

AFROASIATIC DIALECTS

SEMITIC

Editor: Thomas G. Penchoen

Volume 4

TIGRE GRAMMAR AND TEXTS

by

Shlomo Raz

UNDENA PUBLICATIONS

MALIBU 1983

AFROASIATIC DIALECTS

Editors: Thomas G. Penchoen (University of California, Los Angeles): Berber

Advisory Board:

Giorgio Buccellati (University of California, Los Angeles): Akkadian

Russell G. Schuh (University of California, Los Angeles): Chadic

Stansilav Segert (University of California, Los Angeles): Northwest-Semitic

© 1983 by Udena Publications, P.O. Box 97, Malibu, California 90265

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the author or the publisher.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: LC 81-71735

ISBN: 0-89003-097-9

TABLE OF CONTENTS

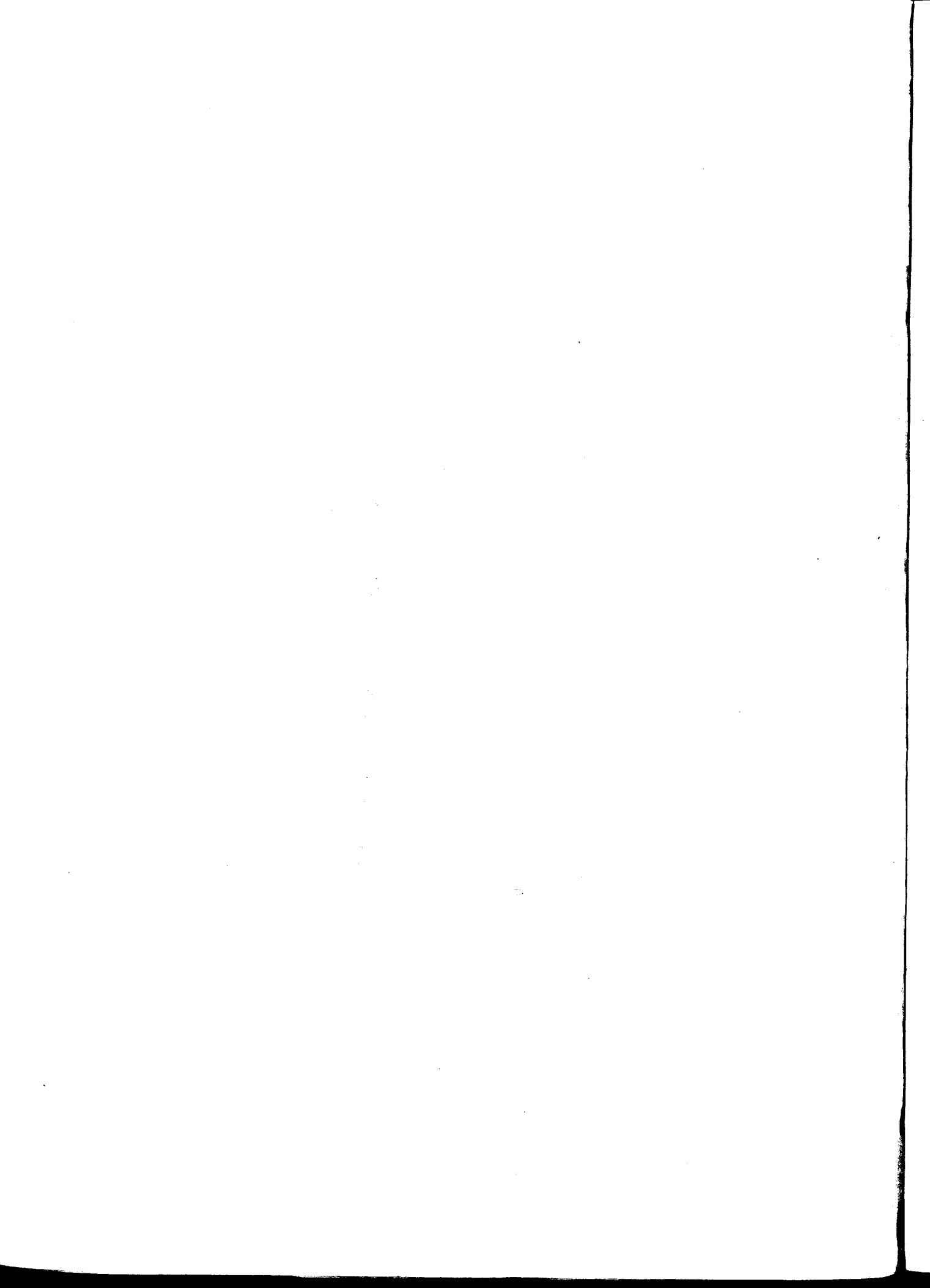
1.	INTRODUCTION	1
	1.1. The Present Grammar	1
	1.2. Remarks on Signs and Symbols	3
2.	PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY	4
	2.1. Consonants: General Description	4
	2.1.1. Consonant Variation	4
	2.1.1.1. Ejectives: /q/, /t/, /s/, /č/	5
	2.1.1.2. Voiced Plosives: /b/, /d/, /g/	5
	2.1.1.3. Laryngeals: /ʔ/, /ʕ/, /ħ/, /h/	5
	2.1.1.4. Nasals: /m/, /n/	5
	2.1.1.5. Liquids: /l/, /r/	5
	2.1.1.6. Semivowels: /w/, /y/	6
	2.2. Vowels: General Description	6
	2.2.1. Vowel Quantity and the Syllabic Structure	7
	2.2.2. The Accentual System: The Stress Unit	7
	2.2.3. Intonation and Pitch	8
	2.2.4. Vowel Variation	8
	2.2.4.1. /i/	8
	2.2.4.2. /e/	8
	2.2.4.3. /u/ and /o/	9
	2.2.4.4. /a/	9
	2.2.5. The Phonemic Identity of ə	10
	2.2.5.1. ə Variations	11
	2.2.5.2. The Role of ə in the Syllabic Structure	11
3.	THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN	12
	3.1. Gender	12
	3.1.1. Features of Concord	13
	3.1.1.1. Animateness in Relation to Concord	13
	3.1.1.2. Nouns Qualified by Numerals	13
	3.2. Noun Formation: The Basic Forms	14
	3.2.1. The Collective Noun	14
	3.2.2. The Singulative	15
	3.2.2.1. Overlapping in Form and Meaning of the Collective and the Plural	16
	3.2.3. Plural Forms	17
	3.2.3.1. Suffixed Plurals	17
	3.2.3.2. Broken Plurals	19
	3.3. Suffixed Derivatives: General Characteristics	23
	3.3.1. Diminutives	23
	3.3.2. Paucatives	25
	3.3.3. Pejoratives	25
	3.3.4. Paucative-Pejoratives	26
	3.3.5. Augmentatives	26
	3.4. Verbal Formations	26
	3.4.1. Participles	26

3.4.2.	Active Participles of the Triradical Verb	27
3.4.3.	Passive Participles of the Triradical Verb	28
3.4.4.	Participles of Verbs of More Than Three Radicals	29
3.4.5.	The Form <i>qātīlāy</i>	29
3.4.6.	The Forms <i>qatāl</i> and <i>qatāli</i>	30
3.4.7.	Infinitives	30
3.4.8.	Nouns Denoting the Instrument, Place or Product	31
3.5.	The Suffixes <i>-nna</i> and <i>-nnaṭ</i> in the Expression of Abstract Nouns	32
3.6.	Compound Nouns	32
3.7.	The Adjective	32
3.7.1.	Adjectives with Suffixed Plurals	33
3.7.2.	Adjectives with Broken Plurals	33
3.7.3.	Adjectives Whose Singular Form Has the Suffix <i>-āy</i> (masc.), <i>-āyt</i> (fem.)	34
3.8.	The Definite Article	34
4.	THE PRONOUN	36
4.1.	The Personal Pronoun	36
4.2.	Pronominal Suffixes in Conjunction with Nouns and Particles	37
4.3.	The Pronominal Suffixes in Conjunction with Verbs	38
4.3.1.	The Pronominal Suffix in Conjunction with Verb Forms of Derivatives and Other Types	39
4.3.2.	Verbs with Laryngeals	40
4.3.3.	Verbs with Semivowels	40
4.3.4.	The Verb <i>bela</i> 'to say'	40
4.3.5.	Variant Forms	41
4.4.	The Reflexive Pronoun: <i>nos</i> , (<i>nafs</i>), <i>raʿas</i>	41
4.5.	The Reciprocal Pronoun: <i>ḥad</i> , <i>nosnos</i>	42
4.6.	The Possessive Particle: <i>nāy</i>	42
4.7.	The Interrogative Pronoun: <i>mi</i> , <i>man</i> , <i>ʿayi</i>	42
4.8.	The Relative Pronoun: <i>la</i>	43
4.9.	The Indefinite Pronoun	44
4.10.	Demonstratives	45
5.	THE COPULA	46
5.1.	The Copula: Formation	46
5.1.1.	The Explicative Form <i>-tu</i>	47
5.1.2.	The Explicative Copula <i>tətu</i>	48
5.2.	<i>halla</i> – The Verb of Existence in the Present	48
5.2.1.	Expression of Existence in the Past: The Verb <i>ʿala</i>	48
5.2.2.	<i>halla/ʿala</i> + Adverbial Complement	48
5.2.3.	Negation of <i>halla</i> and <i>ʿala</i>	49
5.2.4.	Expression of Existence in the Future	49
5.2.5.	Expression of Existence in the Modal Categories	49
5.2.6.	Subordinate Forms of Verbs Used in the Expression of Existence	50
5.3.	Expression of Possession	50
5.3.1.	Negation of Forms Used in the Expression of Possession	50
5.3.2.	Temporal and Modal Relations in the Expression of Possession	51
5.4.	<i>halla</i> + <i>ʿəl</i> in the Expression of Necessity	51
6.	THE VERB	52
6.1.	Morphology: Types and Derivatives of the Verb	52
6.1.1.	The Four Types: A Detailed Statement of Function and Meaning	52
6.1.2.	Prefixed Derivatives—A Detailed Statement of Function and Meaning	53

6.2.	Verb Formation: Triradical Verbs of Types A, B, C, D and their Derivatives	55
6.2.1.	Verb Inflexion: The Four Types of Verbs	55
6.2.2.	Verb Inflexion: Prefixed Derivatives	56
6.2.3.	Verbs with Laryngeals	58
6.2.3.1.	Verbs with Initial Laryngeals	58
6.2.3.2.	Verbs with Medial Laryngeals	59
6.2.3.3.	Verbs with Final Laryngeals	59
6.2.4.	Verbs with Semivowels	60
6.2.4.1.	Verbs with Initial Semivowels	60
6.2.4.2.	Verbs with Medial Semivowels	61
6.2.4.3.	The Verbs <i>mota</i> and <i>soma</i>	62
6.2.4.4.	Verbs with Final Semivowels	62
6.2.4.5.	Verbs with More Than One Semivowel	62
6.2.5.	Verbs with Both a Semivowel and a Laryngeal	62
6.2.5.1.	C L SV	63
6.2.5.2.	L C SV	63
6.2.5.3.	L SV SV: The Verb <i>haya</i>	63
6.2.5.4.	C SV L: The Verb <i>ba'a</i> and Verbs with Inflexion Similar to It	63
6.2.5.5.	SV L C: Including the Verbs <i>wahada</i> and <i>wahata</i>	64
6.2.5.6.	L SV C: Including the Verb <i>haba</i>	64
6.2.5.7.	The Verb <i>'ala</i>	64
6.2.5.8.	The Verb <i>bela</i> 'to say'	64
6.2.6.	Verbs Whose Second and Third Radicals are Phonetically Identical	65
6.2.7.	Quadriradical Verbs	65
6.2.7.1.	Quadriradical Verbs with Laryngeals	65
6.2.7.2.	Quadriradicals with Semivowels	65
6.2.8.	Verbs with More Than Four Radicals	66
6.2.8.1.	Quinqueradicals with Semivowels	66
6.2.9.	Verb Compounds	66
6.2.9.1.	The Aspectual Use of <i>bela</i> and <i>'abala</i>	67
6.2.9.2.	<i>bela</i> in Free Variation with <i>wada</i> : Compounds with <i>wada</i> and <i>ga'a</i>	67
6.3.	The Tense System	67
6.3.1.	The Three Morphological Categories of the Tigre Verb	67
6.3.1.1.	Complex Expressions of Time-Relations	67
6.3.1.2.	Jussive (and Imperative)	68
6.3.1.3.	Perfect and Imperfect	69
6.3.1.4.	Compound Tenses: Imperfect + Auxiliary (<i>halla</i> or <i>'ala</i>)	71
6.3.1.5.	The Imperfect in Construction with <i>nabra</i> and <i>sanha</i>	72
6.3.1.6.	The Imperfect in Construction with Verbs of Time-Duration	72
6.3.1.7.	Complexes with the Perfect: <i>'ando</i> + Perfect + <i>'ala</i> (<i>sanha</i>)	73
6.3.1.8.	The Complex Perfect + <i>ka</i> + Auxiliary	73
6.3.1.9.	The Complex Participle + Auxiliary	74
6.4.	Negation of the Verb	76
7.	THE NUMERALS	77
7.1.	The Cardinal Numerals	77
7.1.1.	Formation of Joint Numbers	77
7.1.2.	The Distributive Form of the Cardinal Numerals	77
7.1.3.	The Numeral 'One' in the Expression of the Indefinite	77
7.1.4.	<i>had</i> , <i>'adad</i> , <i>nafar</i>	78
7.2.	The Ordinal Numerals	78
7.2.1.	Formation of Ordinals for Joint Numbers	78
7.3.	The Fractions	79

8.	PREPOSITIONS, ADVERBS, CONJUNCTIONS, INTERJECTIONS	80
8.1.	Prepositions	80
8.1.1.	List of Prepositions	80
8.2.	Adverbs	84
8.2.1.	Classification of Adverbs According to Form	85
8.2.2.	Classification of Adverbs According to Meaning and Function	85
8.2.2.1.	Adverbs Denoting Relation of Manner or Degree	86
8.2.2.2.	Adverbs Denoting Relation of Place	86
8.2.2.3.	Adverbs Denoting Relation of Time	86
8.2.2.4.	Sentence Adverbs	87
8.2.2.5.	Interrogative Adverbs	87
8.2.2.6.	Adverbs Denoting Doubt	88
8.2.2.7.	Adverbs Denoting Affirmation and Negation	88
8.3.	Conjunctions	88
8.3.1.	Coordinating Conjunctions	89
8.3.2.	Subordinating Conjunctions	90
8.4.	Interjections	93
9.	SYNTAX	94
9.1.	The Word-Order in the Simple Sentence	94
9.2.	The Word-Order in the Complex Sentence	95
9.2.1.	Hypotactic Relations: Distribution of Complex and Compound Sentences	95
9.3.	Nominal Sentences	96
9.4.	Direct and Indirect Speech	96
9.5.	Verbs Taking an Infinitive as their Complement	97
9.6.	Conditional Sentences	98
9.7.	The Modal Form <i>wa</i> + Perfect	99
9.8.	The Alternative	99
9.9.	The Expression of the Distributive, Iterative, and Intensive Aspects by Means of Repetition of the Word	100
10.	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES	101
11.	TEXTS	103
11.1.	<i>dəgəm ʔabbəkiki</i> 'The Tale of the Plover'	103
11.2.	<i>dəgəm kaləb wadəmmu</i> 'The Tale of the Dog and the Cat'	104
11.3.	<i>dəgəm derho kərkərre hasil gəmgəmmäre wakarāy</i> 'The Tale of the Chicken, Partridge, Fox, Hornbill and Hyaena'	105
11.4.	<i>dəgəm nabi musa</i> 'The Tale of the Prophet Moses'	107
11.5.	<i>ʔabyāt</i> 'Houses'	112
11.6.	<i>ləsān ʔadib</i> 'Polite Language'	114
11.7.	<i>fəkrat wad-ʔaddām</i> 'The Intelligence of the Human Race'	117
11.8.	<i>həmām ʔaso</i> 'The Malaria Illness'	120
11.9.	<i>ʔetyopya</i> 'Ethiopia'	124
11.10.	<i>ʔaxbār</i> 'News'	126
12.	APPENDIX: GRAMMATICAL TABLES	135
12.1.	Verb Inflexion: Triradicals of Type A	135
12.2.	Verb Inflexion: Triradicals of Types Other Than A and Derivatives of All Types	136
12.3.	Triradicals of Type D and its Derivatives	138
12.4.	Triradicals of Type A with Both a Semivowel and a Laryngeal	138
12.5.	Quadriradicals of Types A and C and Their Derivatives	139
12.6.	Quadriradicals with Semivowels	139

12.7.	The Pronominal Suffixes—In Conjunction with Verbs	140
12.8.	Pronominal Suffixes—In Conjunction with Nouns and Particles	141
12.9.	Pronouns	142
12.10.	Numerals	143
12.11.	Participles, Infinitives and Derived Noun Forms	144
13.	INDEX	146
13.1.	Subject Index (A)	146
13.2.	Index of Tigre Morphemes and Patterns (B)	147



1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE PRESENT GRAMMAR

This work comprises two parts: the first part consists of a concise descriptive grammar of the Mansa^c dialect of the Tigre language; the second part contains a selection of new Tigre texts. The motive for the present work is the state of research of the Tigre language: practically none of the grammatical works of the earlier period of Tigre studies are of descriptive value to the student of Tigre, some of them now being linguistic curiosities of primarily historical value, while others were written by people who lacked the required skill of qualification for the task. Most of the credit for scholarly grammatical work on Tigre goes to E. Littmann, W. Leslau, and F. R. Palmer,¹ the latter two having made the strongest impact in their endeavours to bring Tigre studies into the domain of modern linguistic research. W. Leslau's *Short grammar of Tigre* (1945)² is the only valuable grammar of the language available. Leslau's treatise is mainly based on Littmann's *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia* (1910-1915),³ vol. I, and on certain of Littmann's articles. Leslau made an attempt to supplement his work with fresh material. This he collected while on a short visit to Keren in Eritrea and published as *Supplementary observations on Tigre grammar* (1948).⁴ The only attempt to produce a comprehensive work on Tigre grammar, *Grammatica della lingua tigré* (Asmara 1919), is worthless to descriptive linguistics, since (a) the grammatical framework used is that of Italian, and (b) many features of the data given are foreign to the Tigre language. The scarcity of Tigre grammars is paralleled by a scarcity of Tigre texts. E. Littmann's *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia* (1910-1915),³ the result of an expedition to Eritrea that he undertook in the autumn and winter of 1905/06 is still the best available collection of Tigre texts. Other texts of scholarly value were published by members of the Swedish Evangelical Mission in Eritrea. These are (a) folk tales, biblical tales, customs and rites, law, history of the Mansa^c people, medicines and diseases, poetry, a student reader, etc., and (b) Bible translations.⁵ The most prominent text published in book form by the Swedish Mission is *Käl'e Mansa^c* "The two

¹Palmer has written a few grammatical essays on the Tigre language, the most comprehensive being *The morphology of the Tigre noun*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, 96 pp..

²Leslau, W., *Short grammar of Tigre (North Ethiopic)*. Dialect of Mensa. New Haven, 1945 (Publications of the American Oriental Society. Offprint series, no. 18).

³Littmann, E., *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1910-1915, 4 vol. in 5.

⁴Leslau, W., "Supplementary observations on Tigre grammar," *JAOS*, LXVIII, 3, 1948, 127-39.

⁵Only two parts of the Old Testament were translated into Tigre: The Book of Psalms—*Darsān dāwəʾl* and the Book of Isaiah—*Kətāb ʾəsəyās*. G. R. Sundström is to be credited with the work, though its publication was posthumous. The names of the native speakers who helped him are not on record. As regards the New Testament, the first part to appear in print was the Gospel of St. Mark, from the Swedish Mission press at Monkullo—where one of the two missionary stations that existed among the Tigre speaking people was situated at that time. The other was at Galab. This translation into Tigre, in an Ethiopic script whose orthography is not consistent, was done by indigenous scholars under the supervision of Dr. C. Winquist, a missionary physician, whose own scholarship was more in the domain of Tigrinya. The entire New Testament in Tigre was first published in 1902 by the Swedish Mission Press at Asmara. K. G. Rodén, the principal of the Mission station at Galab, supervised the work of translation which was carried out with the help of the native teachers at the Swedish Mission. As for the sources from which the translation was made, see: E. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1968, p. 71. Books of the New Testament used now among Tigre speaking Christians are reprints of a second edition of the 1902 publication, produced in a revised and improved form at Asmara in 1931. All Tigre Bible translations appear in Ethiopic script.

Mansa'."⁶ K. G. Rodén, the head of the Missionary Station at Galab devoted a considerable period—between his arrival in Galab in 1890 and the publication of *Käl'e Mansa'* in 1913—to collecting material for the book. The Revd. G. R. Sundström was another member of the Swedish Mission whose contribution was significant. A contribution to the corpus of Tigre texts was also made by C. Conti Rossini who was helped in his work by members of the Swedish Mission.⁷ In the last fifty years only two scholarly contributions to the existing corpus of Tigre texts have been made, both published in 1961 but recorded at a much earlier period. These are: *Tigre games*⁸ by W. Leslau which was recorded by him during his stay in Keren in 1947, and *'Ad Šek*⁹ which was edited and prepared for publication by M. Höfner. The only valuable dictionary of Tigre in existence—E. Littmann's *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*¹⁰—incorporates most vocabularies and glossaries published previously. Littmann's *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia* was the main text used, but almost all other published texts are represented as well. It also includes material produced by Sundström, *Naffa' wad' Etmān*, and others, which thus saw the light of publication for the first time in this dictionary. M. Höfner should be credited with most of the work of editing. The survey provided up to this point is intended as a general picture of the nature and scope of published material in Tigre. For a detailed bibliographical survey the reader is advised to consult with Leslau's *The Semitic languages of Ethiopia*,¹¹ pp. 145-164. Coming back to the present work, my intention has been to go beyond the existing corpus of texts in order to attempt a fresh treatment of Tigre grammar. The linguistic material was collected by me in the field during summer 1969 and winter 1970. While the major part of my stay was in Asmara and Massawa, I managed a few visits to some Tigre speaking areas. On arrival at Asmara I discovered that the Ethiopian Radio was broadcasting from there in Tigre, half an hour per evening. The three native speakers of Tigre responsible for these broadcasts became my first "informants." One of them, Musse Bekit, a native of Galab, became my assistant and main "informant" during my stay in Ethiopia and proved of particular help in introducing me to members of his family and to further "informants." Another of them, Leḡam Ishaq, a native of Mehlab, had previous experience of being an "informant" for Tigre and had worked in this capacity with F. R. Palmer during the early fifties. I collected further material by engaging in informal conversation, on everyday topics, with the broadcasters and other "informants." I collected additional material

⁶K. G. Rodén, *Le Tribù dei Mensa*. Storia, legge e costumi. A. Testo originale tigrè, Asmara, Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsens Förlags-expedition, 1913, xiii, 192 pp. The first part (pp. 1-87), entitled *Dəgəm Mansa'* 'The story of Mansa'', contains a description of genealogies of the Mansa', accounts of historical events and of tribal traditions. Part two, entitled *Fəṭəḥ Maḥāri wa'ādotāt* 'The law of Maḥāri and customs', consists of an account of the law and customs of the Mansa' tribes. Some of the tales and customs found in both parts of this book are also found in Littmann's *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, Vol. I, in slightly different versions, cf., e.g., *Tribù*, 3:18-4:6 with *PLI*, story no. 73; *Tribù*, 4:20-5:1 with *PLI*, story no. 74; *FM*, 102:23 et seq. with *PLI*, 112:5 et seq.

⁷C. Conti Rossini's *Dəgəm Mansa'* "Tradizioni storiche dei Mensa" (*GSAI* 14, 1901, pp. 41-99), was, in fact, the first valuable text to be published in Tigre. In his work Conti Rossini was helped by K. G. Rodén and by Rodén's native assistant Tawalda Madḥan. Indeed, a comparison of Rodén's 1913 text—bearing the same Tigre name *Dəgəm Mansa'*—with that of Conti Rossini's shows that the same Tigre source underlies both. Cf., e.g., *C. Ross. Trad.*, pp. 60-61 with *Tribù*, 46:27 et seq.; *C. Ross. Trad.* 63:13 et seq. with *Tribù*, 40:10 et seq.; *C. Ross. Trad.*, 59:7 with *Tribù*, 8:8, etc.

⁸Leslau, W., "Tigre games," *RSE*, 17, 1961, pp. 61-68. The text consists of seven children's games in phonetic transcription, the Tigre text of each game being followed by an English translation.

⁹Höfner, M., "Überlieferungen bei Tigrē-Stämmen (1). 'Ad Šek," *AE* 4, 1961, pp. 181-203. This is a document of Sundström's concerning the 'Ad Šek, a Tigre-speaking Muslim tribe. It was turned over by Sundström to Littmann and later published by M. Höfner.

¹⁰Littmann, E., and Höfner, M., *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache: Tigrē-Deutsch-Englisch* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, XI). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1962. The dictionary is an impressive work. However, it has a weak point: too many entries are based on Littmann's poetry collection (*Publications*, Vol. III), where the meaning is sometimes that of the contextual sense, and not that of the general lexical content. From a general point of view it can be said that the dictionary is a compilation of linguistic forms and their meanings as found in certain texts, rather than a reflection of the spoken language. The disadvantage of this is that the spoken Tigre of today is represented to a limited extent only.

¹¹Leslau, W., *An annotated bibliography of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia*. Mouton & Co.: The Hague, 1965, 336 pp.

from people engaged in various jobs, such as waiters, doormen, etc. Finally I spent six days on the Red Sea, on a fishing boat, whose crew consisted almost entirely of native speakers of Tigre. This trip enabled me to gain access to material which would otherwise be very difficult to obtain. Since my first submitted account on the subject of Tigre grammar,¹² I have had many opportunities to put it to test with the help of colleagues and students. I have also managed to go through a fairly large number of transcribed tapes from the collection I made in Eritrea, and chose some of these for the textual part of the book. I hope that the present work will serve as a useful work tool to the student of Tigre.

1.2. REMARKS ON SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

- (1) Most phonetic symbols used in this work are those set out in 2.1. Consonants, and in 2.2. Vowels.
- (2) Phonetic symbols other than those of (1) above, are in conformity with *The Principles of the International Phonetic Association*, University College, London, 1949. These are commented on where they occur.
- (3) / / is used to denote phonemic transcription. [] is used to denote (a) phonetic transcription; (b) in the English translation of Tigre utterances words which are not found in the original, but are needed in the translation. () is used to denote, in the English translation of Tigre utterances, words that are found in the original but should better be omitted in the translation.
- (4) All Tigre utterances are italicized.
- (5) Morphological notation: (a) The three consonants of the triradical verb are represented by qtl. (b) C stands for consonant, V stands for vowel, L stands for laryngal and SV stands for semi-vowel. (c) $\bar{C}\bar{C}$ stands for a geminated consonant whereas CC signifies a cluster of two—identical or different—consonants. (d) Actual speech-sounds are italicized, e.g.: *ʔaCəCCat*, *ʔakəɬbat* 'books'.

¹²Raz, S., *A descriptive study of Tigre grammar*. Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1973.

2. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2.1. CONSONANTS: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

/h/	voiceless glottal fricative	/ʕ/	voiced pharyngeal fricative
/l/	voiced alveolar lateral	/z/	voiced alveolar fricative
/ħ/	voiceless pharyngeal fricative	/y/	semivowel (“voiced palatal”)
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal	/d/	voiced dental stop
/r/	voiced alveolar flap/trill	/ǧ/	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative	/g/	voiced velar stop
/š/	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative	/t/	ejective dental stop
/q/	ejective velar stop	/č/	ejective palato-alveolar affricate
/b/	voiced bilabial stop	/s/	ejective alveolar affricate
/t/	voiceless dental stop	/ʃ/	voiceless labio-dental fricative
/n/	voiced dental nasal	[č̣]	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
/ʔ/	glottal stop	[ẓ̌]	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
/k/	voiceless velar stop	[x]	voiceless velar fricative
/w/	semivowel (“voiced bilabial”)		

The above list is the complete phonemic inventory of Tigre consonants, excluding [ẓ̌] and [x], and with reservations in the case of [č̣]; in terms of distribution, [ẓ̌] occurs only as the palatized form of /z/, while [č̣] occurs almost exclusively as the palatalized form of /t/ (cf., however, *mač ʔabala* ‘to beat’). This palatalization occurs with dentals and alveolars, in final position, in forms to which the first pers. sing. pron. suff. is attached. [ẓ̌] is seldom met with while [č̣] is by no means uncommon. Examples: [masānit] ‘friends’, [masāničče] ‘my ‘friends’; [gəzāz] ‘glass’, [gəzāžže] ‘my glass’ (the gemination is optional). The corresponding inventory of Ethiopic graphemes by which most Tigre texts have been rendered includes also [p] or [p̣] for loan words, as in: [fə̀ḷp̣os] ‘Philip’; [p̣olis] ‘police’. [x] occurs in a few loan words from Arabic, e.g., [ʔaxbār] ‘news’.

GEMINATION. All consonants except /ʔ/, /ʕ/, /ħ/, /h/ (laryngeals)¹ and /w/, /y/ (semivowels) are subject to gemination. The significance of gemination is primarily morphological.

2.1.1. CONSONANT VARIATION

Though the articulation of most of the consonants is not subject to major variation, some variants do occur in a manner determined by consonant position in the word, by adjacent speech sounds and by certain suprasegmental features—mainly stress. Some of these variants must be treated as simple allophones; some others are evidence of the articulatory overlapping of different phonemes. The principal examples are as follows:

¹This term denotes /ʔ/, /ʕ/, /ħ/, /h/ throughout the work except where it is necessary to distinguish laryngeals /ʔ/ and /h/ from pharyngeals /ʕ/ and /ħ/, the distinction then being explicitly made.

2.1.1.1. Ejectives: /q/, /t/, /s/, /č/

These consonants share the co-articulation of a glottal stop, the release phase being simultaneous in each case. In final position in a syllable—preceding a consonant—the ejectives show a tendency to weaken and to lose their homorganic feature, full release not being achieved in the absence of a following vowel. Examples: [qanaʃko] 'I got up'; [maʃaʃko] 'I combed (my hair)'; [ʔačbāl] 'ashes'. /q/ loses its homorganic feature only when followed by close juncture, as in: [ʔafluk] 'forked branches' (/ʔafluq/). In final position—preceding a consonant—/q/ tends to lose completely its phonemic identity. The articulatory position of the variants of /q/ is post-velar. The acoustic impression is usually that of [ʔ]. Sometimes, however, being extremely tense in the release phase, it sounds like [c]. Examples: [loʔloʔ] or [loʔloʔ] 'smeared' (/ləqluq/); [maʔrəha] 'her condition' (/maqrəha/); [taʔbəl] 'she will return' (jussive) (/taqbəl/); [ʔaʔbər] 'tombs' (/ʔaqbər/); [laʔaʔba.ʔəb ʔaʔrudu] 'the Aqba tree together with its roots' (/laʔaʔba ʔəb ʔaqrudu/); [ʔəgəl ləʔtolo] 'in order to kill him' (/ləqtolo/). Post-velar variation of /q/ is not limited to final position in a syllable: it may occur in a stress unit (see 2.2.2) in medial position as a result of regressive assimilation. Example: [tʃaʃaʔaʔttóm] 'he laughed at them' (/təʃaʃaʔa ʔəttóm/).

2.1.1.2. Voiced Plosives: /b/, /d/, /g/

These consonants, when in final position in the syllable, may become voiceless. The voiceless b_0 , d_0 , g_0 are tense and differ as such from /p/, /t/, /k/ which are lax and have a greater degree of aspiration. Examples: [ʔəb_0-fəruɡ_0] 'exactly'; [ʔad_0əd_0] 'number'; [g_0äläb_0] 'Galab' (name of a village). The voiced plosives, when geminated between vowels, may also become voiceless, e.g., [(tə)ʃabb_0b_0əha] 'to take breakfast'.

2.1.1.3. Laryngeals: /ʔ/, /c/, /ħ/, /h/

The unstressed glottal stop may have weak articulation in all positions. In word-final position it may disappear altogether. Examples: [gabbi] 'maybe' (/gabbaʔ/); [mulu] 'full' (/muluʔ/). Followed by a laryngeal or by an ejective anywhere in the word, [ʔ] and [c] may be in free variation with one another. Examples: [ʔaddəha] or [caddəha] 'noon' (/ʔaddəha/); [ʔad-ħəd] or [c-ad-ħəd] 'one another' (/c-ad-ħəd/); [ʔarqay] or [c-arqay] 'bed' (/c-arqay/); [ʔaʔāl] or [c-aʔāl] 'goats' (/c-aʔāl/); [ʔaʃfār] or [c-aʃfār] 'nails' (/c-aʃfār/); [ʔalləʃ] or [c-alləʃ] 'hawk' (/c-alləʃ/).

2.1.1.4. Nasals: /m/, /n/

There is a possible neutralization of the m/n phonemic contrast when one of them occurs in a homorganic consonantal sequence, either of the phonemes then being actualized as either [m] or [n]. Examples: [ʔəmboba] or [ʔənboba] 'flower'; [čəmbuy] or [čənbuy] 'solitary'; [səmfəʔāt] or [sənfəʔāt] name of a plant. The question of which phoneme is represented in each actualization can be answered only where the morphological evidence is sufficient, as in: [ʔəgəl təmbar] or [ʔəgəl tənbar] 'in order that you live' (root *nbr*); [ʔəmbə] or [ʔənbə] 'we said' (root *bhl*).

2.1.1.5. Liquids: /l/, /r/

/l/ which exists in two monosyllabic particles of very wide distribution: ʔəl 'to, for' and *la*, the definite article (and relative pronoun), is liable to disappear by assimilation in the following circumstances: the particle ʔəl either loses the [l] without acoustic compensation (since /y/ is not geminated) or becomes zero when it occurs with the 1st pers. sing. pron. suff. Examples: [bəħəl bal-ʔəye] 'excuse me' (/ʔəlye/); [zābe ʔəye] 'buy for me'; [hallaye] 'I have' (lit. 'there is to me' for *halla ʔəlye*). With 2nd pers. suffs., sing. & pl., the suffix is geminated when ʔəl becomes zero. Examples: [hallakka] 'you (masc. sing.) have' (*halla ʔəlka*), [hallakkum] 'you (masc. pl.) have' (*halla ʔəlukum*). The definite article *la* is usually assimilated to the preceding particle, forming one unit with it and thus creating a sharp transition between itself and the initial sound of the following word. Examples: [ʔəbbā ʃəqəl] 'about the work' (ʔəb *laʃəqəl*); [ʔəttā gabay] 'in the street' (ʔət *lagabay*); [mənnā bet] 'from the house' (*mən labet*).

The /r/ phoneme has a free variant which has the relative length of articulation typical of a geminated consonant. It lacks, however, the tension which characterizes a geminated consonant in the release phase. This /r/ variant occurs in a way that could be interpreted as a voice-quality modulation. Examples: [ʔädbərr] 'mountains' (/ʔadbər/); [rɾabbi] 'God' (/rabbi/); [fagarrna] 'we went out' (/fagarna/).

2.1.1.6. Semivowels: /w/, /y/

Semivowels may have a weak articulation. The weak variant of /w/ is distinctive as regards lip position, which is "spread" (denoted in the IPA alphabet by an upside down m), as in: [təmäyäu] 'they spent the night' (/təmayaw/); [ʔäud] 'threshing-floor' (/ʔawd/). The weak variant of /y/ has a lower, more lax position of the tongue, as in: [karäyi] 'band (of raiders)' (/karäyi/); [qaʔəh] 'red' (/qayəh/). In both cases the acoustic impression is that of a diphthong. In words of frequent occurrence the /y/ in intervocalic position is liable to disappear by assimilation, e.g., [hē] 'however' (/haye/). The semivowels are subject to metathesis. Examples: [čawačit] or [čəčawit] 'chicken'; [mawarri] or [marawi] 'sticks' (sing. *mora*); [ʔabyāt] or [ʔaybāt] 'houses' (sing. *bet*); [rädäyäm] or [rädäm] 'cruel (people)' (root *rdy*).²

2.2. VOWELS: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

There are six vowel phonemes in Tigre, as follows:

/i/	high-front	/u/	high-back
/e/	mid-front	/o/	mid-back
/a/	low-front (to low-central)		
/ā/	long low-front		

In addition to the above six phonemes the vowel ə (mid-central) needs to be mentioned here. From a phonemic point of view, nothing is gained by including it in the inventory of the vowel phonemes: its role is in conserving the syllabic structure typical of Tigre, whereas its phonemic identity is open to question (cf. 2.2.5). From the articulatory point of view each vowel is distinctive in regard to tongue-height and tongue-advancement, excluding the a/ā contrast which is in terms of vowel quantity. That such phonemic contrast exists is shown by the following sets of minimal pairs:

/ħar/	'afterwards, then'	–	/ħār/	'the other, the last one'
/gadəm/	'now then, so, thus'	–	/gādəm/	'plain, country'
/ħal/	'maternal aunt'	–	/hāl/	'maternal uncle'
/ba ^c al/	'master, owner'	–	/ba ^c āl/	'a festal day, holiday'
/man/	'who?'	–	/mān/	'right (hand)'
/hadi/	'marriage'	–	/hādi/	'bridegroom'
/gahay/	'sadness'	–	/gahāy/	'sad'

Exceptional is the case of words with a final CV-type syllable, when V is a low-front vowel. In such a case no phonemic contrast of quality may occur and vowel duration is subject to stress and syllabic structure (cf. 2.2.4.4 (c)), e.g., [sābka] or [sabkā] 'your people' (/sabka/); [sabkā-tom] 'they are your people' (/sabka tom/); [bālsa] 'he answered' (/balsa/); [balsā-ʔəttu] 'he answered him' (/balsa ʔəttu/); [ħōša] or [ħošā] 'sand' (/ħoša/). The above statement provides a basic description of cardinal values of Tigre vowels. A wide range of variation is encountered in some of these (cf. 2.2.4) when actualized in the chain of speech.

²See also 3.4.2, examples of participles with a final radical semivowel.

2.2.1. VOWEL QUANTITY AND THE SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

Usually vowels may be long or short according to the incidence of stress and syllabic structure, though one typical variant of /a/ (namely [ā], see 2.2.4.4) and also [ə] are predominantly short. Thus vowel quantity is phonemically relevant only in the (above mentioned, 2.2) case of a/ā. The typical Tigre sequence is composed of CV and CVC syllables, or any combination of these two syllables. Long vowels are likely to be found in syllables that carry prominent stress. There are, however, two further observations to be noted:

(a) phonetically-long vowels are typical of CV syllables and are rare in unstressed CVC syllables, where phonetically-short vowels are frequent.

(b) a CV-type syllable does not favor a short vowel in word-final position.

Though the occurrence of /ā/ is not subject to the implications of the incidence of stress and syllabic structure, [ā] usually occurs in locations similar to those mentioned in (a) and (b).

Observation (b) is of special importance in regard to /ā/, as no contrast between /a/ and /ā/ is likely to materialize in a CV-type syllable in word-final position (cf. 2.2 & 2.2.4.4 (c)). Examples:

(1) in CV-type syllables with prominent stress: [‘ābē] ‘yes’ (/‘ābe/); [šāhī] ‘tea’ (/šāhi/); [‘īfālū] ‘no’ (/‘īfālu/); [hōšāhā] ‘its sand’ (lit. ‘her sand’) (/hōšaha/).

(2) in CVC-type syllables with prominent stress: [bāb] ‘door’ (/bāb/); [bēt] ‘house’ (/bet/); [yóm] ‘day’ (/yom/); [‘arāt] ‘bed’ (/‘arāt/); [bādōb] ‘desert’ (/bādob/); [dérhō] ‘chicken’ (/derho/); [gādmōtāt] ‘plains’ (/gādmotāt/).

(3) in unstressed CVC-type syllable: [kādbēt] ‘floor’ (/kadbet/); [māskōt] ‘window’ (/maskot/); [bārbārē] ‘pepper’ (/barbare/).

(4) in a CV-type syllable in word-final position: [nābra] ‘he lived’ (/nabra/); [nabrā] ‘meal’ (/nabra/).

2.2.2. THE ACCENTUAL SYSTEM: THE STRESS UNIT

The accentual system of Tigre cannot be described in terms of word boundaries, as is the case in many languages. This is, firstly, because stress is non-distinctive and shifts easily from one syllable to the other. Secondly, a certain speech rhythm is maintained by means of which the number of prominent stresses in a given utterance determines the length of time it takes to produce the utterance. This means that the time elapsing between two primary stresses is roughly the same, regardless of the number of syllables in between. Such a phenomenon may have an overwhelming effect on all vowels. In order to represent the spoken chain, a basic unit of measurement will be established. This unit will be called a “stress unit.”³ Its boundaries are two sharp transitions (non-phonemic) between which there occurs at least one prominent stress. Such an arbitrary unit “cuts” words and affixes in such a way that some bound morphemes fall on the “wrong” side of the juncture. In spite of this, the importance of recognizing such a unit is in the fact that vowel variation by assimilation occurs inside it. The analysis of the utterance into stress units is accomplished as in the following instance: the utterances [‘āthāyābāyóm] ‘he caused (it) to be given to them’ (/‘athayabayom/) and [lág’a-ləgbá?] ‘whatever, something’ (/laga’a ləgba’/), each consist of a stress unit, with, in this instance, the same stress pattern. Other examples: the utterances ‘adad kəl’e mə’ət wahəmsa ‘a number of two hundred and fifty’ and mən sanat šəh samān mə’ət wasa‘ā ‘since the year of 1890’ are to be rendered as: [‘ádäq kəl’e-mə’ət’u hāmsā]; [mən-sänät-šəh samān-m’ət wasa‘ā]. A comparison of the last two examples reveals the stress timed rhythm as follows:

³Cf., Hudson, R. A., *Beja*, 2.4, in: Bender, M. L., (ed) *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia*. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1976. Hudson’s “accent-unit” is, however, defined as “a unit smaller than the word” (p. 102).

2.2.4.3. /u/ and /o/

These two high-back and mid-back vowels have unstressed variants which are more lax and centralized, and lower, than is the case with cardinal [u] and [o]. Stressed variants of /u/ may occur in the case of assimilation by laryngeals. Examples: /o/: [wəró ʔənás] 'a (certain) man'; [ʔándə-ħadágna] 'we, leaving (having left)'. /u/: [bétkUm] 'your (masc. pl.) house'; [ʔafsuħ-ʔəlye] 'Allow (masc. pl.) me'; [bəzÚħ] 'much, many'; [sabÚʕ] 'seven';

2.2.4.4. /a/

Allophones of this phoneme are actualized in the area (of the IPA trapezium) which extends between the points of actualization of [a] and [ɐ].⁶ In fact /a/ has a considerable number of variants whose gross acoustic features overlap the allophones of several phonemes. In terms of the spoken chain no allophone dominates. Two variants can, however, be chosen as a standard of measurement by reference to which other variants can be described and without which the process of variation would be incomprehensible. These allophones, [a] and [ä],⁷ suggest only the acoustic range of the phoneme and do not refer to the characteristic distribution of its variants. Assimilation is the main factor which determines the quality of the allophone.⁸ The processes of assimilation by which the actualization of an /a/ allophone is determined are as follows:

- (a) WHEN FOLLOWED BY A FRONT VOWEL OTHER THAN /ä/. When immediately followed by /i/ or /e/, /a/ is represented by a more advanced variant than otherwise. Such variants can be almost as advanced as [a]. Examples: [rātəʕ gäbbiʔ] 'It will be all right' (/rātəʕ gabbəʔ/); [gäbil] 'tribe, people' (/gabil/); [gälehom] 'some of them' (/galehom/); [rāʔäššé] 'my head' (/raʔas/ 'head'); [ʔana dUlúy hälléko] 'I am ready' (/halleko/).
- (b) WHEN FOLLOWED BY /ä/. When immediately followed by /ä/, /a/ has the quality of [a]. Examples: [masānitu] 'his friends' (/masānit/); [ʔamānū-tu] 'He is right' (/ʔamānu tu/).
- (c) WHEN FOLLOWED BY A LOW-FRONT VOWEL IN CV STRESS-UNIT FINAL POSITION. No contrast between /a/ and /ä/ is likely to materialize in a CV-type syllable in stress-unit final position. In such a position /a/ may be represented by [a] or [ä], and regressive assimilation occurs. This regressive assimilation is applied to all /a/ allophones which precede [a] or [ä] within the stress unit, on condition that no other vowel—relevant to the process of assimilation—occurs in between. Examples: [ʔəb-tartará] 'sometimes, sporadically' (/tartara/); [qadāmlā zəlām šahāy-ʕalā]⁹ 'There was sun before the rain' (/qadam lazəlām šahāy ʕala/); [sābbāra] '(He, it) was broken' (/sabbara/); [lasalsátla brōší] 'the anchor's chain'.
- (d) WHEN FOLLOWED BY A BACK VOWEL. When followed by either of the two back vowels, retracted variants of /a/ are liable to occur. The variant with a following /o/ is more retracted than that with a following /u/. Examples: [məmbəró] '(way of) life'; [məskót] 'window'; [šalsalátú] 'its chain'; [bānnú] 'by himself'.
- (e) INFLUENCE OF EJECTIVE AND PHARYNGEAL CONSONANTS ON /a/. When immediately preceded by, or when followed anywhere within the stress unit by an ejective or a pharyngeal, /a/ is represented by [a].¹⁰

⁶The symbol [ɐ] (an upside down a) stands for a central vowel which is lower than [ə] (*The principles of the IPA*, University College, London, 1949, p. 7, §18). For typographical reasons [ɐ] is denoted in this work by the symbol [ä].

⁷See previous footnote.

⁸As well as in its narrow sense assimilation is taken here also in the broad meaning of a process by which a simplification of the articulatory motion brings about economy of movement.

⁹For the tendency of the particle *la* to be assimilated with the preceding sequence, cf. 2.1.1.5 and 3.8 (e).

¹⁰Providing that the vowel is not crushed by the stress rhythm, as for instance: [ʔətta-māy-lamħáz] 'in the water of the river' (/ʔət lamāy lamaház/).

Ejectives: [gaʃ] 'face', cf. [sär] 'half'; [tarmúz] 'bottle'; [ʃalót] 'prayer'; [qalíl] 'light, easy'; [mándaq] 'wall'.

Pharyngeals: [hamaʃganáy] 'dark-grey'; [waħár] 'and after'; [nóbaħ] 'a bark'; [sáˁat] 'hour, watch'; [ˁásər] 'ten'; [saˁarsaˁaró] 'green'.

(f) LARYNGEALS. /ʔ/ and /h/ do not affect the quality of /a/ in the same way that the pharyngeals do. When immediately preceded or followed by /ʔ/ or /h/, /a/ may have variants which are more advanced or more retracted than [ä], owing to partial assimilation with other vowels and consonants, as described previously. In the absence of such an influence, there is a tendency, however inconsistent, to pronounce adjacent /a/ allophones slightly higher and/or more retracted than the [ä] position. In a V_1CV_2 sequence where C is laryngeal, V_1 tends to become similar to V_2 . Examples: [ləˁənäs] 'the man' (/ləˁənäs/); [bähälät] 'that is' (/bahalat/); [dähäb] 'gold' (/dahab/); [bəzúħ gähäu] 'They were very sorry' (/gahaw/); [dähäy] 'noise' (/dahay/); [ˁäf] 'mouth' (/ˁaf/); [läˁäkät] 'she sent' (/laˁakat/); [daˁam] 'but' (/daˁam/); [waˁat] 'cow' (/waˁat/); cf. [ˁarwé] 'snake' (/ˁarwe/). In one case the behavior of the laryngeals is similar to that of the pharyngeals. In a word, or a stress-unit final syllable, closed by either of these two categories of consonant, /a/ is represented by [a] or, when stressed, by [ä],¹¹ as in: [lægˁa-ləgbaˁ] 'something, anything' (/lagaˁa ləgbaˁ/); [ˁəgəl ˁinəʃmäˁ] 'that we shall not be thirsty' (/ˁinəʃmaˁ/); [farräh] 'fear' (/farrah/); cf. [ləbläˁ] 'that he will eat' (/ləblaˁ/), and [ləftäh] 'that he will open' (/ləftah/).

(g) PROCESSES OTHER THAN ONE OF THOSE DESCRIBED IN (a)-(f). When an /a/ allophone appears in sequences whose phonetic contexts make the phoneme immune to the assimilation process—namely processes other than one of those described in (a)-(f)—its actualization fluctuates between [a] and [ä] and is usually closer to [ä]. This is so since an utterance which includes the vowel /a/ and excludes the set of phonetic phenomena described in (a)-(f) can only consist of a CVC-type syllable (where V is /a/) or an utterance having a CVC-type syllable in final position. Such a CVC syllabic structure in final position is favorable to the actualization of phonetically-short vowels (cf. 2.2.1) and a phonetically-short /a/ allophone is here liable to become centralized. Thus, the word /aras/ 'horse', for example, can be rendered as [färas] or [faras] and the first form is favored. The utterance /šaf/ 'battle' can be rendered as [šäf] or [šaf] with a preference for [šäf], etc.

2.2.5. THE PHONEMIC IDENTITY OF ə

The examples below (2.2.5.1) show the range of variation in the occurrence of ə sounds in Tigre and their characteristic distribution. The question arises as to whether these ə sounds can be regarded as allophones of a phoneme /ə/ in the phonological system of the language. To answer the question, sets of minimal pairs, like:

[kəm] 'like' (prep.) – [käm] 'how much' (adv.)
 [kən] 'bribe' – [ken] 'there'
 [dərho] 'donation' (also: [drrho]) – [derho] 'chicken', etc.,

must be examined. Taking into account the syllabic role of [ə] (2.2.5.2), the utterances [kəm], [kən] and [dərho] ([drrho]) can be described as /km/, /kn/ and /drho/ (cf. 2.1.1.5, last example) and thus do not constitute a series of minimal pairs with /kam/, /ken/ and /derho/. Analyzing the syllabic role of ə in the examples above and in the following sections, one is tempted to see [ə] as an "allophone of a zero phoneme." This special role of [ə] as a "consonantal glue" is sometimes reflected in pronunciation, when it is almost impossible to be absolutely certain of the actualization of the sound, as with [ħar(ə)s] 'agriculture', [kär(ə)s] 'inside' (noun) and the like. In fact, many instances among the examples with non-medial clusters can be seen in this light. Finally, it should be pointed out that clusters of two stops in initial position are by no means uncommon, e.g., [ktäbu häbäyu] 'He gave him his book'; [tkállasa] 'It is finished'; [tkärre] 'Get down!' (imperative, masc. sing.)

¹¹Duration is optional even when stressed.

2.2.5.1. ə Variations

By virtue of its articulatory status, which implies an economy of movement, this mid-central vowel is particularly exposed to the effects of assimilation. The positions and environments in which ə variations occur are on a par with those of the other vowels, with special resemblance to those of /a/. However, two important observations may be made when the determining factors of /a/ variations are compared with those of ə: (1) almost all variants of ə are central, even when the influence is that of pharyngeals or ejectives; (2) the occurrence of ə variants is frequent but inconsistent: Examples: [mən-gabbíʔ]¹² 'perhaps' (*mən gabbəʔ*); [wUlād] 'sons' (*wəlād*); [wUrāʔ] 'papers' (*werāq*); [qUrŪḡ] 'relative' (*qərub*); [wUddāy] 'a deed' (*wəddāy*); [qāblāt] 'north' (*qəblat*), cf. [gəblāt] 'south' (*gəblat*); [šāqāl] 'work' (*šəqəl*); [šāqālnā] 'our work' (*šəqəlna*); [šālmāt] 'darkness' (*šəlmət*); [ʔārḃäʔa] 'forty' (*ʔarbəʔā*); [hāmsā] 'fifty' (*həmsa*).

2.2.5.2. The Role of ə in the Syllabic Structure

The full treatment of ə calls for a description of its role in the syllabic structure (cf. 2.2.1). In any sequence of common occurrence composed of CV and CVC syllables, only a cluster of two consonants is permissible, and this only in medial position. Thus, the word *kətāb* 'book', has a plural form *ʔakəḃbat*, where by means of the introduction of [ə] the non-attested sequence CVC C CVC is avoided, and a "legitimate" CVC CV CVC sequence occurs. Similarly, in cases where a morphological C₁C₂C₂ is about to materialize in medial position, an [ə] is inserted to avoid such a sequence. Examples: *ʔagəḣḣat* 'faces'; *ʔagəḣḣda* 'but, especially'. Bearing in mind that the term "medial position" is not limited to the "word," a sequence like [habānni-laktāb] 'give (masc. sing.) me the book' is no exception. A similar process governs the re-distribution of syllables in the following examples: [ʔəlli-ktāb ʔəllī] 'this book'; [həfūn mā-brūd] 'hot or cold'; [ʔəgəllā-gzāz ʔəbmāy malʔayā] 'He filled the glass with water' (*ʔəgəl lagəzāz ʔəb māy malʔaya*). In initial and final position—though infrequently encountered—clusters are not impossible. The typical syllabic structure yields forms like:

Initials: [zəlām] 'rain'; [gərrūm] 'beautiful'

Finals: [ʔānəs] 'women'; [rāyəm] 'long'; [hələm] 'dream'; [hābəl] 'rope'.

Yet, owing to the stress-timed rhythm and to the articulatory nature of potentially-continuant consonants (i.e., consonants other than stops), it is possible to encounter a cluster of two consonants, and even more than two, in all positions, in many sequences that disallow them otherwise. Examples: [grrūm-tu] 'it is beautiful'; [bzŪḡ-tu] 'It is abundant, more than enough'; [kars] 'inside' (noun; the articulation of this [r] consists of one flap); [hars] 'ploughing, agriculture'; [ʔət-gālab-ʔənābbrr] 'I live in Galab' (*ʔənabbər*). A cluster of three consonants is found in the following utterance: [ʔafšnā-karēnā] 'We put (past tense) down our luggage', cf. [laʔafəš] 'the luggage, the parcel'. An interesting example is the following, where /r/ functions as a syllabic: [křn-ḣyāet] 'a voice of an animal' (*kəran ḣəyāyət*). Clusters of two stops in initial position are also possible. For examples see 2.2.5.

¹²Cf. 2.1.1.3. The change takes place in spite of the disappearance of the final consonant.

3. THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES. The Tigre noun occurs (a) belonging to the number category which comprises, as subcategories, the singular and plural and an intermediate category: the collective, and (b) having masculine or feminine gender. The intermediate position of the collective noun involves morphological and syntactic features of overlapping between itself and the other subcategories which are treated in the appropriate sections below.

3.1. GENDER

(a) The gender of the singular noun is statable lexically, the plural-form gender being subject to the state of animateness of the noun (3.1.1.1).

Examples of nouns of masculine gender:

<i>kətāb</i> 'book'	<i>gəndāy</i> 'log of wood'	<i>madoša</i> 'hammer'
<i>hangal</i> 'brain, skull'	<i>ʾaf</i> 'mouth'	<i>qənfəz</i> 'porcupine'
<i>fəluɣ</i> 'bull-calf'	<i>təkla</i> 'wolf'	<i>ʾənās</i> 'man'
<i>wad</i> 'son'		

Examples of nouns of feminine gender:

<i>wānča</i> 'bracelet'	<i>gabay</i> 'road'	<i>bəqot</i> 'accident'
<i>ʾad</i> 'village, country'	<i>ʾəwān</i> 'time'	<i>ʾəngəra</i> '(loaf of) bread'
<i>šokan</i> 'gazelle'	<i>qorə</i> 'frog'	<i>ʾanšāy</i> 'mouse'
<i>fəlit</i> 'female-calf'	<i>walat</i> 'daughter'	<i>ʾəssit</i> 'woman'

As may be seen from the above examples gender correlates with sex only in those nouns where sex is expressed semantically. Animateness itself, though necessary, is not sufficient in establishing such a correlation.

(b) Inanimate nouns may sometimes occur having concord of either gender. In such a case (1) the noun may be described as having both genders, or (2) the gender of the noun may be stated in accordance with the gender of its diminutive form—when such a form exists—which is itself always that of the noun from which the diminutive is derived (3.3). The noun *bet* 'house', for example, was recorded having both masculine and feminine concord. Cf., *ʾəlli bet ʾəlli wakəmsalhu lahay* 'this (masc. sing.) house and also that (masc. sing.) [one]', and *lahan ʾabyāt lahan* 'those (fem. pl.) houses'. The diminutive form of *bet* is *betatit*—e.g., a derivation with a suffix of feminine gender—and is thus definable morphologically as a feminine form.

(c) An animate noun may have both masculine and feminine concord and also a diminutive form with alternate genders expressed morphologically. In such a case gender and sex usually correlate although masculine concord may also refer to species, e.g., *habay* '(male/female) monkey'. Diminutive: *habbeyāy* (mas.), *habbeyat* (fem.).

(d) The lexically statable gender of Tigre nouns is the key to the analysis of the suffixed derivatives: the gender of the diminutive form corresponds to that of the basic singular form, all other types of suffixed derivatives having a different gender (3.3).

3.1.1. FEATURES OF CONCORD

A statement regarding features of concord in the Tigre noun must account for (a) the state of animateness of the noun (3.1.1.1) and (b) the occurrence or non occurrence of numerals as its qualifiers (3.1.1.2).

3.1.1.1. Animateness in Relation to Concord

(a) One may generally observe a distinction between (1) animate nouns whose plural forms usually have plural concord and the same gender as the singular form, and (2) inanimate nouns whose plural forms usually have masculine singular concord. Examples:¹

- lohan* 'anəs 'those (fem. pl.) women' (ʾəssit 'woman', fem. sing.)
 ʾəllan dawarrəh ʾəllan gazāyəf tan 'These (fem. pl.) chickens are fat' (*derho* 'chicken', masc./fem. sing.)
 ʾət galab ʾaha ʾaṭi ʾabūgə waʾagmul ʾabbəzhe lətrakkabo 'There are (masc. pl.) in Galab cows, goats, sheep and camels in abundance' (waʾat 'cow', fem. sing.; talit 'she-goat', fem. sing.; bəgguc 'sheep', masc. sing.; gamal 'male camel', masc. sing.)
 takallit rayim ʾafač bom 'Wolves have (masc. pl.) long (masc. sing.) mouths (i.e., 'jaws')' (tokla 'wolf', masc. sing.; af 'mouth', masc. sing.)
 ʾəlli ʾakətat ʾəlli 'these (masc. sing.) books' (kətib 'book', masc. sing.)
 həta bəzuh gərrum wanaččit ba 'She has most beautiful (masc. sing.) bracelets' (wančə 'bracelet', fem. sing.)

(b) Though the features of concord observed above in (a) are the most obvious to inspection, other relations of concord between the noun and the form or choice of words which refer to it, are possible, as follows: (1) animate nouns may have singular concord in the plural, the concord feature retaining the gender of the noun; (2) the lexically storable gender of inanimate nouns may still be kept as a feature of concord.

Examples of (1);

- ʾəlla ʾaha 'these (fem. sing.) cows' (waʾat 'cow', fem. sing.)
 ʾəlla ʾansa 'these (fem. sing.) she-camels' (naʾat 'she-camel', fem. sing.)

Examples of (2):

- lalata ʾəgğəb ʾakānāt 'fascinating (fem. sing.) places' (ʾakān 'place', fem. sing.)
 ʾəllan ʾagbuy 'these (fem. pl.) roads' (gabay 'road', fem. sing.)

3.1.1.2. Nouns Qualified by Numerals

(a) A noun qualified by a numeral occurs in the singular form, e.g.,

- kəleʾ waʾat 'two cows' (pl.: ʾaha 'cows')
 salas həl 'three maternal uncles' (pl.: həlotāt 'maternal uncles')
 kəleʾe šəh rəyul 'two thousand (Ethiopian) dollars' (pl.: ʾašhāt 'thousands'; ʾarəlyat 'Ethiopian dollars')

(b) The plural form may also, though infrequently, occur with numerals, as in:

- sabu ʾhemātāt 'seven first wives' (sing.; həma 'first wife') PL1, 102:20
 ʾasər ʾačəbə ʾ 'ten fingers' (sing. čəb 'it' 'finger')

¹With relevant features of concord inserted in brackets following the appropriate word in the English translation, and the lexically storable gender of the noun given at the end of the translation.

