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THE MORPHOLOGY
OF THE
TIGRE NOUN

BY

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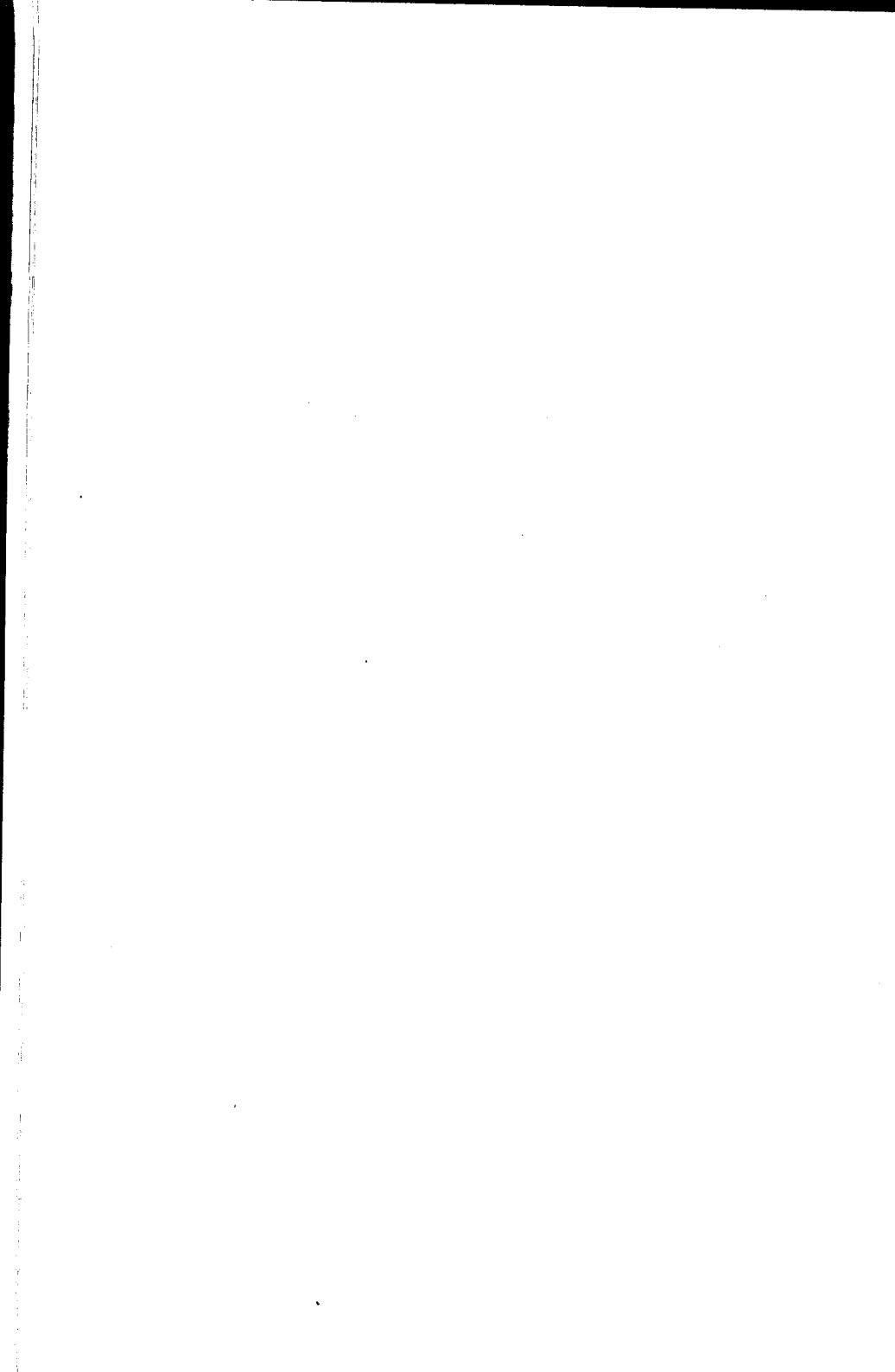
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F. R. PALMER



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INTRODUCTION

TIGRE is geographically the most northerly of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. In some respects it is the 'most Semitic' of these languages, and, at first sight at least, appears to be closer to the classical Geez than is any of the others. Descriptively, however, it is not very different from its immediate neighbour to the south, Tigrinya; these two 'North Ethiopic' languages stand clearly apart from those of the 'South Ethiopic' group which have, in varying degrees, lost some of the typical characteristics of Semitic.¹ Yet the morphology of the noun in Tigre is utterly different from that of Tigrinya as well as the other languages in that it involves a vast number of forms of the types usually referred to as 'diminutives', 'singulatives', 'augmentatives', &c.² These are not wholly uncharacteristic of Semitic,³ though they are rare in the Ethiopian Semitic languages, and it is possible that in Tigre they are partly to be accounted for in terms of linguistic affinity with the neighbouring Cushitic languages.⁴

Although the analysis of these 'derivatives', as I shall call them, forms the largest single section, this study is not concerned with them only, but with the entire morphology of the noun and morphologically and syntactically related class of adjective. It is based wholly on original research, undertaken in Eritrea in 1952-3; several informants were employed, but the main informant, for whose speech the statements made here are valid, was Mr. Lijam Ishaq of Mehleb, of the Mensa dialect of Tigre. Some very useful additional information on the 'countable' and 'uncountable' nouns⁵ was provided at my request by the Rev. Clarence Duff of the

¹ On the grouping see W. Leslau, 'Archaic features in South Ethiopic', *JAOS* xxxi. 4, 212; E. Ullendorff, *The Semitic languages of Ethiopia*, London, 1955, 229, and F. R. Palmer, 'Comparative statement and Ethiopian Semitic', *TPS*, 1958, 120.

² Cf. W. Leslau, *Short Grammar of Tigre*, American Oriental Society Off-print 18, 1945, 175-6, and E. Littmann, 'Die Diminutivbildung im Tigre', *Ist. Univ. Or. di Napoli, Annali, Nuova serie*, ii. 89-104.

³ Cf. C. Brockelmann, 'Deminutiv und Augmentativ im Semitischen', *Zeitschr. Sem.* vi. 190-34.

⁴ At least in the case of the singulatives, cf. § 6.3.9.

⁵ Cf. § 2.5.

American Evangelical Mission, his informant being Mr. Johannes Mender of Gheleb; this information did not provide further examples of derivative forms, but of sentences and phrases that clarified the distinction, though naturally I must take full responsibility for the interpretation of the material.

In dealing with the derivatives there is not only the task of setting out the facts, but also a problem of establishing a framework within which to state them. For it is by no means clear what are the morphological features that must be used as criteria of classification, and the semantic classes are not easily correlated with the morphology.

Among the publications of original research on Tigre there is only one of any real value—the texts published by Littmann.¹ The *Grammatica della lingua tigre*² and the more recent *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Tigre Language as spoken by the Beni Amer*³ are both almost worthless to the descriptive linguist, the former because it contains a great deal of material that is more like Tigrinya than Tigre, and the latter because of its lack of any systematic linguistic, and especially phonetic and phonological, analysis. Leslau's *Short Grammar of Tigre*, though a work of scholarship, is based upon the Littmann texts, though Leslau was able later to supplement it by a very brief account of some original investigation.⁴ More recently the *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache* by E. Littmann and M. Höfner⁵ has begun to appear. This, though an excellent work, does not contain any original material, and gives little indication of the richness of the morphology of the Tigre noun except the diminutives and the diminutive plurals. The only investigation of the morphology of the derivatives is in Littmann's 'Die Diminutivbildung im Tigre';⁶ but this too deals only with the diminutives and is, unfortunately, not in great detail and largely concerned with proper names. It is phonetic description above all that has been neglected in Tigre research. This has resulted largely from Littmann's use of the Ethiopic script for his texts, for although the script is ideal for a Tigre orthography, its use disguises the striking

¹ Publications of the Princetown Expedition to Abyssinia, Leyde, 1910-13.

² Per cura della Missione cattolica dell'Eritrea, Asmara, 1919.

³ By A. C. Beaton and A. Paul, Publications Bureau, Khartoum, 1954. In any case it deals with a different dialect of Tigre.

⁴ Cf. p. ix, n. 2, and 'Supplementary observations on Tigre grammar', *JAOS* lxxviii. 3, 1948.

⁵ Wiesbaden, 1956-

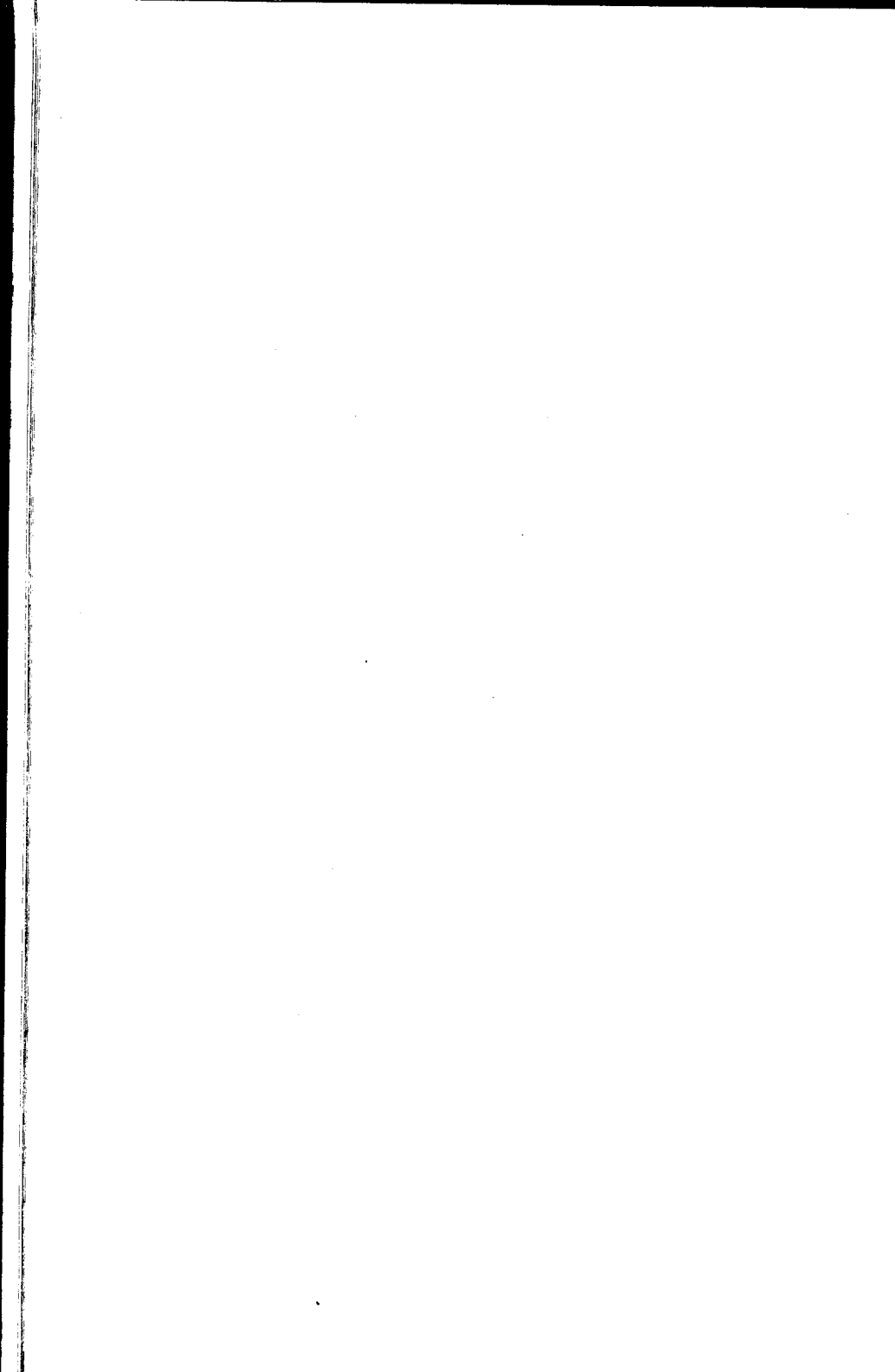
⁶ Cf. p. ix, n. 2.

ways in which Tigre differs from the other Ethiopian languages. Some acute, though brief, observations were made by Sundström in 1914;¹ but these have been ignored in later works.

Since this work is based on original research a complete bibliography is unnecessary. Detailed bibliographies are to be found in Ullendorff's *Semitic Languages* and Leslau's *Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*.²

¹ R. Sundström, 'Some Tigre texts', *MO* viii, 1914, 1.

² New York Public Library, 1944.



1

PHONOLOGY

1.1. *Consonants*

The consonants are:

<i>f</i>	voiceless labiodental fricative
<i>b</i>	voiced bilabial plosive
<i>t</i>	voiceless dental plosive
<i>d</i>	voiced dental plosive
<i>t̥</i>	ejective dental plosive
<i>s</i>	voiceless alveolar fricative (blade-alveolar, 'sibilant')
<i>z</i>	voiced alveolar fricative
<i>ʃ</i>	ejective alveolar affricate
<i>ʃ̥</i>	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
<i>ʒ</i>	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
<i>č</i>	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
<i>ǰ</i>	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
<i>č̥</i>	ejective palato-alveolar affricate
<i>k</i>	voiceless velar plosive
<i>g</i>	voiced velar plosive
<i>q</i>	ejective velar plosive
<i>m</i>	voiced bilabial nasal
<i>n</i>	voiced dental nasal
<i>ʔ</i>	glottal plosive
<i>h</i>	breath ('voiceless glottal fricative')
<i>ħ</i>	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
<i>ʕ</i>	voiced pharyngeal fricative
<i>r</i>	voiced alveolar trill
<i>l</i>	voiced (clear) alveolar lateral
<i>y</i>	palatal semivowel
<i>w</i>	labiovelar semivowel

The most obvious classification of these is into obstruents, nasals, laryngeals, liquids, and semivowels (the order followed above). The obstruents may be further classified in two ways, first in

terms of voicelessness, voice, and ejection, and secondly in terms of the place of articulation. With the exclusion of \check{c} and \check{z} , the diagram is complete except for the absence of a labial ejective:¹

	Voiceless	Voiced	Ejective
Labial	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>	—
Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t̥</i>
Alveolar	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s̥</i>
Palato-alveolar	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>
Velar	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>q</i>

Another classification would be in terms of 'palatalized' and 'non-palatalized' consonants, though this is essentially 'morpho-phonological';² but it is only as a palatalized form of *z* that \check{z} ever occurs, while \check{c} is most commonly the palatalized form of *t*. We must also note that in many ways the ejectives and pharyngeals form a single class, notably with regard to their relations with the vowel *ä*.³

The articulation of the consonants does not vary greatly with respect to their position in the word. An important negative point is that whereas in Tigrinya many of the consonants are plosive in initial or post-consonantal position, but fricative or affricate in post-vocalic position,⁴ those consonants of Tigre that are listed as 'plosive' are plosive in all positions. The ejective *q*, however, shares one feature with its Tigrinya counterpart—that the articulation is post-velar in post-vocalic position; but it is still plosive, not affricate as in Tigrinya. In utterance final the consonants described as 'voiced' are largely voiceless, but not phonetically identical with the 'voiceless' ones, which differ both in their release, which is tense, and in having some degree of aspiration.

1.2. Vowels

The vowels fall into two classes—short and long. This phonological classification of length is based not only on the greater phonetic duration of the long vowels, but also on the difference of the

¹ *p* occurs in other Ethiopian languages, but only to represent *p* in borrowings, e.g. Amharic *petros*, Greek *petros*, 'Peter'.

² See below, § 7 (ii).

³ Below, §§ 1.7 and 4.1.2 (iv).

⁴ Cf. F. R. Palmer, 'Gemination in Tigrinya', *Studies in Linguistic Analysis* (special volume of the Philological Society), Oxford, 1957, esp. p. 142.

functions of the two types of vowels in the syllabic structure of the word.¹

The long vowels are:

- i* close front (fully close and front)
- e* half close front (slightly more open than the cardinal vowel)
- a* open front (fully open and front)
- o* half close back (but more open than the cardinal)
- u* close back (fully close and back)

The qualities of these vowels do not vary greatly according to their position or environment.

The short vowels are statable as:

- ə* half close central
- ä* half open central

These descriptions are little more than mnemonics, since the vowels vary greatly according to their positions and environment. The detailed statement of their qualities follows in the sections on vowel harmony and vowel-consonant harmony; one point that may be made here is that in many environments both vowels are much closer than their Tigrinya counterparts; Tigre *ä* may be as close as Tigrinya *ə*.

1.3. *Syllabic structure*

The syllabic structure of the word may be interpreted in terms of syllable types *CV* and *CVC*. Three further points may be noted.

- (i) The short vowels do not appear in word-final *CV* syllables.
- (ii) The long vowels rarely appear in *CVC* syllables, except where these are word final.
- (iii) The vowel *ə* is a 'syllable maker' in the sense that it occurs only in those places in the structure where the absence of a vowel would imply syllabic structures that are not attested for Tigre (not composed of *CV* and *CVC* syllables). For instance, in a word of the structure *CVCVCV* it follows that *ə* may be the vowel of the first syllable only, as in *qəmiŋo* 'pile of grain'; it will not occur in the other syllables, since the absence of a vowel in these

¹ Below, § 1.3.

would imply the structures *CVCCV* and *CVVCV* (whereas its absence in the first implies the 'impossible' *CCVCV*). This characteristic of *ə* is of importance to the morphology since the presence of a suffix alters the syllabic structure; patterns of the type *farəs*, *farsotat*, 'horseman', 'horsemen', are common.¹

(iv) There is a special problem concerning the palatal semi-vowel and the palatal consonants. For, first, there is one type of form which can only be treated as having the exceptional syllabic feature of a final *CVCC* syllable. This is the feminine form with the suffix *-ayt*, e.g. *qätlayt* 'murderess' (*qätlay* 'murderer').² Though these forms are rare, they imply that a final *-CC* is possible if the consonants are *y* and *t*. This makes prima facie plausible a new interpretation of the rare palatals *č* and *ž*.³ For as long as the transcription must be in *CV* and *CVC* terms only, these can be written only as single letters; but if *CVCC* is permitted, might not these be written as *ty* and *zy*? Instead of 'äbäč' we could write *'äbäty'.⁴ In fact, this would confuse rather than simplify the statement since:

(a) a form such as *hälče*⁵ 'my maternal aunt' would have to be rewritten *hältye*, with a non-final *CVCC* syllable;

(b) *č* is morphologically not always *ty*, but also (though rarely) *yt*, as in 'äqqäč' but 'äqqaytay' and 'äqqaytu' ('soldiers', 'soldier', 'his soldiers').⁶ But in view of *qätlayt*, the forms cannot unambiguously be written *'äqqayt'.

1.4. Consonant cluster

By the nature of the syllabic structure, clusters of two consonants are possible in medial position.

(i) A phonetically long consonant often has the function of a cluster of two. The term 'gemination', however, is not used to indicate clusters of this kind, but to refer to long consonants that are morphologically a single radical;⁷ all geminated consonants are 'double', but the reverse is not true. The double consonants are usually more than twice as great in phonetic duration as the single

¹ For a detailed study of the phonological problems see F. R. Palmer, "Openness" in Tigre: a problem in prosodic statement', *BSOAS* xviii. 3. 563-4, and for a comparison with Amharic and Tigrinya, 'Comparative statement', 136-8.

² Cf. §§ 5.2.5 and 6.3.9.

³ Cf. §§ 1.1, 5.1.2, and 7 (ii).

⁴ Cf. § 5.2.1.

⁵ Cf. § 7 (ii).

⁶ Cf. §§ 6.3.9 and 7 (iii).

⁷ Cf. § 4.1.2 (v).

ones; a single *r*, for instance, may have only one or two taps, while a double *rr* has four or more. Double *qq* even when intervocalic is velar. The laryngeals and semivowels are never double, with the exception that *yy* is to be found at one type of stem-ending junction.¹

(ii) In all clusters of nasal+obstruent there is homorganic articulation. In such a position there is, strictly, no phonological criterion for identifying a nasal as *m* or *n*. The most obvious course is to write *m* with labials and *n* with all other consonants, but, even so, *m* before a labial is most commonly to be identified with *n* morphologically—e.g.

<i>sāmbu'</i> (but <i>sānābbu'</i>)	lung (lungs)
'ānḡab ([ŋ])	tooth
<i>lānguy</i> ([ŋ])	shepherd

(iii) In the clusters dental plosive + *n* there is nasal plosion; in the case of the ejective *t* even, there is often no oral release, though the glottal closure is audible.

(iv) The sequence *-rn-* alternates with *-nr-* with the phonetic exponent [ndr]—e.g.

šarnay/šanray pl. *šārānri* wheat

(v) Other than those dealt with in (i), (ii), and (iii) there are no clusters of homorganic consonants; this includes the alveolar and palato-alveolar obstruents as a single homorganic set. The only exceptions are *-gk-* and *-qk-* at stem-suffix juncture.² The sequence dental+alveolar or palato-alveolar obstruent is equally not attested, though the reverse sequence is common. Some of these considerations are true even at word juncture with certain kinds of syntactic structures, e.g. preposition+noun or noun+noun, 'assimilation' being a characteristic of these types of structure—

e.g.	<i>beddage</i>	(<i>bet dage</i>)	town house
	<i>beḡḡuk</i>	(<i>bet ḡuk</i>)	tribal name
	'āssāb	('ād sāb)	civilized country
	'āzzāmat	('ād zāmat)	land of Zamat
	'at kərəššə'əb	('at kərəs šə'əb)	within Sheeb
	'əffāttika	('əb fāttika)	at your wish

If the first of the consonants is, in word isolate, ejective, the ejective

¹ Cf. § 7 (vi).

² Cf. § 7 (vii).

is still marked by glottal closure, though there is still 'assimilation' (this cannot be shown in the transcription)—e.g.

səməʔ dəgge near the village

1.5. Consonant sequences

There are many limitations on the sequences of consonants, even with an intermediate vowel. Sequences that are not found in cluster are rare (this is to be expected since consonants that are separated by a vowel in one form of a word may occur in a cluster in another form). A detailed statement of the sequence possibilities cannot be undertaken here, but there are two sets of alternative sequences that are worth noting.

(i) In the environment of a nasal, there was variation between a nasal and a non-nasal consonant in:

'əməŋ or 'əbən stone

One informant produced the forms *mänkinät* (Lijam *mäkinät*) 'motor-car' and *məškelät* 'bicycle' (Italian *bicicletta*).

(ii) There was alternation in terms of voice and ejection with respect to two successive consonants of the same word in:

fəʔəq or *fədəg* creek
məšʔəq or *məšdəg* cheek

A rather different pair is:

qasla or *kəsra* kind of tree

The association of *l* with *q* and *r* with *k* is reminiscent of Bilin.¹

1.6. Vowel harmony

The variations in the quality of the short vowels are partly to be stated in terms of vowel harmony. When followed by the front vowels *i* and *e* they are more front, when followed by the back vowel *u* and *o* they are more back, than when not followed by either of these vowels—e.g.

mäsni [m⁺əsni:] friend
sälsälätu [s⁺ɛls⁺ɛlɛtu:] his bracelet
but *färäs* [f⁺erəs] horse

¹ Or, at least of *r* with *x* in Bilin as in *dax^wara*, *dəq^wal*, 'donkey', 'donkeys', cf. F. R. Palmer, 'An outline of Bilin phonology', *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi etiopici*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma, 1960, 109-17.

The most striking feature of vowel harmony is that when followed by the long open front vowel *a*, *ä* has the same quality of openness and frontness, though *not* the same duration—e.g.

<i>mänka</i>	[manka:]	spoon
<i>sälsäläta</i>	[salsalata:]	her necklace

The extent of the harmony is limited by the long vowels—a harmonic piece ends with the long vowel and does not extend over any other piece containing a long vowel though there may be any number of short vowels. A word containing more than one long vowel will contain an equal number of harmonic pieces—e.g.

<i>täkobäta</i>	[tɛkobata:]	her mat
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It follows that short vowels which are not fronted, retracted, or (*ä* only) fully open may occur only in word-final pieces that contain no long vowels. Any short vowel that precedes a long vowel must belong to a 'front', 'back', or 'open' piece.¹

This feature does not extend beyond the word, with one exception—that of a noun + the particle *la*. It is here the mark of a syntactical relation between two nouns—that of 'possession' (though the particle is also the 'definite article' and the 'relative'); the unity of the piece is marked by the harmony of the particle and the preceding noun—e.g.

<i>mäbrähät la 'ənas</i>	[mäbrahat la: ʔəna:s]	the man's lamp
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1.7. *Vowel-consonant harmony*

The quality of the short vowels is also to be related to the consonants in their environment. In syllables containing labial consonants they are more back (and partly rounded) while in syllables containing dental, alveolar, and palato-alveolar consonants they are more front, than elsewhere. With the semivowels *w* and *y* the backness and frontness of the vowels are particularly noticeable. The quality of *ə* in the possessive suffix *kəm* is such that it might be preferable to write it as *küm* (without the duration of *u*); but this would unnecessarily complicate the transcription. These features of harmony are similar to those found in other Ethiopian (and indeed non-Ethiopian) languages, but there are two features that are especially characteristic of Tigre.

(i) Complete frontness and openness of *ä* is not only to be

¹ For details and examples see "'Openness" in Tigre', 565-9.

accounted for by vowel harmony, but also by 'harmony' with the ejectives and pharyngeals. When either immediately preceded by, or followed anywhere within the word by, one of these consonants, *ä* is fully open and front, as in

<i>čäbäl</i>	[tʃ'abəl]	ashes
<i>šäriṭ</i>	[ʃarit']	line ¹

This openness of *ä* is wholly unaffected by the presence of any of the long vowels—it 'takes precedence over' any vowel harmony. This is illustrated clearly by the following:

<i>šämbuka</i>	[šəmbu:kə:]	her boat
<i>sänduqa</i>	[sandu:k'a:]	her box

The quality of *ä* in the first is retracted half-open central—in harmony with *u* (not the *a* that follows); the quality of *ä* in the second is open front—in harmony with *q* (in spite of *u*). An apparent (but only apparent) exception to the general rule is the singulative form of the word 'äčäy 'wood' which is phonetically [ʃətʃtʃ'ət] where *[ʃətʃtʃ'at] might be expected (the vowel of the last syllable being *ä* following an ejective). But the form is to be identified morphologically not as *'äččät, but as 'äčyät (with radicals ' , č, and y); the only phonetic exponent of *y* being the quality (not open and front) of the following *ä*.

(ii) When preceded by *h* or ' the short vowels are much closer than elsewhere, as in

<i>hämäg'</i>	commoner
'əbən	stone

Yet in a word-final syllable closed by either of these consonants *ə* is very front and close, while *ä* is fully open and front²—e.g.

<i>zärə'</i>	[zəri?]	seed
<i>mäfräh</i>	[məfrih]	frightening
<i>gəräh</i>	[gərah]	field

1.8. Intervocalic laryngeals

For the first *V* of the sequence *VCV* where *C* is a laryngeal no distinction can be made on phonetic grounds between *ə*, *ä*, and *a*,

¹ Cf. ' "Openness" in Tigre', 569-74.

² Examples of final *h* or ' are rare with the nouns but more common with verbal forms as *ləgbä'* 'let him come' and *ləfräh* 'let him fear'.

though *i*, *e*, *u*, and *o* are still marked by their length and quality. Other than these four long front and back vowels there is but one other possibility, a short vowel of the same quality as that of the second vowel of the sequence. This could be symbolized by any of the three, *ə*, *ä*, or *a*, or a choice could be made on each occasion on morphological grounds. In fact, in such cases *ə* alone will be used throughout the study. For although there are examples in which identification is possible on morphological grounds, such identification is often not possible. The vowel could be identified as *a* for instance in:

	' <i>äzwä'at</i>	(*' <i>äzwa'at</i>)	words (pl. of <i>zu'</i>)
cf.	' <i>äswaqat</i>		shops (pl. of <i>suq</i>)

But there are no reasons for preferring one symbol to any of the others in:

<i>bə'əs</i>	[bəʔəs]	husband
<i>bə'er</i>	[beʔe:r]	half-grown camel
<i>fəḥäm</i>	[faḥäm]	charcoal

The symbol *ə* is to be preferred to *ä* or *a* because the vowel has the syllabic function of *ə*—it occurs only where the absence of a vowel would imply syllabic structures not analysable into *CV* and *CVC*. This is shown by

<i>mäš'an</i>	(* <i>mäša'an</i> , pl. of <i>mäš'än</i>)	loaded beasts
<i>gərhu</i>	(<i>gəäh</i> +pronominal suffix <i>-u</i>)	his field

The vowels that can be identified morphologically as *a* and *ä* are phonetically and phonologically zero.

