

First session with məḥamad abdu: 10/10/2012

1. Says he speaks ḫamhər dialect

2. Pronouns

	1	2	3
sg m	ana	inta	hutu
f		inti	hita
pl m	ḥ ^ə na	əntum	ḥ ^ə tom
f		əntən	ḥ ^ə ten

3. Copula sentences:

{ana/inta/hutu} g^urum {ana/inta/**tu**} 'i/you(ms.)/he am/are/is beautiful'

{inti/hita} gⁱrim {inti/**ta**} 'idem.' **What about 1st person?**

{ḥna/h^utom} g^urunam {ḥna/**tom**} 'idem'

əntum???

əntən/ḥna(fm)/ ḥ^əten???

3. ' ____ am/are/is eating'; M says must say with *ḥlle-*, if not it is a question

	1	2	3
sg m	^ə balle? ḥ ^ə lleko	balle? ḥ ^ə lleka	balle? ḥ ^ə lla
f		bal ^{si} ḥ ^ə lleki	balle? ḥ ^ə llet
pl m	^ə nballe? ḥ ^ə llena	bal ^{su} ḥ ^ə llekum	bal ^{su} ḥ ^ə llow
f		bal ^{sa} ḥ ^ə llek ⁱⁿ	bal ^{sa} ḥ ^ə llaya

the [e] of ḥalle- was transcribed long or short (it is stressed).

another organization:

for 'eat' : syncretism - **this table is taken from the one above.**

	1	2	3
sg m	^ə balle?	balle?	
f		bal ^{si}	balle?
pl m	^ə nballe?	bal ^{su}	
f		bal ^{sa}	

for ḥ^əlla **'to be???'** no syncretism. Notice that this is not like the possessive paradigm.

	1	2	3
sg m	ḥ ^ə lleko	ḥ ^ə lleka	ḥ ^ə lla
f		ḥ ^ə lleki	ḥ ^ə llet
pl m	ḥ ^ə llena	ḥ ^ə llekum	ḥ ^ə llow
f		ḥ ^ə llek ⁱⁿ	ḥ ^ə llaya

4. Negation of the past tense 'was/were not eating'

	1	2	3
sg m	yibalʃakoni	yibalʃakani	yibalʃakini
f		yibalʃakini	yibalʃatni
pl m	yibalʃanani	yibalʃakumni	yibalʃawni
f		yibalʃakinni	yibalʃayani

5. past

	1	2	3
sg m	balʃako	balʃaka	balʃa
f		balʃaki	balʃat
pl m	balʃana	balʃakum	balʃaw
f		balʃakən	balʃaya

negation?

6. Future

	1	2	3
sg m	g ^ə bláʃ ^ə tu	g ^ə t ^ə bláʃ ^ə tu	g ^ə l ^ə bláʃ ^ə tu
f		g ^ə t ^ə blaʃítu	g ^ə t ^ə bláʃ ^ə tu
pl m	g ^ə n ^ə bláʃ ^ə tu	g ^ə t ^ə blǒʃótu	g ^ə l ^ə blǒʃótu
f		g ^ə t ^ə blaʃátu	g ^ə l ^ə blaʃátu

negation?

7. possessives

bet 'house'

	1	2	3
sg m	bett ¹ e	betka	betu
f		betki	beta
pl m	betna	betkum	betom
f		betkín	beten

¹I heard [bekk¹e], but M insisted on the t

8. Sentences

ella bet m^əhammadta 'this is M's house'

bet mələk/m^əhammad išše həllət? 'Where is the king's/M's house?'

banana hella ʔ^əkum? 'Do you have banana?'

ʔaywa, hella ʔ^əna 'yes we have'

banana lohoytu/ illitu 'there/here' ([tu] is a phrasal marker)

makinat išše helle(t) 'where is the car?' ([t] tends to disappear word-finally)

ana řabay makinat biye 'I have a big car (řabay 'big')

9. Imperatives

blař (notice ř in the end)

biři

bəřo

bəřa (fm pl) minimal pair: balřa 'he ate'.

Second session with Mohamed, 13/10/2012

Mohamed says he is from the village Ginda, he is 22 years old (Born in 1991). Currently working in a paint factory. It's ok but it stinks, so he would leave it if he found a better job.

Says he left Eritrea in the eleventh grade to escape the army duty. He then went to Sudan and from there to Sinai, where he paid 350 (Dollars? Euros?) to get to the border (his family paid for him). Then he ran to the other side. A bus picked him up and placed him in Southern Tel Aviv, where he didn't know anyone (being of the Tigré group and a muslim). Gabriel (person at the store where I met him) helped him.

M has brothers and sisters and both parents, all living in Eritrea.

1. Dialog

A: asubañ saʕa sabəʔ faðʕako. gacʔje tñapʔko. fatur balaʕko.
morning hour seven I awoke. my face washed. breakfast I ate
əkələt balaʕaku. wa-šahi seteko . ħakohu suq kareko.
porridge I ate. and tea I drank after that market I went.

B: diβ (lə)-suq mi twadde ʕalka ?
in (the)market what do (past)

A: ʕafiš izza:be ʕalko
goods buy (past)

B: mi ʕafiš t^(ə)zza:be ʕalka ?
what goods buy (past)

A: kudar izza:be ʕalko. tufaħ gʕiza:be ħade ʕalko, laki yaʕalani
fruit/veg. buy past apple.pl buy need/want (past) but there was
no

tufaħ giza:be yiħazéni
apples (to) buy don't need

g prefix = infinitive ?

b/d always lenited intervocalically?

tʕawlat 'table'

kərsi, 'chair', kərsijə 'my chair'

2. the verb 'to buy'

'buy' past

	1	2	3
sg m	za:beko	za:beka	za:ba
f		za:beki	za:bet
pl m	za:bena	za:bekum	za:bow
f		za:beñ	za:baya

future

	1	2	3
sg m	g ³ za:bétu	g ³ t ³ za:bétu	g ³ l ³ za:bétu
f		g ³ t ³ za:béjtu	g ³ t ³ za:bétu
pl m	g ³ n ³ za:bétu	g ³ t ³ za:bówtu	g ³ l ³ za:bówtu
f		g ³ t ³ za:baya:tu	g ³ l ³ za:baya:tu

Imperative

za:βe

za:βey

za:βow

za:βaya

[yitʰabe:ni]... 'don't buy': Notice the vowel is [i], not [ʰ] like in future [g³t³za:bétu], probably under influence of [y]

3. Minimal pairs

M confirms certain minimal pairs from Raz. ħal 'aunt (from one side) vs. ħa:l 'uncle (from one side)

also, baʕál 'master, owner' vs. baʕá:l 'holiday'

Does not confirm hadi 'marriage' vs. ha:di 'groom'. Says 'marriage' is həday.

gəhəy 'sadness' vs. gəha:y 'sad (person)'

4. Sentences

inta	gəha:y	inta?	la:ʔlaʔ	gəha:y	yaʕana:ni
you	sad	you	no		I'm not
			ʕaywa	gəha:y	ana
			yes		I am

Third session with M, 17/10/2012

1. Adjectives

M	FM	PL	
ʕabí	ʕabáy	ʕabayí	'big'
reyĩm	rayam	reyeyĩm	'tall'
ħačʔír	ħačʔar	ħačʔayĩr	'short'
riyuħ	riħət	riħam	'happy'
guhuy	gihit	gihyam	'sad'
ħ ^u mum	ħ ⁱ mmit (M says one [m])	ħ ⁱ muma:m	'sick'
ʕufuy	ʕufit	ʕufyam	'healthy'
ha:g ^ɔ l	ha:g ^l ə(t)	ħa:glam	'poor'
ta:jir	ta:jira(t)	ta:jiram	'rich'
keBi(d)	kəbdīt	kubudam	'difficult'
qalil	qalal	qaleyĩl	'easy'
gaha:y in 2nd session 'very sad person' gahay = marra guhuy			

2. Colors

mi	hibrtu	illi?	illi	c'aʕada-tu	'white-is'
what	its colour	this?	this		
				c'alim-tu	'black'
				qayih-tu	'red'
				šagray-tu	'yellow'
				ħamaš ga:nay	'like ground'
				axdar	'green/blue'
lə-t'awlat	axdarta				
the-table	green-is				
lə-t ² a:get	ħamaš	ga:nayi	ta??		
hat	'ground color'				

3. Sentences: superlative and comparative constructions (**is this all?**)

inta	minye	treyĩm	'you're taller than me'
		t ³ ħač'er	'shorter'
ana	lə-reyĩm-ko	ana	'I am the tallest'
	-ka	inta	

dumu mi tħaz-i həllek-i 'what does the cat want?'

illi c'aʕada yukoni 'it's not white'. (maybe yukonni)

4. verbal paradigm

'play' present progressive

	1	2	3
sg m	ʔtalhe hʔlleko	tʔtalhe hʔlleka	lʔtalhe hʔlla
f		tʔtalhay hʔlleki	tʔtalhe hʔllet
pl m	ʔntalhe hʔllena	tʔtalhaw hʔllekum	lʔtalhow hʔllow
f		tʔtalhaya hʔllekiṃ	lʔtalhaya hʔllaya

past

	1	2	3
sg m	talheko	talheka	talha
f		talheki	talhet
pl m	talhena	talhekum	talhaw
f		talhekən	talhaya

4. M presenting himself

ana mħammad ana. mĩn gindaʔ^a mat'oko. dib sanat ʔalʔf wə-saʔemet
I M come in year 1000 and 900

wa:-tsʔin
and 90

wə-ħatte	dyeb	gindaʔ ^a	walladko.	(a)ħakwa(ha)	dib	gindaʔ	ʔabeyəko
and one	in	G	I was born	after that	in	G	I grew up
wə-ḏib	gindaʔ ^a	darasko.	ħakwa	ħakwo	ʔasʔr	saB ^u ʔ	ʔsanat
		I studied		after	10	7	
madrasat	ka:l aydrijjat	gindaʔ	ʔdərəs	ʔalko.			
school	secondary		I study	I was			
wə-gindaʔ	mana:bərət	daħantu,	g ^u rum	ʔnnabər	ʔalko.		
	life/living	good/ok	nice/b-ful	I live	I was		
wə-ʔḏi:ma	dib gindaʔ	gimbər	ħa:ze.	wa-ħakwa	dib--	mĩn	
and now ¹	g	to live	want	and after that	in	from	
Eritrea	əsək	etobyā	fogorko,	wu-mən	etobyā	əsək	
			I passed				
so:dan	fogorko	kalət	marat,	wu-mĩn	sodan	məsĩr	
		second	time				

¹ now, too

taʔadeko	wu-mīn mäsīr	b ^ə - yisraʔel	ħaləfko,	wə- ʔəze dib	israʔel	nab(b)rille:ko
pass through			pass directly			
w-israʔel	ya(ʔ) ^ə ni	daħantu,	bordu,	wu-šaḳe	wa::	ʔnabbər
almom	ʔayš	elleko	wa:- almhum	mana:brat	daħantu	wa-ynšal ^ə
generally	life	generally				
ʔadna	naʔaḳabbīl	yingabbi	wə- israʔel	meʔenin	daħantum	hum
our- place	we-return	maybe				

dwadorhe wälle-- lawahad^əm (mirin) yikun alayi wəse alħamdulla mbərīl u-maʔasalama

4th session with M : 20/10/2012

1. Noam tries to formulate sentences, M correct him, N writes down

ʕaskaryet	kareko	wedib ʕaskar	salas sanat	wadéko.	ħakwo salas sanat
milit.training	I went down	army		I did	
ajye	ʕaqbolko	wəħakwa yunivérsiti	əmbadko.	wəħakwo sus sanat	faransa gesko.
chez-moi	I returned		I started	6	France I went
wədib faransa	ʔnabbər	ʕalko	wəħakwo sabuʕ sanat,	ajye ʕaqbodko	
	I live	past			

2. paradigm

'pass' past

	1	2	3
sg m	fogorko	fagarka	fa:gra
f		fagarki	fagrat
pl m	fagarna	fagarkum	fogrow
f		fagarkən	fagraya

'run' present habitual

	1	2	3
sg m	ʔsʕe	tʔsʕe	lʔsʕe
f		tʔsʔi	tʔsʕe
pl m	nʔsʕe	tʔsʔu	lʔsʕu
f		tʔsʕiya	lʔsʕiya

check this paradigm for epenthetic vowel!!

kəl nʔhar ʕasʔr kilometʔr ʔsʕe 'I run 10 kilometers every day'

išše təsʕe? 'Where are you running?'

'buy' habitual present

	1	2	3
sg m	ʔzza:be	tʔzza:be	lʔzza:be
f		tʔzza:bay	tʔzza:be
pl m	nʔzza:be	tʔzza:bow	lʔzza:bow
f		tʔzza:baya	lʔzza:baya

ħalib ʔzza:be ʔəgəl ĩmye 'I buy milk for my mother'

3. possession

kam ħaw bəka ? ana salas ħaw bye.
How many brothers do you have? I have three brothers.

kam dumu bəka?
'how many cats do you have?'

h^utu buzuħ sala:dib u / ħita ba: (... bom, ban)
'he has much money'

hutu sala:di alabuni (alaba:ni, alabomni etc.)
'not have'

hutu buzuħ sala:di alabuni, lakin ħud sala :di bu
'he doesn't have a lot of money, but he (still) has some money.'

4. Sentences of opposition and possession in past

dumu ŷalatiye, la:kin motat 'I had a cat, but **(she)** died'
ka^ʔb ŷalaiye, la:kin mota '... a dog, but **(he)** died'

dumu ŷalat ikka? ŷaywa, la:kin motat minye.
'did you have a cat? yes, but (she) died [from/on me]'

gamal ŷala ilu, la:kin mota
'he had a camel, but (he, the camel) died'

ħita ka^ʔot gamal ŷalawəla, lakin motow
'she had two camels, but they died'

hutom bi^ʔħət ənsa ŷalat^ʔlom.
'they had many camels'

5. animals

wat 'cow' be^ʔeray 'bull/ox' ka 'many cows and oxen'
naet 'female camel'

6. conditionals

bun bəka mən gabbi^ʔ wi^ʔdenna 'if you have coffee, make **(me)** coffee'

bun alabka mən gabbī? šahi wǐdenna ‘if you don’t have coffee, make (me?) tea’

bun biye mən gabbī?, wəwədyeko ikka, la:kin ?alabyeni
‘if I had coffee, I would make you, but I don’t have (coffee).’

ləħarmaz dənəbər bu mən gabbī? wanafra
‘if the elephant had wings, it would (M: surely) fly.’

5. more adjectives

M	FM	PL	
qurub	qərbət	qurub	‘near’
reyīm			‘far’
dəglal	dəglalit	dəgaləl	‘old person’
naybədir			‘old thing ???’
šabab	ša:bat	šababat	‘young person’
ħadís	ħadás	ħadéys	‘new’
?ukuy	?íkít	?ikyam	‘bad’
kufu?	k ^ə fít	k ^ə fa:m	‘ugly’
ħ ^u fun	ħ ^ə fnít	ħ ^u funam	‘hot’
brud	b ^ə rdít	brudam	‘cold, slow’
šafag	šafgət	ša:fgam	‘fast’

ħayət šafagtu ‘the lion is fast’

?alma b^urudtu ‘the turtle is slow’ [ttu]

məntələ ħəfnítta / ša:fgətta ‘the rabbit is fast’

5th session with M 26/10/2012

1. numbers

0	sifr		
1	ħatte	6	sus
2	kəlʔe	7	sabuʔ
3	salas	8	sama :n
4	arabaʔ	9	seʔ
5	ħaməs	10	ʔasər

2. Sentences upon meeting

kofo həlle:ka ? mašala gurum həlle:ko.
How are you ? braux ha-shem good I am

- This sentence is pronounced by both men and women. It seems to me that gurum here is an adverb of sorts. M: if a woman says gʔrim, it means “I am beautiful”.

3. Sentences for elicitation:

bira kofo təbəl? bira bira əbəl
“bira” how say.2sg “bira” “bira” say.1.sg
‘how do you say *bira*? ‘bira I say bira’.

kaləb kofo təbəl ʔəb ɪngliz? kaləb ʔəb ɪngliz dog əbəl.

illi mi lətbahal? illi bira lətbahal
that what call.3sg **pass**
‘how is this called? this is called bira’

4. Story of noam going to the store.

ħatte naha:r, noʔam din dīkka:n mat’a:.

‘one day, noam came in the store’

gʔilla baʔal dīkka:n “abwaš wə-bya:ti wə-bəʔəd ʔafiš kašinət təʔəze:be” be:le-yu
to the owner store glasses and plate and other goods kitchen sell.2sg. told.3sg.-3sg
“Do you sell glasses and plates and other kitchen goods” he said to the shop keeper.

“ʔaywa, ʔəze:be.” be:lat la-ʔiʃit dib la-dīkka:n **šaqe:**.

‘yes, I sell, said the woman who works in the shop’

“ke tarʔini ʔtu?”

‘can you show me them?’

ʔaywa, lo hoyto.

‘yes they are there’

wa-noʔam gʔlʔrʔayu ge:sa gʔlla bya:ti.

and-noam to-see.3sg went for-the plates

wə-ħako-ha noʕam qayħit biya:ti bas raʔa

and-after-that red plates only see 'and then N saw only red plates'

bəʕəd axdar həlla ikki?

other green/blue be.3sg ik-you.fem 'do you have other green ones?'
itic'bat ič'eni

sorry~ I.am 'I am sorry' (this is probably *ič'e-ni* 'to/in me-ni')

it la-ħalfa sa:men, axdar biya:ti ʕala-iye la:kin kʰllu zabba.

in the-past week green plates were3sg-to.me but all-3sg sold.pass?

mumkən dib la-matt'i sa:men (gənhamti-tu) gillehalle-ʔiye tu.

maybe in the-coming week ('I will bring') I.will.have-it3sg tu.

mədol sa:men thama:t'i

when week bring.2sg.fm 'when in the will you bring'

ʔtnin aw altalat. la-lhamatt'i inna kam-mat'a

Monday or Tuesday. the-supplier to.us when-come.3sg

dawʔli ičč(e) la-biyatti kam-rakabki.

call.2.sg.fm me the plates when-receive.2fm.sg.

nay assubuħ dawalki ičče mən gabbiʔ, nay mse gəmt'a tu.

in morning called.sg.fm me if in afternoon will-come tu.

ʔaywa, gīdawl ətka tu. dəmrat kahabni (ħədag iye)

ok, will-call.1sg prep.you.3sg tu. number give-me (leave me).

Baraka lafik, maʔesalama

thank you, goodbye

la-mat'i la-həlla sa:men nətra:kab

the-coming week meet.each-other.1pl???

