The Tigre Language
of Gindaʿ, Eritrea

SHORT GRAMMAR AND TEXTS

BY

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Introduction

1.1   Tigre

Tigre is the northernmost of the Ethiopian Semitic languages. It is spoken
along the Red Sea coast and in the northeastern and western lowlands of
Eritrea (East Africa) and, to a lesser extent, in eastern Sudan. Estimates of the
number of speakers range from a quarter of a million to 1,050,000. Most Tigre
speakers are Muslims.[1]

Tigre is one of nine ethnic/language groups officially recognized in Eritrea,
whose population is approximately 5.4 million. Ethnic Tigrinya and eth-
nic Tigre together comprise nearly 80% of the country. Arabic, along with
Tigrinya and English (which is not one of the nine groups), is a national lan-
guage. Arabic is the language of the Rashaida ethnic group, and there are many
second-language speakers of Arabic as well. While Tigrinya, Tigre, and Arabic
are Semitic languages, the languages of the remaining six ethnic groups are
in the Cushitic family (Afar, Hidareb, Saho, Bilin) and the Nilo-Saharan phy-
lum (Kunama, Nara). Bilingualism and multilingualism are common, and the
social, cultural, and linguistic situation is extremely complex.[2]

1.2   Tigre of Gindaʿ

The town of Gindaʿ (population under 50,000)[3] is in eastern Eritrea on the
escarpment between Asmara and the Red Sea. The Tigre language of Gindaʿ
(or, "Tigre of Gindaʿ"),[4] the speech pattern that is the subject of this work,
is one of many dialects of Tigre. Prior to the author's 2005 work[5] it was an
undocumented variety of Tigre. Munzinger listed approximately a dozen

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1   For general descriptions of Tigre and Eritrea, see "Tigre," p. 446; "Təgre," pp. 895–897,
    "Multilingualism," pp. 475–478, and "Eritrea," p. 465. Reference abbreviations appear at the
    end of this introduction.
2   For the language/cultural situation in Eritrea, see "Multilingualism," pp. 475–476, 481–485,
    "Ethnologue," and "Ethnologue Map."
3   "Eritrea," p. 481.
4   The author wishes to thank Saleh Mahmud for suggesting this as the name of the dialect
    (personal communication, 2007).
5   Elias.

Tigre-speaking groups in his 1865 lexical work.[6] The dialect of the Mensaʿ ethnic sub-group has by far received the most scholarly attention, having been documented grammatically, lexically, and textually.[7] Mensaʿ is considered the standard variety of Tigre. While hundreds of folk-tales have been collected and published from groups other than Mensaʿ,[8] no systematic grammatical study had been undertaken on any of these before the present work.

Tigre of Ginda̍ bears some similarity to the Marya Kayah dialect as discussed below but is in the author's opinion a previously unidentified variety of Tigre. Of the Tigre-speaking groups identified by Munzinger, three are associated with the Ḥabāb, a sub-group within ethnic Tigre: ʿAd Təmāryām, Hebtēs, and ʿAd Taklēs.[9] The informants of the present study identify four peoples among the Ḥabāb: ʾAfrenda, ʾAshoma, Takl, and Rigbat. The difficulties in ethnic and tribal nomenclature are apparent, as the informants' and Munzinger's reports match neither in name nor in number.

Saleh[10] discusses seven dialects of Tigre and groups them into three groups based on lexicostatistical and phonological evidence as follows: (1) North and West includes the Barka, Sahil and Marya Tsalam dialects; (2) Sanhit includes the Mensaʿ, Marya Kayah and Betjuk dialects; and (3) Samhar includes the Samhar dialect. The town of Ginda̍ is in the former administrative district of Sanhit (after which Saleh's second group is named), and the dialect shares two phonological features with the Marya Kayah dialect that it does not share with any of the other six dialects as presented in his study: the presence of [z] (as opposed to [d]) as in *zenab* 'tail' and of [s] (as opposed to [ʃ]) as in *gayyəs* 'goes'.[11]

The present work is a short grammar documenting major areas within phonology, morphology, and syntax. Language contact is documented as well, since it plays a significant role in the lexicon. This work is organized like a reference grammar but is not exhaustive. The texts presented here were the

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6   "Vocabulaire de la langue tigré."

7   "Pronomina," "Verbum," *PPEA*, "Verb," "Sketches," Wörterbuch, *MTN*, and *TGT*.

8   *PPEA* 3, pp. 219–530; *PPEA* 4, pp. 461–1088.

9   "Preliminary Report," pp. 155–158; *PPEA* 3, pp. 281–442; *PPEA* 4, pp. 589–917.

10   "Tigre Dialects," *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 4 (2005), pp. 45–73.

11   Saleh, pp. 59–60. Tigre of Ginda̍ shares one or the other feature with Mensaʿ, Barka, Samhar and Sahil, but Marya Kayah is the only dialect with which Tigre of Ginda̍ shares both features.

first Tigre texts to be published in phonetic transcription using the International Phonetic Alphabet.[12]

It is important to note the different data sets that form the basis of the phonological analysis as over against the morphological and syntactic analyses. The database for the phonology is the conversational speech provided in the spoken texts. Often the informants' written versions of the spoken texts help identify the underlying forms. The morphology and syntax, on the other hand, are based on the spoken texts as well as isolated elicitations. Where underlying forms in isolated elicitations are unclear, they are based on documented Tigre of Mensaʿ forms.

1.3   The Literature

Three names dominate the scholarly study of the Tigre language: Littmann, Leslau, and Raz.

Enno Littmann provided the first comprehensive grammatical treatment of Tigre in "Pronomina" (1897) and "Verbum" (1899). These works were based on Tigre texts available at that time, namely those collected and published by Lefebvre (1845–1851), Munzinger (1859), d'Abbadie (1865), Nöldeke (1890), Perini (1893), and Camperio (1894). Littmann also drew on the vocabularies of Salt (1814), Munzinger (1865), and Buermann (1868).[13] The focus of these works is the Mensaʿ material, although commentary is offered on other groups.

In *PPEA*, Littmann published a vast collection of new Tigre texts based on fieldwork he conducted in 1905–1906. This includes some 549 texts collected by Sundström, as well as more than 100 collected by Littmann.[14] In total, approximately 300 texts are from the Mensaʿ, while the remaining 400 or so are from other groups. The texts include folk tales, songs, and poetry, and are published in Ethiopic script with German translation. The script indicates consonantal doubling by use of Arabic *šadda* (٘); however, the distinction between sixth order Cə and C is not indicated. More than 50 years after *PPEA*, Littmann, with Maria Höfner, published the seminal work in Tigre lexicography, *Wörterbuch*.

PPEA is the source that Wolf Leslau used in "Verb" and "Sketches." These two works, which together he called "Short Grammar of Tigré," provide the most useful comprehensive survey of the morphology and syntax of Tigre.

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12   Elias, pp. 298–318.

13   "Pronomina," pp. 188–189; "Verbum" I, pp. 133–140.

14   "Preliminary Report," pp. 151–165.

Phonology is treated at length, within the limitations of the transcription method employed in *PPEA*. As with "Pronomina" and "Verbum" the focus is on the Mensaʿ dialect; nevertheless, there is some discussion of other dialects in the footnotes. Leslau followed "Short Grammar of Tigré" with "Observations," which was based on his own fieldwork in Eritrea with Mensaʿ speakers in 1947. Leslau has also provided the only detailed treatment of Arabic loans in Tigre.[15]

Shlomo Raz provided new texts and the only reference grammar of Tigre in *TGT*. In addition, he contributed two very useful works: a review of the literature[16] and a grammatical summary.[17] *TGT* is based on Raz's fieldwork with Mensaʿ speakers in Eritrea in 1969–1970. Most importantly, the grammar is based on conversational as well as written use of the language and includes a brief but thorough treatment of vowel variation. The texts, which include folk tales, short stories, and a television newscast, are a valuable addition to the body of scholarship. They are presented in normalized transcription with morpheme glosses and English translations.

No discussion of Tigre scholarship is complete without mentioning F.R. Palmer, whose *MTN* and "Relative Clauses" are extremely valuable in-depth studies of Mensaʿ morphology and syntax. These two works, along with "Openness in Tigre," provide brief but insightful phonological discussions.

For the host of smaller studies in phonology, morphology, lexicography, and texts, which are not included in this survey but many of which contribute greatly to our understanding of Tigre, see the bibliography.

1.4　　　The Informants

The informants, Mohammed Adem and Hamid Mahmoud, are from the Rigbat people within the Ḥabāb ethnic group. They are natives of Gindaʿ and at the time of the research were freshmen at the University of Asmara, Eritrea. One informant, Hamid, displays a lisp; thus, where other Tigre speakers produce the dento-alveolar fricative series *z* /*s* /*ṣ* as [z θ θʾ]. Hamid produces [d θ θʾ]. Both are fluent in Arabic and Tigrinya, and their English and Amharic skills are also very good.

15　　"Arabic Loanwords," "Additional Arabic Loanwords," "Phonetic Treatment," and Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic.

16　　"Source Materials."

17　　"Tigre."

1.5   Research Methodology and Text Presentation

The present work is based on fieldwork conducted by the author in Asmara in the spring of 2001 and in Asmara and Ginda' during the winter of 2002–2003. Elicitations were conducted using the medium of English, and sessions were digitally recorded. Both informants were present for most of the research sessions, which total more than 20 hours, and copious transcription notes were taken by the author. Texts were elicited by the author's suggestion of two or three topics, followed by the informants' selection of one, their presentation of a brief English summary, and their production of the Tigre text. Several days after producing the oral text, the informants provided a written version of the text in Ethiopic script. The value of the Ethiopic script version toward successful transliteration and translation of the texts cannot be overstated. Nine texts were collected; five are presented here.

Since the best available grammatical information is found in connected texts rather than in isolated elicitations, the present work is primarily based on the texts. Isolated forms, paradigms, and structures supplement the data provided in the texts where necessary. This is especially the case for the future tense verb, conditional sentences, and interrogatives, evidence of which is very limited in the texts. This is specifically not the case for phonology, which is solely based on the texts.

The texts in Appendix I are presented as follows:

i)   IPA transcription from the recorded text
ii)   Author's transliteration
iii)   Morpheme glosses
iv)   English translation.

Line number assignments are the author's. Here is an example of the presentation:

[ˈʔanæwˈħamɨd dɨħˈhættɨmægiˈɾæʔ ħɨnæstɪbˈdina]

ˈana	wa-	ḥaməd	dib	ḥatta	madrasa	ḥəna	ˈastabdena.
I	AND	P.N.	IN	ONE-F	SCHOOL	WE	WE-STARTED

'Ḥamid and I started at the same school.' (Ḥamid and I, line 1)

1.5.1   *IPA Transcription*
Note that phonetic transcription of vowels, especially the values of *a,* is approximate, since the recording has not been subjected to spectrographic analysis. Likewise vowel and consonant length are based on the author's ear.

Aspiration of plosives (e.g., [tʰ] vs. [t]), so-called "light" vs. "dark" *l* ([l] vs. [ɫ]), and velar place of nasal articulation [ŋ] are not reflected. Primary stress is indicated. Blank space between IPA forms indicates a pause in speech, and superscript characters indicate a lightly pronounced or ultra-short segment. Bridge marks [gæsenæ‿] indicate continuous speech between one line of text (here, sentence-final *gasena* 'we went') and the next.

1.5.2   *Author's Transliteration*

The aim of transliteration is to provide a "normalized" text that reflects the underlying phonemes and morphemes. A clitic is represented by a hyphen: *wa-ḥaməd* 'and Ḥamid'. Where consonant length is unclear in the recorded text, the transliteration follows the morphological norms found in Raz TGT and Leslau "Sketches" and "Verb."

This transliteration approach produces a conceptual disjunct between the present work's phonological analysis, the focus of which is phonetic realizations, and the morphological and sytanctic analyses, which focus on the presumed underlying forms (cf. 1.1 above). See also 1.6 for a discussion of the limitations of transcribing and transliterating in this manner.

1.5.3   *Morpheme Glosses*

The morpheme glossing system is the author's. Transliterated forms are glossed word for word in SMALL CAPS, and the gender and number of nouns and verbs are explicitly indicated. Parsing of verbs is implicit in the gloss.

1.5.4   *English Translation*

The target language is English. In the body of the present work (as over against Appendix I), text excerpts and isolated forms are numbered and presented in transliteration, with glosses where necessary, and in translation. In the phonology sections, the IPA transcription is also included. Throughout the body of the text, ***bold italic*** indicates the form, morpheme, phoneme, or process being discussed.

        From 2.7
r is usually realized as the flap [ɾ].

(12)   [nabbɨɾˈdiba]
       nabbər   *dibā*
       HE-LIVES   IN-IT-F
       'he lives in it' (Ginda', line 2)

Finally, there are many excerpts that include phones or forms that are not germane to the sound change in question. Where warranted, these phones or forms are noted, usually as a cross reference, in small print below the excerpt. Footnotes are not used for this purpose.

From 2.13.2.1 Assimilation of *a* to [ʔ]

(25) [mɨnʔasmæˈra ʔaɾbiʕineˈħamɨs]
    mən   *ʾasmarā*   *ʾarbəʿin*   *wa-*   *ḥaməs*
    FROM   PL.N.   40   AND   FIVE
    'forty-five (kilometers) from Asmara' (Gindaʿ, line 8)
      For *a* > [ɞ] in *wa-ḥaməs*, see 2.13.3.

1.6   Limitations

As noted in 1.5.1, the transcriptions employed in chapters 2 and 3 and in Appendix I do not have the benefit of spectrographic analysis; thus vowel quality, especially that of *a*, is inexact. In addition variations in vowel and consonant lengths are based on the author's ear. Aspiration of plosives (e.g., [tʰ] vs. [t]), so-called "light" vs. "dark" *l* ([l] vs. [ɫ]), and velar place of nasal articulation [ŋ] are not reflected. Primary stress is indicated while secondary stress is not.

Many apparent sound changes are not exceptionless or do not occur within a discernable phonetic or morphophonemic environment. These phenomena are not delineated in this study. More data and research, in particular on the Tigre of Gindaʿ stress system and the underlying forms, are required in order to adequately describe these phenomena. Only the sound changes that are exceptionless or nearly exceptionless are described in this work.

The noun inventory that is the basis of chapter 3 is meager, due to the preponderance of Arabic loans and the limited elicitations of SG vs. PL and collective forms.

In chapter 4, the identification of derived stems that are productive in Tigre of Gindaʿ seems clear, but more examples of derived verbs and their lexical stem counterparts will elucidate the relationships between lexical and derived verb stems. There are insufficient examples of 3MS PRF *ḳatla* in the connected texts to discuss the long-standing issue of the length of the final vowel.

More examples of clauses of the type cause and effect ("Since/because (of) X, Y"), opposition ("Instead of X, Y;" "X, but/however Y"), and unreal condition (e.g., "If an elephant had wings he could fly") are required to complete the discussions of form and usage in chapters 5 and 6.

1.7   Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used.

1	first person	3	third person
2	second person		

ACC	accusative	M	masculine
ADJ	adjective	NEG	negative
ADV	adverb	OBJ	object
C	consonant	P, PL	Plural
C	common gender	P.N.	personal name
CONJ	conjunction	PL.N.	place name
COP	copula	PART	participle
DEF	definite article	PASS	passive
F	feminine	PREP	preposition
G	genitive	PRF	perfect
IMP	imperative	REL	relative particle
IPRF	imperfect	S, SG	singular
JUSS	jussive	V	vowel

Abbreviations of references are as follows. Where forms are taken from the literature, the symbols used for Tigre of Gindaʿ (ḳ rather than *q*, and *a* /*ā* for the *a* vowels rather than *ä* /*a*) are employed. For forms taken from other languages, the symbols used by the respective authors are retained.

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Modern Standard Arabic

MTN

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Phonology

2.1   Table of Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Tigre of Gindaʿ are presented in the following table. Where applicable, consonant triads are presented as voiced / voiceless / ejective elements. The parenthetical segment is attested in the dialect but is not a phoneme.

TABLE 1   *Tigre of Gindaʿ Consonants*

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dento-alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
Plosives	*b* /-		*d* /*t* /*ṭ*			*g* /*k* /*ḳ*		- /*ʾ*
Fricatives		- /*f*	*z* /*s* /*ṣ*		- /*š*		ʿ /*ḥ*	- /*h*
Affricates				*ǧ* /(*č*)/*č̣*				
Nasals	*m* /-		*n* /-					
Flaps/Trills			*r* /-					
Laterals			*l* /-					
Semi-vowels	*w* /-				*y* /-			

2.2   Ejectives

Four ejectives are attested in Tigre of Gindaʿ: *ṭ, ṣ, č̣,* and *ḳ*.

(1)   [*t'*æbˈʕɑnː]
        ṭabʿan 'naturally' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

        [*s'*aʕaˈda]
        ṣaʿəda 'white' (Trad Decorations, line 12)

        [ʔæˈ*tʃ'*e]
        ʾəč̣ay 'wood' (Gindaʿ, line 1)

[*k*'omⁱˈjæt]
ḳawməyat 'ethnic group' (Gindaʿ, line 3)

The phonetic realizations of *ḳ* are discussed below. Realizations of other ejectives follow those in (1) above. There are no regular sound changes affecting ejectives.

2.2.1 ḳ

Occurrences of *ḳ* are approximately evenly split between [kʼ] and [k]/[kˀ].[1] [k] and [kˀ] occur almost exclusively in unstressed syllables.

(2)   [ᵘ*k*ˈfæːl]
       ʾaḳfāl 'segments' (Trad Decorations, line 7)[2]

       [ha*k*ʼolæ]
       ḥaḳo-lā 'after' (Making Coffee, line 11)

       [ʔaˈzesⁱ*k*alˈlaħwəlⁱ*k*ɨˈlet]
       ʾaza   təḳalla.   *ḥaḳo-lā   ḳallet*
       NOW   IT-F-IS-ROASTED   AFTER   IT-F-WAS-ROASTED
       'First it is roasted. After it has been roasted…' (Making Coffee, line 10)

ḳ is also realized several times as [q], [qˀ], and [ʔ]. Like [k] and [kˀ], these occur in unstressed syllables.

(3)   [ha*q*oˈhæːha*q*olæ]
       ḥaḳo-hā ḥaḳo-lā 'then, after…' (Trad Decorations, line 6)

       [ha*q*ˀo]
       ḥaḳo 'afterwards' (Making Coffee, line 13)

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1 Palmer (*MTN*, p. 6) notes the alternation of *ḳ* with *k* in *ḳəslā ~ kəsrā* 'kind of tree'. Leslau ("Spirantization in the Ethiopian Languages," p. 190) records that *ḳ* is spirantized in the region of Keren. Kolmodin ("Meine studienreise in Abessinien 1908–1910," p. 229) notes that spirantized *ḳ* occurs sporadically in Tigre. Spirantized *ḳ* does not occur in Tigre of Gindaʿ.

2 As discussed in 1.6, many phonetic realizations in the present corpus are outside the scope of this study. One such example is the phonetic realization of *ʾa* as [ᵘ] in *ʾaḳfāl* here. It is not explained by any discernable pattern of regular sound change. Other like examples throughout this chapter are neither noted nor discussed.

[ʔomˈjæt]
ḳawməyat 'ethnic group' (Ginda', line 3)

2.3   Plosives

No distinction is made in this study between aspirated and non-aspirated voiceless plosives, e.g. [tʰ] vs. [t]. Except for ', which is realized as [ʔ], phonetic realizations of plosives conform to the IPA symbol equivalents of the phonemes in Table 1. Regular sound changes affecting plosives are discussed below.

2.3.1   *Palatalization of* t

t is regularly palatalized in the final position of nouns when the 1CS possessive suffix -*ye* is added. See also 3.5.1.

(4)   [ʕintæt]   ~   [ʕintat*f*e]
       'əntāt 'eyes'   *'əntāče* 'my eyes'

       [mankinat]   ~   [mankinat*f*e]
       mankinat 'car'   *mankinače* 'my car'

2.3.2   *Word-Internal* ' *in the Sequence* a'a

Word-internal ' in the unstressed sequence *a'a* is lost, and the sequence is realized as [æ] or [a].

(5)   [ʰqolæˈmajgæːdibæ]
       ḥaḳo-lā   māy   ga'a   dibā
       AFTER   WATER   IT-M-WENT   INTO-IT-F
       'After the water has gone into it (the bottle)' (Making Coffee, line 13)

When immediately following *w*, the unstressed sequence *a'a* is usually realized as [ɞ]. See also 2.13.3.

(6)   [wɞɾiˈʃoni]
       w*a-* '*arəyšoni*
       OR   ORANGE
       'or orange' (Tigre Culture – Trad Decorations, line 11)

2.3.3   *Word-initial ' in the sequence* ā#'ə

Word-initial ' in the unstressed sequence *ā#'ə* is lost, and the sequence is realized as [æ] or [a].

(7)   [nɨtfæˈnatæŋgæbˈbiʔ]
       nətfanātā 'əngabbi'
       WE-ARE-BEING-SEPARATED
       'we are being separated' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

       [ˈdibæliʃæm:]
       dibā   'əlli   'əšām
       IN-IT-F   THIS-M   BEADS
       'in it (the decorative item "heriret"), these beads (look like a vine)'
       (Trad Decorations, line 18)

       [haᵍᵒˡ ᵃᵍᵘˡˈʔætmɐm]
       ḥako-lā   'əglu   'atmamaw
       AFTER   ACC-3MS   THEY-M-COMPLETED
       'after they have finished (dyeing) it' (Trad Decorations, line 9)

2.4   Fricatives

Phonetic realizations of the fricatives *f, z, s,* and *h* conform to their IPA symbol equivalents in Table 1. *ṣ* is discussed in 2.2 above. The remaining fricatives, as well as regular sound changes affecting fricatives, are discussed below.

2.4.1   [*x*]

[*x*] is not a phoneme in Tigre of Ginda'. It is attested in some Arabic loans in which *x* (خ) is present. See also 7.1.8.

(8)   [*x*ejt]
       keṭ 'nylon thread' (Trad Decorations, line 20)
           Cf. Egy(Hinds) *xēṭ* 'thread'; Yem(Qafisheh) *xayṭ* (less common variant *xēṭ*)
           'thread'.

2.4.2   '

' is realized as [ʕ]; however, almost every occurrence of word-final ' is realized as [ʔ].

(9) [gɨnˈdaʔ]
     *gənda*ʿ 'Ginda' (PL.N.)' (Ginda', line 1)

     [ˡⁱlætbæˈlaːʔæsˈsætdi]
     la-   *lətballa*ʿ   *ləsatta*
     REL   IT-M-IS-EATEN   IT-M-IS-DRUNK
     '(foods) that are eaten, drunk (or served)' (Making Coffee, line 16)

There are a few examples in the present corpus of ʿ in a morphological position in which doubling is expected. A simple consonant is attested.

(10) [lɨtfaˈʕaʔ]
      lətfaʿal 'it-M is stitched' (Trad Decorations, line 5)
          See 4.13 for *lətḳattal.*

2.4.3   ḥ
ḥ is realized as [ħ] but is regularly realized as [h] in *ḥaḳo* 'afterwards', *ḥaḳo-hā* 'afterwards, then', and *ḥaḳo-lā* 'after', for which see 2.18.4.

2.4.4   h
In the present corpus there are a few occurrences of *h* in a morphological position in which doubling is expected. A simple consonant is attested.

(11) [lɨkˈˡba*h*ᵃlhællæ]
      lətbahal halla 'it-M is called (lit., it is being called)' (Trad Decorations, line 17)
          See also 4.13 for *lətḳattal* and 4.13.3 for *lətbahal.* For *t* > [kˈ], see 2.18.5.

2.5   Affricates

The alveo-palatal series *ǧ* /(*č*)/*č̣* represents the only affricates attested in Tigre of Ginda'. *ǧ* and *č̣* are realized as [dʒ] and [tʃˤ], respectively. For *č*, see 2.3.1 above.

2.6   Nasals

n and *m* are realized as [n] and [m], respectively. Velar place of nasal articulation [ŋ] is not reflected in this study. For the loss of *n* in *mən-*, see 2.18.3.

2.7   Flaps/Trills

r is usually realized as the flap [ɾ].

(12)   [nabbɨɾˈdiba]
        nabbər   dibā
        HE-LIVES   IN-IT-F
        'he lives in it' (Gindaʿ, line 2)

        [ˈʔædbʊr]
        ʾadbər 'mountains' (Gindaʿ, line 5)

        [tɨgɾe]
        tigra 'Tig*r*e' (Coffee Ceremony, line 2)

When the second segment of the geminate *rr* is at the beginning of a stressed syllable, *rr* is almost always realized as the trill [r].

(13)   [lɨˈrækkæbˈdiba]
        lərrakkab   dibā
        IT-M-IS FOUND   IN-IT-F
        'it-M is found in it' (Gindaʿ, line 7)

        [tɨskaˈre]
        tətkarra 'it-F is repeated' (Making Coffee, line 13)

In other environments, *rr* is usually realized as the flap [ɾ].

(14)   [ɨnˈdæɾis]
        ʾəndarrəs 'we study' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

        [læɾækkæßoˈdiba]
        lərrakkabo   dibā
        THEY-M-ARE-FOUND   IN-IT-F
        'they are found in it' (Gindaʿ, line 6)

2.8   The Lateral *l*

l is usually realized as the lateral approximant [l]. In this study, so-called "light" vs. "dark" *l* ([l] vs. [ɫ]) is not reflected.

(15) [kʉɬʷᵘdoɭ]
      kəľo   dol
      TWO-M   TIME
      'two times' (Gindaʿ, line 4)

      [dib kʼʉbɭat]
      dib   ḳəblat
      IN   NORTH
      'in the north' (Gindaʿ, line 7)

On several occasions, *l* is realized as the flap [ɾ]. When this occurs *l* is usually
following an obstruent.[3]

(16) [ʔɪndʒiˈɾizi]
      ʾənǧəlizi 'English' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

      [lɪkˈʼbaɾ]
      lətbahal 'it-M is called' (Trad Decorations, line 3)
         See 2.18.5 for discussion of this form.

      [ˈgᵃᵉɾæ]
      gala 'such, so forth' (Trad Decorations, line 17)

2.9   Semi-vowels

The semi-vowels *w* and *y* are realized as [w] and [j], respectively. For the influ-
ence of *w* on a following vowel, see 2.13.3. Diphthongs and VyV sequences are
discussed in 2.14 and 2.15. There are a only few examples in the present corpus of
semi-vowels *y* and *w* in a morphological position in which doubling is expected.
However, in almost every instance, a single semi-vowel phone is attested.

(17) [tɪˈhejbatænnæ]
      təhayabattanna 'it-F was given to us' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)
         See 4.13 for *təḳattalat* and 4.13.6 for this form.

      [ɾejim]
      rayəm 'it-F is far' (Gindaʿ, line 8)
         See 4.5.2 for *ḳattəl.*

---

3 Palmer (MTN, p. 6) also notes *l* > [r] after an obstruent in *ḳəslā ~ kəsrā* 'kind of tree'.

ʾawal, ʾawalāyt 'first'
    Cf. *Wehr awwal* 'first'. See also 7.1.5.3 for these Arabic loans.

A counterexample is provided below.

(18)   [lɨˈɡeʃ . . . mʉslugæjjes]
        la-   *gayəs . . .*   *məslu*   *gayəs*
        REL   IT-F-GOES   WITH-IT-M   IT-F-GOES
        '(combination) that goes (together) . . . it (coffee) goes with it'
        (Coffee Ceremony, line 9)

2.10   Table of Vowels

The vowel phonemes in Tigre of Gindaʿ are as follows.

TABLE 2   *Tigre of Gindaʿ Vowels*

	Front		Back
High	*i*	*ə*	*u*
Mid		*e*	*o*
Low		*a*	*ā*

2.11   *i, u, e,* and *o*

The vowels *i, u, e,* and *o* are realized as [i], [u], [e], and [o], respectively.

2.12   *ə*[4]

Minimal pairs such as the following establish the phoneme *ə*:

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4 The depth of Raz's Mensaʿ vowel variation description ("Vowel Quantity in Tigre," pp. 458–464, and *TGT*, pp. 8–10) is not possible for the present study, due to the limitations discussed in 1.6, in particular the absence of spectrographic analysis.

(19)   *zabbaṭ* 'he beats' ~ *zabbaṭ* 'it-M/he receives a beating'.[5]

ə is realized as [ɨ].

(20)   [gɨnˈdaʔ mɨnː kælɨˈmæt]
       gənda‘   *mən*   *kalimat*
       PL.N.   FROM   BUSH
       'Ginda‘ (is) from a bush' (Ginda‘, line 1)

       [tɨˈtækkæ]
       tətakka 'it-F is put over a fire' (Coffee Ceremony, line 7)

       [ʔɨlˈlæn]
       ’əllan 'these-F' (Trad Decorations, line 21)

2.12.1   *Epenthesis Involving the Word-Internal Sequence Consonant* + r

The word-internal sequence plosive + *r* is almost always severed by *ə*.

(21)   [mægɨrɪˈsæt]
       madrasat 'school' (Ḥamid and I, line 2)

       [mɨnˠħæːbɨˈru]
       mənnā   *ḥəbru*
       FROM-IT-F   ITS-M-COLOR
       'from its color' (Trad Decorations, line 13)

       [ɾædɨɾæ]
       ḳadra 'he is able' (Trad Decorations, line 19)

This process does not affect the proper names Tigre and Tigrinya.

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5   Raz (*TGT*, p. 10) asserts that *ə* is not a phoneme; rather, it is an allophone of zero. He cites the syllabic nature of *ə* in minimal pairs such as *kəm* 'like' ~ *kam* 'how much?'. Nasals and approximants, both of which can be realized as syllabic consonants, are present in all of his examples.
    Vs. Raz, the minimal pair *zabbəṭ* 'he beats' ~ *zabbaṭ* 'it-m/he receives a beating' involves only obstruents, which are not syllabic in Tigre. For more on *zabbəṭ*, the prefix-less imperfect of the A verbal stem, and *zabbaṭ*, the prefix-less imperfect of the B passive verbal stem, see 4.5.2 and 4.12 respectively.

(22) [saho ti*g*ɾe ti*g*ˈɾinja]
      sāho tigra tigrinyā 'Saho, Tigre, Tigrinya' (Gindaʿ, line 3)

      [ʃaʔabnajti*g*ɾe]
      šaʿab nay təgra 'the Tigre people' (Coffee Ceremony, line 2)

2.13   *a* and *ā*

In isolated utterances, The distinction between the open vowels *a* and *ā* is one
of quantity, not quality.

(23) [ħæl] *ḥal* 'maternal aunt' ~ [ħæːl] *ḥāl* 'maternal uncle'
      [mæn] *man* 'who?' ~ [mæːn] *mān* 'right (side)'

2.13.1   *Realizations of* a *and* ā
The above distinction notwithstanding, *a* tends to be realized as [æ] in con-
nected speech, while *ā* tends to be realized as [a] or [æː]. *ā* is sometimes real-
ized as [æ].

(24) [ʔɨnˈsær]
      ʾənsar 'to here' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

      [sælæs]
      salas 'three' (Gindaʿ, line 3)

      [ɾækkɨb]
      rakkəb 'one-M finds' (Gindaʿ, line 4)

      [ħamælm*a*l]
      ḥamalmāl 'ḥamalmāl (PL.N.)' (Gindaʿ, line 7)

      [mʉfg*a*ɾ]
      məfgār 'rising' (Gindaʿ, line 7)

      [lʉˈb*æ*ːn]
      ləbān 'incense' (Coffee Ceremony, line 9)

2.13.2   *Assimilation of* a *to a Preceding Guttural Consonant*
a is frequently realized as [a] after a guttural consonant. (Compare [æ] in 2.13.1
above.) This is especially the case for [ʕ], after which [a] is always attested, and

least evident for [ʔ], after which [a] is attested in approximately two thirds of the occurrences. Compare Raz, whose Mensaʿ data indicated [a] only with the pharyngeals ʿ and *ḥ*.[6] The majority of instances in which *a* is not realized as [a] in Tigre of Gindaʿ are in closed syllables.[7]

2.13.2.1   Assimilation of *a* to [ʔ]

(25)   [ʔasɨkma]
       ʾasək-mā 'up to (ninth) or (tenth grade)' (Ḥamid and I, line 4)

       [mɨnʔasmæˈɾa ʔaɾbiʕinᵉˈħamis]
       mən   ʾasmarā   ʾarbəʿin   wa-   ḥaməs
       FROM   PL.N.   40   AND   FIVE
       'forty-five (kilometers) from Asmara' (Gindaʿ, line 8)
           For *a* > [ɐ] in *wa-ḥaməs*, see 2.13.3.

       [dⁱbʔakɞɾa]
       dib ʾakarā 'at a festival' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

cf.   [ˈʔædbɞɾ]
       ʾadbər 'mountains' (Gindaʿ, line 5)

2.13.2.2   Assimilation of *a* to [ʕ]

(26)   [lɨsætiwalæʕalo]
       ləsattəwā   la-   ʿalaw
       THEY-M-DRINK-IT-F   REL   THEY-M-WERE
       'those who used to drink it' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
           For *aw* > [o] see 2.14.1.2.

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6   *TGT*, pp. 9–10.

7   Palmer ("Openness in Tigre," pp. 569–572) presents the following Mensaʿ sound rule for nouns: *a* > [a] / __(CV)C₁, where C₁ is a pharyngeal or ejective consonant. Odden discusses this in "Adjacency Parameters in Phonology," p. 318.
    While *a* is realized as [a] *after* the pharyngeals and glottal in Tigre of Gindaʿ, as presented in this section, there were no instances of *a* as [a] occurring *before* pharyngeals or ejectives, as identified in Mensaʿ.

[ʕaˈlaħsæb]
ʿala   *ḥasab*
ACCORDING-TO   QUANTITY
'according to the number' (Making Coffee, line 4)

[dʒamˈʕat]
ğāmʿat 'university' (Ḥamid and I, line 7)

2.13.2.3   Assimilation of *a* to [ħ]

(27) [kiʃɨrinwoˈħamɨs]
      ʾəšrin wa-ḥaməs '25' (Gindaʿ, line 2)

      [ħaqˈˀoˈha]
      ḥako-hā 'afterwards' (Making Coffee, line 20)
          For *ḳ* > [qˀ], see 2.2.1.

      [ħaˈzo]
      ḥazaw 'they-M wanted' (Making Coffee, line 7)
          For *aw* > [o], see 2.14.1.1.

cf.   [dɨħˈħættɨmægiˈɾæʔ]
      dib   *ḥatta*   *madrasa*
      IN   ONE-F SCHOOL
      'in one school' (Ḥamid and I, line 1)

2.13.2.4   Assimilation of *a* to [h]

      [mɨhalˈlaː]
      mən-   *halla*
      WHETHER   THERE-M-IS
      'whether there is' (Making Coffee, line 16)

      [ˈhattæsænæt]
      ḥatta sanat 'one-F year' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)

      [haʔoˈha]
      ḥako-hā 'afterwards' (Ḥamid and I, line 4)
          For *ḥ* > [h], see 2.18.4.

cf. [rⁱʃæˈtʼætˤⁱnˈhælˈlæː]

  našāṭāt   mən-   halla
  ACTIVITIES   WHETHER   THERE-M-IS
  'whether there are any activities' (Making Coffee, line 15)

2.13.3 *Assimilation of* a *to a Preceding* w

w almost always produces rounding, raising and backing in a following *a* vowel.[8]

(29) [wᵉlæd]
  walad 'son' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)

  [ʕaˈsɨrwɵsærˈʕæs]
  ʿasər wa-salas '13' (Trad Decorations, line 6)

  [wodibgɨnˈdaʔ]
  *wa-dib ginda*ʿ 'now, in Ginda'ʿ (Ginda'ʿ, line 2)
    For ʿ > [ʔ], see 2.4.2.

  [ˈħættæwɵt]
  ḥatta wəḳat 'one time' (Coffee Ceremony, line 7)
    The pronunciation of *wəḳat* 'time' is probably borrowed from Arabic *waqt* (cf. 7.1.4).

2.14 Diphthongs

The following diphthongs are attested:

aw   əw   ay   āy   əy.

2.14.1 *aw*

2.14.1.1 *aw* in stressed position
When *aw* is stressed, it is realized as [o] more often than as [aw]/[æw].

(30) [ħaˈzo]
  ḥazaw 'they-M wanted' (Making Coffee, line 7)

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8 Raising, backing, and sometimes rounding in adjacent vowels from the bilabials *w* and *b* follows MTN, pp. 6–8.

[lugulldɨsˈto]
ʾəgəl ləstaw 'in order to drink-MP' (Making Coffee, line 2)

[gullufsˈtˈʾæw]
ʾəgəl ləstaw 'in order to drink-MP' (Making Coffee, line 2)

2.14.1.2   *aw* in unstressed position
In an unstressed syllable, *aw* is realized as [o] and [ɔw]/[aw] in even numbers.

(31)   [læʕal*o*]
        la-   ʿalaw
        REL   THEY-M-WERE
        'those who used to (drink it)' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)

        [ˈʔætmɐm*o*]
        ʾatmamaw 'they-M have completed' (Trad Decorations, line 9)

        [dɔ*w*ɾæt]
        dawrat 'course' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

        [ʔ*aw*ˈkʉmfidʒæn]
        ʾaw   kam   fəǧān
        OR   HOW-MANY?   CUP
        'or how many cups (does one serve)?' (Making Coffee, line 2)

2.14.2   **ay**
Almost every occurrence of unstressed *ay* is rendered with [a] or [æ].

(32)   [ʔadatn*aj*tɨgˈɾe]
        ʿadāt   nay   təgra
        CULTURE   GEN   P.N.
        'the Tigre culture' (Trad Decorations, line 16)

        [n*æj:* ˈʕaɾæbi]
        nay ʿarabi 'Arabic (school)' (Ḥamid and I, line 2)

2.14.3   **āy**
Almost every occurrence of *āy* is realized as [aj] or [æj].

(33) [ʔasɨkma tæsˈʕaj ʔasɨkˈʕasɾajbæsˈʰħana]
      ʾasək-   mā   tāsʿāy   ʾasək   ʿāsrāy   baṣḥana
      UNTIL   OR   NINTH   UNTIL   TENTH   WE-REACHED
      'we reached ninth or tenth grade' (Ḥamid and I, line 4)

      [dibhaˈgaj]
      dib ḫagāy 'in summer' (Ginda', line 4)

      [ʕasˈɾæj]
      ʿāsrāy 'tenth' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

2.15   VyV Sequences

The following VyV sequences are attested:

aya   ayā   ayə   āyə   əya.

Only *ayə* occurs with enough frequency (and that only in one form, *gayəs* 'it-F
goes')[9] for meaningful commentary. In every occurrence of *gayəs, ayə* is real-
ized as [e] or with [e].

(34) [dɨtɨlˈlæmædgeshælˈlet]
      dib   təllammad   gayəs hallet
      WHILE   IT-F-IS-COMMON   IT-F-IS-GOING
      'it is becoming increasingly common' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
          See 2.18.2 for discussion of *dib təllammad.*

      [ᵐɨsˈlugages]
      məslu   ta   gayəs
      WITH-IT-M   COP-3FS   IT-F-GOES
      'it (incense and popcorn) goes with it (coffee)' (Coffee Ceremony, line 10)

      [liˈgeʃ . . . mɨslugæjjes]
      la-   gayəs . . .   məslu   gayəs
      REL   IT-F-GOES   WITH-IT-M   IT-F-GOES
      '(combination) that goes (together) . . . it (coffee) goes with it'
      (Coffee Ceremony, line 9)

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9   Note that *-yy-* is expected in this form (for which see 2.9 above). Based on the analysis in 2.9,
    this form is transliterated as *gayəs.*

2.16   Stress

Stress is not phonemic, as demonstrated in the varying stress patterns found in *ləmud ʾikon* 'it is unusual', *ʾasmarā* 'Asmara', and *ğāmʿat* 'university' in the following text excerpts.

