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

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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* بــلــغــه (sub: soulier), cf. Ar. *bulġa*(*t*) 'slipper of yellow leather'
> *boum* بــوم (sub: hibou), cf. Ar. *būm* 'owl'
> *hasir* حصيــر (sub: natte), cf. Ar. *ḥaṣīr* 'mat'
> *louh* لــوح (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* قــرد (sub: singe), cf. Ar. *qird* 'monkey'
> *garaz* قــرص (sub: piquer), cf. Ar. *qaraṣa* 'to bite, sting'
> *gasem* قــسم (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* تـحـلَّـقـت (sub: rond), cf. Ar. *ḥalqa*(*t*) 'ring, link; cirlce'
> *tekhimet* تـخيـمـة (sub: tente), cf. Ar. *ḥayma*(*t*) 'tent'
> *tékhandjiart* تـخـنـجـرت (sub: couteau), cf. Ar. *ḥanžar* 'dagger'

Besides clear feminine derivations of Arabic nouns, we also find a few nouns that have Berber feminine noun morphology that do not have any obvious connection with other Berber languages. Nevertheless, this Berber morphology betrays that they are likely real Awjila words.

> *tahadit* تـحـا ديـت (s.v.: echelle)
> *tharned* طرنـد (s.v.: hirondelle)
> *thazerdaght* طز ر د غت (s.v.: chat)
> *talqomt* تـعـلقـمت (s.v.: salive)
> *tétoutah* تطوطه (s.v.: femme), perhaps Pan-Berber *taməṭṭuṭṭ* 'woman' >
> *təmṭuṭṭ* > *tənṭuṭṭ* > *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* حكَّ (s.v.: racler; ratisser), cf. Ar. *ḥakka* 'to rub, scrape'
> *gasem* قسم (s.v.: partager), *magsoum* مـقـسوم (s.v.: peigné) cf. Ar. *qasama,*
> *maqsūm* 'to divide'
> *haraq* حـرق (s.v.: brûler), *mahrouq* مـحـروق (s.v.: brûlé), cf. Ar. *ḥaraqa,*
> *maḥrūq* 'to burn'

khalath خلط (s.v.: mêler), *makhlouth* مخلوط (s.v.: mêlé), cf Ar. *ḥalaṭa , maḥlūṭ* '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 فهمس (s.v.: comprendre), cf. Ar. *fahima* 'to understand' with the IO 3sg pronoun -*is*.

amartet امرتت (s.v.: finir) *tamartet* تامرتت (s.v.: fini), cf. Ar. *ʕamura* 'to thrive, propser' with the DO 3sg.m. pronoun -*tət*

semmas سمّا س (s.v.: nommer) *mesemmas* مسمّا س (s.v.: nomme), cf. Ar. *sammā* 'to name' with the IO 3sg pronoun -*is*.

yédabah يدبه (s.v.: fondre), *médabah* مدبه (s.v.: fondu), cf. Ar. *dāba* 'to melt', probably a resultative.

yéghléthah يغلط (s.v.: abuser (s'), se tromper), cf. Ar. *ġaliṭa* 'to make a mistake; to be mistaken'

yéghabah يغابه (s.v.: absenter) *aghab* ا غاب (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 يد لّا (s.v.: approcher)

yéfella يفلّا (s.v.: las (être)

yougheya يو غيّه (s.v.: aider)

yekmiya يـخـمـيـه (s.v.: pourri), *ekhmiya* اخـمـيـه (s.v.: pourriture)

yakareina يـا كـريـنـا (s.v.: carré)

attébaya اتّـبـايـه (s.v.: unir), *mettebaya* مـتّـبـايـه (s.v.: uni)