4. The difference between səmhər and mən̄sa

səmhər

č'əfər c'əfər

5. aw or ow: 3pl past suffix

M confirms that sometimes he says *-ow*, sometimes *-aw*. He rules out forms if I pronounce them with *aw* where he does with *-ow*. **added forms from other sessions.**

aw

qant'aw 'get up'

taʕanaw 'load'

balʕaw 'eat'

yabsaw 'dry (intr., for person)'

šaqaw 'work'

wadaw 'do'

ow

ħat'bow 'wash'

warsow 'inherit'

dorow 'spin (intr)'

kətbow (write)

below 'say'

həllow 'be' not sure!!!!

talhaw 'play'

za:bow

'buy'

fogrow

'leave'

gesow

5. paradigms of 'say'

past

	1	2	3
sg m	belko	belka	bela
f		belki	belat
pl m	belna	belkum	below
f		belkĭn	belaya

present habitual

	1	2	3
sg m	^ə bəl	t ^ə bəl	l ^ə bəl
f		tĭbli	t ^ə bəl
pl m	^ə nbəl	t ^ə blo	l ^ə blo
f		t ^ə bla	t ^ə bla

6. The verb 'go'

M says:

ĩšše geys balanni 'tell me where are you.sg.ms going'

geysi balini (to a girl)

geys balunni (to many people) notice no pl marking on 'go'; M says impossible

	1	2	3
sg m	gesko	geska	gesa
f		geski	gesat
pl m	gesna	geskum	gesow
f		geskĭn	gesaya

M says 2,3 prefixes are no good for this verb

for instance:

k^ul n^aha:r dib dikka:n geys, *tgeys 'every day you.pl go to the shop'

	1	2	3
sg m	^ə geys		geys
f		geysi	geys
pl m	^ə ngeys		goyso
f		gaysa	gaysa

these V-harmonies were each verified thrice

6. Intensification of verbs

Unattested in “Habbab”. Said to be perfectly fine for M:

qarač’ko ‘I cut’ => qa:rač’ko ‘I cut a lot’
=> qararač’ko ‘I cut a lot’ (M says there is no difference)

darasko ‘impossible to intensify’

nat’arko ‘jump’ => nat’at’arko ‘jump (plurac.)’

taʕanko ‘load’ => taʕaʕanko ‘load (on many donkeys)’

eg. ədəg taʕanko ‘I loaded (the) donkey’

udug taʕaʕanko ‘I loaded several donkeys’

6th session with Muḥamed, 4/11/2012

1) Story I invented and M translated

A husband and his wife were walking in the street

ʔnas weʔissitu dibba šareʔ goyso ʔalaw

In the street corner they met two friends, also husband and wife.

dibba ša:reʔ rəkən kʷʔut malhit rakbow, hutomma ʔnas we-ʔissitom

“where are you going?” they asked them

išše goyso həllekom? saʔalowom

“to the bus station. to take the bus to Tel Aviv.”

ʔsək mawgaf atabus. Atabus gʔnənsaʔ ʔsək TA.

“why are you going there?”

əgəmmi goyso həllekom

“because we have family there, and my brother’s son is getting married”

“ʔadna dibu sabbat (because) həllaw, wə-wad ḥuye lehedde həlla.”

“congratulations! Do you have much family in TA?”

“asamaykum! buzuh ʔadota bokum dib TA?”

“yes, we were both born in TA. We met there, too”

“away, klitna dib TA walladna. dib Tel Aviv ra:kabna Kaman”

“you lived there too? For how long?”

“dibu tnobro? kəl ʔay wadekum (= you did)”

“we lived there together for four years. But then we found work in Jerusalem,

“arbaʔ sanat wadena dibu (kəl). la:kin dib yerušalayim šuqul rakabna,

so we moved.”

sabbat illi gʔursalem ge:sna”

“and do you like Jer?”

“wə-jerusalem fatekuma?”

“yes! It’s beautiful, and the people are nice, they always help us and want to be our friends...”

“aywa! gʔrimta, wə-la-šaʔab gʔrumtu, kəl marra saddena wə-malhitna gʔləgboʔo ləḥazu.²

they are clever, too. you agree?”

wə-fadayibtom. fahamkum?

“No, I never thought people are nice (here)”

“la. ana adam gʔrumam həllaw inde biyelko ḥassəb yaʔalkoni” unclear syntax!!!

“Do you know TA?”

“TA taʔomora?”

“No. we’ve never been to TA”

“la:la. TA yaʔalna:ni”

“You should go visit TA. It is a very interesting city”

“laḏem TA giso ka-raʔawa. marra (=very) latatḥaze madinata.”

“maybe next month we will go. Everybody says we should.”

² ləḥadu

“mumkən lamatt'i wareħ g-ni-gis-tu.³ ʕəy³nafar laðem niyigis ləbəl.”

“When will you come back from TA?”

“mədol gətaʕaqbəlto mən TA?”

“On Friday. We will stay there for two nights.”

“jɪmʕat. kalʔe la:li gənətnaħtu”

“If you are coming back on Friday, maybe you will go with us to the new film?”

“jɪmʕat ʕaqbalkum mən gabbiʔ, mumken missina gətigi:so tħazo dibla ħadis filəm?”

“yes. Our friends saw it and said that it was a very good film! This is a Good idea!”

“aywa. malhitna raʔawa wə-marra ġrīm fīlm be:low. ʔlli g^urum ħasabtu!”

“very good! So call us on Friday when you come back”

“gurum. dawlo dibna jɪmʕat kam ʕaqbolcum”

“ok, no problem.”

“kuys, mišklat alabuni”

2. More Conditionals

my parents went to france but they forgot to bring coats.

walde:nye faransa gesow, la:kin kabut rasʕaw.

If they had known it would be cold, they would have brought coats.

brəd kam-bətt-u laʔomro mən gabbiʔ, ka:but wa-lakamow

I forgot her name, but if you give me 5 minutes I will call a friend

ana səma rasaʕakwa, la:kin ħaməs daʔik ħabkini mən gabbiʔ, dib malhayə wə-dawəlko

If you break a plate, you will pay for it.

biyati sabarka mən gabbiʔ gətəkfol:tu.

3. Body parts

sg	pl	
ʔʕin	a:zan	‘ear’
ʕəni	ʕənta:t	‘eye’
íde	idéyi	‘hand’
injabet	anjab	‘tooth’
ʔgr	a:gar	‘foot’
anf	anfotat	‘nose’
af	afeč	‘mouth’
leħe		‘cheek’
č’eger, č’egrat (sgtiv)		‘hair’

³ what??? g=>y between i’s. /nigis-to/... but then again see further in the sentence...

kabd		'belly'
t'ab	at'bay	'breast'
ras	arus	'head'

4. My head hurts

ana ħmam ras biye 'I have a head sickness'

rašye wajjaʿani həlla 'my head hurts (me) now'

ʿəntyə wajjaʿani həllet (notice -tye because fm., but not in singular)

ʿgrye wajjaʿani həllet (no tye although fem.)

anfka wajjakalla? la:la wajjaʿani yehəllani

your nose hurts ? no, it doesn't hurt.

5. misc.

ana mədaris gəgbaʿ ħa:ze 'I want to be a teacher'

lakkomko, lakkamka... lakkamow 'bring'

wajʿaw 'hurt'

kafalko..kafla 'pay'

ʿamarow 'they knew'

sadow 'they helped'

nasʿaw 'take'

saʿalow 'they asked'

7th session with M - 09/11/2012

In this session, I tried to solve the harmony with the suffix -ko and the allomorphy -aw~ow. I then looked at sentences expressing cause, and some more conditionals.

1. 1sg perf. vowel harmony and 3pl allomorphy

I put down all verbs beginning in <d> from the Littman dictionary, and asked M to pronounce them in the relevant forms. However, it quickly became clear that the phenomenon has to be detected in fluent speech, because M rejected me writing the words with o. He said that the vowel is a, and pronounced the word again with a. But when asked to pronounce the same word in a sentence, the o reappeared. As for the 3pl, I think some inconsistencies in aw~ow.

The forms here are thus not to be counted on for generalizations, they have to be heard in natural speech.

This is a list of all the forms M knew and conjugated.

dahara 'be low, little' 'go down'	dahərko, dahərow	r
dahasa 'tread down, make even'	dahasow	so
daha: 'cry, call'	deheko, dahow	ho
dala 'ready' 'to prepare'	da:leko, da:low	lo
dalma 'arrive suddenly' 'to be selfish'	dalomko, dalmow	mo
dala:qama 'to chew quickly (for cow)' 'not only'	dala:qamko,	
daħara 'to bless'	daħarko, daħaraw	r
dammara 'to make lose, damage'	dammarko, dammaraw	r
damsasa 'to sweep away'	damsasko, damsasaw	s
damqa 'to shine brightly'	damaqko, damqaw	q
admaʕa 'to meet, to reach' 'toinvest effort'	-aw	ʕ
damač'a, admac'a 'to sound, speak' 'shout'	admac'ko, -aw	č
adrara 'make give milk or give food in evening'	adrərko,adrəraw	r
darraba 'to fold' 'to pack'	darəbko, darrəbow	bo
darba: 'shoot, throw'	darbe:ko, darbow	bo
daraga 'to למהול'	darəgko, dargaw	g
daqaba 'be able, endure' 'to continue stronger'	daqabko,daqabow	bo
daqaʕa 'clap hands' t'a:qaʕa,	at'a:qʕako, -aw	k
dabdaba 'lock well, cover in the ground' 'make flat'	dəbdəbko, dəbdəbow	bo
danzaza 'grow hard/stiff' 'become numb'	dənzəzko, dənzezow	zo
dangara 'be slow, hesitate' 'come late'	dəngarko, dəngaraw	r
dakkala 'request forgiveness',	dokkolko, dakkalaw	l
dakama 'grow weak' (tigrigna word),	dokomoko, ???	
dakka 'rub something against, grind'	ɖakakko, dakkaw	(k)k
(here, there was clearly no rounding of neither stem vowel in 1sg, even though [k]. Maybe the -clearly pronounced, morphem-bounday - geminate blocks it?)		
daqa 'remain, last, grow very old' 'be smaller'	daqako, daqaw	q
dayafa 'beat (drum)'	dayəfko dayəfaw	f
dagħa 'rush along'	dəgaħko, dagħaw	ħ
dagma 'repeat'	dəgəmkko, dagmaw	m

dagsa 'to smooth' 'to make mistake'
daggafa 'support'

dəgəsko, dəgaw g
daggafko, daggafaw f

The conclusion **for the 3pl** is: the only consistent rounder is [b]. inconsistencies: [m], [l], [s].
The conclusion for the 1sg is: I have to hear the forms in context. In the above, harmony seems to depend on surrounding consonant, but it doesn't always propagate beyond the preceding syllable. it does if the preceding consonant is [k]: /k/ is transparent.
It is probably not the effect of labialized consonants, because of **dalomko**. As I said, natural speech needs to be observed.

2. Cause and conditional

M was presented with the English sentences and was asked to translate.

I don't know where he lives because I'm not his friend
yaʔamarkoni iʃʃe kam nabbər, malahayu sabbat yəʔana
neg-KNOW-him-NEG where ??? LIVE (no pref), friend-of.him BECAUSE NEG-I.

They wanted to be French, because they liked Paris
hətom fransín gələgbo ʔazow, pa:ris sabbat fattu

Because he wanted to be a doctor, he went to university in Asmara
hutu doctor gələbba sabbat ʔaza, yuniversiti asmara ge:sa

we cannot meet you tomorrow at 6, because our child is sick and we have to go see a doctor.
fajr saʔa səs yī-n-rakbaka-ni, jəna:n-a sabbat ʔa:ma wə-doktor g^ə-n-arʔy-u-tu.

I don't think we should go for a walk, because I heard it will rain today
gī-ni-yis ya-ʔasab-na-ni, dəlam gə-t^ə-mt^ə-a-tu sabbat samʔako
fut-we-GO NEG-Think-we-NEG, RAIN-3-COME-tu BECAUSE HEAR.perf-I

You took my shirt and dirtied it, because of you I can't go to the wedding!
kamišet-če nasʔaya wa-arsaʔaya, həday y^u-ges-ko-ni sabbat-ka

She wanted to make a cake, but she couldn't, because she didn't have sugar
hīta kek gi-t-ide ʔad-et, la:kin yi-qadr-at-ni, ʃikkar sabbat yi-ʔala b-a.
she cake to-3fm-do want.past-3fm, but neg-be.able.past.3fm-neg NEG-be.past b-3fm

If you study well, we will succeed
marra ʔafaz-na mən gabbīʔ, g^ə-n^ə-ʔagab-tu
well study.past-1pl **mən gabbīʔ** fut-1pl-win-tu.

If we had studied well, we would have succeeded.

ኸ³na marra hafz-am mən ³ngabbi?, wə-ŋagab-na interesting!! what is the suffix -am??

(A generalization) If students study well they would succeed, but if they stay at home and watch tv all day, they will fail.

ladarasa marra ləħafzo mən gabbo, wəŋakbow, la:kin bet ləwəŋalow wə-tələfizyon laŋafu kəl yom mən gabbi?, wesəqt'aw.

If you worked harder you would make more money
marra šaqeka mən gabbi?, sala:di bəzəħ wəwədəka

8th session with M

1. Conjugations

rakba 'find'

rakobko, rakabka, råkbow... (also transcribed røkobko, must check recording)

kəl nha:r, ĥaddas ĥajet ərakkəb, ənakkəb, rakkeb (hutu)/rakkeb (inta), rakbi, rakbo
'every day, I find a new thing'

also kəl dol 'always'

ana igəlka(ki, kum, ken) ĥa:de əgel la-ĥaddas kombiter g^ət^ərkab, g^ən^ərkab, gⁱtⁱrkabi, gⁱtⁱrkobo,
gⁱtⁱrkaba, g^ərkab, g^əl^ərkab, g^ət^ərkab, g^əl^ərkobo

inšalla ĥaddas kombiter ərakkəb

gba? 'be, happen, become'

ana mədarəs g^əl^əgba? ĥadde (/l/ not from 1st person, but from ^əgəl)
g^ət^əgba? tĥadde

'I want to be a teacher'

ĭnta kəm řabe:ka 'when you grow (when you grew),' + the above.

To transform sentence in the past, one say the same as the above, with the addition of řalko, řalka etc.

fatte 'like, love'

ana Jerusalem ^əfatte (if past, then + řalko)

ĥna ^ənfatte

ĭnta fatte

ĭnti fatti (these are judged impossible with t prefix)

The rest is in the past:

hətom J fottu řalaw

hətən J fatya řalaya

hutu fatte řala

ĥĭta fatte řalat (no prefix t)

əntən fatya řalkən

əntum fottu řalkum

ĭnta J mən tər?eya we-fatekaha 'once you see J you will like it'

ĭnti we-fatekya

əntom	we-fatekuma
əntən	we-fatekənaha
ana	we-fatekuwa
ħna J	ənrʔeya we-fatenaha
hutu	lərʔeya we-fataya
hīta	tərʔeya we-fate:ta
hutom	lərʔuwa we-fatawa
hətən	lərʔiyaha we-fatayaha

faham ‘agree’

this verb does not present any particularities
fahama, (g³)l³faham

haba ‘give’

ana əgəl noʔam kulʔot šekel habkuku ‘I gave noam two Sh’

ana lola habkuwa

lola habatanni ‘L gave me two Sh’

L&N habawni

L&N habowu ^əg³l moħamad ‘L&N gave M 2 Sh’

this difference was verified several times

L&N habow ‘L&N gave (we don’t know to whom)’

mən habeka uttu? ‘who gave you this?’

2. First steps in Israel

ana dib Israel dib- šhar ʕasər wakəlʔe alfe:n wəʔasru ħatte mat’oko

I came to Israel in the 12th month of 2011,

dib šhar ʕaserwakle alfe:n ʕasər waħatte kammate:ko (u-mənmə ħakošer-)

in the 12th month 2012 (in the) camp entred

(...)mənnə ħakošher dib Israel tel abiv fogorko udib ħakošher šuqul⁴ ambadko

from it, after one month, I started work in Tel Aviv in Israel

wedibba, dibba šuqul šharyat əšaggelleko

and in the work(place) I work monthly (=on a monthly salary)

w-al-m^uh^um dib israel ^ənnabbər həllena.

now **we** live in Israel now

wə-israel-ma jamaʕat biħam **rakobko** dibu wə-məsəl (with) bizħam taʔamarko

And I also found many friends in Israel in it, and I made-acquaintance with many,

w-aze-ma he:llena dibu əssək la-gabʔat gabbiʔ

and now,too we are in it until something happens (עד שיקרה המקרה)

wə-ʔəze dib israel noʕam rokobko (wu-məse-) wə-naʕam yeʕni...

and-now in israel I met noam, and noam...

⁴ this q is voiced, actually almost an ʔ

tigreyt læsaʔalani u-tigreyt saʔadulleko alm^uh^um,
asks me I help him now
tigreyt læħafez halla w-utu yani israelitu--
studies Hebrew now, and he's Israeli.

3. About wedding in Eritrea

ana eze ab heday dib Eritrea gələ-thage:-tu. dib Eritrea heday ab awald.
I will now tell about wedding in Eritrea. in Eritrea wedding for girls.

walat mən ʕasr ħams sanat gac'laʔal tithadde wə-mən ʕasr ħams sanat inde (yi)gabbii?
girl from 15 years upwards get-married and from 15 year so will not happen
It may also be not from 15

mən ʕasr ʔarbaʔ ʔaw-ma-hiye mən taʕabbe sīnnat adam mən gabbii?
from 14 or-also hye from she.grows thought man if,
mən ʕasər arbaʔ gac'laʕal lhəlla ʕamər dibu tithadde.
from 14 upwards be.3ms age in.it get.married.3fm.

I don't understand the syntax here!

dibba haday yaʕani- a:: abuha lhamat'e-la
in the wedding her father gives her.

tisʕin məmət abuhan lhamat'elan.

90 % their father gives them
wa-la-tarfaya hiyeni- nawsan talhamat'a-ma həllaya.
and-the-rest themselves give.reflx are

la:kin nwasan lalhamat'a buzuħ dol maša:kul-tu lasa:dfan.

but themselves give many times problem ??? syntax unclear!

wa-ħare:ma hiyeni əb č'aqat nay abuhan (abba nay abuhan) ləthadaya
and after-that they? by force of their father (by of father) get.married.3fmpl

lawalat k^ul dol məsəl abuha t-haday yi-tfaham-ni,
the girl every time with her father in wedding not-agree,

ləfahama wa-la? ye-ffahama-ma həllaya
agree and-?? notagree-also

sababu hyeni laħet'an sabbat yi-l? amra-hu
because they? the-groom because not-know.3ms-him.

ma-bzaħan laʔabya
most of them refuse??

la:kin a:kər abba abuhan laħibb-an-tu č'agat abbu ləthadaya
but in.the.end for/by their father give-them force by-it get.married.3sg

dib hiday yani addam bižiħ let'akkab, baleʕ wə-sette (almuhum)
in wedding man many gather eat and-drink

wa-lətalhe wa-ʕaqad waddu we-heday abbu (litfan- abbu- lit-) tamum (better: lətfə:gər)
and-enjoy and-ceremony do and-wedding by-that finished (ends)

9th+10th sessions with Mohamad

1. Sporadic stuff

ĩlli gaftar taʕa^omù^or-u? 'do you know this book?'
yaʔomruni 'I don't know it'

naʕam hiye ma bela? 'What did noam say?'

2. Some plurals of nouns that are different from Palmer's are listed in my notebook, but on the whole M agrees. Sometimes he provided other plurals, then when I told him about the one in Palmer, he said that it was better.