(c) The collective nouns never occur with numerals. The singular form which occurs regularly with numerals will be referred to in this work as the "countable noun" or the "countable singular," as distinct from both the uncountable collective noun and the plural form—the occurrence of the former with numerals being non-existent, and that of the latter being atypical of Tigre syntax.

3.2. NOUN FORMATION: THE BASIC FORMS

The morphological analysis of the Tigre noun calls for a recognition of the basic forms which underlie the various types of formation. Such basic forms may be the collective nouns, or the countable singular nouns. The basic form is morphologically the unmarked member of a given form class. The countable singular nouns vary greatly in their phonological shape and may be identifiable morphologically only as verbal forms (3.4 et seq.) or where a collective form coexists (i.e., as singulative, cf. 3.2.2). The collective nouns pose an even greater problem of morphological classification owing to their special status in respect of syntactic features and meaning. A negative statement would be that the collective form does not have suffixes or the additional morphological elements typical of broken plural forms (3.2.2).

3.2.1. THE COLLECTIVE NOUN

The collective nouns never occur with numerals and are not subject to the semantic distinction "one/more than one." They refer to the grouping of individual objects or persons, species of animals, plants, material etc.

(a) MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES. The presence of a collective noun does not imply the absence of either the countable singular or the plural: where a collective noun exists, a countable singular, for which a plural form is possible, is derived from the collective by means of a suffix (i.e., the singulative, cf. 3.2.2). A plural form may exist beside the collective form, and in the absence of a countable singular derived from the same root. Examples:

Collective	Countable Singular	Plural
<i>gabīl</i> 'people, tribes, nation'	<i>gabīlat</i> '(one) tribe'	<i>gabāyəl</i> 'tribes, people'
<i>qatəf</i> 'leaves'	<i>qatfat</i> 'leaf'	<i>ʔaqattəf</i> 'leaves'
<i>ḥəsin</i> 'iron'	<i>ḥəsināy</i> 'a piece of iron'	<i>ḥəṣāyən</i> 'pieces of iron, iron implements'
<i>ʔaddām</i> 'people, men'	<i>ʔənās</i> 'man'	<i>ʔaddāmātāt</i> 'crowds'

(b) SYNTACTIC FEATURES. The concord typical of the collective is masculine singular, with one exception: animate nouns may have either singular or plural concord (where concord, in the case of words referring to the noun, can be singular in one word and plural in another word of the same utterance). This plural concord is limited to nouns of masculine gender denoting human being. Examples:

<i>ʔət</i>	<i>galab</i>	<i>lanabro</i>	<i>gabīl</i>			
in	Galab	who live (masc.)	[the] people (coll.)			
'The people who live in Galab'						
<i>ʔəlli</i>	<i>gabīl</i>	<i>ʔəlli</i>	<i>bəzuḥ</i>	<i>ʔəkkuy</i>	<i>ʔamal</i>	<i>bom</i>
this (masc.)	people (coll.)	this (masc.)	much	bad	custom	[they] have
"These people have a very bad custom"						
<i>rabbi</i>	<i>ʔəgəl</i>	<i>ʔaddām</i>	<i>bellom</i>			
God	to	the human race (coll.)	said to them (m. pl.)			
'God said to the human race'						

mən la'addām la'aze lahalla

'from the human race (coll.) which exists (masc. sing.) now'

ʔəlli gərrum tofaḥ

'these (masc. sing.) beautiful (masc. sing.) apples/apple-trees'

Pretty rare, though not impossible is feminine singular concord with nouns denoting human beings, e.g.,

dallālib təqūvalatto

'(A caravan of) merchants met him'

PL1, 16:1

3.2.2. THE SINGULATIVE

The singulative form is derived on the basis of the collective noun to which either (1) the suffix *-at*, the gender of which is feminine, or less frequently, (2) the suffix *-āy*, the gender of which is masculine, is added.

(a) THE SUFFIX *-at*. In deriving the singulative form from the collective form, the following constructional features may be noted: (1) The suffix *-at* is usually added to the collective form without causing any changes in its phonological shape, whereas in the case of a CVCVC syllabic structure of the collective a final V is not *a* or *ə* (a final vowel *ā* may also submit to change. See (3) below). Examples:

rəšāš 'lead' – *rəšāšat* 'a bullet, piece of lead'

šom 'beads' – *šomat* 'a string of beads, bead'

bun 'coffee' – *bunat* 'a coffee bush/grain'

lomin 'lemons' – *lominat* 'a lemon tree/fruit'

cf. *šəbəḥ* 'fat' – *šəbḥat* 'a piece of fat'

bəlaq 'rocks' – *balqat* 'a rock'

(2) A juncture feature *-t-* is introduced, preceding the suffix *-at*, in the case of collectives ending in a vowel other than *a*; with collectives ending in *a*, the suffix *-at* replaces this *a*, e.g.,

wagre 'olive trees/fruits' – *wagretat* 'an olive tree, a piece of olive wood'

čəwa 'salt' – *čəwat* 'a pinch of salt'

(3) Vowel changes are effected in the case of singulative forms of which the corresponding collective form structure is CVCVC (the syllabic structure may also be CVĀCVC, e.g., *šəkkər* 'sugar' – *šəkkarat* 'a piece of sugar'), where either vowel of the collective is *ə*, *a* or *ā*. In such instances, the second vowel of the basic form is omitted in the derived form, e.g.,

qatāf 'leaves' – *qatfat* 'a leaf'

ğəlib 'boats' – *ğalbat* 'a boat'

nədə 'sheaves' – *nəd'at* 'a sheaf'

(4) In certain instances of the structure mentioned in (3) above a gemination of one of the consonants of the singulative form occurs, whereas the vowel change set out in (3) does not occur, e.g.,

čəgar 'hair' – *čəggarat* 'a hair'

qəmal 'lice' – *qəmmalat* 'a louse'

(b) THE SUFFIX *-āy*. Some few singulative forms have the suffix *-āy* as the marker of the singulative, e.g.,

qadar 'gnats' – *qadrāy* 'a gnat'

təkān 'bugs' – *təkenāy* 'a bug'

There are nouns denoting material, where the suffix *-āy* is a marker of the notion "a piece of." In such a case, both *-at* and *-āy* may occur with the same item of lexis in the expression of the notions "a whole" and "a piece of," respectively. Examples:

ʾəbən 'stones' – ʾəbbanāy 'a piece of stone' – ʾəbbanat 'a stone'
 ʾəčay 'trees, wood (substance)' – ʾəčyāy 'a piece of wood' – ʾəčyat 'a tree'

(c) THE SUFFIXES *-āy* (MASC.) AND *-āyt* (FEM.). There are certain collective nouns denoting human beings whose corresponding singulative forms are derived by means of the suffixes *-āy* and *-āyt* for persons of the male and female sexes respectively. Such nouns refer to the tribal and racial origin, or the social and occupational status of the persons concerned, e.g.,

kəstān 'Christians' – *kəstenāy* 'a Christian' (masc.) – *kəstenāyt* 'a Christian' (fem.)
mansa 'the Mansa' tribe' – *mansa'āy* 'a member of the Mansa' tribe' (masc.) –
mansa'āyt 'a member of the Mansa' tribe' (fem.)

3.2.2.1. Overlapping in Form and Meaning of the Collective and the Plural

A partial overlapping between these two subcategories of number exists, which, in many an instance, renders classification arbitrary. The features of form and meaning that need to be stressed in connection with this problem of overlapping are as follows:

(a) MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES. Collective forms rarely have suffixes and neither have they the additional morphological elements which typify broken-plural forms, but such features are common with uncountable nouns of the syllabic structure CVCVC which, in many instances do not have any other uncountable form, e.g.,

ʾəgər 'foot' – pl. ʾəgar
kaymat 'tent' – pl. *kəyam*

(b) SYNTACTIC FEATURES. Collective forms which denote human beings can have either singular or plural concord. The latter is similar to the concord of the plural forms of animate nouns. Such collective forms are: *gabil* 'people, tribes', ʾaddām 'people', *kəstān* 'Christians', etc. Inanimate nouns, both collective and plurals, have, almost exclusively, masculine singular concord, e.g., ʾəlli ʾəgərbat 'these belongings' (pl.) (sing. *gərāb* 'thing'); *gərrum tamar* 'beautiful dates' (pl.) (singulat. *tamrat* 'date', pl. ʾatmār).

(c) SEMANTIC FEATURES. Many lexical entries in the Tigre dictionary contain both a collective and a plural form which can be interchangeable in a given utterance without, apparently, altering its meaning, e.g.,

darābuš darbuš laʾəlu rakba ʾəgəl labde qānəš ʾala
 Dervishes dervish people which it he found in order that will destroy rising was
 'The Dervishes—the Dervish people—rose in order to destroy everything they might find'
 PL1, 163:3

In the above sentence the word for "Dervishes" occurs twice, first in the plural form, followed immediately by the collective form of the same noun, occurring between hyphens.

Taking into account the import of formal and semantic features presented above, it happens that the classification of a given form as a collective or a plural is sometimes arbitrary, e.g.,

ʾətmat 'spring' – pl. ʾətam
karšat 'stomach' – pl. *kəraš*

It would be equally justifiable to classify the forms of the structure CVCVC exemplified above as either collectives, or as plurals. They might be classified as collectives since (1) they have corresponding singulatives derived from them, (2) they do not have suffixes and neither have they the additional morphological features which are typical of broken plurals, and finally (3) their concord is that of the collective form (i.e., masc. sing.) and they are uncountable. They might be classified as plurals, since

(1) there is no other form for the expression of the notion of plurality for these particular nouns, (2) the meaning of the forms under discussion is that of plural, and finally (3) the concord of these forms is typical of the plural concord of inanimate nouns (i.e., masc. sing.) and they are uncountable.

3.2.3. PLURAL FORMS

Plural forms fall into two morphological classes: suffixed plurals and broken plurals, with the plural forms derived, in either case, from the basic forms described in 3.2 et seq. Plural forms serve in the expression of the notion "more than one." Syntactic features of both the suffixed and the broken plurals are those described in 3.1.1 et seq.

3.2.3.1. Suffixed Plurals

These are nouns whose plural is expressed by means of a suffix attached to the basic form (as defined in 3.2). Semantically, such a suffix has the sole meaning of plural. The formatives met with, suffixed to the singular form in the expression of the notion of plural, are the following: *-āt*, *-otāt*, *-ot*, *-āč*, *-at*, *-ām*.

THE SUFFIX *-āt*. (a) This suffix is the commonest among the suffixed plurals. It is especially common with singular forms that consist of one syllable, *CāC*, or whose final syllable is *CāC*. Examples:

dār 'house, property' – pl. *dārāt* *ʾakān* 'place' – pl. *ʾakānāt*

(b) The suffix *-āt* is also common with singular forms ending in a vowel, a juncture feature *-t* occurring between the noun and the suffix in this case, e.g.,

masanqo '(Ethiopian) harp' – pl. *masanqotāt*
səʿli 'picture, photograph' – *səʿlitāt* *mantalle* 'hare' – pl. *mantalletāt*
goyla 'dance' – pl. *goylātāt*

(c) Nouns having the syllabic structure *CVCet* or *CVCot* in the singular form have, in the plural, the structure *CaCyāt* and *CaCwāt* respectively. The treatment of such plural nouns as suffixed plurals is possible insofar as vowel alternation in the suffixed forms can be recognized as a morphophonemic change in relation to the singular form. This morphophonemic change may be summarized as follows: the vowels *e* or *o* of the second syllable of the singular form are represented in the plural by *-y-* in the case of the front vowel and by *-w-* in the case of the back vowel. Examples:

rəkot 'pot-ladle' – pl. *rakwāt* *sətet* 'rib, side' – pl. *satyāt*
basot 'forehead' – pl. *baswāt* *šawet* 'corn' – pl. *šawyāt*

(d) In the case of certain nouns having the ending *-at* in the singular form, this ending is replaced in the plural by *-āt* (the more common plural suffix with singular forms which have the ending *-at* is, however, *-otāt*. See below). Examples:

samʿat 'witness' – pl. *samʿāt* *šākat* 'water-pool' – pl. *šākāt*
nalat 'female-antelope' – pl. *nalāt*

THE SUFFIX *-otāt*. (a) This suffix is common with nouns whose singular form has the ending *-at*. The suffix *-otāt* replaces the ending *-at* of the singular (see, however, (d) above), e.g.,

sadāyat 'help' – pl. *sadāyotāt* *ʿāmat* 'year' – pl. *ʿāmotāt*

(b) The suffix *-otāt* is also met with in the case of certain morphological structures of the noun of which the following are worth mentioning: (1) as the plural suffix of nouns of the syllabic structure *CāCāC* which is rendered in the plural as *CāCCotāt*, e.g.,

ʾānaf 'nose' – pl. *ʾānfotāt* *gādəm* 'plain' – pl. *gādmotāt*

One particular instance of the above structure is the morphologically active participle of the pattern *qātəl* whose plural may be *qātlotāt*,² e.g.,

dāfər 'a man in his prime' – pl. *dūfrotāt*
šāyəb 'white haired' (i.e., 'old') – pl. *šaybotāt*

(2) as the plural suffix of some verbal nouns of the structure *qātəl* whose plural form is *qātlotāt*, e.g.,

sərəq 'theft' – pl. *sərqotāt*

(3) as the plural suffix of certain biconsonantal nouns that are morphologically CVĀĀ while being phonologically of the structure CVC, e.g.,

ʿad 'village, tribe' – pl. *ʿaddotāt*

(4) as the plural suffix of certain nouns whose singular forms terminate with a vocalic exponent liable to metathesis (i.e., involving semivowels as juncture features, e.g.

malāšə 'razor' – pl. *malayšotāt* *zamāte* 'robbing excursion' – pl. *zamāytotāt*

(5) as the plural suffix of certain nouns expressing kinship where phonological shapes are different in each case:

hāl 'maternal uncle' – pl. *hūlotāt* *hal* 'maternal aunt' – pl. *halotāt*
naʿal 'sister-in-law' – pl. *naʿaltotāt* *talākəm* 'brother-in-law' – pl. *talākmotāt*
ʿabʿəb 'grandfather' – pl. *ʿabʿəbotāt* *ʿammāt* 'father's sister' – pl. *ʿammotāt*

THE SUFFIX *-ot*. This plural suffix is attested for three nouns only, the ending *-āy* which is common to their singular form being replaced by *-ot*:

harastāy 'peasant' (beside *hārsāy* 'plougher')
wātāy 'singer' – pl. *wātot* *tastāy* 'young bull' – pl. *tastot*

THE SUFFIX *-ač*. Nine nouns³ having this suffix in the plural form were recorded:⁴

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>ham</i> 'father in-law' – pl. <i>hamač</i> | 6. <i>karay</i> 'hyaena' – pl. <i>karač</i> and <i>ʿakkarrit</i> |
| 2. <i>ʿab</i> 'father' – pl. <i>ʿabač</i> and <i>ʿabayt</i> | 7. <i>fatāy</i> 'friend' – pl. <i>fatač</i> |
| 3. <i>ʿaf</i> 'mouth' – pl. <i>ʿafač</i> and <i>ʿafayt</i> | 8. <i>ʿaqqaytāy</i> 'soldier' – pl. <i>ʿaqqaç</i> |
| 4. <i>talāy</i> 'shepherd' – pl. <i>talač</i> and <i>talayt</i> | 9. <i>ʿallaytāy</i> 'bondsmen' – pl. <i>ʿallač</i> . |
| 5. <i>harmāy</i> 'robber' – pl. <i>harmaç</i> and <i>harammūt</i> | |

Taking into account the additional variants of the plural form instances 2-4⁵ and forms with pronominal suffixes such as *ʿabaytu* 'his paternal uncles', *ʿaqqaytu* 'his soldiers', *fataytu* 'his friends', etc., the *č* of the plural suffix may be interpreted morphologically as *yt*.

THE SUFFIX *-at*. This suffix is regularly used in the expression of plural with the morphologically active participle of the mould *qātīlāy*, *maqatīlāy*, etc.—the pattern of the singular form being peculiar to the type of the verb and/or its prefixed derivative.⁶ Such verbal nouns, denoting the "agent," have distinctive forms for masculine and feminine but one form to express the plural, e.g.,

kādmāy 'servant' (masc.) – *kādmāyt* (fem.) – *kādmāt* (pl.)

As can be seen from the above example, the plural suffix is added to the stem. Other examples:

²The regular plural suffix of the active participle is *-(y)ām* (masc.), *-(y)āt* (fem.). See 3.4.2, examples. See also 3.7.1 (b).

³One adjective form whose plural form is used also as a noun has this suffix: *ʿabi* 'big', pl. *ʿabai* and *ʿabač* (as noun its plural meaning is 'elders').

⁴Cf. Palmer, F. R., *The morphology of the Tigre noun*, p. 36.

⁵According to Leslau, W., *Short grammar*, p. 178-79, *hamayt* is also attested.

⁶Cf., 3.4.2, 3.4.4, 3.4.5.

sāfyāy 'weaver' – pl. *sāfyat* *hāylāy* 'singer' – pl. *hāylat*
wāldāy 'father' – pl. *wāldat* *magāyrāy* 'shoemaker' – pl. *magāyrat*

THE SUFFIX *-ūm*. This suffix is used in the expression of masculine gender in participles and adjectives which are morphologically participles. Such forms are treated in 3.4.2, 3.4.4, 3.4.6 and in 3.7.1 (a)-(e) and 3.7.3.

3.2.3.2. Broken Plurals

Noun forms used in the expression of the notion of plurality (1) which share the same radicals as their singular form but not the same vowels (i.e., with at least one new vocalic element in the stem), (2) whose syllabic and vocalic patterns are different from those of the singular, and (3) which may have additional morphological elements of affixation, gemination or vowel duration, are referred to here as "broken plurals."

THE MORPHOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SINGULAR AND BROKEN-PLURAL FORMS. The broken plurals and the countable singulars are not predictable from each other's forms, though certain singular patterns correspond more often than not to certain plural patterns, e.g., the singular form of the pattern *CāCāC* has, many times, the plural pattern *ʾaCāCCat*:

katāb 'book' – pl. *ʾakātbat* *gārāb* 'thing' – pl. *ʾagərbat*
sagād 'neck' – pl. *ʾasəgdat* but: *zālūm* 'rain' – pl. *zalayəm*

ANALYSIS AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE MAIN BROKEN-PLURAL TYPES. A classification of broken-plural forms may be made by taking into account their syllabic structure, and by, in each case, considering one or more of the following three morphological conditions (the third being a negative one): (1) the presence of the prefix *ʾa-* or its absence; (2) the gemination of the penultimate radical, or the lengthening of the vowel of the penultimate syllable—two features that may be in complementary distribution in patterns of certain types; (3) the non-occurrence of either feature mentioned in (1) and (2), under which heading patterns common to nouns expressing collectivity are included.

The basic types of the broken plural forms are as follows:⁷

- (a) *ʾaCaC̄C̄C̄C̄* (*ʾaCaC̄C̄C̄it/ʾaCāCāC*)
- (b) *CaCaC̄C̄C̄C̄/CaCāCVC*
- (c) *CaCaC̄C̄C̄i(t)/CaCāCi(t)*, *ʾaCaC̄C̄C̄it*
- (d) *ʾaCCVC*
- (e) *ʾaCāCCat*
- (f) *CVCVC*

The overall number of broken plural forms, occurring in the main types (a)-(f), may be set out and exemplified as follows:

(a) *ʾaCaC̄C̄C̄C̄/ʾaCāCāC*. Patterns of this type consist of forms with the prefix *ʾa-*, and with gemination of the penultimate radical or lengthening of the vowel of the penultimate syllable. Nouns of the pattern *ʾaCāCāC* whose stem consists of three consonant radicals are rare. Examples:

balasat 'fig' – pl. *ʾaballəs* (collective: *balas*)
naggal 'kid' – pl. *ʾanaggəl*
sayəf 'sword' – pl. *ʾasayəf* (*y* is not geminated)
walat 'daughter' – pl. *ʾawūləd*
bəggu 'sheep' – pl. *ʾabāgə*

⁷The notation *C̄C̄* stands for a geminated consonant whereas *CC* signifies a cluster of two—identical or different—consonants.

(b) $CaCa\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}/CaC\bar{C}VC$, where V is \bar{a} , i , or u . The stem of the singular form has the syllabic structure CVCVC (CV $\bar{C}\bar{C}$ VC) or CVCCVC. In the case of singular nouns of stem structure CVCVC (CV $\bar{C}\bar{C}$ VC) an additional consonant is provided in the plural forms by means of the repetition of the medial radical or the production of a semivowel, e.g.,

zannab 'tail' – pl. *zannanəb* *nəggārat* 'drum' – pl. *nəgāgir*
qaşir '(point of) lance' – pl. *qaşāyər*

In the case of singular nouns of stem structure CVCCVC, certain limitations on the choice between the geminated and non-geminated plural patterns of type (b) (in respect of the phonological shape of the singular) may be noted as follows: (1) Verbal nouns having the prefix *-ma/me*⁸ require the non-geminated plural patterns, e.g.,

məsqāl 'instrument for suspending' – pl. *masāqal*
manşaf 'cover, carpet' – pl. *manāşəf*
məwəqqūl 'high place' – pl. *mawūqal*.⁹

(2) Singular forms of the structure CVCCVC may, where the final vowel is \bar{a} , a , or \bar{a} , have either the geminated or the non-geminated type of plural, the non-geminated plural pattern being limited to $CaC\bar{C}C\bar{C}$. Other vowels in the final syllable of the singular may produce the other patterns of the non-geminated plural, i.e., $CaC\bar{C}CiC$ and $CaC\bar{C}CuC$.

Examples: Plurals whose singular forms have \bar{a} , a , or \bar{a} in the final syllable the plurals being $CaC\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}/CaC\bar{C}C\bar{C}$:

kərbāğ 'whip' – pl. *karabbəğ* *kanfar* 'lip' – pl. *kanāfər*
qəlçəm 'wrist' – pl. *qalaççəm* *dəngəl* 'virgin' – pl. *danāgəl*

Plurals, the stem of whose singular form has any vowel other than \bar{a} , a , or \bar{a} in its final syllable, the plural patterns being $CaC\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}/CaC\bar{C}VC$, where V is u or i :

şəngul 'adult' – pl. *şanaggəl*
ğanbil 'basket (made of palm)' – pl. *ğanābil*
dərbobat 'termites' mound' – pl. *darabbəb*
maskot 'window' – pl. *masākut*
məştir 'secret, mystery' – pl. *masattər*

(c) $CaC\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}(t)/CaC\bar{C}Ci(t)$, $\bar{a}Ca\bar{C}\bar{C}i$. Patterns of these types are associated with those described above in (b) and (a) respectively and are distinguished from them by having $Ci(t)$ as the last syllable and not CVC (where V is \bar{a} , i or u). The ending $-i(t)$ of the plural is effected in those cases where the corresponding singular form terminates in a vowel, or in Vt , in the patterns described above in (b). Whether a final t is actualized in the plural form is a matter which belongs to the lexical domain.

Examples:

rora 'highlands' – pl. *rawarri(t)* *şəfta* 'rebel, bandit' – *şəfattit*
ğalbat 'boat' – pl. *ğalabbt* (or *ğəlāb*) *kədbet* 'floor' – pl. *kadabbt(t)*
manfat 'sieve' – pl. *manāfit* *masni* 'friend' – pl. *masānit*
 $\bar{a}rwe$ 'snake' – pl. $\bar{a}rāwit$ *ğəna* 'child' – pl. $\bar{a}ğannit$

(d) $\bar{a}CCVC$, where V is \bar{a} , u or \bar{a} . Examples:

dabər 'mountain' – pl. $\bar{a}dbər$ *daqal* 'mast' – pl. $\bar{a}dkul$
kaləb 'dog' – pl. $\bar{a}klāb$

In the case of the pattern $\bar{a}CC\bar{C}$ an optional form with the suffix $-āt$ is possible, though the suffixed form may be the only plural form for some of the nouns:

⁸Cf., 3.4.8 (a) & (b).

⁹Also in the case of verbal nouns whose stem is quadriradical, the structure of the singular derivation being then CVCVCCVC, e.g., *ma'andaq* 'belt', pl. *ma'anādaq*.

mədər 'land' — pl. *ʾamdār* or *ʾamdārāt*
dəgəm 'tale' — pl. *ʾadgām* or *ʾadgāmāt*

In the case of certain forms of the pattern *ʾaCCəC* the occurrence of an additional suffix, such as the third person pronominal suffix, requires the juncture feature *-t-*, e.g.,

māʾas 'hide, skin' — pl. *ʾamʾəs* — *ʾamʾəstu* 'his hides'
qəbər 'tomb' — pl. *ʾaqbər(t)*
bəʾəs 'husband' — pl. *ʾabʾəs(t)*

(e) *ʾaCəCCat*. Forms of this type of broken plural have, mostly, the singular form *CəCāC*, e.g.,

kərār 'curtain' — pl. *ʾakərrat*
rəyāl 'Ethiopian dollar' — pl. *ʾarəlyat/ʾarəylat*; cf. *kətəm* 'seal, stamp' — pl. *ʾakətmat*

(f) *CVCVC*. Uncountable nouns of this syllabic structure whose first vowel is *ə* or *a* and whose second vowel is *a* or *ā* are used in the expression of plurality or collectivity. The relationship between the plural in general and the collective is described in 3.2.2.1. In the case of the following examples no other plural forms exist except the ones given—the morphological relationship between the members of each pair of forms being that of singulative to collective (3.2.2):

karšat 'belly' — pl. *kəraš* *həfrat* 'hole, pit' — pl. *həfar*
həbbazat 'round bread' — pl. *həbaz* *qərbat* 'skin (for holding liquid)' — pl. *qərūb*
ğəbbat 'jacket' — pl. *ğəbab*

A certain number of names have *CVĀCVC* as their syllabic structure and not *CVCVC*, as in:

nəgus 'king' — pl. *naggas* *zābət* 'officer' — pl. *zəbbāt*

There are a few nouns in which the syllabic structure of both singular and plural forms is *CVCVC* the distinction being made between the two by means of vowel arrangements, e.g.,

ʾəgūi 'calf' — pl. *ʾəgəl* (also *ʾəgāl*, see section below)
ʾəgər 'foot' — pl. *ʾəgar*

THE INFLUENCE OF LARYNGEALS ON BROKEN-PLURAL FORMATION. The presence of a laryngeal as one of the radicals in the stem may bring about changes in form, depending on the type of plural formation and the sequential position of the laryngeal in the syllabic structure. Phenomena involving laryngeals which are typical of Tigre morphology in general are met with here. These are the non-gemination of laryngeals, the non-occurrence of the prefix *ʾa-* preceding a laryngeal and the distribution of laryngeals in the syllabic structure. A phenomenon unique to the broken plural is the occurrence of the suffix *-Vt* following a laryngeal, for some of the patterns. The instances in which the presence of laryngeals brings about changes in broken-plural patterns are set out and exemplified below:

(1) Plurals of the type *ʾaCCVC* (see (d) above), the initial radical of whose stem is a laryngeal, occur with the syllabic structure *ʾCVCVC*, the vowel of the first syllable being *ā* usually but also *a*, e.g.,

hələm 'dream' — pl. *hālām* (**ʾahlām*) *ʿələb* 'number' — pl. *ʿālāb*
habay 'monkey' — pl. *habuy/hūbuy* *ʾadəg* 'donkey' — pl. *ʾadug*

(2) Plurals of the pattern *ʾaCCāC* which occur having the optional suffix *-āt-* with a final radical laryngeal they (i) may submit to no changes when occurring with the suffix *-āt* or (ii) provide the vocalic option *a/ə* in place of the vowel *ā* in the final syllable of the stem. Most instances recorded did not have the unsuffixed plural form, e.g.,

zuʿ 'utterance' — pl. *ʾazwaʿat* or *ʾazwəʿāt*
bərəʿ 'pen' — pl. *ʾabrəʿat* or *ʾabraʿāt*
luḥ 'board' — pl. *ʾalwəḥat* or *ʾalwəḥāt* (also *ʾalwāḥ*)

(3) Plurals of the pattern $\text{'}aC\bar{a}\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}$ (see (b)) whose final radical is a laryngeal occur having the suffix $-\bar{a}t/-at$, e.g.,

kalā 'clay pot' – pl. $\text{'akall}\bar{a}'\bar{a}t$ or $\text{'akall}\bar{a}'at$
zarā 'seed' – pl. $\text{'azarr}\bar{a}'\bar{a}t$ or $\text{'azarr}\bar{a}'at$
rāmāh 'point of spear' – pl. $\text{'aramm}\bar{a}'\bar{h}\bar{a}t$ or $\text{'aramm}\bar{a}'hat$

(4) Plurals of the type $\text{'aC}\bar{a}\bar{C}\bar{C}at$ (see (e)) whose medial radical is a laryngeal occur having the syllabic structure $\text{'aC}\bar{a}\bar{C}\bar{C}at$, the laryngeal and the vowel being transposed, e.g.,

bā'ray 'ox' – pl. $\text{'ab}'\bar{a}rat$ (* $\text{'ab}\bar{a}'rat$; cf. $\text{'ak}\bar{a}tbat$ 'books')
wāhār 'bull' – pl. $\text{'awh}\bar{a}rat$

THE ROLE OF SEMIVOWELS IN BROKEN-PLURAL FORMATION. Nouns with semivowels which occur in broken-plural forms but do not occur in the corresponding singular forms are numerous. In such instances the function of the semivowel is purely structural, i.e., it provides the "missing" consonant necessary to the formation of broken-plurals when the stem structure of the singular form is one consonant "short" (repetition of the medial radical of the singular is another means of providing an additional consonant for some types of broken-plurals; cf. 3.2.3.2 (b)). Front vowels in the last syllable of the singular stem are associated with *y* in the plural, and back vowels with *w*. This statement is true for only some of the broken-plural types; the only statement valid for all types involves the relationship between *o*—in any syllable of the singular stem—and *w* in the plural. The distribution of *w/y* in the various types of broken-plurals is set out and exemplified below:

(1) Type 'aCCVC (see (d)). The occurrence of semivowels in this type of broken plural is limited to the pattern $\text{'aCC}\bar{a}\bar{C}$ whose singular form has the syllabic structure CVC , where *i* and *e* in the singular are associated with *y* in the plural and *u* and *o* with *w*. Examples:

qor 'depth' – pl. $\text{'aqw}\bar{a}r$ *kis* 'bag' – pl. $\text{'aky}\bar{a}s$
bet 'house' – pl. $\text{'aby}\bar{a}t$

(2) Type $CVCVC$ (see (f)). The occurrence of semivowels in this type of broken plural is limited to the pattern $C\bar{a}CaC$ whose singular stem has the syllabic structure CVC ; the relationship between the semivowels in the plural form and the relevant vowels in the singular is similar to that mentioned in (1) above, e.g.,

hilat 'strength, power' – pl. $\text{h}\bar{a}yal$ (verb: *hela* 'to be strong')
kidat 'sole of shoe' – pl. $\text{k}\bar{a}yad$ (verb: *keda* 'to tread')
kukat 'viper' – pl. $\text{k}\bar{a}wak$ (collective: *kuk* 'species of venomous snake')

(3) Type $CaCa\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{a}C/CaC\bar{a}CVC$ (see (b)). None of the relationships between the singular and plural forms set out in (1) and (2) above may be induced here. There is, however, a limitation on the distribution of the patterns of this type: only forms of the patterns $CaCa\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{a}C/CaC\bar{a}C\bar{a}C$ are attested with semivowels. When the semivowel is *y* the pattern $CaC\bar{a}C\bar{a}C$ prevails, $CaCa\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{a}C$ being usually the pattern for forms which include *w*. Unlike the sequential position of *y*—which is that next to the last consonant of the plural form—*w* regularly assumes the antepenultimate position. Examples:

hašur 'enclosure' – pl. $\text{haš}\bar{a}y\bar{a}r$ *kokab* 'star' – pl. $\text{kaw}\bar{a}k\bar{a}b$
derho 'chicken' – pl. $\text{dawarr}\bar{a}h$ *qamiš* 'shirt' – pl. $\text{qam}\bar{a}y\bar{a}š$
zalām 'rain' – pl. $\text{zal}\bar{a}y\bar{a}m$ *fanus* 'lamp' – pl. $\text{fawann}\bar{a}s$
gabilat 'tribe' – pl. $\text{gab}\bar{a}y\bar{a}l$

(4) Type $CaCaCCi(t)/CaC\bar{a}Ci(t)$ (see (c)). Only $-w-$ is met with in patterns of this type, the syllabic structure of the singular being $CVCV(t)$, e.g.,

hoša(t) 'sand' – pl. $\text{haw}\bar{a}ši$ $\bar{a}la$ 'well' – pl. $\bar{a}walli$
qišo(t) 'village' – pl. qawašši

A relation of "order inversion" of features described in (1)-(3) above may exist between the singular and plural forms, whereby *y* as the ultimate consonant of the singular form is associated with the vowel *i* of the plural ending *-i(t)*, e.g.,

‘*arqay* ‘bed’ – pl. ‘*araqqit* *təgrāy* ‘vassal’ – pl. *tagarri(t)*
‘*harmāy* ‘robber’ – pl. *harammit* (also: *harmāč*)

3.3. SUFFIXED DERIVATIVES: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

In addition to the formation of suffixed nouns, dealt with hitherto, there are in Tigre other noun plus suffix formations¹⁰ which form semantic classes of their own, namely: diminutives (i.e., ‘a small . . .’), pejoratives (i.e., ‘a poor, bad . . .’), augmentatives (i.e., ‘a big, large . . .’), paucatives (i.e., ‘a few . . .’) and paucative pejoratives (i.e., ‘some poor . . .’). Noun forms belonging to any of these classes are referred to in this work as suffixed derivatives. As their semantic connotation—given in parentheses above—show, nouns of the first three classes occur in the singular and are countable whereas the other two classes consist of plural forms. The relations of such semantic classes to morphological criteria suggest that the countable singular forms dealt with in 3.2—either suffixed or unsuffixed—and the suffixed plural forms dealt with in 3.2.3.1 are the unmarked terms of both the form and meaning of suffixed derivatives. The classification which follows takes into account in the first place the lexical connotation of the semantic classes, the morphological features providing a formal dimension of classification only. Thus, 3.3.2 for example, is entitled “Paucatives” and not “Diminutive plurals.”

3.3.1. DIMINUTIVES

The diminutive derivation is a productive one and can operate with almost any noun in Tigre. As a semantic class the diminutive denotes smallness and/or affection. Thus, *həṣān* ‘boy’ has the diminutive form *həṣenāy* which means ‘little boy’, or ‘nice little boy’. The diminutive derivation is also common with proper names.¹¹ The gender of the diminutive corresponds to that of the countable singular.

(a) THE SUFFIXES *-āy*, *-at*, *-it*. (1) Where the countable singular form has no suffix, the diminutive form has the vowel *e* replacing the vowel *ə*, *a* or *ā* in a final close syllable of the noun stem, together with the suffix *-āy* for masculine nouns or *-at* for feminine nouns. Monosyllabic nouns of the structure CVC where V is *ə* or *a* are not covered by this statement (see section (b)(2) below).

Examples:

həyāb ‘gift’ – *həyebāy* ‘little present’
bāb ‘gate, door’ – *bebāy* ‘small door, wicket’
‘*əgāl* ‘calf’ (masc. & fem.) – ‘*əgelāy* ‘little calf’ (masc.) – ‘*əgelat* ‘little calf’ (fem.)
mambar ‘chair’ – *mamberāy* ‘little chair’
gənṣəl ‘fowling piece’ – *gənṣelāy* ‘small fowling piece’
mawrad ‘ring’ – *mawredat* ‘little ring’

Where the vowel of the last syllable of the noun stem is other than *ə*, *a*, or *ā*, the stem remains intact, as in:

hašil ‘jackal’ – *hašilāy* ‘little jackal’ *maskot* ‘window’ – *maskotat* ‘little window’
‘*amur* ‘pail’ – ‘*amurat* ‘little pail’

(2) In the noun patterns CəCəC, CaCaC or CaCəC, where no laryngeals are involved, a gemination of the medial radical is likely to be effected to accompany the occurrence of the features described in (1):

¹⁰Cf., Palmer, F. R., *The morphology of the Tigre noun*, pp. 40-65.

¹¹Morphological analysis of the diminutive forms of proper names is not necessary here since their formation is similar to that of the Tigre noun in general. For a list of such proper names see *PLI*, p. 138 et seq., and Littmann, E., “Die Diminutivbildung im Tigrē, *AIUO* 2, 1943, pp. 89-103.

fələq 'forked branch' – *fəlleqāy* 'little forked branch'
zanab 'tail' – *zannebāy* 'little tail'
wakəd 'time' – *wakkedat* 'short time'

(3) Nouns ending in a vowel regularly have the juncture feature *-t-* between the noun stem and the suffix of the derivative. Examples of masculine nouns ending in *a*:

məgda 'bonfire' – *məgdetāy* 'little bonfire'
qəššāša 'hut' – *qəššēšetāy* 'little hut'

Feminine nouns ending in *a*:

ʿəla 'well' – ʿəlatit 'little well'
 ʿəngəra '(piece of) bread' – ʿəngeratit 'little (piece of) bread'

One can see from the examples above that in the case of masculine nouns ending in *a*, this *a* is replaced by *e*, the ending of the diminutive being *-etāy* (*e+t+āy*), whereas feminine nouns retain this *a* and their suffix is, then, *-it*, the ending of the diminutive being *-atit* (*a+t+it*). In the case of nouns ending in vowels other than *a* the diminutive suffixes are *-āy* in the case of nouns of masculine gender and *-at* in the case of nouns of feminine gender, the noun stem usually remaining intact, e.g.,

dəgge 'town' – *dəggetāy* 'small town'
 ʿənqoqho 'egg' – ʿənqoqhotāy 'little egg'
dəmmu 'cat' – *dəmmutāy* 'little cat, kitten' (masc.) – *dəmmatit* 'little cat, kitten' (fem.)
ləhe 'jaw' – *ləhetat* 'little jaw'
səʿəli 'picture, photograph' – *səʿəlitat* 'little picture'

(4) Countable nouns with the feminine suffix *-at* (or *-(ə)t*) have an additional suffix *-it* in the formation of the diminutive. Examples:

ǧalbat 'ship' – *ǧalbatit* 'little ship'
 ʿadgət 'she-donkey' (ʿadəg 'donkey') – ʿadgətit 'little she-donkey'

(b) THE SUFFIXES *-etāy*, *-atit*. (1) A few countable nouns whose ending is *-āy* have the diminutive suffix *-etāy* attached to them, e.g.,

kətkəttāy 'chicken' – *kətkətetāy* 'little chicken'

In other instances the formation is the one described in (a)(1) above, e.g.,

talāy 'shepherd' – *taleyāy* 'little shepherd'

(2) Countable nouns which are (i) morphologically *CVĀC* but phonologically *CVC* where *V* is *ə* or *a*, and (ii) feminine nouns of the structure *CVC* where *V* is any vowel except *ə* or *a*, have the diminutive suffix *-etāy* in the case of nouns of masculine gender and *-atit* in the case of nouns of feminine gender. Examples of (i):

dəs 'pot' – *dəssetāy* 'little pot' ʿəm 'mother' – ʿəmmatit 'little mother'

Examples of (ii):

qāl 'speech' – *qālatit* 'short speech' *bet* 'house' – *betatit* 'little house'

(3) The pattern *CāCəC* of countable nouns produces diminutives with the suffixes *-etāy* and *-atit*, the noun stem becoming *CāCC*, e.g.,

kātəm 'ring (of silver)' – *kātmatit* 'little ring'

(c) There are instances in which the formation of the diminutive deviates from the general observations set out above in sections (a) and (b), the following being a few examples:

(1) When the diminutive exponent *e* is missing:

šokan 'gazelle' – *šokənnat* 'little gazelle'
markab 'ship' – *markabat* 'little ship'

The pejorative is a singular-type derivation (cf., 3.3.4 for a plural-type derivation in which a pejorative aspect is included), whose formal relationship to the countable singular is similar to the relationship of the diminutive to the countable singular. There is, however, one morphological and syntactic feature which is exclusive to the pejorative: the latter has a gender different from that of the countable singular form (and, thus, different from the diminutive) expressed by a suffix additional to the form of the countable singular. Difference in gender is, for the most part, expressed in the pejorative by means of this additional suffix—the masculine suffix when the countable singular is of feminine gender, and—to a lesser extent—vice versa. Examples:

garhat 'field' (fem.) – *garhetāy* 'poor field'
walat 'daughter, girl' (fem.) – *waletūy* 'bad girl'
 ʔənās 'man' (masc.) – ʔanesat 'worthless man'

There are, however, instances in which the formation of the pejorative is similar to that of the diminutive, and the distinction in meaning in both cases is storable only in lexical terms, e.g.,

labbās 'dress' – *labbesāy* '(nice) little dress, poor dress' (dimin./pejorat.)

3.3.4. PAUCATIVE-PEJORATIVES

Nouns belonging to this semantic class, which has a plural-type derivation, denote smallness in number. Such suffixed derivatives form the plural of the singular-type derivation dealt with in 3.3.3; hence the name "paucative-pejoratives." The derivation of the paucative pejorative form is effected on the basis of the paucative form (3.3.2) but with plural suffixes with different gender, i.e., *-ām* and *-āt* where the paucative has *-āt* and *-ām* respectively. Examples:

collective:	<i>sab</i> 'men, people'	ʔassit 'woman'
paucative:	<i>sabʔetām</i> 'a few people'	ʔansetāt 'a few women'
paucative-pejorative:	<i>sabʔetāt</i> 'some poor people'	ʔansetām 'some poor women'

3.3.5. AUGMENTATIVES

Suffixed derivatives belonging to this semantic class, denote increased size or intensity. The augmentative, which has a singular-type derivation, can only be derived from the countable singular whose ending is *-at* (be it the ending of the stem or the suffix *-at* of the feminine singulative). This *-at* becomes *-āy* in the augmentative, other features of the countable singular being retained, e.g.,

baʔat 'cave' – *baʔāy* 'large cave'
garhat 'field' – *garhāy* 'large field'
 ʔəbbanat 'stone' – ʔəbbanāy 'big stone/rock'

3.4. VERBAL FORMATIONS

This section deals with noun forms which are morphologically verbal formations.

3.4.1. PARTICIPLES

The participle form may be produced from any verb type and derivative. In its active form the participle is regularly met with in the expression of the "actor;" mostly in its passive form the participle is encountered as one of the derivations used to produce the Tigre adjective (3.7.1 (a)-(c)). The participle form participates in the formation of compound tenses (6.3.1.9). Type A verbs make use of both active and passive participles in the construction of tense compounds, other types and derivatives occurring in such compounds only in the passive form (even when meaning is not passive, cf. *ibid.*).

MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES: (1) The distinction of gender and number by means of suffixes for all types and derivatives; (2) the presence of both the prefix *ma-* and the suffix *-āy* for all active participles excluding triradicals of type A; (3) the presence of the ultimate vowel *-u-* (masc. sing. form.) and *-ə-* (fem. sing. form.) for all passive participles; (4) stem structure which is peculiar to each type and derivative, excluding similarities of stem in the following cases: in the case of B and ^ʔa-B, C and ^ʔa-C, *t*-C and ^ʔat-C of the triradicals and A and ^ʔa-A in the case of stems of more than three radicals.

3.4.2. ACTIVE PARTICIPLES OF THE TRIRADICAL VERB

The main derivations are set out and exemplified as follows:

TYPES AND DERIVATIVES	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
A	<i>qātəl</i>	<i>qātlat</i>	<i>qātlām</i>	<i>qātlāt</i>
TYPES AND DERIVATIVES	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE & FEMININE	
B	<i>maqatlāy</i>	<i>maqatlāyt</i>	<i>maqatlat</i>	
C	<i>maqātlāy</i>	<i>maqātlāyt</i>	<i>maqātlat</i>	
<i>t</i> -A/B	<i>matqattəlāy</i>	<i>matqattəlāyt</i>	<i>matqattəlat</i>	
<i>t</i> -C	<i>matqātlāy</i>	<i>matqātlāyt</i>	<i>matqātlat</i>	
^ʔ a-A	<i>maqətəlāy</i>	<i>maqətəlāyt</i>	<i>maqətəlat</i>	
^ʔ a-B similar to B			
^ʔ a-C similar to C			
^ʔ at-C similar to <i>t</i> -C			
^ʔ at-D	<i>matqatātāy</i>	<i>matqatātāyt</i>	<i>matqatātlat</i>	

Examples:

TYPE A: *qābəl* 'former' – *qāblat* (fem.) – *qāblām* (masc. pl.) – *qāblāt* (fem. pl.)

Where the medial radical is a laryngeal the structure of the stem is CəCəC for the masculine singular form and CəC(ə)C for the feminine singular and plural forms, e.g., *səʔən* 'tired' – *səʔ(ə)nat* (fem.).

A final radical semivowel is represented in the masculine singular form by *i* and in the feminine and plural forms by *y*, e.g., *wāqi* 'useful' – *wāqyat* (fem.). Where a final semivowel is represented by *y* a transposition of the second and third radicals may occur, e.g., *qāli* 'proud' – *qālyat* (fem.), *qāylām* (masc. pl.) – *qāylāt* (fem. pl.). In roots of which the second radical is a laryngeal and the third radical is a semivowel the stem structure is CəCi for the masculine singular form and CəC(ə)y for the feminine singular and plural forms, e.g., *gəhi* 'sad' – *gəh(ə)yat* (fem.).

TYPE B: *maʔamrāy* 'scientist' – *maʔamrāyt* (fem.) – *maʔamrat* (pl.)

TYPE C: *malāšyāy* 'barber' (root: *lšy*)

t-A/B: *matkabbətāy* 'host'

t-C: *matgāmṛāy* 'clever, crafty'

^ʔa-A: *mawlədāyt* 'midwife'

Another form, *maqatlāy*, was attested for some verbs, e.g., *masafrāy* 'money-changer'; *maʔabyāy* 'educator'. This form is similar to B (cf. above) and ^ʔa-B (cf. below) formations.

^ʔa-B: similar to B, e.g., *masalfāy* 'creditor'

^ʔa-C: similar to C, e.g., *mazābyāy* 'seller' (root: *zby*)

- ʔat-B: *massəʔalāy* 'messenger' (root: *sʔl*)
 ʔat-C: similar to t-C, e.g., *matnāqbāy* 'spy'
 ʔat-D: *maddafāfʔāy* 'comforter (The Holy Spirit)'

The masculine singular form—type A forms excluded—may occur without the suffix *-āy*, the feminine and plural forms being as above. Type B forms have, then, the medial radical geminated and the vowel *ə* occurs in the ultimate position according to syllabic structure. For some verbs this active participle form is the only existing one, for other verbs it is an alternative to the suffixed form, e.g.,

TYPE B: *maʔaggəb/maʔagbāy* 'one who does wrong' — *maʔagbāyt* (fem.) — *maʔagbat* (pl.)

TYPE C: *mazābət* 'fighter'

ʔa-A: *maṭməq* 'baptizer'

ʔa-B: *mafarrəh* 'gladdening'

t-A/B: *massalləf* (**matsalləf*) 'debter'

3.4.3. PASSIVE PARTICIPLES OF THE TRIRADICAL VERB

Passive participle forms of all verb types and derivatives regularly have the suffixes *-ət* (fem. sing.), *-ām* (masc. pl.) and *-āt* (fem. pl.) (some broken plurals may exist as alternative forms). The feminine singular passive participle has an alternative form without the suffix *-ət*, where an ultimate vowel, *ə*, occurs between the second and third radicals. Such alternatives do not include type C forms. The three main types are set out in a scheme and exemplified as follows:

TYPES	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
A	<i>qətul</i>	<i>qətəl/qətlət</i>	<i>qətulām</i>	<i>qətulāt</i>
B	<i>qəttul</i>	<i>qəttəl/qəttələt</i>	<i>qəttulām</i>	<i>qəttulāt</i>
C	<i>quttul</i>	<i>qutlət</i>	<i>qutulām</i>	<i>qutulāt</i>

Examples:

TYPE A: *qərub* 'near, relative' — *qərbət/qərəb* (fem.) — *qərubām* (masc. pl.) — *qərubāt* (fem. pl.). Where the final radical is a laryngeal the vowel *u* is omitted in the feminine and plural forms, e.g. *bəzuḥ* 'many' — *bəzḥət* (fem.) — *bəzḥām* (masc. pl.) — *bəzḥāt* (fem. pl.). A final semivowel is represented by *y*, except the feminine singular form where it is represented by *i*, e.g. *ḥəruy* 'chosen' — *ḥərit* (fem.) — *ḥəruyām* (masc. pl.). Some forms with the alternative broken plurals are: *gəmuṣ* 'poor' — *gamāyəs* (pl); *ṣəbuṭ* 'caught' — *ṣabāyət* (pl.).

TYPE B: *gərrum* 'beautiful' — *gərrəm/gərrəmət* (fem.) — *gərrumām* (masc. pl.) (also: *gararrəm*) — *gərrumāt* (fem. pl.)

TYPE C: *lubus* 'dressed' — *lubsət* (fem.) — *lubusām* (masc. pl.) — *lubusāt* (fem. pl.)

Derivatives of the various verb types show no irregular morphological features. In theory, each derivative may have a participle form as follows:

t-A/B/C: similar to A, B, C

ʔa-A: ʔəqtul, ʔəqtəl/ʔəqtələt (fem.)

ʔat-A: ʔətqətul, ʔətqətəl/ʔətqətələt (fem.)

ʔatta-A: ʔəttəqtul, ʔəttəqtəl/ʔəttəqtələt (fem.)

ʔat-C: ʔətqutul, ʔətqutlət (fem.)

Examples: ʔa-A: ʔəgruf 'beaten in pieces' — ʔəgrəf/ʔəgrəfət (fem.) ʔat-A: ʔətʔəmur 'announced'
 ʔatta-A: ʔəttədliuy 'being certain' — ʔəttədliit (fem.) (root: *dly*) ʔat-C: ʔəṭḥuzun 'distressful'

3.4.4. PARTICIPLES OF VERBS OF MORE THAN THREE RADICALS

Taking into account the distribution of verb types and derivatives of more than three radicals and the syllabic structure of participles derived from such verbs, the phenomena described in the case of participles of three radicals are also to be noted here. There is, however, one morphological distinction which is peculiar to verbs of more than three radicals: type A verbs produce active participle forms with the prefix *ma-* and with one plural suffix, *-at* (masc. and fem.).

Some examples of active participles:

TYPE A: *mašankālāy* 'honeygatherer' – *mašankālāyt* (fem.) – *mašankālat* (masc. & fem. pl.)

TYPE C: *manqasāqəs* 'one who stirs'

t-A: *matqaltən* 'changing one's colors' (PL2, 169, No. 391)

ʔa-A: *madangəṣ* 'frightening'

Some examples of passive participles:

TYPE A: *kalkul* 'encircling' – *kalkəl/kalkəlāt* (fem.) – *kalkulām* (masc. pl.) – *kalkuiāt* (fem. pl.)

TYPE C: *ḥanugug* 'ornamented (sword)' – *ḥanuggāt* (fem.)

ʔa-A: *ʔəwəlwul* 'airy'

ʔan-A: *ʔəngərgur* 'wallowed'

Active participle forms derived from verbs of which one of the radicals is represented by *o* or *e* (*o* represents *w* and *e* represents *y*), retain these *o* or *e* in the active participle form, e.g.,

TYPE A: *mašēšāy* 'destroyer' (verb: *šēša* 'to destroy', root: *šyšy*)

ʔan-A: *mankolel* 'fugitive' (verb: *ʔankolala*, root: *kwl*)

In the passive participle, *o* is rendered by *u* and *e* by *i*, e.g.,

TYPE A: *ʔufuy* 'hungry' – *ʔufit* (fem.) (verb: *taʔofa*, root: *ʔwfy*)

ʔan-A: *ʔənqutur* 'looking downward' (verb: *ʔanqotara*, root: *qwtr*).

Examples of quinqueradicals, active forms:

TYPE A: *mahašakšakāy* 'slanderer'

TYPE C: *magramārmāy* 'one who grumbles'

3.4.5. THE FORM *qātlāy*

Along with the active participle form *qātəl* (cf. 3.4.2, Type A) the pattern *qātlāy* may be met with in the expression of the "agent." The form *qātlāy* is frequently met with in the expression of a profession, or that occupation in which one is engaged. Examples:

kādmāy 'worker' – *kādmāyt* (fem.) – *kādmāt* (masc. & fem. pl.)

Where the medial radical is a laryngeal: *səḥātāy* 'violent'.

Where the final radical is semivowel: *wāydāy* 'doer' – *wāydat* (pl.) (root: *wdy*).

Where the medial radical is a laryngeal and the final radical a semivowel: *rʔəʔyāy* 'shepherd'

In some instances the alternative *qātlāy/qetlāy* were noted,¹²

zamtāy/zemtāy 'robber' – *zāmtat/zemtūt* (pl.)

¹²The contextual sense of some such instances suggests a shade of disparagement as regards meaning of the *e* alternatives. The vowel *e* is a distinctive feature in the formation of the diminutive and pejorative. However, an additional suffix is required in the case of the diminutive (cf., 3.3.1), and in the case of the pejorative a gender different from that of the countable singular (cf., 3.3.3).

3.4.6. THE FORMS *qatāl* AND *qatāli*

These forms may occur with a meaning similar to that of *qātlāy*. A distinctive morphological feature which is common to both *qatāl* and *qatāli* is the use of the suffixes *-it* (fem. sing.), *-yām* (mas. pl.) and *-yāt* (fem. pl.). *qatāl* is also one of the patterns used in the expression of the Tigre adjective (see 3.7.1 (c)). As is the case with other patterns of the participle derivation, broken-plural forms also occur in this case. Examples:

sahāt 'sinner' – *sahārit* (fem.) – *sahātyām* (masc. pl.) – *sahātyāt* (fem. pl.)
walādi 'begetter' – *walādīt* (fem.)
qātlāy/qatāli/qatāl 'killer, murderer'

3.4.7. INFINITIVES

The infinitive derivation has a wide range of phonological shapes, the main patterns of which are described in the sections below.

(a) INFINITIVE FORMS OF TYPE A VERBS. These are mainly: *qatīl*, *qatlat*, *qatlo*, *māqtāl*,¹³ *qatle*, *qatəl*.
 Examples:

balis 'answer' (*balsa* 'to answer')
fətrat 'creation' (*fatra* 'to create')
hədgo 'divorce' (*hadga* 'to leave, to divorce')
məfgār 'going out' (when name of a place the meaning is: place of exit, exit', see fn. 13)
 (*fagra* 'to go out')
qərbe 'being near' (*qarba* 'to be near')
harsəs 'ploughing' (*harsa* 'to plough')

Where the final radical is semivowel:

tali 'going after' (*tala* 'to follow')

Where the medial radical is a laryngeal:

ṣə'in 'loading' (*ṣa'ana* 'to load')

Where the medial radical is a laryngeal and the final radical a semivowel:

rə'i 'seeing' (*ra'a* 'to see')

A given verb may have more than one infinitive form, e.g.,

nadiq, *nədqat*, *nədqo*, *məndāq* 'building' (*nadqa* 'to build')

Certain verbs produce the infinitive form *qatlān*, e.g.,

qər'ān 'reading' (*qar'a* 'to read')
hīlān 'strength' (*hela* 'to be strong', root: *hyl*)
hīlān 'singing' (*hala* 'to sing', root: *hly*)

(b) INFINITIVE FORMS OF TYPES AND DERIVATIVES OF THE VERB EXCLUDING TYPE A, AND OF VERBS WITH MORE THAN THREE RADICALS. (1) The most common pattern of the infinitive forms under discussion is constructed from the stem of the verb form in the perfect plus the suffix *-ot*. This pattern is not used with verb derivatives which have the prefix *t-*. Examples:

TYPE B: *allabot* 'counting, computing' (*allaba* 'to count')

TYPE C: *hābarot* 'joining, putting together' (*hābara* 'to join, put together')

TYPE D: *balālasot* 'answering repeatedly' (*balālasa* 'to answer repeatedly')

¹³This pattern is equally used in the expression of a name of a place. Cf., 3.4.8 (b).

- ʔa-A: ʔalbasot 'dressing' (ʔalbasa 'to dress' (v. t.))
 ʔa-B: ʔabaššarot 'good news' (ʔabaššara 'to announce good news')
 ʔat-A: ʔassaʔalot 'telling, announcing' (ʔassaʔala 'to tell, to announce')

Examples of quadriradicals:

- TYPE A: šangalot 'maturity' (šangala 'to become of age')
 TYPE C: tamātamot 'making touch' (tamātama 'to make touch')
 ʔa-A: ʔamaslamot 'becoming a Muslim' (ʔamaslama 'to become a Muslim')

(2) The infinitive pattern for verbs derived with the prefix *t-* is constructed from the stem of the verb in the perfect with (i) an additional *ā* in the ultimate syllable of the stem and (ii) the prefix *ma-*, e.g.,

- t-A/B: matqallāʕ 'appearing' (təqalləʕa 'to appear')

Quadriradicals:

- t-A: matfarʕāy 'uttering a war-cry' (təfarʕa 'to utter a war-cry')

An infinitive pattern frequent with the quadriradicals of type A is CəCCāCe, e.g.,

- ħənqāqe 'luxury' (ħanqaqa 'to live well')

3.4.8. NOUNS DENOTING THE INSTRUMENT, PLACE OR PRODUCT

(a) NAME OF THE INSTRUMENT. Such a form is morphologically distinctive by means of the prefix *ma-* and the suffix *-i* attached to the stem, the pattern being *maqṭali*, e.g.,

- maktabi 'writing implement' (katba 'to write', Type A)

The pattern of nouns derived from verbs of more than three radicals, is similar in principle to the above, e.g.,

- maqasqasi 'fire-hook' (root: qsqs)

Morphologically *maqṭali* is a derivation of type A verbs. Semantically it is the marker of the name of the instrument for any given verb which contains type A forms. Where the "head" of the lexical entry of a verb in the dictionary is a verb type other than A, the stem of the the noun under discussion derived from it retains the distinctive morphological feature of that type, e.g.,

- masaddaḳi 'altar' (saddaqa 'to sacrifice', type B)
 malāše 'razor' (lāša 'to shave', type C, root: lšy)
 mašaggəʕi 'support' (təšaggəʕa 'to lean upon', t-A/B)

Where the initial radical of the stem is a laryngeal its structure is *maqṭali*, e.g.,

- maħašabi 'washing implement' (bet maħašabi 'bathroom')

Where the final radical is a laryngeal:

- mabrəhi 'lighting utensil'

Medial semivowels:

- makyadi 'threshing floor' (keda 'to tread')
 masawari 'brush' (sawara 'to paint', type B, semivowels are not geminated)

Final semivowels:

- magassayi 'a piece of furniture to sit on' (təgassa 'to sit down', t-A/B)

(b) NAME OF THE PLACE. The pattern *məḳṭāl* is used in the expression of the name of the place for nouns derived from triradical verbs, e.g.,

- məzfān 'dancing-ground' məbyāt 'dwelling place' (root: byt)
 məkwāl 'hiding place' (root: kwl) mətkāy 'fireplace' (root: tky)

Quadriradicals:

məngərgār 'wallowing place' (ʾangargara 'to wallow')

(c) NAME OF PRODUCT. The name of product or the result of the action or state denoted by the verb is expressed by means of the pattern qəttāl, e.g.,

hərrād 'that which is slaughtered'

həddāg 'that which is left'

səttār 'a piece split off, a splinter'

3.5. THE SUFFIXES *-nna* AND *-nnat* IN THE EXPRESSION OF ABSTRACT NOUNS

Nouns having one of these suffixes are constructed from the stem CəCəC (triradicals) or CəCCəC (quadriradicals), to which the suffix is added by means of the juncture feature ə. Nouns derived from type B verbs usually retain the medial radical geminated. As regards meaning, the two suffixes are interchangeable, e.g.,

bəṣəhənnna/bəṣəhənnat 'maturity' *məsləmənnna/məsləmənnat* 'Islam'

Other examples:

qədəsənnna 'sanctity' (type B)

gəbərənnat 'slavery'

wələdənnat 'parentage'

yətəmənnna 'orphanhood' (type B)

3.6. COMPOUND NOUNS

A distinction can be made on syntactic grounds between (a) compounds whose qualified element is a noun while the qualifier is an adjective and (b) compounds both of whose elements are nouns. In the case of (a) the noun and adjective agree in number and gender, e.g.,

kəkāb dāwarāy 'planet' (masc.) – *kawākəb dāwrat* (pl.)

rayām əmmanat 'obelisk' (fem.) – *rarāyəm əman* (pl.)

