

Václav Blažek

Masaryk University, Brno

BERBER YEAR AND ITS SEASONS

The purpose of the present study is to summarize and etymologize the terms designating „year“ and its seasons in Berber languages.

A. Common Berber forms attested at least in two branches or with external relatives „year“

1. Old Libyan (‘Numidian’) CoC *šbš* „year“ in *šbš-n d'* „in the year“, corresponding to Punic *b-št* „in year“, attested in the bilingual (RIL 2) from the temple of the city of Thugga from the 2nd cent. BCE (Dolgopol'skij 1976, 395; the sign C has been transcribed as „s“ in the corresponding Punic proper names, „s₂“ by Meinhof, „ts“ by Marcy, „s“ by Chabot, „š“ by Rössler) || West: Zenaga *äššäbbäš*, pl. *iššäbbäšan* „year“ (Taine-Scheikh 2008, 476; 2010, 16), cf. *šebbeš* (Masqueray) = *ašebbeš*, pl. *išebbešen* (R. Basset) = *äššäbbäš* (Nicolas); Tetserret *šabbaš* „year“ (Attayoub 2001, 105) || North: Old Shilha pl. *isüggasen* = / *isegg"asen*/, Middle Shilha *asgg"as*, pl. *isgg"asn* (Boogert 1998, 114-15), Shilha of Tazerwalt *assëgg"ëss*, pl. *issëgg"ësen* (Stumme 1899, 167), Demnat *aseggwas* (Boulifa 1908, 340), Ntifa *asegg"as*, *isegg"asen* (Dray 1998, 29), Sus *as"gg"as* „year“ (Destaing 1940, 360), Central Atlas *asgg"as*, pl. *isgg"asn* (Taïfi 1991, 693); Beni Iznacen, Ammart, Iboqqoien *asugg"as* (Renisio), Themsaman, Ait S'cid-Bett *asuggwas*, pl. *isuggwase'n* (Biarney 1917, 35), Beni Snus *asgg"ās*, pl. *isgg"āsen*, B.B. Zeggu, Zkara *asqq"ās*, pl. *isqq"āsen*, Menacer *asegg"ās*, Matmata *azgg"as* (Destaing 1914, 12), Izayan *asegg"as*, pl. *isegg"asēn* (Loubignac), Harawa *asuggwas*, pl. *iseggwasen*, Halima, Warsenis *asuggas* (Basset 1895, 77), Figig *asekk"as* (Kossmann 1997, 493); Mzabi *asægg"as*, pl. *isægg"sæn* (Delheure 1984, 185), Wargla *asæggas*, pl. *isæggsæn* (Delheure 1987, 292), Shenwa *asegg"as*; Shawiya *asegg"as* (Masqueray 1879, 487), Sened *asugges* (Provotelle), Nefusa

of Fasato *suggés*, pl. *isuggâsen* (Beguinet), Jebel Nefusa *sugges*, pl. *isuggasen* (Motylinski 1898, 122); Kabyle *asegg^was*, pl. *isegg^wasen* (Dallet 1982, 763); Ghadamsi *aeggas*, pl. *eggasen* (Lanfry 1973, 420) || East: Foqaha *saggâs-a* „quest’anno“ (Paradisi 1963, 100), Siwa *asəggas* „year“, *asəggas-a* „cette année“ (Laoust 1931, 195), Sokna *asuggâs-a* „quest’anno“ (Sarnelli 1924-25, 12); Augila *ašuwâš-a* /*ašewwâš-a*/ „cette année-ci“ (Paradisi) || South: Ahaggar *ăseggas*, pl. *iseggasen* „temps, époque, moment“ (Foucauld III, 1532) < **ā-sawwās*, pl. **ī-sawwās-an* < **-saHwās* (Prasse 1974, 233).

Etymology: (Prasse 1974, 233) derived the term from the verbal root $\sqrt{H-w-s}$, attested in Ahaggar *aws* „payer une redevance annuelle“, Ayr *awəš* „payer une redevance annuelle fixe, payer comme tribut/impôt“, Awlemmiden *əwəš* id. (Alojaly 1980, 202), Tamasheq of Udalan *awəs* „to pay tribute/tax“ (Sudlow 2009, 205). Less probable is the idea of Laoust (1920, 186) who thought that the word „year“ originated from the idiom „day by day“, cf. Rif of Iqr^cien *asuas* „every day“ (Biarney 1917, 35). But the word for „day“ consists of the radicals $\sqrt{s-f}$, cf. Ghadamsi *āsef* & *āsaf*, pl. *asfiwen* „day“ (Lanfry 1973, 331), Sus *asf*, pl. *usfan* (Laoust), Shilha of Tazerwalt *ass*, pl. *ussan* „day“, *asfan* „vorgestern“ (Stumme 1899, 167, 113, 121), Augila *išf* „day“, *ašfa* „today“, Siwa *āšfa* id. (Vycichl 2005, 64, 243) etc., confirmed by the external cognate in Egyptian (Pyramid Texts) *sf* „yesterday“, Coptic *saf*, *sef* id. (Wb. IV, 113) || Chadic: (West) Hausa *safe* „morning“ (Wölfel 1955, 152). See also Kossmann 1999, 43-44.

