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

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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, *l̥əqqəq* 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 Š T Ṭ V W X Y Z Ž ʕ

D.1.2 Structure of an Entry

A typical entry in the dictionary has the following form:

ROOT

Word [word category] ‘meaning’

Grammatical information in regular type *attested forms in italics* [source in square brackets]

References to attestations in Paradisi, Zanon, Beguinot and Müller

▷ example sentences

○ comments

◆ Information on the origin of the word

The word in the entry is written in a phonemic transcription according to the analysis given in the grammatical part. Verbs are always cited in the entry with the imperative, in cases where the imperative is unattested, a reconstructed form is provided with an asterisk (*) in front of it. Nouns are cited in the singular, and the plural when both are available. Verbs have an overview of the different TAM-stems of the verb, below the main entry of the word.

The forms of the word are cited below the entry. Every single spelling of the word that is attested is cited, supplied with a place of attestation. When the word is found with a clitic behind it that has influence on the position of the accent, this clitic is placed behind it in brackets. When there is no indication of the source behind a word, it means it is taken from the first source cited in the list of attestations below it. This is usually Paradisi’s word list.

Below the forms, we find a list of attestations, which are marked with abbreviations that refer to the source. These abbreviations are explained in Table D.1 below.

After the list of attestations, sometimes example sentences and comments are provided, marked with their respective signs.

Finally, where possible, lemmas have a section on their etymology. In such cases several examples from other Berber languages are given, or in case of an Arabic origin, dialectal Arabic or standard Arabic.

Other researchers have already written comparative information on the words that I am discussing. I refer to these sources with abbreviations. K: stands for Kossmann (1999), the number stands for the numbered entry in that book. NZ: stands for Naït-Zerrad (1998; 1999; 2002), which is a synchronic overview of Berber roots. The letters stand for the entry under which the related words are categorized. Finally TC: stands for the Zenaga-French dictionary by Taine-Cheikh (2008), which contains many footnotes with etymological information. The number refers to the number of the footnote.

Many different sources have been consulted for the entry on the word origin. Whenever there is an entry with a Berber origin, words from Kabyle (Dallet 1982), Mali Tuareg (Heath 2006) and Zenaga (Taine-Cheikh 2008; 2010) have always been cited. Also the Libyan dialects of Ghadames (Lanfry 1973), El-Foqaha (Paradisi 1963a), Sokna (Sarnelli 1924), Djebel Nefusa (Beguilot 1942) and the Egyptian dialect of Siwa (Laoust 1931, Souag 2010, Naumann 2013), have been cited whenever possible.

Sometimes, a word with a solid Berber origin, has not been attested in the above languages. In such cases, I occasionally give forms from other Tuareg dialects (Ritter 2009a;b), Middle Atlas Tamazight (Taifi 1992), Mzab Berber (Delheure 1985), Ouargla Berber (Delheure 1987), Figuig (Kossmann 1997), and Tashelhiyt (Stroomer fthc.).

When a word is of Arabic origin, I cite several different dialects. First of all, when possible, I make mention of the Modern Standard Arabic form (Wehr 1979). Besides Modern Standard Arabic, mention is made of Moroccan Arabic (Prémare 1993, Harrell 1966), Egyptian Arabic (Hinds 1986), and Eastern Libyan Arabic (and Benghazi Arabic) (Panetta 1958; 1962a;b; 1964a;b; 1980, Owens 1984 and Benkato fthc.).

D.1.3 Abbreviations

In the dictionary several abbreviations are used to the sources and languages. These abbreviations are listed in the tables below.

P: lemma	The lemma in Paradisi (1960a)
PT: number	The text number in Paradisi (1960b)
B21: page	The page number where the word is attested in Beguilot (1921)
B24: page	The page number where the word is attested in Beguilot (1924)
B25: page	The page number where the word is attested in Beguilot (1925)
Z: number	The text number in Zanon (1932)
M: lemma latin arabic	The lemma name, latin transcription and arabic transcription of the word attested in Müller (1827)

Table D.1: Source abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic
ELA	Eastern Libyan Arabic
Ghd.	Ghadames
Foq.	El-Foqaha
Zng.	Zenaga
To.	Tuareg
Nef.	Nefusa
Kb.	Kabyle
Sok.	Sokna
Mor. Ar.	Moroccan Arabic
Ouar.	Ouargla
MA	Middle Atlas Berber
LA	Libyan Arabic
Eg. Ar.	Egyptian Arabic
Gk.	Classical Greek
Lat.	Latin

Table D.2: Language Abbreviations

A

a [interj.] vocative interjection

a, āī, aī-(mma) [Z:II]

▷ *áy-amédēn* ‘o man’

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

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

ʔN

ann-ək [complementizer]

2sg.m. *ʔann-ek*

PT: XI

▷ *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:rig 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* هببه

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *abîba* ‘smallpox’

BDQ

təbədùqt [f.] ‘cotton’

tebedùqt

P: cotone

◆ NZ: BDY/Q3

Berber, cf. To. *tābdoqq* ‘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* طبغّه

◆ Mor. Ar. *tabḡa* ‘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.

bâhÿet [PT:III]

PT: III, IV, XV

◆ ELA *bâhī* ‘good’

BĤR**əlbəḥr** (or: **albəḥr**) [m.] ‘sea’*elbáḥār, älbáḥr*

PT: IX

◆ Ar. *baḥr* ‘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****bàlək** [adv.] ‘maybe’*bâlek*

PT: XIII

◆ ELA *balək, belkî* ‘maybe’ ultimately from Turkish *belki* ‘why’ (p.c. Benkato)**BLS****əlbulis** [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**abón, avón** [v.cc*] ‘to build, construct’pf. *bná* impf. *bànnà, ivènnà*imp. sg. *abén, avén*; pf. 1sg. *bniḥ* 3sg.m. *ibnâ*;res. 1sg. *bniḥa* 3sg.m. *ibnâya*; impf. 1sg.*benniḥ* 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 *bûgâl* ‘jug’, perhaps ultimately from Gk. βαύκαλις.

BQS

əlbəqîs [m.] ‘twinkle, glimmer’

elbāqîs

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

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

tabarouth تباروط

◆ NZ: BR₃₀, BRD₁, K: 285

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

təbarūt n aləỵm [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. *ébren*

P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: entortillé

ebrénah ابرنه; entortiller *brénah*

برنه; tordre *yébren* 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. *elbarât* [PT:XIV], *elbārât* [PT:IV,V],

elbarât-(ennûk) [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. *tbessikîn*

P: deretano; vulva; peto

BŞR

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

albâşîret

PT: V

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

BŠKW

abəškîw [m.] pl. *bəškîwən* ‘horn’

abeškîu pl. *beškîwen*

P: corno

◆ Berber, ► ŠK2

BŠXW

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

abešhâu pl. *bešhāwen*

P: passero

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

tebešhâut pl. *tebešhāwîn*

P: palma

BŠWŠ

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. *būṭ*

‘protruding navel’; MA *tacešbutṭ* ‘navel’

BṬŽ

abəṭṭūž [m.] ‘ember’

abâṭṭûž

P: tizzo, tizzoncino

BZN

abazîn [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. *tbazrîn* ‘basket’

tābazârt pl. *tbazrîn*

P: cesta M: panier *abazart* ابا زارت

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’

tebʒālīmt pl. *tebʒālīmīn*

P: cipolla

BŽ1

abʒàw [m.] pl. bʒàwən ‘cheek’

abʒâu pl. *bʒâwen*

P: guancia

BŽ2

bàžža [m.] ‘penis (of a boy)’

bážža

P: penis

BŦD

bəŦ(ə)d [conj.] ‘after, when’

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

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

◆ ELA *baŦd* ‘after’; Ar. *baŦda* ‘after’

bəŦid [stat.v.] ‘to be distant’

3sg.m. *baʿíd*

PT: X

◆ Ar. *baŦid* ‘distant’

BŦDN

bəŦ(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 *baŦdèn* ‘after’; Ar. *baŦda an* ‘after’

Č1

əčč [v.č*] ‘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*

يَتَش; *souper*, v. *etch* تَش

◆ NZ: C9, TC: 946

Berber, cf. Foq. *ékk*, *ékkj* ‘to eat’; Ghd. *ášš* ‘to eat’; Kb. *eçç* ‘to eat’; Nef. *ečč* ‘to eat’; Siwa *əč* ‘to eat’; Sok. *éčč* ‘to eat’; To. *ăkš* ‘to eat’; Zng. *ăṭʃi(ʔ)* ‘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 *ěččuât* ‘food and drinks’

təwəg [v.n.f.] ‘food, meal, plate’

túwəg

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

thaouegt طاقوت

○ 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. ččàwən ‘grave’

áčča pl. *ččâwen*

P: tomba M: tombeau *atcha* اتشه

◆ NZ: C56

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

Kb. *ažəkka* ‘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. *əd* '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.ċc] 'to bite'

impf. *təddád*

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

P: mordere M: mordre *ēdded* عَضَض

◆ NZ: D70

Berber, cf. To. *ədəd* 'to bite'

(ə)ddùd [v.n.m.] 'biting'

ēddûd

P: mordere

DD2

addid [m.] pl. addidən 'goatskin'

addid pl. *addidən*

P: otre M: outre pour l'eau *addi* اِى اِى

◆ TC: 1035, K: 621

Berber, cf. To. *iddid* 'goatskin'; Zng. *äyDʷəd* '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-kmæt* 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. *-hən*

P: dietro PT:II,VII

◆ NZ: DFR2

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

DG

****əddùgg [v.ċc]** 'to knock'

seq. *əddùgg*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeddúgg*

PT:III

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

DŸ

adáy [m.] pl. dəyàwən 'a bush of palms'

adág pl. *dāgâwən*

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

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

DKN

=dikəni, =dikkəni, =dikəni [pron.]1pl.

indirect object pronoun

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

-dikkenîya

P: noi

DL₁

š-idəl [caus.v.] ‘to harness (a donkey or camel)’

impf. š-idəl

imp. sg. *šidel*; impf. 1sg. *šidálh* 3sg.m. *išidál*

P: bardare

◆ NZ: DL₁**DL₂**

dila, dílak [adv.] ‘here’

díla, dílak

P: qui PT: VI, X, XV

diliwan, diššíwan [adv.] ‘there’

dilîwān, diššîwān

P: la PT: XV

DLL

(ə)ddəlləl [m.] ‘auctioneer’

ëddellâl, ddellâl, äddellâl

PT:IV

◆ Ar. *dallâl* ‘auctioneer’**DLŠ**adəliš [m.] ‘herb (*Aristida Pungens*)’*adelîš*

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’

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

pl. dimmən [m.] ‘blood’

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

دمن

◆ NZ: DM₅, TC: 191Berber, cf. Foq. *idâmmen* ‘blood’; Ghd. *dâmmän, dammän* ‘blood’; Kb. *idim* pl. *dammän* ‘blood’; Nef. *idémnen* ‘blood’; Sok. *idä*mmen* ‘blood’; Zng. *əḍämmän* ‘blood’;**DMLŽ**

(ə)ddəmləž [m.] ‘bracelet’

eddémlež, ëddemlež-(ennûk)

PT:IV

◆ ELA *démlež* ‘bracelet’; Ar. *dumluž* ‘bracelet, bangle’**DN₁**

udən [v.vcc] ‘to get dressed’

pf. / seq. = res. ùdən impf. tàdən

imp. sg. *udén*; pf. 3pl.f. *udénnet* [PT:XV]; res.2sg. *tudînta* [PT:XI]; impf. 3sg.m. *itâden*P: vestirsi PT:XI,XV M: nu *youdenah*

يودنه

◆ NZ: DN₇, TC:195

Berber, 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’

tídnī

P: mortaio

◆ NZ: DN₁₄

Berber, 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

▷ *aməḍen-ídīn* ‘that man’

DNN

=**idánin** ► =**íwan**

DQL

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

edaql ادكل

M: main

◆ NZ: DKL₁

Kb. *idikəl* ‘palm of the hand’; To. *edékəl* ‘underside of the hand (palm and fingers)’;

Zng. *ədīgiy* ‘palm of the hand’

DR₁

adár [v.cc*] ‘to press; to massage’

pf. *drá* res. *drà* impf. *dərrá*

imp. sg. *ăder* pl.m. *drât* pl.f. *drîmet*; pf. 1sg.

driḥ 3sg.m. *idrá*; res. 1sg. *driḥa* 3sg.m. *idrâya*;

impf. 1sg. *derrîḥ* 3sg.m. *iderrâ*

P: premere

◆ NZ: DR₄

Ghd. *ádər* ‘to press, squeeze’; To. *àdər* ‘push or pres down hard on (sth)’.

The connection with Zng. *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)rí [f.] pl. *ddriwìn* ‘thorn’

ddērī pl. *ddrīwīn*

P: spina M: épine *deri* د ري; fourchette

dēri د ري

◆ NZ: DR₃₂

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tədra* ‘thorn of a palm’; Siwa *tədri* ‘thorn’; Sok. *tádri* ‘thorn’; Nef. *tadrâ* ‘thorn of a palm’

DR₃

(ə)**ddár** [v.cc] ‘to live’

pf. *əddár* res. *əddər*

imp. sg. *eddér*; pf. 1sg. *eddérḥ* 3sg.m. *yeddér*;

res. 1sg. *əddírḥa* 3sg.m. *yeddíra*, *iddíra* [Z:XIII]

P: vivere Z: XIII

◆ NZ: DR₁

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăddər* ‘to live’; Kb. *əddər* ‘to live’; To. *àddər* ‘to be alive’.

Ref. Basset (1929)

(ə)**ddùr** [v.n.m.] ‘life’

əddûr

P: vita

DRM

****ădrám** [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

dəruš [adv.] ‘little’

děruš

P: poco

dəruš [stat.v.] ‘to be few, little’

3sg.m. *dəruš* 3sg.f. *dərušət* pl. *dərušit*

m.sg. *děruš* f.sg. *derūšet* pl. *děrušit*

P: poco M: facile *derouch* د ر و ش; vain

dérouch د ر و ش, diminuer *dérouch* د ر و ش

DS

tədušt [f.] ‘belly’

tedūšt

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’

DŠ

dəššāf [adj.] ‘mean, inhospitable’

deššāf

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-kēn* 3pl.m.

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

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

dī, **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. *idōūwār* [PT:XIII] 3pl.f.

ddōūwārnet [PT:XV]

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

◆ ELA *idāūwar*, *iḏāūwar* ‘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* اَدِينْد

◆ NZ: DH/W/YN, TC: 182, K: 123, 148

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

DYS

?ddáyəst [f.] ‘type of palm tree (Ar.

tédsə)

ddíest

P: palma

DYZ

dyáz [v.ccc] ‘to sing’

pf. *dyáz* impf. *dəyyəz*

imp. sg. *diéz*; pf. 1sg. *ədyézḥ* 3sg.m. *idyéz*;

impf. 1sg. *diyyézḥ* 3sg.m. *idyyyez*

P: cantare M: chant *yediz* يَدِيْز, chanter *yaghlediz* يَغْلِيْدِيْز

◆ 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. *dəžžə*

imp. sg. *édž*, *ägğ*; pf. 1sg. *dğih* 3sg.m. *yégğə*;

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

dežžih 3sg.m. *idéžžā*

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

dgi جِي

◆ NZ: G41, TC: 230, K: 706

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

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

äDyi(?) ‘to leave, let go of’

adəžžū [v.n.m.] ‘letting go of’

adéžžū

P: lasciare

F1

uf [v.vc*] ‘to find’

pf. *ufá* seq. = res. *ùfa* fut. *ùf* impf. *tàfa*

imp. sg. *uf* pl.m. *ufât* pl.f. *ufîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ufîḥ*,

ufîḥ-(tən) [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yúfa*, *yufâ* [PT:VII],

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

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

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

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

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

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

◆ NZ: F10

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

Zng. *offi(?)* ‘to find, gain’

ufú [v.n.m.] ‘finding’

ufû

P: trovare PT:II

uf taverġat ► 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* اَفِيُوْه

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

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

F3

tafüt [f.] 'sun'

tāfüt, tafüt [PT:XV]

P: sole PT: III, XV

◆ NZ: F12, TC: 20, K: 576

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tófæt, tófətt* '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. *tǎduft* 'wool'; Zng. *taʔduḍ* 'wool'; Ghd. *tódaft* 'raw wool'.

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

Ref.: Kossmann (1996)

FD1

afūd, afūdd [m.] pl. fiddən 'knee'

afūd, afūdd pl. *fiddən*

P: ginocchio B21: 386 M: genou; tibia

afoud افود

◆ NZ: FD4, TC: 16

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

FD2

****əffūd** [v.čvc*] 'to be thirsty'

res. = fut. əffūd impf. t(ə)fāda

res. 1sg. *fudīha* 3sg.m. *yeffūda*; fut. 1sg.

affūdah 3sg.m. *ayeffūd*; impf. 1sg. *tfādīh*

3sg.m. *itēfāda*

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'

təfadāt [f.] 'thirst'

tefadāt

P: sete

FDR

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

tfidirt pl. *tfidrìn*

P: lucertola

◆ NZ: FDR2

FY

tfiyit [f.] pl. tfiya 'animal excrement'

tfīgīt pl. *tfīja*

P: escremento

◆ NZ: FY1

FHL

fhàli [phrase] 'by myself'

fhālī

PT: II

◆ Mor. Ar. *fḥāl-*, 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-(dik)* [PT:VI] pl.m. *fkât* pl.f.

fkîmet; pf. 1sg. *fkiḥ* 2sg. *těfkī-(dik)* [PT:XIV]

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

[PT:XIV], *yefkī-(t, tənēt)* [PT:IV] *yefk-(îsîn)*

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

fkīḥa 3sg.m. *yefkāya, yefkī-(dik)-a* [PT:V]; fut.

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

ayéfk, ayefk-(îs) [PT:V], *ayefkī-(dik)* [PT:V],

ayefkī-(tənēt) [PT:V]; impf. 1sg. *fekkīḥ,*

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-fkâ-k* 'I will give you'

◆ NZ: FK2 TC: 599, K: 491

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ākʃ* 'to give'; Kb. *əʃk* 'to give';

To. *ākʃ* 'to give'; Zng. *ākʃi*(?) 'to give'

š-əfk [caus.v.] 'to cause to give'

imp. sg. *šeffk*

P: dare

FK2

**əffukk [v.cē] 'to untie, solve'

pf. / seq. = fut. əffukk

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

affukkâḥ-(t) [PT:II]

PT: I, II

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

FK3

(ə)ffək [v.cē] 'to pour'

impf. tæffək

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'

elfekr-(énnes)

PT: II

◆ Ar. *fikr* 'thinking, reflection; thought'

FL

tfilli [f.] pl. tfilliwìn 'house'

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

[PT:VI,XIII], *tfilli-(nnes)* [PT:XV], *těfilli-(nnâḥ)*

[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'

fellî- [prep.] ► F2

FLGŠ

tfiliggîšt [f.] 'swallow'

tfiliggîšt

P: rondine

◆ NZ: FLGC, FLS4

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tafálléləst* 'swallow'; MA

taflillist 'swallow'; Kb. *tifiləlləst* 'swallow';

FLLŠ

flališ [m.] pl. fluliš 'inflorescence'

flālīš pl. *flūlīš*

P: palma

◆ NZ: FLC5

Berber, cf. Nef. *tefīlléšt* 'inflorescence'

FLŠ

təfəlušt [f.] pl. tḥəlšîn 'large spoon for cooking'

těfelūšt pl. *tḥelšîn*

P: cucchiaio M: cuillère *téféloucht*

تفلوشت

◆ NZ: FLC4, FLW2

Kb. *tiflut, tifləwt* 'spoon'

FNKḤ

fankùḥ [m.] 'big buttocks'

fankùāḥ

P: deretano

◆ NZ: FNKWH

FNS

afunàs [m.] pl. funasən 'ox'

afunās pl. *funāsen*

P: bue M: quadrupède; taureau *afounas*

افوناس ; vétérinaire *founaséh* فوناسه

'veterinary'

◆ NZ: FNS1

Berber, cf. Kb. *tafunast* 'cow'

tfunàst [f.] 'tfunastìn'

'cow'

tfunāst pl. *tfunāstîn*

P: vacca

FNŽR

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

impf. fənzār

imp. sg. *fénžer*; impf. 3sg.m. *ifenžār*

P: sanguinare

◆ NZ: FNZR2, TC: 993

Berber, cf. Ghd. *fānzər* ‘to bleed from the nose’; Kb. *ffunzər* ‘to bleed from the nose’; To. *hūnšər* ‘to have a nose-bleed’; Zng. *ūnžər* ‘to bleed from the nose’; Siwa *izənfār idammən* ‘to bleed from the nose’.

Zenaga and Tuareg point to Proto-Berber **βānzər*, Awjila and Ghadames point to **fānzər*.

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

afénžer

P: sanguinare

FRĤ

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

pf. əfráh res. əfráh

pf. 3sg.m. *yefráh* [PT:V], 3pl.f. *fráhnet*

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

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

مفرحه; gaité ??*farha* فرحه

◆ Ar. *fariha* ‘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.) *fərkəkkət* ‘to untie (of a knot intr.)’; Ghd. *färrāk* ‘to separate in two.’

afərtək [v.n.m.] ‘unstitching’

afértek

P: scucire

FS1

afūs [m.] pl. *fissən* ‘hand’

afús, *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. *ävuʔš* ‘hand’

FS2

fisa [adv.] ‘quickly’

fīsa

PT: I M: promptement *fisaâ* فيسه

◆ Dial. Ar. *fissa* ‘quickly’ < Ar. *fī* (a)s-sāʔa(t) ‘in the hour’ (also attested in Siwa, and South-west Algerian Arabic) (p.c. Souag). ELA *fīsa*, in fast speech, and *fisaʔ*, 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. *ifas* ‘to be or become light (in weight)’

š-əfšəš [caus.v.] ‘to lighten’

imp. sg. *šéʃšeš*

P: alleggerire; leggero

təfšəš [f.] ‘lightness’

tefšeš

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. əgg impf. təgga

imp. sg. *ag*; pf. 1sg. *giĥ, gíĥ* [PT:II], *dgít*

[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.

giĥa 2sg. *dgíta* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *igâya, igé* 3pl.m.

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

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

teggîĥ 2sg. *teggît* [P:example] 3sg. *itéggā*

P: fare, mettere, porre PT: II, III, IV, V, VII, XII, XV

▷ *teggît-lû* ‘do not do anything!’

◆ NZ: G3, TC: 326, K: 431

Berber, cf. Ghd. *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 ► Y-D

GBB

təgbibi [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’

tegbibi

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

gəbáš [v.ccc] ‘to gird’

impf. **gəbbáš**

imp. sg. *gebéš*; impf. 1sg. *gebbéšĥ* 3sg.m.

igebbéš 3sg.f. *tqábbiš* [Z:VI]

P: cingere Z: VI

◆ NZ: GBS1, BGS1, GS3, TC: 555, K: 387

Berber, cf. Kb. *bgəs* ‘to gird, put on a belt’; To.

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

3sg.m. *yāwgəš* ‘to gird, put on a belt’.

Awjila and Tuareg have a metathesized form.

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

agəbáš [v.n.m.] ‘girding’

agebáš

P: cingere

G-D1, Y-D

ayì=d, yaŷì=d [v.c*.irreg.] ‘to bring’

pf. = fut. əggá=d res. əgga=d impf.

təggà=d-a

imp. sg. *agîd, yaġîd* pl.m. *agiyâd, agâdd* 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-(énnes)

PT:XV M: marmite *elqadir* 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. *äzđih* ‘jackal’; Siwa *azidi* ‘jackal’, the correspondence Awjila *g* to Zng. and Siwa *z* is irregular.