The vowel *u*, too, rarely occurs before an intervocalic laryngeal. Where it would be expected morphologically, *ə* or (according to the syllabic structure) no vowel occurs—e.g.

	<i>bəzuḥ</i>	<i>bəzḥam</i> ¹	m.s. and m.p.	many
cf.	<i>kəbud</i>	<i>kəbuḍam</i>		heavy
	<i>bəggü'</i>	<i>bəggə'ət</i> ²	(fem. + <i>ət</i>)	sheep

In other forms the vowel *u* occurs after the laryngeal as in:

<i>bəggə'utay</i>	a little sheep
<i>kərkə'utay</i> (<i>kərku'</i>)	a little wax

The suffix in comparable forms is *-etay*.

¹ Cf. § 8.2.

² Cf. § 6.1.3.

While, however, in the adjectives (*bəzuḥ*, &c.) *u* does not occur before any laryngeal, in the nouns (the only laryngeals noted in this connexion were *ḥ*, ' , and ') though *u* does not occur before ' , it does occur before ' and *ḥ*, as in

<i>sämbu'</i>	a lung	<i>sämbu'ät</i>	a little lung
<i>luḥ</i>	a plank	<i>luḥay</i>	a little plank

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

THERE are interrelated morphological and syntactical features that are basic to the whole analysis. Details are given in the appropriate sections, but an initial outline statement is essential.

2.1. Types of 'formation'

The morphological statement comes under three headings dealing with the 'formation' of the plurals, the 'formation' of the derivatives, and the pronominal suffixes. The statement is necessarily in this order. Basic to the whole morphology are the singular forms (§ 3); the plurals are related to these in two ways, as 'broken' plurals (§ 4) and as 'suffixed' plurals (§ 5). The derivatives (§ 6) are largely to be referred to the singular forms, but some of them must be related to the broken plurals. The analysis of the forms with pronominal suffixes (§ 7) is wholly independent of the other sections, the suffixes being all freely additive.

2.2. Noun and adjective

Only the last section deals with the adjectives (§ 8). These are conveniently handled with the noun in view of the morphological similarity of many of the adjectives with the nouns. But the two classes are to be distinguished (with very little overlap),

(a) morphologically, in that the adjectives have no forms with pronominal suffixes;

(b) syntactically, in that the features of concord are determined by the noun and not the adjective (this is strictly true of gender at least, in that gender must often be stated lexically for the noun).

2.3. Number and gender

Concord of the forms of the nouns with verbs and pronouns requires the recognition of a two-term system of number, singular and plural, and a two-term system of gender, masculine and

feminine. The fourfold possibility is illustrated by the demonstratives:

	sing.	pl.
masc.	' <i>alli</i>	' <i>allom</i>
fem.	' <i>alla</i>	' <i>allän</i>

There is a serious terminological problem here in that it is convenient to use the terms 'singular' and 'plural' to refer to certain morphologically definable forms; but such singular forms are not the only forms with singular concord, while many of the plural forms do not have plural concord at all. But it would be inconvenient to restrict the terms to either the syntactically or the morphologically defined categories since there are no obvious alternative terms (and, moreover, the term 'singulative' is also required to refer to one type of derivative). The terms will, therefore, be used in both senses, but ambiguity will be avoided by referring to singular and plural *concord* (syntactic) and singular and plural *forms* (morphological). The abbreviations s. and p. (more commonly m.s., f.s., m.p., and f.p. with gender reference) will only be used to refer to the feature of concord.

It must be noted that gender does not always distinguish male and female sex, even when referring to living creatures. With living creatures the masculine form often is neutral in its sex reference, while the feminine refers to a female—e.g.

m.s.	<i>färäs</i>	horse (not necessarily stallion)
f.s.	<i>färäs</i>	mare

With non-living things the distinction is similar in meaning to that of the diminutive—the feminine refers to something attractive or small—e.g.

m.s.	<i>mora</i>	a stick
f.s.	<i>mora</i>	a nice little stick ¹

In general the gender of a noun, or rather of the singular form of a noun, since the derivatives have various genders, is storable lexically. But it is by no means wholly fixed, since the singular forms of most nouns usually have masculine concord, but may also have feminine concord, with the connotations illustrated above. Nevertheless, gender can and must be stated, even if there are these variations, since the gender of the singular form is directly

¹ Cf., with the same genders and meanings, Tigrinya *bättri*.

related to the type of diminutive,¹ and it was clear that, where a diminutive was in common use, the informant had no hesitation about the gender of the singular.

2.4. *Animate and inanimate*

A distinction between nouns that refer to animate beings and those that refer to inanimate beings must be made on formal grounds. This distinction rests upon the gender of the plural forms. The plural forms of nouns which refer to animate beings ('animate nouns') have plural concord and the same gender as the singular forms—e.g.²

m.s.	<i>dərfən</i>	m.p.	<i>därafən</i>	ram(s)
f.s.	<i>dəngəl</i>	f.p.	<i>dänäggəl</i>	virgin(s)
m./f.s.	<i>färäs</i>	m./f.p.	<i>'äfras</i>	horse(s)/mare(s)

The plural forms of nouns which refer to inanimate beings ('inanimate nouns') have, most commonly, masculine singular concord—e.g.

m.s.	<i>qačəl</i>	m.s.	<i>qačlotat</i>	bell(s)
f.s.	<i>gäläb</i>	m.s.	<i>'äglub</i>	spear(s)

But a few plural forms of inanimate nouns have plural concord (and the same gender as the singular form)—e.g.

f.p.	<i>'əllän 'äkanat</i>	those places
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One pair of examples was noted in which the form with plural concord had the connotations of 'nice':

m.s.	<i>'əlli 'äbyat</i>	those houses
f.p.	<i>'əllän 'äbyat</i>	those nice houses

In yet another pair the difference in concord was correlated to a difference in referential meaning:

m.s.	<i>'əlli mäkayən</i>	those machines
f.p.	<i>'əllän mäkayən</i>	those motor-cars

¹ Cf. § 6.3.3.

² Similarly the derivatives diminutive plural and pejorative plural of inanimate nouns usually have masculine singular concord, while those of the animate nouns have plural concord (though the gender relations are different).

2.5. *Countables and uncountables*

There is a distinction which is similar in its reference to that of countables and uncountables in English. This is of importance in dealing with the derivatives;¹ it is formally established with reference to the numerals, in that the singular forms of countable nouns are used with numerals, while those of the uncountables are not. We may attest

hätte/säläs/sälasa fanus one/three/thirty lamp(s)

but not

**hätte/säläs/sälasa bäläs*

The form of the noun that is required is *bälsät*, not *bäläs*:

hätte/säläs/sälasa bälsät one/three/thirty prickly pear(s)

This form is defined (in the section on derivatives) as the *singulative*, *bäläs* being the *collective*. The singular forms of countable nouns are all, by definition, singulatives, and those of uncountable nouns, all collectives. But just as there was some variation in the case of gender, so too there are a few nouns whose singular forms were not wholly established as either singulative or collective, though obviously, where a different (derivative) singulative form was in common use, there can be no hesitation about the identification of the singular form as collective.²

It will be noted that it is not merely the numeral for 'one' that must be followed by the singulative form (masc. *woro*, fem. *hätte*), but *all* numerals. The plural forms are not generally used with numerals at all.³

¹ Cf. § 6.2.2.

² Cf. § 6.3.1.

³ I recorded no examples of a numeral and a plural form, but one example of this, and one example of a numeral and a diminutive plural, was quoted by Mr. Duff.

THE SINGULAR FORMS

THE establishment of one form as the singular form of each noun is essential to the entire morphology. The forms so defined are of widely different syllabic and vocalic patterns, and cannot, therefore, be positively defined by their phonological shape. But there is little difficulty in identifying them if we compare them with the other forms, since all except the broken plurals have additional elements, suffixes, while the broken plurals fall, for the most part, into a limited number of easily recognizable phonological patterns. There is little to be gained here by listing all the types of singular form; they can be ascertained from the vocabulary at the end of this work.

All singular forms are singular in concord;¹ but there are also derivatives which equally have singular concord. They may be either masculine or feminine in concord, but gender is statable lexically only, and is not related to any phonological feature of the forms. Singular forms may be either singulative or collective. But, as we have seen, there is with some nouns variation in gender and in the countable/uncountable distinction.

The singular form is the most obvious one to treat as the 'head' of a lexical entry, and the form that is quoted when reference is made to a noun (as opposed to one form of a noun). But there are some nouns which have no singular form as defined here (negatively in that it is not a broken plural and has no suffix); the form to be quoted and listed in the vocabulary is always the form with suffix *-ät*, or where there is no form with this suffix, the suffix *-ay*. These forms, though not singular forms, are all singulatives—e.g.

<i>wə'ät</i>	(no form <i>*wə'</i>)	cow
<i>tästay</i>	(no form <i>*tästät</i> or <i>*täsat</i>)	bull

¹ Except for the problematic forms dealt with in § 6.3.9.

BROKEN PLURALS

THE broken plurals of Tigre are similar to those of other Semitic languages, though they are more complex in their morphology than those of Tigrinya.¹ The essential characteristic of a broken plural is that it shares with the singular form only its consonantal features (the shared consonants being referred to as *radicals*), the vowels and syllabic structure of the broken plurals being quite different from those of the singular (though, as will be seen, there are some 'prosodic' relations involving vocalic as well as consonantal features as radicals).

4.1. *General characteristics*

4.1.1. *Syntactic features.* We have already noted that the plural forms of animate nouns are plural in concord and have the same gender as the singular forms; the plurals of inanimate nouns may have similar concord, but most commonly are all masculine singular.

4.1.2. *Morphological features.* The variety of broken plural forms is dealt with in the morphological analysis. There are, however, several preliminary points that may be noted.

(i) Many broken plurals have the prefix 'ä-. In fact the absence and presence of the prefix is a criterion for dividing the broken plural classes into two main sections. Examples are:

<i>färäs</i>	'äfras	horse
<i>mändäq</i>	mänädaq	wall

(ii) Some of the broken plurals have the suffixes *-at*, *-ät*, and *-t* (or *-ät*)—e.g.

<i>suq</i>	'äswaqat	shop
<i>šəgad</i>	'äšəgdät	neck
<i>dägge</i>	dägüggit	town

¹ Cf. F. R. Palmer, 'The broken plurals of Tigrinya', *BSOAS* xvii. 3 (1955), 548-66.

But there can be no doubt about the treatment of these as broken plurals, since:

- (a) they have the concord features of the broken plurals (whereas *-ät* as a derivative suffix implies feminine singular);
- (b) they have the morphological shape of broken plurals;
- (c) they are in complementary distribution with plurals—there are no other plural forms of each noun;
- (d) they have the meaning of plural forms.

Only in the case of *-at* could any doubt arise, since this is also a suffix of the derivative *diminutive plural*, which may have both the general morphological shape of a broken plural and the same concord characteristics. But all the diminutive plurals of the type that could be thus confused are clearly marked as diminutive plurals by a phonological feature that is characteristic of a derivative—the vowel *-e*.¹ We may compare with *'äswaqat* the diminutive plural *'äbyetat*, whose singular and plural forms are:

<i>bet</i>	<i>'äbyat</i>	house
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(iii) There are some plural forms which have, apart from prefixes and suffixes, more consonants than the singular (and in a few cases singulars that have more consonants than the plurals). In such cases there is almost always a prosodic relation between them involving a radical which has consonantal exponents in the one form and vocalic exponents in the other. Examples are:

<i>kis</i>	<i>'äkyas</i>	pocket
<i>qəror</i>	<i>qärawər</i>	glass

In the first the exponent of one radical is a front vowel and a palatal semivowel. In the second it is a back vowel and a labio-velar semivowel.

(iv) The occurrence of laryngeals and ejectives as radicals may account for some morphological differences.

(a) With a laryngeal as the first radical, the first syllable of a broken plural of the type with a prefix is not *'äC-*, but *Ca-* (the laryngeal word initial and the vowel *a* not *ä*)—e.g.²

<i>'äsär</i>	<i>'asur</i>	track, footprint
<i>häyät</i>	<i>hayut</i>	lion
cf. <i>gäbäy</i>	<i>'ägbuy</i>	road

¹ Below, § 6.1.2 (iii).

² Similarly with the causative prefix of the verb (also *'ä-*), as in *häfna* 'get hot', *häfäna* 'make hot' (but *säbra* 'break', *'äsbära* 'make . . . break').

The vowel is, for a few nouns only, not *a* but *ä*—e.g.

<i>häbäy</i>	<i>häbuy</i>	monkey
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(b) With an initial ejective, the prefix is, for some nouns only, not 'ä- but 'ä-:¹—e.g.

<i>qəräd</i>	'äqrud	root
čəb'it	'äčəb'it	finger

(c) With one type of plural, if a laryngeal is the second radical, there is a difference of syllabic structure in that a laryngeal opens a syllable, where a non-laryngeal closes it—e.g.

<i>wəhər</i>	'äwəhərät	bull
šəgəd	'äšəgdät	neck

(v) The term gemination is explicitly reserved for a phonetically long and phonologically double consonant that is also morphologically a single radical.² It is indicated in the symbolization of the syllabic structure by \widehat{CC} , as opposed to CC which represents a cluster, even of identical consonants.

We may contrast:

<i>kərar</i>	'äkərrät	('äCəCCät)	curtain
<i>wärəq</i>	'äwərrəq	('äCä \widehat{CC} əC)	silver

In the broken plurals it is always the penultimate radical that is geminated. The geminated consonants, are, moreover, always preceded by the vowel *ä*, whereas in plurals of very similar structures, but without gemination, the corresponding consonant is preceded by *a*. There is alternation of *ä* with gemination and *a* with absence of gemination. Several of the broken plural structures can thus be paired, the absence or presence of gemination being the essential distinguishing feature. An example is $CäCaCəC$ and $CäCä\widehat{CC}əC$ as in:³

<i>məsgəd</i>	<i>mäsagəd</i>	mosque
<i>qəlčəm</i>	<i>qäläččəm</i>	wrist

4.1.3. *Meaning.* The broken plural forms all refer to objects more numerous than one. It must be recalled that they are not used with the numerals (which require singulative forms).

¹ Cf. also the verbal form 'äqbäla 'he returned'—morphologically a causative.

² Cf. § 1.4.

³ Cf. 'Broken plurals', 551-2.

4.2. *Analysis of the broken plurals*

Nineteen main types of broken plural form were noted. These are set out below, grouped according to some of their more obvious formal characteristics.

I	'äCCəC						
II	'äCCuC						
III	'äCCaC	} 'äCCaC	} 'äCCVC	} prefix 'ä-			
IV	'äCCaCat					±suff.	
V	'äCəCCät						
VI	'äCaCəC	} no gemina- tion	} 'äCaCəC/'äCäCCəC				
VII	'äCaCCət						
VIII	'äCäCCəC	} gemination	} ±suff.				
IX	'äCäCCəCat						
X	'äCäCCit						
XI	CäCaCəC	} no gemina- tion	} CäCaCVC/ CäCäCCəC			} no prefix	
XII	CäCaCiC						
XIII	CäCaCuC						
XIV	CäCäCCəC	} gemination	} ±suff.				
XV	CäCäCaCəC						
XVI	CäCaCi	} no gemina- tion	} CäCaCi/CäCäCCi				
XVII	CäCaCit						
XVIII	CäCäCCi	} gemination	} ±suff.				
XIX	CäCäCCit						

The morphological statement that follows is based upon the diagram above, but also takes into account the distinction between the nouns whose radicals are all consonantal and those which have one radical that has vocalic as well as consonantal exponents. Apart from this distinction the plurals with the prefix are considered together, but those without a prefix are further divided according to the two main divisions in terms of syllabic structure that is indicated in the diagram.

4.2.1. *Plurals with prefix 'ä-: radicals wholly consonantal (classes I-IX).* The singular forms associated with these plural classes are almost wholly of the syllabic structure *CVCVC* with the vowels of the first syllable restricted to *ə* and *ä* and those of the second to *ə*, *ä*, and *a*. Plurals of classes VI and VII are very rare. The presence of a laryngeal as a radical is important to the statement

(apart from the features that have already been noted);¹ this consideration partly accounts for the subdivisions that follow.

(i) With none of the radicals laryngeal, classes I, II, III, IV, V, and VIII only were attested. There is little predictability from the plurals to the singular or vice versa, except that V only is the plural (and the only plural) of singulars with *a* as the vowel of the second syllable—e.g.²

I	(6)	<i>kübäd</i>	' <i>akbäd</i>	belly
	(2)	<i>ğäfär</i>	' <i>äg̃fär</i>	side, coast
II	(10)	<i>mätäd</i>	' <i>ämtud</i>	stake
	(4)	<i>qäləb</i>	' <i>äqlub</i>	wish
	(10)	<i>gäbäy</i>	' <i>äg̃buy</i>	road
III	(17)	<i>bərək</i>	' <i>äbrak</i>	knee
	(3)	<i>näfəs</i>	' <i>änfas</i>	soul
	(7)	<i>sädäf</i>	' <i>äsdaf</i>	button
IV	(2)	<i>šərəm</i>	' <i>äšramat</i>	pond
V	(19)	<i>šəgäd</i>	' <i>äšəgdät</i>	neck
	(2)	<i>tänan</i>	' <i>ätənnät</i>	smoke
VIII	(5)	<i>wärəq</i>	' <i>äwärrəq</i>	silver
	(13)	<i>mädäf</i>	' <i>ämädäf</i>	young ram

Where the first radical is ejective (though only *q*), the prefix is, for some nouns, 'ä- —e.g.

(2)	<i>qətəb</i>	' <i>äqtub</i>	leg of bed
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(ii) With an initial laryngeal, the first syllable of the plural form is, as already stated, *Ca* not 'ä*C*, and only classes II and III were noted—e.g.

II	(1)	' <i>äləğ̃</i>	' <i>aluğ̃</i>	child, youngster
	(1)	<i>həräs̃</i>	<i>harus̃</i>	stick (for beating)
	(10)	' <i>ämät</i>	' <i>amut</i>	female slave
III	(15)	' <i>əkəl</i>	' <i>akal</i>	corn
	(1)	' <i>əyäb</i>	' <i>ayab</i>	sack
	(3)	<i>hübəl</i>	<i>habal</i>	rope
	(2)	' <i>äsär</i>	' <i>asar</i> ³	track

¹ § 4.1.2 (iv).

² An example of each pair of related singular and plural structures (vocalic and syllabic) is given. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of examples attested.

³ Also 'asur (II).

With *Cä*, not *Ca*, as the first syllable, plurals of classes III, V, and IX were attested—e.g.

III	(1)	' <i>ädäg</i>	' <i>ädug</i>	donkey
	(1)	' <i>häbäy</i>	' <i>häbuy</i>	monkey
V	(1)	' <i>həwar</i>	' <i>həwrät</i>	foal
IX	(2)	' <i>härəb</i>	' <i>hərrəbət</i>	water-skin

Similar to the class V form above, but with gemination of the last radical (not otherwise attested) is

' <i>əzal</i>	' <i>əzällät</i>	shade of tree
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(iii) With a medial laryngeal only, classes I, II, and III were attested, with one example of V—e.g.

I	(1)	' <i>bə'əs</i>	' <i>əb'əs</i>	husband
	(6)	' <i>bə'här</i>	' <i>əbhər</i>	sea
II	(2)	' <i>sə'əd</i>	' <i>əs'ud</i>	strong arm
	(2)	' <i>də'häb</i>	' <i>ədhub</i>	gold
III	(4)	' <i>rə'həm</i>	' <i>ərham</i>	belly
V	(1)	' <i>wəhər</i>	' <i>əwhərät</i> ¹	bull

(iv) With a final laryngeal no plural forms of classes I, II, and III were attested, though there are examples of classes IV, V, and IX—e.g.

IV	(3)	' <i>fətəh</i>	' <i>əftəhat</i>	justice
V	(1)	' <i>qəwä'</i>	' <i>əqəw'ät</i>	crane
	(1)	' <i>qäyə'</i>	' <i>əqəy'ät</i>	vomit
IX	(1)	' <i>gəmə'</i>	' <i>əgəmmə'ət</i>	boulder
	(12)	' <i>səffə'</i>	' <i>əsəffə'ət</i>	winnowing tray
	(1)	' <i>färä'</i>	' <i>əfərrə'ət</i>	branch of a family

There is an alternative form of class IX—'*äCəCCəCät*, which was attested for most of the examples ('*əsəffə'ät*, &c.).

(v) Nouns with no (unsuffixed) singular forms, but with lexically quotable forms with suffixes *-ät* and *-ay* only² follow the patterns already noted—e.g.

II	(2)	' <i>kərdät</i>	' <i>əkruđ</i>	<i>kind of tree</i>
	(1)	' <i>šänkät</i>	' <i>əšnuđ</i>	direction
III	(1)	' <i>ləggät</i>	' <i>əlgađ</i>	dark hollow
V	(2) ³	' <i>bərmay</i>	' <i>əbərmät</i>	grass tick

¹ *'*əwhərät*, cf. § 4.1.2 (iv).

² Cf. § 3.

³ The other example is *bə'ray*, '*əb'ərät*, with a medial laryngeal, cf. § 4.1.2 (iv).

(vi) There are a number of singular forms of the structure *CVVC*, with *V* a short vowel, that are morphologically to be regarded as *CVCC* (which is not phonologically possible).¹ In all examples but two we may establish identical second and third radicals—e.g.

III	(6)	<i>gəd</i>	' <i>ägdad</i>	cotton thread
	(2)	<i>šär</i>	' <i>äšrar</i>	half
V	(2)	<i>gäṣ</i>	' <i>ägəṣṣät</i>	face

The two examples in which the third radical is not the same as the second and has no exponent in the singular form are:

III	<i>gən</i>	' <i>ägnad</i>	border
V	<i>qär</i>	' <i>äqərnät</i>	horn

(vii) Three singular forms with a long back vowel in the second syllable were noted with plurals of class II (the more common plural for this type is XI):

<i>qəruš²</i>	' <i>äqruš</i>	dollar
' <i>əyot</i>	' <i>əyut</i>	lamb
<i>yəhudi</i>	' <i>əyhud</i>	Jew

(viii) Four singular forms of the structure *CVCCVC* with their two medial consonants identical were noted:

V	<i>bärrad</i>	' <i>äbərdät</i>	tea kettle
VIII	<i>ləddat</i>	' <i>äläddät</i>	door frame
	<i>täbbəl</i>	' <i>ätäbbəl</i>	milk jar of grass
	<i>näggäl</i>	' <i>änäggäl</i>	male kid

These are clearly to be regarded as having three radicals only: the second radical is geminated in the singular forms as well as in the class VIII plurals (but non-geminated in the class V plural).

(ix) Classes VI and VII were attested for three forms only:

VI	<i>çəb'it</i>	' <i>äçabə'</i>	finger
	<i>bəggu'</i>	' <i>äbagə'</i>	sheep
VII	<i>bäṣəḥ</i>	' <i>äbaṣəḥ</i>	youth

Only the last noun has a singular form of a type that is otherwise

¹ This is valid for the other parts of the morphology too, cf. §§ 6.3.3 (p. 56) and 7 (iv).

² But *qärretay*, *qärru* (§§ 6.3.3 and 7 (iv)).

associated with a plural with the prefix 'ä; the first is the only example attested with the first radical an ejective other than *q* and prefix 'ä- instead of 'ä.

4.2.2. *Plurals with prefix 'ä-: radicals not wholly consonantal (classes I-IX)*. The singular forms associated with these types of plural are almost all of the syllabic structures *CVC* or *CVCV*. In the majority of cases one radical has as its exponents either a front vowel in the singular form and a palatal semivowel in the plural, or a back vowel in the singular and a labiovelar semivowel in the plural.

(i) With singulars of the structure *CVC* only plural classes III, IV, and V were attested (with final laryngeal only IV)—e.g.

Non-laryngeal

III	(1)	<i>kis</i>	'äkyas	pocket
	(2)	<i>bet</i>	'äbyat	house
	(3)	<i>tuṭ</i>	'ätwaṭ	dried sinew
	(5)	<i>kor</i>	'äkwar	pack saddle
IV	(1)	<i>suq</i>	'äswaqat	shop
	(1)	<i>goṣ</i>	'ägwaṣat	side, face (of thing)
V	(1)	<i>sol</i>	'äsəwläṭ	pad for load on head

Initial laryngeal

III	(2)	'id	'ayad	food offered to dead
	(2)	ḥol	ḥawal	year

Final laryngeal

IV	(2)	zu'	'äzwə'at	word
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With no (unsuffixed) singular

III	(1)	<i>nibät</i>	'änyab ¹	canine tooth
	(1)	<i>šoqät</i>	'äšwaq	thorn

(ii) There are a few nouns with a semivowel in the plural but no front or back vowel in the singular, the only vowel being the central vowel:

III	(1)	<i>dəs</i>	'ädyaṣ	saucepan
	(2)	<i>səm</i>	'äsmay	name
IV	(1)	<i>rəḥ</i>	'ärwəhat	soul

¹ But 'änğab (collective) 'teeth'—singulative 'änğebät.

The second of these could be treated like *gən* (§ 4.2.1 (vi)), though *y* does not function as a radical in the forms with pronominal suffix (*səmu*).¹

(iii) With singulars of the structure *CVCV* a few examples were noted in which the exponents of the third radical are a front vowel in the singular and a palatal semivowel in the plural—e.g.

II	(2)	<i>məse</i>	' <i>əmsuy</i>	evening
III	(1)	<i>ləhe</i>	' <i>əlhay</i>	molar
	(1)	<i>səga</i>	' <i>əsgay</i>	meat

(iv) Two singular forms of this structure are associated with a class X plural:

<i>ǧəna</i>	' <i>əǧənnit</i>	child
<i>läga</i>	' <i>äläggit</i>	young bull

These could be treated as having a third radical that is wholly vocalic; this type of prosodic relation is very common with plurals of the classes XVI–XIX.²

With one noun the singular form has a semivowel (the exponent of the third radical) while the plural has a vowel only (the reverse of the usual pattern):

<i>kəray</i>	' <i>əkərrit</i>	hyena
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4.2.3. *Plurals of the structures CăCaCVC|CăCăĈCăC and CăCă-CaCăC (classes XI–XV): radicals wholly consonantal.* The majority of the singular forms associated with these plurals are of the structure *CVCCVC*; these are dealt with in (i) and (ii) below, which differ in the absence or presence of gemination in the plural forms. Other singular structures are *CVCCVCV* (iii), *CVCVVVC* (iv), and *CVCVCCVC* (v).

The distinction between geminated and non-geminated forms of the plural does not reflect any corresponding difference in the singular forms except that with *CVCCVC* singulars (a) all singular forms with initial *mə-* or *mă-* (all verbal 'formations') have plurals without gemination, (b) singular forms with *i*, *e*, *o*, or *u* in the second syllable are associated with plurals without gemination only if those plurals have *i* or *u* in the final syllable (i.e. only with XII and XIII, not with XI).

(i) Many singulars of the structure *CVCCVC* are associated

¹ Cf. p. 22 n. 1, and § 7 (iv).

² § 4.2.5.

with plurals without gemination—XI–XIII. The feature that distinguishes these three classes of plural is the vowel of the final syllable—*ə*, *i*, and *u*; this is reflected in most cases by the quality of the corresponding vowel of the singular form. There is a prosodic vowel–vowel relation, central vowels in the singular corresponding to the central vowel *ə* (XI) in the plural, front vowels to the front vowel *i* (XII), and back vowels to the back vowel *u* (XIII). Although in each case there is one vowel quality only in the plural, the vowels of the singular differ in degrees of openness—the central vowels are *ə* and *ä*, the front vowels *i* and *e*, and the back vowels *u* and *o*; the open front vowel *a* patterns with both the front and the central vowels, and will, therefore (in spite of its front quality) be treated morphologically as belonging to both the central and the front systems.¹—e.g.

Central–central

IX	(8)	<i>məsgəd</i>	<i>mäsagəd</i>	mosque
	(2)	<i>mədmä'</i>	<i>mädämä'</i>	blow
	(19)	<i>məsmar</i>	<i>mäsamər</i>	nail
	(5)	<i>mäftəḥ</i>	<i>mäfatəḥ</i>	key
	(29)	<i>ğänğär</i>	<i>ğänäğər</i>	chain

Front–front

XII	(2)	<i>ṭəwit²</i>	<i>ṭəwawit</i>	cartridge
	(2)	<i>bəṣṭan</i>	<i>bäsätin</i>	garden
	(4)	<i>bärmil</i>	<i>bäramil</i>	barrel

Back–back

XIII	(1)	<i>kətkut</i>	<i>kätakut</i>	young bird
	(5)	<i>mänduq</i>	<i>mänaduq</i>	gun
	(1)	<i>mäskot</i>	<i>mäsakut</i>	window

The only vowel–vowel relation that involves a change in the prosodic feature is back–front—e.g.

