THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE TIGRE
VERB (MANSA' DIALECT) (I)

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This work is based on material collected in Eritrea during the first three months of 1970 and worked on since then. The main difficulty in Tigre studies[1] is the very small corpus of texts available. E. Littmann published his two main contributions to the grammar of Tigre[2] before he learned the spoken language and before he collected his famous texts.[3] The texts included in his *Publications*[4] were intended to serve as a foundation for a Tigre grammar and a Tigre dictionary.[5] Unfortunately, the first of the two goals was never achieved. E. Littmann published only one article on the Tigre verb based on his own material, a few years before his death.[6] M. Höfner also contributed to the study of the material collected by E. Littmann.[7] W. Leslau based his *Short grammar of Tigre*[8] on Littmann's texts but added later supplementary observation after having carried out personal investigations in Eritrea.[9] Because most of the previous studies on the Tigre verb are based on bodies of texts not collected by the

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[1] For the linguistic studies on Tigre see Wolf Leslau, *An annotated bibliography of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia*, Mouton, The Hague 1965, 144–64.

[2] "Die Pronomina in Tigre", *ZA* xii (1897), 188–230 and 291–316; "Das Verbum der Tigre-Sprache", *ZA* xiii (1898), 133–78; xiv (1899), 1–102.

[3] See work cited in the next footnote, volume 1, Preface, xi–xii.

[4] *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia*, E. J. Brill, Leiden 1910–15, 4 volumes in 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, Preface xii.

[6] "Bilitterale Verba im Tigrē" in *Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum*, Uppsala 1954, 94–101. Reproduced in *Orientalia Suecana* iii (1954), 94–101.

[7] "Probleme der Verbalstammbildung im Tigré", *ZDMG* ci (1951), 89–106.

[8] American Oriental Society. Offprint Series No. 18, New Haven 1945, containing the offprints of two articles, "The verb in Tigré (North-Ethiopic) Dialect of Mensa", *JAOS* lxv (1945), 1–26. and "Grammatical sketches in Tigré (North-Ethiopic) Dialect of Mensa", *JAOS* lxv (1945), 164–203.

[9] "Supplementary observation on Tigré grammar", *JAOS* lxviii (1948), 127–39.

authors, their value is weakened; a fresh and comprehensive description based on original research is therefore necessary. In order to achieve this, the present article aims to go beyond the existing corpus of texts and grammatical material. Previous work has, however, been taken into account to the fullest extent possible. An effort has been made throughout to present the grammatical material in such a way that it will serve as a useful tool to the student of Tigre.

I. THE VERB TYPES WITHOUT PREFIXES

1.1 TYPE A

Type A verbs have an unmarked meaning in relation to co-existing verbs of types B and C. Verbs of type A can be either transitive or intransitive. Examples: *lakfa* "to throw"; *sakba* "to take rest"; *fagra* "to go out"; *wahaza* "to flow"; *wada* "to do, to make"; *dangara* "to be late"; *'ambata* "to begin".

1.2 TYPE B

Verbs of type B are non-functional in the morphological system of the verb and are to be treated in terms of lexis. Many among type B verbs do not have coexisting verbs of type A and thus form the "head" of a dictionary entry. Type B verbs are frequently denominative: in many instances of coexisting type A and B verbs the respective roots are of different origin and meaning. Examples of type B verbs which do not have coexisting verbs of type A: *mazzana* "to weigh" (v.t.); *garrama* "to be beautiful"; *wallaba* "to turn at"; *sallasa* "to do three times"; *tallama* "to begin to plough"; *baššara* "to bring good news"; *tallaqa* "to let loose"; *saddaqa* "to sacrifice"; *'azzaza* "to command"; *'addaba* "to trouble"; *habbasa* "to take prisoner"; *haddasa* "to renew"; *'addaba* "to accustom"; *'aggaba* "to do wrong"; *kayana*[1] "to deceive"; *kawala* "to hide"; *halla* "to be, to exist". Examples of type B verbs which have coexisting verbs of type A: *daggama* "to tell" (*dagma* "to repeat"); *šakkara* "to praise" (*šakra* "to get drunk"); *ballasa* "to turn over (v.t.)" (*balsa* "to turn over" v.t., "to answer"); *fattara* "to be unleavened" (*fatra* "to create"); *kabbara* "to give news" (*kabra* "to be honoured"); *haffana* "to take with both hands" (*hafna* "to become hot").

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[1] Semivowels are not geminated. See Sec. 10.2.

1.3. TYPE C

Triradicals of type C are met with in the expression of: (*a*) increase of force or intensity of the action denoted by the underlying verb of type A. Such verbs of type C are transitive. Examples: *gāraba* "to cut in pieces" (*garba* "to cut"); *sāṭara* "to split, to tear off a number of pieces" (*saṭra* "to split, to tear off"); *sāqala* "to hang all" (*saqla* "to hang"); *sābara* "to break to pieces, to be engaged in breaking" (*sabra* "to break"); *lākafa* "to throw many, to persist in throwing" (*lakfa* "to throw"); *qātala* "to do some killing, to be engaged in killing" (*qatla* "to kill"); *wālada* "to persist in giving birth, to give birth a few times" (*walda* "to give birth"); *sābaṭa* "to hold back (i.e. not to allow)"; (*sabṭa* "to hold"). (*b*) The notion of causation for those verbs whose initial radical is a laryngal.[1] Triradicals with an initial laryngal can also express the conative aspect, and meaning is then determined by the contextual sense. Thus, type C of *halka* "to exert oneself, to trouble oneself" which is *hālaka* is either "to exert oneself very much" or "to trouble" (v.t.). Examples of type C verbs whose first radical is a laryngal: *ḥālafa* "to cause to pass, to remove" (*ḥalfa* "to pass"); *'āta* "to make enter, to bring in" (*'ata* "to enter"); *ḥārada* "to slaughter (e.g. several cows)" (*ḥarda* "to slaughter"). (*c*) A stylistic free variant of type A, or type B where the type A verb does not coexist. Examples: *tākala/takla* "to plant"; *šāfaṭa/šafṭa* "to sew"; *bātaka/batka* "to cut off"; *lābaka/labbaka* "to anoint, to smear"; *kālasa/kallasa* "to terminate"; *tālama/tallama* "to begin to plough". There are some instances in which a type C verb and the coexisting verb of another type are of different origin and meaning. Examples: *sāraḥa* "to send away, to make live" (*sārḥa* "to produce, to make"); *bāraka* "to bless";[2] (*barka* "to kneel"). *šākara/sakkara* "to praise" (*šakra* "to get drunk").

