

Contents

Acknowledgements	xiii
Abbreviations and glosses	xv
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Current language situation	2
1.2 Material	3
1.3 Linguistic variation	8
1.4 Notes on terminology of word structure	8
1.4.1 The accent unit	9
1.5 Notes on the transcription	9
I Grammar	11
2 Phonology	13
2.1 Consonants	13
2.1.1 Consonantal contrasts	14
2.1.2 Consonantal length	15
2.1.3 Affricates	15
2.2 Vowels	16
2.2.1 Long vowel signs	17
2.2.2 Short vowel signs	25
2.2.3 Diphthong signs	31
2.2.4 Overview	35
2.2.5 Schwa in open syllables	37
2.2.5.1 Epenthetic schwa	38
2.2.5.2 Initial schwa	39
2.3 Assimilations	41
2.4 Syllable structure	42
2.5 Accent	43
2.5.1 Default accent	44
2.5.2 Phonological accent	44
2.5.2.1 Nominal phonological accent	44
2.5.2.2 Verbal phonological accent	45
2.5.3 Reliability of Paradisi's accent transcriptions	46
2.5.3.1 Paradisi's accent transcriptions of Zuara Berber . .	46
2.5.3.2 Paradisi's accent compared to Beguinot's	50

3 Noun	53
3.1 Features of the noun	53
3.1.1 Gender	53
3.1.2 Number	53
3.1.3 State	54
3.2 Morphology of the noun	55
3.2.1 The prefix	55
3.2.1.1 Masculine sg. <i>a-</i>	56
3.2.1.2 Masculine sg. <i>ø-</i>	56
3.2.1.3 Masculine sg. <i>i-</i>	57
3.2.1.4 Isolated masculine formations	58
3.2.1.5 Feminine sg. <i>ta-</i>	58
3.2.1.6 Feminine sg. <i>t-</i>	58
3.2.1.7 Feminine sg. <i>ta-</i>	59
3.2.1.8 Feminine sg. <i>tu-</i>	60
3.2.1.9 Feminine sg. <i>ti-</i>	60
3.2.2 The suffix	61
3.2.2.1 Feminine sg. <i>-t</i>	61
3.2.2.2 Masculine pl. <i>-ən</i>	62
3.2.2.3 Masculine pl. <i>-awən</i>	62
3.2.2.4 Masculine pl. <i>-iwan</i>	63
3.2.2.5 Masculine pl. <i>-in</i>	63
3.2.2.6 Masculine pl. <i>-an</i>	63
3.2.2.7 Masculine pl. <i>-wən</i>, <i>-win</i>, <i>-anən</i>, <i>-yin/-iyin</i>	64
3.2.2.8 Feminine pl. <i>-in</i>	64
3.2.2.9 Feminine pl. <i>-tin</i>, <i>-itin</i>	64
3.2.2.10 Feminine pl. <i>-win</i>	65
3.2.2.11 Feminine pl. <i>-iwin</i>, <i>-awin</i>, <i>-yin</i>, <i>-yat</i> and <i>-ən</i>	65
3.2.3 The stem	66
3.2.3.1 <i>i</i>-infix plural	66
3.2.3.2 <i>a</i>-infix plural	67
3.2.3.3 Long vowel removal plural	67
3.2.3.4 <i>-ič-ən</i> plurals	68
3.2.3.5 <i>i</i>-infix with plural suffix	68
3.2.3.6 Suppletion	68
3.2.3.7 Isolated formations	69
3.3 Arabic loans	69
3.4 Nominal derivation	70
3.4.1 Agent nouns	70
3.4.2 Instrument nouns	70