XII	(1)	<i>kətkut</i>	<i>kätakit³</i>	young bird
	(7)	<i>sämbuk</i>	<i>sänabik</i>	boat

¹ Cf. 'Broken plurals', pp. 552–3, where it functions in both central and *back* systems.

² i.e. **ṭəwawit*, since *w* is never phonetically long; alternatively this noun could be treated under § 4.2.4, though it would be an exception to the general pattern there. The other example with the same structure is *məṣṭir*.

³ With an alternative plural—above.

The patterns are similar where there is no singular form, the lexically quotable form having the suffix *-ät*—e.g.

XI	(1)	' <i>ətfəyät</i>	' <i>ätəfə</i> ¹	hearth stone
XII	(1)	<i>mändilät</i>	<i>mänadil</i>	scarf
	(1)	<i>nəggarät</i>	<i>nəgagir</i>	drum

(ii) The singulars associated with the plural with gemination (XIV) are all of the syllabic and vocalic structures dealt with in the previous section. But since the plural form has only one kind of vowel quality in the final syllable—central, i.e. ə, there are no prosodic relations to be noted—e.g.

Central

XIV	(14)	<i>dərfən</i>	<i>därəffən</i>	ram
	(4)	<i>dəmmäl</i>	<i>dämämmäl</i>	vengeance
	(1)	' <i>älləş</i>	' <i>älälləş</i>	hawk
	(9)	<i>tärkäz</i>	<i>täräkkəz</i>	heel

Front

	(1)	<i>hənziʒ</i>	<i>hänäzzəz</i>	cockchafer
	(14)	<i>kərbəğ</i>	<i>käräbbəğ</i>	whip
	(3)	<i>tämsäl</i>	<i>tämässäl</i>	reflection
	(1)	' <i>anqel</i>	' <i>änäqqəl</i>	circle

Back

	(6)	<i>şəngul</i>	<i>şänəggəl</i>	young man
	(1)	<i>sämbu'</i>	<i>sänäbbə'</i>	lung
	(1)	<i>koskos</i> ²	<i>käsäkkəs</i>	pot for roasting coffee

The nouns with no (unsuffixed) singular forms are of similar patterns—e.g.

	(5)	<i>tənkällät</i>	<i>tänäkkəl</i>	plait
	(2)	<i>dərbobät</i>	<i>däräbbəb</i>	ant-hill
	(1)	<i>zənnabät</i>	<i>zänännəb</i>	head scarf
	(2)	<i>dəgdägät</i>	<i>dägäddəg</i>	dusty place

¹ This involves a change of *y* to ' ; but this is not strange phonologically in view of the close front quality of *ə* before a final '—cf. § 1.7 (ii).

² This is the only example that has a long vowel other than *a* in the first syllable of the singular (structure *CVCCVC*). But it is to be noted that, irrespective of the quality of this vowel, the first vowel of the plural is always *ä*. The position is quite different in Tigrinya, where there are prosodic relations, cf. 'Broken plurals'.

(iii) With singular forms of the structure *CVCCVCV* only class XIV plurals were noted—e.g.

(1)	<i>məsməsa</i>	<i>məsəmməs</i>	cause
(1)	<i>səlsāla</i>	<i>sələssəl</i>	bamboo
(2)	<i>həmbāša</i>	<i>hənəbbəš</i>	wheaten bread
(1)	<i>'əngera</i>	<i>'ənəggər</i>	bread
(1)	<i>həngora</i>	<i>hənəggər</i>	wooden spear
(1)	<i>tərqoba</i>	<i>tərəqqəb</i>	heel
(2)	<i>gərguma</i>	<i>gərəggəm</i>	wind-pipe

Examples with a final *-t* are rare:

(1)	<i>'änkəbot</i>	<i>'ənəkkəb</i>	spider
(1)	<i>kəddamit</i>	<i>kədəddəm</i>	servant
(1)	<i>rəbbə'it</i>	<i>rəbəbbə'</i>	grain measure

(iv) Broken plural forms of classes XI and XIV (with a central vowel in the final syllable) were noted with singulars of the structure *CVVCVCVC*—e.g.

XI	(1)	<i>məkəwəl</i>	<i>məkəwəl</i>	hiding place
	(1)	<i>məšerəb</i>	<i>məšerəb</i>	bodkin
XIV	(1)	<i>šəkənab</i>	<i>šəkənnəb</i>	pot

A unique pattern is that of:

<i>məkəyāli</i>	<i>məkəyəl</i>	measure
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(v) Plural class XV is associated with singulars of the structure *CVVCVCVC*. The pattern is like that of the singulars and plurals of class XI, with an additional initial *CV* syllable—e.g.

XV	(1)	<i>məšəndəh</i>	<i>məšənədəh</i>	cut (on body)
	(2)	<i>məhəngag</i>	<i>məhənagag</i>	scratch
	(1)	<i>məzərgəf</i>	<i>məzəragəf</i>	comb

Also noted with the same plural was one noun with no (unsuffixed) singular, and two with the further ending *-it*:—

(1)	<i>mərəbbə'ət</i>	<i>mərəbabə'</i>	stone house
(2)	<i>məkəškəšit</i>	<i>məkəšəkəš</i>	coffee roaster

4.2.4. *Plurals with the structures CăCaCVC/CăCăC̄CəC (classes XI–XIV): radicals not wholly consonantal.* The singular forms associated with the plurals of these types are almost all of the structure *CVVCVC*, but the morphological patterns are of two

kinds; in the first it is the third radical that has vocalic as well as consonantal exponents, while in the second it is the second radical that has exponents of this kind. The general characteristics are similar to those of § 4.2.2.

(i) For most nouns it is the third radical that has vocalic exponents in the singular form. Since the semivowels are never geminated, and since any front or back vowel in the singular form is reflected by the semivowel in the plural, only class XI plural forms (non-geminated and with *ə* in the last syllable) are attested. By far the commonest type of noun has as the exponent of the third radical a long front vowel in the singular and a palatal semivowel in the plural—e.g.

XI	(4)	<i>wəḥiz</i>	<i>wəḥayəs¹</i>	stream
	(2)	<i>ǧəmen</i>	<i>ǧənayən</i>	garden
	(14)	<i>nāwid</i>	<i>nāwayəd</i>	kid
	(1)	<i>kāleb</i>	<i>kālayəb</i>	fence

But there are several nouns in which the exponent of the radical is a *back* vowel in the singular, but a palatal semivowel in the plural. Once again² there are back-front relations between the two forms—e.g.

XI	(2)	<i>‘əquq</i>	<i>‘āqayəq</i>	flat field in valley
	(4)	<i>hādud</i>	<i>hādawayəd</i>	thunder

One example of a back-back pattern was noted:

<i>qərər</i>	<i>qārawayər</i>	bottle
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The same patterns were found for nouns with no (unsuffixed) singular forms, and for one of the structure (singular form) *CVCVCV*

XI	(3)	<i>səgadät³</i>	<i>səgayəd</i>	ascent
	(3)	<i>dākilät</i>	<i>dākayəl</i>	peace-making
	(1)	<i>säverät</i>	<i>särayər</i>	bird
		<i>säreray</i>		
	(1)	<i>tākobät</i>	<i>tākayəb</i>	grass mat
	(1)	<i>māšori</i>	<i>māšawər</i>	strap

(ii) Where it is the second radical that has vocalic as well as

¹ i.e. **wəḥayəs* (*ə* before a laryngeal, cf. § 1.8).

² Cf. § 4.2.3 (1).

³ Forms with *a* as the exponent of the third radical were noted only with this suffix *-ät*.

consonantal exponents, the exponents are, for most nouns, a back vowel in the singular and a labiovelar semivowel in the plural form, i.e., back-back—e.g.

XI	(1)	<i>qobä'</i>	<i>qävabä'</i>	hat
	(3)	<i>kokäb</i>	<i>kävakäb</i>	star
XIV	(2)	<i>moqäh</i>	<i>mäväqqäh</i>	fetter
	(3)	<i>šokän</i>	<i>šäväkkän</i>	antelope
	(3)	<i>rošan</i>	<i>räväššan</i>	storied building
	(1)	<i>horämmät</i>	<i>hävärräm</i>	pass

But there are some nouns in which the exponent of the radical is a *front* vowel in the singular and a labiovelar semivowel in the plural, i.e. with front-back relations—e.g.

XIV	(3)	<i>mezan</i>	<i>mävävzän</i>	scales
XI	(1)	<i>birob</i>	<i>bäväräb</i>	sack made of grass

One example of a noun with a front vowel in the singular and a palatal semivowel in the plural was noted:

XI	<i>tikas</i>	<i>täkayäs</i>	nomad's tent
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The general pattern in terms of front and back is thus the reverse of that of nouns with vocalic exponents of the third radical. Back-back patterns are common, and front-front patterns are rare; the pattern back-front does not occur, but the otherwise unattested front-back pattern does.

Plural class XII forms were also noted—e.g.

XII	(3)	<i>fanus</i>	<i>fävvanis</i>	lamp
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These are exceptional in that not only does the second radical have vocalic and consonantal exponents (front-back), but also the vowels of the final syllable are related in the reverse order—back-front.

One noun with similar prosodic relations, but in which the order of the radicals differs in the singular and plural, the radical with vocalic and consonantal exponents being final in the singular form and penultimate in the plural, is:

XIV	<i>derho</i>	<i>däväväh</i>	fowl
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A quite idiosyncratic noun, but with back-back vocalic and consonantal exponents of one radical is:—

<i>'ənqoqho</i>	<i>'ənqävəqäh</i>	egg
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4.2.5. *Plurals with the structure CäCaCi(t)|CäCäCCi(t) (classes XVI-XIX).* The majority of the singular forms associated with these types of plural are of the structure *CVCCV*; a smaller number have the structure *CVCVCV*. Others are of the pattern *CVCV*, but with a radical that has a vocalic exponent in the singular form and a consonantal exponent in the plural.

(i) The singular forms with the structure *CVCCV* have a variety of different vocalic patterns; these are not to be associated by any general rules with any of the four plural patterns—e.g.

XVI	(1)	<i>šakna</i>	<i>šäkani</i>	hoof
	(2)	<i>šägla</i>	<i>šägali</i>	fig
	(1)	<i>wägre</i>	<i>wägari</i>	olive
	(1)	<i>dä'ro</i>	<i>dä'ari</i>	sycamore
	(1)	<i>soldi</i>	<i>säladi</i>	money
XVII	(1)	<i>mämba</i>	<i>mänabit</i>	master
	(1)	<i>mäsni</i>	<i>mäsanit</i>	friend
	(1)	<i>'ärwe</i>	<i>'ärwit</i>	serpent
XVIII	(3)	<i>däkka</i>	<i>däkäkki</i>	stool
	(1)	<i>händi</i>	<i>hänäddi</i>	hoof
	(1)	<i>'ätro</i>	<i>'ätärrri</i>	water-jug
	(1)	<i>qärso</i>	<i>qärässi</i>	ankle-bone
	(1)	<i>katra</i>	<i>kätärrri</i>	pigeon
XIX	(1)	<i>'eṭro</i>	<i>'ätärrri</i>	dik-dik
	(5)	<i>mägda</i>	<i>mägäddit</i>	bonfire
	(1)	<i>qəlf</i>	<i>qäläffit</i>	button
	(3)	<i>dägge</i>	<i>dägäggit</i>	town
	(2)	<i>dämmu</i>	<i>dämämmit</i>	cat
	(2)	<i>gənto</i>	<i>gänättit</i>	young female baboon
	(1)	<i>šärbe</i>	<i>šäräbbit</i>	soup
	(3)	<i>särgo</i>	<i>säräggit</i>	trinket
	(8)	<i>näbra</i>	<i>näbärrit</i>	food
21	(2)	<i>walta</i>	<i>wälättit</i>	shield
	(1)	<i>mokla</i>	<i>mäkällit</i>	youth come of age

Many singular forms have a final *-t*, though in most cases the plural is class XVI or XVIII, without a *-t*—e.g.

XVI	(2)	<i>fändot</i>	² <i>fänädi</i>	buttock
XVIII	(1)	<i>qəmbet</i>	<i>qänäbbi</i>	backyard
	(2)	<i>taḡrat</i>	<i>tägärrri</i>	water pail
	(1)	<i>kädbet</i>	<i>kädäbbi</i>	floor

In the few cases where the plural also has *-t*, only class XIX is possible; class XVII with final *-t* (and *-t* also in the singular) would be regarded as class XII, with the *-t* as a radical; this type of interpretation is not possible with class XIX since there is no plural type *CäCäCCiC*—e.g.

XIX	(I)	<i>kərbit</i>	<i>kärəbbit</i>	match
	(I)	<i>mämfet</i>	<i>mänəffit</i>	sieve

(ii) With singular forms of the structure *CVCVCV*, three classes of plural form were noted—e.g.

XVII	(I)	<i>wäreza</i>	<i>wärazit</i>	bachelor
XVIII	(I)	<i>mašela</i>	<i>mäšälli</i>	sorghum
XIX	(I)	<i>dəqala</i>	<i>dəqällit</i>	bastard
	(I)	<i>səqäla</i>	<i>səqällit</i>	roof
	(I)	<i>däbela</i>	<i>däbällit</i>	he-goat

One example of a noun with a final *-t* in the singular was noted:

XVIII		<i>mäčarit</i>	<i>mäčərri</i>	back of lower jaw
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(iii) With some nouns the second radical has vocalic exponents in the singular form. The patterns are similar to those of § 4.2.4 (ii); the vowels of the singular forms are both back and front, but the consonant of the plural is a labiovelar semivowel only (back-back and front-back). The plural forms are all of class XVIII—e.g.

(2)	<i>dosa</i>	<i>dəwässı</i>	hut
(I)	<i>tišo</i>	<i>tiwässı</i>	pot
(I)	<i>'ela</i>	<i>'əwälli</i>	well
(2)	<i>qefo</i>	<i>qəwəfti</i>	arm-chair

There are singular forms with a final *-t* (and one with a final *-ät*).

(I)	<i>qišot</i>	<i>qəwässı</i>	village
(I)	<i>'esat</i>	<i>'əwässı</i>	back
(I)	<i>konat</i>	<i>kəwänni</i>	spear
(I)	<i>korit</i>	<i>kəwərri</i>	ball
(I)	<i>qogät</i>	<i>qəwäggi</i>	kind of tree

One noun of a similar pattern was noted, but with the semivowel as the third consonant of the plural form:

<i>mora</i>	<i>mərəwwi</i>	stick
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(iv) Some nouns with these plurals have a palatal semivowel in the singular form—e.g.

XVI	(2)	<i>mə'tay</i>	<i>mə'ati</i>	entrance
XVIII	(1)	<i>dəbbəyät</i>	<i>däbäbbi</i>	ambush
	(1)	<i>foqäy</i>	<i>fäwäqqi</i>	top of shoulder
XVII	(1)	<i>fəlu¹y</i>	<i>fäləyit</i>	half-grown calf
	(1)	<i>sämuy</i>	<i>säməyit</i>	cattle trough
XIX	(6)	<i>čəñçay</i>	<i>čänäččit</i>	fly
	(2)	<i>'änšay</i>	<i>'änäššit</i>	mouse

The class XVIII forms could be treated as having a fourth radical *y*; they would then belong to class XIV—**däbäbbəy*, **fäwäqqəy*. But a similar treatment of the other forms is not plausible in view of the final *t*; it would imply classes XI and XIV + *t*, which are not attested elsewhere, and a final *yt*, which though not impossible in Tigre, is rare.² But these examples serve to show the close parallelism of classes XVI–XIX and classes XI–XIV. It could, indeed, be suggested that the only difference between them is that the fourth radical of the former is vocalic, while the fourth radical of the latter is consonantal.

Several nouns have plurals of the types considered here, but singulars of structures that have been dealt with elsewhere:

XVI	<i>higa</i>	<i>hägäggi</i>	speech
	<i>mäbäl</i>	<i>mäbälli</i>	widow
XVIII	<i>həmmäm</i>	<i>hämämmit</i>	leopard

4.2.6. *Other types of plural.* There are a number of other plural forms that cannot be dealt with as plurals with suffixes, though few of them belong to a regular pattern.

(i) There are two further classes of plural, which, though of different patterns from those already dealt with, are still to be handled together with them, as classes XX and XXI—*CəCäC* and *CäCCäC*—e.g.

XX	(4)	<i>'əgər</i>	<i>'əgär</i>	foot
	(1)	<i>sol³</i>	<i>səwäl</i>	pad for load on head

¹ The feminine form is *fəlit*; this can be dealt with under § 4.2.4, the plural being written as *fäləyət*, since there is no phonetic distinction between *-yə-* and *-yi-*.

² Cf. § 1.3 (iv).

³ Cf. also § 4.2.2 (i).

XXI	(I)	<i>nəgus</i>	<i>nəggäs</i>	king
	(I)	<i>fälasit</i>	<i>fälläs</i>	priest
	(I)	<i>šum</i>	<i>šäyäm¹</i>	chief

The class XX forms raise a problem in the morphological statement since there are many nouns which have one form of this pattern and another with the suffix *-ät*. One interpretation of this (and the interpretation followed here) is that the unsuffixed form is the singular and collective and that the suffixed form is the singulative—e.g.

singulative	<i>zəbdät</i>	a piece of butter
collective	<i>zəbäd</i>	butter

But an alternative interpretation is that the unsuffixed form is a class XX plural, and that the noun has no singular, the lexically quotable form being the singulative with suffix *-ät*. The relevant facts are discussed in more detail in § 6.3.9. But the decision is a practical one. We cannot ask whether these forms are *really* plural or *really* collective; rather they have something in common with both.

(ii) There are a number of plural forms which have the pattern of those we have considered, but which are not related to the singular forms in any 'regular' way. These are—

(III)	<i>gä'</i>	<i>'äg'at</i>	black lizard
(III)	<i>tälit</i>	<i>'atäl</i>	she-goat
(VI)	<i>wälät</i>	<i>'äwaləd</i>	daughter

Some forms have a suffix *-t* or *ät* that is not usually found with the plural form:

(XI)	<i>mäbrəhät</i>	<i>mäbarhət</i>	lamp
(XI)	<i>mänfə'ät</i>	<i>mänaf'ät</i>	profit
(XI)	<i>mämhər</i>	<i>mämhərät²</i>	teacher

Two nouns were noted with a final *-b* instead of *-t* in the plural form:

(XVII)	<i>faytät</i>	<i>fätayib</i>	prostitute
	<i>dällal</i>	<i>dälalib</i>	agent, middle man

¹ i.e. *šäyyäm (y not geminated).

² i.e. *mämahərät.

(iii) Plurals that are wholly idiosyncratic and do not resemble any of the patterns noted are:

' <i>ade</i>	' <i>ädäy</i>	hand
<i>hu</i>	<i>häw</i>	brother
<i>wäd</i>	<i>wälad</i> ¹	son
<i>hat</i>	<i>häwat</i>	sister
<i>zabät</i>	<i>zəbbät</i>	officer
' <i>əgal</i>	' <i>əgəl</i>	calf

(iv) Finally, there are some forms that may be paired distributionally and semantically as singular and plural, though they have no phonological features in common:

' <i>ənas</i> ²	<i>säb</i>	man
' <i>əssit</i>	' <i>änəs</i>	woman
<i>wə'ät</i>	' <i>äha</i>	cow
<i>nə'ät</i>	' <i>ənsa</i>	camel

¹ But cf. §§ 6.3.3 and 7 (vi).

² Or *bə'äl* when part of a phrase of the type *bə'äl fəhäm* 'charcoal man'—plural *säb fəhäm*.

SUFFIXED PLURALS

5.1. *General characteristics*

The syntactic, morphological, and semantic features of these forms make it quite clear that they are to be classed together with the broken plurals, and not to be treated as derivatives.

5.1.1. *Syntactic features.* The suffixed plurals have the same syntactic relations as the broken plurals with regard to number and gender. Animate nouns have forms which are plural in concord and of the same gender as the singular; inanimate nouns forms which are most commonly masculine singular only. The contrast between the plurals and the derivatives is shown most clearly by considering animate nouns with the suffix *-at*, which is both a plural and a derivative suffix. The derivative forms are all feminine plural in concord, irrespective of the gender of the singular (whereas the plural forms have the same gender as the singular)—e.g.

(pl.)	m.s. <i>hārāwya</i>	m.p. <i>hārāwyatat</i>	wild pig
	f.s. <i>katra</i>	f.p. <i>katratat</i>	pigeon
(der.)	m.s. 'anas ¹	f.p. <i>sābetat</i>	man
	m./f.s. 'agal	f.p. 'agelat	calf

5.1.2. *Morphological features*

(i) An important negative feature is that the plural forms have none of the morphological characteristics of the derivatives. Especially to be noted is the frequency of the vowel *e* (replacing another vowel) in the derivatives, but its absence in plural forms. This is illustrated from the examples in the previous section, but is further stressed by the comparison of the plural *katratat* above with the derivative *katretat*.²

(ii) One suffix has the palatal *č* (*äč*); this occurs elsewhere only as the palatalized form of *t*.³

5.1.3. *Meaning.* Like the broken plurals, the suffixed plurals

¹ See above, § 4.2.6 (iv).

² Cf. § 6.3.7.

³ Cf. §§ 1.3 (iv) and 7 (ii).

refer to objects more than one; they, too, are not used with numerals. The derivatives with suffix *-at* which were mentioned above are *paucatives* 'a few', or *pejorative plurals* 'some poor . . .'.¹

5.2. Analysis of the suffixed plurals

The classification is wholly in terms of the type of suffix.

5.2.1. *Suffix -äč*.² Only three forms in which the suffix is additional to a singular form were noted:

'äf	'äfäč	mouth
'äb	'äbäč ³	father
häm	hämäč	father-in-law

Three nouns with no (unsuffixed) singular but a quotable form with suffix *-ay* are:

käray	käräč	hyena
täläy	täläč	shepherd
härmay	härmäč	robber

The last two are verbal formations of the type dealt with in § 5.2.5; *härmay* also has the 'regular' plural *härmät*.

5.2.2. *Suffix -ot*. This suffix is limited to nouns whose lexically quotable form has the suffix *-ay*. The only examples noted were:

härästay	harastot	peasant
waṭay	waṭot	musician
tästay	tästot	bull

5.2.3. *Suffix -at*. This is the commonest of the plural suffixes. The need to distinguish between the plural forms with *-at* and the derivatives with the (phonologically) same suffix has been stated already. The suffix is confined to nouns with singulars of a variety of types.

(i) It is common with nouns whose singular form is *CVC* or *CVCVC* with the vowel *a* in the final syllable—e.g.

(17) <i>fas</i>	<i>fasat</i>	axe
(2) <i>zəfan</i>	<i>zəfanat</i>	throne
(8) <i>'ākan</i>	<i>'ākanat</i>	place

(ii) It was commonly found, though, with a juncture feature of *t*, with nouns whose singular forms end in a vowel. The varieties

¹ Cf. §§ 6.3.7. and 6.3.8.

² Leslau (*Short Grammar*, 178) includes 'äyyäč and 'älläč; but these are treated as collectives, not plurals, in this study; cf. § 6.3.9.

³ But 'äbäw (unique) 'forefathers'.

of vocalic and syllabic shapes are too numerous to list (53 examples in all were noted)—e.g.

<i>məsli</i>	<i>məsliṭat</i>	image
<i>gəmfəlle</i>	<i>gəmfəlletat</i>	thumb

(iii) It was rarely found with nouns whose lexically quotable form has the suffix *-ät*. Examples noted were:

(1) <i>nälät</i>	<i>nälat</i>	kind of deer
(2) <i>šakät</i>	<i>šakat</i>	grassy watering-place

(iv) A more complex pattern is found with examples such as the following:

(1) <i>fəre</i>	<i>fəryat</i>	corn
(1) <i>həgo</i>	<i>həgwat</i>	belt of beads
(1) <i>lim</i>	<i>lämyat</i>	cream
(1) <i>šäwet</i>	<i>šäwyat</i>	ear of corn
(1) <i>sətet</i>	<i>säytat</i>	rib
(5) <i>bəsot</i>	<i>bäswat</i>	forehead

These may still be treated in terms of the suffix *-at* though two additional features must be noted.

(a) A third radical with vocalic exponents (front and back vowels) in the singular, but consonantal exponents (semivowels) in the plural is to be recognized.

(b) The vowel of the first syllable of the plural is *ä* irrespective of the vowel of the singular; this type of vowel change is found with the derivatives.¹

Of a similar pattern, but involving different vowels, is:

<i>təkay</i>	<i>təkyat</i>	pillar of house
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(v) The suffix is also found with:

'əm	'əmmat	mother
'ən	'əntat	eye

In dealing with the broken plurals mention was made of similar nouns with singular forms which are phonologically *CVC* but morphologically *CVCC*.²

5.2.4. *Suffix -otat*. This suffix is found with nouns whose singular or quotable forms are of several types.

¹ Cf. § 6.1.2 (iv).

² Cf. § 4.2.1 (vi).

(i) It is common with nouns which have a quotable form with suffix *-ät*—e.g.

(2)	<i>sə'ät</i>	<i>sə'otat</i>	watch
(1)	<i>sänät</i>	<i>sänotat</i>	year
(2)	<i>'ämmät</i>	<i>'ämmotat</i>	paternal aunt
(5)	<i>'adät</i>	<i>'adotat</i>	custom
(5)	<i>täblät</i>	<i>täbлотat</i>	lock
(1)	<i>kofyät</i>	<i>kofyotat</i>	Muslim's hat
(1)	<i>həmmärät</i>	<i>həmmärotat</i>	baobab
(2)	<i>sälsälät</i>	<i>sälsälotat</i>	necklace, watch-chain
(1)	<i>'äräbiyät</i>	<i>'äräbiyotat</i>	hand-cart
(1)	<i>gälläbyät</i>	<i>gälläbyotat</i>	Muslim shirt
(1)	<i>səṭanyät</i>	<i>səṭanyotat</i>	enamel pot

(ii) It is the only plural form associated with singulars of the type:

(8)	<i>gadəm</i>	<i>gadmotat</i>	plain
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Note also

(1)	<i>tälakəm</i>	<i>tälakmotat</i>	husband's brother
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(iii) Other plurals with this suffix are:

(1)	<i>hal</i>	<i>halotat</i>	maternal uncle
(1)	<i>'äm'al</i>	<i>'äm'alotat</i>	day
(1)	<i>'ärqay</i>	<i>'ärqayotat</i>	bed
(2)	<i>qandel</i>	<i>qandelotat</i>	small lamp
(1)	<i>gäräwan</i>	<i>gäräwanotat</i>	big tin
(1)	<i>gäräwin</i>	<i>gäräwinotat</i>	pick-axe
(1)	<i>'əmmoləd</i>	<i>'əmmoldotat</i>	midwife

(iv) In a few cases the singular form has a final vowel that does not appear in the plural—e.g.

(1)	<i>badela</i>	<i>badelotat</i>	shovel
(2)	<i>fätäna</i>	<i>fätänotat</i>	problem
(1)	<i>kəramba</i>	<i>kərəmbotat</i>	cabbage
(1)	<i>'äg'ərri</i>	<i>'äg'ərrotat</i>	herd

(v) Some nouns with a phonologically *CVC* but morphologically *CVCC* singular form were noted:

<i>hāl</i>	<i>hālotat</i>	maternal aunt
<i>'äd</i>	<i>'ädotat</i>	country

¹ Historically a broken plural of *mə'al*.

We must also note:

<i>nə'äl</i>	<i>nə'ältotat</i>	sister-in-law (of woman, in either sense)
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5.2.5. *Verbal forms.* There are some verbal nouns ('agents') which have a pattern peculiar to them. The singular forms are of the structure *CäCaC*, and the plurals have the suffix *-ät* together with the vowel *e* instead of *ä* in the first syllable and with absence of the second vowel—e.g.

<i>säraq</i>	<i>serqät</i>	thief
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These are as numerous as the verbs; the verb 'he stole' is *särqa*. They are not listed in the Vocabulary.

Another form with a similar meaning has the suffix *-ay* or *-ayt* (the former masculine, the latter feminine). But there is no other plural form—e.g.

<i>qätlay</i>	<i>qätlayt</i>	murderer, murderess
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We have already noted the syllabic peculiarity of the feminine form.¹

5.2.6. *Double plurals.* One example of a 'double plural' was noted:

<i>nälät</i>	<i>nälat</i>	<i>nälatat</i>	<i>kind of deer</i>
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This must be distinguished from the plurals which have double exponents of plurality, e.g. the broken plural class IV forms ('*äswaqat*'), since *nälät* and *nälatat* are both attested, and with different meanings (the latter 'very many . . .'), whereas the broken plural class IV forms are the only plural type forms of the nouns. The double plural or 'big plural' is thus a distinct morphological class in Tigre, though only the example quoted above was noted. Whether this is to be treated together with the plurals or the derivatives is a matter that can be decided only arbitrarily.