2. ?North: Mzabi *tuta* “personnes du même âge, contemporains” (Delheure 1984, 217), perhaps derivable from **t-utay*, cf. Central Atlas *tifsa*, Izayan *tifsa* “spring” vs. Ahaggar *tifessai* id. (see #7); it is probably identical with Mzabi *t-ūt* “age” quoted by Cohen (1947, 88, #61) || South: Ghat *awatai*, pl. *iučian* (Nehli), Ahaggar *awétay*, pl. *iutiân* „year“ (Foucauld III, 1538); Ayr *awātay*, pl. *iwāṭyan*, Awlemmiden *awātāy*, pl. *iwāṭyan* „year“ (Alojaly 1980, 203), Tamasheq of Udalan *awātay*, pl. *iwāṭyan* „year“ (Sudlow 2009, 206) < **ā-watāy*, pl. **ī-wuty-ān* (Prasse 1974, 226-27).

Etymology: Egyptian (Texts of Pyramids) *wtj* “to be old”, *wt.w(.tj)* “older son” (Wb. I, 377; Takács 1999, 227; Berber + Egyptian) || ?Chadic: (West) Hausa *wata* „month, moon“ (Wölfel 1955, 152; Ahaggar+Hausa), Gwandara *wonto* id.; (Central) Mwulyen *wanti* „year“ (Skinner 1996, 284, 15).

3. North: Mzabi, Wargla *iylan* pl. „years“ (Delheure 1984, 243; 1987, 380) || Ahaggar (poet.) *ēlen* pl. „years“ (Foucauld III, 985); Ayr *elān* pl. „years“, Awlemmiden *elan* id. (Alojaly 1980, 108); Tamasheq of Udalan („š“) *elān*, („z“) *elan* id. (Sudlow 2009, 113) < **HiliHan* (Prasse 1974, 129).

Etymology: Cf. Tamasheq of (š-dialect) *el*, pl. *elān* „greenery (of wet season)“ (Sudlow 2009, 113). Interesting are also possible external parallels: Somali *hilli* „(recurrent) time, epoch, season“ (Luling 1987, 584) = *heli*

„weather“ (Larajasse 1897, 68) = *ħelli* „period of a year; weather“ (Reinisch 1902, 221) ||| Chadic: (East) Gabri *ille* „year“ (Lukas 1937, 88); Migama *’ilà* id. (Jungraithmayr & Adams) ||| ?Semitic: Arabic, Mehri *ħawl*, Jibbali *ħabl* „year“ vs. Arabic *ħāla* „to change“, Geez *ħawala* „to turn around“, Sabaic *ħwl* „around“, Soqotri *ħāwlhel* „ring, circle“ (DRS 846).

4. Guanche of Tenerife *achano*, *achaño*, Gran Canaria *acano* „year“ (Wölfel 1965, 480, §161; he compared the Guanche forms with Hausa *kwaanaki* „a season, time“, *kwaanaa* „day“).

Etymology: Perhaps related with North Berber: Ghadamsi *āzən* „next year“ (Lanfry 1973, 428), Siwa *azén* id. (Vycichl 2005, 245).

„winter“

5. West: Zenaga *tgārS* „cold season, winter“ (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 219) = *teugars* „dry season“ (Masqueray) = *tagərs* „winter“ (Nicolas) || North: Old Shilha *tagerst/tagrest*, Middle Shilha *tagrst* (Boogert 1998, 114, #865), Shilha of Tazerwalt *tägärst/tägerst/tegerst/tägirst* „winter“ (Stumme 1899, 227), Demnat *tagerst* (Boulifa 1908, 372), Ntifa *tagerst* (Dray 1998, 260), Sus *tägərst* (Destaing 1940, 389), Central Atlas *tagerst / tagrist / tayerst / tajerst*, pl. *tigersin* id. (Taïfi 1991, 168), Beni Iznacen *tiyerset* id., Rif: S^cid-Bett *θažresθ* „winter“, Ibeqqoien *θažrəsθ*, pl. *θižurás* „rain“, pl. „rainy days, winter“ (Biarney 1917, 72), Beni Messaud *θagrest* (Destaing 1914, 317), Figig *tažress*, pl. *tižersiwin* (Kossmann 1997, 437), Mzabi *tağrəst*, *tažrəst* (Delheure 1984, 71), Wargla *tažrəst* (Delheure 1987, 409), Shawiya *tažerst* „winter“, Jebel Nefusa *tegrest*, pl. *tegras* (Motylinski 1898, 122), Sened *tegrest* (Provotelle), Ghadamsi *tağarəst*, *tağərəst* „winter“ (Lanfry 1973, 120) || East: Foqaha *ğarišt* „winter“ (Paradisi 1963, 112), Sokna *tağrə’s*t (Sarnelli 1924-25, 19), Augila *teğkrīšt* „winter“ (Paradisi 1960, 167) ||

