



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

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, *l̥qq̥aq̥* has been placed under the root LQQ, and not LQ as it would be in the conventions used by the dictionaries mentioned above.

The root of a word can be extracted with the following steps:

1. prefixes and suffixes are not taken into consideration.
2. vowels are not taken into consideration.
3. gemination is not taken into consideration.

¹For a discussion on the Berber root, see Galand (2010: 84ff.).

Whenever two words have the same abstract root, but are semantically unrelated, they have been categorized as two different roots. A number behind the root distinguishes the two. For example, *afūd* ‘knee’ and *yəffūda* ‘to be thirsty’ are unrelated semantically, while their root is FD in both cases. In this case, *afūd* ‘knee’ has been categorized as FD₁ and *yəffūda* 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 ? B Ć D F G Ÿ H Ĩ I K L M N Q R S Ş Š T Ṭ V W X Y Z Ž Ź Ɔ

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: <i>lemma</i>	The lemma in Paradisi (1960a)
PT: <i>number</i>	The text number in Paradisi (1960b)
B21: <i>page</i>	The page number where the word is attested in Beguinot (1921)
B24: <i>page</i>	The page number where the word is attested in Beguinot (1924)
B25: <i>page</i>	The page number where the word is attested in Beguinot (1925)
Z: <i>number</i>	The text number in Zanon (1932)
M: lemma <i>latin arabic</i>	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, ā, ā-(mma) [Z:II]

▷ *áy-amédeŋ* ‘o man’

P: o, ovvero PT: III, VI, XII Z: II

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *a* ‘vocative interjection’

ʔN

ann-ək [complementizer]

2sg.m. *ʔann-ək*

PT: XI

▷ *aḥsébh-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 fi l-bayti rajulan* ‘I know that there is a man in the house’.

ELA uses this in the form *inn*, and optionally takes pronominal suffixes. Owens (1984: 138) cites the following example: *ni'kar inn-a 'sa:riq il-if'lu:s* ‘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 tirîwîn* ‘the father of the children’

◆ NZ:B₅

Berber, cf. Siwa *abba* ‘father’; To. *ábba* ‘father’; Zng. *bābāh* ‘father’

B₂

təbît [f.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar. *rattāba*)’

tebît

P: palma

BB₁

əlbàb [m.] ‘door’

elbâb

PT: III

◆ Ar. *bāb* ‘door’

BB₂

abîba, avîva [m.] ‘smallpox’

abîba, avîva

P: vaiulo M: vérole (petite) *habéba* هبیه

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *abîba* ‘smallpox’

BDQ

təbədùqt [f.] ‘cotton’

tebedúqt

P: cotone

◆ NZ: BDY/Q₃

Berber, cf. To. *tàbdoqq* ‘cotton’; Sok. *tabdúḥt* ‘cotton’.

The final cluster *qt* in Awjila is unexpected, one would rather expect Sokna *ḥt* and Tuareg *qq* to correspond to Awjila *-ḡt* or *-ḥt* in this position. This may be an indication that the word is a loanword from Tuareg.

This word may ultimately come from Hausa *auduga* ‘cotton’

BGRF

abugə̀rfa [m.] ‘clay’

ābugérfa

P: argilla

BḶ

tàbya [f.] ‘tobacco’

tábgā

P: tabacco M: tabac *thabgha* طبعه

◆ Mor. Ar. *tabja* ‘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.

bâhÿyet [PT:III]

PT: III, IV, XV

◆ ELA *bâhī* ‘good’

BĤR**əlbəħr** (or: **albəħr**) [m.] ‘sea’*elbáhǎr, älbáhǎr*

PT: IX

◆ Ar. *baħr* ‘sea’**BK****əbbák** [v.ċc] ‘to sting; to plant vegetables, onions etc.’impf. *təbbák*imp. sg. *əbbók*; impf. 3sg.m. *itebbók*P: *pungere; piantare*

◆ K: 526

Berber, cf. Kb. *bbi* ‘to sting’; Ghd. *əbbək* ‘to collect one by one’**əbbùk** [v.n.m.] ‘stinging’*əbbùk*P: *pungere***BLBS****təbəlbùst** [f.] ‘eyeball’*tebelbùst*P: *bulbo*

◆ ► BLBŠ

BLBŠ**təbəlbùšt** [f.] ‘bulb of an onion’*tebelbùšt*P: *bulbo*◆ Probably from Latin *bulbus* ‘bulb’****əbəlbəš** [v.cccc] ‘to form a bulb’res. *bəlbəš*res. 3sg.m. *yebelbîša*P: *bulbo*▷ *bzālîm yebelbîša* ‘the onion has formed a bulb’**BLK****bələk** [adv.] ‘maybe’*bâlek*

PT: XIII

◆ ELA *balək, belkî* ‘maybe’ ultimately from Turkish *belki* ‘why’ (p.c. Benkato)**BLS****əbulis** [m.] ‘police’*el-bulîs*

PT: III

◆ Ar. *būlîs* ‘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 šî, blāš* ‘free’; Ar. *bi-lā šay?* ‘free (litt. For nothing)’**BLŽ****Balžu** [P.N.] Name of a palm grove in*Awjila**Bālǧu*

Z: IV

BN₁**abən, avən** [v.cc*] ‘to build, construct’pf. *bná* impf. *bənnna, ivənnna*imp. sg. *abén, avén*; pf. 1sg. *bnîħ* 3sg.m. *ibnâ*;res. 1sg. *bnîħa* 3sg.m. *ibnâya*; impf. 1sg.*bennîħ* 3sg.m. *ibénna, ivénna*P: *costruire*

◆ K: 194

Berber, cf. To. *əbnu* ‘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. *în* ‘tent’.**BN₂****bèyn** [prep.] ‘between’*bêin*P: *fra*◆ Ar. *bayna* ‘between’**BQL****təbaqùlt** [f.] ‘jar, vase’*tebāqùlt*P: *giarra*◆ NZ: BQL₂Berber, cf. Kb. *abuqal* ‘drinking pot’; Siwa

təboqələt ‘jug, pitcher’; cf. also ELA *būqâl* ‘jug’, perhaps ultimately from Gk. βύκαλις.

BQS

əlbəqîs [m.] ‘twinkle, glimmer’

elbâqîs

PT: XV

◆ ELA *bəgis* ‘twinkle (of a star, etc.)’ (p.c. Benkato). This word 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

təbəqqūšt (or: **təbaqqūšt**) [f.] ‘pan’

tebaqqūšt

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

təbarūt [f.] ‘way, street’

tebārūt [PT:X], *təbarūt* [PT:XII], *tebārūt-(i)* [PT:XV]

P: strada, via PT: X, XII, XV M: chemin

tabarouth تباروت

◆ NZ: BR₃₀, BRD₁, K: 285

Berber, cf. To. *ābara*, *tābarāt* ‘road, path’

təbarūt n aləygm [phrasal n.] ‘caravan track’

tebārūt n alógm

P: pista carovaniera

BRK

tabərka [f.] ‘sesame (seeds) (in Benghazi)

tabérka is the seed of a colocynth)’

tabérka

P: sesamo

BRN

əbrən [v.ccc] ‘to twist, to roll up’

imp. sg. *ébrən*

P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: entortillé

ebrénah ابرنه; entortiller *brénah*

برنه; tordre *yébrən* يبرن

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *abrən* ‘to roll, to wind up’;

Ghd. *ābrən* ‘to roll up’

BRNK

Bərnîk [P.N.] ‘Benghazi, northern part of Cyrenaica’

Bernîk

P: Bengasi

▷ *Yušâda s-Bernîk* ‘he came from the north’

▷ *ǧallîh a’addâh Bernîk* ‘I want to go to Benghazi’

◆ This word comes from the old name of Benghazi: *Berenice*.

BRRŠ

abərrarîš [m.] ‘hawk’

aberrārîš

P: falco

◆ Common word in both Maghrebine Arabic and Berber, cf. MA *bərrarž* ‘stork’ Mor. Ar. *ballārāj*, *bərrārāj* ‘stork’. Ultimately from Gk. *πελαργος* ‘stork’, or the unattested variant **πελλαργος* (Vycichl 2005: 27-27).

BRŠL

təbəršilt [f.] pl. *təbəršil* ‘pillar of a well on which the crossbar of the pulley rests’

teberšilt pl. *tberšil*

P: pozzo

BRT

pl. **əlbaràt** [f.] ‘money’

pl. *elbaràt* [PT:XIV], *elbārāt* [PT:IV,V],

elbarāt-(ennúk) [PT:V,VII]

PT: IV, V, VII, XIV M: argent, monnaie

barah بره

◆ 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* بَسَّ

◆ ELA *bəss* ‘just, only’ (p.c. Benkato)

BSK

abəssik [m.] pl. *bəssikən* ‘vulva’

abessik pl. *bessiken*

P: vulva

◆ NZ: BC₂

Perhaps Berber, cf. Siwa *bašša* ‘vulva’

tbəssikt [f.] ‘bum, backside; vulva’ pl.

tbəssikən ‘fart’

tbessikt pl. *tbessikən*

P: deretano; vulva; peto

BŞR

albəşirət (or: *əlbəşirət*) [adv.] ‘willingly’

albəşirət

PT: V

◆ Ar. *bašira(t)* ‘insight, penetration, discernment’, the function of this word in Awjila is similar to the Arabic syntagm *šan baširati* ‘deliberately, knowingly’

BŞKW

abəškîw [m.] pl. *bəškîwən* ‘horn’

abeskîu pl. *beškîwen*

P: corno

◆ Berber, ► ŠK₂

BŞXW

abəšxàw [m.] pl. *bəšxàwən* ‘name of a sparrow’

abeshâu pl. *bešhâwen*

P: passero

təbəšxàwt [f.] pl. *təbəšxawîn* ‘base of leaves of a palm tree that have been cut’

tebešhâut pl. *tebešhâwîn*

P: palma

BŞWŞ

bišwàš [adv.] ‘easily’

bišwâš

PT: I

◆ Eg. Ar. *bi-šweš* ‘a little’, derived from *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. *təbùtutt* ‘(nonprotruding) navel’, Zng. *bùṭ* ‘protruding navel’; MA *taceḍbutṭ* ‘navel’

BṬŽ

abəṭṭùž [m.] ‘ember’

abəṭṭùž

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. *ālbazin* ‘dish of flour made into patties, thrown into boiling water and seasoned with fresh olive oil’

BZR

tabazàrt [f.] pl. *tbazrìn* ‘basket’

təbazàrt pl. *tbazrîn*

P: cesta M: panier *abazart* ابا ز ا ر ت

BZLM

bžalim [m.] ‘onions(coll.)’

bžālīm, bžālīm [PT:XV]

P: cipolla PT: XV M: oignon *bazalim*

بصلیم

◆ K: 242, 297

Ultimately from Punic. cf. Hebrew *bāšāl* ‘onion’ (Vycichl 2005: 3)

təbʒalimt [f.] pl. təbʒalimìn ‘onion’

tebʒālimt pl. *tebʒālīmìn*

P: cipolla

BŽ1

abʒàw [m.] pl. bʒàwəwən ‘cheek’

abʒàw pl. *bʒàwəwən*

P: guancia

BŽ2

bàʒʒa [m.] ‘penis (of a boy)’

bàʒʒa

P: penis

BƆD

bəʃ(ə)d [conj.] ‘after, when’

baʿad, *báʿad*, *baʿád* [PT:II,IX,XIII]

P: dopo; quando PT: II, IX, XIII

◆ ELA *baʿd* ‘after’; Ar. *baʿda* ‘after’

bəʃid [stat.v.] ‘to be distant’

3sg.m. *baʿíd*

PT: X

◆ Ar. *baʿid* ‘distant’

BƆDN

bəʃ(ə)dèn [conj.] ‘afterwards, then’

baʿadèn, *baʿadén* [PT:II], *baʿadeñ* (sic) [PT:VI]

PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XI, XII, XIII,

XIV, XV

◆ ELA *baʿdèn* ‘after’; Ar. *baʿda an* ‘after’

Č1

əčč [v.c.*] ‘to eat’

pf. əččá seq. = res. əčča fut. əčč impf.

tətta

imp. sg. *ečč* pl.m. *ččât* pl.f. *ččîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ččîh*

3sg.m. *yeččá*, *yetčá*, *yéččā* [PT:XV], *yeččî-(t)*

[PT:XV] 3pl.m. *ččân* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ččîha*

3sg.m. *yeččáya* 1pl. *nči-(tî)-ya* [PT:II]; fut.

3sg.m. *āiččî-(t)* [PT:II] impf. 1sg. *tettîh* 3sg.m.

ittéttā, *itétta* [PT:XV] 3sg.f. *tettā* [PT:III]

P: mangiare PT: II, III, XV M: dîner *yetch*

یتش; souper, v. *etch* تش

◆ NZ: C9, TC: 946

Berber, cf. Foq. *ékk*, *éjkj* ‘to eat’; Ghd. *ášš* ‘to eat’; Kb. *eçç* ‘to eat’; Nef. *ečč* ‘to eat’; Siwa *ačč* ‘to eat’; Sok. *éčč* ‘to eat’; To. *ăksš* ‘to eat’; Zng. *ăṭʃi(?)* ‘to eat’. Kossmann (2008) discusses the reconstruction of this root.

əččú [v.n.m.] ‘food, meal, plate’

etčú, *ěččú*, *čču-(nnâh)* [PT:XV], *ččū*

[P:example]

P: mangiare; cibo; pasto, vitto PT: XV

▷ ččū id *ěččuwât* ‘food and drinks’

təwəg [v.n.f.] ‘food, meal, plate’

túwəg

P: mangiare; cibo; pasto, vitto M: pain

thaouegt طا وقت

○ 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

áčča [m.] pl. ččàwəwən ‘grave’

áčča pl. *ččàwəwən*

P: tomba M: tombeau *atcha* اتشه

◆ NZ: C56

Berber, cf. Siwa *akəčča* ‘tomb’; perhaps also

Kb. *aʒəkka* ‘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. *idd-i* 2sg.m. *idd-əl* 2sg.f. *idd-əm* 3sg

idd-əs 1pl. *id-nàx* 2pl.m. *id-kim* 2pl.f.

idd-əkmət 3pl.m. *id-sin* 3pl.f. *idd-əsnət*

id, *īd*, *it-(tirīwinnes)* [PT:XV]; 1sg. *idd-ī*, *idd-ī*

[PT:XIII] 2sg.m. *idd-ek* 2sg.f. *idd-em* 3sg.m. *idd-es* 1pl. *id-nâh* 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. *əḏ* 'with, and'

dī [inter.] ► DW DBR

adbîr [m.] pl. dbîrən 'pigeon'

adbîr pl. *dbîren*

P: piccione

◆ NZ: DBR4, K: 293

Berber, cf. Ghd. *adaber* 'pigeon'; Kb. *itbir* 'pigeon'; To. *edāber, tedābert* 'pigeon or dove'

DBŠ

pl. (ə)dbūš [m.] 'clothes'

ēdbūš [PT:V], *dbūš-(énnes)* [PT:IX],

ēdbūš-(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-(ənnəs)* [m.] 'stuff'

pl. *dbāš-(énnes)*

PT:II

◆ ELA *dbāš* 'baggage'; Ar. *dabaš* pl. *adbāš* 'junk, rubbish, trash'

DD1

(ə)ddád [v.čc] 'to bite'

impf. *təddád*

imp. sg. *ēddéd*; impf. 3sg.m. *iteddéd*

P: mordre M: mordre *édédé* عضف

◆ NZ: D70

Berber, cf. To. *àdəd* 'to bite'

(ə)ddùd [v.n.m.] 'biting'

ēddùd

P: mordre

DD2

addid [m.] pl. addidən 'goatskin'

addid pl. *addidən*

P: otre M: outre pour l'eau *addi* ا د ا

◆ TC: 1035, K: 621

Berber, cf. To. *iddid* 'goatskin'; Zng. *äyDʷəḏ* 'goatskin (for water)'

taddit [f.] 'small goatskin'

taddit

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-kim, ?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, -nâh* 2pl.m.

-kîm, -kum 2pl.f. *-kmet* 3pl.m. *-hum* 3pl.f. *-heṅ*

P: dietro PT:II, VII

◆ NZ: DFR2

Berber, cf. Kb. *dəffir* 'behind'; To. *dəffər* 'behind'

DG

****əddùgg** [v.cč] 'to knock'

seq. *əddùgg*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeddùgg*

PT:III

◆ ELA *idógg* 'to knock'; Ar. *daqqa* 'to knock, rap, bang (on the door)'

DŸ

adəy [m.] pl. dəyəwən 'a bush of palms'

adág pl. *dəgəwən*

P: palma

◆ NZ: DŸ10

Perhaps Berber, cf. MA *idj* '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. *dahab* 'gold'**DHWR**

**ddəhwər [v.cccc] 'to go around'

impf. ddəhwàr

impf. 3sg.m. *iddahwâr*

PT:VIII

◆ ELA *idahwar* 'to take a tour, to walk around' (p.c. Benkato)**DK**

=dik [pron.]1sg. indirect object pronoun

-dik, -dík [PT:II,IV,V,VI,VII,XIV,XV], res. -dika

P: io PT: II, IV, V, VI, VII, XIV, XV

DKN

=dikəní, =dikkəní, =dikəni [pron.]1pl.

indirect object pronoun

-dikenî, dikkenî, dikkəni [PT:XV], res.

-dikkenîya

P: noi

DL₁

š-ிடəl [caus.v.] 'to harness (a donkey or camel)'

impf. š-ிடəl

imp. sg. *šidel*; impf. 1sg. *šidâlḥ* 3sg.m. *išidâl*

P: bardare

◆ NZ: DL₁**DL₂**

dīla, dīlak [adv.] 'here'

dīla, dīlak

P: qui PT: VI, X, XV

dīlīwan, diššīwan [adv.] 'there'

dīlīwān, diššīwān

P: la PT: XV

DLL

(ə)ddəlləl [m.] 'auctioneer'

ëddellâl, ddellâl, äddellâl

PT:IV

◆ Ar. *dallâl* 'auctioneer'**DLŠ**adəliš [m.] 'herb (*Aristida Pungens*)'*adeliš*

P: erba

◆ NZ: DLS₁The *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'

*alidàm*P: burro M: beurre *alida* الیده◆ Mor. Ar. *idām* 'fatty substance'; Ar. *ʔidām* 'anything eaten with bread; shortening, fatty ingredient'**DM₂**

pl. dīmən [m.] 'blood'

pl. *dīmən*P: sangue M: règles des femmes *demen*

دمن

◆ NZ: DM₅, TC: 191Berber, cf. Foq. *idāmmen* 'blood'; Ghd. *dāmmän, dammän* 'blood'; Kb. *idim* pl. *dammän* 'blood'; Nef. *idēmmen* 'blood'; Sok. *idä*mmen* 'blood'; Zng. *əḍāmmän* 'blood';**DMLŽ**

(ə)ddəmləž [m.] 'bracelet'

ëddémlež, ëddemlež-(ennúk)

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. *udénneṭ* [PT:XV]; res.2sg. *tudînta* [PT:XI]; impf. 3sg.m. *itâden*P: vestirsi PT:XI,XV M: nu *youdenah*

يودنه

◆ NZ: DN₇, TC:195Berber, cf. Ghd. *ádən* ‘to cover, to be covered’;Zng. *ädən* ‘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’*tídni*

P: mortaio

◆ NZ: DN₁₄Berber, cf. Ghd. *tadənt* ‘big wooden mortar of Sudanese origin’; Siwa *tadni* ‘mortar’

Naumann (2013: 377)

; Ouar. *tidni* ‘mortar’; To. *tènde* ‘mortar’**DN₄**

=ídin, =idìn [demonstrative]medial (?)

deictic clitic

-ídīn, -idīn [PT:XV]

P: quello PT: XV

▷ *aməḍəŋ-ídīn* ‘that man’**DNN**

=idánin ► =íwan

DQL**?idak(ə)l** [m.] ‘?palm of the hand’*edaql* ادكل

M: main

◆ NZ: DKL₁Kb. *idikəl* ‘palm of the hand’; To. *edékəl*

‘underside of the hand (palm and fingers)’;

Zng. *ədīgīy* ‘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. *idrâ*; res. 1sg. *driḥa* 3sg.m. *idrâya*;impf. 1sg. *derrîḥ* 3sg.m. *iderrâ*

P: premere

◆ NZ: DR₄Ghd. *ădər* ‘to press, squeeze’; To. *ădər* ‘push or pres down hard on (sth)’.The connection with Zng. *aḍur* ‘to fall’ as proposed by Naït-Zerrad seems unlikely. It is both semantically and phonetically dissimilar.**adərru** [v.n.m.] ‘pressing’*adərrū*

P: premere

DR₂**dd(ə)rī** [f.] pl. *ddriwîn* ‘thorn’*ddəri* pl. *ddriwîn*P: spina M: épine *deri* د ري; fourchette*déri* د ري◆ NZ: DR₃₂Berber, cf. Ghd. *tədra* ‘thorn of a palm’; Siwa*tədri* ‘thorn’; Sok. *tədri* ‘thorn’; Nef. *tadrâ*

‘thorn of a palm’

DR₃**(ə)ddár** [v.ċc] ‘to live’

pf. əddár res. əddər

imp. sg. *eddér*; pf. 1sg. *eddérḥ* 3sg.m. *yeddér*;res. 1sg. *əddírḥa* 3sg.m. *yeddíra, iddíra* [Z:XIII]

P: vivere Z: XIII

◆ NZ: DR₁Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăddər* ‘to live’; Kb. *ăddər* ‘to live’; To. *ăddər* ‘to be alive’.

Ref. Basset (1929)

(ə)ddùr [v.n.m.] ‘life’*əddûr*

P: vita

DRM****ədrám** [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

adîrəm [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. *idras* ‘to be few, not much’; Zng. *ədrəš* ‘to be discrete’

š-ədrəš [caus.v.] ‘to decrease (trans.)’

imp. sg. *šédreš*

P: diminuire

dərùš [adv.] ‘little’

děrúš

P: poco

dərùš [stat.v.] ‘to be few, little’

3sg.m. *dərùš* 3sg.f. *dərùšət* pl. *dərušit*

m.sg. *děrúš* f.sg. *derúšet* pl. *děrúšit*

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’

tedùšt

P: stomaco B21: 291

◆ NZ: DS1, K: 760

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tadist*, *tadiss* ‘stomach, belly’;

Kb. *tadist* ‘stomach, belly’

DŠF

dīšf [adv.] ‘last year’

dīšf

P: anno

▷ *nāfn dīšf* ‘two years ago’

DŠƷ

dəššāƷ [adj.] ‘mean, inhospitable’

deššāƷ

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

dīt [prep.] *dīt* n (before a noun) 1sg. *dīt-i*

2sg.m. *dīt-ək* 2sg.f. *dīt-əm* 3sg.m. *dīt-ah*,

dīt-a 3sg.f. *dīt-ha* 1pl. *dīt-na* 2pl.m.

dīt-kim, *dīt-kum* 2pl.f. *dīt-kmət*, *dīt-kən*

3pl.m. *dīt-sin*, *dīt-hum* 3pl.f. *dīt-snət*,

dīt-hən

‘in front of’

dīt, *dīt* n (before a noun) [PT:III] 1sg. *dīt-ī*

2sg.m. *dīt-ek* 2sg.f. *dīt-em* 3sg.m. *dīt-āh*, *dīt-ā*,

dīt-a [PT:II] 3sg.f. *dīt-ha* 1pl. *dīt-nā* 2pl.m.

dīt-kīm, *dīt-kum* 2pl.f. *dīt-kmēt*, *dīt-kən* 3pl.m.

dīt-sin, *dīt-hum* 3pl.f. *dīt-snēt*, *dīt-hən*

P: davanti PT: II, III, V

▷ *dīt* n *tfilli* ‘in front of the house’

▷ *žigež ar-dīt* ‘Walk forward!’

◆ NZ: DT1

Berber, cf. Ghd. *dāt* ‘in front of’; To. *dāt* ‘in front of’

DW1

di, **dīwa** [inter.] ‘what, what thing?’

dī, *dīwa*, *ddīwa*, *ddīwa* [PT:IX]

P: che cosa?, come PT: II, VI, IX, XV

▷ *af dīwa athemmāmt* ‘what are you thinking of?’

▷ *ddīwa ttudīk* ‘what are you doing? (litt. what so)’ [PT:IX]

◆ NZ: D9, DW17

DWR

idəwwàr [v.ccc]= impf.

‘to look around; to search’

impf. 3sg.m. *idōiwwār* [PT:XIII] 3pl.f.

ddōiwwārnet [PT:XV]

PT: XIII, XV M: entourer *édourah* ا د و ر ه

◆ ELA *idāiwwar*, *iđāiwwar* ‘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. *day* ‘again’; To. *dáy* ‘also, too’;

Ghd. *daḥ* ‘also, too’

DYN

?ddáyənt [f.] ‘fat’

ddíent

P: grasso M: graisse *eddind* ا دَيند

◆ NZ: DH/W/YN, TC: 182, K: 123, 148

Berber, cf. Zng. *tādūn(ə)t* ‘(animal) fat’, *ädgəñ* ‘to be greased’; Nef. *tadūnt* ‘fat’; Siwa *tadəmt* ‘fat’

DYS

?ddáyəst [f.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar.

tédsa)

ddíest

P: palma

DYZ

dyáz [v.ccc] ‘to sing’

pf. *dyáz* impf. *dəyyəz*

imp. sg. *díéz*; pf. 1sg. *ədyézh* 3sg.m. *idyéz*;

impf. 1sg. *diyyézh* 3sg.m. *idyyez*

P: cantare M: chant *yediz* يديز, chanter

yaghlediz يغليدز

◆ NZ: DYZ1

Berber, cf. Ghd. *díz* ‘to dance’; Siwa *ədyəz* ‘to sing’; Sok. *édīyīz* ‘to sing’

adəyaz [v.n.m.] ‘singing’

adiyāz

P: cantare

DŽ

ədz [v.cc*] ‘to let go of’

seq. = res. *ədzə* impf. *dəžža*

imp. sg. *édž, əğğ*; pf. 1sg. *dğih* 3sg.m. *yéğğa*;

res. 1sg. *ğğīha* 3sg.m. *yeğğāya*; impf. 1sg.

dežžih 3sg.m. *idéžžā*

P: lasciare M: laisser *yédji* يجي, quitter

dgi جي

◆ NZ: G41, TC: 230, K: 706

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əğğ* ‘to leave, let go of’; Kb.

əjj ‘to leave’; To. *əyy* ‘to leave (s.th.)’; Zng.

əDyi(?) ‘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. *ufîh,*

ufîh-(təñ) [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yûfa, yufâ* [PT:VII],

yufî-(ten) [PT:II], *yufî-(t)* [PT:XV], *yufî-(təñet)*

[PT:V], 3sg.f. *tûfa* [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *ufân* [PT:XV]

3pl.f. *ufânet* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ufîha* 3sg.m.

yufâya; fut. 1sg. *aufâh, aûfâh-(tet)* [PT:XV]

3sg.m. *ayûf*; impf. 1sg. *tafîh* 3sg.m. *itâfa*

P: trovare PT: II, V, VII, XV

◆ NZ: F10

Berber, cf. Ghd. *af* ‘to find’; Kb. *af* ‘to find’;

Zng. *əffi(?)* ‘to find, gain’

ufú [v.n.m.] ‘finding’

ufû

P: trovare PT:II

uf taverġât ► VRG

F2

af [prep.] ‘on, at’

1sg. *fəlli-wi* 2sg.m. *fəlli-k* 3sg. *fəlli-s*

af 1sg. *fəlli-wi* 2sg.m. *fəlli-k, filli-k* [Z:XII] 3sg.

fəlli-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. *fâl* ‘on, against’

af-îwa [inter.] “why”

af-îwa, af-dîwa, af-â

P: perché PT: VI, IX, XIV M: cependant;

heure; retourner *afioua* افيوه

▷ *af-îwa tegġid-ká?* ‘why did you not

bring (it)' (response) *s-kémma* 'because'

F3

tafüt [f.] 'sun'

tāfüt, tafüt [PT:XV]

P: sole PT: III, XV

◆ NZ: F12, TC: 20, K: 576

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tófə̄t, tófə̄tt* 'sun'; Kb. *tafukt* 'diffuse sunlight'; To. *táfukk, tǎfukk* 'sun'; Zng. *toʔf(f)ukt, toʔf(f)ugt, tāʔfukt* 'sun'

F4

taft [f.] 'wool'

tāft

P: lana

◆ NZ: D7, TC: 11

Berber, cf. Kb. *taḍut, tadut* 'wool'; To. *təḍuft* 'wool'; Zng. *taʔḍuḍ* 'wool'; Ghd. *tódaft* 'raw wool'

The radical **d* is missing in Awjila. This is highly problematic.

Ref.: Kossmann (1996)

FD1

afùd, afùdd [m.] pl. *fiddən* 'knee'

afùd, afùdd pl. *fiddən*

P: ginocchio B21: 386 M: genou; tibia

afoud افود

◆ NZ: FD4, TC: 16

Berber, cf. Foq. *afùd* 'knee'; Ghd. *ófə̄d* 'knee'; Kb. *afud* 'lower leg'; Nef. *uféd* 'knee'; Sok. *fūd* 'knee' To. *áfud* 'knee'; Zng. *oʔf(f)ud* 'knee'

FD2

****əffùd** [v.čvc*] 'to be thirsty'

res. = fut. *əffùd* impf. t(ə)*fàda*

res. 1sg. *fudíha* 3sg.m. *yeffùda*; fut. 1sg.

affùdah 3sg.m. *ayeffùd*; impf. 1sg. *tfādíh*

3sg.m. *itefàda*

P: sete M: soif *yéfouyé* يفويه

◆ NZ: FD6, TC: 270

Berber, cf. Ghd. *fād* 'to be thirsty'; Kb. *fad* 'to be thirsty'; To. *ifad* 'to be thirsty'; Zng. Aor. 3sg.m. *yuffud* 'to be thirsty'

təfadàt [f.] 'thirst'

tefadât

P: sete

FDR

tfidirt [f.] pl. *tfidrìn* 'lizard (monitor lizard)'

tfidirt pl. *tfidrìn*

P: lucertola

◆ NZ: FDR2

FY

tfiyit [f.] pl. *tfiḡa* 'animal excrement'

tfiḡit pl. *tfiḡa*

P: escremento

◆ NZ: FY1

FHL

fḡàli [phrase] 'by myself'

fḡâlī

PT: II

◆ Mor. Ar. *fḡâl-*, 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 *ṣadd* 'to go'

FK1

əfk [v.cc*] 'to give'

pf. *əfká* fut. *əfk* impf. *fəkká*

imp. sg. *efk, fki-(dík)* [PT:VI] pl.m. *fkât* pl.f.

fkîmet; pf. 1sg. *fkiḡ* 2sg. *těfki-(dík)* [PT:XIV]

3sg.m. *yefká, ifk-(îsîn)* [PT: I], *yefk-(îs)*

[PT:XIV], *yefkî-(t, tənət)* [PT:IV] *yefk-(isîn)*

[PT:XV] 3pl.m. *fkân-(îs)* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg.

fkíha 3sg.m. *yefkáya, yefkî-(dík)-a* [PT:V]; fut.

1sg. *afkáḡ, afká-(k)* [PT: V, P: example] 3sg.m.

ayéfk, ayefk-(îs) [PT:V], *ayefkî-(dík)* [PT:V],

ayefkî-(tənət) [PT:V]; impf. 1sg. *fekkíḡ,*

fekkâ-(s) [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ifekká* 3pl.m

fekkân-(îs) [PT:II]

P: dare PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, XIV M:

emprunter *yefkès* ييفكس; emprunt

??*miéfkès* ميفكس

▷ *a-fká-k* 'I will give you'

◆ NZ: FK2 TC: 599, K: 491

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ākf* ‘to give’; Kb. *əfk* ‘to give’;

To. *ākf* ‘to give’; Zng. *ākfi(?)* ‘to give’

š-əfk [caus.v.] ‘to cause to give’

imp. sg. *šefk*

P: dare

FK2

**əffukk [v.cċ] ‘to untie, solve’

pf. / seq. = fut. əffukk

pf. 3sg.m. *yuffukkî-(tət)* [PT:I]; fut. 1sg.

affukkâh-(t) [PT:II]

PT: I, II

◆ Ar. *fakka* ‘to separate, disjoin, disconnect, sever, sunder’

FK3

(ə)ffək [v.cċ] ‘to pour’

impf. təffək

imp. sg. *ěffok, ffok*; impf. 3sg.m. *iteffók*

P: versare, colare

◆ NZ: FY3 TC: 177 K: 528

Berber, cf. Kb. *ffi* ‘to draw water’; To. *affəy* ‘to pour’; Zng. *ätfi(?)* ‘to spill’

FKR

əlfikr-(ənnəs) [m.] ‘thought’

elfəkr-(énnes)

PT: II

◆ Ar. *fikr* ‘thinking, reflection; thought’

FL

tfilli [f.] pl. tfilliwìn ‘house’

tfilli, tfilli, tfillî-(nnes) [PT:IX] *těfillî-(nnes)*

[PT:VI,XIII], *tfilli-(nnes)* [PT:XV], *těfillî-(nnâh)*

[PT:IV], *těfilli-(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. *əfəl* ‘to have a roof’

fellí- [prep.] ► F2

FLGŠ

tfiliggìšt [f.] ‘swallow’

tfiliggìšt

P: rondine

◆ NZ: FLGC, FLS4

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tafállélast* ‘swallow’; MA

tafllillist ‘swallow’; Kb. *tifilállast* ‘swallow’;

FLLŠ

flalìš [m.] pl. flulìš ‘inflorescence’

flālìš pl. *flūlìš*

P: palma

◆ NZ: FLC5

Berber, cf. Nef. *tefillést* ‘inflorescence’

FLŠ

təfəlušt [f.] pl. təfəšîn ‘large spoon for cooking’

těfəlušt pl. *těfəšîn*

P: cucchiaio M: cuillère *těfəluucht*

تفلوشت

◆ NZ: FLC4, FLW2

Kb. *tiflut, tifləwt* ‘spoon’

FNKḤ

fankùh [m.] ‘big buttocks’

fankùāh

P: deretano

◆ NZ: FNKWH

FNS

afunàs [m.] pl. funasən ‘ox’

afunàs pl. *funāsən*

P: bue M: quadrupède; taureau *afounas*

افوناس ; vétérinaire *founaséh* فوناسه

‘veterinary’

◆ NZ: FNS1

Berber, cf. Kb. *tafunast* ‘cow’

tfunàst [f.] ‘tfunastìn’

‘cow’

tfunàst pl. *tfunāstîn*

P: vacca

FNŽR

fənzər [v.cccc] ‘to bleed (from the nose)’

impf. fənzər

imp. sg. *fənzər*; impf. 3sg.m. *ifenzār*

P: sanguinare

◆ NZ: FNZR2, TC: 993

Berber, cf. Ghd. *fənzər* ‘to bleed from the nose’; Kb. *ffunzər* ‘to bleed from the nose’; To. *hùnsər* ‘to have a nose-bleed’; Zng. *ünzər* ‘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*.

afənzər [v.n.m.] ‘bleeding (from the nose)’

afénzər

P: sanguinare

FRḤ

****əfrəḥ** [v.ccc] ‘to become happy, become satisfied; to become happy with s.th (+ s-)’

pf. *əfrəḥ* res. *əfrəḥ*

pf. 3sg.m. *yefrāḥ* [PT:V], 3pl.f. *frāḥnət*

[PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m. *yefriḥa* [PT:IV,V]

PT: IV, V, XV M: gai; joie ??*méfreha*

مفرحه; gaité ??*farha* فرحه

◆ Ar. *fariḥa* ‘to be glad, happy, delighted’

FRTK

fər(ə)tək [v.cccc] ‘to unstitch’

imp. sg. *fārētek*

P: scucire

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *fərkəkk* ‘to crack, open’ To. (H.) *fərkəkət* ‘to untie (of a knot intr.)’; Ghd. *färrək* ‘to separate in two.’

afərtək [v.n.m.] ‘unstitching’

afértek

P: scucire

FS1

afūs [m.] pl. *fissən* ‘hand’

afūs, *afūs-(énnes)* [PT:III,XV] pl. *fissen*

P: mano PT: III, XV M: bras; etendre *afous*

افوس

◆ NZ:FS2, TC: 266

Berber, cf. Foq. *afūs* ‘hand’; Ghd. *ófəss* ‘hand’;

Kb. *afus* ‘hand’; Nef. *ufēs* ‘hand’; Sok. *fūs* ‘hand’; To. *áfus* ‘hand’; Zng. *ävurš* ‘hand’

FS2

fīsa [adv.] ‘quickly’

fīsa

PT: I M: promptement *fisaâ* فيسه

◆ Dial. Ar. *fissaḥ* ‘quickly’ < Ar. *fī(a)s-sāḥa(t)* ‘in the hour’ (also attested in Siwa, and South-west Algerian Arabic) (p.c. Souag). ELA *fīsa*, in fast speech, and *fisaḥ*, when emphasized (p.c. Benkato).

