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A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya) : based on Umberto Paradisi's material

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A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya)

Based on Umberto Paradisi's Material

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Abbreviations and glosses

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

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 *ašàl n awìlən* in the Awjila language and as *awžila* (أوجلة) in local Arabic. It is already mentioned by the name Αὔγιλα 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.

[2] Taken from Wikipedia (http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/أوخلة accessed April 9 2013), which cites Al-Ḥajḥāj (2008: 120).

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

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

1.1 Material

Not much has been published on the Awjila language, but its earliest attestation dates as far back as 1827. Müller (1827) is a lengthy word list of Awjila words, with a commentary by Joseph Élie Agoub (1795-1832), professor of Arabic at the Lycée Royal de Louis-Le-Grand in Paris (Pouillon 2008: 8). This earliest source of the language is a list of words in Arabic and Latin transcription, that spans over thirty pages. Sadly, the material is of very little use. As pointed out already by Agoub in his commentary, Müller does not adequately distinguish ت from ط, س from ص, ك from ق and ا from ع. This can be seen from numerous variant forms found throughout the word list, such as *Achever* عمّرتـت besides *Finir* امـرتـت, 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: *yéwella* يـوّلـه 'pleurer' for */iwəllá/*, *yétawer* يـتـو ر 'bouillir' for */itavər/*, and *tewerquiat* تـو رقـيـات 'rêver' for */təvərgàt/* 'dream'.

Müller often did not hear the final consonants of words, which can be shown by comparing it to the much better material provided in later sources (especially Paradisi 1960a;b) For example: <alida> الـيـد ه 'butter', cf. Paradisi <alīdâm> 'id.'; *téghardim, taghardim* تـغـر ديـم 'scorpion, reptile', cf. Paradisi <tġardímt> 'scorpion', *lahbou* لـحبـو '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* الـيـد ه and *lahbou* لـحبـو, as can readily be seen from the Arabic transcription. Lack of knowledge also shows in certain other words such as: *elakkenes* الـكّـنس 'prix, valeur', which is clearly *al-ḥaqq* cliticized with the Berber 3sg. possessive clitic *=ənn-əs*. This word is also attested in a later source (Paradisi 1960b), which confirms that the word exists in Awjila, and that it is pronounced *əlḥàqq*, with a pharyngeal fricative and a uvular stop. Such a mistake would be unthinkable had he been really familiar with Arabic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 *afùs* and probably its plural *fìssən*, note that the initial *a-* has been omitted.

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

itfukt 'sun' is unusual. Paradisi records a form *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 غ on top of the letter *g*. This word must certainly stand for *alə̀ɣəm* 'camel'. The translation 'mountain' is probably the result of a confusion between Arabic *jamal* 'camel' and *jabal* 'mountain'.

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

The final word, *lachbub* 'dried date' is easily recognisable as the plural of *əlḥə̀bb* 'date': *ləḥbùb*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2 Linguistic variation

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

Zanon's texts display several forms that are different from what we find in Paradisi (1960a;b). The 1sg. possessive marker, which is *ənn-ùk* in Paradisi, is found as *ənn-ùx* in song II. The 1sg. PNG-marker *-x* is consistently *-x* in Paradisi, but is found once as *-ɣ* 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 *-ɣ*. In Zanon's song I, we also find <kàm> for the 2sg.f. direct object marker *-kəm*, the transcription gives the impression that Zanon meant to described */kam/* rather than

/kəm/.

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

1.3 Notes on terminology of word structure

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

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

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

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

uf 'to find'
af 'on'
tafùt 'sun'
taft 'wool'

For verbal morphology, it is advantageous to abstract these words down to an abstract *verb structure*. Verbs that have a similar verb structure share similar patterns of stem derivation. For describing verb structure, the symbols **v**, **c**, **c̄** and ***** are employed. v stands for any plain vowel, **c** stands for any consonant, **c̄** 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 |...|.

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

For example, **vcc** verbs, have the scheme |acəc| in the imperative, |ucəc| in the perfective and |tacəc| in the imperfective, e.g. imp.sg. *arə́v*; pf. 3sg.m. *y-urə́v*; impf. 3sg.m. *i-tàrəv* 'to write'.

1.3.1 The accent unit

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

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

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

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

1.4 Notes on the transcription

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

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

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

Martin can be found in Marçais 2001: xxi-xxxvi); this system represents consonants and vowels sometimes different from conventions in Berber scholarship. My own transcription 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 transcription, 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 <ă>.

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:

Lanfry	Here
e	ă
ị	e
ụ	o
ǒ	β
g̣	ǵ

Long vowels in Lanfry (1973) are marked with a macron, whereas in my transcription 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*.

ʔ	b	t	ṯ	ž	ḥ	ḫ	d	ḏ	r	z	s	š	ṣ	ḍ	ṭ	ḍ	ʕ
ء	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز	س	ش	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع
ġ	f	q	k	l	m	n	h	w	y								
غ	ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	ه	و	ي								

My transcription	Paradisi	Other common transcriptions
b	b	
č	č	tc
d	d	
ḍ	ḍ	
f	f	
g	g	
ɣ	ġ	
h	h	
ḥ	ḥ	ħ
k	k	
l	l	
ḷ	l	
m	m	
ṃ	m	
n	n	
q	q	
r	r	
ṛ	r̰, r	
s	s	
ṣ	ṣ	
š	š	c
t	t	
ṭ	ṭ	
v	v	β, b̲, b̌
w	w	
x	ẖ	
y	y	
z	z	
ẓ	ẓ	
ž	ž	j
ʕ	‘	‘, ɛ, ʿ, ʕ

Part I

Grammar

Chapter 2

Phonology

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

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

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

2.1.1 Consonantal contrasts

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

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

The variation between *v* and *f* is found in word-final position in *ágzəv, əgzáf* 'to cut the bunches of dates from palms' and *aɣəv, aɣf* 'milk'. As a result of optional voicing assimilation to the following *x* it also occurs in the perfective, resultative and imperfective 1sg. of *arəv, úrəv* 'to write': *urəfx; urífxa, urívxa; tarəvx, tarəfx*.

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

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

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

təbəlbùst 'eyeball' ∼ *təbəlbùšt* '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.

ṭrəs ‘to braid hair’ ∼ *ṭrəš* ‘to vomit’

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

The contrast of the emphatic consonants *l̩, r̩* and *m̩* is not adequately marked in Paradisi’s transcriptions. One time, Paradisi transcribes *r̩* with a <r̥>: <r̥åbbī> ‘God’, while other times he does not for this same word. *l̩* and *m̩* 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 *ɣ* becoming *qq*. In Awjila, however, there is no synchronic variation between *w* and *ggʷ*, nor is there any evidence for morphological variation between *ɣ* and *qq*. The long counterpart of *w* is *ww* and the long counterpart of *ɣ* is *ɣɣ* as can be seen in the verbs *ərwák* ‘to knead’, impf.3sg.m. *iràwwək* and *ànəɣ* ‘to kill’, impf.3sg.m *inəɣɣa*.

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

ddəwwàrnət, idəwwàr	cf. ELA *īdəwwər* ‘to look for; to search’
yəkkàmməl, kəmmàlx ‘to finish’	cf. Ar. *kammala* ‘to finish’
rrəwwàḥən, iráwwaḥ ‘to return (home)’	cf. ELA *īrowwəḥ* ‘to return (home)’
issàlləm, səllàmən ‘to greet’	cf. LA *səlləm* 'to greet'
yəmmùdd ‘to extend’	cf. Ar. *madda* ‘to extend; to stretch out’
illùm ‘to gather, to stay together’	cf. Ar. *lamma* ‘to gather’

[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 *ḥussìx* 'to feel' are only found with a short intial 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 *ž* 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 *adàžžu*.

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

2.2 Vowels

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

	Front	Front Rounded	Back
Close	i [i]		u [u]
Near close	ẹ [ɪ]		ů [ʊ]
Close mid	e [e]	ö [ø]	o [o]
Open mid	ę [ɛ]		ǫ [ɔ]
Near open	ä [æ]		
Open	a [a]		å [ɑ]

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

v Short unaccented
v́ Short accented
v̄ Long unaccented
v̂ Long accented
v̌ Extra short

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

i, í, ī, î, ǐ		u, ú, ū, û, ŭ
ẹ, ẹ́, ệ		ụ, ụ́, ụ̂
e, é, ê, ĕ		o, ó, ô, ŏ
ę, ę́	ö	ǫ
ä, ǟ, ā̈, â̈, ă̈		å, ǻ, ā̊, â̊
a, á, ā, â, ă		

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

2.2.1 Long vowel signs

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

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

[3]For 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, ī, 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, āġf, âġf	'milk'
ām	'mouth'
ūl	'heart'
īẓd	'spindle'

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

afîš	'face'
afîu	'fire'
agmâr	'horse'
tagmârĕt	'mare'
irîu	'boy'
tirîut	'girl'
tuqérṭā	'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 *əl-* in Awjila.

albåṣîret	‘willingly’
alīdâm	‘butter’
alḥâžet	‘thing’
alégmet	‘friday’
alimam	‘imam’
al‘áded, el‘áded	‘number’
alûlī	‘midday, noon; midday prayer’

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

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

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, ī, ū, a, i, u>.

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

bâhi, bâhī	‘good’
tfílli, tfíllī	‘house’
tĕgîli, tĕgîlī	‘head’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

abîba, avîva	‘smallpox’
res. 1sg. bnîḫa 3sg.m. ibnâya	‘to build, construct’
res. 1sg. ĕddírḫa 3sg.m. yeddîra	‘to live’
dîla	‘here’
tábġā	‘tobacco’
pf. 3sg.m. yéčča	‘to eat’
impf. 3sg.m. idéžžā	‘to let go of’
impf. 3sg.m. iġérrā	‘to read’
wértnā	‘my sister’
sétmā	‘my sisters’

But:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

bâhi	'good'	tebāqûlt	'jar, vase'
bâlek	'maybe'	tebārût	'way, street'
1pl. abbá-tnaḫ	'our father'	taqqîd, taqqîḍen	'fingers'
bážža	'penis (of a boy)'		

adîrem	'masculine inflorescence'	alīdâm	'butter'
tfîǧīt	'animal excrement'	ddrīwîn	'thorns'
dímmen	'blood'	tfiliggíšt	'swallow'
tídnī	'mortar'	tfillî-yī	'towards the house'

3sg.f. dĕrûšet	‘to be few, little’	dbūš-énnes	‘his/her clothes’
pl. grûṭån	‘treetrunks’	flūlîš	‘inflorescences’
kúll	‘all’	čču-nnâḫ	‘our meal’
pf. 3sg.m. išúmma	‘to cook’	imp. pl.m. llummât	‘to gather’

There are several exceptions to this:

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

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

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

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

ġā̲r, ġār	‘but’
iwînā̲n, iwînān	‘one (m.sg.)’
res. 3sg.f. temmå̂ya, 3sg.m. yemmâya	‘to be cooked, be ready, be ripened’
tmoqqårå̂nt, tmoqqårânt	‘large (f.sg.)’
ĕlmeġġâret, elmoġġå̂ret(-ī)	‘cave’
elqå̂ḍī, ĕlqâḍī	‘judge’
wållå̂hī, wållâhi /wəlḷàhi/	‘by God (I swear)’
tăġâfī, tăġå̂fī	‘palm leaf’

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

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

štå̊f, štǻf	‘black (m.sg.)’
atå̊r, atǻr	‘foot’
uså̊len, usǻlęn	‘they arrived’
impf. 1sg. qallǻḫ 3sg.m. iqallâ	‘to roast’
ărrafåqǻ-nnes, ĕrrafåqǻ-nnes	‘companions’ (cf. Ar. *rufaqāʔ* ‘companions’)

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

ṭārîn, ṭårīn(-nûk)	‘feet’
aġå̊st pl. ġåstîn	‘bone’
tĕkábęrt, tĕkabę́rt pl. tekäbrîn	‘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 *ə*. As for <ǻ, ä> 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’
tämnît	/tamnìt/ or /təmnìt/	‘jar, vase’
tämaqqûšt	/taməqqùšt/ or /təməqqùšt/	‘dung, manure’
tävurît dvurītîn	/tavurìt/ or /təvurìt/	‘small plate, tray’
täbazârt	/tabazàrt/ or /təbazàrt/	‘basket’
tämûrt, temûrt, tmûrt	/tamùrt/ or /təmùrt/ or /tmùrt/	‘earth’
tävergât, dvergât, tavergât	/tavərgàt/ or /dvərgàt/ or /təvərgàt/	‘dream’

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

akärbûš	‘trunk of a palm tree’
käššîn	‘cores of fruits’
amäsâl	‘crossbar between the two poles of a well’
ázän	‘next year’
fut. 3sg.m. aittäžoṭ	‘to be ground, be milled’
teméžbärt	‘a pot in which you burn incense’
amäẓẓîn	‘sons’

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

íllī, ẹ́llī	'millet'
imp. sg. íreš, ẹ́reš	'to descend'
rwíḥḥa, rwẹ́ḥḥa, ěrwẹ́ḥa	'I am afraid'
ízlef, ẹ́zlef	'summer'

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

tegẹšîlt tešṭâft	'black beetle' (cf. tegišîlt taġzîft 'viper, snake')
timẓîn, tẹmẓîn	'barley'
1sg. mmúyẹḫ	'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 *ə*. It seems as if Awjila was in contact with a dialect that kept Classical Arabic *i* distinct.

elfẹkr-énnes	'his thought' (< Ar. *fikr*)
agûr mẹ́nn-ī, agûr mẹ́nn-ek, agûr minn-es	'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*.

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

ěbbů̂k	'stinging' (v. verbal noun formation of c̄c verbs.)
ẓūṭ, ẓů̂ṭ	'above'
pf. 1sg. llůzîḫ 3sg.m. yellûz	'to be hungry'
šůrů̂rů	'weakling'
úwů	'kneading (bread dough)'
tebedů́qt	'cotton'

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

bêin	'between' (Ar. *bayna*)
baʿadên, baʿadén	'afterwards, then' (ELA *baʕdēn*)
ssalâmu ʿalêikum	'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, tâya>. These two pronouns constitute the only examples of unaccented /e/ in Awjila.

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

The sign <ę̂> is attested twice and stands for accented /e/ or /i/: <aḫîr, aḫę̂r> 'better'; <wę̂n-mā> 'as soon as' (ELA *wên-mā*)

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

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

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

<ô> is used once to denote accented /u/ in a emphatic environment: <ẓôṭ, ẓūṭ, ẓů̂ṭ> 'above'

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

2.2.2 Short vowel signs

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

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

The two most common short vowel signs are <e, ę> and their accented counterparts <é, ę́>. 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, ę> 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. <ę> is more common in word-final syllables than <e>. The table below shows some examples of free variation between the two vowel signs <e, ę>.

pf. 3sg.m. iġélli, iġęllī	'he wants'
pf. 3pl.m. ġallîyen, ġallîyęn	'they want'
ġâr-ek, ġâr-ęk	'to you, you have'
amédęn, amędęn	'man'
3pl.m. nnîyen, ěnnîyęn	'they are'
impf. 3sg.m. itârev ptc. târęven	'to write'
pl. šġîręn, šġîren	'firewood'

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

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

yåqqîm, yaqqîm, yäqqîm	'he stays, remains'
ělmeġġâret, elmåġǻret(-ī)	'cave'
imp. sg. nžåġ, nžǻġ; pf. 1sg. nžeḫḫ	'to pull'
qåṭṭâʿān, qeṭṭâʿān	'highwaymen'

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

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

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

Resultative gives an indication	
pf. 3sg.m. išénṭåṭ; res. 3sg.m. išénṭîṭa	'to join'
pf. 3sg.m. yeṭṭǻf; res. 3sg.m. yeṭṭîfa	'to seize'
pf. 3sg.m. yaqqǻn; res. 3sg.m. yaqqîna	'to tie'

ccc verbs have |əccəc| pattern	
3sg.m. yélġåm, yelġóm	'to refuse'
imp. sg. ěnṭǻr	'to let go, put down'

Twice, <å> represents /ə/ in labial environments: <mîwẹn, mîwån> 'mouths', <ǻu> (probably /əww/ 'to knead [bread dough]').

<a> and its accented counterpart <á> are often used to denote /a/, but they may also denote /ə/, especially in a pharyngeal environment, and sometimes in emphatic and uvular environments. Different from <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 <á> can safely be considered to represent /a/. Free variation between <a, e, å> can also help to determine the presence of /ə/. Moreover, morphological patterns of the verbs can give us further evidence.

Resultative gives an indication	
pf. 3sg.m. isáġ; res. 3sg.m. isíġa	'to buy'
pf. 3sg.m. yaġáš; res. 3sg.m. yaġíša	'to love'
pf. 3sg.m. yerfá‘; res. yerfí‘a	'take away, to raise'
pf. 3sg.m. yerwá‘; res. yerwî‘a	'to fear'
pf. 3sg.m. ya‘ádd; res. ya‘ídda	'to go'
pf. 3sg.m. yefráḥ; res. yefrîḥa	'to become happy'
pf. 3sg.m. išelḥám; res. išelḥîma	'to light (a fire)'
pf. 1sg. šenṭáṭḫ; res. šenṭîṭḫa	'to join, attach'

variation between <a, e>	
pf. 3sg.m. yaqqắn, yeqqắn(-t)	‘to bind, tie, attach’
ısg. ġallîḫ, ġellîḫ	‘to want’
tareẓẓât, teraẓẓât	‘creak’

ccc verbs have |əccəc| pattern	
pf. 3sg.m. yaġréš	‘to slaughter’
yaḥdef(-téṇęt)	‘he threw (them)’

ccc verbal nouns have |acəcac| pattern	
aġarâš	‘slaughter’
anaṭâr	‘leting go, putting down’
aẓamâk	‘sewing’

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

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

pf. 3sg.m. i‘âyeṭ, ya‘âyäṭ	‘to yell, scream’
imp. sg. édž, äğğ	‘to let go of’
aġellâi pl. ġällâyen	‘circle, loop’
pf. 3sg.m. yäqqîm, yaqqîm, yåqqîm	‘to stay’
imp. sg. aġắš; res. 3sg.m. yaġíša	‘to love’ (cf. resultative)
tġåṭṭen, tġíṭṭän	‘goat’
imp. sg. šéġzef; pf. 3sg.m. išäġzef	‘to lengthen’
imp. sg. ěḫḫär, ḫḫér	‘to take off; to remove’
pf.3sg.m. yäḫzér, yeḫzér	‘to see; to look at (+af)’
imp. sg. šänġ, šénġ	‘to extinguish’
arăšâk	‘combing’ (ccc verbal nouns are |acəcac|)

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

The character <o> is found once representing unaccented plain /o/, as found in the word <aḥôlī> pl.<ḥolâwen> ‘lamb’, <taḥolît> pl. <tḥolītîn> ‘sheep’. <ó> is never used

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

ělmeġġâret, elmoġġå̊ret-ī	‘cave’
tamûråġ, tamûroġ	‘grasshoppers (coll.)’
imp. sg. avóṭ; impf. 1sg. tevvâṭ̠ 3sg.m. itevvâṭ	‘to swear (an oath, etc.)’
pf. 1sg. mmeggîḥ̠ 3sg.m. yemmóg	‘to become, to be, to turn into’
pf. 3sg.m. yéšwor; res. yešwîra	‘to dance’ (cf. resultative)
pf. 1sg. woṭ̠; res. wẹṭ̠a	‘to arrive; to reach’ (cf. resultative)

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

<ů> and <ű> usually stand for /u/ but there are a few cases where they probably stands for /ə/:

alóġom, alŏġom, alű̊ġom	‘camel’
impf. 1sg. tůwå̊ṭ̠ 3sg.m. itåwóṭ	‘to arrive; to reach’ (å ů points to ə)
Perhaps: tůéss, tawöss	‘bed’ (phonemically /təwəss/?)

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

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

res. 3sg.m. yẹlbîba	‘to mount, climb’
yérdẹn, írden, yẹ́rden	‘wheat’
tẹmígnī, temígnī, tĕmígnī	‘woman, wife’
yeškî, yẹškî	‘to live’
res. 3sg.m. yẹtemẹ́nna	‘to wish’

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

impf. 1sg. diyyézḥ̠ 3sg.m. idíyyez	‘to sing’
impf. 1sg. síyyefḥ̠ 3sg.m. isíyyef	‘to bathe’
impf. 1sg. ruwwélḥ̠ 3sg.m. irúwwel	‘to flee’

Finally, there is a small set of extra-short vowel signs <ĕ, ă, ĭ, ŏ, ŭ, ă̆>. These are never accented, and may represent /ə/. In many cases the elements represented by these extra-short vowels are employed as epenthetic vowels.

<ĕ> is found in most environments, <ă> is found in emphatic and pharyngeal environments. Sometimes we find <ă> as the initial vowel of the definite article in Arabic loanwords. This is often found besides a reflex of the article as <ĕl->: <ĕlhûdī, ălhûdī> 'jew', <ĕddellâl, ăddellâl> '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>.

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

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

Twice we find the vowel sign <ă̆>, which in the context quite clearly stands for /ə/ or epenthetic [ə]: <ă̆žvóṭ> 'to measure (cereals)' and res. 3pl.f. <ă̆nqåṣnîta, ĕnqåṣnîta> 'to be missing, to lack'.

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

m. etčû, ĕččû, čču	/(ə)čču/	'food, meal, plate'
ddĕrî	/dd(ə)rí/	'thorn'
imp. sg. ĕffok, ffok	/(ə)ffək/	'to pour'
tgîli, tĕgîli	/t(ə)gìli/	'head'
tagmârĕt	/tagmàr(ə)t/	'mare'
imp. sg. ĕkkéš, kkéš	/(ə)kkáš/	'to take off, remove'
elbáḥă̆r, älbáḥr	/əlbàḥ(ə)r/	'sea'
imp. sg. ă̆qqă̊́n	/əqqə́n/	'to bind, tie, attach'
imp. sg. aġă̆réš, aġreš(-dîk)	/aɣ(ə)rə́š/	'to slaughter'
elḫă̊́ḍă̆rät	/əlxə̀d(ə)rət/	'vegetables' (cf. Ar. *ḫuḍra*(*t*) 'id.')
qlâzen, ă̆qlāzen	/(ə)qlàzən/	'lies'
f. sg. bâhĭyet	/bàh(ə)yət/	'good'
ŭwûṭ	/əwùṭ/	'arriving; reaching'
imp. sg. šŭwór	/š(ə)wə́r/	'to dance'
imp. sg. ŏqqûr, qqūr	/(ə)qqùr/	'to dry out'
alóġom, alŏġom	/alə̀ɣəm/	'camel'

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

agĕwâl	'seeing' (ccc verbal nouns have |acəcac| pattern)
aṭă̆râs	'braiding of hair' (ccc verbal nouns have |acəcac| pattern)

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

Once, <ĭ> is used to represent unaccented /i/: <wéttĭ(-dikkénī)> '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: *âu*. For practical reasons, I have retranscribed the short diphthongs with two vowels, which both have a macron, and when accented, the accent is placed on the first of the two vowels, e.g. *ōū, ṓū*.

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

érōū	Short unaccented
irṓūwaḥ	Short accented
aziwâi, išeglâĭ	long accented

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

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

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

sg.	pl.	
abešḫâu	bešḫâwen	‘name of a sparrow’
aġellâi	ġällâyen	‘circle, loop’
abeškîu	beškîwen	‘horn’
irîu	irîwen	‘boy, child’

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

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

impf. 1sg. šeglâĭḫ 3sg.m. išeglâĭ	‘to show’
impf. 1sg. šembâĭḫ 3sg.f. tšembáĭ	‘to suckle’
impf. 1sg. šīšâĭḫ 3sg.m. išīšáĭ	‘to make (s.o.) sleep’
impf. 1sg. šenṭâĭḫ 3sg.m. išenṭâĭ	‘to make someone taste’
impf. 3sg.m. išęrwâĭt	‘to speak, tell’

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

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

The diphthongs <āū> and <āī> 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. āūġę́rḫ	‘to get lost; to lose s.th. (s-ġār + s.th.)’
fut. 3sg.m. āīsébbaḥ	‘to swim’
fut. 3sg.m. aižîž	‘to sell’

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

tekšâimt pl. tekšāīmîn	‘watermelon’
yōm pl. āīyām	‘day’ (< Ar. ayyām)
i‘āīyâṭ	‘to yell, scream’

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

fut. 1sg. aušáġd, āūšáġd	‘to come’
fut. 3sg.m. ain-îs, āīni-(dîk)	‘to say’
fut. 3sg.m. aižîž, āīžīžî-(t)	‘to sell’

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

The diphthong <ā́ī> occurs once in Paradisi’s text, and presumably represents accented /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 <érwel>; impf. 3sg.m. <irúwwel> ‘to flee’, the imperfective of a ccc verb having the pattern |cəc̄əc| (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>: <erwáʿ>; impf. 3sg.m. <irṓūwaʿ> ‘to fear’. Other verbs that have this diphthong include:

impf. 3sg.m. idōūwâr	‘to look around; to search’
imp. sg. ṓu; impf. 3sg.m. itṓūwa	‘to knead (bread dough)’
3sg.m. zṓūwaġ 3sg.f. zṓūġat pl. zōūġît	‘to be red’

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

The verb <érōū> ‘to give birth’ has the reflex <ōū> throughout the whole paradigm, except in the impf. 3sg.f.: imp. sg. <érōū> pl.m. <erṓūmet>; pf. 1sg. <erṓūḫ>; 3sg.f. <terṓū>; res. 1sg. <iríuḫa> 3sg.m. <tirîwa>; fut. 1sg. <aěrṓūḫ> 3sg.f. <attirōū>; impf. 1sg. <tárōūḫ> 3sg.f. <tárū> ‘to give birth’

Other verbs always have the notation <uww>: imp. sg. <šŭwór>; impf. 1sg. <šuwwérḫ> 3sg.m. <išúwwer> ‘to dance’

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

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

Perhaps the roots conaining <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, ṓū> contain <r>. Considering the vowel-lowering effect of emphatic /ṛ/ 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 /ɣ/ may have had a similar lowering effect. With these assumptions it becomes possible to explain the majority of the <ōū, ṓū> diphthongs. But it does not help us explain the verb imp. sg. <ṓu>; impf. 3sg.m. <itṓūwa> ‘to knead (bread dough)’.

The diphthong <îŏ> occurs only in the word <aẓîŏṭ> 'donkey' (unaccented: <aẓīŏṭ-(énnes)>) where it alternates with the monophthong <î>. Phonemically it should probably be interpreted as the result of a transitional vowel between the high vowel /i/ and the emphatic stop /ṭ/: [iə] = /i/, but with just a single example it is difficult to determine.[6]

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

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

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

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

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

ituáker	'to be stolen'
ituār, yetuâr	'to be opened; to open (trans.)'
ituárev	'to be written'

There are three other words that have the rising diphthong <uâ>, namely <zuâġ> 'red' (also the feminine and plural formations have this dipthong) and the plural of <ẓûi, ẓẓûi> 'palm': <ẓuân>, and the pf. 3pl.m. of *šu* 'to drink': <šuân>.

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

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

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

2.2.4 Overview

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

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

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

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

i /i, (ə/)/	í /í, (ə́)/	ī /i/	î /í/	ǐ /i, ə/
ę /ə/	ę́ /í/		ê̩ /í, (é?)/	
e /ə/	é /ə́/		ê /é/	ě /ə/
ę /ə/	ę́ /ə/			
ä /ə, a/	ä́ /ə́, á/	ǟ /a/	â̊ /á/	ǎ /ə/
a /a, ə/	á /á, ə́/	ā /a/	â /á/	ǎ /ə, (a)/
ö /ə, u/				
u /u, (ə)/	ú ú (ə́)	ū u	û ú	ǔ ə
ů /u, (ə)/	ů́ /ú, (ə́)/		û̊ /ú/	
o /ə, (o, u)/	ó /ə́/		ô /ó/	ǒ /ə/
ǫ /ə/				
å /ə, (a)/	ǻ /ə́, (á)/	å̄ /a/	â̊ á	

	Front	Central	Back
High	i <i, í, ī, î, ǐ, ę́, (ê̩ ?)>		u <u, ú, ū, û, ů, ů́, û̊, (o)>
Mid	e <ê, (ê̩ ?)>	ə <e, é, ę, ę́, ę, ě,(i, í, ǐ), ä, ä́, a, á, ǎ, (ö, u, ú, ǔ), ů, ů́, o, ó, ǒ, å, ǻ>	o <o, ô>
Low		a <ä, ä́, ǟ, â̊, a, á, ā, â, (ǎ, å, ǻ), ǟ , â̊ >	

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 *ă* do not allow schwa to stand in an open syllable. This section shows that these schwas cannot be explained phonetically, and therefore must be considered phonemic.

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

Imperative	Verbal noun	
dyə́z	adəyaz	'to sing'
ə̀gzəv	agəzə̀v	'to cut the bunches of dates from palms'
əlmə́d	aləmə̀d	'to learn'
mžə́r	amə̀žə̀r	'to reap, mow'
ə̀ndəl	anədə̀l	'to be covered'
ənsə́g	anəsə̀g	'to whistle'
ənṭə́r	anəṭə̀r	'to let go'
qlə́z	aqələ̀z	'to lie'
ršək	arəšə̀k	'to comb'
ərwə́k	arəwə̀k	'to knead'
ə̀rwəl	arəwə̀l	'to flee'
srə́f	asərə̀f	'to weave (palm leaves)'
syə́f	asəyə̀f	'to bathe'
šfəṭ	ašəfə̀ṭ	'to clean'
tkə́r	atəkə̀r	'to fill up'
ṭrəs	aṭərə̀s	'to braid'
ẓmək	aẓəmə̀k	'to sew'

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

ə̀drəš	'to decrease (intrans.)'	dərùš	'to be few, little'
flalìš	'inflorescence'	təfəlùšt	'large spoon for cooking'
təfšəš	'lightness'	fəšùš	'to be light, agile'
yəlɣə́m	'he refused'	alə̀ɣəm	'camel'
aməzùn	'pin or hinge'	tamzə̀zza	'bee'
ərgìg	'to shake'	arəgə̀z	'person'
ṣbə̀ḥ	'tomorrow'	ṣə̀bəṭ	'yesterday'
ažəvú	'hair'	ižvìn	'palm fibres'

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

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

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

2.2.5.1 Epenthetic schwa

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

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

imp. sg. *əvə́l, avə́l*; fut. 1sg. *avlàx*, 3sg.m. *ayə̀vəl*.

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 sufix, does not cause the schwa to be elided.

<elbáḥăr, älbáḥr> 'sea' < Ar. *baḥr* 'id.'
<elgedĕr> 'cooking pot' < LA *gidr* 'id.'
<elḥáml, elḥamĕl-(énnes)> 'load, burden' < Ar. *ḥaml* 'id.'
<elḫā́ḍărät> 'vegetables' < Ar. *xuḍra*(*t*) 'id.'
<lʿáṣår> '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.

Transcription	Phonemic analysis
<fárětek>	*fə̀r(ə)tək* 'to unstitch'
<āġěv, āġf>	*aɣ(ə)ν* 'milk'
<árbaʿa>	*àrb(ə)ʕa* 'four'
<sébaʿa>	*sə̀b(ə)ʕa* 'seven'
<tésaʿa>	*tə̀s(ə)ʕa* 'nine'

2.2.5.2 Initial schwa

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

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

yərfìʕa 'he carried'
yəfrìḥa 'he was happy'
yəkrí 'he returned'
yənɣá 'he killed'
a-yə̀qləz 'he will lie'
iġá 'he did'
a-išú 'he will drink'
isə̀lla 'he is hearing'
ivə̀rga 'he dreamt'

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

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

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. *ittə̀nɣ* res. *ittìnɣa* 'to be killed', pf. *ittə̀rẓ* res. *itt-ìrẓa* 'to be broken', res. *ittižìṭa* fut.

aittəžəṭ 'to be ground, be milled', pf. *ittàmt* res. *itìmta* (sic) fut. *aittàmt* 'to be buried', pf. *ittəwwàyəl* 'to be dumbfounded, amazed', pf. *ittùwi*, res. *ittuwìya* 'to forget'[7]. The imperfects with prefix *-tt-* are: *ittàtta* 'to eat', *ittərràš* '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 *yə-* is expected. The prefixes in both cases are *-t-* instead of *-tt-*.

There are a number of verbs that show variation between *yə-* and *i-*. Verbs that have variation where *yə-* is expected are *yànni/ìnni* 'to be (in a place)', res. *immùta/yəmmùta* 'to die', pf. *imməktá* res. *yəmməktàya* 'to remember', *ifk-*(*ísin*)*/yəfk-*(*ìs*) 'to give', *inšət-*(*t*)*/yənšət-*(*t*) 'to ask', *yəggàda/iggàda* 'to bring', <itùar/yətuàr> 'to be opened; to untie'.

Verbs that have variation where *i-* is expected are pf. *izìk* fut. *a-yəzìk* 'to become well, recover, heal (intrans.)', *ixəṭṭàm/yəxáṭṭam*[8] 'to drop by someone, visit, to meet with'.

Finally, there are a few verbs that show no variation that have an unexpected form. Verbs that have *yə-* that are expected to have *i-* are *yəɣəš* 'to love', *yənàddəl* 'to be covered', *yəbəlbìša* 'to form a bulb', *yəxəmmám* 'to think, ponder', *yəʕədd* 'to go'. Verbs that have *i-* that are expected to have *yə-* are *issùdda* 'to be enough', *izzìla* 'to run', *iššən* 'to know'.

A group of verbs that have the shape cc̄c often have a variant c̄c̄c; 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 *ikkàmməl* and *yəkkàmməl* 'to finish'.

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

nči(*tì*)*ya* 'we have eaten (it)'
nəɣàlli 'we want'
nəšummi(*tì*)*ya* 'we have cooked (it)'
nnì 'we are'
a=nnəʕàdd 'we will go'
a=nmḥàsəb 'we will be responsible'

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

[7]Synchronically, the *-tt-* prefix of *ittùwi* 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)

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

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

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

In front of the sequences |cv| and |v|, we find the allomorph *t-*, while in front of the sequences |ccv| and |cv̄| we find the allomorph *tə-*, cf. *təxzár* 'she saw', *ətn-ìs* 'she said (to him)', *tìva* 'she fell', *tàkkər* 'she stood up'.

The *t-* allomorph is voiced to *d-* before voiced consonants: *dgulìt* 'you saw', *džižìt* 'you sold'.

The prefix *tə-* is lengthened to *ttə-* in the future, *t-* is also lengthened in the future if it is found in front of a vowel, cf. *attàm* 'it (f.) will be cooked', *attirəw* 'she will give birth', *attəqqìmam* '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-*: *təttá* (< **t-təttá*) 'she is eating', *təggìt* 'you are doing', *tàrəw* 'she is giving birth'.

There are only a few exceptions to the rules formulated above. Three verbs have a prefix *tə-* while one would expect *t-*: *təqàlləzt* 'you are lying', *təʃəddìt* 'you went', *təɣànni* 'it (f.) hurts'.

One verb has the prefix *t-* while one would expect *tə-*: *tknìta* 'you are beautiful'.

Two verbs have both the prefix *t-* and *tə-* attested, while one would expect the form *t-*: *tɣəllìt, təɣəllìt* 'you want', *tnəd-dìk-ká* 'you did not say to me', *tənəd-dìk* 'you said to me'.

One imperfective with an initial *t-* retains the *t-* prefix: *ttákərt* 'you are stealing'.

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

2.3 Assimilations

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

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

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

ṭt > *ṭṭ*	
yəmḥàṭ-tət	> yəmḥàṭ-ṭət [PT:XV]

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

ʕx > *ḥḥ* (> *ḥ*)	
ərwìʕ-x-a	> ərwìḥḥa [PT:X]

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

nṛ > *ṛṛ*	
ən-ṛàbbi	> əṛ-ṛàbbi [PT:VI]

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

#y-i > *#i-*	
y-ìša	> ìša
y-irìd=a	> irìd=a

2.4 Syllable structure

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.5 Accent

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

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

There are two types of Awjila accent:

1. Default accent
2. Phonological accent

Henceforth, default accent will be marked with v̀ (grave accent), while phonological accent will be marked with v́ (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. *aqəsṭ̀im* 'antimony', *tamìrt* 'beard', *tərəkə̀ft* 'caravan' and *tisə̀nt* 'salt'; otherwise it is on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *ìləs* 'tongue', *tfìlli* 'house'.

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

<tĕǧarît>	*təɣarìt*	Singular
<tĕǧarīwîn>	*təɣari-wìn*	Plural
<tĕǧarīwīn-îyäk>	*təɣari-win=ìyək*	Plural with pl. demonstrative

2.5.2 Phonological accent

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

A noun with a phonological accent loses the phonological accent and gets default accent when a plural suffix, deictic clitic or posessive 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: <tĕkábe̦rt> 'shirt' is found in Text XIII as <tĕkabért>, <arennú> 'bidding, auction' is found in Text VIII as <arénnu>. Other nouns are found in the texts with the phonological accent as presented in Paradisi's word list, e.g. <ušû>, the verbal noun of 'to come' is found as such in text XV.

An important group of nouns with have phonological stress are verbal nouns of the c*, vc* and 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).

agú	‘doing’	c*
əčč́ú	‘food, meal, plate’	c̄*
əssú	‘spreading (a mat)’	c̄*
əggú	‘bringing’	c̄*
əžžú	‘planting’	c̄*
ufú	‘finding’	vc*
uɣú	‘taking’	vc*
ušú	‘coming’	v*

Other nouns with phonological accent on the final syllable are *təžár* ‘moon’, *təvál* ‘sheep’[10], *avú* ‘smoke’, *atəlá* ‘linseed’, *izí n agmàr* ‘horse fly’.

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

2.5.2.2 Verbal phonological accent

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

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

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

agú	**agú?*
əčč́ú	**əčč́ú?*
əssú	**əssú?*
əggú	**əggú?*
əžžú	**əžžú?*
ufú	**ufú?*
uɣú	**uɣú?*
ušú	**ušú?*

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

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

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

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

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

<yufâ>	*yufá*	Perfective, 3sg.m. [PT:VII]
<tûfa>	*tùfa*	Sequential perfective, 3sg.f. [PT:XV]
<yufiten>	*yufì=tən*	Perfective, 3sg.m. with 3pl.m. Direct Object [PT:II]

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.

> Télt iyyâm m uwússu āītémm dīs ĕlmizân g uženná. Īḍ amezwâr ayęffǫ́ġ îtrī, tânī ayeffǫ́ġ tânī n ītrân, ĕttâlęt ayeffǫ́ġ ttâlęt n ītrân. Baʿdên elmîzān. Sébăʿa u ḫamsîn g unébdū ayęffǫ́ġ lmīzân.

> Télt iyyâm m uwéssu kmélęn At Willûl áflęn l-ílel aʿúmmęn u baʿdên arṓūḥan s ílel. Sáʿa árbăʿa báʿd úzgĕn n ệḍ áflęn l-ílel, qábĕl yeqqâs n tfuît, aʿúmmęn. Lbáʿḍ mmídden ggáien g iloġmân dĭ yîsān d iġyâl l-ílel. Kull lʿāílet atʿúmm wáḥdes af imānís. Argâz ayátef l-ílel gĕ tḥazammît naġ g tĕkmîst, tamĕṭṭût atátef l-ílel gĕ tkĕmîst. Aqqîmęn g ílel saʿát nnaġ saʿát d úzgen. Lbáʿḍ n mídden āīfât ĕlmûžet sébăʿa marrât. Kull íğğen itkéttaḥ g áman af tânī. U baʿdên arṓūḥan ĕl-tiddârt. Arékkebęn účču d údi ḫaṣṣ y uwéssu. Atrekkébed amân u baʿdên astắmbĕred tísent u baʿdên ayắīzeg u baʿdên atémbĕred áręn u baʿdên āīḍåb, báʿd llĭ āīḍåb atḥárrĕked s ůġånğâ u baʿdên attắmbĕred g ĕźźệwā ĕn qăšqûš u baʿdên atenáġled afellâs údi. Aččęn účču báʿd llĭ arṓūḥan s ílel, tálğī qåbl uzgén mm ass. Azgén mm ass adîgęn améklī, késksū nnåġ d ĕlmakrů̊nt; Tameddît adîgęn améssī.
>
> ʿArâbęn ennân g télt iyyâm m uwéssu dīs ĕlġálṭet, wa lâkęn tikerkâs laínna kull lʿā́ílet taʿúmmu wáḥdes. Netnîn qálldęn ĕlʿâdet n imęzwâręn. At Willûl fâlęn l-ílel g uwússu laínna ĕlmufîttis g ĕlğésem.

The transcription that I sent Mr. N Khalifa was adapted to agree with general transcription 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 occurred if it had been recorded from spontenous 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 similar phenomena, and underlined words indicate phonetic and grammatical deviations from the original text.

> Tálṭ iyyám n uwássu áytəmm dis əlmizán g užánna. Íḍ aməzwár ayáffəɣ ítri, táni ayáffəɣ táni n itrán, əttálət ayáffəɣ ttálət n itrán. Baʃdín əlmizán. Səbʃa u xamsín g unábdu ayáffəɣ əlmizán.
>
> Tálṭ iyyám n uwássu kmálən At Wíllul áfləl l íləl aʃúmmən *da...* u baʃdín arəwwḥən s íləl. Saʃ(a) árbʃa báʃd ázgən n íḍ áfləl l íləl, qábl yəqqas n táfəwt, aʃúmmən. Lbáʃḍ nmíddən əggáyən g iləɣmán d yisán d iɣyál [x] íləl. Kúll lʃáylət atʃúmm wáḥḥdəs af imanís. Árgaz ayátəf g íləl g tḥazamít nəɣ əg tkmíst, tamətṭút atátəf l íləl əg tkmíst. Aqqímən g íləl ssáʃət nnəɣ ssáʃət d wázgən. Lbáʃḍ n míddən *ayátəf əlmúžət...* áyfat əlmúžət sábʃa məṛṛát. Kull ídžən ikáttəḥ g áman af ttáni. U baʃdín arəwwḥən l tíddart. Arákkbən útšu d údi xaṣ y uwássu. Atrákkbəd áman u baʃdín astámbəd

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

tísənt u baʕdín *adə...* ayáyzəg u baʕdín atámbəd árən u baʕdín ayḍáb, báʕd lli ayḍáb, atḥárrkəd s uɣándża u baʕdín attámbəd g ədzíwa n qášquš u baʕdín *asən*— atnáɣləd *fəll fəll* áfəllas údi. Átšən útšu báʕd lli arəwwḥən s íləl, talží qabl *iq*— ázgən mm áss. Ázgən mm áss adígən amákli, kásksu nnəɣ d əlmakarúnat; taməddít adígən amássi.

ʕAṛábən nnán g tálət yúm *mm...nn...* n uwássu dis əlɣálṭət, walákin tíkərkas laʔínna kull lʕáylət tʕúmm wáḥdəs. Nətnín qálldən lʕádət n imәzwárən. At Wíllul fáləl l íləl g uwássu laʔínna əlfáyttis g əldžísəm.

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 *ázgən* after *báʕd* and *qábl* where Paradisi consistently has the État d'Annexion *úzgən*.

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

áytəmm corresponds to Paradisi's *āītémm*, this difference is not easily explained. According to Mitchell (2009: 20) the verb *təmm/təmma/ttəmma* belongs to conjugation 8,[13] which has accentuation agreeing with my recording:

ybádd — yttbádda — áybədd (dependent yábədd) — ábədd[14]

ayáffəɣ corresponds to Paradisi's *ayęffǫ́ġ* 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 — yttálləm — (a)yálləm — álləm

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

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

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

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

yɣáb — yttáɣab — áyɣab (dependent yáɣab) — áɣab

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

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

yrə́qqəʕ — y(ə)ttrə́qqəʕ — (a)yrə́qqəʕ — rə́qqəʕ

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

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

əlmizán occurs twice in Paradisi's text: *elmîzān* and *lmīzân*. 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.

ssáʕət corresponds to Paradisi's *saʿát* twice, both times with the accent on the final syllable. My transcription corresponds to *gəssáʕət* in Mitchell (2009: 252).

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

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

uɣándža corresponds to Paradisi's *ůġånğâ*. My recordings disagree with Paradisi's transcription.

qášquš corresponds to Paradisi's *qăšqûš*. Once again my recordings disagree with Paradisi's transcription.

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

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

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

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

My *áfəllas* 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 cəcc).

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 <tīsî> '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 <āġĕv, 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 <gîdeven> and Paradisi's <gīdéven> 'wolves, jackals', Beguinot's <tnebrét> and Paradisi's <tenébret> 'needle', Beguinot's <áġareš> and Paradisi's <aġăréš> '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, egīdév> Paradisi <agîdev> 'wolf, jackal'.

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

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

Chapter 3

Noun

3.1 Features of the noun

3.1.1 Gender

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

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

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

Masculine	Feminine
male persons and animals	**female persons and animals**
awìl 'man from Awjila'	*tawìlt* 'woman from Awjila'
afunàs 'ox'	*tfunàst* 'cow'
things bigger than the feminine	**things smaller than the masculine**
akənzìr 'big nose'	*tkənzìrt* 'nose'
aməzùn 'pin or hinge at the base of a door'	*taməzùnt* 'small pin or hinge at the base of a door'
collectives	**unit nouns**
bẓalìm 'onions (coll.)'	*təbẓalìmt* 'onion'
kšàym 'watermelons (coll.)'	*təkšàymt* 'watermelon'

3.1.2 Number

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

3.1.3 State

Like many of the Berber languages of the east, Awjila has no distinction between Free State (État Libre) and Annexed State (État d'Annexion). État Libre and État d'Annexion mark the function of a noun in a sentence. In Berber languages more to the west, the État d'Annexion marks the subject of a sentence when it is post-verbal, and it marks nouns that follow prepositions[1]. The difference is marked in the prefix. The table below represents some Middle Atlas Berber nouns that illustrate this opposition of State (Penchoen 1973: 21).

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

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

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

zír	'child'	í-zir	'to the child'
taftált	'bottle'	i-táftalt	'in the bottle'
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-kátr=as akʷábbi amán i=tláʕžust*
3sg.m.-carry=IO.3sg. boy water to=old.woman
'the boy carried the water to the old woman.'

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

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

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

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

Another examples is found in PT:VII *w isáɣ aẓìṭ* 'And he bought a donkey' besides *yəqqán imànnəs amakàn n aẓìṭ* '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, *aẓìṭ* 'donkey' maintains its final accentuation.

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

3.2 Morphology of the noun

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

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

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

3.2.1 The prefix

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

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

3.2.1.1 Masculine sg. *a-*

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

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

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

addìd	addìdən	'goatskin'
ammùd	ammùdən	'mosque'
àmẓa	amẓìwən	'ogre; strong, cunning person; lion (rare)'
awìl	awìlən	'Augila person'
ayùr	ayùrən	'new moon, month; button (of mother of pearl)'

3.2.1.2 Masculine sg. *ø-*

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

[2] Another 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).

flalìš	flulìš	‘inflorescence’
glìm	glìmən	‘skin’
gnìš	gnìšən	‘male blossom of a date palm’
grùṭ	grùṭən	‘wood, trunk of a tree’
gzìn	gzìnən	‘dog’
màgi	magiwìn	‘eyelid’
qərzàṭ	qərzàṭən	‘dried dates for livestock’
vìw, vvìw	əvvìwən	‘bean; broad bean’
zzày	zzìwən	‘breast’
zərr, zzər	zàrrən	‘back’
ẓùy, ẓẓùy	ẓwàn	‘palm’
ənfùs (infùs)	ənfùsən (infùsən)	‘sleeve’
tàqt	taqqìd, taqqìdən	‘finger’

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

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

3.2.1.3 Masculine sg. *i-*

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

ìmgər, yəmgər	màg(ə)rən	‘sickle’
ìsəm	smìwən	‘ear; handle of a basket’
ìšɣər	šɣìrən	‘firewood’
išk	škìwən	‘horn’
ìškər	škìrən	‘nail’

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

ìləs	ìlsən, ilsànən	‘tongue’
infùs (ənfùs)	infùsən (ənfùsən)	‘sleeve’
irìw	irìwən	‘boy, child’
ìštən	ištìnən	‘a shoemakers awl’
ìšf	išfàwən, išfìwən	‘day’

3.2.1.4 Isolated masculine formations

Three nouns show unique patterns.

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

3.2.1.5 Feminine sg. *tə-*

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

təfəlùšt	tfəlšìn	‘large spoon for cooking’
təmuzìst	tmuzistìn, tmuzìs	‘threshold, doorstep’
təsìli	tsiliwìn	‘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, *ə* 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	təgzintìn, təgzinìn	‘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, təkabə̀rt	təkabrìn	'shirt'
təmiṭàst	təmìṭaz	'scissors'
tərəkə̀ft	tərəkfìn	'caravan'
təmasùt	təmasutìn	'boil, pimple'

3.2.1.6 Feminine sg. *t-*

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

tfunàst	tfunastìn	'cow'
tfíɣit	tfìɣa	'animal excrement'
tfidìrt	tfidrìn	'lizard (monitor lizard)'
tkənzìrt	tkənzirìn, tkənzìr	'nose'
tkərrìšt	tkərrìš	'knot'
tkəttìft	tkəttfìn	'ant'
tšərìmt	tšərmìn	'gut (sg.), intestine (pl.)'
tɣardìmt	tɣardimìn	'scorpion'
tsunùt, tsənùt	tsənuttìn, tsənutìn	'thick needle'

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

Amother exception to this distribution is *tšərìmt* 'gut' pl. *tšərmìn*'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.

taḥolìt	tḥolitìn	‘sheep’
tamìrt	tmìra	‘beard’
taqəẓẓàlt	tqəẓẓalìn	‘kidney’
taṭl(ə)wìt	(t)ṭəlwítin	‘turnip’
takəllìmt	tkəllmìn	‘slave, servant’
tavvùrt (təvùrt)	dvurr	‘door’
tavərgàt (dvərgàt)	dvərgà	‘dream’
tavurìt (?)	dvuritìn	‘small plate, tray’
tabazàrt (?)	tbazrìn	‘basket’
taqəṭṭìšt	tqəṭṭìš, tqəṭṭíšin	‘little hole; eye of the needle’

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

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

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

takəmmùšt ‘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:

tašùmt	tašumìn	‘pillow’
taržàlt	taržalìn	‘wing (of a bird)’
taɣmày (?)	taɣmawìn (?), taɣmáwin (?)	‘thigh’

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

3.2.1.8 Feminine sg. *tu-*

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

tuwəgìlt	tuwəgilìn	'molar tooth'
tuwənìt	tuwənitìn	'pit, hole'

Because *ə* can be transcribed as <u> in front of *w*, both *tuwəgìlt* '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.

3.2.1.9 Feminine sg. *ti-*

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

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

3.2.2 The suffix

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

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

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

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. *təfšəš* 'lightness' , *tàɣzəf* 'length', *tàvrək* 'width, breadth', *taẓẓìk, taẓẓìq* 'heaviness, weight'.

Several nouns originally had a final *-i* which was dropped in Awjila. These nouns do not have a final *-t* in Awjila, e.g. *təvál* 'sheep' (cf. To. *tehăle* 'id.'), *təžár* 'moon' (cf. Ghd. *tazíri* 'full moon')[3] and *tamùr*(*ə*)*ɣ* 'grasshoppers (coll.)' (cf. Siwa. *təmərġi* 'id.').

The two nouns whose stem ends in a diphthong *-ay* lack final *-t*: *taɣmày* 'thigh' and *tqárṭay* '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. *tafùt* 'sun', *təbarùt* 'way, street'

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

Nouns with stem-final *-i* may or may not have the suffix *-t*. There seems to be no apparent distribution, e.g. *tkərdìt* 'core of a palm', *təkàrdi* 'measles', *tfíɣit* 'animal excrement', *tgìli* 'head'. One word with stem-final *-i* is found both with and without the final *-t*: *tsígit, tsìgi* pl. *tsigitìn* '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*.

adbìr	dbìrən	‘pigeon’
agìdəv	gidàvən	‘wolf, jackal’
awìš	wìššən	‘sword’
agəllìd	gàldən	‘head of a tribe, gentleman’
abžàw	bžàwən	‘cheek’
abəškìw	bəškìwən	‘horn’

3.2.2.3 Masculine plural *-awən*

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

adəɣ	dəɣàwən	‘a bush of palms’
afìš	fišàwən	‘face’
agàrṭ	gərṭàwən	‘neck’
ul	ulàwən	‘heart’
arəg	rəggàwən	‘handle’
asìrf	sərfàwən	‘braid of palm leaves to make baskets’
ìšf	išfàwən (išfìwən)	‘day’
ašal	šalàwən	‘village’
avùr	vuràwən	‘plate, tray made of palm leaves’
avàrg	vərgàwən	‘pestle (usually metal, to crush cores of dates)’
aɣùf	ɣəfàwən	‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string’

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

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

3.2.2.4 Masculine plural *-iwən*

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

àmẓa	amẓìwən	‘ogre’
zzày	zzìwən	‘breast’
ìsəm	smìwən	‘ear; handle of a basket’
išk	škìwən	‘horn’
išf	išfìwən	‘day’
	(išfàwən)	

3.2.2.5 Masculine plural *-in*

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

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

3.2.2.6 Masculine plural *-an*

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

aẓìṭ	ziṭàn	‘donkey’
ẓùy, ẓẓùy	ẓwàn	‘palm’
	ẓẓan	‘excrement’

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. *ngùwən* ‘green date’, *ìləs* pl. *ilsànən* ‘tongue’ (also: *ìlsən*), *màgi* pl. *magiwìn* ‘eyelid’ and *awànu* pl. *wənyìn, wənniyìn* ‘well’

3.2.2.8 Feminine plural *-in*

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

təfəlùšt	tfəlšìn	'large spoon for cooking'
təkábərt	təkabrìn	'shirt'
aɣàst	ɣəstìn	'bone'
tɣardìmt	tɣardimìn	'scorpion'
tašùmt	tašumìn	'pillow'
tirìwt	tiriwìn 'girl'	

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

3.2.2.9 Feminine plural *-tin*, *-itin*

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

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

m.sg.	m.pl.	f.sg.	f.pl.
afunàs	funasən 'ox'	tfunàst	tfunastìn 'cow'
agmàr	gmàrən	tagmàrt	tagmartìn 'horse'
gzìn	gzìnən 'dog'	təgzìnt	təgzintìn (also: təgzinìn) 'bitch'
alèɣ(ə)m	ləɣmìn	tələɣmt	tləɣmitìn 'camel'
aqəṭṭùš	qəṭṭùšən	təqəṭṭùšt	təqəṭṭuštìn 'cat'
aqažìṭ	qužìṭ 'rooster'	təkažìt	təkažitìn 'chicken'
arìng	ringìn	təringìt	təringitìn 'neighbour'
awìl	awìlən	tawìlt	tawiltìn 'Augila person'
azìṭ	ziṭàn	təzìt	tzittìn 'donkey'

There are only two exceptions to this: *akəllìm* pl. *kálləmən*; f. *takəllìmt* pl. *tkəllmìn* 'slave, servant', and *irìw* pl. *irìwən*; f. *tirìw* pl. *tiriwìn, tirìwi* 'child'

There are two nouns with a similar formation, that is, *-tin* after a consonant-final root. These words refers to an object and have no attested masculine counterpart: *təmuzìst* pl. *tmuzistìn, tmuzìs* 'threshold, doorstep' and *tžìraṭ* pl. *tžiraṭṭìn* 'ribs of leaves'.

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

taḥolìt	tḥolitìn	‘sheep’
tḥalkút	tḥalkútin	‘bread’
təmasùt	təmasutìn	‘boil, pimple’
tsígit, tsìgī	tsigitìn	‘rib’
taṭl(ə)wìt	(t)ṭəlwítin	‘turnip’
tavurìt	dvuritìn	‘small plate, tray’
tuwənìt	tuwənitìn	‘pit, hole’
tsunùt, tsənùt	tsənuttìn, tsənutìn	‘thick needle’

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

3.2.2.10 Feminine plural *-win*

Except for *tit* pl. *tiwìn* ‘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*.

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

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*: *təlàba* pl. *təlabiwìn* ‘barracan’ and *tqárṭay* pl. *tqərṭiwìn* ‘paper’[4] .

One word has the plural ending *-awin* which replaces the word-final *-ay* of the singular: *taɣmày* pl. *taɣmawìn, taɣmáwin* ‘thigh’[5].

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

[4]Perhaps to be read as *tqárṭay, tqarṭiwìn*.

[5]Perhaps to be read as *təɣmày* pl. *təɣmawìn, təɣmáwin*.

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

Finally, one word has the plural suffix *-ən*: *tɣəṭ* pl. *tɣəṭṭən, tɣìṭṭən* 'goat'.[6] Perhaps the *plurale tantum* <ṭilîwẹn> 'fenugreek' also belong here, but the transcription is ambiguous. In the transcriptions <ẹ> might stand for an unaccented /i/.

3.2.3 The stem

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

3.2.3.1 *i*-infix plural

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

takəmmùšt	təkəmmìš	'bundle of sticks, bundle'
tkənzìrt	tkənzìr (tkənzirìn)	'nose'
tkərrìšt	tkərrìš	'knot'
amərtùf	mərtìf	'a measure of capacity (for cereals)'
təmuzìst	tmuzìs (tmuzistìn)	'threshold, doorstep'
təništ	tnìš (tníšin)	'key'
təqənvìlt	təqənvìl	'mucus'
taqəṭṭìšt	tqəṭṭìš (tqəṭṭìšin)	'little hole; eye of the needle'
azàləq	zulìq	'billy goat'
flalìš	flulìš	'inflorescence'
tasìft, tasìwt	təssìw	'(terraced) roof'

[6] This word commonly has this plural suffix in Berber languages and must be considered old, cf. MA *taɣaṭṭ* pl. *tiɣəṭṭən*; Tashl. *taɣaṭṭ* pl. *tiɣaṭṭn*

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

There is one case where the consonant before the infixed *i* is lengthened. *takùkt* pl. *təkkìk* 'worm'.

3.2.3.2 *a*-infix plural

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

təmiṭàst	təmíṭaz	'scissors'
təqəṭṭùšt	tqəṭṭaš	'cat'
agəṭìṭ	gəṭaṭ	'sparrow; bird'
aɣìdəd	ɣidàd	'kid (goat)'
yəqzər, íqzər	aqzàr	'mouse'

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

3.2.3.3 Long vowel removal plural

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

tabazàrt	tbazrìn	'basket'
tbəssìkt	tbəsskìn	'bum, backside; vulva' pl.: 'fart'
tfidìrt	tfidrìn	'lizard (monitor lizard)'
təfəlùšt	tfəlšìn	'large spoon for cooking'
agəllìd	gəldən	'head of a tribe, gentleman'
təkədìrt	tkədrìn	'ear (botanical)'
akəllìm	kəlləmən	'(male) slave, servant'
takəllìmt	tkəllmìn	'(female) slave, servant'
tkəttìft	tkəttfìn	'ant'
tšərìmt 'gut'	tšərmìn	'intestine'
awəgìl	wəgələn	'canine tooth'
tuwəgìlt	tuwəgəlìn	'molar tooth'
twəllìkt	twəllkìn	'louse'
twəlìst	twəlsìn	'big plate or bowl of wood'

Two nouns of this class have the plural suffix *-awən*: *asìrf* pl. *sərfàwən* 'braid of palm leaves to make baskets', *aɣùf* pl. *ɣəfàwən* 'the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string'.

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

3.2.3.4 *-ic̄-ən* plurals

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

afùd, afùdd	fìddən	‘knee’
afùs	fìssən	‘hand’
aɣìz	ɣìzzən	‘necklace’
avìr	vìrrən	‘wall’
awìš	wìššən	‘sword’
azìf	zìffən	‘tail’
tɣəṭ	tɣìṭṭən (tɣəṭṭən)	‘goat’

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

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

3.2.3.5 *i*-infix with plural suffix

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

ìšɣər	šɣìrən	‘firewood’
ìškər	škìrən	‘nail’
ìštən	ištìnən	‘a shoemakers awl’
amədən	mədìnən (mìddən)	‘man’ pl.: ‘people’

3.2.3.6 Suppletion

A small group of nouns have a suppletive plural formation.

təvə́l	dvittìn	'sheep'
ìwi	aməẓẓìn	'my son'
awìl	žlàn	'word, speech'
uma	àtma	'my brother'
wə̀rtnā	sə̀tma	'my sister'

3.2.3.7 Isolated formations

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

One noun shifts its root final *-i* to *-a*, e.g. *tfíɣit* pl. *tfìɣa* 'animal excrement'.

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

Three nouns have irregular plural formations: *agəngùy* pl. *ngùwən* 'green date', *tàqt* pl. *taqqìd, taqqìdən* 'finger', *təmmìt* pl. *tmənyìn* 'tamarisk'.

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

3.3 Arabic loans

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

əlbàb 'door'
əlbə̀ḥr 'sea'
əddəlàl 'auctioneer'
alidàm 'butter'
lḥəbb pl. *ləḥbùb* 'date (mature)'
əlkətf pl. *ləktuf* 'shoulder'
ssùq 'market'
əlʕàləm pl. *əlʕulamá* 'scholar'
əžžəḥìm 'hell'
əlḥə̀zmət 'bundle'
əlḥàžət 'thing'

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

aḥòli pl. *ḥolàwən* 'lamb'
amakàn 'place'
tzənàqt pl. *dzənqìn* 'street'

3.4 Nominal derivation

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

3.4.1 Agent nouns

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

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

3.4.2 Instrument nouns

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

[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 *aráv* 'to write', based on Beguinot (1924: 189) and Paradisi's word list.

1sg.	-x, -ɣ, -a	urəf-ɣ, urəf-x
2sg.	t-…-t	t-urəf-t
3sg.m.	y-	y-urév
3sg.f.	t-	t-urév
1pl.	n-	n-urév
2pl.m.	t-…-im	t-urəv-ìm
2pl.f.	t-…-mət	t-urèv-mət
3pl.m.	-n	úrəv-ən
3pl.f.	-nət	urèv-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* *ləḥkàyət axìr* *n=tà=nn-ək.*
now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=IO.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 *aɣáš* 'to love'[1] is given below as an example.

2sg	-ø	aɣáš-ø
2pl.m.	-at	aɣəš-àt
2pl.f.	-mət	aɣàš-mət

4.1.3 Stative PNG-marking

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

1sg.	-ax	šəṭf-àx
2sg.	-at	šəṭf-àt
3sg.m.	-ø	šəṭṭəf-ø
3sg.f.	-ət	šəṭf-ət
pl.	-it	šəṭṭif-ìt

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] *aɣáš* '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.[3] The participle occurs with regular verbs and stative verbs.

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

(3) *i-šərw=ìs* *ləhùdi s=alá* *ṣará-n=a.*
3sm-tell:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jew from=rel. happen:res.-ptc.=res.
'the Jew told him about what had happened.' [PT:V]

(4) *u=bəʕədèn y-əxzár* *af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs wa* *ẓẓàk-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.=DO.3sm
'And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry' [PT:III]

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

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

4.1.4.1 Other

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

Paradisi distinguishes two forms: an "indefinite" form, *aqùṭən* '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.

	Definite	Indefinite
m.sg.	wà-ṭən	aqùṭən
m.pl.	wə-ṭnìn	aquṭnìn
f.sg.	tà-ṭən	aqùṭət
f.pl.	tə-ṭnìnət	aquṭnìnət

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

[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=bəʕəd sàb(ə)ʕa ayyam y-əʕəddˤ mərràt* (*mərràtət*) *aqùṭ-ət*
then and=after seven days 3sm-go:ˣpf. time another-sf
'Then after seven days he went another time' [PT:IX]

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

(6) *šəmm-át=dik tirìwt tàṭən, amišiw=ənn-ùk.*
cook:imp.-pm=IO.1s child other: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=ənn-əs šəmm-át=dik tàṭən.*
and=tomorrow=of-3s cook:imp.-pm=IO.1s other:sf
'And the next day: cook another for me' [PT:XV]

In both these sentences from the same text, Paradisi's "definite" form *tàṭən* 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 aqùṭən*
one:sm another:sm
'another one' [P: s.v. altro]

(9) *àtma wəṭnìn*
brothers other:pm
'my other brothers'

(10) *tfilliwìn təṭnìnət*
houses other:pf
'the other houses'

(11) *iwátan t-ənni dìla u=taṭən t-ənni ždàbyət*
one:sf 3sf-be:ˣpf. at.here and=other:sf 3sf-be:ˣpf. Ajdabiya
'one is here, and the other is in Ajdabiya' [P: s.v. altro]

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

4.1.5 Stem variation in Final * verbs

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

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

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

yəččá 'he ate' [P:s.v. mangiare]	*yəčči=t* 'he ate it' [PT:XV]
yəfká 'he gave' [P: s.v. dare]	*yəfk=isìn* 'he gave them' [PT:XV]
ayàfk 'he will give' [P: s.v. dare]	*ayəfk=ìs* 'I will give him' [PT:V]
yəfká 'he gave' [P: s.v. dare]	*yəfki=dìk* 'He gave me' [PT:V]

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

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

4.2 Derivational prefixes

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

4.2.1 Causative

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

imp. sg. *šəndəl* 'to cover', derived from *əndəl* 'to be covered'
imp. sg. *šuɣər* 'to lose something', derived from *uɣár* 'to get lost'

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

imp. sg. *s=əzik, s-əgzək* 'to heal (trans.)', derived from *zik* 'to get better'
imp. sg. *s=əzwər* 'to swell; to make steep', derived from *zəwwər* 'to be large'
imp. sg. *s-əẓẓik* 'to make heavy', dervied from *ẓẓək* '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 *gəzzəl* 'to be short, low'
imp. sg. *š-əɣzəf, s-əɣzəf* 'to lengthen', derived from the stative verb *ɣəzzəf* '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, atṣ* 'to laugh'

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

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

udán 'to get dressed'	> *š-ùdən* 'to dress s.o.'
glùl 'to play'	> *š-əglùl* 'to make s.o. play'
əkri 'to return'	> *š-àkri* 'to return s.th.'
əkkár 'to get up'	> *š-àkkər* 'to make s.o. get up'

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

fəšùš 'to be light'	> *š-àfšəš* 'to lighten'
gəzzəl 'to be short, low'	> *š-àgzəl, s-əgzəl* 'to shorten, lower'

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

uɣár 'to get lost; to lose s.th.'	> *š-ùɣər* 'to lose s.th.'

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

əčč 'to eat'	> *š-əčč* 'to make s.o eat'
agál, gul 'to see'	> *š-àgəl* 'to show'
aɣár 'to read'	> *š-àɣər* 'to make s.o. read'
àkər, ùkər 'to steal'	> *š-ùkər* 'to make s.o. steal'

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

əfk 'to give'	> *š-əfk* 'to make s.o. give'

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-àggəd* 'to urinate, defecate'.

[5]We 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.[6] This following overview lists all attested passive verbs.

əmt 'to bury'	> pf. 3sg.m. *i-tt-àmt* 'to be buried'
əny 'to kill'	> pf. 3sg.m. *i-tt-ànɣ* 'to be killed'
əzwáṭ 'to slam; to throw'	> res. 3sg.m. *i-t-zəwìṭa* 'to be thrown on the ground'
àžəṭ 'to grind, mill'	> res. 3sg.m. *i-tt-ižìṭa* 'to be ground, be milled'
yar 'to open'	> imp. sg. *ttw-àr, tw-àr* 'to open, to be open, to be opened'
àrəv, ùrəv 'to write'	> pf. 3sg.m. *i-tw-àrəv* 'to be written'
š-ìššəf 'to sieve'	> res. 3sg.m. *i-t-š-iššif=a* 'to be sieved'

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

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

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

(14) *U=y-ətwàr arəqùṭ u=y-əḥsəb=tànət y-ufi=tànət*
and=3sm-open:ˣpf. bag and=3sm-count:ˣpf.=DO.3pf 3sm-find:ˣpf.=DO.3pf
ənqəṣ-nìt=a iwínan
lack:res.-3pf=res. one:sm
'And he opened the bag (or: the bag was opened) and counted them and found them lacking one (pound)' [PT:V]

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

(15) *Bəʃədèn uša-n=ìz=d itnèn ən=qəṭṭáʃan, iwínan i-twàr*
Then come:ˣpf.-3pm=IO.3s=come two of=thieves, one:ms 3sm-open:ˣpf.
aẓìṭ u=y-ərfəʃ=t ìdd-əs w=iwínan y-əqqán
donkey and=3sm-take.away:ˣpf.=DO.3sm with-3s and=one:ms 3sm-tie:ˣpf.
imàn=n-əs amakàn n=aẓìṭ.
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 *tuw-*, see pg. **??** for a discussion.

4.2.3 Middle

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

(16) *Undú uši-ɣ=d ká, **a=n-mḥàsəb** nək ìdd-əs yom əlqiyàma.*
if come:ˣpf.-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. *əmmàkt, mmàkti* 'to remember', cf. Ghd. *ăktət* 'to remember'; Kb. *mməkti* 'to remember'
imp. sg. *əmmág* 'to become, to be, to turn into'. Probably derived from *ag* 'to do, put, place'.

4.2.4 Combined prefixes

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

res. 3sg.m. *i-t-š-išìfa* '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. *àsəɣ*, 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. *àkər, ùkər*; pf. 3sg.m. *y-ùkər*; impf. 3sg.m. *i-tàkər* 'to steal'
imp. sg. *yar*; pf. 3sg.m. *y-urá* 'to open'
imp. sg. *àsəɣ*; imp. pl.m. *səɣ-àt*; pf. 3sg.m. *i-sə́ɣ* 'to buy'
imp. sg. *əlmə́d*; impf. 3sg.m. *i-làmməd* 'to learn'
imp. sg. *fənžər*; impf. 3sg.m. *i-fənžàr* 'to bleed (from the nose)'

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

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

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

4.3.1 Verbal clitics

Several clitics may precede or follow the verb. The verb, together with its clitics, forms a single accent unit. Preceding the verb, we find the negative clitic *ur*= and the future clitic *a*=. Following the verb, we find the direct object and indirect object pronominal clitics, the resultative clitic =*a* and the lexicalized deictic clitic =*d*. These clitics appears 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*** *tàs(ə)ʕa màyət id=tàs(ə)ʕa u=təsʕìn*
by.god now fut.=throw:fut.-1s=IO.3s nine hundred with=nine and=ninety
žnì ***w=a=ggulà-x=t*** ***a=y-uɣí=tənət*** *naɣ wàla.*
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 *aɣi=d* 'to bring'[7]. Because the clitic no longer has a discernable semantic meaning, I have decided to gloss them as part of the verb: =*d* is glossed 'come' and 'bring', depending on which verb it follows.

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

(18) *Y-uš=ìz=d Žḥà.*
3sm-come:P-10.3s Jha
'Jha came to him' [PT:VI]

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

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

Notice that the 1sg. PNG-marker *-x* is voiced to *-ɣ* in front of this clitic.
The future 3sg.m. and 3sg.f. of *yi=d* do not have the clitic.

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

4.3.1.5 Resultative clitic =*a*

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

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

(19) *u=ku t-ɣəllì-t a=tt-uɣà-t=**tət** sɣàr-i?*
and=you 2s-want:ˣpf.-2s fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3sf from=1s
'and you want to take it from me?' [PT:V]

(20) *nək wa 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-tuɣa-(t)=tənət əɴqəṣ-**nìt**=a naɣ wəla.*
fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3pf lack:res.-3pf=res. or not

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

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

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

4.3.2 Negation

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

(21) *afìwa t-nə-d=dìk* ***ká*** (*or:* ***ur****=t-nə-d=dìk*) *žlan=ìya u=nək*
why 2s-say:pf.-2s=IO.1s neg. neg.=2s-say:pf.-2s=IO.1s words-prox.:p and=I
nnì-x ar=ùṭa?
be(loc.):pf.-1s to=below
Why did you not tell me these words when (litt. and) I was still below?' [PT:VI]

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

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

4.3.3 Verb stems

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

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

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

4.3.3.1 ccc

This type is the most common verb type. There are no verbs with the full paradigm attested. The regular pattern is[8]:

imp. |əccác|	pf. |əccác|	fut. |əccəc|	impf. |cəc̄əc|	v.n. |acəcac|	
ədyáz	y-ədyáz	*n.a.*	i-dəyyəz	adəyàz	'to sing'
əqláz	*n.a.*	a=y-əqləz	i-qəlləz	aqəlàz	'to lie'
əɣráš	y-əɣráš	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	aɣəràš	'to slaughter'
ərwáʕ	y-ərwáʕ	*n.a.*	i-rəwwəʕ	*n.a.*	'to fear'

Besides this general pattern, there is some variation. Some imperatives have a |cəcác| pattern, e.g. *gəbáš* 'to encircle' and *kəráš* (besides *əkráš*) 'to tie, to knot'.

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

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

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

4.3.3.2 cc*

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

imp. |əcc|	pf. |əcc*|	fut. |əcc*′|	impf. |cəc̄*|	v.n. |acəc̄u|	
əfk	y-əfká	a=y-əfk	i-fəkká	*n.a.*	'to give'
agáz	y-əgza	a=y-əgəz	i-gəzza	agəzzu	'to cut'
aqál	y-əqlá	a=y-əqəl	i-qəllá	aqəllu	'to roast'
aṭs	y-ətṣa	a=y-ətṣ	i-təṣṣá	təṣṣàt	'to laugh'

[8]Where 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. *abə́n* 'to build, construct', *agə́r* 'to gather, assemble', *aqə́l* 'to roast', but: *aṭs* 'to laugh', *ədž* 'to let go of', *əfk* 'to give', *ərẓ* 'to break', *àmt* 'to bury'.

There are two verbs with inserted *ə* which have a variant with an initial *ə*: *àsəl, əsə́l* 'to hear', *avə́l, əvə́l* 'to cry, weep'.

One verb has final *z*, but still has an inserted *ə*: *agə́z* 'to cut'.

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

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

The verb *ànəɣ* '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 <áněğ>. The sign <ě> is often employed to write epenthetic vowels (see pg. 30).

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

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

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

The verb (*t-*)*tla=ya* (res.3sg.f.) 'to become pregnant' belongs to the **cc*** verbs, but displays some irregularities: The initial cluster *tl* is sometimes replaced by *ll* (e.g. res. 1sg. *tlì-x=a, llì-x=a*. Sometimes the PNG-prefix *t-* is lost in front of *t* of the root (e.g. 2sg. *tə-tlì-t=a,* (*t-*)*tlì-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*)*təṣṣàt*;[10] *šəw* 'to drink' v.n. *tšəwwàt*.

The verb *əvàl, avàl* '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 *ăccəʔ 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 |tcəc̄àt| that we also occur as an irregular verbal noun shape in the **cc*** verbs. Notice that the 3sg.m. prefix *y-* is lost in the perfective in front of the *i* of the root.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
|ic|	|ic*′|	|ic*|	|nəc̄*|	|tnəc̄at|	
iš	ìša	a=y-ìš	i-nàššа	tnəššàt	‘to sleep’
iv	ivá	a=y-ìv	i-nàvva	tnəvvàt	‘to fall’
iž	*n.a.*	a=y-ìž	i-nàžža	*n.a.*	‘to be sold’

4.3.3.4 cci

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

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
|əccí|	|əccí|	|əcci|	|cəc̄i|	|acəc̄í|	
ənṭí	y-ənṭí	a=y-ənṭí	i-nàṭṭi	anəṭṭí	‘to taste’
əngi	y-àngi	a=y-əngi	i-nàgga	anàggi	‘to touch’
ərní	y-ərní	a=y-ərni	i-rànni	arənní	‘to increase, bid’

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

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

The verb *əngi* ‘to touch’ has an irregular impf. stem: *nàgga* 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: *arənnú* (also: *arənnu*) besides the regular formation. We also find a pf. 3pl.m. form *rənnà-n* besides the regular *rənnìy-ən*, which is also a form that belong to a **cc*** verb.

4.3.3.5 c̄c

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

imp. |əc̄ác|	pf. |əc̄ác|	fut. |əc̄ác|	impf. |təc̄ác|	v.n. |əc̄uc|	
əṭṭáf	y-əṭṭáf	a=y-əṭṭáf	i-təṭṭáf	*n.a.*	'to seize'
əkkár	y-əkkár	a=y-əkkár	i-tàkkər	əkkùr	'to get up'
əqqán	y-əqqán	*n.a.*	i-təqqán	əqqùn	'to bind, tie'
əššən	i-ššən	*n.a.*	i-təššán	(əš)šùn	'to know'
əmmág	y-əmmág	a=y-əmmág	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to become'
əwwáq	y-àwwəq	*n.a.*	i-tàwwəq	əwwùq	'to uproot'
àzzəl	i-zzìl=a (res.)	a=y-àzzəl	i-tàzzəl	*n.a.*	'to have bowel movement'

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

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

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

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

4.3.3.6 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.

[11] These 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.

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

imp. |ə̄č|	pf. |ə̄č*′|	fut. |ə̄č*|	impf. |tə̄č*|	v.n. |ə̄cú|	
əčč	y-əččá	*n.a.*	i-ttətta	əčču	'to eat'
n.a.	y-əmmá	a=y-əmm	i-nənna	tənənnàt	'to be cooked'
əww	y-əwwa	*n.a.*	i-təwwa	əwwu	'to knead'
əžž	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	əžžú	'to plant'
əss	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-təssá	əssú	'to spread (a mat)'

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

The irregular verb *aɣì=d, yaɣì=d* 'to bring' largely functions as a **c̄*** verb, but it has a suppletive imperative *aɣi=d, yaɣì=d* and it has a petrified directional clitic *=d* that has become part of the stem. The imperfective has an allomorph *=da* of this direcitonal 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:

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
aɣì=d, yaɣì=d	y-əggà=d=a (res.)	a=y-əggá=d	i-təggà=da	əggú	'to bring'

4.3.3.7 c̄i

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

4.3.3.8 cc

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

imp. |acə́c|	pf. |(ə)cə́c|	fut. |cə́c|	impf. |təc̄ə́c| |təc̄ac|	v.n. |acuc|	
aɣə́š	y-əɣə́š	a=i-ɣə́š	i-təɣɣàš	*n.a.*	'to love'
àsəɣ	i-sə́ɣ	a=i-sə́ɣ	ai-təssàɣ	asùɣ	'to buy'
avə́r	i-və́r	a=i-v(v)ə́r	i-təvvə́r	avùr	'to close'
avə́ṭ	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-təvvàṭ	avùṭ	'to swear'
azə́m	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-təzzàm	azùm	'to shave'
àžəṭ	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-təžžàṭ	*n.a.*	'to grind, mill'
wəṭ	i-wə́ṭ	*n.a.*	i-təwwə́ṭ	əwùṭ	'to arrive'

aɣə́š '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.: *təssàx-x*.

The imperative and verbal noun of *wəṭ* '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' irregularily lengthens the final *g* in the future stem.

imp. |ac|	pf. |c*′|	fut. |əc|	impf. |təc̄a|	v.n. |acú|	
ag	i-gá	a=y-àgg	i-tàgga	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-lay=a (res.)	*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=is* has an obligatory 3sg. indirect object marker. Because the initial vowel *i* of the 3sg. indirect object marker always replaces the final alternating vowel in many forms, the final alternating vowel does not show up in the surface form. The lack of an alternating vowel in the surface form has spread to some forms where we would expect it, e.g. pf. 2sg. *t-nə-d=ìs* not ***t-ni-d=ìs*. But the pf. 3pl.m. still retains a reflex of the alternating final vowel: *na-n=ìs*.

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

4.3.3.10 ci

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

4.3.3.11 vcc

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

imp. |ucə́c|	pf. |ucəc|	fut. |ucəc|	impf. |tacəc|	v.n. |ucuc|	
udán	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-tàdən	udùn	'to be dressed'
ugə́m	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-tàgəm	ugùm	'to draw water'
uɣár	y-ùɣər	a-y-ùɣər	itàɣər	*n.a.*	'to get lost'
àkər, ùkər	y-ùkər	*n.a.*	i-tàkər	ukùr	'to steal'
arə́v, ùrəv	y-urə́v	a-y-ùrəv	i-tàrəv	arràv	'to write'
asə́k, usə́k	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to take away'
n.a.	uṣə̀l-ən	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to arrive'
uṭár	y-ùṭər	a-y-ùṭər	i-tàṭər	*n.a.*	'to twist, roll up'

Three verbs of this type have an alternative imperative shape |acəc| besides |ucəc|: *àkər, ùkər* 'to steal', *arə́v, ùrəv* '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.: *úrəv-ən*, this position is rarely found accented in Paradisi's material. The imperative accent of this verb is variable as well, but the final phonological accent occurs more often.

arə̀v, ùrəv 'to write' has an irregular verbal noun *arràv*.

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

imp. |icəc|	pf. |icəc|	impf. |ticac|	v.n. |ucuc|	
n.a.	irìd=a (res.)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be washed'
ìrəš	iriš-ìn=a (res.)	i-tiràš	urùš	'to descend'
n.a.	irày=a (res.)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be raw'
ìwən	*n.a.*	i-tiwàn	*n.a.*	'to satiate'

The verb *ìrəš* '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-ttərràš* besides the regular *i-tiràš*.

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

4.3.3.12 vc*

This verb type contains several well-attested verbs.

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

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

4.3.3.13 cccc

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

imp. |cəccəc|	pf. |cəccəc| (?)	impf. |cəccac|	v.n. |acəccəc|	
n.a.	y-əbəlbìš=a (res.)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to form a bulb'
n.a.	*n.a.*	i-ddəhwàr	*n.a.*	'to go around'
fənžər	*n.a.*	i-fənžàr	afənžər	'to bleed (from the nose)'
fər(ə)tək	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	afərtək	'to unstitch'
qəsṭəm	*n.a.*	t-qəsṭàm	aqəsṭəm	'to apply collyrium'
sənsər	*n.a.*	i-sənsàr	ásənsər	'to blow one's nose'
sərfəq	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to slap, to smack'
šəkšək	*n.a.*	i-šəkšàk	ašəkšək	'to winnow barley'

sərfə́q 'to slap, to smack', also appears as *sərfə́g*.

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

4.3.3.14 cc̄c ~ c̄c̄c

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

imp. |cəc̄əc|	pf./fut. |cəc̄əc|	impf. |cəc̄ac|	v.n. |acəc̄əm|	
n.a.	*n.a.*	i-dəwwàr	*n.a.*	'to look around'
n.a.	i-ɣəllèb=(tən)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to defeat s.o.'
n.a.	y-əḥəṣṣìla (res.)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to obtain'
n.a.	*n.a.*	i-xəbbar	*n.a.*	'to tell'
n.a.	y-əxəmmə́m	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to think, ponder'
n.a.	*n.a.*	i-xəṭṭàm	*n.a.*	'to drop by someone'
kəffən=(tən)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to wrap'
n.a.	i-kkèmməl	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to finish'
nèddəm	*n.a.*	i-nəddàm	anèddəm	'to be sleepy'
rèwwəḥ	i-rèwwəḥ	i-rèwwaḥ	*n.a.*	'to return (home)'
n.a.	a=i-sèbbəḥ (fut.)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to swim'
n.a.	i-ssèlləm	səllèm-ən	*n.a.*	'to greet'
sènnəṭ	*n.a.*	t-sənnèṭ	*n.a.*	'to hear, to listen'
n.a.	t-ṣəddəqt=(ì)=ya (res.)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to believe'
ṣərrə́ṭ	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to draw a line'
šèqqəš	*n.a.*	i-šəqqàš	*n.a.*	'to clap your hands'
n.a.	i-wèddən	i-wəddàn	*n.a.*	'to crow (rooster)'
n.a.	*n.a.*	ʕəyyàn-əx	*n.a.*	'to be ill'

The verb *sànnəṭ* '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 cc̄*

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. *wàtti-*(*dikkàni*) pl.f. *wəttì-mət*; pf. 3sg.f. *t-wàtta* 'to prepare'

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

4.3.3.16 cc̄i

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

4.3.3.17 cvcc

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

imp. |cvcəc|	pf. |əcvcəc|	fut. |cvcəc|	impf. |cvcac|	
n.a.	y-əqàrəb	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to draw near'
ṣùsəm	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be quiet'
n.a.	i-ʕàyəṭ	a=ʕayyàṭ-ən=(dìk)	i-ʕay(y)àṭ	'to yell, scream'

4.3.3.18 cvc̄(*) ~ c̄vc̄(*)

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

imp. |cuc̄|	pf. |cuc̄(*)|	fut. |cuc̄(*)|	
n.a.	y-ədd**ù**gg	*n.a.*	‘to knock’
llumm-àt	i-llùm(m)	*n.a.*	‘to gather, to stay together’
n.a.	y-əmm**ù**dd	*n.a.*	‘to extend’
šugg	i-šùgg (but šuggì-x)	a=i-šùgg	‘to wait for’

4.3.3.19 c̄vc(*)

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

imp. |c̄vc|	pf. |əc̄vc(*)|	fut. |əc̄vc(*)	impf. |tc̄ac*|	v.n. |təcacat|	
n.a.	y-əff**ù**d=a (res.)	a=y-əff**ù**d	i-təf**à**da	təfad**à**t	‘to be thirsty’
n.a.	y-əll**ù**z	*n.a.*	i-tl**à**za	təlaz**à**t	‘to be hungry’
əqq**ù**r	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	‘to dry out’
qim	y-əqq**ì**m (but: qqimì-x)	a=tt-əqq**í**ma-m	i-tqq**ì**ma	*n.a.*	‘to remain, sit’

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

4.3.3.20 cvc(*)/cvc*

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

imp. |cvc|	pf. |cvc(*)|	fut. |cvc(*)|	impf. |cvc*|	v.n. |acvc|	
nàɣ	i-nàɣ	a=i-nàɣ	*n.a.*	anàɣ	‘to call’
sas	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-sàsa	asàs	‘to beg’
zìk	i-zìk	a=y-əzìk	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	‘to become well’
ẓum	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	‘to fast’
mud	i-mùd	a=i-mùd	mudà-n	amùd	‘to pray’
žin	i-žìna	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	təmžìnt	‘to divide’
n.a.	ṣarà-n=a (res.)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	‘to happen’

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

4.3.3.21 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-ážvuv*).

imp. |ccvc|	pf. |ccvc(*)|	impf. |təccvc*|	v.n. |ccic(ən)|	
glùl	i-glùl	i-təglùla	glìlən	'to play'
ərgìg	*n.a.*	i-tərgìga	rgìg	'to shake'
šlìl	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to rinse'
n.a.	y-əvrùr=a (res.)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be fertilized (a palm)'
žvùv	y-ážvuv	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to burn incense'

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

4.3.4 Verbs with final t/y variation

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

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

mmùt 'to die' is essentially a **c̄vc(*)** verb, whose last consonant is *t/y*. The verbal noun is irregular.