South: Ghat *tağrest*, pl. *čigərsin* (Nehilil), Ahaggar *tağrest*, pl. *tiğerras* „winter“ (Foucauld I, 487), Awlemmiden *tagrəst*, Ayr *tégərəst*, *tégrəst* id., Tamasheq of Udalan *tagrəst*, pl. *tigrəsen*, Tamasheq of Mali *tağrəst*, pl. *tiğrəsen* „winter, cold season (December-February)“ (Sudlow 2009, 63) < **tā-giris-t*, pl. **tī-gurrās* & **tī-giris-an* (cf. Prasse 1974, 121).

Etymology: Derived from (DRB III, 887-88; Kossmann 1999, 146-47, #341; 214, #627) Shilha *agris* „gelée“, Central Atlas *agris* „froid, glace“, Rif *ažris* „froid“, Iznacen *ažriš* „froid, gel“, Snus *ažris*, *ažriš* „gelée“, Figig *ažris* „foid, gel“, Mzab *ağres*, *ağris*, *ažris* „froid“, Wargla *ažres* „gel“, Shawiya *ažris* „glace“, Matmata *ažris* „gelée“, Kabyle *agris* „gelée, glace“; cf. also Ahaggar *éyeris*, pl. *iyerisen* „eau congelée“ (Foucauld IV, 1759), Awlemmiden *éyərīs*, pl. *iyərisān* „id., glace, givre“ (Alojaly 1980, 72), Tamasheq of Udalan („z“) *ağəris*, pl. *iyərisān* „ice“ (Sudlow 2009, 78) < **ē-γarHīs* or **ē-γaHrīs* (cf. Prasse 1974, 202).

6. West: Zenaga *täšmuDʾi* „winter, cold season“ (Taine-Cheikh 2010, 161) = *tešmoudji* „cold, wind, winter“ (R. Basset) || North: Tuat *tasemmudi*, Gurara *tasammudʰ* „winter“ (Basset 1887, 416).

Etymology: Derived from Common Berber $\sqrt{s-m-d}$ „to be cold“, with numerous cognates in Chadic (JI 78-81).

„spring“

7. North: Central Atlas *tifsa* pl. „verdure, printemps“ (Taïfi 1991, 432), Izayan *tifsa* „verdure; printemps“ (Loubignac), Harawa *tafsus* & *hafsus* (Basset 1895, 106), Beni Messaud *θafsūθ* (Destaing 1914, 290, 317), Zemmur, A. Ndhir, A. Mjild, A. Yusi, A. Sadden, Išqern, A. Seghrušen, A. Warain *tifsa* coll. pl. „spring“, A. Wirra *tibsa* pl., Bugie *tafsuit* „end of spring“, Zwawa *tafsut* (Laoust 1920, 186), Kabyle *tafsut* „spring“ (Dallet 1982, 231); Shenwa *hafsut*, Central Algerie *tafsut*, Shawiya *tafsut*, pl. *tifeswin* „spring“ (DRB 657) || South: Ahaggar *tafsit*, pl. *tifessai* „spring“ (Foucauld I, 363), Ghat *tafsit* id. (Nehlil) < **tā-fiswīy-t*, pl. **tī-fuswāy* (cf. Prasse 1974, 167, F.V.A.1.b.2).

Etymology: Laoust (1920, 186, 268) derived it from the verb *fsu* attested e.g. in Shilha („épier, s'épanouir, fleurir (bouton)“, Central Atlas („former des épis, pousser, végéter“), Ntifa („croître, s'épanouir“), Kabyle *efsu* „s'épanouir, s'ouvrir (fleurs)“ etc., cf. also Ntifa *afsi* „végétation, printanière; pâturage“, Central Atlas *ifsi* „graine“, *ifsin* „végétation, brousse“ (DRB III, 656-57).