(35)   [ɾɨˈmudʔikoni: lɨmudʔiˈkon]

    ləmud   *ʾikoni ##*   *ləmud*   *ʾikon*

    USUAL   NEG-COP-3MS   USUAL   NEG-COP-3MS

    '(This many) are unusual. It is unusual.' (Making Coffee, line 7)

       See 2.8 for *l* > [ɾ].

    [ʔinˈsær***ʔæsmɨɾa***mɨsˈæˈna dɨb***ʔæsmiˈɾa***]

    ʾənsar   ***ʾasmarā***   *maṣʾana*   *dib*   ***ʾasmarā***

    TO-HERE   PL.N.   WE-CAME   INTO   PL.N.

    'we came here to Asmara—into Asmara' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

    [gɨl ***ʤamˈʕat***ɨnhalɨf ʔinˈ***ʤæːmʕat*** ħalæfˈna]

    ʾəgəl   ***ğāmʿat***   *la-*   *naḥalləf*   *ʾəbbā*   ***ğāmʿat***

    TO   COLLEGE   REL   WE-PASS   BECAUSE-OF-IT-F   UNIVERSITY

    ḥalafna

    WE-PASSED

    'we had passed to university—into our designated college.'

    (Lit., 'we passed to university—(to) the college (into) which we would pass because of it (the examination grade)')

    (Ḥamid and I, line 7)

Raz makes the following observations concerning stress:

> [A] certain speech rhythm is maintained by means of which the number of prominent stresses in a given utterance determines the length of time it takes to produce the utterance. This means that the time elapsing between two primary stresses is roughly the same, regardless of the number of syllables in between.[10]

Further, he defines a "stress unit" as a unit of speech that is bound by a "sharp transition" from preceding and following stress units, within which at least one

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10   *TGT*, p. 7.

primary stress is found, and inside of which "vowel variation by assimilation occurs."[11]

Additional exploration of speech rhythm and stress units would probably be fruitful and will likely be necessary before the stress patterns found in Tigre of Ginda' can be more satisfactorily explained. The following observations from the texts are presented as a preliminary, syllable-based description. For morpheme glosses see Appendix I.

2.16.1   *A Preliminary Description of Tigre of Ginda' Stress Patterns*
Closed syllables are stressed considerably more frequently than open syllables.

(36) [bɨˈ*sil*hillenædibˈ***hæt***tæfæˈ*sil*lowsɨllɨnˈ*dæ*ɾɪstˈæbˈ*ʕan*ː]
      məsəl hallena dib ḥatta fasəl wa-məsəl ʾəndarrəs ṭabʕan
      'we are together in the same class, and naturally we study together'
      (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

      [tɨɡɾe læbætˈ***hæt*** ʔomˈ*jæt*ta dibɡɨnˈ***daʔ***]
      təgra la-bazḫat ḳawməyat ta dib gəndaʕ
      'Tigre is the most common ethnic group in Ginda''
      (Ginda', line 3)
          For *ḳ* > [ʔ] and *aw* > [o] in *ḳawməyat*, see 2.2.1 and 2.14.1.2.

Open syllables that contain *ā* or that are derived from a closed syllable are more frequently stressed than other open syllables.

(37) [oːhaʔoˈ***ha***ⁱnaːɡɪʔⁱwasɨlliɡɡᴇbˈʔænnijiwasælkonˈhattæsænæt ʔɪnsæˈhabko]
      wa-ḥaḳo-hā ʾana ʾəgəl ʾəwāsəl lətgabbaʾanni yəwāsalkon ḥatta sanat ʾansaḥabko
      'Then, hoping that I might resume (later), I did not continue; for one year I withdrew.' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
          For *wa-* > [oː], see 2.13.3. For *ḳ* > [ʔ] in *ḥaḳo-hā*, see 2.2.1. *lətgabbaʾanni* is discussed in 2.18.2.

      [ætɨlˈʰ***æ***ːkin ʔabnɨʔajʃkamandɨtɨlˈ***læ***mædɡeshælˈlet]
      ʾaza lākin ʾab naʕāyəš kamān dib təllammad gayəs hallet
      'but now among young people it is also becoming increasingly common'
      (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
          See 2.18.2 for discussion of *dib təllammad* and 2.15 for *gayəs hallet*.

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11   Ibid., p. 7. Such "sharp transition," in the limited examples Raz provides, appears to be a pause in speech.

2.17   Sentence Boundary Jumping

Consider lines 1 and 2 of the Coffee Ceremony text.

1)   *ṭabʿan ʾana ʾab bun ʾəgəl ʾəthāge tu.*
2)   *wa-bun marrā məhəmmat bā ʾət šaʿab nay təgra gərrum.*
       'Now I will talk about coffee.
       Coffee is very important among the Tigre people.'

These sentences are clearly separated after *ʾəgəl ʾəthāge tu* '(Now) I will speak (about coffee)' and before *wa-bun* 'Now coffee (is very important among the Tigre people)'; however, the phonetic production of these two sentences is separated <u>after</u> *wa-bun* , not before it:

(38)   [tˈæbˈʕan ˈʔanæabˈbunˈᶦgᶦlithagetu͡]
         [wɐˈbun ʔæː ˈmæɾamhʉmˈmataː ᶦndibæːʃaʔabnajtigɾegᶦˈɾum][12]

The bridge marks at the end of the transcription of line 1 indicate continuous production of [ᶦgᶦlithagetu] and [wɐˈbun]. See 1.5.1.

   This phenomenon, namely the phonetic production of the first words of a sentence ("sentence 2") immediately after a previous sentence ("sentence 1") and without pause, is "sentence boundary jumping."

   Sentence boundary jumping sometimes occurs in Tigre of Gindaʿ and appears to be related to the tendency in Tigre for the definite article and relative particle *la-* to

       [assimilate] to the preceding particle, forming one unit with it and thus [create] a sharp transition between itself and the initial sound of the following word.[13]

For convenience, the process that Raz identified is here called "word boundary jumping."

   Additional examples of sentence boundary jumping follow. See Appendix I for morpheme glosses.

(39)   [ʔᶦgɪllᶦmtɨˈhæːnnematɾiggæsenæ͡]
         [wᶦnˈnæː]

---

12   Note that [gɪˈɾum] *gərrum* 'good' is superfluous and not translated.
13   *TGT*, p. 5.

6) . . . ʾəgəl ʾəmtəḥān nay mātrik gasena ##

7) wa-mənnā . . .

'. . . (in 1999) we took the matriculation examination.

And from it (we found out the grade) . . .'

(Ḥamid and I)

[ʕaˈlaħsæbˈlæː]

[læˈʕalʔilæː ˈħasiblædʒimˈʕalædʒuːð̃]

4a) . . . ʿala ḥasab

4b) la-ʿala la-ḥasab la-ğamāʿat la-dibu

'. . . (8 cups or 6 cups) according to the number—

which is according to the number that are in the gathering'

(Making Coffee)

This example may rightly be called "phrase boundary jumping" because the relative particle *la-* at the beginning of phrase 2, **la-ʿala la-ḥasab** 'according to the number', is produced at the end of phrase 1, *ʿala ḥasab* [ʕaˈlaħsæbˈlæː].

2.18   Morphophonemics

There are several examples of sound changes that occur only with specific lexemes.

2.18.1   *Palatalization of* l *in* ʾəl *and* ʾəgəl

l in *ʾəl* 'to' and *ʾəgəl* 'for, to' becomes palatal *y* when the 1CS pronominal suffix *-ye* is added. See also 3.5.1 and (351) to (356).

(40)   *ʾəyye* 'to me' (< *ʾəl-ye)

        ʾəgəyye 'for me' (< *ʾəgəl-ye)

2.18.2   *Assimilation of* t *in Imperfect Forms*

In imperfect forms of the tə-A/B, tə-C, and tə-Q verbal stems, *t* prefixed to the verbal root regularly assimilates when that root consonant is dento-alveolar or alveo-palatal (cf. 4.13.1, 4.14.2, and 4.15.1).[14]

(41)   [diti*l'l*æmæd]

        *dib   tə**ll**ammad*

        WHILE   IT-F-IS-COMMON

        'it is (becoming increasingly) common' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)

---

14   For a discussion of root consonants in Tigre, see 3.9.

[lær*r*ækæbæ]
lərrakkabā 'they-F are found' (Gindaʿ, line 3)

[nɨ*d'd*æːlhɨl'lenæː]
nəddālla hallena 'we are preparing' (Ḥamid and I, line 15)

This morphological *t* does not assimilate to consonants that are not dento-alveolar or alveo-palatal.

(42) [ˈgˈlɨ*th*agetu]
ʾəgəl ʾəthāga tu 'I will talk' (Coffee Ceremony, line 1)

[ˈlɨlæ*tb*æˈlaːʔ]
la-   lətballaʿ
REL   IT-M-IS-EATEN
'what is eaten' (Making Coffee, line 16)
    For ʿ > [ʔ], see 2.4.2.

[ræ*t'k*ʾæɾæb]
lətḳarrab 'it-M is served' (Making Coffee, line 16)
    The sound change *l* > [ɾ] is related to the realization of *l* as [ɾ] discussed in 2.1.7.

[lɨ*gg*əbˈʔænni]
lətgabbaʾanni 'hoping (Lit., may it-M come to pass for me)' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)

2.18.3   *Loss of* n *in* mən-
Following a vowel in connected speech, *n* is regularly lost in *mən-* 'from, if, when'.

(43) [haꟼoˈhæːmˈ*g*æbˈbiʔ]
ḥaḳo-hā   mən- gabbiʾ
THEN   WHEN IT-M-HAPPENS
'Then, when it happens' (Trad Decorations, line 9)
    For *ḥ* > [h] and *ḳ* > [q] in *ḥaḳo-hā*, see 2.18.4 and 2.2.1, respectively.

[ħaˈzom*g*æbˈbiʔ]
ḥazaw   mən- gabbiʾ
THEY-M-WANT   IF   IT-M-HAPPENS
'if they want' (Making Coffee, line 7)
    For *aw* > [o], see 2.14.1.1.

[ʔælˈlɪm**t**æʕʕale]
ʾǝlli   *mǝn*   *tak'ala*
THIS-M   FROM   PALM-BRANCH
'(we make) this (decorative item called "siggadet") from a palm branch'
(Trad Decorations, line 5)

2.18.4   *Glottal Articulation of* ḥ *in* ḥaḳo

Almost every occurrence of *ḥ* in *ḥaḳo* 'afterwards', *ḥaḳo-hā* 'afterwards, then',
and *ḥaḳo-lā* 'after' is realized as [h].

(44)   [**h**aʔoˈha . . . **h**aˈkˀolæː]
ḥaḳo-hā . . . ḥaḳo-lā 'afterwards . . . after' (Ḥamid and I, lines 4 and 5)
　　Realizations of *ḳ* are discussed in 2.2.1.

[ʰᵃqolæ . . . **h**aqˀo]
ḥaḳo-lā . . . ḥaḳo 'after . . . afterwards' (Making Coffee, line 13)

2.18.5   t > [k] *in* lǝtbahal

t > [k] is attested in *lǝtbahal* 'it-M is called'. Note that the following syllable is
always stressed.

(45)   [mɪli**k**ˀˈbæːl]
mǝn-lǝtbahal 'if it is called . . .' (Trad Decorations, line 11)

[woˈkˀᵓlolʉ**k**ˀbaːɾ]
wa-ḳǝlaw lǝtbahal 'and it is called "kilaw" ' (Trad Decorations, line 4)
　　For *l* > [ɾ] see 2.8.

[sⁱˈgædæːli**k**ˀˈbaɾæ]
sǝggādat lǝtbahal 'it is called "siggadet" ' (Trad Decorations, line 3)
　　For *l* > [ɾ] see 2.8.

Morphology—Pronouns, Nouns, and Adjectives

3.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronoun forms are as follows:

TABLE 3 *Independent Personal Pronouns*

	SG	**PL**
1C	*ʾana*[1]	*ḥəna*
2M	*ʾənta*	*ʾəntum*
2F	*ʾənti*	*ʾəntən*
3M	*hətu*	*hətom*
3F	*həta*	*hətan*

The independent personal pronoun is used as the subject of a copular clause, or as the optional subject of a verbal clause. It is also used to emphasize an antecedent, change the subject, or resume the discussion of an antecedent.

3.1.1 *As the Subject of a Copular Clause (see Table 13 for the Copula)*

(46) **hətu**   *mən*   *gəndaʿ*   *tu*
HE   FROM   PL.N.   COP-3MS
'he is from Ginda'

ʾənta   *mən*   *baṣəʿ*   *yənta*
YOU-MS   FROM   PL.N.   NEG-COP-2MS
'you are not from Massawa'

---

1 Leslau ("Sketches," p. 185) and Littmann ("Pronomina," p. 191) record these pronouns with final *-ā* rather than final *-a: ʾanā, ʾəntā, hətā, ḥənā*. In isolated elicitation, 1CP was given as *nəḥəna*, which is likely borrowed from Tigrinya.

A copular clause with no explicit subject usually requires an independent personal pronoun. One exception occurs in line 12 of "Ḥamid and I," where the expected pronoun *hətu* is not supplied in the first clause.

(47) *sakšan*   *ʿasər* *wa-* *səs* *dib ʾəntu* *tu*   *ʾana sakšan*   *ʾəšrin*
       SECTION   10   AND   SIX   WHILE   COP-3MS I   SECTION   20

       wa-   *sabʿa*   *ʾana*
       AND   SEVEN   COP-1CS

       'while **he** is in section 16, I am in section 27' (Ḥamid and I, line 12)

3.1.2   *As the Subject of a Verbal Clause*

hətu   *la-*   *kətbā*   *lakfayo*
HE   DEF   HER-BOOKS   HE-THREW-IT-M
'he threw her books away'

ʾana   *farḥat*   *bədibye*
I   HAPPINESS   I-HAVE-IN-ME
'I am happy'
    See 4.3.4 for *bədib-* 'to have' and 6.2.5 for *casus pendens* in *ʾana* 'as for me'.

The pronoun is optional in this case, as demonstrated by the following verbal clauses without the pronoun.

(49) *məgəl*   *təsta*   *təḥazza*
       WHAT-SO-THAT   YOU-FS-MAY-DRINK   YOU-FS-WANT
       'what do **you** want to drink?'
           *məgəl < *mi ʾəgəl*

       fungoḥ   *ʾabay*   *ʾəgəl təkfal tu*
       TOMORROW   ENEMY   YOU-MS-WILL-KILL
       'tomorrow **you** will kill the enemy'

3.1.3   *For Emphasis or Change of Subject*

(50) *ʾəwān*   *ʾana* *ʾəgəl*   *ʾəskab*   *ḥazeko*   **hətu** *ʾəgəl* *raydəyo*
       WHILE   I   SO-THAT I-MIGHT-SLEEP I-WANTED   HE   TO   RADIO
       samməʿ ʿala
       HE-WAS-LISTENING
       'while I wanted to sleep, **he** was listening to the radio'

See also above 3.1.1 "Ḥamid and I," line 12.

3.1.4   *As a Resumptive Pronoun*

In the Coffee Ceremony text, *bun* 'coffee' is introduced as the subject in line 1, and the pronoun *həta* is used to resume discussion at points later in the text. See also 6.2.5 for the suspended subject *həta* 'as for it-F'. Morpheme glosses are in Appendix I.

(51)   1) *ṭabʿan ʾana ʾab **bun** ʾəgəl ʾəthāge tu*...
        'Now I will talk about coffee...'
        3) *wa-**həta** ṭabʿan ʾab bəzḥe ʿabbāy tom ləsattəwā la-ʿalaw badir*...
        'Now formerly only the eldest used to drink it,...'
        (Lit., 'Now ***concerning it (coffee)***, naturally among the most important were those who used to drink it, formerly,...')
        4) *fā **həta** dib mənasabāt ʾawra*
        'So, ***as for it***, on special occasions one has started the fire.'

3.2   Independent Genitive Pronoun

The independent genitive pronoun is *nay*,[2] which takes the affixed genitive pronouns in Table 5. *nay* is used to express qualification or possession. See also 6.1.1.4 for a discussion of word order and 6.1.1.5 for the construct sequence, a noun phrase that does not employ *nay* but which is also used to express qualification and possession.

3.2.1   *Qualification*

Qualification is the clarification of a noun's characteristics, properties, or description.

(52)   *šaʿab **nay** təgra* 'the Tigre people' (Coffee Ceremony, line 2)

        *ʾəmtəḥān **nay** mātrik* 'matriculation examination' (Ḥamid and I, line 6)

        *la-ʿəmer **nayna*** 'our age' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)

---

2 Cf. *Wörterbuch nāy*. The informants consistently wrote this form with *a*. Though *a* and *ā* can be distinguished by length, sufficient variation exists so as to render phonetic realizations inconclusive as to whether *a* or *ā* underlies this form. See also 2.13.

ʾal-məhəm	**nay**	*ḥatta*	*sanat*	*dawrat*	**nay**	*ʾənǧəlizi*
REQUIREMENT	GEN	ONE-F	YEAR	COURSE	GEN	ENGLISH

'a one-year required English course' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)

3.2.2 *Possession*

(53) **nayka** *habbo* 'give him **yours-MS** (your property)'
For doubling of *b* and the M OBJ suffix *-o* in *habbo* 'give him', see 3.6.1.

3.3   Independent Deictics and Reflexives

The independent deictic pronoun and pro-adjective forms are as follows:

TABLE 4   *Independent Deictic Pronouns and Pro-adjectives*

	MS	FS	MP	FP
Near	*ʾəlli*	*ʾəlla*	*ʾəllom*	*ʾəllan*
Far	*lohi / lohay*	*loha*	*lohom*	*lohan*

In practice the far MS form is also produced as *lahay* and *lehi*. The deictic pronoun or pro-adjective usually precedes a modified noun. See also 6.1.1.1 for word order and 6.1.2 for gender and number agreement.

3.3.1 *Pronouns*

(54) **ʾəlla** *ʾənče ta* 'this-F is my eye'
lohay *tu la-suḳ* 'that-M is the market'

3.3.2 *Pro-adjectives*

(55) **ʾəlli** *kətāb* 'this-M book'   **loha** *ʾəssit* 'that woman'
lohi *ʾənās* 'that man'   **lehi** *bāb* 'that-M door'

la-	*ʾayyām*	**lahay**
DEF	DAYS	THAT-M

'those days' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)

> **lohom**   sab   gazāyəf   tom
> THOSE-M   MEN   HUGE-CP   COP-3MP
> 'those men are huge'

3.3.3   *Independent Reflexive*

An independent reflexive pronoun *ḥəd* 'each other' is attested in a few instances. See also (324) *dib ḥəd* 'together'.

(56)   ʾab   **ḥəd**   ləḥāyəsanna
        TO   EACH-OTHER   MAY-HE-MAKE-GOOD-FOR-US
        'nice to meet you'

3.4   Affixed Nominative Pronouns

The nominative pronoun is affixed to a verbal base to indicate person, number, and gender. See Table 17.

3.5   Suffixed Genitive Pronouns

A genitive pronoun is suffixed to a noun or preposition. The suffixed genitive pronouns are as follows:

TABLE 5   *Suffixed Genitive Pronouns*

	SG	PL
1C	-ye, -y	-na
2M	-ka[3]	-kum
2F	-ki	-kən
3M	-u	-om
3F	-ā	-an

---

3   Leslau records 2MS *-kā* and 1CP *-nā*, based on both Littmann's text collection ("Sketches," p. 186) and his own fieldwork ("Observations," p. 130). Littmann transcribes in the same manner ("Pronomina," pp. 196–200).

3.5.1   *1cs*

The 1cs pronoun is *-ye*, unless the modified noun ends in a vowel, in which case the pronoun is *-y*.

(57)   *kətāb* 'book' ~ *kətābye* 'my book'
  ḥāl 'maternal uncle' ~ *ḥālye* 'my maternal uncle'
  ḥamde 'praise' ~ *ḥamdey* 'my praise'
  morā 'stick' ~ *morāy* 'my stick'

As noted in 2.3.1, the 1cs suffix *-ye* combines with *t*-final nouns to produce the suffix *-če*.

(58)   *ʿəntāt* 'eyes' ~ *ʿəntāče* 'my eyes'
  mankinat 'car' ~ *mankinače* 'my car'

3.5.2   *"t-juncture feature"*

For a few nouns, the base form is unmarked but the suffixed form incorporates final *t*. This "t-juncture feature"[4] is likely related to the feminine marker *-(a)t* discussed in 3.9.5.1.

(59)   *ḥal* 'maternal aunt' ~ *ḥaltu* 'his maternal aunt', *ḥalče* 'my maternal aunt'
  ʿən 'eye' ~ *ʿəntu* 'his eye', *ʿənče* 'my eye'

3.5.3   *Masculine-Specific Forms*

For three nouns, a masculine-specific form of the first person pronoun accompanies the 1cs form.[5] This is probably related to the *t*-juncture feature discussed above in 3.5.2.

(60)   *ʿən* 'eye' ~ *ʿənče* 'my-c eye' ~ *ʿənye* 'my-m eye'
  morat 'stick' ~ *morače* 'my-c stick' ~ *morāy* 'my-m stick'[6]
  ʾəde 'hands' ~ *ʾədātəče* 'my-c hands' ~ *ʾədeye* 'my-m hands'[7]

---

4 *TGT*, pp. 37–38. Palmer also discusses this phenomenon in *MTN*, pp. 67–68.

5 It is quite possible that these are true gender-specific suffixes, i.e. 1ms *-ye* and 1fs *-če*, with no 1cs form. Based on elicitations, however, there appears to be a common suffix in *-če*, because this is what Mohammed usually produced when a gloss such as 'my eye' was elicited in isolation. In general Mohammed produced forms in *-ye* only when we specifically discussed gender distinction for possessive suffixes.

6 *morā* is also attested for 'stick' but appears to be less common than *morat*.

7 Note that *ʾəde* is both singular and dual: 'hand, hands'. Regarding *ʾədātəče*, *-āt* and *-otāt* are external noun plural suffixes in Tigre of Gindaʿ (cf. 3.10.1); however, the origin of *-ət-*, which

3.5.4 *Use*

The suffixed genitive pronoun is used as an expression of possession or quali-
fication with a noun and as the object of a preposition.

3.5.4.1 Possession

(61) *kətābu* 'his book'
      la-kaləbka 'your-MS dog'
          See 3.11 for the use of the definite article *la-* with a suffixed noun.

3.5.4.2 Qualification

(62) *dārəsom* 'their-M studies'
      gəbru 'his deed, his command'
      kəllan 'both of them-F' (Gindaʿ, line 10)

3.5.4.3 Object of a Preposition

(63) *dib* 'in, into' ~ *dibā* 'into it-F (one-year English course)' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)
      məsəl 'with' ~ *məslu* 'with it-M (breakfast)' (Making Coffee, line 19)
      bə- 'to have' ~ *bəna ʾikon* 'we don't have' (Coffee Ceremony, line 8)
          See 4.3.1 for *bə-* 'to have'.

3.6   Suffixed Object Pronouns

Object pronouns are suffixed to the verb and take the following general forms:

TABLE 6   *Suffixed Object Pronouns—General Forms*

1CS	-(n)ni	1CP	-(n)na
2MS	-(k)ka[8]	2MP	-(k)kum
2FS	-(k)ki	2FP	-(k)kən
3MS	-(y)o, -hu	3MP	-(y)om, -hom
3FS	-(y)ā, -hā	3FP	-(y)an, -han

_____

produces *-əče* with the 1CS pronoun, is unknown. *ʾədātət does not occur as 'hands', only *ʾəde*
and *ʾaʾday*.

8   As for suffixed genitive pronouns (cf. 3.5), Littmann ("Pronomina," pp. 205, 209–210) and Leslau
("Sketches," p. 186) transcribe suffixed object pronouns using 2MS *-(k)kā* and 1CP *-(n)nā*.

The specific suffix form depends on the verbal base. The following chart gives forms of the object pronoun suffix that were attested in the corpus. For verbal base forms, see 4.5.

TABLE 7   *Suffixed Object Pronouns—Specific Forms Attested in the Corpus*

Verbal base								
	IPRF	**JUSS**	**IMP**	**PRF-3MS**	**-3FS**	**-3MP**	**-3FP**	**-2MP**
	ləḳattəl > *ləḳattəll-*	*ləḳtal* > *ləḳtall-*	*ḳətal* > *ḳətall-*	*ḳatla*	*ḳatlat* > *ḳatlatt-*	*ḳatlaw*	*ḳatlayā*	*ḳatalkum*
Suffix								
1CS	—	*-anni*	*-anni*	*-nni*	*-anni*	*-əni*	*-ni*	*-(kun)ni*
2MS	—	*-akka*	—	*-kka*	*-akka*	*-ka*	*-ka*	—
2FS	—	—	—	—	*-akki*	—	—	—
3MS	*-o*	*-o*	*-o*	*-yo*	—	*-o*	*-hu*	—
3FS	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-yā*	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-hā*	—
1CP	—	—	*-anna*	—	—	—	—	—
2MP	—	—	—	—	*-akkum*	—	—	—
2FP	—	—	—	—	*-akkən*	—	—	—
3MP	—	—	*-om*	*-yom*	—	—	—	—
3FP	—	—	*-an*	—	—	—	—	—

3.6.1   *Verbal Bases Ending in a Consonant*

The simplest forms of the third person suffixes occur with verbal bases ending in a consonant, such as the imperfect 3MS *ləḳattəl*, the jussive 3MS *ləḳtal*, or the imperative MS *ḳatal*. In these verbs, there is doubling of the final consonant: e.g. *ḳatal* > *ḳatall-*.

(64)   *habbo* 'give-MS to him'

    ləʾakkom 'send-MS them'

    moḥammad   *ʾəgəl*   *ḥāmid*   *laʾakabbərro halla*
    P.N.   ACC   P.N.   HE-IS-INFORMING-HIM
    'Mohammed is informing Hamid'

ḳoraʾ	*man*	*təbəllā*		*ʾəb*	*təgrait*
FROG	WHO?	YOU-MS-SAY-IT-*F*	IN	TIGRE

'how do you say "frog" in Tigre?'

The second person suffix *-kka* is affixed with *-a-*.

(65) *təbṣaḥakka* 'may it-F reach you-MS'

Doubling of the final consonant of the verbal base does not occur with a first person suffix. Rather, *n* of the suffix is doubled, and it is affixed with *-a-*.

(66) *ləʾakanni* 'send-MS me'

3.6.2   *Verbal Bases Ending in* -a

For verbal bases ending in *-a*, such as the perfect 3MS *ḳatla* and 2MS *ḳatalka*, there is gemination of the consonant in the first and second person suffixes. Third person suffixes are affixed with *-y-*.

(67) *maṣʾakka* 'he comes to you-MS'

    man lakfayā 'who threw-MS it-F?'

    ḥabbarkanni gabbiʾ 'could you-MS tell-MS me?'
       See 6.4.5.1 for the use of *gabbiʾ* in the subjunctive mood.

3.6.3   *The Perfect 3FS Verbal Base* ḳatlat

As in the consonant-final verbal bases in 3.6.1 above, the perfect 3FS *ḳatlat* becomes *ḳatlatt-*. First and second person suffixes are affixed with *-a-* and, as in 3.6.2 above, there is gemination of the consonant in the suffix.

(68) *ʾafrahattanni* 'it-F frightened me'
    laʾakattakkən 'she sent you-FP'

3.6.4   *The Perfect 3FP and 3MP Verbal Bases* ḳatlayā *and* ḳatlaw

Third person suffixes are attached to *ḳatlayā* (perfect 3FP) by *-h-*.

(69) *laʾakayāhu* 'they-F sent him'

The perfect 3MP *ḳatlaw* does not occur with this additional segment.

(70)   *la'akawo* 'they-M sent him'

3.6.5   *The Perfect 2MP Verbal Base* ḳatalkum
The *m* of perfect 2MP *ḳatalkum* assimilates to the *n* of the first person suffix *-ni*.

(71)   *'ar'ekunni* 'you-MP showed me'

3.6.6   *Use*
The object pronoun suffix is used as an object or complement of the verb.

(72)   *nayka habbo* 'give yours-MS (your property) to him'

    la-kətbā lakfayo 'he threw her books away'
    (Lit., 'her books he threw-it-M-away')

    la'akawka 'they-M sent you-MS'

    maṣ'akka 'he comes to you-MS'

    'afrahattanni 'it-F frightened me'

    lətgabba'anni 'hoping' (Lit., 'may it-M come to pass for me')
    (Ḥamid and I, line 9)

    təhayabattanna 'it-F was given to us' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

3.7   The Relative Particle

The relative particle is *la-* 'that, which, who', which is prefixed, usually to a verb.
See also 6.6 for markedness and word order in relative clauses.

(73)   **la-**   *bazḥat*   *ḳawməyat*
       REL   IT-F-IS-NUMEROUS   ETHNIC-GROUP
       the most common ethnic group (Ginda', line 3)

       məslā   **la-**   *gabbi'*   *našāṭāt*
       WITH-IT-F REL IT-M/F-HAPPENS ACTIVITIES
       'activities that occur with it' (Making Coffee, line 15)

kəranəkəs   **la-**   ləṭbahal   halla
KIRENIKIS   REL   IT-M-IS-CALLED   THERE-M-IS
'there is what is called "kirenikis" ' (Trad Decorations, line 20)

In a cleft sentence, the gloss for *la-* must sometimes be rendered 'how, where, when'. See also 6.6.3.

(74) *dib   ḥatta   ʾəlli   ḥəna   **la-**   hallena*
IN   ONE-F   THIS-M   COP-1CP   REL   WE-ARE
'we live in the same room' (Lit., 'in this one we are ***where*** we are')
(Ḥamid and I, line 13)
    For gender "disagreement" between *ḥatta* and *ʾəlli,* see (425).

3.8   Interrogative Pronouns and Pro-Adjectives

Interrogative pronouns and pro-adjectives take the following forms:

TABLE 8   *Interrogative Pronouns and Pro-Adjectives*

man	'who?'	*kam*[9]	'how many? how much?'
mi	'what?'	*šowā*[10]	'which (place)?'

Examples follow.

(75) *la-   ʾəbbənat   **man**   lakfayā*
DEF   STONE   WHO?   HE-THREW-IT-F
'***who*** threw the stone?'

    mi   *tu*   *ʾəlli*   *ʾakərān*   *ʾəlli*
WHAT   COP-3MS   THIS-M   NOISES   THIS-M
'***what*** are these noises?'
    For the occurrence of the deictic *ʾəlli* both before and after the modified noun *ʾakərān*, see (413) and (414). For number agreement with the internal plural, see 6.1.2.7.

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9   Cf. *Wörterbuch kəm.*

10   'which (person/thing)?' (*Wörterbuch ʾay-*) was not elicited. 'which (place)?' is documented elsewhere in Tigre as *ʾəše* 'where?' (*Wörterbuch*), *ʾəšw-* 'where?' (*TGT*, p. 87), and *ʾəša* 'where?' ("Sketches," p. 197).

kam	*tu*	*la-*	*kilo*	*nay*	*ḥāsəs*
HOW-MUCH?	COP-3MS	DEF	KILOGRAM	GEN	BUTTER

'*how much* is a kilogram of butter?'

šowā		*madinat*	*gərrəm*	*təbəl*		*ʾassāb*	*walā*	*ʾaḳurdat*
WHICH-PLACE?		CITY	GOOD-FS	YOU-MS-SAY		PL.N.	OR	PL.N.

'*which* city do you like more, Assab or Akurdet?'

In one instance *mi* becomes *m-* before *ʾəgəl.*

(76) | *məgəl* | *təsta* | *təḥazza* |
|---|---|---|
| WHAT-SO-THAT | YOU-FS-MAY-DRINK | YOU-FS-WANT |

'*what* do you want to drink?'

      məgəl < *mi ʾəgəl

3.9   Nouns—Base Forms and Gender

The semantic range of Tigre words is in general governed by the sequence of consonants, sometimes called "root consonants" or the "root," contained in the word. Root consonants are attested with vowels and affixes in a finite number of combinations to produce Tigre words.[11] Examples of root consonants, Tigre words, and the associated semantic range follow:

(77) *ʾ-b-n*   *ʾəbən* 'stone' ~ *ʾəbbanāy* 'stony'
      b-z-ḥ   *bəzuḥ* 'many' ~ *mabzəḥ* 'most'
      f-g-r   *fagrat* 'she went out' ~ *lafaggər* 'it stretches out' ~ *məfgār* 'rising'
      d-r-s   *madrasat* 'school' ~ *darsa* 'he recited' ~ *dārəsām* 'studying-MP'

Singular noun forms attested in the Tigre of Gindaʿ corpus are as follows. The consonantal pattern *ḳ-t-l* (cf. 4.4 *ḳattəl* 'kill') is employed for convenience.[12]

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11   The association of root consonants, words, and semantic range is common to the Semitic languages. See *GVG* I, pp. 285–287.

12   Elicitations were not sufficient to demonstrate the full extent of the nominal system of Tigre of Gindaʿ. In general, nouns exhibit characteristics very similar to that discussed in Raz *TGT*, Leslau "Sketches" and "Observations," and Palmer *MTN*. Notable differences are incorporated in footnotes.

3.9.1 Uni-consonantal Noun Base Forms[13]

– *ḳv*

(78) *ḥu* 'brother'

3.9.2 Bi-consonantal Noun Base Forms

– *ḳvl*

(79) *ḥāl* 'maternal uncle'
     ʾən 'eye'
     dam 'blood'
     sar 'half'

– *ḳvlv*

(80) *ʾəde* 'hand, hands'
     māle 'yesterday'
     sito 'the drink'
     gala 'such, something (unspecified or random)'

3.9.3 Tri-consonantal Noun Base Forms

– *ḳvtvl*

(81) *kaləb* 'dog'
     gərəz 'infant'
     šəḳāḳ 'bathroom'
     faġir 'tomorrow'

– *ḳvtlv*

(82) *dəmmu* 'cat'

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13   Nouns are presented as uni-consonantal, bi-consonantal, etc., strictly based on the number of consonants attested in the base form(s). Consonants only extant in plurals are not incorporated here, e.g., classification of *ḥu* 'brother' as bi-consonantal (*ḥ-w*) on the basis of *ḥawāt* 'brothers'.

– *ḳvttvl(v)*

(83) *ḥabbār* 'coloring'
      šerrābā 'weaving'

– *mvḵtvl*

(84) *maḥzan* 'store'
      maṭʿam 'restaurant'
      məwdāḵ 'setting'
      məfgār 'rising'

3.9.4   *Quadri-consonantal Noun Base Forms*[14]

– *ḳvrtvl*

(85) *ḥarmāz* 'elephant'
      danbar 'wing'
      ʿənkər 'puppy'

In a few instances the root involves duplication of a consonant sequence.

(86) *koskos* 'roasting equipment'

– *ḳvrtvlv*

(87) *ʿəmbobā* 'popcorn'
      ʾənǧarā 'injera' (flat, bread-like staple food made from the grain *ṭaf*)

– *mvḵvrtvl*

(88) *madagdag* 'mortar'

3.9.5   *Gender in Base Forms of Nouns*

3.9.5.1   Marked Feminine Nouns
Feminine nouns are generally marked by *-t* or *-at*.

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14   The nonce consonantal sequence *ḳ-r-t-l* is used for convenience here.

– *ḳvt* (cf. 3.9.1)

(89) *ḥət* 'sister'
Presumably *ḥət* = *ḥu* + *-t*. The difference between *-u* in *ḥu* and *-ə-* in *ḥət* may be the result of historical developments.

– *ḳvlat* (cf. 3.9.2)

(90) *səmat* 'name-F' (variant)
sanat 'year'

– *ḳvtlvt* (cf. 3.9.3)

(91) *kalbat* 'dog-F'
ʾəssit 'woman'
šaybat 'gray-haired woman'
ʿammat 'paternal aunt'

ʾardat 'land'
   Cf. *la-ʾardat yābsat ʿalat* 'the land was dry'. For F adjectives similar to *yābsat* 'dry-FS', see (126). For the F verb *ʿalat* 'it-F was', see Table 15.

ṭawlat 'table'
   Cf. *ṭawlat bardat* 'a cold table'; for F adjectives similar to *bardat*, see (126).

– *ḳvt(t)vlat* (cf. 3.9.3)

(92) *ʾəbbənat* 'stone-F (variant)'

ǧabanat 'coffee bottle'
Cf. *la-*   *ḥatta*   *la-*   *ǧabanat*   *ʾəwān*   *tətakka*
     DEF   ONE-F   DEF   COFFEE-BOTTLE   WHEN   IT-*F*-IS-PUT-OVER-A-FIRE
     'first, when the coffee bottle is brought to a boil' (Coffee Ceremony, line 6)
For F verbs such as *tətakka*, see 4.12.4.

3.9.5.2   Unmarked Feminine Nouns
Some feminine nouns are not marked. See also 6.1.2.5.

(93)   *ʾəm* 'mother'

    ʿən 'eye'
      Cf. *ʾəlla ʿənče ta* 'this is my eye'. For the F forms *ʾəlla* 'this' and *ta* 'it is', see Tables
      4 and 13 respectively. For the 1CS possessive suffix *-če* see (4) and (58).

    ṣaḥay 'sun'
      Cf. *ṣaḥay faggər hallet* 'the sun is rising'; for F verb constructions such as *faggər hallet*, see 4.6.4.

    ḳoraʾ 'frog'
    Cf. **ḳoraʾ** man təbəllā ʾəb təgrait
      FROG WHO? YOU-MS-SAY-IT-*F* IN P.N.
      'how do you say "frog" in Tigre?'
        For the F suffix *-ā* in *təbəllā* , see Tables 6 and 7.

3.9.5.3   Masculine Nouns
Masculine nouns are generally not marked.

(94)   *kaləb* 'dog'
    ʾəbən 'stone'

    suḵ 'market'
    Cf. *baya* *halla* *la-* **suḵ**
      WHERE? IT-*M*-IS DEF MARKET
      'where is the market?'
        For the M verb *halla* see Table 15.

    baʿal 'owner'
    Cf. *man* *tu* *la-* **baʿal** *la-* *maḥzan*
      WHO? COP-3*M*S DEF OWNER DEF STORE
      'who is the store-owner?'
        For the M copula *tu* see Table 13.

3.9.6   *Changes in a Noun Base for a Suffixed Noun*
For some *ḳvtvl* nouns, the base form is *ḳvtl-* when the feminine suffix is present
(cf. (81) and (91)):

(95) *kaləb* M ~ *kalbat* F 'dog'
      šayəb M ~ *šaybat* F 'gray-haired person'.[15]

It follows that the base form would also change when a pronominal suffix is added. Because of the small number of attestations of suffixed nouns, there is only one attested instance of this.

(96) *kətəb* 'books' ~ *kətbā* 'her books'.

3.10   Nouns—Number

Singular noun forms are treated above in 3.9. Plural noun forms are attested in two general varieties: "external" plurals and "internal" plurals.