FŠ

afiš [m.] pl. *fīšəwən* ‘face’

afiš, *afiš-(énnes)* [PT:III] pl. *fīšəwən* (sic)

P: viso PT: III

FŠŠ

fəšūš [stat.v.] ‘to be light, agile’

1sg. *fəšūšax* 2sg. *fəšūšət* 3sg.m. *fəšūš* 3sg.f.

fəšūšət pl. *fəšūšit*

1sg. *fešūšah* 2sg. *fešūšât* 3sg.m. *fešūš* 3sg.f.

fešūšet pl. *fešūšit*

P: leggero PT: IV M: agile *féchouch* فشوش;

agilité *féchach* فشاش; alléger *fech* فشش

◆ NZ: FC9, FS1

Berber, cf. Kb. *ifsus*, *ufsus* ‘to become light’;

To. *ifsas* ‘to be or become light (in weight)’

š-əfšəš [caus.v.] ‘to lighten’

imp. sg. *šéfšəš*

P: alleggerire; leggero

təfšəš [f.] ‘lightness’

tefšəš

P: leggerezza

FTW

afəttiw [m.] ‘unity’

afəttiu

P: uno M: grain *eftéhou* افتهوه

▷ *afəttiu n-azévū* ‘one hair’

▷ *afəttiu n-yérden* ‘one granule of grain’

FW

afiw [m.] ‘fire’

afū

P: fuoco PT: II, XV M: flamme *afou* افو

▷ *šenġ afū* '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. təgga

imp. sg. *ag*; pf. 1sg. *gih, gih* [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], *igî-(ténēt)* [PT:V] 3pl.m.

gān-(îs) [PT:XV], *gân-(îs)* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg.

gîha 2sg. *dgîta* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *igâya, igé* 3pl.m.

gâna [PT:XV]; fut. 1sg. *aggâh* 2sg. *adgât*

3sg.m. *ayégg, āigî-(tet)* [PT:XII]; impf. 1sg.

teggîh 2sg. *teggît* [P:example] 3sg. *itéggâ*

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. *ăġ* 'to do, put'; Kb. *əg* 'to do';

To. *ăġ* 'to do, make' Zng. *ăgi(?)* 'to put down, put'

agú [v.n.m.] 'doing'

agû

P: fare, mettere, pore

ăggû ► Ț-D

GBB

təgbibi [f.] 'name of a sparrow'

tegbîbî

P: passero M: peser *teguibibi* تقيبيبي

○ 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

gəbăš [v.ccc] 'to gird'

impf. gəbbăš

imp. sg. *gebēš*; impf. 1sg. *gebbēšh* 3sg.m.

igebbēš 3sg.f. *tqăbbiš* [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.

əjbəs 'to tie one's belt (at waist)'; Zng. Aor.

3sg.m. *yăwgaš* 'to gird, put on a belt'.

Awjila and Tuareg have a metathesized form.

The metathesis took place after the *βC > βC shift (Kossmann 1999: 120-121). Awjila usually does not undergo this shift, eg. *vdéd* 'to stop; to stand up'.

agəbăš [v.n.m.] 'girding'

agebăš

P: cingere

G-D₁, Ț-D

ayî=d, yaŷî=d [v.c*.irreg.] 'to bring'

pf. = fut. əggá=d res. àgga=d impf.

təggà=d-a

imp. sg. *agîd, yaġîd* pl.m. *agîyâd, aġâdd* pl.f.

agîmet; pf. 1sg. *əggiġd* 3sg.m. *yeggâd* 3sg.f.

teggâd [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ggiġda* 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. *ăwih* 'to take'

aggú (or: əggú) [v.n.m.] 'bringing'

ăggû

P: portare

GD2

pl. gudîn [m.] 'urine'

pl. *gudîn*

P: orina

◆ NZ: GD₁

š-əggəd [caus.v.] 'to urinate, defecate'

š-əggəd

imp. sg. *šéggəd*; impf. 1sg. *šeggâdh* 3sg.m.

išeggâd

P: orinare

aš-əggəd [caus.v.n.m.] ‘urinating, defacating’

ašégged

P: orinare

GDR

əlgəd(ə)r-(ənnəs) [m./f.] ‘cooking pot’

elgedër-(énnés)

PT:XV M: marmite *elgadir* القادر

◆ Ar. *qidr* m. or f. ‘cooking pot; kettle’

GDV

agîdäv [m.] pl. *gidävən* ‘wolf, jackal’

agîdev, agîdev [B24], *egîdév* [B24] pl. *gîdéven, gîdeven* [B24]

P: lupo M: loup *akidaf* اكيدف B24: 193

◆ TC: 1079, K: 15, 161

Perhaps berber, cf. Zng. *äzādih* ‘jackal’; Siwa *azidi* ‘jackal’, the correspondence Awjila *g* to Zng. and Siwa *z* is irregular.

GF

əlgafâ-(nnəs) [m.] ‘back of the head’

elgefâ-(nnes)

PT:III

◆ Ar. *qafa(n)* ‘nape; occiput, back of the head; back; reverse’

GG

gìg [prep.] ‘inside’

gìg-(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

GÿD ► YÿD

GL₁/GWL

agál, gul [v.irreg.] ‘to see’

pf. / seq. *gùl, gùla* res. *gùla* fut. *gùl* impf. *gəwwə́l*

imp. sg. *agél, gùl* pl.m. *aglât, gùlât* pl.f.

aglîmet, gùlîmet; pf. 2sg. *dgulît*

[PT:XII,XIII,XV] 3sg.m. *igùl, igùla, igulî-(t)*

[PT:IX,XII] 3pl.m. *gùlân-(t)* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg.

guliḥ-(kû)-ya [PT:XI] 3sg.m. *igulâya*; fut. 1sg.

aggulâḥ-(t) [PT:V], *aggulâḥ* [PT:V], *aggulâḥ*

[PT:XV] 3sg.m. *aigùl*; impf. *igūwél*

P: vedere PT:V,IX,XI,XII,XIII,XV M: visiter

yégoult يغولت

▷ *igūwél-î* ‘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’

agəwâl

P: vedere

š-əgəl [caus.v.] ‘to show’

seq. = fut. *š-əgəl* res. *šəglá* impf. *š-əglày*

imp. sg. *šəgel*; pf. *šəglîḥ* 3sg.m. *išəgel*; res. 1sg.

šəglîḥa 3sg.m. *išəglá*; fut. 1sg. *ašəglâ-(k)*

[PT:X] impf. 1sg. *šəglâiḥ* 3sg.m. *išəglâi*

P: mostrare; vedere PT: X

əngùliA type of nursing word, which, going by Zanon’s translation is probably related to the verb *agál, gul* ‘to see’

ingùli

Z:XI

GL₂

tgìli [f.] pl. *tgiliwìn* ‘head’

tgìli, tēgìli, tēgìli [PT:III] *tegìli* [B21],

tēgùlî-(nnes) [PT:III,XIII] pl. *tgiliwìn, tegiliwìn* [B21]

P: testa; cima B21: 384 PT: III, XIII M:

cerveau; tête *taqileh* ثقيلة; cervelle

taqileh ثقيلة

◆ NZ: GL₆₃

GL₃

Gilu [place name] ‘Jalu (an oasis 30km south-east of Awjila)’

Gîlu

P: Giallo

GLD**agəllid** [m.] pl. gəldən 'head of a tribe, gentleman'*agellid* pl. *gelden*P: capo M: gouverneur *kellad* قَلَاد;
gouverner ??*mekellid* مَقْلِيد

◆ K: 331

Berber, cf. Kb. *agəllid* 'king'; Ghd. *ašəllid* 'king'; MA *agellid*, *ažellid* 'king'**GLL****glùl** [v.ccvc] 'to play'

pf. / seq. = res. glùl impf. təglùla

imp. sg. *glùl*; pf. 1sg. *glùlîh* 3sg.m. *iglùl*; res.1sg. *glùlîha* 3sg.m. *iglùla*; impf. 1sg. *teglùlîh*3sg.m. *iteglùla* ptc. *teglùlân* [P:example: che, il quale]

P: giocare

glilən [v.n.m.] 'playing'*glilen*

P: giocare

š-əglùl [caus.v.] 'to make (s.o.) play'imp. sg. *šəglùl*

P: giocare

GLM₁**glim** [m.] pl. glimən 'skin'*glim*, *glim-(énnes)* [PT:XV] pl. *glimen*P: pelle PT: XV M: peau *eglim* اقليم◆ NZ: GLM₂, TC: 1046, K: 364Berber, cf. Kb. *ag^wlim* 'skin'; To. *ájlem* 'prayer skin, sheepskin used as prayer mat'; Nef. *uglîm* 'skin'**GLM₂****agilum**, **agilùm** [m.] 'garlic'*agilùm*, *agilùm*

P: aglio

◆ NZ: GLM₁₀Berber, cf. Ghd. *agelum* 'garlic'. Probably ultimately from Lat. *allium* 'garlic'.**GM₁****ugəm** [v.vcc] 'to draw (water with an animal)'

impf. tągəm

imp. sg. *ugəm*; impf. 1sg. *tągemh* 3sg.m.*itągem*

P: attingere

◆ NZ: GM₃, K: 409Ghd. *agəm* 'to draw water'; Kb. *ag^wəm* 'to draw water'; To. (N) *ągəm* 'to draw water';Zng. *ägum* 'to draw water'.**ugùm** [v.n.m.] 'drawing of water'*ugùm*

P: attingere

anagəm [m.] pl. nagəmən 'someone who draws water'*anagəm* pl. *nagəmən*

P: attingere

GM₂**aləgmət** [f.] 'friday'*aləgmet*

P: venerdi

◆ Ar. *žumʕa(t)* 'friday'. Note the irregular loss of Arabic ʕ, which Awjila shares with Siwa, el-Foqaha, Ghadames and Nefusa: Cf. Siwa *əlmət* 'friday' (Souag 2010: 118); Foq. *ležmat* 'friday'; Ghd. *əlgamət* 'friday'; Nef. *ligmēt* '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'*agmàr* pl. *gmàren*, *gmàren-(ÿa)* [P: chi? (example)]P: cavallo M: cheval *aghmar* اغمار◆ NZ: GMR₅, TC: 373, K: 368Berber, cf. Ghd. *agmar* 'horse'; Kb. *tagmart* 'mare'; Zng. *ägmar* 'boy, young adolescent', *tägmar*, *tägmart* 'mare'**tagmàr(ə)t** [f.] pl. tagmartìn 'mare'*tagmàrèt* pl. *tagmartîn*

P: cavallo

GMR2

pl. **gmìrən** [m.] ‘chest’

pl. *gmîren*

P: petto

◆ NZ: GMR10, DMR1, TC: 193

Berber, cf. Kb. *idmarən* ‘chest’; Zng. *ädmarì(?)* ‘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. *adbir* ‘pigeon’, but a similar irregular shift is observed in Benghazi Arabic Benkato (2012: 10)

GMZ

agamzûy, agàmzû [m.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar. *zôūsami, abyad*)’

agamzûi, agámzû

P: palma

◆ NZ: GMZ4

A compounds of unknown element *agam* and *zûi* ‘palm tree’

GN

gan [adv.] ‘there; there is, there was’

gân, gal-(lûda) [PT:XV], *ġân* [Z:VII]

P: essere PT: I, II, III, XV Z: IV, VII

▷ *gân-ká* ‘there is not’

▷ *yénni-ká gân* ‘there was not’

▷ *gallûda* ‘there being nothing’ [PT:XV]

GNG

agəngùy [m.] pl. *ngùwən* ‘green date’

agengûi pl. *ñġûwen*

P: dattero

◆ Sok. *agingín* ‘small date palm’; Foq. *gingín, gengén* ‘green date’

agəngùy [m.] ‘name of a sparrow’

agəngûi

P: passero

○ This bird name seems to be derived 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. *gennînən*

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. *ġanaw* ‘slave (from Sudan)’; Kb. *tagnawit* ‘incomprehensible language, language of black slaves’; Zng. *ägənwì(?)* ‘black man, negroid African’ Nef. *agnâu* ‘slave, black’

GR1

agùr [prep.] ‘near, on the side’

1sg. *agùr mìn-n-i*, *agur-ənnùk* 2sg.m. *agùr mìn-n-ək* *agur-ənnək* 3sg. *agùr mìn-n-əs*, *agur-ənnəs*

agûr; 1sg. *agûr mēnn-ī*, *agûr-ennùk* 2sg.m.

agûr mēnn-ek, *agûr-énnek* 3sg. *agûr mìn-n-es*, *agûr-énnes*

P: vicino; fianco, lato PT: III

◆ NZ: GR64, K: 303

Perhaps Berber, cf. Ghd. *ġár* ‘between’; To. *jèr* ‘between’

Ar. *min* ‘from’

GR2

agár [v.cc*] ‘to gather, assemble’

pf. əgrá res. əgra impf. gərrá

imp. sg. *agér*; pf. 3sg.m. *yegrá*; res. 3sg.m.

yegráya; impf. 3sg.m. *igerrá*

P: raccogliere, radunare

◆ NZ: GRW₁

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎgruw* ‘to gather’; Kb. *grəw* ‘to meet, to get together’; To. *əjrəw* ‘to get, obtain, find’

agərru [v.n.m.] ‘gathering, assembling’

agərrū

P: raccogliere, radunare

GRF

tagirft, tagrifft [f.] ‘crow; owl’

tagirft, tagrifft

P: corvo; gufo

◆ NZ: GRF₁, GRFW K: 305

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ogǎrf* f. *toǎrft* ‘crow’; Kb. *tagərfa* ‘crow’; Sok. *tžárfi* ‘crow’

Ultimately from Latin *corvus*.

GRŠ₁

təgirışt [f.] ‘winter’

tegerišt, tagirišt [B21], *tigirišt* [B21;B25]

P: inverno B21: 386, 391 B25: 330 M:

automne *téghéricht* تغرشت; hiver

téghéricht تقرشت

◆ NZ: GRS₃ TC: 434, K: 341, 627

Berber, cf. Ghd. *asəgrəs* ‘winter’; Nef. *tegrést* ‘winter’; Foq. *ǧarišt* ‘winter’; Sok. *tagrést* ‘winter’; To. *təjrəst* ‘cold season, winter’; Zng. *tgārS* ‘cold season, winter’

GRT

agəraṭ [m.] pl. gərtəwən ‘neck’

agárāt, agárāt-(énnes) [PT:XIII] pl. *gertāwen*

P: collo PT:XIII M: cou *agarat* ا ق ا ر ا ت

◆ NZ: GRD₁ K: 628

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ayurəṭ* ‘shoulder’; Kb. *ag^wərđ* ‘neckline’; To. *tejǎrdāwt* ‘base of cranium just above nape’; Zng. *agard* ‘neck’

grūt [m.] pl. grūtən ‘wood, trunk of a tree’

grūt, grūt pl. *grūtən*

P: legno; palma; tronco d'albero

GRZN

?gərzəni [m.] ‘dog’

guerzeni قرزنى, *guerzen* قرزن

M: aboiement, aboyer

◆ Siwa *agurzəni* ‘dog’

GS

(ə)ggəs [v.cc] ‘to roast’

pf. əggəs res. əggəs impf. təggàs

imp. sg. *əggés*; pf. 1sg. *ggesh* 3sg.m. *yeggés*;

res. 1sg. *ggışha* 3sg.m. *yeggışa*; impf. 1sg.

teggāsh 3sg.m. *iteggās*

P: arrostitore M: rôti *?eggaça* ا ق س ه ; rôti

??meggaça م ق ا س ه

◆ NZ: GS₁₀

(ə)ggùs [v.n.m.] ‘roasting’

əggùs

P: arrostitore

GŠL

təgišilt təštāft [f.+adj.] ‘black beetle’

tegešilt teštāft

P: scarabeo

◆ NZ: GCL₂, Perhaps also: NZ: GLZ₈

Perhaps related to Sok. *tažlōšt* ‘cockroach’;

Siwa *taǧlāšt* ‘spider’Naumann (2013: 377); Fig. *tajliṣṣ* ‘beetle’.

təgišilt təyziṭt (or: ... tayziṭt) [f.+adj.]

‘vipera, snake (litt. long beetle)’

tegišilt taǧziṭt

P: scarabeo; vipera M: serpent *tekéchilt*

ت ك ش ل ت

GT

(ə)ggūt[quant] ‘much, many’

əggūt, ggūt [PT:III] *uggūt* [Z:I]

P: molto PT:III Z: I M: abondance *daggout*

د ق ق و ت ; accroître *daggat* د ق ق ا ت ; allonger

edgout ا د ق ق و ت ; beaucoup *doggout*

د ق ق و ت ; davantage *dakket* د ك ت ; force

degoud د ق ق و د ; suffire *dakout* د ك و ت ;

suffisament *dakou* دكو

◆ NZ: GT1 K: 359

Berber, cf. Sok. *uggūt* ‘much, many’

GṬṬ

agəṭṭ (or: **agəṭṭ** [m.]) pl. gəṭəṭ ‘sparrow; bird’

agəṭṭ pl. *gəṭəṭ*

P: passero; ucello M: perdrix *ghethat*

قطاط

◆ NZ: GD2 TC: 486 K: 328

Berber, cf. Ghd. *agəṭṭ* ‘bird’; Foq. *žadṭ*

‘bird’; Sok. *aždit* ‘bird’; Siwa *aštīt* ‘bird’

(Naumann 2013: 416); To. *ejādəṭ* ‘bird’; Zng.

agṭud ‘bird’

GW1

agiw [m.] pl. giwən ‘leather bucket (for a well)’

agiu pl. *gīwən*

P: pozzo

◆ NZ: G11 TC: 25 K: 304

Berber, cf. To. *āja* ‘waterbag’; Zng. *ä?gäh*

‘bucket’

GY

****gi** [v.ci] ‘to cultivate’

impf. gày

impf. 3sg.m. *igái*

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. *ayégəz*; 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. gəzlāx 2sg. gəzlāt 3sg.m. gəzzəl 3sg.f.

gəzlət pl. gəzzilīt

1sg. *gezlāh* 2sg. *gezlāt* 3sg.m. *gəzzel* 3sg.f.

gəzlet pl. *gezzilīt*

P: corto, basso

▷ *wāya gəzzel* ‘this is short’

▷ *amédəŋ gəzzel* ‘a short man’

◆ NZ: GZL1

Berber, cf. Ghd. *gəzzəl* ‘to be short’; Nef.

gezzél ‘short, low’; Siwa *azal* ‘short’; Sok.

gəzzél ‘short’

gzil [adj.].pl. gzilən f. təgzilīt pl. təgzilīn ‘short, low’

m. sg. *gzil* pl. *gzilən* f. sg. *tegzilīt* pl. *tegzilīn*

P: corto, basso

š-əgzəl, s-əgzəl [caus.v.] ‘to shorten, lower’

impf. š-əgzəl

imp. sg. *šəgzəl, ségzəl*; impf. 1sg. *šəgzəlḥ*

3sg.m. *išəgzəl*

P: corto, basso

as-əgzəl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘shortening’

asəgzəl

P: corto, basso

GZN1

gzin [m.] pl. gzinən ‘dog’

gzin pl. *gzinən*

P: cane M: chien *eghzin* اغزين

◆ K: 749

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əgzén* ‘puppy, small dog’; Kb.

aqjun ‘dog’; Nef. *ugzín* ‘small dog, puppy’

təgzint [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* ا غ ز ا ر

◆ NZ: GZR₃

GZV

əgzəv [v.ccc] ‘to cut the bunches of dates from palms’

imp. sg. *égzev*, *egzéf*

P: tagliare

◆ NZ: GZB K: 169, 243

Berber, cf. Ghd. *agezâβ* ‘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

Y

yax [v.vc*] ‘to take (+IO)’

pf. *uyá* seq. = res. *ùya* fut. *ùy* impf. *tàya*

imp. sg. *yah* pl. *yahât* [PT:I]; pf. 1sg. *ugîh*

3sg.m. *yúga*, *yugâ* [PT:IV,VII], *yugî-(tēt)* [PT:I];

res. 1sg. *ugîha* 3sg.m. *yugâya*; fut. 1sg. *augâh*,

augâh [PT:V] 2sg. *attugât-(tēnēt)* [PT:V]

3sg.m. *ayûg*, *ayugî-(tēnēt)* [PT:V]; impf. 1sg.

tāgîh 3sg.m. *itâga*

P: prendere PT: I, II, IV, V, VII M: apporter

heggad حَقَّاد; payer *aghiz* ا غ يز ‘to take to him’?

◆ K: 736

Berber, cf. Kb. *ay* ‘to take’; Nef. *ag* ‘to take’;

Sok. *ag* ‘to take’; Siwa *agəd* ‘to take (imp. only)’

uyú [v.n.m.] ‘taking’

ugû

P: prendere

YBŠ

əlyàbəš [m.] ‘morning’

elgàbes

PT: XV

◆ Probably from Ar. *gabaš* ‘darkness, dark, duskiess; the twilight before sunrise, last shadows of the night’. Cf. Ouar. *gabešša* ‘matin, début du jour’

Y-D ► G-D

YDD

ayìdəd [m.] pl. *yìdàd* ‘male kid (goat)’

agìded pl. *gìdâd*

P: capretto

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *iyid* ‘billy goat’; Nef. *gìd* ‘kid (goat)’; Sok. *igìd* ‘kid (goat)’

tyìdət ‘female kid (goat)’

tgìdet

P: capretto

YF₁

ayùf [m.] pl. *yəfàwən* ‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket made of small string’

agùf pl. *gefàwen*

P: cesta

YF₂

təyàfi [f.] pl. *tyəfiwìn* ‘palm leaf’

tāgâfi, *tāgâfi* pl. *tgâfiwìn*

P: foglia; palma

YL₁

****yàlli** [v.cci] ‘to want’

pf. = fut. *yàlli*

pf./fut. 1sg. *gàllih*, *gèllih* [PT:V], *gillig* [Z:I]

gillig [Z:III], *gèllih* [Z:VII], *gàlláh* [P: example],

gàllá [P: example], *àlla* [P: example] 2sg.

tgàllit, *tègèllit-(i)* [PT:XII] *tgèlli t-(i-kra)* (sic)

[Z:I] 3sg.m. *igàlli*, *igèlli* [PT:I], *igèlli* [PT:X]

igèlli (sic) [PT:IX], *igèlli* [PT:IV], *igèlli* [PT:II],

igállī [Z:II] 3sg.f. *tǧállī* 1pl. *nǧǧállī*, *nǧǧállī*
 [PT:XV] 2pl.m. *tǧallīyīm* 2pl.f. *tǧallīmet* 3pl.m.
ǧallīyen, *ǧallīyēn* [PT:II] 3pl.f. *ǧallīnet*
 P: volere PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, IX, X, XII, XV Z:
 I, II, III, VII M: cher *yéghalayeh* يغلايه;
 falloir *yéghally* يغالى
 ▷ *ǧallīḥ-ká*, *ǧalláḥ-ká* 'I do not want';
 ▷ *ǧalláḥ* (or *ǧallá*, *állá*) *a-šwáḥ* 'I want to
 drink'

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *yill* 'to think,
 believe'; To. *iyal* 'to believe'
 The Berber cognates have quite a different
 meaning, but the semantic shift may be
 possible.

YL₂

ayəllày [m.] pl. *yəllàyən* 'circle, loop'
agəllâi pl. *ǧəllâyen*
 P: cerchio, giro
 ▷ *agəllâi n tebazârt* 'a circle of bread to
 make baskets with'
 ◆ To. (Gh.) *taǧălăit* 'circle'

YL₃

****ayól/yli** [v.cc*/cci] 'to be dear'
 res. *yła*
 pf. 3sg.m. *iglāia*
 Z: XI
 ◆ Ar. *ʔajlā* 'to be dear or precious'
yəli-ka [stat.v.+neg.] 'to be cheap'
ghaleika غليكة
 M: bon-marché
 ◆ From Ar. *ǧalī* 'expensive' + Awjila negative
 particle *ká*.

YLB

****yəlləb** [v.cċc] 'to best s.o., to defeat s.o.'
 pf. / seq. *yəlləb*
 pf. 3sg.m. *igəlləb-(ten)*
 PT: VIII M: par force *yéghlebah* يغلبه
 ◆ Ar. *ǧalaba* 'to subdue, conquer, vanquish,
 defeat', the Awjila reflex appears to refer to a
 Stem II derivation *ǧallaba*, which in MSA is
 the causative of *ǧalaba*. The meaning in the

text is certainly not causative.

YM

tayməy (or: **təyməy**) [f.] pl. *tayməwìn*,
tayməwīn 'thigh'
taǧmâi pl. *taǧmāwīn*, *taǧmāwīn*
 P: coscia M: cuisse *thaghmay* طاغماي
 ◆ TC: 66g
 Berber, cf. Ghd. *tayma* 'thigh'; Nef. *tāǧmâ*,
taǧmâ 'thigh'; Sok. *tāǧma* 'thigh'; Siwa *taǧma*
 'thigh'; To. *tāyma* 'thigh'; Kb. *tayma* 'thigh';
 Zng. *tāmâ^h* 'thigh'

YMR

tayəmmirt [f.] pl. *təyəmmirìn* 'armpit'
taǧəmmirt pl. *teǧəmmirīn*
 P: ascella M: aisselle *teghmert* تغمرت
 ◆ TC: 6o
 Berber, cf. Ghd. *taymərt*, *tayəmmärt* 'corner,
 elbow'; Kb. *tiymərt*, *tīy^mmərt* 'corner, elbow';
 To. *áymar*, *tāymərt* 'elbow'; Zng. *oʔmri(?)*,
uʔmār, *iʔmmār* 'elbow'; Siwa *tayəmmərt*
 'armpit'; Nef. *tuǧumért*, *tuǧmért* 'elbow';

YN₁

ayùn [m.] 'a rope to which a 'delou' is
 tied to draw water'
agún
 P: corda
 o Perhaps a derivation of *ăqqán* 'to bind, tie,
 attach' ► QN

YN₂

iyənni [v.cċi] 'to hurt'
 3sg.m. *igənnī*, *igənnī-(y-ī)* [P: example] 3sg.f.
tăǧənnī
 P: dolere, far male
 o May either be an imperfective of a |cci|
 verb, or the perfective of a |cċi| verb.
 ▷ *aṭār-ennūk igənnī-y-ī* 'my foot hurts'
 ◆ Berber, cf. To. *ayána* 'suffering, hardship';
 Siwa *ǧənn* 'to hurt'

YR₁

uyər [v.vcc] 'to get lost; to lose s.th. (s-ɣar

+ s.th.)'

seq. = res. = fut. *ùḡər* impf. *tàḡər*

imp. sg. *uḡér*; pf. 2sg. *tuḡért* [PT:X] 3sg.m.

yúḡer; res. 3sg.m. *yúḡîra*; fut. 1sg. *āuḡérh*

[PT:X] 3sg.m. *ayúḡer* [PT:X]; impf. 1sg. *tâḡarh*

[P: example] 3sg.m. *itâḡar*

P: perdersi, smarrirsi PT: X M: aller

youghera يو غره

▷ *tâḡarh ässerîr-î* 'I always get lost in the desert'

▷ *yúḡîra s-gâr-î elméshāf* 'I have lost the book (litt. the book is lost from me)'

◆ K: 357, 630

Probably related to Foq. *úḡâr* 'to go'. The meaning found in Müller matches that of El-foqaha. This implies that Awjila underwent a semantic shift in between the publications of Müller and Paradisi.

š-ùḡər [caus.v.] 'to lose s.th.'

res. š-ùḡər impf. š-uḡər

imp. sg. *šúḡer*; res. 3sg.m. *šúḡîrha*; impf. 1sg.

šúḡarh [PT:IV] 3sg.m. *išúḡâr*

P: perdersi, smarrirsi PT: IV

○ *šúḡarh* in PT:IV, morphologically looks like an imperfective, but must be translated as a perfective.

▷ *šúḡîrha elméshāf* 'I have lost the book'

YR2

təyarît (or: **təyərît**) [f.] pl. t(ə)yariwîn 'stick'

tâḡarît pl. *tḡariwîn*, *tḡarîwîn* [PT:I],

tḡarîwîn-(îyek) [PT:I], *tḡarîwîn-(îyäk)* [PT:I]

P: bastone PT: I M: bâton *tagharit*

تغريت; révolté (être) *tégharit* تغريت

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tayārit* 'stick'; Kb. *tiyrit* 'stick'

YR3

yar [conj.] 'but'

ḡār [PT:V], *ḡār* [PT:XI]

PT: V, XI

◆ Ar. *ḡayr* 'but', the reflex of the *ay* diphthong

as a plain vowel *a* is unexpected.

YR4

ayər [v.cc*] 'to read'

seq. = res. *əḡra* impf. *ḡərra*

imp. sg. *aḡār*; pf. 3sg.m. *yéḡra*; res. 3sg.m.

yéḡrāya; impf. 1sg. *ḡarrîh* 3sg.m. *igérrā*

P: leggere

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *əār* 'to read'; Kb. *yər* 'to read'; To. *əḡər* 'to read; to study, go to school'

š-əḡər [caus.v.] 'to cause to read'

imp. sg. *šáḡar*

P: leggere

ayərru [v.n.m.] 'reading'

aḡérrū

P: leggere

YR5

ar [prep.] 'to, near, at'

1sg. *ḡâr-i* 2sg.m. *ḡâr-ək* 2sg.f. *ḡâr-əm* 3sg.

ḡâr-əs 1pl. *ḡâr-nax* 2pl.m. *ḡâr-kim* 2pl.f.

ḡâr-əkmət 3pl.m. *ḡâr-sin* 3pl.f. *ḡâr-əsnət*

ar, *ār* [PT:XV] (before a noun), *ḡār* (before

pronouns) 1sg. *ḡâr-î*, *ḡâr-î* [PT:V,VI] 2sg.m

ḡâr-ek, *ḡâr-ək* [PT:II] 2sg.f. *ḡâr-em* 3sg. *ḡâr-es*

1pl. *ḡâr-nāh* 2pl.m. *ḡâr-kīm* 2pl.f. *ḡâr-ekmet*

3pl.m. *ḡâr-sin* 3pl.f. *ḡâr-esnet*

P: presso PT: III, V, VI, XV

▷ *irū inni ar améden* 'the child is by the man'

◆ TC: 70

Berber, cf. Foq. *ḡūr* 'near, at'; Nef. *ḡer* 'near,

at'; To. *ḡòr* 'chez, at the home of, in the

presence of'; Zng. *ār*; *ār* 'near, at'

YRDM

tyardimt (or: **tyərdimt**) [f.] pl. tyardimîn 'scorpion'

tḡardimt pl. *tḡardimîn*

P: scorpione; M: reptile *taghardim*

تغرديم; scorpion *téghardim* تغرديم

◆ K: 633

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tašarḏāmt* 'scorpion'; Kb.

iyirdəm ‘scorpion’; To. *eyérdəm* ‘large scorpion’; Foq. *tagurdémt* ‘scorpion’; Sok. *tqardémt* ‘scorpion’; Nef. *tǵardémt* ‘scorpion’; Siwa *taqərǵúmt* ‘scorpion’ (Naumann 2013: 322) For the Ghadames form, see Vycichl (1990).

YRF

ayàrf (or: **ayərf**) [m.] ‘type of palm tree’

agárf

P: palma

YRM₁

ayàrəm [m.] ‘castle, police post’

agârem

P: castello, posto di polizia

◆ Tashl. *iyrm* ‘fortified granary’

YRR

tayrart [f.] ‘sack, bag’

thaghrart ط ا غ ر ا ر ت ‘sack, bag’

M: sac

◆ Siwa *tǵarārt* ‘small sack made of camel skin’; Ghd. *tayrārt* ‘large sack of wool and hair for grain’; Kb. *tayrart*, *tay^wrart* ‘roughly woven bag with dual pockets for transporting wheat on a camel’s back’

YRS

pl. əlyərsat-(ənnəs) [f.] ‘young palms’

pl. *əljārsāt-(ənnəs)*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *ǵarsa(t)* pl. *ǵarsāt* ‘plant’ Mor. Ar. *ǵarsa* ‘garden’

YRŠ

əy(ə)rəš [v.ccc] ‘to slaughter s.th. (+ IO)’

pf. *əyrəš* res. *əyrəš*

imp. sg. *agārəš*, *agreš-(dík)* [PT:XV], *ágareš*

[B21]; pf. 3sg.m. *yagrəš*; res. 3sg.m. *yagrīša*

P: sgozzare PT: XV B21: 391 M: boucher, s.

yégharrech يَغْرَش; immolé ??*magharich*

مَغَارَش; immoler *gharich* غ ا ر ش

◆ TC: 82

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əyrəs* ‘to immolate; to

slaughter’; To. *əyrəs* ‘to slaughter’; Zng. *oʔrəš* ‘to be slaughtered’

ayəràš [v.n.m.] ‘slaughter’

agaráš

P: sgozzare

YSLM

ayəsləm (or: **ayəsləm** [m.] ‘lizard (male)’

agəsləm

P: lucertola

təyasləmt (or: **təyəsłəmt**) [m.] ‘lizard

(female)’

tǵəslémt ‘lizard (female)’

P: lucertola

YST

ayəst [m.] pl. *yəstìn* ‘bone’

agást pl. *ǵástìn*, *ǵástìn-(nésneṭ)* [PT:XV]

P: osso PT: XV M: os *aghazt* ا غ ا ز ت

◆ TC: 85, K: 721

Berber, cf. GGhd. *yäss*, *yǎš* ‘bone’; Kb. *iyəss* ‘bone’; To. *éyäss* ‘bone’; Zng. *iʔsi(?)* ‘bone’.

Awjila has an extra final *t* in the root, not present in any other Berber language.

YŠ

ayəš [v.cc] ‘to love’

pf. *əyəš* res. *yəš* fut. *yəš* impf. *təyyəš* (or: *təyyāš*)

imp. sg. *agáš*, *ǵaš* [B21] pl.m. *agášât* pl.f.

agéšmet; pf. 1sg. *ǵašh* 3sg.m. *yagáš*; res. 1sg.

ǵíšha 3sg.m. *yagíša*; fut. 1sg. *agášh* 3sg.m.

aigáš; impf. *taggášh*, *tagášh* 3sg.m. *itaggáš*

P: amare B21: 391 M: aimer *yéghachtia*

يَغَشْتِيَه

▷ *taggášh-kem* ‘I love you’

◆ K: 724

Berber, cf. Nef. *ǵəss*, *ǵäss* ‘to love’; Siwa *ašs* ‘to love, want’

YTM + GLW (Move to QTM)

****əqtóm təgiliwin** [v.] ‘to execute (?)’

impf. *yəqəṭṭəm təgiliwin*

3sg.m. impf. *yeghettem igiliouy* يَغْتَم

يجيلوي

M: bourreau

◆ Probably to be analyzed as: *yəqəttəm*
tigiliwin 'he is cutting heads'; Cf. Ar. *qaṭama*
 'to cut off, break off'

YṬ1

tɣəṭ [f.] pl. tɣəttən, tɣittən 'goat'

tǵāt pl. tǵāttən, tǵittān

P: capra

◆ TC: 9

Berber, cf. Ghd. *téeat* 'goat'; Kb. *tayaṭ* 'goat';
 Nef. *tǵāt* 'goat'; Siwa *tǵāt* 'id.'; To. *təyatt* 'goat';
 Zng. *taʔD* 'goat'.

YV

ay(ə)v [m.] 'milk'

āǵəv, *āǵf*, *āǵf* [P:example], *āǵəf* [B24], *āǵəv*
 [B24]

P: latte B24: 186

▷ *āǵf d-atrâr* 'fresh milk'

◆ TC: 113, K: 11, 160, 738

Berber, cf. Kb. *iyi* 'whey'; To. *áxx* 'milk'; Zng.
iʔž, *iʔž(ž)* 'milk'

YVL

əyvəl, əgvəl [m.] 'ash'

āǵvəl, *éǵvəl*P: cenere M: cendre *aghwel* ا غول

◆ 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.