„summer“

8. West: Zenaga *tnāwdəd*, pl. *tnūdän* „dry and warm season, summer (May-June-July)“ (Taine-Scheikh 2008, 476, 529) = *tenaoudoud* „summer“ (R. Basset) = *tənāwdəd* id., cf. *ta-n-audəd* „nom d'une saison ([aif]“, lit. „celle de lève-toi“ (Nicolas); Tetserret *anawwad* „dry season“, *tənuda* „year“ (Attayoub 2001, 104-05), Kwarandzyey *tsanudəts* „summer“ (Souag 2010, 183) || North: Old Shilha *tanebdut* & *tanefdut* „summer“, Middle Shilha *tanbdut* (Boogert 1998, 114, #867), Shilha *anbdu*, *tanbdut* & *tanfdut* id. (Laoust), Ntifa *anebdu* „summer“ (Dray 1998, 194) = *anebdu* „cérémonie agraire qui marque le commencement“ (Laoust 1920, 186), Sus *tanebdūt* id. (Destaing 1920, 117), Central Atlas *anebdu*, pl. *inebda* „été, période des moissons; récolte des céréales, céréales, cultures de printemps“ (Taïfi 1991, 8, 459; connected with the verb *bdu* „commencer, débiter, se mettre à“ of Arabic origin), Dra *tanebdut* „l'orge mûre en mars“, Senhaja *anébdū* „summer“, Rif *anébdū* id., Beni Snus, Zkara *anebdū*, Beni Iznacen *anebTu* id. (Destaing 1914, 122), Snus *anebdu* id., Figig *anebdu*, pl. *inebda* id. (Kossmann 1999, 459), Warsenis *anebdu*, Ashasha *anebdū* (Basset 1895, 88), Shenwa *anebdu* „spring“, Shawiya *anebedu* „dry season“ (Masqueray 1879, 528) = *anebdu* „le commencement des moissons“, Jefren (Yafran) & Zwara

anebdū „summer“ (Beguinet 1924, 192), Matmata *anebdu* id. (Destaing 1914, 122), Sened *anəbdu*, Nefusa of Fassato *nūdū* id. < **newdū* (Beguinet 1924, 193), Jebel Nefusa *nebdu* id., *di nudu* „in summer“ (Motylinski 1898, 132), Ghadamsi *aneβdu* „summer, season“ (Lanfry 1973, 4); Zwawa *anebdu* „summer“, Kabyle *anebdu* id. (Dallet 1982, 8) || East: Foqaha *nébdu* „summer“ (Paradisi 1963, 109), Sokna *anēdfū* id. (Sarnelli 1924-25, 18).

Etymology: Interesting is Rif: Ibeqqoien *bδu* „printemps“ (Biarnay 1917, 2). But the direct borrowing from the verb attested e.g. in Central Atlas *bdu* „commencer, débiter, se mettre à“ of Arabic origin is rather problematic (Kossmann 1999, 114-15, #249; Laoust 1920, 186; Id. 1931, 234; DRB I, 18, 28). More promising is to seek the primary verb in Egyptian (Med) *wbd* „(ver)brennen, erhitzen“ (Wb. I, 297).

9. Ghat *awilen* (Nehilil), Ahaggar *ewilen*, pl. *iwilenen* „summer“ (Foucauld III, 1505); Ayr & Awlemmiden *āwelān*, pl. *iwelānān* „summer, hot season (April-May-June)“ (Alojaly 1980, 199); Tamasheq of Udlan („z“) *ewelān*, pl. *iwelānān*, („z“) *āwelān*, pl. *iwelānān* „hot season (March-June), summer“ (Sudlow 2009, 203) < **ē-wīlin*, pl. **ī-wīlin-an* (cf. Prasse 1974, 242: F.XI.A.1). Related could be Zenaga *tāwyih* „hivernage, saison des pluies: août, septembre, octobre; fin de l’hivernage, quand l’herbe pousse“ > Hassaniya *tāwāḥih* id. (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 535), also derivable from the root $\sqrt{w-l}$, although the period is shifted from the hot season to the following rainy season.

Etymology: Cf. Chadic: (West) Ron: Fyer *wél*, Daffo-Butura *wīl*, Sha *wūl*, Kulere *’awūl* „year“ (Jungrauthmayr 1970, 390) || (Central) Museye *wala* „dry season“, Banana *walda* id. (Kraft III, 187, 179) || (East) Sumray *māna wēele* „dry season“ (Lukas 1937, 80) || Egyptian (med.) *w3* „dörren (des Getreides)“, (D18) *w3w3.t* „Feuer, Glut“, (Book of Died) *w3w3w* „Glanz, Leuchten, Sonne“ (Wb. I, 244, 250).