Quadriradicals[3] of type C are used in the expression of the conative or frequentative (iterative) aspect of the action denoted by the underlying verb of type A. Thus, quadriradical verbs of type C function, in relation to type A, as triradical verbs of both types C and D function in relation to type A. Examples: *qarāṭaṭa* "to crush (v.t.)"; (*qarṭaṭa* "to break into several pieces" v.t.).

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[1] Verbs with an initial laryngal lack the *'a*-A formation. See Sec. 9.1.
[2] The more usual verb which renders the notion "to bless" is *daḥara*.
[3] Quadriradicals occur only in types A and C. See Sec. 14.

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marāmara "to examine thoroughly" (*marmara* "to examine, to consider"); *gasāgasa* "to charge forward repeatedly" (*gasgasa* "to march forward quickly").

1.4. TYPE D

The type D verb, which occurs with triradicals only, is used to express the frequentative or conative aspect of the action denoted by the underlying verb of type A. When the intensity of action is described, this can involve either increase or decrease of force, i.e. augmentative or attenuate aspect.[1] There are, therefore, instances in which the meanings of verbs of types C and D in relation to type A overlap. Examples: *sabābara* "to break thoroughly" (*sābara* "to break in pieces (v.t.), to be engaged in breaking"; *sabra* "to break"); *ḥarārasa* "to plough a little" (*ḥārasa* "to cultivate the soil"; *ḥarsa* "to plough"); *katātaba* "to write much, repeatedly" (*kātaba* "to vaccinate; *katba* "to write; to vaccinate"); *dagāgama* "to tell repeatedly, to recite"; *dāgma* "to tell"; *dagma* "to repeat"; *balālasa* "to answer repeatedly" (*bālasa/balsa* "to answer"); *badādala* "to change repeatedly" (*badla* "to change", v.t.); *kadādama* "to work on and off" (*kadama* "to serve, to work"); *kalālə'a* "to pass a short time" (*kal'a* "to pass the time"); *dawāwara* "to wander about" (*dora* "to turn", v.t.).

2. PREFIXED DERIVATIVES

2.1. DERIVATIVES WITH THE PREFIX TƎ-

tə- derivatives are used in the expression of:

(a) The passive voice of transitive verbs of types A, B, and C. In some instances, transitive verbs become intransitive or denote the notion of reflexivity by means of the *tə-* formation. Examples of *tə-* A: *tənaqqama* "to be called, to be mentioned" (*naqma* "to call"); *tərakkaba* "to be found" (*rakba* "to find"); *təḥassaba* "to be thought" (*ḥasba* "to think"); *təkantaba* "to be appointed chieftain" (*kantaba* "to appoint as chieftain"); *təsaqqala* "to be hanged, to hang" v.i. (*saqla* "to hang" v.t.); *təkassata* "to be opened, to open" v.i.; (*kasta* "to open"); *ta'aǧǧaba* "to be astonished" ('*aǧba* "to astonish"); *tədardara* "to gird oneself" (*dardara* "to gird"). Examples of *tə-* B: *təkallasa* "to be term-

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[1] Cf. Sec. 16.3: *bela* compounds: the aspectual use of *bela* and *'abala*.

inated" (*kallasa* "to terminate"); *təmazzana* "to be weighed" (*mazzana* "to weigh" v.t.); *taḥaddasa* "to be renewed" (*ḥaddasa* "to renew"). Examples of *tə-* C: *təsāṭara* "to be torn off into several pieces" (*sāṭara* "to tear off into several pieces"); *təšārama* "to be cut into strips" (*šārama* "to cut into strips"); *taḥārada* "to be slaughtered (e.g. several animals)", *ḥārada* "to slaughter (e.g. several animals)".

(*b*) The notion of reciprocity by means of *tə-* C and *tə-* D formations, where the underlying verb is neither C in the former case, nor D in the latter; i.e. both formations are best treated as unanalysable wholes as regards their morphological constituents (the meaning of *tə-* C is not the outcome of the meaning of *tə-* +C, etc.). Examples of *tə-* C verbs which express the notion of reciprocity; *təlāmada* "to get used to each other" (*lamda* "to get accustomed"); *təqāraba* "to approach each other" (*qarba* "to be near, to come near"); *təgādaba* "to fight each other" (*gadba* "to plunder"); *taḥādara* "to dwell together" (*ḥadra* "to dwell"); *taḥādaga* "to leave each other" (*ḥadga* "to leave"); *tərāda* "to be in mutual agreement" (*rada* "to agree"); *təmarāmara* "to consult one another (*marmara* "to examine"). Examples of *tə-* D verbs which express the notion of reciprocity: *təsalālama* "to bandy salutations" (*təsālama* "to salute"); *təra'ā'a* "to see one another" (*ra'a* "to see"); *təsa'ā'ama* "to kiss one another" (*sa'ama* "to kiss"); *təlakāka* "to call one another" (*təlāka* "to call"); *tahagāga* "to bandy words, to converse" (*tahāga* "to speak"). In the case of verbs where types A or C are lacking, *tə-* C and *tə-* D may assume the aspectual notion normally expressed by types C (conative) and D (frequentative) respectively. Examples: *təsa'ā'ala* "to ask repeatedly, to inquire" (*təsa'ala* "to ask", no type A for this meaning); *təgāyasa* "to go far away (no type C)", (*gesa* "to go").

In some instances verbs of *tə-* form the "head" of a dictionary entry, e.g. *təkabbata* "to meet".