4	Verb	71
4.1	PNG-marking	71
4.1.1	Regular PNG-marking	71
4.1.2	Imperative PNG-marking	72
4.1.3	Stative PNG-marking	72
4.1.4	The participle	73
4.1.4.1	Other	73
4.1.5	Stem variation in Final * verbs	75
4.2	Derivational prefixes	76
4.2.1	Causative	76
4.2.2	Passive	78
4.2.3	Middle	79
4.2.4	Combined prefixes	79
4.3	Morphology of the verb stem	80
4.3.1	Verbal clitics	81
4.3.1.1	Negative clitic <i>ur</i> =	81
4.3.1.2	Future clitic <i>a</i> =	81
4.3.1.3	Object clitics	82
4.3.1.4	The lexicalized deictic clitic = <i>d</i>	82
4.3.1.5	Resultative clitic = <i>a</i>	82
4.3.2	Negation	83
4.3.3	Verb stems	83
4.3.3.1	ccc	84
4.3.3.2	cc*	84
4.3.3.3	nc*	86
4.3.3.4	cci	86
4.3.3.5	čc	87
4.3.3.6	č*	87
4.3.3.7	či	88
4.3.3.8	cc	88
4.3.3.9	c*	89
4.3.3.10	ci	89
4.3.3.11	vcc	89
4.3.3.12	vc*	91
4.3.3.13	cccc	91
4.3.3.14	ččc ~ ččč	92
4.3.3.15	čč*	92
4.3.3.16	čči	93
4.3.3.17	cvcc	93
4.3.3.18	cvč(*) ~ čvč(*)	93
4.3.3.19	čvc(*)	94

4.3.3.20	cvc(*)/cvc*	94
4.3.3.21	ccvc(*)/ccvc	95
4.3.4	Verbs with final t/y variation	95
4.3.5	Further unclassifiable and irregular verbs	95
4.3.6	Stative verbs stems	97
4.3.6.1	c̄cc	97
4.3.6.2	ccvc	98
4.3.6.3	cvcc	98
4.3.6.4	čvc	98
4.3.6.5	vcvc	99
4.3.6.6	ccv	99
4.3.6.7	Stative verbs of Arabic origin	99
4.3.7	Causative verb stems	99
4.3.7.1	š-ccc	99
4.3.7.2	š-cc(*)	100
4.3.7.3	š-nc(*)	101
4.3.7.4	š-cci	101
4.3.7.5	š-čc	101
4.3.7.6	š-č*	102
4.3.7.7	š-vcc	102
4.3.7.8	š-vc(*)	102
4.3.7.9	š-ccvc	102
4.3.7.10	š-cvc	102
4.3.7.11	š-čvc	103
4.3.8	Passive verb stems	103
4.3.8.1	t-ccc	103
4.3.8.2	tt-cc(*)	103
4.3.8.3	tt-cc	103
4.3.8.4	tw-vcc	103
4.3.8.5	tw-vc(*)	104
4.3.8.6	t-cvcc	104
4.3.9	Middle verb stems	104
4.3.9.1	m-c(*)	104
4.3.9.2	m-cvcc	104
4.3.10	Combined prefix verb stems	104

6 Pronoun	107
6.1 Personal pronouns	107
6.1.1 Independent pronouns	107
6.1.2 Direct object clitics	109
6.1.3 Indirect object clitics	110
6.1.4 Prepositional suffixes	112
6.1.5 Kinship possessive suffixes	115
6.2 Reflexives	116
6.3 Relative pronouns	116
6.3.1 Pre-modifier pronominal heads	116
6.3.2 General relative pronouns	118
7 Deixis	119
7.1 Deictic clitics	119
7.2 Deictic pronouns	121
7.3 Presentative deictics	122
7.4 Adverbial deictics	123
8 Prepositions and postpositions	125
8.1 Prepositions	125
8.1.1 Basic prepositions	125
8.1.1.1 <i>id</i> 'with (comitative), and'	125
8.1.1.2 <i>af</i> 'on'	126
8.1.1.3 <i>ar</i> 'to'	127
8.1.1.4 <i>s, s-yar, s-ar</i> 'from'	127
8.1.1.5 <i>s</i> 'with'	129
8.1.1.6 <i>n</i> 'of'	130
8.1.1.7 <i>i</i> 'to, for'	130
8.1.1.8 <i>am</i> 'like'	131
8.1.1.9 <i>ir</i> 'until'	131
8.1.1.10 <i>bèyn</i> 'between'	131
8.1.2 Preposition-like constructions	131
8.1.2.1 <i>agùr</i> 'near, on the side'	132
8.1.2.2 <i>tammàst</i> 'in the middle'	132
8.1.2.3 <i>zùt</i> 'above'	132
8.1.2.4 <i>dáffèr</i> 'behind, after'	133
8.1.2.5 <i>dít</i> 'in front of'	134
8.2 The locative postposition =<i>i</i>	134