3. Ethiopian Story about a good/clever woman.

aze ana ʕatte dīgim gələda:gəm-tu.
now I one story will tell you
ʔarīs nay la-dīgim yeni la-fada:bit išit tətba:l.
name of the-story yeni the-clever woman it.is.called
ʕatte nha:r sabuʕ šaba:bat (məṣəl) əsək ʕatte madinat geysow⁵
one day seven youngsters to one village went
wa-di:ba madinat hətom kullom (ins) išsit əgəl ləħədaw-tom ge:sow.
and-in-the village they all woman to marry they went.
m^unnom laħaməs šaba:b dib ʕatta ʔakan inde goyso.
of them the-five youngsters in one place so(?) they went
la-susay ina:s yani (lasusay šabab) itkʔal ʔakan ge:sa.
the-sixth man second place went
ʕakwa lasusay əgəl ʕatte walat kamraʔa(h)a saʔalaya
then the sixth to one girl when-he saw her asked
mudol fadʕi-- mudol fadʕaki yom inti be:laya
when ---- when woke-up today you he.said.her
hita yeni, ana yom šaʔa⁶ samən fadʕako
she I today hour eight awoke
wu-ʕakwa (wu-ʕakwa) yeni, gəlʕa:raftu be:lettu.
and-then I will rest she.said.him
wə-kullom la-ħaməs-ma yeni saʔalaw mudol fa:zeʕ be:law^on
and-all.of.them the-five-too asked when wake-up they.said.tothem(fm.).
wə-kullən saʕat šaman ənfadeʕ wa-ʕakwa (ge)nnaʕraftu be:laya.
and-them(fm).all hour eight we.awake and then we (will) rest they.said
ʕakwa la-sa:bʕay mīnnom ʕatta nhar dib ʕatta bet walat šaq(q)e raʔa.
then the-seventh of.them one day in one house girl work(ing) saw.
hutu yeni saʔalaya m^udol fadʕaki yom inti be:laya.
he asked her when awoke.you todatt you he.said.toher

⁵ pronounced [gehesow]

⁶ Mo claims to have said saʕat but it sure don't sound like it.

ana yom šaŋa saman⁷ fadŋako, wa-ħakwa yaŋni, (...) baŋal šuqul ana be:lettu
 I today hour eight awoke, and then in work I she.said.tohim
 leħet'an yeni ħasba ʔalla walat fada:bit inde be:la,
 the-groom thought this girl clever so he.said
 belaya may wa-habkini belaya.
 said.toher water and-you.gave.me he.said.toher.
 ħita yeni may mīnna jib(b) may habottu wa-may sata.
 she water from source gave.him and water he.drank
 ħakwa l-ħət'an mo:ra sabuŋ mīt'raq labdiba etta ba:ka beta ħadgaya u-ge:sa.
 then the-groom stick seven holes inher in vicinity her house left and-went
 ħakwa l-ʔəmma kamaŋaqbalat, ʔlli akbar tama:m t'anħini be:latta.
 then the-mother when-she.returns, this news good wait(ing).for.me she.said.toher
 la-walat yeni mi:t akbar
 the-girl what news
 əlla tərʔiya lhəllek(i) mora ab sabuŋ (jibba)⁸, ʔlli kabar ʔlli
 this (that)you.see.it you.are stick with seven , **this** is the new(s)
 ʔlli nafar baŋal la-mora ħakwo sabuŋ nəha:r (g)əŋaqbultu, wə-l-həde:-tu
 that person owner the-stick after seven days will.return and-will-marry
 mīnta le-təthadde ?
 which(fem.) the-get.married
 la-tīthadde inti-tu
 the-get.married you-is
 ana gə-thadde-tu ?
 I will-get.married ?
 aywa. ħakwa ħaku: sabuŋ nəhar ləħet'an ŋaqbala, wa-heday wadaw.
 yes. after that after 7 days the-groom returned and-wedding they.did.

3. The verb 'see' with object suffixes

roŋoyu 'he saw him'
 reʔettu 'she saw him'
 roʔowu 'they saw him' to be continued next time

4. More object suffixes, with regular verb rakab 'meet'

	'him'	'her'	'them'	'you(ms)'	'you (fm)'	you (pl)
1sg	rakobkuhu	rakabkuha	rakabkuhóm	rakabkoka	rakabkoki	rakabkokum
1pl	rakabnahũ	rakabnaha	rakabnahóm	rakabnaka	rakabnaki	rakabnakum
2sg.ms	rakabkayu	rakabkaha	rakabkahóm			
2sg.fm	rakabkiyu	rakabkiya	rakabkiyóm			
2pl.ms	rakabkumu	rakabkuma	rakabkumón			
2pl.fm			rakabkənahom			

⁷ M says eight, should've been « six »

⁸ M says the word for 'sources'. it should've been *mītraq* 'holes'

3sg.ms	rakbayu	rakbaya	rakbayóm	rakbéka	rakbéki	rakbé:kum
3sg.fm	rakbattu	rakbatta	rakbattóm	rakbáttaka	rakbáttaki	rakbáttakum
3pl.ms	rakbowu	rakbawa	rakbowom	rakbawka	rakbawki	rakbowkum
3pl.fm			rakbayahóm		rakbayáki	rakbayákum

	'us'	'her'
1sg		rakabkuha
1pl		rakabnaha
2sg.ms	rakabkáanna	rakabkaha
2sg.fm	rakabkinna	rakabkiya
2pl.ms	rakabkunna	rakabkuma
2pl.fm	rakabkənana	
3sg.ms	rakbéna	rakbaya
3sg.fm	rakbáttana	rakbatta
3pl.ms	rakbawna	rakbawa
3pl.fm	rakbayana	

5. Paradigms of weak verbs

'Come' vmt'?

	past	hab.pres	fut	imperative
1sg	mat'oko	əmtatt'í?	gəmt'a?	
1pl	mat'ana	ənmtatt'í?	gənəmt'a?	
2sg.ms	mat'aka	matt'í?	gətəmt'a?	naʕa
2sg.fm	mat'aki	matt'i(?)i	gətəmt'i(?)i	nəʕi
2pl.ms	mat'okum	matt'o(?)o	gətəmt'o(?)o	nəʕəno
2pl.fm	mat'akən	matt'aʔa	gətəmt'aʔa	nəʕəna
3sg.ms	mat'a	matt'í?	gələmt'a?	
3sg.fm	mat'at	matt'í?	gətəmt'a(?)	
3pl.ms	mat'aw	matt'oʔo	gələmt'o(?)o	
3pl.fm	mat'(?)aya	matt'aʔa	gətəmt'aʔa	

Check for vowel after ? in present habitual

The imperative is 1) suppletive with respect to the verb, and 2) has the special property of having empty morph -ən- in plural.

'work' všqy

	past	hab.pres	fut	imperative
1sg	šaqqeko	əšaqe	gəšqe	
1pl	šaqqena	ənšaqe	gənəšqe	
2sg.ms	šaqqeka	šaqe	gəttəšqe	šiqe
2sg.fm	šaqqeki	šaqe	gəttəšqay	šiqay

2pl.ms	šaqqekum	šaqa	gəttəšqaw	šiqaw
2pl.fm	šaqqekən	šaqa	gəttəšqaya	šiqaya
3sg.ms	šaqqe	šaqa	gəlləšqe	
3sg.fm	šaqqet	šaqa	gəttəšqe	
3pl.ms	šaqqaw	šaqa	gəlləšqaw	
3pl.fm	šaqqeaya	šaqa	gəlləšqaya	

Habitual present is probably with geminate

11th session with Mohamed

1. III-y with object suffixes: past

	'him'	'her'	'them'	'you(ms)'	'you (fm)'	you (pl)
1sg	reʔekuhu	reʔekuha	reʔekuhom	reʔekóka	reʔekóki	reʔekókum
1pl	reʔenahu	reʔenaha	reʔenahom	reʔenaka	reʔenaki	reʔenakum
2sg.ms	reʔekahu	reʔekaha	reʔekahom			
2sg.fm	reʔekiyu	reʔekiha	reʔekiyom			
2pl.ms	reʔekumu	reʔekuma	reʔekumom			
2pl.fm	reʔeknahu	reʔeknaha	reʔeknahom			
3sg.ms	roʔoyu	raʔaya	raʔayom	reʔeka	reʔeki	reʔekum
3sg.fm	reʔettu	reʔetta	reʔettom	reʔettaka	reʔetteki	reʔettakum
3pl.ms	roʔowu	raʔawa	raʔowom	raʔawka	raʔawki	raʔawkum
3pl.fm	raʔayahu	raʔayaha	raʔayahom	raʔayaka	raʔayaki	raʔayakum

	'me'	'us'
1sg		
1pl		
2sg.ms	reʔekanni	reʔekanna
2sg.fm	reʔekini	reʔekina
2pl.ms	reʔekuni	reʔekuna
2pl.fm	reʔekənani	reʔekənana
3sg.ms	reʔéni	reʔéna
3sg.fm	reʔettani	reʔettana
3pl.ms	raʔuni	raʔawna
3pl.fm	raʔayani	raʔayana

2. Impertatives of all verbs collected hitherto

wake up	fadaʔ	fədaʔ	fɪdʕi	fɪdʕo	fɪdʕa
drink	sete	sɪte	sɪtey	sɪtaw	sɪtaya
go down	karre	karre	karrey	karraw	karraya
do	wade	w ^u de	w ^u dey	w ^u daw	w ^u daya
want	ħade				
play	talhe	talhe	talhay	talhaw	talhaya
learn	darsa	dəras	dərasi	dəraso	dərasa
habitate	nabbər				
leave	fagra	fəgar	fəgari	f ^u goro	fəgara
pass	ħalfa	ħələf	ħələfi	ħələfo	ħələfa
return	ʕaqbəl	ʕaqbəl	ʕaqb ⁱ li	ʕaqb ^o lo	ʕaqbla

run	saʕe	səʕe	saʕay	saʕaw	saʕaya
die	mot	mu:t	mu:ti	mu:to	mu:ta
fly	nafra	nəfar	nəfari	nəforo	nəfara
say	be:la	ball	bali	bolo	bala
buy	za:be	za:be	za:bey	za:bow	za:baya
show	ʔarʔe	ʔarʔe	ʔarʔi	ʔarʔu	ʔarʔiya
see	reʔe	reʔe	raʔi	raʔu	raʔaya
bring	hamt'i	hamt'i	hamt'ii	hamt'oʔo	hamt'oʔa
call	dawala	daw ^ɔ l	daw ^ɔ li	daw ^u lo	daw ^u la
find, get	rakab	rəkab	rəkabi	rəkobo	rəkaba
give	hab	habb	habi	habo	haba
leave (trns)	ħadga	ħədag	ħədagi	ħidog-o	ħədaga
get up	qant'a	qanat'	qanat'i	-o	-a
load	taʕana	taʕan	taʕani	-o	-a
dry	yabša				
wash	ħat'ab	ħət'ab	ħet'abi	ħət'ab-o	-a
inherit		wəras	wəراس	-o	-a
write	katba	kətab	kətabi	kətab-o	-a
'cut'		qarač'	qarač'i	qarač'o	qarač'a
cut a lot		qara:rīč'	-i	-o	-a
jump		nət'ar	nīt'ari	-o	-a
jump around	nəta:tər				
ask		saʔal	saʔali	soʔolo	saʔala
'take'		nīsaʔ	nīsʔi	nīsʔo	nīsʔa
get married	hedda	hede	t ^ɔ hadday	ħədow	t ^ɔ haddaya
think	ħasba	ħəsab	ħəsabi	-o	-a
know	ʔammar	ʔamər	ʔa:mri	ʔa:mro	ʔa:mra
help	sadde	səde	səday	sədow	sədaya
wait		c'ənaħ	c'īnħi	c'ənħo	-a
forget	rasaʕ	rassəʕ	rassʕi	rass ^o ʕo	rassaʕa
bring along	lakkəm	lakkəm	lakk ^ɔ mi	lakk ^u mo	-a
break	sabra	səbar	səbari	səbaro	-a
pay		kfal	kfali	kfolo	kfala
hurt	wajjaʕ	w ^u jaʕ	w ^u jʕi	w ^u j ^ɔ ʕo	w ^u j ^ɔ ʕa
like	fatte	fete	fətay	fətaw	fətaya
hear	samaʕ	smaʕ	sīmʕi	sīmʕo	-a
dirty (trns)	arsəħ	ʔarsəħ	arsəħi	-o	arsəħ-a
study	ħafza	ħəfaz	ħəfazi	ħəfazo	-a
succeed, win		ʕəgab	ʕəgabi	ʕəgobo	-a
watch	ʕafe	ʕefe	ʕefay	ʕefaw	ʕefaya
stay		waʕal	waʕali	-o	-a
agree		faham	fa:hami	fa:hamo	fa:hama
start		ambət	-ambəti	-amb ^u to	-

speak t^aha:ge t^aha:gey t^aha:gow t^aha:gaya

3. king salomon and the two women

aðe əb mələk Solomon ħatte dægəm gə-lə-dagəm-tu.

now about MS one story I-will-tell

mələk salomon la-lə-t-bahal orot fadab ina:s ʕala.

King salomon that-called one hero person was (ks that was called a hero).

MS kullom maša:kəl lasadefan dib-u goys-o

KS all-of-them problems lasadefon to-him went

(everybody always went to KS with problems)

wa-mašakl-om laħalləl əl-om ʕala.

and-their-problems he to them would-solve.

MS marra lalʔathaze ina:s ʕala.

KS very interesting person was.

ħatte la:li kilʔa ʕssit məsəl waldaya,

one night two women with gave.birth (=gave birth together)

la-ħatte ʕssit mayt waled inde hellet, la-ħatte əb ħiya:yu waldat.

one woman dead while gave birth, the-one to living_{adj} gave birth.

ħakwa dibb-a la:li (lħat-) l-ʕssit la-mayt waldat gəl-la-mayt nasʔott-u

after.that in-the night the-woman the-dead gave.birth (to)-the-dead she.took-him

(the woman that gave birth to the dead took him)

wa-gəlla-ʕssit qayara:tt-a ittu. gəl-la-mayt habat-ta wə-hita la-ħiyay nasʔat.

and-to-the-woman changed-to.her him. to-the-dead she.gave.her an-she the-living took

wa-fajir lə-ʕnīs baʔasaya lə-ħat ʕssit qayərki-ni

and-tomorrow the-women fought the-one woman you-changed-to.me

ʕlli wal-ye mayit yikoni be:lat,

this my-son dead is.not she.said

wa-l-ħatte walye mayit yikoni be:lat.

and-the-one my.son dead is.not she.said.

kilʔit-an dib nugus salomon ge:saya.

both-of them to king S went.

MS hiyeni be:laya-hu ʕlla ʕssit walye qayerat be:lattu-u.

KS then they.told-him this woman my.son changed she.told-him

wa-l-hama walye qayarat be:lattu

and-the-second my.son she.changed she.told-him.

hutu hyeni ʕaskar aðħa wa-gəlla-ʕaskar be:leyom gəlla-ħitʕan kilʔe k^ofol-u.

he then soldiers called and-to-the-soldiers he.told.them to-the-baby two halve-him

la-kfal la-ħatte tinsʔu wa-la-kfal la-ħatte tinsʔu be:lay-ən.

the-half the-one give and-the-half the-one you will give he.told-them(fm).

lə-ʕssit lə-ħatte ni k^ufol-u aywa be:let ka-samamaʕat.

the-woman the-one halve(imp.pl)-him yes she-said and and-she-agreed.

lə-issit lə-ħatte (hiye)ni laʔla, yi-tukfolu-ni be:lat.

the-woman the-one then no,no do.not-halve-him she.said.

NS (hi)yeni gəl-la laʔla yi-tukfolu-ni la-be:lat, ĩlla la-nay-aban əm-ta be:la.

KS then to-the-don't-halve-him the-she.said, this(fm) the-of-truth mother-is he said
wa-walda habaya.

and-her.child he.gave-her

12th session with Mohamed

In this session we looked at photos and M described what he was seeing.

1. Picture 13, “Badawin”

ana aze bet ba:dawin ra:šayda ?er?e-lleko. əb te:njet šaqy-a:m-tom.
I now house Bedouin see with tissue made-PL-PL
(kill?e-) salas ʔssit dib affet g^usy-a:t (dib affet-) ?er?e-lleko.
(two-) three woman in porch+/- sitted-FM.PL I see.
ħatte ʔssit ʔabay gis-it həll-et
one woman old.FM sitted-FM is-FM
wə-ħatte ʔssit wald-a ənda ħa:dlat ø-faggər həll-et barra adj or verb?
and-one woman child-hers while carried leave is-FM out
and one woman is going away (out) carrying her child
wa-ħatte ʔssit sək be:t-a t-aʔaqabəl-əl-et.
and-one woman dir. home-hers FM-retun is-FM notice difference from prev.sent.
badawin raša:yda leba:som ənda ħac'bow ətta raʔasa bet ma:dd-a:m-u həllaw.
Bedouins their clothes having washed on-the head house hung-his are.
sararit wa-galafit bi-dib-om. pl. (serre, gəlfo)?
is this the normal way of saying “they have”? here, yes.
trousers and-sweaters they have
sararit t'alayim erʔelleko (...) u-be:tum-ma b^əz^əh g^rim yikoni.
trousers black.pl I see and-they-also very nice are.not.

2. Picture 14, “bet dawarih”

aze maša:kəl dib bet dawarih ?er?elleko.
now problems in house hens I see.
be:t dawarih dib ħit ənda (anč'aqač'aq-aw sabbat) c'a:bt'-aw-an sərən ma:yat-aya⁹
house chicken in e/o while heaped-3PL.MS because keep-3pl-them half died-3PLFM.perf
because people kept them while heaped in each-other half of the house of chicken died
u-mabzeħ-an həllaya əb ħiyay-an
and-most-theirs(FM) are in life-theirs
lə-ʔina:s dibu ša:qe gəlla mayta:t dəwarih la:kk^əf-an “M: natural truth”
the-man in-it work (to)-the dead.PL.FM hens throws them
wa(gə)lla ħiya:y-a:t hiyeni c'a:bət'-an g^urum (əndawada). same
and(to)the living.PL.FM he.keeps them good.MS.SG
la-ʔina:s b^uz^uħ r^uy^uħ yahallani,
the-man very happy isn't
šakam-bo wa-č'ugor-u riym-tu, wa-ka:mbalasioni qayəħ la:bis-əlla
beard-he.has and-hair-his long-is, overalls red wear-ing.he.is

⁹ also mo:taya

3. Picture 15, “ḥaskari”

aze salas ḥaskari əb kalašin-a:t-om ø-bat'r-o ʔerʔe-lle-ko.
now 3 soldiers.PL with rifle-PL-theirs standing.PL I.see-am.1sg
wə-ət-ta ba:k-om walat əsʔen-a waqqəl, ša:lil-a reyim əb borsa:t-a ʔerʔe-lle-ko
&-in-the near-theirs gitl shoes-hers tall. hair-hers beautiful on bag-hers I.see-am.1sg
w-ut-ta qadam-om addam b^uz^uḥ ənda taʔakaba l-a:qamit halla
&-in-the front-theirs people many while gathered watch ing-SG.MS
la-salas ḥaskari la-k^uʔot minn-om ḥəbər ləba:s funtuɣ la:bs-a:m həll-ow.
the-3 soldiers the-two of-them color cloth special worn ing-PL.MS.
wa-l-ʔoro leba:s ḥaskərye:t la:bəs halla.
&-the-one clothe(s) military wear ing-3SG.