2.2. DERIVATIVES WITH THE PREFIX '*A-*

'*a-* derivatives, which occur in all types but D, are used in the expression of:

(*a*) The causative of the transitive verb: *'ašmata* "to cause to anoint" (*šamta* "to anoint"); *'azmata* "to cause to raid" (*zamta* "to rob, to raid"); *'asbaṭa* "to cause to seize" (*sabṭa* "to seize, to catch"); *'aqātala* "to cause to do some killing" (*qātala* "to do some killing"); *'asbara* "to cause to break" (*sabra* "to break");

'andaqa "to cause to build" (*nadqa* "to build"); *'afanfana* "to make abhor" (*fanfana* "to abhor"); *'aṭālaqa* "to cause (some people) to be released" (*ṭallaqa* "to let loose" (type C is not existent); *'aẓābaṭa* "to make beat" (*ẓābaṭa* "to beat").

(*b*) The causative of the intransitive verb. Some of the verbs which are intransitive become transitive by means of the prefix *'a-*. Examples: *'aqṭara* "to drip" (v.t.) (*qaṭra* "to trickle"); *'amṣə'a* "to cause to come, to bring" (*maṣ'a* "to come, to bring"); *'as'a* "to rouse hopes" (*sa'a* "to hope"); *'ab'a* "to let enter" (*ba'a* "to enter"); *'abharara* "to frighten" (*baharara* "to be frightened"); *'asgaba* "to satisfy (food), to make rich" (*sagba* "to be satisfied (food), to be rich"); *'amḥala* "to make swear" (*maḥala* "to swear"); *'aṭlala* "to wet" (*ṭalla* "to be wet"); *'ašangala* "to cause maturity" (*šangala* "to become adult"); *'agarrama* "to beautify" (*garrama* "to be beautiful"); *'afrasa* "to destroy, to ruin" (*farsa* "to perish, to be ruined").

In some instances the prefix *'a-* is non-functional, where the verb of the *'a-* formation is to be taken as a coexisting lexical entry alongside the underlying verb, e.g. *'aqbala* "to return (v.i.)" (*qabbala* "to accept"; type A is non-existent).

2.3. DERIVATIVES WITH THE PREFIX *'AT-*

'at- derivatives are used in the expression of:

(*a*) The causative of intransitive verbs of *tə-* formation. Some intransitive verbs of the *tə-* formation become transitive by means of the prefix *'at-*. Examples: *'atgassa* "to make sit" (*təgassa* "to sit down"); *'atkarra* "to cause to descend" (*təkarra* "to descend"); *'atkāsata* "to cause to open" (*təkāsata* "to open" v.i.); *'atbaggasa* "to make depart" (*təbaggasa* "to depart"); *'atlaḥama* "to join (v.t.) together" (*təlaḥama* "to join" v.i.); *'addāla* "to make ready, to prepare" (*tədāla* "to be ready").

This relationship of *'at-* to *tə-* is on the same level as that of *'a-* to A, B and C.

(*b*) The causative reciprocal in the case of *'at-* C and the frequentative causative in the case of *'at-* D, prefix *'a-* being non-existent in the case of type D verbs. Examples: *'atgādaba* "to cause to fight each other" (*təgādaba* "to fight each other"); *'atnābara* "to make dwell together" (*tənābara* "to dwell with each other"); *'atfarārha* "to cause to be feared much" (*təfarrəha* "to be feared"); *'atkāfala* "to allow to divide among each other" (*təkāfala* "to divide among each other"); *'atkābata* "to cause to meet each other" (*təkabbata* "to meet").

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(*c*) The causative for those verbs whose initial radical is a laryngal; the causative being normally expressed for such verbs by type C proper or by means of the prefix '*at*- Examples: '*atḥādara/ḥādara* "to cause to dwell" (*ḥadra* "to dwell"); '*at'asara* "to make bind" ('*asra* "to bind"); '*atḥadaga* "to make leave" (*ḥadga* "to leave"); '*at'abbasa* "to make someone sin" ('*abbasa* "to sin"); '*at'asa* "to incite to revolt" ('*asa* "to revolt"); '*atḥalālaka* "to make someone exert himself a little" (*ḥalālaka* "to exert oneself a little").

2.4. DERIVATIVES WITH THE PREFIX '*ATTA*-

'*atta*- derivatives are used in the expression of (*a*) the factitive (i.e. the "double" causative) and (*b*) the causative where the action is caused to be performed via an agent other than the subject of the verb. Examples: '*attaqtala* "to cause to be killed (e.g. by a hired assassin)" (*qatla* "to kill"); '*attabala* "to cause to be said (e.g. to spread rumours)" (*bela* "to say"); '*attamṣə'a* "to cause to be brought, to let come" (*maṣ'a* "to come"); '*attaftəḥa* "to cause to be released" (*fatḥa* "to release, to loosen"); '*attawda* "to cause to be done, to cause to have made (e.g.: food and drink prepared by servants for guests)" (*wada* "to do, to make"); '*attaqraṭa* "to cause to cut off" (*qarṭa* "to cut off"); '*attabtaka* "to cause to be cut off" (*batka* "to cut off"); '*attaklə'a* "to cause to be hindered" (*kal'a* "to hinder"); '*attandaqa* "to cause to be built" (*nadka* "to build"); '*attafgara* "to cause to be brought out" (*fagra* "to go out").

'*atta*- serves also as the simple causative for quadriradical verbs whose prefix is '*an*- or '*as*. For examples see the following section.

2.5. PREFIXES '*AN*- AND '*AS*-

These prefixes occur only with the quadriradicals and are non-functional as regards the system. Their causative form is effected by means of the prefix '*atta*-.

Examples of verbs with the prefix '*an*- and its causative form '*attan*-: '*anṣarṣara* "to be in trouble, to suffer" ('*attanṣarṣara* "to make suffer") (*ṣarṣara* "to cry aloud"); '*angargara* "to wallow" ('*attangargara* "to roll (v.t.) in the mud") (*gargara* "to get used to"); '*anǧalḥaṭa* "to slip" v.i. (**ǧalḥaṭa*); '*anqaṭqaṭa* "to shake" v.i. ('*attanqaṭqaṭa* "to shake" v.t. (*qaṭqaṭa* "to knock, to forge (iron")); '*anqalqala* "to stagger" ('*attanqalqala* "to make stagger"); '*anṭoṭala/'anṭawāṭala* "to swing" (**ṭoṭala*).

