



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Putten, M. van

Citation

Putten, M. van. (2013, October 1). *A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya) : based on Umberto Paradisi's material*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/21848>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/21848>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/21848> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Putten, Marijn van

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

Issue Date: 2013-10-01

A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya)

Based on Umberto Paradisi's Material

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 1 oktober 2013
klokke 15:00 uur

door

Marijn van Putten
geboren te Amsterdam in 1988

Promotor: Prof.dr. A.M.Lubotsky

Co-Promotor: Dr. M.G. Kossman

Overige leden: Prof.dr. V. Brugnatelli

Prof.dr. H.J. Stroomer

Dr. A.M. Al-Jallad

Contents

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgements

The current thesis would not be what it is today without the support and encouragement of many people. While many people have helped me, any mistakes in this thesis are, of course, my own responsibility. I am not able to list everyone that I wish to thank, and I apologize in advance to those that I have omitted.

I wish to thank Harry Stroomer, the founder of Berber studies in Leiden, for creating a stimulating environment for the study of Berber languages and linguistics. I thank Harry Stroomer and Maarten Kossman for sparking my interest in Berber linguistics, and teaching me the required knowledge to make this grammar possible.

I am grateful to Lameen Souag and Adam Benkato for their help in the early stages of translating and analyzing Paradisi's texts. I also owe thanks to Lameen Souag for lending me his knowledge of both Siwa and Awjila, and Adam Benkato for his vast knowledge of Eastern Libyan Arabic. Lameen Souag also helped me acquire Müller's word list, which helped ensure that the description of the grammar and lexicon could be more complete. For this I am thankful. I also owe sincere thanks to Vermondo Brugnatelli for helping me acquire Zanon's Awjila texts which were very important to complete my description.

I am grateful to Fathi N Khalifa for his generous help with the re-recording and analysis of Paradisi's Zuara Berber text. His enthusiastic assistance helped me get a clearer view of Paradisi's transcription and gave an insight into Zuanan customs.

The enormous knowledge of Arabic dialectology of Ahmad Al-Jallad has helped me to zero in on those last remaining items in the lexicon which certainly looked Arabic, but were very difficult to actually find in dictionaries. I thank him for his expertise and the many stimulating discussions on historical linguistics, dialect linguistics and Arabic dialectology.

I express my sincere gratitude to LUCL, and especially the management team Ton van Haaften, Egbert Fortuin and Gea Hakker, for providing a stimulating environment to conduct scientific research. Of the researchers active at LUCL, I would like to thank Sima Zolfaghari, Benjamin Suchard, Paul Noorlander, Khalid Mourigh, Stanly Oomen, Alwin Kloekhorst, Lucien van Beek and Michiel de Vaan, for taking an interest in my research and providing me with suggestions, inspiration and critique.

I would like to thank Jenia Gutova, Peter Kerkhof, Francien de Dreu, Tijmen Baarda and Jamal Dahmoun, for all they have done to make this thesis what it is today.

I thank my promotor, Alexander Lubotsky, co-promotor Maarten Kossman and the rest of the committee.

Finally, I would like to thank Fieke, Rolf, Arian and Eline for their tireless support of my academic endeavours.

Abbreviations and glosses

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