GF

əlgəfā-(nnəs) [m.] ‘back of the head’

elgefā-(nnes)

PT:III

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

GG

gìg [prep.] ‘inside’

gîg-(ûli)

Z:XI

○ This preposition is only attested in Zanon’s text. In Paradisi we only find this preposition as a compound preposition *ar-zgìg*

◆ ► ZGG

GȲD ► YȲD

GL₁/GWL

agál, gul [v.irreg.] ‘to see’

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

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

aglîmet, *gùlîmet*; pf. 2sg. *dgulît*

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

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

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

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

[PT:XV] 3sg.m. *aigûl*; impf. *igûwél*

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

yégoult يغولت

▷ *igûwél-î* ‘he sees me’ [P: io (example)]

◆ NZ: GL₃₃

igəwwəl-ká [phrase] ‘blind (litt. ‘He doesn’t see’)

igûwel-ká

P: cieco

agəwəl [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

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

ingûli

Z:XI

GL₂

tgîli [f.] pl. *tgiliwîn* ‘head’

tgîli, *təgîli*, *təgîli* [PT:III] *tegîli* [B21],

təgîlî-(nnes) [PT:III,XIII] pl. *tgiliwîn*, *tegîliwîn* [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 sout-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**glīm** [m.] pl. glīmən ‘skin’*glīm*, *glīm-(énnes)* [PT:XV] pl. *glīmen*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. *uglīm* ‘skin’**GLM₂****agílum**, **agilùm** [m.] ‘garlic’*agílum*, *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* ‘todraw 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. *nagəmen*

P: attingere

GM₂**aləgmət** [f.] ‘friday’*alégmet*

P: venerdì

◆ Ar. *žumʕa(t)* ‘friday’. Note the irregular loss of Arabic ʕ, which Awjila shares with Siwa, el-Foqaha, Ghadames and Nefusa: Cf. Siwa *əljmət* ‘friday’ (Souag 2010: 118); Foq. *ležmēt* ‘friday’; Ghd. *əlgamāt* ‘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’*agmâr* pl. *gmâren*, *gmâren-(îya)* [P: chi? (example)]P: cavallo M: cheval *aghmar* اغمار◆ NZ: GMR₅, TC: 373, K: 368Berber, cf. Ghd. *agmar* ‘horse’; Kb. *tagmart*‘mare’; Zng. *ägmär* ‘boy, young adolescent’;*tägmär*, *tägmärt* ‘mare’**tagmàr(ə)t** [f.] pl. tagmartin ‘mare’*tagmâret* pl. *tagmartîn*

P: cavallo

GMR2

pl. **gmìrən** [m.] ‘chest’

pl. *gmîren*

P: petto

◆ NZ: GMR10, DMR1, TC: 193

Berber, cf. Kb. *idmarən* ‘chest’; Zng. *ädməri*(?) ‘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

agamzù, agàmzu [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

agəngù, agəngù [m.] pl. *ngùwən* ‘green date’

agengûi pl. *ñgûwen*

P: dattero

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

agəngù [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. *gnîšən*

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. *ägənwî*(?) ‘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. *ǧgruw* ‘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, tagrîft [f.] ‘crow; owl’

tagirft, tagrîft

P: corvo; gufo

◆ NZ: GRF₁, GRFW K: 305

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ogǧrf* f. *toǧǧrf* ‘crow’; Kb. *tagərfa* ‘crow’; Sok. *tǧǧrfi* ‘crow’

Ultimately from Latin *corvus*.

GRŠ₁

təgirišt [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. *ǧaríšt* ‘winter’; Sok. *tagrést* ‘winter’; To. *tǧrəst* ‘cold season, winter’; Zng. *tǧərS* ‘cold season, winter’

GRT

agəraṭ [m.] pl. gərtəwən ‘neck’

agărāt, agărāt-(énnes) [PT:XIII] pl. *gertəwən*

P: collo PT:XIII M: cou *agarat* اقارات

◆ NZ: GRD₁ K: 628

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ayurəṭ* ‘shoulder’; Kb. *agʷərṭ* ‘neckline’; To. *teǧǧǧəw* ‘base of cranium just above nape’; Zng. *agərṭ* ‘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: aboiment, 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. *yeggəs*;

res. 1sg. *ggishə* 3sg.m. *yeggisa*; impf. 1sg.

teggāsh 3sg.m. *iteggās*

P: arrostitore M: rôtir *?eggaça* اقسه; rôti

??meggaça مقاسه

◆ NZ: GS₁₀

(ə)ggùs [v.n.m.] ‘roasting’

əggùs

P: arrostitore

GŠL

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

tegešilt teštāft

P: scarabeo

◆ NZ: GCL₂, Perhaps also: NZ: GLZ₈

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

Siwa *taglāšt* ‘spider’ Naumann (2013: 377); Fig. *tajlišš* ‘beetle’.

təgišilt təyziṭ (or: ... tayziṭ) [f.+adj.]

‘vipera, snake (litt. long beetle)’

tegišilt taǧziṭ

P: scarabeo; vipera M: serpent *tekéchilt*

تكشلت

GT

(ə)ggūt[quant] ‘much, many’

əggūt, ggūt [PT:III] *uggūt* [Z:I]

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

دقوت; accroître *daggat* دقات; allonger

edgout ادقوت; beaucoup *doggout*

دقوت; davantage *dakket* دكت; force

degoud دقود; suffire *dakout* دكوت;

suffisamment *dakou* دكو

◆ NZ: GT₁ K: 359

Berber, cf. Sok. *uggút* ‘much, many’

GTṬ

agəṭṭ (or: agaṭṭ [m.] pl. gəṭaṭ ‘sparrow; bird’

agaṭṭ pl. *gəṭāt*

P: passero; ucello M: perdrix *ghethat*

قطاط

◆ NZ: GD₂ TC: 486 K: 328

Berber, cf. Ghd. *agāḍiḍ* ‘bird’; Foq. *žadḍiḍ*

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

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

agḍuḍ ‘bird’

GW₁

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

agiw pl. *giwən*

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) *agyak* ‘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. *ayégéz*; impf. 3sg.m.

igézzā

P: tagliare

◆ NZ: GZ₅, K: 243

Berber, cf. Ghd. *gəzgəz* ‘to be torn out, torn

up with teeth’

agəzzu [v.n.m.] ‘cutting’

agézzū

P: tagliare

GZL

gəzzəl [stat.v.] ‘to be short, low’

1sg. gəzlàx 2sg. gəzlàt 3sg.m. gəzzəl 3sg.f.

gəzlət pl. gəzzilīt

1sg. *gezlâh* 2sg. *gezlât* 3sg.m. *gézzel* 3sg.f.

gezlet pl. *gezzilīt*

P: corto, basso

▷ *wāya gézzel* ‘this is short’

▷ *amédəḅ gézzel* ‘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. *gzilen* f. sg. *tegzilīt* pl. *tegzilīn*

P: corto, basso

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

impf. š-əgzəl

imp. sg. *šégzel, ségzəl*; impf. 1sg. *šegzâlḥ*

3sg.m. *išegzâl*

P: corto, basso

as-əgzəl [caus.v.n.m.] “shortening”

aségzel

P: corto, basso

GZN₁

gzin [m.] pl. gzinən ‘dog’

gzin pl. *gzinen*

P: cane M: chien *eghzin* غزين

◆ K: 749

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

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

təgzint [f.] pl. təgzintin, təgzinìn ‘bitch’

tegzînt pl. *tegzintîn, tegzinîn*

P: cane

GZN₂

agəzzùn [m.] pl. gəzzùnən ‘orphan’

agezzûn pl. *gezzûnen*

P: orfano

◆ NZ: GZN₅

Siwa *agezzun* ‘orphan’

GZR₁

agəzzàr [m.] pl. *gəzzàrən* ‘leaf of a turnip’

agezzâr pl. *gezzâren*

P: foglia M: navet *aghzar* اغزار

◆ NZ: GZR₃

GZV

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. *itāga*

P: prendere PT: I, II, IV, V, VII M: apporter *heggad* حَقَّاد; payer *aghiz* اغيز ‘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’

elgábes

PT: XV

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

Y-D ► G-D

YDD

ayîdəd [m.] pl. *yîdàd* ‘male kid (goat)’

agîded pl. *gîdâd*

P: capretto

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

tyîdət ‘female kid (goat)’

tgîdet

P: capretto

YF₁

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

agûf pl. *gefāwen*

P: cesta

YF₂

təyâfi [f.] pl. *tyafiwin* ‘palm leaf’

tāgâfi, *tāgâfi* pl. *tāgâfiwin*

P: foglia; palma

YL₁

****yəlli** [v.cci] ‘to want’

pf. = fut. *yəlli*

pf./fut. 1sg. *ğallîh*, *ğellîh* [PT:V], *ğillîğ* [Z:I]

ğillîğ [Z:III], *ğillîh* [Z:VII], *ğallâh* [P: example],

ğallâ [P: example], *âlla* [P: example] 2sg.

tğallît, *tğellît-(î)* [PT:XII] *tğelli t-(i-kra)* (sic)

[Z:I] 3sg.m. *igâlli*, *igelli* [PT:I], *igelli* [PT:X]

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

igállī [Z:II] 3sg.f. *tǵállī* 1pl. *nǵállī*, *nǵállī*
[PT:XV] 2pl.m. *tǵallīyīm* 2pl.f. *tǵallīmet* 3pl.m.
ǵallīyen, *ǵallīyēn* [PT:II] 3pl.f. *ǵallīnet*

P: volere PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, IX, X, XII, XV Z:

I, II, III, VII M: cher *yéghalayeh* يغلايه;

falloir *yéghally* يغالى

▷ *ǵallīh-ká*, *ǵalláh-ká* 'I do not want';

▷ *ǵalláh* (or *ǵallá*, *álá*) *a-šwâh* '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. *ǵəllâyen*

P: cerchio, giro

▷ *agəllâi n tebazârt* 'a circle of bread to make baskets with'

◆ To. (Gh.) *taǵălait* 'circle'

YL3

****ayól/yli** [v.cc*/ccī] 'to be dear'

res. *yła*

pf. 3sg.m. *iglāia*

Z: XI

◆ Ar. *ʔaǵlā* 'to be dear or precious'

yəli-ka [stat.v.+neg.] 'to be cheap'

ghaleika غليكة

M: bon-marché

◆ From Ar. *ǵalī* 'expensive' + Awjila negative particle *ká*.

YLB

****yəlləb** [v.cċc] 'to best s.o., to defeat s.o.'

pf. / seq. *yəlləb*

pf. 3sg.m. *igelléb-(ten)*

PT: VIII M: par force *yéghlebah* يغلبه

◆ Ar. *ǵalaba* 'to subdue, conquer, vanquish, defeat', the Awjila reflex appears to refer to a Stem II derivation *ǵallaba*, which in MSA is the causative of *ǵalaba*. The meaning in the

text is certainly not causative.

YM

taymày (or: **təymày**) [f.] pl. *taymawìn*, *taymáwin* 'thigh'

taǵmâi pl. *taǵmāwīn*, *taǵmāwīn*

P: coscia M: cuisse *thaghmáy* طاغماي

◆ TC: 669

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tayma* 'thigh'; Nef. *tāǵmâ*,

taǵmâ 'thigh'; Sok. *táǵma* 'thigh'; Siwa *taǵma*

'thigh'; To. *tâyma* 'thigh'; Kb. *tayma* 'thigh';

Zng. *tāmā^h* 'thigh'

YMR

tayəmmirt [f.] pl. *təyəmmirìn* 'armpit'

taǵemmîrt pl. *teǵəmmûrīn*

P: ascella M: aisselle *teghmert* تغمرت

◆ TC: 60

Berber, cf. Ghd. *taymārt*, *tayămmārt* 'corner, elbow'; Kb. *tiymārt*, *tiy^wmārt* 'corner, elbow';

To. *áymar*, *tâymart* 'elbow'; Zng. *oʔmri(?)*,

uʔmār, *iʔmmār* 'elbow'; Siwa *tayəmmārt*

'armpit'; Nef. *tuǵumért*, *tuǵmért* 'elbow';

YN1

ayùn [m.] 'a rope to which a 'delou' is tied to draw water'

agûn

P: corda

○ Perhaps a derivation of *ăqqān* 'to bind, tie, attach' ► QN

YN2

iyənni [v.cċī] 'to hurt'

3sg.m. *igénni*, *igännî-(y-î)* [P: example] 3sg.f.

tăjénni

P: dolere, far male

○ May either be an imperfective of a |ccī| verb, or the perfective of a |cċī| verb.

▷ *aṭār-ennûk igännî-y-î* 'my foot hurts'

◆ Berber, cf. To. *ayána* 'suffering, hardship';

Siwa *gənn* 'to hurt'

YR1

uyér [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-ḡâr-î elmêṣhāf* '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 elmêṣhāf* 'I have lost the book'

YR2

təyarîṭ (or: təḡərîṭ) [f.] pl. t(ə)yariwîn 'stick'

tăḡarîṭ pl. *tḡariwîn*, *tēḡarîwîn* [PT:I],

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

P: bastone PT: I M: bâton *tagharit*

تغريت; révolté (être) *tégharit* تغريت

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tayărit* 'stick'; Kb. *tiḡrit* '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

aḡər [v.cc*] 'to read'

seq. = res. *əḡra* impf. *ḡərṛa*

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

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

P: leggere

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

š-əḡər [caus.v.] 'to cause to read'

imp. sg. *šáḡar*

P: leggere

aḡərṛu [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

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

◆ TC: 70

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

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

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

YRDM

tyardîmt (or: tyərdîmt) [f.] pl. tyardimîn 'scorpion'

tḡardîmt 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: ayərǵf) [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 طاغرا *‘sack, bag’*

M: sac

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

YRS

pl. əlyərsat-(ənnəs) [f.] ‘young palms’
pl. *əljārsāt-(énnes)*
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* مَغَارِش; immoler *gharich* غَارِش

◆ TC: 82

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

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

ayərāš [v.n.m.] ‘slaughter’

agārāš

P: sgozzare

YSLM

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

P: lucertola

təyasləmt (or: tǵəsləmt) [m.] ‘lizard (female)’

tǵəslémt ‘lizard (female)’

P: lucertola

YST

ayàst [m.] pl. *yastìn* ‘bone’

agāst pl. *ǵāstìn*, *ǵāstìn-(nésneṭ)* [PT:XV]

P: osso PT: XV M: os *aghazt* اغازت

◆ TC: 85, K: 721

Berber, cf. GGhd. *yāss*, *yāš* ‘bone’; Kb. *iyəss* ‘bone’; To. *éyāss* ‘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. *agāš*, *gaš* [B21] pl.m. *agāšât* pl.f.

agēšmet; pf. 1sg. *ǵašh* 3sg.m. *yagāš*; res. 1sg.

ǵišha 3sg.m. *yagīša*; fut. 1sg. *agāšh* 3sg.m.

aigāš; impf. *tagǵāšh*, *tagāšh* 3sg.m. *itaǵǵāš*

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

يَغْشْتِيَه

▷ *tagǵāšh-kem* ‘I love you’

◆ K: 724

Berber, cf. Nef. *ǵəss*, *ǵāss* ‘to love’; Siwa *aḥs* ‘to love, want’

YTM + GLW (Move to QTM)

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

impf. *yəqəttəm* *təgiliwin*

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

يجيلوى

M: bourreau

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

YT₁

tɣəɛ [f.] pl. tɣəttən, tɣittən ‘goat’

tɣāt pl. tɣāttən, tɣittän

P: capra

◆ TC: 9

Berber, cf. Ghd. *téəat* ‘goat’; Kb. *tayaɛ* ‘goat’; Nef. *tɣāt* ‘goat’; Siwa *tɣāt* ‘id.’; To. *təyatt* ‘goat’; Zng. *taʔD* ‘goat’.

YV

ay(ə)v [m.] ‘milk’

āgēv, āgf, āgf [P:example], āgēf [B24], āgēv [B24]

P: latte B24: 186

▷ āgf d-atrâr ‘fresh milk’

◆ TC: 113, K: 11, 160, 738

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

YVL

āyvəl, āgvəl [m.] ‘ash’

āgvəl, āgvəl

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’

agiz pl. gizzen

P: collana

▷ agiz n úrāg ‘golden necklace’ [s.v. di]

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *agiz* ‘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. ġazfāh 2sg. ġazfāt 3sg.m. ġázzef 3sg.f.

ġazfet pl. ġazzifit

P: lungo, alto

◆ TC: 105

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

yɜzif [adj.]f. təyɜift (or: tayɜift) ‘long, high’

m. ġɜif f. tağɜift

P: lungo, alto

š-əyɜəf [caus.v.] ‘to lengthen’

pf. / seq. = res. šəyɜəf impf. š-əyɜàf

imp. sg. šəğzef, séğzef; pf. 1sg. šəğzəfh 3sg.m.

išəğzef; res. 1sg. šəğzifha 3sg.m. išəğzifa;

impf. 1sg. šəğzāfh 3sg.m. išəğzāf

P: allungare; lungo, alto

təyɜəf [f.] ‘length’

táğzef

P: lunghezza

H ► I₄

HD

əlhūdi [m.] ‘jew’

əlhūdī, lhūdī, elhūdī, əlhūdī, ləlhūdī

PT: V

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

HL

ləhəl [m.] ‘people, family’

ləhəl [PT:II], ləhil-(ənnūk, énnək) [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. ahléβen

PT: II

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

PT: VII

◆ ELA *hárza* ‘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****lhəbb** [m.] pl. *ləhbùb* ‘date (ripe)’*lhabb* pl. *lahbùb*P: dattero Z: IV M: datte, fruit *lahbou*

لحبو

◆ Ar. *habb* ‘grains; seed’**ḤDF****ḥəḍəf** [v.ccc] ‘to throw’pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *əḥḍəf*imp. sg. *ḥəḍəf*; pf. 3sg.m. *yahḍef-(ténəṭ)*[PT:V]; res. 1sg. *aḥḍefḥ-(tít)-a* [PT:V]; fut. 1sg.*aḥḍefâ-(s)* [PT:V]

P: gettare PT: V

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *əḥḍəf* ‘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’*lahkâyet*

PT: IV

◆ Ar. *ḥikāya(t)* ‘story, tale’**ḤL****aḥòli** [m.] pl. *ḥolàwən* ‘lamb’*aḥôlî* pl. *ḥolâwen*P: agnello M: mouton *haoli* حولى◆ ELA *ḥôlî* ‘(one year old) lamb’; Ar. *ḥawlî* ‘periodic, temporary, interim; one year old (animal), yearling; young animal; lamb, wether’**taḥolît** [f.] pl. *ṭholitîn* ‘sheep (more common than *təwól*)’*taholît* pl. *ṭholitîn*

P: pecora

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

P: pane

ḤM₁**áḥəmm** [v.cċ?] ‘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/əḥmî** [v.cc*/cci] ‘to burn, scorch’res. *əḥma/əḥmî*res. 3sg.f. *taḥmāya*

PT: III

◆ Mor. Ar. *ḥmā* ‘to become very hot’

HML

****əhməl [v.ccc]** ‘to load, carry’

res. = fut. əhməl

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

aħmelh [PT:XII]

PT: III, XII

◆ Ar. *ħamala* ‘to carry, bear’

əlhəm(ə)l [m.] ‘load, burden’

elhámł, elħamēl-(énnes)

PT: III

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

HMS

ħəmmùš [m.] ‘penis’

ħammúš

P: penis

HNN

ħənnūni [kin.m.] ‘grandfather’

2sg. *ħənnunì-k*

1sg. *ħannūnī* 2sg. *ħannunì-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

ħəntə [adv.adj.] ‘a bit’

héntā

P: poco PT: III, XII

◆ Ar. *hinṭa(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’

elháqq [PT:VI], *elhāqq-(ennúk)* [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. *ħossîh*

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. *aħséḃ*; pf. 3sg. *yaħseb-(tēṇet)* [PT:V];

res. 1sg. *aħséḃh-(kû)-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. *anmħàseb*

PT: II

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

◆ Ar. *ħāsaba* ‘to hold responsible’

HSL

****ħəşşəl [v.cċc]** ‘to obtain’

res. *ħəşşəl*

res. 3sg.m. *yaħaşşila*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *ħaşşala* ‘to obtain’

HŠ1

aħàš [stat.v] ‘to be ugly, bad’

3sg.m. aḥàš 3sg.f. aḥàšəṭ pl. aḥàšit
 aḥâš, aḥâš [PT:XV] f. aḥâšet pl. aḥâšit
 P: brutto, cattivo PT: XV M: avere *ahach*
 حاحش ; imparfait *hhach* حاحش

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

ḤṢ2

aḥəš [v.cc*] ‘to crush dates’

impf. ḥəšša

imp. sg. aḥâš; impf. 3sg.m. iḥéšša

P: pestare datteri

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

P: pestare datteri

ḤT1

ḥəṭṭa [kin.f.] ‘(maternal) aunt’

2sg.m. ḥəṭṭà-k 3sg. ḥəṭṭà-s

1sg. ḥəṭṭā 2sg.m. ḥəṭṭà-k 3sg. ḥəṭṭà-s

P: zio M: tante *attak* اتك

ḤT2

ḥəṭṭa [adv.] ‘even’

ḥátta

PT: V

◆ ELA *ḥattā* ‘even’

ḤZM

əḥəzmət [m.] ‘bundle’

elḥāzmet

PT: I

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

ḤŽ

alḥàžəṭ (or: əḥàžəṭ) [f.] ‘thing’

alḥâžet

P: cosa

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

ELA *ḥâža* ‘thing’

I1

-i [suff.] ‘towards’

-ī

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

▷ *nettîn ya’udda (ir) tḥillî-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

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

▷ *fkíḥ wâya 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’

tit, tīt pl. *tīwîn, ettiwîn* [B21]

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

athi اطي ; source *tiouen* تيون

◆ 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'

▷ *tânîr-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. *kîya* [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. *keddîmen*

PT: II

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

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

KDR

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

təkədîrt, *tekdîrt* [B21] pl. *tkedrîn*

P: spiga B21: 384 M: épi *tékadert* تكد رت

◆ K: 588

Berber, cf. Nef. *tiddért* 'ear (botanical)'; Ghd.

tašaddart 'ear of grain'; MA *taydert* 'ear of

grain'; Foq. *tadrī* 'ear (botanical)';

KF

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

əlkəffet

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. *tekkik*

P: verme M: ver *thaqouq* طاقوق

◆ K: 500

Berber, cf. Kb. *awəkkiw*, *tawəkka* 'worm'; To.

tawəkke 'earthworm; maggot'; Siwa *takəčči*

'earthworm'

KL

kull [quant.] 'each, every; all'

kull [PT:I,II,VIII] *kúll* [PT:XIII,XV], *köll* [PT:I]

PT: I, II, VIII, XIII, XV M: chacun

koulliounkesimani 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

klābu [m.] "very thick animal skin"

klābu

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'

akellîm, akellîm-(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. *tkəllmîn* 'female slave, servant'

takellîmt pl. *tkellmîn*

P: schiavo

KM₁

kəm [pron.]2sg.f. independent pronoun
kem

P: tu B21: 390 PT: IV, XV

=*kəm* [pron.]2sg.f. direct object pronoun
-kem, res. *-kîma*

P: tu

KM₂

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

-kim, -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

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

kemmîm

P: voi B21: 390 PT: I

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

kemmîmet

P: voi B21: 390

KML₁

***kkəmməl* [v.cċc] 'to finish'

seq. *kkəmməl*

pf. 1sg. *kemmélh* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ikkémmel* [PT:II,XIV], *yekkémmel* [PT:IV]

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

اكمله ; entire *ekmeleh* اكمله

◆ Ar. *kammala* 'to finish'

KMŠ

kmáš [v.ccc] 'to tie together a bundle'

imp. sg. *kméš*

P: legare, attaccare

◆ TC: 375

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

təkəmmùšt (or: *takəmmùšt*) [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-ek

PT: XV

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

KNVL ► QNVL

KNY

****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. *tinžért* ‘nose’; Kb. *tinžərt*

‘nose’; Nef. *tinžért* ‘nose’; To. *tînšárt* ‘nose’;

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

tînžärt ‘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. kərri

imp. sg. *ėkrī*; pf. 3sg.m. *yekrī*, *yekrī-(ká)*

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

yekrâya; impf. 3sg.m. *ikėrrī*

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

rendre *aikri* ايكري; retour *kėri* كرى

revenir *ėkėri* اكرى

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

Zng. *uṃṃugrih* ‘to return’

š-əkri [caus.v.] ‘to return s.th.’

pf. / seq. = š-əkri

imp. sg. *šėkrī*, *šėkrī-(dīk)* [PT:VII]; pf. 3sg.m.

išėkr-(īs) [PT:VII]

P: ritornare; restituir PT: VII

KR₂

əkər, ūkər [v.vcc] ‘to steal’

seq. = res. = fut. ūkər impf. təkər

imp. sg. *əkər*, *ūkər*; pf. 3sg.m. *yúker* 3pl.m.