Examples of verbs with the prefix *'as-* and its causative form *'attas-*: *'asnaqnaqa* "to be shaken" (*'attasnaqnaqa* "to cause to be shaken") (*naqnaqa* "to shake"); *'asdamdama* "to blunt" v.t. (*tədamdama* "to become blunt"); *'astargama/targama* "to translate, to interpret"; *'asqamqama* "to groan" (*'attasqamqama* "to make groan"); *'aslola* "to collapse" v.i. (*lawla* "to move around" v.t.).

2.6. THE PREFIX *'ASTA-*

This prefix appears only in Arabic loanwords and is thus to be regarded as an integral part of the verb in Tigre. Examples: *'astafášara* "to inquire (about)"; (Arabic: *'istafsara*); *'astahala* "to be worthy of, to be entitled to"; (Arabic: *'ista'hala*).

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

The verbs to be treated in this section are triradicals which do not contain semivowels or laryngals. The incidence of any such form of the Tigre verb can best be described in terms of: (*a*) the morphological category of the verb, i.e. perfect, imperfect or jussive (imperative); (*b*) the type of the verb, i.e. A, B, C or D; (*c*) the prefixed derivative, i.e. *tə-*, *'a-*, *'at-* or *'atta-* attached to

		tə-	*'a-*	*'at-*	*'atta-*
A					
Perfect		*qatla*	*təqattala*	*'aqtala*	—	*'attaqtala*
Imperfect		*ləqattəl*	*lətqattal*	*laqattəl*	—	*lattaqtəl*
Jussive		*ləqtal*	*lətqattal*	*laqtəl*	—	*lattaqtəl*
B					
Perfect		*qattala*	*təqattala*	*'aqattala*	*'atqattala*	—
Imperfect/jussive		*ləqattəl*	*lətqattal*	*laqattəl*	*latqattəl*	—
C					
Perfect		*qātala*	*təqātala*	*'aqātala*	*'atqātala*	—
Imperfect/jussive		*ləqātəl*	*lətqātal*	*laqātəl*	*latqātəl*	—
D					
Perfect		*qatātala*	*təqatātala*	—	*'atqatātala*	—
Imperfect/jussive		*ləqatātəl*	*lətqatātal*	—	*latqatātəl*	—

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the verb form. The synoptic table on the previous page illustrates the threefold possibilities in their actual range of occurrence:[1]

In reading the above table the following morphological phenomena are to be noted. (1) There is a similarity of form in the case of *tə-* A and *tə-* B, in the sense that the semantic value required for *tə-* A in relation to A is rendered regularly by *tə-* B forms. (2) An imperfect/jussive contrast exists only in type A and in the derivative *'a-* A throughout the conjugation, other types and derivatives having a similar conjugation for both imperfect and jussive forms.[2] (3) Type D does not have the derivative with the prefix *'a-*. (4) The prefix *'atta-* occurs only with type A forms, where the prefix *'at-* is not used.

4. PARADIGMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES (PERFECT, IMPERFECT AND JUSSIVE) AND THE VERB TYPES A, B, C, D

The morphological data relevant to this analysis consist of: (*a*) the phonemic shape of the stem, i.e. the arrangement of consonants and vowels in it and the quantity of those in terms of gemination (consonants) and duration (vowels); (*b*) the formatives used with the stem, i.e. suffixes and prefixes.

4.1. PERFECT, TYPES A, B, C, D

FORMATIVES Essential morphological features of this category are the occurrence throughout of the same suffixes and the absence of prefixes. The suffixes are as follows:[3] *-ko, -ka, -ki, -a, -at, -na, -kum, -kan, -aw, -aya.*

STEM. Type A: all persons except third: *qatal*; third persons: *qatl.* Type B: all persons: *qattal.* Type C: all persons: *qātal.* Type D: all persons: *qatātal.*

4.2. IMPERFECT, TYPES A, B, C, D

FORMATIVES. The essential feature of this category is the existence of the same formatives throughout the inflection of the various

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[1] 3rd pers. masc. sing. from the verb *qatla* "to kill" represents the conjugation. *qatla* is used here as a model verb only.

[2] The prefix of 1st pers. pl. retains, however, the contrast imperfect/jussive in other types.

[3] The following order will be kept throughout the article: 1st pers. sing., 2nd pers. masc. sing., 2nd pers. fem. sing., 3rd pers. masc. sing., 3rd pers. fem. sing., 1st pers. pl., 2nd pers. masc. pl., etc.

types. The formatives are as follows: *'ə-, tə-, tə-, ... -i, lə-, tə-, 'ən-, tə- ... -o, tə-, ... -a, lə- ... -o, l-... -a.*

STEM. Types A and B: all persons having a suffix: *qatl*; all persons not having a suffix: *qattəl*. Type C: all persons having a suffix: *qātl*; all persons not having a suffix: *qātəl*. Type D: all persons having a suffix: *qatātl*; all persons not having a suffix: *qatātəl*.

4.3. JUSSIVE, TYPES B, C, D

Excluding the prefix of first person plural which is *ne-*, the forms of these types in the jussive are identical with those of the same types in the imperfect throughout the inflection.

TYPE A. FORMATIVES. As in the imperfect, excluding the first person plural prefix which is *nə-*.

STEM: *qtal.*

5. A DETAILED STUDY OF THE VERB INFLECTION

5.1. TYPE A: *qanṣa* "to get up".[1]

Perfect: *qanṣko, qanaṣka, qanaṣki, qanṣa, qanṣat, qanaṣna, qanaṣkum, qanaṣkən, qanṣaw, qanṣaya.*

Imperfect: *'əqannəṣ, təqannəṣ, təqanṣi, ləqannəṣ, təqannəṣ, 'ənqannəṣ, təqanṣo, təqanṣa, ləqanṣo, ləqanṣa.*

Jussive: *'əqnaṣ, təqnaṣ, təqnaṣi, ləqnaṣ, təqnaṣ, nəqnaṣ, təqnaṣo, təqnaṣa, ləqnaṣo, ləqnaṣa.*

Imperative. The imperative forms are derived from the jussive forms in the appropriate persons. They differ from the jussive forms in that they do not have prefixes[2] and are, therefore, liable to change their position with regard to the syllabic structure.[3] The inflection of the imperative is as follows: *qənaṣ, qənaṣi, qənaṣo, qənaṣa.*

5.2. TYPE B: *mazzana* "to weigh".

Perfect: *mazzanko, mazzanka, mazzanki, mazzana, mazzanat, mazzanna, mazzankum, mazzankən, mazzanaw, mazzanaya.*

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[1] When entered as lexical entity the given form is in the 3rd pers. masc. sing. of the perfect and the meaning in English is rendered by "to" + infinitive.

