)
    come:imp. at.here
    ‘come here.’ [PT:VI]

(85) \( akkiwàn \quad iriš-in=a \quad dìliwan. \)
    that.there descend:res.-3pm=res. at.there
    ‘Over there, they’ve descended down there.’ [PT:XV]

(86) \( y-əxóttam \quad sìla \quad wa \quad žižà-n \quad ləmluxə̀yət, \)
    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 \( dìla \), something which Paradis also suggests with the spelling he employed: <\( yīd-dîla \)). 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, gân (cf. Siwa, gen, chez); non vi è, gân-ká; egli non c’era yénnî-ká gân.” [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) \( u=boʃədèn \quad nhìnət \quad ufà-nət \quad aləyəm \quad y-əmmüt=a \quad u=kkər-nət, \)
    and=then they(f) find:*pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:*pf.-3pf,
    \( ørʃɪ=ɣə-nət \quad z=gan \quad šəmmà-nət \quad y=âmza \)
    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) \( u=t-ʃan \quad gan \quad tiriwt \quad təməqqə̀ran\)
    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) \( gan \quad mìddən \quad dìla, \)
    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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before noun</th>
<th>Before pronoun</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>id</td>
<td>idd-</td>
<td>‘with (comitative), and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>af</td>
<td>fəllí-</td>
<td>‘on, at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar</td>
<td>yar-</td>
<td>‘nearby, at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s, s-yar, s-ar</td>
<td>s-yár-</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>‘with’ (instrumental)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>o̞nn-</td>
<td>‘of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, y-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>dative preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>‘like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir</td>
<td>Unattested</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bèyn</td>
<td>Unattested</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Bəʕədèn y-əqqìm i-rənni id=middən.
then 3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-bid:impf. with=people
‘Then he started bidding along with the people.’ [PT:IV]

(91)  
\[
ur=n-à=k=a \quad ká \quad bə̃ɔ̄d \ a=t-qimà-t \quad idd-ì \ t-ə̃ɔ̄ddì-t \quad ká? \n\]

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)  
\[
a=n-\text{nə̃d} \quad \text{kull} \quad idd-ək. \quad \text{fut.}=1p-go:fut. all with-2sm \n\]

‘We will all go with you.’ [PT:II]

(93)  
\[
\text{Undú} \quad \text{uši-γ=d} \quad ká, \quad a=n-mhàsəb \quad \text{nak} \quad idd-əs \quad \text{yom} \quad \text{əlqàyàma}. \quad \text{if come}:	ext{pf.-1s neg. fut.}=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection \n\]

‘If I do not come, we—him (who suffers) and me—will settle the score at the day of resurrection.’ [PT:II]

(94)  
\[
\text{u=tə̃fut} \quad \text{t-ə̃hòmà=ya} \quad \text{fallì-s} \quad \text{u=t-əqqìm} \quad \text{(t)-tə̃ttì} \quad \text{afìs}=\text{ənn-əs} \quad \text{and}=\text{sun} \quad 3sf-burn:res.=res. on-3s \quad \text{and}=\text{3sf-stay}:	ext{pf.} \quad 3sf-eat:impf. \quad \text{face}=\text{of-3s} \quad \text{id}=\text{əlgàfà}=\text{nn-əs} \quad \text{with}=\text{neck}=\text{of-3s} \n\]

‘and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck,’ [PT:III]

8.1.1.2  \textit{af} ‘on’

The preposition \textit{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 Figuig. The 1sg. ending irregularly gets a -\textit{w}- before the \textit{i}.

(95)  
\[
\text{nak} \quad \text{əɔyàn-əx} \quad \text{u=zmər-x} \quad ká \quad a=\text{əddà-x} \quad \text{af}=\text{ṭarin=n-úk} \quad \text{I be.sick:impf.-1s and=be.able}:	ext{pf.-1s neg. fut.}=\text{go:fut.-1s on}=\text{legs}=\text{of-1s} \n\]

‘I am sick and I am not able to go on my legs’ [PT:V]

(96)  
\[
\text{luòdì} \quad \text{i-qòllàz} \quad \text{fallì-wi} \quad \text{Jew} \quad 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s \n\]

‘The Jew is lying about me,’ [PT:V]

(97)  
\[
\text{u=t-əqqàš} \quad \text{əlbàb} \quad \text{fallì-s} \quad \text{and}=\text{3sf-close}:	ext{pf. door on-3sg.} \n\]

‘and she closed the door on him,’ [PT:III]

The verb \textit{axzàr} ‘to look at’ uses the preposition \textit{af} with nouns, but \textit{yar} for pronouns:
8.1. PREPOSITIONS

(98) \( u=\text{bəʕədən} \ y\text{-əxzár} \ \text{af-əlḥəməl-ənn-əs} \ \text{wa} \ \text{ẓẓàk-ən} \ \text{dax} \)
and=then \ 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s \ PMPH:ms be.heavy- ptc. in.order.to
\( a=y\text{-ərfə̀ʕ=t} \)
fut.=3sm-lift: fut.=DO.3sm
‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry.’ [PT:III]

(99) \( U=t\text{-əxzə́r} \ \text{yàr-əs} \ \text{təmigni} \)
and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s \ woman
‘And a woman looked at him’ [PT:III]

8.1.1.3 \( \text{ar} \ ‘\text{to}’ \)

\( \text{ar} \ ‘\text{to}’ \) 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) \( nək \ a=\text{ntɔr-əx=ku} \ \text{ká} \ \text{ir=a-nnə-ʃədd} \ \text{nək} \ \text{idd-ək} \ \text{ar=əlqə̀ḍi} \).
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]

\( \text{ar} \) is mainly attested in possessive phrases. The sentence below illustrates this.

(101) \( \text{Gan} \ \text{Abúdabr} \ \text{yàr-əs} \ \text{təmigni} \)
there Abu.Dabr to-3s \ woman
‘There once was (a man called) Abu-Dabr;’ [PT:XV]

The possessive use of the preposition can also be negated:

(102) \( u=\text{yar-i} \ \text{ká} \ \text{təlàba} \).
and=to-1s neg. gown
‘and I do not have a gown.’ [PT:V]

8.1.1.4 \( \text{s, s-yaɾ, s-ar} \ ‘\text{from}’ \)

\( \text{s, s-yaɾ, s-ar} \) is the ablative preposition. There seems to be free variation between the three variants, where \( s\text{-yaɾ} \) 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 \( s\text{-yaɾ} \).

(103) \( Nək \ \text{wa} \ \text{d=əlá} \ \text{slì-x=a} \ \text{sar=mìddən} \ \text{löwwəl \ kəddi̱m-ən} \),
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]
There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head; [PT:III]

He said to him: I've come from the village, together with my family.' [PT:XV]

Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times;’ [PT:II]

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.

And=3sm-tie:"pf.-3sm=DO,3sm with=rope
‘And he tied it with a rope' [PT:VII]

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:

For seven milliemes.' [PT:III]
8.1. PREPOSITIONS

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) $d=əlʕə̀dəd$ $n=aẓə̀vu$ $n=aẓiṭ=ənn-ùk$,
      pred.=number of=hairs of=donkey=of-1s

‘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-yar ‘from’ may also be used in this function:

(112) $aɣìz$ $n=ùrəɣ$
      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) $Bəʕədèn$ $y-əškí$ $əlhùdi$ $w=i-n=ìs$ $yə=Žḥà$: $ayid$
      $əlbarat=ənn-ùk$.
      money=of-is

‘Then the Jew came out and said to Jha: Bring my money (back)’ [PT:V]

(114) $u=i-tənn=ìs$ $i=kú$ $àmə̀dən$
      and=3sm-say:impf.=1O.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) $nak$ $wā$ $əhdoʃ-x=tit=a$ $i=kú$
      $I$ $\text{PMΦ:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you}$

‘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)  *nəttin məqqár am=nək*

he bigsm 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-ṭūg Žḥà.*

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-əʕìdd=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 **agûr** ‘near, on the side’

The word *agûr* ‘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) \[ u=y-əqqim \quad y-əvdìd=a \quad agur=ə̀nn-əs \quad ir=a=y-ùš \]
\[ \text{and}=3\text{sm-stay}^\text{pf.} \quad 3\text{sm-stand:res.}=3\text{sm-stand:res.} \quad \text{besides}=\text{of-3s} \quad \text{until}=\text{fut.}=3\text{sm-come:fut.} \]
\[ əlbulìs. \]
\[ \text{police} \]
\[ \text{‘and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.’ [PT:III]} \]

The constructions with *minn-* are only attested in the word list: 1sg. *agûr minn-i* 2sg.m. *agûr 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) \[ tammàst \ n=tñìlli \]
\[ \text{middle of house} \]
\[ \text{‘in the middle of the house’ [P: s.v. mezzo (in)]} \]

8.1.2.3 **ẓùṭ** ‘above’

This word functions as a preposition in front of noun. It is placed directly in front of the noun it modifies:

(121) \[ ərfə̀ʕ=ić \quad ẓuṭ \quad ləktuf=ə̀nn-ək. \]
\[ \text{carry:imp.}=\text{DO.1s on.top.of shoulders}=\text{of-2sm} \]
\[ \text{‘He (the ogre) said to him: Carry me on your shoulders.’ [PT:XV]} \]

(122) \[ u=y-ərfə̀ʕ=ət \quad ẓuṭ \quad ləktuf=ə̀nn-əs \]
\[ \text{and}=3\text{sm-carry}^\text{pf.}=\text{DO.3sm on.top.of shoulders}=\text{of-3s} \]
\[ \text{‘and he carried him on his shoulders’ [PT:XV]} \]

Paradisi’s word list shows that this preposition cannot receive prepositional pronominal endings. *ẓuṭ* is combined with Berber preposition *fəll-* ‘on’ or the Arabic preposition *minn-* ‘from’: 1sg. *ẓuṭ minn-i*, *ẓuṭ fəll-ək* 2sg.m. *ẓuṭ minn-ək*. The pronominal forms are not attested in the texts.

*ẓuṭ* may be combined with the prepositions *ar* ‘to’ and *s-ar* ‘from’ to form adverbial phrases *ar-ẓuṭ* ‘upward’, *s-ar-ẓuṭ* ‘from above’:
(123)  \( U \ y'-\text{alb} \)  \( n\text{nett} \text{in} \text{id}d-\text{3s} \text{ar=\text{zùt}} \)
and \(3\text{sm-climb:p}f. \text{ he} \) with-\(3\text{s to=up} \)
‘And he climbed up with him’ [PT:VI]

(124)  \( \text{Bo}\text{sèdèn} \ y'-\text{àxzær} \ \text{Žhà sar=\text{zùt}} \)
Then \(3\text{sm-look:seq. Jha} \) from=above
‘Then Jha looked from above’

The antonym \( ù\text{ta} \) ‘below’ is also combined with the prepositions \( \text{ar} \) ‘to’ and \( s\text{-ar} \) ‘from’ to form adverbial phrases \( \text{ar-ù\text{ta}} \) ‘downward’ and \( s\text{-ar-ù\text{ta}} \) ‘from below’. \( s\text{-ar-ù\text{ta}} \) is only attested in the word list (s.v. sotto).

(125)  \( w=\text{afìwa} \ t\text{-\text{an}d=dik} \ \text{ìrâś} \ ar=\text{ù\text{ta}?} \)
and =why \(2\text{s-say:˟pf.-2s=} \) \(1\text{s descend:imp. to=below} \)
‘And why did you tell me to come down?’

One would expect that \( ù\text{ta} \) can also be used independently like \( \text{zùt} \), but there is no evidence for this.

8.1.2.4  \( \text{dàffør} \) ‘behind, after’

This preposition-like construction is often a preposition in Berber languages, cf. Kabyle \( \text{dàffir} \), Touareg \( \text{dàffør} \). In Awjila it can only combine with a noun using a genitive construction:

(126)  \( \text{dàffør} \ n=\text{tfìlli} \)
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)  \( u=y\text{-\text{aqq}ôn=t} \)
\( s=\text{ažikâr} \ u=y\text{-\text{af}ôdd} \ w=\text{azâit} \)
and=3sm-tie:pf.-3sm=DO.3sm with=rope and=3sm-go:ªpf. and=donkey
\( \text{dàffør-a} \) (or: \( \text{dàffør-ah} \)).
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 \( \text{dàffør-\text{ás}} \) ‘behind him’. 
8.1.2.5 dit ‘in front of’

To modify nouns, this word uses a genitive construction:

\[(128)\] \(u=y-\text{ḥd}af=t\text{n}at\) \(\text{dit} n\=\text{ḥ}a\ sar=\text{arr}ə\text{s}ən.\)  
\(\text{and}=\text{3sm-throw:p}f.=\text{DO.}3\text{pf front of}=\text{Jha} \) \(\text{from}=\text{window}\)  
‘And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.’ [PT:V]

When used pronominally dit, like dəffər, uses Arabic pronominal endings (see section 6.1.4):

\[(129)\] \(I-gg\=t\) \(\text{dit-a}\)  
\(\text{3sm-put:P}=\text{DO.}3\text{sm in.front-3sm}\)  
‘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 dit and dəffər are the only two prepositions that are attested with Arabic prepositional suffixes.

\(\text{dit}\) may be combined with the preposition ar ‘to’ to form adverbial phrase ar-dit ‘forward’:

\[(130)\] \(\text{žigə} =\text{ar-dit}\)  
\(\text{walk:imp. to}=\text{front}\)  
‘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.

\[(131)\] \(w=\text{i}žig\=až\) \(\text{dzənqin}=\text{i n}=\text{a}š\=əl\)  
\(\text{and}=\text{3sm-walk:impf. street}=\text{loc. of}=\text{village}\)  
‘and he would walk in the street of the village’ [PT:III]

\[(132)\] \(y-\text{ùna} \) \(\text{amməud}=\text{i}\)  
\(\text{3sm-enter:seq. mosque}=\text{loc.}\)  
‘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 ašāl 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) \[\text{Gan } \text{iwínan } n=\text{amódèn } \text{ašāl } n=\text{awilèn.}\]
\[\text{there one:ms of=man } \text{village of=Aujilan.people}\]
\['There once was a man in the village of Aujila' [PT:II]\n
(134) \[u=y-\text{aqqìm } \text{i-ddahwàr } \text{ašāl=i } \text{kkùll}\]
\[\text{and=}3\text{sm-stay:}^\text{pf. } \text{3sm-go.around:}^\text{impf. } \text{village=} \text{loc. whole}\]
\['A scholar left to go around outside, and he started going around the whole village' [PT:VIII]\n
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) \[\text{Žḥà } y-\text{əskìn=}a \text{ lʃølli=}yi\]
\[\text{Jha } 3\text{sm-live:res.=} \text{res. high=} \text{loc.}\]
\['Jha lived in a high (place)' [PT:VI]\n
(136) \[w=\text{i-ggì=}tët \text{škàròt=}i\]
\[\text{and=}3\text{sm-put:}^\text{pf.}= \text{DO.3sf bag=} \text{loc.}\]
\['Then he bought some vegetables and put them in a bag.' [PT:XII]\n
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: tfílli ‘house’ is attested with a retracted accent in the example sentence below.

(137) \[\text{nattìn } y-\text{əidd=}a \text{ (ir=} \text{tfílli=}yi}\]
\[\text{he } 3\text{sm-go.res=} \text{res. until=} \text{house=} \text{loc.}\]
\['he has gone to the house' [P: s.v. a]\n
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) \[y-\text{uyá } y-\text{əkrí } s=îs \text{ ssùq=}i\]
\[3\text{sm-take:pf. } 3\text{sm-return:}^\text{pf. with=}3\text{sf market=} \text{loc.}\]
\['he took (it) and returned with it to the market' [PT:VII]\n
The locative clitic \( =i \) cannot be combined with the possessive pronounal 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)  \( U=ba\dd e\dd e\dd \ y-a\dd d\dd \ n\dd d\dd \ a\dd x\dd r\dd e\dd r\dd s=\dd n\dd n\dd =\dd s \)
and=then \( 3\dd s\dd m\dd g\dd o\dd :^*p\dd f\dd .\dd h\dd e \)
garden=of=3s
‘And then he went to his garden’ [PT:XV]

(140)  \( Y-u\dd s\dd a=\dd d, \ y-u\dd n\dd a \ n\dd d\dd \ d\dd d\dd =\dd s \ a\dd m\dd a\dd k\dd a\dd n=n\dd =\dd a\dd s\dd n \)
3sm-come:pf.=come \( 3\dd s\dd m\dd e\dd n\dd r\dd e\dd r\dd =p\dd f\dd .\dd h\dd e \)
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 (Lanfray 1968: 366, Kossmann 2013b: 103). Unlike in Ghadames, the locative clitic is always \( =i \), and does not undergo inflexion.

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)  \( tali \ n \ t\dd m\dd z\dd e\dd n=i \)
room of barley=loc.
‘in the room of the barley’ [Kossmann 2013b: 107]

(142)  \( d\dd a\dd z=e=\dd d\dd e \ n \ a\dd s\dd l e \)
house=ANP:S=LOC of groom
‘in this house of the groom’ [Kossmann 2013b: 108]

**Awjila**

(143)  \( d\dd z\dd n\dd q\dd i\dd n=i \ n=a\dd s\dd \dd l \)
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. iwín, iwínàn, iwínan
   f. iwát, iwatàn
2  ihtén
3  təláta
4  ərbəʕa
7  sə̀bəʕa
9  tə̀səʕa
90  təsʕìn
100  mə̀yət
1000 əlf

ərbəʕa, sə̀bəʕa and tə̀səʕa all have an antepenultimate accent. This position is very rare in Awjila. It is very well possible that the ə in front of ʕ 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 iwín, 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=amə̀dən ašàl  n=awìlən.
    there one:ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people
   ‘There once was a man in the village of Aujila’ [PT:II]

(145) w=iwín n=išf i-llùm aməzzìn=n-əs
    and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:*pf. sons=of-3s
   ‘And one day he gathered his sons’ [PT:I]
Some Arabic constructions have been taken over as such, and do not have the preposition *n* 'of'.

(149) $\text{ṣbər-āt} a=nn-a=kim \ n=āk\ d=awīl \ tlāta\ marrāt$

Wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-is=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three times

* ila yom ʿalqiyāma:*

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) $\text{Žḥā ʾy-ṣəmənna syar=rəbbi} a=y-ṣk=is \ əlf \ ẓnī$

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) $\text{Bəʃədən u=bəʃəd} səbəʃa\ ayyam y-ʃədd \ marrāt (mərət) aqūt-ət$

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:
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)  \[ \text{wènma slà-n=t} \, \text{middàn n=ašàl kùll, ušà-n=d} \]

as soon as hear:pf.-3pm=DO.3sm people of=village all come:pf.-3pm=come

\[ \text{yàllïy-an} \, \text{a=mmudà-n kùll dáffèr-a} \]

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)  \[ \text{mag ì-nnì} \, \text{ənìnnùṣṣ an=təmùrt kùll?} \]

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)  \[ \text{u=y-əfkà kull iwin tøyarit.} \]

and=3sm=give:pf. each one:sm stick

‘and (he) gave each one a stick.’ [PT:I]

(155)  \[ \text{u=i-tønn=ìs i=kùll amòdan} \]

and=3sm=say:impf.=10.3s dat.=each person

‘and (he started) saying to each person.’ [PT:XIII]
9.5  *ggùt* ‘much, many’

The indefinite quantifier *ggùt* ‘much, many’ is only attested once in the texts. In this one example it precedes the noun it modifies.

(156)  
\[
\text{W=i-žigàž} \quad \text{*ggùt* išfiwən}
\]
\[
\text{and=3sm-walk:impf. many days}
\]
\[
\text{‘And he would walk many days’ [PT:III]}
\]
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.

\[(157) \quad I-\text{təḥə̀yyər} \quad \text{al}̲fələm \]
\[3\text{sm-be.confused:'pf. scholar} \quad v \quad s \]

‘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:

\[(158) \quad Bəʕədèn y-əslá \quad Žḥə \quad Žlan=i\text{ya} \]
\[3\text{sm-hear:pf. Jha \quad words=prox.:p} \quad v \quad s \quad \text{DO} \]

‘Then Juha heard these words’ [PT:IV]

\[(159) \quad Y-\text{əxəmmám} \quad \text{al}̲səkr=\text{ənn-əs} \quad \text{sidi Ōməd,} \]
\[3\text{sm-think:pf. thought=of-3s sidi.Hamid} \quad v \quad \text{DO} \quad s \]

‘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.

\[(160) \quad w=i\text{win} \quad n=\text{iʃ} \quad i-\text{lìm} \quad \text{aməzzın=}\text{n-əs} \]
\[\text{and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:P sons=of-3s} \quad v \quad \text{DO} \]

‘And one day he gathered his sons’ [PT:I]
Then y-əslì=t 3sm-hear:˟pf.=آؗ 3sm.
الحمدلله Jew آؗ=ة əlhùdi

‘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  iwin təɣarìt.
... and=3sm-give:pf. each onesm stick
‘and (he) gave each one a stick.’ [PT:I]

(163)  

w=i-ᵦk-ísin  əlḥə̀zmət n=təɣariwìn
and=3sm-give:P-IO.3pm bundle of=sticks
‘and gave them a bundle of sticks’ [PT:I]

The verb əssə́n ‘to send, send out’ may also belong to the ditransitive verb type:

(164)  

Y-ušá=d  Žḥà màrra i-yəlli  a=y-əssə́n  akəllim=ənən-əs
3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:ᵦp. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s
amakàn baʕìd
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-ssə́n=dìk=a
3sm-send:res.=1O.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=is  əlqàḍi i=Žḥà:
3sm-say:ᵦp.=1O.3s judge dat.=Jha
v  s  io
‘The judge said to Jha:’ [PT:V]
10.1. THE BASIC SENTENCE

(167)  
\[ \text{Bəədən y-əfki=t} \quad i=ddəllâl \quad dax \quad a=i-ʒiʒi=t. \]

then \quad 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)  
\[ \text{qàma a=nn-à=k} \quad ləhkàyat axîr \quad n=tà=nn-ək. \]

now \quad fut.=tell:fut.-is=1O.2sm story \quad better of=PMPI=of-2sm V=1O IO

‘Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!’ [PT:IV]

The verb \text{an=is} ‘to say’ has obligatory pronominal indirect object marking (Paradisi 1960a: 164 s.v. \text{dire}). Even when there is no specific addressee in the sentence, the default 3sg. marker \text{-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)  
\[ \text{w=ižižiž} \quad dzəŋqìn=i \quad n=ašâl \quad u=nəttîn \quad iʃayât \]

and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he \quad 3sm-yell:impf.
\[ \text{w=itənn-is:} \quad ləmluxîyət \quad bâh(ə)y-ət. \]

and=3sm-say:impf.=1O.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)  
\[ \text{fədd \quad an=is=t} \quad i=sìdi \text{Ḥə̀mədəz-ZaשמותQ.} \]


‘Go and tell it to sidi Hamid Zarrouq.’ [PT:II]

Double indirect object marking is found with one other verb, namely \text{mməḥ} ‘to kiss’.

(171)  
\[ \text{mmaḥ=is} \quad i=tirîwt} \]

kiss:impf.=1O.3s. dat.=girl

‘Kiss the girl!’ [P: s.v. baciare]

Prepositions with pronominal suffixes occur before and after the lexical direct object:

(172)  
\[ \text{gi-x} \quad dit-i \quad ksùm} \]

put:*pf.-is in.front-1s meat

‘I put the meat in front of me’ [PT:II]

(173)  
\[ \text{Gan \quad iwînan \quad y-ərfî=f} \quad a \quad af=təgîli=nn-əs \quad əlḥə̀ml \quad źəzək} \]

there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
\[ \text{syâr=ləmluxîyət} \quad \text{from}=mulukhiya} \]

‘There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head’
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) $nak \ d=awíl$

I pred.=Awjilan

‘I will be an Awjilan’ [PT:II]

(178) $wáya \ d=wá \ n=mànî?

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) $wáya \ d=azît \ ká$

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:
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. ṭebbī y-ṣfki= dik=a   alboṣirōt u= ku   t-γallì-t
God  3sm-give:res.=10.1s= res. willingly and =you 2s-want:‘pf.-2s
a=t t-uγā-t=tat  syār-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. ṣōhih    žlan=iya?
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: 311). 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:  nəkkəní n-ašummi=tì=ya  u=n-či=tì=ya.
      say:'pf.-3pm=10.3s 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=ìsin:  nak ŋəlamá  ŋəkk-à=s  afiw y-alyám
      3sm-say:'pf.=10.3pm I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=10.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf.
      a=y-čmm.
      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) Ṣəbbi y-əfkì=dìk=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]

10.5 The usage of TAM-stems

There are five stem types that express different tense, aspect and moods. This section describes the usage of these stems. Stative verbs are 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

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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.

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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) ʕə̀dd an=ıs=t i=sidi Ḥəməd əz-Zarruq.
       go:imp. say:imp.=10.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
       ‘Go and tell it to sidi Hamid Zarrouq.’ [PT:II]

(191) yax-át arẓ-át=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.

\[ dvəddə̀tt ká \] ‘do not stand up!’
\[ tnaššit ká \] ‘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.
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) \( U=t\-azz\-r \quad y\-\-r\-as \: tami\-gni \)

\( \text{and}=3sf\-\text{see:pf. to-3s woman} \)

‘And a woman looked at him’ [PT:III]

(193) \( U=y\-axz\-r \quad n\text{a}t\text{t}in \quad y\-\-r\-as \quad w=i\-g\-\text{a} \quad \text{al}h\-\text{em}\-\text{al}=\text{\textasciitilde{a}}n\-\text{as \: di}t \quad n=tami\-gni \)

\( \text{and}=3sm\-\text{see:pf. he to-3s and}=3sm\-\text{put:pf. load=of-3s in.front of=woman} \)

‘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 iy\-\text{\textasciitilde{a}}\-lil ‘to want’ and inni ‘to be, to exist’.

(194) \( U=y\-uy\-\text{i}=t\-t \quad kull \quad i\text{\textasciitilde{w}}\text{i}n\text{\textasciitilde{n}}\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}} \text{\textasciitilde{n}} \quad sy\-\text{a}r\-\text{sin} \quad i\-y\-\text{\textasciitilde{a}}\-\text{lil} \)

\( \text{And}=3sm\-\text{take:pf. to-3sf each onesm from-3pm 3sm-want:pf.} \)

\( a=i\-\text{rzi}=t\-t, \quad y\-\text{azm}\-\text{\textasciitilde{a}}r \quad k\-\text{\textasciitilde{a}} \)

\( \text{fut.}=3sm\-\text{break:fut.}=\text{DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:pf. neg.} \)

‘And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.’ [PT:I]

(195) \( \text{mag} \quad i\text{-\textasciitilde{n}}\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}} \quad \text{\textasciitilde{n}}\text{n}\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}}\text{\textasciitilde{n}} \quad \text{\textasciitilde{n}}=\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}}\text{m}\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}}rt \text{\textasciitilde{i}}\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}}\text{\textasciitilde{l}}} \quad \text{kk}\text{\textasciitilde{l}}} \text{\textasciitilde{n}} \)

\( \text{where}=3sm\-\text{be(loc.):pf. middle of=earth whole} \)

‘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, azm\-\text{\textasciitilde{a}}r ‘to be able’, ag\-\text{\textasciitilde{a}}, gul ‘to see’ fluctuate between the perfective and resultative with no discernable difference in meaning.

(196) \( B\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}}\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}}d\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}}\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}}n \quad i\text{-}\text{\textasciitilde{g}}\-\text{\textasciitilde{l}} \quad i\text{\textasciititilde{\textbullet{}}}\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}}\text{\textasciitilde{n}} \quad \text{\textasciitilde{n}}\text{\textasciitilde{\textbullet{}}} \)

\( \text{Then}=3sm\-\text{see:pf. onesm} \)

‘Then he saw someone’ [PT:XI]
10.5. THE USAGE OF TAM-STEMS

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 yaččá with sequential perfective yòčča. 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 vaccinations 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*, ve* and ñ* distinguish the sequential perfective from the regular perfective.

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\(^2\) The 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 \( yuša=d \) 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) \[ u=\text{ṣəddā}-n \ yəlliy-ən \ a=\text{zrəd}-ən \əxərbus=ənn-əsin \ u=\text{bəyədən} \]
and=go:*pf.-3pm want:*pf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then
t-ıva \ tafūt \ təbəɾət=i \ u=\text{yəlliy}-ən \ a=\text{šəltən-ən} \ afiːw; 
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]

tıva would be tivá in the regular perfective

(201) Y-əxzə́r \ abbà-s \ žibəra=ənn-əs \ y-uʃā \ gal \ lūda \ n=afiːw.
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 \ aməklīw \ u=t-ùna \ ar=tirīw=ən=əs 
 tomorow cook:*pf.-3pm meal and=3sf-enter seq to=children=of-3s
u=\text{y-ùʃa}-d \ āmza \ u=\text{y-əččə} \ aməklīw=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, yuʃà-d, yaččá.

(203) \[ u=\text{y-əxbət}=t \ af=təgili \ n=təmigni \ u=t-ıva \ təmigni \ t-əmmət \]
and=3sf-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) \[ Y-uʃà=d, \ y-uná \ nəttin \ idd-əs \ amakan=ən-əs \]
3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with=3s place=of-3pm
u=\text{y-əmhət}=tət \ avət=ədin.
and=3sm-make.love:*pf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s
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‘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 ə, this ə 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 ə in a preceding syllable is also changed to i, but only if this ə would end up in an open syllable. Because of this, Louali & Philippson (2005: 17) propose that the i is the regular result of accented ə in an open syllable. This analysis is not possible in Awjila for two reasons: 1. both accented and unaccented ə can stand in open syllables, 2. in the resultative ə 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:

\[(205)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u=}=\text{y-ə̀dd} & \quad \text{y-əlbìb}=\text{a} & \quad \text{af}=\text{aźìt}=\text{ðnn}=\text{əs}. \\
& \quad \text{and}=\text{3sm-go}. & \quad \text{pf.} & \quad \text{3sm-climb:res}=\text{res.} & \quad \text{on}=\text{donkey}=\text{of}=\text{3s} \\
& \quad \text{‘and he went sitting on the donkey (i.e. having climbed it).’} & \quad \text{[PT:XII]} & \quad \text{[PT:VII]} & \quad \text{[PT:VI]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(206)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{U} & \quad \text{y-əlbàb} & \quad \text{nattin} & \quad \text{idd}=\text{əs} & \quad \text{ar}=\text{źùt} \\
& \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{3sm-climb:pf.} & \quad \text{he} & \quad \text{with}-\text{3s to}=\text{up} \\
& \quad \text{‘And he climbed up with him’} & \quad \text{[PT:VI]} & \quad \text{[PT:VII]} & \quad \text{[PT:VI]}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^3\)There are a few verbs where the vowel in the syllable that precedes the i that comes from ə in the resultative is also changed to i. This process is not well-understood, cf. imp.sg. əroš res.3pl.m. irišina ‘to descend’; imp.sg. ərwal res.3pl.m. arwilìna ‘to flee’; res.3sg.m. yvrìrùra res.3pl.m. vrìrina ‘to be fertilized (palm)’; fut.3sg.m. aittəžəṭ res.3sg.m. ittişìṭa ‘to be ground, be milled’. 
Another clear contrast between the resulative and the perfective is found in examples with the verb ərfəʕ ‘to lift up’. The resultative meaning is ‘the result of lifting up’ i.e. ‘to carry’, cf.:

\[(207)\] Gan iwínan y-ərfəʕ=a af=təgìli=nn-əs əlhèml zzàk
there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
syàr=ləmluxiyat
from=mulukhiya
‘There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head’ [PT:III]

\[(208)\] Bəʕədèn y-ərfəʕ Žḥà təgilì=nn-əs ar=ẓùṭ i-gùł 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 ərwəʕ ‘to be afraid’.

\[(209)\] làkən akəllìm i-şšən ká amakàn w=i-şšən ká tɔbarùt
but servant 3sm-know:*pf. neg. place and=3sm-know:*pf. neg. way
u=y-ərwəʕ a=y-ùɣə̀r w=i-n=ìs i=Žḥà:
and=3sm-become.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut. and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=Jha:
rwìḥ-h=a a=увəɣ-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 resulative. One non-dynamic verb is only attested in the resultative:

\[(210)\] tɔwəg t-iùgy=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)  
\[
\text{akká, kəmmim am=tyariwin=iyək, òndu \text{-} t-əllumà-m \quad \text{iman=na-kim} \\
\text{this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if 2p-gather:'pf.-m self=of-2pm}
\]
\[
\text{mə́yá bə́ʃıkum a=tt-əqqíma-m \quad am=tyariwin=iyək} \\
\text{with.each other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m like=sticks-prox.:p}
\]

‘look, you are like these sticks, if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.’ [PT:1]

The operator verbs ţəllí ‘to want to ...’, əlyóm ‘to refuse to ...’ and ərwō ‘to be afraid to ...’ are followed by a clause that has a main verb with the future stem:

(212)  
\[
\text{U=y-uɣì=tət} \\
\text{And=3sm-take:'pf.=30.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:'pf.}
\]
\[
\text{a=i-rẓì=tət} \\
\text{fut.=3sm-break:fut.=30.3sf}
\]

‘And each one of them took it and wanted to break it’ [PT:I]

(213)  
\[
\text{rwìḥ-ḥ=a} \\
\text{become.afraid:res.-is=res. fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.iσ you 2s-steal:impf.-2s from-is}
\]

‘I was afraid he would say to me: You are stealing from me!’ [PT:IV]

(214)  
\[
\text{y-əlyóm} \\
\text{3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-give:fut.=30.3pf dat.-Jew}
\]

‘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-əqə̀lləz-t  ʂəhîh  
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=ɨzīgàź  
dzəŋqin=i n=aštəl  
and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.  
w=ɨtənn=is:  
ləmluxiyət  bāh(ə)y-ət.  
and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s 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 qiim 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 ʕəmma⁴, which has no verbal morphology is also followed by the imperfective, and expresses a continuous action.

(217)  
u=tafût  t-əhmà=ya  fəllî-s u=t-əqqim  (t)-təttà  aʃiš=ənn-əs  
and=sun 3sf-burn:res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:�性 res.:pf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3sf  
id=əlqafə=nn-əs  
with=neck=of-3sf  
‘and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck’ [PT:III]

(218)  
Y-ufî=tən  ƙəmμa mudà-n  líʃər;  
3sm-find:pf.=10.3pm 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 ʕammāl 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) *amə̀dən wa tárəv-ən nəttin ʕəyyàn*
*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 əgglúla-n dila mər-əət*
*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) *təmigni ta uʃə-n=d=a ʂə̀bət d=wərtna*
*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=bəʕədən y-əxzə́r af=ələhəməl=əŋnəs wa ẓẓə̀k-ən dax*
*and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to*
*a=y-ərfə̀ʕ=t*
*fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=10.3sm*
‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry’ [PT:III]

(223) *i-ʃərw=ìs ləhùdi s=alá ʂə̀rə-n=a.*
‘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 PNNG-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 PNNG-marking is used instead. Without more examples, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated.

(224) *wa y-əʃki=dik=a lʕàlla a=y-əʃki=dik iwinan;*
*PMPH:sm 3sm-give:res=10.1s=res, much fut=3sm-give:fut.=10.1s 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 PNNG-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.
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 MPH that agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The relative clause receives a preposition with a resumptive pronoun suffix or a locative adverb.

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’.
10.6. RELATIVE CLAUSES AND RELATIVE CLAUSE-LIKE FORMATIONS

(232) \( bəʕədèn\ gîtreaddəmləž n=əddə̀həbəlkəffət\ taga\ gàn\ əlmizàn; \)
then put:\PF.-IS bracelet of=gold plate \PF-MPH: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 \PF-MPH 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) \( u=nəttìn\ iʕayáṭ\ w=itənn=is;\ lamluxiyat\ bâh(ə)y-ət.\)
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) \( wàya\ d=azīṭ\ fəšùš,\ qə̀wi\ u=d=azīṭ\ məri.\)
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) \( u=boʕədèn\ nəhinət\ ufà-nət\ alə̀ɣəm\ y-əmmût=a\)
and=then they(f) find:*PF.-3PF camel 3sm-die:res.=res.
‘and then they found a dead camel’ [PT:XV]

(236) \( U=ʃəmmá-n=is\ sar=alə̀ɣəm\ y-əmmût-a\)
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) \( bəʕədèn\ y-ušà=d\ iвинan\ i-sàsa\ af=tə힐lî=nn-əs.\)
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) bälək nəttin wa nniy-ən af=əlkətf=ənn-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 əḥdəf-x=tit=a i=kú
I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3s 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-əlá 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 alá which apparently has a slightly different phonetic shape after the predicate marker d (see also section 6.3.2).

(240) wa d=əlá șará-n=a.
PMPH:sm pred.=rel. happen:res.-ptc=res.
‘that is what happened.’ [PT:II]

(241) Nək wa d=əlá 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?]
The attested question words are:

- *ddìwa, di* ‘what?’
- *af-ìwa* ‘why?’
- *mag* ‘where?’
- *s-màg* ‘from where?’
- *mag-wa* ‘which?’
- *ammàgwa* ‘how much?’
- *z-di, z-dìwa* ‘how much (money)’
- *mmìn, mmèn* ‘when?’
- *màni* ‘who?’

The question word *ddìwa* ‘what?’ and *mag* ‘where?’ can be combined with prepositions to form prepositional questions:

- *(249)* *af=dìwa at-xemmàm=t?* 
  on=what 2s-think:impf.-2s
  ‘what are you thinking of?’ [P: s.v. che cosa?]

- *(250)* *s=màg t-ušì-d=d=a Abudàbr.* 
  from=where 2s-come:.impf.-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.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>màg-wa</td>
<td>màg-wi</td>
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<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>màk-ta</td>
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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?’.

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>am=màg-wa</td>
<td>am=màg-wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>am=màk-ta</td>
<td>am=màk-ti</td>
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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 ə̀d ‘number’:

(251)  
\[ \text{am=màgwà ə̀d n=ə̀d nżùm?} \]
\[ \text{like=what:sm number of=stars} \]
\[ \text{‘How much is the number of stars?’ [PT:VIII]} \]

(252)  
\[ \text{am=màgwà ə̀d n=ə̀d n=ə̀d n=tamitàr=ənn-ùk.} \]
\[ \text{like=what:sm number of=hairs of=beard=of=1s} \]
\[ \text{‘How much is the number of hairs of my beard?’ [PT:VIII]} \]

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.
10.7 Clause linking

(253) \( a=\text{fk}-\text{à}=k \) \( azît \ id=\text{təl}â\text{ba} \ yar \ ə\dd \ idd-i \ ar=\text{əlqâdi} \).
\[ \text{fut.} = \text{give: fut.-1s} = 10.2 \text{sm donkey with=gown but go: imp. with}-\text{is to=judge} \]
‘I will give you a donkey and a gown, but you have to go with me to the judge.’
[PT:V]

(254) \( \text{Undú} \ u\text{ši}-\gamma=d \ ká, \ a=n-\text{mhåsəb} \ nək \ idd-əs \ yom \ ə\text{lqiyâma} \).
\[ \text{if come: } \text{pf.-} \text{is neg. fut.} = \text{1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection} \]
‘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) \( \text{Màrra} \ y-u\text{yâ}=ya \ ksùm \ u=y-u\text{šâ}=d \ y-ə\text{xtim}=a \)
\[ \text{once } 3\text{sm-take:res.=res. meat and}=3\text{sm-come:pf.=come }3\text{sm-pass.by:res.=res.} \]
\( af=\text{ammùd} \ n=\text{sidi} \ ə\text{måd} \ əz-Zarrùq. \)
\[ \text{on=mosque of-sidi. Hamid.Zarrouq} \]
‘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) \( u=t-\text{iva} \ tə\text{migni} \ t-ə\text{mmùt} \ u=y-ə\text{qqim} \ y-ə\text{vdid}=a \)
\[ \text{and}=3\text{sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die: } \text{pf. and}=3\text{sm-stay:pf. }3\text{sm-stand:res.=res.} \]
\( agur=\text{ənn-əs} \ ir=a=y-\text{ùš əlbulis.} \)
\[ \text{besides=of-3s until fut.}=3\text{sm-come:fut. police} \]
‘and the woman fell and died and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.’
[PT:III]

The coordinator \( nay \ ‘or’ \) is placed between the two coordinated phrases.

(257) \( y-ə\text{ʕʒəb}=kù=ya \ nay \ y-ə\text{ʕʒəb}=kù=ya \ ká? \)
\[ 3\text{sm-please:res.=DO.2sm-res. or 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm-res. neg.} \]
‘does it please you or doesn’t it please you?’
[PT:III]

\(^{5}\) From Arabic \( \text{wa} \ ‘\text{and’} \).
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: làkən ‘but’ and yar ‘but’. Due to the paucity of attestations, it is not possible to determine a difference in meaning.

(259) làkən akəllim i-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən ká təbarùt

but servant 3sm-know:˟pf. and=3sm-know:"pf. neg. way

‘But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way’ [PT:X]

(260) làkən y-əlyəm a=i-gi=tət af=aẓìṭ

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 làkən in the text where the adversative meaning is not particularly pronounced:

(261) u=bəʕədèn y-əxzə́r af=əlḥəməl=ə̀nn-əs wa ṣṣàk-ən dax

and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be-heavy- ptc. in.order.to

a=y-ərfə̀ʕ=t af=aẓìṭ

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=Ƥk-à=k azìṭ id=təlàba yar yədd idd-i ar=əlqàḍi.

fut.=give:fut.-is=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]

(263) la yar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùṭ am=wa=nn-ùk

no but see:res.=is=DO.2sm= res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res. robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s

w=əlṣəmàmət 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 \(\text{ʔann-ək}\) which combines with the verb \(əḥsə̀b\) ‘to think’.

(264) \(əḥsə́b-x=kù=ya\) \(?\text{ann-ək}\) \(ku\) \(d=nə̀k\).
think:res.=1s=DO.2sm=RES. cmplrz.2sm you pred. I
‘(so) I figured that you are me!’ [PT:X]

Other forms of complementation are introduced without any marker, for example:

(265) \(la\) \(ɣar\) \(guli-x=kù=ya\) \(t-udin-t=a\) \(əlqəbbùṭ\) \(am=wa=nn-ùk\)
no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=RES. 2s-wear:res.-2s=RES. robe like=PMH:sm=of-1s
\(w=əlʕəmàmət\) \(am=ta=nn-ùk\)
and=turban like=PMH: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:X]

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) \(U=ga-n=is\) \(am=tàṭən\).
and=do:P-3pm=other:sf
‘And they did to her like (they did to) the other.’ [PT:X]

(267) \(nattìn\) \(məqqə́r\) \(am=nək\)
he be.big:3sm like=I
‘he is as big as me’ [P: s.v. come]

(268) \(i-g=is\) \(am=alá\) \(i-gà=ya\) \(y=umà-s\)
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 \(axìr\) ‘better’

There is only one example of a dedicated comparative in Awjila, namely, \(axìr\) ‘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) \( qàma \ a=nn-à=k \ ləhkàyat \ axìr \ n=tà=nn-ək. \)

\( \text{now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=of-2sm story better of=PMFH=of-2sm} \)

‘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) \( a=unà-x \ s=ədbuš=ənn-ùk \ axìr \ a=ukər-ən=tan \ qəttàsàn. \)

\( \text{fut.=enter:fut.-1s with=clothes=of-1s better fut.=steal:fut.-3pm=of-3sm thieves} \)

‘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) \( amùr \ d-žižì-t \ s=alùwəl \ axìr \ lək \ ká? \)

\( \text{if 2s-sell:pf.-2s from=before better to.you neg.} \)

‘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: \( ə̀ndu, undú ‘if’, lukàn ‘if’ \) and \( amùr ‘if’ \).

\( ə̀ndu \) \( ə̀ndu\) and \( undú \) ‘if’ is used with hypothetical conditional clauses.

(272) \( ə̀ndu \ t-əllumà-m \ iman=nə-kìm \ bọ{i̇}{i̇}dkum \ a=tt-əqqáma-m \)

\( \text{if 2p-gather:pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m} \)

\( am=trəriwin=iyək \)

\( \text{like=sticks-prox.:p} \)

‘if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.’ [PT:I]

(273) \( Undú \ uši-γ=d \ ká, \ a=n-mhàsəb \ nək \ ıdd-əs \ yom \ əlqiyàma. \)

\( \text{if come:pf.-1s neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection} \)

‘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 \( amùr \), where it functions as counterfactual conditional.

(274) \( amùr \ d-žižì-t \ s=alùwəl \ axìr \ lək \ ká? \)

\( \text{if 2s-sell:pf.-2s from=before better to.you neg.} \)

‘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) \[nək \text{lukàn wa} \quad \text{(or: wasa)} \ a=\text{mmudà-n} \ \text{dòffèr-i} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I if } & \text{PMPH:sm rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1s} \\
\text{a=i-ččì=t} & \text{afìw, məʃòdè} \ a=\text{mmudò-x} \ s=\text{ḥiddan.} \\
\text{fut.=3sm-eat:fut.=DO.3sm fire, no.longer fut.=pray:fut.-1s with=anyone} \\
\text{‘If those who pray behind me would be eaten by fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.’ [PT:II]} 
\end{align*}
\]

**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) \[\text{mməg a=tt-unà-t} \ \text{ammùd=i} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{when } & \text{fut.=2s-enter:fut.-2s mosque=loc.} \\
\text{‘when you will enter the mosque’ [P: s.v. quando]} 
\end{align*}
\]

Posteriority is expressed with *bəʕə́d* ‘after, when’, while *wén-ma* expresses ‘as soon as, since’. Both *bəʕə́d* and *wén-ma* are attested in the same sentence in text II:

(277) \[\text{bəʕə́d ušì-y=d} \ \text{uni-x} \ \text{ammùd=i, ufi-x=tən} \ \text{ʃəemma} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{after } & \text{go:pf.-1s enter:’pf.-1s mosque=loc. find:’pf.-1s=DO.3pm prog.} \\
\text{muðà-n,} & \text{gi-x dit-i ksùm u=qqimi-x mudì-x, wènma} \\
\text{pray:impf.-3pm put:’pf.-1s in.front-1s meat and=stay:’pf.-1s pray:impf.-1s as.soon.as} \\
\text{kəmmàl-x} & \ \text{ʃəddì-x;} \\
\text{finish:’pf.-1s go:’pf.-1s} \\
\text{‘After I went and entered the mosque, I found them praying, I put the meat in} \\
\text{front of me and started praying, as soon as I finished, I went (away);’ [PT:II]} 
\end{align*}
\]

The temporal conjunction of posteriority *zgi* ‘after’ is not attested in the texts. Paradisi gives two examples in his word list:

(278) \[\text{zgi a=kəmmàl-x} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{after fut.=finish:fut.-1s} \\
\text{‘after I will have finished’ [P: s.v. dopo]} 
\end{align*}
\]

(279) \[\text{zgi y-ùna} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{after 3sm-enter:seq.} \\
\text{‘after he entered’ [P: s.v. dopo]} 
\end{align*}
\]

*ir* ‘until’ is used as a preposition, but also occurs as a conjunction. The latter use is illustrated below.
(280) U=škiy-ən
idd-əs ir=ə=hləb-ən
ašəl
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=nəttìn i-ddəhwàr
ir=i-ṭūg
ʒhà.
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 skə́mma, sómma ‘because’. This is only attested once in the texts.

(282) U=nəttìn i-xəṭṭàm
af=mìddən u=mìddən səllám-ən
fəll-ə
and=he 3sm-meet.with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s
skə́mma məktər n=mìddən 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) Bəʕədən y-əfkì=t
i=ddəllàl
dax
a=i-ʒiʃi=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) nə=əḥdəf-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-tùya-(t)=tənət
əŋqəš-nit=a
nay wə̀la.
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=bəʕədən y-əxźə́r
af=əlhəməl=ənn=əs wa ẓẓək-ən
dax
and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-arʃəf=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.
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 -ət 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 بلغھ (sub: soulier), cf. Ar. bulga(t) ‘slipper of yellow leather’
- boum بوم (sub: hibou), cf. Ar. bûm ‘owl’
- hasir حصیر (sub: natte), cf. Ar. hasîr ‘mat’
- louh لوح (sub: planche), cf. Ar. lauh ‘board, plank’
- michmech ممشش (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’
- maqsoum مقسم (sub: peigné), cf. Ar. maqsûm ‘divided’
- rghîg رقیق (sub: menu), cf Ar. raqîq ‘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* (sub: roseau), cf. Ar. *qašaba*(t) ‘reed’
*tahallahqat* (sub: rond), cf. Ar. *halqa*(t) ‘ring, link; cirle’
*tekhimet* (sub: tente), cf. Ar. *hayma*(t) ‘tent’
*tékhandjiart* (sub: couteau), cf. Ar. *hanžar* ‘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* (s.v.: echelle)
*tharned* (s.v.: hirondelle)
*thazerdaght* (s.v.: chat)
*talqomt* (s.v.: salive)
*tétoutah* (s.v.: femme), perhaps Pan-Berber *tamṭṭuṭ* ‘woman’ > *təṃṭṭuṭ* > *tənṭuṭ* > *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 changed 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* (s.v.: réfroidir), cf. Ar. *barrada* ‘to cool, chill’
*hakk* (s.v.: racler; ratisser), cf. Ar. *ḥakka* ‘to rub, scrape’
*gasem* (s.v.: partager), *magsoum* (s.v.: peigné) cf. Ar. *qasama, maqsūm* ‘to divide’
*harāq* (s.v.: brûler), *mahrouq* (s.v.: brûlé), cf. Ar. *ḥaraqa, mahrūq* ‘to burn’
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.