3.10.1   *External Plurals*
External plural forms are characterized by the suffixation of *-āt* or *-otāt*.

(97) *suḵ* 'market' ~ *suḵāt* 'markets'
      ʾəm 'mother' ~ *ʾəmmāt* 'mothers'
      ḥāl 'maternal uncle' ~ *ḥālotāt* 'maternal uncles'
      šayəb 'gray-haired man' ~ *šaybotāt* 'gray-haired men'

In some instances the base form changes when the noun is suffixed. This occurs in *ʾəm* and *šayəb* above, and is documented in 3.5.2 and 3.9.6.
    A feminine *-at* suffix is replaced by an external plural suffix.

(98) *ʿammat* 'paternal aunt' ~ *ʿammotāt* 'paternal aunts'
      šaybat 'gray-haired woman' ~ *šaybāt* 'gray-haired women'

The plural forms of *ʾab* 'father' and *ʾaf* 'mouth' are attested in *-āč* / *-āyt* .

(99) *ʾab* 'father' ~ *ʾabāč* / *ʾabāyt* 'fathers'
      ʾaf 'mouth' ~ *ʾafāč* / *ʾafāyt* 'mouths'

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15   A similar alternation in base form occurs for FS adjectives in *-vt*, the MS counterpart for which is *ḵvtvl* (cf. (126)):
      kəfuʾ -MS ~ *kəfʾət* -FS 'bad, ugly'.

For nouns not referring to human beings, the external plural form is grammatically singular. Gender is not necessarily the same as for the singular noun. See also 6.1.2.7.

(100)   *suḳ* (M):
         *baya   halla   la-   **suḳ***
         WHERE?   IT-*M*-IS   DEF   MARKET
         'where is the market?'

         ~ *suḳāt* (M):
         *la-   **suḳāt**   bāḳlā   maṭ'am   ya-halla-nni*
         DEF   MARKETS   NEAR   RESTAURANT   IT-*M*-IS-NOT
         'the markets are not near the restaurant'
              For the MS verbs *halla* and *ya-halla-nni*, see Tables 15 and 16 respectively.

         'ən (F):
         'əlla   'ənye   ta
         THIS-*F*   MY-M-EYE   COP-3*F*S
         'this is my eye'

         ~ *'əntāt* (M):
         'əlli   'əntātka   tu
         THIS-*M*   YOUR-MS-EYES   COP-3*M*S
         'these are your eyes'

3.10.2 *Internal Plurals*
Internal plural forms are characterized by vowel change and/or vowel loss in the noun base.

(101)   *'əbən* 'stone' ~ *'əban* 'stones'
         'askər 'soldier' ~ *'asākər* 'soldiers'
         kaləb 'dog' ~ *kəlāb* 'dogs'
         kətāb 'book' ~ *kətəb* 'books'

For some quadri-consonantal nouns, vowel change is accompanied by consonantal gemination.

(102)   *ḥarmāz* 'elephant' ~ *ḥara**mm**əz* 'elephants'
         danbar 'wing' ~ *dana**bb**ər* 'wings'

This *ḳarattəl* pattern is also found in internal plurals of tri-consonantal nouns as *ḳatallvt*, for which see (105) *damammit* 'cats' below.

Vowel changes can be accompanied by the prefix *ʾa-*. In many instances this produces the internal plural form *ʾak̤tvl*. For plurals of collective nouns, the attested form is *ʾak̤attəl* (cf. (110) below).

(103)   *k̤əbər* 'grave' ~ *ʾak̤bər* 'graves'
          gərəz 'infant' ~ *ʾagruz* 'infants'
          fasəl 'class' ~ *ʾafṣul* 'classes'

(104)   *ʾačaggər* 'many kinds of hair'
          ʾak̤aṭṭəf 'pile of leaves'

Vowel changes can also be accompanied by loss of the suffix *-t* or *-at* or by addition of a suffix, frequently in *-t*.

(105)   *ḥu* 'brother' ~ *ḥawāt* 'brothers'
          dəmmu 'cat' ~ *damammit* 'cats'
          ʾalgat 'baby' ~ *ālug* 'babies'
          morat 'stick' ~ *marawwi* 'sticks'
               Note the root consonant metathesis here: *m-w-r > m-r-w*.

For nouns not referring to human beings, the internal plural form is grammatically masculine singular. See also 6.1.2.7.

(106)   *la-*   *ʾayyām*   *lahay*
          DEF   DAYS   THAT-*M*
          'those days' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)

          ʾaškāl   *taʾafaggərro*
          PATTERNS   YOU-MS-STRETCH-IT-*M*
          'you shape the patterns' (Trad Decorations, line 22)

          marawwi   *bāk̤lā*   *ʿarāt*   *ya-halla-nni*
          STICKS   NEAR   BED   IT-*M*-IS-NOT
          'the sticks are not near the bed'
               Cf. *morat* (F) and *morā* (M) 'stick'.

3.10.3   *Suppletive Plurals*
One suppletive plural form is attested.

(107)   *ʾənās* 'man' ~ *sab* 'men'

3.10.4 *Collective Nouns*

The pattern of markedness for number that has been described so far can be summarized as follows.

(108)   Unmarked MS ~ FS in -(a)t ~ External/internal PL

The pattern for collective nouns is different. The collective will take the unmarked form, accompanied by a countable singular marked by *-at* and an internal plural.

(109)   Unmarked collective ~ Countable SG in *-at* ~ Internal PL

(110)   *čəgar* 'hair' ~ *čəggarat* 'strand of hair' ~ *ʾačaggər* 'many kinds of hair'
         kaṭaf 'leaves' ~ *kaṭfat* 'leaf' ~ *ʾakaṭṭəf* 'pile of leaves'
         ḥud 'few' ~ *ḥudat* 'fewer' (i.e., less than 'few')
         ʾəčay 'tree' ~ *ʾəčat* 'vine'
         dol 'a few minutes' ~ *dolat* 'an instance; (one) time'[16]

Suffixation of *-at* for countable singular appears to be a productive process in Tigre of Ginda', given that *dolat* is not found in *Wörterbuch* or TGT, and given the occurrence of the form *salsat* 'a third time', probably derived from *salas* 'three' (cf. Table 10) and also not found in *Wörterbuch* or TGT.

(111)   ʾəttā   kālʾāyt   fəlḥat   ʾorʾoro   fəǧān   sattu
         IN-IT-F   SECOND-F   BOIL   ONE-M-EACH   CUP   THEY-M-DRINK
         mənnā   dibā   **salsat**   ʾorʾoro   fəǧān
         FROM-IT-F   IN-IT-F   THIRD-TIME   ONE-M-EACH   CUP
         'in the second boil they each drink one cup from it, and in **the third**, one cup
         each' (Making Coffee, line 6)
             Alternatively, *salsat* is an ordinal adjective in *kaṭlat*. *kaṭlat* is not documen-
             ted elsewhere in Tigre as an ordinal.

3.11   Nouns—Definiteness

The definiteness of a noun can be expressed by prefixing the definite article *la-*. The definite article is equivalent in form to the relative particle, which is discussed in 3.7.

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16   PL forms corresponding to *ḥud ~ ḥudat, ʾəčay ~ ʾəčat*, and *dol ~ dolat* were not elicited and did not occur in any of the texts provided by the informants.

(112)   *lohay tu **la**-suḵ* 'that-M is the market'
        ***la**-ʾǝbbǝnat man lakfayā* 'who threw the stone?'
        ***la**-ʾardat yabsat ʿalat* 'the land had been dry'

The definite article is frequently found on a noun that is modified by a pro-nominal suffix, genitive suffix, or deictic pro-adjective.

(113)   *hǝtu*   ***la-***   *kǝtbā*   *lakfayo*
        HE   DEF   HER-BOOKS   HE-THREW-IT-M
        'he threw her books away'

        ***la**-kalǝbka* 'your-MS dog'

        ***la**-ʾǝmer nayna* 'our age' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)

        la-   *ʾayyām*   *lahay*
        DEF   DAYS   THAT-M
        'those days' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)

In one instance an indefinite article, *ʾoro* 'one-M', is attested.

(114)   *ʾoro ʿabi* 'an elder' (Making Coffee, line 20)

3.12   Derived Nouns

Two types of noun derived from a verb are attested in the present corpus: the agent noun and the verbal noun. Diminutive nouns do not appear to be used in Tigre of Gindaʿ.

3.12.1   *Agent Noun*

(115)   *ḵetlāy* 'one who kills, killer' (cf. *ḵatla* 'he killed')

3.12.2   *Verbal Noun*

Verbal nouns are attested in a variety of forms, the most common of which is the perfect base with the suffix *-ot*. For the A stem perfect base *ḵatl(a)t-* see 4.5.1. For the perfect base of other verb stems, consider the perfect forms in Table 19 exclusive of the final *-a* ; e.g., the B stem perfect is *ḵattala* and its base is *ḵattal-*. In the A stem the verbal noun *ḵvtlat* is also attested. (See also *ḵvtlvt* F nouns in (91)). The verbal noun generally has the sense of a gerund, e.g. *ḵatalot*

'killing'. See 6.5.1.9 for the use of the verbal noun where a sequence of actions is expressed.

3.12.2.1   From the A Stem (Perfect Base *ḳatl(a)t-*; cf. 4.4 and 4.5)

(116)   *ʿabot* 'growing'
      Cf. (179) and (204) *ʿaba* 'he grew'.
    ḳərḥat 'flaming'
      Cf. *ʾissat ḳarḥat* 'a fire burned'. Note also *Wörterbuch ḳaraḥ*, INF of *ḳarḥa*.
    ʾamər 'knowing, knowledge'
      Cf. (224) C stem *ʾāmara* 'he knew'. The verbal noun appears to be taken from an A stem verb that is not attested in the present corpus. The A stem is formed in *ʾa-*, rather than from the C stem, which is formed in *ʾā-*. A verbal noun from the A stem alongside a C stem perfect 'know' is consistent with *Wörterbuch ʾamir*, INF of unattested A stem *ʾamra*.
    bahlat 'saying, to say' (Trad Decorations, lines 6 and 13; Making Coffee, line 20)
      Cf. the A stem IPRF *ləbəl* 'he says' in (187) and the tə-A/B stem IPRF *lətbahal* 'it-M is called' in 4.13.3.

3.12.2.2   From the B Stem (Perfect Base *ḳattal-*; cf. 4.9)

(117)   *ğarabot, ğarbe* 'trying'
      Cf. *ğaraba* 'he tried', which does not have the characteristic B stem doubling of the second consonant, *r*. Note also *Wörterbuch ğarrabot*, INF of *ğarraba*, and *ğarbe* 'trial, test'.
    ḥabbār 'dyeing, coloring' (Trad Decorations, lines 10 and 22)
      B stem is suggested by doubling of *b*. No corresponding B stem verb is attested in the present corpus or documented elsewhere in Tigre. This form is probably an Arabic loan—cf. Egy(Hinds) *ḥabbar* 'ink over, apply ink to'; *ʾitḥabbar* 'be inked' and 7.1.5.3—but note also *Wörterbuch ḥəbər*, PL *ḥābār* 'totality; color, shape, appearance'.

3.12.2.3   From the C Stem (Perfect Base *ḳātal-*; cf. 4.10)

(118)   *kāfalot* 'dividing, distributing'
      Cf. *kāfala* 'he divided'.

3.12.2.4   From the Q or Q Passive Stem (Perfect Base *ḳartal-*; cf. 4.11 and 4.15)

(119)   *šerrābā* 'weaving' (Trad Decorations, line 10)
      Cf. 4.15.1 tə-Q *ləššerrab* 'it-M is woven'.

3.12.2.5 From the C Passive Stem (Perfect Base *ḵātal-*; cf. 4.14)

(120)   *matākāy* 'waiting'
         Cf. *Wörterbuch* tə-C verb *tətākā* 'expect, wait'.

3.12.2.6 From the ʾa-A Stem (Perfect Base *ʾaḵtal-*; cf. 4.16)

(121)   *ʾatmamot* 'finishing'
         Cf. *ʾatmama* 'he finished'.

3.12.3 *Diminutive Nouns*
Diminutive forms were not succesfully elicited, as demonstrated by the following lexemes:

(122)   *ʾəbən* 'stone' ~ *karat* 'pieces of stone'
         Cf. *Wörterbuch* *ʾəbbanāy* 'little stone' and "Sketches" *ʾəbbanatit* 'small stone'.[17]
         In Tigre of Gindaʿ *ʾəbbanāy* is 'stony'.
         raʾəs 'head' ~ 'small head' *not attested*
         Cf. *Wörterbuch* *raʾasetāy* diminutive.
         ǧənā 'child' ~ *gərəs* 'infant' ~ *ʾalgat* 'baby'
         Cf. MTN *ǧənetāy*-M, *ǧənetat*-F 'little child'.[18]

3.13 Days of the Week

The days of the week are as follows:

TABLE 9   *Days of the Week*

sanbat nəʾəš	'Saturday'
sanbat ʿabbay	'Sunday'
ʾətnin	'Monday'
ʾattalud	'Tuesday'
ʾarrabəʿ	'Wednesday'
kamiš	'Thursday'
ǧəmʿat	'Friday'

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17   P. 176.
18   P. 55.

3.14   Adjectives—Gender and Number

In general, adjectives are attested in three varieties: indeclinable, partially declinable for number and gender, and fully declinable for number and gender. Active and passive participles are also attested. As noted in the examples that follow, an adjective generally follows the noun that it modifies. Adjectives are also frequently substantivized.

3.14.1   *Indeclinable Adjectives*
A few examples of an indeclinable adjective are attested.

(123)   *ʿəmbobat ʾaḥdar* 'green flower-F'
          ʿəmbobā ʾaḥdar 'green flowers'[19]

3.14.2   *Partially Declinable Adjectives*
Many adjectives have three forms—*ḳvtvl* -MS, *ḳvt(t)v₂l* -FS,[20] and *ḳvtāyəl* -CP

(124)   *gazif* -MS ~ *gazzāf* -FS ~ *gazāyəf* -CP 'huge'
          la-ʾənās gazif tu 'the man is huge'
          la-ʾəssit gazzāf ta 'the woman is huge'
          lohom sab gazāyəf tom 'those men are huge'
          nəʾuš -MS ~ *nəʾiš* -FS ~ *naʾāyəš* -CP 'little'
          ḳalil -MS ~ *ḳallāl* -FS ~ *ḳalāyəl* -CP 'light (not heavy)'

Two additional types of common plural are attested: *ḳatəlt* and *ḳatāli*.

(125)   *ḳayəḥ* -MS ~ *ḳayāḥ* -FS ~ *ḳayəḥt* -CP 'red'
        ʾənās ḳayəḥ 'a red man'
        makinat ḳayāḥ 'a red car'
        ʾānəs ḳayəḥt 'red women'
        sab ḳayəḥt 'red men'
        ʿabi -MS ~ *ʿabbāy* -FS ~ *ʿabāyi* -CP[21] 'big'

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19   The MS form was not succesfully elicited, but the informants reported that it would be
      the same as the others—*ʾaḥdar*. The informants also reported that *saʿarsaʿaro* 'green' is an
      indeclinable adjective.
20   v₂ indicates that the second vowel of the FS form is different from the second vowel of the
      MS form.
21   Cf. *Wörterbuch ʿabayi, ʿabbač* PL.

3.14.3   *Fully Declinable Adjectives*

Some adjectives have distinct forms for masculine singular, feminine singular, masculine plural, and feminine plural. Attested masculine singular forms are *ḳvt(t)vl*, and feminine singular forms vary. Plural forms are composed of the masculine singular adjective with the following suffixes: *-ām* -MP, *-āt* -FP.

(126)   *gurrum* -MS ~ *gərrəm* -FS ~ *gurrumām* -MP ~ *gurrumāt* -FP 'handsome, beautiful'[22]

sanni -MS ~ *sannet* -FS ~ *sanniyām* -MP ~ *sanniyāt* -FP 'nice'

kufuʾ -MS ~ *kəfʾət* -FS ~ *kufuʾām* -MP ~ *kufuʾāt* -FP 'bad, ugly'

kubud -MS ~ *kəbdət* -FS ~ *kubudām* -MP ~ *kubudāt* -FP 'heavy'

3.14.4   *Active and Passive Participles*

Active and passive participles are attested in a few instances. The active base is *ḳātəl-*, and the passive base is *ḳat(t)ul-*. The presence of the plural suffix *-ām* suggests that they are fully declinable adjectives. For the use of participle + *halla* for continuous action, see 4.6.2 and 4.2.2.

(127)   *wādəyām* 'doing-PL' (Ḥamid and I, line 14)

dārəsām 'studying-PL' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

ḥəbur 'mixed-MS' (Coffee Ceremony, line 9)

ḳərubām 'gathered-PL' (Making Coffee, line 2)

gəssuyām 'sitting-PL' (Making Coffee, line 2)

maǧmuʿāt 'gathered-PL' (Coffee Ceremony, line 5) is borrowed from Arabic (cf. 7.1.5.3).

3.15   Denominative Adjectives

Two examples of an adjective derived from a noun are attested.

(128)   *ʾəbbanāy* -MS ~ *ʾəbbanat* -FS 'stony' (cf. *ʾəbən* ~ *ʾəbbanat* 'stone-FS')

bəlaḳ -CS 'rocky' (cf. *balḳat* 'rock', *bəlaḳ* 'rocks')

Note that *ʾəbbanat* and *bəlaḳ* are used both as an adjective and as a noun.

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22   Cf. *Wörterbuch gərrəm(t)*-FS, *gararrəm*-CP.

3.16 Numerals

3.16.1 *Cardinal Numerals*

The cardinal numbers from one to ten are as follows:

TABLE 10   *Cardinal Numbers from One to Ten*

ʾoro / *ḥatta*[23]	'one- M' / 'one- F'	*səs*[25]	'six'
kəlʾot / *kəlʾe*[24]	'two- M' / 'two- F'	*sabəʿ*	'seven'
salas	'three'	*samān*	'eight'
ʾarbaʿ	'four'	*səʿ*	'nine'
ḥaməs	'five'	*ʿasər*	'ten'

A numeral precedes the noun that it modifies.

(129)   *salas ḵawməyat* 'three ethnic groups' (Gindaʿ, line 3)
          samān fəğān 'eight cups' (Making Coffee, line 4)

ḥatta can also be construed as 'the same-ADJ' and 'first'.

(130)   *ʾana*   *wa-*   *ḥaməd*   *dib*   **ḥatta**   *madrasa*   *ḥəna*   *ʾastabdena*
          I   AND   P.N.   IN   ONE-F   SCHOOL   WE   WE-STARTED
          'Ḥamid and I started at the *same* school' (Ḥamid and I, line 1)

          məsəl   *hallena*   *dib*   **ḥatta**   *fasəl*
          TOGETHER   WE-ARE   IN   ONE-F   CLASS
          'we are together in the *same* class' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

          salas   *dolat*   *ta*   *təsatta...*   *dib*   *ʾəbəl:*   **la-**   *ḥatta*   *la-*
          THREE   TIME   COP-3FS IT-F-IS-DRUNK WHILE   I-SAY   DEF   ONE-F   DEF
          ğabanat   *ʾəwān*   *tətakka*
          COFFEE-BOTTLE   WHEN   IT-F-IS-PUT-OVER-A-FIRE
          'it is drunk three times...as I am about to describe: *first*, when the coffee
          bottle is brought to a boil...' (Coffee Ceremony, line 6)

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23   Cf. *Wörterbuch woro(t)* / *ḥatte*.

24   *səʾas* was also provided for 'six' in isolated elicitations of '16' *ʿasər wa-səʾas* and '26' *ʾəsrā wa-səʾas*. For the teens and twenties, see Table 11 below.

25   *kəlʾo-*M is also attested (line 4 of "Gindaʿ").

For *salas dolat ta təsatta* 'three times is how frequently it is drunk' see (546). For *dib* 'while' and *ʾawān* 'when', see (399) and (398) respectively.

ḥatta ʾəlli occurs as 'the same, each one'. See also 6.1.2.1 for discussion of the syntax of this phrase.

(131) *dib* **ḥatta** **ʾəlli** *ḥəna* *la-* *hallena*
　　　 IN ONE-F THIS-M COP-1CP REL WE-ARE
'we live in the ***same*** room' (Lit., 'in this one we are where we are')
(Ḥamid and I, line 13)
　　　See (547) and (557) for *la-hallena* 'where we are'.

ʾəgəl *la-* **ḥatta** *la-* **ʾəlli** *dib* *salas* *lətkaffal*
FOR DEF ONE-F DEF THIS-M INTO THREE IT-M-IS-DIVIDED
'***each*** segment (lit., for this one) is divided into three parts'
(Trad Decorations, line 8)

The cardinal numbers above ten are as follows:

TABLE 11　*Cardinal Numbers Above Ten*

ʿasər wa-ʾoro	'eleven- M'	*talatin*	'30'
ʿasər wa-ḥatta	'eleven- F'	*ʾarbəʿin*	'40'
ʿasər wa-kəlʾot	'twelve- M'	*ḥamsin*	'50'
ʿasər wa-kəlʾe	'twelve- F'	*səttin*	'60'
ʿasər wa-salas	'thirteen'	*sabʿin*	'70'
ʿasər wa-ʾarbaʿ	'fourteen'	*tamānin*	'80'
. . .	. . .	*təsʿin*	'90'
əšrin[26]	'20'	*məʾat*	'100'
əšrin wa-ḥatta[27]	'21'	. . .	. . .
əšrin wa-kəlʾe	'22'	*kəlʾe məʾat*	'200'
. . .	. . .	*ʾaləf*	'1000'

26　*əsrā* (*sic* in *Wörterbuch*) was also produced, but in connected texts *əšrin*, which is borrowed from Arabic, was used, as seen in the examples provided. Remaining decennials (cf. *TGT*, p. 77) were provided in a similar fashion.

27　*wa-ʾoro* and *wa-kəlʾot* appear to be used less frequently with the decennials than *wa-ḥatta* and *wa-kəlʾe*.

Higher magnitude numerals precede lower magnitude numerals when they are used in combination.

(132)   *dib*   *sanat*   ***ʾaləf***   *wa-*   *sə‘*   *məʾət*   *təs‘in*   *wa-*   *sə‘*
        IN   YEAR   1,000   AND   NINE   HUNDRED   NINETY   AND   NINE
        'in the year 1999' (Ḥamid and I, line 6)

        sab   *ḥawālay*   ***əšrin***   *wa-*   *ḥaməs*   *ʾaləf*   *ʾaddām*
        PEOPLE   APPROXIMATELY   20   AND   FIVE   1,000   PEOPLE
        'approximately *25,000* people' (Ginda‘, line 2)

For the syntax of numerals, see 6.1.1.2, (421), (423), and 6.1.2.1.

3.16.2   *Ordinal Numerals*
Attested ordinal numbers are as follows:

TABLE 12   *Attested Ordinal Numbers*

ʾawalāyt[28]	'first'
kāl‘āyt / kālə’	'second'
tās‘āy	'ninth'
‘āsrāy	'tenth'

(133)   *ʾəttā*   ***ʾawalāyt***   *fəlḥat*
        IN-IT-F   FIRST   BOIL
        'in the ***first*** boil' (Making Coffee, line 5)
            See also 6.2.3 for *ʾəttā*.

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28   In isolated elicitations, the following forms were also given:

ʾawal	'first'	*sādəs*	'sixth'
kālə’	'second'	*sābə‘*	'seventh'
sāləs	'third'	*sāmən*	'eighth'
rābə‘	'fourth'	*tāsə‘*	'ninth'
ḥāməs	'fifth'	*‘āsər*	'tenth'

For forms in *-āy(t)* , see TGT, p. 78. *ʾawal* is borrowed from Arabic (cf. Wehr *awwal*). *ʾawalāyt* is therefore doubly-marked for ordinality.

> *kāl'āyt*   *wəḵat*   *tətakka*
> SECOND   TIME   IT-F-IS-BOILED
> 'a *second* time it is boiled' (Coffee Ceremony, line 7)

> *la-*   *kālə'*   *'aw*   *la-*   *bə'əd*
> DEF   SECOND   OR   DEF   OTHER
> 'the second item—the other item' (Trad Decorations, line 16)

> *'asək-*   *mā*   *tās'āy*   *'asək*   *'āsrāy*
> UP-TO   OR   NINTH   UP-TO   TENTH
> 'up to *ninth* or *tenth* (grade)' (Ḥamid and I, line 4)
>   See (349) and (350) for *'asək*.

Ordinal numerals in *-t* (*'awalāyt* and *kāl'āyt*) are used with feminine nouns (*fəlḥat* and *wəḵat*; cf. 3.9.5.1). As noted above, see 6.1.1.2, (421), (423), and 6.1.2.1 for the syntax of numerals.

3.16.3 *Other Numerals*
Additional numerical forms attested include the following:

(134)   *sar* 'half' (Ḥamid and I, line 15)
        'or'oro 'one-M each' (Making Coffee, line 6)
        ḥatḥat 'one-F each, some' (Trad Decorations, line 7; Making Coffee, line 6)[29]
        kəlkəl'ot 'two-M each' (Making Coffee, line 5).

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29   Cf. *Wörterbuch ḥatḥatte* distributive.

Morphology—Verbs

4.1 The Copula

The forms of the copula 'to be' are as follows:

TABLE 13 *Forms of the Copula*

	SG		PL	
3M	*tu*	'he/it is'	*tom*	'they are'
3F	*ta*	'she/it is'	*tan*	'they are'
2M	*ʾənta*	'you are'	*ʾəntum*	'you are'
2F	*ʾənti*	'you are'	*ʾəntən*	'you are'
1C	*ʾana*	'I am'	*ḥəna*	'we are'

Note that the copula is equivalent to the independent personal pronoun for 2 and 1 (cf. Table 3). For 3, the copula is the independent personal pronoun without the first syllable *ḥə-*. See also 3.1 for discussion of final *-a* in these forms.

The copula is used to express identity. Its use is also attested in a number of special constructions: the future tense verbal construction *ʾəgəl* + jussive + copula, the subordinate clause *dib ʾəntu* + copula 'while', the adverbial expression *bahlat tu* 'that is, one can say, in sum', and the cleft sentence.

4.1.1 *Identity (Nominal Predicate)*

(135) *bun... ʿabbāy **ta***
COFFEE BIG-FS COP-3FS
'coffee ... **is** important' (Coffee Ceremony, line 8)

*təgra la- bazḥat ḳawməyat **ta** dib gəndaʿ*
P.N. REL IT-F-IS-NUMEROUS ETHNIC-GROUP COP-3FS IN PL.N.
'Tigre **is** the most common ethnic group in Gindaʿ ' (Gindaʿ, line 3)

məslā	la-	gayəs	mən-	halla	… *tu*	la-
WITH-IT-F	REL	IT-M-GOES	WHETHER	THERE-M-IS	COP-3MS	DEF

suʾāl
QUESTION

'The question … *is* whether there is something that goes with it (coffee)'
(Making Coffee, line 16)

4.1.2 *Identity (Adverbial Predicate)*

(136)

ʾana	sakšan	ʿəšrin	wa-	sabʿa	*ʾana*
I	SECTION	20	AND	7	COP-1CS

'I *am* in section 27' (Ḥamid and I, line 12)

mən	takʿala	*tu*
FROM	PALM-BRANCH	COP-3MS

'*it is* from a palm branch' (Trad Decorations, line 4)

ʾəntum	mən	bāṣəʿ	*ʾəntum*
YOU-MP	FROM	PL.N	COP-2MP

'you *are* from Massawa'

4.1.3 *Future Tense Verbal Construction* ʾəgəl + *jussive* + *copula* (*see also 4.6.1*)

(137)

ḥuye	fungoḥ	*ʾəgəl ləmṣaʾ tu*
MY-BROTHER	TOMORROW	HE-WILL-COME

'tomorrow my brother will come'

ʾəgəl ləfgaro tom 'they-M will go out'

3MS *tu* is used for second and first person forms.

(138)   *ʾəgəl təmṣaʾ tu* 'you-MS will come'
         ʾəgəl ʾəḳtal tu 'I will kill'

4.1.4 *Subordinate clause* dib ʾəntu + *copula 'while' (see also (400))*

(139)

sakšan	ʿasər	wa-	səs	dib ʾəntu *tu*	ʾana	sakšan	ʿəšrin	wa-
SECTION	10	AND	SIX	WHILE COP-3MS	I	SECTION	20	AND

sabʿa	ʾana
7	COP-1CS

'while *he is* in section 16, I am in section 27' (Ḥamid and I, line 12)

4.1.5   *Adverbial Expression* **bahlat tu** *'that is, one can say, in sum'* (*see also (331)*)

(140)   *wa-*   *ʾabbu*   *təʿalla*   *bahlat*   ***tu***
        AND   BY-HIM   IT-M-IS-CONSECRATED   TO-SAY   COP-3MS
        'it is consecrated by him, that is' (Making Coffee, line 20)

      səggādat   *tamma*   *bahlat*   ***tu***
      SIGGADET   IT-M-IS COMPLETE   TO-SAY   COP-3MS
      'one can say that a siggadet is finished' (Trad Decorations, line 6)

4.1.6   *Cleft Sentences (see also 6.6.3)*

(141)   *gəndaʿ*   *ʾab*   *ʾadbər*   *la-*   *təkallalat*   ***ta***
        PL.N.   BY   MOUNTAINS   REL   IT-F-IS-SURROUNDED   COP-3FS
        'Gindaʿ *is* (a place that is) surrounded by mountains' (Gindaʿ, line 5)

      dib   *ḥatta*   *ʾəlli*   ***ḥəna***   *la-*   *hallena*
      IN   ONE-F   THIS-M   COP-1CP   REL   WE-ARE
      'we live in the same room' (Lit., 'in this one ***we are*** where we are')
      (Ḥamid and I, line 13)

4.1.7   *The Negative of the Copula*

The negative of the third person copulae is *ʾikon* (cf. 4.18 the negative of the verb in *ʾi-*). It is not conjugated for gender or number. The forms *ʾikoni* and *ʾikonini* are also found. *ʾikonini* is not documented elsewhere in Tigre. The negative of the second and first person copulae is formed by replacing *ʾ-* with *y-* or by prefixing *yə-*: *yənta* 'you-MS are not', *yəḥəna* 'we are not'. This form is not documented elsewhere in Tigre. For the palatal segment *y*, see also below *ya-halla-nni* 'there is not' and 4.18 the negative of the verb, *yə-. . . -n(ni)*.

TABLE 14   *The Negative of the Copula*

	SG		PL	
3M	*ʾikon(i(ni))*	'he is not'	*ʾikon(i(ni))*	'they are not'
3F	*ʾikon(i(ni))*	'she is not'	*ʾikon(i(ni))*	'they are not'
2M	*yənta*	'you are not'	*yəntum*	'you are not'
2F	*yənti*	'you are not'	*yəntən*	'you are not'
1C	*yana*	'I am not'	*yəḥəna*	'we are not'

(142)   ʾəlli   bəzuḥ   ləmud   ʾikoni   ləmud   ʾikon
        THIS-M   MANY   USUAL   NEG-COP-3MS   USUAL   NEG-COP-3MS
        'this many (boils) *is not* usual; it *is not* usual' (Making Coffee, line 7)

        ʾana   mən   baṣəʿ   **yana**
        I   FROM   PL.N.   NEG-COP-1CS
        'I **am not** from Massawa'

        ʾəgəl təhāda **ʾikon** 'you-MS will **not** get married'
            Cf. affirmative in ʾəgəl təhāda **tu** 'you will get married' and in 4.1.3. For the
            multiply-weak C passive JUSS form təhāda see (283) and Table 24.

        bas ʾikonini '**not** only' (Trad Decorations, line 15)
            See also 5.3.1.3 for this conjunction.

4.2   The Verb of Existence

The verb of existence is *halla* 'to exist, to be (in a place)'. *ʿala* is used for the past
tense of this verb. These verbs are forms of the perfect conjugation, for which
see also Table 20 and 4.9 (*halla*) and Table 17, 4.8.6, and 4.8.8 (*ʿala*).

TABLE 15   *Forms of the Verb of Existence*

3MS	*halla*	'there is, he is'	*ʿala*	'there was, he was'
3FS	*hallet*	'there is, she is'	*ʿalat*	'there was, she was'
2MS	*halleka*	'you are'	*ʿalka*	'you were'
2FS	*halleki*	'you are'	*ʿalki*	'you were'
1CS	*halleko*	'I am'	*ʿalko*	'I was'
3MP	*hallaw*	'there are, they are'	*ʿalaw*	'there were, they were'
3FP	*hallayā*	'there are, they are'	*ʿalayā*	'there were, they were'
2MP	*hallekum*	'you are'	*ʿalkum*	'you were'
2FP	*hallekən*	'you are'	*ʿalkən*	'you were'
1CP	*hallena*	'we are'	*ʿalna*	'we were'

The verb of existence is used to express existence and locality. Its use is also
attested in a number of compound verbal constructions and in personal
greetings.

4.2.1   *Existence and Locality*

(143)   *ʿabi*   *mənnom*   **halla**
         BIG-MS   FROM-THEM-M   THERE-M-IS
         '**there is** an elder among them' (Making Coffee, line 19)

         wa-   *ʾəgəl*   *bəʿəd-*   *mā*   *manaffəʿ*   **halla**
         AND   FOR   OTHER   ALSO   USES   IT-M-EXISTS
         'and also **it exists** for other uses' (Trad Decorations, line 2)

         məsəl   **hallena**   *dib*   *ḥatta*   *fasəl*
         TOGETHER   WE-ARE   IN   ONE-F   CLASS
         '**we are** together in the same class' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

         ʿalat   *dib*   *gəndaʿ*
         IT-F-WAS   IN   PL.N.
         '**it** (the school) **was** in Ginda' (Ḥamid and I, line 2)

4.2.2   *Compound Verbal Constructions (see also 4.6.2, 4.6.3, and 4.6.4)*

– Participle + *halla* (present continuous)

(144)   *ʾəgəl*   *ləstaw*   *ḳərubām*   **hallaw**
         SO-THAT   THEY-M-MAY-DRINK   GATHERED-MP   THERE-M-ARE
         'those who are gathered in order to drink' (Making Coffee, line 2)
         For unmarked substantival relative clauses such as this, see 6.6.2.1.7. Note also
         one occurrence of PART + COP for continuous action:
         ʾab   *ʿarabi*   *dārəsām*   *ḥəna*
         IN   ARABIC   STUDYING-MP   COP-1CP
         'because we had been studying in Arabic' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

– Perfect + *halla* (present perfect)

(145)   *la-*   *ṣaḥay*   *fagrat* **hallet**
         DEF   SUN   IT-F-HAS RISEN
         'the sun has risen'

– Imperfect + *halla* / *ʿala* (present continuous / past continuous)

(146)   *ḥuye*   *ʾaza*   *maṣṣəʾ* **halla**
         MY-BROTHER   NOW   HE-IS-COMING
         'my brother is coming right now'

hətu   ʾəgəl   raydəyo   sammə‘ **‘ala**
HE   TO   RADIO   HE-WAS-LISTENING
'he was listening to the radio'

4.2.3   *Personal Greetings*

(147)   kəfo   **halleka**
         HOW?   YOU-MS-ARE
         'how are you doing?'
              See (336) for the interrogative adverb *kəfo*.

         gərrum   **halleko**
         FINE-MS   I-AM
         'I am doing fine'

4.2.4   *The Negative of the Verb of Existence*

There are two forms of the negative of *halla* 'there is': *ya-halla-nni* and *ʾi-halla*.
ya-halla-nni, which is not documented elsewhere in Tigre,[1] is attested more
frequently than *ʾi-halla*. See also 4.18 for the negative of the verb *yə- . . . -n(ni)*
and 7.2.3 for the influence of Tigrinya *y-ällä-n*. The negative of *‘ala* 'there was'
is not attested in the present corpus.

TABLE 16   *The Negative the Verb of Existence*

3MS	ya-halla-nni	ʾi-halla	'there is not, he is not'
3FS	ya-hallet(-anni)		'there is not, he is not'
2MS	ya-halleka-nni		'you are not'
2FS	ya-halleki(-n)		'you are not'
1CS	ya-halleko(-nni)		'I am not'
3MP	ya-hallaw(-ni)		'there are not, they are not'
3FP	ya-hallayā(-nni)		'there are not, they are not'
2MP	ya-hallekum(-əni)		'you are not'
2FP	ya-hallekən(-ni)		'you are not'
1CP	ya-hallena(-nni)		'we are not'

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1   *Wörterbuch* documents the limited use of *ʾay-* as the negative of a verb.

(148) *la-*   *suk̲*   *bak̲lā*   *maṭ‘am*   ***ya-halla-nni***
       DEF   MARKET   NEAR   RESTAURANT   IT-M-IS-NOT
       'the market ***is not*** near the restaurant'

       la-   *morā*   *bak̲lā*   *‘arat*   ***ya-hallet***
       DEF   STICK   NEAR   BED   IT-F-IS-NOT
       'the stick ***is not*** near the bed'

4.3   Possession and Compulsion

Possession is expressed by the following verbal and prepositional constructions: *bə-, halla ʾəl-/ʾəgəl-, məsəl- halla,* and *bədib-. bə-* is also used for compulsion. See also 3.2.2 and 3.5.4.1 for the use of the independent and affixed genitive pronouns as expressions of possession.

4.3.1   bə- *with Affixed Genitive Pronoun (cf. 3.5) 'to have; must'*
bə- with affixed genitive pronoun 'to have' is the general means of expressing possession.

(149) *kətāb*   ***bəka***;   *ʾaywā*   ***bəye***
       BOOK   YOU-MS-HAVE   YES   I-HAVE
       'Do ***you have*** a book? Yes, ***I do***.'

       ʾana   *warak̲at*   ***bəye***
       I   PAPER   I-HAVE
       '***I have*** a piece of paper (in my hands)'

bə- is also used for compulsion.

(150) *la-*   *bet*   *ʾəgəl tənḥayyā* ***bəka***
       DEF   HOUSE   YOU-MS-MUST-CLEAN-IT-F
       '***you must*** clean the house'

4.3.2   halla ʾəl-/ ʾəgəl- *with Affixed Genitive Pronoun 'to have'*
halla ʾəl- and *halla ʾəgəl-* with affixed genitive pronoun are variants of *bə-* 'to have' described above and have the same meaning. *halla ʾəgəl-* is not documented as an expression of possession elsewhere in Tigre. *ṣanḥa ʾəl-* and *‘ala ʾəl-* are attested as the past tense of this expression.

(151)   kətābu   tu   la-   **halla ʾəyye**
        HIS-BOOK   COP-3MS   REL   I-HAVE
        'what ***I have*** is his book (and no other book)'

> *halla ʾəgəyye* can be substituted for *halla ʾəyye* with the same meaning. For
> *l > y* in *ʾəyye* and *ʾəgəyye*, see 2.18.1.

        ḥarmāz   danābbər   wa-   **ṣanḥa ʾəlu**   wa-   barra
        ELEPHANT   WINGS   AND   IT-M-HAD   AND   HE-FLEW
        'if an elephant ***had*** wings, he could fly'

> See also 6.5.5 for conditional sentences.

        kabər **ʿala ʾəlu** '***he had*** information'

4.3.3   məsəl- *with Affixed Genitive Pronoun* + **halla** *'to be with'*

məsəl- halla expresses possession in the sense of locality. In contrast to *bə-*,
which answers the question 'do you have X?', *məsəl- halla* answers the question
'where is X?'

