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

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# Chapter 10

## Syntax

### 10.1 The basic sentence

The basic verbal sentence in Awjila can encode three functions that are integrated into the verbal complex when expressed pronominally: subject, direct object and indirect object. The subject is always marked through PNG-marking, also when it is expressed lexically. Except in topicalization, the lexical subject follows the verb.

- (157) *I-təhəyyər əlʕələm*  
3sm-be.confused:\*pf. scholar  
V S  
'The scholar was confused' [PT:VIII]

The direct object is marked with a lexical direct object, which always follows the verb. The direct object may also be expressed pronominally by means of a direct object clitic.

Instances where a sentence has both a lexical subject and a lexical direct object and no topicalization are very rare, but we do find two sentences of this type in the corpus. They display different orders of the lexical subject and lexical direct object:

- (158) *Bəʕədèn y-əslá Žhà žlan=iya*  
Then 3sm-hear:pf. Jha words=prox.:p  
V S DO  
'Then Juha heard these words' [PT:IV]

- (159) *Y-əxəmmám əlfəkr=ənn-əs sidi Háməd,*  
3sm-think:pf. thought=of-3s sidi.Hamid  
V DO S  
'Sidi Hamid thought his thought,' [PT:II]

Much more commonly, either the subject or the direct object is expressed lexically, while the other is pronominalized.

- (160) *w=iwìn n=išf i-llùm aməzzìn=n-əs*  
and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:P sons=of-3s  
V DO  
'And one day he gathered his sons' [PT:I]

- (161) *Bəʕadèn y-əsli=t*                      *əlħùdi aringi=nn-əs*  
 Then    3sm-hear:\*pf.=DO.3sm. Jew    neighbour=of-3s  
           V=DO                                      S  
 ‘Then the Jew, his neighbour, heard him’ [PT:V]

There is one case of a ditransitive verb which takes two lexical direct objects, namely *əfk* ‘to give’. In the one example of such a construction, the first direct object is the beneficiary, while the second direct object is the object given. When the beneficiary is pronominalized, it is pronominalized as an indirect object. Compare the following two examples:

- (162) *u=y-əfká kull*                      *iwìn təyarit.*  
 ...            and=3sm-give:pf. each one:sm stick  
 ‘and (he) gave each one a stick.’ [PT:I]
- (163) *w=i-fk-ísin*                      *əlħəzmət n=təyariwìn*  
 and=3sm-give:P-IO.3pm bundle    of=sticks  
 ‘and gave them a bundle of sticks’ [PT:I]

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

- (164) *Y-ušá=d*                      *Žhà màrra i-yàlli*                      *a=y-àssən*                      *akəllim=ənn-əs*  
 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha    once    3sm-want:\*pf. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s  
*amakàn baʕid*  
 place    be.far:3sm  
 ‘One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.’ [PT:X]

The person to whom something is sent takes the indirect object pronoun clitics when pronominalized:

- (165) *i-ssən=dik=a*  
 3sm-send:res.=IO.1s-res.  
 ‘He has sent me’ [P: s.v. io]

The lexical indirect object is marked by the preposition *i*. When the indirect object is pronominalized, the indirect object clitic is appended to the verb. The lexical indirect object follows the lexical subject. There are no attestations of both a lexical direct object and a lexical indirect object in one sentence.

- (166) *I-n=ìs*                      *əlqàdi i=Žhà:*  
 3sm-say:\*pf.=IO.3s judge    dat.=Jha  
 V                                      S            IO  
 ‘The judge said to Jha.’ [PT:V]

- (167) *Bəṣadèn y-əfki=t*                      *i=ddəlləl*      *dax*      *a=i-žiži=t*.  
 then      3sm-give:\*pf.=DO.3sm dat.=auctioneer in.order.to fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm  
 V=DO                                      IO

'Then he gave it to the auctioneer in order to sell it.' [PT:IV]

- (168) *qàma a=nn-à=k*                      *ləḥkàyəṭ axir*      *n=tà=nn-ək*.  
 now      fut.=tell:fut.-1s=IO.2sm story      better of=PMPH=of-2sm  
 V=IO                                      DO

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

The verb *an=is* 'to say' has obligatory pronominal indirect object marking (Paradisi 1960a: 164 s.v. *dire*). Even when there is no specific addressee in the sentence, the default 3sg. marker *-is* is always present. The obligatory pronominal indirect object marking also implies that, when a lexical indirect object is expressed, we also find the pronominal indirect object marking.

- (169) *w=ižigəž*                      *dzənqin=i n=ašəl*      *u=nəttin iṣayát*  
 and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he      3sm-yell:impf.  
*w=iṭann=is:*                      *ləmluxiyəṭ bəh(ə)y-ət*.  
 and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf

'and he would walk in the street of the village and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!' [PT:III]

- (170) *ṣədd an=is=t*                      *i=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq*.  
 go:imp. say:imp.=IO.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq  
 'Go and tell it to sisi Hamid Zarrouq.' [PT:II]

Double indirect object marking is found with one other verb, namely *mməḥ* 'to kiss'.

- (171) *mməḥ=is*      *i=tiriwt*  
 kiss:imp.=IO.3s. dat.=girl  
 'Kiss the girl!' [P: s.v. *baciare*]

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

- (172) *gì-x*      *dìt-i*      *ksùm*  
 put:\*pf.-1s in.front-1s meat  
 'I put the meat in front of me' [PT:II]
- (173) *Gan iwínan y-ərfiṣ=a*                      *af=təgili=nn-əs alḥəml zṣək*  
 there one:ms 3sm-lift.up.res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm  
*syàr=ləmluxiyəṭ*  
 from=mulukhiya  
 'There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head'

- (174) *a=d-gà-t ká škàrət af=ažìt?*  
 fut.=2s-put:fut.-2s neg. bag on=donkey?  
 ‘will you not put the bag on the donkey?’ [PT:XII]

Prepositions with pronominal suffixes also occur before and after the lexical subject.

- (175) *U=t-axzár yàr-əs təmìgni*  
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman  
 ‘And a woman looked at him’ [PT:III]

- (176) *U=y-axzár nattìn yàr-əs*  
 and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s  
 ‘And he looked at her’ [PT:III]

## 10.2 Non-verbal sentences

### 10.2.1 Copular sentences

A copular sentence is expressed by a subject followed by the predicate which is marked by the predicative particle *d*.