¹ § 1.3 (iv).

DERIVATIVES

THE forms with suffixes other than those that have been treated as plurals are all handled under the heading of 'derivative'. The suffixes are first, the very common *-ay*, *-ät*, *-am*, and *-at* and the much rarer *-it*, and secondly, *-ätit*, which is clearly to be regarded as a double suffix composed of *-ät* + *-it*; there are, thirdly, the endings *-etay*, *-etam*, and *etat*, whose precise status is to be discussed.

The reasons for not treating all suffixed forms together but for handling some as plurals have already been given. The analysis of the derivatives is partly based upon the morphological statement of the broken plurals, and, therefore, posterior to it.

6.1. *General characteristics*

6.1.1. *Syntactic features.* We are concerned in this section not only with number and gender, but also with the distinction between countables and uncountables.

(i) The number and gender of the derivatives is wholly statable in terms of the suffix. In the case of the suffixes *-am* and *-at* the distinction between animate and inanimate nouns is again relevant. But the gender does not depend (as it does with the plurals) upon the gender of the singular form, but wholly on the suffix itself. The rules are:

<i>-ät, it, and -ätit</i>		f.s.
<i>-at</i> and <i>-etay</i>		m.s.
<i>-at</i> and <i>-etat</i>	(animate)	f.p.
	(inanimate)	m.s.
<i>-am</i> and <i>-etam</i>	(animate)	m.p.
	(inanimate)	m.s.

This does not, however, imply that the gender of the singular form is irrelevant to the morphological statement. On the contrary, it will be seen later that one of the criteria of classification is the gender

relation between the singular (unsuffixed) form and the form with the derivative suffix.

(ii) It is equally important to know whether the noun is countable or uncountable—whether its singular form is singulative (used with numerals) or collective (not used with numerals). Upon this will depend the distinction between some of the categories, notably that of the diminutive and the singulative. The suffix *-ät*, for instance, is a mark of the diminutive of countable nouns, but of the singulative of uncountables—e.g.

(sing.)	<i>fanus</i>	a lamp
(dim.)	<i>fanusät</i>	a little lamp
(coll.)	<i>fəḥäm</i>	charcoal
(sing.)	<i>fäḥmät</i>	a piece of charcoal

6.1.2. Morphological features

(i) The stem structure of most of the forms is that of the singular. But some of the forms with the suffixes *-at* and *-am* have the stem structure of the corresponding broken plural—e.g.

	<i>häbäy</i>	<i>häbbeyay</i> ¹	<i>häbbeyam</i>	monkey
But	<i>häyät</i>	<i>häyetay</i>		lion
	<i>ḥayut</i> (br. pl.)		<i>ḥayutam</i>	

(ii) Where the singular form ends in a vowel, there is the juncture feature of a voiceless dental stop *t*—e.g.

<i>sə'li</i>	<i>sə'lität</i>	picture
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(iii) Many of the derivatives have the vowel *e* in place of *a*, *ä*, or *a* in the final syllable of the singular form, or, if the stem structure is that of the broken plural, of the plural form—e.g.

	<i>'anas</i>	<i>'anesay</i>	man
	<i>däbna</i>	<i>däbnetay</i>	rain cloud
(<i>färäs</i>)	<i>'äfras</i>	<i>'äfresam</i>	horses

The endings *-etay*, *-etat*, and *-etam*, whose status was left in doubt, can be treated as the vowel *e*, occurring not within the stem but after it, plus the suffix; the *t* is accounted for as the juncture feature. But we must note that *däbnetay* above is not an example

¹ For the gemination and the vowel *e*, see below, (iii) and (v).

of such an ending—the *e* in this form replaces an *a* in the *stem*. Examples of these endings are:

<i>gor</i>	<i>goretay</i>	neighbour
<i>bayhot</i>	<i>bayhotetat</i>	jackal
<i>bärmil</i>	<i>bärmiletam</i>	barrel

(iv) A different type of vowel alternation involves the presence of the central vowels in the suffixed form—e.g.

<i>bäläq</i>	<i>bälqät</i>	rock
<i>ğäban</i>	<i>ğäbänät</i>	coffee-pot

These exemplify only *ä* in the suffixed form. Examples with *ə* are found with gemination only (next section).

(v) Many of the forms have gemination of the final or the penultimate radical—e.g.

<i>qəmäl</i>	<i>qəməllay</i>	louse
	<i>qəmmälät</i>	

Gemination is found also with the features stated in (iii) and (iv) (with the vowel *ə*) and even with a combination of both—e.g.

(iii)	<i>färäs</i>	<i>färresay</i>	horse
(iv)	<i>'əbən</i>	<i>'əbbänät</i>	stone
	<i>šetən</i>	<i>šetənnay</i>	devil
(iii)+(iv)	<i>rošan</i>	<i>rošənnətat</i>	storied building

6.1.3. *Meaning*. The meanings of the derivatives are varied but fall into four different categories—sex, quantity, quality, and size. The possibilities are:

- sex*—male or unstated, female
- quantity*—unstated, one, a few, many
- quality*—unstated, bad
- size*—unstated, small, very small, large

Sex is associated mostly with the gender of the singular form, though there is no one-to-one gender-sex relationship.¹ Many nouns that refer to domestic animals have a form with the suffix *-ät* or *-ət* that specifically refers to the female—

<i>käləb</i>	<i>kälbät</i>	dog/bitch
<i>näwid</i>	<i>näwidät</i>	kid
<i>'ädəg</i>	<i>'ädgət</i>	donkey
<i>bəggu'</i>	<i>bəggə'ət</i> ²	sheep

¹ Cf. § 2.3.

² Cf. § 1.8.

But these can only be stated lexically—there is no similar feminine form of, for example, *färäs* ‘horse’. In view of this, and because the forms involve the otherwise unattested suffix *-ət*, this sex distinction is not to be dealt with under the morphology of the derivatives, but is simply to be stated as a lexical feature. It involves, it will be seen, the singulative forms; from these, different (masculine and feminine) diminutives and diminutive plurals may be derived (see below), but in the plural form the sex distinction is made by the gender concord only; *näwayəd*, for instance, refers to kids with no sex reference or to female kids, according to its concord.

There are other pairs of forms, one with and the other without the suffix *-ät*, that do not fit into the general pattern of the derivatives but must be stated lexically only. These are:

<i>häsin</i> (m.)	iron	<i>häsinät</i>	quality of iron
<i>häsur</i> (m.)	fence, zariba	<i>häsurät</i>	branch used for fence
<i>maṭḥəʿ</i> (m.)	stamp, seal	<i>maṭḥəʿät</i>	printing-press
<i>mākina</i> (m.)	machine	<i>mākinät</i>	motor-car

The other categories are to be found only in certain limited combinations. Eight classes are to be found; these together with obvious names for them are as set out below:

	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Quality</i>	<i>Size</i>
<i>Collective</i>	—	—	—
<i>Singulative</i>	one	—	—
<i>Pejorative</i>	one	bad	—
<i>Diminutive</i>	one	—	small
<i>Double diminutive</i>	one	—	very small
<i>Augmentative</i>	one	—	large
<i>Paucative</i>	a few	—	—
<i>Pejorative plural</i>	many	bad	—

Two obvious features are that size and quality are not stated together (though the diminutive often has the connotation of ‘nice little’ rather than just ‘little’), and, secondly, that quality and size are not stated without a statement of quantity.

6.2. *Problems of classification*

There is a double problem; first, of deciding how many of the morphological features are criteria relevant to the classification

and how many of them are phonologically or lexically determined, and, secondly, of relating the morphological and other formal characteristics of the forms with the semantic classes.

6.2.1. *Morphological classes.* The morphological classification of the forms may be made almost entirely in terms of the suffixes, the suffix alone being the mark of each class.

The features of vowel quality and gemination and even the distinction between forms with the structure of the singular and those with the structure of the broken plural may almost entirely be treated as irrelevant to the classification. The occurrence of these other phonological features is partly predictable in terms of the features of the singular form. Gemination and the vowel *e* are characteristic, for instance, of forms whose singular is of the pattern *CäCäC*, though there is no gemination where the pattern of the singular is *CəCaC*—e.g.

<i>färäs</i>	<i>färresay</i>	horse
<i>katab</i>	<i>katebay</i>	book

The presence of a laryngeal, too, may account for a difference in the form—e.g.

<i>färəd</i>	<i>färreday</i>	revolver
<i>säfə'</i>	<i>säf'etay</i>	winnowing tray

With other nouns the occurrence of these features can only be stated lexically. We may compare:

<i>zəbād</i>	<i>zəbdät</i>	butter
<i>çəgär</i>	<i>çəggärät</i>	hair

The occurrence of the features, may, however, be partly correlated with the semantic classes. We may contrast, for instance:

<i>färäs</i>	a mare	<i>färresät</i>	a little mare
<i>bäläs</i>	prickly pears	<i>bälsät</i>	a prickly pear

The first of the derivatives is diminutive, the second singulative. But this need not concern us yet, since there is no contrast between the two. There are no forms **färsät* or **bällesat*. For the purely morphological classification we can treat these as members of a single class—that of forms with the suffix *-ät*.

In the vast majority of cases, forms that differ in respect of these features, but have the same suffixes, are in free variation—e.g.

<i>nəhəb</i>	bees	<i>nəhbetat</i>	a few bees
		<i>'änhebat</i>	
<i>wə'ät</i>	a cow	<i>wə'etat</i>	a few cows
		<i>wə'at</i>	
<i>ləban</i>	incense	<i>ləbanüt</i>	a piece of incense
		<i>ləbenüt</i>	
<i>'ənas</i>	a man	<i>'ənasetay</i>	a weak man
		<i>'ənesay</i>	

But there are two exceptions to the general rule that the morphological classes are to be determined wholly by the suffixes in a one-to-one relation.

(i) There are no examples of a noun with a form with the suffix *-it* (a rare suffix) and also a form with *-ät* or *-äy*. The gender of forms with *-it* and with *-ät* is feminine singular, and these two suffixes may thus be taken together as criteria of a single morphological class, the choice of suffix being lexically determined.

(ii) There are a few pairs of forms, both with the suffix *-ay* and both forms of the noun, which are in contrast with each other—e.g.

<i>qəlçəm</i>	a wrist	<i>qəlçəmmay</i>	a strong wrist
		<i>qəlçəmay</i>	a weak wrist
<i>fähäm</i>	charcoal	<i>fähmay</i>	a large piece of charcoal
		<i>fähmetay</i>	a poor piece of charcoal
—		<i>bə'ray</i>	an ox
		<i>bə'retay</i>	a little ox

The feature that distinguishes all the paired forms is the presence or absence of the vowel *e*. With the suffix *-ay*, therefore, this vowel is, in some cases at least, a criterion for the morphological classification. In fact, however, the distinction exemplified by *qəlçəmmay* and *qəlçəmay* in which one form has the vowel *e* replacing another vowel while the other does not (but in most cases has gemination), cannot be subsumed under any general morphological rule. Where examples occur, they are to be dealt with individually. On the other hand, in the case of *fähmay* and *fähmetay*, in which, while only one form has the vowel *e*, this vowel follows the stem and does not replace any other vowel, the distinction

differentiates derivative classes. In such cases the ending *-etay* bears to the suffix *-ay* the same relation as the suffix *-ätit* does to the suffix *-ät*, and it is, therefore, convenient to refer to *-etay* as one of the suffixes, distinct from *-ay*, and, further, to treat it, like *-ätit*, as a double suffix.¹ But in spite of the morphological similarities there are no similar reasons for treating the endings *-etam* and *-etat* as suffixes distinct from *-am* and *-at*.

The total number of morphological classes is, therefore, six:

- (i) suffix *-ät* or *-it*
- (ii) suffix *-ätit*
- (iii) suffix *-ay*
- (iv) suffix *-etay*
- (v) suffix *-at* (*-etat*)
- (vi) suffix *-am* (*-etam*)

6.2.2. *Semantic-morphological relations.* The semantic and the purely morphological classifications of the derivatives are widely divergent. A form with the suffix *-ay* (without the vowel *e*) may be singulative, diminutive, pejorative, or augmentative—e.g.

<i>čib</i>	nits	<i>čibay</i>	a nit
<i>häsil</i>	a jackal	<i>häsilay</i>	a little jackal
<i>fəham</i>	charcoal	<i>fəhmay</i>	a large piece of charcoal
<i>'assit</i>	a woman	<i>'assitay</i>	a poor, bad, woman

But if certain formal characteristics are taken into consideration (other than those of the form itself of the derivatives) a formal classification that largely coincides with the semantic one is possible.

(i) If we compare the morphological and semantic classification of the countable and uncountable nouns, we find that the two types of classification are merely 'out of phase'. If we number the forms in a sequence based upon the meaning, there is a formal correlation between a form of the uncountable and the form next in the sequence of the countable. This is illustrated by the diagram below, where the horizontal arrangement is semantic and the formal correlation is marked by the sloping lines:

coll.	<i>fəhäm</i>		charcoal; —
sing.	<i>fəhmät</i>	<i>fanus</i>	a piece of charcoal; a lamp
dim.	<i>fəhmätit</i>	<i>fanusät</i>	a little piece of charcoal; a little lamp
d. dim.		<i>fanusätit</i>	—; a tiny lamp

¹ Cf. §§ 6.3.3 and 6.3.5.

What is important here is not the type of suffix, but the place of the form in the sequence of suffixation.

(ii) With countable nouns a difference in gender from that of the singulative is always a mark of a pejorative (suffixes *-ät* and *-ay*) or of a pejorative plural (suffixes *-at* and *-am*). Although gender is statable in terms of the suffix, what is important is whether the form has the same gender or a different gender from that of the singular.

(iii) The suffixes *-at* and *-am* have plural concord (feminine and masculine respectively) with animate nouns. This allows us to make a distinction between plural-type derivatives (with these suffixes) and singular-type derivatives.

Taking these features into consideration, together with other more general features that have already been noted, we may link the semantic classes to formal criteria. These are set out below, but a full explanation is only to be found in the various relevant sections of § 6.3.

(a) Singular-type derivatives:

collective—forms not used with numerals;

singulative—forms regularly used with numerals;

diminutive—forms with the gender of the corresponding singulative, but with an additional suffix;

double diminutive—forms with a suffix additional to that of the diminutive;

pejorative—forms with a different gender from that of the singulative, and with an additional suffix.

augmentative—forms with a different gender from that of the singulative, and with a different (not additional) suffix.

(b) Plural-type derivatives:

diminutive plural—forms with the same gender as the singulative;

pejorative plural—forms with a gender different from that of the singulative.

It is clear that the analysis is largely based on the singulative form, not on the (unsuffixed) singular form (though this may be the singulative form), in spite of its morphological 'simplicity'. A detailed explanation and, therefore, a justification of the criteria stated above is given in the analysis that follows.

6.3. *Analysis of the derivatives*

The classification used in this statement has a semantic basis, but the classes are definable formally, as shown in the previous section. The semantic and formal classes cannot, however, be made wholly equivalent, and exceptions are noted in the sections that follow.

6.3.1. *Collectives*. The collectives are defined as those forms that may not be used with the numerals. These are, of course, all singular forms of uncountable nouns—e.g.

nəhəb bees *ful* ground-nuts

With numerals the (singulative) forms used are *nəhbät* and *fulät*. Further points to note are as follows:

(i) The semantic distinction between collectives and singulatives is often very similar to, and perhaps identical with, the distinction between plurals and singulatives. This, as will be seen later, is a source of some difficulty.¹ But it must be noted here that the fact that a noun has a collective form does not imply that it has no plural form. On the contrary, many nouns have both a collective and a plural. The difference in meaning is not always clear, as, for instance, between *nəhəb* and the plural *'ənhab*, both of which can only be translated 'bees'.² But in some cases there is a clear difference in meaning, as in:

coll.	<i>wəraq</i>	paper	sing.	<i>wäräqät</i>	a piece of paper
pl.	<i>wäräqotat</i>	pieces of paper			

(ii) There are some nouns whose singular form must be regarded as belonging to two different morphological formations, and as collective in the one and singulative in the other. This is notably the case with nouns referring to parts of the body and to kinds of meat—e.g.

sing.	<i>sämbu'</i>	a lung	dim.	<i>sämbu'ät</i>	a little lung
coll.	<i>sämbu'</i>	lung	sing.	<i>sämbu'ät</i>	a piece of lung

Another example is *bun* 'coffee', which as a collective has the meaning 'coffee-beans' or 'coffee-bushes', with a singulative *bunät*,

¹ Cf. § 6.3.9.

² In the sections dealing with the formation of the plurals (§§ 4 and 5) no notice is taken of this and all translations are into English singulars. But in the vocabulary translation into English plurals is made where appropriate.

but as a singulative *bun* has the meaning 'a cup, or glass, of coffee' ('a coffee'). We may compare:

<i>kəl'e bunät</i> (not <i>bun</i>)	two coffee-beans/bushes
<i>kəl'e bun</i>	two coffees

(iii) The concord of the collectives is almost always masculine singular. Feminine singular concord was rarely noted; forms that have plural concord, yet may be treated as collective, are among the problematic forms treated in a later section.¹

6.3.2. *Singulatives*. These are defined as the forms that are regularly used with the numerals. In fact all forms other than the collectives, the diminutive plurals, and the pejorative plurals may be used with numerals, though they would be much less commonly so used. For mere enumeration, it is the singulative that is used. The singulative, can, however, be defined more rigorously as:

- (i) the singular form of countable nouns;
- (ii) the form with suffix *-it* of uncountable nouns (one certain example only attested);
- (iii) the form with suffix *-ät* of uncountable nouns (quite the commonest type of singulative);
- (iv) the form with suffix *-ay* of uncountable nouns that have NO form with the suffix *-ät*.

Under the headings of (iii) and (iv) must be included forms of nouns which have no (unsuffixed) singular forms, but whose lexically quotable form (always a singulative) has one of the two suffixes.

(i) Examples of singular forms of countable nouns have already been noted. e.g. *färäs* 'a horse'. This form is used with numerals—*woro/säläs/sälasa färäs* 'one/three/thirty horse(s)'.

(ii) Only one example of the suffix *-it* as a singulative where the noun is uncountable was noted:

<i>gar</i>	affairs	<i>garit</i>	an affair
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There are several nouns whose lexically quotable form has the ending *-it*—e.g.

<i>çəb'it</i>	finger
<i>tälit</i>	she-goat
<i>korit</i>	a ball

But these can all be treated as singular forms with a final *t*, not the

¹ § 6.3.9.

suffix *-it*. For there are examples of all the long vowels +*t* at the end of singular forms, even where *t* does not occur in the plural form, and is, therefore, not a radical.¹ Though it is possible to treat some of these as having the suffix *-it*, it would be less reasonable with others, e.g. *korit*, where the *i* is clearly part of the radical formation (plural *käwärrri*). But in no case is there any gain in simplicity—on the contrary, if *-it* is a suffix in the first two examples we shall require the new double suffix *-itüt* in *čəb'itüt*, *ṭälitüt*; this, and its accompanying formation rules, are unnecessary if the quoted forms are treated as the singulars (unsuffixed in respect of the derivative suffixes), and not as forms with the suffix *-it*.

(iii) The vast majority of uncountable nouns have a singulative form with the suffix *-ät*. The suffixed form must be feminine, in view of the suffix, though the corresponding singular (unsuffixed, collective) form may be of either gender (though it is almost always masculine).—e.g.

<i>gim</i> (f.)	clouds	<i>gimät</i>	a cloud
<i>fəham</i> (m.)	charcoal	<i>fəhmät</i>	a piece of charcoal

We must place with these the forms with suffix *-ät* of the nouns which have no singular forms—the form with *-ät* being lexically quotable—e.g.

wə'ät a cow

(iv) There are a few nouns which have a singulative form with the suffix *-ay* (and no form with *-ät*). These are limited to:

(a) a class of nouns referring to insects—e.g.

<i>čib</i>	nits	<i>čibay</i>	a nit
<i>qənqən</i>	weevils	<i>qənqənnay</i>	a weevil

(b) a class of nouns referring to trees where the suffixed form has the meaning 'a piece of . . . wood'—e.g.

<i>čə'e</i>	acacia	<i>čə'etay</i>	a piece of acacia wood
<i>wägre</i>	olive	<i>wägetay</i>	a piece of olive wood

(the forms with the suffix *-ät* are also singulative with the meaning 'a . . . tree')

¹ Cf. §§ 4.2.3 and 4.2.5.

(c) a class of nouns referring to joints of meat, where the suffixed form has the meaning 'a piece of . . .'¹—e.g.

<i>qəlčəm</i>	shin	<i>qəlčəmmay</i>	a piece of shin
<i>tädə'</i>	breast bone	<i>täd'etay</i>	a piece of breast bone

(d) a class of nouns which have no unsuffixed singular form, but a lexically quotable form with the suffix *-ay*—e.g.

<i>bəllay</i>	a cloth
<i>mārday</i>	a sharp point

The suffixes *-ät* and *-ay* are marks of the diminutive as well as the singulative, though the definition of the two classes is different. But there are also morphological characteristics that are largely associated with the singulatives, notably the rarity of the vowel *e* (common with diminutives), the frequency of vowel change involving central vowels in the suffixed form (rare with the diminutives) and frequency of gemination (rare with the diminutives unless accompanied by *e*).

In detail the features associated with the singulatives are set out in the following paragraphs.

(a) Most of the forms have only the suffix, and none of the other features (except the *-t-* of juncture)—e.g.

<i>muz</i>	bananas	<i>muzät</i>	a banana
<i>hämle</i>	vegetables	<i>hämletät</i>	a vegetable

(b) With nouns with singulars of the structure $CəCCəC$, the final radical is geminated—e.g.

<i>qənqən</i>	weevils	<i>qənqənnay</i>	a weevil
<i>dəgdəg</i>	land at higher level	<i>dəgdəggät</i>	a field at a higher level

We may compare the form of a noun with no singular:

<i>tənkällät</i>	a plait
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(c) If the singular form ends in *-a*, the suffix replaces (is not additive to) this vowel—e.g.

<i>šäglä</i>	figs	<i>šäglät</i>	a fig
<i>baldängä</i>	beans	<i>baldängät</i>	a bean

(d) The patterns $CäCCäC$, $CəCCäC$, $CäCäCät$, and $CəCCäCät$, involving a change of vowel, and, in the last case, gemination,

¹ Cf. § 6.3.1.

are regularly found with nouns whose singular form is of the type *CəCəC*, *CəCäC*, *CəCaC*, and *CäCäC*. The following related patterns were noted:

(23)	<i>bäläq</i>	big rocks	<i>bälqät</i>	a big rock
(4)	<i>ǧäläb</i>	dhows	<i>ǧälbät</i>	a dhow
(9)	<i>tämär</i>	dates	<i>tämräät</i>	a date
(21)	<i>mädäd</i>	grindstones	<i>mädät</i>	a grindstone
(1)	<i>'əbən</i>	stones	<i>'əbbänät</i>	a stone
(3)	<i>çägär</i>	hair	<i>çäggärät</i>	a hair
(2)	<i>ǧəban</i>	coffee-pots	<i>ǧäbänät</i>	a coffee-pot

The following have singulative forms of the same structures, but do not involve vocalic change (except the absence of *ə*, which is conditioned by the syllabic structure).

(3)	<i>nəhəb</i>	bees	<i>nəhbät</i>	a bee
(5)	<i>wärəq</i>	silver	<i>wärqät</i>	a piece of silver ¹

(e) Forms with the vowel *e* were rare and confined to: four nouns of the following pattern, all names of trees (unidentified):

<i>hälqa</i>	<i>hälqetät</i>
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nouns with singular forms of the structure *CVCCVC* with the vowel *a* in the second syllable—e.g.

<i>kället</i>	earthenware	<i>källetät</i>	a piece of earthenware
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the following noun, whose singular form is historically a broken plural:²

<i>'äs'ən</i>	shoes	<i>'äs'enät</i>	a shoe
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(f) An idiosyncratic pattern is that of:

<i>fäləş</i>	wood	<i>fällaşay</i>	a piece of wood
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6.3.3. *Diminutives*. The diminutives are defined as those forms which have the same gender as the singulatives, but an additional suffix.³ 'Additional' is to be taken to refer to the suffix *-ätit* as

¹ For the classification of these forms see § 6.3.9.

² Cf. Tigrinya *sa'ni*, *'as'ən*. Another such form in Tigre is *'änǧəb* (singulative *änǧəbät*) 'teeth'.

³ And is also a singular-type derivative (cf. § 6.2.2). Plural-type derivatives are not dealt with until § 6.3.7.

compared with *-ät*, and also to the suffix *-etay* as compared with *-ay*.¹ It follows that there are four possible suffixes that mark the diminutives:

- (i) *-ät* where the singulative form has no suffix (is the singular) and is feminine;
- (ii) *-ay* where the singulative form has no suffix (is the singular) and is masculine;
- (iii) *-ätit* where the singulative form has the suffix *-ät* and either the (unaffixed) singular form is collective, or there is no singular form—the form in *-ät* being lexically quotable;
- (iv) *-etay* where the singular form has the suffix *-äy* (and is the lexically quotable form, there being no singular form—there is no example of a noun with a collective singular form and a singulative in *-äy* that also has a diminutive in *-etay*)—e.g.

	(Coll.)	Singulative		Diminutive
(i)		<i>kərən</i> (f.) a voice		<i>kərənät</i> a little voice
(ii)		<i>nəhəs</i> (m.) a house		<i>nəhesay</i> a little house
(iii)	(<i>fəhäm</i>)	<i>fähmät</i> a piece of charcoal		<i>fähmätit</i> a little piece of charcoal
		<i>wə'ät</i> a cow		<i>wə'ätit</i> a little cow
(iv)		<i>bə'ray</i> an ox		<i>bə'retay</i> a little ox

There is one further possibility—the forms with female reference and the suffix *-t* or *-ät* have a diminutive with the further suffix *-it*²—e.g.

<i>'ädgät</i>	a she-donkey	<i>'ädgätit</i>	a little she-donkey
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The diminutive forms are quite common in Tigre. Typical usages are:

gäle mähgezay bəye. There is a little thing I need (lit. I have a small need).

wälwelay räkäbna. We have found a breath of air.

Other forms have quite specific uses. *Betätit*, for instance, the diminutive of *bet* 'a house', may be used to refer to a ticket office.

¹ Cf. § 6.2.1.

² Cf. § 6.1.3.

Features associated with the diminutives (and in which they are often to be contrasted with the singulatives) are the frequency of the vowel *e*, and the rare occurrence of gemination except when accompanied by this vowel and the rare occurrence of any vowel change other than that which involves *e*.

In cases (iii) and (iv) above, however, where the singulative form has a suffix and the diminutive a double suffix, the diminutive does not differ from the singulative in respect of its vowels and gemination but solely in the suffixes, as the forms above illustrate. There, are, however, two points that must be made about the double suffixes. First, under certain conditions these double suffixes have the function of the corresponding single suffixes—they are marks of the diminutive where the (unsuffixed) singular form is the singulative; that is to say that there are no forms with single suffixes at all; it is the *double* suffixes that mark the diminutives. Examples of this are given in the detailed statement below. Secondly, there are a few examples of nouns which have singulative forms with the suffix *-ay*, and no unsuffixed singular form (the form with *-ay* being lexically quotable), but whose diminutive form does not have the suffix *-etay*, but the ending *-eyay* (i.e. the suffix *-ay* is treated as if it were part of the stem)—e.g.

tāstay a bull *tāsteyay* a little bull

(but *bā'ray*, *bā'retay*—and the plural of *tāstay* is *tāstot*, the regular form for nouns with lexically quotable forms in *-ay*).¹

For all other forms the position with regard to vowel quality and gemination is set out below in detail.

(a) Where the vowel of the last syllable of the singular is a long vowel other than *a*, the diminutive form has a suffix only and none of the other features—e.g.

<i>kis</i>	a pocket	<i>kisay</i>	a little pocket
<i>ʃor</i>	a load	<i>ʃoray</i>	a little load
<i>'āmur</i>	a milk-pail	<i>'āmurät</i>	a little milk-pail
<i>bayhot</i>	a jackal	<i>bayhotät</i>	a little jackal
		<i>bayhotay</i>	
<i>'āde</i>	a hand	<i>'ādetät</i>	a little hand
<i>šällu</i>	a squirrel	<i>šällutay</i>	a little squirrel

¹ Cf. § 5.2.2.