In the case of (b) the plural is regularly formed by putting the qualified noun in the plural, e.g.,

wad ḥal 'cousin' (son of the mother's sister) – *wələd ḥal* (pl.)

bet məhro 'school' – *əbyāt məhro* (pl.)

šəbtāy əsa 'fisherman' – *šəbtat əsa* (pl.)

In the case of certain compounds consisting of two nouns, either one of the nouns can be put in the plural, e.g.,

ʿəwura lāli¹⁴ 'bat' – ʿəwura lālitāt/ʿawāyəṛ lāli (pl.)

Where the singular form of two nouns of a compound submit to the process of contamination resulting from phonetic conditions, the plural form is derived from the morphologically one-unit singular, e.g.,

kadbet (also *kabəd bet*) 'floor' – *kadabbi* (pl.)

qəmbet 'backyard' (from: *qən* 'lower part' and *bet* 'house') – *qanabbi* (pl.)

əffət 'entrance' (from: *əf* 'mouth' and *bet*) – *əfyāt* (pl.)

Here contamination occurs by means of assimilation of labials and dentals.

3.7. THE ADJECTIVE

An adjective form may precede or follow the qualified noun. For the most part the adjective precedes the noun which it qualifies, e.g.,

labāb ʿabi 'the big gate'

lašəgub ʿənās 'the rich man'

¹⁴ According to Palmer, F. R., *The morphology of the Tigre noun*, p. 92 b, this expression is to be taken as one word: ʿurālāli, pl. ʿurālītāt.

3.7.1. ADJECTIVES WITH SUFFIXED PLURALS

The type of suffixed plurals regularly met with is *-(y)ām* (masc.) and *-(y)āt* (fem.).

(a) CəCuC. This is the passive participle form (3.4.3), e.g.,

səbur 'broken' – *səbər/səbrət* (fem. sing.) – *səburām* (masc. pl.) – *səburāt* (fem. pl.)

The stem structure of the adjective may therefore be CəCuC (triradical, type A), CəC̄CuC (triradical, type B), CəCCuC (quadriradical, type A), ʔCCuC (triradical, ʔa-A), etc. For examples see 3.4.3.

(b) CāCəC. With this type of adjectives plural suffixes are *-ām* (masc.) and *-āt* (fem.) as above but feminine singular forms have the suffix *-at*, e.g.,

nāfəʕ 'useful' – *nāfʕat* (fem. sing.) – *nāfʕām* (masc. pl.) – *nāfʕāt* (fem. pl.)

This is the pattern of the active participle form, type A.

(c) CaCāC, CaC̄CāC. Adjective with a masculine singular form of this structure may have suffixed plurals or broken plurals. The feminine singular form takes always the suffix *-it*, the plural suffixes being *-yām* (masc.) and *-yāt* (fem.) e.g.,

qadām 'former' – *qadāmit* (fem. sing.) – *qadāmyām* (masc. pl.) – *qadāmyāt* (fem. pl.)
karrāš 'fat'

(d) CaCəC. A few examples of this pattern are noted, e.g.,

haməq 'weak' – *hamqat* (fem.) – *hamqām* (masc. pl.) – *hamqāt* (fem. pl.)
qayəh 'red' – *qayāh* (fem.) – *qayhām* (masc. & fem. pl., also: *qayhit*)

As can be seen from the examples above, their feminine singular form is not subject to a definite pattern.

(e) CVC. Where V is *u* the suffixes are similar to those treated in 3.7.1 (a) above, e.g.,

hud 'little' – *hədət* (fem.) – *hudām* (masc. pl.) – *hudāt* (fem. pl.)

Where V is *ā* the suffixes are similar to those in (c) above, e.g.,

hār 'last' – *hārit* (fem.) – *hāryām* (masc. pl.) – *hāryāt* (fem. pl.)

(f) One adjective of frequent occurrence whose pattern is idiosyncratic is:

sanni 'good' – *sannet* (fem.) – *sanyām* (masc. pl.) – *sanyāt* (fem. pl.)

(g) Some adjectives whose patterns differ from those treated in (a)-(f) above are noted. Many of them express hues of colors, e.g.,

hambalāy 'grey' – *hambalāyt* (fem.) – *hambalitat* (masc. & fem. pl.)

3.7.2. ADJECTIVES WITH BROKEN PLURALS

The type of broken plural regularly met with here is *CaCaC̄C̄əC/CaCāCVC* (3.2.3.2 (b)). A broken-plural form makes no distinction of gender.

(a) CaCiC, CaC̄C̄iC. The most common type of adjective with a broken-plural formation has a masculine singular form of the structure *CaCiC*, or *CaC̄C̄iC* in the case of type B derivations. The feminine singular form is *CaC̄C̄āC* for both *CaCiC* and *CaC̄C̄iC* and the plural form is *CaCāyəC*, or *CaC̄C̄āyəC* in the case of the singular *CaC̄C̄iC*. Examples:

hačir 'short' – *haččār* (fem.) – *hačāyər* (pl.)

ḥaddis 'new' – *ḥaddās* (fem.) – *ḥaddāyəs* (pl.)
 ʿ*abi* 'big' – ʿ*abbāy* (fem.) – ʿ*abāyi* (pl. for *ʿ*abāyay*, also ʿ*abbač*)

(b) *CaCCiC* AND *CaCCuC*, e.g.,

maskin 'poor, miserable' – *maskinat* (fem.) – *masākin* (pl.)
makruh 'miserable' – *makruhat* (fem.) – *makārəh* (pl.)

(c) *CaCCaC*. The data collected give reason to believe that there is no distinction of gender in the singular form, e.g.,

šangab 'left' (sing.) – *šanaggəb* (pl.)
šalšal 'long haired' (sing.) – *šalaššəl* (pl.)
banban 'different' (sing.) – *banābin* (pl.)

(d) *CaCāC*, *CaCāC*. Adjectives of this structure are treated in 3.7.1 (c) above. Following are examples with broken-plural forms:

fadāb 'brave' – *fadābit* (fem.) – *fadāyəb* (pl.)
 ʾ*addāg* 'slow' – ʾ*addāgit* (fem.) – ʾ*addāyəg* (pl.)

3.7.3. ADJECTIVES WHOSE SINGULAR FORM HAS THE SUFFIX *-āy* (masc.), *-āyt* (fem.)

This singular type derivation resembles the substantival one in which collective nouns denoting human beings are rendered singulatives by means of the same suffixes (cf. 3.2.2 (c)). Substantival forms with *-āy* do not have, however, distinctive plural forms, the collective form being used in the expression of plurality. Examples:

mədrāy 'terrestrial' – *mədrāyt* (fem.) – *mədrāyām* (pl. from: *mədər* 'earth')
čablāy 'ash colored' – *čablāyt* (fem.) – *čaballit* (pl. from: *čabal* 'ashes')

3.8. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

The particle *la* is used in the expression of the article of determination (and in the expression of the relative). *la* is invariable in form.

(a) Where *la* functions as the definite article its absence may signify indefiniteness (the numeral *woro(t)* 'one' (masc.) – *ḥatte* (fem.) may serve in the expression of: 'a certain'), e.g.,

ʾənās salas wal ʿalaw ʿəlu
 man three son were to him
 'A man had three sons'.

(b) The definite article *la* is regularly used to recall what has just been mentioned, e.g.,

ʾət karan kəlʾe bet məhro hallaya laḥatte bet məhro nāy awāləd walaḥatte
 in karan two school there are the one school of girls and the one
 'There are two schools in Keren, one school for girls, the other

bet məhro nāy wālād
 school of boys
 for boys'.

(c) As a rule, proper names need no article. Other nouns which are definite enough in themselves, such as nouns of generic sense, usually occur without the definite article. Examples:

ʔatyopya bəzuh maḥāzāt bədiba
Ethiopia many rivers are in her
'There are many rivers in Ethiopia'.

ʔazbun bāli gālād 'the times of the Old Testament'

ḥarmāz mən ḥayat laʿabbe
elephant than lion is bigger
'The elephant is bigger than the lion'

(d) The definite article *la* is generally prefixed to the noun, or the first element in a group of nouns, irrespective of whether it is either the qualifying or qualified element. The usual order met with is: article + qualifier + qualified, e.g.,

lagəndāb ʔənās 'the old man'
lakəlʔot ḥu 'the two brothers'
laʔəkkīt gabayom 'their evil way'

(e) In normal rapid articulation of speech, the definite article may be attached to the preceding word of the utterance, e.g.,

nāyla mudiryat šayam 'chieftains of the province, (for: *nāy lamudiryat šayam*)
ʔatta dægge gəsko 'I went to town' (for: *ʔat ladægge gəsko*; cf. 2.1.1.5)

(f) The definite article *la* is met with prefixed to nouns to which pronominal suffixes are suffixed (and thus occupying the same position as the demonstratives; cf. 4.10), e.g.,

lawaraqāčče 'my letter'
lakarsa 'the inside of it' (fem. sing.)
labəʔəsa 'her husband'

(g) Where a noun is qualified by another noun (i.e., the construct state) the definite article may precede either the qualifying noun or both, e.g.,

wəlād ladægge / lawəlād ladægge 'the boys of the village'
fatāy wāldat lawalat
friend parents the girl
'a friend of the parents of the girl'

(h) Two nouns which are semantically connected and form a syntactic group by means of a conjunction require the article for only one of the nouns, e.g.,

lašəḥərtāy wabozzāy 'the "sorcerer" and the "magician" ' (i.e., certain spirits; *PLI*, 245:6)
cf. *lašəḥərtāy ma labozzay* 'the Š. or the B.' (Ibid., 254:11)

4. THE PRONOUN

4.1. THE PERSONAL PRONOUN

(a) The personal pronouns in Tigre are as follows:

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st common	ʾana	həna
2nd masculine	ʾanta	ʾantum
2nd feminine	ʾanti	ʾantən
3rd masculine	hətu	hətom
3rd feminine	həta	hətan

(b) The second person plural personal pronouns may be used as polite forms of address and the third person plural personal pronouns may be used as polite forms of reference. In such instances the personal pronoun is grammatically a plural form. Examples:

wəʾantum ʾabuye ʾaddaha sema ʾəb hadʾat ʾəraf ʾitərakbo
 and you (m. pl.) my father midday never peacefully rest find not
 'And you, my father, never find [time to] rest peacefully at midday'. (*ʾAgʾazot*, 100:17)

wahətom ʾəgəl gərmāwi nəgusa nagast mən ləb lafagra hamde
 and they to Majesty Emperor from heart which comes out thanks
 'And he (i.e., the minister from Senegal) concluded his speech [to the conference

ʾaqrəb ʾət ləblo həgyahom damdamaw
 let me offer while saying their speech concluded
 members] saying: "Let me offer hearty thanks to His Majesty the Emperor." '

(c) The personal pronouns of the first and second persons are used in the expression of the copula in the first and second persons. Examples of the personal pronoun in this capacity are given below (5.1).

(d) The personal pronoun can be used in such a way that it emphasizes its referent. This use is typical of sentences which, when formed without the personal pronoun, have a different connotation, e.g.,

yah yəbba ʾəgəl hasse ʾigabbə ʾəlye ʾana ʾəb masārye wadekwo
 o father to lie I cannot I with my axe I did it
 'O father, I cannot lie! I [am the one who] did it with my axe' (*ʾAgʾazot*, 60:14)

Without the personal pronoun the element emphasized in the above sentence would be the predicate.

4.2. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES IN CONJUNCTION WITH NOUNS AND PARTICLES

The forms used as pronominal suffixes are as follows:

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st common	-ye	-na
2nd masculine	-ka	-kum
2nd feminine	-ki	-kən
3rd masculine	-u	-om
3rd feminine	-a	-an

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES IN CONJUNCTION WITH NOUNS. (a) In nouns ending in a dental or alveolar consonant, a palatalization of such a consonant occurs when followed by the first person pronominal suffix. This usually happens together with gemination of the palatalized consonant in intervocalic position. Examples:

‘ad ‘village’ – ‘agǵe ‘my village’ warāt ‘work’ – warāčče ‘my work’
 raʔas ‘head’ – raʔašše ‘my head’ gaš ‘face’ – gačče ‘my face’

In one case the palatalized consonant is regularly not geminated:

nos ‘self’ – noše ‘myself’

(b) In nouns ending in a vowel and followed by a pronominal suffix beginning in a vowel, a transitional -h- occurs between noun and suffix. Examples:

hu ‘brother’ – huhu ‘his brother’ ʔade ‘hand’ – ʔadeha ‘her hand’
 səʔali ‘photograph’ – səʔlihom ‘their (masc.) photograph’
 matlo ‘dowry’ – matlohan ‘their (fem.) dowry’

Where the noun ends in the vowel *a* and is followed by the pronominal suffix of the third person, this *a* may be represented by *ə* or zero, e.g.,

higa ‘language’ – hig(ə)hom ‘their (masc.) language’
 mora ‘stick’ – mor(ə)hu ‘his stick’

(c) In the case of three nouns which end in a consonant: ʔab ‘father’, ham ‘father-in-law’ and ʔaf ‘mouth’, (1) the pronominal suffixes of the first and second person are directly attached to the noun or suffixed to a transitional vowel -u-, (2) the pronominal suffixes of the third person are always attached to the juncture feature -h-, which is itself preceded by -u- or directly attached to the noun. Examples:

hamye or hamuye ‘my father-in-law’ ʔafka or ʔafuka ‘your mouth’
 ʔabki or ʔabuki ‘your father’ ʔabhu or ʔabuhu ‘his father’

The above three nouns belong to that group of nouns whose plural forms are formed using the suffix -ač (see 3.2.3.1) which—when the third person pronominal suffix is attached to it—is represented, for the most part, by -ač, -ačt, or -ayt, e.g.,

fatač ‘friends’ – fataču, fatačtu or fataytu ‘his friends’
 ʔabač ‘paternal uncles’ – ʔabač, ʔabačtu or ʔabaytu ‘his paternal uncles’
 – ʔabačom, ʔabačtom or ʔabaytom ‘their paternal uncles’, etc.

(d) Some nouns whose lexically stated gender is feminine require the juncture feature -t- when the first or third person pronominal suffix is attached to them, e.g.,

kəran ‘voice’ – kərantu ‘his voice’ ʔən ‘eye’ – ʔəntu ‘his eye’
 naʔalta ‘her sister-in-law’ haltu ‘his maternal aunt’
 walattu (walat) ‘his daughter’

Certain broken-plural forms of the type ʔaCC^{C} have also *-t-* as their juncture feature, e.g.,

ʔafər 'nail' – *ʔaʔfər* 'nails' – *ʔaʔfərtu* 'his nails'

(e) Certain monosyllabic nouns of the structure CVC in which V is *ə* or *a* have their final radical doubled when followed by the third person pronominal suffix. Most of these nouns are morphologically CVCC. Examples:

ʔad 'village' – *ʔaddu* 'his village' *ləb* 'heart' – *ləbbu* 'his heart'
ʔəm 'mother' – *ʔəmmu* 'his mother'

(f) The noun *wal/wad* 'son', occurs regularly in either of its variant forms, e.g., *wal/wad masniye* 'the son of my friend'. When followed by suffixes not beginning with a vowel, the variant *wal* occurs. When followed by suffixes beginning with a vowel the stem is *wald* or *wad*, the final consonant in the latter case being geminated, e.g.,

walye 'my son' – *walki* 'your (fem. sing.) son' – *waldu/waddu* 'his son'

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES IN CONJUNCTION WITH PARTICLES. (a) Particles ending in a vowel have the juncture feature *-h-* when followed by suffixes beginning with a vowel; the pronominal suffix is added directly to particles ending in a consonant. Palatalization of the final consonant of the particle occurs in accordance with the statement made in (a) above. Examples:

ħaqo 'after' – *ħaqoħu* 'after him, it; afterwards'
məsəl 'with' – *məslu* 'with him' – *məsəlka* 'with you (masc. sing.)'
ʔət 'in, to' – *ʔəttu* 'to him, it; there' – *ʔəčče* 'to me'

The juncture feature *-h-* is also found with certain particles ending in a consonant, when these are followed by suffixes beginning with a vowel, e.g.,

kəmsal 'as, like' – *kəmsalhu* 'like him, likewise'
ʔəmbal 'without, beside' – *ʔəmbalhu* 'without him, besides'

(b) Most monosyllabic particles of the structure CəC have their last consonant geminated when preceded by a suffix beginning with a vowel, e.g.,

mən 'from' – *mənnu* 'from him' – cf. *mənka* 'from you' (but: *mənəna* 'from us')
ʔəb 'with, by' – *ʔəbbu* 'by it'
ʔət 'in, to' – *ʔəttu* 'in it'
kəl 'all, every' – *kəllu* (or: *kullu*, the first *u* being pronounced short and centralized)

One particle of high distribution whose juncture feature does not include gemination of the final consonant is *ʔəl* 'to', e.g.,

ʔəlu 'to him' – *ʔəlom* 'to them' (cf. 2.1.1.5)

4.3. THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES IN CONJUNCTION WITH VERBS

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st common	<i>-ni, -nni</i>	<i>-na, -nna</i>
2nd masculine	<i>-ka, -kka</i>	<i>-kum, -kkum</i>
2nd feminine	<i>-ki, -kki</i>	<i>-kən, -kkən</i>
3rd masculine	<i>-o, -wo, -yo, -hu, -yu</i>	<i>-om, -wom, -yom, -hom</i>
3rd feminine	<i>-a, -wa, -ya, -ha</i>	<i>-an, -wan, -yan, -han</i>

TYPE A:

First person singular (masculine & feminine): *-ni, -nni*

- Perfect: *qatalkanni* (2nd masc. sing.), *qatalkini* (2nd fem. sing.), *qatlenni* (3rd masc. sing.), *qatlattani* (3rd fem. sing.), *qatalkuni* (2nd masc. pl.), *qatalk(ə)nani* (2nd fem. pl.), *qatlawni* (3rd masc. pl.), *qatlayani* (3rd fem. pl.).
- Imperfect: *təqatlanni* (2nd masc. sing.), *təqatlini* (2nd fem. sing.), *ləqatlanni* (3rd masc. sing.), *təqatlanni* (3rd fem. sing.), *təqatluni* (2nd masc. pl.), *təqatlani* (2nd fem. pl.), *ləqatluni* (3rd masc. pl.), *ləqatlani* (3rd fem. pl.).
- Jussive: *təqatalanni* (2nd masc. sing.), *təqatalini* (2nd fem. sing.), *ləqatalanni* (3rd masc. sing.), *təqatalanni* (3rd fem. sing.), *təqataluni* (2nd masc. pl.), *təqatalani* (2nd fem. pl.), *ləqataluni* (3rd masc. pl.), *ləqatalani* (3rd fem. pl.).
- Imperative: *qətalanni* (2nd masc. sing.), *qətalini* (fem. sing.), *qətaluni* (masc. pl.), *qətalani* (fem. pl.).

First person plural (masculine & feminine): *-na, -nna*, is as first person singular.

Second person masculine singular: *-ka, -kka*

- Perfect: *qatalkoka* (1st sing.), *qatlekkka* (3rd masc. sing.), *qatlattakka* (3rd fem. sing.), *qatalnaka* (1st plural), *qatlawka* (3rd masc. pl.), *qatlayaka* (3rd fem. pl.).
- Imperfect: *ʔəqatlakka* (1st sing.), *ləqatlakka* (3rd masc. sing.), *təqatlakka* (3rd fem. sing.), *ʔənqatlakka* (1st pl.), *ləqatluka* (3rd masc. pl.), *ləqatlaka* (3rd fem. pl.).
- Jussive: The construction of the verb suffix of the jussive is the same as for the imperfect.

Second person feminine singular: *-ki, -kki*; Second person masculine plural: *-kum, -kkum*;

Second person feminine plural: *-kən, -kkən*. No observations are necessary in the case of these pronominal suffixes since their inflexion in all morphological categories corresponds with that of the second person masculine singular pronominal suffix.

Third person masculine singular: *-o, -wo, -yo, -hu, -yu*

- Perfect: *qatalkwo* (1st sing.), *qatalkahu* (2nd masc. sing.), *qatalk(ə)yo* (2nd fem. sing.), *qatlayu* (3rd masc. sing.), *qatlatto* (3rd fem. sing.), *qatalnahu* (1st pl.), *qatalkumo* (2nd masc. pl.), *qatalk(ə)nahu* (2nd fem. pl.), *qatlawo* (3rd masc. pl.), *qatlayahu* (3rd fem. pl.).
- Imperfect: *ʔəqattəllo* (1st sing.), *təqattəllo* (2nd masc. sing.), *təqattilo* (2nd fem. sing.), *ləqattəllo* (3rd masc. sing.), *təqattəllo* (3rd fem. sing.), *ʔənqattəllo* (1st pl.), *təqattulo* (2nd masc. pl.), *təqatlahu* (2nd fem. pl.), *ləqattulo* (3rd masc. pl.), *ləqatlahu* (3rd fem. pl.).
- Jussive: *ʔəqtallo* (1st pers.), *təqtallo* (2nd masc. sing.), *təqtelo* (2nd fem. sing.), *ləqtallo* (3rd masc. sing.), *təqtallo* (3rd fem. sing.), *nəqtallo* (1st pl.), *təqtolo* (2nd masc. pl.), *təqatalahu* (2nd fem. pl.), *ləqtolo* (3rd masc. pl.), *ləqatalahu* (3rd fem. pl.).
- Imperative: *qətallo, qətelo, qətolo, qətalahu*.

No observations are necessary in the case of the third person feminine singular and third person masculine and feminine plural forms, since their inflexion in all morphological categories corresponds with that of the third person masculine singular pronominal suffix.

4.3.1. THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIX IN CONJUNCTION WITH VERB FORMS OF DERIVATIVES AND OTHER TYPES

Examples:

tə-A/B: təkabbata 'to meet' – *təkabbatattom* 'she met them (masc.)'; Imperf./Juss.: *lətkabbatahom* 'they (fem.) met them' (masc.); Imperat.: *təkabboto* 'receive (masc. pl.) her'.

ʔa-A: ʔawdaqqa 'to overpower' – *ʔafgara* 'to let go out' – *ʔawdakenni* 'he overpowered me'; Imperf.: *tafaggorra* 'she pours it (lit.: 'her', i.e., the soup)'.

TYPE B: *lādaqqulo* 'they (masc.) entreat him'

tā-C: *tābāṭara* 'to resist'. Imperfect/Jussive: *ʔagəl lātbāṭoro* 'in order that they (masc.) will resist it (masc. sing.)'.

ʔat-C: *ʔatrāsana* 'to heat'. Imperfect/Jussive: *latrāsuno* 'they heat it (masc. sing.)'.

4.3.2. VERBS WITH LARYNGEALS

Examples:

TYPE A: *saḥaba* 'to drag'. Imperfect: *lašḥabbo* 'he drags it (masc. sing.)' – *lašhubo* 'they (masc.) drag it (masc. sing.)'. Jussive: *ʔagəl tākhola* 'in order that you (masc. pl.) will endure it' (*kaḥala* 'to endure'). Imperative: *rəḥomom* 'have (masc. sing.) pity on them!' (*raḥama* 'to have pity on').

Verbs which have a third radical laryngeal form a class of their own in retaining their significant morphological feature, e.g.,

TYPE A: *samʕa* 'to hear'; *mašʕa* 'to come'. Imperfect: *ʔamassʔakka* 'I shall come to you (masc. sing.)'; *təsamməʕiyo* 'you (fem. sing.) will hear him' – *təsammʔəwo* 'you (masc. pl.) will hear him' – *ləsammʔəwo* 'they (masc. pl.) will hear him'. Jussive: *ʔagəl təmšəʔanni* 'in order that you (masc. sing.) will come to me'; *ʔagəl təsməʕiyo* 'in order that you (fem. sing.) will hear him' – *ʔagəl təsməʕəwo* 'in order that you (masc. pl.) will hear him'. Imperative: *səmʕo*, *səmʕiyo*, *səmʕəwo*, *səmʕahu*.

4.3.3. VERBS WITH SEMIVOWELS

Verbs with *w* or *y* as their radicals retain their typical morphological features. Verbs with a final radical semivowel have peculiarities which can be described as follows:

(a) No transposition of verb suffixes occurs.

(b) In the case of verb forms of the imperfect and jussive (imperative) with the vowel *e* in final position, *e* is replaced by *ə* or zero in the imperfect and by *a* in the jussive (imperative). In both cases a transitional *y* immediately follows the vowel concerned.

(c) In imperfect forms with *u* in final position, the *u* of the ultimate form is replaced by *ə* or zero and a transitional *w* immediately follows the vowels concerned. Examples: *sama* 'to name'; *kara* 'to put down'. Imperfect: *təsammiyo* 'you (fem. sing.) will name him' (also: *təsmmʔyo* and *təsammyo*) – *sammʔwan* or *sammwan* 'they (masc.) name them (fem.)'; *karrəwo* or *karrwo* 'they (masc.) put it (masc. sing.) down'. Jussive: *ʔagəl tākrayo* 'in order that she will put it ('him') – *ʔagəl ləkrawo* 'in order that they (masc.) will put it (masc. sing.)'. Imperative: *kərayo* 'put (masc. sing.) it (masc. sing.) down' – *kərawo* 'put (masc. pl.) it (masc. sing.) down'.

4.3.4. THE VERB *bela* 'to say' (cf. 6.2.5.8)

A point to be noted is the existence of the radical *l* throughout the inflexion in the perfect, either as a suppletion of the form in final position, or by means of the use of *telk-* (or *tel-*) stem in the appropriate persons. The inflexion is as follows:

Perfect: *ʔabello*, *təbello/tello*, *telkyo*, *bello/belayu*, *təbello*, *ʔanbello*, *telkumo*, *telknahu*, *belawo*,¹ *belayahu*.

Imperfect: *ʔəbəllo*, *təbəllo*, *təbilo*, *ləbəllo*, *təbəllo*, *ʔənbəllo*, *təbulo*, *təblahu*, *ləbulo*, *ləblahu*.

Jussive: *ʔiballo*, *tiballo*, *tibelo*, *liballo*, *tiballo*, *niballo*, *tibolo*, *tibalahu*, *libolo*, *libalahu*.

Imperative: *ballo*, *belo*, *bolo*, *balahu*.

¹With first and second pers. pron. suffs.: *beluni* 'they (masc.) said to me', *beluki* 'they (masc.) said to you (fem. sing.)'.

4.3.5. VARIANT FORMS

The following three phenomena should be pointed out:

(a) The first person singular pronominal suffix *-ni* can stand in free variation with *-ne*, as in: *ʔafgara* 'to cause to go out' — *ʔagəl lafgəranne* 'in order that he will let me go out'.

(b) In verb forms, with the third person pronominal suffix, in which the transitional element is *-h-* preceded by *a*, the *a* can be represented by *ə*. The range of actualization of the vowel extends from *a* through *ə* to zero, e.g., *rakabkāhu* 'you (masc. sing.) found him' (*rakba* 'to find')

rakabkāhu 'you (masc. sing.) found him' (*rakba* 'to find')

habnəhu 'we gave him' (*haba* 'to give')

wadekha 'you did it (fem. sing.)' (*wada* 'to do')

(c) The ultimate form of third person masculine plural perfect *qatlaw* with first and second pronominal suffixes is given in the appropriate section above as *katlawni*, *katlawka*, etc. Two other variants of such forms are regularly encountered, in both of which an *u* precedes the pronominal suffix, and in one of which the *w* of the plural suffix appears as *y*. Examples:

ħalfawuka 'they passed you (masc. sing.)' (*ħalfa* 'to pass')

nas'ayuna 'they (masc.) took us' (*nas'a* 'to take').

4.4. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN: *nos*, (*nafs*), *ra'as*

(a) The reflexive pronoun which is usually expressed by *nos* 'self' in its inflected forms is used (1) to indicate identity of object with subject and (2) to lay stress upon the pronoun's referent, e.g.,

laʔammama *ħaye* *ħaqo* *walačče* *ʔiʔnabbər* *təbe* *kanosa*
as for her mother however after my daughter I shall not live said and herself
'As for her mother, however, she said: "I shall not live after [the death] of my daughter

təšannaqat

she hanged

[and] then hanged herself'

(*Tribù*, 54:30)

noskum *təšsa'ano* *walaħəšān* *ʔəb* *ʔəgaru* *ligis* *tahadgo*
yourself (m. pl.) you (m. pl.) ride and the boy on his foot to go you (m. p.) leave
'You yourself (polite form, referring here to the child's father) ride [the donkey] and
leave the boy to go on foot?' (*ʔAg'azot*, 74:4)

(b) The non-inflected form *nos* may occur in a semantic context resembling the one in the above example. Its meaning here is, however, idiomatic, e.g.,

ʔakay nos 'illness, infirmity' (*ʔakay* 'badness')

ħamde nos 'pride, haughtiness' (*ħamde* 'thank, praise')

dəhir nos 'modesty, humbleness' (*dəhir* 'state of being low'), etc.

(c) In the translation of the New Testament the word *nafs*² often has a grammatical role similar to that of *nos* (e.g., *Matthew*, 8:4; *Luke* 1:24).

(d) The word *ra'as* 'head' is regularly used in the expression of the reflexive pronoun, e.g.,

laħəšān *ʕad* *kəm* *ʔata* *ʔəndo* *sa'a* *ra'asu* *ʔət* *ʕad* *sa'a*
the boy village that he returned while hoping himself to village ran
'Hoping that the boy has returned home to the village he (lit. 'he himself', i.e., the
father) ran to the village' (*ʔAg'azot*, 71:7)

²The meaning of *nafs* is 'soul'; the form of the reflexive pronoun *nos* seems to have evolved from it. Cf. *LH*, 325 a.

4.5. THE RECIPROCAL PRONOUN: *həd, nosnos*

(a) The reciprocal pronoun is expressed by means of (1) *həd* or *ʿad/ʾad həd* and (2) *nosnos*. *həd* is usually used of two and *nosnos* of more, e.g.,

ʾət ʾadhəd taʿālagaw 'they fought each other'
nosnosom tahagāgaw 'they conferred with one another'

(b) In adverbial expressions reciprocity is usually expressed by *həd*, e.g.,

salāsitom ʾakəl həd ʾəgəl latarfa kaflaw
 three of them equally that which remained they divided
 'The three of them equally divided the rest [of the inheritance]' (Tribu, 22:31)

4.6. THE POSSESSIVE PARTICLE: *nāy*

The possessive pronoun is expressed by means of the preposition *nāy* 'of, from', in its inflected form, e.g.,

ʾəlli bet ʾəlli nāyka tu? nāye ʾikon. nāy ʾato bakit tu
 this house this yours is mine it is not of Mr. Bakit it is
 'Is this house yours? It is not mine. It belongs to Mr. Bakit'

4.7. THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN: *mi, man, ʾayi*

(a) *mi* 'what?', e.g.,

ʾəlli zarʾit mi ʾət ʾəntu ʾšayamkəhu ʾəčče
 this Zarʾit what he being you appointed chieftain to me
 'Who is this [man] Zarʾit whom you appointed chieftain to me?' (Tribu, 30:4)
əlli mi ta 'what is this?' — *mi gabʾa* 'what happened?'

(b) *man* 'who?, whose?, whom? (preceded by a preposition)'. The referent of *man* is almost always a person, e.g.,

man ʾəgəl ləgbaʾ tu kama
 who will he be then
 'Who can he be then?'
ʾəgəl man zābekaha lawaʾat
 for whom you bought her the cow
 'For whom did you buy the cow?'

Note the following idiomatic expressions:

man ta səmka 'what is your name?' *man ʾammər* 'maybe' (lit. 'who knows')

(c) *ʾayi* (masc. sing.), *ʾaya* (fem. sing.), *ʾayom* (masc. pl.), *ʾayan* (fem. pl.) 'which?, what sort of?'. *ʾayi* etc. refers to a person or a thing (one or more), e.g.,

ʾana ʾəb təʾəzāzu ʾəsrəʾel laḥaddəg ʾayi rabbi tu
 I by his command Israel that I shall let go which God is
 'What sort of God is he that I shall let [the people of] Israel go by his command?'
 (Racconti, 23:16)

kərāy məʿəlka ʾayi tu
 wage your day what is it
 'What is your daily wage?'

ḥamle bəka? ʾafo ʾayi ǧənəs ḥamle tahazze?
 vegetable you have yes what sort vegetable your want
 'Do you have vegetables?' 'Yes, what sort of vegetables do you want?'

4.8. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN: *la*

(a) The particle *la-* which serves as the relative pronoun (*la-* also serves as the definite article; cf. 3.8) is usually attached to the verb, immediately preceding it, e.g.,

wa'ət hatte dægge dægge wānin latəbahal nabro 'alaw
and in one village village animals which is called living they were
'And they were living in a village called "the village of animals"'

(b) In a compound tense *la-* is usually attached to the auxiliary verb, immediately preceding it, e.g.,

dəgəm worot 'ənās higa kulla laḥəyāyət 'ammer la'ala
tale one man language all of her the animals knowing who was
'The tale of a man who knew the language of all animals' (PL1, 88:14)

(c) *la-* can be used without an antecedent, e.g.,

'əbbəlli ḥəmām lamotaw bəzḥām kəm tom 'əb
because of this illness who died many (pl.) that they are according to
'According to history we know that [those] who died by this illness
tārik 'əgəl na'ammər 'ənqaddər
history to [we] know we can
were many'

(d) Where the subject of the relative clause has the definite article, the verb of the clause may occur without *la-*, e.g.,

da'am lagabil larabbi wadayu 'əlu sən kəllu 'agid 'əgəl
but the people which God did it to him favor all of it soon to
'But soon the people started forgetting all favors which God
lətrassa' 'ambata
[they] forget started
did unto them' (Storia, 95:22)

(e) When the verb is preceded by a preposition with a pronominal suffix, the relative pronoun is regularly attached to the preposition, e.g.,

lasabab la'əbbu dangarko
the reason which by it I was late
'The reason for which I was late'
la'əglu ḥazze 'alko kətāb
which it looking for I was book
'The book which I was looking for'
lakətāb la'əlu bəka
the book which it you have
'The book you have'

(f) Most commonly the relative clause precedes the noun it modifies.³ The general impression is that in literary or formal texts, relative clauses which follow the modified noun are rare. However, in utterances which represent the spoken language the modified-modifier order is met with quite frequently.

RELATIVE CLAUSES WITHOUT *la-*. In relative clauses where the place of the main verb is occupied by *'alabu-*, the suppletive form of the impersonal verb of existence in the negative—*la-* does not occur, e.g.,

³Cf. Palmer, F. R., "Relative clauses in Tigre," *Word*, vol. 17, 1961, p. 25.

waʔət gaşşu ʔəgəl baʔas baṭṭər ʕala ʔalabu
 and in front of him for fight who standing was there is not
 'And no one could face him in a fight'

4.9. THE INDEFINITE PRONOUN

The following list consists of words and idioms which are typical of the expression of the indefinite pronoun:

(a) *woro(t)*, *hatte* 'someone, some person'. Lexically, these are the masculine and feminine forms of the numeral 'one'. Examples:

həlāyat worot ʔənās
 'a song of an unknown man' (rendered in the German translation as: 'Anonymos'
PLAB, 1072:2) (*PL3*, L 522:5)

haye woro bəʕəd mənnom
 however one other from them
 'however, someone else among them' (*Tribu*, 4:7)

(b) *manma* 'no one, nobody'. This expression consists of the interrogative pronoun *man* 'who?' plus the particle *ma*, e.g.,

man māşəʔ hallaʔ manma
 who has come nobody
 'Who has come?' 'Nobody'

(c) *ʔəgale*, *ʔəgaleṭay* (*ʔəgaleṭat* (fem.)) 'so and so', is usually used for persons, e.g.,

ʔəgale wad ʔəgale ʔagarrəmu nasʔa wamən gəbərənnat fagra
 so and so son so and so his duty he performed and from slavery went out
 'So and so the son of so and so performed his duty with his warranters and became
 free' (lit. 'free from slavery') (*FM*, 101:4)

(d) *fəlān* 'such and such' is usually used for things, e.g.,

waʕāmat fəlān təwallada ləblo
 and year such and such he was born they say
 'And it is said: "He was born in such and such a year" ' (*PL1*, 111:3)

(e) *gale* 'some, something', e.g.,

gale ʔəgəl təblaʕ təhazzeʔ gale higa
 'Do you want something to eat?' 'some talking'

In its substantival use, for things, *gale* may be occasionally reinforced by *gār* 'thing', e.g.,

lamamhər galegār belayu ʔəgəl latamhārāyu
 the teacher something said to him to the his student
 'The teacher said something to the student'

(f) *lagaʔa ləgbaʔ* (standard pronunciation: *lagʔa ləgbaʔ*) 'whoever, whatever, someone, something, some, anyone', etc. This expression (lit. 'that which happened shall happen') consists of forms of the verb *gabʔa* 'to become, to happen' in the perfect and jussive, preceded by the relative pronoun. Examples:

walagaʔa ləgbaʔ mən rakkəb
 and anyone if he meets
 'and if he meets anyone'

ma lagaʿa ləgbaʿ bəʿəd māi
 or any other property
 'or any other property'

(g) *dāla* 'whoever, whatever, any', e.g.,

wadāla ʾəlu təṣārara təsāʿara
 and whoever to him was hostile was deposed
 'and whoever was hostile to him was deposed' (ʿAd Šek, 184:(36))

(h) *sema* 'something, anything, no one, nothing'. This indefinite pronoun is used almost solely in negative utterances, e.g.,

sema ʾirəʿena waʾisamʿana
 nothing we saw and we heard
 'we have seen nothing nor have we heard anything'

4.10. DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstrative forms in Tigre are:

PERSON	NEAR OBJECTS		DISTANT OR ABSENT OBJECTS	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Masculine	ʾəlli	ʾəllom	<i>lahay/lohay/lehay</i>	<i>lahom/lohom/lehom</i>
Feminine	ʾəlla	ʾəllan	<i>laha/loha/leha</i>	<i>lahan/lohan/lehan</i>

(a) THE DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVE. The noun is always preceded by the demonstrative adjective in the case of near objects, e.g.,

daʿam ʾəllan ʾamʿəlāt kəm halfaya
 but these days when they are over
 'but when these days are over' (PL1, 66:22)

The noun regularly precedes the demonstrative adjective in the case of distant or absent objects, e.g., *ʾəb laʾawkād lahay* 'at that time'. The demonstrative adjective can be used redundantly, both preceding and following the noun at the same time, e.g.,

loha ʾakān loha taʾamməra ma mi
 that place that you recognize or what
 'You recognize that place, don't you?'

Nouns qualified by the demonstrative adjective may take pronominal suffixes, e.g.,

ʾəlli həlmu ʾəgəl ʾabuhu waʾəgəl hawu kəm ʾassaʿala
 this dream to his father and to his brothers when he told
 'and when he told this dream of his to his father and his brothers' (Racconti, 15:4)

(b) THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN. Demonstratives may be substantively used, e.g.,

daʿam ʾəllima qadam ʾəlla qərʾān ʾiʾammər
 but this also before this reading he does not know
 'But this [one] also, does not yet know how to read' (PL1, 52:10)

Demonstrative forms for near objects can be used to represent a previously mentioned action, thought or speech, or to introduce things which are about to be mentioned, e.g.,

waʾəllan kəm bella
 and these when said to her
 'and having said to her these [things]'

5. THE COPULA

FORMS EXPRESSING EXISTENCE AND POSSESSION

5.1. THE COPULA: FORMATION

Two-member sentences, whose nexus is achieved by means of a mere juxtaposition where each member is a noun, are impossible in Tigre, in the sense that a copula-pronoun must intervene (9.3).

(a) THE INDEPENDENT COPULA. The paradigm of the independent copula consists of the following forms:

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st masculine & feminine	ʾana	həna
2nd masculine	ʾanta	ʾantum
2nd feminine	ʾanti	ʾantən
3rd masculine	tu	tom
3rd feminine	ta	tan

The following points are to be noted: (1) in the first and second persons the forms encountered are those of the first and second person personal pronouns; (2) the form *tu* is also met with in other persons than the third. Examples of utterances in which the copula is a personal pronoun:

ʾana mən gabil mansaʿ ʾana	man ʾanta
‘I am from the tribe of Mansa’	‘Who are you?’
ʾanta waʾana šar həna	sāfəg ʾanta
‘You and I are friends’	‘Are you in a hurry?’
ʾəb ʾamān walye ʾesaw ʾanta	
truly my son Esau you are	
‘Are you truly Esau my son?’	(Storia, 23:5)

Examples of utterances with the copula *tu*:

nāy sidamo hīlat zelām ʾət salas kəffal kəfful tu
of Sidamo strenght rain to three part divided is
‘The rainfall at Sidamo is rated according to three [geographical] divisions’
sab Mansaʿ mən badirom kəstān tom
people Mansaʿ from long ago Christians they are
‘The people of Mansa are Christians from long ago’

(b) THE COPULA IN THE NEGATIVE. The copula in the form of the personal pronoun has attached to it the negative particle ʾi- when in the negative, as in ʾiʾana ‘I am not’, ʾiʾanta ‘you (masc. sing.) are not’, etc. The copula *tu* in the negative has the suppletive fossilized form ʾikon,¹ as in: *higāye rətuʿ ʾikon* ‘My speech is not correct (i.e., not fluent)’.

¹The form ʾikone (1st person) is also encountered. ʾikon may be used to signify ‘no’.

(c) TEMPORAL VALUES IN THE COPULA. The copula does not occupy a definite place in the tense system. In fact such an utterance, in its temporal aspect, is closer to a nominal sentence: hence the use of the copula regardless of the temporal distinction past/non-past, e.g.,

ʔabrahim wad ʔadris ʔənās ʿad takles tu daʿam mādər mansaʿ
 ʔAbraham W. ʔE. man ʿAd Takles he is but country Mansaʿ
 ʿʔAbraham W. ʔE. was a man of the ʿAd Takles, but he was living in the country

bet ʔabrəhe nabbər ʿala
 B. ʔA. he living was
 of Mansaʿ B. ʔA. (PL1, 247:14)

Temporal relations in the expression of the copula are, however, possible by means of the use of verbs which supply the appropriate alternate forms. The verbs *ʿala*, and *gabʿa* enable the distinction past/non-past to exist, where *ʿala* is used in a past context and *gabʿa* in a non-past context, e.g.,

saʿayat bəye mamhər ʔəgəl ʔəgbaʿ
 hope I have teacher to be
 ʿI hope to be a teacherʿ

ʔəm sabuʿ . . . ɡəbəʿ²
 ʿBe a mother of seven . . . ʿ (PL1, 122:5)

hətu hātər ʿala
 ʿHe was a brave manʿ

(d) THE SUBORDINATE FORMS OF THE COPULA. Non-temporal subordinating particles do not cause a change in the morphological shape of the copula, e.g.,

ʔənās fadāb kəm tu ləddəggam halla
 man brave that he is it has-been told
 ʿIt is told that he was a brave manʿ

waʿab lawalatma kəmsalha molādu latu ʿaddəm
 and father the girl-also like her his relations which is he invites
 ʿAnd the father of the girl, also, invites in the same manner those who are his relationsʿ
 (PL1, 122:17)

When subordinate by reason of the temporal conjunction *ʔət* or *dib* ‘when’, the personal pronoun copula retains its morphological shape while the copula *tu* assumes the forms *ʔəntu* (masc. sing.) *ʔənta* (fem. sing.), *ʔəntom* (masc. pl.) and *ʔəntan* (fem. pl.), e.g.,

lahəmmum kəʔənnə hawān dib ʔəntu
 the sick one like this weak when he is
 ʿWhen the sick man is [as] weak as thisʿ

kallāt wačabal ʔət ʔana məsəl mambāye ʔəgəl ʔəthāge radeko
 clay and ashes when I am with my Master to talk I dared
 ʿI, being clay and ashes, have dared to talk with my Masterʿ (Storia, 17:12)

When subordinate to the conditional particle *mən* ‘if’, the copula is expressed in all persons by the imperfect forms of the verb *gabʿa*, e.g.,

ʔaze šāfəg mən təgabbəʿ ʔət betka ʔəgəl tigis qaddər
 now hurrying if you are to your home to [you] go you can
 ʿIf you are in a hurry, you can go home nowʿ

5.1.1. THE EXPLICATIVE FORM -*tu*

The form *tu* etc., may occur along with a finite verb—or a syntactically equivalent form—as a sign of an explanation or motivation. In this capacity, the meaning of the form *tu* can be rendered into

²[gəbi], for *gəbiʿ*.

English by 'so, since, because' etc. The semantic connotation of the part of the sentence which immediately precedes or follows the "explicative *tu*" may be one of emphasis, e.g.,

məsəl rabbi waməsəl ʔaddām ʔəndo təgādalka tu waşşəʕaka
with God and with people you having wrestled because you prevailed
'Having wrestled with God and with people, you prevailed, so [your name will be]

gadəm ʔəsraʔel daʔikon yaʕakob ʔitətbahal
thus Israel indeed Jacob you will not be called
Israel; you will not be called Jacob' (Storia, 26:17)

mənnu ʔəgəl ʔətmahar tu hazze ʔamānu ʔassʔelanni
from him to learn because I want its truth tell me
'I want to learn from him, [so] tell me the truth of it' (ʔagʔazot, 79:8)

5.1.2. THE EXPLICATIVE COPULA *tətu*

Where the form *tu* functions as copula and is, at the same time, used to connect a preceding of following utterance of explanation or motivation (5.1.1), the form *tətu* occurs, e.g.,

ʔəlli tətu qənaş wahāssə
this as he is rise and anoint him
'It is he; rise then, and anoint him' (Storia, 61:14)

5.2. *halla* – THE VERB OF EXISTENCE IN THE PRESENT

To express the notion of 'to be, to exist' in the present tense, the conjugated forms of *halla* in the perfect are regularly used, e.g.,

waʔasək ʔaze lawərəd halla ʔəgəl lasamaʕ laʔalaba gārit
and until now the oath exists for the matter which has not testimony
'And the oath exists until now for a matter concerning which there is no testimony'
(PLI, 176:5)

rabbi halla 'God exists'. The conjugation of *halla* in the perfect also expresses the notion rendered in English by the expression 'there is/are', e.g.,

mən ʔaha šənguli latətbahal ʔəzən hallet
from cows šənguli which is called sort [there] is
'there is a sort of cow called šənguli' (PLI, 99:2)

5.2.1. EXPRESSION OF EXISTENCE IN THE PAST: THE VERB ʕala

Since the perfect form of the verb *halla* is used to denote present tense, another verb, ʕala, is used to denote past tense, e.g.,

ʔasla latətbahal walat ʕalat
Asla who is called girl [there] was
'There was a girl called ʔAsla' (ʔAgʔazot, 58:2)

5.2.2. *halla/ʕala* + ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENT

The verbs *halla* (present) and ʕala (past) may take an adverbial complement, then rendering a locative notion, e.g.,

ʔət mədər namsa bəzuh təkla hallaw
in land Austria many wolves [there] are
'There are many wolves in the land of Austria'

ʾabəl huka ʾəttaya halla

'Where is you brother Abel?' (Racconti, 9:1)

nəʾuš waldu wakalbu məslu ʿalaw
small his son and his dog with him [there] were

'There were with him his small son and his dog' (ʾAgʾazot, 71:3)

5.2.3. NEGATION OF *halla* AND *ʿala*

These verbs are negated in the same way in which a finite verb is negated, i.e., by means of the prefixed article *ʾi-*, e.g.,

ʾawtobus ʾiʿala ʾəbbəlli sabab ʾəlli ʾagid ʾimasʾako
bus [there] was not by this reason this quickly I did not come
'there was no bus. Because of this I have not come sooner'

wayaʿaqob yosef bada səmʿon ʾihalla wabənyam haye ʾəgəl
and Jacob Joseph perished Simon is not here and Benjamin as for to
'And Jacob said (. . .): "Joseph has perished, Simon is gone and you want to take

tənsuʾ mənye təhəzzu (. . .) bela
[you] take from me you want he said
'Benjamin from me?'" (Racconti, 19:7)

The negation of *halla*, the impersonal verb of existence, is effected by means of the use of the suppletive form *ʾalabu*,³ e.g.,

wahətom ləbulo (. . .) ʾəb təfāna mayət ʾalabu (. . .)
and they say to him by last will who dies [there] is not
'And they say to him: "No one dies by telling his last will . . ."' (PL1, 208:7)

5.2.4. EXPRESSION OF EXISTENCE IN THE FUTURE

To express the notion of existence in the future, the conjugated forms of *halla* and *gabʾa* in the imperfect are used, though the use of the imperfect forms of *halla* is infrequent, e.g.,

ʾana məsəlka ʾəgabbəʾ
'I shall be with you' (Storia, 38:21)

5.2.5. EXPRESSION OF EXISTENCE IN THE MODAL CATEGORIES

The jussive (imperative) and infinitival moods are usually expressed by the use of the verb *gabʾa*, but also by the use of the verb *halla*, e.g.,

ʾənās bannu ʾəgəl ləgbaʾ sanni ʾikon
man by himself to be good it is not
'It is not good that man should live alone' (Storia, 6:25)

ʾəgəl lahalle halla ʾəlu
to [it] be it is to it
'It must be'

halle wanəbar
exist and live
'Live long!' (LH, 5a)

³*ʾalabu* is also the negative form of the particle *bu* which denotes the notion 'to have' (5.3).

5.2.6. SUBORDINATE FORMS OF VERBS USED IN THE EXPRESSION OF EXISTENCE

(a) *gab'a* and *'ala*. As regards these verbs subordination is effected in the manner typical of any other finite verb.

(b) *halla*. When *halla* occurs with other than temporal conjunctions and particles no peculiarities are to be noted. When subordinate by reason of a temporal conjunction, two phenomena may be noted:

(1) preceded by the conjunctions *'ət* and *dib* 'when', which occur with imperfect forms of the Tigre verb, *halla* retains its perfect form, e.g.,

ṭabib *'aze* *'ət* *'ad* *'ihalla* *da'ikon* *badir* *'ət* *halladi*
 blacksmith now in tribe [there] is not indeed formerly when [there] is then
 'Now there is not a blacksmith in the tribe. Formerly, when there was (one),
'ət *la'əla* *sarḥa* *'awlu* *nassə'*
 for that which it manufactured his price he takes
 he took the price for what he manufactured' (FM, 151:15)

(2) preceded by the conditional particle *mən* 'if', *halla* occurs in the imperfect form, e.g.,

mənma *'aḥa* *'ət* *ḥarratu* *tahalle* *wamənma* *'aqrūš* *'ət* *betu* *halle*
 even if cattle in his corral [there] is and even if money in his house [there] is
 'Even if there are cattle in his corral and even if there is money in his house (. . .)'
 (FM, 143:8)

5.3. EXPRESSION OF POSSESSION

Possession is expressed by means of:

(a) the particle *bu* or *bədibu*, both forms being conjugated in all persons. In this capacity *bu/bədibu* has the syntactical function of a finite verb in the present, e.g.,

ḥata *'abbāy* *ṣewabet* *ba*
 she large family has
 'She has a large family'
'ət *bečče* *b* *zuh* *'akəṭbat* *bədibye*
 in my house many books I have
 'I have many books at home'

(b) the perfect forms of the verb *halla* conjugated in the third person + the article *'əl* conjugated in all persons, e.g.,

'ana *sanni* *mas'alit* *hallet* *'əlye*
 I good camera [there] is to me
 'I have a good camera'
la'ələb *tələfuna* *halla* *'əlka*
 the number of the telephone [there] is to you
 'Do you have the telephone number?'

5.3.1. NEGATION OF FORMS USED IN THE EXPRESSION OF POSSESSION

halla + *'əl* is negated by means of the prefixed negative particle *'i*. The negative form of the particle *bu* (*bədibu*) is *'alabu* (conjugated), as in:

kabəd *'alabəka* 'You do not have a belly' (PL1, 84:7)

5.3.2. TEMPORAL AND MODAL RELATIONS IN THE EXPRESSION OF POSSESSION

The forms dealt with above are used in the present. The expression of possession in the past is rendered by the construction *ʿala + ʔal*, e.g.,

worot ʔənās māsəl ʔassitu ʿala. wahətom naʔat ʃallām ʿalat
 one man with his wife he was and they female camel dark [there] was
 'A man lived with his wife, and they had a dark
ʔalom
 to them
 female camel'

The expression of possession in the future is rendered by the verb *halla* in the imperfect + the particle *ʔal*, as in: *bəzuḥ lahalle ʔalu* 'He will have plenty'. The construction consisting of the imperfect form of *gabʔa* + the particle *ʔal* is not used in the expression of possession in the non-past, owing to the idiomatic meaning of *gabʔa + ʔal* which prevails (*gabʔa + ʔal* means 'to be able to'). The verb *halla* is used in subordinate position showing the same features as described (5.2.6) for *halla* in the expression of existence, e.g.,

ʔət worot gale kəs mən halle ʔalom
 against one some accusation if [there]is to them
 'if they have an accusation against someone'

The particle *bu* is used in subordinate position in cases other than those in which subordination is by means of a temporal conjunction (e.g., in a relative clause): *lakətāb laʔalu bəka* 'the book you have'.

5.4. *halla + ʔal* IN THE EXPRESSION OF NECESSITY

The construction *halla + ʔal* is also used to denote the notion expressed in English by the idiom 'have to' or the modal auxiliary 'must'. The verb *halla* in this construction exhibits the same morphological and syntactical features as are displayed in other instances of the occurrence of *halla + ʔal* in the expression of possession, e.g.,

ʔəgəl ʔigis halla ʔəlye
 to [I]go [there]is to me
 'I have to go'
ʔət bečče ʔaze ʔəgəl ʔigis ʔalabye
 to my house now to [I]go [there]is not to me
 'I don't have to go home now'

6. THE VERB

6.1. MORPHOLOGY: TYPES AND DERIVATIVES OF THE VERB

(a) THE FOUR TYPES. The description of verb formation necessitates the recognition of four morphological types according to stem. These types are referred to in this work as A, B, C, D, where type A is taken as representing the "simple stem"—i.e., the basic stem in relation to which the form and meaning of the other types is considered. The stems of types B, C and D are formally distinctive in that: type B has the medial radical geminated throughout the inflexion, e.g., *'allaba* 'to count' (laryngeal and semi-vowel are not geminated; cf. 6.2.3, 6.2.4); type C has a long penultimate (in the stem) vowel throughout, e.g., *dāgama* 'to tell'; type D has a long penultimate vowel throughout together with a repetition of the medial radical, e.g., *balālasa* 'to answer repeatedly'. All these distinctive morphological features are lacking in the case of the type A stem. Only types A and C are common to all verbs; types B and D do not occur with verbs of more than three radicals. As regards meaning, type B verbs are to be taken as lexical entities, while verbs of types C and D express the notions of conative (intensive) and frequentative aspect: triradicals of the type C are for the most part conative verbs while triradicals of type D and quadriradicals of type C are either conative or frequentative.

(b) PREFIXED DERIVATIVES. Verbs of each of the four types may occur with a preformative whose function and meaning is usually related to coexisting verbs of other types and derivatives. Such a preformative—prefixed to the stem of the verb—is functional in the system where it is a derivative of another coexisting verb-form. There are four preformatives which serve in the formation of the derivatives, as follows: *tə-*, *ʔa-*, *ʔat-* and *ʔatta-*. In general terms *tə-* is used to express the passive form of type A and D verbs and reciprocity in type C and D verbs; the other three preformatives are used to express various aspects of the notion of causation. There are certain limitations to the distribution of these preformatives, e.g., *ʔat-* does not occur with type A of the triradical verb, which has no semivowel or laryngeal as radical, and *ʔa-* does not occur with type D verbs. These limitations of distribution are treated in the appropriate sections below. In addition to the four preformatives which are functional in the system some other preformatives, whose value is lexical only, occur with verbs of more than three radicals. These are the preformatives *ʔan-* and *ʔas-*. A special statement, as regards form and meaning, necessary for some of the verbs with laryngeals or semivowels as one of their radicals, is made in the appropriate sections below.

6.1.1. THE FOUR TYPES; A DETAILED STATEMENT OF FUNCTION AND MEANING

TYPE A. Type A verbs have unmarked meaning in relation to coexisting verbs of types B and C. Verbs of type A can be either transitive or intransitive. Examples:

<i>lakfa</i> 'to throw'	<i>fagra</i> 'to go out'
<i>sakba</i> 'to take rest'	<i>dangara</i> 'to be late'
<i>wada</i> 'to do'	

TYPE B. Verbs of type B are non-functional in the morphological system of the verb and are to be treated in terms of lexis. Many of type B verbs do not have coexisting verbs of type A and thus form the "head" of a dictionary entry. Examples of type B verbs which do not have coexisting verbs of type A:

<i>mazzana</i> 'to weigh' (v.t.)	<i>garrama</i> 'to be beautiful'
<i>'addama</i> 'to invite'	<i>kayana</i> (semivowels are not geminated) 'to deceive'

Examples of type B verbs which have coexisting verbs of type A:

daggama 'to tell' (*dagma* 'to repeat')
kabbara 'to give news' (*kabra* 'to be honored')
ħaffana 'to take with both hands' (*ħafna* 'to become hot')
šakkara 'to praise' (*šakra* 'to get drunk')

TYPE C. Triradicals of type C are met with in the expression of (a) Increase of force or intensity of the action denoted by the underlying verb of type A. Such verbs are transitive. Examples:

sābara 'to break to pieces, to be engaged in breaking' (*sabra* 'to break')
qātala 'to do some killing, to be engaged in killing' (*qatla* 'to kill')
lākafa 'to persist in throwing' (*lakfa* 'to throw')

(b) The notion of causation for those verbs whose initial radical is a laryngeal (verbs with an initial laryngeal are lacking the ^ʔa-A formation). Triradicals with an initial laryngeal can also express the conative aspect and meaning is then determined by the contextual sense. Thus type C of *ħalka* 'to exert oneself, to trouble oneself' which is *ħālaka*, is either 'to exert oneself very much' or 'to trouble' (v.t.). Examples of type C verbs whose first radical is a laryngeal:

ħālafa 'to cause to pass, to remove' (*ħalfa* 'to pass')
^ʔ*āta* 'to make enter, to bring in' (^ʔ*ata* 'to enter')
ħārada 'to slaughter' (e.g. several cows; *ħarda* 'to slaughter')

(c) A stylistic variant of type A or type B where the type A does not coexist, e.g.,

tākala/takla 'to plant'
kālasa/kallasa 'to terminate'

There are some instances in which a type C verb and the coexisting verb of another type are of different origin and meaning, e.g.,

šākara/šakkara 'to praise' – *šakra* 'to get drunk'
sāraħa 'to send away, to make leave' – *sārħa* 'to produce, to make'

Quadriradicals of type C (quadriradicals occur only in types A and C) are used in the expression of the conative or frequentative (iterative) aspect of the action denoted by the underlying verb of type A. Thus, quadriradical verbs of type C function, in relation to type A, as triradical verbs of both types C and D function in relation to type A, e.g.,

marāmara 'to examine thoroughly' (*marmara* 'to examine, to consider')
gasāgasa 'to charge forward repeatedly' (*gasgasa* 'to march forward')

TYPE D. The type D verb which occurs with triradicals only, is used to express the frequentative or conative aspect of the action denoted by the underlying verb of type A. When the intensity of action is described this can involve either increase or decrease of force, i.e., augmentative or attenuate aspect (cf. 6.2.9.1, *bela* compounds: the aspectual use of *bela* and ^ʔ*abala*). There are, therefore, instances in which the meanings of verbs of types C and D in relation to type A overlap. Examples:

ħarārasa 'to plough a little' – *ħārasa* 'to cultivate the soil' – *ħarsa* 'to plough'
kadādama 'to work on and off' – *kadma* 'to serve, to work'
kalāl>ʔa 'to pass a short time' – *kal>ʔa* 'to pass the time'
sabābara 'to break thoroughly' – *sābara* 'to break in pieces' (v.t.), 'to be engaged in breaking' – *sabra* 'to break' (v.t.)