[2] This is the situation for imperative forms in the affirmative. For the negative see Sec. 6.

[3] I.e. *qənáṣ* or *qnáṣ*; e.g. *'aẓe qnáṣ* "get up now".

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Imperfect/jussive: *'əmaẕẕən, təmaẕẕən, təmaẕni, ləmaẕẕən, tə-maẕẕən, 'ənmaẕẕən/nəmaẕẕən,*[1] *təmaẕno, təmaẕna, ləmaẕno, lə-maẕna.*

Imperative: *maẕẕən, maẕni, maẕno, maẕno.*

5.3. TYPE C: *kātaba* "to vaccinate".

Perfect: *kātabko, kātabka, kātabki, kātaba, kātabat, kātabna, kātabkum, kātabkən, kātabaw, kātabaya.*

Imperfect/jussive: *'əkātəb, təkātəb, təkātbi, ləkātəb, təkātəb, 'ənkātəb/nəkātəb, təkātbo, təkātba, ləkātbo, ləkātba.*

Imperative: *kātəb, kātbi, kātbo, kātba.*

5.4. TYPE D: *balālasa* "to keep on answering; to answer repeatedly".

Perfect: *balālasa.*

Imperfect/jussive: *ləbalāləs.*

Imperative: *balāləs.*

6. NEGATION OF THE VERB

A verb is rendered negative by means of the prefixed particle *'i*, e.g.: perfect: *'isarqa* "he did not steal"; imperfect: *'i'əfaqqəd* "I do not remember"; jussive: *'əgəl 'ilətkam* "in order that it will not be weak". In the imperative the second persons of the jussive are used instead, e.g. *qatla* "to kill": *'itəqtal, 'itəqtali, 'itəqtalo, 'itəqtala.*

7. THE OPTIONAL USE OF PREFIXES IN THE IMPERFECT

In colloquial speech there is a distinct tendency to omit the prefixes of the verb in the imperfect, e.g.: *'ət faggər* or *'ət ləfaggər* "when he goes out". The prefixes of the first persons are normally retained, except in the case of verbs with first radical laryngal where the prefix of the first person singular form is never pronounced, e.g.: *ḥassəb* "I think".[2] Thus, the typical inflection of the verb in the imperfect is as follows: *fagra* "to go out". *('ə)faggər, faggər, fagri, faggər, faggər, 'ənfaggər, fagro, fagra, fagro, fagra.*

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[1] Imperfect and jussive forms respectively.

[2] Cf. Sec. 9.1.

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8. PREFIXED DERIVATIVES

8.1. PREFIX *Tə-*

As mentioned above (Sec. 3) there is a similarity of form in the case of *tə-* A and *tə-* B. The verb *təbaššara* "to be announced (good news)" for example is counted as *tə-* B since it exists beside the verb *baššara* "to bring good news", and in the absence of **bašra*, while *təkassata* "to be opened" may be counted as *tə-* A since it exists beside *kasta* "to open" and in the absence of **kassata*. The distinction between *tə-* A and *tə-* B on the synchronic level must, therefore, be analysed lexically. Thus, the sign *tə-* A/B will be used, to signify that *tə-* A is formally identical with *tə-* B. Examples:

Perfect: *təqarraṭko, təqarraṭka, təqarraṭki, təqarraṭa, təqarraṭat, təqarraṭna, təqarraṭkum, təqarraṭkən, təqarraṭaw, təqarraṭaya.*

Imperfect/jussive: *'ətqarraṭ, tətwarraṭ, tətqarraṭi, lətqarraṭ, tət- qarraṭ, nətqarraṭ, tətqarraṭo, tətqarraṭa, lətqarraṭo, lətqarraṭa.*

Imperative: *təqarraṭ, təqarraṭi, təqarraṭo, təqarraṭa.*

tə- C: *təqābala* "to meet"; imperfect/jussive: *lətqābal*; imperative: *təqābal.*

tə- D: *tənabābara* "to live a bit on this and a bit on that" (e.g. agriculture and cattle-herding); imperfect/jussive: *lətnabābar*; imperative: *tənabābar.*

As regards the phonemic shape of the derivatives with the prefix *tə-*, two points are to be noted. (1) The prefix *tə-* is optional, e.g. *baggasa* or *təbagasa* "to depart". (2) When *tə-* becomes a constituent in a consonantal cluster it may assimilate to dentals, alveolars and palato-alveolars. The result is a geminated consonant – voiced or voiceless – according to the assimilating consonant, e.g.: *ləddaqqab* "he is strong, able" (*tədaqqaba* "to be strong"); *ləssalālamo* "they greet each other" (*təsalālama* "to greet each other").

8.2. PREFIX *'A-*

8.2.1. TYPE A.
This is the sole instance of a triradical derivative where a formal distinction between the imperfect and jussive morphological categories is maintained. The inflection is as follows: *'angafa* "to save, to let escape".

Perfect: *'angafko, 'angafka, 'angafki, 'angafa, 'angafat, 'angafna, 'angafkum, 'angafkən, 'angafaw, 'angafaya.*

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

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

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

The consonantal element in the prefix *'a-* is liable to variation as follows: there is a possibility of free variation between ' and ' when the neighbouring consonant is an ejective; e.g. *'aq'a* or *'aq'a* "to cause to vomit"; *'asmə'a* or *'asmə'a* "to make thirsty". When the first radical of the root of the verb is *q* the *q* may occur as ' or ' along with the change of ' to ' in the prefix as in: *'aqrəḥa, 'a'rəḥa* or *'a'rəḥa* "to set fire to".[1]

8.2.2 TYPE B: *'abaṭṭala* "to stop, to bring to a standstill".

Perfect: *'abaṭṭalko, 'abaṭṭalka, 'abaṭṭalki, 'abaṭṭala, 'abaṭṭalat, 'abaṭṭalna, 'abaṭṭalkum, 'abaṭṭalkən, 'abaṭṭalaw, 'abaṭṭalaya.*