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

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

[PT:IV] 3sg.m. *itaker*

P: rubare PT: IV, IX

◆ TC: 38

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

steal’; To. *əkər* ‘to steal, rob’; Zng. *oʔgər* ‘to

steal’

ukùr [v.n.m.] ‘stealing’

ukùr

P: rubare

š-ūkər [caus.v.] ‘to cause to steal’

impf. s-ukàr

imp. sg. *šúker*; impf. 1sg. *sukârḥ*

P: rubare

****tw-əkər** [pass.v.] ‘to be stolen’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. tw-əkər

pf. 3sg.m. *ituáker*; res. 3sg.m. *ituakîra*; fut.

3sg.m. *aituáker*

P: rubare

kkùr, ikkùr ► LK₁

KR₃

əkkār [v.ċc] ‘get up, take off’

pf. = fut. əkkār seq. = res. əkkār impf.

təkkər

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

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

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

əkkérən [PT:XV] 3pl.f. *ekkerneṭ* [PT:XV],

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

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

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

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

كَر; dressé ??mekerr مَكَّر

▷ *tekkért-ká* ‘do not get up’

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

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

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

(ə)**kkūr** [v.n.m.] ‘getting up’

kkūr

P: alzarisi, levarsi

š-əkkār [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-āya ddiwa* ‘what (thing) is this?’

▷ *wur gâri kéra* ‘I have nothing’

◆ TC: 603

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

tekėrdi

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

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

täkrūmt

P: osso

◆ Berber, cf. To. *əkrəm* ‘to twist, bend’; Nef.

akrūm ‘back’, *tukrūmt* ‘neck’; Sok. *takrūmt*

‘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*, *kėréš*; impf. 3sg.m. *ikerréš*

P: zappare

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

akəraš [v.n.m.] ‘hoeing, digging’

akərāš

P: zappare

KRZ

tkirzá [f.] ‘ploughing’

tkirzā

B21: 384

○ Beguinot does not explicitly mention the meaning of this word, but connects it with the Nefusi word *tirzā* of which we know the meaning.

◆ Berber cf. Nef. *tirzā* ‘ploughing, cultivation’; MA *takerza* ‘ploughing’. ► KRŠ2

KSM

ksùm [m.] ‘meat’

ksùm, *ksūm*-(āya) [PT:II] *ksūm*-(ennésnet) [PT:XV]

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

اكسوم

◆ K: 574

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aksəm* ‘meat’; Kb. *aksum* ‘meat’; Sok. *aksúm* ‘meat’; Siwa *askūm* ‘meat’.

KŠ

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

pf. *əkkáš* impf. *təkkáš*

imp. sg. *ėkkėš*, *kkėš*, *keš* [B21]; pf. 3sg.m.

yekkėš [PT: IX]; impf. 3sg.m. *itėkkeš*

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

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

يکش; fermer *yėkkecha* يکشه

◆ TC: 610

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

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

kküş

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’

akeššin, *akšin* pl. *käššin*

P: nocciolo

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

Ref.: Vycichl (2005: 9)

KTF1

tkəttift [f.] pl. *tkəttfîn* ‘ant’

tkettift pl. *tkettfîn*

P: formica M: fourmi *tékətfi* تكتفى

◆ NZ: Df1 TC: 971 K: 618

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

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

ōduf, *oḍduf* ‘ant’, *tōḍduft* ‘female or small ant’;

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

KTF2

əlkətf(-ənnəs) [m.] pl. *ləktuf(-ənnəs)*

‘shoulder’

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

lektūf(-énnek, énnés) [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

təkwayt [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’

tâlā

P: cucina

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tali* ‘room’

L4

ul [m.] pl. ulàwən ‘heart’

ûl, 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.

ûy ‘heart’

ul nə-ṣṣûy [phrasal n.] ‘core of a palm’

ûl nə-ṣṣûi

P: palma

L5

illi [m.] ‘millet’

îllî, éllî

P: miglio

L6

tîli [f.] ‘shadow’

tîlî

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. *tîyih* ‘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. *yelbība* [PT:XII]; impf. 3sg.m. *ilebbùb*

P: montare, salire PT: XII M: cavalier

elbeba الببه

▷ *albúb afgmár* ‘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. *šəlbúb*; impf. 3sg.m. *išelbâb*

P: montare, salire

LBĤR ► BĤR**LBS ► BLS****LBS**

təlabrəst [f.] ‘lizard’

telabrést

P: lucertola

LBRT ► BRT**LBŠ**

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

(of a fruit, vegetable etc.), leaf’

telebbišt pl. *telebbiš, tlebbišîn*

P: buccia, scorza; foglia

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

LD

lûda [adv.] ‘nothing’

lûda, lû

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

▷ *ġārī lûda* ‘I have nothing’

LDM ► DM**LDN**

tildùnt [f.] ‘tin’

tildûnt

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

طلدونت

◆ K: 245

Berber, cf. Kb. *aldun* ‘lead’; Zng. *āldūn* ‘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 *ilǎff* ‘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. *ělléf, llef*

P: ripudiare

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

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

(ə)lluf [v.n.m.] ‘divorcing’

ělluf

P: ripudiare

LFNK ► FNK

LFYD ► FYD

LGFL ► GFL

LGMT ► GM₂

LY

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

allâġ

P: fondo

LYBŠ ► YBŠ

LYM₁

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

pf. / seq. / fut. əlyəm

pf./fut. 1sg. *elġámħ* 3sg.m. *yelġám* [PT:II],

yélġám [PT:XII], *yelġóm* [PT:V] 3sg.f. *telġám*

3pl.m. *elġámħen* 3pf.f. *elġámñet*

P: rifiutare PT: II, V, XII M: nié

??*mielghoun* ميلغون; *nier yelghoun*

يلغون

LYM₂

aləyəm [m.] pl. *ləymîn* 'camel'

alógom, *alōgom*, *alúgom* [PT:XV] *alógom*

[PT:XV] pl. *loġmîn*

P: cammello PT: XV

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *alyəm* 'camel', *talyəmt*

'she-camel'; To. *tállāmt* 'she-camel'; Zng.

äyi?m, *täyi?mt* 'camel'

tələymt [f.] pl. *təlymitîn* 'she-camel'

telógmt pl. *tloġmitîn*

P: cammello

LHD₁

****əlhád** [v.ccc] 'to run'

impf. *lèhhəd*

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. *šélham* pl.m. *šélhamât* pl.f.

šélhammēt 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. *šelḥâmħ* 3sg.m. *išelḥâm*

P: accendere PT: XV M: allumer *chelhamt*

شلحت

LḤML ► ḤML

LḤQ ► ḤQ

LḤRR ► ḤRR

LḤZM ► ḤZM

LḤŽ ► ḤŽ

LK₁

lləkka [particle] 'still'

llékka, *illékka*, *llekká* [PT:III]

▷ *irîu llékka ínni ar amédēn* '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*

əllék, *llek*; impf. 3sg.m. *itéllek*

P: spidocchiare

◆ Transparently derived from the same root as *twellíkt* pl. *twellkîn* 'louse' ► WLK; cf. Ghd. *əllək* 'to delouse'

LK3

-læk- [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

lækən [conj.] 'but'

lâken [PT:III,X] *lâkân* [PT:XII]

PT: III, X, XII

◆ Ar. *lākin* '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.ċċ] '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. *éllem*, *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 a instrumental derivation of the verb *əlləm*. Usually, Berber instrumental derivations are made with an *s-* it is unclear why this form has voicing of the *s-* to *z-*, but cf. Kb. *azellum* 'a light belt made of several round cords'

LM3

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 *lāmaḏ* ‘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

LMYR ▶ MYR₂

LMLXY ▶ MLXY

LMM ▶ MM₅

LMR ▶ MR₁

LMŞHF ▶ MŞHF

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. *laqqâh* 2sg. *laqqât* 3sg.m. *laqqâq* 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: **tələqquq**) [adj.]f. *tələqquqt* ‘thin’

m. *alaqqûq* f. *telaqqûqt*

P: magro

LQYM ▶ QYM

LQZ

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

Telâqzi

P: Telâqzi

LS

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

ilës pl. *ilsen*, *ilsânen*

P: lingua M: langue *elsuo* الصو

◆ TC: 945

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

‘language’

LŞLƆ ▶ ŞLƆ

LŞQ

lləşiq, **aləşiq** [m.] pl. *ləşqàwən* ‘oven’

lleşiq, *aleşiq* pl. *leşqâwen*

P: forno M: four *lésikh* لسيخ

LŠ

alùssi [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’

▷ *timzîn llowešîna* ‘the barley withered’

LXDR ► XDR

LXRBŠ ► XRBŠ

LZ1

****llüz [v.čvc]** ‘to be hungry’

pf. / seq. = res. əllüz impf. tlàza

pf. 1sg. *llüzîh* 3sg.m. *yellûz*; res. 1sg. *llüzîha*

3sg.m. *yellûza*; impf. 1sg. *tlāzîh* 3sg.m. *itlâza*

P: fame M: faim *loza* لوزه

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

təlazàt [f.] ‘hunger’

tälāzât

P: fame

LZ2

alûzi [m.] pl. luzàwəŋ ‘whip’

alûzi pl. *luzâwen*

P: frusta

LŽ

aləžži [m.] pl. ləžžàwəŋ ‘ram’

aləžži pl. *ležžâwen*

P: montone

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *aléggi* ‘ram’

Lſ

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

res. ùləſ

res. 3sg.f. *tulî’a*

Z: IX

◆ Ar. *wali’a* ‘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*), *amalâ* [PT:V], *am-alâ* [PT:II], *am-alâ* [PT:XV]

P: come PT: I, II, III, V, XI, XV

○ *am-alâ* is found in comparisons of verbal sentences

▷ *nettîn moqqár am nek* ‘he is as big as me’

▷ *əntîn igâya am amédēŋ* ‘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.

nənnna

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.

ayém m 3sg.f. *attém m* 3pl.f. *ammânēt* [PT:XV];

impf. 3sg.m. *inénna* 3sg.f. *tnénna*

P: cuocere PT: II, XV

▷ *timzîn 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. *išumma* 3pl.m.

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

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

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

3sg.m. *aišumm*

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.

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

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

[PT:XV]

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

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

◆ TC: 1053

Berber, cf. Ghd. *má*, *ma* 'mother'; Kb. *yamma* 'mother'; Zng. *yumṣih* 'mother'; Siwa *əṣṣma* '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. *āmmâi*, *ūmmâi* 'brother';

Sok. *ummâ* 'brother'; Siwa *amma* 'brother'

M6

àmmi [kin.m.] '(paternal) uncle'

2sg.m. *ammî-k* 3sg. *ammî-s*

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

ammî-s

P: zio Z: III M: oncle *ammis* عمس

◆ Ar. *šamm* 'paternal uncle'

šámma [kin.f.] '(paternal) aunt'

šamma

Z: II

◆ Ar. *šamma(t)* 'paternal aunt'

M7/MNY

təmmît [f.] pl. *tmənyîn* 'tamarisk'

temmît pl. *tmənyîn*

P: tamarice M: tamarix *temmet* تمّت

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *tāmmâit* '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 tâvérēn* ‘the water boils’

◆ TC: 666

Berber, cf. Kb. *aman* ‘water’; Foq. *âman*

‘water’; Ghd. *áman* ‘water’; Nef. *amēn*, *amân*

‘water’; Siwa *aman* ‘water’; Sok. *amân* ‘water’;

To. *àman* ‘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.ċvc] ‘to pray’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *mùd* impf. *mùda*

imp. sg. *mūd*; pf. 1sg. *mūdīh* 3sg.m. *imūd*; res.

1sg. *mudīha* 3sg.m. *imūda*; fut. 1sg. *ammūdah*,

ammudáh [PT:II] 3sg.m. *aimūd* ptc.

ammūdân [PT:II]; impf. 1sg. *mūdīh* [PT:II]

3pl.m. *mūdân* [PT:II]

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

◆ K: 126, 223

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

amùd [v.n.m.] ‘prayer’

amûd

P: preghiera

ammùd [m.] pl. *ammùdən* ‘mosque’

ammûd pl. *ammûden*

P: moschea PT: II

MD2

****əmmùdd** [v.cċ] ‘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. *təmidīwīn*

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’

temedġāt, *temedġāt*

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

amədən [m.] ‘man’ pl. *mədinən*, *mìddən* ‘people’

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

amédén-(*nēs*) [PT:XV] pl. *mədīnēn*, *míddēn*

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

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

amaden امان

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

măddən ‘people’; To. *médđən* ‘men’

MDY ► MDY

MG1

màg [adv.] ‘where?’

māg, *māg* [PT:XV]

P: dove? PT: VIII, XV

▷ *māg inni amēḍen-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, ammagwa [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 *samaghousa*

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, trasformarsi

▷ *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. *timmi* ‘eyebrow’; Ouar.

tammi ‘eyebrow’; Mzab *tammi* ‘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

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

təməgnî, temígnî [PT:III,XV], *təməgnî* [PT:III],

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

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

[PT:XV] pl. *təməgnîwîn, tməgnîwîn* ‘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

imgar, yəmgar [m.] pl. *məg(ə)rən* ‘sickle’

imger, yəmgər pl. *mégəren*

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

◆ K: 317

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

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

Siwa *amžir* ‘sickle’ ► MŽR

MYR

əlməy(y)ārət [f.] ‘cave’

əlməggâret, elmoğgâret-(î), elmâğâret-(î),

elmoğâret-(î)

PT:XV

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

MH**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-tirût* ‘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

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

pf. / seq. əmḥəṭ

imp. sg. *măḥăṭ*; pf. *yemḥăṭ-(ṭăṭ)* [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. *iməklî* ‘meal during a journey, afternoon lunch’, Rif. *mekla* ‘meal’ etc.**MKN****amakân, amkân** [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, mméktî*; pf. 3sg.m.*yimméktā*; res. 3sg.m. *yemmektâya*; impf.3sg.m. *immektâ*P: ricordarsi; M: souvenir (se) *makti*

مكتي

◆ TC: 626, K: 562, 577

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ăktat* ‘to remember’; Kb.*mməkti* ‘to remember’; To. *əktu* ‘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. *tməlgíṭ* ‘fontanelle’.The development of the Awjila form is not entirely clear. Rather than the *y* being doubled as in the two languages cited above, the root consonant *l* is doubled instead.**MLL1****məlləl** [stat.v.] ‘to be white’1sg. *məllàx* 2sg. *məllăt* 3sg.m. *məlləl* 3sg.f.*məllăt, məllăt pl. məllílit*1sg. *məllâḥ* 2sg. *məllât* 3sg.m. *məllél, mēllet*[P:example] 3sg.f. *məllét pl. məllílit*

P: bianco

▷ *guliḥa tḥilli mēllet* ‘I’ve seen a white house’

◆ TC: 693

Berber, cf. Ghd. *amləl* ‘to be white’; Kb. *məllul* ‘to be white’; To. *məlləl* ‘to be or become white’; Zng. *məlliy*, *m^wəlliy* ‘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

▷ *amédəṇ 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. *temālält* ‘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’

ləmluḥiyet [PT:III,IV], *ēmluḥiyet* [PT:III]

PT: III, IV

◆ Ar. *muluḥiya(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. *mmumèt*

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

mmûmît

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. *mamâ-k* 3sg. *mamâ-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-nəkīm

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

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

1pl. *imán-naḥ* 2pl.m. *iman-nekīm* [PT:I]

P: stesso; solo PT: I, IV, V, VII M: forcé

??*msimanès* مسيمانس; forcer *simanes*

سيمانس

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *iman* ‘oneself’; Kb. *iman* ‘oneself’; To. *ìman* ‘soul, life force’

MN3

təmnit (or: tamnit) [f.] ‘jar, vase’

təmnît

P: giarra

MN4

tímənt [f.] ‘honey’

tîmənt

P: miele M: abeille *tement* تمت

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

MN5

mmèn, mmìn [inter.adv.] 'when?'

mmén, mmîn

P: quando

▷ *mmîn tušidda dîla* 'when did you arrive here?'

MN6

màni [inter.pron.] 'who?'

mānī, mânī

P: chi?

▷ *mānī ušānda dîla?* 'who came here?'

▷ *d-mānī?* 'who is?'

▷ *d-wa-n mânī?* 'whose is?'

▷ *gmāren-îya d-wi-n mânī?* 'Whose are these horses?'

▷ *wāya d-wan mânī?* '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)ràx* 2sg. *moq(ə)ràt* 3sg.m.

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

1sg. *moqārāḥ*, *moqqārāḥ* 2sg. *moqārāt* 3sg.m.

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

móqaret, *móqqaret* pl. *moqqāūrīt*

P: grande M: agrandir *makkar* مَكَّا

grande *mokar* مَكَّا

◆ TC: 672

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

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

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

aməqq(ə)ràn [adj.]pl. *moqqrànən*,

moqqrārən f. *taməqqərànt*,

t(ə)məqq(ə)rànt pl. *tməqqranìn* 'big, old'

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

f.sg. *tamoqqārānt*, *tmoqqārānt* [PT:XV],

tmoqqārānt [PT:XV], *təmoqqārānt* [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. *marra* (*t-an*) 'once'

əlmarrat-(àya) [f.] 'time, turn'

elmarrāt-(àya) [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'

tāmùrt, *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

tamirt [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

mrî [stat.v.] ‘to be beautiful’

3sg.m. *mrî*, *mrîyən* 3sg.f. *mrîyət* pl. *mrîyît*

3sg.m. *mrî*, *mrî* [PT:IV], *mrîyen* 3sg.f. *mrîyet*

pl. *mrîyît*, *imrîjêt* [Z:IV]

P: bello PT: IV Z: IV

MRFT

amərfəṭ [m.] ‘spleen’

amārfāṭ

P: milza

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *aranfaḍ* ‘spleen’; Ouar. *imərfəḍ*, *inərfəḍ* ‘spleen’

MRŸ1

tamûrəḡ [f.] ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’

tamûrāḡ, *tamûroḡ* [P:example]

P: cavalletta

▷ *iwât n tamûroḡ* ‘one grasshopper’

◆ TC: 59 K: 636

Berber, cf. Foq. *tamûrgî* ‘grasshoppers (coll.)’; Nef. *tamerḡî* ‘grasshopper’; Siwa *təmarḡî* ‘grasshopper’; Ghd. *tomarše* ‘grasshopper’; Zng. *toʔm̥murih* ‘grasshopper’.

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

MRŸ2

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

amerḡāu pl. *merḡāwen*

P: dattero

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *argāu* ‘date’

MRR

pl. mrārən [m.] ‘harness’

pl. *mrāren*

P: finimenti

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

MRTF

amərtûf [m.] pl. *mərtîf* ‘a measure of capacity (for cereals), corresponds to 3 šî‘án’

amārtûf pl. *mertîf*

P: misura di capacità M: charge

ammertouf امَرتوف ; M: charger *mertouf*

مرتوف

MS1

təmasût [f.] pl. *təmasutîn* ‘boil, pimple’

temāsût pl. *temāsūtîn* ‘boil, pimple’

P: foruncolo

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

MS2

tammàst [f.] ‘in the middle’

tammâst

P: fra; mezzo (in)

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

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

MSL

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

amäsàl

P: pozzo

MSN**tamə̀sna** [f.] ‘the outside’*taməsna*P: fuori M: étranger *estamsna* اسطامسنة▷ *ušānd s taməsna* ‘They came from outside’◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamasna* ‘desert’**MṢḤF****əlmə̀ṣḥaf** [m.] ‘book’*elməṣḥaf*

P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)

◆ Ar. *muṣḥaf* ‘volume; book; copy of the Koran’**MŠK****mə̀ššək** [stat.v.] ‘to be small’1sg. mə̀škāx 2sg. mə̀škāt 3sg.m. mə̀ššək
3sg.f. mə̀škāt pl. mə̀ššikīt1sg. *meškāh* 2sg. *meškāt* 3sg.m. *meššék* 3sg.f.*meškét* pl. *meššikīt*P: piccolo M: jeune *métchik* متشيك

◆ K: 682

Perhaps Berber, cf. Nef. *meššék* ‘small’; To.*màtkāy* ‘to be or become small’**š-ə̀mšək** [caus.v.] ‘to reduce’imp. sg. *šémšek*

P: piccolo

amə̀škùn [adj.] pl. mə̀škùnən f.

tamə̀škùn pl. tmə̀škúnin ‘small’

m. sg. *ameškùn* pl. *meškùnən* f. sg. *tameškùnt*pl. *tmeškùnìn* ‘small’

P: piccolo

MŠW ► NŠ**MT****əmt** [v.cc*] ‘to bury’

seq. = res. əmta impf. mətta

imp. sg. *əmt*, *mtî-(t)* [PT:II]; pf. 3sg.m. *yəmta*,*yemtî-(t)* [PT:II] res. 3sg.m. *yemtāya*; impf.3sg.m. *imétta*

P: seppellire PT: II

◆ Zuara *əmt* ‘to bury’ (Mitchell 2009: 17)**i-tt-əmt** [pass.v.] ‘to be buried’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ttəmt

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. *mmúyēh* 3sg.m. *immùt*3sg.f. *temmùt* [PT:III]; res. 1sg. *mmuyîha*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. *əmmat* ‘to die’; Kb. *əmmet* ‘todie’; To. *əmmu-t* ‘to die’; Zng. *əṃṃih* ‘to die’**tə̀mə̀ttint** [v.n.f.] ‘death’*temettint*

P: morire, morte

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tamə̀ttant* ‘death’; Foq.*tamettânt* ‘death’; Sok. *tamettânt* ‘death’; To.*tamə̀ttant* ‘death’; Zng. *tmə̀ttänt*, *tmäntänt*

‘death’

MTʃ**pl. əlmə̀tʃə̀t-(ə̀nnə̀snə̀t)** [f.?] ‘things’pl. *elmetʃat-(ə̀nnə̀snə̀t)*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *matāʃ* pl. *ʔamtiʃa(t)* ‘object, thing, utensil; stuff, objects, commodities’**MṬS ► MṬZ****MṬZ****tə̀mīṭàst** [f.] pl. tə̀mīṭaz ‘scissors’*temīṭāst* pl. *temīṭaz*

P: forbici

◆ NZ: ḌZ₁Berber, cf. Foq. *tmīḍāst* ‘scissors’; Ghd.

tamiḍāst ‘scissors’; Sok. *tmiṭāst* ‘scissors’; Siwa *timīṭāš* ‘scissors’ (Naumann 2013: 377)

MY

mīyət [num.] ‘hundred’

mīyet

PT: V

◆ ELA *mīya* ‘hundred’; Ar. *mīʔa(t)* ‘hundred’

MZD

aməzzīd [m.] ‘semolina for couscous’

amezzīd

P: semolino per kuskūs

MZN₁

təməzīnt [f.] ‘herb (Mercury)’

temezīnt

P: erba

○ Paradisi says this plant name corresponds to Ar. *buzenzīr*, which is the name for ‘mercury’ (Kerdja 2006: 26)

MZN₂

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

amezūn

P: porta

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

tamezūnt

P: porta

MZS

təmuzīst [f.] pl. *tmuzistīn*, *tmuzīs* ‘threshold, doorstep’

tēmuzīst pl. *tmuzistīn*, *tmuzīs*

P: soglia

MZZ

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

tamzézza pl. *tēmezezzáyāt*

P: ape

◆ Berber, cf. Nef. *tezizwi*

MŽ₁

pl. **timžīn** [f.] ‘barley’

pl. *timžīn*, *temžīn*, *timžīn* [B₂₁], *temezīn* [B₂₁]

P: orzo B₂₁: 385 PT: XV

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *tūmžīn* ‘barley’; Kb. *timžīn* ‘barley’; Ghd. *təmžet* pl. *təmžén* ‘barley’; Nef. *ṭāmžīn* ‘barley’; Sok. *tímžīn* ‘barley’; Siwa *tomžīn* ‘barley’

MŽ₂

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

ámžā pl. *amžīwen*

P: orco PT: XV

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *amžīw* f. *tamžā* ‘ogre’; Nef. *amžīu* f. *tamžā* ‘ogre’; Siwa *əmžā* ‘ogre’

tàmžā [f.] ‘ogress’

támžā P: orco

MŽL

təmazzàlt [f.] ‘muscle’

temazzàlt

P: muscolo

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

MŽN

aməžžīn (pl. of *iwi* ► W)

MŽŽ

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

Məžùž

P: *Məžùž*

MŽBR

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

teméžbärt

P: *profumi*

MŽR₁

(ə)**mžár** [v.ccc] ‘to reap, mow’

imp. sg. *mžer*, *emžér*

P: *mietere*; *falciare*

◆ K: 316

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āmžər* ‘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

MṢDĈ

maṣādš [adv.] ‘no longer’

maṣádš

PT: II

◆ Maghr. Ar. *mā-ṣād-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-əkmət 3pl.m.