6.1.2. PREFIXED DERIVATIVES—A DETAILED STATEMENT OF FUNCTION AND MEANING

(a) DERIVATIVES WITH THE PREFIX *t>*. *t>*-derivatives are used in the expression of the passive voice of transitive verbs of types A, B and C. In some instances, transitive verbs become intransitive or denote the notion of reflexivity by means of the *t>*-formation. *t>*-C and *t>*-D verbs may express the notion of reciprocity. Examples:

t̄rakkaba 'to be found' (*rakba* 'to find')
t̄mazzana 'to be weighed' (*mazzana* 'to weigh'; v.t.)
t̄šārama 'to be cut into strips' (*šārama* 'to cut into strips')
t̄lāmada 'to get used to each other' (*lamda* 'to get accustomed')
t̄gādaba 'to fight each other' (*gadba* 'to plunder')
t̄marāmara 'to consult one another' (*marmara* 'to examine')
t̄salālama 'to bandy salutations' (*t̄sālama* 'to salute')

(b) DERIVATIVES WITH THE PREFIX *ʔa-*. *ʔa-* derivatives which occur with all types but D, are used in the expression of: (1) the causative of the transitive verb, e.g.,

ʔazmata 'to cause to raid' (*zamta* 'to rob, to raid')
ʔaqātala 'to cause to do some killing' (*qātala* 'to do some killing')
ʔafanfana 'to make abhor' (*fanfana* 'to abhor')

(2) the causative of the intransitive verb. Some of the verbs which are intransitive become transitive by means of the prefix *ʔa-*. Examples:

ʔaq̄tara 'to drip' (v.t.; *q̄tara* 'to trickle')
ʔam̄ṣ̄ʔa 'to cause to come, to bring' (*maṣ̄ʔa* 'to come')
ʔaṭlala 'to wet' (*ṭalla* 'to be wet')
ʔabharara 'to frighten' (*baharara* 'to be frightened')
ʔagarrama 'to beautify' (*garrama* 'to be beautiful')

(c) DERIVATIVES WITH THE PREFIX *ʔat-*. *ʔat-* derivatives are used in the expression of: (1) the causative of intransitive verbs of *t̄-* formation. Some intransitive verbs of the *t̄-* formation become transitive by means of the prefix *ʔat-*. Examples:

ʔatgassa 'to make sit' (*t̄gassa* 'to sit down')
ʔad̄āla (for **ʔatd̄āla*) 'to make ready, to prepare' (*t̄d̄āla* 'to be ready')
ʔatlahama 'to join (v.t.) together' (*t̄lahama* 'to join (v.i.) together')

(2) the causative reciprocal in the case of *ʔat-C* and the causative in the case of *ʔat-D*; prefix *ʔa-* being non-existent in the case of type D verbs. Examples:

ʔatgādaba 'to cause to fight each other' (*t̄gādaba* 'to fight each other')
ʔatfarārha 'to cause to be feared much' (*t̄farr̄ha* 'to be feared')

(3) the causative for those verbs whose initial radical is a laryngeal; the causative being normally expressed for such verbs by type C proper or by means of the prefix *ʔat-*. Examples:

ʔath̄ādaga 'to make leave' (*h̄adga* 'to leave')
ʔath̄ādara/h̄ādara 'to cause to dwell' (*h̄adra* 'to dwell')
ʔath̄alālaka 'to make someone exert himself a little' (*halālaka* 'to exert oneself a little')

(d) DERIVATIVES WITH THE PREFIX *ʔatta-*. *ʔatta-* derivatives are used in the expression of (1) the factitive (i.e., the "double" causative) and (2) the causative where the action is caused to be performed via an agent other than the subject of the verb. Examples:

ʔattaqtala 'to cause to be killed' (*qatla* 'to kill')
ʔattabala 'to cause to be said' (e.g. to spread rumors; *bela* 'to say')
ʔattafgara 'to cause to be brought out' (*fagra* 'to go out')
ʔattam̄ṣ̄ʔa 'to cause to be brought, to let come' (*maṣ̄ʔa* 'to come')

ʔatta- serves also as the simple causative for quadriradical verbs whose prefix is *ʔan-* or *ʔas-*. For examples see the following section.

(e) PREFIXES *ʔan-* AND *ʔas-*. These prefixes occur only with the quadriradicals and are non-functional as regards the system. Their causative form is produced by means of the prefix *ʔatta-*. Examples of verbs with the prefix *ʔan-* and its causative form *ʔattan-*:

ʔattanqatqata 'to shake' (v.t.; *ʔanqatqata* 'to shake' v.i.)

ʔattanşarşara 'to make suffer' (*ʔanşarşara* 'to be in trouble, to suffer'; *şarşara* 'to cry aloud')

Examples of verbs with the prefix *ʔas-* and its causative *ʔattas-*:

ʔattasqamqama 'to make groan' (*ʔasqamqama* 'to groan')

ʔattasnaqnaqa 'to cause to be shaken' (*ʔasnaqnaqa* 'to be shaken')

(f) THE PREFIX *ʔasta-*. This prefix appears only in Arabic loan-words and is thus to be regarded as an integral part of the verb in Tigre, e.g.,

ʔastafāšara 'to inquire (about)' (Arabic: *ʔistafsara*)

ʔastahala 'to be worthy of, to be entitled to' (Arabic: *ʔistaʔhala*)

6.2. VERB FORMATION: TRIRADICAL VERBS OF TYPES A, B, C, D AND THEIR DERIVATIVES

The following synoptic table illustrates the threefold possibilities of triradical verbs (which do not contain semivowels or laryngeals) in their actual range of occurrence.

			<i>tə-</i>	<i>ʔa-</i>	<i>ʔat-</i>	<i>ʔatta-</i>
A	PERFECT	<i>qatla</i>	<i>təqattala</i>	<i>ʔaqatala</i>	—	<i>ʔattaqatala</i>
	IMPERFECT	<i>ləqattəl</i>	<i>lətqattal</i>	<i>ləqattəl</i>	—	<i>lattaqtəl</i>
	JUSSIVE	<i>ləqtal</i>	<i>lətqattal</i>	<i>ləqtəl</i>	—	<i>lattaqtəl</i>
B	PERFECT	<i>qattala</i>	<i>təqattala</i>	<i>ʔaqattala</i>	<i>ʔatqattala</i>	—
	IMPERFECT/ JUSSIVE	<i>ləqattəl</i>	<i>lətqattal</i>	<i>ləqattəl</i>	<i>lətqattəl</i>	—
C	PERFECT	<i>qātala</i>	<i>təqātala</i>	<i>ʔaqātala</i>	<i>ʔatqātala</i>	—
	IMPERFECT/ JUSSIVE	<i>ləqātəl</i>	<i>lətqātāl</i>	<i>ləqātəl</i>	<i>lətqātəl</i>	—
D	PERFECT	<i>qatātala</i>	<i>təqatātala</i>	—	<i>ʔatqatātala</i>	—
	IMPERFECT/ JUSSIVE	<i>ləqatātəl</i>	<i>lətqatātāl</i>	—	<i>lətqatātəl</i>	—

In reading the above table the following morphological phenomena are to be noted: (1) there is a similarity of form in the case of *tə-A* and *tə-B*, in the sense that the semantic value required for *tə-A* in relation to A is rendered regularly by *tə-B* forms; (2) an imperfect/jussive contrast exists only in type A and in the derivative *ʔa-A* throughout the conjugation, other types and derivatives having a similar conjugation for both imperfect and jussive forms (the prefix of 1st person plural retains, however, the contrast imperfect/jussive in some other types); (3) type D does not have the derivative with the prefix *ʔa-A*. (4) the prefix *ʔatta-* occurs only with type A forms where the prefix *ʔat-* is not used.

6.2.1. VERB INFLEXION:¹ THE FOUR TYPES OF VERBS

TYPE A: *qanşa* 'to get up'

Perfect: *qanaşko, qanaşka, qanaşki, qanşa, qanşat, qanaşna, qanaşkum, qanaskən, qanşaw, qanşaya*

Imperfect: *ʔəqannəş, təqannəş, təqanşi, ləqannəş, təqannəş, ʔənqannəş, təqanşo, təqanşa, ləqanşo, ləqanşa*

¹The order followed in the first table will be kept throughout the chapter: 1st pers. sing., 2nd pers. masc. sing., 2nd pers. fem. sing., 3rd pers. masc. sing., 3rd pers. fem. sing., etc. For tables of these inflected forms, cf. 11.1.

- Jussive: $\text{ʔəqnaʃ, təqnaʃ, təqnaʃi, ləqnaʃ, təqnaʃ, nəqnaʃ, təqnaʃo, təqnaʃa, ləqnaʃo, ləqnaʃa}$
 Imperative: The imperative forms are derived from the jussive forms in the appropriate persons. They differ from the jussive forms in that they do not have prefixes² and are, therefore, liable to change their position with regard to the syllabic structure. The inflexion of the imperative is as follows: $qənaʃ, qənaʃi, qənaʃo, qənaʃa$.

TYPE B: *mazzana* 'to weigh'

- Perfect: $mazzanko, mazzanka, mazzanki, mazzana, mazzanat, mazzanna, mazzankum, mazzankən, mazzanaw, mazzanaya$
 Imperfect/
 Jussive: $\text{ʔəmazən, təmazən, təmazni, ləmazən, təmazən, ʔənməzən/nəmazən}$ (the first form is the imperfect one, the second is the jussive), $təmazno, təmazna, ləmazno, ləmazna$
 Imperative: $mazən, mazni, mazno, mazna$

TYPE C: *kātaba* 'to vaccinate'

- Perfect: $kātabko, kātabka, kātabki, kātaba, kātabat, kātabna, kātabkum, kātabkən, kātabaw, kātabaya$
 Imperfect/
 Jussive: $\text{ʔəkātəb, təkātəb, təkātbi, ləkātəb, təkātəb, ʔənkātəb/nəkātəb, təkātbo, təkātba, ləkātbo, ləkātba}$
 Imperative: $kātəb, kātbi, kātbo, kātba$

TYPE D: *balālasa* 'to keep on answering, to answer repeatedly'. Perfect: *balālasa*. Imperfect/Jussive: *ləbālələs*. Imperative: *balələs*.

THE OPTIONAL USE OF PREFIXES IN THE IMPERFECT. In colloquial speech there is a distinct tendency to omit the prefixes of the verb in the imperfect, e.g., (*fagra* 'to go out'), *faggər, faggər, fagri, faggər, faggər, faggər, fagro, fagra, fagro, fagra*.

6.2.2. VERB INFLEXION: PREFIXED DERIVATIVES

PREFIX *tə-*. As mentioned above (6.2) there is identity of form in the case of *tə-A* and *tə-B*. The distinction between *tə-A* and *tə-B*, on the synchronic level, must, therefore, be analyzed lexically. Thus, the sign *tə-A/B* will be used, to signify that *tə-A* is formally identical with *tə-B*: *təqarrača* 'to be cut off'.

- Perfect: $təqarračko, -ka, -ki, təqarrača, -at, təqarračna, -kum, -kən, təqarračaw, təqarračaya$
 Imperfect/
 Jussive: $\text{ʔətqarrač, tətqarrač, tətqarrači, lətqarrač, tətqarrač, nətqarrač, tətqarračo, tətqarrača}$
 Imperative: $təqarrač, -i, -o, -a$

tə-C: *təqābala* 'to meet'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətqābal*. Imperative: *təqābal*.

tə-D: *tənbābara* 'to live a bit on A and a bit on B' (e.g., agriculture and cattle-herding).

Imperfect/Jussive: *lətnabābar*. Imperative: *tənbābar*. As regards the phonemic shape of the derivatives with the prefix *tə-*, two points are to be noted: (1) The prefix *tə-* is optional, e.g., *baggasa*, or *təbaggasa* 'to depart'. (2) When *tə-* becomes a constituent in a consonantal cluster it may assimilate to dentals, alveolars and palato-alveolars. The result is a geminated consonant—voiced or voiceless—according to the assimilating consonant, e.g.,

- $ləddaqqab$ 'he is strong, able' (*tədaqqaba* 'to be strong'; [ləḏḏaqqab] see 2.1.1.2)
 $ləssalālamə$ 'they greet each other' (*təsalālama* 'to greet each other')

PREFIX *ʔa-*. *ʔa-A*. This is the sole instance of a triradical derivative where a formal distinction between the imperfect and jussive morphological categories is maintained. The inflexion is as follows:

²This is the situation for imperative forms in the affirmative. For the imperative in the negative see 6.4.

²*angafa* 'to save, to let escape'.

Perfect: ²*angafko*, -ka, -ki, -a, -at, -na, -kum, -kən, -aw, -aya.

Imperfect: ²*anaggəf*, *tanaggəf*, *tanagfi*, *lanaggəf*, *tanaggəf*, *nanaggəf*, *tanagfo*, *tanagfa*, *lanagfo*, *lanagfa*.

Jussive: ²*angəf*, *tangəf*, *tangəfi*, *langəf*, *tangəf*, *nangəf*, *tangəfo*, *tangəfa*, *langəfo*, *langəfa*.

Imperative: ²*angəf*, ²*angəfi*, ²*angəfo*, ²*angəfa*.

The consonantal element in the prefix ²*a-* is liable to variation as follows: there is a possibility of free variation between ² and ^ʿ when the neighboring consonant is an ejective, e.g., ²*ašməʔa* or ^ʿ*ašməʔa* 'to make thirsty' (*šamʔa* 'to be thirsty'). When the first radical of the root of the verb is *q* the *q* may occur as ² or ^ʿ along with the change of ² to ^ʿ in the prefix, e.g., ²*aqrəha*, ^ʿ*aqrəha* or ^ʿ*aʿrəha* 'to set fire to' (cf. 2.1.1.1; 2.1.1.3).

²*a-B*: ²*abattala* 'to stop, to bring to a standstill'.

Perfect: ²*abattalko*, -ka, -ki, -a, -at, -na, -kum, -kən, -aw, -aya.

Imperfect/ Jussive: ²*abattəl*, *tabattəl*, *tabatli*, *labattəl*, *tabattəl*, *nabattəl*, *tabatlo*, *tabatla*, *labatlo*, *labatla*.

Imperative: ²*abattəl*, ²*abatli*, ²*abatlo*, ²*abatla*.

²*a-C*: ²*ašābata* 'to get hold of'.

Perfect: ²*ašābatko*, -ka, -ki, -a, -at, -na, -kum, -kən, -aw, -aya.

Imperfect/ Jussive: ²*ašābət*, *tašābət*, *tašābti*, *lašābət*, *tašābət*, *našābət*, *tašābto*, *tašābta*, *lašābto*, *lašābta*.

Imperative: ²*ašābət*, ²*ašābti*, ²*ašābto*, ²*ašābta*.

TYPE D. There is no derivative *²*a-D*. Its place in the system is taken by ²*at-D*.

PREFIX ²*at-*. TYPE A. There is no derivative *²*at-A* (see, however, ²*a-* formations with initial laryngeals). Its place in the system is taken by ²*a-A* and ²*atta-A*.

²*at-B*: ²*atbaggasa* 'to cause to move off'.

Perfect: ²*atbaggasko*, -ka, -ki, -a, -at, -na, -kum, -kən, -aw, -aya.

Imperfect/ Jussive: ²*atbaggəs*, *tatbaggəs*, *tatbagsi*, *latbaggəs*, *tatbaggəs*, *natbaggəs*, *tatbagso*, *tatbagsa*, *latbagso*, *latbagsa*.

Imperative: ²*atbaggəs*, ²*atbagsi*, ²*atbagso*, ²*atbagsa*.

²*at-C*: ²*atrāsana* 'to heat'

Perfect: ²*atrāsanko*, etc.

Imperfect/ Jussive: ²*atrāsən*, *tatrāsən*, *tatrāsni*, *latrāsən*, *tatrāsən*, *natrāsən*, *tatrāsno*, *tatrāsna*, *latrāsno*, *latrāsna*.

Imperative: ²*atrāsən*, ²*atrāsni*, ²*atrāsno*, ²*atrāsna*.

²*at-D*: ²*atqabābala* 'to go to and fro'. Perfect: ²*atqabābalko*, etc. Imperfect/Jussive: ²*atqabābəl*, etc. Imperative: ²*atqabābəl*, etc.

PREFIX ²*atta-*. This prefix is functional in the system only in the case of Type A verbs (6.2., Table). A small number of verbs of ²*atta-C* formation appears in the written language, e.g. ²*attaqābala* 'to pay attention, to take notice of'; cf. ²*attaqabala* 'to observe, to look at'; ²*atqābala* 'to return'. These are best dealt with within the lexical domain.

²*atta-A*: ²*attaqrača* 'to let cut off'. Perfect: ²*attaqračko*, etc. Imperfect/Jussive: ²*attaqračə*, etc. Imperative: ²*attaqračə*, etc.

6.2.3. VERBS WITH LARYNGEALS

The influence of laryngeals on adjacent speech-sounds is described in detail in the first chapter (2.1.1.3; 2.2.4.4 (e) (f)). Additional statements which are relevant to the morphology of the verb follow in the appropriate sections below.

6.2.3.1. Verbs with Initial Laryngeals

The following phenomena are to be noted:

- (1) Verbs with initial laryngeal have only one preformative, *ʔat-*, which contains a laryngeal. Thus:
- (a) the preformatives *ʔə-* and *ʔən-* of the first persons which usually occur with the appropriate imperfect and jussive forms of the verb, do not materialize, as in, e.g. *ħassəb* 'I think'.
- (b) *ʔa-* formation does not occur with initial laryngeals. The place of *ʔa-* formations in the system is taken by type C or the *ʔat-A* derivative of type A, as in, e.g.

ʔarga 'to ascend' – *ʔāraga* 'to lift up'
ħatma 'to seal' – *ʔatħatama* 'to make seal'

In the case of the other types, *ʔat-* formations may serve the purpose of the *ʔa-* formation—though type C may function either as C proper or as *ʔat-A*, e.g.

ʔabbasa 'to sin' – *ʔatʔabbasa* 'to make one sin'
ħarsa 'to plough' – *ħārasa* 'to cultivate' – *ʔatħarsa* 'to make plough'

- (c) The prefix *ʔatta-* is lacking in all types.
- (2) As regards vocalization the following features are typical of verbs with initial laryngeals:
- (a) In the first person singular of the jussive where the prefix is lacking, the vowel of the first radical is *-i* as opposed to *ə* or zero in the other persons, e.g., *ħirad* 'should I slaughter [the sacrificial cow] (PL1, 77:10).
- (b) In the case of the occurrence of the sequence V_1LV_2 , V_1 usually assimilates to V_2 , though stress must be accounted for. Thus, one may encounter *tahaṣṣəb* 'you (masc. sing.) will wash', as well as *thaṣṣəb*.
- (c) Since the sequence VLCV is not typical of verbs with laryngeals, the consonantal cluster of a possible VLCV sequence is eliminated by vocalizing the laryngeals. This phenomenon prevails in the jussive of type A, as in *ʔəgəl təħədag tu* 'you (masc. sing.) will leave'; *ʔəgəl təħədagi tu* 'you (fem. sing.) will leave', etc.
- (d) In *ʔat-A* derivatives the consonant-vowel arrangement of the stem in the perfect is *CaCaC* in all persons. Thus the inflexion formation of *ʔat-A* contrasts with that of *ʔat-C* only as regards the quantity of the first vowel of the stem. In the imperfect/jussive the stem of *ʔat-A* has the consonant-vowel arrangement of *ʔat-B* but without gemination of the second radical.

THE INFLEXION OF VERBS WITH INITIAL LARYNGEAL.

In the absence of *ʔa-* derivatives only type A has separate inflexions for the imperfect and the jussive. The inflexion of type A is as follows: *ħaṣba* 'to wash' (v.t.)

Perfect: *ħaṣabko*, etc.
 Imperfect: *ħaṣṣəb*, *tahaṣṣəb*, *tahaṣbi*, *laħaṣṣəb*, *tahaṣṣəb*, *naħaṣṣəb*, *tahaṣbo*, *tahaṣba*, *laħaṣbo*, *laħaṣba*.
 Jussive: *ħiṣab*, *təħəṣəb*, *təħəṣabi*, *ləħəṣəb*, *təħəṣəb*, *nəħəṣəb*, *təħəṣəbo*, *təħəṣəba*, *ləħəṣəbo*, *ləħəṣəba*.
 Imperative: *ħəṣəb*, *ħəṣəbi*, *ħəṣəbo*, *ħəṣəba*.

TYPE B. *ʔaddama* 'to invite'

Perfect: *ʔaddamko*, etc.

Imperfect/ *ʿaddəm, taʿaddəm, taʿadmi, laʿaddəm, taʿaddəm, naʿaddəm, taʿadmo, taʿadma,*
 Jussive: *laʿadmo, laʿadma.*
 Imperative: *ʿaddəm, ʿadmi, ʿadmo, ʿadma*

TYPE C. *hābara* 'to join'

Perfect: *hābarko*, etc.
 Imperfect/ *hābər, taḥābər, taḥābri, laḥābər, taḥābər, naḥābər, taḥābro, taḥābra, laḥābro,*
 Jussive: *lahābra.*
 Imperative: *hābər, hābri, hābro, hābra.*

TYPE D. *harārama* 'to weed here and there'. Imperfect/Jussive: *laharārəm.* Imperative: *harārəm.*

PREFIXED DERIVATIVES³

tə-A/B. Perfect: *tahaṣṣaba* 'to wash oneself'. Imperfect/Jussive: *ləthaṣṣab.* Imperative: *tahaṣṣab.*

tə-C. Perfect: *taʿārafa* 'to visit'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətʿāraf.* Imperative: *taʿāraf.*

ʔat-A. *ʔathalafa* 'to cause to pass'.

ʔat-B. *ʔathaddasa* 'to cause to renew'.

ʔat-C. *ʔathādaga* 'to cause to leave one another'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lathaləf, lathaddəs, lathādəg.*

Imperative: *ʔathaləf, ʔathaddəs, ʔathādəg.*

6.2.3.2. Verbs with Medial Laryngeals

The characteristic features of verbs with medial laryngeals are: (a) the absence of type B formations, as the laryngeals are not geminated; (b) the type A stem shows peculiarities in all morphological categories of the verb: in the perfect, the stem is *CaLaC* throughout the inflexion; in the imperfect the stem is *CLəC*; in the jussive *CLaC*; and in the imperative *CaLaC* throughout; (c) type C seems to be non-functional in the system, e.g., *təbaʔasa* = *təbāʔasa* 'to quarrel'; *qahara* = *qāhara* 'to get excited'; *təsaʿara* = *təsāʿara* 'to be deposed'.

THE INFLEXION OF TYPE A VERBS WITH MEDIAL LARYNGEALS

šaʿana 'to load'

Perfect: *šaʿanko*, etc.
 Imperfect: *ʔəṣʿən, təṣʿən, təṣʿəni, ləṣʿən, təṣʿən, ʔənəṣʿən, təṣʿəno, təṣʿəna, ləṣʿəno, ləṣʿəna.*
 Jussive: *ʔəṣʿan, təṣʿan, təṣʿani, ləṣʿan, təṣʿan, nəṣʿan, təṣʿano, təṣʿana, ləṣʿano, ləṣʿana.*
 Imperative: *šaʿan* (or [*šəʿan*]), *šaʿani, šaʿano, šaʿana.*

PREFIXED DERIVATIVES OF TYPE A. (1) With the exception of the *ʔatta-* formation all derivatives are found. (2) No formal distinction exists between the imperfect and jussive forms. (3) The stem of *ʔat-A* in the imperfect/jussive is *CəLəC* and that of *ʔa-A* is *C(ə)LəC*. Examples:

tə-A: *təbaʔasa* 'to quarrel'
 ʔa-A: *ʔashata* 'to mislead'
 ʔat-A: *ʔatlahama* 'to close'. Imperative/Jussive: *lətbaʔas, lashət, latləhəm.* Imperative: *təbaʔas, ʔashət, ʔatləhəm.*

6.2.3.3. Verbs with Final Laryngeals

TYPE A. The characteristic features of verbs with final laryngeals of type A are:

³Type D and its derivatives will be dealt with henceforth only where peculiarities need to be noted in the forms occurring.

(1) The actualization of the sequence VLCV is made feasible by means of metathesis, e.g., *bal^cako* 'I ate' for **bal^cako*.

(2) All forms with verb suffixes in the non-perfect morphological categories show peculiarities, as follows: (a) in the second persons, the vowel of the verb suffix is liable to transposition, e.g. *təballə^cu* 'you (masc. pl.) will eat' > *təballu^c*; (b) the vowel of the verb suffix in the second persons in the masculine plural forms is *u* as opposed to *o* in the verbs with a final non-laryngeal consonant; (c) all jussive forms with verb suffixes have the vowel *ə* as the second vowel of the stem, as opposed to *a* in the verbs with a final non-laryngeal consonant; (d) owing to the phonemic shape of the imperfect form, the second radical is geminated throughout.

THE INFLEXION OF VERBS WITH FINAL LARYNGEALS

TYPE A. *bal^ca* 'to eat'

Perfect:	<i>bal^cako, bal^caka, bal^caki, bal^ca, bal^cat, bal^cana, bal^cakum, bal^cakən, bal^caw, bal^caya.</i>
Imperfect:	<i>ʔəballə^c, təballə^c, təballə^ci/təballi^c, ləballə^c, təballə^c, ʔənbəllə^c, tabəllə^cu/təballu^c, təballə^ca, ləballə^cu/ləballu^c, ləballə^ca.</i>
Jussive:	<i>ʔəbla^c, təbla^c, təblə^ci/təbli^c, ləbla^c, təbla^c, nəbla^c, təblə^cu/təblu^c,⁴ təblə^ca, ləblə^cu/ləblu^c, ləblə^ca.</i>
Imperative:	<i>bəla^c, bəl^ci/bəli^c, bəl^cu/bəlu^c, bəl^ca.</i>

TYPE B. *šammə^ca* 'to daub with wax'

Perfect:	<i>šammə^cako</i> (1st pers. sing.)
Imperfect/ Jussive:	<i>ləšammə^c, ləšammə^cu/ləšammu^c</i> (3rd pers. masc. pl.)
Imperative:	<i>šammə^c, šammə^ci/šammi^c</i> (fem. sing.)

TYPE C. The vowel of the verb suffix in the non-perfect forms of type C, unlike that of types A and B, is not liable to transportation. In other respects the vowel of type C verb suffixes is that of the other types, e.g. *šar(ə)^ca* 'to shave'

Imperfect/Jussive:	<i>ləšārə^c, təšār(ə)^ci</i> (2nd fem. sing.)
Imperative:	<i>šārə^c, šār(ə)^cu</i> (2nd masc. pl.)

PREFIXED DERIVATIVES. The formal distinction of imperfect/jussive exists only in derivatives of ʔA-A formation, e.g., *ʔasmə^ca* 'to let, make hear'. Imperfect: *lasammə^c*. Jussive: *lasmə^c*. Imperative: *ʔasmə^c*. Examples of other derivatives:

tə-A/B: təmallə^ca 'to be filled'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətmalla^c*. Imperative: *təmallə^c*.

ʔatta-A: ʔattalmə^ca 'to make blossom'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lattalmə^c*. Imperative: *ʔattalmə^c*.

ʔatta-B: ʔattaqallə^ca 'to cause premature birth'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lattaqallə^c*. Imperative: *ʔattaqallə^c*.

6.2.4. VERBS WITH SEMIVOWELS

A distinction is to be made here between those verbs whose final radical is a semivowel, and those whose initial or medial radical is a semivowel. The distinction needs to be made as verbs with initial or medial semivowels show a complementary biradical-triradical inflexion, whereas verbs with a final semivowel are biradical.

6.2.4.1. Verbs with Initial Semivowels

TYPE A. Apart from the jussive of type A, verbs with initial semivowels are inflected in the same manner in which the typical triconsonantal verbs are inflected. The number of verbs with initial *y* is very small—

⁴In the sequence LV of the jussive plural forms, a full assimilation can be detected, as in: *t blu u, t bla a, l blu u, l bla a*.

probably no greater than four—but sufficient to substantiate the above statement. In the jussive, verbs with initial semivowels lose the first radical, and the stem is thus CaC, to which the verb suffix with the vowel element *i* is attached. Example: *warsa* 'to inherit'

Imperfect: *ləwarrəs.*

Jussive: *ʔiras, tīras, tīrasi, liras, tīras, nīras, tīraso, tīrasa, līraso, līrasa*

Imperative: *wəras, wəraši, wəraso, wərasa*

yabsa 'to dry' (v.i.)

Imperfect: *ləyabbəs.*

Jussive: *ʔibas, tības, tībasi, libas, tības, nības, tībaso, tībasa, libaso, libasa*

An optional form is possible for the imperative of verbs with initial *w*, e.g. *ladi* 'bring forth!' (2nd pers. fem. sing. of *walda* 'to bring forth'; *PL1*, 101:21) *rad* 'get down!' (2nd pers. masc. sing. of *warda* 'to descend').

OTHER TYPES AND THEIR DERIVATIVES. (1) Verbs with initial *w* show no peculiarities. (2) Verbs with initial *y* are attested in the following types and their derivatives where they show no peculiarities:

TYPE B: *yattama* 'to become an orphan'. Imperfect/Jussive: *ləyattəm.*

ʔa-A: *ʔaybasa* 'to dry (trans.)'. Imperfect: *layabbəs.* Jussive: *laybəs.*

tə-C: *təyāmama* 'to decide'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətyāmam.*

6.2.4.2. Verbs with Medial Semivowels

The following phenomena are to be noted: (1) Gemination of the medial radical is not effected; (2) The inflexion of verbs with medial *w* is distinctive from that of verbs with medial *y*. The inflexion of verbs with medial semivowels is as follows:

TYPE A, medial *y*: *geda* 'to hurry'.

Perfect: *gədko, gədka, gədki, geda, gedat, gədna, gədkum, gədkən, gedaw, gedaya*

Imperfect: *ʔəgayəd* (or *ʔəgayd*), *təgayəd, təgaydi, ləgayəd, təgayəd, ʔəngayəd, təgaydo, təgayda, ləgaydo, ləgayda*

Jussive: *ʔigid, tigid, tigidī, ligid, tigid, nigid, tigidō, tīgida, ligido, ligida*

Imperative: *gid, gidi, gido, gida*

TYPE A, medial *w*: *dora* 'to go around'

Perfect: *dərko, dərka, dərki, dora, dorat, dərna, dərkum, dərkən, doraw, doraya*

Imperfect: *ʔədawər, tədawər, tədawri, lədawər, tədawər, əndawər, tədawro, tədawra, lədawro, lədawra*

Jussive: *ʔidur, tidur, tiduri, lidur, tidur, nidur, tiduro,⁵ tidura, liduro, lidura*

Imperative: *dur, duri, duro, dura*

Examples of other types and derivatives:

ʔa-A: *ʔarema* 'to remove', *ʔarəmna* 'we removed'. Imperfect: *larayəm.* Jussive: *larim.* Imperative: *ʔarim.*

ʔadora 'to make turn'. Imperfect: *ladawər.* Jussive: *ladur.* Imperative: *ʔadur.*

TYPE B: *qayasa* 'to measure'; *lawəʔa* 'to exchange'. Imperfect/Jussive: *ləqayəs, lələwəʔ.* Imperative: *qayəs, lawəʔ.*

tə-A/B: *təbayana* 'to recover (health)'; *tənawaka* 'to turn away'. Imperfect: *lətbayan, lətnawak.*

Imperative: *təbayan, tənawak.*

ʔatta-A: *ʔattaʔwəra* 'to be carried'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lattaʔwər.* Imperative: *ʔattaʔwər.*

⁵In sequences of normal rapid articulation the vowel of the stem can disappear, e.g., *ʔəgəl tidri tu* 'in order that you (fem. sing.) will return'; *ʔəgəl tidro tu* 'in order that you (masc. pl.) will return', etc.

6.2.4.3. The Verbs *mota* and *šoma*

The verbs *mota* 'to die' and *šoma* 'to fast', whose inflexion shows features which are typical of both medial *w* and medial *y* verbs are exceptions to the above generalization regarding verbs with medial semivowels. The verb *mota* shows distinctive features of a medial *w* inflexion in the morphological category of the perfect of type A, e.g. *mota* 'he died', *mətki* '(when) you (fem. sing.) die' (PL1, 77:10), the ²*a*-A derivative, e.g. ²*amota* 'to kill', and the jussive of type A, e.g. *limut* 'in order that he will die'. The imperfect forms of type A and the ²*a*-A derivative and all other types and derivatives have distinctive features of a medial *y* inflexion, e.g. *ləmayət* (imperfect of type A), *lamayət* (imperfect of the ²*a*-A derivative). The collected examples of *šoma* suggest that the radicals *w* and *y* occur in free variation in this particular verb: both *ləšawəm* and *ləšayəm* are recorded.

6.2.4.4. Verbs with Final Semivowels

These verbs, whose historical origin is believed to be a triradical verb with final *w* or *y*, are represented by one biradical inflexion: *šaqā* 'to work'.

Perfect:	<i>šaqeko, šaqeka, šaqeki, šaqā, šaqet, šaqena, šaqekum, šaqekən, šaqaw, šaqaya.</i>
Imperfect:	<i>əšaqqe, təšaqqe, təšaqqi, ləšaqqe, təšaqqe, ənšaqqe, təšaqqu, təšaqya, ləšaqqu, ləšaqya.</i>
Jussive:	<i>əšqe, təšqe, təšqay, ləšqe, təšqe, nəšqe, təšqaw, təšqaya, ləšqaw, ləšqaya.</i>
Imperative:	<i>šəqe, šəqay, šəqaw, šəqaya.</i>

TYPES OTHER THAN A AND THEIR DERIVATIVES

TYPE B: *fassa* 'to cut meat for drying'. Imperfect/Jussive: *ləfasse* (pl. *ləfassu*). Imperative: *fasse*.

t-A/B: *təqalla* 'to be roasted'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətqalle* (pl. *lətqallaw*). Imperative: *təqalle*.

²*a*-A: ²*abda* 'to destroy'. Imperfect: *labadde* (pl. *labaddu*). Jussive: *labde* (pl. *labdu*). Imperative: ²*abde*.

²*atta*-A: ²*attansa* 'to listen attentively'. Imperfect: *lattanse*. Imperative: ²*attanse*.

6.2.4.5. Verbs with More Than One Semivowel

Verbs containing two semivowels show the morphological features which are typical of their respective paradigms. Thus, the verb *wada* 'to do, to make', for example, has the endings of a final semivowel verb and the beginnings of an initial semivowel verb. Its inflexion is as follows:

Perfect:	<i>wadeko, wadeka, wadeki, wada, wadet, wadena, wadekum, wadekən, wadaw, wadaya.</i>
Imperfect:	<i>əwadde, təwadde, təwaddi, ləwadde, təwadde, ənwadde, təwaddu, təwadya, ləwaddu, ləwadya.</i>
Jussive:	<i>əwade, təwade, təwaday, ləwade, təwade, nəwade, təwadaw, təwadaya, ləwadaw, ləwadaya.</i>
Imperative:	<i>wade</i> (or <i>wəde</i>), <i>waday</i> (or <i>wəday</i>), <i>wadaw</i> , <i>wadaya</i> .

A medial semivowel, either *w* or *y*, is retained throughout the inflexion. Thus, the verb *šawa* 'to distort', for example, has the imperfect form *ləšawe* and the jussive *ləšwe*; the verb *maya* 'to let pass the night', has the imperfect form *ləmaye* and the jussive *ləmye*. Other types and derivatives show their typical features:

t-A/B: *təmaya* 'to pass the night'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətmaye* (pl. *lətmayaw*).

t-C: *təwāla* 'to be led (animal)'. Imperfect: *lətwāle* (pl. *lətwālaw*).

²*a*-A: ²*adwa* 'to make last'. Imperfect: *ladawe*. Jussive: *ladwe*.

²*atta*-A: ²*attawda* 'to cause to be done'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lattawde*.

6.2.5. VERBS WITH BOTH A SEMIVOWEL AND A LARYNGEAL

Verbs containing a semivowel and a laryngeal reflect the behavior of vowels which are adjacent to laryngeals, in addition to the basic morphological features which are typical of their respective paradigms. The

following table illustrates the actual possibilities of combinations:

C	L	SV
L	C	SV
L	SV	SV
C	SV	L
SV	L	C
L	SV	C

6.2.5.1. C L SV

TYPE A:

- Perfect: *raʔa* 'he saw', *raʔaw* 'they (masc.) saw', *rəʔet* 'she saw', *rəʔena* 'we saw'.
 Imperfect: *tərʔi* 'you (fem. sing.) will see', *lərʔe* 'he will see', *lərʔu* 'they will see'.
 Jussive: *tərʔay* (2nd fem. sing.), *lərʔe* (3rd masc. sing.), *lərʔaw* (3rd masc. pl.).
 Imperative: *rəʔe*, *raʔay*, *raʔaw*, *raʔaya*.

tə-A/B: *təraʔa* 'he was seen'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətrəʔe*.

ʔa-A: *ʔaraʔa* 'he showed'. Imperfect/Jussive: *larʔe*.

6.2.5.2. L C SV

TYPE A: Perfect: *haza* 'to wish'. Imperfect: *lahazze*, *hazze* (1st pers. sing.). Jussive: *ləhəze*, *hize* (1st pers. sing.). Imperative: *həze*.

It should be added here that *ʔa-A* derivative does not exist for these verbs, since they begin with a laryngeal. The meaning usually expressed by *ʔa-A* can be conveyed by type C, e.g. *ʔāta* 'to bring home' as compared to *ʔata* 'to come home'.

6.2.5.3. L SV SV: The Verb *haya*

haya 'to heal (v.i.), to recover (from sickness)' is the single verb of its kind. The semivowel *y* as second radical is retained throughout the inflexion. Example:

- Perfect: *hayeko* (1st pers. sing.), *hayeki* (2nd pers. fem. sing.), *hayaw* (3rd pers. masc. pl.).
 Imperfect: *haye* (1st pers. sing.), *lahayu* (3rd masc. pl.).
 Jussive: *hiye* (1st pers. sing.), *təhəyay* (2nd pers. fem. sing.), *ləhəyaw* (3rd pers. masc. pl.).
 Imperative: *həye*, *həyay*, *həyaw*, *həyaya*.

6.2.5.4. C SV L: The Verb *baʔa* and Verbs with Inflexion Similar to It.

(1) Type A is lacking in the case of verbs with medial radical *w*.

(2) The inflexion of type A verbs with medial radical *y* has: (a) the biradical stem *CaC* throughout the paradigm of the perfect; (b) the optional occurrence of *y* as medial radical throughout the paradigm of the jussive (imperative); (c) the optional occurrence of a jussive paradigm where the stem is *CaC* and the prefix vowel *i*—a formation identical to that of verbs with initial *w*. Some verbs with the combination of radicals *CyL* are *baʔa* 'to enter', *qaħa* 'to be red', *qaʔa* 'to vomit' (also: *qaʔa*). The phenomena noted in (2) (b) above may be exemplified by means of the inflexion of the verb *baʔa*, as follows:

Jussive, with medial *y*:

ʔibyaʔ (also: *ʔəbyaʔ*), *tibyaʔ*, *tibyaʔi/tibyiʔ*, *libyaʔ*, *tibyaʔ*, *nibyaʔ*, *tibyaʔu/tibyuʔ*, *tibyaʔa*, *libyaʔu/libyuʔ*, *libyaʔa*.

Jussive, without medial *y*:

^ʔ*iba*^ʔ, *tiba*^ʔ, *tiba*^ʔ*i/tibi*^ʔ, *liba*^ʔ, *tiba*^ʔ, *niba*^ʔ, *tiba*^ʔ*u/tibu*^ʔ, *tiba*^ʔ*a*, *liba*^ʔ*u/libu*^ʔ, *liba*^ʔ*a*.

Imperative, with medial *y*:

baya^ʔ, *baya*^ʔ*i/bayi*^ʔ, *baya*^ʔ*u/bayu*^ʔ, *baya*^ʔ*a*.

Imperative, without medial *y*:

ba^ʔ, *ba*^ʔ*i/bi*^ʔ, *ba*^ʔ*u/bu*^ʔ, *ba*^ʔ*a*.

6.2.5.5. SV L C: Including the Verbs *wahada* and *wahaṭa*

Verbs containing initial semivowel and medial laryngeal:

(a) are constituted according to the inflexion pattern of verbs with medial laryngeal, as follows:

TYPE A: *wa*^ʔ*ala* 'to pass the day'. Imperfect: *lawa*^ʔ*al*. Jussive: *law*^ʔ*al*. Imperative: *wa*^ʔ*al*, *wa*^ʔ*ali*, *wa*^ʔ*alo*, *wa*^ʔ*ala*.

(b) have biradical variants in the perfect and jussive of type A. *Wahada* 'to be little' and *wahaṭa* 'to devour' are the only verbs attested with these variants: Perfect: *ḥada*, *ḥaṭa*. Jussive: *lahad*, *lahaṭ* (*lawḥat* is also attested).

6.2.5.6. L SV C: Including the Verb *haba*

(1) No type A verbs with medial *w* are attested.

(2) The prefix vowel of verb forms in the jussive of type a is *ə*, e.g. *ləhis* '(in order that) it will be better' (*ḥesa* 'to be better'). The verb *haba*, historically **wahaba*, is a special case. From a descriptive point of view its inflexion shows combined features of L SV C and SV L C verbs:

Perfect: *habko*, *habka*, *habki*, etc.

Imperfect: *hayəb*, *tahayəb*, *tahaybi*, *lahayəb*, *tahayəb*, *nahayəb*, *tahaybo*, *tahayba*, *lahaybo*, *lahayba*.

Jussive: *hab*, *tahab*, *tahabi*, *lahab*, *tahab*, *nahab*, *tahabo*, *tahaba*, *lahabo*, *lahaba*.

Imperative: *hab*, *habi*, *habo*, *haba*.

6.2.5.7. The Verb *ʔala*

This verb occurs only in the morphological category of the perfect of type A. Its function is to supply the forms of the verb 'to be' in the past, e.g. *ʔalko* 'I was', *ʔalaw* 'they were', etc.

6.2.5.8. The Verb *bela* 'To Say'

This verb (originating from the root **bhl*) is unique in its inflexion formation. The inflexion is as follows:

Perfect: ^ʔ*əbe*, *təbe/telka*, *təbay/telki*, *bela belat/təbe*, ^ʔ*ənbe* [^ʔ*əmbə*]/*nəbe*, *təbaw/telkum*, *təbaya/təlkən*, *belaw*, *belaya*.

Imperfect: ^ʔ*əbəl*, *təbəl*, *təbli*, *ləbəl*, *təbəl*, ^ʔ*ənbəl* [^ʔ*əmbəl*]/*nəbəl*, *təblo*, *təbla*, *ləblo*, *ləbla*.

Jussive: ^ʔ*ibal*, *tibal*, *tibali*, *libal*, *tibal*, *nibal*, *tibalo*, *tibala*, *libalo*, *libala*.

Imperative: *bal*, *bali*, *balo*, *bala*.

Derivatives: the following derivatives have an inflexion typical of medial laryngeal verbs, excluding the case of ^ʔ*a*-A where the stem is biradical:

tə-A: Perfect: *təbahala* 'to be said'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətbahal*.

^ʔ*a*-A: ^ʔ*abala* 'to make say, let speak'. Imperfect/Jussive: *labəl*.

6.2.6. VERBS WHOSE SECOND AND THIRD RADICALS ARE PHONETICALLY IDENTICAL

When there is no vowel between second and third non-geminated radicals there is an assimilation of the two radicals into one doubled consonant of the same quality, e.g. *tədanno* 'you (masc. pl.) will descend' (*danna* 'to descend', root: *dnn*, type A). With pronominal suffixes an assimilation occurs even when the second radical is geminated, e.g. *ʔazzakkum* 'I order you (masc. pl.)' (*ʔazzaza* 'to command', root: *ʔzz*, type B).

6.2.7. QUADRIRADICAL VERBS

The arrangement of radicals in the quadriradical verb exhibits, for the most part, the linear orders 1.2.3.4. as in *ʔambata* 'to begin'; 1.2.1.2 as in *bačbača* 'to mix'; and 1.2.3.3 as in *qarṭata* 'to break into several pieces'. The characteristic morphological features of the quadriradical verb are as follows: (1) absence of gemination in any one of the radicals; (2) only types A and C exist; (3) no formal contrast exists between the imperfect and jussive paradigms of either type and their derivatives; (4) the preformatives *ʔan* and *ʔas* are found only with quadriradicals; (5) the inflexion formation of verbs with semivowels shows some peculiarities which are not paralleled in the comparative triradical formation. In all other respects the quadriradical verb differs from the triradical only in its stem inflexion. The inflexion of the quadriradical verb is as follows:

TYPE A: Perfect: *targama*. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətargəm*. Imperative: *targəm*.

TYPE C: *qarāṭata* 'to shatter to pieces'. Imperfect/Jussive: *ləqarāṭət*. Some examples of prefixed derivatives:

tə-A: Perfect: *təqanṭaša* 'to be torn off'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lətqanṭaš*. Imperative: *təqanṭaš*.

ʔa-A: Perfect: *ʔatamtama* 'to reach' (v.t.) Imperfect/Jussive: *latamtəm*. Imperative: *ʔatamtəm*.

ʔan-A: Perfect: *ʔanqatqata* 'to quake (earth)'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lanqatqət*. Imperative: *ʔanqatqət*.

ʔas-A: Perfect: *ʔastargama* 'to interpret'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lastargəm*. Imperative: *ʔastargəm*.

tə-C: Perfect: *təbarābara* 'to scatter' (v.i.). Imperfect/Jussive: *lətbarābar*. Imperative: *təbarābar*.

6.2.7.1. Quadriradical Verbs with Laryngeals

The inflexion of quadriradical verbs possessing a laryngeal shows, mutatis mutandis, the same characteristics as the inflexion of triradical verbs possessing a laryngeal. Some examples (the order is: Perfect–Imperfect/Jussive):

L.2.3.4, type A: *ʔambata* (*ʔanbata*), *laʔambət*; *tə*-A: *taʔangafa* 'to stumble', *lətʔangaf*.

1.L.3.4., *ʔa*-A: *ʔamʔadaga* (for: **ʔa-maʔdaga*, from the root *mʔdg*) 'to be at one's prime', *lamʔadog*.

1.L.3.3., type A: *čaʔarara* 'to become dry', *lačaʔarər*; *tə*-A: *təmahalala* 'to appeal to God', *lətmahalal*.

1.2.1.L., type A: *qarqəha* 'to knock', *ləqarqəh*; type C: *qarāqəha* 'to knock', *ləqarāqəh*.

6.2.7.2. Quadriradicals with Semivowels

The following is sufficient to illustrate the variety of actually attested combinations of radicals: (1) w C w C; (2) C C C SV; (3) C w C SV; (4) C w C C; (5) C y C SV; (6) C y C C.

(1) A group of verbs in which the radical SV retains its phonetic shape, e.g. *watwata* 'to shake' (v.t.), Imperfect/Jussive: *ləwatwət*.

(2) Verbs whose endings are typical of verbs with final semivowels, e.g. type A: *fanta* 'to separate', Imperfect/Jussive: *ləfante*.

(3) Represents two different types of stem. One type is similar to that of combination (2), as in *nawna* 'to move' (v.t.), Imperfect/Jussive: *lɔnawne*; whereas with the other type of stem and its inflexion the *w* is actualized as *ō* throughout the entire paradigm of type A and its derivatives, e.g. type A: *gola* 'to dance', Imperfect/Jussive: *lɔgole*.

(4) Differs from (3) only in that its final radical is not a semivowel, e.g. type A: *gorata* 'to load'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lɔgorɔt*.

(5) and (6) Verbs whose second radical is the semivowel *y*. This *y* is represented by *e* throughout the inflexion of type A and its derivatives and retains its phonemic shape in type C and its derivatives. The endings of such verbs are those of triradicals with a final semivowel in the case of combination (5).

Examples:

TYPE A: *gega* 'to make a mistake'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lɔgege*.

deraba 'to tie together'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lɔderɔb*.

ʔa-A: *ʔaserara* 'to stand in line'. Imperfect/Jussive: *laserɔr*.

6.2.8. VERBS WITH MORE THAN FOUR RADICALS

There are some verbs of five consonants, of the order 1.2.3.2.3. A few of these have semantically corresponding triradicals, e.g. *ʔaglababa* or *galba* 'to be startled'. Only *ʔa*, *ʔat* and *ʔatta* formations of A and C types appear to exist.

6.2.8.1. Quinqueradicals with Semivowels

Examples: *hawəšwəša* 'to disappear'. Imperfect/Jussive: *lahawəšwəš*. There is a very small number of verbs—somewhere in the region of a dozen—which have the vowel *o* following the second radical throughout the inflexion, e.g. *hanobaza* 'to murmur'; Imperfect/Jussive: *lahanobəz*.

6.2.9. VERB COMPOUNDS

There are instances in which compounds with two elements occur, whose function is that of a verb. The first element in the compound may exist as a lexical entity or be dependent upon the occurrence of the compound. The second element of the compound is limited to three: *bela* 'to say' and its causative form *ʔabala*; *wada* 'to do, to make' and *gaʔa* (*gabʔa*) 'to become'. In the case of a verb compound, the meaning of the whole compound is not predictable from the meaning of its constituents when: (a) the second element is void of lexical meaning and (b) the occurrence of the first element is limited to the compound. Cases in which the first element is a free morphological and semantic entity can be interpreted either as a verb and its complement, or as an idiomatic expression, e.g.

bəhəl bela 'to pardon, to excuse' – *bəhəl* 'pardon' – *baḥala* 'to pardon'

Thus, *bəhəl bela* 'He said: "pardon!"'

qaʕ bela 'to make a sharp noise' (*qaʕ* 'a sharp noise')

šut bela 'to refuse' (*šut* 'an exclamation of disbelief')

Examples of compounds whose first element is limited to that compound only:

ləhəb bela 'to sweat' (*lahaba* 'to sweat')

təm bela 'to be silent'

bət bela 'to spring forth'

Most *bela* compounds happen to be intransitive. They may be rendered transitive or become causative of the intransitive by the use of the verb *ʔabala* (ʔa-A of *bela*) in place of the second element in the compound, e.g.

kaf bela 'to sit' – *kaf 'abala* 'to make sit'
bah bela 'to rejoice' (v.i.) – *bah 'abala* 'to rejoice' (v.t.)

6.2.9.1. The Aspectual Use of *bela* and *'abala*

In a certain number of cases the compound carries further information concerning the aspect of action or state of happening—as compared with the semantic content of a coexisting verb of the same origin as the first element of the compound. The addition in meaning can be specified in terms of intensity or manner of the activity, such as: augmentative, attenuate or iterative, e.g.

lafqa 'to saw' – *lafəq 'abala* 'to saw a little' – *lafəq bela* passive of *lafəq 'abala*
waswasa 'to move' (v.i.) – *waswas bela* 'to move fast/to and fro'
'atmama 'to complete' – *tamam bela* 'to complete all, without deficiency'
qansa 'to get up' – *qənəs bela* 'to get up (and be absent) for a short while' (PL1, 13:14)

6.2.9.2. *bela* in Free Variation with *wada*; Compounds with *wada* and *ga'a*

In some compounds the second element, *bela*, is in free variation with *wada* which, as a lexical entity, means 'to do, to make', e.g. *koy bela/wada* 'to hurry'; *bərəf bela/wada* 'to clear off'. The verb *wada* may also be found as the second element of the compound—not in variation with *bela*—having a role similar to that of *bela*, as in: *'aqəl wada* 'to be patient', *yak wada* 'to hurry'. The verb *ga'a* which means 'to become, to happen, to be' may also occur as the second element in some verb compounds; it retains, however, its original meaning of 'to become', e.g. *'ağhab ga'a* 'to become senseless', *hawəššəš ga'a* 'to break to pieces', *hən ga'a* 'to become speechless' (*hən* 'confusion'), *hən wada* (causative of *hən ga'a*).

6.3. THE TENSE SYSTEM

6.3.1. THE THREE MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES OF THE TIGRE VERB

There are three morphological categories of the Tigre verb: perfect, imperfect and jussive.⁶ The perfect and imperfect categories constitute the temporal category of the indicative, while the jussive is a modal non-temporal category. Verb forms of all three morphological categories contrast with each other in serving as the main verb of a sentence or clause. Verb forms of the jussive can occur as subordinate in one environment only: when preceded by the conjunction *'əgəl*. When the complex *'əgəl* + jussive serves to perform a modal function it must be regarded as being in a subjunctive rather than a jussive mood. The major distinction of category between the perfect and imperfect can be seen in terms of the temporal contrast past (perfect forms)/non-past (imperfect forms).

6.3.1.1. Complex Expressions of Time-Relations

More specific time-relations than those mentioned above (6.3.1) can be expressed by means of a complex. Three major syntactical structures serve to express time-relations: (a) the imperfect form in construction with auxiliary verbs; (b) *'əndo* + perfect + auxiliary, or perfect + *ka* + auxiliary; (c) the participle form in construction with auxiliaries. The construction mentioned in (a) is used in the expression of non-perfective⁷ time-relations; the constructions mentioned in (b) and (c) are used in the expression of the perfective notion of time-relations.

⁶The terms perfect, imperfect and jussive are used throughout the work in a morphological sense only.

⁷A distinction is made throughout the work between the terms 'perfect' and 'perfective': the former denotes morphological category only, the latter a temporal category corresponding to, e.g., present-perfect, pluperfect, etc., in English grammar.

6.3.1.2. Jussive (and Imperative)

This morphological category of the Tigre verb corresponds to a modal category for which the name 'subjunctive-jussive' seems to be adequate, owing to its occurrence in both dependent and independent clauses. The imperative occurs as the second person (sing. and pl.) of the jussive in the affirmative, e.g. *təm bali 'itəbkay* 'be silent, do not cry' (PLI, 10:5), and is never subordinate. Examples of the independent jussive-form, first and third persons:

'əlla nide
'let us do this'

ladol rabbi barhat təgba' bela
then God light let it be he said
'Then the Lord said, "Let there be light!"'

(Racconti, 5:5)

The jussive is also found in interrogative utterances, when the question implied is rhetorical, raises doubt or requires an answer in the imperative mood, e.g.

mi 'ide maslakka
what should I do it seems to you
'What should I do, according to your opinion?'

When subordinate—always preceded by the conjunction *'əgəl*—there are two main usages to be observed: (a) the jussive functions as a semantic category of modality, or (b) it can appear as a quasi-infinitive or verbal-noun equivalent for those verbs whose complement is generally not an infinitive. Examples of (a):

'ənta 'əgədda 'əgəl təššayam 'əgid na'a
you then so that you will be appointed quickly come (imperative)
'[as for] you, then, come quickly so that you will be appointed' (Tribù 52:1)

kəstān wa'əslām 'ət mədər habaš dinom mən həd
Christians and Moslems in land Abyssinia their religion from each other
'This is what the Christians and Moslems in the country of Abyssinia do so that their

'əgəl lətfante lawaddwo 'əlli tu
so that it should be distinguished which they do this is
religions (lit. 'religion') should be distinguished from each other' (PLI, 198:16)

Examples of (b):

sə'lika 'əgəl 'ənsa' 'əfatte
your picture to I take I want
'I want to take your picture'

həmām 'aso lašabbəto 'addām 'əgid bagid 'ət həkim
[the] illness [of] malaria which catches him man at once to doctor
'People who have caught malaria should go to the doctor at once.'

'əgəl ligis wəgğəbbo
to go is his duty

'əgəl + JUSSIVE + *tu* AS THE EXPRESSION OF FUTURITY

In the Mansa^c Tigre of today the use of this compound seems to be gaining ground at the expense of the imperfect as the typical expression of futurity, and to be developing into the formal expression of future tense. This complex can express (a) what is about to, or soon to, happen (imminence) or (b) what will happen. Examples of (a):

la'agərbačče habuni 'əgəl 'igis tu
 my things give (masc. pl.) me that I should go it is
 'Give me my things; I am to go'.

'ana 'ənze kaf 'əgəl 'ibal tu 'ənta ken kaf bal
 I here sit is you there sit (imperative)
 'I am going to sit here—you sit (imperative) there'.

Examples of (b):

fəğər başə' əgəl 'nigis tu
 tomorrow Massawa to we go is
 'Tomorrow we shall go to Massawa'.

lə'ul bernarəd nāy nedarland 'ətyopya 'əgəl ləbšəhu 'əb fəntit
 Prince Bernhard of [the] Netherlands Ethiopia to visit in [a] special
 'Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands will come to Addis Ababa in a special aeroplane to

tyārat 'adəs 'abba 'əgəl lə'taw tu
 aeroplane [to] Addis Ababa to he come is
 visit Ethiopia'.

6.3.1.3. Perfect and Imperfect

The perfect and imperfect are in contrast in the expression of the distinction between past and non-past. In traditional terms of time relations the perfect essentially denotes the preterite and the imperfect serves to express the present and future.

THE PERFECT IN THE EXPRESSION OF THE PRETERITE

As a main verb in the sentence the perfect is used to express existence or action which is regarded as completed in the past (the preterite), e.g.

'aze lakəl'ot 'ənās kəl mənnom 'ət 'adgu ša'ana wagabayom
 Now the two men each of them on his donkey mounted and [on] their way
 'Now each of the two men mounted his [own] donkey and they started on their way'.

'ambataw
 [they] started.

The language sometimes makes use of the preterite with a resultative value whose association is perfective, i.e., where the same phenomenon can be regarded as action and the resultant condition, e.g.

walka mota 'Your son is dead (has died)' (PLI, 25:14)

ka'əgəl mi 'əttəlli ta'assarki belawa
 And for what in here you (fem. sing.) are bound they said to her
 'They said to her: "And why are you bound in here?"' (Lt Leg, 3:4)

To complete the picture of the uses of the perfect, its non-temporal use should be mentioned here. This use which has to do with the 'unreality' of the nexus is to be found: (a) in the expression of unreality in the apodosis of conditional clauses (*wa* + perfect), as in:

bəzuh soldi mən halleye⁸ makinat wazzābeko
 Much money if I have car I would buy
 'If I had more money, I would buy a car'.

⁸Assimilated form: *halla 'əlye*.

ʔəgəl mi wakalʔakwa

'Why should I have refused her [to your son for marriage—if she were not already engaged].'

(PL1, 113:4)

(Cf. 9.6, 9.7)

THE IMPERFECT IN THE EXPRESSION OF THE NON-PAST

The imperfect serves essentially to express: (a) a state of existing or an action whose period of time includes the present moment, e.g.

ʔət bet məhro kəl dol ʔassabuḥ sʔassamān⁹ ʔəgayəs
 To school all time in the morning at eight o'clock I go
 'I go to school every day at eight o'clock in the morning'.

ʔana ʔəb dəggalabye ʔəkattəb daʔam labazzəḥ gabil ʔəb
 I with my left hand I write but who is many people with
 'I write with the left hand but the majority of the people write with their right hand'.

ʔadamānom tu lakatbo
 their right hand it is that they write

daʔam latalač ʔazedi sanni naʔamrakka ʔəb nosnosom below
 But the shepherds now indeed well we know you among themselves they said
 'But the shepherds said among themselves: "Indeed, now we know you well"'. (*ʔəgʔazot*, 80:17)

(b) futurity, e.g.

gis ʔana ʔəsaddəkka bello "Go, I shall help you" he said to him'.