- (177) *nək d=awíl*  
 I pred.=Awjilan  
 ‘I will be an Awjilan’ [PT:II]
- (178) *wàya d=wà n=màni?*  
 this:ms pred.=PMPH:ms of=who  
 ‘whose is that one?’ [P: s.v. quello]

Copular sentences are negated by placing the predicative particle *d* before the predicate and the negative marker *ká* after the predicate.

- (179) *wàya d=ažìt ká*  
 this:sm pred.=donkey neg.  
 ‘this is not a donkey’ [PT:VII]

### 10.2.2 Prepositional sentences

Prepositions may be used in non-verbal sentences. In such sentences, the predicate is only marked by the preposition:

- (180) *wàya sar=zził*  
 this:ms from=iron  
 ‘This is of iron’ [P: s.v. di]
- (181) *nəttin məqqór am=nək*  
 he be.big:3sm like=I  
 ‘he is as big as me’ [P: s.v. come]

### 10.2.3 Locative sentences

Locative non-verbal sentences are expressed with the adverbial deictic *gan* ‘there’.

- (182) *Gan iwínan n=aməðən ašàl n=awilən.*  
 there one:ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people  
 ‘There once was a man in the village of Aujila’ [PT:II]

### 10.2.4 Possessive sentences

Possession is expressed by means of a construction with the preposition *ar* ‘to, toward’ + pronominal suffix.

- (183) *Gan Abúdabr 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) *rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a albəširət u=ku t-ɣəlli-t*  
 God 3sm-give:res.=10.1s=res. willingly and=you 2s-want.\*pf.-2s  
*a=tt-uyà-t=tət syàr-i?*  
 fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3sf from=1s  
 ‘God has given me this willingly and you want to take it from me?’ [PT:V]
- (186) *šəhìh žlan=ìya?*  
 be.true:3m words-PROX:p  
 ‘Are these words true?’ [PT:V]

## 10.4 Topicalization

In Berber, topicalized elements are usually placed in the left periphery of the sentence (Galand 2010: 311ff.). There is left-periphery placement in Awjila as well. The use of the left periphery seems to be limited to topicalized subjects only, but with the restricted data we have, this is very difficult to ascertain.

An example of topicalization can be found in an exchange in text II:

- (187) *Na-n=ìs:*                    *nakkəni n-ašummi=tì=ya*                    *u=n-či=tì=ya.*  
 say:\*pf.-3pm=IO.3s we            1p-cook:res.=DO.3sm=res. and=1p-eat:res.=DO.3sm=res.  
 ‘They said to him: We’ve cooked it and eaten it.’ [PT:II]

To this, the main character replies:

- (188) *I-n=ìsìn:*                    *nək ʔalamá*                    *ʔəkk-à=s*                    *aftw y-əlyám*  
 3sm-say:\*pf.=IO.3pm I            as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=IO.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf.  
*a=y-əmm.*  
 fut.=3sm-cook:fut.  
 ‘He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.’  
 [PT:II]

In these two sentences, the pronoun is clearly placed to the left side to indicate emphasis: ‘As for *us*, we’ve cooked it and eaten it’; ‘As for *me*, no matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.’

The two sentences are examples of placement of a pronominal subject in the left periphery. Nominal subjects can also be placed there:

- (189) *rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a*                    *am alá ʔəlli-x.*  
 God 3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. like rel. want:\*pf.-1s  
 ‘God has given like I wanted!’ [PT:V]

## 10.5 The usage of TAM-stems

There are five stem types that express different tense, aspect and moods.<sup>1</sup> This section describes the usage of these stems. Stative verbs are not attested with different TAM-stems. Unlike many other Berber languages, Awjila does not have a special negative perfective or negative imperfective forms.

Within the Berberological tradition, there exists great variation in the terminology used to denote the TAM-stems. The most commonly used terminologies are the ones used by Basset (1952) and Galand (1964). The system of TAM-stems in Awjila is different from other Berber languages; therefore some of the terminology used here only

<sup>1</sup>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) *ʕədd an=is=t* *i=sidi Ḥəməd əz-Zarruq.*  
 go:imp. say:imp.=IO.3S=DO.3SM dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq  
 ‘Go and tell it to sidi Hamid Zarrouq.’ [PT:II]

(191) *yax-àt arɣ-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!’  
*tnəššit ká* ‘do not sleep!’  
*tarit ká* ‘do not open!’  
*tánit ká* ‘do not enter!’  
*tašidda ká* ‘do not come!’

There are two instances of a prohibitive with a perfective stem instead of the imperfective stem.

*ur=tunìt* 'do not enter!  
*tnàdd=ìs ká* 'do not speak'

### 10.5.2 Perfective

The perfective stem expresses a punctual dynamic event in the past or a non-dynamic event with no reference to time. Morphologically, the perfective usually has an accent on the final syllable of the stem, which clearly distinguishes it from the future and the sequential perfective, which have a similar root shape but penultimate accent.

The phonological accent is replaced by default accent when PNG-marking and/or object clitics are placed behind the verb. In such cases the perfective is indistinguishable from the sequential perfective.

(192) *U=t-axzár* *yàr-às tàmìgni*  
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman  
 'And a woman looked at him' [PT:III]

(193) *U=y-axzár* *nattìn yàr-às w=i-gá* *alhamal=ànn-às dit* *n=tàmìgni*  
 and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s in.front of=woman  
 'And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman'

Non-dynamic verbs that have no reference to time are used in the perfective. The non-dynamic verbs that are only attested in the perfective are *iyàlli* 'to want' and *inni* 'to be, to exist'.

(194) *U=y-uyì=tət* *kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-yàlli*  
 And=3sm-take:\*pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:\*pf.  
*a=i-rzì=tət,* *y-azmər* *ká*  
 fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:\*pf. neg.  
 'And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.' [PT:I]

(195) *mag i-nni* *ənnùşş ən=təmùrt kkùll?*  
 where 3sm-be(loc.):\*pf. middle of=earth whole  
 'Then he asked him and said: where is the middle of the whole earth?' [PT:VIII]

There are two non-dynamic verbs that occur both with the perfective and the resultative. The two verbs that belong to this group, *azmár* 'to be able', *agál, gul* 'to see' fluctuate between the perfective and resultative with no discernable difference in meaning.