ənn-əsīn 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-äk* [PT:XV] 3sg. -*enn-es*

[PT: I,IV,IX,X,XV] 2pl.m. -*enn-ekīm* 2pl.f.

-*enn-ékmet*, 3pl.m. -*enn-esīn* 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’

▷ *aḡīz n úrāḡ* ‘golden necklace’

◆ Pan-Berber *n* ‘of’. Kb. *n* ‘genitive particle’; To. *n*, *ən*- ‘possession 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.

tneit-ís, *tnedd-ís*, *tned-(dík)* [PT:VI],

tēned-(dík) [PT:VI] 3sg.m. *in-ís*, *in-(īsīn)*

[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*,

āīni-(dík) [PT:IV], *āīn-(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. *ān* ‘to say’; Kb. *ini* ‘to say’; To. *ān* ‘to say’; Zng. pf. *yānnāh* ‘to say’

N₃

yan [v.vc*] ‘to enter’

pf. *uná* seq. = res. *una* fut. *ùn* impf. *tàna*

imp. sg. *yān* pl.m. *yānāt* pl.f. *yānîmet*; pf. 1sg.

unîh 2sg. *tānît* [P: example], *tunît* [P:

example] 3sg.m. *yúna*, *yūnā* [PT:II], *yunā*

[PT:IX,XV], *yúna* [PT:XV], *ûna* [Z:X] 3sg.f.

tûna [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. *unîha* 3sg.m. *yunāya*;

fut. 1sg. *aunāh* 2sg. *attūnat* [PT:IX] 3sg.m.

ayûn; impf. 1sg. *tānîh* 3sg.m. *itāna*

P: entrare PT: II, IX, XV Z: X M: entrée

younaah يونة

▷ *tānît-ká* ‘do not enter!’

▷ *ur-tunît* ‘do not enter!’

unú [v.n.m.] ‘entering’

unû

P: entrare

š-an [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. enter, insert’

pf. / seq. š-àn impf. š-anà
imp. sg. *šān*; pf. 3sg.m. *išān* [PT:XV] 3sg.f. *ččān* [PT:XV] impf. 1sg. *šanâiḥ*

P: entrare PT: XV

N4

yənni [v.ċi] ‘to be (in a place)’

pf. / seq. = fut. ənni, ənni

pf./fut. 1sg. *ənnîḥ*, *nnîḥ* [PT:VI] 2sg. *tennîd*
3sg.m. *yənnî*, *innî* [PT:VIII,XV] 3sg.f. *tennî* 1pl.
nnî 3pl.m. *nnîyen*, *ənnîyen* [PT:XV] ptc.
nnîyen [PT:XIII]

P: essere, trovarsi PT: VI, VIII, XIII, XV

▷ *yənnî-ká dîla* ‘There is not’

N5

?taniya [f.] ‘pulley of a well’

tanîa

P: pozzo

◆ Perhaps related to *awénū* ► WN.

NB

əmbi [v.cci] ‘to suck’

impf. nəbbi

imp. sg. *əmbî*, *mbî*; impf. 3sg.m. *inəbbi*

P: allattare; poppare M: allaiter *iembeya*

يمبیه; sucer *emben* امين; téter

yembeya يمبيه

◆ K: 559

Berber, cf. Foq. *énbi* (*émbi*) ‘to suck’; Siwa
umbäi ‘to suckle’

?anəbbi [v.n.m.] ‘sucking’

anebbi انبى

M: téton

○ Müller translates this word as *téton* ‘breast’,
but it is clearly the verbal noun derivation.

š-əmbi [caus.v.] ‘to suckle’

pf. / seq. š-əmbi res. = fut. š-əmbi impf.

š-əmbà

imp. sg. *šémbî*; pf. 1sg. *šembîḥ* 3sg.f. *ččémbî*;

res. 1sg. *šembîḥa* 3sg.f. *ččémbâya*; fut. 1sg.m.

ašembîḥ 3sg.f. *aččémbi*; impf. 1sg. *šembâiḥ*

3sg.f. *tšembâi* ‘to suckle’

P: allattare

aš-əmbi [caus.v.n.m.] ‘suckling’

ašémbî

P: allattare

NBR

tənəbrət [f.] ‘needle’

tenébrēt, *tnebrét* [B21]

P: ago B21: 391 M: mépris *tenebret* تنبرت

◆ NZ: NBR2

Beguino (1921: 391) considers this a loanword
from Ar. *al-ʔibra(t)* ‘needle’, with
dissimilation of *l...r* to *n...r*.

ND

əndú, undú [conj.] ‘if’

əndú, *úndu*, *undú* [PT:II,V,VIII,X], *öndú*

[PT:VIII], *endú* [PT:XV]

P: se PT:I, II, V, VIII, X, XV

NDL1

əndəl [v.ccc] ‘to be covered’

impf. nəddəl

imp. sg. *éndel*; impf. *yenéddel*

P: coprire M: couvercle *yendeltia*

يندلتيه

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āmdəl* ‘to close (the eyes)’;

Kb. *dəl* ‘to cover’

anədəl [v.n.m.] ‘being covered’

anedâl

P: coprire

š-əndəl [caus.v.] ‘to cover’

impf. š-əndəl

imp. sg. *šéndel*; impf. 1sg. *šendâlḥ* 3sg.m.

išendâl

P: coprire

aš-əndəl [caus.v.n.m.] ‘covering’

ašéndel

P: coprire

NDM1

nəddəm [v.ccc] ‘to be sleepy; to doze off’

impf. nəddəm

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’

anédde

P: sonno M: sommeil *eneddem* اندم

NDM2

****əndəm** [v.ccc] ‘to be sad, regretful’

res. əndəm

res. 3sg.m. *yendîma*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *nadima* ‘to repent, rue, regret’

NFL

****ənfəl** [v.ccc] ‘to be changed’

res. ənfəl

res. 3sg.m. *yenfîla*

P: cambiare M: changer *yenfela* ينفلا

◆ TC: 739

Berber, cf. MA *sənfəl* ‘to replace (of childrens teeth)’; Zng. pf. 3sg.m. *yäššānfäy* ‘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.

šənfîlḥa; impf. 1sg. *šənfâlḥ*

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. *ənfūsen, infūsen*

P: manica M: manche *onfos* انفوس

◆ K: 68

To. (H.) *ahānfous* ‘sleeve’; Ghd. *anβas* ‘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. ənfā

res. 1sg. *enfīḥa* 2sg. *tenfīta* [P:example] 3sg.m.

yenfāya

P: utile

▷ *ku tenfīta lūda* ‘you are good for nothing’

◆ TC: 737

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ənfu* ‘to be useful’; Zng. *ānfih* ‘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. *ngiḥ* 3sg.m. *yengi*; res. 1sg.

ngiḥa 3sg.m. *yengāya*; fut. 1sg. *angiḥ* 3sg.m.

ayengi; impf. 1sg. *neggiḥ* 3sg.m. *inéggā*

P: toccare

anəggi [v.n.m.] ‘touching’

anəggi

P: toccare

NGDR

Təngidrət [P.N.] ‘A ḥatia north-west of Awjila’

Tengídret

P: Tengídret

NGFL

(ə)ngafūli, əlgafūli [m.] ‘maize’

əngafûlî, ŋgafûli [PT:XV], *ɛlgafûli* [PT:XV]

P: granoturco PT: XV

◆ Ultimately from Kanuri *ngawûli* ‘sorghum’
see Cyffer & Hutchison 1990, Kossmann 2005,
Souag (fthc.)

NGǾM

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

Tengeğûm, Tangedğûm, Tangîğûm [Z:VIII]

P: Tengeğûm o Tangedğûm Z: VIII

NGŽV

əngəžv [m.] ‘type of palm tree (Arabic
nakfûš)’

əngəžv

P: palma

NY1

nay [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

này [v.cvc] ‘to call’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *này*

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* نا غى;

crier *enagha* انا غه

▷ *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)

anày [v.n.m.] ‘calling’

anâğ

P: chiamare

NY3

ànəy [v.cc*] ‘to kill’

pf. *ənəyá* impf. *nəyya*

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. *ānn* ‘to kill’; Kb. *nəy* ‘to kill’;

To. *āny* ‘to kill’; Zng. *aʔni(?)* ‘to kill’

anəyɣu, anəyɣa [v.n.m.] ‘killing’

anégğū, anégğā

P: uccidere

š-ənəy [caus.v.] ‘to extinguish’

imp. sg. *šāng, séng*

P: spegnere; uccidere

itt-ənəy [pass.v.] ‘to be killed’

pf. / seq. = res. *ttəny*

pf. 3sg.m. *itténğ*; res. 3sg.m. *ittínğa*

P: uccidere

NHN

nəhìn [pron.] 3pl.m. independent
pronoun

nehîn, ěnhîn, nehnîn [B21]

P: essi B21: 390

nəhìnət [pron.] 3pl.f. independent
pronoun

nehînet, nêhînet [PT:XV] *ěnhînet* [PT:XV],

nehnînet [B21]

P: essi B21: 390

NĜM

pl. (ə)nžùm [m.] ‘stars’

pl. *ŋğûm, ěğğûm*

PT: VIII M: étoile *negmet* نجمة

◆ ELA *néžem* pl. *nžùm* ‘star’; Ar. *nažma(t)* pl.
nužùm ‘star’

NK1

(ə)nkí [v.cci] ‘to sniff, smell’

seq. = res. *ənki* impf. *nəkki*

imp. sg. *nkí, ěnkí*; 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’

anékki

P: fiutare, odorare

š-ənki [caus.v.] ‘to make s.o. smell’

imp. sg. *šénki*

P: fiutare, odorare

NK₂

nək [pron.] 1sg. independent pronoun

nek, nək [PT:II], *-nék* [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. *niʔK* ‘T’; Foq. *nékki, nek*; Nef. *neč* ‘T’;

Sok. *nīš* ‘T’

NKN

nəkkəni [pron.] 1pl. independent pronoun

nekkənî, neknîn [B₂₁]

P: noi, B₂₁:390 PT: II

NKT

ənkat [v.ccc] ‘to spill (usually solid things)’

imp. sg. *enkét*

P: versare, colare

NN₁ ► M₂

NN₂

nàna [kin.f.] ‘grandmother’

2sg. *nanà-k*

1sg. *nánā* 2sg. *nanâ-k*

P: nonna

◆ Nef. *nannâ* ‘grandmother’

NQŠ

***ənqəš** [v.ccc] ‘to be missing, to lack’

res. *ənqəš*

res. 3sg.m. *yenqîša* 3pl.f. *ănqāšnîta, ěnqāšnîta*

PT: V M: rabattre, diminuer *naqqas* ناقس

◆ Ar. *naqasha* ‘to decrease, become less, diminish, be diminished, be reduced’

NRG ► RNG

NSG

ənsəg [v.ccc] ‘to whistle’

impf. *nəssəg*

imp. sg. *ənség*; impf. 3sg.m. *inėsseg*

P: fischiare M: siffler *yénassek* 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’

těništ, teništ [B₂₁] pl. *tništ, tnišin*

P: chiave B₂₁: 391

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tonest, tonéss* ‘key’; Foq. *tanâst* ‘key’; Sok. *tnâst* ‘key’; Nef. *tunîst* ‘key’; Siwa *tnâst* ‘key’.

This word may be a derivation of *anîš* ‘nickel’ which originally meant ‘copper’, which is not an unlikely material to have been used for making keys.

NŠ₂

anîš [m.] ‘nickel’

anîš

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. išīh 3sg.m. iša; res. 1sg.

išīha 3sg.m. išāya; fut. 1sg. aišāh 3sg.m. ayīš;

impf. 1sg. neššīh 2sg. tneššīt [P:example]

3sg.m. inéšša

P: dormire M: coucher (se) ychayeh

يشايه; dormir ichayeh يشايه

▷ tneššīt-ká ‘do not sleep’

◆ NZ: C10, TC: 758

Berber, cf. Kb. əns ‘to spend the night’; To.

əns ‘to lie down, go to bed’; Zng. ənši(?) ‘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. šišāh 3sg.m. išīšāi

P: dormire

amišiw [m.] ‘dinner’

amišiu, amišiw-(ennúk) [PT:XV],

amišiu-(nnes) [PT:XV]

P: cena PT: XV

▷ ččīha 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. amənsi

‘dinner’; Kb. imənsi ‘supper’; To. àmənsi

‘evening meal, supper’; Zng. əməšəh ‘dinner’

mnišiw [m.] ‘evening, evening prayer’

mnišiu

P: tramonto; preghiera PT: XV

◆ TC: 760

Berber, cf. Ghd. amisi ‘supper’; Kb. imənsi

‘supper’; To. àmənsi ‘evening meal, supper’;

Zng. əməšəh ‘dinner’

NŠD

**ənšəd [v.ccc] ‘to ask’

seq. ənšəd impf. nəššəd

pf. 3sg.m. yenšéd-(t) [PT:XII], yénšed [PT:II],

inšét-(t) [PT:VIII], yenšét-(t) [PT:VIII] 3sg.f.

tenšéd-(t) [PT:III]; impf. 3sg.m. inéššed [PT:

VIII]

PT: II, III, VIII, XI, XII

◆ ELA yinšed ‘to ask’ (p.c. Benkato); Ar.

našada ‘to seek, look, search; to adjure,

implore’

NT1

**ənt/əntí [v.cc*/cci] ‘to be cooking, be on fire (food)’

res. ənta

res. 3sg.m. yentāya

P: preparare un pranzo

▷ ameklū yentāya ‘the meal is cooking’

◆ To. (H.) ənt ‘to start’

š-ənt [caus.v.] ‘to prepare a meal’

imp.sg. šent

P: preparare un pranzo

NT2

ənnāt [pron.] 3sg.f. independent pronoun

ennāt [PT:III, B21], ěnnāt [PT:IV,XV]

P: essa B21: 390 PT: III, IV, XV

NTN

nəttin [pron.] 3sg.m. independent pronoun

nettīn [PT:III,IV,V,VIII,XV], ěntīn, nittīn [Z:XI]

nettī [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. ěntīh 3sg.m. yentí; res.

1sg. ěntīha 3sg.m. yentāya; fut. 1sg. antīh

3sg.m. ayentí; impf. 1sg. netṭīh 3sg.m. inéttī

P: assaggiare

◆ TC: 731, K: 560

Berber, cf. Ghd. mātṭāg ‘to taste’; Zng. andug

‘to taste’; Ouar. əmḍi ‘to taste’; Mzab əmḍi ‘to

taste'

anəṭṭi [v.n.m.] 'tasting'

anattî

P: assaggiare

š-ənṭi [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. taste'

impf. š-ənṭay

imp. sg. *šenṭî*; impf. 1sg. *šenṭâiḥ* 3sg.m. *išenṭâi*

P: assaggiare

NṬR

ənṭər [v.ccc] 'to let go, put down, abandon'

pf. / seq. = fut. *ənṭər*

imp. sg. *ənṭâr*, *inṭar* [Z:XII]; pf. 1sg. *ənṭârḥ* [PT:IV]; fut. 1sg. *anṭárăḥ*-(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'.

anəṭâr [v.n.m.] 'letting go, putting down, abandoning'

anaṭâr

P: lasciare

NṬṬ

ənṭəṭ [v.ccc] 'to be joined, attached'

imp. sg. *énṭât*

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. *šenṭât* pf. 1sg. *šenṭáṭḥ* 3sg.m. *išenṭât*; res. 1sg. *šenṭîṭḥa* 3sg.m. *išenṭîṭa*

P: unire, attaccare

NV₁

iv [v.nc*] 'to fall'

pf. *ivá* seq. = res. *iva* fut. *iv* impf. *nəvva*

imp. sg. *iv* pl.m. *ivât* pl.f. *ivîmet*; pf. 1sg. *ivîḥ* 3sg.m. *ivá* 3sg.f. *tívā* [PT:III,XV]; res. 1sg. *ivîḥa* 3sg.m. *ivâya*, *ivé*; fut. 1sg. *aiváḥ* 3sg.m. *ayín*; impf. 1sg. *nevvîḥ* 3sg.m. *inévvnā*

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.

tnəvvât [v.n.f.] 'falling'

tnevvât

P: cadere

tnəvvât 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-ivây

imp. sg. *šiv*; impf. 1sg. *šivâiḥ* 3sg.m. *išivâi*

P: cadere

NV₂

tnuvîn [f.] pl. *tnuvîn* 'irrigation canal'

tnavît, *tnūvît* pl. *tnūvîn*, *tnūvîn*-(nes) [PT:XV]

P: canale d'irrigazione PT: XV

NVDR

anəvdûr, **anəbdûr** [m.] pl. *nəvdîr* 'small rope to tie hedges; rope harness for animals; rope tied to a *tăšăqqi*'

anevdûr, *anebdûr* pl. *nevdir*

P: cordal; finimenti

NZR

****nzûrr** [v.cċ] 'to suffer, to have difficulty' fut. *nzûrr*

fut. ptc. *anzurrân*

PT: II

NẒ

iẓ [v.nc*] 'to be sold'

res. *iẓa* fut. *iẓ* impf. *nəẓẓa*

imp. sg. *iž*; res. 3sg.m. *ižāya*; fut. 3sg.m. *ayīž*;

impf. 3sg.m. *inēžža*

P: vendere

◆ TC: 776

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ānz* ‘to sell’; Foq. *zēnz* ‘to sell’;

Sok. *zēnz* ‘to sell’; Nef. *senz* ‘to sell’; Kb. *zzanz* ‘to sell’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yānžih* ‘to sell’

ž-iž [caus.v.] ‘to sell’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ž-iž impf. ž-iža

imp. sg. *žīž*; pf. 2sg. *džīžīt* [PT:III] 3sg.m. *ižīž*;

res. 3sg.m. *ižīža*; fut. 3sg.m. *aižīž*, *aižīžī-(t)*

[PT:IV]; impf. ptc. *žīžân* [PT:IV]

P: vendere PT: III, IV M: vendre *yédjidj*

يجيج

NŽY

nžāy [v.ccc] ‘to pull; to draw (water without an animal)’

pf. / seq. = res. ènžāy impf. nèžžāy

imp. sg. *nžāğ*, *nžāğ*; pf. 1sg. *nžehh*; res. 1sg.

nžīhha; impf. 1sg. *nežžāh* (*ğh* > *h* > *h*) 3sg.m.

inēžžaj

○ The assimilation in impf. 1sg. is surprisingly different from pf. 1sg.

P: attingere, tirare

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *énzāğ* ‘to draw water without an animal’; Ghd. *ānzay* ‘to pull’; Nef. *énzag* ‘to pull’; Sok. *önzāğ* ‘to pull from somewhere’

QBT

əlqabbūt [m.] ‘coat’

elqabbūt

PT: XI

◆ ELA *kabbūt* ‘coat’, ultimately from Turkish *kaput* ‘coat’ (p.c. Benkato)

QD

tàqt [m.] pl. taqqid, taqqidən ‘finger’

tàqt pl. taqqid, taqqidən

P: dito M: doigt *ghed* قد; pouce *thaght*

طاغت

◆ NZ: D6 TC: 245

Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *aḍad* ‘finger’; To. *āḍaḍ*

‘finger’; Zng. *aḍağdi*(?) ‘finger’.

The correspondence with Berber words for ‘finger’ is highly problematic.

But cf. Nef. *tukkād*, *tuqqāḍ* pl. *itukkād* ‘finger’.

QD

əlqàḍi [m.] ‘qadi, judge’

elqàḍi, *ēlqàḍi*, *elqàḍi*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *qāḍi(n)* ‘judge, cadi’

QL₁

aqál [v.cc*] ‘to roast’

pf. əqlá res. əqla fut. əq(ə)l impf. qəllá

imp. sg. *aqál* pl.m. *qlât* pl.f. *qlîmēt*; pf. 1sg.

aqliḥ 3sg.m. *yaqlâ*; res. 1sg. *aqliḥa* 3sg.m.

yaqlâya; fut. 1sg. *aqlâḥ* 3sg.m. *ayáqâl*; impf.

1sg. *qallâḥ* 3sg.m. *iqallâ*

P: abbrustolire

◆ Ar. *qalā* ‘to fry, bake, roast’

aqəllu [v.n.m.] ‘roasting’

aqállū

P: abbrustolire

QLZ

qláz [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. *óklaž* ‘to lie’; To. *əkləž* ‘to tell a lie (completely fabricated)’; Siwa *tallāž* ‘lie’;

Sok. *öklez* ‘to lie’

aqəlāz [v.n.m.] ‘lying’

aqālāz

P: mentire

aqəlliz [m.] pl. əqlāzən ‘lie’

aqálliz pl. *qlāzen*, *āqlāzen*, *mqlāzīn* (sic) [Z:X]

P: bugia Z: X

QM₁

qim [v.ēvc] ‘to remain, stay, sit’ Used as an inchoative auxiliary verb.