YZ1

ayiz [m.] pl. yizzən 'necklace'

agíz pl. *ǵízzən*

P: collana

▷ *agíz n úráǵ* 'golden necklace' [s.v. di]

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *agíz* 'necklace of coral,
 golden parts and old coins'

YZF

yəzzəf [stat.v.] 'to be long, be high'

1sg. *yəzfāx* 2sg. *yəzfāt* 3sg.m. *yəzzəf* 3sg.f.*yəzfət* pl. *yəzzifit*1sg. *ǵəzfāh* 2sg. *ǵəzfāt* 3sg.m. *ǵázzəf* 3sg.f.*ǵəzfət* pl. *ǵəzzifit*

P: lungo, alto

◆ TC: 105

Berber, cf. Kb. *iyʷzif* 'to be long'; Zng. *oʔZuf*
 'to be long'

yɣiz [adj.]f. təyziṭ (or: tayziṭ) 'long, high'

m. *ǵizif* f. *taǵizif*

P: lungo, alto

š-əyɣəf [caus.v.] 'to lengthen'

pf. / seq. = res. šəyɣəf impf. š-əyɣəf

imp. sg. *šəǵzəf*, *šəǵzəf*; pf. 1sg. *šəǵzəf* 3sg.m.*išəǵzəf*; res. 1sg. *šəǵzif* 3sg.m. *išəǵzifa*;impf. 1sg. *šəǵzāf* 3sg.m. *išəǵzāf*

P: allungare; lungo, alto

təyɣəf [f.] 'length'

tāǵzəf

P: lunghezza

H ► I4

HD

əlhūdi [m.] 'jew'

əlhūdī, *lhūdī*, *elhūdī*, *əlhūdī*, *lēhūdī*

PT: V

◆ ELA *ihūdī* 'jew'; Ar. *al-hūd* 'jewry',*al-yahūdīy* 'jew, jewish'

HL

ləhəl [m.] 'people, family'

lēhəl [PT:II], *lēhil*-(*ənnūk*, *énnek*) [PT:XV]

PT: II, XV

◆ Ar. *ʔahl* 'relatives, folks, family; kin; people,
 members, followers etc.'; ELA *hāl* 'family' (p.c.
 Benkato)

HLB

**əhləb [v.ccc] 'to surpass'

fut. əhləb

fut. 3pl.m. *ahləbən*

PT: II

HRŽ**ləharžət** [f.] ‘noise’*ləharžet*

PT: VII

◆ ELA *hárža* ‘noise’**HWY****alhəwáyyi, əlhəwáyyi** [adv.] ‘outside, outdoors, out, abroad’*alhawáyyi* [PT:VIII], *lhawáyyi* [PT:VIII],*elhawáyyi* [PT:IV]

P: fuori PT: IV, VIII

▷ *alhawáyyi af ášal* ‘out of the village’◆ Ar. *hawāʔi* ‘airy, breezy; aerial’, the meaning underwent quite a radical semantic shift in Awjila.**HB****lḥəbb** [m.] pl. ləḥbùb ‘date (ripe)’*lḥabb* pl. *lahbùb*P: dattero Z: IV M: datte, fruit *lahbou*

لحبو

◆ Ar. *ḥabb* ‘grains; seed’**ḤDF****ḥədəf** [v.ccc] ‘to throw’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. əḥdəf

imp. sg. *ḥədəf*; pf. 3sg.m. *yahdef-(tənet)*[PT:V]; res. 1sg. *aḥdefḥ-(tít)-a* [PT:V]; fut. 1sg.*aḥdefâ-(s)* [PT:V]

P: gettare PT: V

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *əʃdəf* ‘to throw’ (Naumann 2013: 297)**ḤDN****ḥiddan** [pron.] ‘anyone’*ḥiddan*

P: nessuno PT: II

◆ Ar. *ʔahad-an* ‘anyone’ with retention of Tanwin.**ḤK(Y)******əḥk** [v.cc*] ‘to tell’

pf. / seq. əḥka impf. ḥəkkə

pf. 3sg.m. *yahk-(is)* [PT:IV]; impf. 3pl.m.*ḥakkân-(dík)* [PT:II]

PT: II, IV

◆ Ar. *ḥakā* ‘to tell’**ləḥkàyəṭ** [f.] ‘story’*lahkàyet*

PT: IV

◆ Ar. *ḥikāya(t)* ‘story, tale’**ḤL****aḥòli** [m.] pl. ḥolàwən ‘lamb’*aḥòlī* pl. *ḥolàwen*P: agnello M: mouton *haoli* حولى◆ ELA *ḥòlī* ‘(one year old) lamb’; Ar. *ḥawlī* ‘periodic, temporary, interim; one year old (animal), yearling; young animal; lamb, wether’**taḥolīt** [f.] pl. ṭholitìn ‘sheep (more common than *təvól*)’*taholīt* pl. *ṭholitìn*

P: pecora

ḤLKT**ṭḥalkùt** (or: ṭḥəlkùt) [f.] pl. ṭḥəlkútìn ‘bread’*ṭḥalkùt* pl. *ṭḥəlkútìn*

P: pane

ḤM₁**áḥəmm** [v.cc?] ‘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/əḥmí

res. 3sg.f. *taḥmâya*

PT: III

◆ Mor. Ar. *ḥmā* ‘to become very hot’

HML

**əhməl [v.ccc] ‘to load, carry’

res. = fut. əhməl

res. 3sg.m. *yahmel-(tī)-ya* [PT:III]; fut. 1sg.

aħmelħ [PT:XII]

PT: III, XII

◆ Ar. *ħamala* ‘to carry, bear’

əlhəm(ə)l [m.] ‘load, burden’

elhámł, elħaməl-(énnes)

PT: III

◆ Ar. *ħiml*, (colloq.) *ħaml* ‘cargo, load, burden’

HMS

ħəmmuš [m.] ‘penis’

ħammúš

P: penis

HNN

ħənnūni [kin.m.] ‘grandfather’

2sg. *ħənnunī-k*

1sg. *ħannūnī* 2sg. *ħannunī-k*

P: nonno

◆ In ELA, the usual word for grandfather and grandmother are *žedd* and *žedda* respectively. But an alternative word for grandmother is *ħanna*, which is usually used in the diminutive is *iħneyna*.

Benkato (p.c.) points out that, while this word is unattested in ELA, it follows a rare masculine diminutive pattern. A hypothetical ***ħənn* could have had a diminutive formation ***ħannūn*, rather than the regular diminutive ***ħanneyn*. This rare diminutive pattern is usually used for names, for example *Adəm* dim. *Addūm*.

HNT

ħənta [adv.adj.] ‘a bit’

ħéntā

P: poco PT: III, XII

◆ Ar. *ħinṭa(t)* ‘kind of hard wheat’, the semantic shift is comparable to *ħabba* in Siwa (‘grain’ > ‘a little’) (p.c. Souag)

HQ

əlhəqq [m.]

‘one’s due, rightness’

elhāqq [PT:VI], *elhāqq-(ennūk)* [PT:XIV]

PT: VI, XIV M: prix, valeur *elakkenes*

الكنس ◆ Ar. *ħaqq* ‘truth, correctness, rightness; rightful possession, property; one’s due’

HS

**ħùss [v.cċ] ‘to feel’

pf. / seq. *ħùssa*

pf. 1sg. *ħossīħ*

P: freddo

○ This verb is only found in the construction ‘I feel cold’ in Paradisi’s vocabulary.

◆ Ar. *ħassa* ‘to feel, sense’

HSB

əhsəb [v.ccc] ‘to count; to think, figure’

pf. / seq. = res. əhsəb

imp. sg. *aħséħ*; pf. 3sg. *yahseb-(tēnēt)* [PT:V];

res. 1sg. *aħséħ-(kū)-ya* [PT:XII]

PT: V, VIII, XI

◆ Ar. *ħasaba* ‘to compute, reckon, calculate; to count’; Ar. *ħasaba* ‘to take s.th or s.o into account or into consideration’

**m-ħàsəb [mid.v.] ‘to settle the score’

fut. m-ħàsəb

fut. 1pl. *anmħâseb*

PT: II

○ This only example of the Berber Middle prefix **mm-* in Awjila.

◆ Ar. *ħāsaba* ‘to hold responsible’

HSL

**ħəššəl [v.cċc] ‘to obtain’

res. *ħəššəl*

res. 3sg.m. *yahaššīla*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *ħaššala* ‘to obtain’

HŠ1

aħàš [stat.v] ‘to be ugly, bad’

3sg.m. aḥàš 3sg.f. aḥàšət pl. aḥàšit
 aḥâš, aḥâš [PT:XV] f. aḥâšet pl. aḥâšit
 P: brutto, cattivo PT: XV M: avare *ahach*
 ح ا ش ; imparfait *hhach* ح ا ش

◆ Probably from Ar. *waḥš* ‘wild, untamed’

ḤŠ2

aḥâš [v.cc*] ‘to crush dates’

impf. ḥàšša

imp. sg. *aḥâš*; impf. 3sg.m. *iḥéšša*

P: pestare datteri

aḥâššū [v.n.m.] *aḥâššū* ‘grinding dates’

P: pestare datteri

ḤT1

ḥəttā [kin.f.] ‘(maternal) aunt’

2sg.m. ḥəttā-k 3sg. ḥəttā-s

1sg. *ḥəttā* 2sg.m. *ḥəttā-k* 3sg. *ḥəttā-s*

P: zio M: tante *attak* ا ت ك

ḤT2

ḥəttā [adv.] ‘even’

ḥátta

PT: V

◆ ELA *ḥáttā* ‘even’

ḤZM

əlhəzmət [m.] ‘bundle’

elḥázmət

PT: I

◆ Ar. *ḥuzma(t)* ‘s.th. wrapped up or tied up; bundle, fagot fascine’

ḤŽ

alḥàžət (or: **əlhàžət**) [f.] ‘thing’

alḥâžət

P: cosa

◆ Ar. *ḥāža(t)* ‘need, necessity; matter, concern; thing, object’

ELA *ḥāža* ‘thing’

I1

-i [suff.] ‘towards’

-ī

P: a PT: II, IV, V, IX, XI, XII, XV Z: XI

▷ *nettîn ya’idda* (*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], *yě-* [PT:V]; 2sg. *ī-kú* [PT:V]

P: a PT: II, IV, V, X, XIII, XV

▷ *urifḥ i-temígnī* ‘I wrote to the woman’

▷ *fkīḥ wāya y-amédēn* ‘I gave this to the man’

◆ Pan-Berber, cf. Kb. *i*, Zng. *i*, Ghd. *i* etc.

I3

tīt [f.] pl. *tiwîn* ‘eye; eye of a needle’

tīt, tīt pl. *tīwîn, ettīwîn* [B21]

P: occhio; cruna dell’ago B21: 391 M: oeil

athi ا ط ي ; source *tiouen* ت ي و ن

◆ NZ: D1 TC: 238

Berber, cf. To. *tètt* ‘eye’; Zng. *tuD* ‘eye’. There is an unexpected absence of emphatic *t* in Awjila.

I4

?ih [excl.] ‘yes’

ī, ih, 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

▷ *igalli-ká* 'he doesn't want'

▷ *tânîl-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

=**ik** [pron.]2sg.m. indirect object pronoun

-*ik*, *â-k* (< *x-ik*) [PT:IV,V,X], res. -*ika*, *â-ka* (< *x-ika*) [PT:XIII]

P: tu PT: IV, V, X, XIII

KBR

təkábərt, təkabərt [f.] pl. *təkabrîn* 'shirt'

təkábərt, təkabərt [PT:XIII] pl. *tekäbrîn*

P: camicia PT: XIII M: chemise *tékabert*

تكبرت; habit *tékébert* تكبرت

◆ K: 291

Berber, cf. Siwa *akbər* 'shirt'

KDM

****kəddim** [adj.]pl. *kəddimən* 'old'

m. pl. *kəddimən*

PT: II

◆ Probably from Ar. *qadīm* 'old', but both the *k* for *q* and the geminate *dd* for *d* are

unexpected, but cf. Sok. *qaddim* 'old'

KDR

təkədirt [f.] pl. *tkədrîn* 'ear (botanical)'

təkədirt, tekđirt [B21] pl. *tkedrîn*

P: spiga B21: 384 M: épi *tékadert* تكدرت

◆ K: 588

Berber, cf. Nef. *tiddért* 'ear (botanical)'; Ghd. *tašaddart* 'ear of grain'; MA *taydert* 'ear of grain'; Foq. *tádrī* 'ear (botanical)';

KF

əlkəffət [f.] 'scale/plate of a scales'

əlkəffət

PT: IV

◆ Ar. *kiffa(t)* 'scale/plate of a scales'

KFN

****kəffən** [v.cċc] 'to wrap'

imp. sg. *keffén-(t)*

PT:II

◆ Ar. *kaffana* 'to wrap s.th., to cover s.th.'

KK

takùkt [f.] pl. *təkkik* 'worm'

takùkt pl. *tekkík*

P: verme M: ver *thaqouq* طاقوق

◆ K: 500

Berber, cf. Kb. *awəkkīw, tawəkkā* 'worm'; To. *təwəkke* '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

koullionkesimani كل ينقسmani

surtout *afkoul* افكول; tout *koullou* كل

▷ *u yefkâ kull iwîn tăğarît* 'and he gave each one a stick' [PT:I]

▷ *ušând gallîyēn 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 yâqqîm iddahwâr ašâlî kkúll inéššed ɛl'ulamâ* 'and he started going around the whole village asking scholars (difficult questions)' [PT:VIII]

kùlli šây [m.] 'everything'

kùlli šéi

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *kulli šay?* 'everything'

KLB

klâbu [m.] "very thick animal skin"

klâbu

P: pelle

◆ From Hausa *kilābò* 'tanned ox-hide' (Souag 2013), also attested in Ghd. *klabo* 'id.'

KLM

akəllim [m.] pl. kəll(ə)mən 'male slave, servant'

akəllim, akəllim-(énnes) [PT:X] pl. *kéllemən*

P: schiavo, servo PT: X

◆ Perhaps related to Kb. *akli* 'slave', the additional m in the Awjila word is not easily explained.

takəllimt [f.] pl. tkəllmìn 'female slave, servant'

takəllimt pl. *tkəllmìn*

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

=kîm [pron.]₂pl.m. direct object pronoun

-kîm, -kîm [PT:I], res. *-kîma*

P: voi PT: I

=ikîm [pron.]₂pl.m. indirect object pronoun

-ikîm, â-kîm (< *x-ikîm*) [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

-ekmēt, res. *-ekmîta*

P: voi

KMM

kəmmim [pron.]₂pl.m. independent pronoun

kəmmim

P: voi B₂₁: 390 PT: I

kəmmimət [pron.]₂pl.f. independent pronoun

kəmmimət

P: voi B₂₁: 390

KML₁

****kkəmməl** [v.cċc] 'to finish'

seq. *kkəmməl*

pf. 1sg. *kəmməlḥ* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ikkəmmel* [PT:II, XIV], *yekkəmmel* [PT:IV]

PT: II, IV, XIV M: tout-à-fait *ekmella*

اكمله; entire *ekmeleh* اكمله

◆ Ar. *kammala* 'to finish'

KMŠ

kməš [v.cċc] 'to tie together a bundle'

imp. sg. *kməš*

P: legare, attaccare

◆ TC: 375

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əkməs* 'to fold; to tighten'; Kb. *əkməs* 'to tie in a knot'; Zng. *əgməš* 'to be in a knot'; Siwa *akəmūs* 'knot'; To. (a.D) *əkməs* 'to tie together'

təkəmmūšt (or: **takəmmūšt**) [f.] pl. *təkəmmiš* '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

kənn-ək [particle] ‘what is it with you?’

kənn-ək

PT: XV

◆ ELA *kann-ak*, *kann-ha*, etc. ‘what’s with you, what’s the matter with you’ (p.c. Benkato)

KNVL ► QNVL

KNY

**əkna/əkni [v.cc*/cci] ‘to be beautiful’

res. əkna/əkni

res. 1sg *knîha* 2sg. *tknîta* 3sg.m. *yeknâya*

P: bello

◆ Berber, cf. Fig. *cen* ‘be beautiful’

KNZR

tkənzîrt [f.] pl. *tkənzîrîn*, *tkənzîr* ‘nose’

tkənzîrt, *tkənzîrt* [B₂₁], *tkinzîrt* [B₂₁] pl.

tkənzîrîn, *tkənzîr*

P: naso B₂₁: 384 M: nièce (sic; nez) *tenzert*

تنزرت

○ M: nez and M: nièce were switched around accidentally in the wordlist.

◆ TC: 559

Berber, cf. Foq. *tinzért* ‘nose’; Kb. *tinzərt*

‘nose’; Nef. *tinzért* ‘nose’; To. *tîñšárt* ‘nose’;

Siwa *tanzärt* ‘nose’; Sok. *tunzä*rt* ‘nose’; Zng.

tîñžärt ‘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.

akənzîr [m.] ‘big nose’

akənzîr

P: naso

KR₁

əkri [v.cci] ‘to return; (+af) to answer’

pf. / seq. *əkri* res. *əkri* impf. *kərrî*

imp. sg. *ėkrî*; pf. 3sg.m. *yekrî*, *yekrî-(ká)*

[PT:III] 3sg.f. *tekrî* [PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m.

yekrâya; impf. 3sg.m. *ikėrrî*

P: ritornare PT: III, VII, VIII, IX, XV M:

rendre *aikri* ايكري; retour *kėri* كرى

revenir *ėkeri* كرى

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *əkri* ‘to return; to become’;

Zng. *uñmugrih* ‘to return’

š-əkri [caus.v.] ‘to return s.th.’

pf. / seq. = š-əkri

imp. sg. *šėkrî*, *šekrî-(dik)* [PT:VII]; pf. 3sg.m.

išekr-(is) [PT:VII]

P: ritornare; restituire PT: VII

KR₂

əkər, ùkər [v.vcc] ‘to steal’

seq. = res. = fut. *ùkər* impf. *tàkər*

imp. sg. *ákər*, *úkər*; pf. 3sg.m. *yúker* 3pl.m.

ukėren [PT:IX]; res. *yukîra*; fut. 3pl.m.

āukėrėn-(tėn) [PT:IX]; impf. 2sg. *ttākärt*

[PT:IV] 3sg.m. *itáker*

P: rubare PT: IV, IX

◆ TC: 38

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ókər* ‘to steal’; Kb. *ak*ər* ‘to

steal’; To. *əkər* ‘to steal, rob’; Zng. *o?gər* ‘to

steal’

ukùr [v.n.m.] ‘stealing’

ukùr

P: rubare

š-ùkər [caus.v.] ‘to cause to steal’

impf. s-ukàr

imp. sg. *šúker*; impf. 1sg. *sukârĥ*

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

əkkər [v.ċc] ‘get up, take off’

pf. = fut. əkkər seq. = res. əkkər impf.

təkkər

imp. sg. *əkkér* pl.m. *kkerât* pl.f. *kkérmet*; pf.

1sg. *kkerh*, *kerh* 3sg.m. *yekker* 3sg.f. *tékker*

[PT:XV], *tekkér* [PT:XV] 3pl.m. *kkéren* [PT:XV]

əkkéren [PT:XV] 3pl.f. *ekkénet* [PT:XV],

kkénet [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *kírha* 3sg.m. *yekkíra*;

fut. 1sg. *akkérh* 3sg.m. *ayekker*; impf. 1sg.

tekkérh 2sg. *tekkért* [P:example] 3sg.m. *itékker*

P: alzarisi, levarsi PT: XV M: dresser *kerr*

كَر; dressé ??mekerr مَكْر

▷ *tekkért-ká* ‘do not get up’

◆ TC: 408, presents an alternative origin than proposed below.

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əkkər* ‘to get up, to lift up’; Kb.

əkkər ‘to get up’; Zng. *əgur* ‘to get up’

(ə)kkür [v.n.m.] ‘getting up’

kkür

P: alzarisi, levarsi

š-əkkər [caus.v.] ‘to make someone get up’

imp. sg. *šékker*

P: alzarisi, levarsi

KR4

kíra (or: **kàra**) [m.] ‘thing, nothing (in negative sentences)’

kéra, *kéra*

P: cosa; niente

▷ *kéra-y-áya ddíwa* ‘what (thing) is this?’

▷ *wur gári kéra* ‘I have nothing’

◆ TC: 603

Berber, cf. Ghd. *kara* ‘thing’; Foq. *šíra* ‘thing’;

Kb. *kra*, *ka* ‘thing’; Zng. *kārā(h)* ‘thing’

KRBŠ

akərbüş (or: **akarbüş**) [m.] ‘trunk of a palm tree’

akərbüş

P: palma; tronco d'albero

KRD1

təkərđi [f.] ‘measles’

tekérđi

P: morbillo

KRD2

təkərđit [f.] ‘core of a palm’

tkerđit

P: palma

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *takərđya* ‘spathe of the inflorescence of a date palm’

KRM

təkərúmt (or: **takrúmt**) [f.] ‘joint of a bone in general’

täkrúmt

P: osso

◆ Berber, cf. To. *əkrəm* ‘to twist, bend’; Nef. *akrúm* ‘back’, *tukrúmt* ‘neck’; Sok. *takrúmt* ‘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*, *ėkréš*, *kereš* [B21]

P: legare, attaccare B21: 391

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *əkrəs* ‘to tie in a knot’; Kb. *əkrəs* ‘to tie in a knot’; To. *əkrəs* ‘to tie in a knot’

akrəš [v.n.m.] ‘tying, knotting’

akrəš

○ The regular verbal noun would be *akərəš*.

The absence of ə is unexpected.

P: legare, attaccare

tkərrišt [f.] pl. *tkərriš* ‘knot’

tkerrišt, *tkerrišt* [B21] pl. *tkerriš*

P: nodo B21: 391

◆ Berber, cf. To. *tekərrest* pl. To. *tikərras* ‘knot’; Siwa *akərrús* (Naumann 2013: 378)

KRŠ2

əkrəš, **kərəš** [v.ccc] ‘to hoe, dig’

impf. *kərrəš*

imp. sg. *əkréš*, *kéréš*; impf. 3sg.m. *ikerréš*

P: zappare

◆ Ghd. *ākraz* ‘to plough’; MA *krez*, *šrez* ‘to plough’; Nef. *ékrez* ‘to plough’

akəràš [v.n.m.] ‘hoeing, digging’

akērāš

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, *ksûm*-(âya) [PT:II] *ksûm*-(ennésneṭ) [PT:XV]

P: carne PT: II, XV M: chair *aksoum*

اكسوم

◆ K: 574

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aksəm* ‘meat’; Kb. *aksum* ‘meat’; Sok. *aksûm* ‘meat’; Siwa *askûm* ‘meat’.

KŠ

(ə)**kkəš** [v.čc] ‘to take off, remove’

pf. əkkəš impf. təkəkš

imp. sg. *ėkkéš*, *kkéš*, *keš* [B21]; pf. 3sg.m.

yekkéš [PT: IX]; impf. 3sg.m. *itekkeš*

P: togliere, levare PT: IX B21: 391 M:

arracher *ekkech* اكش; fermé ??*makkecha* مكشه

◆ TC: 610

Berber, cf. Ghd. *akkəs* ‘to remove, take off’; Kb. *akkəs* ‘to take away, remove’; To. *akkəs* ‘to take away, remove’; Zng. *akkəš* ‘to remove, take off’

(ə)**kkùš** [v.n.m.] ‘taking off, removing’

kkùš

P: togliere, levare

KŠM

təkšəymt [f.] pl. təkšəymîn ‘watermelon’

tekšâimt pl. *tekšâimîn*

P: cocomero

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *taməksa* ‘watermelon’;

Ghd. *taməksa* ‘melon’.

Awjila underwent metathesis. Vycichl

(2005: 9) considers this word a Punic

loanword, cf. Hebr. *qiššu?* ‘cucumber’,

compare also ► KŠN.

kšəym [m.] ‘watermelons (coll.)’

kšâim

P: cocomero

KŠN

akəššin, **akšin** [m.] pl. kəššin ‘core of a fruit’

akeššîn, *akšîn* pl. *käššîn*

P: nocciolo

◆ Perhaps related to Mzab/Ouar. *tayessimt* ‘cucumber’.

Ref.: Vycichl (2005: 9)

KTF1

tkəttift [f.] pl. tkəttifîn ‘ant’

tkettift pl. *tkettifîn*

P: formica M: fourmi *tékétfi* تكتفي

◆ NZ: ḌF1 TC: 971 K: 618

Berber, cf. Foq. *tgótfîn* ‘ants (coll.)’; Ghd.

takətfet ‘ant’; Kb. *awəttuf*, *tawəttuft* ‘ant’; Zng.

ōḍuf, *oḍuf* ‘ant’, *tōḍduft* ‘female or small ant’;

Nef. *túqtteft* ‘ant’; Sok. *tagēdfit* ‘ant’

KTF2

əlkətf(-ənnəs) [m.] pl. ləktuf(-ənnəs) ‘shoulder’

elketf-(énnes) [PT:XII], *ėlketf* [PT:XIII] pl.

lektūf-(énnek, énnes) [PT:XV]

PT: XII, XIII, XV

◆ Ar. *katif*, *kitf* pl. *?aktāf* ‘shoulder’

KTL

akītəl [m.] ‘date born from bad pollenation’

akîtel

P: dattero

KTT

akəttùt [adj.]pl. kəttùtən f. takəttùt pl. təkəttùtin ‘small of stature, thin, weak’
m. sg. *akettût* pl. *kettûten* f. *takettût* pl.

tekettûtîn

P: piccolo

KWY

təkwàyt [f.] ‘ball’

tik'waît

Z: XII

KWYS

kəwəyəs (or: **kuwəyəs**) [adv.] ‘good; very’

kuwéyes [PT:IV] *kuwáyés* [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 uríḥa* ‘behold, that which I have written’

L3

tàla [f.] ‘kitchen’

tālā

P: cucina

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tali* ‘room’

L4

ul [m.] pl. ulàwən ‘heart’

ūl, ul-(innôḥ) [Z:II] pl. *ulâwen*

P: cuore Z: II M: cœur *ouelnis* اَوْلَنَس

◆ 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 nə-ẓẓûi

P: palma

L5

illi [m.] ‘millet’

illī, éllī

P: miglio

L6

tìli [f.] ‘shadow’

tîlī

P: ombra M: ombre *tilly* طَلَى

▷ *tîlî-y-î* ‘in the shadow’

◆ TC:1027

Berber, cf. Kb. *tîli* ‘shadow’; Ghd. *téle*

‘shadow’; To. *tèle* ‘shade’; Zng. *tīyih* ‘shadow’;

Siwa *tlá* (Naumann 2013: 377)

L7

****al/li** [v.c*/ci] ‘to be a creditor to s.o. (+ *fəll*)’

res. là/li

res. 1sg. *lîḥa* [P:example] 2sg. *tlîta*

[P:example] 3sg.m. *ilāya* [P:example]

P: avere

▷ *nek lîḥa 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. *āl* ‘to have’; Ghd. *āl* ‘to have’; Zng. *äyi(?)* ‘to have’

LB

t(ə)lāba [f.] pl. təlabiwîn ‘barracan’
telāba, 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. *talāba* ‘barracan’; Sok. *tlāba* ‘baraccan’

LBB

əlbùb/əlbəb [v.ccc/ccvc] ‘to mount, climb’

res. əlbùb/əlbəb impf. ləbbùb

imp. sg. *elbùb, albúb* res. 1sg. *elbùbħa* [PT:XII]

3sg.m. *yelbìba* [PT:XII]; impf. 3sg.m. *ilebbùb*

P: montare, salire PT: XII M: cavalier

elbeba الببه

▷ *albúb afagmár* ‘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 *əlbəb*.

aləbàb [v.n.m.] ‘mounting, climbing’

alebàb

P: montare, salire

š-əlbub/š-əlbəb [caus.v.] ‘to cause to mount’

impf. š-əlbàb

imp. sg. *šəlbùb*; impf. 3sg.m. *išəlbàb*

P: montare, salire

LBĤR ► BĤR**LBLS ► BLS****LBRS**

təlabrəst [f.] ‘lizard’

telabrést

P: lucertola

LBRT ► BRT**LBŠ**

tələbbišt [f.] pl. tələbbiš, tləbbišin ‘peel

(of a fruit, vegetable etc.), leaf’

telebbišt pl. *telebbiš, tlebbišin*

P: buccia, scorza; foglia

◆ Perhaps a Berber diminutive from ELA *lébēs* ‘suit’ > ‘little suit’ > ‘peel’. Arabic *s* does not shift to *š* usually.

LD

lùda [adv.] ‘nothing’

lùda, lū

P: niente PT: III M: rester *laouada* لواده

▷ *gārī lùda* ‘I have nothing’

LDM ► DM**LDN**

tildùnt [f.] ‘tin’

tildùnt

P: stagno (metallo) M: étain *tildount*

طلدونت

◆ K: 245

Berber, cf. Kb. *aldun* ‘lead’; Zng. *aldūn* ‘lead’

LF1

**llùff [v.cċ] ‘to wrap up’

pf. / seq. llùff

pf. 3sg.m. *illúff* [PT:II]

PT: II M: enveloppé ??*mélouffi* ملفى

enveloppe *louffi* لفى

◆ ELA *ilúff* ‘to wrap up’; Ar. *laffa* ‘to wrap up’

LF2

əlf [num.] ‘thousand’

elf

PT: V

◆ Ar. *ʔalf* ‘thousand; millennium’

LF3

(ə)lláf [v.cċ] ‘to divorce’

imp. sg. *əlléf, llef*

P: ripudiare

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *atlaf* ‘to divorce’; Ghd. *ätlaf*

‘to lose, get lost’; Siwa *allaf* ‘to divorce’

(ə)llùf [v.n.m.] ‘divorcing’

əllúf

P: ripudiare

LFNK ► FNK

LFYD ► FYD

LGFL ► GFL

LGMT ► GM₂

LY

allày [m.] 'bottom (of a recipient, of a wadi etc.)'

allâj

P: fondo

LYBŠ ► YBŠ

LYM₁

**əlyəm [v.ccc] 'to refuse; to not want'

pf. / seq. / fut. əlyóm

pf./fut. 1sg. *elǰámħ* 3sg.m. *yelǰám* [PT:II],*yélǰám* [PT:XII], *yelǰóm* [PT:V] 3sg.f. *telǰám*3pl.m. *elǰámɛn* 3pf.f. *elǰámneɛt*

P: rifiutare PT: II, V, XII M: nié

??*mielghoun* ميلغون; nier *yelghoun*

يلغون

LYM₂

aləyəm [m.] pl. ləymìn 'camel'

alógom, *alǒgom*, *alúgom* [PT:XV] *alógǒm*[PT:XV] pl. *loǰmîn*

P: cammello PT: XV

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *alyʷəm* 'camel', *talyʷəmt*'she-camel'; To. *tállǎmt* 'she-camel'; Zng.*äyiʹm*, *täyiʹmt* 'camel'

tələyɛmt [f.] pl. tləyɛmitìn 'she-camel'

telógmt pl. *tloǰmitîn*

P: cammello

LHD₁

**əlhəd [v.ccc] 'to run'

impf. ləhhəd

impf. 3pl.m. *lahhéden*

PT: XV

◆ ELA *yəlhəd* 'to run on a horse' (p.c.

Benkato)

LHD₂ ► HD

LHL ► HL

LHRŽ ► HRŽ

LHWY ► HWY

LḤB ► ḤB

LḤKY ► ḤK(Y)

LḤM

**əlhəm [v.ccc] 'to be lit'

res. əlhəm

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-əlhəm [caus.v.] 'to light (a fire)'

pf. = fut. š-əlhəm res. š-əlhəm impf.

š-əlhəm

imp. sg. *šélḥam* pl.m. *šélḥamât* pl.f.*šélḥammɛt* pf. 1sg. *šelḥámħ* 3sg.m. *išelḥám;*res. 1sg. *šelḥímħa* 3sg.m. *išelḥîma*; fut. 1sg.*ašelḥámħ* 3sg.m. *aišelḥám* 3pl.m. *ašelḥamen*[PT:XV]; impf. 1sg. *šelḥámħ* 3sg.m. *išelḥâm*P: accendere PT: XV M: allumer *chelhamt*

شلمت

LḤML ► ḤML

LḤQ ► ḤQ

LḤRR ► ḤRR

LḤZM ► ḤZM

LḤŽ ► ḤŽ

LK₁

lləkka [particle] 'still'

llékka, *illékka*, *llekká* [PT:III]▷ *irîu llékka ínni ar amédɛn* 'the child is still with the man'▷ *ufânt illékka yeddîra* 'They found him still alive'P: ancora PT: III M: encore *elikka* اَلِيكَا

illəkk-ùr [adv.] 'not yet'

illekkûr, *lekkûr*, *kkûr*, *ikkûr*

P: ancora

▷ *irîu illekkûr izîgež* '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)lák [v.ċc] 'to delouse'

impf. təllək

ěllék, *llek*; impf. 3sg.m. *itěllek*

P: spidocchiare

◆ Transparently derived from the same root as *twellíkt* 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

lākən [conj.] 'but'

lâkən [PT:III,X] *lâkân* [PT:XII]

PT: III, X, XII

◆ Ar. *lâkin* 'but'

LKTF ► KTF

LKR ► LK

LL1

alùli [m.] 'midday, noon; midday prayer'

alûlî

P: mezzogiorno; preghiera

◆ Ar. *al-ʔulā* '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-ʔulā* came to stand for 'Dhuhr'.

LL2

alâl [m.] 'tableware'

alâl

P: stoviglia

LM1

llùmm [v.cċ] 'to gather, to stay together'

pf. / seq. llùmm

imp. pl.m. *llummât* [PT:I]; pf. 3sg.m. *illûm*

[PT:I] 2pl.m. *tellûmâm* [PT:I], *tellummâm*

[PT:I]

PT: I

◆ Ar. *lamma* 'to gather'

LM2 (ə)llóm/əlləm [v.ċc] 'to spin (wool)'

impf. təllóm

imp.sg. *élləm*, *llém*; impf. 3sg.m. *itellém*

P: filare

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *əlləm* 'to spin'; To. *əlləm* 'to braid'

(ə)llùm [v.n.m.] 'spinning'

ellûm

P: filare

azəllùm [m.] 'thread, yarn'

azellûm

P: filo M: fil *ezzeloum* اَزْلُوم

◆ This word seems to be an 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

taləmma [f.] 'mist, haze'

talémma

P: nebbia, foschia

LMD

əlməd [v.ccc] ‘to learn’

impf. *ləmməd*

imp. sg. *elméd*; impf. 3sg.m. *ilémmed*

P: imparare M: apprendre, enseigner
elmeida الميدا ; apprendre, s'instruire
yelmeida يلميدا

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *əlməd* ‘to be used to; to learn’; Kb. *əlməd* ‘to be used to’; To. *əlməd* ‘to learn, know’.

Ultimately from Punic or Hebrew *lāmad* ‘to learn’ (Vycichl 2005: 3)

aləməd [v.n.m.] ‘learning’

alemād

P: imparare

š-əlməd [caus.v.] ‘to teach’

impf. *š-əlməd*

imp. sg. *šelméd* impf. 3sg.m. *išelmād*

P: imparare

LMGƆD ▶ MGƆD

LMƳR ▶ MƳR₂

LMLXY ▶ MLXY

LMM ▶ MM₅

LMR ▶ MR₁

LMŠHF ▶ MŠHF

LMŠ

tələmmùšt [f.] ‘spider’

telemmùšt

P: ragno

LMTƆ ▶ MTƆ

LMZN ▶ ZN

LQBT ▶ QBT

LQM

alùqəm (or: aləqəm) [m.] ‘a small cushion one wears on the head to carry loads’

alúqom

P: cuscino

LQQ

ləqqəq [stat.v.] ‘to be thin’

1sg. *ləqqàx* 2sg. *ləqqàt* 3sg.m. *ləqqəq*

3sg.f. *ləqqàt* pl. *ləqqiqit*

1sg. *laqqâḥ* 2sg. *laqqât* 3sg.m. *láqqâq* 3sg.f.

laqqât pl. *laqqîqît*

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. *ilwiġ* ‘to be smooth, soft’; Tashl. *lgʷiy* ‘to be soft, tender’
aləqqùq (or: təlaqquq) [adj.]f. *tələqquqt* ‘thin’

m. *alaqqûq* f. *telaqqûqt*

P: magro

LQYM ▶ QYM

LQZ

Tələqzi [P.N.] ‘small village in the oasis of Awjila’

Teláqzi

P: Teláqzi

LS

iləs [m.] pl. *ilsən, ilsənən* ‘tongue’

ilës pl. *ilsen, ilsänen*

P: lingua M: langue *elsuo* الصو

◆ TC: 945

Berber, cf. Ghd. *éləs* ‘tongue’; Kb. *iləs* ‘tongue, language’; To. *iləs* ‘tongue’; Zng. *əTʷši(?)* ‘language’

LŠLƆ ▶ ŠLƆ

LŠQ

lləšiq, aləšiq [m.] pl. *ləšqàwən* ‘oven’

llešiq, alešiq pl. *lešqâwen*

P: forno M: four *lésikh* لسيخ

LŠ

alùšši [m.] ‘grain or barley that is still soft’

alùšt

P: erba

LWL ► WL2

LWŠ

****lləwəš [v.irreg.]** ‘to wither (said about unripe grain that is destroyed by the “ghibli”)’

res. lləwəš

res. 3pl.m. *llowešîna* [P:example]

P: appassire M: mouillé *mélouachoun*

ملو اشون; mouiller *elouachoun*

الواشون

▷ *yérdeŋ llowešîna* ‘the grains withered’

▷ *timzîŋ llowešîna* ‘the barley withered’

LXDR ► XDR

LXRBS ► XRBS

LZ1

****llùz [v.čvc]** ‘to be hungry’

pf. / seq. = res. əllùz impf. tlàza

pf. 1sg. *llùzîh* 3sg.m. *yellùz*; res. 1sg. *llùzîha*

3sg.m. *yellùza*; impf. 1sg. *tlàzîh* 3sg.m. *itlâza*

P: fame M: faim *loza* لوزه

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *laz* ‘to be hungry’; Kb. *əllaz* ‘to be hungry’

təlazàt [f.] ‘hunger’

tälāzât

P: fame

LZ2

alùzi [m.] pl. luzàwəŋ ‘whip’

alùzi pl. *luzâwen*

P: frusta

LŽ

aləžži [m.] pl. ləžžàwəŋ ‘ram’

aləžži pl. *ležžâwen*

P: montone

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *aléğgi* ‘ram’

Lſ

****uləſ [v.vcc]** ‘to fall in love with s.o. (+ *fi*)’

res. ùləſ

res. 3sg.f. *tulî’a*

Z: IX

◆ Ar. *waliſa* ‘to catch fire, burn; to be madly in love’

LſDD ► ſDD

LſL ► ſL

LſLM ► ſLM

LſMM ► ſMM

LſQB ► ſQB

LſŠR ► ſŠR

M1

am [prep.] ‘like’

am, amalá (<*am-alá*), *amalá* [PT:V], *am-alá* [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’

▷ *əntîn igâya am amédəŋ* ‘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

****əmm [v.č*]** ‘to be cooked, be ready, be ripened’

pf. əmmá res. əmma fut. əmm impf.

nənna

pf. 3sg.m. *yummâ*; res. 3sg.m. *yummâya*,

yemmâya [P:example] 3sg.f. *temmâya*

[PT:XV] 3pl.m. *mmâna* 3pl.f. *mmanîta*

[P:example] ptc. *mmâna* [PT:XV]; fut. 3sg.m.

ayémm 3sg.f. *attémm* 3pl.f. *ammânəŋ* [PT:XV];

impf. 3sg.m. *inénna* 3sg.f. *tnénna*

P: cuocere PT: II, XV

▷ *timzîŋ mmanîta* ‘the barley is ripened’

▷ *ksûm yemmâya* ‘the meat is cooked’

◆ TC: 767

Berber, cf. Ghd. *änn* ‘to cook’; Kb. *əbb* ‘to

cook'; To. *əñña* '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).

tənnənnàt [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. *šummīh* 3sg.m. *išúmma* 3pl.m.