4. Picture 15, “inəs we-sabb”

aze dib ill-a surat illa addam č'ič' ləbəl ʔerʔe-lle-ko
no in this.FM picture this.FM people shout say.3.SG I.see-ing-1SG.Past
l-addam kull-u yeni idey-u inde rafʔa-tu la-wač'ič' hall-a
the-people all-his hands-his while lift-is 3PL-shouting
inəs wa-sabb kabəd ḥid (inda gabaw-tom) č'ič' le-bl-o-l-ow (...)
women &-men stomach e/o (=together) shot say-3PL-ing-3PL

5. picture 17 “ḥaməs ina:s”, first attempt

aze ḥaməs ina:s ʔeʔe-lle-ko. le-ʔina:s la-dibba magəb halla gulf-o ye-ʔela-bu-ni.
now 5 man I see. the-person the-in-the center is shirt-his he.doesn't.have
la-kulʔot dəmman həllaw talafu:n daw^ul həllaw.
the-two right are phone calling are.
wa-la-kulʔut deggalab həllaw yani la-ba:t'ro-llaw.
&-the-two left are 3PL-standing-are
lə-ʔina:s la-dəggalab halla iday-u kəra: c'a:bt-u halla.
the-man the-left is hand-his behind holds-it is.
kalʔay deggalab halla yani idayu ət naḥar-u c'a:bt-u halla (...)
2nd left is hands-his on chest-his hold-it is

la-ina:s la-dəmman halla isʔin ħitmit ča:mat o-la:bis halla.
the-man the-right is shoes closed ča:mat wear is.
wa-l-ʔina:s la-kalʔay dəmman həlla talafun la-o-tassəl həlla
&-the-man the-2nd right is phone the-call is
wa-idehu dib busot-u c'a:bta halla.
and-hands-his in front-his hold is

6. picture 17 “ħaməs ina:s”, second attempt

aze tələ qadamye ħaməs ina:s ʔerʔelleko

l-ʔina:s la-dib mægəb halla, (kami) gulfo yaʔalabuni

wa-l-ʔina:s ladib deggalab halla yani, ideyhu gərra c'a:btu-lla
behind

wa-l-ʔina:s ətta ba:ko deggalab halla, ideyu ət aflubu c'abtulla
chest

lə-kulʔot ina:s la-dəmman: n həllaw, l-ʔorot latassəl wa-la-idehu dib məlteħu ka:re halla.
cheek put

wa-la-ət-ta baaku halla laʔətassəl we-idehu dib busotu ka:re halla.

l-ina:s la-ət mægəb halla, la gulfo yaʔelabu, šabat' la:bis halla.
open.shoes

wa-la- ʔina:s dib- deggalab halla yani č'a:mat ħutum la:bəs ənda halla

wa-la-ma dəmman: n halla ya:ni ča:mat ħutum la:bəs halla.

l-ʔina:s la- deggalab halla ka:lʔay hutu-ma ča:mat ħutum la:bəs halla.

8. Picture 19 « askar wa-roket »

aze dib illi qa:damyə bīzħam ʔaskar ayčfram ʔerʔelleko
hiding

la-ʔaskar ya:ni ətta ba:kum rokət sabbat fanjarat- sabbat bagasat
fired started off

minna nafsom gə-daʔafəʔ-o ənde be:low ayčfram həllaw
to defend-PL believ hindin

la-roket kam-baggasat bīzħ tanaʔanat wa:dyət əllet,
when-go.off much smoke

dib ħot'a ʔakan wəqəl ətta ba:k-a ayčfram həllaw
soil place high

wa-əttu ayčfam həllaw yani šaʔar ya:bus-tu
grass dry

13th session with Mohamad

1. Future sentences (for grammaticalized futures project w/ Eitan ?)

a. la-qororat gə-t-udaq-tu wa-gə-tə-sabbar-ti

'the glass will fall and break'

b. fajir lə-dələ:m gə-tə-dlam-tu šadid

tomorrow the-rain will-3FM-rain-tu 'tomorrow it will rain strongly'

c. la-taḥay saʕat sus gə-tə-braq-tu,

the-sun hout six will-3FM-rise-tu

d. la:kin ʕabi gi:mat gə-tə-lbas-tu saʕat ʕasər kilʔe

but big cloud(s) will-3fm-wear-tu hour twelve

e. t'anqaq! qororatka gə-t-udaq t-ḥadde həll-et

careful! glass-yours will-3fm-break 3fm-want ing-3fm

'careful, your glass is going to fall!'

f. lazəm sala:di c'abat' sabbat guruš-ka yi-tamam-ni

need money hold, reason money-yours not-finish-ni

'you must save money, so your money doesn't end'

g. aze sala:di bi-na, la:kin sala:di-na fajir gə-tə-tmam-tu/ yi-t-tamam-ni

now money with-us, but money-our tomorrow will-3fm-end-tu/ neg-3fm-end-ni

'now we have money, but tomorrow our money will run out (/won't run out)'

f. aze ḥ^umum yə-həlle-ko-ni, la:kin fajir gəl-ḥəmmam-tu /*gəl-ḥəmmam ə-ḥadde həlla-ko

now sick neg-ing-1SG-neg, but 2morrow fut-sick-tu/ *fut-get.sick 1sg-want ing-1SG

'Now I'm not sick, but tomorrow I will become sick' (*am going to become sick)

Comment: M says that the "going to" construction is weird because one can't want to get sick.

g. dələ:m ʔala-bu-ni. əb-ʔilli yeni la-ʔela dib sa:men gə-t-ənšaf-tu / (gə-tibas-tu).

'there's no rain, with-this, the-well in week fut-2Fm-go.dry-tu/ (another poss. verb)'

h. hutu kəl nəha:r marra {lə-ḥamm^um/la-ʔekke} həll-a, {əgəl l-umut lə-ḥadde-ll-a /gə-l-umut-tu}

he every day very {3sg-sick/ 3sg-bad} ing-3sg, fut. {3sg-die 3sg-want-ing-3sg / fut.3sg-die-tu}

'every day he is {sicker/worse}, {he is going to die, he will die}'

i. ya-ḥafaz-ka-ni, gə-tə-traf-tu / gə-tə-traf t-ḥadde-lle-ka

neg-study-2sg-neg, will-2sg-fail-tu/ fut-2sg-fail 2sg-want-ing-2sg

'you haven't studied, you will fail/ you're going to fail.'

f. la-masa:rif la-mit'i? lə-həll-a sa:mən gə-lə-mt'aʔa-tu, la:kin la-ʔaskar

the-supply the-coming the-ing-3sg week fut-3sg-come-tu, but the-army

gəl-lə-ksar-o-tu la-masa:rif əndə yi-matt'i? (ni??)

fut-3-lose-pl-tu the-supply əndə not-come

'The supply will come next week, but the army will lose before it arrives'

2. Some comments on weak verbs

- M doesn't know Raz's exemplar *ge:da* 'hurry'. says it's *ge:sa* 'go'.

- Raz has loss of the quality of medial glides in closed syllables:

/dorka, ge:ska/ => [dərka, gərka]

M says this is a possible pronunciation, but that he doesn't say it like that, rather:
[do:rka, ge:sa]

vdwr: perfective: do:rko...dorow
imperfective: nothing to report
jussive: gidur, gtidur, gətuduri, gəludur, ginnudur, g^utuduro, gətudura

vgys: ge:s-ko,
əgeys, əngeys, (t)geys/i, goyso, gaysa
gigis etc. (all with gis)

vmot: mo:t-a, mo:t-at, mo:tow
imperfective like vgys
jussive like vdwr

vsym: Contra Raz, M doesn't have a vowel [o:] in the past, but a regular vsym
nor does he have an imperfective form. Alternative: adjective+həllet
jussive like vgys

vhyy: Agreement with Raz. Present paradigm with [t]. weird pl form ləhayu.

vhab: [hab] stem in perfective, [heyb] in imperfective (like geys), [hab] in jussive/fut

3. Picture 19 issit wa-fre

aze ət-illi qadam-ye issit f^ore nay wagre te-?erre ?er?elleko
in-this front-mine olive collect
lə-?issit fəre mīnna hič'at wagre la-wa:daqɑ ugl-u dib ša:nt'at ?abay tə?əry-u əllet
tree olive that-fell to-it in bag big.FM collect-it
mamkən ənde nas?at-u dib šarikat zayti ənde ge:sat (bu) (recorded [biššu] M: error)
maybe take-it to factory olive.oil go.FM b-it
zayti waddi: gabbi?
olive.oil make maybe.

5. Picture 20 “amfar bolitika”

aze tilli qadamye, kul?ot ina:s wə-ħatte issit ?ər?elleko,

kullom yani dib ideyom jenit na?eš c'a:bt-am həllaw
baby small.FM hold.SG-them.FM
wu-tta ba:-kom ?arba? šimfa wəlfam həllaw
and next to them 4 candles lighted

illom amfa:r illom, nay bolitika amfa:rtom, illom ət həryan bolitika
persons elections

gəlləθharaw sabbat laħaddu
will compete because the want/are going to.
g^urum siʔili nay-om ənda la-ʕaqarbo
nice picture of them so they-provide/produce.

6. Picture 20 “amfar bolitika”

aze tīlli qadamye ħaməs ʔissit dib kara:si gomma gisyat həlla.
plastic

(lə)-susoyt ʔissit ʔani diban ma:tti-llet.
the-sixth.FM

ləʔinis mamkən dib ʔakan ħazan gəsyat ma:sla,
sad sitted like

laʔannu ħatta minnan bakkallet
because one of them is crying
wa-kullan ʔani c'a:lim ləba:s la:bsat həllaya.
and-all black clothes

la-ħatta la-ma:tt'-an həllet ləba:s ja:nay la:bsat həllet.
one who-comes-to.them clothes grey

kullan lə-ʔinīs raʔasan ʕama:mat əb-u ʔa:sra:t-u həll-aya.
allofthem the women head-their head-cloth with tied.FM.SG-it

-u is used for reference to ʕama:mat, because ʕama:met is plural and not singular

wa- ba- ba:kan ʔani ħit'an ʔorʔolleko, wa-l-ʔinīs dib qadam be:t ʕabi¹⁰ gusyat həllaya
and next-them man i.see I see him and-the-women in front house big sitted are

¹⁰ M says better with [ʕabay] because be:t is feminine

14th session with Mohamad: 29/12/2012

'tell'	da:gama	da:gəm	da:gmi	da:gmo	-a	dagomko
'solve'	ħalla	ħilal	ħilali	ħilolo	-a	ħalalko
'give birth'	walda		wələdi			
'change'	qayara	qayır	qayərī	qay ^u ro		qayərko
'fight'	baʔasa	baʔəs	baʔəsi	boʔoso		boʔosko
'call'		adhe	adhi	adhu		adheko
'agree'	sama:maʕ	(same)				
'sit'		gasse	gassay	gassaw		gasseko
'carry'	ħadla	ħidal	ħidali	ħidolo		???
'hang'	madda	mədad	mədadi	mədədo mədodo		madako mododko
'throw'	lakfa	ləkaf	ləkafi	ləkofo		
'stop'	bat'ra	bət'ar	bət'ari	bet'aro *bet'oro		bat'aroko
'gather'		taʔakkəb	taʔakkbi	toʔokkobo		
'lift'		rəfʕa	rifʕi	rifʕo		rafʕako
'shout'		w ^u č'ač'	w ^u č'ač'i	w ^u č'ač'o w ^u č'oč'o		wač'ač'ko *wač'oč'ko
'call'		atasəl	atasəli	atasəlo		
'put'		karre	karrey	karraw		
'hide'		ayč'fər	ayč'fri	ayč'fro		
'start off'		baggas	baggasi	boggoso baggoso baggaso		
'defend'		da:fəʕ	da:fʕi	da:fʕo		
'fall'		wadaq	wadaqi	wadqo	???	wadaqko
'rain'	dalma					
'rise (sun)'	barqa					
'wear'	labsa	ləbas	ləbasi	laboso		
'finish'	tamma					
'end(trns)'	ʔatməm	ʔatmum	ʔatmimi	ʔatmomo		
'dry (trns)'	ʔanšəf	ʔanšəf	ʔanšifī	ʔanš ^ə fo		
'fail'		təraf	tərafī	tərofo		
'lose'		kəsar	kəsari	kəsoro		
'collect'		ʔəre	ʔərey	ʔəraw		
'compete'		ħare	“			
'provide'		ʕaqrəb	ʕaqrəbi	ʕaqrəbo		
'cry'		bəke	bəkey	bəkaw		
'tie'		ʔəsar	ʔəsari	ʔəsoro		

2. Some Adjectives

done	šuquy	šəqʔit			
work	ša:qi	ša:qyət	ša:qya:m	ša:qya:t	'having worked'
seated	g ^u suy	g ⁱ sit	gəsiya:m	gəsyə:t	
carried	ħa:dəl	-at	-a:m	-a:t	
hung	madəd	maddət	ma:dda:m		
dead	mayit	mayitat	mayta:m		
held	c'abət	c'abt'at			
special	funtuy	finti:t	fintiya:m		
closed	ħitam	doesn't conjugate			
hiding	ayč'far	ayčfur	ayčfrit		
high	w ^u q ^u l	w ^u qalət			
	ya:bəs	ya:bsat	ya:bsa:m		
small	nuʔuš	nʔiš	naʔiš		
lit	wuluʔ	wəlʔət	wəlʔa:m		

3. What the hell is going on with person markers in the prefix paradigm

There are two distinguishable groups

group 1: t- almost inaudible, in fact optional
l- impossible

group 2: both t- and l- obligatory

ex of group 1: blʔ, qrč, t'nħn, fgr, kfl, nbr, ktb, dgm **no derived verbs!**

In group 2: all the verbs with initial laryngeal/ pharyngeal
+verbs with initial cluster (II-ʕ)
+ bel (underlyingly II-h)
+ za:be
+ karre/ ka:re
+ fa(:)hama (these last three verbs Types B or C)

5. Picture 10 "addam sorrya"

aze tt-illi qadamye siʔili nay surya mašakel ʔL
of Syria problems

hətom yeni k^ullom aman la:kfollaw dib mitu **kondeʔ** yaamarkoni
stones throwing who.is.it I don't know

ora ʕaskari bət'araw ləbəllom həlla.

one soldier they.stop tell them is

waora ħit'an la:qamit əllom halla wə-la-ta:rfo la:kfo-llaw.
wathing to them is rest throw.PI

sorom raʔasom ʕima:ma:t əbba ʔasra:m həllaw.

half.of.them their heads are covered with

wamakinat (...) b^uz^uh mot'-om halla.

mīnnom rīyim ənde be:la.

5. Picture 11 “əkətbat dib ša:rīʕ”

...ʔoro mo:ta mamkən maslanni dib hətte bet
one dead(person) maybe it-seems-to.me in a house
la-wlad hiyeni la-əkətbat mi kam woddu yaamarawni
the-children didn't know what they should do with books
ħakwa yani gəlla ʔəkətbat dib ša:rəʕ lokfowu.

then they threw

la-əkətbat dalayīm wa-wala:wal wala:wul mat'a-yu
rains winds -to it

wa-kin wa-īnsar be:ley(u) tta ša:reʕ.

here and there blew-it

wa-la-əkətbat kullu tta ša:reʕ baddad-a
spread

ħakwa k^ulʔot ina:s mat'ow əbba ša:reʕ ba- kabəl gəlləhlofo

ħakwa orot ina:s əb dallat-u əbba raʔasa ʔəkətbat hallel halla.

wa-orot ina:s yani mamkən əkətbat sanni t'aneħ ətt(u) ənde bella,

laʕary^u həlla.

6. embedded future sentences

gələdawəl dibka tu be:leni ma:le 'I will call you he told me yesterday'

naʕam gəddawəl dibkatu be:la ma:le 'Noam said he will call you yesterday'

naʕam fajr gələdawəl (la)ħadde be:la 'Noam said he is going to call you tomorrow'

naʕam mudol kam-matt'iʔ banana ya-ʔamara-ni

'N doesn't know when the bananas will come'

naʕam mudol gələmat'aʔtu la-banana yaʔamara-ni

'N doesn't know when the bananas will come'

impossible with tħaddo, because bananas can't want

naʕam taħer mudol gələmtaʔ *kam la-ħadde ya-amara-ni

'N doesn't know when Taħer is going to come'

M yiʔimattini be:la 'M said he doesn't know.'

15th session with Mohamad

1. distribution of prefixes : exceptional verbs ? I think not

kəl naha:r oro šekel	əkərre ətta ba:ko	'every day I put one shekel in the box'
hutu	kərre ətta ba:ko	
hətom	kərru	(not karro!!)
hīta	kərre	
ĩnti	kərri	

hutu kəl nəha:r bana:na ləzza:be 'every day he buys a banana'
banana təzzabe həlleka / ləzza:be həlla 'you/he are/is buying a banana'

hutu mĩnna hīč'at ləkkarre həlla 'he is coming down from the tree'

ana/ĩnta/hutu əffaha:m/təffaha:m/ləffaha:m həlleko/ka/a 'I/you/he agree/s'

2. šuquy vs. ša:qi

šuquy 'done': ĩlli kərsi šuquytu 'this chair is finished'
ša:qi 'having worked': ĩlla walat ša:qyətta 'this girl has worked'

3. Harmony

hətom ləkfow/ləkfaw	'they threw'
hətom ləkfowu/*ləkfawu	'they threw him'
hətom ləkfawa/*ləkfowa	'they threw her'

4. Two constructions with 'want'

Taher gəlləsŋe ləħadde həlla 'Taher is going to run'

Taher gəlləsŋe ləhadde 'Taher wants to run'

5. Beton (past)

ħatte nha:r kīlŋe dəmnat lətlakkafa ŋalaya (/t/=[s])

one day two dice were thrown

waŋəskor oro ənde nəšʔən matt'an ŋala.

and so one soldier came and took them

ħakwa (la)kulʔot ŋaskari ənde nasʔawan ləttalhaw ŋalaw dīmnat (la- is wrong here)

then two soldiers having taken them were playing dice

(...) ŋaskar oro ħalib laħa:fən ŋala.

and one soldier was warming milk

(...) laʕaskari orot ʕalib ində lʕa:fan laʕalib kaʕa mɨnno.

the one soldier having warmed the milk the milk spilled “on” him

ʕakwa lakulʔot ʕaskari sa:lsay ʕaskari matʔayom

then a third soldier came to the two soldiers

wa-la-sa:lsay ba:nderat sa:qəl ʕala

and the third (one) raised a flag.