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. qqim impf. təqqim
 imp. sg. qīm pl.m. qqāimāt [PT:XV]; pf. 1sg.
 qqāimīh [PT:II] 3sg.m. yaqqīm, yāqqīm
 [PT:II,IV,V,XIII,XV], yqāqīm (sic) [PT:IV],
 yāqqīm [PT:IV] 3sg.f. taqqīm, tāqqīm 3pl.m.
 āqqīmān [PT:IV,XV] 3pl.f. qqāimānēt [PT:XV];
 res. 3sg.m. yaqqīma; fut. 2sg. atqīmāt
 [PT:XIII] 2pl.m. attēqqīmām [PT:I]; impf.
 3sg.m. itqqīma

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)qqón [v.ċc] 'to bind, tie, attach'

pf. əqqón res. əqqən impf. təqqón

imp. sg. āqqán; pf. 3sg.m. yaqqán, yeqqán-(t)
 [PT:VII]; res. 3sg.m. yaqqína; impf. itaqqán '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'

aqqún

P: legare, attaccare

QNVL

təqənvilt, təkənvilt [f.] pl. təqənvil,
 təkənvil 'mucus'

teqənvilt, tekənvilt pl. teqənvil, tekənvil

P: muco

QR

(ə)qqùr [v.ċvc] 'to dry out'

imp. sg. òqqùr, qqùr

P: seccarsi M: desséché ??mikourah

ميكورة; dessécher ikourah يکوره; dur
 yékorah يکوره; sec yakkaora يکوره;
 sécher akkaora اکا وره

◆ TC: 95

Berber, cf. Ghd. əqqar 'to be dry'; Kb. qqar 'to
 be dry'; To. òyar 'to be or become dry'; Zng.

aor. 3sg.m. yoʔwur 'to be dry'

š-qar [caus.v.] 'to cause to dry out'

šqār

P: seccarsi

QRB1

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. garbūš '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* تـكـرتـاي; lettre *tékhartey* تـخـا رتـي; papier *karthayah* كـا رطـايـه

◆ K: 592

Berber, cf. Siwa *tiarta* ‘paper’

QRT₂

tuqərtá, tuqərtá [f.] ‘theft’

tuqértā, tuqartā

P: furto

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tukərḍa* ‘theft’; Kb.

tukkʷərḍa ‘theft’; Foq. *tukérḍā* ‘theft’; Sok.

tukěrtā ‘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)zəṭ pl. qarizit

1sg. qarezâḥ 2sg. qarezât 3sg.m. qárez 3sg.f.

qárezet pl. qarizit

P: stretto M: étroit *qarez* قـا رز

◆ Berber, cf. To. *ikraz* ‘to be tight’

š-əqrəz [caus.v.] ‘to make narrow’

imp. sg. šâqräz

P: stretto

QRZT

qərzàt [m.] pl. qərzàtən ‘dried dates for livestock’

qārzât pl. *qārzâten*

P: dattero

QSTM

aqəstīm [m.] ‘antimony’

aqāstīm

P: antimonio

taqəstīmt [f.] ‘collyrium container’

taqāstīmt

P: portacollirio

qəstəm [v.cccc] ‘to apply collyrium’

impf. qəstəm

imp. sg. qāstām; impf. 3sg.f. tqāstām

P: mettere, porre

aqəstəm [v.n.m.] ‘applying collyrium’

aqāstām

P: mettere, pore

QŠ

qqəšš [v.cē] ‘to close, to be closed (from the outside)’

pf. əqqəš res. əqqəš impf. təqqəš

imp. sg. qqāšš; pf. 3sg.f. tāqqāš [PT:III]; res.

3sg.m. yāqqīša; impf. 1sg. taqqāšḥ

[P:example] 3sg.m. itaqqāš

P: chiudere PT: III

▷ *elbâb yāqqīša* ‘the door is closed’

◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *ōqqēs* ‘to close (from the outside)’; Siwa *əqqəs* ‘to close’

qqūš [v.n.m.] ‘closing’

qqūš

P: chiudere

QŠR₁

taqəširt, taqəšrit [f.] ‘name of a sparrow’

taqāširt, taqāšrit

P: passero

◆ While the initial consonant is different, the word looks similar to Figuig *tabcirt* ‘sparrow’.

QT/WT

wàtən [def.adj.] pl. wətnìn f. tàtən pl.

tətnìnət ‘the other, another’

wâten pl. *weṭnîn* f. *tâten, tâten* [P:example] pl.

teṭnîneṭ

P: altro PT: XV

▷ *átmā weṭnîn* ‘my other brothers’

▷ *tḥilliwîn teṭnîneṭ* ‘the other houses’

▷ *iwâtan ténni dîla u tâtēn ténni ždâbiet*

‘one is here, and the other is in Ajdabiya’

▷ *mag ínni wâten?* ‘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. *aqutnìnət*

▷ *iwīnan aqùten* 'another'

P: altro PT: IX

QTŠ1

aqəttīš [m.] 'hole (little used)'

aqāttīš

P: buco

taqəttīšt [f.] pl. *tqəttīš*, *tqəttīšin* 'little hole; eye of the needle'

taqāttīšt pl. *tqāttīš*, *tqāttīšin*

P: buco; cruna dell'ago

QTŠ2

aqəttūš [m.] pl. *qəttūšən* '(male) cat'

aqāttūš pl. *qāttūšen*

P: gatto

◆ K: 590

Berber, cf. Nef. *qattūs* 'cat'; Sok. *yattūs* 'cat';

Siwa *yattos* 'cat'. A loanword from Latin *cattus* 'cat'.

təqəttūšt [f.] pl. *təqəttūštìn* '(female) cat'

təqāttūšt pl. *təqāttūštìn*

P: gatto

tqəttāš [f.] 'cats (coll.)'

pl.? *tqāttāš*

P: gatto

QTṬ

aqəttāt [m.] pl. *qəttātən* 'nit'

aqāttāt pl. *qāttāten*

P: pidocchio

◆ To. *áwəḍ* 'nits'; Zng. *ūd(d)an* 'nit(s)'; Kb.

iwətt 'nit'; Ghd. *aṭṭāḍ* 'nit'; Siwa *iqəttán* 'nits'

(Naumann 2013: 322)

QTṬ

qəttāsan [m.] 'highwayman'

pl. *qāttā'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)'

aqāyùn

P: schiavo, servo

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *qāyū* 'servant'; Sok. *qāyu* 'moor, servant'

taqəyyunt [f.] '(female) black slave (little used)'

taqāyyunt

P: schiavo, servo

QŽṬ (K/GŽT)

aqəžīt [m.] pl. *qužīt* 'rooster'

aqāžīt pl. *qužīt*

P: gallo M: coq *akadjet* كَا جَة

◆ TC: 1012 K: 622

Berber, cf. Foq. *yazīt*, *yazīd* 'rooster'; Ghd.

ažīd 'rooster'; Kb. *ayazīd* 'rooster'; *tayazīt*

'chicken'; Zng. *āwāžūḍ*, *āwāyžūḍ* 'rooster',

tāwāžūḍ 'chicken'; Siwa *yazīt* 'rooster'

(Naumann 2013: 374).

Basset (1959) provides a detailed discussion on the words for 'chicken' in Berber.

təkažīt, **təgažīt** [f.] pl. *təkažītìn*,

təgažītìn 'chicken'

tekāžīt, *təgāžīt* pl. *tekažītìn*, *təgažītìn*

P: gallo M: poule *tékadjet* تَكَا جَة

QZR

yəqzər, iḡzər [m.] pl. aqzàr ‘mouse’

yáqzer, éqzer pl. aqzâr

P: topo M: rat éghzrt غزرت

◆ See the discussion in Paradisi (1963b).

QZL

taqəzzəlt [f.] pl. tqəzzəlin ‘kidney’

taqāzzəlt pl. tqāzzālīn

P: rene

◆ NZ: GZL₁ K: 326

Berber, cf. Kb. *tigəzzəlt* ‘kidney’; Ghd.

tagāzzəlt ‘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.

urîḡ 2sg. tārît [P:example] 3sg.m. yurá; res.

1sg. urîḡa 3sg.m. yurâya; fut. 1sg. aurâḡ 3sg.m.

ayûr; impf. 1sg. tārîḡ 3sg.m. itārā

P: aprire

▷ tārît-ká ‘do not open’

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *ar* ‘id.’; Ghd. *ár* ‘to open’; Nef. *ar* ‘to open’; Sok. *ār* ‘to open’; To. *àr* ‘to open’.

urú [v.n.m.] ‘opening’

urû

P: aprire

tw-àr [pass.v.] ‘to be open, opened; to open, untie [PT: V, VII]’

pf. / seq. = res. twàr

imp. sg. *ttuâr*, *tuâr*; pf. 1sg. *ttuarîḡ* 3sg.m.

ituâr, *yetuâr* [PT:V], *itûar* [PT:VII]; res. 1sg.

ttuarîḡa 3sg.m. *ituâra* 3sg.f. *tetuâra*

[P:example]

P: aprire PT: V, VII

▷ *elbâb ituâra* ‘the door is opened’

▷ *tavûrt tetuâra* ‘the door is opened’

R₃

tùra [f.] ‘lung’

tûra

P: polmone

◆ TC: 784

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ţóra* ‘lung’; Kb. *turəṭ* ‘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

ṛəbbi [m.] ‘god’

rābbī [PT:V], *ṛābbī* [PT:VI], *rābbī* [PT:V],

rābbī [PT:XII]

PT: V, VI, XII

◆ Ar. *rabb-īyy* ‘my lord’

RB₂

ərbī [v.cci] ‘to earn; to prosper’

pf. ərbí res. ərba fut. ərbi impf. rəbbi

imp. sg. érbi; pf. 3sg.m. yerbí; res. 3sg.m.

yerbâya; fut. 2sg. atterbît; impf. 3sg.m. irébbi

P: guadagnare

○ The fut.2sg. *atterbît* is used as a greeting and is a calque on Ar. *térbaḡ*, *marbûḡa* which is said as a goodbye to someone.

◆ Perhaps from Ar. *rabiḡa* ‘to gain, profit’

arəbbi [v.n.m.] ‘earning’

arébbi

P: guadagnare

RBS

rabùs [m.] ‘measure of capacity (cereals), corresponds to one sixth of a šā’^o

rabùs

P: misura di capacità

RBġ

àrb(ə)fa [num.] ‘four’

àrba’a

PT: III

◆ Ar. *arbaʿa(t)* ‘four’

RD1

****irəd** [v.icc] ‘to be washed’

res. *irəd*

res. 3sg.m. *irīda* 3sg.f. *tirīda*

P: lavare

◆ TC: 791

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ārəd* ‘to be washed’; Kb. *irid* ‘to be washed’; To. *irəd* ‘to bathe’; Zng. aor.

3sg.m. *yārəd* ‘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. *tčirād* [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, yərden, yərden* [P: example, appassire]

P: grano M: bled *yarden* ياردن

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *yərden* ‘wheat’; Kb. *irəd* pl.

irdən ‘wheat’; Nef. *yərden* ‘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 *rədəm* ‘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 *rfig* pl. *rfigā* ‘companion’; Ar. *rafiq*

pl. *rufaqa’* ‘companion’

RFġ

ərfəġ [v.ccc] ‘to take away; to raise’

pf. *ərfəġ* res. = fut. *ərfəġ*

imp.sg. *arfā’-(i)* [PT:XV]; pf. 2sg. *tarfā’t*

[Z:XII] 3sg.m. *yerfā’* [PT:XIII], *yerfā’-(t, āt)*

[PT:VII,XV] 3pl.f. *erfā’net* [PT:XV]; res. 3sg.m.

yerfī’a [PT:III], *yerfī’a* [PT:II], *yerfa’-(tī)-ya*

[PT:XIII]; fut. 3sg.m. *ayerfā’-(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’

těreggīt, tereggīt [B25]

P: brace B25: 330 M: braise *teragghiat*

ترقية

◆ TC: 813 K: 324, 625

Berber, cf. Ghd. *tarāgīt* ‘ember, coal’; Kb.

tirgətt, tiraggətt ‘cinder, ember’; Zng. *turuġd*

‘ember’

RG2

arəg [m.] pl. *rəggàwən* ‘handle’

arég pl. *reggàwen*

P: manico

◆ TC: 806 K: 319

Perhaps related to Berber, cf. To. *árjəy*

‘wooden handle’; To. (BF) *argəd* ‘handle of an

axe’; Zng. *targəd* ‘handle’.

RGG

ərgìg [v.cvc] ‘to shake’

impf. *tərgìga*

imp. sg. *ěrgìg*; impf. 3sg.m. *itergìga*

P: tremare

◆ TC: 808 K: 323

Berber, cf. Siwa *rəǧrǧ* ‘to shake’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m. *yərgagi*(?) ‘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. *ərjəš* ‘to walk’; Zng. *ärägäž* ‘man’

təragàzt ‘(female) person’

teregàzt

P: individuo

RY

ùrəy [m.] ‘gold’

úrâj

P: oro M: or *oro* اورو

▷ *agîz* n *úrâg* ‘golden necklace’

◆ TC: 784

Berber, cf. Ghd. *oray*, *orăy* ‘gold’; To. *órăy* ‘gold’; Zng. *uri*(?) ‘gold’

urày n tîsi [phrasal n.] ‘egg yolk (litt. gold of the egg)’

urâj n tîsî

P: tuorlo

RH

rîha [adv.] ‘little’

rîha

P: poco

◆ cf. Mor. Ar. *rîha* ‘smell’, but figuratively also ‘very little (barely able to smell, barely noticeable etc.)’; A similar use of this word is found in Nef. *errîhat*, *arrîhat* ‘little, a bit’.

RK

tərikt [f.] ‘bread dough’

terîkt

P: pasta del pane

◆ K: 578

Berber, cf. MA *arekti*, *arektu*, *arešti* ‘dough’; Siwa *arəkti* ‘dough’

RKF

tərakəft [f.] pl. *tərakfîn* ‘caravan’

terekəft pl. *terekfîn*

P: carovana B21: 386

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *tākēft*, *terēkēft* ‘caravan’; Kb. *tirkəft* ‘caravan’; Nef. *terkēft* ‘caravan’; Sok. *tirkēft* ‘caravan’; To. *erākāf* ‘herd of donkeys in an expedition; large caravan’

RN

ərní [v.cci/cc*] ‘to increase, add; to bid’

pf. *ərní* res. *ərna* fut. *ərni* impf.

rənni/rənnna

imp. sg. *ərní* pl.m. *ərníyât* pl.f. *ərnîmet*; pf.

1sg. *ernîh* 3sg.m. *yernî*; res. 1sg. *ernîha* 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. *ärnəβ* ‘to add’; Kb. *ərna* ‘to add’; Zng. *ařih* ‘to increase’.

Awjila lacks a reflex of PB *β

arənnú, **arənní** [v.n.m.] ‘increasing, adding, auction’

arennú, *arénnu* [PT:IV], *arenní*

P: accrescere PT: IV

RNG

arìng, **anìrg** [m.] pl. *ringìn*, *nirgìn*

‘neighbour’

arîng, *aringí*-(nnes) [PT:V], *anîrg* pl. *ringîn*, *nirgîn*

P: vicino PT: V

◆ Berber, cf. To. (H.) *anārag* ‘neighbour’; To. (N.) *anhərag* ‘neighbour’; Sok. *arnág* ‘neighbour’

təringìt [f.] pl. *təringitìn* ‘(female)

neighbour’

teringût pl. *teringūtîn*

P: vicino

RQT

arəqûṭ [m.] ‘rag, piece of sewn cloth’

arâqûṭ

P: straccio PT: V

RŠ1

irəš [v.icc.irreg.] ‘to descend’

res. *irış* (irreg.) impf. *tirəš*, *tərrəš*

imp. sg. *irəš*, *éřeš*, *ereš* [B21]; res. 3pl.m.

érišîna [PT:XV] impf. 3sg.m. *itirâš*, *itterrâš*

3pl.m. *terrâšen* [P:example]

P: scendere B21: 391 PT: VI, XV

▷ *imîn terrâšen* ‘the water flows down’

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *ərs* ‘to descend’; To. *əřəs* ‘to be brought down, be unloaded; go down (in well or container)’

urûš [v.n.m.] ‘descending’

urûš ‘descending’

P: scendere

š-irəš [caus.v.] ‘to place, put down’

impf. *š-irəš*

imp. sg. *šîreš*; impf. 1sg. *šîrâšh* 3sg.m. *išîrâš*

P: mettere, porre

aš-irəš [caus.v.n.m.] ‘placing, putting down’

ašîreš

P: mettere, pore

RŠN

ərrôšən [m.] ‘window’

ərrôšen

PT: V

◆ ELA *rôšen* ‘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

tîst n arəšək [phrasal n.] ‘comb’

tîst n arəšək

P: pettine

RṬL

əřṭəl [v.ccc] ‘to lend’

imp. sg. *əřṭəl*

P: prestare M: prêté ??*martal* مرتل

prêter *artal* ا ر ت ل

◆ TC: 798

Berber, cf. Kb. *əřḍəl* ‘to lend’; Ghd. *ăřḍəl* ‘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. *urəvnet* [B24];

res. 1sg. *urífhā*, *urívha* 3sg.m. *yuríva*; fut. 1sg.

aurévġh 3sg.m. *ayúrev*; impf. 1sg. *tārévġh*, *tāréfh*

3sg.m. *itārev* ptc. *tāreven*

P: scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189

◆ TC: 77 K: 156

Berber, cf. Ghd. *órəβ* ‘to write’; Kb. *aru* ‘to write’; Zng. *īrih*, *iřrih* ‘to dictate’

arràv [v.n.m.] ‘writing’

arràv [P; B24], *arráf* [B21; B24]

P: scrivere B21: 397 B24: 189 M: écriture

arrab ع ر ب

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. aēróūh 3sg.f. attiróū; impf. 1sg. táróūh
3sg.f. tárū

P: partorire, generare M: naître erro رَو ;
né nerro نرو

◆ TC: 804

Berber, cf. Ghd. árəw 'to give birth; to
produce'; Kb. arəw 'to give birth'; To. àrəw 'to
give birth'; Zng. ārug '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. širóū

P: partorire, generare

irīw [m.] pl. irīwən 'boy, child'

iríu, rijù [Z:IV] pl. irîwen

P: ragazzo, bambino; figlio PT:XIII B21:

386 Z:IV M: enfant yéréhou يرهو

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

◆ MA araw 'children, offspring'

tirīwt [f.] pl. tiriwìn, tirīwī 'girl, child'

tirūt pl. tirīwīn, tirīwī [PT:XV], tirīwīn-(nes)
[PT:XV]

P: ragazzo; bambino PT: XV M: fille

thériout تيريووت; nez (sic; nièce) térouet
تروة

RWT/Y ► ŠRWT/Y

RWH

ṛəwwəḥ [v.cċc] 'to return (home)'

seq. ṛəwwəḥ impf. řəwwah

imp. sg. róūwah [PT:V]; pf. 3sg.m. iróūwah
[PT:II,VII,XV] 3pl.m. rróūwáhan [PT:VII,XV];
impf. 3sg.m. iróūwāḥ [PT:XV]

PT: II, V, VII, XV M: démarche aroukh

اروخ

◆ ELA irowwəḥ '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. ārwiḥ 'to
be stirred, be mixed'; Nef. érwi; To. H. ərway,
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. ěrwilîna [PT:XV];

impf. 1sg. ruwwélh 3sg.m. irúwwel

P: fuggire PT:XV M: échapper (s'); enfuir

(s') yéréouel يروول; fuir yérouwel يروول

◆ 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. ārwiḥ 'to run away'

arəwàl [v.n.m.] 'fleeing'

arāwāl

P: fuggire

RWṢ**ərṣwáṣ** [v.ccc] ‘to fear’

pf. ərṣwáṣ seq. = res. əṛṣwəṣ impf. rəṣwwəṣ
 imp. sg. *erwa*ʿ, *erwá*ʿ [PT:XII]; pf. 1sg. *rwáḥ*
 3sg.m. *yerwá*ʿ, *yérwa*ʿ [PT:X], *yerwa*ʿ [PT:XV];
 res. 1sg. *rwíḥḥa*, *rwéḥḥa* [PT:X], *ərwéḥa* [PT:V]
 (*ḥ<ḥḥ<ḥ*) 3sg.m. *yerwíʿa*; impf. 1sg. *róúwah*
 3sg.m. *iróúwa*ʿ

P: temere PT: IV, V, X, XII, XV M: craindre
yérouaha يرواها; crainte ??*arouaha*

يرواها; peureux *yérouaha* يرواها

◆ Ar. *rāṣa* ‘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. *irînîta*

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**ərṣrúz** [m.] ‘rice’

(s-)orróz

Z: VI

◆ Ar. *ruzz*, *aruzz* ‘rice’

RŽ**ərṣ** [v.cc*] ‘to break’

pf. / seq. = fut. əṛṣa

imp. sg. *arṣ* pl.m. *ärṣât-(tet)* [PT:I]; pf. 3sg.m.
yerṣî-(tēt) [PT:I]; fut. 3sg.m. *āūrṣî-(tēt)* [PT:I]
ayerṣî-(tēt) [PT:I]

P: rompere PT: I M: brisé; cassé *erzay*

ارزاي; briser *erzayeh* ارزايه; briser
 (se); casser *yerzayeh* يرزايه

◆ TC: 841

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ärṣ* ‘to break’; Kb. *ərṣ* ‘to
 break’; To. *ärṣ* ‘to break’; Zng. *arṣi(?)* ‘to be
 broken’.

arəṣṣu [v.n.m.] ‘breaking’*arəṣṣū*

P: rompere

tarəṣṣàt [v.n.f.] ‘creak’*tareṣṣât, teraṣṣât*

P: rompere; scricchiolio

š-ərṣ [v.caus.] ‘to cause to break’imp. sg. *šarṣ*

P: rompere

****tt-ərṣ** [v.pass.] ‘to be broken’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. tt-ərṣ

pf. 3sg.m. *ittérṣ*; res. 3sg.m. *ittírṣa*; fut. 3sg.m.

aittérṣ

P: rompere

RŽ**ərṣí** [v.cci] ‘to milk’imp. sg. *ərṣí*

P: mungere

arəṣṣi [v.n.m.] ‘milking’*arəṣṣi*

P: mungere

š-ərṣi [v.caus.] ‘to cause to milk’imp. sg. *šérṣi*

P: mungere

RŽL

tarṣàlt [f.] *tarṣàlt* pl. *tarṣālín* ‘wing (of a
 bird)’

P: ala (di uccello)

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tarṣalt* ‘feather of a bird’;
 Sok. *tarṣàlt* ‘feather of a bird’; Zng. *tärgäL*
 ‘feather’

S1**s, syar, sar** [prep.] ‘from’1sg. *syār-i* 3sg.m. *syār-əs* 3pl.m. *syār-sìn*

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-gār-es, s-gār-es*

[PT:VII,XV]; 3pl.m. *s-gār-sín*

P: da PT: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, XII, XIII, XV

Z: VIII,X

▷ *sě tfilli n amédēn* ‘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’

▷ *ḥḥâr 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-əlōūwâl

PT: XI

◆ Ar. (*a*)-*l-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

▷ *‘addîḥa sî-s* ‘I went with it’

◆ Pan-Berber, cf. Zng. *əš* ‘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.

tessîḥ 3sg.m. *itessá*

P: distendere

◆ Berber, cf. Nef. *éssa* ‘to spread, to stretch (a net, etc.)’