(196) *Bəḡədèn i-gùl* *iwinan*  
 Then 3sm-see:\*pf. one:sm  
 'Then he saw someone' [PT:XI]

- (197) *la yar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk*  
 no but see:res.=1S=DO.2SM=res. 2S-wear:res.-2S=res. robe like=PMPH:SM=of-1S  
*w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk*  
 and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1S  
 ‘No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine.’ [PT:XI]
- (198) *u=zmər-x ká a=ʕəddà-x əf=ʕarin=n-úk*  
 and=be.able:pf.-1S neg. fut.=go:fut.-1S on=legs=of-1S  
 ‘and I am not able to go on my legs’ [PT:V]
- (199) *i-zmìr=a kull iwìn a=y-ərzi=tət bišwàš.*  
 3sm-be.able:res.=res. each one:sm fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf easily  
 ‘Everybody is able to break it easily.’ [PT:I]

### 10.5.3 Sequential perfective

The sequential perfective is morphologically identical to the perfective, except for the place of the accent. Unlike the perfective, the sequential perfective does not have a phonological accent, cf. perfective *yəččá* with sequential perfective *yəčča*.<sup>2</sup> 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 Zuar Berber. As we only have very few other sources on Awjila, and only one source that consistently marks accent, it is very difficult to determine how accurate Paradisi’s accent notations are. However, in general, the accent notations in Paradisi’s materials from Awjila are relatively consistent. The only place where we find vastly variable different notations is with the position of the accent in the perfective. This suggests that the vacillations in the accent are not due to transcription errors, but rather represent different forms. This is strengthened by the fact that default accentuation is only found in sequential contexts, indicating a correlation between accentuation and syntactic function.

Not all verb types distinguish the perfective from the sequential perfective. Only the *ccc*, *cc\**, *vc\** and *c̄\** distinguish the sequential perfective from the regular perfec-

<sup>2</sup>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 *yúšà=d* while the non-sequential perfective has a default accent on the final syllable *yušà=d*.

tive. All other verb types either have default accent, or a phonological accent in all stems.

The sequential perfective is used to mark a sequence of dynamic actions in the past, introduced by a perfective. There are several examples:

- (200) *u=ʃaddà-n yállìy-ən a=zrəd-ən əlxərbusʃ=ənn-əsìn u=bəʃadèn*  
 and=go:\*pf.-3pm want:\*pf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then  
*t-ìva tafùt təbarùt=i u=yállìy-ən a=šəllhəm-ən afìw;*  
 3sf-fall:seq. sun road=loc. and=want:\*pf.-3pm fut.=light:fut.-3pm fire  
 ‘And they went and they wanted to eat (in) their garden and then the sun fell on the road and they wanted to light a fire.’ [PT:XV]

*tìva* would be *tivá* in the regular perfective

- (201) *Y-əxzár abbà-s žìbərət=ənn-əs y-ùfa gal lùda n=afìw.*  
 3sm-search:pf. father-3s travelling.bag=of-3s 3sm-found:seq. there nothing of=fire  
 ‘The father searched his travelling bag (but) found there was nothing for (lighting the) fire.’ [PT:XV]

*yufá* is the form of the non-sequential perfective.

- (202) *Šbaḥ šəmmà-n aməklìw u=t-ùna ar=tiriwìn=n-əs*  
 tomorrow cook:\*pf.-3pm meal and=3sf-enter:seq to=children=of-3s  
*u=y-úša=d àmza u=y-əčča aməklìw=ənn-əs*  
 and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s  
 ‘The next day, they the cooked the meal and (the mother) entered (the cave with her) children and the ogre came and ate his meal’ [PT:XV]

The expected non-sequential perfectives in this sentence would be *tuná*, *yušà-d*, *yəččá*.

- (203) *u=y-əxbət=ʔ af=təgìli n=təmìgni u=t-ìva təmìgni t-əmmùt*  
 and=3sm-hit:\*pf.=DO.3sm on=head of=woman and=3sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die:\*pf.  
 ‘He did not answer her (with any) words, and then he lifted the scales that he had carried and he hit them on the head of the woman, and the woman fell and died and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.’ [PT:III]

The use of the sequential perfective does not seem to be obligatory, and there are clear instances of sequential actions where both verbs have the regular perfective forms:

- (204) *Y-ušá=d, y-uná nəttìn idd-əs amakan=n-əsìn*  
 3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm  
*u=y-əmhəʔ=ʔət avət=idìn.*  
 and=3sm-make.love:\*pf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s

'He came and entered their place with her and he made love to her that night.'  
[PT:XV]

#### 10.5.4 Resultative

The resultative is derived from the perfective. It is formed by appending =*a* after the verbal complex (=y*a* when the verbal complex ends in a vowel), that is, including the PNG-endings and direct and indirect object markers. If this =*a* is preceded by a syllable containing *a*, this *a* is changed to *i*.<sup>3</sup>

The formation is also found in Siwa. This phenomenon was discussed in Basset (1935), Brugnatelli (1985), Leguil (1986) and in Souag (2010: 389-392). Earlier accounts interpret it as a resultative formation, similar in function to the so-called intensive perfective in Tuareg. Souag however, suggests that the formation, at least in Siwa, cannot simply be explained as a resultative, but rather as a particle that expresses 'relevance'. This is based on the fact that in Siwa the particle can also be added to imperfective stems.

This interpretation does not seem to apply in Awjila, as the resultative clitic =*a* is never found with the imperfective.

The formation in Siwa is slightly different from that of Awjila. Siwa, too, adds an element =*a* to the end of the verbal complex, and the *a* in a preceding syllable is also changed to *i*, but *only* if this *a* would end up in an open syllable. Because of this, Louali & Philippson (2005: 17) propose that the *i* is the regular result of accented *a* in an open syllable. This analysis is not possible in Awjila for two reasons: 1. both accented and unaccented *a* can stand in open syllables, 2. in the resultative *a* is always changed to *i* in the preceding syllable, regardless of whether the preceding syllable is open or closed.