- *fehmés* (s.v.: comprendre), cf. Ar. *fahima* ‘to understand’ with the IO 3sg pronoun -is.
- *amartet* (s.v.: finir) *tamartet* ‘to thrive, prosper’ with the DO 3sg.m. pronoun -tāt
- *semmas* (s.v.: nommer) *mesemmas* ‘to name’, cf. Ar. *sammā* ‘to name’ with the IO 3sg pronoun -is.
- *yédabah* (s.v.: fondre), *médabah* (s.v.: fondu), cf. Ar. *dāba* ‘to melt’, probably a resultative.
- *yéghléthah* (s.v.: abuser (s’), se tromper), cf. Ar. *galiţa* ‘to make a mistake; to be mistaken’
- *yéghhabah* (s.v.: absenter) *aghab* (s.v.: absence), cf. Ar. *gāba* ‘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* (s.v.: approcher)
- *yéfella* (s.v.: las (être))
- *yougheya* (s.v.: aider)
yekmiya (s.v.: pourri), ekhmiya (s.v.: pourriture)
yakareina (s.v.: carré)
attébaya (s.v.: unir), mettebaya (s.v.: uni)
Appendix B

Beguinot’s & Paradisi’s transcriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beguinot</th>
<th>Paradisi</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>gîdeven</td>
<td>gîdéven</td>
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<tr>
<td>tnebrét</td>
<td>tenébret</td>
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<td>áğareš</td>
<td>ağâreš</td>
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Table B.1: Words with a different accent in Beguinot

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<tbody>
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<td>agîdev, egîdev</td>
<td>agîdev</td>
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<td>ežefû, eževû</td>
<td>aževû, ažévû</td>
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Table B.2: Words with a variable accent in Paradisi or Beguinot

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<tr>
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<tr>
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Table B.3: Words that lack accent in Beguinot or Paradisi
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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


C.1.1.2 Phonemic transcription

Mārra gān amāḏān amāqqārān u=qārīb a=yəmmūt w=īwīn n=īšf illūm amāzzī=nnas w=īfık=īsin əlḥāzmat n=təyərəwīn w=īn=īsin: yəxāt arzät=tət. U=yuɣi=tət kull iwīnān ʃyar=ṣin iyəllı a=irzı=tət, yəzmər kā, bəʃədēn yuɣi=tət ššərəf u=yufukkī=tət u=yəʃkā kull iwīn təyarīt. Bəʃədēn kull iwīn yuɣə təyarīt u=yaɾþı=tət fīsa fīsa. Bəʃədēn in=īsin: akkā, kemmīm am=təyərəwīn=īyək, ūndu’ təllūmām (or: təllūmmām) iman=nəkim məʃā bəʃəd=kum a=təqqīmām am=təyərəwīn=īyək, təllūmmām kā iman=nəkim a=təqqīmām am=iwatān n=təyarīt izmīra kull iwīn a=yaɾzı=tət bišwāš. U=ini=ṣin: illūmätt iman=nəkim, a=issəʃəd=kīm ṭəbbī.

C.1.1.3 Glossed translation

(287) Márra gān amāḏān amāqqārān u=qārīb 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 ūndu
'And one day he gathered his sons and gave them a bundle of sticks and said to them: Take and break it!'

'And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.'

'Then the old man took it and untied it and gave each one a stick.'

'Then he said to them: look, you are like these sticks, if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.'

· *məʕā bəʕādkum* is a completely Arabic phrase.

· *attaqqīmam* breaks the general accent rule that a final heavy syllable always takes the accent. There is no obvious explanation for this.
‘(If) you do not gather yourself, you will remain like one stick: Everybody is able to break it easily.’

(294) \[ U=i-n=isin: \quad lllumm=\bar{at} \quad iman=n\bar{a}=kim, \]
and=3sm-say:pf.=10.3pm gather:imp.-pm self=of-2pm
\[ a=i=ss\bar{a}=ad=kim \quad \bar{r}abbi. \]
\[ fut.=3sm-help:fut.=\bar{do}=2pm \quad \text{God} \]

‘And he said to them: Gather yourselves and God will help you.’

C.1.2 Text II

C.1.2.1 Original transcription


Nek wa d-elâ slîlê s-ār mâddên lôûwel keđdîmen, ḥakkân-dîk af sîdi Ḥâmed ez-Zarrûq.

C.1.2.2 Phonemic transcription

There once was a man in the village of Aujila.

One day, he had gotten meat and he passed by the mosque of Sidi Hamid Zarrouq.

He found them praying the afternoon prayer.

He entered the mosque, and with him (was) the meat.
‘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.’

‘No matter how much fire they would give it, it refused to cook.’

‘Then he went and asked his companions whom he had divided the meat with.’

‘They said to him: We’ve cooked it and eaten it.’

‘He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.’

‘They said to him: what did you do?’

‘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 ərrafəq=ònn-əs: ʃədd an=ìs=t
say:"pf.-3pm=10.3s companions=of-3s go:imp. say:imp.=10.3s=DO.3sm
i=sidi Ḥəməd əz-Zarruq.
dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
‘His companions said to him: Go and tell it to Sidi Hamid Zarrouq.’

(307) Y-əʕə̀dd ʃədd in=ìs=t am=alá na-n=ìs=a.
3sm-go:pf. 3sm-say:"pf.=10.3s=DO.3sm like=rel. say:res.-3pm=10.3s=res.
‘He went and told it to him like they had told him’

(308) Wènma in=ìs=t i=sidi Ḥəməd əz-Zarruq, in=ìs:
as.soon.as 3sm-say:"pf.=10.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq 3sm-say:"pf.=10.3s
nak 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, məʕə̀dč no.longer a=mmudə̀-x s=hiddàn.
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 Zarrouq, he said to him: If those who
pray behind me would be eaten by SàTrem I would no longer pray with anyone.’

(309) I-n=ìs: ksum=àyə ɣə̀dd kəffən=t, u=ʃədd
3sm-say:"pf.=10.3s meat’pf.prox.s to-2sm go:imp. wrap:imp.=DO.3sm and
mɪt=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 ceme-
tery’

(310) y-əʕə̀dd y-əmtì=t u y-əqqimm i-xəbbàr mɪddən.
3sm-go:"pf. 3sm-bury:"pf.=DO.3sm and 3sm-say:"pf. 3sm-tell:impf. people
‘He went and buried it and he started telling people (about what had hap-
pened).’

(311) wènma slà-n=t mɪddən n=aʃəl kʊll, uʃə-n=d
as.soon.as hear:"pf.-3pm=DO.3sm people of=village all come:"pf.-3pm=come
yəllı-ən a=mmudà-n kull dáffər-ə w=ammūd məʃšək
want:"pf.-3pm fut.=pray:fut.-3pm all behind-3sm and=mosque be.small:ms
i-yəllı kà a=y-ùɣ mɪddən n=aʃəl.
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)’
Y-əxəmmə́m əlfəkr=ə̀nn-əs 3sm-think:pf. thought=of-3s sidi.Hamid əlfəkr=ə̀nn-əs 3sm-wrap.up:˟pf. stuff=of-3s
w=i-n=isin: γəllì-x a=ʕəddà-x əlfəkr=ə̀nn-əs 3sm-wrap.up:˟pf. and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm want:*pf.-is fut.=go:fut.-is by.myself

‘Sidi Hamid thought his thouht, wrapped up his stuff and said to them: I want to go by myself.’

• Notice that yəxəmmə́m 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 ccc verbs.

Na-n=ìs lahə̀l n=ašàł: a=n-nəʕə̀dd kull idd-ək. say:P-3pm=10.35 people of=village fut.=1p-go:fut. all with-2sm

‘The people of the village said to him: We will all go with you.’

U=škìy-ən idd-əs ir=a=hlə̀b-ən ašàł u=boʃəðə̀n and=leave:P-3pm with-3s until=fut.=surpass:fut.-3pm village and=then
i-n=isin: šbər-ət a=n-nə=a=kim nək d=awil tlàта 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-is=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 Aujilathree times until the day of resurrection.’

wàsa a=nzurrà-n syar-kìm a=ʕəyyáṭ-ən=dìk təlàta marràt;
rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from=2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=10.15 three times
a=uš-ə=z=d w=a=ʃukkà-x=t.
fut.=come:fut.-is=10.35=come and=fut.=solve:fut.-is=DO.3sm

‘Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times; and I will come and remove it (the suffering).’

Undú uši-ɣ=d ká, a=n-mhä=məb nək idd-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.’

Nək wa əlá sli-x=a sar=middən lòwwəl kəddid-ən,
I prems pred.=rel. hear:res.-is=res. from=people formerly old:mp
əkkà-n=dìk af=sidi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq.

‘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


C.1.3.2  Phonemic transcription

Ganiwínanyərfîʕ=aaf- CreateTables=nnásəlḥômlzzakşyràlmluxiyâtw=ižigàzdzânqîni n ašâl unattîn iʃayâtw=îtnnislmluxiyâtbâh(ə)yâtw=W= ižîgîgz ggût iʔfiwan u ižîž Ùda u tafia tâhμàya fa fellaš u taqqîm têttà afîš=nînas id algofta=nnas u taqqîm am ezžahîm fellîs u nettîn llakkà ižîgîz u iʃayàt: almluxiyât bâh(ə)yâtw. U=tâxzàr yaras tamiñî w=ətnîs:i=kû a=wa=n almluxiyâtw. U=yaxzâr nattîn yaras w-igâ alhâm(ə)l=ənnas dit n-tamiñî u=tanʃd=t: z-diwa? In=nîs: ssîb(ə)sîa n=millîm. Tn=nîsnəntîtu=s=ərb(ə)sîa bess. In=nîs: ər(ə)sîa hənta. Tn=nîs:nâk n=a=k s=ər(ə)sîa n=millîm, yaʃzâb=kû=ya naʃ yaʃzînb=kû=ya kâ? In=nîs: yaʃzînb=î=ya kâ. Tn=nîs: blaʃ, u taqqqâš əlbâb fellaš u bəʃadên yaxzâr af alhâm(ə)l=ənnas wa zÎkàn dax a=yarʃî=t låkan yaxrî yəwdad u bəʃadên yəmmûdîd afîs=ənnas yəddûg af əlbâb u təʃî tamiñî yaras w=ətnîs: amûr dhîjît s=alûwəl axër lək kâ? Yekrî kà fallîs iʃlàn u bəʃəîn yarʃîf əlmîizân=ənas wa yahêm=ti=ya u yaʃbêt=t af taqîli n-tamiñî u tîva tamiñî təmmût u=yeqqîm yəvîdî=əgûr=ənnas ir=a=yûʃ əlbulîs.

C.1.3.3  Glossed translation

(318)  Gan iwînân y-ørîʕ=a  af=tagîli=nn-asəlḥômlzzak there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
syar=lmluxiyat w=ižigàz dzânqîn=i n=ašâl  u=nattîn iʃayât from=mulukhiya and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.
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!

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!

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 and she asked him: how much?

He said to her: For seven milliemes.

She said to him: for four (milliemes should be) enough.

He said to her: Four is (too) little.
‘She said to him: I’ve told you for four milliemes, does it please you or doesn’t it please you?’

‘He said to her: It doesn’t please me.’

‘She said to him: Forget it! and she closed the door on him,’

‘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.’

‘but’ does not translate well into the English translation here. But it seems to be indicate that the salesman has changed his mind.

‘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?’

‘and = of-3s until fut. = 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


Perhaps y-āddellâl is y-āddelâl, 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

C.1.4.3 Glossed translation

(331) Y-əškí Źḥà ssùq=i  u=idd-əs  azit=ənn-əs  i-ɣə̀lli
3sm-leave:*pf. Jha market=loc. and=with-3s donkey=of-3s 3sm-want:*pf.
 a=i-ʒiʒi=t. fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
‘Jha left for the market and with him (was) his donkey, he wanted to sell it.’

(332) Bəʕədèn y-əfkì=t  i-ddəllàl  dax  a=i-ʒiʒì=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) Bəʕədèn y-əqqìm  addəllàl  i-ʃə(y)ət  w=i-tənn=t.
then 3sm-stay:*pf. auctioneer 3sm-yell:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s this:sm
d=azit  fašùš, qə̀wi  u=d=azit  mri.
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 don-
key, and it is a good donkey’

(334) Bəʕədèn əqqìmà-n  middən  rənniy-ən  (or: rənnà-n)  fellì-s  sar=ʒlan=iya.
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) Bəʕədèn y-əsslà  Ťḥà  žlan=iya  w=i-n=t.
Then 3sm-hear:pf. Jha words=prox.:p and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=self=of-3s
labudda azit=ənn-ək  kəwɔyəs  şəḥîh.
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) Bəʕədèn y-əqqìm  i-rənni  id=middən.
then 3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-bid:impf. with=people
‘Then he started bidding along with the people.’

(337) Bəʕədèn y-əškì  albaràt  u=y-əfkì=tənət  y=ddəllàl
Then 3sm-take.out:*pf. money and=3sm-give:*pf.DO.3pf dat.=auctioneer
u=y-uɣá  azit  u=y-əʃədd  y-əfrîḥ=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.’

• yəškì usually means ‘to leave’, but is to be read transitively here as ‘to take out’.

APPENDIX C. TEXTS
(338) **Bəʕədèn əlʕəqqəb=i  y-əqqim nəttîn id=dməgni-s (or: id=təmignî-nn-as)**

Then evening=loc. 3sm-stay:pf. he with=wife-3s (with=wife=of-3s)

*u=y-əḥk=is af=ləḥkàyət n=arənnî (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=is ənnàt: qàma a=nn-à=k ləḥkàyət axîr**

3pf-say:P=10.3s she now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=10.2sm story better

*n=tà=nn-ək.*

She said to him: Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!

(340) **T-n=is: y-əxə́ṭṭam sila wa ẓižâ-n ləmluxàyət, 3sf-say:pf.=10.3s 3sm-pass.by:impf. along.here PMPH:sm sell:impf.-ptc. mulukhiya y-əqqim i-tazən=dìk uzùn=n-əs, weighing=of-3s ənṭə-x leave:˟pf.-1s əddəmləž=ənn-ùk bracelet=of-1s əlmizàn=i scales=loc.

‘Shesaidtohim:Amulukhiyavendorcamebyhere,hestartedweighingfor me, then I put a golden bracelet on the plate that was on the scales.’

· Morphologically, **yəxə́ṭṭam** looks like an imperfective with an irregular accent on the penultimate syllable. Semantically, this verb rather looks like a perfective

(341) **Bəʕədèn əlʕəkkəm mêl uzùn=n-əs, əntə-x əddəmlaž=ənn-îk əlmizàn=i**

Then 3sm-finish:pf. weighing=of-3s leave:pf.-1s bracelet=of-1s scales=loc.

rwîḥ-h=a a=i-ni=dìk: kəm t-tà=xar-t syâr-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=is Žhà: bàhi, nək šuyâr-x s=əlhawâyyi**

Then 3sm-say:pf.=10.3s Jha: be.good:3sm, I lose:impf.-1s from=outside

*u=kəm sar=əqgig u=tudîk a=t-tə sûmir təfillî=nn-áx.*

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, **šuyârx** 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


C.1.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Žḥâ yâṭəmînna šyar ròbbî a=yə̀f k=is a=lf žnî u=yəqqîm itə̀llo b u=itə̀nn-is: ya râbbî andû yenqîs=a iwînân a=uyûx=tənət kâ. Baʿadên yaslî=t elhûdi aringî-nnas əʃədên in-is lhûdi y-imân=nas wâllàhi qâma oḥdəfâ=s təs(ə)-fə màya t id=təs(ə) fə u=təʃīn znî w=a=ggulâx=t a=yuûy=tənət nay wâla. w=igi=tənət arəqût=i u=yaḥdâf=tənət dît nə-Žḥà sar=ərrošən. U=yafrâh Žḥà sənət u=în=îs: ròbbî yəʃkî=dik=a am=alâ yəllîx. U=yətuvâr arəqût u=yaʃsəb=tənət yuf=tənət anqəṣnit=a iwînân u=baʃədên in-is: wa yəʃkî =dik=a lʃâla a=yəʃkî=dik iwînân; əʃədên  mieszkań tənət ssundûq=i u=nettîn yafrîha=a. Baʃədên yaʃkî alhûdi w=in-is ɣə Žḥà: aɣî= d albarât=ənnûk. In=îs Žḥà: ròbbî yəʃkî=dik=a albaʃîrət u=ku tə̌yollit a=ttuq̄ât=tat šyâri? In =îs alhûdi: nak wa aḥdâf=x=tə= i-kû dax a=ggulâx=ku a=ttuq̄a( t)=tənət anqəṣnit=a nay wâla. yâlým a=yəʃkî=tənət ɣelhûdi. Baʃədên in-is alhûdi: nak anṭîr(ə)x=ku kâ ir=a=nnsîd=îd nak îdd=ək ar=əlıqâdi. In=îs Žḥà: nak ʿayyânax u=zmərəx kâ a=ʃaddâx af=tarîn=nûk w=ərwi=ha a šyar-ṣmût u=ʒîrî kâ təlêba. In=îs əlhûdi: a=fkå=k âzît id=təlêba ʒər ʃədd iddi ar=əlıqâdi.
C.1.5.3 Glossed translation

(343) **Žḥà y-ətəmə̀nnà syar=rə̀bbi a=y-əfk=ìs əlf žnì**

Jha 3sm-wish:pf. from=God fut.=3sm-give:fut.=10.3s 1,000 pound u=y-əqqìm i-tòl)è u=i-tən=ìs: ya=rə̀bbi əndú and=3sm-stay:pf. 3sm-request:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s voc.=God if y-əŋqìs=a iwìnà a=uyá-x=ənət 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) **Bəʕə́dèn y-əslì=t əlhùdi aringì=nn-əs bəʕə́dèn i-ìs**

Then 3sm-hear:P=DO.3sm. Jew neighbour=of-3s then 3sm-say:pf.=10.3s lhùdì y-imàn=n-əs waĺjàhi qàma a=ḥdəf-à=s tə̀s(ə) ìa màyət Jew dat.=self=of-3s by.God now fut.=throw:fut.-1s=10.3s nine hundred id=tə̀s(ə) ìa u=tasfìn žnì w=a=ggulà-x=ùt with=nine and=ninety pound and=fut.=see:fut.-1s=DO.3sm a=y-uɣì=ənət nay wàla. 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-gì=tə̀nət arəqùṭ=i u=y-əḥdəf=tə̀nət dit na=Žḥà and=3sm-put:pf.=DO.3pf bag=loc. and=3sm-throw:pf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha sar=ərròshən. from=window**

‘And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.’

(346) **U=y-əfrìh Žḥà s-ənət u=i-n=ìs: rə̀bbi**

and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s God y-əfkì=dìk=a am alá yəllì-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!’
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).'

Then he put them in a box and he was happy.

Then the Jew came out and said to Jha: Bring my money (back)

Jha said to him: God has given me this willingly and you want to take it from me?

‘The Jew said to him: I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.’
Note that the 1sg. marker of *a-ntɔr-ɔx-ku* is *-ɔx* rather than the regular *-x*. The epenthesis of this schwa is presumably there to break up the cluster *rxk*.

(354) *I-n=ìs Žhà: nàk ìyíyàn-ɔx u=zmɔr-ɔx kà ɔ=a=ʃəddà-ɔx*

3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha I be.sick:impf.-1s and=be.able:*pf.-1s neg. fut.=go:fut.-1s af=tàrin-n-ûk w=ɔrwih-(h)=a syar=ʃmuṭ u=yar-i kà tɔlàba.

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 azît id=tɔlàba yar ʃɔdd 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jew fut.=give:fut.-1s=10.2sm donkey with=gown but go:imp.

*idd-i ar=əlqàdî.*

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) *Boʃɔd uʃl-ɔn ar=əlqàdî i-ʃɔrw=ìs əlhùdi s=alá*

Then arrive:*pf.-3pm to=judge 3sm-tell:*pf.=10.3s Jew from=rel.

*ʃará-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 əlqàdî i-Žhà: ʃəhîh ʒlan=iya? 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s judge dat.=Jha be.true:3m words=prox:*p

‘The judge said to Jha: Are these words true?’

(358) *Boʃɔdèn i-n=ìs: lhùdi i-q̃l̃ləz ʃəllî-wi u=nàk*

Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s and=I

*rwîh-h=a ɔ=y-əqləz w=a=i-n=ìs ḥɔttə*

become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.3s even
tɔlàba=nn-ûk ta t-ənní ʃəllî-wi t=tà=nn-əs nəttìn
gown=of-1s rel:3sf-exist:*pf. on-1s pred.=pmpth:3sf=of-3s he

*id=azît=ənn-ûk ɔ=a=i-n=ìs d=wà=nn-əs nəttìn.*

with=donkey=of-1s fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.3s pred.=pmpth: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) *Boʃɔdèn i-ʃàyaṭ əlhùdi w=i-n=ìs ʒəlqàdî: wɔl̃lɔhî*

Then 3sm-yell:*pf. Jew and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=judge by.God
t=tì=nn-ûk.
pred.=pmpth:pmpth=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 azìt 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=is  əlqāḍî: ku t-әqɒllɒz-t sæhîh  ṣədd  ṣədd  rəwwəḥ.  
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-әʃədd Žḥà  y-әfrîh-a y-әhəʃṣîl-a  ədbûš  id  
And  3sm-go:P Jha  3sm-be.happy:res.=res. 3sm-obtain:res.=res. clothes  
azìt  id=əlbaràt.  
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  
Baˈadèn yâl̥zer Žḥâ s-ar-zûṭ w-inis: ddîwa t̥gallît a-y-amêdên? Inis amêdên: 
ēr̥əbbî (n̥ > r̥). Baˈadèn inis Žḥà: yīd zûṭ. U yelbûb nettîn iddes ar-zûṭ  
ʒlān-iya u nek nnîḥ ar-ûṭa? Baˈadèn inis Žḥà: w-afîwa têneddik ěreš  
arûṭa?

C.1.6.2  
Phonemic transcription  
Žḥayəskin=alʕəllî=yi,bə̄ˈədènyuš̥a=diwînanisâsa=tə尚书=nnes.Bəˈədèn  
yəxɔr Ẓḥà sar=zûṭ w=in=îs: ddiwa tʃəllît ay=amə́dən? In=îs amə́dən:  
yi=ddîla. Yuʃ=îzd Ẓḥə. Bəˈadèn in=îs amə́dən: fki=dk sar=(or: sẙr=)  
əlḥàqq ər̥=ʃəbbi. Bəˈədèn in=îs Žḥə: yîd zûṭ. U=ʃəlbə̀b nəttîn id̥das ar=zûṭ  
w=in=îs: ġarî-kâ. Bəˈadèn in=îs wa sâsən: af-iwa tṇ̥d=dkâ (anche: ur tṇ̥d  
=dk) ʒlən=iya u=nək nnîx ar=ûṭa? Bəˈədèn in=îs Žḥə: w=af-iwa tənəd=dk  
iɾəʃ ar=ûṭa?

C.1.6.3  
Glossed translation  
(362)  
Žḥə yəs킨=a lʃəllî=yi, bəˈədən yuʃa=d iwinan isasa=af=təfilli=nnəs. Bəˈədən  
yəxɔə Ẓḥə sar=zûṭ w=in=îs: ddiwa tʃəllît ay=amə́ðən? In=îs amə́ðən:  
yi=d dîla. Yuʃ=iz=d Ẓḥa. Bəˈədən in=îs amə́ðən: fki=dk sar=(or: sẙr=) əlḥàqq ər̥=ʃəbbi. Bəˈədən in=îs Ẓḥə: yîd zûṭ. U=ʃəlbə̀b nəttîn id̥das ar=zûṭ  
w=in=îs: ġarî-kâ. Bəˈədən in=îs wa sâsən: af-iwa tṇ̥d=dkâ (anche: ur tṇ̥d  
=dk) ʒlən=iya u=nək nnîx ar=ûṭa? Bəˈədən in=îs Žḥə: w=af-iwa tənəd=dk  
iɾəʃ ar=ûṭa?

‘Jha lived in a high (place);’
Then 3sm-come:pf. one:sm 3sm-beg:impf. on=house-of-3s
‘Then someone came begging at his house.’

Then 3sm-look:seq. Jha from=above and 3sm-say:'pf.-10.3s
‘Then Jha looked from above and said to him:

‘What do you want, man?’

‘The man said: come here.’

‘yid dila’ bears only one accent, which implies that these two words form a single accent unit.

3sm-come:'pf.-10.3s Jha
‘Jha came to him’

then 3sm-say:'pf.-10.3s man give:imp. =10.1s from=right
‘Then he said to him: give me (something) from the right of God.’

Then 3sm-say:'pf.-10.3s Jha come:imp. up
‘Then Jha said to him: come up.’

‘And he climbed up with him and he (Jha) said to him: I don’t have (anything).’

‘Then the beggar said to him: Why did you not tell me these words when (litt. and) I was still below?’
(372)  邠晳 i-n=iš  阑: w=afwa t-ənə-d=dık  ɨɾəš	hen  3sm-say:*pf.=10.38 Jha:  and=why 2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s descend:imp.
ar=ɨta?
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 Žḫâ ssûq-i w-isāg azĭt u yeqqânt s-aźîker u ya’add w-aźîoṭ déřfer-a
(anche: déřfer-ah). Ba’adèn ușān idtnèn ēn-qâṭṭā’an, iwînîn itūar aźîoṭ
u yêrfâ’t îddes w-iwînân yâqqân imânnes amâkân n-aźît. Ba’adèn yâḥzer
Žḫâ yuﬁa amêdên amâkân n-aźît yuḡâ yêkrî sis ssûq-i w-inîs y-ēttâżer wa-
yuḡâya s-ğâres azît: ŝekri-dîk elbarâtennûk, wâya d-aźît-kâ, wâya d-amêdên.
W-ígîs lêharržet. Ba’adèn išekris elbarätênnès u ya’add Žḫâ iróûwaḥ.

C.1.7.2  Phonemic transcription

Yaʃə̀dd Žḥâ ssùq=i w=isôɣ azît u=yəqqə̀n=t s=aźîkər u=yaʃə̀dd w=aźîyṭ
də́řfəra (or: də́řfərah). Bəʕədènušan=ìz=ditnèn=qəṭṭáʕan,iwínanitūar
azîyṭ u=yaʃrə̀f=t îddəsw=w=iwînan yəqqə̀n imàn=nəsamakàn n-aźît. Bəʕə-
dènyə̀xzərŽḥâyufâamə̀dənamakànn=aẓîṭyuɣáyəkrísìsssûq=íw=ín=ís
y=əttâżər wa yuɣà=ya syə̀ras azît: ŝəkri=dìkəlbarat=ənnùk, wâya d=aźît
kâ, wâya d=amàdaŋ. W=ig=ìsləhəržət. Bəʕədènišəkr=ìsəlbarat=ə̀nnəs
u=yaʃə̀dd Žḥə̀a iròwwəḥ.

C.1.7.3  Glossed translation

(373)  Y-əʃə̀dd  Žḥâ ssûq=i  w=ɨ-sôɣ  azît
3sm-go:*pf. Jha  market=loc. and=3sm-buy:*pf. donkey
‘Jha went to the marker and bought a donkey.’

(374)  u=y-əqqə̀n=t  s=aźîkər  u=yaʃə̀dd  w=aźît
and=3sm-tie:*pf.-3sm=do.3sm with=rope and=3sm-go:*pf. and=donkey
də́řfər-a (or: də́řfər-ah).
behind-3sm

‘And he tied it with a rope and went and the donkey (was) behind him.’

(375)  Bəʕədèn uša-n=ìz=d  ēn=qəṭṭāʕan, iwînîn i-tûwar
Then  come:*pf.-3pm=10.3s=come two of=thieves,  one:ms 3sm-open:*pf.
azît  u=yaʃrə̀f=t  îddəsw=w=iwînan y-əqqə̀n
donkey and=3sm-take.away:*pf.=do.3sm with-3s and=one:ms 3sm-tie:*pf.
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 itúaar is unusual, and not found in this position for any other attestation of this word in the texts.

(376) Bəʕədên y-àxzar Žḥà y-ufá amə̀dän amakàn n=ażıt y-uyá
then 3sm-look:seq. Jha y-find:pf. man place of=donkey 3sm-take:pf.
y-əkří s=is ụsq=i w=i-n=ǐs y=əttàẓər wa
3sm-return:’pf. with-3s market=loc. and=3sm-say:’pf.=10.3s dat.=merchant PMPH:ms
y-uyá=ya syăr-əs əzıṭ:
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) šəkř=dìk əlbara-t=ənn-ûk, wàya d=ażıt ká, wàya d=amə̀dän.
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=ìs ləhərzət.
and=3sm-do:’pf.=10.3s noise
‘And he made a fuss to him.’

(379) Bəʕədên i-šəkr=ìs əlbara-t=ənn-əs u=y-əfədd Žḥà
then 3sm-return:’pf.=10.3s money=of-3s and=3sm-go:’pf. Jha
i-rə̀wwəḥ.
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 elʿâlem iddahwâr lhawáyyê u yâqqîm iddahwâr aṣâli kkûll
inêşêd člʿulâmâ u iğellêbten u nettîn iddahwâr ir îtûg Žḥâ. Baʿadên in-
šêtt w-inîs: mäg înîi ennuşş ên temûrt kkûll? Inîs Žḥâ: amakân wa înîi
aziötennûk w-öndû tsçûddàqiya-kâ āžvôt temûrt. Itâhàyáyár elʿâlem w-
inşêtt: ammâgwa elʿâded nê-ngûm? Inîs Žḥâ: d-elʿâded n aţévû n aziöten-
nûk, undû tsçûddàqiya-kâ ahsêb āngûm w-aţsêb aţévû n aziötennûk. Ba-
ʿadên yenšêtt amêdên u inîs: ammâgwa elʿâded n aţévû n tamîrtennûk.
Inîs Žhâ: el’âded n aţɛvû n tamîrtênek am el’âded n aţɛvû n azîf n aţîtnûk w-undû tṣåddâqtiya-kâ aḥsêb. Ba’adên ittâwîyêl amêdên u yekrî yêndîma.

C.1.8.2 Phonemic transcription


C.1.8.3 Glossed translation

(380) Y-əškî iwîn n=əlfələm i-ɛddâhvîr lhəwâyyi u=y-yaqqîm
3sm-left:*pf. one of=scholar 3sm-go.around:impf. outside and=3sm-stay:*pf.
i-ɛddâhvîr așâl=i kkûll i-nəşşəd əlfûlûmá
3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars
u=i-yəlêb=tan u=nattin i-ɛddâhvîr ir=i-tûg
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) Bə’adên i-nəšš=t w=în=îs: mag i-nni
then 3sm-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm. and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s where 3sm-be(loc.):*pf.
ənnûṣṣ ən=təmûr kûll?
middle of=earth whole
‘Then he asked him and said: where is the middle of the whole earth?’

(382) I-n=îs Žhâ: aməkân wa i-nni aţî=ənn-ûk w=əndû
3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha placeIMP:sm 3sm-be(loc.):*pf. donkey=of=1s and=if
t-ṣəddâqt=t=î=ya kâ aţvût təmûr.
2s-believer:res.-2s=DO.1s=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-təḥə̀yyər  əlʕə̀ləm w=i-nə̀t=t:  am=màgwa  əlʕə̀dəd
3sm-be.confused:*pf. scholar  and=3sm-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm: like=what:sm number
na=nžùm?
of=stars
‘The scholar was confused and he asked him: How much is the number of
stars?’

(384)  I-n=ìs  Žḥà: d=əlʕə̀dəd  n=ažə̀vu  n=azìf=ənn-ùk,  əndú
3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha  pred.=number of=hairs  of=donkey=of-is
if
2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. neg. count:imp. stars  and=count:imp. hairs
n=ažə̀vu=ənn-ùk.
of=donkey=of-is
‘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)  Bəʕədèn  y-ənšə̀t=t  amòðən  u=i-n=ìs:  am=màgwa
Then  3sm-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm. man  and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s like=what:sm
əlʕə̀dəd  n=ažə̀vu  n=tamirt=ənn-ùk.
umber of=hairs  of=beard=of-is
‘Then the man asked him and said: How much is the number of hairs of my
beard?’

(386)  I-n=ìs  Žḥà: əlʕə̀dəd  n=ažə̀vu  n=tamirt=ənn-ək  am=əlʕə̀dəd  n=ažə̀vu
3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha:  number of=hairs  of=beard=of-2sm  like=number of=hairs
n=azìf  n=azìf=ənn-ùk  w=əndú  t-ʃəddəq-t=i-ya  ká  əhsə́b.
of=tail  of=donkey=of-is  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)  Bəʕədèn  i-ttəwwìyəl  amòðən  u=y-əkrí
then  3sm-be.dumbfounded:*pf. man  and=3sm-return:*pf.
y-əndim=a.
3sm-become.sad:res.=res.
‘Then the man was dumbfounded and he returned saddened.’

C.1.9  Text IX

C.1.9.1  Original transcription

Yaʿádd Žḥā elbáhār-i ĺğelli āisēbbaḥ u yekkēs dbūšēnnes; baʿadēn ušānd
qāṭṭāʾān ukēren ědbūšēnnes. Baʿadēn yeكري tfillīnnes ‘aryān. Baʿadēn u

C.1.9.2 Phonemic transcription

(Yəʕə̀dd Ţhà əlbəḥr=i iyàlli a=îsàbbəḥ u=yakkás (ə)duš=ànناس; bəʕəðən ušàn=d qəţţāfan ukərān edbuš=ànناس. Bəʕəðən yəkrî tfilli=nnəs û∫yàn. Bəʕəðən u=bəʕə́d sə́bb(aɡa ayyam yəʕə̀dd marrāt (marrâtət) aqūţet iyàlli a=îsàbbəḥ elbəḥr=i; yuná s=ədbuš=ànناس əlmərrat=âya. Bəʕəðən igulî-t iwīnən n=əssâḥb=ànناس, in=îs: ddiwa ttudik, a=ttûnät s=ədbuš=ànناس elbəḥr=i. Yekrî fallis Ţhâ w=in=îs: a=unâx s=ədbuš=ənnûk axîr (axîr) a=ukərâñ=tən qəţţāfan.

C.1.9.3 Glossed translation

(388) Y-əʕə̀dd ŴÀ=biɣə̀lli a=i-sə̀bbəḥ u=yəkkə́š(ə)dbuš=ə̀nnəs; bəʕə́dən ušàn=d qəţţāfan ukərān edbuš=ànناس. Bəʕə́dən yəkrî tfilli=nnəs û∫yàn. Bəʕə́dən u=bəʕə́d sə́bb(a)əyyam yəʕə̀dd marrāt (marrâtət) aqūţet iyàlli a=îsə̀bbəḥ elbəḥr=i; yuná s=ədbuš=ànناس əlmərrat=âya. Bəʕə́dən igulî-t iwīnən n=əssâḥb=ànناس, in=îs: ddiwa ttudik, a=ttûnät s=ədbuš=ənnək elbəḥr=i. Yekrî fallis Ŵhà w=in=îs: a=unâx s=ədbuš=ənnûk axîr (axîr) a=ukərâñ=tən qəţţāfan.

(389) bəʕə́dən u=ʃə́n=d qəţţāfan ukər-ən edbuš=ə̀nn-əs.
then come:pf.-3pm=come thieves steal:P-3pm clothes=of-3s
‘then thieves came and stole his clothes.’

(390) Bəʕə́dən y-əkrî tfilli=nn-əs û∫yàn.
then 3sm-return:pf. house=of-3s be.naked:3sm
‘Then he returned to his house naked.’

(391) Бəʕə́dən u=ʃə́də́ sə́bbə́a əyyam y-əʕə̀dd əlmərrat (əlmərratət) aqūţ-ət
then and-after seven days 3sm-go:pf. time another-sf iyàlli a=i-sàbbəḥ elbəḥr=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=ə̀nn-əs əlmərratâya
3sm-enter:pf. with=clothes=of-3s time=prox.s
‘He entered with his clothes this time.’
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) Bəʕədèn i-gulì=t iwinàn n=aṣṣaḥb=ənn-əs,
then 3sm-see::pf.=DO.3sm one of=friend=of-3s
‘Then a friend of his saw him.’

(394) i-n=ìs: ddiwa ttudik, a=tt-úna-t s=ədbuš=ənn-ək əlbəḥr=i.
3sm-say::pf.=10.3s what so fut.=2s-enter:fut.-2s with=clothes=of-2sm sea=loc.
‘What are you doing! (litt. what so) you are entering the see with your clothes

• attúnat irregularly has the accent on the penultimate syllable.

(395) Y-əkrí fəllì-s Žḥà w=i-n=ìs: a=unà-x
3sm-return::pf. on-3s Jha and=3sm-say::pf.=10.3s fut.=enter:fut.-1s
s=ədbuš=ənn-ək axir a=ukər-ən=ən qəṭṭáʕan.
with=clothes=of-1s better fut.=steal:fut.-3pm=DO.3sm thieves
a=ukər-ə̀n=tən fut.=steal:fut.-3pm=fut.=2s enter:fut.-2s
‘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 Žḥâ márra i-gəlli ayéssen akellimënes amakân baʿîd lâken akellim
iššen-ká amakân w-iššen-ká tebarût u yérwa’ ayúger w-inís i-Žḥâ: rwéḥa
äugérəj. Inís Žḥâ: undú tugérət yíd-dīla așeglāk tebarût.

C.1.10.2 Phonemic transcription

Yušà=d Žḥà márra i-yôlli a=yəssən akellim=ənnəs amakôn baʿîd làkən akəl-
lim iššən kà amakân w-iššən kà təbarût u=yərwaʃ a=yùyər w=in=îs i-Žḥà:
ruwih=ə a=uyərx. In=îs Žḥà: əndú tuyərt yî=d dîla a=șəglə=k təbarût.

C.1.10.3 Glossed translation

(396) Y-ušá=d Žḥà márra i-yôlli a=yəssən akellim=ənn-əs
3sm-come::pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want::pf. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s
amakôn baʿîd
place be.far:3sm
‘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.’

· Especially in verbs with no object suffixes, the negative particle kä and the verb seem to share one accent.

‘and he said to Jha: I am afraid of getting lost.’

‘Jha said to him: If you get lost, come here and I will show you the way.’

· Apparently yi=d dîla forms a single accentual word, yi=d is unaccented.

C.1.11 Text XI

C.1.11.1 Original transcription


C.1.11.2 Phonemic transcription

Màrra Žḥâ yâʃidd=a ssûq=i. U nêttîn ixâttâm af=middân u=middân sâllâmân fallîs skâmma mâktar n=middân ššênän=tî=ya. Bəʃədên igûl iwînân, yušâ=d Žḥâ issâllâm fallîs îˈâlla. Bəʃədên amêdên yênšêd Žḥâ w=in=is: ku tšant=i=ya s=əlôwwâl? Bəʃədêk in=is Žḥâ: la ḣar gulîh-kû=a tudînt=a alqâbbût am=wa=nûk w=ələmâmât am=ta=nûk, aḥsábx=kû=ya ?ənnêk ku d=nêk.
C.1.11.3 Glossed translation

(400) Màrra Žhà y-ə́idd=a ssùq=i.
    once Jha 3sm-go:res.=res market=loc.
    ‘Once, Jha had gone to the market.’

(401) U=nəttìn i-xaṭṭàm af-mìddan u=mìddan səllàm-ən fəllì-s
    and=he 3sm-meet:with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s
    skɔ́mma məktar n=mìddan ſšə́n-ən=ti=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 ſšə́n ‘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) Bəʕədèn i-gùl iwínan, y-ušà-d Žḥà i-ssò̄ləm fəllì-s lˈàləa.
    Then 3sm-see:*pf. onesm 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha 3sm-greet:*pf. on-3s greatly
    ‘Then he saw someone and Jha came and greeted him greatly.’

(403) Bəʕədèn amə́dən y-ə̀nšə́d Žḥà w=i-n=ιs: ku
    Then man 3sm-ask:pf. Jha and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s: you
    t-ʃə́n-t=ι=ya s=əlɔ́wwàl?
    2s-know:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. from=before?
    ‘Then the man asked Jha and said: Do you know me from before?’

(404) Bəʕədèn i-n=ιs Žḥà: la yar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a
    Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha: no but see:res.=IS=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res.
    ə́ɭqəbbbùṭ am=wa=nn-ǔk w=ə́ɭɔ́mà múm am=ta=nn-ǔk,
    robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s and=turban like=PMPH:SF=of-1s
    ə́hsə́b-x=kù=ya ʔənn-ə̀k ku d=nə̀k.
    think:res.-IS=DO.2sm=res. compltzr.2sm you pred.=1
    ‘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

Iwîn n ɨʃ yeškî Žhà ssûk-ɾ² w-íddes azîoṭénnès. Baʿadèn iság ҳéntâ n el-
hāḍärât w-igîtêt skâret-ɾ² lâkân yélğâm âigîtêt af azît w-igîtêt af elke-
fênnès u yaʿadd yešbiba af azîtênès. Baʿadèn igûlit iwînàn n-ɛşṣâhûbênnès

²Unusually Paradisi writes ssuq with a k here.
³Probably a printing error of <škâret>.

C.1.12.2 Phonemic transcription

Iwìn=ìšfyəškíŽḥàssùq=iw=ìddəsaẓiṭ=ə̀nnəs. Bəʕədèn i-sâγ Ųaņta n=əlxəḍ(a)rət w=iggì=tat škâret=i⁴ làkən yâlγəm a=igi=tat af=aziṭ w=igi=tat af=alκətf=ə̀nnəs u=yoʃədd yələbb=af=aziṭ=ə̀nnəs. Bəʕədèn iguli=i iwinân n=əʃə̆hə̆b=ə̀nnəs təbarūt-i yənšə̆d=t w=in=is: a=dgât kā škâret af=aziṭ? In=is Žḥâ: erwə̆ʃ syar=rəbbi ay=amə̀dən; issûdda kâ nək elbəbx=af=aziṭ u=təɣəllît=i a-hmə̀lfx fellîs škâret u=a=rnə̆s attə̆šəb af=attə̆fəb=ə̀nnəs.

C.1.12.3 Glossed translation

(405) *Iwîn n=iʃf y-əšî Žḥà ssûq=i w=iddəs aziṭ=ə̀nnəs.*
*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) *Bəʕədèn i-sâγ Ųaņta n=əlxəḍərət w=i-ggi=tat škâret=i.*
*Then 3sm-buy:* pf. bit of=vegetable and=3sm-put:* pf. af=3sf bag=loc.
‘Then he bought some vegetables and put them in a bag.’

(407) *làkən y-əlγəm a=i-gi=tat af=aziṭ w=i-gi=tat* but 3sm-refuse:seq. fut.=3sm-put:fut.=DO.3sf on=donkey and=3sm-put:* pf.=DO.3sf af=alκətf=ə̀nnəs u=y-əʃədd y-ələbb=a af=aziṭ=ə̀nnəs.
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) *Bəʕədèn i-gulì=t iwinân n=əʃə̆hə̆b=ə̀nnəs təbarūt=i* Then 3sm-see:* pf.=DO.3sf one:sm of=friend=of-3s road=loc.
y-ənšə̆d=t w=i-n=is: a=d-gə̆t kā škâret 3sm-ask:* pf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-say:* pf.=10.3sf fut.=2s-put:fut.-2s neg. bag af=aziṭ?
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=is Žḥà: erwə̆ʃ syar=rəbbi ay=amə̀dən;* 3sm-say:* pf.=10.3sf Jha fear:imp. from=god voc.=man; ‘Jha said: Fear god o man!’

⁴On the discussion of the accent see section 8.2.
C.1.13 Text XIII

C.1.13.1 Original transcription


C.1.13.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəškî Żḥâ sa= (or: sɣâr)=təƦƪllì=nn-əs w=idd-əs irîw fəllîs təkabərt təzwâyt u=yərfəʕ=ti=yə af=agəɾət=ənn-əs. Bəʕədèn ittuwi=t u=yâqqiım idəwəwâr fəllîs u=nattîn af=agəɾət=ənnas u=itən-is i=kûll amə̀đən: dğulît ká irîw fəllîs təkabôrt təzwâyt? Bəʕədèn in-is iwîn n=amə̀dən: bâlek nattîn wa nnîyan af=əltəf=ənnək. Bəʕədèn yərfəʕŻḥā təgîlî=nnas ar=zûţ igûl irîw w=in-is y-irîw: ur=nâ=k=a ká bəʃîd a=tqîmât iddi taʃəddît ká?

C.1.13.3 Glossed translation

(411) Y-əškî Żḥâ sar (or: sɣâr)=təfillî=nn-əs w=idd-əs irîw fəllîs təkabərt təzwâyt u=yərfəʕ=ti=yə af=agəɾət=ənn-əs.

Jhalef this house and with him (was his) child had a red shirt on and he carried him on his neck.'
Then he forgot:pf. 3sm and=3sm-stay:pf. 3sm-look.around:impf. on-3s

Then he started looking around for him, and he was (still)
on his neck, and started saying to 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:’

‘Have you not seen a child with a red shirt on?’

‘Then a man said to him: perhaps he is the one that is on your shoulder?’

‘Then Jha lifted his head up and saw the child and he said to the child:’

‘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

Žḥâ d-alešlâ‘; ba’adên iwîn n əʃf ya’ádd i-wa tezzâmên u izêmîs. Ba’adên ikkêmmel yeľkîs ennîş n elbarît. Ba’adên inîs wa tezzâmên: af-iwâ têfkî-dik nnûş n elhâqqennûk? Inîs Žḥâ: s-kêmma (or: sémma) nek d-alêšlâ‘.

C.1.14.2  Phonemic transcription

Žḥâ d=ələśəľ; bəʕədên iwîn n=iʃ f yaʃə̀dd i=wa təzəˈmən u=izəm=îs. Bəʕədên ikkə́mməl yəfk=îs ənnûş n=əlbərât. Bəʕədên in=îs wa təzəˈmən: af-iwâ təfki(t)=dik (ə)nnûş n=əhəqq=ənnûk? In=îs Żḥâ: skə́mma nək d=ələśləʃ.
C.1.14.3 Glossed translation

(417) Žḥā d=alašlāʃ
Jha pred.=bald
‘Juha was bald.’

· alašlāʃ 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 iwın n=išf y-aʃədd i=wa təzzâm-ən
then one:sm of=day 3sm-go:"pf. dat.-PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.
u=i-zam=is.
and=3sm-shave:"pf.=10.3s
‘Then one day he went to the barber (litt. He who shaves) and he (the barber) shaved him.’

(419) Bəʕədèn i-kkə́mməl y-afk=is ənnūς n-əlbəràt.
then 3sm-finish:"pf. 3sm-give:"pf.=10.3s half of=money
‘Then he finished and he (Jha) gave him half of the money (he owed him).’

(420) Bəʕədèn i-n=is wa təzzâm-ən: afiwá t-afki-(t)=dik
then 3sm-say:"pf.=10.3s PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.: why 2s-give:"pf.-2s=10.1s
(ə)nnūς n-əlhəqq=ənn-ｕk?
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 tafki(t)=dik <tĕƥƵīdîk> the final -t of the 2sg. is lost.

(421) I-n=is Žḥā: skə́mma nak d=alašlāʃ.
3sm-say:"pf.=10.3s 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-dabär gāres temptimni w-iggâda s-ğāres sébaʃa n tirîwîn (anche: tirîwî) we nettîn gâres elḥarbûšenînî ãnî ãngarâ w-išûwwa gān elgârsat-ênnes w-îgâî gān tizmîn id elgafûli (anche: ŋgafûli) u gâres gân tnuvîn në bzlîm w-işûwitênät af afûsênnes w-iřîwâh af tfillînnes w-ayaʃâdd elgabes w-ayûUSH mnîšîU u gān tirît tmoqqârânt tnîs y-abbâs: arfâNJ id-dek aggûlaḫ såwànînNàk. Yekrî fellîs, isîs: qâmak ammânt timzîn w-annaʃâdd gân kûll, kem id èmmâm id setmâm. U bāʃâdèn yaʃâdd nettîn


Baṣād yēččā, āmznā yekkēr u yāqqīm inēkīk u baṣadēn yeslā ṣlān elmēgḡārēt-i u yaʃāyāt āmznā, slān amziwīn uṣānd lāhhdēn, nānīs: kēnnekn? Inīsīn: gān mīddēn ḡālā, qqāmāt ḡālā u nek unā’h elmēgḡārēt-i w-endū iʃki azifennūnk de-ʃṭāf, rwerāt. Tsennāṭ tēmīgnī alā itennīs āmznā; yuṣād āmznā, iʃān azifennēs elmēgḡārēt-i. Tekkēr tēmignī u teggād tebaqqūṣt u tṣēṭṭāf azif n āmznā w-iʃki azif n āmznā d-ʃṭāf u gūlānt amziwen d-ʃṭāf w- ērwęlēn kkkīl u tēškī ēnnāt [X?] id amēdēnēnne it-tirīwinnes ufān āmznā id
amżiwen ērwilina kkul wē frāhṇet tirīwīn u ɬaddān elẖarbūšennesīn u baʃadēn usālen gān u ċcān u ʃuān w-ēkkēren rrōwūḥan tfillīnnesīn.

C.1.15.2 Phonemic transcription


Təkkərt tâmign w=ətn=īs i-tirîwîn=ənəs: kkəɾnət, ʃzəɾnətə. W=əkkəɾnət tirîwîn id=əmmântənt qqîməntənt ddawwərdnət u=baʃadēn nəhînat ufântət aləyəɬəm yəmântət u=kkəɾnətə, ɚʃfîʃənt əz-gan ʃəməmənt yəməzə u-təxənər əmmântənt tmûɾt=ı u-tuʃə ɬəməɣyəɾət u=tsən gan tiriwīt tmaʃqarrǎnt u=yuʃâ=d əməzə u=ʃkân=ıʃın ksûm wa mmânəq a u=yaʃçi=tn w=ın=isin: ʃəməmət =diʃ tiriwīt təʃən, əmîši=ənnûkə. U gan=ıʃ am=təʃənə. U=ʃbaʃ=ənəsə: ʃəməmət=diʃ təʃənə. U gân=ıʃ am-alâ qâna u=ʃərtəməs u=yuʃə=d əməzə u=yəʃəɬə məkliw=ənəs w=ın=isin: ʃəməmət=diʃ əmîʃi=ənnûkə. U=ʃəm-
mán=is sar=alàyəm yəmmūt=a u=yúša=d àmza u=yə̀čča amišiw=ə̀nnəs w=in=isin: şəbāḥ aməklıw af=təmigni=nnək. U=nan=is: bāhi. Şəbāḥ şam-màn aməklıw u=tūnə ar=tiriwin=nas u=yúša=d àmza u=yə̀čča aməklıw =ə̀nnəs w=in=is âmza: Amišiw fəllik=kú Abu-dabrór. U=yə̀šədd Bú-dabr yəggà=d yəstən id=glm=ə̀nnəs id=mlələ w=igi=tən algədər=ə̀nnəs u=yūna ar=tiriwin=nas u=yúša=d âmza u=yə̀čča yəstən w=əṇntən itətə yaqqim itənn=is: Ksum=ə̀nnək ahāš, kull d=yəstən. W=əṇhinət əṇnətənət žlən n=əmza.

Bəʕə́dyə̀čča, âmza yəkkə́r u=yaqqim inəkkə u=baʃədən yəsələ žlən şə̀mlə-yərət=i u=yə̀šəyət âmza, slən aməziwən uʃən=d əḥəhədən, nan=is: kən-nək? In=isin: gan midənə dələ, qəmət dələ u=nək a=unəx əməyərət-i w=əndū iškə azif=ənnək də=stəf, rwəłət. Tsənnət təmigni alə itənn=is âmza; Yušə=d âmza, iʃən azif=ənəsəməyərət-i. Təkkə́r təmigni u=tagə́ =d təbəqqəst u=təšəttəf azif n=əmza w=ιʃkə azif n=əmza d=stəf u=ɡələnt aməziwən də=stəf w=əɾənəm kələ u=təʃkə ənnət id=amədən=ənət it=tiri-win=naʃən âmən âmza id=aməziwən əɾəlinə=kələ w=frəʔətən tərəwineu= ʃəddənəłxəɾbuʃ=ənnəsən u=boʃədən uʃələn gən u=čən u=ʃənən w=əkkə́-rən rəɾəwəɾənət tfəli=nnəsən.