(ə)**ssú** [**v.n.m.**] ‘spreading (a mat)’

ěssû

P: distendere

S4

tisi [**f.**] ‘liver’

tîsî

P: fegato

◆ TC: 87

Berber, cf. Kb. *tasa* ‘liver’; To. *tâsa* ‘belly’;

âwsa ‘liver’; Zng. *taʔšâh* ‘liver’; Siwa *tsa* ‘liver’

S5

tisî [**f.**] pl. *tisiwîn* ‘egg, genitalia’

tîsî, tisî [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 agəwâl

P: specchio

◆ Berber, cf. Nef. *tisît* ‘mirror’; To. *tîsett*

‘mirror; eyeglasses’; Sok. *tisît n udēm* ‘mirror’

tîst n arəšàk [**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-isəbbəḥ [**v.ċċ**] ‘to bathe’

fut. 3sg.m. *āisəbbəḥ*

PT: IX

◆ ELA *sábbəḥ* ‘to bathe’

SBĠ

ssəb(ə)ʔa [**num.**] ‘seven’

(s-)séba'a [PT:III], séba'a [PT:IX,XV]

PT: III, IX, XV

◆ Ar. *sabʿa(t)* 'seven'

SD

****ssùdd** [v.cċ] 'to be enough'

res. ssùdd

res. 3sg.m. *issúdda*, *issuddi-(dík)-a* [P:

example]

P: bastare PT: XII M: assez *aéssoud* عَصَوْد

▷ *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

tasìft, tasiwt [f.] pl. *təssìw* '(terraced) roof'

tasìft, *tasìut* pl. *tessû*

P: tetto M: toit *thasiout* طاسيوت

SG

tsìgit, tsìgi [f.] pl. *tsigitìn* 'rib'

tsìgit, *tsìgi* pl. *tsìgūtìn*

P: costola

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tasìget* '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. *ásağ* pl.m. *sağât* pl.f. *sáğmet*; pf. 1sg.

sağh 3sg.m. *isáğ*; res. 1sg. *ssíhha* (*ğh>hh*)

3sg.m. *isíğa*; fut. 1sg. *asáhh* 3sg.m. *aisáğ*;

impf. 1sg. *tessáhh* 3sg.m. *aitessáğ*

P:comperare PT: II, VII, XII M: acheter

yéséggha يسغه

◆ TC: 89

Berber, cf. Ghd. *àsəe* 'to buy'; Kb. *ay* 'to buy';

Zng. *äʔši(?)* 'to buy, pay'

asùy [v.n.m.] 'purchase, buying'

asùğ

P: comperare, compera

SK₁

(ə)ssák [v.cċ] 'to fart'

imp. sg. *ěssék*

P: peto

(ə)ssùk [v.n.m.] 'farting'

ěssùk

P: peto

SK₂

asák, usák [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

****əskán** [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

əsál, àsəl [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’

asellû

P: sentire

SL2

t(ə)sili [f.] pl. *tsiliwîn* ‘sandal’

təsîlî pl. *tsilîwîn*

P: sandalo

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *tasîlî*, *tasîlē* ‘sandal’ Ghd. *tasile* ‘sandals for traveling’; Sok. *tsîla* ‘sandal’

SL3

sîla, sîlak [adv.] ‘along here’

sîla, sîlak

P: qui PT: IV

SLM

****ssəlləm** [v.cċc] ‘to greet’

pf. / seq. *ssəlləm* impf. *səlləm*

pf. 3sg.m. *isséllem*; impf. 3pl.m. *sellâmən*

PT: XI

◆ A stem II denominal derivation of Ar. *salām* ‘well-being, peace; salutation, salute’, non-classical, but very common in the Arabic dialects.

ləslam [m.] ‘Islam’

laslām

Z: XI

◆ Ar. *islām* ‘Islam’

SM1

isəm [m.] pl. *smiwən* ‘ear; handle of a basket’

ísem pl. *smîwen*

P: orecchio M: oreille *esəm* 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

SMH

?səm(ə)h [stat.v.] ‘to be sweet, pretty, handsome’

3sg.m. *simeh*

Z: III

◆ ELA *semh* ‘sweet, pretty, handsome’

SN1

(ə)ssən [v.cċc] ‘to send, send out’

res. = fut. *əssən* impf. *təssən*

imp. sg. *ssen*, *əssén*; res. *issen*-(*dík*)-a

[P:example: io]; fut. 3sg.m. *ayéssen* [PT:X];

impf. 1sg. *tessénh* 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)]

▷ *Yušâd Žhâ mârâ igéllî ayéssen*

akelliménnes amakân ba’îd ‘One day Juha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.’ [PT:X]

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Foq. *ázen* ‘to send’; Ghd. *ázən* ‘to send, delegate’; Siwa *uzən* ‘to send’.

z does not usually correspond to *ss* in Awjila, so the correspondence is uncertain.

ssun [v.n.m.] ‘sending’

ssûn

P: inviare, mandare

SN2

tsunût [f.] pl. *tsənuttîn*, *tsənutîn* ‘thick needle’

tsunût, *tsenût* pl. *tsenüttîn*, *tsenūtîn*

P: ago B21: 384 M: aiguiseur *sounnit* سَنَيْت

◆ TC: 393 NZ: GNF

Berber, cf. Zng. *tuşşugnaḍ*, *tuşşugnaḍ*

‘needle’; Foq. *tsegnît* ‘needle’; Kb. *tissəgnit*

‘needle’; Siwa *tizignat* ‘needle’; Nef. *tissegnît*

'needle'; Sok. *tasnūt* '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. *ásén* '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

-îsnet, -îsnet [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. *sénser*; impf. 1sg. *sənsàrh* 3sg.m.

isənsâr

P: chiudere

SNSR2

sənsər + təqənvil [phrasal v.] 'to blow one's nose'

impf. sənsàr təqənvil

imp. sg. *sénser təqənvil*; impf. 3sg.m. *isənsâr təqənvil*

P: soffiarsi il naso M: éternuer *esenser*

اسنسر ; moucher (se) *esansar*

اسنسر ; 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

sənnəṭ [v.cċc] 'to hear, listen'

pf. / seq. sənnàṭ

imp. sg. *sánnat*; impf. 3sg.f. *tsennâṭ* [PT:XV]

3pl.f. *sennâṭnet* [PT:XV]

P: sentire PT: XV

○ The words *tsennâṭ*, *sennâṭnet* are morphologically imperfectives, but they function as perfectives in text XV.

◆ ELA *ṣənnəṭ* 'to listen' (also cf. Algiers Jewish Arabic *ṣənnəṭ* 'écouter'), probably metathesis of Classical Ar. *naṣṣata*. (p.c. Benkato)

SQ1

ssùq [m.] 'market'

ssûq, *ssûk* [PT:XII]

PT: IV, VII, XI, XII

◆ Ar. *sûq* 'market'

SRF

(ə)sráf [v.ccc] 'to weave cords or strands of palms'

impf. sàrrəf

imp. sg. *sréf*; impf. 3sg.m. *isérəraf*

P: intrecciare

◆ Kb. *asrəf* ‘to tie in a knot’

asərām [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

tsərrimt [f.] pl. *tsərmîn* ‘the middle of a palm leaf from which the leaves sprout’

tsərrimt pl. *tsermîn*

P: palma M: *écaille téserimt* تسریمت;

écorce taserimt طسریمت; *feuille tesserim* تسریمت; *pelure taserimt* تسریمت

SSR

assərir (or: *əssərir*) [m.] ‘desert’

ässərir

P: perdersi, smarrirsi (example)

◆ ELA *sərir* ‘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

Sawilḥaž [P.N.] Place name

Sawilḥāğ

Z: X

SWN

ssəwàni [f.] ‘garden’

ssuwānī [P:example: che, il quale],

sāwānī-(nnāk) [PT:XV], *suwānī-(nnāḥ)*

[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. *síefḥ* 3sg.m. *isyéf*; res.

1sg. *siyífḥa* 3sg.m. *isiyífa*; impf. 1sg. *síyyefḥ*

3sg.m. *isíyyef*

P: bagno M: *baigner (se)* *yésiéfa* يسيفه;

rafraichir essiaf اسياف

◆ Berber, cf. To. *əššəf* ‘to swim’; Siwa *síyaf* ‘to swim’

asəyàf [v.n.m.] ‘bathing’

asiyâf

P: bagno

SŽR ► ŠŽR

SŦD₁

?a-i-ssaʔəd-(kîm) [v.cvc?] ‘to help’

fut. 3sg.m. *āissaʔad-(kîm)*

PT: I

◆ Ar. *sāʔada* ‘to help’

SŦD₂

ssəʔida [m.] ‘penis’

ssaʔda

P: penis

◆ Probably a euphemistic use of Ar. *saʿīda(t)* ‘the happy one (f.)’

ŞBH

şbəḥ [m.] ‘tomorrow’

şbáḥ, şábáḥ [PT:XV], şbaḥ-(énnes) [PT:XV],

şbaḥ [PT:XV]

P: domani PT: XV

◆ Ar. *şabāḥ* ‘morning’

ŞBR

**şbór [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. *ţşəddāqt-(î)-ya*

PT: VIII M: certainement *ezdaqa* صدقة

◆ Ar. *şaddaqa* ‘to believe’

ŞHB

əşşahb-(ənnəs) [m.] ‘friend’

eşşāḥb-(énnes) [PT:IX], *ěşşāḥb-(énnes)*

[PT:XII] ‘friend’

PT: IX, XII

◆ Ar. *şāḥib* ‘friend’

ŞHH

şəḥiḥ [stat.v.] ‘to be healthy, truthful’

şahîḥ

PT: IV, V

◆ Ar. *şahîḥ* ‘healthy, well, sound, healthful, truthful’

ŞL

**uşól [v.vcc] ‘to arrive’

pf. / seq. *uşél*

pf. 3pl.m. *uşálēn* [PT:V], *uşálēn* [PT:XV],

uşálen [PT:XV]

PT: V, XV

◆ ELA *yúşál* ‘to arrive, to reach’; Ar. *waşala* ‘to arrive’

ŞLF

aləşləf, aləşləf [adj.] ‘bald’

m. sg. *aleşláʿ, aléşlaʿ*

PT:XIV

◆ Ar. *aşlaʿ* ‘bald’

ŞNDQ

şşundūq [m.] ‘crate, box’

şşundūq

PT: V

◆ Ar. *şundūq* ‘crate, box; chest’

ŞQT

tşuqût [f.] pl. *tşuquṭin* ‘braid of hair’

tşuqût pl. *tşuqūṭin*

P: treccia di capelli

ŞR

**şàr [v.cvc] ‘to happen’

res. *şàra*

res. ptc. *şārāna*

PT: II, V

◆ ELA *şāra* ‘to occur, happen’; Ar. *şāra* ‘to become; to occur, happen’

ŞRT

?şərrát [v.cċc] ‘to draw a line’

imp. sg. *şarrát*

P: linea, riga

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āsraḍ* ‘to draw a line’; To.

tasərrəṭt ‘line, stripe’

aşərrít [m.] pl. *şərrítən* ‘line, stripe’

aşərrít pl. *şərrítən*

P: linea, riga

ŞSM

şūsəm [v.cvcc] ‘to be quiet’

şúsem, şúsem

P: tacere

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *súsem* ‘to be quiet’; Nef.

sûsem ‘to be quiet’; To. *sûsam* ‘to be quiet, shut up’; Sok. *sûsem* ‘to be quiet’; Siwa *sîsam* ‘to be quiet’

Š1 ► NŠ3

Š2/ŠF

tīšt [f.] ‘sieve’

tīšt

P: setaccio

š-īšəf [caus.v.] ‘to sieve’

impf. š-īšəf

imp. sg. *šīšef*; impf. 1sg. *šīšəfl*

P: setacciare

◆ Siwa *sîšəf* ‘to sieve’

aš-īšəf [caus.v.n.m.] ‘sieving’

ašīšef

P: setacciare

**t-š-īšəf [pass.caus.v.] ‘to be sieved’

impf. res. t-š-īšəf res. 3sg.m. *itšīšifa*

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.

ušīgd, *ušīgd* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *yušād*, *yúšad*

[PT:XV], *yuš-(îz)-d* [P: example; PT:VI] 3pl.m.

ušând [PT:II,IX,XV], *ušan-(îz)-d* [PT:VII]; res.

1sg. *ušīgda* 2sg. *tušīdda* [PT:XV], *tūšidda*

[Z:VIII] 3sg.m. *yušāda* ptc. *ušānda*

[P:example: chi?]; fut. 1sg. *aušāgd*, *āušāgd*

[PT:XV], *āušā-(z)-d* [PT:II] 3sg.m. *ayûš* 3sg.f.

attûš [Z:VI]; impf. 1sg. *tašīgda* 2sg. *tašīdda*

[P:example] 3sg.m. *itašāda*

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

▷ *tašīdda-ká* ‘do not come!’

▷ *yīd dīla* ‘come here!’

▷ *yuš-îz-d* ‘he came to him’

◆ TC: 878

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ás* ‘to come’; To. *às* ‘to come’;

Zng. *äšši(?)* ‘to come, arrive’

ušú [v.n.m.] ‘coming’

ušû

P: venire PT: XV

ŠD1

ašûd [m.] pl. šudīn ‘(wooden) pole’

ašûd pl. *šūdīn*

P: asta (di legno); bastone

◆ NZ: CD

Berber, cf. To. *āsádād* ‘prop, support; stick’;

Zng. *äššād* pl. *šugdān* ‘stick’, Zenaga points to an assimilation, and may not belong to this root.

ŠD2 ► ŠYD

ŠDL ► DL

ŠF

īšf [m.] pl. išfāwən, išfiwan ‘day’

īšf, *īšf* [PT:I], *īšf* [PT:XII,XIV] pl. *išfāwen*,

išfiwan [PT:III]

P: giorno PT: I, III, XII, XIV M: jour *fich*

فیش

◆ TC: 928

Ghd. *āsf* ‘day’; Kb. *ass* ‘day’; Zng. *aš* ‘day’

āšfa [adv.] ‘today’

āšfa, *āšfa* [B24]

P: oggi B24: 188

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *āšfa* ‘today’

šīšf [adv.] ‘by day’

šīšf

P: giorno

ŠFṬ

(ə)šfəṭ [v.ccc] ‘to clean’

imp. sg. *šfāt*

P: pulire

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āsfəṭ* ‘to clean by rubbing’;

To. (H.) *āsfād* ‘to dry up’; MA *sfəṭ* ‘to wipe,

clean’; Kb. *sfəṭ* ‘to wipe, clean’

ašəfəṭ [v.n.m.] ‘cleaning’

ašefât

P: pulire

ŠG

šugg [v.cc] 'to wait for'

pf. = seq. = fut. šugg res. šugga

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.

aišúgg

P: aspettare B21: 391

▷ šugg-îs 'wait for him'

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. súggöm 'to wait for'; Nef. súggem 'to wait for'.

Awjila lacks the final radical *m* found in el-Foqaha and Nefusi. There is no obvious explanation for the absence of this radical.

ŠYL

**əšyāl [v.ccc] 'to work, toil'

pf. / seq. əšyāl

pf. 3sg.f. twšji (sic)

Z: IX

◆ Ar. šaġala 'to occupy, busy'

ŠYR

išyar [m.] pl. šyîrən 'firewood'

išgâr pl. šgîrən, šgîren [PT:XV; B21]

P: legna PT: XV B21: 391 M: bois *sghaghin*

صغارين

◆ NZ: CYR₃

Berber, cf. Foq. iṣġâren, yeṣġâren 'wood'; Ghd.

asyér 'wood'; Kb. asyar 'wood'; Nef. iṣġâren

'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. àšk, əškí res. àška impf. šàkki

imp. sg. škí; pf. [P:example: che, il quale]

3sg.m. yešk, yeškí [PT:IV,V,VI,XII,XIII], yeškí [PT:IV], iškí [PT:XV; Z:X], iškí [Z:XIII] 3sg.f. teškí [PT:III], tēškí [PT:XV] 3pl.m. škîyən [PT:II]; res. 1sg. škîha 3sg.m. yeškâya; impf. išékkí

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-àški [caus.v.] 'to make s.o. leave'

imp. sg. šéškí

P: uscire

ŠK₂

išk, abəškîw [m.] pl. škîwən, bəškîwən 'horn'

išk, abəškîu pl. škîwen, beškîwen

P: corno

◆ NZ: CK₁₁, CKW₁ TC: 856 K: 514

Ghd. aškaw 'horn'; Nef. aššâu 'horn'; Kb. išš

'horn'; Siwa aččâo 'horn'; Sok. iš 'horn'; To.

isakk '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. tčukkûrîn

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, tšekrīt pl. ččəkrīyìn

P: favola

◆ NZ:CKR12

ŠKR4

iškər [m.] pl. škīrən ‘nail’

išker pl. škīren

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. *sàksək* ‘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-(i)* [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: 489

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. *āžāyi(?)* ‘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’

tšellišt, čellišt

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. *tsūmtā* ‘pillow’; To. *sūmā-t* ‘to place one’s head or feet on (cushion)’; Sok. *tsūmti* ‘pillow’; Siwa *tsanti* ‘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

▷ ḥossīḥ šmùt ‘I feel cold’

◆ TC: 896

Berber, cf. Kb. *ismaḍ* ‘to be cold’; To. *ismaḍ* ‘to be cold, cool’; Zng. *šāṃṃud* ‘to be cold’

ašəmmàt [adj.]pl. šəmmàtən f.

təšəmmàt ‘cold’

m. sg. *ašəmmât* pl. *šəmmâtan* f. *tešəmmât*

P: freddo

ŠN₁

(ə)ššən [v.ċc] ‘to know’

pf. / seq. ššən res. əššən impf. təššən

imp sg. *ššen*, *šen*; pf. 3sg.m. *iššen* [PT:X]; res.

1sg. *ššīnḥa* [P:example: che, il quale] 2sg.

tšent-(t)-ya [PT:XI] 3sg.m. *išina* [Z:X] 3pl.m.

ššēnēn-(tī)-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. *āssən* ‘to know’; To. *āssən* ‘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’

tāšāqqi, *ččāqqi*

P: finimenti

ŠQŠ

šəqqəš [v.ċc] ‘to clap your hands’

impf. šəqqāš

imp. sg. *šāqqaš*; impf. 1sg. *šaqqašh* 3sg.m.

išaqqaš

P: battere

◆ NZ: CQC

Berber, cf. To. *əqqəs* ‘to clap (hands)’; Ghd. *əqqəs* ‘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)ššār [v.ċc] ‘to mix, blend’

impf. təššār

imp. sg. *ššer*, *čšér*; impf. 1sg. *teššārḥ* 3sg.m.

iteššér

P: mescolare M: brouiller echchera

◆ NZ: CR₁₅

Berber, cf. Zng. *āššir* ‘to be mixed’

(ə)ššur [v.n.m.] ‘mixing, blending’

ššūr

P: mescolare

ŠRF

ššàrəf [m.] ‘old man’

ššāref

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

šurùru [m.] ‘weakling’

šurùru

P: debole, fiacco

▷ *ku d-šurùru, tenfɨta lùda* ‘You are a weakling, you’re good for nothing’

◆ NZ: CR34

ŠRT

ašərrɨt [m.] ‘cut, tear; vulva’

ašərrɨt

P: strappo, taglio; vulva M: fendre *charreit*

مشریط; fendu ??*mecharreita* مشریطه

◆ Looks like Ar. *šərrɨt* ‘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 *ašərrɨt* ‘line, stripe’ derived from a native Berber root, ► ŠRT.

ŠRWT/Y

š-ərwɨt [caus.v.irreg.] ‘to speak, tell’

pf. / seq. = res. š-ərwɨt/y impf. š-ərwàyt

imp. sg. *šərwɨt*; pf. 1sg. *šərwɨh* 3sg.m. *išərwɨt*,

išərw-(ɨs) [PT:V]; res. 1sg. *šərwɨha* 3sg.m.

išərwɨta; impf. 3sg.m. *išərwàyt*

P: parlare, raccontare PT: V M: parler

echərouy اشروى

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. *tɨstənt* ‘awl for working hides’; Zng. *təssənt* ‘awl (for fine leather)’

ŠT

tšaṭ [f.] ‘bundle of wood’

ččāṭ

P: fascina di legna

◆ NZ: CḌ3

Perhaps related to MA *tušəṭṭ* ‘oak tree’

ŠTF

šəṭṭəf [stat.v.] ‘to be black’

1sg. *šəṭṭəx* 2sg. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg.m. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg/f/

šəṭṭəf pl. *šəṭṭifit*

1sg. *šəṭṭəh* 2sg. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg.m. *šəṭṭəf* 3sg.f. *šəṭṭəf*

pl. *šəṭṭifit*

P: nero M: noir *echtaf* اشطاف ; teindre

echtaf اشتاف ; teint ??méchtaf مشتاف ;
teinture *echtafeh* اشتافه ; teinturier
méchtaf مشتاف

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *šetṭāf.setṭāf* 'black'; Ghd.
azḍaf 'to be black'; Kb. *aṣḍaf* 'to be black';
Nef. *zettāf* 'black'; Sok. *sētṭóf* 'black'; Siwa
azəttāf 'black'

šṭaf [adj.] šṭafən f. təšṭaft pl. təšṭafin
'black'

m. sg. *štāf, šṭāf* [PT:XV], *stāf* (sic) [PT:XV],
štāf [B21] pl. *štāfen*; f. sg. *tešṭāft, tešṭāft*
[P:scarabeo] pl. *tešṭāfin*

P: nero; scarabeo PT: XV B21: 386

**šəttəf [caus.v.] 'to make black'

pf. / seq. šəttəf

pf. 3sg.f. *tšéttāf*

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

šṭaw [m.] 'loom'

šṭau

P: telaio

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *azōṭṭa, azétta* 'loom'; Kb.
azetṭa 'loom'; Nef. *zettā* 'loom'; Sok. *ašetṭa*
'loom'; Siwa *ašetṭa* 'loom'; Ghd. *asəṭṭa* 'loom'

ŠW

šu [v.cc*] 'to drink; to make drink
[PT:XV]'

pf. / seq. əšwa res. əšwa fut. šù impf.

šəwwa

imp. sg. šu pl.m. šuwât pl.f. šuîmet; pf. 1sg.

šuiḥ 3sg.m. yešwā, išuwi-(tēnet) [PT:XV]

3pl.m. šuân [PT:XV]; res. 1sg. šuiḥa 3sg.m.

išuwāya; fut. 1sg. ašwâḥ 3sg.m. aišû; impf. 1sg.

šuwwîḥ 2sg. tšuwwît [P: example] 3sg.m.

išúwwa

P: bere PT: XV B21: 391 M: abreuer

yéchouaya يشو ايه boire yechou يشو

▷ tšuwwît-ká 'do not drink'

▷ efkî-dîk a-swâḥ '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-šəwwât [v.n.f.] 'drink, beverage,
drinking'

ččuwât (<t-šuwâ-t)

P: bere, bevanda

ŠWL

šəwal-(āya) [m.] 'bag'

šuwāl-(āya)

P (example): togliere, levare

◆ ELA *šəwāl* 'sack, bag' (p.c. Benkato)

ŠWR

šəwâr [v.ccc] 'to dance'

seq. = res. əšwâr impf. šəwwâr

imp. sg. šwôr; pf. 1sg. šwârḥ 3sg.m. yešwor;

res. 1sg. šuwérḥa 3sg.m. yešwîra; impf. 1sg.

šuwwérḥ 3sg.m. išúwwer

P: danzare

ašəwâr [v.n.m.] 'dancing'

ašəwâr

P: danzare M: danse choua شوة; danser

echoua اشوة; danseur châoua شأوه

ŠWŠ

ašəw(w)áša [m.] 'this year'

ašuwáša, šwáša [B21]

P: anno B21: 391

◆ TC: 883 K: 3

Berber, cf. Ghd. *azāggas* 'year'; Zng. *āššābbāš*

'year'; Foq. *šaggāšá, saggāšá* 'this year'; Nef.

suggés, sūggés 'year'; Siwa *asəggasa* 'this year'

(Souag 2010: 265); Sok. *asuggāsa* 'year'

ŠWY

əttəšwàyt [f.] ‘couscous’

ittiš'waît

Z: XII

ŠXR

Šxərra [m.] ‘Gicherra (an oasis north-west of Awjila)’

Šhérra

P: Gicherra

ŠYN

pl. ?šeynat [f.] ‘ugly ones’

pl. šaināt

Z: III

◆ ELA šēnât ‘ugly (f.pl.)’

ŠŽR

šəžəɾ [m.] ‘chamomile (the type of chamomile that the Arabs call *gréisa*)’

šéžar, séžar

P: camomilla

◆ ELA šžar ‘trees(coll.)’; Ar. sažar ‘trees; shrubs (coll.)’

T₁ ► WTT₂

=t [pron.]3sg.m. direct object

-t, (t)-t [PT:III], -āt [PT:XV], res. -tîya

P: egli PT: passim

=tət [pron.]3sg.f. direct object

-tet, -tət [PT:I], (t)-tāt [PT:XV], res.tîta [PT:V]

P: egli PT: I, V, XII, XV

TDK

tudik [adv.] ‘so’

tūdīk, tūdīk, tudīk [PT:IV], ttudīk [PT:IX]

P: così PT: IV, IX M: ainsī toudig تودق

▷ ddiwa ttudīk ‘why?’ [PT:IX]

TḤYR

**təḥəyyər [v.tecc] ‘to be confused’

pf. / seq. təḥəyyər

pf. 3sg.m. itaháyyär

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. taḥayyara ‘to become confused’

TKR

(ə)tkár [v.ccc] ‘to fill up’

res. ətkər impf. təkkr

imp. sg. etkér, tker; res. 3sg.m. itkîra [Z:VI];

impf. 3sg.m. itekkér

P: riempire Z:VI M: empli ??maëtker

معتكر; emplir 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. tēlānet [P:example]; res. 1sg. tlīḥa,

llīḥa 2sg. tetlīta, tlīta 3sg.f. tlāya 3pl.f. tlānīta,

llānīta

P: incinta

▷ nēhīnet tēlānet ‘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’

atélá

P: seme di lino

TLT

tlàta [num.] ‘three’

tlàta, tǎlàta

PT: II

◆ Ar. talāṭa(t) ‘three’

TMN

**təmənn [v.irreg.] ‘to wish’

pf. / seq. *təmənna*

pf. 3sg.m. *yətemənna*

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*, -*tēnēt* [PT:IV,V], -*tēnēt* [PT:V,XV], res.