The resultative expresses that a dynamic event has been finished in the past, but that the resulting situation is relevant or obvious in the present. Several examples below illustrate the resultative:

(205) *u=y-əʕədd*      *y-əlbib=a*      *af=aziṭ=ənn-əs*.  
and=3sm-go:pf. 3sm-climb:res.=res. on=donkey=of-3s  
'and he went sitting on the donkey (i.e. having climbed it).' [PT:XII]

(206) *U y-əlbáb*      *nəttin idd-əs ar=zùt*  
and 3sm-climb:pf. he      with-3s to=up  
'And he climbed up with him' [PT:VI]

<sup>3</sup>There are a few verbs where the vowel in the syllable that precedes the *i* that comes from *a* in the resultative is also changed to *i*. This process is not well-understood, cf. imp.sg. *irəš* res.3pl.m. *irišina* 'to descend'; imp.sg. *ərwəl* res.3pl.m. *ərwilina* 'to flee'; res.3sg.m. *yəvrūra* res.3pl.m. *vririna* 'to be fertilized (palm)'; fut.3sg.m. *aittəžəṭ* res.3sg.m. *ittizita* 'to be ground, be milled'.

Another clear contrast between the resultative and the perfective is found in examples with the verb *arfaʃ* ‘to lift up’. The resultative meaning is ‘the result of lifting up’ i.e. ‘to carry’, cf.:

- (207) *Gan iwínan y-arfiʃ=a af=təgili=nn-əs əlhəml zək*  
 there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm  
*syàr=ləmluxiyət*  
 from=mulukhiya  
 ‘There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head’  
 [PT:III]

- (208) *Bəʃadèn y-arfaʃ Žhà təgili=nn-əs ar=zùt i-gùl irìw*  
 Then 3sm-lift.up:pf. Jha head=of-3s to=up 3sm-see:\*pf. child  
 ‘Then Jha lifted his head up’ [PT:XIII]

Another example of the resultative as opposed to the perfective meaning can be found in text X for the verb *arwəʃ* ‘to be afraid’.

- (209) *lākən akəllim i-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən ká təbarùt*  
 but servant 3sm-know:\*pf. neg. place and=3sm-know:\*pf. neg. way  
*u=y-ərwəʃ a=y-ùγər w=i-n=ìs i=Žhà:*  
 and=3sm-become.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut. and=3sm-say:\*pf.=10.3s dat.=Jha:  
*rwih-h=a a=uyər-x.*  
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=get.lost:fut.-1s  
 ‘But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way and he became afraid to get lost, and he said to Jha: I am afraid of getting lost.’ [PT:X]

As mentioned in the description of the perfective (section 10.5.2), some non-dynamic verbs are found both in the perfective and the resultative. One non-dynamic verb is only attested in the resultative:

- (210) *təwwəg t-irəy=a*  
 food 3sf-be.raw:res.=res.  
 ‘the food is raw’ [P: s.v. crudo]

### 10.5.5 Future

In the majority of the Berber languages, non-realized and future events are expressed by means of the particle *ad*, mostly combined with the aorist stem. The aorist stem is also used for the imperative. In Awjila (as well as in some other eastern Berber languages, see Kossmann 2000), the stem that is used to express non-realized and future

events is clearly distinct from the imperative stem. Following Lanfry (1968), I have adopted the term ‘future’ to describe this TAM.

In most cases, the future stem is identical to the perfective stem. The main means to distinguish the future from the perfective is by the clitic *a=*, which is placed in front of the future stem after PNG-marking is applied. The future and perfective stems are formally different in the case of *cc\** verbs, and in such cases they can be distinguished by more than just the clitic *a=*. Moreover, the accent is different in the perfective and future stems (but the same as sequential perfective!), although the difference is neutralized in many cases, due to phonological constraints on accent placement.

The future expresses that an event has not yet been realized (i.e. it either will take place in the future or not at all).

- (211) *akká, kammim am=tyariwin=iyak, àndu t-állumà-m iman=nə-kim*  
 this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if 2p-gather:\*pf.-m self=of-2pm  
*məśá bəśádkum a=tt-əqqíma-m am=təyariwin=iyak*  
 with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m like=sticks-prox.:p  
 ‘look, you are like these sticks, if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.’ [PT:I]

The operator verbs *γəlli* ‘to want to ...’, *əlyám* ‘to refuse to ...’ and *ərwáf* ‘to be afraid to ...’ are followed by a clause that has a main verb with the future stem:

- (212) *U=y-uyì=tət kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-γəlli*  
 And=3sm-take:\*pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:\*pf.  
*a=i-rzì=tət*  
 fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf  
 ‘And each one of them took it and wanted to break it’ [PT:I]
- (213) *rwih-ħ=a a=i-ni=dik: kəm t-tàkər-t syàr-i.*  
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.1s you 2s-steal:impf.-2s from-1s  
 ‘I was afraid he would say to me: You are stealing from me!’ [PT:IV]
- (214) *y-əlyám a=y-əfki=tənət y=əlhùdi.*  
 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-give:fut.=DO.3pf dat.-Jew  
 ‘He refused to give them to the Jew.’ [PT:V]

The conjunction *dax* ‘in order to’ is followed by a future. It is discussed in more detail in section 10.7.5.4

### 10.5.6 Imperfective

The imperfective primarily expresses a habitual or progressive action. The imperfective may express actions in the past, present and future.

An example of the progressive meaning of the imperfective is:

- (215) *ku t-əqəlləz-t šəhiḥ*  
 you 2s-lie:impf.-2s be.true:3sm  
 'You truly are lying!' [PT:V]

The habitual meaning is clearly illustrated in the following sentence:

- (216) *w=ižigàž dzənqin=i n=ašəl u=nəttin iṣayāt*  
 and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.  
*w=iṭann=iṣ: ləmluxiyət bəh(ə)y-ət.*  
 and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf  
 'and he would walk in the street of the village and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!' [PT:III]

Often, the imperfective follows an auxiliary verb. In the texts we most commonly find *qim* which usually means 'to stay, sit' but, when used as an auxiliary can be translated as an inchoative auxiliary to the following imperfective verb. The particle *ṣamma*<sup>4</sup>, which has no verbal morphology is also followed by the imperfective, and expresses a continuous action.