C.1.15.3 Glossed translation

(422) Gan Abúdabr yər-əs təmigni w=i-ggay=d=a syər-əs səbəʃa
there Abu-Dabr to-3s wife and=3sm-bring:res.=res. from-3s seven
n=tiriwin (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=əntətin yər-əs əlxəɾbuʃ=ənn-əs i-nni ʃəŋara w=i-ʃəwwa
and=he to-3s garden=of-3s 3sm-exist:’pf. ʃəŋara and=3sm-water:impf.
gan əlyorsat=ənn-əs w=i-ɡəy gan timzin
there young.palms=of-3s and=3sm-cultivate:impf. there barley
id=əlfəfəli (or: ngəfəli) u=yar-əs gan tunvin nə=bzəlim
with=maize and=to-3s there irrigation.canals of=onions
w=i-ʃəwwəti=tənət af=afus=ənn-əs w=i-rəwwəh
and=3sm-water:impf.=DO.3sm on=hand=of-3s and=3sm-return:impf.
af=tfəli=nn-əs
on=house=of-3s
‘And he had a garden that lay in ʃəŋara 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*=ə̀nn=ə̀s literally means ‘on his hand’, Paradisi translates ‘da solo’. This is probably an expression that indeed has the meaning that Paradisi translates.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w=} & \text{=} a=\text{-}y\text{-}\text{ə̀dd} & \text{əlyə́bə́əś} & \text{w=} & a=\text{-}y\text{-}uš & \text{mnišìw} & u=\text{gan} & \text{tiriwt} \\
\text{and=} & \text{=} \text{fut.=} & \text{3sm}=\text{-go:fut.} & \text{morning} & \text{and=} & \text{fut.=} & \text{3sm}=\text{-come:fut.} & \text{evening} & \text{and=} & \text{there} \\
\text{tməqqə̀rant} & \text{t-n=} & \text{i} & \text{y=} & \text{abbà} & \text{-s:} & \text{ərfə̀ʕ=} & \text{i} & \text{idd}=\text{-ak} \\
\text{big}=\text{sf} & \text{3sf}=\text{say:}\text{=} & \text{(pf.=} & 10.3s & \text{dat.}=\text{father-=imp.=} & 3=\text{sf} & \text{say:}\text{=} & \text{=} & \text{3s} \\
\text{a}=\text{ggul}=\text{-ax} & \text{əlwànì}=\text{nn}=\text{-ək}. &\end{align*}
\]

(424) ‘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 *əlyə́bə́əś*, mnišìw to take the locative postposition -i.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Y=} & \text{=} \text{əkrí} & \text{fallí} & \text{-s}, & \text{i-n=} & \text{i}s: & \text{qámak} & \text{a=} & \text{mmà}=\text{-nat} & \text{timzìn} \\
\text{3sm}=\text{return:}\text{=} & \text{pf.} & \text{on=} & \text{3s} & \text{3sm}=\text{say:}\text{=} & \text{pf.=} & 10.3s & \text{now} & \text{fut.}=\text{be.ready:fut.-3pf} & \text{barley} \\
\text{w=} & \text{=} a=\text{-n}=\text{nə́ədd} & \text{gan} & \text{kùll}, & \text{kəm} & \text{id}=\text{əmmà}=\text{-m} & \text{id}=\text{sətmà}=\text{-m}. & \text{and=} & \text{fut.=} & \text{1p}=\text{go:fut.} & \text{there all, you} \text{ with=} & \text{mother=} & \text{2sf} & \text{with=} & \text{sisters=} & \text{2sf} \\
\text{‘He answered to her and said: Now, when the barley will have ripened, we will all go there, you, your mother and your sisters.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(425) ‘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.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{U=} & \text{=} \text{bə́ədèn} & \text{y-ə́ədd} & \text{nattìn} & \text{əlxərbuś}=\text{ə̀nn}=\text{ə̀s} & \text{u=} & \text{y-əqqiím} & \text{i-šòwwa} & \text{\text{and=} & \text{then} & \text{3sm}=\text{-go:}\text{=} & \text{pf.} & \text{he} & \text{garden=} & \text{of=} & \text{3s} & \text{and=} & \text{3sm}=\text{-stay:}\text{=} & \text{pf.} & \text{3sm}=\text{-water:}\text{impf.} \\
\text{tnuvin}=\text{n}=\text{as} & \text{w=} & \text{i-rròwwə́h} & \text{mnišìw} & \text{w=} & \text{i-n}=\text{i} & \text{snat} & \text{irrigation.canals=} & \text{of=} & \text{3s} & \text{and=} & \text{3sm}=\text{-return:}\text{=} & \text{pf.} & \text{evening} & \text{and=} & \text{3sm}=\text{-say:}\text{=} & \text{pf.} & \text{=} & \text{DO.3pf} \\
i-\text{tiriwin}=\text{n}=\text{as} & \text{id}=\text{əmmà}=\text{-tsnàt:} & \text{šbàḥ} & a=n=\text{nə́ədd} & \text{əlwànì}=\text{nn}=\text{-ax}. & \text{dat.}=\text{children=} & \text{of=} & \text{3s} & \text{and=} & \text{mother=} & \text{3pf:} & \text{tomorrow} & \text{fut.=} & \text{1p}=\text{go:fut.} & \text{garden=} & \text{of=} & \text{1p} \\
\text{‘And then he went to his garden and started watering his irrigation canals and he returned that evening and said to his daughters and their mother: Tomorrow we will go to our garden.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(426)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{U=} & \text{=} \text{frə́h-nàt} & \text{tiriwin} & \text{u=} & \text{širòd-nàt} & \text{ksum}=\text{ənn}=\text{ə̀snàt} & \text{(or:} & \text{and=} & \text{be.happy:}\text{=} & \text{pf.=} & \text{3pf} & \text{girls} & \text{and=} & \text{wash:}\text{=} & \text{pf.=} & \text{3pf} & \text{meat=} & \text{of=} & \text{3pf} \\
yàstìn=\text{n}=\text{snàt}) & \text{u=} & \text{y-uśà}=\text{d} & \text{ar}=\text{əməgni}=\text{-nn}=\text{ə̀s} & \text{bones=} & \text{of=} & \text{3pf} & \text{and=} & \text{3sm}=\text{-come:}\text{=} & \text{pf.}=\text{come to} \text{woman=} & \text{of=} & \text{3s} & \text{w=} & \text{i-n}=\text{i}s: & \text{nə́-yàllí} & a=n=\text{nə́-=ə́dd} & \text{šbàḥ} & u=\text{ddìwa} & \text{d-gulì-t?} & \text{and=} & \text{3sm}=\text{-say:}\text{=} & \text{pf.=} & 10.3s & \text{1p}=\text{want:}\text{=} & \text{pf.} & \text{=} & \text{1p}=\text{go:fut.} & \text{tomorrow} & \text{and=} & \text{what} & \text{2s}=\text{see:}\text{=} & \text{pf.=} & \text{2s} \\
\text{‘The girls became happy and washed themselves and he came to his wife and said to her: We want to go tomorrow, what do you think? (litt. what do you see?)’}
\end{align*}
\]
(428) T-əkrí fallı-s ənnàt w-ətn=is: alá d-gì-t bà hi.
3sf-return:*pf. on-3s she and=3sf-say:*pf.=1O.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: wàtti=dikkòni čçu=nn-àx šbàh id=bòṣə̀d and=3sm-say:*pf.=1O.3s prepare:imp.=1O.1p food=of-1p tomorrow and=after šabàh.
tomorrow.
'And he said to her: prepare food for us for tomorrow and the day after tomor-
row.'

(430) T-əkrí fallı-s, t-n=is: kùlli šòy y-utà=ya.
3sf-return:*pf. on-3s 3sf-say:*pf.=1O.3s everything 3sm-be.prepared:res.=res.
'She answered to him: Everything is prepared.'

(431) Y-ušá=d, y-uná nàttìn ıdd-əs amakan=n-əsin
3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm
u=y-əmhùt=ət avaṭ=یدین.
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) Kkòr-ən əlyòbə̀, iwátan twòtta əlmọtìat=ənnòsìt w=iwátan
get.up:*pf.-3pm morning, one:sf 3sf-prepare:*pf. stuff=of-3pf and=one:sf
tšìrad u=bòṣə̀də̀n udòn-ṇət udùn kəwə̀yəs
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'

• tšìrad looks like an imperfect (albeit with the wrong accent), but must be trans-
lated as a perfect.

(433) u=ʃəddà-n γəllìy-ən a=ʒròd-ən əlcərbus=ənn-əsin u=bòṣə̀də̀n
and=go:*pf.-3pm want:*pf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then
t-ìva tafùt təbarùt=i u=γəllìy-ən a=ʃalhàm-ən aʃìw;
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-əxzàr abbà-s ʒibə̀rət=ənn-əs y-ufa gal ɫùdà n=əʃìw.
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 (light-
ing the) fire.'
The n of gan has assimilated to the l of lūda.

(435) **xzɔ̀r-nɔt tiriwin u-na-nɔt=is:** àbbà, àbbà akkiwàn ələqɔis n=əfiw. 
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: wəttì-mɔt šyirən, qámak a=ggà-y=d 
3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s father-3s prepare:imp.-fp firewood now fut.=bring:fut.-1s=bring 
afiw syər=taffîli=ʒiəwən. 
fire from=house=dist.:s 
‘The father said: prepare firewood, now I will bring fire from that house.’

(437) Yo-ʃɔdd abbà-s, y-ufi=t d=əmʒa, i-n=ìs: 
3sm-go:*pf. father-3s, 3sm-find:*pf.=DO.3sm pred.=ogre, 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s 
əssalaμu ʃaləyəkum. 
as-salāmu ʃalāyəkum
‘The father went and found out that it was an ogre and he says yo him: as-
salāmu ʃalāyəkum’

(438) I-n=ìs àmʒa: s=måg t-uʃi-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: uʃi-ʒ=d=a s=aʃəl=i nək id=ʃəhɨ]=ən-ək. 
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.’

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 iriʃ-in=a  dilîwan. 
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: ʒɛlə-x əfiw. 
and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s want:*pf.-1s fire 
‘And he said to him: I want fire.’

(443) I-n=ìs: ərfʒ=i ʒut=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=àmẓa u=y-ərfə̀ʕ=ət
3sm-be.afraid:*pf. Abu.dabr from=ogre and=3sm-carry:*pf.=DO.3sm
ʒũt=laktuf=ə̀nn-əs u=y-ə́dd ar=ləhil=ə̀nn-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) Uṣə̀l-ən w=i-n=ìs òmʒa: aɣrəš=dìk tiriw tiriwt
arrive:*pf.-3pm and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s ogre slaughter:imp.=10.1s girl
tməqqə̀rənt.
bigsf
‘They arrived and the ogre said to him: Slaughter your oldest daughter for me.’

(446) U=y-əfk=isin afi̇w w=i-n=isin: a=uʃã-y=d and=3sm-give:*pf.=10.3pm fire and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm fut.=come:fut.-1s
a=uʃã-x=tat t-əmmà=tàm
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-ə́dd òmʒa w=əqqimà=n abbà-s n=tiriwin id=əmmà-tsə̀nùt
3sm-go:*pf. ogre and=stay:*pf.-3pm father-3s of=children with=mother-3pf
vəlłà-nət u=y-əqàrəb uʃú n=əmʒa.
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-ə̀kkər tamignà w=ət-n=ìs i=tiriwin=n-əs: kkə̀r-mæt, 3sf-get.up:*pf. woman and=3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=children=of-3s get.up:imp.-pf
xzə̀r-mæt.
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 tòkkər here is the only exception.

(449) W=akkə̀r-ət tiriwin id=əmmà-tsə̀nùt qqimà-nət ddàwwàr-ət
and=get.up:*pf.-3pf children with=mother-2pf stay:*pf.-3pf go.around:impf.-3pf
u=baʃə̄ιə̄n naʃə̄n uʃà-ŋə́ y-əmmət=ə u=kkə̀r-ət,
and=then they(f) find:*pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:*pf.-3pf,
arʃə̄y-ət z=ɡan sə̄mmà-ət y=əmʒa
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)  \textit{u-t-əxzár}  \textit{əmmà-tsnaː tmt̀˷r=i u=t-ˈyfə}  \textit{əlməɣɣàrət}
and=3sf-look:pf. mother-3pf land=loc. and=3sf-find:seq. cave
\textit{u=t-ʃan}  \textit{gan tiriːt tɔməʔqɔrərənt u=y-uʃə=d}  \textit{əmʒə}
and=3sf-make.enter:pf. there girl big:sf and=3sm-come:pf.=come ogre
\textit{u=ʃká-n=i}  \textit{ksùm wa mmà-n=a}
and=give:pf.-3pm=10.3s meat PMPH:sm be.cooked:res.-ptc.=res.
\textit{u=y-əččì=t}  \textit{w=i-n=ɪsɪn:}  \textit{šəmm-át=dik}  \textit{tiriːt}
and=3sm-eat:pf.=10.3pm cook:imp.-pm=10.1s child
\textit{tàṭən, amîʃiw=ənn-ˈʊk.}
others: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)  \textit{U=ɡa-n=i}  \textit{am=tàṭən.}
and=do:P-3pm=10.3s like=other:sf
'And they did to her like (they did to) the other.'

(452)  \textit{U=ʃbah=ənn-əs}  \textit{šəmm-át=dik tàṭən.}
and=tomorrow=of-3s cook:imp.-pm=10.1s other:sf
'And the next day: cook another for me'

Notes 1  \textit{ʃbah=ənn-əs} literally translates to ‘his/her tomorrow’. \textit{This construction is only
found here, so little more can be said about it.}

(453)  \textit{U=ɡá-n=i}  \textit{am=alá ɡà-n=a i=ԝərtná-s}
and=do:pf.-3pm=10.3s like=rel. dores.-3pm=res. dat.=sister-3s
\textit{u=y-ˈuʃə=d}  \textit{əmʒə u=y-ˈəččə}  \textit{aməklìw=ənn-əs}
and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s
\textit{w}  \textit{i-n=ɪsɪn:}  \textit{šəmm-át=dik amîʃiw=ənn-ˈʊk.}
\textit{i=wərtnà-s}
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)  \textit{U=ʃəmma-n=i}  \textit{sər=ɑlajam y-əmmùt-a u=y-ˈuʃə=d}
and=cook:pf.-3pm=10.3s from=camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=3sm-come:seq.=come
\textit{əmʒə u=y-ˈəččə}  \textit{amîʃiw=ənn-əs w=i-n=ɪsɪn:}  \textit{ʃəbah}
ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. dinner=of-3s and=3sm-say:pf.=10.3pm tomorrow
\textit{aməklìw af-təmignì=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) \( U=\text{na-}n=\text{is}: \) \( \text{bāḥi}. \)
and=say:*pf.-3pm=10.3s be.good:3sm
‘And they said to him: fine.’

(456) \( Š\text{baḥ} \text{ ʃəmmà-}n \text{ aməkliw } u=t-\text{ùna} \) \( \text{ar=}tiriwin=w-\text{as} \)
tomorrow cook:*pf.-3pm meal and=3sf-enter:seq to=children=of-3s
\( u=y-\text{ùša}=d \) \( \text{àmẓa} u=y-\text{àčča} \) \( \text{aməkliw}=\text{ànn-}w-\text{as} \)
and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s
\( w=i-n=\text{is} \) \( \text{àmẓa}: \text{Amišw fəllī-k kū Abudabó.} \)
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) \( U=y-\text{ʃə́dd} \) \( \text{Būdabr} \ y-\text{àggà}=d \) \( \text{yəștín id=glim=} \text{ànn-}w-\text{as id=mlål} \)
and=3sm-go:*pf. Abu.dabr 3sm-bring:pf.=bring bones with=skin=of-3s with=sand
\( w=i-gi=tan \) \( \text{əlgådɔr=} \text{ànn-}w-\text{as} u=y-\text{ùna} \) \( \text{ar=}tiriwin=w-\text{as} \)
and=3sm-put:*pf.=DO.3pm pot=of-3s and=3sm-enter:seq. to=children=of-3s
\( u=y-\text{ùša}=d \) \( \text{àmẓa} u=y-\text{àčča} \) \( \text{yəstín wə=} \text{nåttin i-} \text{tə́tta} \)
and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. bones and=he 3sm-eat:impf.
\( y-\text{əqqim} \) \( i-\text{tə́nn=} \text{is:} \) \( \text{Ksum=} \text{ànn-}w-k aḥaš, kùll d=} \text{yəstín.} \)
3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-say:impf.=10.3s 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) \( W=\text{ənhınat} \) \( ʃənát-nət \) \( \text{ʒłàn} n=\text{àmẓa}. \)
and=they(f) hear:impf.-3pf words of=ogre
‘And they heard to the words of the ogre’

\* ʃənát-nət looks like an imperfect but must be a perfect (cf. tširad earlier in the text).

(459) \( Bə̌ʃə̌d \ y-\text{àčča}, \) \( \text{àmẓa} y-\text{àkkór} u=y-\text{əqqim} \) \( i-nə́kkki \)
After 3sm-eat:seq. ogre 3sm-get.up:*pf. and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-smell:impf.
\( u=bə̌ʃə̌də̌n \) \( y-\text{əslá} \) \( \text{ʒłàn} \text{əlməyərə}=i u=y-\text{əyyyə} \text{̄t} \) \( \text{àmẓa}, \)
and=then 3sm-hear:pf. words cave=loc. and=3sm-scream:*pf. ogre,
'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=isin: gan midden dila, qqim-àt dila u=nàk
3sm-say:"pf.=10.3p there people at here, say:imp.-pm at here and =I
a=unà-x əlməɣərət=i w=əndú i-ški əzîf=ənn-ūk də=ʃṭāf;
fut=enter:fut.-is cave=loc. and =if 3sm-leave:"pf. tail=of-3s 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-sənnàṭ təmigni alá i-tənn=is əmza;
3sf-hear:impf. woman rel. 3sm-say:impf.=10.3s ogre

‘The woman heard what the ogre was saying’

(462) Y-ušà=d əmza, ḫ-ʃān əzîf=ənn-əs əlməɣarət=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-əkkə́r təmigni u=t-əggà-d təbəqqùšt u=t-ʃə̀ṭṭəf
3sf-get.up:"pf. woman and =3sf-take:pf. =take pan and =3sf-make.black:"pf.
əzîf n=əmza w=i-ški azîf n=əmza d=ʃṭāf
tail of =ogre and =3sm-leave:"pf. tail of =ogre pred.=black:sm
u=gūla=n=t əmziwən əd=ʃṭə́f w=ərwə̀l-ən kkull
and =see:"pf. =3p=do.3s ogres pred.=black:sm and =flee:"pf. =3p 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 sniffed.’

(464) u=t-əʃkî ənnàt id=amódən=n-əs it=tirîwin=n-əs ufà-n əmza
and =3sf-leave:"pf. she with =man=of-3s with =children=of-3s find:"pf. =3p ogre
id=amziwən arwîl-i-n=a kkull
with =ogres flee:res.-3p=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) \[ \text{wə=frə̀ḥ-nət} \quad \text{tiríwin} \quad u=ʃəddə-n \quad əlxarbuš=ənn-asìn} \\
\text{and=become.happy:*pf.-3pf} \text{ children and=go:*pf.-3pm} \text{ garden=of-3pm} \\
u=boʃədən \quad usəl-ən \quad \text{gan} \quad u=ččə-n \quad u=ʃwà-n} \\
\text{and=then} \quad \text{ arrive:*pf.-3pm} \text{ there and=eat:*pf.-3pm} \text{ and=drink:*pf.-3pm} \\
w=əkkə̀r-ən \quad rrəwwə̀ḥ-ən \quad \text{tfilli=nn-asin.} \\
\text{and=get.up:*pf.-3pm} \text{ return:*pf.-3pm} \text{ house=of-3pm} \\
\text{‘And the children became happy and they went to their garden and then they} \\
\text{ arrived there and they ate and drank and they got up and returned to their} \\
\text{house.’} \\

C.2 Texts from Zanon

C.2.1 Song I

C.2.1.1 Original transcription

\[ \text{ġillîġ kàm uggūt uggūt.} / \text{min ġair tğëlli tikra}\]

C.2.1.2 Phonemic transcription

\[ \text{ɣəllìɣ=kəmuggutuggut.} / \text{minɣayrtɣə́llit=ikra} \]

(466) \[ \text{ɣəllì-ɣ=kəm} \quad \text{uggut uggut.} \]
\[ \text{want:*pf.-1s=DO.2sf} \quad \text{much much} \]
\[ \text{‘I want you so much’} \]

• notice that the form \[ \text{ġillîġ} \] still has the original Berber -\( \gamma \) as 1sg. ending rather than -\( \chi \) as is found universally in Paradisi (1960a).

• In Paradisi (1960a), the 2sg.f. direct object is -\( \text{kəm} \), 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 \[ \text{ēggût} /əggút/ \]. In Sokni (Sarnelli 1924) we find uggūt ‘much, many’, perhaps this \( u \) had not yet shifted to \( α \) in the time of Zanon’s fieldwork.

(467) \[ \text{min ġayr t-ɣálli-t=i} \quad \text{kra} \]
\[ \text{without} \quad \text{2s-want:*pf.-2s-DO.1s} \quad \text{neg.} \]
\[ \text{‘without you wanting me’} \]

\[ ^5 \text{As pointed out by Brugnatelli (1987: 54), the second line should be reanalysed as } \text{min ġair tğëlli-t-i-} \text{kra.} \]
• *min yayr* ‘without’ < Ar. *min ꞌgayri* ‘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 *kóra* ‘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* خليك /गळिका/ from Ar. ꞌyali ‘expensive’ with the negative particle *-ká*.

C.2.2 Song II

C.2.2.1 Original transcription

ul-innôḥ iṭāra aî-mma / igàllì wullîs infámma

C.2.2.2 Phonemic transcription

ul-innûx iṭara ay-ə̀mma / iyàlli wullî-s øn имвìma

C.2.2.3 Glossed translation

(468) *ul=ənn-ùx i-ṭar=a ay=ə̀mma*

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 */-ənnûk/*. This may be an indication that the Aujila of Paradisi represents a slightly different dialect than that of Zanon.

• The form <aîmma> ‘for (my) mother’ is remarkable. Paradisi (1960a) has *mmâ*, the form found in Zanon rather implies that there is an initial ø which was accented, as per the regular accent rules.

(469) *i-yàlli wullî-s øn=ə̀mma*

3sm-want;²pf. daughter-3s of=aunt

‘it wants the daughter of my aunt’

• Note that <infámma> must stand for=øn имвìma, where the <i> stands for ø.

• Paradisi (1960b) has *ámmî* for ‘uncle’. имвìma, probably means ‘aunt’, cf. Ar. ꞌımmà ‘id.’. It is remarkable that the masculine form has lost its ꞌ, and the feminine form has not.
C.2.3  Song III

C.2.3.1 Original transcription

ġillîx kîra šaînät / ŋali sîmîh dîwîs ŋamîmî

C.2.3.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəllîx kîra šəynat / ŋali simîh d=îwî-s ŋamîmî.

\[\text{ɣəllî-x  kîra šəynat} \]
\[\text{want}^{\text{-pf.-is neg. ugly.ones}} \]
\[\text{‘I do not want ugly ones’} \]

• Unlike the first Zanon text, this time ɣəllîx has a final -x rather than -ɣ for the 1sg. PNG-marking.

\[\text{ʕalî sîmîh d=îwî-s ŋamîmî} \]
\[\text{Name kind pred.=son-3s of=uncle} \]
\[\text{‘(I want) kind Ali, he is the son of my uncle’} \]

• <sîmîh> must be ELA sîmîh ‘sweet, pretty, handsome’ (p.c. Benkato).

• The <u> in <umîmî> is probably a misreading of ŋî. A cursively written ŋî can easily be confused for an ŋî, 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 wullî-s ŋəmma ‘daughter of my aunt’, this text has ‘son of my uncle’.

C.2.4  Song IV

C.2.4.1 Original transcription

Jâ rijû lû râît Bâlğû / Gân laḥbûb imrijît

C.2.4.2 Phonemic transcription

ya irîw lu rayt Balţû / gan laḥbûb ŋamîyît.

C.2.4.3 Glossed translation

\[\text{ya=irîw  lu rayt Balţû} \]
\[\text{voc.=child if you could see Place} \]
\[\text{‘O child, if you could see Balţû’} \]
Jārijù, and should be read as ya irèw. The loss of the initial i is not easily understood.

lù râit Bâlû is a codeswitch to Arabic. This is a fixed expression, very common in poetry. Many short poems open with, e.g. yâ lu reytu ÿeyn el-bneyya ‘O if you (pl.) only saw the girl's eyes...’ (p.c. Benkato)

(473)  
Gan  lœhœbœ emriy-ıt  
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 Šûf / Taqabbît dår awləfná

C.2.5.2  Phonemic transcription

Agənnînən da Šuf / Taqəbbît dar awləfná

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-nînæn ‘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.

Šûf and Taqabbît are both placenames.

dar is the common North-African Arabic word for ‘house’.

awlafná is probably ā ələf-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

ʼamma τq̣ábbsi q̣ama a=tt-ùš / kāzàn itkîra sorróz

C.2.6.2 Phonemic transcription

ʕammatgə̀bbəšqamaattùš/kazànitkìras-ərrùz

C.2.6.3 Glossed translation

(474) ʕəmma t-gɔ́bbəʃ qama a=tt-ùš
pro. 3sf-gird:impf. now fut.=3sf-come:fut.
‘She is getting dressed (litt. girding herself), now she will come’

• Not that tɡ̣ɔ́bbəʃ 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

ġillîx tika Dimmîs / ʼali hw lî ǧān īğğîlib.

C.2.7.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəllîx=t əka Dimmîs / ʼali hu əllî gan əţţ̣əλəb.

C.2.7.3 Glossed translation

(476) ɣəllî-x=t əka Dimmîs
want:pf.-is=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.

This is a hybrid Arabic-Berber sentence. *hu əlì* is clearly the introduction of a
relative clause.

<ghan> 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 rela-
tive phrase.

C.2.8  Song VIII

C.2.8.1  Original transcription

tūšidda s Tangīğum / titʿibta ʿalā šān Nānna

C.2.8.2  Phonemic transcription

tušidda s Tangižəm / titʕibta ʕala šan Nànna

C.2.8.3  Glossed translation

(478)  \( t-uš-d=d=a \) \( s=Tangižəm \) \\
2s-come:res.-2s=come=res. from=Tangijem

‘You have come from Tangižəm’

(479)  \( t-ətʕib-t=a \) ʕala šan Nànna \\
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

mabrûk 'alàik tuli’â / fî zûnîm wóhra twšîgî

C.2.9.2 Phonemic transcription

mabruk ŋalâyk tulîśâ / fî zənîm w əxra təʃyəl.

C.2.9.3 Glossed translation

(480)  

\textit{mabruk ŋalâyk} \hspace{1em} \textit{t-uliî=a} \hspace{1em} \textit{fi=zûnîm} \\
congratulations.to.you 3sf-fall.in.love:res.=res. in=bastard \\
‘Congratulations to you! She has fallen in love with a bastard!’

\textbullet{} This sentences is a strange mix between Berber and Arabic. Every single word is of Arabic origin, but \textit{t-uliî-a} has a Berber conjugation. The object of the verb is marked with the Arabic preposition \textit{fi}.

(481)  

\textit{w əxra t-əʃyəl} \\
and shit 3sf-work:*pf. \\
‘And she works (in) shit!’

\textbullet{} \textit{twšîgî} probably is a very badly transcribed reflex of Arabic word \textit{šaģala} ‘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 Sawîlḥâģ / abbâk jâ Moḥammediâm iâm išîna mqlâzîn

C.2.10.2 Phonemic transcription

yûna s Timillîl iškî Sawîlḥaţ / abbak ya Moḥammad yam išîna æqlazən
C.2.10.3 Glossed translation

(482) \textit{y-una} s=Timillil i-ški Sawilhaž
\[ \text{s=Timillil \text{ Place} i-\text{leave:pf.} \text{ Sawilhaj} } \]
\[ \text{‘He has entered Timillil and left Sawilhaj’} \]

\cdot \text{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) \textit{abba-k ya=Məḥəmməd yam i-šin=a} əqlazən
\[ \text{father-2sm voc.=Mohammed only \text{3sm-know:res.=res. lies}} \]
\[ \text{‘Your father, O Mohammed, only(?) knows tall tales (litt. lies).’} \]

\cdot \text{\textit{yam} is an otherwise unattested word, in the context it seems likely that it means ‘only’.}

\cdot \text{Zanon transcribed} <\text{mqlázən}>\text{, the initial} <\text{m}>\text{ is certainly incorrect. Perhaps it was a misread} \mathbf{u}\text{, which stood for the} \mathbf{ə} \text{ in front of} q\text{.}

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, nittin i̇glāia gîgûli / ḡāllaslāminšûnit.

C.2.11.2 Phonemic transcription

əngûli, əngûli, nəttin iylaya gíg-ùl-i / ŋəlləsləmən-sùnit

C.2.11.3 Glossed translation

(484) əngûli, əngûli, nəttin i̇yla=ya gíg=ùl=i
\[ \text{see(nursery) see(nursery) he \text{3sm-be.expensive:res.=res. in=heart=loc.}} \]
\[ \text{‘Come and see, come and see, he is dear in the heart!’} \]

\cdot \text{əngûli is probably related to the verb} agól, gul ‘to see’, but a further morphological analysis is not possible.

\cdot \text{gîg is a common Berber preposition for ‘in’, but it is unattested as such in Paradisi, which only has a compound preposition} ar-z-gîg. \text{ In this phrase it is combind 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.

\[(485)\] \(\text{\textgГі\textalm islam әn=\textsf{\textsun\textnt}}\)

believe:imp. islam of=sunnah

‘Believe the Islam of the Sunnah!’

• \(\text{\textsf{\textsun\textnt}}\) Probably stands for \textit{sunna(t)}‘Habitual practice (of the Islam)’, but the \(\textsf{s}\) instead of \(\text{s}\) 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 an incitement to study.

C.2.12.1 Original transcription

in\(\text{\textnt}\)ar fill\(\text{\textnt}\)ık tit\(\text{\textnt}\)ín tik\'wa\(\text{\textnt}\)t / dd\(\text{\textnt}\)ə fər\(\text{\textnt}\)ā’ titt\(\text{\textnt}\)iš\'w\(\text{\textnt}\)a\(\text{\textnt}\)t

C.2.12.2 Phonemic transcription

әn\(\text{\textnt}\)tər fəll\(\text{\textnt}\)ək ti\(\text{\textnt}\)t \(\text{\textnt}\)a n tik\(\text{\textnt}\)w\(\text{\textnt}\)a\(\text{\textnt}\)t / ddax tərf\(\text{\textnt}\)ə’̚ tittəʃ\(\text{\textnt}\)wə\(\text{\textnt}\)ət

C.2.12.3 Glossed translation

\[(486)\] \(\text{әn\(\text{\textnt}\)tər fəll-ək ti\(\text{\textnt}\)t әn=tikw\(\text{\textnt}\)a\(\text{\textnt}\)yt}\)

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 \(\text{tita}\) of the verb \(\text{awit\ ‘to hit’}. Perhaps Zanon’s form reflects a variant \(\text{titi}.\)
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

\[\text{alḥamdūlillāhī azīṭannekiškīiddīra}\]

#### C.2.13.2 Phonemic transcription

\[\text{alḥamdulillāhi azīṭ=ənnəkiškiiddìr=a}\]

#### C.2.13.3 Glossed translation

\((488)\) \text{alḥamdulillāhi azīṭ=ənn-ək i-ški i-ddir=a}

\begin{align*}
\text{praise.be.to.god} & \quad \text{donkey=of-2sm 3sm-leave:*pf. 3sm-live:res.=res.} \\
\text{‘Praise be to god, your donkey came out alive!’}
\end{align*}
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, ṭ₃qq₃q 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, *afud* ‘knee’ and *yə̀ffuda* ‘to be thirsty’ are unrelated semantically, while their root is FD in both cases. In this case, *afud* ‘knee’ has been categorized as FD1 and *yə̀ffuda* as FD2.

A few words only contain vocalic elements, these have been categorized under the respective vowel sign in the dictionary. The alphabetical order of the dictionary is as follows:

\[
\text{A} \, \text{B} \, \text{Č} \, \text{D} \, \text{F} \, \text{G} \, \text{Ŷ} \, \text{Ḥ} \, \text{I} \, \text{K} \, \text{L} \, \text{M} \, \text{N} \, \text{Q} \, \text{R} \, \text{Ṣ} \, \text{Š} \, \text{T} \, \text{T} \, \text{Ṭ} \, \text{V} \, \text{WXYZŽŽʕ}
\]

**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 Tuarèg (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 Tuarèg 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: lemma | The lemma in Paradisi (1960a) |
| PT: number | The text number in Paradisi (1960b) |
| B21: page | The page number where the word is attested in Beguinot (1921) |
| B24: page | The page number where the word is attested in Beguinot (1924) |
| B25: page | The page number where the word is attested in Beguinot (1925) |
| Z: number | The text number in Zanon (1932) |
| M: lemma latin arabic | The lemma name, latin transcription and arabic transcription of the word attested in Müller (1827) |

Table D.1: Source abbreviations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbr.</th>
<th>Language</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>Eastern Libyan Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghd.</td>
<td>Ghadames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foq.</td>
<td>El-Foqaha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zng.</td>
<td>Zenaga</td>
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<td>To.</td>
<td>Tuareg</td>
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<td>Nef.</td>
<td>Nefusa</td>
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<td>Kb.</td>
<td>Kabyle</td>
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<td>Sok.</td>
<td>Sokna</td>
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<td>Mor. Ar.</td>
<td>Moroccan Arabic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ouar.</td>
<td>Ouargla</td>
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<td>MA</td>
<td>Middle Atlas Berber</td>
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<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Libyan Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. Ar.</td>
<td>Egyptian Arabic</td>
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<td>Gk.</td>
<td>Classical Greek</td>
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<td>Lat.</td>
<td>Latin</td>
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</table>

Table D.2: Language Abbreviations
A

a [interj.] vocative interjection
a, āī, at-(mma) [Z:II]
▷ áy-amédën 'o man'
P: o, ovvero PT: III, VI, XII Z: II
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. a 'vocative interjection'

?N

ann-ak [complementizer]
2sg.m. ?ann-ek
PT: XI
▷ ahsébh-kù-ya ?annek ku d-nék 'I thought that you were me' [PT:XI]
♦ Ar. ðanna a particle that introduces subclauses that imply transfer of knowledge.
ʔaʔrifî ðanna 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: niʔar ðinn-a ‘saxig il-il’fus ‘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. bàbà-k, 3sg. bàbà-s, 1pl bàbà-tnex, 2pl.m. bàbà-tkim, 3pl.m. bàbà-tsìn
1sg. bàbà 2sg.m. bàbà-k, bàbà-k [Z:X] 3sg. bàbà-s 1pl. bàbà-tmaʔ 2pl.m. bàbà-tkim 3pl.m. bàbà-tsìn
P: padre PT: XV Z: X
▷ abına-s n tirìwìn 'the father of the children'
♦ NZ:B5
Berber, cf. Siwa abba 'father'; To. òbbà 'father'; Zng. bàbàh 'father'

B2

tabît [f.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar. rattàba)’
tebit
P: palma

BB1

àlbàb [m.] ‘door’
elbàb
PT: III
♦ Ar. báb ‘door’

BB2

abîba, avîva [m.] ‘smallpox’
abība, avīva
P: vaiulo M: vérole (petite) habēba هبة
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa abība 'smallpox'

BDQ
tòbàduqt [f.] ‘cotton’
tebèduqt
P: cotone
♦ NZ: BDƔ/Q3
Berber, cf. To. tàbdōqq ‘cotton’; Sok. tabdūḥt ‘cotton’.
The final cluster qt in Awjila is unexpected, one would rather expect Sokna ḥt and Tuareg qq to correspond to Awjila -ġt 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

abugàrfa [m.] ‘clay’
ābugèrfa
P: argilla

BY

tàb̃ya [f.] ‘tobacco’
táb̃gā
P: tabacco M: tabac thabgha طبغه
♦ Mor. Ar. tabjā ‘tobacco’

BHY

bàhî [stat.v.] ‘to be good’
3sg.m. bàhî 3sg.f. bàh(ə)yāt
3sg.m. bàhî [PT:IV], bâhî [PT:XV] 3sg.f. bâhîyet [PT:III]
PT: III, IV, XV
♦ ELA bâhî ‘good’
**BLH**

älbahr (or: albahr) [m.] ‘sea’
elbahr, albahr
PT: IX
♦ Ar. bahr ‘sea’

**BK**

äbbak [v.ccc] ‘to sting; to plant vegetables, onions etc.’
impf. täbbak
imp. sg. êbbak; impf. 3sg.m. ëbbâk
P: pungere; piantare
♦ K: 526
Berber, cf. Kb. bbî ‘to sting’; Ghd. äbbâk ‘to collect one by one’

äbbûk [v.n.m.] ‘stinging’
ëbbûk
P: pungere

**BLBS**

täbalbûst [f.] ‘eyeball’
tebelbûst
P: bulbo
♦ ➤ BLBS

**BLBS**

täbalbûst [f.] ‘bulb of an onion’
tebelbûst
P: bulbo
♦ Probably from Latin bulbus ‘bulb’

**abòlbâs [v.ccce] ‘to form a bulb’
res. bòlbâs
res. 3sg.m. yebelbîsá
P: bulbo
▷ bżâlâm yebelbîsá ‘the onion has formed a bulb’

**BLK**

bâlak [adv.] ‘maybe’
bâlek
PT: XIII
♦ ELA balak, belki ‘maybe’ ultimately from Turkish belki ‘why’ (p.c. Benkato)

**BLS**

älbulis [m.] ‘police’
el-bulis
PT: III
♦ Ar. bûlis ‘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. blâ šî, blâš ‘free’; Ar. bi-lâ šay? ‘free (litt. For nothing)’

**BLŽ**

Balžu [P.N.] Name of a palm grove in Awjila
Bâlţu
Z: IV

**BN1**

abôn, avôn [v.cc*] ‘to build, construct’
pf. bná impf. bònna, ivônna
imp. sg. abén, avën; pf. 1sg. bniḫ 3sg.m. ibnå; res. 1sg. bniha 3sg.m. ibnåya; impf. 1sg. bennîh 3sg.m. ibénna, ivénna
P: costruire
♦ K: 194
Berber, cf. To. òbnu ‘to establish oneself (in a place), to begin construction on’; Siwa abnû ‘to build’ (Naumann 2010: 376), perhaps related to words for ‘tent’: To. éhân ‘tent’; Zng. in ‘tent’.

**BN2**

bèyn [prep.] ‘between’
bêin
P: fra
♦ Ar. bayna ‘between’

**BQL**

tabaqût [f.] ‘jar, vase’
tebaqût
P: giarra
♦ NZ: BQL2
Berber, cf. Kb. abuqal ‘drinking pot’; Siwa
təboqələt 'jug, pitcher'; cf. also ələ bûgâl 'jug', perhaps ultimately from Gk. βαύκαλις.

BQS
albaqış [m.] ‘twinkle, glimmer’
elbâqîs
PT: XV

♦ ələ bâgîs ‘twinkle (of a star, etc.)’ (p.c. Benkato). This words seems to exist only in ələ. It is surprising then, that the g in ələ is reflected as q in Awjila, which rather suggests a different (unknown) origin, or a hypercorrection when the word was loaned.

BQS
əlbəqîs [m.] ‘twinkle, glimmer’
elbåqîs
PT: XV

♦ elbåqîs ‘twinkle (of a star, etc.)’ (p.c. Benkato). This words seems to exist only in elbåqîs. It is surprising then, that the q in elbåqîs is reflected as q in Awjila, which rather suggests a different (unknown) origin, or a hypercorrection when the word was loaned.

BQS
əlbəqîs [m.] ‘twinkle, glimmer’
elbåqîs
PT: XV

♦ elbåqîs ‘twinkle (of a star, etc.)’ (p.c. Benkato). This words seems to exist only in elbåqîs. It is surprising then, that the q in elbåqîs is reflected as q in Awjila, which rather suggests a different (unknown) origin, or a hypercorrection when the word was loaned.

BR
tabarût [f.] ‘way, street’
tebârût [PT:X], têbarût [PT:XII], tebârût-(î) [PT:XV]
P: strada, via PT: X, XII, XV M: chemin tabarouth

♦ NZ: BR30, BRD1, K: 285
Berber, cf. To. ābara, tâbarût ‘road, path’
tabarût n alôym [phrasal n.] ‘caravan track’
tebârût n alôym
P: pista carovaniera

BRK
tabârka [f.] ‘sesame (seeds) (in Benghazi tabérka is the seed of a colocynth)’
tabérka
P: sesamo

BRN
əbân [v.ccc] ‘to twist, to roll up’
imp. sg. əbreŋ
P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: entortillé ebrénah əbren; entortiller brénah əbren; tordre yébrén

♦ Berber, cf. Kb. əbân ‘to roll, to wind up’; Ghd. əbren ‘to roll up’

BRNK
Børnîk [P.N.] ‘Benghazi, northern part of Cyrenaica’
Børnîk
P: Bengasi
▷ Yuşâda s-Børnîk ‘he came from the north’
▷ ýallîh a’addâh Børnîk ‘I want to go to Benghazi’

♦ This word comes from the old name of Benghazi: Berenice.

BRRŞ
ab.qqariš [m.] ‘hawk’
aberrariš
P: falco

♦ Common word in both Maghrebine Arabic and Berber, cf. Ma bərrarişt ‘stork’ Mor. Ar. bollâraj, bərrâraj ‘stork’. Ultimately from Gk. πελαργος ‘stork’, or the unattested variant *πελλαργος (Vycichl 2005: 27-27).

BRRL
tabaršîlt [f.] pl. tbəršîl ‘pillar of a well on which the crossbar of the pulley rests’
tebaršîlt pl. tberšîl
P: pozzo

♦ Common word in both Maghrebine Arabic and Berber, cf. Ma bərrarişt ‘stork’ Mor. Ar. bollâraj, bərrâraj ‘stork’. Ultimately from Gk. πελαργος ‘stork’, or the unattested variant *πελλαργος (Vycichl 2005: 27-27).

BRRŞL
tabarîl [f.] pl. tbəril ‘pall of a well on which the crossbar of the pulley rests’
tebarîl pl. tberîl
P: pozzo

BRT
pl. əlbarât [f.] ‘money’
pl. elbarât [PT:XIV], elbârât [PT:IV,V], elbarât-(ennûk) [PT:V,VII]
PT: IV, V, VII, XIV M: argent, monnaie barah
Dial. Ar. *barāt* ‘money’ a loanword from Turkish *Para*, an old Turkish currency. (p.c. Souag)

**BS**

*bàss* [adv.] ‘only’

*bèss* [PT:III]

PT: III M: seulement *bess* ِبـس

♦ ELA *bàss* ‘just, only’ (p.c. Benkato)

**BSK**

*abàssik* [m.] pl. *bassikan* ‘vulva’

*abessik* pl. *bessiken*

P: vulva

♦ NZ: BC2

Perhaps Berber, cf. Siwa *bašša* ‘vulva’

*tbàssikt* [f.] ‘bum, backside; vulva’ pl. *tbàsskin* ‘fart’

*tbessikt* pl. *tbesskin*

P: deretano; vulva; peto

**BŞR**

*albasîrât* (or: *əlbasîrât*) [adv.] ‘willingly’

*albâsîret*

PT: V

♦ Ar. *baʃira(t)* ‘insight, penetration, discernment’, the function of this word in Awjila is similar to the Arabic syntagm *yan baʃirati* ‘deliberately, knowingly’

**BŞKW**

*abəskîw* [m.] pl. *bəskiwan* ‘horn’

*abeškîu* pl. *beškîwen*

P: corno

♦ Berber. ► ŠK2

**BŞXW**

*abəsxàw* [m.] pl. *bəsxàwan* ‘name of a sparrow’

*abešhâu* pl. *bešhâwen*

P: passero

♦ Berber. → ŠK2

**BŢΖ**

*abəṭṭûž* [m.] ‘ember’

*abâṭṭûž*

P: ombelico

♦ K: 288 NZ: BḌ1


**BŢŻ**

*abəṭṭûž* [m.] ‘ember’

*abâṭṭûž*

P: tizzo, tizzoncino

**BZN**

*abazîn* [m.] ‘tagliatelle made of flour of wheat’

*abazîn*

P: pasta del pane

♦ NZ: BZN1, K: 290

Berber, cf. Kb. *abazîn* ‘dish made of flour, tubers, arum and several herbs’; Ghd. *əlbazîn* ‘dish of flour made into patties, thrown into boiling water and seasoned with fresh olive oil’

**BZR**

*tabazârt* [f.] pl. *tbazrîn* ‘basket’

*täbazârt* pl. *tbazrîn*

P: cesta M: panier *abazart*

**BZLM**

*bzâlim* [m.] ‘onions(coll.)’

*bzâlim*, *bzâlim* [PT: XV]

P: cipolla PT: XV M: oignon *bazalim*

♦ K: 242, 297
Ultimately from Punic. cf. Hebrew bāṣāl 'onion' (Vycichl 2005: 3)

tēbẓalīmt [f. pl. tēbẓalimīn 'onion'
tebẓālīmt pl. tēbẓalīmīn
P: cipolla

BŽ1
abžāw [m.] pl. bāżāwən 'cheek'
abžāw pl. bāżāw
P: guancia

BŽ2
bāżžā [m.] 'penis (of a boy)'
bāżžā
P: penis

BʕD
baʕ(ə)d [conj.] 'after, when'
baʿad, bāʿad, baʾād [PT:II, IX, XIII]
P: dopo; quando PT: II, IX, XIII

bəʕìd [stat.v.] 'to be distant'
3sg.m. baʿîd
PT: X
Ar. baʕīd 'distant'

bəʕ(ə)dèn [conj.] 'afterwards, then'
baʿadên, baʿadén [PT: II], baʿadeñ (sic) [PT: VI]
PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV

bəʕ(ə)dā [m.] pl. bžāwen
bəʕ(ə)dā pl. abžâwən 'cheek'

Č1
əčč [v.c̄*] 'to eat'
pf. əččá seq. = res. ěčča fut. ěčč impf.
tētta
imp. sg. ěčč pl.m. ěččâ pl.f. ěččim
tēttā
3sg.m. yečča, yetčā, yeččā [PT: XV], yeččî-(t)
[PT: XV] 3pl.m. ččân [PT: XV]; res. 1sg. ččiša
3sg.m. yeččāya 1pl. nči-(t)-ya [PT: II]; fut.
3sg.m. ăćštî(t) [PT: II] impf. 1sg. tettîš 3sg.m.
ittēttâ, itēttâ [PT: XV] 3sg.f. tettā [PT: III]
P: mangiare PT: II, III, XV M: diner yetch

Č2
̀ačča [m.] pl. ččawən 'grave'
̀ačča pl. ččawən
P: tomba M: tombeau atcha

ČR ▶ ŞR1
ČŢ ▶ ŞŢ

D1
d [part.] predicate marker
d-, de- [PT: XV], d- [Z: III]
PT: II, IV, VII, VIII, XI, XIV, XV Z: III

D2
id [prep.] 'with (comitative), and'
1sg. idd-i 2sg.m. idd-əl 2sg.f. idd-əm 3sg
idd-əs 1pl. idd-nax 2pl.m. id-kim 2pl.f.
idd-əkmət 3pl.m. idd-əsnət
id, ıd, it-(tiřiwinnes) [PT: XV]; 1sg. idd-i, idd-i
di [inter.] DW DBR
adbir [m.] pl. dbirən 'pigeon'
adbir pl. dbūren
P: piccione
 ♦ NZ: DBR4, K: 293
Berber, cf. Kb. d, id 'with, and'; To. d 'with; and'; Zng. əd 'with, and'

DBŠ
pl. (ə)dbūš [m.] 'clothes'
edbūš [PTV], dbūš-(énnes) [PT:IX], edbūš-(énnek, énnûk) [PT:IX]
PT:V,IX
♦ Ar. dabaš pl. adbāš 'junk, rubbish, trash'
la dabaš pl. dbuša 'stuff' (p.c. Souag), ela dibes 'stuff, luggage, bags; clothes' (p.c. Benkato) Mor. Ar. dbaš 'rags'
pl. dbaš-(ānnas [m.] 'stuff'
pl. dbaš-(énnes)
PT:II
♦ ELA dbāš 'baggage'; Ar. dabaš pl. adbāš 'junk, rubbish, trash'

DD1
(ə)dđad [v.cc] 'to bite'
impf. təddad
imp. sg. éddēd; impf. 3sg.m. iteddēd
P: mordere M: mordre édded عضض
♦ NZ: D70
Berber, cf. To. əddad 'to bite'
(a)dđud [v.n.m.] 'biting'
éddud
P: mordere

DD2
addid [m.] pl. addidən 'goatskin'
addid pl. addidən
P: otre M: outre pour l'eau addi
 ♦ TC: 1035, K: 621
Berber, cf. To. əddid 'goatskin'; Zng. əyDəğ 'goatskin (for water)'
taddit [f.] 'small goatskin'
taddit
P: otre

DFR
dəffar [prep.] 'behind, after'
dəffar n (before a noun); 1sg. dəffar-i 2sg. dəffar-ək 3sg.m. dəffar-əh, dəffar-ah 3sg.f. ?dəffar-ha 1pl ?dəffar-na, dəffar-nàx 2pl.m. dəffar-kim, ?dəffar-kum 2pl.f. ?dəffar-kmat 3pl.m. ?dəffar-hum 3pl.f. dəffar-hən
dėffer, déffer n (in front of a noun); 1sg. déffer-i, 2sg. -ék, 3sg.m. -áh, déffer-ah [PT:VII], déffer-a [PT:II, VII], -és 3sg.f. -ha 1pl. -nà, -nàh 2pl.m. -kım, -kum 2pl.f. -kmat 3pl.m. -hum 3pl.f. -hən
P: dietro PT:II, VII
♦ NZ: DFR2
Berber, cf. Kb. dəffir 'behind'; To. dəffər 'behind'

DG
**əddûgg [v.cc] 'to knock'
seq. əddûgg
pf. 3sg.m. yeddûgg
PT:III
♦ ELA idōgg 'to knock'; Ar. daqqa 'to knock, rap, bang (on the door)'

DY
adəğ [m.] pl. dəğawən 'a bush of palms'
adəğ pl. dəğawən
P: palma
♦ NZ: DY10
Perhaps Berber, cf. MA idığ '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)ddə̀həb [m.] ‘gold’
eddə̀həb
PT:IV
✦ Ar. ḏahab ‘gold’

DHWR
**ddə̀hwər [v.cccc] ‘to go around’
impf. ddə̀hwər
impf. 3sg.m. iddə̀hwər
PT:VIII
✦ EŁA idə̀hwər ‘to take a tour, to walk around’
(p.c. Benkato)

DK
=dik [pron.] sg. indirect object pronoun
-ɗik, -ɗik [PT:II, IV, V, VI, VII, XIV, XV], res. -ɗika
P: io PT: II, IV, V, VI, VII, XIV, XV

DKN
=dikənî, =dikənî, =dikənî [pron.] 1pl. indirect object pronoun
-dikənî, dikənî, dikənî [PT:XV], res. -dikənîya
P: noi

DL1
š-îdə́l [caus.v.] ‘to harness (a donkey or camel)’
impf. š-idə́l
imp. sg. ʃidə́l; impf. 1sg. ʃidə́l 3sg.m. ʃidə́l
P: bardare
✦ NZ: DL1

DL2
dîla, dîlak [adv.] ‘here’
dîla, dîlak
P: qui PT: VI, X, XV
dîlîwan, diššîwan [adv.] ‘there’
dîlîwan, diššîwan
P: la PT: XV

DLL
(ə)ddə̀llàl [m.] ‘auctioneer’
eddə̀llàl, ddə̀llàl, äddə̀llàl

PT:IV
✦ Ar. dallāl ‘auctioneer’

DLŠ
adolîš [m.] ‘herb (Aristida Pungens)’
adêlîš
P: erba
✦ NZ: DL1
The 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
alidâm (or: əlidâm) [m.] ‘butter’
alidâm
P: burro M: beurre alida
اليدة
✦ Mor. Ar. ɨdâm ‘fatty substance’; Ar. ɨdâm ‘anything eaten with bread; shortening, fatty ingredient’

DM2
pl. dimmən [m.] ‘blood’
pl. dîmmen
P: sangue M: règles des femmes denenn

✦ NZ: DM5, TC: 191

DMLŽ
(ə)ddə̀mləž [m.] ‘bracelet’
eddə̀mləž, ḏəmlež-(ənlûk)
PT:IV
✦ EŁA démlež ‘bracelet’; Ar. dumluž ‘bracelet, bangle’

DN1
udôn [v.vcc] ‘to get dressed’
pf. / seq. = res. ụdân impf. tâdon
impf. sg. udôn; pf. 3pl.f. udênnət [PT:XV]; res. 2sg. tudûnta [PT:XII]; impf. 3sg.m. itâden
P: vestisiri PT:XII, XV M: nu youdenah
DN3 — DRM

iadə́n [v.cc*] ‘to press; to massage’

pf. drá res. drá impf. dərrá

imp. sg. âdér pl.m. drât pl.f. drîmet; pf. 1sg.

driḥ 3sg.m. idrå; res. 1sg. drîḥa 3sg.m. idrâya;

impf. 1sg. derrîḥ 3sg.m. iderrâ

P: premere

♦ NZ: DR4

Ghd. âdə́r ‘to press, squeeze’; To. àdə́r ‘push

or press down hard on (sth)’.