šərwìt '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.

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

4.3.5 Further unclassifiable and irregular verbs

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

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
agə́l, gul	i-gùl, i-gùla	a=i-gùl	i-gəwwə́l	agəwàl	‘to see’
əmmə̀kt	y-əmmə̀kta	*n.a.*	i-mmə̀ktá	*n.a.*	‘to remember’
ə̀ṛəw	t-əṛə́w	a=tt-iṛəw	tà̀ṛəw	tàrwa	‘to give birth’
tùwi	i-ttùwi	*n.a.*	i-tàya	atùwi	‘to forget’
n.a.	llə̀wəšì-n=a (res.)	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	‘to wither’
n.a.	y-ətəmə̀nna	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	‘to wish’
uf tavərgə̀t	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-və̀rga	təvərgə̀t	‘to dream’

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 ***əgwəl*.

The verb *əmmə̀kt, mmə̀kti* ‘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 *əmmə̀kt*. 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 *ə̀ṛəw* ‘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-iṛì̀w=a* and future appear to have a **icc** structure, finally the imperative formation is that of a |vcc| verb, the verbal noun is a unique formation.

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

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

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

4.3.6 Stative verbs stems

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

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

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

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

4.3.6.1 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.

1sg. |cəcc-ax|	2sg. |cəcc-at|	3sg.m. |cəc̄əc|	3sg.f. |cəcc-ət|	pl. |cəc̄ic-it|	
gəzl-àx	gəzl-àt	gə̀zzəl	gə̀zl-ət	gəzzil-ìt	'to be short'
ɣəzf-àx	ɣəzf-àt	ɣə̀zzəf	ɣə̀zf-ət	ɣəzzif-ìt	'to be long'
ləqq-àx	ləqq-àt	lə̀qqəq	ləqq-ə́t	ləqqiq-ìt	'to be thin'
məll-àx	məll-àt	məllə́l	məll-ə́t	məllíl-it	'to be white'
məšk-àx	məšk-àt	məššə̀k	məšk-ə́t	məššik-ìt	'to be small'
šəṭf-àx	šəṭf-àt	šə̀ṭṭəf	šə̀ṭf-ət	šəṭṭif-ìt	'to be black'
zəwɣ-àx	zəwɣ-àt	zə̀wwəɣ	zə̀wɣ-ət	zəwɣ-ìt	'to be red'
zəwr-àx	zəwr-àt	zə̀wwər	zə̀wr-ət	zəwwir-ìt	'to be large'
məqər-àx, məqqər-àx	məqər-àt,	mə̀qqər	mə̀qər-ət, mə̀qqər-ət	məqqayr-ìt	'to be big'

[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).

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

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

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

4.3.6.2 ccvc

1sg. |cəcúc-ax|	2sg. |cəcuc-at|	3sg.m. |cəcuc|	3sg.f. |cəcuc-ət|	pl. |cəcuc-it|	
fəšúš-ax	fəšuš-àt	fəšùš	fəšùš-ət	fəšuš-ìt	‘to be light’
n.a.	*n.a.*	dərùš	dərùš-ət	dəruš-ìt	‘to be few’

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

4.3.6.3 cvcc

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

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

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

4.3.6.4 cvc

1sg. |cv́c-ax|	2sg. |cv́c-at|	3sg.m. |cvc|	3sg.f. |cvc-ət|	pl. |cvc-it|	
ẓẓák-ax	ẓẓák-at	ẓẓàk	ẓẓàk-ət	ẓẓak-ìt	‘to be heavy’
n.a.	*n.a.*	mmùm	mmùm-ət	mmum-ìt	‘to be sweet’

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

4.3.6.5 vcvc

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

3sg.m. |vcvc|	3sg.f. |vcvcit|	pl. |vcvcit|	
aẓùy	aẓuy-ìt	aẓuy-ìt	'to be bitter'

4.3.6.6 ccv

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

3sg.m. |ccv(-ən)|	3sg.f. |ccvy-ət|	pl. |ccvy-it|	
mri, mrìy-ən	mrìy-ət	mriy-ìt	'to be beautiful'

4.3.6.7 Stative verbs of Arabic origin

Arabic adjectives are treated as stative verbs. The attested Arabic adjectives are listed in the table below.

3sg.m.	3sg.f.	pl.	
bàhi	bàhəy-ət	*n.a.*	'to be good'
aḥàš	aḥàš-ət	aḥaš-ìt	'to be ugly, bad'
qərìb	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be near'
qèwi	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be strong'
bəʕìd	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be far'
ṣəḥìḥ	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be healthy, truthful'
ʕəryàn	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be naked'

4.3.7 Causative verb stems

4.3.7.1 š-ccc

š-ccc verbs have a twofold origin: causatives regularly derived from the **ccc** verbs and causatives derived from stative verbs. Note that it is irrelevant what the original class of

the stative verb was, they always take the **š-ccc** causative. **š-ccc** has the same stems as **cccc** if one considers the causative prefix as a fourth root consonant. Below all attested verbs derived from stative verbs are given, and several examples of verbs derived from **ccc** verbs.

imp. |šəccəc|	pf. |šəccəc|	fut. |šəccəc|	impf. |šəccac|	v.n. |ašəccəc|	
šàdrəš	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to decrease (tr.)'
šàfšəš	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to lighten'
š-(s-)àgzəl	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-šəgzàl	asàgzəl	'to shorten'
š-(s-)àɣzəf	i-šəɣzəf	*n.a.*	i-šəɣzàf	*n.a.*	'to lengthen'
šàmšək	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to reduce'
šəqrəz	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to make narrow'
šàvrək	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to broaden'
šàlḥəm	i-šəlḥám	a=i-šəlḥàm	i-šəlḥàm	*n.a.*	'to light (a fire)'
šəlmád	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-šəlmàd	*n.a.*	'to teach'
šànṭəṭ	i-šànṭəṭ	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to join, attach'
šànfəl	šánfəl-x	*n.a.*	šənfàl-x	ašànfəl	'to change'

š-àgzəl 'to shorten, lower' and *š-àɣzəf* have variants with initial *s-* in the imperative: *s-àgzəl, s-àɣzəf*. The verbal noun *asàgzəl* is only found with the initial *s-*.

There is one causative related to a stative verb that does not follow this pattern: *šəmlìl* 'to whiten'. Considering the vocalism of this formation, it should probably be considered a deadjectival derivation from the adjective *mlìl* 'white', rather than a derivation from the stative verb.

4.3.7.2 š-cc(*)

This is the causative verb class of the **cc*** verbs. The alternating vowel is not present in the pf. 3sg.m. while present in all other forms. The imperfective stem ends in *-ay*. Verbal nouns are unattested for this type.

imp. |šəc(ə)c|	pf. |šəc(ə)c(*)|	fut. |šəc(ə)c|	impf. |šəccay|	
šəfk	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to cause to give'
šàg(ə)l	i-šəg(ə)l	a=šəgl-à=(k)	i-šəglày	'to show'
šàɣər	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to cause to read'
šànɣ	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to extinguish'
šənt	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to prepare a meal'
šəṭs	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to make laugh'
šàvəl	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to make cry'

4.3.7.3 š-nc(*)

These verbs are the causatives of the **nc*** verbs. In the causative there is no evidence for the *n* that we still find in the imperfective of the non-causative. These verbs share the same imperfective ending *-ay* as we find in the **š-cc*** verbs.

imp. |šic|	pf. |šic(*)|	fut. |šic|	impf. |šicay|	
šìš	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-šišày	'to make s.o. sleep'
šiv	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-šivày	'to cause to fall'
žiž	i-žìž	a=i-žìž	*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.

imp. |šəcci|	pf. |šəcci|	fut. |šəcci|	impf. |šəccay|	
šə̀kri	i-šəkrì-	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to return s.th.'
šə̀mbi	t-šəmbí	a=t-šə̀mbi	t-šəmbày	'to suckle'
šə̀nki	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to make s.o. smell'
šənṭí	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-šənṭày	'to make s.o. taste'
šə̀rži	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to cause to milk'
šə̀ški	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to make s.o. leave'

4.3.7.5 š-c̄c

This type is only attested twice. One is a denominal causative from the noun *gudìn* 'urine', the other is derived from the verb *əkkə́r* 'get up, take off'. From the sparse evidence available it seems that the formation is identical to the underived **cc̄c** verbs, where the causative prefix takes the position of the first root consonant.

imp. šəc̄əc	pf. *n.a.*	fut. *n.a.*	impf. šəc̄əc	v.n. ašəc̄əd	
šə̀ggəd	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	i-šə̀ggàd	ašə̀ggəd	'to urinate, defecate'
šə̀kkər	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to make someone get up'

4.3.7.6 š-c̄*

Only two verbs are attested in this type. They are derived from original **c̄*** verbs.

imp.	pf.	fut.	v.n.	
šəc̄	šəc̄a	šəc̄	tcəc̄at	
šəčč	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to cause to eat'
šəmm	i-šə̀mma	a-i-šə̀mm	tšəmmàt	'to cook'

əmm has an alternative causative derived from its irregular imperfective stem, only the imperative singular is known: *šnənn*.

4.3.7.7 š-vcc

This causative corresponds to the **vcc** verbs. The **vcc** verb *ìrəd* 'to be washed' retains the vowel *i* in the causative. These verbs appear to conjugate in the same way as the **cvcc** verbs, where the causative prefix takes up the place of the first root consonant.

imp.	pf.	impf.	v.n.	
švcəc	švcəc	švcac	ašvcəc	
šùdən	*n.a.*	i-šudàn	*n.a.*	'to dress'
šìrəd	*n.a.*	i-šírad	ašìrəd	'to wash'
šùɣər	šuɣìr-x=a (res.)	i-šuɣàr	*n.a.*	'to lose s.th.'

4.3.7.8 š-vc(*)

Only one verb is attested that belongs to this group: *šan* 'to make s.o. enter, insert', derived from the **vc*** verb *yan* 'to enter'.

imp.	pf.	impf.	
šan	i-šàn	šanày-x	'to make s.o. enter, insert'

4.3.7.9 š-ccvc

Two verbs belong to this group, and only their imp. sg. is known: *šəmlìl* 'to whiten' which probably is a deadjectival verb and *šəglùl* 'to make (s.o.) play', which is the causative of the |ccvc| verb *glùl* 'to play'.

4.3.7.10 š-cvc

There is one causative that is derived from a **cvc** verb that belongs to this group: *səzìk, sə̀gzək* 'to heal (trans.)'. It is derived from the verb *zìk*. The origin of the variant with the root consonant *g* is unclear.

Two verbs that are derived from **cvc** verbs belong here: *šqim* 'to cause to remain, stay, sit' and *šqar* 'to cause to dry out'. They are derived from the **cvc** verbs, but have lost the long initial consonants that is present in the non-causative forms.

4.3.7.11 š-cvc

One causative belong to this group, it is derived from the **cvc** 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 *əzwáṭ* 'to slam; to throw'.

4.3.8.2 tt-cc(*)

This group of passives is derived from the **cc*** verbs. Only two verbs are attested in this group.

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
n.a.	ttəcc(*)	ttəcc	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	
n.a.	i-ttəmt	a=i-ttəmt	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be buried'
n.a.	i-ttəny	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be killed'

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-ttəžìṭ=a*; fut. 3sg.m. *a=i-ttəžəṭ* 'to be ground, be milled'.

4.3.8.4 tw-vcc

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

imp.	pf.	fut.	impf.	v.n.	
n.a.	twacəc	twacəc	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	
n.a.	i-twàkər	a=i-twàkər	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be stolen'
n.a.	i-twàrəv	a=i-twàrəv	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	'to be written'

4.3.8.5 tw-vc(*)

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

imp.sg. *twár*; pf. 1sg. *twarì-x* 3sg.m. *i-twàr* 'to open, to be open, to be opened' derived from *yar* 'to open'.

4.3.8.6 t-cvcc

The only verb that belongs to this group is imp.sg. *tràwəl*; res.3sg.m. *i-trawìl-a*; fut.3sg.m. *a-i-tràwəl* 'to be born'. This verb does not have an active counterpart.

4.3.9 Middle verb stems

4.3.9.1 m-c(*)

Only the verb *ag* 'to do, put' has a (lexicalized) *m-* derivation. The final alternating vowel of the underived verb is absent in the pf. 3sg.m. of the derived verb.

imp.sg. *əmmág*; pf.3sg.m. *y-əmmág*; res. 3sg.m. *y-əmmìgg-a*; fut.3sg.m. *a-y-əmmág* 'to become, to be, to turn into'.

4.3.9.2 m-cvcc

One verb belongs to this group, and it is only found once in text II: fut.1pl. *a=n-mḥàsəb* '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-tšiš̌if=a* 'to be sieved'.

Chapter 5

Adjective

The adjectives, which can have various forms, correspond to stative verbs of the type **cc̄c**. This distribution suggests that adjectives can be made into stative verbs by means of applying the scheme of the **cc̄c** formation to the root. Due to the sparsity of our data, we cannot be certain whether this is truly a regular de-adjectival derivation, or whether this only seems to be the case due to a lack of data.

m.sg.	m.pl.	f.sg.	f.pl.	stat.v.	
gzìl	gzìlən	təgzìlt	təgzilìn	gəzzəl	'short, low'
ɣzìf	*n.a.*	təɣzìft	*n.a.*	ɣəzzəf	'long, high'
mlìl	mlìlən	təmlìlt	təmlilìn	məlləl	'white'
šṭàf	šṭàfən	təšṭàft	təšṭafìn	šəṭṭəf	'black'
zwàɣ	zwàɣən	tzwàɣt	tzwáɣin	zəwwəɣ	'red'
azuwàr	zuwàrən	tazuwàrt	tzuwarìn	zəwwər	'large'
aləqqùq	*n.a.*	tələqqùqt	*n.a.*	ləqqəq	'thin'
aməqqəràn	məqqrànən	taməqqərànt	tməqqranìn	məqqər	'big'
aməškùn	məškùnən	taməškùnt	tməškúnin	məššək	'small'

The m.pl. *məqqrànən* 'big' has an unexpected variant *məqqràrən*.[1] A variant of the f.sg. of the same adjective is found in text XV as *tməqqərànt* instead of *taməqqərànt*.

One Arabic adjective takes the adjectival endings: m.pl. *kəddìmən*, 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 *ìwi* '(my) son'. *aməẓẓìn* is not used adjectivally in the corpus, but is transparently related to the common Berber root ⵎⵣⵢ '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: <moqqrânen (moqqrâren)>

attested in El-Foqaha Berber: *meẓẓåi* f. *tmeẓẓåit* pl. *imeẓẓåyen* f. *tmeẓẓåyīn* 'small, son/daughter' (Paradisi 1963a: 109ff. s.v. figlio).

Paradisi distinguishes between two types of adjectives, the indefinite and the definite adjective. His indefinite adjective is morphologically identical to the stative verb, and there is no reason to distinguish it from the stative verb in the way that Paradisi does. Stative verbs that are placed directly behind the noun, must then be considered verbs in attributive position, i.e. relative clauses (section 10.6.6).

When adjectives are placed after a noun, Paradisi claims that they give a definite meaning to the noun-adjective phrase. There are three attestations in the texts of such a "definite" adjective modifying a noun. In two of these examples, a definite reading is not possible. This suggests that Paradisi's interpretation of the difference between attribution by means of adjectives and attribution by means of stative relative clauses is wrong. What the actual difference between adjectives and stative verbs is when used attributively remains unclear.

(23) *Y-əškí Žḥà sar* (*or: sɣàr*)*=təfillì=nn-əs w=ìdd-əs irìw fəllì-s təkabàrt*
3sm-leave:ˣpf. Jha from=house=of-3s and=with-3s child on-3s shirt
təzwàɣt *u=y-ərfəʕ=tì=ya af=agərəṭ=ànn-əs.*
red:sf and=3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res. on=neck=of-3s
'Jha left his house and with him (was his) child had a red shirt on and he carried him on his neck.' [PT:XIII]

(24) *d-gulì-t ká irìw fəllì-s təkabàrt təzwàɣt?*
2s-see:ˣpf.-2s neg. child on-3s shirt red:sf
'Have you not seen a child with a red shirt on?' [PT:XIII]

(25) *aɣrəš=dìk tirìwt tməqqərànt.*
slaughter:imp.=IO.1s girl big:sf
'Slaughter your oldest daughter for me.' [PT:XV]

One example of the adjective in a definite reading is found in Paradisi's word list:

(26) *amàdən 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) *amàdən gàzzəl*
man be.short:3sm
'a short man' [P: s.v. corto, basso]

Chapter 6

Pronoun

6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have different forms depending on their function. There are six different sets of personal pronouns.

1. Independent pronouns
2. Direct object pronouns
3. Indirect object pronouns
4. Prepositional suffixes
5. Possessive suffixes
6. Kinship possessive suffixes

6.1.1 Independent pronouns

The following table shows the independent pronouns in Awjila. Beguinot (1921: 390) also gives a full list of independent pronouns, which differ slightly from the forms found in Paradisi.

	Paradisi	Beguinot
1sg.	nək, nə̀k	nek
2sg.m.	ku, kù	ku
2sg.f.	kəm	kem
3sg.m.	nəttìn, əntìn	nettî, nettîn
3sg.f.	ənnàt	ennât
1pl.	nəkkəní	nekkenî, neknîn
2pl.m.	kəmmìm	kemmîm
2pl.f.	kəmmìmət	kemmîmet
3pl.m.	nəhìn, ənhìn	nehnîn
3pl.f.	nəhìnət, ənhìnət	nehnînet

Most independent pronouns are attested in the texts, only *kəmmìmət* 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=àrbəʃa bəss.*
3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.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-nəššəd əlʃulamá*
and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars
*u=i-ɣəllàb=tən u=**nəttìn** i-ddəhwàr ir=i-ṭùg*
and=3sm-defeat:impf.=DO.3pm and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:ˣpf.
Žḥà.
Jha
'and he started going around the whole village asking scholars (questions) and he defeated them and he continued to go around until he met Jha.' [PT:VIII]

Following the dative preposition:

(30) *nək wa əḥdəf-x=tìt=a i=**kú***
3sm-say:P=IO.3s Jew I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you
'I am the one who has thrown it to you' [PT:V]

After the comparative preposition *am* 'like'.:

(31) *nəttìn məqqár am=**nək***
he be.big:3sm like=I
'he is as big as me' [P: s.v. come]

After the predicative marker *d=*:

(32) *əḥsáb-x=kù=ya ʔənn-ək ku d=**nàk**.*
think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmplzr.2sm you pred.=I
'(so) I figured that you are me!' [PT:XI]

The coordination of pronouns, i.e. constructions like 'me and you', and similar pairs of pronouns, is achieved by means of an independent pronoun followed by the preposition *ìdd-* with a pronominal ending.

(33) *nək a=nṭàr-əx=ku ká ir=a=nnə-ʕ̀ədd **nək** ìdd-ək ar=əlqàḍi.*
I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg. until=fut.=1p-go:fut. I with-2sm to=judge
'I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.' [PT:V]

6.1.2 Direct object clitics

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

1sg.	=i
2sg.m.	=ku
2sg.f.	=kəm
3sg.m.	=t
3sg.f	=tət
1pl.	=ax
2pl.m.	=kim
2pl.f.	=kmət
3pl.m.	=tən
3pl.f.	=tənət

When a direct object clitic directly follows a verb that ends in a final alternating vowel (such as verbs with the structure **cc***, **vc*** and **c*** verbs) with no intervening PNG-marking, the alternating vowel is always *-i*. There are no attestations of the 1pl. clitic after a verb of this type.

(34) *i-ɣ̀əlli a=i-rẓì=tət, y-əzmər ká*
3sm-want:ˣpf. fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:ˣpf. neg.
'(each one) wanted to break it, (but) could not.' [PT:I]

(35) *i-ɣ̀əlli a=i-žižì=t.*
3sm-want:ˣpf. fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
'He wanted to sell it.' [PT:IV]

The resultative clitic *=a* follows the direct object clitic. According to a regular pattern (see 4.3.1.5) *=a* changes *ə* in the preceding syllable to *i* this also affects the direct object clitics, e.g. 3sg.f. direct object clitic *=tət* becomes *=tìt=a*. Most of the forms of the resultative variants are predictable, but the 3sg.m. direct object clitic *=t* behaves as though the phonemic form is /tə/. The predicted form of the resultative with a 3sg.m. clitic is **/i(C)=t=a/, but in reality we find *=tì=ya*, which would be the regular reflex of ***tə*.[1] The forms of the direct object pronouns when they precede the resultative marker are shown in the following table:

1sg.	=i=ya
2sg.m.	=ku=ya
2sg.f.	=kim=a
3sg.m.	=ti=ya
3sg.f	=tit=a
1pl.	=ax=a
2pl.m.	=kim=a
2pl.f.	=kmit=a
3pl.m.	=tin=a
3pl.f.	=tnit=a

The direct object pronouns have no inherent accent, and form a single accentual unit with the verb. The accent of the verbal complex with a direct object clitic follows the default accentuation rules.

There is one exception to this: The 1pl. clitic *-ax* is unaccented, while the default accent rule would dictate that it would be accented (see 2.5.1). This suffix is unattested in the texts, but Paradisi provides an example sentence under the entry of the pronoun: <tgulît-aḫ> 'you saw us' [P: s.v. noi].

The accentuation found with *=tənət* sometimes falls on the antepenultimate syllable. This suggests a phonemic analysis /=tnət/ with epenthetic *ə*. Since there are also attestations where this supposedly epenthetic schwa is accented, the situation is unclear. Compare:

(36) *ya=ṛəbbi əndú y-ənqìṣ=a* *iwínan a=uɣá-x=* ***tənət*** *ká.*
voc.=god if 3sm-lack:res.=res. one fut.=take:fut.-1s=DO.3pf neg.
'O God, if (even) one (pound) is lacking, I will not take it' [PT:V]

(37) *w=i-gi=****tànət*** *arəqùṭ=i u=y-əḥdəf=****tànət*** *dit nə=Žḥà*
and=3sm-put:ˣpf.-DO.3pf bag=loc. and=3sm-throw:ˣpf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha

[1] In (Mali) Tuareg, this clitic also behaves as though it had a lost vowel. The default accent in Mali Tuareg is on the antepenultimate syllable, but this clitic forces the accent to fall on the penultimate syllable (Heath 2005: 84-87).

sar=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.	=dìk
2sg.m.	=ìk
2sg.f.	=ìm
3sg.	=ìs
1pl.	=dikəní, =dikkəní, =dikèni
2pl.m.	=ikìm
2pl.f.	=əkmát
3pl.m.	=isìn
3pl.f.	=ìsnət

In front of the frozen directional particle *=d*, the 3sg. marker *=is* becomes *=iz*.

(38) *Y-uš=**ìz**=d Žḥà.*
3sm-come:ˣpf.=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=ìs** ənnùṣ n-əlbəràt.*
3sm-give:ˣpf.=10.3s half of=money
'(Jha) gave him half of the money (he owed him).' [PT:XIV]

(40) *ṛàbbi **y-əfki=dìk**=a am alá ɣəllì-x.*
god 3sm-give:res.=10.1s=res. like rel. want:ˣpf.-1s
'God has given like I wanted!' [PT:V]

[2] It is interesting to note that the 1sg. and 1pl. have an element *-d-* which is not usually found in Berber 1sg./1pl. indirect object clitics. This may be the directional particle *=d* found in other Berber languages, which has disappeared as a productive element in Awjila. The exact historical development that would explain the position of *=d* in front of the direct object clitic, is unclear.

It is not possible to determine whether the final vowel would be changed to *-i* with the 1pl. indirect object clitic. The word is only attested in the example below. The verb it is attached to, is only attested in this sentence, its basis may be *wàtti* rather than *wətta/i*.

(41) ***wàtti=dikkàni*** *čču=nn-àx ṣbàḥ* *id=bəʕəd ṣəbàḥ.*
prepare:imp.=10.1p food=of-1p tomorrow and=after tomorrow.
'prepare food for us for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.' [PT:XV]

According to the notations in the word list, the 1pl. form has a final accent. In the only attestation in the text corpus, shown in example (41), it has default penultimate accent. With the limited data available, it is impossible to say what this alternation in notations reflects.

When the 1sg. of a verb is followed by an indirect object pronoun, the *-x* and the following *i-* of the indirect object clitic are replaced by *-a-*. This *-a-* causes elision of any vowel that directly precedes it.

(42) *nək ʕəlamá* ***fəkk-à=s*** *afɨw y-əlɣám* *a=y-əmm.*
I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=10.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
'He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.' [PT:II]

(43) *ṣbər-àt* ***a=nn-a=kìm*** *nək d=awìl* *tlàta marràt*
wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-1s=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three times
ìla yom əlqiyàma:
until.the.day.of.resurrection
'Wait! I will say to you that I will be a person from Aujila three times until the day of resurrection.' [PT:II]

In front of the resultative marker, the indirect object clitics undergo predictable changes (see 4.3.1.5), which have been displayed in the table below.

1sg.	=dìk=a
2sg.m.	=ìk=a
2sg.f.	=ìm=a
3sg.	=ìs=a
1pl.	=dikkənì=ya
2pl.m.	=ikìm=a
2pl.f.	=əkmìt=a
3pl.m.	=isìn=a
3pl.f.	=isnìt=a

6.1.4 Prepositional suffixes

The prepositional suffixes are pronominal elements suffixed to prepositions.

In this section, the different suffixes are listed. The prepositions are discussed in section 8.

1sg.	-i
2sg.m.	-ək
2sg.f.	-əm
3sg.m.	-əs
1pl.	-nàx
2pl.m.	-kìm
2pl.f.	-àkmət
3pl.m.	-sìn
3pl.f.	-àsnət

Besides the Berber set of pronominal suffixes, there is a set of Arabic prepositional suffixes which occurs with the prepositions *dàffər* 'behind' and *dìt* 'in front'. The accentuation of some of the forms of *dàffər* 'behind' is uncertain, as Paradisi only lists the endings. These uncertain forms are marked with a (?). A few forms have Berber prepositional suffixes besides the Arabic ones.

	dəffər	dìt	
1sg.	dəffər-i	dìt-i	
2sg.	dəffər-àk	dìt-ək	
3sg.m.	dəffər-àh	dít-ah	
	dəffər-ah		
	dəffər-a	dít-a	
	dəffər-ás		(Berber suffix)
3sg.f.	dəffər(?)-ha	dìt-ha	
1pl.	dəffər(?)-na	dìt-na	
	dəffər-nàx		(Berber suffix)
2pl.m.	dəffər(?)-kum	dít-kum	
	dəffər-kìm	dít-kim	(Berber suffix)
2pl.f.		dìt-kən	
	dəffər(?)-kmət	dít-kmət	(Berber suffix)
3pl.m.	dəffər(?)-hum	dít-hum	
		dít-sin	(Berber suffix)
3pl.f.	dəffər-(?)-hən	dìt-hən	
		dìt-snət	(Berber suffix)

The preposition *af, fəlli-* 'on' has a 1sg. ending *-wi* rather than *-i*:

(44) *lhùdi i-qəlləz* ***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-ìn; s-ìnət, sənət*. One would expect the forms ***s-sìn; s-sìnət, s-sənət*. Apparently, the sequence *s-s-* has been simplified.

(45) *U=y-əfráḥ* *Žḥà* ***s-ənət***
and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf
'And Jha became happy with it' [PT:V]

Below follow several examples of prepositions from the texts.

(46) *blaš, u=t-əqqáš* *əlbàb* ***fəllì-s***
forget.it and=3sf-close:ˣpf. door on-3sg.
'Forget it! and she closed the door on him,' [PT:III]

(47) *U=y-uɣì=tət* *kull iwinàn* ***syar-sìn*** *i-ɣəlli*
And=3sm-take:ˣpf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:ˣpf.
a=i-rẓì=tət, *y-əzmər* *ká*
fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:ˣpf. 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-əʕəddˤ* *w=aẓìṭ* ***dáffər-a*** (*or:* ***dáffər-ah***).
and=3sm-go:ˣpf. and=donkey behind-3sm
'and he went and the donkey (was) behind him.' [PT:VII]

(49) *I-ggì=t* ***dìt-a***
3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm
'He put it in front of him' [PT:II]

The suffixes used in combination with the preposition *n* 'of', are slightly different than those used with other prepositions. Moreover the pronominal genitive prepositions are placed directly after the noun and form an accent unit with it.

1sg.	=ənn-ùk
2sg.m.	=ənn-ək
2sg.f.	=ənn-əm
3sg.	=ənn-əs
1pl.	=ənn-àx
2pl.m.	=ənn-əkìmm, -n-əkìm
2pl.f.	=ənn-ənkmət
3pl.m.	=ənn-əsìn
3pl.f.	=ənn-ənsnət

(50) *šəkri=dìk* ***əlbarat=ənn-ùk***
return:imp.=1o.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) *bəʃədèn y-ušà=d* *ɨwínan i-sàsa* *af=**təfillì=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=ɨwìn* *n=išf* *i-llùm* ***aməẓẓìn=n-əs***
and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:ˣpf. sons=of-3s
'And one day he gathered his sons' [PT:I]

6.1.5 Kinship possessive suffixes

A group of kinship terms have special possessive pronouns, which are suffixed immediately to the noun instead of using a construction with the preposition *n* 'of'. When a kinship term has no suffix, it is automatically interpreted as related to the first person singular, for example *àbba* 'my father', *abbà-s* 'his father'. Note that the suffixes are similar to the prepositional suffixes, but the plural forms have an additional element *-t-*. All kinship terms follow the default accent rule.

1sg.	*no suffix*
2sg.m.	-k
2sg.f.	-m
3sg.	-s
1pl.	-tnàx
2pl.m.	-tkìm
2pl.f.	*Unattested*
3pl.m.	-tsìn
3pl.f.	*Unattested*

The kinship terms that are attested with these suffixes are: *àbba* 'father', *ḥənnùni* 'grandfather', *ḥàtta* '(maternal) aunt', *mmà* 'mother', *àmmi* '(paternal) uncle', *nàna* 'grandmother', *ìwi* 'son', *wàlli* 'daughter', *ùma* 'brother', *àtma* 'brothers', *wàrtna* 'sister', *sàtma* 'sisters'.

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

The plural of *ìwi* 'son', *amaẓẓìn* 'sons', takes the regular possessive clitics.

The noun *təmìgni* 'woman, wife' is usually found with the regular possessive clitics, but once it is attsted with a kinship possessive suffix. According to Paradisi, the regular possessive clitic is also possible in this context.

(53) *Bəʕədèn əlʕəqqàb=i y-əqqìm nəttìn id=**dməgnì-s*** (*or: id=təmignì-nn-əs*)
Then evening=loc. 3sm-stay:ˣpf. he with=wife-3s (with=wife=of-3s)
'Then in the evening, he was with his wife' [PT:IV]

6.2 Reflexives

Reflexives are formed with the noun *imàn* 'self, oneself' followed by the preposition *n* with possessive suffixes. This noun is not attested in Awjila outside of these reflexive constructions.

(54) *llumm-àt **iman=nə-kìm**, 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-əqqə́n **imàn=n-əs** amakàn n=aẓìṭ.*
and=one:ms 3sm-tie:ˣpf. self=of-3s place of=donkey
'and one tied himself (in) place of the donkey.' [PT:VII]

6.3 Relative pronouns

There are two types of relative pronouns in Awjila. First, there are the pre-modifier pronominal heads (PMPH)[3], and second there are the general relative pronouns.

6.3.1 Pre-modifier pronominal heads

PMPHs consist of a deictic element *w-* (for masculine) / *t-* (for feminine) affixed by an element *-a* (for the singular) and *-i* (for the plural), forming a set of four PMPHs.

	sg.	pl.
m.	wa	wi
f.	ta	ti

Different from Tuareg which has three grades of definiteness in PMPHs (Galand 1974), the Awjila PMPHs do not distinguish definiteness.

PMPHs form the head of relative clauses; They function as relative pronouns with or without incorporated antecedent. The syntax of relative clauses will be discussed in more detail in section 10.6.

(56) *u=bəʕədèn y-əxzár af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs* ***wa*** *ẓẓàk-ən dax*
and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʕ=t
fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm
'And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry' [PT:III]

(57) ***wa*** *y-əfki=dìk=a lʕàlla a=y-əfki=dìk iwínan;*
PMPH:sm 3sm-give:res=IO.1s=res. much fut=3sm-give:fut.=IO.1s one:sm
'He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).' [PT:V]

(58) *nək* ***wa*** *əḥdəf-x=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=nək rwìḥ-ḥ=a a=y-àqləz w=a=i-n=ìs ḥàtta*
and=I become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s even
tlaba=nn-ùk ***ta*** *t-ənní fəllì-wi t=tà=nn-əs nəttìn*
gown=of-1s rel:sf 3sf-exist:ˣpf. on-1s pred.=PMPH:sf=of-3s he
id=aẓiṭ=ənn-ùk a=i-n=ìs d=wà=nn-əs nəttìn.
with=donkey=of-1s fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s pred.=PMPH:sm=of-3s he
'and I am afraid that he will lie and say that even the gown that is on me is his and that he will say that my donkey is his.' [PT:V]

[3]Terminology following Kossmann (2011: 84, 113-119).

(60) *Bəʕədèn y-əʕədd y-ànšəd ərrəfəq=ànn-əs* ***wi*** *ižinà-n=a*
then 3sm-go:ˣpf. 3sm-ask:seq. companions=of-3s PMPH:pm divide:res.-3pm=res.
nəttìn id-sìn ksùm.
he with-3pm meat.
'Then he went and asked his companions whom he had divided the meat with.'

There are no examples of the feminine plural pronoun *ti* in the text corpus.

PMPHs also form the head of possessive phrases by cliticization of the possessive preposition *n* 'of' in the meaning 'that of …'.

(61) *la ɣar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùṭ am=****wa****=nn-ùk*
no but see:res.=1S=DO.2SM=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res. robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s
*w=əlʕəmàmət am=****ta****=nn-ùk, əḥsəb-x=kù=ya ʔənn-ək ku d=nək.*
and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s think:res.-1S=DO.2SM=res. cmplzr.2sm you pred.=I
'No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!'

The pre-modifier pronominal heads with the genitive clitic can also be combined with the interrogative *màni* 'who?' to create the meaning 'whose?':

(62) *gmaren=íya d=wi=n=máni?*
horses=prox.:p pred.=PMPH:pm=of=who
'Whose are these horses?' [P: s.v. chi?]

6.3.2 General relative pronouns

There are two general relative pronouns. One is *wàsa* and the other is *alá*. *wàsa* is an indefinite relative pronoun that is attested twice, both times in Text II. The first time it is given as an alternative to *wa* to form the head of a relative clause.

The word is similar to Ghadames *was* 'démonstratif en fonction de relatif, indéterminé de genre et de nombre' (Lanfry 1973: 394).

(63) *nək lukàn wa* (*or:* ***wàsa***) *a=mmudà-n dáffər-i*
I if PMPH:sm rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1s
a=i-ččì=t afiw, məʕədč a=mmudə-x s=ḥìddan.
fut.=3sm-eat:fut.=DO.3sm fire, no.longer fut.=pray:fut.-1s with=anyone
'If those who pray behind me would be eaten by fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.' [PT:II]

(64) ***wàsa*** *a=nzurrà-n sɣar-kìm a=ʕəyyáṭ-ən=dìk təlàta marràt;*
rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from-2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=IO.1S three times
'Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times;' [PT:II]

The relative pronoun *alá* always has an incorporated antecedent. *alá* exclusively refers to non-human antecedents. For human antecedents, PMPHs are used.

(65) *Y-əʕəddi-n=ìs=t am=**alá** na-n=ìs=a.*
3sm-go:ˣpf. 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s=DO.3s like=rel. say:res.-3pm=IO.3s=res.
'He went and told it to him like they had told him' [PT:II]

(66) *Bəʕəd uṣəl-ən ar=əlqàḍi i-šərw=ìs ləhùdi s=**alá***
Then arrive:ˣpf.-3pm to=judge 3sm-tell:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jew from=rel.
ṣará-n=a.
happen:res.-ptc.=res.
'Then they arrived at the Judge and the Jew told him about what had happened.' [PT:V]

The particle *alá* resembles the particle that introduces cleft sentences: *d-əlá*. An etymological relation between these particles seems likely (see section 10.6.7).

Chapter 7

Deixis

There are several elements that express deixis, all making use of the elements displayed in the table below.

	proximal	distal
sg.	-àya, -é, -ə́k	-íwan
pl.	-ìya, -ìyək	-idánin

These deictic elements may be combined with a variety of different heads. First, they can be placed after nouns. Second, they can be combined with the pronominal elements *w-*/*t-* which we already encountered in section 6.3.1. The third option is the combination of the deictic elements with the presentative element *akk-*/*akətt-*. Finally, the deictic elements may be combined with the adverbial deictics *dil-* and *sil-*. These different heads are discussed individually in the following sections.

There is another deictic element, which is only found cliticized to nouns, *ídin, -idìn* which will be discussed in more detail in section 7.1.

There are two words in the language that have a petrified deictic clitic *=a*, which is no longer productively added to noun in Awjila: *àšfa* 'today', cf. *ìšf* 'day' and *àšəw*(*w*)*àša* 'this year', cf. MA *asgg*^{w}*as* 'year'.[1]

7.1 Deictic clitics

Nominal deixis is achieved by cliticizing the demonstrative elements to the noun. The demonstrative clitics agree with the noun in number.

(67) *mag ì-nni amədən=**é***
where 3sm-exist:^{x}pf. man=prox.:s
'Where is this man?' [P: s.v. dove?]

(68) *wəttì-mət šɣìrən, qámak a=ggà-ɣ=d afíw sɣàr=təfilli=**yíwan.***
prepare:imp.-fp firewood now fut.=bring:fut.-1s=bring fire from=house=dist.:s
'prepare firewood, now I will bring fire from that house.' [PT:XV]

[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).

(69) *y-uná s=ədbuš=ànn-əs əlmərrat=**àya***
3sm-enter:pf. with=clothes=of-3s time=prox.:s
'He entered with his clothes this time.' [PT:IX]

(70) *afìwa t-nə-d=dìk ká* (*or: ur=t-nə-d=dìk*) *žlan=**ìya** u=nək*
why 2s-say:ˣpf.-2s=IO.1s neg. neg.=2s-say:ˣpf.-2s=IO.1s words-prox.:p and=I
nnì-x ar=ùṭa?
be(loc.):ˣpf.-1s to=below
'Then the beggar said to him: Why did you not tell me these words when (litt. and) I was still below?' [PT:VI]

In many Berber languages there exist anaphoric deictic clitics ('the one just mentioned before in the discourse'). In Awjila we find a deictic clitic that is only placed after singular nouns: *=ídin, =idìn*, which Souag (2010: 258) suggests is an anaphoric. This cannot be the case. In the one attestation of this clitic in the text, it is cliticized to the word *avəṭ* 'night', which is introduced for the first time in the text in that sentence and therefore cannot be anaphoric.

(71) *u=y-əmḥàṭ=ṭət avəṭ=**idìn**.*
and=3sm-make.love:ˣpf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s
'and he made love to her that night.' [PT:XV]

In fact, evidence suggests that Awjila does not express anaphoric deixis at all. Many sentences that are clearly anaphoric, do not have deictic clitics, e.g.

(72) *Y-ušá=d Žḥà màrra i-ɣàlli a=y-àssən akəllim=ànn-əs*
3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:ˣpf. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s
amakàn baʕìd làkən akəllìm i-šššn ká amakàn w=i-ššən
place be.far:3sm but servant 3sm-know:ˣpf. neg. place and=3sm-know:ˣpf.
ká təbarùt u=y-àrwəʕ a=y-ùɣər
neg. way and=3sm-be.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut.
'One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away. But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way and he became afraid to get lost.' [PT:X]

(73) *U=t-əxzár ɣàr-əs təmìgni w=ət-n=ìs: i=kú a=wá=n*
and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman and=3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s hey=you voc.=PMPH:ms=of
ləmluxìyət. U=y-əxzár nəttìn ɣàr-əs w=i-gá əlḥəməl=ànn-əs
mulukhiya and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s
dìt n=təmìgni
in.front of=woman
'And a woman looked at him and said: Hey you there, the one of with the mulukhiya. And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman' [PT:III]

The definition that Paradisi gives for *=ídin, =idìn* in the word list, "quello. Quando la cosa non è molto lontana" [That. When the thing is not very far away], suggests that it is a clitic of medial deixis. Example sentence (71) above and the example cited by Paradisi in the word list (s.v. quello): *amədən-ídin* 'that man' give little support for this and the exact function of this clitic remains unclear.

For the proximal deixis clitic, we notice the existence of variants with and without a final element *-k*. This also occurs in pronominal deictics (section 7.2). This is reminiscent of the situation in Siwa, which has medial demonstrative pronouns which express addressee agreement.[2] In this language, different pronouns are used depending on who is addressed. If the addressee is a man, *wok* is used, in case of a female singular addressee the medial deictic is *wom*, while with a plural addressee *werwən* is used (Souag 2010: 259-261).

For Awjila, we lack evidence to determine whether there is addressee agreement. Only two instances of a demonstrative with *-k* occur in the texts, both in the plural form *tɣariwin-ìyək* '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 adressees.

(74) *Bəʕədèn i-n=isìn: akká, kəmmìm am=tɣariwin=ìyək, ànd u*
Then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=10.3pm this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if
t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kìm məʕá bəʕəḍkum a=tt-əqqíma-m
2p-gather:ˣpf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
*am=təɣariwin=**ìyək***
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

[2] This similarity was already noticed by Souag (2010: 258)

cannot be considered to be the same element. Note further that the suffix *-íyak* that we find in the nominal deictic suffixes is unattested in the deictic pronouns.

There are no attestations of *w-a* and *t-a* where they are used as demonstratives. It is perhaps possible that Paradisi listed them as demonstratives, even though they are solely used as PMPHs.

	proximal	distal
m.sg.	w-a, w-e, w-àya, w-ə́k	w-íwan
f.sg.	t-a, t-e, t-àya, t-ə́k	t-íwan
m.pl.	w-ìya	w-idánin
f.pl.	t-ìya	t-idánin

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

(75) ***wàya*** *d=aẓìṭ* *fəšùš,* *qəwi* *u=d=aẓìṭ* *mrì.*
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=aẓìṭ* *ká,* ***wàya*** *d=amədən.*
this:sm pred.=donkey neg., this:sm pred.=man
'this is not a donkey, this is a man.' [PT:VII]

(77) ***we*** *s=am=màgwa?*
this:sm for=like-=what:sm?
'how much does this cost?' [P: s.v. quanto?]

7.3 Presentative deictics

The presentative deictics consist of an element *akk-* followed by the deictic elements. The presentative deictics can be compared in meaning to that of Italian *ecco* or French *voici, voilà*.

Paradisi gives a complete paradigm of the presentive deictics, which agree in gender and number with the noun they denote.

	proximal	distal
m.sg.	akk-á	akk-iwàn
f.sg.	ak(k)ətt-á	akk-iwàn
m.pl.	akk-í	akk-idánin
f.pl.	akətt-í	akk-idánin

The distal presentative deictics agree in gender in the singular, but not in the plural to the noun that they refer to. Note that the proximal plural deictic suffix *-i* is different

from the ones found in the nominal deictic clitics and in the deictic pronouns (*-ìya, -íyak*). The endings of the proximal rather resemble the PMPH endings.

In reality, we only have a single example where these words agree in gender and number with the noun they modify.

(78) *akk-í* *mədìnən*
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,*** *kəmmìm* *am=tɣariwin=ìyək*
Then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=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) *afìw* ***akká*** *y-əlḥìm=a*
fire this.here 3sm-to.be.lit:res.=res.
'this here fire is lit' [P: s.v. accendere]

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

(82) *àbba, àbba* ***akkiwàn*** *əlbəqìs* *n=afìw.*
father father that.there glimmer of=fire.
'Father, father! There! the glimmer of fire!' [PT:XV]

(83) ***akkiwàn*** *iriš-ìn=a* *dilíwan.*
that.there descend:res.-3pm=res. at.there
'Over there, they've descended down there.' [PT:XV]

7.4 Adverbial deictics

Deictic adverbs distinguish between a locative and an allative function. The proximal form is found with the deictic suffix *-a* which we also saw in the deictic pronouns and presentative deictics. Moreover we find a suffix *-ak*, which appears to be a combination of the deictic suffx *-a* and the deictic suffix *-ək*. The distal form of the locative has the deictic suffix *-ìwan*, but besides this regular form, we find an irregular *dišší́wan*. For the allative adverbial deictics, there is no attested form of the distal.

	proximal	distal
Locative	dil-a, dil-ak	dil-íwan, dišší́wan
Allative	sil-a, sil-ak	*unattested*

(84) *yi=d dìla.*
come:imp. at.here
'come here.' [PT:VI]

(85) *akkiwàn iriš-ìn=a* ***dilíwan.***
that.there descend:res.-3pm=res. at.there
'Over there, they've descended down there.' [PT:XV]

(86) *y-əxáṭṭam sìla wa žižà-n ləmluxàyət,*
3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.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 Paradisi 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, *gān* (cf. Siwa, *gen*, chez); non vi è, *gān-ká*; egli non c'era *yénnī-ká gān*." [P: s.v. essere]

From the examples, especially in text XV, it is clear that the 'there is, there are' interpretation of the word is secondary to the adverbial meaning 'there'.

(87) *u=bəʕədèn nəhìnət ufà-nət alàɣəm y-əmmùt=a u=kkàr-nət,*
and=then they(f) find:ˣpf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:ˣpf.-3pf,
*ərfàʕ-nət z=**gan** šəmmà-nət y=àmẓa*
lift.up:ˣpf.-3pf from=there cook:ˣpf.-3pf dat.=ogre
'and then they found a dead camel and they stood up and lifted (it) from there and cooked it for the ogre.' [PT:XV]

(88) *u=t-šan* ***gan*** *tirìwt təməqqəràntˤ*
and=3sf-make.enter:ˣpf. 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*** *mìddən 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.

Before noun	Before pronoun	
id	idd-	'with (comitative), and'
af	fəllí-	'on, at'
ar	ɣar-	'nearby, at'
s, s-ɣar, s-ar	s-ɣár-	'from'
s	s-	'with' (instrumental)
n	ənn-	'of'
i, y-	—	dative preopsition
am	—	'like'
ir	*Unattested*	'until'
bèyn	*Unattested*	'between'

8.1.1.1 *id* 'with (comitative), and'

The pronominal form of the comitative preposition has default accent in all positions. Text XIII has a sentence where the accent is in the (unexpected) final position: *iddí* 'with me'.

The primary meaning of this preposition is the comitative 'with, and'. It can only be used in the coordination of two nominal or pronominal phrases. It can never be used to coordinate two clauses.

(90) *Bəʕədèn y-əqqìm i-rànni **id=mìddən.***
then 3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-bid:impf. with=people

'Then he started bidding along with the people.' [PT:IV]

(91) *ur=n-à=k=a* *ká* *bəʕə̀d a=t-qimà-t* ***idd-í*** *t-əʕəddì-t* *ká?*
neg.=say:res.-1s=10.2sm=res. neg. when fut.-2s-stay:fut.-2s with-1s 2s-go-impf.-2s neg.
'Did I not tell you that when you stay with me not to go (anywhere?)' [PT:XIII]

(92) *a=n-nəʕə̀dd* *kull* ***ìdd-ək.***
fut.=1p-go:fut. all with-2sm
'We will all go with you.' [PT:II]

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

(94) *u=tafùt* *t-əḥmà=ya* *fəllì-s u=t-əqqìm* *(t)-təttà* *afiš=ə̀nn-əs*
and=sun 3sf-burn:res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:ˣpf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3s
id=əlgəfà=nn-əs
with=neck=of-3s
'and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck,' [PT:III]

8.1.1.2 *af* 'on'

The preposition *af* can be used to mean 'on' in the physical sense. It can also be used to mark the object of a verb that has no power to affect the action. This often results in a malefactive implication. The latter use is similar to what Kossmann (1997: 223) calls the 'implicative' in Figuig. The 1sg. ending irregularly gets a *-w-* before the *i*.

(95) *nək ʕəyyán-əx* *u=zmər-x* *ká* *a=ʕəddà-x* ***af=ṭarin=n-úk***
I be.sick:impf.-1s and=be.able:ˣpf.-1s neg. fut.=go:fut.-1s on=legs=of-1s
'I am sick and I am not able to go on my legs' [PT:V]

(96) *lhùdi i-qə̀lləz* ***fəllì-wi***
Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s
'The Jew is lying about me,' [PT:V]

(97) *u=t-əqqə́š* *əlbàb* ***fəllì-s***
and=3sf-close:ˣpf. door on-3sg.
'and she closed the door on him,' [PT:III]

The verb *əxzə́r* 'to look at' uses the preposition *af* with nouns, but *ɣar* for pronouns:

(98) *u=bəʕədèn y-əxzár* ***af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs*** *wa* *ẓẓàk-ən* *dax*
and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʕ=t
fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm
'And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry,' [PT:III]

(99) *U=t-əxzár* ***ɣàr-əs*** *təmìgni*
and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman
'And a woman looked at him' [PT:III]

8.1.1.3 *ar* 'to'

ar 'to' expresses motion towards or possession. The directional sense of this preposition is not attested very often in the texts, and it competes semantically with the locative clitic *=i* (see section 8.2). *=i* seems to be preferred.

(100) *nək a=nṭàr-əx=ku* *ká* *ir=a=nnə-ʕədd* *nək ìdd-ək* ***ar=əlqəḍi.***
I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg. until=fut.=1p-go:fut. I with-2sm to=judge
'I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.' [PT:V]

ar is mainly attested in possessive phrases. The sentence below illustrates this.

(101) *Gan Abúdabr* ***ɣàr-əs*** *təmìgni*
there Abu.Dabr to-3s wife
'There once was (a man called) Abu-Dabr,' [PT:XV]

The possessive use of the preposition can also be negated:

(102) *u=****ɣar-i*** ***ká*** *təlàba.*
and=to-1s neg. gown
'and I do not have a gown.' [PT:V]

8.1.1.4 *s, s-ɣar, s-ar* 'from'

s, s-ɣar, s-ar is the ablative preposition. There seems to be free variation between the three variants, where *s-ɣar* 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-ɣar*.

(103) *Nək wa* *d=əlá* *slì-x=a* ***sar=mìddən*** *ləwwəl* *kəddìm-ən,*
I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-1s=res. from=people formerly old:mp
'This is what I heard from the old people once,' [PT:II]

(104) *Gan iwínan y-ərfiʕ=a af=təgilì=nn-əs əlḥàml ẓẓàk*
there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
syàr=ləmluxìyət
from=mulukhiya
'There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head,' [PT:III]

(105) *ušì-ɣ=d=a* ***s=ašàl=i*** *nək id=ləhil=ənn-ùk.*
come:res.-1s=come=res. from=village=loc. I with=family=of-1s
'He said to him: I've come from the village, together with my family.' [PT:XV]

(106) *wàsa a=nzurrà-n* ***syar-kìm*** *a=ʕəyyáṭ-ən=dìk təlàta marràt;*
rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from-2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=1o.1s three times
'Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times;' [PT:II]

s, s-ɣar, s-ar may be used to indicate the material something is made of:

(107) *wàya* ***sar=zzìl***
this:ms from=iron
'This is of iron' [P: s.v. di]

8.1.1.5 *s* 'with'

The instrumental preposition is used to express the object by means of which a certain action is accomplished. Because the 3pl.m. and 3pl.f. suffixes start with *s-*, the forms are somewhat irregular, as the *s-s-* sequence has been simplified (see 6.1.4).

This preposition is homophonous to the *s-* variant of the ablative preposition *s, s-ɣar, s-ar* in front of nouns. The pronominal form is always different from the ablative preposition.

(108) *u=y-əqqàn=t* ***s=ažìkər***
and=3sm-tie:ˣpf.-3sm=DO.3sm with=rope
'And he tied it with a rope' [PT:VII]

(109) *U=y-əfráḥ* *Žḥà* ***s-ànət***
and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf
'And Jha became happy with it' [PT:V]

The preposition *s* is also used to express an amount of money:

(110) ***s=sàbəʕa*** *n=millìm.*
with=seven of=milliem
'For seven milliemes.' [PT:III]

8.1.1.6 *n* 'of'

Posessions 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=əlʃàdəd* ***n***=*ažəvu* ***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-ɣar* '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) *Bəʃədèn y-əškí* *əlhùdi w=i-n=ìs* ***yə=Žḥà:*** *aɣìd*
then 3sm-leave:ˣpf. Jew and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=10.3s dat.=Jha bring:imp.
əlbarat=ənn-ùk.
money=of-1s
'Then the Jew came out and said to Jha: Bring my money (back)' [PT:V]

(114) *u=i-tənn=ìs* ***i***=*kùll* *amədən*
and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s dat.=each person
'and (started) saying to each person:' [PT:XIII]

The preposition *i* is usually substituted by the indirect object clitics, but once we find the preposition *i* followed by the independent pronoun *ku* 'you':

(115) *nək wa* *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]

8.1.1.8 *am* 'like'

The preposition *am* 'like' is used to make comparisons. Like the preposition *i*, it is followed by the independent pronoun, rather than the prepositional suffixes. The uses of this preposition will be discussed in more detail in section 10.7.4.

(116) *nəttìn məqqár* ***am****=nək*
he big:sm like=I
'he is as big as me' [P: s.v. come]

8.1.1.9 *ir* 'until'

This preposition is not attested very often, and is never found in front of a pronominal form. This is unsurprising, as in many Berber languages, this preposition can only be placed in front of nouns (e.g. Kossmann 1997: 229).

(117) *u=nəttìn i-ddəhwàr* ***ir****=i-ṭùg* *Žḥà.*
and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:ˣpf. 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***=)*ṭfillì=yi*
he 3sm-go.res=res. until=house=loc.
'he has gone to the house' [P: s.v. a]

8.1.1.10 *bèyn* 'between'

bèyn 'between' is not attested in the texts, and Paradisi provides no example sentences. Little more can be said about this preposition.

8.1.2 Preposition-like constructions

Several nouns or noun-like words, may be used to express location or direction, similar to functions that the basic prepositions have. These preposition-like elements all behave differently. Some use prepositional endings, while others do not. Some of these constructions can be placed directly in front of the noun they modify, while others cannot.

Some of these preposition-like constructions use the Arabic preposition *minn-* in combination with the preposition-like element to pronominalized it. The preposition *minn-* is never used outside of this context. This preposition takes the regular Berber pronominal endings.

8.1.2.1 *agùr* 'near, on the side'

The word *agùr* 'near, on the side' is only attested combined with pronouns. Pronominal prepositional endings cannot directly follow it, and are either combined with the Berber preposition *n* 'of' or the Arabic preposition *minn-* 'from'.

(119) *u=y-əqqìm y-əvdìd=a **agur=ànn-əs** ir=a=y-ùš*
and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-stand:res.=res. besides=of-3s until=fut.=3sm-come:fut.
əlbulìs.
police
'and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.' [PT:III]

The constructions with *minn-* are only attested in the word list: 1sg. *agùr mìnn-i* 2sg.m. *agùr mìnn-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=tfìlli*
middle of house
'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) *ərfəʕ=i **ẓuṭ** ləktuf=ànn-ək.*
carry:imp.=DO.1s on.top.of shoulders=of-2sm
'He (the ogre) said to him: Carry me on your shoulders.' [PT:XV]

(122) *u=y-ərfəʕ=ət **ẓùṭ** ləktuf=ànn-əs*
and=3sm-carry:ˣpf.=DO.3sm on.top.of shoulders=of-3s
'and he carried him on his shoulders' [PT:XV]

Paradisi's word list shows that this preposition cannot receive prepositional pronominal endings. *ẓùṭ* is combined with Berber preposition *fəll-* 'on' or the Arabic preposition *minn-* 'from': 1sg. *ẓuṭ mìnn-i, ẓuṭ fəllì-wi* 2sg.m. *ẓuṭ mìnn-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-ẓùṭ* 'upward', *s-ar-ẓùṭ* 'from above':

(123) *U y-əlbáb nəttìn ìdd-əs* ***ar=ẓùṭ***
and 3sm-climb:pf. he with-3s to=up
'And he climbed up with him' [PT:VI]

(124) *Bəʃədèn y-àxzər Žḥà* ***sar=ẓùṭ***
Then 3sm-look:seq. Jha from=above
'Then Jha looked from above'

The antonym *ùṭa* 'below' is also combined with the prepostions *ar* 'to' and *s-ar* 'from' to form adverbial phrases *ar-ùṭa* 'downward' and *s-ar-ùṭa* 'from below'. *s-ar-ùṭa* is only attested in the word list (s.v. sotto).

(125) *w=afîwa t-ənə-d=dìk ìrəš ar=ùṭa?*
and=why 2s-say:ˣpf.-2s=IO.1s descend:imp. **to=below**
'And why did you tell me to come down?'

One would expect that *uṭa* can also be used independently like *ẓùṭ*, but there is no evidence for this.

8.1.2.4 *dáffər* 'behind, after'

This preposition-like construction is often a preposition in Berber languages, cf. Kabyle *dəffir*, Touareg *dàffər*. In Awjila it can only combine with a noun using a genitive construction:

(126) *dàffər n=tfîlli*
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-əqqàn=t s=ažìkər u=y-əʕàdd w=aẓìṭ*
and=3sm-tie:ˣpf.-3sm=DO.3sm with=rope and=3sm-go:ˣpf. and=donkey
dáffər-a (*or:* ***dáffər-ah***).
behind-3sm
'And he tied it with a rope and went and the donkey (was) behind him.' [PT:VII]

In Paradisi's word list, a few forms with Berber prepositional suffixes are attested, for example *dəffər-ás* 'behind him'.

8.1.2.5 *dít* 'in front of'

To modify nouns, this word uses a genitive construction:

(128) *u=y-əḥdəf=tənət* ***dit*** *nə=Žḥà sar=ərròšən.*
and=3sm-throw:ˣpf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha from=window
'And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.' [PT:V]

When used pronominally *dìt*, like *dàffər*, uses Arabic pronominal endings (see section 6.1.4):

(129) *I-ggì=t* ***dìt-a***
3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm
'He put it in front of him' [PT:II]

The word list contains some forms of this word where it combines with Berber prepositional endings. These forms are unattested in the texts

The antonyms *dìt* and *dàffər* are the only two prepositions that are attested with Arabic prepositional suffixes.

dìt may be combined with the preposition *ar* 'to' to form adverbial phrase *ar-dìt* 'forward':

(130) *žìgəž* ***ar=dìt***
walk:imp. to=front
'Walk forward!' [P: s.v. andare]

8.2 The locative postposition =*i*

Besides a large amount of prepositions, Awjila has one postposition =*i*, which expresses location or movement towards a location. It is cliticized directly to the noun it modifies.

(131) *w=ižigàž* ***dzənqìn=i*** *n=ašàl*
and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village
'and he would walk in the street of the village' [PT:III]

(132) *y-ùna* ***ammùd=i***
3sm-enter:seq. mosque=loc.
'He entered the mosque' [PT:II]

Brugnatelli (2005: 375ff.) suggests that the locative clitic indeed influences the accent, but from the data available this is not obvious. All but three nouns that have the locative particle =*i* end in the sequence |vc|. The default accent of both the sequence

|vc| and |vc=i| falls on the final vowel of the noun. Compare the two example sentences below. The first sentence shows *ašàl* without the locative particle with accent on the ultimate syllable. The second sentence has the same word, but this time with the locative clitic behind it. The accent still falls regularly on the final vowel of the noun.

(133) *Gan iwínan n=amàdən ašàl n=awìlən.*
there one:ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people
'There once was a man in the village of Aujila' [PT:II]

(134) *u=y-əqqìm i-ddəhwàr **ašàl=i** kkùll*
and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole
'A scholar left to go around outside, and he started going around the whole village' [PT:VIII]

In the texts, we find two forms that provide contradictory evidence. One has antepenultimate accent, which implies the *=i* has no influence, the other appears to have attracted accent, which implies that the *=i* is considered part of the accentual word unit. Neither of the words are found without the clitic *=i*, so nothing can be said with certainty about the accent in either case.

(135) *Žḥà y-əskìn=a **lʕəllì=yi***
Jha 3sm-live:res.=res. high=loc.
'Jha lived in a high (place)' [PT:VI]

(136) *w=i-ggì=tət **škárət=i.***
and=3sm-put:ˣpf.=DO.3sf bag=loc.
'Then he bought some vegetables and put them in a bag.' [PT:XII]

The example Brugnatelli cites, comes from the word list, and this word is attested both with, and without the locative particle in the word list: *tfìlli* 'house' is attested with a retracted accent in the example sentence below.

(137) *nəttìn y-əʕìdd=a (ir=)**tfìlli=yi***
he 3sm-go.res=res. until=house=loc.
'he has gone to the house' [P: s.v. a]

In one case, the locative particle itself is accented. This gives the impression that *=i* is perhaps an independent word, rather than a clitic. This may also explain why *=i* does not have effect on the accent in one of the examples above.

(138) *y-uɣá y-əkrí s=ìs ssùq=í*
3sm-take:pf. 3sm-return:ˣpf. with-3s market=loc.
'he took (it) and returned with it to the market' [PT:VII]

The locative clitic *=i* cannot be combined with the possessive pronominal clitics. In sentences where we would otherwise expect the locative particle, it is absent if the noun has a possessive clitic. In such cases, there is no other marking of the locative.

(139) *U=bəʕədèn y-əʕə̀dd nəttìn əlxərbuš=ànn-əs*
and=then 3sm-go:ˣpf. he garden=of-3s
'And then he went to his garden' [PT:XV]

(140) *Y-ušá=d, y-unà nəttìn ìdd-əs amakan=n-əsìn*
3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm
'He came and entered their place with her' [PT:XV]

The locative postposition is only found in one other Berber language: Ghadames, in western Libya (Lanfry 1968: 366, Kossmann 2013b: 103). Unlike in Ghadames, the locative clitic is always *=i*, and does not undergo infixation.

Morphosyntactically, the locative particle behaves differently in Awjila and Ghadames. In Ghadames the locative marker stands at the end of a noun phrase, unless the noun phrase is determined by a deictic clitic, in which case the locative clitic is attached to the deictic clitic. Awjila places the locative marker after the noun, rather than after the entire noun phrase. There are no examples of a determined noun phrase with a locative postposition in Awjila. Compare:

Ghadames

(141) *tali n təmẓen=i*
room of barley=loc.
'in the room of the barley' (Kossmann 2013b: 107)

(142) *dáž=e=den n aṣle*
house=ANP:S=LOC of groom
'in this house of the groom' (Kossmann 2013b: 108)

Awjila

(143) *dzənqìn=i n=ašàl*
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, iwinàn, iwínan
	f. iwát, iwatàn
2	itnén
3	təláta
4	àrbəʕa
7	sə̀bəʕa
9	tə̀səʕa
90	təsʕìn
100	mə̀yət
1000	əlf

àrbəʕa, sə̀bəʕa and *tə̀səʕa* all have a 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 *iwìn, iwínan* and feminine *iwàt, 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=**iwìn** n=išf i-llùm aməẓẓìn=n-əs*
and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:ˣpf. sons=of-3s
'And one day he gathered his sons' [PT:I]

(146) *Bəʃədèn i-n=ìs* ***iwìn*** *n=amàdən:*
Then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=10.3s one:sm of=man:
'Then a man said to him:' [PT:XIII]

(147) *t-əllumà-m ká iman=nə-kìm a=tt-əqíma-m* ***am=iwatàn*** *n=təɣarìt*
2pm-gather:ˣpf.-2pm neg. self=of-2pm fut.=2pm-remain:fut.-2pm like=one:sf of=stick
'(If) you do not gather yourself, you will remain like one stick:' [PT:I]

(148) *nək n-à=k=a s=àrbəʃa n=millìm*
I say:res.-1s=10.2sm=res. with=four of=milliem
'I've told you for four milliemes' [PT:III]

Some Arabic constructions have been taken over as such, and do not have the preposition *n* 'of'.

(149) *ṣbər-àt a=nn-a=kìm nək d=awìl* ***tlàta marràt*** *ìla yom əlqiyàma:*
wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-1s=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three times 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) *Žḥà y-ətəmànna sɣar=ṛàbbi a=y-əfk=ìs* ***əlf žnì***
Jha 3sm-wish:ˣpf. from=god fut.=3sm-give:fut.=10.3s 1,000 pound
'Jha prayed God to give him 1,000 Pounds' [PT:V]

(151) *Bəʃədèn u=bəʃəd* ***sàbəʃa ayyam*** *y-əʃədd mərràt* (*mərràtət*) *aqùṭ-ət*
then and=after seven days 3sm-go:ˣpf. time another-sf
'Then after seven days he went another time' [PT:IV]

9.2 Cryptic numerals

Zanon (1932: 264) describes a cryptic counting system that avoids the use of the Arabic numerals in order to discuss numbers without outsiders understanding them. He does not cite the terminology in Berber, but only gives an Italian translation. He gives an overview:

1 finger
2 two fingers
5 complete hand
7 a hand and two fingers, or two hands minus three fingers
10 two hands
15 two hands and a foot
20 two hands and two feet

Similar cryptic numeral systems are found in other Berber languages such as Siwa (Laoust 1931: 107, Souag 2010: 185), Nefusa (Beguinot 1942: 127) and El-Foqaha (Paradisi 1963a: s.v. quattro, cinque, sei, sette, otto, nove, dieci).

9.3 *kkull* 'all, whole'

The word *kkull* 'all' functions as a general quantifier that marks the entirety of a group. It is placed after the noun phrase it modifies. There is some variation between *kkull* and *kull* in these forms.

(152) *wènma slà-n=t míddən n=ašàl* ***kùll,*** *ušà-n=d*
as.soon.as hear:ˣpf.-3pm=DO.3sm people of=village all come:ˣpf.-3pm=come
ɣəllìy-ən a=mmudà-n kull dáffər-a
want:ˣpf.-3pm fut.=pray:fut.-3pm all behind-3sm
'As soon as all the people of the village heard it, they came and all wanted to pray behind him' [PT:II]

(153) *mag ì-nni ənnùṣṣ ən=təmùrt* ***kkùll?***
where 3sm-be(loc.):ˣpf. middle of=earth whole
'Then he asked him and said: where is the middle of the whole earth?' [PT:VIII]

9.4 *kull* 'each'

The distributive quantifier *kull* 'each' marks each single instance of a group. It is always placed in front of the noun phrase it modifies.

(154) *u=y-əfká* ***kull*** *iwìn təɣarìt.*
and=3sm-give:pf. each one:sm stick
'and (he) gave each one a stick.' [PT:I]

(155) *u=i-tənn=ìs i=****kùll*** *amədən*
and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s dat.=each person
'and (he started) saying to each person:' [PT:XIII]

9.5 *əggùt* 'much, many'

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

(156) *W=i-žigàž* ***ggùt*** *išfìwən*
and=3sm-walk:impf. many days
'And he would walk many days' [PT:III]

Chapter 10

Syntax

10.1 The basic sentence

The basic verbal sentence in Awjila can encode three functions that are integrated into the verbal complex when expressed pronominally: subject, direct object and indirect object. The subject is always marked through PNG-marking, also when it is expressed lexically. Except in topicalization, the lexical subject follows the verb.

(157) *I-təḥàyyər* *əlʕàləm*
3sm-be.confused:ˣpf. scholar
V S
'The scholar was confused' [PT:VIII]

The direct object is marked with a lexical direct object, which always follows the verb. The direct object may also be expressed pronominally by means of a direct object clitic.

Instances where a sentence has both a lexical subject and a lexical direct object and no topicalization are very rare, but we do find two sentences of this type in the corpus. They display different orders of the lexical subject and lexical direct object:

(158) *Bəʕədèn y-əslá* *Žḥà žlan=ìya*
Then 3sm-hear:pf. Jha words=prox.:p
V S DO
'Then Juha heard these words' [PT:IV]

(159) *Y-əxəmmám* *əlfəkr=ànn-əs* *sìdi Ḥáməd,*
3sm-think:pf. thought=of-3s sidi.Hamid
V DO S
'Sidi Hamid thought his thought,' [PT:II]

Much more commonly, either the subject or the direct object is expressed lexically, while the other is pronominalized.

(160) *w=ìwìn* *n=išf* *i-llùm* *amәẓẓìn=n-əs*
and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:P sons=of-3s
V DO
'And one day he gathered his sons' [PT:I]

(161) *Bəʕədèn y-əslì=t* *əlhùdi aringì=nn-əs*
Then 3sm-hear:ˣpf.=DO.3sm. Jew neighbour=of-3s
V=DO S
'Then the Jew, his neighbour, heard him' [PT:V]

There is one case of a ditransitive verb which takes two lexical direct objects, namely *əfk* 'to give'. In the one example of such a construction, the first direct object is the beneficiary, while the second direct object is the object given. When the beneficiary is pronominalized, it is pronominalized as an indirect object. Compare the following two examples:

(162) *u=y-əfká kull* *ɨwìn təɣarìt.*
... and=3sm-give:pf. each one:sm stick
'and (he) gave each one a stick.' [PT:I]

(163) *w=i-fk-ísin* *əlḥàzmət n=təɣarɨwìn*
and=3sm-give:P-IO.3pm bundle of=sticks
'and gave them a bundle of sticks' [PT:I]

The verb *əssán* 'to send, send out' may also belong to the ditransitive verb type:

(164) *Y-ušá=d* *Žḥà màrra i-ɣàlli* *a=y-àssən* *akəllim=ànn-əs*
3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:ˣpf. 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-ssən=dìk=a*
3sm-send:res.=IO.1s-res.
'He has sent me' [P: s.v. IO]

The lexical indirect object is marked by the preposition *i*. When the indirect object is pronominalized, the indirect object clitic is appended to the verb. The lexical indirect object follows the lexical subject. There are no attestations of both a lexical direct object and a lexical indirect object in one sentence.

(166) *I-n=ìs* *əlqàḍi i=Žḥà:*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s judge dat.=Jha
V S IO
'The judge said to Jha:' [PT:V]

(167) *Bəʃədèn y-əfkì=t i=ddəllàl dax a=i-žižì=t.*
then 3sm-give:ˣpf.=DO.3sm dat.=auctioneer in.order.to fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
V=DO IO
'Then he gave it to the auctioneer in order to sell it.' [PT:IV]

(168) *qàma a=nn-à=k ləḥkàyət axìr n=tà=nn-ək.*
now fut.=tell:fut.-1S=IO.2sm story better of=PMPH=of-2sm
V=IO DO
' Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!' [PT:IV]

The verb *an=ìs* 'to say' has obligatory pronominal indirect object marking (Paradisi 1960a: 164 s.v. dire). Even when there is no specific addressee in the sentence, the default 3sg. marker *-ìs* is always present. The obligatory pronominal indirect object marking also implies that, when a lexical indirect object is expressed, we also find the pronominal indirect object marking.

(169) *w=ižigàž dzənqìn=i n=ašàl u=nəttìn iʃayáṭ*
and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.
*w=**itənn**=**ìs**: ləmluxìyət bàh(ə)y-ət.*
and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf
'and he would walk in the street of the village and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!' [PT:III]

(170) *ʃàdd an=**ìs**=t **i**=sìdi Ḥəməd əz-Zarruq.*
go:imp. say:imp.=IO.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
'Go and tell it to sidi Hamid Zarrouq.' [PT:II]

Double indirect object marking is found with one other verb, namely *mməḥ* 'to kiss'.

(171) *mməḥ=ìs i=tirìwt*
kiss:imp.=IO.3s. dat.=girl
'Kiss the girl!' [P: s.v. baciare]

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

(172) *gì-x dìt-i ksùm*
put:ˣpf.-1S in.front-1S meat
'I put the meat in front of me' [PT:II]

(173) *Gan iwínan y-ərfìʃ=a **af**=**təgili**=**nn**-**əs** əlḥàml ẓẓàk*
there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
syàr=ləmluxìyət
from=mulukhiya
'There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head'

(174) *a=d-gà-t ká škàrət **af=aẓiṭ?***
fut.=2s-put:fut.-2s neg. bag on=donkey?
'will you not put the bag on the donkey?' [PT:XII]

Prepositions with pronominal suffixes also occur before and after the lexical subject.

(175) *U=t-əxzár **ɣàr-əs** təmìgni*
and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman
'And a woman looked at him' [PT:III]

(176) *U=y-əxzár nəttìn **ɣàr-əs***
and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s
'And he looked at her' [PT:III]

10.2 Non-verbal sentences

10.2.1 Copular sentences

A copular sentence is expressed by a subject followed by the predicate which is marked by the predicative particle *d*.

(177) *nək d=awíl*
I pred.=Awjilan
'I will be an Awjilan' [PT:II]

(178) *wàya d=wà n=màni?*
this:ms pred.=PMPH:ms of=who
'whose is that one?' [P: s.v. quello]

Copular sentences are negated by placing the predicative particle *d* before the predicate and the negative marker *ká* after the predicate.

(179) *wàya d=aẓìṭ ká*
this:sm pred.=donkey neg.
'this is not a donkey' [PT:VII]

10.2.2 Prepositional sentences

Prepositions may be used in non-verbal sentences. In such sentences, the predicate is only marked by the preposition:

(180) *wàya* ***sar****=zzìl*
this:ms from=iron
'This is of iron' [P: s.v. di]

(181) *nəttìn məqqár* ***am****=nək*
he be.big:3sm like=I
'he is as big as me' [P: s.v. come]

10.2.3 Locative sentences

Locative non-verbal sentences are expressed with the adverbial deictic *gan* 'there'.

(182) ***Gan*** *ɨwínan n=amàdən ašàl n=awìlən.*
there one:ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people
'There once was a man in the village of Aujila' [PT:II]

10.2.4 Possessive sentences

Possession is expressed by means of a construction with the preposition *ar* 'to, toward' + pronominal suffix.

(183) *Gan Abúdabr* ***ɣàr-əs*** *təmìgni*
there Abu.Dabr to-3s wife
'There once was (a man called) Abu-Dabr, he had a wife' [PT:XV]

Possessive sentences may also be negated with the negative particle *ká*:

(184) *ɣar-i ká.*
to-1s neg.
'I don't have (anything).' [PT:VI]

10.3 Yes/No-questions

Yes/no-questions are not marked segmentally. Therefore questions must be inferred from the context (or possibly intonation, about which we know nothing).

(185) *ṛàbbi ɣ-əfki=dìk=a albəṣìrət u=ku t-ɣəllì-t*
God 3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. willingly and=you 2s-want:$^{\times}$pf.-2s
a=tt-uɣà-t=tət sɣàr-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) *ṣəḥìḥ žlan=ìya?*
be.true:3m words-PROX:p
'Are these words true?' [PT:V]

10.4 Topicalization

In Berber, topicalized elements are usually placed in the left periphery of the sentence (Galand 2010: 311ff.). There is left-periphery placement in Awjila as well. The use of the left periphery seems to be limited to topicalized subjects only, but with the restricted data we have, this is very difficult to ascertain.

An example of topicalization can be found in an exchange in text II:

(187) *Na-n=ìs:* *nəkkəní* *n-əšummi=tì=ya* *u=n-či=tì=ya.*
say:ˣpf.-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=isìn:* *nək ʕəlamá* *fəkk-à=s* *afìw y-əlɣəm*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=10.3pm I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=10.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf.
a=y-əmm.
fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
'He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.' [PT:II]

In these two sentences, the pronoun is clearly placed to the left side to indicate emphasis: 'As for *us*, we've cooked it and eaten it'; 'As for *me*, no matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.'

The two sentences are examples of placement of a pronominal subject in the left periphery. Nominal subjects can also be placed there:

(189) *ṛàbbi y-əfki=dìk=a* *am alá ɣəllì-x.*
God 3sm-give:res.=10.1s=res. like rel. want:ˣpf.-1s
'God has given like I wanted!' [PT:V]

10.5 The usage of TAM-stems

There are five stem types that express different tense, aspect and moods.[1] This section describes the usage of these stems. Stative verbs are 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

[1] For the formation of these stem types see section 4.3.

applies to Awjila and not to other languages. The English terminology used here, is an adaptation that Kossmann (2013b) uses for Ghadames.

	Kossmann	Basset	Galand
Imperative	Imperative	—	—
Perfective	Perfective	prétérit	accompli
Sequential Perfective	—	—	—
Resultative	—	—	—
Future	Future	—	—
Imperfective	Imperfective	aoriste intensif	inaccompli
—	Aorist	aoriste	aoriste
—	Negative Perfective	prétérit négatif	accompli négatif
—	Negative Imperfective	aoriste intensif négatif	inaccompli négatif

10.5.1 Imperative

The imperative is solely used to express commands and wishes. The stem corresponds to the aorist stem in other Berber languages. However, unlike the other Berber languages, it is only employed as an imperative. The imperative stem is morphologically clearly distinct from the future stem. The imperative has its own PNG-marking. The imperative usually has a lexical accent on the final syllable.

(190) *ʕàdd an=ìs=t i=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarruq.*
go:imp. say:imp.=1O.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
'Go and tell it to sidi Hamid Zarrouq.' [PT:II]

(191) *yax-àt arẓ-àt=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.

dvəddàtt ká	'do not stand up!'
tnəššìt ká	'do not sleep!'
tarìt ká	'do not open!'
tánit ká	'do not enter!'
tašìdda ká	'do not come!'

There are two instances of a prohibitive with a perfective stem instead of the imperfective stem.

ur=tunìt 'do not enter!'
tnədd=ìs ká 'do not speak'

10.5.2 Perfective

The perfective stem expresses a punctual dynamic event in the past or a non-dynamic event with no reference to time. Morphologically, the perfective usually has an accent on the final syllable of the stem, which clearly distinguishes it from the future and the sequential perfective, which have a similar root shape but penultimate accent.

The phonological accent is replaced by default accent when PNG-marking and/or object clitics are placed behind the verb. In such cases the perfective is indistinguishable from the sequential perfective.

(192) *U=t-əxzár ɣàr-əs təmìgni*
and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman
'And a woman looked at him' [PT:III]

(193) *U=ɣ-əxzár nəttìn ɣàr-əs w=i-gá əlḥəməl=ənn-əs dìt n=təmìgni*
and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s in.front of=woman
'And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman'

Non-dynamic verbs that have no reference to time are used in the perfective. The non-dynamic verbs that are only attested in the perfective are *iɣàlli* 'to want' and *ìnni* 'to be, to exist'.

(194) *U=ɣ-uɣì=tət kull iwinàn sɣar-sìn* ***i-ɣàlli***
And=3sm-take:ˣpf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:ˣpf.
a=i-rẓì=tət, ɣ-əzmər ká
fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:ˣpf. neg.
'And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.' [PT:I]

(195) *mag* ***ì-nni*** *ənnùṣṣ ən=təmùrt kkùll?*
where 3sm-be(loc.):ˣpf. 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, *əzmár* 'to be able', *agál, gul* 'to see' fluctuate between the perfective and resultative with no discernable difference in meaning.

(196) *Bəʃədèn* ***i-gùl*** *iwínan*
Then 3sm-see:ˣpf. one:sm
'Then he saw someone' [PT:XI]

(197) *la ɣar* ***guli-x=kù=ya*** *t-udìn-t=a* *əlqəbbùṭ am=wa=nn-ùk*
no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res. robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s
w=əlʃəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk
and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s
'No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine;' [PT:XI]

(198) *u=zmər-x* *ká* *a=ʃəddà-x* *af=ṭarin=n-úk*
and=be.able:ˣpf.-1s neg. fut.=go:fut.-1s on=legs=of-1s
'and I am not able to go on my legs' [PT:V]

(199) ***i-zmìr=a*** *kull iwìn* *a=y-ərẓì=tət* *bišwàš.*
3sm-be.able:res.=res. each one:sm fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf easily
'Everybody is able to break it easily.' [PT:I]

10.5.3 Sequential perfective

The sequential perfective is morphologically identical to the perfective, except for the place of the accent. Unlike the perfective, the sequential perfective does not have a phonological accent, cf. perfective *yəččá* with sequential perfective *yəčča*.[2] As the phonological accent is effaced when a perfective is followed by PNG-marking or object clitics, in many cases it is impossible to distinguish the two stem forms. In a similar vein, it is impossible to distinguish the two when a verb ends in |vc| or |əcc|, as these shapes automatically receive the accent.

Some care should be taken when evaluating the sequential perfective. As was shown in the discussion on the accent (see section 2.5), Paradisi has some striking mistakes in terms of accent, at least in his transcriptions of Zuara Berber. As we only have very few other sources on Awjila, and only one source that consistently marks accent, it is very difficult to determine how accurate Paradisi's accent notations are. However, in general, the accent notations in Paradisi's materials from Awjila are relatively consistent. The only place where we find vastly variable different notations is with the position of the accent in the perfective. This suggests that the vaccillations in the accent are not due to transcription errors, but rather represent different forms. This is strengthened by the fact that default accentuation is only found in sequential contexts, indicating a correlation between accentuation and syntactic function.

Not all verb types distinguish the perfective from the sequential perfective. Only the **ccc**, **cc***, **vc*** and **c̄*** distinguish the sequential perfective from the regular perfec-

[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 *yúša=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=ʃəddà-n ɣəllìy-ən a=zrà̀d-ən əlxərbuš=ənn-əsìn u=bəʃədèn*
and=go:ˣpf.-3pm want:ˣpf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then
t-ìva *tafùt təbarùt=i u=ɣəllìy-ən a=šəlḥà̀m-ən afìw;*
3sf-fall:seq. sun road=loc. and=want:ˣpf.-3pm fut.=light:fut.-3pm fire
'And they went and they wanted to eat (in) their garden and then the sun fell on the road and they wanted to light a fire.' [PT:XV]

tìva would be *tivá* in the regular perfective

(201) *Y-əxzár abbà-s žibərət=ànn-əs* ***y-ùfa*** *gal lùda n=afìw.*
3sm-search:pf. father-3s travelling.bag=of-3s 3sm-found:seq. there nothing of=fire
'The father searched his travelling bag (but) found there was nothing for (lighting the) fire.' [PT:XV]

yufá is the form of the non-sequential perfective.

(202) *Ṣbaḥ šəmmà-n aməklìw u=**t-ùna** ar=tiriwìn=n-əs*
tomorrow cook:ˣpf.-3pm meal and=3sf-enter:seq to=children=of-3s
*u=**y-úša=d** àmẓa u=**y-àčča** aməkliw=ànn-əs*
and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s
'The next day, they the cooked the meal and (the mother) entered (the cave with her) children and the ogre came and ate his meal' [PT:XV]

The expected non-sequential perfectives in this sentence would be *tuná, yušà-d, yəčča*.