An exception in which the diminutive form has a double suffix is:

<i>dammu</i>	a cat	<i>dämmätit</i>	a little cat (but also <i>dämmutay</i>)
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(b) Where the singular form has *a* as the vowel of the last syllable the diminutive has, in its place, *e*—e.g.

<i>fas</i>	an axe	<i>fesay</i>	a little axe
<i>'əwan</i>	a period of time	<i>'əwenät</i>	a short period of time
<i>kərbağ</i>	a whip	<i>kərbeğät</i>	a little whip
<i>ğəna</i>	a child	<i>ğənetät</i>	a little girl
		<i>ğənetay</i>	a little boy
<i>məgda</i>	a bonfire	<i>məgdetay</i>	a little bonfire

Some forms with the double suffix *-ätit* were also noted. Except for the first example below, all have this suffix as a replacement of the final *-a* of the singular. None have the vowel *e*—e.g.

<i>qal</i>	a word	<i>qalätit</i>	a little word
<i>higa</i>	a speech	<i>higätit</i>	a little speech
<i>walta</i>	a shield	<i>waltätit</i>	a little shield

(c) Where the singular form has *ä* or *ə* as the vowel of the final syllable (which must be a closed (CVC) syllable in view of the short vowels), the diminutive has the vowel *e* and, where the singular is of the structure CVCVC, gemination of the second radical also—e.g.

<i>hələğ</i>	an anklet	<i>həlleğay</i>	a little anklet
<i>färäs</i> (m.)	a horse	<i>färresay</i>	a little horse
(f.)	a mare	<i>färresät</i>	a little mare
<i>məsgəd</i>	a mosque	<i>məsgeday</i>	a little mosque
<i>mäkfän</i>	a shroud	<i>mäkfənay</i>	a small shroud

Exceptions to this are:

(i) With feminine forms there is often no *e* vowel, and the suffix is in some cases *-ätit*—e.g.

<i>'älläş</i>	a hawk	<i>'älläşät</i>	a little hawk
<i>'əndər</i>	a flute	<i>'əndərätit</i>	a little flute

There are a few examples of alternative forms:

<i>kämfar</i>	a lip	<i>kämferät/</i> <i>kämfarätit</i>	a little lip
'ärqāb	a scorpion	'ärqābät/ 'ärqebät	a small scorpion

(ii) Where the singular form is monosyllabic (*CVC*) with either *ə* or *ä* as its vowel, the diminutive has the suffix *-ätit* or *-etay*. In most cases the stem structure is, for these diminutive forms, *CVCC-* (with morphologically three radicals), as we have already seen in dealing with the plural forms.¹—e.g.

<i>gəd</i>	a cotton thread	<i>gəddetay</i>	a small cotton thread
'ən	an eye	'əntätit	a little eye

But three forms were noted that are exceptional to the general pattern. The first has the stem structure *CVC-* (not *CVCC-*) even in the suffixed form:

<i>ṭəb</i>	a breast	<i>ṭəbetay</i>	a little breast
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The second has the stem structure *CVCC-*, but the third *C* differs from that which is established as a radical in the statement of the plurals:²

<i>qār</i>	a horn	<i>qārretay</i>	a little horn
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The fourth is wholly idiosyncratic in its entire morphology:³

<i>wäd</i>	a son	<i>wälleday</i>	a little son
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(iii) Where the last radical, or, in the case of *CVCVC* singular forms, either of the last two radicals, is a laryngeal, the diminutive has the suffix *-ätit* or *-etay*—e.g.

<i>säf'</i>	a winnowing tray	<i>säf'etay</i>	a little winnowing tray
<i>mə'äs</i>	a hide	<i>mə'äsetay</i>	a little hide
<i>məḥbə'</i>	a hiding place	<i>məḥbə'ätit</i>	a small hiding place
<i>mäftəḥ</i>	a key	<i>mäftəḥetay</i>	a small key

¹ Cf. §§ 4.2.1 (vi), 5.2.3 (v), and 7 (iv).

² Not **qārnetay* (but 'äqərnät); also *qārru* (§ 7 (iv)).

³ Cf. §§ 4.2.6 (iii) and 7 (vi).

Where the laryngeal is ' and the previous vowel is *u*, the forms are:¹

<i>bāggū'</i>	a sheep	<i>bāggə'utay</i>	a little sheep
<i>kārkū'</i>	a piece of ear- wax	<i>kārkə'utat</i>	a little piece of ear- wax

(d) The only forms with gemination and a change of vowel other than to *e* that were noted are:²

<i>soṭal</i>	a curved dagger	<i>soṭallay</i>	a small curved dagger
<i>rošan</i>	a storied building	<i>rošənnātīt</i>	a little storied building
<i>šokān</i>	an antelope	<i>šokənnāt</i>	a small antelope
<i>šeṭan</i>	a devil	<i>šeṭənnay</i>	a little devil

(e) There were two examples in which the diminutive (semantically defined) differed from the singulative in having the vowel *e*:

<i>(qəṇqəṇ)</i>	<i>qəṇqənnay</i>	a weevil	<i>qəṇqənay</i>	a little weevil
<i>(fələš)</i>	<i>fəllašay</i>	a piece of wood	<i>fəllešay</i>	a little piece of wood

6.3.4. *Double diminutives.* The double diminutives are defined as forms with a suffix additional to the diminutive. All, in fact, have the suffix *-ātīt*, compared with *-āt* of the diminutive—e.g.

<i>fanus</i>	a lamp		
<i>fanusāt</i>	a little lamp	<i>fanusātīt</i>	a tiny lamp

6.3.5. *Pejoratives.* The pejoratives are defined as forms with a gender different from that of the singulative, but with an additional suffix. With two exceptions only (the first two exemplified) the suffix is *-ay* or *-etay*. 'Additional' is to be taken here to refer not only to *-āt* or *-ay* where the singulative has no suffix, but also to *-etay* where the singulative has the suffix *-āt*³—e.g.

'ənas (m.)	a man	'ənesāt	a weak man
		(dim. 'ənesay)	

¹ Cf. § 1.8.

² There is a similar diminutive plural—*hesəssat* (*hesas* 'rancid butter').

³ Cf. § 6.2.1. One form, *səmmetay*, was noted though no singulative was recorded—the collective being *səm* 'poison'. A singulative **səmmāt* can be 'reconstructed', though the double consonant is absent from the form with pronominal suffix, cf. § 7 (iv).

<i>nəssal</i> (m.)	a tongue	<i>nəsselät</i>	a sharp tongue (dim. <i>nəsselay</i>)
'əssit (f.)	a woman	'əssitay	a bad woman (dim. 'əssität)
<i>märwäd</i> (f.)	a ring	<i>märweday</i>	a poor ring (dim. <i>märwedät</i>)
<i>täwläät</i>	a table	<i>täwletay</i>	a poor table (dim. <i>täwlätit</i>)

The phonological characteristics of the pejoratives are similar to those of the diminutives, except that under conditions where the vowel *e* is regularly to be expected, it always occurs with the pejorative, even if absent with the diminutive—e.g.

<i>mänka</i> (f.)	a spoon	<i>mänketay</i>	a poor spoon (dim. <i>mänkätit</i>)
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Where the final radical is a laryngeal, the pejorative has the double suffix *-etay* (diminutive *-ätit*)—e.g.

<i>məhbə'</i> (f.)	a hiding place	<i>məhbə'etay</i>	a poor hiding place (dim. <i>məhbə'ätit</i>)
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But there are many problems of the relation between the semantic and formal classes.

(a) Many forms that are, by the formal criteria stated, diminutives, have the meaning assigned to the pejoratives—e.g.

<i>gor</i> (m.)	a neighbour	<i>goretay</i>	a bad neighbour
<i>mämba</i> (m.)	a master	<i>mämbetay</i>	a bad master
<i>mändäq</i> (m.)	a wall	<i>mändeqay</i>	a ruined wall

(b) There are a few nouns with two diminutive forms (formally) one with the vowel *e*, the other without. The latter has the meaning of a diminutive, but the former that of a pejorative—e.g.

<i>dərfən</i>	a ram	<i>dərfənnay</i>	a little ram ¹
		<i>dərfenay</i>	a poor ram
'ənkər	a puppy	'ənkərray	a little puppy
		'ənkeray	a weak puppy

¹ Used often to refer to a strong young boy.

(c) Some nouns whose singular form is either masculine or feminine have two diminutive forms (formally), but while the feminine form has the meaning 'a little . . .' (or 'a nice little . . .') the masculine form has the meaning 'a poor . . .' —e.g.

<i>higa</i>	a speech	<i>higätit</i>	a nice little speech
(m./f.)		<i>higetay</i>	a poor speech
<i>mora</i>	a stick	<i>morätit</i>	a nice little stick
(m./f.)		<i>moretay</i>	a useless stick

(d) One noun was noted with a form that formally is augmentative (different gender from the singulative and different, but not additional, suffix), but semantically is pejorative:

(<i>kərbit</i>)	<i>kərbität</i>	a match	<i>kərbitay</i>	a spent match
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6.3.6. *Augmentatives*. The augmentatives are defined as the forms with a gender different from that of the singulative and with a different, but not additional, suffix—e.g.

(<i>fəḥam</i>)	<i>fəḥmät</i>	a piece of charcoal	<i>fəḥmay</i>	a large piece of charcoal
	<i>wə'ät</i>	a cow	<i>wə'ay</i>	a big cow
			(pej. <i>wə'etay</i>)	

It follows that the augmentatives are found only with nouns that have a singulative with the suffix *-ät* (for there are no augmentative forms where the singulative has the suffix *-ay*), and are thus either nouns whose singular forms are collectives (with a singulative in *-ät*), or nouns with no unsuffixed singular form, but a lexically quotable form in *-ät*.

The phonological features of the augmentatives are the same as those of the singulatives, with one exception—different consonants are geminated in the following forms:

<i>qəmäl</i>	lice	(sing.) <i>qəmmälät</i>	a louse
		(aug.) <i>qəməllay</i>	a large louse

There is one form which is semantically but not formally an augmentative:

<i>qəlčəmmay</i>	a strong wrist
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This would be formally an augmentative only if there were a singulative **qəlčəmmät*. But the other forms are:¹

(sing.)	<i>qəlčəm</i> (f.)	a wrist
(pej.)	<i>qəlčəmay</i>	a weak wrist
(dim.)	<i>qəlčəmmätit</i>	a little wrist

6.3.7. *Diminutive plurals*. The diminutive plurals are defined as the plural-type derivatives with the same gender as the singulative. This definition is strictly valid only for animate nouns, the possibilities being:

- at* where the singulative form is feminine
- am* where the singulative form is masculine

In the case of inanimate nouns a similar statement of gender correlation cannot be made since the plural-type derivatives are mostly, like the plurals, masculine singular in their concord. But the suffixes are the same as in the case of the animate nouns—*-at* for feminine singulative forms and *-am* for masculine singulative forms. The strict definition of the diminutive plurals is, therefore, forms with suffixes whose number and gender, if generalized from the animate forms, is plural and (in the case of gender) the same as that of the singulative form—e.g.

<i>gämäl</i> (m.s.)	a male camel	<i>gämmelam</i> (m.p.)	a few male camels
<i>wə'ät</i> (f.s.)	a cow	<i>wə'at/wə'etat</i> (f.p.)	a few cows
<i>kis</i> (m.s.)	a pocket	<i>kisetam</i> (m.s.)	a few pockets
<i>rošan</i> (f.s.)	a storied building	<i>rošənnetat</i> (m.s.)	a few storied buildings

The phonological characteristics of these forms are as follows:

(a) Where the diminutive form has an *e* vowel, the diminutive plural has the same pattern as that form. This may include gemination as illustrated by *gämmelam* above—diminutive *gäm-melay*.

(b) Where the diminutive has no *e* vowel, the diminutive plural has this vowel in the form of the endings *-etam* and *-etat*, though retaining any other characteristics of the singulative. This is

¹ It is, perhaps, relevant that the singular form *qəlčəm* is also collective with the meaning 'shin' (meat), cf. § 6.3.1 (ii).

illustrated by *kisetam* and *rošənnetat* above—diminutives *kisay* and *rošənnätit*. But there are some exceptions to this.

(i) Most nouns with a singulative form with suffix *-ät* (whether this is the lexically quotable form or there is an (unsuffixed) singular (collective) form) have diminutive plurals with the suffix *-at* only—e.g.

	<i>wə'ät</i>	a cow	<i>wə'at</i> ¹	a few cows
(<i>gərah</i>)	<i>gərhät</i>	a field	<i>gərhat</i>	a few fields

(ii) For the noun *dəmmu* alternative forms were noted as follows:

(dim. <i>dəmmätit</i>)	<i>dəmmetat</i> / <i>dəmmutat</i>	a few (she-) cats
(dim. <i>dəmmutatay</i>)	<i>dəmmetam</i> / <i>dəmmutam</i>	a few (tom-) cats

(c) Many diminutive plural forms have the stem structure of the broken plurals, with the vowel *e* when the plural has *a* in its final syllable—e.g.

(<i>färäs</i>)	' <i>äfras</i>	horses/mares	' <i>äfresat</i>	a few mares
			' <i>äfresam</i>	a few horses
(<i>ğəna</i>)	' <i>ägännit</i>	children	' <i>ägännitam</i>	a few children

For nouns whose third radical has the consonantal exponent of *y* in the plural² the vowel *e* replaces the sequence *ayə*—e.g.

(<i>nəwid</i>)	<i>nəwayəd</i>	kids	<i>nəwedat</i> / <i>nəwedam</i>	a few kids
(<i>gəzirät</i>)	<i>gəzayər</i>	islands	<i>gəzerat</i>	a few islands

6.3.8. *Pejorative plurals.* The pejorative plurals are defined as the second of the two types of forms with suffixes that may have plural concord, and specifically with suffixes that imply (in the case of animate nouns) a gender different from that of the singulative. All except one have the suffix *-am* (the singulative being feminine), and all are found together with a diminutive plural form with suffix *-at*—e.g.

<i>wə'ät</i>	a cow	<i>wə'etam</i>	some poor cows
		(dim. pl. <i>wə'etat</i>)	
<i>rošan</i>	a storied building	<i>rošənnetam</i>	some poor storied buildings
		(dim. pl. <i>rošənnetat</i>)	
<i>gəzirät</i>	an island	<i>gəzeram</i>	some poor islands
		(dim. pl. <i>gəzerat</i>)	

¹ *Wə'etat* also attested.

² Cf. § 4.2.4.

One form only with the suffix *-at* was noted—*säbetat* 'some weak men'. This is to be related to *säb* 'men', which is lexically the plural of *'anas* 'man' (m.s.).

It must be added that there are pejorative plural forms only where the singulative form is of one gender. For a noun whose singular forms are either masculine or feminine the forms with the suffixes *-am* and *-at* are diminutive plural, and differ in sex reference, this difference being related to gender in all the other forms of such nouns—e.g.

<i>färäs</i> (m.s.)	a horse	<i>'äfresam</i>	a few horses
<i>färäs</i> (f.s.)	a mare	<i>'äfresat</i>	a few mares

6.3.9. *Problematic forms.* There are a few nouns whose forms raise some problems of classification. The problem is partly that of distinguishing between collective and plural, but is made more complex by some morphological features not previously encountered.

(i) Mention has already been made in the phonological section¹ of the first of the following:

<i>'äqqäč</i>	soldiers	<i>'äqqäytay</i>	a soldier
<i>'älläč</i>	foreigners	<i>'älläytay</i>	a foreigner

If we treat *č* as morphologically equivalent to *yt* these can be treated as collective and singulative respectively. But there are two points against this solution. First, *'äqqäč* and *'älläč* have plural concord; it will be necessary to state that some collective forms (if these are to be collective) have this type of concord. Secondly, they are both of the pattern of plural class XXI; this is, however, not a very strong argument in favour of treating them as plural, because the forms in *-ay* have the same stem structure, and there are no other examples of *-ay* forms with a plural type stem structure.

(ii) A noun with similar features but a suffix *-tay* is:

<i>'äggär</i>	hunters	<i>'äggärtay</i>	a hunter
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The unsuffixed form has plural concord; the stem structure is that of plural class XXI.

(iii) Also with a suffix *-tay* is:

<i>šəhär</i>	magicians	<i>šəhərtay</i>	a magician
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¹ § 1.3.

Also attested, however, was the singular form *šəḥər*. Taken together with this *šəḥār* can only be regarded as a broken plural—of class XX, and not as a collective.

(iv) Two forms with the suffix *-ebay* were noted:¹

dällalebay agent, middle man *šäqqaṭebay* merchant

These forms are certainly singulatives. The forms with plural concord are:

dällal or *dälalib* agents, middle men *šäqqaṭ* merchants

Both nouns have alternative forms with singular concord—*dällal* (the same as that with plural) and *šäqqaṭay*. The form *dälalib* is clearly a broken plural, but, while *dällal* and *šäqqaṭ* are of the pattern of plural class XXI, their status remains in doubt.

(v) Nouns referring to members of tribes, speech communities, &c., often have three forms, one with no suffix and masculine plural concord, one with suffix *-ay* and masculine singular concord, and the third with suffix *-ayt* and feminine singular concord. The first refers to more than one and the second and third to male and female persons respectively. The unsuffixed and suffixed forms have, in some cases other differences too; these can only be stated lexically and are illustrated in the examples—e.g.

<i>mänsä'</i>	<i>mänsə'ay</i>	<i>mänsə'ayt</i>	Mensa Tigre speaker
<i>'ämḥara</i>	<i>'ämḥaray</i>	<i>'ämḥarayt</i>	Amharic speaker
<i>bälen</i>	<i>bälenay</i>	<i>bälenayt</i>	Bilin speaker
<i>ḥäbäš</i>	<i>ḥäbäšay</i>	<i>ḥäbäšayt</i>	Tigrinya speaker
<i>ḥämäsen</i>	<i>ḥämäsenay</i>	<i>ḥämäsenayt</i>	Hamisien Tigrinya speaker
<i>märya</i>	<i>märyay</i>	<i>märyayt</i>	member of Marya tribe

The unsuffixed forms, it will be noted, do not fall into the usual plural patterns.

(vi) Another noun with one form that has plural concord, and another with the suffix *-ay* and singular concord is:

šəmagälle nobles *šəmagällay* a noble

(vii) Some other nouns, mostly indicating nationality, have an

¹ Cf. also § 8.3.

unsuffixed form with plural concord, and a form with the ending *-i* that has singular concord—e.g.

' <i>äskär</i>	soldiers	' <i>äskäri</i>	a soldier
' <i>ṭilan</i>	Italians	' <i>ṭilani</i>	an Italian
' <i>ingliz</i>	Englishmen	' <i>inglizi</i>	an Englishman

(viii) Closely associated with the problem are some forms that have already been dealt with as collectives and singulatives respectively. These are the singular forms of the pattern *CəCäC* which are collective, with a singulative with the suffix *-ät*¹—e.g.

<i>zəbäd</i>	butter	<i>zəbdät</i>	a piece of butter
<i>dämäq</i>	skulls	<i>dämqät</i>	a skull
<i>čəgär</i>	hair	<i>čəggärät</i>	a hair
' <i>əbär</i>	needles	' <i>əbrät</i>	a needle

There are strong arguments for treating the unsuffixed forms of these not as collectives, but as plurals:

(a) they have the syllabic and vocalic pattern of class XX plurals, cf. '*əban*, '*əbän* 'stone', 'stones';

(b) one, at least, a form of an animate noun, has plural (and feminine) concord:

<i>kəwäk</i>	black snakes	<i>kukät</i> (<i>kəwäkät</i>)	a black snake
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(c) most of them have reference to more than one object—'grindstones', 'umbrellas', 'tents', &c.²

But if we treat these unsuffixed forms as plurals, there would be a case for treating the unsuffixed forms of the following as plurals too:

<i>ğəlab</i>	dhow	<i>ğəlbät</i>	a dhow
' <i>əday</i>	debts	' <i>äydät</i>	a debt
<i>ğəban</i>	coffee-pots	<i>ğəbänät</i>	a coffee-pot
<i>wəraq</i>	paper	<i>wəraqät</i>	a piece of paper

The morphological and the semantic relations between the paired forms are very similar to those considered above. But it would be much less convenient to treat these as plurals since

(a) the unsuffixed forms do not belong to any recognized plural pattern;

¹ p. 52, § 6.3.2.

² Cf. Vocabulary, pp. 78–79, for more examples.

(b) some of the nouns have plural form—with either a similar or a different meaning—e.g.

ǰübānotat coffee-pots *wärägotat* pieces of paper

It is clear that, in general terms, the singular/plural and singulative/collective relations are not clearly distinguished in Tigre. But in a descriptive statement we can make precise distinctions by treating all the unsuffixed forms that we have been considering as collectives and the others as singulatives. This requires that two points be made:

(a) some collectives have a meaning that is identical with that of the plural;

(b) some collectives (all with plural meaning) have plural concord.

The difficulties arise, perhaps, from two sources. First, some of the broken plurals are historically collectives.¹ Secondly, in the neighbouring Cushitic language Bilin most nouns have two forms, one with a suffix, the other without, and it is the unsuffixed form that is 'plural'.² In some dialects of Tigre forms which for my informant are singular and singulative are used with plural reference, a further 'singular' or 'singulative' form having the Bilin type suffix *-a³*—e.g.

dəgəm stories *dəgma* a story

A similar feature is to be found even in one dialect of Tigrinya,⁴ with a singulative suffix *-i*, which has feminine concord, even with reference to males—e.g.

də'ul bulls *ħanti də'uli* one bull⁵

¹ Cf. Dillmann and Bezold, *Ethiopic Grammar*, 299 seq.

² Cf. 'Noun in Bilin', 385-7.

³ Informant Mohamed Ali of Anagit.

⁴ Agame dialect, informant from Adigrat.

⁵ But the nearest parallel to Tigre is in Galla, cf. B. W. Andrzejewski, 'The categories of number in noun forms in the Borana dialect of Galla', *Africa* xxx. 1 (1960), 62-75.

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

THE pronominal possessive suffixes may occur with any of the forms described in the previous sections. In general they may be treated as additive; they are set out in the table below:

	Singular	Plural
3 masc.	<i>u</i>	<i>om</i>
3 fem.	<i>a</i>	<i>än</i>
2 masc.	<i>ka</i>	<i>kəm</i>
2 fem.	<i>ki</i>	<i>kən</i>
1 masc./fem.	<i>ye</i>	<i>na</i>

The second masculine plural form *kəm* contains a short, back, close vowel. Only in such forms (and in similar forms of the verb) is there need to recognize a vowel that is both short and back (or front). Strictly another symbol is required if all symbols are to be unambiguous without taking their contexts into consideration; but *ə* may be used without ambiguity if (as is almost always the case) the ending can be recognized as the suffix.¹

There are a number of features regarding the juncture of stem and suffix that must be noted.

(i) If the unsuffixed form (unsuffixed, that is, in regard to the pronominal suffixes) ends in a vowel, there is a juncture feature *h* with all suffixes that begin with a vowel—e.g.

<i>mora</i>	stick	<i>morahu</i>	his stick
<i>fəre</i>	fruit	<i>fərehän</i>	their (fem.) fruit

(ii) With the first singular suffix there is a juncture feature of palatalization, if the unsuffixed form ends in a dental or alveolar consonant. The suffix has the exponent of gemination and palatalization of the final consonant of the unsuffixed form. The consonants involved are set out and illustrated in:

<i>t č</i>	<i>bet</i>	house	<i>bečče</i>	my house
<i>d ğ</i>	<i>wəlad</i>	sons	<i>wəlağğe</i>	my sons

¹ Cf. § 1.7.

t č	səmət	side	səməčče	my side
s š	rə'əs	head	rə'əsše	my head
z ž	məhəz	river	məhəžžə	my river
š č	fələs	piece of wood	fələčče	my piece of wood

(iii) As was noted in the phonological section, a final č has the morphological function of *-yt-*. This is clear from

'äqqäč¹ soldiers 'äqqäytu his soldiers

and from forms with plurals in the suffix *-äč²*—e.g.

'äbäč father/paternal uncle 'äbäytu his father and/or paternal uncles

There are alternative forms for the last—'äbäčtu and 'äbäču.

(iv) As was noted in the section on broken plurals, many singular forms of the structure *CVC* with *V* a short vowel are morphologically to be treated as *CVCC*. In most cases the last two (morphologically speaking) consonants are the same:

	sər	vein	sərru	his vein
	gäd	luck	gäddu	his luck
	qär	horn	qärru ³	his horn
cf.	səm	a name; poison	səmu ⁴	his name; his poison
	däm	blood	dämu	his blood

In other cases the final consonant differs (but is always a dental and the preceding one is always dental or alveolar)—e.g.

	gən	border	gəndu	his border
	'ən	eye	'əntu ⁵	his eye
	həl	maternal aunt	həltu	his maternal aunt

There are similar features with a few non-monosyllabic singulars—e.g.

	wälät	daughter	wälättu	his daughter
	nə'äl	sister-in-law	nə'ältu	her sister-in-law
	kəran	voice	kərantu	his voice

All the forms with an additional *-t-* are feminine, and in one

¹ Cf. §§ 1.3 (iv) and 6.3.9 (i).

² § 5.2.1.

³ Not *qärru, cf. §§ 6.3.3 (p. 56) and 4.2.1 (vi).

⁴ In spite of 'äsmay (§ 4.2.2) and səmmetay (§ 6.3.5, p. 57, n. 3).

⁵ Cf. §§ 5.2.3 (v.) and 6.3.3 (p. 56).

example the occurrence of this *-t-* distinguishes otherwise identical forms that differ only in gender (with a distinction in sex reference):

<i>bə'äl</i> (m.f.)	owner	<i>bə'älu</i> (m.)	his (male) owner
		<i>bə'ältu</i> (f.)	his (female) owner

There is a similar distinction, but with a difference in vowel (though the only *phonetic* difference is in duration since both are open front) in:

<i>hal</i> (m.)	maternal uncle	<i>halu</i>	his maternal uncle
<i>hāl</i> (f.)	maternal aunt	<i>hältu</i>	his maternal aunt

With the first singular suffix there is palatalization, though without gemination of the additional *t*, since in these cases this would imply a cluster of three consonants—e.g.

'ən	eye	'ənčə	my eye
wälät	daughter	wäläčče	my daughter

A rather different feature is the occurrence of *-t-* with the feminine plural suffix *-än*, with a few broken plurals of the pattern 'äCCəC (class I)—e.g.

(<i>bə'əs</i>)	'äb'əs	husbands	'äb'ästän	their husbands
(<i>rə'əs</i>)	'är'əs	heads	'är'ästän	their heads

(v) Three nouns (those that have plurals in *-äč*) have suffixed forms with a medial *u* and, as a result, the juncture *h* with suffixes beginning with a vowel—e.g.

'äf	mouth	'äfuye	my mouth
'äb	father	'äbuka	your father
<i>häm</i>	father-in-law	<i>hämuhu</i>	his father-in-law

(vi) The noun *wäd* has the stem *wäl-* with all suffixes that do not begin with a vowel, but *wädd-* (as *sər*, &c., above) for those that begin with a vowel:¹

<i>wäd</i>	son	<i>wälye</i>	my son
		<i>wälka</i>	your son
		<i>wäddu</i>	his son

¹ Cf. §§ 4.2.6 (iii) and 6.3.3 (p. 56). It is clear that *wäd* may be regarded as morphologically a trilateral with radicals *w*, *l*, and *d*.

(vii) The clusters *-gk-* and *-qk-* are possible at this stem-ending juncture only—e.g.

<i>hog</i>	elbow	<i>hogka</i>	your elbow
<i>suq</i>	shop	<i>suqka</i>	your shop

But while *-gk-* may often have no voicing (and could thus be written *-kk*), the ejection of *-qk-* is always phonetically present in glottal closure.

(viii) The cluster *-yy-* (not gemination) is also possible only at this type of juncture—e.g.

'əčyay	a piece of wood	'əčyayye	my piece of wood
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ADJECTIVES

THE adjectives fall into several morphological classes. The two most obvious main divisions are those which have broken plurals and those whose plurals are suffixed. The former make no distinction of gender in the plural form, while the latter have distinct masculine and feminine plural forms. Several adjectives that do not have distinct masculine and feminine *singular* forms were noted.

8.1. *Adjectives with broken plurals*

The classification of these adjectives is partly in terms of the type of plural, but also in terms of the feminine form.

(i) The commonest type of adjective with a broken plural has a masculine singular form $C\ddot{a}CiC$, a feminine singular $C\ddot{a}CCaC$, and a plural of the type of broken plural class XI with one radical that has vocalic and consonantal exponents—e.g.