- (217) *u=tafūt t-əhmà=ya fəlli-s u=t-əqqim (t)-təttà afiš=ənn-əs*  
 and=sun 3sf-burn:res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:\*pf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3s  
*id=əlgəfā=nn-əs*  
 with=neck=of-3s  
 'and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck' [PT:III]

- (218) *Y-ufi=tən ṣamma mudà-n lṣəṣər;*  
 3sm-find:\*pf.=DO.3pm prog. pray:impf.-3pm afternoon.prayer  
 'He found them praying the afternoon prayer.' [PT:II]

## 10.6 Relative clauses and relative clause-like formations

Relative clauses, cleft sentences and question word sentences have similar constructions. One of the distinguishing features of relative clauses and relative clause-like constructions is the use of the so-called participle of the verb when the antecedent functions as the subject in the relative clause(-like) construction (see section 4.1.4).

### 10.6.1 Subject relative clauses

Subject relative clauses are introduced by a PMPH (see 6.3.1) that agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The verb of the relative clause takes the participle ending.

<sup>4</sup>cf. Arabic *ṣammāl* that also expresses progressive aspect in dialectal Arabic. Siwa also uses this auxiliary verb with the same function.



When the antecedent is non-human and incorporated into the relative pronoun, the relative pronoun *alá* is used (see section 6.3.2).

- (219) *amàdàn wa táràv-àn nàttìn řayyàn*  
 man PMPH:ms write:impf.-ptc. he be.ill:3sm  
 ‘The man who is writing, is ill.’ [P: s.v. che, il quale]
- (220) *tirìwt ta taglúla-n díla mri-yàt*  
 girl PMPH:sf play:impf.-ptc. at.here be.beautiful-3sf  
 ‘The girl who is playing here, is beautiful.’ [P: s.v. che, il quale]
- (221) *təmìgni ta ušà-n=d-a řàbàř d=wàrtna*  
 woman PMPH:sf come:res.-ptc=come=res. yesterday pred.=sister  
 ‘The woman who came yesterday is my sister.’ [P: s.v. che, il quale]
- (222) *u=bàřadèn y-axzár af=alřaməl=ànn-əs wa řžàk-àn dax*  
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to  
*a=y-ərřàř=t*  
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm  
 ‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry’ [PT:III]
- (223) *i-řàrw=ís ləhùdi s=alá řarà-n=a.*  
 3sm-tell:pf.=IO.3s Jew from=rel. happen:res.-ptc.=res.  
 ‘The Jew told him about what had happened.’ [PT:V]

In the text corpus there is one case of a subject relative that has regular PNG-marking rather than the participle. This verb is followed by an indirect object pronoun. It may be that the participle form cannot receive pronominalized object clitics, and therefore the regular PNG-marking is used instead. Without more examples, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated.

- (224) *wa y-əřki=dik=a lřàlla a=y-əřki=dik iwínan;*  
 PMPH:sm 3sm-give:res=IO.1s=res, much fut=3sm-give:fut.=IO.1s one:sm  
 ‘He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).’ [PT:V]

## 10.6.2 Direct object relative clauses

A direct object relative clause is introduced by a PMPH which agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The clause takes a finite verb with PNG-marking that agrees with the subject. The verb sometimes has a resumptive direct object clitic.

Also in case of direct object relative clauses with a non-human incorporated antecedent, the relative pronoun *alá* is used.

- (225) *amàdàn wa ššìn-x=a šəbət̪ yàr-əs lùda*  
 man PMPH:ms know:res.-1S=res. yesterday to-3S nothing  
 ‘The man whom I got to know yesterday is poor (litt. has nothing)’ [PT: s.v. che, il quale]
- (226) *u=šəmmà-n ksùm wa y-ərɸiɸ=a;*  
 and=cook:\*pf.-3pm meat PMPH:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res.  
 ‘and they cooked the meat that he had carried.’ [PT:II]
- (227) *u=bəɸədèn y-ərɸəɸ əlmizàn=n-əs wa y-əhməl=tì=ya*  
 and=then 3sm-lift:pf. scales=of-3S PMPH:ms 3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res.  
 ‘and then he lifted the scales that he had carried’ [PT:III]
- (228) *alá d-gì-t bàhi.*  
 rel. 2S-do:\*pf.-2S be.good:3sm  
 ‘What(ever) you do is fine.’ [PT:XV]

### 10.6.3 Indirect object relative clauses

Paradisi’s materials do not contain examples of indirect object relative clauses.

### 10.6.4 Prepositional relative clauses

Prepositional relative clauses are introduced by a PMPH that agrees in gender and number with the antecedent. The relative clause receives a preposition with a resumptive pronoun suffix or a locative adverb.

- (229) *w=i-n=ís y=əttàžər wa y-uyà=ya syàr-əs azìt:*  
 and=3sm-say:\*pf.=10.3S dat.=merchant PMPH:ms 3sm-take:res.=res. from-3S donkey  
 ‘and said to the merchant whom he had taken the donkey from:’ [PT:VII]
- (230) *amkàn wa t-nàšša gan təmìgni*  
 place PMPH:sm 3sf-sleep:impf. there woman  
 ‘The place where that woman is sleeping.’ [PT: s.v. che, il quale]
- (231) *ssuwàni ta škì-x=a z=gan màšk-ət*  
 garden PMPH:sf leave:res.-1S=res. from=there be.small-2sf  
 ‘The garden that I left is small’ [PT: s.v. che, il quale]

### 10.6.5 Non-verbal relative clauses

There is one example of a non-verbal relative clause. This is formed with the locative adverb *gan* ‘there’.

- (232) *bəʕədèn gi-x addəmləʒ n=əddəhəb əlkəffət ta gàn əlmizàn;*  
 then put:\*pf.-1s bracelet of=gold plate PMPH:sf there scales  
 ‘then I put a golden bracelet on the plate that was on the scales.’ [PT:IV]

### 10.6.6 Adjoined relative clauses

It is possible to form a subject relative clause, with no marking at all. A finite verb simply follows the head clause, without using a PMPH or participle form of the verb. Such unmarked constructions also exist in other Berber languages, and are discussed in more detail in Galand (2010: 173). This use is especially common with stative verbs, but there are also examples where it occurs with non-stative verbs.