-*tnīta*

P: essi PT: IV, V, XV

TNGR

atəngîr [**m.**] pl. *təngîrən* ‘square-plot of irrigation’

atengîr pl. *tengîrən*

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

atrār [**adj.**]pl. *trārən* f. *tatràrt* pl. *tətrārîn* ‘new, fresh’

m. sg. *atrâr* pl. *trâren* f. sg. *tatrârât* 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. *tráwel*; res. 1sg. *trawílha* 3sg.m.

itrawíla; fut. 3sg.m. *aitráwel*

P: *nascere*

◆ Perhaps somehow related to the verb *érōū* ‘to give birth’.

TSʕ

təs(ə)ʕa [**num.**] ‘nine’

tésaʕa

PT:V

◆ Ar. *tisʕa(t)* ‘nine’

təsʕin [**num.**] ‘ninety’

tesʕin

PT:V

TŞ ► TŞ/TŞ

tettâ ► ečč

TW/Y

tùwi [**v.irreg.**] ‘to forget’

pf. / seq. = res. *tùwəy(a)* impf. *tàya*

imp. sg. *túwi*; pf. 1sg. *tuwiyíh* 3sg.m. *ittúwí*,

ittuwî-(t) [PT:XIII]; res. 1sg. *tuwiyíha* 3sg.m.

ittuwîya; impf. 1sg. *tāyéh* 3sg.m. *itâya*

P: *dimenticare* PT: XIII

▷ *túwi žlān-îya* ‘forget these words’

◆ Berber, cf. Foq. *úttu* ‘to forget’; Ghd. *əttu* ‘to forget’; Kb. *ətt* ‘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’

TʃB

****ətfəb [v.ccc]** ‘to toil’

res. ətfəb

res. 2sg. *titʿibta*

Z: VIII

◆ Ar. *taʃiba* ‘to work hard, toil, slave, drudge’

əttəʃəb [m.] ‘burden’

əttəʃəb, ettaʃab-(énnes)

PT: XII

◆ Ar. *taʃab* ‘trouble, exertion, labor, toil, drudgery; burden, nuisance etc.’

T

ar-ùta [adv.] ‘below’

ar-ùtā

P: sotto PT: VI

▷ *s-ar-ùtā* ‘from below’

TB

àtəb [v.cc*] ‘to close the eyes’

pf. ətəb res. ətəba

imp. sg. *átāb*; pf. 1sg. *tbiḥ* 3sg.m. *yeṭbā*; res.

1sg. *tbiḥa* 3sg.m. *yeṭbāya*

P: chiudere

▷ *átāb tiwīnnek* ‘close your eyes!’

◆ NZ DB₃

To. (Burkina Faso) *ăḍəb* ‘to close’ (Sudlow 2009)

TF

(ə)tʃəf [v.c̄c] ‘to seize’

pf. ətʃəf res. = fut. ətʃəf impf. tətʃəf

imp. sg. *ettəf* pl.m. *ettəfāt* pl.f. *ettəfmet*; pf.

1sg. *tʃəf* 3sg.m. *yettəf*; res. 1sg. *tʃəfha* 3sg.m.

yettəfha; fut. 1sg. *attəf* 3sg.m. *ayettəf*; impf.

1sg. *tattəf* 3sg.m. *itetəf*

P: afferrare M: retenir *thaff* طاف; serrer

thaf طاف

◆ NZ: DF₁ TC: 240

Berber, cf. Ghd. *əttəf* ‘to seize, hold, keep’; To.

əttəf ‘to seize, hold, keep’; Zng. aor. 3sg.m.

yädduf ‘to have, possess’

TG

****tùg(g) [v.c̄c]** ‘to reach’

pf. / seq. tùg(g)

pf. 3sg.m. *itùg*

PT: VIII

◆ ELA *itēgg* ‘to reach, arrive at’

TL

pl. tiliwən [m.] ‘fenugreek’

pl. *tilwən*

P: fieno greco

◆ A connection with Kb. *adil* ‘grape’ comes to mind. The semantic connection is improbable, fenugreek looks nothing like a grapevine.

TLB

****ətləb [v.ccc]** ‘to request’

impf. tēlləb impf. 3sg.m. *itēlleb*

PT: V

◆ Ar. *talaba* ‘to look, search; to request etc.’

TLW/ TLY

aṭəlù, aṭəlwī [m.] ‘turnips (coll.)’

aṭəlūi, aṭəlwi

P: rapa

◆ NZ: DLW

taṭləwīt [f.] pl. təlwītīn ‘turnip’

taṭluwīt pl. *təlwītīn*

P: rapa

TR₁

uṭər [v.ccc] ‘to twist, roll up’

seq. = res. = fut. uṭər impf. tàṭər

imp. sg. *uṭār*; pf. 1sg. *uṭārḥ* 3sg.m. *yútar*; res.

1sg. *uṭārḥa* 3sg.m. *yutāra*; fut. 1sg. *auṭérḥ*

3sg.m. *ayúter*; impf. 1sg. *taṭārḥ* 3sg.m. *itátar*

P: attorcigliare, avvolgere M: tortu

yauthérah يوطره; tortu, rendre tortu

??*mayauthera* مايوطره

◆ NZ: DR₁₈

TR2

aṭar [m.] pl. ṭarīn 'foot'

aṭār, aṭār pl. ṭārīn, ṭārīn-(nûk) [PT:V]

P: piede PT: V M: pied *athar* طار

◆ NZ: DR3 TC: 235

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aḍar* 'foot'; Kb. *aḍar* 'foot';To. *áḍār* 'foot, leg' Zng. *aḍaʔr* 'leg'

TR3

**ṭar [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. ṭerrās

imp. sg. *ṭrās*; impf. 3sg.f. *ṭterrās* (irreg.)

P: intrecciare

◆ NZ: DR5/Š2

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āḍrās* 'to braid (hair); to comb'; Siwa *āṭrās* 'to braid hair'

aṭarās [v.n.m.] 'braiding of hair'

aṭārās

P: intrecciare

TRŠ

ṭrāš [v.ccc.irreg.] 'to vomit'

impf. ṭerrāš

imp. sg. *ṭrāš*; impf. 1sg. *ṭarrāšh* (irreg.)

P: vomitare

◆ Ar. *ṭaraša* 'to vomit'

TŠ/TŠ

aṭs [v.cc*] 'to laugh'

seq. = res. ṭṭa fut. ṭṭs impf. təṣṣá

imp. sg. *aṭs*, *aṭs* pl.m. *tṣât* pl.f. *tṣîmet*; pf. 1sg.*āṭših* 3sg.m. *yétša*; res. 1sg. *tṣihā* 3sg.m.*yetšāya*; fut. 1sg. *aṭšáh* 3sg.m. *ayétš*; impf. 1sg.*teṣṣih* 3sg.m. *iteṣṣá*P: ridere M: rire *etsa* اثة

◆ NZ: DS2 TC: 259

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āḍs* 'to laugh'; Zng. *aṭši*(?) 'to

laugh'

təṣṣàt [v.n.f.] 'laughing'

teṣṣât

P: ridere

š-əṭs, s-əṭs [caus.v.] 'to make s.o laugh'

imp. sg. *šaṭs*, *sāṭs*

P: ridere

V

avú [m.] 'smoke'

avû

P: fumo

◆ NZ: B6 TC: 3 K: 206

Berber, cf. Ghd. *oḃu* 'smoke'; Kb. *abbu*'smoke'; To. *āho* 'smoke'; Zng. *oḃbih* 'smoke'

avùv [m.] 'smoke of incense'

avûv

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. *yevdida* [PT:III], *yevdida* [B24] 3sg.f.*tevdida* [B24]; impf. 1sg. *veddédh* 2sg.*dveddét* [P: Example] 3sg.m. *ivédedd*

P: fermarsi PT: III B24: 191

▷ *dveddét-ká* 'do not stand up!'

◆ NZ: BD1 TC: 955 K: 248

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āḃdəd* 'to stand up'; Kb. *bdəd*,*bədd* 'to stand up'; To. *əbdəd* 'to stand up; toremain on foot; stop'; Zng. *āwdəd* 'to be

standing'

avdád [v.n.m.] 'stopping'

avdád

P: fermarsi

š-əvdəd [caus.v.] 'to cause to stop'

imp. sg. *šévded*

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. *yevlâ*;
res. 1sg. *vliḥa* 3sg.m. *yevlâya*; fut. 1sg. *avláḥ*
3sg.m. *ayével*; impf. 1sg. *vellíḥ* 3sg.m. *ivellâ*
3pl.f. *vellânḡet* [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

avùn [m.] ‘rain’

avún, *avùn*

P: pioggia

VN ► BN

VR1

**uvór [v.vcc] ‘to cook’

res. = fut. *ùvər* impf. *tavər*

res. 3sg.m. *yuvîra* 3pl.m. *uverîna*; fut. 3sg.m.
ayúver 3pl.m. *auvéren*; impf. 3sg.m. *itāver*
3pl.m. *tāvéren* ‘to cook’

P: bollire M: bouillir *yétawer* يتور

▷ *imîn uverîna* ‘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. *ivîra*; fut. 1sg. *avérḥ*, *avvérḥ*
3sg.m. *aivér*, *aivvér*; impf. 1sg. *tavvérḥ* 3sg.m.
itavvər

P: chiudere

◆ NZ: BR1 K: 204

Berber, cf. Ghd. *áβar* ‘to be closed’; To. *àḥar*
‘to be covered, be closed’

av(v)ùr [v.n.m.] ‘closing’

avûr, *avvûr*

P: chiudere

avìr [m.] pl. vîrrən ‘wall’

avîr pl. *vîrren*

P: muro M: batir *hawir* ها وير; bati *wir*

وير

təvùrt, tavvùrt [f.] pl. tvurr ‘door’

tevùrt, *tavvùrt*, *tefùret* [B], *tevùrt* [B] pl. *dvurr*,
dfurr, *dfurr* [B]

P: porta B: 189

◆ NZ: GR28, BR1 K: 210

Berber, cf. Kb. *tabburt* ‘door’; Ghd. *taβburt*
‘door’; Sok. *tawórt* ‘door’

VR3

avùr [m.] pl. vuràwən ‘plate, tray made of
palm leaves; also used to cover other
vessels’

avûr pl. *vuràwen*

P: piatto, vassoio

təvurìt (or: tavurìt) [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.

vergîḥ 3sg.m. *ivérġa*

P: sognare

◆ NZ: BRG10 K: 177, 320

Berber, cf. Ghd. *βərg* ‘to dream’; Foq. *óržu*;

Kb. *argu* ‘to dream’; To. *hùrjə-t* ‘to see in dream, dream of’

təvərgàt, tvərgàt [v.n.f.] pl. *tvərgá* ‘dream’

tävergât, dvergât, tavergât [P: sub sognare] pl. *dvergâ*

P: sogno M: rêver *tewerquiat* توريقيات

◆ K: 175, 321

Ghd. *taβārgot* ‘dream’; Kb. *targit* ‘dream’; MA *tawargit* ‘dream’

VRG2

avərg [m.] pl. *vərgàwən* ‘pestle (usually metal, to crush cores of dates)’

avérg pl. *vergâwen*

P: pestello

VRK

vùr(ə)k [stat.v.] ‘to be broad, wide’

1sg. *vurkax* 2sg. *vurkât* 3sg.m. *vùr(ə)k*

3sg.f. *vùrkæt* pl. *vur(ə)kît*

1sg. *vurkâḥ* 2sg. *vurkât* 3sg.m. *vurk, vùrĕk*

3sg.f. *vurket* pl. *vurĕkît*

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)vrùn [m.] ‘flour’

vrūn, ävrūn, evrūn [B24], *vrūn* [B24]

P: farina M: farine *newroun* نورون B24:

192

◆ NZ: BRN1 K: 171

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aβārn* ‘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.) *sirār* ‘to be fertilized’

š-əvrər [caus.v.] ‘to fertilize (a palm)’

imp. sg. *šévrer*

P: fecondare

aš-əvrər [caus.v.n.m.] ‘fertilizing (a palm)’

ašévrer

P: fecondare

VT ► VL2

VT1

àvəṭ [m.] pl. *vəṭàwən* ‘night’

ávot, avot-(idîn) [PT:XV] pl. *voṭàwen*

P: notte PT: XV M: nuit *awed* اود

▷ *d-ávot* ‘tonight’ The *d* here seems to be the retained preposition *dî* ‘in’ which is otherwise lost.

◆ NZ: D8 TC: 643 K: 189

Berber, cf. Kb. *id* ‘night’; Ghd. *éβăḍ* ‘night’; To.

éhăḍ ‘night’; Zng. *id* ‘night’

tan d-àvəṭ [f.] ‘Owl (Litt.: The one of the night)’

tan d-ávot

P: gufo

VT2

avəṭ [v.cc] ‘to swear (an oath, etc.)’

IPtəvvàṭ

imp. sg. *avot*; impf. 1sg. *tevvâṭḥ* 3sg.m. *itevvât*

P: giurare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǣḥad* ‘to swear’; To. *əḥad* ‘to swear, make an oath’

avùt [v.n.m.] ‘swearing’

avùt

P: giurare

VV1 ► V

VV2 ► BB2

VW

(əv)vìw [m.] pl. əvvìwən ‘bean; broad bean’

vîu, vvîu pl. *əvvîwən, vîwen* [B21], *evîwen* [B21]

P: fava B21: 385 M: *fève éwéouen* ا و و ن

◆ NZ: BW1 K: 247

Berber, cf. Ghd. *abābba* ‘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. aməzzìn-nnùk

iwī pl. *amäzzîn, amezzîn-(nes)* [PT:I]; sg.

2sg.m. *iwī-k* 2sg.f. *iwī-m* 3sg. *iwī-s, (d-)iwī-s*

[Z:III] 1pl. *iwī-tnah* 2pl.m. *iwī-tkīm* 3pl.m.

iwī-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. *mezẓâi*

W3

əww [v.ċ*] ‘to knead (bread dough)’

seq. = res. əwwa impf. təwwa

imp. sg. *ău* pl.m. *wwât* pl.f. *wwîmet*; pf. 3sg.m.

yûwa; res. 3sg.m. *iwâya*; impf. 3sg.m. *itôûwa*

P: impastare

▷ *ău terîkt* ‘knead the bread dough!’

◆ Kb. *ggʷ* ‘to knead’; MA *əgʷ* ‘to knead’; Mzab *əggʷ* ‘to knead’; Siwa *aggʷi* ‘to knead’

(Naumann 2013: 323)

əwwu [v.n.m.] ‘kneading (bread dough)’

ûwû

P: impastare

W4

wa [interj.] ‘no’

wa

P: no!

W5

wa f. ta [pron.] pl. wi f. tipre-modifier pronominal head

wa f. ta pl. *wi f. ti*

P: che, il quale

▷ *amédēn wa târēven nettîn* ‘ayyân’ ‘The man who is writing is ill.’

▷ *amédēn wa ššînḥa šābât 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 šābât d-wértnâ* ‘The woman that has come yesterday is my sister.’

▷ *amkân wa tnéššâ gān temígnî* ‘The place where the woman is sleeping.’

▷ *ssuwânî ta škîḥa z-gān méšket* ‘The garden that I left from is small.’

wa, we, wâya, wək f. ta, te, tâya, tək [pron.] pl. wîya f. tîya Proximal deictic pronoun

wa, wē, wâya, wâya [PT:IV, VII], *wék f. ta, tē, tâya, ték* pl. *wîya f. tîya*

P: questo PT: IV, VII

WDF

awədûf [m.] ‘shoulder bone’

awedûf

P: osso

WDN1

****wəddən** [v.cċc] ‘to crow (of a rooster)’
 pf. / seq. wəddən impf. wəddān
 pf. 3sg.m. *iwəddən*; impf. 3sg.m. *iwəddān*
 P: cantare M: minaret *éouadden* ا و د ن
 ♦ Mor. Ar. *wedden* ‘to crow’ (Harrell 1966)

WG ► Č₁

WGL

awəgìl [m.] pl. wəg(ə)lən ‘canine tooth’
awegìl pl. *wégĕlen*

P: dente

♦ TC: 978 K: 401

Berber, cf. Kb. *ugəl* ‘canine, tooth’; To. *tajəllətt* ‘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. tawìltin ‘woman from Awjila’

tawìlt pl. *tawìltin*

P: aujilino

WL₂

s-aləwwəl [adv.] ‘first; once, formerly’

s-alūwel [PT:III], *lōūwel* [PT:II]

PT: II, III

♦ Ar. *ʔawwal* ‘first; foremost’ Dialectal Arabic ‘once, formerly’ (p.c. Souag)

s-aləwwāl [adv.] ‘before’

s-ālōūwāl

PT: XI

WL₃

wəlli [kin.f.] ‘daughter’

2sg.m/ wəlli-k 2sg.f. wəllim 3sg. wəlli-s

1sg. *wélli* 2sg.m. *wəllī-k* 2sg.f. *wəllī-m* 3sg.

wəllī-s, *wūllī-s* [Z:II]

P: figlio Z: II

♦ Berber, cf. Foq. *ēlli* ‘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. *áwal* ‘speaking, talk’; Zng. *āwāy* ‘talking, speech, language’

WL₆

wəla [adv.] ‘not’

wéla

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. twəlsin ‘big plate or bowl of wood’

twəlist pl. *twəlsin*

P: piatto, vassoio M: table *taouélest*

ط و ل س ت

WN₁

iwínan, iwinàn, iwìn [num.]f. iwátan,

iwàt ‘one’

m. *iwínan*, *iwinân* [PT:IX,XII], *iwinān* [PT:III],

iwinan [PT:V], *iwinān* [PT:II,V,XI], *iwin* f.

iwātan, iwâtān [PT:XV], *iwât*

P: uno PT: I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV M: seul *yéouénan*

يوان

◆ TC: 1028 K: 444, 615

Berber, cf. Ghd. *yón* f. *yot* 'one'; Kb. *yiwən* f. *yiwət* 'one'; Zng. *yuʔn* 'one'

WN2

awənu [m.] pl. wənyìn, wənnəyìn 'well'
awénu pl. *wenyîn, wenniyîn*

P: pozzo M: puits *aouénou* ا و نو

◆ TC: 718

Berber, cf. Ghd. *ānu* 'well'; Kb. *anu* 'chasm, well'; To. *ānu* 'well'; Zng. *tāniʔd* 'well')

təwənīt (or: tuwənīt) [f.] pl. təwənītìn
'pit, hole'

tuwenīt pl. *tuwenītìn*

P: buca

WN3

iwən [v.icc] 'to satiate, satisfy'

impf. *tiwàn*

imp. sg. *íwən*; impf. 3sg.m. *itiwân*

P: saziarsi M: rassasié *eiyouaneh*

ايوانه; rassasier *eiouan* ا ي و ا ن

◆ K: 707

Ghd. *géwān* 'to be satisfied'; Foq. *gíwen* 'to satisfy'

š-iwən [caus.v.] 'to make satisfied'

impf. *š-iwàn*

imp. sg. *šíwən*; impf. 1sg. *šiwānh*

P: saziarsi

WN4

=íwan [demonstrative] pl. =idánindistal
deictic clitic

-íwan, -íwan [PT:XV] pl. -idānīn

P: quello PT: XV

▷ *aməḍən-íwan* 'that man'

▷ *temígni-y-íwan* 'that woman'

WNM

wèn-ma [conj.] 'when, as soon as'

wən-mā

PT: II

◆ ELA *wən-mā* 'when, as soon as'

WQ

əwwəq [v. ċc?] '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-tnaḥ* pl. 1sg.

sétmā 2sg.m. *setmā-k* 2sg.f. *setmā-m* [PT:XV]

'sister'

P: sorella PT: XV

▷ *wertnās* n *aməḍən* 'the sister of the man'

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *wəltma* pl. *yəssətmā* 'sister';

Nef. *weltnû* pl. *tsetmû* 'sister'; Sok. *últmā*

'sister'; Foq. *ulétmāi* pl. *sátmāi* 'sister'; Siwa

ɣl̥tma 'sister'; Zng. *yädmäh, ʔädmäh* pl.

ʔšädmäh 'sister'

WRŽ

twəržīt [f.] pl. twəržìn 'root of a plant'

tweržît pl. *tweržîn*

P: radice di pianta

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Zng. *täguržäh*

'underground root'

WS1

təwəss [f.] 'bed'

tűéss, tawöss

P: letto M: lit *thaoues* طوس; tapis *thaoues*

ط ا و س

▷ *ess tûéss* ‘make the bed!’

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *usu* ‘bed’; To. *tāwsett* ‘simple mat for sleeping’

WS2

wāsa [pron.] indefinite relative pronoun

wāsa

PT: II

WŠ

awiš [m.] pl. wiššən ‘sword’

awiš pl. *wiššən*

P: spada M: sabre *hauch* حوش

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *aus* ‘sword’

WT/Y

awīt [v.irreg.] ‘to hit, strike’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. wīt/y impf. tawwīt/y

imp. sg. *awīt* pl.m. *awiyât* pl.f. *awîmet*; pf. 1sg.

wîh 3sg.m. *iwît*; res. 1sg. *āwîha* 3sg.m. *iwîta*;

fut. 1sg. *awîh* 3sg.m. *aiwît*; impf. 1sg. *tuwîh*,

tāwéih 3sg.m. *ituwéit*

P: battere M: abattu *youayah* يُوَايه;

coup *eioued* ايواد

◆ TC: 985 K: 594

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āwāt* ‘to hit, strike’; Kb. *wāt* ‘to hit, strike’; To. *āwāt* ‘to hit, strike’; Zng. *āwih* ‘to hit, strike’

tîta [v.n.f.] ‘blow, hit’

tîta, *tîti(n)* [Z:XII]

P: battere; colpo Z: XII

awīt avùn [phrasal v.] ‘to rain (litt. rain hits)’

awīt avùn

P: piovere

WT

wótti-(dikkèni) [v.cċ*] ‘to prepare’

impf. pf. / seq. wætta imp. sg.

wétti-(dikkèni) pl.f. *wettîmet*; pf. 3sg.f. *twétta*

PT: XV

◆ ELA *wattī* ‘to make ready, to prepare’ (Stem II) (p.c. Benkato)

****ut/uti** [v.vci/vc*] ‘to be ready’

res. ùta

res. 3sg.m. *yutāya*

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. tawwəṭ

imp. sg. *wəṭ*; pf. 1sg. *wəṭh* 3sg.m. *iwóṭ*; res. 1sg.

wəṭha 3sg.m. *iwēṭa*; impf. 1sg. *tūwāṭh* 3sg.m.

itāwóṭ

P: arrivare; raggiungere M: atteindre

yéouath يُوَاط

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āwəṭ* ‘to reach’; Kb. *awəṭ*

‘to reach, arrive’; To. *āwəṭ* ‘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. *widânîn* f. *tidânîn*

P: quello

WYL

ittəwwiyəl [v.??] ‘to be dumbfounded, amazed’

pf. 3sg.m. *ittōūwýel* [PT:VIII]

PT: VIII

◆ ELA *yetwayyēl* ‘to be dumbfounded, to wonder at’ (p.c. Benkato)

X

=ax [pron.] 1pl. direct object pronoun

-ah, res. -āha

P: noi

XBR

****xəbbər** [v.cċc] ‘to tell’

impf. *xəbbār*

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)rəṭ [f.] ‘vegetable’

elḥāḍārät

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

****xəmməṃ** [v.cċc] ‘to think, ponder’

pf. *xəmməṃ* impf. *xəmmàm*

pf. 3sg.m. *yeḥammém* [PT:II]; impf. 2sg.

aṭhemmámt [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.cċc] ‘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’

XRBṢ

əlxərbuṣ-(ənnəs) [m.] ‘garden’

əlḥarbūṣ-(énnes), *elḥarbūṣ-(énnes)*

PT: XV

◆ Certainly derived from Ar. *ḥarbūṣ* ‘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. *yeḥáṭṭām* [PT: IV], *iḥáṭṭām* [PT: XI]

PT: IV, XI

◆ LA *ixəṭṭəm salā* ‘to pick someone up, to drop by someone’ (p.c. Benkato)

XZR

****əxzár** [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], *yäħzér* [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 *ġār*.