šummân [PT:II,XV] 3pl.f. *šummânet* [PT:XV];

res. 1sg. *šummīha* 3sg.m. *išummâya* 1pl.

nəšummi-(tī)-ya [PT:II]; fut. 1sg. *ašummâh*

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 derived from the imperfect stem, which gives the impression that to some extent the irregular imperfect stem os not consider to be fully part of the paradigm of the verb.

M3

mmá [kin.f.] 'mother'

2sg.m. *mmà-k* 2sg.f. (ə)mmà-m 3sg.

mma-s 1pl. *mmá-tnax* 3pl.f.

(ə)mmà-tsnət

1sg. *mmâ*, *mma* [Z:II] 2sg.m. *mmâ-k* 2sg.f.

əmmâ-m [PT:XV] 3sg. *mmâ-s* 1pl. *mmâ-tnah*

3pl.f. *əmmâ-tsnət* [PT:XV], *emmâ-tsnət*

[PT:XV]

P: madre PT: XV Z: II M: mère *omm* اوم

▷ *mmâs n irû* 'the mother of the child'

◆ TC: 1053

Berber, cf. Ghd. *má*, *ma* 'mother'; Kb. *yamma* 'mother'; Zng. *yumṛih* 'mother'; Siwa *əṇṇma* 'mother' (Naumann 2013: 377)

M4

am [m.] pl. *mìwən* 'mouth'

ām pl. *mîwən*, *mîwân*

P: bocca M: bouche *amennes* امنس

◆ 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-tnah; pl. 1sg. *átmā* 2sg.m. *atmâ-k* 3sg.

atmâ-s

P: fratello M: frère *oumak* اومك ; neveu *omak* امك

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *ammâi*, *ummâi* 'brother'; Sok. *ummâ* 'brother'; Siwa *amma* 'brother'

M6

àmmi [kin.m] '(paternal) uncle'

2sg.m. *ammî-k* 3sg. *ammî-s*

1sg. *ámmī*, *āmmi* [Z:III] 2sg.m. *ammî-k* 3sg.

ammî-s

P: zio Z: III M: oncle *ammis* عمس

◆ Ar. *ʕamm* 'paternal uncle'

ʕamma [kin.f.] '(paternal) aunt'

ʕamma

Z: II

◆ Ar. *ʕamma(t)* 'paternal aunt'

M7/MNY

təmmìt [f.] pl. *tmənyìn* 'tamarisk'

temmît pl. *tmenyìn*

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* يمن; nager *yemin* يمين; larme *yémannes* يمنس
▷ *imîn tâvérên* ‘the water boils’

◆ TC: 666

Berber, cf. Kb. *aman* ‘water’; Foq. *âman* ‘water’; Ghd. *âman* ‘water’; Nef. *amêñ, amân* ‘water’; Siwa *aman* ‘water’; Sok. *amân* ‘water’; To. *âman* ‘water’; Zng. *ämän* ‘water’

imìn n əttiwìn [phrasal n.] ‘tears (litt. water of the eyes)’

pl. *imîn n ettiwîn*

B21: 391

M9

=**im** [pron.] 2sg.f. indirect object pronoun
-*îm*, res. -*îma*

P: tu

MB ► **NB**

MD1

mud [v.čvc] ‘to pray’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *mùd* impf. *mùda*
imp. sg. *mūd*; pf. 1sg. *mūdîh* 3sg.m. *imūd*; res. 1sg. *mudîha* 3sg.m. *imûda*; fut. 1sg. *ammûdah*, *ammudâh* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *aimûd* ptc. *ammûdân* [PT:II]; impf. 1sg. *mūdîh* [PT:II] 3pl.m. *mūdân* [PT:II]

P: pregare PT: II M: prier *yemout* يموت

◆ K: 126, 223

Berber, cf. Ghd. *mūd* ‘to pray’; To. *àməd* ‘to pray’

amùd [v.n.m.] ‘prayer’

amûd

P: preghiera

ammùd [m.] pl. *ammùdän* ‘mosque’

ammûd pl. *ammûden*

P: moschea PT: II

MD2

****əmmùdd** [v.cč] ‘to extend’

pf. / seq. *əmmùdd*

pf. 3sg.m. *yemmùdd* ‘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. *təmidīwîn*

P: dattero M: vigne *temmedeh* تمده

MD4

təmìdi [f.] ‘woodworm’

temîdi

P: tarlo

◆ K: 122, 131

Berber, cf. To. *tèmedhe* ‘termite’; Sok. *tmîdi* ‘woodworm’

MDY

təmədyàt [f.] ‘clay; red earth’

temedgât, temedgât

P: argilla; terra M: boue; fange *témédghat*

تمدغات

◆ NZ: DQ1, K: 637

MDL

amadùl [m.] pl. *madùlən* ‘lid, cover’

amadûl pl. *madûlen*

P: coperchio

◆ NZ: DL1 ► NDL

MDN

amədän [m.] ‘man’ pl. *mədinən, mïddän* ‘people’

amédên, amédên [PT:I,II,VI,VII,VIII,XI,XIII],

amédén-(nēs) [PT:XV] pl. *mədînen, mïddên*

P: uomo; gente, persone PT: I, II, IV, VI,

VII, VIII, XI, XI, XII, XIII, XV M: homme

amaden امادن

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *mäddén* ‘people’; Kb.

məddän ‘people’; To. *médän* ‘men’

MDY ► MDY

MG1

màg [adv.] ‘where?’

māg, māg [PT:XV]

P: dove? PT: VIII, XV

▷ *māg inni amēḏen-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?’

ammágwa, ammágwa [PT:VIII] pl. *ammágwi* f. *ammákta* pl. *ammákti*

P: quanto? PT: VIII M: âge *ammagoua*

اماقوع

▷ *wē s-ammágwa?* ‘how much does this cost?’

◦ *am + màg wa* litt: ‘like what?’

s-am màg wa [inter.adv.] ‘how much?’

s-ammágwa

P: quanto? M: combien *samaghoua*

صمغوه

▷ *wē s-ammágwa?* ‘how much does this cost?’

MG2

(ə)mmóg [v.ċc.irreg.] ‘to become, to be, to turn into’

pf. = fut. *əmmóg* res. *əmməgg*

imp. sg. *emmóg*; pf. 1sg. *mmeggîh* 3sg.m.

yemmóg [P: example]; res. 3sg.m. *yemmégga*;

fut. 3sg.m. *ayemmóg* [P: example]

P: divenire, essere, transformarsi

▷ *yemmóg amoqqārān* ‘he became big’

▷ *ayemmóg dē-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. *magiwîn* ‘eyelid’

mági pl. *magiwîn*

P: palpebra

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *timmî* ‘eyebrow’; Ouar.

tammî ‘eyebrow’; Mzab *tammî* ‘eyebrow’;

Ghd. *təmmi* ‘eyebrow’

MG4

mmóg [conj.] ‘when’

mmóg, mmog [P: example]

P: quando

▷ *mmog a-ttunât ammûd-î* ‘when you will enter the mosque’

MGN

təmìgni [f.] pl. *t(ə)migniwîn* ‘woman, wife’

təmìgnî, tēmìgnî [PT:III,XV], *tēmìgnî* [PT:III],

tēmìgnî-(nnes) [PT:IV], *dmegnî-(s)* [PT:IV]

tēmìgnî-(nnes) [PT:XV], *tēmìgnî-(nnek)*

[PT:XV] pl. *tēmìgnîwîn, tmegnîwîn* ‘woman, wife’

P: donna PT: III, IV, XV M: femelle

temighni تمیغنی

◦ This noun can take both the kinship suffix and normal possessive suffix.

◆ NZ: GN50

MGR

ìmgər, yəmgər [m.] pl. *məg(ə)rən* ‘sickle’

ìmger, yémger pl. *mégèren*

P: falce M: faux, instrument *emker* امكر

◆ K: 317

Berber, cf. Kb. *amgər* ‘sickle’; Foq. *amžér*

‘sickle’; Nef. *měžér* ‘sickle’; Sok. *amžér* ‘sickle’;

Siwa *amžir* ‘sickle’ ► MŽR

MYR

əlməy(y)àrət [f.] ‘cave’

əlməğğàret, elmoğğàret-(î), elmàğğàret-(î),

elmoğğàret-(î)

PT:XV

◆ Ar. *mağāra(t)* ‘cave, cavern; grotto’

MĤ**mməḥ** [v.ċc] ‘to kiss’

pf. / seq. = res. əmməḥ+is impf.

təmməḥ+is

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*يمهسه; baiser s. *yammahess* يمهس▷ *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’*emmùḥ*

P: baciare

MĤT**məḥəṭ** [v.ccc] ‘to have sexual intercourse’

pf. / seq. əmḥəṭ

imp. sg. *măḥăt*; pf. *yemḥăt-(tăt)* [PT:XV]

P: coire PT: XV

aməḥəṭ [v.n.m.] ‘having sexual intercourse’*aməḥəṭ*

P: coire

MKLW**aməklîw** [m.] ‘lunch’*aməklîu, aməklîw-(ənnēs)* [PT:XV]

P: pranzo PT: XV

▷ *aməklîw-î* ‘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], *amakân-(nesîn)* [PT:XV]

PT: VII, VIII, X, XV

◆ Ar. *makân* ‘place’**MKT****(ə)mməkt, mməkti** [v.irreg.] ‘to remember’

pf. / seq. = res. əmməktā impf. mməktā

imp. sg. *əmmékt, mmékti*; pf. 3sg.m.*yimméktā*; res. 3sg.m. *yemmektâya*; impf.3sg.m. *immektâ*P: ricordarsi; M: souvenir (se) *makti*

مكتى

◆ TC: 626, K: 562, 577

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăktət* ‘to remember’; Kb.*mməkti* ‘to remember’; To. *ăktu* ‘toremember’; Zng. *oktîh* ‘to remember’.This is an *mm-* medio-passive derivation of which the original form has been lost.**MKTR****məktar** [m.] ‘a large part, majority’*măktar*

P: XI

◆ Clearly a derivation from the Arabic root *ktr* ‘to be plentiful’, but the exact derivation is unknown in Arabic.**MLYL****təməlyùlt** [f.] ‘fontanelle’*teməlgùlt*

P: fontanella

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *taməlyiṭ* ‘fontanelle’; Foq. *tmelgíjt* ‘fontanelle’.The development of the Awjila form is not entirely clear. Rather than the *γ* being doubled as in the two languages cited above, the root consonant *l* is doubled instead.**MLL1****məllól** [stat.v.] ‘to be white’1sg. *məllàx* 2sg. *məllăt* 3sg.m. *məllól* 3sg.f.*məllăt, məllət* pl. *məllílit*1sg. *məllâḥ* 2sg. *məllât* 3sg.m. *məllél, məllet*[P:example] 3sg.f. *məllét* pl. *məllílit*

P: bianco

▷ *guliḥa tfilli məllet* ‘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. *məlliy*, *mʷəlliy* ‘to be white’
š-əmlil [caus.v.] ‘to whiten’

imp. sg. *šəmlil*

P: bianco; imbiancare

mlil [adj.] pl. mlilən f. təmlilt pl. təmlilin
‘white’

m. sg. *mlil* pl. *mlilen*; f. *temlilt* pl. *temlilin*

P: bianco

▷ *amédəḡn mlil bāhi-ká* ‘The white man is not good’

▷ *mlil n tīsī* ‘egg white’

MLL2

mlāl [m.] ‘sand; dust’

mlāl, *mlāl* [PT:XV]

P: sabbia; polvere PT:XV M: poussière

melan ملان; *sable hemlal* هملال

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamallilt* ‘dune sand’; To. *temāält* ‘white sand’

MLL3

Timillil [P.N.] Place name

Timillil

Z: X

MLM

millim [m.] ‘milliem (1000 milliemes is 1 Libyan pound)’

millim

PT: III

MLXY

ləmluxiyət [f.] ‘mulukhiya’

ləmluxiyet [PT:III,IV], *ělmuxiyet* [PT:III]

PT: III, IV

◆ Ar. *muluxiya(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. *mmumit*

3sg.m *mùm*, *mmùm* 3sg.f *mmùmət* pl.

mmùmît

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. *mamá* 2sg.m. *mamá-k* 3sg. *mamá-s*

P: fratello

MM4

amimi n tît [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-nəkim

imân; 1sg. *iman-nûk* 2sg.m. *imán-nek* 3sg.

imân-nes, *imán-nes* [PT: IV], *imán-nes* [PT:V]

1pl. *imán-naḡ* 2pl.m. *iman-nekim* [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. *imān* ‘soul, life force’

MN3

təmnit (or: tamnit) [f.] ‘jar, vase’

təmnit

P: giarra

MN4

tímənt [f.] ‘honey’

tîmənt

P: miele M: abeille *tement* تمننت

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamənt* 'honey'; Kb. *tamənt* 'honey'; Nef. *taməmt*, *tamənt* 'honey'; Sok. *taməmt* 'honey'

MN₅

mmèn, mmìn [inter.adv.] 'when?'

mmèn, mmìn

P: quando

▷ *mmìn tušidda dila* 'when did you arrive here?'

MN₆

màni [inter.pron.] 'who?'

mànī, mână

P: chi?

▷ *mànī ušānda dila?* 'who came here?'

▷ *d-mànī?* 'who is?'

▷ *d-wa-n mână?* 'whose is?'

▷ *gmāren-īya d-wi-n mână?* 'Whose are these horses?'

▷ *wāya d-wan mână?* 'whose is this?'

MNDR

təmandürt (or: **təməndürt** [f.] pl.

tmandir 'rock pigeon'

temändürt pl. *tmändîr*

P: piccione

MNYYR

mən ɣayr [prep.] 'without'

mîn ɣair

Z: I

◆ Ar. *mîn ɣairi* 'without'

MNŠ ► NŠ

MQR

məqqər [stat.v.] 'to be big'

1sg. *moq(q)(ə)rəx* 2sg. *moq(ə)rət* 3sg.m.

məqqər 3sg.f. *məq(q)(ə)rər* pl. *məqqayrīt*

1sg. *moqārəh*, *moqārāh* 2sg. *moqārāt* 3sg.m.

móqqār, *móqqar* 3sg.f. *móqāret*, *móqqāret*,

móqaret, *móqqaret* pl. *moqqāūrīt*

P: grande M: agrandir *makkar* مكار

grande *mokar* مكار

◆ TC: 672

Berber, cf. Ghd. *amqór* 'to be big'; Kb.

məqqʷər 'to be big'; To. *māqqor* 'to be or

become big'; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yāmuʔr* 'to be big'

aməqq(ə)ràn [adj.] pl. *moqqrənən*,

moqqrərən f. *taməqqərət*,

t(ə)məqq(ə)ràn pl. *tməqqranən* 'big, old'

m.sg. *amoqqārən* pl. *moqqrānen* (*moqqrāren*)

f.sg. *tamoqqārāt*, *tmoqqārāt* [PT:XV],

tmoqqārāt [PT:XV], *təmoqqārāt* [PT:XV] pl.

tmoqqrānîn

P: grande PT:I,XV

MQŠ

təməqqùšt (or: **tamaqqùšt**, **taməqqùšt**,

təmaqqùšt) [f.] 'dung, manure'

təmaqqùšt

P: letame

◆ Berber, cf. To. (D N WE Y) *tamāqqost* 'dung'

MR₁

màrra [adv.] 'once'

márra

PT: I, II, X, XI

◆ Ar. *marrā(t-an)* 'once'

əlmarrat-(āya) [f.] 'time, turn'

elmarrāt-(āya) [PT:IX]

PT: IX

◆ Ar. *marrāt* 'times, turns'

marrāt [f.] 'time. turn'

marrāt [PT:II,IX], *marrātet* [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'

tämùrt, *temùrt* [PT:VIII], *tmùrt* [PT:XV]

P: terra PT: VIII, XV M: prairie *témourt*

تمورت

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tammurt* ‘earth, soil’; Kb. *tamurt* ‘earth, terrain’; Nef. *tamûrt*, *tamûrt* ‘earth’; Siwa *tamārt* ‘country’

MR4

tamîrt [f.] pl. tmîra ‘beard’

tamûrt, *tamûrt*-(*ennûk*) [PT:VIII] pl. *tmîra*

P: barba PT: VIII M: barbe *taamert*

تعمرت

◆ TC: 58

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tómārt* ‘beard’; Kb. *tamart* ‘beard’; To. *tāmārt* ‘beard’; Zng. *taʔmmārt* ‘beard’

MR5

mri [stat.v.] ‘to be beautiful’

3sg.m. *mri*, *mriyən* 3sg.f. *mriyət* pl. *mriyit*

3sg.m. *mri*, *mri* [PT:IV], *mriyən* 3sg.f. *mriyet*

pl. *mriyit*, *imrijet* [Z:IV]

P: bello PT: IV Z: IV

MRḤ

amərfəḥ [m.] ‘spleen’

amārfāḥ

P: milza

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *aranfaḥ* ‘spleen’; Ouar. *imərfəḥ*, *inərfəḥ* ‘spleen’

MRŸ1

tamûrəy [f.] ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’

tamûrâġ, *tamûroġ* [P:example]

P: cavalletta

▷ *iwât n tamûroġ* ‘one grasshopper’

◆ TC: 59 K: 636

Berber, cf. Foq. *tamûrgî* ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’; Nef. *tamerġî* ‘grasshopper’; Siwa *təmərġi* ‘grasshopper’; Ghd. *tomarše* ‘grasshopper’; Zng. *toʔm̄murih* ‘grasshopper’.

A reflex of the final *y is not instantly apparent Zenaga, it may have metathesized to the front of the root. Ghadames underwent palatalization of *y to š (Vycichl 1990)

MRŸ2

aməryāw [m.] pl. məryāwən ‘yellow date, close to ripeness’

amerġāu pl. *merġāwen*

P: dattero

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *arġāu* ‘date’

MRR

pl. mrārən [m.] ‘harness’

pl. *mrāren*

P: finimenti

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *amrar* ‘corde, cable’; To. *tāmrrat* ‘rope bridle on youn camel’s head (for pulling its head down)’

MRTF

amərtuf [m.] pl. mərtif ‘a measure of capacity (for cereals), corresponds to 3 ši‘án’

amārtuf pl. *mertif*

P: misura di capacità M: charge

ammertouf امرتوف ; M: charger *mertouf*

مرتوف

MS1

təmasūt [f.] pl. təmasutin ‘boil, pimple’

temāsūt pl. *temāsūtīn* ‘boil, pimple’

P: foruncolo

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *timmist* ‘boil, carbuncle, pimple’

MS2

tammâst [f.] ‘in the middle’

tammâst

P: fra; mezzo (in)

▷ *tammâst n tfillī* ‘in the middle of the house’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ammas* ‘middle, center’; Kb. *imassən* ‘inside of a loaf of cake’; To. *āmmas* ‘middle, center, inside’

MSL

amasàl (or: aməsàl) [m.] ‘crossbar between the two poles of a well’

amāsàl

P: pozzo

MSN

tamə̀sna [f.] ‘the outside’

taməsna

P: fuori M: étranger *estamsna* اسطمسنه

▷ *ušānd s taməsna* ‘They came from outside’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamasna* ‘desert’

MṢḤF

əlmə̀ṣḥaf [m.] ‘book’

elməṣḥāf

P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)

◆ Ar. *muṣḥaf* ‘volume; book; copy of the Koran’

MŠK

mə̀ššək [stat.v.] ‘to be small’

1sg. mə̀škàx 2sg. mə̀škàt 3sg.m. mə̀ššək

3sg.f. mə̀škàt pl. mə̀ššikìt

1sg. *meškàh* 2sg. *meškàt* 3sg.m. *meššək* 3sg.f.

meškét pl. *meššikìt*

P: piccolo M: jeune *métchik* متشيك

◆ K: 682

Perhaps Berber, cf. Nef. *meššək* ‘small’; To.

màtkây ‘to be or become small’

š-ə̀mšək [caus.v.] ‘to reduce’

imp. sg. *šémšek*

P: piccolo

amə̀škùn [adj.] pl. mə̀škùnən f.

tamə̀škùnt pl. tmə̀škúnin ‘small’

m. sg. *ameškùn* pl. *meškùnən* f. sg. *tameškùnt*

pl. *tmeškùnìn* ‘small’

P: piccolo

MŠW ► NŠ

MT

ə̀mt [v.cc*] ‘to bury’

seq. = res. ə̀mta impf. mətta

imp. sg. *ə̀mt, mtì-(t)* [PT:II]; pf. 3sg.m. *yəmta,*

yemti-(t) [PT:II] res. 3sg.m. *yemtàya*; impf.

3sg.m. *imétta*

P: seppellire PT: II

◆ Zuara *əmt* ‘to bury’ (Mitchell 2009: 17)

i-tt-ə̀mt [pass.v.] ‘to be buried’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ttə̀mt

pf. 3sg.m. *ittémt*; res. 3sg.m. *itímta*; fut. 3sg.m.

aittémt

P: seppellire

amə̀ttu [v.n.m.] ‘burying’

améttū

P: seppellire

MT/Y

mmùt [v.irreg.] ‘to die’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. mmùt/y

imp. sg. *mmùt*; pf. 1sg. *mmúyeh* 3sg.m. *immùt*

3sg.f. *temmùt* [PT:III]; res. 1sg. *mmuyíha*

3sg.m. *immùta, yemmùta* [PT:XV]; fut. 1sg.

ammúyah 3sg.m. *aimmùt, ayemmùt* [PT:I]

P: morire PT: I, III, XV M: tué *mauta*

يموته; tuer *yémauta* يموته

◆ TC: 696

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əmmət* ‘to die’; Kb. *əmmet* ‘to die’; To.

əmmu-t ‘to die’; Zng. *əmṣih* ‘to die’

tə̀mə̀ttint [v.n.f.] ‘death’

temə̀ttint

P: morire, morte

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamə̀ttant* ‘death’; Foq.

tamə̀ttânt ‘death’; Sok. *tamə̀ttânt* ‘death’; To.

tamə̀ttant ‘death’; Zng. *tmə̀ttánt, tmə̀ttánt*

‘death’

MṬF

pl. **ə̀lmə̀tʔət-(ə̀nnə̀snə̀t)** [f.?] ‘things’

pl. *elmetʔat-(ə̀nnə̀snə̀t)*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *matāʔ* pl. *ʔamtiʔa(t)* ‘object, thing,

utensil; stuff, objects, commodities’

MṬS ► MṬZ

MṬZ

tə̀miṭàst [f.] pl. tə̀miṭaz ‘scissors’

temiṭàst pl. *temiṭaz*

P: forbici

◆ NZ: DZ1

Berber, cf. Foq. *tmīḍàst* ‘scissors’; Ghd.

tamiḏâst ‘scissors’; Sok. *tmiṭâst* ‘scissors’; Siwa *tiṃiṭâš* ‘scissors’ (Naumann 2013: 377)

MY

mîyət [num.] ‘hundred’

mîyēt

PT: V

◆ ELA *mîya* ‘hundred’; Ar. *miʔa(t)* ‘hundred’

MZD

aməzzîd [m.] ‘semolina for couscous’

amezzîd

P: semolino per kuskûs

MZN₁

təməzînt [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

aməzûn [m.] ‘pin or hinge at the base of a door’

amezûn

P: porta

taməzûnt [f.] ‘small pin or hinge at the base of a door’

tamezûnt

P: porta

MZS

təmuzîst [f.] pl. *tmuzistîn*, *tmuzîs* ‘threshold, doorstep’

təmuzîst pl. *tmuzistîn*, *tmuzîs*

P: soglia

MZZ

tamzəzza [f.] pl. *təməzəzzáyat* ‘bee’

tamzəzza pl. *təməzəzzáyāt*

P: ape

◆ Berber, cf. Nef. *tezizwi*

MZ₁

pl. **timzîn** [f.] ‘barley’

pl. *timzîn*, *temzîn*, *timzîn* [B₂₁], *temezîn* [B₂₁]

P: orzo B₂₁: 385 PT: XV

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *túmzîn* ‘barley’; Kb. *timzîn* ‘barley’; Ghd. *təmzet* pl. *təmzén* ‘barley’; Nef. *ṭəmzîn* ‘barley’; Sok. *tímzîn* ‘barley’; Siwa *tomzîn* ‘barley’

MZ₂

àmza [m.] pl. *amzìwən* ‘ogre; strong, cunning person; lion (rare)’

ámzā pl. *amzîwen*

P: orco PT: XV

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *amzìw* f. *tamza* ‘ogre’; Nef. *amzîu* f. *tamzâ* ‘ogre’; Siwa *əmzā* ‘ogre’

tàmza [f.] ‘ogress’

támzā P: orco

MZL

təmazzàlt [f.] ‘muscle’

temazzàlt

P: muscolo

◆ Berber, cf. To. (H.) *tāmaḏwàlt* ‘flexor muscle’, perhaps also Zng. *amžəlli(?)* ‘large muscle of the neck’

MŽN

aməžžîn (pl. of *iwi* ► W)

MŽZ

Məžùz (or: **Məžùz**) [place name] ‘name of a small palm grove north of Awjila’

Məžùz

P: *Məžùz*

MŽBR

təməžžbært [f.] ‘a pot in which you burn incense’

teməžžbært

P: profumi

MŽR₁

(ə)**mžér** [v.ccc] ‘to reap, mow’

imp. sg. *mžer*, *emžér*

P: mietera; falciare

◆ K: 316

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əmžər* ‘to reap mow’; Foq.

émžer 'to reap mow'; Nef. *émger*, *ámger* 'to reap, mow'; Siwa *əmžər* 'to harvest'
aməžār [v.n.m.] 'reaping, mowing'
amežār

P: mietere

MṢDĊ

maḡādš [adv.] 'no longer'

maḡádč

PT: II

◆ Maghr. Ar. *mā-ḡād-š* 'no more, no longer' (p.c. Souag)

N₁

n [prep.] 'of'

1sg. -ənn-úk 2sg.m. -ənn-ək 3sg. -ənn-əs
 2pl.m. -ənn-əkīm 2pl.f. ənn-əkmet 3pl.m.
 ənn-əsìn 3pl.f. -ənn-əsnət
n, *en*, *nē*, *ēn* [PT:VII,VIII], *ēr*-(*rābbī*) [PT:VI], *in*
 [Z:II,XI], *u* (sic) [Z:III]; 1sg. -*enn-úk*
 [PT:IV,VIII,XIV] 2sg.m. -*enn-ek* [PT:IX]
 -*ann-ek* [Z:XIII], -*nn-ək* [PT:XV] 3sg. -*enn-es*
 [PT: I,IV,IX,X,XV] 2pl.m. -*enn-ekīm* 2pl.f.
 -*enn-əkmet*, 3pl.m. -*enn-esìn* 3pl.f. -*enn-ésnet*,
 -*enn-ésnet* [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.

▷ *wāya s-ar zzīl* 'this is made of iron'

▷ *ağíz n úrāğ* 'golden necklace'

◆ Pan-Berber *n* 'of'. Kb. *n* 'genitive particle'; To. *n*, *ən*- 'possessive preposition' Zng. (ə)*n*(*n*) 'genitive particle'

N₂

an-ís [v.c*] 'to say; to say to s.o. (+ IO)'

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. n impf. tənn(a)
 imp. sg. *an-ís*, *an-ís-(t)* [PT:II] pl.m. *anāt-ís*,
annadd-ís pl.f. *anāmēt-ís*; pf. 1sg. *nā-s* 2sg.
tnēit-ís, *tnedd-ís*, *tned-(dík)* [PT:VI],
tēned-(dík) [PT:VI] 3sg.m. *in-ís*, *in-(ísìn)*

[PT:I,II], *in-(ísnet)* [PT:XV], *in-ís-(t)* [PT:II]
 3sg.f. *ētn-ís* [PT:III,XV], *tn-ís* [PT:IV,XV] 3pl.m.
nān-ís [PT:II,XV], *nān-ís* [PT:XV] 3pl.f.
nānet-ís [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *nā-s-a*, *nā-(k)-a*
 [PT:III,XIII] 2sg. *tnedd-ís-a* 3sg.m. *in-ís-a* 1pl.
nān-ís-a [PT:II]; fut. 1sg. *annā-s*, *annā-(k)*
 [PT:IV] *annā-(kīm)* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ain-ís*,
āni-(dík) [PT:IV], *āin-(ís)* [PT:V]; impf. 1sg.
tennā-s 3sg.m. *itenn-ís* 'to say to s.o.'

P: dire PT: passim

▷ *tnedd-ís-ká* 'do not speak'

▷ *a-nnā-k* 'I will tell you'

▷ *inī-dík* 'he told me'

▷ *in-ík* '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. *ǎn* 'to say'; Kb. *ini* 'to say'; To. *ǎn* 'to say'; Zng. pf. *yənnāh* 'to say'

N₃

yan [v.vc*] 'to enter'

pf. uná seq. = res. ùna fut. ùn impf. tàna
 imp. sg. *yān* pl.m. *yānāt* pl.f. *yānīmet*; pf. 1sg.
unīh 2sg. *tānīt* [P: example], *tunīt* [P:
 example] 3sg.m. *yúna*, *yúnā* [PT:II], *yunā*
 [PT:IX,XV], *yúna* [PT:XV], *únā* [Z:X] 3sg.f.
túna [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *unīha* 3sg.m. *yunāya*;
 fut. 1sg. *aunāh* 2sg. *attúnat* [PT:IX] 3sg.m.
ayún; impf. 1sg. *tānīh* 3sg.m. *itāna*

P: entrare PT: II, IX, XV Z: X M: entrée

younaah *يونة*

▷ *tānīt-ká* 'do not enter!'

▷ *ur-tunīt* 'do not enter!'

unú [v.n.m.] 'entering'

unú

P: entrare

š-an [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. enter, insert'

pf. / seq. š-à̀n impf. š-anà̀y
imp. sg. šā̀n; pf. 3sg.m. išā̀n [PT:XV] 3sg.f.
ččā̀n [PT:XV] impf. 1sg. šanā̀iḥ

P: entrare PT: XV

N4

yə̀nni [v.ci] ‘to be (in a place)’

pf. / seq. = fut. ə̀nni, ə̀nní

pf./fut. 1sg. ə̀nniḥ, nníḥ [PT:VI] 2sg. tennú̀d
3sg.m. yə̀nnī, ín�ī [PT:VIII,XV] 3sg.f. tenní 1pl.
nní 3pl.m. nníyən, ə̀nníyən [PT:XV] ptc.
nníyən [PT:XIII]

P: essere, trovarsi PT: VI, VIII, XIII, XV

▷ yə̀nnī-ká díla ‘There is not’

N5

?taniya [f.] ‘pulley of a well’

tanía

P: pozzo

◆ Perhaps related to awénū ▶ WN.

NB

ə̀mbí [v.cci] ‘to suck’

impf. nə̀bbi

imp. sg. ə̀mbí, mbí; impf. 3sg.m. inə̀bbi

P: allattare; poppare M: allaiter *iembeya*

يمبيه; sucer *emben* امين ; téter

yembeya يمبيه

◆ K: 559

Berber, cf. Foq. *énbi* (*émbi*) ‘to suck’; Siwa
umbäi ‘to suckle’

?anə̀bbi [v.n.m.] ‘sucking’

anə̀bbi انبى

M: téton

○ Müller translates this word as *téton* ‘breast’,
but it is clearly the verbal noun derivation.

š-ə̀mbi [caus.v.] ‘to suckle’

pf. / seq. š-ə̀mbí res. = fut. š-ə̀mbi impf.

š-ə̀mbà̀y

imp. sg. šémbí; pf. 1sg. šembíḥ 3sg.f. ččembí;

res. 1sg. šembíḥa 3sg.f. ččembâya; fut. 1sg.m.

ašembíḥ 3sg.f. aččémbi; impf. 1sg. šembâiḥ

3sg.f. tšembâi ‘to suckle’

P: allattare

aš-ə̀mbi [caus.v.n.m.] ‘suckling’

ašémbí

P: allattare

NBR

tə̀nə̀brət [f.] ‘needle’

tenébrət, tnebrét [B21]

P: ago B21: 391 M: mépris *tenebret* تنبرت

◆ NZ: NBR2

Beguinet (1921: 391) considers this a loanword
from Ar. *al-ʔibra(t)* ‘needle’, with
dissimilation of *l...r* to *n...r*.

ND

ə̀ndú, undú [conj.] ‘if’

ə̀ndú, úndu, undú [PT:II,V,VIII,X], öndú

[PT:VIII], endú [PT:XV]

P: se PT:I, II, V, VIII, X, XV

NDL1

ə̀ndəl [v.ccc] ‘to be covered’

impf. nə̀ddəl

imp. sg. éndel; impf. yenéddel

P: coprire M: couvercle *yendeltia*

يندلتيه

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ə̀mdəl* ‘to close (the eyes)’;

Kb. *dəl* ‘to cover’

anə̀dəl [v.n.m.] ‘being covered’

anedəl

P: coprire

š-ə̀ndəl [caus.v.] ‘to cover’

impf. š-ə̀ndəl

imp. sg. šéndel; impf. 1sg. šendâlḥ 3sg.m.

išendâl

P: coprire

aš-ə̀ndəl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘covering’

ašéndel

P: coprire

NDM1

nə̀ddəm [v.ccc] ‘to be sleepy; to doze off’

impf. nə̀ddəm

imp. sg. néddem; impf. 3sg.m. ineddâm

P: sonno

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *nəddəm* ‘to sleep’; Kb. *nnudəm* ‘to doze, sleep’; To. *nùddəm* ‘to doze’
anəddəm [v.n.m.] ‘sleep’

anəddem

P: sonno M: sommeil *eneddem* اندم

NDM2

****əndəm** [v.ccc] ‘to be sad, regretful’

res. əndəm

res. 3sg.m. *yendīma*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *nadima* ‘to repent, rue, regret’

NFL

****ənfəl** [v.ccc] ‘to be changed’

res. ənfəl

res. 3sg.m. *yenfīla*

P: cambiare M: changer *yenfela* ينفلا

◆ TC: 739

Berber, cf. MA *sənfəl* ‘to replace (of childrens teeth)’; Zng. pf. 3sg.m. *yäššānfāy* ‘to change’; Ouar. *ənfəl* ‘to be exchanged’

š-**ənfəl** [caus.v.] ‘to change’

pf. / seq. š-ənfəl res. š-ənfəl impf. š-ənfəl

imp. sg. *šənfel*; pf. 1sg. *šənfelḥ*; res. 1sg.

šənfīlḥa; impf. 1sg. *šənfālḥ*

P: cambiare

aš-**ənfəl** [caus.v.n.m.] ‘changing’

ašənfel

P: cambiare

NFS1

anafūs [m.] ‘right’

anafūs

P: destra

▷ *afanafūs* ‘on the right’

◆ NZ: FS3

Berber, cf. Ghd. *anfūs* ‘right’; Kb. *ayeffus* ‘right’; Siwa *roh aləmfusi* ‘to go right’

NFS2

ənfūs, infūs [m.] pl. ənfūsən, infūsən
‘sleeve’

ənfūs, infūs pl. *ənfūsən, infūsən*

P: manica M: manche *onfos* انفوس

◆ K: 68

To. (H.) *ahānfous* ‘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/ənfī** [v.cc*/cci] ‘to be useful; to be good’

res. ənfə

res. 1sg. *ənfīḥa* 2sg. *tenfīta* [P:example] 3sg.m.

yənfāya

P: utile

▷ *ku tenfīta lūda* ‘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. *nafaḥa* ‘to be useful’.

NG

ngi [v.cci.irreg.] ‘to touch’

seq. = res. = fut. əngi impf. nəgga

imp. sg. *ngi*; pf. 1sg. *ngīḥ* 3sg.m. *yéngi*; res. 1sg.

ngīḥa 3sg.m. *yengāya*; fut. 1sg. *angīḥ* 3sg.m.

ayéngi; impf. 1sg. *neggīḥ* 3sg.m. *inéggā*

P: toccare

anəggi [v.n.m.] ‘touching’

anəggī

P: toccare

NGDR

Təngidrət [P.N.] ‘A ḥatia north-west of Awjila’

Təngidrət

P: Tengídret

NGFL

(ə)**ngafūli, əlgafūli** [m.] ‘maize’

əngafûli, ŋgafûli [PT:XV], *əlgafûli* [PT:XV]

P: granoturco PT: XV

◆ Ultimately from Kanuri *ngawûli* 'sorghum'
see Cyffer & Hutchison 1990, Kossmann 2005,
Souag (fthc.)