„rainy season“

10. West: Zenaga *āžrəgwiḥ* „hivernage, saison des pluies“, esp. „période où il pleut“ (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 436, 434) = *eujergou* „hivernage“ (Masqueray) = *əjrəgwiḥ* id. (Nicolas); cf. (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 624; 434, 436 derives it from the same root $\sqrt{r-g}$ as *afrəg* „cloud“) || South: Awlemmiden *azərigu*, pl. *izərigutān* „début de la saison des pluies“, Ayr *əzərgew*, pl. *izərgewān* id. (Aloyaly 1980, 216); Tamasheq of Udlan („z“) *əzərgu*, pl. *izərgutān* „early rains (very beginning of wet season)“ (Sudlow 2009, 220) < **ē-zirīgiw*, pl. **ī-zirīgiw-ān* (cf. Prasse 1974, 250, F.XI.C.1.3.a.). Cf. also Tetserret *əzargu*, pl. *zərgutən* „grass“ (Attayoub 2001, 102).

Etymology: Cf. Zenaga *āžrəg* „apporter l’eau du puits“, *āžārəg* „fait d’aller chercher de l’eau, fait d’apporter l’eau du puits“ (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 605, 624) ||

Ayr-Awlemmiden *əzrəg* „aller à l’eau à, conduire à l’eau à, porter à l’eau à“ (Aloyaly 1980, 216), Tamasheq of Udalán („z“) *əzrəg* „to go for water“ (Sudlow 2009, 220), Ahaggar *əhrəg* „aller à l’eau“ (Foucauld II, 640; Prasse 1969, 66, #370).

B. Isolated Berber designations of seasons of the year

„season“

11. Ahaggar *tāsəmhoyt*, pl. *tisəmhay* „season“ (Foucauld II, 543; Prasse 1969, 73, #443: $\sqrt{H_2-H_1-y}$ or $\sqrt{m-H-y}$; 1974, 263).

Etymology: Cf. Awlemmiden *ihay* „to come“ (Prasse 1969, 73, #441).

„winter“

12. North: Ntifa *tayûga* „winter, period of agricultural labors“ (Laoust 1920, 186, 291).

Etymology: Cf. Tazerwalt *tayûga* „pair of oxen“ (Stumme 1899, 228). Borrowed from Latin *iugum*, pl. *iuga* „yoke“ (Schuchardt 1918, 51; Vycichl 2005, 24, 44).

13. East: Siwa *amzar* „winter“ (Bricchetti-Robecchi apud Basset 1890, 58) = *anzār* „winter, rain“ (Stumme 1914, 106).

Etymology: Laoust (1931, 280) compared it with Sokna *amâr*, Wargla *amzar*, Jebel Nefusa *anzer*, Sened *ānzer* „rain“, Ghadamsi *anaar*, pl. *naaren* (Lanfry 1973, 256).

„spring“

14. North: Ntifa *tuga* coll. „spring“, also „grass“ (Dray 1998, 394, 258; Laoust 1920, 186).

Etymology: Cf. Tazerwalt *tûga* „Graswuchs, Wiese“ etc. (Stumme 1899, 236; DRB 704).

15. North: Middle Shilha *talddrar* „spring“ (Boogert 1998, 114, #866), Izayan *taridrār* (Taïfi 1991, 566; Loubignac 1924, 489), Ait Bu Ulli *talēddrār* id. (February-March-April), Aštukén, Illalu, Ida Ukensus *talēddrār* „période la plus fournie d’herbages“ (Laoust 1920, 186).

Etymology: Cf. Ntifa *âder* „planter, descendre“ (Dray 1998, 377; DRB 372)?

„summer“

16. West: Zenaga *žāwān* pl. „le coeur de l’été, les 40 jours les plus chauds“ (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 625) = *jəwən* „saison de 40 jours au milieu de l’automne“ (Nicolas); cf. Hassaniya *ālāwā*.

Etymology: Maybe related to *i'žəwi*, pl. *a'žāwān* „wind“ || Wargla *tawət* „petit vent, brise“ (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 67) or to Ntifa *azwo*, pl. *azuzwu* „summer“ (Dray 1998, 194) : Tazerwalt *zwu* „to become dry“ (Stumme 1899, 243).

17. North: Ntifa *azwo*, pl. *azuzwu* „summer“ (Dray 1998, 194).

Etymology: Cf. Ntifa *mkan zazwa wass* „quand il fait moins chaud“ (Dray 1998, 194), Tazerwalt *zwu* „to become dry“, caus. *zəzwu* (Stumme 1899, 243), Izayan *zwi* id. (Loubignac).

18. East: Augila *izlef*, *ə'zlef* „summer“ (Paradisi 1960, 165).

„autumn“ / „rainy season“

19. North: A. Waryaghal *dayārza damānzuit*, A. Warain *ṭairza ūmenzu*, A. Yusi, A. Mjild, Izayan, Zemmur *amenzu*, Ntifa *tamenzut*, Ait Bu Ulli *tamēnzuit* „autumn“ (Laoust 1920, 186, 257).

Etymology: The first component see #20, the second component is derived from the verb *ēnz* „arriver tôt“ (Laoust 1920, 186, 257).