(...) banderat ənde sa:qel ʕʔareq kayt lattəbəl əs samaʔ ʕolat mɨnno ([əs]=/ət/)

having raised (the) flag, a rag that’s called kite in the sky rose from them

laʕʔaraq hʔtom yeni gəttuʕul yəʕadawani

they didn’t want the rag to rise

ʕakwa tʔawlat samaʔ ənde rafʕaw gəlla ʕʔareq karʕawa

after that a picture to the sky they raised in order to (that they would) block the rag

la-ʕʔareq la:kin yikarʕatni gəlla tʔawlat ʕalfat-ta wə-sama ʕowlat

but the rag did not hide and it rose to the sky surpassed the picture

ʕakwa kalaʕinat nasʔaw wa-ttawali takkosow diba kayt gəl-ʔa-wduq-a

then they took guns and and-rapidly shot in.it kite so.that they make her fall

lakayit la:kin yo-wadq-at ellom-ni ([ellom] = /əgəllom/)

but the kite did not fall for them

ənda l-ʔakər bəzʕam ʕaskar matʔaw kullom məsel mortar wə-misayl kam tʔalqaw diba

in the end many soldiers came and all with mortars and missiles and launched in.her

lakayit wadqat

the kite fell.

16th session with moḥamad

1. simultaneous Beton

aze kilʔe dīmnat la:kafaya,

are being thrown

ḥatte ide matʔat ka-rafʔat-tan

and one hands raises them

ede:ma la:kafaya

now also are being thrown

kulʔot ʕaskari dīmnat talhaw həllaw

two soldiers are playing dice

ət- ba:k- ʕabə bəna gəsyam həllaw

big wall are.sitting

wal-ard giyam bi-dibu

and the-place cloudy they have

w-oro p^halu halla ətta bak illi

and one pole there.is next to that

wa-oro ʕaskari gale la-abašil halla

sthg cook

wa-l-ora ʕaskary əb gīssayu sakkəb həlla

in his.sitting sleeping is

ko-oro ʕaskari kala:šin ənde tʔa:btʔa geys həlla (this verb also cʔabtʔa)

hold

wora ʕaskari ba:tʔər həlla

wao-ro ətta oro ma:tʔo həlla, sat be:la

and one to the one is coming, stands alert

ətta matʔoru ba:tʔər həlla

in the back.of.him stands

sa:lasay ʕaskari matʔom həlla

lasa:lasay ʕaskari ba:nderat ənde tʔabtʔa, matʔi həlla

and the third comes holding a flag is coming

wala-ba:nderat qayəḥ wacʔaʕada ḥəbra

red and white

la-ba:nderat ətta p^ha:lo sa:qəlla həlla

the flag on the pole is being raised

wəhətom dulyam həllaw

ready

laba:nderat ənda saqlə kayt latətbahal matʔalhey eyanit ʕo:lat mīnnom

them having raised the flag, kite which is called toy children

wəhətom kam-raʔawa ḥarkaw

when they saw her they got.mad

walaʕaskari lasakkəb həlla tʼawali fadʕa

and the soldier who was sleeping suddenly woke up

wooro la labaʕil ʕala kala:ʕinu nasʔa

and the one who was cooking took his weapon

ka-saʕa wa-la-bu keʕet

and ran and the coffee spilled

ʕaskari oro gəlla kayt laʕaqamit həlla

laʕaskari tʼawlat ʕabay ənda nasʔa gəlla kayt gəttəkraʕ ət samaʔ tʼbutʼ-ə həllaw

the-soldier picture big took.SG the kite so-it.be.blocked to sky held.3PL-it ing

‘so the soldiers took a big tableau, were holding it to the sky so the kite will be blocked’

ʕaskari oro te:yʕan ʕasər ətta həlla

one soldier aims at it ing

la:kin la-tʼawlat gəlla kayt yikarʕatni, ʕalfatta kaʕolat

but the tableau did not hide the kite, and rose and passed her

wəhətom saʕaw gəllekarʕuwa fattanaw, la:kin ʕolat mɨnnom

and they ran to block it they tried but rose form them

ʕaskari oro lətna:tar həlla

one soldier is jumping

la-tʼawlat kən wa-ɨnsar ləbula həllaw gəlləkroʕoba

the-tableau back&forth they.move.it ing so.they.hide with it

la-tʼawlat wa:dqat mɨnnom

the-tableau fell from them

wəhətom əmən inde nasʔaw la:kin reyɨm sabbat həllet yaʕarru:-ba-ni

and so they took stone but because it is far they did not reach it

lakulʔot ʕaskari wa:dqaw

the two soldiers fell

taʕalim ʕaskari waddu həllaw ətta ga:dəm

soldier exercise they do on the flat.terrain

ʕalafihom qadamom ənda ma:tʼa laʕalləmom həlla

their.commander in.front.of.them having come he is “teaching” them

la-ʕa:skar majmuʕ tokkuso ətta həlla

the soldiers are shooting crorot at her

lakayit la:kin yiwa:dqatni

but the kite did not fall

laba:nderat ta:m̩balbəl həllet

the flat is waving

la-ʕaskar la-kaba:sul-om wa:daqa wəhətom tokkusollow

the-soldiers the-shells-theirs fell.3PLFM and theu are shooting

laʕaskar sərʕam həllaw, wa-lakayt yəwadqatni əsək həlla

lined-up

still

kulʔot ʕaskari ba:tro həllaw ʕeda:hom ʔerʔelleko

la-kayt əsək aze taʕambalbəl həllet

floating

bəzħam ʕaskar mat'ahom

many soldiers come to them

laʕaskar kullom misaʔilat ubbu mat'am həllaw

all the soldiers are bringing them missiles

...

walakayit əssək həlla yawadqatni

and the kite still did not fall

ənda l-ʔakər lakayt wa:dqat

in the end the kite fell

walakulʔot ʕaskari dib tilhiyahom ʕaqbalaw

and the two soldiers to their game returned

2. initial geminate / ət verbs

lətnaba:bar həlla or lənnaba:bar həlla

(lokofko 'I threw' ; la:kafko 'I threw many times' ; laka:kofko 'idem.')

lakkofko 'I was thrown'

lakkafka 'you were thrown'

	1	2	3
sg m	ʔllakkaf hʔlleko	təllakkaf hʔlleka (*without t-)	ləllakkaf hʔlla (*without l-)
f		təllakkafi hʔlleki	təllakkaf hʔllet
pl m	nʔllakkaf hʔllena	hʔllekum	ləllokkofo hʔllow
f		hʔllekīn	hʔllaya

What about initial gemination of t- with a guttural?

thattabko 'I washed myself'; *hattabko

3. Optionality of inflection

I found that with guttural initial verbs,

t- is obligatory (optional in R1=[-gutt])
forms a cluster with the first consonant,

but

la- is not obligatory (impossible R1=[-gutt])

hattəm 'to seal'

3sg	laḥattəm həlla ḥattəm həlla	tḥattəm həlla -
3pl	laḥa:tmo həllow ḥa:tmo həllow	laḥa:tma həllaya ḥa:tma həllaya
2sg	tḥattəm həlleka -	tḥa:tmi lleki -
3pl	tḥa:tmo həllekum -	tḥa:tma əllekən -

The same is true for *ṣarga* 'to lift'

4. Contrasts in harmony

lokofko ~ lakafko 'I threw'

la:kofko ~ la:kofko, *lo:kofko 'I threw many times'

laka:kofko 'I threw many times'

Harmony doesn't affect long vowels!

17th session with Mohammad: January 16th

1. The verb to block, active and passive

karʕako 'I blocked'

karʕaw 'they blocked'

karr^oʕo həllekom 'they are blocking'

ana (əbla sab(b)) karraʕako 'I was blocked by the people'

lamakinat (əbba bat'aḥ) karraʕat 'the car was blocked by the truck'

lamakinat lakkarraʕat nayie ta 'the car that was blocked is mine'

however, the gemination is not distinctive (I pronounced both and he said both are ok).

2. A few points

- no verbs with different Qa:TaL vs. QaTa:TaL.
- stress not distinctive at the word level (I pronounced rokobko with stress on either syllable, and M says "the meaning is the same")
- ʕarga 'lift', təʕarragko 'I was lifted' (tə- not assimilated to R1)

3. turki: Tigre meets Nahman of Breslaw

ḥatte nha:r buzuḥ sanat gəra orot mələk ʕala

one day many years ago one king was

lamələk yani ḥic'an ʕala ʔəlu. gəlla waldu marra fəttiyyu ʕala.

theking son was tohim the son very much lovehim he was

ḥatte nha:r lawaldu turki gəlləgba? ḥada

one day thehischild turkey sohebecome wanted

ḥakoha yani turki gəlləgba? ləba:su ənde afgara ḥanna tarabi:zat gassa

afterthat turkey tobecome hisclothes having stripped under the table he.went

wa-dala addam la:kofoyu əglu ba:leʕ

anything people threw-it tohim he ate

wutta ḥanna tara:bi:zat ənde gaba? turki ana be:la

and in the under table having become said I am a turkey

ḥakwaha abuhu əgəl b^uzuḥ dak^wa:tər ənde dawala be:leyom waliye kinni gaba?

afterthat hisfather many doctors having called told them myson so became

aze mīn halla lalḥayayuyu?

now who is the-heal(3sg)-him

dak^wa:tər k^ullom jerrabowu wa-y-ḥayay-u-ni. (notice no l- for the 3pl)

doctors all triedit andnohealhimnot

orot fadab ina:s be:la ana wa:lka ḥayuyu əkka be:layu

one clever man said I your son heal him for you hetold-him

jerebu be:layu.

tryit hetoldhim

hutu yeni ge:sa (kə)ətta ḥanna tara:bi:zat əb ləba:su ata

he went and inthe under table with his.clothes

kətta ʔanna tara:bi:zat ʔala la-nafar (...)

andinthe under table was the-guy

be:layu inta mi inta be:layu

hetoldhim you whoare you hetoldhim

ana turk ana be:layu

I a turkey am I hetoldhim

ka-tərki mede ləba:s labbəs

but a turkey cannot clothes wear

laʔla, turki ləba:s labbis miskilat ʔalabuni he: be:layu

no, turkey clothes wear problem thereisn't, of course hetoldhim

wa-t'awa:li ləba:su labsa.

and-immediately hisclothes he wore

la-ləba:s yani lasab lašaqała nay la-ina:s hətom lala:kofowutu

the-clothes thepeople whoareworkers of the-king they who-threw-him-are

ʔakwa kalʔət marrat ba:ni balʔa lʔina:s.

afterthat second time bread ate theman

inta gĩmmi ba:ni balləʔ həlleka be:leyu.

you, why bread eat ing are hetoldhim

he:, ba:ni balləʔ watirki gabbiʔ lətqa:dər (bele:yu).

of course, bread eat andturki be is possible (=mitʔafšer) (hetoldhim)

kalas ba:ni balləʔ wa-turki gabbiʔ ʔakwa lətqadər

ok, (if) bread eat andturkey be afterthat is possible,

ana ma ho yi-balləʔ

why I-too not-eat ?

ʔakoha laʔina:s lafadab mĩna ʔanna tara:bi:zat faggər walaqʔabəl

afterthat theman theclever fromthe under table cameout and returned

be:layu ĩnta mi ĩnta, ana turki ana.

hetoldhim you who you, I aturkey I

katurki mədde faggər!

but aturkey cannot go out!

turki faggər wataʔaqabbəl waturk lətəgbaʔ lətqaddər.

aturkey goes out and returns and aturky be(passive) is possible

ʔakwa fagra waʔaqbala, wa ʔaya

afterwards hewentout andreturned, and healed!

4. Adjectives again

m	fm	mpl	fpl	
funtuy	fĩntĩt	fĩntiya:m	fĩntiya:t	special
gurum	gĩřĩm gĩřĩmĩt	gĩřĩma:m	gĩřĩma:t	'good, beautiful'
qayəħ	qayaħ	qayħit	-	red
c'aʔada	c'aʔada	c'aʔadit	-	white

t'alim	t'ala:m	t'alayim	-	black
šagray	šəgrayit	šaggəri:t	-	yellow
ʕabi	ʕabbay	ʕabayi	-	big
dəglal	dəglali:t	daggəlil	-	old
nuʔuš	niʔiš	naʔayš	-	small
q ^u r ^u b	qarbit	(q ^u r ^u ba:m)	(q ^u r ^u ba:t)	close
reyim	raya:m	rəyim	-	tall, far
fada:b	fada:bit	fada:yib	-	clever
ħa:meq	ħa:mqat	ħa:mqa:m	ħa:mqa:t	???
ʔummur	ʔimmir	ʔimməra:m	ʔimməra:t	'known'

18Th session with Mohammad

1. All the adjectives I could think of

straight/ correct	ra:teʕ	ra:tʕat	“	“
crooked/wrong	tʰuwuy	tʰuwit	tu(wu)yam	“
hard	tʰnʰʕ	tʕnʕit	tanʕa:m	tanʕat
free, empty, hollow	fa:di	fa:dyət	“	“
	(also invariable ʕer)			
sweet	tuʕum	təʕəmát	təʕəna:m	“
bitter	marir	marra:r	-	-
salty	máləħ	(malħat) ¹¹	-	-
sour	(mačʕičʕ)	(maččʕa:č)		
dark	tʰəlmʊ:t	tʰəlmətít	“	“
light	bá:rǝh	ba:rhít	“	“
strong (Tgr?)	ħaya:l	ħaya:lít	“	“
strong	dʰqqúb	dəqqəbit	dəqqəbam	-a:t
closed	dʰbuʔ	dǝbʔit	“	“
opened	kfut	kǝftít	-	-
clean	nadif	naddaf	nadayif	
dirty	rʰsuħ	rǝšħít	“	“
lazy	hʰkuy	həkkít	həkyɑ:m	həkyɑ:t
hungry	sufryu	sǝfrit	-iya:m	-iya:t
שבע	tʰugub	tʰəgbət	“	“
thirsty	tʰumuʔ	tʰǝmʔít	“	“
filled with drink	ra:wuy	ra:wiyat	“	“
alone	baynu	bayna	baynom	baynən
tired	tʰʕub	təʕəbít	təʕəba:m	-a:t
bad person, cheap	makruh	makrahat	makraha:m	-a:t
fat	gazif	gazza:f	gazayǝf	
thin	qatʕin	qattʕan	qatʕayǝn	
narrow	tʰabib	tʰabbab	tʰabayǝb	
wide	ga:fǝħ	ga:ffaħ		
round	kʰbub	kabba:b	kabayǝb	
flat	tʰa:lfəħ	tʰa:lfəħ	tʰa:lfəħa:t	1 st V long?
bare	bra:qu	bra:qa	bra:qom	bra:qan
steep	tʰadəf	-	ʔatʰaddəf	probably nouns!
mildly sloped	ga:dəmə		ga:dmo:ta:t	
full	muluʔ	məʕʔít	“	“
many	buzuħ	bǝzħa:t	bǝzħa:m	“

¹¹ people don't say it but M produced it

few	ħud	-	ħida:m	ħida:t
wet	t ^u lul	təllit	“	“
dry	y ^u bus	ya:bsət	“	“
broken	s ^u bur	sibrit	“	“

2. Directions

šamal/laʕal, junub/that, qəblat/šəngab, gəblat/ma:n (dəmman)

3. the verb ata ‘enter’

ate:ko ‘I entered’ əttelleko bet ‘I am entering the house’

imperative: ite, itey, itaw, itaya

imperfect: ĩnta taʔettelleka, hutu laʔette həlla

subjunctive: ana gəʔete hədde həlleko(?) ‘I want to enter’

hutu gəlleʔəte laħad həlla ‘he wants to enter’

4. Himself

when dir. object: nafsu, nafsa, nafsom naffiše (<nafs+ye, with assimilation, palatalisation and epenthesis!)

Lazəm ʕaskaryat ginigis gabʔana mən gabbiʔ, nafəsna gənəqtalto
‘if we had to go become soldiers, we will kill ourselves.’

ĩnta gitigis yeħadeka mən gabbiʔ, no:šše gĩligĩstu
‘if you don’t want to go, I will go myself’

5. Story of Oedipus

aze ħatte dəgəm gələda:gəmtu,

la-dəgəm ya:ni əb mələk wə-isi:tu dib grik laʕalaw ta (agrees with dəgəm)

dib grik bədir mələk wə-isi:tu ʕalaw
ancient

walaisit tta mələk yani ʕamsa:d ʕalat
woman of the pregnant
ħatte nha:r oro ina:s mat’əyom

ka ĩlli jina ĩntom walludu, gəlki gəlhideki tu,
you marry

wəgəlla ʔabuhu gəlka gəlləqtalaka tu be:layu, ka-ge:sa

la-ina:s yani, la-jina, kam wallada ətta əgru mat'a:riq wada?attu

ħabəl əbu ʔəsrayu

chord

dib- kadan- dib- kadan ge:sa bu kə-tta kadan ʔəsrayu

wild and in the

ətta kadan oro talay ləlħalləf roʔoyu

kam raʔayu, nasʔayu t'awali wa-dib mələk oro geysa əbu

wə-gella mələk habayu.

walajina yani, məsəlla mələk loʔoro ʔaba

with the second king

lamələk wa-la-issitu yani ajanit sabbat yaʔalo bom

gəlla jina marra fotowu we-g^ur^um ʔa:bowu.

ħakoha ləmələk la-jina yani odipos ləbhal ʔala

odipos kam ʔaba, lə-ina:s l-əgəl umu wubuhu tahaga mat'ayu

inta, imka gettahede:tu waʔabuka gettaq^ətaltu be :layu.

hutu yani, gəlla malək u-issitu la-wa:ldenu ənde yigob?o lə-bəʔəda:m

Because he liked the king and queen that aren't parents, the others

sabbat fattiyom ʔala

gella madi:nat ħadgaya wa-ge:sa.

edipos, madinat ende ħadgaya kəm-ge:sa ətta šawareʔ

mələk wa-saħbanu məsəl goyso t'anħawu

king and his servant together walking waited for him

lamələk yani əgəl edipos belayu:, qarab be:layu

move

edipos yani inta yi-qarəb belayu

why you shouldn't move ??

ħakwa baʔasaw. kam baʔasaw edipos gəlla qarab lebele ina:s qa:tlayu

waħakwa edipos ətta madi:nat ənde geys (ʔala)

dibba madinat la-dibba twallada, dibba ŋaƣbala

ħakwa, læ-tta madinat ŋalaw ŋaŋab yani kullom ħazna:ne:n t'anħawu

be:lawu mælæk ge:sa mĩn ĩlla wa-yaŋaƣbælana-ni

here

wa-addam kullu ħazən həlla be:law

ħakwa ətta ba:ka, ətta madinat yani tta jafara

outside

ħiwa:n gazif, roʔoso, ħayat massəl wanofsu issit massel ŋala

laħiwan yani saynpikis lætbahal

laħiwan əgəl la-ŋab kullom ət madinat gəlʔettaw laħaddu

(læ) saŋa:l bye lebelom wakolʔom ŋala

i have a question he said to them and deny them was

ħatta nhar edipos ətta madinat gəlʔette ħada

ətta madinat gəlʔette kam baggasa,

start

læħiwa:n ŋaƣbəl be:layu

edipos yani yaŋaƣabbəlɲi belayu

ħako yəŋaƣabbəlʔ saŋa:l həlla iye gəs^aʔala-ka-tu belayu

ĩlli sʔal ħako balaska-u gətʔəte-tu

wə-ĩlli sʔal ħako yibalaska-u yeni gələq^etala-ka-tu belayu

edipos yeni- səʔaleni əttu la-sʔal belayu

la- yeni, belayu, mi:tu as^ub^uħ əbba arbaŋ əgru

waʔaddaħa əb kılʔe əgru,

wa-ʔamsuy (ŋamŋaƣarəb) əb salas uguru la-geys belayu ('that')

edipus yani ina:s tu (...)