(152)   kətābu   məsəl-   man   halla;   **məsəlye halla**
        HIS-BOOK   WITH   WHOM?   IT-M-IS   WITH-ME IT-M-IS
        'Where is his book? It ***is with me***.'

4.3.4   bədib- *with Affixed Genitive Pronoun 'to have (within)'*

bədib- with affixed genitive pronoun expresses possession in the sense of phy-
siological constituence or emotion.[2]

(153)   ʾana   dam   **bədibye**
        I   BLOOD   I-HAVE-IN-ME
        '***I have*** full blood; I am more conscious'

        ʾana   farḥat   **bədibye**
        I   HAPPINESS   I-HAVE-IN-ME
        '***I am*** happy; ***I feel*** happiness'

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2 Cf. *TGT*, p. 50, in which Raz documents *bədib-* and *bə-* as biforms, and "Sketches," p. 194, in
   which Leslau indicates that the use of *bədib-* is rare.

4.3.5   *The Negative of Expressions of Possession*

In only two instances is the negative of an expression of possession attested. In one case the negative construction is *bə-* + possessive suffix + *ʾikon*; in the other it is *ʾalab-* + possessive suffix.

(154) **bəna**   **ʾikon…**   la-   ḥəbur   tu
       WE-HAVE   NOT   REL   MIXED   COP-3MS
       '***we do not have*** a combination (like the coffee celebration)'
       (Coffee Ceremony, line 9)
           See (525) for the substantival relative clause *la-ḥəbur tu* 'a combination'
           (lit., 'what is mixed').

       māy   *ḥako*   *ʾalabka*   *šāhi*   *kəfo*   *wadda*
       WATER   IF   YOU-MS-DO-NOT-HAVE   TEA   HOW?   YOU-MS-MAKE
       'if ***you don't have*** water, how do you make tea?'
           See (408) for the conjunction *ḥako* 'if'.

4.4   The Reference Form and De-Verbal Forms

The reference form of the verb is

       ḳattəl, ʾəgəl ḳattəl 'kill, to kill'.[3]

It will be clear below (see Table 17 and 4.5.2) that *ḳattəl* is the 3MS form of the prefix-less imperfect.

(155)   *nakkəšʾ* 'bite'
         marrəḥ 'lead'
         nabbər 'live'
         naddəd 'burn'
         ʾəgəl battək 'to cut'
         fattən 'try'
         ʿalləb 'count'

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3   "Reference form" here means the informants' response to the question, "how do you say X?" In other works on Tigre, the 3MS perfect *ḳatla* (cf. Table 17 below) is the form cited for lexical entries and grammatical reference. As in the discussion of nouns in 3.9, the root consonant sequence *ḳ-t-l* is used here.

dāla 'have information'
    For C stem verbs, see 4.10.
ʾammər 'know'

In a few instances, *ləḵtal* (3 MS JUSS) and/or *təḵtal* (3 FS / 2 MS JUSS), usually with *ʾəgəl* 'to', is used as the reference form. In addition, the 3 MS imperfect *ləḵattəl* is sometimes used.

(156)   *ʾəgəl ləbtak* 'to cut'
    ʾəgəl ləqrač, ʾəgəl təqrač 'to cut'
    təmṣaʾ, ʾəgəl təmṣaʾ 'come, to come'
    ʾəgəl təʾāmər 'to know'
        For C stem verbs, see 4.10.
    taʾastabda, ʾəgəl taʾastabda 'start, to start'
        For ʾasta- verbs, see 4.17.
    ləʾatamməm 'finish'
        For ʾa-A stem verbs, see 4.16.
    ləgādəl 'fight'
        For C stem verbs, see 4.10.
    lətbāšər 'drink'
        For tə-C stem verbs, see 4.14.

Although elicitations were not exhaustive, it appears that the jussive or pre-fixed imperfect occurs more frequently with the C stem and with the derived stems ʾa-A and ʾasta, for which see 4.10, 4.16, and 4.17 respectively. No pattern is apparent for the use of the jussive in the A and B stems.

    For verbal nouns and verbal adjectives, see 3.12 and 3.14.3 respectively.

4.5   The Four Conjugations

There are four verbal forms that are conjugated for person, gender, and number: the perfect, the imperfect, the jussive, and the imperative.[4]

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4 "Perfect" and "imperfect" here are labels for these conjugations. They are derived from the fact that perfect aspect (here translated as the English past tense or present perfect) is one of the uses of the first conjugation and imperfect aspect (here translated as the English non-past) is one of the uses of the second conjugation.

TABLE 17   *The Four Conjugations*

	PRF		IPRF	
3MS	*ḳatla*[5]	'he killed'	*(lə)ḳattəl*	'he kills'
3FS	*ḳatlat*	'she killed'	*(tə)ḳattəl*	'she kills'
2MS	*ḳatalka*	'you killed'	*(tə)ḳattəl*	'you kill'
2FS	*ḳatalki*	'you killed'	*təḳatli*	'you kill'
1CS	*ḳatalko*	'I killed'	*(ʾə)ḳattəl*	'I kill'
3MP	*ḳatlaw*	'they killed'	*(lə)ḳatlo*	'they kill'
3FP	*ḳatlayā*	'they killed'	*(lə)ḳatlā*	'they kill'
2MP	*ḳatalkum*	'you killed'	*təḳatlo*	'you kill'
2FP	*ḳatalkən*	'you killed'	*təḳatlā*	'you kill'
1CP	*ḳatalna*	'we killed'	*ʾənḳattəl*	'we kill'

	JUSS		IMP	
3MS	*ləḳtal*	'may he kill'		
3FS	*təḳtal*	'may she kill'		
2MS	*təḳtal*	'may you kill'	*ḳətal*	'kill'
2FS	*təḳtali*	'may you kill'	*ḳətali*	'kill'
1CS	*ʾəḳtal*	'may I kill'		
3MP	*ləḳtalo*	'may they kill'		
3FP	*ləḳtalā*	'may they kill'		
2MP	*təḳtalo*	'may you kill'	*ḳətalo*	'kill'
2FP	*təḳtalā*	'may you kill'	*ḳətalā*	'kill'
1CP	*nəḳtal*	'may we kill'		

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5   The quality of the final vowel of 3MS perfect in Tigre has long been discussed. Littmann, in
"Verbum" I (p. 140) and *PPEA*, transcribes in Ethiopic script as ቀትለ *ḳatlā*. Kolmodin (p. 1) notes
that phonetically the final vowel is more at the fourth order *-ā* but is often cited etymologically
as the first order *-a*. On an historical basis, common Ethiopic can be reconstructed in *-a*, based on
Gəʿəz *ḳat(a)la*, Tna *ḳätälä*, and Amharic *ḳättälä*. Leslau ("Verb," p. 5) transcribes in *-a*, but settles
on *-ā* after conducting his own fieldwork ("Observations," p. 132). Raz (*TGT*, p. 55) employs *-a*.

    Because attestations of 3MS perfect are limited in the present corpus, no definitive analysis
of the phonemic quality of this vowel can be presented here. *-a* is used in the present work.

    Both Leslau ("Verb," p. 5) and Littmann ("Verbum" II, pp. 3–5) transcribe 2MS and 1CP using
ā: *-kā* and *-nā*.

For the perfect, imperfect, and jussive, the least marked form is 3MS. The least marked form of the imperative is 2MS.

4.5.1   *Perfective* ḳat(a)l-

The perfect conjugation is characterized by the verbal base *ḳat(a)l-*, to which various suffixes are added for person, gender, and number. The base is *ḳatl-* for vowel-initial suffixes (*ḳatla* 'he killed') and *ḳatal-* for consonant-initial suffixes (*ḳatalko* 'I killed'). In a simple verbal clause the perfect is used as the past tense, 'he killed' and occasionally as the present perfect, 'he has killed'.

(157)   *nasʼa* 'he took'

          farhako 'I was afraid'
          For the PRF of III-guttural verbs,[6] see (189).

          ʼəsāt ḳarhat 'a fire **burned**'

wa-	*mənnā*	*daraġat*	***rakabna . . .***	***ḥalafna***
AND	FROM-IT-F	GRADE	WE-FOUND	WE-PASSED

          'and from it *we found out* the grade . . . *we passed*'
          (Ḥamid and I, line 7)

ʻasər	*wa-*	*salas*	*ʼammat*	*kam*	***başḥa***
10	AND	3	CUBIT	AFTER	IT-M-REACHED

          'after *it has reached* 13 cubits' (Trad Decorations, line 6)

dib	*mənasabāt*	***ʼawra***
ON	SPECIAL-OCCASIONS	ONE-M-KINDLED-FIRE

          'on special occasions *one has started the fire*'
          (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

In intransitive verbs and verbs that describe a state of being, here called "stative" verbs, the perfect can be used to express the present tense, in addition to the uses above.

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6   Verbs one or more root consonants of which consistently produce a sound change in a verbal conjugation are identified by a Roman numeral, indicating the root consonant producing change, followed by that consonant or consonant group. Thus, since the third root consonant of *f-r-h* in the perfect form *farhako* does not conform to the perfect conjugation (cf. *ḳatalko* 'I killed'), this verb is designated, with the other guttural consonants ʻ, ḥ, and ʼ, as III-guttural.

(158) *ʾāmǝraw* 'they-M know'

For the PRF of C stem verbs , see Table 21.

*sǝggādat **tamma*** 'a siggadet ***is complete*** ' (Trad Decorations, line 6)

ʾǝgǝl	*lǝsawwǝrrā*		***ḳadra***
—	ONE-M-COVERS-IT-F		ONE-M-IS-ABLE

'***one is able*** to cover it' (Trad Decorations, line 19)

See 4.6.8 for this compound verbal construction.

This present tense expression also occurs in relative clauses (for which see 6.6).

(159) | *ʾǝčay* | *mǝnnu* | *la-* | ***maṣʾat*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| WOOD | FROM-IT-M | REL | IT-F-COMES |

'wood that ***comes*** from it' (Gindaʿ, line 1)

ʾab	*ʾadbǝr*	*la-*	***tǝkallalat***
BY	MOUNTAINS	REL	IT-F-IS-SURROUNDED

'(a town) that ***is surrounded*** by mountains' (Gindaʿ, line 5)

For the PRF of tǝ-A/B stem verbs , see Table 23.

dabǝr	*la-*	***ʿaba***	*dabǝr*
MOUNTAIN	REL	IT-M-IS-TALL	MOUNTAIN

'a mountain that ***is the tallest*** mountain' (Gindaʿ, line 7)

tǝgra	*la-*	***bazḫat***	*ḳawmǝyat*
PL.N.	REL	IT-F-IS-NUMEROUS	ETHNIC-GROUP

'Tigre is the most common (lit., ***is numerous***) ethnic group' (Gindaʿ, line 3)

4.5.2 *Imperfective* -*ḳattǝl*-

The imperfect conjugation is characterized by the verbal base -*ḳattǝl*, to which the prefixes *lǝ*- (3), *tǝ*- (2), *ʾǝ*- (1CS), and *ʾǝn*- (1CP) can be added. The prefix is optional for third person, 2MS, and 1CS forms.[7] The prefix-less imperfect is

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7 Prefix-less forms are attested in Tigre of Gindaʿ for 3SG and 3MP, 2MS, and 1CS. Although 3FP IPRF forms are not attested in numbers sufficient to determine if the prefix-less form occurs, it is assumed that 3FP, like other forms in *lǝ*-, occurs without the prefix. Both Raz and Leslau documented the use of prefix-less imperfects, Raz (*TGT*, p. 56) indicating a tendency in colloquial speech for omitting the prefix on all forms and Leslau ("Verb," p. 6; "Observations," p. 132) noting the loss of prefix for forms in *lǝ*- (3MS and 3PL).

most common for 3MS. Where an inflectional suffix accompanies this prefixed verb, the base is the shorter form *-ḳatl-*. The shorter form is not used where an object suffix is applied: *ləḳatlo* 'they kill' but *ləḳattəllo* 'he kills him'.[8] Object suffixes are discussed in 3.6.

In a simple verbal clause the imperfect is used as the present tense, 'he is killing', or as customary or habitual action, 'he kills (customarily/habitually)'. Elsewhere in Tigre the imperfect is also documented as the future tense.[9] In Tigre of Ginda' the future tense expression is *ʾgəl* + jussive + copula, for which see 4.1.3 and 4.6.1.

(160)   *ʾəfarrəh* 'I am afraid'

ʿašrin	*wa-*	*ḥaməs*	*ʾaləf*	*ʾaddām*	***nabbər***	*dibā*
20	AND	5	THOUSAND	PEOPLE	HE-M-LIVES	IN-IT-F

'25,000 people *live* in it' (Ginda', line 2)

kam	*fəğān*	*ṣabbəṭ*
HOW-MANY?	CUP	ONE-M-SERVES

'how many cups *does one serve*?' (Making Coffee, line 2)

dib	*madagdag*	***gabbiʾ***	*wa-*	***tədagdag***
IN	MORTAR	IT-F-GOES	AND	IT-F-IS-CRUSHED

'***it goes*** in a mortar and ***is crushed***' (Making Coffee, line 10)

    For QPASS IPRF forms such as *tədagdag*, see Table 26.

šāhi	*kəfo*	***wadda***
TEA	HOW?	YOU-MS-MAKE

'how ***do you make*** tea?'

    For IPRF verbs III-weak such as *wadda*, see (206).

    Leslau also indicates that a prefixed imperfect form is always used when it immediately follows a conjunction. This is not the case in Tigre of Ginda' (see also 5.3.2 for subordinating conjunctions) as demonstrated here:

ḥətom	*ʾāməraw*	*la-*	*mədarrəs*	***kam***	*ḥazzayom*
THEY-M	THEY-M-KNOW	DEF	TEACHER	THAT	HE-WANTS-THEM-M

'they know ***that*** the teacher ***wants them***'.

8 Littmann ("Pronomina," pp. 212–215) and Raz (*TGT*, p. 140) cite the 3MP IPRF base form *ḳattul-* when the 3MS object suffix is applied: *ḳatlo* 'they kill' ~ *ḳattulo* 'they kill him'. In the present corpus the 3MP IPRF + 3MS object suffix is not attested.

9 "Verb," p. 7, and *TGT*, pp. 68–70. In "Observations" (p. 132) Leslau updates his discussion in "Verb" by indicating that "the normal expression of the future is *ʾgəl* + jussive + *tu*."

salas   **baṭro**
THREE   THEY-M-STOP
'they **stop** at three' (Making Coffee, line 8)

wa-   məsəl   **ʾəndarrəs**   ṭabʿan
AND   TOGETHER   WE-STUDY   NATURALLY
'naturally **we study** together' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

4.5.3   *Jussive* -ḳtal-

The jussive conjugation is characterized by the verbal base *-ḳtal-*, to which the prefixes and suffixes of the imperfect are added. No prefix-less forms of the jussive are attested. In simple verbal clauses, the jussive did not occur in the present corpus outside of the future tense construction *ʾəgəl* + jussive + copula, which is discussed in 4.1.3 and in 4.6.1.

The jussive did occur, however, in some expressions and some verbal and adverbial constructions.

(161)   ḥamdey   təbṣaḥakka
        MY-PRAISE   MAY-IT-M-REACH-YOU-MS
        This is the response to *ḥamdakka* 'thank you-MS (lit., praise (be) to you)'

        lətgabbaʾanni 'hoping' (Lit., 'may it-M come to pass for me')
        (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
            For tə-A/B verbs III-guttural, see 4.13.4. For the 1CS OBJ suffix *-anni*, see
            Table 7 and 3.6.1. See also *lətgabbaʾanni* in (344) and 6.4.5.3.

        kam   bāni   **ləgbaʾ**   ʾaw   ḳəčā
        LIKE   BREAD   IT-M-MIGHT-BE   OR   KICHA
        'like bread **possibly**, or kicha' (Making Coffee, line 18)
            See also (343) and 6.4.5.1.2.

        hətu   **ligis**   ʾi-   **ligis**   dibā   ʾəlli
        HE   HE-MAY-GO   NEG   HE-MAY-GO   TO-IT-F   THIS-M
        ʾəgəl laṣrayo tu
        HE-WILL-CLEAN-IT-M
        'whether **he goes** to it-F (the store) or not, he will clean it-M (the house)'
            For the JUSS verb II-*y ligis*, see (199). See also 6.5.5 for discussion of condi-
            tional sentences.

4.5.4 *Imperative* ḳətal-

The imperative verb stem *ḳətal-* is similar to the base of the jussive, *-ḳtal-*. Suffixes for gender and number are equivalent to those used in second person imperfect and jussive forms.

4.6 Compound Verbal Constructions

Compound verbal constructions attested in the corpus are discussed below.

4.6.1 ʾəgəl + *jussive* + *copula for the Future Tense*

In a simple verbal clause, *ʾəgəl* + jussive + copula is used as the future tense:

(162) *ʾəgəl lənsaʾ tu* 'he will take'

ʾəgəl təmṣa ta 'she will come'

ʾəgəl ləfgaro tom 'they will go out'

ṭabʿan	ʾana	ʾab	bun	**ʾəgəl ʾathāga tu**
NOW	I	ABOUT	COFFEE	I-WILL-TALK

'now *I will talk* about coffee' (Coffee Ceremony, line 1)
For the JUSS of tə-C verbs III-weak such as *ʾathāga*, see (286).

TABLE 18   *Forms of ʾəgəl + Jussive + Copula*

	SG		PL	
3M	*ʾəgəl ləḳtal tu*	'he will kill'	*ʾəgəl ləḳtalo tom*	'they will kill'
3F	*ʾəgəl təḳtal ta*	'she will kill'	*ʾəgəl ləḳtalā tan*	'they will kill'
2M	*ʾəgəl təḳtal tu*	'you will kill'	*ʾəgəl təḳtalo tu*	'you will kill'
2F	*ʾəgəl təḳtali tu*	'you will kill'	*ʾəgəl təḳtalā tu*	'you will kill'
1C	*ʾəgəl ʾəḳtal tu*	'I will kill'	*ʾəgəl nəḳtal tu*	'we will kill'

Note that gender- and number-specific copular forms are used for the third person, while 3MS *tu* is used for second and first person forms. Elsewhere in Tigre, only 3MS *tu* is documented in this construction.[10]

4.6.2 *Participle* + halla *for Continuous Action*

Participle + *halla* expresses continuous action. This construction is only attested a few times in the present corpus. See also 4.2.1.

(163) ʾəgəl   ləstaw   ḳərubām   hallaw
       SO-THAT   THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK   GATHERED-MP   THERE-M-ARE
       '*those who are gathered* in order to drink' (Making Coffee, line 2)
          For unmarked substantival relative clauses such as this, see 6.6.2.1.7.

       ʾəgəl   ləstaw   la-   gəssuyām   hallaw
       SO-THAT   THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK   REL   SITTING-MP   THERE-M-ARE
       '*those who are sitting* (in the gathering) *in order* to drink'
       (Making Coffee, line 2)
          For marked substantival relative clauses such as this, see 6.6.2.1.1.

In one instance this construction expresses past continuous action.

(164) ʾəmtəḥān …   wādəyām   hallena
       EXAMINATION   DOING-MP   WE-ARE
       '*we had been taking* … examinations' (Ḥamid and I, line 14)

Note also one occurrence of participle + copula for continuous action:

(165) ʾab   ʿarabi   dārəsām   ḥəna
       IN   ARABIC   STUDYING-MP   COP-1CP
       'because we had been studying in Arabic' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

4.6.3 *Perfective* + halla *for the Present Perfective*

Perfect + *halla* expresses the present perfect. Elsewhere in Tigre, perfect + *ka-halla* is documented.[11]

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10   "Verb," p. 8; and *TGT*, pp. 68–69. Note, however, that for one of the informants, Hamid Mahmoud, *tu* can be used for all third person forms, e.g. *ʾəgəl təḳrač tu* 'it-F will burn', *ʾəgəl ləzabbaṭo tu* 'they-M will be beaten'. (For *ləzabbaṭo*, see the JUSS BPASS form in Table 22.)

11   Raz (*TGT*, pp. 73–74) gives PRF + *ka-halla* as the present perfect and PRF + *ka-ʿala* as the past perfect. Although PRF + *ʿala* is a verbal construction used in Tigre of Gindaʿ, its meaning was not successfully elicited.

(166)   hətu   bəzuḥ   kətəb   **ḳarʾa halla**
        HE   MANY   BOOKS   HE-HAS-READ
        '*he has read* many books'

        la-   ṣaḥay   **fagrat hallet**
        DEF   SUN   IT-F-HAS-RISEN
        'the sun *has risen*'

        mabzəḥ   la-   gərāh   **ḥarsaw hallaw**
        MOST   DEF   FIELDS   THEY-M-HAVE PLOWED
        '*they have plowed* most of the fields'

4.6.4   *Imperfective +* halla / ʿala *for the Present Continuous, Past Continuous, or Customary/Habitual Action*

Imperfect + *halla* expresses present continuous action. Imperfect + *ʿala* expresses past continuous action or customary/habitual action in the past.

(167)   ḥuye   ʾaza   **maṣṣəʾ halla**
        MY-BROTHER   NOW   HE-IS-COMING
        'my brother *is coming* right now'

        ṣaḥay *faggər hallet* 'the sun *is rising*'

        mən   ʾəlla   bet   **ʾənfaggər hallena**
        FROM   THIS-F   ROOM   WE-ARE-LEAVING
        '*we are leaving* this room'

        ʾab   bəzḥe   ʿabbāy   tom
        AMONG   LARGE-QUANTITY   IMPORTANT-FS   COP-3MP
        ləsattəwā
        THEY-M-DRINK-IT-F

        la-   ʿalaw   badir
        REL   THEY-M-WERE   FORMERLY
        'formerly among the eldest were those who *used to drink it*'
        (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)

> For the IPRF of verbs III-weak such as *ləsattəwā*, see (205); for the F OBJ suffix
> -*ā*, see Table 7. Marked cleft clauses such as *ləsattəwā la-ʿalaw* 'those who
> used to drink it' are discussed in 6.6.3.1.1.

> ʾəwān ʾana ʾəgəl ʾəskab ḥazeko hətu ʾəgəl raydəyo
> WHILE I SO-THAT I-MIGHT-SLEEP I-WANTED HE TO RADIO
> *sammə' 'ala*
> HE-WAS-LISTENING
> 'while I wanted to sleep, he *was listening* to the radio'
>> See (398) and 6.5.1.3 for temporal clauses in *ʾəwān*.

4.6.5 *Imperfective + Imperfective of* gabbi'

In one instance, imperfect + imperfect of *gabbi'* is attested as an expression of the present perfect. Use of this construction as the present perfect is not documented elsewhere in Tigre.

(168) *bas* *dib* *sakšan* **nətfanātā ʾəngabbi'**
ONLY IN SECTION WE-ARE-BEING-SEPARATED
'only with respect to section *we are being separated*' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)
>> The literal sense '…we are becoming separated' does not jibe with the context, wherein the speakers were assigned to different freshman class sections by the university at the beginning of the year. For forms of the tə-D/Q verb IV-weak *təfanāta*, see 4.15.2.

4.6.6 *ʾəgəl + jussive for the Purpose Clause*

ʾəgəl + jussive is used to express purpose. See also expressions of the subjunctive mood in 6.4.5.1 and 6.4.5.2.

(169) **ʾəgəl** *ləstaw* *ḳərubām* *hallaw*
SO-THAT THEY-MIGHT-DRINK GATHERING-MP THEY-M-ARE
'they are gathering *in order to drink*' (Making Coffee, line 2)
>> For the JUSS of verbs III-weak, see 4.8.6.

> *ʾəgəl* *ʾəwāsəl…* *ḥatta* *sanat* *ʾansaḥabko*
> SO-THAT I-MIGHT-CONTINUE ONE-F YEAR I-WITHDREW
> '*so that I might continue* (later)…for one year I withdrew'
> (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
>> For the JUSS of C stem verbs, see Table 21.

4.6.7 *ʾəgəl + jussive +* laḥazza/ḥazā: *'want to do'*

The construction *ʾəgəl* + jussive + *laḥazza/ḥazā* (IPRF or PRF of the root consonant sequence *ḥ-z-O*) is the complementary verbal expression 'want to do'. For verbs such as *laḥazza* and *ḥazā*, see 4.8.1 and 4.8.6. See also the optative mood in 6.4.5.3.

(170) **məgəl**   **təsta**   **təḥazza**
       WHAT-SO-THAT   YOU-FS-MIGHT-DRINK   YOU-FS-WANT
       'what do *you want to drink*?'
           məgəl < *mi ʾəgəl

       ʾəgəl   **ləwāslo**   ya-   **ḥazzu-**   n   lākin   salas   baṭro
       SO-THAT THEY-M-MIGHT-   NEG   THEY-M-   NEG   BUT   THREE   THEY-M-
                     CONTINUE   WANT   STOP
       'but if *they don't want to continue*, they stop at three'
       (Making Coffee, line 8)
           For the JUSS of C stem verbs, see Table 21. For the negative of the verb, see 4.18.

       ʾəwān   ʾana   **ʾəgəl**   **ʾəskab**   ḥazeko   hətu   ʾəgəl   raydəyo
       WHILE   I   SO-THAT I-MIGHT-SLEEP   I-WANTED   HE   TO   RADIO
       sammə‘ ‘ala
       HE-WAS-LISTENING
       'while *I wanted to sleep*, he was listening to the radio'

4.6.8   ʾəgəl + *imperfect* + ḳadra: *'can/could do'*

ʾəgəl + imperfect + *ḳadra* is the complementary verbal expression 'be able to do'. 'Be able to do' is documented in Mensa‘ as *ʾəgəl* + jussive + *daḳḳəb* and as infinitive + *daḳḳəb*.[12]

(171) **ʾəgəl**   **ḥazaw** . . .   **ʾəgəl**   **ləsawərrā**   **ḳadra**
       ACC   THEY-M-WANT   —   ONE-M-COVERS-IT-F   ONE-M-IS-ABLE
       '*one is able to cover it* . . . with what they want' (Trad Decorations, line 19)
           See 6.6.2.1.6 for the unmarked substantival relative *ḥazaw* 'what they want'.

       hətom   ʾənda   ʾatarradaw   darsom   sabbat   ḥafzaw
       THEY-M   WHILE   THEY-M-   THEIR-M-   BECAUSE   THEY-M-
                               STRENGTHENED   LESSON   PREPARED
       ʾəttā   ʾəmtəḥānom   **ʾəgəl**   **laḥalləfo**   **ḳadraw**
       IN-IT-F   THEIR-M-   —   THEY-M-PASS   THEY-M-
                      EXAMINATION   WERE-ABLE
       'because they studied their lesson hard, *they were able to pass* their
       examination'
           For IPRF verbs I-guttural such as *laḥalləfo*, see (180). ʾa-B stem verbs such as
           ʾatarradaw are discussed in 4.16, and cause and result clauses are discussed
           in 5.3.2.2 and 6.5.2.

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12   *TGT*, pp. 97–98.

4.7   Overview of Verbal Stems

Thus far the discussion of the verbal system has drawn mostly from the A stem, one of the three major lexical stems attested in the corpus. In fact, many verbal stems are used in Tigre, and in each stem there are reference forms, forms from the four conjugations, and to varying degrees verbal nouns and verbal adjectives. The following chart provides an overview of attested verbal stems, which are discussed more thoroughly in 4.8–4.17.

TABLE 19   *Overview of Verbal Stems*

	Verbal stem[14]	Stem type	Verbal forms[13]			
			LEX	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
4.8	A	Lexical	*ḳattəl*	*ḳatla*	*(lə)ḳattəl*	*ləḳtal*
4.9	B	Lexical	*ḳattəl*	*ḳattala*	*(lə)ḳattəl*	*ləḳattəl*
4.10	C	Lexical	*ḳātəl,*	*ḳātala*	*(lə)ḳātəl*	*ləḳātəl*
			ʾəgəl ləḳātəl			
4.11	D/Q[15]	Lexical	—	*ḳarātala*	—	—
4.11	Q	Lexical	—	*ḳartala*	—	—
4.12	BPASS	Derived:[16]	—	*ḳattala*	*(lə)ḳattal*	*ləḳattal*
		PASS of A, C, ʾa-A				

(*Continued*)

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13   Too few imperative forms are attested in the present corpus for their inclusion in this chart.

14   Where verbal forms in the present corpus correspond to those in Tigre of Mensaʿ, the names of verbal stems are taken from the "type" and "prefix" designations given in Leslau "Verb" (pp. 1–14, 22–25) and Raz *TGT* (pp. 52–55, 65–66, and 135–139). The only exceptions are the tə-Q and tə-D/Q verbal stems. tə-Q in Leslau's nomenclature is the *tə-* prefixed stem of a quadriliteral of type A and B (p. 22); for Raz it is the *tə-* prefixed derivative of quadriradical of type A (p. 139). tə-D/Q for Leslau is the tə- prefixed stem of a quadriliteral of type C (p. 22); for Raz it is the tə- prefixed derivative of quadriradical of type C (p. 139). An additional naming convention is used by Littmann (see *Wörterbuch*, p. XII, and e.g., "Verbum" I, p. 164).

15   D/Q and Q stem verbs are not attested in the present corpus, but the presence of tə-D/Q and tə-Q verbs strongly suggests that D/Q and Q exist in Tigre of Gindaʿ.

16   A derived stem is a stem for which the meaning of the verbal forms is derived from the meaning found in verbal forms of another stem.

TABLE 19   *Overview of Verbal Stems (cont.)*

	Verbal stem	Stem type	Verbal forms			
			LEX	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
4.13	tə-A/B	Derived: PASS of A, B, C, ʾa-A	—	*təḵattala*	*lətḵattal*	= IPRF
4.14	CPASS	Derived: PASS, RECP, REFL of C	—	*ḵātala*	—	*ləḵātal*
4.15	QPASS	Derived: PASS of Q	—	*ḵartala*	*ləḵartal*	—
4.15	tə-Q	Derived: PASS of Q	—	*təḵartala*	*lətḵartal*	—
4.15	tə-D/Q	Derived: PASS of D/Q	—	*təḵarātala*	*lətḵarātal*	—
4.16	ʾa-A	Derived: CAUS of A	*laʾaḵatəl*	*ʾaḵtala*	*laʾaḵatəl*	= IPRF
4.16	ʾa-B	Derived: CAUS of B?	—	*ʾaḵattala*	—	—
4.16	ʾat-C	Derived: CAUS of tə-C	—	—	*laʾatḵāta*	—
4.17	ʾasta-	Lexical (Arabic loan)	(*ʾəgəl*) *taʾastaḵtəl*	*ʾastaḵtala*	*laʾastaḵtəl*	—
4.17	ʾan-	Lexical (Arabic loan)	—	*ʾanḵat(a)la*	—	—

4.8   A Stem Verbs

The reference form, four conjugations, and other basic forms are discussed in 4.4 and 4.5.

Verbs in the A stem are lexical. Transitive, intransitive, and stative verbs are found in the A stem.

(172)   Transitive: *ʾəgəl   šāhi   təwadda*
                              ACC   TEA   YOU-MS-MAKE
                        '*you make* tea'

ʾəgəl *ləsawərrā* ḳadra 'one can *cover it*'
    See 4.6.8 for this complementary verbal construction.

(173)   Intransitive: mən-*gabbi'* 'when *it*-M *happens*' (Making Coffee, line 19)
        See (410), 6.4.5.1.1, and 6.5.5.1 for this expression.
        ʾəsāt *ḳarḥat* 'a fire *burned*' (Lit., 'a fire *flamed*')

(174)   Stative: la-ʾardat *yabsat* 'the land *was dry*'
        səggādat *tamma* 'a siggadet *is finished*'
        (Trad Decorations, line 6)

4.8.1   *Verbs I-guttural*

Verbs I-guttural are verbs the first root consonant of which is guttural, namely
ʿ, ḥ, ʾ, or h. ə usually becomes *a* when adjacent to a guttural consonant, by assimi-
lation to the guttural consonant. See also 2.13.2 for this type of assimilation.

(175)   Reference: ḥarrəd 'slash'
        ḥaṣṣəf 'blow'

(176)   with III-weak—
        ʿabba 'grow'

(177)   with II-*y*—
        ʾayš 'live'

(178)   Perfect: ḥafra 'he dug'
        ḥafzaw 'they-M prepared'

(179)   with III-weak—
        ʿaba 'he grew'
        ḥazekahu 'you-MS want it-M' (Trad Decorations, line 22)
          For the M OBJ suffix -*hu*, see Tables 6 and 7.
        ḥazeko 'I want'
        ḥazaw 'they-M want' (Trad Decorations, line 19)

(180)   Imperfect: ḥarrəs 'he plows'
        naḥalləf 'we would pass' (Ḥamid and I, line 7)
        laḥalləffā 'one-M passes by means of it-F' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)
          See Tables 6 and 7 for the F OBJ suffix -*ā* .
        ʾəgəl laḥalləfo ḳadraw 'they-M were able to pass'
          See 4.6.8 for this complementary verbal construction.

(181)   with III-weak—

        ʾəgəl təsta taḥazza 'you-MS want to drink'

           For III-weak forms like *təsta*, see 4.8.6 below. For the comple-
        mentary verb construction 'want to do', see 4.6.7.

        ʾəgəl təhāda ḥazza 'she wants to get married'

        (Trad Decorations, line 14)

           For the multiply-weak CPASS stem JUSS təhāda, see (283) and
        Table 24.

        ʾəgəl ləwāslo ya-ḥazzu-n 'they-M do not want to continue'

        (Making Coffee, line 8)

           For the NEG of the IPRF, see 4.18; for the C stem JUSS form *ləwāslo*,
        see 4.10.

(182)   Jussive: *ʾəgəl laḥfar tu* 'he will dig'

                ʾəgəl laḥṣaf tu 'it-M will blow'

(183)   with III-weak—

        ʾəgəl laʿaba tu 'he will grow'

Note that in the imperfect, 1CP *naḥalləf* exhibits the prefix *na-* rather than *ʾən-*
in the general conjugation (cf. Table 17 *ʾənḳattəl* 'we kill'), and 3MP *laḥalləfo*
exhibits the base form *-ḳattəl-* rather than *-ḳatl-*, which occurs in the general
conjugation (cf. Table 17 (*lə*)*ḳatlo* 'they-M kill').[17] Note also that *ə* remains
unchanged in the 1CS jussive *ʾəgəl ʾəḥlaf ḥazeko* 'I want to pass'.[18]

    Reference forms in *ḳattəl*, perfect forms, and prefix-less imperfect forms are
unaffected.

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17   The evidence of the longer base form *-ḥalləf-* is in the transcription [læħælɐfaw] and in
    the fact that this form was produced in connected speech rather than in isolation. The full
    elicited sentence is as follows:

    hətom   *ʾənda*   *ʾatarradaw*   *darsom*   *sabbat*
    THEY-M   WHILE   THEY-M-STRENGTHENED   THEIR-M-LESSON   BECAUSE
    ḥafzaw   *ʾattā*   *ʾəmtəhānom*   *ʾəgəl*   *laḥalləfo*
    THEY-M- PREPARED   IN-IT-F   THEIR-M-EXAMINATION   —   THEY-M-PASS
    ḳadraw
    THEY-M-WERE-ABLE
    'they-M studied their lesson hard, so that they could pass their examination'.

18   1CS JUSS forms recorded in the literature are prefix-less *ḥilaf* in -i- (*TGT*, p. 58; "Verb," p. 14)
    and *ʾaḥlaf* with prefix in -a- ("Verbum" II, p. 32).

4.8.2 *Verbs II-guttural*

Attestations of II-guttural verbs are limited to a few verbal roots. For *l-ʾ-k* 'send' the third person forms of the perfect are attested with a word-internal *a* vowel not found in the general conjugation.

(184) Perfect: *laʾaka* 'he sent'
  Cf. *ḳatla* 'he killed' in Table 17.
laʾakat 'she sent'
laʾakka 'you-MS sent'
laʾakaw 'they-M sent'
  Cf. *ḳatlaw* 'they-M killed' in Table 17.
laʾakayā 'they-F sent'
  Cf. *ḳatlayā* 'they-F killed' in Table 17.

(185)   with III-weak—
  raʾa 'he saw'
  See also 4.8.6 below.

(186) Imperative: *laʾak* 'send-MS'
  Cf. *ḳətal* 'kill-MS' in Table 17.

Note that the 2MS perfect form *laʾakka* 'you sent' conforms to the general conjugation (cf. *ḳatalka* 'you killed').

For *b-h-l* 'say', the imperfect is the only A stem verbal form attested in the corpus. *h* and the preceding *a* of the general form (cf. Table 17 (*lə*)*ḳattəl*) are lost in *ləbəl* 'he says'. Recall that *h* does not geminate (cf. 2.4.4). That *h* is the second root consonant is suggested by the *tə*-A/B stem imperfect *lətbahal* 'it is called', for which see 4.13.3.

(187) Imperfect: *ləbəl* 'he says' (Making Coffee, lines 1, 2, 15, and 16)
təbəl 'you-MS say'
təbəllā 'you-MS say it-F' (Trad Decorations, line 5)
  See Tables 6 and 7 for the F OBJ suffix *-ā*.
ʾəbəl 'I am about to say' (Coffee Ceremony, line 6)

4.8.3 *Verbs III-guttural*

(188) Reference: *nassiʾ* 'take', *naddiʾ* 'send'
balləʿ 'eat', *kaffəḥ* 'slap'

(189) Perfect: *maṣʾa* 'he came'

      ḳarhat 'it-F burned'

      maṣʾat 'it-F comes' (Gindaʿ, line 1)

      farhako 'I was afraid'

      baṣḥana 'we reached' (Ḥamid and I, lines 4 and 5)

(190) Imperfect: *gabbiʾ* 'it-M happens, it-M/F goes' (several occurrences in Making

      Coffee; Trad Decorations, lines 8 and 9)

      ʾəngabbiʾ (lit.) 'we are becoming' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

      maṣṣəʾ 'it-M comes' (Ḥamid and I, line 15)

      maṣṣəʾ halla 'he is coming'

      ḳarrəʾ halla 'he is reading'

      samməʿ ʿala 'he was listening'

      ʾənnaffəʾo 'we use it-M' (Trad Decorations, line 15)

       For the M OBJ suffix -*o*, see Tables 6 and 7.

      ləfalləḥ 'it-M boils' (Trad Decorations, line 8)

      ʾəfarrəh 'I am afraid'

(191) Jussive: *ləgbaʾ* 'it-M might be' (Making Coffee, line 18; Trad Decorations,

      line 19)

      ʾəgəl təmṣaʾ ta 'she will come'

(192) Imperative: *nəsaʾ* 'take-MS'

Verbs III-guttural exhibit the perfect base *ḳatla-* where the general conjugation exhibits *ḳatal-* (cf. Table 17): *farhako* 'I was afraid'. For some III-ʾ verbs, the ultimate vowel in the reference and imperfect forms is *i* rather than *ə* (cf. 4.4 *ḳattəl* 'kill' and (*lə*)*ḳattəl* 'he kills'): *gabbiʾ* 'it-M happens'.

  The jussive, the imperative, *ḳatl*-based forms of the perfect, and reference and imperfect forms of III-ʿ, III-ḥ, and III-*h* verbs are not affected in the present corpus.[19]

4.8.4 *Verbs I-*w/y

There are only a few instances of verbs I-*w/y* in the present corpus. The presence of *w* or *y* as the first consonant does not produce any sound changes.