Imperfect/jussive: *'abaṭṭəl, tabaṭṭəl, tabaṭli, labaṭṭəl, tabaṭṭəl, nabaṭṭəl, tabaṭlo, tabaṭla, labaṭlo, labaṭla.*

Imperative: *'abaṭṭəl, 'abaṭli, 'abaṭlo, 'abaṭla.*

8.2.3. TYPE C. *'aṣābaṭa* "to get hold of".

Perfect: *'aṣābaṭko, 'aṣābaṭka, 'aṣābaṭki, 'aṣābaṭa, 'aṣābaṭat, 'aṣābaṭna, 'aṣābaṭkum, 'aṣābaṭkən, 'aṣābaṭaw, 'aṣābaṭaya.*

Imperfect/jussive: *'aṣābəṭ, taṣābəṭ, taṣābṭi, laṣābəṭ, taṣābəṭ, naṣābəṭ, taṣābṭo, taṣābṭa, laṣābṭo, laṣābṭa.*

Imperative: *'aṣābəṭ, 'aṣābṭi, 'aṣābṭo, 'aṣābṭa.*

8.2.4. TYPE D: The derivative **'a-* D is non-existent. Its place in the system is taken by *'at-* D.

8.3. PREFIX *'AT-*

8.3.1. TYPE A. The derivative *'at-* A is non-existent.[2] Its place in the system is taken by *'a-* A and *'atta-* A.

8.3.2. TYPE B. *'atbaggasa* "to cause to move off".

Perfect: *'atbaggasko, 'atbaggaska, 'atbaggaski, 'atbaggasa, 'atbaggasat, 'atbaggasna, 'atbaggaskum, 'atbaggaskən,' atbaggasaw,' atbaggasaya.*

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[1] In various positions of the chain of speech *q* tends to lose its phonemic identity completely. The articulatory position of the various *q* is post-velar, the acoustic impression being usually that of '. Sometimes, however, being extremely tense in the release phase, it sounds like '. The phonetic identity of *q* in the above position (as ') is not absolutely clear.

[2] This statement is true for the triradicals which do not contain semivowels of laryngals. Cf. Sec. 9.2.1–9.2.2. See also Sec. 2.3.

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Imperfect/jussive: *'atbaggəs, tatbaggəs, tatbagsi, latbaggəs, tatbaggəs, natbaggəs, tatbagso, tatbagsa, latbagso, latbagsa.*

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

8.3.3 TYPE C. *'atrāsana* "to heat".

Perfect: *'atrāsanko, 'atrāsanka, 'atrāsanki, 'atrāsana, 'atrāsanat, 'atrāsanna, 'atrāsankum, 'atrāsankən, 'atrāsanaw, 'atrāsanaya.*

Imperfect/jussive: *'atrāsən, tatrāsən, tatrāsni, latrāsən, tatrāsən, natrāsən, tatrāsno, tatrāsna, latrāsno, latrāsna.*

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

8.3.4. TYPE D. *'atqabābala* "to go to and fro".

Perfect: *'atqabābalko, 'atqabābalka, 'atqabaābalki, 'atqabābala, 'atqabābalat, 'atqabābalna, 'atqabābalkum, 'atqabābalkən, 'atqabāblaw, atqabābalaya.*

Imperfect/jussive: *'atqabābəl, tatqabābəl, tatqabābli, latqabābəl, tatqabābəl, natqabābəl, tatqabāblo, tatqabābla, latqabāblo, latqabābla.*

Imperative: *'atqabābəl, 'atqabābli, 'atqabāblo, 'atqabābla.*

8.4. PREFIX *'ATTA-*

This prefix is functional in the system only in the case of type A verbs.[1] A small number of verbs of *'atta-* C formation appears in the written language, including the following examples: *'attaqābala* "to pay attention, to take notice of" (cf. *'attaqbala* "to observe, to look at"; *'atqābala* "to return"); *'attalāmada* "to cause to become mutually habituated" (cf. *'attalmada* "to cause to habituate"; *'atlāmada* "to cause to become mutually habituated"). Because of the extremely infrequent occurrence of *'atta-* C verbs, it is not possible to draw any practical inferences as regards their function in the system from the data, and they are best dealt with within the lexical domain.

8.4.1. *'ATTA-* A: *'attaqrəṭa* "to let cut off"

Perfect: *'attaqrəṭko, 'attaqrəṭka, 'attaqrəṭki, 'attaqrəṭa, 'attaqrəṭat, 'attaqrəṭna, 'attaqrəṭkum, 'attaqrəṭkən, 'attaqrəṭaw, 'attaqrəṭaya.*

Imperfect/jussive: *'attaqrəṭ, tattaqrəṭ, tattaqrəṭi, lattaqrəṭ, tattaqrəṭ, nattaqrəṭ, tattaqrəṭo, tattaqrəṭa, lattaqrəəṭo, lattaqrəṭa.*

Imperative: *'attaqrəṭ, 'attaqrəṭi, 'attaqrəṭo, 'attaqrəṭa.*

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[1] See Sec. 3 and table.

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9. VERBS WITH LARYNGALS

Statements which are morphologically relevant to the influence of laryngals on adjacent speech-sounds follow in the appropriate section below.

9.1. VERBS WITH INITIAL LARYNGALS

The following phenomena are to be noted.

(1) Verbs with initial laryngals have only one preformative, *'at-*, which contains a laryngal. (*a*) The preformatives *'ə-* and *'ən-* of the first persons, which usually occur with the appropriate imperfect and jussive forms of the verb, do not materialise, e.g. *ḥassəb* "I think". (*b*) *'a-* formations do not occur with initial laryngals: the place of *'a-* formations in the system is taken by type C or the *'at-* A derivative of type A, e.g. *'arga* "to ascend"; *'āraga* "to lift up"; *ḥatma* "to seal"; *'atḥatama* "to make seal". In the case of the other types *'at-*formations may serve the purpose of the *'a-* formation – though type C may function either as C proper or as *'at-* A, e.g. *'abbasa* "to sin"; *'at'abbasa* "to make one sin". *ḥarsa* "to plough"; *ḥārasa* "to cultivate"; *'atḥārasa* "to make plough". (*c*) The prefix *'atta-* is lacking in all types.