20. North: Jebel Nefusa *tirza* „autumn“ (Motylinski 1898, 123).

Etymology: Cf. Ntifa *tairza* „labor, agriculture“ (Laoust 1920, 186; 1931, 198), Rif *tagerza* „agricultural labor“ (DRB III, 900).

21. South: Tamasheq of Udalan *akāsa*, pl. *ikāsātān* „rainy season (July-September); green vegetation (after rains)“, cf. *amakkasu*, pl. *imakkasa* „early rainy season (between first rains and the appearance of pasture)“; verbal noun formed from the verb *āks(u)* „to have good pasture, receive rainy season“ (Sudlow 2009, 107); Ayr & Awlemmiden *akāsa*, pl. *ikāsātān* „fresh grass; wet season“ < **ā-kāsāH*, pl. **ī-kāsātān* (cf. Prasse 1974, 315: F.XX.A.4).

Etymology: Cf. Ayr & Awlemmiden *āksu* „être couvert d’herbe fraîche, passer la saison sèche à l’herbe fraîche“ (Alojaly 1980, 101).

22. South: Ahaggar *āmāwān*, pl. *emāwānān* „autumn“ (Foucauld III, 1218) < **ā-mawHān* (Prasse 1974, 233).

Etymology: Lit. „temps de la montée aux arbres“, cf. *awn*, Ayr *awən*, Awlemmiden *əwən* „monter sur / à“ (Alojaly 1980, 200), Tamasheq of Mali *awən*, of Udalan *əwən* „to mount, climb“ (Sudlow 2009, 204) < √*H-w-n* (Prasse 1974, 233).

23. South: Ghat *amaris* „autumn“ (Nehlil 1909, 131).

Etymology: Cf. Ahaggar *amāris*, pl. *imūrās* „époque de la moisson“ (Foucauld III, 1229) < **ā-mārīs*, pl. **ī-mūrās* (Prasse 1974, 299).

24. South: Ayr & Awlemmiden *yarat*, pl. *yaraten* „season between the season of rains and winter (September - October 25), autumn“ (Alojaly 1980, 70, 72), Tamasheq of Udalan *yarat*, pl. *yaraten* „season following rains (October-November)“, *yarat-gəras* „early winter (late November)“ (Sudlow 2009, 76).

Etymology: From South Berber *iɣar* „to dry, be dry, be hard“ (Alojaly 1980, 70, 72) < $\sqrt{w}\text{-}\gamma\text{-}r$ or $\sqrt{\gamma}\text{-}H\text{-}r$.

C. Borrowings

„year“

25. Figig *snin* „year“ (Kossmann 1997, 495), Kabyle *sna* id. (Dallet 1982, 783), Sokna *sänä* id. (Sarnelli 1924-25, 12) < Arabic *sanat* “year”.

„winter“

26. Zenaga *yäšättäh* „passer l’hiver“, via Hassaniya *šättä* (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 495); Shilha *eššetwet* & *elmeštwet* (Cid Kaoui 1909, 125), Central Atlas *lmeštut* „winter“ (Taïfi 1991, 708), Beni Snus, Beni Iznacen, Zkara *lméšteθ*, Matmata *lmešθa* (Destaing 1914, 168), Senhaja *šetwa* id. (Renisio), Kabyle *ššetwa* (Dallet 1982, 112), Siwa *aššiti* „winter“ (Laoust 1931, 246) < Arabic *šatwat*, pl. *šitā* “winter”.

27. Tlit *lǐali* „cold and rainy period, consisting of the last 20 days of December and first 20 days of January“, lit. „long nights of winter“ (Laoust 1920, 187) < Arabic *layl* “night”.

28. Ntifa *smain* „winter“ (Dray 1998, 260) = *šmaim* ‘time of the summer holidays, from July 12 to August 20’ (Laoust 1920, 187), Izayan *essmaim* “40 warmest days in summer” (Loubignac 1924, 508) < Arabic *samūm*, pl. *samā’im* “hot poisonous wind” (Steingass 1988, 510).

29. Ntifa *lʿansert* „winter“ (Dray 1998, 260) = *lʿanšert*, the fest of solstice (Laoust 1920, 187) < Arabic *ʿanšarat* „feast of Tabernacles, Whitsuntide“ (Steingass 1988, 731).

„spring“

30. Zenaga *tḥaskih* „spring (February-March-April)“ (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 164) = *tḥaskih* „spring“ (Nicolás); Middle Shilha *tafaska* „ram for sacrifice“, Wargla *tfaska* „fest“ (Kossmann 1999, 184, #521), Ghadamsi *tafaška* „fête religieuse majeure“, Ahaggar *tāfaské* „sacrifice religieux“, Tamasheq of Udalan

aḡṣku, pl. *aḡṣkutān* „early rains (very beginning of wet season)“, cf. *tāḡṣke*, pl. *tifaskiwen* „Tabaski, sacrifice, twelfth islamic lunar month“ (Sudlow 2009, 49).