(193) Perfect: *yabsat* 'it-F was dry'

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19 Littmann ("Verbum" *ZfA* 14, pp. 45–46) and others cite III-guttural 3MP base forms with -*u*- before the final consonant of the stem, e.g. *balləʿ* 'he eats' ~ *balləʿu/balluʿ* 'they eat' (Voigt, "Object suffixes and labialization in Tigre," pp. 92–93). III-guttural 3MP forms are not attested in the present corpus.

(194)   Imperfect (with III-weak):

> *təwadda, wadda* 'you-MS make'
> *təwaddi* 'you-FS make'

4.8.5 *Verbs II-w/y*

Where general verbal forms exhibit gemination (e.g. lexical *ḳattəl* 'kill' in 4.4 and imperfect (*lə*)*ḳattəl* 'he kills', etc., in Table 17), II-*w* /*y* verbs are not geminated: *gayəs* 'it-M goes'. See also 2.1.7.2 for discussion of the non-gemination of *w* and *y*.

Attested forms of verbs II-*w* /*y* are as follows:

(195)   Reference: *mayt* 'die'

(196)   with I-guttural (cf. 4.8.1 above)—

> *ʾayš* 'live'

(197)   Perfect: *mota* 'he is dead'
                          gasena 'we went' (Ḥamid and I, line 6)

(198)   Imperfect: *ləsawərrā* 'one-M covers it-F' (Trad Decorations, line 19)
                              For the OBJ suffix -*ā*, see Tables 6 and 7.
                          gayəs 'it-M / F goes' (Coffee Ceremony, lines 9 and 10;
                          Making Coffee, line 16)
                          rayəm 'it-F is far' (Gindaʿ, lines 8 and 9)
                          ʾəngayəs hallena 'we are going'

(199)   Jussive: *ligis* 'he may go'
                          ʾi-tigis 'do not go-MS'
                              For a NEG command, see 4.18.

(200)   Imperative: *gis* 'go-MS'.

There are only two attested perfect forms. II-*w mota* 'he is dead' exhibits -*o*- rather than -*aw*- (cf. Table 17 *ḳatla* 'he killed'). Note that the diphthong *aw* is frequently realized as [o] (cf. 2.14.1). Note also that -*y*- is exhibited in the reference form *mayt* 'die', in contrast to the *w* suggested by the -*o*- of perfect *mota* . (Cf. *Wörterbuch mota* 'die'; *māytā* 'dying, death'.) II-*y gasena* 'we went' exhibits the base vowel -*e*- similar to III-weak *ḥazeko* 'I want' (cf. 4.8.6 below), *ḳallet* 'it-F has been roasted' (cf. 4.12.3), and *hallena* 'we are (in a place)' (cf. 4.2 and 4.9.2). This contrasts with Tigre of Mensaʿ, in which II-*y* is *gəsna*.[20]

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20   *TGT*, p. 61; "Verb," p. 18; and "Verbum" II, pp. 55–56.

The jussive and imperative forms of *g-y-s* 'go' exhibit *-i-* rather than *-ya-* (cf. 4.5.3 *ləḳtal* 'let him kill' and 4.5.4 *ḳetal* 'kill'): *ligis* 'he may go'.

4.8.6   *Verbs III-weak*
Verbs III-weak are verbs that exhibit form-final sound changes but do not exhibit a third root consonant in any form.

Attested forms of verbs III-weak are as follows:

(201)   Reference: *satta* 'drink'

(202)   with I-guttural—
                 ʿabba 'grow'

(203)   Perfect: *sata* 'he drank'
                 raʾa 'he saw'

(204)   with I-guttural—
                 ʿaba 'he grew'
                 ḥazekahu 'you-MS want it-M' (Trad Decorations, line 22)
                    For the M OBJ suffix *-hu*, see Tables 6 and 7.
                 ḥazeko 'I want'
                 ḥazaw 'they-MP want' (Trad Decorations, line 19)

(205)   Imperfect: *ʾənšaḳḳa* 'we make' (Trad Decorations, line 5)
                 sattu 'they-M drink' (Making Coffee, line 2)
                 ləsattəwā 'they-M drink it-F' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)
                 ləsattəwā ʿalaw 'they-M used to drink it-F'
                 (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)

(206)   with I-*w*—
                 təwadda, wadda 'you-MS make'
                 təwaddi 'you-FS make'

(207)   with I-guttural—
                 ʾəgəl təhāda ḥazza 'she wants to get married'
                 (Trad Decorations, line 14)
                    For the III-weak CPASS stem JUSS *təhāda*, see 4.14.1.
                 ʾəgəl təsta taḥazza 'you-MS want to drink'
                    For the III-weak JUSS *təsta*, see (208) below. For the comple-
                    mentary verb construction 'want to do', see 4.6.7.

ʾəgəl ləwāslo ya-ḥazzu-n 'they-M do not want to continue'
(Making Coffee, line 8)

> For the NEG of the IPRF, see 4.18; for the C stem JUSS *ləwāslo*,
> see 4.10.

(208) Jussive: *ʾəgəl təsta taḥazza* 'you-MS want to drink'
> For the III-weak IPRF *taḥazza*, see (207) above.

ʾəgəl ləstaw 'in order to drink-3MP' (Making Coffee, line 2)

(209)   with I-guttural—
ʾəgəl laʿaba tu 'he will grow'

(210)   with II-guttural—
ʾəgəl tənḥayyā bəka 'you must clean it-F'
> For *bə-* + pronominal suffix 'must', see (150). For the F OBJ
> suffix *-ā*, see Tables 6 and 7.

Where the base of the perfect is *ḳatal-* in the general conjugation, verbs III-weak exhibit base-final *e* : *ḥazeko* 'I want' (cf. Table 17 *ḳatalko* 'I killed').

Word-final *-əC₃* in the general reference and imperfect forms (reference *ḳattəl* 'kill' in 4.4 and imperfect *(lə)ḳattəl* 'he kills', etc., in Table 17) is exhibited as *-a* in verbs III-weak: *ʾənšaḳḳa* 'we make'. Note that the word-final sound change *a* > [e] sometimes occurs in verbs III-weak.[21] Where suffixed imperfect forms do not attest gemination of the second root consonant in the general conjugation (cf. Table 17 *təḳatli* 'you-FS kill', *(lə)ḳatlo* 'they-M kill'), III-weak forms exhibit gemination: *təwaddi* 'you-FS make', *sattu* 'they-M drink'.

Where the general jussive form is in *-aC₃* (cf. Table 17 *ləḳtal* 'let him kill'), verbs III-weak exhibit no consonant: *ʾəgəl təsta təḥazza* 'you-MS want to drink'. 3MP is attested in *-w* (cf. Table 17 *ləḳtalo*): *ʾəgəl ləstaw* 'in order to drink'.

4.8.7   *Geminate Verbs*
Geminate verbs are verbs for which the second and third root consonants are identical. Geminate verbs occurring in the corpus conform to the general conjugations.

(211)   Perfect: *nadda* 'it-M burned'
naddat 'it-F burned'
tamma 'it-M is complete' (Trad Decorations, line 6)

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21 Raz (*TGT*, p. 62), Leslau ("Verb," p. 20), and Littmann ("Verbum" II, p. 65) document verbs III-weak with word-final *e* for the imperfect and jussive. Leslau's later work ("Observations," p. 134) gives word-final *a*.

(212)   Jussive: *ʾəgəl təndad tu* 'it-F will burn'

For the use of M *tu* with F *təndad*, see Table 18.

4.8.8   *Multiply-Weak Verbs and Irregular Verbs*

Multiply-weak verbs are verbs the root consonants of which are characterized by more than one of the attributes discussed above in 4.8.1–4.8.7. The sound changes produced by multiply-weak verbs are consistent with those discussed above. As an example, imperfect *taḥazza* 'you-MS want' exhibits the sound change *ə > a* in the prefix *ta-* that is characteristic of verbs I-guttural (see above 4.8.1 *naḥalləf* 'we were going to pass' and Table 17 *təḳattəl* 'you kill') and the word-final *-a* that is characteristic of verbs III-weak (see above 4.8.7 *ʾənšaḳḳa* 'we make' and Table 17 *təḳattəl* 'you kill').

One irregular verb, the I-weak verb *ʿala*, is attested. This verb does not exhibit a first root consonant in any form. This verb is the past tense of the verb of existence (cf. 4.2 'there-M was, he was') and has been analyzed as having the root consonant sequence *w-ʿ-l*.[22] The first consonant and the following *a* are thus absent in the perfect: *ʿalko* 'I was' (cf. Table 17 *ḳatalko* 'I killed').

4.9   B Stem Verbs

The attested reference form of B stem verbs is *ḳattəl*, which is equivalent to the reference form of A stem verbs, for which see 4.4. Other basic forms attested in the present corpus are given in the chart below.

TABLE 20   *B Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
3MS	*ḳattala*	*(lə)ḳattəl*	*ləḳattəl*
3FS	*ḳattalat*		*təḳattəl*
2MS	*ḳattalka*		
2FS	*ḳattalki*		
1CS	*ḳattalko*		
3MP	*ḳattalaw*		
1CP	*ḳattalna*		

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22   *Wörterbuch.*

B stem verbs are marked by doubling of the second root consonant. In the perfect, the base form is *ḳattal-*. Nominative suffixes are the same as for the A stem, for which see Table 17. The perfect *ğaraba* 'he tried' was produced without doubling of the second root consonant *r*.[23] Although no distinct imperfect forms occurred in the corpus, 3MS (*lə*)*ḳattəl* is posited above based on the B stem reference form *ḳattəl* and the equivalence of the A stem reference form with the A stem prefix-less imperfect (cf. 4.4 and Table 17).[24] The few jussive forms attested are prefixed and have the geminated base form -*ḳattəl-*.

B stem verbs are lexical.[25] Only a small number of B stem verbs are attested in the corpus. The verbs are transitive/intransitive. The context was not sufficient to determine a distinction between transitivity and intransitivity. Note also that the verb of existence *halla* 'there-M-is, he is' (cf. Table 15) is a B stem verb III-weak.

(213)   Transitive/
          Intransitive: *ʽalləb* 'count'
                            fattən 'try, attempt'
                            ğarrəb 'try, attempt'
                            ḥabbarkanni *gabbiʾ* 'could you-MS ***tell me***?'
                                  Glosses also given for *ḥabbarkanni* include 'you inform me'
                                  and 'you direct me'. For the 1CS OBJ suffix -*nni*, see Table 7,
                                  and for its use as an OBJ or complement, see 3.6.6. For the
                                  use of *gabbiʾ* as an expression of the subjunctive mood, see
                                  6.4.5.1.4.

4.9.1   *B verbs I-guttural*

Unlike the A stem verbs I-guttural, the sound change *ə > a* did not occur in the prefix of the few jussives that occur in the present corpus:[26] *ʾəgəl ləʽalləb tu* 'he will count' (cf. 4.8.1 *naḥalləf* 'we would pass'). This is probably due to the fact that this form was elicited in isolation, while the A stem forms occurred in a text. As in the A stem, perfect forms are unaffected.

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23   Cf. *Wörterbuch ğarraba* 'suffer; try, test'.
24   In addition, the (prefixed) IPRF 3MS and the JUSS 3MS are equivalent elsewhere in Tigre
       (*TGT*, pp. 55–56; "Verb," pp. 6, 8; and "Verbum" II, pp. 16–17).
25   Leslau ("Verb," p. 4) and Raz (*TGT*, p. 52–53) note that in some cases a B verb exists along-
       side an A verb. Examples of such are not attested in the present corpus.
26   Prefixes *la*- and *ta*- are recorded elsewhere in Tigre for the B stem, as well as for the
       C stem and derived stems (*TGT*, pp. 58–59; "Verb," pp. 14–16; "Verbum" II, pp. 34–38). Verbs
       I-guttural in C and other stems are discussed in 4.10.1, 4.12.1, 4.14.1, and 4.16.1 for the pre-
       sent corpus.

(214)   Perfect: *ḥabbara* 'he told'
                     ḥabbarka 'you- MS told'
                     'allaba 'he counted'

(215)   Jussive: *ʾəgəl lə'alləb tu* 'he will count'

4.9.2   *B verbs II-* w

One II-*w* verb occurred in the corpus. Because *w* does not geminate in Tigre
of Ginda', the jussive form does not exhibit the characteristic doubling of the
second root consonant.

(216)   Jussive: *ʾəgəl ʾi-təzawər* 'lest she drive'

4.10   C Stem Verbs

Attested reference forms of the C stem are drawn from prefix-less imperfect
and imperfect/jussive forms, and from the *ʾgəl* + jussive construction.

        From the Prefix-less Imperfect

(217)   *wāla* 'lead (pull an animal)'
         dāla 'have information'
             For the C verbs III-weak *wāla* and *dāla*, see 4.10.4 below.
         ʾammər 'know'

        From the imperfect/jussive

(218)   *ləgādəl* 'fight'

        From *ʾgəl* + jussive

(219)   *ʾgəl tə'āmər* 'to know'

ʾammər 'know' has the form of the B stem prefix-less imperfect, for which see
Table 20 above.[27] Other basic forms attested in the corpus are given in the
chart below.

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27   Note that B *'ammara* 'be bright, clear' is given in *Wörterbuch*, alongside C *'āmara* 'know'.
       This may explain the presence of the B reference form *'ammər* in Tigre of Ginda', but it

TABLE 21   *C Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
3MS	ḳātala	(lə)ḳātəl	ləḳātəl
3FS	ḳātalat		
1CS	ḳātalko		ʾəḳātəl
3MP	ḳātalaw	(lə)ḳātlo	ləḳātlo

The C stem is characterized by the presence of *ā* as the first (and in some cases only) vowel of the base form of the verb. The perfect base is *ḳātal-*. The imperfect and jussive base is *-ḳātəl* for forms without a suffix and *-ḳātl-* for forms with a suffix. Prefix-less imperfect forms are attested for both 3MS and 3MP. Nominative affixes for the perfect, imperfect, and jussive are the same as for the A stem, for which see Table 17.

C stem verbs attested in the corpus appear to be lexical. This contrasts with the documentation of C as a derived stem elsewhere in Tigre.[28] Examples in the present corpus include transitive and intransitive verbs, but in many cases the context is not sufficient to make a distinction.

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does not explain how the B stem form is associated with C 'know'. No B stem forms other than *ʾammər* are attested in the present corpus.

28   Leslau ("Verb," pp. 4–5; "Observations," p. 132), Littmann ("Verbum" I, p. 163) and Raz (*TGT*, pp. 52–53) note that C stem verbs are derived.

Leslau observes that C is often derived from A or B (chiefly the former) and has a "sociative" meaning (e.g. *kāfala* 'distribute' vs. *kafla* 'divide') or a "frequentative" meaning (e.g. *zābaṭa* 'hit several times, hit several persons' vs. *zabṭa* 'hit'). In addition, C can have a concrete or specific meaning relative to a general meaning in A.

Littmann identifies two meanings for C stem verbs: causative and reciprocal.

Raz indicates that the C stem represents an increase of force or intensity of action with respect to the meaning in A. It also can be a stylistic variant of an A or B verb. For verbs I-guttural the C stem is the causative of A.

Though no relationships such as those discussed by these authors are attested between C and A or C and B verbs in Tigre of Gindaʿ, the small number of C verbs in the present corpus prevents a definitive statement. It is noteworthy, however, that in Tigre of Gindaʿ *kafla* 'he paid' and *kāfala* 'he divided' are not related, while *kāfala* (CPASS) 'it was divided into many pieces' (cf. 4.14) occurs alongside *kāfala* 'he divided'. Thus, the C ~ CPASS relationship in Tigre of Gindaʿ in this instance is similar to the A ~ C relationship described by Leslau.

(220)   Transitive: *wāla* 'lead (pull an animal)'
                                For C verbs III-weak, see 4.10.4 below.
                          kāfala 'he divided'
                                Regarding transitivity, see the corresponding passive verb
                                in (240), Bᴘᴀꜱꜱ *kaffala* 'it-ᴍ was divided'.

(221)   Transitive/
         Intransitive: *ləgādəl* 'fight'
                          ḥārasa 'he visited a woman who has borne a child'[29]
                          ḥārasat 'she bore a child'

(222)   Intransitive: *ʾāmara* 'he knew'
                          dāla 'have information, be informed'[30]
                                For C verbs III-weak, see 4.10.4 below.
                          wāslo 'they-ᴍ continue'

4.10.1   *C Verbs I-guttural*

Only a few verbs I-guttural occurred in the present corpus. Neither the reference forms that are not prefixed nor perfect forms are affected by the I-guttural consonant.

As with B verbs I-guttural and in contrast to A verbs I-guttural, there is no sound change *ə > a* in the prefix of the jussive: *təʾāmər* (cf. 4.8.1 A ɪᴘʀꜰ **naḥalləf** 'we would pass' and 4.9.1 B ᴊᴜꜱꜱ *ʾəgəl ləʿalləb tu* 'he will count'). It is worth noting once again that *naḥalləf* occurred in a text while *ləʿalləb* and *təʾāmər* were elicited in isolation.

(223)   Reference: *ʾəgəl təʾāmər* 'to know'
                          ʾammər 'know'
                                For the B prefix-less ɪᴘʀꜰ, see Table 20.

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29   In Tigre of Gindaʿ the verb for 'bear a child' is the same as the verb for 'visit a woman who has borne a child'. This is not documented in any of the languages in contact with Tigre of Gindaʿ—Arabic (*Wehr walada* 'bear, give birth'), Tigrinya (ᴛᴇᴅ *ḥaräsä* 'bear, give birth to'), Amharic (ᴄᴀᴅ *wällädäčč* 'give birth'), or Italian (*generare* 'bear a child', *dare alla luce* 'give birth to'). In none of these sources is 'visit someone who has borne a child' listed with 'bear, give birth '. In *Wörterbuch* the verb *ḥarsa* 'give birth' is not attested, but a derived noun, *ḥarās* 'woman in childbed', is documented.

30   Tigre of Gindaʿ *dāla* is very similar to the A stem verb documented in *Wörterbuch*: III-weak A stem *dalā* 'know exactly; be ready, be watered'. Note also the likeness of the Tigre of Gindaʿ C stem verb *kāfala* 'he divided' to the A stem verb given in *Wörterbuch, kafla* 'divide'.

(224)   Perfect: *ʾāmara* 'he knew'
                      ʾāmaraw 'they-M know'
                         For the use of an intransitive verb PRF for the PRES tense,
                         see 4.5.1.
                      ḥārasa 'he visited a woman who has borne a child'
                      ḥārasat 'she bore a child'

(225)   Jussive: *ləḥāyəsanna* 'may he make good for us'
                         See (347) for the personal greeting *ʾab ḥəd ləḥāyəsanna* 'nice
                         to meet you' (lit., 'to each other may he make good for us').

4.10.2 *C Verbs I-*w

Two verbs I-*w* occur in the present corpus. No forms exhibited a sound change
relative to the general conjugations.

(226)   Perfect: *yə-wāsalko-n* 'I did not continue' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
                         For the NEG of the PRF, see 4.18.

(227)   with III-weak—
                      wāla 'lead (pull an animal)'

(228)   Imperfect: *wāslo* 'they-M continue' (Making Coffee, line 7)

(229)   Jussive: *ʾəgəl ʾəwāsəl* '(hoping) that I might continue'
                      (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
                      ʾəgəl ləwāslo ḥazaw mən-gabbi 'if they-M want to continue'
                      (Making Coffee, line 7)
                         For III-weak A PRF *ḥazaw*, see 4.8.6. For *ʾəgəl* + JUSS + *ḥazā* 'want
                         to do', see 4.6.7, and for PRF + *mən-gabbi* 'if', see (410) and 6.5.5.1.
                      ʾəgəl ləwāslo ya-ḥazzu-n 'they-M don't want to continue'
                      (Making Coffee, line 8)
                         For III-weak A IPRF *ḥazzu*, see 4.8.6. For the NEG of the IPRF,
                         see 4.18.

(230)   with III-weak—
                      ʾəgəl ləwāla tu 'he will lead (pull an animal)'

4.10.3 *C Verbs II-*y

See the jussive *ləḥāyəsanna* 'may he make good for us' above in 4.10.1.

4.10.4   *C Verbs III-weak*

Only a few verbs III-weak occur in the present corpus. Consistent with the A stem, word-final -*a* is attested in the reference form *dāla* 'know' (cf. 4.8.6 *satta* 'drink').

(231)   Reference: *dāla* 'know'

(232)   with III-weak—
                        wāla 'lead (pull an animal)'

(233)   Perfect: *dāla 'ala* 'he had information'

(234)   Jussive (with III-weak):
                        'əgəl ləwāla tu 'he will lead (pull an animal)'

4.11   D, Q, and D/Q Stem Verbs

4.11.1   *D Stem Verbs*

In Tigre of Mensaʿ, the D stem, e.g. 3MS perfect *katātala*, is used to express "either [an] increase or decrease of force"[31] relative to an A stem verb. Rose notes that "the meaning is commonly diminutive.[32] The following examples from *Wörterbuch* illustrate this relationship.

(235)   *sabra* 'to break' ~ *sabābara* 'to crush'
          katla 'to kill' ~ *katātala* 'to kill off and on'
          ḥarsa 'to plough' ~ *ḥarārasa* 'to plough a little'

This stem does not appear to be used in Tigre of Gindaʿ. According to Mohammed Adem, *ḥarārasa* means 'he used to plow', but "it is not used very much."[33] The absence of D stem verbs may be related to the absence of diminutive nouns, for which see 3.12.3.

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31   *TGT*, p. 53. Leslau ("Verb," p. 10) records that this stem expresses "a frequentative, repeated, or intensive action." Littmann ("Verbum" I, p. 166) documents its use as the reiterative of a basic meaning or the reflexive-reciprocal of a reflexive meaning.

32   "The Formation of Ethiopian Semitic Internal Reduplication," p. 92.

33   Personal communication, 2001.

4.11.2 *Q Stem and D/Q Stem Verbs*

Lexical verbs of the Q stem, with the perfect form *ḳartala*, are attested in Tigre of Mensaʿ.[34] It is likely that no Q stem verbs are attested in the present corpus because there is a relatively small number of Q stem verbs in Tigre.[35] That Q stem verbs exist in Tigre of Gindaʿ is strongly suggested, however, by the presence of Q passive and tə-Q verbs, for which see 4.15, and by the active-passive relationships between A and tə-A/B stem verbs (cf. (251)), B and tə-A/B stem verbs (cf. (252)), and C and C passive/tə-C stem verbs (cf. (278) and (279)).

A similar situation exists regarding lexical verbs in the D stem, the perfect form of which is *ḳarātala*. This stem is called D/Q in the present work.[36] No such verbs are attested in the corpus; however, the occurrence of forms of the tə-D/Q verb III-weak *təfanātā* 'it-m was separated' (cf. 4.15) strongly suggests the presence of D/Q stem verbs in Tigre of Gindaʿ.

4.12 B Passive Stem Verbs

Basic forms of the B passive stem attested in the corpus are given in the chart below.

TABLE 22 *B Passive Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
3MS	*ḳattala*	(*lə*)*ḳattal*	*ləḳattal*
3FS	*ḳattalat*	(*tə*)*ḳattal*	*təḳattal*
2MS	*ḳattalka*		
2FS			*təḳattali*
1CS	*ḳattalko*	(*ʾə*)*ḳattal*	
		(*Continued*)	

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34 For Leslau this is the quadriliteral of type A and B ("Verb," p. 22); for Raz it is the quadriradical of type A (*TGT*, pp. 65–66, 139). As in the noun discussion (cf. 3.9.4), the nonce sequence *ḳ-r-t-l* is used here.

35 This fact is borne out by the great length at which tri-consonantal verbs are discussed in the literature relative to quadri-consonantal verbs. Littmann considers "Starkes vier- und mehrradicaliges Verbum" in a six-page section ("Verbum" II, pp. 22–27), while tri-radical verbs are examined in the remainder of the 148-page work.

36 For Leslau this is the quadriliteral of type C ("Verb," p. 22); for Raz it is the quadriradical of type C (*TGT*, pp. 65, 139).

TABLE 22   *B Passive Stem Verbs (cont.)*

	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
3MP			*ləkattalo*
3FP	*kattalayā*	*ləkattalā*	

Forms of the B passive stem are equivalent to those of the B stem (cf. Table 20), except that the latter vowel in the base of the imperfect and jussive forms is *a* rather than *ə* : B passive *kattal-, -kattal-* vs. B *kattəl-, -kattəl-*. Nominative affixes for the conjugations are the same as for the A stem, for which see Table 17.

The B passive is a derived stem. As its name suggests, B passive stem verbs express the passive voice. Active verbs corresponding to B passive are most frequently found in the A stem (cf. 4.4–4.8).

(236)   Active A ~ Passive BPASS

For one B passive verb, the corresponding active verb is in the C stem (cf. 4.10); likewise, for one B passive verb, the corresponding active verb is in the ʾa-A stem (cf. 4.16).

(237)   Active C ~ Passive BPASS (one instance)
         Active ʾa-A ~ Passive BPASS (one instance)

In one instance in the present corpus, the B passive stem verb is active intransitive rather than passive; likewise in one instance, the B passive verb is stative rather than passive. In the latter case, a corresponding intransitive verb is found in the A stem.

(238)   Intransitive A ~ Stative BPASS (one instance)

The name of this stem is "B passive," rather than "A passive," "C passive," or "ʾa-A passive," because the forms of B passive verbs (cf. above Table 22), are nearly equivalent to those of the B stem (cf. Table 20).

B passive examples follow.

Passive:

(239)   Active A ~ Passive Bᴘᴀss

                     zabṭa 'he beat' ~ *zabbaṭa* 'he/it-ᴍ was beaten'

                     kafla 'he paid' ~ *kaffala* 'it-ᴍ was paid'

                     rakba 'he found' ~ *rakkaba* 'he/it-ᴍ was found'

                     ballə' 'eat' ~ *balla'a* 'it-ᴍ was eaten'

                     sattu 'they-ᴍ drink' ~ *ləsatta* 'it-ᴍ is drunk'

                     (Making Coffee, lines 2 and 16, respectively)

                     'ənšaḳḳa 'we make' ~ *ləšaḳḳa* 'it-ᴍ is made'

                     (Trad Decorations, lines 5 and 20, respectively)

                         For Bᴘᴀss verbs III-weak such as *ləšaḳḳa* and *ləsatta*, see 4.12.4 below.

(240)   Active C ~ Passive Bᴘᴀss

                     kāfala 'he divided' ~ *kaffala* 'it-ᴍ was divided'

(241)   Active 'a-A ~ Passive Bᴘᴀss

                     laḳarrəb 'he serves' ~ *təḳarrab* ɪᴘʀꜰ 'it-ꜰ is served'

                     (both forms from Making Coffee, line 17)

(242)   Intransitive: *kabbatakka* 'he met you-ᴍs'[37]

                     For the ᴏʙᴊ suffix *-kka* see Tables 6 and 7.

Stative:

(243)   Intransitive A ~ Stative Bᴘᴀss (one instance)

                     gasena 'we went' ~ *gayasa* 'he was gone'

                     Regarding the stative nature of *gayasa*, cf. the A verb past perfect *gesa 'ala* 'he **had** gone'. For verbs II-*y* such as *gayasa*, see 4.12.3 below.

4.12.1   *B Passive Verbs I-guttural*

Two B passive verbs are I-guttural. As in B stem verbs I-guttural (cf. 4.9.1), the sound change *ə* > *a* did not occur in the prefix of the imperfect. For sound changes caused by the III-weak component of these verbs, see 4.12.4 below.

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37   Though no corresponding verb from the A, B, or C stem appeared in the corpus, *Wörterbuch* gives a participle from the B stem *kəbbut* '(well) received, agreeable'.

(244)   Imperfect (with III-weak):

>   *ʔatta* 'it-M is placed' (Trad Decorations, line 8)
>   *təʕalla* 'it-F is consecrated' (Making Coffee, line 20)

4.12.2   *B Passive Verbs III-guttural*

The B passive verbs III-guttural that occur in the corpus conform to the patterns given above in Table 22.

(245)   Perfect: *balləʕa* 'it-M was eaten'
>   *fattəḥa* 'it-M is opened' (Making Coffee, line 20)

(246)   Imperfect: *təzarraʔ* 'it-M is grown' (Coffee Ceremony, line 11)

4.12.3   *B Passive verbs II-y*

One B passive verb II-*y* occurred in the corpus: *gayasa* 'he was gone'. Note that *y* is simple because it does not occur doubled in Tigre of Gindaʕ (cf. 2.8.2).

(247)   Perfect: *gayasa* 'he was gone'

4.12.4   *B passive verbs III-weak*

(248)   Perfect: *satta* 'it-M was drunk'
>   *ḳallet* 'it-F has been roasted' (Making Coffee, line 10)

(249)   Imperfect: *ləšaḳḳa* 'it-M is made' (Trad Decorations, lines 1, 4, and 20)
>   *təšaḳḳa* 'it-F is made' (Trad Decorations, line 3)
>   *təḳalla* 'it-F is roasted' (Making Coffee, lines 9 and 10)
>   *ləsatta* 'it-M is drunk' (Making Coffee, line 16)
>   *təsatta* 'it-F is drunk' (Coffee Ceremony, lines 5, 6, and 7)
>   *takka* 'it-F is boiled' (Coffee Ceremony, line 8)
>   *tətakka* 'it-F is boiled/brought to a boil'
>   (Coffee Ceremony, lines 6 and 7)

(250)   with I-guttural (cf. 4.12.1)—
>   *ʔatta* 'it-M is placed' (Trad Decorations, line 8)
>   *təʕalla* 'it-F is consecrated' (Making Coffee, line 20)

B passive verbs III-weak exhibit changes in the perfect form that are similar to changes in the A and C stems (cf. 4.8.6 and 4.10.4). In the perfect, the 3FS form exhibits *e* in its base: *ḳallet* 'it-F has been roasted'. Word-final -aC_3 in the general

imperfect and jussive forms (imperfect (*lə*)*ḳattal* and jussive *ləḳattal* in Table 22 above) appears as -*a* in verbs III-weak: *təsatta* 'it-F is drunk'.

4.13   tə-A/B Stem Verbs

Basic forms of tə-A/B stem verbs attested in the corpus are given in the chart below.

TABLE 23   *tə-A/B Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF/JUSS
3MS	*təḳattala*	*lətḳattal*
3FS	*təḳattalat*	*tətḳattal*
3MP		*lətḳattalo*
3FP		*lətḳattalā*
1CP	*təḳattalna*	

Forms of the tə-A/B are characterized by the prefix *tə* in the perfect, *təḳattala*, the equivalence of the imperfect and jussive forms, and the prefix *t* before the base of the imperfect/jussive, *lətḳattal*. The conjugations are formed with doubling of the second root consonant, as in the B stem (cf. Table 20). The base of the imperfect and jussive is in *a*, *lətḳattal*, as in the B passive stem (see Table 22 above). No prefix-less form of the imperfect is attested in the tə-A/B stem.

In Tigre of Mensaʿ it appears that there are biforms of the tə-A/B perfect, *təḳattala* / *ḳattala*, and one form of the imperfect/jussive, *lətḳattal*. In Tigre of Gindaʿ, on the other hand, there are two separate stem verb patterns, B passive (PRF *ḳattala*, IPRF and JUSS (*lə*)*ḳattal*) and tə-A/B (PRF *təḳattala*, IPRF/JUSS *lətḳattal*).[38]

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38   Both Raz (*TGT*, p. 56) and Leslau ("Observations," p. 11) indicate that in the tə-A/B stem, the prefix *tə*- can be omitted: *təḳattala* or *ḳattala*. The latter form is equivalent to the perfect form given above for the B passive stem in Tigre of Gindaʿ (cf. Table 22). For the imperfect/jussive, however, Raz's and Leslau's documentation differs from Tigre of Gindaʿ. They do not indicate that -*t*- can be omitted from the prefix of the imperfect/jussive, but in Tigre of Gindaʿ -*t*- is omitted in the B passive. Regarding Mensaʿ Littmann is clear on this point:

The tə-A/B stem is a derived stem. Like verbs in the B passive, tə-A/B stem verbs express the passive voice. Corresponding active voice verbs are most frequently found in the A and B stems (cf. 4.4–4.8 and 4.9, respectively).

(251)   Active A ~ Passive tə-A/B
(252)   Active B ~ Passive tə-A/B

The active verb is found in the C stem (cf. 4.10) in one case and in the ʾa-A stem (cf. 4.16) in two cases.

(253)   Active C ~ Passive tə-A/B (one instance)
(254)   Active ʾa-A ~ Passive tə-A/B (two instances)

In the present corpus, one intransitive verb and two stative verbs are attested in the tə-A/B stem.[39]

This stem is called "tə-A/B" because of the *tə-* prefix found in the perfect and because verbs derived from the A and B stems take a common form.

Passive:

(255)   Active A ~ Passive tə-A/B
                ḥarsa 'he plowed' ~ *təḥarrasa* 'it-M was plowed'
                rakba 'he found' ~ *lərrakkab* 'it-M is found' (Gindaʿ, line 7)
                      For *-rr-* see 2.18.2 and 4.13.1 below.
                balləʿ 'eat' ~ *lətballaʿ* 'it-M is eaten' (Making Coffee, line 16)
                ləgbaʾ 'it-M might be' ~ *lətgabbaʾanni* 'hoping'
                (Lit., 'may it-M come to pass for me') (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
                      For the 1CS OBJ suffix *-anni*, see Table 7.
                ləbəl 'he says' ~ *lətbahal* 'it-M is called'
                      For *ləbəl* see Making Coffee, lines 1, 2, 15 and 16; there are nume-
                      rous occurrences of *lətbahal* in the Gindaʿ, Coffee Ceremony, and
                      Trad Decorations texts.

(256)   Active B ~ Passive tə-A/B
                ʿallaba 'he counted' ~ *taʿallaba* 'it-M was counted'

        ḳattala is an expression of the passive, but its corresponding imperfect/jussive form is
        lətḳattal ("Verbum" I, p. 169; II, pp. 16–17).

39   Leslau ("Verb," pp. 3, 11) indicates that the principal meaning of the tə-A/B stem is pas-
        sive, but that it often expresses a state of mind or situation and often occurs with verbs
        of movement. Raz (*TGT*, pp. 53–54) notes that in some cases the tə-A/B stem verb is the
        intransitive or reflexive derivative of a transitive verb attested in another stem.

(257)   Active C ~ Passive tə-A/B

 kāfala 'he divided' ~ *lətkaffal* 'it-M is divided'
 (Trad Decorations, line 8)

(258)   Active 'a-A ~ Passive tə-A/B

 'asbaḳayo 'he has dyed it-M' ~ *ləssabbaḳ* 'it-M is dyed'
 (Trad Decorations, lines 10 and 8, respectively)
  For -*ss*- see 2.18.2 and 4.13.1 below.
 laḳarrəb 'he serves' ~ *lətḳarrab* 'it-M is served'
 (Making Coffee, lines 17 and 16, respectively)

(259)   Intransitive: *təwağğəhana* 'we had the pleasure of meeting'[40]

(260)   Stative: *təfarrəhanni* 'it-M was frightening to me'
  Cf. *farhako* (A) 'I am afraid'. For the 1CS OBJ suffix -*anni*, see
  Table 7.
 təllammad 'it-F is common' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)[41]
  For -*ll*- see 2.18.2 and 4.13.1 below.

For a few active verbs, the passive is expressed in the corpus both by the B passive and the tə-A/B stems.

Passive:

(261)   Active A ~ Passive BPASS and tə-A/B

 rakba 'he found' ~ *rakkaba* 'he/it-M was found'~ *lərrakkab*
 'it-M is found'
 ballə 'eat' ~ *balla'a* 'it-M was eaten' ~ *lətballa'* 'it-M is eaten'

(262)   Active C ~ Passive BPASS and tə-A/B

 kāfala 'he divided' ~ *kaffala* 'it-M was divided' ~ *lətkaffal* 'it-M is
 divided'

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40   No corresponding verb appeared in the corpus, and the only stems found in *Wörterbuch*
 are tə-A/B *təwağğəha* 'be praised' and tə-C *təwāğəha* 'flatter'; thus, *təwağğəhana* can be
 considered lexical rather than derived. Leslau ("Verb," p. 11) notes that some verbs occur
 only in the tə- prefixed stem, with no corresponding verb in a "basic" stem (A, B, or C).

41   No corresponding verb from the A, B, or C stem appeared in the present corpus; note,
 however, that *Wörterbuch* gives the A stem *lamda* 'get accustomed, learn'.

4.13.1 *tə-A/B I-alveolar verbs*

In imperfect forms of the tə-A/B verbal stem, *t* prefixed to the verbal root regularly assimilates, when that root consonant is dento-alveolar or alveo-palatal (cf. 2.18.2).[42]

(263) Imperfect: *təllammad* 'it-F is common' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
                       lərrakkabā 'they-F are found' (Ginda', line 3)
                       ləssabbaḵ 'it-M is dyed' (Trad Decorations, line 8)
                       ləššaffaṭā 'they-F are sewn' (Trad Decorations, line 21)

4.13.2 *tə-A/B Verbs I-guttural*

As with B and C verbs I-guttural (cf. 4.9.1 and 4.10.1, respectively), and in contrast to A verbs I-guttural (cf. 4.8.1), there is no sound change *ə* > *a* when *tə* is prefixed to a verbal form. The prefix occurs in the perfect of tə-A/B verbs: *təʔallaba* 'it-M was counted'. Other forms are unaffected.

(264) Perfect: *təʔallaba* 'it-M was counted'
                       təharrasa 'it-M is plowed'

(265)   with II-*y* (cf. 4.13.6 below)—
                       təhayabattanna 'it-F was given to us' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)
                         For the 1CP OBJ suffix -*anna*, see Table 7).

(266) Imperfect: *lətʕallab halla* 'it-M is being counted'

(267) Jussive: *ʔəgəl lətʕallab* 'it-M will be counted'[43]

4.13.3 *tə-A/B Verbs II-guttural*

Two roots occur in the present corpus. *lətfaʕal* 'it-M is stitched' occurs once, while *lətbahal* / *tətbahal* 'it is called' occurs several times. In all cases, because neither ʕ nor *h* can be geminated in Tigre of Ginda' (cf. 2.4.2 and 2.4.4), the doubling that is characteristic of tə-A/B verbs is absent.

(268) Imperfect: *lətfaʕal* 'it-M is stitched' (Trad Decorations, line 5)
                       lətbahal 'it-M is called' (numerous occurrences in the Ginda',
                       Coffee Ceremony, and Trad Decorations texts)
                       tətbahal 'it-F is called' (Trad Decorations, line 16)

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42   For a discussion of root consonants in Tigre, see 3.9.
43   The absence of the copula *tu* in this future tense form (cf. 4.6.1), which was elicited in
      isolation, is probably a speech error.

4.13.4 tə-A/B Verbs III-guttural

Forms of the tə-A/B verbs III-guttural conform to the general patterns exhibited in the three conjugations of tə-A/B verbs, except for the perfect, in which the second vowel in the base is *ə* rather than *a*: *təfarrəhanni* 'it-M was frightening to me' (cf. Table 23 *təkattala*). For *təwağğəhana*, note the 1CP perfect base -*kattəla*- which differs from the general conjugation -*kattal*- (cf. Table 23).