The connection with Zng. âḍuṛ ‘to fall’ as

proposed by Naït-Zerrad seems unlikely. It is

both semantically and phonetically
dissimilar.

adôrru [v.n.m.] ‘pressing’

adêrrû

P: premere

DR2

dd(a)ri [f.] pl. ddriwin ‘thorn’

ddërî pl. ddriwin

P: spina M: épine derî د رى; fourchette
déřî د رى

♦ NZ: DR32

Berber, cf. Ghd. tâdṛa ‘thorn of a palm’; Siwa
tâdṛa ‘thorn’; Sok. tâdâr ‘thorn’; Nef. tâdâr
‘thorn of a palm’

DR3

(a)ddâr [v.ccc] ‘to live’

pf. addâr res. âddâr

imp. sg. eddër; pf. 1sg. eddérḥ 3sg.m. yeddër;

res. 1sg. âddîrha 3sg.m. yeddîra, âddîra [Z:XIII]

P: vivere Z: XIII

♦ NZ: DR1

Berber, cf. Ghd. âddâr ‘to live’; Kb. âddâr ‘to

live’; To. âddâr ‘to be alive’.

Ref. Basset (1929)

(a)ddûr [v.n.m.] ‘life’

êddûr

P: vita

DRM

**adrîm [v.ccc] ‘to bloom; to open (the

inflorescence of palms)’

res. = fut. âdrîm impf. dərrîm

res. 3sg.m. yedrîma 3pl.m. dremîna; fut.

3sg.m. ayédrem; impf. 3sg.m. idërrem
Paradisi says that this is a loanword from Cyrenaic Arabic. I have been unable to find a reference to this word.

**DT**

dit [prep.] dit n (before a noun) 1sg. dit-i 2sg.m. dit-ŋik 2sg.f. dit-ŋim 3sg.m. dit-ŋah, dit-a 3sg.f. dit-ŋa 1pl. dit-ŋa 2pl.m. dit-kim, dit-kum 2pl.f. dit-kmät, dit-kən 3pl.m. dit-sin, dit-hum 3pl.f. dit-snət, dit-hən
‘in front of’
dit, dit n (before a noun) [PT:III] 1sg. dit-i 2sg.m. dit-ŋik 2sg.f. dit-ŋim 3sg.m. dit-ŋa, dit-ŋa [PT:II] 3sg.f. dit-ŋa 1pl. dit-ŋa 2pl.m. dit-kim, dit-kum 2pl.f. dit-kmät, dit-kən 3pl.m. dit-sin, dit-hum 3pl.f. dit-snət, dit-hən
‘in front of’

**DW1**

di, diwa [inter.] ‘what, what thing?’
di, dıwa, dıwa, dıwa [PT:IX]
‘to look around; to search’

PT: XIX, XV M: entourer évourah

**DWR**
idawwar [v.ccc]= impf.
‘to look around; to search’
impf. 3sg.m. idııawar [PT:XIII] 3pl.f. idııawar mät [PT:XV]

PT: XIX, XV M: entourer évourah
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
?ddáyant [f.] ‘fat’
ddient
P: grasso M: graisse eddind
◊ NZ: DH/W/YN, TC: 182, K: 123, 148
Berber, cf. Zng. tādün(ə) ‘(animal) fat’, ādgən ‘to be greased’; Nef. tadûnt ‘fat’; Siwa tadəmt ‘fat’

DYS
?ddáyast [f.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar. tédsə)’
ddiest
P: palma

DYZ
dyáz [v.ccc] ‘to sing’
pf. dyóz impf. dāyyəz
imp. sg. diéz; pf. 1sg. édyézh 3sg.m. idyéz;
impf. 1sg. diyyézh 3sg.m. idiyéz
P: cantare M: chant yediz يديز, chanter yaghlediz يغليدیز
◊ NZ: DY3
Berber, cf. Ghd. diz ‘to dance’; Siwa ḥdyaz ‘to sing’; Sok. ḏiyiz ‘to sing’
adáyaz [v.n.m.] ‘singing’
adiyāz
P: cantare

DŻ
ecided [v.cc*] ‘to let go of’
seq. = res. ədzā impf. dəżżə
imp. sg. ēdz, āğı; pf. 1sg. gįći 3sg.m. yęğića;
res. 1sg. gįgüha 3sg.m. yęgügaya; impf. 1sg. deżžəh 3sg.m. idéżżə
P: lasciare M: laissez yédji يیدی; quitter yédji جی
◊ NZ: G41, TC: 230, K: 706
Berber, cf. Ghd. āğı ‘to leave, let go of’; Kb. əjji ‘to leave’; To. āyy ‘to leave (s.th.)’; Zng. āDyi(ʔ) ‘to leave, let go of’

adəżžu [v.n.m.] ‘letting go of’
adəżžū
P: lasciare

F1
uf [v.ve*] ‘to find’
 pf. ufā seq. = res. ufā fut. ʔuf impf. tāfa
imp. sg. uf pl.m. ufāt pl.f. ufimet; pf. 1sg. ufīh, ufīh-(tən) [PT:II] 3sg.m. yufā, yufā [PT:VII],
yufī-(ten) [PT:II], yufī-(t) [PT:XV], yufī-(tənət) [PT:V], 3sg.f. τυfα [PT:V] 3pl.m. ufān [PT:XV]
3pl.f. ufimet [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. ufīha 3sg.m. yufəya; fut. 1sg. ufāh, āufāh-(tə) [PT:XV]
3sg.m. ayuf; impf. 1sg. tafīh 3sg.m. itāfa
P: trovare PT: II, V, VII, XV
◊ NZ: F1o
Berber, cf. Ghd. af ‘to find’; Kb. af ‘to find’;
Zng. afīh(ʔ) ‘to find, gain’

ufū [v.n.m.] ‘finding’
ufū
P: trovare PT:II
uf tavergât ► VRG

F2
af [prep.] ‘on, at’
1sg. falli-wi 2sg.m. felli-k 3sg. felli-s
af 1sg. felli-wi 2sg.m. felli-k, felli-k [Z:XII] 3sg.
falli-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. fål ‘on, against’
af-ıwa [inter.] “why”
af-ıwa, af-dîwa, af-á
P: perché PT: VI,IX,XIV M: cependant;
heure; retournar afioua
af-ıwa teggid-kā? ‘why did you not
bring (it)’ (response) s-kémma ‘because’

**F3**

tafût [f.] ‘sun’
taffût, taffût [PT: XV]
P: sole PT: III, XV

◦ NZ: Fi2, TC: 20, K: 576
Berber, cf. Ghd. tòfət, tòfətt ‘sun’; Kb. taffukt ‘diffuse sunlight’; To. taffukk, tafukk ‘sun’; Zng. toʔf̣(f̣)ukt, toʔf̣(f̣)ugt, tāf̣ukt ‘sun’

∗tafūt [f.

‘sun’
tażût, tażût [PT: XV]
P: sole PT: III, XV

◦ NZ: Fi2, TC: 20, K: 576
Berber, cf. Ghd. tòfət, tòfətt ‘sun’; Kb. taffukt ‘diffuse sunlight’; To. taffukk, tafukk ‘sun’; Zng. toʔf̣(f̣)ukt, toʔf̣(f̣)ugt, tāf̣ukt ‘sun’

F4
taft [f.] ‘wool’
tāft

P: lana

◦ NZ: Ḍ7, TC: 11
The radical *ḍ is missing in Awjila. This is highly problematic.
Ref.: Kossmann (1996)

**FD1**
afûd, afûdd [m.] pl. fiddân ‘knee’

afûd, afûdd pl. fiddên

P: ginocchio B21: 386 M: genou; tibia

◦ NZ: FD4, TC: 16

FD2

**afûd [v.cc*] ‘to be thirsty’

res. = fut. afûd impf. t(ə)fâda
res. 1sg. fudîha 3sg.m. yeффûda; fut. 1sg. afûdah 3sg.m. yeuffûd; impf. 1sg. tfâdiḥ 3sg.m. itêfâda

P: sete M: soif yeffouyé یفویه

◦ NZ: FD6, TC: 270
Berber, cf. Ghd. fad ‘to be thirsty’; Kb. fad ‘to be thirsty’; To. ifad ‘to be thirsty’; Zng. Aor. 3sg.m. yuffud ‘to be thirsty’

tafadât [f.] ‘thirst’
tefadât

P: sete

**FDR**
tfidirt [f.] pl. tfidrin ‘lizard (monitor lizard)’
tfidirt pl. tfidrin

P: lucertola

◦ NZ: FDR2

FY
tfîyit [f.] pl. tfîya ‘animal excrement’

tfîgīt pl. tfîgā

P: escremento

◦ NZ: FY1

**FĦL**
fhâli [phrase] ‘by myself’

fhâli

PT: II

◦ Mor. Ar. f hâl-, 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 ədd ‘to go’

FK1

afk [v.cc*] ‘to give’

pf. afká fut. əfk impf. fâkká

imp. sg. efk, fki-(dîk) [PT:VI] pl.m. fkât pl.f. fkîmet; pf. 1sg. fkiḥ 2sg. tēfki-(dîk) [PT:XIV] 3sg.m. yefkâ, ifk-(îsîn) [PT: I], yeftk-(îs) [PT: XIV], yeftk-(t, tênēt) [PT: IV] yefk-(îsîn) [PT: XV] 3pl.m. fknãn-(îs) [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. fkiḥa 3sg.m. yeftkâya, yeftk-(dîk)-a [PT: V]; fut. 1sg. afkâh, afkâ-(îs) [PT: V, P: example] 3sg.m. ayefk, ayefk-(îs) [PT: V], ayefk-(dîk) [PT: V], ayefk-(tênēt) [PT: V]; impf. 1sg. fekkâh, fekkâ-(îs) [PT: II] 3sg.m. ifekkâ 3pl.m fekkãn-(îs) [PT: II]

P: dare PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, XIV M: emprunter yefkès یفکس; emprunt ??miéfkes میفکس

▷ a-fkâ-k ‘I will give you’
**ţaffûk [v.cē] ‘to untie, solve’**

pf. / seq. = fut. țaffûk

pf. 3sg.m. yuffûkî-(têṭ) [PT:I]; fut. 1sg. affûkkâa-(t) [PT:II]

PT: I, II

◊ Ar. fakka ‘to separate, disjoin, disconnect, sever, sunder’

**Ţaffûkka [v.cē] ‘to pour’**

impf. taffâk

imp. sg. ęffok, ęfok; impf. 3sg.m. ẹteffôk

P: versare, colare

◊ NZ: FY3 TC: 177 K: 528

Berber, cf. Kb. fî ‘to draw water’; To. affay ‘to pour’; Zng. āfî(ʔ) ‘to spill’

**Afûkkr-(ànnnës) [m.] ‘thought’**

elfêkr-(énnës)

PT: II

◊ Ar. fîkr ‘thinking, reflection; thought’

**Tfellî [f.] pl. tfellîwin ‘house’**

tfellî, tfellî, tfellî-(nnës) [PT:IX] tēffellî-(nnës) [PT:VI, XIII], tfellî-(nnës) [PT:XV], tēffellî-(nnâḥ) [PT:IV], tēffellî-(yîwan) [PT:XV], tfellî-(nnësin) [PT:XV] pl. tfellîwin

P: casa PT: IV, VI, IX, XIII, XV

◊ NZ: FL39

Perhaps derived from NZ: FL4, cf. To. ǧafî ‘to have a roof’

fellî- [prep.] ➔ F2

**Tfellîggišt [f.] ‘swallow’**

tfilggîşt

P: rôndine

◊ NZ: FLGC, FLS4

Berber, cf. Ghd. tafallélost ‘swallow’; MA tafillîst ‘swallow’; Kb. tîfîllîst ‘swallow’

**FLîś**

flîlîsh [m.] pl. flûliš ‘inflorescence’

flîlîsh pl. flûlîš

P: palma

◊ NZ: FLC5

Berber, cf. Nef. tefîllîst ‘inflorescence’

**FLîś**

tafolûst [f.] pl. tflîshin ‘large spoon for cooking’

tēflûst pl. tfîlshîn

P: cucchiiaio M: cuillère tēfîloucht

†††††

◊ NZ: FLC4, FLW2

Kb. tfîlût, tfîlîwît ‘spoon’

**F[N]kêî**

fankûî [m.] ‘big buttocks’

fankûàîh

P: deretano

◊ NZ: FKNWÍ

**F[N]s**

afûnàs [m.] pl. funasàn ‘ox’

afûnàs pl. funâsen

P: bue M: quadrupède; taureau afounas

فوناسة; vétérinaire founasêh ‘veterinary’

◊ NZ: FNS1

Berber, cf. Kb. tfunast ‘cow’

tfunast [f.] ‘tfunastîn’

‘cow’

tfunast pl. tfunástîn

P: vacca

**F[N]źr**

fânţâr [v.cccc] ‘to bleed (from the nose)’

impf. fânţâr

imp. sg. fêňţer; impf. 3sg.m. ifêňţár
P: sanguinare

FRḤ — FW

Kb. afūs 'hand'; Nef. ufēs 'hand'; Sok. fūs 'hand'; To. òfūs 'hand'; Zng. āvuʔš 'hand'

FS2
fīsa [adv. '] 'quickly'
fīsa

PT: I M: promptement fīsââ

| Dial. Ar. fīsâa 'quickly' < Ar. ē(a)-s-sāa(t) 'in the hour' (also attested in Siwa, and South-west Algerian Arabic) (p.c. Souag). ELA fīsa, in fast speech, and fīsâa', when emphasized (p.c. Benkato).

FŚ
afiš [m.] pl. fīsâwān 'face'
afiš, afiš-(énnes) [PT:III] pl. fīsāwen (sic)
P: viso PT: III

FŚŚ
fašûš [stat.v.] 'to be light, agile'

| 1sg. fašûšax 2sg. fašûšât 3sg.m. fašûš 3sg.f. fašûšät pl. fašûšit
| 1sg. fešûšah 2sg. fešûšât 3sg.m. fešûš 3sg.f. fešûšät pl. fešûšit

P: leggero PT: IV M: agile féchouch

agilité féchach

| NZ: FC9, FS1

Berber, cf. Kb. ifsus, ufus 'to become light'; To. ifsas 'to be or become light (in weight)'

š-ôfšâš [caus.v.] 'to lighten'

imp. sg. šéfšâš

P: alleggerire; leggero

tafšâš [f.] 'lightness'
tefšâš

P: leggerezza

FTW
afattiw [m.] 'unity'

afêttûu

P: uno M: grain eftéhou

| afêttûu n-ażûvû 'one hair'
| afêttûu n-yérdûn 'one granule of grain'

FW
afiw [m.] 'fire'
afîu
P: fuoco PT: II, XV M: flamme afou افّو
▷ šenq afîu 'extinguish the fire!'
◊ NZ: FW1
To. ēfew 'fire'

G
ag [v.c*] ‘to do, put, place’
pf. g(g)à res. gà fut. âgg impf. tâggà
imp. sg. ag; pf. 1sg. giḥ, giḥ [PT:II], gîṭ [PT:VX] 3sg.m. igâ, igî-(t) [PT:II], iggi-(tet) [PT:VII, igî-(tet) [PT:VII], igî-(ten) [PT:VX], igî-(tênêt) [PT:V] 3pl.m.
gîn-(is) [PT:V], gîn-(is) [PT:VX]; res. 1sg. giḥa 2sg. dîta [PT:II] 3sg.m. igâya, igî 3pl.m. gâna [PT:VX]; fut. 1sg. âggâh 2sg. adgât
3sg.m. ayégg, âgi-(tet) [PT:VII]; impf. 1sg.
teggiḏ 2sg. teggições example 3sg. itēgga
P: fare, mettere, porre PT: II, III, IV, V, VII, XII, XV
▷ teggiḏ-lû ‘do not do anything!’
◊ NZ: G3, TC: 326, K: 431
Berber, cf. Ghd. âġ ‘to do, put'; Kb. âg ‘to do'; To. âj ‘to do, make’ Zng. âgi(ʔ) ‘to put down, put’
agū [v.n.m.] ‘doing’
agû
P: fare, mettere, pore
âggû ▶ Y-D

GBB
tagbibi [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’
tegbibi
P: passero M: peser teguibibi تقييميبي
○ 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
gəbbâš [v.ccc] ‘to gird’
impf. gaebbâš
imp. sg. gebēš; impf. 1sg. gebēšh 3sg.m.
igebēš 3sg.f. tqâbbîş [Z:VI]
P: cingere Z: VI
◊ NZ: GBS1, BG1, GS3, TC: 555, K: 387
Berber, cf. Kb. bgas ‘to gird, put on a belt'; To. âjḥos ‘to tie one’s belt (at waist)'; Zng. Aor. 3sg.m. yâqgaš ‘to gird, put on a belt’.
Awjila and Tuareg have a metaphrased form. The metaphrasis took place after the *βC > bC shift (Kossmann 1999: 120-121). Awjila usually does not undergo this shift, eg. vdéd ‘to stop; to stand up’.
agəbâš [v.n.m.] ‘girding’
agebâš
P: cingere

G-D1, Y-D
ayî=d, yaqî=d [v.c*.irreg.] ‘to bring’
pf. = fut. âggâ=d res. âgga=d impf.
tâggâ=d-à
imp. sg. âgīd, yaqîd pl.m. aqîyâd, aqîadd pl.f. aqîmet; pf. 1sg. âgîgîd 3sg.m. yeqqâd 3sg.f.
teqqâd [PT:VX]; res. 1sg. âqîqâd 3sg.m.
yeqqâda, iqqâda [PT:VX]; fut. 1sg. agqîqâd
3sg.m. ayeqqâd; impf. 1sg. tegqîqâda 3sg.m.
teqqâda
P: portare PT: V, XV
◊ TC: 984
Berber, cf. Kb. awi ‘to carry'; To. àway ‘to take, convey, carry'; Zng. âwih ‘to take’
aggû (or: âggû)[v.n.m] ‘bringing’
âggû
P: portare

GD2
pl. gudîn [m.] ‘urine’
pl. gudîn
P: orina
◊ NZ: GD1
š-əggâd [caus.v.] ‘to urinate, defecate’
š-əggâd
imp. sg. šeqqêd; impf. 1sg. šeqqâdh 3sg.m.
gišeggâd
P: orinare
aš-ãggâd [caus.v.n.m.] ‘urinating, defecating’
ašégged
P: orinare
GDR
alâgâd(a)r-(ânras) [m./f.] ‘cooking pot’
elgedêr-(ênnnas)
PT:XV M: marmite elgadir القدر
♦ Ar. qîdr m. or f. ‘cooking pot; kettle’
GDV
agîdëv [m.] pl. gidëvan ‘wolf, jackal’
egîdev, agîdev [B24], egîdev [B24] pl. gidëven, gidëven [B24]
P: lupo M: loup akidaf أكيدف B24: 193
♦ TC: 1079, K: 15, 161
Perhaps berber, cf. Zng. āz̄dhî ‘jackal’; Siwa azidi ‘jackal’, the correspondence Awjila g to
Zng. and Siwa z is irregular.
GF
algalâ-(nnas) [m.] ‘back of the head’
egelgâ-(nnas)
PT:III
♦ Ar. qafa(n) ‘nape; occiput, back of the head; back; reverse’
GG
gig [prep.] ‘inside’
gîg-(ûli)
Z:XI
♦ This preposition is only attested in Zanon’s
text. In Paradisi we only find this preposition
as a compound preposition ar-zgîg
♦ ZGG
GYD ► YYD
GL1/GWL
agîl, gul [v.irreg.] ‘to see’
pf. / seq. gûl, gûla res. gûla fut. gûl impf. gawwâl
imp. sg. agél, gül pl.m. âglât, gûlât pl.f.
aglîmet, gûlîmet; pf. 2sg. dgulât
[PT:XI, XII, XV] 3sg.m. igûl, igûla, igûlÎ-(t)
[PT:IX, XII] 3pl.m. gûlân-(t) [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. guliÎ-(kû)-ya [PT:XI] 3sg.m. igulâyâ; fut. 1sg.
aggulâ-(t) [PT:V], aggûlâh [PT:V], aggûlâh [PT:V] 3sg.m. aigûl; impf. igûwel
P: vedere PT:V, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XV M: visiter
yéglout
♦ igûwel-I ‘he sees me’ [P: io (example)]
♦ NZ: GL33
igôwâl-kâ [phrase] ‘blind (litt. ‘He
doesn’t see’)’
igûwel-kâ
P: cieco
agôwâl [v.n.m.] ‘seeing’
agênwâl
P: vedere
š-âgal [caus.v.] ‘to show’
seq. = fut. š-âgal res. šegîl impf. š-âglây
imp. sg. šéglî; pf. šéglîh 3sg.m. išéglî; res. 1sg.
šéglîha 3sg.m. išeglî; fut. 1sg. ašeglî-(k)
[PT:X] impf. 1sg. segâlîh 3sg.m. išeglîâ
P: mostrâre; vedere PT: X
angûlîA type of nursing word, which,
going by Zanon’s translation is probably
related to the verb agôl, gul ‘to see’
ingûlî
Z:XI
GL2
tgilî [f.] pl. tgilîwin ‘head’
tgilî, têgilî, têgilî [PT:III, Tegîlî [B21],
têgilî-(nnas) [PT:III, XIII] pl. tgilîwin, tegîlîwin
[B21]
P: testa; cima B21: 384 PT: III, XIII M:
cerveau; têta taqîleh ثقيلة; cervelle
taqîleh ثقيلة
♦ NZ: GL63
GL3
Gilu [place name] ‘Jalu (an oasis 30km
sout-east of Awjila)’
Gîlu
P: Giallo

GLD

agellid [m.] pl. gêldən ‘head of a tribe, gentleman’

agellid pl. gêldən
P: capo M: gouverneur kellad قَلَاد;
gouverner ??mekellid مِکلَید

K: 331
Berber, cf. Kb. agollid ‘king’; Gh. ašâllid ‘king’; MA agellid, ažellid ‘king’

GLL

glùl [v.ccvc] ‘to play’

pf. / seq. = res. glùl impf. taglùla
imp. sg. glûl; pf. isg. glûlīh 3sg.m. iglûl; res. isg. glûlîha 3sg.m. iglûla; impf. isg. teglûlīh 3sg.m. iteglûla ptc. teglûlân [P:example: che, il quale]
P: giocare

glîlen [v.n.m.] ‘playing’

P: giocare

š-aglùl [caus.v.] ‘to make (s.o.) play’

imp. sg. šeglûl
P: giocare

GM1

ugóm [v.vcc] ‘to draw (water with an animal)’

impf. tàgəm
imp. sg. ugém; impf. 1sg. tàgəm, 3sg.m. itəgəm

P: attingere

♦ NZ: GM3, K: 409

Ghd. agəm ‘to draw water’; Kb. agʷəm ‘to draw water’; To. (N) ägəm ‘to draw water’;

agəm pl. nagâmen

P: attingere

GM2

alàgmat [f.] ‘friday’
alégmet

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 äljmat ‘friday’ (Souag 2010: 118); Foq. ležmat ‘friday’; Ghd. álжмат ‘friday’; Nef. liğmét ‘week’, and the unexpected correspondence of Auj. g Ar. ż, which does not occur anywhere else in the language.

GMR1

agmâr [m.] pl. gmâren ‘horse’

agmâr pl. gmâren, gmâren-(iya) [P: chi? (example)]
P: cavallo M: cheval aghmar اغمار

♦ NZ:GMR5, TC: 373, K: 368

tagmâr(ə)t [f.] pl. tagmartin ‘mare’
tagmâr(ə)t pl. tagmartin
unclear. One may imagine that the shape of a date somewhat resembles the shape of a sparrow, the colour though, is very different.

GNN
agonnin [m.] pl. ganninân ‘a small cushion one wears on the head to carry loads’
agnnūn, aginnūnen [Z:V] pl. gennūnen
P: cuscino Z: V
♦ K: 415
Ghd. tażnent ‘wicker basket’; Siwa agonnin ‘basket’

GNŠ
gniš [m.] pl. gnišän ‘male blossom of a date palm’
gniš pl. gnišen
P: palma

GNW
agnâw [m.] pl. gnâwân ‘black slave’
agnâw pl. gnâwen
P: schiavo, servo
♦ NZ: GNW2 TC: 406

GR1
agîr [prep.] ‘near, on the side’
1sg. agîr minn-i, agîr-ənnûk 2sg.m. agîr minn-ak agîr-ənnək 3sg. agîr minn-əs, agîr-ənnəs
agîr; 1sg. agîr mēnn-i, agîr-ənnûk 2sg.m. agîr mēnn-ek, agîr-ənnək 3sg. agîr mēnn-əs, agîr-ənnəs
P: vicino; fianco, lato PT: III
♦ NZ: GR64, K: 303
Perhaps Berber, cf. Ghd. ġîr ‘between’; To. jîr ‘between’
Ar. min ‘from’

GR2
agār [v.cc*] ‘to gather, assemble’
  pf. āgrá res. āgra impf. garrá
  imp. sg. agér; pf. 3sg.m. yeğrā; res. 3sg.m. yeğrāya; impf. 3sg.m. igerrā
  P: raccogliere, radunare
  ♦ NZ: GRWî
  Berber, cf. Ghd. āğraw ‘to gather’; Kb. grəw ‘to meet, to get together’; To. ājrəw ‘to get, obtain, find’

agārru [v.n.m.] ‘gathering, assembling’
  agērrū
  P: raccogliere, radunare

GRF

tagīrt, tagrīft [f.] ‘crow; owl’
tagīrt, tagrīft
  P: corvo; gufo
  ♦ NZ: GRFî, GRFW K: 305
  Berber, cf. Ghd. oğraw f. toğärft ‘crow’; Kb. tagarfa ‘crow’; Sok. tžárƦƪ ‘crow’

Ultimately from Latin corvus.

GRŠ1
tagīrīšt [f.] ‘winter’
tegērīšt, tagīrīšt [B21], tigērīšt [B21;B25]
  hiver téghéricht
  ♦ NZ: GRŠ3 TC: 434, K: 341, 627
  Berber, cf. Ghd. asaɣras ‘winter’; Nef. tegrēst ‘winter’; Foq. ġarīst ‘winter’; Sok. tagrēst ‘winter’; To. tājrast ‘cold season, winter’; Zng. tgārS ‘cold season, winter’

GRŢ
agōrat [m.] pl. gərṭawən ‘neck’
ağrat, ağrat-(énes) [PT:III] pl. gertawen
  P: collo PT:III M: cou agarat
  ♦ NZ: GRŢ1 K: 628
  Berber, cf. Ghd. ayurət ‘shoulder’; Kb. agwaʁd ‘neckline’; To. tejardəw ‘base of cranium just above nape’; Zng. agarəd ‘neck’

grût [m.] pl. grûtan ‘wood, trunk of a tree’

GRZN
?qərzənî [m.] ‘dog’
  guerzeni
  M: aboiement, aboyer
  ♦ Siwa agurzənî ‘dog’

GS
(ə)ggōs [v.cc] ‘to roast’
  pf. āggōs res. āggōs impf. təggās
  imp. sg. āggēs; pf. 1sg. ggesh 3sg.m. yeggēs; res. 1sg. ggisha 3sg.m. yeggîsa; impf. 1sg. teggâsh 3sg.m. iteggâs
  P: arrostit M: rôtir ?eggaça اقسه; rötti ??meggaça مقاسه
  ♦ NZ: GSîo

(ə)ggūs [v.n.m.] ‘roasting’
  āggūs
  P: arrostitre

GŠL
tağišīlt taštāft [f.+adj.] ‘black beetle’
teqešīlt tešṭāft
  P: scarabeo
  ♦ NZ: GŠL2, Perhaps also: NZ: GLZ8
  Perhaps related to Sok. tažlōṣt ‘cockroach’; Siwa tağḷâṣt ‘spider’Naumann (2013: 377); Fig. tajlíss ‘beetle’.

tağišīlt tayzift (or: ... tayzift) [f.+adj.] ‘viper, snake (litt. long beetle)’
teqešīlt tajzift
  P: scarabeo; vipera M: serpent tekéchilt

GT
(ə)ggût[quant] ‘much, many’
  ēggût, ggût [PT:III] uggût [Z:Î]
  P: molto PT:III Z: I M: abundance daggout
  Davantage daggat دقات; allonger edgout دقوت; beaucoup doggout
  đاكت; davantage dakket داكت; force degoud دقوت; suffire dakout دقوت;
suffisament dakou دكو

♦ NZ: GT¹ K: 359
Berber, cf. Sok. uggût ‘much, many’

**GṬṬ**
agəṭîṭ (or: agaṭîṭ [m.]) pl. gəṭaṭ ‘sparrow; bird’
agaṭîṭ pl. gēṭît
P: passero; ucello M: perdrix ghethat

♦ NZ: GṬ² TC: 486 K: 328
Berber, cf. Ghd. aγaḍîd ‘bird’; Foq. żaddîd ‘bird’; Sok. aṣḍît ‘bird’; Siwa ašṭît ‘bird’ (Naumann 2013: 416); To. ejâded ‘bird’; Zng. aγḍuḍ ‘bird’

**GW¹**
agiw [m.] pl. giwən ‘leather bucket (for a well)’
agiu pl. giwen
P: pozzo

♦ NZ: Gn TC: 25 K: 304
Berber, cf. To. āja ‘waterbag’; Zng. āʔgāh ‘bucket’

**GY**
**∗gi [v.ci] ‘to cultivate’**
impf. gāy
impf. 3sg.m. igāi
PT:XV
○ Probably a impf. of a root gi.
♦ To. (Y) aγyək ‘to cultivate’

**GZ**
agöz [v.cc*] ‘to cut’
seq. = res. yəgza fut. əgəz impf. gəzza
imp. sg. agėz; pf. 3sg.m. yėgza; res. 3sg.m. yegzaya; fut. 3sg.m. ayégėz; impf. 3sg.m. igėzāa
P: tagliare

♦ NZ: GZ⁵ K: 243
Berber, cf. Ghd. gəzzəz ‘to be torn out, torn up with teeth’
agəzzu [v.n.m.] ‘cutting’

agézzu
P: tagliare

**GZL**
gəzzəl [stat.v.] ‘to be short, low’
1sg. gəzləx 2sg. gəzla t 3sg.m. gəzzəl 3sg.f. gəzlat pl. gəzziłt
1sg. gəzləh 2sg. gəzla t 3sg.m. gəzził 3sg.f. gəzlet pl. gəzziłt
P: corto, basso

▷ wāya gęzžəl ‘this is short’
▷ amēđen gęzžəl ‘a short man’

♦ NZ: GZL¹
Berber, cf. Ghd. gəzzəl ‘to be short’; Nef. gezzəl ‘short, low’; Siwa azal ‘short’; Sok. gəzzəl ‘short’

gzil [adj.] pl. gəžəl f. təgžilt pl. təgziłin ‘short, low’
m. sg. gəžəl pl. gəžilen f. sg. təgziłt pl. təgziłin
P: corto, basso
ş-əgzəl, s-əgzəl [caus.v.] ‘to shorten, lower’
impf. ş-əgzəl
imp. sg. şegzel, ségzel; impf. 1sg. şegzəlḥ
3sg.m. išegzəl
P: corto, basso
as-əgzəl [caus.v.n.m.] “shortening”
aségzel
P: corto, basso

**GZN¹**

gzin [m.] pl. gżənən ‘dog’
gzìn pl. gżınen
P: cane M: chien eghzin اغزلين

♦ K: 749
Berber, cf. Ghd. aγżən ‘puppy, small dog’; Kb. aqjūn ‘dog’; Nef. ugzın ‘small dog, puppy’
tagzint [f.] pl. təgziñat, təgziñən ‘bitch’
teqziñat pl. təgziñat, təgziñən
P: cane

**GZN²**
agażzən [m.] pl. gəżəznən ‘orphan’
agezzûn pl. gezzûnen
P: orfano
♦ NZ: GZN5
Siwa agezzun 'orphan'

**GZR1**

**agəzzàr [m.]** pl. gəzzàrən 'leaf of a turnip'
agezzêr pl. gezzâren
P: foglia M: navet aghzar

♦ NZ: GZR3

**GZV**

àgzaz [v.ccc] 'to cut the bunches of dates from palms'
imp. sg. égzev, egzéf
P: tagliare
♦ NZ: GZB K: 169, 243
Berber, cf. Ghd. ağa‘zâb 'a palm whose leaves have been cut off'; Siwa agezzu '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.ve*] 'to take (+IO)'  
pf. uyá seq. = res. uyya fut. uy impf. taya  
imp. sg. yah pl. yahât [PT:I]; pf. 1sg. uŷîh  
3sg.m. yûğa, yûgâ [PT:IV, VII], yûği-(têť) [PT:I]; res. 1sg. uŷîhâ 3sg.m. yûgâya; fut. 1sg. augûh, augûh [PT:V] 2sg. attugāj-(tênêt) [PT:V]  
3sg.m. ayûg, ayuûjî-(tênêt) [PT:V]; impf. 1sg. tâjîh 3sg.m. itâqā
أَخِيْز ْتَحْقَد ْتَحْقَد ْتَحْقَد; payer aghiz  
'1sg. to take to him'?  
♦ K: 736
Berber, cf. Kb. ay 'to take'; Nef. aâj 'to take'; Sok. âj 'to take'; Siwa aǥd 'to take (imp. only)'
uyú [v.n.m.] 'taking'

**uğa**
P: prendere

**YBŞ**

âlıyabaš [m.] 'morning'
elğažeš
PT: XV
♦ Probably from Ar. ġabaš 'darkness, dark, duskiness; the twilight before sunrise, last shadows of the night'. Cf. Ouar. ġabešša 'matin, début du jour'

**Y-D ► G-D**

**YDD**

ayidâd [m.] pl. yîdâd 'male kid (goat')
ağîded pl. ǧîdâd
P: capretto
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. iyid 'billy goat'; Nef. ġîd 'kid (goat)'; Sok. iğîd 'kid (goat)'
tyidat 'female kid (goat)'
tğîdet
P: capretto

**YF1**

ayûf [m.] pl. yûfâwan “the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string”
ağûf pl. ġefâte
P: cesta

**YF2**

tâyâfi [f.] pl. tâfiwin 'palm leaf'
ťâjâfi, tâjâfi pl. tâfiwin
P: foglia; palma

**YL1**

**ɣâlli [v.cci] 'to want’**  
pf. = fut. ɣâlli  
pf./fut. 1sg. ġallîh, ġellîh [PT:V], ġillî [Z:I]  
ţiład [Z:III], ġillî [Z:VI], ġallâ [P: example],  
ɟallâ [P: example], ğiňš [P: example] 2sg.  
tįllî, têjellî -(i) [PT:XI] tįllî t-(i-kra) (sic) [Z:I] 3sg.m. ġîllî, ġêlli [PT:II], ġêlli [PT:IV]  
tįllî (sic) [PT:IX], ġêlli [PT:II], ġêlli [PT:IV], ġêlli [PT:II],
 matière [Z:II] 3sg.f. tappa 1pl. néezállî, néezállî [PT:XV] 2pl.m. tágallîyîm 2pl.f. tágallînet 3pl.m. gâllîyen, gâllîyen [PT:II] 3pl.f. gâllînet

γάλλις 1pl. nĕqgallî,nĕqgallî [PT:XV] 2pl.m. tágallîyîm 2pl.f. tágallînet 3pl.m. gâllîyen, gâllîyen [PT:II] 3pl.f. gâllînet

γάλλις 1pl. nĕqgallî,nĕqgallî [PT:XV] 2pl.m. tágallîyîm 2pl.f. tágallînet 3pl.m. gâllîyen, gâllîyen [PT:II] 3pl.f. gâllînet

γάλλις 1pl. nĕqgallî,nĕqgallî [PT:XV] 2pl.m. tágallîyîm 2pl.f. tágallînet 3pl.m. gâllîyen, gâllîyen [PT:II] 3pl.f. gâllînet

The Berber cognates have quite a different meaning, but the semantic shift may be possible.

**ayôl/yli [v.cc*/cci] ‘to be dear’
res. yla
pf. 3sg.m. iģlîa
Z: XI
♦ Arb. ?aglî ‘to be dear or precious’
Yaâlî-ka [stat.v.+neg.] ‘to be cheap’
ghaleika غليكه
M: bon-marché
♦ From Ar. gâli ‘expensive’ + Awjila negative particle kâ.

**uɣôr [v.vcc] ‘to get lost; to lose s.th. (s-ɣar
+ s.th.)’
seq. = res. = fut. ûyər impf. tâyər
imp. sg. ujér; pf. 2sg. tujér}[PT:X] 3sg.m.
yujér; res. 3sg.m. ujūrə; fut. 1sg. ûujérə
[PT:X] 3sg.m. ayujér [PT:X]; impf. 1sg. tâgarh
[P: example] 3sg.m. itâgar
P: perdersi, smarrirsi PT: X M: aller

youghera

◃ tâgarhässerîr-ī ‘I always get lost in the
desert’

◃ yuğîras-ġâr-īelméṣḥāf ‘I have lost the
book (litt. the book is lost from me)’

K: 357, 630
Probably related to Foq. ĕgăr ‘to go’. The
meaning found in Müller matches that of
El-foqaha. Ths implies that Awjila underwent
a semantic shift in between the publications
of Müller and Paradisi.

š-ûyər [caus.v.] ‘to lose s.th.’
res. š-ûyər impf. š-uyər
imp. sg. šujer; res. 3sg.m. šujırha; impf. 1sg.
šuğăr [PT:IV] 3sg.m. šugər
P: perdersi, smarrirsi PT: IV
○ šuğâr in PT:IV, morphologically looks like
an imperfective, but must be translated as a
perfective.

◃ šuğîrə elméṣḥāf ‘I have lost the book’

\[\begin{align*}
tyar &\quad [\text{or: t} \text{ṣ} \text{yər}] \quad [f.] \quad \text{pl. t(ə)} \text{ṣ} \text{yər} \text{WIN}
\text{‘stick’} \\
tâyər &\quad \text{pl. t} \text{ṣ} \text{yər} \text{WIN, t} \text{ṣ} \text{gər} \text{WIN} \quad [PT:1],
\text{t} \text{ṣ} \text{gər} \text{WIN-} \text{(i} \text{yək}) \quad [PT:1],
\text{t} \text{ṣ} \text{gər} \text{WIN-} \text{(i} \text{yək}) \quad [PT:1]
\text{P: bastone PT: I M: bâton} \text{tagharit}
\text{تغريت} \quad \text{تغريرت}
\end{align*}\]

◊ Berber, cf. Ghd. tayər ‘stick’; Kb. tiyər
‘stick’

\[\begin{align*}
tyar &\quad [\text{or: t} \text{ṣ} \text{yər}] \quad [f.] \quad \text{pl. t} \text{ṣ} \text{yər} \text{WIN}
\text{‘stick’} \\
tâyər &\quad \text{pl. t} \text{ṣ} \text{yər} \text{WIN, t} \text{ṣ} \text{gər} \text{WIN} \quad [PT:1],
\text{t} \text{ṣ} \text{gər} \text{WIN-} \text{(i} \text{yək}) \quad [PT:1],
\text{t} \text{ṣ} \text{gər} \text{WIN-} \text{(i} \text{yək}) \quad [PT:1]
\text{P: bastone PT: I M: bâton} \text{tagharit}
\text{تغريت} \quad \text{تغريرت}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{YR2} \\
tayarit &\quad \text{pl. t(ə)} \text{ṣ} \text{yər} \text{WIN}
\text{‘stick’} \\
tâyər &\quad \text{pl. t} \text{ṣ} \text{yər} \text{WIN, t} \text{ṣ} \text{gər} \text{WIN} \quad [PT:1],
\text{t} \text{ṣ} \text{gər} \text{WIN-} \text{(i} \text{yək}) \quad [PT:1],
\text{t} \text{ṣ} \text{gər} \text{WIN-} \text{(i} \text{yək}) \quad [PT:1]
\text{P: bastone PT: I M: bâton} \text{tagharit}
\text{تغريت} \quad \text{تغريرت}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{YR3} \\
\text{yar} &\quad [\text{conj.}] \quad \text{‘but’} \\
gâr &\quad [PT:V], \text{gâr} \quad [PT:XI] \\
\text{P: V, XI} \\
\text{◊ Ar. ĕgayr ‘but’, the reflex of the ay diphthong}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{as a plain vowel a is unexpected.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{YR4} \\
\text{ayər} &\quad [\text{v.ccc}] \quad \text{‘to read’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{YR5} \\
ar &\quad [\text{prep.}] \quad \text{‘to, near, at’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{YRDM} \\
tyadəmt &\quad \text{or: təyədəmt} \quad [f.] \quad \text{pl. təyədəmWIN}
\text{‘scorpion’} \\
təyədəmt &\quad \text{pl. təyədəmWIN} \\
\text{P: scorpion; M: reptile təgərdəmWIN} \\
\text{TəğərdəmWIN} \quad \text{scorpion təgərdəmWIN} \\
\text{K: 633} \\
\text{Berber, cf. Ghd. təʃərdəmWIN ‘scorpion’; Kb.}
\end{align*}\]
ɣyrdٰm 'scorpion'; To. ɣyrdٰm 'large scorpion'; Foq. tagurdٰmt 'scorpion'; Sok. tqardٰmt 'scorpion'; Nef. tqardٰmt 'scorpion'; Siwa taq̢ardٰmt 'scorpion' (Naumann 2013: 322) For the Ghadames form, see Vycichl (1990).

**YRF**

aɣàrf (or: aɣə̀rf) [m.] 'type of palm tree'
aɣàrf
P: palma

**YRM1**

aɣàrə̀m [m.] 'castle, police post'
aɣàrə̀m
P: castello, posto di polizia

♦ Tashl. iyrm 'fortified granary'

**YRR**

tayrart [f.] 'sack, bag'
thaghraft طاغرارت 'sack, bag'
M: sac

♦ Siwa tgu黏rt 'small sack made of camel skin'; Ghd. tayrart 'large sack of wool and hair for grain'; Kb. tayrart, taywٰrart 'roughly woven bag with dual pockets for transporting wheat on a camel's back'

**YRS**

pl. ɣyarsat-(ánnas) [f.] 'young palms'
pl. elgٰarsٰt-(énnnes)
PT: XV

♦ Ar. garsٰa(t) pl. garsٰt 'plant' Mor. Ar. garsٰa 'garden'

**YRŚ**

aɣ(o)roš [v.ccc] 'to slaughter s.th. (+ IO)' pf. ɣyrٰs res. ɣyraš
imp. sg. aɣārٰesh, aɣٰrٰesh-(dik) [PT:XV], aɣaraš [B21]; pf. 3sg.m. yaɣٰrés; res. 3sg.m. yaɣٰrٰsa
P: sgozzare PT: XV B21: 391 M: boucher, s. yêgٰharrech یَغْهَرْرْق یَغْرٰش; immolé ??magharich خارش

♦ TC: 82
Berber, cf. Ghd. ɣyraš 'to immolate; to slaughter'; To. ɣyraš 'to slaughter'; Zng. oʔraš 'to be slaughtered'

**Yaɣə̀raš [v.n.m.] 'slaughter'
aɣə̀raš
P: sgozzare

**YSLM**

ayasléım (or: ayasléım [m.] 'lizard (male)'
aɣasléım
P: lucertola
tyaslémt (or: tyaslٰmt) [m.] 'lizard (female)'
tgٰaslémt 'lizard (female)'
P: lucertola

**YST**

aɣə́st [m.] pl. ɣastín 'bone'
agٰst pl. gástٰín, gástٰín-(néssnet) [PT:XV]
P: osso PT: XV M: os aghaζt

♦ TC: 85, K: 721
Berber, cf. Ghd. yאss, yא́s 'bone'; Kb. چyٰss 'bone'; To. چyٰss 'bone'; Zng. iʔsi(ʔ) 'bone'.

Awjila has an extra final t in the root, not present in any other Berber language.

**YŚ**

ayٰš [v.cc] 'to love'

pf. ayٰš res. yaš fut. یاشف impf. tayyaٰš (or: tًاyaٰš)

imp. sg. agٰš, ٰgاش [B21] pl.m. agašٰt pl.f.
agašmet; pf. 1sg. ٰgاشٰ 3sg.m. yaٰgاش; res. 1sg. ٰجٰشٰha 3sg.m. yaًٰشٰa; fut. 1sg. agašٰ 3sg.m. agٰاش;
impf. taٰgٰاشٰ, taٰgٰاشٰ 3sg.m. itaٰgٰاشٰ
P: amare B21: 391 M: aimer yėgٰhachtٰia

ייָשַׁטיָה

▷ taٰgٰاشٰ-kem 'I love you'

♦ K: 724
Berber, cf. Nef. چęss, چęٰss 'to love'; Siwa چش 'to love, want'

**YTM + GLW (Move to QTM**

**əq̢tٰm tagliٰwin [v.] 'to execute (?)'

impf. yaٰgٰتٰm tagliٰwin
3sg.m. impf. yegٰhettem igٰliٰouy
Probably to be analyzed as: *yaqṭṭam tīgilīwin 'he is cutting heads'; Cf. Ar. *qaṭama 'to cut off, break off'

*yṬ1*

ṭyāt [f.] pl. ṭyāṭṭan, ṭyīṭṭan

P: capra

TC: 9

Berber, cf. Ghḍ. tēeṭ 'goat'; Kb. ṭyāṭ 'goat';

Nef. ṭgāṭ 'goat'; Siwa ṭgāṭ 'id.'; To. ṭāyatt 'goat';

Zng. taʔḌ 'goat'.

*yV*

َاɣ(ə)v [m.] 'milk'

āġēv, âğf, āğf [P:example], âğēf [B24], āğēv [B24]

P: latte B24: 186

▷ âğd-ātṛâr 'fresh milk'

TC: 113, K: 11, 160, 738

Berber, cf. Kb. ĭyi 'whey'; To. āxx 'milk'; Zng. ĭŻ, ĭʔŻ 'milk'

*yVL*

َاɣvəl, ə̀gvəl [m.] 'ash'

āġvəl, āġvəl

P: cenere M: cedere aghwel غول

TC: 99

Maybe connected to Zng. tūʔyift 'ash'. To connect these two forms, we have to assume a metathesis of *l and *b in Zenaga (or, vice-versa in Awjila). The reflex of Proto-Berber *b is not commonly f in Zenaga.

*yZ1*

َاɣyiz [m.] pl. ɣizzən 'necklace'

ağiz pl. ġįzzen

P: collana

▷ ağiz n úrāg 'golden necklace' [s.v. di]

Berber, cf. Siwa ağiz 'necklace of coral, golden parts and old coins'

*yZF*

َاɣzəf [stat.v.] 'to be long, be high'

1sg. ġəz-zAx 2sg. ġəz-LAt 3sg.m. ġəzəf 3sg.f.

ğəz-LAt pl. ġəzəfīt

1sg. ġəz-LAh 2sg. ġəz-LAt 3sg.m. ġązəf 3sg.f.