ḥaḡo kəl'e ma salas mə'al ʔaqabbəl
 After two or three day I shall return
 'I shall return after two or three days'.

(c) the descriptive present situated in the past. This use of the imperfect achieves a more vivid or dramatic result, and gives an emotional coloring typical of direct speech, e.g.

qom ʔarwām ʔəb nəwāyu ʔət kəl ʔakān nabbər ʔala
 Groups *arwam* with his flock in every place living was
 'Groups of people of the Rom (i.e. legendary giants) with their flocks, were living [once upon a time] everywhere.'

waʔarwām laʔawalli lamənnu ʔahāhom lasattu bəzuḥ qori tu
 and *arwam* the wells from which their cattle they water very deep is
 and the wells from which the Rom used (lit. 'use') to water their flocks were
 (lit. 'are') very deep,

ḥad rim šafər gabbəʔ. wakəl rom laʔahāhu
 about the length pack-rope perhaps. and each Rom the his cattle
 perhaps about the length of a packing-rope. And when each of the Rom

ʔət lasatte laʔəgru ḥatte ət laʔela walaḥatte
 when he waters the his foot one in the well and the one
 was watering (lit. 'waters') his flock he used to draw (lit. 'draws') [water] placing
 one of his feet in the well and the other

⁹Assimilated form: *saʔat samān*.

ʾət lasamuy ʾəndo karre ǧaqqəf
 in the watering trough while he placing he draws
 in the watering trough. (...)

(PL1, 83:5)

6.3.1.4. Compound Tenses: Imperfect + Auxiliary (*halla* or *ʿala*)

An adequate description of the marked meanings of the compounds involves two levels of analysis, firstly: the compounds in relation to the 'simple' tenses (i.e., perfect = past, imperfect = non-past), and, secondly: the compounds in relation to one another.

(1) The two compounds superimpose upon the basic meaning—as expressed by the simple tenses—an aspectual feature which can be seen in terms of the duration, or aspect of duration, of the action or state involved. 'Duration' is taken here as indicating those features storable in terms other than the mere report of activity, i.e. progressive (continuous or broken), habitual, iterative, simultaneous with a single action or with a progressive one, etc.

(2) The relevant distinction between the two compounds—Imperfect + *halla*; Imperfect + *ʿala*—is intrinsically temporal and thus is similar to the one which contrasts the equivalent unmarked categories (i.e., simple tenses), e.g.

waʾəlli ʾəb zaban badir kəl ʾəwān waddwo ʿalaw. waʾazema
 and this in time old all time doing they were. And even now
 'And they always used to do this in the old times. And even now

galgale mənnu waddu hallaw.
 some of it doing they are.
 they do [some] of it'.

(PL1, 204:20)

IMPERFECT + *halla*

This compound is essentially used to express an activity in progress at the time of speaking, or an actual state. This use resembles in meaning the English 'present continuous' or 'progressive', e.g.

gadəm hašena wakəl'itna həna hədāy nətfarrar hallena
 Well then we are betrothed and both of us we wedding going out we are
 'They said, "We are betrothed now and [only] we two are going out to the wedding,"

below wagesaw.
 they said and they went.
 and they went.'

(Tigre Texts 3:10)

raʾaše hammanni halla 'I have a headache'.

Other uses of the compound draw attention to the habitual or iterative (recurrent) aspects of the activity or state, when the period of time being indicated includes the present moment, e.g.

waʾəb lagədʾo ʾasək yom təmayət hallət.
 And of the [disease] Gədʾo until today dying she is.

'And until today they (lit. 'she', i.e. the camels) die of Gədʾo [disease]. (PL1, 69:20)

IMPERFECT + *ʿala*

This compound is used to express those aspects exemplified above by imperfect + *halla* here in a past context. Examples of past progressive:

kaʾəb ʾəb gabay ləsʿe ʿala wakətfat səga ʾət ʾafuhu ʿalat
 Dog on road running he was and piece meat in his mouth she was
 'A dog was running on the road and in his mouth he had a piece of meat.

^ʔəlu. haqo gale ^ʔət mahāz ^ʔəb māyu baṣha.
to him. After while at river with its water he arrived.
After a while he arrived at a river (with water)'. (ʔAgʔazot, 65:11)

A habitual or recurrent activity, or a custom (situation) which prevailed:

yaʿakob ^ʔət kəl highu ^ʔamān ləthāge ^ʔiʿala.
Jacob in all his speech truth speaking he was not.
'Jacob was not in the habit of always speaking the truth'. (ʔAgʔazot, 57:3)

^ʔana nəʔuṣ ^ʔət ^ʔana kəldol ^ʔət bet məhro ^ʔəgayəs ^ʔalko.
I small while being I every time to school going I was.
'When I was young, I used to go to school every day (lit. 'every time')'.

6.3.1.5. The Imperfect in Construction with *nabra* and *ṣanḥa*

As the main verb of the sentence, *nabra* means 'to live', 'to pass one's life'. As the auxiliary verb in construction with a verb in the imperfect, *nabra* is used to express the extent of an activity or a situation throughout one's life (or a considerable period of it), or the quality of life as regards a given situation or state which prevailed, e.g.

gadəm mansaʿ ... ^ʔəb zaban badirdi zammət nabrat daʔikon təzammət
Now Mansa ... in time old indeed raiding she was indeed being raided
'Now, in the old time Mansa ... were indeed making plundering raids; they were not

^ʔiʿalat.

she was not.

[themselves] being raided'.

(Tribù, 8:8)

kəlʔot hu məsəl nabro ʿalaw (...) daʔam kəl dol laḥaw
Two brother together living they were (...) but all time the brothers
'Two brothers were living together (...) but they used to quarrel all the time'.

lətbaʔaso nabraw.

quarrelling they were.

(PL1, 35:17)

qaš ʿaddəmkel qārəʔ ^ʔiʿala. daʔam ^ʔəb səmmaʿ gale ṣabṭa
Priest Addəmkel reading he was not. But by hearing little he caught
'Priest Addəmkel could not read. But he acquired a little by hearing,

waʔəb baʿāl waʔət taskār ^ʔəlu dagūgəm nabra.

and on holiday and on festival it reciting he was.

and on festal days and on festivals for the dead he recited it'. (PL1, 52:7)

Sometimes, *ṣanḥa* takes the place of *ʿala* in the complex, in which case its grammatical function parallels that of *ʿala*, e.g.

walaʔəban laʔəlu naddəq ṣanḥa ^ʔəgəl maryam kəstān
And the stones which with it building he has been for Mary church
'... And with the stones with which he has been building they built a church for Mary'.

nadqaw bu.

they built with it.

(Lt Leg, 12:35)

6.3.1.6. The Imperfect in Construction with Verbs of Time-Duration

Verbs of time-duration denote a concrete period of time, e.g. *waʿala* 'to pass the day', *təmayya* 'to pass the night', *ʔaṣbaḥa* 'to pass the morning', *ʔamsa* 'to pass the evening'. The semantic independence of the

verb of time-duration precludes such a complex from being regarded as a compound tense and clarifies the status of its elements as verb + complement, e.g.

kaʔəgəl laḡəna kəʔənnə təblo ʔamset
 And to the child like this singing she passed the evening.
 'and she passed the evening singing to the child like this (...)'. (Tigre Texts, 13:15)

6.3.1.7. Complexes with the Perfect: ʔando + Perfect + ʕala (šanḥa)

This is a complex whose association with the tense concept is perfective, i.e. the notion expressed by it refers to (a result of) an event or a situation whose beginning (and end) is previous to another specified, or understood, point of time. ʔando + perfect + ʕala denotes the perfective past. Examples:

hətu ʔəgəl laʔəndo ḥawana laʕala ʔamlakot rabbi ḥaddasayu.
 He as to the which-has-been-weakened adoration God renewed it.
 'He renewed the adoration of God which had been weakened'. (Storia, 73:19)

ʔabunawas ʕela ʕalat ʔəlu wahaye ḥatte naggalat. waʔət dəwūr
 ʔAbunawas well was to him and also one kid. And around
 'Abunawas had a well and also one kid. And he had stuck [in the ground]

laʕelahu ʔaqərnat ʕaʔāl ʔəndo sāqaqa ʕala.
 the his well horns of goats he had stuck.
 horns of goats around the well'. (PLI, 30:14)

ʔando + PERFECT + šanḥa

This complex may have the same function and value as the complex with ʕala, e.g.

həta bəzuh ʔəndo ʔabbarat šanḥat
 She much had been old.
 'She had been very old'.

The verb *šanḥa* may—in addition to its grammatical function—introduce the notion of 'already', e.g.

waʔət ʕad kəm ʔataw lamarʕāt ʔəbba ʔəbba dəqāla
 And to home when they returned the bride at once bastard
 'And when they returned home [they found] at once [that] the bride was
 ʔəndo ʕamsat šanḥat. wakantebāy šallim samʕa ʔəssit waldu
 was [already] pregnant. And K. S. heard wife his son
 already pregnant with a bastard. And K. S. heard that his wife
 ʕamsāt kəm šanḥat.
 was pregnant that already.
 was already pregnant'. (PLI, 45:4)

6.3.1.8. The Complex Perfect + ka + Auxiliary

This complex consists of a verb in the perfect followed by the conjunction *ka* which is itself followed by an auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verb can be *halla*, ʕala or *šanḥa*. Here also (as with the complex ʔando + perfect + ʕala, v. 6.3.1.7), the feature of time underlined is that of a perfective tense. Perfect + *ka* + *halla* denotes the perfective present (approximating to the meaning of the present-perfect tense in English, e.g.

wadəmmu mənla məʕəl laha ʔasək aze kāynat ʔət ʔənta tarfat kahallet.
 And cat from the day that until now treacherous while being has remained.
 'And from that day until now the cat has remained treacherous'.

Perfect + *ka* + *‘ala* denotes the perfective past (approximating to the meaning of the past-perfect tense in English), e.g.

ba’asaw ka’alaw da’am ʔaze ta’araw
 quarrelled they had but now they have-become-reconciled.
 ‘They had quarrelled but now they have become reconciled’.

Perfect + *ka* + *ʃanħa* primarily denotes the perfective past, in addition to which the verb *ʃanħa* introduces the notion of ‘already’ (cf. 6.3.1.7). That *ʃanħa* functions here as an auxiliary verb can be shown in the following example:

wasab lamaħabar lamat’alālāgom kəm ra’aw qanšaw
 And people the council the their struggling when they saw they got up
 ‘And when the people of the council saw their struggling they got up

kahazmaw ʔattom. da’am kantebāy ʃallim nafsu
 and rushed at them. But K. Ş. his soul
 and rushed at them. But they found that K. Ş.

gesat kaʃanħattom.
 had-left-them-already.
 had already died.’

(PLI, 47:3)

Here the meaning of the complex is (literally): ‘His soul had already left them’ (i.e. he had already died). This meaning stands in contradiction to the semantic content of the verb *ʃanħa* as a lexical item which is ‘to wait’.

6.3.1.9. The Complex Participle + Auxiliary

The participle forms of the verbs of type A, C \bar{a} C \bar{a} C (active) and C \bar{a} CuC (passive), as well as corresponding participles of other types and derivatives (3.4.2, 3.4.3), can enter into construction with the verbs *halla*, *‘ala* or *ʃanħa* in the expression of the perfective tenses. The complex participle + *halla* may express the perfective present, while the complexes with *‘ala* and *ʃanħa* may express the perfective past. The choice of an active or passive-participle form in the complex is determined by lexis. The complex participle + *halla* is mainly used to denote the perfective present, e.g.

wakəm dannat nəgus salamun sam’a nəgus kabasa mūšəʔ halla
 And when she descended King Solomon heard. King Kabasa has-arrived
 ‘And as soon as she descended King Solomon heard [about it]. He was told (lit. ‘they

belawo
 they told him.
 told him’), ‘‘The King of Kabasa has arrived’’’. (Lt Leg 6:14)

həta kəbub qobəʕ lābsat hallet
 She round hat has-put-on.
 ‘She has put on a round hat’.

ʔesey ʔazema lanəʔuš kəllom tārəf halla da’am hətu ʔaze
 Jesse now then the small them all has-remained but he now
 ‘Jesse answered, ‘‘Now then, the smallest of them all is left (lit. ‘has remained’), but

ʔabāgəʕ ʔət lər’e kadan fərrur halla balsa
 sheep while he pastures has-gone-out he answered
 he has gone out now, pasturing the sheep’’’. (Storia 61:11)

The complex participle + *‘ala* can be used to denote the perfective past. Its function in the past corresponds to that of participle + *halla* in the present (cf. examples above), e.g.

ʾana ʾəgəl masnye ʾassaʾalkwo qadam bəzuh ʾūmotāt ʾət
I to my friend told him before many years to
'I told my friend that I had come to Ethiopia many years ago'.

ʾətyopya māšəʾ ʾalko
Ethiopia I had-come.

walawəlād ʾənday lətwallado rabbi ʾəgəl rəbqa laʿabi ʾəgəl
And the sons before they are born God to Rebecca the big to
'And before the sons were born God had said to Rebecca, "The big one will serve

lanəʾuš kaddəm bəhəla ʿala.
the small he will-serve he had-said to her.
the small one"'. (Storia 21:9)

ʾəlli lawada haye woro nāy (...) hegtat matsʾəffat maḥabar
This which did however one of lurking warriors organization
'One organization of the guerilla fighters, however, had announced that it was [itself]

kəm tu ʾətʾəmur ʿala. daʾam ʾət dangoba ʾəttəlli wəddāy
that it is [it] had announced. But in its end in this deed
the one which did this. But finally this organization denied that it had

ʾəlli ḥubur kəm ʾiʿala ʾəlli maḥabar ʾəlli bara.
this involved that it has not been this organization this denied.
been involved in this deed'.

The complex participle + *šanḥa* can be used to denote the perfective past, e.g.

daʾam hətu ʾənday ʾammər radʾit lanəwāy ḥālfat ʾəlu šanḥat.
But he without knowing raid the cattle passed him already had.
'But without his knowing [it], the [people of the] raid for recapturing the cattle had
already passed him'. (Tribù 7:3)

wasəʾol ʾət laʾakān kəm baṣḥa dawəd ʾəb karāyihu ḥəbuʿ
And Saul at the place when he arrived David with his army hiding
'And when Saul arrived at that place he entered the cave in which David had

ʾətta ʾət lašanḥa baʿat ʾata.
in it in which he had been cave he entered.
been hiding (or: had stayed hidden) with his army'. (Storia 64:7)

When the verb *šanḥa* occurs with a pronominal suffix, it becomes lexically an idiom whose meaning can best be rendered in translation as 'to find that', e.g.

wahətom darba gesaw wamāytat šanḥattom.
And they behind her they went and being-dead she had been [there].
'And they went (there) behind her and found that [the dragon] had died'. (Lt Leg, 4:14)

walaʿamur kəmsal ladəbʾət lašanḥatto dabʾaya kaḥadga.
And the pail just as being-covered it had-been he covered her and he left.
'And he covered the milk-pail just as he had found it covered, and left'. (Tigre Texts, 9:23)

6.4. NEGATION OF THE VERB

A verb is rendered negative by means of the prefixed particle *ʔi-*. Examples: Perfect: *ʔisarqa* 'he did not steal'. Imperfect: *ʔiʔafaqqad* 'I do not remember'. Jussive: (*ʔagal*) *ʔilatkam* '(in order that) it will not be weak'. In the imperative the second persons of the jussive are used instead, e.g. (*qatla* 'to kill'):
ʔitəqtal, ʔitəqtali, ʔitəqtalo, ʔitəqtala.

7. THE NUMERALS

7.1. THE CARDINAL NUMERALS

The cardinal numerals are as follows: *woro* or *worot* 'one' (masc.); *ħatte* 'one' (fem.); *kəlʔot* 'two' (masc.); *kəlʔe* 'two' (fem.); *salas* 'three'; *ʔarbaʕ* 'four'; *ħaməs* 'five'; *səs* 'six'; *sabuʕ* 'seven'; *samān* 'eight'; *səʕ* 'nine'; *ʕasər* 'ten'; *ʕsra* 'twenty'; *salāsa* 'thirty'; *ʔarbəʕa* 'forty'; *ħəmsa* 'fifty'; *səssa* 'sixty'; *sabʕa* 'seventy'; *samānya* 'eighty'; *saʕa* or *tasʕa* 'ninety'; *məʔət* 'hundred', pl. *ʔamʔāt*; *šəħ* 'thousand', pl. *ašħat*. The Arabic word *ʔalf* 'thousand', pl. *ʔālāf*, is occasionally used having the same meaning as *šəħ*, e.g. *salas ʔalf* 'three thousand' (*Ad Šek*, 196:(10)). To denote a great unspecified number the word *ʔəlf*, whose plural is identical with that of *ʔalf*, may be used. *ʔəlf* is also used to denote 'ten thousand'.

7.1.1. FORMATION OF JOINT NUMBERS

(a) The numbers 11 to 19 are expressed by placing the units numeral immediately after the invariable element *ʕasər* 'ten' while an optional *wa* 'and' may connect both elements. In terms of the 'stress-unit' (2.2.2) this *wa* is pronounced as the final unstressed syllable of the first element. Examples: *ʕasər waħatte* 'eleven' (fem.) [*ʕəsərwa-ħatté*]; *ʕasər wasəs* 'sixteen' [*ʕəsərwa-sés*], etc.

(b) The numbers 21 to 29 are usually expressed by placing the units numeral after the cardinal which indicates the number of the tens, the two numerals being connected by means of the conjunction *wa-*, e.g. *ʕsra waħatte* 'twenty-one' (fem.); *ħəmsa waʔarbaʕ* 'fifty-four'.

(c) When the number of whole hundreds or thousands is indicated by placing a numeral immediately before 'hundred' or 'thousand', *məʔət* and *šəħ* occur only in the singular form, since countable nouns always occur in the singular (cf. 3.1.1.2). Examples: *ħaməs məʔət* 'five hundred'; *kəlʔe šəħ* 'two thousand'.

(d) The conjunction *wa-* is usually met with where the syntactic relationship between two numerals is one of coordination and not one of a qualified noun and a qualifier, e.g. *salas məʔət wasamānya* 'three hundred and eighty'; *ʔəb ʕāmat šəħ waħaməs məʔət waʕasər wasamān* 'in the year fifteen hundred and eighteen'. The conjunction *wa-* is sometimes not used between the thousands and hundreds, e.g. *sanat šəħ samān məʔət wasaʕa waħatte* 'the year eighteen hundred and ninety-one'; *səs məʔət waworo šəħ sabuʕ məʔət wasalāsa* 'six hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty'.

7.1.2. THE DISTRIBUTIVE FORM OF THE CARDINAL NUMERALS

A special formation exists to indicate the distributive aspect of the unit numerals, by means of the reduplication of the initial CVC sequence of the number, e.g. *worworot* 'one each, one by one' (masc.); *kəlkalʔot* 'two each' (masc.); *səs-səs* 'six each'; *ʕasʕasər* 'ten each'; etc.

7.1.3. THE NUMERAL 'ONE' IN THE EXPRESSION OF THE INDEFINITE

The numeral 'one' *worot* (masc.), *ħatte* (fem.), serves in the expression of the indefinite. In this case it may function as (a) an indefinite pronoun, having the meaning of 'someone', 'no one', 'somebody', etc. (cf. 4.7); (b) an indefinite article (cf. 3.9) with the unspecified meaning of 'certain', and (c) a substantive, denoting

'one of'. Examples: *woro bəʕəd* 'another (one)', 'someone else'; *hatte ma* 'nothing' (in the negative); *hatte dol* 'once (upon a time)'; *worotom* 'one of them'. The formation mentioned above in 7.1.2 is also used to express the indefinite, the meaning being, then, 'some, few', e.g. *worworot ʔənās* 'few people'; *hatḥatte ʔəwīn* 'sometimes'.

7.1.4. *Had, ʕadad, Nafar*

(a) When the notion of approximation is indicated, the preposition *had* 'about, what amounts to' is frequently used with numbers, e.g. *had haməs šəḥ ʔənās* 'about five thousand men'; *had kəlʔe məʔət ʕamat* 'about two hundred years'.

(b) The word *ʕadad* which, as a lexical entity has the meaning 'limit, number' is used in the expression of an aggregate number, e.g.

ʕadad səs dəkkān lagabbuʔ leṭa hallaw
 Number six shop what make only there exist.
 'There are [there, i.e. in the village] six shops only'.

bet mehro ʔawāləd ʕadad samān məʔət walat gabbəʔ bet mehro
 School girls number eight hundred girl it makes. School
 'The school for girls has eight hundred girls. There are seven hundred boys at

wəlād ʕadad sabuʕ məʔət ḥəṣān ma wəlād tom
 boys number seven hundred young one or boys are [there]
 the school for boys'.

(c) The word *nafar* 'an individual, a person', pl. *ʔanfār*, is met with to denote a counted number, and would be approximately rendered in English as 'ones', e.g. '(Give me) six ones' (request at a Post Office stamp counter). In Tigre, however, this appellative noun is used in the counting of human beings only, e.g.

ʕsra nafar ḥamāyəm lanābu.
 Twenty ones sick who nurse
 'Twenty nurses (lit. [persons] who nurse the sick ones)'.

waʔəmbal worworot nafar ladaḥana ʔalabu.
 And except some few ones who was saved there is not.
 'And no one saved himself except some few'.

(PLI, 165:7)

7.2. THE ORDINAL NUMERALS

Two morphological structures are met with in the expression of the ordinal numerals, masculine forms, for the numbers 2 to 10, as follows: *CāCəC* and *CāCCāy*; the feminine form being *CāCCāyt* (cf. 3.4.2., 3.4.5). Examples: *kāləʔ*, *kālʔāy* 'second' (masc.), *kālʔāyt* (fem.); *sāləs*, *sālsāy* 'third' (masc.), *sālsāyt* (fem.); *sādsəs*, *sādsāy* 'sixth' (masc.), *sādsāyt* (fem.); *sābəʔ*, *sābʕāy* 'seventh' (masc.), *sābāyt* (fem.); *tāsəʕ*, *tāsʕāy*, 'ninth' (masc.), *tāsʕāyt* (fem.); *ʕəsər*, *ʕəsṛāy* 'tenth' (masc.), *ʕəsṛāyt* (fem.). To express the notion 'first', the word *qadām* (masc.), *qadāmit* (fem.), *qadāmyām* (masc. pl.), *qadāmyāt* (fem. pl.) is used (cf. 3.4.6), e.g. *kəlʔe lasāmən qadāmyāt* 'the first two weeks'; *laqadāmit məʕəl* 'the first day'.

7.2.1. FORMATION OF ORDINALS FOR JOINT NUMBERS

For the expression of the numerals 11 to 19 the cardinal numeral *ʕəsər* 'ten' is used as an invariable constituent followed either by *wa-* plus the ordinal number of the structure *CāCCāy(t)*, described in 7.2

above, or by *qadāmāy* (masc.), *qadāmāyt* (fem.) in the case of the numeral 'eleven'. Examples: *ʿasər waqadāmāy* 'eleventh' (masc.); *ʿasər wakālʾāy* 'twelfth' (masc.); *ʿasər warābʿāy* 'fourteenth'; *ʿasər wahāmsāy* 'fifteenth', etc. The ending *-āy* may be applied to whole numbers of tens, hundreds and thousands in the expression of the ordinal numeral. In the case of joint numbers only the last whole numeral in the sequence is necessarily expressed by means of the forms typical of ordinal numerals. Examples: *ʿasrāy* 'twentieth', *səssūy* 'sixtieth'; *samānāy* 'eightieth'; *saʿāy* 'ninetieth'; *məʾətāy* 'hundredth'; *məʾətāy waqadāmāy* 'one hundred and first'; *kəlʾe məʾtāy* 'two hundredth'; *šəḥāy* 'one thousandth'; *ʿasər šəḥāy* 'ten thousandth'; etc. The ordinal numeral is usually met with preceding the noun it qualifies, e.g., *lakālʾāyt ʾəwūn* 'the second time'. As an epithet, the ordinal numeral may, however, follow the noun, e.g. *ʾabot qadāmit* 'great grandmother'; *qesar fredrik lasālsāy* 'the Emperor Frederick the third'.

7.3. THE FRACTIONS

The following forms are attested for fractions whose numerator is 'one', where the ending *-it* is common to all forms except the first three: *sar* 'half'; *masallas* 'third part'; *rəbəʿ* or *rəbʿa* 'fourth part'; *ḥəmmasit* 'fifth part'; *səbʿit* 'seventh part'; *ʿassarit* 'one tenth'; *məʾətayit* 'a hundredth'; *šəḥayit* 'a thousandth'.

8. PREPOSITIONS, ADVERBS, CONJUNCTIONS, INTERJECTIONS

8.1. PREPOSITIONS

Many adverbs and prepositions are similar in form. Distinction between such adverbs and prepositions is made here according to whether they lack or possess a complement (almost all prepositions may have pronominal suffixes), e.g. *məsəl nabraw* 'they lived together' (adverb); *məsəlka ʔəgayəs* 'I shall go with you' (preposition). Phenomena regarding the attachment of pronominal suffixes to particles are treated in 4.2.

8.1.1. LIST OF PREPOSITIONS

The prepositions are given in the Ethiopic alphabetical order and are exemplified below. In the case of complex expressions where the first element is a particle, the order of entries is based on the first letter of the second element:

- (1) *mən laʿal* 'above', e.g. *mən laʿal lagabay* 'above the road'.
- (2) *mən ʔaras* 'because of, owing to', e.g. *mən ʔaras ʔəlli* 'because of this'.
- (3) *ʔaqqo* 'after', e.g. *ʔaqqo kəlʔe sāmən* 'after two weeks'.
- (4) *mən ʔənet* 'instead', e.g. *mən ʔənet faǧər yom dayo* 'do it today instead of tomorrow'.
- (5) *ʔante/ʔan* 'under', e.g. *ʔante ʔilān* 'under [the rule of] the Italians'.
- (6) *ʔad* 'up to, about'; v. 7.1.4.
- (7) *məsəl* 'with', e.g. *məslu* 'with him'.
- (8) *ʔəb məsməsa* 'on account of', e.g. *ʔəb məsməsa ʔisanni magāyəs* 'on account of an improper way of life' (*Tribù*, 6:29).
- (9) *mašanqal* 'over, above'.
- (10) *maʔor* 'at the side of, near'.
- (11) *matān* 'for (the sake of)', e.g. *matān nafsū* 'for himself, for his own sake'.
- (12) *mən* 'from, than (introducing the second member of a comparison)', e.g. *ʔəde mān mən dəggalab ʔəddaqqəb* 'the right hand is stronger than the left hand'.
- (13) *ʔəb/ʔət məgəb* 'in the midst of'.
- (14) (*ʔət*) *mən raʔar* 'behind'.
- (15) *ʔət raʔas* 'at the top of, at the first or foremost part of (lit. 'at the head of')'.
- (16) *ʔət səməʔ* 'near, at the side of'.
- (17) *sabbat* 'on account of, because of', e.g. *sabbat ʔəlli* 'for this reason'.
- (18) *ʔankat/ʔanak* 'in the direction of, towards'.
- (19) *ʔət qəblāt/ʔət qəbəl* 'opposite, in front of'.
- (20) *ʔət qəbat* 'in the midst of, inside'.
- (21) *qadam* 'before (earlier to; in front of)', e.g. *qadam krəstos* 'before Christ' (i.e. B.C.); *qadamom gayəs ʔala* 'he was walking before them'.
- (22) *mən taʔat* 'under, below'.

- (23) *nāy* 'of' (cf. 4.6); also corresponds to 'genitive' constructions in English such as 'John's hat', etc., e.g. *nāy yom məhro* 'today's lesson'; *ʔəb ɣatte ba'at nāy ladəba* 'in a certain cave in (lit. 'of') the bush'

ʔabi qeṭo mən ʔəççāy latəšaqqa tu waʔəb nāy həwān qarbat lalabsa tu.
Big *qeṭo* from wood which is made is and with of animal skin which is clothed is
'The big [armchair called] *qeṭo* is made of wood and is covered with animal skin'.

- (24) *ʔəl* 'to, for', is used, more often than not, in the expression of the indirect object, e.g.

ʔazema ʔəlla baqalka həwār ʔanəs təwalləd ʔəlka.
Now then this (fem.) your mule young female she will beget for you.
'Now then, this mule of yours will beget a female young one for you'. (TE, 703:6)

ʔabuka əlka massəl 'Your father resembles you'. (Lt Leg, 8:6)

For the expression of the notion 'to have' by means of *halla* + *ʔəl* and *ʔala* + *ʔəl*, see 5.3 and 5.3.2.

- (25) *ʔəmbal* 'without, except'.

- (26) *ʔəraf* 'near', e.g. *labet məhro ʔəraf labet kəstān ta* 'the school is near the church'.

- (27) *ʔasar* 'after' (following), e.g.

wahətu kəm mota ʔasaru waldu maḥammad ʔəgəl ləšaymo ḥazaw
And he when he died after him his son M. to they appoint they wanted.
'And since he had died, they wanted to appoint his son M. after him'.

ʔasar ʔəlla 'after that'. In some forms of the third person, the variant *ʔasarehu* etc. may occur, e.g. *mənnabet kəm gesa ʔana ʔət ʔasarehu mašʔako* 'I came home after he had left' (lit. '[He], having left the house, I came after him').

- (28) *ʔasək* 'until, up to, towards, as far as', e.g. *ʔasək ʔəlladi* 'up to that [time/moment]'; *ʔasək karan gesaw* 'They went to Karan',

walahəyāyət kəm rəʔetto kəlla saket mənnu ʔasək ḥaramməzma.
And the animal when she saw him all of them fled from him up to the elephants even.
'And when the animals saw it, they all fled from it, even the elephants'. (PL1, 73:2)

- (29) *ʔəb/bu* 'about, with (accompanied by, by means of), within (in the course of time, or period of), through (within the limits of), of (indicating material or substance), owing to'.

- (a) *ʔəb*. Examples: *waʔəbbom bəzuh ḥasbo* 'and they think often about them'; *ʔəb ɣatte sāmən* 'within a week'; *hətom ʔəb mədrom ḥalfaw* 'they passed through their country';

ʔarāt salon ʔəb ḥasīn latəšaqqa tu lamakrayi ʔagərbat haye ʔəb
Bed salon from iron which is made is. The case utensils however of
'The sofa is made of iron. The cupboard, however, is made of wood'.

ʔəççāy latəšaqqa tu.
wood which is made is.

ʔəb ʔattasʔayot ʔabuhom 'owing to the promises of their father'.

- (b) *bu*. *bu* materializes in a stress unit (v. 2.2.2) where, (i) a preceding word carries the primary stress, (ii) *ʔəb* takes a pronominal suffix, the syllable containing the glottal stop being unstressed and (iii) *ʔəb* is followed by a pause. These conditions are typical of *ʔəb* in a stress-unit final position in the sentence, where the pronominal suffix functions as a pronoun of reference, e.g.

walanagād mədyān ʔəgəl yosef ʔət məsar dannaw bu (dānnawbù)
And the traders Midian as for Joseph to Egypt they descended with him.
'And the Midianite traders descended with Joseph to Egypt'. (Racconti, 16:19)

mašsuʔ bu (mášsuʔəbù) 'They go with him'.

- (c) *bəʔatu* (i) The particle *b-* + pronominal suffixes is one of the means through which Tigre expresses the notion 'to have'; 'to have' may also be expressed by the complex form *bədibu* (*bə* + *dib*; 5.3).

(ii) The particle *b-* may combine with *ʔat* (cf. No. 30, below), assuming the complex form *bəʔat(t)* + pronominal suffixes, in the expression of the notion 'to have'. It is different, however, from *bu* or *bədiibu*, as regards content and distribution. Firstly, its meaning is the outcome of the lexical content of both *bu* 'to have' and *ʔat* (the latter's meaning in this complex being limited to 'on', indicating contact with surface, and 'in', indicating inclusion within space or limits). Secondly, the complex *bəʔattu* occurs predominantly in relative clauses.¹ In translating such relative clauses into English, it is often preferable to use the English expression of existence (e.g. 'which has in/on it'). Examples:

waʔaqbəru ʔasək yom ʔat kəl ʔakān halla ʔəban gazāyɔf wararāyəm
 And his tombs until today in every place exists stones big and tall
 'And their (i.e. the giants') tombs exist in every place until today, where there are heavy
labəʔattu.
 which has on it.
 and large stones' (or [those] which have on them heavy and large stones)

(PLI, 87:22)

waḥaḳoḥa kəl ḥataʕ waḥagaleb ʔat labəʔatta bet marhayu.
 And afterwards every poverty and want to which there is in it house he led him.
 'And afterwards he led him to a house where there was any [kind of] poverty and want (or:
 'a house which had in it ...', etc.)'.
 (ʔAgʔazot, 85:21)

(30) *ʔat* 'in, on, to, against, because of', e.g.

ʔat bāsəʕ ʕabi bet məhro halla.
 In Massawa big school there is
 'In Massawa there is a big school'.
ʔatta safrat ʕabi ʕafəš karaw
 On the table big parcel they put.
 'They placed a large parcel on the table'.
ʔəgəl laʔadəg ʔatta ʕəʕcat ʔasrayu.
 As for the donkey to the tree he tied him.
 'He tied the donkey to a tree'.
gadəm ʔəllom gābāt sammuc ʔatkum.
 Well then these vultures will be witness against you.
 'These vultures will be witness against you'.

(ʔAgʔazot, 77:11)

walaʔattu təsahaqka ʔassəʔəlanni
 And [that] which on it [you] laughed let me know.
 'And tell me what made you laugh' (lit. 'that because of which you laughed') (PLI, 89:6)

Certain verbs make use of *ʔat* in the expression of the indirect object, e.g. *ʔəndo bela balsa ʔattu* 'He answered him, saying, "...". *ʔat* plus pronominal suffixes may, in its shortened form *t-* (for the phonetic conditions under which *t-* occurs, cf. No. 29 *bu* above) serve as a second complement (the one which is the direct object) for verbs which can take two complements. This is the case for transitive verbs with a pronominal suffix. They may take a second complement in the form of *tu*. This *tu*, which immediately follows the pronominal suffix, agrees in number and gender with the noun it stands for, e.g.

waḥar ʔəgər ḥarit laqabbulo kaḥazzwo ta. waʔab
 And afterwards time last they return to him and ask him her. And father
 'And afterwards they return to him [for the] last time and ask her of him.'

¹For examples in which *bəʔattu* functions as the main verb, cf. *Tigre Games*, 66:32, *Storia*, 46:14.

lawalat ʔəgəl lahabbom ta mən ʔifatte kalləʔom ta.
 the girl to give them her if he does not wish he refuses them her.
 And if the girl's father does not wish to give her to them, he refuses her to them (...).

daʔam ʔəgəl lahabbom ta mən radde mən ʕad
 But to give them her if he agrees, from family
 But if he agrees to give her to them he says to them, "Ask her of the family
ʔabuha waʕad ʔamma həzawa ləbəlloom (...).
 her father and family her mother ask her he says to them.
 of her father and the family of her mother". (...)

wadib ʔab laḥṣān laqablo kawalat gadəm habawuna
 And to father the boy they return and girl well they gave us
 And they return to the boy's father and say to him, "Well they gave us
ta ləbulo.
 her they say to him'.
 the girl".

(PLI, 113:9, 11, 18)

(31) *ʔakəl* 'as (much) as, as well as', etc., is used in comparisons denoting equality, e.g. *ḥəṣān ʔakəl ʔənās ʔikaddəm* 'A child is not as useful as an adult'.

(32) *ʔət ʔakān* 'instead of, in place of'.

(33) *ʔət ʔəzām* 'instead'.

(34) *ʔəgəl* 'for, to', indicating relation of direct object (cf. No. 24 -*ʔəl* above), introducing the object.

(a) The particle *ʔəgəl* is used, with considerable regularity, in the expression of the direct object, e.g.

ladol ʔəgəl ʔənās ʔəsrəʔeīy lalaharrəm ʔənās məsrāy raʔa.
 Then man Israelite who beats man Egyptian he saw.
 'Then he saw an Egyptian man who was beating an Israelite'. (Racconti, 22:16)

(b) *ʔəgəl* is frequently used to introduce the object of the verb, the verb itself taking a pronominal suffix of which the referent is the object, e.g.

ʔəgəl labāb dabʔayu 'He shut the door'.

ʔəgəl masnihu kətāb habayu.
 To his friend book he gave him.
 'He gave his friend a book'.

ʔəgəl laʔənās bello
 To the man he said to him
 'He said to the man, "...".

(c) The lexical meaning of *ʔəgəl* is demonstrated in the following examples:

ʔəgəl ḥatte saʕat lagabbəʔ sakabna.
 For one hour which is we rested.
 'We rested for about one hour'.

ʔəgəl ʔəsrəʔel mārḥāy ʔəgəl lahab dib rabbi ramqa.
 To Israel leader that he will give with God he entreated.
 'He entreated God to give [the people of] Israel a leader'. (Storia, 52:2)

ʔəgəl lakətāb ʔəgəl man ʔamsəʔakahu
 As for the book for whom you brought it?
 'For whom did you bring the book?'

(35) *ʔət ʔaf* 'before', e.g.

ʔəgəl sar ʕāmat lagabbəʔ ʔətta təmaharko ʔət ʔaf ʔəlla.
 For half year which is there I studied before that.
 'Before that, I studied there for about half a year'.

- (36) *kəm* 'as, like', e.g. *kəm gəhi təmassəl* 'You look sad' (lit. 'You seem like [a] sad [man]');

dəgəm gabil kəl dol ʔəb nosuma kəm mamhər tət.
 History people all time by himself even like teacher is.
 'People's history even by itself is always instructive (lit. "as a teacher")'.

- (37) *kəmsal* 'as, like'. The difference between this preposition and the former is that *kəmsal* can take pronominal suffixes, while *kəm* cannot, e.g. *kəmsalha* 'like her', etc.

- (38) *kara* 'with the company of, things like, such as', e.g.

wakara ḡahūḡ dib mallahayom ʔaqbalaw.
 And G-and-his-company to their friend they returned.
 'And Ḡahūḡ and his company returned to their friend'. (PL1, 48:5)

dangoba kəllu rabbi nabyāt kara sāmuʔel wabəzhām bəʔədām
 End all of it God prophets such as S. and many others
 'Finally, after God had sent prophets such as Samuel and many others ...'. (Storia, 73:4)

ʔəndo laʔaka.
 having-had-sent.

- (39) *ʔət kabəd* 'in(side)'.
 (40) *ʔadad* (cf. 7.1.4 (b)) 'according to', e.g. *ʔadad ʔaqmu šaqa* 'He performed according to his ability'.

- (41) *darb* 'behind, after' indicating relation of place only, e.g. *kadarbu ət ləgayəs* 'and while walking after him'.

- (42) *dib* 'to, into, at' indicating direction and locality of destination, e.g.

bəzuh wəraq naddəʔ ʔala dib bəʔədām ʔaddotāt.
 Many letters sending he was to other countries.
 'He used to send many letters to other countries'.

- (43) *ʔət dəwār* 'around'.

- (44) (*ʔəb*) *ḡallāb* 'for the sake of', e.g. *ḡallābka* 'for your sake'.

- (45) *ət gərri* 'behind, after'. This preposition indicates relations of both time and place.

- (46) *go/gor* 'at, with' (corresponding in meaning to *chez* in French), e.g.

hatte wakəd go masnihu kəm təgassa.
 One time at his friend when he sat.
 'Once when he was sitting at his friend's [house]'.

waʔət kaymat go ʔāqbatom ʔatgassawo.
 And in tent with their guards they made him sit.
 'And they made him sit in a tent, with their guards (i.e. where the guards stayed)'.
 (Tribù, 68:22)

- (47) *gədor*. Meaning and function as above.

- (48) *ət gabay* 'by means of'.

- (49) *fənge/mənge* 'between'.

- (50) *fəza*. Meaning and function as (44) above.

8.2. ADVERBS

The linguistic stock from which adverbs are constructed comprises (a) nouns, adjectives, infinitives, participles; (b) particles, most of which function equally as prepositions and/or conjunctions; (c) words

and particles which function only as adverbs; (d) pronouns, and (e) the complex *ʔando* + perfect which has a content similar to that of an adverb. An adverbial expression may consist of any combination of the linguistic material mentioned in (a)–(d). A small number of adverbial expressions are unanalyzable as regards their form, e.g. (*ʔab*)*hamgam* ‘suddenly’ (*hamgam* is non-existent elsewhere); *ʔakke* ‘really’; *ʔaze* ‘now’ etc.

8.2.1. CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERBS ACCORDING TO FORM

(a) The most frequent structure containing the elements mentioned in 8.2 (a) above is that of the nominal element preceded by the preposition *ʔab* ‘with, by’ or, less frequently by the preposition *ʔat* ‘in, to’.

Examples: *ʔab hābu* ‘secretly’; *ʔab šafāg* ‘quickly’; *ʔab qalil/ʔab qallāl* ‘easily’; *ʔab tartara* ‘in turn, alternately’; *ʔab dālit* ‘certainly’; *ʔab dāgmān* ‘again’; *ʔat dangoba* [*ʔaddangoba*] ‘finally’; *ʔat saf* ‘firstly’; *ʔat agidat* ‘soon, at once’. The nominal form may have a pronominal suffix, e.g.

ʔab sálluma ʔat hāgās ladabār batrat.
Safely at lower part the mountain she stood.
‘She stood safely at the lower part of the mountain[-slope]’.

One word with an adverbial function was noted, *bārāq*² ‘empty, naked’ which occurs only with pronominal suffixes, e.g. *wabārāqye mən gaʔako* ‘Since I was naked’ (*Racconti*, 7:8).

(b) Adjectives and participles may be identical in form with the corresponding adverbs, the only distinctive feature of the latter being its position in the sentence, e.g.

rayim mən ʔigayās ‘If he does not go far’
sanni takabbatkəwo ‘I received him well’
ʔalli bəzuh lalathaze tu ʔgəlye.
This much which is necessary is to me.
‘This is very important to me’.

(c) As mentioned above, the complex *ʔando* + perfect may have a similar meaning to that of an adverb, e.g.

māle ʔat bečče ʔando dangarko mašʔako.
Yesterday to my house while I was late I came.
‘Yesterday I came home late’.

sab mansa ʔando ʔaqdamaw ʔaslām ʔalaw.
People Mansa while they came first Muslims they were.
‘The people of Mansa were formerly Muslims’.

8.2.2. CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERBS ACCORDING TO MEANING AND FUNCTION

Although adverbs differ considerably as regards their content and function, many of them fall into several main groups according to (a) their meaning, i.e., adverbs of manner, degree, time, place, etc., or (b) their function, i.e., sentence adverbs, such as interrogative adverbs, adverbs of affirmation and negation, adverbs denoting exception and concession, etc. Classification of the data that follows is based upon the statement above.

²*bārāqu* ‘naked, empty’; from **bə* + **ʔārāqu*; *taʔarraqa* ‘to be naked’.

8.2.2.1. Adverbs Denoting Relation of Manner or Degree

Examples: *ʾakəl həd* 'equally'; *ban/bayn* 'alone'; *ʾəb həyl māyl* 'hardly'; *lazayəd* 'mostly, principally, in general, more (comparative), most (superlative)', e.g.

... *min ʿāmər* ... *waʿad nāyəb ʾallom lazayəd fārəs ʾəndo below*
 Min ʿĀmər and the ʿAd Nāyəb these what is more *fārəs* while they shouted
 'But the Min ʿĀmər ... and the ʿAd Nāyəb use mostly the war-cry *fārəs* (i.e. brave, bold)'

lasaqrō

they raise the war cry.

(PLI, 166:17ff)

ʾana mən šāhi lazayəd bun ʾəfatte.
 I from tea what is more coffee I like.
 'I like coffee more than tea'.

mən masānitka man lazayəd təfatte
 From your (sing.) friends who what is more you like?
 'Whom do you like most among [lit. 'from'] your friends?'

ʾakəl ʾakəl 'hardly, seldom'; *kullu raʾasu* 'altogether' (affirmative), 'not at all' (negative), e.g. *ʾənta kullu raʾasu bəššul ʾənta* 'You are thoroughly lazy'; *ʾəb laha* 'gratis'; *masəh* 'in vain'; *bəlāš* 'for nothing'; *gəməš* 'for nothing'; *məsəl* 'jointly, together'; *ʾəb ʾəsər* 'together'; *gale* 'a little' (place), 'a while' (time), e.g.

gale kəm kalʾa
 while after passed
 'After a while'.

daʾam yosef mənnom gale fəntət ʾəndo wada baka.
 But Joseph from them little separation while he did he cried.
 'But Joseph, turning a little away from them, cried'.
 (Racconti, 19:3)

bitu bitu/bila bila (also *ʾət ləblo ʾət ləblo*) 'finally, gradually, soon, slowly'; *ʾagid/bagid/ʾagidbagid/ʾagidat* 'quickly'; *ʾəbbu ʾəbbu/ʾəbba ʾəbba* (also pronounced *ʾəbbubbu/ʾəbbabba*) 'soon, at once, immediately'.

8.2.2.2. Adverbs Denoting Relation of Place

Examples: *laʿal* 'up(wards)'; *taḥat* 'down(wards)'; *raʾasu laʿal* 'upwards'; *raʾasu qadam* 'forwards'; *raʾasu ḥar* 'backwards'; *səgād* 'above'; *gašsu ḥar* 'backwards'; *gašsu laʿal* 'upwards'; *gašsu qadam* 'forwards'; *ʾət qəblāt* 'opposite'; *qadam* 'before, formerly'; *mən qadam* 'in front'; *goš ʿad/gof ʿad* 'inside'; *goš kadan/gof kadan* 'outside'; *ʾət kadan* 'outside'; *mən qabəl* 'from a distance'; *ʾəttu/ʾətta* 'there'; *ʾəttəlli* 'here'; *ʾət loha* 'there'; *ʾəbəlla* 'in here'; *ʾənze* 'here'; *ʾənze waken* 'here and there' (also 'from now on'); *kən* 'there, on the other side'; *ken waʾənze* 'to and fro'; *mən ken* 'off', e.g. *ʾət gabay mən ken karan* 'on the road off Karan'.

8.2.2.3. Adverbs Denoting Relation of Time

These may be divided into adverbs denoting a period of time limited by two points (on the 'duration axis'), e.g. *yom* 'today', and a period of time limited by one point only, e.g., *ḥar* 'then, afterwards'. The former contain mainly words which reckon time and the latter are constructed from various elements. In the case of the former, the main element of the expression usually occurs without a preceding preposition, e.g. *fağər bāšə ʾəgəl nigis tu* 'Tomorrow we shall go to Massawa'; *waməse kəm ʿeraw* '... and when they returned home in the evening'; cf. *waʾəb laməset* 'and in the evening'. Examples: *hādəl yom* 'today'; *māle* 'yesterday'; *fağər* 'tomorrow (morning)'; *fağər laha* 'the day after tomorrow'; *māle laha* 'the day before yesterday'; *əb fağra* 'on the next morning'; *ʾaddaha* 'at noon'; *yom* 'today'; *yom ʿāmat* 'this year'; *ʾət fəkkat mədər* 'at day break'; *fangoḥ* 'tomorrow'; *fangoḥ laha*

'the day after tomorrow'; *haqohu/haqoha* 'afterwards'; *har* 'then, after that'; *hədot ʔəwān* 'several times'; *məndalla/mənmənna* 'from that time on'; *qadam* 'before, formerly'; *ʔenze waken* 'from now on'; *ʔaze* 'now'; *laʔəwān* 'at that time'; *ladol* 'at that time'; *ʔəgəl dol* 'for some time'; *dol dol* 'sometimes'; *ʔəgəl dima* 'for ever' (affirmative); *mən dima* 'never' (negative).

8.2.2.4. Sentence Adverbs

These adverbs qualify the sentence as a whole rather than any particular part of it. The sentence adverbs in Tigre are as follows: *haye* [hʲe] 'also, now, however, again (furthermore)', e.g. *haygat haye lətbahal* '[The land of Mansaʿ] is also called Haygat'; *laʔənās haye (...) bela* 'The man, however, said (...)'; *ʔəb lakawākəb haye ʔəlla həla* 'Again, he sang this about the stars ...' (PL1, 59:19); *lāma* 'also'; *lāta* 'however, but'; *leṭa* 'only (but)'; e.g.

ʔəkəl ʔəb tarab leṭa balluʿ ʔiləharso.
Corn by caravan [of corn retailers] only they eat. They do not plough.
'They do not plough, but eat corn which they buy'.

-*ma* 'also, even' (enclitic), e.g. *sarāyer ʿastarma təšarrabaw* 'Even winged creatures who could fly were drowned'; *mənma* 'although, even if' (combined of *mən* 'if' and *ma* 'even'), e.g.

mənma ʔət ʔəlli baynye baynye ʔənabbər.
Although in this by myself by myself I live.
'Although I live here absolutely by myself'.

mami 'n'est-ce pas?' (French), 'nicht wahr?' (German). This expression comes at the end of an utterance, asserting it as a rhetorical question (lit. 'or what?'), e.g.

ʔəgəl mi maʔaka? ʔəbba ət nabbər ʔəha habkoka mami?
For what did you come? By means of it you would live cows I gave you or what?
'Why did you come? Have I not given you cows to live off?' (PL1, 84:23)

mənna ta 'thus (therefore); but (contrariwise)'; *ʔəmbal ʔəllima/ʔəmbal ʔəllidi* 'furthermore'; *ʔabba* 'rather, on the contrary'; *ʔənde* 'well then'; *ʔəgədda* 'rather, especially'; *kama* 'then, now then'; *kət* 'then (since that is so; in those circumstances)'; *kəʔənna/kəʔən/kəʔənni* 'thus, like this, in this way (manner)', etc., e.g.

ʔət kəʔənni lamassəl gār
In like this which looks thing.
'In a case like this' (in a manner which looks like this);

ʿ*ādu* 'still, yet'; *gadəm* 'now'; -*di* 'indeed, in fact, really', e.g.

kəm sərʿat dindi ʔitətʿallab
Like rite religion-indeed it is not counted.
'In fact it (i.e. circumcision) is not considered a religious rite'.

8.2.2.5. Interrogative Adverbs³

The interrogative adverbs are as follows: *mədol* (for **mi dol*) 'when?', e.g. *mən karan mədol maʔaka* 'when did you come from Karan?'; *maʔaze* 'when?'; *ʔəttaya/ʔət ʔaya* 'where?' 'where to?' e.g. *ʔəttaya təgayəs* 'where are you going?'; *ʔət ʔaya halleka?* 'where are you?'; *mən ʔaya* 'from where?'; *ʔəšwo* 'where?' (masc. sing.), *ʔəšwa* (fem. sing.), *ʔəšwom* (masc. pl.), *ʔəšwan* (fem. pl.). This interrogative adverb occurs in nominal expressions only. Its referent is always in the third person, e.g. *ʔəšwo labet munat?* 'where is the dining room?'; *kaʔafo* 'how?' e.g. *ʔəlli kaʔafo gaʔa* 'how did this happen?';

³For the interrogative pronouns *man* 'who?', *mi* 'what?', *ʔayi* 'which', see (4.7)

kaʿafo halleka ‘how are you?’; *ʿəgəl mi* ‘why?’; *ʿət mi* ‘why?’; *ʿakəl ʿayi* ‘how much’, ‘how many’, e.g. *ʿakəl ʿayi ʿakəṭbat bəḍibka?* ‘How many books do you have?’, *ʿəgəl ʿəlla makinat ʿəlla ʿakəl ʿayi soldī taḥazze?* ‘How much money do you want for this car?’; *ʿakəl mi* meaning and function as above; *kam* ‘how much?’ ‘how many?’ ... e.g. *ʿəlli kəṭāb kam gabbə?* ‘How much is this book?’, *ʿət ʿəlli warəḥ ʿəlli kam ʿamʿal bu gabbə?* ‘How many days are there in this month?’ *Kam* is used in idiomatic expressions denoting age of persons and hour of the day, e.g. *mən ʿənze saʿat kām baggaska* ‘At what time did you depart from here?’, *wad kam ʿāmat ʿənta* ‘How old are you?’ (masc. sing.).

8.2.2.6. Adverbs Denoting Doubt

Man ʿammər, lābəd, kando, gabbə? serve in the expression of doubt, having the meaning ‘perhaps, maybe, possibly’, etc. *Man ʿammər* is a complete sentence by itself (lit. ‘who knows?’) and is marked as such in speech by a slight pause at the end, e.g. *man ʿammər, ʿət ḥagāy zəʿām lətrakkab* ‘maybe it will rain in summer’. *Gabbə?* is a fossilized form of the verb *gabʿa* ‘to become, to happen’.

8.2.2.7. Adverbs Denoting Affirmation and Negation

ʿafo/ʿābe ‘yes’, are regularly used in the expression of affirmation or assent, e.g.

lohay ʿənās taʿammərro? ʿafo, ḥətu masnəye tu
That man you know him? Yes he my friend is.
‘Do you know that man?’ ‘Yes, he is my friend’.

ʿəlla gabay ʿəlla nāy karan tu? ʿābe, raska qadam gis.
This road this of Karan is? Yes, your head forward go.
‘Is this the road to Karan?’ ‘Yes, go [straight] ahead’.

ʿoho, ʿəhə, ʿuhu ‘yes’. These words are used in familiar conversation only, usually by the listener, to show the speaker that he is attentive. The word *ʿafo* is also met with with the meaning ‘how?’ or ‘why?’, notably in exclamatory utterances and in rhetorical questions, e.g. *mi wadenaka? ʿafo kəʿənna wadekanna?* ‘What have we done to you? Why do you treat us like this?’ (PL1, 34:8); *ʿafo ʿalamkanni?* ‘How could you betray me [like this]?’ (*Ibid.*, 15:10).

ʿifālu ‘no’ is regularly used in the expression of negation or dissent, e.g.

sigara taḥazze? ifālu, rabbi lahabbakkum⁴ ʿana sigara ʿiʿəsatte.
Cigarette you want? No, God shall provide you. I cigarette not drink.
‘Do you want a cigarette?’ ‘No, thank you, I do not smoke’.

ʿifālu comprises the negative particle *ʿi-* plus *fāl* plus the third person masculine singular pronominal suffix *-u* for all persons. The pronominal suffix may, however, be inflected where the connotation is ‘I (you, etc.) do not wish (or dare)’, e.g. *ʿifālye*, etc.

ʿikon ‘no, not’ is morphologically the suppletive form of the copula *tu* (third person only) in the negative. *ʿabi* ‘yes, of course’ ‘absolutely yes’. *yaʿ/yaʿ* ‘not at all’, ‘absolutely not’. Both *ʿabi* and *yaʿ* are interjectionally used; morphologically, the former is an adjective (meaning ‘big’).

8.3. CONJUNCTIONS

These are connective words, either coordinating or subordinating. The former are used in connecting two clauses, phrases or words of the same grammatical function. The latter are used in introducing a subordinate clause, joining it to a principal clause.

⁴Standard pronunciation: *rəbbəlhəbbəkkum*.

8.3.1. COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

The coordinating conjunctions are as follows:

(1) *-wa* 'and' e.g. *šādqat walāwhat* (fem. forms) 'righteous and kind'. The construction *lǝgbaʔ wa* is used to connect alternatives, e.g. *ʔaddām lǝgbaʔ wahəyāyət* 'Be it a man or an animal'.

(2) *-ma* 'or' is used to connect alternatives, e.g.

ʔaksum nəʔiš ta ma ʔabbāy?
Aksum small is (fem.) or big?
'Is Aksum small or big?'

(3) *wok* 'or'. This conjunction's function and meaning is identical to those of *ma* above, e.g.

gale ʔəgəl tǝste tahazze? man ʔammər bun wok šāhi?
Something to you drink you want? Who knows coffee or tea?
'Will you have something to drink? Maybe coffee or tea?'

wok may repeat itself, heading either part in an utterance denoting an alternative. The corresponding English expression would be 'either ... or', e.g.

wok ʔataw ʔəčče katəggabbaro wok haye ʔəzamtakkum.
Or you come to me and become subjects or indeed I shall raid you.
'Either you come to me and be my subjects or I shall raid you'. (Tribù, 53:23)

(4) *ka* (a) 'and', (b) 'and so, therefore', 'then (in that case)', (c) 'then (next in order of time)'. (a) *ka* may have a coordinative role only, being similar in function to *wa*, in which case the difference between the two is a stylistic one, e.g.

wakəm raʔayu ʔarqa ʔəttu katesālamayu wamən ʔaya ʔənta
And when he saw him he came to him and greeted him and from where you are
'And when he saw him, he made his way towards him, [and] greeted him and asked him,
bello.
he said to him.
'Where are you from?''

(b) Along with its role mentioned in (a) above, *ka* may indicate that the content of the part of the utterance following it, is the consequence of the content of the utterance preceding it. In such cases the English translation would be 'so', 'therefore', 'then (since that is so)', etc., e.g.

laʔəssit ʔarwe ʔašhattenni kabalʔako tǝbe.
The woman snake enticed me so I ate she said.
'The woman said, "The snake enticed me, so I ate [the apple]"'. (Racconti, 7:13)

(c) *ka* may have an adverbial connotation, indicating that the action described in the part of the utterance following *ka* is subsequent in time to that described in the part of the utterance preceding the conjunction, e.g.

ʔəgəl liqaʔ mawat ʔəndo qarfo ʔəlu ʔəfəʔəfo
In order that he will vomit *mawat* while they peel for him they crush
'In order that he (i.e., the sick man) will vomit they peel [him] a *mawat* plant, crush it
ʔəlu waʔət may waddəwo kaʔəlu satte.
for him and in water they make it then it he drinks.
and put it in water, then he drinks it'. (SS, 136:25)

(5) *da'am* 'but' links two sentences or clauses, the second of which is of restrictive nature as regards the first, e.g.

ʔəgəl nərʔekka naḥazze ʔalna da'am ʔawkād ʔirakabna
 To we see you wishing we were but time we did not find.
 'We wanted to see you but found no time'.

(6) *da'ikon*⁵ (*də'ikon*) 'on the contrary', 'rather', 'but'. The main types of utterances containing *da'ikon* may be set out as follows: (a) The most frequent pattern is the one in which *da'ikon* is preceded by a sentence with a verb in the affirmative and followed by a sentence containing a verb in the negative. The notional relation between two such sentences is that of emphatic opposition or restriction. In speech, the pitch of voice is raised in the word preceding *da'ikon* (i.e. the verb) and the conjunction is followed by a short pause, e.g.

ʔifāika latarfaya kəllan ʔəb lazabʔat farraya da'ikon
 Not so. which remained all of them because of the shot took off rather
 'Not so. All these [birds] which had remained took off because of the [noise of] the shot
hattema ʔitarfat ...
 one even did not remain.
 -not even one remained'.

The sentence containing the verb in the negative may change place with the sentence containing the verb in the affirmative, e.g.

lamasāru nāy kallāt ta ʔitəbattək təssabbar da'ikon.
 The his axe of clay is It does not cut, it will break rather.
 'His axe is [made] of clay; it cannot cut, on the contrary—it will break'. (PL1, 12:4)

(b) The utterance containing *da'ikon* may be elliptical (i.e. where there is no sentence containing a verb in the negative, but the notion of such a part of the utterance is implied by the context), e.g.

walye wad ʔamānye walohayma walye tu ǧago gaʔa da'ikon.
 My son my-true-son and that also my son is fool he became but.
 '[You are] my true son and that one too is my son, but he has turned out a dolt
 [I do not want him]'. (Lt Leg. 8:20)

(c) *da'ikon* may approach the meaning of *da'am* 'but' (cf. No. (5) above), where the notion expressed is one of restriction rather than opposition. In such a case *da'ikon* is preceded by the verb of the sentence which introduces the restriction, e.g.

lamənna qansaw ʔakān ʔitaʔammarat da'ikon laʔəbbu
 Which from her they got up place is not known however which by it
 'They say [that] the place from which they emigrated (lit. 'got up') is not known,
gaʔazaw məsməsa ʔəlli tu ləblo.
 they emigrated reason this is they say.
 but the reason [by which] they emigrated is this, ...'. (Tribù, 5:9)

8.3.2. SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

The linguistic stock from which subordinating conjunctions are constructed comprises (a) mainly prepositions, e.g. *haqo*, *mən*, *ʔasək*, *kəm*; (b) nouns, e.g. *sabbat* 'reason', *ʔəwān*, *wakəd*, *dol* 'time'; (c) *ʔəndo* 'while,

⁵Variant forms: *da'ikoni* and *da'ikone*.

after', which is used as a conjunction only, and (d) compound interrogative-adverbs, e.g. *ʔəgəłmi* 'because' (as an adverb it means 'why?').