ħakwa, edipus yani əgəlla- ħiwa:n- la- sayinfikəs læbhal qatleyu

ḥakwa, edipus- (əgəl-) ḥad yeni be:law
tribe

ḥīna mələkna ge:sa wəyaḥaqbala:ni mo:ta

aze gəlla issitta mələk ḥnta ḥadəya be:lowu

hutu yani koys be:la wəgella issitta mələk ḥadəya

lə-issitta mələk yani la-umu ta.

lu-umu ḥakwa məslu sakkəb ḥnda ḥalat kam reḥetu l-ḥəgoru t'oro reḥetu
holes

l-əgoru t'oro kəm-reḥet la-walda kəmtu ḥa:marat

kəm ḥa:marat, nafsə qa:tlat kamən əddənya barra gabat, mo:tat
from world out went

wa-edipus yani gəlla madinat ḥadgaya kə geysa.

wəbbuhu mo:ta.

and in there.

ḥilla dəgəm nay edipos tḥtbahal.

19th session with Mohamed

1. story of šxem, hamor, yaŋaqob and Dina

aze dægəm həllet iye əb yahud israel **ənda** mot'o

maddat salf lo wadawu

time first it they did (the story)

badir, yahud dib israel kammataw ina:s oro yaŋaqob lələtbahəl ŋala

yaŋakob ŋasər kulʔot jina waħatte walat dina ŋalat ulu

hatte naha:r waddu gəl hamor šaxem litbal ŋala

his.son

ħatte nahar dina dib kada:n bayna ənde geys, šaxem mat'aya

alone

ʔawdaqaya wat'awali məsla sakba

he.made.her.fall

ħakwa, ŋaqbala ugul abu əgəl hamor

be:layu ana walat yaŋaqob dina gəlhedde ħad həlleko belayu

ħamor yani, dib yaŋaqob geysa (gəl-)

walye dina ħadd[e] həlla be:leyu (I hear ħadda)

yaŋaqob yani kalas koys be:layu

done,ok

ħakoha, ħawa əgəl dina be:law

([z]ina)

ħəna, ħitna gənhabb gabʔana mən gabbiʔ

our.sister to.give to.happen if

oro saʔal həlla ənna

illi sʔal, (t)ballasaʔənna mən gabbiʔ gənnahabba-tu b(iy)elaw (not pronounced)

answer.to.us

we will give

hatu, la-sʔa:lom yani, kinni ləbəl ŋala

that, the question , like.this said (the question)

illi, aja:ni:tna, (~~dib~~) mʔsinna ləhəlla kullu kʔsubtu

with.uc

ɪntum wəħinna gənnətha:de, wu-gənnətha:bər gabʔana mən gabbiʔ

ĩntum kulkum g^utt^ukk^ušabo həlla əkum be:law

you have to circumcise yourselves

ħakoha, ʕad ħamor kullom lajanit gəllokošəbo da:law

to circumcise prepared

wə-kullom wujaʕ munno furho ʕalaw

pain afraid

ħakoha walad ħamor yani əgəl ʕakšibo

to circumcise

ənde massalaw kullu a:ddam qa:talowu

while doinglikethis

wa-la-nuway zamtowu walʕərəd nasʕow

animal take forcedly take (occupy)

ħakwa, yaʕaqob ħarka

lajani:t yaʕaqob yani be:law

ħĩna ħako- ħĩtna əb ħilat nasʕawha- əb ħilat ħako mĩsla šakbow

force

kinni yiwadena mən gabbiʕ qa:leʕ fəttaħ yaha:la:ni be:lawu

like.this didn'tdo if other solution

20th session with Mohamad

1. dægəm əb sala:s malhit

aze dægəm əb sala:s malhit gələḏa:gəmtu

sala:s malhit məsəl ḥatta nəha:r dib bar ataw
came in

wa məste alkol səttu wa-ḥalaw
beverage drank all the day

məsə kam gabʔa yani salsitom məsəl ša:kraw
evening

kam ša:kraw beytom gələḥiro kam-ḥaḏaw ma:kinat səʔənaw
not find

maki:nat ta:ksi gələla:kaw dib s'ərgeya fagrow
'they went out to the road to call a taxi'

wadibba t'ərgeya baḥal ta:ksi mat'oyom

baḥal ta:ksi lakmanna be:lowu
take us with

əsək išša be:layom əsək ḥadna be:law

wafahamow waḥargaw
they agreed went in (up)

kəm ḥargow, baḥala ta:ksi rəʔoyom

sa:lsitom maste əbu mayitam rəʔoyom
drink with.it dead.drunk

əlom ya-ʔafagru-ni-ni gəʔəfgər mīnnom bye byela
them noit match with me i will go i have he said
'they don't suit me, I have to go away from them'

gəḥḥədagom biye be:la
leave them i have he said

walamakinat mator harasa diba wa-t'awal(i) t'afaya
operate in it turned it off

ka-batḥakum karaw be:layu
arrived 2pl descend

la-oro gurušu habbayu kə-kkara oro šukran be:layu wo-oro yeni
the one money gave him and descended one thanks told him and one
kaffat sənjoyu ka

blow gave.him and

gīmmi la-makinat marra ʔasḥekaha bəna be:layu.
why very drive with us

2. Words by theme from English-Tigrigna picture dictionary

verbs

ṡarga	climb	balsa	answer
ṡat'fa	bend	ʔadrasa	teach
ʔakrara	lie down	sada	help
ṡa:rafa	rest	saḥaqa	laugh
ʔaskata	push	baka	cry
saḥaba	pull	tuf be:la	spit
kafta	open	dama	bleed
dabʔa	close	lakfa	throw
daba	buy	c'abta	stand
raʔa	see	baʔasa	fight
ganḥa	look	harba	flee
samṡa	hear/listen	tt'aṡan	ride
qarʔa	read	t'arsa	vomit
katba		saqda	have sex
ḥasba		ʔabšala	cook
ḥarnakxa	snore	balṡa	eat
naḥḥa	blow	t'aṡama	taste
tahayyaka	converse	sata	drink
tahaga	talk	ḥat'ba	wash
ḥala	sing	waṡa	scream
ḥisuk be:la	whisper	ʔaflaḥa/falḥa	boil (trns/intrns)
saʔala	ask	nafra	fly
		ḥambasa	swim
		qo:sa	drown
		ʔasna	fix
		fəsəx be:la	smila
		ʔabṡala	celebrate
		tḥarmada	frown

nouns: animals

kaləb	aklab		
dummu	dama:mit		
ḥarmaz	ḥara:miz		
ḥayət	ḥa:yut		
ḥimmam, wunən	ʔawannin	tiger	
karáy	ʔakərya:t	hyena	
gámal	ənsa		

ħarawiya	ħarawiyo:ta:t	pig
waʔat	ħa	cow
faras	afras	horse
ʔadəg	ʔdu:g	donkey
bəgʕət	ʔaba:geʔ	sheep
t'alit	ʔat'a:l	goat
garwa	grawi:t	deer
darho	dawerih	chicken
mantalle	mana:tól	rabbit
ʕənrét	ʕaranri:t	porcupine
sarírat	bird	sara:yir
lilaʔ,ʕaya	hawk, bird of prey	ʕayo:tat
ʕuwurlalí	ʔ	bat
ʔanč'ay/č'inč'ay	ʔana:č'ít/ č'ana:č'ít	rat
nhəbət	nhəb	bee
ħaná:ni:t		mosquito
tabʕenay	tabʕen	bug
ʕankəbkəbot	ʕana:kəb	spider
ʕa:sa	fish	ʕasasa:t
ʕarkəb	ʕarakəb	scorpion
qoriʔe ([qore])	qawa:reʔ	frog
gobyə	???	turtle
ʔarwe	ʔərəwít	snake
qamalat	qama:l	lice
təmlale	???	butterfly
nouns: clothing		
kami:šət	kame:š	shirt
kanatérət	kana:teryat	t shirt
gulfo	gala:fi:t	sweater
səde:ryet	-ya:t	vest
qobeʔ, t'a:get	t'a:gyo:tat	hat
sere	sererit	'trouser'
šrab	ʔaširbat	socks
maʕatyət	-yo:tat	
šanre:lat		zipper
sadafat	sadaf	button
betanti	-tat	underwear

jale:byat	jalabíb	dress
bəsta:n	basattin	skirt
jibbat	jiba:b	coat

nouns: ם"וּדו

farketta	farketta-ta:t ???	
ma:nkat	ma:nko:tat	spoon
saki:n	saka:ki:n	knife
əto:n	-a:t	oven
frəm	afərma:t	oven
bara:d		teapot
dīs		pot
č'əlfə	č'ala:ft	ladle

nouns: family

nafar		person
bat'əh	abəttaħa:t	adult
jina	ajani:t	child
walde:n		parent
abb		
umm	imma:t	mother
abʕəb	-o:ta:t	grandfather
abo:t	-ta:t	grandmother
ħu	ħaw	brother
ħit	ħawa:t	sister
wal	w ^u la:d	son
walát	awa:l ^o d	daughter
ħa:l	-o:ta:t	maternal uncle
ħoʔob		paternal uncle
ʕammat	ʕammo:tat	paternal aunt
ħal	ħalto:ta:t	maternal aunt
wadħu		
wadħit		

21st session with Mohamed, 13/02/2013

1. dægəb əb oro yahudi wasana:tim

aze dægəm əb oro yahudi gələda:gamtu

ħatte nhar jimʕat məsse oro yahudi gʕlʕsalle əsək musugud geysa

dib gabay, ənda gayʕs santim wa:dəq raʔa

on way fallen

wagəlla santim kam rəʔoyu ganħayu wa

lookit

rafʕakum mən gabbiʔ gʕl lʕnfaʕa-ni tu be:la

itwillbeofprofit-tome

l-ina:s marra ħa:gəl sabbat ʕala

poor

wəgʕlʕyʕlʕrʕʕu yani šabbat gabʔa dibu. is there causation here?

and gəl.he.not.take.it **yani** sabbath became tohim

ħakoha yaʔ šabbačye ʔigis be:la

oh! my sabbath I.should.go

wa gessalleʔ ʔigis be:la wa ge:sa məsgəd wa: sallaʔ

and gəl.I.pray Ishouldgo

ənde sallaʔ (kəm) be:tu ənde lʕaqʕabbəl salas santim raʔa

having prayed tohis home while he.was.returning

gəl ʔərʕom? be:la rafʕakom mən gabbiʔ yeni (= gabbyeni)

should I take them? he said Itookthem if

ʕa:sa gəddabe:tu wa ʕaje nabra gəddab əlom tu be:la

fish I will buy my.family food Iwillbuy for them

wu-gəlyirʕom yani šabbat gabʔat dibu.

(as above)

ħakoha-ma yeni, ənde yirafʕom, be:tu ge:sa

also after that not having taken them, he went home

sambat niʔiš assubuħ əgəlləsalle (kam) məsgəd ge:sa yani

sabbath small morning gəl.he.pray

salas santim nay dahab raʔa.

kəm raʔayom yani, ʕlli sana:tim yikonni

ʕlli ʕnčʕ iroraħay nayla tʕħa:y assubuħ mədər ərəd kam za:bəd

a shining of the sun morning timeofsunrise earth hit

This is a shining of the sun at sunrise when it hits the earth

ləŋintače ka-msalu məsəl ʔiče həlla be:la

myeyes like this like tome is

'and my eyes are likening this to me'

wa-ħalfa ulu məsgəd ge:sa wa-salla.

and went (for himself)

ənda salla, əlŋaqŋabbəl yani (lasana-) bəzəħ sana:tim nay dahab raʔa

having prayed, he returned

illi sana:tim yikonni, illi še:ta:n əgəlʔiye gəlʔašəḥt ənde byela wuddi(yu) həlla

tome tofool decided is doing it

'this, satan having decided to fool me is doing it'

sabbat illi gəlʔigis biye byela wa-be:tu ge:sa

therefore I will go tome

ħakwa, addəħa məsgəd enda lŋaqŋabbəl

inafternoon

gəlla sana:tīm əgəl yilŋirʔayu

accthe so.not.he.see.it

ken enda ga:nħa ənde šakkafa mīnnu ħa:lfa

sidewyas looked sidetracked from it

having looked sideway, having sidetracked from it he passed.

ħakwa, ʔaddəħa məsgəd ʔata sa:lla tta məsgəd

wa əsək ša:bbat nay a:kər ətta məsgəd gassa.

until the end of shabbat sat

ħakwa ša:bbat kam fəgrat ʔaqbala be:tu,

enda lŋaqŋabbəl, bəzəħ sana:tim, yaʔani əšri:n santim

əšri:n ənda yigabbi? sana:tīm nay dhab raʔa

having notbeen

(=more than)

wagəlla kullu sana:tīm ʔokkoboyu

collect.it

wa-ədbayu wattajjara waʔa:sa dda:ba wakullu ħa:la:tu tajjara

soldthem andbecamerich andfish caught andallit situation becamerich

aze (la...) mīn illa dəgəm illa, ħatte gənnəfhamma labena

one(thing) soweunderstandit can

yahud, illi qa:nun nay šabbat ħaku gurum c'a:bt'aw

gəllətʔawatotu

they will succeed

2. Some more adjectives

riḥat 'happy'

q^us^un 'sleepy', qisnīt, qasna:m

t^uḥ^ub 'weak'

qanaʔ 'jealous', qanaʔit, qanaʔa:m

4. Food-related vocabulary

ba:ni	'bread'	beč'	'egg'
səga:	'meat'	dəmiš	'potato'
dərho	'chicken'	ḥari:č'	'flour'
maraq	'soup'	šərnay	'wheat'
guḥ	'hot peppers'	šīḥir	'barley'
ḥalib	'milk'	brišīnu, ḥadas	ד'ש'טע
č'ewa	'salt'	basal	'onion'
berbere	'pepper'	to:m	'garlic'
ḥe:sa:s	'butter'	salata	'lettuce'
ḥəfun	'corn'	ḥayni ḥatər	'peas'
károt	'carrot'	lo:bin	'lemon'
ḥamle	'vegetable'	bəskawit	'cookie'

5. furniture etc.

ḥarat	ḥara:ra:t	'bed'
bet məska:b		'bedroom'
makaddat	maka:did	'pillow'
kabbərtó	kabbərtiyat	'sheet'
dərreḥitó	dara:rəḥ	'quilt'
ḥansolla	ḥansollyat	'sheet'
mədər be:t		'floor'
nətt'a:f	nat'a:t'əf	'rug'
šubbak	šaba:bīk	'window'
bəmbat		'sink'
sa:bonat	sa:bun	'soap'
šīgamano		'towel'
šīqa:q	aša:qəq	'toilet'
dəkka	dəkakit	'stool'
sa:lon	-a:t	'couch'
ampul		'light bulb'
šimḥa		'candle'
kəbri:t		'matches'
šīl'k		'wine'
soket		'socket'

22nd session with Mohammad : 23/02/2013

1. dægəm əb mələk məsəl dahab

aze ħatte dægəm gələda:gəmtu

now I will tel a story

ladægəm yani, əb (sabbat) məlik ta

the story yani, about a king is

badi:r dib ħatte ſad, oro mələk ta:jir ſala

in.old.times in one place a king rich was

wə-issit ſalat ʾilu, wə-oro ina:s fala:lac'a ħiç'ay la-litbahal

and a woman was to.him, and one man cutter wood that-was.called

ʾissit marra gʾirəm ſalat ʾilu

woman very beautiful was to.him

ħatte nhar, la-mələk gəlla ʾissit ta fala:lac'a raʾaya

one day, the-king acc.the woman of.the cutter he.saw.her

wa-kam raʾaya mara fataya wagəlhedayə ħada

and-when he.saw.her very he.liked.her and.gəl.he.marry.her wanted

ħakoha, ʾissit ħatte nadʾa diba be:laja

after that woman one he sent to.her and told her

gəl ʾilla ʾissit mələk ləħaddeki həlla be:la iye be:laja

to that woman (the)king wants.you he.told.me he.told.her

“tell that woman the king told me he wants you” he told her’

wahita thaddete:ni minge ana guruš gəhabaki:tu belaya

and you.get.married.me if I money gəl.I.give.you he said

ħakwa gəlla ʾissit mat'ata be:lata

then tothe woman she.came she.told.her

ʾinti ʾilli ina:s fala:lac'a ħiç'ay ħidegu be:latta

you.fm that man cutter wood leave him she.told.her

ħita yani ko gəlħadaggu be:latta

she **yani** how will.I.leave.him she.told.her

ʾinti ləba:s nay ʾissit mələk albisanni byelu.

you.fm clothes of woman king clothe tell.him

hutu yeni gəlʾalbəsakki sabbat yiqaddər gəlləħidagaki tu

he **yeni** gəl.he.clothe.you.fm because he cannot, gəl.he.leave.you **tu**

‘he, because he will not be able to clothe you, will leave you.’

wə-ʾinti yani dib mələk tiħadday be:latta

and-you **yani** with king you.get.married she.told.her

ħita yani gəlla bəʾəsa gəlla fala:lac'a ħiç'ay be:lattu

she **yani** to.the her.husband to the cutter wood she.told.him

ləba:s nay ʾissit mələk albisenni be:lattu.

clothes of woman king clothe.me she.told.him

hutu yani taʾamrini (ma:mi)

he **yani** you.know.me

ana mĩn ʔiʃʃe ənde ʔamtaʔako ləba:s ʔssit mələk gəlʔalbəsakki be:laja

I from where having taken clothes woman king **gəl**.I.clothe.you.fm he.told.her

be:lattu, ləba:s ʔssit mələk albaskanni mĩnge məsəl gənnembartu.

she.told.him, clothes woman king you.clothed.me **if**, together **gəl**.we.live **tu**

yigabʔat mĩn gabbĩ-ni, gəlʔhidaggaka: tu

not.happened.**fm** if not **gəl**.I.leave.you **tu**

‘if this does not happen, I will leave you’

ənde yffaham-o hutu ge:sa. hutu ʔatte nʔha:r ənde geys ʔad mələk ʃa:kfa

having not-agreed.they he went. he one day while walking place king deviated

‘...he deviated to the king’s place’

waʔiçʔay fallat’a. (ʔiçʔay) ənde fallət’, dahab nay ʔssit mələk malç’a

andwood cut while wood he.cut, gold of woman king fell

wa kam malç’a dərho ʔatte balʔattu

and as it.fell chicken one ate it

wa-l-ina:s la-fala:lac’a ʔiçʔay raʔaya ʔiçʔayu fallat’ta waʔaqbala

andtheman the cutter wood saw.her his.wood cut.her and.returned

ʔakwa la ʔssit mələk dəhəbye bada byelat wa-gəl mələk ʔasʔalat

then the woman king my gold got.lost said and-to the king told

wadahab ʔssiçye la-ra:kba laʔhada gəlhabbo tu

and gold my woman that-hefound that-he.wanted **gəl**-I.give.him **tu**

he who finds my wife’s gold that which he wants I will give him

ʔakwa la-fala:lac’a ʔiçʔay be:la mələk ana dahab ʔssika ra:kabkuhu əkka

then the cutter wood said king I gold your wife I.found.it for.you

mən gabbĩ? mĩ tahaybani. l-əgla ʔade:ka be:la la-mələk

if what you.give.me that to-the you wanted said the king

‘that which you want’

ləba:s ʔssitka tahaybani be:layu la-fala:lac’a ʔiçʔay. haybakka.

clothes your.woman you.give.me he.told.him the-cutter wood. I.give.you.