ġəz-LAt pl. ġəzəfīt

P: lungo, alto

TC: 105

Berber, cf. Kb. ĭyəʔzif 'to be long'; Zng. oʔZuf 'to be long'

yẓif [adj.] f. tayyzift (or: tayzīft) 'long, high'

m. ġızif f. taʔzīft

P: lungo, alto

š-əyẓəf [caus.v.] 'to lengthen'

pf. / seq. = res. šəyəzf impf. š-əyəzf

imp. sg. šęgzəf, sęgzəf; pf. 1sg. šęgzəfθ 3sg.m. šęgzəζf; res. 1sg. šęgzəζfa 3sg.m. šęgzəζfa; impf. 1sg. šęgzəζfθ 3sg.m. šęgzəζf

P: allungare; lungo, alto
təyẓəf [f.] 'length'

tąζəf

P: lunghezza

H ▶ I4

HD

əlhūdī [m.] 'jew'

ēlhūdī, lhūdī, elhūdī, ālhūdī, lēhūdī

PT: V

ELA ihūdī 'jew'; Ar. al-hūd 'jewry', al-yahūdīy 'jew, jewish'

HL

lohāl [m.] 'people, family'

lēhāl [PT:II], lēhīl-(ēnnûk, ēnnek) [PT:XV]

PT: II, XV

Ar. ʔahl 'relatives, folks, family; kin; people, members, followers etc.'; ELA hāl 'family' (p.c. Benkato)

HLB

**əhlōb [v.ccc] 'to surpass'

fut. əhlōb

fut. 3pl.m. ahlōbən

PT: II
HRŽ
ləharžət [f.] ‘noise’
lēharžet
PT: VII
♦ ELA hárža ‘noise’

HWY
alhəwáyyi, əlhəwáyyi [adv.] ‘outside, outdoors, out, abroad’
alhawáyyi [PT:VIII], lhəwáyyi [PT:VIII],
elhawáyyi [PT:IV]
P: fuori PT: IV, VIII
▷ alhəwáyyi af ášal ‘out of the village’
♦ Ar. hawáʔi ‘airy, breezy; aerial’, the
meaning underwent quite a radical semantic
shift in Awjila.

HB
ləḥbûb [m.] pl. ləḥbùb ‘date (ripe)’
lḥabb pl. ləḥbùb
P: dattero Z: IV M: datte, fruit lahbou
لـ‌بـۡو‌ب
♦ Ar. ḥabb ‘grains; seed’

HDF
ḥə́də́f [v.ccc] ‘to throw’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ə̀ḥdə́f
imp. sg. hā́də́f; pf. 3sg.m. yaḥdə́f-(tě́nym)
[PT:V]; res. 1sg. ahə́də́f-(tît)-a [PT:V]; fut. 1sg.
ahə́də́f-(s) [PT:V]
P: gettare PT: V
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa ə́fə́də́f ‘to throw’ (Naumann
2013: 297)

HDN
ḥiḍdan [pron.] ‘anyone’
ḥiḍdan
P: nessuno PT: II
♦ Ar. ḥə́də́d-an ‘anyone’ with retention of
Tanwin.

HK(Y)
**əḥk [v.cec] ‘to tell’
pf. / seq. ə́ḥka impf. ḥə́kka
pf. 3sg.m. yaḥk-(iṣ) [PT:IV]; impf. 3pl.m.

HM2
**ə́hm/ə́hmi [v.cec*/cci] ‘to burn, scorch’
res. ə́hə́m/ə́hmi
res. 3sg.f. taḥmə́ya
PT: III
♦ Mor. Ar. ḥmə́ ‘to become very hot’

 Probability: 1
ḤML

**əhmə́l [v.ccc] ‘to load, carry’
res. = fut. əhmə́l
res. 3sg.m. yahmel-(tî)-ya [PT:III]; fut. 1sg. aḥmelb [PT:XII]
PT: III, XII
♦ Ar. ḥamala ‘to carry, bear’

əḥləm(ə)l [m.] ‘load, burden’
elḥaml, elḥamĕl-(énnes)
PT: III
♦ Ar. himl, (colloq.) ḥaml ‘cargo, load, burden’

ḤMS

ḥəmmûš [m.] ‘penis’
ḥammas
P: penis

ḤNN

ḥənnûni [kin.m.] ‘grandfather’
2sg. ḥənnuni-k
1sg. ḥannûni 2sg. ḥannunî-k
P: nonno
♦ In ELA, the usual word for grandfather and grandmother are žedd and żedda respectively. But an alternative word for grandmother is ḥanna, which is usually used in the diminutive is ḥenneyna.
Benkato (p.c.) points out that, while this word is unattested in ELA, it follows a rare masculine diminutive pattern. A hypothetical **ḥənn could have had a diminutive formation **ḥannun, rather than the regular diminutive **ḥnnenyn. This rare diminutive pattern is usually used for names, for example Adam dim. Addım.

ḤNT

ḥəntə [adv.adj.] ‘a bit’
ḥentă
P: poco PT: III, XII
♦ Ar. hinta(t) ‘kind of hard wheat’, the semantic shift is comparable to ḥəbbə in Siwa (‘grain’ > ‘a little’) (p.c. Souag)

ḤQ

əlhəqq [m.]
‘one's due, rightness’
elḥaqq [PT:VI], elḥaqq-[ennûk] [PT:XIV]
PT: VI, XIV M: prix, valeur elakkenes

HS

**ḥuss [v.ccc] ‘to feel’
pf. / seq. ḥussa
pf. 1sg. hossîh
P: freddo
♦ This verb is only found in the construction ‘I feel cold’ in Paradisi’s vocabulary.
♦ Ar. ḥassa ‘to feel, sense’

HSB

əḥsə́b [v.ccc] ‘to count; to think, figure’
pf. / seq. = res. ə̀ḥsəb
imp. sg. ahsêb; pf. 3sg. yahseb-(ténêt) [PT:V]; res. 1sg. ahsêb-(kû)-ya [PT:XII]
PT: V, VIII, XI
♦ Ar. ḥasaba ‘to compute, reckon, calculate; to count’; Ar. ḥasaba ‘to take s.th or s.o into account or into consideration’

**m-ḥàsəb [mid.v.] ‘to settle the score’
fut. m-ḥàsəb
fut. 1pl. anmḥâseb
PT: II
♦ This only example of the Berber Middle prefix *mm- in Awjila.
♦ Ar. ḥasaba ‘to hold responsible’

ḤŠL

**ḥə̀ssə́l [v.ccc] ‘to obtain’
res. ḥəssə́l
res. 3sg.m. yahəssîla
PT: V
♦ Ar. ḥassala ‘to obtain’

ḤŠI

ahāś [stat.v] ‘to be ugly, bad’
3sg.m. aḥāš 3sg.f. aḥāšāt pl. aḥašīt
aḥāš, aḥāš [PT: XV] f. aḥāšet pl. aḥašīt
P: brutto, cattivo PT: XV M: avare aḥaḥ
† Probably from Ar. wahš ‘wild, untamed’

**ḪŠ2**
aḥāš [v.cc*] ‘to crush dates’
impf. ḥāšśa
imp. sg. aḥāš; impf. 3sg.m. ihēšša
P: pestare datteri
ahāššu [v.n.m.] aḥāššū ‘grinding dates’
P: pestare datteri
daḥaš [v.cc*] ‘to crush dates’
impf. ḥašša
imp. sg. aḥaš; impf. 3sg.m. ihāšša
P: pestare datteri

**ḫH1**
ḥə̀tta [kin.f.] ‘(maternal) aunt’
2sg.m. ḥəttà-k 3sg. ḥəttà-s
1sg. ḥéttà 2sg.m. ḥεttà-k 3sg. ḥεttà-s
P: zio M: tante attak اتلك

**ḪZM**
əlḥə̀zmət [m.] ‘bundle’
elḥázmet
PT: I
† Ar. huzma ‘s.th. wrapped up or tied up; bundle, fagot fascine’

**ḪŻ**
ahlāžət (or: əlḥə̀zət) [f.] ‘thing’
alḥâžet
P: cosa
† Ar. ḥāza ‘need, necessity; matter, concern; thing, object’
ela ḥāža ‘thing’

**I1**
-i [suff.] ‘towards’
-ī
▷ nettîn yaʿidda (ir) tfīllī-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], yē- [PT: V]; 2sg. ḫ̱ū [PT: V]
P: a PT: II, IV, V, X, XIII, XV
▷ urīfī ḫ̱īm ‘I wrote to the woman’
▷ fḵi[w]āya y-āmēdēn ‘I gave this to the man’
† Pan-Berber, cf. Kb. i, Zng. i, Ghd. i etc.

**I3**
tit [f.] pl. tiwin ‘eye; eye of a needle’
tīt, tīt pl. tiwin, ettīvin [B21]
P: occhio; cruna dell’ago B21: 391 M: oeil
aṭṭī; source tiouen تيون
† NZ: Đī TC: 238
Berber, cf. To. tēṭṭ ‘eye’, Zng. tūD ‘eye’. There is an unexpected absence of emphatic t in Awjila.

**I4**
ʔih [excl.] ‘yes’
ū, ʔi, hī
P: si
† Siwa hi ‘yes’

**I5**
i [interj.] ‘hey!’
i-(kū)
PT: III
○ Only attested in the phrase i-kū ‘hey you!’

**I6**
=i [pron.] 1sg. direct object pronoun
-i, ī [PT: XII], res. -ṭya
P: io PT: III XII

**K1**
-kā [part.] negative particle placed after verbs, nouns and adjectives. Sometimes used in conjunction with the negative particle wur, ur, wul, ul.
[Z: I], kira [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’
▷ tânit-ká ‘do not enter’!
▷ nettin d-awil-ká ‘he is not Awjilan’
▷ ur naka-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
P: tu PT: III, V, XI, XV
=ku [pron.] 2sg.m. direct object pronoun
-ku [PT: V], res. kúya [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. -ika, â-ka (< x-ika) [PT: XIII]
P: tu PT: IV, V, X, XIII

KBR
takábart, takábərt [f.] pl. takabrin ‘shirt’
têkábrêrt, têkabérêrt [PT: XIII] pl. tekâbrên
P: camicia PT: XIII M: chemise tékabert
تکبرت; habit tékébert
◆ K: 291
Berber, cf. Siwa akbər ‘shirt’

KDM
**kaddim [adj.] pl. kaddimən ‘old’
m. pl. keddimen
PT: II
◆ Probably from Ar. qadîm ‘old’, but both the k for q and the geminate dd for d are unexpected, but cf. Sok. qaddîm ‘old’

KDR
takadîrt [f.] pl. tkadîrin ‘ear (botanical)’
têkêdîrt, tekêdîrt [B21] pl. tkadîr
P: spiga B21: 384 M: épi tékadert
◆ K: 588
Berber, cf. Nef. tiddîrt ‘ear (botanical)’; Ghd. tašaddart ‘ear of grain’; MA taydert ‘ear of grain’; Foq. tádri ‘ear (botanical)’

KF
alkaffat [f.] ‘scale/plate of a scales’
elkêffet
PT: IV
◆ Ar. kiffâ(t) ‘scale/plate of a scales’

KFN
**kîffən [v.cc̄c] ‘to wrap’
imp. sg. keffên-(t)
PT: II
◆ Ar. kaffâna ‘to wrap s.th., to cover s.th.’

KK
taküb [f.] pl. takkik ‘worm’
takût pl. tekêk
P: verme M: ver thaqouq طاقوق
◆ K: 500
Berber, cf. Kb. awakkiw, tawakka ‘worm’; To. tawakke ‘earthworm; maggot’; Siwa tawâčči ‘earthworm’

KL
kull [quant.] ‘each, every; all’
PT: I, II, VIII, XIII, XV M: chacun koullounkesimani كلَ يّنقسماني;
surtout ajkoul أفكول; tout koullou كلُّ
▷ u yekâ kull iwîn tāgarît ‘and he gave each one a stick’ [PT: I]
▷ uṣandgâlîyən ammûdân kull déffer-a ‘they came and they all wanted to pray behind him’ [PT: II]
◆ Ar. kull ‘all, each, every’
kkull [quant.] ‘all, whole’
\[\text{kkúll} \text{[PT:VIII], } \text{kkull} \text{[PT:VX], } \text{kúll} \text{[PT:II]}\]

PT: II, VIII, XV

\(\triangleright\) u yàqqím iddahwár ašâli kkúll inéššed ēl’ulamá ‘and he started going around the whole village asking scholars (difficult questions)’ [PT:VIII]

\[\text{kúll} \text{šay} \text{[m.]} \text{‘everything’}\]

\[\text{kúlli} \text{šéi}\]

PT: XV

\(\triangleright\) Ar. kulli šay? ‘everything’

**KLB**

\[\text{klàbu} \text{[m.]} \text{“very thick animal skin”}\]

\[\text{klàbu}\]

P: pelle

\(\triangleright\) From Hausa kilàbò ‘tanned ox-hide’ (Souag 2013), also attested in Ghd. klabo ‘id.’

**KLM**

\[\text{akllim} \text{[m.]} \text{pl. kàll(ə)man ‘male slave, servant’}\]

\[\text{akellìm, akellìm-(énnès)} \text{[PT:X] pl. kêllemèn}\]

P: schiavo, servo PT: X

\(\triangleright\) Perhaps related to Kb. akli ‘slave’, the additional m in the Awjila word is not easily explained.

\[\text{takllìmt} \text{[f.]} \text{pl. tkàllmin ‘female slave, servant’}\]

\[\text{takellìmt} \text{pl. tkellmîn}\]

P: schiavo

**KM1**

\[\text{kàm} \text{[pron.]} \text{2sg.f. independent pronoun kem}\]

P: tu B2: 390 PT: IV, XV

\[\text{=kàm} \text{[pron.]} \text{2sg.f. direct object pronoun -kem, res. -kîma}\]

P: tu

**KM2**

\[\text{=kim} \text{[pron.]} \text{2pl.m. direct object pronoun -kim, -kîm [PT:I], res. -kîma}\]

P: voi PT: I

\[=\text{ikìm} \text{[pron.]} \text{2pl.m. indirect object pronoun}\]

\[=\text{-ikìm, à-kìm (< x-ikìm)} \text{[PT:II], res. -ikâma}\]

P: voi PT: II

\[=\text{kmat} \text{[pron.]} \text{2pl.f. direct object pronoun}\]

\[=\text{-kmet, res. -kmita}\]

P: voi

\[=\text{akmàt} \text{[pron.]} \text{2pl.f. indirect object pronoun}\]

\[=\text{-ekmòt, res. -ekmita}\]

P: voi

**KMM**

\[\text{kàmmim} \text{[pron.]} \text{2pl.m. independent pronoun kemmìm}\]

P: voi B2: 390 PT: I

\[=\text{kàmmimât} \text{[pron.]} \text{2pl.f. independent pronoun kemmìmèt}\]

P: voi B2: 390

**KML1**

\[**\text{kkàmmèl} \text{[v.ccc]} \text{‘to finish’}\]

seq. kkàmmèl

pf. 1sg. kemmêlèh [PT:II] 3sgm. ikkàmmèl [PT:II, XIV], yèkkàmmèl [PT:IV]

PT: II, IV, XIV M: tout-à-fait ekmella

اکملا; entire ekmeleh

\(\triangleright\) Ar. kammala ‘to finish’

**KMŠ**

\[\text{kmòs} \text{[v.ccc]} \text{‘to tie together a bundle’}\]

imp. sg. kmès

P: legare, attaccare

\(\triangleright\) TC: 375

Berber, cf. Ghd. akmas ‘to fold; to tighten’; Kb. akmas ‘to tie in a knot’; Zng. ägmaš ‘to be in a knot’; Siwa akmūs ‘knot’; To. (a.D) akmas ‘to tie together’

\[\text{takàmmûšt (or: takàmmûšt)} \text{[f.]} \text{pl. takàmmîs ‘bundle of sticks, bundle’}\]
tnëkemmûšt pl. tekemmûš
P: fagotto, involto
✦ Berber, cf. Kb. tawømmust, tawømmust ‘a small tied up bundle’; Ouar. takømmust ‘small tied up package’

KNK
kënn-ak [particle] ‘what is it with you?’
kënn-ek
PT: XV
✦ ELA kann-ak, kann-ha, etc. ‘what’s with you, what’s the matter with you’ (p.c. Benkato)

KNVL ◆ QNVL

KNY
**àkná/àkní [v.cc*/cci] ‘to be beautiful’
res. àkna/àkni
res. 1sg kniña 2sg. tkniña 3sg.m. yeknâya
P: bello
✦ Berber, cf. Fig. cen ‘be beautiful’

KNZR
tkønzìrt [f.] pl. tkønzirìn, tkønzir ‘nose’
tkønzìrt, tkønzìrt [B21], tkønzìrt [B21] pl.
fkønzirìn, ftkønzìr
P: naso B21: 384 M: nièce (sic; nez) tønzìrt

TC: 559
Berber, cf. Foq. tønzìrt ‘nose’; Kb. tønɔrt ‘nose’; Nef. tønɔrt ‘nose’; To. tìnɔrt ‘nose’;
Siwa tanzært ‘nose’; Sok. tunzært ‘nose’; Zng. tìnɔrt ‘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.
àkønzìr [m.] ‘big nose’
àkønzìr
P: naso

KR1
àkri [v.cci] ‘to return; (+af) to answer’

Pf. / seq. àkri res. àkri impf. kàrri
imp. sg. èkri; pf. 3sg.m. yekri, yekrî-(kà)
[PT:III] 3sg.f. tekri [PT:V]; res. 3sg.m.
yekrâya; impf. 3sg.m. ikërî
P: ritornare PT: III, VII, VIII, IX, XV M:
rende aikrî kërî; retour kérî

TC: 559
Berber, cf. Ghd. àkri ‘to return; to become’;
Zng. ummugrih ‘to return’
š-àkri [caus.v.] ‘to return s.th.’
pf. / seq. = š-àkri
imp. sg. shèkri, shèkri-(dîk) [PT:VII]; pf. 3sg.m.
išèkri-(is) [PT:VII]
P: ritornare; restituire PT: VII

KR2
àkûr, ùkûr [v.vcc] ‘to steal’
seq. = res. = fut. ùkûr impf. tàkûr
imp. sg. àkûr, ùkûr; pf. 3sg.m. yûkûr 3pl.m.
ùkûr [PT:IX]; res. yukûr; fut. 3pl.m.
ùkèkûr-(tûn) [PT:IX]; impf. 2sg. ttâkûrt
[PT:IV] 3sg.m. ùkûr
P: rubare PT: IV, IX
✦ TC: 38
Berber, cf. Ghd. ùkûr ‘to steal’; Kb. akûr ‘to steal’; To. ùkûr ‘to steal, rob’; Zng. ùgûr ‘to steal’

ukûr [v.n.m.] ‘stealing’
ukûr
P: rubare

KR3
akkár [v.cc] ‘get up, take off’
pf. = fut. akkár seq. = res. ãkkær impf. təkkər
imp. sg. ēkkér pl.m. kkerắt pl.f. kkerə́m;
pf. 1sg. kkerə́, kërə́ 3sg.m. yekkë́r 3sg.f. tékkə́r
[PT:XV], tekker [PT:XV] 3pl.m. kkerə́ñ [PT:XV]
ēkkə́ñ [PT:XV] 3pl.f. ekkérə́net [PT:XV],
kkérə́net [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. kërə́ña 3sg.m. yekkë́ra;
fut. 1sg. akkë́rə́ 3sg.m. ayekkë́r; impf. 1sg.
tekkë́rə́ 2sg. tekkérə́ [P:example] 3sg.m. itékker
P: alzarsi, levarsi PT: XV M: dresser kerr
kə́r; dressé ??mekerr
▷ tekkért-ká ‘do not get up’
◆ TC: 408, presents an alternative origin
than proposed below.
Berber, cf. Ghd. ākkə́r ‘to get up, to lift up’; Kb. akkə́r ‘to get up’; Zng. āgə́r ‘to get up’
(ə)kkù́r [v.n.m.] ‘getting up’
kkû́r
P: alzarsi, levarsi
š-ākkə́r [caus.v.] ‘to make someone get
up’
imp. sg. šékker
P: alzarsi, levarsi
KR4
kìra (or: kàра) [m.] ‘thing, nothing (in
negative sentences)’
kéra, kéra
P: cosa; niente
▷ kéra-y-ā́ya ddî́wa ‘what (thing) is this?’
▷ wur gjà́ri kéra ‘I have nothing’
◆ TC: 603
Berber, cf. Ghd. kara ‘thing’; Foq. šíra ‘thing’;
Kb. kra, ka ‘thing’; Zng. kàrá(h) ‘thing’
KRBŠ
akərbù́š (or: akərbù́š) [m.] ‘trunk of a
palm tree’
akərbù́š
P: palma; tronco d'albero
KRD1
təkkə́rdi [f.] ‘measles’
tekə́rdi
P: morbillo
KRD2
takərdi [f.] ‘core of a palm’
tkerdi
P: palma
◆ Berber, cf. Siwa takərdya ‘spathe of the
inflorescence of a date palm’
KRM
təkrù́mt (or: takrù́mt) [f.] ‘joint of a
bone in general’
tákrom
P: osso
◆ Berber, cf. To. akrom ‘to twist, bend’; Nef.
əkò́rm ‘back’, tukrù́mt ‘neck’; Sok. takrù́mt
‘neck’.
The formation is similar to that of Sokna, but
the meaning is very different.
KRŠ1
kə́rə́š, əkrə́š [v.cc] ‘to tie, knot’
imp. sg. kə́rə́š, ēkrə́š, kereš [B21]
P: legare, attaccare B21: 391
◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. ākrə́s ‘to tie in a knot’; Kb.
akrə́s ‘to tie in a knot’; To. ākrə́s ‘to tie in a
knot’
akrə́š [v.n.m.] ‘tying, knotting’
akrə́š
○ The regular verbal noun would be akə́rə́š.
The absence of ş is unexpected.
P: legare, attaccare
tkərrišt [f.] pl. tkərrišt ‘knot’
tkerrišt, tkərrišt [B21] pl. tkərrišt
P: nodo B21: 391
◆ Berber, cf. To. tekə́rrest pl. tekə́rras
‘knot’; Siwa akə́rras (Naumann 2013: 378)
KRȘ2
akrə́š, kə́rə́š [v.cc] ‘to hoe, dig’
impf. kə́rə́š
imp. sg. ākrə́š, kḗrə́š; impf. 3sg.m. ikə́rə́š
P: zappare
◆ Ghd. ākroz ‘to plough’; ma krez, šrez ‘to plough’; Nef. ěkroz ‘to plough’
akaraš [v.n.m.] ‘hoeing, digging’
akərəš
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’

KSM
ksûm [m.] ‘meat’
ksûm, ksûm-(āya) [PT:II] ksûm-(ennèsnet) [PT:V]
P: carne PT: II, XV M: chair aksoum
akسوم
◆ K: 574

KŠ
(a)kkàš [v.cc] ‘to take off, remove’
pt. âkkàš impf. tâkkàš
imp. sg. ēkkëš, kkeš, keš [B21]; pt. 3sg.m. yekkëš [PT: IX]; impf. 3sg.m. itékkëš
P: togliere, levare PT: IX B21: 391 M:
arrache ekkech اَكْش ; fermé ??makkecha يَكْش ; fermor yékkecha يَكْش
◆ TC: 610
Berber, cf. Ghd. âkkas ‘to remove, take off’; Kb. âkkas ‘to take away, remove’; To. âkkas ‘to take away, remove’; Zng. ākkaś ‘to remove, take off’
(ə)kkûš [v.n.m.] ‘taking off, removing’
kkûš
P: togliere, levare

KŠM
təkšāymt [f.] pl. təkšaymîn ‘watermelon’
tekšâimt pl. tekšâimîn
P: cocomero
◆ Berber, cf. Siwa tamâksa ‘watermelon’;
Ghd. tamâksa ‘melon’.
Awjila underwent metathesis. Vycichl (2005: 9) considers this word a Punic loanword, cf. Hebr. qiššuʔ ‘cucumber’, compare also ◆ KŠN.

kšàym [m.] ‘watermelons (coll.)’
kšàim
P: cocomero

KŠN
akoššîn, aksîn [m.] pl. kàššîn ‘core of a fruit’
akeššîn, aksîn pl. kàššîn
P: nocciolo
◆ Perhaps related to Mzab/Ouar. taşsimt ‘cucumber’.
Ref.: Vycichl (2005: 9)

KTF1
tkâtîtft [f.] pl. tkâtîtfîn ‘ant’
tkettîft pl. tkettîfîn
P: formica M: fourmi tékétîfی
تكتيفی
◆ NZ: Dİ1 TC: 971 K: 618
Berber, cf. Foq. tÛftîn ‘ants (coll.)’; Ghd. takotîft ‘ant’; Kb. awâṭṭuf, tawâṭṭuf ‘ant’; Zng. āḏ̣uf, odduf ‘ant’, tōḍḍuf ‘female or small ant’; Nef. tûqtiîf ‘ant’; Sok. tagêdfîf ‘ant’

KTF2
alkaţf(-ānnas) [m.] pl. laktuf-(ānناس) ‘shoulder’
elketf(-ênnes) [PT: XII], élkek [PT: XIII] pl.
lektûf(-ênnes) [PT: XV]
PT: XII, XIII, XV
◆ Ar. katîf, kitîf pl. ?aktîf ‘shoulder’

KTL
akîtal [m.] ‘date born from bad pollination’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L3</th>
<th>tàla [f.] ‘kitchen’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tàlā</td>
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<td></td>
<td>P: cucina</td>
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<td></td>
<td>♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. tali ‘room’</td>
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<tr>
<td>L4</td>
<td>ul [m.] pl. ulàwən ‘heart’</td>
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<td>ūl, ul-(innōh) [Z:II] pl. ulāwen</td>
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<td>P: cuore Z: II M: coeur ouelns</td>
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<td>♦ TC:1010 K:121, 133</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Berber, cf. Kb. ul ‘heart’; To. ̀ilh ‘heart’; Zng. ̀uy ‘heart’</td>
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<td>ul nə-ṭṭī [phrasal n.] ‘core of a palm’</td>
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<td>ūl nè-ṭṭūi</td>
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<td>P: palma</td>
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<td>L5</td>
<td>illi [m.] ‘millet’</td>
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<td>īlli, ēllī</td>
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<td>P: miglio</td>
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<td>L6</td>
<td>tili [f.] ‘shadow’</td>
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<td>tīlī</td>
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<td>P: ombra M: ombre tilly طلّى</td>
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<td>▶ tīlī-y-ī ‘in the shadow’</td>
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<td>♦ TC:1027</td>
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<td>Berber, cf. Kb. tili ‘shadow’; Ghd. téle</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘shadow’; To. téle ‘shade’; Zng. tiyih ‘shadow’; Siwa tlá (Naumann 2013: 377)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L7</td>
<td>*<em>al/li [v.c</em>/ci] ‘to be a creditor to s.o. (+ foll)’</td>
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<td>res. là/li</td>
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<td>res. 1sg. liха [P:example] 2sg. tlīta</td>
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<td>[P:example] 3sg.m. ilāya [P:example]</td>
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<td>P: avere</td>
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<td>▶ nek liха fellīk ‘I owe you money’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▶ ku tlīta fellīwī ‘you owe me money’</td>
</tr>
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<td>▶ nettīn ilāya ‘He has a debt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>♦ Siwa ili ‘to have’; Kb. ili ‘to be, exist’; To. āl ‘to have’; Ghd. āl ‘to have’; Zng. āyi(ʔ) ‘to have’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LB

t(ə)làba [f.] pl. təlabiwìn ‘barracan’
təlabə, tləba-(nnûk) [PT:V] pl. təlabiwìn
P: barracano PT: V M: couverture thalabah

♦ K: 294

LBB

əlbùb/əlḅ̣b [v.ccc/ccvc] ‘to mount, climb’
res. əlbùb/ə̀lḅ̣b impf. ləbbùb
impf. sg. elbùb, albùb res. 1sg. elbûba [PT:XII]
3sg.m. yelbiba [PT:XII]; impf. 3sg.m. ilebbûb
P: montare, salire PT: XII M: cavalier
elbeba
البِـْب
▷ albùb af agmâr ‘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 albùb.

aləbàb [v.n.m.] ‘mounting, climbing’
aləbàb
P: montare, salire
š-ə̀lbub/š-ə̀lḅ̣b [caus.v.] ‘to cause to mount’
impf. š-ə̀lḅ̣b
imp. sg. šelbùb; impf. 3sg.m. išelbàb
P: montare, salire

LD

lùda [adv.] ‘nothing’
lûda, lû
P: niente PT: III M: rester laouada لواده
▷ ġârî lûda ‘I have nothing’

LF1

**llûf [v.cc] ‘to wrap up’
 pf. / seq. llûf
pf. 3sg.m. illûf [PT:II]
PT: II M: enveloppé ??méléffī; envelopper louffī
الـٍلف
ELA ilâff ‘to wrap up’; Ar. laffa ‘to wrap up’

LF2

alf [num.] ‘thousand’
elf
PT: V
Ar. ?alf ‘thousand; millennium’

LF3

(ə)llâf [v.čc] ‘to divorce’
imp. sg. əllêf, llef
P: ripudiare
Berber, cf. Kb. atlaf ‘to divorce’; Ghd. âtlaf ‘to lose, get lost’; Siwa âllaf ‘to divorce’
(ə)llûf [v.n.m.] ‘divorcing’
êllûf
P: ripudiare

LFNK ➤ FNK
allàɣ [m.] ‘bottom (of a recipient, of a wadi etc.)’
allâg
P: fondo

**əlɣə́m [v.ccc] ‘to refuse; to not want’
impf. / seq. / fut. əlyôm
impf./fut. 1sg. elgâmîh 3sg.m. yelgâm [PT:II],
yelgâm [PT:II], yelgôm [PT:V] 3sg.f. telgâm
3pl.m. elgâmen 3plf. elgâmnet
P: rifutare PT: II, V, XII M: nié

**əlhə́d [v.ccc] ‘to run’
impf. lâhâd
impf. 3pl.m. lahhéden
PT: XV
ELA yelahd ‘to run on a horse’ (p.c. Benkato)

**əlḥə́m [v.ccc] ‘to be lit’
res. əlhâm
res. 3sg.m. yelhîma [P:example]
P: accendere

▷ afîu akkâ yelhîma ‘the fire here is lit’
♦ Perhaps related to the verb taḥmâya ‘to burn, scorch’
š-əlhâm [caus.v.] ‘to light (a fire)’
pf. = fut. š-əlhâm res. š-əlhâm impf. š-əlhâm
imp. sg. šelham pl.m. šelhamât pl.f.
šelhammet pt. 1sg. šelhâmîh 3sg.m. išelhâm;
res. 1sg. šelhîmha 3sg.m. išelhîma; fut. 1sg.
ashelhâmîh 3sg.m. ašelhâm pl.m. ašelhamen
[PT:V]; impf. 1sg. ašelhâmîh 3sg.m. išelhâm
P: accendere PT: XV M: allumer chelhamt

llə̀kka [particle] ‘still’
llékka, illékka, llekká [PT:III]
▷ irîu llékka ìnni ar amèden ‘the child is
still with the man’
▷ ufânt illékka yeddîra ‘They found him
still alive’
P: ancora PT: III M: encore elîkka

illâkk-ûr [adv.] ‘not yet’
illeckûr, lekkûr, kkûr, ikkûr
P: ancora
▷ irîu illeckûr îțîgež ‘The child did not
walk again’
▷ nettûn ƙūr yušād ‘He has not come yet’
○ Consists of the particle llékka, illékka, llekká ‘still’ combined with the negative particle ur.

**LK2**
(ə)lk [v.cc] ‘to delouse’
impf. təllək
ellék, llek; impf. 3sg.m. itélek
P: spidocchiare
♦ Transparently derived from the same root as twellîkt pl. twellkîn ‘louse’ ► WLK; cf. Ghd. ällək ‘to delouse’

**LK3**
-ələ̇k- [prep.+pron.] ‘to you, for you’
-əllək-
PT: III
♦ Ar. li-ka ‘to you’

**LKN1**
lukàn [conj.] ‘if (counterfactual)’
lukàn
P: se PT: II
♦ ELA lũ-kàn ‘even if’, also found in Siwa lukàn ‘if’ (p.c. Souag) and other Berber languages.

**LKN2**
lakàn [conj.] ‘but’
ləkən [PT:II,X] lâkàn [PT:XII]
PT: III, X, XII
♦ Ar. ləkĩn ‘but’

**LKTF ► KTF**

**LK3**
alùli [m.] ‘midday, noon; midday prayer’
alûli
P: mezzogiorno; preghiera
♦ Ar. al-ʔūlā ‘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-ʔūlā came to stand for ‘Dhuhr’.

**LL2**
alål [m.] ‘tableware’
alāl
P: stoviglia

**LM1**
llûmm [v.cc] ‘to gather, to stay together’
pt. / seq. llûmm
imp. pl.m. llûmmât [PT:I]; pt. 3sg.m. illûm [PT:I] 2pl.m. tellûmâm [PT:I], tellûmmâm [PT:I]
PT: I
♦ Ar. lamma ‘to gather’

**LM2** (ə)llám/əllâm [v.cc] ‘to spin (wool)’
impf. tollám
imp.sg. éllem, llém; impf. 3sg.m. itellêm
P: filare
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. əllâm ‘to spin’; To. əllâm ‘to braid’
(ə)llûm [v.n.m.] ‘spinning’
ellûm
P: filare
azəllûm [m.] ‘thread, yarn’
azellêm
P: filo M: fil ezzeloum اَلْلَوْم
♦ This word seems to be an instrumental derivation of the verb əllám. 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. azellêm ‘a light belt made of several round cords’

**LM3**
talə̀mma [f.] ‘mist, haze’
talémma
P: nebbia, foschia
LMD
almád [v.ccc] ‘to learn’
impf. làmmád
imp. sg. elméd; impf. 3sg.m. ilémmed
P: imparare M: apprendre, enseigner
elmeida ‘to learn; to instruct’
yelmeida بَلَمِيْدَا

Berber, cf. Ghd. álmd ‘to be used to; to learn’; Kb. álmd ‘to be used to’; To. álmd ‘to learn, know’.

Ultimately from Punic or Hebrew làmád ‘to learn’ (Vycichl 2005: 3)
alámád [v.n.m.] ‘learning’
alámád
P: imparare
š-álmd [caus.v.] ‘to teach’
impf. š-álmd
imp. sg. šelméd impf. 3sg.m. išelmád
P: imparare

LQQ
làqqøq [stat.v.] ‘to be thin’
1sg. làqqåx 2sg. làqqât 3sg.m. làqqøq
3sg.f. làqqåt pl. làqqiqt
1sg. làqqåb 2sg. làqqât 3sg.m. làqqâq 3sg.f. làqqåt pl. làqqíqt
P: magro

Berber, cf. Kb. ilqiq ‘to be soft, tender’;
Ouar. ilqiq ‘to be very soft, fine’; Mzab lqq ‘to be thin, light’. Perhaps also somehow related to ma ilwîj ‘to be soft, tender’; Kb. ilwîy ‘to be smooth, soft’; Tashl. lq‘îy ‘to be soft, tender’
aløqqûq (or: tølaqqøq) [adj.] f. tølaqqucht ‘thin’
m. alaaqqûq f. telaqqûqt
P: magro

LQYM ➤ QYM

LQZ
Telåqzi [P.N.] ‘small village in the oasis of Awjila’
Teläqzi
P: Telâqzi

LS
ilâs [m.] pl. ilšen, ilšânen ‘tongue’
ilês pl. ilšen, ilšânen
P: lingua M: langue elsuo الصو


LȘ
alùșq [pl. ləšqâwèn ‘oven’
lèsšq, lèšq pl. lèsšqâwen
P: forno M: four lèsikh

LȘ
alùșsi [m.] ‘grain or barley that is still soft’
alùšši
**llòwə́š [v.irreg.] ‘to wither (said about unripe grain that is destroyed by the “ghibli”)’
res. llòwə́š
res. 3pl.m. llowešîna [P:example]
P: appassire M: mouillé elouachoun

▷ yérdən llowešîna ‘the grains withered’
▷ timẓîn llowešîna ‘the barley withered’

**llùz [v.c̄vc] ‘to be hungry’
pf. / seq. = res. əlùz impf. tłaza
pf. 1sg. llùzîh 3sg.m. yellùz; res. 1sg. llùzûha
3sg.m. yellùza; impf. 1sg. tlāzîh 3sg.m. itlāza
P: fame M: fam tla as لوزه
◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. əlaz ‘to be hungry’; Kb. əllaz ‘to be hungry’
talazât [f.] ‘hunger’
tälāzât
P: fame

**əmm [v.c̄*] ‘to be cooked, be ready, be ripened’
pf. əmmá res. əmma fut. əmm impf. nònna
pf. 3sg.m. yummà; res. 3sg.m. yummàyà, yemmàyà [P:example] 3sg.f. temmàyà
[PT: XV] 3pl.m. mmànà 3pl.f. mmanità
[P:example] ptc. mmànà [PT:XV]; fut. 3sg.m. ayémm 3sg.f. attémm 3pl.f. ammmànêt [PT:XV];
impf. 3sg.m. inénnà 3sg.f. tnënnà
P: cuocere PT: II, XV
▷ timẓîn mmanità ‘the barley is ripened’
▷ ksùm yemmàyà ‘the meat is cooked’
◆ TC: 767
Berber, cf. Ghd. ánn ‘to cook’; Kb. əbbw ‘to...
cook'; To. จำนวนมาก 'to ripen'; Zng. อนุญ (ʔ) ‘to cook’. The diverse reflexes of this root are the result of various assimilations of the Proto-Berber cluster *nw (Kossmann 2008).

**tənənnàt [v.n.f.]** 'being about to cook'

P: cuocere

š-ə̀mm [caus.v.] ‘to cook’

seq. = res. šemma fut. šemm

imp. sg. šumm pl.m. šummât-(dik) [PT: XV];

pl. 1sg. šummìḥ 3sg.m. išùmmì 3pl.m.

šummàn [PT:II,XV] 3pl.f. šummànət [PT: XV];

res. 1sg. šummìḥa 3sg.m. išùmmàya 1pl.

nɛšummì(ʔ)-ya [PT:II]; fut. 1sg. ašùmmàḥ 3sg.m. ašùmm

P: cuocere PT: II, XV M: cuisinier

échouman

تشومان

tʃəmmàt [caus.v.n.f.] ‘cooking’

čummât(<tʃ-ummât)

P: cuocere; cottura M: cuire tchoummat

تشومات

š-nənn [caus.v.] ‘to cook’

imp. sg. šenn

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-tnaх 3pl.f.

(ə)mmà-tsnt

1sg. mmá, mma [Z:II] 2sg.m. mmà-k 2sg.f.

émmà-m [PT: XV] 3sg. mmà-s 1pl. mmá-tnaх

3pl.f. émmà-tṣnət [PT: XV], émmà-tṣnət [PT: XV]

P: madre PT: XV Z: II M: mère omme

> mmàš n irùu ‘the mother of the child’

◆ TC: 1053


**M4**

am [m.] pl. miwan ‘mouth’

ām pl. mìvèn, mìwàn

P: bocca M: bouche amennes

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. aме ‘mouth’; Kb. imi ‘mouth’; Nef. imi ‘mouth’; Sok. imi ‘mouth’;

To. émm ‘mouth’

**M5**

úma [kin.m.] pl. ə́tma ‘brother’

sg. 2sg.m. umà-k 3sg umà-s 1pl. umá-tnaх

pl. 2sg.m. atmà-k 3sg. atmà-s

1sg. ãmà 2sg.m. umà-k 3sg. umà-s 1pl.

umà-tnaх; pl. 1sg. átmà 2sg.m. atmà-k 3sg.

atmà-s

P: fratello M: frère oumak

اومك; neveu

omak

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. ämmài, ãmmài ‘brother’;

Sok. ummà ‘brother’; Siwa amma ‘brother’

**M6**

àmmi [kin.m] ‘(paternal) uncle’

2sg.m. ammi-k 3sg. ammi-s

1sg. ãmmì, ämmy [Z:III] 2sg.m. ammì-k 3sg.

ammì-s

P: zio Z: II M: oncle ammis

عمس

◆ Ar. āmm ‘paternal uncle’

Šàmmy [kin.f.] ‘(paternal) aunt’

‘ámma

Z: II

◆ Ar. Šamma(t) ‘paternal aunt’

**M7/MNY**

təmmit [f.] pl. tmənyìn ‘tamarisk’

temmit pl. tmeenyìn

P: tamarice M: tamarix temmet

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. tämmaït ‘tamarisk’; Kb. ammamay, tamamayt ‘tamarisk’; To. (Y)

tomiyawt ‘tamarisk’

**M8**
pl. imin [m.] ‘water’
pl. imên
P: acqua B2i: 393 M: eau imen یَمِين; nager
yemîn یَمِین; larme yémannes یَمِین
+ imîn tâvérn ‘the water boils’
♦ TC: 666
Berber, cf. Kb. aman ‘water’; Foq. āman ‘water’; Ghd. āman ‘water’; Nef. amên, amân ‘water’; Siwa aman ‘water’; Sok. amân ‘water’; To. āman ‘water’; Zng. āmân ‘water’
imîn n əttîwîn [phrasal n.] ‘tears (litt. water of the eyes)’
pl. imîn n ettiwin
B2i: 391
M9
=îm [pron.] 2sg.f. indirect object pronoun
-îm, res. -îma
P: tu
MB ▶ NB
MD1
mud [v.čvc] ‘to pray’
pt. / seq. = res. = fut. mùd impf. mùda
imp. sg. mùd; pt. 1sg. mùdîh 3sg.m. imûd; res.
1sg. mùdîha 3sg.m. imûda; fut. 1sg. ammûdâh,
ammûdâh [PT:II] 3sg.m. aimûd ptc.
ammûdân [PT:II]; impf. 1sg. mùdîh [PT:II]
3pl.m. mùdân [PT:II]
P: pregare PT: II M: prier yemout بِمَا مَوْت
♦ K: 126, 223
Berber, cf. Ghd. mùd ‘to pray’; To. àmad ‘to pray’
amûd [v.n.m.] ‘prayer’
amûd
P: preghiera
ammûd [m.] pl. ammûdôn ‘mosque’
ammûd pl. ammûden
P: moschea PT: II
MD2
**əmmûdd [v.čč] ‘to extend’
pt. / seq. əmmûdd
pf. 3sg.m. yemmûdd ‘to extend’
PT: III
♦ Ar. madda ‘to extend; to stretch out’
MD3
tâmîdi [f.] pl. tâmidîwin ‘point of attachment of a stalk to a date’
têmîdi pl. têmidîwin
P: dattero M: vigne temmedeh تَمْدِه
MD4
tâmîdi [f.] ‘woodworm’
têmidî
P: tarlo
♦ K: 122, 131
Berber, cf. To. têmedhe ‘termite’; Sok. tmûdi ‘woodworm’
MDV
tamâdyât [f.] ‘clay; red earth’
temedjât, temedjât
P: argilla; terra M: boue; fange témédghat
تَمَدْجات
♦ NZ: DQ1, K: 637
MDL
amadûl [m.] pl. madûlân ‘lid, cover’
amadûl pl. madûlen
P: coperchio
♦ NZ: DL1 ▶ NDL
MDN
amädän [m.] ‘man’ pl. madinân, mîddân ‘people’
amâdên, amâdên [PT:II,VI,II,VI,II,VI,II,VI,II,XIII],
amâdên-(nēs) [PT:IV] pl. mêtînên, mîddên
P: uomo; gente,persone PT: I, II, IV, VI,
VII, VIII, XI, XI, XII, XIII, XV M: homme
amaden
امَادِن
mâddôn ‘people’; To. mûddôn ‘men’
MDV ▶ MDV
MG1
mâg [adv.] ‘where?’
mâg, māg [PT:XV]
MG2 — MYR

P: dove? PT: VIII, XV
▷ māg inni amēð-ē? ‘Where is this man?’

s-māg [adv.] ‘from where?’
s-māg, s-māg [PT: XV]
P: dove? PT: XV
māg wa/t/a/wi/ti [inter. adj.] ‘which? what?’
m.sg. māgwa f.sg. māktā m.pl māgwi f.pl. mākti
P: quale?

am màg wa [inter. adj.] ‘how much?’
ammāgwa, ammāgwa [PT: VIII] pl. ammāgwī f. ammāktā pl. ammākti
P: quanto? PT: VIII M: âge ammagoua

امامع
▷ wē s-am-māgwa? ‘how much does this cost?’
○ am + màg wa litt: ‘like what?’

s-am màg wa [inter. adv.] ‘how much?’

s-ammāgwa
P: quanto? M: combien samaghoua

صمغوه
▷ wē s-am-māgwa? ‘how much does this cost?’

MG2

(ə)mmāg [v. c̄c. irreg.] ‘to become, to be, to turn into’

pf. = fut. ãmmāg res. ãmmāgg
imp. sg. emmōg; pf. 1sg. mmeğīgh 3sg.m. yemmōg [P: example]; res. 3sg.m. yemmēggā; fut. 3sg.m. ayemmōg [P: example]
P: divenire, essere, transformarsi
▷ yemmōg amoqqārān ‘he became big’
▷ ayemmōg dē-mlīl ‘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

māgi [m.] pl. magiwin ‘eyelid’
māgi pl. magiwin
P: palpebra

MG4

mmāg [conj.] ‘when’
mmōg, mmog [P: example]
P: quando
▷ mmog a-ttunāt ammūd-i ‘when you will enter the mosque’

MGN
temigni [f.] pl. t(ə)migniwin ‘woman, wife’
temignī, temignī [PT: III, XV], tēmignī [PT: III], tēmignī-(nnes) [PT: IV], dmegni-(s) [PT: IV]
temignī-(nnes) [PT: XV], temignī-(nnek) [PT: XV] pl. temigniwin, tneigniwin ‘woman, wife’
P: donna PT: III, IV, XV M: femelle
temignīni

تميمي
○ This noun can take both the kinship suffix and normal possessive suffix.
◆ NZ: GN50

MGR

imgār, yāmgār [m.] pl. màg(ə)ran ‘sickle’
īmger, yēmger pl. mēgēren
P: falce M: faux, instrument emker
◆ K: 317
Berber, cf. Kb. amgār ‘sickle’; Foq. amζér ‘sickle’; Nef. mēζēr ‘sickle’; Sok. amζēr ‘sickle’; Siwa amζīr ‘sickle’ ► MŽR

MYR

almay(y)ārat [f.] ‘cave’
elmēggārat, elmoğgâret-(i), elmāgāret-(i), elmoğâret-(i)
PT: XV
◆ Ar. mağāra(t) ‘cave, cavern; grotto’
MḤ

**MḤ**

**mməḥ [v.ccc] ‘to kiss’**

pf. / seq. = res. əmməḥ+is impf. təmməḥ+is

imp. sg. mmaḥ; pf. 1sg. mmaḥ-â-s 3sg.m. yumməḥ-îs; res. 1sg. mmaḥ-â-s-a 3sg.m. yumməḥ-îs-a; impf. 1sg. temmaḥ-â-s 3sg.m. itemmaḥ-îs

P: baciare M: baiser v. yammahessa

/immesa/m 2ummer. mmaḥ-îsi-tirîut ‘kiss the daughter’

♂ The 3sg. indirect object marker is obligatory in all TAMs but the imperative.

TC: 626, K: 562, 577

Berber, cf. Kb. məḥə́ṭ [v.ccc] ‘to have sexual intercourse’

PF/SEQ.=RES.ÉMMƏḤ+ÌSIMPF. TEMMAḤ+ÌS

imp. sg. məḥə́ṭ; pf. yemḥə́ṭ-(ṭåt) [PT:XV]

P: coire PT: XV

**MḤṬ**

**məḥə́ṭ [v.ccc] ‘to have sexual intercourse’**

PF/SEQ.ÉMMƏḤ+ÌSIMPF. TEMMAḤ+ÌS

imp. sg. məḥə́ṭ; pf. yemḥə́ṭ-(ṭåt) [PT:XV]

P: coire PT: XV

**amtə́ḥ [v.n.m.] ‘having sexual intercourse’**

emmtə́ḥ

P: baciare

**MKTR**

**məkt [m.] ‘a large part, majority’**

məkt

P: XI

♂ Clearly a derivation from the Arabic root ktr ‘to be plentiful’, but the exact derivation is unknown in Arabic.

**MLỸL**

**tamə́liy[t] [f.] ‘fontanelle’**

temə́liy[t]

P: fontanella


The development of the Awjila form is not entirely clear. Rather than the y being doubled as in the two languages cited above, the root consonant l is doubled instead.

**MLΛI**

**məllə́l [stat.v.] ‘to be white’**

1sg. məllə́x 2sg. məllə́t 3sg.m. məllə́l 3sg.f. məllə́l, məllə́t pl. məllə́līt

1sg. mellə́x 2sg. mellə́t 3sg.m. mellə́l, méllet [P:example] 3sg.f. mellə́t pl. mellə́līt

P: bianco

♂ gulīha tfili méllet ‘I’ve seen a white house’
Berber, cf. Ghd. amlal ‘to be white’; Kb. məllul ‘to be white’; To. malla ‘to be or become white’; Zng. məllul, məllul ‘to be white’

MLL2

mlil [adj.] pl. mlilən f. təmlilt pl. təmlilin ‘white’
m. sg. məl pl. mlilen; f. temliilt pl. temliilin
P: bianco; imbiancare

▷ amedeməl bəhi-kə ‘The white man is not good’
▷ mlil n tis ‘egg white’

MLL3

Timillìl [P.N.] Place name
Timillìl
Z: X

MLM

millim [m.] ‘milliem (1000 milliemes is 1 Libyan pound)’
millim
PT: III

MLXY

lemluxiyat [f.] ‘mulukiya’
lemluxiyet [PT:III,IV], ēmmluxiyet [PT:III]
PT: III, IV

◆ Ar. muluxiya(t) ‘mulukiya’

MM1

alimam [m.] ‘imam’
alimam
PT: II
◆ Ar. ʔimām ‘imam’

MM2

mmūm [stat. v.] ‘to be sweet’
3sg.m. mmūm 3sg.f. mmūmat pl. mmumīt
3sg.m mūm, mmūm 3sg.f mmūmet pl. mmumīt
P: dolce M: doux moume

◆ Tashl. imm ‘to be, become sweet’

MM3

màma [m.] ‘older brother’
2sg.m. mamà-k 3sg. mamà-s
1sg. máma 2sg.m. mamà-k 3sg. mamà-s
P: fratello

MM4

amimi n tit [phrasal n.] ‘pupil of the eye’
amimi n tit
P: pupilla dell’occhio
◆ K: 16
Berber, cf. Ghd. tammi ‘eyebrow’; Kb. mummu ‘pupil of the eye, iris’

MN1

imàn [pron.] ‘self, by oneself’
1sg. imän-n-ûk 2sg.m. imän-n-ək 3sg. imän-n-əs 1pl. imän-n-əx 2pl.m. imän-nəkim
imän; 1sg. imän-nûk 2sg.m. imän-nek 3sg. imän-nès, imän-nes [PT: IV], imän-nes [PT: V]
1pl. imän-nək 2pl.m. imän-nekim [PT: I]
P: stesss; solo PT: I, IV, V, VII M: forcé ??msimanès مسيمانس; forcer simanes

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. iman ‘oneself’; Kb. iman ‘oneself’; To. iman ‘soul, life force’

MN3

tamnit (or: tamnit) [f.] ‘jar, vase’
támnit
P: giarra

MN4

tîmənt [f.] ‘honey’
tîmənt
P: miele M: abeille *tement*


**MN5**

*mmèn*, *mmìn* [inter.adv.] 'when?'

*mmèn*, *mmìn*

P: quando

▷ *mmìn* tušidda dîla 'when did you arrive here?'

**MN6**

*màni* [inter.pron.] 'who?'