NGĜM

Təngədžùm [P.N.] 'village in the oasis of
Awjila'

Tengeğûm, Tangedğûm, Tangiğûm [Z:VIII]

P: Tengeğûm o Tangedğûm Z: VIII

NGŽV

əngàžv [m.] 'type of palm tree (Arabic
nakfûš)'

əngàžv

P: palma

NY1

naŋ [conj.] 'or'

nāğ, nağ [PT:V]

P: o, ovvero PT: III, V

◆ TC: 720 K: 732

Berber, cf. Foq. *nağ* 'or'; Kb. *nəy, ny* 'or'; Nef.
nağ 'or'; Zng. *naʔd* 'or'

NY2

nàŋ [v.cvc] 'to call'

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *nàŋ*

imp. sg. *nâğ*; pf. 1sg. *nāğîh* 3sg.m. *inâğ*; res.

1sg. *nāğîha* 3sg.m. *inâğa*; fut. 1sg. *anağáh*

3sg.m. *ainâğ*

P: chiamare M: appeler *naghy* ناعى;

crier *enagha* ناعه

▷ *nāğî-t* 'call him!'

◆ Perhaps related to Ar. *nağā* 'to speak'; Ar.
nāğā 'to whisper; to talk gently, kindly,
tenderly' Eg. Ar. *nāğa* 'to speak tenderly to a
child' (Hinds 1986)

anàŋ [v.n.m.] 'calling'

anâğ

P: chiamare

NY3

ànəy [v.cc*] 'to kill'

pf. *ənəyá* impf. *nəyɣa*

imp. sg. *áněğ*; pf. 3sg.m. *yengá*; impf. 3sg.m.

ineğga

P: uccidere M: assassin *yanghia* ينغيه;
assassiner *anghia* انغيه

◆ TC: 65

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎnn* 'to kill'; Kb. *nəy* 'to kill';

To. *ǎny* 'to kill'; Zng. *aʔni(?)* 'to kill'

anəyɣu, anəyɣa [v.n.m.] 'killing'

anéğğū, anéğğā

P: uccidere

š-ənəy [caus.v.] 'to extinguish'

imp. sg. *šǎng, šéng*

P: spegnere; uccidere

itt-ənəy [pass.v.] 'to be killed'

pf. / seq. = res. *ttənəy*

pf. 3sg.m. *itténg*; res. 3sg.m. *ittínğa*

P: uccidere

NHN

nəhìn [pron.] 3pl.m. independent
pronoun

nehîn, ǎnhîn, nehnîn [B21]

P: essi B21: 390

nəhìnət [pron.] 3pl.f. independent
pronoun

nehînet, ǎnhînet [PT:XV] *ǎnhînet* [PT:XV],

nehnînet [B21]

P: essi B21: 390

NĜM

pl. (ə)nžùm [m.] 'stars'

pl. *nğùm, ǎnğùm*

PT: VIII M: étoile *negmet* نجمة

◆ ELA *néžem* pl. *nžùm* 'star'; Ar. *nažma(t)* pl.
nuzžum 'star'

NK1

(ə)nkí [v.cci] 'to sniff, smell'

seq. = res. *ənki* impf. *nəkki*

imp. sg. *nkí, ǎnkí*; 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* انكه

◆ TC: 749

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăkk* 'to smell'; Zng. *änki(?)* 'to smell'

anəkki [v.n.m.] 'sniffing, smelling'

anėkkī

P: fiutare, odorare

š-ənki [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. smell'

imp. sg. *šėnki*

P: fiutare, odorare

NK₂

nək [pron.]1sg. independent pronoun

nek, nək [PT:II], *-nėk* [PT:XI]

P:io, B₂₁:390 PT:II,III,V,VI,XI,XII,XIV,XV

◆ K: 504;

Berber, cf. Ghd. *năšš* 'T'; Kb. *nekk* 'T'; To. *năkk* 'T'; Zng. *ni?K* 'T'; Foq. *nėkki, nek*; Nef. *neč* 'T';

Sok. *nīš* 'T'

NKN

nəkkəni [pron.]1pl. independent pronoun

nekkenī, nekniin [B₂₁]

P: noi, B₂₁:390 PT: II

NKT

ənkat [v.ccc] 'to spill (usually solid things)'

imp. sg. *enkət*

P: versare, colare

NN₁ ► M₂

NN₂

nàna [kin.f.] 'grandmother'

2sg. *nanà-k*

1sg. *nánā* 2sg. *nanà-k*

P: nonna

◆ Nef. *nannā* 'grandmother'

NQŠ

****ənqəš** [v.ccc] 'to be missing, to lack'

res. *ənqəš*

res. 3sg.m. *yenqāša* 3pl.f. *ănqāšnīta, ėnqāšnīta*

PT: V M: rabattre, diminuer *naqqas* نقس

◆ Ar. *naqāša* 'to decrease, become less, diminish, be diminished, be reduced'

NRG ► RNG

NSG

ənsəg [v.ccc] 'to whistle'

impf. *nəssəg*

imp. sg. *ėnsėg*; impf. 3sg.m. *inėssėg*

P: fischiare M: siffler *yėnassek* ينسك

◆ To. (H.) *ensey* 'to whistle'; MA *sinseg* 'to whistle'

anəsàg [v.n.m.] 'whistling'

anesàg

P: fischiare

NŠ

(ə)nnùš(š) [m.] 'half, middle'

ennùš [PT:XIV], *nnùš* [PT:XIV], *ennùšš*

[PT:VIII]

PT: VIII, XIV

◆ Mor. Ar. *nošš, nəšš* 'half, middle'; Ar. *nišf, nušf* 'half'

NŠ₁

təništ [f.] pl. *tništ, tnišin* 'key'

tėništ, teništ [B₂₁] pl. *tništ, tnišin*

P: chiave B₂₁: 391

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tonest, tonėss* 'key'; Foq. *tanāst* 'key'; Sok. *tnāst* 'key'; Nef. *tunīst* 'key'; Siwa *tnāst* 'key'.

This word may be a derivation of *anīš* 'nickel' which originally meant 'copper', which is not an unlikely material to have been used for making keys.

NŠ₂

anīš [m.] 'nickel'

anīš

P: nichel M: cuivre *anich* انيش

○ 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. iša fut. iš impf. nəšša

imp. sg. iš; pf. 1sg. išīḥ 3sg.m. iša; res. 1sg.

išīḥa 3sg.m. išāya; fut. 1sg. aišāḥ 3sg.m. ayiš;

impf. 1sg. neššīḥ 2sg. tneššīt [P:example]

3sg.m. inéšša

P: dormire M: coucher (se) *y chayeh*

يشايه; dormir *ichayeh* يشايه

▷ *tneššīt-ká* 'do not sleep'

◆ NZ: C10, TC: 758

Berber, cf. Kb. *ans* 'to spend the night'; To.

āns 'to lie down, go to bed'; Zng. *ānši(?)* 'to

spend the night'

tnəššāt [v.n.f.] 'sleep'

tneššāt

P: dormire

š-iš [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. sleep'

impf. š-išāy

imp. sg. šiš; impf. 1sg. šišāiḥ 3sg.m. iššāi

P: dormire

amišiw [m.] 'dinner'

amišiu, *amišiw-(ennúk)* [PT:XV],

amišiu-(nnes) [PT:XV]

P: cena PT: XV

▷ *ččīḥa amišiw-ennúk* 'I have eaten my dinner'

▷ *amišiw-ī* 'at dinner'

◆ TC: 760

Berber, cf. Ghd. *amisi* 'supper'; Nef. *mensi*

'dinner'; Foq. *ménsi* 'dinner'; Sok. *aměnsi*

'dinner'; Kb. *imānsi* 'supper'; To. *āmānsi*

'evening meal, supper'; Zng. *əmənsəh* 'dinner'

mnišiw [m.] 'evening, evening prayer'

mnišiu

P: tramonto; preghiera PT: XV

◆ TC: 760

Berber, cf. Ghd. *amisi* 'supper'; Kb. *imānsi*

'supper'; To. *āmānsi* 'evening meal, supper';

Zng. *əmənsəh* 'dinner'

NŠD

**ənsəd [v.ccc] 'to ask'

seq. ənsəd impf. nəššəd

pf. 3sg.m. *yenséd-(t)* [PT:XII], *yénšed* [PT:II],

inšét-(t) [PT:VIII], *yensét-(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.) *ānt* '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], *ěnnât* [PT:IV,XV]

P: essa B21: 390 PT: III, IV, XV

NTN

nəttin [pron.] 3sg.m. independent pronoun

nettîn [PT:III,IV,V,VIII,XV], *ěntîn*, *nittîn* [Z:XI]

nettî [B21]

P: egli B21: 390 PT: III,IV,V,VIII,XV Z: XI

NT

əntí [v.cci] 'to taste'

pf. = fut. əntí res. ənta impf. nətṭi

imp. sg. *ěntí*; pf. 1sg. *ěntíḥ* 3sg.m. *yentí*; res.

1sg. *ěntíḥa* 3sg.m. *yentâya*; fut. 1sg. *antíḥ*

3sg.m. *ayentí*; impf. 1sg. *netṭíḥ* 3sg.m. *inětṭi*

P: assaggiare

◆ TC: 731, K: 560

Berber, cf. Ghd. *māṭṭāg* 'to taste'; Zng. *andug*

'to taste'; Ouar. *əmdī* 'to taste'; Mzab *əmdī* 'to

taste'

anəṭṭí [v.n.m.] 'tasting'

anattî

P: assaggiare

š-ənṭí [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. taste'

impf. š-ənṭày

imp. sg. *šentî*; impf. 1sg. *šentâih* 3sg.m. *išentâi*

P: assaggiare

NṬR

ənṭár [v.ccc] 'to let go, put down, abandon'

pf. / seq. = fut. *ənṭər*

imp. sg. *ənṭár*, *inṭar* [Z:XII]; pf. 1sg. *ənṭárh*

[PT:IV]; fut. 1sg. *anṭárǎh*-(ku) [PT:V]

P: lasciare PT: IV, V Z: XII

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āṇḍar* 'to pull down; to drop'; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yanḍur* '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

ənṭəṭ [v.ccc] 'to be joined, attached'

imp. sg. *énṭâṭ*

P: unire, attaccare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āṇḍəḍ* 'to adhere, stick; to be stuck'

š-ənṭəṭ [caus.v.] 'to join, attach'

pf. / seq. = res. š-ənṭəṭ

imp. sg. *šentâṭ* pf. 1sg. *šentâṭh* 3sg.m. *išentâṭ*;

res. 1sg. *šentîṭha* 3sg.m. *išentîṭa*

P: unire, attaccare

NV₁

iv [v.nc*] 'to fall'

pf. *ivá* seq. = res. *ivá* fut. *iv* impf. *nəvva*

imp. sg. *iv* pl.m. *ivât* pl.f. *ivîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ivîh*

3sg.m. *ivá* 3sg.f. *tivā* [PT:III,XV]; res. 1sg. *ivîha*

3sg.m. *ivâya*, *ivé*; fut. 1sg. *aiváh* 3sg.m. *ayív*;

impf. 1sg. *nevvih* 3sg.m. *inevna*

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 tafût [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. *šivâih* 3sg.m. *išivâi*

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. *nəvdír* 'small

rope to tie hedges; rope harness for

animals; rope tied to a *tāšāqqi*'

anevdûr, *anebdûr* pl. *nevdir*

P: cordal; finimenti

NZR

****nzùrr** [v.cē] 'to suffer, to have difficulty'

fut. *nzùrr*

fut. ptc. *anzurrân*

PT: II

NẒ

iž [v.nc*] 'to be sold'

res. *iža* fut. *iž* impf. *nəžža*

imp. sg. *iž*; res. 3sg.m. *ižáya*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayíž*;

impf. 3sg.m. *inéžžá*

P: vendere

◆ TC: 776

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ānz* ‘to sell’; Foq. *zénz* ‘to sell’;

Sok. *zənz* ‘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-iž* impf. *ž-iža*

imp. sg. *žíž*; pf. 2sg. *džížit* [PT:III] 3sg.m. *ižíž*;

res. 3sg.m. *ižíža*; fut. 3sg.m. *aižíž*, *āižíži-(t)*

[PT:IV]; impf. ptc. *žížân* [PT:IV]

P: vendere PT: III, IV M: vendre *yédjidj*

يبيع

NŽY

nžəy [v.ccc] ‘to pull; to draw (water without an animal)’

pf. / seq. = res. *ənžəy* impf. *nəžžəy*

imp. sg. *nžəg*, *nžág*; pf. 1sg. *nžəhh*; res. 1sg.

nžíhha; impf. 1sg. *nežžáh* (*gh* > *hh* > *h*) 3sg.m.

inéžžaj

○ The assimilation in impf. 1sg. is surprisingly different from pf. 1sg.

P: attingere, tirare

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *énzāg* ‘to draw water without an animal’; Ghd. *ānzəy* ‘to pull’; Nef. *énzəg* ‘to pull’; Sok. *önzāg* ‘to pull from somewhere’

QBT

əlqəbbūt [m.] ‘coat’

elqəbbūt

PT: XI

◆ ELA *kabbūt* ‘coat’, ultimately from Turkish *kaput* ‘coat’ (p.c. Benkato)

QD

tàqt [m.] pl. *taqqid*, *taqqidən* ‘finger’

táqt pl. *taqqid*, *taqqiden*

P: dito M: doigt *ghed* قد; pouce *thaght*

طاغت

◆ NZ: D6 TC: 245

Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *aḍad* ‘finger’; To. *áḍad*

‘finger’; Zng. *aḍaḡdi(?)* ‘finger’.

The correspondence with Berber words for ‘finger’ is highly problematic.

But cf. Nef. *tukkád*, *tuqqáḍ* pl. *itukkád* ‘finger’.

QD

əlqədi [m.] ‘qadi, judge’

elqədi, *əlqədi*, *elqədi*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *qādi(n)* ‘judge, cadí’

QL₁

aqəl [v.cc*] ‘to roast’

pf. *əqlá* res. *əqla* fut. *əq(ə)* impf. *qəllá*

imp. sg. *aqəl* pl.m. *qlát* pl.f. *qlímət*; pf. 1sg.

aqlíh 3sg.m. *yaqlá*; res. 1sg. *aqlíha* 3sg.m.

yaqláya; fut. 1sg. *aqláh* 3sg.m. *ayáqəl*; impf.

1sg. *qalláh* 3sg.m. *iqallá*

P: abbrustolire

◆ Ar. *qalā* ‘to fry, bake, roast’

aqəllu [v.n.m.] ‘roasting’

aqəllū

P: abbrustolire

QLZ

qləz [v.ccc] ‘to lie’

fut. *əqləz* impf. *qəlləz*

imp. sg. *qléz*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayéqlez* [PT:V]; impf.

2sg. *teqálləzt* [PT:V] 3sg.m. *iqálləz* [PT:V]

P: mentire PT: V

◆ K: 573

Berber, cf. Foq. *óklaz* ‘to lie’; To. *əkləz* ‘to tell a lie (completely fabricated)’; Siwa *tallāz* ‘lie’;

Sok. *öklez* ‘to lie’

aqəláz [v.n.m.] ‘lying’

aqəláz

P: mentire

aqəlliz [m.] pl. *əqləzən* ‘lie’

aqəlliz pl. *qlāzən*, *əqlāzən*, *mqlāzīn* (sic) [Z:X]

P: bugia Z: X

QM₁

qim [v.čvc] ‘to remain, stay, sit’ Used as an inchoative auxiliary verb.

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *qqim* impf. *təqqim*
 imp. sg. *qim* pl.m. *qqāimât* [PT:XV]; pf. 1sg.
qqāimlĥ [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yaqqim, yāqqim*
 [PT:II,IV,V,XIII,XV], *yqāqim* (sic) [PT:IV],
yāqqim [PT:IV] 3sg.f. *taqqim, tāqqim* 3pl.m.
āqqimân [PT:IV,XV] 3pl.f. *qqāimânĕt* [PT:XV];
 res. 3sg.m. *yaqqima*; fut. 2sg. *atqimât*
 [PT:XIII] 2pl.m. *attēqqimām* [PT:I]; impf.
 3sg.m. *itqqima*

P: stare, restare, sedere PT: I, II, III, IV, V,
 XIII, XV M: habitant *yakimeh* يكيمة

◆ TC: 52

Berber, cf. Ghd. *qém* ‘to stay’; Kb. *qqim* ‘to
 stay; to be seated’; To. *yāym* ‘to sit, be seated’;
 to remain, be left’; Zng. *iʔmi(?)* ‘to be seated’
 š-*qim* [caus.v.] ‘to cause to remain, stay,
 sit’

imp. sg. *šqāim*

P: stare, restare, sedere

QM2

qāma, qāmak [adv.] ‘now’

qāma, qāmak, qāmak, qāma [Z:VI]

P: ora; adesso PT: IV, V, XV Z: VI

QMŽ

aqāməž [m.] ‘the far end of a palm tree
 from where the inflorescence grows’

aqāmež

P: palma

QN

(ə)*qqən* [v.ċc] ‘to bind, tie, attach’

pf. *əqqən* res. *əqqən* impf. *təqqən*

imp. sg. *āqqān*; pf. 3sg.m. *yaqqān, yeqqān-(t)*
 [PT:VII]; res. 3sg.m. *yaqqāna*; impf. *itaqqān* ‘to

bind, tie, attach’

P: legare, attaccare PT: VII

◆ TC: 64

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āqqən* ‘to bind, attach’; Kb.
əqqən ‘to attach’; To. *əqqən* ‘to tie up, to tie
 s.th. to s.th. else’ Zng. *aʔn* ‘to be attached’

aqqùn [v.n.m.] ‘tying’

aqqùn

P: legare, attaccare

QNVL

təqənvilt, təkənvilt [f.] pl. *təqənvil,*
təkənvil ‘mucus’

teqənvilt, tekənvilt pl. *teqənvil, tekənvil*

P: muco

QR

(ə)*qqur* [v.ċvc] ‘to dry out’

imp. sg. *ōqqūr, qqūr*

P: seccarsi M: desséché ??*mikourah*

ميكورة; dessécher *ikourah* يکوره; dur
yékorah يکوره; sec *yakkaora* يکوره;
sécher akkaora اکاوره

◆ TC: 95

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əqqar* ‘to be dry’; Kb. *qqar* ‘to
 be dry’; To. *iyar* ‘to be or become dry’; Zng.

aor. 3sg.m. *yoɔwur* ‘to be dry’

š-*qar* [caus.v.] ‘to cause to dry out’

šqār

P: seccarsi

QRB1

qərīb [stat.v.] ‘to be near’

3sg.m. *qarīb, qārīb* [PT:I]

P: vicino PT: I

◆ Ar. *qarīb* ‘near’

***qārəb* [v.cvcc] ‘to draw near’

pf. / seq. *qārəb*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeqāreb*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *qāraba* ‘to be near; to come near, come
 close, get close’

QRBZ

aqarbùz (or: *aqərbùz*) [m.] ‘stem, stalk,
 petiole’

aqarbùz

P: gambo, picciuolo

◆ NZ: GRBZ2

The connection with Zng. *garbūs* ‘knob (of a
 moorish saddle)’ (Taine-Cheikh 2010),

ultimately a loanword from Ar. *qarbūs* ‘pommel (of a saddle)’, suggested by Nait-Zerrad is not convincing.

QRT₁

tqártay (or: **tqártay**) [f.] pl. *tqartiwìn* ‘paper’

tqártai pl. *tqartiwìn*

P: carta M: date *tékartay* تكرتاي; lettre *tékhartey* تخارتي; papier *karthayah* كارتايه

◆ K: 592

Berber, cf. Siwa *tiarta* ‘paper’

QRT₂

tuqərtā, tuqərtá [f.] ‘theft’

tuqértā, tuqartá

P: furto

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tukərḍa* ‘theft’; Kb. *tukk^wərda* ‘theft’; Foq. *tukérḍā* ‘theft’; Sok. *tukéřtā* ‘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. *qarizit*

1sg. *qarezâh* 2sg. *qarezât* 3sg.m. *qárez* 3sg.f.

qárezet pl. *qarizît*

P: stretto M: étroit *qarez* قارز

◆ Berber, cf. To. *ikraz* ‘to be tight’

š-əqrəz [caus.v.] ‘to make narrow’

imp. sg. *šâqräz*

P: stretto

QRZṬ

qərzàṭ [m.] pl. *qərzàṭən* ‘dried dates for livestock’

qârzâṭ pl. *qârzâṭen*

P: dattero

QSTṬM

aqəstîm [m.] ‘antimony’

aqâstîm

P: antimonio

taqəstîmt [f.] ‘collyrium container’

taqâstîmt

P: portacollirio

qəstəṃ [v.cccc] ‘to apply collyrium’

impf. *qəstəṃ*

imp. sg. *qâstām*; impf. 3sg.f. *tqâstām*

P: mettere, porre

aqəstəṃ [v.n.m.] ‘applying collyrium’

aqâstām

P: mettere, porre

QŠ

qqəšš [v.ċc] ‘to close, to be closed (from the outside)’

pf. *əqqəš* res. *əqqəš* impf. *təqqəš*

imp. sg. *qqâšš*; pf. 3sg.f. *tâqqâš* [PT:III]; res.

3sg.m. *yâqqîša*; impf. 1sg. *taqqâšh*

[P:example] 3sg.m. *itaqqâš*

P: chiudere PT: III

▷ *elbâb yâqqîša* ‘the door is closed’

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *ôqqəš* ‘to close (from the outside)’; Siwa *əqqəš* ‘to close’

qqūš [v.n.m.] ‘closing’

qqūš

P: chiudere

QŠR₁

taqəširt, taqəšrit [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’

taqâšîrt, taqâšrît

P: passero

◆ While the initial consonant is different, the word looks similar to Figuig *tabcirt* ‘sparrow’.

QT/WṬ

wàṭən [def.adj.] pl. *wəṭnìn* f. *tàṭən* pl.

təṭnìnəṭ ‘the other, another’

wâṭen pl. *wəṭnîn* f. *tâṭen, tâṭen* [P:example] pl.

teṭnîneṭ

P: altro PT: XV

▷ *âtmā wəṭnîn* ‘my other brothers’

▷ *tḥilliwîn teṭnîneṭ* ‘the other houses’

▷ *iwâtan ténni dîla u tâṭen ténni ždâbiet*

‘one is here, and the other is in Ajdabiya’

▷ *mag ínni wâṭen?* ‘where is the other’

one'

◆ NZ: DN6 TC: 249 K: 218

Berber, cf. Foq. *wayād* 'other, another'; Kb. *wayəd, tayəd* 'other, another'; Nef. *wâit, wâyet* 'other, another'; Zng. *yudan* 'other, another'

aqùtən [indef.adj.] pl. aqutnìn f. aqùtət
pl. aqutnìnət 'other, another'

aqùten pl. *aqutnìn* f. *aqùtet* pl. *aqutnìnēt*

▷ *iwīnan aqùten* 'another'

P: altro PT: IX

QTŠ1

aqəttiš [m.] 'hole (little used)'

aqəttiš

P: buco

taqəttiš [f.] pl. tqəttiš, tqəttišin 'little hole; eye of the needle'

taqəttiš pl. *tqəttiš, tqəttišin*

P: buco; cruna dell'ago

QTŠ2

aqəttüş [m.] pl. qəttüşən '(male) cat'

aqəttüş pl. *qəttüşən*

P: gatto

◆ K: 590

Berber, cf. Nef. *qəttüş* 'cat'; Sok. *yəttüş* 'cat'; Siwa *yəttos* 'cat'. A loanword from Latin *cattus* 'cat'.

təqəttüş [f.] pl. tqəttüşin '(female) cat'

təqəttüş pl. *təqəttüşin*

P: gatto

tqəttəš [f.] 'cats (coll.)'

pl.? *tqəttəš*

P: gatto

QTŦ

aqəttət [m.] pl. qəttətən 'nit'

aqəttət pl. *qəttətən*

P: pidocchio

◆ To. *awəd* 'nits'; Zng. *ūd(d)an* 'nit(s)'; Kb. *iwətt* 'nit'; Ghd. *əttəd* 'nit'; Siwa *iqəttən* 'nits' (Naumann 2013: 322)

QTŦ

qəttāsan [m.] 'highwayman'

pl. *qəttā'an* [PT:VII, IX], *qəttā'an* [PT:IX]

PT: VII, IX

◆ From the Arabic verb *qataṣa* 'to cut' in a metaphorical used to refer to 'road-cutters' — people who block the road to demand money (*quttāf at-turuq*). (p.c. Souag)

QWY

qəwi [stat.v.] 'to be strong'

3sg.m. *qāwī*

PT: IV M: gras *gaouy* قَوَى

◆ Ar. *qawīy* 'strong'

QYN

aqəyùn [m.] '(male) black slave (little used)'

aqəyùn

P: schiavo, servo

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *qāyū* 'servant'; Sok. *qāyu* 'moor, servant'

taqəyyunt [f.] '(female) black slave (little used)'

taqəyyunt

P: schiavo, servo

QŽŦ (K/GŽT)

aqəžit [m.] pl. qužit 'rooster'

aqəžit pl. *qužit*

P: gallo M: coq *akadjet* كَا جَة

◆ TC: 1012 K: 622

Berber, cf. Foq. *yəžit, yəžid* 'rooster'; Ghd. *ažid* 'rooster'; Kb. *ayaziđ* 'rooster'; *tayaziđ* 'chicken'; Zng. *āwāžud, āwāyžud* 'rooster', *tāwāžud* 'chicken'; Siwa *yəžit* 'rooster' (Naumann 2013: 374).

Basset (1959) provides a detailed discussion on the words for 'chicken' in Berber.

təkažit, təgažit [f.] pl. təkəžitin,

təgažitin 'chicken'

tekəžit, təgəžit pl. *tekažitin, təgažitin*

P: gallo M: poule *tékadjet* تَكَا جَة

QZR

yəqzər, iqzər [m.] pl. aqzàr ‘mouse’

yáqzer, éqzer pl. aqzár

P: topo M: rat *éghzrt* اغزرت

◆ See the discussion in Paradisi (1963b).

QZL

taqəzzəlt [f.] pl. tqəzzəlin ‘kidney’

taqázzəlt pl. tqázzəlin

P: rene

◆ NZ: GZL₁ K: 326

Berber, cf. Kb. *tigəzzəlt* ‘kidney’; Ghd.

tajázzəlt ‘kidney’; To. *tajəzzəlt* ‘kidney’

R₁

ir [prep.] ‘until’

īr, ir [PT:II,III,VIII]

P: fino a, finché PT: II, V, III, VIII

▷ *īr Gīlu* ‘up to Jalu’

▷ *īr mnišīu* ‘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.

urîh 2sg. *tārît* [P:example] 3sg.m. *yurâ*; res.

1sg. *urîha* 3sg.m. *yurâya*; fut. 1sg. *aurâh* 3sg.m.

ayûr; impf. 1sg. *tārîh* 3sg.m. *itârâ*

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’

urú

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. *ttuarîh* 3sg.m.

ituâr, *yetuâr* [PT:V], *itûar* [PT:VII]; res. 1sg.

ttuarîha 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

tûra [f.] ‘lung’

tûra

P: polmone

◆ TC: 784

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ţóra* ‘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

řàbbi [m.] ‘god’

rábbi [PT:V], *řábbi* [PT:VI], *rábbi* [PT:V],

rábbi [PT:XII]

PT: V, VI, XII

◆ Ar. *rabb-iyy* ‘my lord’

RB₂

ə̀rbi [v.cci] ‘to earn; to prosper’

pf. ə̀rbí res. ə̀rba fut. ə̀rbi impf. rə̀bbi

imp. sg. érbí; 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. *rabiha* ‘to gain, profit’

arə̀bbi [v.n.m.] ‘earning’

arébbi

P: guadagnare

RBS

rabùs [m.] ‘measure of capacity (cereals), corresponds to one sixth of a *ṣā*’

rabùs

P: misure di capacità

RBĠ

àrb(ə)fa [num.] ‘four’

àrbaʿa

PT: III

◆ Ar. *arbaʿa(t)* ‘four’

RD₁

****irəd** [v.icc] ‘to be washed’

res. *irəd*

res. 3sg.m. *irída* 3sg.f. *tirída*

P: lavare

◆ TC: 791

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎrəd* ‘to be washed’; Kb. *irid* ‘to be washed’; To. *irəd* ‘to bathe’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yǎrəd* ‘to be washed, to wash (intr.)’

š-irəd [caus.v.] ‘to wash’

pf. / seq. *š-irəd*, *š-irad* impf. *š-irad*

imp. sg. *šired*; pf. 3sg.f. *tširād* [PT:XV] 3pl.f.

širédnet [PT:XV]; impf. 3sg.m. *iširād*

P: lavare PT: XV M: frotté *échéred* اشرد

frotter *châred* شار

aš-irəd [caus.v.n.m.] ‘washing’

ašired

P: lavare

RD₂

irdən, yərdən [m.] ‘wheat’

pl. *irden, yerden, yerden* [P: example, appassire]

P: grano M: bled *yarden* ياردن

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *yérdən* ‘wheat’; Kb. *irəd* pl. *irdən* ‘wheat’; Nef. *yerden* ‘wheat’; To. *érəd* ‘whole-grained wheat semolina (for pasta)’; Sok. *irden* ‘wheat’; Siwa *irdən* ‘wheat’

RDM

ərdəm [v.ccc] ‘to bury’

imp. sg. *érdem*

P: interrare

◆ ELA *rədam* ‘to bury’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar. *radama* ‘to fill up with earth’

RFQ

pl. **ərrafəqà-(nnəs)** [m.] ‘companions’

pl. *ərrafāqā-(nnes), ərrafāqā-(nnes)*

PT: II

◆ cf. ELA *rfiq* pl. *rfāgā* ‘companion’; Ar. *rafīq* pl. *rufaḳāʾ* ‘companion’

RFĠ

ərfəġ [v.ccc] ‘to take away; to raise’

pf. *ərfəġ* res. = fut. *ərfəġ*

imp.sg. *arfāʿ-(i)* [PT:XV]; pf. 2sg. *tarfāʿt*

[Z:XII] 3sg.m. *yerfāʿ* [PT:XIII], *yerfāʿ-(t, āt)*

[PT:VII,XV] 3pl.f. *erfāʿnet* [PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m.

yerfīʿa [PT:III], *yerfīʿa* [PT:II], *yerfaʿ-(tī)-ya*

[PT:XIII]; fut. 3sg.m. *ayerfāʿ-(t)* [PT:III]

PT: II, III, VII, XIII, XV Z: XII M: hausser

erfāa ارفع

◆ ELA *yérfaġ* ‘to raise’; Ar. *rafaʿa* ‘to lift, lift up’

RG₁

təraggīt [f.] ‘ember’

təreggīt, tereggīt [B25]

P: brace B25: 330 M: braise *teragghiat*

ترقية

◆ TC: 813 K: 324, 625

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tarəggīt* ‘ember, coal’; Kb.

tirgətt, tirəggətt ‘cinder, ember’; Zng. *turuġd* ‘ember’

RG₂

arəġ [m.] pl. *rəggāwən* ‘handle’

arəġ pl. *reggāwen*

P: manico

◆ TC: 806 K: 319

Perhaps related to Berber, cf. To. *árjəy*

‘wooden handle’; To. (BF) *argəḍ* ‘handle of an axe’; Zng. *tarġaḍ* ‘handle’.

RGG

ərgġ [v.cvc] ‘to shake’

impf. *tərgġga*

imp. sg. *ərgġg*; impf. 3sg.m. *iterġġga*

P: tremare

◆ TC: 808 K: 323

Berber, cf. Siwa *rəǧriǧ* ‘to shake’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yərgəgi(?)* ‘to shiver, shake (of sickness, fear etc.)’

rgìg [v.n.m.] ‘shaking’

rgìg

P: tremare

RGZ

arəgàz [m.] pl. *rəgàzən* ‘person’

aregàz pl. *regàzen*

P: individuo; uomo

◆ TC: 810 K: 427

Berber, cf. Kb. *argaz* ‘man’; To. *əɾjəš* ‘to walk’; Zng. *ärägäž* ‘man’

təɾəgàzt ‘(female) person’

teregàzt

P: individuo

RY

ùrəy [m.] ‘gold’

úrâj

P: oro M: or *oro* و ر و ا

▷ *agîz* n *úrâg* ‘golden necklace’

◆ TC: 784

Berber, cf. Ghd. *oray*, *oräy* ‘gold’; To. *óräy* ‘gold’; Zng. *uri(?)* ‘gold’

urày n tîsi [phrasal n.] ‘egg yolk (litt. gold of the egg)’

urâj n tîsî

P: tuorlo

RĤ

rîĥa [adv.] ‘little’

rîĥa

P: poco

◆ cf. Mor. Ar. *rîĥa* ‘smell’, but figuratively also ‘very little (barely able to smell, barely noticeable etc.)’; A similar use of this word is found in Nef. *errîĥat*, *arrîĥat* ‘little, a bit’.

RK

təɾiikt [f.] ‘bread dough’

terîikt

P: pasta del pane

◆ K: 578

Berber, cf. MA *arekti*, *arektu*, *arešti* ‘dough’; Siwa *arakti* ‘dough’

RKF

təɾəkəft [f.] pl. *təɾəkfin* ‘caravan’

terekəft pl. *terekfin*

P: carovana B21: 386

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *tākəft*, *terəkəft* ‘caravan’; Kb. *tirkəft* ‘caravan’; Nef. *terkəft* ‘caravan’; Sok. *tirkəft* ‘caravan’; To. *erákāf* ‘herd of donkeys in an expedition; large caravan’

RN

əɾní [v.cci/cc*] ‘to increase, add; to bid’

pf. *əɾní* res. *əɾna* fut. *əɾni* impf.

rənni/rənnna

imp. sg. *əɾní* pl.m. *əɾnîyât* pl.f. *əɾnîmet*; pf.

1sg. *ernîh* 3sg.m. *yernî*; res. 1sg. *ernîĥa* 3sg.m.

yernâya; fut. 1sg. *arnîh*, *arnâ-(s)* [PT:XII]

3sg.m. *ayérni*; impf. 1sg. *rennîh* 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. *əɾnəβ* ‘to add’; Kb. *əɾnu* ‘to add’; Zng. *aɾih* ‘to increase’.

Awjila lacks a reflex of PB *β

arənnú, **arənnî** [v.n.m.] ‘increasing, adding, auction’

arənnú, *arənnu* [PT:IV], *arənnî*

P: accrescere PT: IV

RNG

arìng, **anìrg** [m.] pl. *ringìn*, *nirgìn* ‘neighbour’

arìng, *aringí-(nnes)* [PT:V], *anìrg* pl. *ringîn*, *nirgîn*

P: vicino PT: V

◆ Berber, cf. To. (H.) *anārag* ‘neighbour’; To. (N.) *anhərag* ‘neighbour’; Sok. *arág* ‘neighbour’

təɾingìt [f.] pl. *təɾingitìn* ‘(female) neighbour’

teringût pl. *teringûtîn*

P: vicino

RQṬ

arəqùṭ [m.] ‘rag, piece of sewn cloth’

arâqût

P: straccio PT: V

RŠ1

irəš [v.icc.irreg.] ‘to descend’

res. *iriš* (irreg.) impf. *tirəš*, *tərrəš*

imp. sg. *یرهš*, *یرهš*, *یرهš* [B21]; res. 3pl.m.

ერიშინა [PT:XV] impf. 3sg.m. *itirəš*, *itterrəš*

3pl.m. *terrəšen* [P:example]

P: scendere B21: 391 PT: VI, XV

▷ *imîn terrəšen* ‘the water flows down’

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *ərs* ‘to descend’; To. *əras* ‘to be brought down, be unloaded; go down (in well or container)’

urüş [v.n.m.] ‘descending’

urüş ‘descending’

P: scendere

š-irəš [caus.v.] ‘to place, put down’

impf. *š-irəš*

imp. sg. *šireš*; impf. 1sg. *širəšh* 3sg.m. *iširəš*

P: mettere, porre

aš-irəš [caus.v.n.m.] ‘placing, putting down’

ašireš

P: mettere, porre

RŠN

ərròšən [m.] ‘window’

ərròšen

PT: V

◆ ELA *ròšen* ‘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

arəšək [v.n.m.] ‘combing’

arəšək

P: pettinare

tùst n arəšək [phrasal n.] ‘comb’

tùst n arəšək

P: pettine

RṬL

ərṭəl [v.ccc] ‘to lend’

imp. sg. *ərṭəl*

P: prestare M: prêté ??*martal* مرتل

prêter *artal* ارتل

◆ TC: 798

Berber, cf. Kb. *ərḍəl* ‘to lend’; Ghd. *ərḍəl* ‘to lend’; Zng. *arḍiy* ‘to lend’

RV

arəv, ùrəv [v.vcc] ‘to write’

pf. *urəv* res. = fut. *ùrəv* impf. *tàrəv*

imp. sg. *arəv* (rarely: *úrev*) pf. 1sg. *urəfh*, *urəfġ*

[B21; B24] 2sg. *turəft* [B24] 3sg.m. *yurəv*, *yurév*

[B21; B24] 3sg.f. *turév* [B21; B24] 1pl. *nurév*

[B24] 2pl.m. *turəvîm* [B24] 2pl.f. *turəvmet*

[B24] 3pl.m. *úreven* [B24] 3pl.f. *urévnet* [B24];

res. 1sg. *urifha*, *urívha* 3sg.m. *yuríva*; fut. 1sg.

aurévfh 3sg.m. *ayúrev*; impf. 1sg. *tàrévfh*, *tàréfh*

3sg.m. *itàrev* ptc. *tàreven*

P: scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189

◆ TC: 77 K: 156

Berber, cf. Ghd. *óraβ* ‘to write’; Kb. *aru* ‘to write’; Zng. *irih*, *iṛih* ‘to dictate’

arràv [v.n.m.] ‘writing’

arràv [P; B24], *arráf* [B21; B24]

P: scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189 M: écriture

arrab عَرَب

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. *ituaríva*; fut.