(203) *u=y-əxbà̀ṭ=ṭ af=təgìli n=təmìgni u=**t-ìva** təmìgni t-əmmùt*
and=3sm-hit:ˣpf.=DO.3sm on=head of=woman and=3sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die:ˣpf.
'He did not answer her (with any) words, and then he lifted the scales that he had carried and he hit them on the head of the woman, and the woman fell and died and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.' [PT:III]

The use of the sequential perfective does not seem to be obligatory, and there are clear instances of sequential actions where both verbs have the regular perfective forms:

(204) ***Y-ušá=d,*** ***y-unà*** *nəttìn ìdd-əs amakan=n-əsìn*
3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm
u=y-əmḥà̀ṭ=ṭət avəṭ=idìn.
and=3sm-make.love:ˣpf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s

'He came and entered their place with her and he made love to her that night.' [PT:XV]

10.5.4 Resultative

The resultative is derived from the perfective. It is formed by appending *=a* after the verbal complex (*=ya* when the verbal complex ends in a vowel), that is, including the PNG-endings and direct and indirect object markers. If this *=a* is preceded by a syllable containing *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) *u=y-əʃàdd* ***y-əlbìb=a*** *af=aẓiṭ=ənn-əs.*
and=3sm-go:ˣpf. 3sm-climb:res.=res. on=donkey=of-3s
'and he went sitting on the donkey (i.e. having climbed it).' [PT:XII]

(206) *U* ***y-əlbáb*** *nəttìn ìdd-əs* *ar=ẓùṭ*
and 3sm-climb:pf. he with-3s to=up
'And he climbed up with him' [PT:VI]

[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. *ìrəš* res.3pl.m. *irišìna* 'to descend'; imp.sg. *àrwəl* res.3pl.m. *ərwilìna* 'to flee'; res.3sg.m. *yəvrùra* res.3pl.m. *vrirìna* 'to be fertilized (palm)'; fut.3sg.m. *aittəžəṭ* res.3sg.m. *ittižìṭa* '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-ərfìʕ=a*** *af=təgilì=nn-əs əlḥàml ẓẓàk*
there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
syàr=ləmluxìyət
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-gùl irìw*
Then 3sm-lift.up:pf. Jha head=of-3s to=up 3sm-see:ˣpf. 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-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən ká təbarùt*
but servant 3sm-know:ˣpf. neg. place and=3sm-know:ˣpf. neg. way
*u=****y-ərwəʕ*** *a=y-ùɣər w=i-n=ìs i=Žḥà:*
and=3sm-become.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut. and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=10.3s dat.=Jha:
rwìḥ-ḥ=a *a=uɣàr-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) *təwwəg t-irày=a*
food 3sf-be.raw:res.=res.
'the food is raw' [P: s.v. crudo]

10.5.5 Future

In the majority of the Berber languages, non-realized and future events are expressed by means of the particle *ad*, mostly combined with the aorist stem. The aorist stem is also used for the imperative. In Awjila (as well as in some other eastern Berber languages, see Kossmann 2000), the stem that is used to express non-realized and future

events is clearly distinct from the imperative stem. Following Lanfry (1968), I have adopted the term 'future' to describe this TAM.

In most cases, the future stem is identical to the perfective stem. The main means to distinguish the future from the perfective is by the clitic *a=*, which is placed in front of the future stem after PNG-marking is applied. The future and perfective stems are formally different in the case of **cc*** verbs, and in such cases they can be distinguished by more than just the clitic *a=*. Moreover, the accent is different in the perfective and future stems (but the same as sequential perfective!), although the difference is neutralized in many cases, due to phonological constraints on accent placement.

The future expresses that an event has not yet been realized (i.e. it either will take place in the future or not at all).

(211) *akká, kəmmìm am=tɣariwin=ìyək, àndu t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kìm*
this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if 2p-gather:ˣpf.-m self=of-2pm
məʕá bəʕáḍkum ***a=tt-əqqíma-m*** *am=təɣariwin=ìyək*
with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m like=sticks-prox.:p
'look, you are like these sticks, if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.' [PT:I]

The operator verbs *ɣàlli* 'to want to …', *əlɣám* 'to refuse to …' and *ərwáʕ* 'to be afraid to …' are followed by a clause that has a main verb with the future stem:

(212) *U=y-uɣì=təṭ kull iwinàn sɣar-sìn* ***i-ɣàlli***
And=3sm-take:ˣpf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:ˣpf.
a=i-rẓì=təṭ
fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf
'And each one of them took it and wanted to break it' [PT:I]

(213) ***rwìḥ-ḥ=a*** ***a=i-ni=dìk:*** *kəm t-tàkər-t sɣàr-i.*
become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.1s you 2s-steal:impf.-2s from-1s
'I was afraid he would say to me: You are stealing from me!' [PT:IV]

(214) ***y-əlɣám*** ***a=y-əfki=tànət*** *y=əlhùdi.*
3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-give:fut.=DO.3pf dat.-Jew
'He refused to give them to the Jew.' [PT:V]

The conjunction *dax* 'in order to' is followed by a future. It is discussed in more detail in section 10.7.5.4

10.5.6 Imperfective

The imperfective primarily expresses a habitual or progressive action. The imperfective may express actions in the past, present and future.

An example of the progressive meaning of the imperfective is:

(215) *ku* ***t-əqəlləz-t*** *ṣəḥìḥ*
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=**ižigəž*** *dzənqìn=i n=ašàl* *u=nəttìn* ***iʕayáṭ***
and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.
*w=**itənn**=ìs:* *ləmluxìyət bàh(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 *qim* which usually means 'to stay, sit' but, when used as an auxiliary can be translated as an inchoative auxiliary to the following imperfective verb. The particle *ʕəmma*[4], which has no verbal morphology is also followed by the imperfective, and expresses a continuous action.

(217) *u=tafùt* *t-əḥmà=ya* *fəllì-s* *u=**t-əqqìm*** ***(t)-təttà*** *afiš=ànn-əs*
and=sun 3sf-burn:res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:ˣpf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3s
id=əlgəfà=nn-əs
with=neck=of-3s
'and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck' [PT:III]

(218) *Y-ufì=tən* ***ʕəmma mudà-n*** *lʕəṣər;*
3sm-find:ˣpf.=DO.3pm prog. pray:impf.-3pm afternoon.prayer
'He found them praying the afternoon prayer.' [PT:II]

10.6 Relative clauses and relative clause-like formations

Relative clauses, cleft sentences and question word sentences have similar constructions. One of the distinguishing features of relative clauses and relative clause-like constructions is the use of the so-called participle of the verb when the antecedent functions as the subject in the relative clause(-like) construction (see section 4.1.4).

10.6.1 Subject relative clauses

Subject relative clauses are introduced by a PMPH (see 6.3.1) that agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The verb of the relative clause takes the participle ending.

[4]cf. 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) *amàdən wa tárəv-ən nəttìn 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 təglúla-n dìla mrì-yət*
girl PMPH:sf play:impf.-ptc. at.here be.beautiful-3sf
'The girl who is playing here, is beautiful.' [P: s.v. che, il quale]

(221) *təmìgni ta ušà-n=d=a ṣàbəṭ 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=bəʕədèn y-əxzár af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs wa ẓẓàk-ən dax*
and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʕ=t
fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm
'And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry' [PT:III]

(223) *i-šərw=ìs ləhùdi s=alá ṣará-n=a.*
3sm-tell:ˇpf.=IO.3s Jew from=rel. happen:res.-ptc.=res.
'The Jew told him about what had happened.' [PT:V]

In the text corpus there is one case of a subject relative that has regular PNG-marking rather than the participle. This verb is followed by an indirect object pronoun. It may be that the participle form cannot receive pronominalized object clitics, and therefore the regular PNG-marking is used instead. Without more examples, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated.

(224) *wa y-əfki=dìk=a lʕàlla a=y-əfki=dìk ẇínan;*
PMPH:sm 3sm-give:res=IO.1s=res, much fut=3sm-give:fut.=IO.1s one:sm
'He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).' [PT:V]

10.6.2 Direct object relative clauses

A direct object relative clause is introduced by a PMPH which agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The clause takes a finite verb with PNG-marking that agrees with the subject. The verb sometimes has a resumptive direct object clitic.

Also in case of direct object relative clauses with a non-human incorporated antecedent, the relative pronoun *alá* is used.

(225) *amàdən wa šš̀ìn-x=a ṣəbəṭ ɣàr-əs lùda*
man PMPH:ms know:res.-1s=res. yesterday to-3s nothing
'The man whom I got to know yesterday is poor (litt. has nothing)' [PT: s.v. che, il quale]

(226) *u=šəmmà-n ksùm wa y-ərfìʕ=a;*
and=cook:ˣpf.-3pm meat PMPH:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res.
'and they cooked the meat that he had carried.' [PT:II]

(227) *u=bəʃədèn y-ərfəʕ əlmizàn=n-əs wa y-əḥməl=tì=ya*
and=then 3sm-lift:pf. scales=of-3s PMPH:ms 3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res.
'and then he lifted the scales that he had carried' [PT:III]

(228) *alá d-gì-t bàhi.*
rel. 2s-do:ˣpf.-2s be.good:3sm
'What(ever) you do is fine.' [PT:XV]

10.6.3 Indirect object relative clauses

Paradisi's materials do not contain examples of indirect object relative clauses.

10.6.4 Prepositional relative clauses

Prepositional relative clauses are introduced by a PMPH that agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The relative clause receives a preposition with a resumptive pronoun suffix or a locative adverb.

(229) *w=i-n=ís y=əttàžər **wa** y-uɣà=ya **sɣàr-əs** aẓìṭ:*
and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s dat.=merchant PMPH:ms 3sm-take:res.=res. from-3s donkey
'and said to the merchant whom he had taken the donkey from:' [PT:VII]

(230) *amkàn **wa** t-nàššа **gan** təmìgni*
place PMPH:sm 3sf-sleep:impf. there woman
'The place where that woman is sleeping.' [PT: s.v. che, il quale]

(231) *ssuwàni **ta** škì-x=a **z=gan** màšk-ət*
garden PMPH:sf leave:res.-1s=res. from=there be.small-2sf
'The garden that I left is small' [PT: s.v. che, il quale]

10.6.5 Non-verbal relative clauses

There is one example of a non-verbal relative clause. This is formed with the locative adverb *gan* 'there'.

(232) *bəʃədèn gì-x əddəmləž n=əddəhəb əlkəffət ta gàn əlmizàn;*
then put:ˣpf.-1s bracelet of=gold plate PMPH:sf there scales
'then I put a golden bracelet on the plate that was on the scales.' [PT:IV]

10.6.6 Adjoined relative clauses

It is possible to form a subject relative clause, with no marking at all. A finite verb simply follows the head clause, without using a PMPH or participle form of the verb. Such unmarked constructions also exist in other Berber languages, and are discussed in more detail in Galand (2010: 173). This use is especially common with stative verbs, but there are also examples where it occurs with non-stative verbs.

(233) *u=nəttìn iʕayáṭ w=itənn=ìs: ləmluxìyət bàh(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=aẓìṭ fəšùš, qəwi u=d=aẓìṭ mrì.*
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=bəʃədèn nəhìnət ufà-nət alàɣəm y-əmmùt=a*
and=then they(f) find:ˣpf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res.
'and then they found a dead camel' [PT:XV]

(236) *U=šəmmá-n=is sar=alàɣəm y-əmmùt-a*
and=cook:ˣpf.-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) *bəʃədèn y-ušà=d iwínan i-sàsa af=təfillì=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) *bàlək nəttìn wa nnìy-ən af=əlkətf=ə̀nn-ək.*
perhaps he PMPH:sm be(loc.):ˣpf.-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=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]

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 ṣará-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=mìddən lə̀wwəl kəddìm-ən*
I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-1s=res. from=people formerly old:mp
'This is what I heard from the old people once' [PT:II]

10.6.8 Question word sentences

Question word sentences behave like relative clauses, except that they do not use the PMPH to serve as relative pronouns. Therefore, subject questions word sentences take the participle form of the verb, while direct object question word sentences take the finite form, e.g.

(242) *máni ušá-n=d=a díla?*
who come:res.-ptc.=come=res. at.here
'who came here?' [P: s.v. chi?]

(243) *ddìwa d-gì-t=a?*
what 2s-do:res.-2s=res.
'what did you do?' [PT:II]

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?'

(244) *mag ì-nni ənnùṣṣ ən=təmùrt kkùll?*
where 3sm-be(loc.):ˣpf. middle of=earth whole
'Where is the middle of the whole earth?' [PT:VIII]

(245) *màg ənnìy-ən ləhil=ànn-ək.*
where exist:ˣpf.-3pm family=of-2sm
'Where is your family?' [PT:XV]

(246) *mmìn t-ušî-d=d=a díla?*
when 2s-come:res.-2s=come=res. at.here
'when did you arrive here?' [P: s.v. quando]

(247) *afìwa t-nə-d=dìk ká (or: ur=t-nə-d=dìk) žlan=ìya*
why 2s-say:ˣpf.-2s=1O.1S neg. neg.=2s-say:ˣpf.-2s=1O.1S words-prox.:p
'Why did you not tell me these words?' [PT:VI]

(248) *am=màgwa əlʕədəd nə=nžùm?*
like=what:sm number of=stars
'How much is the number of stars?' [PT:VIII]

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

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

(250) *s=màg t-ušì-d=d=a Abudàbr.*
from=where 2s-come:ˣpf.-2s=come=res. Abu.Dabr
'The ogre said to him: Where did you come from Abu-dabr?' [PT:XV]

10.6.8.1 *mag-wa* 'which? what?'

There is an interrogative 'which? what?' which agrees in gender and number with the noun it modifies. There are no examples of this question word in the texts or word list. Historically, it seems to consist of the question word *mag* 'where?' followed by a PMPH.

	sg.	pl.
m.	màg-wa	màg-wi
f.	màk-ta	màk-ti

While Paradisi provides the full paradigm of this interrogative, he does not provide any examples of its use, nor are there any attestations in the texts.

A specialized use of the interrogative *màg-wa* is found when it is combined with the preposition *am* 'like'. This sequence *am=mag-wa* has the meaning: 'how much? how many?'.

	sg.	pl.
m.	am=màg-wa	am=màg-wi
f.	am=màk-ta	am=màk-ti

Paradisi provides a full paradigm of this interrogative. Presumably, it agrees in gender and number with the noun that it refers to. The corpus provides us with two examples of this use of *am=màg-wa*, both in the masculine singular, agreeing with the predicate of the masculine singular word *əlʕədəd* 'number' :

(251) *am=màgwa əlʕədəd nə=nžùm?*
like=what:sm number of=stars
'How much is the number of stars?' [PT:VIII]

(252) *am=màgwa əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənn-ùk.*
like=what:sm number of=hairs of=beard=of-1S
'How much is the number of hairs of my beard?' [PT:VIII]

10.7 Clause linking

10.7.1 Coordination

10.7.1.1 Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrase coordination is achieved by placing the commitative preposition *id* 'with, and' between the two coordinated phrases.

(253) *a=ɣk-à=k aẓìṭ **id**=təlàba ɣar ʕədd ìdd-i ar=əlqàḍi.*
fut.=give:fut.-1s=10.2sm donkey with=gown but go:imp. with-1s to=judge
'I will give you a donkey and a gown, but you have to go with me to the judge.' [PT:V]

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

10.7.1.2 Clausal coordination

Clauses can be coordinated with the particle *u*[5] which has an allomorph *w* in front of vowels. This form of clause coordination is very common, and on this point Awjila differs radically from other Berber languages, that usually do not have a marking for clausal coordination (Kossmann 2013a: 339ff.).

(255) *Màrra y-uɣà=ya ksùm u=y-ušà=d y-əxṭìm=a*
once 3sm-take:res.=res. meat and=3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-pass.by:res.=res.
af=ammùd n=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq.
on=mosque of-sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
'One day, he had gotten meat and he passed by the mosque of Sidi Hamid Zarrouq' [PT:II]

When there is a sequence of actions marked by a sequential perfective, the coordinator *u, w* is sometimes absent.

(256) *u=t-ìva təmìgni t-əmmùt u=y-əqqìm y-əvdìd=a*
and=3sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die:ˣpf. and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-stand:res.=res.
agur=ànn-əs ir=a=y-ùš əlbulìs.
besides=of-3s until fut.=3sm-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 *naɣ* 'or' is placed between the two coordinated phrases.

(257) *y-əʕžəb=kù=ya naɣ y-əʕžəb=kù=ya ká?*
3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. or 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. neg.
'does it please you or doesn't it please you?' [PT:III]

[5]From Arabic *wa* 'and'.

(258) *wəḷḷàhi qàma a=ḥdəf-à=s tàs(ə)ʕa màyət id=tàs(ə)ʕa u=təsʕìn*
by.God now fut.=throw:fut.-1s=IO.3s nine hundred with=nine and=ninety
žnì w=a=ggulà-x=t a=y-uɣí=tənət naɣ wàla.
pound and=fut.=see:fut-1s=DO.3sm fut=3sm-take:fut.=DO.3pf or not.
'By God, now I will throw to him 999 pounds and see if he will take it or not.' [PT:III]

10.7.2 Adversative conjunctions

There are two adversative conjunctions: *làkən* 'but' and *ɣar* 'but'. Due to the paucity of attestations, it is not possible to determine a difference in meaning.

(259) ***làkən*** *akəllìm i-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən ká təbarùt*
but servant 3sm-know:ˣpf. neg. place and=3sm-know:ˣpf. neg. way
'But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way' [PT:X]

(260) ***làkən*** *y-əlɣəm a=i-gì=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-əxzár af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs wa ẓẓàk-ən dax*
and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʕ=t ***làkən*** *y-əkrí y-àvdəd u=bəʕədèn*
fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm but 3sm-return:ˣpf. 3sm-stop:seq. and=then
y-əmmùdd afus=ànn-əs y-əddùgg af=əlbàb
3sm-extend:ˣpf. hand=of-3s 3sm-knock:ˣpf. 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=fk-à=k aẓìṭ id=təlàba* ***ɣar*** *ʕədd ìdd-i ar=əlqàḍi.*
fut.=give:fut.-1s=IO.2sm donkey with=gown but go:imp. with-1s to=judge
'I will give you a donkey and a gown, but you have to go with me to the judge.' [PT:V]

(263) *la* ***ɣar*** *guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùṭ am=wa=nn-ùk*
no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res. robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s
w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk
and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s
'No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!' [PT:XI]

10.7.3 Complementation

There is only one example of a complementizer in the texts, the Arabic particle *ʔann-ək* which combines with the verb *əḥsàb* 'to think'.

(264) *əḥsáb-x=kù=ya ʔənn-ək ku d=nàk.*
think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmplzr.2sm you pred.=I
'(so) I figured that you are me!' [PT:XI]

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

(265) *la ɣar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùṭ am=wa=nn-ùk*
no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res. robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s
w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk
and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s
'No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!' [PT:XI]

10.7.4 Comparison

In comparisons, noun phrases are introduced with the preposition *am* 'like', verb phrases are introduced by *am* followed by the relative pronoun *alá*.

(266) *U=ga-n=ìs **am**=tàṭən.*
and=do:P-3pm=IO.3s like=other:sf
'And they did to her like (they did to) the other.' [PT:XV]

(267) *nəttìn məqqár am=nək*
he be.big:3sm like=I
'he is as big as me' [P: s.v. come]

(268) *i-g=ìs am=alá i-gà=ya y=umà-s*
3sm-do:ˣpf.=IO.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 ləḥkàyət axìr n=tà=nn-ək.*
now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=IO.2sm story better of=PMPH=of-2sm
'Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!' [PT:IV]

When the complement of *axìr* is verbal, no particle is placed in between *axìr* and the complement.

(270) *a=unà-x s=ədbuš=ənn-ùk axìr a=ukər-ən=tən qəṭṭáʕan.*
fut.=enter:fut.-1s with=clothes=of-1s better fut.=steal:fut.-3pm=DO.3sm thieves
'it would be better if I would enter with my clothes than if they would be stolen by thieves.' [PT:IX]

The word *axìr* is found in one other construction, where it is followed directly by the Arabic preposition + pronominal suffix *l-ək*.

(271) *amùr d-žižì-t s=alùwəl* ***axèr lək*** *ká?*
if 2s-sell:ˣpf.-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: *àndu, undú* 'if', *lukàn* 'if' and *amúr* 'if'.

àndun undú 'if' is used with hypothetical conditional clauses.

(272) ***àndu*** *t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kìm məʕá bəʕáḍkum a=tt-əqqíma-m*
if 2p-gather:ˣpf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
am=təɣariwin=ìyək
like=sticks-prox.:p
'if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.' [PT:I]

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

There is only one textual attestation of *amúr*, where it functions as counterfactual conditional.

(274) ***amùr*** *d-žižì-t s=alùwəl axèr lək ká?*
if 2s-sell:ˣpf.-2s from=before better to.you neg.
'Would it not have been better if you had sold (it) to me earlier?' [PT:III]

There is one example of *lukàn* in the texts. Like *amúr*, it functions as a counterfactual conditional.

(275) *nək* ***lukàn*** *wa* (*or: wàsa*) *a=mmudà-n* *dáffər-i*
I if PMPH:sm rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1s
a=i-ččì=t *afíw, məʕədč* *a=mmudà-x* *s=ḥìddan.*
fut.=3sm-eat:fut.=DO.3sm fire, no.longer fut.=pray:fut.-1s with=anyone
'If those who pray behind me would be eaten by fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.' [PT:II]

10.7.5.2 Temporal conjuctions

The main temporal conjunction is probably *mməg* 'when', but it is not attested in the texts. There is only a fragmentary example in Paradisi's word list:

(276) ***mməg*** *a=tt-uná-t* *ammúd=i*
when fut.=2s-enter:fut.-2s mosque=loc.
'when you will enter the mosque' [P: s.v. quando]

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

(277) ***bəʕád*** *ušì-ɣ=d* *unì-x* *ammùd=i,* *ufì-x=tən* *ʕəmma*
after go:ˣpf.-1s enter:ˣpf.-1s mosque=loc. find:ˣpf.-1s=DO.3pm prog.
mudà-n, *gì-x* *dìt-i* *ksùm* *u=qqimì-x* *mudì-x,* ***wènma***
pray:impf.-3pm put:ˣpf.-1s in.front-1s meat and=stay:ˣpf.-1s pray:impf.-1s as.soon.as
kəmmàl-x *ʕəddì-x;*
finish:ˣpf.-1s go:ˣpf.-1s
'After I went and entered the mosque, I found them praying, I put the meat in front of me and started praying, as soon as I finished, I went (away);' [PT:II]

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

(278) *zgi* *a=kəmmál-x*
after fut.=finish:fut.-1s
'after I will have finished' [P: s.v. dopo]

(279) *zgi* *y-ùna*
after 3sm-enter:seq.
'after he entered' [P: s.v. dopo]

ir 'until' is used as a preposition, but also occurs as a conjunction. The latter use is illustrated below.

(280) *U=škìy-ən ìdd-əs* ***ir****=a=hlàb-ən ašàl*
and=leave:P-3pm with-3s until=fut.=surpass:fut.-3pm village
'And they left with him until they were about to leave the village'

(281) *u=nəttìn i-ddəhwàr* ***ir****=i-ṭùg Žḥà.*
and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:ˣpf. Jha
'and he continued to go around until he met Jha.' [PT:VIII]

10.7.5.3 Cause

Causal subordinate clauses are introduced with *skámma, sámma* 'because'. This is only attested once in the texts.

(282) *U=nəttìn i-xəṭṭàm af=mìddən u=mìddən səllàm-ən fəllì-s*
and=he 3sm-meet.with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s
skàmma *məktar 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) *Bəʃədèn y-əfkì=t i=ddəllàl* ***dax*** *a=i-žižì=t.*
then 3sm-give:ˣpf.=DO.3sm dat.=auctioneer in.order.to fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
'Then he gave it to the auctioneer in order to sell it.' [PT:IV]

(284) *nək wa 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-tuɣa-(t)=tànət ənqəṣ-nìt=a naɣ wàla.
fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3pf lack:res.-3pf=res. or not
'I am the one who has thrown it to you in order to see if you would take them missing (one pound) or not.' [PT:V]

(285) *u=bəʃədèn y-əxzár af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs wa ẓẓàk-ən* ***dax***
and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʃ=t
fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm b
'And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry' [PT:III]

Zanon's Song 12 also has this particle *dax* 'in order to, so that', but in this text, it is not followed by a future but by a perfective.

(286) *ənṭər fəll-ək tita ən=tikwàyt* ***dax*** *t-ərfʔ-t əttəšwàyt*
abandon:imp. on-2sm hitting of=ball in.order.to 2s-raise:ˣpf.-2s couscous
'Abandon (to you) the playing (litt. hitting) of the ball; So that you may raise (the lid off) the couscous!'

Part II

Appendices

Appendix A

Müller's material

Much of Müller's material, as illustrated in the introduction of this book is of very bad quality. Whenever Müller has a word which is attested in Paradisi, or has very clear Berber cognates it has been included into the word list.

The vast majority of the remaining words appear to be Arabic words, which Müller collected from an Arab-speaking informant. Some of the words may be loanwords in Awjila.

For nouns it is often possible to determine that the words presented are Arabic, rather than Arabic loanwords in Awjila. As has been discussed in section 3.3, Arabic nouns are almost always loaned with the Arabic definite article attached, and feminine nouns usually have the suffix *-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 بـلـغـه (sub: soulier), cf. Ar. *bulġa*(*t*) 'slipper of yellow leather'
boum بـوم (sub: hibou), cf. Ar. *būm* 'owl'
hasir حصيـر (sub: natte), cf. Ar. *ḥaṣīr* 'mat'
louh لـوح (sub: planche), cf. Ar. *lauḥ* 'board, plank'
michmech مـشمـش (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 قـرد (sub: singe), cf. Ar. *qird* 'monkey'
garaz قـرص (sub: piquer), cf. Ar. *qaraṣa* 'to bite, sting'
gasem قـسم (sub: partager), cf. Ar. *qasama* 'to divide'
magsoum مـقـسوم (sub: peigné), cf. Ar. *maqsūm* 'divided'
rghig رقـيـق (sub: menu), cf Ar. *raqīq* 'thin; slender, slim'

Although the vast majority of the forms not discussed in the word list are clearly of Arabic origin, other words remain which look as if they have Berber morphology, but cannot be connected to a Berber cognate in other berber languages.

Some other words which have not been included are words that have Berber feminine noun morphology, but have an Arabic origin. It is likely that these are genuine Awjila loanwords, as we would not understand how Arabic acquired the Berber morphology in these nouns. It is not surprising that these words are not attested in Paradisi's material, as he specifically filtered Arabic loanwords from his word list as much as possible. The few words that belong to this group of likely real Awjila loanwords are:

tagasibat تـقـصبـة(sub: roseau), cf. Ar. *qaṣaba*(*t*) 'reed'
tahallaqat تـحلّقـت (sub: rond), cf. Ar. *ḥalqa*(*t*) 'ring, link; cirlce'
tekhimet تـخيـمـة (sub: tente), cf. Ar. *ḫayma*(*t*) 'tent'
tékhandjiart تـخـنـجرت (sub: couteau), cf. Ar. *ḫanžar* '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 تـحـا ديـت (s.v.: echelle)
tharned طرنـد (s.v.: hirondelle)
thazerdaght طز ر د غت (s.v.: chat)
talqomt تـعـلـقـمت (s.v.: salive)
tétoutah تـطـوطـه (s.v.: femme), perhaps Pan-Berber *tamәṭṭuṭt* 'woman' > *tәmṭuṭt* > *tәnṭuṭt* > *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 بـرّد (s.v.: réfroidir), cf. Ar. *barrada* 'to cool, chill'
hakk حكّ (s.v.: racler; ratisser), cf. Ar. *ḥakka* 'to rub, scrape'
gasem قـسم (s.v.: partager), *magsoum* مـقـسوم (s.v.: peigné) cf. Ar. *qasama, maqsūm* 'to divide'
haraq حرق (s.v.: brûler), *mahrouq* مـحـروق (s.v.: brûlé), cf. Ar. *ḥaraqa, maḥrūq* 'to burn'

khalath خ ل ط (s.v.: mêler), *makhlouth* مـخـلـوط (s.v.: mêlé), cf Ar. *ḫalaṭa , maḫlūṭ* 'to mix'
retteb رطّب (s.v.: adoucir; amollir), cf. Ar. *raṭṭaba* 'to moisten; to cool; to soothe'

Some verbs in Müller's list are obviously of Arabic origin, but have remnants of Awjila morphology, such as the resultative *=a* clitic, or object pronoun clitics. Müller clipped these words incorrectly, which results in several curious forms which cannot be analyzed morphologically. Such verbs have not been included in the main word list, but are probably genuine loanwords from Arabic in Awjila.

In case of resultative formations some care needs to be taken. From the many artificial passive participle forms that we find, we can deduce that Müller created some verb forms himself, rather than eliciting them from informants. Perhaps he interpreted the resultative formation as a form of making an infinitive, in which case such forms may be completely artificial. Examples are listed below.

fehmés فـهـمس (s.v.: comprendre), cf. Ar. *fahima* 'to understand' with the IO 3sg pronoun *-is*.
amartet امـرتـت (s.v.: finir) *tamartet* تـامـرتـت (s.v.: fini), cf. Ar. *ʕamura* 'to thrive, propser' with the DO 3sg.m. pronoun *-tət*
semmas سمّـاس (s.v.: nommer) *mesemmas* مـسمّـاس (s.v.: nomme), cf. Ar. *sammā* 'to name' with the IO 3sg pronoun *-is*.
yédabah يـدبـه (s.v.: fondre), *médabah* مـدبـه (s.v.: fondu), cf. Ar. *ḏāba* 'to melt', probably a resultative.
yéghléthah يـغـلـط (s.v.: abuser (s'), se tromper), cf. Ar. *ġaliṭa* 'to make a mistake; to be mistaken'
yéghabah يـغـابـه (s.v.: absenter) *aghab* ا غـاب (s.v.: absence), cf. Ar. *ġāba* '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 يـد لاّ (s.v.: approcher)
yéfella يـفـلاّ (s.v.: las (être)
yougheya يـو غيّـه (s.v.: aider)

yekmiya يـخـمـيـه (s.v.: pourri), *ekhmiya* اخـمـيـه (s.v.: pourriture)
yakareina يـاكـريـنـا (s.v.: carré)
attébaya اتّـبـايـه (s.v.: unir), *mettebaya* مـتّـبـايـه (s.v.: uni)

Appendix B

Beguinot's & Paradisi's transcriptions

Beguinot	Paradisi	
gîdeven [B24]	gīdéven	wolves, jackals
tnebrét [B21]	tenébret	needle
áġareš [B21]	aġăréš	to slaughter

Table B.1: Words with a different accent in Beguinot

Beguinot	Paradisi	
agîdev, egīdév [B24]	agîdev	wolf, jackal
ežefû, eževû, eğevû [B21;B24]	aževû, ažévū	hair

Table B.2: Words with a variable accent in Paradisi or Beguinot

Beguinot	Paradisi	
ġaš [B21]	aġáš	to love
kereš [B21]	keréš, ĕkréš	to tie, knot
keš [B21]	ĕkkéš, kkéš	to take off, remove
teništ [B21]	tĕnīšt	key
ereš [B21]	íreš, ére̊š	to descend
šugg	šugg	to wait
šen [B21]	ššen	to know
štāf [B21]	štå̂f, štǻf	black
šu [B21]	šu	to drink

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

Beguinot	Paradisi	
tedûšt [B21]	tedûšt	belly
afúdd [B21]	afûd, afúdd	knee
tegîli [B21]	tgîli, tĕgîli, tĕgîlī	head
tegīliwîn [B21]	tgīliwîn	heads
tagirîšt [B21], tigirîšt [B21;B25]	tegẹrîšt	winter
âġĕf, âġĕv [B24]	āġĕv, āġf, âġf	milk
ettiwîn [B21]	tīwîn	eyes
tekdîrt [B21]	tĕkedîrt	ear (bot.)
tkenzîrt, tkinzîrt [B21]	tkẹnzîrt	nose
tkerrišt [B21]	tkerrîšt	knot
timzîn, temezîn [B21]	timẓîn, tẹmẓîn	barley
imîn [B21]	imîn	water
terekéft [B21]	terekéft	caravan
uréfġ [B21;B24]	uréfḫ	to write, pf.1sg.
yurév [B21;B24]	yurév	to write, pf.3sg.m.
arrâf, arrâv [B21;B24]	arrâv	writing
irîu [B21]	irîu	boy, child
tereggît [B25]	tĕreggît	ember
tisî [B21]	tīsî	egg
tsunût, tsenût	tsunût, tsenût	thick needle
tsenūtîn	tsenūttîn, tsenūtîn	needle
šġîren [B21]	šġîrẹn, šġîren	firewood
tašûmt [B21]	tašûmt	pillow
šwâša [B21]	ašuwâša	this year
ášfa [B24]	ášfa	today
vîu [B21]	vîu, vvîu	bean
vîwen, evîwen [B21]	ĕvvîwẹn	beans
yevdîda [B24]	yevdîda	to stand, res.3sg.m.
tevél, tvel [B24]	tevél	sheep
tvitîn, dvittîn [B24]	dvittîn	sheep (pl.)
evrûn, vrūn [B24]	vrūn, ävrûn	flour
zîwen [B21]	zzîwen	breasts
azamâk [B21]	aẓamâk	sewing
tižîri [B21]	težîrī	small rope
zîu [B21]	zzā́ī	breast

Table B.4: Words with identical accent in Paradisi and Beguinot

Appendix C

Texts

C.1 Texts from Paradisi

C.1.1 Text I

C.1.1.1 Original transcription

Márra gān amę́dęn amoqqårân u qårîb ayemmût w-iwîn n īšf illûm ameẓ-ẓînnes w-ifkîsīn elḥázmet n tĕġarīwîn w-inīsîn: yaḫât ărẓâttet. U yuġîtęt kull iwīnân s-ġarsîn iġélli āīrẓîtęt, yezmęr-ká, baʿadên yuġîtęt šš̆âref u yuffukkîtęt u yefkâ kull iwîn tă̆ġarît. Baʿadên kull iwîn yuġâ tă̆ġarît u yerẓîtęt fîsa fîsa. Baʿadên inīsîn: akkâ, kemmîm am tġarīwīn-îyek, úndu tellūmâm (anche: tellummâm) imannekîm maʿá baʿáḍkum attĕqqîmām am tĕġarīwīn-îyäk, úndu tellūmâm-ká imannekîm attĕqîmām am iwatân n tĕġarît izmîra köll-iwîn ayerẓîtęt bišwâš. U inīsîn: llummât imannekîm, āīssaʿadkîm ṛǻbbi.

C.1.1.2 Phonemic transcription

Márra gan amədən aməqqəràn u=qərìb a=yəmmùt w=iwìn n=išf illùm aməẓẓì=nnəs w=ifk=ísin əlḥèzmət n=təɣariwìn w=in=isìn: yaxàt arẓàt=tət. U=yuɣì=tət kull iwinàn sɣar=sìn iɣèlli a=irẓì=tət, yəzmər ká, bəʃədèn yuɣì =tət šš̆àrəf u=yufukkì=tət u=yəfká kull iwìn təɣarìt. Bəʃədèn kull iwìn yuɣá təɣarìt u=yərẓì=tət fìsa fìsa. Bəʃədèn in=isìn: akká, kəmmìm am=tɣariwin=ìyək, əndu[1] təllumàm (or: təllummàm) iman=nəkìm məʃá bəʃáḍ =kum a=ttəqqímam am=təɣariwin=ìyək, təllumàm ká iman=nəkìm a=ttəqímam am=iwatàn n=təɣarìt izmìra kull iwìn a=yərẓì=tət bišwàš. U=ini =sìn: llummàt iman=nəkìm, a=issəʃəd=kìm ṛəbbi.

C.1.1.3 Glossed translation

(287) *Márra gan amàdən aməqqəràn u=qərìb a=y-əmmùt*
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.'

[1]Perhaps *ùndu*

(288) *w=iwìn n=išf i-llùm amәzẓìn=n-әs w=i-fk=ísin*
and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:ˣpf. sons=of-3s and=3sm-give:ˣpf.=IO.3pm
әlḥàzmәt n=tәɣariwìn w=i-n=isìn: yax-àt
bundle of=sticks and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm take:imp.-pm
arẓ-àt=tәt.
break:imp.-pm=DO.3sf
'And one day he gathered his sons and gave them a bundle of sticks and said to them: Take and break it!'

(289) *U=y-uɣì=tәt kull iwinàn sɣar-sìn i-ɣàlli*
And=3sm-take:ˣpf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:ˣpf.
a=i-rẓì=tәt, y-әzmәr ká
fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:ˣpf. neg.
'And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.'

(290) *bәʕәdèn y-uɣì=tәt šššàrәf u=y-uffukkì=tәt u=y-әfká*
Then 3sm-take:ˣpf.=DO.3sf old.man and=3sm-untie:ˣpf.=DO.3sf and=3sm-give:pf.
kull iwìn tәɣarìt.
each one:sm stick
'Then the old man took it and untied it and gave each one a stick.'

(291) *Bәʕәdènkullkull iwìn y-uɣá tәɣarìt u=y-әrẓì=tәt fisa fisa.*
Then each one:sm 3sm-take:P stick and=3sm-break:ˣpf.=DO.3sf quickly quickly
'Then each one took the stick and broke it quickly.'

(292) *BәʕәdènBәʕәdèn i-n=isìn: akká, kәmmìm am=tɣariwin=ìyәk, àndu*
Then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if
t-әllumà-m iman=nә-kìm mәʕá bәʕáḍkum a=tt-әqqíma-m
2p-gather:ˣpf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
am=tәɣariwin=ìyәk
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.'

- *mәʕá bәʕáḍkum* is a completely Arabic phrase.
- *attәqqímam* breaks the general accent rule that a final heavy syllable always takes the accent. There is no obvious explanation for this.

(293) *t-әllumà-m ká iman=nә-kìm a=tt-әqíma-m am=iwatàn*
2pm-gather:ˣpf.-2pm neg. self=of-2pm fut.=2pm-remain:fut.-2pm like=one:sf
n=tәɣarìt i-zmìr=a kull iwìn a=y-әrẓì=tәt bišwàš.
of=stick 3sm-be.able:res.=res. each one:sm fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf easily

'(If) you do not gather yourself, you will remain like one stick: Everybody is able to break it easily.'

(294) *U=i-n=isìn: llumm-àt iman=nə-kìm,*
and=3sm-say:ˇpf.=10.3pm gather:imp.-pm self=of-2pm
a=i-ssəʕəd=kìm ṛəbbi.
fut.=3sm-help:fut.=DO.2pm God
'And he said to them: Gather yourselves and God will help you.'

C.1.2 Text II

C.1.2.1 Original transcription

Gān iwînān n-amędęn ašâl n-awîlęn. Márra yuġâya ksûm u yušâd yaḫṭîma af ammûd n sîdi Ḥámed ěz-Zarrûq. Yufîten ʿámma mūdân lʿáṣår; yûnā ammûd-ī w-íddes ksûm. Iggît dîta w-alimâm sîdi Ḥámed ěz-Zarrûq u baʿád ikkémmel yaʿádd irrṓūwaḥ u šummân ksûm wa yerfíʿa; ʿala-má fekkān-îs afîu yelġắm ayémm. Baʿadên yaʿádd yęnšed ărrafåqắnnes wi ižīnâna nettîn idsîn ksûm. Nānîs: nekkenî nĕšummitîya u nčitîya. Inīsîn: nek ʿalamá fekkâs afîu yelġắm ayémm. Nānîs: ddîwa dgîta? Inīsîn: baʿád ušîġd unîḫ ammûd-ī, ufîḫtęn ʿámma mūdân, gíḫ dîtī ksûm u qqăimîḫ mūdîḫ, węn-mā kemmélḫ ʿaddîḫ; wa d-elâ ṣārâna. Nānîs ĕrrafåqắnnes: ʿádd anîst i-sîdi Ḥámed ăz-Zarrûq. Yaʿádd inîst am-alâ nānîsa. Węn-mā inîst i-sîdi Ḥámed ěz-Zarrûq, inîs: nek lukân wā (anche: wâsa) ammūdân déffer-ī āīččît afîu, maʿádč ammudáḫ s-ḥíddan. Inîs: ksūm-âya ġâręk ʿádd keffént, u ʿádd mtît žebbânet; yaʿádd yemtît u yåqqîm iḫabbâr míddęn. Węnmā slânt míddęn n ašâl kúll, ušând ġallîyęn ammūdân kull déffer-a wammûd meššék iġęlli-ká ayûġ míddęn n ašâl. Yeḫammém elfękrénnes sîdi Ḥaméd, illúff dbāšénnes w-inīsîn: ġallîḫ aʿddaáḫ (sic) fḥâlī. Nānîs lĕhál n ašâl: annaʿádd kull-íddek. U škîyęn íddes ir ahlébęn ašâl u baʿadén inīsîn: ṣbårât annākîm nek d-awîl tlâta marrât îlā yōm ĕlqiyâma: wâsa anzurrân s-ġarkîm aʿayyáṭen-dîk tălâta marrât; āūšâzd w-affukkáḫt. Undú ušiġd-ká, anmḥâseb nęk íddes yōm ĕlqiyâma.

Nek wa d-elâ slîḫa s-ār míddęn lṓūwel keddîmen, ḫakkân-dîk af sîdi Ḥámed ez-Zarrûq.

C.1.2.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan iwínan n=amədən ašàl n=awìlən. Màrra yuɣà=ya ksùm u=yušàd yəxṭìm=a af=ammùd n=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq. Yufì=tən ʕəmma mudàn lʕəṣər; yùna ammùd=i w=ìddəs ksùm. Iggì=t dìta w=alimàm sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq

u=bəʕəd ikkəmməl yəʕədd irrəwwəḥ u=šəmmən ksùm wa yərfiʕ=a; ʕalamá fəkkan=ìs afìw yəlɣəm a=yəmm. Bəʕədènyəʕədd yənšəd ərrəfəq=ənnəs wi ižinən=a nəttìn idsìn ksùm. Nan=ìs: nəkkəní nəšummi=tì=ya u nči=tì=ya. In=isìn: nək ʕəla-má fəkkà=s afìw yəlɣəm a=yəmm. Nan=ìs: ddìwa dgìt=a? In=isìn: bəʕəd ušiɣ=d unìx ammùd=i, ufix=tən ʕəmma mudən, gìx dìti ksùm u=qqimìx mudìx, wèn-ma kəmməlx ʕəddìx; wa d=əlá ṣarán=a. Nan=ìs ərrafəq=ənnəs: ʕədd an=ìs=t i=sìdi Ḥəməd əz-Zarruq. Yəʕədd in=ìs=t am=alá nan=ìs=a. Wèn-ma in=ìs=t i=sìdi Ḥəməd əz-Zarrùq, in=ìs: nək lukán wa (or: wàsa) a=mmudən dəffəri a=iččì=t afìw, məʕədč ammudəx s=ḥìddan. In=ìs: ksum=àya ɣàrək ʕədd kəffən=t, u=ʕədd mtì=t žəbbənət; yəʕədd yəmtì=t u=yəqqìm ixəbbər mìddən. wèn-ma slən=t míddən n=ašàl kùll, ušən=d ɣəllìyən a=mmudən kull dəffəra w=ammùd məššək iɣəlli ká a=yùɣ mìddən n=ašàl. Yəxəmməm əlfəkr=ənnəs sìdi Ḥáməd, illùff dbaš=ənnəs w=in=isìn: ɣəllìx a=ʕəddəx fḥàli. Nan=ìs ləhəl n=ašàl: a=nnəʕədd kull ìddək. U=škìyən ìddəs ir=a=hlèbən ašàl u=bəʕədèn in=isìn: ṣbərət anna=kìm nək d=awìl tlàta marràt ìla yom əlqiyàma: wàsa a=nzurràn sɣar=kìm a=ʕəyyáṭən=dìk təlàta marràt; a=ušà=z=d w=a=ffukkàx=t. Undú ušiɣ=d ká, a=nmḥàsəb nək ìddəs yom əlqiyàma.

Nək wa d=əlá slìx=a sar mìddən ləwwəl kəddìmən, ḥəkkàn=dìk af=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq.

C.1.2.3 Glossed translation

(295) *Gan iwínan n=amədən ašàl n=awìlən.*
there one:ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people
'There once was a man in the village of Aujila'

(296) *Màrra y-uɣà=ya ksùm u=y-ušà=d y-əxṭìm=a*
once 3sm-take:res.=res. meat and=3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-pass.by:res.=res.
af=ammùd n=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq.
on=mosque of-sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
'One day, he had gotten meat and he passed by the mosque of Sidi Hamid Zarrouq'

(297) *Y-ufì=tən ʕəmma mudà-n lʕəṣər;*
3sm-find:ˣpf.=DO.3pm prog. pray:impf.-3pm afternoon.prayer
'He found them praying the afternoon prayer.'

(298) *y-ùna ammùd=i w=ìdd-əs ksùm.*
3sm-enter:seq. mosque=loc. and=with-3s meat
'He entered the mosque, and with him (was) the meat'

(299) *I-ggì=t dìt-a w=alimàm sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq u=bəʕád*
3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm and=imam sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq and=after
i-kkàmməl y-əʕàdd i-rrəwwəḥ u=šəmmà-n ksùm wa
3sm-finish:ˣpf. 3sm-go:ˣpf. 3sm-return:ˣpf. and=cook:ˣpf.-3pm meat PMPH:ms
y-ərfìʕ=a;
3sm-lift.up:res.=res.
'He put it in front of him and the imam (was) Sidi Hamid Zarrouq and after he finished, he went home and they cooked the meat that he had carried.'

(300) *ʕalamá fəkka-n=ìs afìw y-əlɣám a=y-àmm.*
as.much.as give:impf.-3pm=IO.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
'No matter how much fire they would give it, it refused to cook.'

(301) *BəʕədènBəʕədèn y-əʕàdd y-ànšəd ərrəfəq=ànn-əs wi ižinà-n=a*
then 3sm-go:ˣpf. 3sm-ask:seq. companions=of-3s PMPH:pm divide:res.-3pm=res.
nəttìn id-sìn ksùm.
he with-3pm meat.
'Then he went and asked his companions whom he had divided the meat with.'

(302) *Na-n=ìs: nəkkəní n-əšummi=tì=ya u=n-či=tì=ya.*
say:ˣpf.-3pm=IO.3s we 1p-cook:res.=DO.3sm=res. and=1p-eat:res.=DO.3sm=res.
'They said to him: We've cooked it and eaten it.'

(303) *I-n=isìn: nək ʕəlamá fəkk-à=s afìw y-əlɣám*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=IO.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf.
a=y-àmm.
fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
'He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.'

(304) *Na-n=ìs: ddìwa d-gì-t=a?*
say:ˣpf.-3pm=IO.3s what 2s-do:res.-2s=res.
'They said to him: what did you do?'

(305) *I-n=isìn: bəʕəd ušì-ɣ=d unì-x ammùd=i, ufì-x=tən*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm after go:ˣpf.-1s enter:ˣpf.-1s mosque=loc. find:ˣpf.-1s=DO.3pm
ʕàmma mudà-n, gì-x dìt-i ksùm u=qqimì-x mudì-x,
prog. pray:impf.-3pm put:ˣpf.-1s in.front-1s meat and=stay:ˣpf.-1s pray:impf.-1s
wènma kəmməl-x ʕəddì-x; wa d=əlá ṣará-n=a.
as.soon.as finish:ˣpf.-1s go:ˣpf.-1s PMPH:sm pred.=rel. happen:res.-ptc=res.
'He said to them: After I went and entered the mosque, I found them praying, I put the meat in front of me and started praying, as soon as I finished, I went (away); that is what happened.'

(306) *Na-n=ìs ərrafəq=ànn-əs: ʕàdd an=ìs=t*
say:ˣpf.-3pm=IO.3s companions=of-3s go:imp. say:imp.=IO.3s=DO.3sm
i=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarruq.
dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
'His companions said to him: Go and tell it to Sidi Hamid Zarrouq.'

(307) *Y-əʕàdd i-n=ìs=t am=alá na-n=ìs=a.*
3sm-go:ˣpf. 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s=DO.3s like=rel. say:res.-3pm=IO.3s=res.
'He went and told it to him like they had told him'

(308) *Wènma i-n=ìs=t i=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq, i-n=ìs:*
as.soon.as 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s
nək lukàn wa (*or: wàsa*) *a=mmudà-n dáffər-i*
I if PMPH:sm rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1s
a=i-ččì=t afìw, məʕàdč a=mmudà-x s=ḥìddan.
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 fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.'

(309) *I-n=ìs: ksum=àya ɣàr-ək ʕàdd kəffən=t, u=ʕàdd*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s meatˣpf.prox.:s to-2sm go:imp. wrap:imp.=DO.3sm and
mtì=t žəbbànət;
go:imp. bury:imp.=DO.3sm cemetery
'He said to him: This meat you have, go wrap it and go bury it in the cemetery.'

- Note that *žəbbànət* lacks a locative *-i*, although it is clearly a locative 'in the cemetery'

(310) *y-əʕàdd y-əmtì=t u y-əqqìm i-xəbbàr mìddən.*
3sm-go:ˣpf. 3sm-bury:ˣpf.=DO.3sm and 3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-tell:impf. people
'He went and buried it and he started telling people (about what had happened).'

(311) *wènma slà-n=t míddən n=ašàl kùll, ušà-n=d*
as.soon.as hear:ˣpf.-3pm=DO.3sm people of=village all come:ˣpf.-3pm=come
ɣəllìy-ən a=mmudà-n kull dáffər-a w=ammùd məššák
want:ˣpf.-3pm fut.=pray:fut.-3pm all behind-3sm and=mosque be.small:ms
i-ɣəlli ká a=y-ùɣ mìddən n=ašàl.
3sm-want:ˣpf. neg. fut.=3sm-take:fut. people of=village
'As soon as all the people of the village heard it, they came and all wanted to pray behind him and the small mosque did not want to take the people of the village (because it was too small)'

(312) *Y-əxəmmám əlfəkr=ànn-əs sìdi Ḥáməd, i-llùff dbaš=ànn-əs*
3sm-think:pf. thought=of-3s sidi.Hamid 3sm-wrap.up:ˣpf. stuff=of-3s
w=i-n=isìn: ɣəllì-x a=ʃəddà-x fḥàli.
and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm want:ˣpf.-1s fut.=go:fut.-1s by.myself
'Sidi Hamid thought his thouht, wrapped up his stuff and said to them: I want to go by myself.'

· Notice that *yəxəmmám* 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 **cc̄c** verbs.

(313) *Na-n=ìs ləhàl n=ašàl: a=n-nəʃàdd kull ìdd-ək.*
say:P-3pm=IO.3s people of=village fut.=1p-go:fut. all with-2sm
'The people of the village said to him: We will all go with you.'

(314) *U=škìy-ən ìdd-əs ir=a=hlàb-ən ašàl u=bəʃədèn*
and=leave:P-3pm with-3s until=fut.=surpass:fut.-3pm village and=then
i-n=isìn: ṣbər-àt a=nn-a=kìm nək d=awìl tlàta
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-1s=IO.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three
marràt ìla yom əlqiyàma:
times until.the.day.of.resurrection
'And they left with him until they were about to leave the village and then he said to them: Wait! I will say to you that I will be a person from Aujila three times until the day of resurrection.'

(315) *wàsa a=nzurrà-n sɣar-kìm a=ʃəyyáṭ-ən=dìk təlàta marràt;*
rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from-2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=IO.1s three times
a=uš-à=z=d w=a=ffukkà-x=t.
fut.=come:fut.-1s=IO.3s=come and=fut.=solve:fut.-1s=DO.3sm
'Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times; and I will come and remove it (the suffering).'

(316) *Undú uši-ɣ=d ká, a=n-mḥàsəb nək ìdd-əs yom əlqiyàma.*
if come:ˣpf.-1s neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection
'If I do not come, we —him (who suffers) and me— will settle the score at the day of resurrection.'

(317) *Nək wa d=əlá slì-x=a sar=mìddən làwwəl kəddìm-ən,*
I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-1s=res. from=people formerly old:mp
ḥəkkà-n=dìk af=sìdi Ḥàməd əz-Zarrùq.
tell:impf.-3pm=IO.1s on=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq.
'This is what I heard from the old people once, they always told me about Sidi Hamid Zarrouq.'

C.1.3 Text III

C.1.3.1 Original transcription

Gān iwînn̄ān yerfîʿa af tĕgīlînnes elḥáml ẓẓâk s-ġâr lemluḫîyet w-ižīgâž źenqîn-ī n ašâl u nettîn iʿāyâṭ w-itennîs: lemluḫîyet bâhĭyet. W-ižīgâž ggût išfîwan u ižîž lûda u tāfût taḥmâya fellîs u taqqîm tettâ afīšénnes id elgefánnes u tåqqîm am ĕžžaḥîm fellîs u nettîn llekká ižīgâž u iʿāyâṭ: ĕlmluḫîyet bâhĭyet. U taḫzér ġâres tẹmígnī w-ĕtnîs: i-kú a-wán lemluḫîyet. U yäḫzér nettîn ġâres w- igâ elḥamĕlénnes dît n tẹmígnī u tenšédt: z-dîwa? Inîs: ssébaʿa n millîm. Tnîs ennât: s-árbaʿa béss. Inîs: árbaʿa ḥénṭā. Tnîs: nek nâka s-árbaʿa n millîm, yaʿžẹb-kûya nāġ yaʿžeb-kûya-ká? Inîs: yaʿžebîya-ká. Tnîs: blaš, u tåqqå̆š elbâb fellîs u baʿadên yeḫzér af elḥamĕlénnes wa-ẓẓâken daḫ ayerfáʿt lâkẹn yekrî yévded u baʿadên yemmúdd afūs-énnes yeddúgg af elbâb u teškî tĕmígnī ġâres w-ĕtnîs: amûr džīžît s-alûwel aḫêr-lek-ká? Yekrī-ká fellîs žlân u baʿadên yerfáʿ ĕlmīzânnes wa yaḥmeltîya u yeḫbóṭṭ af tĕgîlī n tẹmígnī u tívā temígnī temmût u yeqqîm yevdîda agūrénnes ir ayûš el-bulîs.

C.1.3.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan iwínan yərfìʕ=a af=təgilì=nnəs əlḥàml ẓẓàk sɣàr ləmluxìyət w=ižigàž dzənqìn=i n ašàl u=nəttìn iʕayáṭ w=itənn=ìs: ləmluxìyət bàh(ə)yət. W=ižigàž ggùt išfìwən u=ižìž lùda u=tafùt təḥmà=ya fəllìs u=təqqìm təttà afiš=ənnəs id=əlgəfà=nnəs u=təqqìm am=əžžəḥìm fəllìs u=nəttìn lləkká ižigàž u=iʕayàṭ: əlmluxìyət bàh(ə)yət. U=təxzár ɣàrəs təmìgni w=ətn=ìs: i=kú a=wá=n ləmluxìyət. U=yəxzár nəttìn ɣàrəs w=igá əlḥəm(ə)l=ənnəs dìt n=təmìgni u=tənšəd=t: z=dìwa? In=ìs: ssəb(ə)ʕa n=millìm. Tn=ìs ənnàt: s=àrb(ə)ʕa bəss. In=ìs: árb(ə)ʕa ḥənṭa. Tn=ìs: nək nà=k=a s=árb(ə)ʕa n=millìm, yəʕžəb=kù=ya nay yəʕžəb=kù=ya ká? In=ìs: yəʕžəb=ì=ya ká. Tn=ìs: blaš, u=təqqə́š əlbàb fəllìs u=bəʕədèn yəxzár af=əlḥəm(ə)l=ənnəs wa ẓẓàkən dax a=yərfəʕ=t làkən yəkrí yəvdəd u=bəʕədèn yəmmùdd afus =ənnəs yəddùgg af=əlbàb u=təškí təmìgni ɣàrəs w=ətn=ìs: amùr džižìt s=alùwəl axèr lək ká? Yəkri ká fəll=ìs žlàn u=bəʕəèn yərfáʕ əlmizàn=nəs wa yəḥməl=tì=ya u yəxbə̀ṭ=ṭ af=təgìli n=təmìgni u=tìva təmìgni təmmùt u=yəqqìm yəvdìd=a agur=ənnəs ir=a=yùš əlbulìs.

C.1.3.3 Glossed translation

(318) *Gan iwínan y-ərfìʕ=a af=təgilì=nn-əs əlḥàml ẓẓàk*
there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
sɣàr=ləmluxìyət w=ižigàž dzənqìn=i n=ašàl u=nəttìn iʕayáṭ
from=mulukhiya and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.

w=itənn=ìs: ləmluxìyət bàh(ə)y-ət.
and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf
'There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head, and he would walk in the street of the village and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!'

(319) *W=i-žigàž ggùt išfìwən u=i-žìž lùda u=tafùt*
and=3sm-walk:impf. many days and=3sm-sell:ˣpf. nothing and=sun
t-əḥmà=ya fəllì-s u=t-əqqìm (t)-təttà afiš=ənn-əs id=əlgəfà=nn-əs
3sf-burn:res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:ˣpf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3s with=neck=of-3s
u=t-əqqìm am=əžžəḥìm fəllì-s u=nəttìn lləkká i-žigàž
and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. like=hell on-3s and=he still 3sm-walk:impf.
u=i-ʕayàṭ: əlmluxìyət bàhəy-ət.
and=3sm-yell:impf. mulukhiya be.good-3sf
'And he would walk many days and he sold nothing and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck, and stayed upon him like the (fires of) hell and still he would walk and yell: good mulukhiya!'

(320) *U=t-əxzár ɣàr-əs təmìgni w=ət-n=ìs: i=kú a=wá=n*
and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman and=3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s hey=you voc.=PMPH:ms=of
ləmluxìyət.
mulukhiya.
'And a woman looked at him and said: Hey you there, the one of with the mulukhiya'

(321) *U=y-əxzár nəttìn ɣàr-əs w=i-gá əlḥəməl=ənn-əs dìt n=təmìgni*
and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s in.front of=woman
u=t-ənšəd=t: zdìwa?
and=3sf-ask:ˣpf.=DO.3sm how.much
'And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman and she asked him: how much?'

(322) *I-n=ìs: s=səbəʕa n=millìm.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s with=seven of=milliem
'He said to her: For seven milliemes.'

(323) *T-n=ìs ənnàt: s=àrbəʕa bəss.*
3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s she: with=four enough
'She said to him: for four (milliemes should be) enough.'

(324) *I-n=ìs: àrbəʕa ḥənṭa.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s four little
'He said to her: Four is (too) little.'

(325) *T-n=ìs: nək n-à=k=a s=àrbəʃa n=millìm,*
3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s I say:res.-1s=IO.2sm=res. with=four of=milliem,
y-əʃžəb=kù=ya nayˠ y-əʃžəb=kù=ya ká?
3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. or 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. neg.
'She said to him: I've told you for four milliemes, does it please you or doesn't it please you?'

(326) *I-n=ìs: y-əʃžəb=ì=ya ká.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s 3sm-please:res.=DO.1s=res. neg.
'He said to her: It doesn't please me.'

(327) *T-n=ìs: blaš, u=t-əqqáš əlbàb fəllì-s*
3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s forget.it and=3sf-close:ˣpf. door on-3sg.
'She said to him: Forget it! and she closed the door on him,'

(328) *u=bəʃədèn y-əxzár af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs wa ẓẓàk-ən dax*
and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʃ=t làkən y-əkrí y-àvdəd u=bəʃədèn
fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm but 3sm-return:ˣpf. 3sm-stop:seq. and=then
y-əmmùdd afus=ànn-əs y-əddùgg af=əlbàb
3sm-extend:ˣpf. hand=of-3s 3sm-knock:ˣpf. 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.'

- *làkən* 'but' does not translate well into the English translation here. But it seems to be indicate that the salesman has changed his mind.

(329) *u=t-əškí təmìgni ɣàr-əs w=ət-n=ìs: amùr d-žižì-t*
and=3sf-leave:ˣpf. woman to-3s and=3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s if 2s-sell:ˣpf.-2s
s=alùwəl axèr lək ká?
from=before better to.you neg.
'And the woman came out of the house to him and said to him: Would it not have been better if you had sold (it) to me earlier?'

(330) *Y-əkri ká fəll-ìs žlàn u=bəʃədèn y-ərfəʃ əlmizàn=n-əs wa*
3sm-return:ˣpf. neg. on-3s words and=then 3sm-lift:pf. scales=of-3s PMPH:ms
y-əḥməl=tì=ya u=y-əxbəṭ=ṭ af=təgìli n=təmìgni
3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res. and=3sm-hit:ˣpf.=DO.3sm on=head of=woman
u=t-ìva təmìgni t-əmmùt u=y-əqqìm y-əvdìd=a
and=3sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die:ˣpf. and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-stand:res.=res.
agur=ànn-əs ir=a=y-ùš əlbulìs.
besides=of-3s until fut.=3sm-come:fut. police

'He did not answer her (with any) words, and then he lifted the scales that he had carried and he hit them on the head of the woman, and the woman fell and died and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.'

C.1.4 Text IV

C.1.4.1 Original transcription

Yeškî Žḥâ ssûq-ī u íddes aẓīŏṭénnes iġéḷlī āīžīžît. Baʿadên yefkît i-ddellâl dāḫ āīžīžît. Baʿadên yåqqîm ĕddellâl iʿāyâṭ (anche: iʿāīyâṭ) w-itennîs: wâya d-aẓîṭ fešûš, qåwī u d-aẓîṭ mrî. Baʿadên ăqqīmân míddęn rennîyen (anche: rennân) fellîs s-ar žlān-îya. Baʿadên yeslâ Žḥâ žlān-îya w-inîs y-imánnes: la-búdda aẓīŏṭennûk kuwéyes ṣaḥîḥ. Baʿadên yqåqîm [sic] irénni id míddęn. Baʿadên yęškî elbārât u yefkîtęnęt y-ăddellâl u yuġâ aẓîŏṭ u yaʿádd yefrîḥa. Baʿadên ĕlʿaqqâb-ī yåqqîm nettîn id-dmegnîs (anche: id-tĕmignînnes) u yaḥkîs af laḥkâyet n-arenní (anche: arénnu). Tnîs ĕnnât: qâma annâk laḥkâyet aḫîr n-tắnnek. Tnîs: yeḫátṭām sîla wa žīžân lemluḫîyet, yäqqîm itāzändîk baʿadên gîḫ eddémlež n eddáhab ĕlkéffet ta-gân ĕlmīzân; baʿadên yekkémmel uzúnnes, ĕnṭắrḫ ĕddemlež-ennûk elmīzân-ī rwíḥḥa āīnidîk: kem ttâkärt s-ġâr-ī. Baʿadên inîs Žḥâ: bâhi, nek šūġârḫ s-elhawáyyī u kem s-arĕzgîg u tudîk attaʿmîr tĕfillīnnâḫ.

Perhaps *y-ăddellâl* is *y-ăddelâl*, 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

Yəškí Žḥà ssùq=i u ìddəs aẓiyṭ=ənnəs iɣəlli a=ižižì=t. Bəʃədèn yəfkì=t i=ddəllàl dax a=ižižì=t. Bəʃədèn yəqqìm əddəllàl iʕəy(y)àṭ w=itənn=ìs: wàya d=aẓìṭ fəšùš, qəwi u=d=aẓìṭ mrì. Bəʃədèn əqqimàn mìddən rənnìyən (or: rənnàn) fəllìs sar žlan=ìya. Bəʃədèn yəslà Žḥà žlan=ìya w=in=ìs y=imàn=nəs: la-bùdda aẓiyṭ=ənnùk kəwəyəs ṣəḥìḥ. Bəʃədèn yəqqìm irənni id=mìddən. Bəʃədèn yəškí əlbaràt u=yəfkí=tənət y=əddəllàl u=yuɣá aẓìyṭ u=yəʃədd yəfrìḥ=a. Bəʃədèn əlʃəqqàb=i yəqqìm nəttìn id=dməgnì=s (or: id=təmignì=nnəs) u=yəḫk=ìs af=ləḥkàyət n=arənní (or: arènnu). Tn=ìs ənnàt: qàma a=nnà=k ləḥkàyət axìr n=tà nnək. Tn=ìs: yəxáṭṭam sìla wa žižàn ləmluxəyət, yəqqìm itazən=dìk bəʃədèn gìx əddəmləž n=əddəhəb əlkəffət ta=gàn əlmizàn; bəʃədèn yəkkəmməl uzùn=nəs, ənṭərx əddəmləž=ənnùk əlmizàn=i rwìḥḥ=a a=ini=dìk: kəm ttàkərt sɣàri. Bəʃədèn in=ìs Žḥà: bàhi, nək šuɣàrx s=əlhəwàyyi u=kəm sar=əzgìg u=tudìk a=ttəʃmìr təfilli=nnáx.

C.1.4.3 Glossed translation

(331) *Y-əškí Žḥà ssùq=i u=ìdd-əs aẓiṭ=ənn-əs i-ɣəlli*
3sm-leave:ˣpf. Jha market=loc. and=with-3s donkey=of-3s 3sm-want:ˣpf.
a=i-žižì=t.
fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
'Jha left for the market and with him (was) his donkey, he wanted to sell it.'

(332) *Bəʃədèn y-əfkì=t i=ddəllàl dax a=i-žižì=t.*
then 3sm-give:ˣpf.=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) *Bəʃədèn y-əqqìm əddəllàl i-ʃəy(y)àṭ w=i-tənn=ìs: wàya*
then 3sm-stay:ˣpf. auctioneer 3sm-yell:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s this:sm
d=aẓìṭ fəšùš, qəwi u=d=aẓìṭ mrì.
pred.=donkey be.agile:3sm, be.strong:3sm and=pred.=donkey be.good:3sm
'Then the auctioneer started yelling and saying: This is an agile and strong donkey, and it is a good donkey'

(334) *Bəʃədèn əqqimà-n mìddən rənnìy-ən* (*or: rənnà-n*) *fəllì-s sar=žlan=ìya.*
Then stay:ˣpf.-3pm people bid:impf.-3pm on-3s from=words=prox.:p
'Then the people started bidding on it because of these words.'

(335) *Bəʃədèn y-əslá Žḥà žlan=ìya w=i-n=ìs y=imàn=n-əs:*
Then 3sm-hear:pf. Jha words=prox.:p and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s dat.=self=of-3s
labùdda aẓiṭ=ənn-ùk kəwàyəs ṣəḥìḥ.
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) *Bəʃədèn y-əqqìm i-rənni id=mìddən.*
then 3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-bid:impf. with=people
'Then he started bidding along with the people.'

(337) *Bəʃədèn y-əškí əlbaràt u=y-əfkí=tənət y=əddəllàl*
Then 3sm-take.out:ˣpf. money and=3sm-give:ˣpf.=DO.3pf dat.=auctioneer
u=y-uɣá aẓiṭ u=y-əʃədd y-əfrìḥ=a.
and=3sm-take:pf. donkey and=3sm-go:ˣpf. 3sm-be.happy:res.=res.
'Then he took out money and gave it to the auctioneer and took the donkey and went away satisfied.'

- *yəškí* usually means 'to leave', but is to be read transitively here as 'to take out'.

(338) *Bəʃədèn əlʃəqqàb=i y-əqqìm nəttìn id=dməgnì-s* (*or: id=təmignì-nn-əs*)
Then evening=loc. 3sm-stay:ˣpf. he with=wife-3s (with=wife=of-3s)
u=y-əḥk=ìs af=ləḥkàyət n=arənní (*or: arənnu*).
and=3sm-tell:ˣpf.=IO.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=ìs ənnàt: qàma a=nn-à=k ləḥkàyət axìr*
3pf-say:P=IO.3s she now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=IO.2sm story better
n=tà=nn-ək.
of=PMPH=of-2sm
'She said to him: Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!'

(340) *T-n=ìs: y-əxáṭṭam sìla wa žižà-n ləmluxàyət,*
3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s 3sm-pass.by:impf. along.here PMPH:sm sell:impf.-ptc. mulukhiya
y-əqqìm i-tazən=dìk bəʃədèn gì-x əddàmləž n=əddàhəb
3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-weigh:impf.=IO.1s then put:ˣpf.-1s bracelet of=gold
əlkàffət ta gàn əlmizàn;
plate PMPH:sf there scales
'She said to him: A mulukhiya vendor came by here, he started weighing for me, then I put a golden bracelet on the plate that was on the scales.'

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

(341) *bəʃədèn y-əkkàmməl uzùn=n-əs, ənṭàr-x əddəmləž=ənn-ùk əlmizàn=i*
Then 3sm-finish:ˣpf. weighing=of-3s leave:ˣpf.-1s bracelet=of-1s scales=loc.
rwìḥ-ḥ=a a=i-ni=dìk: kəm t-tàkər-t syàr-i.
become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.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) *Bəʃədèn i-n=ìs Žḥà: bàhi, nək šuɣàr-x s=əlhəwàyyi*
Then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha: be.good:3sm, I lose:impf.-1s from=outside
u=kəm sar=əzgìg u=tudìk a=t-təʃmìr təfilli=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, *šuɣàrx* 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

Žḥâ yẹtemę́nna s-ġār rā́bbī ayefkîs elf znî u yåqqîm iṭélleb u itennîs: ya rā́bbī undú yenqîṣa iwînān auġā́ḫ-tęnęt-ká. Baʿadên yeslît ělhûdī aringínnes baʿadên inîs lhûdī y-imā́nnes wållå̂hī qâma aḥdefâs tésaʿa míyet id tésaʿa u tesʿîn žnî w-aggulâḫt ayuġítęnęt naġ wélā. W-igītę́nęt arå̂qûṭ-ī u yaḥdeftę́nęt dīt nĕ Žḥâ s-ar ĕrrôšen. U yefráḥ Žḥâ sénet u inîs: rā́bbī yefkīdîka amalâ ġellîḫ. U yetuâr arå̂qûṭ u yaḥsebtę́nęt yufītę́nęt ănqåṣnîta iwînān u baʿadên inîs: Wa yefkīdîka lʿâlla ayefkīdîk iwînan; baʿadên igītę́nęt ṣṣundûq-ī u nettîn yefrîḥa. Baʿadên yeškî ělhûdī w-inîs yĕ-Žḥâ: aġîd elbarāt-ennûk. Inîs Žḥâ: rā́bbī yefkīdîka albåṣîret u ku tġallît attuġáttet s-ġâr-ī? Inîs ělhûdī: nek wa aḥdefḫtîta ī-kú daḫ aggūlâḫku attuġāttę́nęt ĕnqåṣnîta nāġ wélā. Yelġóm ayefkitę́nęt y-elhûdī. Baʿadên inîs ělhûdī: nek anṭárăḫku-ká īr annaʿádd nek-íddek ar elqå̂ḍī. Inîs Žḥâ: nek ʿayyânaḫ u zmerḫ-ká aʿaddáḫ af ṭårīnnûk w-ĕrwę́ḥa (ʿḫ>ḥḥ>ḥ) s-ġār šmūṭ u ġārīká telâba. Inîs ă̂lhûdī: afkâk aẓîṭ id telâba ġār ʿádd ídd-ī ar ělqâḍī. Baʿád uṣă̂lę́n ar elqâḍī išerwîs lĕhûdī s-alá ṣārâna. Inîs elqå̂ḍī i-Žḥâ: ṣaḥîḥ žlānîya? Baʿadên inîs: lhûdī iqă̂llez fellîwi u nek rwíḥḥa ayéqlez w-āīnîs ḥátta tlābannûk ta-tennî fellîwī t-tánnes (dt>tt) nettîn īd aẓīṭennûk āīnîs d-wánnes nettîn. Baʿadên iʿâyeṭ elhûdī w-inîs y-elqå̂ḍī: wållâhi t-tinnûk. Inîs elqå̂ḍī: ku teqă̂llezt ṣaḥîḥ ʿádd ʿádd rṓūwaḥ. U yaʿádd Žḥâ yefrîḥa yaḥaṣṣîla ĕdbûš īd aẓîṭ īd elbārât.

C.1.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Žḥà yətəmənna sɣar ṛəbbi a=yəfk=ìs əlf žnì u=yəqqìm iṭəlləb u=itənn=ìs: ya ṛəbbi əndú yənqìṣ=a iwínan a=uɣə́x=tənət ká. Bəʃədènyəslìtəlhùdiaringì=nnəs bəʃədèn in=ìs lhùdi y=imàn=nəs wəḷḷàhi qàma əḥdəfà=s tàs(ə)ʃa màyət id=tàs(ə)ʃa u=təsʃìn žnì w=a=ggulàx=t a=yuɣí=tənət naɣ wàla. w=igi=tànət arəqùṭ=i u=yəḥdəf=tànət dit nə=Žḥà sar=ərròšən. U=yəfráḥ Žḥà sànət u=in=ìs: ṛəbbi yəfki=dìk=a am=alá ɣəllìx. U=yətuwàr arəqùṭ u=yəḥsəb=tànət yufi=tànət ənqəṣnìt=a iwínan u=bəʃədèn in=ìs: wa yəfki =dìk=a lʃàlla a=yəfki=dìk iwínan; bəʃədèn igi=tànət ṣṣundùq=i u=nəttìn yəfrìḥ=a. Bəʃədènyəškíəlhùdiw=in=ìs yə=Žḥà: aɣì=d əlbarat=ənnùk. In=ìs Žḥà: ṛəbbi yəfki=dìk=a albəṣìrət u=ku tɣəllìt a=ttuɣàt=tət sɣàri? In =ìs əlhùdi: nək wa əḥdəfx=tìt=a i=kú dax a=ggulàx=ku a=ttuɣa(t)=tənət ənqəṣnìt=a naɣ wàla. yəlɣám a=yəfki=tànət y=əlhùdi. BəʃədènyəlhùdiBəʃədèn in=ìs əlhùdi: nək anṭàr(ə)x=ku ká ir=a=nnəʃədd nək ìdd=ək ar=əlqàḍi. In=ìs Žḥà: nək ʃəyyánəx u=zmərx ká a=ʃəddàx af=ṭarin=núk w=ərwìḥ=a sɣar=šmuṭ u=ɣari ká təlàba. In=ìs əlhùdi: a=fkà=k aẓìṭ id=təlàba ɣar ʃədd ìddi ar=əlqàḍi.

Bəʃád uṣələn ar=əlqàḍi išərw=ìs ləhùdi s=alá ṣarán=a. In=ìs əlqàḍi i=Žḥà: ṣəḥìḥ žlan=ìya? Bəʃədèn in=ìs: lhùdi iqəlləz fəllíwi u=nək rwìḥḥ=a a=yèqləz w=a=in=ìs ḥətta tlaba=nnùk ta tənní fəllìwi t=tá=nnəs nəttìn id=aẓiṭ=ənnùk a=in=ìs d=wà=nnəs nəttìn. Bəʃədèn iʕàyəṭ əlhùdi w=in=ìs y=əlqàḍi: wəḷḷàhi t=ti=nnùk. In=ìs əlqàḍi: ku təqəlləzt ṣəḥìḥ ʕədd ədd rəwwəḥ. U=yəʕədd Žḥà yəfrìḥ=a yəḥəṣṣìl=a ədbùš id=aẓìṭ id=əlbaràt.

C.1.5.3 Glossed translation

(343) *Žḥà y-ətəmənna sɣar=ṛəbbi a=y-əfk=ìs əlf žnì*
Jha 3sm-wish:ˣpf. from=God fut.=3sm-give:fut.=IO.3s 1,000 pound
u=y-əqqìm i-ṭəlləb u=i-tənn=ìs: ya=ṛəbbi əndú
and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-request:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s voc.=God if
y-ənqìṣ=a iwínan a=uɣá-x=tənət ká.
3sm-lack:res.=res. one fut.=take:fut.-1s=DO.3pf neg.
'Jha prayed God to give him 1,000 Pounds and he started requesting and saying: O God, if (even) one (pound) is lacking, I will not take it'

(344) *Bəʃədèn y-əslì=t əlhùdi aringì=nn-əs bəʃədèn i-n=ìs*
Then 3sm-hear:P=DO.3sm. Jew neighbour=of-3s then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s
lhùdi y=imàn=n-əs wəḷḷàhi qàma a=ḥdəf-à=s tàs(ə)ʕa màyət
Jew dat.=self=of-3s by.God now fut.=throw:fut.-1s=IO.3s nine hundred
id=tàs(ə)ʕa u=təsʕìn žnì w=a=ggulà-x=t
with=nine and=ninety pound and=fut.=see:fut-1s=DO.3sm
a=y-uɣí=tənət naɣ wèla.
fut=3sm-take:fut.=DO.3pf or not.
'Then a Jew, his neighbour, heard him and then the jew said to himself: By God, now I will throw to him 999 pounds and see if he will take it or not.'

(345) *w=i-gi=tènət arəqùṭ=i u=y-əḥdəf=tènət dit nə=Žḥà*
and=3sm-put:ˣpf.-DO.3pf bag=loc. and=3sm-throw:ˣpf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha
sar=ərròšən.
from=window
'And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.'

(346) *U=y-əfráḥ Žḥà s-ènət u=i-n=ìs: ṛəbbi*
and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s God
y-əfki=dìk=a am alá ɣəllì-x.
3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. like rel. want:ˣpf.-1s
'And Jha became happy with it and said: God has given like I wanted!'

(347) *U=y-ətuwàr arəqùṭ u=y-əḥsəb=tànət y-ufi=tànət*
and=3sm-open:ˣpf. bag and=3sm-count:ˣpf.=DO.3pf 3sm-find:ˣpf.=DO.3pf
ənqəṣ-nìt=a iwínan u=bəʕədèn i-n=ìs: wa
lack:res.-3pf=res. one:sm and=then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s PMPH:sm
y-əfki=dìk=a lʕàlla a=y-əfki=dìk iwínan;
3sm-give:res=IO.1s=res, much fut=3sm-give:fut.=IO.1s one:sm
'And he opened the bag and counted them and found them lacking one (pound) and then he said: He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).'

(348) *bəʕədèn i-gi=tànət ṣṣundùq=i u=nəttìn y-əfrìḥ=a.*
then 3sm-put:ˣpf.=DO.3pf box=loc. and=he 3sm-be.happy:res.=res.
'Then he put them in a box and he was happy.'

(349) *BəʕədènI y-əškí əlhùdi w=i-n=ìs yə=Žḥà: aɣìd*
then 3sm-leave:ˣpf. Jew and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s dat.=Jha bring:imp.
əlbarat=ənn-ùk.
money=of-1s
'Then the Jew came out and said to Jha: Bring my money (back)'

(350) *I-n=ìs Žḥà: ṛəbbi y-əfki=dìk=a albəṣìrət u=ku*
3sm-say:ˣpf.-IO.3s Jha God 3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. willingly and=you
t-ɣəllì-t a=tt-uɣà-t=tət sɣàr-i?
2s-want:ˣpf.-2s fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3sf from=1s
'Jha said to him: God has given me this willingly and you want to take it from me?'

(351) *I-n=ìs əlhùdi: nək wa əḥdəf-x=tìt=a i=kú dax*
3sm-say:P=IO.3s Jew I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you in.order.to
a=ggulà-x=ku a=t-tuɣa-(t)=tànət ənqəṣ-nìt=a naɣ wàla.
fut=see:fut.-1s=DO.2sm fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3pf lack:res.-3pf=res. or not
'The Jew said to him: I am the one who has thrown it to you in order to see if you would take them missing (one pound) or not.'

(352) *y-əlɣám a=y-əfki=tànət y=əlhùdi.*
3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-give:fut.=DO.3pf dat.-Jew
'He refused to give them to the Jew.'

(353) *BəʕədènI i-n=ìs əlhùdi: nək a=nṭàr-əx=ku ká*
then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jew I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg.
ir=a=nnə-ʕàdd nək ìdd-ək ar=əlqàḍi.
until=fut.=1p-go:fut. I with-2sm to=judge
'Then the Jew said: I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.'

- Note that the 1sg. marker of *a-nṭàr-əx-ku* is *-əx* rather than the regular *-x*. The epenthesis of this schwa is presumably there to break up the cluster *rxk*.

(354) *I-n=ìs Žḥà: nək ʕəyyán-əx u=zmər-x ká a=ʕəddà-x*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha I be.sick:impf.-1s and=be.able:ˣpf.-1s neg. fut.=go:fut.-1s
af=ṭarin=n-úk w=ərwìḥ-(ḥ)=a sɣar=šmuṭ u=ɣar-i ká təlàba.
on=legs=of-1s and=be.afraid:res.-1s=res. from=cold and=to-1s neg. gown
'Jha said to him: I am sick and I am not able to go on my legs and I am afraid of the cold and I do not have a gown.'

(355) *I-n=ìs əlhùdi: a=fk-à=k aẓìṭ id=təlàba ɣar ʕədd*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jew fut.=give:fut.-1s=IO.2sm donkey with=gown but go:imp.
ìdd-i ar=əlqàḍi.
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) *Bəʕád uṣàl-ən ar=əlqàḍi i-šərw=ìs ləhùdi s=alá*
Then arrive:ˣpf.-3pm to=judge 3sm-tell:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jew from=rel.
ṣará-n=a.
happen:res.-ptc.=res.
'Then they arrived at the Judge and the Jew told him about what had happened.'

(357) *I-n=ìs əlqàḍi i=Žḥà: ṣəḥìḥ žlan=ìya?*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s judge dat.=Jha be.true:3m words-PROX:p
'The judge said to Jha: Are these words true?'

(358) *BəʕədèN i-n=ìs: lhùdi i-qàlləz fəllì-wi u=nək*
Then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s and=I
rwìḥ-ḥ=a a=ɣ-əqləz w=a=i-n=ìs ḥàtta
become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s even
tlaba=nn-ùk ta t-ənní fəllì-wi t=tà=nn-əs nəttìn
gown=of-1s rel:sf 3sf-exist:ˣpf. on-1s pred.=PMPH:sf=of-3s he
id=aẓiṭ=ənn-ùk a=i-n=ìs d=wà=nn-əs nəttìn.
with=donkey=of-1s fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s pred.=PMPH:sm=of-3s he
'Then he said to him: The Jew is lying about me, and I am afraid that he will lie and say that even the gown that is on me is his and that he will say that my donkey is his.'

(359) *BəʕədèN i-ʕàyəṭ əlhùdi w=i-n=ìs ɣ=əlqàḍi: wəḷḷàhi*
Then 3sm-yell:ˣpf. Jew and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s dat.=judge by.God
t=ti=nn-ùk.
pred.=PMPH:PMPH=of-1s
'Then the Jew yelled and said to the judge: By God, they are mine!'

- *tinnùk* is a feminine plural, but it is used to refer to a group of a mixed gender (masculine for *aẓìt* and feminine for *tlàba*). It is surprising that a feminine form would be used for this rather than the masculine form, which is usually used for groups of mixed gender in Berber languages.

(360) *I-n=ìs əlqàḍi: ku t-əqə̀lləz-t ṣəḥìḥ ʕə̀dd ʕə̀dd rə̀wwəḥ.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=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-əʕə̀dd Žḥà y-əfrìḥ-a y-əḥəṣṣìl-a ədbùš id*
And 3sm-go:P Jha 3sm-be.happy:res.=res. 3sm-obtain:res.=res. clothes
aẓìṭ 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

Žḥâ yẹskîna lʿallî-y-ī, baʿadeṅ [MvP: sic] yušâd iwînān isâsa af tĕfillînnes. Baʿadên yáḫzer Žḥâ s-ar-ẓů̂ṭ w-inîs: ddîwa tġallît a-y-amę́dęn? Inîs amę́dęn: yīd-dîla. Yušîzd Žḥâ. Baʿadên inîs amę́dęn: fkīdîk s-ar (anche: s-ġâr) elḥáqq ĕr̥r̥ā́bbī (nr̥ > r̥r̥). Baʿadên inîs Žḥâ: yîd ẓôṭ. U yelbů́b nettîn íddes ar-ẓů̂ṭ w-inîs: ġārī-ká. Baʿadên inîs wa sâsān: af-îwa tneddîk-ká (anche: ur tneddîk) žlān-îya u nek nnîḫ ar-ûṭā? Baʿadên inîs Žḥâ: w-afîwa tĕneddîk ẹ́reš arûṭā?

C.1.6.2 Phonemic transcription

Žḥà yəskìn=a lʕəllì=yi, bəʕədèn yušà=d iwínan isàsa af=təfillì=nnəs. Bəʕədèn yə̀xzər Žḥà sar=ẓùṭ w=in=ìs: ddìwa tɣəllìt ay=amə̀dən? In=ìs amə̀dən: yi=d dìla. Yuš=ìz=d Žḥà. Bəʕədèn in=ìs amə̀dən: fki=dìk sar=(or: sɣàr=) əlḥàqq əṛ=ṛə̀bbi. Bəʕədèn in=ìs Žḥà: yìd ẓùṭ. U=yəlbə̀b nəttìn ìddəs ar=ẓùṭ w=in=ìs: ɣari ká. Bəʕədèn in=ìs wa sásan: af-ìwa tnəd=dìk ká (or: ur=tnəd =dìk) žlan=ìya u=nək nnìx ar=ùṭa? Bəʕədèn in=ìs Žḥà: w=af-ìwa tənəd=dìk ìrəš ar=ùṭa?

C.1.6.3 Glossed translation

(362) *Žḥà y-əskìn=a lʕəllì=yi,*
Jha 3sm-live:res.=res. high=loc.
'Jha lived in a high (place),'

(363) *bəʕədèn y-ušà=d ìwínan i-sàsa af=təfillì=nn-əs.*
then 3sm-come:pf. one:sm 3sm-beg:impf. on=house-of-3s
'Then someone came begging at his house.'