*mànī*, *màni*

P: chi?

▷ *mànî* ušânda dîla? 'who came here?'

▷ *d-*mànî? 'who is?'

▷ *d-*wa-n mànî? 'whose is?'

▷ *gmâren-îya* d-wi-n mànî? 'Whose are these horses?'

▷ *wâya* d-wan mànî? 'whose is this?'

**MNDR**

*təmandûrt* (or: *təməndûrt* [f.]) pl. tmandîr 'rock pigeon'

*temändûrt* pl. tmändîr

P: piccione

**MNƔYR**

*mañ y ayr* [prep.] 'without'

*min *î*air

Z: I

♦ Ar. *min* â*i*airi 'without'

**MNŠ ▶ NŠ**

**MQR**

*màqqər* [stat.v.] 'to be big'

1sg. moq(q)(ə)ràx 2sg. moq(ə)rât 3sg.m. màqqər 3sg.f. màq(q)(ə)râr pl. màqqəyrît

1sg. moqârah, moqqârâh 2sg. moqârât 3sg.m. moqâr, moqqar 3sg.f. móqâret, móqqâret, móqaret, moqqaret pl. moqqârît

P: grande M: agrandir *makkar*

♦ TC: 672

Berber, cf. Ghd. *amqûr* 'to be big'; Kb. *maqq”ər* 'to be big'; To. *mâqqor* 'to be or become big'; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yâmuʃ* 'to be big'

*amâqq(ə)ran* [adj.] pl. moqqrânan, moqqrâran f. tâmâqqârant, t(ə)maqq(ə)rant pl. tmaqqranîn 'big, old'

m.sg. amoqqârân pl. moqqârân f. moqqârânen (moqqârânen) f.sg. tamoqqârant, tmoqqârant [PT:XV], tmoqqârant [PT:XX], têmoqqârant [PT:XX] pl. tmâqqârânîn

P: grande PT:I,XX

**MQŠ**

*təmâqqûšt* (or: *tamaqqûšt*, *taməqqûšt*, *təmaqqûšt*) [f.] 'dung, manure'

*tâmaqqûšt*

P: letame

♦ Berber, cf. To. (D N WE Y) *tâmâqqost* 'dung'

**MR1**

*màrra* [adv.] 'once'

*màrra*

PT: I, II, X, XI

♦ Ar. *marra*(t-an) 'once'

*almârrat-(âya)* [f.] 'time, turn'

*elmârrât-(âya)* [PT:IX]

PT: IX

♦ Ar. *mârrat* 'times, turns'

*mârrat* [f.] 'time. turn'

*mârrat* [PT:II, IX], *mârratet* [PT:IX]

PT: II, IX

♦ Ar. *mârrat* 'times, turns'

**MR2**

*amûr* [conj.] 'if (counterfactual)'

*amûr*

P: se PT: III

**MR3**

*t(ə)mûrt* [f.] 'earth'

*tâmûrt*, *temûrt* [PT:VIII], *tmûrt* [PT:XV]
MR4 — MSL

P: terra PT: VIII, XV M: prairie témourt

Berber, cf. Ghd. tammurt ‘earth, soil’; Kb. tamurt ‘earth, terrain’; Nef. tamûrt, tamûrt ‘earth’; Siwa tamârt ‘country’

MR4

tamârt [f.] pl. tmîra ‘beard’
tâmârt, tamârt-(ennûk) [PT: VIII] pl. tmîra

P: barba PT: VIII M: barbe taamert

MR5

mrî [stat.v.] ‘to be beautiful’

3sg.m. mrî, mrîyan 3sg.f. mrîyat pl. mrîyet

P: bello PT: IV Z: IV

MRFṬ

amîrâf [m.] ‘spleen’

amîrâf

P: milza


MRY1

tamûrây [f.] ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’
tâmûrâq, tamûroq [P: example]

P: cavalletta

▷ ivât n tamûroq ‘one grasshopper’

TC: 59 K: 636


A reflex of the final *γ is not instantly apparent Zenaga, it may have metathesized to the front of the root. Ghadames underwent palatalization of *γ to ș (Vycichl 1990)

MRY2

amârûtuf [m.] pl. mârûtuf ‘a measure of capacity (for cereals), corresponds to 3 șîán’

amârûtuf pl. mîrûf

P: misure di capacità M: charge

ammertouf ammentouf; M: charger mertouf

MRƔ1

tamâst [f.] ‘in the middle’
tâmâst

P: fra; mezzo (in)

▷ tammâst n tfîlî ‘in the middle of the house’

Berber, cf. Ghd. ammas ‘middle, center’; Kb. imasson ‘inside of a loaf of cake’; To. ámmas ‘middle, center, inside’

MSL

amasàl (or: amasàl) [m.] ‘crossbar between the two poles of a well’
amasàl

P: pozzo
MSN
tamàsna [f.] ‘the outside’
tamésna
P: fuori M: étranger estamsna اعطممسنه
> ušând s tamésna ‘They came from outside’
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. tamsna ‘desert’

MṢHF
əlmə́ṣḥaf [m.] ‘book’
elmésna
P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)
♦ Ar. muṣḥaf ‘volume; book; copy of the Koran’

MŠK
maššák [stat.v.] ‘to be small’
1sg. maškà 2sg. maškàt 3sg.m. maššák
3sg.f. maškât pl. maššikit
1sg. meškâ 2sg. meškât 3sg.m. meššék 3sg.f.
meškât pl. meššikit
P: piccolo M: jeune métchik متشيک
♦ K: 682
Perhaps Berber, cf. Nef. meššék ‘small’; To. mə̀tkây ‘to be or become small’
š-ə̀mšək [caus.v.] ‘to reduce’
imp. sg. šémšek
P: piccolo
amaškùn [adj.]pl. maškùnən f.
taməškùnt pl. təməškùnit ‘small’
m. sg. aməškùn pl. meškùnen f. sg. tameškùnt
pl. tmeškùnìn ‘small’
P: piccolo

MŠW  ▶ NŠ

MT
əmt [v.cc*] ‘to bury’
seq. = res. ěmta impf. mètta
imp. sg. ěmt, mèt-(t) [PT:II]; pf. 3sg.m. yemtə, yemtə-(t) [PT:II] res. 3sg.m. yemtəyə; impf. 3sg.m. imetə
P: seppellire PT: II
♦ Zuara ěmt ‘to bury’ (Mitchell 2009: 17)
i-tt-əmt [pass.v.] ‘to be buried’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ttəmt
pf. 3sg.m. ittèmt; res. 3sg.m. itítəta; fut. 3sg.m. aititémt
P: seppellire
amòttu [v.n.m.] ‘burying’
amèttu
P: seppellire

MT/Y
mmût [v.irreg.] ‘to die’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. mmût/y
imp. sg. mmût; pf. 1sg. mmûyə 3sg.m. immût
3sg.f. temmût [PT:III]; res. 1sg. mmûy 类
3sg.m. immûtə, yemmûtə [PT:XV]; fut. 1sg.
ammûyə 3sg.m. aimmût, ayemmût [PT:I]
P: morire PT: I, III, XV M: tué mauta
پموتے; tuer yémauté يموت-ت
♦ TC: 696
Berber, cf. Ghd. ommat ‘to die’; Kb. əmmet ‘to die’; To. əmmu-t ‘to die’; Zng. əmmih ‘to die’
tamattint [v.n.f.] ‘death’
temetint
P: morire, morte
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. tamattànt ‘death’; Foq. tamettânt ‘death’; Sok. tamettùnt ‘death’; To. tamattànt ‘death’; Zng. tmàttànt, tmàntànt ‘death’

MṮ
pl. əlmə́ṣḥat-(ənnə́snət) [f.?] ‘things’
pl. əlmę́ṣḥat-(ennèsnèt)
PT: XV
♦ Ar. matāʕ pl. əmtìʕa(t) ‘object, thing, utensil; stuff, objects, commodities’

MTS  ▶ MŢZ

MŢZ
tamīṭəst [f.] pl. tamīṭaẓ ‘scissors’
temìṭəst pl. temīṭaz
P: forbici
♦ NZ: ĐZ
tamidast ‘scissors’; Sok. tmitast ‘scissors’; Siwa tmitas ‘scissors’ (Naumann 2013: 377)

MY
miyat [num.] ‘hundred’
mìyet
PT: V
♦ ELA mìya ‘hundred’; Ar. miða(t) ‘hundred’

MZD
amæzid [m.] ‘semolina for couscous’
amezid
P: semolina per kuskûs

MZN1
tamazint [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
amazûn [m.] ‘pin or hinge at the base of a door’
amezûn
P: porta
tamezûnt [f.] ‘small pin or hinge at the base of a door’
temezûnt
P: porta

MZZ
tamuzist [f.] pl. tmuzistin, tmuzîs ‘threshold, doorstep’
témuzîst pl. temuzistîn, tmuzîs
P: soglia

MZS
tamuzza [f.] pl. tamuzzayat ‘bee’
tamezzza pl. têmezzzâyât
P: ape
♦ Berber, cf. Nef. tezizwi

MZR1
pl. tîmzîn [f.] ‘barley’
pl. tîmzîn, têmzîn, timzîn [B21], temezîn [B21]
P: orzo B21: 385 PT: XV

MZN
amâzzîn (pl. of iwi ▶ W)

MZZ
Mažûz (or: Mâzûz) [place name] ‘name of a small palm grove north of Awjila’
Mažûz
P: Mažûz

MZBR
tamâžbart [f.] ‘a pot in which you burn incense’
temêžbärt
P: profumi

(ə)mžár [v.ccc] ‘to reap, mow’
imp. sg. mžer, emžér
P: mieter; falciare
♦ K: 316
émžer ‘to reap mow’; Nef. émger, ámger ‘to reap, mow’; Siwa amžor ‘to harvest’
amażər [v.n.m.] ‘reaping, mowing’
amēżər
P: mietere
MŶDĈ
maʕàdš [adv.] ‘no longer’
maʿádč
PT: II
◆ Maghr. Ar. māʕ-šād-š ‘no more, no longer’
(p.c. Souag)

N1
n [prep.] ‘of’
1sg. -ənn-ùk 2sg.m. -ənn-ak 3sg. -ənn-əs
2pl.m. -ənn-əkım 2pl.f. ənn-əkmät 3pl.m.
ənn-əsin 3pl.f. -ənn-əsnät
n, en, në, èn [PT:VII,VIII], ər- (râbbî) [PT:VI], in
[Z:II,XI], u (sic) [Z:III]; 1sg. -ənn-ùk
[PT:IV,VIII,XIV] 2sg.m. -ənn-ek [PT:IX]
-ənn-ək [Z:XIII], -ənn-ək [PT: XV] 3sg. -ənn-əs
[PT: I,IV,X,XV] 2pl.m. -ənn-əkım 2pl.f.
-ənn-əkmät, 3pl.m. -ənn-əsin 3pl.f.-ənn-əsnät,
-ənn-əsnät [PT:XV]
P: di; suo; mio; tuo; nostro; loro; vostro
PT: passim Z: II, III
◆ 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. än ‘to say’; Kb. ini ‘to say’; To.
ən ‘to say’; Zng. pf. ənnâh ‘to say’

N3
yan [v.vc*] ‘to enter’
pf. uná seq. = res. ûnà fut. ún impf. tāna
imp. sg. yân pl.m. ənât pl.f. ənîmeth; pf. 1sg.
unîh 2sg. tânî [P: example], tunî [P: example] 3sg.m. yînà, yînâ [PT:II], ýuña
[PT:IX, XV], yînà [PT: XV], ýuna [Z:X] 3sg.f.
tâna [PT: XV]; res. 1sg. unîha 3sg.m. yunâya;
fut. 1sg. aunâh 2sg. attûnät [PT: IX] 3sg.m.
ayûn; impf. 1sg. tânîh 3sg.m. itâna
P: entrare PT: II, IX, XV Z: X M: entraîne
younaah
◆ tânî-ká ‘do not enter!’
◆ ur-tunî ‘do not enter!’
unú [v.n.m.] ‘entering’
unû
P: entrare
š-an [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. enter, insert’
PF. / seq. š-àn impf. š-anày
imp. sg. šān; pf. 3sg.m. išān [PT:XV] 3sg.f. ččān [PT:XV] impf. 1sg. šānā́
P: entrare PT: XV
N4
yə̀nni [v.či] ‘to be (in a place)’
PF. / seq. = fut. ə̀nni, ənni
PF./fut. 1sg. ənnîň, nîň [PT:VI] 3sg. tennîd
3sg.m. yennî, innî [PT:VIII,XV] 3sg.f. tennî 1pl.
nîn [PT:XIII]
P: essere, trovarsi PT: VI, VIII, XIII, XV
>yennî-ká dîla ‘There is not’
N5
?tanìya [f.] ‘pulley of a well’
tanìa
P: pozzo
♦ Perhaps related to awènû ➭ WN.
NB
əmbî [v.čci] ‘to suck’
impf. näbbî
imp. sg. émbî, mbî; impf. 3sg.m. inèbbî
P: allattare; poppare M: allaiter iem beya
ymbeya
♦ K: 559
Berber, cf. Foq. énbi (émbî) ‘to suck’; Siwa um bâi ‘to suckle’
?anèbbî [v.n.m.] ‘sucking’
anèbbî
ändû, undû [ conj.] ‘if’
endû, úndu, undû [PT:II,VIII,X], öndû
[PT:VIII], endû [PT:XV]
P: se PT: I, II, V, VIII, X, XV
NDL1
ə̀ndəl [v.cc̄c] ‘to be covered’
impf. nàddâl
imp. sg. èndel; impf. yenèddel
P: coprire M: couvrire yendeltia
ãndâl [v.n.m.] ‘being covered’
anãdâl
P: coprire
š-ãndâl [caus.v.] ‘to cover’
impf. š-ãndâl
imp. sg. šéndel; impf. 1sg. šéndâlîh 3sg.m.
išendâl
P: coprire
aš-ãndâl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘covering’
ašéndel
P: coprire
NDM1
nàddám [v.čèc] ‘to be sleepy; to doze off’
impf. nàddâm
imp. sg. nèddem; impf. 3sg.m. inèddâm
Berber, cf. Ghd. nessam ‘to sleep’; Kb. nussions ‘to doze, sleep’; To. nossam ‘to doze’

anessam [v.n.m.] ‘sleep’
anêmedem

P: sonno M: sommeil eneddem انْدَم

NDM2

**anom [v.ccc] ‘to be sad, regretful’
res. ândam
res. 3sg.m. yendima
PT: VIII
♦ Ar. nadima ‘to repent, rue, regret’

NFL

**ânfoul [v.ccc] ‘to be changed’
res. ânfoul
res. 3sg.m. yenfîla
P: cambiare M: changer yenfela ينفلا

♦ TC: 739
Berber, cf. Ma ônfoul ‘to replace (of childrens teeth)’; Zng. pf. 3sg.m. yaâsâmîy ‘to change’;
Ouar. anîfoul ‘to be exchanged’

še-anfoul [caus.v.] ‘to change’
pt. / seq. š-ânfoul res. š-ânfoul impf. š-ânfoul
imp. sg. šënfol; pt. 1sg. šënfolâ; res. 1sg. šenfolâ
yenfîla; impf. 1sg. šenfolâ
P: cambiare

aše-anfoul [caus.v.n.m.] ‘changing’
ašeënfol
P: cambiare

NFS1

anafîs [m.] ‘right’
anafîs
P: destra

♦ af anafîs ‘on the right’
♦ NZ: FS3
Berber, cf. Ghd. anfîs ‘right’; Kb. ayeffîs ‘right’; Siwa roh âmefûs ‘to go right’

NFS2

ânfûs, infûs [m.] pl. ânfûsan, infûsan
‘sleeve’

ênfûs, infûs pl. ênfûsen, infûsen
P: manica M: manche onfûs انفوس

♦ K: 68
To. (H.) ahânfous ‘sleeve’; Ghd. anfânas ‘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

**ânf/ânfî [v.ccc*/cei] ‘to be useful; to be good’
res. ânfa
res. 1sg. enfîha 2sg. tenfîta [P:example] 3sg.m. yenfîya
P: utile

▷ ku tenfîta lûda ‘you are good for nothing’
♦ TC: 737
Berber, cf. Ghd. ânfu ‘to be useful’; Zng. ânfih ‘to be worth, to have value’; To. (H.) ānfû ‘be
useful’

This may be an early loanword from Ar. nafaša ‘to be useful’.

NG

ngi [v.cci.irreg.] ‘to touch’
seq. = res. = fut. ângi impf. nàgga
imp. sg. ngî; pt. 1sg. ngîh 3sg.m. yénî; res. 1sg. ngîha 3sg.m. yengîya; fut. 1sg. ângîh 3sg.m.
yenyîvi; impf. 1sg. negîh 3sg.m. inêgga
P: toccare

ânâggi [v.n.m.] ‘toucing’
anêggî
P: toccare

NGDR

Tędidrât [P.N.] ‘A ḥatia north-west of
Awjila’
Tengidret
P: Tengidret

NGFL

(ə)ngafûli, əlgafûli [m.] ‘maize’
ngafûli, ŋafûli [PT: XV], elgafûli [PT: XV]
P: granoturco PT: XV

♦ Ultimately from Kanuri ngawúli ‘sorghum’
see Cyffer & Hutchison 1990, Kossmann 2005,
Souag (fthc.)

NGǦM
Təngədžûm [P.N.] ‘village in the oasis of
Awjila’
Tengeǧûm, Tangedǧûm, Tangîǧum [Z:VIII]
P: Tengeǧûm o Tangedǧûm Z: VIII

NGŽV
əngàžv [m.] ‘type of palm tree (Arabic
nakfûš)’
ğıžv
P: palma

NƔ1
naŋ [conj.] ‘or’
naŋ, naŋ [PT: V]
P: o, ovvero PT: III, V
♦ TC: 720 K: 732
Berber, cf. Foq. naŋ ‘or’; Kb. nay, ny ‘or’; Nef.
nay ‘or’; Zng. naʔd ‘or’

NƔ2
naŋ [v.cvc] ‘to call’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. nay
imp. sg. nąg; pf. 1sg. nąğiŋ 3sg.m. inąg; res.
1sg. nąğiŋa 3sg.m. inąga; fut. 1sg. anağáŋ
3sg.m. ainąg
P: chiamare M: appeler naghy
ناغى;
crier enagha اناغه
> nàği-t ‘call him’!
♦ Perhaps related to Ar. nağa ‘to speak’; Ar.
náğa ‘to whisper; to talk gently, kindly,
tenderly’ Eg. Ar. náğa ‘to speak tenderly to a
child’ (Hinds 1986)
anay [v.n.m.] ‘calling’
anāg
P: chiamare

NƔ3
ànaŋ [v.cc] ‘to kill’

pf. ànyá impf. nàyya
imp. sg. ánēg; pf. 3sg.m. yèn gà; impf. 3sg.m.
inegga
P: uccidere M: assassin yanghia
انغيه;
assassiner anghia

♦ TC: 65
Berber, cf. Ghd. ânn ‘to kill’; Kb. nay ‘to kill’;
To. âny ‘to kill’; Zng. aʔni(ʔ) ‘to kill’
anɚy, anəyy [v.n.m.] ‘killing’
anęggə, anęggə
P: uccidere
š-əny [caus.v.] ‘to extinguish’
imp. sg. šăng, şėng
P: spegnere; uccidere
itt-əny [pass.v.] ‘to be killed’
pf. / seq. = res. tęny
pf. 3sg.m. ittęng; res. 3sg.m. ittęnga
P: uccidere

NHN
nəhin [pron.] 3pl.m. independent
pronoun
nehîn, ġənîn, nehnîn [B21]
P: essi B21: 390

nəhinat [pron.] 3pl.f. independent
pronoun
nehînet, nēhînet [PT: XV] ŋəhînet [PT: XV],
nehînet [B21]
P: essi B21: 390

NGM
pl. (ə)nžūm [m.] ‘stars’
pl. nžûm, ěnžûm
PT: VIII M: étoile negmet
نجمة
♦ ENA nęžem pl. nžûm ‘star’; Ar. nəzma(t) pl.
nuzûm ‘star’

NK1
(ə)nkí [v.cci] ‘to sniff, smell’
seq. = res. ēnki impf. nɔkkì
imp. sg. nkí, ēnki; pf. 3sg.m. yènki; res. 3sg.m.
yenkáya; impf. 3sg.m. inękì
P: fiutare, odorare PT: XV M: flairer
yénéki; M: tabac à priser ennekeh
TC: 749
Berber, cf. Ghd. ākk ‘to smell’; Zng. ānki(ʔ) ‘to smell’
anākki [v.n.m.] ‘sniffing, smelling’
anakkī
P: fiutare, odorare
š-ānki [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. smell’
imp. sg. šēnki
P: fiutare, odorare

NK2
nek [pron.]. sgl. independent pronoun
nek, nēk [PT:II], -nēk [PT:XI]
P: no, B21:390 PT:II,III,VI,XI,XII,XIV,XV
K: 504;
Sok. niš ‘T’

NKN
nakkanî [pron.]. pl. independent pronoun
nekkeni, neknîn [B21]
P: no, B21:390 PT:II

NKT
ənköt [v.ccc] ‘to spill (usually solid
things)’
imp. sg. enktēt
P: versare, colare

NN1 ★ M2

NN2
nāna [kin.f.] ‘grandmother’
2sg. nānà-k
1sg. nānā 2sg. nānā-k
P: nonna
Nef. nannā ‘grandmother’

NQṢ
**ənqāṣ [v.ccc] ‘to be missing, to lack’
res. ānqāṣ
res. 3sg.m. yenqāṣa 3pl.f. ānqāṣnīta, ānqāṣnīta
PT: V M: rabattre, diminuer naqqas

NŠ1
taništ [f.] pl. tniš, tnišin ‘key’
tēnīšt, teništ [B21] pl. tniš, tnišin
P: chiave B21: 391
Berber, cf. Ghd. tonest, tonéss ‘key’; Foq. tanāšt ‘key’; Sok. tnāšt ‘key’; Nef. tunīšt ‘key’;
Siwa tnāšt ‘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
aniš [m.] ‘nickel’
aniš
P: nichel M: cuivre anich
Müller has the meaning ‘copper’ for this
word, as we find in other Berber languages.
Berber, cf. Sok. nāṣ ‘copper’; Tashl. anas
‘copper’

NŠ3
iš [v.ncc*] ‘to sleep’
seq. = res. īša fut. īš impf. nāšša
imp. sg. īš; pf. 1sg. īšiḥ 3sg.m. īša; res. 1sg. īšīḥa 3sg.m. īšāya; fut. 1sg. āišāḥ 3sg.m. āyīš; impf. 1sg. neššā 2sg. tneššít [P:example]
3sg.m. inēšša
P: dormire M: coucher (se) ychayeh
بشایه; dormir ichayeh
▷ tneššít-ká ‘do not sleep’
♦ NZ: C1o, TC: 758
Berber, cf. Kb. āns ‘to spend the night’; To. āns ‘to lie down, go to bed’; Zng. ānšī(ʔ) ‘to spend the night’
tnēššāt [v.n.f.] ‘sleep’
tnēššāt
P: dormire
š-īš [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. sleep’
impf. š-īšāy
imp. sg. šīš; impf. 1sg. šišāḥ 3sg.m. šišāāi
P: dormire
amišīw [m.] ‘dinner’
amišīu, amišīw-(ennūk) [PT:XV], amišīū-(nnes) [PT:XV]
P: cena PT: XV
▷ ččīha amišīw-ennūk ‘I have eaten my dinner’
▷ amišīw-ī ‘at dinner’
♦ TC: 760
Berber, cf. Ghd. amīsi ‘supper’; Nef. mensī ‘dinner’; Foq. mênsi ‘dinner’; Sok. amēnsī ‘dinner’; Kb. iminsi ‘supper’; To. âmansi ‘evening meal, supper’; Zng. amṃənsḥ ‘dinner’
mišīw [m.] ‘evening, evening prayer’
mišīu
P: tramonto; preghiera PT: XV
♦ TC: 760
Berber, cf. Ghd. amīsi ‘supper’; Kb. imṃsi ‘supper’; To. âmansi ‘evening meal, supper’; Zng. amṃənsḥ ‘dinner’
NŠD
**ānsōd [v.ccc] ‘to ask’

seq. ānšād impf. nāššād
pf. 3sg.m. yenšēd-(t) [PT:XII], yēnšēd [PT:II, inšēt-(t) [PT:VIII], yenšēt-(t) [PT:VIII] 3sg.f. tenšēd-(t) [PT:III]; impf. 3sg.m. inēššed [PT: VIII]
PT: II, III, VIII, XI, XII
◆ ELA yēnšēd ‘to ask’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar. našada ‘to seek, look, search; to adjure, implore’

NT1
**ənt/əntī [v.cc*/cci] ‘to be cooking, be on fire (food)’
res. ənta
res. 3sg.m. yentāya
P: preparare un pranzo
▷ ameklīu yentāya ‘the meal is cooking’
◆ To. (H.) ānt ‘to start’
ənt [caus.v.] ‘to prepare a meal’
imp.sg. šent
P: preparare un pranzo

NT2
annāt [pron.]3sg.f. independent pronoun
ennāt [PT:III, B21], ēnnāt [PT:IV,XV]
P: essa B21: 390 PT: III, IV, XV

NTN
nattin [pron.]3sg.m. independent pronoun

NṬ
əntī [v.cci] ‘to taste’
pf. = fut. āntī res. ānta impf. nàṭṭī
imp. sg. ēntī; pf. 1sg. ēntīḥ 3sg.m. yentī; res. 1sg. ēntīḥa 3sg.m. yentāya; fut. 1sg. āntīḥ
3sg.m. aynēntī; impf. 1sg. nettīḥ 3sg.m. inēttī
P: assaggiare
◆ TC: 731, K: 560
Berber, cf. Ghd. māṭṭāg ‘to taste’; Zng. andug ‘to taste’; Ouar. amḍī ‘to taste’; Mzab amḍī ‘to
NṬR — NŽ

taste'
anəṭṭî [v.n.m.] ‘tasting’
P: assaggiare
š-ənṭî [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. taste’
impf. š-ənṭây
imp. sg. šenṭî; impf. 1sg. šenṭâîh 3sg.m. išenṭâî
P: assaggiare

NṬR
antâr [v.ccc] ‘to let go, put down, abandon’
pf. / seq. = fut. ěnṭâr
imp. sg. ěnṭâr; fut. ěnṭâr[ku] [PT:IV]; fut. 1sg. anṭârâh-(ku) [PT:V]
P: lasciare PT: IV, V Z: XII

Berber, cf. Ghd. āndâr ‘to pull down; to drop’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. yandur ‘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’.
anəṭàr [v.n.m.] ‘letting go, putting down, abandoning’
anəṭàr
P: lasciare

NṬṬ
ənṭə́t [v.ccc] ‘to be joined, attached’
imp. sg. ěnṭât
P: unire, attaccare

Berber, cf. Ghd. āndâd ‘to adhere, stick; to be stuck’
š-ənṭàt [caus.v.] ‘to join, attach’
imp. sg. šenṭât; impf. 1sg. šenṭâîh 3sg.m. išenṭâî;
res. 1sg. šenṭîṭhâ 3sg.m. išenṭîṭa
P: unire, attaccare

NV1
iv [v.nc*] ‘to fall’
pf. ivá seq. = res. iva fut. iv impf. nàvva
imp. sg. iv pl.m. ivât pl.f. ivîmet; pf. 1sg. īvîh
3sg.m. īvâ 3sg.f. tóvâ [PT:III,XV]; res. 1sg. īvîhâ
3sg.m. īvâyâ, īvî; fut. 1sg. āivâh 3sg.m. āiyv;
impf. 1sg. nevvîh 3sg.m. inévvâ
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.
tnəvvat [v.n.f.] ‘falling’
tnevvát
P: cadere
tnəvvat n tafût [phrase] ‘evening (litt. The fall of the sun)’
tnevvat n tafût
P: tramonto
š-iv [caus.v.] ‘to cause to fall’
impf. š-ivây
imp. sg. šiv; impf. 1sg. šivâîh 3sg.m. išivâî
P: cadere

NV2
tnuvin [f.] pl. tnuvin ‘irrigation canal’
tnuvît, tnuvît pl. tnuvîn, tnuvîn-(nes) [PT:V]
P: canale d’irrigazione PT: XV

NVDR
anadvûr, anabdûr [m.] pl. nadvîr ‘small rope to tie hedges; rope harness for animals; rope tied to a tâšâqqî’
anadvûr, anabdûr pl. nadvîr
P: cordal; finimenti

NZR
**nzûrr [v.cč] ‘to suffer, to have difficulty’
fut. nzûrr
fut. ptc. anzurrân
PT: II

NŽ
iž [v.nc*] ‘to be sold’
res. iža fut. iž impf. nàžza
imp. sg. ⁱʲ; res. 3sg.m. ⁱʲᵃʸᵃ; fut. 3sg.m. ᵃʸⁱʲ; impf. 3sg.m. ⁱⁿᵉžẓa

P: vendere

♦ TC: 776
Berber, cf. Ghd. ènz ‘to sell’; Foq. zénz ‘to sell’; Sok. zënz ‘to sell’; Nef. senz ‘to sell’; Kb. ẓẓënz ‘to sell’; Zng. àŋž̌ih ‘to sell’ ʒ-ⁱʲ [caus.v.] ‘to sell’
pf. / seq. = res. ʒ-ⁱʲ mpf. ʒ-iža
imp. sg. ʒⁱž; pf. 2sg. dżⁱžⁱt [PT:III] ʒⁱž; res. 3sg.m. ʒⁱž;a; fut. 3sg.m. ʒⁱžintosh, ḥⁱžⁱš-(t) [PT:IV]; impf.ptc. ʒⁱžᵃŋ [PT:IV]
P: vendere PT: III, IV M: vendre yédjidj

NŽƔ

nžə́ɣ [v.ccc] ‘to pull; to draw (water without an animal)’
pf. / seq. = res. ènžəɣy mpf. nàžẓəɣ
imp. sg. nžáɣ, nžáɣ; pf. 1sg. nžëḥh; res. 1sg. nžëḥḥa; impf. 1sg. nežžáḥ (ḏh > ḥḥ > ḥ) ʒⁱžᵃŋ

♦ The assimilation in impf. 1sg. is surprisingly different from pf. 1sg.
P: attingere, tirare

♦ Berber, cf. Foq. ènzəɣ ‘to draw water without an animal’; Ghd. ènṣəɣ ‘to pull’; Nef. ènźəɣ ‘to pull form somewhere’

QBṬ

ālqəbbùt [m.] ‘coat’
elqəbbùt
PT: XI
♦ ELA kabbùt ‘coat’, ultimately from Turkish kaput ‘coat’ (p.c. Benkato)

QD

tàqt [m.] pl. taqqid, taqqidən ‘finger’
tàqt pl. taqqid, taqqidən
P: dito M: doigt ghed قد; pouce thaght

♦ NZ: Ɗ6 TC: 245
Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. ʾəḍād ‘finger’; To. ʾəḍād

‘finger’; Zng. ʾaḍaẓdi(ʔ) ‘finger’.
The correspondence with Berber words for ‘finger’ is highly problematic.
But cf. Nef. tukkād, tuqqād pl. itukkād ‘finger’.

QD

ālqədɪ [m.] ‘qadi, judge’
elqədɪ, ēlqədɪ, elqədɪ
PT: V
♦ Ar. qədɪ(n) ‘judge, cadi’

QL1

aqə́l [v.ccc*] ‘to roast’
pf. āqə́l res. āqla fut. āq(ə)l impf. qallá
imp. sg. āqə́l pl.m. qlâ pl.f. qlîmət; pf. 1sg. aqllàh 3sg.m. yaqlà; res. 1sg. aqlāh 3sg.m. yaqlîyà; fut. 1sg. aqlâh 3sg.m. iqallà
P: abbrustolire
♦ Ar. qalā ‘to fry, bake, roast’
aqə́llu [v.n.m.] ‘roasting’
aqallà
P: abbrustolire

QLZ

qllä [v.ccc] ‘to lie’
fut. əqläz mpf. qlläz
imp. sg. qlëz; fut. 3sg.m. ayqëlez [PT:V]; impf. 2sg. teqalëżt [PT:V] 3sg.m. iqallëz [PT:V]
P: mentire PT: V
♦ K: 573
Berber, cf. Foq. ʾoklæz ‘to lie’; To. ṣklu ‘to tell a lie (completely fabricated)’; Siwa tallâz ‘lie’; Sok. ʾoklez ‘to lie’
aqllâz [v.n.m.] ‘lying’
aqllàz
P: mentire

aqllız [m.] pl. ʾaqlâzan ‘lie’
aqllız pl. qlâzen, ʾaqlâzen, mqlâzin (sic) [Z:X]
P: bugia Z: X

QM1

qim [v.cvc]’to remain, stay, sit’ Used as an inchoative auxiliary verb.
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. qqîm impf. tâqqîm
imp. sg. qîm pl.m. qqâîmât [PT: XV]; pf. 3sg. qqâîmîh [PT: II] 3sg.m. yaqqîm, yâqqîm [PT: II, IV, V, XIII, XV], yqâqîm (sic) [PT: IV], yâqqîm [PT: IV] 3sf. tâqqîm, tâqqîm 3pl.m. âqqîmân [PT: IV, XV] 3pl.f. qqâîmânèt [PT: XV]; res. 3sg.m. yaqqîma; fut. 2sg. atqîmât [PT: XIII] 2pl.m. atêqqîmâm [PT: I]; impf. 3sg.m. itqîma

Q̲M̲2
qâma, qâmak [adv.] ‘now’
qâma, qâmak, qâmak, qâma [Z: VI]
P: ora; adesso PT: IV, V, XV Z: VI

Q̲M̲Z̲
aqâmə̀z [m.] ‘the far end of a palm tree from where the inflorescence grows’
aqâmez
P: palma

Q̲N̲
(َا)qqûn [v.ēc] ‘to bind, tie, attach’
pf. əqqûn res. əqqûn impf. təqqûn
imp. sg. əqqûn; pf. 3sg.m. yaqqûn, yeqqûn-(t) [PT: VII]; res. 3sg.m. yaqqîna; impf. itaqqûn ‘to bind, tie, attach’
P: legare, attaccare PT: VII
✶ TC: 64
Berber, cf. Ghd. āqqûn ‘to bind, attach’; Kb. əqqûn ‘to attach’; To. yáqûn ‘to tie up, to tie s.th. to s.th. else’ Zng. aʔn ‘to be attached’

aqqûn
P: legare, attaccare

Q̲N̲V̲L̲
taqqûn, takûn [f.] pl. taqqûn, takûn ‘mucus’
teqûn, tekenûn pl. teqûn, tekenûl
P: muco

Q̲R̲
(َا)qqûr [v.ēve] ‘to dry out’
imp. sg. əqqûr, qqûr
P: seccarsi M: desséché ??mikourah

aqqûr
P: seccarsi

Q̲R̲B̲1̲
qaarb [stat.v.] ‘to be near’
3sg.m. qaarb, qaâr [PT: I]
P: vicino PT: I
✶ Ar. qaâr ‘near’

qaarb [v. cvcc] ‘to draw near’
pf. / seq. qaârb
pf. 3sg.m. yeqaarb
PT: XV
✶ Ar. qaâraba ‘to be near; to come near, come close, get close’

Q̲R̲B̲Z̲
aqaarbûz (or: aqaarbûz) [m.] ‘stem, stalk, petiole’
aqaarbûz
P: gambo, picciuolo
✶ NZ: GRBZ2
The connection with Zng. garbûs ‘knob (of a moorish saddle)’ (Taine-Cheikh 2010),
ultimately a loanword from Ar. *qarbūs* 'pommel (of a saddle)', suggested by Naït-Zerrad is not convincing.

**QRT1**

tqárṭay (or: tqárṭay) [f.] pl. tqartiwìn ‘paper’
tqárṭai pl. tqartiwìn
P: carta M: date tékortay تكرتاي; lettre tékhartey تخارتي; papier karthayah كارطاه

K: 592
Berber, cf. Siwa *tierta* ‘paper’

**QRT2**
tuqə̀rṭa, tuqərtá [f.] ‘theft’
tuqértā, tuqartâ
P: furto


**QSZ**

*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. qarizît

P: strettò M: étroit qarez

Berber, cf. To. *ikraẓ* ‘to be tight’

*š-əqrəz* [caus.v.] ‘to make narrow’

imp. sg. sāqrāz
P: strettò

**QSZT**

qərzāṭ [m.] pl. qərzāṭən ‘dried dates for livestock’

qərzāṭ pl. qərzāṭen
P: dattero

**QSTM**
aqəśṭîm [m.] ‘antimony’
aqäṣṭîm
P: antimonio
taqäṣṭîmt [f.] ‘collyrium container’

taqäṣṭîmt
P: portacollirio

qäṣṭâm [v.cccc] ‘to apply collyrium’

impf. qäṣṭâm

imp. sg. qäṣṭām; impf. 3sg.f. tqäṣtâm
P: mettere, porre

aqäṣṭâm [v.n.m.] ‘applying collyrium’
aqäṣṭâm
P: mettere, porre

**QSR1**
taqäṣšîrt, taqäṣrît [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’
taqäṣšîrt, taqäṣrît
P: passero

While the initial consonant is different, the word looks similar to Figuig *tabcirt* ‘sparrow’.

**QTW**
wâṭen [def.adj.] pl. wəṭnînf. tàṭen pl. taṭninat ‘the other, another’
wâṭen pl. wəṭnin f. tàṭen, tàṭen [P:example] pl. teṭninût
P: altro PT: XV

*átmā wəṭnin* ‘my other brothers’

*tʃilliwîn teṭninût* ‘the other houses’

*iwâtan tenni dîla u tàṭen tenni ždâbiet* ‘one is here, and the other is in Ajdabiya’

*mag inni wâṭen?* ‘where is the other
one’

◊ NZ: DN6 TC: 249 K: 218
Berber, cf. Foq. wayád ‘other, another’; Kb. wayàd, tayàd ‘other, another’; Nef. wàît, wàyet ‘other, another’; Zng. yu’dan ‘other, another’
aqûtàn [indef.adj.]: pl. aqûtìn f. aqûtât
pl. aqûtinat ‘other, another’
aqûtèn pl. aqûtìn f. aqûtêt pl. aqûtînet
▷ iwînan aqûtên ‘another’

PT: altro PT: IX

QṬŠ1

aqătṭîš [m.] ‘hole (little used)’
aqătṭîš
P: buco
taqqătṭîšt [f.]: pl. tqătṭîš, tqătṭîšin ‘little hole; eye of the needle’
taqătṭîšt pl. tqătṭîš, tqătṭîšin
P: buco; cruna dell’ago

QṬŠ2

aqătṭûš [m.]: pl. qătṭûşən ‘(male) cat’
aqătṭûš pl. qătṭûšen
P: gatto

◊ K: 590
taqătṭûšt [f.]: pl. tqătṭûştin ‘(female) cat’
tēqătṭûšt pl. tēqătṭûştin
P: gatto
tqătṭâš [f.]: ‘cats (coll.)’
pl. tqătṭâş
P: gatto

QȚTİ

aqătṭată [m.]: pl. qaṭṭàtən ‘nit’
aqătṭată pl. qaṭṭătən
P: picocchio

◊ To. áwôd ‘nits’; Zng. úd(ð)an ‘nit(s)’; Kb. āwoṭ ‘nit’; Ghd. āṭṭād ‘nit’; Siwa iomanipàn ‘nits’
(Naumann 2013: 322)

QȚTİ

qaṭṭăfân [m.] ‘highwayman’
pl. qaṭṭâfân [PT:VII, IX], qaṭṭâfân [PT:IX]
PT: VII, IX

◊ From the Arabic verb qaṭa‘a ‘to cut’ in a metaphorical used to refer to ‘road-cutters’ — people who block the road to demand money (quṭṭāf ar-ṭuruq). (p.c. Souag)

QWY

qewi [stat.v.] ‘to be strong’
3sg.m. qewi
PT: IV M: gras gaouy قو ق
◊ Ar. qawîy ‘strong’

QYN

aqayûn [m.] ‘(male) black slave (little used)’
aqayûn
P: schiavo, servo

◊ Berber, cf. Foq. qayû ‘servant’; Sok. qayû ‘moor, servant’
taqayyyûnt [f.]: ‘(female) black slave (little used)’
taqayyyûnt
P: schiavo, servo

QŽṬ (K/GŽT)
aqâżît [m.]: pl. quâżît ‘rooster’
aqâżît pl. quâżît
P: gallo M: coq akadjet

◊ TC: 1012 K: 622
(Naumann 2013: 374).
Basset (1959) provides a detailed discussion on the words for ‘chicken’ in Berber.
takażît, tagażît [f.]: pl. takażîtin, tagażîtin ‘chicken’
tekażît, têgażît pl. tekażîtin, têgażîtin
P: gallo M: poule tékadjet

QZR
yàqzar, iqzar [m.] pl. aqzàr ‘mouse’
yàqzer, èqzer pl. aqzàr
P: topo M: rat éghzrt
♦ See the discussion in Paradisi (1963b).

QẒL
taqəẓẓàlt [f.] pl. tqəẓẓalìn ‘kidney’
taqåẓẓâlt pl. tqåẓẓâlîn
P: rene
♦ NZ: GẒL 1 K: 326
tagəzzult ‘kidney’; To. tagəzzəlt ‘kidney’

R1
ir [prep.] ‘until’
ir, ir [PT:II,III,VIII]
P: fino a, finché PT: II, V, III, VIII
▷ ir Gîlu ‘up to Jalu’
▷ ir mnišîu ‘until sunset’
♦ TC: 560 K: 109, 217
Berber, cf. Kb. ir ‘until’; To. hâr ‘until’; Zng. är ‘until’.

Tuareg and Zenaga point to an initial ñ, this is absent in Awjila.

R2
yar [v.vc*] ‘to open’
pf. urà res. ùra fut. ùr impf. târa
imp. sg. yār pl.m. yârât pl.f. yârîmet; pf. 1sg, urûh 2sg. târît [P:example] 3sg.m. yurâ; res. 1sg. urûha 3sg.m. yurûya; fut. 1sg. urûh 3sg.m. ayûr; impf. 1sg. târîh 3sg.m. itârâ
P: aprire
▷ târît-kâ ‘do not open’
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. ar ‘id.’; Ghd. är ‘to open’;
Nef. ar ‘to open’; Sok. àr ‘to open’; To. âr ‘to open’.
urû [v.n.m.] ‘opening’
urû
P: aprire
tw-âr [pass.v.] ‘to be open, opened; to open, untie [PT: V, VII]’
pf. / seq. = res. twâr
imp. sg. ttuûr, tuàr; pf. 1sg. ttuarih 3sg.m. ituûr, yetuûr [PT:V], itûar [PT:VII]; res. 1sg. ttuarihâ 3sg.m. ituûrâ 3sg.f. tetuûrâ
[P:example]
P: aprire PT: V, VII
▷ elbâb ituûrâ ‘the door is opened’
▷ tavûrt tetuûrâ ‘the door is opened’

R3
tûra [f.] ‘lung’
tûra
P: polmone
♦ TC: 784
To. tôrr ‘lung’; Zng. tariʔd ‘lung’

R4
ur [particle] negative particle, usually found in combination with negative particle –ká
ur, wur, wul, ul
P: non PT: XIII

RB1
râbbi [m.] ‘god’
râbbi [PT:V], râbbi [PT:VI], râbbi [PT:V], râbbi [PT:XI]
PT: V, VI, XII
♦ Ar. rabb-îyy ‘my lord’

RB2
àrbi [v.cci] ‘to earn; to prosper’
pf. àrbí res. àrba fut. àrbi impf. ràbbi
imp. sg. érbi; pf. 3sg.m. yerbi; res. 3sg.m.
yerbâya; fut. 2sg. etterbit; impf. 3sg.m. irèbbi
P: guadagnare
• The fut.2sg. etterbit is used as a greeting and is a calque on Ar. térbah, marbûha which is said as a goodbye to someone.
♦ Perhaps from Ar. rabiha ‘to gain, profit’
aràbbi [v.n.m.] ‘earning’
arâbbi
P: guadagnare

RBS
rabūs [m.] ‘measure of capacity (cereals),
corresponds to one sixth of a slaught’

rabûs
P: misure di capacitá

RBʕ
árbaʕa [num.] ‘four’
árbaʕa
PT: III
♦ Ar. ar batsə(t) ‘four’

RD1
**irə́d [v.icc] ‘to be washed’
res. īrə́d
res. 3sg.m. irida 3sg.f. tiraːda
P: lavare
♦ TC: 791
Berber, cf. Ghd. ārə́d ‘to be washed’; Kb. īrə́d ‘to be washed’; To. īrə́d ‘to bathe’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. yārə́d ‘to be washed, to wash (intr.)’
š-īrə́d [caus.v.] ‘to wash’
pf. / seq. š-īrə́d, š-īrə́d impf. š-īrə́d
imp. sg. sīrə́d; pf. 3sg.f. tērə́d [PT: XV] 3pl.f. sīrə́dna[t] [PT: XV]; impf. 3sg.m. iš-īrə́d
P: lavare PT: XV M: frot té échéred اشرد
frotter chàred شارد
aš-īrə́d [caus.v.n.m.] ‘washing’
asīrə́d
P: lavare

RD2
īrden, yərden [m.] ‘wheat’
pl. īrden, yérden, yērden [P: example, appassire]
P: grano M: bled yarden
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. yērden ‘wheat’; Kb. īrə́d pl. īrden ‘wheat’; Nef. yérden ‘wheat’; To. ērə́d ‘whole-grained wheat semolina (for pasta)’; Sok. īrden ‘wheat’; Siwa īrden ‘wheat’

RDM
ərdəm [v.ccc] ‘to bury’
impf. sg. ērdəm
P: interrare
♦ ela rə́dəm ‘to bury’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar. radama ‘to fill up with earth’

RFQ
pl. ārrafəqà-(nnaš) [m.] ‘companions’
pl. ārrafəqà-(nnaš), ērrafəqà-(nnaš)
PT: II
♦ cf. ela rfig pl. rfiga ‘companion’; Ar. rafiq pl. rafaqqə ‘companion’

RFʕ
ərfə́ʕ [v.ccvc] ‘to take away; to raise’
pf. ərfə́ʕ res. = fut. ərfə́ʕ
impf. sg. arfə́ʕ-(i) [PT: XV]; pf. 2sg. tarfə́ʕ
[Z: XII] 3sg.m. yərə́fə́ʕ [PT: XIII], yərə́fə́ʕ-(t, ət)
[PT: VII, XV] 3pl.f. erfə́fə́fет [PT: XV]; res. 3sg.m. yərə́fə́ʕ [PT: III], yərə́fə́ʕ [PT: II], yərə́fə́ʕ-(t)-ya
[PT: XIII]; fut. 3sg.m. yərə́fə́ʕ-(t) [PT: III]
اشرف
♦ ela yərəfə́ʕ ‘to raise’; Ar. rafə́ʕə ‘to lift, lift up’

RG1
tarəg (f.) ‘ember’
tərəgət, teregət [B25]
P: brace B25: 330 M: braise teragghiàt
ترقية
♦ TC: 813 K: 324, 625
Berber, cf. Ghd. tarə́gət ‘ember, coal’; Kb. təṛə́gət, təṛə́gət ‘cinder, ember’; Zng. taruːrd ‘ember’

RG2
arə́g [m.] pl. rəggə́waŋ ‘handle’
arə́g pl. rəggə́waŋ
P: manico
♦ TC: 806 K: 319
Perhaps related to Berber, cf. To. ārə́j ‘wooden handle’; To. (BF) arə́d ‘handle of an axe’; Zng. targaquartered ‘handle’.

RGG
ərgə́g [v.cvcc] ‘to shake’
impf. tərgə́gə
impf. sg. ērgə́g; impf. 3sg.m. itərgə́gə
P: tremare

TC: 808 K: 323
Berber, cf. Siwa raʃrīʒ ‘to shake’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. yaragāgi(ʔ) ‘to shiver, shake (of sickness, fear etc.)’

rgīg [v.n.m.] ‘shaking’

rgīg

P: tremare

RGZ

aragāz [m.] pl. ragāzən ‘person’

aregāz pl. regāzen

P: individuo; uomo

TC: 810 K: 427
Berber, cf. Kb. argaz ‘man’; To. ārajū ‘to walk’; Zng. āragāʒ ‘man’

taragāzt ‘(female) person’

teregāzt

P: individuo

RY

ūrāy [m.] ‘gold’

ūrāg

P: oro M: or or o ω ρ ṣ aū거

▷ aģīz n ūrāg ‘golden necklace’

TC: 784
Berber, cf. Ghd. oray, orāy ‘gold’; To. orāy ‘gold’; Zng. urī(ʔ) ‘gold’

urāy n tīsi [phrasal n.] ‘egg yolk (litt. gold of the egg)’

urāg n tīsi

P: tuorlo

RH

riḥa [adv.] ‘little’

riḥa

P: poco

cf. Mor. Ar. riḥa ‘smell’, but figuratively also ‘very little (barely able to smell, barely noticeable etc.); A similar use of this word is found in Nef. erriḥat, arriḥat ‘little, a bit’.

RK

tərīkt [f.] ‘bread dough’

terīkt

P: pasta del pane

K: 578
Berber, cf. MA arekti, arektu, areṣti ‘dough’; Siwa arəkti ‘dough’

RKF

tarəkäft [f.] pl. tarəkfin ‘caravan’

terekēft pl. terekfin

P: carovana B21: 386

Berber, cf. Foq. takēft, terēkēft ‘caravan’; Kb. tirkaft ‘caravan’; Neb. terkēft ‘caravan’; Sok. tirkēft ‘caravan’; To. erākāf ‘herd of donkeys in an expedition; large caravan’

RN

arnī [v.cci/cc*] ‘to increase, add; to bid’

pf. arnī res. ērīna fut. ērīni impf.

rənnī/rənnna

imp. sg. ērni pl.m. ērniyāt pl.f. ērniyāt; pf.

1sg. ērniḥ 3sg.m. yernī; res. 1sg. ērniḥa 3sg.m. yernāya; fut. 1sg. ērniḥ, ērniḥa-(s) [PT:XII]

3sg.m. ayērni; impf. 1sg. renniḥ 3sg.m. irēnī

3pl.m. rennān [PT:IV], rennīyen [PT:IV]

P: accrescere, aggiungere PT: IV, XII

TC: 815 K: 124, 157
Berber, cf. Ghd. ėrneβ ‘to add’; Kb. ėrnu ‘to add’; Zng. ėrniḥ ‘to increase’.