Etymology: Borrowed from Latin *pascha* or Hebrew *pesaḥ* „Easter“ (Kossmann 1999, 184, #521).

31. Shilha of Tazerwalt *arrbiā^c* „spring; grass“ (Stumme 1899, 166), Ntifa *rrbia^c* „spring“ (Dray 1998, 394; Laoust 1920, 186), Figig *rbi^c* (Kossmann 1997, 483), Kabyle *errbi^c* (Dallet 1982, 704), Mzabi *ərrabi^c* „spring“ (Delheure 1984, 169), Wargla *rrbi^c* (Delheure 1987, 269)

Jebel Nefusa *rebiā* (Motylinski 1898, 146), Nefusa of Fasato *arrābi^ca* „spring“ (Beguinet) < Arabic *rabi^c* “spring”, lit. “fourth”.

„summer“

32. Zenaga *yässäyyävā* “passer la saison sèche, passer l’été”, via Hassaniya *ṣäyyäv* (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 469); Central Atlas *eṣṣif*, Shilha *eṣṣif* “summer” (Cid Kaoui 1907, 100) = Tazerwalt *ssif & ṣṣyf*, pl. *ssiūf* id. (Stumme 1899, 220), Ntifa *ṣṣif* (Dray 1998, 194; Laoust 1920, 186), Figig *ṣṣif* (Kossmann 1997, 501), Mzabi *əṣṣif* (Delheure 1984, 200), Wargla *ṣṣif* (Delheure 1987, 313); Siwa *ṣṣif* “summer” (Laoust 1931, 234) < Arabic *ṣayf* “summer”.

“autumn”

33. Zenaga *dāmnāri /dāmnāri* “mois de soudure (septembre-octobre), le coeur de l’hivernage” = *dāmnari* „mauvaise saison succédant à la 1ère pluie de l’hivernage“ (Nicolas) < Ful *demaranal* „premier sarclage après semailles“ (Taine-Cheikh 2008, 110).

34. Shilha of Tazerwalt *laḡarīf* “autumn” (Stumme 1899, 196), Ntifa *lḡrif* (Dray 1998, 46; Laoust 1920, 186), Central Atlas *leḡrif* “autumn” (Taïfi 1991, 288), Beni Snus *léḡrif*, Matmata *leḡrif* (Destaing 1914, 22), Figig *lexrif* (Kossmann 1997, 518), Wargla *laxrif* (Delheure 1987, 371), Kabyle *lexrif* (Kossmann 1997, 906), Ghadamsi *elḡarīf* “autumn, season” (Lanfry 1973, 138); Siwa *laḡrif n-əṣṣti* „autumn“ < Arabic *ḡarīf* id. (Laoust 1931, 198).

35. Izayan *izēbil* „autumn“ (Laoust 1920, 186), „action de fumer les champs“ (Taïfi 1998, 790) < Arabic *zabala* “to manure a field” (Steingass 1988, 450).

36. Foqaha *elwā'qāt n izeggāren* „autumn“, lit. „tempo (= Arabic *waqt* „time“) di datterī“ (Paradisi 1963, 101).

Synoptical Table: Berber Year (without Arabic loans)