The subordinating conjunctions are as follows:

- (1) *haqo* 'after (subsequent to the time that), since, as', e.g.

haqo ʔət karan ʔaqabbəl waraqat ʔəgəl ʔəndaʔ tu.
 After to Karan I return letter I shall send
 'I shall send a letter after I return to Karan'.

- (2) *mən hənet* 'instead of, lest (for fear that)', e.g.

kamən hənet fətəh musa lətbarraw mot hərraw.
 And lest law Moses they betray death they chose.
 'And lest they betray the law of Moses they chose death'.

(*Storia*, 97:15)

- (3) *ʔəbmi* 'because', e.g.

rayim gabay ʔəb ʔəgru ʔəgəl ligis ʔala ʔəlu ʔəbmi makinatu
 Long way by his foot to go he had because his car
 'He had to walk (lit. 'go by foot') a long way because his car

ʔəb hamgam təsabbara.
 suddenly broke down.
 suddenly broke down'.

- (4) *ʔəgəłmi*. Function and meaning as above.

- (5) *mən* 'if' (with the imperfect form); 'since' (with the perfect form); 'whether', e.g.

ʔəb qyās mən tətəhge bəzuh ʔəgəl ʔəfhamakka qaddər.
 In measure if you speak much to I understand you I shall be able.
 'If you talk more slowly I shall be able to understand you better'.

kəʔənnə kəm əsnaya ʔəgəl laraʔawa kəllom
 Like this since he had taken good care of her to those who saw it all of them
 'Since he had taken good care of it (i.e. the lemon tree) in this way, it delighted

bah ʔabalattom.
 it delighted them.
 all [people] who saw it'.

(*ʔAgʔazot*, 59:4)

- (6) *sabbat* 'because', e.g. *sabbat dangarko bəhəl bal ʔəlye* 'Excuse me for being late' (lit. 'excuse me because I was late').

- (7) *ʔasək* 'until' (with the imperfect form), e.g.

ʔasək tətəhadde mən dār ʔabuha tətəmwān.
 Until she gets married from the property her father she is nourished.
 'Until she gets married she is fed by means of her father's property'.

- (8) *ʔət* 'while' (with the imperfect form), e.g.

ʔimat ʔət laħazzu ʔət tīlān ʔət mədun dannaw.
 Chieftainship while they seek to Italians at Mədun they went down.
 'While seeking the chieftainship [for him] they went down to the Italians at Mədun'.

(*Tribù*, 68:9)

(9) *ʔando* 'when, after' (almost only with the perfect), e.g.

kaʔ endo ʔalla həla ʔət ʔaddu ʔaqbala.
 And after this having sung to his village he returned.
 'And after having sung this he returned to his village'.

wahar bet ʔab lamāyət kəl mənnoḡ sayf ʔando hərrət
 And afterwards family the deceased each of them sword while drawing
 'And afterwards each [male] member of the family of the deceased, drawing a sword or

ma ʔəb konāt wok mora ʔət ləwatwat lassāqər.
 or with lance or stick while swinging he raises the war cry.
 swinging a lance or stick, raises the war-cry'. (PLI, 223:24)

(10) *ʔanday/day* 'before, while ... not, as long as ... not, without that, until' (with the imperfect), e.g.

ʔenze ʔanday ʔamaššəʔ ʔət makkarāy tyārotāt ʔalko.
 Here before I come at the place of descent aeroplanes I was.
 'Before I came here I was at the airport'.

gāričče ʔanday ʔasallət ʔiʔəballəʕ.
 My business before I complete I shall not eat.
 'I shall not eat as long as I have not completed my business [successfully]'.

(11) *ʔakəl la* 'as often as, whenever', e.g.

wadāwəd ʔakəl lamasanqo zabbət ʔəlu ʔəgəl sāʔol qalləl ʔəlu ʔala.
 And David whenever the harp he plays for him for Saul pleasing for him it was.
 'And whenever David played the harp for Saul, he (i.e. Saul) was at ease'. (Storia, 61:25)

(12) *ʔəgəl* (a) 'In order to' (introducing an adverbial clause of purpose or result); (b) corresponding grammatically to 'to' + infinitive in English, when functioning as the object of the verb, e.g. 'I planned to go'. *ʔəgəl* can precede verb forms which belong to the jussive morphological category only, e.g.

ʔət məgəb ǧannat ʔəb lahallet ʔəččət ʔəgəl ʔitimuto
 In middle paradise concerning which exists tree in order that you shall not die
 'Do not eat from the [fruit of] the tree which is in the midst of paradise or you shall die

mənna ʔitəbluʕ.
 from her do not eat.
 (lit. 'in order that you shall not die')'. (Racconti, 6:22)

ʔət bečče ʔaze ʔəgəl ʔigis ʔalabye.
 To my house now to go I have not.
 'I don't have to go home now'.

(13) *ʔəwān* 'when' (with the imperfect form).

(14) *kəm* (a) 'when, after, as soon as' (with the imperfect form), e.g.

ʔət ʔadigrat kəm bašhaka salf mi wadeka
 In Adigrat when you arrived first what you did?
 'Having arrived in Adigrat, what did you do first?'

(b) 'as' (according to what, or manner in which), e.g.

wahətu ʔabuhu kəm laʔazzazayu wada.
 And he his father according to that which he ordered him he did.
 'And he did as his father ordered him'.

(c) 'that' (introducing a content clause), e.g.

woro nagedāy ʔəḡəl dəkkanu nāfəʕ həsān kəm hazze ʔət gāzetāt
 One merchant for his shop useful boy that he looks for in papers
 'A certain shopkeeper advertised in the papers that he was looking for a young assistant

ʔassaʔala.

he let know.

(lit. 'a useful boy') for his shop'.

(ʔAgʔazot, 82:15)

(15) *kəmsal* 'when' (with the perfect), e.g.

ʔəḡəl lamabrəhat kəmsal ʔabrəha ʔatta kadbet gale santim
 As for the light when he switched it on on the floor some copper coins
 'When he switched on the light, he saw a few [copper] coins on the floor'.

raʔa.

he saw.

(16) *wakəd* 'when' (with the imperfect).

(17) *dib* 'while' (with the imperfect).

(18) *dol* 'when' (with the imperfect).

8.4. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections can be (a) words which are used as interjections only and are morphologically unanalyzable, and (b) words otherwise belonging to other parts of speech, or determined by their morphological pattern. Examples: (a) *həs/šət* 'be quiet!'; *həʔ/waha* 'ah!'; *ʔay/ʔayo/yəwu/yaw/dəbbo* 'woe!'; *həy/šaw* 'away!'; *hayaʔ* 'up!' 'now then!'; *həšša* 'far be it!'; *hay* 'make haste!'; *səmhāno* 'be praised!'; *səməna* (also: + *ʔəl* with the pronominal suffixes) 'cheer up!'; *šut* 'impossible!'; *bah* 'not at all!'; *bas* 'enough!'; *ʔabadaʔ* 'never!'; *wo* 'oh!'; *waššele* 'a pity!'; *yəbba* 'father!'; *yəmma*⁶ 'mother!'; *gaddoʔ* 'oh wonder!'

(b) (i) *həsse* 'excellent!' (*həsse*, pl. *həssetāt* 'honor, good deed' a noun; root: *hys*); *ken* 'away!' (*ken* 'there' an adverb); *ʔasannāy* 'thank God!' (*ʔasannāy* an infinitive form⁷ of **ʔasanna*, root: *sny*). (ii) *naʕa* (masc. sing.), *nəʕi* (fem. sing.), *nəʕəno* (masc. pl.), *nəʕəna* (fem. pl.) 'come here!' These forms replace the imperative forms of the verb *masʔa* 'to come', e.g. *ʔənze naʕa* 'come here'. *ʔənka* (masc. sing.), *ʔənki* (fem. sing.), *ʔənkanəno* (masc. pl.), *ʔənkanəna* (fem. pl.) 'behold!', 'here it is!'. *yaha* (masc. sing.), *yahay* (fem. sing.), *yahaw* (masc. pl.), *yahayāt* (fem. pl.) 'you there!'

⁶These two interjections are used regularly by children, when addressing one of their parents.

⁷This is one of the rarer infinitive forms, not dealt with in 3.4.7.

9. SYNTAX

9.1. THE WORD-ORDER IN THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

There are three main features of word arrangement typical of the Tigre sentence, as follows: (a) The main verb, or a syntactically equivalent word, is regularly placed at the end of the sentence. (b) Complements and qualifiers precede the words they qualify or complete. (c) The subject is usually placed at the beginning of the sentence; it may be preceded by sentence adverbs (8.2.2.4) and conjunctions of coordination (8.3.1). It should be noted here that any change of the above word-order features does not necessarily suggest a syntactic extraposition. Examples:

worot ʾanās māsəl nəwāyu waşewahu ʾət qišot ʿala.
 One man with his cattle and his family in small village was.
 'A man lived with his family and his cattle in a hamlet'. (Tigre Texts, 13:11)

hatte dol ʾəllom haməs nafar ʾaha bəzhət ʿalat ʾəllom.
 One time these five one[s] cattle much (fem. sing.) was to them.
 'Once these five ones had a lot of cattle'.

rabbī ʿastar wamədər fatra 'God created heaven and earth'.

The resultant type of sentence exhibits the basic pattern of subject-complement-verb, which is the typical structure of modern Ethiopian Semitic languages. A common phenomenon is the word-order in which a noun other than the subject heads the sentence. In such a case, the subject occurs in second place, having a suffixed pronoun of which the referent is the preceding word. Theoretically the first two words in the sentence can be put in a construct state by reversing the word order and omitting the pronoun of reference. The word which occupies first place in the sentence is the subject in the contextual sense. Examples:

ʾəssit hilata hawānit ta.
 Woman her strength weakness it is.
 'The strength of a woman is [her] weakness'.

karan hoşaha qayəh tu. lakarsa ʾəb qətrān ləqluq tu.
 Karan her soil red it is. Its interior with tar smeared it is.
 'The soil of Karan is red. Its interior (i.e. of Karan) is smeared with tar'.

A different type of structure is the cleft sentence where a special emphasis is laid on a part of the sentence. The typical structure is that in which a relative clause is put at the end of the sentence, preceded by the copula *tu*. The part of the sentence preceding the copula is then emphasized. This structure deviates from the normal order in the sense that a subordinate verb occupies final position in the sentence. Examples:

wahətu ʾəb nošše tu latəsaḥaqqo. ʾətki ʾikon bela.
 And he at myself it is that I laughed. At you it is not he said.
 'And he said to her, "It is at myself that I laughed—not at you"'. (PL1, 89:3)

gadəm warāt mes ... kalla sab tu lawaddya.
 As for making mead ... all of her men it is who do it.
 'As for the making of the mead, it is the men who do all of it [and not the women]'.
 (Ibid., 189:3)

9.2. THE WORD-ORDER IN THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

The description given above (9.1) in the case of the simple sentence can also be applied here. The main clause is a simple sentence whose verb is regularly preceded by the subordinate clause. The various types of subordinate clause occupy their place in the sentence according to their function in relation to the main clause, e.g. a relative clause functions as a modifier of a noun and occupies those positions that modifiers occupy (i.e. regularly preceding the noun), etc.

galab ^{ʔət} ^{ʔətyopya} ^{latətrakkab} ^{hatte} ^{nəʔis} ^{dəgge} ^{ta}
Galab in Ethiopia which is found one small town is.
'Galab is a small town [which is found] in Ethiopia'.

lagaʔa ^{ləgbaʔ} ^{daʔikon} ^{ʔəbla} ^{wakəd} ^{laha} ^{laʔalaw} ^{maʔanrat} ^{wəhakəyəm}
However in the time that who were scientists and physicians
'However, we can tell (lit. 'know') from history that although scientists and physicians

həmām ^{ʕāso} ^{ʔəgəl} ^{labdu} ^{bəzuh} ^{ma} ^{ʂəggumām} ^{mən} ^{gabbuʔ}
illness malaria to destroy much even if-they-had-fought
who lived at that time fought much to destroy the malaria illness, the

ʔəbbəlli ^{həmām} ^{ʔəlli} ^{mayto} ^{laʔalaw} ^{wələd} ^{minʔādəm}
in this illness this dying who were members human-race
human beings who died because of this illness were many'.

bəzḥām ^{kəm} ^{tom} ^{ʔəb} ^{tārix} ^{ʔəgəl} ^{naʔammərro} ^{ʔənqaddər.}
many that they are through history to we know it we can.

Two different types of change in the word order of the complex sentence may be noted, resembling in principle those described above (9.1) for the simple sentence. These are where (a) a nominal element in the main clause and the subject of the main clause exchange places, and (b) a relative clause is put at the end of the sentence, preceded by the copula *tu* which may occur anywhere in the main clause between the relative and the subject. An example for (a):

lahəṣān ^{hamātu} ^{ʔət} ^{mədər} ^{bəʕəd} ^{mən} ^{gabbuʔ} ^{ʕadda} ...
The boy his mother-in-law in country another if is her village ...
'If the village of the boy's mother-in-law is in another country ...

hamātu ^{nabra} ^{sannet} ^{təwaddə.}
his mother-in-law meal good she makes.
his mother-in-law makes a good meal'.

(PL1, 117:6)

In the example above, the nouns involved are *lahəṣān*, *hamātu*, *ʕadda*, all of which can be put in reverse order and form a construct state, i.e. *ʕad lahamāt lahəṣān* 'the village of the boy's mother-in-law'. The bringing forward of a nominal element in the complex sentence results in avoiding a long sequence of words in the construct state. For examples of (b) see last section of 9.1 above.

9.2.1. HYPOTACTIC RELATIONS: DISTRIBUTION OF COMPLEX AND COMPOUND SENTENCES

The choice between a complex and a compound sentence in Tigre has no limitation of distribution and both types are equally used. An example of a compound sentence:

ʔaze ^{hatte} ^{məʕəl} ^{ʔət} ^{hədāy} ^{ʕad} ^{waʕaga} ^{fararaw} ^{waʔaha}
Now one day to wedding party family guenon they went out and cattle
Now one day they went out to the wedding party of the family of the guenon, and the

ʔət dabər ʃaffalaw wabadet.
 on mountain grazed and went astray.
 cattle grazed on the [lower slope of] the mountain and went astray'.

Long complex sentences are quite regularly encountered, e.g.

ʔət legos nayğərya lagaʔa nāy bābur bəqot ʔənday mayto
 In Lagos Nigeria which happened of train accident without they die
 'News which came from Lagos, Nigeria, reported that fifty people who sustained

ʔəb hayātom laʔalaw həmsa nafar ʔət makinat ʔəndo
 with they alive who were fifty ones into vehicle having made
 minor injuries in a train accident, had got into a car

saʔanawom hospital ʔət labəşəhəwom lamakinat
 them get in hospital while they were bringing them the vehicle
 which overturned while they were being driven

sabbat təballasat kəllom woro ʔənday tarrəf
 because it overturned all of them one without he will remain
 to hospital and all of them died'.

mənnom kəm motaw mən legos laməşʔa ʔəxbār ʔassaʔala.
 of them that they died from Lagos which came news reported.

9.3. NOMINAL SENTENCES

In sentences whose predicate is a nominal form, a copula-pronoun must intervene. Examples of such sentences and a description of the copula are given in 5.1 above. When subordinate by reason of the temporal conjunction ʔət or dib 'when', the personal pronoun copula retains its morphological shape, while the copula *tu* assumes the forms ʔəntu (masc. sing.), ʔənta (fem. sing.), ʔəntom (masc. pl.), and ʔəntan (fem. pl.), e.g. *kallāt wačabal ʔət ʔana* 'I, being clay and ashes'.²

lahəmmum kəʔənnə hawān dib ʔəntu.
 the sick [man] like this weak when he is.
 'When the sick man is [as] weak as this'.

When subordinate to the conditional particle *mən* 'if', the copula is expressed in all persons by the imperfect forms of the verb *gabʔa*. Nominal sentences without a copula are non-typical of Tigre. However, they are quite frequent in certain expressions, such as formulae of greetings, salutations, interjections and forms of ellipsis, e.g. *salām ʔalekum* 'Peace be unto you!'; *kullu dahan* 'All is well!'; *hamde ʔəgəl rabbi* 'Praise be to God'; *ʔiwalye* 'Not my son!' (PLI, 91:4), etc. An exception is the interrogative adverb ʔəšwo which occurs in nominal expressions only (8.2.2.5).

9.4. DIRECT AND INDIRECT SPEECH

The verb *bela* 'to say' may be used as a point of punctuation in marking the end or beginning of direct speech. In this capacity *bela* is semantically redundant, e.g.

waʔad lawalat balso walatna nəʔis hallet waʔitəddāiena
 And family the girl they answer our daughter small she is and we are not ready
 'And the family of the girl answer [saying] "Our daughter is small and we are not ready

ʔando below.
while they say.
[yet to give her in marriage]”’. (PL1, 119:22)

When the main verb in the sentence is *bela*, it occurs only once, e.g.

hatte mʔəl gohu təlākayom wa ... bellom
One day to him he summoned them and ... he said to them
‘One day, he summoned them to him and said to them, “...”’.

As regards the position of the verb of saying in relation to that of the subject and the content clause, deviation from the normal order of words is possible (i.e. from the order S-C-V, where C stands for the content of the verb of saying), e.g.

kəm laʔəlu ʔasʔalayuni dəgəm bet ʔəšḥaqan ʔəlli tu bela ʔənās
As it they told me the story of B. E. this is he said a man
‘As I was told (lit. ‘As they told me’) the story of Bet ʔEšḥaqan is so (i.e. ‘as follows’)

bet ʔəšḥaqanāy ...
[which belongs to] B. E.
said a man of the Bet ʔEšḥaqan’ (Tribù, 74:15)

wahətom ʔəgəl maḥammad qabbubo ʔalaw ḥawān tu ʔando below.
And they for M. despising him they were weak he is while they said.
‘And they despised M., thinking he was weak’. (Lt Su Sāng, 11:6)

The structure exhibited is typical of the spoken language, and also in written utterances, when the writer preserves the allure of the spoken language. Reported speech is rendered in the same way as direct speech, e.g.

haqo ʔəlla raʔas ʔalula dib Ḥamāsen māsəʔ halla kəm belayuna ...
After this R. A. to H. he-has-come when they told us.
‘After that, when we were told that Raʔas ʔAlula had come to Ḥamāsen ... (lit. ‘when they told us: “Raʔas ʔAlula has come to Ḥamāsen”’). (Tribù, 82:3)

9.5. VERBS TAKING AN INFINITIVE AS THEIR COMPLEMENT

Verbs usually have the complex ʔəgəl + Jussive as their complement, e.g.

ʔaze ʔəgəl ʔigis halla ʔəlye
Now to go there is to me.
‘I have to leave now’.

ʔəgəl ləqtolo ḥasbaw ‘They intended to kill him’.

Certain verbs take an infinitive form as their complement. Such verbs, for the most part, render the notion of ‘(not) to be able, (not) to wish’. The following are the most frequent verbs that take an infinitive as a complement: *taḥallala* ‘to be unable’, *saʔana* ‘not to be able, not to have’, *ʔaḥaza* ‘to be necessary’, *ʔaba* ‘not to wish, to refuse’, *ḥela* ‘to be unable’ (also ‘to overpower’). Examples:

naqila taḥallaw ‘They were unable to uproot it (i.e. the bush)’

sārayotu ḥelayom ‘They could not cure him’ (lit. ‘it’s being cured was not possible for them’)

ləbbu ʔəraf saʔana ‘He became restless’ (lit. ‘His heart did not have rest’)

Some verbs may have as their complement either *ʔagəl* + Jussive or an infinitive form, e.g.

šəqəlka ʔagid ʔagəl təkalləs daqqəb.
Your work quickly to you finish you can?
'Can you finish your work soon?'

walahəmmum mathūgāy mən daqqəb ...
And the sick talking if he can.
'And if the sick [man] can speak'.

9.6. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

The following is a synoptic schema of the two patterns of conditional sentences:

	PROTASIS	APODOSIS
pattern A	<i>mən</i> + imperfect perfect + <i>mən gabbə</i> ¹	Any construction, excluding the perfect form, that renders the nexus of the sentence
pattern B	<i>mən</i> + imperfect <i>wə</i> + perfect	<i>wə</i> + perfect

SENTENCES EXPRESSING REAL CONDITIONS (pattern A) Examples:

kəlʔot mən lətbəʔaso lazayəd laməsməsa ʔət worot leṭa ʔikon.
Two if they quarrel which is most the cause in one only it is not.
'If two [persons] quarrel, usually the blame (lit. 'the cause') is not on one [of them] only'.

gale gaʔaw mən gabbəʔ ləghu dibom.
Something they became if it is they are grieved about them.
'If anything happens to them, they are grieved about them'.

SENTENCES EXPRESSING UNREAL CONDITIONS (pattern B)

Such sentences express conditions which are improbable or incapable of fulfilment. Examples:

wəʔalli kəllu ʔəb worworo mən lətkattab kəlla laʔəddinama
And this all of it one-by-one if it is written all of her the world even
'And if all this were to be written, one by one, even the whole world would not suffice for
ʔagəl lələtkattabo ʔakətbət wəʔiʔaklattom.
for which will be written (pl.) books it (fem. sing.) would not suffice
the books to be written about it' for them'.

ʔala nəšayəm hətama rabbi wəʔihabaya mi
Her let us make chieftain. She indeed God had not he given her it how
'Let us make her chieftain. Had not God given it (i.e. the chieftainship) to her, how could

¹The complex *mən gabbə* is a fossilized form.

wamotat *mənna ...*
 could-she-have died because of her ... '
 she (i.e. the dragon) have died because of her?' (*Lt Leg*, 4:15)

9.7. THE MODAL FORM *wa* + PERFECT

The complex *wa* + perfect may serve as a special form for modal expressions denoting the unreality of the nexus. This usage of *wa* + perfect resembles the function of the morphological category of the 'conditionnel' in French, e.g.

kaḥatte *ʔassit* *tellom* *ʔantum* *čabal* *gəbbuʔ*. *lawəlādkum*
 And one woman said to them you ashes become (imperat.). Your children
 'And a certain woman said to them, "May you turn into ashes. You should have let your
wašaʿankum.
 you should have let [them] ride.
 children ride [the donkeys]" (i.e. the children died because they walked a long
 way while their parents rode the donkeys)'.

ʔalla *lataḥayəs* *bet* *mən* *ʔaya* *warakba*.
 This that which is better house from where could he find?
 'Where else could he find a house which would be better than this [one]?'

9.8. THE ALTERNATIVE

To denote the possibility of one out of two (or more) Tigre makes use of the coordinating conjunctions *wa*, *ma*, *wok* (8.3.1.(1)-(3)) and the jussive conjugated form of the verb *gabʔa* 'to be, to become', e.g.

wahətom *lədhuro* *wašanābulo* *ʔaha* *ma* *ʔaṭāl* *wok* *ʔaqrūš*
 And they they bless him and give him as presents cows or goats or money
 'And they bless him, and give him as presents, cows or goats or money and even fields
wahaye *gəṛāh*.
 and even fields.
 (i.e. plots of land)' (*PL1*, 128:24)

The particle *wok* and the form *ləgbaʔ* followed by *wa/ma*, are the ones usually used in the expression of 'either ... or', *wok* preceding both nouns or clauses of the alternative, whereas the linear order *wa* A *ləgbaʔ* *wa/ma* B is used in the expression of the notion 'both A and B' (lit. 'and be it A or B'), e.g.

ʔəgāl *waʔanəs* *ləgbaʔ* *watabʿat* *kəm* *təwallada* *ʔaškaʔalala* *lətbahal*.
 Calf or male be it or female when it is born ʔA. it is called.
 'Calves, both male and female, are called ʔAskaʔalala when they are born [and for two
 months]' (*PL1*, 178:5)

wahəta *təgbaʔ* *ma* *ʔət* *dəwāra* *lahalla* *mədər* *ʔəbən* *zenāy*
 And she be it or on around it that which is ground stone zenāy
 'And both this [stone] and those which are on the ground around it are called the stone[s]
lətbahal.
 it is called.
 of zenāy'. (*Tribù*, 10:15)

9.9. THE EXPRESSION OF THE DISTRIBUTIVE, ITERATIVE, AND INTENSIVE ASPECTS BY MEANS OF REPETITION OF THE WORD

A frequent phenomenon in Tigre is the repetition of a word or an expression, the value of which is aspectual. The repeated element can be a member of any word-class.

THE DISTRIBUTIVE

The term 'distributive' is used here in the expression of treating the members of a group individually, indicating the notion rendered in English by 'each' and 'every'. Repeated nouns may become a compound, the first constituent of which loses its final word-syllable, e.g.

wamən lahəyāyət lahawān hawān abda ... walasannet sannet
 And from the animal the weak weak he destroyed ... and the good good
 'And from the animals he destroyed all the poor ones and spared all the good ones'

lahəyāyət baqqa.
 the animal he spared.

(lit. 'Each one of low value he destroyed and each one of good value he spared').

For the distributive forms of the cardinal numerals, e.g. *worworot* 'One each, one by one', etc. see 7.1.2 above.

THE ITERATIVE

The term 'iterative' is used here to indicate the repetition of the action denoted by the verb, either as progressive or as habitual, without limiting the number of the repeated actions, e.g. *lawəṛūq qərəṛə qərəṛə* 'abalayu 'He read the letters one after the other', *fəzaga fəzaga* 'every Easter', *tələm tələm* 'every [time at the] beginning of [the] ploughing [season]', *karam karam* 'every rainy-season'.

THE INTENSIVE

The term 'intensive' is used here to indicate increased emphasis or force of the action denoted by the verb, e.g. *ṛəb nəṛiṣ nəṛiṣ hayet* 'She recovered very slowly [from her illness]', *ṛət ləgayəs waṛət ləgayəs* 'Walking on and on'.

10. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- AIUO* *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.*
- Ad Šek* M. Höfner, "Überlieferungen bei Tigrē-Stämmen (1). 'Ad Šek," *AE* 4 (1961), p. 181-203.
- AE* *Annales d'Ethiopie.*
- ʾAgʾazot* K. G. Rodén, *Kəṭāb ʾagʾazot waqərʾān*, 3rd edition revised by Musa Aron, Asmara, 1958.
- C Ross Doc* C. Conti Rossini, "Documenti per lo studio della lingua tigrē," *GSAI* 16 (1903), p. 1-32.
- C Ross Trad* C. Conti Rossini, "Tradizioni storiche dei Mensa," *GSAI* 14 (1901), p. 41-99.
- FM* K. G. Rodén, *Fəṭəḥ mahāri waʿādotāt* (part two of *Le tribù dei Mensa*, p. 95-187).
- GSAI* *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana.*
- Grammatical Sketches* W. Leslau, "Grammatical sketches in Tigrē," (North Ethiopic): dialect of Mensa, *JAOS* 65 (1945), p. 164-203.
- HÖFNER, M., "Probleme der Verbalstambbildung im Tigrē," *ZMDG* 101 (1951), p. 89-106.
- HUDSON, R. A., "Beja," p. 97-132, in: Bender, M. L. (ed.) *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia*. Michigan: African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1976.
- IPA* *The Principles of the International Phonetic Association.* London, 1949.
- Isaiah* G. R. Sundström (transl.), *Il libro di Isaia (kəṭāb ʾəssayās) in lingua tigrē*. Tipografia Evangelica, Asmara 1925.
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- LESLAU, W., "The verb in Tigrē (North-Ethiopic): dialect of Mensa," *JAOS* 65 (1945), p. 1-26.
- LESLAU, W., *An annotated bibliography of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia*, Mouton, The Hague 1965.
- LH* E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache: Tigrē-Deutsch-Englisch*. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, XI.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1962.
- LITTMANN, E., "Bilitterale Verba im Tigrē," p. 94-101, in: *Donum Natalicium H. S. Nyberg Oblatum*. Uppsala 1954.
- LITTMANN, E., "Die Diminutivbildung im Tigrē," *AIUO* 2 (1943), p. 89-103.
- LITTMANN, E., "Die Pronomina im Tigrē," *ZA* 12 (1897), p. 188-230, 291-316.
- LITTMANN, E., "Das Verbum der Tigrēsprache," *ZA* 13, 2-4, (1898), p. 133-178; 14, 1-2, (1899), p. 1-102.
- Lt Leg* E. Littmann, *The legend of the Queen of Sheba in the tradition of Axum*, Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1904 (Bibliotheca Abessinica, no. 1).
- Lt Su Sång* G. R. Sundström, "En sång på tigrē-språket." *SKVH*, Vol. 8, No. 6 (1904), p. 1-34.
- MO* *Monde Orientale.*
- OS* *Orientalia Suecana.*

- NT* *Ḥaddis Galad ʾeb higa Təgre*: Il Nuovo Testamento in lingua tigrè. Second ed. Asmara: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1931.
- PALMER, F. R., *The morphology of the Tigre noun*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962 (London Oriental Series, vol. 13).
- PALMER, F. R., "Relative clauses in Tigre." *Word* 17 (1961) p. 24-33.
- PL* E. Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1910-1915, 4 vols. in 5.
- Psalms* G. R. Sundström, transl., *I Salmi di Davide (dərsān dāwəd)* in lingua tigré, Asmara 1925.
- RAZ, S., *A descriptive study of Tigre grammar*. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1973.
- Racconti* Wilh. Norlén e Fr. Lundgren, *Racconti biblici*. Tradotti dallo svedese in tigrè da A. Renlund e K. G. Rodén. Asmara: Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsens Förlags-expedition, 1916.
- RODÉN, K. G., transl., *Dottrina Cristiana*, secondo il Piccolo Catechismo di Martino Lutero. Liberamenta tradotta dallo svedese in tigrè da K. G. Rodén. Asmara: Tipografia della Missione Evangelica Svedese, 1920.
- RSE* *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*.
- Short Grammar* W. Leslau, *Short grammar of Tigre (North Ethiopic). Dialect of Mensa*. New Haven, 1945. (Publication of the American Oriental Society. Offprint series, No. 18). [A reprint of the author's articles *Grammatical Sketches* and "The Verb in Tigre"].
- SKVH* *Skrifter utgifna af K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala*.
- Supplementary Observations* W. Leslau, "Supplementary observations on Tigré grammar," *JAOS* 68 (1948), p. 127-139.
- SS* G. R. Sundström, "Sjukdomar ock deras behandling av infödingar i Mänsa," *MO* 3, (1909) p. 127-151.
- Storia* Wilh. Norlén e Fr. Lundgren, *Manuale di storia sacra*. (Versione tigré). Seconda edizione. Riveduta da K. G. Rodén e Guiseppe Hemmed, Asmara: Tipografia Evangelica, 1925.
- TE* E. Littmann, "Tigrè-Erzählungen," *ZDMG* 65 (1911), p. 697-708.
- Tigre Games* W. Leslau, "Tigre Games," *RSE* 17 (1961), p. 61-68.
- Tigre Texts* G. R. Sundström, "Some Tigre texts with transliteration and translation," *MO* 8 (1914), p. 1-15.
- Tribù* K. G. Rodén, *Le tribù dei Mensa*. Storia, legge e costumi. A. Testo originale tigrè. Asmara 1913. [Part one, p. 1-93. For part two see *FM* above].
- ULLENDORFF, E., *Ethiopia and the Bible*. London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1968.
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

11. TEXTS

Introductory Notes

The texts are rendered by a phonetic transcription with a word by word interlinear translation. This in turn is followed by a full translation of each text into English. The interlinear translation is intended as a device to enable the reader to have the meaning of each separate word as well as the order of words in the sentence. Yet an effort has been made to treat strings of words which have syntagmatic relations in a manner in which the syntagms will be properly represented. Thus, as regards the interlinear translation, the following points should be made:

(a) Idiomatic expressions are not rendered literally, e.g., *wəlād ʿasraʿel* '[the] people [of] Israel' and not '[the] children/sons [of] Israel'; *labazzəḥ-ʿawkād* 'most of the time' and not 'which is much times'; *lagaʿa-ləgbaʿ* 'whatever' and not '[that] which happened should happen'; *ṣəbəḥ-mədər* '[the] early morning' and not '[the] morning [of the] earth'; etc. As can be seen from the examples above, words in expressions which are translated as a whole are hyphenated. This is especially evident with verb compounds where a literal interlinear translation does not reflect the structure and meaning of the compound, e.g., *bāṣḥu-dibla-halla* 'to which [he] has reached (it)', and not 'reaching it to which is/exists' (*qātəl + halla* = present perfect).

(b) Where the English translation requires it, *ʿəgəl* + subjunctive is rendered as an infinitive, e.g., *ʿəgəl ləklaḥfo wāḡəb ʿikon* 'to contradict him necessary [it] is not', and not 'in order to contradict necessary is not'.

(c) The independent personal pronoun, the definite/indefinite article and the relative pronoun may appear in square brackets when they are not formally expressed, e.g., *ʿət magʿaz* 'on [a] journey'; *ləsān ʿəsāt tu* '[the] tongue fire is'; *raʿa* '[he] saw'. This applies to all words which are not expressed formally in Tigre, but are essential to the understanding of the structure of the language, e.g., *kəl ḡənəs ʿabyūt* 'all kind[s] of houses'.

(d) Where necessary a further comment is put in parentheses, to clarify the relation between form and meaning on the syntactic level, e.g., *ʿətəlli ʿawkād* 'in these (lit. 'this') times'; *mayto laʿalaw* 'dying (lit. 'die') who were'.

(e) When the particle *ʿəgəl* stands for the sign of the direct object, no equivalent is given in the English translation.

11.1. *dəgəm ʿabbəkiki* 'The Tale of the Plover'

(1) *ʿabbəkiki ʿəsləmāy nabra.* (2) *wəḥatte məʿəl ʿət məsgəd saḥaqa.* (3) *wəḥar*
 (1) plover Muslim was. (2) and one day in mosque [he] laughed. (3) and then

lašək ragmayu waʿət sarerāy ʿaqbala. (4) *gadəm ʿabbəkiki šāš bəzuḥ*
 the sheik cursed him and into bird [he] turned. (4) now plover turban much

fatte-ʿala waʿəb šāšu wanosu ʿət sarerāy ʿaqbala. (5) *ʿaddām dib*
 used to like and with his turban and himself into bird [he] turned. (5) man when

halla *'abbəkiki* *bəzuh* *'ət* *məsgəd* *gayəs* *waləşşalle* *nabra.* (6) *wahar*
[he] was plover much to mosque going and praying was. (6) and afterwards

'ət *sarerāy* *kem* *'aqbala* *'əb* *šāšu* *'asək* *'aze* *ra'asu* *ladannən-halla*
to bird when [he] became with his turban until now his head [he] stoops

lətbahal.

[it] is said.

(1) The plover was Muslim. (2) (And) one day he laughed in the mosque (i.e., when he was a human being). (3) And then the sheikh cursed him and he (i.e., the plover) turned into a bird. (4) Now, the plover used to like the turban very much and he turned into a bird (himself) with the turban [on his head]. (5) When he was a man, the plover used to spend his time going to the mosque and praying. (6) And afterwards, having become a bird, he still (lit. until now) stoops his head with his turban [on it], so they say (lit. 'it is said').

11.2. *dəgəm kaləb wadəmmu* 'The Tale of the Dog and the Cat'

(1) *kaləb* *wadəmmu* *kəl'ot* *galgalāy* *ma* *fatač* *'alaw.* (2) *'aze* *ħatte* *mə'əl* *lāli*
(1) dog and cat two friends or pals were. (2) now one day at night

'ət *woro* *dəgge* *'əsūt* *mən* *qābəl* *'ət* *tahaye* *ra'aw.* (3) *ka'əgəl* *ħəd*
in one village fire from distance while burning [they] saw. (3) and to each other

kə'ənnə *below* *fağər* *lohay* *dəgge* *la'ətta* *qəblātna* *lahalla*
like this they said tomorrow morning that village the in the front of us which is found

'əttu *nət'adde* *'əlli* *dəggəna* *səga* *'alabu* *man-'ammər* *gisna*
there let us go over. this our village meat does not have perhaps [we] went

mən-gabbi' *səga* *wa'əngera* *'ənrakkeb* *below.* (4) *wasanbat-'abbāy* *'əgəl* *lət'addaw*
if meat and bread [we] shall find [they] said. (4) and Sunday to go over

gomāiom *qartaw.* (5) *da'am* *dəmmu* *telməyt* *wakāynat* *mən*
their decision [they] took. (5) but cat treacherous and untrustworthy while

ga'at *'əgəl* *kaləb* *wə'ul* *talmat* *'əttu* *kabayna* *sanbat-nə'iš*
she became dog deliberately [she] deceived him and [she] alone Saturday

ta'addet *ka'ət* *ħatte* *bet* *səməṭ* *ma'ošāi* *kaf-təbe.* (6) *gadəm* *kaləb* *ləşşabbarra*
went over and in a house beside fireplace sat down. (6) now dog expecting her

wə'əl *'ala* *wakəm* *dangaratto* *ta'adda.* (7) *wa'əbba-'əbba*
passing the day was and since [she] was late for him [he] went over. (7) And soon

labet *ladəmmu* *hallet* *diba* *'ətta* *hadfa.* (8) *wakəm* *ra'aya*
the house which cat was in it to it [he] came unexpectedly. (8) and when [he] saw it

dəmmu *'ət* *səməṭ* *ma'ošāt* *'əghəmət* *rakbaya.* (9) *'ət* *ləbbu* *kəm* *ra'aya*
cat beside fireplace lying down [he] found her. (9) in his heart as [he] saw her

bəzuh *ħarqa* *kagadəm* *mən* *'əlla* *yom* *rabbi* *'ilatə'əenna*
much [he] became indignant and well then from this day God that [he] may cause us

	<i>bela</i>	<i>kamaḥala.</i>	(10)	<i>dammu</i>	<i>kəm</i>	<i>sam'atto</i>		
not to meet	[he] said	and took an oath.	(10)	cat	when	[she] heard him		
<i>ḥarqat</i>	<i>wa'əgəl</i>	<i>təbba'as</i>	<i>sə'et</i>	<i>'əttu.</i>	(11)	<i>da'am</i>	<i>qabbaya</i>	
[she] became angry	and in order	to fight	leaped	at him.	(11)	but	[he] despised her	
<i>ka'azma</i>	<i>mənna.</i>	(12)	<i>wa'əbbəlli</i>	<i>sabab</i>	<i>'əlli</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>dammu</i>	<i>wakaləb</i>
and kept away	from her.	(12)	and by this	reason	this	[it] is [that]	cat	and dog
<i>'asək</i>	<i>'aze</i>	<i>'ilətfātaw</i>	<i>kaḥəd</i>	<i>ra'aw</i>	<i>mən-gabbi'</i>	<i>'ət</i>	<i>ḥəd</i>	
until	now	do not become	friends	and each other	[they] saw	if	on	each other

sarro-lahallaw.

[they] jump.

(1) The dog and the cat were two friends (or pals). (2) Now, one night (lit. 'one day at night') they saw from a distance a fire burning in a[nother] village. (3) And they said to each other as follows: 'Tomorrow morning let us go over to that village which lies ahead of us' (lit. 'that village which is found in front of us, let us go over there'). There is no meat in our village. Maybe if we go [there] we shall find food (lit. 'meat and bread'). (4) And [finally] they made their decision to go over on Sunday. (5) But the cat, having become treacherous and untrustworthy, deliberately deceived the dog and on Saturday went over [to the other village] alone, and sat herself in a house, by the fireplace. (6) Now, the dog passed the day expecting her and since she failed to arrive he went over [to the village.] (7) (And) soon he ran across the house where the cat was. (8) And when he looked at it he found her lying down by the fireplace. (9) As he saw her he flew into a rage (lit. 'he became indignant in his heart') and took an oath, saying to her: 'May God separate us (lit. 'May God cause us not to meet') from this day [on].' (10) When the cat heard him she became angry and looked inimically at him, and leaped at him in order to fight. (11) But the dog despised her and ignored her. (12) And it is for this reason that, until today, the cat and the dog do not befriend one another and if they see each other they jump on each other.

11.3. *dəgəm derho kərkərre ḥašil gəmgəmmāre wakarāy*

'The Tale of the Chicken, Partridge, Fox, Hornbill and Hyaena'

(1)	<i>hatte-dol</i>	<i>'əllom</i>	<i>ḥaməs</i>	<i>nafar</i>	<i>'aḥa</i>	<i>bəzḥət</i>	<i>'alat</i>	<i>'əllom.</i>	(2)	<i>'əllom</i>	<i>ḥaməs</i>
(1)	once	these	five	one[s]	cattle	much	was	to them.	(2)	these	five
<i>nafar</i>	<i>masānit</i>	<i>'alaw</i>	<i>wa'ət</i>	<i>hatte</i>	<i>dəgge</i>	<i>dəgge</i>	<i>wānin</i>	<i>latətbahal</i>			
one[s]	friends	were	and in	one	village	[the] village	of animals	which is called			
<i>nabro</i>	<i>'alaw.</i>	(3)	<i>'aze</i>	<i>ḥatte</i>	<i>mə'əl</i>	<i>'ət</i>	<i>ḥədāy</i>	<i>'ad wa'aga</i>	<i>fararaw</i>		
living	were.	(3)	now	one	day	to	wedding party	of family of guenon	[they] went		
	<i>wa'aḥa</i>	<i>'ət</i>	<i>dabər</i>	<i>šəffalaw</i>	<i>wabadet</i>	(4)	<i>wahətom</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>ḥədāy</i>		
out	and cattle	on	mountain	grazed	and went astray.	(4)	and they	from	wedding party		
<i>kəm</i>	<i>'aqbalaw</i>	<i>'aḥa</i>	<i>'ət</i>	<i>šəfra</i>	<i>'i'erat.</i>	(5)	<i>wa'əgəl</i>	<i>ləḥəzaw</i>			
when	returned	cattle	to	enclosure	did not come home.	(5)	and to	seek			
<i>təgāmaw</i>	<i>kakə'ənnā</i>	<i>gamaw.</i>	(6)	<i>derho</i>	<i>'ət</i>	<i>bet</i>	<i>wa'al</i>				
[they] deliberated	and like this	[they] resolved.	(6)	[the] chicken	at	home	stay				

- belawo.* *karāy* ^{ʾət} *dabər* *həzay* *belawa.* *gəmgəmmāre* ^{ʾət} *gādəm*
[they] said to him. hyaena on mountain seek [they] said to her. hornbill on plain
- belawo* *waḥašil* ^{ʾət} *hərus* *gādəm.* *wakərkərre* ^{ʾət} *dabər* ^{ʾət-wəqqəl}
[they] said to him and fox on cultivated plain. and partridge on mountain up high
- ^{ʾəndo} *gaʾat* *dahay* ^{ʾəgəl} *tide* ^{ʾassaʾalawa.} (7) *wakəl* *mənnom* ^{ʾəgəl}
while [she] is clamours to make [they] told her. (7) and each of them to
- ləhəze* *təbaggasa* *daʾam* *laʾaḥa* *saʾanawa.* (8) *kaḡadəm* *derho* ^{ʾasək}
seek went out but the cattle [they] did not have it. (8) and now chicken until
- raʾasu* *dawər* *kəʾənnə* ^{ʾət} *ləbəl* *naqqe-ʿala* *rakabkuma* *mami*
his head turns like this while saying [he] was shouting have you found them or what
- wəy* *raʾaše* *waʾasək* ^{ʾaze} *kəmsalha* *ləbəl-halla.* (9) *wakarāy* ^{ʾət} *kadana*
oh my head and until now like this [he] says. (9) and hyaena in her outside
- tarfat* ^{ʾasək} ^{ʾaze.} (10) *wakərkərre* *kəm* *rəʾetta* ^{ʾəgəl} *laʾaḥa*
remained until today. (10) and partridge as soon as [she] saw her the cattle
- farḥat* *kakəʾanna* ^{ʾət} *təbəl* *naqet* *kər kər kər kər* *waʾasək*
[she] rejoiced and like this while saying [she] shouted krr krr krr krr and until
- ^{ʾaze} *kəmsalhu* *təbəl-hallet.* (11) *wəgəmgəmmāre* *hye* *dərit* *dərit* ^{ʾət} *ləbəl*
now like this [she] says. (11) and hornbill however drit drit while saying
- həzzya* ^{ʿala} *waʾasək* ^{ʾaze} *kəmsalha* *ləbəl-halla.* (12) *kaḡadəm* ^{ʾaḥahom} ^{ʾasək}
seeking her was and until now like this [he] says. (12) and now their cattle until
- ^{ʾaze} ^{ʾitərakabat.} *wahətomma* *mən* ^{ʾabyātom} *wamūlom* *wadārom*
now was not found. As for them from their houses and their property and their people
- ^{ʾət} *kadan* *tārḥām-hallaw* *waʾət* *dəngoba* ^{ʾabāyām} *ḥəd* *gaʾaw*
outside [they] have been left and in end enemies to one another [they] became
- lazayd* *ḥašil* ^{ʾasək} ^{ʾaze} ^{ʾəgəl} *derho* ^{ʾət} *bet* *kəm* ^{ʾatrafawo} *sabbat*
especially fox until now chicken at home as [they] left him because
- qāneʾ-tu* ^{ʾabāyu} *gābəʾ-halla.* (13) *daʾam* *derho* *wakərkərre*
[he] had been jealous his enemy [he] has become. (13) but the chicken and the partridge
- masānit* *gaʾaw.* *derho* *mən* ^{ʿad} *dahayu* *lasamməʿ* *wakərkərre*
friends became. the chicken from [the] village his voice [he] makes heard and partridge
- mən* *dabər* *wəgəmgəmmāre* *mən* *gādəm.* *wadəgmom* ^{ʾəlli} *tu.*
from mountain and hornbill from plain. and their tale this is.

(1) Once these five had a lot of cattle. (2) These five were friends and were living in one village which was called "the village of the animals". (3) Now, one day they went out to the wedding-party of the family of the guenon, and the cattle grazed on [the lower slope of] the mountain and went astray. (4) And when they returned from the wedding-party, the cattle did not come home to the

enclosure. (5) And they deliberated (on how) to search for [the cattle] and resolved as follows. (6) They said to the chicken: 'Stay at home'. To the hyaena they said: 'Search on the mountain'. To the hornbill they said: 'On the plain', and to the fox: 'On the cultivated plain'. And they told the partridge that having gone up on the mountain she should make a great deal of noise [to summon the cattle]. (7) And each one of them went out to search, but did not find (lit. 'have') the cattle. (8) Now the chicken was calling aloud until his head was whirling, saying as follows: 'Have you found them or not? oh my head', and until now he talks like this. (9) And the hyaena has stayed out in the wilderness until today. (10) And as soon as the partridge saw the cattle, she rejoiced and called aloud as follows: 'krr krr', and she still talks like this. (11) As for the hornbill, he was looking for them (i.e., the cattle; lit. 'her') saying 'drit drit', and up to now he talks like that. And the fox stays in the cultivated plain even now. (12) Indeed, their cattle has not been recovered up to now. And as for themselves, they have remained outside having lost (lit. 'without') their houses, property and friends, and finally they became each other's enemies; especially, as they left the chicken at home, the fox, because he was jealous, has been his enemy until now. (13) But the chicken and the partridge became friends. The chicken makes his voice heard from the village, and the partridge from the mountain; and the hornbill from the plain. And this is their story.

11.4. *dəgəm nabi musa* 'The Tale of the Prophet Moses'

(1) *nabi musa ʿəsraʿelāy tu. ʿət lətwallad-dib-halla dəgmo kəm ʿənnā tu.*
 (1) prophet Moses Israelite is. while [he] was born his story like this is.

(2) *wəlād ʿəsraʿel ʿəb zaban badir ʿət-hante farʿon nəgus məsar lətgazzu²-ʿalaw.*
 (2) people Israel in time old under Pharaoh king Egypt were ruled.

(3) *wafarʿon bəzuḥ ləqʿarrom walağar ʿəbbom ʿala. (4) daʿam rabbi*
 (3) and Pharaoh much oppressing them and distressing them was. (4) but God

galad məsəl ʿabʿəbom wādi-sabbat-ʿala lagalad faqda.
 covenant with their ancestors because [he] had made the covenant [he] remembered.

(5) *kagadəm ḥatte-dol nəgus farʿon tambih tambəha. (6) walatanbih mi*
 (5) thus once king Pharaoh [an] order [he] ordered. (6) and the order what

lələbəl tu dəla ʿəsraʿelāy ḥəššān lagabʿa qattulo ʿəndo
 which [it] says is whosoever Israelite [a] boy who became [you] will kill him while

bela ʿawāğ ʿawağ. (7) wakəllom laʿaqqaç ma laʿasākir
 [he] said an announcement [he] announced. (7) and all of them the warriors or the soldiers

ʿəğəl wəlād ʿəsraʿel ləqātlo təfarraraw. (8) wadəla wallada kullu
 people Israel to slaughter went out. (8) and whomsoever was born all of it

qātaw. (9) daʿam ʿət laʿawkād lahay ḥatte ʿəssit walat-ʿəsraʿel ḥəššān
 [they] killed. (9) but at time(s) that one woman Israelite [a] boy

waldat. (10) waʿəğəl laḥəššān ʿəğəl ʿiləqqattal mənna ʿəndo təbe
 [she] begot. (10) and the boy that [he] will not be killed from her while wishing

sanduq sansala ʿəndo-šaqet ʿəb qətrān labbakatta waʿət maḥaz nil ʿət-fənge
 [a] chest reed having made with tar [she] smeared it and in river Nile among

- wad-māy kareto.* (11) *ʿaddaha - ʿaddaha ʿattu ləwʿəl ʿala*
 water plant[s] she] put it. (11) every day there [he] passing the time was
- walāli ʿat beta tamaššəʿo ʿalat. daʿam gale ʿabāy ma wānin*
 and at night to her house [she] bringing him was. but some enemy or animals
- kadan ʿəḡəl ʿiləbləʿo ḥattu maryam mən rayim ʿando gaʿat*
 wilderness in order that [it] will not eat him his sister Meriam from afar while being
- tatqāmatto ʿalat. (12) ʿaze ḥatte məʿəl ʿəb-hamgam walat nəḡus bahalat*
 [she] spying on him was. (12) now one day unexpectedly daughter king that is
- walat farʿon məsəl wašāyfa ʿatta maḥāz ʿəḡəl tətḥaššab wardat.*
 daughter Pharaoh with her maid-servants to the river to wash [she] went down.
- (13) *waʿattu mən rayim lasanduqat salsala ʿatta māy kərit rəʿetta.*
 (13) and there from afar the chest reed in the water placed [she] saw it.
- (14) *waḥar ʿana ʿat lehay māy ʿatta maḥāz gale ʿərʿe halleko*
 (14) and then I in that water in the river something [I] seeing am
- ʿando təbe ḥatte mənna wašāyfa laʿakat. (15) walawašāyfa*
 while [she] said one of the her maid-servants [she] sent. (15) and her maid-servants
- ʿəḡəl lasanduqat kfət - kəmsal - ʿabalaya ḡəna bakke rakbaya. (16) wahəta*
 the chest when [they] opened it [a] child crying [they] found. (16) and she
- təbe ʿamšəʿəwo. wakəmsal rəʿetto man-ʿammər mən wəlād ʿəsraʿel gabbiʿ*
 said bring him. and when [she] saw him perhaps from people Israel [he] may be
- ʿəllidi ʿəḡəl ʿilətqattal ʿətəlli ḥabʿəwo təbe. (17) ʿaze*
 this [one] indeed so that [he] will not be killed here [they] hid him [she] said. (17) now
- maryam mašʿattan. kəm mašʿattan ʿəḡəl walat nəḡus tella.*
 Meriam came to them. as soon as [she] came to them to daughter king she said to her.
- səmʿi ʿana maʿabayit mən ʿanəs ʿəsraʿel ʿəḡəl-ʿamšəʿ ʿəlu ʿəkki tella.*
 listen I [a] nurse from women Israel let me bring for him to you [she] said
- (18) *walawalat nəḡus sanni ʿamšəʿi tella waʿəḡəl ʿəmmu*
 to her. (18) and the daughter king all right bring [she] said to her and his mother
- ʿəḡəl musa ʿamšəʿat. (19) waʿəmmu ʿəḡəl musa ḡənaha təkabbatat.*
 to Moses she brought. (19) and his mother Moses her child [she] received.
- (20) *wakəm ʿaba ʿat walat nəḡus nasʿatto wawalat nəḡus kəm*
 (20) and when [he] grew up to daughter king [she] took him and daughter king like
- walda ʿəndo təkabbatatto musa sametto. (21) waḡadəm musa bəzuh*
 her son while [she] received him Moses [she] called his name. (21) and now Moses very
- fadāb waḥūṭər ʿala. (22) daʿam wəlād ʿəsraʿel kəl dol məsər laḡarrubom*
 strong and brave was. (22) but people Israel all time Egyptians [they] distressing

sabbat ^ˈ*alaw* *bəzuh* *ləghe* ^ˈ*ala.* (23) *hatte* *mˈel* *hasba* ^ˈ*ana*
 them because were much [he] grieving was. (23) one day [he] thought I

^ˈ*ət* *bet* *nəgus* *sanni* ^ˈ*əgəl* ^ˈ*əmbar* *daˈam* *hawye* ^ˈ*əgəl* *ləgğarrabo* *bela*
 in house king well should [I] live but my brothers should be distressed [he] said

kalağarbat *hawu* ^ˈ*əgəl* *lərˈe* *gesa* *dibom.* (24) *wahar* *woro* *məsṛāy*
 and the distress his brothers to see [he] went to them. (24) and then one Egyptian

^ˈ*əgəl* *woro* ^ˈ*əsraˈelāy* ^ˈ*ət* *qattəl* *raˈa.* *wəˈəlli* *kəm* *raˈa* *bəzuh*
 one Israelite while [he] kills [he] saw. and this when [he] saw very

qahara *wəˈəgəl* *laməsṛāy* ^ˈ*əndo* *qatlayu* ^ˈ*ət* *hoša* *dafnayu.*
 [he] became angry and the Egyptian having [he] killed him in sand [he] buried him.

(25) *lanəgus* ^ˈ*əlli* *kəm* *samˈa* ^ˈ*əgəl* *musa* *giso* *həzəwo* ^ˈ*amsəˈəwo* *bela*
 (25) the king this when [he] heard Moses go seek him bring him he said

kaˈaskaru *nadˈa.* (26) *walaˈaskar* *kəm* *həzəwo* ^ˈ*irakbawo*
 and his army he sent. (26) and the army when [they] sought him [they] did not find him

^ˈ*əmmi* *musa* ^ˈ*ət* *mədər* *rayim* *gesa* *wəˈəttu* ^ˈ*əgəl* ^ˈ*arbəˈa* *sanat* *talāy-ˈabāgəˈ*
 since Moses to land far [he] went and there for forty years shepherd

kəm *tu* *nabbər* *nabra.* (27) *daˈam* *hatte* *dol* ^ˈ*ət* *hatte* ^ˈ*akān* *kəmsal*
 while [he] is living [he] was. (27) but one time in one place when

bašha *məsəl* ^ˈ*abāgˈu* *dib* *gays* *dib* *halla* *qəṭqətat* *ma* ^ˈ*əṭṭāy*
 [he] arrived with his sheep while walking while [he] was a thorn-bush or wood

^ˈ*ət* *naddəd* *raˈa.* (28) *wəˈəndo* *gesa* ^ˈ*əgəl* *lərˈayo* *kəmsal* *qarba*
 while burning [he] saw. (28) and while [he] went to see it just as [he] came near

^ˈ*əttu* *dahay* *mašˈayu* *mən* *rabbī* *musa* *musa* *laˈakan* *laˈatta* *təbaṭṭər*
 to it voice reached him from God Moses Moses the place which in it [you] standing

halleka *qəddəsət* *ta* *kaˈasˈənka* *həraṭ* *bello.* (29) *wamusa* ^ˈ*əlli* *dahay*
 are holy is so your shoes take off [he] said to him. (29) and Moses this voice

kəm *samˈa* ^ˈ*ət* *mədər* *wadqa* *warabbi* *belayu* *musa* *gis* *wagabilye*
 when [he] heard on ground [he] fell and God said to him Moses go and my people

mən ^ˈ*əde* *farˈon* ^ˈ*afgər* *wəˈət* *kanaˈan* ^ˈ*amsəˈəwom* *bello.*
 from hand Pharaoh bring out and to Canaan bring them [he] said to him.

(30) *musa* ^ˈ*əlli* *kəm* *samˈa* *mamba* ^ˈ*ana* *daˈam* ^ˈ*iˈəqaddər*
 (30) Moses this when [he] heard Lord I but do not have the power to

bela. *rabbī* *hye* *gis* ^ˈ*ana* ^ˈ*əsaddekka* *bello* (31) *wamusa* ^ˈ*ət*
 [he] said. God however go I shall help you [he] said to him. (31) and Moses to

farˈon *gesa* *karabbi* *gabilye* *habanni* *ləblakka* *halla* *bello.*
 Pharaoh went and God my people give me [he] saying to you is [he] said to him.

far'on *'ana* *'asra'el* *'ihaddəg* *warabbi* *'i'ammər* *bela.*
Pharaoh I Israel shall not set free and God [I] do not believe in [he] said.

(32) *rabbi* *hye* *sə'* *ma'at* *'amšə'a* *'əttom* *wagabil* *məsər*
(32) God however nine punishments [he] brought upon them. and people Egypt

kullu *kəmsal* *ğarraba* *far'on* *giso* *'adkum* *belayom*
all of them when [they] were distressed Pharaoh go to your country [he] said to them

'əgəl *'asra'el.* (33) *wamusa* *'əgəl* *wəlād* *'asra'el* *'ət* *bādobat* *'arbə'a* *mə'əl*
to Israel. (33) and Moses to people Israel in desert forty days

wa'arbə'a *lāli* *marhayom.* (34) *wa'ət* *bādobat* *sina* *'ət* *ləgayso* *bəzuh*
and forty nights [he] led them. (34) and in desert Sinai while [they] went much

safraw *wašam'aw* *ka'əgəl* *musa* *belawo* *həna* *mən* *məsər*
[they] were hungry and were thirsty and to Moses [they] said to him we from Egypt

'əgəl *ma* *'amšə'akanna* *'əttəlli* *'əgəl* *nimut* *māy* *'alabu* *wamunat* *'alabu.*
for what [you] brought us here to die water there is not and food there is not.

(35) *musa* *'ət* *rabbi* *šalla* *warabbi* *kəl* *dol* *'assabuḥ* *mana* *lalətbahal*
(35) Moses to God prayed and God all time [in the] morning manna which is called

munat *haybbom* *'ala.* (36) *wamāy* *kəm* *sa'anaw* *balqat* *kəm*
food giving to them was. (36) and water when they did not have rock while .

zabṭa *mənna* *balqat* *māy* *fagra* *wasattu* *'alaw.* (37) *da'am*
[he] struck from the rock water came out and [they] drinking were. (37) but

kə'ənnə *'ət* *ləwaddu* *'ət* *gayso-di* *hallaw* *hatte* *dol* *far'on* *ta'asa*
like this while doing while [they] going so are one time Pharaoh repented

wakarəyihu *'əb* *'afrus* *'asarehom* *sa'a* *da'am* *rabbi* *fattyom* *sabbat* *'ala*
and his army with horses after them ran but God loving them because was

lāli *'əb* *tākyat* *'əsāt* *wa'am'əl* *'əb* *tākyat* *gim* *marrəhom*
[at] night with column fire and [at] day with column clouds [he] leading them

'ala. (38) *wa'ət* *baḥar* *'ərtra* *kəmsal* *qarbaw* *gərrahom* *far'on*
was. (38) and to sea Eritrea while [they] came near behind them Pharaoh

waqadamehom *baḥar* *ga'a* *walagabil* *'anšarsaraw.* (39) *kagadəm*
and in front of them sea became and the people were driven into a corner. (39) and then

rabbi *'əgəl* *musa* *'əgəl* *labəhar* *zbaṭṭa* *belayu* *wakəm* *zabṭaya* *'ət*
God to Moses the sea strike it said to him and when [he] struck it in

kəi'e *tkaffalat* *mān* *wadəggalab* *kəmsal* *mandaq* *wahalfaw.*
two [it] was divided [to the] right and [to the] left like wall and [they] passed.