Awjila lacks a reflex of ṕβ āɾənْn

arənnū, arənnī [v.n.m.] ‘increasing, adding, auction’

arennū, arēnnu [PT:IV], arennī

P: accrescere PT: IV

RNG

aring, anīrg [m.] pl. ringin, nirgin

‘neighbour’

aring, aringi-(nnes) [PT:V], anīrg pl. ringīn, nirgin

P: vicino PT: V

Berber, cf. To. (H.) anārag ‘neighbour’; To. (N.) anahraŋ ‘neighbour’; Sok. anārag

‘neighbour’

tərīngit [f.] pl. tərīngitin ‘(female) neighbour’
**teringīt**
**P:** vicino

**RQṬ**
**arqūṭ [m.]** ‘rag, piece of sewn cloth’
**arqūṭ**
**P:** straccio PT: V

**RŠ₁**
**irāṣ** [v. vicc.irreg.] ‘to descend’
res. īrīṣ (irreg.) impf. tārrāṣ
imp. sg. īrēṣ, ērēṣ, ereṣ [B21]; res. 3pl.m.
ērisna [PT: XV] impf. 3sg.m. itīrāṣ, ittīrāṣ
3pl.m. terrāṣen [P: example]
**P:** scendere B21: 391 PT: VI, XV
▷ **imīn terrāṣen** ‘the water flows down’
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. ārs ‘to descend’; To. ārās ‘to be brought down, be unloaded; go down (in well or container)’

**urūṣ** [v.n.m.]. ‘descending’
urūṣ ‘descending’
**P:** scendere

**š-irāṣ** [caus.v.] ‘to place, put down’
impf. š-irāṣ
imp. sg. šīrēṣ; impf. 1sg. šīrāṣh 3sg.m. išīrāṣ
**P:** mettere, porre

**aš-irāṣ** [caus.v.n.m.] ‘placing, putting down’
ašīrēṣ
**P:** mettere, pore

**RŠN**
**arrōšān** [m.]. ‘window’
ērrōšān
**PT:** V
♦ **ELA rōšen** ‘window’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar.
rawšan ‘skylight, scuttle; peep-window, peep-hole, spy-hole’

**RŠK**
**ršāk** [v.ccc] ‘to comb’
imp. sg. ršēk
**P:** pettinare

**arāšāk**
**P:** pettinare

**tīst n arāšāk** [phrasal n.]. ‘comb’
n **tīst n arāšāk**
**P:** pettine

**RTL**
**ārtāl** [v.ccc] ‘to lend’
imp. sg. īrtāl
**P:** prestare M: prête ??martal
**prēter artal** ارتل
♦ **TC:** 798
Berber, cf. Kb. ārdāl ‘to lend’; Ghd. ārdāl ‘to lend’; Zng. ārdiy ‘to lend’

**RV**
**arāv, ūrāv** [v.ccc] ‘to write’
**pf. urāv res. = fut. ūrāv impf. tārāv**
imp. sg. arēv (rarely: ūrev) pf. 1sg. urēṱh, urēṱy [B21; B24] 2sg. turēṱ [B24] 3sg.m. yurēv, yurēv [B21; B24] 3sg.f. turēv [B21; B24] 1pl. nurēv [B24] 2pl.m. turevīm [B24] 2pl.f. turēvmet [B24] 3pl.m. úrevimen [B24] 3pl.f. urēvnet [B24]; res. 1sg. urīṱhā, urīṱhā 3sg.m. yurīṱiva; fut. 1sg. aurēṱh 3sg.m. ayūrev; impf. 1sg. tārēṱh, tārēṱy 3sg.m. itārev ptc. tārēven

**P:** scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189
♦ **TC:** 77 K: 156
Berber, cf. Ghd. ōraṅ ‘to write’; Kb. aru ‘to write’; Zng. īrih, ūrīh ‘to dictate’

**arrāv** [v.n.m.]. ‘writing’
arrāv [P; B24], arrāf [B21; B24]
**P:** scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189 M: écriture
arr āb عرب

**š-ūrāv** [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. write’
imp. sg. šūrev
**P:** scrivere

**tw-ārāv** [pass.v.] ‘to be written’
**pf. / seq. = res. = fut. twārāv**
**pf. 3sg.m. ituārev; res. 3sg.m. ituarîva; fut. 3sg.m. aituārev**
**P:** scrivere
RW

àraw [v.irreg.] ‘to give birth’
pf. àrwə̀wówə̀w res. = fut. iàraw impf. tàraw
imp. sg. èròôô pl.m. èròôômé; pf. 1sg. èròôô;
3sg.f. teròôô; res. 1sg. irùùba 3sg.f. tìrìwa; fut.
1sg. aèròôôô 3sg.f. attrìròôô; impf. 1sg. tàròôôô
3sg.f. tàròôôô
P: partorire, generare M: naître errò;
 nec nerro نرّو

TC: 804
Berber, cf. Ghd. àrəw ‘to give birth; to produce’; Kb. arəw ‘to give birth’; To. àrəw ‘to give birth’; Zng. àrəw ‘to give birth; to produce’
tàrwa [v.n.f.] ‘giving birth’
tàrwa
P: partorire, generare
š-ìrəw [caus.v.] ‘to cause to give birth’
imp. sg. šìrōô
P: partorire, generare
ìriw [m.] pl. irìwən ‘boy, child’
ìriu, rìjù [Z:IV] pl. irìwen
P: ragazzo, bambino; figlio PT:XIII B2i;
386 Z:IV M: enfant yérêhou ير هو
ο M: nez and M: nièce were switched around accidentally in the wordlist.

♦ MA araw ‘children, offspring’
tiriwət [f.] pl. tiriwın, tirwi ‘girl, child’
tiriwət pl. tiriwın, tiriwì [PT:XV], tiriwın-(nes)
[PT:XV]
P: ragazzo; bambino PT: XV M: fille
thériouèt مطریوت; nez (sic; nièce) térouèt

TC: 832K: 544
Berber, cf. Ghd. ãrwək ‘to mix’; Zng. ãrwìh ‘to be stirred, be mixed’; Nef. ėrwi; To. H. ãrwaş, àrwi ‘to stir, mix’

RWK
arwák [v.ccc] ‘to knead (pasta of barley etc.)’
impf. irɔ̀wək
imp. sg. erwòk; impf. 3sg.m. iràwwok
P: rimenare

♦ TC: 832 K: 544
Berber, cf. Ghd. ãrwək ‘to mix’; Zng. ãrwìh ‘to be stirred, be mixed’; Nef. ėrwi; To. H. ãrwaş, àrwi ‘to stir, mix’
arwák
P: rimenare
tarawàkt [f.] ‘Polenta (dish made from maize flour cooked in salted water to accompany various foods or with various dressings)’
taràwàkt
P: pasta del pane

RWL1
àraw [v.ccc.irreg.] ‘to flee’
pf. / seq. àrwə̀l res. àrwil (irreg.) impf.
ròwwal
imp. sg. èròôôôô pl.m. ròwwel [PT:XV]; pf. 3pl.m. èrwelên [PT:XV]; res. 3pl.m. èrwilìna [PT:XV];
impf. 1sg. ròwwélél 3sg.m. irìwìwìl
P: fuggire PT:XV M: échapper (s’); enfuir
(s’) yéréouèl ير رو; fuir yèrouel

♦ TC: 835
Berber, cf. Ghd. àrwəl ‘to run away, escape’; Kb. arwəl ‘to flee, escape’; To. àrwəl ‘to take refuge under (s.th.); to take evasive action; to hide, be hidden’; Zng. àrwiy ‘to run away’
arwəl [v.n.m.] ‘fleeing’
arwəl
P: fuggire
arwóf [v.ccc] ‘to fear’

pf. arwáš seq. = res. ārwaš impf. rāwwoš
imp. sg. erwaš, erwaš [PT: XII]; pf. 1sg. rwáḥ
3sg.m. yerwaš, yérwaš [PT: X], yerwaš [PT: XV];
res. 1sg. rwíšha, rwéšha [PT: X], ērwéšha [PT: V]
(h<hh<ẖ) 3sg.m. yerweša; impf. 1sg. róৰwāḥ
3sg.m. irúwāḥ’
P: temere PT: IV, V, X, XII, XV M: craindre
yérouaha ⚫; crainte ??arouaha

Ar. rāša ‘to fright, scare, alarm’

arz [v.cc*] ‘to break’

pf. / seq. = fut. ārza
imp. sg. arz pl.m. ārţát-(tēṭ) [PT: I]; pf. 3sg.m.
yerzî-(tēṭ) [PT: I]; fut. 3sg.m. ärţî-(tēṭ) [PT: I]
ayerzî-(tēṭ) [PT: I]
P: rompere PT: I M: brisé; cassé erzay
briser erzyayeh ارزایه; briser (se); casser yerzayeh
پرزایه’

TC: 841
Berber, cf. Ghd. ārz ‘to break’; Kb. arz ‘to
break’; To. ārz ‘to break’; Zng. arζζ(ʔ) ‘to be
broken’.

arζζζu [v.n.m.] ‘breaking’
arζζζu
P: rompere

tarazζat [v.n.f.] ‘creak’
tarazζat, terazζat
P: rompere; scricchiolio

š-arz [v.caus.] ‘to cause to break’
imp. sg. šarz
P: rompere

**tt-arz [v.pass.] ‘to be broken’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. tt-ărţ
pf. 3sg.m. īttērz; res. 3sg.m. īttîrţa; fut. 3sg.m.
aītţez
P: rompere

arζži [v.cci] ‘to milk’

imp. sg. ěrζži
P: mungere

arζζži [v.n.m.] ‘milking’
arζζži
P: mungere

š-đrζ [caus.v.] ‘to cause to milk’

imp. sg. šērζži
P: mungere

RŻL

tarζζlt [f.] tarζζlt pl. tarζζlîn ‘wing (of a
bird)’
P: ala (di uccello)

Berber, cf. Ghd. tarζζlt ‘feather of a bird’;
Sok. tarζζlt ‘feather of a bird’; Zng. tärgζL
‘feather’

S1

s, syar, sar [prep.] ‘from’
1sg. syar-i 3sg.m. syar-as 3pl.m. syar-sîn
s, sé, s-gar [PT:V,XII], s-gâr [PT:III,XV], s-ar
[PT:IV,XIII,XV], s-ăr [PT:II], s [Z:VIII]; 1sg.
s-gâr-i [PT:IV,V] 3sg.m. s-gar-es, s-gâr-es
[PT:VII,XV]; 3pl.m. s-gar-sîn
P: da PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, XII, XIII, XV
Z: VIII,X
\( \text{sē tfilli n amēden} \) ‘from the house of the man’
- Nouns governed by \( s \) can be followed by \(-i\):
  - \( \text{yeskī s-tfillī-y-i} \) ‘he came out of the house’
  - \( \text{ḥḥār s-tebārūt-i} \) ‘he took off from the road’
- \( s-ar \) can be used interchangeably with \( n \) to indicate the material of which something is made.

\( \text{wāya s-ar zzīl} \) ‘this is made of iron’
\( \text{aqīz n ūrāği} \) ‘golden necklace’

\( \text{skə̀mma, sə̀mma [conj.]} \) ‘because’
\( \text{s-kēmma, sēmma [PT:XI]} \)
\( \text{Ar. (a)l-ʔawwal} \) ‘earlier, previous, former’

\( \text{s [prep.]} \) ‘with (instrumental)’

\( \text{sī-s, sīn, sīn, sē, sorrōz} \) [Z:VI; 3sg. sī-s [P:example]]
\( \text{sīn, sīn, sīn, sīn, sīn} \) [PT:V]
\( \text{Pan-Berber, cf. Zng. nīs} \) ‘with’

\( \text{z-di, z-diwa [phrase]} \) “how much does it cost?”

\( \text{tīsī, tīsī [B21] pl. tīsīwīn} \)

\( \text{tīsī, tīsī [f.]} \) ‘liver’
\( \text{tīsī} \)
P: specchio

\( \text{Ś7} \)
\( \text{a-isābbāh [v.cc̄c]} \) ‘to bathe’
\( \text{a-isābbāh} \) [PT: IX]

\( \text{Ś6} \)
\( \text{tist n agəwāl} \) [phrasal n.] ‘mirror’
\( \text{tist n agəwāl} \)
P: specchio

\( \text{Ś5} \)
\( \text{tisī} \) [f.] pl. tisiwīn ‘egg, genitalia’
\( \text{tisī, tisī} [B21] \) pl. tisiwīn

\( \text{Ś4} \)
\( \text{tisi} \) [f.] ‘liver’
\( \text{tisi} \)
P: egli PT: passim

\( \text{Ś3} \)
\( \text{ass [v.č*]} \) ‘to spread (a mat), to stretch (to make the bed)’

\( \text{impf. təssā} \)
\( \text{imp. sg. ess pl.m. ssät pl.f. ssīmet; impf. 1sg. tessīh 3sg.m. ātessā} \)
(s-)séba’[PT:III], séba’a [PT:IX, XV]
PT: III, IX, XV
♦ Ar. sab’a(t) ‘seven’

SD
**ssùdd [v.cc] ‘to be enough’
res. ssùdd
res. 3sg.m. issùdda, issuddi-(dîk)-a [P: example]
P: bastare PT: XII M: assez aéssouđ
> issuddi-dîk-a ‘it is enough for me’
♦ ela isèdd ‘to be satisfied’; Ar. sadda ‘to fill a gap, to remove or remedy deficiencies’

SF/SW
tasift, tasiwt [f.] pl. təssiw ‘(terraced) roof’
tasift, tasiwt pl. tessîu
P: tetto M: toit thasiout طاسيوت

SG
tsigit, tsiği [f.] pl. təsigitin ‘rib’
tsigit, tsiği pl. təsigitin
P: costola
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. tasîget ‘medium-length bone’; Kb. tasga ‘side’; To. tásâja ‘flank, side of the body (at ribs)’

SY
āsây [v.cc] ‘to buy’
pt. = fut. sôy, res. sôy impf. təssay
imp. sg. āsāy pl.m. sâjat pt.f. sâjmet; pt. 1sg. saḥh 3sg.m. isâj; res. 1sg. ssîḥha (gh>hh) 3sg.m. isîja; fut. 1sg. asâḥh 3sg.m. aisâj;
impf. 1sg. tessâḥh 3sg.m. aitesâj
P:comperare PT: II, VII, XII M: acheter yéségha يسغه
♦ TC: 89
Berber, cf. Ghd. āsæ ‘to buy’; Kb. ay ‘to buy’;
Zng. āʔsî(ʔ) ‘to buy, pay’
asûy [v.n.m.] ‘purchase, buying’
asâj
P: comperare, compera

SK1

(a)ssâk [v.ēc] ‘to fart’
imp. sg. ēssék
P: peto
(a)ssûk [v.n.m.] ‘farting’
ēssûk
P: peto

SK2
āsâk, usâk [vvc] ‘to take away’
imp. sg. asêk, usêk
P: porte M: soulever asekt اسکت; voler, dérober yousek يوسک
♦ K: 546
Berber, cf. Ghd. ḍasâk ‘to take (imperative only)’; ma asy ‘to take’

SK3
taskânni [f.] ‘thyme’
teskénni
P: timo

SK ▶ SQ

SKN
**asân [v.cc] ‘to live’
res. āsâk
res. 3sg.m. yēskâna
PT: VI
♦ ela yésken ‘to live’; Ar. sakana ‘to live, to reside’

SKR2 ▶ ŠKR

SL1
āsâl, āsal [v.cc∗] ‘to hear’
pt. āslâ res. ḍsla fut. ās(ə)l impf. sâlla
imp. sg. esèl, āsèl pl.m. slât pl.f. slîmet; pt. 1sg. eslîh 3sg.m. yeslâ, yeslî- (t) [PT:V] 3pl.m. slân [PT: XV], slân- (t) [PT:II]; res. 1sg. sîlîh 3sg.m. yeslîâya; fut. 1sg. aslâh 3sg.m. ayêsèl; impf. 1sg. sellîh 3sg.m. isélâ
P: sentire PT: II, IV, V, XV M: sourd
eslalodah اسلالوده
○ The analysis of Müller’s eslalodah

ااسلالوده
is difficult, but it clearly consists of the root SL ‘to hear’ + ɬūda ‘nothing’.

The analysis of Müller’s eslalodah
Berber, cf. Ghd. āsl ‘to listen’; Kb. sāl ‘to listen’; To. asāl ‘to listen, hear’
asallú [v.n.m.] ‘hearing’
asseălù
P: sentire

SL2
t(ə)sili [f.] pl. tsiliwīn ‘sandal’
tēsîlî pl. tsiliwīn
P: sandalo

tasile ‘sandals for traveling’; Sok. tsîla ‘sandal’

SL3
sîla, sîlak [adv.] ‘along here’
sīla, sīlak
P: qui PT: IV

SLM
*ssàlləm [v.c̄c] ‘to greet’
pt. / seq. ssàlləm impf. salləm
pt. 3sg.m. issélləm; impf. 3pl.m. selləmən
PT: XI

A stem II denominal derivation of Ar.
salām ‘well-being, peace; salutation, salute’, non-classical, but very common in the Arabic dialects.
ləslam [m.] ‘Islam’
laslām
Z: XI

Ar. islām ‘Islam’

SM1
ısəm [m.] pl. smiwən ‘ear; handle of a basket’
inesis pl. smıwen
P: orecchio M: oreille esem اسم

Berber, cf. Ghd. ʿesəm ‘ear’

Bynon (1984: 255) discusses a Proto-Afro-Asitiac origin of this word. He states that the Ghadames word ʿesəm ‘ear’ has nog cognates in Berber, but Awjila shows a clear parallel.

SM2

asâm [m.] ‘a stick for threshing barley in a special mortar’
asâm
P: bastone; pestello

SMH
?ssə̀mm(a)h [stat.v.] ‘to be sweet, pretty, handsome’
3sg.m. simeh
Z: III

ELA semh ‘sweet, pretty, handsome’

SN1
(a)ssə̀n [v.c̄c] ‘to send, send out’
res. = fut. āssən impf. təssə́n
imp. sg. ssə̀n, essə̀n; res. issə̀n-(dîk)-a
[P: example: io]; fut. 3sg.m. ayęssə́n [PT:X];
impf. 1sg. tessə̀n 3sg.m. itəssə́n
P: inviare, mandare PT: X M: envoyé
??maıṣen معيسن; envoyer āssə̀n عيسن
⇒ issə̀n-dîk-a ‘he sent me’ [P: sub io (example)]
⇒ Yuşâd Žḥā márra igéllı ayęssə́n
akellîmënnes amakàn baʿid ‘One day Juha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.’ [PT:X]

Perhaps Berber, cf. Foq. azən ‘to send’; Ghd. azən ‘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
tsunut [f.] pl. tsənuttın, tsənutın ‘thick needle’
tsunut, tsənút pl. tsənūttın, tsənutın
P: ago B21: 384 M: aiguiser souunnit سنیت

TC: 393 NZ: GNF
Berber, cf. Zng. tuṣṣugnaḌ, tuṣṣugnad ‘needle’; Foq. tsegə́n ‘needle’; Kb. tissə́gnə́t ‘needle’; Siwa tızıgnat ‘needle’; Nef. tissegnə́t
‘needle’; Sok. tasnût ‘awl’.
Kossmann (1996) reconstructs *tisagnVβt for ‘needle’. The correspondence with the Awjila word is problematic, as we would expect a reflex of the *g. Nothing is know 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’
asìn pl. sínən
P: dente M: dent sennou سنو
◊ Berber, cf. Ghd. asén ‘tooth’; To. ésen ‘tooth’

**SN5**

tisə̀nt [f.] ‘salt’
tisént
P: sale M: salé tessan تسان
◊ Berber, cf. Ghd. tésənt ‘salt’; Nef. tisənt ‘salt’; Siwa tisənt ‘salt’; Sok. tisént ‘salt’; To. tȅsəmt ‘salt’

**SN6**

=isin [pron.] 3pl.m. indirect object pronoun
-isîn, -isin [PT:I,II,XV], -isin [PT:I,XV], res. -isîna
P: essi PT: I,II,XV

=isnət [pron.] 3pl.f. indirect object pronoun
-ísnet, -îsnët [PT:XV], res. -îsnîta
P: essi PT: XV

**SNDS**

səndâs [m.] pl. səndəsən ‘lavatory’
sendâs pl. sendâsen
P: latrina

**SNSR1**

sənsər [v.cccc] ‘to close with a chain’
impf. sənsəɾ

**SRF**

(ə)sə̀raf [v.cccc] ‘to weave cords or strands of palms’
impf. sə̀rrəf
impf. sg. sə̀rrəf; impf. 3sg.m. isérrəf
P: intrecciare
\* Kb. *əsrəf* ‘to tie in a knot’

*āsrəf* [v.n.m.] ‘weaving cords or strands of palms’

*aserəf*

P: intrecciare

*əśrīf* [m.] pl. *ərəfəwən* ‘braid of palm leaves to make baskets’

*əśrəf* pl. *serfəwen*

P: treccia di capelli

**SRFG ➤ SRFQ**

**SRFG**

*sərfə́q, sərfə́g* [v.cccc] ‘to slap, smack’

imp. sg. *serfə́q*, *serfə́g*

P: schiaffeggiare

**SRM**

*tərrım* [f.] pl. *tərmin* ‘the middle of a palm leaf from which the leaves sprout’

*tərrılm* pl. *tərmin*

P: *palma* M: écaille *təserim* تَسْرِيْم; *écorce* taserint تَسْرِيْم; *feuille* tesserim تَسْرِيْم; *pelure* taserint تَسْرِيْم

**SRR**

*əssərîr* (or: əssərîr) [m.] ‘desert’

*əssərîr*

P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)

\* ELA *sərə́r* ‘stony, sandy desert’

**SS**

*sas* [v.cvc*] ‘to beg’

impf. *səsa*

imp. sg. *səs*; impf. 3sg.m. *səsə* [PT:VI] ptc. *səsən* [PT:VI]

P: mendicare PT: VI

\* Berber, cf. Foq. *səs* ‘to beg’; Nef. *səsa* ‘to beg’

*səs* [v.n.m.] ‘begging’

*səs*

P: mendicare

wa *səsan* [phrasal noun] ‘beggar’

wa *səsən*

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**STM ➤ WRTN**

**SWLḤŽ**

*Sawilḥaž* [P.N.] Place name

*Sawilhāġ*

Z: X

**SWN**

*ssəwānî* [f.] ‘garden’

*ssuwānî* [P:example: che, il quale],

*səwānî- (nnāk) [PT: XV], suwānî- (nnāb) [PT: XV]

PT: XV

\* Mor. *ərəni* ‘irrigated garden’; Ar. *sənīya(t) pl. sawənin* ‘water scoop’.

This word is derived from the Arabic plural, but it functions as a feminine singular in Awjila.

**SYF**

(ə)səyəf [v.cccc] ‘to bathe’

pf. *əsəyyəf* res. *əsəyyəf* impf. *səyyəf*

imp. sg. *siyəf*; pf. 1sg. *siyəf* 3sg.m. *isəyəf*; res. 1sg. *sisəyəf* 3sg.m. *isəyəfs*; impf. 1sg. *səyyəf*

3sg.m. *isəyəf*

P: *bagno* M: baigner (se) *yəsiəfa* یسيفه;

rafaichir *esiaf* اسياف

\* Berber, cf. To. *əssəf* ‘to swim’; Siwa *səyəf* ‘to swim’

*asəyəf* [v.n.m.] ‘bathing’

*asiyəf*

P: bagno

**SŽR ➤ ŠŽR**

**SʕD1**

*ʔa-i ssəʕəd-(kım)* [v.cvcc?] ‘to help’

fut. 3sg.m. *āssaʿəd-(kım)*

PT: I

\* Ar. *səʕada* ‘to help’

**SʕD2**

*ssəʕida* [m.] ‘penis’

*ssəʕida*

P: penis
Probably a euphemistic use of Ar. saʿida(t) 'the happy one (f.)'

**ṢBḤ**

šbâḥ [m.] ‘tomorrow’
šbāḥ, šābāḥ [PT: XV], šbah-(énnen) [PT: XV], šbah [PT: XV]
P: domani PT: XV

† Ar. šhaboh ‘morning’

**ṢBR**

**šbár [v.ccc] ‘to wait’**

imp. pl.m. šbārât
PT: II M; attendre sbordik صبر

† Ar. šabara ‘to bind, to be patient’

**ṢBṬ**

šə̀bəṭ [m.] ‘yesterday’
šābāṭ, šåbāṭ, šåbāṭ [P: example: che, il quale]
P: ieri

† Paradisi claims an Arabic origin, but no equivalent in an Arabic dialect has been found.

**ṢDQ**

**šə̀ddaq [v.ccc] ‘to believe’**

res. zsg. tšāddät-(î)-ya
PT: VIII M; certainainement ezdaqa اصدقة

† Ar. šadadaqa ‘to believe’

**ṢḤB**

aššāh-(énnen) [m.] ‘friend’
ešṣāh-(énnen) [PT: IX], ēšshāh-(énnen) [PT: XII] ‘friend’
PT: IX, XII

† Ar. šāhīb ‘friend’

**ṢḤḤ**

ṣaḥīḥ [stat.v.] ‘to be healthy, truthful’
ṣaḥīh
PT: IV, V

† Ar. šāhīh ‘healthy, well, sound, healthful, truthful’

**ṢL**

**usāl [v.ccc] ‘to arrive’**

pf. / seq. usāl

pf. 3pl.m. usālen [PT: V], usālën [PT: XV], usālen [PT: XV]
PT: V, XV

† ELA yusāl ‘to arrive, to reach’; Ar. wašala ‘to arrive’

**ṢLʕ**

ašlālāt, ašlalāt [adj.] ‘bald’
m. sg. aleslā, alešla’
PT: XIV

† Ar. ašlaf ‘bald’

**ṢNDQ**

šṣundʊq [m.] ‘crate, box’
šṣundūq
PT: V

† Ar. šundūq ‘crate, box; chest’

**ṢQṬ**

tṣuqūṭ [f.] pl. tṣuquṭin ‘braid of hair’
tṣuqūṭ pl. tṣuqūṭin
P: treccia di capelli

**ṢR**

**šār [v.cvc] ‘to happen’**

res. šāra
res. ptc. šārāna
PT: II, V

† ELA šāra ‘to occur, happen’; Ar. šār ‘to become; to occur, happen’

**ṢRT**

?šərrāṭ [v.ccc] ‘to draw a line’

imp. sg. šərrāt
P: linea, riga

† Berber, cf. Ghd. āsrəd ‘to draw a line’; To. tasərret ‘line, stripe’
asərrīṭ [m.] pl. šarritən ‘line, stripe’
asərrīṭ pl. šərrīṭen
P: linea, riga

**ṢSM**

šušem [v.cvcc] ‘to be quiet’
šušem, šušem
P: tacere

† Berber, cf. Foq. sūsem ‘to be quiet’; Nef.
sûsem ‘to be quiet'; To. sùsem ‘to be quiet, shut up'; Sok. sùsem ‘to be quiet'; Siwa sîsəm ‘to be quiet’

**Š1 ► NŠ3**

**Š2/ŠF**

tîšt [f.] ‘sieve’

tîšt

P: setaccio

š-išəf [caus.v.] ‘to sieve’

impf. š-išəf

imp. sg. š-isəf; impf. 1sg. š-išəff

P: setacciare

♦ Siwa sîfəf ‘to sieve’
aš-išəf [caus.v.n.m.] ‘sieving’

aš-išəf

P: setacciare

**t-š-išəf [pass.caus.v.] ‘to be sieved’**

impf. res. t-š-išəf res. 3sg.m. itšišəf

P: setacciare

**Š(-D), Y-D**

yi-d [vce*.irreg.] ‘to come’

pf. ušá-d seq. = res. üš-a-d fut. üš impf. tašà-d-a

imp. sg. yid pl.m. yídât pl.f. yídîmet; pf. 1sg. ušîd, ušîd [PT:II] 3sg.m. yuşâd, yûşad [PT:VX], yuş-(ız)-d [P: example; PT:VI] 3pl.m. ušând [PT:II,IX,XV], ušân-(ız)-d [PT:VII]; res. 1sg. ušîlda 2sg. tušîdda [PT:VX], tāšîdda [Z:VIII] 3sg.m. yuşâda ptc. ušânda

[P:example: chi?]; fut. 1sg. auşâdg, auşâgd [PT:VX], aûšâ-(z)-d [PT:II] 3sg.m. ayûş 3sg.f. attûş [Z:VI]; impf. 1sg. tašîdana 2sg. tušîdda [P:example] 3sg.m. itâšâda

P: venire PT: II, III, VI, VII, IX, X, XI, XV Z: VI, VIII M; arrivâe youchâda یوشداه; arriver chada یوشداه; voyageur youchad یوشداه

♦ tašîdda-ká ‘do not come!'

♦ yid dîla ‘come here!'

♦ yuş-ız-d ‘he came to him'

TC: 878

Berber, cf. Ghd. ās ‘to come'; To. ās ‘to come'; Zng. āşši(ʔ) ‘to come, arrive’

ušû [v.n.m.] ‘coming’

ušû

P: venire PT: XV

**ŠĐ1**

ašûd [m.] pl. šudìn ‘(wooden) pole’

ašûd pl. šudìn

P: asta (di legno); bastone

♦ NZ: CD

Berber, cf. To. āşâdôd ‘prop, support; stick'; Zng. āşšâd pl. şugdân ‘stick'; Zenaga points to an assimilation, and may not belong to this root.

**ŠĐ2 ► ŠYD**

**ŠDL ► DL**

**ŠF**

išf [m.] pl. išfâwan, išfîwan ‘day’

išf, išf [PT:II], išf [PT:XI, XIV] pl. išfâwen, išfîwan [PT:III]

P: giorno PT: I, III, XII, XIV M: jour ficher

♦ TC: 928

Ghd. āṣf ‘day’; Kb. ass ‘day’; Zng. aṣ ‘day’

âšfa [adv.] ‘today’

âšfa, âšfa [B24]

P: oggi B24: 188

♦ Berber, cf. Siwa âšfa ‘today’

šišf [adv.] ‘by day’

šišf

P: giorno

**ŠFT**

(a)šfâţ [v.ccc] ‘to clean’

imp. sg. šfâţ

P: pulire

♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. āsfâd ‘to clean by rubbing'; To. (H.) āsfâd ‘to dry up'; MA sfâd ‘to wipe, clean'; Kb. sfâd ‘to wipe, clean’

ašfâţ [v.n.m.] ‘cleaning’
ašefāṭ
P: pulire

ŠG
šugg [v.cc] ‘to wait for’
pf. = seq. = fut. šugg res. šugga
imp. sg. šugg pl.m. suggāt pl.f. suggāmet; pf.
1sg. šuggīḥ 3sg.m. išugg; res. 1sg. šuggīha
3sg.m. išuggāya; fut. 1sg. ašuggāḥ 3sg.m.
ašugg
P: aspettare B21: 391
▷ šugg-îs ‘wait for him’
suggem ‘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
**əšɣə́l [v.ccc] ‘to work, toil’
pf. / seq. ašɣəl
pf. 3sg.f. twšġi (sic)
Z: IX
♦ Ar. šaġala ‘to occupy, busy’

ŠYR
išɣar [m.] pl. šyirən ‘firewood’
išgär pl. šgîren, šgîren [PT:XV; B21]
P: legna PT: XV B21: 391 M: bois sghaghin

♦ NZ: CYR3
asɣër ‘wood’; Kb. asɣar ‘wood’; Nef. isgâren
‘wood’; To. esâɣer ‘firewood’; Zng. əššə́r
‘tree’; Siwa šyərə̀n ‘firewood’ (Naumann
2013: 375).

Presumably related to the words for ‘ax’ (see
NZ: CQR1).

ŠK1
ški [v.cci] ‘to leave; to come out; to take
out (PT: IV)’
pf. əšk, əški res. əška impf. əškki
imp. sg. ški; pf. [P:example: che, il quale]
3sg.m. yešk, yeški [PT:IV,VI,XII,XIII], yeškî
[PT:IV], iški [PT:XV; Z.X], iški [Z:XIII] 3sg.f.
teški [PT:III], teški [PT:XV] 3pl.m škîyen
[PT:II]; res. 1sg. škîhya 3sg.m yeškâya; impf.
išekki
P: uscire PT: II, IV, V, VI, XII, XIII, XV Z: X,
XIII M: étéindre chekka シェッカ; étient echka
اشكة
♦ NZ: CK6
Cf. Ntifa ašk(-d) ‘to come’
škûy [v.n.m.] ‘leaving’
škûî
P: uscire
š-əškî [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. leave’
imp. sg. šeškî
P: uscire

ŠK2
išk, abəškîw [m.] pl. škwən, baškîwən
‘horn’
išk, abeškîw pl. škwên, beškîwen
P: corno
♦ NZ: CK11, CKW1 TC: 856 K: 514
Ghd. aškaw ‘horn’; Nef. aššâu ‘horn’; Kb. išš
‘horn’; Siwa aččào ‘horn’; Sok. iš ‘horn’; To.
iškk ‘horn’; Zng. təskâh ‘horn’

ŠKR1
škârat [f.] ‘sack’
škâret, skâret
PT: XII
♦ ELA škâra ‘sack’ (p.c. Benkato)

ŠKR2
tšukkûrt [f.] pl. tšukkurîn ‘a strand of
hairs on the middle of the head of
children’
tšukkûrt, tčukkûrt pl. tčukkurîn
P: capelli, peli
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. Ghd. tažəkkurt ‘strand
of hair on the middle of the head of children’
♦ NZ:CKR1

ŠKR3
tšəkrit [f.] pl. tšəkriyin 'story, tale'
ččekrīt, tšəkrīt pl. ččekrīyin
P: favola
♦ NZ: CKR12
ŠKR4
iškər [m.] pl. škërən 'nail'
išker pl. škën
P: unghia
♦ TC: 860
Berber, cf. Ghd. aškar 'nail'; Siwa aččér 'nail' (Naumann 2013: 415); Sok. iššēr 'nail'; To. éskær 'fingernail'; Zng. askär 'nail'; Nef. ašsâr 'nail'
ŠKŠK
šə̀kšək [v.cccc] 'to winnow barley'
impf. šəkšâk
imp. sg. šékšek; impf. 3sg.m. išekšâk
P: spularel'orzo
♦ Berber, cf. To. sàksâk 'sift couscous to separate lumps from remaining bits of flour'
ašə̀kšək [v.n.m.] 'winnowing barley'
ašékšek
P: spularel'orzo
ŠKTF
škùtəf [v.ccvc] 'to spit'
impf. škûtəf, štûkef
P: sputare
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. skut 'to spit'; Nef. eskūfs 'to spit'; Sok. skūttēf 'to spit'; Siwa sukəf 'to spit'
ŠL1
ašl [m.] pl. šalàwən 'village'
ašal, ašâl [PT:II,III] ašâl-(i) [PT:VIII,XV] pl. šâlāwen
P: paese, villaggio; Awjila PT: II, III, VIII M: village echal
ašal n awilen 'Awjila (litt. the village of Awjilans)'
♦ TC: 40 K: 489
Berber, cf. Ghd. ókâl 'earth'; Kb. akâl 'earth, soil'; To. ākâll 'land, country; sand'; Zng. aʔgây '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
♦ NZ: CL28
Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. āḏâyil (?) 'straw or palm used for weaving'
ŠL/ ŠLL
tašlit, tašlîlt [f.] 'bride'
tešlît, tešlîlt
P: sposa
♦ Berber, cf. Sok. taslit 'bride'
ŠLL
šlîl [v.ccvc] 'to rinse'
imp. sg. šlîl
P: sciacquare
♦ To. islal 'to be or become smooth, sleek'
ŠLS
tšəllîšt [f.] 'darkness'
tšellîšt, čellîšt
P: tenebre, oscurità
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa tosalast 'darkness'; Sok. tasullâst 'darkness'; Mzab sullas 'darkness'; Ouar. tsallast 'darkness'
ŠM1
tašûmt [f.] pl. tašumìn 'pillow'
tašûmt pl. tašûmìn
P: cuscino Bzi: 391 M: oreiller thachoum
♦ NZ: CM3
Berber, cf. Kb. tasumta, tasummta 'pillow'; Nef. tsûmtâ 'pillow'; To. sima-t 'to place one's head or feet on (cushion)'; Sok. tsûmti 'pillow'; Siwa tsânti 'pillow' (Souag 2010: 79).
Bynon (1984: 255) suggests that the words for 'pillow' are related to the word Ghd. ésm 'ear' and (missed by Bynon) Auj. isəm 'ear'.
Awjila has the radical S in isam, while it has the radical Š in tašumt. It is unclear how we should explain this difference on consonants, but we find it in several other roots as well (van Putten fthc.)

ŠMṬ

šmūṭ [m.] ‘cold’
šmūṭ, šmūṭ [PT:V]
P: freddo PT: V

>{ hoṣṣih šmūṭ ‘I feel cold’

◆ TC: 896

Berber, cf. Kb. ismaḍ ‘to be cold’; To. ismaḍ ‘to be cold, cool’; Zng. šāmmuḍ ‘to be cold’

ašāmmāt [adj.] pl. šāmmāṭan f.
tošāmmāt ‘cold’
m. sg. ašāmmāt pl. tešāmmāt
P: freddo

ŠN1

(a)ššān [v.ccc] ‘to know’
pf. / seq. ššān res. āššān impf. taššān
imp sg. ššēn, šēn; pf. 3sg.m. īššēn [PT:X]; res.
1sg. ššīnha [P:example: che, il quale] 2sg.
tšent-(ti)-ya [PT:XI] 3sg.m. ššīna [Z:X] 3pl.m.
ššēn-(tī)-ya [PT:XI]; impf. 3sg.m. iteššēn [P:
example]

>{ iteššēn-kā ‘he did not know’

◆ TC: 869

Berber, cf. Ghd. āššān ‘to know’; Kb. āššān ‘to know’; To. āššān ‘to know’; Zng. āššān ‘to know’

(š)šūn [v.n.m.] ‘knowing’
šūn
P: sapere

ŠN2

šūnāt [f.] ‘Sunnah’
šūnāt
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(a)šàqqi [f.] ‘sticks that go below the belly of an animal to which a harness is attached’
tāšāqqi, ččāqqi
P: finimenti

ŠQŠ

šèqqoš [v.ccc] ‘to clap your hands’
impf. šăqqâš
imp. sg. šăqqâš; impf. 1sg. šăqqâš 3sg.m.
išaqqâš
P: batterere

◆ NZ: CQC

Berber, cf. To. āqqâs ‘to clap (hands)’; Ghd. āqqâs ‘to clap your hands’

ŠR1

tšaràt [f.] ‘a fence (of palm leaves)’
ččārât
P: siepe

◆ Perhaps this noun is ultimately derived from the root ar ‘to open’.

ŠR2

(a)ššâr [v.ccc] ‘to mix, blend’
impf. taššâr
imp. sg. ššēr, ēššēr; impf. 1sg. teššâṛh 3sg.m.
iteššēr
P: mescolare M: brouiller echchera

◆ NZ: CR15

Berber, cf. Zng. āššâr ‘to be mixed’
(a)ššâr [v.n.m.] ‘mixing, blending’
ššâr
P: mescolare

ŠRF

ššârâf [m.] ‘old man’
ššârâf
PT: I

◆ Ar. šârīf ‘old (camel mare)’, Siwa has undergone the same semantic shift šârâf ‘old (man)’ (Souag 2010: 146).
ašārīn [m.] pl.  šārīnān  ‘bedouin, Arab’
ašarīn, asarīn [P:example] pl.  šerīnən
P: beduino, arabo
▷ Nettīn d-ašarīn, d-awīl-kā ‘he’s an Arab, not an Awjilan’
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa aserīn  ‘camel rider’

ašerīm [adj.]  ‘greedy, glutinous’
aserīm
P: ingordo, goloso

aš-ərwīt [caus.v.irreg.] ‘to speak, tell’
pf. / seq. = res.  š-ərwīt/y impf. š-ərwāyt
imp. sg. šārwīt; pf. 1sg. šārwīḥ 3sg.m. išerwīt, išerw-(īs)  [PT:V]; res. 1sg. šārwīḥa 3sg.m.
išerwītata; impf. 3sg.m. išerwā iht
P: parlare, raccontare PT: V M: parler echérouy  اشروى

aš-ərīṭ [m.]  ‘cut, tear; vulva’
asīṭ
P: strappo, taglio; vulva M: fendre charreit
fendu ??mecharreita  مشروعه
♦ Looks like Ar.  šārīṭ  ‘band, ribbon, tape’, but semantically comes closer to Ar.  šārō incision; long cut, rip slash, slit’. This word is probably a native derivation of the Arabic root, but compare the semantically similar astarrīṭ  ‘line, stripe’ derived from a native Berber root.  ➤ ŞT.

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P: parlare, raccontare PT: V M: parler echérouy  اشروى

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išerwītata; impf. 3sg.m. išerwā iht
P: parlare, raccontare PT: V M: parler echérouy  اشروى

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imp. sg. šārwīt; pf. 1sg. šārwīḥ 3sg.m. išerwīt, išerw-(īs)  [PT:V]; res. 1sg. šārwīḥa 3sg.m.
išerwītata; impf. 3sg.m. išerwā iht
P: parlare, raccontare PT: V M: parler echérouy  اشروى
echtaf اشتاف; teint ??méchtaf مشتاف; teinture echtafeh اشتافه; teinturier méchtaf مشتاف

♦ Berber, cf. Foq. ġêtēяти, ġêtēf ‘black’; Ghd. ġədəf ‘to be black’; Kb. ġədəf ‘to be black’; Nef. ġêtəf ‘black’; Sok. sətəf ‘black’; Siwa āsətəf ‘black’

štəf [adj.] štəfən f. təštəft pl. təštəfin ‘black’

m. sg. štāf, štăf [PT:XV], šṭəf (sic)[PT:XV], šṭāf [B21] pl. šṭəfen; f. sg. teštəft, teštəft [P:scarabeo] pl. teštəfin
P: nero; scarabeo PT: XV B2i: 386

**štətəf [caus.v.] ‘to make black’
pf. / seq. štətəf
pf. 3sg.f. tštətəf
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- was simplified to t-š-. As a result the causative-prefix is no longer visible.

ŠTW
štaw [m.] ‘loom’
štāw
P: telaio


ŚW
šu [v.cc*] ‘to drink; to make drink
[PT:XV]’
pf. / seq. āšwa res. āšwa fut. šu impf.
šāwwa

imp. sg. šu pl.m. šuwât pl.f. šuənət; pf. 1sg. šuâh 3sg.m. yešwā, īšuwi-(tənət) [PT:XV] 3pl.m. šuân [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. šuâha 3sg.m. ıšuwâya; fut. 1sg. āšwâh 3sg.m. aišû; impf. 1sg. ıšuwâh 2sg. tšuwâh [P: example] 3sg.m. ıšuwâwa
P: bere PT: XV B2i: 391 M: abreuvier

yéchouaya یشو وايه; boire yechou
▷ tšuwâit-kâ ‘do not drink’
▷ efkī-dīk a-swâh ‘give me something to drink’
▷ efkīdi kachoua افکيدي كشوه
‘donnez-moi à boire’ [M: boire], same sentence as above.

♦ TC: 881
Berber, cf. Ghd. āsaw ‘to drink’; Kb. saw ‘to drink’; To. āsû, asâw ‘to drink’; Zng. āšbi(ʔ) ‘to drink’

t-šuwât [v.n.f.] ‘drink, beverage, drinking’
ččuwât (<t-šuwâ-t)
P: bere, bevanda

ŚWL
šōwal-(āya) [m.] ‘bag’
šuwâl-(āya)
P (example): togliere, levare

♦ ELA šōwâl ‘sack, bag’ (p.c. Benkato)

ŚWR
šōwâr [v.ccc] ‘to dance’
seq. = res. āšwər impf. šōwwər

imp. sg. šwwâr; pf. 1sg. šwwâr̃ 3sg.m. yešwər; res. 1sg. šwwérə 3sg.m. yešwəra; impf. 1sg. šwwwər 3sg.m. ıšwwər
P: danzare

ašōwâr [v.n.m.] ‘dancing’
ašewâr
P: danzare M: danse choua شوة; danser
echoua اشوة; danseur châoua شاوه

ŚWŚ
ašō(w)âša [m.] ‘this year’
ašuwaša, šuwaša [B21]
P: anno B2i: 391

♦ TC: 883 K: 3
Berber, cf. Ghd. āzəggas ‘year’; Zng. āššəbbâš ‘year’; Foq. āšəggəsə, ašəgəsə ‘this year’; Nef. suggəsə, sūggəsə ‘year’; Siwa asəggasa ‘this year’ (Souag 2010: 265); Sok. asəggəsa ‘year’
SWY

َاصح‌َّاين [f.] ‘couscous’

ittiswaín
Z: XII

ŠXR

Šxàrra [m.] ‘Gicherra (an oasis
north-west of Awjila)’

Šhéra
P: Gicherra

SYN

pl. ?šeynat [f.] ‘ugly ones’

pl. šaínat
Z: III

◆ ela šenát ‘ugly (f.pl.)’

ŠZR

šážar [m.] ‘chamomile (the type of
chamomile that the Arabs call greísa)’

šéžar, séžar
P: camomilla

◆ ela šzar ‘trees(colll.)’; Ar. sažar ‘trees;
shrubs (coll)’

T1 ▶ WT

T2

= [pron.]3sg.m. direct object
-t, (t)-t [PT:III], -ât [PT:XV], res. -twa
P: egli PT: passim

=t [pron.]3sg.f. direct object
-tet, -têt [PT:II], (t)-tât [PT:XV], res.tita [PT:V]
P: egli PT: I, V, XII, XV

TDK

tudik [adv.] ‘so’

túdik, túdik, tudik [PT:IV], ttudik [PT:IX]

P: cosi PT: IV, IX M: ainsi toudig

◆ ddíwa ttudik ‘why?’ [PT:IX]

THYR

**taḥayyar [v.tcç] ‘to be confused’

pf. / seq. taḥéyyar

pf. 3sg.m. itaháyyár

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. taḥayyara ‘to become confused’

TKR

(a)tkar [v.ccc] ‘to fill up’

res. àtkar impf. takkar

imp. sg. etker, tker; res. 3sg.m. itkira [Z:VI];

impf. 3sg.m. itekkér

P: riempire Z:VI M: empl ??maëtker

◆ emplir aëtger; plein

etkerreh ّ eksîrh; riche etkérer

◆ NZ: CR4 K: 525

Berber, cf. Ghd. ətkur ‘to fill’; Foq. kkār ‘to fill’;

Siwa ḳččūr ‘to be full’

atakår [v.n.m.] ‘filling up’

atekår

P: riempire

TL1

**atál [v.cc*] ‘to become pregnant’

pf. / seq. tala, lla res. tla impf. tlâna, llâna
pf. 3pl.f. télânèt [P:example]; res. 1sg. tlîha,
llîha 2sg. télîta, tlîta 3sg.f. tlâya 3pl.f. tlânîta,
llânîta

P: incinta

◆ nehînet télânèt ‘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 taddess ‘pregnant (litt. She has
belly)’.

TL2

atatâ [m.] ‘linseed’

atâlâ

P: seme di lino

TLT

tlâta [num.] ‘three’

tlâta, tâlata

PT: II

◆ Ar. talâta(t) ‘three’

TMN

**tamânn [v.irreg.] ‘to wish’
atârsi n tebazârt [phrasal n.] ‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket mad of small string’
atérsi n tebazârt
P: cesta

TRWL2
tràwal [v.ccvcc] ‘to be born’
res. = fut. tràwal
imp. sg. tràwel; res. 1sg. trawîla 3sg.m. itrawella; fut. 3sg.m. aitrawel
P: nascere
♦ Perhaps somehow related to the verb érôū ‘to give birth’.

TSʕ
tás(a)ʕa [num.] ‘nine’
tésa’a
PT:V
♦ Ar. tisʕa(t) ‘nine’
tasʕín [num.] ‘ninety’
tes’in
PT:V

TŠ ► TS/TŠ
tettâ ► ečč

TW/Y
tùwi [v.irreg.] ‘to forget’
pt. / seq. = res. tûwoy(a) impf. tâya
imp. sg. tûwi; pf. 1sg. tuwyîh 3sg.m. ittûwi, ittuwi-(t) [PT:XIII]; res. 1sg. tuwyîha 3sg.m. ittuwîya; impf. 1sg. tâyîh 3sg.m. itâya
P: dimenticare PT: XIII
▷ tûwi žlân-îya ‘forget these words’
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. ôttu ‘to forget’; Ghd. âttu ‘to forget’; Kb. âtt ‘to forget’; Nef. étta ‘to forget’; To. itaw ‘to forget’; Siwa attu ‘to forget’; Sok. öttu ‘to forget’
atûwi [v.n.m.] ‘forgetting’
atûwi
P: dimenticare

TRRYL ▶ WYL

TŻR
ṭattāżər [m.] ‘merchant’
PT: VII
♦ Ar.ṭāžir ‘merchant’

***ṭafāb [v.ccc] ‘to toil’
res. ḋtəfāb
res. 2sg. ṭitˈiba
Z: VIII
♦ Ar. ṭaˈiba ‘to work hard, toil, slave, drudge’

āttəʃə́b [m.] ‘burden’
ēttəˈáb, ēttəˈāb-(énnes)
PT: XII
♦ Ar. ṭāžir ‘merchant’

ar-ūtə [adv.] ‘below’
ar-ūtə
P: sotto PT: VI
▷ s-ar-ūtə ‘from below’

***ṭafāb [v.ccc] ‘to toil’
res. ḋtəfāb
res. 2sg. ṭitˈiba
Z: VIII
♦ Ar. ṭaˈiba ‘to work hard, toil, slave, drudge’

aṭtə́f [v.cc̄] ‘to seize’
pf. aṭṭāf res. aṭba
imp. sg. aṭtaḥ; pf. 1sg. ṭbīḥ 3sg.m. yēṭbā; res. 1sg. ṭbīḥa 3sg.m. yēṭbāya
P: chiudere
▷ aṭṭāb tiwînnek ‘close your eyes!’
♦ NZ DB3
To. (Burkina Faso) āḍəb ‘to close’ (Sudlow 2009)

aṭilə́b [v.ccc] ‘to request’
impf. ṭolləb impf. 3sg.m. itələbeb
PT: V
♦ Ar. ṭalaba ‘to look, search; to request etc.’

aṭalūy, aṭalwi [m.] ‘turnips (coll.)’
aṭēlūi, āṭałwī
P: rapa
♦ NZ: DLW
taṭlawit [f.] pl. talwitin ‘turnip’
taṭlawit pl. ūtalwitīn
P: rapa

uṭār [v.vcc] ‘to twist, roll up’
seq. = res. = fut. ūṭār impf. tāṭār
imp. sg. uṭār; pf. 1sg. uṭārə́ 3sg.m. yūṭār; res. 1sg. uṭīrə́ha 3sg.m. yūṭīra; fut. 1sg. auṭērə́
3sg.m. auṭērə́; impf. 3sg.m. auṭārə́ 3sg.m. itaṭār
P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: tortu
yauthérah یوطرة; tortu, rendre tortu
??mayauthera مايوطره
♦ NZ: DR18
ṬR2

aṭār [m.] pl. ṣarīn ‘foot’
aṭār, aṭār pl. ṣarīn, ṣarīn-(nūk) [PT:V]
P: piede PT: V M: pied aṭhar ااطْحَرا

♦ NZ: DR3 TC: 235
Berber, cf. Ghd. aḍar ‘foot’; Kb. ḍar ‘foot’;
To. ḍār ‘foot, leg’ Zng. ḍaʔr ‘leg’

TR3

**ṭār [v.cvc] ‘to fly’
res. ṭār
res. 3sg.m. īṭāra
Z: II
♦ Ar. ṭāra ‘to fly’

TRS

ṭrās [v.ccc.irreg.] ‘to braid hair’
impf. ṭrāras
imp. sg. ṭrās; impf. 3sg.f. ṭṭrās (irreg.)
P: intrecciare
♦ NZ: DRS/Ş2
Berber, cf. Ghd. ādrās ‘to braid (hair); to comb’; Siwa aṭrās ‘to braid hair’
āṭārās [v.n.m.] ‘braiding of hair’
āṭārās
P: intrecciare

ŢRŞ

ṭrāš [v.ccc.irreg.] ‘to vomit’
impf. ṭrārāš
imp. sg. ṭrās; impf. 1sg. ṭṭrāš (irreg.)
P: vomitare
♦ Ar. ṭāraša ‘to vomit’

ŢS/ŢS

aṭs [v.cc*] ‘to laugh’
seq. = res. āṭṣa fut. āṭṣ impf. taşṣā
imp. sg. aṭs, aṭs pl.m. tṣāt pl.f. tṣaṭ; pf. 1sg. āṭṣiy 3sg.m. yēṭṣa; res. 1sg. tṣīḥa 3sg.m. yetsāya; fut. 1sg. aṭṣāḥ 3sg.m. ayēṭṣ; impf. 1sg. teṣṣāḥ 3sg.m. itēṭṣa
P: ridere M: rire etsa اُتْصَع

♦ NZ: DS2 TC: 259
Berber, cf. Ghd. āds ‘to laugh’; Zng. āṭṣi(ʔ) ‘to laugh’
taṣṣāt [v.n.f.] ‘laughing’
teṣṣāt
P: ridere
š-āṭs, s-āṭs [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o laugh’
imp. sg. šâṭs, sâṭs
P: ridere

V

avū [m.] ‘smoke’
avū
P: fumo

♦ NZ: B6 TC: 3 K: 206
Berber, cf. Ghd. ōbu ‘smoke’; Kb. abbu
‘smoke’; To. ḍhu ‘smoke’; Zng. oʔbih ‘smoke’
avūv [m.] ‘smoke of incense’
avūv
P: fumo
V ▶ NV

VDD

vdād [v.ccc] ‘to stop; to stand; to stand up’
seq. = res. āvdād impf. wāddād
imp. sg. vdād; pf. 3sg.m. yēvedd [PT:III]; res.
3sg.m. yevedda [PT:III], yevedda [B24] 3sg.f. tevedd [B24]; impf. 3sg. vedēdd 2sg.
dveddētt [P: Example] 3sg.m. ivēdded
P: fermarsi PT: III B24: 191
▷ dveddētt-kā ‘do not stand up’!