(10) *güzif* *güzraf* *güzayaf* thick

With these can be included the following (the final *i* being interpreted as *-ay*):

(1) 'äbi 'äbbay 'äbaya big

With the same plural form, but a feminine with the suffix *-ät*, is:

(2) *wäğib* *wäğibät* *wäğayəb* fertile

This is also the pattern of two adjectives with a masculine singular $C\ddot{a}CuC$:

(2) *gädud* *gädudät* *gädayəd* barren

This type of plural is also found with some adjectives whose masculine singular form is of one of the types that is most commonly associated with a suffixed plural. Details are given in the sections below.

(ii) A plural of the type of class XIV ($C\ddot{a}C\ddot{a}CC\partial C$) was noted

for a few adjectives with a masculine singular *CVCCVC*. The feminine singular has the suffix *-ät* or *-it*—e.g.

(2)	<i>hänkiš</i>	<i>hänkišät</i>	<i>hänäkkəš</i>	with a limp
(1)	<i>gəndab</i>	<i>gəndabit</i>	<i>gənäddəb</i>	old
(1)	<i>dəgläl</i>	<i>dəglälit</i>	<i>dəgälləb</i>	old

(iii) Plurals of the type of the rare class XXI (*CäCCäC*) were noted only as alternatives to those of § 8.2 (i) below.

(iv) Other broken plurals that were noted are:

	m.s.		f.s.	m./f. p.	
III		<i>färəd</i>		<i>'äfrad</i>	odd, single
III		<i>fänäk</i>		<i>'äfnak</i>	brave
XI	<i>fädab</i>		<i>fädabit</i>	<i>fädayəb</i>	brave
XII	<i>həwan</i>		<i>həwanit</i>	<i>həwawin</i>	unfertile
XIV		<i>həmrarib</i>		<i>həmärrəb</i>	heroic
XVI		<i>sä'da</i>		<i>sä'adi</i>	white
XVII	<i>qayəh</i>		<i>qäyäh</i>	<i>qäyhit</i>	red
XVII	<i>sənu'</i>		<i>sən'ät</i>	<i>sän'it</i>	noble
XVIII			<i>'ämsat</i>	<i>'ämässi</i>	pregnant

8.2. Adjectives with suffixed plurals

Most of the adjectives that have suffixed plurals are morphologically verbal formations—participles. The plural suffixes are *-yam* (masc.) and *-yat* (fem.) or *-am* and *-at*.

(i) Adjectives with a final closed syllable containing the vowel *u* have plural suffixes *-am* and *-at*. But there are four different subclasses:

(a) Most of the adjectives have in the feminine form the suffix *-ät*, and *ə* or no vowel (according to syllabic structure) in place of *u*—e.g.

(1)	<i>hud</i>	<i>hədət</i>	<i>hudam</i>	<i>hudat</i>	few
(18)	<i>kəbud</i>	<i>kəbdət</i>	<i>kəbudam</i>	<i>kəbudat</i>	heavy
(6)	<i>dəngur</i>	<i>dəngərət</i>	<i>dənguram</i>	<i>dəngurat</i>	slow

(b) Others have no suffix in the feminine form, but still *ə* in place of *u*—e.g.

(4)	<i>'əwur</i>	<i>'əwər</i>	<i>'əwuram</i>	<i>'əwurat</i>	blind
(1)	<i>gərrum</i>	<i>gərrəm</i>	<i>gərrumam</i>	<i>gərrumat</i>	beautiful

(c) Where a laryngeal is the final radical, the vowel *u* does not occur in any of the suffixed forms—e.g.

(7) *bəzuh* *bəzḥət* *bəzḥam* *bəzḥat* many

(d) Where the final radical is *y*, the feminine form has the ending *-it* (= *-yat* or *-əyat*)—e.g.

(1) *šəruy* *šərit* *šəruyam* *šəruyat* clean
 (2) *'əkkuy* *'əkkit* *'əkkuyam* *'əkkuyat* bad

One adjective with singular forms of the type illustrated in (a) but with only a broken plural was noted:

nə'uš *nə'əš* *nə'ayəš* small

Broken plurals of this type (class XI) and of the type of class XXI were also noted as alternatives to the suffixed plurals—e.g.

(4) *kəbud* *kəbdət* *kəbayəd* heavy
 (3) *šəgub* *šəgbət* *šəggab* rich

Almost all the adjectives of the type dealt with in this section are morphologically participles, and most of them Passive participles. There is in theory, at least, a participle for every 'theme' or 'derived form' of the verb, and all except that of the active have a final closed syllable containing the vowel *u*. The theoretically possible forms may be exemplified by the verb *qätla* 'he killed':

<i>qätul</i>	Passive	<i>tqättäla</i>
<i>'əqtul</i>	Causative	<i>'äqtäla</i>
<i>'əttəqtul</i>	Double Causative	<i>'ättäqtäla</i>
<i>qutul</i>	Reciprocal	<i>tqatäla</i>
<i>'ətqutul</i>	Causative Reciprocal	<i>'ätqatäla</i>
<i>qätutul</i>	Frequentative Active	<i>qätatäla</i>
	Frequentative Passive	<i>tqätatäla</i>
<i>'ətqätutul</i>	Frequentative Causative	<i>'ätqätatäla</i>

(ii) Adjectives with a masculine singular form of the structure *CaCəC* have plural forms with the same suffixes, but feminine singular forms with the suffix *-ät*—e.g.

(11) *ḥaməq* *ḥamqät* *ḥamqam* *ḥamqat* weak

These are also participles—the Active participles. A few adjectives

with the same type of masculine singular form have plurals with the suffix *-otat*—e.g.

(2) *hayəs* *haysät* *haysotat* noble

(iii) Most adjectives with stem-final syllable *CaC* have the suffixes *-it*, *-yam*, and *-yat*. Many of these adjectives refer to personal physical characteristics—e.g.

(9) *čäggar* *čäggarit* *čäggaryam* *čäggaryat* hairy

Two adjectives have similar suffixes, but an alternative masculine singular form with the suffix *-ay*:

har|haray *harit* *haryam* *haryat* last
qädam|qädamay *qädamit* *qädamyam* *qädamyat* first

Where the final radical is *y* only a single *y* is found in the plural¹—e.g.

(1) *gənay* *gənayit* *gənayam* *gənayat* ugly
(1) *'äbay* *'äbayit* *'äbayam* *'äbayat* hostile

(iv) Idiosyncratic patterns were noted for:

sänni *sännet* *sänyam* *sänyat* good
 ṭala *ṭalitat* brown

8.3. *Diminutives of adjectives*

A few forms that are clearly to be treated as diminutives, both from their morphology and their meaning, were noted. They are:

nə'uš *nə'ušay* *nə'əš* *nə'əšät* small
dəbur *dəburay* *dəbrət* *dəbrätit* poor
hud *huday* *hədət* *hədätit* few
šəruy *šəruyay* *šərit* *šərität* clean
qərüb *qərübay* *qərbət* *qərbätit* near

The masculine form of the diminutive has the suffix *-ay*, the feminine *-ät*, or when preceded by the suffix *-ət*, the suffix *-it*.²

One masculine diminutive form was noted that has either the suffix *-etay* or the very rare ending *-ebay*.³

mäkruh *mäkrəhetay|mäkrəhebay* evil

¹ Cf. §§ 1.4 (i) and 7 (viii).

² Cf. the forms denoting females in § 6.3.3 (p. 53) where the diminutive suffix is *-it* following *-t* or *-ət*; but note that *šərit* is not treated as if it were **šəryät* (which would imply **šəritit*).

³ Cf. § 6.3.9 (iv).

VOCABULARY

NOUNS

ALL the forms that were noted are set out in the lists that follow with the exception of those nouns for which only one form was noted (and no morphological statement can thus be made). The following rules are employed:

(i) The forms are grouped according to the syllabic and vocalic shape of the singular form or, where there is no singular form, of the lexically quotable suffixed form.

(ii) Within each group the order of words is based on the order of the consonants in the list in § 1.1.

(iii) After each headword an indication is given whether it is collective or singulative, and, if singulative, of its gender by the abbreviations c. (collective), m.s. (masculine and singulative), and f.s. (feminine and singulative). Gender is not stated for the collectives since almost all are masculine; the rare exceptions, however (which include collectives with plural concord), are noted. As stated in the texts neither gender nor the countable/uncountable distinctions are wholly rigid; all that can be stated with certainty is that, where a singular form is shown as feminine, the informant rejected masculine concord, and that where it is shown as singulative, he was unaware of any other (suffixed) singulative form. No indication is given with suffixed forms, since, as shown in the text, all are singulative, and the gender is predictable from the suffix.

(iv) A final radical that is absent in the singular form but occurs in all other forms is shown in brackets.

(v) Forms ending in *-ay* are treated as having the suffix *-ay* only where the morphology of the other forms implies this; in other forms this ending is regarded as part of the stem. Thus *bə'ray* and *çənçay* occur in different sections.

(vi) The abbreviations used are: m. masculine, f. feminine, s. singulative (*not* singular), pl. plural, d. diminutive, d.d. double diminutive, p. pejorative, a. augmentative, d.p. diminutive plural, p.p. pejorative plural.

CV

hu m.s., brother, pl. *häv*.

CəC

dəs(s) m.s., saucepan, pl. *'ädyas*, d. *dəssetay*.

təb m.s., breast, pl. *'ätbay*, d. *təbetay*.

səm m.s., name, pl. *'äsmay*.

səm c., poison, p. *səmmetay*.

sər(r) m.s., vein, pl. *'äsrar*, d. *sərretay*.

səq(q) m.s. provisions, d. *səqgetay*.

CəC—(cont.)

ğən(n) m.s., demon, pl. 'äğnan.
ğəb(b) m.s., small cave, pl. 'äğbab,
 d. *ğəbbətay*.
ğəd(d) m.s., cotton thread, pl.
 'äğdad, d. *ğəddətay*.
ğən(d) m.s., border, pl. 'äğnad.
 'əm(m) f.s., mother, pl. 'əmmat.
 'ən(t) f.s., eye, pl. 'əntat, d.
 'əntätit.
hət f.s., sister, pl. *həwät*.
rəh'ärwəhät f.s., soul, pl. 'ärwəhat.
wəš(š) f.s., cartridge, pl. 'äwəšaš, d.p.
 'äwəšətat.

CəCät¹

bə'ät, cave, pl. *bə'ätat/bə'otat*, d.
bə'ätit, p. *bə'ətay* a. *bə'ay*.
sə'ät, watch, pl. *sə'otat*, d. *sə'ätit*, p.
sə'ətay, a. *sə'ay*.
nə'ät, female camel, pl. 'ənsa, d.
nə'ätit, p. *nə'ətay*, a. *nə'ay*.
wə'ät, cow, pl. 'äha, d. *wə'ätit*, p.
wə'ətay, a. *wə'ay*, d.p. *wə'at/*
wə'ətat.

CäC

sär(r) m.s., half, pl. 'äsrar.
šär(r) m.s., misfortune, pl. 'äšrar/
šärotat.
ğäš(š) m.s., face, pl. 'äğəššät, d.
ğäššətay (thin, pale, face).
gä' m.s., black lizard, pl. 'äg'at/
 'äg'atat.
qäs c., fleas, s. *qesay*.
qäš(š) m.s., priest, pl. 'äqəššät, d.
qäššətay.
qär(r) m.s., horn, pl. 'äqərnät, d.
qärretay.
 'äf(u) m.s., mouth, pl. 'äfäč.
 'äb(u) m.s., father, paternal uncle,
 pl. 'äbäč ('äbäw, forefathers).
häm(u) m.s., ratner-in-law, pl.
hämäč.

häl(t) f.s., maternal aunt, pl. *häl-*
totat.
 'äd(d) m.s., country, pl. 'äddotat, d.
 'äddətay.
wäd(d) (*wäl-*) m.s., son, pl. *wəlad*, d.
wälleday.

CäCät

sänät, year, pl. *sənotat*, d. *sänätit*,
 d.p. *sänətat*.
nälät, female antelope, pl. *nälät*,
 double pl. *nälətat*, d. *nälätit*, p.
nälətay, a. *näləy*, d.p. *nälətat*.
wälät(t), daughter, pl. 'äwälad, d.
wälätit, p. *wälətay*, d.p. *wälətat*.

CäCay

täləy, herdsman, pl. *täläč*, d.
täləyay.
käray, hyena, pl. *käräč* (but also
 under *CäCaC*).

CäCCät

'ämmät, father's sister, pl. 'ämmotat.
 'ärrät, pasture land, pl. 'ärrötat, d.
 'ärrätit.

CiC

šib, c., white hair, s. *šibät*.
čib c., nits, s. *čibay*.
kis m.s., bag, pl. 'äkyas, d. *kisay*,
 d.p. *kisətam*.
gim c. (f.), cloud, s. *gimät*.
lim c., cream, pl. *lämyat*.
 'id m.s., Muslim offering to dead,
 pl. 'ayad.
 'in f.s., spring, pl. 'ayan.

CiCät

nibät, canine tooth, pl. 'änyab, d.
nibätit, d.p. 'änyəbat, p.p. 'änyə-
 bam.

¹ All have a medial laryngeal, and are thus of the same pattern as the *CäCät* forms.

CeC

bet f.s., house, pl. 'äbyat, d. *betätit*, p. *betay*, d.p. *betat/äbyetat*.
mes m.s., fermented honey drink, pl. 'ämyas.

CuC

ful c., ground-nuts, s. *fulät*, d. *fulätit*.
buš m.s., tea glass, pl. 'äbwaš.
bun c., coffee (beans or plantation), s. *bunät*, d. *bunätit*.
tuṭ m.s., dry sinew, pl. 'äṭwaṭ.
suq m.s., shop, pl. 'äswaqat, d. (p.?) *suqetay*, d.p. *suqetam*.
zu' c., talk, pl. 'äzwə'at, s. *zə'ät*.
šum m.s., leader, pl. šäyäm.
muz c., bananas, s. *muzät*, d. *muzätit*.
ruz c., rice, pl. 'ärwaz, d. *ruzät*.
luḥ m.s., plank, pl. 'älwəḥat, d. *luhay*.
lul c., pearls, s. *lulät*.

CuCät

dulät, nation, pl. *dəwäl*.
munät, food, d. *munätit*, p. *munetay*.

CoC

dol f.s., time, d. *dolätit*.
sol m.s., pad for load of head, pl. *səwäl/äsəwälät*.
šor m.s., load, pl. 'äšwar, d. *šoray*.
kor m.s., pack saddle, pl. 'äkwar.
goš m.s., side, face (of wall, &c.), pl. 'ägwaš/ägwašat.
gor m.s., neighbour, pl. 'ägwar, d. (p.?) *goretay*.
qor m.s., depth, pl. 'äqwar.
hog m.s., elbow, pl. *hawag*.
hol m.s., year, pl. *hawal*.

CoCät

šoqät, thorn, pl. 'äšwaq.
qogät, kind of tree, *qäwäggi*.

CaC

fas m.s., axe, pl. *fasat*, d. *fesay*.
far m.s., small milk-jug, pl. *farat*, d. *feray*.
fal m.s., omen, pl. *falat*, d. *felay* (unfulfilled omen).
bab m.s., door, pl. *babat*, d. *bebay*.
tal m.s., trap, pl. *talat*, d. *telay*.
dar m.s. property, pl. *darat*.
taf c., the grain 'taf', pl. *tafat* s. *tafätit*.
šaš m.s., turban, pl. *šašat*.
kas f.s., metal cup, d. *kasätit*.
kak m.s., crow, pl. *kakat*.
gab m.s., vulture, pl. *gabat*, d. *gebay*.
gan m.s., owl, pl. *ganat*.
gar c., things, s. *garit*.
qal f.s., word, pl. *qalat*, d. *qalätit*.
maš m.s., stick for cleaning teeth, pl. *mašat*.
maq m.s., cloth, pl. *maqat*.
mal m.s., wealth, pl. *malat*, d. *melay*.
ḥab m.s., bag of netting, pl. *ḥabat*.
ḥal m.s., maternal uncle, pl. *ḥalotat*.
'ağ m.s., elephant's tusk, pl. *'ağat*.

CaCät

sasät, side of mountain, pl. *sasotat*.
šakät, spring with grass, pl. *šakat*.
qaqät, lightning, pl. *qaqat/qaqotat*, d. *qaqätit*.
mamät, tribute, pl. *mamotat*, d. *mamätit*.
'adät, custom, pl. *'adotat*.
'amät, year, pl. *'amotat*, d. *'amätit*.

CaCay

waṭay, musician, pl. *waṭot*, d. *waṭetay/waṭeyay*, d.p. *waṭetam*.

CəCV

fəre c., fruit, corn, pl. *fəryat*, s. *fəretät*, d. *fəretätit*.
dəhe m.s., sound, pl. *'ädhuy*.

CəCV—(cont.)

- çə'e c., acacia, pl. çə'etat, s. çə'etüt
(tree)/čə'etay (wood).
məse m.s., evening, pl. 'əmsuy.
ləhe f.s., molar, pl. 'əlhay, d.
ləhetät.
'ade f.s., hand, pl. 'ədäy, d. 'ədetät.

CəCo

- kəbo c., dried dung, s. kəbotät.
qəlo c., roast corn, s. qəlotät.

CəCa

- səga c., meat, pl. 'əsgay, s. səgät, d.
səgätit.
dəma c., baobab, s. dəmät.
ğəna m./f.s., child, pl. 'əğännit, d.
ğənetät/ğənetay, d.p. ğənetam/
'əğännitam.

CäCV(t)

- zäma m.s., brother-in-law, pl.
zämataat.
zäga m.s., village, pl. zəgatat.
läga m.s., young bull, pl. 'äläggit,
d. lägetay, d.p. lägetam.
hägo m.s., belt of beads, pl. hägwat
häwäggi, d. hägotay.
tälit f.s., she-goat, pl. 'açal, d. tälit-
tät, d.p. 'ačelat.

CiCV(t)

- tišo f.s., pot, pl. təwäšši, d. tišotät.
qišot f.s., country village, pl. qəwäšši,
d. qišotät.
higa m./f.s., speech, pl. hägäggi, d.
higätit/(p.?) hıgetay.

CeCV(t)

- qečo, f.s., arm-chair, pl. qəwäčči, d.
qečotät.
'edo m.s., skin cushion, pl. 'əwäddi.
'ela f.s., well, pl. 'əwälli, d. 'elätit.
'ešat f.s., back, pl. 'əwäšši.

CoCV

- korit f.s., ball, pl. kəwərri, d.
korität.
dosä m.s., hut, pl. dəwässi, d. dose-
tay, d.p. dosetam.
konat f.s., spear, pl. kəwänni, d.
konätit, p. konetay.
mora m./f.s., stick (f. 'a nice . . .),
pl. məwäwwi, d. morätit/(p.?)
moretay.
rora m.s., highland, pl. rəwərri, d.
roretay.

CaCV

- 'aya m.s., big hawk, pl. 'ayatat, d.
'ayetay, d.p. 'ayetam.

CəCəC

- fətəh m.s., justice, pl. 'əftəhat.
fədəg/fətəq f.s., small creek, pl.
'əfdug/'əftuq.
fərəm m.s., charcoal kiln, pl. 'əfram/
'əfərmät.
fələq m.s., pole supporting roof, pl.
'əfluq, d. fələqay/fələqay.
bəqəl m.s., shoot (of seed), pl.
'əbqal (plants).
bə'əs m.s., husband, pl. 'əb'əs.
bərək f.s., knee, pl. 'əbrak.
bərə' m.s., pen, pl. 'əbrə'at.
dərəş m.s., belly, pl. 'ədruş.
səmət m.s., side, pl. 'əsmat.
sə'əd m.s., strong arm, 'əs'ud.
sələf f.s., husband's brother's wife,
pl. 'əslaf.
sələk m.s., wire, pl. 'əslak.
šaməd m.s., door-post, pair of oxen,
pl. 'əšmad.
šəfər m.s., finger-nail, pl. 'əšfar.
šəbəh c., fat, s. šəbhät.
šəfər c., manure, s. šəfrät.
šəkəm m.s., hoof, pl. 'əškum.
šəqəl m.s., work, 'əšqal.
šəhər/šəhertay m.s., evil magician,
pl. šəhär.
šərəm m.s., rain-water pond, pl.
'əšramat.

CəCaC—(cont.)

ġənas m.s., kind, pl. 'əġnas.
 kəham m.s., jaw, pl. 'əkham/ 'əġhum.
 kəran f.s., voice, pl. 'əkran/ 'əkrun,
 d. kərrenät, d.p. 'əkrenat.
 kətam f.s., stamp, seal, pl. 'əktam.
 gədab m.s., wood-axe, pl. 'əgdub.
 gəmə' m.s., huge boulder, pl. 'əgäm-
 mä'ət/ 'əgəmmə'ät.
 gələb f.s., cliff, pl. 'əġlab.
 qətəb m.s., leg of bed, pl. 'əqtub.
 qəšan m.s., branch, pl. 'əqšun, d.
 qəššenay.
 qəmə' m.s., filter, pl. 'əqmə'at, d.
 qəmmə'ay.
 qərəd m.s., root, pl. 'əqrud.
 mətəd m.s., stake, pl. 'əmtud.
 mədar m.s., land, pl. 'əmdar/
 'əmdarat.
 mə'al (or 'äm'al) f.s., day, pl. 'äm-
 'əlotat, d.p. 'äm'elat.
 mələġ f.s., herd of goats, pl. 'əmlaġ.
 nəhəb f.c., bees, pl. 'ənhab, s.
 nəhbät, d. nəhbätit, d.p. nəhbetat/
 'ənhebat.
 nəhəs m.s., house, pl. 'anhas, d.
 nəhesay, d.p. 'ənhesam.
 'əbən f.c., stone, pl. 'əbän, s. 'əbbänät,
 d. 'əbbänätit, d.p. 'əbbänat.
 'əzən f.s., ear, pl. 'əzän.
 'əzən f.s., section of tribe, pl. 'azan.
 'əkal c., corn, pl. 'akal, s. 'əklät.
 'əgər f.s., foot, pl. 'əġär.
 həməs m.s., bottom of belly, pl.
 hamas.
 həfən f.s., double handful, pl. həfan,
 d. həffenät.
 həbət f.s., armpit, pl. həbat.
 həbər m.s., colour, pl. həbar.
 həzəb m.s., people, pl. həzab, d.
 həzzebay.
 həqəf f.s., bosom, pl. həqaf.
 hələm m.s., dream, pl. həlam.
 hələġ m.s., anklet, pl. hələġ, d.
 hələġay.

'ədər m.s., sickness, pl. 'adar.
 'əṭəb c., cotton, pl. 'aṭab, s. 'əṭbät,
 d.p. 'əṭbat.
 'əsər m.s., gum (of teeth), pl. 'asar.
 'əqəb m.s., leg, pl. 'aqab.
 'əmər m.s., life, pl. 'amar.
 'ələb m.s., number, pl. 'alab.
 'ələġ m.s., child, 'kid', pl. 'aluġ.
 rəham m.s., belly, pl. 'ərham.
 ləqəb m.s., small cave, pl. 'əlqub.
 ləhəş c., bark for making rope, s.
 ləhşät.
 wəhər m.s., bull, pl. 'əwəhərät, d.p.
 'əwəhəretam.

CəCCät

kərdät, kind of tree, pl. 'əkrud.

CəCCay¹

bə'ray, ox, pl. 'əb'ərät, d. bə'retay,
 'əb'əretam.
 bəllay, cloth, pl. bälällit, d. bälletay.

CəCäC

fəhäm c., charcoal, s. fəhmät, d.
 fəhmätit, p. fəhmetay, a. fəhmay.
 fəwəw c., fleece, s. fərwät.
 bəqäš c., luggage, s. bəqšät.
 bəhär f.s., pl. 'əbhər, d. bəhrätit.
 bäläq c., big rocks, s. bälqät.
 təkäk c., bracelets, s. təkkät.
 dəbäb c., tilth, s. dəbbät.
 dəbä' c., forest, s. dəb'ät, d.
 dəb'ätit.
 dəməq c., skulls, s. dəmqät.
 dəmän c., abandoned buildings, s.
 dəmnät.
 dəläl c., umbrellas, s. dəllät.
 dəhəb c., gold, pl. 'ədhub, s. dəhbät,
 d. dəhbätit.
 səfär c., tables, pl. səfrotat, s.
 səfrät, d. səfrätit.
 səkäk, train lines, s. səkkät.
 sənä' c., science, s. sän'ät.
 sərrär c., sparks, s. sərrät.

¹ For others with the ending -ay see under CəCCaC. Only those in which -ay must be regarded as the suffix are given here.

CəCaC—(cont.)

sə'ər c., grass, pl. 'əs'ər, s. sə'rät,
d. sə'rätit, p.p. sə'äretam.
zəbäd c., butter, s. zəbdät.
šəfäf c., blankets, s. šäffät.
šəmäm c., black woollen blankets, s.
šämmät.
šənät c., haversacks, s. šänät.
šäläg c., handfuls, s. šälgät.
šäräd c., straight daggers, s. šärdät.
šəgär c., hair, pl. 'äšgur, s. šəg-
gärät, d. šəggärätit.
šəqäm c., fistfuls, s. šəqmät, d.
šəqmätit.
gəhär c., charcoal, s. gährät, d.
gährätit.
gənüb c., pads put under saddle, s.
gəmbät.
gəräh c., fields, s. gährät, d. gär-
hätit, p. gärhetay, a. gärhay, d.p.
gärhat.
kətäf c., muscle, s. kətfät, d. kət-
fätit.
kəraš c., stomachs, s. kəršät, d.
kəršätit.
kəyäm c., tents, s. käymät, d. kay-
mätit.
kəwäk c. (f.p.), black snakes, s.
kükät (kəwkät), d. kukätit.
qədäd c., growth on body, s. qəddät.
qətäb c., thorn trees, s. qətbät.
qəmäl c., lice, s. qəmnälät, d.
qəmmälätit, a. qəmallay.
qəläv c., coloured matting, s.
qəlwät.
qəwä' m.s., crane, pl. 'äqəw'ät.
mədäd c., grindstones, s. məddät.
mə'äs m.s., hide, pl. 'äm'əs, d. mə-
'äsetay, d.p. mə'äsetam'äm'esam.
məhäg m.s., hot fire, pl. 'ämhäg.
nähär m.s., chest, pl. 'änhur'änhar.
nä'al (t) f.s., sister-in-law of woman,
pl. nə'ältotat.
'ätäm c., springs, s. 'ətmät, d.
'ətmätit.
'əbär c., needles, pl. 'äbärri, s.
'əbrät.
həbäz c., bread, s. həbbäzät.

həgär c., red ointment of clay, s.
həgrät, d. həgrätit.
hərüb c., jute curtains, s. hərbät.
hərəš f.s., stick, pole, pl. həruš, d.
hərəšät, d.d. hərəšätit.
həläh c., metal hair bands, s.
həlqät.
həwäy c., camel-saddles, s. həwäyät.
'əšäy c., wood, trees, s. 'əšyät/
'əšyay (tree/piece of wood), d.
'əšyätit.
'əyüb c., sacks, s. 'ibät ('əybät), pl.
'ayab.
'əyär c., insults, s. 'irät ('əyrät).
rəkäb c., water-bottles, s. rəkbät, d.
rəkbätit.
rəšäm c., mountain tops, s. rəšmät.
rəqäy c., curved sticks, s. rəqyät.
rə'äs m.s., head, pl. 'är'əs, d. rə-
'äsetay.

CəCäCät

məhätät, railway station, pl. məhätö-
tat.
ləhätät, sweat, pl. ləhätötat.

CəCaC

fəraš f.s., mattress, pl. 'äfəršät.
bə'al m.s., festival, pl. bə'alat.
təkan c., red bugs, s. təkenay.
täkay m.s., pole of house, pl. täkyat.
dərar m.s., supper, pl. 'ädərrät, d.
dəreray.
šəfal m.s., pipe for carrying flour in
mill, pl. 'äsəflät.
səgad (or šəgad) m.s., neck, pl.
'äsəgdät.
sərak m.s., sandal strap, pl. 'äsərkät.
səray m.s., medicine, pl. 'äsəryät.
səlam m.s., bullock's hump, pl.
'äsəlmät.
šəfan m.s., throne, pl. šəfanat.
zəlam f.s., rain, pl. zäləyäm.
šəläl f.s., shadow, image, pl. 'äšəllät.
šəwar m.s., arms, pl. 'äšəwərrät.
šəqay m.s., lavatory, pl. 'äšəqqät.

CəCaC—(cont.)