(364) *BəʕədènY-àxzər Žḥà sar=ẓùṭ w=i-n=ìs:*
Then 3sm-look:seq. Jha from=above and 3sm-say:ˣpf.-IO.3s
'Then Jha looked from above and said to him:'

(365) *ddìwa t-ɣəllì-t ay=amàdən?*
what 2s-want:ˣpf..-2s voc.=man
'What do you want, man?'

(366) *I-n=ìs amàdən: yi=d dìla.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s man come:imp. at.here
'The man said: come here.'

· *yid dìla* bears only one accent, which implies that these two words form a single accent unit.

(367) *Y-uš=ìz=d Žḥà.*
3sm-come:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha
'Jha came to him'

(368) *BəʕədènY-n=ìs amàdən: fki=dìk sar (or: syàr)=əlḥàqq*
then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s man give:imp.=IO.1s from=right
əṛ=ṛàbbi.
of=God
'Then he said to him: give me (something) from the right of God.'

(369) *BəʕədènY-n=ìs Žḥà: yìd ẓùṭ.*
Then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha come:imp. up
'Then Jha said to him: come up.'

(370) *U y-əlbáb nəttìn ìdd-əs ar=ẓùṭ w=i-n=ìs: ɣar-i ká.*
and 3sm-climb:pf. he with-3s to=up and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s to=1s neg.
'And he climbed up with him and he (Jha) said to him: I don't have (anything).'

(371) *BəʕədènY-n=ìs wa sása-n: afìwa t-nə-d=dìk ká*
then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s PMPH:ms beg:impf.-ptc. why 2s-say:ˣpf.-2s=IO.1s neg.
(*or: ur=t-nə-d=dìk*) *žlan=ìya u=nək nnì-x ar=ùṭa?*
neg.=2s-say:ˣpf.-2s=IO.1s words-prox.:p and=I be(loc.):ˣpf.-1s to=below
'Then the beggar said to him: Why did you not tell me these words when (litt. and) I was still below?'

(372) *Bəʃədèn i-n=ìs Žḥà: w=afíwa t-ənə-d=dìk ìrəš*
then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha: and=why 2s-say:ˣpf.-2s=IO.1s descend:imp.
ar=ùṭa?
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

Yaʿádd Žḥâ ssûq-ī w-isáġ aẓîṭ u yeqqắnt s-ažîker u yaʿádd w-aẓîŏṭ déffer-a (anche: déffer-ah). Baʿadên ušānîzd itnên ĕn-qåṭṭâʿān, iwînān itûar aẓîŏṭ u yerfáʿt íddes w-iwînān yaqqắn imânnes amakân n-aẓîṭ. Baʿadên yáḫzer Žḥâ yufâ amḗdęn amakân n-aẓîṭ yuġâ yekrî sís ssûq-î w-inîs y-ęttâžer wa-yuġâya s-ġâres aẓîṭ: šekrī-dîk elbarātennûk, wâya d-aẓîṭ-ká, wâya d-amḗdęn. W-igîs lĕharžet. Baʿadên išekrîs elbarāténnes u yaʿádd Žḥâ irṓūwaḥ.

C.1.7.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəʃədd Žḥà ssùq=i w=isáɣ aẓìṭ u=yəqqən=t s=ažìkər u=yəʃədd w=aẓìyṭ dáffəra (or: dáffərah). Bəʃədèn ušan=ìz=d itnèn ən=qəṭṭáʃan, iwínan itùar aẓìyṭ u=yərfəʃ=t ìddəs w=iwínan yəqqən imàn=nəs amakàn n=aẓìṭ. Bəʃədèn yəxzər Žḥà yufá amədən amakàn n=aẓìṭ yuɣá yəkrí sìs ssúq=í w=in=ís y=əttàžər wa yuɣà=ya sɣàrəs aẓìṭ: šəkri=dìk əlbarat=ənnùk, wàya d=aẓìṭ ká, wàya d=amədən. W=ig=ìs ləhəržət. Bəʃədèn išəkr=ìs əlbarat=ənnəs u=yəʃədd Žḥà irəwwəḥ.

C.1.7.3 Glossed translation

(373) *Y-əʃədd Žḥà ssùq=i w=i-səɣ aẓìṭ*
3sm-go:ˣpf. Jha market=loc. and=3sm-buy:ˣpf. donkey
'Jha went to the marker and bought a donkey.'

(374) *u=y-əqqən=t s=ažìkər u=y-əʃədd w=aẓìṭ*
and=3sm-tie:ˣpf.-3sm=DO.3sm with=rope and=3sm-go:ˣpf. and=donkey
dáffər-a (*or: dáffər-ah*).
behind-3sm
'And he tied it with a rope and went and the donkey (was) behind him.'

(375) *Bəʃədèn uša-n=ìz=d itnèn ən=qəṭṭáʃan, iwínan i-túwar*
Then come:ˣpf.-3pm=IO.3s=come two of=thieves, one:ms 3sm-open:ˣpf.
aẓìṭ u=y-ərfəʃ=t ìdd-əs w=iwínan y-əqqən
donkey and=3sm-take.away:ˣpf.=DO.3sm with-3s and=one:ms 3sm-tie:ˣpf.

imàn=n-əs amakàn n=aẓìṭ.
self=of-3s place of=donkey
'Then came two thieves, one untied the donkey and took it away with him, and one tied himself (in) place of the donkey.'

- The phonological accent of *itúar* is unusual, and not found in this position for any other attestation of this word in the texts.

(376) *Bəʕədèn y-àxzər Žḥà y-ufá amàdən amakàn n=aẓìṭ y-uɣá*
then 3sm-look:seq. Jha y-find:pf. man place of=donkey 3sm-take:pf.
y-əkrí s=ìs ssùq=í w=i-n=ís y=əttàžər wa
3sm-return:ˣpf. with-3s market=loc. and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s dat.=merchant PMPH:ms
y-uɣà=ya sɣàr-əs aẓìṭ:
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) *šəkri=dìk əlbarat=ənn-ùk, wàya d=aẓìṭ ká, wàya d=amàdən.*
return:imp.=IO.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 ləhəržət.*
and=3sm-do:ˣpf.=IO.3s noise
'And he made a fuss to him.'

(379) *Bəʕədèn i-šəkr=ìs əlbarat=ànn-əs u=y-əʕədd Žḥà*
then 3sm-return:ˣpf.=IO.3s money=of-3s and=3sm-go:ˣpf. Jha
i-rəwwəḥ.
3sm-return.home:ˣpf.
'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 lhawáyyī u yåqqîm iddahwâr ašâlī kkúll inéššed ělʿulamâ u iġellébten u nettîn iddahwâr ir iṭûg Žḥâ. Baʿadên inšétt w-inîs: māg ínnī ennúṣṣ ĕn temûrt kkúll? Inîs Žḥâ: amakân wa ínnī aẓīŏṭennûk w-öndú tṣåddåqtîya-ká ăžvóṭ temûrt. Itaḥáyyär elʿâlem w-inšétt: ammágwa alʿáded nĕ-nĝûm? Inîs Žḥâ: d-elʿáded n ažévū n aẓīŏṭennûk, undú tṣåddåqtîya-ká aḥséb ĕnĝûm w-aḥséb ažévū n aẓīŏṭennûk. Baʿadên yenšétt amędęn u inîs: ammágwa elʿáded n ažévū n tamīrtennûk.

Inîs Žḥâ: el'áded n ažévū n tamīrténnek am el'áded n ažévū n azîf n aẓīṭennûk w-undú tṣåddåqtîya-ká aḥséb. Ba'adên ittōūwîyel amḗdęn u yekrî yendîma.

C.1.8.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəškí iwìn n=əlʃàləm iddəhwàr lhəwàyyi u=yəqqìm iddəhwàr ašàl=i kkùll inəššəd əlʃulamá u=iɣəllèb=tən u=nəttìn iddəhwàr ir iṭùg Žḥà. Bəʃədèn inšə̀t=t w=in=ís: mag ìnni ənnúṣṣ ən=təmùrt kkùll? In=ìs Žḥà: aməkàn wa ìnni aẓiṭ=ənnùk w=əndù tṣəddəqt=ì=ya ká əžvə́ṭ təmùrt. Itəḥəyyər əlʃàləm w=inšə̀t=t: am=màgwa əlʃə̀dəd nə nžùm? In=ìs Žḥà: d=əlʃə̀dəd n=ažə̀vu n=aẓiṭ=ənnùk, əndú tṣəddəqt=ì=ya ká əḥsəb ənžùm w=əḥsəb ažə̀vu n=aẓiṭ=ənnùk. Bəʃədèn yənšə̀t=t amədən u=in=ìs: am=màgwa əlʃə̀dəd n=ažə̀vu n=tamirt=ənnùk. In=ìs Žḥà: əlʃə̀dəd n=ažə̀vu n=tamirt =ənnək am=əlʃə̀dəd n=ažə̀vu n=azìf n=aẓiṭ=ənnùk w=əndú tṣəddəqt=ì =ya ká əḥsəb. Bəʃədèn ittəwwìyəl amədən u=yəkrí yəndìm=a.

C.1.8.3 Glossed translation

(380) *Y-əškí* *ìwìn n=əlʃàləm i-ddəhwàr* *lhəwàyyi u=y-əqqìm*
3sm-left:ˣpf. one of=scholar 3sm-go.around:impf. outside and=3sm-stay:ˣpf.
i-ddəhwàr *ašàl=i* *kkùll* *i-nəššəd* *əlʃulamá*
3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars
u=i-ɣəllèb=tən *u=nəttìn i-ddəhwàr* *ir=i-ṭùg*
and=3sm-defeat:impf.=DO.3pm and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:ˣpf.
Žḥà.
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) *Bəʃədèn i-nšə̀t=t* *w=i-n=ís:* *mag* *ì-nni*
then 3sm-ask:ˣpf.=DO.3sm. and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s where 3sm-be(loc.):ˣpf.
ənnùṣṣ ən=təmùrt kkùll?
middle of=earth whole
'Then he asked him and said: where is the middle of the whole earth?'

(382) *I-n=ìs* *Žḥà: aməkàn wa* *ì-nni* *aẓiṭ=ənn-ùk w=əndù*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha place PMPH:sm 3sm-be(loc.):ˣpf. donkey=of-1s and=if
t-ṣəddəq-t=ì=ya *ká* *əžvə́ṭ* *təmùrt.*
2s-believe: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-təḥàyyər ələʃàləm w=i-nšàt=t: am=màgwa ələʃàdəd*
3sm-be.confused:ˣpf. scholar and=3sm-ask:ˣpf.=DO.3sm: like=what:sm number
nə=nžùm?
of=stars
'The scholar was confused and he asked him: How much is the number of stars?'

(384) *I-n=ìs Žḥà: d=ələʃàdəd n=ažàvu n=aẓiṭ=ənn-ùk, əndú*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha pred.=number of=hairs of=donkey=of-1s if
t-ṣəddəq-t=ì=ya ká əḥsáb ənžùm w=əḥsáb ažàvu
2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. neg. count:imp. stars and=count:imp. hairs
n=aẓiṭ=ənn-ùk.
of=donkey=of-1s
'Jha said to him: It is the number of hairs of my donkey, if you do not believe me, count the stars and count the hairs of my donkey.'

(385) *Bəʃədèn y-ənšàt=t amàdən u=i-n=ìs: am=màgwa*
Then 3sm-ask:ˣpf.=DO.3sm. man and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s like=what:sm
ələʃàdəd n=ažàvu n=tamirt=ənn-ùk.
number of=hairs of=beard=of-1s
'Then the man asked him and said: How much is the number of hairs of my beard?'

(386) *I-n=ìs Žḥà: ələʃàdəd n=ažàvu n=tamirt=ànn-ək am=ələʃàdəd n=ažàvu*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha: number of=hairs of=beard=of-2sm like=number of=hairs
n=azìf n=aẓiṭ=ənn-ùk w=əndú t-ṣəddəq-t=ì=ya ká əḥsáb.
of=tail of=donkey=of-1s and=if 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. neg. count:imp.
'Jha said to him: The number of hairs of your beard is like the number of hairs of the tail of my donkey, and if you don't believe it, count.'

(387) *Bəʃədèn i-ttəwwìyəl amàdən u=y-əkrí*
then 3sm-be.dumbfounded:ˣpf. man and=3sm-return:ˣpf.
y-əndìm=a.
3sm-become.sad:res.=res.
'Then the man was dumbounded and he returned saddened.'

C.1.9 Text IX

C.1.9.1 Original transcription

Yaʿádd Žḥâ elbáḥăr-ī iġéllī āīsébbaḥ u yekkéš dbūšénnes; baʿadên ušând qåṭṭâʿān ukẹ́ren ědbūšénnes. Baʿadên yekrî tfillînnes ʿaryân. Baʿadên u

baʿád sébaʿa āīyām yaʿádd marrât (anche: marrâtet) aqûṭet iġéllī āīsébbaḥ elbáḥăr-ī; yunâ s-edbūšénnes elmarrāt-âya. Baʿadên igulît iwīnân n-eṣṣāḥbénnes, inîs: ddíwa ttudîk, attûnat s-edbūšénnek älbáḥr-ī. Yekrî fellîs Žḥâ w-inîs: aunâḥ s-edbūšénnûk aḥîr āūkeṛéṇtẹn qeṭṭâʿān.

C.1.9.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəʕədd Žḥà əlbəḥr=i iɣəlli a=isəbbəḥ u=yəkkəš (ə)dbuš=ənnəs; bəʕədèn ušàn=d qəṭṭáʕan ukərən ədbuš=ənnəs. Bəʕədèn yəkrí tfillì=nnəs ʕəryàn. Bəʕədèn u=bəʕəd səb(ə)ʕa ayyam yəʕədd mərràt (mərràtət) aqùṭət iɣəlli a=isəbbəḥ əlbəḥr=i; yuná s=ədbuš=ənnəs əlmərrat=àya. Bəʕədèn igulì=t iwinàn n=əṣṣaḥb=ənnəs, in=ìs: ddìwa ttudìk, a=ttúnat s=ədbuš=ənnək əlbəḥr=i. Yəkrí fəllìs Žḥà w=in=ìs: a=unàx s=ədbuš=ənnùk axìr (axèr) a=ukərən=tən qəṭṭáʕan.

C.1.9.3 Glossed translation

(388) *Y-əʕədd Žḥà əlbəḥr=i i-ɣəlli a=i-səbbəḥ u=y-əkkəš*
3sm-go:ˣpf. Jha sea=loc. 3sm-want:ˣpf. fut.=3sm-swim:fut. and=3sm-take.off:ˣpf.
(ə)dbuš=ənn-əs;
clothes=of-3s;
'Jha went to the sea, he wanted to swim and he took off his clothes.'

(389) *bəʕədèn ušà-n=d qəṭṭáʕan ukər-ən ədbuš=ənn-əs.*
then come:ˣpf.-3pm=come thieves steal:P-3pm clothes=of-3s
'then thieves came and stole his clothes.'

(390) *Bəʕədèn y-əkrí tfillì=nn-əs ʕəryàn.*
then 3sm-return:ˣpf. house=of-3s be.naked:3sm
'Then he returned to his house naked.'

(391) *Bəʕədèn u=bəʕəd səbəʕa ayyam y-əʕədd mərràt (mərràtət) aqùṭ-ət*
then and=after seven days 3sm-go:ˣpf. time another-sf
i-ɣəlli a=i-səbbəḥ əlbəḥr=i
3sm-want:ˣpf. fut.=3sm-swim:fut. sea=loc.
'Then after seven days he went another time, he wanted to swim in the sea.'

(392) *y-uná s=ədbuš=ənn-əs əlmərrat=àya*
3sm-enter:pf. with=clothes=of-3s time=prox.:s
'He entered with his clothes this time.'

- In the first sentence'time' was written as *mərràt* and in that sentence it was indefinite. In this sentence it is written as *əlmərràt*, and here it is definite. It appears

that the Arabic definite marker *əl-* actually marks definiteness here, while in the rest of the language, and in most other Berber languages, this marker is oblique.

(393) *Bəʃədèn i-gulì=t iwinàn n=əṣṣaḥb=ànn-əs,*
then 3sm-see:ˣpf.=DO.3sm one of=friend=of-3s
'Then a friend of his saw him.'

(394) *i-n=ìs: ddìwa ttudìk, a=tt-úna-t s=ədbuš=ànn-ək əlbəḥr=i.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s what so fut.=2s-enter:fut.-2s with=clothes=of-2sm sea=loc.
'What are you doing! (litt. what so) you are entering the see with your clothes on.'

- *attúnat* irregularly has the accent on the penultimate syllable.

(395) *Y-əkrí fəllì-s Žḥà w=i-n=ìs: a=unà-x*
3sm-return:ˣpf. on-3s Jha and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s fut.=enter:fut.-1s
s=ədbuš=ənn-ùk axìr a=ukər-àn=tən qəṭṭáʃan.
with=clothes=of-1s better fut.=steal:fut.-3pm=DO.3sm thieves
'Jha answered him and said: it would be better if I would enter with my clothes than if they would be stolen by thieves.'

C.1.10 Text X

C.1.10.1 Original transcription

Yušâd Žḥâ márra iġéllī ayéssen akellīménnes amakân baʿîd lâkẹn akellîm iššen-ká amakân w-iššen-ká tebārût u yérwaʿ ayúġer w-inîs i-Žḥâ: rwẹ́ḥḥa āūġẹ́rḥ. Inîs Žḥâ: undú tuġẹ́rt yīd-dîla ašeglâk tebārût.

C.1.10.2 Phonemic transcription

Yušà=d Žḥà màrra iɣèlli a=yəssən akəllim=ənnəs amakàn baʃìd làkən akəllìm iššən ká amakàn w=iššən ká təbarùt u=yərwəʃ a=yùɣər w=in=ìs i=Žḥà: rwìḥḥ=a a=uɣərx. In=ìs Žḥà: əndú tuɣərt yi=d dìla a=šəglà=k təbarùt.

C.1.10.3 Glossed translation

(396) *Y-ušá=d Žḥà màrra i-ɣèlli a=ɣ-əssən akəllim=ənn-əs*
3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:ˣpf. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s
amakàn baʃìd
place be.far:3sm
'One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.'

(397) *làkən akəllìm i-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən ká təbarùt*
but servant 3sm-know:ˣpf. neg. place and=3sm-know:ˣpf. neg. way
u=y-ərwəʕ a=y-ùɣər
and=3sm-become.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut.
'But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way and he became afraid to get lost.'

- Especially in verbs with no object suffixes, the negative particle *ká* and the verb seem to share one accent.

(398) *w=i-n=ìs i=Žḥà: rwìḥ-ḥ=a a=uɣàr-x.*
and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=1O.3s dat.=Jha: become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=get.lost:fut.-1s
'and he said to Jha: I am afraid of getting lost.'

(399) *I-n=ìs Žḥà: əndú t-uɣàr-t yi=d dìla*
3sm-say:ˣpf.-1O.3s Jha: if 2s-get.lost:ˣpf..-2s come:imp.=come here
a=šəgl-à=k təbarùt.
fut.-show:fut.-1s=1O.2sm way
'Jha said to him: If you get lost, come here and I will show you the way.'

- Apparently *yi=d dìla* forms a single accentual word, *yi=d* is unaccented.

C.1.11 Text XI

C.1.11.1 Original transcription

Márra Žḥâ yaʿídda ssûq-ī. U nettîn iḫåṭṭâm af míddęn u míddęn sellâmęn fellîs s-kémma måktar n-míddęn ššęnęn-tîya. Baʿadên igûl iwînān, yušâd Žḥâ isséllem fellîs lʿâlla. Baʿadên amęḑęn yenšéd Žḥâ w-inîs: ku tšentîya s-ălōūwâl? Baʿadên inîs Žḥâ: lā ġā̆r guliḫ-kûya tudînta elqåbbûṭ am wannûk w-elʿamámet am tannûk, aḥsébḫ-kûya ʾannek ku d-nék.

C.1.11.2 Phonemic transcription

Màrra Žḥà yəʕìdd=a ssùq=i. U=nəttìn ixəṭṭàm af=mìddən u=mìddən səllàmən fəllìs skàmma məktar n=mìddən ššənən=tì=ya. Bəʕədèn igùl iwínan, yušà=d Žḥà issèlləm fəllìs lʕàlla. Bəʕədèn amədən yənšəd Žḥà w=in=ìs: ku tšənt=ì=ya s=ələwwàl? Bəʕədèn in=ìs Žḥà: la ɣar gulix=kù=ya tudìnt=a əlqəbbùṭ am=wa=nnùk w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nnùk, əḥsəbx=kù=ya ʔənnək ku d=nèk.

C.1.11.3 Glossed translation

(400) *Màrra Žḥà y-əʕìdd=a ssùq=i.*
once Jha 3sm-go:res.=res market=loc.
'Once, Jha had gone to the market.'

(401) *U=nəttìn i-xəṭṭàm af=mìddən u=mìddən səllàm-ən fəllì-s*
and=he 3sm-meet.with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s
skàmma məktar 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 had met him (before).' [PT:XI]

- The verb *ššən* 'to know' in the resultative takes on the meaning 'to have gotten to know, to have met', see also the example sentence in the dictionary sub *wa*.

(402) *Bəʕədèn i-gùl ẇínan, y-ušà-d Žḥà i-ssàlləm fəllì-s lʕəlla.*
Then 3sm-see:ˣpf. one:sm 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha 3sm-greet:ˣpf. on-3s greatly
'Then he saw someone and Jha came and greeted him greatly.'

(403) *Bəʕədèn amàdən y-ənšəd Žḥà w=i-n=ìs: ku*
Then man 3sm-ask:pf. Jha and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s: you
t-šən-t=ì=ya s=əlәwwàl?
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=ìs Žḥà: la ɣar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a*
Then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha: no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res.
əlqəbbùṭ am=wa=nn-ùk w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk,
robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s
əḥsəb-x=kù=ya ʔənn-ək ku d=nàk.
think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmplzr.2sm you pred.=I
'Then Jha said to him: No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!'

C.1.12 Text XII

C.1.12.1 Original transcription

Iwîn n íšf yeškî Žḥâ ssûk-ī[2] w-íddes aẓiŏṭénnes. Ba'adên isáġ ḥénṭā n el-ḫắḍărät w-iggîtet skâret-ī[3] lâkän yélġåm āīgîtet af aẓîṭ w-igîtet af elket-fénnes u ya'ádd yẹlbîba af aẓîṭénnes. Ba'adên igulît iwīnân n-ĕṣṣắḥbénnes

[2]Unusually Paradisi writes *ssuq* with a *k* here.
[3]Probably a printing error of <škâret>.

tĕbarût-ī yenšédt w-inîs: adgát-ká škâret af aẓiŏṭ? Inîs Žḥâ: erwáʿ s-ġār råbbī a-y-amédẹn; issúdda-ká nek elbů̊bḫa af aẓiṭ u tĕġellît-ī aḥmélḫ fellîs škâret u arnâs ĕttaʿáb af ettaʿabénnes.

C.1.12.2 Phonemic transcription

Iwìn n=ìšf yəškí Žḥà ssùq=i w=ìddəs aẓiṭ=ənnəs. Bəʃədèn isáɣ ḥànṭa n=əlxàḍ(ə)rət w=iggì=tət škárət=i[4] làkən yəlɣəm a=igì=tət af=aẓìṭ w=igí=tət af=əlkətf=ənnəs u=yəʃàdd yəlbìb=a af=aẓiṭ=ənnəs. Bəʃədèn igulì=t iwinàn n=əṣṣaḫb=ənnəs təbarùt=i yənšàd=t w=in=ìs: a=dgàt ká škàrət af=aẓiṭ? In=ìs Žḥà: ərwáʃ sɣar=ṛàbbi ay=amàdən; issùdda ká nək əlbàbx=a af=aẓiṭ u=təɣəllìt=i a=ḥmàlx fəllìs škàrət u=a=rnà=s əttəʃáb af=əttəʃəb=ənnəs.

C.1.12.3 Glossed translation

(405) *Iwìn n=ìšf y-əší Žḥà ssùq=i w=ìdd-əs aẓiṭ=ənn-əs.*
one of=day 3sm-leave:ˣpf. Jha market=loc. and=with-3s donkey=of-3s
'One day Jha left for the market and with him (he had) his donkey.'

(406) *Bəʃədèn i-sáɣ ḥànṭa n=əlxàḍərət w=i-ggì=tət škárət=i.*
then 3sm-buy:ˣpf. bit of=vegetable and=3sm-put:ˣpf.=DO.3sf bag=loc.
'Then he bought some vegetables and put them in a bag.'

(407) *làkən y-àlɣəm a=i-gì=tət af=aẓìṭ w=i-gí=tət*
but 3sm-refuse:seq. fut.=3sm-put:fut.=DO.3sf on=donkey and=3sm-put:ˣpf.=DO.3sf
af=əlkətf=ənn-əs u=y-əʃàdd y-əlbìb=a af=aẓiṭ=ənn-əs.
on=shoulder=of-3s and=3sm-go:ˣpf. 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) *Bəʃədèn i-gulì=t iwinàn n=əṣṣaḫb=ənn-əs təbarùt=i*
Then 3sm-see:ˣpf.=DO.3sf one:sm of=friend=of-3s road=loc.
y-ənšàd=t w=i-n=ìs: a=d-gà-t ká škàrət
3sm-ask:ˣpf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s fut.=2s-put:fut.-2s neg. bag
af=aẓiṭ?
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=ìs Žḥà: ərwáʃ sɣar=ràbbi ay=amàdən;*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha fear:imp. from=god voc.=man;
'Jha said: Fear god o man!'

[4]On the discussion of the accent see section 8.2.

(410) *i-ssùdd=a ká nək əlbàb-x=a af=aẓiṭ*
3sm-be.enough:res.=res. neg. I climb:res.-1s=res. on=donkey
u=t-əɣəllì-t=i a=ḥmàl-x fəllì-s škàrət
and=2s-want:ˣpf.-2s=DO.1s fut.=load:fut.-1s on-3s bag
u=a=rn-à=s əttəʕáb af=əttəʕəb=ànn-əs.
and=fut.=increase:fut.-1s=IO.3s burden on=burden=of-3s
'Is it not enough that I mount the donkey? and you want me to load the bag on the donkey and increase the burden upon his burden!'

· One would expect *əlbàb-x-a* to be ***əlbib-x-a*.

C.1.13 Text XIII

C.1.13.1 Original transcription

Yeškî Žḥâ s-ar (anche: s-ġâr) tĕfillînnes w-íddes irîu fellîs tĕkabḗrt tĕzwâġt u yerfaʿtîya af agårâṭénnes. Baʿadên ittuwît u yåqqîm idōūwâr fellîs u nettîn af agårâṭénnes u itennîs i-kúll amḗdęn: dgulît-ká irîu fellîs tĕkabḗrt tĕzwâġt? Baʿadên inîs iwîn n amḗdęn: bâlek nettîn wa nnîyen af ĕlketfḗnnek. Baʿadên yerfáʿ Žḥâ tĕgīlînnes ar-ẓût igûl irîu w-inîs y-irîu: ur-nâka-ká baʿád atqīmât iddî taʿaddît-ká?

C.1.13.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəškí Žḥà sa= (or: sɣàr=) təfillì=nnəs w=ìddəs irìw fəllìs təkabàrt təzwàɣt u=yərfəʕ=tì=ya af=agərəṭ=ànnəs. Bəʕədèn ittuwì=t u=yəqqìm idəwwàr fəllìs u=nəttìn af=agərəṭ=ànnəs u=itənn=ìs i=kùll amədən: dgulìt ká irìw fəllìs təkabàrt təzwàɣt? Bəʕədèn in=ìs iwìn n=amədən: bàlək nəttìn wa nnìyən af=əlkətf=ànnək. Bəʕədèn yərfəʕ Žḥà təgilì=nnəs ar=ẓùṭ igùl irìw w=in=ìs y=irìw: ur=nà=k=a ká bəʕəd a=tqimàt iddí təʕəddìt ká?

C.1.13.3 Glossed translation

(411) *Y-əškí Žḥà sar (or: sɣàr)=təfillì=nn-əs w=ìdd-əs irìw fəllì-s təkabàrt*
3sm-leave:ˣpf. Jha from=house=of-3s and=with-3s child on-3s shirt
təzwàɣt u=y-ərfəʕ=tì=ya af=agərəṭ=ànn-əs.
red:sf and=3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res. on=neck=of-3s
'Jha left his house and with him (was his) child had a red shirt on and he carried him on his neck.'

(412) *Bəʃədèn i-ttuwì=t u=y-əqqìm i-dəwwàr fəllì-s*
Then 3sm-forget:ˣpf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-look.around:impf. on-3s
u=nəttìn af=agərəṭ=ànn-əs u=i-tənn=ìs i=kùll amàdən
and=he on=neck=of-3s and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s dat.=each person
'Then he forgot him and he started looking around for him, and he was (still) on his neck, and started saying to each person:'

(413) *d-gulì-t ká irìw fəllì-s təkabàrt təzwàɣt?*
2s-see:ˣpf.-2s neg. child on-3s shirt red:sf
'Have you not seen a child with a red shirt on?'

(414) *Bəʃədèn i-n=ìs iwìn n=amàdən: bàlək nəttìn wa*
Then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s one:sm of=man: perhaps he PMPH:sm
nnìy-ən af=əlkətf=ànn-ək.
be(loc.):ˣpf.-ptc. on=shoulder=of-2sm
'Then a man said to him: perhaps he is the one that is on your shoulder?'

(415) *Bəʃədèn y-ərfəʕ Žḥà təgilì=nn-əs ar=ẓùṭ i-gùl irìw*
Then 3sm-lift.up:pf. Jha head=of-3s to=up 3sm-see:ˣpf. child
w=i-n=ìs y=irìw:
and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s dat.=child:
'Then Jha lifted his head up and saw the child and he said to the child:'

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

C.1.14 Text XIV

C.1.14.1 Original transcription

Žḥâ d-aleṣlá‘; ba‘adên iwîn n íšf ya‘ádd i-wa tezzâmęn u izemîs. Ba‘adên ikkémmel yefkîs ennûṣ n elbarât. Ba‘adên inîs wa tezzâmęn: af-iwâ tĕfkī-dîk nnûṣ n elḥåqqennûk? Inîs Žḥâ: s-kémma (or: sémma) nek d-aléṣla‘.

C.1.14.2 Phonemic transcription

Žḥà d=ələṣləʕ; bəʃədèn iwìn n=ìšf yəʕədd i=wa təzzàmən u=izəm=ìs. Bəʃədèn ikkámməl yəfk=ìs ənnùṣ n=əlbəràt. Bəʃədèn in=ìs wa təzzàmən: af-iwá təfki(t)=dìk (ə)nnùṣ n=əlḥəqq=ənnùk? In=ìs Žḥà: skámma nək d=ələṣləʕ.

C.1.14.3 Glossed translation

(417) *Žḥà d=ələṣláʕ*
Jha pred.=bald
'Juha was bald.'

- *ələṣláʕ* has an unexpected final accent. The final sentence of this text has the word with the correct accent in the same syntactic environment.

(418) *bəʃədèn ẇìn n=ìšf y-əʃədd i=wa təzzàm-ən*
then one:sm of=day 3sm-go:ˣpf. dat.-PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.
u=i-zəm=ìs.
and=3sm-shave:ˣpf.=IO.3s
'Then one day he went to the barber (litt. He who shaves) and he (the barber) shaved him.'

(419) *Bəʃədèn i-kkámməl y-əfk=ìs ənnùṣ n-əlbəràt.*
then 3sm-finish:ˣpf. 3sm-give:ˣpf.=IO.3s half of=money
'Then he finished and he (Jha) gave him half of the money (he owed him).'

(420) *Bəʃədèn i-n=ìs wa təzzàm-ən: afẇá t-əfki-(t)=dìk*
then 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.: why 2s-give:ˣpf.-2s=IO.1s
(ə)nnùṣ n=əlḥəqq=ənn-ùk?
half of=right=of-1s?
'Then the barber said: Why did you give me half of what is rightfully mine?'

- Note that in Paradisi's transcription of *təfki(t)=dìk* <tĕfkīdîk> the final *-t* of the 2sg. is lost.

(421) *I-n=ìs Žḥà: skámma nək d=əlàṣləʕ.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s Jha: because I pred.=bald
'Jha said to him: Because I am bald!'

C.1.15 Text XV

C.1.15.1 Original transcription

Gān Abû-dabär ġâres tẹmígnī w-iggâda s-ġâres sébaʕa n tirīwîn (anche: tirîwī) wĕ nettîn ġâres ĕlḻarbūšénnes ínnī ʕángarā w-išúwwa gān ĕlġårsāténnes w-igáĭ gān timẓîn id ĕlgafûli (anche: ñgafûli) u ġares gān tnūvîn nĕ bẓå̆lîm w-išuwitḗnęt af afūsénnes w-irṓūwāḥ af tfillínnes w-ayaʕádd elġábeš w-ayûš mnīšîu u gān tirîut tmoqqårânt tnîs y-abbâs: arfáʕ-ī íddek aggûlaḻ såwānînnäk. Yekrî fellîs, inîs: qámak ammânęt timẓîn w-annaʕádd gān kúll, kem id ĕmmâm id setmâm. U baʕadên yaʕádd nettîn

elḫarbūšénnes u yåqqîm išúwwa tnūvînnes w-irróūwaḥ mnīšîu w-inísnęt i-tirīwînnes id ĕmmâtsnęt: ṣbáḥ annaʕádd suwānînnāḫ. U fráḥnęt tirīwîn u šīrédnęt ksūmennésnęt (anche: ġåstīnnésnęt = le loro ossa) u yušâd ār tęmignînnes w-inîs: nĕġállī annaʕádd ṣbáḥ u ddîwa dgulît? Tekrî fellîs ĕnnât w-ĕtnîs: alá dgît bâhī. W-inîs: wéttĭ-dikkénī ččunnâḫ ṣbáḥ id báʕad ṣăbáḥ. Tekrî fellîs, tnîs: kúlli šéi yutâya. Yušâd, yunâ nettîn íddes amakānnesîn u yemḥåṭṭåt avǫṭ-idîn. Kkéręn elġábeš, iwâtān twétta elmetʕatennésnęt w-iwâtān tčîrād u baʕadên udęnnęt udûn kuwáyes u ʕaddân ġallîyen azréden elḫarbūšennesîn u baʕadên tívā tafût tebārût-ī u ġallîyęn ašelḥámen afîu; yeḫzér abbâs žibereténnes yûfa gallûda n afîu. Ḫzérnęt tirīwîn u nānetîs: ábbā, ábbā akkīwân elbåqîs n afîu. Inîs abbâs: wettîmet šġîren, qâmak aggâġd afîu s-ġâr tĕfilli-y-îwan. Yaʕádd abbâs, yufît d-ámẓā, inîs: ssalâmu ʕalêikum. Inîs ámẓā: s-mâg tušídda Abū-dábår. Inîs: ušíġda s-ašâlī nek id lĕhiĕnnûk. W-inîs ámẓā: mâg ĕnnîyęn lĕhilénnek. Inîs Būdábår: akkīwân ẹrišîna dilîwān. W-inîs: ġallîḫ afîu. Inîs: arfáʕi ẓūṭ lektūfénnek. Yerwaʕ Bû-dabar s-ar ámẓā u yerfáʕăt ẓů̂ṭ lektūfénnes u yaʕádd ar lĕhilénnes. Uṣǻlęn w-inîs ámẓā: aġrešdîk tirîut tmoqqårånt. U yefkisîn afîu w-inisîn: āūšáġd āūfáḫtet temmå̂ya. Yaʕádd ámẓā w-ăqqīmân abbâs n tirīwîn id emmâtsnęt vellânęt u yeqâreb ušû n ámẓā

Tékker tęmígnī w-ĕtnîs i-tirīwînnes: kkérmet, ḫzérmet. W-ekkérnęt tirīwîn id emmâtsnęt qqăimânęt ddōūwârnęt u baʕadên nĕhînet ufânet alů́ġom yemmûta u kkérnęt, erfáʕnęt z-gān šummânęt y-ámẓā u taḫzér emmâtsnęt tmûrt-ī u tûfa ĕlmeġġâret u ččān (tš > čč) gān tirîut tĕmoqqårânt u yušâd ámẓā u fkânīs ksûm wa mmâna u yeččît w-inîsīn: šummât-dīk tirîut tâṭen, amišīw-ennûk. U gān-îs am tâṭen. U ṣbaḥénnes: šummât-dīk tâṭen. U gân-īs am-alá gâna i-wertnâs u yúšad ámẓā u yéčča amęklīwę́nnes w-inisîn: šummât-dīk amišīwennûk. U šummân-īs s-ar alóġŏm yemmûta u yúšad ámẓā u yéčča amišīúnnes w-inîsīn: ṣăbáḥ amęklîu af tęmignínnek. U nānīs bâhī. Ṣbaḥ šummân amęklîu u tûna ar tirīwînnes u yúšad ámẓā u yéčča amęklīúnnes w-inîs ámẓa: amišîu fellîk-kú Abū-dabár. U yaʕádd Bû-dabar yeggâd ġåstîn id glīménnes id mlâl w-igîten elgedĕrénnes u yûna ar tirīwînnes u yúšad ámẓā u yéčča ġåstîn wĕ nettîn itétta yåqqîm itennîs: Ksūménnek aḥáš, kkúll d-ġåstîn. W-ĕnhînet sennå̂ṭnet žlân n ámẓā.

Baʕád yéčča, ámẓā yekkér u yåqqîm inékki u baʕadên yeslâ žlân elmoġġå̂ret-ī u yaʕâyäṭ ámẓā, slân amẓîwen ušând lahhéden, nānîs: kénnek? Inīsîn: gān míddęn dîla, qqăimât dîla u nek aunâḫ elmåġå̂ret-ī w-endú iškī azīfennûk de-šṭå̂f, rwelât. Tsennå̂ṭ temígnī alá itennîs ámẓā; yušâd ámẓā, išân azīfénnes elmoġå̂ret-ī. Tekkér temígnī u teggâd tebaqqûšt u tšéṭṭåf azîf n ámẓā w-iškî azîf n ámẓā d-šṭå̂f u gûlânt amẓîwen dĕ-sṭå̂f wĕrwélęn kkull u tĕškî ĕnnât [X?]id amędénnęs it-tirīwînnes ufân ámẓā id

amẓîwen ĕrwilîna kkull wĕ fráḥnęt tirîwīn u ʕaddân elḫarbūšennęsîn u baʕadên uṣ̊ålen gān u ččân u šuân w-ĕkkéręn rrōūwáḥan tfillinnesîn.

C.1.15.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan Abú-dabr ɣàrəs təmìgni w=iggà=d=a syàrəs səbəʕa n=tiriwìn (or: tirìwi) wə=nəttìn ɣàrəs əlxərbuš=ènnəs ìnni ʕángara w=išəwwa gan əlɣərsat=ènnəs w=igày gan timẓìn id=əlgafùli (or: ngafùli) u=ɣarəs gan tnuvìn nə=bẓalìm w=išəwwi=tènət af=afus=ènnəs w=irəwwəḥ af=tfillì=nnəs w=a=yəʕədd əlɣəbəš w=a=yùš mnišìw u=gan tirìwt tməqqəràntn=ìs y=abbà=s: ərfəʕ=i ìddək a=ggùləx səwanì=nnək. Yəkrí fəllìs, in=ìs: qámak a=mmànət timẓìn w=a=nnəʕədd gan kùll, kəm id=əmmàm id=sətmàm. U=bəʕədèn yəʕədd nəttìn əlxərbuš=ènnəs u=yəqqìm išəwwa tnuvìn=nəs w=irrəwwəḥ mnišìw w=in=ìsnət i=tiriwìn=nəs id=əmmà=tsnət: ṣbàḥ a=nnəʕədd səwaní=nnax. U=frəḥnət tiriwìn u=širədnət ksum=ənnəsnət (or: ɣəstin=nəsnət) u=yušà=d ar=təmignì=nnəs w=in=ìs: nəɣəlli a=nnəʕədd ṣbàḥ u=ddìwa dgulìt? Təkrí fəllìs ənnàt w=ətn=ìs: alá dgìt bàhi. W=in=ìs: wətti=dikkàni čču=nnàx ṣbàḥ id=bəʕəd ṣəbàḥ. Təkrí fəllìs, tn=ìs: kùlli šəy yutà=ya. Yušà=d, yuná nəttìn ìddəs amakan=nəsìn u=yəmḥàṭ=ṭət avəṭ=idìn. Kkərən əlɣəbəš, iwátan twətta əlmətʕat=ənnəsnət w=iwátan tšírad u=bəʕədèn udənnət udùn kəwəyəs u=ʕəddàn ɣəllìyən a=zrədən əlxərbuš=ənnəsìn u=bəʕədèn tìva tafùt təbarùt=i u=ɣəllìyən a=šəlḥəmən afìw; Yəxzár abbàs žibərət=ènnəs yùfa gal=lùda n=afìw. xzərnət tiriwìn u=nanət=ìs: àbba, àbba akkiwàn əlbəqìs n=afìw. In=ìs abbàs: wəttìmət šɣìrən, qámak a=ggàɣ=d afìw syàr=təfilli=yíwan. Yəʕədd abbàs, yufì=t d=àmẓa, in=ìs: ssalámu ʕalèykum. In=ìs àmẓa: s=màg tušìd=d=a Abu-dàbr. In=ìs: ušìɣ=d=a s=ašàl=i nək id=ləhil=ənnùk. W=in=ìs àmẓa: màg ənnìyən ləhil=ènnək. In=ìs Budàbr: akkiwàn irišìn=a dilíwan. W=in=ìs: ɣəllìx afìw. In=ìs: ərfəʕ=i ẓuṭ ləktuf=ènnək. Yərwəʕ Bú-dabr sar=àmẓa u=yərfəʕ=ət ẓùṭ=ləktuf=ènnəs u=yəʕədd ar=ləhil=ènnəs. Uṣələn w=in=ìs àmẓa: aɣrəš=dìk tirìwt tməqqəràntn. U=yəfk=isìn afìw w=in=isìn: a=ušàɣ=d a=ufàx=tət təmmà=ya. Yəʕədd àmẓa w=əqqimàn abbàs n=tiriwìn id=əmmàtsnət vəllànət u=yəqàrəb ušú n àmẓa.

Tàkkər təmìgni w=ətn=ìs i=tiriwìn=nəs: kkərmət, xzərmət. W=əkkərnət tiriwìn id=əmmàtsnət qqimànət ddəwwàrnət u=bəʕədèn nəhìnət ufànət alèyəm yəmmùta u=kkərnət, ərfəʕnət z=gan šəmmànət yàmẓa u=təxzár əmmàtsnət tmùrt=i u=tùfa əlməɣɣàrət u=tšan gan tirìwt təməqqəràntu=yušà=d àmẓa u=fkán=is ksùm wa mmàn=a u=yəččì=t w=in=ísin: šəmmát=dik tirìwt tàṭən, amišiw=ənnùk. U gan=ìs am=tàṭən. U=ṣbaḥ=ènnəs: šəmmát=dik tàṭən. U gán=is am=alá gàn=a i=wərtnàs u=yúša=d àmẓa u=yəčča aməkliw=ènnəs w=in=isìn: šəmmàt=dik amišiw=ənnùk. U=šəm-

mán=is sar=alàɣəm yəmmùt=a u=yúša=d àmẓa u=yəčča amišiw=ənnəs w=in=ísin: ṣəbàḥ aməklìw af=təmignì=nnək. U=nan=is: bàhi. Ṣbaḥ šəmmàn aməklìw u=tùna ar=tiriwìn=nəs u=yúša=d àmẓa u=yəčča aməkliw =ənnəs w=in=ìs àmẓa: Amišìw fəllìk=kú Abu-dabár. U=yəʕədd Bú-dabr yəggà=d ɣəstìn id=glim=ənnəs id=mlàl w=igì=tən əlgədər=ənnəs u=yùna ar=tiriwìn=nəs u=yúša=d àmẓa u=yəčča ɣəstìn wə=nəttìn itàtta yəqqìm itənn=ìs: Ksum=ənnək aḥàš, kùll d=ɣəstìn. W=ənhìnət sənnàṭnət žlàn n=àmẓa.

Bəʕád yəčča, àmẓa yəkkár u=yəqqìm inəkki u=bəʕədèn yəslá žlàn əlməɣɣàrət=i u=yəʕàyəṭ àmẓa, slàn amẓìwən ušàn=d ləhhədən, nan=ìs: kənnək? In=isìn: gan mìddən dìla, qqimàt dìla u=nək a=unàx əlməɣàrət=i w=əndú iški azif=ənnùk də=šṭəf, rwəlàt. Tsənnàṭ təmìgni alá itənn=ìs àmẓa; Yušà=d àmẓa, išàn azif=ənnəs əlməɣarət=i. Təkkár təmìgni u=təggà =d təbəqqùšt u=tšəṭṭəf azìf n=àmẓa w=iškí azìf n=àmẓa d=šṭəf u=gùlant amẓìwən də= sṭəf w=ərwèlən kkull u=təškí ənnàt id=amədèn=nəs it=tiriwìn=nəs ufàn àmẓa id=amẓìwən ərwilìn=a kkull wə=frèḥnət tiríwin u= ʕəddàn əlxarbuš=ənnəsìn u=bəʕədèn uṣèlən gan u=ččàn u=šwàn w=əkkèrən rrəwwèḥən tfilli=nnəsìn.

C.1.15.3 Glossed translation

(422) *Gan Abúdabr ɣàr-əs təmìgni w=i-ggàd=a sɣàr-əs səbəʕa*
there Abu.Dabr to-3s wife and=3sm-bring:res.=res. from-3s seven
n=tiriwìn (*or: tirìwi*)
of=girls
'There once was (a man called) Abu-Dabr, he had a wife and he received seven girls from her.'

(423) *wə=nəttìn ɣàr-əs əlxərbuš=ənn-əs ì-nni ʕángara w=i-šəwwa*
and=he to-3s garden=of-3s 3sm-exist:ˣpf. ʕAngara and=3sm-water:impf.
gan əlɣərsat=ənn-əs w=i-gày gan timẓìn
there young.palms=of-3s and=3sm-cultivate:impf. there barley
id=əlgafùli (*or: ngafùli*) *u=ɣar-əs gan tnuvìn nə=bẓalìm*
with=maize and=to-3s there irrigation.canals of=onions
w=i-šəwwi=tànət af=afus=ənn-əs w=i-rəwwaḥ
and=3sm-water:impf.=DO.3sm on=hand=of-3s and=3sm-return:impf.
af=tfillì=nn-əs
on=house=of-3s
'And he had a garden that lay in ʕAngara 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=ànn=əs* literally means 'on his hand', Paradisi translates 'da solo'. This is probably an expression that indeed has the meaning that Paradisi translates.

(424) *w=a=y-əʕàdd əlɣàbəš w=a=y-ùš mnišìw u=gan tirìwt*
and=fut.=3sm-go:fut. morning and=fut.=3sm-come:fut. evening and=there girl
tməqqəràntt-n=ìs y=abbà-s: ərfəʕ=i ìdd-ək
big:sf 3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s dat.=father-3s take:imp.=DO.1s with-2sm
a=ggùl-əx səwanì=nn-ək.
fut.=see:fut.-1s garden=of-2sm
'He would go in the morning, and come (back) in the evenings, and the oldest girl there said to her father: take me with you so I can see your garden.'

- One would expect *əlɣàbəš, mnišìw* to take the locative postposition *-i*.

(425) *Y-əkrí fəllì-s, i-n=ìs: qámak a=mmà-nət timẓìn*
3sm-return:ˣpf. on-3s 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s now fut.=be.ready:fut.-3pf barley
w=a=n-nəʕàdd gan kùll, kəm id=əmmà-m id=sətmà-m.
and=fut.=1p-go:fut. there all, you with=mother-2sf with=sisters-2sf
'He answered to her and said: Now, when the barley will have ripened, we will all go there, you, your mother and your sisters.'

(426) *U=bəʕədèn y-əʕàdd nəttìn əlxərbuš=ànn-əs u=y-əqqìm i-šàwwa*
and=then 3sm-go:ˣpf. he garden=of-3s and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-water:impf.
tnuvìn=n-əs w=i-rràwwəḥ mnišìw w=i-n=ìsnət
irrigation.canals=of-3s and=3sm-return:ˣpf. evening and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=DO.3pf
i-tiriwìn=n-əs id=əmmà-tsnət: ṣbàḥ a=n-nəʕàdd səwaní=nn-ax.
dat.=children=of-3s and=mother-3pf: tomorrow fut.=1p-go:fut. garden=of-1p
'And then he went to his garden and started watering his irrigation canals and he returned that evening and said to his daughters and their mother: Tomorrow we will go to our garden.'

(427) *U=fràḥ-nət tiriwìn u=širàd-nət ksum=ənn-àsnət* (*or:*
and=be.happy:ˣpf.-3pf girls and=wash:ˣpf.-3pf meat=of-3pf
ɣəstin=n-àsnət) *u=y-ušà=d ar=təmignì=nn-əs*
bones=of-3pf and=3sm-come:ˣpf.=come to=woman=of-3s
w=i-n=ìs: nə-ɣàlli a=n-nə-ʕàdd ṣbàḥ u=ddìwa d-gulì-t?
and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s 1p-want:ˣpf. fut.=1p-go:fut. tomorrow and=what 2s-see:ˣpf.-2s
'The girls became happy and washed themselves and he came to his wife and said to her: We want to go tomorrow, what do you think? (litt. what do you see?)'

(428) *T-əkrí fəllì-s ənnàt w=ətn=ìs: alá d-gì-t bàhi.*
3sf-return:ˣpf. on-3s she and=3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s rel. 2s-do:ˣpf.-2s be.good:3sm
'She answered to him and said: What(ever) you do is fine.'

(429) *W=i-n=ìs: wàtti=dikkàni čču=nn-àx ṣbàḥ id=bàʃəd*
and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s prepare:imp.=IO.1p food=of-1p tomorrow and=after
ṣəbàḥ.
tomorrow.
'And he said to her: prepare food for us for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.'

(430) *T-əkrí fəllì-s, t-n=ìs: kùlli šəy y-utà=ya.*
3sf-return:ˣpf. on-3s 3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s everything 3sm-be.prepared:res.=res.
'She answered to him: Everything is prepared.'

(431) *Y-ušá=d, y-unà nəttìn ìdd-əs amakan=n-əsìn*
3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm
u=y-əmḥàṭ=ṭət avəṭ=idìn.
and=3sm-make.love:ˣpf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s
'He came and entered their place with her and he made love to her that night.'

(432) *Kkàr-ən əlɣəbəš, iwátan twàtta əlmətʃat=ənnəsnət w=iwátan*
get.up:ˣpf.-3pm morning, one:sf 3sf-prepare:ˣpf. stuff=of-3pf and=one:sf
tšírad u=bəʃadèn udən-nət udùn kəwəyəs
3sf-wash:impf. and=then dress:ˣpf.-3pf clothing good
'They got up in the morning, one (of the girls) prepared their stuff and one washed, and then they dressed in fine clothes'

- *tšírad* looks like an imperfect (albeit with the wrong accent), but must be translated as a perfect.

(433) *u=ʃəddà-n ɣəllìy-ən a=zrəd-ən əlxərbuš=ənn-əsìn u=bəʃədèn*
and=go:ˣpf.-3pm want:ˣpf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then
t-ìva tafùt təbarùt=i u=ɣəllìy-ən a=šəlḥəm-ən afiw;
3sf-fall:seq. sun road=loc. and=want:ˣpf.-3pm fut.=light:fut.-3pm fire
'And they went and they wanted to eat (in) their garden and then the sun fell on the road and they wanted to light a fire.'

(434) *Y-əxzár abbà-s žibərət=ànn-əs y-ùfa gal lùda n=afiw.*
3sm-search:pf. father-3s travelling.bag=of-3s 3sm-found:seq. there nothing of=fire
'The father searched his travelling bag (but) found there was nothing for (lighting the) fire.'

- The *n* of *gan* has assimilated to the *l* of *lùda*.

(435) *xzàr-nət tiriwìn u=na-nət=ìs: àbba, àbba akkiwàn əlbəqìs n=afiw.*
look:ˣpf.-3pf girls and=say:ˣpf.-3pf=IO.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-mət šɣìrən, qámak a=ggà-ɣ=d*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s father-3s prepare:imp.-fp firewood now fut.=bring:fut.-1s=bring
afiw sɣàr=təfilli=yíwan.
fire from=house=dist.:s
'The father said: prepare firewood, now I will bring fire from that house.'

(437) *Yə-ʕədd abbà-s, y-ufì=t d=àmẓa, i-n=ìs:*
3sm-go:ˣpf. father-3s, 3sm-find:ˣpf.=DO.3sm pred.=ogre, 3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s
ssalámu ʕalèykum.
as-salāmu ʕalaykum
'The father went and found out that it was an ogre and he says yo him: *as-salāmu ʕalaykum*'

(438) *I-n=ìs àmẓa: s=màg t-ušì-d=d=a Abudàbr.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s ogre from=where 2s-come:ˣpf.-2s=come=res. Abu.Dabr
'The ogre said to him: Where did you come from Abu-dabr?'

(439) *I-n=ìs: ušì-ɣ=d=a s=ašàl=i nək id=ləhil=ənn-ùk.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s come:res.-1s=come=res. from=village=loc. I with=family=of-1s
'He said to him: I've come from the village, together with my family.'

(440) *W=i-n=ìs àmẓa: màg ənnìy-ən ləhil=ànn-ək.*
and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s ogre where exist:ˣpf.-3pm family=of-2sm
'And the ogre said: Where is your family?'

(441) *I-n=ìs Budàbr: akkiwàn iriš-ìn=a dilíwan.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.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: ɣəllì-x afiw.*
and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s want:ˣpf.-1s fire
'And he said to him: I want fire.'

(443) *I-n=ìs: ərfəʕ=i ẓuṭ=ləktuf=ànn-ək.*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.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-ərfəʕ=ət*
3sm-be.afraid:ˣpf. Abu.dabr from=ogre and=3sm-carry:ˣpf.=DO.3sm
ẓùṭ=ləktuf=ànn-əs u=y-əʕədd ar=ləhil=ànn-əs.
on.top.of=shoulders=of-3s and=3sm-go:ˣpf. to=family=of-3s
'Abu dabr was afraid of the ogre and he carried him on his shoulders and went to his family.'

(445) *Uṣàl-ən w=i-n=ìs àmẓa: aɣrəš=dìk tirìwt*
arrive:ˣpf.-3pm and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s ogre slaughter:imp.=IO.1s girl
tməqqərànt.
big:sf
'They arrived and the ogre said to him: Slaughter your oldest daughter for me.'

(446) *U=y-əfk=isìn afìw w=i-n=isìn: a=ušà-ɣ=d*
and=3sm-give:ˣpf.=IO.3pm fire and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm fut.=come:fut.-1s
a=ufà-x=tət t-əmmà=ya.
fut.=find:fut.-1s=DO.3sf 3sf-be.cooked:res.=res.
'And he gave them fire and said to them: I will come (back) and I will find her cooked.'

(447) *Y-əʕədd àmẓa w=əqqimà-n abbà-s n=tiriwìn id=əmmà-tsnət*
3sm-go:ˣpf. ogre and=stay:ˣpf.-3pm father-3s of=children with=mother-3pf
vəllà-nət u=y-əqàrəb ušú n=àmẓa.
cry:impf.-3pf and=3sm-draw.near:ˣpf. 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-àkkər təmìgni w=ət-n=ìs i=tiriwìn=n-əs: kkàr-mət,*
3sf-get.up:ˣpf. woman and=3sf-say:ˣpf.=IO.3s dat.=children=of-3s get.up:imp.-pf
xzàr-mət.
look:imp.-pf
'The woman stood up and she said to her children: get up and look around.'

· Verbs of the **c̄c** type usually have a phonological final accent in all stems. The verb *tàkkər* here is the only exception.

(449) *W=əkkàr-nət tiriwìn id=əmmà-tsnət qqimà-nət ddəwwàr-nət*
and=get.up:ˣpf.-3pf children with=mother-2pf stay:ˣpf.-3pf go.around:impf.-3pf
u=bəʕədèn nəhìnət ufà-nət alàɣəm y-əmmùt=a u=kkàr-nət,
and=then they(f) find:ˣpf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:ˣpf.-3pf,
ərfəʕ-nət z=gan šəmmà-nət y=àmẓa
lift.up:ˣpf.-3pf from=there cook:ˣpf.-3pf dat.=ogre

'And the children and the mother got up and started going around and then they found a dead camel and they stood up and lifted (it) from there and cooked it for the ogre.'

(450) *u=t-əxzár əmmà-tsnət tmùrt=i u=t-ùfa əlməɣɣàrət*
and=3sf-look:pf. mother-3pf land=loc. and=3sf-find:seq. cave
u=t-šan gan tirìwt təməqqəràntu=y-ušà=d àmẓa
and=3sf-make.enter:ˣpf. there girl big:sf and=3sm-come:pf.=come ogre
u=fká-n=is ksùm wa mmà-n=a
and=give:ˣpf.-3pm=IO.3s meat PMPH:sm be.cooked:res.-ptc.=res.
u=y-əčči=t w=i-n=ísin: šəmm-át=dik tirìwt
and=3sm-eat:ˣpf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm cook:imp.-pm=IO.1s child
tàṭən, amišiw=ənn-ùk.
other:sf dinner=of-1s
'And the mother searched the area and found a cave and made oldest girl go in there, and the ogre came and they gave him the meat that had been cooked and he ate it and said: Cook me another girl, (for) my dinner.'

(451) *U=ga-n=is am=tàṭən.*
and=do:P-3pm=IO.3s like=other:sf
'And they did to her like (they did to) the other.'

(452) *U=ṣbaḥ=ànn-əs šəmm-át=dik tàṭən.*
and=tomorrow=of-3s cook:imp.-pm=IO.1s other:sf
'And the next day: cook another for me'

Notes 1 ṣbaḥ=ànn-əs *literally translates to 'his/her tomorrow'. This construction is only found here, so little more can be said about it.*

(453) *U=gá-n=is am=alá gà-n=a i=wərtnà-s*
and=do:ˣpf.-3pm=IO.3s like=rel. do:res.-3pm=res. dat.=sister-3s
u=y-úša=d àmẓa u=y-àčča aməkliw=ənn-əs
and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s
w i-n=isìn: šəmm-àt=dik amišiw=ənn-ùk.
and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm cook:imp.-pm=IO.1s dinner=of-1s
'And they did to here like they had done to her sister and the ogre came and ate his meal and he said to them: cook me dinner.'

(454) *U=šəmmá-n=is sar=alàyəm y-əmmùt-a u=y-úša=d*
and=cook:ˣpf.-3pm=IO.3s from=camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=3sm-come:seq.=come
àmẓa u=y-àčča amišiw=ənn-əs w=i-n=ísin: ṣəbàḥ
ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. dinner=of-3s and=3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm tomorrow
aməkliw 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=na-n=is: bàhi.*
and=say:ˣpf.-3pm=10.3s be.good:3sm
'And they said to him: fine.'

(456) *Ṣbaḥ šəmmà-n aməklìw u=t-ùna ar=tiriwìn=n-əs*
tomorrow cook:ˣpf.-3pm meal and=3sf-enter:seq to=children=of-3s
u=y-úša=d àmẓa u=y-àčča aməkliw=ànn-əs
and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s
w=i-n=ìs àmẓa: Amišìw fəllì-k kú Abudabə́r.
3sm-say:ˣpf.=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-əʃàdd Búdabr y-əggà=d ɣəstìn id=glim=ànn-əs id=mlàl*
and=3sm-go:ˣpf. Abu.dabr 3sm-bring:pf.=bring bones with=skin=of-3s with=sand
w=i-gì=tən əlgədər=ànn-əs u=y-ùna ar=tiriwìn=n-əs
and=3sm-put:ˣpf.=10.3pm pot=of-3s and=3sm-enter:seq. to=children=of-3s
u=y-úša=d àmẓa u=y-àčča ɣəstìn wə=nəttìn i-tàtta
and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. bones and=he 3sm-eat:impf.
y-əqqìm i-tənn=ìs: Ksum=ànn-ək aḥàš, kùll d=ɣəstìn.
3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-say:impf.=10.3sm meat=of-2sm bad all pred.=bones
'and Abu-dabr went and brought the bones and skin and sand and put it in the cooking pot and he entered (the cave with his) children and the ogre came and ate the bones and he while eating he kept on saying: your meat is bad, all of it is bones.'

(458) *W=ənhìnət sənnàṭ-nət žlàn n=àmẓa.*
and=they(f) hear:impf.-3pf words of=ogre
'And they heard to the words of the ogre'

- *sənnàṭnət* looks like an imperfect but must be a perfect (cf. *tšírad* earlier in the text).

(459) *Bəʃə́d y-àčča, àmẓa y-əkkə́r u=y-əqqìm i-nàkki*
After 3sm-eat:seq. ogre 3sm-get.up:ˣpf. and=3sm-stay:ˣpf. 3sm-smell:impf.
u=bəʃədèn y-əslá žlàn əlməɣɣàrət=i u=y-əʃàyəṭ àmẓa,
and=then 3sm-hear:pf. words cave=loc. and=3sm-scream:ˣpf. ogre,

slà-n amẓìwən ušà-n=d ləhhàd-ən, na-n=ìs:
hear:ˣpf.-3pm ogres came:ˣpf.-3pm=come run:impf.-3pm say:ˣpf.-3pm=IO.3s
kànnək?
what is it?

'After the ogre had eaten he got up and started sniffing, and then he heard words from the cave and the ogre screamed and (other) ogres heard (it) and came running and said to him: What is it?'

(460) *I-n=isìn: gan mìddən dìla, qqim-àt dìla u=nək*
3sm-say:ˣpf.=IO.3pm there people at.here, stay:imp.-pm at.here and=I
a=unà-x əlməɣàrət=i w=əndú i-ški azif=ənn-ùk də=šṭàf,
fut=enter:fut.-1s cave=loc. and=if 3sm-leave:ˣpf. tail=of-1s pred.=black:sm,
rwəl-àt.
flee:imp.-pm

'He said to them: there are people here, stay here and I will enter the cave, and if I come out and my tail is black, flee!'

(461) *T-sənnàṭ təmìgni alá i-tənn=ìs àmẓa;*
3sf-hear:impf. woman rel. 3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s ogre

'The woman heard what the ogre was saying'

(462) *Y-ušà=d àmẓa, i-šàn azif=ənn-əs əlməɣarət=i.*
3sm-come:ˣpf.=come ogre 3sm-insert:ˣpf. tail=of-3s cave=loc.

'The ogre came and inserted his tail into the cave.'

(463) *T-əkkár təmìgni u=t-əggà-d təbəqqùšt u=t-šəṭṭəf*
3sf-get.up:ˣpf. woman and=3sf-take:pf.=take pan and=3sf-make.black:ˣpf.
azìf n=àmẓa w=i-škí azìf n=àmẓa d=šṭáf
tail of=ogre and=3sm-leave:ˣpf. tail of=ogre pred.=black:sm
u=gùla-n=t amẓìwən də=sṭàf w=ərwəl-ən kkull
and=see:ˣpf.-3pm=DO.3sm ogres pred.=black:sm and=flee:ˣpf.-3pm all

'The woman got up and she took the pan and she made the tale of the ogre black, and the tale of the ogre came out being black and the ogres saw it being black and they all fled.'

(464) *u=t-əškí ənnàt id=amádən=n-əs it=tiriwìn=n-əs ufà-n àmẓa*
and=3sf-leave:ˣpf. she with=man=of-3s with=children=of-3s find:ˣpf.-3pm ogre
id=amẓìwən ərwilì-n=a kkull
with=ogres flee:res.-3pm=R all

'And she came out with her husband and her children and she found that the ogre and the ogres had all fled.'

(465) *wə=frəḥ-nət tiríwin u=ʕəddà-n əlxarbuš=ənn-əsìn*
and=become.happy:ˣpf.-3pf children and=go:ˣpf.-3pm garden=of-3pm
u=bəʕədèn uṣəl-ən gan u=ččà-n u=šwà-n
and=then arrive:ˣpf.-3pm there and=eat:ˣpf.-3pm and=drink:ˣpf.-3pm
w=əkkər-ən rrəwwəḥ-ən tfilli=nn-əsìn.
and=get.up:ˣpf.-3pm return:ˣpf.-3pm house=of-3pm
'And the children became happy and they went to their garden and then they arrived there and they ate and drank and they got up and returned to their house.'

C.2 Texts from Zanon

C.2.1 Song I

C.2.1.1 Original transcription

ġillîġ kàm uggūt uggūt. / min ġair tġélli tìkra[5]

C.2.1.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəllìɣ=kəm uggut uggut. / min ɣayr tɣəllit=i kra

(466) *ɣəlli-ɣ=kəm uggut uggut.*
want:ˣpf.-1s=DO.2sf much much
'I want you so much'

- notice that the form *ġillîġ* still has the original Berber *-ɣ* as 1sg. ending rather than *-x* as is found universally in Paradisi (1960a).
- In Paradisi (1960a), the 2sg.f. direct object is *-kəm*, as this is the common form in Berber languages, it would seem that this was misheard by Zanon, rather than an archaism.
- In Paradisi (1960a), *uggūt* is found as *ĕggût* /əggút/. In Sokni (Sarnelli 1924) we find *uggút* 'much, many', perhaps this *u* had not yet shifted to *ə* in the time of Zanon's fieldwork.

(467) *min ɣayr t-ɣəlli-t=i kra*
without 2s-want:ˣpf.-2s-DO.1s neg.
'without you wanting me'

[5]As pointed out by Brugnatelli (1987: 54), the second line should be reanalysed as *min ġair tġéllit-ì-kra*.

- *min ɣayr* 'without' < Ar. *min ġayri* 'id.' does not usually take negation in Arabic.

- *kra* is found in Paradisi (1960a;b) as *ká*. The form found in Zanon (1932) appears to be an archaism, reflecting the origin of *ká* to be from *kára* 'thing' (Brugnatelli 1987: 55). But if this really is an archaism, then we find a striking anachronism in the much earlier wordlist of Müller (1827), where we find *ghaleika* غليكه /ɣəli-ka/ from Ar. ɣalī 'expensive' with the negative particle *-ká*.

C.2.2 Song II

C.2.2.1 Original transcription

ul-innôḫ iṭāra aî-mma / iġàlli wullîs inʕámma

C.2.2.2 Phonemic transcription

ul-innùx iṭara ay-àmma / iɣàlli wullì-s ən ʕàmma

C.2.2.3 Glossed translation

(468) *ul=ənn-ùx i-ṭar=a* *ay=àmma*
heart=of-1s 3sm-fly:res.=res. voc.=mother
'my heart has flown, o mother!'

- The possesive 1sg. in this text is *-innôx*, probably /-ənnùx/. This is different from Paradisi (1960a;b) which have /-ənnùk/. This may be an indication that the 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 *ə* which was accented, as per the regular accent rules.

(469) *i-ɣàlli* *wullì-s* *ən=ʕàmma*
3sm-want:ˣpf. daughter-3s of=aunt
'it wants the daughter of my aunt'

- Note that <inʕámma> must stand for=*ən ʕàmma*, where the <i> stands for *ə*.

- Paradisi (1960b) has *ámmī* for 'uncle'. *ʕàmma*, probably means 'aunt', cf. Ar. *ʕamma* 'id.'. It is remarkable that the masculine form has lost its ʕ, and the feminine form has not.

C.2.3 Song III

C.2.3.1 Original transcription

ġillīḫ kîra šaīnāt / ʻalì simeḫ diwîs uāmmi

C.2.3.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəllìx kìra šəynat / ʕalì simiḥ d=iwì-s n=ammi.

(470) *ɣəlli-x* *kìra šəynat*
want:ˣpf.-1s neg. ugly.ones
'I do not want ugly ones'

- Unlike the first Zanon text, this time *ɣəllix* has a final *-x* rather than *-ɣ* for the 1sg. PNG-marking.

(471) *ʕalì* *símiḥ d=iwì-s* *n=ammi*
Name kind pred.=son-3s of=uncle
'(I want) kind Ali, he is the son of my uncle'

- <simeḫ> must be ELA *símiḥ* 'sweet, pretty, handsome' (p.c. Benkato).

- The <u> in <uāmmi> is probably a misreading of *n*. A cursively written *u* can easily be confused for an *n*, combine that with unfamiliarity with the language, and it does not seem unlikely that these two sounds were confused. If we assume this confusion, we have a perfect parallel between text II and text III. Text II has *wullì-s ən ʕəmma* 'daughter of my aunt', this text has 'son of my uncle'.

C.2.4 Song IV

C.2.4.1 Original transcription

Jā rijù lû rāit Bālğu / Gān laḫbûb imriĵét

C.2.4.2 Phonemic transcription

ya iriw *lu rayt Balžu* / gan ləḥbùb əmriyìt.

C.2.4.3 Glossed translation

(472) *ya=irìw* lù rayt Balžú
voc.=child if you could see Place
'O child, *if you could see Balžu*'

- *Jā rijù*, and should be read as *ya irìw*. The loss of the initial *i* is not easily understood.

- *lû rāit Bālğu* is a codeswitch to Arabic. This is a fixed expression, very common in poetry. Many short poems open with, e.g. *yā lu reytu ʕeyn el-bneyya* 'O if you (pl.) only saw the girl's eyes...'. (p.c. Benkato)

(473) *Gan ləḥbùb əmrɨy-ìt*
there dates be.beautiful-p
'There the dates are (so) beautiful.'

C.2.5 Song V

As Zanon (1932: 272) points out, this song is a nonsense text. It is a joke concerning a Bedouin custom. When a girl adresses 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 Šūf / Taqabbît dār awlāfná

C.2.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Agənnìnən da Šuf / Taqəbbìt dar awlafná

C.2.5.3 Notes

- Zanon explains that <Agennîmen> is a circle that women put on their head to carry a pitcher of water. Thus is surely equivalent to Paradisi's *agennîn* pl. *gennînẹn* 'a small cushion one wears on the head to carry loads'. It is unclear whether the form is the singular or the plural form, as it has features of both.

- *Šuf* and *Taqəbbìt* are both placenames.

- *dar* is the common North-African Arabic word for 'house'.

- *awlafná* is probably *ā ullāf-na* 'O our lover!'

C.2.6 Song VI

This is a song that is sung during 'Fantasia's' while men sit in a circle, looking forward to the coming of the dancer, who is getting dressed in a secluded place and, alegedly, will execute the long and grueling task without being properly nourished before, (performing) it purely (on a meal of) rice, like the song says (translated from Zanon 1932: 272).

C.2.6.1 Original transcription

'amma tqábbiš qāma attûš / kāzán itkîra sorróz

C.2.6.2 Phonemic transcription

ʕamma tgəbbəš qama attùš / kazàn itkìra s-ərrùz

C.2.6.3 Glossed translation

(474) *ʕəmma t-gəbbəš qama a=tt-ùš*
prog. 3sf-gird:impf. now fut.=3sf-come:fut.
'She is getting dressed (litt. girding herself), now she will come'

- Not that *tgəbbəš* 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-tkìr=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

ġillîḫ tika Dimmîs / 'ali hw llì ğān iğğílib.

C.2.7.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəllìx=t əka Dimmìs / ʕali hu əlli gan əžžələb.

C.2.7.3 Glossed translation

(476) *ɣəllì-x=t əka Dimmìs*
want:ˣpf.-1s=DO.3sm neg. Dimmis
'I do not want him, Dimmis'

- There are no attestations in Paradisi's text where a direct object is marked both pronominally and lexically. This of course does not mean it is impossible, the corpus of texts is so small that this gap may simply be due to chance, but it makes the analysis of this sentence somewhat problematic. Especially because Dimmis is a highly unusual name.

- Zanon translates this sentence as *Non voglio saperne de Dimmis*, there is clearly no reflex of 'to get to know' in 'I do not want to get to know Dimmis' in this sentence.

(477) *ʕali* ***hu əllì*** *gan* *əžžəlab*
Ali he.who there riches
'(who I want) is Ali, where the riches are'

- This is a hybrid Arabic-Berber sentence. *hu əllì* is clearly the introduction of a relative clause.

- <ğān> betrays that the text was written down in Arabic script, it must be the locative adverb *gan* 'there; there is, there are', which introduces the locative relative phrase.

C.2.8 Song VIII

C.2.8.1 Original transcription

tūšidda s Tangîğum / tit'îbta 'alā šān Nânna

C.2.8.2 Phonemic transcription

tušìdda s Tangìžəm / titʕìbta ʕala šan Nànna

C.2.8.3 Glossed translation

(478) *t-ušì-d=d=a* *s=Tangìžəm*
2s-come:res.-2s=come=res. from=Tangijem
'You have come from Tangìžəm'

(479) *t-ətʕìb-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

mabrūk 'alàik tulî'a / fî zinîm wóḫra twšġi

C.2.9.2 Phonemic transcription

mabruk ʕalàyk tulìʕa / fì zənìm w àxra təšɣəl.

C.2.9.3 Glossed translation

(480) ***mabruk ʕalàyk*** *t-ulìʕ=a* ***fi****=zənìm*
congratulations.to.you 3sf-fall.in.love:res.=res. in=bastard
'Congratulations to you! She has fallen in love with a bastard!'

- This sentences is a strange mix between Berber and Arabic. Every single word is of Arabic origin, but *t-ulìʕ-a* has a Berber conjugation. The object of the verb is marked with the Arabic preposition *fi*.

(481) *w* *àxra t-əšɣəl*
and shit 3sf-work:ˣpf.
'And she works (in) shit!'

- *twšġi* probably is a very badly transcribed reflex of Arabic word *šaġala* '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 iškī Sawilḥāğ / abbāk jā Moḥammed iām išina mqlázīn

C.2.10.2 Phonemic transcription

yùna s Timillìl iški Sawilḥaž / abbak ya Məḥəmməd yam išìna əqlazən

C.2.10.3 Glossed translation

(482) *y-una s=Timillìl i-šᵏki Sawilḥažᵏ*
3sm-enter:ᵏpf. from=Place 3sm-leave:ᵏpf. Sawilhaj
'He has entered Timillil and left Sawilhaj'

- *s* in Paradisi is always the ablative preposition 'from'. But in this context such an interpretation does not make sense. It seems like it rather has an allative meaning.

(483) *abba-k ya=Məḥəmməd yam i-šin=a əqlazən*
father-2sm voc.=Mohammed only 3sm-know:res.=res. lies
'Your father, O Mohammed, only(?) knows tall tales (litt. lies).'

- *yam* is an otherwise unattested word, in the context it seems likely that it means 'only'.

- Zanon transcribed <mqlázīn>, the initial <m> is certainly incorrect. Perhaps it was a misread *u*, which stood for the *ə* in front of *q*.

C.2.11 Song XI

This song is a nursery rhyme, singing the praise of a child who will be circumcised. The translation provided by Zanon deviates strongly from the actual text.

C.2.11.1 Original transcription

ingûli, ingûli, nittîn iġlāia gîgûli / ğ'āl laslām inšûnit.

C.2.11.2 Phonemic transcrption

əngùli, əngùli, nəttìn iɣlaya gig-ùl-i / žʕəl ləslàm ən-sùnit

C.2.11.3 Glossed translation

(484) *əngùli, əngùli, nəttìn i-ɣla=ya gíg=ùl=i*
see(nursery) see(nursery) he 3sm-be.expensive:res.=res. in=heart=loc.
'Come and see, come and see, he is dear in the heart!'

- *əngùli* is probably related to the verb *agə́l, gul* 'to see', but a further morphological analysis is not possible.

- *gìg* is a common Berber preposition for 'in', but it is unattested as such in Paradisi, which only has a compound preposition *ar-z-gìg*. 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) *ǧʕal* *ləslam ən=šùnət*
believe:imp. islam of=sunnah
'Believe the Islam of the Sunnah!'

- *šùnət* Probably stands for *sunna*(*t*)'Habitual practice (of the Islam)' , but the *š* instead of *s* and the long vowel *u* are unexpected.

- The second line is translated as: e farò cresca da buon musulmano. Lett: 'sarà da musulmano circonciso': And I will make him become a good muslim: litt.: He will become a circumcized muslim.; clearly both the literal and non literal translations do not correspond to the actual text. Although also the actual text is clearly a wish, or command to the child for it to become a good muslim.

C.2.12 Song XII

This story refers to an old custom in Koran school, where, if a student has been able to learn some important sura's, he will offer lunch to his fellow students. He will have to serve the lunch himself, and will, among other things, remove the lid that covers the couscous. This song is a incitement to study.

C.2.12.1 Original transcription

inṭar fillīk tītín tik'waît / ddāḫ tarfá't ittiš'waît

C.2.12.2 Phonemic transcription

ənṭər fəllək tita n tikwàyt / ddax tərfəʕt əttəšwàyt

C.2.12.3 Glossed translation

(486) *ənṭər* *fəll-ək* *tita* *ən=tikwàyt*
abandon:imp. on-2sm hitting of=ball
'Abandon (to you) the playing (litt. hitting) of the ball '

- Zanon's transcription does not reflect the final *-a* of the verbal noun *tìta* of the verb *awìt* 'to hit'. Perhaps Zanon's form reflects a variant *titi*.

(487) *dax t-ərfəʕ-t əttəšwàyt*
in.order.to 2s-raise:ˣpf.-2s couscous
'So that you may raise (the lid off) the couscous!'

- In Paradisi's texts, *dax* is always followed by a future stem. In this text, it appears to be followed by a perfective.

C.2.13 Song XIII

C.2.13.1 Original transcription

alḥamdūlillàḥi azîṭannek iškî iddîra

C.2.13.2 Phonemic transcription

alḥamdulillàhi azíṭ=ənnək iški iddìr=a

C.2.13.3 Glossed translation

(488) ***alḥamdulillàhi*** *azíṭ=ənn-ək i-ški i-ddìr=a*
praise.be.to.god donkey=of-2sm 3sm-leave:ˣpf. 3sm-live:res.=res.
'Praise be to god, your donkey came out alive!'

Appendix D

Lexicon

D.1 Introduction to the lexicon

This part contains the complete known lexicon of the Awjila language. The lexicon is Awjila-English, and the Awjila words have been categorized by roots. It gives an overview of the attested forms of every single word in the language, with references to the source.

Moreover, etymological information is provided whenever it is possible. Whenever a word is of Berber origin, I have provided it with several examples of the etymologically related word in other Berber languages. Whenever a word comes from Arabic, this has been noted by means of references to Libyan Arabic or to Standard Arabic.

D.1.1 Structure of the Dictionary

The dictionary is alphabetized by roots. These roots are artificial abstractions of the language that consist of the consonants of the lexical basis of a word. The abstract roots in this lexicon, do not necessarily represent linguistic reality, but rather allow for an easy way to alphabetize words in a way that facilitates placing words that are related under the same entry.[1]

The method of deriving the root of a word is inspired by that found in well-known dictionaries such as Taifi (1992), Dallet (1982) and Delheure (1985). Different from these dictionaries, whenever a root has multiple identical root consonants in a row, I have counted these as two separate root consonants. For example, *làqqəq* 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.

[1] For 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, *afùd* 'knee' and *yàffùda* 'to be thirsty' are unrelated semantically, while their root is FD in both cases. In this case, *afùd* 'knee' has been categorized as FD1 and *yàffùda* as FD2.

A few words only contains vocalic elements, these have been categorized under the respective vowel sign in the dictionary. The alphabetical order of the dictionary is as follows:

A ʔ B Č D F G ɣ H Ḥ I K L M N Q R S Ṣ Š T Ṭ V W X Y Z Ẓ Ž ʕ

D.1.2 Structure of an Entry

A typical entry in the dictionary has the following form:
ROOT
Word [**word category**] 'meaning'
Grammatical information in regular type *attested forms in italics* [source in square brackets]
References to attestations in Paradisi, Zanon, Beguinot and Müller
▷ example sentences
○ comments
⧫ Information on the origin of the word

The word in the entry is written in a phonemic transcription according to the analysis given in the grammatical part. Verbs are always cited in the entry with the imperative, in cases where the imperative is unattested, a reconstructed form is provided with an asterisk (*) in front of it. Nouns are cited in the singular, and the plural when both are available. Verbs have an overview of the different TAM-stems of the verb, below the main entry of the word.

The forms of the word are cited below the entry. Every single spelling of the word that is attested is cited, supplied with a place of attestation. When the word is found with a clitic behind it that has influence on the position of the accent, this clitic is placed behind it in brackets. When there is no indication of the source behind a word, it means it is taken from the first source cited in the list of attestations below it. This is usually Paradisi's word list.

Below the forms, we find a list of attestations, which are marked with abbreviations that refer to the source. These abbreviations are explained in Table D.1 below.

After the list of attestations, sometimes example sentences and comments are provided, marked with their respective signs.

Finally, where possible, lemmas have a section on their etymology. In such cases several examples from other Berber languages are given, or in case of an Arabic origin, dialectal Arabic or standard Arabic.

Other researchers have already written comparative information on the words that I am discussing. I refer to these sources with abbreviations. K: stands for Kossmann (1999), the number stands for the numbered entry in that book. NZ: stands for Naït-Zerrad (1998; 1999; 2002), which is a synchronic overview of Berber roots. The letters stand for the entry under which the related words are categorized. Finally TC: stands for the Zenaga-French dictionary by Taine-Cheikh (2008), which contains many footnotes with etymological information. The number refers to the number of the footnote.

Many different sources have been consulted for the entry on the word origin. Whenever there is an entry with a Berber origin, words from Kabyle (Dallet 1982), Mali Tuareg (Heath 2006) and Zenaga (Taine-Cheikh 2008; 2010) have always been cited. Also the Libyan dialects of Ghadames (Lanfry 1973), El-Foqaha (Paradisi 1963a), Sokna (Sarnelli 1924), Djebel Nefusa (Beguinot 1942) and the Egyptian dialect of Siwa (Laoust 1931, Souag 2010, Naumann 2013), have been cited whenever possible.

Sometimes, a word with a solid Berber origin, has not been attested in the above languages. In such cases, I occasionally give forms from other Tuareg dialects (Ritter 2009a;b), Middle Atlas Tamazight (Taifi 1992), Mzab Berber (Delheure 1985), Ouargla Berber (Delheure 1987), Figuig (Kossmann 1997), and Tashelhiyt (Stroomer fthc.).

When a word is of Arabic origin, I cite several different dialects. First of all, when possible, I make mention of the Modern Standard Arabic form (Wehr 1979). Besides Modern Standard Arabic, mention is made of Moroccan Arabic (Prémare 1993, Harrell 1966), Egyptian Arabic (Hinds 1986), and Eastern Libyan Arabic (and Benghazi Arabic) (Panetta 1958; 1962a;b; 1964a;b; 1980, Owens 1984 and Benkato fthc.).

D.1.3 Abbreviations

In the dictionary several abbreviations are used to the sources and languages. These abbreviations are listed in the tables below.

P: *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

Ar.	Arabic
ELA	Eastern Libyan Arabic
Ghd.	Ghadames
Foq.	El-Foqaha
Zng.	Zenaga
To.	Tuareg
Nef.	Nefusa
Kb.	Kabyle
Sok.	Sokna
Mor. Ar.	Moroccan Arabic
Ouar.	Ouargla
MA	Middle Atlas Berber
LA	Libyan Arabic
Eg. Ar.	Egyptian Arabic
Gk.	Classical Greek
Lat.	Latin

Table D.2: Language Abbreviations

A

a [interj.]vocative interjection
a, āī, aî-(mma) [Z:II]
▷ *áy-amédẹn* ‘o man’
P: o, ovvero PT: III, VI, XII Z: II
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *a* ‘vocative interjection’

ʔN

ann-ək [complementizer]
2sg.m. *ʔann-ek*
PT: XI
▷ *aḥsébḥ-kû-ya ʔannek ku d-nék* ‘I thought that you were me’ [PT:XI]
♦ Ar. *ʔanna* a particle that introduces subclauses that imply transfer of knowledge. *ʔaʕrifu ʔanna fī 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: *niˈkar inn-a ˈsaːrig il-ifˈluːs* ‘He has denied that he has stolen the money.’. The 2sg. suffix in ELA is *-ak*, and thus corresponds perfectly with the form found in the Awjila sentence.