9 Quantifiers	137
9.1 Numerals	137
9.2 Cryptic numerals	138
9.3 <i>kkull</i> 'all, whole'	139
9.4 <i>kull</i> 'each'	139
9.5 <i>aggùt</i> 'much, many'	140
9.6 <i>aföttiw</i> 'a single'	140
10 Syntax	141
10.1 The basic sentence	141
10.2 Non-verbal sentences	144
10.2.1 Copular sentences	144
10.2.2 Prepositional sentences	144
10.2.3 Locative sentences	145
10.2.4 Possessive sentences	145
10.3 Yes/No-questions	145
10.4 Topicalization	145
10.5 The usage of TAM-stems	146
10.5.1 Imperative	147
10.5.2 Perfective	148
10.5.3 Sequential perfective	149
10.5.4 Resultative	151
10.5.5 Future	152
10.5.6 Imperfective	153
10.6 Relative clauses and relative clause-like formations	154
10.6.1 Subject relative clauses	154
10.6.2 Direct object relative clauses	155
10.6.3 Indirect object relative clauses	156
10.6.4 Prepositional relative clauses	156
10.6.5 Non-verbal relative clauses	156
10.6.6 Adjoined relative clauses	157
10.6.7 Cleft sentences	157
10.6.8 Question word sentences	158
10.6.8.1 <i>mag-wa</i> 'which? what?'	160
10.7 Clause linking	160
10.7.1 Coordination	160
10.7.1.1 Noun phrase coordination	160
10.7.1.2 Clausal coordination	161
10.7.2 Adversative conjunctions	162
10.7.3 Complementation	163
10.7.4 Comparison	163

10.7.4.1	The comparative <i>axìr</i> ‘better’	163
10.7.5	Subordination	164
10.7.5.1	Conditionals	164
10.7.5.2	Temporal conjuctions	165
10.7.5.3	Cause	166
10.7.5.4	Finality	166
II Appendices		169
A Müller’s material		171
B Beguinot’s & Paradisi’s transcriptions		175
C Texts		177
C.1 Texts from Paradisi		177
C.1.1 Text I		177
C.1.2 Text II		179
C.1.3 Text III		184
C.1.4 Text IV		187
C.1.5 Text V		190
C.1.6 Text VI		195
C.1.7 Text VII		197
C.1.8 Text VIII		198
C.1.9 Text IX		200
C.1.10 Text X		202
C.1.11 Text XI		203
C.1.12 Text XII		204
C.1.13 Text XIII		206
C.1.14 Text XIV		207
C.1.15 Text XV		208
C.2 Texts from Zanon		219
C.2.1 Song I		219
C.2.2 Song II		220
C.2.3 Song III		221
C.2.4 Song IV		221
C.2.5 Song V		222
C.2.6 Song VI		223
C.2.7 Song VII		223
C.2.8 Song VIII		224
C.2.9 Song IX		225
C.2.10 Song X		225

C.2.11	Song XI	226
C.2.12	Song XII	227
C.2.13	Song XIII	228
D	Lexicon	229
D.1	Introduction to the lexicon	229
D.1.1	Structure of the Dictionary	229
D.1.2	Structure of an Entry	230
D.1.3	Abbreviations	231
	Bibliography	333