♦ NZ: BD1 TC: 955 K: 248
Berber, cf. Ghd. ābād ‘to stand up’; Kb. bdād, bdād ‘to stand up’; To. ʔbdād ‘to stand up; to remain on foot; stop’; Zng. āwād ‘to be standing’
āvdād [v.n.m.] ‘stopping’
āvdād
P: fermarsi

š-āvdād [caus.v.] ‘to cause to stop’
imp. sg. šēvedd
P: fermarsi; arrestare, fermare

VL1

avīl, avāl [v.cc*] ‘to cry, weep’
pf. āvlā res. āvla fut. āv(ə)l impf. vəllā
imp. sg. evél, avél; pf. 1sg. vliḥ 3sg.m. yevlā; res. 1sg. vliḥa 3sg.m. yevlāya; fut. 1sg. avlāh 3sg.m. ayével; impf. 1sg. vellīh 3sg.m. ivellā
3pl.f. vellānget [PT: XV]
P: piangere PT: XV M: pleurer yéwella

 Johannesburg, cf. To. ǝlh ‘to weep, cry’; Zng. ǝyyi(ʔ) ‘to cry’
(ǝ)vlin [v.n.m.] ‘crying’
vlīn, evlīn
P: piangere

š-ǝval [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. cry’
imp. sg. šével
P: piangere

VL2
tavöl [f.] pl. tvittìn, tвитин ‘sheep’
tevel, tevé [B24], tvel [B24] pl. dvittīn, tвитин [B24], dvittīn [B24]
P: pecora B24: 193

Berber, cf. To. ǝlh ‘to weep, cry’; Zng. ǝyyi(ʔ) ‘to cry’
(ǝ)vlin [v.n.m.] ‘crying’
vlīn, evlīn
P: piangere

VN
avùn [m.] ‘rain’
avún, avûn
P: pioggia

VN ➤ BN

VR1
**uvár [v.cc] ‘to cook’
res. = fut. ǝvər impf. tavər
res. 3sg.m. ǝyvərə 3pl.m. uverina; fut. 3sg.m. ayvərə 3pl.m. auveren; impf. 3sg.m. itåver 3pl.m. täveren ‘to cook’
P: bollire M: bouillir yétawer
▶ imin uverina ‘the water is cooked’
▶ imin täveren ‘the water cooks’

Johannesburg, cf. Ghd. ǝβǝr ‘to boil; βǝβǝr ‘to bubble (of boiling water)’; Nef. ǝwer ‘to boil’

VR2
avár [v.cc] ‘to close (from the inside)’
pf. = fut. vár res. vər impf. tavvər, or:
tavvār
imp. sg. avér; pf. 1sg. virh 3sg.m. ivér; res. 1sg. avîrha 3sg.m. ivira; fut. 1sg. avër, avërə
3sg.m. aïvér, aïvër; impf. 1sg. tavër 3sg.m.

P: chiudere

Berber, cf. Ghd. ǝβǝr ‘to be closed’; To. ǝhər ‘to be covered, be closed’
av(v)ûr [v.n.m.] ‘closing’
avûr, avvûr
P: chiudare

avir [m.] pl. virrən ‘wall’
avir pl. virren
P: muro M: batir hawir; bati wir

tavùrt, tavvùrt [f.] pl. tvurr ‘door’
tevār, tæięrt [B], tevurt [B] pl. dvurr, dfurr, dfurr [B]
P: porta B: 189

Berber, cf. Kb. tabburt ‘door’; Ghd. taββurt ‘door’; Sok. tawórt ‘door’

VR3
avir [m.] pl. vurəwən ‘plate, tray made of palm leaves; also used to cover other vessels’
avir pl. vurəwen
P: piatto, vassoio
tavurit (or: tavurit) [f.] pl. tvurit ‘small plate, tray’
tävurit pl. dvuritän
P: piatto, vassoio

VRG1
uf tavərgət [v.irreg.] ‘to dream’
impf. ivàrga
imp. uf tavərgət (lett. find dream); impf. 1sg.
vergîḫ 3sg.m. iverga
P: sognare

◆ NZ: BRG10 K: 177, 320
Berber, cf. Ghd. ɓʊrjɛ́ ‘to dream’; Foq. ɗɛ́xu;
Kb. argu ‘to dream’; To. hùrm-t tō to see in
dream, dream of

tavargât, tvərgât [v.n.f.] pl. tvərgâ ‘dream’
tävergât, dvergât, tavergât [P: sub sognare] pl.
dvergâ
P: sogno M: rêver
tewerquiat تورقیات

◆ K: 175, 321
Ghd. taʃərɡɔt ‘dream’; Kb. tərgit ‘dream’; MA

tawargit ‘dream’

VRG2
avə̀rg [m.] pl. vərgâwən ‘pestle (usually
metal, to crush cores of dates)’
avérg pl. vergâwen
P: pestello

VRK
vvr(ə)k [stat.v.] tō to be broad, wide’
1sg. vurkax 2sg. vurkât 3sg.m. vvr(ə)k
3sg.f. vûrkât pl. vvr(ə)kit
1sg. vurkâh 2sg. vurkât 3sg.m. vurk, vûrêk
3sg.f. vûrkêt pl. vûrêkit
P: largo
◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. To. ihraw ‘to be
spacious, wide’. Tuareg w does not commonly
 correspond to Awjila k.
š-ə̀vrək [caus.v.] tō broaden, widen’
imp. sg. şěvrêk
P: allargare; largo
tə̀vrək [f.] ‘width, breadth’
têvrek
P: larghezza

VRN
(ə)vrûn [m.] ‘flour’
vrûn, āvrûn, evrûn [B24], vrûn [B24]
P: farina M: farine

◆ NZ: BRN1 K: 171
Berber, cf. Ghd. aʃhrn ‘flour’; Kb. awrən
‘flour’

VRR
**vrûr [v.ccvc.irreg.] tō to be fertilized (a
palm)’
res. avrûr, vrîr (irreg.)
res. 3sg.m. yevrûra 3pl.m. vrûrîna
P: fecondare
◆ The vowel change of the root in the 3pl.m.
is unexpected.

◆ NZ: BR5 K: 267
Berber, cf. Ghd. aʃhrar ‘to be fertilized (a
palm)’; To. (H.) sirăr ‘to be fertilized’
š-ə̀vrər [caus.v.] tō to fertilize (a palm)’
imp. sg. şévrêr
P: fecondare
aš-ə̀vrər [caus.v.n.m.] ‘fertilizing (a
palm)’
ašévrêr
P: fecondare

VT ▲ VL2

VT1
àvə́t [m.] pl. və̀təwən ‘night’
ávôt, avôt-(idîn) [PT:XV] pl. voṭâwen
P: notte PT: XV M: nuit awed ١٩
▶ d-ávôt ‘tonight’ The d here seems to be
the retained preposition dī ‘in’ which is
otherwise lost.

◆ NZ: D8 TC: 643 K: 189
Berber, cf. Kb. ɪd ‘night’; Ghd. ɛḇâd ‘night’; To.
èhâd ‘night’; Zng. ɪd ‘night’
tand-àvə́t [f.] ‘Owl (Litt.: The one of the
night)’
tan d-ávôt
P: gufo

VT2
avât [v.cc] tō to swear (an oath, etc.)’
IPtəvvâṭ
imp. sg. avôt; impf. 1sg. tevvâṭh 3sg.m. itevvâṭ
P: giurare
Berber, cf. Ghd. ābəd ‘to swear’; To. ṣhəd ‘to swear, make an oath’

avūṭ [v.n.m.] ‘swearing’
avūṭ
P: giurare

W1
u, w ‘and’

W2
īwi [kin.m.] pl. amāẓzin ‘son’

W3
āww [v.c]∗ ‘to knead (bread dough)’

W4
wa [interj.] ‘no’

W5
wa f. ta [pron.] pl. wi f. tipre-modifier

| WDF | awadûf [m.] ‘shoulder bone’ | awedûf | P: osso | WDN1 |
wàddàn [v.ccc] ‘to crow (of a rooster)’

pf. / seq. wàddàn impf. wàddàn

pf. 3sg.m. iwèdden; impf. 3sg.m. iwèddàn

P: cantare M: minaret èouadden

♦ Mor. Ar. wedden ‘to crow’ (Harrell 1966)

WG ▶ Č1

WGL

awàgèl [m.] pl. wàg(ə)lən ‘canine tooth’

awegi[l] pl. wègélen

P: dente

♦ TC: 978 K: 401


‘lower wisdom tooth’; Zng. ta[lɔ]gL ‘canine’

tàwágil[t] (or: tuwágil[t]) [f.] pl. tàwágilin

‘molar tooth’

tuwegïl[t] pl. tuwegi[l]n

P: dente

WL1

awil [m.] pl. awilən ‘person from Awjila’

awil pl. awilen, awilen [PT:II]

P: aujilino PT: II

tawilt [f.] pl. tawiltin ‘woman from

Awjila’

tawilt pl. tawilti[n]

P: aujilino

WL2

s-alàwwâl [adv.] ‘first; once, formerly’

s-alàwel [PT:III], lòwâl [PT:II]

PT: II, III

♦ Ar. ‘àwwâl first; foremost’ Dialectal Arabic

‘once, formerly’ (p.c. Souag)

s-alàwwâl [adv.] ‘first; once, formerly’

s-âlûwâl

PT: XI

WL3

wòlli [kin.f.] ‘daughter’

2sg.m/ wàllî-k 2sg.f. wàllîm 3sg. wàllî-s

1sg. wëlli 2sg.m. wëllî-k 2sg.f. wëllî-m 3sg.

wëllî-s, wëllî-s [Z:II]

P: figlio Z: II

♦ Berber, cf. Foq. ëlli ‘daughter’; Kb. yollî

‘daughter’; Nef. yellî ‘daughter’

WL4

awil [m.] ‘word’ pl. žlàn ‘words, language’

awil pl. žlàn ➤ ŽL

P: parola

♦ TC: 575

Berber, cf. Ghd. awal ‘speech’; Kb. awal

‘word, speech’; To. áwal ‘speaking, talk’; Zng.

áwy ‘talking, speech, language’

WL6

wàla [adv.] ‘not’

wèlâ

PT: V

♦ cf. Siwa ula negative particle, for a
discussion on the origin of this word see Souag


WLH

wàllàhi [interj.] ‘by god (I swear)’

wàllàhi, wàllàhi

PT: V

♦ Ar. wa llàhi ‘by god!’

WLK

twàllîkt [f.] pl. twàllîkin ‘louse’

twàllîkt pl. twàllîkin

P: pidocchio M: pou thàoullekh

♦ K: 492, 581

Berber, cf. Ghd. tâllîkt ‘louse’; Kb. tîlkit

‘louse’; To. tîlîkk ‘louse’; Zng. tîllîkt ‘louse’

WLS

twàllîst [f.] pl. twàllîsin ‘big plate or bowl

of wood’

twàllîst pl. twàllîsin

P: piatto, vassoio M: tabla taouèlest

♦ طلست

WN1

iwìnàn, iwìnàn, iwîn [num.] f. iwàtan,

iwàt ‘one’

m. iwìnàn, iwìnàn [PT:IX,XII], iwìnàn [PT:III],

iwìnàn [PT:V], iwìnàn [PT:II,V,XI], iwîn f.
iwâtan, iwâtân [PT:XV], iwât

ywânan
♦ TC: 1028 K: 444, 615
Berber, cf. Ghd. yôn f. yot ‘one’; Kb. yiwän f. yiwot ‘one’; Zng. yuân ‘one’

WN2
awânu [m.] pl. wanyin, wannya ‘well’
awênî pl. wênîn, wênîn
P: pozzo M: puits aouénon
♦ TC: 718
Berber, cf. Ghd. ânu ‘well’; Kb. ânu ‘chasm, well’; To. ânu ‘well’; Zng. ânî ‘well’)
tâwânit (or: tuwânit) [f.] pl. tâwânitin
‘pit, hole’
tuwenît pl. tuwenîn
P: buca

WN3
iwân [v.icc] ‘to satiate, satisfy’
impf. tiwân
imp. sg. âwen; impf. 3sg.m. itiwân
P: saziarsi M: rassasié eiyouaneh
aaaouaneh; rassasier eiouan
♦ K: 707
Ghd. âwân ‘to be satisfied’; Foq. âwen ‘to satisfy’
š-iwân [caus.v.] ‘to make satisfied’
impf. š-iwân
imp. sg. šâwen; impf. 1sg. šâwânî
P: saziarsi

WN4
=iwan [demonstrative] pl. =idânindistal
deictic clitic
-iwân, -îwan [PT:XV] pl. -idânîn
P: quello PT: XV
▷ amêden-iwân ‘that man’
▷ temîgni-y-îwan ‘that woman’

WNM
wên-mâ [conj.] ‘when, as soon as’

wên-mâ
PT: II
♦ ELa wên-mâ ‘when, as soon as’

WQ
awwâq [v. ĉc?] ‘to uproot; to dig out’
seq. = res. âwwâq
impf. sg. uwâq; pf. 3sg.m. yûwôq; res. 3sg.m. yuwîqa; impf. 3sg.m. îtuwîq
P: sradicare, estirpare
awwûq [v.n.m.] ‘uprooting; digging out’
uwûq
P: sradicare, estirpare

WRTN
wârtna [kin.f.] ‘sister’
sg. 2sg.m. wârtna-k 3sg. wârtna-s 1pl. wârtna-tnax; pl. 2sg.m. sâtmâ-k 2sg.f.
sâtmâ-m
sg. 1sg. wîrtna 2sg.m. wîrtna-k 3sg. wîrtna-s, wîrtna-s [P:example] 1pl. wîrtna-tnax pl. 1sg.
sêtma 2sg.m. sêtma-k 2sg.f. sêtma-m [PT:XV] ‘sister’
P: sorella PT: XV
▷ wîrtnâs na melên ‘the sister of the man’
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. wîltna pl. yasstâna ‘sister’;
Nef. wîlamâ pl. tsêtmâ ‘sister’; Sok. últna
‘sister’; Foq. úlêtna pl. sêtma ‘sister’; Siwa
yûltma ‘sister’; Zng. yûdêm, t’êdmâm pl.
t’esâdmâm ‘sister’

WRŽ
twərzît [f.] pl. twërzn ‘root of a plant’
twërzn pl. twërzn
P: radice di pianta
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. tâgur闸 ‘underground root’

WS1
tawoûs [f.] ‘bed’
tuëss, tawoûs
P: letto M: lit thaoues طووس; tapis thaoues طووس
> *ess túéss* ‘make the bed!'


**WS2**

wása [pron.] indefinite relative pronoun

wása

PT: II

**WS**

awiš [m.] pl. wiššən ‘sword’

awiš pl. wiššen

P: spada M: sabre hauch حوَش

♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *aus* ‘sword’

**WT/Y**

awit [v.irreg.] ‘to hit, strike’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. wiḍ/y impf. tawwiḍ/y

imp. sg. awit pl.m. awiyāt pl.f. awimet; pf. 1sg.

wiḍ 3sg.m. iwit; res. 1sg. awiḥa 3sg.m. iwita;

fut. 1sg. awiḥ 3sg.m. aiwiṭ; impf. 1sg. tawwiḥ,

tawwiḥ 3sg.m. itawwiṭ

P: battere M: abattu youayah يوُياُه;

coup eioued ایواد

♦ TC: 985 K: 594

Berber, cf. Ghd. āwət ‘to hit, strike’; Kb. waṭ ‘to hit, strike’; To. ə̀wət ‘to hit, strike’; Zng. äwih ‘to hit, strike’

**tīta** [v.n.f.] ‘blow, hit’

tīta, tīṭa(n) [Z.XII]

P: battere; colpo Z: XII

awit avūn [phrasal v.] ‘to rain (litt. rain hits)’

awit avūn

P: piovere

**WT**

wátti-(dikkənī) [v.cč*] ‘to prepare’

impf. pf. / seq. wāta imp. sg.

wētti-(dikkēnī) pl.f. wettimet; pf. 3sg.f. twētta

PT: XV

♦ ELA watti ‘to make ready, to prepare’ (Stem II) (p.c. Benkato)

**ut/uti [v.vci/vc*] ‘to be ready’

res. ùta

res. 3sg.m. yutāya

PT: XV

♦ ELA yūṭi, Stem I of the above, thus yūṭi ‘to be ready’. (p.c. Benkato)

Ultimately from Ar. ?atā ‘to come, arrive’

**WT1**

waṭ [v.cc] ‘to arrive; to reach’

pf. wāṭ res. wāṭ impf. tawwāṭ

imp. sg. woṭ; pf. 1sg. wṭṭh 3sg.m. iwṭṭ; res. 1sg.

wṭṭha 3sg.m. iwēṭa; impf. 1sg. tūwāṭh 3sg.m.

itwōṭ

P: arrivare; raggiungere M: atteindre

yéouath يوماُت

♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. āwəd ‘to reach’; Kb. awəd ‘to reach, arrive’; To. ə̀wəd ‘to arrive’

awūṭ [v.n.m.] ‘arriving; reaching’

ūwūṭ

P: raggiungere

**WT2**

**QṬ**

**WWN**

wīwan f. tíwan pl. widānin f. tidānin

[pron.] distal deictic pronoun

wīwan f. tíwan pl. widānin f. tidānin

P: quello

**WYL**

ittawwiyal [v.???] ‘to be dumbfounded, amazed’

pf. 3sg.m. ittōwīyel [PT:VIII]

PT: VIII

♦ ELA yetwayyel ‘to be dumbfounded, to wonder at’ (p.c. Benkato)

**X**

=āx [pron.]pl. direct object pronoun

-āh, res. -āḥa

P: noi

**XBR**

**xəbbər [v.cčc] ‘to tell’

impf. xəbbār
impf. 3sg.m. iḥabbār
PT: II
❉ Ar. ḥabbara ‘to tell’

**AXBAT [v.ccc] ‘to hit, strike’
pf. / seq. āxbət
pf. 3sg.m. yehbōt-(t)
PT: III
❉ Ar. ḥabta ‘to beat, strike’

**ƏXƏBƏT [v.ccc] ‘to hit, strike’
PF:II
Ar. ḫabbara ‘to tell’

PT:III
Ar. ḫabaṭa ‘to beat, strike’

**ÄLXƏD(A)RƏT [f.] ‘vegetable’
elhāḍārət
PT: XII M: fruits elkhodret
❉ Ar. ḥudra(t) ‘vegetation, verdure, greenery, greens’

XL
xàlì [m.] ‘(maternal) uncle’
ḥālì
P: zio
❉ Ar. ḥal ‘uncle’

**XƏMMƏ́M [v.cc̄c] ‘to think, ponder’
xəmmə́m
pf. xəmmə́mām
pf. 3sg.m. yehammə́m [PT:II]; impf. 2sg.
athanmə́mə́t [P:example: che cosa?] 
PT: II
❉ Ar. ḥammana ‘to guess, conjecture, surmise’

XR1
axir [m.] ‘the better (thing)’
āhīr [PT:IV,IX], ahēr [PT:III]
PT: III, IV, IX
❉ Ar. hayr ‘better’, perhaps the initial a in
Awjila comes from a regularized superlative
formation ahyar.
Alternatively, this word may come from Ar.
āhīr ‘last’, which underwent a semantic shift
of ‘the last’ > ‘the best’

XR2
(a)xɔxər [v.čc] ‘to remove (oneself); to
remove, take away’
imp. sg. ēḥhār, ḥhēr [P: example]
P: togliere, levare
❉ hēr s-tebārūt-i ‘Get off the road!’
❉ hēr šuwal-āya ‘remove that bag’

XR3
ðxra ‘feces’
ōhra
Z: IX
❉ Ar. ḥarā? ‘feces’

XRBS
ðlxərbuš-(ānnəs) [m.] ‘garden’
elḥarbūš-(énnes), elḥarbūš-(έννες)
PT: XV
❉ Certainly derived from Ar. ḥarbūš ‘tent’, but
the semantic shift is unusual.

XS
tixsi [f.] pl. tixsiwīn ‘flock, cattle’
tihṣī ‘head of a sheep or goat’ pl. tihṣiwīn
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. takših
‘female goat’

XTM
**AXTÄM [v.ccc] ‘to pass by’
res. āxtəm
res. 3sg.m. yaḥṭīma [PT:II]
PT:II
**ƏXTTƏM [v.ccc] ‘to drop by someone (+
af), visit, to meet with’
impf. xətəm
pf. 3sg.m. yehāṭṭəm [PT: IV], iḥāṭṭəm [PT: XI]
PT: IV, XI
❉ LA īxaṭṭəm ūlā ‘to pick someone up, to
drop by someone’ (p.c. Benkato)

XZR
**AXZÄR [v.ccc] ‘to see; to look at s.o/s.th.
(+ af)’
Ph. aṣzār seq. āxzər
Imp. pl.f. ḥzérmet [PT:XV] Ph. 3sg.m. yāḥzer
[PT:VI, VII], yāḥzēr [PT:III], yēḥzēr [PT:II, XV]
3sg.f. taḥzēr [PT:III, XV] 3pl.f. ḥzérmet [PT:XV]
PT: III, VI, VII, XV M: voir eghzart

Y1
ya [interj.] ‘o! (vocative particle)’
yā [PT:V], jā [Z:IV, X]
PT: V Z: IV, X

Y2
=āya, =ē, =ok [demonstrative] pl. =iya,
=iyak proximal deictic clitic
-āya, -ē, -ek, -ēk [P: example] pl. -iya, ūyāk
[PT: I]
P: questo PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, IX
▷ amēdən-āya, amēdən-ēk ‘this man’

Y-D ▶ Š(-D), Y-D

YK
=iyak ▶ =āya

YM1
yom [m.] pl. ayyam ‘day’
yōm pl. āiyām
PT: II, IX

Y-D

YM2
yam [adv.] ‘only, just’
yām
Z: X

YR
ayūr [m.] pl. ayūran ‘new moon, month;
button (of mother of pearl)’
ayūr, ayūr pl. ayūren
P: luna, mese; bottone M: lune ayou

Z1
zzāy [m.] pl. zzīwān ‘breast’
zzāi, zīu [B21] pl. zzīwen, zīwen [B21]
P: mammella B21: 384

Z2
izî n agmār [phrasal n.] ‘horse fly’
izî n agmār
P: mosca

ZBD
zbūd [m.] ‘spit, saliva’
zbūd
P: sputo

ZDZ
azədūz [m.] ‘(wooden) hammer’
azədūz
P: martello

◊ NZ: DZ1
Berber, cf. Kb. azduz 'mallet'; MA azduz 'mallet'

ZF
azîf [m.] pl. zîfən 'tail'
azîf, azîf-ennûk) [PT: XV] pl. zîfən 'tail'
P: coda PT: VIII, XV M: queue azîf

ZG
zgi [conj.] ‘after that’
zgî
P: dopo
▷ zgî a-kemmêlîh ‘after I will have finished’
▷ zgî yûna ‘after he had entered’
◊ ▷ ZGG

ZGG
ar-zgîg [adv.] ‘inside’
ar-zgîg, ar-êzgîg, zgi
P: dentro PT: IV M: dedans azkîk
Historically to be analysed as ar ‘towards’ s ‘along’ gîg ‘inside’
▷ yân ar-zgîg ‘go inside!’
◊ K: 688 Foq. šaž ‘inside’; Sok. šaž ‘inside’; MA šaž ‘inside’; Ghd. daž ‘house’

ZK
zik [v.cvc] ‘to become well, recover, heal (intrans.)’
PF / seq. = res. = fut. zik
imp. sg. zîk; PF 3sg.m. i İzîk; res. 3sg.m. izîka;
fut. 3sg.m. ayezik
P: guarire
◊ TC: 1144 K: 549, 701
Berber, cf. Ghd. âzîk ‘to heal’; To. âzîzay ‘to get well’; Zng. âzîzîg ‘to heal’

s-azik, s-âgâzk [caus.v.] ‘to heal (trans)’
imp. sg. sezîk, sêgzek
P: guarire

ZL1
àzzəl [v.cc.irreg.] ‘to run (imperative only); to have bowel movement’
res. = fut. ãzzəl impf. tàzzəl
imp. sg. âzzel; res. 3sg.m. ìzzîla; fut. ayézzel;
impf. ìtêzzel
P: andare; correre M: courir yétazzeh

AZÈL2
zzil [m.] ‘iron’
zûl
P: ferro M: fer zêl
◊ TC: 1109
Berber, cf. Foq. uzzâl ‘iron’; Kb. uzzâl ‘iron’;
Nef. zzel ‘iron’; Sok. uzâl ‘iron’; Zng. uzzyay ‘iron’

ZL3
azzâl [m.] ‘saddle’
azzâl
P: finimenti

ZLF
izlôf [m.] ‘summer’
izlef, êzlef
P: estate

ZLMṬ
azêmâṭ [m.] ‘left’
azêmâṭ
P: sinistra
▷ af azêmâṭ ‘on the left’
◊ TC: 1140
Berber, cf. Ghd. azêlmaṭ ‘left’; Kb. azêlmaṭ ‘left’;
To. šôlmâd ‘to be left-handed’; Zng.
žôynmûd ‘left-handed’

ZLQ
azuḷâq [m.] pl. zuḷiq ‘billy goat’
azuḷâq pl. zuḷiq
P: caprone M: bouc zalaa

Also called: aġîded amqqarân (litt: big kid)
Müller has ꟾ instead of q.

Berber, cf. To. āsōlay ‘student goat, uncastrated adult billy-goat’; Siwa zalag ‘billy goat’; Sok. zālag ‘large goat’; Zng. āšayi (?) ‘billy goat’

ZM

azām [v.cc] ‘to shave’

PF. / SEQ.  zām IMPF. tāzəm

IMP. SG. azém; PF. 3SG.M. iżem-(īs) [PT:IV];

IMP. 3SG.M. iṭezəm ptc. tezzəmən

P: radersi PT: XIV M: barbier yezem یژم;

cheveu ezem مژام; raser hezəm مژهم;

raser (se) hezameh مژامه azūm [v.n.m.] ‘shaving’

azūm

P: radersi

wa tāzəmən [m.] ‘barber (litt. The one who is shaving)’

wa-tezzəmən, wa tezzəmən [PT:IV]

P: radersi PT: XIV

ZMR

āzmər [v.ccc] ‘to be able’

PF. / SEQ. āzmər RES. āzmər IMPF. zōmmər

IMP. SG. ezəm; PF. 1SG. zmerh-(kā) [PT:V]

3SG.M. yezəm [PT:I]; RES. 3SG.M. iżmira [PT:I];

IMP. 1SG. zemmerh 3SG.M. iżemmer

P: potere PT: I, V

TC: 1125

Berber, cf. Ghd. āzmər ‘to be able (physically)’; KB. āzmər ‘to be able’; To. āšmar ‘to endure, put up with’; Zng. āšmar ‘to support (without the risk of health)’

ZN1

**uzān [v.vcc] ‘to weigh’

IMPF. tāzən

IMPF. 3SG.M. itāzən-(dik)

PT: IV

Ar. wazana ‘to weigh’

uzān-(nas) [v.n.m.] ‘weighing’

uzūn-(nes)

PT: IV

almızàn [m.] ‘balance, scales’

ēlmızàn [PT:IV], ēlmızàn-(nes) [PT:III],

elmızàn-(i) [PT:IV]

PT: III, IV M: poids meizan ميزان

Ar. mizàn ‘balances, scales’

ZN2

āzən [m.] ‘next year’

ázān

P: anno

Siwa azən ‘next year’

ZNM

zənim [m.] ‘bastard’

zinim

Z: IX

Ar. zanım ‘bastard’

ZNQ

tzənəqt [f.] pl. tzənqin ‘street’

tzenəqt pl. żənqin, dzənqin

P: strada, via PT: III

Mor. Ar. zanza ‘street’; Ar. zinaq ‘narrow street, lane, alley, bystreet’

ZR1

zarr, zzar [m.] pl. zərrən ‘back’

zarr, zzer pl. zérren

P: dorso M: dos ghezzer قزر ‘back’

Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. azagur ‘back’; Siwa arrəq, arrau ‘back’

ZR2

tazərt [f.] pl. təzər ‘millstone, handmill’

tazərt pl. tezzər

P: macina

Kb. tissırt, tassırt, tasırt ‘mill’; Foq. təsārt ‘millstone’; Siwa təsārt ‘handmill’

ZRD

**azrā̀d [v.ccc] ‘to eat, gulp, devour’

FUT. əzrə̀d

FUT. 3PL.M. azrə̀den

PT: XV

Ar. zarada ‘to choke (s.o.), strangle; to gulp,
swallow, devour’

**ZRF**

azarif [m.] ‘alum’

P: allume


Ultimately from Punic, cf. Hebrew *ṣārīf* ‘alum’ (Vycichl 1958)

**ZRG**

azə̀rg [m.] pl. zə̀rgən ‘stone’

P: piemta

K: 708


**ZRM**

tazərmıt [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’

tâzermıt

P: passero

**ZRQ ▶ LZRQ**

**ZT**

azîṭ [m.] pl. zîṭàn ‘donkey’

azîṭ, azîṭ, azîṭ, azîṭ- (énnes, ennûk) [PT: IV, VIII], azîṭ- (énnes) [PT: XII], azîṭ- (ennûk) [PT: VIII], azîṭ- (annek) [Z: XIII] pl. zîṭàn, zîṭân


Berber, cf. Ghd. *azîd* ‘donkey’; To. *eṣed* ‘donkey’. For a discussion on the historical development of this word see Kossmann (1999: 231)

**ZW**

aziwây [m.] pl. ziwâyen ‘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. *taziwây* ‘bunch’; Mzab *taziwây* ‘complete bunch’ To. (H Y) *tezwît* ‘small branch’

**ZWD**

zə̀wwəɣ [stat.v.] ‘to be red’

1sg. zə̀wəɣàx 2sg. zə̀wəɣàt 3sg.m. zə̀wəɣà 3sg.f. zə̀wəɣàt pl. zə̀wəɣàt

1sg. zồuğàth 2sg. zồuğàt 3sg.m. zồuwaγ 3sg.f. zồuğàt pl. zồuğàt

P: rosso M: rougir *zouagh* زواغ; rouge *nézouagh* نژواغ

Berber, cf. Ghd. *azərg* ‘donkey’; Kb. *ezsd* ‘donkey’ to become red, become brown’; To. *išwaγ* ‘to be or become reed’; Zng. *žobhây* (?) ‘to be red’

**ZWð**

zə̀wwər [stat.v.] ‘to be large’

1sg. zə̀wəràx 2sg. zə̀wəràt 3sg.m. zə̀wərər 3sg.f. zə̀wərət pl. zə̀wərət

1sg. zurâḥ 2sg. zồuârât 3sg.m. zūwar; 3sg.f. zồuaret, züret pl. züwirat

P: grosso M: fort *zor* زور; rude *ezouar* اژوار

Berber, cf. Ghd. *zuzzaw* ‘to be thick’; Kb. *zuzzaw* ‘to become large’; Zng. *žaw(w)uṛ* ‘to be thick, be large’; Siwa *zwàr* ‘to become big’

s-ə̀zwər [caus.v.] ‘to swell (trans.); to make erect’

imp. sg. sézwor

P: grosso

azəw(w)ər [adj.] pl. zəzw(w)ərən f

tazəw(w)ərt pl. tzəw(w)ərin ‘large’

m.sg. azəw(w)ər pl. zuwâren f.sg. təzwərət pl. żuwarin

P: grosso M: épais *azouar* اژوار
ZWṬ
ZWṬ [v.ccc] ‘to slam; to throw’
imp. sg. zwät
P: sbattere, gettare

**t-zawat [pass.v.] ‘to be thrown on the ground’
t-zawat
res. 3sg.m. itzůwîta
P: sbattere, gettare

ZZR
z-úzər [caus.v.] ‘to winnow’
impf. z-uzår
imp. sg. zùzər, zôzər; impf. 3sg.m. izúzər
P: vagliare
bohydr. Siwa zuzər ‘to winnow’; Fig. zzuuzzər ‘to winnow’
az-úzər [caus.v.n.m.] ‘winnowing’
azúzer
P: vagliare

Ž1
azúy [stat.v.] ‘to be bitter’
‘3sg.m. azûy 3sg.f. ažuyít pl. ažuyît’
sg. m. ažûi f. ažuyít pl. ažuyít
P: amaro
▷ imîn ažuyít ‘bitter water’
 carbohydr. Berber, cf. Sok. záî ‘bitter’; Siwa zai ‘to be bitter’

Ž2
zą(ż)ùy [m.] pl. zwàn ‘palm’
zùi, zùî pl. zuân
P: palma M: palmier azouan
 carbohydr. Berber, cf. Siwa tazwat ‘palm leaf’

ŽD
ižd [m.] ‘spindle’
ižd
P: conociachia per filare M: quenouille ezd

ΖMK/Y
źmək [v.ccc] ‘to sew’
impf. żammak
imp. sg. źmåk impf. 1sg. żemmákḥ 3sg.m.
źetâ ‘loom’; Sok. ażêṭṭa ‘loom’; Siwa ażəṭṭa ‘loom’; Ghd. ażêṭṭa ‘loom’, cf. also štâu ▶ ŠTW

ŻK
źzåk [stat.v.] ‘to be heavy’
1sg. źzåkax 2sg. źzåkat 3sg.m. źzåk 3sg.f.
źzåkat pl. źzåkit
1sg. źzåkah 2sg. źzåkät 3sg.m. źzåk 3sg.f.
źzåket pl. źzåken [PT:III]
P: pesante PT: III M: pesant ezzag
 carbohydr. TC:118K:551
Berber, cf. Ghd. żak ‘to be heavy’; To. iżak ‘to be or become heavy’; Zng. aʔz(z)ag ‘to be heavy’; Kb. ażay ‘to be heavy’; MA ẓzay ‘to be heavy’; Ouar. ẓza ‘to be heavy’
s-azżik [caus.stat.v.] ‘to make heavy’
impf. sg. s-azżik
P: pesante
tażzik, tażziq [f.] ‘heaviness, weight’
tażzik, tażziq
P: pesantezza

ŽM1
źum [v.cvc] ‘to fast’
impf. sg. ẓüm
P: digiunare
 carbohydr. TC:1153
Berber, cf. Ghd. ẓüm ‘to fast’; Kb. ẓuzum ‘to fast’; To. ẓəm ‘to fast’; Zng. ẓuzum ‘to fast’. An early loanword from Ar. şāma ‘to fast’ (Kossmann & Van den Boogert 1997)

ŽM2
tażümmt [f.] ‘herb (Ar. (Cyrenaica) šāmma, Ar. (Tripolitania) bersîm’
tażümmt
P: erba
 carbohydr. Perhaps Berber, cf. To. tâzəmme ‘type of grass, Chloris prieurii’

ΖMK/Y
źmåk [v.ccc] ‘to sew’
impf. żammak
imp. sg. źmåk impf. 1sg. żemmákḥ 3sg.m.
iẓémmàk
P: cucire M: couture ezzoumak

♦ TC: 1158 K: 550
Berber, cf. Ghd. āzmak ‘to sew’; To. āzmây ‘to be sewn’; Zng. aẓ̄muq ‘to sew’

aẓ̄màk [v.n.m.] ‘sewing’
aẓamâk, azamâk [B21]
P: cucire B21: 384

aẓmây [m.] ‘joining (of mats)’
aẓmài
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 aẓəmma ‘sewing’

ẒN
ẓẓan [m.] ‘excrement’
pl. ẓẓân
P: escremento

ẒṬ1
ẓùṭ [prep.] ‘above’
isg. ẓùṭ mînn-i ẓùṭ fallî-wi 2sg.m. ẓùṭ mînn-ak
ẓùṭ, ẓûṭ [PT:VI], ẓûṭ [PT:VI,XV] 1sg. ẓùṭ mînn-i, ẓûṭ fellî-wi 2sg.m. ẓûṭ mînn-ek
▷ ar-ẓûṭ ‘upward’
▷ s-ar-ẓûṭ ‘from above’[PT:VI]
P: sopra PT: XIII, XV

ar-ẓûṭ [adv.] ‘upward’
ar-ẓùṭ, ar-ẓûṭ [PT:VI]
P: sopra PT: VI

ẒṬ2 ➔ ẒṬ

INTEGER

aẓẓ [v.c̄*] ‘to plant’
imp. sg. eẓẓ
P: piantare
Berber, cf. Ghd. ěẓẓ ‘to plant’; Kb. ə̀ẓzə ‘to plant’

Əžžû [v.n.m.] ‘planting’
Čěžžû
P: piantare

 żəż [n.] ‘false ribs?’
ażəydiš [m.] ‘false ribs?’
ażəgdiš
P: costola  
♦ MA aysdis 'rib'; Mzab asydis 'side of the chest, flank'
Originally this word was a compound of ays 'bone' + adis 'belly'. Like MA, Awjila has undergone metathesis.

Tażəydīšt [f.] 'girth of rope that ties to the saddle'
Tażagdišt
P: finimenti

ŽHM  
ağhašım [m.?f.?] 'hell'
egžašım
PT: III
♦ Ar. žahım 'fire, hellfire, hell' f. (also m.)

ŽKR  
ažikər [m.] 'large rope (also made of izvin)'
ažiker
P: corda PT: VII
♦ Kb. izikər 'braided rope'; Nef. zukér, zukár 'rope'

ŽLB  
ažžə̀ləb [m.] 'riches'
iǧjilib
Z: VII
♦ Ar. žalb 'bringing, fetching, procurement, acquisition', developed to mean 'riches'

ŽLN  
pl. žlàn [m.] 'speech, words, languages'
pl. žlán, žlán [PT:III,XV], žlän-(iya) [PT:V]
P: discorso, parole; lingua PT: III, IV, V, VI, XV
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa žilân n isîwan 'The Siwi language'

ŽM1  
Tažəmmmit [P.N.] 'name of a garden in the village of Awjila'
Tažemmit
P: Tažemmit

ŽM2  
ažəm [m.] 'deer, gazelle'
adjem ادجم
M: daim, gazelle
♦ NZ: DM5
Berber, cf. To. (H.) ehəm 'antilope'; Zng. äzhəmmi(?) 'gazelle'; Siwa izəm 'gazelle'

ZN1  
žin [v.cvc.irreg.] 'to divide'
pf. / seq. = res. žina
imp. sg. žin; pf. 1sg. žiniḥ 3sg.m. iżina; res. 1sg. žiniḥa 3sg.m. iżinäya 3pl.m. iżinäna [PT:II] 'to divide'
P: dividere PT: II
♦ TC: 1159 K: 619
Berber, cf. Foq. žin 'to divide'; Ghd. ažən 'to divide'; To. ẓan 'to divide, share'; Zng. ažən 'to divide'

tamžint [v.n.f.] 'dividing'
temžint
P: dividere

ZN2  
žni [m.] 'Libyan pound'
žni, znî
PT: V
♦ ELA žnay (Benkato 2012: 9); Ar. žuṇaih '(Libyan) pound'

ZNQ ➤ ZNQ

ŽR1  
tažiри [f.] pl. tžiriwin 'small rope'
težiri, tižiri [B21] pl. giřiwin (<tžiriwin)
P: corda B21: 386 M: chaîne tedjiri
ejri; corde édjeri
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. tazara 'rope'

ŽR2  
ižir [m.] 'son (also used for animals)'
iżîr
P: figlio
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa giř, žîr 'son'

ŽR3
təžár [f.] 'moon'
teqér
P: luna

♦ Berber, cf. Kb. tiziri 'moonlight'; Ghd. tazúri 'full moon'; Siwa taziri 'moon'

ŽR4
ažár [m.] pl. żàrrə́n 'abdomen, belly'
ažár pl. żàrrə́n
P: ventre

♦ Berber, cf. Siwa ġār 'abdomen, belly'

ŽRṬ
tžiràṭ [f.] 'ribs of leaves (coll.)'
tžiràṭ
P: palma
tžiràṭ [f.] pl. tžiràṭṭìn 'rib of a leaf'
tžiràṭ pl. ġiràṭṭìn
P: palma

ŽT
âžàṭ [v.cc] 'to grind, mill'
impf. təžžàṭ
impf. sg. ážöṭ; impf. 3sg.m. itežžâṭ
P: macinare

♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. āżəḍ 'to grind'; To. āṭzd 'to grind, crush'

**tt-ə̀žəṭ [pass.v.] 'to be ground, be milled'
impf. = fut. ttâžəṭ
res. 3sg.m. ittīžīṭa; fut. 3sg.m. aittēžōṭ
P: macinare

ŽV
ažəvû, ažə́vu [m.] pl. ažə́vuwûn? 'hair'
ažə́vu, ažə́vu, eżə́fu [B21; B24], eżə́vu [B24]
ežə́vu [B21] pl. ežə́fûn [B21; B24] 'hair'
▷ afettûn n ažə́vu 'one hair'

♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. azaw 'hair'; Foq. azā́u n iyā́f 'hairs of the head'; Nef. zā́u 'hairs'; Sok. zā́u 'hairs'

ŽVN
pl. ižvîn [m.] 'palm fibres'
pl. ižvîn
P: palma

♦ K: 132
Nef. asấn 'palm fibres'; Foq. asấn 'palm fibres'; Ghd. azấn 'palm fibres'. Kossmann (2002) suggests that this word is originally a loanword from Egyptian.

ŽVṬ
(a)žvâṭ [v.cc] 'to measure (cereals)'
imp. sg. žvâṭ, āžvṓṭ [PT:VIII]
P: misurare PT: VIII

♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. āż̄β̄ə́ḍ 'to measure'
ažvâṭ [v.n.m.] 'measuring (cereals)'
ažvâṭ
P: misurare

ŽVV
žvûv [v.ccvc] 'to burn incense'

pf./seq. žvûv res. žvûv
impf. sg. žvûv; pf. 1sg. žvûvḥ 3sg.m. yežvû́v; res. 1sg. žvûvî́ha 3sg.m. ižvûva
P: bruciare profumi

♦ Probably a causative derivation of avû́v 'smoke of incense', the voicing of the š- prefix is unexpected.

žvûv [m.] 'incense'
žvûv
P: profumi

ŽŻW
ažižîw, ašîšîw [m.] 'chick'
ažižîu, ašišîu
P: pulcino M: poulet eddijiau

♦ K: 648
Berber, cf. Kb. icwaww 'chick'; Nef. šišîw 'young bird' cf. also ELA šovšâw pl. šovâšâw 'chick' (Benkato 2012: 13).

ŽYL
ž̄ol [v.ccc] 'to believe'
imp. sg. ǧ̄äl
Z: XI

♦ Ar. žấjấla 'to make; to put, place, lay; to believe'
ʕD
ʕədd [v.cc(*)] ‘to go’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ʕədd
imp. sg. ʕadd, ʕádd [PT:V] pl.m. ʕaddât pl.f. ʕaddîmet; pf. 1sg. ʕaddîb 2sg. taʔaddît [P: example] 3sg.m. yaʔâdd 3pl.m. ʕaddân [PT:V]; res. 1sg. ʔaddîha 3sg.m. yaʔidda; fut. 1sg. aʔaddâh, aʔddaâh (sic) [PT:III] 3sg.m. ayâʔadd, ayaʔadd [PT:V] 1pl. annaʔâdd [PT:II, V, XV]
▷ taʔaddîʔka ‘do not go’
♦ ELA ʔâddî ‘to leave’

ʕDD
ʔaʔəddâd, ʔəʔəddâd [m.] ‘number’
aʔədèd, elədèd
PT: VIII
♦ Ar. ʔaddad ‘number, numeral’

ʕL
l(ə)ʔalla [adj.adv.] ‘much, many, very’
lâʔalla, ləʔalla [PT:V, XI] ‘much, many, very’
P: molto PT: V, XI
♦ Ar. ʕalî(n) ‘high, tall, elevated; loud, strong; lofty, exalted, sublime’, the Awjila reflex of this word underwent a radical semantic shift. ʕulî- (yî) [m.] ‘high place’
ləorphism (yî)
PT: VI
♦ Ar. ʕalî ‘high, tall, elevated’
ʕəla-má [adv.] ‘as much as’
ʔala-má
PT: II
♦ Mor. Ar. ʕlâ ‘according to, by’
ʕala šan [prep.] ‘for the sake of’
ʔala šân
Z: VIII
♦ ELA ʔala šân, ʔaʔšân ‘for the sake of; because of’ (p.c. Benkato)

ʕLM

ʕəʔəlaʔm [m.] pl. əʔulâmâ ‘scholar’
eləʔlem pl. eləʔûlâmâ
PT: VIII
♦ Ar. ʕûlîm pl. ʕûlûmâʔ ‘scholar’

ʕM
ʕĂmâ, ʕêmâma [adv.] adverb that expresses progressive aspect.
ʕmmâ, ʔâmâma [PT:II], âmâma [Z:VI]
P: stare, restare, sedere PT: II Z: VI
▷ ksûm ‘ʔâmâ inènna ‘the meat is about to cook’
▷ ʔâmmâ mudân ‘(they) are praying’
♦ Ar. ʕâmmâl has the same function in dialectal Arabic and Siwi Souag (2010: 374).
The loss of the l in Awjila is irregular.
ʕâmâma ▶ M6

ʕMM
ʔəʔəmâmat [f.] ‘turban’
elləmâmat
PT: XI
♦ Ar. ʕîmâma(t) ‘turban’

ʕMR
**əʕmîr [v.ccic?] ‘to function; to do’
fut. əʕmîr
fut. 3sg.f. attaʔmîr
PT: IV M: achevé taamartet تاَعَمَرْتِت;
achever ammâartet غَمَّرَتْت
♦ Ar. ʔaʔmura ‘to thrive, prosper, flourish, flower, bloom’; cf. this to the Siwi use of this word ʔmar ‘to be, to do’ (Souag 2010: 154). The i vowel in the root is unexpected, and this root shape is unique to this word.

ʕNGR
ʕəŋ(ə)ra (or: ʕəŋ(ə)ra) [P.N.] place name
ʕəŋgarâ
PT: XV

ʕRYN
ʕəryân [stat.v.] ‘to be naked’
3sg.m. ʕəryân
PT: IX
✧ Ar. ʕuryān 'naked'

ʕṢR
Kàšṣar [m.] ‘afternoon prayer’
lʿáṣār
PT: II
✧ Ar. ʕasr ‘afternoon (prayer)’

ʕQB
əlʕəqqàb-(i) [m.] ‘evening’
ëlʾaqqāb-(i)
PT: IV
✧ Must be somehow derived from Ar. ʕaqb
‘after’

ʕYN
**ʕə̀yyən [cc̄c] ‘to be ill’
impf. ʕayyān
impf. 1sg. ʕayyānah
PT: V M: peste ayyāneh
ایَانِه
✧ Ar. ʕayyān ‘exhausted, tired, ill’

ʕYṬ
**ʕàyəṭ [v.cvcc] ‘to yell, scream’
pf. / seq. = fut. ʕayāṭ impf. ʕay(y)āṭ
pf. 3sg.m. ʔāyēṭ [PT:V], yaʔāyāṭ [PT:XV]; fut.
3pl.m. aʔaʔyāṭen-(dîk) [PT:II]; impf. 3sg.m.
ʔāyāṭ [PT:III,IV], ʔāʔyāṭ [PT:IV]
PT: II, III, IV, V, XV M: voix aʔayāṭ
ایَات
✧ Ar. ʕiffanya ‘to yell, scream, cry out’

ʕŽB
**əʕžə́b [v.ccc] ‘to please’
res. ʔəʕžəb
res. 3sg.m. yaʔəẑəb-(kû)-ya, yaʔəẑəb-(kû)-ya
PT: III
✧ Ar. ʔaʕžaba ‘to please’
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Curriculum Vitae

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 *̎ as  v.

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 fone-misch accent, schwa in open syllabes en het behoud van de Proto-Berber *β als v.

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 phonemische 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.