B1

àbba [kin.m.] ‘father’
2sg.m. abbà-k, 3sg. abbà-s, 1pl abbá-tnax, 2pl.m. abbá-tkim, 3pl.m. abbá-tsin
1sg. *ábbā* 2sg.m. *abbâ-k, abbā-k* [Z:X] 3sg. *abbâ-s* 1pl. *abbá-tnaḥ* 2pl.m. *abbá-tkim* 3pl.m. *abbá-tsin*
P: padre PT: XV Z: X
▷ *abbâ-s n tirīwîn* ‘the father of the children’
♦ NZ:B5
Berber, cf. Siwa *abba* ‘father’; To. *ábba* ‘father’; Zng. *bābäh*‘father’

B2

təbìt [f.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar. *rattâba*)’
tebît
P: palma

BB1

əlbàb [m.] ‘door’
elbâb
PT: III
♦ Ar. *bāb* ‘door’

BB2

abìba, avìva [m.] ‘smallpox’
abîba, avîva
P: vaiulo M: vérole (petite) *habéba* هبـبـه
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *abîba* ‘smallpox’

BDQ

təbədùqt [f.] ‘cotton’
tebedűqt
P: cotone
♦ NZ: BDɣ/Q3
Berber, cf. To. *tə̀bdoqq* ‘cotton’; Sok. *tabdúḫt* ‘cotton’.
The final cluster *qt* in Awjila is unexpected, one would rather expect Sokna *ḫt* and Tuareg *qq* to correspond to Awjila *-ġt* or *-ḫt* 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

abugərfa [m.] ‘clay’
ăbugérfa
P: argilla

Bɣ

tàbɣa [f.] ‘tobacco’
tábġā
P: tabacco M: tabac *thabgha* طبـغـه
♦ Mor. Ar. *tabġa* ‘tobacco’

BHY

bàhi [stat.v.] ‘to be good’
3sg.m. bàhi 3sg.f. bàh(ə)yət
3sg.m. *bâhi* [PT:IV], *bâhī* [PT:XV] 3sg.f. *bâhĭyet* [PT:III]
PT: III, IV, XV
♦ ELA *bâhī* ‘good’

BḤR

əlbàḥr (or: albàḥr) [m.] ‘sea’
elbáḥăr, älbáḥr
PT: IX
♦ Ar. *baḥr* ‘sea’

BK

əbbák [v.cc] ‘to sting; to plant vegetables, onions etc.’
impf. təbbák
imp. sg. *ĕbbók*; impf. 3sg.m. *itebbók*
P: pungere; piantare
♦ K: 526
Berber, cf. Kb. *bbi* ‘to sting’; Ghd. *ăbbək* ‘to collect one by one’
əbbùk [v.n.m.] ‘stinging’
ĕbbůk
P: pungere

BLBS

təbəlbùst [f.] ‘eyeball’
tebelbûst
P: bulbo
♦ ► **BLBŠ**

BLBŠ

təbəlbùšt [f.] ‘bulb of an onion’
tebelbûšt
P: bulbo
♦ Probably from Latin *bulbus* ‘bulb’
****əbàlbəš [v.cccc]** ‘to form a bulb’
res. bəlbəš
res. 3sg.m. *yebelbîša*
P: bulbo
▷ *bẓālîm yebelbîša* ‘the onion has formed a bulb’

BLK

bàlək [adv.] ‘maybe’
bâlek
PT: XIII
♦ ELA *balək, belkī* ‘maybe’ ultimately from Turkish *belki* ‘why’ (p.c. Benkato)

BLS

əlbulìs [m.] ‘police’
el-bulîs
PT: III
♦ Ar. *būlīs* ‘police’ ultimately from Fr. *police* ‘id.’

BLŠ

blaš [interj.] “forget about it!”
blaš
PT: III
♦ LA *blaš* ‘free, forget about it!’ (p.c. Benkato); Mor. Ar. *blā ši, blāš* ‘free’; Ar. *bi-lā šay?* ‘free (litt. For nothing)’

BLŽ

Balžu [P.N.]Name of a palm grove in Awjila
Bālğu
Z: IV

BN1

abán, aván [v.cc*] ‘to build, construct’
pf. bná impf. bànna, ivànna
imp. sg. *abén, avén*; pf. 1sg. *bniḫ* 3sg.m. *ibnâ*; res. 1sg. *bnîḫa* 3sg.m. *ibnâya*; impf. 1sg. *bennîḫ* 3sg.m. *ibénna, ivénna*
P: costruire
♦ K: 194
Berber, cf. To. *àbnu* ‘to establish oneself (in a place), to begin construction on’; Siwa *abnú* ‘to build’ (Naumann 2010: 376), perhaps related to words for ‘tent’: To. *éhăn* ‘tent’; Zng. *īn* ‘tent’.

BN2

bèyn [prep.] ‘between’
bêin
P: fra
♦ Ar. *bayna* ‘between’

BQL

təbaqùlt [f.] ‘jar, vase’
tebāqûlt
P: giarra
♦ NZ: BQL2
Berber, cf. Kb. *abuqal* ‘drinking pot’; Siwa

təboqələt ‘jug, pitcher’; cf. also ELA *bûgâl* ‘jug’, perhaps ultimately from Gk. βαύκαλις.

BQS

əlbəqìs [m.] ‘twinkle, glimmer’
elbåqîs
PT: XV
♦ ELA *bəgis* ‘twinkle (of a star, etc.)’ (p.c. Benkato). This words seems to exist only in ELA. It is surprising then, that the *g* in ELA is reflected as *q* in Awjila, which rather suggests a different (unknown) origin, or a hypercorrection when the word was loaned.

BQŠ

təbəqqùšt (or: təbaqqùšt) [f.] ‘pan’
tebaqqûšt
PT: XV
♦ NZ: BQC1
Berber, cf. Kb. *tabaqəšt* ‘earthenware dish’; Sn. *tabqešt* ‘a large bowl for couscous’; Rif. *tabqešt* ‘large dish for making couscous’ Kb. And Rif. *-əšt* go back to **-əyt*. Perhaps **-əyt* becomes *-ušt* in Awjila, there are no other examples of this sequence in Awjila. The exact development of this word is therefore unclear.

BR

təbarùt [f.] ‘way, street’
tebārût [PT:X], *tĕbarût* [PT:XII], *tebārût-*(*ī*) [PT:XV]
P: strada, via PT: X, XII, XV M: chemin *tabarouth* تـبـر و ط
♦ NZ: BR30, BRD1, K: 285
Berber, cf. To. *àbara, tàbarăt* ‘road, path’
təbarùt n alèɣm [phrasal n.] ‘caravan track’
tebārût n alóġm
P: pista carovaniera

BRK

tabèrka [f.] ‘sesame (seeds) (in Benghazi *tabérka* is the seed of a colocynth)’
tabérka
P: sesamo

BRN

èbrən [v.ccc] ‘to twist, to roll up’
imp. sg. *ébren*
P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: entortillé *ebrénah* ابـرنـه ; entortiller *brénah* بـرنـه; tordre *yébren* يـبـرن
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *əbrən* ‘to roll, to wind up’; Ghd. *ăbrən* ‘to roll up’

BRNK

Bərnìk [P.N.] ‘Benghazi, northern part of Cyrenaica’
Bernîk
P: Bengasi
▷ *Yušâda s-Bernîk* ‘he came from the north’
▷ *ġallîḥ aʿaddâḥ Bernîk* ‘I want to go to Benghazi’
♦ This word comes from the old name of Benghazi: *Berenice*.

BRRŠ

abərrarìš [m.] ‘hawk’
aberrārîš
P: falco
♦ Common word in both Maghrebine Arabic and Berber, cf. MA *bərrarž* ‘stork’Mor. Ar. *bəllārəj, bərrārəj* ‘stork’. Ultimately from Gk. πελαργος ‘stork’, or the unattested variant *πελλαργος (Vycichl 2005: 27-27).

BRŠL

təbəršìlt [f.] pl. tbəršìl ‘pillar of a well on which the crossbar of the pulley rests’
teberšîlt pl. *tberšîl*
P: pozzo

BRT

pl. əlbaràt [f.] ‘money’
pl. *elbarât* [PT:XIV], *elbārât* [PT:IV,V], *elbarāt-*(*ennûk*) [PT:V,VII]
PT: IV, V, VII, XIV M: argent, monnaie *barah* بـره

♦ Dial. Ar. *barāt* ‘money’ a loanword from Turkish *Para*, an old Turkish currency. (p.c. Souag)

BS

bəss [adv.] ‘only’
béss [PT:III]
PT: III M: seulement *bess* بـسّ
♦ ELA *bəss* ‘just, only’ (p.c. Benkato)

BSK

abəssìk [m.] pl. bəssìkən ‘vulva’
abessîk pl. *bessîken*
P: vulva
♦ NZ: BC2
Perhaps Berber, cf. Siwa *bašša* ‘vulva’
tbəssìkt [f.] ‘bum, backside; vulva’ pl. tbəsskìn ‘fart’
tbessîkt pl. *tbesskîn*
P: deretano; vulva; peto

BṢR

albəṣìrət (or: əlbəṣìrət) [adv.] ‘willingly’
albåṣîret
PT: V
♦ Ar. *baṣīra*(*t*) ‘insight, penetration, discernment’, the function of this word in Awjila is similar to the Arabic syntagm *ʕan baṣīrati* ‘deliberately, knowingly’

BŠKW

abəškìw [m.] pl. bəškìwən ‘horn’
abeškîu pl. *beškîwen*
P: corno
♦ Berber, ► **ŠK2**

BŠXW

abəšxàw [m.] pl. bəšxàwən ‘name of a sparrow’
abešḫâu pl. *bešḫâwen*
P: passero
təbəšxàwt [f.] pl. təbəšxawìn ‘base of leaves of a palm tree that have been cut’
tebešḫâut pl. *tebešḫāwîn*
P: palma

BŠWŠ

bišwàš [adv.] ‘easily’
bišwâš
PT: I
♦ Eg. Ar. *bi-šweš* ‘a little’, derived fom *bi* ‘with, by’ with reduplicated *šweyy* ‘a little’, ie. ‘with a little (effort)’ (p.c. Souag)

BṬ

abùṭ [m.] ‘navel’
abûṭ
P: ombelico
♦ K: 288 NZ: BḌ11
Berber, cf. Kb. *abuḍ* ‘neck of a bottle’, To. *təbu̇tutt* ‘(nonprotruding) navel’, Zng. *būṭ* ‘protruding navel’; MA *taceebuṭṭ* ‘navel’

BṬŽ

abəṭṭùž [m.] ‘ember’
abåṭṭûž
P: tizzo, tizzoncino

BZN

abazìn [m.] ‘tagliatelle made of flour of wheat’
abazîn
P: pasta del pane
♦ NZ: BZN1, K: 290
Berber, cf. Kb. *abazin* ‘dish made of flour, tubers, arum and several herbs’; Ghd. *ălbazin* ‘dish of flour made into patties, thrown into boiling water and seasoned with fresh olive oil’

BZR

tabazàrt [f.] pl. tbazrìn ‘basket’
täbazârt pl. *tbazrîn*
P: cesta M: panier *abazart* ابـا ز ا رت

BẒLM

bẓalìm [m.] ‘onions(coll.)’
bẓālîm, bẓālîm [PT:XV]
P: cipolla PT: XV M: oignon *bazalim* بـصلـيم
♦ K: 242, 297

Ultimately from Punic. cf. Hebrew *bāṣāl* ‘onion’ (Vycichl 2005: 3)

təbẓalìmt [f.] pl. təbẓalimìn ‘onion’
tebẓālîmt pl. *tebẓālīmîn*
P: cipolla

BŽ1

abžàw [m.] pl. bžàwən ‘cheek’
abžâu pl. *bžâwen*
P: guancia

BŽ2

bàžža [m.] ‘penis (of a boy)’
bážža
P: penis

BʕD

bəʕ(ə)d [conj.] ‘after, when’
baʿad, báʿad, baʿád [PT:II,IX,XIII]
P: dopo; quando PT: II, IX, XIII
♦ ELA *baʕd* ‘after’; Ar. *baʕda* ‘after’

bəʕìd [stat.v.] ‘to be distant’
3sg.m. *baʿîd*
PT: X
♦ Ar. *baʕīd* ‘distant’

BʕDN

bəʕ(ə)dèn [conj.] ‘afterwards, then’
baʿadên, baʿadén [PT:II], *baʿadeǹ* (sic) [PT:VI]
PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV
♦ ELA *baʕdên* ‘after’; Ar. *baʕda an* ‘after’

Č1

əčč [v.c*] ‘to eat’
pf. əččá seq. = res. àčča fut. àčč impf. tàtta
imp. sg. *ečč* pl.m. *ččât* pl.f. *ččîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ččîḫ* 3sg.m. *yeččá, yetčá, yéčča* [PT:XV], *yečči-*(*t*) [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *ččân* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ččîḫa* 3sg.m. *yeččâya* 1pl. *nči-*(*tî*)*-ya* [PT:II]; fut. 3sg.m. *āičči-*(*t*) [PT:II] impf. 1sg. *tettîḫ* 3sg.m. *ittéttā, itétta* [PT:XV] 3sg.f. *tettâ* [PT:III]
P: mangiare PT: II, III, XV M: dîner *yetch* يـتـش; souper, v. *etch* اتـش
♦ NZ: C9, TC: 946
Berber, cf. Foq. *ékk, ékjkj* ‘to eat’; Ghd. *ăšš* ‘to eat’; Kb. *eçç* ‘to eat’; Nef. *ečč* ‘to eat’; Siwa *əč* ‘to eat’; Sok. *éčč* ‘to eat’; To. *ăkš* ‘to eat’; Zng. *ätʸši*(*ʔ*) ‘to eat’. Kossmann (2008) discusses the reconstruction of this root.

əčču [v.n.m.] ‘food, meal, plate’
etču, ečču, čču-(*nnâḫ*) [PT:XV], *ččū* [P:example]
P: mangiare; cibo; pasto, vitto PT: XV
▷ ččū id ečču wât ‘food and drinks’

təwəg [v.n.f.] ‘food, meal, plate’
túwŏg
P: mangiare; cibo; pasto, vitto M: pain *thaouegt* طاوقت
○ This noun functions as the verbal noun of *əčč*, but is etymologically unrelated.

š-əčč [caus.v.] ‘to cause to eat’
imp. sg. *šečč*
P: mangiare

Č2

àčča [m.] pl. ččàwən ‘grave’
áčča pl. *ččâwen*
P: tomba M: tombeau *atcha* اتـشه
♦ NZ: C56
Berber, cf. Siwa *akəčča* ‘tomb’; perhaps also Kb. *aẓəkka* ‘tomb’

ČR ▶ ŠR1

ČṬ ▶ ŠṬ

D1

d [part.]predicate marker
d-, de- [PT:XV], *d-* [Z:III]
PT:II,IV,VII,VIII,XI,XIV,XV Z:III
♦ Pan-Berber predicate marker *d*

D2

id [prep.] ‘with (comitative), and’
1sg. ìdd-i 2sg.m. ìdd-əl 2sg.f. ìdd-əm 3sg ìdd-əs 1pl. id-nàx 2pl.m. id-kìm 2pl.f. idd-àkmət 3pl.m. id-sìn 3pl.f. idd-àsnət
id, īd, it-(*tirīwînnes*) [PT:XV]; 1sg. *ídd-ī, idd-î*

[PT:XIII] 2sg.m. *ídd-ek* 2sg.f. *ídd-em* 3sg.m. *ídd-es* 1pl. *id-nâḥ* 2pl.m. *id-kîm* 2pl.f. *idd-ékmet* 3pl.m. *id-sîn* 3pl.f. *idd-ésnet*
P: con; e P:II,III,IV,V,VII,XII,XIII,XV
♦ NZ: D14, TC:153
Berber, cf. Kb. *d, id* 'with, and'; To. *d* 'with; and'; Zng. *əḍ* 'with, and'

dī [inter.] ► DW

DBR

adbìr [m.] pl. dbìrən 'pigeon'
adbîr pl. *dbîren*
P: piccione
♦ NZ: DBR4, K: 293
Berber, cf. Ghd. *adaber* 'pigeon'; Kb. *itbir* 'pigeon'; To. *edăber, tedăbert* 'pigeon or dove'

DBŠ

pl. (ə)dbùš [m.] 'clothes'
ědbûš [PT:V], *dbūš-(énnes)* [PT:IX], *ědbūš-(énnes)* [PT:IX], *edbūš-(énnek, énnûk)* [PT:IX]
PT:V,IX
♦ Ar. *dabaš* pl. *adbāš* 'junk, rubbish, trash' LA *dbaš* pl. *dbuša* 'stuff' (p.c. Souag), ELA *dibeš* 'stuff, luggage, bags; clothes' (p.c. Benkato) Mor. Ar. *dbəš* 'rags'
pl. dbaš-(ànnəs [m.] 'stuff'
pl. *dbāš-(énnes)*
PT:II
♦ ELA *dbāš* 'baggage'; Ar. *dabaš* pl. *adbāš* 'junk, rubbish, trash'

DD1

(ə)ddə́d [v.cc] 'to bite'
impf. təddə́d
imp. sg. *ěddéd*; impf. 3sg.m. *iteddéd*
P: mordere M: mordre *édded* عضّض
♦ NZ: D70
Berber, cf. To. *ədəd* 'to bite'
(ə)ddùd [v.n.m.] 'biting'
ěddûd
P: mordere

DD2

addìd [m.] pl. addìdən 'goatskin'
addîd pl. *addîdẹn*
P: otre M: outre pour l'eau *addi* ا دّ ى
♦ TC: 1035, K: 621
Berber, cf. To. *íddid* 'goatskin'; Zng. *äyDʸəḍ* 'goatskin (for water)'
taddìt [f.] 'small goatskin'
taddît
P: otre

DFR

dəffər [prep.] 'behind, after'
dəffər n (before a noun); 1sg. dəffər-i 2sg. dəffər-ək 3sg.m. dəffər-áh, dəffər-ah 3sg.f. ?dəffər-ha 1pl ?dəffər-na, dəffər-nàx 2pl.m. dəffər-kìm, ?dəffər-kum 2pl.f. ?dəffər-kmət 3pl.m. ?dəffər-hum 3pl.f. dəffər-hən
déffer, déffer n (in front of a noun); 1sg. *déffer-ī*, 2sg. *-ék*, 3sg.m. *-áh, déffer-ah* [PT:VII], *déffer-a* [PT:II,VII], *-és* 3sg.f. *-ha* 1pl. *-nā, -nâḥ* 2pl.m. *-kîm, -kum* 2pl.f. *-kmet* 3pl.m. *-hum* 3pl.f. *-hẹn*
P: dietro PT:II,VII
♦ NZ: DFR2
Berber, cf. Kb. *dəffir* 'behind'; To. *dəffər* 'behind'

DG

****əddùgg [v.cc]** 'to knock'
seq. əddùgg
pf. 3sg.m. *yeddúgg*
PT:III
♦ ELA *idŏgg* 'to knock'; Ar. *daqqa* 'to knock, rap, bang (on the door)'

Dɣ

adəɣ [m.] pl. dəɣàwən 'a bush of palms'
adăġ pl. *dăġâwẹn*
P: palma
♦ NZ: Dɣ10
Perhaps Berber, cf. MA *idġ* 'sheaf (of wheat, barley or alfalfa)'. The semantic shift from 'sheaf' to 'a bush of palms' proposed by Naït-Zerrad is not particularly convincing.

DHB

(ə)ddəhəb [m.] ‘gold’
eddáhab
PT:IV
♦ Ar. *ḏahab* ‘gold’

DHWR

****ddəhwər [v.cccc]** ‘to go around’
impf. ddəhwàr
impf. 3sg.m. *iddahwâr*
PT:VIII
♦ ELA *īdahwar* ‘to take a tour, to walk around’ (p.c. Benkato)

DK

=dìk [pron.]1sg. indirect object pronoun
-dīk, -dîk [PT:II,IV,V,VI,VII,XIV,XV], res. *-dîka*
P: io PT: II, IV, V, VI, VII, XIV, XV

DKN

=dìkəní, =dikkəní, =dikəni [pron.]1pl. indirect object pronoun
-dikenî, dikkenî, dikkénī [PT:XV], res. *-dikkenîya*
P: noi

DL1

š-ìdəl [caus.v.] ‘to harness (a donkey or camel)’
impf. š-idàl
imp. sg. *šîdel*; impf. 1sg. *šidâlḫ* 3sg.m. *išīdâl*
P: bardare
♦ NZ: DL1

DL2

dìla, dílak [adv.] ‘here’
dîla, dîlak
P: qui PT: VI, X, XV
dilíwan, dišší̂wan [adv.] ‘there’
dilî̂wān, dišší̂wān
P: la PT: XV

DLL

(ə)ddəllàl [m.] ‘auctioneer’
ĕddellâl, ddellâl, ăddellâl
PT:IV
♦ Ar. *dallāl* ‘auctioneer’

DLŠ

adəlìš [m.] ‘herb (*Aristida Pungens*)’
adelîš
P: erba
♦ NZ: DLS1
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

alidàm (or: əlidàm) [m.] ‘butter’
alīdâm
P: burro M: beurre *alida* الـيـد ه
♦ Mor. Ar. *īdām* ‘fatty substance’; Ar. *ʔidām* ‘anything eaten with bread; shortening, fatty ingredient’

DM2

pl. dìmmən [m.] ‘blood’
pl. *dímmen*
P: sangue M: règles des femmes *demen* د مـن
♦ NZ: DM5, TC: 191
Berber, cf. Foq. *idámmen* ‘blood’; Ghd. *dămmăn, dammăn* ‘blood’; Kb. *idim* pl. *dammən* ‘blood’; Nef. *idémmen* ‘blood’; Sok. *idä*mmẹn* ‘blood’; Zng. *əḏämmän* ‘blood’;

DMLŽ

(ə)ddəmləž [m.] ‘bracelet’
eddémlež, ĕddemlež-(ennûk)
PT:IV
♦ ELA *démlež* ‘bracelet’; Ar. *dumluž* ‘bracelet, bangle’

DN1

udən [v.vcc] ‘to get dressed’
pf. / seq. = res. ùdən impf. tàdən
imp. sg. *udén*; pf. 3pl.f. *udḛnnẹt* [PT:XV]; res. 2sg. *tudînta* [PT:XI]; impf. 3sg.m. *itâden*
P: vestirsi PT:XI,XV M: nu *youdenah*

يـو د نـه
♦ NZ: DN7, TC:195
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ádən* ‘to cover, to be covered’; Zng. *äḍən* ‘to be covered’
udùn [v.n.m.] ‘clothing’
udûn
P: vestirsi PT: XV
š-ùdən [caus.v.] ‘to dress’
impf. š-udàn
imp. sg. *šúden*; impf. 3sg.m. *išudân*
P: vestirsi

DN3

tìdni [f.] ‘mortar’
tídnī
P: mortaio
♦ NZ: DN14
Berber, cf. Ghd. *tadənt* ‘big wooden mortar of Sudanese origin’; Siwa *tadní* ‘mortar’ Naumann (2013: 377)
; Ouar. *tidni* ‘mortar’; To. *tènde* ‘mortar’

DN4

=ídin, =idìn [demonstrative]medial (?) deictic clitic
-ídīn, -idîn [PT:XV]
P: quello PT: XV
▷ *amędẹn-ídīn* ‘that man’

DNN

=idánin ▶ =íwan

DQL

?idak(ə)l [m.] ‘?palm of the hand’
edaql ا د كـل
M: main
♦ NZ: DKL1
Kb. *idikəl* ‘palm of the hand’; To. *edékəl* ‘underside of the hand (palm and fingers)’; Zng. *əḍīgiy* ‘palm of the hand’

DR1

adár [v.cc*] ‘to press; to massage’
pf. drá res. drà impf. dərrá
imp. sg. *ădér* pl.m. *drât* pl.f. *drîmet*; pf. 1sg. *driḥ* 3sg.m. *idrá*; res. 1sg. *drîḥa* 3sg.m. *idrâya*; impf. 1sg. *derrîḥ* 3sg.m. *iderrâ*
P: premere
♦ NZ: DR4
Ghd. *ádər* ‘to press, squeeze’; To. *àdər* ‘push or pres down hard on (sth)’.
The connection with Zng. *aḍuṛ* ‘to fall’ as proposed by Naït-Zerrad seems unlikely. It is both semantically and phonetically dissimilar.
adàrru [v.n.m.] ‘pressing’
adérrū
P: premere

DR2

dd(ə)rí [f.] pl. ddriwìn ‘thorn’
ddĕrî pl. *ddrīwîn*
P: spina M: épine *deri* د ر ى; fourchette *déri* د ر ى
♦ NZ: DR32
Berber, cf. Ghd. *tədra* ‘thorn of a palm’; Siwa *tədri* ‘thorn’; Sok. *tádri* ‘thorn’; Nef. *tadrâ* ‘thorn of a palm’

DR3

(ə)ddár [v.cc] ‘to live’
pf. əddár res. àddər
imp. sg. *eddér*; pf. 1sg. *eddérḥ* 3sg.m. *yeddér*; res. 1sg. *ĕddírḥa* 3sg.m. *yeddîra, iddîra* [Z:XIII]
P: vivere Z: XIII
♦ NZ: DR1
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăddər* ‘to live’; Kb. *əddər* ‘to live’; To. *àddər* ‘to be alive’.
Ref. Basset (1929)
(ə)ddùr [v.n.m.] ‘life’
ĕddûr
P: vita

DRM

****ədrəm [v.ccc]** ‘to bloom; to open (the inflorescence of palms)’
res. = fut. ədrəm impf. dərrəm
res. 3sg.m. *yedrîma* 3pl.m. *dremîna*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayédrem*; impf. 3sg.m. *idérrem*

P: sbocciare, aprirsi
♦ NZ: DRM11
adìrəm [m.] ‘masculine inflorescence’
adîrem
P: palma

DRŠ

ədrəš [v.ccc] ‘to decrease (intrans.)’
impf. dərrəš
imp. sg. *édreš*; impf. 3sg.m. *idérreš*
P: diminuire
♦ NZ: DRS1, TC216
Berber, cf. Kb. *udrus* ‘to be few’; To. *ìdras* ‘to be few, not much’; Zng. *ädṛəš* ‘to be discrete’
š-ədrəš [caus.v.] ‘to decrease (trans.)’
imp. sg. *šédręš*
P: diminuire
dərùš [adv.] ‘little’
děrûš
P: poco
dərùš [stat.v.] ‘to be few, little’
3sg.m. dərùš 3sg.f. dərùšət pl. dərušìt
m.sg. *děrûš* f.sg. *derûšet* pl. *děrūšît*
P: poco M: facile *derouch* د ر و ش; vain *dérouch* د ر و ش, diminuer *dérouch* د ر و ش

DŠ

tədùšt [f.] ‘belly’
tedûšt
P: stomaco B21: 291
♦ NZ: DS1, K: 760
Berber, cf. Ghd. *tadist, tadiss* ‘stomach, belly’; Kb. *tadist* ‘stomach, belly’

DŠF

dìšf [adv.] ‘last year’
dîšf
P: anno
▷ *nāf n dîšf* ‘two years ago’

DŠʕ

dəššàʕ [adj.] ‘mean, inhospitable’
deššâʿ
P: avaro, inospitale
♦ Paradisi says that this is a loanword from Cyrenaic Arabic. I have been unable to find a reference to this word.

DT

dit [prep.]dìt n (before a noun) 1sg. dìt-i 2sg.m. dìt-ək 2sg.f. dìt-əm 3sg.m. dít-ah, dìt-a 3sg.f. dìt-ha 1pl. dìt-na 2pl.m. dít-kim, dít-kum 2pl.f. dìt-kmət, dìt-kən 3pl.m. dít-sin, dít-hum 3pl.f. dít-snət, dít-hən
‘in front of’
dīt, dît n (before a noun) [PT:III] 1sg. *dît-ī* 2sg.m. *dît-ek* 2sg.f. *dît-em* 3sg.m. *dît-āh, dît-ā, dît-a* [PT:II] 3sg.f. *dít-ha* 1pl. *dít-nā* 2pl.m. *dít-kīm, dít-kum* 2pl.f. *dít-kmęt, dít-kęn* 3pl.m. *dít-sin, dít-hum* 3pl.f. *dít-snęt, dít-hęn*
P: davanti PT: II, III, V
▷ *dīt n tfílli* ‘in front of the house’
▷ *žîgež ar-dît* ‘Walk forward!’
♦ NZ: DT1
Berber, cf. Ghd. *dát* ‘in front of’; To. *dàt* ‘in front of’

DW1

di, dìwa [inter.] ‘what, what thing?’
dī, dîwa, ddîwa, ddíwa [PT:IX]
P: che cosa?, come PT: II, VI, IX, XV
▷ *af dîwa aṯemmámt* ‘what are you thinking of?’
▷ *ddíwa ttudîk* ‘what are you doing? (litt. what so)’ [PT:IX]
♦ NZ: D9, DW17

DWR

idəwwàṛ [v.cc̄c]= impf.
‘to look around; to search’
impf. 3sg.m. *idōūwâr* [PT:XIII] 3pl.f. *ddōūwârnęt* [PT:XV]
PT: XIII, XV M: entourer *édourah* ا د و ر ه
♦ ELA *idáūwar, iḍáūwaṛ* ‘to look for; to search’
< Ar. *dāra* ‘to revolve, turn, etc.’

DX

dax [prep.] ‘for, in order to’
daḥ, dāḥ, dáḥ [P: example], *ddāḥ* [Z:XII]
P: per, affinché PT:III,IV,V Z:XII
▷ *dáḥ ayémm* ‘in order to cook’
♦ NZ: DX4, K: 733
Berber, cf. Kb. *daɣ* ‘again’; To. *dáɣ* ‘also, too’; Ghd. *daḥ* ‘also, too’

DYN

?ddáyənt [f.] ‘fat’
ddíent
P: grasso M: graisse *eddind* ادّيـنـد
♦ NZ: DH/W/YN, TC: 182, K: 123, 148
Berber, cf. Zng. *täḍūn(ə)t* ‘(animal) fat’, *äḍgən* ‘to be greased’; Nef. *tadûnt* ‘fat’; Siwa *tadəmt* ‘fat’

DYS

?ddáyəst [f.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar. *tédsa*)’
ddîest
P: palma

DYZ

dyáz [v.ccc] ‘to sing’
pf. dyáz impf. dəyyəz
imp. sg. *diéz*; pf. 1sg. *ědyézḥ* 3sg.m. *idyéz*; impf. 1sg. *diyyézḥ* 3sg.m. *idíyyez*
P: cantare M: chant *yediz* يـديـز, chanter *yaghlediz* يـغـلـديـز
♦ NZ: DYZ1
Berber, cf. Ghd. *díz* ‘to dance’; Siwa *ədyəz* ‘to sing’; Sok. *ḍdīyīz* ‘to sing’
adəyaz [v.n.m.] ‘singing’
adiyāz
P: cantare

DŽ

ədž [v.cc*] ‘to let go of’
seq. = res. ədža impf. dəžža
imp. sg. *édž, äǧǧ*; pf. 1sg. *dǧiḥ* 3sg.m. *yéǧǧa*; res. 1sg. *ǧǧîḥa* 3sg.m. *yeǧǧâya*; impf. 1sg. *dežžîḥ* 3sg.m. *idéžžā*
P: lasciare M: laisser *yédji* يـجـى; quitter *dgi* جـى
♦ NZ: G41, TC: 230, K: 706
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăǧǧ* ‘to leave, let go of’; Kb. *əǰǰ* ‘to leave’; To. *ə̀yy* ‘to leave (s.th.)’; Zng. *äDʸi(ʔ)* ‘to leave, let go of’
adəžžu [v.n.m.] ‘letting go of’
adéžžū
P: lasciare

F1

uf [v.vc*] ‘to find’
pf. ufá seq. = res. ùfa fut. ùf impf. tàfa
imp. sg. *uf* pl.m. *ufât* pl.f. *ufîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ufîḥ, ufîḥ-(tẹn)* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yûfa, yufâ* [PT:VII], *yufî-(ten)* [PT:II], *yufî-(t)* [PT:XV], *yufî-(tẹ́nẹt)* [PT:V], 3sg.f. *tûfa* [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *ufân* [PT:XV] 3pl.f. *ufânet* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ufîḥa* 3sg.m. *yufâya*; fut. 1sg. *aufâḥ, āūfáḥ-(tet)* [PT:XV] 3sg.m. *ayûf*; impf. 1sg. *tafîḥ* 3sg.m. *itâfa*
P: trovare PT: II, V, VII, XV
♦ NZ: F10
Berber, cf. Ghd. *af* ‘to find’; Kb. *af* ‘to find’; Zng. *o̱ffi(ʔ)* ‘to find, gain’
ufú [v.n.m.] ‘finding’
ufû
P: trovare PT:II
uf tavergât ▶ VRG

F2

af [prep.] ‘on, at’
1sg. fəllì-wi 2sg.m. fəllì-k 3sg. fəllì-s
af 1sg. *fellî-wi* 2sg.m. *fellî-k, fillī-k* [Z:XII] 3sg. *fellî-s*
P: su PT: II, III, IV, V, VI, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XV Z: XII
♦ af: NZ: F16
fell: NZ: FL3
Berber, cf. Kb. *f, af* ‘on’; To. *fə̀l* ‘on, against’
af-ìwa [inter.] “why”
af-îwa, af-dîwa, af-â
P: perché PT: VI,IX,XIV M: cependant; heure; retourner *afioua* افـيـو ه
▷ *af-îwa teggîd-ká?* ‘why did you not

bring (it)' (response) *s-kémma* 'because'

F3

tafùt [f.] 'sun'
tāfût, tafût [PT:XV]
P: sole PT: III, XV
♦ NZ: F12, TC: 20, K: 576
Berber, cf. Ghd. *tófət, tófətt* 'sun'; Kb. *tafukt* 'diffuse sunlight'; To. *tə́fukk, tə̀fukk* 'sun'; Zng. *to?ḍ(ḍ)ukt, to?ḍ(ḍ)ugt, täʷḍukt* 'sun'

F4

taft [f.] 'wool'
tāft
P: lana
♦ NZ: Ḍ7, TC: 11
Berber, cf. Kb. *taḍuṭ, taduṭ* 'wool'; To. *tə̀ḍuft* 'wool'; Zng. *taʔḍuḍ* 'wool'; Ghd. *tódəft* 'raw wool'.
The radical **ḍ* is missing in Awjila. This is highly problematic.
Ref.: Kossmann (1996)

FD1

afùd, afùdd [m.] pl. fìddən 'knee'
afûd, afúdd pl. *fíddẹn*
P: ginocchio B21: 386 M: genou; tibia *afoud* افـو د
♦ NZ: FD4, TC: 16
Berber, cf. Foq. *afûd* 'knee'; Ghd. *ófəd* 'knee'; Kb. *afud* 'lower leg'; Nef. *uféd* 'knee'; Sok. *fūd* 'knee' To. *áfud* 'knee'; Zng. *o?ḍ(ḍ)uḍ* 'knee'

FD2

****əffùd [v.cvc*]** 'to be thirsty'
res. = fut. əffùd impf. t(ə)fàda
res. 1sg. *fudîḥa* 3sg.m. *yeffûda*; fut. 1sg. *affûdaḥ* 3sg.m. *ayeffûd*; impf. 1sg. *tfādîḥ* 3sg.m. *itəfâda*
P: sete M: soif *yéfouyé* يـفـويـه
♦ NZ: FD6, TC: 270
Berber, cf. Ghd. *fad* 'to be thirsty'; Kb. *fad* 'to be thirsty'; To. *ìfad* 'to be thirsty'; Zng. Aor. 3sg.m. *yuffuḍ* 'to be thirsty'

təfadàt [f.] 'thirst'
tefadât
P: sete

FDR

tfidìrt [f.] pl. tfidrìn 'lizard (monitor lizard)'
tfidîrt pl. *tfidrîn*
P: lucertola
♦ NZ: FDR2

Fɣ

tfíɣit [f.] pl. tfìɣa 'animal excrement'
tfíġīt pl. *tfíġa*
P: escremento
♦ NZ: Fɣ1

FḤL

fḥàli [phrase] 'by myself'
fḥâlī
PT: II
♦ Mor. Ar. *f ḥāl-*, 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 *ʕədd* 'to go'

FK1

əfk [v.cc*] 'to give'
pf. əfká fut. àfk impf. fəkká
imp. sg. *efk, fkī-(dîk)* [PT:VI] pl.m. *fkât* pl.f. *fkîmet*; pf. 1sg. *fkiḥ* 2sg. *tĕfkī-(dîk)* [PT:XIV] 3sg.m. *yefká, ifk-(îsīn)* [PT: I], *yefk-(îs)* [PT:XIV], *yefkî-(t, tẹnẹt)* [PT:IV] *yefk-(isîn)* [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *fkân-(īs)* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *fkîḥa* 3sg.m. *yefkâya, yefkī-(dîk)-a* [PT:V]; fut. 1sg. *afkáḥ, afkâ-(k)* [PT: V, P: example] 3sg.m. *ayéfk, ayefk-(îs)* [PT:V], *ayefkī-(dîk)* [PT:V], *ayefki-(tẹ́nẹt)* [PT:V]; impf. 1sg. *fekkîḥ, fekkâ-(s)* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ifekká* 3pl.m *fekkān-(îs)* [PT:II]
P: dare PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, XIV M: emprunter *yefkès* يـفـكس; emprunt *??miéfkes* مـيـفـكس
▷ *a-fkâ-k* 'I will give you'

♦ NZ: FK2 TC: 599, K: 491
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăkf* 'to give'; Kb. *əfk* 'to give'; To. *ə̀kf* 'to give'; Zng. *äkfi(ʔ)* 'to give'
š-əfk [caus.v.] 'to cause to give'
imp. sg. *šefk*
P: dare

FK2

****əffùkk [v.cc̄]** 'to untie, solve'
pf. / seq. = fut. əffùkk
pf. 3sg.m. *yuffukkî-(tęt)* [PT:I]; fut. 1sg. *affukkáḫ-(t)* [PT:II]
PT: I, II
♦ Ar. *fakka* 'to separate, disjoin, disconnect, sever, sunder'

FK3

(ə)ffək [v.c̄c] 'to pour'
impf. təffák
imp. sg. *ĕffok, ffok*; impf. 3sg.m. *iteffók*
P: versare, colare
♦ NZ: FY3 TC: 177 K: 528
Berber, cf. Kb. *ffi* 'to draw water'; To. *əffəy* 'to pour'; Zng. *ätfi(ʔ)* 'to spill'

FKR

əlfikr-(ànnəs) [m.] 'thought'
elfękr-(énnes)
PT: II
♦ Ar. *fikr* 'thinking, reflection; thought'

FL

tfìlli [f.] pl. tfilliwìn 'house'
tfílli, tfíllī, tfillî-(nnes) [PT:IX] *tĕfillî-(nnes)* [PT:VI,XIII], *tfillí-(nnes)* [PT:XV], *tĕfillī-(nnâḫ)* [PT:IV], *tĕfilli-(yîwan)* [PT:XV], *tfilli-(nnesîn)* [PT:XV] pl. *tfilliwîn*
P: casa PT: IV, VI, IX, XIII, XV
♦ NZ: FL39
Perhaps derived from NZ: FL4, cf. To. *ə̀fəl* 'to have a roof'
fellí- [prep.] ► **F2**

FLGŠ

tfiliggìšt [f.] 'swallow'
tfiliggíšt
P: rondine
♦ NZ: FLGC, FLS4
Berber, cf. Ghd. *tafəlléləst* 'swallow'; MA *taflillist* 'swallow'; Kb. *tifiləlləst* 'swallow';

FLLŠ

flalìš [m.] pl. flulìš 'inflorescence'
flālîš pl. *flūlîš*
P: palma
♦ NZ: FLC5
Berber, cf. Nef. *teflīllést* 'inflorescence'

FLŠ

təfəlùšt [f.] pl. tfəlšìn 'large spoon for cooking'
tĕfelûšt pl. *tfelšîn*
P: cucchiaio M: cuillère *téfélouchť* تـفـلـوشـت
♦ NZ: FLC4, FLW2
Kb. *tiflut, tifləwt* 'spoon'

FNKḢ

fankùḫ [m.] 'big buttocks'
fankûăḫ
P: deretano
♦ NZ: FNKWḢ

FNS

afunàs [m.] pl. funasən 'ox'
afunâs pl. *funāsen*
P: bue M: quadrupède; taureau *afounas* افـونـاس ; vétérinaire *founaséh* فـونـاسـه 'veterinary'
♦ NZ: FNS1
Berber, cf. Kb. *tafunast* 'cow'
tfunàst [f.] 'tfunastìn' 'cow'
tfunâst pl. *tfunāstîn*
P: vacca

FNŽR

fənžər [v.cccc] 'to bleed (from the nose)'
impf. fənžàr
imp. sg. *fénžer*; impf. 3sg.m. *ifenžâr*

P: sanguinare
♦ NZ: FNZR2, TC: 993
Berber, cf. Ghd. *fənzər* 'to bleed from the nose'; Kb. *ffunzər* 'to bleed from the nose'; To. *hùnšər* 'to have a nose-bleed'; Zng. *ūnžər* 'to bleed from the nose'; Siwa *izənfār idammən* 'to bleed from the nose'.
Zenaga and Tuareg point to Proto-Berber **βənzər*, Awjila and Ghadames point to **fənzər*.
afənžər [v.n.m.] 'bleeding (from the nose)'
afénžer
P: sanguinare

FRḤ

****əfráḥ [v.ccc]** 'to become happy, become satisfied; to become happy with s.th (+ *s-*)'
pf. əfráḥ res. əfrəḥ
pf. 3sg.m. *yefráḥ* [PT:V], 3pl.f. *fráḥnęt* [PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m. *yefrîḥa* [PT:IV,V]
PT: IV, V, XV M: gai; joie *??méfreha* مفرحه; gaîté *??farha* فرحه
♦ Ar. *fariḥa* 'to be glad, happy, delighted'

FRTK

fər(ə)tək [v.cccc] 'to unstitch'
imp. sg. *fárětek*
P: scucire
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *fərkəkk* 'to crack, open' To. (H.) *fərəkkət* 'to untie (of a knot intr.)'; Ghd. *fărrăk* 'to separate in two.'
afərtək [v.n.m.] 'unstitching'
afértek
P: scucire

FS1

afùs [m.] pl. fìssən 'hand'
afús, afūs-(énnes) [PT:III,XV] pl. *físsen*
P: mano PT: III, XV M: bras; etendre *afous* افوس
♦ NZ:FS2, TC: 266
Berber, cf. Foq. *afûs* 'hand'; Ghd. *ófəss* 'hand'; Kb. *afus* 'hand'; Nef. *ufés* 'hand'; Sok. *fūs* 'hand'; To. *áfus* 'hand'; Zng. *ävuʔš* 'hand'

FS2

fìsa [adv.] 'quickly'
físa
PT: I M: promptement *fisaâ* فيسعه
♦ Dial. Ar. *fissaʕ* 'quickly' < Ar. *fī (a)s-sāʕa(t)* 'in the hour' (also attested in Siwa, and South-west Algerian Arabic) (p.c. Souag). ELA *fīsa*, in fast speech, and *fīsaʕ*, when emphasized (p.c. Benkato).

FŠ

afìš [m.] pl. fíšàwən 'face'
afíš, afiš-(énnes) [PT:III] pl. *fíšâwen* (sic)
P: viso PT: III

FŠŠ

fəšùš [stat.v.] 'to be light, agile'
1sg. fəšúšax 2sg. fəšušàt 3sg.m. fəšùš 3sg.f. fəšušət pl. fəšušìt
1sg. *fešûšaḥ* 2sg. *fešūšât* 3sg.m. *fešûš* 3sg.f. *fešûšet* pl. *fešūšít*
P: leggero PT: IV M: agile *féchouch* فشوش; agilité *féchach* فشاش; alléger *fech* فشّ
♦ NZ: FC9, FS1
Berber, cf. Kb. *ifsus, ufsus* 'to become light'; To. *ìfsas* 'to be or become light (in weight)'
š-əfšəš [caus.v.] 'to lighten'
imp. sg. *šéfšeš*
P: alleggerire; leggero
təfšəš [f.] 'lightness'
tefšeš
P: leggerezza

FTW

afəttìw [m.] 'unity'
afĕttîu
P: uno M: grain *eftéhou* افتّهوه
▷ *afĕttîu n-ažévū* 'one hair'
▷ *afĕttîu n-yérden* 'one granule of grain'

FW

afìw [m.] 'fire'

afʔu
P: fuoco PT: II, XV M: flamme *afou* افو
▷ *šenġ afʔu* ‘extinguish the fire!’
♦ NZ: FW1
To. *éfew* ‘fire’

G

ag [v.c*] ‘to do, put, place’
pf. g(g)á res. gà fut. àgg impf. tàgga
imp. sg. *ag*; pf. 1sg. *giḫ, gíḫ* [PT:II], *dgît* [PT:XV] 3sg.m. *igâ, iggî-(t)* [PT:II], *iggî-(tet)* [PT:XII], *igî-(s)* [PT:VII], *igî-(tet)* [PT:XII], *igî-(ten)* [PT:XV], *igī-(tḛ́nḛt)* [PT:V] 3pl.m. *gān-(îs)* [PT:XV], *gân-(īs)* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *gîḫa* 2sg. *dgîta* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *igâya, igé* 3pl.m. *gâna* [PT:XV]; fut. 1sg. *aggâḫ* 2sg. *adgát* 3sg.m. *ayégg, āīgî-(tet)* [PT:XII]; impf. 1sg. *teggîḫ* 2sg. *teggît* [P:example] 3sg. *itéggā*
P: fare, mettere, porre PT: II, III, IV, V, VII, XII, XV
▷ *teggît-lû* ‘do not do anything!’
♦ NZ: G3, TC: 326, K: 431
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăǧ* ‘to do, put’; Kb. *əg* ‘to do’; To. *ə̀j* ‘to do, make’ Zng. *ägi(ʔ)* ‘to put down, put’

agú [v.n.m.] ‘doing’
agû
P: fare, mettere, pore

ăggû ► Ɣ-D

GBB

təgbìbi [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’
tegbîbī
P: passero M: peser *teguibibi* تقيبيبى
○ 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

gəbə́š [v.ccc] ‘to gird’
impf. gəbbə́š
imp. sg. *gebéš*; impf. 1sg. *gebbéšḫ* 3sg.m. *igebbéš* 3sg.f. *tqábbiš* [Z:VI]
P: cingere Z: VI
♦ NZ: GBS1, BGS1, GS3, TC: 555, K: 387
Berber, cf. Kb. *bgəs* ‘to gird, put on a belt’; To. *ə̀jbəs* ‘to tie one’s belt (at waist)’; Zng. Aor. 3sg.m. *yäwgəš* ‘to gird, put on a belt’.
Awjila and Tuareg have a metathesized form. The metathesis 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’.

agəbàš [v.n.m.] ‘girding’
agebâš
P: cingere

G-D1, Ɣ-D

aɣì=d, yaɣì=d [v.c̄*.irreg.] ‘to bring’
pf. = fut. əggá=d res. àgga=d impf. təggà=d-a
imp. sg. *aġîd, yaġîd* pl.m. *aġiyâd, aġâdd* pl.f. *aġîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ĕggiġd* 3sg.m. *yeggâd* 3sg.f. *teggâd* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ggíġda* 3sg.m. *yeggâda, iggâda* [PT:XV]; fut. 1sg. *aggâġd* 3sg.m. *ayeggâd*; impf. 1sg. *teggîġda* 3sg.m. *iteggâda*
P: portare PT: V, XV
♦ TC: 984
Berber, cf. Kb. *awi* ‘to carry’; To. *àwəy* ‘to take, convey, carry’; Zng. *äwih* ‘to take’

aggú (or: əggú)[v.n.m] ‘bringing’
ăggû
P: portare

GD2

pl. gudìn [m.] ‘urine’
pl. *gudîn*
P: orina
♦ NZ: GD1

š-əggəd [caus.v.] ‘to urinate, defecate’
š-əggàd
imp. sg. *šégged*; impf. 1sg. *šeggâdḫ* 3sg.m.

išeggâd
P: orinare
aš-àggəd [caus.v.n.m.] ‘urinating, defacating’
ašégged
P: orinare

GDR

əlgəd(ə)r-(ànnəs) [m./f.] ‘cooking pot’
elgedĕr-(*énnes*)
PT:XV M: marmite *elgadir* القادر
♦ Ar. *qidr* m. or f. ‘cooking pot; kettle’

GDV

agìdəv [m.] pl. gidàvən ‘wolf, jackal’
agîdev, agîdev [B24], *egīdév* [B24] pl. *gīdéven, gîdeven* [B24]
P: lupo M: loup *akidaf* اكيدف B24: 193
♦ TC: 1079, K: 15, 161
Perhaps berber, cf. Zng. *äžḏīh* ‘jackal’; Siwa *azidi* ‘jackal’, the correspondence Awjila *g* to Zng. and Siwa *z* is irregular.

GF

əlgəfà-(nnəs) [m.] ‘back of the head’
elgefá-(*nnes*)
PT:III
♦ Ar. *qafa*(*n*) ‘nape; occiput, back of the head; back; reverse’

GG

gìg [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-zgìg*
♦ ► **ZGG**

GɣD ► YɣD

GL1/GWL

agə́l, gul [v.irreg.] ‘to see’
pf. / seq. gùl, gùla res. gùla fut. gùl impf. gəwwə́l
imp. sg. *agél, gūl* pl.m. *aglât, gūlât* pl.f. *aglîmet, gūlîmet*; pf. 2sg. *dgulît* [PT:XII,XIII,XV] 3sg.m. *igûl, igûla, igulî-*(*t*) [PT:IX,XII] 3pl.m. *gûlān-*(*t*) [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *guliḫ-*(*kû*)*-ya* [PT:XI] 3sg.m. *igulâya*; fut. 1sg. *aggulâḫ-*(*t*) [PT:V], *aggūlâḫ* [PT:V], *aggûlaḫ* [PT:XV] 3sg.m. *aigûl*; impf. *igūwél*
P: vedere PT:V,IX,XI,XII,XIII,XV M: visiter *yégoult* يغولت
▷ *igūwél-ī* ‘he sees me’ [P: io (example)]
♦ NZ: GL33
igəwwəl-ká [phrase] ‘blind (litt. ‘He doesn’t see’)’
igūwel-ká
P: cieco
agəwàl [v.n.m.] ‘seeing’
agĕwâl
P: vedere
š-àgəl [caus.v.] ‘to show’
seq. = fut. š-àgəl res. šəglá impf. š-əglày imp. sg. *šégel*; pf. *šéglíḫ* 3sg.m. *išégel*; res. 1sg. *šéglîḫa* 3sg.m. *išeglá*; fut. 1sg. *ašeglâ-*(*k*) [PT:X] impf. 1sg. *šeglâiḫ* 3sg.m. *išeglâi*
P: mostrare; vedere PT: X
əngùliA type of nursing word, which, going by Zanon’s translation is probably related to the verb *agə́l, gul* ‘to see’
ingûli
Z:XI

GL2

tgìli [f.] pl. tgiliwìn ‘head’
tgîli, tĕgîli, tĕgîlī [PT:III] *tegîli* [B21], *tĕgīlî-*(*nnes*) [PT:III,XIII] pl. *tgīliwîn, tegīliwîn* [B21]
P: testa; cima B21: 384 PT: III, XIII M: cerveau; tête *taqileh* ثقيله; cervelle *taqileh* ثقيلة
♦ NZ: GL63

GL3

Gìlu [place name] ‘Jalu (an oasis 30km sout-east of Awjila)’

Gîlu
P: Giallo

GLD

agəllìd [m.] pl. gèldən ‘head of a tribe, gentleman’
agellîd pl. *gélden*
P: capo M: gouverneur *kellad* قـلاّد; gouverner *??mekellid* مـقـلّـيـد
♦ K: 331
Berber, cf. Kb. *agəllid* ‘king’; Ghd. *ašăllid* ‘king’; MA *agellid, ažellid* ‘king’

GLL

glùl [v.ccvc] ‘to play’
pf. / seq. = res. glùl impf. təglùla
imp. sg. *glûl*; pf. 1sg. *glūlîḫ* 3sg.m. *iglûl*; res. 1sg. *glūlîḫa* 3sg.m. *iglûla*; impf. 1sg. *teglūlîḫ* 3sg.m. *iteglûla* ptc. *teglûlān* [P:example: che, il quale]
P: giocare
glìlən [v.n.m.] ‘playing’
glîlen
P: giocare
š-əglùl [caus.v.] ‘to make (s.o.) play’
imp. sg. *šeglûl*
P: giocare

GLM1

glìm [m.] pl. glìmən ‘skin’
glîm, glīm-(*énnes*) [PT:XV] pl. *glîmen*
P: pelle PT: XV M: peau *eglim* اقـلـيـم
♦ NZ: GLM2, TC: 1046, K: 364
Berber, cf. Kb. *agʷlim* ‘skin’; To. *ájlem* ‘prayer skin, sheepskin used as prayer mat’; Nef. *uglîm* ‘skin’

GLM2

agílum, agilùm [m.] ‘garlic’
agîlūm, agīlûm
P: aglio
♦ NZ: GLM10
Berber, cf. Ghd. *aǵelum* ‘garlic’. Probably ultimately from Lat. *allium* ‘garlic’.

GM1

ugə́m [v.vcc] ‘to draw (water with an animal)’
impf. tàgəm
imp. sg. *ugém*; impf. 1sg. *tâgemḫ* 3sg.m. *itâgem*
P: attingere
♦ NZ: GM3, K: 409
Ghd. *agəm* ‘to draw water’; Kb. *agʷəm* ‘to draw water’; To. (N) *àgəm* ‘to draw water’; Zng. *äguṃ* ‘to draw water’.
ugùm [v.n.m.] ‘drawing of water’
ugûm
P: attingere
anagàm [m.] pl. nagàmən ‘someone who draws water’
anagâm pl. *nagâmen*
P: attingere

GM2

alègmət [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 *əljmət* ‘friday’ (Souag 2010: 118); Foq. *ležmat* ‘friday’; Ghd. *ălǵamăt* ‘friday’; Nef. *ligmét* ‘week’, and the unexpected correspondence of Auj. *g* Ar. *ž*, which does not occur anywhere else in the language.

GMR1

agmàr [m.] pl. gmàrən ‘horse’
agmâr pl. *gmâren, gmāren-*(*îya*) [P: chi? (example)]
P: cavallo M: cheval *aghmar* اغـمـار
♦ NZ:GMR5, TC: 373, K: 368
Berber, cf. Ghd. *aǵmar* ‘horse’; Kb. *tagmart* ‘mare’; Zng. *ägmär* ‘boy, young adolescent’, *tägmär, tägmärt* ‘mare’
tagmàr(ə)t [f.] pl. tagmartìn ‘mare’
tagmârĕt pl. *tagmartîn*

P: cavallo

GMR2

pl. gmìrən [m.] ‘chest’
pl. *gmîren*
P: petto
♦ NZ: GMR10, DMR1, TC: 193
Berber, cf. Kb. *idmarən* ‘chest’; Zng. *äḏməri(?)* ‘chest bone’; Nef. *idmâren* ‘chest’. Awjila has undergone an shift from *d* to *g* in preconsonantal position. Not all instances of pre-consonantal *d* becomes *g*, e.g. *adbìr* ‘pigeon’, but a similar irregular shift is observed in Benghazi Arabic Benkato (2012: 10)

GMẒ

agamẓùy, agàmẓu [m.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar. *zőūsami, abyaḍ*)’
agamẓûi, agámẓū
P: palma
♦ NZ: GMẒ4
A compounds of unknown element *agam* and *ẓûi* ‘palm tree’

GN

gan [adv.] ‘there; there is, there was’
gān, gal-(lûda) [PT:XV], *ğān* [Z:VII]
P: essere PT: I, II, III, XV Z: IV, VII
▷ *gān-ká* ‘there is not’
▷ *yénnī-ká gān* ‘there was not’
▷ *gallûda* ‘there being nothing’ [PT:XV]

GNG

agəngùy [m.] pl. ngùwən ‘green date’
agengûi pl. *ñgûwen*
P: dattero
♦ Sok. *agingín* ‘small date palm’; Foq. *gingín, gẹngẹ́n* ‘green date’
agəngùy [m.] ‘name of a sparrow’
agĕngûi
P: passero
○ This bird name seems to be derrived from the word *agengûi* ‘green date’ above. Why this bird was named after a green date is unclear. One may imagine that the shape of a date somewhat resembles the shape of a sparrow, the colour though, is very different.

GNN

agənnìn [m.] pl. gənnìnən ‘a small cushion one wears on the head to carry loads’
agennîn, agennîmen [Z:V] pl. *gennînẹn*
P: cuscino Z: V
♦ K: 415
Ghd. *tažnent* ‘wicker basket’; Siwa *agənin* ‘basket’

GNŠ

gnìš [m.] pl. gnìšən ‘male blossom of a date palm’
gnîš pl. *gnîšen*
P: palma

GNW

agnàw [m.] pl. gnàwən ‘black slave’
agnâu pl. *gnâwen*
P: schiavo, servo
♦ NZ: GNW2 TC: 406
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǵanaw* ‘slave (from Sudan)’; Kb. *tagnawit* ‘incomprehensible language, language of black slaves’; Zng. *ägənwi(?)* ‘black man, negroid African’ Nef. *agnâu* ‘slave, black’

GR1

agùr [prep.] ‘near, on the side’
1sg. agùr mìnn-i, agur-ənnùk 2sg.m. agùr mìnn-ək agur-ənnək 3sg. agùr mìnn-əs, agur-ənnəs
agûr; 1sg. *agûr mẹ́nn-ī, agūr-ennûk* 2sg.m. *agûr mẹ́nn-ek, agūr-énnek* 3sg. *agûr mínn-es, agūr-énnes*
P: vicino; fianco, lato PT: III
♦ NZ: GR64, K: 303
Perhaps Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǵár* ‘between’; To. *jèr* ‘between’
Ar. *min* ‘from’

GR2

agə́r [v.cc*] ‘to gather, assemble’
pf. əgrá res. àgra impf. gərrá
imp. sg. *agér*; pf. 3sg.m. *yegrá*; res. 3sg.m. *yegrâya*; impf. 3sg.m. *igerrá*
P: raccogliere, radunare
♦ NZ: GRW1
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăǵruw* ‘to gather’; Kb. *grəw* ‘to meet, to get together’; To. *ə̀jrəw* ‘to get, obtain, find’
agə̀rru [v.n.m.] ‘gathering, assembling’
agérrū
P: raccogliere, radunare

GRF

tagìrft, tagrìft [f.] ‘crow; owl’
tagírft, tagrîft
P: corvo; gufo
♦ NZ: GRF1, GRFW K: 305
Berber, cf. Ghd. *oǵărf* f. *toǵărft* ‘crow’; Kb. *tagərfa* ‘crow’; Sok. *tžárfi* ‘crow’
Ultimately from Latin *corvus*.

GRŠ1

təgirìšt [f.] ‘winter’
tegẹrîšt, tagirîšt [B21], *tigirîšt* [B21;B25]
P: inverno B21: 386, 391 B25: 330 M: automne *téghéricht* تـغـرشت; hiver *téghéricht* تـقـرشت
♦ NZ: GRS3 TC: 434, K: 341, 627
Berber, cf. Ghd. *asəǵrəs* ‘winter’; Nef. *tegrést* ‘winter’; Foq. *ǧaríšt* ‘winter’; Sok. *taǧrə́st* ‘winter’; To. *tə̀jrəst* ‘cold season, winter’; Zng. *tgärS* ‘cold season, winter’

GRṬ

agə̀rəṭ [m.] pl. gərṭàwən ‘neck’
agə́rə̊ṭ, agə́rə̊ṭ-(énnes) [PT:XIII] pl. *gerṭə̊́wen*
P: collo PT:XIII M: cou *agarat* اقـا ر ات
♦ NZ: GRḌ1 K: 628
Berber, cf. Ghd. *aɣurəṭ* ‘shoulder’; Kb. *agʷəṛḍ* ‘neckline’; To. *tejə̆̀rḍə̆wt* ‘base of cranium just above nape’; Zng. *əgaṛḍ* ‘neck’
grùṭ [m.] pl. grùṭən ‘wood, trunk of a tree’
grûṭ, grūṭ pl. *grûṭə̊n*
P: legno; palma; tronco d’albero

GRZN

ʔgərzəni [m.] ‘dog’
guerzeni قـرزنـى, *guerzen* قـرزن
M: aboiement, aboyer
♦ Siwa *agurzəni* ‘dog’

GS

(ə)ggə́s [v.cc] ‘to roast’
pf. əggə́s res. àggəs impf. təggàs
imp. sg. *ĕggés*; pf. 1sg. *ggesḥ* 3sg.m. *yeggés*; res. 1sg. *ggísḥa* 3sg.m. *yeggîsa*; impf. 1sg. *teggâsḥ* 3sg.m. *iteggâs*
P: arrostire M: rôtir *ʔeggaça* اقّـسه; rôti *??meggaça* مـقّـا سه
♦ NZ: GS10
(ə)ggùs [v.n.m.] ‘roasting’
ĕggûs
P: arrostire

GŠL

təgišìlt təšṭàft [f.+adj.] ‘black beetle’
tegẹšîlt tešṭâft
P: scarabeo
♦ NZ: GCL2, Perhaps also: NZ: GLZ8
Perhaps related to Sok. *tažlōṣt* ‘cockroach’; Siwa *taǧḷáṣt* ‘spider’Naumann (2013: 377); Fig. *tajliṣṣ* ‘beetle’.
təgišìlt təɣzìft (or: ... taɣzìft) [f.+adj.] ‘viper, snake (litt. long beetle)’
tegišîlt taġzîft
P: scarabeo; vipera M: serpent *tekéchilt* تـكشلت

GT

(ə)ggùt[quant] ‘much, many’
ĕggût, ggût [PT:III] *uggūt* [Z:I]
P: molto PT:III Z: I M: abondance *daggout* دقّـوت; accroître *daggat* دقّـا ت; allonger *edgout* ا دقـوت; beaucoup *doggout* دقّـوت; davantage *dakket* دكـت; force *degoud* دقـو د; suffire *dakout* دكـوت;

suffisament *dakou* دكو
♦ NZ: GT1 K: 359
Berber, cf. Sok. *uggút* 'much, many'

GṬṬ

agəṭìṭ (or: agaṭìṭ [m.] pl. gəṭaṭ 'sparrow; bird'
agaṭîṭ pl. *gĕṭāṭ*
P: passero; ucello M: perdrix *ghethat* قطاط
♦ NZ: GḌ2 TC: 486 K: 328
Berber, cf. Ghd. *aǵaḍiḍ* 'bird'; Foq. *žaḍîḍ* 'bird'; Sok. *aždit* 'bird'; Siwa *ašṭíṭ* 'bird' (Naumann 2013: 416);To. *ejăḍeḍ* 'bird'; Zng. *aġḍuḍ* 'bird'

GW1

agìw [m.] pl. gìwən 'leather bucket (for a well)'
agîu pl. *gîwen*
P: pozzo
♦ NZ: G11 TC: 25 K: 304
Berber, cf. To. *ǎja* 'waterbag'; Zng. *äʔgäh* 'bucket'

GY

****gi [v.ci]** 'to cultivate'
impf. gày
impf. 3sg.m. *igáĭ*
PT:XV
○ Probably a impf. of a root *gi*.
♦ To. (Y) *əgyək* 'to cultivate'

GZ

agəz [v.cc*] 'to cut'
seq. = res. yəgza fut. əgəz impf. gəzza
imp. sg. *agéz*; pf. 3sg.m. *yégza*; res. 3sg.m. *yegzáya*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayégĕz*; impf. 3sg.m. *igézzā*
P: tagliare
♦ NZ: GZ5, K: 243
Berber, cf. Ghd. *gəzgəz* 'to be torn out, torn up with teeth'
agəzzu [v.n.m.] 'cutting'
agézzū
P: tagliare

GZL

gəzzəl [stat.v.] 'to be short, low'
1sg. gəzlàx 2sg. gəzlàt 3sg.m. gəzzəl 3sg.f. gəzlət pl. gəzzilìt
1sg. *gezlâḫ* 2sg. *gezlât* 3sg.m. *gézzel* 3sg.f. *gézlet* pl. *gezzīlît*
P: corto, basso
▷ *wâya gézzel* 'this is short'
▷ *amédęn gézzel* 'a short man'
♦ NZ: GZL1
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǵəzzəl* 'to be short'; Nef. *gezzél* 'short, low'; Siwa *azal* 'short'; Sok. *gĕzzél* 'short'
gzìl [adj.]pl. gzìlən f. təgzìlt pl. təgzilìn 'short, low'
m. sg. *gzîl* pl. *gzîlen* f. sg. *tegzîlt* pl. *tegzīlîn*
P: corto, basso
š-əgzəl, s-əgzəl [caus.v.] 'to shorten, lower'
impf. š-əgzàl
imp. sg. *šégzel, ségzel*; impf. 1sg. *šegzâlḫ* 3sg.m. *išegzâl*
P: corto, basso
as-əgzəl [caus.v.n.m.] "shortening"
aségzel
P: corto, basso

GZN1

gzìn [m.] pl. gzìnən 'dog'
gzîn pl. *gzînen*
P: cane M: chien *eghzin* اغزين
♦ K: 749
Berber, cf. Ghd. *əǵzén* 'puppy, small dog'; Kb. *aqjun* 'dog'; Nef. *ugzîn* 'small dog, puppy'
təgzìnt [f.] pl. təgzintìn, təgzinìn 'bitch'
tegzînt pl. *tegzintîn, tegzinîn*
P: cane

GZN2

agəzzùn [m.] pl. gəzzùnən 'orphan'

agezzûn pl. *gezzûnen*
P: orfano
♦ NZ: GZN5
Siwa *agezzun* 'orphan'

GZR1

agəzzàr [m.] pl. gəzzàrən 'leaf of a turnip'
agezzâr pl. *gezzâren*
P: foglia M: navet *aghzar* اغزار
♦ NZ: GZR3

GZV

ègzəv [v.ccc] 'to cut the bunches of dates from palms'
imp. sg. *égzev, egzéf*
P: tagliare
♦ NZ: GZB K: 169, 243
Berber, cf. Ghd. *aǵezăβ* 'a palm whose leaves have been cut off'; Siwa *agəzzu* 'bunch of shoots at the foot of an old trunk of a date palm'
agəzàv [v.n.m.] 'cutting the bunches of dates from palms'
agezâv, agezâf
P: tagliare

ɣ

yax [v.vc*] 'to take (+IO)'
pf. uɣá seq. = res. ùɣa fut. ùɣ impf. tàɣa
imp. sg. *yaḥ* pl. *yaḥât* [PT:I]; pf. 1sg. *uġíḥ* 3sg.m. *yúġa, yuġâ* [PT:IV,VII], *yuġî-*(*tęt*) [PT:I]; res. 1sg. *uġîḥa* 3sg.m. *yuġâya*; fut. 1sg. *auġâḥ, auġắḥ* [PT:V] 2sg. *attuġāt-*(*tęnęt*) [PT:V] 3sg.m. *ayûġ, ayuġí-*(*tęnęt*) [PT:V]; impf. 1sg. *tāġîḥ* 3sg.m. *itâġa*
P: prendere PT: I, II, IV, V, VII M: apporter *heggad* حقّاد; payer *aghiz* اغيز 'to take to him'?
♦ K: 736
Berber, cf. Kb. *aɣ* 'to take'; Nef. *aġ* 'to take'; Sok. *aġ* 'to take'; Siwa *aġəd* 'to take (imp. only)'
uɣú [v.n.m.] 'taking'
uġû
P: prendere

ɣBŠ

əlɣàbəš [m.] 'morning'
elġábeš
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'

ɣ-D ▶ G-D

ɣDD

aɣìdəd [m.] pl. ɣidàd 'male kid (goat)'
aġîded pl. *ġīdâd*
P: capretto
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *iɣid* 'billy goat'; Nef. *ġīd* 'kid (goat)'; Sok. *iġíd* 'kid (goat)'
tɣìdət 'female kid (goat)'
tġîdet
P: capretto

ɣF1

aɣùf [m.] pl. ɣəfâwən "the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string"
aġûf pl. *ġefâwen*
P: cesta

ɣF2

təɣàfi [f.] pl. tɣafiwìn 'palm leaf'
tăġâfī, tăġåfī pl. *tġåfīwîn*
P: foglia; palma

ɣL1

****ɣèlli [v.cc̄i]** 'to want'
pf. = fut. ɣèlli
pf./fut. 1sg. *ġallîḥ, ġellîḥ* [PT:V], *ġillîġ* [Z:I] *ġillīġ* [Z:III], *ġillîḥ* [Z:VII], *ġalláḥ* [P: example], *ġallá* [P: example], *álla* [P: example] 2sg. *tġallît, tĕġellît-*(*ī*) [PT:XII] *tġélli t-*(*ì-kra*) (sic) [Z:I] 3sg.m. *iġálli, iġélli* [PT:I], *iġéllī* [PT:X] *iġéllī* (sic) [PT:IX], *iġęllī* [PT:IV], *iġęlli* [PT:II],

iġàlli [Z:II] 3sg.f. *tġálli* 1pl. *nĕġálli, nĕġállī* [PT:XV] 2pl.m. *tġallīyîm* 2pl.f. *tġallîmet* 3pl.m. *ġallîyen, ġallîyẹn* [PT:II] 3pl.f. *ġallînet*
P: volere PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, IX, X, XII, XV Z: I, II, III, VII M: cher *yéghalayeh* يـغـلايـه; falloir *yéghally* يـغـالّـى
▷ ġallîḫ-ká, ġalláḫ-ká 'I do not want';
▷ ġalláḫ (or ġallá, álla) a-šwâḫ 'I want to drink'
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *ɣill* 'to think, believe'; To. *ìɣal* 'to believe'
The Berber cognates have quite a different meaning, but the semantic shift may be possible.

ɣL2

aɣəllày [m.] pl. ɣəllàyən 'circle, loop'
aġellâi pl. *ġällâyen*
P: cerchio, giro
▷ *aġellâi n tebazârt* 'a circle of bread to make baskets with'
♦ To. (Gh.) *taġălait* 'circle'

ɣL3

****aɣəl/ɣli [v.cc*/cci]** 'to be dear'
res. ɣla
pf. 3sg.m. *iġlāia*
Z: XI
♦ Ar. *ʔaġlā* 'to be dear or precious'
ɣəli-ka [stat.v.+neg.] 'to be cheap'
ghaleika غـلـيـكـه
M: bon-marché
♦ From Ar. *ġalī* 'expensive' + Awjila negative particle *ká*.

ɣLB

****ɣəlləb [v.cc̄c]** 'to best s.o., to defeat s.o.'
pf. / seq. ɣèlləb
pf. 3sg.m. *iġelléb-*(*ten*)
PT: VIII M: par force *yéghlebah* يـغـلـبـه
♦ Ar. *ġalaba* 'to subdue, conquer, vanquish, defeat', the Awjila reflex appears to refer to a Stem II derivation *ġallaba*, which in MSA is the causative of *ġalaba*. The meaning in the text is certainly not causative.

ɣM

taɣmày (or: təɣmày) [f.] pl. taɣmawìn, taɣmáwin 'thigh'
taġmâi pl. *taġmāwîn, taġmâwīn*
P: coscia M: cuisse *thaghmay* طـا غـمـا ى
♦ TC: 669
Berber, cf. Ghd. *taɣma* 'thigh'; Nef. *tāġmâ, taġmâ* 'thigh'; Sok. *táġma* 'thigh'; Siwa *taġma* 'thigh'; To. *tàɣma* 'thigh'; Kb. *tayma* 'thigh'; Zng. *tämäʰ* 'thigh'

ɣMR

taɣəmmìrt [f.] pl. təɣəmmirìn 'armpit'
taġemmîrt pl. *teġĕmmīrîn*
P: ascella M: aisselle *teghmert* تـغـمـرت
♦ TC: 60
Berber, cf. Ghd. *taɣmărt, taɣămmărt* 'corner, elbow'; Kb. *tiɣməṛt, tiɣʷməṛt* 'corner, elbow'; To. *áɣmər, tə̀ɣmərt* 'elbow'; Zng. *oʔmri*(*ʔ*), *uʔmär, iʔmmär* 'elbow'; Siwa *tayəmmərt* 'armpit'; Nef. *tuġumḗrt, tuġmḗrt* 'elbow';

ɣN1

aɣùn [m.] 'a rope to which a 'delou' is tied to draw water'
aġûn
P: corda
○ Perhaps a derivation of *ăqqắn* 'to bind, tie, attach' ► **QN**

ɣN2

iɣənni [v.cc̄i] 'to hurt'
3sg.m. *iġénnī, iġännî-*(*y-ī*) [P: example] 3sg.f. *tăġénnī*
P: dolere, far male
○ May either be an imperfective of a |cci| verb, or the perfective of a |cc̄i| verb.
▷ *aṭār-ennûk iġännî-y-ī* 'my foot hurts'
♦ Berber, cf. To. *aɣắna* 'suffering, hardship'; Siwa *ġənn* 'to hurt'

ɣR1

uɣər [v.vcc] 'to get lost; to lose s.th. (s-ɣar

+ s.th.)'
seq. = res. = fut. ùɣər impf. tàɣər
imp. sg. *uġér*; pf. 2sg. *tuġḗrt* [PT:X] 3sg.m. *yúġer*; res. 3sg.m. *yuġîra*; fut. 1sg. *āūġḗrḥ* [PT:X] 3sg.m. *ayúġer* [PT:X]; impf. 1sg. *tâġarḥ* [P: example] 3sg.m. *itâġar*
P: perdersi, smarrirsi PT: X M: aller *youghera* يـو غـر ه
▷ *tâġarḥ ässerîr-ī* 'I always get lost in the desert'
▷ *yuġîra s-ġâr-ī elméṣḥāf* 'I have lost the book (litt. the book is lost from me)'
♦ K: 357, 630
Probably related to Foq. *úġår* '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-ùɣər [caus.v.] 'to lose s.th.'
res. š-ùɣər impf. š-uɣàr
imp. sg. *šúġer*; res. 3sg.m. *šuġîrḥa*; impf. 1sg. *šūġârḥ* [PT:IV] 3sg.m. *išuġâr*
P: perdersi, smarrirsi PT: IV
○ *šūġârḥ* in PT:IV, morphologically looks like an imperfective, but must be translated as a perfective.
▷ *šuġîrḥa elméṣḥāf* 'I have lost the book'

ɣR2

təɣarìt (or: təɣərìt) [f.] pl. t(ə)ɣariwìn 'stick'
tăġarît pl. *tġariwîn, tĕġarīwîn* [PT:I], *tġarīwīn-(îyek)* [PT:I], *tĕġarīwīn-(îyäk)* [PT:I]
P: bastone PT: I M: bâton *tagharit* تـغـريـت; révolté (être) *tégharit* تـغـريـت
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tayărit* 'stick'; Kb. *tiɣṛit* 'stick'

ɣR3

ɣar [conj.] 'but'
ġār [PT:V], *ġär* [PT:XI]
PT: V, XI
♦ Ar. *ġayr* 'but', the reflex of the *ay* diphthong as a plain vowel *a* is unexpected.

ɣR4

aɣər [v.cc*] 'to read'
seq. = res. èɣra impf. ɣèrra
imp. sg. *aġår*; pf. 3sg.m. *yéġra*; res. 3sg.m. *yeġrâya*; impf. 1sg. *ġarrîḥ* 3sg.m. *iġérrā*
P: leggere
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ĕăr* 'to read'; Kb. *ɣər* 'to read'; To. *èɣər* 'to read; to study, go to school'
š-èɣər [caus.v.] 'to cause to read'
imp. sg. *šáġar*
P: leggere
aɣèrru [v.n.m.] 'reading'
aġérrū
P: leggere

ɣR5

ar [prep.] 'to, near, at'
1sg. ɣàr-i 2sg.m. ɣàr-ək 2sg.f. ɣàr-əm 3sg. ɣàr-əs 1pl. ɣàr-nax 2pl.m. ɣár-kim 2pl.f. ɣàr-əkmət 3pl.m. ɣár-sin 3pl.f. ɣár-əsnət
ar, ār [PT:XV] (before a noun), *ġār* (before pronouns) 1sg. *ġâr-ī, ġār-ī* [PT:V,VI] 2sg.m *ġâr-ek, ġâr-ęk* [PT:II] 2sg.f. *ġâr-em* 3sg. *ġâr-es* 1pl. *ġâr-nāḥ* 2pl.m. *ġâr-kīm* 2pl.f. *ġâr-ekmet* 3pl.m. *ġâr-sin* 3pl.f. *ġâr-esnet*
P: presso PT: III, V, VI, XV
▷ *irîu ínni ar amédẹn* 'the child is by the man'
♦ TC: 70
Berber, cf. Foq. *ġūr* 'near, at'; Nef. *ġęr* 'near, at'; To. *ɣòr* 'chez, at the home of, in the presence of'; Zng. *äʔr, är* 'near, at'

ɣRDM

tɣardìmt (or: tɣərdìmt) [f.] pl. tɣardimìn 'scorpion'
tġardímt pl. *tġardimîn*
P: scorpione; M: reptile *taghardim* تـغـرديـم; scorpion *téghardim* تـغـرديـم
♦ K: 633
Berber, cf. Ghd. *tašarḍămt* 'scorpion'; Kb.

iɣirdəm ‘scorpion’; To. *eyérdəm* ‘large scorpion’; Foq. *taġurdḗmt* ‘scorpion’; Sok. *tqardḗmt* ‘scorpion’; Nef. *tġardémt* ‘scorpion’; Siwa *taqəṛḍúmt* ‘scorpion’ (Naumann 2013: 322) For the Ghadames form, see Vycichl (1990).

ɣRF

aɣàrf (or: aɣèrf) [m.] ‘type of palm tree’
aġárf
P: palma

ɣRM1

aɣàrəm [m.] ‘castle, police post’
aġârem
P: castello, posto di polizia
♦ Tashl. *iɣrm* ‘fortified granary’

ɣRR

taɣrart [f.] ‘sack, bag’
thaghrart طا غر ا رت ‘sack, bag’
M: sac
♦ Siwa *tġərārt* ‘small sack made of camel skin’; Ghd. *taɣərărt* ‘large sack of wool and hair for grain’; Kb. *taɣṛaṛt, taɣʷṛaṛt* ‘roughly woven bag with dual pockets for transporting wheat on a camel’s back’

ɣRS

pl. əlɣərsat-(ənnəs) [f.] ‘young palms’
pl. *ělġårsāt-*(*énnes*)
PT: XV
♦ Ar. *ġarsa*(*t*) pl. *ġarsāt* ‘plant’ Mor. Ar. *ġarsa* ‘garden’

ɣRŠ

əɣ(ə)ráš [v.ccc] ‘to slaughter s.th. (+ IO)’
pf. əɣráš res. èɣrəš
imp. sg. *aġắréš, aġreš-*(*dîk*) [PT:XV], *áġareš* [B21]; pf. 3sg.m. *yaġréš*; res. 3sg.m. *yaġrîša*
P: sgozzare PT: XV B21: 391 M: boucher, s. *yégharrech* يـغـرّش; immolé *??magharich* مـغـا رش; immoler *gharich* غـا رش
♦ TC: 82
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăɣrəs* ‘to immolate; to slaughter’; To. *èyrəs* ‘to slaughter’; Zng. *oʔrəš* ‘to be slaughtered’
aɣəràš [v.n.m.] ‘slaughter’
aġarâš
P: sgozzare

ɣSLM

aɣasləm (or: aɣəsləm [m.] ‘lizard (male)’
aġaslém
P: lucertola
tɣasləmt (or: tɣəsləmt) [m.] ‘lizard (female)’
tġaslémt ‘lizard (female)’
P: lucertola

ɣST

aɣàst [m.] pl. ɣastìn ‘bone’
aġåst pl. *ġåstîn, ġåstīn-*(*nésnęt*) [PT:XV]
P: osso PT: XV M: os *aghazt* ا غـا ز ت
♦ TC: 85, K: 721
Berber, cf. GGhd. *ɣăss, ɣăṣ* ‘bone’; Kb. *iɣəss* ‘bone’; To. *éɣăss* ‘bone’; Zng. *iʔsi*(*ʔ*) ‘bone’.

Awjila has an extra final *t* in the root, not present in any other Berber language.

ɣŠ

aɣáš [v.cc] ‘to love’
pf. əɣáš res. ɣəš fut. ɣáš impf. təɣɣáš (or: təɣɣàš)
imp. sg. *aġắš, ġaš* [B21] pl.m. *aġäšât* pl.f. *aġéšmet*; pf. 1sg. *ġašḫ* 3sg.m. *yaġáš*; res. 1sg. *ġíšḫa* 3sg.m. *yaġíša*; fut. 1sg. *aġášḫ* 3sg.m. *aiġáš*; impf. *taġġášḫ, taġášḫ* 3sg.m. *itaġġáš*
P: amare B21: 391 M: aimer *yéghachtia* يـغشتـيـه
▷ *taġġášḫ-kem* ‘I love you’
♦ K: 724
Berber, cf. Nef. *ġęss, ġåss* ‘to love’; Siwa *əḥs* ‘to love, want’

ɣTM + GLW (Move to QTM

****əqṭəm təgiliwin** [v.] ‘to execute (?)’
impf. yəqəṭṭəm təgiliwìn
3sg.m. impf. *yeghettem igiliouy* يـغـتّـم

يـجيـليـوى
M: bourreau
♦ Probably to be analyzed as: *yəqəṭṭəm tigiliwin* 'he is cutting heads', Cf. Ar. *qaṭama* 'to cut off, break off'

ɣṭ1

tɣəṭ [f.] pl. tɣəṭṭən, tɣìṭṭən 'goat'
tġåṭ pl. *tġåṭṭen, tġíṭṭän*
P: capra
♦ TC: 9
Berber, cf. Ghd. *téɛaṭ* 'goat'; Kb. *taɣaṭ* 'goat'; Nef. *tġāṭ* 'goat'; Siwa *tġāṭ* 'id.'; To. *tàɣatt* 'goat'; Zng. *taʔḌ* 'goat'.

ɣv

aɣ(ə)v [m.] 'milk'
āġěv, āġf, âġf [P:example], *âġěf* [B24], *âġěv* [B24]
P: latte B24: 186
▷ *âġf d-atrâr* 'fresh milk'
♦ TC: 113, K: 11, 160, 738
Berber, cf. Kb. *iɣi* 'whey'; To. *áxx* 'milk'; Zng. *iʔž, iʔž(ž)* 'milk'

ɣvl

àɣvəl, àgvəl [m.] 'ash'
áġvęl, égvęl
P: cenere M: cendre *aghwel* اغـول
♦ TC: 99
Maybe connected to Zng. *tiʔyift* 'ash'. To connect these two forms, we have to assume a metathesis of **l* and **β* in Zenaga (or, vice-versa in Awjila). The reflex of Proto-Berber **β* is not commonly *f* in Zenaga.

ɣz1

aɣìz [m.] pl. ɣìzzən 'necklace'
aġîz pl. *ġízzen*
P: collana
▷ *aġîz n úråġ* 'golden necklace' [s.v. di]
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *aġîz* 'necklace of coral, golden parts and old coins'

ɣzf

ɣàzzəf [stat.v.] 'to be long, be high'
1sg. ɣəzfàx 2sg. ɣəzfàt 3sg.m. ɣàzzəf 3sg.f. ɣàzfət pl. ɣəzzifìt
1sg. *ġazfâḥ* 2sg. *ġazfât* 3sg.m. *ġăzzef* 3sg.f. *ġázfet* pl. *ġazzīfìt*
P: lungo, alto
♦ TC: 105
Berber, cf. Kb. *iɣʷzif* 'to be long'; Zng. *oʔZuf* 'to be long'
ɣzìf [adj.]f. təɣzìft (or: taɣzìft) 'long, high'
m. *ġzîf* f. *taġzîft*
P: lungo, alto
š-əɣzəf [caus.v.] 'to lengthen'
pf. / seq. = res. šəɣzəf impf. š-əɣzàf
imp. sg. *šéġzef, séġzef* ; pf. 1sg. *šeġzéfḥ* 3sg.m. *išäġzef* ; res. 1sg. *šeġzîfḥa* 3sg.m. *išäġzîfa*; impf. 1sg. *šäġzâfḥ* 3sg.m. *išaġzâf*
P: allungare; lungo, alto
təɣzəf [f.] 'length'
tắġzef
P: lunghezza

H ▶ I4

HD

əlhùdi [m.] 'jew'
ělhûdī, lhûdī, elhûdī, ălhûdī, lěhûdī
PT: V
♦ ELA *ihûdī* 'jew'; Ar. *al-hūd* 'jewry', *al-yahūdīy* 'jew, jewish'

HL

ləhàl [m.] 'people, family'
lěhál [PT:II], *lěhil-*(*ěnnûk, énnek*) [PT:XV]
PT: II, XV
♦ Ar. *ʔahl* 'relatives, folks, family; kin; people, members, followers etc.'; ELA *hāl* 'family' (p.c. Benkato)

HLB

****əhlə́b [v.ccc]** 'to surpass'
fut. əhləb
fut. 3pl.m. *ahlébẹn*
PT: II

HRŽ

ləharžət [f.] ‘noise’
lĕharžet
PT: VII
♦ ELA *hárža* ‘noise’

HWY

alhəwáyyi, əlhəwáyyi [adv.] ‘outside, outdoors, out, abroad’
alhawáyyī [PT:VIII], *lhawáyyī* [PT:VIII], *elhawáyyī* [PT:IV]
P: fuori PT: IV, VIII
▷ *alhawáyyī af ášal* ‘out of the village’
♦ Ar. *hawāʔī* ‘airy, breezy; aerial’, the meaning underwent quite a radical semantic shift in Awjila.