3sg.m. *aituárev*

P: scrivere

RW

əṛəw [v.irreg.] 'to give birth'

pf. əṛəw res. = fut. iəṛəw impf. tərəw
imp. sg. éróū pl.m. eróūmet; pf. 1sg. eróūh;
3sg.f. teróū; res. 1sg. iríuḥa 3sg.f. tiríwa; fut.
1sg. aěróūh 3sg.f. attirōū; impf. 1sg. tárōūh
3sg.f. tárū

P: partorire, generare M: naître erro اَرَو;
né nerro نَرَو

◆ 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-irəw [caus.v.] 'to cause to give birth'

imp. sg. širōū

P: partorire, generare

irīw [m.] pl. irīwən 'boy, child'

iríu, rijù [Z:IV] pl. iríwen

P: ragazzo, bambino; figlio PT:XIII B21:

386 Z:IV M: enfant yéréhou يَرَهُو

○ M: nez and M: nièce were switched around
accidentally in the wordlist.

◆ MA araw 'children, offspring'

tirīwt [f.] pl. tiriwìn, tiríwi 'girl, child'

tiríut pl. tirīwín, tiríwī [PT:XV], tirīwín-(nes)
[PT:XV]

P: ragazzo; bambino PT: XV M: fille

thériout تَريوت; nez (sic; nièce) térouet
تَروَة

RWT/Y ► ŠRWT/Y

RWĤ

ṛəwwəḥ [v.cċc] 'to return (home)'

seq. ṛəwwəḥ impf. řəwwəḥ

imp. sg. róūwah [PT:V]; pf. 3sg.m. iróūwah
[PT:II,VII,XV] 3pl.m. rrōūwáhan [PT:VII,XV];
impf. 3sg.m. iróūwāḥ [PT:XV]

PT: II, V, VII, XV M: démarche aroukh

ا ر و خ

◆ ELA ĩrowwəḥ 'to return (home)' (p.c.

Benkato); Ar. rāḥa 'to go in the evening; to go
away, depart, leave, go'

RWK

ərwák [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. ārwak 'to mix'; Zng. ärwih 'to
be stirred, be mixed'; Nef. érwi; To. H. ərwəy,
ārwi 'to stir, mix'

arəwàk [v.n.m.] 'kneading'

arawák

P: rimenare

taráwəkt [f.] 'Polenta (dish made from

maize flour cooked in salted water to
accompany various foods or with various
dressings)'

taráwəkt

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.

ěrwélen [PT:XV]; res. 3pl.m. ěrwilína [PT:XV];

impf. 1sg. ruwwélḥ 3sg.m. iríuwwel

P: fuggire PT:XV M: échapper (s'); enfuir

(s') yéréouel يَروْل; fuir yérouwel يَروْل

◆ TC: 835

Berber, cf. Ghd. ārwal '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'

arāwál

P: fuggire

RWǾ

ərwǾǾ [v.ccc] ‘to fear’

pf. ərwǾǾ seq. = res. ərwǾǾ impf. rəwwǾǾ

imp. sg. *erwaʿ*, *erwáʿ* [PT:XII]; pf. 1sg. *rwáh*

3sg.m. *yerwáʿ*, *yérwaʿ* [PT:X], *yerwaʿ* [PT:XV];

res. 1sg. *rwíh̄ha*, *rwéh̄ha* [PT:X], *ěrwéh̄a* [PT:V]

(*h<h̄h<h̄*) 3sg.m. *yerwíʿa*; impf. 1sg. *róúwah̄*

3sg.m. *iróúwaʿ*

P: temere PT: IV, V, X, XII, XV M: craindre

yérouaha يرواها; crainte ??*arouaha*

اروها; peureux *yérouaha* يرواها

◆ Ar. *rāʿa* ‘to fright, scare, alarm’

RY

****irəy** [v.icc.] ‘to be raw’

res. irəy

res. 3sg.m. *iréya* 3sg.f. *tiréya* 3pl.m. *iriyîna*

3pl.f. *irînáta*

P: crudo M: cru *yérayah* يرايه

▷ *túwög tiréya* ‘the food is raw’

◆ Berber, cf. To. *irah* ‘to be unripe; to be raw or undercooked’; Zng. *ärāh* ‘raw’; Sok. *rāyyi* ‘raw’

RZ

ərǾuz [m.] ‘rice’

(s-)orróz

Z: VI

◆ Ar. *ruzz*, *aruzz* ‘rice’

RZ

ərǾ [v.cc*] ‘to break’

pf. / seq. = fut. ərǾa

imp. sg. *arǾ* pl.m. *ärǾât-(tet)* [PT:I]; pf. 3sg.m.

yerǾî-(tēt) [PT:I]; fut. 3sg.m. *āürǾî-(tēt)* [PT:I]

ayerǾî-(tēt) [PT:I]

P: rompere PT: I M: brisé; cassé *erzay*

ارزاي; briser *erzayeh* يرزايه; briser

(se); casser *yerzayeh* يرزايه

◆ TC: 841

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ärǾ* ‘to break’; Kb. *ərǾ* ‘to

break’; To. *ärǾ* ‘to break’; Zng. *arǾi(?)* ‘to be

broken’.

arəzzu [v.n.m.] ‘breaking’

arəzzū

P: rompere

tarəzzàt [v.n.f.] ‘creak’

tarezzât, *terazzât*

P: rompere; scricchiolio

š-ərǾ [v.caus.] ‘to cause to break’

imp. sg. *šarǾ*

P: rompere

****tt-ərǾ** [v.pass.] ‘to be broken’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. tt-ərǾ

pf. 3sg.m. *ittérǾ*; res. 3sg.m. *ittírǾa*; fut. 3sg.m.

aittérǾ

P: rompere

RŽ

ərǾi [v.cci] ‘to milk’

imp. sg. *ěrǾi*

P: mungere

arəžži [v.n.m.] ‘milking’

arəžži

P: mungere

š-ərǾi [caus.v.] ‘to cause to milk’

imp. sg. *šérǾi*

P: mungere

RŽL

taržàlt [f.] *taržàlt* pl. *taržàlîn* ‘wing (of a bird)’

P: ala (di uccello)

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *taržalt* ‘feather of a bird’;

Sok. *taržàlt* ‘feather of a bird’; Zng. *tärgäl*

‘feather’

S1

s, syar, sar [prep.] ‘from’

1sg. *syar-i* 3sg.m. *syar-əs* 3pl.m. *syar-sîn*

s, sě, s-gār [PT:V,XII], *s-gār* [PT:III,XV], *s-ar*

[PT:IV,V,XIII,XV], *s-ār* [PT:II], *s* [Z:VIII]; 1sg.

s-gār-ī [PT:IV,V] 3sg.m. *s-gar-es*, *s-gār-es*

[PT:VII,XV]; 3pl.m. *s-gār-sîn*

P: da PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, XII, XIII, XV

Z: VIII,X

▷ *sě tfilli n améden* ‘from the house of the man’

○ Nouns governed by *s* can be followed by *-i*:

▷ *yeskî s-tfillî-y-î* ‘he came out of the house’

▷ *ħħâr s-tebârût-î* ‘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’

▷ *agîz n úrâġ* ‘golden necklace’

◆ Siwa *sg* (< *s-g*) ‘from’

skəmma, səmma [**conj.**] ‘because’

s-kemma, sémma [PT:XIV]

P: *perché* PT: XI, XIV

s-əlwəwəl [**conj.**] ‘already’

s-əlōwəwəl

PT: XI

◆ Ar. (*a*)-*ʔawwal* ‘earlier, previous, former’

S2

s [**prep.**] ‘with (instrumental)’

3sg. *si-s* 3pl.m. *s-in* 3pl.f. *s-înət, sənət*

s, sě, s-(orróz) [Z:VI]; 3sg. *sî-s* [P:example]

3pl.m. *s-în* 3pl.f. *s-înet, s-énet* [PT:V]

P: *con* PT: III, VII, IX Z: VI

▷ *‘addîħa sî-s* ‘I went with it’

◆ Pan-Berber, cf. Zng. *əs* ‘with’; Kb. *s* ‘with’ etc.

z-di, z-diwa [**phrase**] “how much does it cost?”

z-dî, z-dîwa

P: *quanto* PT: III

○ An expression composed of *s* ‘with’ + *di, diwa* ‘what, what thing?’. ► DW

S3

əss [**v.ċ***] ‘to spread (a mat), to stretch (to make the bed)’

impf. *təssá*

imp. sg. *ess* pl.m. *ssât* pl.f. *ssîmet*; impf. 1sg.

tessîħ 3sg.m. *itessá*

P: *distendere*

◆ Berber, cf. Nef. *éssa* ‘to spread, to stretch (a net, etc.)’

(ə)**ssú** [**v.n.m.**] ‘spreading (a mat)’

éssú

P: *distendere*

S4

tîsi [**f.**] ‘liver’

tîsî

P: *fegato*

◆ TC: 87

Berber, cf. Kb. *tasa* ‘liver’; To. *tâsa* ‘belly’;

âwsa ‘liver’; Zng. *taʔšäh* ‘liver’; Siwa *tsa* ‘liver’

S5

tisî [**f.**] pl. *tisiwîn* ‘egg, genitalia’

tîsî, tîsî [B21] pl. *tisîwîn*

P: *uovo* B21: 385 M: *pondre tésiouy*

تصوي

◆ TC: 1018

Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *täwžih, toʔwžih* ‘egg’

S6

tîst n agəwəl [**phrasal n.**] ‘mirror’

tîst n agəwəl

P: *specchio*

◆ Berber, cf. Nef. *tisît* ‘mirror’; To. *tîsett*

‘mirror; eyeglasses’; Sok. *tisît n udém* ‘mirror’

tîst n arəšək [**phrasal n.**] ► RŠK

S7

=îs [**pron.**] 3sg. indirect object pronoun

-îs, -îs [PT: *passim*], *â-s* (< *x-is*) [PT:II,V,XII],

-îz(-d) [PT:VI,VII] *â-z-d* (< *x-is-d*) [PT:II], *res.*

-îsa [PT:II]

P: *egli* PT: *passim*

SBĠ

a-isəbbəħ [**v.ċċ**] ‘to bathe’

fut. 3sg.m. *āisəbbəħ*

PT: IX

◆ ELA *sábbəħ* ‘to bathe’

SBĠ

ssəb(ə)ħa [**num.**] ‘seven’

(s-)séba'a [PT:III], séba'a [PT:IX,XV]

PT: III, IX, XV

◆ Ar. *sabʿa(t)* 'seven'

SD

****ssùdd** [v.cē] 'to be enough'

res. *ssùdd*

res. 3sg.m. *issúdda, issuddi-(dík)-a* [P:

example]

P: bastare PT: XII M: assez *aéssoud* عَصُود

▷ *issuddi-dík-a* 'it is enough for me'

◆ ELA *isédd* 'to be satisfied'; Ar. *sadda* 'to fill a gap, to remove or remedy deficiencies'

SF/SW

tasíft, tasiwt [f.] pl. *təssiw* '(terraced)

roof'

tasíft, tasiwt pl. *tessú*

P: tetto M: toit *thasiout* طاسيوت

SG

tsígit, tsigi [f.] pl. *tsigitìn* 'rib'

tsígit, tsigī pl. *tsigūtīn*

P: costola

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tasíget* 'medium-length bone'; Kb. *tasga* 'side'; To. *tàsāja* 'flank, side of the body (at ribs)'

SY

àsəy [v.cc] 'to buy'

pf. = fut. *səy* res. *səy* impf. *təssay*

imp. sg. *ásaǰ* pl.m. *sagât* pl.f. *sáǰmet*; pf. 1sg.

sahh 3sg.m. *isáǰ*; res. 1sg. *ssíhha* (ǰh>hh)

3sg.m. *isíǰa*; fut. 1sg. *asáhha* 3sg.m. *aisáǰ*;

impf. 1sg. *tessáhha* 3sg.m. *aitessáǰ*

P:comperare PT: II, VII, XII M: acheter

yéséggha يسغه

◆ TC: 89

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ásæ* 'to buy'; Kb. *ay* 'to buy';

Zng. *äʔši(?)* 'to buy, pay'

asùǰ [v.n.m.] 'purchase, buying'

asùǰ

P: comperare, compera

SK₁

(ə)**ssák** [v.cē] 'to fart'

imp. sg. *ěssék*

P: peto

(ə)**ssùk** [v.n.m.] 'farting'

ěssúk

P: peto

SK₂

asók, usók [v.vcc] 'to take away'

imp. sg. *asék, usék*

P: portare M: soulever *asekt* اسكت ; voler,

dérober *yousek* يوسك

◆ K: 546

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ósak* 'to take (imperative only)'; MA *asy* 'to take'

SK₃

təskənni [f.] 'thyme'

teskénni

P: timo

SK ► SQ

SKN

****əskən** [v.ccc] 'to live'

res. *əskən*

res. 3sg.m. *yəskîna*

PT: VI

◆ ELA *yésken* 'to live'; Ar. *sakana* 'to live, to reside'

SKR₂ ► ŠKR

SL₁

əsl, əsəl [v.cc*] 'to hear'

pf. *əslá* res. *əsla* fut. *əs(ə)l* impf. *səlla*

imp. sg. *esél, ásel* pl.m. *slât* pl.f. *slîmet*; pf. 1sg.

eslîh 3sg.m. *yelâ, yeslî-(t)* [PT:V] 3pl.m. *slân*

[PT:XV], *slân-(t)* [PT:II]; res. 1sg. *slîha* 3sg.m.

yelâya; fut. 1sg. *aslâh* 3sg.m. *ayésel*; impf. 1sg.

sellîh 3sg.m. *iséllā*

P: sentire PT: II, IV, V, XV M: sourd

eslalodah اسلالوده

○ The analysis of Müller's *eslalodah*

اسلالوده is difficult, but it clearly consists of the root SL 'to hear' + *lûda* 'nothing'.

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎsl* ‘to listen’; Kb. *səl* ‘to listen’; To. *əsól* ‘to listen, hear’

asəllú [v.n.m.] ‘hearing’

asellú

P: sentire

SL₂

t(ə)sìli [f.] pl. *tsiliwìn* ‘sandal’

təsìli pl. *tsilwìn*

P: sandalo

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *tasìli*, *tasìlē* ‘sandal’ Ghd. *tasile* ‘sandals for traveling’; Sok. *tsila* ‘sandal’

SL₃

sìla, **sìlak** [adv.] ‘along here’

sìla, *sìlak*

P: qui PT: IV

SLM

****sə̀lləm** [v.cċc] ‘to greet’

pf. / seq. *sə̀lləm* impf. *sə̀lləm*

pf. 3sg.m. *issə̀llem*; impf. 3pl.m. *sellə̀men*

PT: XI

◆ A stem II denominal derivation of Ar. *salām* ‘well-being, peace; salutation, salute’, non-classical, but very common in the Arabic dialects.

lə̀slam [m.] ‘Islam’

laslām

Z: XI

◆ Ar. *islām* ‘Islam’

SM₁

isəm [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

SMĤ

?səm(ə)ĥ [stat.v.] ‘to be sweet, pretty, handsome’

3sg.m. *simeĥ*

Z: III

◆ ELA *semĥ* ‘sweet, pretty, handsome’

SN₁

(ə)ssən [v.cċc] ‘to send, send out’

res. = fut. *əssən* impf. *təssən*

imp. sg. *ssen*, *ěssén*; res. *issen-(dík)-a*

[P:example: io]; fut. 3sg.m. *ayéssen* [PT:X];

impf. 1sg. *tessénĥ* 3sg.m. *itessén*

P: inviare, mandare PT: X M: envoyé

??*maïsen* معيسن; envoyer *aïsen* عيسن

▷ *issen-dík-a* ‘he sent me’ [P: sub io

(example)]

▷ *Yušád Žĥâ márra igéllī ayéssen*

akelliméennes amakân ba’íd ‘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. *tsenüttîn*, *tsenütîn*

P: ago B21: 384 M: aiguiseur *sounnit* سَنَيْت

◆ TC: 393 NZ: GNF

Berber, cf. Zng. *tuššugnaḌ*, *tuššugnaḍ*

‘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 known 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* سَنُو

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *asén* 'tooth'; To. *ésen* 'tooth'

SN₅

tisənt [f.] 'salt'

tisént

P: sale M: salé *tessan* تَسَّان

◆ 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, -îsîn [PT:I,II,XV], -îsîn [PT:I,XV], res.

-isîna

P: essi PT: I,II,XV

=isnət [pron.] 3pl.f. indirect object pronoun

-isnet, -isnət [PT:XV], res. -isnîta

P: essi PT: XV

SNDS

səndàs [m.] pl. səndàsən 'lavatory'

sendâs pl. sendâsen

P: latrina

SNSR₁

sənsər [v.cccc] 'to close with a chain'

impf. sənsàr

imp. sg. *sənsər*; impf. 1sg. *sənsàrh* 3sg.m.

isənsàr

P: chiudere

SNSR₂

sənsər + təqənvil [phrasal v.] 'to blow one's nose'

impf. sənsàr təqənvil

imp. sg. *sənsər təqənvil*; impf. 3sg.m. *isənsàr təqənvil*

P: soffiarsi il naso M: éternuer *esenser*

اسنسر ; moucher (se) *esansar*

اسانسار ; rhume *ésenser* اسنسر

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *sənsər* 'to sniff'

ásənsər təqənvil [phrasal v.n.m.]

'blowing one's nose'

ásenser təqənvil

P: soffiarsi il naso

SNT

sənnət [v.cċc] 'to hear, listen'

pf. / seq. sənnət

imp. sg. *sánnat*; impf. 3sg.f. *tsənnâṭ* [PT:XV]

3pl.f. *sənnâṭnet* [PT:XV]

P: sentire PT: XV

○ The words *tsənnâṭ*, *sənnâṭnet* are morphologically imperfectives, but they function as perfectives in text XV.

◆ ELA *ṣənnət* 'to listen' (also cf. Algiers Jewish Arabic *ṣənnəṭ* 'écouter'), probably metathesis of Classical Ar. *naṣṣata*. (p.c. Benkato)

SQ₁

ssùq [m.] 'market'

ssùq, *ssùk* [PT:XII]

PT: IV, VII, XI, XII

◆ Ar. *sūq* 'market'

SRF

(ə)sráf [v.ccc] 'to weave cords or strands of palms'

impf. sərrəf

imp. sg. *sréf*; impf. 3sg.m. *isérraf*

P: intrecciare

◆ Kb. *asrāf* ‘to tie in a knot’

asārāf [v.n.m.] ‘weaving cords or strands of palms’

aserâf

P: intrecciare

asîrf [m.] pl. *sərfāwən* ‘braid of palm leaves to make baskets’

asîrf pl. *serfāwen*

P: treccia di capelli

SRFG ► SRFQ

SRFQ

sərfāq, sərfāg [v.cccc] ‘to slap, smack’

imp. sg. *serfāq, serfāg*

P: schiaffeggiare

SRM

tsərrîmt [f.] pl. *tsərmîn* ‘the middle of a palm leaf from which the leaves sprout’

tserrîmt pl. *tsermîn*

P: palma M: *écaille téserimt* تسریمت;

écorce taserimt طسریمت; *feuille tesserim* تسریم; *pelure taserimt* تسریمت

SRR

assərîr (or: *əssərîr*) [m.] ‘desert’

ässerîr

P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)

◆ ELA *sərîr* ‘stony, sandy desert’

SS

sas [v.cvc*] ‘to beg’

impf. *sàsa*

imp. sg. *sās*; impf. 3sg.m. *isāsa* [PT:VI] ptc.

sāsān [PT:VI]

P: mendicare PT: VI

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *sās* ‘to beg’; Nef. *sāsa* ‘to beg’

asàs [v.n.m.] ‘begging’

asās

P: mendicare

wa sāsān [phrasal noun] ‘beggar’

wa sāsān

PT: VI

STM ► WRTN

SWLĤŽ

Sawilĥaž [P.N.] Place name

Sawilĥāğ

Z: X

SWN

ssəwàni [f.] ‘garden’

ssuwānī [P:example: che, il quale],

sāwānī-(nnāk) [PT:XV], *suwānī-(nnāĥ)*

[PT:XV]

PT: XV

◆ Mor. Ar. *swāni* ‘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)**syáf** [v.ccc] ‘to bathe’

pf. *əsyáf* res. *əsyáf* impf. *səyyəf*

imp. sg. *siéf*; pf. 1sg. *siéfh* 3sg.m. *isyéf*; res.

1sg. *siyífha* 3sg.m. *isiyífa*; impf. 1sg. *síyyefh*

3sg.m. *isíyyef*

P: bagno M: *baigner (se) yésiéfa* يسيفه;

rafraichir essiaf اسياف

◆ Berber, cf. To. *əššāf* ‘to swim’; Siwa *síyaf* ‘to swim’

asəyàf [v.n.m.] ‘bathing’

asiyáf

P: bagno

SŽR ► ŠŽR

SŶD₁

?a-i-ssaʔəd-(kîm) [v.cvc?] ‘to help’

fut. 3sg.m. *āissaʔad-(kîm)*

PT: I

◆ Ar. *sāʔada* ‘to help’

SŶD₂

ssəʔida [m.] ‘penis’

ssaʔida

P: penis

◆ Probably a euphemistic use of Ar. *sařida(t)* ‘the happy one (f.)’

ŞBH

şbəh [m.] ‘tomorrow’

şbáh, şábáh [PT:XV], şbah-(éñnes) [PT:XV],

şbah [PT:XV]

P: domani PT: XV

◆ Ar. *şabāh* ‘morning’

ŞBR

**şbár [v.ccc] ‘to wait’

imp. pl.m. *şbârât*

PT: II M: attendre *sbordik* صبر ديك

◆ Ar. *şabara* ‘to bind, to be patient’

ŞBT

şəbət [m.] ‘yesterday’

şábât, şábât, şábât [P:example: che, il quale]

P: ieri

◆ Paradisi claims an Arabic origin, but no equivalent in an Arabic dialect has been found.

ŞDQ

**şəddəq [v.cċc] ‘to believe’

res. 2sg. *tşáddâqt-(î)-ya*

PT: VIII M: certainement *ezdaqa* اصدقة

◆ Ar. *şaddaqa* ‘to believe’

ŞHB

əşşahb-(əñnəs) [m.] ‘friend’

eşşāhb-(éñnes) [PT:IX], *ěşşāhb-(éñnes)*

[PT:XII] ‘friend’

PT: IX, XII

◆ Ar. *şāhib* ‘friend’

ŞHH

şəhîh [stat.v.] ‘to be healthy, truthful’

şahîh

PT: IV, V

◆ Ar. *şahîh* ‘healthy, well, sound, healthful, truthful’

ŞL

**uşál [v.vcc] ‘to arrive’

pf. / seq. *uşəl*

pf. 3pl.m. *uşálen* [PT:V], *uşálen* [PT:XV],

uşálen [PT:XV]

PT: V, XV

◆ ELA *yúşál* ‘to arrive, to reach’; Ar. *waşala* ‘to arrive’

ŞLF

aləşláf, aləşláf [adj.] ‘bald’

m. sg. *aləşlá’, aləşlá’*

PT:XIV

◆ Ar. *aşlaf* ‘bald’

ŞNDQ

şşundùq [m.] ‘crate, box’

şşundūq

PT: V

◆ Ar. *şundūq* ‘crate, box; chest’

ŞQT

tşuqùt [f.] pl. tşuquṭin ‘braid of hair’

tşuqūt pl. *tşuqūtīn*

P: treccia di capelli

ŞR

**şàr [v.cvc] ‘to happen’

res. *şàra*

res. ptc. *şāràna*

PT: II, V

◆ ELA *şàra* ‘to occur, happen’; Ar. *şàra* ‘to become; to occur, happen’

ŞRT

?şərrət [v.cċc] ‘to draw a line’

imp. sg. *şarrát*

P: linea, riga

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āsrəḍ* ‘to draw a line’; To. *tasərret* ‘line, stripe’

aşərrit [m.] pl. *şərritən* ‘line, stripe’

aşərrit pl. *şərritən*

P: linea, riga

ŞSM

şúsəm [v.cvcc] ‘to be quiet’

şúsem, şúsem

P: tacere

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *súsem* ‘to be quiet’; Nef.

súsem ‘to be quiet’; To. *sùsəm* ‘to be quiet, shut up’; Sok. *súsem* ‘to be quiet’; Siwa *sísəm* ‘to be quiet’

Š1 ► NŠ3

Š2/ŠF

tìšt [f.] ‘sieve’

tìšt

P: setaccio

š-ìšəf [caus.v.] ‘to sieve’

impf. š-ìšəf

imp. sg. *ššəf*; impf. 1sg. *ššəfl*

P: setacciare

◆ Siwa *sífəf* ‘to sieve’

aš-ìšəf [caus.v.n.m.] ‘sieving’

aššəf

P: setacciare

**t-š-ìšəf [pass.caus.v.] ‘to be sieved’

impf. res. t-š-ìšəf res. 3sg.m. *itššəfa*

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. *yīdāt* pl.f. *yīdīmet*; pf. 1sg.

ušígđ, ušígđ [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yušâđ, yúšad*

[PT:XV], *yuš-(îz)-d* [P: example; PT:VI] 3pl.m.

ušând [PT:II,IX,XV], *ušân-(îz)-d* [PT:VII]; res.

1sg. *ušígđa* 2sg. *tušidda* [PT:XV], *tūšidda*

[Z:VIII] 3sg.m. *yušâđa* ptc. *ušânda*

[P:example: chi?]; fut. 1sg. *aušágđ, āušágđ*

[PT:XV], *āušâ-(z)-d* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ayúš* 3sg.f.

attúš [Z:VI]; impf. 1sg. *tašígđa* 2sg. *tašidda*

[P:example] 3sg.m. *itašâđa*

P: venire PT: II, III, VI, VII, IX, X, XI, XV Z:

VI, VIII M: arrivée *youchada* يوشاد ه;

arriver *chada* شاد ه; voyageur *youchad*

يوشاد

▷ *tašidda-ká* ‘do not come!’

▷ *yīd dīla* ‘come here!’

▷ *yuš-îz-d* ‘he came to him’

◆ TC: 878

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ás* ‘to come’; To. *ás* ‘to come’;

Zng. *ášši(?)* ‘to come, arrive’

ušú [v.n.m.] ‘coming’

ušú

P: venire PT: XV

ŠD1

ašùđ [m.] pl. *šudìn* ‘(wooden) pole’

ašùđ pl. *šūdīn*

P: asta (di legno); bastone

◆ NZ: CD

Berber, cf. To. *ášádəd* ‘prop, support; stick’;

Zng. *áššād* pl. *šugdān* ‘stick’, Zenaga points to an assimilation, and may not belong to this root.

ŠD2 ► ŠYD

ŠDL ► DL

ŠF

išf [m.] pl. *išfawən, išfiwan* ‘day’

išf, išf [PT:I], *išf* [PT:XII,XIV] pl. *išfawen,*

išfiwan [PT:III]

P: giorno PT: I, III, XII, XIV M: jour *fich*

فیش

◆ TC: 928

Ghd. *ášf* ‘day’; Kb. *ass* ‘day’; Zng. *aš* ‘day’

ášfa [adv.] ‘today’

ášfa, ášfa [B24]

P: oggi B24: 188

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *ášfa* ‘today’

šišf [adv.] ‘by day’

šišf

P: giorno

ŠFT

(ə)šfəṭ [v.ccc] ‘to clean’

imp. sg. *šfăt*

P: pulire

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ášfəṭ* ‘to clean by rubbing’;

To. (H.) *əsfäd* ‘to dry up’; MA *šfəṭ* ‘to wipe,

clean’; Kb. *šfəṭ* ‘to wipe, clean’

ašəfəṭ [v.n.m.] ‘cleaning’

ašefât

P: pulire

ŠG

šugg [v.cc] 'to wait for'

pf. = seq. = fut. šùgg res. šùgga

imp. sg. šugg pl.m. šuggât pl.f. šuggîmet; pf.

1sg. šuggîh 3sg.m. išúgg; res. 1sg. šuggîha

3sg.m. išuggâya; fut. 1sg. ašuggâh 3sg.m.

aišugg

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.

ŠYL

**əšyâl [v.ccc] 'to work, toil'

pf. / seq. əšyəl

pf. 3sg.f. twšji (sic)

Z: IX

◆ Ar. šaġala 'to occupy, busy'

ŠYR

išyar [m.] pl. šyîrən 'firewood'

išġâr pl. šġîrən, šġîren [PT:XV; B₂₁]

P: legna PT: XV B₂₁: 391 M: bois *sghaghin*

صغارين

◆ NZ: CŸR₃

Berber, cf. Foq. išġârən, yešġârən 'wood'; Ghd.

asyér 'wood'; Kb. asyar 'wood'; Nef. isġâren

'wood'; To. esâyer 'firewood'; Zng. äššaʔr

'tree'; Siwa šyarân '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, əški res. əška impf. šəkki

imp. sg. škî; pf. [P:example: che, il quale]

3sg.m. yešk, yeškî [PT:IV,V,VI,XII,XIII], yeškî

[PT:IV], iškî [PT:XV; Z:X], iškî [Z:XIII] 3sg.f.

teškî [PT:III], tēškî [PT:XV] 3pl.m. škîyən

[PT:II]; res. 1sg. škîha 3sg.m. yeškâya; impf.

išékki

P: uscire PT: II, IV, V, VI, XII, XIII, XV Z: X,

XIII M: éteindre *chekka* شَكَّة; 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. šéškî

P: uscire

ŠK₂

išk, abəškîw [m.] pl. škîwən, bəškîwən 'horn'

išk, abeškûi pl. škîwen, beškîwen

P: corno

◆ NZ: CK₁₁, CKW₁ TC: 856 K: 514

Ghd. aškaw 'horn'; Nef. aššâu 'horn'; Kb. išš

'horn'; Siwa aččāw 'horn'; Sok. iš 'horn'; To.

isəkk 'horn'; Zng. taskäh 'horn'

ŠKR₁

škàrət [f.] 'sack'

škâret, skâret

PT:XII

◆ ELA škāra 'sack' (p.c. Benkato)

ŠKR₂

tšukkùrt [f.] pl. tšukkurin 'a strand of hairs on the middle of the head of children'

tšukkùrt, tčukkùrt pl. tčukkūrîn

P: capelli, peli

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Ghd. tažakkurt 'strand of hair on the middle of the head of children'

◆ NZ:CKR₁₁

ŠKR₃

tšəkrīt [f.] pl. tšəkrīyìn ‘story, tale’

ččəkrīt, tšəkrīt pl. *ččəkrīyìn*

P: favola

◆ NZ:CKR12

ŠKR4

iškər [m.] pl. škìrən ‘nail’

išker pl. *škìren*

P: unghia

◆ TC: 86o

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aškar* ‘nail’; Siwa *aččér* ‘nail’ (Naumann 2013: 415); Sok. *iššér* ‘nail’; To. *éskār* ‘fingernail’; Zng. *əskār* ‘nail’; Nef. *aššār* ‘nail’

ŠKŠK

šəkšək [v.cccc] ‘to winnow barley’

impf. šəkšək

imp. sg. *šékšek*; impf. 3sg.m. *išekšák*

P: spulare l’orzo

◆ Berber, cf. To. *sàksák* ‘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. *škùtef, štúkef*

P: sputare

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *skut* ‘to spit’; Nef. *eskúfs* ‘to spit’; Sok. *skúttəf* ‘to spit’; Siwa *sukəf* ‘to spit’

ŠL1

ašəl [m.] pl. šaləwən ‘village’

ašal, ašəl [PT:II,III] *ašəl-(ī)* [PT:VIII,XV] pl. *šālāwen*

P: paese, villaggio; Awjila PT: II, III, VIII

M: village *echal* اشل

▷ *ašal n awīlen* ‘Awjila (litt. the village of Awjilans)’

◆ TC: 4o K: 48g

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ókāl* ‘earth’; Kb. *akal* ‘earth, soil’; To. *ákall* ‘land, country; sand’; Zng. *a?gäy* ‘earth, soil’; Siwa *šal* ‘country, land’

The correspondence of Awjila š to PB *k is irregular. Considering the quite different meaning, perhaps the Awjila word does not belong to this lexeme.

ŠL2

ašil [m.] ‘straw’

ašil

P: paglia M: paille *echil* ا شيل

◆ NZ: CL28

Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *āžäyi(?)* ‘straw or palm used for weaving’

ŠL/ ŠLL

təšlīt, təšlīt [f.] ‘bride’

tešlīt, tešlīt

P: sposa

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *taslīt* ‘bride’

ŠLL

šlil [v.ccvcc] ‘to rinse’

imp. sg. *šlil*

P: sciacquare

◆ To. *islal* ‘to be or become smooth, sleek’

ŠLŠ

tšəllišt [f.] ‘darkness’

tšəllišt, čəllišt

P: tenebre, oscurità

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *təsalast* ‘darkness’; Sok. *tasullást* ‘darkness’; Mzab *sulləs* ‘darkness’; Ouar. *tsallast* ‘darkness’

ŠM1

tašūmt [f.] pl. tašūmìn ‘pillow’

tašūmt pl. *tašūmîn*

P: cuscino B21: 391 M: oreiller *thachoum*

طاشوم

◆ NZ: CM3

Berber, cf. Kb. *tasumta, tasummta* ‘pillow’; Nef. *tsūmtá* ‘pillow’; To. *sūmə-t* ‘to place one’s head or feet on (cushion)’; Sok. *tsūmti* ‘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. *isəm* ‘ear’.

Awjila has the radical S in *isəm*, 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.)

ŠMT

šmùt [m.] ‘cold’

šmùt, šmūt [PT:V]

P: freddo PT: V

▷ ḥossih šmùt ‘I feel cold’

◆ TC: 896

Berber, cf. Kb. *ismaḍ* ‘to be cold’; To. *ismad* ‘to be cold, cool’; Zng. *šāmmuḍ* ‘to be cold’

ašəmmàt [adj.]pl. šəmmàtən f.

təšəmmàt ‘cold’

m. sg. *ašəmmât* pl. *šəmmâtan* f. *tešəmmât*

P: freddo

ŠN₁

(ə)ššən [v.c̄c] ‘to know’

pf. / seq. ššən res. əššən impf. təššən

imp sg. *ššen, šen*; pf. 3sg.m. *iššen* [PT:X]; res.

1sg. *ššinhā* [P:example: che, il quale] 2sg.

tšent-(t)-ya [PT:XI] 3sg.m. *išina* [Z:X] 3pl.m.

ššənen-(t)-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. *āssən* ‘to know’; Kb. *əssən* ‘to know’; To. *əssən* ‘to know’; Zng. *āssən* ‘to know’

(š)šùn [v.n.m.] ‘knowing’

šùn

P: sapere

ŠN₂

šùnət [f.] ‘Sunnah’

šūnit

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’

tāšáqqi, ččáqqi

P: finimenti

ŠQŠ

šəqqəš [v.c̄c] ‘to clap your hands’

impf. šəqqəš

imp. sg. *šáqqəš*; impf. 1sg. *šaqqāšh* 3sg.m.

išaqqáš

P: battere

◆ NZ: CQC

Berber, cf. To. *əqqəš* ‘to clap (hands)’; Ghd. *əqqəš* ‘to clap your hands’

ŠR₁

tšaràt [f.] ‘a fence (of palm leaves)’

ččārāt

P: siepe

◆ Perhaps this noun is ultimately derived from the root *ar* ‘to open’.

ŠR₂

(ə)ššár [v.c̄c] ‘to mix, blend’

impf. təššár

imp. sg. *ššer, ęššér*; impf. 1sg. *teššārḥ* 3sg.m.

iteššér

P: mescolare M: brouiller echchera

◆ NZ: CR₁₅

Berber, cf. Zng. *āššír* ‘to be mixed’

(ə)ššur [v.n.m.] ‘mixing, blending’

ššūr

P: mescolare

ŠRF

ššàrəf [m.] ‘old man’

ššáref

PT: I

◆ Ar. *šārif* ‘old (camel mare)’; Siwa has undergone the same semantic shift *šarəf* ‘old (man)’ (Souag 2010: 146).