(2) As regards vocalisation, the following features are typical of verbs with initial laryngals. (*a*) In the first person singular of the jussive where the prefix is lacking, the vowel of the first radical is *i-* as opposed to *ə* or zero in other persons, e.g. *ḥirad* "should I slaughter (the sacrificial cow)". (*b*) In the case of the occurrence of the sequence V_1LV_2, V_1 usually assimilates to V_2,[1] though stress must be accounted for. Thus, one may encounter: *taḥassəb* "you (masc. sing.) will wash", as well as: *tḥassəb*. (*c*) Since the sequence VLCV is not typical of verbs with laryngals, the consonantal cluster of a possible VLCV sequence is eliminated by vocalising the laryngals. This phenomenon prevails in the jussive of type A, as in: *'əgəl təḥədag tu* "you (masc. sing.) will leave"; *'əgəl təḥədagi tu* "you (fem. sing.) will leave"; *'əgəl ləḥəram* "in order that he will play (the instrument)"; *'əgəl lə'əqab* "in order that he will watch"; *'əgəl tə'əmano* "in order that you (masc. pl.) will believe". (*d*) In *'at-* A derivatives the consonant–vowel arrangement of the stem in the perfect is C*a*C*a*C in all persons. Thus the inflection formation of *'at-* A contrasts with that of *'at-* C only as regards the quantity of the

[1] V = vowel, L = laryngal, C = consonant.

first vowel of the stem. In the imperfect/jussive the stem of *'at-* A has the consonant–vowel arrangement of *'at-* B, but without gemination of the second radical.

9.1.1. THE INFLECTION OF VERBS WITH INITIAL LARYNGALS

TYPE A. In the absence of *'a-* derivatives only type A has separate inflections for the imperfect and the jussive. The inflection of type A is as follows: *ḥaṣba* "to wash" (v.t.).
Perfect: *ḥaṣabko, ḥaṣabka, ḥaṣabki, ḥaṣba, ḥaṣbat, ḥaṣabna, ḥaṣabkum, ḥaṣabkən ḥaṣbaw ḥaṣbaya.*
Imperfect: *ḥaṣṣəb, taḥaṣṣəb, taḥaṣbi, laḥaṣṣəb, taḥaṣṣəb, naḥaṣṣəb, taḥaṣbo, taḥaṣba, laḥaṣbo, laḥaṣba.*
Jussive: *ḥiṣab, təḥaṣab, təḥaṣabi, ləḥaṣab, təḥaṣab, nəḥaṣab, təḥaṣabo, təḥaṣaba, ləḥaṣabo, ləḥaṣaba.*
Imperative: *ḥaṣab, ḥaṣabi, ḥaṣabo, ḥaṣaba.*

TYPE B: *'addama* "to invite".
Perfect: *'addamko, 'addamka, 'addamki, 'addama, 'addamat, 'addamna, 'addamkum, 'addamkən, 'addamaw, 'addamaya.*
Imperfect/jussive: *'addəm, ta'addəm, ta'admi, la'addəm, ta'addəm, na'addəm, ta'admo, ta'adma, la'admo, la'adma.*
Imperative: *'addəm, 'admi, 'admo, 'adma.*

TYPE C: *ḥābara* "to join".
Perfect: *ḥābarko, ḥābarka, ḥābarki, ḥābara, ḥābarat, ḥābarna, ḥābarkum, ḥābarkən, ḥābaraw, ḥābaraya.*
Imperfect/jussive: *ḥābər, taḥābər, taḥābri, laḥābər, taḥābər, naḥābər, taḥābro, taḥābra, laḥābro, laḥābra.*
Imperative: *ḥābər, ḥābri, ḥābro, ḥābra.*

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

PREFIXED DERIVATIVES:[1] *tə-*A/B: *taḥaṣṣaba* "to wash oneself"; *tə-* C: *ta'ārafa* "to visit".

Imperfect/jussive: *ləthaṣṣab; lət'āraf.*
Imperative: *taḥaṣṣab; ta'āraf.*
'at- A: *'atḥalafa* "to cause to pass". *'at-* B: *'atḥaddasa* "to cause to renew". *'at-*C: *'atḥādaga* "to cause to leave one another".

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

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Imperfect/jussive: *latḥaləf*; *latḥaddəs*; *latḥādəg*.
Imperative: *'atḥaləf*; *'atḥaddəs*; *'atḥādəg*.

9.2. VERBS WITH MEDIAL LARYNGALS

The characteristic features of verbs with medial laryngals are these. (*a*) The absence of type B formations, as the laryngals are not geminated. (*b*) The type A stem shows peculiarities in all morphological categories of the verb: in the perfect the stem is *CaLaC* throughout the inflection; in the imperfect the stem is *CLəC*, in the jussive *CLaC*, and in the imperative *CaLaC* throughout. (*c*) Type C seems to be non-functional in the system, e.g.: *təba'asa* = *təbā'asa* "to quarrel"; *qaḥara* = *qāḥara* "to get excited"; *təsa'ara* = *təsā'ara* "to be deposed".

9.2.1. THE INFLECTION OF TYPE A VERBS WITH MEDIAL LARYNGALS: *ṣa'ana* "to load".

Perfect: *ṣa'anko*, *ṣa'anka*, *ṣa'anki*, *ṣa'ana*, *ṣa'anat*, *ṣa'anna*, *ṣa'ankum*, *ṣa'ankən*, *ṣa'anaw*, *ṣa'anaya*.

Imperfect: *'əṣ'ən*, *təṣ'ən*, *təṣ'əni*, *ləṣ'ən*, *təṣ'ən*, (*'ə*)*nəṣə'n*, *təṣ'əno*, *təṣ'əna*, *ləṣ'əno*, *ləṣ'əna*.

Jussive: *'əṣ'an*, *təṣ'an*, *təṣ'ani*, *ləṣ'an*, *təṣ'an*, *nəṣ'an*, *təṣ'ano*, *təṣ'ana*, *ləṣ'ano*, *ləṣ'ana*.