(269)   Perfect: *təfarrəhanni* 'it-M was frightening to me'
(270)   with I-*w*—
                          təwağğəhana 'we had the pleasure of meeting'

(271)   Imperfect: *lətballaʿ* 'it-M is eaten' (Making Coffee, line 16)
(272)   Jussive: *lətgabbaʾanni* 'hoping' (Lit., 'may it-M come to pass for me')
                          (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
                              For the 1CS OBJ suffix -*anni* in *lətgabbaʾanni* and *təfarrəhanni*,
                              see Table 7. See also (344) and 6.4.5.3 for *lətgabbaʾanni*.

4.13.5 tə-A/B Verbs I-w

See above (4.13.4) *təwağğəhana* 'we had the pleasure of meeting'. *w* does not produce any sound changes.

4.13.6 tə-A/B Verbs II-w/ y

One verb II-*w* and one verb II-*y* are attested in the present corpus. Gemination is absent in this form because *w* does not occur doubled and *y* is geminated only in a limited environment in Tigre of Gindaʿ (cf. 2.8.2).

(273)   Perfect (with I-guttural (cf. 4.13.2 above)):
                          təhayabattanna 'it-F was given to us' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)
                              For the 1CP OBJ suffix -*anna*, see Table 7.

(274)   Imperfect: *lətkawan* 'it-M is made' (Trad Decorations, line 13)

4.13.7 tə-A/B Verbs III-weak

One tə-A/B verb III-weak is attested in the corpus. The imperfect form exhibits the word-final -*a* that is characteristic of verbs III-weak (cf. 4.8.6 and 4.12.4).

(275)   Imperfect: *tətkarra* 'it-F is repeated' (Making Coffee, line 13)

4.13.8 tə-A/B Geminate Verbs

One tə-A/B geminate verb is attested in the corpus. The perfect form is regular.

(276)   Perfect: *təkallalat* 'it-F is surrounded' (Gindaʿ, line 5)

4.14   C Passive and tə-C Stem Verbs

Basic forms of C passive stem verbs attested in the corpus are given below.

TABLE 24   *C Passive Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
3MS	*ḳātala*		
3FS			*təḳātal*
3FP	*ḳātalayā*		
1CP	*ḳātalna*		

Perfect forms of the C passive stem are identical to those of the C stem, for which see Table 21. In the jussive, the latter vowel of the base is *a* rather than *ə* : *təḳātal* (cf. Table 21 *təḳātəl*).

Basic forms of tə-C stem verbs attested in the corpus are given in the chart below. One reference form is attested: *lətbāšar* 'drink'.

TABLE 25   *tə-C Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF/JUSS
1CS		*ʾətḳātal*
1CP	*təḳātalna*	*nətḳātal*

Perfect forms of the tə-C stem are characterized by prefixation of *tə* : *təḳātalna*. The imperfect and jussive forms are identical, with *t* prefixed to the verbal base, which is *-ḳātal-* (cf. C stem *-ḳātəl-* in Table 21): *nətḳātal*. No prefix-less forms of the imperfect are attested.

The C passive and tə-C stems are derived stems. The C passive stem is not documented elsewhere in Tigre. Since there are only a few C passive and tə-C

verbs in the corpus, a full description of the stem type is not possible. Neverthe-less, the attested verbs express reciprocity, reflexivity, and passivity/intensity.

A corresponding non-reciprocal verb from the A stem is attested once, a corresponding non-reflexive/non-reciprocal verb from the C stem is attested once, and a corresponding active/non-intensive verb from the C stem is attested once. For one root consonant sequence, both C passive and tə-C stem verbs are attested as an expression of reciprocity. (For active B with passive tə-A/B, see (252).)

(277)   Non-reciprocal A ~ Reciprocal Cᴘᴀss and tə-C (one instance)
(278)   Non-reflexive/non-reciprocal C ~ Reflexive/reciprocal tə-C (one instance)
(279)   Active C ~ Passive/intensive Cᴘᴀss (one instance)

Though the evidence is limited, it appears that the C ~ Cᴘᴀss relationship in Tigre of Gindaʿ is similar to the A ~ C relationship documented in Tigre of Mensaʿ (cf. 4.10).

In a few instances, an intransitive C passive or tə-C stem verb is attested in the corpus, and there is no corresponding verb. In some of these instances, a verb may be considered lexical rather than derived. See also (259) for the tə-A/B verb *təwağğəhana* 'we had the pleasure of meeting', which may be lexical.

The C passive stem is so called because of its near formal equivalence to the C stem, for which see Table 21. Though reciprocal, reflexive, and intensive expressions are found in the stem, "passive" is used for convenience and for consistency with the names of the B passive (cf. 4.12) and Q passive (cf. 4.15) stems, in which only passive expressions are attested. The tə-C stem is so called because of the *tə* prefix found in the perfect and the close formal relationship with the C stem, for which see Table 21.

(280)   Non-reciprocal A ~ Reciprocal Cᴘᴀss and tə-C
         rakba 'he found' ~ *rākabna* (Cᴘᴀss), *tərākabna* (tə-C) 'we met (found each other)'

(281)   Non-reflexive/non-reciprocal C ~ Reflexive/reciprocal tə-C
         dāla 'have information, be informed' ~ *nəddālla hallena* (tə-C) 'we are getting ready (informing ourselves/each other)'
         (Ḥamid and I, line 15)
             For *-dd-* see 2.18.2 and 4.14.2.

(282)   Active C ~ Passive/intensive Cᴘᴀꜱꜱ
         kāfala 'he divided' ~ *kāfala* (Cᴘᴀꜱꜱ) 'it-ᴍ was divided into many pieces'[44]

Not corresponding to a stem attested in the present corpus

(283)   Intransitive: *ʾəgəl ʾəthāga tu* (tə-C) 'I will talk' (Coffee Ceremony, line 1);
                          nəthāga hallena (tə-C) 'we are talking'
                          lətbāšar (tə-C) 'drink'[45]
                          ʾəgəl təhāda ḥazza (Cᴘᴀꜱꜱ) 'she wants to get married'
                          (Trad Decorations, line 14)

4.14.1   *C Passive Weak Verbs*

One C passive verb I-guttural and III-weak is attested. The prefix vowel *ə* does not undergo sound change, consistent with I-guttural verbs in all stems except the A stem (cf. 4.9.1, 4.10.1, 4.12.1, and 4.13.2). The jussive form exhibits *a* word-finally, consistent with III-weak forms discussed above for the A, C, B passive, and tə-A/B stems (cf. 4.8.6, 4.10.4, 4.12.4, and 4.13.7).

            I-guttural, III-weak

(284)   Jussive: *ʾəgəl təhāda ḥazza* 'she wants to get married' (Trad
                      Decorations, line 14)

4.14.2   *tə-C Weak Verbs*

There are three occurrences of tə-C weak verbs. For the I-alveolar and III-weak *d-l-O*, the *t* prefixed to the imperfect base assimilates to the following dento-alveolar segment *d* (cf. 4.13.1 and 2.18.2), and word-final *a* is exhibited (cf. 4.8.6, 4.10.4, 4.12.4, 4.13.7, and 4.14.1).

            I-alveolar, III-weak

(285)   Imperfect: *nəddālla hallena* 'we are preparing' (Ḥamid and I, line 15)

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44   Regarding the intensive nature of the C passive, consider that in Tigre of Mensaʿ, the
      C stem is attested as the intensive of A ("Verb," pp. 4–5, *ᴛɢᴛ*, pp. 52–53): *zābaṭa* 'hit several
      times, hit several persons' vs. *zabṭa* 'hit'.

45   Though no corresponding verbs occur in the present corpus, consider the following evi-
      dence to support the derived nature of *lətbāšar* and *təhāda*:
      —In *Wörterbuch* *təbāšara* 'devour (much)' possibly reflects an intensive sense of *bāšara*
      'drink by draughts'.
      —For *ʾəgəl təhāda ḥazza*, cf. *Wörterbuch* A *hadā* and C *hādā* 'marry'.

The two imperfects of I-guttural and III-weak *h-g-O* conform to the pattern for this type of weak verb discussed in 4.14.1.

I-guttural, III-weak

(286)   Imperfect: *nəthāga hallena* 'we are talking (with each other)'
                              ʾəgəl ʾəthāga tu 'I will talk' (Coffee Ceremony, line 1)

4.15   Q Passive, tə-Q, and tə-D/Q Stem Verbs

Basic forms of the Q passive attested in the corpus are given in the table below.

TABLE 26   *Q Passive Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
3FS	*ḳartalat*	*təḳartal*	

Both the perfect and imperfect forms of the Q passive are characterized by the base *-ḳartal-*, to which prefixes (in the case of the imperfect) and suffixes (in the case of the perfect and the imperfect) are added.

Basic forms of tə-Q stem verbs attested in the corpus are given in the chart below.

TABLE 27   *tə-Q Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF/JUSS
3MS		*lətḳartal*

The imperfect and jussive of the tə-Q stem are characterized by *t* prefixed to the base, which is *-ḳartal-*. As in the tə-A/B and tə-C stems, the imperfect and jussive are treated as equivalent forms (cf. Tables 23 and 25, respectively).

Basic forms of tə-D/Q stem verbs attested in the corpus are given in the chart below.

TABLE 28   *tə-D/Q Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF/JUSS
3MS	*təḳarātala*	*lətḳarātal*
1CP		*nətḳarātal*

Forms of the tə-D/Q verb are characterized by the base *-ḳarātal-*, to which the prefixes *tə-* (perfect) and *t-* (imperfect and jussive) are applied. As in the tə-A/B and tə-C stems, the imperfect and jussive are treated as equivalent forms (cf. Tables 23 and 25, respectively).

The Q passive, tə-Q, and tə-D/Q stem verbs are derived stems. There are only a few occurrences of verbs in these stems in the present corpus, and all express the passive voice. The Q passive stem is not attested elsewhere in Tigre.

While no corresponding active voice verbs were attested in the present corpus, evidence from Tigre of Mensaʿ suggests the existence of a Q stem *ḳartala*, the active voice verbs of which correspond to Q passive and tə-Q stem verbs, and of a D/Q stem *ḳarātala*, the active voice verbs of which correspond to tə-D/Q stem verbs.[46] See also 4.11.2.

(287)   Passive: *dagdagat* (QPASS) 'it-F has been crushed' (Making Coffee, line 11)
                            ləššerab (tə-Q) 'it-M is woven' (Trad Decorations, lines 5 and 9)
                            təfanātā (tə-D/Q) 'it-M was separated' (Trad Decorations, line 12)

4.15.1   *tə-Q Stem Weak Verbs*

The only tə-Q verb attested in the corpus is I-alveolar *ləššerab* 'it-M is woven'. As in verbs I-alveolar in the tə-A/B and tə-C stems (cf. 4.13.1 and 4.14.2, respectively; see also 2.18.2), prefixed *t* assimilates to the alveo-palatal consonant *š*. The presence of *e* rather than *a* as the first vowel of the base conforms to the "weakness" exhibited, e.g., in *ḥazeko* 'I want' (cf. A III-weak 4.8.6) and *ḳallet* 'it-F has been roasted' (cf. BPASS III-weak 4.12.3). Consistent with this evidence, *ləššerab* is considered to have consonant "weakness" in the second consonant position where *e* is attested, i.e. the verb is II-weak.

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46   Q and D/Q stem verbs elsewhere in Tigre are discussed in "Verbum" II, pp. 22–27, "Verb," p. 22, and *TGT*, pp. 65–66.

I-alveolar, II-weak

(288)   Imperfect: *ləššerab* 'it-M is woven' (Trad Decorations, lines 5 and 10)

4.15.2   *tə-D/Q Verbs IV-weak*

The only tə-D/Q verbs attested in the corpus are forms of IV-weak *təfanāta* 'it-M was separated'. In contrast to tri-consonantal forms III-weak attested in other verbal stems (cf. 4.8.6, 4.10.4, 4.12.4, 4.13.7, 4.14.1, and 4.14.2), imperfect forms of the tə-D/Q stem exhibit word-final *-ā* : *lətfanātā* 'it-M is separated'.

(289)   Perfect: *təfanāta* 'it-M was separated' (Trad Decorations, line 12)

(290)   Imperfect: *lətfanātā* 'it-M is separated' (Trad Decorations, line 10)
                      nətfanātā ʾəngabbi 'we are being separated'
                      (Ḥamid and I, line 11)
                         See 4.6.5 for IPRF + IPRF of *gabbiʾ*.

4.16   'a-A, 'a-B, and 'at-C Stem Verbs

Basic forms of 'a-A stem verbs attested in the corpus are given in the table below. One reference form is attested: *laʾatamməm* 'complete, finish'.

TABLE 29   *'a-A Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
3MS	*ʾaḵtala*	*laʾaḵattəl, laḵattəl*	*laʾaḵtəl, laḵtəl*
3FS	*ʾaḵtalat*		
2MS	*ʾaḵtalka*	*taʾaḵattəl, taḵattəl*	
3MP	*ʾaḵtalaw*		
1CP	*ʾaḵtalna*		

Verbs in the 'a-A stem are characterized by the prefix *ʾa* and the base *-ḵtal-* in the perfect. The imperfect and jussive bases are *-ḵattəl-* and *ḵtəl-*, respectively. The prefixes for the imperfect and jussive can be bi-syllabic or mono-syllabic. Both are characterized by the vowel *a* rather than *ə*, which occurs in other stems: 3MS IPRF ***laʾaḵattel*** / ***laḵattəl***.

Basic forms of 'a-B verbs attested in the corpus are given in the chart below.

TABLE 30   *'a-B Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
3MP	*'aḵattalaw*		

The perfect of the 'a-B stem is characterized by the prefix *'a-* and the base form *-ḵattal-*, which it shares with the B stem (cf. Table 20).

Basic forms of 'at-C stem verbs attested in the corpus are given in the chart below.

TABLE 31   *'at-C Stem Verbs*

	PRF	IPRF	JUSS
3FS		*ta'atḵātəl, tatḵātəl*	

The imperfect base of the 'at-C stem verb is identical to that of the C stem (cf. Table 21): *-ḵātəl-*. The final segment of the prefix for the imperfect is *t*. Similar to the prefixes for the 'a-A stem described above, the 'at-C imperfect prefix is characterized by the vowel *a* and can be bi-syllabic or mono-syllabic: 3FS *ta'atḵātel* / *taḵātəl*.

The 'a-A, 'a-B, and 'at-C stems are derived stems.[47] In the corpus there are only a few occurrences of 'a-A stem verbs and only one occurrence each of a 'a-B and 'at-C stem verb, but where a corresponding verb is found in the corpus, a description of the stem types is clear. Verbs in these stems express the causative. Verbs corresponding to 'a-A verbs are found in the A stem and

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47   Note that additional derived stems are documented in *TGT* (pp. 53–57, 65–66, 136–139), "Verb" (pp. 12–14, 22–23), and "Verbum" (I pp. 167–178, II pp. 25–27): 'a-C, 'a-Q, 'at-B, 'at-D, 'at-Q, 'atta-A, 'atta-B, and 'atta-C. Some of these stems may also occur in Tigre of Ginda', but no examples appear in our limited corpus. See also 4.11 for discussion of the D and Q stems.

can be transitive, intransitive, or stative. The attested ʾa-B stem verb does not correspond to another verb in the corpus. The attested ʾat-C stem verb corresponds to a tə-C stem verb that is intransitive. Where there is no corresponding verb, ʾa-A stem verbs are attested as causative and transitive.

(291)   Causative (ʾa-A):

fagra 'he went out' ~ taʾafaggərro 'you-MS stretch it-M'
(Lit., 'make it go out'; Trad Decorations, line 22)
      For the direct OBJ suffix -o, see Tables 6 and 7.
tamma 'it-M is complete' ~ laʾatamməm 'complete, finish'
farha 'he was afraid' ~ ʾafrahattanni 'it-F frightened me'
      For the direct OBJ suffix -anni, see Table 7.
laḳarrəb 'he serves' (Making Coffee, line 17)[48]
ʾarʾekanni 'you-MS showed me'[49]

(292)   Causative (ʾa-B):

ʾatarradaw 'they-M strengthened'

(293)   Transitive:

nəddālla hallena (tə-C) 'we are getting ready' ~ taʾaddāla (ʾat-C)
'she prepares (Lit., makes ready)' (Trad Decorations, line 14)
      Regarding the transitivity of taʾaddāla, note the direct OBJ
      kəmsal ʾəlli massəl 'something such as this' in the fuller
      context:

ʾəmmā   kəmsal   ʾəlli massəl   taʾaddāla
HER-MOTHER LIKE   SUCH-AS-THIS SHE-PREPARES
      'her mother prepares something such as this (i.e. a siggadet)'.
ʾakbarayo (ʾa-A) 'he informed him'[50]
      For the direct OBJ suffix -yo, see 3.6.2 and 3.6.6.
ʾasbaḳayo (ʾa-A) 'he has dyed it-M' (Trad Decorations, line 10)[51]
ʾawra (ʾa-A) 'he has started a fire' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)[52]

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48   Cf. *Wörterbuch* ḳarba 'come near, be near'.

49   Cf. *Wörterbuch* raʾā 'see'.

50   Note that *Wörterbuch* kabra 'be honored, esteemed' and ʾakbara 'honor, glorify' are unrelated, but cf. *Wehr* xabara 'try, test; experience; know well'; ʾaxbara 'notify, inform, apprise'. See 7.1.6 for discussion of verbs borrowed from Arabic.

51   Cf. *Wehr* ṣabaǵa 'dye, stain'. Note also Tigre of Gindaʿ tə-A/B ləssabbaḳ 'it-M is dyed' (Trad Decorations, line 8). See 7.1.6 for discussion of verbs borrowed from Arabic.

52   Cf. Wehr warā, ʾawra (w-r-y) 'kindle fire'. This verb is not found in Wörterbuch. See 7.1.6 for discussion of verbs borrowed from Arabic.

4.16.1   *ʾa-A Verbs II-guttural*

II-guttural ʾ in *r-ʾ-O* (ʾa-A 'show') does not produce a sound change in the two attested perfect forms. For other verbs III-weak, see 4.16.4 below.

(294)   Perfect (with III-weak):

  ʾarʾa 'he showed'

  ʾarʾeka 'you-ᴍꜱ showed'

4.16.2   *ʾa-A Verbs III-guttural*

One ʾa-A verb III-guttural occurred in the corpus, 3ꜰꜱ perfect *ʾafrahattanni* 'it-ꜰ frightened me'. This form is consistent with the general form of the 3ꜰꜱ perfect *ʾaḵtalat*, for which see Table 29 above.

(295)   Perfect: *ʾafrahattanni* 'it-ꜰ frightened me'

  For the direct ᴏʙᴊ suffix *-anni*, see Table 7.

4.16.3   *ʾa-A Verbs I-w*

I-*w* in *w-r-O* (ʾa-A 'start a fire') does not produce a sound change in the perfect form attested. For III-weak, see 4.16.4 below.

(296)   Perfect (with III-weak):

  ʾawra 'he has started a fire' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

4.16.4   *ʾa-A Verbs III-weak*

A few ʾa-A verbs III-weak occur in the present corpus. In the perfect, *e* appears stem-finally. In the jussive, where the general form ends in *-əC₃*, III-weak ends in *-a*. These sound changes are consistent with those discussed for verbs III-weak in 4.8.6, 4.10.4, 4.12.4, 4.13.7, 4.14.1, and 4.14.2.

Perfect:

(297)   with II-guttural (cf. 4.16.1 above)—

  ʾarʾa 'he showed'

  ʾarʾeka 'you-ᴍꜱ showed'

(298)   with I-*w* (cf. 4.16.3 above)—

  ʾawra 'he has started a fire' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

(299)   Jussive: *ʾəgəl laṣrayo tu* 'he will clean it-ᴍ'

  For the direct OBJ suffix *-yo*, see Table 7.

4.16.5   ʾa-A Geminate Verbs

There are four occurrences of a ʾa-A geminate verb in the corpus, all from the root *t-m-m* (A 'be complete'; ʾa-A 'complete, finish'). No sound changes are exhibited relative to the general perfect forms.

(300)   Reference: *laʾatammǝm* 'complete, finish'

(301)   Perfect: *ʾatmama* 'he completed'
                            ʾatmamna 'we finished' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)
                            ʾatmamaw 'they-м completed' (Trad Decorations, line 9)

4.16.6   ʾat-C Weak Verbs

The sole occurrence of a ʾat-C verb is I-alveolar and III-weak. Consistent with discussion of the imperfect for these weak verb types, the *t* of the prefix assimilates to dento-alveolar segment *d* (cf. 4.13.1, 4.14.2, and 4.15.1), and word-final -*ǝC₃* is exhibited as -*a* (cf. 4.8.6, 4.10.4, 4.12.4, and 4.13.7).

        I-alveolar, III-weak

(302)   Imperfect: *taʾaddāla* 'she prepares' (Trad Decorations, line 14)

4.17   Other Verbal Patterns

Two additional verbal stems are attested in Tigre of Gindaʿ, ʾasta- and ʾan-. Both are the result of verb loans from Arabic (cf. 7.1.6).

4.17.1   ʾasta- Verb Stem

The ʾasta- verb forms are charactized by prefixation of *ʾasta-* in all forms. Since for forms other than the imperfect, the only root consonant sequences occurring are weak, not all general conjugations are directly attested. Nevertheless, the following 3мs basic forms can be hypothetically constructed:

(303)   Perfect: *ʾastaḵtala*

        Imperfect: *laʾastaḵtǝl | lastaḵtǝl.*

The perfect is characterized by the base -*ḵtal*-, while the base of the imperfect and jussive forms is -*ḵtǝl*-.

The numerous occurrences of III-weak *b-d-O* conform to the discussion of sound changes for III-weak verbs. I-*w w-r-d* does not produce any sound changes.

III-weak

(304)   Reference: *ta'astabda, 'əgəl ta'astabda* 'start, to start'

(305)   Perfect: *'astabda* 'he started'
                         'astabdet 'she started'
                         'astabdena 'we started' (Ḥamid and I, line 1)

(306)   Imperfect: *la'astabda | lastabda* 'he starts'
                         ta'astabda | tastabda 'she starts'

I-*w*

(307)   Imperfect: *na'astawrəddā* 'we import it-ꜰ' (Coffee Ceremony, line 12)
                              For the ꜰ direct ᴏʙᴊ suffix *-ā*, see Tables 6 and 7.

Note that the reference form that occurred is (*'əgəl*) *ta'astabda*. Consistent with the A and C stems, this prefixed conjugation verb in *t-* is taken to be the jussive (cf. 4.4 and 4.10, respectively). That *ta'astabda* is also attested in the imperfect suggests the equivalence of the imperfect and the jussive forms.

The 'asta- verb stem occurs in Tigre of Ginda' as a result of verb loans from Arabic and does not appear to be a productive stem. As loans, the verbs are lexical. Two verbs are attested, III-weak *b-d-O* 'start' and I-*w w-r-d* 'import'. Verbs found in *Wörterbuch* that share these root consonant sequences are semantically unrelated:

> *badā* 'perish, go astray, set (a star)', *'abdā* 'destroy', *təbādā* 'perish', *'atbādā* 'make perish'
> *warda* 'descend', *'atwarrada* 'claim a lawsuit', *təwarrada* 'bet, be at law'; *təwārada* 'be at law, quarrel, bet, surpass'.

Egy(Hinds) provides

> *badā* 'begin, start; set in, crop up', X *istabda* 'make a start, begin'

and Wehr gives

> *warada* 'come, appear, be found', X *istawrada* 'have something supplied, buy; import'.

4.17.2 *ʾan- Verb Stem*

The sole occurrence of a ʾan- verb is the 1CS perfect *ʾansaḥabko* 'I withdrew'. It is characterized by the prefix *ʾan-* and the base *-ḳatal-*. Since the vowel *a* occurs in the perfect base of all productive verb bases in Tigre of Gindaʿ (cf. 4.5, 4.9, 4.10, 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15, and 4.16), it appears that II-guttural *ḥ* does not produce any sound changes.

II-guttural

(308)   Perfect: *ʾansaḥabko* 'I withdrew' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)

Like ʾasta- verbs, the ʾan- verb stem occurs in Tigre of Gindaʿ as a result of verb loans from Arabic and does not appear to be productive. No verbs with the ʾan-pattern described below are attested in Tigre of Mensaʿ.[53] As loans, the verbs are lexical.

One root consonant sequence is attested, II-guttural *s-ḥ-b* 'withdraw'. The *Wörterbuch* form *saḥba*, has the possibly related meaning 'draw, draw after, drag along'. Wehr gives *saḥaba* 'trail on the ground; withdraw (e.g. a measure, an order)', VII *insaḥaba* 'drag oneself along; retreat, withdraw'.

4.18   The Negative of the Verb

The negative of the verb is *ʾi-* and *yə-... -n(ni)*. Aside from the negative of the jussive, which only occurs in *ʾi-*, these two constructions appear to occur in free variation in the present corpus. *yə-... -n(ni)* is not documented elsewhere in Tigre. For the negative of the verb of existence *ya-halla-nni* and *ʾi-halla* in Tigre of Gindaʿ, see 4.2.4. For the influence of the Tigrinya *y-ällä-n*, see 7.2.3. A negative command is expressed as the negative of the jussive.

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53   Raz (*TGT*, p. 55), Leslau ("Verb," p. 14), and Littmann ("Verbum" I, p. 172) note the presence of ʾasta- stem verbs from Arabic loans. The only ʾan- stem pattern attested in these works involves quadri-consonantal roots (*TGT*, pp. 54–55, 139; "Verb," pp. 14, 23–25; "Verbum I," p. 178; and "Verbum II," pp. 23–24). In Tigre of Gindaʿ, the attested ʾan- stem Arabic loan *ʾansaḥabko* is tri-consonantal.

(309)   Perfect: *yə-wāsalko-n* 'I did not continue' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
                       yə-gisko-nni 'I did not go'
                       ʾi-raʾa 'he did not see'

(310)   Imperfect: *ya-ḥazzu-n* 'they-M do not want' (Making Coffee, line 8)
                       For **yə- > ya-*, note the assimilation of *a* to a following [ħ] in
                       2.13.2.3.
                       ʾi-gayəs 'I do not go'
                       ʾi-təwadda 'you-MS are not doing'
                       ʾi-zzaləm 'it-M has not been raining'
                       Note doubling of *z* where doubling of *l* is expected in this A stem
                       verb: *ʾi-zalləm.

(311)   Jussive: *ʾi-ligis* 'he may not go'
                       ʾi-tigis 'do not go-MS'
                       (*ʾəgəl*) *ʾi-təzāwər* '(lest) she drive'

Morphology—Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions

5.1 Adverbs

Adverbs and adverbial expressions attested in the present corpus are discussed in this section. Forms and constructions are listed in groups according to the type of modification that occurs: time, place, number, manner, and affirmation/negation/doubt. The lists are presented in Latin alphabetical order, and an example for each is provided. For discussion of the syntax of adverbs and adverbial expressions, see 6.2.4. For forms borrowed from Arabic, see 7.1.7.1.

5.1.1 *Adverbs That Relate to Time*

– <u>*ʾabəllā*</u> 'at this point' (cf. 5.2 *ʾab* 'in, with, by, as, etc.' and Table 4 *ʾəlla* 'this-F')

(312)   **ʾabəllā**   *tāməm*
        AT-THIS-F   COMPLETE
        'now ***at this point*** it is complete' (Making Coffee, line 7)

– <u>*ʾaza*</u> 'now'[1]

(313)   **ʾaza**   *yom ʿāmat*   *dib*   *ʾal-mawād*   *dib*
        NOW   THIS-YEAR   WITH-RESPECT-TO   SUBJECT   IN
        ʾal-ḳəsmə l-ʾadabi   *ʾas-sana l-ʾula*   *halleko*
        SOCIAL-SCIENCES-DEPT   FIRST-YEAR   I-AM
        '***now*** this year, with respect to subject, I am a first year student in the Social Sciences department' (Ḥamid and I, line 10)

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1   Cf. *Wörterbuch ʾaze.*

– _ʾagəd_ 'immediately, quickly'

(314)   ʾəwān   la-   kaləbka   ṣallim   rakkəb   **ʾagəd**
        WHEN   DEF   YOUR-MS-DOG BLACK-MS   YOU-MS-FIND   IMMEDIATELY
        ləʾakko   dibye
        SEND-MS-HIM   TO-ME
        'when you find your black dog, send him to me **immediately**'

– _badir_ 'formerly'

(315)   ʾab   bəzḥe   ʿabbāy tom   ləsattəwā   la-
        AMONG   LARGE-QUANTITY   BIG-FS COP-3MP THEY-M-DRINK-IT-F   REL
        ʿalaw   **badir**
        THEY-M-WERE   FORMERLY
        '**formerly** those who used to drink it were among the eldest'
        (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
            See 6.6.3.1.1 for the marked cleft clause _ləsattəwā la-ʿalaw_ 'those who used
            to drink it'.

– _ḥaḵo_ 'afterwards'

(316)   **ḥaḵo**   ʾəsāt kam   falḥat   tətkarra
        AFTERWARDS   FIRE AFTER   IT-F-OVERFLOWED   IT-F-IS-REPEATED
        '**afterwards**, after the fire has fully heated, it is repeated'
        (Making Coffee, line 13)
            See also 5.3.2.5 for the conjunction _ḥaḵo_ 'if'.

– _ḥaḵo-hā_ 'afterwards'

(317)   **ḥaḵo-hā**   ʾəgəl sito   tətḵarrab
        AFTERWARDS   ACC   DRINK   IT-F-IS SERVED
        '**afterwards**, the drink is served'
        (Making Coffee, line 14)

– _kəl dol_ 'every day, frequently'

(318)   **kəl dol**   ḥarrəs
        EVERY-DAY   HE-PLOWS
        'he plows **every day**'

– *la-ʾəwān* 'now, at the same time'

(319) **la-ʾəwān**   *ʾelā*   *təḳarrab . . .*   *halla*
       AT-THE-SAME-TIME WITH-IT-F IT-F-IS-SERVED THERE-M-IS
       'there is (something) . . . which is served with it (coffee) **at the same time**'
       (Making Coffee, line 17)
           See also (398) for the conjunction *ʾəwān* 'when'.

5.1.2   *Adverbs That Relate to Place*

– *ʾaya* 'where?' (See also below *baya idem*)

(320) *la-* *šəḳāḳ*   **ʾaya**   *halla*
       DEF BATHROOM WHERE? IT-M-IS
       '**where** is the bathroom?'

– *ʾənsar* 'to here'

(321) **ʾənsar**   *ʾasmarā* *maṣʾana*
       TO-HERE   PL.N.   WE-CAME
       'we came **here** (to) Asmara' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

– *ʾətəllā* 'here, in the aforementioned place' (cf. (361) and (362) for *ʾət* 'in, within' and Table 4 for *ʾəlla* 'this-F')

(322) **ʾətəllā** *madrasat* *nay* *ʿarabi* *madrasat* *ta*   *la-* *ʿalat*   *dib gənda*
       HERE SCHOOL GEN ARABIC SCHOOL COP-3FS REL IT-F-WAS IN PL.N.
       'As for school **there**, an Arabic school is what was in Gindaʿ'
       (Ḥamid and I, line 2)
           See 6.6.3.1.1 for the marked cleft clause *la-ʿalat dib gənda* 'what was in Gindaʿ.

– *baya* 'where?'[2] (cf. 5.2 *ʾab /ʾəb* 'in' and 5.1.2 *ʾaya* 'where?')

(323) **baya** *halla*   *la-* *suḳ*
       WHERE? IT-M-IS DEF MARKET
       '**where** is the market?'

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2 Cf. *ʾəbbaya* 'where?' "Sketches," p. 197.

5.1.3   *Adverbs That Relate to Number*

The following adverbs relate to number and frequency.

– *dib ḥəd* 'together' (cf. (365) to (372) for *dib* 'in, into, etc.' and 3.3.3 *ḥəd* 'each other')

(324)   səs   tan   **dib ḥəd**   ləlaṭṭamā   wa-   ʾab
         SIX   COP-3FP   TOGETHER   THEY-F-ARE-STITCHED   AND   WITH
         keṭ   ləššaffaṭā
         THREAD   THEY-F-ARE-SEWN
         'six of these are stitched **together** and sewn with thread'
         (Trad Decorations, line 21)

– *doldol* 'sometimes' (cf. *dol* 'a few minutes, a season')

(325)   wa-   **doldol**   mən   ʾakarā   dəwal   ǧəwār
         AND   SOMETIMES   FROM   FARMERS   DISTRICTS   PROXIMITY
         naʾastawrəddā
         WE-IMPORT-IT-F
         'and **sometimes** we import it from the farmers of neighboring districts'
         (Coffee Ceremony, line 12)

– *ḥawālay* 'approximately'[3]

(326)   wa- dib gənda‘ sab   **ḥawālay**   ʿəšrin wa- ḥaməs ʾaləf
         AND IN PL.N.   PEOPLE APPROXIMATELY 20   AND 5   1,000
         ʾaddām   nabbər   dibā
         PEOPLE   HE-LIVES   IN-IT-F
         '**approximately** 25,000 people live in Ginda‘' (Ginda‘, line 2)

– *la-ḥatta* 'first'[4]

(327)   **la-   ḥatta   la-   ǧabanat**   ʾəwān   tətakka
         DEF ONE-F DEF   COFFEE-BOTTLE   WHEN IT-F-IS-BROUGHT-TO-A-BOIL
         '**first**, when the coffee bottle is brought to a boil …' (Coffee Ceremony, line 6)

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3   Cf. *Wehr ḥawālā, ḥawālay* 'around; (with a following number) approximately'. This adverb is
    not found in *Wörterbuch*. See 7.1.7.1 for discussion of adverbs borrowed from Arabic.

4   This use of the numeral is not documented elsewhere in Tigre.

Cf. *ḥatta* 'one-F' (Table 10). Although the translation 'the one coffee bottle' is possible for *la-ḥatta la-ğabanat*, it is unlikely, since in this text the order of events in a coffee ceremony in the Tigre culture is being described.

– *məsəl* 'together'

(328) **məsəl**   *hallena dib ḥatta fasəl wa-* **məsəl**   *ʾəndarrəs*
       TOGETHER   WE-ARE IN ONE-F CLASS AND TOGETHER WE-STUDY
       ṭabʿan
       NATURALLY
       'we are **together** in the same class, and naturally we study **together**'
       (Ḥamid and I, line 11)
          See also (385) for the preposition *məsəl* 'with, along with' and 4.3.3 for
          məsəl- halla 'to be with'.

5.1.4   *Adverbs That Relate to Manner*
The following adverbs relate to manner, reason, and possibility.

– *ʾabəllā* 'by this (process, means)' (cf. (312) for *ʾabəllā* 'at this point', 5.2 for *ʾab* 'in, with, by, as, etc.' and Table 4 for *ʾəlla* 'this-F')

(329) *mənnā   ḥəbru   * **ʾabəllā**   *səggādat   taməm   la-*
       FROM-IT-F   ITS-M-COLOR   BY-THIS-F   SIGGADET   COMPLETE   DEF
       səggādat
       SIGGADET
       'from its color, **by this** (**process**) the siggadet is a complete siggadet'
       (Trad Decorations, line 13)

– *ʾəgəl-mi* 'why?' (cf. (351) to (356) for *ʾəgəl* 'for, to, etc.' and Table 8 for *mi* 'what?')

(330) **ʾəgəl-mi** *ʾi-   təwadda   gārat   nay   fasilka*
       WHY?   NEG   YOU-MS-DO   ACTIVITY   GEN   YOUR-MS-CLASS
       '**why** aren't you doing your homework?'
          See also 5.3.2.2 for the use of *ʾəgəl-mi* as the conjunction 'because'.

– *bahlat tu* 'that is, one can say, in sum' (Lit., 'it is to say')

(331) *mənnu   lətkawan* **bahlat** **tu**
       FROM-IT-M   IT-M-IS-MADE   TO-SAY   COP-3MS

'***in sum***, it is made from it (from these things)'

(Trad Decorations, line 13)

    See also 4.1.5 for more examples of this adverbial expression.

– *barədu* 'also'

(332)   ***barədu*** la- ḥatta sanat la- ʿalat   ʾəglā   ʾatmamna
    ALSO   DEF ONE-F YEAR REL IT-F-WAS IN-IT-F WE-COMPLETED
    'also in (what was) one year we finished' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)
        See 6.6.2.1.4 for the marked substantival relative *la-ḥatta sanat la-ʿalat*
        'what was one year'.

– *bas* 'only'[5]

(333)   ***bas***   *dib sakšan   nətfanātā*   *ʾəngabbiʾ*
    ONLY IN SECTION WE-ARE-SEPARATED WE-ARE-BECOMING
    '***only*** with respect to section are we being separated'
    (Ḥamid and I, line 11)
        See also 5.3.1.3 for the conjunction *bas ʾikonini* 'not only'.

– *kamān* 'also'

(334)   *ʾaza lākin ʾab   naʾāyəš* ***kamān*** *dib   təllammad*
    NOW BUT AMONG YOUNG-CP ALSO WHILE IT-F-IS-COMMON
    gayəs   hallet
    IT-F-GOES THERE-F-IS
    'but now among young people it is ***also*** becoming increasingly common'
    (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)

– *kəʾənnā* 'like this, thus'

(335)   *ʾəl   ʾaza* ***kəʾənnā*** *ləšaḳḳa   mən takʿala   tu*
    UP-TO NOW LIKE-THIS IT-M-IS-MADE FROM PALM-BRANCH COP-3MS
    'up to now is made ***like this***: it is from a palm branch'
    (Trad Decorations, line 4)

– *kəfo* 'how?'[6]

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5 Cf. *Wörterbuch* 'enough!'. *bas* is not documented as an adverb elsewhere in Tigre, but see
    Sud(Persson) *bass* 'only'.

6 Cf. *Wörterbuch kəʾəfo* 'how?'

(336)   šāhi   kəfo   təwadda
        TEA   HOW?   YOU-MS-MAKE-TEA
        '*how* do you make tea?'

– *marrā* 'very'[7]

(337)   la-   ʾardat **marrā** yābsat ʿalat
        DEF   LAND   VERY   DRY-FS IT-F-WAS
        'the land was *very* dry'

– *-mā* 'also'

(338)   wa-   ʾəgəl bəʿəd-   **mā**   manaffəʿ halla
        AND   FOR   OTHER   ALSO   USE   IT-M-EXISTS
        'and it *also* exists for other things' (Trad Decorations, line 2)
             See also 5.3.1.3 for the conjunction *-mā* 'or, but also'.

– *sumuy* 'very'[8]

(339)   la-   ʾardat **sumuy** yābsat ʿalat
        DEF   LAND   VERY   DRY-FS IT-F-WAS
        'the land was *very* dry'

– *ṭabʿan* 'naturally'[9]

(340)   məsəl   hallena dib ḥatta fasəl   wa-   məsəl
        TOGETHER WE-ARE   IN   ONE-F CLASS AND TOGETHER
        ʾəndarrəs   **ṭabʿan**
        WE-STUDY   NATURALLY
        'we are together in the same class, and *naturally* we study together'
        (Ḥamid and I, line 11)
             See also (386) for the preposition *ṭabʿan* 'about, concerning' and 5.3.1.2 for
             the conjunction *ṭabʿan* 'now, so, so then'.

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7   Cf. Yem(Qafisheh, Piamenta) *marrah* 'very'. This adverb is not documented elsewhere in
    Tigre; rather, note *Wörterbuch bəzuḥ* 'very'.
8   Cf. *Wehr sumūw* 'height, exaltedness'? This adverb is not documented elsewhere in Tigre;
    rather, note *Wörterbuch bəzuḥ* 'very'.
9   Cf. Egy(Hinds) *ṭabʿan* 'of course, naturally'; Sud(Persson), Yem(Qafisheh) *ṭabʿan* 'of course,
    certainly'. This adverb is not documented elsewhere in Tigre.