- (233) *u=nəttìn iʕayát w=itənn=is: əmluxiyət bəh(ə)y-at.*  
 and=he 3sm-yell:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf  
 ‘and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!’ [PT:III]
- (234) *wəya d=azit fəšūš, qəwi u=d=azit mri.*  
 this:sm pred.=donkey be.agile:3sm, be.strong:3sm and=pred.=donkey be.good:3sm  
 ‘This is an agile and strong donkey, and it is a good donkey’ [PT:IV]

One gets the impression from these examples that these constructions are used only with indefinite antecedents of the relative clause. This would also explain why Paradisi considers the stative verbs indefinite adjectives. In the corpus, all stative verbs used in this way refer to indefinite antecedents. However, for the non-stative verbs in this construction, the indefinite reading does not work. In the first example below the antecedent is indefinite. But later in the same text, we find exactly the same construction, where it is clearly referring back to the same dead camel. It is therefore impossible to read this construction as indefinite.

- (235) *u=bəʕədèn nəhìnət ufä-nət ələyəm y-əmmùt=a*  
 and=then they(f) find:\*pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res.  
 ‘and then they found a dead camel’ [PT:XV]
- (236) *U=šəmmá-n=is sar=ələyəm y-əmmùt-a*  
 and=cook:\*pf.-3pm=10.3s from=camel 3sm-die:res.=res.  
 ‘and they cooked for him from the dead camel’ [PT:XV]

We find one other example of an adjoined relative class with a non-stative verb:

- (237) *bəʕədèn y-ušà=d iwínan i-sàsa af=təfilli=nn-əs.*  
 then 3sm-come:pf. one:sm 3sm-beg:impf. on=house-of-3s  
 ‘Then someone came begging at his house.’ [PT:VI]

### 10.6.7 Cleft sentences

The formation of cleft sentences can be divided into two categories: Clefts with an incorporated antecedent and clefts without. All examples of clefts are listed below.

Clefts without an incorporated antecedent are formed like relative clauses. Subject clefts are formed by the antecedent followed by a PMPH followed by the participle.

- (238) *bàlak nàttìn wa nnìy-ən af=əlkətɸ=ànn-ək.*  
 perhaps he PMPH:sm be(loc.):\*pf.-ptc. on=shoulder=of-2sm  
 ‘perhaps he is the one that is on your shoulder?’ [PT:XIII]

Once we find a cleft without an incorporated antecedent in the first person. It does not take the participle, but rather the first person singular form. As was the case of the subject relative in section 10.6.1, this verb is followed by an object clitic.

- (239) *nək wa əhdəɸ-x=tit=a i=kú*  
 I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you  
 ‘I am the one who has thrown it to you’ [PT:V]

The two attested clefts that have an incorporated antecedent, function similar to other clefts, except that they take the element *d-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 *əlá* which apparently has a slightly different phonetic shape after the predicate marker *d* (see also section 6.3.2).

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

- (241) *Nək wa d=əlá slì-x=a sar=middən ləwwəl kəddim-ən*  
 I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-1s=res. from=people formerly old:mp  
 ‘This is what I heard from the old people once’ [PT:II]

### 10.6.8 Question word sentences

Question word sentences behave like relative clauses, except that they do not use the PMPH to serve as relative pronouns. Therefore, subject questions word sentences take the participle form of the verb, while direct object question word sentences take the finite form, e.g.

- (242) *máni ušá-n=d=a díla?*  
 who come:res.-ptc.=come=res. at.here  
 ‘who came here?’ [P: s.v. chi?]

- (243) *ddiwa d-gì-t=a?*  
 what 2s-do:res.-2s=res.  
 ‘what did you do?’ [PT:II]

The attested question words are:

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

- (244) *mag ì-nni annùşş an=təmùrt kkùll?*  
 where 3sm-be(loc.):\*pf. middle of=earth whole  
 ‘Where is the middle of the whole earth?’ [PT:VIII]
- (245) *màg annìy-ən ləhil=ənn-ək.*  
 where exist:\*pf.-3pm family=of-2sm  
 ‘Where is your family?’ [PT:XV]
- (246) *mmìn t-uşì-d=d=a dila?*  
 when 2s-come:res.-2s=come=res. at.here  
 ‘when did you arrive here?’ [P: s.v. quando]
- (247) *afìwa t-nə-d=dik ká (or: ur=t-nə-d=dik) žlan=ìya*  
 why 2s-say:\*pf.-2s=IO.1s neg. neg.=2s-say:\*pf.-2s=IO.1s words-prox.:p  
 ‘Why did you not tell me these words?’ [PT:VI]
- (248) *am=màgwa əlʕàdəd nə=nžùm?*  
 like=what:sm number of=stars  
 ‘How much is the number of stars?’ [PT:VIII]

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

- (249) *af=dìwa ət-xəmmàm-t?*  
 on=what 2s-think:impf.-2s  
 ‘what are you thinking of?’ [P: s.v. che cosa?]
- (250) *s=màg t-uşì-d=d=a Abudàbr.*  
 from=where 2s-come:\*pf.-2s=come=res. Abu.Dabr  
 ‘The ogre said to him: Where did you come from Abu-dabr?’ [PT:XV]

### 10.6.8.1 *mag-wa* ‘which? what?’

There is an interrogative ‘which? what?’ which agrees in gender and number with the noun it modifies. There are no examples of this question word in the texts or word list. Historically, it seems to consist of the question word *mag* ‘where?’ followed by a PMPH.

	sg.	pl.
m.	màg-wa	màg-wi
f.	màk-ta	màk-ti

While Paradisi provides the full paradigm of this interrogative, he does not provide any examples of its use, nor are there any attestations in the texts.

A specialized use of the interrogative *màg-wa* is found when it is combined with the preposition *am* ‘like’. This sequence *am=màg-wa* has the meaning: ‘how much? how many?’.

	sg.	pl.
m.	am=màg-wa	am=màg-wi
f.	am=màk-ta	am=màk-ti

Paradisi provides a full paradigm of this interrogative. Presumably, it agrees in gender and number with the noun that it refers to. The corpus provides us with two examples of this use of *am=màg-wa*, both in the masculine singular, agreeing with the predicate of the masculine singular word *əlʕə̀dəd* ‘number’ :

- (251) *am=màgwa əlʕə̀dəd nə=nžùm?*  
 like=what:sm number of=stars  
 ‘How much is the number of stars?’ [PT:VIII]
- (252) *am=màgwa əlʕə̀dəd n=ažə̀vu n=tamirt=ənn-ùk.*  
 like=what:sm number of=hairs of=beard=of-is  
 ‘How much is the number of hairs of my beard?’ [PT:VIII]

## 10.7 Clause linking

### 10.7.1 Coordination

#### 10.7.1.1 Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrase coordination is achieved by placing the commitative preposition *id* ‘with, and’ between the two coordinated phrases.