ŠRY

ašəryɨn [m.] pl. šəryɨnən ‘bedouin, Arab’
ašərgɨn, ašərgɨn [P:example] pl. šərgɨnən

P: beduino, arabo

▷ *Nettɨn d-ašərgɨn, d-awɨl-ká* ‘he’s an Arab, not an Awjilan’

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *asərgɨn* ‘camel rider’

ŠRM

tšərimt [f.] ‘gut’ pl. tšərimɨn ‘intestine’
tšərimt pl. *tšərimɨn*

P: budello; intestine M: boyaux *tchermin*

تشرمين

◆ NZ: CRM₄

Berber, cf. Siwa *tašəramt, tašərumt* ‘intestine’;

Mzab *tašəramt* ‘bowels’

ašərim [adj.] ‘greedy, glutinous’

ašərim

P: ingordo, goloso

ŠRR₁

šururu [m.] ‘weakling’

šururu

P: debole, fiacco

▷ *ku d-šururu, tenfita luda* ‘You are a weakling, you’re good for nothing’

◆ NZ: CR₃₄

ŠRT

ašərrit [m.] ‘cut, tear; vulva’

ašərrit

P: strappo, taglio; vulva M: fendre *charreit*

مشریط; fendu ?? *mecharreita* مشریطه

◆ Looks like Ar. *šərrit* ‘band, ribbon, tape’, but semantically comes closer to Ar. *šərt*

incision; long cut, rip slash, slit’.

This word is probably a native derivation of the Arabic root, but compare the semantically similar *ašərrit* ‘line, stripe’ derived from a native Berber root, ► ŠRT.

ŠRWT/Y

š-ərwit [caus.v.irreg.] ‘to speak, tell’

pf. / seq. = res. š-ərwit/y impf. š-ərwàyt

imp. sg. *šərwit*; pf. 1sg. *šərwih* 3sg.m. *išərwit*,

išərw-(is) [PT:V]; res. 1sg. *šərwihā* 3sg.m.

išərwita; impf. 3sg.m. *išərwàyt*

P: parlare, raccontare PT: V M: parler

echərouy اشروي

ŠŠF

šišf ► ŠF

ŠŠL

š-išəl [caus.v.] ‘to thresh’

impf. š-išəl

imp. sg. *šišel*; impf. 3sg.m. *išišəl*

P: trebbiare

◆ K: 653

Berber, cf. Ghd. *šišəl* ‘to thresh (barley)’; Nef.

šišel ‘to thresh’; Siwa *šənšəl* ‘to thresh’

aš-išəl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘threshing’

ašišel

P: trebbiare

ŠŠW ► ŽŽW

ŠTKF ► ŠKTF

ŠTN

ištən [m.] pl. ištɨnən ‘a shoemaker’s awl’

išten pl. *ištɨnen*

P: punteruolo

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *tistənt* ‘awl’; To. *tistənt* ‘awl for working hides’; Zng. *təssənt* ‘awl (for fine leather)’

ŠT

tšəṭ [f.] ‘bundle of wood’

ččəṭ

P: fascina di legna

◆ NZ: CḌ₃

Perhaps related to MA *tušəṭt* ‘oak tree’

ŠTF

šəṭṭəf [stat.v.] ‘to be black’

1sg. *šəṭfəx* 2sg. *šəṭfət* 3sg.m. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg/f/

šəṭfət pl. *šəṭṭifit*

1sg. *šəṭfəh* 2sg. *šəṭfət* 3sg.m. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg.f. *šəṭfet*

pl. *šəṭṭifit*

P: nero M: noir *echtaf* اشطاف; teindre

echtaf اشتاف ; teint ??*méchtaf* مشتاف ;
teinture *echtāfeh* اشتافه ; teinturier
méchtaf مشتاف

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *šeṭṭāf.seṭṭāf* 'black'; Ghd.
aẓḍaf 'to be black'; Kb. *aṣ̌ḍaf* 'to be black';
Nef. *zetṭāf* 'black'; Sok. *sēṭṭōf* 'black'; Siwa
aẓətṭāf 'black'

ṣ̌ṭàf [adj.] ṣ̌ṭàfən f. ṭəṣ̌ṭàft pl. ṭəṣ̌ṭafin
'black'

m. sg. *ṣ̌ṭāf, ṣ̌ṭāf* [PT:XV], *sṭāf* (sic)[PT:XV],
ṣ̌ṭāf [B21] pl. *ṣ̌ṭāfen*; f. sg. *teṣ̌ṭāft, teṣ̌ṭāft*
[P:scarabeo] pl. *teṣ̌ṭāfin*

P: nero; scarabeo PT: XV B21: 386

**ṣ̌ətṭəf [caus.v.] 'to make black'

pf. / seq. ṣ̌ətṭəf

pf. 3sg.f. *tṣ̌ətṭāf*

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.

ŠTW

ṣ̌ṭàw [m.] 'loom'

ṣ̌ṭàw

P: telaio

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *aẓōṭta, aẓēṭta* 'loom'; Kb.
aẓeṭta 'loom'; Nef. *ẓēṭṭā* 'loom'; Sok. *aṣ̌ēṭta*
'loom'; Siwa *aṣ̌ətṭta* 'loom'; Ghd. *aṣətṭta* 'loom'

ŠW

ṣ̌u [v.cc*] 'to drink; to make drink
[PT:XV]'

pf. / seq. əṣ̌wa res. əṣ̌wa fut. ṣ̌ù impf.

ṣ̌əwwa

imp. sg. ṣ̌u pl.m. *ṣ̌uwât* pl.f. *ṣ̌uîmet*; pf. 1sg.

ṣ̌uîh 3sg.m. *yeṣ̌wā, iṣ̌uwi-(ṭənet)* [PT:XV]

3pl.m. *ṣ̌uân* [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *ṣ̌uîha* 3sg.m.

iṣ̌uwāya; fut. 1sg. *aṣ̌wâh* 3sg.m. *aiṣ̌û*; impf. 1sg.

ṣ̌uwwîh 2sg. *tṣ̌uwwît* [P: example] 3sg.m.

iṣ̌úwwa

P: bere PT: XV B21: 391 M: abreuver

yéhouaya يشو آيه; boire *yechou* يشو

▷ *tṣ̌uwwît-ká* 'do not drink'

▷ *efkî-dîk a-swâh* 'give me something to
drink'

▷ *efkidi kachoua* افكیدی كشوه

'donnez-moi à boire' [M: boire], same
sentence as above.

◆ TC: 881

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āsw* 'to drink'; Kb. *səw* 'to
drink'; To. *asú, əsəw* 'to drink'; Zng. *āšbi(?)* 'to
drink'

t-ṣ̌əwwât [v.n.f.] 'drink, beverage,
drinking'

č̣č̣uwât (<t-ṣ̌uwâ-t)

P: bere, bevanda

ŠWL

ṣ̌əwal-(āya) [m.] 'bag'

ṣ̌uwāl-(āya)

P (example): togliere, levare

◆ ELA *ṣ̌əwāl* 'sack, bag' (p.c. Benkato)

ŠWR

ṣ̌əwár [v.ccc] 'to dance'

seq. = res. əṣ̌wər impf. ṣ̌əwwər

imp. sg. *ṣ̌wór*; pf. 1sg. *ṣ̌wārḥ* 3sg.m. *yeṣ̌wor*;

res. 1sg. *ṣ̌uwérḥa* 3sg.m. *yeṣ̌wíra*; impf. 1sg.

ṣ̌uwwérḥ 3sg.m. *iṣ̌úwwer*

P: danzare

aṣ̌əwàr [v.n.m.] 'dancing'

aṣ̌əwâr

P: danzare M: danse *choua* شوة; danser

echoua اشوة; danseur *châoua* شآوه

ŠWŠ

aṣ̌əw(w)áša [m.] 'this year'

aṣ̌uwáša, ṣ̌wáša [B21]

P: anno B21: 391

◆ TC: 883 K: 3

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aẓāggas* 'year'; Zng. *āššābbāš*

'year'; Foq. *ṣ̌aggāšá, ṣ̌aggāsá* 'this year'; Nef.

suggés, sūggés 'year'; Siwa *aṣəggasa* 'this year'

(Souag 2010: 265); Sok. *aṣuggāsa* 'year'

ŠWY

əttəšwàyt [f.] ‘couscous’

ittiš'waît

Z: XII

ŠXR

Šxərra [m.] ‘Gicherra (an oasis north-west of Awjila)’

Šhərra

P: Gicherra

ŠYN

pl. ?šeynat [f.] ‘ugly ones’

pl. šaināt

Z: III

◆ ELA šēnāt ‘ugly (f.pl.)’

ŠŽR

šəžəʔ [m.] ‘chamomile (the type of chamomile that the Arabs call *gréisa*)’

šəžar, séžar

P: camomilla

◆ ELA šžar ‘trees(coll.)’; Ar. sažar ‘trees; shrubs (coll.)’

T₁ ► WTT₂

=t [pron.]3sg.m. direct object

-t, (t)-ṭ [PT:III], -āt [PT:XV], res. -ṭya

P: egli PT: passim

=tət [pron.]3sg.f. direct object

-tet, -tət [PT:I], (t)-tāt [PT:XV], res.ṭta [PT:V]

P: egli PT: I, V, XII, XV

TDK

tudìk [adv.] ‘so’

tūdìk, ṭudìk, tudìk [PT:IV], ttudìk [PT:IX]

P: così PT: IV, IX M: ainsi *toudig* تودق

▷ *ddiwa ttudìk* ‘why?’ [PT:IX]

TḤYR

**təḥəyyər [v.tc̣c̣] ‘to be confused’

pf. / seq. təḥəyyər

pf. 3sg.m. *itəḥəyyär*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *təḥayyara* ‘to become confused’

TKR

(ə)tkár [v.ccc] ‘to fill up’

res. ətkər impf. təkkrár

imp. sg. *etkér*; *tker*; res. 3sg.m. *itkîra* [Z:VI];

impf. 3sg.m. *itekkér*

P: riempire Z:VI M: empli ??*maëtker*

معتكر; emplier *aëtker* عتكر; plein

etkerreh اكره; riche *etkeira* اكيره

◆ NZ: CR₄ K: 525

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ətkur* ‘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. *tělānet* [P:example]; res. 1sg. *tliha*,

llíha 2sg. *tetlíta*, *tlíta* 3sg.f. *tlāya* 3pl.f. *tlāníta*,

llāníta

P: incinta

▷ *nəhînet tělānet* ‘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’

atələ

P: seme di lino

TLT

tlàta [num.] ‘three’

tlàta, *tālàta*

PT: II

◆ Ar. *talāta(t)* ‘three’

TMN

**təmənn [v.irreg.] ‘to wish’

pf. / seq. *təmənna*

pf. 3sg.m. *yəteménna*

PT:V

◆ Ar. *tamannā* ‘to desire, wish’

TN

=**tən** [**pron.**]3pl.m. direct object pronoun

-*ten* [PT:II,VIII,XV], -*tən* [PT:II,IX], res. -*tīna*

P: essi PT: II, VIII, IX, XV

=**tənət** (or =**tnət**) [**pron.**]3pl.f. direct object pronoun

-*tēnet*, -*tēṇet* [PT:IV,V], -*tēṇet* [PT:V,XV], res.

-*tnīta*

P: essi PT: IV, V, XV

TNGR

atəngìr [**m.**] pl. *təngìrən* ‘square-plot of irrigation’

atəngîr pl. *təngîrən*

P: *giadùla*

○ Paradisi glosses this *giadùla* an Italian rendering of ELA *ždùla* 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. *itnān* ‘two’

TRR

atràr [**adj.**]pl. *tràrən* f. *tatràrt* pl. *tətrārìn* ‘new, fresh’

m. sg. *atrâr* pl. *trâren* f. sg. *tatrârt* pl. *tetrârîn*

P: nuovo, fresco M: nouveau *athar* اطار

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *atrâr* ‘new’; Sok. *trîr* ‘new’; Siwa *atrar* ‘new’ (Souag 2010: 146)

TRS

atərsi n təbazàrt [**phrasal n.**] ‘the lining of the upper edge of a basket mad of small string’

atərsi n tebazârt

P: *cesta*

TRWL₂

tràwəl [**v.ccvcc**] ‘to be born’

res. = fut. *tràwəl*

imp. sg. *trâwel*; res. 1sg. *trawilħa* 3sg.m.

itrawîla; fut. 3sg.m. *aitrawêl*

P: *nascere*

◆ Perhaps somehow related to the verb *ērōū* ‘to give birth’.

TSƆ

təs(ə)ħa [**num.**] ‘nine’

tésa’a

PT:V

◆ Ar. *tisħa(t)* ‘nine’

təsħin [**num.**] ‘ninety’

tes’în

PT:V

TŞ ► **ṬS/ṬŞ**

tettâ ► **ečč**

TW/Y

tùwi [**v.irreg.**] ‘to forget’

pf. / seq. = res. *tùwəy(a)* impf. *tàya*

imp. sg. *túwi*; pf. 1sg. *tuwiyîħ* 3sg.m. *ittúwî*,

ittúwî-(t) [PT:XIII]; res. 1sg. *tuwiyîħa* 3sg.m.

ittúwîya; impf. 1sg. *tāyéħ* 3sg.m. *itâya*

P: *dimenticare* PT: XIII

▷ *túwi žlān-îya* ‘forget these words’

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *úttu* ‘to forget’; Ghd. *əttu* ‘to forget’; Kb. *əṭṭ* ‘to forget’; Nef. *étta* ‘to forget’; To. *itaw* ‘to forget’; Siwa *əttu* ‘to forget’; Sok. *öttu* ‘to forget’

atùwi [**v.n.m.**] ‘forgetting’

atúwi

P: *dimenticare*

TWYL ► **WYL**

TŽR

əttāžər [m.] ‘merchant’

əttāžər

PT: VII

◆ Ar. *tāžir* ‘merchant’

TṢB

****ətṣəb** [v.ccc] ‘to toil’

res. ətṣəb

res. 2sg. *tit’ibta*

Z: VIII

◆ Ar. *taṣiba* ‘to work hard, toil, slave, drudge’

əttəṣəb [m.] ‘burden’

əttə’áb, etta’ab-(énnes)

PT: XII

◆ Ar. *taṣab* ‘trouble, exertion, labor, toil, drudgery; burden, nuisance etc.’

Ṭ

ar-ùṭa [adv.] ‘below’

ar-ùṭā

P: sotto PT: VI

▷ *s-ar-ùṭā* ‘from below’

ṬB

àṭəb [v.cc*] ‘to close the eyes’

pf. əṭbá res. əṭba

imp. sg. *átāb*; pf. 1sg. *tbiḥ* 3sg.m. *yeṭbá*; res.

1sg. *tbiḥa* 3sg.m. *yeṭbāya*

P: chiudere

▷ *átāb tiwînnək* ‘close your eyes!’

◆ NZ ḌB₃

To. (Burkina Faso) *ăḍəb* ‘to close’ (Sudlow 2009)

ṬF

(ə)**ṭṭəf** [v.c̄c] ‘to seize’

pf. əṭṭəf res. = fut. əṭṭəf impf. təṭṭəf

imp. sg. *ettəf* pl.m. *ettəfāt* pl.f. *ettəfmet*; pf.

1sg. *ttəfh* 3sg.m. *yettəf*; res. 1sg. *ttifha* 3sg.m.

yettifa; fut. 1sg. *attəfh* 3sg.m. *ayettəf*; impf.

1sg. *tattəfh* 3sg.m. *itettəf*

P: afferrare M: retenir *thaff* طاف; serrer

thaf طاف

◆ NZ: ḌF₁ TC: 240

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əttəf* ‘to seize, hold, keep’; To.

əttəf ‘to seize, hold, keep’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m.

yädduf ‘to have, possess’

ṬG

****ṭùg(g)** [v.c̄c] ‘to reach’

pf. / seq. ṭùg(g)

pf. 3sg.m. *itùg*

PT: VIII

◆ ELA *itégg* ‘to reach, arrive at’

ṬL

pl. **ṭilwən** [m.] ‘fenugreek’

pl. *ṭilwən*

P: fieno greco

◆ A connection with Kb. *aḍil* ‘grape’ comes to mind. The semantic connection is improbable, fenugreek looks nothing like a grapevine.

ṬLB

****əṭləb** [v.ccc] ‘to request’

impf. ṭəlləb impf. 3sg.m. *itélleb*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *ṭalaba* ‘to look, search; to request etc.’

ṬLW/ ṬLY

aṭəlüy, áṭəlwī [m.] ‘turnips (coll.)’

aṭəlúi, áṭəlwi

P: rapa

◆ NZ: ḌLW

taṭləwīt [f.] pl. ṭəlwítin ‘turnip’

taṭluwīt pl. *ṭelwítin*

P: rapa

ṬR₁

uṭər [v.ccc] ‘to twist, roll up’

seq. = res. = fut. uṭər impf. tàṭər

imp. sg. *uṭár*; pf. 1sg. *uṭárh* 3sg.m. *yúṭar*; res.

1sg. *uṭírha* 3sg.m. *yuṭíra*; fut. 1sg. *auṭérh*

3sg.m. *ayúter*; impf. 1sg. *taṭárh* 3sg.m. *itáṭar*

P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: tortu

yauthérah يوطره; tortu, rendre tortu

??*mayauthera* ما يوطره

◆ NZ: ḌR₁₈

TR2**aṭar** [m.] pl. ṭarìn 'foot'*aṭâr, aṭâr* pl. *ṭârîn, ṭârîn-(nûk)* [PT:V]P: piede PT: V M: pied *athar* اطار

◆ NZ: DR3 TC: 235

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aḍar* 'foot'; Kb. *aḍar* 'foot';To. *ádâr* 'foot, leg' Zng. *aḍaʔr* 'leg'**TR3******ṭâr** [v.cvc] 'to fly'

res. ṭar

res. 3sg.m. *iṭāra*

Z: II

◆ Ar. *ṭāra* 'to fly'**TRS****ṭrās** [v.ccc.irreg.] 'to braid hair'

impf. ṭerràs

imp. sg. *ṭrās*; impf. 3sg.f. *ṭṭerrās* (*irreg.*)

P: intrecciare

◆ NZ: DRS/Ş2

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăḍrās* 'to braid (hair); to comb'; Siwa *əṭrās* 'to braid hair'**aṭrās** [v.n.m.] 'braiding of hair'*aṭrās*

P: intrecciare

TRŠ**ṭrəš** [v.ccc.irreg.] 'to vomit'

impf. ṭerrəš

imp. sg. *ṭrəš*; impf. 1sg. *ṭarrášh* (*irreg.*)

P: vomitare

◆ Ar. *ṭaraša* 'to vomit'**TS/TŞ****aṭs** [v.cc*] 'to laugh'

seq. = res. əṭṣa fut. əṭs impf. təşşá

imp. sg. *aṭs, aṭs* pl.m. *tşât* pl.f. *tşîmet*; pf. 1sg.*ătşîh* 3sg.m. *yétşa*; res. 1sg. *tşîha* 3sg.m.*yetşâya*; fut. 1sg. *aṭşáh* 3sg.m. *ayétş*; impf. 1sg.*teşşîh* 3sg.m. *iteşşá*P: ridere M: rire *etsa* اثة

◆ NZ: DS2 TC: 259

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăḍs* 'to laugh'; Zng. *aṭşi(?)* 'to

laugh'

təşşât [v.n.f.] 'laughing'*teşşât*

P: ridere

š-əṭs, s-əṭs [caus.v.] 'to make s.o laugh'imp. sg. *šats, sats*

P: ridere

V**avú** [m.] 'smoke'*avú*

P: fumo

◆ NZ: B6 TC: 3 K: 206

Berber, cf. Ghd. *oḃu* 'smoke'; Kb. *abbu*'smoke'; To. *ăho* 'smoke'; Zng. *oḃbih* 'smoke'**avúv** [m.] 'smoke of incense'*avúv*

P: fumo

V ► NV**VDD****vdád** [v.ccc] 'to stop; to stand; to stand up'

seq. = res. əvdəd impf. vəddəd

imp. sg. *vdéd*; pf. 3sg.m. *yévded* [PT:III]; res.3sg.m. *yevdída* [PT:III], *yevdída* [B24] 3sg.f.*tevdída* [B24]; impf. 1sg. *veddédh* 2sg.*dveddét* [P: Example] 3sg.m. *ivédded*

P: fermarsi PT: III B24: 191

▷ *dveddét-ká* 'do not stand up!'

◆ NZ: BD1 TC: 955 K: 248

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăḃdəd* 'to stand up'; Kb. *bdəd*,*bədd* 'to stand up'; To. *əbdəd* 'to stand up; toremain on foot; stop'; Zng. *ăwdəd* 'to be

standing'

avdád [v.n.m.] 'stopping'*avdád*

P: fermarsi

š-əvdəd [caus.v.] 'to cause to stop'imp. sg. *ševded*

P: fermarsi; arrestare, fermare

VL1**əvəl, avəl** [v.cc*] 'to cry, weep'

pf. əvlá res. əvla fut. əv(ə)l impf. vəllá

imp. sg. *evél, avél*; pf. 1sg. *vliḥ* 3sg.m. *yevlá*;
res. 1sg. *vliḥa* 3sg.m. *yevláya*; fut. 1sg. *avláḥ*
3sg.m. *ayével*; impf. 1sg. *vellíḥ* 3sg.m. *ivellâ*
3pl.f. *vellânḥet* [PT:XV]

P: piangere PT: XV M: pleurer *yéwella*

يُولِه

◆ TC: 577 K: 118, 201

Berber, cf. To. *álh* 'to weep, cry'; Zng. *äyyi(?)*
'to cry'

(ə)vlin [v.n.m.] 'crying'

vlin, evlin

P: piangere

š-əvəl [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. cry'

imp. sg. *šével*

P: piangere

VL2

təvəl [f.] pl. tvittin, tvitin 'sheep'

tevél, tevél [B24], *tvel* [B24] pl. *dvittin, tvitin*

[B24], *dvittin* [B24]

P: pecora B24: 193

◆ NZ: BL2 TC: 576 K: 193, 226

Berber, cf. To. *təḥāle* pl. *tihatten* 'sheep'; Kb.
ulli 'sheep'; Zng. *tīyih* pl. *tātən* 'sheep'

VN

avun [m.] 'rain'

avun, avun

P: pioggia

VN ► BN

VR1

**uvár [v.vcc] 'to cook'

res. = fut. *ùvər* impf. *tavər*

res. 3sg.m. *yuvıra* 3pl.m. *uverína*; fut. 3sg.m.

ayúver 3pl.m. *auvéren*; impf. 3sg.m. *itāver*

3pl.m. *tāvéren* 'to cook'

P: bollire M: bouillir *yétawer* يتور

▷ *imîn uverína* 'the water is cooked'

▷ *imîn tāvéren* 'the water cooks'

◆ NZ: BR2 K: 173, 233

Berber, cf. Ghd. *áβar* 'to boil'; *βarβar* 'to
bubble (of boiling water)'; Nef. *áwer* 'to boil'

VR2

avór [v.cc] 'to close (from the inside)'

pf. = fut. *vər* res. *vər* impf. *təvvər*, or:

tavvər

imp. sg. *avér*; pf. 1sg. *virḥ* 3sg.m. *ivér*; res. 1sg.

avírḥa 3sg.m. *ivíra*; fut. 1sg. *avérḥ, avvérḥ*

3sg.m. *aivér, aivvér*; impf. 1sg. *tavvérḥ* 3sg.m.

itavvér

P: chiudere

◆ NZ: BR1 K: 204

Berber, cf. Ghd. *áβar* 'to be closed'; To. *àḥar*
'to be covered, be closed'

av(v)ür [v.n.m.] 'closing'

avür, avvür

P: chiudere

avir [m.] pl. vïrrən 'wall'

avîr pl. *vïrren*

P: muro M: batir *hawir* ها وير; bati *wir*

وير

təvürt, tavvürt [f.] pl. tvurr 'door'

tevürt, tavvürt, tefüret [B], *tevürt* [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

avür [m.] pl. vuràwən 'plate, tray made of

palm leaves; also used to cover other

vessels'

avür pl. *vuràwen*

P: piatto, vassoio

təvurit (or: tavurit) [f.] pl. tvuritìn 'small

plate, tray'

tävurît pl. *dvurîtìn*

P: piatto, vassoio

VRG1

uf tavərgàt [v.irreg.] 'to dream'

impf. *ivərga*

imp. *uftavərgât* (litt. find dream); impf. 1sg.

vergîh 3sg.m. *ivérğa*

P: sognare

◆ NZ: BRG10 K: 177, 320

Berber, cf. Ghd. *βərg* ‘to dream’; Foq. *órzu*;

Kb. *argu* ‘to dream’; To. *hùrjə-t* ‘to see in dream, dream of’

təvərgàt, tvərgàt [v.n.f.] pl. *tvərgá*
‘dream’

tävərgât, dvergât, tavergât [P: sub sognare] pl.
dvergâ

P: sogno M: rêver *tewerquiat* تورقيات

◆ K: 175, 321

Ghd. *taβărgot* ‘dream’; Kb. *targit* ‘dream’; MA
tawargit ‘dream’

VRG2

avərg [m.] pl. *vərgâwən* ‘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. *vurkât* 3sg.m. *vùr(ə)k*

3sg.f. *vùrkət* pl. *vur(ə)kît*

1sg. *vurkâh* 2sg. *vurkât* 3sg.m. *vurk, vùrək*

3sg.f. *vùrket* pl. *vurëkît*

P: largo

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. To. *ihraw* ‘to be spacious, wide’. Tuareg *w* does not commonly correspond to Awjila *k*.

š-əvrək[caus.v.] ‘to broaden, widen’

imp. sg. *šévrek*

P: allargare; largo

təvrək [f.] ‘width, breadth’

tévrek

P: larghezza

VRN

(ə)vṛùn [m.] ‘flour’

vṛūn, ävrūn, evrūn [B24], *vṛūn* [B24]

P: farina M: farine *newroun* نورون B24:

192

◆ NZ: BRN1 K: 171

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aβărn* ‘flour’; Kb. *awrən* ‘flour’

VRR

****vrùr [v.cvc.irreg.]** ‘to be fertilized (a palm)’

res. *əvrùr, vrìr* (irreg.)

res. 3sg.m. *yevrûra* 3pl.m. *vrûrna*

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-əvrər [caus.v.] ‘to fertilize (a palm)’

imp. sg. *šévrrer*

P: fecondare

aš-əvrər [caus.v.n.m.] ‘fertilizing (a palm)’

ašévrrer

P: fecondare

VT ► VL2

VṬ1

àvəṭ [m.] pl. *vəṭawən* ‘night’

ávot, avot-(idîn) [PT:XV] pl. *voṭâwen*

P: notte PT: XV M: nuit *awed* اود

▷ *d-ávot* ‘tonight’ The *d* here seems to be the retained preposition *di* ‘in’ which is otherwise lost.

◆ NZ: D8 TC: 643 K: 189

Berber, cf. Kb. *id* ‘night’; Ghd. *éβăd* ‘night’; To. *éhăd* ‘night’; Zng. *id* ‘night’

tan d-àvəṭ [f.] ‘Owl (Litt.: The one of the night)’

tan d-ávot

P: gufo

VṬ2

avəṭ [v.cc] ‘to swear (an oath, etc.)’

IPtəvvəṭ

imp. sg. *avot*; impf. 1sg. *tevvəṭh* 3sg.m. *itevvât*

P: giurare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǎβəḍ* ‘to swear’; To. *əhəḍ* ‘to swear, make an oath’

avùt [v.n.m.] ‘swearing’

avùt

P: giurare

VV1 ► V

VV2 ► BB2

VW

(əv)vìw [m.] pl. əvviwən ‘bean; broad bean’

vîu, vîu pl. *əvviwən, vîwen* [B21], *evîwen* [B21]

P: fava B21: 385 M: *fève éwéouen* ا و و ن

◆ NZ: BW1 K: 247

Berber, cf. Ghd. *abǎbba* ‘bean’; Kb. *bubu, bubbu, ibîw* ‘bean’; Siwa *awaw* ‘bean’

W1

u, w ‘and’

u, w, wě [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

iwi [kin.m.] pl. aməzzìn ‘son’

sg. 2sg.m. *iwi-k* 2sg.f. *iwi-m* 3sg. *iwi-s* 1pl.

iwi-tnax 2pl.m. *iwi-tkim* 3pl.m. *iwi-tsin*;

pl. 1sg. *aməzzin-nnùk*

iwī pl. *amäzzîn, amezzîn-(nes)* [PT:I]; sg.

2sg.m. *iwi-k* 2sg.f. *iwi-m* 3sg. *iwi-s, (d-)iwi-s*

[Z:III] 1pl. *iwi-tnaḥ* 2pl.m. *iwi-tkīm* 3pl.m.

iwi-tsin; pl. 1sg. *amäzzîn-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’; aməzzìn: Berber, cf. Foq. *mezzâi*

W3

əww [v.ċ*] ‘to knead (bread dough)’

seq. = res. *əwwa* impf. *təwwa*

imp. sg. *áú* pl.m. *wwât* pl.f. *wwîmet*; pf. 3sg.m.

yúwa; res. 3sg.m. *iwâya*; impf. 3sg.m. *itóúwa*

P: impastare

▷ *áú teríkt* ‘knead the bread dough!’

◆ Kb. *gg^w* ‘to knead’; MA *əg^w* ‘to knead’; Mzab *əgg^w* ‘to knead’; Siwa *agg^wi* ‘to knead’

(Naumann 2013: 323)

əwwu [v.n.m.] ‘kneading (bread dough)’

úwú

P: impastare

W4

wa [interj.] ‘no’

wa

P: no!

W5

wa f. ta [pron.] pl. *wi f. ti* pre-modifier pronominal head

wa f. ta pl. *wi f. ti*

P: che, il quale

▷ *amédəŋ wa târəven nettîn ‘ayyân* ‘The man who is writing is ill.’

▷ *amédəŋ wa ššînḥa šábât gâres lûda* ‘The man whom I met yesterday is poor.’

▷ *tirîut ta teglûlân dîla mrîyet* ‘The girl that is playing there is beautiful.’

▷ *temígni ta ušânda šábât d-wértnâ* ‘The woman that has come yesterday is my sister.’

▷ *amkân wa tnéššâ gān temígnî* ‘The place where the woman is sleeping.’

▷ *ssuwānî ta škîḥa z-gān méšket* ‘The garden that I left from is small.’

wa, we, wàya, wək f. ta, te, tâya, tək [pron.] pl. *wiya f. tîya* Proximal deictic pronoun

wa, we, wāya, wāya [PT:IV, VII], *wék f. ta, te, tâya, tək* pl. *wîya f. tîya*

P: questo PT: IV, VII

WDF

awədúf [m.] ‘shoulder bone’

awedúf

P: osso

WDN1

****wəddən** [v.cċc] ‘to crow (of a rooster)’
 pf. / seq. wəddən impf. wəddən
 pf. 3sg.m. *iwədden*; impf. 3sg.m. *iweddân*
 P: cantare M: minaret *éouadden* ا و د ن
 ◆ Mor. Ar. *wedden* ‘to crow’ (Harrell 1966)

WG ► Ć₁

WGL

awəgìl [m.] pl. wəg(ə)lən ‘canine tooth’
awegìl pl. *wégělen*

P: dente

◆ TC: 978 K: 401

Berber, cf. Kb. *ugəl* ‘canine, tooth’; To. *tajəllatt* ‘lower wisdom tooth’; Zng. *tāwgəL* ‘canine’

təwəgìlt (or: tuwəgìlt) [f.] pl. təwəgìlin
 ‘molar tooth’

tuwegìlt pl. *tuwegìlin*

P: dente

WL₁

awìl [m.] pl. awìlən ‘person from Awjila’
awìl pl. *awilen*, *awìlən* [PT:II]

P: aujilino PT: II

tawìlt [f.] pl. tawìltìn ‘woman from
 Awjila’

tawìlt pl. *tawìltìn*

P: aujilino

WL₂

s-aləwwəl [adv.] ‘first; once, formerly’

s-aləwwəl [PT:III], *lōūwel* [PT:II]

PT: II, III

◆ Ar. *ʔawwal* ‘first; foremost’ Dialectal Arabic
 ‘once, formerly’ (p.c. Souag)

s-aləwwəl [adv.] ‘before’

s-əlōūwāl

PT: XI

WL₃

wəlli [kin.f.] ‘daughter’

2sg.m/ wəlli-k 2sg.f. wəllim 3sg. wəlli-s

1sg. wəllī 2sg.m. wəllī-k 2sg.f. wəllī-m 3sg.

wəllī-s, wəllī-s [Z:II]

P: figlio Z: II

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *elli* ‘daughter’; Kb. *yəlli*
 ‘daughter’; Nef. *yelli* ‘daughter’

WL₄

awìl [m.] ‘word’ pl. žlən ‘words, language’

awìl pl. *žlən* ► ŽL

P: parola

◆ TC: 575

Berber, cf. Ghd. *awal* ‘speech’; Kb. *awal*
 ‘word, speech’; To. *awal* ‘speaking, talk’; Zng.
āwāy ‘talking, speech, language’

WL₆

wəla [adv.] ‘not’

wələ

PT: V

◆ cf. Siwa *ula* negative particle, for a
 discussion on the origin of this word see Souag
 (2010: 435).

WLH

wəllāhi [interj.] ‘by god (I swear)’

wəllāhi, *wəllāhi*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *wa llāhi* ‘by god!’

WLK

twəllikt [f.] pl. twəllkìn ‘louse’

twəllikt pl. *twəllkìn*

P: pidocchio M: pou *thaoullekh* ط و ل ك ت

◆ K: 492, 581

Berber, cf. Ghd. *talləkt* ‘louse’; Kb. *tilkit*
 ‘louse’; To. *tillikk* ‘louse’; Zng. *tilləkt* ‘louse’

WLS

twəlist [f.] pl. twəlsìn ‘big plate or bowl
 of wood’

twəlist pl. *twəlsìn*

P: piatto, vassoio M: table *taouélest*

ط و ل س ت

WN₁

iwínan, iwínàn, iwìn [num.]f. iwátan,

iwàt ‘one’

m. *iwínan*, *iwínàn* [PT:IX,XII], *iwínān* [PT:III],

iwínan [PT:V], *iwínān* [PT:II,V,XI], *iwín* f.

iwātan, iwātān [PT:XV], *iwāt*

P: uno PT: I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV M: seul *yéouénan*

يوان

◆ TC: 1028 K: 444, 615

Berber, cf. Ghd. *yón* f. *yot* 'one'; Kb. *yivən* f. *yiwət* 'one'; Zng. *yuʔn* 'one'

WN2

awənu [m.] pl. wənyìn, wənnəyìn 'well'
awénū pl. *wenyîn, wennyîn*

P: pozzo M: puits *aouénou* اونو

◆ TC: 718

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ánu* 'well'; Kb. *anu* 'chasm, well'; To. *ánu* 'well'; Zng. *tāniʔd* 'well')

təwəniṭ (or: **tuwəniṭ**) [f.] pl. təwəniṭin 'pit, hole'

tuweniṭ pl. *tuweniṭin*

P: buca

WN3

iwən [v.icc] 'to satiate, satisfy'

impf. *tiwàn*

imp. sg. *íwəṇ*; impf. 3sg.m. *itiwân*

P: saziarsi M: rassasié *eiyouaneh*

ايوانه; rassasier *eiouan* ايوان

◆ K: 707

Ghd. *gévān* 'to be satisfied'; Foq. *gíwen* 'to satisfy'

š-íwən [caus.v.] 'to make satisfied'

impf. *š-iwàn*

imp. sg. *šíwəṇ*; impf. 1sg. *šiwānh*

P: saziarsi

WN4

=íwan [demonstrative] pl. =idánindistal
deictic clitic

-*íwan, -íwan* [PT:XV] pl. -*idánīn*

P: quello PT: XV

▷ *aməḍəṇ-íwan* 'that man'

▷ *temígni-y-íwan* 'that woman'

WNM

wèn-ma [conj.] 'when, as soon as'

wəṇ-mā

PT: II

◆ ELA *wəṇ-mā* 'when, as soon as'

WQ

əwwəq [v. čc?] 'to uproot; to dig out'

seq. = res. *əwwəq* impf. *təwwəq*

imp. sg. *uwóq*; pf. 3sg.m. *yúwoq*; res. 3sg.m.

yuwíqa; impf. 3sg.m. *itúwoq*

P: sradicare, estirpare

əwwùq [v.n.m.] 'uprooting; digging out'

uwúq

P: sradicare, estirpare

WRTN

wərtna [kin.f.] 'sister'

sg. 2sg.m. *wərtná-k* 3sg. *wərtná-s* 1pl.

wərtná-tnax; pl. 2sg.m. *sətmà-k* 2sg.f.

sətmà-m

sg. 1sg. *wértnā* 2sg.m. *wertná-k* 3sg. *wertná-s*,

wertná-s [P:example] 1pl. *wertná-tnah* pl. 1sg.

sétmā 2sg.m. *setmà-k* 2sg.f. *setmà-m* [PT:XV]

'sister'

P: sorella PT: XV

▷ *wertnās* n *aməḍəṇ* 'the sister of the man'

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *wəltma* pl. *yəssətmā* 'sister';

Nef. *wəltmû* pl. *tsetmû* 'sister'; Sok. *últmā*

'sister'; Foq. *ulətmái* pl. *sátmái* 'sister'; Siwa

ʔəltma 'sister'; Zng. *yäd māh, ʔäd māh* pl.

ʔšäd māh 'sister'

WRŽ

twəržit [f.] pl. twəržin 'root of a plant'

tweržit pl. *tweržin*

P: radice di pianta

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *tägržäh*

'underground root'

WS1

təwəss [f.] 'bed'

túéss, tawöss

P: letto M: lit *thaoues* طوس; tapis *thaoues*

طاس

▷ *ess tûéss* ‘make the bed!’