ğəban c., coffee-pots, pl. ğäbänotat, s. ğäbänät, d. ğäbänätit, p. ğäbänetay, d.p. ğäbänetat.
 ğəlab c., dhow, s. ğälbät, d. ğälbätit.
 kətab m.s., book, pl. 'əkətbät, d. kətebay.
 kərar m.s., window curtain, pl. 'əkərrät.
 kəläl m.s., wooden hair comb, pl. 'əkəllät.
 gərab m.s., thing, pl. 'ägərbät, d. gərebay.
 gəran m.s., bracelet, pl. 'ägərnät, d. gərenay.
 qərab c., skin, s. qərbät, d. qərbätit.
 məhəz m.s., river bed, pl. məhəzət, d. məhəzey/məhəzetay.
 nəway m.s., herd of cattle, pl. 'änəwyät.
 'əsət f.s., fire, pl. 'əsətət, d. 'əsətät, d.d. 'əsətätit.
 'əğäl m./f.s., calf, pl. 'əğäl, d. 'əğelät/ 'əğelay, d.p. 'əğelat/ 'əğelam.
 'ənas m.s., man, pl. säb, d. 'ənesay/ 'ənasetay, p. 'ənesät, d.p. säbetam, p.p. säbetat.
 'əwan f.s., time, d. 'əwenät, d.d. 'əwenätit.
 həşan m.s., boy, d. həşenay.
 həlay c., poems, s. həlayät, d. həleyät/həlayätit.
 həwar m./f.s., small foal, pl. həwrät, d. həwerät/həweray, d.p. həwerat/ həweram.
 'ədäl c., celebrations, s. 'ädlät.
 'əday c., debts, s. 'äydät.
 'əzäl m.s., shade, pl. 'əzällät.
 rəsas m.s., pencil, pl. 'ärəssät, d. rəsəsay.
 rəkab m.s., stirrup, pl. 'ärəkbat, d. rəkəbay.
 rəyal m.s., dollar, pl. 'ärəylat.
 ləban c., incense, s. ləbanät/ləbenät, d. ləbenätit.

wəraq c., paper, pl. wäräqotat, s. wäräqät, d. wäräqätit, d.p. wäräqetat.

CəCaCät

ṭəyarät, aeroplane, pl. ṭəyarat.
 səgadät, ascent, pl. sägayəd.
 šəgarät, cigarette, pl. šəgayər, d. šəgarätit, p. šəgaretay, d.p. šəgarəretat.
 gənazät, corpse, pl. gənayəz.

CəCiC

fəlit f.s., calf, pl. fäləyat,¹ d. fəlität, d.d. fəlitätit, d.p. fəletat.
 ṭəwit f.s., cartridge, pl. ṭəwawit, d. ṭəwität, d.p. ṭəwitat.
 šə'ir c., barley, pl. šə'ayər, s. šə'irät, d. šə'irätit.
 həlil m.s., dry river bed, pl. həlayəl.
 wəhiz m.s., stream, pl. wəhayəz, d. wəhizay.

CəCeC

bə'er, m.s., half-grown camel, d. bə'eray, d.p. bə'eram.
 fədel m.s., letter, d. fədelay.
 sətet f.s., rib, pl. säytat.
 ğənen f.s., garden, pl. ğänəyan/ ğənenotat, d. ğənenät, d.d. ğənenätit.
 gəreṭ m.s., Muslim woman's silver ornament, pl. gərayəṭ.
 qəren m.s., state, government, pl. qərenat.

CəCuC

fəlu y m.s., calf, pl. fäləyit, d. fəlu y ay, d.p. fəlu y am.
 qəruš m.s., money, pl. 'əqruš.
 nəğus m.s., emperor, pl. nəğgäs.
 hədud m.s., boundary, pl. hədayəd.
 'əquq m.s., flat field in valley, pl. 'əquyəq.

¹ The feminine of fəlu y, q.v.

CəCoC

- bəsot* f.s., forehead, pl. *bəswat*.
qəror m.s., glass, pl. *qārawər*,
 d. *qərorāt*.
nəgot f.s., elephant's trunk, pl.
nəgwat.
 'əgot f.s., small earthenware cup,
 pl. 'əgwat.
 'əqot f.s., rope for tying animals, pl.
 'əqwat.
 'əyot m.f.s., lamb, pl. 'ayut/'əywat/
 'əwyat, d.p. 'ayutam.

CäCC

- fätäl* m.s., thread, pl. 'äfättäl.
färəd m.s., revolver, pl. 'äfrud, d.
färreday.
fäläs c., wood, s. *fəllaşay*, d. *fəlleşay*/
fəlleşetay.
bəşəh m.s., young man, pl. 'əbəşəh.
tədə' m.s., centre of breast-bone,
 pl. 'ätäddə'ət/'ätəddə'ät, s. ('piece
 of . . .') *täd'etay*.
tärəf m.s., child, son, pl. 'ätraf.
däbər m.s., mountain, pl. 'ädbər, d.
däbberay.
täbäl m.s., drum, pl. 'ätbäl.
säfə' m.s., winnowing tray, pl.
 'äsäffə'ət/'äsəffə'ät, d. *säf'etay*, d.p.
säf'etam.
säyəf m.s., sword, pl. 'äsäyəf, d.
säyefay.
zärə' m.s., seed, pl. 'äzärrə'ət.
şäbəh m.s., lunch, pl. 'äşäbbəhət/
 'äşəbbəhät.
şäfər m.s., hide rope for loading
 donkey, pl. 'äşfər.
şärə' m.s., teat, pl. 'äşärrə'ət/'äşər-
 rə'ät.
şälə' c., infected wounds, pl.
 'äşällə'ət/'äşəllə'ät, s. *şäl'ät*.
çäfə' c., dung, pl. 'äçäffə'ət, s.
çäf'ät, d. *çäf'ätit*, p. *çäf'etay*,
 d.p. *çäf'at*.
şärə' m.s., diarrhoea, pl. 'äşärrə'ət.
şärə' m.s., stones for retaining soil,
 pl. 'äşärrə'ət.

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- käbəd* f.s., belly, pl. 'äkbud/'äkbäd,
 d. *käbbədät*.
käləb m.s., dog, f. *kälbät*, pl. 'äklub,
 d. *kälbätit*/*källebäy*, d.p. 'äklebat/
 'äklebam.
käyəs m.s., python, pl. 'äkäyəs, d.
käyesay,/käysetay.
gäbər m.s., male slave, pl. 'ägbər,
 d.p. 'ägberam.
qäbər m.s., tomb, pl. 'äqbər, d.
qäbberay.
qädər c., small flying insects, s.
qädray.
qädəh m.s., pot for dipping water,
 pl. 'äqäddəhət.
qäləb m.s., wish, pl. 'äqlub.
qäyəd m.s., hobbling rope, pl.
 'äqäyəd.
qäyə' m.s., vomit, pl. 'äqäy'ät.
näfəs f.s., soul, pl. 'änfas.
märəg c., earthenware, s. *märgät*.
'ädəg m.s., donkey, f. 'ädgət, pl.
 'ädug, d. 'ädgätit/'äddegay, d.p.
 'äddegat/'äddegam.
 'äləf m.s., thousand, pl. 'älaf.
häbəl m.s., rope, pl. *habal*.
härəb m.s., water skin, pl. *härərbət*,
 d. *härrebay*.
härə' m.s., dung, pl. *härərə'ət*.
 'äwəl m.s., cost, pl. 'awal, d.
 'äwelay.
wädə' c. shells, pl. 'äwäddə', s.
wäd'ät.
wäkad f.s., time, pl. 'äwkad, d.
wäkkədät.
wärəq c., silver, pl. 'äwärrəq, s.
wärqät, p. *wärreqay*.
wärəh m.s., moon, month, pl.
 'äwärrəhət.

CäCCät

- täblät*, lock, pl. *täblotat*.
täwölät, table, pl. *täwölötat*/*täwöllit*,
 d. *täwölätit*, p. *täwöləyay*.
şänkät, side, pl. 'äşnuk.
gäbhät, forehead, pl. *gäbhotat*.
 'ägnüt, nomad's hut, pl. 'ägnotat.
 'ärşät, termite, d. 'ärşätit, a. 'ärşay.

G

CäCCät—(cont.)

lähmät, skin on boiled milk, pl.
lähayam/lähmotat.

CäCCay

tästay, bull, pl. *tästot*, d. *tästeyay*,
d.p. *tästeyam*.

märday, point, pl. *märäddit*, d.
märdetay.

härmay, robber, pl. *härmäč/härmät*.

CäCäC

färäs m./f.s., horse, pl. 'äfräs/'äfrus,
d. *färresät/färresay*, d.p. 'äfresat/
'äfresam.

färä' m.s., branch of family, pl.
'äfärrə'ət, d. *fär'etay*, d.p. *fär-*
'etam.

bädän m.s., animal corpse, pl.
'äbäddän.

bäsäl c., onions, s. *bäslät*.

bäräd m.s., hail, pl. 'äbärrəd.

bäläs c., prickly pears, s. *bälsät*, d.
bälsätit.

tämär c., dates, s. *tämrat*.

säbäb c., reasons, pl. 'äsäbbəb, s.
säbbät.

sädäf m.s., button, pl. 'äsädaf.

sägän f.s., ostrich, pl. 'äsgan/'äsgun.

zäbän m.s., century, pl. 'äzbən/
'äzbun, d. *zäbbenäy*, d.p. *zäb-*
benam.

zänäb m.s., tail, pl. 'äzänməb, d.
zännebay.

šägäm m.s., struggle, pl. 'äšgum.

šämär m.s., penis, pl. 'äšmur.

šäkäm m.s., beard, pl. 'äšäkkäm/
'äškum, d. *šäkkenay*.

ğäfär m.s., side, pl. 'ägğfur/'ägğfer.

ğäbäl m.s., dewlap, pl. 'ägğbal, d.
ğäbbelay.

čäbäl c., ashes, d.p. *čäblat*.

käbär m.s., news, pl. 'äkbar.

kärän m.s., mountain, pl. 'äkran, d.
kärrenay, d.p. *kärrenam*.

gäbäy f.s., road, pl. 'ägğbuy, d. *gäb-*
beyät.

gädär m.s., accident, pl. 'ägğäddär.

gämäl m.s., male camel, pl. 'ägğmal,
d. *gämmelay*, d.p. *gämmelam*.

gäläb f.s., spear, pl. 'ägğlub/'ägğläb,
d. *gällebät*.

qätäf c., leaves, pl. 'äqätätf, s.
qätfät, d. *qätfätit*, d.p. *qätfät*.

qäčäč m.s., sweepings, pl. *äqäččäč*.

qäräf c., bark, s. *qäräfät*.

qäräš c., kind of tree, s. *qäršät/
qäršay* (tree/wood).

mäbäl f.s., widow, pl. *mäbälli*.

mädäf m.s., young ram, pl. 'ämäd-
däf, d. *mäddehay*.

mäsäl m.s., image, pl. 'ämsal.

näkäk m.s., molar, pl. 'änkuk.

'ämät f.s., female slave, pl.
'amut.

'äsär m.s., track, pl. 'asur/'asar, d.
'ässeray.

häbäy m./f.s., monkey, pl. *häbuy*,
d. *häbbeyät/häbbeyay*, d.p. *häb-*
beyat/häbbeyam.

hamağ m.s., serf, pl. *hamağ*, d.
hämmeğay.

häwät m.s., water skin, pl. *hawut*,
d. *häwetay*.

hägän m.s., bone-marrow, pl.
hagun.

hägäl f.s., guinea-fowl, pl. *hagul*.

hämär m.s., gold ornament, pl.
hamur.

häyät m.s., lion, pl. *hayut*, d. *häye-*
tay, d.p. *hayutam*.

'ädäd m.s., limit, pl. 'adud.

'ägğäm c., ivory, s. 'ägğgemät.

'äräd m.s., neck, pl. 'arud, d.
'ärreday.

'äräm m.s., untreated skin, pl.
'arum.

rämäč c., embers, d.p. *rämčat*.

läšäm c., kind of bush, s. *läšmät*.

wädäg m.s., small dry riverbed, pl.
'äwäddäg, d. *wäddegay*.

wätär m.s., heroic song, pl. 'äwät-
tər, d. *wätteray*.

wänän m.s., wild animal, pl. 'äwän-
nən.

CäCäCät

mäsärät, foundation, pl. *mäsärotat*.

CäCaC

tānan m.s., smoke, pl. 'ätännät, d. *tānenay*.

tälal m.s., ear-ring, pl. 'ätällät.

kāray m.s., hyena, pl. *käräč/ 'äkärri*t, d. *käreay*, d.p. 'äkärri-tam.

qārad m.s., horsefly, pl. *qāradotat*.

mäsar f.s., axe, pl. *mäsarat*, d. *mäserät*.

mügab m.s., inside of thigh, pl. *mägabat*.

mārat f.s., pond, pl. *māratat*.

'ākan m.s., place, pl. 'ākanat, d. 'ākenät.

'ārab m.s., antelope, pl. 'ārabat, d. 'ārebay, d.p. 'ārebam.

'āday c., kind of bush, s. 'ādeyät.

'ārat f.s., bed, pl. 'āratat, d. 'āretät.

hāram f.s., sin, d. *hāremät*.

wārat m.s., job, pl. *wāratat*.

CäCiC

nāwid m.s., kid, pl. *nāwayäd*, f. *nāwidät*, d. *nāwiday/nāwidätit*, d.p. *nāwedam/nāwedat*.

šāriṭ m.s., string, pl. *šārayəṭ*, d. *šāriṭay*.

šābiq m.s., beestings, pl. *šābayəq*.

gäbil c., tribes, pl. *gäbayəl/gäbilotat*, s. *gäbilät*, d. *gäbilätit*.

gäšiš m.s., maize cake, pl. *gäšayəš*.

qämüš m.s., shirt, pl. *qämayəš*.

hāšin m.s., iron, pl. *hāšayəm*, d. *hāšinay*, d.p. *hāšinetam* (*hāšinät* quality of iron).

hāšil m.s., jackal, pl. *hāšayəl*, d. *hāšilay*, d.p. *hāšilam/hāšiletam*.

hālib m.s. (?), milk, pl. *hālayəb*.

hārič m.s., flour, pl. *hārayəč*, d.p. *hāričat*.

hārim m.s., man of leisure, pl. *hārayəm*.

'āgin m.s., dough, pl. 'āgayəm, d. 'āginay.

yätim m./f.s., orphan, pl. *yätayəm*, d. *yätimay* / *yätimetay* / *yätimät*, d.p. *yätimetam/yätimetat*.

CäCiCät

däkilät, request, pl. *dākayəl*.

gäzirät, island, pl. *gäzayər*, d. *gäzirätit*, d.p. *gäzerat*, p.p. *gäzeram*.

'äšinät, bag, pl. 'äšayən.

CäCeC

šäwet m./f.s., ear of corn, pl. *šäwyat*, d. *šäwetay/šäwetät*, d.p. *šäwetam/šäwetat*.

käleb m.s., fold, pl. *käləyəb*.

CäCeCät/ay

särerät/šäreray, bird, pl. *särəyər*, d. *säreretay/särerätit*, d.p. *säreretam/säreretat*.

CäCuC

sämuy m.s., trough, pl. *sämayit*, d. *sämuyay/sämuyetay*.

särur c., dirges, s. *särerät*.

hädud m.s., thunder, pl. *hädəyäd*, d. *häduday*.

hāšur m.s., hedge, zariba, pl. *hāšayər* (*hāšurät*, branch for making zariba).

hābuš c., solitary locusts, s. *hābušät*.

'ämur f.s., milk-pail, pl. 'äməyər, d. 'ämurät.

CäCoC

'äbot f.s. grandmother, pl. 'äbotat.

CäCoCät/ay

täkobät, grass mat, pl. *tākəyəb*, d. *täkobätit*, d.p. *täkobetat*.

hāromay, bell, d. *hārometay*.

CaCəC

farəs m.s., horseman, pl. *farsotat*.

CaCeC—(cont.)

- samən* f.s., week, pl. *samnotat*, d. *samnätit*/saməntätit, d.p. *saməntetat*.
saḥəl m.s., shore, pl. *saḥlotat*.
zabəṭ m.s., officer, pl. *zəbbaṭ*.
katəm f.s., ring, pl. *katmotat*, d. *katmätit*, d.p. *katmetat*.
kafər m.s., infidel, pl. *kafrotat*.
gadəm m.s., plain, pl. *gadmotat*, d. *gadməta*.
qaṣəl m.s., little bell, pl. *qaṣlotat*, d. *qaṣletay*.
ḥaṭər m.s., hero, pl. *ḥaṭrotat*, d. *ḥaṭretay*, d.p. *ḥaṭretam*.

CaCCät

- faytät*, prostitute, pl. *fätayib*.

CaCoC

- badob* c., desert, s. *badobät*.
qalot m.s., echo, pl. *qalotat*.

CaCuC

- fanus* f.s., lamp, pl. *fəwanis*, d. *fanusät*, d.d. *fanusätit*.
babur m.s., train, steamship, pl. *bəwəbir*, d. *baburay*.
dagus c., millet, s. *dagusät*.
ṣaṣut m.s., chick, pl. *ṣäṣawit*, d. *ṣaṣutay*, d.p. *ṣaṣutam*.
sabun c., soap, s. *sabunät*.

CiCVC

- birob* m.s., grass sack, pl. *bəwarəb*.
tikas m.s., nomadic hut, pl. *təkayəs*.

CeCVC

- ṣeṣan* m.s., devil, pl. *ṣəwaṣən*, d. *ṣeṣamay*, d.pl. *ṣeṣənnəmat*.
mezan f.s., scales, pl. *məwəzzən*/mezanat.
ḥəsas c. (?), rancid butter, pl. *ḥəwəssəs*, d.p. *ḥəsəssat*.

CoCəC (ät/Cät)

- kofyät*, Muslim hat, pl. *kofyotat*.
qobə' m.s., hat, pl. *qəwəbə'*.
moṭə' m.s., sling, pl. *məwəttə'*.
moqəḥ m.s., fetter, pl. *məwəqqəḥ*.
ḥorəmmät, pass, pl. *ḥəwərrəm*.

CoCäC

- foqäy* m.s., inside of shoulder, pl. *fəwäqqi*.
ḡohär m.s., diamond, pl. *ḡəwəhər*.
kokäb m.s., star, pl. *kəwəkəb*.
kokän m.s., hollow rock with water in it, pl. *kəwəkən*.
ṣokän f.s., antelope, pl. *ṣəwəkkən*, d. *ṣokənnät*.
mokäs m.s., ladle, pl. *məwəkkəs*.
ḥoḡəb m.s., eyebrow, pl. *ḥəwəḡḡəb*.
'obäl c., kind of tree, s. *'obəllät*.

CoCaC

- soṣal* m.s., curved dagger, pl. *səwəṣətəl*, d. *soṣəllay*.
molad m.s., relative, pl. *məwəlləd*.
roṣan f.s., storied building, pl. *rəwəṣin*/rəwəṣən, d. *roṣənnätit*, p. *roṣənnay*, d.p. *roṣənnəmat*, p.p. *roṣənnəmat*.
roman c., pomegranates, s., *romənät*.

CəCCa(t)

- təkla* m./f.s., wolf, pl. *təkəllit*, d. *təkletay*/təkletät, d.p. *tekletam*/təkletam.
təgrat f.s., waterpail, pl. *təḡərri*, d. *təḡretät*, d.p. *təḡretat*.
dəbba m.d., marrow, pumpkin, pl. *dəbəbbi*.
dəkka m.s., stool, pl. *dəkəkki*, d. *dəkketay*.
səlqa m.s., beer, pl. *sələqqi*.
ṣəkna f.s., hoof, pl. *ṣəkani*.
qəsla c., kind of tree, s. *qəslät* (or *kəsrä*, *kəsrät*).
məḡda m.s., bonfire, pl. *məḡəddit*, d. *məḡdetay*, d.p. *məḡdetam*.
ḥəbsat f.s., leather bag, pl. *ḥəbəssi*.

CəCCi(t)

- sə'li f.s., picture, pl. sə'litat, d. sə'lität.
 çəb'it f.s., finger, pl. 'açəbə', d. çəb'ität.
 təmbi f.s., ball, pl. tənəbbit, d. təmbität.
 qəlfı m.s., button, pl. qäläffıt.
 məsli m.s., image, pl. məslıtat, d. məslıtay.
 həndı m.s., hoof, pl. hənädđı.

CəCCe(t)

- dəgge m.s., town, pl. dəgəgğıt, d. dəggetay, d.p. dəggetam.
 sərrə m.s., trousers, pl. sārərřıt, d. sərretay.
 gərre m.s., lizard, pl. gārərřıt, d. gərretay, d.p. gərretam.
 qəmbet f.s., backyard, pl. qənəbbı.
 'ətye f.s., noble lady, pl. 'ətyetat.

CəCCu

- dəmmu m./f.s., cat, pl. dəmämmit, d. dəmmıtay/dəmmätıt, d.p. dəmmetam/dəmmetat/dəmmutam/dəmmutat.
 şəllu m.s., squirrel, pl. şälällıt, d. şällıtay, d.p. şällutam.

CəCCo

- səqlo m.s., hut, pl. səqällıt, d. səqłotay, d.p. səqłotam.
 gənto f.s., young female baboon, pl. gənättıt.
 'ətro f.s., water jug, pl. 'ätərřı, d. 'ətrötät, d.p. 'ətrötat.

CäCCa

- bäfta f.s., strip of white cotton, pl. bəftättıt, d. bəftätıt.
 bälga c., side shoots of sorghum, s. bälgät.

- däbna/dämna c., rain clouds, pl. däbnatat/dämमतat, s. däbnetay.
 şäglə c., fig trees, pl. şägali, s. şäglät, d. şäglättıt.
 gərwa m.s., male antelope, pl. gəräwıt, d. gərwetay.
 qähwa m.s., coffee, pl. qähawi (cf. bun).
 mämba m.s., master, pl. mänabit, d. (p. ?) mämбетay.
 mänka f.s., spoon, pl. mänäkkıt, d. mänkättıt, p. mänketay.
 näbra m.s., food, pl. näbərřıt, d. näbrättıt.
 'ätba c., kind of tree, s. 'ätbetät.
 'ärğa m.s., tooth-mark, pl. 'ärägğıt.
 'älma m.s., crocodile, shark, pl. 'älämmıt.
 'äqba c., kind of tree, s. 'äqbetät.
 'änqa c., kind of tree, s. 'änqetät.
 həlqa c., kind of tree, s., həlqetät.
 həmda m.s., dew, pl. həmädđıt.
 wädna m.s., threshing place, pl. wädännıt.
 wä'ga m.s., monkey, pl. wä'gatat.

CäCCı

- mäsni m.s., friend, pl. mäsanit, d. (p. ?) mäsıtay.
 mäw'ı m.s., lamentation, pl. mäw'ıtat.
 räbbı m.s., God, god, pl. räbbıtat.

CäCCe(t)

- şärbe m.s., soup, pl. şärəbbıt.
 kädbet f.s., floor, pl. kädäbbı.
 həmle c., vegetables, s. həmletät.
 'ärwe m.s., serpent, pl. 'ärawıt, d. 'ärwetay.
 wägre c., olives, pl. wägari, s. wägretät/wägretay (tree/wood).

CäCCo(t)

- fändot f.s., buttock, pl. fənadı.
 bəqłot f.s., thigh, pl. bəqari.
 dərno/dänro m.s., bottom of spine, pl. dəränřıt.

CäCCo(t)—(cont.)

- dä'ro c., sycamores, pl. dä'ari, s.
dä'rotät, d. dä'rotätit.
särgo m.s., trinket, pl. säräggit, d.
särgotay.
qärso m.s., ankle bone, pl. qärässi.
'äblo m.s., hut, pl. 'äbällit.
häbko c., gum, s. häbkotät, d.p.
häbkatat.
hänno m.s., wife's sister's husband,
pl. hännotat.

CaCCV

- ṭayta c., bread, s. ṭaytätit.
katra f.s., pigeon, pl. kätärri/
katratat, d. katrätit, d.p. katretat.
gašša c., guests, s. gaššay.
rawya m.s., stork, pl. rawyatat, d.
rawyetay, d.p. rawyetam.
wança f.s., drinking-horn, pl.
wänäččit, d. wančätit.
walta f.s., shield, pl. wälättit, d.
waltätit.
qanči c., straw, pl. qančitat, d. qan-
čität.

CeCCV

- derho m./f.s., fowl, pl. däräwəh, d.
derhotay/derhotät, d.p. derhotam/
derhotat.
'eṭro f.s., dikdik, pl. 'ätärri, d.
'eṭrotät, d.p. 'etrotat.

CoCCV

- soldi m.s., money, pl. säladī, d.
solditay, d.p. solditam.
mokla m.s., youth come of age, pl.
mäkällit.

CəCCəC

- dəgdəg c., land higher than other,
pl. dägäddəg, s. dəgdəggät.
dəngəl f.s., virgin, pl. dänagəl/
dänəggəl.
dərən m.s., young ram, pl. däräf-
fən, d. dərənnay (a fine lad),
p. dərəfenay.

- dərsəs c., sandstone, pl. därässəs,
s. dərsəsät.
dəldəl m.s., bridge, pl. däläddəl.
šənrəb f.s., bruise, pl. šäränrəb, d.
šənrəbätit.
gənšəl m.s., shot-gun, pl. gänäššəl,
d. gənšelay.
qənqən c., weevil, pl. qänäqqən, s.
qənqənnay, d. qənqenay.
qəlčəm f.s., wrist, pl. qäläččəm, d.
qəlčəmätit, p. qəlčəmay, a. qəlčəm-
may (or s., 'piece of . . .').
məsgəd m.s., mosque, pl. məsagəd, d.
məsgeday (məsgədät = area for
praying).
məšdəg/məštəq f.s., cheek, pl. məša-
dəg/mäšətəq.
mänəkəb m.s., shoulder, pl. mänəkəb,
d. mänəkəbay.
məhbə' f.s., hiding place, pl. məhəbə',
d. məhbə'ätit, p. məhbə'etay.
mə'fən m.s., water hole, pl. mə'aṭən,
d. mə'fenay.
mə'kən m.s., store, pl. mə'akən.
məltəh m.s., temple (of head), pl.
məlatəh.
'əngəh c., quartz, s. 'əngəhät, d.
'əngəhätit.
'ənkər m.s., direction, pl. 'änäkkər.
hənṭəl f.s., appendage, pl. hənätṭəl.
həlqəm m.s., throat, pl. häläqqəm.
'əndər f.s., bamboo flute, pl. 'änäd-
dər, d. 'əndərätit.
'ənkər m.s., puppy, kitten, cub, pl.
'änäkkər, d. 'ənkərray, p. 'ənkəray,
d.p. 'ənkəram.
- CəCCəC(C)ät
- tənkəllät, plait, pl. tänäkkəl, d.
tənkəllätit, p. tənkəlletay.
ṭəffə'ät, saliva, pl. ṭəffəffə'.
dəbbəyät, ambush, pl. dəbäbbi/
dəbbəyotat.
šənrəhät, dried meat, pl. šäränrəh.
gərgəmmät, wind-pipe, pl. gərägəmm.
'ətfəyät, hearth-stone, pl. 'ätəfə'.
'ənkəllät, hill, pl. 'änäkkəl, d.
'ənkəllätit, p. 'ənkəllay.

VOCABULARY

CəCCäC(ät)

tənhäg f.s., palate, pl. *tənhæg*.
dəmmäl f.s., vengeance, pl. *dəmmäm-mäl*.
dəgläl m.s., tribal chief, pl. *dəgälläl*.
čərnä m.s., vampire, pl. *čəvärnä*.
qərqäb m.s., clog, pl. *qəräqqəb*.
mədmä f.s., stroke, pl. *mädamä*, d. *mädmäätit*.
həmmäm m.s., leopard, pl. *həmmäm-müt*, d. *həmmemay/həmmänmay*.
həmmärät, baobab, pl. *həmmärotat*.

CəCCaC(ät)

fəğgan m.s., coffee cup, pl. *fəğəğin*.
bəstan m.s., garden, pl. *bəsətin*, d. *bəsənay*.
bərmay m.s., grass tick, pl. *'äbər-mät/bärämmüt*.
təmbak c., tobacco, s. *təmbakät*, d. *təmbakätit*.
zənnabät, headscarf, pl. *zänännəb*.
šəftay m.s., brigand, pl. *šəfättit*.
šəbbak f.s., window, pl. *šəbäbbək*, d. *šəbbakätit*.
šənkər m.s., nail, pl. *šänäkkər*, d. *šənkəray*.
šərnay/šərnay c., wheat, pl. *šäränri/šäränrit*, s. *šərneyät*, d. *šərneyätit*.
šərraf m.s., piece, pl. *šärärraf*.
čənčay m.s., fly, pl. *čənaččüt*, d. *čənčeyay*, d.p. *čənčeyam*.
čərram f.s., bandage, pl. *čärärrəm*, d. *cərrämät*.
kəbbayät, earthenware vessel, pl. *käbäbi*.
kəssar c., food, s. *kəsserät*.
kərbəğ f.s., whip, pl. *käräbbəğ*, d. *kərbəğät*.
kərtaf m.s., card, pl. *kärättəf*, d. *kərtəfay*.
kərmäd m.s., tree stump, pl. *käräm-mäd*.
kərran m.s., group of animals separated in hunting, pl. *kärär-ran*.
ğənday m.s., dry wood, pl. *ğänäddit*.