ʔakwa la-fala:lac’a ʔiçʔay ma:t’a wadawa:rihkum kullu ʔokkubu be:layom

then, the-cutter wood came and your.chickens all-it gather-it he.told.them

dawərhom ʔakka^obow. dawərhom kam ʔakkobowu,

their.chickens they.gathered. their.chickens as.they.gathered.it

ʔilli derho ʔerodu be:la. gəlmi neʔaroddu be:low.

this chicken kill-it he.said. why(=forwhat) we.kill.it they said

ʔilli derho ladhab dibu halla ʔərōdu be:layom

this chicken thegold init is kill.it he.told.them

ladhab yit’anʔa əttu mən gabbĩ? be:low? əgəl iye təʔardo byela

thegold not.wait init if the said ?? Me you.kill he said

ʔakwa gəlla dərho ʔardowu, kam ʔardowu ladhab ətta jiwa tta derho t’anʔa

then to.the chicken they.killed.it, as they.killed.it thegold inthe inside of the chicken waited

walamələk ləba:s ʔssitu haboyu. wa lafala:lat'u ʔssitu ʔalbasa.

and the king clothes his.wife gave.him. and the cutter his wife clothed.

kalʔet marraṯ mələk kalʔət ʔssit nadʔa diba

next time king second woman he.sent to.her

be:laya ade dhab nay ʔssit mələk ʔalbasenni be:lu əgəl bəʔəski be:lu be:laya

he.told.her now gold of woman king clothe.me tell him to your.husband tell.him he.told.her

hīta yani dəhab ʔssit mələk ʔalbəsanni be:lattu

she yani gold woman king clothe.me she.said.to.him

dəhab ʔssit mələk gəlʔalbəsakki yīqaddəni be:laya

gold woman king gəl.I.clothe.you.fem not.I.can.not he.told.her

ʔalbaskanni mīnge tama:m, yaʔalbaskanni mīnge gəlhedaga:ká tu

you.clothed.me if ok, you.not.clothed.me if gəl.I.leave.you tu

wakalʔat marat, ənde yiffahamo, ge:sa.

and 2nd time, having disagreed.they he went.

ħakwa kam ge:sa dahabʔssit mələk bada.

then as he went gold woman king got.lost

wamələk dəhab ʔssiče bada be:la waaddam kullu ʔokkoboju

andking gold my.woman got.lost said and-men all.it gathered.it

wagəlla fala:lat'a ʔasrayu (be:layu) dahab ʔssiče ĩnta nasʔakawu be:layu

andtothe cutter wood he.tied.him hetoldhim gold mywoman you took.it hetoldhim

hutu ana yinasʔakoni be:layu.

he I not.I.take.not hetoldhim

ladhab laħa:lfa koffo reʔekahu? ĩntatu ladhabye lasarʔakka be:layu

thegold theprevious how you.saw.it? you are thegold that.stole.her hetoldhim

bet sijn ʔata. ətta bet sijn salas nafar lətha:gow samʔa

prison he.entered. in the prison three people talking heheard

ladhab ko ni:dayu? ħakwa, oro mīnna salas nafar leymun ləbbhal ʔala

thegold what we.make.it? then, one of the three persons leymun called was

lafala:lat'a yaʔomruni, wala-ʔssit ətta fala:lat'a ma leymun tītbahəl

the-cutter not.he.know.him.not, and thewoman of the cutter also leymub called

lamələk šaʔab ənda ʔakkaba, ətta gatt'a šaʔab ĩnta lasarʔakaw be:layu

theking thepeople having gatheredit, in the front people you that stole it he told him

ħakwa hutu yani ənde qant'a, o, kullu sabbatkitu wa leymun

then, he yani having stoodup "oh, all-it because.you tu oh leymun"

mīnna dhab sa:rkaw ana benye yikonni! kulʔot nafar həllow məssəle

from the gold thestole I alone amnot! two persons were with.me

waʔəbəlla lase:rqa: tta dahab rakkabow

and by this the theives of the gold they.found

wamələk gəlla serqa tta dahab ʔasra. wahutu əbəlla fa:gra

and.king the theives of the gold tied. and he by this he went away.

23rd session with Mohammad, 1/03/2013

This session consisted of explaining the system of verbal stems to M and to myself, and then exploring the passive morphology.

1. Three groups, represented by

1) hrd	ħarda	-ħarrəd hl	gǐlǐħərad	ħərad
qtl	qatla	-qattəl hl	gǐlǐqta	qəta
2) ʔkb	ʔakkaba	-ʔakkəb hl	gǐlʔakkəb	ʔakkəb
3) ktb	ka:taba	-ka:təb hl	gǐlʔəka:təb	ka:təb

2. The distribution of roots among types

It seems that this is at least not common. More common is for Type B to be a passive (more on t below)

rakba	'he met'
ra:kaba	'he met many people'
(t)rakkaba	'he was met'

Usually, it seems that the pluractional meaning can be expressed also by Type D, with the reduplicant:

raka:kaba	'he met many people'
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Sometimes, however, Type C and D do not have the same meaning. In the following case, this can be related to the fact that types A and C don't either:

dagma	'do again'
da:gama	'recount (tell a story)'
daga:gama	'do repeatedly'

3. passives

- As I saw before, passivization is done through the (t)QaTTaLa template. The (t) usually only emerges before gutturals. In other cases, it is assimilated to the first consonant; a geminate surfaces only if the form is preceded by a vowel (which happens in the prefix conjugation)

karʕa	he blocked
karraʕa	he was blocked

- This creates identity in the past form of Type B actives and passives, because there is no prefix, and gemination is inaudible word initially

takkasa he shot
takkasa it was shot

but in the other forms the difference is detectable

hutu takkəs həlla he is shooting
lakala:šina əb šaʕab ləttakkəs həlla the rifles are being fired by the people

la-ʕsit jina waldat ‘the woman gave birth to a child’
la-jina əbba ʕssit wallada
if the preceding word ends with a vowel a “small t” is an optional pronunciation
la-jina əl lola (t)wallada

Sometimes a geminate can be heard if the preceding word ends with a vowel

koka sata ‘he drank a coke’
koka əbbu ssatta ‘the coke was drunk by him’

- the identity does not occur if R1=guttural, because then the t appears
laʔakətbat ʔakkaba he collected the books
laʔakətbat əbbu taʔakkaba the books were collected by him

Type A initial guttural

M tʕalit ʕarda ‘M killed a goat’
latʕalit əb M taʕarrədət ‘the goat was killed by M’

M ləba:su ʕatʕba ‘M washed his clothes’
laləba:s(*u) əb M/Lola ʕattʕaba ‘the clothes were washed by M/L’

Type A

qatla - (t)qattala (t unpronounced)

- Where Type A in unaccusative or inchoative then there is no passive
səga bašla ‘the meat cooked’
lasəga əb M bašla ‘the meat was cooked by M’
M lasəga ʔabšala ‘M cooked the meat’

The verb ʕaya (probably Type B, because /y/ persists)

N ʕʕmum ʕala, waʕaya

M əgəl N ḥayeyu 'M healed noam'
N əb M ḥaya 'N was healed by M'

laqoro:rat (əb M) wadqat 'the bottle (by M) fell'

- in one case there was suppletion

illi M wadayu 'M did that'
illi əb M gabʔa 'this came to be by M'

- Type B III-y

M əgəl N ʕarra 'M reached N'
N əb M taʕarra 'N was reached by M'

- with /b/ one notices the unusual post vocalic [b] pronunciation in the passive, but not in the active:

M saʔa:l [b]alsa 'M answered the question'
lasaʔa:l əb M [b]allasa 'the question was answered by M'

N əgəl M dərho habayu, wa M balsaya 'N gave M a chicken, and M returned it'
M dərho [β]alsaya 'M returned a chicken'
ladərho əb M [b]allasat 'the chicken was returned by M'
ladərho əb lola [b]allasat 'the chicken was returned by L'

hutu səga [β]alʕa 'he ate meat'
səga ubbu [b]allaʕa 'the meat was eaten by him'

no real [d]~[ð] effect: always d

M dəgəm da:gama 'M told a story'
M dəgəm əb dərho [d]a:gama '... about a chicken'
ladəgəm əb M daggamat 'the story was told by M'

4. Glide initial verbs

M says that Raz's forms are how old people speak.

Raz: g'il-ʔiras-sa-tu M: g'ilʔəwras-sa-tu 'I will inherit it'
Raz: g'ilbaso M: g'ilyibaso 'they will dry'

24th session with Mohamad (8/03/2013)

1. more on inflectional vs. derivational prefixes

Recall:

balləŋ helleka	‘you are eating’
tə-tʃən həlleka	‘you are loading’

Some passive/active

a. kaləb lasəga balləŋ həlla	the dog is eating the meat
b. lasəga əb kaləb lətballaŋ həlla	the meat is being eaten by the dog
c. la-nafar hič’ay lətʃən həlla	the person is loading the wood
d. lahič’ay əbba nafar ləttafan həlla	the wood is being loaded by the person

I wanted to check whether gemination occurs word-initially as a result of the omission of prefixes. The results were very mixed. Already in (a) above I did not transcribe such gemination. However, when looking closely, I did find it in this case

There was not gemination, but a non-spirantized form of the initial [b]. I recall last time for the passive there was clearer gemination, and that there was a spirantized one post-vocally

lasəga əb lola [b]alleŋ
lola [b]alləŋ həllet/ semere [b]alləŋ həlla
noam balləŋ həlla

Before gutturals, where there is no omission and thus no gemination is expected, none was recorded

Lola tħadde llet	lola wants
semere lħadde lla / ħadde lla	semere wants

Omission is expected with glide-initial verbs. but not gemination (glides don’t geminate):

semere wadde həlla	semere is doing
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But in general, besides the intriguing point about [b] (which is not very clear in general), no gemination was heard. M kept asking me what I hear, because he couldn’t hear a real difference: in other cases he was able to.

semere takkəs (*ttakkəs) həlla	S is shooting
lola sətte (*ssətte) llet / geys (*ggeys) həllet	L is drinking/going

semere sätte lla / geys (*ggeys) həlla

S is drinking/going

2. A point about 'play'

talhe always has prefixes, although its first syllable seems open. In fact it the prefixed form has an initial geminate. The initial geminate is revealed in the past when a vowel final verb precedes the verbs

L *tittalhe llet* Lola is playing

L *ttalhet llet* Lola is playing

3. Raz's "transposition" turns out to be true.

(Although I seem to have heard no gemination of R3)

'raising it'

		imperative	
1sg	(ə)saqq ^u lu		
pl	ənsaqq ^u lu		
2sgms	saqq ^u lu	səq ^a lu	
2sgfm	saqq ⁱ lu	səq ^e lu	
2plms	saqq ^u lu	s ^u q ^o lu	
2plfm	saqlahu	səq ^a lahu	
3sgms	saqq ^u lu		
3sgfm	saqq ^u lu		
3plms	saqq ^u lu		
3plfm	saqlahu		

3. Some more explorations into causative, passive, unaccusative, with əb

səħaqa M əbba dəgəb səħaqa 'M laughed əb the story'
'laugh' lədəgəm əgəl M ʔasħaqa(tu) 'the story caused M to laugh'

saʕa M əb N saʕa 'M ran away from N'
'run' N əgəl M ʔasʕa 'N caused M to run'

sakba lajin(n)a əb ^ummu sakba 'M said "with his mother"
'lie down' la-^um əgəlla jina askabat 'put to sleep'

baka lajinna əb ^ummu baka 'the baby cried because of his mother'
'cry' no ʔa- version

fagra	M əb N fagra	‘M left because of noam’	(weaker, cause indirect??)
‘leave’	N əgəl M ʔafgara	‘N made M leave’	(stronger, cause direct)
taʔaba	M əb N taʔaba	‘M tired of N’	(weaker)
‘tire’	N əgəl M ʔatʔaba	‘N tired M, made M tired’	(stronger)

What is needed is a subject with no conceptually plausible volition, like ‘the wind’, ‘the sun’, ‘the draught’, ‘the problems’: maybe it will be revealed that these cannot serve as subjects of the stronger ʔa- verb.

Another question is whether unambiguous case of active causation can be expressed with əb alone, without a change in the verb. For example, the second sentence could be one like that, only one would have to specify a context where M is forced to start smoking by N.

ladəla:m ambatat ‘the rain started’
M (əb N) šʔiga:ra ambata ‘M started to smoke (lit. cigarette) (by noam)’

Actually, bad example. Maybe something like ‘strangle’ w

A final point: Although M agrees with the forms reported by Raz, a process of passivieation of causativized verbs seems unproductive:

lasəga bašla ‘habasar hitbašel’
N əgəlla səga ʔabšala ‘N bišel et habasar/ garam šehabasar yitbašel’
la sega əb N *tabšala ‘peulat gramat hitbashlut habasar naasta al yedey noam’

In my notes, I have the word *baššala* with no asterisk, but out of context. Last time, M said it was not possible: typo?

25th session with Mohamad (12/03/2013)

1. More passives

(s)sokkofko 'I worried'

M sakkafa 'M worried'

N əgəl M assakkafayu 'Noam worried Mohammad'

M əb N sakkafa

*M əbba dəla:m saʕa (M: "ran by the rain? not good")

M mīnna dəla:m saʕa 'M ran from the rain'

- əb also parallel to 'by' in English in

M əbba maki:nat saʕa 'M drove by (the) car'

- both options are possible with inanimate "causer" not "agent"

laqoro:rat əbba waləwal wadqat

lawaləwal əgəlla ʔawdaqaya

la-səga bašla 'the meat cooked'

la-səga bbaššala 'the meat was cooked' (M: "it is understood that someone is cooking")

2. gemination: passive vs. present progressive

Lola satte llet

la-may əb lola ssatta

also, notice the different vocalisation of the augmentation QTTL in Type I present and passives :

M balləs həlla

lasaʔal əb M lībballas

3. Diminutives

kaləb => kallebay

qar => qarretay

4. delimiting harmony

ʔokkobko,

fogorko

*ħolofko. ħalafko / ħalofko

boʔosko

*t'oʃonko. t'aʃanko

*t'olobko. t'alabko (t'alobko??) 'order in restaurant'

*qotolko. qatalko (qatolko??)

*qorʔoko. qarʔako (check this again)

*moħolko. maħalko 'swear'

*wodoqko. wadaqko

*ko:tobko. ka:tobko

mot'oko, mat'oko

*soqolko

kotobko

*ʃorogko. ʃarogko /ʃaragko

*čolofko. čalofko / čalafko 'take a part'

hodofko 'arrive suddenly'

ʔosorko 'tie'

*boroħko. baraħko 'balden'

*qonot'ko. qanot'ko 'stand up' (check this!!)

dorosko.

noborko.

dowolko.

*ħot'obko. 'wash'

worosko

nosʔoko 'take' (check and compare with qrʔ)

fohomko 'agree'

*qoyorko. qayorko

*woč'oč'ko. wač'ač'ko, wač'oč'ko

4. the inflection of give:

In the past: habko (~hobko), haba, habit

In the present: like geys: heyb həllako

In the subjunctive: gīlhabb, gīthabb, gīthabi, gīthobo (with lighter b. maybe the others too, because it's final it's hard to hear, but it seems strong.

26th session with M

aze ħatte dægəm əb šaʕab ča:d gələda:gəmtu
dib čad oro ina:s doktor ʕala, hutu yani makka giligis ħada
makka ənde geys oro baqal qatt'a:n əba bbaggasa (M : oro is mistake, it's for male)
thin start
walabaqal ħilet yaʕalabani (yaʕalaba)
strength she didn't have
dib gabay labaqal ħilat səʕənīt dib ĭnta karay mat'attu (ĭnta not pronoun but prep.)
power losing while was
be:laya əgəlla karay gīlʕigis ħadeko
wəgəl makka labaqal yi-taʕabat'aħa-ni ni ħilat ʕalaba:ni belaya
does not able make me arrive
lakaray yani illa baqal həbenni ka ʕana gəlləblaʕa
kam ana ənde balʕakwa kam t'agobko la-taraf wuladye abat'əħ-u waʕaqablaka
succeed the-rest make arrive and I'll comeback toyou
wəsək ma:ka abatħaka be:lattu
nay aban bela la-ina:s. nay aban belattu lakaray
wahabaya ətta gəlla baqal əgəl labaqal balʕatta
wa-la-taraf (ənde)nasʕattu wula:da abtaħattu
wula:da ənde abtaħattu yaʕaqbalattuni.
ħakwa adəg kadda:n mat'ayu əgella ina:s ənde letta:ke
donkey wild waiting
belayu mi tittakke lleka mī wadde be:layu
what wait what do
ana: sək makka saʕudiya gilʕigis ħade:ko
baqal qatta:n- baqal šīlħit əbba
very thin with it (qatta:n = naturally thin)
walabaqal yani ħilat kam səʕənət karay, (be:lat karay) mat'atenni bielkwa
I told her
ana saʕudiya gīlʕigis ħadeko əbba baqal

walabaqal yitabat'añanini ñilat ?alabani belkwa lakaray yani belatteni
labaqal ana gələblaŋa wətərəf əgəl wulajye gələbtuñu
waəgələmt'akat-tu əttə la-?aka:n ?illa
and I will come back to you to this place
wa əsək saŋudiya ana abatañakka dibye tət'ŋan belattu
waəsək əlla yimat'attanini əgəla ətt'ake həlleko belayu.
and till this(now)
ləədəg kaddan yani ana gəsəŋadaka tu koys belayu
wat'awali (əgəlla ñiwat nay la) gəlla ñiwat wa-ləga:m
immediately saddle
ətta nafsə wadayu waəsək karay geysa
on himself put it
wadib karay ənde geysat əgəl lañiwat wəgel lələga:m lokfoyu tta gabay
ñakwa ətta baka karay kam bat'ña
arrive
mñn həlla dib insar bela, kə ?a:dha
wa la-oro balsa əttu ?alabuni ([?olobuni])
and no one answered him
ñakwa kal'ə dol bəla ana karay ana wa?at maytət ra:kəb həlleko bela
another time I, hyena, I found a dead cow
lakaray yani mi byelka biyelat ənde fəgrat
what didi you say while
hutu yani ana wa?at maytət ra:kəb həlleko
walawa?at yani əgəlki gəlhabba ñadeko belaya
kalas koys hanna ?ar?eni ətta be:ləttu
hanna bəga nigis be:ləya wat'awali baggasow
aze ənde goyso gəlla ləga:m wəgəlla, wəgəlla ñiwat rokbəwu
illi, illi dñb ŋət'etki gñl?idayu nafsəni be:ləya.
this on your back I will put it is good for me

koys belattu. wugəlla ləga:m wugəlla ħiwat wada diba
wa-tĭk ənda abala ətta doctor balsaya
straight while make her to do the doctor returned her
wu əbbahu ladoktor yani t'aŋana diba wasuŋudya bat'ħa ba
straight away the doctor mounted on her arrive
ma essalama

aze ħatte dəgəm gələda:gəmtu ladəgəm yani əb yosefta
badir yosef nuʔuʃ dib halla dib israʔel ta ladəgəm
yosef biʔħam ħaw ŋalaw ulu
hutu yani oro mĭnna nəʔayʃ ħawutu
yosef ħatte nha:r əgəl ħawu belayum ana ħĭlĭm ħalamko belayu
laħĭlĭm yani ana ʃeŋir b ^u zuħ naye ŋala ʔiye waintuma ʃŋir ŋala ʔikum
laʃəŋir na:ye əgəl laʃəŋir na:yekum awdaqayu belayum
laʔajanit yani fakkaraw ləħaw ĩlli kofo kənna ħalləm below
wondered how likethat hedreams
ħakwa, kalʔat nəha:r yani belayum ana qafo nay ʃəŋir nayie wanay ʃəŋir naye kəlkum
laqa:fo:ta:t nayekum ətta naye ənda mat'a dib burku wadqa ʔul-u belayum
h ^u tom ya:ni, ĩlli ħĭt'a:n kofo kənnə lħassəb həlla below ka marra fakkəro
how likethis heisthinking and wondered a lot
ħakwa la-ajanit below laħaw əgəl ĩlli ħĭt'a:n nuqtollu below
ħakwa lanuʔuʃ ħowom ya:ni bela yonoqtolluni
dib eyela nĭlkoffu bela.
ħakwa dib eyela gələkoffu ənde goyso badawin rakbo(w)
wadibba bada:win adbowu.