- (253) *a=fk-à=k azit id=talàba yar řàdd idd-i ar=alqàdi.*  
 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 uři-γ=d ká, a=n-mhàsəb nək idd-əs yom əlqiyàma.*  
 if come:pf.-1s neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection  
 ‘If I do not come, we —him (who suffers) and me— will settle the score at the  
 day of resurrection.’ [PT:II]

### 10.7.1.2 Clausal coordination

Clauses can be coordinated with the particle *u*<sup>5</sup> which has an allomorph *w* in front of vowels. This form of clause coordination is very common, and on this point Awjila differs radically from other Berber languages, that usually do not have a marking for clausal coordination (Kossmann 2013a: 339ff.).

- (255) *Màrra y-uyà=ya ksùm u=y-uřà=d y-axřim=a*  
 once 3sm-take:res.=res. meat and=3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-pass.by:res.=res.  
*af=ammùd n=sidi Hāməd əz-Zarrùq.*  
 on=mosque of-sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq  
 ‘One day, he had gotten meat and he passed by the mosque of Sidi Hamid  
 Zarrouq’ [PT:II]

When there is a sequence of actions marked by a sequential perfective, the coordinator *u*, *w* is sometimes absent.

- (256) *u=t-iva təmignì t-əmmùt u=y-əqqim y-əvdid=a*  
 and=3sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die:pf. and=3sm-stay:pf. 3sm-stand:res.=res.  
*agur=ənn-əs ir=a=y-ùř əlbulis.*  
 besides=of-3s until fut.=3sm-come:fut. police  
 ‘and the woman fell and died and he stayed and stood beside her until the po-  
 lice would come.’ [PT:III]

The coordinator *nay* ‘or’ is placed between the two coordinated phrases.

- (257) *y-əřžəb=kù=ya nay y-əřžəb=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]

<sup>5</sup>From Arabic *wa* ‘and’.

- (258) *wəllàhi qàma a=hdəf-à=s tàs(ə)ʕa məyət id=tàs(ə)ʕa u=təsʕin*  
 by.God now fut.=throw:fut.-1S=IO.3S nine hundred with=nine and=ninety  
*žni w=a=ggulà-x=t a=y-uyí=tənət naɣ wəla.*  
 pound and=fut.=see:fut-1S=DO.3SM fut=3SM-take:fut.=DO.3PF or not.  
 ‘By God, now I will throw to him 999 pounds and see if he will take it or not.’  
 [PT:III]

### 10.7.2 Adversative conjunctions

There are two adversative conjunctions: *ləkən* ‘but’ and *ɣar* ‘but’. Due to the paucity of attestations, it is not possible to determine a difference in meaning.

- (259) *ləkən akəllim i-ššan ká amakàn w=i-ššan ká təbarùt*  
 but servant 3SM-know:\*PF. neg. place and=3SM-know:\*PF. neg. way  
 ‘But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way’ [PT:X]
- (260) *ləkən y-əlyəm a=i-gì=tət af=azìt*  
 but 3SM-refuse:seq. fut.=3SM-put:fut.=DO.3SF on=donkey  
 ‘But he did not want to put it on the donkey’ [PT:XII]

There is one instance of *ləkən* in the text where the adversative meaning is not particularly pronounced:

- (261) *u=bəʕədèn y-axzár af=alḥəməl=ənn-əs wa zək-ən dax*  
 and=then 3SM-look:PF. on=load=of-3S PMPH:MS be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to  
*a=y-ərʕəʕ=t ləkən y-əkri y-əvdəd u=bəʕədèn*  
 fut.=3SM-lift:fut.=DO.3SM but 3SM-return:\*PF. 3SM-stop:seq. and=then  
*y-əmmùdd afus=ənn-əs y-əddùgg af=əlbàb*  
 3SM-extend:\*PF. hand=of-3S 3SM-knock:\*PF. on=door  
 ‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry, so he turned around and stopped and then he extended his hand and knocked on the door.’ [PT:III]
- (262) *a=ʕk-à=k azìt id=tələba ɣar ʕədd idd-i ar=əlqàdi.*  
 fut.=give:fut.-1S=IO.2SM donkey with=gown but go:imp. with-1S to=judge  
 ‘I will give you a donkey and a gown, but you have to go with me to the judge.’  
 [PT:V]
- (263) *la ɣar guli-x=kù=yə t-udin-t=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk*  
 no but see:res.=1S=DO.2SM=res. 2S-wear:res.-2S=res. robe like=PMPH:SM=of-1S  
*w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk*  
 and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1S  
 ‘No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!’ [PT:XI]



### 10.7.3 Complementation

There is only one example of a complementizer in the texts, the Arabic particle *ʔann-ək* which combines with the verb *əhsəb* ‘to think’.

- (264) *əhsəb-x=kù=ya ʔann-ək ku d=nək.*  
 think.res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmlpr.2sm you pred.=I  
 ‘(so) I figured that you are me!’ [PT:XI]

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

- (265) *la ɣar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk*  
 no but see.res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear.res.-2s=res. robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s  
*w=əlɣəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk*  
 and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s  
 ‘No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!’ [PT:XI]

### 10.7.4 Comparison

In comparisons, noun phrases are introduced with the preposition *am* ‘like’, verb phrases are introduced by *am* followed by the relative pronoun *alá*.

- (266) *U=ga-n=ìs am=tàtən.*  
 and=do:P-3pm=10.3s like=other:sf  
 ‘And they did to her like (they did to) the other.’ [PT:XV]
- (267) *nəttìn məqqár am=nək*  
 he be.big:3sm like=I  
 ‘he is as big as me’ [P: s.v. come]
- (268) *i-g=ìs am=alá i-gà=ya y=umà-s*  
 3sm-do:pf.=10.3s like=rel. 3sm-do.res.=res. dat.=brother-3s  
 ‘he did to him like he had done to his brother’ [P: s.v. come]

#### 10.7.4.1 The comparative *axir* ‘better’

There is only one example of a dedicated comparative in Awjila, namely, *axir* ‘better’. There are only three examples of this word in the corpus, and all three of them have quite different construction. From the sparse data we can draw the following tentative conclusions:

The basic comparative sentence has a similar structure to other Berber languages (cf. Souag 2010: 157ff.), where the nominal complement is marked with the genitive particle *n*.