5.1.5   *Adverbs That Relate to Affirmation, Negation, and Doubt*

For discussion of the subjunctive mood, see 6.4.5.1 and 6.4.5.2.

– *ʾaywa* 'yes'[10]

(341)   *kətāb   bəka;   ʾaywa   bəye*
           BOOK   YOU-MS-HAVE   YES   I-HAVE
           'Do you have a book? *Yes*, I do.'

– *la-gabbiʾ* 'perhaps'

(342)   *ḥarirat   mən   ḥarir **la-gabbiʾ** la-   čarəḵ   bəʾəd*
           HERIRET FROM   SILK   PERHAPS   DEF   CLOTH   OTHER
           'heriret (is) from silk or ***perhaps*** another fabric'
           (Trad Decorations, line 17)
             Literally, *la-gabbiʾ* is the REL particle with the prefix-less 3MS IPRF: 'that
             which may be'. Its adverbial use here is indicated by its position in a prepo-
             sitional phrase between two nouns, *ḥarir* and *čarəḵ*, and by the context.
             See also *ləgbaʾ* below.

– *lā, lā lā* 'no'[11]
See also Table 14 for *ʾikon(i)*, *ʾikonini* 'not, it is not' and 4.18 for the negative of
the verb *ʾi-* and *yə- . . . -n(i)*.

– *ləgbaʾ* 'possibly'

(343)   *kam   bāni   **ləgbaʾ**   ʾaw   ḵəčā*
           LIKE   BREAD   POSSIBLY   OR   KICHA
           'like, ***possibly***, bread or kicha' (Making Coffee, line 18)
             Strictly, *ləgbaʾ* is the 3MS JUSS 'it might be'. Like *la-gabbiʾ* above, its adver-
             bial use here is indicated by its position in a prepositional phrase between
             two nouns, *bāni* and *ḵəčā*, and by the context, which indicates that one can
             possibly serve bread, kicha, or something like it, with coffee.

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10   Cf. Various Arabic dialects *ʾaywa* 'yes'. *ʾaywa* is not documented as an adverb elsewhere in
        Tigre.
11   Cf. *Wehr lāʾ* 'not, no!'.

– *lətgabbaʾanni* 'hoping' (Lit., 'may it-M come to pass for me')

(344)   wa- ḥako-hā   ʾana ʾəgəl   ʾəwāsəl   **lətgabbaʾanni**
        AND AFTERWARDS I   SO-THAT I-MIGHT-CONTINUE HOPING
        yə-wāsalko-n
        I-DID-NOT-CONTINUE
        'then, **hoping** that I could resume (later), I did not continue'
        (Ḥamid and I, line 9)

5.2   Prepositions

Most prepositions take a suffix, and in all attested instances it is a suffixed
genitive pronoun (cf. Table 5) that is applied. Forms are presented in Latin
alphabetical order, and examples are given for each. For discussion of the syn-
tax of prepositional phrases, see 6.2.1–6.2.3. For forms borrowed from Arabic,
see 7.1.7.2.

– *ʾab / ʾəb* 'in, with, by, as, among, about, concerning, to, because of'
ʾab and *ʾəb* are widely used. Both forms exhibit doubling of *b* when suffixed. *ʾab*
is not documented elsewhere in Tigre and is likely borrowed from Tigrinya
ʾab 'in, into, at, on, onto, upon'. For more on Tigrinya loans, see 7.2, esp 7.2.2.
The consonant *b* in *ʾab* and *ʾəb* is likely related to *b* in the forms *bə-* and *bədib-*,
which are used in expressions of possession (cf. 4.3.1 and 4.3.4), e.g., *bəye*
'I have', *bədibye* 'I have (within me)'.
    While in some cases the phonetic distinction between *ʾab* and *ʾəb* is clear, in
many cases it is not. For this reason, these prepositions are presented together.
See also *kam* 'like, as' and *kamsal / kəmsal* 'like, as' below. The semantic range
of *ʾab* and *ʾəb* includes instrumentality, proximity, reference, and reason.

    'in, with, by, as' (instrumentality)

(345)   ʾəgəl-mi   **ʾab** ʿarabi   dārəsām   ḥəna
        BECAUSE IN   ARABIC STUDYING-MP   WE
        'because we had been studying **in** Arabic' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

        ʾəb təgrait man təbəllo   la- šəḳāḳ   ʾaya   halla
        IN   TIGRE WHO?YOU-MS-SAY-IT-M DEF BATHROOM WHERE IT-M-IS
        'how do you say, "where is the bathroom?" **in** Tigre?'

wa-   ʾab   keṭ   ləššaffaṭā
AND   WITH   THREAD   THEY-F-ARE-SEWN

'and they are sewn ***with*** thread' (Trad Decorations, line 21)

wa-   ʾabbu   təʿalla   bahlat tu
AND   BY-HIM   IT-F-IS-CONSECRATED   THAT-IS

'it is consecrated ***by him***, that is' (Making Coffee, line 20)

ʾəgəl   bəʿəd-   mā   la-   ʾənnaffəʿo   ʾəbbu
FOR   OTHER   ALSO   REL   WE-USE-IT-M   AS-IT-M

'we also use it ***as*** an article for other things'
(Lit., 'but also for other (things) (is) what we use it as it (an article)')
(Trad Decorations, line 15)

   See 6.6.3.1.1 for marked cleft clauses such as *la-ʾənnaffəʿo ʾəbbu* 'what we use
   it as it (an article)'.

'among, in' (proximity)

(346)   **ʾab**   bəzḥe   ʿabbāy tom   ləsattəwā   la-
        AMONG   LARGE-QUANTITY   BIG-FS COP-3MP   THEY-M-DRINK-IT-F   REL
        ʿalaw
        IT-F-WAS

   'those who used to drink it were ***among*** the eldest' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
      See 6.6.3.1.1 for the marked cleft clause *ləsattəwā la-ʿalaw* 'those who used
      to drink it'.

   ṭabʿan ʾ**əb** šakəl   maǧmuʿāt   wa- ʾ**əb** šakəl
   NOW   IN CONFIGURATION   GATHERED-MP   AND IN   CONFIGURATION
   ḥašəm   ta   la-   təsatta
   ENTOURAGE   COP-3FS   REL   IT-F-IS-DRUNK

   'now, ***in*** a public group or a private group it is drunk'
   (Lit., 'now in a group of gathered ones or in a group of (one's) entourage is
   where it is drunk')
   (Coffee Ceremony, line 5)
      For the marked cleft clause *la-təsatta* 'where it is drunk' see 6.6.3.1.1.

'about, concerning, to' (reference)

(347)   ṭabʿan ʾana **ʾab**   bun   ʾəgəl ʾəthāga tu
        NOW   I   ABOUT   COFFEE   I-WILL-TALK

   'now I will talk ***about*** coffee' (Coffee Ceremony, line 1)

koskos   nas’əlo   ’əbbu   koskos
ROASTING-EQUIPMENT QUESTION ABOUT-IT-M ROASTING-EQUIPMENT
'the question is **about** roasting equipment' (Making Coffee, line 9)

’ab   ḥəd   ləḫāyəsanna
TO   EACH-OTHER   MAY-HE-MAKE-GOOD-FOR-US
'nice to meet you'[12]
>   See also 3.3.3 for the RECIP pronoun ḥəd and 4.10.4 for the C stem multiply
>   weak JUSS ləḫāyəsanna.

'because of' (reason)

(348)   ’əgəl ğām‘at   la- naḥalləf ’əbbā   ğām‘at   ḫalafna
        TO   COLLEGE REL WE-PASS BECAUSE-OF-IT-F UNIVERSITY WE-PASSED
        'we had passed to university—into our designated college (lit., into the col-
        lege that we would pass **because of it** (the examination grade))'
        (Ḥamid and I, line 7)
>   See 6.6.1.1 for the modifying relative clause la-naḥalləf ’əbbā 'that we would
>   pass because of it'.

– _’asək_ 'to, up to'
The semantic range of this preposition includes goal/standard and movement.
’asək is not attested with a suffix. See also the conjunction ’asək 'until' in 5.3.2.1.

'up to' (goal/standard)

(349)   ḥako-hā   ’asək- mā tās‘āy ’asək ‘āsrāy başhana
        AFTERWARDS UP-TO OR NINTH UP-TO TENTH WE-REACHED
        'we later reached (**up to**) ninth or tenth (grade)' (Ḥamid and I, line 4)

'to' (movement)

(350)   **’asək** la- maḫzan gis   wa- ’i- tigis   la- bet
        TO   DEF STORE   GO-MS OR NEG YOU-MS-GO DEF HOUSE
        ’əgəl tənḥayyā bəka
        YOU-MS-MUST-CLEAN-IT-F
        'whether you go **to** the store or not, you must clean the house'

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12 Cf. "Observations," p. 130, TGT, p. 42, ḥəd, ’ad ḥəd 'each other'.

– *ʾəgəl* 'for, to, during, in, with respect to'
ʾəgəl exhibits loss of the latter *ə* when the pronominal suffix is a vowel: *ʾəglā* 'for her'. For *ʾəgəl* with the 1CS suffix *-ye*, there is assimilation of *l* to the following *y* (cf. 2.18.1 and 4.3.2): *ʾəgəyye*. For the 1CP suffix *-na, n* assimilates to the preceding *l* (cf. 6.4.3): *ʾəgəlla*. The semantic range of *ʾəgəl* includes purpose, goal/standard, perception, reference, and time. See also the conjunction *ʾəgəl* 'in order that, so that' in 5.3.2.4, the possessive expression *halla ʾəgəl-* 'to have' in 4.3.2, and the compound verbal constructions *ʾəgəl* + jussive + copula for the future tense, *ʾəgəl* + jussive + *ləhazza /hazā* 'want to do', and *ʾəgəl* + imperfect + *kadra* 'can/ could do' in 4.6.1, 4.6.6, and 4.6.7, respectively.

'for, to' (purpose)

(351) *ʾəgəl   bəʿəd-   mā   la-   ʾənnaffəʿo   ʾəbbu*
       FOR   OTHER   ALSO   REL   WE-USE-IT-M   AS-IT-M
       'we also use it as an article *for* other things'
       (Lit., 'but also for other (things) (is) what we use it as it (an article)')
       (Trad Decorations, line 15)
            See 6.6.3.1.1 for marked cleft clauses such as *la-ʾənnaffəʿo ʾəbbu* 'what we use it as it (an article)'.

       ʾəgəl   ʾəmtəhān   nay   mātrik   gasena
       TO/FOR   EXAMINATION   GEN   MATRICULATION   WE-WENT
       'we took the matriculation examination'
       (Lit., 'we went to/in order to take the matriculation examination')
       (Ḥamid and I, line 6)

'for, to' (dative)

(352) *ʾəmmā   kəmsal ʾəlli massəl   taʾaddāla   ʾəglā   ʾəgəl*
       HER-MOTHER   LIKE   SUCH-AS-THIS SHE-PREPARES FOR-HER FOR
       hədāy
       WEDDING
       'her mother prepares something such as this *for her* for the wedding'
       (Trad Decorations, line 14)
            See below (355) for *ʾəgəl hədāy* 'for the wedding'.

'to' (goal/standard)

(353) *ʾəgəl   ğāmʿat . . .   halafna*
       TO   UNIVERSITY   WE-PASSED
       'we passed . . . *to* university' (Ḥamid and I, line 7)

'to' (perception)

(354)   ʾəgəl   raydəyo   samməʿ ʿala
           TO   RADIO   HE-WAS-LISTENING
           'he was listening **to** the radio'

'for, with respect to' (reference)

(355)   ʾəmmā   kəmsal ʾəlli massəl   taʾaddāla   ʾəglā   ʾəgəl
           HER-MOTHER LIKE SUCH-AS-THIS SHE-PREPARES FOR-HER FOR
           hədāy
           WEDDING
           'her mother prepares something such as this for her **for** the wedding'
           (Trad Decorations, line 14)
               See above (352) for *ʾəglā* 'for her'.

           ʾəgəl la- ḥatta la- ʾəlli   dib salas lətkaffal
           FOR DEF ONE-F DEF THIS-M IN   THREE IT-M-IS-DIVIDED
           'each one (lit., for this one) is divided into three parts'
           (Trad Decorations, line 8)

'during, in' (time)

(356)   barədu la-   ḥatta sanat la- ʿalat   ʾəglā   ʾatmamna
           ALSO   DEF ONE-F YEAR REL IT-F-WAS IN-IT-F WE-COMPLETED
           'also **in** (what was) one year we finished' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)
               See 6.6.2.1.4 for the marked substantival relative *la-ḥatta sanat la-ʿalat*
               'what was one year'.

– *ʾəl* 'to, up to, with, along with'
The semantic range of *ʾəl*, which is infrequently attested, is time and accompaniment. See also the possessive expression *halla ʾəl-* 'to have' in 4.3.2.

'to, up to' (time)

(357)   ʾəl   ʾaza kəʾənnā   ləšakka
           UP-TO NOW LIKE-THIS IT-M-IS-MADE
           '***up to*** now it is made like this' (Trad Decorations, line 4)

'with, along with' (accompaniment)

(358)   *la-ʾəwān* *ʾelā*   *təḳarrab*   *məslā*   *laḳarrəb*
         NOW   WITH-IT-F IT-F-IS-SERVED WITH-IT-F ONE-M-SERVES
         ḳursi   *ʾənbəlo*   *halla*
         BREAKFAST   BESIDE-IT-M   THERE-M-IS
         'there is something beside breakfast that one serves with it (coffee), which is
         served ***with it*** (coffee) at the same time' (Making Coffee, line 17)
              See 6.6.2.1.7 for the unmarked substantival relative clauses *la-ʾəwān ʾəlā*
              təḳarrab 'which is served with it at the same time' and *məslā laḳarrəb*
              'something that one serves with it'.

– *ʾənbəl-* 'beside'
This preposition is only attested with the genitive suffix. Its semantic range
includes proximity and concept.

     'beside' (proximity)

(359)   *la-ʾəwān* *ʾelā*   *təḳarrab*   *məslā*   *laḳarrəb*
         NOW   WITH-IT-F IT-F-IS-SERVED WITH-IT-F ONE-M-SERVES
         ḳursi   ***ʾənbəlo***   *halla*
         BREAKFAST   BESIDE-IT-M   THERE-M-IS
         'there is something ***beside*** breakfast that one serves with it (coffee), which is
         served with it (coffee) at the same time' (Making Coffee, line 17)
              See 6.2.3 for suffixed prepositional phrases such as *ḳursi ʾənbəlo* 'beside
              breakfast'.

     'beside' (concept)

(360)   *ṭayəb*   *la-*   *ʾəğābat*   *ṭabʿan*   *la-*   *ğabanat*   *ʾaw*
         CORRECT DEF ANSWER CONCERNING DEF COFFEE-BOTTLE OR
         botəl   *la-*   *ʾənbəlā*
         "BOTTLE" REL BESIDE-IT-F
         'the right answer about the coffee bottle, or "bottle" besides (lit., which is
         beside it)' (Making Coffee, line 3)
              See 6.6.2.1.2 for the substantival relative clause *la-ʾənbəlā* 'which is beside it'.

– *ʾət* 'with, in, with respect to, among, within'
ʾət exhibits doubling of *t* when suffixed. Its semantic range includes reference and locality.

'with, in (with respect to), among' (reference)

(361)   **ʾəttā**   **ʾəmtəḥānom**   **ʾəgəl laḥalləfo**   **ḳadraw**
         IN-IT-F   EXAMINATION —   THEY-M-PASS THEY-M-WERE-ABLE
         'they were able to pass their examination'

         ʾəttā   ʾawalāyt fəlḥat kəlkəlʾot   fəǧān sattu   mənnā
         IN-IT-F FIRST   BOIL TWO-EACH CUP   THEY-M-DRINK FROM-IT-F
         '**in** the first boil they each drink two cups from it' (Making Coffee, line 5)
            See 6.2.3 for suffixed prepositional phrases such as *ʾəttā ʾawalāyt fəlḥat* 'in
            the first boil'.

         wa- bun   marrā məhəmmat ta   **ʾət**   šaʿab   nay təgra
         NOW COFFEE VERY IMPORTANT COP-3FS AMONG PEOPLE GEN P.N.
         'coffee is very important **among** the Tigre people' (Coffee Ceremony, line 2)
         'in, within' (locality)

(362)   bun   ṭabʿan ʾət ʾarədna   ta   la- təzarraʾ   la-
         COFFEE NOW   IN OUR-COUNTRY COP-3FS REL IT-F-IS-GROWN REL
         ʿalat
         IT-F-WAS
         'now, coffee had been grown (only) **in** our country'
         (Lit., 'now coffee is what had been grown in our country')
         (Coffee Ceremony, line 11)
            See 6.6.3.1.1 for the marked cleft clause *ʾət ʾarədna la-təzarraʿ la-ʿalat* 'what
            had been grown in our country'.

– *ʿala* 'according to'
ʿala, which is not documented elsewhere in Tigre, occurs in one text in the corpus and is probably an Arabic loan (cf. *Wehr ʿala* 'according to'). It is quite possible, in fact, that the phrase *ʿala ḥasab* 'according to the number' is borrowed from Arabic, since *Wörterbuch* only has the unrelated entry

         ḥasba 'think, deliberate'; ḥasab 'clientship; client; sacrifice of covenant';
         ḥasāb 'thought, opinion, belief; meaning; (verbal) tradition'.

Wehr, on the other hand, gives

> *ḥasaba* 'compute, reckon, calculate'; *ḥasab* 'measure, extent, degree, quantity, amount'.

(363) samān fəğān səs fəğān **'ala**   ḥasab   la- **'ala**
       EIGHT CUP SIX CUP ACCORDING-TO NUMBER REL ACCORDING-TO
       la-   ḥasab   la-   ğamā'at   la-   dibu
       REL/DEF NUMBER REL/DEF GATHERING REL IN-IT-M
       '(one serves) eight cups—six or eight cups, **according to** the number—which is **according to** the number that are in the gathering' (Making Coffee, line 4)
          See 6.6.2.1.5 for the marked substantival relative clause *la-'ala la-ḥasab* 'which is according to the number'. See 6.6.1.1.2 for the modifying relative clause *la-ğamā'at la-dibu* 'that are in the gathering'.

– *bāḵlā* 'near'
bāḵlā is not documented elsewhere in Tigre but may be related to *bāk* 'near'[13] and *Wörterbuch bāk*, *bākat* 'side, region'. *bāḵlā* is not attested with a suffix.

(364) la-   morat   **bāḵlā**   'arāt   hallet
       DEF STICK   NEAR   BED   IT-F-IS
       'the stick is **near** the bed'

– *dib* 'in, inside of, to, into, at, on, toward, during, at the time of, as a part of'
dib is the most frequently attested preposition in the corpus and has a wide semantic range that includes location, movement, direction, category, occasion, season, reference, and result.

> 'in, inside of, to, at, on' (location)

(365) ba'al   ʾəlli   kətāb   **dib** loha   bet   halla
       OWNER THIS-M BOOK IN THAT-M ROOM HE-IS
       'the owner of this book is **in** that room'

       dib ğabanat   tətballas
       IN   COFFEE-BOTTLE IT-F-IS-STIRRED
       'it is stirred **in** the coffee bottle' (Making Coffee, line 11)

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13 "Observations," p. 136.

wa- **dib** ǧāmʿat   ʾal-məhəm   nay ḥatta sanat dawrat
AND AT UNIVERSITY REQUIREMENT GEN ONE-F YEAR COURSE
nay ʾənǧəlizi   təhayabattanna
GEN ENGLISH IT-F-WAS-GIVEN-TO-US
'but **at** university, a one-year required course in English was given to us'
(Ḥamid and I, line 8)

man   tu   la- kabbatakka   **dib** šārəʾ   māle
WHO?   COP-3MS REL HE-MET-YOU-MS ON STREET YESTERDAY
'who (is the one who) met you **on** the street yesterday?'
    See 6.6.3.1.1 for the marked cleft clause *la-kabbatakka dib šārəʾ māle* 'the
    one who met you on the street yesterday'.

'into, on' (movement)

(366) **dib**   madagdag gabbiʾ   wa-   tədagdag
      INTO MORTAR   IT-F-GOES AND IT-F-IS-CRUSHED
      'it goes **into** a mortar and is crushed' (Making Coffee, line 10)

      ḫako-lā māy   gaʾa   **dibā**   **dib** ʾəsāt gabbiʾ
      AFTER WATER IT-M-WENT INTO-IT-F ON FIRE IT-F-GOES
      'after water has gone **into it**, it goes **on** the fire' (Making Coffee, line 13)

'in' (direction)

(367) **dib**   ḳəblat   dabər   ḥamalmāl wa- **dib** məfgār ṣaḥay gaḥayāt
      IN NORTH MOUNTAIN PL.N.   AND IN RISING SUN   PL.N.
      '***in*** the north—Mt. Ḥamalmāl, ***in*** the east—Gaḥayāt' (Gindaʿ, line 7)

'in, on, at, at the time of' (occasion)

(368) **dibā**   salsat   ʾorʾoro   fəǧān
      AT-THE-TIME-OF-IT-F THIRD ONE-M-EACH CUP
      'and in (lit., **in it, at the time of it**) the third (boil), (they drink) one cup each'
      (Making Coffee, line 6)
          See 6.2.3 for suffixed prepositional phrases such as *dibā salsat* 'in the third (boil)'.

      fā həta **dib** mənasabāt   ʾawra
      SO IT-F ON SPECIAL-OCCASIONS   ONE-M-HAS-KINDLED-FIRE
      'so, as for it (coffee), **on** special occasions one has started the fire'
      (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

> *bəzuḥ   tom   ləsattəwā   **dib** ʾakarā*
> MANY   COP-3MP   THEY-M-DRINK-IT-F   AT   FESTIVAL
> 'many people drink it—***at*** a festival' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

'in, during' (season/time)

(369)   *dib gəndaʿ kəlʾo   dol   zəlām rakkəb   **dib** karam   wa-*
        IN   PL.N. TWO-M TIME RAIN IT-M-IS-FOUND IN   WINTER AND
        ***dib**   ʾawəl*
        IN   SPRING
        'in Gindaʿ, there are two rainy seasons—***during*** winter and ***during*** spring'
        (Gindaʿ, line 4)

'to' (dative)

(370)   *la-   karton   ləʾakkā   **dibye***
        DEF   CARTON   SEND-MS-IT-F   TO-ME
        'send the carton ***to me***'

'in, as a part of, with respect to' (reference)

(371)   *məsəl   hallena   **dib** ḥatta fasəl*
        TOGETHER WE-ARE   IN   ONE-F CLASS
        'we are together ***in/as a part of*** the same class'
        (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

> *bas   **dib**   sakšan   nətfanātā ʾəngabbiʾ*
> ONLY   WITH-RESPECT-TO   SECTION   WE-ARE-BEING-SEPARATED
> 'only ***with respect to*** section are we being separated'
> (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

'into' (result)

(372)   *ʾəgəl la- ḥatta la- ʾəlli   **dib** salas   lətkaffal*
        FOR DEF ONE-F DEF THIS-M INTO THREE IT-F-IS-DIVIDED
        'each one (lit., for this one) is divided ***into*** three parts'
        (Trad Decorations, line 8)

> ***dibā**   laḥalləffā*
> INTO-IT-F   ONE-M-PASSES-INTO-IT-F
> 'one passes ***into it***' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

– *fənga* 'between'[14]

fənga is attested in one text, where its semantic field is locality.

(373) **fənga**   *kəllan*   **fənga**   *ʾasmarā wa- massawaʿ*
BETWEEN TWO-OF-THEM-F BETWEEN PL.N.   AND PL.N.
tərrakkab
IT-F-IS-LOCATED
'it is found between the two of them—between Asmara and Massawa'
(Ginda', line 10)

– *ḥaḳo* 'after'

ḥaḳo is attested once as a preposition, where its semantic field is time. See also its use as the adverb 'afterwards' in 5.1.1 and as the conjunction 'if' in 5.3.2.5.

(374) **ḥaḳo**   *gala*   *ʾəwān* *ʾəgəl təfgar ta*
AFTER   SOME   TIME   SHE-WILL-GO-OUT
'**after** a few minutes, she will go out'

– *kam* 'like, as'

In Tigre of Ginda' *kam* is the preposition 'like, as', the interrogative pro-adjective 'how much? how many?' (cf. Table 8) and the conjunction 'after; that'(cf. 5.3.2.1 and 5.3.2.3). Elsewhere in Tigre, *kam* is the pro-adjective and *kəm* is the preposition and the conjunction.[15]

None of the occurrences of *kam* 'like, as' appears with a suffix. The attested semantic field of *kam* is tangible items.

(375) *ḳursi bun* *ʾənbəlo*   **kam**   *bāni*   *ləgbaʾ*   *ʾaw* *ḳəčā*
CAKE   BESIDE-IT-M LIKE BREAD POSSIBLY OR   KICHA
'cake—**like**, possibly, bread or kicha—(is served) beside it'
(Making Coffee, line 18)

dibā   *ʾəlli*   *ʾəšām*   *wa-*   *raʿaš*   **kam** *ʾəčat* *ʾaw* **kam**
IN-IT-F THIS-M BEADS AND   SEQUIN LIKE VINE OR   LIKE
fəyori   *massəl*   *tu*
FLOWER IT-M-SEEMS   COP-3MS
'in it, these beads and sequins look **like** (lit., are what seem **like**) a vine or a flower' (Trad Decorations, line 18)

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14 Cf. *Wörterbuch fənge* 'between'.

15 See *Wörterbuch*, along with "Sketches," pp. 196, 198, and 200; and *TGT*, pp. 84, 88, and 92.

– *ḵamsal | ḵəmsal* 'like, as'
kamsal is not documented elsewhere in Tigre, but note above the discussion
of *kam* 'like, as' vs. *kəm* elsewhere in Tigre. As is the case with *ʾab* and *ʾəb* (see
above (345) to (348)), the value of the first vowel in attestations of *kamsal* and
kəmsal is not clear. The distinction is based on versions of the texts that were
written in Ethiopic script after the informants had recorded them in research
interviews.

None of the occurrences of *kamsal* or *kəmsal* appears with a suffix. The
attested semantic range includes process and occasion.

'like, as, just as' (process)

(376)   **kəmsal** ʾəlli   takka
         LIKE   THIS-M   IT-F-IS-BOILED
         'it is boiled **like** this' (Coffee Ceremony, line 8)

         wa- **kamsal** ḥazekahu   ʾaškāl   taʾafaggərro
         AND LIKE   YOU-MS-WANT-IT-M PATTERNS YOU-MS-STRETCH-IT-M
         'and **just as** you want it you shape the patterns' (Trad Decorations, line 22)
         ḥazekahu is an unmarked substantival relative, 'what you want' (cf. 6.6.2.1.6).

'like, as' (occasion)

(377)   ʾəgəl bəʾəd   gāritāt   lənaffəʿ . . .   **kəmsal** ʾakarā
         FOR   OTHER EVENTS IT-M-IS-USED LIKE   FESTIVAL
         'it is used for other events . . . **like** a festival' (Trad Decorations, line 2)

– *ḵadam* 'before'
ḵadam is attested once in the present corpus.

(378)   **ḵadam** la- zəlām la- ʾardat yābsat   ʿalat
         BEFORE   DEF RAIN   DEF LAND   DRY-FS   IT-F-WAS
         'before the rain, the land was dry'

– *mən* 'from'
mən, which exhibits doubling of *n* when suffixed, is one of the most frequently
attested prepositions in the present corpus. Its semantic range includes deriva-
tion/result, manufacture, location/assemblage, movement/distance, time, and
comparison.

'from, derived from, based on, as a result of' (derivation/result)

(379)   la-   suʾāl   mən- ləbəl   ṭabʿan la- ǧabanat
DEF   QUESTION FROM HE-SAYS ABOUT DEF COFFEE-BOTTLE
'the question, **from** what he says, (is) about the coffee bottle'
(Making Coffee, line 1)
   ləbəl is an unmarked substantival relative, 'what he says' (cf. 6.6.2.1.6).

wa-   **mənnā**   darağat rakabna
AND FROM-IT-F GRADE   WE-FOUND
'and **from it** (the examination) we found out the grade'
(Ḥamid and I, line 7)

'from, manufactured from' (manufacture)

(380)   ʾəl   ʾaza kəʾənnā ləšaḳḳa   **mən** takʿala   tu
UP-TO NOW LIKE-THIS IT-M-IS-MADE FROM PALM-BRANCH COP-3MS
'up to now is made like this: it is **from** a palm branch'
(Trad Decorations, line 4)

'from, from within, from among' (location/assemblage)

(381)   wa- doldol   **mən** ʾakarā   dəwal   ǧəwār
BUT SOMETIMES FROM FARMERS DISTRICTS PROXIMITY
naʾastawrəddā
WE-IMPORT-IT-F
'but sometimes we import it **from** the farmers of a neighboring district'
(Coffee Ceremony, line 12)

ʾəttā   ʾawalāyt fəlḥat kəlkəlʾot   fəǧān sattu   **mənnā**
IN-IT-F FIRST   BOIL TWO-EACH CUP THEY-M-DRINK FROM-IT-F
'in the first boil they each drink two cups **from it**' (Making Coffee, line 5)

ʿabi   **mənnom**   halla   mən-gabbiʾ ʿabi   məslu
BIG-MS AMONG-THEM-M THERE-M-IS IF   BIG-MS WITH-IT-M
ʾəmbobā   gabbiʾ
POPCORN IT-M-HAPPENS
'if there is an elder **among them**, popcorn goes with it'
(Making Coffee, line 19)

'from within, away from' (movement/distance)

(382)   **mən**   ʾəlla   bet   ʾənfaggər hallena
        FROM THIS-F ROOM WE-ARE-GOING-OUT
        'we are going out ***from*** this room'

        wa- həta **mən** ʾasmarā ʾarbəʿin wa- ḥaməs kilomətər   rayəm
        AND IT-F FROM PL.N. 40   AND 5   KILOMETER IT-F-IS-FAR
        'it is forty-five kilometers ***from*** Asmara' (Gindaʿ, line 8)

'from, from the time of' (time)

(383)   **mənnā**   ḥəbru   ʾabəllā səggādat taməm   la-
        FROM-IT-F ITS-M-COLOR BY-THIS SIGGADET COMPLETE-MS DEF
        səggādat
        SIGGADET
        'from its color, by this the siggadet is a complete siggadet'
        (Trad Decorations, line 13)

'than, different from' (comparison)

(384)   wa- bəʿəd ʾakfāl   lətbahal   halla   **mən**
        AND OTHER SEGMENTS IT-M-IS-CALLED THERE-M-IS THAN
        la- təfanātā
        REL IT-F-IS-SEPARATED
        'and there are segments (lit., what are called, "segments") other ***than*** what is
        separate' (Trad Decorations, line 12)
            ʾakfāl lətbahal is an unmarked substantival relative, 'what are called, "seg-
            ments" ' (cf. 6.6.2.1.7).

– *məsəl* 'with, along with'
məsəl occurs within the semantic field of accompaniment. All occurrences are
suffixed, and all exhibit loss of the latter *ə* for vowel-initial suffixes. Note the
adverb *məsəl* 'together' (cf. 5.1.2) and the expression of possession *məsəl- halla*
'to be with' (cf. 4.3.3), in which *məsəl-* + 1CS genitive suffix does not lose the
latter *ə: məsəlye halla.*

(385)   ḳursi bun **məslā**   lətḳarrab
        CAKE   WITH-IT-F IT-M-IS-SERVED
        'cake is served ***with it***' (Making Coffee, line 18)

lawāzəm	*nayā*	*tu*	***məslu***	*ta*	*gayəs*
NECESSITY	GEN-3FS	COP-3MS	WITH-IT-M	COP-3FS	IT-F-GOES

'it (coffee) is inseparable from these elements'

(Lit., 'it is what goes ***with it***—namely, with what are its essential components')

(Coffee Ceremony, line 10)

> For unmarked cleft clauses such as *lawāzəm nayā tu* 'what are its essential components' and *məslu gayəs* 'what goes with it', see 6.6.3.1.4.

– <u>*ṭabʿan*</u> 'about, concerning'

ṭabʿan is not documented elsewhere in Tigre. See also 5.1.4 for the homonymous adverb *ṭabʿan* 'naturally'. The preposition is probably borrowed from Arabic (cf. *Wehr tabaʿan li* 'in consequence of' and Egy(Hinds) *tabaʿ* 'belonging to, member of' (PREP)). The conjunction *ṭabʿan* 'now, so, so then' is discussed in 5.3.1.2. *ṭabʿan* occurs within the semantic field of topic.

(386) | *la-* | *suʾāl* | *mən-* | *ləbəl* | ***ṭabʿan*** | *la-* | *ğabanat* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEF | QUESTION | FROM | HE-SAYS | ABOUT | DEF | COFFEE-BOTTLE |

'the question, from what he says, (is) ***about*** the coffee bottle'

(Making Coffee, line 1)

> *ləbəl* is an unmarked substantival relative, 'what he says' (cf. 6.6.2.1.6).

ṭayəb	*la-*	*ʾəğābat*	***ṭabʿan***		*la-*	*ğabanat*
CORRECT-MS	DEF	ANSWER	CONCERNING		DEF	COFFEE-BOTTLE

'the right answer ***concerning*** the coffee bottle (is) . . .'

(Making Coffee, line 3)

5.3 Conjunctions

Conjunctions attested in the present corpus are discussed in this section. Forms are listed in groups according to the type of conjunction—coordinating or subordinating—and in subgroups within this distinction. The lists are presented in Latin alphabetical order, and a brief description of each conjunction's usage is provided, along with an example. Corresponding discussions of syntax are noted. For the several forms borrowed from Arabic, see also 7.1.7.3.

5.3.1 *Coordinating Conjunctions (Cf. 6.1.1.3 and 6.4.4)*

5.3.1.1   Connection

– *wa-* 'and'

The prefixed conjunction *wa-* coordinates nominal phrases and verbal clauses.

(387)   *ʾana* **wa-** *ḥaməd*
         I   AND   P.N.
         'Ḥamid **and** I' (Ḥamid and I, line 1)

         *ʾəgəl la- ḥatta la- əlli   dib   salas   lətkaffal   **wa-***
         FOR DEF ONE-F DEF THIS-M INTO THREE IT-M-IS-DIVIDED AND
         dib māy   ʾatta
         IN   WATER IT-M-IS-PLACED
         'each one (lit., for this one) is divided into three parts **and** is placed in water'
         (Trad Decorations, line 8)
              See also (392) below for the conjunction *wa-* 'or'.

5.3.1.2   Introduction, Resumption

– *fā, wa-* 'now, so, so then'

Both *fā* and *wa-* reintroduce a topic or resume discussion in a narrative. The precise gloss can very depending on the flow of the narrative and can sometimes be left untranslated. See below with *ṭabʿan* for an example.

fā is attested once in the corpus and is not documented elsewhere in Tigre. It is likely borrowed from Arabic (cf. 7.1.7.3 and *Wehr fa* 'then, and so, therefore, but then').

wa- also coordinates phrases and clauses as the conjunction 'and' (cf. 5.3.1.1 above) and 'or' (cf. (392) below).

– *ṭabʿan* 'now, so, so then'

ṭabʿan occurs several times in the corpus as a conjunction. It is likely the result of grammaticalization of the adverb *ṭabʿan* 'naturally, of course' (cf. 5.1.4 and 7.1.7.1, and 7.1.7.3), which itself is borrowed from Arabic. *ṭabʿan* also occurs as the preposition 'about, concerning' in Tigre of Gindaʿ (cf. (386) and 7.1.7.2).

As a conjunction *ṭabʿan* introduces a topic or resumes discussion in a narrative.

fā, wa, and *ṭabʿan* are illustrated well in the first few lines of "Coffee Ceremony." (See Appendix I for morpheme glosses.)

(388) 1) *ṭabʿan ʾana ʾab bun ʾəgəl ʾəthāga tu*

      2) *wa-bun marrā məhəmmat ta ʾət šaʿab nay təgra*

      3) *wa-həta ṭabʿan ʾab bəzḥe ʿabbāy tom ləsattəwā la-ʿalaw badir*
        ʾaza lākin ʾab naʿāyəš kamān dib təllammad gayəs hallet

      4) *fā həta dib mənasabāt ʾawra*
        bəzuḥ tom ləsattəwā dib ʾakarā hədāy massəl kam ʾakarā- ʿid

      5) *ṭabʿan ʾəb šakəl maǧmuʿāt wa-ʾəb šakəl ḥašəm ta la-təsatta*

      6) *həta salas dolat ta təsatta salas dolat ta dib ʾəbəl*

        1) ***Now*** I will talk about coffee.

        2) Coffee is very important among the Tigre people.
          Note *wa-* is untranslated here.

        3) ***Now*** formerly only the eldest used to drink it,
          (Lit., Now concerning it (coffee), naturally among the most important
          were those who used to drink it, formerly,)
          but now among young people it is also becoming increasingly common.

        4) ***So***, as for it, on special occasions one has started the fire.
          Many people (i.e., young and old) drink it—at a festival, such as a
          wedding—like a celebration—ʿId.
          (Lit., Many are those who drink it . . .)

        5) ***Now***, in a public group or a private group it is drunk.
          (Lit., Now, in a group of gathered ones or in a group of (one's) entourage is
          where it is drunk.)

        6) As for it, it is drunk three times—three times, as I am about to describe:
          (Lit., As for it, three times is how frequently it is drunk . . .)
            See 6.6.3.1 for the cleft clauses in 3) *ləsattəwā la-ʿalaw* 'those who
            used to drink it', 4) *ləsattəwā* 'those who drink it', 5) *la-təsatta* 'where
            it is drunk', and 6) *la-təsatta* 'how frequently it is drunk.

5.3.1.3 Alternative

– *ʾaw* 'or'

ʾaw coordinates nominal phrases, prepositional phrases and verbal clauses.
There are more attestations of *ʾaw* than of *wa-*, *-mā* and *walā* 'or', combined
(cf. below (391) to (393)).

(389) *ṭayəb*   *la-*   *ʾəǧābat*   *ṭabʿan*   *la-*   *ǧabanat*   ***ʾaw***
       CORRECT DEF ANSWER CONCERNING DEF COFFEE-BOTTLE OR

       botəl   *la-*   *ʾənbəlā*
       "BOTTLE" REL   BESIDE-IT-F

       'The right answer about the coffee bottle, *or* "bottle" otherwise, (is)'
       (Making Coffee, line 3)

> *dibā*   *ʾəlli*   *ʾəšām* *wa-* *raʿaš*   *kam* *ʾəčat* ***ʾaw*** *kam* *fəyori*
> IN-IT-F THIS-M BEADS AND SEQUIN LIKE VINE OR LIKE FLOWER
> *massəl*   *tu.*
> IT-M-SEEMS   COP-3MS
> 'In it, these beads and sequins look like (lit., are what seem like) a vine *or* a
> flower.' (Traditional Decorations, line 18)

> *kam*   *fəǧān* *ṣabbəṭ*   ***ʾaw*** *kam*   *fəǧān*
> HOW-MANY? CUP   ONE-M-SERVES OR HOW-MANY? CUP
> *sattu*
> THEY-M-DRINK
> 'How many cups does one serve, *or* how many cups do they drink?'
> (Making Coffee, line 2)

– *bas ʾikonini* 'not only'
In its one occurrence, *bas ʾikonini* precedes a clause that includes the suffixed
conjunction *-ma* 'but also' (cf. (391) below). See also (333) for the adverb *bas*
'only' and Table 14 for the negative of the copula *ʾikon(i(ni))* 'not, it is not'.