dibba bada:win ənde adbawu gəlla ləba:su afgaraw mīnno
ka ḥayat ende qatlawu dam ḥayat wadaw etta gəl laleba:s
gəl laʔabuhom be:law yosef? ḥayat balʕayu beloyu
waḥakwa yosef, la-bada:win la-nasʔawu dīb məsər ge:saw ^u bu
ḥakwa dib məsər yosef dib bet nay minister ba:ni šaqqe ʕala
wayosef mara g ^u rum ʕala
aze gurum sabbat ʕala l-ʕissit tta mələk yani fattettu
l-ʕissit tta mələk naʕa məsəlye səkab be:lattu
come
ana yisakkəb məselkini belaya səkab məsəlye yisakkəb məsəlki
ḥakwa ḥatte nəha:r c'abt'atu əbba ləba:su kanaʕa məsəlye səkab belattu
nadʕaya gəl--- gəlligis mīnna
shook her to go from her
ḥīta yani əgəl ləba:su c'abt'at dib həllet
la-mələk mat'ayom
belattu ḥīta yosef yom gəlləskab məsəlye ḥada əb ḥilat belattu
aa lamələk yani ḥarka ka əgəl yosef dib sijn lakfayu
prison
ḥakwa yosef sijn dib halla orot be:ker lalətbahal sajjana m ^u slu
emprisoned
be:kerma yani ba:ni šaqqə ʕala dib bet--- dib ḥantə mələk
ḥakwa be:la la be:kər ḥīlīm ḥallama (M says : better sentence ḥīlīm ḥalamko)
baker said that he dreamt a dream (the t version only for the past)
laḥīlīm yani bekər b ^u zuḥ ba:ni šaqqe walaba:ni kullu mələk ballʕu ʕalat
the dream was (the dream)
be:leyu ana ḥīlīm ḥallomko.
walaḥīlīm yani? ana b ^u zuḥ ba:ni šaqqeko laba:ni kullu lamələk balʕayu be:layu

illi qalil h̄ilim tu be:la yosef
la h̄ilim yani belayu ĩnta--
fajir m̄al̄ak anda mat'a ḡalla sijin minnu gelʔafḡaraka tu belayu
wat'awali fajir lam̄al̄ak mat'a ugul be:ker minna sijin afgarayu
wabe:ker dib suqul ŋaqbala.
ħakwa ħatte nha:r la-m̄al̄ak ma yani thallama
la h̄ilim nay la m̄al̄ak yani sabuŋ ħa ŋilħa:t əḡəl ŋalaya
wasabuŋ ħa gazayif ŋalaya.
lasabuŋ ħa ŋilħa:t əḡəl la sabuŋ ħa gazayif balŋayahən. ĩlla ŋalat la h̄ilim.
ĩlla belayu be:ker yani, h̄ilim, orot halla tta sijin yosef lubulu
uglu ŋasʔalka m̄in gabbi(ni) ḡaluftuħuka tu belayu
if you explained to him he will solve/open it for you
walam̄al̄ak tta sijin ge:sa wum̄inna sijin əḡəl yosef afgarayu
ka-saʔalayu ana k̄inni thalamko belayu
likethis
yosef bela illi h̄ilim illi qaliltu belayu
illi lasabuŋ sanat həllaya dib ejj̄e baladi m̄əsər
will have
sabuŋ sanat sanya:t həllaya
good
walamat'a sabuŋ sanat asaran yani
afterthem
d̄əla:m yəŋalabuni dib massər ŋikyat tən
bad
aze tela sabuŋ sanat sanyat may ŋakkobu
in the collect
ḡalla lamat'a həllaya sabuŋ sanyat be:layu
years

wakam raʔu yani dib mäsər sabuʔ sanat sanya :t
when they saw
wahakwa sabʔa sanat ekya:t gabʔaya
wamäsər yani, sabuʔ sanat- tta sabuʔ sanat lasanya:t, may ʔakkabaw gälla
sabuʔ sannat läʔəkya:t gälləhlofo.
hakwa yosef dib maktab nay la mələk šaqqa wafadab kam ʔummur
office as famous
hakwa la ʔisraelin dib mäsər gesaw,
lasabuʔ sanat kam tamaw
hakwa lahaw əgəl yosef-- mat'aw əgəl yosef
ka hənə hawka hənə yi-tisbat ətna ni belowo wadib burku wadqaw ʔulu
h ^u tu yani la miškəlat ʔalabuni belayum wuminna bərku harrasayom
ther problem no lifted them
wəhawye ĩntum be:layum (...)
aze, mĭnna ladəgəm gənnəfhamma lä həlla ənna laħilim,
From the story we have to understand the dream
layosef ħalmaya (balat) la-šĭʔir naykum
that y dreamt the their šĭʔir
ətta ħana naye geludaqtu belayum
in the under of mine will fall
hətom yani ənde mat'aw wadqaw ətta ħana burku.

3. modals

tel aviv nabber yehəllekanni	‘you don’t live in TA’
tel aviv gələnbar yeħadden	‘I don’t want to live in TA’
č’egarye rəyĭm halla, lazem gəlʔəqra:č’u biye	‘my hair is long, I have to cut it’
yĭqarrəč’uni	‘I will not cut it’
hutu č’egoru gəlleqra:č’u bo	‘he has to cut his hair’
ana č’e:garye ma:le gəqra:ču ʔala ʔiye laki:n yəqarač’kuwuni	
I had to cut my hair yesterday, but I didn’t.	

ma:le šuqul giyigis ŋala ŋiye, la:kin yiyeyskoni
'yesterday I had to go to work, but I didn't go'

ana gǐdras biye 'I have to recite'

ana gǐdras ŋala ŋiye 'I had to recite' (In both, gəlŋədras is also possible)

inta gətədras bəka

inta gətədras ŋala ŋekka (*gədras, in either)

4. reduplication of first radical when prefix is omitted

ǐnta lakkəf 'you throw'

ǐnta yǐllakkəfni 'you do not throw' hutu yilakkəfni 'he does not throw'

ǐnta yǐbballəsni 'you do not answer'

ǐnta ddarrəs həlleka 'you are reciting' yiddarrəsni

hutu darrəs halla 'he is reciting' yidarrəsni ~ yidarrəsni

inta yissatteni

hutu yissatteni~yisatteni

ǐnta yaŋarrəgni

hutu yǐlŋarrəgni ~ yaŋarrəgni (this is true for all gutt-initial verbs)

5. the focusing -tu

mintu la-baŋu həlla 'who is it that ate it?'

why is this in the imperfective? (possible labbaŋu)

ana wadekuwu 'I did it'

anatu lawadekuwu 'It is I who did it'

h^ututu lawadeyu 'It is him who did it'

kosorko 'I lost'

ǐntatu lakkassər həlleka (again, the imperfective and not the perfective)

h^ututu la(k)kassər həlla

ǐntatu labballəŋ həlleka

h^ututu la(b)balləŋ həlla

27th session with M 26/04/2013

1. Transposition and geminates

ħrad ‘slash’	ħradd-u/a/om	‘you (ms.) slash him/her/them’
	ħred-u/a/om	‘you (fm.) slash him/her/them’
	ħrod-u/a/om	‘you (ms.pl) slash him/her/them’

repeated with qtal ‘kill’

andəd ‘burn!’	andəddu	‘you (ms.) burn him’
	andídu	‘you (fm.) burn him’
	andúdu	‘you (ms.pl.) burn him’

afgər ‘bring out!’		
	afgərru	‘you (ms.) bring him out’
	afgíru	‘you (fm.) bring him out’
	afgúru	‘you (ms.) bring him out’

2. with 1sg object suffix

ħət’abanni	‘you (ms.) wash me’
ħət’abini	‘you (fm.) wash me’
ħət’abuni	‘you (pl.) wash me’

3. resumptive object suffixes are obligatory

la-filəm la-reʔe-kw-a (*reʔeko) ‘the film I saw it’

la-makinat la-ʔana mat’oko ba mǐnna la-makinat la-gere mat’a ba gərəm.

‘the car I came in(it) is more beautiful than the car gere came in(it)’

4. Three place predicates

lakəta:b hab-u-ni ‘give me the book’ (the book give it me)

^uglu habbu ‘give him him’ (???)

habenni əttu ‘give me him’

habenni ətta ‘give me her’

^uglu habbu əttu ‘give him him’

əgla habbu ətta ‘give him to her’ *əttu

I confess that I don’t understand what is going on. The marking on the verb is the direct object; but əgəl and ətt must apparently agree, both marking the indirect object.

5. Quality of the vowel

fagarna [a]	fagarki [ə]	fagra [a]
fagarka [a]	fagarkum [o]	fagrat [ə]

faggər, fagri [ə] fəgar [a]

The same was verified with drs 'recite'

həfazzu [ə]

6. Action noun

- this category seems very productive, in that M was able to produce words he had never hear, saying they were ok.

mamnuʃ (forbidden)	mathaga:y	'speaking'
	šiga:rət mišha:b	'cigarette pulling (=smoking)'
	juwa maʔta:y	'coming in'
	barra miʔga:r	'going out'
	mista:y	'drinking'
	mabla:ʔ	'eating'
	məhəmba:s	'swim'
	mat'ʔa:n	'loading'
	məhət'a:b	'washing'
	matfatta:n	'try'
	matjarra:b	'try'
	matʔallab	'count'
	matmazzan	'weigh'

} Type B

maʔəjuz (allowed)

ana madra:s əffətte 'I like studying'

šiga:rət mišha:b ʔukuyu/ g^urumtu 'smoking is bad/good'

7. The verb nadda 'burn'

- This verb acts like classical Arabic mdd:

nadadko/ka/ki/kum
nádda, naddat, naddaw

ənaddəd, naddəd, naddi, naddo/a

-ndad

mīndad

8. Expressing synchronicity

hutu lətha:ge wabalʕe speaks and eats
ənde balləʔ lətha:ge while eating, speaks

mVQTa:L cannot be used for this purpose.

ənde balləŋ reʔekuwu 'I saw him while eating' (ambiguous who's eating)

hutu ill balləŋ reʔeuwo (unambiguous) 'I saw him that eats.'

hutu šiga:ret illi **shəb** reʔkuhu (kuwu) 'I saw him that smokes'

another way:

hutu dib gamal t'^uŋun dib həlla əb tələfun lətha:ge ʔala

he in camel loaded in is on telephone speak was

'he spoke while seated on a camel'

9. Expressing possession in future

ana dummu gəthalle ʔiye ba (ba expresses certainty)

ana tasfa biye dummu gəthalle ʔiye

10. 'Be' in future

• There is no verb 'be' in the future. Instead, there are many strategies. They are recorded.

11. Verb 'be able to'

yom **gidayu** **yikoni**, la:kin fajir **gīlʔidayu** ʔeqaddər

today to.do.it I can't, but tomorrow to.do.it I.will.be able

12. interaction of gemination and agreement vs. object suffix

h^utu ləhəffəzzu həlla 'he is studying iz'

h^utom ləhəfzo 'they study'

həffəz+u => həffəzzu

həffəz+o => həfzo

13. Stress

M bálleŋ həllá/yehəlláni

M yiballəŋni

M balləŋ

M bálʔa, yibalʔáni

*balʔáko

28th-29th sessions with Mohamad (1/5/2013)

1. dægəm əb yahuda

ade ħte dægəm gələda:gəmtu əb yehuda
yehuda lalītbahal ina:s ŷala, (hutu jəna salas ʔulu) hutu jani salas ajannit ŷalaw ʔulu
ero jəna hutom era onan wašela lītboholo
era əgəl tama:r latītbahal ha:di ŷala (I hear ha:da, but M says ha:di, see notes)
era ʔukuy sabbat ŷala rabbi qatlayu
ħakwa, tama:r wula:d ħadet
waəgəl onan məsəlye skab be:lattu
onan yani məsla gīliskab yəħadani
wuhutu-ma yani rabbi qatlayu
ħakwa onan, dib yehuda ge:sat ka
ħakwa tama:r dib yehuda ge:sat
ka ana wula:d ħaddelleko be:lattu
hutu yani əgəl še:la ta:kay kam ŷaba hutu walləd ətki be:laya
waʔubbuhu yani rassaŷaya
ħakwa ħīta əgla waddə səŷenat wula:d sabbat ħadet
to it do not.found (she did not know what to do)
ħakwa yəhuda əgla enda rasŷa dib keda:n ge:sa eb aba:guŷu
ħīta yani ləba:s nay bīʔiŷsa mayt mīnna ʔissit sabbat la:bsat ŷalat
her.husband
əgəla ləba:s ənde lakfottu ləba:s nay šara:mīt labsat
wə-tta yehuda la-həlla ttu arīd geysat
and.to the that-is in-it place (and she went to the place where yehuda is)

ħakwa yehuda, ubbu enda lħa:lləf ləba:s nay šara:mīt
Then yehuda in-it when he passed with prostitute clothes
ənda labsat wu-gatt'-a ənde t'aŋamamat ənde
and with covered face
kullu ənde galbabat sabbat ra?aya mat'aya (logically should be kulla, but kullu)
all covered because he saw her he came to her
ka ?iskab məsəlki be:laja
hīta yani koys be:lattu
ħakwa gītiskab məsəlye ga(b)?a-ka la:ki:n mī t(a)hayba:ni byelattu
you became (like mīn gabbi?, without mīn)
hutu yani b'igŋit gəlhabakitu byelaja
bəggət kam thaybenni ana ko a:mer byelattu
aze ka:təm habanni waħare la-beggət---
afterwards
do:la thaybanni ana ka:təm haybakka
once
wa-ffa:hamaw wa-sakba məsəla
ħakwa ħako sala:s šahar hīta ŋamsat
ħakwa kam ŋamsat yehuda yani ?a:mara
mīn mīn ŋamsat gəmi ŋamsat ənde bela geleqtalla ħada
from whom why
ħakwa rakbaya ka mīn mīn ŋamaski byelaja
hīta yani, ana mīn ina:s illa ka:təm illa la-ŋalat ?ulu mīnnu ŋamasko byelattu
hutu yani hutu kom-tu ?a:mara
he, he knew it was like.him
wahīta yani, kul?ot jina manattit waldat
wu maŋ ?essala:ma

2. the appearance of schwa

Mohamad doesn't seem to care if a schwa is inserted or not, in my pronunciation in:

skab / skabi or səkab / səkabi 'sleep!'

But as far as I can tell there is always a small [a] in

t^aʕan! 'load!'

3. Final i => a before guttural

On several occasions, M told me to write a word final [i] where clearly an [a] was pronounced.

era əgəl tama:r latitbahal ha:d[**a**] ʕala 'era was married to the one called tamar'

but the adjective in isolation is [ha:di], fm. [hedi:t] (note long i and harmony)

4. Who says so/it?

- kullom ʕarab ʔikya:m tom 'all arabs are bad'
- mīn kīnni byelaka 'who told you so'
- mīn ʔlli byela 'who says that'
- ana 'I'

5. The verb 'to become'

The verb *gabʔa* is used to express the meaning 'become', but also a hypothetical 'to be' in conditionals:

ħakwa gittiskab məsəlye ga(b)ʔa-ka la:ki:n mī t(a)hayba:ni byelattu	
you became	(like mīn gabbiʔ, without mīn)
then she told him "suppose you were to sleep with me, (but) what will you give me"	

In the perfective, there is always a cluster [bʔ]. Because of the frequency of the verb, and because of the weakness of post vocalic [b], all the forms of the verbs have a pronunciation without [b] at all. The omission does not leave a trace of compensatory lengthening. The form comes to resemble the paradigm of *haba* 'give'

ana gabʔa / gaʔa ħəna gabʔana / gaʔana
īnta gabʔaka/gaʔaka
hīta gabʔat / gaʔat
h^utom gabʔaw / gaʔaw

However, in the imperfective and subjunctive forms, where [b] is geminated or in onset position, nothing happens.

5. perfective state

perfective state is expressed with the addition to the passive participle a special declension added to *dib*

ša:ker dib untu rakakuhu 'I found him, him having become drunk'

Or

sa:ker dib ana, sakabko 'having become drunk, I slept'

The declension is special because it is formed of *dib* and the free pronoun, except for the third person:

dib ana

dib h̄əna

dib ʔnta

...

dib ʔntu him

dib ʔnta her

dib ʔntom them

dib ʔntan them (fm.)

30th session with Moḥamad Abdu

1. Raz's participles

as in Raz, they describe "the person who"

With type B, M has two variants

mazzana 'weigh' mamazzəna:y or mamazna:y

l-ina:s lamamaena:y kamsin (50) kilo gaʔa 'the weigher became 50 k' ???

əbbuya mabaddelay-tu (money exchanger)

kullom ʕajje mubaddəli:n (*-a:m)

hutu la-məda:gma:y (-in, a:m)

mitfahama:y ~miffahama:y

- contrary to Raz, some [a]'s become [e] before agentive -a:y
kedma:y, se:ta:y, be:lʕay

2. verification of no transposition in certain verbs

ḥənaq!	ḥənaqqu
ḥənaqi!	ḥənequ
-o,-a	ḥənoqu, ḥənaqahu

blaʕ	bəʕu	imperfective: balʕu, balʕiyu, balʕuwu
bilʕi	bəʕiyu / ihu	
bəʕo	bəʕuwu	
bəʕa	bəʕahu/ *yu	

səte	sətayu / *hu	imperfective: sattiyu, sattiyu, sattuwu
sətay	sətayu/ *hu	
sətaw	sətawu/ hu	
sətaya	sətayahu	