◆ 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*, =*iyəkproximal* deictic clitic

-*āya*, -*é*, -*ek*, -*ék* [P: example] pl. -*īya*, *īyäk* [PT:I]

P: questo PT: I, II, IV, V, VI, IX

▷ *aməḍen-āya*, *aməḍen-ék* ‘this man’

Y-D ► Š(-D), Y-D

YK

=*iyək* ► =*āya*

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* *ēlqiyāma* ‘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’

zzāi, *zīu* [B21] pl. *zzîwen*, *zîwen* [B21]

P: mammella B21: 384

◦ Beguinot has a very different singular than Paradisi. The singular form of Beguinot would be the regular singular to correspond to the plural attested in Paradisi.

z-di, **z-diwa** ► 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’

zbûd

P: sputo

◆ Perhaps from Latin *sputum* ‘spit’ or Italian *sputo* ‘spit’

ZDZ

azədüz [m.] ‘(wooden) hammer’

azedúz

P: martello

◆ NZ: DZ₁

Berber, cf. Kb. *azduz* ‘mallet’; MA *azduz* ‘mallet’

ZF

azîf [m.] pl. *ziffən* ‘tail’

azîf, *azîf*-(*ennûk*) [PT:XV] pl. *ziffen* ‘tail’

P: coda PT: VIII, XV M: queue *azîf* 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

zîk [v.cvc] ‘to become well, recover, heal (intrans.)’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. *zîk*

imp. sg. *zîk*; pf. 3sg.m. *izîk*; res. 3sg.m. *izîka*;

fut. 3sg.m. *ayezîk*

P: guarire

◆ TC: 1144 K: 549, 701

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzîk* ‘to heal’; To. *àzzay* ‘to get well’; Zng. *āžžig* ‘to heal’

s-əzîk, **s-əgzək** [caus.v.] ‘to heal (trans)’

imp. sg. *sezîk*, *ségzek*

P: guarire

ZL₁

àzzəl [v.ċc.irreg.] ‘to run (imperative

only); to have bowel movement’

res. = fut. *àzzəl* impf. *təzzəl*

imp. sg. *ázzel*; res. 3sg.m. *izzîla*; fut. *ayézzel*;

impf. *itézzel*

P: andare; correre M: courir *yétazze*

ا ز زال; traverser *azzal*

▷ *ažār-ennûk itézzel* ‘I have diarrhea (litt.

My belly is running)’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzzəl* ‘to run’; Kb. *əzzəl* ‘to run’; To. *āšəl* ‘to run’

ZL₂

zzîl [m.] ‘iron’

zzîl

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

izləf [m.] ‘summer’

izlef, *ézflef*

P: estate

ZLMT

azəlmât [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. *zulîq* ‘billy goat’

azəlâq pl. *zulîq*

P: caprone M: bouc *zala* ز لعه

○ Also called: *ajîded amoqqarân* (litt: big kid)

○ Müller has *ʕ* instead of *q*.

◆ Berber, cf. To. *ăšólay* ‘stud goat, uncastrated adult billy-goat’; Siwa *zalaq* ‘billy goat’; Sok. *zâlağ* ‘large goat’; Zng. *ăžäyi*(?) ‘billy goat’

ZM

azém [v.cc] ‘to shave’

pf. / seq. *zəm* impf. *təzzəm*

imp. sg. *azém*; pf. 3sg.m. *izem*-(*îs*) [PT:XIV];

impf. 3sg.m. *itezzâm* ptc. *tezzâmən*

P: radersi PT: XIV M: barbier *yezem* يـيـزـم;

cheveu *ezem* اـذـم; raser *hezam* هـزـاـم;

raser (se) *hezameh* هـزـاـمـه

azùm [v.n.m.] ‘shaving’

azûm

P: radersi

wa təzzâmən [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. *əzmér*; 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. *ăzmər* ‘to be able

(physically)’; Kb. *əzmər* ‘to be able’; To. *ăšmər*

‘to endure, put up with’; Zng. *ăžmər* ‘to

support (without the risk of health)’

ZN1

****uzən** [v.vcc] ‘to weigh’

impf. *tazən*

impf. 3sg.m. *itāzān*-(*dík*)

PT: IV

◆ Ar. *wazana* ‘to weigh’

uzùn-(nəs) [v.n.m.] ‘weighing’

uzún-(*nes*)

PT: IV

əlmizàn [m.] ‘balance, scales’

əlmīzân [PT:IV], *əlmīzân*-(*nes*) [PT:III],

elmīzân-(*î*) [PT:IV]

PT: III, IV M: poids *meizan* ميزان

◆ Ar. *mīzān* ‘balances, scales’

ZN2

əzən [m.] ‘next year’

ázān

P: anno

◆ Siwa *azən* ‘next year’

ZNM

zənīm [m.] ‘bastard’

zinīm

Z: IX

◆ Ar. *zanīm* ‘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. *zérren*

P: dorso M: dos *ghezzer* قـزـر

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. Kb. *azagur* ‘back’; Siwa

ərrāō, ərrau ‘back’

ZR2

tazàrt [f.] pl. *təzzàr* ‘millstone, handmill’

tazârt pl. *tezzâr*

P: macina

◆ Kb. *tissirt, tassirt, tasirt* ‘mill’; Foq. *tasârt*

‘millstone’; Siwa *tasârt* ‘handmill’

ZRD

****əzrəd** [v.ccc] ‘to eat, gulp, devour’

fut. *əzrəd*

fut. 3pl.m. *azréden*

PT: XV

◆ Ar. *zarada* ‘to choke (s.o.), strangle; to gulp,

swallow, devour'

ZRF

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'

tāzermît

P: passerio

ZRQ ► LZRQ

ZṬ

azîṭ [m.] pl. ẓîṭàn 'donkey'

azîṭ, azîṭ, azîṭ, azîṭ-(*énnes, ennûk*)

[PT:IV,VIII], *aziṭ*-(*énnes*) [PT:XII],

azîṭ-(*énnes*) [PT:XII], *azîṭ*-(*ennûk*) [PT:VIII],

azîṭ-(*annek*) [Z:XIII] pl. ẓîṭàn, ẓîṭàn

P: asino PT: IV, V, VII, VIII, XII Z: XIII M:

âne *azeit* ا ز ي ت

◆ K: 708

Berber, cf. Ghd. *aẓēḍ* 'donkey'; To. *ešed* 'donkey'. For a discussion on the historical development of this word see Kossmann (1999: 231)

təzîṭ, tizîṭ [f.] pl. tzittîn 'she-donkey'

tezîṭ, tizîṭ pl. *tzittîn, dzittîn, ẓittîn*

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. zəwṛàx 2sg. zəwṛàt 3sg.m. zəwwəy

3sg.f. zəwṛəṭ pl. zəwṛīt

1sg. zōūgâḥ 2sg. zōūgât 3sg.m. zōūwâj 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. *əzgay* 'to be red'; Kb. *əzwəy* 'to become red, become brown'; To. *išway* 'to be or become red'; Zng. *ḡoḡḡä(?)* 'to be red'

zwây [adj.] pl. zwâyən f. t(ə)zwâyṭ pl.

tzwâyin '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. zəwṛàx 2sg. zəwṛàt 3sg.m. zəwwər

3sg.f. zəwṛəṭ pl. zəwwirīt

1sg. zurâḥ 2sg. zōūrât 3sg.m. zúwor; 3sg.f.

zōūret, zūret pl. zuwirīt

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. *ḡaḡw(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)arìn 'large'

m.sg. azuwâr pl. zuwâren f.sg. tăzuwârt pl.

zuwarîn

P: grosso M: épais *azouar* ا ز و ا ر

ZWT**zwəṭ** [v.ccc] ‘to slam; to throw’imp. sg. *zwáṭ*

P: sbattere, gettare

****t-zəwəṭ** [pass.v.] ‘to be thrown on the ground’

t-zəwəṭ

res. 3sg.m. *itzuŵiṭa*

P: sbattere, gettare

ZZR**z-ùzər** [caus.v.] ‘to winnow’impf. *z-uzàr*imp. sg. *zùzer*, *zōzar*; impf. 3sg.m. *izuzâr*

P: vagliare

◆ Siwa *zuzər* ‘to winnow’; Fig. *zzuzzər* ‘to winnow’**az-ùzər** [caus.v.n.m.] ‘winnowing’*azûzer*

P: vagliare

Z₁**ažùy** [stat.v.] ‘to be bitter’‘3sg.m. *ažùy* 3sg.f. *ažuyit* pl. *ažuyit*’sg. m. *ažûi* f. *ažuyit* pl. *ažuyit*

P: amaro

▷ *imîn ažuýt* ‘bitter water’◆ Berber, cf. Sok. *zâi* ‘bitter’; Siwa *žai* ‘to be bitter’**Z₂****z(ž)ùy** [m.] pl. *žwàn* ‘palm’*žûi*, *žžûi* pl. *žûân*P: palma M: palmier *azouan* ا زون◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *tažwat* ‘palm leaf’**ZD****izd** [m.] ‘spindle’*īzd*P: conocchia per filare M: quenouille *ezd*

ا زد

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. the Berber words for ‘loom’, that appear to have a similar root: Foq. *azóṭṭa*, *azéṭṭa* ‘loom’; Kb. *azetta* ‘loom’; Nef.*žetta* ‘loom’; Sok. *ašéṭṭa* ‘loom’; Siwa *ašəṭṭa* ‘loom’; Ghd. *asəṭṭa* ‘loom’, cf. also *šṭâu* ► ŠṬW**ZK****žžàk** [stat.v.] ‘to be heavy’1sg. *žžákax* 2sg. *žžákāt* 3sg.m. *žžàk* 3sg.f.*žžàkāt* pl. *žžakit*1sg. *žžákah* 2sg. *žžákāt* 3sg.m. *žžák* 3sg.f.*žžàket* pl. *žžākīt*; ptc. *žžàken* [PT:III]P: pesante PT: III M: pesant *ezzag* ا 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-ažžik** [caus.stat.v.] ‘to make heavy’imp. sg. *s-ažžik*

P: pesante

tažžik, **tažžiq** [f.] ‘heaviness, weight’*tažžik*, *tažžiq*

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****tažùmt** [f.] ‘herb (Ar. (Cyrenaica)*šamma*, Ar. (Tripolitania) *bersîm*’*tažùmt*

P: erba

◆ Perhaps Berber, cf. To. *tàžamme* ‘type of grass, Chloris prieurii’**ZMK/Y****žmæk** [v.ccc] ‘to sew’impf. *žəmmæk*imp. sg. *žmāk* impf. 1sg. *žemmākḥ* 3sg.m.

izémmāk

P: cucire M: couture *ezzoumak* اَزْوَمَك

◆ TC: 1158 K: 550

Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzmək* ‘to sew’; To. *əzməy* ‘to be sewn’; Zng. *ažmug* ‘to sew’

ažəmək [v.n.m.] ‘sewing’

ažamāk, azamāk [B21]

P: cucire B21: 384

ažməy [m.] ‘joining (of mats)’

ažmāi

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. *zžān*

P: escremento

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *izžan* ‘excrements’; Siwa *zžan* ‘faeces’ (Naumann 2013: 374)

ZT₁

zùt [prep.] ‘above’

1sg. *zùt mīnn-i* *zùt fəlli-wi* 2sg.m. *zùt mīnn-ək*

zùt, zòt [PT:VI], *zùt* [PT:VI,XV] 1sg. *zùt mīnn-i*,

zùt fəlli-wi 2sg.m. *zùt mīnn-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.č*] ‘to plant’

imp. sg. *ežž*

P: piantare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *āzž* ‘to plant’; Kb. *əzžu* ‘to

plant’; Nef. *āzžā, ézžā* ‘to plant’; Sok. *özžu* ‘to plant’

əžžú [v.n.m.] ‘planting’

əžžú

P: piantare

iž ► **NŽ**

ŽBN

žəbbānət [f.] ‘cemetery’

žebbānet

PT: II

◆ Ar. *žabbāna(t)* ‘cemetery’

ŽBR

žibərət-(ənnəs) [f.] ‘travelling bag’

žiberet-(énnes)

PT: XV

ŽDBY

ždābyət [f.] ‘Ajdabiya’

ždābiet

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. *žigížha* 3sg.m. *ižigíža*; impf. 1sg. *žigāžh*

3sg.m. *ižigāž*

▷ *žigež ar-dīt* ‘to walk forward’

P: camminare; andare PT: III M: aller

devant *djeghez* جَقَز; rapprocher *djighez*

جِيغَز; rapprocher (se) *djighezeh* جِيغَزِه

◆ NZ: GZ29

Berber, cf. Zng. *ižigž* ‘walking’, suppletive

verbal noun to *ābdīh* ‘to walk’; Ghd. *ziyyaz* ‘to travel’

až-igəž [caus.v.n.m.] ‘walking’

ažigež

P: andare

ŽYDŠ

ažəydiš [m.] ‘false ribs’

ažəydiš

P: costola

◆ MA *aγasdis* ‘rib’; Mzab *asaydis* ‘side of the chest, flank’

Originally this word was a compound of *aγas* ‘bone’ + *adis* ‘belly’. Like MA, Awjila has undergone metathesis.

tažəydišt [f.] ‘girth of rope that ties to the saddle’

tažəydišt

P: finimenti

ŽĤM

əžžəḥim [m.ʔf.ʔ] ‘hell’

əžžəḥim

PT: III

◆ Ar. *žaḥīm* ‘fire, hellfire, hell’ f. (also m.)

ŽKR

ažikər [m.] ‘large rope (also made of *ižvìn*)’

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. **žlàn** [m.] ‘speech, words, languages’

pl. *žlān*, *žlān* [PT:III,XV], *žlān-(ḥya)* [PT:V]

P: discorso, parole; lingua PT: III, IV, V, VI, XV

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *žilān n isḥwan* ‘The Siwi language’

ŽM₁

Tažəmmit [P.N.] ‘name of a garden in the village of Awjila’

Tažəmmit

P: Tažəmmit

ŽM₂

ʔažəm [m.] ‘deer, gazelle’

adjem ا د جم

M: daim, gazelle

◆ NZ: DM₅

Berber, cf. To. (H.) *ehəm* ‘antelope’; Zng.

äžəm̄mi(ʔ) ‘gazelle’; Siwa *izəm* ‘gazelle’

ŽN₁

žin [v.cvc.irreg.] ‘to divide’

pf. / seq. = res. *žina*

imp. sg. *žin*; pf. 1sg. *žinīḥ* 3sg.m. *ižīna*; res. 1sg.

žinīḥa 3sg.m. *ižīnāya* 3pl.m. *ižīnāna* [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 *žənay* (Benkato 2012: 9); Ar. *žunaih* ‘(Libyan) pound’

ŽNQ ► ZNQ

ŽR₁

təžiri [f.] pl. *tžiriwìn* ‘small rope’

težirī, *tižiri* [B21] pl. *ğiriwîn* (<*tžiriwîn*)

P: corda B21: 386 M: chaîne *tedjiri*

تجیری; corde *édjeri* ا جرى

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *tazara* ‘rope’

ŽR₂

ižir [m.] ‘son (also used for animals)’

ižir

P: figlio

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *ğir*, *žir* ‘son’

ŽR₃

təžər [f.] ‘moon’

težér

P: luna

◆ Berber, cf. Kb. *tiziri* ‘moonlight’; Ghd. *tazîri* ‘full moon’; Siwa *tazîri* ‘moon’

ŽR4

ažàr [m.] pl. žàrrən ‘abdomen, belly’

ažár pl. *žárren*

P: ventre

◆ Berber, cf. Siwa *ǧār* ‘abdomen, belly’

ŽRT

tžiràt [f.] ‘ribs of leafs (coll.)’

tžirât

P: palma

tžirať [f.] pl. tžiraťtìn ‘rib of a leaf’

tžirať pl. *ǧirâtťin*

P: palma

ŽT

àžəť [v.cc] ‘to grind, mill’

impf. təžžəť

imp. sg. *ázöť*; impf. 3sg.m. *itežžâť*

P: macinare

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǧzəd* ‘to grind’; To. *əzəd* ‘to grind, crush’

****tt-əžəť** [pass.v.] ‘to be ground, be milled’

impf. = fut. ttəžəť

res. 3sg.m. *ittižžâť*; fut. 3sg.m. *aittäžəť*

P: macinare

ŽV

ažəvú, ažəvu [m.] pl. əžəvùwən ? ‘hair’

ažəvú, ažəvú, ežəfû [B21; B24], *ežəvú* [B24]

eğəvú [B21] pl. *eğəfûen* [B21; B24] ‘hair’

P: capelli, peli PT: VIII B21: 384 B24: 189

▷ *afěťtîu n ažəvú* ‘one hair’

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *azaw* ‘hair’; Foq. *azâu n iyáf* ‘hairs of the head’; Nef. *zâu* ‘hairs’; Sok. *zâu* ‘hairs’

ŽVN

pl. *izvîn* [m.] ‘palm fibres’

pl. *izvîn*

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)žvəť [v.ccc] ‘to measure (cereals)’

imp. sg. *žvât*, *ǧžvót* [PT:VIII]

P: misurare PT: VIII

◆ Berber, cf. Ghd. *ǧzβəd* ‘to measure’

ažvəť [v.n.m.] ‘measuring (cereals)’

ažvâť

P: misurare

ŽVV

žvùv [v.cvc] ‘to burn incense’

pf. / seq. óžvuv res. žvùv

imp. sg. *žvûv*; pf. 1sg. *žvûvĥ* 3sg.m. *yéžvûv*; res.

1sg. *žvûvĥa* 3sg.m. *izvûva*

P: bruciare profumi

◆ Probably a causative derivation of *avûv* ‘smoke of incense’, the voicing of the š- prefix is unexpected.

žvùv [m.] ‘incense’

žvûv

P: profumi

ŽŽW

ažizîw, ašišîw [m.] ‘chick’

ažizîu, ašišîu

P: pulcino M: poulet *edjijiau* ج ي ج ي و

◆ K: 648

Berber, cf. Kb. *içəwçəw* ‘chick’; Nef. *šišîw* ‘young bird’ cf. also ELA *šowšāw* pl. *šowāšîw* ‘chick’ (Benkato 2012: 13).

ŽSL

žšəl [v.ccc] ‘to believe’

imp. sg. *ǧšāl*

Z: XI

◆ Ar. *žāšala* ‘to make; to put, place, lay; to believe’

ᚼᚩ

ᚼᚱᚩᚩ [v.cċ(*)] ‘to go’

pf. / seq. = res. = fut. ᚼᚱᚩᚩ

imp. sg. ‘*add*, ‘*add* [PT:V] pl.m. ‘*addât* pl.f.‘*addîmet*; pf. 1sg. ‘*addîḥ* 2sg. *ta’addît* [P:example] 3sg.m. *ya’add* 3pl.m. ‘*addân*[PT:XV]; res. 1sg. ‘*addîḥa* 3sg.m. *ya’idda*; fut.1sg. *a’addâḥ*, *a’ddaâḥ* (sic) [PT:II] 3sg.m.*ayá’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 *yaaḍ* يعد▷ *ta’addît-ka* ‘do not go’◆ ELA *iḥᚱᚩᚩᚩ* ‘to leave’

ᚼᚩᚩ

aḥᚱᚩᚩᚩ, aḥᚱᚩᚩᚩ [m.] ‘number’

al’aded, *el’aded*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *ḥadad* ‘number, numeral’

ᚼᚱ

l(ə)ᚼᚱᚱᚱ [adj.adv.] ‘much, many, very’

lā’alla, *l’ᚱᚱᚱ* [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.

lᚱᚱᚱᚱ-(yᚱ) [m.] ‘high place’

l’allî-(yᚱ)

PT: VI

◆ Ar. *ḥālīy* ‘high, tall, elevated’

ᚼᚱᚱᚱ-má [adv.] ‘as much as’

‘ala-má

PT: II

◆ Mor. Ar. *ḥlā* ‘according to, by’

ᚼᚱᚱᚱ ᚼān [prep.] ‘for the sake of’

‘alā ᚼān

Z: VIII

◆ ELA *ḥala ᚼān*, *ḥaᚼān* ‘for the sake of; because of’ (p.c. Benkato)

ᚼᚱᚱ

aḥᚱᚱᚱᚱ [m.] pl. aḥᚱᚱᚱᚱᚱ ‘scholar’

el’ālem pl. *el’ulamā*

PT: VIII

◆ Ar. *ḥālim* pl. *ḥulamā* ‘scholar’

ᚼᚱᚱ

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ, ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ [adv.] adverb that expresses progressive aspect.

‘ammā, *‘amma* [PT:II], *‘amma* [Z:VI]

P: stare, restare, sedere PT: II Z: VI

▷ *ksûm ‘ammā inénna* ‘the meat is about to cook’▷ *‘ammā 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.

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ ▶ M6

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ

aḥᚱᚱᚱᚱᚱᚱᚱ [f.] ‘turban’

el’amámet

PT: XI

◆ Ar. *ḥimāma(t)* ‘turban’

ᚼᚱᚱᚱ

**aḥᚱᚱᚱᚱ [v.cċic?] ‘to function; to do’

fut. aḥᚱᚱᚱᚱ

fut. 3sg.f. *atta’ᚱᚱᚱ*PT: IV M: achevé *taamartet* تعمّرتت;achever *ammartet* غمّرتت◆ Ar. *aḥᚱmura* ‘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

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ(ə)ra (or: ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ(ə)ra) [P.N.] place name

‘angarā

PT: XV

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱ

ᚼᚱᚱᚱᚱᚱᚱ [stat.v.] ‘to be naked’

3sg.m. ‘*aryân*

PT: IX

◆ Ar. *šuryān* ‘naked’

ŦŠR

Ŧšəšər [m.] ‘afternoon prayer’

l’ášâr

PT: II

◆ Ar. *šašr* ‘afternoon (prayer)’

ŦQB

əŦəqqâb-(i) [m.] ‘evening’

əl’əqqâb-(î)

PT: IV

◆ Must be somehow derived from Ar. *šaqb* ‘after’

ŦYN

**Ŧəyyən [cċc] ‘to be ill’

impf. Ŧəyyàn

impf. 1sg. *‘əyyânah*

PT: V M: peste *ayyaneh* اِيَّانَه

◆ Ar. *šayyān* ‘exhausted, tired, ill’

ŦYT

**Ŧäyət [v.cvcc] ‘to yell, scream’

pf. / seq. = fut. Ŧäyət impf. Ŧay(y)ät

pf. 3sg.m. *i’äyet* [PT:V], *ya’äyät* [PT:XV]; fut.

3pl.m. *a’äyyäten-(dík)* [PT:II]; impf. 3sg.m.

i’äyät [PT:III,IV], *i’äyät* [PT:IV]

PT: II, III, IV, V, XV M: voix *aiät* اِيَّات

◆ Ar. *šayyaṭa* ‘to yell, scream, cry out’

ŦŽB

**əŦžəb [v.ccc] ‘to please’

res. əŦžəb

res. 3sg.m. *ya’žəb-(kû)-ya*, *ya’žeb-(kû)-ya*

PT: III

◆ Ar. *šašžaba* ‘to please’