(40) *far'on* *'asarehom* *kəm* *ħalfə* *kawəlād* *'asra'el* *kəm* *ta'addaw*
(40) Pharaoh after them when [he] passed and people Israel while [they] went through

mən-ħadis labāħar musa kəm zabta far'on wakarāyihu 'ət baħar 'ərtra
 anew the sea Moses as soon as [he] struck Pharaoh and his army in sea Eritrea

tšarrabaw. (41) *wakə'anna 'ət gayso wālād 'əsra'el rabbi sanna dib*
 [they] drowned. (41) and like this while going people Israel God good while

wada 'əglom kaħadawo da'am qaš'ayom kəm qaš'ayom
 [he] did for them they opposed him but [he] punished them. when [he] punished them

maħakayom. *wakə'anna 'ət ləwaddu mədar kana'an warsaw.*
 [he] spared them. and like this while doing land Canaan [they] inherited.

(1) The prophet Moses was Israelite. His story while he was born (i.e., of his birth) is as follows. (2) The people of Israel were ruled in old times under Pharaoh the king of Egypt. (3) And Pharaoh used to oppress and distress them very much. (4) But as God had made a covenant with their ancestors, He remembered the covenant. (5) Now, one day King Pharaoh issued an order. (6) And what did this order say? He made a [public] announcement, saying: 'Whosoever is a [newborn] Israelite boy—you will kill him'. (8) And they killed whomsoever was born. (9) But at that time an Israelite woman begot a boy. (10) And wishing that he should not be killed [to her detriment], she made a reed chest, smeared it with tar and put it in the river Nile among the plants there. (11) During the daytime, he stayed there, and at night she used to bring him home. But in order that some enemy, that is, wild animals, should not prey upon him, his sister Meriam kept watch over him from afar. (12) Now one day all of a sudden the king's daughter, that is, the daughter of Pharaoh, went down to the river with her maid-servants to wash herself. (13) And there she saw, from afar, the reed chest placed in the water. (14) Then she sent one of her maid-servants, saying: 'I see something in that [strip of] water in the river'. (15) And when her maid-servants opened the chest, they found [in it] a child crying. (16) And she said: 'Bring him [here]'. As she saw him she said: 'Indeed, this one may perhaps be from the people of Israel; they hid him here so that he would not be killed.' (17) Now Meriam approached them. As soon as she reached them she said to the king's daughter: 'Listen, let me bring you a nurse for him from the women of Israel'. (18) And the king's daughter said to her: 'All right, bring [one]', and she brought the mother of Moses to him. (19) And his mother received her child Moses. (20) When he grew up she took him to the king's daughter, and the king's daughter having received him like her [own] son, called his name Moses. (21) Now Moses was very strong and brave. (22) But since the Egyptians used to distress the people of Israel all the time he grieved [about it] greatly. (23) One day he was thinking. He said: 'Is it right that I live well in the king's house whereas my brothers are distressed', and went to his brothers to see their misery. (24) And later he saw an Egyptian killing an Israelite. When he saw this, he became very angry and, having killed the Egyptian, buried him in the sand. (25) When the king heard this, he said: 'Go after Moses; seek him; bring him [here]', and he sent his army [to bring him]. (26) And when the army sought him they did not find him, since Moses went to a far country and lived there for forty years as a shepherd. (27) But once while he was walking with his sheep, when he arrived at a certain place he saw a thorn-bush or a piece of wood burning. (28) And having gone to see it, just as he approached a voice reached him from God. He said to him: 'Moses, Moses! The place on which you are standing is holy, so take your shoes off'. (29) When Moses heard this voice he fell on the ground and God said to him: 'Moses, go and free my people from the hands of Pharaoh and bring them to Canaan'. (30) When Moses heard this he said: 'Lord, I do not have the power'. God, however, said to him: 'Go, I shall help you'. (31) And Moses went to the Pharaoh and said to him: 'God says to you: Give me my people'. Pharaoh said: 'I shall not set [the people of] Israel free and I do not believe in God'. (32) God, however, brought upon them nine punishments, and when all the people of Egypt were distressed Pharaoh said to the Israelites: 'Go to your country'. (33) And Moses led the people of Israel in the desert forty days and forty nights. (34) And while traveling in the desert of Sinai they were very hungry and thirsty and they said to Moses: 'Why did you bring us from Egypt to die here? there is neither water nor food [here]'.

(35) Moses prayed to God and God gave them nourishment every morning (which is) called 'manna'.
 (36) And since they did not have water, he struck a rock and made water gush from it and they drank.
 (37) So while they were traveling living like this (lit. 'doing like this'), Pharaoh one day repented and his army, [mounted] on horses, ran after them. But since God loved them, he led them by means of a column of fire at night and a column of clouds by day. (38) And while they approached the sea of Eritrea, Pharaoh was behind them and the sea in front of them, and the people were driven into a corner. (39) Then God said to Moses: 'Strike the sea'. And when he struck it, it was divided into two [parts] to the right and to the left, like a wall, and they passed. (40) When Pharaoh passed after them just as the people of Israel went through, Moses struck the sea again and Pharaoh and his army drowned in the sea of Eritrea. (41) And so while the people of Israel traveled they [sometimes] opposed God although he did good to them, but he [also] punished them. Having punished them he spared them, and while living (lit. 'doing') like this, they inherited the land of Canaan.

11.5. 'abyāt 'Houses'

(1) 'ət 'adna kəl ḡənəs 'abyāt halla kəm ma'adani 'ablo
 (1) in our country all kind[s] of houses there is like ma'adani 'ablo

'olalle səyuk mərəbba'at saqlo. (2) ma'adani mən 'əčay ləšsaqqe 'əb 'arba' rəknu
 'olalle səyuk mərəbba'at saqlo. (2) ma'adani from wood is made in four its corners

walanəḥəsu kəm mərəbba'at tu. (3) ma'adani 'əb sa'ar labbəs. (4) māy
 and the its clay roof like mərəbba'at is. (3) ma'adani with hay is dressed (4) water

'əgəl 'ilaqtər haye 'ət kəl 'āmat ləthānfas wamən-ḥadis
 in order that [it] will not drip water but in each year [it] is pulled down and from anew

ləšsaqqe. (5) ma'adani 'ət-karsu kullu lalathazekka wadde 'əttu.
 is built. (5) ma'adani inside it all which is necessary to you [you] do in it.

(6) ma'adani saləf 'əb 'arba' rəkən tahaffər 'əlu. (7) wəhar 'əčay
 (6) ma'adani firstly in four corner[s] [you] dig for it. (7) and then wood

tākəl 'əttu wa'əb maro 'əb ləḥəs 'əndo wadeka ta'asserro
 [you] plant in it and with seams with stripes of bast while [you] did you tie it

wəhar marrəggo walwal 'əgəl 'ila'āte 'ətka. (8) 'ablo
 and then [you] smear it with clay wind in order that [it] will not let to you. (8) 'ablo

'əb rəqay ləšsaqqe wəhar 'əb takob labbəs. (9) 'əlli takob
 with thin twigs is built and then with mats is covered. (9) this mats

'əgəl 'ilatbəs 'əb tanān lət'alle. (10) 'ablo
 in order that [it] will not let dampness enter with smoke [it] is smoke-dried. (10) 'ablo

'əgəl sab nəwāy wasabbək-sāgəm tu lanāfə' mən 'akān
 for people cattle and nomads (lit. 'goes down and goes up') is which useful from place

'ət 'akān lagayso. (11) 'ablo 'əgəl təndaqqo wa'əgəl taḥanfəssso bəzuh qalil
 to place [they] who go. (11) 'ablo to build it and to pull it down very easy

sabbat tu ʔəgəl sab nəwāy bəzuh nāfʿat bu. (12) ʔablo
because [it] is for people [of] cattle much usefulness [it] has. (12) ʔablo

larəqay haqo gandaba mən-ħadis ləʃsaqqe. (13) ʔablo *lazayəd ʔət*
the thin twigs after it became old anew [it] is built. (13) ʔablo especially in

mathət bazzeh. (14) ʔolalle *nəʔiʃ bet ta.* (15) ʔalla *bahalat ʔət*
lowland is numerous. (14) ʔolalle small house is. (15) this that is to say on

magʿaz dib ʔanta ʔət məmyāy latənaddeqqa bet ta wahəta
journey while [you] are in passing the night which [you] build it house is and she

mən kəlʔe ʔət salas takobat təʃsaqqe. (16) ʔalla-*ma haye ʔəgəl sabbək-sāgəm*
from two to three mat[s] is made. (16) this also however to nomads

bəzuh nāfʿat ta. (17) *səyuk ʔəb ħaməs rəqyat waħaməs takobat lətnaddaq.*
very useful is. (17) *səyuk* with five thin twig[s] and five mat[s] is built.

(18) *seyuk māy mən maʃʃəʔ ləʃsalūtət mənnu kaʔilaʔabbəs.*
(18) *seyuk* water if comes [it] flows from it and [it] does not let water pass.

(19) *mərəbbaʿat ʔət dægge latətnaddaq mən ʔəban waʔəb norat latətlaqlaq.*
(19) *mərəbbaʿat* in town[s] which is built from stones and with mortar is plastered.

(20) *saqlo ʔəb ʔəban waʿəçay ləʃsaqqe wahətu ʔət dægge lətnaddaq wasaʿar*
(20) *saqlo* with stones and wood is built and it in town[s] is built and hay

labbəs. (21) *kaʔət ʿadna kəl ġənəs ʿabyat halla.*
[it] wears. (21) so in our country all kind[s] of houses there is.

(1) There are in our country all kinds of houses, such as: *maʿadani*, ʔablo, ʔolalle, *səyuk*, *mərəbbaʿat*, *saqlo*. (2) The four corners of the *maʿadani* are made of wood and its clay roof is like [that of the] *mərəbbaʿat*. (3) *maʿadani* is covered with hay. (4) But in order that it will not drip water [through] it is pulled down and built anew each year. (5) You can do inside the *maʿadani* whatever you wish (lit. ‘*maʿadani*, inside it, all which is necessary to you you do there’). (6) [To build it] firstly, you dig [holes] (for the *maʿadani*) in four corners. (7) And then you plant there [poles of] wood and you tie them with strips of bast to the seams; then you smear it with clay so that it will not let wind enter (to you). (8) ʔablo is made of thin twigs [of palms] and then covered with [palm-fibre] mats. (9) In order that these mats will not let dampness enter, they are smoke-dried. (10) ʔablo is [especially] useful to herdsmen and nomads (lit. ‘who goes down to the lowland and up to the highland’) who move from place to place. (11) As it is very easy to build and [also] to pull down the ʔablo, it has great advantages to the herdsmen. (12) After the palm twigs of the ʔablo are worn out (lit. ‘become old’) it is built anew. (13) ʔablo is especially numerous in the lowland. (14) ʔolalle is a hut (lit. ‘a small house’). (15) That is to say, this is the house that you build to pass the night while you are on a journey, and it is built from two to three mats. (16) This [one] is also very useful to nomads. (17) *səyuk* is built from five palm twigs and five mats. (18) If water (i.e., rain) comes the *səyuk* does not let water pass. (lit. ‘*səyuk*, if water comes, it flows away from it’). (19) *mərəbbaʿat* is [the one] built in town[s] from stones and plastered with mortar. (20) *saqle* is made of stones and wood and is built in town[s]; it is covered with hay. (21) So, there are in our country all kinds of houses.

11.6 *lāsān* 'adib 'Polite Language'

- (1) *ktāb* *rabbī* 'āb *lāsān* *latmaṣṣə* *kasār* *wamaksab* 'āb *rəhib* 'əndo
 (1) book God about tongue which comes loss and gain with width while
- 'abrəha *ləthāge*. (2) 'akkuy *lāsān* *dib* *gabay* *mot* *wamən* *qalləl* 'ət
 [it] brightened talks. (2) bad tongue on road death and if [it] is less to
- ǧarmat *lalabaṣṣəḥ* *masamməm* *ṣar* *tu*. (3) 'āb *ləgām* 'əndo *təṣabbəta*
 crime which makes reach [a] poisonous companion is. (3) with bridle while [it] is tied
- dib* *latathaze* *wəqat* *walalathaze* *leṭa* 'əgəl *bā'lu* *nəthāge*
 at which is necessary time and [that] which is necessary only for his master we speak
- bu* *lasthəl*. (4) 'āb *bə'dat* *gabay* *hye* *lāsān* *mən* *lul*
 by means of it [it] is due. (4) in another way however tongue from pearl[s]
- wəḡawhar* *lalahays* *həyāb* *rabbī* *tu*. (5) *marir* *lāsān* *ta'āya*
 and gem[s] which is better [than] [a] gift God is. (5) bitter tongue [one] reviled
- mən-gabbi*' *ma'agbāy* *lalətqassa'* *bu* *fətəḥ*
 if wrong-doer which will be punished by means of it law
- latasthəl* *qəṣ'at* 'ədduluy - 'əlu - *halla*. (6) *ktāb* *rabbī-ma* 'āb
 which is due punishment ready for him has been. (6) book God as for in
- 'ənkəru 'āb-sabbat 'əlli 'ət *lahaddəg* *mot* *wəḡayot* 'ət 'əde *lāsān*
 its direction about this while [it] advises death and life in hand tongue
- tan* *ləbəl* (7) *lāsān* *ḥəlləna* 'əndo *tāla*
 [they (fem.)] are [it] says. (7) [the] tongue thinking while [it] followed (i.e. having followed)
- 'əgəl *ligis* 'ət *lasthəllo* 'əgəl 'əddām *ət* *lahamme* 'əyār *waba'as* 'ət
 to go [it] is due to it to people while 'it' abuses insult and quarrel while
- latkattəl* *lalakaḡḡəl* *wəddāy* *kalləq* *halla*. (8) 'ənday
 [it] causes to be accompanied which makes ashamed [a] deed creating is. (8) without that
- lər'e* *lāsān* *bannu* *dib* *bə'at* 'əndo *təgassa* *ḥatte-ma* 'əzan *wə'əntāt*
 [it] sees tongue by itself in [a] cave while [it] sat nothing ears and eyes
- la'əlu* *sam'aw* 'ənday *sammə'u* *wala'əlu* *ra'aw*
 [that] which it [they] heard without that [they] hear and [that] which it [they] saw
- 'ənday *lər'u* 'ət *la'azmo* *lāsān* *ḥatte-ma* 'ənday *lər'e*
 without that [they] see while [they] keep quiet tongue nothing without that [it] sees
- wə'ənday* *sammə'* *hataf* - 'ət - *ləbəl* *bəzuḥ* *wadde*. (9) 'āb
 and without that [it] hears while [it] raves much [it] does. (9) by means of
- lāsān* *bəzuḥ* *wəddāy* *sannet* *wəwəddāy* 'əkkit *gabbə'* *halla*. (10) *lāsān* 'əsāt
 the tongue much deed good and deed bad possible is. (10) tongue fire

- tu lāsān mot tu ʿambalhu-ma lāsān farḥat tu lāsān ḥayot tu.* (11) ʿab
is tongue death is moreover tongue joy is tongue life is. (11) by
- sabbat ʿalli lāsān mən warāt ʿakay ʿando ʿazma ʿat sannaṭ warāt ʿaḡal*
reason this tongue from work evil while [it] kept aloof to good work to
- lāwʿal mi wadi lathaze.* (12) *lalthaze balis qadam hayib ʿanday*
remain what deed is necessary. (12) which is necessary answer before giving without that
- tathāge ḥasib tu.* (13) *məsəl woro qəḥar mən təqḥar*
[you] speak thinking is. (13) with (some)one anger if [you] become angry
- ʿanday taḥassəb mən balləs ʿat kəbdət ʿagab ʿaḡal təbšah təqaddər.*
without that [you] think if [you] answer to grave crime to arrive at [you] can.
- (14) *ʿaddām farḥat wagahayat ḥayot wamot ʿaḡal ləkrab laqaddər ʿab*
(14) people joy and sadness life and death to find that [he] can by means of
- lāsān tu.* (15) *sabbat ʿalli ʿat wəqat higana ʿəmbal hawke ʿando*
tongue [it] is. (15) because this at time our speech without excitement while
- ḥasabna sanni balis mən nahayəb ḥays.* (16) *ʿab bəzḥe sabab kaḡaleb*
[we] thought good answer if [we] give [it] is better. (16) for a lot reasons shame
- waʿurat ʿanday maššəʿ ʿitarrəf.* (17) *ʿafuhu lašabbəṭ lāta*
and disgrace without that [it] comes [it] does not remain. (17) his mouth who holds but
- lābəb lətbahal.* (18) *afuhu lašabbəṭ ḡəlul-ma mən gabbiʿ lābəb massəl*
clever is called. (18) his mouth who holds fool even if [he] is clever resembles
- lətbahal.* (19) *wakəlna tamām ʿihəna wa ʿət-raʿasu nāy ḥangal šafāḡat*
[it] is said. (19) and all of us perfection [we] are not and above it of brain haste
- sabbat bəna bahalat ʿaḡal hayib balis šāfgām-ma mən ʿəngabbəʿ məsəl*
because we have that is to say for giving answer hurrying-even if [we] are with
- wəddāy sannaṭ ʿat nətfaham ʿab-ḥud-ḥud ṭabiʿatna ʿaḡal nasne*
deed good while [we] make ourselves understood slowly our nature to improve
- ʿənqaddər.* (20) *dahab ləḡbaʿ waḥašin ʿab ʿəsāt rattəʿ ʿaddām-ma ʿab*
[we] can. (20) gold be it and iron through fire is corrected people-as for through
- mātqaššaʿ mastabhəlāy ʿaḡal ləḡbaʿ qaddər.* (21) *worot ʿat ləthāge ʿaḡal*
discipline eloquent to become can. (21) one while [he] speaks to
- ləklaffo wāḡəb ikon. salf kəllu ʿaḡal! tattansəyo bədibka wa ʿət*
contradict him necessary [it] is not. first all to pay heed to him you have and while
- tattansəyo sanni ʿābe ʿoho tello kahigahu kəm*
you pay heed to him all right yes yes [you] say to him and his speech when
- kallasa ʿando ḥasabka laʿilatḥarəq walaʿilatbalāləs*
[he] finished while [you] thought which does not make angry and which does not cause

altercation *wāḡīb* esteemed *balis* answer *mən* if *tahaybo* [you] give him *hays.* it is better. (22) *ʿadnay* without that *šarrāḥ* [it] shouts

ʿab-gabay by-means *ʿadab* politeness *laləthāge* which speaks *ləsān* tongue *ʿəḡəl* to *lafhəm* make understand *waʿəḡəl* and to *lasməʿ* let hear *qaddər.* [it] can.

(23) *məsəl* with *woro* (some)one *qəhər* anger *mən* if *təqhər* [you] become angry *ʿasarehu* after it *lamaššəʿ* which comes *ʿəyar* insult

baʿas quarrel *wamatqātāl* and fight *tu.* is. (24) *ʿanta* you (24) *hətu* he *wahəta* and she *ʿab-salām* in peace *ʿəḡəl* in order that *tənbaro* [you] live

salf first *kəllu* all *ʿimatʿaggāb* not doing injustice *wəhər* and later *bḥəl* forgiveness *ʿəḡəl* to *tahalle* be *lathaze.* it is necessary.

(25) *ḥaruqat* anger *bahalat* that is to say *laʿəla* which her *itəfatte* [you] do not like *ḡārit* thing *ʿət* while *gabbiʿ* [it] is *mən* if *tərʿe* [you] see

tu is *daʿam* but *ʿət* in *ʿakəl* measure *ḥaruqat* anger *sabər-mən-təwadde* if [you] are patient *kəllu* all *ʿəb-qalil* easily *ʿəḡəl* to

ləḥələf pass *qaddər.* [it] can. (26) *mathafāfan* (26) violence *ʿət* to *ʿadhəd* one another *ʿasarehu* after it *mi* what *kəm* that *maššəʿ* comes

ʿət ʿəmurām-hallena we have let known *karabbi* and God *ʿəḡəl* to *kəlna* us all *sabər* patience *waləsān* and tongue *ʿadib* polite *lahabanna.* let him give us.

(1) The book of God tells, elucidating at length, about the benefit and damage which comes by means of the tongue. (2) Bad language is a poisonous companion which leads to the road of death and if less to crime. (3) Is it acceptable (lit. 'due') that we shall speak by means of it at the necessary time as long as it is restrained, and only that which is necessary for its master. (4) In other respects, however, the tongue is a gift from God which is better than pearls and gems. (5) If one uses bad language, the law by which the wrong-doer is punished has prescribed for him the due punishment. (6) As for the book of God, while giving its own advice about this, it says: "The tongue has power of life and death". (7) While the tongue should follow the thinking, when it abuses people it creates shameful events accompanied by insults and quarreling. (8) The tongue sits by itself in a cave without seeing, while the ears and the eyes keep silent without listening to anything of what they heard and without seeing anything of what they observed (i.e., without reacting), and yet the tongue is most active raving about, without seeing or hearing a thing. (9) Many good and bad deeds are possible by means of the tongue. (10) The tongue is fire; the tongue is death. Moreover, the tongue is joy; the tongue is life. Having wished [it] the tongue is honey. (11) For this reason which action is necessary so that the tongue will remain aloof from bad activity and employ itself in good activities? (12) Thinking without speaking is prior to the giving of the necessary answer. (13) If you become angry with someone [and] you answer without thinking, you can commit a serious offense. (14) It is by means of the tongue that people can find joy and sadness, life and death. (15) It is better, therefore, if at the time of our speech we [first] think calmly (lit. 'without excitement') and [then] give a good answer. (16) [Otherwise] shame and disgrace do not fail to follow, for many reasons. (17) Yet the one who holds his tongue (lit. 'mouth') is called clever. (18) The one who holds his tongue (lit. 'mouth') is said to resemble [a] clever [person] even if he is a fool. (19) None of us is perfect (lit. 'All of us are not perfect'). Above all, since we have fast reactions, that is to say, if we act with [undue] haste in giving answers, we can [still] slowly improve our nature, making ourselves understood by means of good deeds. (20) Be it gold or iron, it is purified through fire. As for people, they can become eloquent through discipline. (21) When someone talks there is no need to contradict him, and

you should pay attention to him saying: 'all right, yes, yes'. When he has finished his talk, it is better if you think and give him a favorable answer which neither provokes anger nor causes altercation. (22) The tongue which talks can make itself understood and heard in a civilized manner without shouting. (23) If you become angry with someone, what follows are insults, quarrels and fighting. (24) In order that you, he and she will live in peace, you should first of all avoid doing injustice, and then forgive. (25) Anger means seeing a thing which you dislike (lit. 'Anger, that is, while a matter which you do not like happens, if you see [it]'). But if you are patient to a considerable degree, then [your] anger can all easily pass. (26) We have [already] warned what comes after mutual violence. So let God give us patience and polite language.

11.7. *fəkrat wad-ʿaddām* 'The Intelligence of the Human Race'

(1) ʿəgəl sab rabbi ʿət kalleqqo ʿamer walabābat ʿəndo haba
(1) mankind God while [he] creates it knowledge and cleverness while he gave

kalqayu. (2) *wakəmsalhu-ma mədər ʿəb məneta tahaybbo ʿəbla*
[he] created him. (2) and like this even earth with its nature giving to him with which

ʿalat fre mən-ma lətnabābar wamaḥagaz-ma mən ʿiṣannəḥ ʿəlu ʿəbbəlla
[she] was fruit if even [he] lives and need even if is not to him with this

manbar sannet ʿəlla leṭa ʿəgəl lətkarraʿ ʿiḥaza. (3) *kaʿəbbəlli*
way of living good this only to be kept back [he] did not want. (3) and by this

sabab əlli mənna ʿətla nabbər ʿala manbaro ʿətla tahays
reason this from the in which lives [he] was way of living to that which is better

ʿəgəl ləbṣəḥ kəl wakəd ʿəb ʿastantān waʿəb ḥasāb wawəddāy mənna ʿətta
to reach all time by reflection and by thought and deed from her to which

baṣḥa matqaddām ʿət ləwassək ʿəlli ʿaze bāṣḥu-dibla-halla matmaddān
[he] arrived progress while [he] adds this now to which [he] has reached progress

ʿəgəl ləbṣəḥ qadra. (4) *wamən ʿəlli-ma laʿaze halla dibu ʿəgəl*
to reach [he] was able. (4) and from this even [that] which now is to him to

ləḥlaf sabbat ḥazze wad-ʿaddām skāb ʿalabu. (5) ʿəb *zaban badir*
go beyond because he wishes human being rest does not have. (5) in time old

wad-ʿaddām mən ḡannat kəm fagra kamədər ʿəglu kəm tahayabat
human being from paradise when [he] went out and earth to him when [she] was given

ʿəmbal ləbbās brāʿu ʿala waʿakānāt kaḡalebu leṭa ʿəb qataf kawel
without clothing naked [he] was and places his shame only with leaves covering

ʿala. (6) *mənna-ta ʿəb qataf leṭa ʿitəkarrəʿa.* mən *qataf lalahays*
[he] was. (6) but with leaves only [he] did not remain. from leaves which is

qrāb ʿəgəl ləbas qadra. (7) *wamənnu-ma mən ʿəṭəb*
better dressed skin to clothe himself [he] was able. (7) and from it-even from cotton

wamən ʔalḥās dibla wadayu ləbbās baṣḥa. (8) ʔəb šankat
and from fibres at which [he] made it clothing [he] arrived. (8) in direction

munat-ma mən bəllāʕ fre waʔaʔrud ʕəčay ʔət bəllāʕ ʔəkəl wasito ḥalib
food however from eating fruit and roots trees to eating corn and drinking milk

ḥalfa. (9) kaʔəbbəlli-ma leṭa ʔəgəl lətkarraʕ sabbat ʔihaza
he passed. (9) and with this-even only to be kept back because [he] did not wish

mənnu lataḥayso gabay munat ʔət laḥazze manābaratu ʔasək
from it which is better for him way nourishment while seeks his ways of life until

lasanne ḥassəb wašaqqe halla. (10) wad-ʔaddām ʔət ləbazzəḥ
[he] would improve thinking and working [he] is. (10) human being while multiplying

waʔət lətfanāte sabbat gesa ʔət ʕaddotāt waʔət managgəs kəm
and while multiplies, splits because [he] went into countries and into nations since

kafāfala mən zamāte ʔadhəd kəm ʔiləwʕəl ʔəndo
[he] became divided from robbing excursion mutual since [he] cannot abstain as

ʔāmaru galehom laʔəbbu zamto wagalehom-ma
[he] understood some of them which with it [they] make raids and some of them-as for

laʔəbbu lətkalākalo šwār ʔət laddālu mən soṭal wasayf
which with it [they] defend weaponry while [they] make ready from dagger and sword

wamən manduq waken ʔəlli yom ʔət ʕad ʔamerika wamaskob
and from rifle and beyond this today in country America and Russia

waʔəngliz wafaransa wasin ləlatrakkab ʔašwār ʔatomik wahidroḡin
and England and France and China which exists weaponry atomic and hydrogen

bāšəḥ-kəm-halla kəlna naʔammər. (11) mi ʔiwada wad-ʔaddām laʔəbbu
that it has arrived at [we] all [we] know. (11) what did not do human being which with it

kattəb waʔəb kətəbat lələssamāmaʕ bom
[he] writes and by means of writing which [he] (i.e. people) hears one another with them

fədelət ʔansasa. (12) ḥaqo ʔəlli-ma mən kətəbat ʔəb ʔəde ʔət maḥtam
letters [he] acquired. (12) after this even from writing by hand to printing

ḥalfa. (13) ḥaqo ʔəlli-ma wad-ʔaddām rim mən ʔadhəd lələḥāčər
he passed. (13) after this even human being distance from one another which shortens

ʔəbbu wadib ʔadhəd ləlatqarərbbo motor wada.
by means of it and to each other which makes it closely connected engine [he] made.

(14) waməndəlli motor bawābir-mədər wamakāyən wabawābir-baḥar wabawābir-ʕastar
(14) and from this engine locomotives and cars and steam ships and aeroplanes

wada. (15) kaʔəbbəlli ʔənday baṭṭər ʔaze-ma ʔət mədər warəḥ
[he] made. (15) and with this without that [he] stops now even to earth moon

wāʔat bəʿəd kawākəb labaššəh-bu ǧəlāb ʔəndo ʔansasa ʔat
and to other stars which [he] reaches with it ships while [he] procured to

warəh ʔəndo bašha ʿaqbalotu kəlna lanaʔammərru-tu.
moon while [he] reached his coming back [we] all [that] which we know it is.

(16) *wad-ʔaddām laʔəbbu hāsəb walaʔəbbu lastantən hangalu ʿərəf*
(16) human being which with it [he] thinks and which with it he muses his brain rest

ʔəǧəl lərkab sabbat ʔihazayu lāli waʔamʿəl ʔat lahāsəb ʔəb
to find because [he] did not wish it night and day while [he] thinks in

bəʿədət gabay hye ʔelektrisiti wok ʔəsāt barq mahaza. (17) ʔəlli
different way however electricity or fire lightning [he] made use of. (17) this

wəddāy ʔəlli ʔəb ǧəmlat wad-ʔaddām lawadayu tu ʔəmbəl hallena dəʔikon
deed this in totality human being who did it is we saying are indeed

mən wəlād-ʔaddām-ma wāydatu ʔumurām tom. (18) kaʔəb sabbat ʔəlli hənna-ma
among human beings -as for its doers famous are. (18) and by reason this we even

laʔətəlli matmaddān ʔəlli bāšhām-la-ʔihallena ʔəbba hətom wadawo nətnaffaʿ
the to this civilization this who have not reached by that which they did it profiting

hallena. (19) manfaʿat leṭa day gabbi hənna-ma kəm həsbat
[we] are. (19) utility only while not [it] is we also according to reflection

wəlād-ʔaddām nāy ʔəlli haban ʔəlli matkāflat ʔəǧəl nəǧbaʔ saʔayo bəna
human beings of this honor this participants to be hope [we] have

kadibla lətkattalanna har gəm hādǧāmu-hallena ʔat ʔəmbəl fəkrat
so to who will follow us next generation we have left it while [we] say intelligence

wafasāhat wad-ʔaddām mənna dibla ʿala hālat matkallāqu kaʔafo
and cleverness human being from the in which [he] was situation his creation how

dib ʔəlla ʔaze lahalla dibla hālat kəm bašha ʔəǧəl natʔamər ʔəb-ħačiru
to this now which exists to the situation that [he] arrived to tell in short

laʔaddālenahu higa dib ʔəlli nabaṭṭərru hallena.
which [we] prepared it talk by this stopping it [we] are.

- (1) When God created Man, he created him with (lit. 'having given [to him]') knowledge and cleverness. (2) So, although he lived by the products which earth (with its nature) was offering him, and even though he was not in need he did not wish to remain (lit. 'to be kept out') merely in this good way of life. (3) So, for this reason, in order to attain a way of life, which was better than that in which he used to live, he continuously increased the progress which he made by reflection and by thought and deed, and could thus reach this [state of] civilization which he has now achieved. (4) And as he wishes to go beyond even this which he has now, Man has no rest. (5) In old times, when Man left paradise and earth was given to him, he was naked, without clothes and used to cover his private parts only, with leaves. (6) But he did not remain with leaves only. He managed to clothe himself with prepared skin which was better than leaves. (7) And even from this he passed on to clothes which he made from cotton and bast. (8) As for nourishment, he progressed from eating the fruits and roots of

trees to eating corn and drinking milk. (9) And since he did not wish to be held back even with this, while seeking a better way of nourishment than this he was thinking and working until he improved his ways of life. (10) Because the human race was gradually multiplying and splitting into factions, having understood that they could not abstain from mutual acts of warfare, some of them produced weaponry with which they [partly] made raids and [partly] (lit. 'some') defended themselves, from dagger and sword and from rifle and beyond. We all know that today this weaponry which exists in the countries of America, Russia, Britain, France, and China has reached [the stage of] atomic and hydrogen [bombs]. (11) What Man did not do! He invented letters with which he writes and by means of which people communicate (lit. 'listen to one another') in writing. (12) Now, after this he passed on from handwriting to printing. (13) After this, Man made an engine with which he shortened distances between places (lit. 'from one another'), and which made one another closely connected. (14) And from this engine he made locomotives, steam ships, cars and aeroplanes. (15) And while he was not stopped at this, even now having invented [space] ships with which he reaches the (earth of the) moon and other stars, we all know that he reached the moon and came back (lit. 'having reached the moon, his coming back is that which we all know it'). (16) Because Man did not like his brain—with which he thinks and muses—to find rest, while thinking night and day he made use of electricity or "lightning fire" in a different way (i.e., different from its natural form). (17) Indeed, we are saying [that] the one who achieved all of this is Man. As for the ones who did it (lit. 'its doers'), they are famous among [members of] the human race. (18) And because of this, we who have not reached this [state of] civilization are profiting through them who created it. (19) As it is not [a matter of] utility alone, we too—as human beings wish (lit. 'like the belief of human beings')—have a hope of becoming participants in this honor. So while we say: we have left it (i.e., the fulfillment of this hope) to the other generation which will follow us, we are hereby discontinuing the talk which we prepared in brief, to tell how Man's intelligence and cleverness has reached the level at which he is now from the level at which he was at his creation (lit. 'from the situation of his birth in which he was').

11.8. *həmām* 'āso 'The Malaria Illness'

(1) ʔəb sab grik woro ʔammur-la-ʿala həməəm tu. (2) laɣaʔa-ləɣbaʔ
 (1) with people Greece a which had been known illness [it] is. (2) in any case

daʔikon ʔəbla wakəd laha la-ʿalaw maʔamrat wəhakāyəm həməəm 'āso ʔəɣəl
 but in the time that who were scientists and physicians illness malaria to

labdu bəzuh-ma ʂəggumām-mən-gabbuʔ ʔəbbəlli həməəm ʔəlli mayto la-ʿalaw
 destroy much even if [they] had fought in this illness this dying who were

wəlād-minʔādəm bəzḥām kəm tom ʔəb tārix ʔəɣəl naʔamməro
 members of the human race many that [they] are : through history to know it

ʔənqaddər. (3) waʔaze-ma hye ʔətəlli ʔawkād ʔəlli laʔaze hallena dibu
 [we] can. (3) and now even however in this times this which now we are in it

ʔət ʔəddənya ʔət kəl ʔakānāt ʔəbbəlli həməəm 'āso ʔəlli ʔəndo ʂabbataw
 in world in all places by this illness malaria this while [they] are caught

lamayto bəzḥām kəm tom 'eqbat 'əfyet ʔəbla habawo mabrəhi
 [those] who die many that [they] are guards health in which [they] gave it elucidation

ʔəɣəl lətʔammar qadra-ka-halla. (4) həməəm 'āso mabaqqalu mən hanānit
 to become known it has been possible. (4) illness malaria its growth from mosquitoes

wamən həmmumā ʾaddām tu. (5) wamən həmmum ʾaddām dib baʿal ʿāfyet
and from sick people is. (5) and from sick people to owner health

lalaʿādyo hanānit ta. (6) wahəta munat ʾət tahazze mən hatte
[that] which infects him mosquitoes is. (6) and she food while [she] sucks from one

ʾakān dib bəʿdat ʾakān ʾət taʿassəs ʾəḡəl ʾaddam ʾəbla bluḥ ʾafuḥa
place to another place while [she] flies man with the pointed her mouth

ʾəndo ragzatto dam nassiʾ mənnu wamənnu hye bəʿdām ʾəḡəl
while [she] pierced blood [she] carries from him. and from him however others to

tənkaš gays. (7) kaʾəlli dam laʾəlu šammāt həmmum dam gaʾa
bite [she] goes. (7) and this blood which it [she] sucked out sick blood became

mən-gabbəʾ həta tahamməm wabəʿdām ḥar lətnakkašo. ʾəbəlla gabay ʾəlla
if she becomes ill and others after that are bitten. in this way this

lətnakkašo kaḥammo. (8) hanānit labazzəḥ-ʾawkād ʾəb lāli
[they] are bitten and (thus) become ill. (8) mosquitoes most of the time at night

waṣəbəḥ-mədər tahannən. (9) walahəmmām mən lahay ʾət lahay lataʿadde-bu
and early morning [she] buzzes. (9) and the illness from that to that that it goes

ʾətəlli ʾawkād ʾəlli tu. (10) waʾato pawlos gabra səlāse kəmla
over in it in this time this [it] is. (10) and Mr. P G S according to

ləbulo-ma ʿāso laṣəbṭu-tu ʾaddām qadameka
which [he] says it (polite pl. form) also malaria which has caught him people before you

ʾəbla raggaza ʾəbrat mən tətraggaz laḥəmmām ʾagid ʿadde
by which was pierced needle if [you] are pierced the illness quickly goes over

dibka. (11) kaʾəbəlla ʾəbrat hye qadam matraggāzka laʾəbrat ʾəḡəl
unto you. (11) and with this needle however before your being pierced the needle for

ʿasər daqiqat lagabbiʾ ʾəmmāy ḥəfun ʾəḡəl təṣre waʾəḡəl təḥəṣṣab
ten minute which comes to with water hot to be purified and to be washed

lastəḥəl. (12) kəmsalhu-ma woro nafar naqas dam rakkəbbo wamən
[it] is necessary. (12) like it also a person want blood finds him and from

bəʿdām-ḥawu dam ʾət nassiʾ ʾəlli dam ʾəlli qadam matkabbāt
other his relatives blood while [he] takes this blood this before being taken

lahāybāy dam ʾəb ḥakim ʾəḡəl lətrəʾe lastəḥəl. (13) hanānit kəm
the donor blood by physician to be seen it is necessary. (13) mosquitoes as soon as

nakšattakka laṣəmmām laʾəlu ṣəbṭat-ʿalat ʾət garobka ʾatte. (14) kəməsəl
[she] bites you the sucked which it she had caught in your body enters. (14) and with

damka kəm tahābara kənkənit waḥaz wadde dibka waʾəḡəl ḥud
your blood when [it] is mixed shiver and fever [it] does unto you and for short

²awkād ḥəmām ra'as walahabat-ma lamaššə'. (15) ka'əb sabbat 'əlli 'əb 'awkād
 spells ache head and sweat also it brings. (15) and by reason this in time

səryy 'itərkakaba walatathaze warūt 'əfyet 'itərkakat mən-'igabbi'
 medicine was not found and which is necessary work health was not found if not

lahəmum 'ət mot baššəḥ. (16) labazzəḥ-'awkād ḥanānit 'ət mədər dəhur
 the sick to death approaches. (16) most times mosquitoes in land low

da'ikon 'ət mawaqqal 'əb bəzhe 'itərkakab. (17) wamən-ma
 indeed in height in large numbers [she] is not found. (17) and if even

tərkakab lahəmām la'əlu tahaybbakka bəzuḥ kəbud 'igabbi.
 [she] is found the illness which it [she] gives you very heavy becomes not.

(18) ḥanānit māy 'ətla bədibu 'akānāt ḥafānat tətfare kalazayd dib
 (18) mosquitoes water in which has places heat multiplies and mostly in

'ərtra 'ət šankat məfgār-šahāy wamudaq-šahāy dibla hallaw 'addotāt mathət
 Eritrea in direction east and west in which there are countries lowland

tərkakab wadibu ta'azzəz. (19) ḥəmām 'āso lašəbtu-tu 'addām
 [she] is found and in it [she] is strong. (19) illness malaria which has caught him people

'agid-bagid 'ət ḥakim 'əgəl ligis wəgğəbbo. (20) wakəmsalhu-ma
 at once to physician to go [it] is necessary for him. (20) and like it also

la'akānāt laḥanānit tərkakab dibu māyu kəl wakəd 'əgəl ləwhəz
 the places which mosquitoes is found in it its water all time to flow

lathazzyo. (21) wala'iləwhəz kəmsal kara kokan wabādob
 it is necessary to it. (21) and that which does not flow as things like pit and the desert

lašəbtu-tu kara' māy 'ət wakəd 'əgəl lətčanga' ka'əgəl ləzlaf
 which has caught it reservoir water in time to be moved and to be kept dry

lasthəllo. (22) 'əmbal 'əlli-ma masākut wabābāt 'abyāt manāfit ḥəšin
 it is necessary for it. (22) except of this also windows and doors houses nets iron

wə'akərrat 'əgəl ləgba' dibu lastəhəl. (23) wakəl wakəd diditi wafəlīt
 and curtains to to be on it it is necessary. (23) and all time DDT and Fleet

lalətbahalo mabdət čanaččit wəḥanānit 'asəryat 'ət betka šabit
 which are called destroyer flies and mosquitoes medicines in your house to keep

lathaze. (24) sab-nəwāy wasab-gabay hye 'ət-kadan dol sakbo bəllāyom
 it is due. (24) herdsmen and travellers also outside when [they] sleep their garment

kəmsal kis 'əndo safawo mən 'əgarom 'asək ra'asom dibu 'əndo
 like sack while [they] sewed from their feet up to their head in it while

'ataw mən sakbo laḥanānit la'əbba ta'atte gabay
 [they] entered when [they] sleep the mosquitoes which in it [she] will enter way

tahaggäl kamən matnakkäš 'əgal ləngafə qadro. (25) *'ato Pawlos 'atla*
[she] misses and from biting to escape they can. (25) Mr. P in which

habawo məkkər wok gomāt 'aso 'ənday šəbtakka
[they] gave (polite pl. form) it advice or counsel malaria before [it] catches you

'əgal tənsə'an latqaddər 'asəryat mafakrin aspirin lələtbahalo kanāyən
to take them which you can medicines mafacrin aspirin which are called quinines

tom. (26) *qadam gisat gabayka qadam salas mə'əl 'əlli kanāyən 'əlli 'əgal*
are. (26) before going your way before three days this quinines this to

təwħat lathaze.
swallow it is necessary.

(1) It is an illness which has been known by the [ancient] people of Greece. (2) However, although the scientists and physicians who lived at that time fought much to destroy the malaria illness, we can tell (lit. 'know') from history that human beings who died from this illness were many. (3) And even in these times, in the world in which we live now, it has been possible to make [publicly] known through information given by the health authorities that there are many people all over the world who die having been smitten by this malaria illness. (4) The contagion (lit. 'the source of growth') of the malaria illness is from mosquitoes and from people suffering from malaria. (5) And those who pass it on from the sick people to the healthy ones are the mosquitoes. (6) And when they seek food, while they fly from one place to another, having pierced people with their pointed mouth (i.e. proboscis) they take blood from them, and from them they go to bite others also. (7) And if this blood which they sucked is sick blood, they become ill and then others are bitten. In this way they are bitten and become ill. (8) For most of the time the mosquitoes are active (lit. 'buzz') at night and in the early morning. (9) And it is at this time that the illness is infectious (lit. 'goes over from someone to another'). (10) Also, as Mr. P. G. S. says, if you are injected with a needle with which people who have got malaria were injected, the illness is passed on to you at once. (11) Therefore, before you are injected with this needle, it is necessary for the needle to be purified and washed with hot (i.e. boiling) water for about ten minutes. (12) Moreover, some people suffer from anaemia (lit. 'deficiency of blood finds someone'), and when they take blood from other members of the family, it is necessary before the acceptance of this blood that the blood donor be seen by a physician. (13) When mosquitoes have bitten you, the sucked [blood] which they have taken enters your body. (14) And when it is mixed with your blood it causes you to have shivering-fit and fever, and also brings out headache and sweat in short spells. (15) And for this reason, if medicine is not found in [due] time and the necessary medical care (lit. 'work of health') is lacking, the sick person approaches death. (16) Mostly, mosquitoes [are found] in the lowland; they are not found in large numbers in high altitudes. (17) And even if they are found there, the illness which they give you does not become very grave. (18) Mosquitoes multiply in hot places where there is water, and in Eritrea they are found mostly in the lowland countries, (which are) in the (direction of) east and west and there they are strong. (19) People which the malaria illness has caught must go at once to the physician. (20) Moreover, in places where the mosquitoes are, it is necessary that the water there should flow all the time. (21) And that which does not flow (i.e. stagnant water) such as in pits and ponds which the desert has caught, and the like, should be uprooted (i.e. its vegetation) and kept dry every now and again. (22) What is more, it is necessary to put metal mesh and curtains on windows and doors of houses. (23) And it is appropriate always to keep in your house medicines called DDT and Fleet [capable of] destroying mosquitoes and flies. (24) Also when herdsmen and travellers sleep outside, they sew their garment like a sack and enter it so they are covered from head to foot, so that when they go to sleep the mosquitoes cannot find a way to enter, and they (i.e. the people) are safe from bites. (25) In the advice or counsel that Mr. P. gave, [he said that] the medicines which you can

take to prevent malaria are "quinines" which are called aspirin, mafacrin ... (26) Three days before going on your way it is necessary that you swallow these "quinines".

11.9. 'ətyopya 'Ethiopia'

(1) 'ət sāmən hatte dol ġəm'at 'ətəlla sa'at 'əlla lanaddālyo 'əlkum
(1) in week one time Friday in this hour this which [we] prepare it for you

nāy məhro mədər 'ətyopya yom 'əbba sāb'āy kəffal 'əgəl-netmahar-tu.
of study country Ethiopia. today about the seventh part [we] shall learn.

(2) 'əb kafa 'ətta həlfat ġəm'at kəm təmaharna lələt'fūqad
(2) about Kafa in which [she] passed Friday that [we] learned that which [one] remembers

tu. (3) 'aze yom 'əb sidamo wabale 'əgəl-netmahar-tu. (4) sidamo 'ət
[it] is. (3) now today about Sidamo and Bale we shall learn. (4) Sidamo in

gəblat 'ətyopya latətrakkab 'əbbāy wakədrat 'ad ta. (5) 'əb məwdāq-şahāy
south Ethiopia which is found big and verdant country is. (5) in west

məsəl kafa 'əb gəblat məsəl kenya tətġānad. (6) nāy sidamo ra'as dægge
with Kafa in south with Kenya [she] borders. (6) of Sidamo principal town

'awasa tətbahal. (7) badir da'am yərga 'ālam latətbahal 'alat.
Awasa is called. (7) formerly but Yərga 'Ālam that which is called [she] was.

(8) 'ət 'ənkər qəblat baħar 'əbbayan wabaħar 'awasa mən məgəb sidamo 'əndo
(8) in side north lake Abbayan and lake Awasa from center Sidamo while

təbaggasa 'ət mədər kenya lala'ayər mahāz dawan 'əgəl 'əmdārāt
[it] departed to country Kenya which turns [to] river Dawan to lands

sidamo fəntuy ġərmət həybu-tu bahalat la'əmdārāt lāmə' tu. (9) nāy
Sidamo special beauty has given to it that is to say the lands green is. (9) of

sidamo hīlat zəlām 'ət salas kəffal kəfful tu. (10) 'ət 'ənkər qəblat
Sidamo strength rain to three parts divided is. (10) in side north

məwdāq-şahāy dəqqub zalāyəm waddəq 'əttu. (11) laməġbāy kəffal 'əb-qə yās rakkəb
west strong rains fall[s] there. (11) the central part adequately finds

(12) 'ənkər gəblat məfġār-şahāy hye ħud zəlām rakkəb. (13) laga'a-ləġba' nāy
(12) side south east however little rain finds. (13) whatever of

sidamo zarāqūt zəlām 'ət hatte sanat mən mə'ət waħəmsa 'asək 'aləf
Sidamo falls rain in one year from hundred and fifty up to thousand

waħaməs mə'ət miləmeter lətmazzan. (14) ħafānat hye şanqat qəblat
and five hundred millimeters is measured. (14) heat however direction north

məfġār-şahāy lahalla 'akānāt mən 'asər-ħaməs dəġri santigred 'asək 'əsra
east which is places from fifteen degrees centigrade up to twenty

<i>dəgri</i>	<i>gabbi</i>	<i>qəyūsū.</i>	(15)	<i>mədər</i>	<i>sidamo</i>	<i>ʔənkər</i>	<i>laʕal</i>	<i>lahalla</i>	<i>ʔamdārāt</i>
degrees	may be	its measure.	(15)	country	Sidamo	side	at the top	which is	lands
<i>kabasa</i>	<i>tu.</i>	(16)	<i>gabil</i>	<i>sidamo</i>	<i>ʔəb</i>	<i>ħarəs</i>	<i>warəʕəyat</i>	<i>nəwāy</i>	<i>lətnabābar.</i>
plateau	is.	(16)	people	Sidamo	by means of	agriculture	and tending	cattle	lives.
(17)	<i>laʔət</i>	<i>ʔagnād</i>	<i>kenya</i>	<i>lahalla</i>	<i>gabil</i>	<i>hye</i>	<i>sabbək-sāgəm</i>	<i>tu.</i>	(18) <i>ʔət</i> <i>sidamo</i>
(17)	the in	borders	Kenya	which is	people	however	nomad	is.	(18) in Sidamo
<i>ʔət-dəwār</i>	<i>dəgge</i>	<i>yərga</i>	<i>ʕalam</i>	<i>nāy</i>	<i>bun</i>	<i>ʔabqālāt</i>	<i>halla.</i>	(19)	<i>ʔəmbal</i> <i>ʔəlli</i> <i>ʔət</i>
around	town	Yərga	ʕĀlam	of	coffee	plants	there is.	(19)	except this in
<i>sidamo</i>	<i>kasal</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>mədər</i>	<i>lafaggər</i>	<i>faham</i>	<i>massəl</i>	<i>dahab</i>	<i>çewa</i>	<i>naħās</i>
Sidamo	kasal	from	ground	which comes out	coal	[it] resembles	gold	salt	copper
<i>lətrakkab.</i>	(20)	<i>bale</i>	<i>məsəl</i>	<i>sidamo</i>	<i>latətġānad</i>	<i>ʔəbbu</i>	<i>ʔənkər</i>	<i>mahāz</i>	<i>ganale;</i>
is found.	(20)	Bale	with	Sidamo	which [it] borders	in it	side	river	Ganale;
<i>məsəl</i>	<i>harar</i>	<i>latətġānad</i>	<i>ʔəbbu</i>	<i>ʔənkər</i>	<i>hye</i>	<i>wabi</i>	<i>šəbale</i>	<i>lalətbahalo</i>	
with	Harar	which [it] borders	in it	side	however	W.	Š.	which are called	
<i>kəlʔot</i>	<i>mahāz</i>	<i>hallaw</i>	<i>bahalat</i>	<i>ʔəllom</i>	<i>laʔəlom</i>	<i>samekom</i>	<i>mahāz</i>	<i>ganale</i>	
two	river	there are	that is to say	these	which them	[I] named	river	G.	
<i>wamaħāz</i>	<i>wabi</i>	<i>šəbale</i>	<i>tom.</i>	(21)	<i>ʔəllom</i>	<i>kəlʔot</i>	<i>mahāz</i>	<i>ʔət</i>	<i>məgəb</i> <i>ʔətyopya</i> <i>mənna</i>
and river	W.	Š.	are.	(21)	these	two	river	in	center Ethiopia from which
<i>lətrakkabo</i>	<i>ʔadbər</i>	<i>ləwhəzo</i>	<i>kaʔəb</i>	<i>mədər</i>	<i>somalya</i>	<i>ʔəndo</i>	<i>ħalfaw</i>	<i>ʔət</i>	
are found	mountains	[they] flow	and through	land	Somali	while	[they] passed	to	
<i>baħar</i>	<i>ħənday</i>	<i>ʕayro.</i>	(22)	<i>nāy</i>	<i>yom</i>	<i>məħrona</i>	<i>ʔətəlli</i>	<i>ʔənkalləs.</i>	(23) <i>ʔətta</i>
sea	Indian	[they] come.	(22)	of	today	our lesson	here	we conclude.	(23) in which
<i>təmaššəʔ</i>	<i>ğəmʕat</i>	<i>nāy</i>	<i>ʔətyopya</i>	<i>ğewografi</i>	<i>ʔəbba</i>	<i>sāmnāy</i>	<i>kəffal</i>	<i>ʔasək</i>	<i>naddāle</i>
comes	Friday	of	Ethiopia	geography	in regard to	eighth	part	until	[we] prepare
<i>ʔəlkum</i>	<i>dahan</i>	<i>ʔasməno.</i>							
for you	well	pass the week.							

(1) Today we shall study the seventh part of [the course in] Ethiopian geography (lit. 'the study of the country of Ethiopia') which we prepare for you, at this hour, once a week [every] Friday. (2) If you remember, last week we learned about Kafa. (3) Today we shall learn about Sidamo and Bale. (4) Sidamo is a vast and flourishing country which is found in south[ern] Ethiopia. (5) It borders Kafa in the west and Kenya in the south. (6) The capital of Sidamo is called ʔAwasa. (7) Formerly though, it used to be called Yərga ʕĀlam. (8) The river Dawan which rises in Central Sidamo at the northern side of lakes ʔAbbayan and ʔAwasa and turns into the land of Kenya gives a special beauty to the lands of Sidamo, that is to say, the lands blossom. (9) The rainfall at Sidamo is rated according to three geographical divisions (lit. 'the strength of rain in Sidamo is divided into three parts'). (10) In the (side of) north-west strong rains fall (there). (11) The central region has sufficient rainfall (lit. 'finds [rain] adequately'). (12) The south-east[ern region], however, has little rain. (13) The average rainfall in Sidamo according to these geographical divisions is from one hundred and fifty millimeters to fifteen hundred millimeters per annum (lit. 'whatever the quantity of rainfall of Sidamo, it is measured from one hundred and fifty up to one thousand five hundred millimeters in one year').

(14) Regarding the temperature, in the north-eastern areas it is between fifteen and twenty degrees centigrade. (15) The highlands of Sidamo are plateaux. (16) The people of Sidamo live on agriculture and the tending of cattle. (17) The people who live by the borders of Kenya are, however, nomads (lit. 'who go down [to the lowland] and go up [to the highland]'). (18) In Sidamo around the town of Y. Ā. there are coffee plants. (19) Furthermore there are in Sidamo *kasal*—it looks like coal which protrudes out of the ground—gold, salt [and] copper. (20) There are two rivers in Bale, which are called the river of Ganale, where it (i.e. the province) borders Sidamo [and] W. Š. where it borders Harar (lit. 'Bale, two rivers exist [there] which are called River G. in the side where it [i.e. Bale] borders Sidamo; in the side where it borders Harar, however, W. Š.'). That is to say, these are [the rivers] which I have named river G. and river W. Š. (21) These two rivers flow from the mountains which are in Central Ethiopia, and running through the land of Somali enter the Indian Ocean. (22) Here we conclude today's study. (23) Until we present you next Friday the eighth part of Ethiopian geography have a nice week.

11.10. 'axbār 'News'

(1) 'ət ġamma lalətrakkab nāy rās damṭaw hospətal 'əb nāy ħukumat
(1) in Jimma which is found of R. D. Hospital by of government

switzerland sadāyat latəmaharaw 'əsra nafar ħamāyəm lanābu tədəharaw.
Switzerland help who studied twenty person sick (ones) who nurse were blessed.

(2) 'əllom laddaharaw 'anfār nāy šahadatəm wəraq mən 'əde
(2) these who were graduated persons of their testimony papers from hand

kəbur dağğāzmāč ġərmačaw takla hawaryāt nāy gabil 'aqib 'əfyat minister
the honorable dağğāzmāč G. T. H. of public watch health minister

təkabbataw. (3) 'amerika wahukuma sovyet nāy nyukler şəwār 'ət
[they] received. (3) America and government Soviets of nuclear [energy] weapons to

sanni kədmət leta 'əğəl law'ulo 'ət marādayat bəşhām-kəm-hallaw nāy
good service only to preserve it to agreement that [they] have arrived of

'amerika mārḥāy minister 'at'amara. (4) 'əlli hye 'əğəl nāy nadād-zet mafgari
America principal minister announced. (4) this however for of fuel means

'əğəl māy lakarru 'abāyi 'aşrām wamən mədər latəthaffaro ġārāt
for water which retain big water-holes and from earth which are dug (fem.) things

'əğəl ləgba' gomātom-qarčaw. (5) nāy 'əsra'el mārḥāy minister 'abba 'əban 'ət
to be [they] decided. (5) of Israel principal minister A. E. to

nāy məwdāq-şahāy ġərman myunik latətbahal 'ad 'əğəl-ləbşəhu-tu.
of west Germany Munich which is called (fem. sing.) city [he] will arrive (pl.

polite form). (6) 'əbəlli sabab 'əlli nāy 'əlla 'ad 'əlla polis 'əsər-kəl'ot nafar
(6) by this reason this of this city this police twelve person

'arab 'əndo şabṭaw 'asrawom. (7) 'ət 'ənkər qəblat kanal sues
Arabs while [they] seized [they] arrested them. (7) in side north Canal Suez

woro nāy ʿasraʿel ʿaskari ʿaskar mäsär laläkƿawa räsäs ʿabba ʿando
one of Israel soldier army Egypt which [they] fired her bullets by her while

zabbata kəm mota woro nāy ʿasraʿel mārḥāy ʿaskar ʿatʿamara. (8) ʿat
[he] was hit that [he] died one of Israel chief army announced. (8) in

nyu york nāy ʿaqbär ḥäfär lalahäfro sab mäl ʿägäl lätwassakkom
New York of tombs holes who dig people money to be added to them

lassaʿalo sabbat hallaw šəqlom ʿabaṭṭalaw. (9) ʿabbəlli sabab
asking because [they] are their work [they] caused to be stopped. (9) by this reason

ʿəlli ʿasär-säs ʿaləf lagabbəʿ ganāyaz qabiru sabbat taḥaggala
this sixteen thousand which is [about] corpses its burial because [it] did not take place

ʿəbbahu kəruy-halla. (10) nāy nyu york gabil ʿaqib ʿāfyat
therefore [he] has been put down. (10) of New York people watch health

bet-maktab kəmla ʿafhamayu labazzəḥ mändəlli ganāyaz
office according to which [it] made understood it the greater part of this corpses

ʿägäl ʿiləšene fəntuy qəduy sərūy gabbəʿ-ʿəttu-halla lətbahal.
in order that it will not smell special fragrant medicine has been necessary for it it is said.