Imperative: *ṣa'an*,[1] *ṣa'ani*, *ṣa'ano*, *ṣa'ana*.

9.2.2. PREFIXED DERIVATIVES OF TYPE A.

(1) With the exception of the *'atta-* formation, all derivatives are found. (2) No formal distinction exists between the imperfect and jussive forms. (3) The stem of *'at-* A in the imperfect/jussive is *CaLaC*[2] and that of *'a-* A is *C(ə)LC*.

	tə- A	*'a-* A	*'at-* A
Perfect	*təba'asa* "to quarrel"	*'asḥata* "to mislead"	*'atlaḥama* "to close"
Imperfect/jussive	*lətba'as*	*lasḥət*	*latləḥəm*
Imperative	*təba'as*	*'asḥət*	*'atləḥəm*

9.3. VERBS WITH FINAL LARYNGALS

9.3.1. TYPE A. The characteristic features of verbs with final laryngals of type A are these.

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[1] Or [*ṣā'an*]. [2] Cf. Sec. 3.

(1) The actualisation of the sequence VLCV[1] is made feasible by means of metathesis. The sequence VLCV is represented, therefore, by LVCV, as in *balʿako* "I ate" which stands for **balaʿko*.

(2) All forms with verb suffixes in the non-perfect morphological categories show peculiarities as follows: (*a*) in the second and third persons, the vowel of the verb suffix is liable to transposition, which, if it occurs, results in its insertion between the second and third radicals of the stem; (*b*) the vowel of the verb suffix in the second and third persons of the masculine plural forms is *u* as opposed to *o* in the verbs with a final non-laryngal consonant; (*c*) all jussive forms with verb suffixes have the vowel *ə* as the second vowel of the stem, as opposed to *a* in the verbs with a final non-laryngal consonant. Peculiarities (*b*) and (*c*) refer to the cases in which transposition occurs; as described in (*a*), the second vowel of the stem, which is *ə*, is omitted. Owing to the phonemic shape of the imperfect form, the second radical is geminated throughout. Examples: *ləfarrəhu* or *ləfarruh* "they (masc. pl.) are afraid"; *ləmaṣṣə'u* or *ləmaṣṣu'* "they (masc. pl.) come"; *ləbaṣṣəhu* or *ləbaṣṣuh* "they (masc. pl.) arrive"; *təsammə'i* or *təsammi'* "you (fem. sing.) hear"; *'əgəl 'iləṣmu'* or *'əgəl 'iləṣmə'u* "in order that they (masc. pl.) will not be thirsty"; *nəs'u* or *nəsu'* "take!" (masc. pl.).

THE INFLECTION OF TYPE A VERBS WITH FINAL LARYNGALS: *balʿa* "to eat".

Perfect: *balʿako, balʿaka, balʿaki, balʿa, balʿat, balʿana, balʿakum, balʿakən, balʿaw, balʿaya.*

Imperfect: *'əballəʿ, təballəʿ, təballəʿi/təballiʿ, ləballəʿ, təballəʿ, 'ənballəʿ, təballəʿu/təballuʿ, təballəʿa, ləballəʿu/ləballuʿ, ləballəʿa.*

Jussive: *'əblaʿ, təblaʿ, təbləʿi/təbliʿ, ləblaʿ, təblaʿ, nəblaʿ, təbləʿu/təbluʿ,[2] təbləʿa, ləbləʿu/ləbluʿ, ləbləʿa.*

Imperative: *bəlaʿ, bəlʿi/bəliʿ, bəlʿu/bəluʿ, bəlʿa.*

9.3.2. TYPE B. The second radical is geminated throughout the inflection and followed by an *ə* whose timbre is determined by the various modes of the assimilation process. The inflection of type B is as follows: *šammə'a* "to daub with wax".

Perfect: *šammə'ako* (1st pers. sing.), *šammə'a.*

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] In the sequence *ə*LV (cf. Sec. 5).

Imperfect/jussive: *ləšammə‘*, *ləšammə‘u/ləšammu‘* (3rd masc. pl.).
Imperative: *šammə‘*, *šammə‘i/šammi‘* (fem. sing.).

9.3.3. TYPE C. The vowel of the verb suffix in the non-perfect forms of type C, unlike that of types A and B, is not liable to transposition. In other respects the vowel of type C verb-suffixes is that of the other types, i.e. *-u* in the second and third persons of the masculine plural forms and *i* in the feminine singular. The stem of type C in the perfect is *CāCL*, though a barely audible central vowel can be detected following the second radical. This central vowel is also detected in the non-perfect forms which have verb suffixes. The inflection of type C is as follows: *šār(ə)‘a* "to shave".

Perfect: *šār(ə)‘a*.
Imperfect/jussive: *ləšārə‘*, *təšār(ə)‘i* (2nd fem. sing.).
Imperative: *šārə‘*, *šār(ə)‘u* (2nd masc. pl.).

9.4. PREFIXED DERIVATIVES

The following phenomena are to be noted. (1) All derivatives are found with types A, B and C, excluding derivatives with *’at-*, which seem to occur with type C only, and those with *’atta-* which seem to be non-existent for type C. Type D derivatives show no peculiarities. (2) The formal distinction of imperfect/jussive exists only in derivatives of *’a-* A formation.

The formation of the prefixed derivatives is exemplified in the table below:

		Perfect	Imperfect	Jussive	Imperative
t- A *t-* B	}	*təmallə’a* "to be filled"	*lətmalla’*		*təmalla’*
t- C		*təbāləḥa* "to be freed"	*lətbālaḥ*		*təbālaḥ*
’a- A		*’asmə‘a* "to let, make hear"	*lasammə‘*	*lasmə‘*	*’asmə‘*
’a- B		*’ašalləḥa* "to make lean, thin"	*lašalləḥ*		*’ašalləḥ*
’a- C		*’aṭāqə’a* "to clap hands"	*laṭāqə‘*		*’aṭāqə‘*
’at- C		*’atmāṣə’a* "to make meet"	*latmāṣə’*		*’atmāṣə’*
’atta- A		*’attalmə‘a* "to make blossom"	*lattalmə‘*		*’attalmə‘*
’atta- B		*’attaqallə‘a* "to cause premature birth"	*lattaqallə‘*		*’attaqallə‘*