ḤB

lḥəbb [m.] pl. ləḥbùb ‘date (ripe)’
lḥabb pl. *laḥbûb*
P: dattero Z: IV M: datte, fruit *lahbou* لـحبـو
♦ Ar. *ḥabb* ‘grains; seed’

ḤDF

ḥədáf [v.ccc] ‘to throw’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. əḥdəf
imp. sg. *ḥădéf*; pf. 3sg.m. *yaḥdef-*(*tḗnęt*) [PT:V]; res. 1sg. *aḥdefḥ-*(*tît*)*-a* [PT:V]; fut. 1sg. *aḥdefâ-*(*s*) [PT:V]
P: gettare PT: V
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *əʕdəf* ‘to throw’ (Naumann 2013: 297)

ḤDN

ḥíddan [pron.] ‘anyone’
ḥíddan
P: nessuno PT: II
♦ Ar. *ʔaḥad-an* ‘anyone’ with retention of Tanwin.

ḤK(Y)

****əḥk [v.cc*]** ‘to tell’
pf. / seq. əḥka impf. ḥəkka
pf. 3sg.m. *yaḥk-*(*îs*) [PT:IV]; impf. 3pl.m. *ḥakkân-*(*dîk*) [PT:II]
PT: II, IV
♦ Ar. *ḥakā* ‘to tell’

ləḥkàyət [f.] ‘story’
laḥkâyet
PT: IV
♦ Ar. *ḥikāya*(*t*) ‘story, tale’

ḤL

aḥòli [m.] pl. ḥolàwən ‘lamb’
aḥôlī pl. *ḥolâwen*
P: agnello M: mouton *haoli* حـولـى
♦ ELA *ḥôlī* ‘(one year old) lamb’; Ar. *ḥawlī* ‘periodic, temporary, interim; one year old (animal), yearling; young animal; lamb, wether’

taḥolìt [f.] pl. tḥolitìn ‘sheep (more common than *təvál*)’
taḥolît pl. *tḥolītîn*
P: pecora

ḤLKT

tḥalkùt (or: tḥəlkùt) [f.] pl. tḥəlkútin ‘bread’
tḥalkût pl. *tḥalkûtīn*
P: pane

ḤM1

áḥəmm [v.cc̄?] ‘to guard the palms’
imp. sg. *áḥamm*
P: custodire
♦ Ar. *ḥamā* ‘to defend, guard, protect’

ḥəmmày [m.] ‘guardian of date palms’
ḥammâi
P: custodire
♦ A CaCCāC agentive formation off the Arabic root *ḥmy* ‘to protect’.

ḤM2

****əḥm/əḥmí [v.cc*/cci]** ‘to burn, scorch’
res. əḥma/əḥmi
res. 3sg.f. *taḥmâya*
PT: III
♦ Mor. Ar. *ḥmā* ‘to become very hot’

ḤML

****əḥmə́l [v.ccc]** ‘to load, carry’
res. = fut. əḥməl
res. 3sg.m. *yaḥmel-(tî)-ya* [PT:III]; fut. 1sg. *aḥmelḫ* [PT:XII]
PT: III, XII
♦ Ar. *ḥamala* ‘to carry, bear’

əlḥə̀m(ə)l [m.] ‘load, burden’
elḥáml, elḥaměl-(énnes)
PT: III
♦ Ar. *ḥiml*, (colloq.) *ḥaml* ‘cargo, load, burden’

ḤMŠ

ḥəmmùš [m.] ‘penis’
ḥammûš
P: penis

ḤNN

ḥənnùni [kin.m.] ‘grandfather’
2sg. ḥənnunì-k
1sg. *ḥannûnī* 2sg. *ḥannunî-k*
P: nonno
♦ In ELA, the usual word for grandfather and grandmother are *žedd* and *žedda* respectively. But an alternative word for grandmother is *ḥənna*, which is usually used in the diminutive is *iḥneyna*.
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 ***ḥannūn*, rather than the regular diminutive ***ḥənneyn*. This rare diminutive pattern is usually used for names, for example *Adəm* dim. *Addūm*.

ḤNṬ

ḥə̀nṭa [adv.adj.] ‘a bit’
ḥénṭā
P: poco PT: III, XII
♦ Ar. *ḥinṭa(t)* ‘kind of hard wheat’, the semantic shift is comparable to *ḥəbba* in Siwa (‘grain’ > ‘a little’) (p.c. Souag)

ḤQ

əlḥə̀qq [m.]
‘one’s due, rightness’
elḥáqq [PT:VI], *elḥåqq-(ennûk)* [PT:XIV]
PT: VI, XIV M: prix, valeur *elakkenes* الـكـنّس ♦ Ar. ḥaqq ‘truth, correctness, rightness; rightful possession, property; one’s due’

ḤS

****ḥùss [v.cc̄]** ‘to feel’
pf. / seq. ḥùssa
pf. 1sg. *ḥossîḫ*
P: freddo
○ This verb is only found in the construction ‘I feel cold’ in Paradisi’s vocabulary.
♦ Ar. *ḥassa* ‘to feel, sense’

ḤSB

əḥsə́b [v.ccc] ‘to count; to think, figure’
pf. / seq. = res. əḥsəb
imp. sg. *aḥséb*; pf. 3sg. *yaḥseb-(tḗnęt)* [PT:V]; res. 1sg. *aḥsébḫ-(kû)-ya* [PT:XI]
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-ḥə̀səb [mid.v.]** ‘to settle the score’
fut. m-ḥə̀səb
fut. 1pl. *anmḥâseb*
PT: II
○ This only example of the Berber Middle prefix **mm-* in Awjila.
♦ Ar. *ḥāsaba* ‘to hold responsible’

ḤṢL

****ḥə̀ṣṣəl [v.cc̄c]** ‘to obtain’
res. ḥə̀ṣṣəl
res. 3sg.m. *yaḥaṣṣîla*
PT: V
♦ Ar. *ḥaṣṣala* ‘to obtain’

ḤŠ1

aḥə̀š [stat.v] ‘to be ugly, bad’

3sg.m. aḥàš 3sg.f. aḥàšət pl. aḥašìt
aḥâš, aḥáš [PT:XV] f. *aḥâšet* pl. *aḥašît*
P: brutto, cattivo PT: XV M: avare *ahach* احـا ش ; imparfait *hhach* حـا ش
♦ Probably from Ar. *waḥš* 'wild, untamed'

ḤŠ2

aḥəš [v.cc*] 'to crush dates'
impf. ḥəššа
imp. sg. *aḥáš*; impf. 3sg.m. *iḥéšša*
P: pestare datteri
aḥəššu [v.n.m.] *aḥáššū* 'grinding dates'
P: pestare datteri

ḤT1

ḥətta [kin.f.] '(maternal) aunt'
2sg.m. ḥəttà-k 3sg. ḥəttà-s
1sg. *ḥéttā* 2sg.m. *ḥettâ-k* 3sg. *ḥettâ-s*
P: zio M: tante *attak* اتّـك

ḤT2

ḥətta [adv.] 'even'
ḥátta
PT: V
♦ ELA *ḥáttā* 'even'

ḤZM

əlḥəzmət [m.] 'bundle'
elḥázmet
PT: I
♦ Ar. *ḥuzma*(*t*) 's.th. wrapped up or tied up; bundle, fagot fascine'

ḤŽ

alḥàžət (or: əlḥàžət) [f.] 'thing'
alḥâžet
P: cosa
♦ Ar. *ḥāža*(*t*) 'need, necessity; matter, concern; thing, object'
ELA *ḥâža* 'thing'

I1

-i [suff.] 'towards'
-ī
P: a PT: II, IV, V, IX, XI, XII, XV Z: XI
▷ *nettîn ya'ídda* (*ir*) *tfillî-y-ī* 'he has gone to the house'
♦ The same directional suffix *-i* is also found in Ghadames.

I2

i, y [prep.]dative preposition
ī, i [PT:II,IV,X,XIII,XV], *y-* [P:example; PT:V,XV], *yĕ-* [PT:V]; 2sg. *ī-kú* [PT:V]
P: a PT: II, IV, V, X, XIII, XV
▷ *urífḥ i-temígnī* 'I wrote to the woman'
▷ *fkîḥ wâya y-amédẹn* 'I gave this to the man'
♦ Pan-Berber, cf. Kb. *i*, Zng. *i*, Ghd. *i* etc.

I3

tit [f.] pl. tiwìn 'eye; eye of a needle'
tit, tīt pl. *tīwîn, ettiwîn* [B21]
P: occhio; cruna dell'ago B21: 391 M: oeil *athi* اطـى ; source *tiouen* تـيـو ن
♦ NZ: Ḍ1 TC: 238
Berber, cf. To. *tèṭṭ* 'eye'; Zng. *tuḌ* 'eye'. There is an unexpected absence of emphatic *ṭ* in Awjila.

I4

?ih [excl.] 'yes'
ū, ūh, hī
P: si
♦ Siwa *hi* 'yes'

I5

i [interj.] 'hey!'
i-(*kú*)
PT: III
○ Only attested in the phrase *i-kú* 'hey you!'

I6

=i [pron.]1sg. direct object pronoun
-ī, -î [PT:XII], res. *-îya*
P: io PT:III XII

K1

-ká [part.] negative particle placed after verbs, nouns and adjectives. Sometimes used in conjunction with the negative particle *wur, ur, wul, ul.*

-ka, ká [PT:I,II,III,V,VI,VII,VIII,XII,XIII] *kra* [Z:I], *kîra* [Z:III], *-ika* [Z:VII]
P: non PT: I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, XII, XIII
Z: I, III, VII
▷ *iġalli-ká* 'he doesn't want'
▷ *tânīt-ká* 'do not enter!'
▷ *nettîn d-awîl-ká* 'he is not Awjilan'
▷ *ur nâka-ká* 'did I not tell you?'
♦ TC: 603 K: 485
Probably related to the common second element in double negations in Berber, cf. Kb. *ur...ara*; Fig. *ul...šay*; Rif. *waa...ša*; MA *ur...ša* etc.
For a discussion on the history of this particle and the negative perfective see Brugnatelli (1987; 2002)

K2

kú [pron.]2sg.m. independent pronoun
ku [PT:V,XI] *kú* [PT:III,V,XV]
P: tu PT: III, V, XI, XV
=**ku [pron.]**2sg.m. direct object pronoun
-ku [PT:V], res. *kûya* [PT:III,XI]
P: tu PT: III, V, XI
=**ìk [pron.]**2sg.m. indirect object pronoun
-îk, â-k (< *x-ik*) [PT:IV,V,X], res. *-îka, â-ka* (< *x-ika*) [PT:XIII]
P: tu PT: IV, V, X, XIII

KBR

təkábərt, təkabèrt [f.] pl. təkabrìn 'shirt'
těkábęrt, těkabę́rt [PT:XIII] pl. *tekäbrîn*
P: camicia PT: XIII M: chemise *tékabert* تـكبـرت; habit *tékébert* تـكبـرت
♦ K: 291
Berber, cf. Siwa *akbər* 'shirt'

KDM

****kəddìm [adj.]**pl. kəddìmən 'old'
m. pl. *keddîmen*
PT: II
♦ Probably from Ar. *qadīm* 'old', but both the *k* for *q* and the geminate *dd* for *d* are unexpected, but cf. Sok. *qaddîm* 'old'

KDR

təkədìrt [f.] pl. tkədrìn 'ear (botanical)'
těkedîrt, tekdîrt [B21] pl. *tkedrîn*
P: spiga B21: 384 M: épi *tékadert* تـكـد ر ت
♦ K: 588
Berber, cf. Nef. *tiddért* 'ear (botanical)'; Ghd. *tašaddart* 'ear of grain'; MA *taydert* 'ear of grain'; Foq. *tádrī* 'ear (botanical)';

KF

əlkàffət [f.] 'scale/plate of a scales'
ělkéffet
PT: IV
♦ Ar. *kiffa*(*t*) 'scale/plate of a scales'

KFN

****kàffən [v.cc̄c]** 'to wrap'
imp. sg. *keffén-*(*t*)
PT:II
♦ Ar. *kaffana* 'to wrap s.th., to cover s.th.'

KK

takùkt [f.] pl. təkkìk 'worm'
takûkt pl. *tekkîk*
P: verme M: ver *thaqouq* طـاقـوق
♦ K: 500
Berber, cf. Kb. *awəkkiw, tawəkka* 'worm'; To. *tàwəkke* 'earthworm; maggot'; Siwa *takəčči* 'earthworm'

KL

kull [quant.] 'each, every; all'
kull [PT:I,II,VIII] kúll [PT:XIII,XV], köll [PT:I]
PT: I, II, VIII, XIII, XV M: chacun *koulliounkesimani* كـلّ يـنـقـسـمـانـى; surtout *afkoul* افـكـول ; tout *koullou* كـلّ
▷ *u yefkâ kull iwîn tăġarît* 'and he gave each one a stick' [PT:I]
▷ *ušând ġallîyęn ammūdân kull déffer-a* 'they came and they all wanted to pray behind him' [PT:II]
♦ Ar. *kull 'all, each, every'*
kkull [quant.] 'all, whole'

kkúll [PT:VIII], *kkull* [PT:XV], *kúll* [PT:II]
PT: II, VIII, XV
▷ *u yåqqîm iddahwâr ašâlī kkúll inéššed ěl'ulamâ* 'and he started going around the whole village asking scholars (difficult questions)' [PT:VIII]
kùlli šày [m.] 'everything'
kùlli šéi
PT: XV
♦ Ar. *kulli šay?* 'everything'

KLB

klàbu [m.] "very thick animal skin"
klâbu
P: pelle
♦ From Hausa *kìlābò* 'tanned ox-hide' (Souag 2013), also attested in Ghd. *klabo* 'id.'

KLM

akəllìm [m.] pl. kàll(ə)mən 'male slave, servant'
akellîm, akellīm-(énnes) [PT:X] pl. *kéllemęn*
P: schiavo, servo PT: X
♦ Perhaps related to Kb. *akli* 'slave', the additional m in the Awjila word is not easily explained.
takəllìmt [f.] pl. tkəllmìn 'female slave, servant'
takellîmt pl. *tkellmîn*
P: schiavo

KM1

kəm [pron.]2sg.f. independent pronoun
kem
P: tu B21: 390 PT: IV, XV
=**kəm [pron.]**2sg.f. direct object pronoun
-kem, res. *-kîma*
P: tu

KM2

=**kìm [pron.]**2pl.m. direct object pronoun
-kim, -kîm [PT:I], res. *-kîma*
P: voi PT: I
=**ikìm [pron.]**2pl.m. indirect object pronoun
-ikîm, â-kîm (< *x-ikìm*) [PT:II], res. *-ikîma*
P: voi PT: II
=**kmət [pron.]**2pl.f. direct object pronoun
-kmet, res. *-kmîta*
P: voi
=**əkmət [pron.]**2pl.f. indirect object pronoun
-ekmét, res. *-ekmîta*
P: voi

KMM

kəmmìm [pron.]2pl.m. independent pronoun
kemmîm
P: voi B21: 390 PT: I
kəmmìmət [pron.]2pl.f. independent pronoun
kemmîmet
P: voi B21: 390

KML1

****kkàmməl [v.cc̄c]** 'to finish'
seq. kkàmməl
pf. 1sg. *kemmélḫ* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ikkémmel* [PT:II,XIV], *yekkémmel* [PT:IV]
PT: II, IV, XIV M: tout-à-fait *ekmella* اكملّه ; entire *ekmeleh* اكملة
♦ Ar. *kammala* 'to finish'

KMŠ

kmáš [v.ccc] 'to tie together a bundle'
imp. sg. *kméš*
P: legare, attaccare
♦ TC: 375
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăkməs* 'to fold; to tighten'; Kb. *əkməs* 'to tie in a knot'; Zng. *ägməš* 'to be in a knot'; Siwa *akəmūs* 'knot'; To. (a.D) *əkməs* 'to tie together'
təkəmmùšt (or: takəmmùšt) [f.] pl. təkəmmìš 'bundle of sticks, bundle'

täkemmûšt pl. *tekemmîš*
P: fagotto, involto
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *tayəmmust, tawəmmust* ‘a small tied up bundle’; Ouar. *takəmmust* ‘small tied up package’

KNK

kànn-ək [particle] ‘what is it with you?’
kénn-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

****əkná/əkní [v.cc*/cci]** ‘to be beautiful’
res. əkna/əkni
res. 1sg *knîḫa* 2sg. *tknîta* 3sg.m. *yeknâya*
P: bello
♦ Berber, cf. Fig. *cen* ‘be beautiful’

KNZR

tkənzìrt [f.] pl. tkənzirìn, tkənzìr ‘nose’
tkęnzîrt, tkenzîrt [B21], *tkinzîrt* [B21] pl. *tkęnzīrîn, tkęnzîr*
P: naso B21: 384 M: nièce (sic; nez) *tenzert* تـنـزرت
○ M: nez and M: nièce were switched around accidentally in the wordlist.
♦ TC: 559
Berber, cf. Foq. *tinzę́rt* ‘nose’; Kb. *tinzərt* ‘nose’; Nef. *tinzért* ‘nose’; To. *tl̀nšărt* ‘nose’; Siwa *tanzärt* ‘nose’; Sok. *tunzä*rt* ‘nose’; Zng. *tīnẓ̌ärt* ‘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.
akənzìr [m.] ‘big nose’
akęnzîr
P: naso

KR1

əkri [v.cci] ‘to return; (+af) to answer’
pf. / seq. əkrí res. ègri impf. kèrri
imp. sg. *ĕkrī*; pf. 3sg.m. *yekrî, yekrī-(ká)* [PT:III] 3sg.f. *tekrî* [PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m. *yekrâya*; impf. 3sg.m. *ikérrī*
P: ritornare PT: III, VII, VIII, IX, XV M: rendre *aïkri* ایـکـری ; retour *kéri* کـری ; revenir *ékeri* اکـری
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăkri* ‘to return; to become’; Zng. *uṃṃugrih* ‘to return’
š-ègri [caus.v.] ‘to return s.th.’
pf. / seq. = š-ègri
imp. sg. *šékrī, šekrī-(dîk)* [*PT:VII*]; pf. 3sg.m. *išekr-(îs)* [PT:VII]
P: ritornare; restituire PT: VII

KR2

àkər, ùkər [v.vcc] ‘to steal’
seq. = res. = fut. ùkər impf. tàkər
imp. sg. *ákər, úkər*; pf. 3sg.m. *yúker* 3pl.m. *ukę́ren* [PT:IX]; res. *yukîra*; fut. 3pl.m. *āūkerę́n-(tęn)* [PT:IX]; impf. 2sg. *ttâkärt* [PT:IV] 3sg.m. *itâker*
P: rubare PT: IV, IX
♦ TC: 38
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ókər* ‘to steal’; Kb. *akʷər* ‘to steal’; To. *àkər* ‘to steal, rob’; Zng. *oʔgər* ‘to steal’
ukùr [v.n.m.] ‘stealing’
ukûr
P: rubare
š-ùkər [caus.v.] ‘to cause to steal’
impf. s-ukàr
imp. sg. *šúker*; impf. 1sg. *sukârḫ*
P: rubare
****tw-àkər [pass.v.]** ‘to be stolen’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. tw-àkər
pf. 3sg.m. *ituáker*; res. 3sg.m. *ituakîra*; fut. 3sg.m. *aituáker*
P: rubare
kkùr, ikkùr ► LK1

KR3

əkkár [v.cc] ‘get up, take off’
pf. = fut. əkkár seq. = res. àkkər impf. tàkkər
imp. sg. *ĕkkér* pl.m. *kkerât* pl.f. *kkérmet*; pf. 1sg. *kkerḥ, kerḥ* 3sg.m. *yekkér* 3sg.f. *tékker* [PT:XV], *tekkér* [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *kkéṛen* [PT:XV] *ĕkkéṛen* [PT:XV] 3pl.f. *ekkérnet* [PT:XV], *kkérnet* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *kírḥa* 3sg.m. *yekkîra*; fut. 1sg. *akkérḥ* 3sg.m. *ayekkér*; impf. 1sg. *tekkérḥ* 2sg. *tekkért* [P:example] 3sg.m. *itékker*
P: alzarsi, levarsi PT: XV M: dresser *kerr* كـرّ; dressé *??mekerr* مـكّـر
▷ *tekkért-ká* ‘do not get up’
♦ TC: 408, presents an alternative origin than proposed below.
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăkkər* ‘to get up, to lift up’; Kb. *əkkər* ‘to get up’; Zng. *ăgur* ‘to get up’

(ə)kkùr [v.n.m.] ‘getting up’
kkûr
P: alzarsi, levarsi

š-àkkər [caus.v.] ‘to make someone get up’
imp. sg. *šékker*
P: alzarsi, levarsi

KR4

kìra (or: kàra) [m.] ‘thing, nothing (in negative sentences)’
kéra, kẹ́ra
P: cosa; niente
▷ *kéra-y-âya ddîwa* ‘what (thing) is this?’
▷ *wur ġâri kéra* ‘I have nothing’
♦ TC: 603
Berber, cf. Ghd. *kara* ‘thing’; Foq. *šîra* ‘thing’; Kb. *kra, ka* ‘thing’; Zng. *kārä*(*h*) ‘thing’

KRBŠ

akərbùš (or: akarbùš) [m.] ‘trunk of a palm tree’
akärbûš
P: palma; tronco d’albero

KRD1

təkàrdi [f.] ‘measles’
tekérdī
P: morbillo

KRD2

təkərdìt [f.] ‘core of a palm’
tkerdît
P: palma
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *takərdya* ‘spathe of the inflorescence of a date palm’

KRM

təkrùmt (or: takrùmt) [f.] ‘joint of a bone in general’
täkrûmt
P: osso
♦ Berber, cf. To. *əkrəm* ‘to twist, bend’; Nef. *akrûm* ‘back’, *tukrîmt* ‘neck’; Sok. *takrûmt* ‘neck’.

The formation is similar to that of Sokna, but the meaning is very different.

KRŠ1

kərəš, əkrəš [v.ccc] ‘to tie, knot’
imp. sg. *keréš, ĕkréš, kereš* [B21]
P: legare, attaccare B21: 391
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăkrəs* ‘to tie in a knot’; Kb. *əkrəs* ‘to tie in a knot’; To. *àkrəs* ‘to tie in a knot’

akràš [v.n.m.] ‘tying, knotting’
akrâš
○ The regular verbal noun would be *akəràš*. The absence of *ə* is unexpected.
P: legare, attaccare

tkərrìšt [f.] pl. tkərrìš ‘knot’
tkerrîšt, tkerrišt [B21] pl. *tkerrîš*
P: nodo B21: 391
♦ Berber, cf. To. *tekărrest* pl. To. *tikərras* ‘knot’; Siwa *akərrús* (Naumann 2013: 378)

KRŠ2

əkrəš, kərəš [v.ccc] ‘to hoe, dig’
impf. kərrəš
imp. sg. *äkréš, kĕréš*; impf. 3sg.m. *ikerréš*

P: zappare
♦ Ghd. *ăkrəz* ‘to plough’; MA *krez, šrez* ‘to plough’; Nef. *ékrez* ‘to plough’
akəràš [v.n.m.] ‘hoeing, digging’
akĕrâš
P: zappare

KRZ

tkirzá [f.] ‘ploughing’
tkirzâ
B21: 384
○ Beguinot does not explicitly mention the meaning of this word, but connects it with the Nefusi word *tirzâ* of which we know the meaning.
♦ Berber cf. Nef. *tirzâ* ‘ploughing, cultivation’; MA *takerza* ‘ploughing’. ► **KRŠ2**

KSM

ksùm [m.] ‘meat’
ksûm, ksūm-(*âya*) [PT:II] *ksūm-*(*ennésnęt*) [PT:XV]
P: carne PT: II, XV M: chair *aksoum* اكسوم
♦ K: 574
Berber, cf. Ghd. *aksəm* ‘meat’; Kb. *aksum* ‘meat’; Sok. *aksúm* ‘meat’; Siwa *askūm* ‘meat’.

KŠ

(ə)kkáš [v.cc] ‘to take off, remove’
pf. əkkáš impf. tàkkəš
imp. sg. *ĕkkéš, kkéš, keš* [B21]; pf. 3sg.m. *yekkéš* [PT: IX]; impf. 3sg.m. *itékkeš*
P: togliere, levare PT: IX B21: 391 M: arracher *ekkech* اكّش ; fermé *??makkecha* مـكّشه; fermer *yékkecha* يـكّشه
♦ TC: 610
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăkkəs* ‘to remove, take off’; Kb. *əkkəs* ‘to take away, remove’; To. *àkkəs* ‘to take away, remove’; Zng. *äkkəš* ‘to remove, take off’
(ə)kkùš [v.n.m.] ‘taking off, removing’
kkûš
P: togliere, levare

KŠM

təkšàymt [f.] pl. təkšaymìn ‘watermelon’
tekšâimt pl. *tekšāimîn*
P: cocomero
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *taməksa* ‘watermelon’; Ghd. *tamăksa* ‘melon’.
Awjila underwent metathesis. Vycichl (2005: 9) considers this word a Punic loanword, cf. Hebr. *qiššu?* ‘cucumber’, compare also ► **KŠN**.
kšàym [m.] ‘watermelons (coll.)’
kšâim
P: cocomero

KŠN

akəššìn, akšìn [m.] pl. kəššìn ‘core of a fruit’
akeššîn, akšîn pl. *käššîn*
P: nocciolo
♦ Perhaps related to Mzab/Ouar. *tayessimt* ‘cucumber’.
Ref.: Vycichl (2005: 9)

KTF1

tkəttìft [f.] pl. tkəttfìn ‘ant’
tkettîft pl. *tkettfîn*
P: formica M: fourmi *tékétfi* تـكـتـفـى
♦ NZ: ḌF1 TC: 971 K: 618
Berber, cf. Foq. *tgótfīn* ‘ants (coll.)’; Ghd. *takətfet* ‘ant’; Kb. *awəṭṭuf, tawəṭṭuft* ‘ant’; Zng. *ōḍuf, oḍḍuf* ‘ant’, *tōḍḍuft* ‘female or small ant’; Nef. *tûqttéft* ‘ant’; Sok. *tagĕdfít* ‘ant’

KTF2

əlkətf(-ənnəs) [m.] pl. ləktuf-(ənnəs) ‘shoulder’
elketf-(*énnes*) [PT:XII], *ĕlketf* [PT:XIII] pl. *lektūf-*(*énnek, énnes*) [PT:XV]
PT: XII, XIII, XV
♦ Ar. *katif, kitf* pl. *ʔaktāf* ‘shoulder’

KTL

akìtəl [m.] ‘date born from bad pollenation’

akîtel
P: dattero

KTT

akəttùt [adj.]pl. kəttùtən f. takəttùt pl. təkəttútin ‘small of stature, thin, weak’
m. sg. *akettût* pl. *kettûten* f. *takettût* pl. *tekettûtīn*
P: piccolo

KWY

təkwàyt [f.] ‘ball’
tik'waît
Z: XII

KWYS

kəwàyəs (or: kuwàyəs) [adv.] ‘good; very’
kuwéyes [PT:IV] *kuwáyes* [PT:XV]
PT: IV, XV
♦ Ar. *kuwayyis* ‘nice, fine, pretty, comely, handsome, beautiful’

KZN

kazàn [m.] ‘pot’
kāzán
Z: VI

L1

la [conj.] ‘no’
lā
PT: XI
♦ Ar. *lā* ‘no’
la-bùdda [adv.] ‘certainly’
la-búdda
PT: IV
♦ Ar. *lā budda* ‘certainly’; ELA *lā búdda* ‘certainly’
lū ▶ lûda

L2

alá [pron.]relative pronoun with incorporated non-human antecedent
alá
P: quello PT: V, XV
▷ *akká alá urífḫa* ‘behold, that which I have written’

L3

tàla [f.] ‘kitchen’
tâlā
P: cucina
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tali* ‘room’

L4

ul [m.] pl. ulàwən ‘heart’
ūl, ul-(innôḫ) [Z:II] pl. *ulâwen*
P: cuore Z: II M: coeur *ouelnis* اوّلـنس
♦ TC: 1010 K: 121, 133
Berber, cf. Kb. *ul* ‘heart’; To. *ùlh* ‘heart’; Zng. *ūy* ‘heart’
ul nə-ẓẓùy [phrasal n.] ‘core of a palm’
ūl nĕ-ẓẓûi
P: palma

L5

ìlli [m.] ‘millet’
íllī, ḗllī
P: miglio

L6

tìli [f.] ‘shadow’
tîlī
P: ombra M: ombre *tilly* طلّى
▷ *tīlî-y-ī* ‘in the shadow’
♦ TC:1027
Berber, cf. Kb. *tili* ‘shadow’; Ghd. *téle* ‘shadow’; To. *tèle* ‘shade’; Zng. *tiyih* ‘shadow’; Siwa *tlá* (Naumann 2013: 377)

L7

****al/li [v.c*/ci]** ‘to be a creditor to s.o. (+ *fəll*)’
res. là/lì
res. 1sg. *lîḫa* [P:example] 2sg. *tlîta* [P:example] 3sg.m. *ilāya* [P:example]
P: avere
▷ *nek lîḫa fellîk* ‘I owe you money’
▷ *ku tlîta fellîwi* ‘you owe me money’
▷ *nettîn ilāya* ‘He has a debt’
♦ Siwa *ili* ‘to have’; Kb. *ili* ‘to be, exist’; To. *ăl* ‘to have’; Ghd. *ăl* ‘to have’; Zng. *äyi(?)* ‘to have’

LB

t(ə)làba [f.] pl. təlabiwìn ‘barracan’
telâba, tlāba-(*nnûk*) [PT:V] pl. *telābiwîn*
P: barracano PT: V M: couverture
thalabah طلابه
♦ K: 294
Berber, cf. Kb. *talaba* ‘piece of hand woven wool: clothes, covering’; Foq. *talâba* ‘barracan’; Sok. *tlâba* ‘baraccan’

LBB

əlbùb/əlbə́b [v.ccc/ccvc] ‘to mount, climb’
res. əlbùb/èlbəb impf. ləbbùb
imp. sg. *elbůb, albúb* res. 1sg. *elbů́bḥa* [PT:XII] 3sg.m. *yẹlbîba* [PT:XII]; impf. 3sg.m. *ilebbů́b*
P: montare, salire PT: XII M: cavalier *elbeba* البببه
▷ *albúb af agmár* ‘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 *əlbə́b*.
ələbàb [v.n.m.] ‘mounting, climbing’
alebâb
P: montare, salire
š-èlbub/š-èlbəb [caus.v.] ‘to cause to mount’
impf. š-əlbàb
imp. sg. *šélbůb*; impf. 3sg.m. *išelbâb*
P: montare, salire

LBḤR ▶ BḤR

LBLS ▶ BLS

LBRS

tələbrə̀st [f.] ‘lizard’
telabrést
P: lucertola

LBRT ▶ BRT

LBŠ

tələbbìšt [f.] pl. tələbbìš, tləbbišìn ‘peel (of a fruit, vegetable etc.), leaf’
telebbîšt pl. *tělebbîš, tlebbīšîn*
P: buccia, scorza; foglia
♦ Perhaps a Berber diminutive from ELA *léběs* ‘suit’ > ‘little suit’ > ‘peel’. Arabic *s* does not shift to *š* usually.

LD

lùda [adv.] ‘nothing’
lûda, lū
P: niente PT: III M: rester *laouada* لـو ا د ه
▷ *ġârī lûda* ‘I have nothing’

LDM ▶ DM

LDN

tildùnt [f.] ‘tin’
tildûnt
P: stagno (metallo) M: étain *tildount* طلد ونت
♦ K: 245
Berber, cf. Kb. *aldun* ‘lead’; Zng. *āldūn* ‘lead’

LF1

****llùff** [v.cc̄] ‘to wrap up’
pf. / seq. llùff
pf. 3sg.m. *illúff* [PT:II]
PT: II M: enveloppé *??mélouffi* مـلفّـى; envelopper *louffi* لـفّـى
♦ ELA *ilā́ff* ‘to wrap up’; Ar. *laffa* ‘to wrap up’

LF2

əlf [num.] ‘thousand’
elf
PT: V
♦ Ar. *ʔalf* ‘thousand; millennium’

LF3

(ə)llə́f [v.c̄c] ‘to divorce’
imp. sg. *ĕllə́f, llef*
P: ripudiare
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *ətləf* ‘to divorce’; Ghd. *ătləf* ‘to lose, get lost’; Siwa *əlləf* ‘to divorce’
(ə)llùf [v.n.m.] ‘divorcing’
ĕllûf
P: ripudiare

LFNK ▶ FNK

LFYD ▶ FYD

LGFL ▶ GFL

LGMT ▶ GM2

LƳ

allàƴ [m.] ‘bottom (of a recipient, of a wadi etc.)’
allâġ
P: fondo

LƳBŠ ▶ ƳBŠ

LƳM1

****əlƴə́m [v.ccc]** ‘to refuse; to not want’
pf. / seq. / fut. əlƴə́m
pf./fut. 1sg. *elġə́mḫ* 3sg.m. *yelġə́m* [PT:II], *yélġəm* [PT:XII], *yelġóm* [PT:V] 3sg.f. *telġə́m* 3pl.m. *elġə́mẹn* 3pf.f. *elġə́mnẹt*
P: rifiutare PT: II, V, XII M: nié *??mielghoun* مـيـلـغـون; nier *yelghoun* يـلـغـون

LƳM2

alàƴəm [m.] pl. ləƴmìn ‘camel’
alóġom, alŏġom, alŭġom [PT:XV] *alóġŏm* [PT:XV] pl. *loġmîn*
P: cammello PT: XV
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *alyʷəm* ‘camel’, *talyʷəmt* ‘she-camel’; To. *tăḷḷə́mt* ‘she-camel’; Zng. *äyiʔm, täyiʔmt* ‘camel’
təlàƴmt [f.] pl. tləƴmitìn ‘she-camel’
telóġmt pl. *tloġmitîn*
P: cammello

LHD1

****əlhə́d [v.ccc]** ‘to run’
impf. làhhəd
impf. 3pl.m. *lahhéden*
PT: XV
♦ ELA *yəlhad* ‘to run on a horse’ (p.c. Benkato)

LHD2 ▶ HD

LHL ▶ HL

LHRŽ ▶ HRŽ

LHWY ▶ HWY

LḤB ▶ ḤB

LḤKY ▶ ḤK(Y)

LḤM

****əlḥə́m [v.ccc]** ‘to be lit’
res. àlḥəm
res. 3sg.m. *yelḥîma* [P:example]
P: accendere
▷ *afîu akká yelḥîma* ‘the fire here is lit’
♦ Perhaps related to the verb *taḥmâya* ‘to burn, scorch’
š-àlḥəm [caus.v.] ‘to light (a fire)’
pf. = fut. š-əlḥə́m res. š-àlḥəm impf. š-əlḥàm
imp. sg. *šélḥam* pl.m. *šélḥamât* pl.f. *šélḥammẹt* pf. 1sg. *šelḥámḫ* 3sg.m. *išelḥám*; res. 1sg. *šelḥímḥa* 3sg.m. *išelḥîma*; fut. 1sg. *ašelḥámḫ* 3sg.m. *aišelḥám* 3pl.m. *ašelḥamen* [PT:XV]; impf. 1sg. *šelḥâmḫ* 3sg.m. *išelḥâm*
P: accendere PT: XV M: allumer *chelhamt* شـلـحـمـت

LḤML ▶ ḤML

LḤQ ▶ ḤQ

LḤRR ▶ ḤRR

LḤZM ▶ ḤZM

LḤŽ ▶ ḤŽ

LK1

llàkka [particle] ‘still’
llékka, illékka, llekká [PT:III]
▷ *irîu llékka ínni ar amédẹn* ‘the child is still with the man’
▷ *ufânt illékka yeddîra* ‘They found him still alive’
P: ancora PT: III M: encore *elikka* الـيـكّـا
illəkk-ùr [adv.] ‘not yet’
illekkûr, lekkûr, kkûr, ikkûr
P: ancora
▷ *irîu illekkûr ižîgež* ‘The child did not

walk again'
▷ *nettîn kkûr yušâd* 'He has not come yet'
○ Consists of the particle *llékka, illékka, llekká* 'still' combined with the negative particle *ur*.

LK2

(ə)lək [v.cc] 'to delouse'
impf. tàllək
ĕllék, llek; impf. 3sg.m. *itéllek*
P: spidocchiare
♦ Transparently derived from the same root as *twellîkt* pl. *twellkîn* 'louse' ▶ **WLK**; cf. Ghd. *ăllək* 'to delouse'

LK3

-lək- [prep.+pron.] 'to you, for you'
-lek-
PT: III
♦ Ar. *li-ka* 'to you'

LKN1

lukàn [conj.] 'if (counterfactual)'
lukân
P: se PT: II
♦ ELA *lū-kân* 'even if', also found in Siwa *lukan* 'if' (p.c. Souag) and other Berber languages.

LKN2

làkən [conj.] 'but'
lâkẹn [PT:III,X] *lâkän* [PT:XII]
PT: III, X, XII
♦ Ar. *lākin* 'but'

LKTF ▶ KTF

LKR ▶ LK

LL1

alùli [m.] 'midday, noon; midday prayer'
alûlī
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

alàl [m.] 'tableware'
alâl
P: stoviglia

LM1

llùmm [v.cc̄] 'to gather, to stay together'
pf. / seq. llùmm
imp. pl.m. *llummât* [PT:I]; pf. 3sg.m. *illûm* [PT:I] 2pl.m. *tellūmâm* [PT:I], *tellummâm* [PT:I]
PT: I
♦ Ar. *lamma* 'to gather'
LM2 (ə)lləm/àlləm [v.cc̄] 'to spin (wool)'
impf. təlləm
imp.sg. *éllem, llém*; impf. 3sg.m. *itellém*
P: filare
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *əlləm* 'to spin'; To. *àlləm* 'to braid'
(ə)llùm [v.n.m.] 'spinning'
ellûm
P: filare
azəllùm [m.] 'thread, yarn'
azellûm
P: filo M: fil *ezzeloum* ازّلـوم
♦ This word seems to be a instrumental derivation of the verb *əlləm*. Usually, Berber instrumental derivations are made with an *s-* it is unclear why this form has voicing of the *s-* to *z-*, but cf. Kb. *azellum* 'a light belt made of several round cords'

LM3

talèmma [f.] 'mist, haze'
talémma
P: nebbia, foschia

LMD

əlmə́d [v.ccc] ‘to learn’
impf. ləmmə̀d
imp. sg. *elméd*; impf. 3sg.m. *ilémmed*
P: imparare M: apprendre, enseigner *elmeida* المـيـد ; apprendre, s’instruire *yelmeida* يـلـمـيـد
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ălməd* ‘to be used to; to learn’; Kb. *əlməd* ‘to be used to’; To. *ə̀lməd* ‘to learn, know’.

Ultimately from Punic or Hebrew lāmaḏ ‘to learn’ (Vycichl 2005: 3)
aləmàd [v.n.m.] ‘learning’
alemâd
P: imparare
š-əlmə́d [caus.v.] ‘to teach’
impf. š-əlmàd
imp. sg. *šelméd* impf. 3sg.m. *išelmâd*
P: imparare

LMGʕD ▶ MGʕD

LMɣR ▶ MɣR2

LMLXY ▶ MLXY

LMM ▶ MM5

LMR ▶ MR1

LMṢḤF ▶ MṢḤF

LMŠ

tələmmùšt [f.] ‘spider’
telemmûšt
P: ragno

LMTʕ ▶ MTʕ

LMZN ▶ ZN

LQBṬ ▶ QBṬ

LQM

alùqəm (or: alə̀qəm) [m.] ‘a small cushion one wears on the head to carry loads’
alű́qom
P: cuscino

LQQ

lə̀qqəq [stat.v.] ‘to be thin’
1sg. ləqqə̀x 2sg. ləqqə̀t 3sg.m. lə̀qqəq 3sg.f. ləqqə̀t pl. ləqqiqì t
1sg. *laqqâḥ* 2sg. *laqqât* 3sg.m. *láqqåq* 3sg.f. *laqqât* pl. *laqqīqît*
P: magro
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *ilqiq* ‘to be soft, tender’; Ouar. *ilqiq* ‘to be very soft, fine’; Mzab *ləqq* ‘to be thin, light’. Perhaps also somehow related to MA *ilwiġ* ‘to be soft, tender’; Kb. *ilwiɣ* ‘to be smooth, soft’; Tashl. *lgʷiɣ* ‘to be soft, tender’
aləqqùq (or: tələqquq) [adj.]f. tələqquqt ‘thin’
m. *alaqqûq* f. *telaqqûqt*
P: magro

LQYM ▶ QYM

LQZ

Tələ̀qzi [P.N.] ‘small village in the oasis of Awjila’
Telǻqzi
P: Telǻqzi

LS

ìləs [m.] pl. ìlsən, ilsànən ‘tongue’
ílĕs pl. *ílsen, ilsânen*
P: lingua M: langue *elsuo* الـصـو
♦ TC: 945
Berber, cf. Ghd. *éləs* ‘tongue’; Kb. *iləs* ‘tongue, language’; To. *íləs* ‘tongue’; Zng. *əTʸ́ši(?)* ‘language’

LṢLʕ ▶ ṢLʕ

LṢQ

lləṣìq, aləṣìq [m.] pl. ləṣqàwən ‘oven’
lleṣîq, aleṣîq pl. *leṣqâwen*
P: forno M: four *lésikh* لـسـيـخ

LŠ

alùššì [m.] ‘grain or barley that is still soft’
alûšī

P: erba

LWL ▶ WL2

LWŠ

****llәwáš [v.irreg.]** ‘to wither (said about unripe grain that is destroyed by the “ghibli”)’
res. llәwәš
res. 3pl.m. *llowešîna* [P:example]
P: appassire M: mouillé *mélouachoun* ملـو اشـون; mouiller *elouachoun* الـو اشـون
▷ *yérdẹn llowešîna* ‘the grains withered’
▷ *timẓîn llowešîna* ‘the barley withered’

LXḌR ▶ XḌR

LXRBŠ ▶ XRBŠ

LZ1

****llùz [v.cvc]** ‘to be hungry’
pf. / seq. = res. әllùz impf. tlàza
pf. 1sg. *llůzîḥ* 3sg.m. *yellûz*; res. 1sg. *llůzîḥa* 3sg.m. *yellûza*; impf. 1sg. *tlāzîḥ* 3sg.m. *itlâza*
P: fame M: faim *loza* لـو ز ه
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *laẓ* ‘to be hungry’; Kb. *әllaẓ* ‘to be hungry’
tәlazàt [f.] ‘hunger’
tälāzât
P: fame

LZ2

alùzi [m.] pl. luzàwәn ‘whip’
alûzi pl. *luzâwen*
P: frusta

LŽ

alàžži [m.] pl. lәžžàwәn ‘ram’
aléžži pl. *ležžâwęn*
P: montone
♦ Berber, cf. Sok. *aléǧǧi* ‘ram’

Lʕ

****uláʕ [v.vcc]** ‘to fall in love with s.o. (+ *fi*)’
res. ùlәʕ
res. 3sg.f. *tulìʿa*
Z: IX
♦ Ar. *waliʕa* ‘to catch fire, burn; to be madly in love’

LʕDD ▶ ʕDD

LʕL ▶ ʕL

LʕLM ▶ ʕLM

LʕMM ▶ ʕMM

LʕQB ▶ ʕQB

LʕṢR ▶ ʕṢR

M1

am [prep.] ‘like’
am, amalá (<*am-alá*), *amalâ* [PT:V], *am-alâ* [PT:II], *am-alá* [PT:XV]
P: come PT: I, II, III, V, XI, XV
○ *am-alá* is found in comparisons of verbal sentences
▷ *nettîn moqqár am nek* ‘he is as big as me’
▷ *ĕntîn igâya am amédẹn* ‘he did like the man’
▷ *igîs amalá igâya y-umâs* ‘he did to him like he had done to his brother’
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *am* ‘like’; Siwa *am* ‘like’, etc.

M2

****әmm [v.c*]** ‘to be cooked, be ready, be ripened’
pf. әmmá res. àmma fut. àmm impf. nànna
pf. 3sg.m. *yummâ*; res. 3sg.m. *yummâya, yemmâya* [P:example] 3sg.f. *temmů̂ya* [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *mmâna* 3pl.f. *mmanîta* [P:example] ptc. *mmâna* [PT:XV]; fut. 3sg.m. *ayémm* 3sg.f. *attémm* 3pl.f. *ammânęt* [PT:XV]; impf. 3sg.m. *inénna* 3sg.f. *tnénna*
P: cuocere PT: II, XV
▷ *timẓîn mmanîta* ‘the barley is ripened’
▷ *ksûm yemmâya* ‘the meat is cooked’
♦ TC: 767
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ănn* ‘to cook’; Kb. *әbbʷ* ‘to

cook'; To. *ǝññа* 'to ripen'; Zng. *änwi(?)* 'to cook'. The diverse reflexes of this root are the result of various assimilations of the Proto-Berber cluster **nw* (Kossmann 2008).

tənənnàt [v.n.f.] 'being about to cook'
tenennât
P: cuocere

š-əmm [caus.v.] 'to cook'
seq. = res. šəmma fut. šəmm
imp. sg. *šumm* pl.m. *šummât-(dīk)* [PT:XV]; pf. 1sg. *šummíḫ* 3sg.m. *išúmma* 3pl.m. *šummân* [PT:II,XV] 3pl.f. *šummânęt* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *šummîḫa* 3sg.m. *išummâya* 1pl. *něšummi-(tî)-ya* [PT:II]; fut. 1sg. *ašummáḫ* 3sg.m. *aišúmm*
P: cuocere PT: II, XV M: cuisinier *échouman* اشومان

tšəmmàt [caus.v.n.f.] 'cooking'
čummât (*<tš-ummât*)
P: cuocere; cottura M: cuire *tchoummat* تشومات

š-nənn [caus.v.] 'to cook'
imp. sg. *šnenn*
P: cuocere

♦ This causative has been derrived from the imperfect stem, which gives the impression that to some extent the irregular imperfect stem os not consider to be fully part of the paradigm of the verb.

M3

mmá [kin.f.] 'mother'
2sg.m. mmà-k 2sg.f. (ə)mmà-m 3sg. mma-s 1pl. mmá-tnax 3pl.f. (ə)mmà-tsnət
1sg. *mmâ, mma* [Z:II] 2sg.m. *mmâ-k* 2sg.f. *ěmmâ-m* [PT:XV] 3sg. *mmā-s* 1pl. *mmá-tnaḫ* 3pl.f. *ěmmâ-tsnęt* [PT:XV], *emmâ-tsnęt* [PT:XV]
P: madre PT: XV Z: II M: mère *omm* اومّ
▷ *mmâs n irîu* 'the mother of the child'
♦ TC: 1053 Berber, cf. Ghd. *má, ma* 'mother'; Kb. *yəmma* 'mother'; Zng. *yuṃṃih* 'mother'; Siwa *áṃṃa* 'mother' (Naumann 2013: 377)

M4

am [m.] pl. mìwən 'mouth'
ām pl. *mîwęn, mîwån*
P: bocca M: bouche *amennes* امنّس
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ame* 'mouth'; Kb. *imi* 'mouth'; Nef. *imî* 'mouth'; Sok. *imî* 'mouth'; To. *émm* 'mouth'

M5

ùma [kin.m.] pl. àtma 'brother'
sg. 2sg.m. umà-k 3sg umà-s 1pl. umá-tnax
pl. 2sg.m. atmà-k 3sg. atmà-s
1sg. *úmā* 2sg.m. *umâ-k* 3sg. *umâ-s* 1pl. *umá-tnaḫ*; pl. 1sg. *átmā* 2sg.m. *atmâ-k* 3sg. *atmâ-s*
P: fratello M: frère *oumak* اومك ; neveu *omak* امك
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *åmmâi, ůmmâi* 'brother'; Sok. *ummâ* 'brother'; Siwa *amma* 'brother'

M6

àmmi [kin.m] '(paternal) uncle'
2sg.m. ammì-k 3sg. ammì-s
1sg. *ámmī, āmmi* [Z:III] 2sg.m. *ammî-k* 3sg. *ammî-s*
P: zio Z: III M: oncle *ammis* عمّس
♦ Ar. *ʕamm* 'paternal uncle'

ʕámma [kin.f.] '(paternal) aunt'
ʿámma
Z: II
♦ Ar. *ʕamma(t)* 'paternal aunt'

M7/MNY

təmmìt [f.] pl. tmənyìn 'tamarisk'
temmît pl. *tmenyîn*
P: tamarice M: tamarix *temmet* تمّت
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *tämmâit* 'tamarisk'; Kb. *aməmmay, taməmmayt* 'tamarisk'; To. (Y) *təmiyawt* 'tamarisk'

M8

pl. imìn [m.] ‘water’
pl. *imîn*
P: acqua B21: 393 M: eau *imen* يـمـن; nager *yemin* يـمـيـن; larme *yémannes* يـمـنّـس
▷ *imîn tāvéṛęn* ‘the water boils’
♦ TC: 666
Berber, cf. Kb. *aman* ‘water’; Foq. *âman* ‘water’; Ghd. *áman* ‘water’; Nef. *amḛn, amân* ‘water’; Siwa *aman* ‘water’; Sok. *amân* ‘water’; To. *àman* ‘water’; Zng. *äman* ‘water’
imìn n ətttiwìn [phrasal n.] ‘tears (litt. water of the eyes)’
pl. *imîn n ettiwîn*
B21: 391

M9

=ìm [pron.]2sg.f. indirect object pronoun
-îm, res. *-îma*
P: tu

MB ▶ NB

MD1

mud [v.cvc] ‘to pray’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. mùd impf. mùda
imp. sg. *mūd*; pf. 1sg. *mūdîḫ* 3sg.m. *imûd*; res. 1sg. *mudīḫa* 3sg.m. *imûda*; fut. 1sg. *ammûdaḫ, ammudáḫ* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *aimûd* ptc. *ammūdân* [PT:II]; impf. 1sg. *mūdîḫ* [PT:II] 3pl.m. *mūdân* [PT:II]
P: pregare PT: II M: prier *yemout* يـمـوت
♦ K: 126, 223
Berber, cf. Ghd. *múd* ‘to pray’; To. *àməd* ‘to pray’
amùd [v.n.m.] ‘prayer’
amûd
P: preghiera
ammùd [m.] pl. ammùdən ‘mosque’
ammûd pl. *ammûden*
P: moschea PT: II

MD2

****əmmùdd [v.cc̄]** ‘to extend’
pf. / seq. əmmùdd
pf. 3sg.m. *yemmúdd* ‘to extend’
PT: III
♦ Ar. *madda* ‘to extend; to stretch out’

MD3

təmìdi [f.] pl. təmidiwìn ‘point of attachment of a stalk to a date’
temîdi pl. *tĕmidīwîn*
P: dattero M: vigne *temmedeh* تـمّـد ه

MD4

təmìdi [f.] ‘woodworm’
temîdi
P: tarlo
♦ K: 122, 131
Berber, cf. To. *tèmedhe* ‘termite’; Sok. *tmîdi* ‘woodworm’

MDɣ

təmədɣàt [f.] ‘clay; red earth’
temedġât, temeḍġât
P: argilla; terra M: boue; fange *témédghat* تـمـد غـا ت
♦ NZ: DQ1, K: 637

MDL

amadùl [m.] pl. madùlən ‘lid, cover’
amadûl pl. *madûlen*
P: coperchio
♦ NZ: DL1 ▶ **NDL**

MDN

amədən [m.] ‘man’ pl. mədìnən, mìddən ‘people’
amédęn, amḛ́dęn [PT:I,II,VI,VII,VIII,XI,XIII], *amḛ́dén-(nęs)* [PT:XV] pl. *mędînęn, míddęn*
P: uomo; gente,persone PT: I, II, IV, VI, VII, VIII, XI, XI, XII, XIII, XV M: homme *amaden* امـا د ن
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *măddén* ‘people’; Kb. *məddən* ‘people’; To. *méddən* ‘men’

MDɣ ▶ MDɣ

MG1

màg [adv.] ‘where?’
māg, mâg [PT:XV]

P: dove? PT: VIII, XV
▷ māg ínni amędęn-é? ‘Where is this man?’
s-màg [adv.] ‘from where?’
s-māg, s-mâg [PT:XV]
P: dove? PT:XV
màg wa/ta/wi/ti [inter.adj.] ‘which? what?’
m.sg. *mágwa* f.sg. *mákta* m.pl *mágwi* f.pl. *mákti*
P: quale?
am màg wa [inter.adj.] ‘how much?’
ammắgwa, ammágwa [PT:VIII] pl. *ammágwi* f. *ammákta* pl. *ammákti*
P: quanto? PT: VIII M: âge *ammagoua* اماقوع
▷ *wę s-ammắgwa?* ‘how much does this cost?’
○ *am* + *màg wa* litt: ‘like what?’
s-am màg wa [inter.adv.] ‘how much?’
s-ammắgwa
P: quanto? M: combien *samaghoua* صمغوه
▷ *wę s-ammắgwa?* ‘how much does this cost?’

MG2

(ə)mmə́g [v.cc.irreg.] ‘to become, to be, to turn into’
pf. = fut. əmmə́g res. əmmə̀gg
imp. sg. *emmóg*; pf. 1sg. *mmeggîḍ* 3sg.m. *yemmóg* [P: example]; res. 3sg.m. *yemmégga*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayemmóg* [P: example]
P: divenire, essere, transformarsi
▷ *yemmóg amoqqårān* ‘he became big’
▷ *ayemmóg dĕ-mlîl* ‘he will become white’
♦ This probably originally was a *mm-* derivation of *ag* ‘to do’. It explains the irregular variation between *g* and *gg*, which is similar to the verb *g* ‘to do’ ► **G1**.

MG3

màgi [m.] pl. magiwìn ‘eyelid’
mági pl. *magiwîn*
P: palpebra
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *timmi* ‘eyebrow’; Ouar. *tammi* ‘eyebrow’; Mzab *tammi* ‘eyebrow’; Ghd. *təmmi* ‘eyebrow’

MG4

mmə́g [conj.] ‘when’
mmóg, mmog [P: example]
P: quando
▷ *mmog a-ttunât ammûd-ī* ‘when you will enter the mosque’

MGN

təmìgni [f.] pl. t(ə)migniwìn ‘woman, wife’
tęmígnī, temígnī [PT:III,XV], *tĕmígnī* [PT:III], *tĕmignî-*(*nnes*) [PT:IV], *dmegnî-*(*s*) [PT:IV] *tęmignî-*(*nnes*) [PT:XV], *tęmigní-*(*nnek*) [PT:XV] pl. *tĕmignīwîn, tmęgnīwîn* ‘woman, wife’
P: donna PT: III, IV, XV M: femelle *temighni* تميغنى
○ This noun can take both the kinship suffix and normal possessive suffix.
♦ NZ: GN50

MGR

ìmgər, yəmgər [m.] pl. mə̀g(ə)rən ‘sickle’
ímger, yémger pl. *mégĕren*
P: falce M: faux, instrument *emker* امكر
♦ K: 317
Berber, cf. Kb. *amgər* ‘sickle’; Foq. *amžér* ‘sickle’; Nef. *mĕžér* ‘sickle’; Sok. *amžér* ‘sickle’; Siwa *amžīr* ‘sickle’ ► **MŽR**

MɣR

əlməɣ(ɣ)àrət [f.] ‘cave’
ĕlmeġġâret, elmoġġårret-(*ī*), *elmåġårret-*(*ī*), *elmoġårret-*(*ī*)
PT:XV
♦ Ar. *maġāra*(*t*) ‘cave, cavern; grotto’

MḢ

mməḥ [v.cc] ‘to kiss’
pf. / seq. = res. əmməḥ+ìs impf. təmməḥ+ìs
imp. sg. *mmaḥ*; pf. 1sg. *mmaḥ-â-s* 3sg.m. *yummaḥ-îs*; res. 1sg. *mmaḥ-âs-a* 3sg.m. *yummaḥ-îs-a*; impf. 1sg. *temmaḥ-â-s* 3sg.m. *itemmaḥ-îs*
P: baciare M: baiser v. *yammahessa* يـمـهـسّـه; baiser s. *yammahess* يـمـهـس
▷ *mmaḥ-îs i-tirîut* ‘kiss the daughter’
○ The 3sg. indirect object marker is obligatory in all TAMs but the imperative.
♦ Maghr. Ar. *maḥḥa* ‘a kiss (baby talk)’ (p.c. Souag)

əmmùḥ [v.n.m.] ‘kissing’
emmúḥ
P: baciare

MḢṬ

məḥ́ṭ [v.ccc] ‘to have sexual intercourse’
pf. / seq. əmḥəṭ
imp. sg. *măḥ́ṭ*; pf. *yemḥ́ṭ-(ṭåt)* [PT:XV]
P: coire PT: XV

aməḥàṭ [v.n.m.] ‘having sexual intercourse’
amaḥâṭ
P: coire

MKLW

aməklìw [m.] ‘lunch’
amęklîu, amęklīw-(ẹ́nnes) [PT:XV]
P: pranzo PT: XV
▷ *amęklîw-ī* ‘at lunch’
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *iməkli* ‘meal during a journey, afternoon lunch’, Rif. *mekla* ‘meal’ etc.

MKN

amakàn, amkàn [m.] ‘place’
amakân [PT:VII,VIII,X], *amkân* [P:example: che, il quale], *amakān-(nesîn)* [PT:XV]
PT: VII, VIII, X, XV
♦ Ar. *makān* ‘place’

MKT

(ə)mmàkt, mmàkti [v.irreg.] ‘to remember’
pf. / seq. = res. əmmàkta impf. mməktá
imp. sg. *ĕmmékt, mméktī*; pf. 3sg.m. *yimmékta*; res. 3sg.m. *yemmektâya*; impf. 3sg.m. *immektâ*
P: ricordarsi; M: souvenir (se) *makti* مـكـتـى
♦ TC: 626, K: 562, 577
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăktət* ‘to remember’; Kb. *mməkti* ‘to remember’; To. *àktu* ‘to remember’; Zng. *oktīh* ‘to remember’.
This is an *mm-* medio-passive derivation of which the original form has been lost.

MKTR

məktar [m.] ‘a large part, majority’
måktar
P: XI
♦ Clearly a derivation from the Arabic root *kṯr* ‘to be plentiful’, but the exact derivation is unknown in Arabic.

MLɣL

təməlɣùlt [f.] ‘fontanelle’
temęlġûlt
P: fontanella
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *taməlɣiɣt* ‘fontanelle’; Foq. *tmelġíġt* ‘fontanelle’.
The development of the Awjila form is not entirely clear. Rather than the *ɣ* being doubled as in the two languages cited above, the root consonant *l* is doubled instead.

MLL1

məllə́l [stat.v.] ‘to be white’
1sg. məllàx 2sg. məllàt 3sg.m. məllə́l 3sg.f. məllə́t, màllət pl. məllílit
1sg. *mellâḥ* 2sg. *mellât* 3sg.m. *mellél, méllet* [P:example] 3sg.f. *mellét* pl. *mellîlīt*
P: bianco
▷ *gulîḥa tfílli méllet* ‘I’ve seen a white house’

♦ TC: 693
Berber, cf. Ghd. *əmləl* ‘to be white’; Kb. *məllul* ‘to be white’; To. *məlləl* ‘to be or become white’; Zng. *ṃälliy, mʷälliy* ‘to be white’
š-əmlìl [caus.v.] ‘to whiten’
imp. sg. *šemlîl*
P:bianco; imbiancare
mlìl [adj.]pl. mlìlən f. təmlìlt pl. təmlilìn ‘white’
m. sg. *mlîl* pl. *mlîlen*; f. *temlîlt* pl. *temlīlîn*
P: bianco
▷ *amédęn mlîl bāhi-ká* ‘The white man is not good’
▷ *mlîl n tîsī* ‘egg white’

MLL2

mlàl [m.] ‘sand; dust’
mlāl, mlâl [PT:XV]
P: sabbia; polvere PT:XV M: poussière *melan* ملان; sable *hemlal* هملال
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamallilt* ‘dune sand’; To. *temă̆lălt* ‘white sand’

MLL3

Timillìl [P.N.]Place name
Timillîl
Z: X

MLM

millìm [m.] ‘milliem (1000 milliemes is 1 Libyan pound)’
millîm
PT: III

MLXY

ləmluxìyət [f.] ‘mulukhiya’
lemluḫîyet [PT:III,IV], *ělmluḫîyet* [PT:III]
PT: III, IV
♦ Ar. *muluḫiya*(*t*) ‘mulukhiya’

MM1

alimam [m.] ‘imam’
alimam
PT: II
♦ Ar. *ʔimām* ‘imam’

MM2

mmùm [stat.v.] ‘to be sweet’
3sg.m. *mmùm* 3sg.f. *mmùmət* pl. *mmumìt*
3sg.m *mûm, mmûm* 3sg.f *mmûmet* pl. *mmūmît*
P: dolce M: doux *moumeh* مومه; douceur *moum* موم
♦ Tashl. *imim* ‘to be, become sweet’

MM3

màma [m.] ‘older brother’
2sg.m. mamà-k 3sg. mamà-s
1sg. *mámā* 2sg.m. *mamâ-k* 3sg. *mamâ-s*
P: fratello

MM4

amìmi n tìt [phrasal n.] ‘pupil of the eye’
amîmi n tît
P: pupilla dell’occhio
♦ K: 16
Berber, cf. Ghd. *təmmi* ‘eyebrow’; Kb. *mummu* ‘pupil of the eye, iris’

MN1

imàn [pron.] ‘self, by oneself’
1sg. iman-n-ùk 2sg.m. imàn-n-ək 3sg. imàn-n-əs 1pl. imán-n-ax 2pl.m. iman-nəkìm
imân; 1sg. *iman-nûk* 2sg.m. *imán-nek* 3sg. *imân-nes, imán-nes* [PT: IV], *imắn-nes* [PT:V] 1pl. *imán-naḫ* 2pl.m. *iman-nekîm* [PT:I]
P: stesso; solo PT: I, IV, V, VII M: forcé *??msimanès* مسيمانس; forcer *simanes* سيمانس
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *iman* ‘oneself’; Kb. *iman* ‘oneself’; To. *ìman* ‘soul, life force’

MN3

təmnìt (or: tamnìt) [f.] ‘jar, vase’
tämnît
P: giarra

MN4

tímənt [f.] ‘honey’
tîmęnt

P: miele M: abeille *tement* تـمـنـت
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamənt* 'honey'; Kb. *tamənt* 'honey'; Nef. *tamémt, tamént* 'honey'; Sok. *tamémt* 'honey'

MN5

mmèn, mmìn [inter.adv.] 'when?'
mmên, mmîn
P: quando
▷ *mmîn tušídda dîla* 'when did you arrive here?'

MN6

màni [inter.pron.] 'who?'
mánī, mânī
P: chi?
▷ *mánī ušânda dîla?* 'who came here?'
▷ *d-mânī?* 'who is?'
▷ *d-wa-n mânī?* 'whose is?'
▷ *gmāren-îya d-wi-n mânī?* 'Whose are these horses?'
▷ *wáya d-wan mânī?* 'whose is this?'

MNDR

təmandùrt (or: təməndùrt [f.] pl. tmandìr 'rock pigeon'
temändûrt pl. *tmändîr*
P: piccione

MNɣYR

mən ɣayr [prep.] 'without'
min ġair
Z: I
♦ Ar. *min ġairi* 'without'

MNŠ ▶ NŠ

MQR

màqqər [stat.v.] 'to be big'
1sg. moq(q)(ə)ràx 2sg. moq(ə)ràt 3sg.m. màqqər 3sg.f. màq(q)(ə)rər pl. məqqayrìt
1sg. *moqåraḫ, moqqårâḫ* 2sg. *moqårât* 3sg.m. *móqqår, móqqar* 3sg.f. *móqåret, móqqåret, móqaret, móqqaret* pl. *moqqāīrît*
P: grande M: agrandir *makkar* مـكّـا ر;
grande *mokar* مـكـا ر
♦ TC: 672
Berber, cf. Ghd. *əmqór* 'to be big'; Kb. *məqqʷər* 'to be big'; To. *mǎqqor* 'to be or become big'; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yäṃuʔr* 'to be big'
aməqq(ə)ràn [adj.]pl. moqqrànən, moqqràrən f. taməqqərànt, t(ə)məqq(ə)ràn pl. tməqqranìn 'big, old'
m.sg. *amoqqårân* pl. *moqqrânen* (*moqqrâren*) f.sg. *tamoqqårânt, tmoqqårânt* [PT:XV], *tmoqqårẫnt* [PT:XV], *tĕmoqqårânt* [PT:XV] pl. *tmoqqrānîn*
P:grande PT:I,XV

MQŠ

təməqqùšt (or: tamaqqùšt, taməqqùšt, təmaqqùšt) [f.] 'dung, manure'
tämaqqûšt
P: letame
♦ Berber, cf. To. (D N WE Y) *tamăqqost* 'dung'

MR1

màrra [adv.] 'once'
márra
PT: I, II, X, XI
♦ Ar. *marra*(*t-an*) 'once'
əlmarrat-(àya) [f.] 'time, turn'
elmarrāt-(*âya*) [PT:IX]
PT: IX
♦ Ar. *marrāt* 'times, turns'
marràt [f.] 'time. turn'
marrât [PT:II,IX], *marrâtet* [PT:IX]
PT: II, IX
♦ Ar. *marrāt* 'times, turns'

MR2

amùr [conj.] 'if (counterfactual)'
amûr
P: se PT: III

MR3

t(ə)mùrt [f.] 'earth'
tämûrt, temûrt [PT:VIII], *tmûrt* [PT:XV]

P: terra PT: VIII, XV M: prairie *témourt* تـمـورت
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tammurt* ‘earth, soil’; Kb. *tamurt* ‘earth, terrain’; Nef. *tamûrt, tamûrṭ* ‘earth’; Siwa *tamārt* ‘country’

MR4

tamìrt [f.] pl. tmìra ‘beard’
tamîrt, tamīrt-(*ennûk*) [PT:VIII] pl. *tmîra*
P: barba PT: VIII M: barbe *taamert* تـعـمـرت
♦ TC: 58
Berber, cf. Ghd. *tómărt* ‘beard’; Kb. *tamart* ‘beard’; To. *tə̆̀mart* ‘beard’; Zng. *taʔmmärt* ‘beard’

MR5

mrí [stat.v.] ‘to be beautiful’
3sg.m. mrí, mrìyən 3sg.f. mrìyət pl. mriyìt
3sg.m. *mrī, mrî* [PT:IV], *mrîyen* 3sg.f. *mrîyet* pl. *mrīyît, imrîjét* [Z:IV]
P: bello PT: IV Z: IV

MRFṬ

amèrfəṭ [m.] ‘spleen’
amə́rfə̂ṭ
P: milza
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *aranfaḍ* ‘spleen’; Ouar. *imərfəḍ, inərfəḍ* ‘spleen’

MRɣ1

tamùrəɣ [f.] ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’
tamûrə̂ġ, tamûroġ [P:example]
P: cavalletta
▷ *ìwât n tamûroġ* ‘one grasshopper’
♦ TC: 59 K: 636
Berber, cf. Foq. *tamə̊̂rġī* ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’; Nef. *tamerġî* ‘grasshopper’; Siwa *təmərġi* ‘grasshopper’; Ghd. *tomarše* ‘grasshopper’; Zng. *toʔṃṃurih* ‘grasshopper’.
A reflex of the final **ɣ* is not instantly apparent Zenaga, it may have metathesized to the front of the root. Ghadames underwent palatalization of **ɣ* to *š* (Vycichl 1990)

MRɣ2

amərɣàw [m.] pl. mərɣàwən ‘yellow date, close to ripeness’
amerġâu pl. *merġâwen*
P: dattero
♦ Berber, cf. Sok. *arġâu* ‘date’

MRR

pl. mràrən [m.] ‘harness’
pl. *mrâren*
P: finimenti
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *amrar* ‘corde, cable’; To. *tə̀mrart* ‘rope bridle on youn camel’s head (for pulling its head down)’

MRTF

amərtùf [m.] pl. mərtìf ‘a measure of capacity (for cereals), corresponds to 3 ṣi‘án’
amärtûf pl. *mertîf*
P: misure di capacità M: charge *ammertouf* امّـرتـوف ; M: charger *mertouf* مـرتـوف

MS1

təmasùt [f.] pl. təmasutìn ‘boil, pimple’
temāsût pl. *temāsūtîn* ‘boil, pimple’
P: foruncolo
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *timmist* ‘boil, carbuncle, pimple’

MS2

tammàst [f.] ‘in the middle’
tammâst
P: fra; mezzo (in)
▷ *tammâst n tfíllī* ‘in the middle of the house’
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ammas* ‘middle, center’; Kb. *imassən* ‘inside of a loaf of cake’; To. *ámmas* ‘middle, center, inside’

MSL

amasàl (or: aməsàl) [m.] ‘crossbar between the two poles of a well’
amäsâl
P: pozzo

MSN

tamàsna [f.] ‘the outside’
tamésna
P: fuori M: étranger *estamsna* اسطمسنه
▷ *ušând s tamésna* ‘They came from outside’
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamasna* ‘desert’

MṢḤF

əlmáṣḥaf [m.] ‘book’
elméṣḥāf
P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)
♦ Ar. *muṣḥaf* ‘volume; book; copy of the Koran’

MŠK

məššák [stat.v.] ‘to be small’
1sg. məškàx 2sg. məškàt 3sg.m. məššák 3sg.f. məškát pl. məššikìt
1sg. *meškâḥ* 2sg. *meškât* 3sg.m. *mešššék* 3sg.f. *meškét* pl. *mešššīkît*
P: piccolo M: jeune *métchik* متشيك
♦ K: 682
Perhaps Berber, cf. Nef. *mešššék* ‘small’; To. *mə̀tkə̄y* ‘to be or become small’
š-əmšək [caus.v.] ‘to reduce’
imp. sg. *šémšek*
P: piccolo
aməškùn [adj.]pl. məškùnən f. taməškùnt pl. tməškúnin ‘small’
m. sg. *ameškûn* pl. *meškûnen* f. sg. *tameškûnt* pl. *tmeškûnīn* ‘small’
P: piccolo

MŠW ▶ NŠ

MT

ə̀mt [v.cc*] ‘to bury’
seq. = res. ə̀mta impf. mə̀tta
imp. sg. *ə̆́mt, mtî-(t)* [PT:II]; pf. 3sg.m. *yémta, yemtî-(t)* [PT:II] res. 3sg.m. *yemtâya*; impf. 3sg.m. *imétta*
P: seppellire PT: II
♦ Zuara *əmt* ‘to bury’ (Mitchell 2009: 17)
i-tt-ə̀mt [pass.v.] ‘to be burried’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ttə̀mt
pf. 3sg.m. *ittémt*; res. 3sg.m. *itímta*; fut. 3sg.m. *aittémt*
P: seppelire
amə̀ttu [v.n.m.] ‘burying’
améttū
P: seppellire

MT/Y

mmùt [v.irreg.] ‘to die’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. mmùt/y
imp. sg. *mmût*; pf. 1sg. *mmúyeḥ* 3sg.m. *immût* 3sg.f *temmût* [PT:III]; res. 1sg. *mmuyîḥa* 3sg.m. *immûta, yemmûta* [PT:XV]; fut. 1sg. *ammúyaḥ* 3sg.m. *aimmût, ayemmût* [PT:I]
P: morire PT: I, III, XV M: tué *mauta* موته; tuer *yémauta* يموته
♦ TC: 696
Berber, cf. Ghd. *əmmət* ‘to die’; Kb. *əmmet* ‘to die’; To. *ə̀mmu-t* ‘to die’; Zng. *ämṃih* ‘to die’
təmə̀ttìnt [v.n.f.] ‘death’
temettînt
P: morire, morte
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamăttant* ‘death’; Foq. *tamettânt* ‘death’; Sok. *tamettânt* ‘death’; To. *tamăttant* ‘death’; Zng. *tmättänt, tmäntänt* ‘death’

MTʕ

pl. əlmətʕət-(ənnəsnət) [f.?] ‘things’
pl. *elmetʿat-(ennésnęt)*
PT: XV
♦ Ar. *matāʕ* pl. *ʔamtiʕa(t)* ‘object, thing, utensil; stuff, objects, commodities’

MṬS ▶ MṬZ

MṬZ

təmiṭàst [f.] pl. təmíṭaz ‘scissors’
temīṭâst pl. *temîṭaz*
P: forbici
♦ NZ: ḌZ1
Berber, cf. Foq. *tmīḍâst* ‘scissors’; Ghd.

tamiḍăst ‘scissors’; Sok. *tmiṭâst* ‘scissors’; Siwa *tiṃiṭáṣ* ‘scissors’ (Naumann 2013: 377)

MY

mìyət [num.] ‘hundred’
míyet
PT: V
♦ ELA *mîya* ‘hundred’; Ar. *miʔa*(*t*) ‘hundred’

MZD

aməzzìd [m.] ‘semolina for couscous’
amezzîd
P: semolino per kuskûs

MZN1

təməzìnt [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

aməzùn [m.] ‘pin or hinge at the base of a door’
amezûn
P: porta
taməzùnt [f.] ‘small pin or hinge at the base of a door’
tamezûnt
P: porta

MZS

təmuzìst [f.] pl. tmuzistìn, tmuzìs ‘threshold, doorstep’
tĕmuzîst pl. *tmuzistîn, tmuzîs*
P: soglia

MZZ

tamzèzza [f.] pl. təməzəzzáyat ‘bee’
tamzézza pl. *tĕmezezzáyāt*
P: ape
♦ Berber, cf. Nef. *tezizwi*

MẒ1

pl. timẓìn [f.] ‘barley’
pl. *timẓîn, tẹmẓîn, timzîn* [B21], *temezîn* [B21]
P: orzo B21: 385 PT: XV
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *tűmẓīn* ‘barley’; Kb. *timẓin* ‘barley’; Ghd. *təmẓet* pl. *təmẓén* ‘barley’; Nef. *ṭåmẓîn* ‘barley’; Sok. *tímẓīn* ‘barley’; Siwa *tomzin* ‘barley’

MẒ2

àmẓa [m.] pl. amẓìwən ‘ogre; strong, cunning person; lion (rare)’
ámẓā pl. *amẓîwen*
P: orco PT: XV
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *amẓiw* f. *tamẓa* ‘ogre’; Nef. *amẓîu* f. *tamẓâ* ‘ogre’; Siwa *əmzā* ‘ogre’
tàmẓa [f.] ‘ogress’
támẓā P: orco

MẒL

təmaẓẓàlt [f.] ‘muscle’
temaẓẓâlt
P: muscolo
♦ Berber, cf. To. (H.) *tămaẓwalt* ‘flexor muscle’, perhaps also Zng. *əmžəlli*(*ʔ*) ‘large muscle of the neck’

MẒN

aməẓẓìn (pl. of ìwi ► W)

MẒẒ

Maẓùẓ (or: Məẓùẓ) [place name] ‘name of a small palm grove north of Awjila’
Maẓûẓ
P: Maẓûẓ

MŽBR

təmážbərt [f.] ‘a pot in which you burn incense’
teméžbärt
P: profumi

MŽR1

(ə)mžár [v.ccc] ‘to reap, mow’
imp. sg. *mžer, emžér*
P: mietere; falciare
♦ K: 316
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ămžər* ‘to reap mow’; Foq.

émžer ‘to reap mow’; Nef. *émger, ámger* ‘to reap, mow’; Siwa *əmžər* ‘to harvest’

aməžàr [v.n.m.] ‘reaping, mowing’

amežâr

P: mietere

MʕDČ

maʕàdš [adv.] ‘no longer’

maʿádč

PT: II

♦ Maghr. Ar. *mā-ʕād-š* ‘no more, no longer’ (p.c. Souag)

N1

n [prep.] ‘of’

1sg. -ənn-ùk 2sg.m. -ànn-ək 3sg. -ànn-əs 2pl.m. -ənn-əkìm 2pl.f. ənn-àkmət 3pl.m. ənn-əsìn 3pl.f. -ənn-àsnət

n, en, ně, ĕn [PT:VII,VIII], *ĕɣ-*(*ɣǎbbī*) [PT:VI], *in* [Z:II,XI], *u* (sic) [Z:III]; 1sg. *-enn-ûk* [PT:IV,VIII,XIV] 2sg.m. *-énn-ek* [PT:IX] *-ann-ek* [Z:XIII], *-nn-äk* [PT:XV] 3sg. *-énn-es* [PT: I,IV,IX,X,XV] 2pl.m. *-enn-ekîm* 2pl.f. *-enn-ékmet*, 3pl.m. *-enn-esîn* 3pl.f *-enn-ésnet, -enn-ésnęt* [PT:XV]

P: di; suo; mio; tuo; nostro; loro; vostro

PT: passim Z: II, III

○ Can be used interchangeably with *s* to indicate the material of which something is made.

▷ *wâya s-ar zzîl* ‘this is made of iron’

▷ *aġîz n úråġ* ‘golden necklace’

♦ Pan-Berber *n* ‘of’. Kb. *n* ‘genitive particle ’; To. *n, ən-* ‘posessive preposition’ Zng. (*ə*)*n*(*n*) ‘genitive particle’

N2

an-ìs [v.c*] ‘to say; to say to s.o. (+ IO)’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. n impf. tànn(a)

imp. sg. *an-îs, an-îs-*(*t*) [PT:II] pl.m. *anāt-îs, annadd-îs* pl.f. *anāmĕt-îs*; pf. 1sg. *nā-s* 2sg. *tneit-îs, tnedd-îs, tned-*(*dîk*) [PT:VI], *tĕned-*(*dîk*) [PT:VI] 3sg.m. *in-îs, in-*(*īsîn*) [PT:I,II], *in-*(*ísnęt*) [PT:XV], *in-îs-*(*t*) [PT:II] 3sg.f. *ĕtn-îs* [PT:III,XV], *tn-îs* [PT:IV,XV] 3pl.m. *nān-îs* [PT:II,XV], *nān-īs* [PT:XV] 3pl.f. *nānet-îs* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *nâ-s-a, nâ-*(*k*)*-a* [PT:III,XIII] 2sg. *tnedd-îs-a* 3sg.m. *in-îs-a* 1pl. *nān-îs-a* [PT:II]; fut. 1sg. *annâ-s, annâ-*(*k*) [PT:IV] *annā-*(*kîm*) [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ain-îs, āīni-*(*dîk*) [PT:IV], *āīn-*(*îs*) [PT:V]; impf. 1sg. *tennâ-s* 3sg.m. *itenn-îs* ‘to say to s.o.’

P: dire PT: passim

▷ *tnedd-îs-ká* ‘do not speak’

▷ *a-nnâ-k* ‘I will tell you’

▷ *inī-dîk* ‘he told me’

▷ *in-îk* ‘he told you’

○ This verb always takes an automatic indirect object 3sg.m. pronoun suffix. If the person whom something is said to is determined, this automatic indirect object is replaced with the appropriate pronominal suffix.

♦ TC: 768

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăn* ‘to say’; Kb. *ini* ‘to say’; To. *ǎn* ‘to say;’ Zng. pf. *yənnäh* ‘to say’

N3

yan [v.vc*] ‘to enter’

pf. uná seq. = res. ùna fut. ùn impf. tàna

imp. sg. *yān* pl.m. *yānât* pl.f. *yānîmet*; pf. 1sg. *unîḫ* 2sg. *tānît* [P: example], *tunît* [P: example] 3sg.m. *yúna, yûnā* [PT:II], *yunâ* [PT:IX,XV], *yûna* [PT:XV], *îuna* [Z:X] 3sg.f. *tûna* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *unîḫa* 3sg.m. *yunâya*; fut. 1sg. *aunâḫ* 2sg. *attûnat* [PT:IX] 3sg.m. *ayûn*; impf. 1sg. *tānîḫ* 3sg.m. *itâna*

P: entrare PT: II, IX, XV Z: X M: entrée

younaah يـونـعـة

▷ *tānît-ká* ‘do not enter!’

▷ *ur-tunît* ‘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. *išân* [PT:XV] 3sg.f. *ččān* [PT:XV] impf. 1sg. *šanâiḫ*
P: entrare PT: XV

N4

yànni [v.cī] 'to be (in a place)'
pf. / seq. = fut. ànni, ənní
pf./fut. 1sg. *ĕnnîḫ, nnîḫ* [PT:VI] 2sg. *tennîd* 3sg.m. *yénnī, ínnī* [PT:VIII,XV] 3sg.f. *tennî* 1pl. *nnî* 3pl.m. *nnîyen, ĕnnîyęn* [PT:XV] ptc. *nnîyen* [PT:XIII]
P: essere, trovarsi PT: VI, VIII, XIII, XV
▷ *yénnī-ká dîla* 'There is not'

N5

?tanìya [f.] 'pulley of a well'
tanîa
P: pozzo
♦ Perhaps related to *awénū* ► **WN**.

NB

əmbí [v.cci] 'to suck'
impf. nàbbi
imp. sg. *ĕmbí, mbí*; impf. 3sg.m. *inébbi*
P: allattare; poppare M: allaiter *iembeya* يمبيه; sucer *emben* امبن ; téter *yembeya* يمبيه
♦ K: 559
Berber, cf. Foq. *énbi* (*émbi*) 'to suck'; Siwa *umbäi* 'to suckle'
?anəbbi [v.n.m.] 'sucking'
anebbi انبّى
M: téton
○ Müller translates this word as téton 'breast', but it is clearly the verbal noun derivation.
š-ànbi [caus.v.] 'to suckle'
pf. / seq. š-əmbí res. = fut. š-ànbi impf. š-əmbày
imp. sg. *šémbī*; pf. 1sg. *šembîḫ* 3sg.f. *ččembí*; res. 1sg. *šembîḫa* 3sg.f. *ččembâya*; fut. 1sg.m. *ašembîḫ* 3sg.f. *aččémbi*; impf. 1sg. *šembâïḫ* 3sg.f. *tšembáï* 'to suckle'
P: allattare
aš-ànbi [caus.v.n.m.] 'suckling'
ašémbī
P: allattare

NBR

tənàbrət [f.] 'needle'
tenébret, tnebrét [B21]
P: ago B21: 391 M: mépris *tenebret* تـنـبـرت
♦ NZ: NBR2
Beguinot (1921: 391) considers this a loanword from Ar. *al-ʔibra*(*t*) 'needle', with dissimilation of *l...r* to *n...r*.

ND

əndú, undú [conj.] 'if'
ĕndú, úndu, undú [PT:II,V,VIII,X], *öndú* [PT:VIII], *endú* [PT:XV]
P: se PT:I, II, V, VIII, X, XV

NDL1

ànděl [v.ccc] 'to be covered'
impf. nàddəl
imp. sg. *éndel*; impf. *yenéddel*
P: coprire M: couvercle *yendeltia* يـنـدلـتـيـه
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ămdəl* 'to close (the eyes)'; Kb. *dəl* 'to cover'
anədàl [v.n.m.] 'being covered'
anedâl
P: coprire
š-ànděl [caus.v.] 'to cover'
impf. š-əndàl
imp. sg. *šéndel*; impf. 1sg. *šendâlḫ* 3sg.m. *išendâl*
P: coprire
aš-ànděl [caus.v.n.m.] 'covering'
ašéndel
P: coprire

NDM1

nàddəm [v.cc̄c] 'to be sleepy; to doze off'
impf. nəddàm
imp. sg. *néddem*; impf. 3sg.m. *ineddâm*

P: sonno
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *nəddəm* ‘to sleep’; Kb. *nnudəm* ‘to doze, sleep’; To. *nùddəm* ‘to doze’
anàddəm [v.n.m.] ‘sleep’
anéddem
P: sonno M: sommeil *eneddem* انـدّم

NDM2

****əndə́m [v.ccc]** ‘to be sad, regretful’
res. àndəm
res. 3sg.m. *yendîma*
PT: VIII
♦ Ar. *nadima* ‘to repent, rue, regret’

NFL

****ənfə́l [v.ccc]** ‘to be changed’
res. ànfəl
res. 3sg.m. *yenfîla*
P: cambiare M: changer *yenfela* يـنفـلا
♦ TC: 739
Berber, cf. MA *sənfəl* ‘to replace (of childrens teeth)’; Zng. pf. 3sg.m. *yäššänfäy* ‘to change’; Ouar. *ənfəl* ‘to be exchanged’
š-ənfəl [caus.v.] ‘to change’
pf. / seq. š-ənfəl res. š-ənfəl impf. š-ənfàl imp. sg. *šénfel*; pf. 1sg. *šénfelḫ*; res. 1sg. *šenfílḫa*; impf. 1sg. *šenfâlḫ*
P: cambiare
aš-ənfəl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘changing’
ašénfel
P: cambiare

NFS1

anafùs [m.] ‘right’
anafûs
P: destra
▷ *af anafûs* ‘on the right’
♦ NZ: FS3
Berber, cf. Ghd. *anfús* ‘right’; Kb. *ayeffus* ‘right’; Siwa *roḥ aləmfusi* ‘to go right’

NFS2

ənfùs, infùs [m.] pl. ənfùsən, infùsən ‘sleeve’
ĕnfûs, infûs pl. *ĕnfûsen, infûsen*
P: manica M: manche *onfos* انـفـوس
♦ K: 68
To. (H.) *ahănfous* ‘sleeve’; Ghd. *anβəs* ‘sleeve’
Surprisingly, no reflex of **β* is found in Awjila, while Ahaggar Tuareg does have it. The Ghadames formation is quite different and may not be related.