	West	North	East	South	comments
year: *ā-sawwās, pl. *ī-sawwās-an < *saHwās	āššābbāš, pl. iššābbāšan Ts. šabbaš	Shi. asegg ^w as CA asgg ^w as Rif asugg ^w as Mz. asəgg ^w as Kbl. asegg ^w as Nfs. sugges Gh. azeggas	Fo. saggās-a Siwa asəggas Sokna asuggās-a Augila ašunwās-a	Hgr. āseggas, pl. iseggasen period, epoch, time	Libyan šbs year
year: *ā-watāy, pl. *ī-wutū-ān		Mz. tuta persons of the same age		Hgr. awétay, pl. iutiān Ayr, Tmš. awátay, pl. iwátayan	Eg. wtj be old Ch: Hausa wata month; Mwulyen wanti year
year: pl. *HiliHan		Mz., Wa. iylan		Hgr. ēlen Ayr elān Wlm, Tmš. elan	cf. Tmš. el, pl. elān greenery (of wet season)
year (next)		Gh. āṣan next year			Te achano year GrC acano
winter: *tā-giris-i, pl. *tī-gurrās & *tī-giris-an	tārS	Shi. tagerst MA tag/i/yerst Rif thažrasθ, pl. θižurās Mz. tağrəst Nfs. tegrest, pl. tegras Gh. tağa/erast	Fo. ġarišt Sokna tağre'st Aug. teğerišt	Hgr. tağrest, pl. tiğerras Tmš. tagrast, pl. tigrasen	cf. NBe *ā-giris frost
winter	tāšmuD'i	Tuat tasemmudi Gur. tasammud'			√s-m-d be cold
winter		Nt. tayūga			agricultural labor
winter			Siwa amzar/anžār		*ā-m[u]z/zār rain
spring: *tā-fiswīy-i, pl. *tī-fuswāy		CA tīfša, Bugie tafsuit Kbl., Sha. tafsut		Hgr. tafsūt, pl. tifessai	√f-s-w grow, bud, shoot
spring		Nt. tuga			grass
spring		MShi. talddrar Izayan taridrār			cf. Nt. āder plant in
summer: *ā-nabidūH pl. *ī-nabidāH	tnāwdād, pl. tniūdan Ts. anawwad dry season tāmuda year	Shi., Kbl. anebdu CA anebdu pl. inebda Rif anēbdu Nfs. nebdu, nūdu Gh. anēbdu	Fo. nébdu Sokna anēdfū		cf. Rif lbeqoiēn bdu id. Eg. wbd burn
summer *ē-wīlin, pl. *ī-wīlin-an	tāwiyih rainy season (Aug-Oct)			Hgr. ewilen, pl. iwilenen Ayr, Wlm āwelān pl. iwelānān	Ch: Ron *wil year Masa *wal- dry season; Sumray māna wēele id.
summer	pl. āwān	Nt. azwo			Shi. zwu be dry
summer			Aug. ī-lef, ēzlef		
rainy season *ē-zirigiw, pl. *ī-zirigiw-ān	āzragvith			Ayr azərgew, pl. izərgewān Wlm. azərigu Tmš. azərgu	cf. Be √z-r-g go for water
rainy season *ā-kāsāH				Ayr, Wlm., Tmš. akāsa, pl. ikāsātān	āksu be covered by fresh grass
autumn *ā-mawHān				Hgr. āmāwān, pl. emāwānān	√H-w-n mount
autumn: *ā-mārīs, pl. *ī-mūrās				Ghat amaris	Hgr. amārīs, pl. imūrās harvest
autumn		Nt. tamenzut Izayan amenzu			ēnz come soon
autumn		Nfs. tīrza			Nt. tairza labor
autumn				Ayr, Wlm yarāt	√y-H-r be dry

Abbreviations: Aug. Augila, Be Berber, CA Central Atlas (Tamazight), Ch Chadic, Eg. Egyptian, Fo. Foqaha, Gh. Ghadames, GrC Guanche of Gran Canaria, Hgr. Ahaggar, Kbl. Kabyle, M Middle, Nfs. Nefusa, Nt. Ntifa, S South, Sha. Shawiya, Shi. Shilha, Te Guanche of Tenerife, Tmsh. Tamasheq of Udalan, Ts. Tetseret, Wa. Wargla, Wlm Awllemmiden.

Conclusion

The oldest terms designating „year“ and its seasons in Berber languages are forms confirmed by the external cognates in other Afroasiatic branches:

**ā-watāy*, pl. **ī-wuty-ān* „year“ with cognates in Egyptian and probably Chadic;

**HiliHan* pl. „years“ with possible cognates in Cushitic, Chadic and Semitic;

**ē-wīlin*, pl. **ī-wīlin-an* „dry season“ with cognates in Chadic and Egyptian;

**ā-nabidūH*, pl. pl. **ī-nabidāH* „summer“ is derivable from the verb attested in Egyptian.

The following set of terms represents the inner Berber formations attested in more than one branch:

**ā-sawwās*, pl. **ī-sawwās-an* < **saHwās* „year“ : $\sqrt{H-w-s}$ „to pay annual tribute“;

**tā-giris-t*, pl. **tī-gurrās* & **tī-giris-an* “winter” : North Berber **ā-girīs* „frost“;

**tā-fiswīy-t*, pl. **tī-fuswāy* „spring“ : $\sqrt{f-s-w}$ „to grow, bud, shoot“;

**ē-zirīgiw*, pl. **ī-zirīgiw-ān* „rainy season“ : $\sqrt{z-r-g}$ „to go for water“.

The remaining forms are usually limited to individual languages. Their semantic motivations can be described as follows:

„season“ : „to come“ (#11);

“winter” : “to be cold” (#6), “period of agricultural labors” (#12), “rain” (#13);

“spring” : “grass” (#14), „to plant in, culture“ (#15);

„summer“ : „to be dry“ (#16-17);

“autumn” : “agricultural labor” + “to come soon” (#19-20), “to be covered by fresh grass” (#21), “to mount, climb” (#22), “period of harvest” (#23), “to (be) dry” (#24).

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- blazek@phil.muni.cz