(11) gərmawi ḡānhoy yom saʿat ḥamas ʿəb nāy ʿətyopya saʿat ʿallabot
(11) Majestic Majesty today o'clock five according to of Ethiopia time counting

ʿət saddo kəm bašḥaw nāy walāmo muderyat gezʿäy kəbur
in Sodo as [he] arrived (pl. polite form) of Walamo province governor Excellency

qanyazmač walda samayat gabrawald məsäl nāyla muderyat šayam ʿəndo
qāññazmač W. S. G. with of the province chieftains while

gaʿaw ʿəb ʿabi kəbär tkabbatawom. (12) wakəmsalhu
[they] were with great honor [they] received them (pl. polite form). (12) and likewise

ʿägäl fətuḡ ḡānhoy ləššabbar laʿala gabil walāmo ʿət makkaräy-tyärotät
for beloved Majesty waiting who was people Walamo at airport

ʿəndo šanhaw ʿəb farḥat təkabbatawom. (13) kəbur
while he stayed (pl. polite form) with with joy [they] received him. (13) Excellency

letena ḡeneral ʿəsayäs gabrasələse nāy sidāmo taqlāy-gəzʿat ʿəndarüse kolonel
lieutenant general E. G. of Sidamo province governor colonel

haqala yəfraw wakil ʿəndarüse bəšuʿ ʿəbuna timotewos nāy ʿəlli taqlāy-gəzʿat
B. Y. deputy governor Holiness bishop T. of this province

ʿəlli baʿal-gaš-päpäsät bərgader ḡeneral ʿəlbəsa bayka nāy ʿəlli taqlāy-gəzʿat ʿəlli
this archbishop brigadier general A. B. of this province this

polis mārḥāy ʿətəlli matkabbāt ʿəlli ḥuburām-ʿalaw. (14) gərmawi-nəgusa-nagast
police chief in this reception this [they] had participated. (14) His Imperial Majesty

yom haqo-sar-məʕəl ʔəb nāy həbar gabil ʔəb salas məʔət wasalāsa
today in the afternoon by of community people with three hundred and thirty

ʔaləf rəyāl ʔət walāmo həddis latəšsaqqa ʔaddārās maḥabar kəstān
thousand dollar in W. new which was built hall association Christian

ʔawāləd ʔəndo daḥaraw kastaw. (15) gərmāwi ḡānhoy
young women while [he] inaugurated (pl. polite form) [he] opened. (15) Imperial Majesty

ʔəgəl ʕasər-ʔarbaʕ nāy maḥabar ʔafriqa nāy bəʕədām ʕaddotāt gārit ləbərʔu
for fourteen of Organization Africa of other countries affair who treat

ministerāt waʕala ʔət ʔaddis ʔababa ʔət ʔaddārāš ʔafriqa ʔəndo daḥaraw
ministers council in A. A. in Hall Africa while [he] blessed (pl. polite

form) kastawo. (16) ʔətla-wakəd-lahay gərmāwi-nəgusa-nagast ʔətəlli lamaššəʔ
[he] opened it. (16) on that occasion His Imperial Majesty in this which comes

ʔawkād rodešya repablik ʔəgəl təgbaʔ tədəle-hallet. ʔəlli hye nāy gabil
times Rhodesia republic to become is getting ready. this however of people

ʔəddanya raʔay sabir wakəmsalhu nāy gabil ʔafriqa kəbər lalanaqqəš
the world opinion breach and also of people Africa honor [that] which diminishes

sabbat tu ʔəlli gār ʔəlli ʔəb-ʔamān ʔəgəl lətnakkar halla-ʔəlu. ḥukumat
because it is this affair this truly to be rejected must. government

ʔəngliz wamaḥabar ḥuburām managgəs ʔəgəl nāy gəblat rodešya wəlād-ʔafriqa
English and Organization United Nations for of South Rhodesia Africans

tastāhəlom ʔəgəl tətʕaqqab ʔəlom walaləthazze raʔay ʔəgəl ləthayab
their right to be kept for them and which is wished opinion to be given

ʔəb-fərrug ʔəgəl-nəssaʔal-tu ʔət ləblo ʔəgəlla maḥabar ʔafhamaw.
explicitly [we] shall ask while [they] said to the assembly [he] informed (pl. polite form).

(17) wakəmsalhu gərmāwi ḡānhoy həgyāhom ʔət lattalālu ʔəlla
(17) and likewise Imperial Majesty his speech (pl. polite form) while they pursue this

waʕala ʔəlla nāy nāyḡerya konāt labatrat ʔəttu wakəd sabbat tu bəzuḥ
meeting this of Nigeria war which stopped in it time because [it] is much

bah-lələbəl wanāyḡerya hye nāy həbar mambaroha ʔəndo ʕaqbat
[that] which rejoices and Nigeria however of unity her state while she kept

ʔət-karsa laʕala masdad ʔəgəl lərhe nāy maḥabar ʔafriqa lawadayu
inside her which was [the] tension to ease off of Organization Africa which [it] did it

ʕabi šagam ʔət-raʔas ʔafqadotom wanāy məgbāy məfgār-šahāy ʔakay maqrəḥ
big deed above their consideration and of Middle East bad condition

hye ʔət nāy maḥabar ḥuburām managgəs nāy ʕaqib ʔamən bet-gomāt
however to of Organization United Nations of guarding confidence council

- lalathaze* *mabrāhi* ^ʔ*əgəl* *lide* *təsaʔalaw.* (18) *haqo* *nāy*
which is necessary elucidation to do [he] asked (pl. polite form). (18) after of
- gərmāwi* *ḡānhoy* *həgya* *nāy* *zambia* *minister* *mister* ^ʔ*edi* *kamara* ^ʔ*ət* *lawadawo*
Imperial Majesty speech of Zambia minister Mr. E. K. in which [he]
- made (pl. polite form) it *həgya* *gərmāwi-nəgusa-nagsat* ^ʔ*əgəl* *nāy* ^ʔ*afriqa* *mathābār*
speech Imperial Majesty for of Africa unification
- waʔekonomi* ^ʔ*əmbal* ^ʔ*abattalot* *lawadawo* *ṣagam* ^ʔ*ət* ^ʔ*afriqa*
and economy without keeping back which [he] did (pl. polite form) it deed in Africa
- leta* ^ʔ*ənday* *gabbīʔ* ^ʔ*ət* *kəlla* ^ʔ*əddənya* *lataʔammara* *kəmtu*
only while not [it] is in all of her world [that] which is known that [it] is
- ^ʔ*afhamaw.* (19) *haqo* ^ʔ*əlli* *nāy* *senegal* *minister* ^ʔ*əb* ^ʔ*ənkərom*
[he] informed (pl. polite form). (19) after this of Senegal minister for his part
- ^ʔ*ət* *ləthāgaw* ^ʔ*əgəl* ^ʔ*addotāt* ^ʔ*afriqa* *saʔayat* ^ʔ*əndo-gaʔat-lašanhat* ^ʔ*ətyopya* *leta* *ta.*
while he spoke for countries Africa hope which had remained Ethiopia only is.
- wanāy* *maḥabar* ^ʔ*afriqa* *bet-maktab* ^ʔ*əgəl* *ləgbaʔ* *həye* *mən* ^ʔ*addis* ^ʔ*abba*
and of Organization Africa office to be however than Adis Ababa
- lahəsət* ^ʔ*akān* *waʔiharaw-ʔalaw* ^ʔ*ət* *ləblo* *tahāgaw.*
which is better place [they] could not have chosen while saying he spoke (pl. polite form).
- (20) *wakəmsalhu* ^ʔ*əb* *nāy* *məwdāq-ṣahāy* ^ʔ*afriqa* *nāy* *bəʔədām* ^ʔ*addotāt* *ḡarīt*
(20) and likewise in of West Africa of other countries affairs
- lalərʔu* *ministerāt* *səm* ^ʔ*əndo* *gaʔaw* ^ʔ*əgəl* *gərmāwi-nəgusa-nagast*
who treat ministers name while [he] was (pl. polite form) to Imperial Majesty
- mən* *ləb* *lafagra* *ḥamde* ^ʔ*aqarrəb* ^ʔ*ət* *ləblo* *həgyahom*
from heart which came out thanks [I] offer while saying their speech
- damdamaw.* (21) *ḥaqohom* *həye* *nāy* *libya*
[he] concluded (pl. polite form). (21) after him (pl. polite form) however of Libya
- wabrāzāvil* ^ʔ*əndo* *qanṣaw* ^ʔ*əb-tartara* *tahāgaw.* (22) *haqo* ^ʔ*əlli* *nāyla*
and Brazzaville while [they] got up in turn [they] spoke. (22) after this of the
- maḥabar* *lamarrəḥu* *ḥirān* *gaʔa.* (23) *nāy* *aper* *volta* *minister ...*
Organization those who will lead election took place. (23) of Upper Volta minister ...
- nāyla* *waʔala* *mārḥāy* *nāy* *zambia* *minister ...* *nāy* *mārḥāy* *salf* *wakil* *nāy*
of the council leader of Zambia minister ... of leader first deputy of
- somāli* *minister ...* *kālʔāy* *wakil* *wanāy* *huburām* ^ʔ*addotāt* ^ʔ*arab* *nāy* *laʔāyək*
Somalia minister ... second deputy and of United countries Arabs of delegates
- mārḥāy* ... *sālsāy* ^ʔ*əgəl* *ləkdamo* *taḥarraw.* (24) *nāy* *legos* *bet-maḥakamat*
chief ... third to serve [they] were elected. (24) of Lagos law court

ʔambal gabay fətəh ʔət nāyǵərya laʔataw ʔarbaʕ nafar nāy roma
without way law to Nigeria who entered four person of Rome

mafəslat-wangel ʔəǵəl ləfagro ʔazzazət. (25) nāy ʔəsraʔel tyārotāt ʔət dəwār kanal-swes
missionaries to leave ordered. (25) of Israel planes around Suez Canal

ʔət lahalla ʔakānāt ʔəǵəl kəlʔe saʕat wasar lagabbiʔ warār
in which are places for two hour and half which is [about] attack

wādyāt-ʕalaya. (26) ʔəllan tyārotāt ʔəllan nāy məsər nāy rādār ʔakān
had made (pl. fem.). (26) these planes these (fem. form) of Egypt of radar place

wanāy šaf tyārotāt ʔakānāt kəm ʔabdaɣa ʔəsraʔel ʔətʔamarat.
and of battle planes places that they destroyed (fem. form) Israel informed.

(27) nāy məsər hāybāy ʔaxbār kəm̄la ləbəllo hye ʔəsraʔel ʔətla
(27) of Egypt giver news according to which [he] says it however Israel in which

wadetto warār kəlʔot kəm motaw waʔarbaʕ kəm thakkaraw ʔətʔamara.
[she] made it attack two that died and four that were wounded [he] informed.

(28) wakəmsalhu hye nāy məsər ʕaskar ʔəbla kaftawo dəqqub zabət
(28) and likewise however of Egypt army by which [they] opened it heavy fire

nāy ʔəsraʔel tyārotāt šankat məfgār-šahāy ʔəǵəl ləskaya kəm təqassabaya
of Israel planes direction East to flee that [they] were forced

ʔəb-dəǵmān ʔətʔamara. (29) nāy ʔəsraʔel miniser ʔaba ʔəban ʔəǵəl hūd ʔawkād
again he informed. (29) of Israel minister A. E. for some time

ʔəngliz ʔəǵəl ləbsəhu gesaw. (30) ʔaba ʔəban ʔəb nāy məǵbāy
English to visit [he] went (pl. polite form). (30) A. E. about of Middle

məfgār-šahāy ʔakay maqrəh məsəl mister ʔəstuwart ʔəǵəl-ləthagāgaw-tu.
East bad condition with Mr. S. [he] will confer (pl. polite form).

(31) ʔət gāza labtbahal qišot ʔəb nāy ʕarab hegtat matsšəffat latəlakkafaya
(31) in Gaza which is called village by of Arab lurking warriors which were thrown

kəlʔe qanabbəl woro wad-ʕasər-kəlʔe-sanat ʕarab waʔətəlli ʔakān ʔəlli lanabro
two grenades one twelve years old Arab and in this place this who live

ʕsra-wasalas nafar kəm hakkaraw nāy ʔəsraʔel nāy ʕāyān ʔaxbār
twenty-three person that were wounded of Israel of (military) sources news

ʔassaʔalaya. (32) ʔət woro ʔənkər hye šankat gəblat kənāl-suwes woro nāy
told (fem. pl.). (32) on one side however direction south Suez Canal one of

ʔəsraʔel ʕaskar kəm təqattala wakəlʔot kəm tahakkaraw woro nāy ʔəsraʔel
Israel soldiers that was killed and two that were wounded one of Israel

hāybāy ʔətʔamara. (33) nāy hukumat sovyet nāy bəʕədām ʕaddotāt gārit
newscaster announced. (33) of government Soviets of other countries affair

- lalərʔe* *wakil* *mister* *bladimir* *ʔət* *kāyro* *gesaw.* (34) *mister*
 who treats emissary Mr. V. to Cairo went (pl. polite form). (34) Mr.
- bladimir* *ʔət* *kāyro* *lagesawbu* *sabab* *ʔəb* *nāy* *məgbāy*
 V. to Cairo [for] which [he] went (pl. polite form) reason because of Middle
- məfgār-ṣahāy* *ʔakay* *maqrəh* *kəmtu* *ʔalharam* *lalətbahal* *nāy* *kāyro* *ḡaridat*
 East bad' condition that [it] is al'ahrām which is called of Cairo newspaper
- ʔatʔamarat.* (35) *ḥatte* *ʔəssit* *ʔəb* *nāy* *swizerland* *polis* *ʔəgəl* *ḥukumat*
 [she] informed. (35) a woman by of Switzerland police for government
- sovyet* *waromania* *tāyən-hallet* *ʔəndo* *təbahalat* *ṣabbətat.* (36) *ḥatte*
 Soviets and Rumania [she] has spied while [she] was said [she] was caught. (36) an
- ʔalitalya* *ḡet* *ṭyārat* *ʔət* *talʔaviv* *ʔəgəl* *təgʔaz* *kəm* *təbaggasat* *ʔət-karsa* *qənbəlat*
 Alitalia jet plane to Tel-Aviv to travel when [she] set out inside her bomb
- hallet* *laləbəl* *zam* *sabbat* *taḥassaba* *ʔət* *roma* *ʔəgəl* *taʔbəl* *təqassabat.*
 there is which says rumor because was believed to Rome to return [she] was
- (37) *ʔət-karsa* *laʔalaw* *hye* *ʔarbəʔa-wasamān* *bahalat*
 obliged. (37) inside her those who were however forty-eight that is to say
- laləgʔəzo* *wasamān* *ṣəqqāla* *laṭyārat* *tom.* (38) *daʔam* *ʔət-dangoba* *ʔət*
 those who travel and eight workers the plane [they] are. (38) but finally to
- roma* *kəm* *ʔaʔbalat* *taftiṣ* *kəm* *gaʔa* *ʔət-karsa* *ḥatte-ma* *ʔitərakkaba.*
 Rome when [she] returned search when was made inside her even one was not found.
- (39) *faransa* *ʔəb-məṣtir* *ʔarbəʔa-wasamān* *nāy* *ṣaf* *ṭyārotāt* *miraž* *ḡet* *ʔət* *čāyina*
 (39) France secretly forty-eight of fight planes Mirage jet to China
- kəm* *tazabbe* *zastar* *latətbahal* *nāy* *hon* *kong* *ḡaridat* *ʔatʔamarat.*
 that [she] sells The Star which is called of Hong Kong newspaper informed.
- (40) *nāy* *portugal* *nāy* *ʔaqib* *ʔamən* *ʔaskar* *ʔətəlli* *sāmen* *ʔəlli* *ʔət* *ʔangola*
 (40) of Portugal of guarding security forces in this week this in Angola
- lawadawo* *konāt* *salāsa* *nāy* *mafḡərat-hara* *ʔaskar* *wəlād-ʔafriqa* *kəm* *ḥakkaraw*
 which [they] made it war thirty of liberators army Africans that [they] were
- taʔammara.* (41) *wakəmsalhu* *mən* *portugal* *salas* *kəm* *motaw*
 wounded [it] became known. (41) and likewise from Portugal three that died
- wasamān* *kəm* *taḥakkaraw* *nāy* *portugal* *nāy* *ʔaskar* *mārḥāy* *ʔatʔamara.*
 and eight that were wounded of Portugal of army chief announded.
- (42) *ʔaxbār* *ʔətəlli* *ʔənkalləs.* (43) *yom* *lāli* *nāy* *ʔasmara* *baʔal-tarūt* *bet-səṛāy*
 (42) news here we end. (43) today at night of Asmara on duty pharmacy
- ʔət* *gabay* *qadamawi* *hayla* *səlāse* *latətrakkab* *ʔətyopya* *latətbahal* *tu.*
 in Road Q. H. S. which is found Ethiopia which is called is.

(44) *ʿələb telefona ʿasər-kəlʿe bādo salāsa-wahaməs tu.* (45) *ʿəlli ʿasmara lahallā*
 (44) number telephone twelve zero thirty-five is. (45) this Asmara which is

rādyo ʿətyopya tu.
 radio Ethiopia is.

(1) In R. D. Hospital in Jimma twenty nurses (lit. 'twenty person[s] who nurse sick people') who studied with the help of the Swiss government were graduated (lit. 'were blessed'). (2) These [persons] who graduated received their certificates (lit. 'their testimony papers') from the honorable *dağğāzmāč* G. T. H., the Minister of Public Health (lit. 'the minister of the watch of the health of the people'). (3) The American Secretary of State announced that America and the Soviet government have reached an agreement to confine [the use of] nuclear armaments to peaceful purposes only. (4) They decided that these uses will be for the production of energy, the construction of water reservoirs and the mining of minerals. (5) The Israeli Foreign Minister A. E. will be coming to Munich, West Germany (lit. 'the leading minister of Israel A. E. will be coming to the city of west Germany which is called Munich'). (6) For this reason the police of this city have detained twelve Arabs (lit. 'having seized twelve Arabs they arrested them'). (7) An Israeli military spokesman announced that in the northern section of the Suez Canal an Israeli soldier was shot and killed by Egyptian army fire (lit. 'an army chief of Israel announced that in the side of the north of the Suez Canal one soldier of Israel, the army of Egypt, the bullets which they fired, having been hit by it, he died'). (8) Grave diggers (lit. 'the people who dig holes of tombs') in New York have gone on strike (lit. 'caused their work to be stopped') because they are asking for a pay increase (lit. 'they are asking for money to be added to them'). (9) For this reason, since about sixteen thousand corpses have not been buried, they are left untouched. (10) It was made known by the Office of Public Health in New York that a special fragrant medicine has to be applied to the corpses to prevent odor. (11) When His Imperial Majesty arrived today at Sodo at five o'clock (according to) Ethiopian (counting of) time, the governor of Walamo district, His Excellency *Qāññazmač* W. S. G., together with the province officials, received him with great honor. (12) Furthermore, the people of Walamo who were expecting the beloved Majesty, stayed on the airport and received him with joy. (13) His Excellency Lt. General E. G., the governor of Sidamo province, Colonel B. Y., the governor's deputy, His Holiness Bishop T., the archbishop of this province and Brigadier General A. B., the chief of Police of this province had participated in the reception. (14) His Imperial Majesty inaugurated and opened this afternoon in Walamo the new hall of the YWCA which was built by the people of the community with [the sum of] three hundred and thirty thousand [Ethiopian] dollars. (15) His Imperial Majesty opened the meeting of fourteen Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of Africa in Addis Ababa in the Africa Hall (lit. 'his Imperial Majesty, the meeting of ministers who treat affairs of foreign countries, of the Organization of Africa, having given his blessing opened it in Addis Ababa, in the Africa Hall'). (16) On that occasion His Imperial Majesty informed the Assembly saying: 'Rhodesia is getting ready to become a republic in the near future (lit. 'in these times which come'). This affair, however, must truly be rejected as it is an offense to (lit. 'breach of') world public opinion, and moreover, it is an insult to (lit. 'diminishes the honor of') the people of Africa. We shall explicitly ask the English government and the United Nations Organization that the rights of the African people of Southern Rhodesia be maintained (lit. 'be kept for them'), and that the desirable point of view be accepted (lit. 'that a point of view which is desired be given'). (17) Furthermore, His Imperial Majesty pursued his speech, [saying]: as to the effect that the Nigerian war has ceased—a most gladdening thing (lit. 'what rejoices much')—and also as Nigeria had kept her state of unity, he was asking this meeting to make the necessary elucidation to the Security Council of the UNO concerning the great deed, great beyond any recall (lit. 'above their remembering'), namely that the tension in Nigeria would ease off, and also make a statement concerning [the relief of tension of] the serious (lit. 'bad') situation in the Middle East. (18) After the speech of His Imperial Majesty, Zambia's minister Mr. E. K. announced in the speech which he gave that the deed which His Imperial Majesty has indefatigably (lit. 'without keeping back') performed for the unification and economy of Africa is recognized, not only in Africa, but also in the entire world (lit. 'while it is not in Africa only it is that which is known in the entire world'). (19) After this, Senegal's

minister, speaking for his part, said: "It was Ethiopia alone which represented a hope for the countries of Africa, so they could not have chosen a better place than Addis Ababa to be the headquarters of the Organization of Africa." (20) Moreover, talking on behalf of (lit. 'being in the name of') the Foreign Ministers of West Africa, he concluded his speech saying: "I offer hearty thanks (lit. 'thanks which come out from the heart') to His Imperial Majesty." (21) Now, after him [the ministers] of Libya and [Congo-]Brazzaville having appeared, spoke one after the other. (22) After this, an election of the Organization's chairmanship took place (lit. 'was an election of those who will lead the Organization'). (23) The minister of Upper Volta was elected to serve [as] the council's chairman; the minister of Zambia ... the chairman's first deputy; the minister of Somali ... the chairman's second deputy and the head of Mission of the United Arab Republic (lit. 'the chief [of] delegates of united Arab countries') ... third. (24) A law court in Lagos ordered four Roman missionaries who entered Nigeria illegally (lit. 'without the way of law') to be expelled (lit. 'to leave'). (25) Israeli planes had made bombing raids (lit. 'attacks') for about two and a half hours around places (which are) [in the area of] the Suez Canal. (26) Israel announced that these planes destroyed an Egyptian radar and fighter-planes sites. (27) However, according to the Egyptian broadcaster's announcement, in the attack which Israel made, two died and four were wounded (lit. 'the Egyptian newscaster however, as he said it, in the attack which Israel made [it], he announced that two died and that four were wounded'). (28) Furthermore, he announced again that because of the heavy fire which the Egyptian troops opened, the Israeli planes were forced to flee to the east. (29) The Israeli minister A. E. went to England for a short visit. (30) A. E. will discuss the bad situation in the Middle East with Mr. S. (31) Israeli military sources announced that in the village of Gaza (lit. 'which is called Gaza') a twelve-year-old Arab and twenty-three people who live in this place were wounded by two grenades which were thrown by Arab guerillas (lit. 'Arab lurking warriors'). (32) An Israeli newscaster also announced that in an area in the direction (of) south of the Suez Canal one Israeli soldier was killed and two were wounded. (33) Mr. V., an emissary for foreign affairs of the Soviet government, went to Cairo. (34) The Cairo newspaper called 'Al'ahrām announced that the reason for Mr. V.'s going to Cairo is the serious condition in the Middle East. (35) A woman was caught by the Swiss police after she was said to have spied for the Soviet and Rumanian governments. (36) Since it was suspected that a bomb had been planted in an Alitalia jet plane, which had left on a flight to Tel-Aviv (lit. 'since a rumor was believed which says: there is a bomb inside it'), the plane was obliged to return to Rome. (37) Inside it were forty-eight passengers and eight crew-members (lit. 'forty-eight—that is to say [those] who travel, and eight plane workers'). (38) But, finally, when the plane had returned to Rome and a search had been carried out, nothing was found in it. (39) A Hong Kong newspaper called The Star announced that France is secretly selling forty-eight Mirage jet fighter planes to China. (40) It became known that in the war which the security forces of Portugal waged this week in Angola, there were thirty casualties among the Africans of the Liberation Army. (41) Also the army chief of staff announced that three Portuguese [soldiers] had died and eight were wounded. (42) Here we end the news. (43) Tonight the pharmacy on duty is [that] (which is) called 'Ethiopia' (which is found) in Q. H. S. Road. (44) The phone number is twelve zero thirty-five (i.e. 12035). (45) This is Radio Ethiopia (which is) [in] Asmara.



12.2. VERB INFLEXION. Triradicals of Types Other Than A and Derivatives of All Types (cf. 6.2, 6.2.2)

TYPE/ PREFIXED DERIVATIVE	LARYNGEALS				SEMIVOWELS				
	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL	INITIAL		MEDIAL		FINAL	
				w	y	w	y		
tə-A/B	Perfect: <i>təqarraça</i> Imperfect : } Jussive : } Imperative: <i>təqarraç</i>	<i>tahaşşaba</i> <i>ləthaşşab</i> <i>tahaşşab</i>	<i>təba'asa</i> <i>lətba'as</i> <i>təba'as</i>	<i>təmallə'a</i> <i>lətmalla'</i> <i>təmallə'</i>	<i>təwarrada</i> <i>lətwarrad</i> <i>təwarrad</i>	<i>təyaggana</i> <i>lətyaggan</i> <i>təyaggan</i>	<i>tənawaka</i> <i>lətnawak</i> <i>tənawak</i>	<i>təbayana</i> <i>lətbayan</i> <i>təbayan</i>	<i>təqalla</i> <i>lətqalle</i> <i>təqalle</i>
'a-A	Perfect: <i>'angafa</i> Imperfect: <i>lanaggəf</i> Jussive: <i>langəf</i> Imperative: <i>'angəf</i>	<i>'ašhata</i> } <i>lašhət</i> <i>'ašhət</i>	<i>'asmə'a</i> <i>lasammə'</i> <i>lasmə'</i> <i>'asmə'</i>	<i>'awlada</i> <i>lawalləd</i> <i>lawləd</i> <i>'awləd</i>	<i>'aybasa</i> <i>layabbəs</i> <i>laybəs</i> <i>'aybəs</i>	<i>'adora</i> <i>ladawər</i> <i>ladur</i> <i>'adur</i>	<i>'arema</i> <i>larayəm</i> <i>larim</i> <i>'arim</i>	<i>'abda</i> <i>labadde</i> <i>labde</i> <i>'abde</i>	
'at-A	Perfect: <i>'athalafa</i> Imperfect : } Jussive : } Imperative: <i>'athələf</i>	<i>'atlahama</i> <i>latləhəm</i> <i>'atləhəm</i>							
'atta-A	Perfect: <i>'attaqraça</i> Imperfect : } Jussive : } Imperative: <i>'attaqrəç</i>		<i>'attalmə'a</i> <i>lattalmə'</i> <i>'attalmə'</i>	<i>'attawrasa</i> <i>lattawrəs</i> <i>'attawrəs</i>		<i>'attaşwara</i> <i>lattaşwər</i> <i>'attaşwər</i>		<i>'attansa</i> <i>lattanse</i> <i>'attanse</i>	
B	Perfect: <i>mazzana</i> Imperfect : } Jussive : } Imperative: <i>mazzən</i>	<i>'addama</i> <i>la'addəm</i> <i>'addəm</i>	<i>šammə'a</i> <i>ləsammə'</i> <i>šammə'</i>	<i>wallaba</i> <i>lawalləb</i> <i>walləb</i>	<i>yattama</i> <i>ləyattəm</i> <i>yattəm</i>	<i>lawəta</i> <i>ləlawət</i> <i>lawət</i>	<i>qayasa</i> <i>ləqayəs</i> <i>qayəs</i>	<i>fassa</i> <i>ləfasse</i> <i>fasse</i>	
'a-B	Perfect: <i>'abattala</i> Imperfect : } Jussive : } Imperative: <i>'abattəl</i>		<i>'ašalləha</i> <i>lašalləh</i> <i>'ašalləh</i>	<i>'awallaba</i> <i>lawalləb</i> <i>'awalləb</i>		<i>'ašawaka</i> <i>lašawək</i> <i>'ašawək</i>	<i>'akayana</i> <i>lakayən</i> <i>'akayən</i>	<i>'alabba</i> <i>lalabbe</i> <i>'alabbe</i>	
'at-B	Perfect: <i>'atbaggasa</i> Imperfect : } Jussive : } Imperative: <i>'atbaggəs</i>	<i>'athaddasa</i> <i>latəhaddəs</i> <i>'athaddəs</i>		<i>'atwarrada</i> <i>latwarrəd</i> <i>'atwarrəd</i>		<i>'atnayata</i> <i>latnayət</i> <i>'atnayət</i>	<i>'atkarra</i> <i>latkarre</i> <i>'atkarre</i>		

təqarraça 'to be cut off'; *tahaşşaba* 'to wash oneself'; *təba'asa* 'to quarrel'; *təmallə'a* 'to be filled'; *təwarrada* 'to be taken down'; 'to bet'; *təyaggana* 'to be drawn (lines)'; *tənawaka* 'to turn away'; *təbayana* 'to recover (health)'; *təqalla* 'to be roasted'; *'angafa* 'to save'; *'ašhata* 'to mislead'; *'asmə'a* 'to let, make hear'; *'awlada* 'to assist in childbirth'; *'aybasa* 'to dry' (trans.); *'adora* 'to make turn'; *'arema* 'to remove'; *'abda* 'to destroy'; *'athalafa* 'to cause to pass'; *'atlahama* 'to join together'; *'attaqraça* 'to let cut off'; *'attalmə'a* 'to make blossom'; *'attawrasa* 'to make inherit'; *'attaşwara* 'to be carried'; *'attansa* 'to listen attentively'; *mazzana* 'to weigh'; *'addama* 'to invite'; *šammə'a* 'to daub with wax'; *wallaba* 'to burn' (trans.); *yattama* 'to become an orphan'; *lawəta* 'to exchange'; *qayasa* 'to measure'; *fassa* 'to cut meat for drying'; *'abattala* 'to stop' (trans.); *'ašalləha* 'to make thin'; *'awallaba* 'to turn' (v. t.); *'ašawaka* 'to cause trouble'; *'akayana* 'to cause to betray'; *'alabba* 'to accustom cattle to plowing'; *'atbaggasa* 'to cause to move off'; *'atwarrada* 'to claim a lawsuit'; *'atnayata* 'to encourage'; *'atkarra* 'to cause to descend'.

TYPE/ PREFIXED DERIVATIVE	LARYNGEALS				SEMIVOWELS				
		INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL	INITIAL		MEDIAL		FINAL
					w	y	w	y	
'atta-B	Perfect: Imperfect : } Jussive Imperative:			'attaqallə'a lattaqallə' 'attaqallə'					
C	Perfect: Imperfect : } Jussive Imperative:	kātaba ləkātəb kātəb	hābara ləhābər hābər	qāhara ləqāhər qāhər	šār(ə)'a ləšārə' šārə'	wālama ləwələm wələm	kāwala ləkāwəl kāwəl	tāyana lətāyən tāyən	lāša ləlāšə lāšə
tə-C	Perfect: Imperfect : } Jussive Imperative:	təqābala lətqābal təqābal	ta'ārafə lət'āraf ta'āraf	təsā'ara ləssā'ar təsā'ar	təbāl(ə)ha lətbālah təbālah	təwālada lətwālad təwālad	təyāmama lətyāmam təyāmam	tələwaša lətləwaš tələwaš	təgāyasa lətgāyas təgāyas
'a-C	Perfect: Imperfect : } Jussive Imperative:	'ašābaṭə ləašābət 'ašābət		'atāq(ə)'a ləatāqə' 'atāqə'					
'at-C	Perfect: Imperfect : } Jussive Imperative:	'atrāsana lətrāsən 'atrāsən	'athādaga ləthādəg 'athādəg	'atkāhada lətkāhəd 'atkāhəd	'atmāšə'a lətmāšə' 'atmāšə'	'atwālada lətwāləd 'atwāləd	'addāwara ləddāwər 'addāwər	'atnāyata lətnāyət 'atnāyət	'atbāka lətbāke 'atbāke
'atta-C	Perfect: Imperfect : } Jussive Imperative:	'attaqābala ləttaqābəl 'attaqābəl							'attanāsa ləttanāse 'attanāse

'attaqallə'a 'to cause premature birth'; kātaba 'to vaccinate'; hābara 'to join'; qāhara 'to get excited'; šār(ə)'a 'to shave'; wālama 'to slander'; kāwala 'to guard'; tāyana 'to explore'; lāša 'to shave'; təqābala 'to meet'; ta'ārafə 'to visit'; təsā'ara 'to be deposed'; təbālahə 'to be freed'; təwālada 'to have children'; təyāmama 'to decide'; tələwaša 'to be placed'; təgāyasa 'to go (together)'; təbāqa 'to endanger oneself'; 'ašābaṭə 'to get hold of'; 'atāq(ə)'a 'to clap hands'; 'atrāsana 'to heat'; 'athādaga 'to cause to leave one another'; 'atkāhada 'to cause to quarrel'; 'atmāšə'a 'to make meet'; 'atwālada 'to assist in childbirth'; 'addāwara 'to turn' (trans.); 'atnāyata 'to encourage'; 'atbāka 'to bewail the dead'; 'attaqābala 'to pay attention'; 'attanāsa 'to listen attentively'.

12.3. TRIRADICALS OF TYPE D AND ITS DERIVATIVES (Cf. 6.2.1, 6.2.2)

	D	<i>tə</i> -D	^ʔ <i>a</i> -D	^ʔ <i>at</i> -D	^ʔ <i>atta</i> -D
Perfect	<i>balālasa</i> “to answer repeatedly”	<i>tənabābara</i> “to live a bit on A and a bit on B”		^ʔ <i>atqabābala</i> “to go to and fro”	
Imperfect/ Jussive	<i>ləbalāləs</i>	<i>lətnabābar</i>		<i>lətqabābəl</i>	

12.4. TRIRADICALS OF TYPE A WITH BOTH A SEMIVOWEL AND A LARYNGEAL (Cf. 6.2.5)

	C L SV	L C SV	L SV SV	C SV L	SV L C	L SV C
Perfect	<i>ra^ʔa</i> “to see”	<i>ħaza</i> “to wish”	<i>ħaya</i> “to recover”	<i>ba^ʔa</i> “to enter”	<i>wa^ʕala</i> “to pass the day”	<i>ħesa</i> “to be better”
Imperfect	<i>lər^ʔe</i>	<i>lahazze</i>	<i>lahaye</i>	<i>ləbayə^ʔ</i>	<i>ləw^ʕəl</i>	<i>lahayəs</i>
Jussive	<i>lər^ʔe</i>	<i>ləħaze</i>	<i>ləħəye</i>	<i>liba^ʔ/libya^ʔ</i>	<i>ləw^ʕal</i>	<i>ləħis</i>
Imperative	<i>rə^ʔe</i>	<i>ħaze</i>	<i>ħəye</i>	<i>ba^ʔ/bya^ʔ</i>	<i>wa^ʕal</i>	<i>ħis</i>

12.5. QUADRIRADICALS OF TYPES A AND C AND THEIR DERIVATIVES (Cf. 6.2.7)

	TYPE A			TYPE C		
	PERFECT	IMPERFECT/ JUSSIVE	IMPERATIVE	PERFECT	IMPERFECT/ JUSSIVE	IMPERATIVE
	<i>targama</i> “to translate”	<i>lētargəm</i>	<i>targəm</i>	<i>qarāṭaṭa</i> “to shatter”	<i>ləqarāṭəṭ</i>	<i>qarāṭəṭ</i>
<i>tə-</i>	<i>təqanṭaša</i> “to be torn off”	<i>lētqanṭəš</i>	<i>təqanṭəš</i>	<i>təbarābara</i> “to scatter” (v. i.)	<i>lətbarābar</i>	<i>təbarābar</i>
^ʔ <i>a-</i>	^ʔ <i>atamtama</i> “to reach” (v. t.)	<i>latamtəm</i>	^ʔ <i>atamtəm</i>	^ʔ <i>aqabāṭara</i> “to caress”	<i>laqabāṭər</i>	^ʔ <i>aqabāṭər</i>
^ʔ <i>at-</i>				^ʔ <i>atmasāmasa</i> “to justify oneself”	<i>latmasāməs</i>	^ʔ <i>atmasāməs</i>
^ʔ <i>an-</i>	^ʔ <i>anqatqata</i> “to quake”	<i>lanqatqət</i>	^ʔ <i>anqatqət</i>	^ʔ <i>anqalāqala</i> “to shake”	<i>lanqalāqəl</i>	^ʔ <i>anqalāqəl</i>
^ʔ <i>attan-</i>	^ʔ <i>attanqalqala</i> “to make stagger”	<i>lattanqalqəl</i>	^ʔ <i>attanqalqəl</i>	^ʔ <i>attanbadābada</i> “to make tremble”	<i>lattanbadābəd</i>	^ʔ <i>attanbadābəd</i>
^ʔ <i>as-</i>	^ʔ <i>astargama</i> “to interpret”	<i>lastargəm</i>	^ʔ <i>astargəm</i>	^ʔ <i>asnaqānaqa</i> “to shake oneself”	<i>lasnaqānəq</i>	^ʔ <i>asnaqānəq</i>
^ʔ <i>attas-</i>	^ʔ <i>attasqamqama</i> “to make groan”	<i>lattasqamqəm</i>	^ʔ <i>attasqamqəm</i>			

12.6. QUADRIRADICALS WITH SEMIVOWELS (Cf. 6.2.7.2)

	w C w C	C C C SV	C w C SV	C w C C	C y C SV	C y C C
PERFECT	<i>watwata</i> “to shake” (v.t.)	<i>fanta</i> “to separate”	<i>nawna</i> “to move” (v.t.) <i>gola</i> “to dance”	<i>dawrara</i> “to turn” (v.i.) <i>gorata</i> “to load”	<i>gega</i> “to make a mistake”	<i>deraba</i> “to tie together”
IMPERFECT/ JUSSIVE	<i>ləwatwət</i>	<i>ləfante</i>	<i>lənawne</i> <i>ləgole</i>	<i>lədawrər</i> <i>ləgorət</i>	<i>ləgege</i>	<i>ləderəb</i>

12.7. THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES—In Conjunction with Verbs (cf. 4.3)

		SINGULAR				
		1ST SING.	2ND MASC.	2ND FEM.	3RD MASC.	3RD FEM.
1ST PERSON SING. PRONOMINAL SUFF.	PERFECT		<i>qatalkanni</i>	<i>qatalkini</i>	<i>qatlenni</i>	<i>qatlattanni</i>
	IMPERFECT		<i>təqatlanni</i>	<i>təqatlini</i>	<i>ləqatlanni</i>	<i>təqatlanni</i>
	JUSSIVE IMPERATIVE		<i>təqatlanni</i> <i>qətalanni</i>	<i>təqatalini</i> <i>qətalini</i>	<i>ləqatalanni</i>	<i>təqatalanni</i>
2ND PERSON SING. PRONOMINAL SUFF.	PERFECT	<i>qatalkoka</i>			<i>qatlekka</i>	<i>qatlattakka</i>
	IMPERFECT	<i>ʔəqatlakka</i>			<i>ləqatlakka</i>	<i>təqatlakka</i>
	JUSSIVE IMPERATIVE	<i>ʔəqatalakka</i>			<i>ləqatalakka</i>	<i>təqatalakka</i>
3RD PERSON SING. PRONOMINAL SUFF.	PERFECT	<i>qatalkwo</i>	<i>qatalkahu</i>	<i>qatalk(ə)yo</i>	<i>qatlayu</i>	<i>qatlatto</i>
	IMPERFECT	<i>ʔəqattəllo</i>	<i>təqattəllo</i>	<i>təqattilo</i>	<i>ləqattəllo</i>	<i>təqattəllo</i>
	JUSSIVE IMPERATIVE	<i>ʔəqatallo</i>	<i>təqatallo</i> <i>qətallo</i>	<i>təqtelo</i> <i>qətelo</i>	<i>ləqatallo</i>	<i>təqatallo</i>

		PLURAL				
		1ST PLURAL	2ND MASC.	2ND FEM.	3RD MASC.	3RD FEM.
1ST PERSON SING. PRONOMINAL SUFF.	PERFECT		<i>qatalkuni</i>	<i>qatalk(ə)nani</i>	<i>qatlawni</i>	<i>qatlayani</i>
	IMPERFECT		<i>təqatluni</i>	<i>təqatlani</i>	<i>ləqatluni</i>	<i>ləqatlani</i>
	JUSSIVE IMPERATIVE		<i>təqataluni</i> <i>qətaluni</i>	<i>təqatalani</i> <i>qətalani</i>	<i>ləqataluni</i>	<i>ləqatalani</i>
2ND PERSON SING. PRONOMINAL SUFF.	PERFECT	<i>qatalnaka</i>			<i>qatlawka</i>	<i>qatlayaka</i>
	IMPERFECT	<i>ʔənqatlakka</i>			<i>ləqatluka</i>	<i>ləqatlaka</i>
	JUSSIVE IMPERATIVE	<i>nəqatalakka</i>			<i>ləqataluka</i>	<i>ləqatalaka</i>
3RD PERSON SING. PRONOMINAL SUFF.	PERFECT	<i>qatalnahu</i>	<i>qatalkumo</i>	<i>qatalk(ə)nahu</i>	<i>qatlawo</i>	<i>qatlayahu</i>
	IMPERFECT	<i>ʔənqattəllo</i>	<i>təqattulo</i>	<i>təqatlahu</i>	<i>ləqattulo</i>	<i>ləqatlahu</i>
	JUSSIVE IMPERATIVE	<i>nəqatallo</i>	<i>təqtolo</i> <i>qətolo</i>	<i>təqatalahu</i> <i>qətalahu</i>	<i>ləqtolo</i>	<i>ləqatalahu</i>

12.8. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES—In Conjunction with Nouns and Particles (cf. 4.2)

	SINGULAR				
	1ST SING.	2ND MASC.	2ND FEM.	3RD MASC.	3RD FEM.
NOUNS ENDING IN A DENTAL OR ALVEOLAR CONSONANT	<i>raʼašše</i> “my head” (cf. <i>katābye</i> “my book”)	<i>raʼaska</i>	<i>raʼaski</i>	<i>raʼasu</i>	<i>raʼasa</i>
NOUNS ENDING IN A VOWEL	<i>səʼəliye</i> “my photograph”	<i>səʼəlika</i>	<i>səʼəliki</i>	<i>səʼəlihu</i>	<i>səʼəliha</i>
NOUNS ENDING IN THE VOWEL <i>a</i>	<i>moraye</i> “my stick”	<i>moraka</i>	<i>moraki</i>	<i>mor(ə)hu</i> (<i>morahu</i>)	<i>mor(ə)ha</i> (<i>moraha</i>)
THE THREE NOUNS: ʼaf “MOUTH”; ham “FATHER-IN-LAW”; ʼab “FATHER”	ʼafuye ʼafye	ʼafuka ʼafka	ʼafuki ʼafki	ʼafuhu ʼafhu	ʼafuha ʼafha
MONOSYLLABIC PARTICLES	ʼəčče “in me, to me”	ʼətka	ʼətki	ʼəttu	ʼətta
MONOSYLLABIC PARTICLES	ʼəlye “to me” ʼəye	ʼəlka ʼəkka	ʼəlki ʼəkki	ʼəlu	ʼəla

	PLURAL				
	1ST PLURAL	2ND MASC.	2ND FEM.	3RD MASC.	3RD FEM.
NOUNS ENDING IN A DENTAL OR ALVEOLAR CONSONANT	<i>raʼasna</i>	<i>raʼaskum</i>	<i>raʼaskən</i>	<i>raʼasom</i>	<i>raʼasan</i>
NOUNS ENDING IN A VOWEL	<i>səʼəlina</i>	<i>səʼəlikum</i>	<i>səʼəlikən</i>	<i>səʼəlihom</i>	<i>səʼəlihan</i>
NOUNS ENDING IN THE VOWEL <i>a</i>	<i>morana</i>	<i>morakum</i>	<i>moraken</i>	<i>mor(ə)hom</i> (<i>morahom</i>)	<i>mor(ə)han</i> (<i>morahan</i>)
THE THREE NOUNS: ʼaf “MOUTH”; ham “FATHER-IN-LAW”; ʼab “FATHER”	ʼafuna ʼafna	ʼafukum ʼafkum	ʼafukən ʼafkən	ʼafuhom ʼafhom	ʼafuhan ʼafhan
MONOSYLLABIC PARTICLES	ʼətna	ʼətkum	ʼətkən	ʼəttom	ʼəttan
MONOSYLLABIC PARTICLES	ʼəlna	ʼəlkum ʼəkkum	ʼəlkən ʼəkkən	ʼəlom	ʼəlan

12.9. PRONOUNS

(a) The Personal Pronoun (cf. 4.1)

PERSON	SING.	PLURAL
1ST COMMON	<i>ʿana</i>	<i>həna</i>
2ND MASC.	<i>ʿanta</i>	<i>ʿantum</i>
2ND FEM.	<i>ʿanti</i>	<i>ʿantən</i>
3RD MASC.	<i>hətu</i>	<i>hətom</i>
3RD FEM.	<i>həta</i>	<i>hətan</i>

(b) Demonstratives (cf. 4.10)

	NEAR OBJECTS		DISTANT/ABSENT OBJECTS	
	SING.	PLURAL	SING.	PLURAL
MASC.	<i>ʿalli</i>	<i>ʿallom</i>	<i>lahay/lohay/ lehay</i>	<i>lahom/lohom/ lehom</i>
FEM.	<i>ʿalla</i>	<i>ʿallan</i>	<i>laha/loha/ leha</i>	<i>lahan/lohan/ lehan</i>

- (c) The reflexive pronoun: *nos* (*nafs*), *raʿas* “self” (cf. 4.4).
 (d) The reciprocal pronoun: *həd*, *ʿad/ʿadhəd*, *nosnos* “each other” (cf. 4.5).
 (e) The possessive pronoun: *nāy* “of” (cf. 4.6).
 (f) The interrogative pronoun: *mi* “what?”; *man* “who?”; “whose?”; “whom?”; *ʿayi* (masc. sing.) “which?”; *ʿaya* (fem. sing.), *ʿayom* (masc. pl.), *ʿayan* (fem. pl.) (cf. 4.7).
 (g) The relative pronoun: *la* “who, which” (cf. 4.8).

12.10. NUMERALS (cf. 7.1, 7.2)

THE CARDINAL NUMERALS		THE ORDINAL NUMERALS	
one	<i>woro/worot</i> (masc.); <i>ħatte</i> (fem.)	first	<i>qadām, qadāmāy</i> (masc.); <i>qadāmit, qadāmāyt</i> (fem.); <i>qadāmyām</i> (masc. pl.); <i>qadāmyāt</i> (fem. pl.)
two	<i>kəl'ot</i> (masc.); <i>kəl'e</i> (fem.)	second	<i>kālə', kāl'āy</i> (masc.); <i>kāl'āyt</i> (fem.)
three	<i>salas</i>	third	<i>sāləs, sālśāy</i> (masc.); <i>sālśāyt</i> (fem.)
four	<i>'arba'</i>	fourth	<i>rābə', rāb'āy</i> (masc.); <i>rāb'āyt</i> (fem.)
five	<i>ħaməs</i>	fifth	<i>ħāməs, ħāmsāy</i> (masc.); <i>ħāmsāyt</i> (fem.)
six	<i>səs</i>	sixth	<i>sādəs, sādsāy</i> (masc.); <i>sādsāyt</i> (fem.)
seven	<i>sabu'</i>	seventh	<i>sābə', sāb'āy</i> (masc.); <i>sāb'āyt</i> (fem.)
eight	<i>samān</i>	eighth	<i>sāmən, sāmnāy</i> (masc.); <i>sāmnāyt</i> (fem.)
nine	<i>sə'</i>	ninth	<i>tāsə', tās'āy</i> (masc.); <i>tās'āyt</i> (fem.)
ten	<i>'asər</i>	tenth	<i>'āsər, 'āsrāy</i> (masc.); <i>'āsrāyt</i> (fem.)
twenty	<i>'əsra</i>	eleventh (masc.)	<i>'asər waqadāmāy</i>
thirty	<i>salāsa</i>	twenty third (masc.)	<i>'əsra wasālsāy</i>
forty	<i>'arbə'a</i>	twentieth	<i>'əsrāy</i>
fifty	<i>ħəmsa</i>	sixtieth	<i>səssāy</i>
sixty	<i>səssa</i>	eightieth	<i>samānyāy</i>
seventy	<i>sab'a</i>	ninetieth	<i>sa'āy</i>
eighty	<i>samānya</i>	hundredth	<i>mə'ətāy</i>
ninety	<i>sa'a</i> or <i>tas'a</i>	one thousand	<i>šəħāy</i>
hundred	<i>mə'ət</i> , pl. <i>'am'āt</i>		
thousand	<i>šəħ</i> , pl. <i>'ašħāt</i>		
sixteen	<i>'asər wasəs</i>		
twenty-three	<i>'əsra wasalas</i>		
five hundred	<i>ħaməs mə'ət</i>		
two thousand	<i>kəl'e šəħ</i>		
three hundred and eighty	<i>salas mə'ət wasamānya</i>		
six hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty	<i>səs mə'ət waworo šəħ sabu' mə'ət wasalāsa</i>		

12.11. PARTICIPLES, INFINITIVES, AND DERIVED NOUN FORMS

(a) Active Participles of the Triradical Verb (cf. 3.4.2)

TYPES AND DERIVATIVES	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
A	<i>qātəl</i>	<i>qātlat</i>	<i>qātlām</i>	<i>qātlāt</i>
B	<i>maqatlāy</i>	<i>maqatlāyt</i>	<i>maqatlat</i>	
C	<i>maqātlāy</i>	<i>maqātlāyt</i>	<i>maqātlat</i>	
<i>t</i> -A/B	<i>matqattālāy</i>	<i>matqattālāyt</i>	<i>matqattalat</i>	
<i>t</i> -C	<i>matqātlāy</i>	<i>matqātlāyt</i>	<i>matqātlat</i>	
^ʔ <i>a</i> -A	<i>maqatlāy</i>	<i>maqatlāyt</i>	<i>maqatlat</i>	
^ʔ <i>a</i> -B	similar	to B		
^ʔ <i>a</i> -C	similar	to C		
^ʔ <i>at</i> -C	similar	to <i>t</i> -C		
^ʔ <i>at</i> -D	<i>matqatālāy</i>	<i>matqatālāyt</i>	<i>matqatālat</i>	

(b) Passive Participles of the Triradical Verb (cf. 3.4.3)

TYPES	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
A	<i>qətul</i>	<i>qətəl/qətlat</i>	<i>qətulām</i>	<i>qətulāt</i>
B	<i>qəttul</i>	<i>qəttəl/qəttalat</i>	<i>qəttulām</i>	<i>qəttulāt</i>
C	<i>quttul</i>	<i>qutlāt</i>	<i>qutulām</i>	<i>qutulāt</i>

- Derivatives:
- A
 - t*-{ B : similar to A, B, C (cf. table above)
 - C
 - ^ʔ*a*-A : ^ʔ*əqtul*, ^ʔ*əqtəl*/^ʔ*əqtəlāt* (fem.)
 - ^ʔ*at*-A : ^ʔ*ətqətul*, ^ʔ*ətqətəl*/^ʔ*ətqətəlāt* (fem.)
 - ^ʔ*atta*-A : ^ʔ*əttəqtul*, ^ʔ*əttəqtəl*/^ʔ*əttəqtəlāt* (fem.)
 - ^ʔ*at*-C : ^ʔ*ətqutul*, ^ʔ*ətqutlāt* (fem.)
 - ^ʔ*at*-D : ^ʔ*ətqətutul*, ^ʔ*ətqətutlāt* (fem.)

(c) Active Participles of Verbs of More Than Three Radicals (cf. 3.4.4)

- Type A: *maqartālāy* (masc. sing.)
maqartālāyt (feminine)
maqartalat (masc. & fem. pl.)
- Type C: *maqarātəl*
t-A: *matqartəl*
^ʔ*a*-A: *maqartəl*

(d) Passive Participles of Verbs of More Than Three Radicals (cf. 3.4.4)

- Type A: *qərtul* (masc. sing.);
qərtəl/qərtəlāt (fem. sing.)
qərtulām (masc. pl.); *qərtulāt* (fem. pl.)
- Type C: *qərutul*
^ʔ*a*-A: ^ʔ*əqərtul*
^ʔ*an*-A: ^ʔ*ənqərtul*

(a) Infinitive Forms of the Triradical Verb (cf. 3.4.7)

Type A	:	<i>qatil, qətlat, qətlo, məqtāl, qətle, qatal</i>
B	:	<i>qattalot</i>
C	:	<i>qātalot</i>
D	:	<i>qatātāl</i>
ʔa-A	:	<i>ʔaqtalot</i>
ʔa-B	:	<i>ʔaqattalot</i>
ʔat-A	:	<i>ʔatqatalot</i>
t-A/B	:	<i>matqattāl</i>
t-C	:	<i>matqātāl</i>
t-D	:	<i>matqatātāl</i>

(b) Infinitive Forms of the Quadriradical Verb (cf. 3.4.7)

Type A	:	<i>qartalot, qərtāle</i>
C	:	<i>qarātāl</i>
ʔa-A	:	<i>ʔaqartalot</i>

(c) Name of the Instrument: the Triradical Verb (cf. 3.4.8)

Type A	:	<i>maqṭali</i>
B	:	<i>maqattali</i> (Quadriradicals: <i>maqartali</i>)
C	:	<i>maqātali</i>

(d) Name of the Place: *məqtāl* (cf. 3.4.8)**(e) Name of the Product: *qəttāl* (cf. 3.4.8)**

13. INDEX

13.1. SUBJECT INDEX (A)

- Accentual system, 7
Adjective, 32; broken plurals, 33; suffixed plurals, 33
Adverbs, 84-88
Affirmation: adverbs denoting, 88
Alternative, 99
Animateness (noun), 13
Article: definite, 34; indefinite (pronoun), 44; the numeral 'one', 77
Augmentatives, 26
- Cardinal numerals, 77-78
Central vowel, 10-11
Collective, 14; plural, 16
Conative, 53
Concord (noun), 13
Conditional sentences, 98
Conjunctions, 88; coordinating, 89; subordinating, 90
Consonants: general description, 4; variation, 4
Coordinating conjunctions, 89
Copula, 46; explicative, 47-48
- Definite (article), 34
Degree: adverbs denoting relation of, 86
Derivatives of verb-forms, 51-55
Diminutives, 23
Direct and indirect speech, 96
Distribution of complex and compound sentences, 95
Distributive, 77, 100
Doubt: adverbs denoting, 88
- Ejectives, 5
Existence: verb of, 48-50; modal categories, 49
Explicative form *tu*, 47
Explicative copula, 48
- Fractions, 79
Frequentative, 53
Futurity, 68-69
- Gender (noun), 12
- Hypotactic relations in the sentence, 95
- Imperative, 68
Imperfect, 69; plus auxiliary (*halla* or *'ala*), 71; in construction with *nabra* and *ṣanḥa*, 72
Indefinite (pronoun), 44
Indirect speech, 96
Infinitive, 30; as verb complement, 97
Instrument (name of), 31
Intensive, 100
Interjections, 93
Interrogative adverbs, 87
Interrogative pronoun, 42
Intonation, 8
Iterative, 100
- Jussive (and imperative), 68
- Laryngeals, 5; verbs with pronominal suffixes, 40; verbs with laryngeals, 58-59, 62, 65
Liquids, 5
- Manner: adverbs denoting relation of, 86
Modal form *wa* + perfect, 99
Morphological categories of the verb, 67
- Nasals, 5
Necessity: the expression of, 51
Negation: adverbs denoting, 88; of the copula, 46; of *halla* and *'ala*, 49; of forms used in the expression of possession, 50; of the verb, 76
Noun: abstract, 32; animateness, 13; basic forms, 14; collective, 14, 16; compound, 32; concord, 13; gender, 12; numerals (qualifying nouns), 13; plural, 16-19; singulative, 15; suffixed derivatives, 23-26; verbal formations, 26-31
Numerals: cardinal, 77; distributive form, 77; fractions, 79; joint numbers, 77; ordinal, 78; qualifying nouns, 13
- Ordinal numerals, 78

- Participles, 26; plus auxiliaries, 74
 Paucatives, 25; paucative-pejoratives, 26
 Pejoratives, 25
 Perfect, 69; complexes with, 73;
 form: *wə* + perfect, 69, 99
 Pitch, 8
 Place: adverbs denoting relation of, 86;
 name of, 31
 Plosives: voiced, 5
 Plural, 17; broken, 19; suffixed, 17
 Possession: expression of, 50-51
 Possessive particle, 42
 Prefixed derivatives of the verb, 53
 Prepositions, 80; list of, 80-84
 Preterite, 69
 Product: name of, 31
 Pronominal suffixes: with nouns and
 particles, 37; with verbs, 38-41;
 variant forms, 41
 Pronoun, 36; indefinite, 44; interrogative,
 42; personal, 36; possessive (particle),
 42; reciprocal, 42; reflexive, 41; relative,
 43; suffixes (pronominal), 37

 Quadriradical verbs, 65
 Quantity: vowels, 6, 7
 Quinqueradicals, 66

 Reciprocal pronoun, 42
 Reflexive pronoun, 41
 Relative pronoun, 43

 Semivowels, 6; verbs with pronominal
 suffixes, 40; verbs with semivowels,
 60-64
 Sentence adverbs, 87
 Singulative, 15
 Subordinating conjunctions, 90
 Suffixes (pronominal) with nouns and
 particles, 37; with verbs, 38-41
 Stress-unit, 7
 Syntax, 94-100

 Tense-system, 67
 Time: adverbs denoting relation of, 86
 Time-duration: the imperfect in construc-
 tion with verbs of, 72
 Types A, B, C, D of verbs, 52-53, 55

 Variant forms of verbs with pronominal
 suffixes, 41
 Verb: compounds, 66; the four types, 52,
 55; infinitive as verb complement, 97;
 jussive, 68; laryngeals, 58-59; morpho-
 logical categories, 67; perfect and
 imperfect, 69; prefixed derivatives, 53;
 quadriradicals, 65-66; semivowels,
 60-62; semivowel and laryngeal, 62-64;
 tenses, 67-74
 Vowels, central, 10-11; general description
 of, 6; quantity and the syllabic structure,
 7; variation, 8-11
 Word-order: in the simple sentence, 94;
 in the complex sentence, 95

13.2. INDEX OF TIGRE MORPHEMES AND PATTERNS (B)

- ʔa-, 54
 ʔabala, 67
 ʔaCaĀĀC/ʔaCaĀC, 19
 ʔaCaCCat, 21
 ʔaCCVC, 20
 -ač, 18
 ʕadad, 78
 ʕadhəd, 42
 ʕala, 48-49, 50-51, 64, 71, 73
 ʔalabu, 50
 -ām, 25, 26, 33
 ʔan-, 54
 ʔas-, 54
 -at, 18, 23
 ʔat-, 54
 -āt, 17, 33
 ʔatta-, 54
 -atit, 24
 -āy, 34, 23

 -āyt, 34
 ʔayi, 42

 bəʔətu, 81-82
 bu/bədibu, 50, 81
 baʔa, 63
 bela, 40, 64, 66-67

 CaCaĀĀC/CaCaCVC, 20, 33
 CaCaĀĀCi(t)/CaCaCi(t), 20
 CVCVC, 21

 dib, 96

 ə, 10, 11
 ʔəgəl, 68, 83, 92, 97
 ʔəl, 50, 81
 ʔəlli, 45
 ʔəndo, 73

- ʔəntu, 96
 ʔəšwo, 87
 ʔət, 82, 91, 96
 -etäy, 24

 gaʔa, 67
 gabʔa, 49, 50

 haba, 64
 ḥad, 78
 ḥəd, 42
 halla, 48-49, 71
 halla + ʔəl, 51
 ḥaya, 63
 ḥaza, 63

 ʔi-, 49, 76
 -it, 23
 ʔikon, 46

 ka-, 67, 73, 89
 kara, 84
 kəḿ, 92-93

 la-, 34, 35, 43
 lahay, 45

 -ma, 89
 man, 42
 maqatlāy, etc., 27
 maqtali, 31
 mən, 91, 96, 98
 məqtāl, 30, 31
 mi, 42

 -nna, 32
 -nnat, 32

 nabra, 72
 nafar, 78
 nafs, 41
 nāy, 42, 81
 nos, 41
 nosnos, 42

 -ot, 18
 -otāt, 17

 qatla, 52-53, 55-56
 qattala, 52-53, 55-56
 qātala, 52-53; 55-56
 qatātala, 52-53; 55-56
 qātəl, 24, 27, 33, 78
 qətul, 28, 33
 qatil, etc., 30, 33-34
 qātlāy, 29, 78
 qatāl(i), 30, 33

 raʔa, 63
 raʔas, 41

 ṣanḥa, 72, 73
 ṣoma, 62

 tə-, 53
 tətü, 48
 tu, 46, 47, 68, 95

 wa-, 69, 89, 98, 99
 wada, 62, 67
 waḥada, 64
 waḥaṭa, 64
 woro(t), ḥatte, 44
 wok, 89