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *usu* ‘bed’; To. *tãwsett* ‘simple mat for sleeping’

WS₂

wàsa [pron.] indefinite relative pronoun

wàsa

PT: II

WŠ

awiš [m.] pl. wışšən ‘sword’

awiš pl. *wışšen*

P: spada M: sabre *hauch* حوش

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *aus* ‘sword’

WT/Y

awît [v.irreg.] ‘to hit, strike’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. wît/y impf. tãwwît/y

imp. sg. *awît* pl.m. *awiyât* pl.f. *awîmet*; pf. 1sg.

wîh 3sg.m. *iwît*; res. 1sg. *ãwîha* 3sg.m. *iwîta*;

fut. 1sg. *awîh* 3sg.m. *aiwît*; impf. 1sg. *tuwîh*,

tãwêih 3sg.m. *ituwêit*

P: battere M: abattu *youayah* يَوَايه;

coup *eioued* ايواد

◆ TC: 985 K: 594

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ãwæt* ‘to hit, strike’; Kb. *wæt* ‘to hit, strike’; To. *ãwæt* ‘to hit, strike’; Zng. *ãwih* ‘to hit, strike’

tîta [v.n.f.] ‘blow, hit’

tîta, *tîti(n)* [Z:XII]

P: battere; colpo Z: XII

awît avùn [phrasal v.] ‘to rain (litt. rain hits)’

awît avùn

P: piovere

WT

wótti-(dikkəni) [v.cċ*] ‘to prepare’

impf. pf. / seq. wəttta imp. sg.

wéttī-(dikkéni) pl.f. *wéttīmet*; pf. 3sg.f. *twéttta*

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. *yutàya*

PT: XV

◆ ELA *yūtī*, Stem I of the above, thus *yūtī* ‘to be ready’. (p.c. Benkato)

Ultimately from Ar. *ʔatā* ‘to come, arrive’

WT₁

wəṭ [v.cc] ‘to arrive; to reach’

pf. wəṭ res. wəṭ impf. tãwwəṭ

imp. sg. *wəṭ*; pf. 1sg. *wəṭh* 3sg.m. *iwəṭ*; res. 1sg.

wəṭha 3sg.m. *iwəṭa*; impf. 1sg. *tūwəṭh* 3sg.m.

itãwəṭ

P: arrivare; raggiungere M: atteindre

yéouath يَوَاط

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ãwəṭ* ‘to reach’; Kb. *awəṭ*

‘to reach, arrive’; To. *ãwəṭ* ‘to arrive’

əwūṭ [v.n.m.] ‘arriving; reaching’

ūwūṭ

P: raggiungere

WT₂ ► QT

WWN

wíwan f. tíwan pl. *widánin* f. *tidánin*

[pron.] distal deictic pronoun

wíwan f. *tíwan* pl. *widánin* f. *tidánin*

P: quello

WYL

ittəwwiyəl [v.??] ‘to be dumbfounded, amazed’

pf. 3sg.m. *ittōūwiyel* [PT:VIII]

PT: VIII

◆ ELA *yetwayyel* ‘to be dumbfounded, to wonder at’ (p.c. Benkato)

X

=**ax** [pron.] 1pl. direct object pronoun

-*aḥ*, res. -*āḥa*

P: noi

XBR

****xəbbər** [v.cċc] ‘to tell’

impf. *xəbbər*

impf. 3sg.m. *iḥabbâr*

PT: II

◆ Ar. *ḥabbara* ‘to tell’

XBṬ

****əxbəṭ** [v.ccc] ‘to hit, strike’

pf. / seq. *əxbəṭ*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeḥbót-(t)*

PT: III

◆ Ar. *ḥabaṭa* ‘to beat, strike’

XDR

əlxəḍ(ə)rət [f.] ‘vegetable’

elḥáḍārät

PT: XII M: fruits *elkhodret* الخضرة

◆ Ar. *ḥuḍra(t)* ‘vegetation, verdure, greenery, greens’

XL

xàli [m.] ‘(maternal) uncle’

ḥālī

P: zio

◆ Ar. *ḥāl* ‘uncle’

XMM

****xəmməm** [v.cċc] ‘to think, ponder’

pf. *xəmməm* impf. *xəmmàm*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeḥammém* [PT:II]; impf. 2sg.

aḥemmámt [P:example: che cosa?]

PT: II

◆ Ar. *ḥammaṇa* ‘to guess, conjecture, surmise’

XR₁

axìr [m.] ‘the better (thing)’

aḥîr [PT:IV,IX], *aḥêr* [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. *aḥîr* ‘last’, which underwent a semantic shift of ‘the last’ > ‘the best’

XR₂

(ə)xxár [v.cċ] ‘to remove (oneself); to

remove, take away’

imp. sg. *əḥḥār*; *ḥḥér* [P: example]

P: togliere, levare

▷ *ḥḥér s-tebārût-ī* ‘Get off the road!’

▷ *ḥḥér šuwāl-âya* ‘remove that bag!’

XR₃

əxra ‘feces’

óhra

Z: IX

◆ Ar. *ḥarāʔ* ‘feces’

XRBS̄

əlxərbus̄-(ənnəs) [m.] ‘garden’

əlḥarbūs̄-(énnes), *elḥarbūs̄-(énnes)*

PT: XV

◆ Certainly derived from Ar. *ḥarbūs̄* ‘tent’, but the semantic shift is unusual.

XS

tìxsi [f.] pl. *tixsiwìn* ‘flock, cattle’

tìhsī ‘head of a sheep or goat’ pl. *tìhsiwìn*

P: capo (ovino o caprino); gregge

◆ TC: 618, K: 722

Berber, cf. Kb. *tixsi* ‘sheep’; To. *tèyse* ‘sheep or goat, head of small livestock’; Zng. *təkših* ‘female goat’

XṬM

****əxṭəm** [v.ccc] ‘to pass by’

res. *əxṭəm*

res. 3sg.m. *yaḥṭîma* [PT:II]

PT:II

****xəṭṭəm** [v.cċc] ‘to drop by someone (+ *af*), visit, to meet with’

impf. *xəṭṭàm*

impf. 3sg.m. *yeḥəṭṭām* [PT: IV], *iḥəṭṭām* [PT: XI]

PT: IV, XI

◆ LA *ixəṭṭəm salā* ‘to pick someone up, to drop by someone’ (p.c. Benkato)

XZR

****əxzər** [v.ccc] ‘to see; to look at s.o/s.th. (+ *af*)’

pf. əxzər seq. əxzər

imp. pl.f. *ħzérmet* [PT:XV] pf. 3sg.m. *yáħzer* [PT:VI,VII], *yähzér* [PT:III], *yehzér* [PT:III,XV] 3sg.f. *taħzér* [PT:III,XV] 3pl.f. *ħzérnet* [PT:XV] PT: III, VI, VII, XV M: voir *eghzart*

يغزارت; vue *yaghzart* يغزارت
 ◦ Pronominal direct objects are indicated with the particle *gār*.

◆ Ar. *ħazara* ‘to look askance, give s.o. a sidelong glance’

Algerian Ar. *ħzər* ‘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*, =*ák* [demonstrative] pl. =*iya*, =*iyə*proximal deictic clitic

-*áya*, -*é*, -*ek*, -*ék* [P: example] pl. -*íya*, *íyäk* [PT:I]

P: questo PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, IX

▷ *aməḍen-áya*, *aməḍen-ék* ‘this man’

Y-D ► Š(-D), Y-D

YK

=*iyək* ► =*áya*

YM₁

yom [m.] pl. *ayyam* ‘day’

yōm pl. *āyām*

PT: II, IX

◦ The singular *yōm* is only found in a code-switch to Arabic in the texts. *īlā yōm əlqiyāma* ‘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

ayūr [m.] pl. *ayūrən* ‘new moon, month; button (of mother of pearl)’

ayūr, *ayūr* pl. *ayūren*

P: luna, mese; bottone M: lune *ayour*

ايور

◆ TC: 115 K: 712

Berber, cf. Ghd. *óyār* ‘moon’; Kb. *aggur*, *agur* ‘moon’; To. *íyor*, *áyyor*, *íyu*, *áyyur* ‘moon’; Zng. *ä?ž(ž)ər* ‘moon’

YX ► Y

Z₁

zzàý [m.] pl. *zzìwən* ‘breast’

zzái, *zú* [B₂₁] pl. *zzíwən*, *zúwən* [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-díwa** ► S₂

Z₂

izí n agmàr [phrasal n.] ‘horse fly’

izí n agmár

P: mosca

◆ TC: 107

Berber, cf. Ghd. *izi* ‘fly’; Kb. *izi* ‘fly’; To. *éšš* ‘fly’; Zng. *i?ž(i)?* ‘fly’; Siwa *izí* ‘fly’ (Naumann 2013: 374).

ZBD

zbùd [m.] ‘spit, saliva’

zbùd

P: sputo

◆ Perhaps from Latin *sputum* ‘spit’ or Italian *sputo* ‘spit’

ZDZ

azədúz [m.] ‘(wooden) hammer’

azedúz

P: martello

◆ NZ: DZ₁

Berber, cf. Kb. *azduz* ‘mallet’; MA *azduz* ‘mallet’

ZF

azif [m.] pl. *ziffən* ‘tail’

azif, *azif*-(*ennúk*) [PT:XV] pl. *ziffen* ‘tail’

P: coda PT: VIII, XV M: queue *azif* ا زيف

ZG

zgi [conj.] ‘after that’

zgi

P: dopo

▷ *zgi a-kemmélh* ‘after I will have finished’

▷ *zgi yûna* ‘after he had entered’

◆ ► ZGG

ZGG

ar-zgîg [adv.] ‘inside’

ar-zgîg, *ar-ëzgîg*, *zgi*

P: dentro PT: IV M: dedans *azkik* ا ذكك

○ Historically to be analysed as *ar* ‘towards’ s ‘along’ *gîg* ‘inside’

▷ *yân ar-zgîg* ‘go inside!’

◆ K: 688 Foq. *žāž* ‘inside’; Sok. *žaz* ‘inside’; MA *žaz* ‘inside’; Ghd. *daž* ‘house’

ZK

zìk [v.cvc] ‘to become well, recover, heal (intrans.)’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *zìk*

imp. sg. *zìk*; pf. 3sg.m. *izìk*; res. 3sg.m. *izìka*;

fut. 3sg.m. *ayezìk*

P: guarire

◆ TC: 1144 K: 549, 701

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzìk* ‘to heal’; To. *àzzəy* ‘to get well’; Zng. *āžžig* ‘to heal’

s-əzìk, **s-əgzək** [caus.v.] ‘to heal (trans)’

imp. sg. *sezìk*, *ségzek*

P: guarire

ZL₁

àzzəl [v.ċc.irreg.] ‘to run (imperative

only); to have bowel movement’

res. = fut. *əzzəl* impf. *təzzəl*

imp. sg. *ázzel*; res. 3sg.m. *izzila*; fut. *ayézzel*;

impf. *itézzel*

P: andare; correre M: courir *yétazzeħ*

ا ز ا ل ا ; traverser *azzal* ا ز ا ل

▷ *ažār-ennúk itézzel* ‘I have diarrhea (litt.

My belly is running)’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzzəl* ‘to run’; Kb. *əzzəl* ‘to run’; To. *āšəl* ‘to run’

ZL₂

zzìl [m.] ‘iron’

zzìl

P: ferro M: fer *zel* ز ل

◆ TC: 1109

Berber, cf. Foq. *uzzâl* ‘iron’; Kb. *uzzal* ‘iron’;

Nef. *zzel* ‘iron’; Sok. *uzâl* ‘iron’; Zng. *uzzäy* ‘iron’

ZL₃

azzəl [m.] ‘saddle’

azzâl

P: finimenti

ZLF

ìzləf [m.] ‘summer’

ìzlef, *ézflef*

P: estate

ZLMT₁

azəlmàt [m.] ‘left’

azelmât

P: sinistra

▷ *afazelmât* ‘on the left’

◆ TC: 1140

Berber, cf. Ghd. *azəlməd* ‘left’; Kb. *azəlməd*

‘left’; To. *šəlməd* ‘to be left-handed’; Zng.

žäymud ‘left-handed’

ZLQ

azələq [m.] pl. *zuliq* ‘billy goat’

azəlāq pl. *zuliq*

P: caprone M: bouc *zalaā* ز ل ع ه

○ Also called: *ajided amoqqarân* (litt: big kid)

○ Müller has *ʕ* instead of *q*.

◆ Berber, cf. To. *āšólay* ‘stud goat, uncastrated adult billy-goat’; Siwa *zalaq* ‘billy goat’; Sok. *zâlaq* ‘large goat’; Zng. *āžäyi(?)* ‘billy goat’

ZM

azám [v.cc] ‘to shave’

pf. / seq. *zəm* impf. *təzzàm*

imp. sg. *azém*; pf. 3sg.m. *izem-(îs)* [PT:XIV];

impf. 3sg.m. *itezâm* ptc. *tezzâmən*

P: radersi PT: XIV M: barbier *yezem* ييزم;

cheveu *ezem* اذم; raser *hezam* هزام;

raser (se) *hezameh* هزامه

azùm [v.n.m.] ‘shaving’

azùm

P: radersi

wa təzzàmən [m.] ‘barber (litt. The one who is shaving)’

wa-tezzâmən, wa tezzâmən [PT:XIV]

P: radersi PT:XIV

ZMR

əzmər [v.ccc] ‘to be able’

pf. / seq. *əzmər* res. *əzmər* impf. *zəmmər*

imp. sg. *ezmér*; pf. 1sg. *zmerh-(ká)* [PT:V]

3sg.m. *yezmer* [PT:I]; res. 3sg.m. *izmîra* [PT:I];

impf. 1sg. *zémmerh* 3sg.m. *izémmer*

P: potere PT: I, V

◆ TC: 1125

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzmər* ‘to be able (physically)’; Kb. *əzmər* ‘to be able’; To. *āšmər* ‘to endure, put up with’; Zng. *āžmər* ‘to support (without the risk of health)’

ZN1

****uzən** [v.ccc] ‘to weigh’

impf. *tazən*

impf. 3sg.m. *itāzän-(dík)*

PT: IV

◆ Ar. *wazana* ‘to weigh’

uzùn-(nəs) [v.n.m.] ‘weighing’

uzún-(nes)

PT: IV

əlmizàn [m.] ‘balance, scales’

əlmizân [PT:IV], *əlmizân-(nes)* [PT:III],

elmizân-(î) [PT:IV]

PT: III, IV M: poids *meizan* ميزان

◆ Ar. *mizân* ‘balances, scales’

ZN2

àzən [m.] ‘next year’

ázän

P: anno

◆ Siwa *azən* ‘next year’

ZNM

zənìm [m.] ‘bastard’

zinîm

Z: IX

◆ Ar. *zanîm* ‘bastard’

ZNQ

tzənəqt [f.] pl. *tzənqîn* ‘street’

tzenáqt pl. *ženqîn, dzanqîn*

P: strada, via PT: III

◆ Mor. Ar. *zanqa* ‘street’; Ar. *zinaq* ‘narrow street, lane, alley, bystreet’

ZR1

zərr, zzər [m.] pl. *zərrən* ‘back’

zerr, zzer pl. *zərren*

P: dorso M: dos *ghezzer* قَزَر

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *azagur* ‘back’; Siwa *ərrāo, ərrau* ‘back’

ZR2

tazàrt [f.] pl. *təzzàr* ‘millstone, handmill’

tazârt pl. *tezzâr*

P: macina

◆ Kb. *tissirt, tassirt, tasirt* ‘mill’; Foq. *tasârt* ‘millstone’; Siwa *tasârt* ‘handmill’

ZRD

****əzrəd** [v.ccc] ‘to eat, gulp, devour’

fut. *əzrəd*

fut. 3pl.m. *azrédén*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *zarada* ‘to choke (s.o.), strangle; to gulp,

swallow, devour'

ZRF

azarîf [m.] 'alum'

azārîf

P: allume

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *aẓarîf* 'alum'; Ghd. *aẓarîf* 'alum'.

Ultimately from Punic, cf. Hebrew *šārîf* 'alum' (Vycichl 1958)

ZRG

azərg [m.] pl. zərgən 'stone'

azərg pl. *zərgen*

P: pietra

◆ MA *azerg* 'handmill'

ZRM

tazərmît [f.] 'name of a sparrow'

tāzərmît

P: passero

ZRQ ► LZRQ

ZṬ

azît [m.] pl. zîṭàn 'donkey'

azît, azît, azîṭ, azîṭ-(énnes, ennúk)

[PT:IV,VIII], *aziṭ-(énnes)* [PT:XII],

azît-(énnes) [PT:XII], *azîṭ-(ennúk)* [PT:VIII],

azîṭ-(annek) [Z:XIII] pl. *zîṭân, zîṭân*

P: asino PT: IV, V, VII, VIII, XII Z: XIII M:

âne *azeit* ا ز ي ت

◆ K: 708

Berber, cf. Ghd. *azéd* 'donkey'; To. *ešed* 'donkey'. For a discussion on the historical development of this word see Kossmann (1999: 231)

təzît, tizît [f.] pl. tzittîn 'she-donkey'

tezît, tizît pl. *tzittîn, dzittîn, zittîn*

P: asino

ZW

aziwà [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 *taziwayt* 'complete bunch' To. (H Y) *tezewt* 'small branch'

ZWY

zəwwəy [stat.v.] 'to be red'

1sg. *zəwɣàx* 2sg. *zəwɣàt* 3sg.m. *zəwwəy*

3sg.f. *zəwɣət* pl. *zəwɣît*

1sg. *zōūgâh* 2sg. *zōūgât* 3sg.m. *zōūwaj* 3sg.f.

zōūgât pl. *zōūgît*

P: rosso M: rougir *zouagh* ز و ا غ; rouge

nézouagh ن ز و ا غ

◆ TC: 1114

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əzɣəy* 'to be red'; Kb. *əzwəy* 'to become red, become brown'; To. *išway* 'to be or become red'; Zng. *žobhâ(?)* 'to be red'

zwəy [adj.] pl. *zwəyən* f. *t(ə)zwəyt* pl.

tzwəyin 'red'

m. sg. *zuâg* pl. *zuâgen*; f. sg. *tzuâgt, tēzwâgt*

[PT:XIII] pl. *tzuâgîn*

P: rosso PT: XIII

ZWR

zəwwər [stat.v.] 'to be large'

1sg. *zəwràx* 2sg. *zəwràt* 3sg.m. *zəwwər*

3sg.f. *zəwrət* pl. *zəwwirît*

1sg. *zurâh* 2sg. *zōūrât* 3sg.m. *zúwor*; 3sg.f.

zōūret, zūret pl. *zuwirît*

P: grosso M: fort *zor* ز و ر; rude *ezaouar*

ا ز و ا ر

◆ TC: 1145 K: 94, 127, 222

Berber, cf. Ghd. *zuwwər* 'to be thick'; Kb.

zzuzər 'to largen'; Zng. *žəɽw(w)ur* '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)àrîn* 'large'

m.sg. *azuwâr* pl. *zuwâren* f.sg. *tāzuwârt* pl.

zuwarîn

P: grosso M: épais *azouar* ا ز و ا ر

ZWT**zwōt** [v.ccc] ‘to slam; to throw’imp. sg. *zwát*

P: sbattere, gettare

****t-zəwəṭ** [pass.v.] ‘to be thrown on the ground’

t-zəwəṭ

res. 3sg.m. *itzūwīta*

P: sbattere, gettare

ZZR**z-ùzər** [caus.v.] ‘to winnow’impf. *z-uzàr*imp. sg. *zúzer*, *zōzar*; impf. 3sg.m. *izuzâr*

P: vagliare

◆ Siwa *zuzər* ‘to winnow’; Fig. *zzuzzər* ‘to winnow’**az-ùzər** [caus.v.n.m.] ‘winnowing’*azúzer*

P: vagliare

Z₁**ažùy** [stat.v.] ‘to be bitter’‘3sg.m. *ažùy* 3sg.f. *ažuyìt* pl. *ažuyìt*’sg. m. *ažúi* f. *ažuyìt* pl. *ažuyìt*

P: amaro

▷ *imîn ažuýt* ‘bitter water’◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *zâi* ‘bitter’; Siwa *žai* ‘to be bitter’**Z₂****z(ž)ùy** [m.] pl. *žwàn* ‘palm’*žúi*, *žžúi* pl. *žwân*P: palma M: palmier *azouan* *ازون*◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *tažwat* ‘palm leaf’**ZD****īžd** [m.] ‘spindle’*īžd*P: conocchia per filare M: quenouille *ezd**ازد*◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. the Berber words for ‘loom’, that appear to have a similar root: Foq. *ažóṭta*, *ažéṭta* ‘loom’; Kb. *ažetta* ‘loom’; Nef.*žetta* ‘loom’; Sok. *ašéṭta* ‘loom’; Siwa *ašəṭta* ‘loom’; Ghd. *asəṭta* ‘loom’, cf. also *šṭâu* ► ŠṬW**ZK****žžàk** [stat.v.] ‘to be heavy’1sg. *žžákax* 2sg. *žžákat* 3sg.m. *žžàk* 3sg.f.*žžàkət* pl. *žžakit*1sg. *žžákah* 2sg. *žžákāt* 3sg.m. *žžák* 3sg.f.*žžáket* pl. *žžákìt*; ptc. *žžáken* [PT:III]P: pesante PT: III M: pesant *ezzag* *زَق*

◆ TC:118 K: 551

Berber, cf. Ghd. *žak* ‘to be heavy’; To. *izak* ‘to be or become heavy’; Zng. *ažž(ž)ag* ‘to be heavy’; Kb. *ažay* ‘to be heavy’; MA *žžay* ‘to be heavy’; Ouar. *žža* ‘to be heavy’**s-əžžìk** [caus.stat.v.] ‘to make heavy’imp. sg. *s-ažžìk*

P: pesante

tazžìk, **tazžìq** [f.] ‘heaviness, weight’*tazžìk*, *tazžìq*

P: pesantezza

ZM₁**žum** [v.cvc] ‘to fast’imp. sg. *žūm*

P: digiunare

◆ TC: 1153

Berber, cf. Ghd. *žúm* ‘to fast’; Kb. *užum* ‘to fast’; To. *əžum* ‘to fast’; Zng. *užum* ‘to fast’. An early loanword from Ar. *šāma* ‘to fast’ (Kossmann & Van den Boogert 1997)**ZM₂****tazùmt** [f.] ‘herb (Ar. (Cyrenaica)*šamma*, Ar. (Tripolitania) *bersîm*’*tazùmt*

P: erba

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. To. *tàžemme* ‘type of grass, Chloris prieurii’**ZMK/Y****žmæk** [v.ccc] ‘to sew’impf. *žəmmæk*imp. sg. *žmāk* impf. 1sg. *žemmákħ* 3sg.m.

izémmâk

P: cucire M: couture *ezzoumak* اَزْوَمَك

◆ TC: 1158 K: 550

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăzmək* ‘to sew’; To. *əzməy* ‘to be sewn’; Zng. *ažmug* ‘to sew’

ažəmàk [v.n.m.] ‘sewing’

ažamâk, azamâk [B21]

P: cucire B21: 384

ažmày [m.] ‘joining (of mats)’

ažmâi

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 *ažamma* ‘sewing’

ZN

zžan [m.] ‘excrement’

pl. *zžân*

P: escremento

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *izžan* ‘excrements’; Siwa *zžan* ‘faeces’ (Naumann 2013: 374)

ZT₁

zùt [prep.] ‘above’

1sg. *zùt mînn-i zùt fəlli-wi* 2sg.m. *zùt mînn-ək*

zùt, zòt [PT:VI], *zùt* [PT:VI,XV] 1sg. *zùt mînn-i,*

zùt fəlli-wi 2sg.m. *zùt mînn-ək*

▷ *ar-zùt* ‘upward’

▷ *s-ar-zùt* ‘from above’ [PT:VI]

P: sopra PT: XIII, XV

ar-zùt [adv.] ‘upward’

ar-zùt, ar-zùt [PT:VI]

P: sopra PT: VI

ZT₂ ► **ZT**

Ž

əžž [v.c*] ‘to plant’

imp. sg. *ežž*

P: piantare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăzž* ‘to plant’; Kb. *əzžu* ‘to

plant’; Nef. *ăzžâ, ézžâ* ‘to plant’; Sok. *özžu* ‘to plant’

əžžú [v.n.m.] ‘planting’

ežžú

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-igəž [caus.v.] ‘to walk’

pf. / seq. = res. *ž-igəž* impf. *ž-igəž*

imp. sg. *žigež*; pf. 1sg. *žigežh* 3sg.m. *ižigež*; res.

1sg. *žigizha* 3sg.m. *ižigiza*; impf. 1sg. *žigəžh*

3sg.m. *ižigəž*

▷ *žigež ar-dit* ‘to walk forward’

P: camminare; andare PT: III M: aller

devant *djeghez* جَغز; rapprocher *djighez*

جِغز; rapprocher (se) *djighezeh* جِغزِه

◆ NZ: GZ29

Berber, cf. Zng. *ižigž* ‘walking’, suppletive

verbal noun to *ābdih* ‘to walk’; Ghd. *ziyyəz* ‘to travel’

až-igəž [caus.v.n.m.] ‘walking’

ažigež

P: andare

ŽYDŠ

ažəydiš [m.] ‘false ribs’

ažəgdīš

P: costola

◆ MA *ayəsdis* ‘rib’; Mzab *asəydis* ‘side of the chest, flank’

Originally this word was a compound of *ayəs* ‘bone’ + *adis* ‘belly’. Like MA, Awjila has undergone metathesis.

tažəydišt [f.] ‘girth of rope that ties to the saddle’

tažəgdišt

P: finimenti

ŽĤM

əžžəħim [m.?.f.?] ‘hell’

əžžəħim

PT: III

◆ Ar. *žaħim* ‘fire, hellfire, hell’ f. (also m.)

ŽKR

ažikər [m.] ‘large rope (also made of *ižvin*)’

ažiker

P: corda PT: VII

◆ Kb. *izikər* ‘braided rope’; Nef. *zukér*, *zukár* ‘rope’

ŽLB

əžžələb [m.] ‘riches’

iğğilib

Z: VII

◆ Ar. *žalb* ‘bringing, fetching, procurement, acquisition’, developed to mean ‘riches’

ŽLN

pl. **žlān** [m.] ‘speech, words, languages’

pl. *žlān*, *žlān* [PT:III,XV], *žlān*-(*ġya*) [PT:V]

P: discorso, parole; lingua PT: III, IV, V, VI, XV

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *žilān n isŭwan* ‘The Siwi language’

ŽM₁

Tažəmmit [P.N.] ‘name of a garden in the village of Awjila’

Tažəmmit

P: Tažəmmit

ŽM₂

?ažəm [m.] ‘deer, gazelle’

adjem ا د جم

M: daim, gazelle

◆ NZ: DM₅

Berber, cf. To. (H.) *ehəm* ‘antelope’; Zng.

äžəmmi(?) ‘gazelle’; Siwa *izəm* ‘gazelle’

ŽN₁

žin [v.cvc.irreg.] ‘to divide’

pf. / seq. = res. *žina*

imp. sg. *žin*; pf. 1sg. *žinīh* 3sg.m. *ižīna*; res. 1sg.

žinīha 3sg.m. *ižināya* 3pl.m. *ižināna* [PT:II] ‘to divide’

P: dividere PT: II

◆ TC: 1159 K: 619

Berber, cf. Foq. *izin* ‘to divide’; Ghd. *āžən* ‘to divide’; To. *ūžan* ‘to divide, share’; Zng. *ažun* ‘to divide’

təmžint [v.n.f.] ‘dividing’

temžint

P: dividere

ŽN₂

žnī [m.] ‘Libyan pound’

žnī, *znī*

PT: V

◆ ELA *žənaɣ* (Benkato 2012: 9); Ar. *žunaih* ‘(Libyan) pound’

ŽNQ ► ZNQ

ŽR₁

təžiri [f.] pl. *tžiriwìn* ‘small rope’

težirī, *tižiri* [B₂₁] pl. *ğiriwìn* (<*tžiriwìn*)

P: corda B₂₁: 386 M: chaîne *tedjiri*

ا ج ر ي; corde *édjiri*

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tazara* ‘rope’

ŽR₂

ižir [m.] ‘son (also used for animals)’

ižir

P: figlio

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *ğir*, *žir* ‘son’

ŽR₃

təžór [f.] ‘moon’

težér

P: luna

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *tiziri* ‘moonlight’; Ghd. *tazíri* ‘full moon’; Siwa *tazíri* ‘moon’

ŽR4

ažàr [m.] pl. žàrrən ‘abdomen, belly’

ažár pl. *žárren*

P: ventre

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *ğār* ‘abdomen, belly’

ŽRT

tžiràt [f.] ‘ribs of leafs (coll.)’

tžirât

P: palma

tžiraṭ [f.] pl. tžiraṭṭin ‘rib of a leaf’

tžiraṭ pl. *ğirāṭṭin*

P: palma

ŽT

àžəṭ [v.cc] ‘to grind, mill’

impf. *təžžàt*

imp. sg. *ázōṭ*; impf. 3sg.m. *itežžàt*

P: macinare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzəd* ‘to grind’; To. *əzəd* ‘to grind, crush’

****tt-əžəṭ** [pass.v.] ‘to be ground, be milled’

impf. = fut. *ttəžəṭ*

res. 3sg.m. *ittižžíta*; fut. 3sg.m. *aittäžəṭ*

P: macinare

ŽV

ažəvú, ažəvu [m.] pl. əžəvùwəŋ? ‘hair’

aževú, ažévū, ežefū [B21; B24], *eževú* [B24]

eğevú [B21] pl. *eğefūen* [B21; B24] ‘hair’

P: capelli, peli PT: VIII B21: 384 B24: 189

▷ *afəttíu n ažévū* ‘one hair’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *azaw* ‘hair’; Foq. *azâu n iyáf* ‘hairs of the head’; Nef. *zâu* ‘hairs’; Sok. *zâu* ‘hairs’

ŽVN

pl. *ižvìn* [m.] ‘palm fibres’

pl. *ižvìn*

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.

ŽVT

(ə)žvət̚ [v.ccc] ‘to measure (cereals)’

imp. sg. *žvât, ažvót* [PT:VIII]

P: misurare PT: VIII

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzβəd* ‘to measure’

ažvət̚ [v.n.m.] ‘measuring (cereals)’

ažvât

P: misurare

ŽVV

žvùv [v.cvc] ‘to burn incense’

pf. / seq. *óžvuv* res. *žvùv*

imp. sg. *žvív*; pf. 1sg. *žvívŋ* 3sg.m. *yéžvūv*; res.

1sg. *žvívŋha* 3sg.m. *ižvúva*

P: bruciare profumi

◆ Probably a causative derivation of *avív* ‘smoke of incense’, the voicing of the š- prefix is unexpected.

žvùv [m.] ‘incense’

žvív

P: profumi

ŽŽW

ažžiw, ašišiw [m.] ‘chick’

ažžíu, ašišíu

P: pulcino M: poulet *edjijiau* ا ج ي ج ي و

◆ K: 648

Berber, cf. Kb. *içəwçəw* ‘chick’; Nef. *šišiw* ‘young bird’ cf. also ELA *šowšaw* pl. *šowāšiw* ‘chick’ (Benkato 2012: 13).

ŽŖL

žŖal [v.ccc] ‘to believe’

imp. sg. *ğ’āl*

Z: XI

◆ Ar. *žafala* ‘to make; to put, place, lay; to believe’

ᚼᚩ

ᚼᚰᚩᚩ [v.cĕc(*)] ‘to go’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ᚼᚰᚩᚩ

imp. sg. ‘*add*, ‘*add* [PT:V] pl.m. ‘*addât* pl.f.‘*addîmet*; pf. 1sg. ‘*addîh* 2sg. *ta’addît* [P:example] 3sg.m. *ya’add* 3pl.m. ‘*addân*[PT:XV]; res. 1sg. ‘*addîha* 3sg.m. *ya’idda*; fut.1sg. *a’addâh*, *a’ddaâh* (sic) [PT:II] 3sg.m.*ayâ’add*, *aya’add* [PT:XV] 1pl. *anna’add*

[PT:II,V,XV]

P: andare PT: II, IV, V, VII, IX, XI, XII, XIII,

XIV, XV M: voyager *yaad* يعد▷ *ta’addît-ka* ‘do not go’◆ ELA *iḥāddi* ‘to leave’

ᚼᚩᚩ

ᚰᚼᚰᚩᚩ, ᚰᚼᚰᚩᚩ [m.] ‘number’

al’aded, *el’aded*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *ḥadad* ‘number, numeral’

ᚼᚱ

I(ə)ᚼᚰᚰᚰ [adj.adv.] ‘much, many, very’

lā’alla, *l’alla* [PT:V,XI] ‘much, many, very’

P: molto PT: V, XI

◆ Ar. *ḥālī(n)* ‘high, tall, elevated; loud, strong; lofty, exalted, sublime’, the Awjila reflex of this word underwent a radical semantic shift.

Iᚼᚰᚰi-(yī) [m.] ‘high place’

l’allī-(yī)

PT: VI

◆ Ar. *ḥālīy* ‘high, tall, elevated’

ᚼᚰᚰᚰ-ᚰᚰᚰ [adv.] ‘as much as’

‘ala-ᚰᚰᚰ

PT: II

◆ Mor. Ar. *ḥlā* ‘according to, by’

ᚼᚰᚰᚰ ᚼᚰᚰ [prep.] ‘for the sake of’

‘alā ᚼᚰᚰ

Z: VIII

◆ ELA *ḥala ᚼᚰᚰ*, *ḥaᚼᚰᚰ* ‘for the sake of; because of’ (p.c. Benkato)

ᚼᚱᚱ

ᚰᚼᚰᚰᚰᚰ [m.] pl. ᚰᚼᚰᚰᚰᚰᚰ ‘scholar’

el’âlem pl. *el’ulamâ*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *ḥālim* pl. *ḥulamā* ‘scholar’

ᚼᚱᚱ

ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚰ, ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚰ [adv.] adverb that expresses progressive aspect.

‘ammâ, *‘amma* [PT:II], *‘amma* [Z:VI]

P: stare, restare, sedere PT: II Z: VI

▷ *ksûm ‘ammâ inénna* ‘the meat is about to cook’▷ *‘ammâ mudân* ‘(they) are praying’◆ Ar. *ḥammāl* has the same function in dialectal Arabic and Siwi Souag (2010: 374).The loss of the *l* in Awjila is irregular.

ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚰ ▶ M6

ᚼᚱᚱᚱ

ᚰᚼᚰᚰᚰᚰᚰᚰ [f.] ‘turban’

el’amâmet

PT: XI

◆ Ar. *ḥimāma(t)* ‘turban’

ᚼᚱᚱᚱ

**ᚰᚼᚱᚱᚱ [v.cĕic?] ‘to function; to do’

fut. ᚰᚼᚱᚱᚱ

fut. 3sg.f. *atta’ᚱᚱᚱ*PT: IV M: achevé *taamartet* تعمّرتتachever *ammartet* غمّرتت◆ Ar. *aḥmura* ‘to thrive, prosper, flourish, flower, bloom’; cf. this to the Siwi use of this word *ḥmaṛ* ‘to be, to do’ (Souag 2010: 154). The *i* vowel in the root is unexpected, and this root shape is unique to this word.

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ

ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚱ(ə)ᚱᚰ (or: ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚱ(ə)ᚱᚰ) [P.N.] place name

‘angarā

PT: XV

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ

ᚼᚰᚱᚱᚱᚰᚰ [stat.v.] ‘to be naked’

3sg.m. *‘aryân*

PT: IX

◆ Ar. *ʕuryān* ‘naked’

ƆSR

Ɔəṣər [m.] ‘afternoon prayer’

l’áṣár

PT: II

◆ Ar. *ʕaṣr* ‘afternoon (prayer)’

ƆQB

əɫʕəqqàb-(i) [m.] ‘evening’

əl’əqqâb-(ī)

PT: IV

◆ Must be somehow derived from Ar. *ʕaqb* ‘after’

ƆYN

**Ɔəyyən [cċc] ‘to be ill’

impf. Ɔəyyàn

impf. 1sg. *ʕyyânah*

PT: V M: peste *ayyaneh* اِيَّانَه

◆ Ar. *ʕayyān* ‘exhausted, tired, ill’

ƆYT

**Ɔəyət [v.cvcc] ‘to yell, scream’

pf. / seq. = fut. Ɔəyət impf. Ɔay(y)àt

pf. 3sg.m. *i’âyət* [PT:V], *ya’âyät* [PT:XV]; fut.

3pl.m. *a’ayyâten-(dík)* [PT:II]; impf. 3sg.m.

i’âyät [PT:III,IV], *i’âyät* [PT:IV]

PT: II, III, IV, V, XV M: voix *aiät* اِيَّات

◆ Ar. *ʕayyaṭa* ‘to yell, scream, cry out’

ƆŽB

**əƆžəb [v.ccc] ‘to please’

res. əƆžəb

res. 3sg.m. *ya’žəb-(kû)-ya*, *ya’žeb-(kû)-ya*

PT: III

◆ Ar. *ʔaʕžaba* ‘to please’