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

When the complement of *axìr* is verbal, no particle is placed in between *axìr* and the complement.

- (270) *a=unà-x s=ədbuš=ənn-ùk axìr a=ukər-ən=tən qəttáfan.*  
 fut.=enter:fut.-1s with=clothes=of-1s better fut.=steal:fut.-3pm=DO.3sm thieves  
 ‘it would be better if I would enter with my clothes than if they would be stolen by thieves.’ [PT:IX]

The word *axìr* is found in one other construction, where it is followed directly by the Arabic preposition + pronominal suffix *l-ək*.

- (271) *amùr d-žìžì-t s=alùwəl axèr lək ká?*  
 if 2s-sell:\*pf.-2s from=before better to.you neg.  
 ‘Would it not have been better if you had sold (it) to me earlier?’ [PT:III]

## 10.7.5 Subordination

### 10.7.5.1 Conditionals

There are several words that introduce conditional clauses: *əndu*, *undú* ‘if’, *lukàn* ‘if’ and *amúr* ‘if’.

*əndun undú* ‘if’ is used with hypothetical conditional clauses.

- (272) *əndu t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kìm məśá bəśáđkum a=tt-əqqíma-m*  
 if 2p-gather:\*pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m  
*am=təyariwin=iyək*  
 like=sticks-prox.:p  
 ‘if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.’ [PT:I]
- (273) *Undú uši-γ=d ká, a=n-mḥàsəb nək idd-əs yom əlqiyàma.*  
 if come:\*pf.-1s neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection  
 ‘If I do not come, we —him (who suffers) and me— will settle the score at the day of resurrection.’ [PT:II]

There is only one textual attestation of *amúr*, where it functions as counterfactual conditional.

- (274) *amùr d-žìžì-t s=alùwəl axèr lək ká?*  
 if 2s-sell:\*pf.-2s from=before better to.you neg.  
 ‘Would it not have been better if you had sold (it) to me earlier?’ [PT:III]

There is one example of *lukàn* in the texts. Like *amúr*, it functions as a counterfactual conditional.

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

### 10.7.5.2 Temporal conjunctions

The main temporal conjunction is probably *mməg* 'when', but it is not attested in the texts. There is only a fragmentary example in Paradisi's word list:

- (276) *mməg a=tt-uná-t ammúd=i*  
 when fut.=2S-enter:fut.-2S mosque=loc.  
 'when you will enter the mosque' [P: s.v. quando]

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

- (277) *bəʕəd uši-ɣ=d unì-x ammúd=i, ufi-x=tən ʕamma*  
 after go:\*pf.-1S enter:\*pf.-1S mosque=loc. find:\*pf.-1S=DO.3PM prog.  
*mudà-n, gì-x dīt-i ksùm u=qqimì-x mudì-x, wènma*  
 pray:impf.-3PM put:\*pf.-1S in.front-1S meat and=stay:\*pf.-1S pray:impf.-1S as.soon.as  
*kəmməl-x ʕaddì-x;*  
 finish:\*pf.-1S go:\*pf.-1S  
 'After I went and entered the mosque, I found them praying, I put the meat in front of me and started praying, as soon as I finished, I went (away);' [PT:II]

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

- (278) *zgi a=kəmməl-x*  
 after fut.=finish:fut.-1S  
 'after I will have finished' [P: s.v. dopo]
- (279) *zgi y-ùna*  
 after 3SM-enter:seq.  
 'after he entered' [P: s.v. dopo]

*ir* 'until' is used as a preposition, but also occurs as a conjunction. The latter use is illustrated below.

(280) *U=škìy-ən idd-əs ir=a=hlàb-ən ašàl*  
 and=leave:P-3pm with-3s until=fut.=surpass:fut.-3pm village  
 ‘And they left with him until they were about to leave the village’

(281) *u=nàttìn i-ddəhwàr ir=i-ṭùg Žhà.*  
 and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:\*pf. Jha  
 ‘and he continued to go around until he met Jha.’ [PT:VIII]

### 10.7.5.3 Cause

Causal subordinate clauses are introduced with *skàmma*, *sàmma* ‘because’. This is only attested once in the texts.

(282) *U=nàttìn i-xəṭṭàm af=middən u=middən səllàm-ən fəlli-s*  
 and=he 3sm-meet.with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s  
*skàmma məktar n=middən ššən-ən=tì=ya.*  
 because many of=people know:res.-3pm=DO.3sm=res.  
 ‘And he would meet people and they would greet him because many of the people knew him.’ [PT:XI]

### 10.7.5.4 Finality

Finality is expressed with the particle *dax* ‘in order to, so that’. This is followed by a verb with the future stem.

(283) *Bəṣadèn y-əfki=t i=ddəllàl dax a=i-žizì=t.*  
 then 3sm-give:\*pf.=DO.3sm dat.=auctioneer in.order.to fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm  
 ‘Then he gave it to the auctioneer in order to sell it.’ [PT:IV]

(284) *nək wa əhdəf-x=tì=a i=kú dax a=ggulà-x=ku*  
 I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you in.order.to fut=see:fut.-1s=DO.2sm  
*a=t-tuyə-(t)=tənət ənqəš-nìt=a nəy wəla.*  
 fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3pf lack:res.-3pf=res. or not  
 ‘I am the one who has thrown it to you in order to see if you would take them missing (one pound) or not.’ [PT:V]

(285) *u=bəṣadèn y-axzár af=əlḥəməl=ənn-əs wa zžàk-ən dax*  
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to  
*a=y-ərḥəṣ=t*  
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm b  
 ‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry’ [PT:III]

Zanon’s Song 12 also has this particle *dax* ‘in order to, so that’, but in this text, it is not followed by a future but by a perfective.

- (286) *ənṭər fəll-ək tita ən=tikwàyt dax t-ərfâṣ-t attəšwàyt*  
 abandon:imp. on-2sm hitting of=ball in.order.to 2s-raise:\*pf.-2s couscous  
 'Abandon (to you) the playing (litt. hitting) of the ball; So that you may raise  
 (the lid off) the couscous!'