ğəlbab m.s., veil, pl. *ğäläbbəb*.
məfraq f.s., hole, pl. *məfarəq*.
məfgar f.s., exit, pl. *məfagər*.
mətraq f.s., hole, pl. *mätarəq*, d. *mätreqät*.
məsbar f.s., broken limb, pl. *mäsä-bər*.
məštər f.s., crack, p. *mäsəštər*.
məsmar m.s., nail, pl. *mäsämər*, s. *məsmeray*.
məskab f.s., sleeping-place, pl. *mäsəkəb*, d. *məskebat*.
məsqal f.s., hanger, pl. *mäsəqäl*, d. *məsqelät*.
məšfat f.s., seam, pl. *mäsəfat*.
məštət f.s., tear (in cloth), pl. *mäsəštət*.
məkrar f.s., sleeping-place, pl. *mäkarər*.
məkray f.s., place for putting something, pl. *mäkari*.
məkjad f.s., track, pl. *mäkayəd*, d. *məkyedät*.
mə'tay f.s., entrance, pl. *mə'ati*.
məhfän f.s., hot place, pl. *məhfän*.
məhdar f.s., place to settle, pl. *məhadər*.
məhsab f.s., washing-place, pl. *məhasəb*.
məhrad f.s., slaughter-house, pl. *mə-harəd*.
mə'rag f.s., way up, pl. *mə'arəğ*.
mərqa' f.s., patch, pl. *märaqə'*.
mərraq f.s., saliva, pl. *märärrəq*.
məwhaz f.s., ditch, pl. *məwhəz*, d. *məwhəzät*.
nəggarät, drum, pl. *nəgagir*, d. *nəggarätit*.
nəssäl m.s., tongue, pl. *näsässəl*, d. *nəsselay*, p. *nəsselät*.
nəšsaf m.s., carpet, pl. *nəššəšəf*, d. *nəššəfay*.
həggaf m.s., dry creek, pl. *hägəggəf*.
hənšəš m.s., old grass mat, pl. *hänššəš*.
ləbbas m.s., cloth, pl. *läbäbbəs*, d. (p. ?) *ləbbesay*.
ləddat m.s., door-frame, pl. *'äläddət*.

CəCCiC

- məstir* m.s., secret, pl. *məsäŋtər*, d. *məstiray*.
kərbīt c., matches, s. *kərbītāt*, p. *kərbītay* (a spent match).
 'əssit f.s., woman, pl. 'ənəs, d. 'əssitāt, p. 'əssitay, d.p. 'ənsetat, p.p. 'ənsetam.
hənziḡ m.s., cockchafer, pl. *hənāz-zəz*.

CəCCuC

- bəggu'* m.s., sheep, pl. 'əbagə', f. *bəggə'ət*, d. *bəggə'utay*/*bəggə'ətīt*, d.p. 'əbag'etam/*'əbag'etat*.
dəbbur m.s., arable hill land, d. *dəbburay*.
šəngul m.s., young man, pl. *šənāggəl*.
šəltut m.s., rag, pl. *šälättət*, d. *šəltutay*.
kərkū' m.s., wax in ears, d. *kərkə'utay*.
kətkut m.s., young bird, pl. *kätakut*/*kätakit*, d. *kətkutay*, d.p. *kətkutam*.
qərtuḡ c., corn (maize and millet), s. *qərtuḡāt*, d.p. *qərtuḡam*.
həškul m.s., small leather bag, pl. *həššəkəl*.
həngur m.s., hornet, pl. *hənāggər*, d. *hənguray*.
həlbub m.s., millipede, pl. *həlābbəb*.
 'əffun c., maize, pl. 'əfəffən, s. 'əffunāt, d.p. 'əffunāt.

CəCCoC(ät)

- dəbbokät*, kind of bread, pl. *dəbäb-bək*.
dərbobät, ant-hill, pl. *dərbäbbəb*.

CäCCəC(ät)

- täb'ən* c., crawling insects, s. *täb'enay*, d. *täb'enetay*.
täbbäl f.s., grass milk-jar, pl. 'ätäb-bəl.
därahəm f.s., money, pl. *därahəm*, d.p. *därehemat*.

- mäftəḡ* m.s., key, pl. *mäftəḡəḡ*, d. *mäftəḡetay*, d.p. *mäftəḡetam*.
mäbrəḡät, lamp, pl. *mäbrəḡət*, d. *mäbrəḡätīt*, p. *mäbrəḡetay*.
mädbə' m.s., lid, pl. *mädabə'*.
mädəfə' m.s., cannon, *mädəfə'*.
mätḡbə' m.s., stamp, seal, pl. *mätəbə'* (*mätḡbə'ät* printing-press).
mämḡər m.s., teacher, pl. *mämḡərät*.
mämḡə'ät, profit, pl. *mänəf'ät*.
mändə'ät, place where nothing grows, pl. *mändə'otat*, d. *mändə'ätīt*.
 'äm'əl m.s., day, pl. 'äm'əlotat, d.p. 'äm'elat (cf. *mə'əl*).
 'äb'əb m.s., grandfather, pl. 'äb'əbotat.
 'äs'ən m.s., pair of shoes, pl. 'äs'ənotat, s. 'äs'enät, d. 'äs'enätīt.
ḡəšḡəḡ c., gravel, s. *ḡəšḡəḡät*, d. *ḡəšḡəḡätīt*, d.p. *ḡəšḡəḡət*.
 'älləḡ f.s., big hawk, pl. 'älälləḡ, d. 'älləḡät, d.p. 'älləḡetat.

CäCCäC

- färfär* c., kind of tree, s. *färfärät*, d.p. *färfäretat*.
tärkäz f.s., heel, pl. *täräkkəz*.
dämbär m.s., feather, wing, pl. *dänäbbər*, d. *dämberay*.
ḡänḡär m.s., chain, pl. *ḡänäḡər*.
kämḡär f.s., lip, pl. *känäffər*, d. *kämḡärät*/*kämḡärätīt*.
kärḡäz m.s., part of plough, pl. *käräffəz*.
mätḡän f.s., mill, pl. *mätḡən*.
mäskäb m.s., dwelling-place, pl. *mäsəkəb*, d. *mäsəkəbay*.
mäšḡäl f.s., whetstone, pl. *mäšḡəl*, d. *mäšḡelät*.
mäsəwäd m.s., leather bag, pl. *mäsəwəd*, d. *mäsəweday*.
mäš'an m.s., loaded beast, pl. *mäš'an*, d. *mäš'enay*, d.p. *mäš'anam*.
mäšəwär m.s., handle, pl. *mäšəwər*.
mäsḡäb m.s., rain pipe, pl. *mäsḡärəb*.

CäCCäC—(cont.)

- mäçhär* m.s., pot for carrying fire, pl. *mäçhær*, d. *mäçheray*.
mäkfän m.s., shroud, pl. *mäkafän*, d. *mäkfenay*.
mäktäb m.s., office, pl. *mäkatäb*.
mägzäm m.s., yoke of plough, pl. *mägazäm*, d. *mägzemay*.
mäqdäb m.s., bone of spine, pl. *mäqadäb*.
mäqtän m.s., small of back, pl. *mäqatän*, d. *mäqtenay*.
mämfar m.s., wing, pl. *mänafær*, d. *mämferay*.
mämbär m.s., chair, pl. *mänabær*, d. *mämberay*.
mämfas m.s., spirit, pl. *mänafäs*.
mändäq m.s., wall, pl. *mänadäq*, d. (p. ?) *mändeqay* (ruined wall).
mähbär m.s., assembly place, pl. *məhabær*, d. *mähberay*.
mähdär m.s., living place, pl. *məhadær*, d. *mähderay*.
mähzäl m.s., sling for carrying child on back, pl. *məhazäl*, d. *mähzelay*.
mähgäz m.s., need, pl. *məhagöz*, d. *mähgezay*.
mähtäm m.s., rubber stamp, pl. *məhatäm*, d. *mähtemay*.
mä'säd m.s., sickle, pl. *mə'aşäd*, d. *mä'seday*.
märbäb f.s., fishing net, pl. *märabäb*, d. *märbebät*.
märkäb f.s., ship, pl. *mäarakäb*, d. *märkäbät*.
märgäm m.s., curse, pl. *märagäm*.
märwäd f.s., ring, pl. *märäwäd*, d. *märwedät*, p. *märweday*.
mälgäb f.s., stone side of grave, pl. *mälagäb*, d. *mälgebät*.
näggäl m.s., young goat, f. *näggälät*, pl. *'änäggäl*, d. *näggelay*/*näggälätit*, d.p. *näggelam*/*näggälätam*/*näggelät*/*näggälätat*.
hängäl m.s., brain, pl. *hänäggäl*, d. *hängelay*.

- härögäş* m.s., crocodile, pl. *häräggäs*, d. *härgeşay*, d.p. *härgeşam*.
'äskär c., soldiers, s. *'äskäri*, d. *'äskäritay*.
'ästär m.s., sky, pl. *'äsättær*.
'äggär c., hunters, s. *'äggärtay*.
'äqqač c., soldiers, s. *'äqquytay*.
'änqär f.s., palate, pl. *'änäkkær*.
'ärqäb f.s., scorpion, pl. *'äräqqäb*, d. *'ärqebät*.
'älläč c., foreigners, s. *'älläytay*.
wälwäl m.s., breeze, pl. *wäläwäl*, d. *wälwelay*.

CäCCäCät

- dägdägät*, dusty place, pl. *dägäddäg*.
sälsälät, chain, bracelet, pl. *säl-sälötat*.
mäsdärät, waistcoat, pl. *mäsadær*/*mäsdärotat*.
'änşäbät, sinew, *'änäşşäb*, d. *'änşäbätit*.

CäCCaC

- bärrad* m.s., tea-kettle, pl. *'äbärdät*/*bärarid*/*bärrärd*.
tämsäl m.s., reflection, pl. *tämässäl*.
dällal/*dällalebay* c./m.s., agent, middle man, pl. *dälalib* (or *dällal*).
šäqqač c., merchants, s. *šäqqačay*/*šäqqačebay*.
källat c., earthenware, s. *källetay*.
'äddam m.s., person, pl. *'äddamat*, d.(p.?) *'äddemay*.
'äššäm c., precious stones, s. *'äššemät*.
'ängäb c., teeth, s. *'ängebät*, d. *'ängebätit*, d.p. *'ängebat* (cf. *nibät*).
härmax m.s., elephant, pl. *häräm-mäx*, d.p. *härmezam*.
'änşay f.s., mouse, pl. *'änäşšit*, d. *'änşeyät*, d.p. *'änşeyat*.
'ärqay m.s., bed, pl. *'ärqayotat*.

CäCCiC(ät)

- bärmil* m.s., barrel, pl. *bäramil*, d.

CäCCiC(ät)—(cont.)

- bärmilay/bärmiletay*, d.p. *bärmilam/bärmiletam*.
säkkin m.s., dagger, pl. *säkakın*.
šäg'it/šäqlit m.s., pad for carrying load on head, pl. *šäqällit/šäg'itotat*.
ğämbil/zämbil m.s., basket, pl. *ğänabil/zänabil*.
mäskin/mäškin m.s., poor man, pl. *mäsakin/mäšakin*, d. *mäskinay*, f. *mäskinät*.
mändilät m.s., scarf, pl. *mänadil*.
mänṭig m.s., bow and arrow, pl. *mänäṭig*.

CäCCeC

- mämfet* f.s., sieve, pl. *mänäffit*, d. *mämfetät*.
 'äffet f.s., doorway, pl. 'äfyat/
 'äfättit, d. 'äffetät, p. 'äffetay.
 'ärket f.s., a measure, p. 'äräkkıt,
 d. 'ärketät, d.p. 'ärketat.

CäCCuC

- tämbuk* c., kind of tree, s. *tämbukät/tämbukay* (tree/wood), d.p. *tämbukat*.
därbuš m.s., Dervish, pl. *därabuš*.
ṭärmuz f.s., bottle, pl. *ṭäramuz/ṭäramiz*, d. *ṭärmuzät*.
sämbuk, f.s., boat, pl. *sänabik*.
sämbu' f.s., lung, pl. *sänäbbə'*, d. *sämbu'ät* (or s. 'a piece of . . .').
sänduq m.s., coffer, chest, pl. *sänaduq*.
šärmuṭ f.s., prostitute, pl. *šäramuṭ/šäramiṭ*, d. *šärmuṭät*.
mäfrud m.s., half-grown camel, pl. *mäfarid*, d. *mäfruday*, d.p. *mäfrudam*.
mäšruf m.s., food, pl. *mäšarif*.
mäkruh m.s., evil-doer, pl. *mäkarih*, d. *mäkrəhetay*.
mänduq m.s., gun, pl. *mänaduq*, d.(p.?) *mänduqay*.

CäCCoC

- gämrot* s., kind of tree, s. *gämrotät*.
mäskot f.s., window, pl. *mäsakut*, d. *mäskotät*.

CaCCVC

- bayhot* m./f.s., jackal, pl. *bayhotat*, d. *bayhotay/bayhotät*, d.p. *bayhotam/bayhotetat*.
dander c., kind of tree, s. *danderät/danderay* (tree/wood).
ğardin m.s., garden, pl. *ğäradin*.
qandel f.s., small lamp, pl. *qandelotat*, d. *qandelät*.
 'ankel m.s., circle, pl. 'änäkkəl.

CoCCVC

- koskos* m.s., pot for roasting coffee, p. *käsäkkəs*, d. *koskosay/koskosetay*.

CVCVCV(t)

- badela/badelät* f.s., spade, pl. *badelatat/badelotat*.
fälasit m.s., priest, pl. *fälläs*, d. *fälasitay*.
fätäna m.s., problem, pl. *fätänotat*.
dəqala m.s., bastard, pl. *däqällit*, d. *dəqeletay*.
däbela m.d., he-goat, pl. *däbällit*, d. *däbeletay*, d.p. *däbeletam*.
sätäta m.s., grass tray for bread, pl. *sätätatat/sätätotat*.
säqäla m.s., roof, pl. *säqällit*, d. *säqäletay*.
käbäsa m.d., highland, pl. *käbäsatat*.
käbäro m.s., drum, pl. *käbärotat*.
gäzämo m.s., chopper, pl. *gäzämotat*, d. *gäzämētay*.
gunare m.s., rhinoceros, pl. *gunaretat*.
ğərade m.s., scimitar, pl. *ğəradetat*.
qəmiṭo m.s., pile of grain, pl. *qəmiṭotat*.

CVVCV(t)—(cont.)

māşori m.s., strap-handle, pl. *māşawar*.

maşela c., sorghum, pl. *māşälli*, s. *maşelät*, d. *maşelätit*, d.p. *maşelat*.

māçarit f.s., top of jaw, pl. *māçärr*.

mākina m.s., engine, pl. *mākayən*/*mākinotat* (but *mākinät* motor-car).

nāşäla m.s., robe, pl. *nāşälatat*.

'*ägele* m./f.s., so-and-so, d. '*ägeletay*/*'ägeletät*.

häsäma m./f.s., pig, pl. *häsämatat*, d. *häsemay*/*häsämätit*, d.p. *häsemetam*/*häsemetat*.

häläqa m.s., pl. *häläqatat*.

'*ägäba* m.s., shield, pl. '*ägäbatat*.

'*äräqi* m.s., anise, pl. '*äräqitat*.

wäşäte m.s., minor apartments, pl. *wäşätetat*.

wäreza m.s., bachelor, pl. *wärazit*, d. *wärezetay*, d.p. *wärazitam*.

rämädi c., quitch grass, s. *rämädität*.

yähudi m.s., Jew, pl. '*äyhud*.

CVCCV(t)

dänkəla m./f.s., kind of deer, pl. *dänkəlatat*, d. *dänkəletay*/*dänkəlätit*, d.p. *dänkəletam*/*dänkəletat*.

tärşoba m.s., heel, pl. *täräqqəb*/*tärşobatat*.

sälsäla m.s., bamboo, pl. *sälässəl*.

şərgəya f.s., highway, pl. *şərgəyotat*, d. *şərgəyät*.

käddamit f.s., servant, pl. *kädädäm*.

gəndə'e c., kind of tree, s. *gəndə'etät*.

gərguma m.s., wind-pipe, pl. *gärägəgəm*.

məsməsa m.s., reason, pl. *mäsämməs*.

'*əmbäta* c., locusts, s. '*əmbätetay*.

'*əngera* f.s., piece of bread, pl. '*änəggər*, d. '*əngərütit*.

'*änkəbot* f.s., spider, pl. '*änükəkəb*, d. '*änkəbotät*.

'*ərbana* m.s., pole of plough, pl. '*äräbbən*/*'ərbanatat*.

həmbəşa f.s., wheaten bread, pl.

hänäbbəş, d. *həmbəşätit*.

həngora f.s., wooden spear, pl.

hänəggər.

hərtuma m.s., shin-bone, pl. *härätəm*.

'*äqəhəma* c., black ants, s. '*äqəhəmət*.

'*əmboba* c., flowers, pl. '*əmbobatat*, s. '*əmbobät*.

rəbbə'it f.s., measure, pl. *räbäbbə'*.

CVVCVV(t)

dərə'to m.s., quilt, pl. *därärə'*.

çäqämte c., kind of tree, s. *çäqämte-tät*.

şəgərti c., onions, s. *şəgərtität*.

şərabbe m.s., glass, pl. *şərabbetat*.

kərəmba m.s., cabbage, pl. *kərəmbotat*.

gərəşša m.s., porcupine, pl. *gərəşşotat*, d. *gərəşşetay*, d.p. *gərəşşetam*.

modošša m.s., hammer, pl. *modošşotat*.

mäsänqo m.s., harp, pl. *mäsänqotat*.

narəgge c., bitter orange, s. *narəggetät*.

härabso f.s., blister, pl. *härabsotat*, d. *härabsotät*.

härävya m.s., wild pig, pl. *härävyyatat*, d. *härävyyetay*, d.p. *härävyyetam*.

CVCCVCCV(t)

baldänga c., beans, s. *baldängät*.

bərkətta m.s., bread, pl. *bäräkkət*.

çəmbəl'e c., butterflies, s. *çəmbəl'etät*.

gəmmänne f.s., lioness, pl. *gəmmännetat*.

gəmfəlle m.s., thumb, pl. *gəmfälletat*, d. *gəmfälletay*.

mäntälle f.s., hare, pl. *mäntälletat*, d. *mäntälletit*, d.p. *mäntälletat*.

'*äg'ərıra* m.s., herd, flock, pl. '*äg'ərrotat*.

'*ənqoqho* m.s., egg, pl. '*ənqəwəqəh*, d. '*ənqoqhotay*, d.p. '*ənqoqhotam*.

CVCCVCCV(t)—(cont.)

ħamborra m.s., navel, pl. *ħambə-ratat*.

'*ərmədde* c., supporting poles for plants, s. '*ərmədday*, p. '*ərmed-detay*.

CVCVCVC(ät)

bäṭaṭiṣ c., potatoes, s. *bäṭaṭiṣät*, d.p. *bäṭaṭiṣat*.

tälakəm m.s., husband's brother, pl. *tälakmotat*.

šäkänab f.s., pot, pl. *šäkännəb*, d. *šäkänebät*, d.p. *šäkänebat*.

gäräwin m.s., pick-axe, pl. *garä-winotat*.

gärəwan m.s., big tin, pl. *gärəwanotat*.

× *məkəwal* f.s., hiding place, pl. *məkəwəl*, d. *məkəwelät*.

mäšerəb m.s., bodkin, pl. *mäšarəb*.
mäläsäs m.s., fly-whisk, pl. *mäläsə-sotat*, d. *mäləsəsay*.

'*äräbiyät*, hand-cart, pl. '*äräbiyotat*, d.p. '*äräbiyetat*.

CVCCVCCVC(ät)

səlṭanyät, enamel pot, pl. *səlṭan-yotat*.

ğälläbyät, long Muslim shirt, pl. *ğälläbyotat*.

mäd'ošat m.s., fireplace, pl. *mäd'ošatat*.

'*əmmoləd* f.s., midwife, pl. '*əmmol-dotat*.

CVCVCCVC(ät)

qələnqal c., euphorbia, s. *qələnqelät/qələnqelay* (tree/wood).

mäzərgäf m.s., comb, pl. *mäzəragəf*.
mätənkəb f.s., ascent, pl. *mätänəkəb*.
mätär'əs m.s., pillow, pl. *mätär'əs*, d. *mätär'esay*.

məšəndäh f.s., cut on body, pl. *mäšənadəh*.

mäkəstär m.s., brush, pl. *mäkəsətər/mäkəstrotat*.

məgəssay f.s., seat, pl. *məgəsīt*.

mägäləb m.s., head-scarf, pl. *mägäləbəb*.

məħəngag f.s., scratch, pl. *məħə-nagəg*, d. *məħəngəgät*.

mərəbbə'ät f.s., stone house, pl. *mərəbabə'*, d. *mərəbbə'ätit*, p. *mərəbbə'etay*, d.p. *mərəbbə'etat*.

'*ädängäl* c., French beans, s. '*ädängälät*.

ħärəstay m.s., farmer, pl. *ħärəstot*.

CVCCVCCVC

'*ənqər'ob* f.s., frog, pl. '*ənqər'obatat*, d. '*ənqər'obätit*, d.p. '*ənqər'obetat*.

4 syllables

šəmagəlle c., nobles, s. *šəmagəllay*.

šäbänkälay m.s., young cattle, f. *šäbänkälit*, pl. *šäbänkälatat*.

čəmbərrə'o f.s., little finger, pl. *čəmbərrə'otat*, d. *čəmbərrə'otät*.

mäkäyälī m.s., measure, pl. *mäkayel*.

mäkärkähit f.s., knocker, pl. *mäkär-kəh*.

mäkäškäšit f.s., pot for roasting coffee, pl. *mäkäšəkəš*.

mərəwito f.s., chameleon, pl. *mərə-witotat*.

'*äbgəħäru* m.s., male baboon, pl. '*äbgəħärutat*, d. '*äbgəħärutay*, d.p. '*äbgəħärutam*.

'*uralali* m.s., bat, pl. '*uralitat*.

ADJECTIVES

The adjectives are listed under headings that refer to the sections of § 8. Since the patterns can be discovered by reference to these sections, all the forms are not given, but only the masculine singular form. Adjectives which have individual patterns are quoted only in § 8, and not restated here.

Like *gāzif* 'thick' § 8.1 (i):

<i>sābīb</i>	narrow	<i>mārir</i>	bitter
<i>šālim</i>	black	<i>mātiq</i>	fresh (milk)
<i>qātin</i>	thin	<i>rāyim</i>	tall, distant
<i>qālil</i>	light (weight)	<i>rāhib</i>	wide, large
<i>hačir</i>	short		

Like *wāğib* 'fertile', § 8.1 (i):

<i>dā'if</i>	weak
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Like *gādud* 'barren', § 8.1 (i):

nāqu' fresh (of first water coming from spring after rain)

Like *hānkis* 'with a limp' § 8.1 (ii):

<i>hānkil</i>	with a twisted limb
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Like *kābud* 'heavy' § 8.2 (i):

<i>bārud</i>	cold	<i>šāgub</i>	rich
<i>bāzur</i>	single	<i>kābur</i>	important (man)
<i>tārud</i>	strong	<i>gāmuš</i>	poor
<i>dābur</i>	poor	<i>gālul</i>	foolish
<i>dāhur</i>	low	<i>hāfun</i>	hot
<i>tālul</i>	wet	<i>rāhuq</i>	far
<i>sādud</i>	needy	<i>'ašuf</i>	double
<i>sāmun</i>	dead	<i>yābus</i>	dry
<i>sātur</i>	unclear (speech)		

Like *dāngur* 'slow', § 8.2 (i):

<i>dāqqub</i>	strong	<i>'āddub</i>	obedient
<i>sāltun</i>	quick	<i>'āzzuz</i>	
<i>gālbub</i>	dull (sky)		

Like *'awur* 'blind', § 8.2 (i):

<i>tā'um</i>	sweet	<i>wāqul</i>	high
<i>hāwuz</i>	fat		

Like *bəzuḥ* 'many', § 8.2 (i):

<i>šəluḥ</i>	thin	<i>məlu'</i>	full
<i>kəfu'</i>	bad	<i>rətu'</i>	right
<i>qəlu'</i>	clear (speech)	<i>rəsuh</i>	dirty

Like 'əkkuy 'bad', § 8.2 (i):

nəwnuy (*nunuy*) a little sorry.

Broken plurals were also noted for *kəbud*, *gəlul*, *gəmuş*, and 'əwur, (class XI *gəlayəl*, &c.) and for *şəgub*, *kəbur*, and *gəmuş* (class XXI *şəggəb*, &c.).

Like *ḥaməq* 'weak', § 8.2 (ii):

<i>barəḥ</i>	light (opp. dark)	<i>mašəq</i>	looking tired
<i>tafəḥ</i>	smooth	<i>hadə'</i>	quiet
<i>dafə'</i>	plump (animal)	<i>ḥagəl</i>	poor
<i>šafəq</i>	quick	<i>rakəb</i>	rich
<i>kaməl</i>	productive (plant)	<i>ratə'</i>	fairly well off

Like *ḥayəs* 'noble', § 8.2 (ii):

qayəḥ pregnant

Like *čəggar* 'hairy', § 8.2 (ii):

<i>dəbbas</i>	hunch-backed	<i>gəbbah</i>	with large forehead
<i>šəffar</i>	with long nails	<i>gənnad</i>	strong
<i>čəbba'</i>	with six fingers	<i>'əddag</i>	slow
<i>šəllal</i>	brave	<i>'əggar</i>	on foot

APPENDIX

TECHNICAL TERMS

SOME of the technical terms used in this study may be unfamiliar to the reader, and others are used in a sense that is specific to the analysis of the Tigre noun. For convenience, therefore, a list and a brief explanation are given below of some of the terms that may cause difficulty.

animate. Animate nouns refer to animate beings and are formally defined by the fact that their plural forms have plural concord and the same gender as the singular forms. Cf. *inanimate*.

cluster. A consonant cluster is a sequence of two consonants (phonologically), which may be different or the same (a 'double' consonant). It excludes *gemination*, q.v.

collective. Collectives are one of the derivative classes; they are all *singular* forms, not used with any numerical reference, and formally defined by their non-occurrence with numerals.

countable. Countable nouns are those whose *singular* form is *singulative*.

derivative. The derivatives are those classes dealt with under the analysis of the second type of formation—singulatives, diminutives, &c.

exponent. Phonetic exponents are the phonetic characteristics of a phonological or morphological element.

gemination. Geminated consonants are doubled consonants that are morphologically a single radical. Cf. *cluster*.

inanimate. Inanimate nouns refer to inanimate beings and are formally defined by the fact that their plural forms have masculine singular concord.

lexically quotable. The lexically quotable forms are those which would form the 'head' of a dictionary entry. If a noun has a singular form, this form is lexically quotable; but many nouns have no singular form—a suffixed form is quotable.

plural. The term is used in three distinct senses, all clearly marked by the context. (i) Plural forms, which include broken plurals and suffixed plurals, are defined morphologically. (ii) Plural concord, in the category of number, is defined syntactically, in terms of concord with adjectives and verbs; p. in the abbreviations m.p. and f.p. refers to plural concord. (iii) Diminutive plurals and pejorative plurals are derivative classes.

prosodic. Prosodic relations are those not statable wholly in terms of vowels or consonants, involving, for example, 'backness', 'frontness', &c.

radical. The radicals are those elements, mainly consonants, that are shared by the forms of a single noun.

singular. The term is used in two distinct senses, both clearly marked by the context. (i) Singular forms are defined morphologically, being the forms (excluding the broken plurals) that have no suffixes. Singular forms may be either *collective* or *singulative* in the derivative classification. The *lexically quotable* form is not always a singular form. (ii) Singular concord, in the category of number, is defined syntactically in terms of concord with adjectives and verbs; s. in the abbreviations m.s. and f.s. always refers to singular concord.

singulative. Singulatives are one of the derivative classes. Some of them are singular forms, others have suffixes. They have the meaning 'one' (except when preceded by a numeral), and are formally defined by their regular use with numerals.

uncountable. Uncountable nouns are those whose *singular* forms are *collectives*.