NF

****ənf/ənfí [v.cc*/cci]** ‘to be useful; to be good’
res. ànfa
res. 1sg. *enfîḫa* 2sg. *tenfîta* [P:example] 3sg.m. *yenfâya*
P: utile
▷ *ku tenfîta lûda* ‘you are good for nothing’
♦ TC: 737
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ənfu* ‘to be useful’; Zng. *änfih* ‘to be worth, to have value’; To. (H.) *ənfu* ‘be useful’

This may be an early loanword from Ar. *nafaʕa* ‘to be useful’.

NG

ngi [v.cci.irreg.] ‘to touch’
seq. = res. = fut. àngi impf. nàgga
imp. sg. *ngi*; pf. 1sg. *ngîḫ* 3sg.m. *yéngi*; res. 1sg. *ngîḫa* 3sg.m. *yengâya*; fut. 1sg. *angîḫ* 3sg.m. *ayéngi*; impf. 1sg. *neggîḫ* 3sg.m. *inégga*
P: toccare
anàggi [v.n.m.] ‘toucing’
anéggī
P: toccare

NGDR

Təngìdrət [P.N.] ‘A ḥatia north-west of Awjila’
Tengídret
P: Tengídret

NGFL

(ə)ngafùli, əlgafùli [m.] ‘maize’

ĕngafûlī, ñgafûli [PT:XV], *ĕlgafûli* [PT:XV]
P: granoturco PT: XV
♦ Ultimately from Kanuri *ngawúli* 'sorghum' see Cyffer & Hutchison 1990, Kossmann 2005, Souag (fthc.)

NGĞM

Təngədžùm [P.N.] 'village in the oasis of Awjila'
Tengeğûm, Tangedğûm, Tangîğum [Z:VIII]
P: Tengeğûm o Tangedğûm Z: VIII

NGŽV

əngàžv [m.] 'type of palm tree (Arabic nakfûš)'
ĕngâžv
P: palma

Nɣ1

naɣ [conj.] 'or'
nāġ, naġ [PT:V]
P: o, ovvero PT: III, V
♦ TC: 720 K: 732
Berber, cf. Foq. *naġ* 'or'; Kb. *nəɣ, nɣ* 'or'; Nef. *naġ* 'or'; Zng. *naʔḏ* 'or'

Nɣ2

nàɣ [v.cvc] 'to call'
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. nàɣ
imp. sg. *nâġ*; pf. 1sg. *nāġîḥ* 3sg.m. *inâġ*; res. 1sg. *nāġîḥa* 3sg.m. *inâġa*; fut. 1sg. *anaġáḥ* 3sg.m. *ainágġ*
P: chiamare M: appeler *naghy* نـــا غى; crier *enagha* انـــا غه
▷ *nāġî-t* 'call him!'
♦ Perhaps related to Ar. *naġā* 'to speak'; Ar. *nāġā* 'to whisper; to talk gently, kindly, tenderly' Eg. Ar. *nāġa* 'to speak tenderly to a child' (Hinds 1986)
anàɣ [v.n.m.] 'calling'
anâġ
P: chiamare

Nɣ3

ànəɣ [v.cc*] 'to kill'
pf. ənɣá impf. nəɣɣa
imp. sg. *ánĕġ*; pf. 3sg.m. *yenġá*; impf. 3sg.m. *ineġġa*
P: uccidere M: assassin *yanghia* يـــنـغـيـه; assassiner *anghia* انـغـيـه
♦ TC: 65
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ănn* 'to kill'; Kb. *nəɣ* 'to kill'; To. *ə̀nɣ* 'to kill'; Zng. *aʔni*(*ʔ*) 'to kill'
anəɣɣu, anəɣɣa [v.n.m.] 'killing'
anéġġū, anéġġā
P: uccidere
š-ənɣ [caus.v.] 'to extinguish'
imp. sg. *šängġ, šéngġ*
P: spegnere; uccidere
itt-ənɣ [pass.v.] 'to be killed'
pf. / seq. = res. ttənɣ
pf. 3sg.m. *itténġ*; res. 3sg.m. *ittínġa*
P: uccidere

NHN

nəhìn [pron.]3pl.m. independent pronoun
nehîn, ĕnhîn, nehnîn [B21]
P: essi B21: 390
nəhìnət [pron.]3pl.f. independent pronoun
nehînet, nĕhînet [PT:XV] *ĕnhînet* [PT:XV], *nehnînet* [B21]
P: essi B21: 390

NĞM

pl. (ə)nžùm [m.] 'stars'
pl. *nğûm, ĕnğûm*
PT: VIII M: étoile *negmet* نـــجـمـة
♦ ELA *nézem* pl. *nžūm* 'star'; Ar. *nažma*(*t*) pl. *nužūm* 'star'

NK1

(ə)nkí [v.cci] 'to sniff, smell'
seq. = res. ənki impf. nəkki
imp. sg. *nkí, ĕnkí*; pf. 3sg.m. *yénki*; res. 3sg.m. *yenkâya*; impf. 3sg.m. *inékki*
P: fiutare, odorare PT: XV M: flairer

yénéki; M: tabac à priser *ennekeh* انّكه
♦ TC: 749
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăkk* ‘to smell’; Zng. *änki(?)* ‘to smell’
anəkki [v.n.m.] ‘sniffing, smelling’
anékkī
P: fiutare, odorare
š-ənki [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. smell’
imp. sg. *šénki*
P: fiutare, odorare

NK2

nək [pron.]1sg. independent pronoun
nek, nęk [PT:II], *-nék* [PT:XI]
P:io, B21:390 PT:II,III,V,VI,XI,XII,XIV,XV
♦ K: 504;
Berber, cf. Ghd. *năšš* ‘I’; Kb. *nekk* ‘I’; To. *nåkk* ‘I’; Zng. *niʔK* ‘I’; Foq. *nékki, nek*; Nef. *neč* ‘I’; Sok. *nīš* ‘I’

NKN

nəkkəní [pron.]1pl. independent pronoun
nekkenî, neknîn [B21]
P: noi, B21:390 PT: II

NKT

ənkət [v.ccc] ‘to spill (usually solid things)’
imp. sg. *enkét*
P: versare, colare

NN1 ► M2

NN2

nàna [kin.f.] ‘grandmother’
2sg. nanà-k
1sg. *nánā* 2sg. *nanâ-k*
P: nonna
♦ Nef. *nannâ* ‘grandmother’

NQṢ

****ənqəṣ [v.ccc]** ‘to be missing, to lack’
res. ənqəṣ
res. 3sg.m. *yenqîṣa* 3pl.f. *ănqåṣnîta, ěnqåṣnîta*
PT: V M: rabattre, diminuer *naqqas* نـقّـس
♦ Ar. *naqaṣa* ‘to decrease, become less, diminish, be diminished, be reduced’

NRG ► RNG

NSG

ənsəg [v.ccc] ‘to whistle’
impf. nəssəg
imp. sg. *ĕnség*; impf. 3sg.m. *inésseg*
P: fischiare M: siffler *yénassek* يـنسّك
♦ To. (H.) *enseɣ* ‘to whistle’; MA *sinseg* ‘to whistle’
anəsàg [v.n.m.] ‘whistling’
anesâg
P: fischiare

NṢ

(ə)nnùṣ(ṣ) [m.] ‘half, middle’
ennûṣ [PT:XIV], *nnûṣ* [PT:XIV], *ennúṣṣ* [PT:VIII]
PT: VIII, XIV
♦ Mor. Ar. *noṣṣ, nəṣṣ* ‘half, middle’; Ar. *niṣf, nuṣf* ‘half’

NŠ1

təništ [f.] pl. tnìš, tníšin ‘key’
tĕnīšt, teništ [B21] pl. *tnîš, tnîšīn*
P: chiave B21: 391
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tonest, tonéss* ‘key’; Foq. *tanâst* ‘key’; Sok. *tnâst* ‘key’; Nef. *tunîst* ‘key’; Siwa *tnāst* ‘key’.

This word may be a derivation of *anîš* ‘nickel’ which originally meant ‘copper’, which is not an unlikely material to have been used for making keys.

NŠ2

anìš [m.] ‘nickel’
anîš
P: nichel M: cuivre *anich* انـيش
○ Müller has the meaning ‘copper’ for this word, as we find in other Berber languages.
♦ Berber, cf. Sok. *nās* ‘copper’; Tashl. *anas* ‘copper’

NŠ3

iš [v.nc*] ‘to sleep’
seq. = res. ìša fut. ìš impf. nàššа
imp. sg. *iš*; pf. 1sg. *išîḫ* 3sg.m. *íša*; res. 1sg. *išîḫa* 3sg.m. *išâya*; fut. 1sg. *aišáḫ* 3sg.m. *ayîš*; impf. 1sg. *neššîḫ* 2sg. *tneššît* [P:example] 3sg.m. *inéšša*
P: dormire M: coucher (se) *ychayeh* يـشـا يـه; dormir *ichayeh* يـشـا يـه
▷ *tneššît-ká* ‘do not sleep’
♦ NZ: C10, TC: 758
Berber, cf. Kb. *əns* ‘to spend the night’; To. *ə̀ns* ‘to lie down, go to bed’; Zng. *änši(?)* ‘to spend the night’
tnəššàt [v.n.f.] ‘sleep’
tneššât
P: dormire
š-ìš [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. sleep’
impf. š-išày
imp. sg. *šîš*; impf. 1sg. *šīšâiḫ* 3sg.m. *išīšáī*
P: dormire
amišìw [m.] ‘dinner’
amišîu, amišīw-(ennûk) [PT:XV], *amišīú-(nnes)* [PT:XV]
P: cena PT: XV
▷ *ččíḫa amišiw-ennúk* ‘I have eaten my dinner’
▷ *amišîw-ī* ‘at dinner’
♦ TC: 760
Berber, cf. Ghd. *amísi* ‘supper’; Nef. *mensî* ‘dinner’; Foq. *ménsī* ‘dinner’; Sok. *aměnsî* ‘dinner’; Kb. *imənsi* ‘supper’; To. *àmənsi* ‘evening meal, supper’; Zng. *əmənšəh* ‘dinner’
mnišìw [m.] ‘evening, evening prayer’
mnīšîu
P: tramonto; preghiera PT: XV
♦ TC: 760
Berber, cf. Ghd. *amísi* ‘supper’; Kb. *imənsi* ‘supper’; To. *àmənsi* ‘evening meal, supper’; Zng. *əmənšəh* ‘dinner’

NŠD

****ənšəd [v.ccc]** ‘to ask’
seq. ənšəd impf. nəššəd
pf. 3sg.m. *yenšéd-(t)* [PT:XII], *yẹ́nšed* [PT:II], *inšét-(t)* [PT:VIII], *yenšét-(t)* [PT:VIII] 3sg.f. *tenšéd-(t)* [PT:III]; impf. 3sg.m. *inéššed* [PT: VIII]
PT: II, III, VIII, XI, XII
♦ ELA *yinšed* ‘to ask’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar. *našada* ‘to seek, look, search; to adjure, implore’

NT1

****ənt/əntí [v.cc*/cci]** ‘to be cooking, be on fire (food)’
res. ənta
res. 3sg.m. *yentâya*
P: preparare un pranzo
▷ *ameklîu yentâya* ‘the meal is cooking’
♦ To. (H.) *ănt* ‘to start’
š-ənt [caus.v.] ‘to prepare a meal’
imp.sg. *šent*
P: preparare un pranzo

NT2

ənnàt [pron.]3sg.f. independent pronoun
ennât [PT:III, B21], *ĕnnât* [PT:IV,XV]
P: essa B21: 390 PT: III, IV, XV

NTN

nəttìn [pron.]3sg.m. independent pronoun
nettîn [PT:III,IV,V,VIII,XV], *ĕntîn*, *nittîn* [Z:XI] *nettî* [B21]
P: egli B21: 390 PT: III,IV,V,VIII,XV Z: XI

NṬ

ənṭí [v.cci] ‘to taste’
pf. = fut. ənṭí res. ènta impf. nàṭṭi
imp. sg. *ĕnṭî*; pf. 1sg. *ĕnṭîḫ* 3sg.m. *yenṭî*; res. 1sg. *ĕnṭîḫa* 3sg.m. *yenṭâya*; fut. 1sg. *anṭîḫ* 3sg.m. *ayenṭî*; impf. 1sg. *neṭṭîḫ* 3sg.m. *inéṭṭī*
P: assaggiare
♦ TC: 731, K: 560
Berber, cf. Ghd. *măṭṭăg* ‘to taste’; Zng. *anḍug* ‘to taste’; Ouar. *əmḍi* ‘to taste’; Mzab *əmḍi* ‘to

taste'
anəṭṭí [v.n.m.] 'tasting'
anaṭṭî
P: assaggiare
š-ənṭí [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. taste'
impf. š-ənṭày
imp. sg. *šenṭî*; impf. 1sg. *šenṭâĭḫ* 3sg.m. *išenṭâĭ*
P: assaggiare

NṬR

ənṭár [v.ccc] 'to let go, put down, abandon'
pf. / seq. = fut. ènṭər
imp. sg. *ĕnṭắr, inṭar* [Z:XII]; pf. 1sg. *ĕnṭắrḫ* [PT:IV]; fut. 1sg. *anṭárăḫ-(ku)* [PT:V]
P: lasciare PT: IV, V Z: XII
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ănḍər* 'to pull down; to drop'; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yanḍuṛ* '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'
anaṭâr
P: lasciare

NṬṬ

ènṭəṭ [v.ccc] 'to be joined, attached'
imp. sg. *énṭåṭ*
P: unire, attaccare
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ănḍəḍ* 'to adhere, stick; to be stuck'
š-ènṭəṭ [caus.v.] 'to join, attach'
pf. / seq. = res. š-ènṭəṭ
imp. sg. *šénṭåṭ* pf. 1sg. *šenṭáṭḫ* 3sg.m. *išénṭåṭ*; res. 1sg. *šenṭîṭḫa* 3sg.m. *išénṭîṭa*
P: unire, attaccare

NV1

iv [v.nc*] 'to fall'
pf. ivá seq. = res. ìva fut. ìv impf. nəvva imp. sg. *iv* pl.m. *ivât* pl.f. *ivîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ivîḫ* 3sg.m. *ivá* 3sg.f. *tívā* [PT:III,XV]; res. 1sg. *ivîḫa* 3sg.m. *ivâya, ivé*; fut. 1sg. *aiváḫ* 3sg.m. *ayív*; impf. 1sg. *nevvîḫ* 3sg.m. *inévvā*
P: cadere PT: III, XV
♦ TC: 539, K: 170
As Kossmann (1999: 170) points out, the Awjila word does not belong to the words listed in TC: 539 and K: 170 (To. *eh* 'to be inside', etc.), as this root has an initial *n* that is lost in a preconsonantal position.
tnəvvàt [v.n.f.] 'falling'
tnevvât
P: cadere
tnəvvàt n tafùt [phrase] 'evening (litt. The fall of the sun)'
tnevvât n tāfût
P: tramonto
š-iv [caus.v.] 'to cause to fall'
impf. š-ivày
imp. sg. *šiv*; impf. 1sg. *šivâĭḫ* 3sg.m. *išivâĭ*
P: cadere

NV2

tnuvìn [f.] pl. tnuvìn 'irrigation canal'
tnavît, tnūvît pl. *tnūvîn, tnūvîn-(nes)* [PT:XV]
P: canale d'irrigazione PT: XV

NVDR

anəvdùr, anəbdùr [m.] pl. nəvdìr 'small rope to tie hedges; rope harness for animals; rope tied to a *tăšåqqi*'
anevdûr, anebdûr pl. *nevdîr*
P: cordal; finimenti

NZR

****nzùrr [v.cc̄]** 'to suffer, to have difficulty'
fut. nzùrr
fut. ptc. *anzurrân*
PT: II

NŽ

iž [v.nc*] 'to be sold'
res. ìža fut. ìž impf. nəžža

imp. sg. *iž*; res. 3sg.m. *ižâya*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayíž*; impf. 3sg.m. *inéžža*
P: vendere
♦ TC: 776
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ănz* 'to sell'; Foq. *zénz* 'to sell'; Sok. *zẹnz* 'to sell'; Nef. *senz* 'to sell'; Kb. *zzənz* 'to sell'; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yänžih* 'to sell'

ž-iž [caus.v.] 'to sell'
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ž-ìž impf. ž-ìža
imp. sg. *žìž*; pf. 2sg. *džìžît* [PT:III] 3sg.m. *ižîž*; res. 3sg.m. *ižîža*; fut. 3sg.m. *aižîž, āìžìžî-(t)* [PT:IV]; impf. ptc. *žìžân* [PT:IV]
P: vendere PT: III, IV M: vendre *yédjidj* يـجيـج

NŽɣ

nžáɣ [v.ccc] 'to pull; to draw (water without an animal)'
pf. / seq. = res. ənžəɣ impf. nəžžəɣ
imp. sg. *nžåġ, nžắġ*; pf. 1sg. *nžeḥḥ*; res. 1sg. *nžíḥḥa*; impf. 1sg. *nežžáḥ* (*ġḥ* > *ḥḥ* > *ḥ*) 3sg.m. *inéžžaġ*
○ The assimilation in impf. 1sg. is surprisingly different from pf. 1sg.
P: attingere, tirare
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *énzåġ* 'to draw water without an animal'; Ghd. *ănzəɣ* 'to pull'; Nef. *énzaġ* 'to pull'; Sok. *önzâġ* 'to pull form somewhere'

QBṬ

əlqəbbùṭ [m.] 'coat'
elqåbbûṭ
PT: XI
♦ ELA *kabbûṭ* 'coat', ultimately from Turkish *kaput* 'coat' (p.c. Benkato)

QD

tàqt [m.] pl. taqqìd, taqqìdən 'finger'
táqt pl. *taqqîd, taqqîdẹn*
P: dito M: doigt *ghed* قـد; pouce *thaght* ظـا غـت
♦ NZ: Ḍ6 TC: 245
Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *aḍad* 'finger'; To. *ắḍaḍ* 'finger'; Zng. *aḍaġḍi(?)* 'finger'.
The correspondence with Berber words for 'finger' is highly problematic.
But cf. Nef. *tukkắd, tuqqắḍ* pl. *itukkắd* 'finger'.

QḌ

əlqàḍi [m.] 'qadi, judge'
elqắḍī, ĕlqâḍī, elqâḍī
PT: V
♦ Ar. *qāḍi(n)* 'judge, cadi'

QL1

aqə́l [v.cc*] 'to roast'
pf. əqlá res. àqla fut. àq(ə)l impf. qəllá
imp. sg. *aqắl* pl.m. *qlât* pl.f. *qlîmẹt*; pf. 1sg. *aqlîḥ* 3sg.m. *yaqlâ*; res. 1sg. *aqlîḥa* 3sg.m. *yaqlâya*; fut. 1sg. *aqláḥ* 3sg.m. *ayáqål*; impf. 1sg. *qallắḥ* 3sg.m. *iqallâ*
P: abbrustolire
♦ Ar. *qalā* 'to fry, bake, roast'

aqàllu [v.n.m.] 'roasting'
aqállū
P: abbrustolire

QLZ

qlə́z [v.ccc] 'to lie'
fut. àqləz impf. qàlləz
imp. sg. *qléz*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayéqlez* [PT:V]; impf. 2sg. *teqắllezt* [PT:V] 3sg.m. *iqắllez* [PT:V]
P: mentire PT: V
♦ K: 573
Berber, cf. Foq. *ők̊laz* 'to lie'; To. *àkləẓ* 'to tell a lie (completely fabricated)'; Siwa *tallåẓ* 'lie'; Sok. *öklez* 'to lie'

aqəlàz [v.n.m.] 'lying'
aqålâz
P: mentire

aqəllìz [m.] pl. əqlàzən 'lie'
aqållîz pl. *qlâzen, ăqlāzen, mqlāzīn* (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. qqìm impf. təqqìm
imp. sg. *qīm* pl.m. *qqăimât* [PT:XV]; pf. 1sg. *qqăimîḫ* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yaqqîm, yåqqîm* [PT:II,IV,V,XIII,XV], *yqåqîm* (sic) [PT:IV], *yäqqîm* [PT:IV] 3sg.f. *taqqîm, tåqqîm* 3pl.m. *ăqqīmân* [PT:IV,XV] 3pl.f. *qqăimânęt* [PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m. *yaqqîma*; fut. 2sg. *atqīmât* [PT:XIII] 2pl.m. *attĕqqîmām* [PT:I]; impf. 3sg.m. *itqqîma*
P: stare, restare, sedere PT: I, II, III, IV, V, XIII, XV M: habitant *yakimeh* يـكـيـمـة
♦ TC: 52
Berber, cf. Ghd. *qém* 'to stay'; Kb. *qqim* 'to stay; to be seated'; To. *ɣàym* 'to sit, be seated; to remain, be left'; Zng. *iʔmi*(*ʔ*) 'to be seated'
š-qim [caus.v.] 'to cause to remain, stay, sit'
imp. sg. *šqăīm*
P: stare, restare, sedere

QM2

qàma, qámak [adv.] 'now'
qâma, qâmak, qámak, qāma [Z:VI]
P: ora; adesso PT: IV, V, XV Z: VI

QMŽ

aqàməž [m.] 'the far end of a palm tree from where the inflorescence grows'
aqâmež
P: palma

QN

(ə)qqán [v.cc] 'to bind, tie, attach'
pf. əqqán res. àqqən impf. təqqán
imp. sg. *ăqqắn*; pf. 3sg.m. *yaqqắn, yeqqắn-*(*t*) [PT:VII]; res. 3sg.m. *yaqqîna*; impf. *itaqqắn* 'to bind, tie, attach'
P: legare, attaccare PT: VII
♦ TC: 64
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăqqən* 'to bind, attach'; Kb. *əqqən* 'to attach'; To. *àqqən* 'to tie up, to tie s.th. to s.th. else' Zng. *aʔn* 'to be attached'
aqqùn [v.n.m.] 'tying'
aqqûn
P: legare, attaccare

QNVL

təqənvìlt, təkənvìlt [f.] pl. təqənvìl, təkənvìl 'mucus'
teqenvílt, tekenvílt pl. *teqenvîl, tekenvîl*
P: muco

QR

(ə)qqùr [v.cvc] 'to dry out'
imp. sg. *ŏqqûr, qqūr*
P: seccarsi M: desséché *??mikourah* مـيـكـو ر ة; dessécher *ikourah* يـكـو ر ة; dur *yékorah* يـكـو ر ه; sec *yakkaora* يـكّـو ر ه; sécher *akkaora* ا كـا و ر ه
♦ TC: 95
Berber, cf. Ghd. *əqqar* 'to be dry'; Kb. *qqaṛ* 'to be dry'; To. *ìɣar* 'to be or become dry'; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yoʔwur* 'to be dry'
š-qar [caus.v.] 'to cause to dry out'
šqār
P: seccarsi

QRB1

qərìb [stat.v.] 'to be near'
3sg.m. *qarīb, qårîb* [PT:I]
P: vicino PT: I
♦ Ar. *qarīb* 'near'
****qàrəb [v.cvcc]** 'to draw near'
pf. / seq. qàrəb
pf. 3sg.m. *yeqâreb*
PT: XV
♦ Ar. *qāraba* 'to be near; to come near, come close, get close'

QRBZ

aqarbùz (or: aqərbùz) [m.] 'stem, stalk, petiole'
aqarbûz
P: gambo, picciuolo
♦ NZ: GRBZ2
The connection with Zng. *gaṛbūṣ* '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.

QRṬ1

tqárṭay (or: tqórṭay) [f.] pl. tqarṭiwìn ‘paper’
tqárṭai pl. *tqarṭiwîn*
P: carta M: date *tékartay* تـكـرتـا ى; lettre *tékhartey* تـخـا رتـى; papier *karthayah* كـا رطـا يـه
♦ K: 592
Berber, cf. Siwa *tiərta* ‘paper’

QRṬ2

tuqàrṭa, tuqərtá [f.] ‘theft’
tuqérṭā, tuqarṭâ
P: furto
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tukərḍa* ‘theft’; Kb. *tukkʷərḍa* ‘theft’; Foq. *tukérḍā* ‘theft’; Sok. *tukĕrṭâ* ‘theft’

QRZ

qàr(ə)z [stat.v.] ‘to be narrow, tight’
1sg. qar(ə)zàx 2sg. qar(ə)zàt 3sg.m. qàr(ə)z 3sg.f. qàr(ə)zət pl. qarizìt
1sg. *qarezâḥ* 2sg. *qarezât* 3sg.m. *qárez* 3sg.f. *qárezet* pl. *qarizît*
P: stretto M: étroit *qarez* قـا رز
♦ Berber, cf. To. *ìkraẓ* ‘to be tight’
š-əqrəz [caus.v.] ‘to make narrow’
imp. sg. *šåqräz*
P: stretto

QRZṬ

qərzàṭ [m.] pl. qərzàṭən ‘dried dates for livestock’
qårzâṭ pl. *qårzâṭen*
P: dattero

QSṬM

aqəsṭìm [m.] ‘antimony’
aqåsṭîm
P: antimonio
taqəsṭìmt [f.] ‘collyrium container’
taqåsṭîmt
P: portacollirio
qəsṭəm [v.cccc] ‘to apply collyrium’
impf. qəsṭàm
imp. sg. *qåsṭåm*; impf. 3sg.f. *tqåsṭåm*
P: mettere, porre
aqəsṭəm [v.n.m.] ‘applying collyrium’
aqåsṭåm
P: mettere, pore

QŠ

qqəšš [v.cc] ‘to close, to be closed (from the outside)’
pf. əqqáš res. əqqəš impf. təqqáš
imp. sg. *qqåšš*; pf. 3sg.f. *tåqqåš* [PT:III]; res. 3sg.m. *yåqqîša*; impf. 1sg. *taqqåšḥ*
[P:example] 3sg.m. *itaqqåš*
P: chiudere PT: III
▷ *elbâb yåqqîša* ‘the door is closed’
♦ Berber, cf. Sok. *ōqqĕs* ‘to close (from the outside)’; Siwa *əqqəs* ‘to close’
qqùš [v.n.m.] ‘closing’
qqûš
P: chiudere

QŠR1

taqəšìrt, taqəšrìt [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’
taqåšîrt, taqåšrît
P: passero
♦ While the initial consonant is different, the word looks similar to Figuig *tabcirt* ‘sparrow’.

QṬ/WṬ

wàṭən [def.adj.]pl. wəṭnìn f. tàṭən pl. təṭnìnət ‘the other, another’
wâṭen pl. *weṭnîn* f. *tâṭen, tāṭen* [P:example] pl. *teṭnînęt*
P: altro PT: XV
▷ *átmā weṭnîn* ‘my other brothers’
▷ *tfilliwîn teṭnînęt* ‘the other houses’
▷ *iwâtan ténni dîla u tāṭen ténni ždâbiet* ‘one is here, and the other is in Ajdabiya’
▷ *mag ínni wâṭen?* ‘where is the other

one’
♦ NZ: ḌN6 TC: 249 K: 218
Berber, cf. Foq. *wayǎḍ* ‘other, another’; Kb. *wayəḍ, tayəḍ* ‘other, another’; Nef. *wâiṭ, wâyeṭ* ‘other, another’; Zng. *yuḍan* ‘other, another’
aqùṭən [indef.adj.]pl. aquṭnìn f. aqùṭət pl. aquṭnìnət ‘other, another’
aqûṭen pl. *aquṭnîn* f. *aqûṭet* pl. *aquṭnînet*
▷ *iwînan aqûṭen* ‘another’
P: altro PT: IX

QṬŠ1

aqəṭṭìš [m.] ‘hole (little used)’
aqåṭṭîš
P: buco
taqəṭṭìšt [f.] pl. tqəṭṭìš, tqəṭṭíšin ‘little hole; eye of the needle’
taqåṭṭîšt pl. *tqåṭṭîš, tqåṭṭíšīn*
P: buco; cruna dell’ago

QṬŠ2

aqəṭṭùš [m.] pl. qəṭṭùšən ‘(male) cat’
aqåṭṭûš pl. *qåṭṭûšen*
P: gatto
♦ K: 590
Berber, cf. Nef. *qaṭṭûs* ‘cat’; Sok. *yaṭṭûs* ‘cat’; Siwa *yaṭṭos* ‘cat’. A loanword from Latin *cattus* ‘cat’.
təqəṭṭùšt [f.] pl. təqəṭṭuštìn ‘(female) cat’
tĕqåṭṭûšt pl. *tĕqåṭṭūštîn*
P: gatto
tqəṭṭaš [f.] ‘cats (coll.)’
pl.? *tqåṭṭaš*
P: gatto

QṬṬ

aqəṭṭàṭ [m.] pl. qəṭṭàṭən ‘nit’
aqåṭṭåṭ pl. *qåṭṭåṭen*
P: pidocchio
♦ To. *áwəḍ* ‘nits’; Zng. *ūḍ(ḍ)an* ‘nit(s)’; Kb. *iwəṭṭ* ‘nit’; Ghd. *aṭṭăḍ* ‘nit’; Siwa *iqəṭṭán* ‘nits’ (Naumann 2013: 322)

QṬʕ

qəṭṭáʕan [m.] ‘highwayman’
pl. *qåṭṭâʿān* [PT:VII, IX], *qeṭṭâʿān* [PT:IX]
PT: VII, IX
♦ From the Arabic verb *qaṭaʕa* ‘to cut’ in a metaphorical used to refer to ‘road-cutters’ — people who block the road to demand money (*quṭṭāʕ aṭ-ṭuruq*). (p.c. Souag)

QWY

qèwi [stat.v.] ‘to be strong’
3sg.m. *qǎwī*
PT: IV M: gras *gaouy* قَـوى
♦ Ar. *qawīy* ‘strong’

QYN

aqəyùn [m.] ‘(male) black slave (little used)’
aqåyûn
P: schiavo, servo
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *qāyû* ‘servant’; Sok. *qâyu* ‘moor, servant’
taqəyyùnt [f.] ‘(female) black slave (little used)’
taqåyyûnt
P: schiavo, servo

QŽṬ (K/GŽT)

aqažìṭ [m.] pl. qužìṭ ‘rooster’
aqāžîṭ pl. *qužîṭ*
P: gallo M: coq *akadjet* اكـا جـة
♦ TC: 1012 K: 622
Berber, cf. Foq. *yaẓîṭ, yaẓîd* ‘rooster’; Ghd. *aẓiḍ* ‘rooster’; Kb. *ayaziḍ* ‘rooster’; *tayaziṭ* ‘chicken’; Zng. *äwäžuḍ, äwäyžuḍ* ‘rooster’, *täwäžuD* ‘chicken’; Siwa *yaẓíṭ* ‘rooster’ (Naumann 2013: 374).
Basset (1959) provides a detailed discussion on the words for ‘chicken’ in Berber.
təkažìt, təgažìt [f.] pl. təkažitìn, təgažitìn ‘chicken’
tekāžît, tĕgāžît pl. *tekažītîn, tĕgažītîn*
P: gallo M: poule *tékadjet* تـكـا جـت

QZR

yèqzər, ìqzər [m.] pl. aqzàr ‘mouse’
yǎ̀qzer, ẹ́qzer pl. *aqzâr*
P: topo M: rat *éghzrt* ا غ ز ر ت
♦ See the discussion in Paradisi (1963b).

QẒL

taqəẓẓàlt [f.] pl. tqəẓẓalìn ‘kidney’
taqåẓẓâlt pl. *tqåẓẓālîn*
P: rene
♦ NZ: GẒL1 K: 326
Berber, cf. Kb. *tigəẓẓəlt* ‘kidney’; Ghd. *taǵăẓẓult* ‘kidney’; To. *tajə̀ẓẓəlt* ‘kidney’

R1

ir [prep.] ‘until’
īr, ir [PT:II,III,VIII]
P: fino a, finché PT: II, V, III, VIII
▷ *īr Gîlu* ‘up to Jalu’
▷ *īr mnišîu* ‘until sunset’
♦ TC: 560 K: 109, 217
Berber, cf. Kb. *ir* ‘until’; To. *hàr* ‘until’; Zng. *ār* ‘until’.

Tuareg and Zenaga point to an initial **β*, this is absent in Awjila.

R2

yar [v.vc*] ‘to open’
pf. urá res. ùra fut. ùr impf. tàra
imp. sg. *yār* pl.m. *yārât* pl.f. *yārîmet*; pf. 1sg, *urîḥ* 2sg. *tārît* [P:example] 3sg.m. *yurâ*; res. 1sg. *urîḥa* 3sg.m. *yurâya*; fut. 1sg. *aurâḥ* 3sg.m. *ayûr*; impf. 1sg. *tārîḥ* 3sg.m. *itârā*
P: aprire
▷ *tārît-ká* ‘do not open’
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *ar* ‘id.’; Ghd. *ár* ‘to open’; Nef. *ar* ‘to open’; Sok. *ār* ‘to open’; To. *àr* ‘to open’.
urú [v.n.m.] ‘opening’
urû
P: aprire
tw-àr [pass.v.] ‘to be open, opened; to open, untie [PT: V, VII]’
pf. / seq. = res. twàr
imp. sg. *ttuâr, tuâr*; pf. 1sg. *ttuarîḥ* 3sg.m. *ituār, yetuâr* [PT:V], *itûar* [PT:VII]; res. 1sg. *ttuarîḥa* 3sg.m. *ituâra* 3sg.f. *tetuâra* [P:example]
P: aprire PT: V, VII
▷ *elbâb ituâra* ‘the door is opened’
▷ *tavûrt tetuâra* ‘the door is opened’

R3

tùra [f.] ‘lung’
tûra
P: polmone
♦ TC: 784
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ṭóra* ‘lung’; Kb. *turəţ* ‘lung’; To. *tòrr* ‘lung’; Zng. *təriʔd* ‘lung’

R4

ur [particle]negative particle, usually found in combination with negative particle *–ká*
ur, wur, wul, ul
P: non PT: XIII

RB1

ṛ̀abbi [m.] ‘god’
rǎ̊bbī [PT:V], *ṛ́åbbī* [PT:VI], *rǎ̊bbī* [PT:V], *rǎ̊bbī* [PT:XII]
PT: V, VI, XII
♦ Ar. *rabb-iyy* ‘my lord’

RB2

ərbi [v.cci] ‘to earn; to prosper’
pf. ərbí res. ərba fut. ərbi impf. rəbbi
imp. sg. *érbi*; pf. 3sg.m. *yerbí*; res. 3sg.m. *yerbâya*; fut. 2sg. *atterbît*; impf. 3sg.m. *irébbi*
P: guadagnare
○ The fut.2sg. *atterbît* is used as a greeting and is a calque on Ar. *térbaḥ, marbûḥa* which is said as a goodbye to someone.
♦ Perhaps from Ar. *rabiḥa* ‘to gain, profit’
arəbbi [v.n.m.] ‘earning’
arébbi
P: guadagnare

RBS

rabùs [m.] ‘measure of capacity (cereals), corresponds to one sixth of a *ṣāʿ*’
rabûs
P: misure di capacità

RBʕ

àrb(ə)ʕa [num.] ‘four’
árbaʿa
PT: III
♦ Ar. *arbaʕa(t)* ‘four’

RD1

****irəd [v.icc]** ‘to be washed’
res. ìrəd
res. 3sg.m. *irîda* 3sg.f. *tirîda*
P: lavare
♦ TC: 791
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ărəd* ‘to be washed’; Kb. *irid* ‘to be washed’; To. *ìrad* ‘to bathe’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yärəḍ* ‘to be washed, to wash (intr.)’
š-ìrəd [caus.v.] ‘to wash’
pf. / seq. š-ìrəd, š-írad impf. š-írad
imp. sg. *šîred*; pf. 3sg.f. *tčîrād* [PT:XV] 3pl.f. *šīrédnẹt* [PT:XV]; impf. 3sg.m. *išîrād*
P: lavare PT: XV M: frotté *échéred* اشرد; frotter *châred* شارد
aš-ìrəd [caus.v.n.m.] ‘washing’
ašîred
P: lavare

RD2

ìrdən, yàrdən [m.] ‘wheat’
pl. *írden, yẹ́rden, yérdẹn* [P: example, appassire]
P: grano M: bled *yarden* يارذن
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *yẹ́rdẹn* ‘wheat’; Kb. *irəd* pl. *irdən* ‘wheat’; Nef. *yérden* ‘wheat’; To. *érəd* ‘whole-grained wheat semolina (for pasta)’; Sok. *írden* ‘wheat’; Siwa *irdən* ‘wheat’

RDM

ərdəm [v.ccc] ‘to bury’
imp. sg. *érdem*
P: interrare
♦ ELA *rədəm* ‘to bury’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar. *radama* ‘to fill up with earth’

RFQ

pl. ərrafəqà-(nnəs) [m.] ‘companions’
pl. *ărrafåqắ-(nnes), ĕrrafåqắ-(nnes)*
PT: II
♦ cf. ELA *rfīg* pl. *rfágā* ‘companion’; Ar. *rafīq* pl. *rufaqāʔ* ‘companion’

RFʕ

ərfəʕ [v.ccc] ‘to take away; to raise’
pf. ərfəʕ res. = fut. ərfəʕ
imp.sg. *arfáʿ-(i)* [PT:XV]; pf. 2sg. *tarfá't* [Z:XII] 3sg.m. *yerfáʿ* [PT:XIII], *yerfáʿ-(t, ăt)* [PT:VII,XV] 3pl.f. *erfáʿnẹt* [PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m. *yerfʿa* [PT:III], *yerfʿa* [PT:II], *yerfaʿ-(tî)-ya* [PT:XIII]; fut. 3sg.m. *ayerfáʿ-(t)* [PT:III]
PT: II, III, VII, XIII, XV Z: XII M: hausser *erfâa* ارفع
♦ ELA *yérfaʕ* ‘to raise’; Ar. *rafaʕa* ‘to lift, lift up’

RG1

tərəggìt [f.] ‘ember’
tĕreggît, tereggît [B25]
P: brace B25: 330 M: braise *teragghiat* ترقّية
♦ TC: 813 K: 324, 625
Berber, cf. Ghd. *tarəǧǧit* ‘ember, coal’; Kb. *tirgəʒt, tirəggəʒt* ‘cinder, ember’; Zng. *turuǧḍ* ‘ember’

RG2

arəg [m.] pl. rəggàwən ‘handle’
arég pl. *reggâwen*
P: manico
♦ TC: 806 K: 319
Perhaps related to Berber, cf. To. *árjəɣ* ‘wooden handle’; To. (BF) *argəḍ* ‘handle of an axe’; Zng. *taṛgaḍ* ‘handle’.

RGG

ərgìg [v.ccvc] ‘to shake’
impf. tərgìga
imp. sg. *ĕrgîg*; impf. 3sg.m. *itergîga*

P: tremare
♦ TC: 808 K: 323
Berber, cf. Siwa *rəǧrīǧ* ‘to shake’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yərgəgi(ʔ)* ‘to shiver, shake (of sickness, fear etc.)’
rgìg [v.n.m.] ‘shaking’
rgîg
P: tremare

RGZ

arəgàz [m.] pl. rəgàzən ‘person’
aregâz pl. *regâzen*
P: individuo; uomo
♦ TC: 810 K: 427
Berber, cf. Kb. *argaz* ‘man’; To. *ərjəš* ‘to walk’; Zng. *ärägäž* ‘man’
tərəgàzt ‘(female) person’
teregázt
P: individuo

RẎ

ùrəẏ [m.] ‘gold’
úråġ
P: oro M: or *oro* ا و ر و
▷ aġîz n úråġ ‘golden necklace’
♦ TC: 784
Berber, cf. Ghd. *oraẏ, orăẏ* ‘gold’; To. *órăẏ* ‘gold’; Zng. *uri(ʔ)* ‘gold’
uràẏ n tìsi [phrasal n.] ‘egg yolk (litt. gold of the egg)’
urå̂ġ n tîsī
P: tuorlo

RḤ

rìḥa [adv.] ‘little’
rîḥa
P: poco
♦ cf. Mor. Ar. *rīḥa* ‘smell’, but figuratively also ‘very little (barely able to smell, barely noticeable etc.); A similar use of this word is found in Nef. *errîḥat, arrîḥat* ‘little, a bit’.

RK

tərìkt [f.] ‘bread dough’
tẹrîkt
P: pasta del pane
♦ K: 578
Berber, cf. MA *arekti, arektu, arešti* ‘dough’; Siwa *arəkti* ‘dough’

RKF

tərəkàft [f.] pl. tərəkfìn ‘caravan’
terekéft pl. *terekfîn*
P: carovana B21: 386
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *tākéft, terĕkéft* ‘caravan’; Kb. *tirkəft* ‘caravan’; Nef. *terkéft* ‘caravan’; Sok. *tirkẹ́ft* ‘caravan’; To. *erắkắf* ‘herd of donkeys in an expedition; large caravan’

RN

ərní [v.cci/cc*] ‘to increase, add; to bid’
pf. ərní res. èrna fut. èrni impf. rènni/rènna
imp. sg. *ĕrní* pl.m. *ĕrniyât* pl.f. *ĕrnîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ernîḥ* 3sg.m. *yernî*; res. 1sg. *ernîḥa* 3sg.m. *yernâya*; fut. 1sg. *arnîḥ, arnâ-(s)* [PT:XII] 3sg.m. *ayérni*; impf. 1sg. *rennîḥ* 3sg.m. *irénni* 3pl.m. *rennân* [PT:IV], *rennîyen* [PT:IV]
P: accrescere, aggiungere PT: IV, XII
♦ TC: 815 K: 124, 157
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ărnəβ* ‘to add’; Kb. *ərnu* ‘to add’; Zng. *aṛīh* ‘to increase’.
Awjila lacks a reflex of PB **β*
arənnú, arənní [v.n.m.] ‘increasing, adding, auction’
arennú, arénnu [PT:IV], *arenní*
P: accrescere PT: IV

RNG

arìng, anìrg [m.] pl. ringìn, nirgìn ‘neighbour’
arîng, aringí-(nnes) [PT:V], *anîrg* pl. *ringîn, nirgîn*
P: vicino PT: V
♦ Berber, cf. To. (H.) *anărag* ‘neighbour’; To. (N.) *anhəraǧ* ‘neighbour’; Sok. *arnág* ‘neighbour’
təringìt [f.] pl. təringitìn ‘(female) neighbour’

teringît pl. *teringītîn*
P: vicino

RQṬ

arəqùṭ [m.] ‘rag, piece of sewn cloth’
arâqûṭ
P: straccio PT: V

RŠ1

ìrəš [v.icc.irreg.] ‘to descend’
res. ìriš (irreg.) impf. tiràš, tərràš
imp. sg. *íreš, ḗreš, ereš* [B21]; res. 3pl.m. *ẹrišîna* [PT:XV] impf. 3sg.m. *itirâš, itterrâš* 3pl.m. *terrâšen* [P:example]
P: scendere B21: 391 PT: VI, XV
▷ *imîn terrâšen* ‘the water flows down’
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *ərs* ‘to descend’; To. *ərəs* ‘to be brought down, be unloaded; go down (in well or container)’
urùš [v.n.m.] ‘descending’
urûš ‘descending’
P: scendere
š-ìrəš [caus.v.] ‘to place, put down’
impf. š-iràš
imp. sg. *šîreš*; impf. 1sg. *šīrâšḥ* 3sg.m. *išīrâš*
P: mettere, porre
aš-ìrəš [caus.v.n.m.] ‘placing, putting down’
ašîreš
P: mettere, pore

RŠN

ərròšən [m.] ‘window’
ĕrrôšen
PT: V
♦ ELA *rōšen* ‘window’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar. *rawšan* ‘skylight, scuttle; peep-window, peep-hole, spy-hole’

RŠK

ršək [v.ccc] ‘to comb’
imp. sg. *ršek*
P: pettinare
arəšàk [v.n.m.] ‘combing’
arăšâk
P: pettinare
tìst n arəšàk [phrasal n.] ‘comb’
tîst n arăšâk
P: pettine

RṬL

ərṭə́l [v.ccc] ‘to lend’
imp. sg. *ĕrṭə́l*
P: prestare M: prêté *??martal* مـرتـل
prêter *artal* ا رتل
♦ TC: 798
Berber, cf. Kb. *ərḍəl* ‘to lend’; Ghd. *ărḍəl* ‘to lend’; Zng. *arḍiy* ‘to lend’

RV

arə́v, ùrəv [v.vcc] ‘to write’
pf. urə́v res. = fut. ùrəv impf. tàrəv
imp. sg. *arév* (rarely: *úrev*) pf. 1sg. *uréfḥ, uréfg̈* [B21; B24] 2sg. *turéft* [B24] 3sg.m. *yurév, yurév* [B21; B24] 3sg.f. *turév* [B21; B24] 1pl. *nurév* [B24] 2pl.m. *turevîm* [B24] 2pl.f. *turévmet* [B24] 3pl.m. *úreven* [B24] 3pl.f. *urévnet* [B24]; res. 1sg. *urífḥa, urívḥa* 3sg.m. *yurîva*; fut. 1sg. *aurévḥ* 3sg.m. *ayúrev*; impf. 1sg. *tārévḥ, tāréfḥ* 3sg.m. *itârev* ptc. *târẹ̈ven*
P: scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189
♦ TC: 77 K: 156
Berber, cf. Ghd. *órəβ* ‘to write’; Kb. *aru* ‘to write’; Zng. *īrih, iʔrih* ‘to dictate’
arràv [v.n.m.] ‘writing’
arrâv [P; B24], *arrâf* [B21; B24]
P: scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189 M: écriture *arrab* عرّب
š-ùrəv [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. write’
imp. sg. *šúrev*
P: scrivere
****tw-àrəv [pass.v.]** ‘to be written’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. twàrəv
pf. 3sg.m. *ituárev*; res. 3sg.m. *ituarîva*; fut. 3sg.m. *aituárev*
P: scrivere

RW

ə̀ṛəw [v.irreg.] ‘to give birth’
pf. əṛə́w res. = fut. ìəṛəw impf. tàṛəw
imp. sg. *érōū* pl.m. *erőūmet*; pf. 1sg. *erőūḥ*; 3sg.f. *terőū* ; res. 1sg. *iríuḥa* 3sg.f. *tirîwa*; fut. 1sg. *aĕrőūḥ* 3sg.f. *attirōū*; impf. 1sg. *tárōūḥ* 3sg.f. *tárū*
P: partorire, generare M: naître *erro* ا رّ و ; né *nerro* نـرّ و
♦ TC: 804
Berber, cf. Ghd. *árəw* ‘to give birth; to produce’; Kb. *arəw* ‘to give birth’; To. *àrəw* ‘to give birth’; Zng. *ärug* ‘to give birth; to produce’
tàrwa [v.n.f.] ‘giving birth’
tárwa
P: partorire, generare
š-ìṛəw [caus.v.] ‘to cause to give birth’
imp. sg. *šírōū*
P: partorire, generare
irìw [m.] pl. irìwən ‘boy, child’
irîu, rijù [Z:IV] pl. *irîwen*
P: ragazzo, bambino; figlio PT:XIII B21: 386 Z:IV M: enfant *yéréhou* يـر هـو
○ M: nez and M: nièce were switched around accidentally in the wordlist.
♦ MA *araw* ‘children, offspring’
tirìwt [f.] pl. tiriwìn, tirìwi ‘girl, child’
tirîut pl. *tirīwîn, tirîwī* [PT:XV], *tirīwîn-*(*nes*) [PT:XV]
P: ragazzo; bambino PT: XV M: fille *thériout* طريـوت; nez (sic; nièce) *térouet* تـر و ة

RWT/Y ► ŠRWT/Y

RWḤ

ṛṛə̀wwəḥ [v.cc̄c] ‘to return (home)’
seq. ṛə̀wwəḥ impf. ṛə́wwaḥ
imp. sg. *rőūwaḥ* [PT:V]; pf. 3sg.m. *irőūwaḥ* [PT:II,VII,XV] 3pl.m. *rrōūwáḥan* [PT:VII,XV]; impf. 3sg.m. *irőūwāḥ* [PT:XV]
PT: II, V, VII, XV M: démarche *aroukh* ا ر و خ
♦ ELA *īrowwəḥ* ‘to return (home)’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar. *rāḥa* ‘to go in the evening; to go away, depart, leave, go’

RWK

ərwə́k [v.ccc] ‘to knead (pasta of barley etc.)’
impf. irəwwək
imp. sg. *erwók*; impf. 3sg.m. *iráwwok*
P: rimenare
♦ TC: 832 K: 544
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ărwək* ‘to mix’; Zng. *ärwih* ‘to be stirred, be mixed’; Nef. *érwi*; To. H. *ərwəy, ărwi* ‘to stir, mix’
arəwàk [v.n.m.] ‘kneading’
arawắk
P: rimenare
taráwəkt [f.] ‘Polenta (dish made from maize flour cooked in salted water to accompany various foods or with various dressings)’
tarâwåkt
P: pasta del pane

RWL1

ərwəl [v.ccc.irreg.] ‘to flee’
pf. / seq. ərwəl res. ərwil (irreg.) impf. rəwwəl
imp. sg. *érwel* pl.m. *rwelât* [PT:XV]; pf. 3pl.m. *ĕrwélęn* [PT:XV]; res. 3pl.m. *ĕrwilîna* [PT:XV]; impf. 1sg. *ruwwélḥ* 3sg.m. *irúwwel*
P: fuggire PT:XV M: échapper (s’); enfuir (s’) *yéréouel* يـر وّ ل; fuir *yérouwel* يـر وّ ل
♦ TC: 835
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ărwəl* ‘to run away, escape’; Kb. *ərwəl* ‘to flee, escape’; To. *àrwəl* ‘to take refuge under (s.th.); to take evasive action; to hide, be hidden’; Zng. *ärwiy* ‘to run away’
arəwàl [v.n.m.] ‘fleeing’
arăwâl
P: fuggire

RWʕ

ərwə́ʕ [v.ccc] ‘to fear’
pf. ərwáʕ seq. = res. ərwəʕ impf. rəwwəʕ
imp. sg. *erwaʿ, erwáʿ* [PT:XII]; pf. 1sg. *rwáḥ* 3sg.m. *yerwáʿ, yérwaʿ* [PT:X], *yerwaʿ* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *rwíḥḥa, rwḗḥḥa* [PT:X], *ĕrwḗḥa* [PT:V] (*ḥ<ḥḥ<ʿḥ*) 3sg.m. *yerwîʿa*; impf. 1sg. *rṓūwaḥ* 3sg.m. *irṓūwaʿ*
P: temere PT: IV, V, X, XII, XV M: craindre *yérouaha* يـرو ا هـا; crainte *??arouaha* ا رو هـا; peureux *yerouaha* يـرو ا هـا
♦ Ar. *rāʕa* ‘to fright, scare, alarm’

RY

****irəy** [v.icc.] ‘to be raw’
res. ìrəy
res. 3sg.m. *iréya* 3sg.f *tiréya* 3pl.m. *iriyîna* 3pl.f. *irīnîta*
P: crudo M: cru *yérayah* يـر ا يـه
▷ *túwŏg tiréya* ‘the food is raw’
♦ Berber, cf. To. *ìrah* ‘to be unripe; to be raw or undercooked’; Zng. *ärāh* ‘raw’; Sok. *râyyi* ‘raw’

RZ

ərṛ̀uz [m.] ‘rice’
(*s-*)*orróz*
Z: VI
♦ Ar. *ruzz, aruzz* ‘rice’

RẒ

ərẓ [v.cc*] ‘to break’
pf. / seq. = fut. ərẓa
imp. sg. *arẓ* pl.m. *ărẓât-*(*tet*) [PT:I]; pf. 3sg.m. *yerẓî-*(*tęt*) [PT:I]; fut. 3sg.m. *āīrẓî-*(*tęt*) [PT:I] *ayerẓî-*(*tęt*) [PT:I]
P: rompere PT: I M: brisé; cassé *erzay* ا رز ای; briser *erzayeh* ا رز ا يـه; briser (se); casser *yerzayeh* يـر ز ا يـه
♦ TC: 841
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ărẓ* ‘to break’; Kb. *əṛẓ* ‘to break’; To. *ə̀rẓ* ‘to break’; Zng. *aṛẓi*(*ʔ*) ‘to be broken’.

arə̀ẓẓu [v.n.m.] ‘breaking’
arézẓū
P: rompere
tarəẓẓə̀t [v.n.f.] ‘creak’
tareẓẓât, terazẓât
P: rompere; scricchiolio
š-ərẓ [v.caus.] ‘to cause to break’
imp. sg. *šarẓ*
P: rompere
****tt-ərẓ** [v.pass.] ‘to be broken’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. tt-ərẓ
pf. 3sg.m. *ittérẓ*; res. 3sg.m. *ittírẓa*; fut. 3sg.m. *aittérẓ*
P: rompere

RŽ

ərží [v.cci] ‘to milk’
imp. sg. *ĕržî*
P: mungere
arə̀žži [v.n.m.] ‘milking’
arézži
P: mungere
š-ərži [caus.v.] ‘to cause to milk’
imp. sg. *šéržī*
P: mungere

RŽL

taržə̀lt [f.] *taržâlt* pl. *taržālîn* ‘wing (of a bird)’
P: ala (di uccello)
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *taržalt* ‘feather of a bird’; Sok. *taržâlt* ‘feather of a bird’; Zng. *tärgäL* ‘feather’

S1

s, sɣar, sar [prep.] ‘from’
1sg. sɣàr-i 3sg.m. sɣàr-əs 3pl.m. sɣar-sìn
s, sĕ, s-ġār [PT:V,XII], *s-ġâr* [PT:III,XV], *s-ar* [PT:IV,V,XIII,XV], *s-ār* [PT:II], *s* [Z:VIII]; 1sg. *s-ġâr-ī* [PT:IV,V] 3sg.m. *s-ġar-es, s-ġâr-es* [PT:VII,XV]; 3pl.m. *s-ġar-sín*
P: da PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, XII, XIII, XV Z: VIII,X

▷ *sĕ tfĭlli n amédẹn* ‘from the house of the man’
○ Nouns governed by *s* can be followed by *-i*:
▷ *yeskî s-tfillî-y-ī* ‘he came out of the house’
▷ *ḫḥắr s-tebārût-ī* ‘he took off from the road’
○ *s-ar* can be used interchangeably with *n* to indicate the material of which something is made.
▷ *wâya s-ar zzîl* ‘this is made of iron’
▷ *aǧîz n úråǧ* ‘golden necklace’
♦ Siwa *sg* (< *s-g*) ‘from’

skəmma, səmma [conj.] ‘because’
s-kémma, sémma [PT:XIV]
P: perché PT: XI, XIV

s-ələwwàl [conj.] ‘already’
s-ălōūwâl
PT: XI
♦ Ar. (*a*)*l-ʔawwal* ‘earlier, previous, former’

S2

s [prep.] ‘with (instrumental)’
3sg. si-s 3pl.m. s-in 3pl.f. s-ìnət, sənət
s, sĕ, s-(*orróz*) [Z:VI]; 3sg. *sī-s* [P:example] 3pl.m. *s-īn* 3pl.f. *s-înet, s-énet* [PT:V]
P: con PT: III, VII, IX Z: VI
▷ *ʿaddîḫa sī-s* ‘I went with it’
♦ Pan-Berber, cf. Zng. *əš* ‘with’; Kb. *s* ‘with’ etc.

z-di, z-dìwa [phrase] “how much does it cost?”
z-dī, z-dîwa
P: quanto PT: III
○ An expression composed of *s* ‘with’ + *di, dìwa* ‘what, what thing?’. ► **DW**

S3

əss [v.c̄*] ‘to spread (a mat), to stretch (to make the bed)’
impf. təssá
imp. sg. *ess* pl.m. *ssât* pl.f. *ssîmet*; impf. 1sg. *tessîḫ* 3sg.m. *itessâ*
P: distendere
♦ Berber, cf. Nef. *éssa* ‘to spread, to stretch (a net, etc.)’

(ə)ssú [v.n.m.] ‘spreading (a mat)’
ĕssû
P: distendere

S4

tìsi [f.] ‘liver’
tísī
P: fegato
♦ TC: 87
Berber, cf. Kb. *tasa* ‘liver’; To. *tə̀sa* ‘belly’, *áwsa* ‘liver’; Zng. *taʔšäh* ‘liver’; Siwa *tsa* ‘liver’

S5

tisí [f.] pl. tisiwìn ‘egg, genitalia’
tīsî, tisî [B21] pl. *tisīwîn*
P: uovo B21: 385 M: pondre *tésiouy*
تصيوى
♦ TC: 1018
Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *täwžih, toʔwžih* ‘egg’

S6

tìst n agəwàl [phrasal n.] ‘mirror’
tîst n agĕwâl
P: specchio
♦ Berber, cf. Nef. *tisît* ‘mirror’; To. *tə̀sett* ‘mirror; eyeglasses’; Sok. *tisît n udẹ́m* ‘mirror’

tìst n arəšàk [phrasal n.] ► **RŠK**

S7

=ìs [pron.]3sg. indirect object pronoun
-īs, -îs [PT: passim], *â-s* (< *x-ìs*) [PT:II,V,XII], *-îz*(*-d*) [PT:VI,VII] *â-z-d* (< *x-ìs-d*) [PT:II], res. *-îsa* [PT:II]
P: egli PT: passim

SBḤ

a-isəbbəḥ [v.cc̄c] ‘to bathe’
fut. 3sg.m. *āīsébbaḥ*
PT: IX
♦ ELA *sábbaḥ* ‘to bathe’

SBʕ

ssəb(ə)ʕa [num.] ‘seven’

(*s-*)*séba'a* [PT:III], *séba'a* [PT:IX,XV]
PT: III, IX, XV
♦ Ar. *sabʕa*(*t*) 'seven'

SD

****ssùdd** [v.cc̄] 'to be enough'
res. ssùdd
res. 3sg.m. *issúdda, issuddi-*(*dîk*)*-a* [P: example]
P: bastare PT: XII M: assez *aéssoud* عصّود
▷ *issuddi-dîk-a* 'it is enough for me'
♦ ELA *isédd* 'to be satisfied'; Ar. *sadda* 'to fill a gap, to remove or remedy deficiencies'

SF/SW

tasìft, tasìwt [f.] pl. təssìw '(terraced) roof'
tasîft, tasîut pl. *tessîu*
P: tetto M: toit *thasiout* طاسيوت

SG

tsígit, tsìgi [f.] pl. tsigitìn 'rib'
tsîgīt, tsîgī pl. *tsīgītîn*
P: costola
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tasíget* 'medium-length bone'; Kb. *tasga* 'side'; To. *tàsăja* 'flank, side of the body (at ribs)'

Sɣ

àsəɣ [v.cc] 'to buy'
pf. = fut. séɣ res. səɣ impf. tàssaɣ
imp. sg. *ásaġ* pl.m. *saġât* pl.f. *sáġmet*; pf. 1sg. *saḫḫ* 3sg.m. *isáġ*; res. 1sg. *ssíḫḫa* (*ġḥ*>*ḫḥ*) 3sg.m. *isíġa*; fut. 1sg. *asáḫḫ* 3sg.m. *aisáġ*; impf. 1sg. *tessâḫḫ* 3sg.m. *aitessâġ*
P:comperare PT: II, VII, XII M: acheter *yéségha* يسغه
♦ TC: 89
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăsəɛ* 'to buy'; Kb. *aɣ* 'to buy'; Zng. *äʔši*(*ʔ*) 'to buy, pay'
asùɣ [v.n.m.] 'purchase, buying'
asûġ
P: comperare, compera

SK1

(ə)ssək [v.cc] 'to fart'
imp. sg. *ĕssék*
P: peto
(ə)ssùk [v.n.m.] 'farting'
ĕssûk
P: peto

SK2

asək, usək [v.vcc] 'to take away'
imp. sg. *asék, usék*
P: portare M: soulever *asekt* اسكت ; voler, dérober *yousek* يوسك
♦ K: 546
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ósək* 'to take (imperative only)'; MA *asy* 'to take'

SK3

təskànni [f.] 'thyme'
teskénni
P: timo

SK ▶ SQ

SKN

****əskán** [v.ccc] 'to live'
res. àskən
res. 3sg.m. *yẹskîna*
PT: VI
♦ ELA *yésken* 'to live'; Ar. *sakana* 'to live, to reside'

SKR2 ▶ ŠKR

SL1

əsál, àsəl [v.cc*] 'to hear'
pf. əslá res. àsla fut. às(ə)l impf. sàlla
imp. sg. *esél, ásel* pl.m. *slât* pl.f. *slîmet*; pf. 1sg. *eslîḫ* 3sg.m. *yeslâ, yeslî-*(*t*) [PT:V] 3pl.m. *slân* [PT:XV], *slân-*(*t*) [PT:II]; res. 1sg. *slîḫa* 3sg.m. *yeslâya*; fut. 1sg. *asláḫ* 3sg.m. *ayésel*; impf. 1sg. *sellîḫ* 3sg.m. *iséllā*
P: sentire PT: II, IV, V, XV M: sourd *eslalodah* اسلالودە
○ The analysis of Müller's *eslalodah* اسلالودە is difficult, but it clearly consists of the root SL 'to hear' + *lûda* 'nothing'.

♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăsl* ‘to listen’; Kb. *səl* ‘to listen’; To. *əsál* ‘to listen, hear’

asəllú [v.n.m.] ‘hearing’
asellû
P: sentire

SL2

t(ə)sìli [f.] pl. tsiliwìn ‘sandal’
tĕsîlī pl. *tsilīwîn*
P: sandalo
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *tasîlī, tasîlḛ̄* ‘sandal’ Ghd. *tasile* ‘sandals for traveling’; Sok. *tsîla* ‘sandal’

SL3

sìla, sílak [adv.] ‘along here’
sîla, sîlak
P: qui PT: IV

SLM

****ssàlləm [v.cc̄c]** ‘to greet’
pf. / seq. ssàlləm impf. səllàm
pf. 3sg.m. *isséllem*; impf. 3pl.m. *sellâmẹn*
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

ìsəm [m.] pl. smìwən ‘ear; handle of a basket’
ísem pl. *smîwen*
P: orecchio M: oreille *esem* اسم
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ésəm* ‘ear’
Bynon (1984: 255) discusses a Proto-Afro-Asitiac origin of this word. He states that the Ghadames word *ésəm* ‘ear’ has nog cognates in Berber, but Awjila shows a clear parallel.

SM2

asàm [m.] ‘a stick for threshing barley in a special mortar’
asâm
P: bastone; pestello

SMḤ

?sàm(ə)ḥ [stat.v.] ‘to be sweet, pretty, handsome’
3sg.m. *simeḥ*
Z: III
♦ ELA *semḥ* ‘sweet, pretty, handsome’

SN1

(ə)ssə́n [v.c̄c] ‘to send, send out’
res. = fut. àssən impf. təssə́n
imp. sg. *ssen, ĕssén*; res. *issen-(dîk)-a* [P:example: io]; fut. 3sg.m. *ayéssen* [PT:X]; impf. 1sg. *tessénḛ̄* 3sg.m. *itessén*
P: inviare, mandare PT: X M: envoyé *??maïsen* مـعـيـسـن; envoyer *aïsen* عـيـسـن
▷ *issen-dîk-a* ‘he sent me’ [P: sub io (example)]
▷ *Yušâd Žḥâ márra iġéllī ayéssen akellīménnes amakân ba‘îd* ‘One day Juha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.’ [PT:X]
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. Foq. *ázen* ‘to send’; Ghd. *ázən* ‘to send, delegate’; Siwa *uzən* ‘to send’. *z* does not usually correspond to *ss* in Awjila, so the correspondence is uncertain.

ssun [v.n.m.] ‘sending’
ssūn
P: inviare, mandare

SN2

tsunùt [f.] pl. tsənuttìn, tsənutìn ‘thick needle’
tsunût, tsenût pl. *tsenūttîn, tsenūtîn*
P: ago B21: 384 M: aiguiser *sounnit* سـنّـيـت
♦ TC: 393 NZ: GNF
Berber, cf. Zng. *tuṣṣugnaD, tuṣṣugnaḍ* ‘needle’; Foq. *tsegnît* ‘needle’; Kb. *tissəgnit* ‘needle’; Siwa *tizignət* ‘needle’; Nef. *tissegnît*

'needle'; Sok. *tasnût* 'awl'.
Kossmann (1996) reconstructs **tisəgnVβt* for 'needle'. The correspondence with the Awjila word is problematic, as we would expect a reflex of the **g*. Nothing is 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'
asîn pl. *sînen*
P: dente M: dent *sennou* سنّو
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *asén* 'tooth'; To. *ésen* 'tooth'

SN5

tisànt [f.] 'salt'
tisént
P: sale M: salé *tessan* تسّان
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tésənt* 'salt'; Nef. *tisént* 'salt'; Siwa *tisənt* 'salt'; Sok. *tisént* 'salt'; To. *tèsəmt* 'salt'

SN6

=**isìn [pron.]**3pl.m. indirect object pronoun
-isîn, -īsîn [PT:I,II,XV], *-îsīn* [PT:I,XV], res. *-isîna*
P: essi PT: I,II,XV
=**ìsnət [pron.]**3pl.f. indirect object pronoun
-ísnet, -ísnẹt [PT:XV], res. *-isnîta*
P: essi PT: XV

SNDS

səndàs [m.] pl. səndàsən 'lavatory'
sendâs pl. *sendâsen*
P: latrina

SNSR1

sànsər [v.cccc] 'to close with a chain'
impf. sənsàr
imp. sg. *sénser*; impf. 1sg. *sensârḫ* 3sg.m. *isensâr*
P: chiudere

SNSR2

sànsər + **təqənvìl [phrasal v.]** 'to blow one's nose'
impf. sənsàr təqənvìl
imp. sg. *sénser tĕqenvîl*; impf. 3sg.m. *isensâr tĕqenvîl*
P: soffiarsi il naso M: éternuer *esenser* اسنسر; moucher (se) *esansar* اسانسار; rhume *ésenser* اسنسر
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *sənsər* 'to sniff'
ásənsər təqənvìl [phrasal v.n.m.] 'blowing one's nose'
ásenser tĕqenvîl
P: soffiarsi il naso

SNṬ

sànnəṭ [v.cc̄c] 'to hear, listen'
pf. / seq. sənnàṭ
imp. sg. *sắnnaṭ*; impf. 3sg.f. *tsennắṭ* [PT:XV] 3pl.f. *sennắṭnet* [PT:XV]
P: sentire PT: XV
○ The words *tsennắṭ, sennắṭnet* are morphologically imperfectives, but they function as perfectives in text XV.
♦ ELA *ṣənnəṭ* 'to listen' (also cf. Algiers Jewish Arabic *ṣṓnnṓṭ* 'écouter'), probably metathesis of Classical Ar. *naṣṣata*. (p.c. Benkato)

SQ1

ssùq [m.] 'market'
ssûq, ssûk [PT:XII]
PT: IV, VII, XI, XII
♦ Ar. *sūq* 'market'

SRF

(ə)srə́f [v.ccc] 'to weave cords or strands of palms'
impf. sərrəf
imp. sg. *sréf*; impf. 3sg.m. *isérraf*
P: intrecciare

♦ Kb. *əsrəf* ‘to tie in a knot’
asəràf [v.n.m.] ‘weaving cords or strands of palms’
aserâf
P: intrecciare
asìrf [m.] pl. sərfàwən ‘braid of palm leaves to make baskets’
asîrf pl. *serfâwen*
P: treccia di capelli

SRFG ▶ SRFQ

SRFQ

sərfə́q, sərfə́g [v.cccc] ‘to slap, smack’
imp. sg. *serfə́q, serfə́g*
P: schiaffeggiare

SRM

tsərrìmt [f.] pl. tsərmìn ‘the middle of a palm leaf from which the leaves sprout’
tserrímt pl. *tsermîn*
P: palma M: écaille *téserimt* تسريمت; écorce *taserimt* طسريمت; feuille *tesserim* تسّريم; pelure *taserimt* تسريمت

SRR

assərìr (or: əssərìr) [m.] ‘desert’
ässerîr
P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)
♦ ELA *sĕrîr* ‘stony, sandy desert’

SS

sas [v.cvc*] ‘to beg’
impf. sàsa
imp. sg. *sās*; impf. 3sg.m. *isâsa* [PT:VI] ptc. *sâsān* [PT:VI]
P: mendicare PT: VI
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *sās* ‘to beg’; Nef. *sâsa* ‘to beg’
asàs [v.n.m.] ‘begging’
asâs
P: mendicare
wa sásan [phrasal noun] ‘beggar’
wa sâsān
PT: VI

STM ▶ WRTN

SWLḢŽ

Sawilḥaž [P.N.]Place name
Sawilḥāǧ
Z: X

SWN

ssəwàni [f.] ‘garden’
ssuwânī [P:example: che, il quale], *såwānî-(nnäk)* [PT:XV], *suwānî-(nnāḥ)* [PT:XV]
PT: XV
♦ Mor. Ar. *swäni* ‘irrigated garden’; Ar. *sāniya(t)* pl. *sawānin* ‘water scoop’.
This word is derived from the Arabic plural, but it functions as a feminine singular in Awjila.

SYF

(ə)syə́f [v.ccc] ‘to bathe’
pf. əsyə́f res. ə̀syəf impf. sə̀yyəf
imp. sg. *siéf*; pf. 1sg. *síefḥ* 3sg.m. *isyéf*; res. 1sg. *siyífḥa* 3sg.m. *isiyîfa*; impf. 1sg. *síyyefḥ* 3sg.m. *isíyyef*
P: bagno M: baigner (se) *yésiéfa* يسيفه; rafraîchir *essiaf* اسياف
♦ Berber, cf. To. *ə̀ššəf* ‘to swim’; Siwa *sîyəf* ‘to swim’
asəyàf [v.n.m.] ‘bathing’
asiyâf
P: bagno

SŽR ▶ ŠŽR

SʕD1

?a-i-ssaʕəd-(kìm) [v.cvcc?] ‘to help’
fut. 3sg.m. *āīssaʿad-(kîm)*
PT: I
♦ Ar. *sāʕada* ‘to help’

SʕD2

ssəʕìda [m.] ‘penis’
ssaʿîda
P: penis

♦ Probably a euphemistic use of Ar. *saʕīda*(*t*) ‘the happy one (f.)’

ṢBḤ

ṣbàḥ [m.] ‘tomorrow’
ṣbáḥ, ṣăbáḥ [PT:XV], *ṣbaḥ-*(*énnes*) [PT:XV], *ṣbaḥ* [PT:XV]
P: domani PT: XV
♦ Ar. *ṣabāḥ* ‘morning’

ṢBR

****ṣbár [v.ccc]** ‘to wait’
imp. pl.m. *ṣbårât*
PT: II M: attendre *sbordik* صبـر د يـك
♦ Ar. *ṣabara* ‘to bind, to be patient’

ṢBṬ

ṣàbəṭ [m.] ‘yesterday’
ṣåbåṭ, ṣábåṭ, ṣåbåṭ [P:example: che, il quale]
P: ieri
♦ Paradisi claims an Arabic origin, but no equivalent in an Arabic dialect has been found.

ṢDQ

****ṣàddəq [v.cc̄c]** ‘to believe’
res. 2sg. *tṣåddåqt-*(*î*)*-ya*
PT: VIII M: certainement *ezdaqa* اصدقـة
♦ Ar. *ṣaddaqa* ‘to believe’

ṢḤB

əṣṣaḥb-(ànnəs) [m.] ‘friend’
eṣṣāḥb-(*énnes*) [PT:IX], *ĕṣṣā̆ḥb-*(*énnes*) [PT:XII] ‘friend’
PT: IX, XII
♦ Ar. *ṣāḥib* ‘friend’

ṢḤḤ

ṣəḥìḥ [stat.v.] ‘to be healthy, truthful’
ṣaḥîḥ
PT: IV, V
♦ Ar. *ṣaḥīḥ* ‘healthy, well, sound, healthful, truthful’

ṢL

****uṣál [v.vcc]** ‘to arrive’
pf. / seq. usàl
pf. 3pl.m. *uṣǻlęn* [PT:V], *uṣǻlęn* [PT:XV], *uṣå̂len* [PT:XV]
PT: V, XV
♦ ELA *yûṣǻl* ‘to arrive, to reach’; Ar. *waṣala* ‘to arrive’

ṢLʕ

aləṣláʕ, alàṣləʕ [adj.] ‘bald’
m. sg. *aleṣláʿ, alé́ṣlaʿ*
PT:XIV
♦ Ar. *aṣlaʕ* ‘bald’

ṢNDQ

ṣṣundùq [m.] ‘crate, box’
ṣṣundûq
PT: V
♦ Ar. *ṣundūq* ‘crate, box; chest’

ṢQṬ

tṣuquṭ [f.] pl. tṣuquṭìn ‘braid of hair’
tṣůqůṭ pl. *tṣůqūṭîn*
P: treccia di capelli

ṢR

****ṣàr [v.cvc]** ‘to happen’
res. ṣàra
res. ptc. *ṣārâna*
PT: II, V
♦ ELA *ṣāra* ‘to occur, happen’; Ar. *ṣāra* ‘to become; to occur, happen’

ṢRṬ

?ṣərrə́ṭ [v.cc̄c] ‘to draw a line’
imp. sg. *ṣarrǻṭ*
P: linea, riga
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăsrəḍ* ‘to draw a line’; To. *tasə̀rreṭṭ* ‘line, stripe’
aṣərrìṭ [m.] pl. ṣərrìṭən ‘line, stripe’
aṣårrîṭ pl. *ṣårrîṭen*
P: linea, riga

ṢSM

ṣùsəm [v.cvcc] ‘to be quiet’
ṣûsem, ṣûṣem
P: tacere
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *sûsem* ‘to be quiet’; Nef.

sûsem ‘to be quiet’; To. *sùsəm* ‘to be quiet, shut up’; Sok. *sûsem* ‘to be quiet’; Siwa *sîsəm* ‘to be quiet’

Š1 ▶ NŠ3

Š2/ŠF

tìšt [f.] ‘sieve’
tîšt
P: setaccio
š-ìšəf [caus.v.] ‘to sieve’
impf. š-išàf
imp. sg. *šîšef*; impf. 1sg. *šišâfḥ*
P: setacciare
♦ Siwa *sîfəf* ‘to sieve’
aš-ìšəf [caus.v.n.m.] ‘sieving’
ašîšef
P: setacciare
****t-š-ìšəf [pass.caus.v.]** ‘to be sieved’
impf. res. t-š-išəf res. 3sg.m. *itšišîfa*
P: setacciare

Š(-D), Y-D

yi-d [v.vc*.irreg.] ‘to come’
pf. ušá-d seq. = res. ùša-d fut. ùš impf. tašà-d-a
imp. sg. *yīd* pl.m. *yīdât* pl.f. *yīdîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ušíġd, ušiġd* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yušâd, yúšad* [PT:XV], *yuš-(îz)-d* [P: example; PT:VI] 3pl.m. *ušând* [PT:II,IX,XV], *ušān-(îz)-d* [PT:VII]; res. 1sg. *ušíġda* 2sg. *tušídda* [PT:XV], *tūšidda* [Z:VIII] 3sg.m. *yušâda* ptc. *ušânda* [P:example: chi?]; fut. 1sg. *aušáġd, āūšáġd* [PT:XV], *āūšâ-(z)-d* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ayûš* 3sg.f. *attûš* [Z:VI]; impf. 1sg. *tašíġda* 2sg. *tašídda* [P:example] 3sg.m. *itašâda*
P: venire PT: II, III, VI, VII, IX, X, XI, XV Z: VI, VIII M: arrivée *youchada* يـوشـاده; arriver *chada* شـاده; voyageur *youchad* يـوشـاد
▷ *tašídda-ká* ‘do not come!’
▷ *yīd dîla* ‘come here!’
▷ *yuš-îz-d* ‘he came to him’
♦ TC: 878
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ás* ‘to come’; To. *às* ‘to come’; Zng. *äššì(?)* ‘to come, arrive’
ušú [v.n.m.] ‘coming’
ušû
P: venire PT: XV

ŠD1

ašùd [m.] pl. šudìn ‘(wooden) pole’
ašûd pl. *šūdîn*
P: asta (di legno); bastone
♦ NZ: CD
Berber, cf. To. *ăsádəd* ‘prop, support; stick’; Zng. *äššäḍ* pl. *šugḍän* ‘stick’, Zenaga points to an assimilation, and may not belong to this root.

ŠD2 ▶ ŠɣD

ŠDL ▶ DL

ŠF

ìšf [m.] pl. išfàwən, išfíwan ‘day’
išf, īšf [PT:I], *íšf* [PT:XII,XIV] pl. *išfâwen, išfíwan* [PT:III]
P: giorno PT: I, III, XII, XIV M: jour *fich* فـيـش
♦ TC: 928
Ghd. *ăsf* ‘day’; Kb. *ass* ‘day’; Zng. *aṢ* ‘day’
àšfa [adv.] ‘today’
ášfa, ášfa [B24]
P: oggi B24: 188
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *ásfa* ‘today’
šìšf [adv.] ‘by day’
šíšf
P: giorno

ŠFṬ

(ə)šfəṭ [v.ccc] ‘to clean’
imp. sg. *šfåṭ*
P: pulire
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăsfəḍ* ‘to clean by rubbing’; To. (H.) *əsfăḍ* ‘to dry up’; MA *sfəḍ* ‘to wipe, clean’; Kb. *sfəḍ* ‘to wipe, clean’
ašəfàṭ [v.n.m.] ‘cleaning’

ašefâṭ
P: pulire

ŠG

šugg [v.cc̄] ‘to wait for’
pf. = seq. = fut. šùgg res. šùgga
imp. sg. *šugg* pl.m. *šuggât* pl.f. *šuggîmet*; pf. 1sg. *šuggîḥ* 3sg.m. *išúgg*; res. 1sg. *šuggîḥa* 3sg.m. *išuggâya*; fut. 1sg. *ašuggâḥ* 3sg.m. *aišúgg*
P: aspettare B21: 391
▷ *šugg-îs* ‘wait for him’
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *súggöm* ‘to wait for’; Nef. *súggem* ‘to wait for’.

Awjila lacks the final radical *m* found in el-Foqaha and Nefusi. There is no obvious explanation for the absence of this radical.

ŠɣL

****əšɣəl [v.ccc]** ‘to work, toil’
pf. / seq. əšɣəl
pf. 3sg.f. *twšġi* (sic)
Z: IX
♦ Ar. *šaġala* ‘to occupy, busy’

ŠɣR

ìšɣər [m.] pl. šɣìrən ‘firewood’
íšġär pl. *šġîrẹn, šġîren* [PT:XV; B21]
P: legna PT: XV B21: 391 M: bois *sghaghin* صغا غين
♦ NZ: CɣR3
Berber, cf. Foq. *iṣġârẹn, yeṣġârẹn* ‘wood’; Ghd. *asɣér* ‘wood’; Kb. *asɣaṛ*‘wood’; Nef. *isġâren* ‘wood’; To. *esắyer* ‘firewood’; Zng. *äššaʔr* ‘tree’; Siwa *ṣɣaṛán* ‘firewood’ (Naumann 2013: 375).

Presumably related to the words for ‘ax’ (see NZ: CQR1).

ŠK1

škí [v.cci] ‘to leave; to come out; to take out (PT: IV)’
pf. əšk, əškí res. àška impf. šəkki
imp. sg. *škî*; pf. [P:example: che, il quale] 3sg.m. *yéšk, yeškî* [PT:IV,V,VI,XII,XIII], *yẹškî* [PT:IV], *iškī* [PT:XV; Z:X], *iškî* [Z:XIII] 3sg.f. *teškî* [PT:III], *tĕškî* [PT:XV] 3pl.m *škîyẹn* [PT:II]; res. 1sg. *škîḥa* 3sg.m *yéškâya*; impf. *išékkī*
P: uscire PT: II, IV, V, VI, XII, XIII, XV Z: X, XIII M: éteindre *chekka* شكّة; éteint *echka* اشكة
♦ NZ: CK6
Cf. Ntifa *ašk*(*-d*) ‘to come’
škùy [v.n.m.] ‘leaving’
škûi
P: uscire
š-əški [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. leave’
imp. sg. *šéškī*
P: uscire

ŠK2

išk, abəškìw [m.] pl. škìwən, bəškìwən ‘horn’
išk, abeškîu pl. *škîwen, beškîwen*
P: corno
♦ NZ: CK11, CKW1 TC: 856 K: 514
Ghd. *aškaw* ‘horn’; Nef. *aššâu* ‘horn’; Kb. *išš* ‘horn’; Siwa *ačč̄āō* ‘horn’; Sok. *iš* ‘horn’; To. *ísəkk* ‘horn’; Zng. *təskäh* ‘horn’

ŠKR1

škàrət [f.] ‘sack’
škâret, skâret
PT:XII
♦ ELA *škāra* ‘sack’ (p.c. Benkato)

ŠKR2

tšukkùrt [f.] pl. tšukkurìn ‘a strand of hairs on the middle of the head of children’
tšukkûrt, tčukkûrt pl. *tčukkūrîn*
P: capelli, peli
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. Ghd. *tažəkkurt* ‘strand of hair on the middle of the head of children’
♦ NZ:CKR11

ŠKR3

tšəkrìt [f.] pl. tšəkriyìn ‘story, tale’
ččekrît, tšekrît pl. *ččekrīyîn*
P: favola
♦ NZ:CKR12

ŠKR4

ìškər [m.] pl. škìrən ‘nail’
íšker pl. *škîren*
P: unghia
♦ TC: 860
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ašk*ar ‘nail’; Siwa *ačč*ér ‘nail’(Naumann 2013: 415); Sok. *iššḛ́r* ‘nail’; To. *éskăr* ‘fingernail’; Zng. *əskär* ‘nail’; Nef. *aššâr* ‘nail’

ŠKŠK

šəkšək [v.cccc] ‘to winnow barley’
impf. šəkšàk
imp. sg. *šékšek*; impf. 3sg.m. *išekšâk*
P: spulare l’orzo
♦ Berber, cf. To. *sə̀ksăk* ‘sift couscous to separate lumps from remaining bits of flour’
ašəkšək [v.n.m.] ‘winnowing barley’
ašékšek
P: spulare l’orzo

ŠKTF

škùtəf [v.ccvcc] ‘to spit’
imp. sg. *škûtef, štûkef*
P: sputare
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *skut* ‘to spit’; Nef. *eskúfs* ‘to spit’; Sok. *skúttḛ̄f* ‘to spit’; Siwa *sukəf* ‘to spit’

ŠL1

ašàl [m.] pl. šalàwən ‘village’
ašal, ašâl [PT:II,III] *ašâl-(ī)* [PT:VIII,XV] pl. *šālâwen*
P: paese, villaggio; Awjila PT: II, III, VIII M: village *echal* اشـال
▷ *ašal n awîlen* ‘Awjila (litt. the village of Awjilans)’
♦ TC: 40 K: 489
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ókăl* ‘earth’; Kb. *akal* ‘earth, soil’; To. *ắkall* ‘land, country; sand’; Zng. *aʔgäy* ‘earth, soil’; Siwa *šal* ‘country, land’
The correspondence of Awjila *š* to PB **ḱ* is irregular. Considering the quite different meaning, perhaps the Awjila word does not belong to this lexeme.

ŠL2

ašìl [m.] ‘straw’
ašîl
P: paglia M: paille *echil* اشـيـل
♦ NZ: CL28
Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *äžäyi(ʔ)* ‘straw or palm used for weaving’

ŠL/ ŠLL

təšlìt, təšlìlt [f.] ‘bride’
tešlît, tešlîlt
P: sposa
♦ Berber, cf. Sok. *taslît* ‘bride’

ŠLL

šlìl [v.ccvc] ‘to rinse’
imp. sg. *šlîl*
P: sciacquare
♦ To. *ìslal* ‘to be or become smooth, sleek’

ŠLŠ

tšəllìšt [f.] ‘darkness’
tšellîšt, čellîšt
P: tenebre, oscurità
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *təsalast* ‘darkness’; Sok. *tasullást* ‘darkness’; Mzab *sulləs* ‘darkness’; Ouar. *tsallast* ‘darkness’

ŠM1

tašùmt [f.] pl. tašumìn ‘pillow’
tašûmt pl. *tašūmîn*
P: cuscino B21: 391 M: oreiller *thachoum* طـا شـوم
♦ NZ: CM3
Berber, cf. Kb. *tasumta, tasummta* ‘pillow’; Nef. *tsūmtâ* ‘pillow’; To. *sùmə-t* ‘to place one’s head or feet on (cushion)’; Sok. *tsûmti* ‘pillow’; Siwa *tsənti* ‘pillow’ (Souag 2010: 79).
Bynon (1984: 255) suggests that the words for ‘pillow’ are related to the word Ghd. *ésəm* ‘ear’ and (missed by Bynon) Auj. *ìsəm* ‘ear’.

Awjila has the radical S in *ìsəm*, while it has the radical Š in *tašùmt*. It is unclear how we should explain this difference on consonants, but we find it in several other roots as well (van Putten fthc.)

ŠMṬ

šmùṭ [m.] 'cold'
šmûṭ, šmūṭ [PT:V]
P: freddo PT: V
▷ ḥossîḥ šmûṭ 'I feel cold'
♦ TC: 896
Berber, cf. Kb. *ismaḍ* 'to be cold'; To. *ìsmaḍ* 'to be cold, cool'; Zng. *šämṃuḍ* 'to be cold'
ašəmmàṭ [adj.]pl. šəmmàṭən f. təšəmmàṭ 'cold'
m. sg. *ašemmâṭ* pl. *šemmâṭan* f. *tešemmâṭ*
P: freddo

ŠN1

(ə)ššən [v.cc] 'to know'
pf. / seq. ššən res. əššən impf. təššén
imp sg. *ššen, šen*; pf. 3sg.m. *iššen* [PT:X]; res. 1sg. *ššínḫa* [P:example: che, il quale] 2sg. *tšent-(î)-ya* [PT:XI] 3sg.m. *îšina* [Z:X] 3pl.m. *ššęnęn-(tî)-ya* [PT:XI]; impf. 3sg.m. *iteššén* [P: example]
P: sapere B21: 391 PT: X, XI Z: X
▷ *iteššén-ká* 'he did not know'
♦ TC: 869
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăssən* 'to know'; Kb. *əssən* 'to know'; To. *əssən* 'to know'; Zng. *ässən* 'to know'
(š)šùn [v.n.m.] 'knowing'
šûn
P: sapere

ŠN2

šùnət [f.] 'Sunnah'
šûnit
Z: XI
♦ Ar. *sunna*(*t*) 'Sunnah', the long vowel *u* and initial *š* are unexpected, but there appears to be no other clear explanation for this word in the context of the text.

ŠQ

t(ə)šəqqi [f.] 'sticks that go below the belly of an animal to which a harness is attached'
tăšăqqi, ččăqqi
P: finimenti

ŠQŠ

šəqqəš [v.ccc] 'to clap your hands'
impf. šəqqàš
imp. sg. *šáqqaš*; impf. 1sg. *šaqqâšḫ* 3sg.m. *išaqqâš*
P: battere
♦ NZ: CQC
Berber, cf. To. *əqqəs* 'to clap (hands)'; Ghd. *ăqqəs* '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

(ə)ššər [v.cc] 'to mix, blend'
impf. təššər
imp. sg. *šše, ěššér*; impf. 1sg. *teššârḫ* 3sg.m. *iteššér*
P: mescolare M: brouiller echchera
♦ NZ: CR15
Berber, cf. Zng. *äššir* 'to be mixed'
(ə)ššur [v.n.m.] 'mixing, blending'
ššūr
P: mescolare

ŠRF

ššàrəf [m.] 'old man'
ššâref
PT: I
♦ Ar. *šārif* 'old (camel mare)', Siwa has undergone the same semantic shift *šarəf* 'old (man)' (Souag 2010: 146).

ŠRɣ

ašəryìn [m.] pl. šəryìnən ‘bedouin, Arab’
ašerġîn, ašarġîn [P:example] pl. *šerġînęn*
P: beduino, arabo
▷ *Nettîn d-ašarġîn, d-awîl-ká* ‘he’s an Arab, not an Awjilan’
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *aserġin* ‘camel rider’

ŠRM

tšərìmt [f.] ‘gut’ pl. tšərmìn ‘intestine’
tšerîmt pl. *tšermîn*
P: budello; intestine M: boyaux *tchermin* تـشرمـيـن
♦ NZ: CRM4
Berber, cf. Siwa *taṣrəmt, taṣrumt* ‘intestine’; Mzab *tasṛəmt* ‘bowels’
ašərìm [adj.] ‘greedy, glutinous’
ašerîm
P: ingordo, goloso

ŠRR1

šurùru [m.] ‘weakling’
šůrů̊rů
P: debole, fiacco
▷ *ku d-šůrů̊rů, tenfìta lûda* ‘You are a weakling, you’re good for nothing’
♦ NZ: CR34

ŠRṬ

ašərrìṭ [m.] ‘cut, tear; vulva’
ašarrîṭ
P: strappo, taglio; vulva M: fendre *charreit* شرّيـط; fendu *??mecharreita* مـشرّيـطـه
♦ Looks like Ar. *šarrīṭ* ‘band, ribbon, tape’, but semantically comes closer to Ar. *šarṭ* incision; long cut, rip slash, slit’.
This word is probably a native derivation of the Arabic root, but compare the semantically similar *aṣərrìṭ* ‘line, stripe’ derived from a native Berber root, ► **ṢRṬ**.

ŠRWT/Y

š-ərwìt [caus.v.irreg.] ‘to speak, tell’
pf. / seq. = res. š-ərwìt/y impf. š-ərwàyt imp. sg. *šärwît*; pf. 1sg. *šärwîḫ* 3sg.m. *išęrwît, išerw-(îs)* [PT:V]; res. 1sg. *šärwîḫa* 3sg.m. *išęrwîta*; impf. 3sg.m. *išęrwâît*
P: parlare, raccontare PT: V M: parler *echérouy* اشـر و ى

ŠŠF

šišf ► ŠF

ŠŠL

š-ìšəl [caus.v.] ‘to thresh’
impf. š-išàl
imp. sg. *šíšel*; impf. 3sg.m. *išišâl*
P: trebbiare
♦ K: 653
Berber, cf. Ghd. *šišəl* ‘to thresh (barley)’; Nef. *šišel* ‘to thresh’; Siwa *šənšəl* ‘to thresh’
aš-ìšəl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘threshing’
ašîšel
P: trebbiare

ŠŠW ► ŽŽW

ŠTKF ► ŠKTF

ŠTN

ìštən [m.] pl. ištìnən ‘a shoemaker’s awl’
íšten pl. *ištînen*
P: punteruolo
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *tistənt* ‘awl’; To. *tištănt* ‘awl for working hides’; Zng. *təssənt* ‘awl (for fine leather)’

ŠṬ

tšaṭ [f.] ‘bundle of wood’
ččāṭ
P: fascina di legna
♦ NZ: CḌ3
Perhaps related to MA *tušəṭṭ* ‘oak tree’

ŠṬF

šəṭṭəf [stat.v.] ‘to be black’
1sg. šəṭfàx 2sg. šəṭfàt 3sg.m. šəṭṭəf 3sg/f/ šəṭfət pl. šəṭṭifìt
1sg. *šetfâḫ* 2sg. *šetfât* 3sg.m. *šéṭṭåf* 3sg.f. *šétfet* pl. *šeṭṭīfît*
P: nero M: noir *echtaf* اشطـاف ; teindre

echtaf اشتاف ; teint *??méchtaf* مشتاف; teinture *echtafeh* اشتافه ; teinturier *méchtaf* مشتاف

♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *ṣeṭṭåf.seṭṭåf* 'black'; Ghd. *əzḍəf* 'to be black'; Kb. *əṣḍəf* 'to be black'; Nef. *zeṭṭåf* 'black'; Sok. *sĕṭṭóf* 'black'; Siwa *azəṭṭāf* 'black'

štàf [adj.]štàfən f. təštàft pl. təštafîn 'black'

m. sg. *štåf, štåf* [PT:XV], *ståf* (sic)[PT:XV], *štāf* [B21] pl. *štåfen*; f. sg. *tešťåft, tešťâft* [P:scarabeo] pl. *tešťāfîn*

P: nero; scarabeo PT: XV B21: 386

****šəṭṭəf [caus.v.]** 'to make black'

pf. / seq. šəṭṭəf

pf. 3sg.f. *tšéṭṭåf*

PT: XV

○ This verb is not transparently a causative verb, but in the context certainly behaves as one. It seems likely that the cluster t-š-š- was simplified to t-š-. As a result the causative-prefix is no longer visible.

ŠṬW

štàw [m.] 'loom'

štâu

P: telaio

♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *aẓṓṭṭa, aẓéṭṭa* 'loom'; Kb. *aẓeṭṭa* 'loom'; Nef. *ẓeṭṭå* 'loom'; Sok. *aṣéṭṭa* 'loom'; Siwa *aṣəṭṭa* 'loom'; Ghd. *asəṭṭa* 'loom'

ŠW

šu [v.cc*] 'to drink; to make drink [PT:XV]'

pf. / seq. əšwa res. àšwa fut. šù impf. šàwwa

imp. sg. *šu* pl.m. *šuwât* pl.f. *šuîmet*; pf. 1sg. *šuîḫ* 3sg.m. *yešwā, išuwi-(tḗnęt)* [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *šuân* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *šuîḫa* 3sg.m. *išuwâya*; fut. 1sg. *ašwâḫ* 3sg.m. *aišû*; impf. 1sg. *šuwwîḫ* 2sg. *tšuwwît* [P: example] 3sg.m. *išúwwa*

P: bere PT: XV B21: 391 M: abreuver

yéchouaya ايشوّ ; boire *yechou* يشو

▷ *tšuwwît-ká* 'do not drink'

▷ *efkī-dîk a-swâḫ* 'give me something to drink'

▷ *efkidi kachoua* افكيدى كشوه 'donnez-moi à boire' [M: boire], same sentence as above.

♦ TC: 881

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăsw* 'to drink'; Kb. *səw* 'to drink'; To. *əsú, əsə́w* 'to drink'; Zng. *äšbi(ʔ)* 'to drink'

t-šəwwàt [v.n.f.] 'drink, beverage, drinking'

ččuwât (<*t-šuwâ-t*)

P: bere, bevanda

ŠWL

šəwal-(àya) [m.] 'bag'

šuwāl-(âya)

P (example): togliere, levare

♦ ELA *šəwāl* 'sack, bag' (p.c. Benkato)

ŠWR

šəwə́r [v.ccc] 'to dance'

seq. = res. àšwər impf. šàwwər

imp. sg. *šŭwór*; pf. 1sg. *šwärḫ* 3sg.m. *yéšwor*; res. 1sg. *šuwḗrḫa* 3sg.m. *yešwîra*; impf. 1sg. *šuwwérḫ* 3sg.m. *išúwwer*

P: danzare

ašəwàr [v.n.m.] 'dancing'

ašĕwâr

P: danzare M: danse *choua* شوة; danser *echoua* اشوة ; danseur *châoua* شاوه

ŠWŠ

ašəw(w)áša [m.] 'this year'

ašuwâša, šwâša [B21]

P: anno B21: 391

♦ TC: 883 K: 3

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aẓăggas* 'year'; Zng. *äššäbbäš* 'year'; Foq. *ṣaggāṣá, saggāsá* 'this year'; Nef. *suggés, sūggés* 'year'; Siwa *asəggasa* 'this year' (Souag 2010: 265); Sok. *asuggâsa* 'year'

ŠWY

əttəšwàyt [f.] ‘couscous’
ittiš'waît
Z: XII

ŠXR

Šxàrra [m.] ‘Gicherra (an oasis north-west of Awjila)’
Šḫérra
P: Gicherra

ŠYN

pl. ?šeynat [f.] ‘ugly ones’
pl. *šaīnāt*
Z: III
♦ ELA *šēnât* ‘ugly (f.pl.)’

ŠŽR

šàžəṛ [m.] ‘chamomile (the type of chamomile that the Arabs call *gréisa*)’
šéžar, séžar
P: camomilla
♦ ELA *šžar* ‘trees(coll.)’; Ar. *sažar* ‘trees; shrubs (coll.)’

T1 ▶ WT

T2

=t [pron.]3sg.m. direct object
-t, (*ṭ*)*-ṭ* [PT:III], *-ăt* [PT:XV], res. *-tîya*
P: egli PT: passim
=tət [pron.]3sg.f. direct object
-tet, -tẹṭ [PT:I], (*ṭ*)*-ṭåt* [PT:XV], res.*tîta* [PT:V]
P: egli PT: I, V, XII, XV

TDK

tudìk [adv.] ‘so’
tūdîk, tûdīk, tudîk [PT:IV], *ttudîk* [PT:IX]
P: così PT: IV, IX M: ainsi *toudig* تـو د ق
▷ *ddíwa ttudîk* ‘why?’ [PT:IX]

TḤYR

****təḥàyyər [v.tcc̄c]** ‘to be confused’
pf. / seq. təḥàyyər
pf. 3sg.m. *itaḥáyyär*
PT: VIII
♦ Ar. *taḥayyara* ‘to become confused’

TKR

(ə)tkár [v.ccc] ‘to fill up’
res. ətkər impf. təkkár
imp. sg. *etkér, tker*; res. 3sg.m. *itkîra* [Z:VI]; impf. 3sg.m. *itekkér*
P: riempire Z:VI M: empli *??maëtker* مـعـتـكـر; emplir *aëtker* عـتـكـر; plein *etkerreh* اتـكـرّ ه; riche *etkeira* اتـكـيـر ه
♦ NZ: CR4 K: 525
Berber, cf. Ghd. *əṭkur* ‘to fill’; Foq. *kkār* ‘to fill’; Siwa *iččūr* ‘to be full’
atəkàr [v.n.m.] ‘filling up’
atekâr
P: riempire

TL1

****atəl [v.cc*]** ‘to become pregnant’
pf. / seq. təla, lla res. tla impf. tlàna, llàna
pf. 3pl.f. *tĕlānet* [P:example]; res. 1sg. *tlîḫa, llîḫa* 2sg. *tetlîta, tlîta* 3sg.f. *tlāya* 3pl.f. *tlānîta, llānīta*
P: incinta
▷ *nĕhînet tĕlānet* ‘they became pregnant’
♦ Probably ultimately from the Pan-Berber verb *lla* ‘to have’; but the 3sg.f. prefix seems to have lexicalized, although the variant forms with initial *ll-* still betray its prefixal origin. cf. Ghd. *təlo taddəss* ‘pregnant (litt. She has belly)’.

TL2

atəlá [m.] ‘linseed’
atĕlá
P: seme di lino

TLT

tlàta [num.] ‘three’
tlâta, tălâta
PT: II
♦ Ar. *ṯalāṯa*(*t*) ‘three’

TMN

****təmànn [v.irreg.]** ‘to wish’

pf. / seq. təmə̀nna
pf. 3sg.m. *yẹtemę́nna*
PT:V
♦ Ar. *tamannā* 'to desire, wish'

TN

=tən [pron.]3pl.m. direct object pronoun
-ten [PT:II,VIII,XV], *-tęn* [PT:II,IX], res. *-tîna*
P: essi PT: II, VIII, IX, XV
=tənət (or =tnət) [pron.]3pl.f. direct object pronoun
-tĕnet, -tęnęt [PT:IV,V], *-tę́nęt* [PT:V,XV], res. *-tnîta*
P: essi PT: IV, V, XV

TNGR

atəngìr [m.] pl. təngìrən 'square-plot of irrigation'
atengîr pl. *tengîręn*
P: giadùla
○ Paradisi glosses this giadùla an Italian rendering of ELA *ždûla* which Panetta (1958) glosses as *aiuola* 'flowerbed'. As Benkato (p.c.) points out, this is surely the plural of ELA *žadwal*, which refers to a specific square-plot of irrigation. 'Aiuola' is probably Panetta's attempt to describe this word in Italian, while Paradisi did not attempt to translate the very specific cultural word at all.

TNN

itnèn [num.] 'two'
itnên
PT:VII
♦ ELA *itnēn* 'two'; Ar. *iṯnān* 'two'

TRR

atràr [adj.]pl. tràrən f. tatràrt pl. tətrarìn 'new, fresh'
m. sg. *atrâr* pl. *trâren* f. sg. *tatrârt* pl. *tetrārîn*
P: nuovo, fresco M: nouveau *athar* اطار
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *atrâr* 'new'; Sok. *trīr* 'new'; Siwa *atrar* 'new' (Souag 2010: 146)

TRS

atə̀rsi n təbazàrt [phrasal n.] 'the lining of the upper edge of a basket mad of small string'
atérsi n tebazârt
P: cesta

TRWL2

tràwəl [v.ccvcc] 'to be born'
res. = fut. tràwəl
imp. sg. *tráwel*; res. 1sg. *trawílḫa* 3sg.m. *itrawîla*; fut. 3sg.m. *aitráwel*
P: nascere
♦ Perhaps somehow related to the verb *érōū* 'to give birth'.

TSʕ

tə̀s(ə)ʕa [num.] 'nine'
tésaʿa
PT:V
♦ Ar. *tisʕa*(*t*) 'nine'
təsʕìn [num.] 'ninety'
tesʿîn
PT:V

TṢ ► ṬS/TṢ

tettâ ► ečč

TW/Y

tùwi [v.irreg.] 'to forget'
pf. / seq. = res. tùwəy(a) impf. tàya
imp. sg. *túwi*; pf. 1sg. *tuwiyíḫ* 3sg.m. *ittúwī, ittuwî-*(*t*) [PT:XIII]; res. 1sg. *tuwiyîḫa* 3sg.m. *ittuwîya*; impf. 1sg. *tāyéḫ* 3sg.m. *itâya*
P: dimenticare PT: XIII
▷ *túwi žlān-îya* 'forget these words'
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *úttu* 'to forget'; Ghd. *əttu* 'to forget'; Kb. *əţţ* 'to forget'; Nef. *étta* 'to forget'; To. *ìtaw* 'to forget'; Siwa *əttu* 'to forget'; Sok. *öttu* 'to forget'
atùwi [v.n.m.] 'forgetting'
atûwi
P: dimenticare

TWYL ► WYL

TŽR

əttàžər [m.] ‘merchant’
ẹttâžer
PT:VII
♦ Ar. *tāžir* ‘merchant’

TʕB

****ətʕáb [v.ccc]** ‘to toil’
res. ətʕəb
res. 2sg. *titʿíbta*
Z: VIII
♦ Ar. *taʕiba* ‘to work hard, toil, slave, drudge’
əttəʕáb [m.] ‘burden’
ĕttaʿáb, ettaʿab-(*énnes*)
PT: XII
♦ Ar. *taʕab* ‘trouble, exertion, labor, toil, drudgery; burden, nuisance etc.’

Ṭ

ar-ùṭa [adv.] ‘below’
ar-ûṭā
P: sotto PT: VI
▷ *s-ar-ûṭā* ‘from below’

ṬB

àṭəb [v.cc*] ‘to close the eyes’
pf. əṭbá res. àṭba
imp. sg. *áṭåb*; pf. 1sg. *ṭbiḥ* 3sg.m. *yeṭbá*; res. 1sg. *ṭbîḥa* 3sg.m. *yeṭbâya*
P: chiudere
▷ *áṭåb tiwînnek* ‘close your eyes!’
♦ NZ ḌB3
To. (Burkina Faso) *ăḍəb* ‘to close’ (Sudlow 2009)

ṬF

(ə)ṭṭəf [v.cc] ‘to seize’
pf. əṭṭəf res. = fut. àṭṭəf impf. təṭṭəf
imp. sg. *eṭṭắf* pl.m. *eṭṭắfât* pl.f. *eṭṭåfmet*; pf. 1sg. *ṭṭắfḥ* 3sg.m. *yeṭṭắf*; res. 1sg. *ṭṭífḥa* 3sg.m. *yeṭṭîfa*; fut. 1sg. *aṭṭắfḥ* 3sg.m. *ayeṭṭắf*; impf. 1sg. *taṭṭắfḥ* 3sg.m. *iteṭṭắf*
P: afferrare M: retinir *thaff* طاف; serrer *thaf* طاف
♦ NZ: ḌF1 TC: 240
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăṭṭəf* ‘to seize, hold, keep’; To. *àṭṭəf* ‘to seize, hold, keep’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yäḍḍuf* ‘to have, possess’

ṬG

****ṭùg(g) [v.cc̄]** ‘to reach’
pf. / seq. ṭùg(g)
pf. 3sg.m. *iṭûg*
PT: VIII
♦ ELA *iṭégg* ‘to reach, arrive at’

ṬL

pl. ṭilìwən [m.] ‘fenugreek’
pl. *ṭilîwẹn*
P: fieno greco
♦ A connection with Kb. *aḍil* ‘grape’ comes to mind. The semantic connection is improbable, fenugreek looks nothing like a grapevine.

ṬLB

****ətḷəb [v.ccc]** ‘to request’
impf. ṭəlləb impf. 3sg.m. *iṭélleb*
PT: V
♦ Ar. *ṭalaba* ‘to look, search; to request etc.’

ṬLW/ ṬLY

aṭəlùy, áṭəlwi [m.] ‘turnips (coll.)’
aṭĕlûi, áṭălwī
P: rapa
♦ NZ: ḌLW
taṭləwìt [f.] pl. ṭəlwítin ‘turnip’
taṭluwît pl. *ṭelwîtīn*
P: rapa

ṬR1

uṭə́r [v.vcc] ‘to twist, roll up’
seq. = res. = fut. ùṭər impf. tàṭər
imp. sg. *uṭắr*; pf. 1sg. *uṭárḥ* 3sg.m. *yúṭar*; res. 1sg. *uṭírḥa* 3sg.m. *yuṭîra*; fut. 1sg. *auṭérḥ* 3sg.m. *ayúṭer*; impf. 1sg. *taṭắrḥ* 3sg.m. *itáṭar*
P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: tortu *yauthérah* يوطره; tortu, rendre tortu *??mayauthera* مايوطره
♦ NZ: ḌR18

ṬR2

aṭàr [m.] pl. ṭarìn ‘foot’
aṭå̂r, aṭǻr pl. *ṭārîn, ṭårīn-*(*nûk*) [PT:V]
P: piede PT: V M: pied *athar* اطا ر
♦ NZ: ḌR3 TC: 235
Berber, cf. Ghd. *aḍar* ‘foot’; Kb. *aḍaṛ* ‘foot’; To. *áḍă̆r* ‘foot, leg’ Zng. *aḍaʔṛ* ‘leg’

ṬR3

****ṭàr [v.cvc]** ‘to fly’
res. ṭàr
res. 3sg.m. *iṭāra*
Z: II
♦ Ar. *ṭāra* ‘to fly’

ṬRS

ṭrəs [v.ccc.irreg.] ‘to braid hair’
impf. ṭərràs
imp. sg. *ṭrås*; impf. 3sg.f. *ṭṭerrâs* (*irreg.*)
P: intrecciare
♦ NZ: ḌRS/Ṣ2
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ă̆ḍrəs* ‘to braid (hair); to comb’; Siwa *əṭrəs* ‘to braid hair’
aṭəràs [v.n.m.] ‘braiding of hair’
aṭă̆râs
P: intrecciare

ṬRŠ

ṭrəš [v.ccc.irreg.] ‘to vomit’
impf. ṭərrəš
imp. sg. *ṭråš*; impf. 1sg. *ṭårrášḫ* (*irreg.*)
P: vomitare
♦ Ar. *ṭaraša* ‘to vomit’

ṬS/TṢ

aṭs [v.cc*] ‘to laugh’
seq. = res. ètṣa fut. ètṣ impf. təṣṣá
imp. sg. *aṭs, aṭṣ* pl.m. *ṭṣât* pl.f. *ṭṣîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ă̆tṣíḫ* 3sg.m. *yétṣa*; res. 1sg. *ṭṣîḫa* 3sg.m. *yetṣâya*; fut. 1sg. *atṣáḫ* 3sg.m. *ayétṣ*; impf. 1sg. *teṣṣîḫ* 3sg.m. *iteṣṣâ*
P: ridere M: rire *etsa* اثــه
♦ NZ: ḌS2 TC: 259
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ă̆ḍs* ‘to laugh’; Zng. *aṭṣi*(*ʔ*) ‘to laugh’
təṣṣàt [v.n.f.] ‘laughing’
teṣṣât
P: ridere
š-əṭs, s-əṭs [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o laugh’
imp. sg. *šaṭs, såṭs*
P: ridere

V

avú [m.] ‘smoke’
avû
P: fumo
♦ NZ: B6 TC: 3 K: 206
Berber, cf. Ghd. *oβu* ‘smoke’; Kb. *abbu* ‘smoke’; To. *ằho* ‘smoke’; Zng. *oʔbih* ‘smoke’
avùv [m.] ‘smoke of incense’
avûv
P: fumo

V ▶ NV

VDD

vdə́d [v.ccc] ‘to stop; to stand; to stand up’
seq. = res. àvdəd impf. vàddəd
imp. sg. *vdéd*; pf. 3sg.m. *yévded* [PT:III]; res. 3sg.m. *yevdîda* [PT:III], *yevdîda* [B24] 3sg.f. *tevdîda* [B24]; impf. 1sg. *veddédḫ* 2sg. *dveddétt* [P: Example] 3sg.m. *ivédded*
P: fermarsi PT: III B24: 191
▷ *dveddétt-ká* ‘do not stand up!’
♦ NZ: BD1 TC: 955 K: 248
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ă̆βdəd* ‘to stand up’; Kb. *bdəd, bədd* ‘to stand up’; To. *ằbdəd* ‘to stand up; to remain on foot; stop’; Zng. *äwḏəḏ* ‘to be standing’
avdàd [v.n.m.] ‘stopping’
avdâd
P: fermarsi
š-àvdəd [caus.v.] ‘to cause to stop’
imp. sg. *šévded*
P: fermarsi; arrestare, fermare

VL1

əvə́l, avə́l [v.cc*] ‘to cry, weep’
pf. əvlá res. àvla fut. àv(ə)l impf. vəllá

imp. sg. *evél, avél*; pf. 1sg. *vliḫ* 3sg.m. *yevlâ*; res. 1sg. *vlîḫa* 3sg.m. *yevlâya*; fut. 1sg. *avláḫ* 3sg.m. *ayével*; impf. 1sg. *vellîḫ* 3sg.m. *ivellâ* 3pl.f. *vellânęt* [PT:XV]
P: piangere PT: XV M: pleurer *yéwella* يـوّلـه
♦ TC: 577 K: 118, 201
Berber, cf. To. *ǎlh* 'to weep, cry'; Zng. *äyyi*(*ʔ*) 'to cry'

(ə)vlìn [v.n.m.] 'crying'
vlîn, evlîn
P: piangere

š-əvəl [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. cry'
imp. sg. *šével*
P: piangere

VL2

təvə́l [f.] pl. tvittìn, tvitìn 'sheep'
tevél, tevél [B24], *tvel* [B24] pl. *dvittîn, tvitîn* [B24], *dvittîn* [B24]
P: pecora B24: 193
♦ NZ: BL2 TC: 576 K: 193, 226
Berber, cf. To. *tèhălе* pl. *tihatten* 'sheep'; Kb. *ulli* 'sheep'; Zng. *tīyih* pl. *tātən* 'sheep'

VN

avùn [m.] 'rain'
avún, avûn
P: pioggia

VN ▶ BN

VR1

****uvə́r [v.vcc]** 'to cook'
res. = fut. ùvər impf. tavər
res. 3sg.m. *yuvîra* 3pl.m. *uverîna*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayúver* 3pl.m. *auvéręn*; impf. 3sg.m. *itāver* 3pl.m. *tāvéręn* 'to cook'
P: bollire M: bouillir *yétawer* يـتـو ر
▷ *imîn uverîna* 'the water is cooked'
▷ *imîn tāvéręn* 'the water cooks'
♦ NZ: BR2 K: 173, 233
Berber, cf. Ghd. *áβər* 'to boil', *βərβər* 'to bubble (of boiling water)'; Nef. *áwer* 'to boil'

VR2

avə́r [v.cc] 'to close (from the inside)'
pf. = fut. vər res. vər impf. təvvə́r, or: tavvə́r
imp. sg. *avér*; pf. 1sg. *virḫ* 3sg.m. *ivér*; res. 1sg. *avírḫa* 3sg.m. *ivîra*; fut. 1sg. *avérḫ, avvérḫ* 3sg.m. *aivér, aivvér*; impf. 1sg. *tavvérḫ* 3sg.m. *itavvér*
P: chiudere
♦ NZ: BR1 K: 204
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎβər* 'to be closed'; To. *àhər* 'to be covered, be closed'

av(v)ùr [v.n.m.] 'closing'
avûr, avvûr
P: chiudare

avìr [m.] pl. vìrrən 'wall'
avîr pl. *vírren*
P: muro M: batir *hawir* هـا ويـر; bati *wir* ويـر

təvùrt, tavvùrt [f.] pl. tvurr 'door'
tevûrt, tavvûrt, tefûret [B], *tevûrt* [B] pl. *dvurr, dfurr, dfurr* [B]
P: porta B: 189
♦ NZ: GR28, BR1 K: 210
Berber, cf. Kb. *tabburt* 'door'; Ghd. *taββurt* 'door'; Sok. *tawórt* 'door'

VR3

avùr [m.] pl. vuràwən 'plate, tray made of palm leaves; also used to cover other vessels'
avûr pl. *vurâwen*
P: piatto, vassoio

təvurìt (or: tavurìt) [f.] pl. tvuritìn 'small plate, tray'
tävurît pl. *dvurītîn*
P: piatto, vassoio

VRG1

uf tavərgàt [v.irreg.] 'to dream'
impf. ivàrga
imp. *uf tavergât* (litt. find dream); impf. 1sg.

vergîḥ 3sg.m. *ivérga*
P: sognare
♦ NZ: BRG10 K: 177, 320
Berber, cf. Ghd. *βərǵ* 'to dream'; Foq. *őržu*; Kb. *argu* 'to dream'; To. *hùrjə-t* 'to see in dream, dream of'
təvərgàt, tvərgàt [v.n.f.] pl. tvərgá 'dream'
tävergât, dvergât, tavergât [P: sub sognare] pl. *dvergâ*
P: sogno M: rêver *tewerquiat* تـو رقـيـا ت
♦ K: 175, 321
Ghd. *taβărǵot* 'dream'; Kb. *targit* 'dream'; MA *tawargit* 'dream'

VRG2

avàrg [m.] pl. vərgàwən 'pestle (usually metal, to crush cores of dates)'
avérg pl. *vergâwen*
P: pestello

VRK

vùr(ə)k [stat.v.] 'to be broad, wide'
1sg. vurkax 2sg. vurkàt 3sg.m. vùr(ə)k 3sg.f. vùrkət pl. vur(ə)kìt
1sg. *vurkāḥ* 2sg. *vurkât* 3sg.m. *vurk, vúrĕk* 3sg.f. *vúrket* pl. *vurĕkît*
P: largo
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. To. *ìhraw* 'to be spacious, wide'. Tuareg *w* does not commonly correspond to Awjila *k*.
š-àvrək[caus.v.] 'to broaden, widen'
imp. sg. *šévrek*
P: allargare; largo
tàvrək [f.] 'width, breadth'
tévrek
P: larghezza

VRN

(ə)vrùn [m.] 'flour'
vrūn, ävrûn, evrûn [B24], *vrūn* [B24]
P: farina M: farine *newroun* نـو ر و ن B24: 192
♦ NZ: BRN1 K: 171
Berber, cf. Ghd. *aβărn* 'flour'; Kb. *awrən* 'flour'

VRR

****vrùr [v.ccvc.irreg.]** 'to be fertilized (a palm)'
res. əvrùr, vrìr (irreg.)
res. 3sg.m. *yevrûra* 3pl.m. *vrīrîna*
P: fecondare
○ The vowel change of the root in the 3pl.m. is unexpected.
♦ NZ: BR5 K: 267
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăβrər* 'to be fertilized (a palm)'; To. (H.) *sirăr* 'to be fertilized'
š-àvrər [caus.v.] 'to fertilize (a palm)'
imp. sg. *šévrer*
P: fecondare
aš-àvrər [caus.v.n.m.] 'fertilizing (a palm)'
ašévrer
P: fecondare

VT ▶ VL2

VṬ1

àvəṭ [m.] pl. vəṭàwən 'night'
ávoṭ, avǫṭ-(*idîn*) [PT:XV] pl. *voṭâwen*
P: notte PT: XV M: nuit *awed* ا و د
▷ *d-ávoṭ* 'tonight' The *d* here seems to be the retained preposition *di* 'in' which is otherwise lost.
♦ NZ: Ḍ8 TC: 643 K: 189
Berber, cf. Kb. *iḍ* 'night'; Ghd. *éβăḍ* 'night'; To. *éhăḍ* 'night'; Zng. *īḍ* 'night'
tan d-àvəṭ [f.] 'Owl (Litt.: The one of the night)'
tan d-ávoṭ
P: gufo

VṬ2

avə́ṭ [v.cc] 'to swear (an oath, etc.)'
IPtəvvàṭ
imp. sg. *avóṭ*; impf. 1sg. *tevvâṭḥ* 3sg.m. *itevvâṭ*
P: giurare

♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăβəḍ* ‘to swear’; To. *əhəḍ* ‘to swear, make an oath’

avùṭ [v.n.m.] ‘swearing’

avûṭ

P: giurare

VV1 ▶ V

VV2 ▶ BB2

VW

(əv)vìw [m.] pl. əvvìwən ‘bean; broad bean’

vîu, vvîu pl. *ĕvvîwẹn, vîwen* [B21], *evîwen* [B21]

P: fava B21: 385 M: fève *éwéouen* ا وّ و ن

♦ NZ: BW1 K: 247

Berber, cf. Ghd. *abăbba* ‘bean’; Kb. *bubu, bubbu, ibiw* ‘bean’; Siwa *awaw* ‘bean’

W1

u, w ‘and’

u, w, wĕ [PT:XV], *w-*

P: e PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV Z: IX

♦ Ar. *wa-* ‘and’

W2

ìwi [kin.m.] pl. aməẓẓìn ‘son’

sg. 2sg.m. iwì-k 2sg.f. iwì-m 3sg. iwì-s 1pl. iwí-tnax 2pl.m. iwí-tkim 3pl.m. iwí-tsin; pl. 1sg. aməẓẓin-nnùk

íwī pl. *amäẓẓîn, ameẓẓîn-*(*nes*) [PT:I]; sg. 2sg.m. *iwî-k* 2sg.f. *iwî-m* 3sg. *iwî-s,* (*d-*)*iwî-s* [Z:III] 1pl. *iwí-tnaḫ* 2pl.m. *iwí-tkīm* 3pl.m. *iwí-tsin*; pl. 1sg. *amäẓẓîn-nūk*

P: figlio; ragazzo, bambino PT: I Z: III

♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *o* ‘son of’; Kb. *u, w-* ‘son of’; Sok. *yâi* ‘son’; Foq. *yâi* ‘son’; aməẓẓìn: Berber, cf. Foq. *meẓẓâi*

W3

àww [v.c̄*] ‘to knead (bread dough)’

seq. = res. àwwa impf. tàwwa

imp. sg. *ắu* pl.m. *wwât* pl.f. *wwîmet*; pf. 3sg.m. *yűwa*; res. 3sg.m. *iwâya*; impf. 3sg.m. *itőūwa*

P: impastare

▷ *ắu terîkt* ‘knead the bread dough!’

♦ Kb. *ggʷ* ‘to knead’; MA *əgʷ* ‘to knead’; Mzab *əggʷ* ‘to knead’; Siwa *aggʷí* ‘to knead’ (Naumann 2013: 323)

àwwu [v.n.m.] ‘kneading (bread dough)’

úwů

P: impastare

W4

wa [interj.] ‘no’

wa

P: no!

W5

wa f. ta [pron.] pl. wi f. tipre-modifier pronominal head

wa f. *ta* pl. *wi* f. *ti*

P: che, il quale

▷ *amédẹn wa târẹven nettîn ʿayyân* ‘The man who is writing is ill.’

▷ *amédẹn wa ššínḥa ṣåbåṭ ġâres lûda* ‘The man whom I met yesterday is poor.’

▷ *tirîut ta teglûlān dîla mrîyet* ‘The girl that is playing there is beautiful.’

▷ *temígni ta ušânda ṣåbåṭ d-wértnā* ‘The woman that has come yesterday is my sister.’

▷ *amkân wa tnéššā gān temígnī* ‘The place where the woman is sleeping.’

▷ *ssuwânī ta škîḥa z-gān méšket* ‘The garden that I left from is small.’

wa, we, wàya , wək f. ta, te, tâya, tək [pron.] pl. wìya f. tìyaProximal deictic pronoun

wa, wẹ, wāya, wâya [PT:IV, VII], *wék* f. *ta, tẹ, tâya, ték* pl. *wîya* f. *tîya*

P: questo PT: IV, VII

WDF

awədùf [m.] ‘shoulder bone’

awedûf

P: osso

WDN1

****wàddən [v.cc̄c]** ‘to crow (of a rooster)’
pf. / seq. wàddən impf. wəddàn
pf. 3sg.m. *iwédden*; impf. 3sg.m. *iweddân*
P: cantare M: minaret *éouadden* ا و ذّ ن
♦ Mor. Ar. *wedden* ‘to crow’ (Harrell 1966)

WG ▶ Č1

WGL

awəgìl [m.] pl. wàg(ə)lən ‘canine tooth’
awegîl pl. *wégĕlen*
P: dente
♦ TC: 978 K: 401
Berber, cf. Kb. *ugəl* ‘canine, tooth’; To. *tajəlləttt* ‘lower wisdom tooth’; Zng. *täwgəL* ‘canine’
təwəgìlt (or: tuwəgìlt) [f.] pl. təwəgilìn ‘molar tooth’
tuwegílt pl. *tuwegĭlîn*
P: dente

WL1

awìl [m.] pl. awìlən ‘person from Awjila’
awîl pl. *awîlen, awîlẹn* [PT:II]
P: aujilino PT: II
tawìlt [f.] pl. tawiltìn ‘woman from Awjila’
tawîlt pl. *tawiltîn*
P: aujilino

WL2

s-alàwwəl [adv.] ‘first; once, formerly’
s-alûwel [PT:III], *lőūwel* [PT:II]
PT: II, III
♦ Ar. *ʔawwal* ‘first; foremost’ Dialectal Arabic ‘once, formerly’ (p.c. Souag)
s-aləwwàl [adv.] ‘before’
s-ălōūwâl
PT: XI

WL3

wàlli [kin.f.] ‘daughter’
2sg.m/ wəllì-k 2sg.f. wəllìm 3sg. wəllì-s
1sg. *wéllī* 2sg.m. *wellî-k* 2sg.f. *wellî-m* 3sg. *wellî-s, wullî-s* [Z:II]
P: figlio Z: II
♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *êlli* ‘daughter’; Kb. *yəlli* ‘daughter’; Nef. *yellî* ‘daughter’

WL4

awìl [m.]‘word’ pl. žlàn ‘words, language’
awîl pl. *žlân* ▶ **ŽL**
P: parola
♦ TC: 575
Berber, cf. Ghd. *awal* ‘speech’; Kb. *awal* ‘word, speech’; To. *áwal* ‘speaking, talk’; Zng. *āwäy* ‘talking, speech, language’

WL6

wàla [adv.] ‘not’
wélā
PT: V
♦ cf. Siwa *ula* negative particle, for a dicussion on the origin of this word see Souag (2010: 435).

WLH

wəḷḷàhi [interj.] ‘by god (I swear)’
wållâhī, wållâhi
PT: V
♦ Ar. *wa ḷḷāhi* ‘by god!’

WLK

twəllìkt [f.] pl. twəllkìn ‘louse’
twellîkt pl. *twellkîn*
P: pidocchio M: pou *thaoullekh* طا وّلّـكت
♦ K: 492, 581
Berber, cf. Ghd. *talləkt* ‘louse’; Kb. *tilkit* ‘louse’; To. *tìllikk* ‘louse’; Zng. *tilləkt* ‘louse’

WLS

twəlìst [f.] pl. twəlsìn ‘big plate or bowl of wood’
twelîst pl. *twelsîn*
P: piatto, vassoio M: table *taouélest* طا ولـست

WN1

iwínan, iwinàn, iwìn [num.]f. iwátan, iwàt ‘one’
m. *iwînan, iwīnân* [PT:IX,XII], *iwînān* [PT:III], *iwînan* [PT:V], *iwînān* [PT:II,V,XI], *iwîn* f.

iwātan, iwâtān [PT:XV], *iwât*
P: uno PT: I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV M: seul *yéouénan* يـونـان
♦ TC: 1028 K: 444, 615
Berber, cf. Ghd. *yón* f. *yot* 'one'; Kb. *yiwən* f. *yiwət* 'one'; Zng. *yuʔn* 'one'

WN2

awènu [m.] pl. wənyìn, wənnəyìn 'well'
awénū pl. *wenyîn, wenniyîn*
P: pozzo M: puits *aouénou* ا ونـو
♦ TC: 718
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ánu* 'well'; Kb. *anu* 'chasm, well'; To. *ánu* 'well'; Zng. *täniʔḏ* 'well')
təwənìt (or: tuwənìt) [f.] pl. təwənitìn 'pit, hole'
tuwenît pl. *tuwenītîn*
P: buca

WN3

ìwən [v.icc] 'to satiate, satisfy'
impf. tiwàn
imp. sg. *íwęn*; impf. 3sg.m. *itiwân*
P: saziarsi M: rassasié *eiyouaneh* ايـو انـه; rassasier *eiouan* ايـو ان
♦ K: 707
Ghd. *ǵéwăn* 'to be satisfied'; Foq. *gíwen* 'to satisfy'
š-ìwən [caus.v.] 'to make satisfied'
impf. š-iwàn
imp. sg. *šíwęn*; impf. 1sg. *šiwânḫ*
P: saziarsi

WN4

=íwan [demonstrative] pl. =idánindistal deictic clitic
-íwan, -îwan [PT:XV] pl. *-idânīn*
P: quello PT: XV
▷ *amędęn-íwan* 'that man'
▷ *temígni-y-íwan* 'that woman'

WNM

wèn-ma [conj.] 'when, as soon as'
wę̂n-mā
PT: II
♦ ELA *wên-mā* 'when, as soon as'

WQ

əwwə́q [v. c̄c?] 'to uproot; to dig out'
seq. = res. əwwəq impf. tàwwəq
imp. sg. *uwóq*; pf. 3sg.m. *yúwoq*; res. 3sg.m. *yuwîqa*; impf. 3sg.m. *itúwoq*
P: sradicare, estirpare
əwwùq [v.n.m.] 'uprooting; digging out'
uwûq
P: sradicare, estirpare

WRTN

wàrtna [kin.f.] 'sister'
sg. 2sg.m. wərtnà-k 3sg. wərtnà-s 1pl. wərtná-tnax; pl. 2sg.m. sətmà-k 2sg.f. sətmà-m
sg. 1sg. *wértnā* 2sg.m. *wertnâ-k* 3sg. *wertnâ-s, wertnā-s* [P:example] 1pl. *wertná-tnaḫ* pl. 1sg. *sétmā* 2sg.m. *setmâ-k* 2sg.f. *setmâ-m* [PT:XV] 'sister'
P: sorella PT: XV
▷ wertnās n amędęn 'the sister of the man'
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *wəltma* pl. *yəssətma* 'sister'; Nef. *weltmû* pl. *tsetmû* 'sister'; Sok. *últmā* 'sister'; Foq. *ulétmā̆ī* pl. *sâtmā̆ī* 'sister'; Siwa *u͎ltma* 'sister'; Zng. *yäḏmäh, tʸäḏmäh* pl. *tʸšäḏmäh* 'sister'

WRŽ

twəržìt [f.] pl. twəržìn 'root of a plant'
tweržît pl. *tweržîn*
P: radice di pianta
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *tägurẕäh* 'underground root'

WS1

təwàss [f.] 'bed'
tůéss, tawöss
P: letto M: lit *thaoues* طـو س; tapis *thaoues* طـا و س

▷ *ess tůéss* ‘make the bed!’
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *usu* ‘bed’; To. *tăwsett* ‘simple mat for sleeping’

WS2

wàsa [pron.]indefinite relative pronoun
wâsa
PT: II

WŠ

awìš [m.] pl. wìššən ‘sword’
awîš pl. *wíššen*
P: spada M: sabre *hauch* حو ش
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *aus* ‘sword’

WT/Y

awìt [v.irreg.] ‘to hit, strike’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. wìt/y impf. təwwìt/y imp. sg. *awît* pl.m. *awiyât* pl.f. *awîmet*; pf. 1sg. *wíḫ* 3sg.m. *iwît*; res. 1sg. *ăwíḫa* 3sg.m. *iwîta*; fut. 1sg. *awîḫ* 3sg.m. *aiwît*; impf. 1sg. *tuwîḫ, tåwéiḫ* 3sg.m. *ituwéit*
P: battere M: abattu *youayah* يــوّ ا يــه; coup *eioued* ايــو ا د
♦ TC: 985 K: 594
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăwət* ‘to hit, strike’; Kb. *wət* ‘to hit, strike’; To. *ə̀wət* ‘to hit, strike’; Zng. *äwih* ‘to hit, strike’
tìta [v.n.f.] ‘blow, hit’
tîta, tītí(*n*) [*Z:XII*]
P: battere; colpo Z: XII
awìt avùn [phrasal v.] ‘to rain (litt. rain hits)’
awît avûn
P: piovere

WT

wətti-(dikkàni) [v.cc*] ‘to prepare’
impf. pf. / seq. wətta imp. sg. *wéttĭ-*(*dikkénī*) pl.f. *wettîmet*; pf. 3sg.f. *twétta*
PT: XV
♦ ELA *wattī* ‘to make ready, to prepare’ (Stem II) (p.c. Benkato)
****ut/uti [v.vci/vc*]** ‘to be ready’
res. ùta
res. 3sg.m. *yutâya*
PT: XV
♦ ELA *yūtī*, Stem I of the above, thus yūtī ‘to be ready’. (p.c. Benkato)

Ultimately from Ar. *ʔatā* ‘to come, arrive’

WṬ1

wəṭ [v.cc] ‘to arrive; to reach’
pf. wáṭ res. wàṭ impf. təwwáṭ
imp. sg. *woṭ*; pf. 1sg. *woṭḫ* 3sg.m. *iwóṭ*; res. 1sg. *wẹṭḫa* 3sg.m. *iwêṭa*; impf. 1sg. *tůwåṭḫ* 3sg.m. *itåwóṭ*
P: arrivare; raggiungere M: atteindre *yéouath* يــوّ ا ط
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăwəḍ* ‘to reach’; Kb. *awəḍ* ‘to reach, arrive’; To. *àwəḍ* ‘to arrive’
əwùṭ [v.n.m.] ‘arriving; reaching’
ŭwûṭ
P: raggiungere

WṬ2 ► QṬ

WWN

wíwan f. tíwan pl. widánin f. tidánin [pron.]distal deictic pronoun
wíwan f. *tíwan* pl. *widânīn* f. *tidânīn*
P: quello

WYL

ittəwwìyəl [v.???] ‘to be dumbfounded, amazed’
pf. 3sg.m. *ittōūwîyel* [PT:VIII]
PT: VIII
♦ ELA *yetwayyel* ‘to be dumbfounded, to wonder at’ (p.c. Benkato)

X

=ax [pron.]1pl. direct object pronoun
-aḫ, res. *-āḫa*
P: noi

XBR

****xəbbər [v.cc̄c]** ‘to tell’
impf. xəbbàr

impf. 3sg.m. *iḥabbâr*
PT: II
♦ Ar. *ḥabbara* ‘to tell’

XBṬ

****əxbáṭ [v.ccc]** ‘to hit, strike’
pf. / seq. ə̀xbəṭ
pf. 3sg.m. *yeḥbóṭ-(ṭ)*
PT: III
♦ Ar. *ḥabaṭa* ‘to beat, strike’

XḌR

əlxə̀ḍ(ə)rət [f.] ‘vegetable’
elḥǎḍărät
PT: XII M: fruits *elkhodret* الـخضرة
♦ Ar. *ḥuḍra(t)* ‘vegetation, verdure, greenery, greens’

XL

xàli [m.] ‘(maternal) uncle’
ḥâlī
P: zio
♦ Ar. *ḥāl* ‘uncle’

XMM

****xəmmə́m [v.cc̄c]** ‘to think, ponder’
pf. xəmmə́m impf. xəmmàm
pf. 3sg.m. *yeḥammém* [PT:II]; impf. 2sg. *atḥemmámt* [P:example: che cosa?]
PT: II
♦ Ar. *ḥammana* ‘to guess, conjecture, surmise’

XR1

axìr [m.] ‘the better (thing)’
aḥîr [PT:IV,IX], *aḥḗr* [PT:III]
PT: III, IV, IX
♦ Ar. *ḥayr* ‘better’, perhaps the initial *a* in Awjila comes from a regularized superlative formation *aḥyar*.
Alternatively, this word may come from Ar. *aḥīr* ‘last’, which underwent a semantic shift of ‘the last’ > ‘the best’

XR2

(ə)xxə́r [v.c̄c] ‘to remove (oneself); to remove, take away’
imp. sg. *ĕḥḥär, ḥḥér* [P: example]
P: togliere, levare
▷ *ḥḥér s-tebārût-ī* ‘Get off the road!’
▷ *ḥḥér šuwāl-âya* ‘remove that bag!’

XR3

ə̀xra ‘feces’
óḫra
Z: IX
♦ Ar. *ḥarāʔ* ‘feces’

XRBŠ

əlxərbuš-(ə̀nnəs) [m.] ‘garden’
ĕlḥarbūš-(énnes), elḥarbūš-(énnes)
PT: XV
♦ Certainly derived from Ar. *ḥarbūš* ‘tent’, but the semantic shift is unusual.

XS

tìxsi [f.] pl. tixsiwìn ‘flock, cattle’
tíḥsī ‘head of a sheep or goat’ pl. *tiḥsiwîn*
P: capo (ovino o caprino); gregge
♦ TC: 618, K: 722
Berber, cf. Kb. *tixsi* ‘sheep’; To. *tèɣse* ‘sheep or goat, head of small livestock’; Zng. *təkših* ‘female goat’

XṬM

****əxṭə́m [v.ccc]** ‘to pass by’
res. ə̀xṭəm
res. 3sg.m. *yaḥṭîma* [PT:II]
PT:II
****xə̀ṭṭəm [v.cc̄c]** ‘to drop by someone (+ *af*), visit, to meet with’
impf. xəṭṭàm
impf. 3sg.m. *yeḥáṭṭām* [PT: IV], *iḥåṭṭâm* [PT: XI]
PT: IV, XI
♦ LA *īxaṭṭəm ʕalā* ‘to pick someone up, to drop by someone’ (p.c. Benkato)

XZR

****əxzə́r [v.ccc]** ‘to see; to look at s.o/s.th. (+ *af*)’

pf. əxzár seq. àxzər
imp. pl.f. *ḫzérmet* [PT:XV] pf. 3sg.m. *yáḫzer* [PT:VI,VII], *yäḫzér* [PT:III], *yeḫzér* [PT:III,XV] 3sg.f. *taḫzér* [PT:III,XV] 3pl.f. *ḫzérnęt* [PT:XV]
PT: III, VI, VII, XV M: voir *eghzart* غ ز ا ر ت; vue *yaghzart* يـغـز ا ر ت
○ Pronominal direct objects are indicated with the particle *ġār*.
♦ Ar. *ḫazara* 'to look askance, give s.o. a sidelone glance'
Algerian Ar. *ḫẓəṛ* 'look, stare, look disparagingly' (p.c. Souag)

Y1

ya [interj.] 'o! (vocative particle)'
ya [PT:V], *jā* [Z:IV,X]
PT: V Z: IV, X
♦ Ar. *yā* 'o!'

Y2

=áya, =é, =ək [demonstrative] pl. =ìya, =ìyəkproximal deictic clitic
-âya, -é, -ek, -ék [P: example] pl. *-îya, îyäk* [PT:I]
P: questo PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, IX
▷ *amędęn-âya, amędęn-ék* 'this man'

Y-D ► Š(-D), Y-D

YK

=ìyək ► =àya

YM1

yom [m.] pl. ayyam 'day'
yōm pl. *āīyām*
PT: II, IX
○ The singular yōm is only found in a code-switch to Arabic in the texts. îlā yōm ělqiyâma 'until the day of resurrection' [PT:II]
○ The plural is only found with a numeral.
♦ Ar. *yawm* pl. *ayyām* 'day'

YM2

yam [adv.] 'only, just'
yām
Z: X

YN ► N3

YQZR ► QZR

YR

ayùr [m.] pl. ayùrən 'new moon, month; button (of mother of pearl)'
ayūr, ayûr pl. *ayûren*
P: luna, mese; bottone M: lune *ayour* ا يـو ر
♦ TC: 115 K: 712
Berber, cf. Ghd. *óyăr* 'moon'; Kb. *aggur, agur* 'moon'; To. *íyor, áyyor, íyu, áyyur* 'moon'; Zng. *äʔž(ž)ər* 'moon'

YX ► Ɣ

Z1

zzày [m.] pl. zzìwən 'breast'
zzâī, zîu [B21] pl. *zzîwen, zîwen* [B21]
P: mammella B21: 384
○ Beguinot has a very different singular than Paradisi. The singular form of Beguinot would be the regular singular to correspond to the plural attested in Paradisi.
z-di, z-dìwa ► S2

Z2

izí n agmàr [phrasal n.] 'horse fly'
izî n agmár
P: mosca
♦ TC: 107
Berber, cf. Ghd. *izi* 'fly'; Kb. *izi* 'fly'; To. *éšš* 'fly'; Zng. *iʔžį(ʔ)* 'fly'; Siwa *izí* 'fly' (Naumann 2013: 374).

ZBD

zbùd [m.] 'spit, saliva'
zbûd
P: sputo
♦ Perhaps from Latin *sputum* 'spit' or Italian *sputo* 'spit'

ZDZ

azədùz [m.] '(wooden) hammer'
azedûz

P: martello
♦ NZ: DZ1
Berber, cf. Kb. *azduz* ‘mallet’; MA *azduz* ‘mallet’

ZF

azìf [m.] pl. zìffən ‘tail’
azîf, azīf-(ennûk) [PT:XV] pl. *zíffen* ‘tail’
P: coda PT: VIII, XV M: queue *azif* ازيف

ZG

zgi [conj.] ‘after that’
zgī
P: dopo
▷ *zgī a-kemmélḫ* ‘after I will have finished’
▷ *zgī yûna* ‘after he had entered’
♦ ► **ZGG**

ZGG

ar-zgìg [adv.] ‘inside’
ar-zgîg, ar-ĕzgîg, zgi
P: dentro PT: IV M: dedans *azkik* اذكيك
○ Historically to be analysed as *ar* ‘towards’ *s* ‘along’ *gìg* ‘inside’
▷ *yân ar-zgîg ‘go inside!’*
♦ K: 688 Foq. *žāž* ‘inside’; Sok. *žaž* ‘inside’; MA *žaž* ‘inside’; Ghd. *daž* ‘house’

ZK

zìk [v.cvc] ‘to become well, recover, heal (intrans.)’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. zìk
imp. sg. *zîk*; pf. 3sg.m. *izîk*; res. 3sg.m. *izîka*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayẹzîk*
P: guarire
♦ TC: 1144 K: 549, 701
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăzík* ‘to heal’; To. *àzzəy* ‘to get well’; Zng. *äžžig* ‘to heal’
s-əzìk, s-àgzək [caus.v.] ‘to heal (trans)’
imp. sg. *sezîk, ségzek*
P: guarire

ZL1

àzzəl [v.cc.irreg.] ‘to run (imperative only); to have bowel movement’
res. = fut. àzzəl impf. tàzzəl
imp. sg. *ázzel*; res. 3sg.m. *izzîla*; fut. *ayézzel*; impf. *itézzel*
P: andare; correre M: courir *yétazzeh* يـتـازّه; traverser *azzal* ازّال
▷ *ažār-ennûk itézzel* ‘I have diarrhea (litt. My belly is running)’
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăzzəl* ‘to run’; Kb. *əzzəl* ‘to run’; To. *àšəl* ‘to run’

ZL2

zzìl [m.] ‘iron’
zzîl
P: ferro M: fer *zel* زل
♦ TC: 1109
Berber, cf. Foq. *uzzâl* ‘iron’; Kb. *uzzal* ‘iron’; Nef. *zzel* ‘iron’; Sok. *uzâl* ‘iron’; Zng. *uzzäy* ‘iron’

ZL3

azzàl [m.] ‘saddle’
azzâl
P: finimenti

ZLF

ìzləf [m.] ‘summer’
ízlef, ẹ́zlef
P: estate

ZLMṬ

azəlmàṭ [m.] ‘left’
azelmå̂ṭ
P: sinistra
▷ *af azelmå̂ṭ* ‘on the left’
♦ TC: 1140
Berber, cf. Ghd. *azəlmaḍ* ‘left’; Kb. *azəlməḍ* ‘left’; To. *šəlməḍ* ‘to be left-handed’; Zng. *ẓäymuḍ* ‘left-handed’

ZLQ

azàləq [m.] pl. zulìq ‘billy goat’
azâlåq pl. *zulîq*
P: caprone M: bouc *zalaa* زلـعـه
○ Also called: *aġîded amoqqarân* (litt: big kid)

○ Müller has ʕ instead of *q*.
♦ Berber, cf. To. *ăšólaɣ* ‘stud goat, uncastrated adult billy-goat’; Siwa *zalaq* ‘billy goat’; Sok. *zâlaġ* ‘large goat’; Zng. *äžäyi(ʔ)* ‘billy goat’

ZM

azə́m [v.cc] ‘to shave’
pf. / seq. zəm impf. təzzàm
imp. sg. *azém*; pf. 3sg.m. *izem-*(*îs*) [PT:XIV]; impf. 3sg.m. *itezzâm* ptc. *tezzâmęn*
P: radersi PT: XIV M: barbier *yezem* يـزم; cheveu *ezem* اذم; raser *hezam* هـزام; raser (se) *hezameh* هـزامـه
azùm [v.n.m.] ‘shaving’
azûm
P: radersi
wa təzzàmən [m.] ‘barber (litt. The one who is shaving)’
wa-tezzâmęn, wa tezzâmęn [PT:XIV]
P: radersi PT:XIV

ZMR

əzmə́r [v.ccc] ‘to be able’
pf. / seq. əzmər res. èzmər impf. zəmmər
imp. sg. *ezmér*; pf. 1sg. *zmerḫ-*(*ká*) [PT:V] 3sg.m. *yezmęr* [PT:I]; res. 3sg.m. *izmîra* [PT:I]; impf. 1sg. *zémmerḫ* 3sg.m. *izémmer*
P: potere PT: I, V
♦ TC: 1125
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăzmər* ‘to be able (physically)’; Kb. *əzmər* ‘to be able’; To. *èšmər* ‘to endure, put up with’; Zng. *äžmər* ‘to support (without the risk of health)’

ZN1

****uzə́n [v.vcc]** ‘to weigh’
impf. tazən
impf. 3sg.m. *itāzän-*(*dîk*)
PT: IV
♦ Ar. *wazana* ‘to weigh’
uzùn-(nəs) [v.n.m.] ‘weighing’
uzún-(*nes*)
PT: IV
əlmizàn [m.] ‘balance, scales’
ělmīzân [PT:IV], *ělmīzân-*(*nes*) [PT:III], *elmīzân-*(*ī*) [PT:IV]
PT: III, IV M: poids *meizan* ميـزان
♦ Ar. *mīzān* ‘balances, scales’

ZN2

àzən [m.] ‘next year’
ázän
P: anno
♦ Siwa *azən* ‘next year’

ZNM

zənìm [m.] ‘bastard’
zinîm
Z: IX
♦ Ar. *zanīm* ‘bastard’

ZNQ

tzənə̀qt [f.] pl. tzənqìn ‘street’
tzenā́qt pl. *źenqîn, dzanqîn*
P: strada, via PT: III
♦ Mor. Ar. *zanqa* ‘street’; Ar. *zinaq* ‘narrow street, lane, alley, bystreet’

ZR1

zərr, zzər [m.] pl. zàrrən ‘back’
zerr, zzer pl. *zérren*
P: dorso M: dos *ghezzer* قـزّر
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *azagur* ‘back’; Siwa *ərrāō, ərrau* ‘back’

ZR2

tazàrt [f.] pl. təzzàr ‘millstone, handmill’
tazârt pl. *tezzâr*
P: macina
♦ Kb. *tissirt, tassirt, tasirt* ‘mill’; Foq. *tasârt* ‘millstone’; Siwa *tasärt* ‘handmill’

ZRD

****əzrə́d [v.ccc]** ‘to eat, gulp, devour’
fut. əzrəd
fut. 3pl.m. *azréden*
PT: XV
♦ Ar. *zarada* ‘to choke (s.o.), strangle; to gulp,

swallow, devour'

ZRF

azarìf [m.] 'alum'
azārîf
P: allume
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *aẓaṛif* 'alum'; Ghd. *aẓarif* 'alum'.

Ultimately from Punic, cf. Hebrew *ṣārīf* 'alum' (Vycichl 1958)

ZRG

azàrg [m.] pl. zàrgən 'stone'
azérg pl. *zérgen*
P: pietra
♦ MA *azerg* 'handmill'

ZRM

tazərmìt [f.] 'name of a sparrow'
tăzermît
P: passero

ZRQ ► LZRQ

ZṬ

azìṭ [m.] pl. ẓiṭàn 'donkey'
azîṭ, aẓîṭ, aẓîŏṭ, aẓīŏṭ-(énnes, ennûk) [PT:IV,VIII], *aẓiŏṭ-(énnes)* [PT:XII], *aẓîṭ-(énnes)* [PT:XII], *aẓīṭ-(ennûk)* [PT:VIII], *azîṭ-(annek)* [Z:XIII] pl. *ziṭân, ẓīṭân*
P: asino PT: IV, V, VII, VIII, XII Z: XIII M: âne *azeit* ازيت
♦ K: 708
Berber, cf. Ghd. *aẓéḍ* 'donkey'; To. *ešeḍ* 'donkey'. For a discussion on the historical development of this word see Kossmann (1999: 231)
təzìt, tizìt [f.] pl. tzittìn 'she-donkey'
tezît, tizît pl. *tzittîn, dzittîn, źittîn*
P: asino

ZW

aziwày [m.] pl. ziwàyən 'bunch of dates'
aziwâi pl. *ziwâyen*
P: grappolo di datteri
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *aziwa* 'bunch of dates'; Fig. *aziwa* 'stem of a female palm'; Ouar. *taziwayt* 'bunch'; Mzab *taẓiwayt* 'complete bunch' To. (H Y) *teẓewt* 'small branch'

ZWɣ

zəwwəɣ [stat.v.] 'to be red'
1sg. zəwɣàx 2sg. zəwɣàt 3sg.m. zəwwəɣ 3sg.f. zəwɣət pl. zəwɣìt
1sg. *zōūġâḥ* 2sg. *zōūġât* 3sg.m. *zŏūwaġ* 3sg.f. *zŏūġat* pl. *zōūġît*
P: rosso M: rougir *zouagh* زواغ; rouge *nézouagh* نـزواغ
♦ TC: 1114
Berber, cf. Ghd. *əzgəɣ* 'to be red'; Kb. *əzwəɣ* 'to become red, become brown'; To. *ìšwaɣ* 'to be or become red'; Zng. *ǯoḅḅä(ʔ)* 'to be red'
zwàɣ [adj.]pl. zwàɣən f. t(ə)zwàɣt pl. tzwáɣin 'red'
m. sg. *zuâġ* pl. *zuâġen*; f. sg. *tzuâġt, tĕzwâġt* [PT:XIII] pl. *tzuâġīn*
P: rosso PT: XIII

ZWR

zəwwər [stat.v.] 'to be large'
1sg. zəwràx 2sg. zəwràt 3sg.m. zəwwər 3sg.f. zəwrət pl. zəwwirìt
1sg. *zurâḥ* 2sg. *zōūrât* 3sg.m. *zúwor*; 3sg.f. *zŏūret, zûret* pl. *zuwirît*
P: grosso M: fort *zor* زور; rude *ezaouar* ازاوار
♦ TC: 1145 K: 94, 127, 222
Berber, cf. Ghd. *zuwwər* 'to be thick'; Kb. *zzuzər* 'to largen'; Zng. *ʒaʔw(w)uṛ* 'to be thick, be large'; Siwa *zwər* 'to become big'
s-əzwər [caus.v.] 'to swell (trans.); to make erect'
imp. sg. *sézwor*
P: grosso
azəw(w)àr [adj.]pl. zəw(w)àrən f tazəw(w)àrt pl. tzəw(w)arìn 'large'
m.sg. *azuwâr* pl. *zuwâren* f.sg. *täzuwârt* pl. *źuwarîn*
P: grosso M: épais *azouar* ازوار

ZWṬ

zwə́ṭ [v.ccc] ‘to slam; to throw’
imp. sg. *zwə́ṭ*
P: sbattere, gettare
****t-zəwəṭ [pass.v.]** ‘to be thrown on the ground’
t-zəwəṭ
res. 3sg.m. *itzə̂wîṭa*
P: sbattere, gettare

ZZR

z-ùzər [caus.v.] ‘to winnow’
impf. z-uzàr
imp. sg. *zûzer, zōzar*; impf. 3sg.m. *izuzâr*
P: vagliare
♦ Siwa *zuzər* ‘to winnow’; Fig. *zzuzzər* ‘to winnow’
az-ùzər [caus.v.n.m.] ‘winnowing’
azûzer
P: vagliare

Ẓ1

aẓùy [stat.v.] ‘to be bitter’
‘3sg.m. aẓùy 3sg.f. aẓuyìt pl. aẓuyìt’
sg. m. *aẓûi* f. *aẓuyît* pl. *aẓuyît*
P: amaro
▷ *imîn aẓuyît* ‘bitter water’
♦ Berber, cf. Sok. *zâi* ‘bitter’; Siwa *ẓai* ‘to be bitter’

Ẓ2

ẓ(ẓ)ùy [m.] pl. ẓwàn ‘palm’
ẓûi, ẓẓûi pl. *ẓuân*
P: palma M: palmier *azouan* ازون
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *taẓwət* ‘palm leaf’

ẒD

iẓd [m.] ‘spindle’
īẓd
P: conocchia per filare M: quenouille *ezd* ازد
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. the Berber words for ‘loom’, that appear to have a similar root: Foq. *aẓə́ṭṭa, aẓétṭa* ‘loom’; Kb. *aẓeṭṭa* ‘loom’; Nef. *ẓeṭṭə̊* ‘loom’; Sok. *aṣéṭṭa* ‘loom’; Siwa *aṣəṭṭa* ‘loom’; Ghd. *asəṭṭa* ‘loom’, cf. also *ṣṭâu* ► **ŠṬW**

ẒK

ẓẓàk [stat.v.] ‘to be heavy’
1sg. ẓẓákax 2sg. ẓẓákat 3sg.m. ẓẓàk 3sg.f. ẓẓàkət pl. ẓẓakìt
1sg. *ẓẓákaḫ* 2sg. *ẓẓákāt* 3sg.m. *ẓẓâk* 3sg.f. *ẓẓâket* pl. *ẓẓākît*; ptc. *ẓẓâken* [PT:III]
P: pesante PT: III M: pesant *ezzag* ازّق
♦ TC:118 K: 551
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ẓak* ‘to be heavy’; To. *ìẓak* ‘to be or become heavy’; Zng. *aʔẓ(ẓ)ag* ‘to be heavy’; Kb. *aẓay* ‘to be heavy’; MA *ẓẓay* ‘to be heavy’; Ouar. *ẓẓa* ‘to be heavy’
s-əẓẓìk [caus.stat.v.] ‘to make heavy’
imp. sg. *s-aẓẓîk*
P: pesante
taẓẓìk, taẓẓìq [f.] ‘heaviness, weight’
taẓẓîk, taẓẓîq
P: pesantezza

ẒM1

ẓum [v.cvc] ‘to fast’
imp. sg. *ẓūm*
P: digiunare
♦ TC: 1153
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ẓúm* ‘to fast’; Kb. *uẓum* ‘to fast’; To. *àẓum* ‘to fast’; Zng. *uẓuṃ* ‘to fast’. An early loanword from Ar. *ṣāma* ‘to fast’ (Kossmann & Van den Boogert 1997)

ẒM2

taẓùmt [f.] ‘herb (Ar. (Cyrenaica) *ṣåmma*, Ar. (Tripolitania) *bersîm*’
taẓûmt
P: erba
♦ Perhaps Berber, cf. To. *tàẓəmme* ‘type of grass, Chloris prieurii’

ẒMK/Y

ẓmək [v.ccc] ‘to sew’
impf. ẓəmmək
imp. sg. *ẓmåk* impf. 1sg. *ẓemmåkḫ* 3sg.m.

iẓémmåk
P: cucire M: couture *ezzoumak* ازّومك
♦ TC: 1158 K: 550
Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăẓmək* ‘to sew’; To. *àẓməy* ‘to be sewn’; Zng. *aẓ̄ṃug* ‘to sew’
aẓəmàk [v.n.m.] ‘sewing’
aẓamâk, azamâk [B21]
P: cucire B21: 384
aẓmày [m.] ‘joining (of mats)’
aẓmâi
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. *ẓẓān*
P: escremento
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *iẓẓan* ‘excrements’; Siwa *ẓẓan* ‘faeces’ (Naumann 2013: 374)

ẒṬ1

ẓùṭ [prep.] ‘above’
1sg. ẓuṭ mìnn-i ẓuṭ fəllì-wi 2sg.m. ẓuṭ mìnn-ək
ẓūṭ, ẓôṭ [PT:VI], *ẓů̂ṭ* [PT:VI,XV] 1sg. *ẓūṭ mínn-i, ẓūṭ fellî-wi* 2sg.m. *ẓūṭ mínn-ek*
▷ *ar-ẓûṭ* ‘upward’
▷ *s-ar-ẓů̂ṭ* ‘from above’[PT:VI]
P: sopra PT: XIII, XV
ar-ẓùṭ [adv.] ‘upward’
ar-ẓûṭ, ar-ẓů̂ṭ [PT:VI]
P: sopra PT: VI

ẒṬ2 ► ZṬ

Ž

əžž [v.c̄*] ‘to plant’
imp. sg. *ežž*
P: piantare
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăẓẓ* ‘to plant’; Kb. *əẓẓu* ‘to plant’; Nef. *ǎẓẓå, éẓẓå* ‘to plant’; Sok. *öẓẓu* ‘to plant’
əžžú [v.n.m.] ‘planting’
ěžžû
P: piantare
iž ► NŽ

ŽBN

žəbbànət [f.] ‘cemetery’
žebbânet
PT: II
♦ Ar. *žabbāna*(*t*) ‘cemetery’

ŽBR

žibərət-(ənnəs) [f.] ‘travelling bag’
žiberet-(*énnes*)
PT: XV

ŽDBY

ždàbyət [f.] ‘Ajdabiya’
ždâbiet
P: altro (example)
♦ Ar. *Aždābiyā*

ŽGŽ

ž-ìgəž [caus.v.] ‘to walk’
pf. / seq. = res. ž-ìgəž impf. ž-igàž
imp. sg. *žîgež*; pf. 1sg. *žígežḫ* 3sg.m. *ižîgež*; res. 1sg. *žigížḫa* 3sg.m. *ižigîža*; impf. 1sg. *žīgâžḫ* 3sg.m. *ižīgâž*
▷ *žîgež ar-dît* ‘to walk forward’
P: camminare; andare PT: III M: aller devant *djeghez* جقـز; rapprocher *djighez* جيـغـز; rapprocher (se) *djighezeh* جيـغـزه
♦ NZ: GZ29
Berber, cf. Zng. *iž̄īg̱* ‘walking’, suppletive verbal noun to *äbḏīh* ‘to walk’; Ghd. *ziyyəz* ‘to travel’
až-ìgəž [caus.v.n.m.] ‘walking’
ažîgež
P: andare

ŽɣDŠ

ažəɣdìš [m.] ‘false ribs?’
ažaġdîš

P: costola
♦ MA *aɣəsdis* 'rib'; Mzab *asəɣdis* 'side of the chest, flank'
Originally this word was a compound of *aɣəs* 'bone' + *adis* 'belly'. Like MA, Awjila has undergone metathesis.
tažəɣdìšt [f.] 'girth of rope that ties to the saddle'
tažaġdîšt
P: finimenti

ŽḤM

əžžəḥìm [m.?f.?] 'hell'
ežžaḥîm
PT: III
♦ Ar. *žaḥīm* 'fire, hellfire, hell' f. (also m.)

ŽKR

ažìkər [m.] 'large rope (also made of *ižvìn*)'
ažîker
P: corda PT: VII
♦ Kb. *izikər* 'braided rope'; Nef. *zukḗr, zukā́r* 'rope'

ŽLB

əžžàləb [m.] 'riches'
iğğílib
Z: VII
♦ Ar. *žalb* 'bringing, fetching, procurement, acquisition', developed to mean 'riches'

ŽLN

pl. žlàn [m.] 'speech, words, languages'
pl. *žlān, žlân* [PT:III,XV], *žlān-(îya)* [PT:V]
P: discorso, parole; lingua PT: III, IV, V, VI, XV
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *žilān n isîwan* 'The Siwi language'

ŽM1

Tažəmmit [P.N.] 'name of a garden in the village of Awjila'
Tažemmit
P: Tažemmit

ŽM2

ʔažəm [m.] 'deer, gazelle'
adjem ا د جم
M: daim, gazelle
♦ NZ: DM5
Berber, cf. To. (H.) *ehəm* 'antilope'; Zng. *äžəmmi(ʔ)* 'gazelle'; Siwa *izəm* 'gazelle'

ŽN1

žin [v.cvc.irreg.] 'to divide'
pf. / seq. = res. žìna
imp. sg. *žīn*; pf. 1sg. *žīnîḫ* 3sg.m. *ižîna*; res. 1sg. *žīnîḫa* 3sg.m. *ižīnâya* 3pl.m. *ižīnâna* [PT:II] 'to divide'
P: dividere PT: II
♦ TC: 1159 K: 619
Berber, cf. Foq. *ízin* 'to divide'; Ghd. *ăẓən* 'to divide'; To. *ùẓan* 'to divide, share'; Zng. *aẓun* 'to divide'
təmžìnt [v.n.f.] 'dividing'
temžînt
P: dividere

ŽN2

žní [m.] 'Libyan pound'
žnî, znî
PT: V
♦ ELA *žənəy* (Benkato 2012: 9); Ar. *žunaih* '(Libyan) pound'

ŽNQ ► ZNQ

ŽR1

təžìri [f.] pl. tžiriwìn 'small rope'
težîrī, tižîri [B21] pl. *ǧirīwîn* (<*tžirīwîn*)
P: corda B21: 386 M: chaîne *tedjiri* تـجيـرى; corde *édjeri* ا جـرى
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tazara* 'rope'

ŽR2

ižìr [m.] 'son (also used for animals)'
ižîr
P: figlio
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *ǧīr, žīr* 'son'

ŽR3

təžźr [f.] ‘moon’
težér
P: luna
♦ Berber, cf. Kb. *tiziri* ‘moonlight’; Ghd. *tazíri* ‘full moon’; Siwa *tazîri* ‘moon’

ŽR4

ažàr [m.] pl. žàrrən ‘abdomen, belly’
ažár pl. *žárren*
P: ventre
♦ Berber, cf. Siwa *ǧār* ‘abdomen, belly’

ŽRṬ

tžiràṭ [f.] ‘ribs of leafs (coll.)’
tžirâṭ
P: palma
tžíraṭ [f.] pl. tžiraṭṭìn ‘rib of a leaf’
tžîraṭ pl. *ǧirāṭṭîn*
P: palma

ŽṬ

àžəṭ [v.cc] ‘to grind, mill’
impf. təžžàṭ
imp. sg. *ážöṭ*; impf. 3sg.m. *itežžâṭ*
P: macinare
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăẓəḍ* ‘to grind’; To. *àẓəd* ‘to grind, crush’
****tt-əžəṭ [pass.v.]** ‘to be ground, be milled’
impf. = fut. ttàžəṭ
res. 3sg.m. *ittižîṭa*; fut. 3sg.m. *aittäžoṭ*
P: macinare

ŽV

ažəvú, ažəvu [m.] pl. əžəvùwən ? ‘hair’
aževû, ažévū, ežefû [B21; B24], *eževû* [B24] *eǧevû* [B21] pl. *eǧefûen* [B21; B24] ‘hair’
P: capelli, peli PT: VIII B21: 384 B24: 189
▷ *afĕttîu n ažévū* ‘one hair’
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *azaw* ‘hair’; Foq. *azâu n iɣáf* ‘hairs of the head’; Nef. *zâu* ‘hairs’; Sok. *zâu* ‘hairs’

ŽVN

pl. ižvìn [m.] ‘palm fibres’
pl. *ižvîn*
P: palma
♦ K: 132
Nef. *asân* ‘palm fibres’; Foq. *asân* ‘palm fibres’; Ghd. *azβan* ‘palm fibres’. Kossmann (2002) suggests that this word is originally a loanword from Egyptian.

ŽVṬ

(ə)žvəṭ [v.ccc] ‘to measure (cereals)’
imp. sg. *žvåṭ , ǎžvóṭ* [PT:VIII]
P: misurare PT: VIII
♦ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăẓβəḍ* ‘to measure’
ažvàṭ [v.n.m.] ‘measuring (cereals)’
ažvâṭ
P: misurare

ŽVV

žvùv [v.ccvc] ‘to burn incense’
pf. / seq. əžvuv res. žvùv
imp. sg. *žvûv*; pf. 1sg. *žvûvḥ* 3sg.m. *yéžvūv*; res. 1sg. *žvûvîḥa* 3sg.m. *ižvûva*
P: bruciare profumi
♦ Probably a causative derivation of *avûv* ‘smoke of incense’, the voicing of the *š-* prefix is unexpected.
žvùv [m.] ‘incense’
žvúv
P: profumi

ŽŽW

ažižìw, ašišìw [m.] ‘chick’
ažīžîu, ašīšîu
P: pulcino M: poulet *edjijiau* ا ج ي ج ي و
♦ K: 648
Berber, cf. Kb. *içəwçəw* ‘chick’; Nef. *šišìw* ‘young bird’ cf. also ELA *šowšāw* pl. *šowāšīw* ‘chick’ (Benkato 2012: 13).

ŽʕL

žʕəl [v.ccc] ‘to believe’
imp. sg. *ǧʿāl*
Z: XI
♦ Ar. *žaʕala* ‘to make; to put, place, lay; to believe’

ʕD

ʕàdd [v.cc̄(*)] ‘to go’
pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ʕàdd
imp. sg. *ʿadd, ʿádd* [PT:V] pl.m. *ʿaddât* pl.f. *ʿaddîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ʿaddîḥ* 2sg. *taʿaddît* [P: example] 3sg.m. *yaʿádd* 3pl.m. *ʿaddân* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ʿaddîḥa* 3sg.m. *yaʿídda*; fut. 1sg. *aʿaddáḥ, aʿddaáḥ* (sic) [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ayáʿadd, ayaʿadd* [PT:XV] 1pl. *annaʿádd* [PT:II,V,XV]
P: andare PT: II, IV, V, VII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV M: voyager *yaad* يـعـد
▷ *taʿaddît-ka* ‘do not go’
♦ ELA *iʕáddī* ‘to leave’

ʕDD

alʕədəd, əlʕədəd [m.] ‘number’
alʿáded, elʿáded
PT: VIII
♦ Ar. *ʕadad* ‘number, numeral’

ʕL

l(ə)ʕàlla [adj.adv.] ‘much, many, very’
lăʿalla, lʿâlla [PT:V,XI] ‘much, many, very’
P: molto PT: V, XI
♦ Ar. *ʕāli*(*n*) ‘high, tall, elevated; loud, strong; lofty, exalted, sublime’, the Awjila reflex of this word underwent a radical semantic shift.
lʕəllì-(yi) [m.] ‘high place’
lʿallî-(*yī*)
PT: VI
♦ Ar. *ʕalīy* ‘high, tall, elevated’
ʕəla-má [adv.] ‘as much as’
ʿala-má
PT: II
♦ Mor. Ar. *ʕlā* ‘according to, by’
ʕəla šan [prep.] ‘for the sake of’
ʿalā šān
Z: VIII
♦ ELA *ʕala šān, ʕašān* ‘for the sake of; because of’ (p.c. Benkato)

ʕLM

əlʕàləm [m.] pl. əlʕulamá ‘scholar’
elʿâlem pl. *ĕlʿulamâ*
PT: VIII
♦ Ar. *ʕālim* pl. *ʕulamāʔ* ‘scholar’

ʕM

ʕəmmá, ʕàmma [adv.]adverb that expresses progressive aspect.
ʿammâ, ʿámma [PT:II], *ʿamma* [Z:VI]
P: stare, restare, sedere PT: II Z: VI
▷ *ksûm ʿammâ inénna* ‘the meat is about to cook’
▷ *ʿámmā mudân* ‘(they) are praying’
♦ Ar. *ʕammāl* has the same function in dialectal Arabic and Siwi Souag (2010: 374). The loss of the *l* in Awjila is irregular.
ʕámma ▶ M6

ʕMM

əlʕəmàmət [f.] ‘turban’
elʿamámet
PT: XI
♦ Ar. *ʕimāma*(*t*) ‘turban’

ʕMR

****əʕmìr [v.ccic?]** ‘to function; to do’
fut. əʕmìr
fut. 3sg.f. *attaʿmîr*
PT: IV M: achevé *taamartet* تـعـمّـرتـت; achever *ammartet* غمّـرتـت
♦ Ar. *aʕmura* ‘to thrive, prosper, flourish, flower, bloom’; cf. this to the Siwi use of this word *ʕmaṛ* ‘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

ʕàng(ə)ra (or: ʕàng(ə)ra) [P.N.]place name
ʿángarā
PT: XV

ʕRYN

ʕəryàn [stat.v.] ‘to be naked’
3sg.m. *ʿaryân*

PT: IX
♦ Ar. *ʕuryān* ‘naked’

ʕṢR

lʕàṣər [m.] ‘afternoon prayer’
l‘áṣår
PT: II
♦ Ar. *ʕaṣr* ‘afternoon (prayer)’

ʕQB

əlʕəqqàb-(i) [m.] ‘evening’
ělʿaqqâb-(ī)
PT: IV
♦ Must be somehow derived from Ar. *ʕaqb* ‘after’

ʕYN

****ʕàyyən [cc̄c]** ‘to be ill’
impf. ʕəyyàn
impf. 1sg. *ʿayyânaḥ*
PT: V M: peste *ayyaneh* ایّـانـه
♦ Ar. *ʕayyān* ‘exhausted, tired, ill’

ʕYṬ

****ʕàyəṭ [v.cvcc]** ‘to yell, scream’
pf. / seq. = fut. ʕàyəṭ impf. ʕay(y)àṭ
pf. 3sg.m. *iʿâyeṭ* [PT:V], *yaʿâyäṭ* [PT:XV]; fut. 3pl.m. *aʿayyáṭen-(dîk)* [PT:II]; impf. 3sg.m. *iʿāyâṭ* [PT:III,IV], *iʿāīyâṭ* [PT:IV]
PT: II, III, IV, V, XV M: voix *aïat* ایـات
♦ Ar. *ʕayyaṭa* ‘to yell, scream, cry out’

ʕŽB

****əʕžəb [v.ccc]** ‘to please’
res. əʕžəb
res. 3sg.m. *yaʿžẹb-(kû)-ya, yaʿžeb-(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 *β as ν.

This thesis consists of three parts: the grammar, the texts and the lexicon. The grammar is the main analytical part of this thesis, but could not exist without the in-depth study of the available Awjila texts and the lexicon. Due to the political situation in Libya, it was not possible to conduct fieldwork on the language. This thesis is therefore based on the published sources on the language. The texts and word list by Umberto Paradisi are the most important of these sources.

The grammar contains a lengthy discussion on the interpretation and analysis of the transcription and phonology. This part give us many new insights into the interpretation of many factors of the language. Besides the phonology, the grammar also discusses the morphology of the noun and verb, and the syntax of the language.

In the appendix all published Awjila texts have been included, provided with a phonemic transcription and a word-by-word analysis. This analysis is essential for the understanding of the language, and it is referenced extensively in the grammar.

The lexicon contains all lexical material available to us on the Awjila language, with a new phonemic analysis of the transcriptions, and a full concordance of all the attestations of the words in its different grammatical forms in the available sources. The lexicon also contains some etymological notes, comparing Awjila to the other Berber languages which will aid future research into the linguistic history of Awjila and other Berber languages.

Dutch

De Awjila taal is een kleine Berbertaal die gesproken wordt in de Libische oase Awjila. Het heeft enkele kenmerken die anders zijn dan andere Berber talen, zoals een fonemisch accent, schwa in open syllabes en het behoud van de Proto-Berber *β als ν.

Dit proefschrift bestaat uit drie delen: de grammatica, de teksten en het lexicon. De grammatica is het voornaamste analytische deel van dit proefschrift, maar zou niet kunnen bestaan zonder grondig onderzoek van de teksten en lexicon. Vanwege de politieke situatue 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 anlyse 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.