(390)   **bas**   **ʾikonini** *əgəl* *bəʿəd-* **mā**   *la-* *ʾənnaffəʿo*   *ʾəbbu*
         ONLY NOT   FOR OTHER BUT-ALSO REL WE-USE-IT-M AS-IT-M
         '***not only*** (this), **but** we **also** use it as an article for other things'
         (Lit., 'not only (this), but also for other (things) (is) what we use it as it (an
         article)')
         (Trad Decorations, line 15)
             For the marked cleft clause *la-ʾənnaffəʿo ʾəbbu* 'what we use it as it', see
             6.6.3.1.1.

– *-mā* 'or; but also'
The enclitic particle *-mā* 'or' coordinates prepositional phrases. *-mā* 'but also'
connects a verbal clause to the conjunction *bas ʾikonini* 'not only' (cf. above).
There is only one occurrence of each of these uses. See also (338) for the adverb
-mā 'also'.

(391)   *ḥaḳo-hā*   *ʾasək-*   **mā** *tāsʿāy* *ʾasək* *ʿāsrāy* *baṣḥana*
         AFTERWARDS UP-TO OR NINTH UP-TO TENTH WE-REACHED
         'we later reached ninth *or* tenth (grade)' (Ḥamid and I, line 4)

– *wa-* 'or'
The prefixed conjunction *wa-* 'or' coordinates nominal phrases and verbal
clauses. See also *wa-* 'and' (5.3.1.1 above) and 'now, so, so then' (5.3.1.2 above).

(392) məslā la- ləṭballaʿ ləsatta **wa-** la- ləṭkarrab
WITH-IT-F REL IT-M-IS-EATEN IT-M-IS-DRUNK OR REL IT-M-IS-SERVED
'(foods) that are eaten, drunk, **or** served with it' (Making Coffee, line 16)
    See 6.6.2.1.3 for marked substantival relative clauses such as this.

  ləṭfanātā tu mən- ləṭbahal samayāwi linat
  IT-M-IS-SEPARATED COP-3MS IF IT-M-IS-CALLED BLUE LIGHT
  ḳayyāḥ **wa-** ʾarəyšoni **wa-** ʾaḥdar
  RED OR ORANGE OR GREEN
  'it is (what is) separated if it is (called) light blue, red, orange, **or** brown'
  (Trad Decorations, lines 10–11)
     See 6.6.3.1.3 for unmarked cleft clauses such as *ləṭfanātā* 'what is separated'.

– *walā* 'or, that is'
walā occurs twice in the corpus, once coordinating prepositional phrases and once coordinating nouns. It is documented elsewhere in Tigre as 'never'.[16] The conjunction is likely borrowed from Arabic (cf. 7.1.7.3 and Sud(Persson) *walla* 'or').

(393) maṣṣəʾ ʾaza ʾəgəl fāynāl **walā** ʾəgəl ʾəmtəḥān nay sar
IT-M-COMES NOW FOR FINAL THAT-IS FOR EXAMINATION GEN HALF
sanat nəddālla hallena
YEAR WE-ARE-PREPARING
'next we are getting ready for finals, **that is**, for mid-year examinations'
(Ḥamid and I, line 15)

  šowā madinat gərrəm təbəl ʾassāb **walā** ʾaḳurdāt
  WHICH-PLACE? CITY GOOD-FS YOU-MS-SAY PL.N. OR PL.N.
  'which city do you like more—Assab **or** Akurdet?'

5.3.1.4 Opposition

– *badal* + NEG verb 'instead of'[17]
In its one occurrence, *badal* coordinates two verbal clauses. The verb of the "opposing" clause is negated.

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16 "Observations," p. 137 *walā* (+neg vb) 'never'. Cf. *Wehr walā* 'not one, not a single one'. *walā* 'or, that is' is not documented elsewhere in Tigre.

17 Cf. Various Arabic dialects *badal, badal ma* 'instead of' (CONJ). This conjunction is not documented elsewhere in Tigre.

(394)   ʾana **badal**   fasəl   ʾi-   gayəs sakabko
         I   INSTEAD-OF   CLASS NEG   I-GO   I-SLEPT
         '*instead of* going to class I slept'

– *lākin* 'but, however'[18]
lākin coordinates two verbal clauses and is usually at the beginning of the
second clause.

(395)   ʾəgəl   ləwāslo   ḥazaw   mən-gabbiʾ
         SO-THAT THEY-M-MIGHT-CONTINUE THEY-M-WANT IF
         wāslo   **lākin** ʾəlli   bəzuḥ   ləmud ʾikoni
         THEY-M-CONTINUE BUT   THIS-M MANY   USUAL NEG-COP
         'if they want to continue, they continue, *but* this many (boils) are unusual'
         (Making Coffee, line 7)

5.3.2   *Subordinating Conjunctions*
Subordinating conjunctions subordinate a verbal clause to another verbal
clause.

5.3.2.1   Time and Circumstance (cf. 6.5.1)

– *ʾasək* + IPRF 'until'

(396)   kālʾāyt wəḳat tətakka   salas   wəḳat **ʾasək** salas   wəḳat
         SECOND TIME IT-F-IS-BOILED THREE TIME   UNTIL   THREE TIME
         təsatta
         IT-F-IS-DRUNK
         'a second time it is boiled, and a third, *until* it is drunk three times'
         (Coffee Ceremony, line 7)
             See also (349) and (350) for the preposition *ʾasək* 'to, up to'.

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18   Cf. *Wehr lākin, lākinna* 'however, yet, but'. This conjunction is not documented elsewhere
      in Tigre.

– *ʾənda* + IPRF 'while'; + PRF 'after'[19]

(397)   *ʾənda*   *tətḵarrab*   *məslā*   *la-*   *gabbiʾ*   *našāṭāt*
        WHILE   IT-F-IS-SERVED   WITH-IT-F   REL   IT-M-HAPPENS   ACTIVITIES
        mən-   *halla*
        WHETHER   THERE-M-IS
        'whether there are any activities that occur with it (coffee), ***while*** it is served'
        (Making Coffee, line 15)

        zanğabil   *ʾənda*   *gabʾat*   *dib*   *ğabanat*   *tətballas*
        GINGER   AFTER   IT-F-WENT   IN   COFFEE-BOTTLE   IT-F-IS-STIRRED
        '***after*** ginger has gone in, it is stirred in the coffee bottle'
        (Making Coffee, line 11)

– *ʾəwān* + IPRF 'when'; + PRF 'while'

(398)   *la-*   *ğabanat*   *ʾəwān*   *tətakka . . .*   *ḥatta*   *wəḵat*   *ḥatta*
        DEF   COFFEE-BOTTLE   WHEN   IT-F-IS-BOILED   ONE-F   TIME   ONE-F
        təsatta
        IT-F-IS-DRUNK
        '***when*** the coffee bottle is brought to a boil . . . it is drunk one time—once'
        (Coffee Ceremony, lines 6–7)

        ʾəwān   *ʾana*   *ʾəgəl*   *ʾəskab*   *ḥazeko*   *hətu*   *ʾəgəl*   *raydəyo*
        WHILE   I   SO-THAT   I-MIGHT-SLEEP   I-WANTED   HE   TO   RADIO
        samməʿala
        HE-WAS-LISTENING
        '***while*** I wanted to sleep, he was listening to the radio'
        See also 5.1.1 for the adverb *la-ʾəwān* 'now, at the same time'.

– *dib* + IPRF 'while'

(399)   ***dib***   *təllammad*   *gayəs*   *hallet*
        WHILE   IT-F-IS-COMMON   IT-F-IS-GOING
        'it is becoming increasingly common' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)

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19   Cf. *TGT*, p. 92, *ʾəndo* 'when, after' "(almost only [*sic*] with the perfect)"; and "Sketches,"
       p. 199, "*ʾəndo* [*sic*] with the verb in perfect and imperfect . . . expresses a circumstance
       in the present and the past, and also the concomitance". Leslau documents the use of
       ʾənda + PRF (alongside *ʾəndo* + PRF) to express concomitance in "Observations," p. 137.

mən-   mi   wa- mən- gabbiʾ   ṭabʿan   la-   bun
FROM WHAT AND WHEN IT-M-HAPPENS CONCERNING DEF COFFEE
dib   *təḵalla*   *koskos*   *nasʾəlo*
WHILE   IT-F-IS-ROASTED   ROASTING-EQUIPMENT   QUESTION
ʾəbbu   *koskos*
ABOUT-IT-M   ROASTING-EQUIPTMENT

'From what (materials/processes is it) when it happens concerning coffee ***while*** it is roasted? Roasting equipment—the question is about roasting equipment.' (Making Coffee, line 9)

   See also (365) to (372) for the preposition *dib* 'in, inside of, etc.'.

– <u>*dib ʾəntu* + COP</u> 'while'

(400) *sakšan   ʿasər wa-   səs **dib ʾəntu** tu   ʾana sakšan   ʾəšrin wa-*
       SECTION 10   AND SIX WHILE COP-3MS I   SECTION 20   AND
       sabʿa   ʾana
       SEVEN COP-1CS
       '***while*** he is in section 16, I am in section 27' (Ḥamid and I, line 12)

– <u>*ḥaḵo-lā* + PRF</u> 'after'[20] (cf. 5.1.1 *ḥaḵo* 'after' and 3.7 *la-*, the REL particle)

(401) *ḥaḵo-hā   **ḥaḵo-lā** tamma   ʿasər wa- salas ʾammat*
       AFTERWARDS AFTER IT-M-IS-COMPLETE 10   AND 3   CUBIT
       kam   baṣḥa
       AFTER   IT-M-REACHED
       'then, ***after*** it is complete, it has reached 13 cubits' (Trad Decorations, line 6)

– <u>*kam* + PRF</u> 'after'

(402) *ḥaḵo   ʾəsāt **kam** falḥat   tətkarra*
       AFTERWARDS FIRE AFTER IT-F-OVERFLOWED IT-F-IS-REPEATED
       'afterwards, when (lit., ***after***) the fire has fully heated, it is repeated' (Making Coffee, line 13)

   See also 5.3.2.3 for the conjunction *kam* 'that'.

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20   This form is not documented elsewhere in Tigre.

5.3.2.2   Cause and Result (Cf. 6.5.2)

– *ʾəgəl-mi* 'because' (cf. (351) to (356) for *ʾəgəl* 'for, to, etc.' and Table 8 for *mi* 'what?')

In the one occurrence of *ʾəgəl-mi*, it is followed by a participial construction.[21] See also 5.1.4 for the interrogative adverb *ʾəgəl-mi* 'why?'

(403)   *ʾal-məhəm   nay ḥatta sanat dawrat nay ʾənǧəlizi*
         REQUIREMENT GEN ONE-F YEAR COURSE GEN ENGLISH
         təhayabattanna   ʾəgəl-mi ʾab ʿarabi   dārəsām   ḥəna
         IT-F-WAS-GIVEN-TO-US BECAUSE IN ARABIC STUDYING-MP COP-1CP
         'a one year required course in English was given to us *because* we had been studying in Arabic' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

– *mən + PRF* 'since'

(404)   *hətu mən ʾi- raʾā   la-   kətbā   lakfayo*
         HE   SINCE NEG HE-SAW DEF HER-BOOKS HE-THREW-THEM
         'without seeing (her), he threw her books away'
         (Lit., '*since* he didn't see her, he threw her books away')
            See also (379) to (384) for the preposition *mən* 'from'.

– *sabbat + PRF* 'because'

(405)   *ʾana fasəl yə- gisko-   nni ḥəmum   sabbat   ʿalko*
         I   CLASS NEG I-WENT NEG SICK-MS   BECAUSE I-WAS
         'I didn't go to class *because* I was sick'

5.3.2.3   Declaration (Cf. 6.5.3)

– *kam* 'that'

(406)   *ḥətom   ʾāməraw   la- mədarrəs kam ḥazzayom*
         THEY-M THEY-M-KNOW DEF TEACHER THAT HE-WANTS-THEM-M
         'they know *that* the teacher wants them'
            See also 5.3.2.1 for the conjunction *kam* 'after'.

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21   In examples given in "Sketches" (p. 200) and "Observations" (pp. 137–138), *ʾəgəl-mi* 'because' is followed by either the copula, the verb of existence, or an expression of possession.

5.3.2.4   Purpose (cf. 6.5.4)

– *ʾəgəl* + JUSS 'in order that, so that'; *+ NEG JUSS* 'lest, so that not'

(407)   *wa- ḥako-hā   ʾana ʾəgəl   ʾəwāsəl*
          AND AFTERWARDS I   SO-THAT I-MIGHT-CONTINUE

          lətgabbaʾanni   yə-wāsalko-n
          MAY-IT-M-COME-TO-PASS-FOR-ME   I-DID-NOT-CONTINUE
          'then, hoping that I could resume (later), I did not continue'
          (Ḥamid and I, line 9)

          mankinače ʾəgəl   ʾi-   təzāwər   farhako
          MY-CAR   SO-THAT NEG SHE-MIGHT-DRIVE I-AM-AFRAID
          'I am afraid *lest* she drive my car'
              See also (351) to (356) for the preposition *ʾəgəl* 'for, to, etc.'.

5.3.2.5   Condition (Cf. 6.5.5)

– *ḥako* + PRF 'if'[22]

(408)   *māy   ḥako ʾalabka   šāhi kəfo   wadda*
          WATER IF   YOU-MS-DO-NOT-HAVE TEA HOW? YOU-MS-MAKE
          '*if* you don't have water, how do you make tea?'
              See also (374) for the preposition *ḥako* 'after'.

– *mən* + IPRF 'if'; *+ halla* 'whether'

(409)   *lətfanātā   tu   mən- lətbahal   samayāwi linat*
          IT-M-IS-SEPARATED COP-3MS IF   IT-M-IS-CALLED BLUE   LIGHT

          ḳayyāḥ   wa- ʾarəyšoni wa- ʾaḥdar
          RED-FS OR ORANGE OR GREEN
          'it is (what is) separated *if* it is (called) light blue, red, orange, or green'
          (Trad Decorations, line 11)
              For unmarked cleft clauses such as *lətfanātā* 'what is separated' see 6.6.3.1.3.

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22   Cf. "Sketches," pp. 199-200, *ḥako* + PRF 'after that, because'. *ḥako* 'if' is not documented in
      Tigre of Mensaʿ.

məslā	*la-*	*gayəs*	**mən-**	*halla*	*la-*	*ləbəl*
WITH-IT-F	REL	IT-M-GOES	WHETHER	THERE-M-IS	REL	HE-SAYS

tu	*la-*	*suʾāl*
COP-3MS	DEF	QUESTION

'the question that he asks is ***whether*** there is something that goes with it'
(Making Coffee, line 16)

See also (379) to (384) for the preposition *mən* 'from', 6.5.5 for discussion of conditional clauses, and 6.6.2.1.1 for the marked substantival relative clause *məslā la-gayəs* 'something that goes with it'.

– <u>PRF + *mən-gabbiʾ*</u> 'if'

(410)

ʾəgəl	*ləwāslo*	*ḥazaw*	**mən-gabbiʾ**
SO-THAT	THEY-M-MIGHT-CONTINUE	THEY-M-WANT	IF

wāslo
THEY-M-CONTINUE

'they continue ***if*** they want to continue' (Making Coffee, line 7)

Syntax

6.1 Noun Phrases

6.1.1 *Word Order in Noun Phrases*
In a noun phrase the adjective usually follows the noun that it modifies.

NOUN + ADJECTIVE

(411)   *walat **gərrəm*** 'a **good** girl'
         *la-kaləbka **ṣallim*** 'your **black** dog'
         *māy **bərud*** '**cold** water'
         *fəyori **ʾaḥdar*** 'a **green** flower'
         *la-čarəḵ **bəʿəd*** 'another (kind of) cloth' (Trad Decorations, line 17)

Some adjectives occur before the modified noun. This is usually the case for *bəʿəd* 'other'. In their sole occurrences with a modified noun, *bəzuḥ* 'many' and *ṭayəb* 'correct' occur before the noun.

(412)   ***bəʿəd** gāritāt* '**other** events' (Trad Decorations, line 2)
         ***bəʿəd** ʾaḵfāl* '**other** segments' (Trad Decorations, line 12)
         ***bəzuḥ** ʾakətbat* '**many** books'
         ***ṭayəb** la-ʾəğābat* 'the **right** answer' (Making Coffee, line 3)

The pattern NOUN + ADJECTIVE differs from the word order documented else-where in Tigre[1] and is likely borrowed from Arabic (cf. 7.1.9).

6.1.1.1 Deictics
The deictic pro-adjective is attested before the modified noun in almost every case.

DEICTIC PRO-ADJECTIVE + NOUN

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1 Raz (*TGT*, p. 32) indicates that the adjective for the most part precedes the noun. Leslau ("Sketches," p. 183) records that the adjective occurs before or after the noun.

(413)   *ʾəlli salas fəlḥat* '***these*** three boils' (Making Coffee, line 5)
        ʾəlli kətāb '***this*** book'
        ʾəlla bet '***this*** room'
        loha ʾəssit '***that*** woman'
        lohom sab '***those*** men'

In a few instances a deictic pro-adjective occurs after the modified noun.

(414)   *la-   ʾayyām   **lahay***
        DEF   DAYS   THAT-M
        'in ***those*** days' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)
            For unmarked adverbial expressions such as this, see 6.2.5.1.

        mi   tu   la-   ʾakərān   ʾəlli   la-   ʿala
        WHAT   COP-3MS   DEF/REL   NOISES   THIS-M   REL   IT-M-WAS
        'what were ***these*** noises?'
            For marked cleft clauses such as *la-ʾakərān ʾəlli la-ʿala* 'what these noises
            were', see 6.6.3.1.2.

A deictic pro-adjective often occurs both before and after the modified noun in
interrogatives. See also (562).

(415)   *kum   tu   ʾəlli   ʾəmbobā   ʾəlli*
        HOW-MUCH?   COP-3MS   THIS-M   POPCORN   THIS-M
        'how much is this popcorn?'

        mi   tu   ʾəlli   ʾakərān   ʾəlli
        WHAT   COP-3MS   THIS-M   NOISES   THIS-M
        'what are these noises?'

6.1.1.2   Numerals
A numeral always precedes the noun that it modifies, which is in the singular.

        NUMERAL + SINGULAR NOUN

(416)   *salas dabər* '***three*** mountains' (Gindaʿ, line 6)
        səs sanat '***six*** years' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)
        ʾarbaʿin wa-ḥaməs kilomətər '***45*** kilometers' (Gindaʿ, line 8)

Note the use of two nouns in a construction for enumerating a population.

(417)   **sab**   *ḥawālay*   *ʿəšrin*   *wa-*   *ḥaməs*   *ʾaləf*   **ʾaddām**
         PEOPLE   APPROXIMATELY   20   AND   5   1,000   PEOPLE
         'approximately 25,000 people' (Gindaʿ, line 2)

6.1.1.3   Noun Sequences
In a sequence of nouns or adjectives, the latter element is usually found with
the proclitic coordinating conjunction *wa-*.

(418)   *ləbān **wa-ʿəmbobā*** 'incense **and** popcorn' (Coffee Ceremony, line 9)
         *ṣaʿəda **wa-ḵayəḥ*** 'white **and** red' (Trad Decorations, line 12)

6.1.1.4   The Genitive Particle *nay*
Where the independent genitive particle *nay* is used between nouns to express
qualification or possession (cf. 3.2), the modifying noun usually follows the
modified noun.

(419)   *ʿadāt nay **təgra*** 'the **Tigre** culture' (Trad Decorations, line 1)
         *ʾəmtəḥān nay **mātrik*** 'the **matriculation** examination' (Ḥamid and I, line 6)
         *ḥaṭḥat   zəyād   nay   **məgəb***
         SOME-F   MORE   GEN   MIDDLE
         'some more **middle** ones' (Trad Decorations, line 7)

6.1.1.5   The Construct Sequence
Qualification and possession are frequently expressed by a noun sequence
without *nay*. This is here called a construct sequence. As for phrases employing
nay, the modifying noun follows the modified noun in a construct sequence.

(420)   *ʿalal **ʾagal*** 'plenty of **such**' (Making Coffee, line 4)
         *məfgār **ṣaḥay*** 'east' (Lit., 'coming out of **the sun**'; Gindaʿ, line 7)
         *ʾakara **salamunā*** 'farmers of **Selemuna**' (Coffee Ceremony, line 11)

A numeral stands immediately before the noun it modifies in a construct
sequence.

(421)   **kəlʾo**   *dol*   *zəlām*
         TWO-M   TIME   RAIN
         '**two** rainy seasons' (Gindaʿ, line 4)

> walad   **səs**   sanat
> SON   SIX   YEAR
> '**six** years old' (Lit., 'son of six years'; Ḥamid and I, line 3)

Sometimes a noun in a construct sequence requires an adjectival rendering.

(422)   ʾakara   dəwal   **ǧəwār**
        FARMERS   DISTRICTS   PROXIMITY
        'farmers of **neighboring** districts' (Coffee Ceremony, line 11)

6.1.1.6   Apposition

Several examples of apposition are attested.

(423)   *kalimat gəndaʿa* 'the Gindaʿa bush' (Gindaʿ, line 1)
        dabər ḥamalmāl 'Mt. Ḥamalmāl'
        sakšan ʿasər wa-səs 'section 16'

6.1.2   *Agreement in Gender, Number, and Person*

An adjective usually agrees in gender and number with a singular antecedent. A gender-specific numeral agrees in gender with a modified noun. A verb or prepositional suffix agrees in gender, number, and person.

6.1.2.1   Adjective

(424)   ʾarəd   bərud
        WEATHER(*M*)   COLD-*MS*
        'cold weather'
             Cf. *ʾarəd*, F *ʾardat* 'land'. See also 3.14 for gender and number in adjectives.

        mankinat   ḳayyāḥ
        CAR(*F*)   RED-*FS*
        'a red car'
             Cf. 3.9.5.1 for F nouns in *-at*.

Exceptions to adjective gender agreement are given below.

(425)   ʾəlli   salas   fəlḥat
        THIS-*M*   THREE   BOIL(*F*)
        'these three boils' (Making Coffee, line 5)
             For F gender of *fəlḥat* see above *ʾəttā kāl'āyt fəlḥat* 'in the second boil'.

ṭayəb   *la-*   *ʾəǧābat*
CORRECT-*M?*   DEF   ANSWER(*F*)
'the right answer' (Making Coffee, line 3)
> Note that both *ṭayəb* and *ʾəǧābat* are Arabic loans. (Cf. gender questions for additional Arabic loans (430) below.) *ʾəǧābat* is not documented elsewhere in Tigre (cf. 7.1.5.3).

dib   *ḥatta*   *ʾəlli*
IN   ONE-*F*   THIS-*M*
'in the same room' (Lit., 'in this one') (Ḥamid and I, line 13)

6.1.2.2   Gender-Specific Numeral

(426)   *kəlkəlʾot*   *fəǧān* . . .   *ʾorʾoro*   *fəǧān*
       TWO-*M*-EACH   CUP(*M*)   ONE-*M*-EACH   CUP(*M*)
       'two cups each . . . one cup each' (Making Coffee, lines 5 and 6)

ḥatta   *sanat*
ONE-*F*   YEAR(*F*)
'in one year' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
> For unmarked adverbial expressions such as this, see 6.2.5.1.

ʾawalāyt   *fəlḥat*
FIRST-*F*   BOIL(*F*)
'the first boil' (Making Coffee, line 5)

6.1.2.3   Prepositional Suffix

(427)   *ʾəttā*   *maḥzan*
       TO-*IT-F*   STORE
       'to the store'
> Cf. 6.2.3 for suffixed prepositional phrases.

ʾəttā   *kālʾāyt*   *fəlḥat*
IN-*IT-F*   SECOND-*F*   BOIL(*F*)
'in the second boil' (Making Coffee, line 6)

6.1.2.4   Verb

(428)   *ḥuye*   *ʾaza*   *maṣṣəʾ halla*
         MY-**BROTHER**   NOW   **HE**-IS-COMING
         'my brother is coming right now'
             Cf. 4.6.4 for 3MS forms such as *maṣṣəʿ halla*.

         baʿal   *ʾəlli*   *kətāb* *dib* *loha*   *bet*   *halla*
         OWNER(***M***) THIS-M BOOK IN   THAT-M ROOM **HE**-IS
         'the owner of this book is in that room'

         ṣaḥay   *faggər hallet*
         SUN(***F***)   **IT-F**-IS-RISING
         'the sun is rising'
             For F gender of *ṣaḥay*, see also *Wörterbuch*. Cf. 4.6.4 for 3FS forms such as
             faggər hallet.

Where the subject consists of two noun phrases in apposition (cf. 6.1.1.6), the
verb agrees with the latter subject.

(429)   *wa-* *dib ğām'at*   *ʾal-məhəm*   *nay* *ḥatta* *sanat* *dawrat*
         AND AT UNIVERSITY REQUIREMENT GEN ONE-F YEAR **COURSE**
         nay   *ʾənğəlizi*   *təhayabattanna*
         GEN   ENGLISH   **IT-F**-WAS-GIVEN-TO-US
         'at university, a one year required course in English was given to us'
         (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

6.1.2.5   Unmarked Feminine Nouns, and Place and Language Names
Some unmarked singular nouns are feminine. (See also 3.9.5.2.) Some such
nouns are loans, for which see also 7.1.5 and 7.3.2.

(430)   *ʾəttā*   ***ʾəmtəḥān*om**   *ʾəgəl* *laḥalləfo*
         IN-IT-***F***   THEIR-M-EXAMINATION —   THEY-M-PASS
         ḳadraw
         THEY-M-WERE-ABLE
         'they were able to pass their examination'
             Cf. *Wehr imtiḥān* 'test, experiment; examination'. See 6.2.3 for suffixed
             prepositional phrases.

məsəl   *hallena*   *dib*   *ḥatta*   ***fasəl***
TOGETHER   WE-ARE   IN   ONE-*F*   CLASS
'we are together in the same class' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)
    Cf. *Wehr faṣl* 'parting; separation; division; class, grade; classroom'.

ʾəttā   ***maḥzan***
TO-IT-*F*   STORE
'to the store'
    Cf. *Wehr maxzan* 'storeroom; depository; stockroom; store, shop'.

la-   ***karton***   *ləʾakkā*   *dibye*
DEF   CARTON   SEND-MS-IT-*F*   TO-ME
'send the carton to me'
    For *karton*, cf. English. Cf. 6.4.3 for a verbal clause with both an explicit
    object and a verb with an object suffix.

ḥatḥat   ***zəyād***   *nay*   *məgəb*
SOME-*F*   MORE   GEN   MIDDLE
'some more middle ones' (Trad Decorations, line 7)

ḳoraʾ   *man*   *təbəllā*   *ʾəb*   *təgrait*
FROG   WHO?   YOU-MS-SAY-IT-*F*   IN   TIGRE
'how do you say "frog" in Tigre?'

mənnā   *ḥəbru*
FROM-IT-*F*   ITS-M-COLOR
'from its color' (Trad Decorations, line 13)

The feminine singular copula is used for a place name or language name.

(431)   ***gənda'***   *mən*   *kalimat . . . ta*
PL.N.   FROM   BUSH   COP-*3FS*
' "Ginda" is from a bush' (Ginda, line 1)

təgra   *la-*   *bazḥat*   *ḳawməyat*   *ta*   *dib*   *gənda'*
TIGRE   REL   IT-F-IS-NUMEROUS   ETHNIC-GROUP   COP-*3FS*   IN   PL.N.
'Tigre is the most common ethnic group in Ginda' (Ginda, line 3)

One singular noun in *-at* is masculine.

(432) **səggādat**   *tamma*   *bahlat*   *tu*
       SIGGADET   IT-***M***-IS-COMPLETE   TO-SAY   COP-3MS
       'one can say that a siggadet is finished' (Trad Decorations, line 6)

6.1.2.6   *sab* 'men', *ʾānəs* 'women', and NUM + NOUN
An adjective or predicate agrees in gender and number (plural) with *sab*
'men', *ʾānəs* 'women', and plurals expressed as NUMERAL + SINGULAR NOUN
(cf. 6.1.1.2). A copula or verb agrees in gender, number, and person with such
nouns. Because of the subject matter elicited in the present corpus, there are
very few attestations of a plural noun with a copula or verb.

Adjective:
(433) *sab*   *kəbudām*
       MEN   HEAVY-***M***P
       'heavy men'
              See also 3.14 for gender and number in adjectives.

       ʾānəs   *sanniyāt*
       WOMEN   NICE-***F***P
       'nice women'

Predicate adjective and copula:
(434) *lohom*   *sab*   *gazāyəf*   *tom*
       THOSE-M   MEN   HUGE-C***P***   COP-***3MP***
       'those men are huge'

       la-   *ʾānəs*   *ḳaṭāyən*   *tan*
       DEF   WOMEN   THIN-C***P***   COP-***3FP***
       'the women are thin'

Verb:
(435) *salas*   *dabər*   *lərrakkabo*   *dibā*
       THREE   ***MOUNTAIN***   ***THEY-M***-ARE-FOUND   IN-IT-F
       'three mountains are found in it' (Gindaʿ, line 6)

       salas   *ḳawməyat*   *lərrakkabā*   *dibā*
       THREE   ***ETHNIC-GROUP***   ***THEY-F***-ARE-FOUND   IN-IT-F
       'three ethnic groups are found in it' (Gindaʿ, line 3)

6.1.2.7   Plurals Other than *sab* 'men' and *ānəs* 'women', and Collectives
Plurals other than *sab* 'men' and *ānəs* 'women' (for which see 3.10.1 and 3.10.2)
and collectives (for which see 3.10.4) are grammatically singular. Gender is lexi-
cal for external plurals; all attested internal plurals are masculine. Loans are
noted.

External plurals:

(436)   *la-*   **sukāt**   *bāk̲lā*   *maṭʿam*   *ya-halla-nni*
         DEF   MARKETS   NEAR   RESTAURANT   IT-***M***-IS-NOT
         'the markets are not near the restaurant'
             Cf. Wehr *suq* 'market'. For *ya-halla-nni*, see 4.2.4.

         ʾəlli   **ʿəntāt***ka*   *tu*
         THIS-***M***   YOUR-MS-EYES   COP-***3MS***
         'these are your eyes'

Internal plurals:

(437)   *la-*   **ʾayyām**   *lahay*
         DEF   DAYS   THAT-***M***
         'in those days' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)
             Cf. 7.1.5.3 and *Wehr ayyām* 'days'. For unmarked adverbial expressions such
             as this, see 6.2.5.1.

         mi   *tu*   *ʾəlli*   **ʾakərān**   *ʾəlli*
         WHAT   COP-***3MS***   THIS-***M***   NOISES   THIS-***M***
         'what are these noises?'

         marawwi   *bāk̲lā*   *ʿarāt*   *ya-halla-nni*
         STICKS   NEAR   BED   IT-***M***-IS-NOT
         'the sticks are not near the bed'

         ʾaškāl   *taʾafaggərro*
         PATTERNS   YOU-MS-STRETCH-IT-***M***
         'you shape the patterns' (Trad Decorations, line 22)
             Cf. 7.1.5.3 and *Wehr šakl* PL *ʾaškāl*, *šukūl* 'similarity, resemblance; form,
             shape; type, pattern; sort, kind'. See 6.4.3 for a verbal clause with both an
             explicit object and a verb with an object suffix.

lawāzəm *nayā* *tu* *məslu* *ta* *gayəs*
NECESSITY GEN-3FS COP-***3MS*** WITH-IT-***M*** COP-3FS IT-F-GOES
'it (coffee) is inseparable from these elements'
(Lit., 'it is what goes with it—namely, with what are its essential components')
(Coffee Ceremony, line 10)

> Cf. 7.1.5.3 and *Wehr lawāzim* (PL) 'necessary, inseparable attributes; neces-
> sities; fixtures'. For unmarked cleft clauses such as *lawāzəm nayā tu* 'what
> are its essential components' and *məslu gayəs* 'what goes with it', see 6.6.3.1.4.

Collectives:

(438)   *mən* *ğabanat* ***māy*** *gabbiʾ* *dibā*
        WHEN COFFEE-BOTTLE(F) WATER IT-***M***-GOES INTO-IT-F
        'when water goes into the coffee bottle' (Making Coffee, line 12)

> *kəlʾo* ***dol*** *zəlām*
> TWO-***M*** TIME RAIN
> 'two rainy seasons' (Gindaʿ, line 4)
>
> > For the collective quality of *dol*, cf. *dolat* 'time (instance, occurrence)' in
> > "Coffee Ceremony," line 6.

> *kum* *tu* *ʾəlli* ***ʾəmbobā*** *ʾəlli*
> HOW-MUCH? COP-3MS THIS-***M*** POPCORN THIS-***M***
> 'how much is this popcorn?'
>
> > Cf. TED *ʾəmbaba* 'flower, blossom; popped or parched grain'.

> *dib* *gəndaʿ* *sab* *ḥawālay* *ʾəšrin* *wa-* *ḥaməs* *ʾaləf* ***ʾaddām***
> IN PL.N. PEOPLE APPROX. 20 AND 5 1,000 PEOPLE
> *nabbər* *dibā*
> ***HE***-LIVES IN-IT-F
> 'approximately 25,000 people live in Gindaʿ' (Gindaʿ, line 2)
>
> > It is possible that the verb *nabbər* agrees with the first noun in the noun
> > phrase, *sab*, rather than with the second, *ʾaddām*. Consistent with 6.1.2.4,
> > in which the verb is shown to agree with the latter of two nouns in apposi-
> > tion, *nabber* is here taken to agree with *ʾaddām*.

> *la-* *ʿala* *la-* *ḥasab* *la-* ***ğamāʿat***
> REL ACCORDING-TO DEF/REL QUANTITY DEF/REL GATHERING
> *la-* *dibu*
> REL IN-IT-***M***
> 'according to the number that are in the gathering' (Making Coffee, line 4)

koskos   *nasʾəlo*   *ʾəbbu*
ROASTING-EQUIPMENT   QUESTION   ABOUT-IT-*M*
'the question is about roasting equipment' (Making Coffee, line 9)
    Cf. 6.2.3 for suffixed prepositional phrases.

mənnā   *ʿadāt*   *nay*   *təgra*
FROM-IT-*F*   CULTURE   GEN   TIGRE
'from the Tigre culture' (Trad Decorations, line 1)

zanǧabil   *ʾənda*   *gabʾat*
GINGER   AFTER   IT-*F*-WENT
'after ginger has gone in' (Making Coffee, line 11)
    Cf. *Wörterbuch ǧanǧabil* 'ginger' and *Wehr zanǧabïl* 'ginger'.

saʿat   *kam*   *hallet*
HOUR   HOW-MANY?   THERE-*F*-IS
'what time is it?'

ʾəsāt   *kam*   *falḥat*
FIRE   AFTER   IT-*F*-OVERFLOWED
'after the fire has fully heated' (Making Coffee, line 13)

ʾəčay   *mənnu*   *la-*   *maṣʾat*
WOOD   FROM-IT-M   REL   IT-*F*-COMES
'wood that comes from it' (Gindaʿ, line 1)

wa-   **bun**   *marrā* *məhəmmat* *ta*   *ʾət*   *šaʿab*   *nay*   *təgra*
AND   COFFEE   VERY   IMPORTANT   COP-3FS   AMONG   PEOPLE   GEN   P.N.
'coffee is very important among the Tigre people' (Coffee Ceremony, line 2)
    Cf. *Wehr bunn* 'coffee beans, (unground) coffee'. Though F forms are con-
    sistently used with *bun* in our corpus, there is the following M form:
    bun   *ʾəlli*   *massəl*   *ta*
    COFFEE   THIS-*M*   IT-M/F-SEEMS   COP-3*F*S
    'coffee is such a thing' (Coffee Ceremony, line 10)
        The use of M *ʾəlli* here is likely due to the idiomatic nature of *ʾəlli massəl*
        'such a thing' (cf. *Wörterbuch idem*).

6.2   Prepositional Phrases, Adverbs, and Adverbial Expressions

6.2.1   *Simple Prepositional Phrases*
As the grammatical term "preposition" indicates, a preposition is the first element of a prepositional phrase.

(439)   *fənga kəllan* '***between*** the two of them' (Ginda, line 9)
         dib ʾəsāt '***on*** the fire' (Making Coffee, line 13)
         ʾab bun '***about*** coffee' (Coffee Ceremony, line 1)
         bāḵlā maṭʿam '***near*** the restaurant'

For nouns and adjectives that comprise the object of the preposition, word order and agreement in gender and number conform to that discussed above in 6.1.

(440)   *ʾət   šaʿab   nay   təgra*
         AMONG   PEOPLE   GEN   TIGRE
         'among the Tigre people' (Coffee Ceremony, line 2)
             Cf. 6.1.1.4 *nay*.

         dib sanat   ʾaläf   wa- səʿ məʾət   təsʿin wa-   səʿ
         IN   YEAR   1,000   AND   9   HUNDRED   90   AND   9
         'in the year 1999' (Ḥamid and I, line 6)
             Cf. 6.1.1.6 apposition.

         ʾab   bəzḥe   ʿabbāy
         AMONG   LARGE-QUANTITY   IMPORTANT-FS
         'among the most important (eldest)' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
             Cf. 6.1.1.5 the construct sequence.

         dib   loha   bet
         IN   THAT-M   ROOM
         'in that room'
             Cf. 6.1.1.1 deictics and 6.1.2.1 adjectives.

6.2.2   *Prepositional Phrases with a Coordinating Conjunction*
Where a coordinating conjunction is present in the object noun phrase, the preposition is usually repeated.

(441) ʾəgəl fāynāl walā ʾəgəl ʾəmtəḥān   nay sar   sanat
       FOR   FINAL   OR   FOR   EXAMINATION   GEN HALF   YEAR
       '*for* finals or mid-year examinations' (Ḥamid and I, line 15)

       ʾəb   šakəl   maǧmuʿāt   wa- ʾəb šakəl
       IN   CONFIGURATION   GATHERED-ONES   OR   IN   CONFIGURATION
       ḥašəm
       ENTOURAGE
       '*in* a public group or a private group' (Coffee Ceremony, line 5)

       ʾasək- mā tāsʿāy ʾasək   ʾāsrāy
       UP-TO   OR NINTH   UP-TO   TENTH
       '*up to* the ninth or tenth (grade)' (Ḥamid and I, line 4)

       kam   ʾəčat   ʾaw kam   fəyori
       LIKE   VINE   OR   LIKE FLOWER
       '*like* a vine or a flower' (Trad Decorations, line 18)

On some occasions the preposition occurs only once.

(442) kam   bāni   ləgbaʾ   ʾaw   ḳəčā
       LIKE   BREAD   POSSIBLY   OR   KICHA
       '*like* some kind of bread or kicha' (Making Coffee, line 18)

       fənga   ʾasmarā   wa-   massawaʿ
       BETWEEN   PL.N.   AND   PL.N.
       '*between* Asmara and Massawa' (Ginda, line 10)

6.2.3   *Suffixed Prepositional Phrases*

Quite frequently the prepositions *ʾət* 'in, to', *mən* 'from', and *dib* 'in, into' occur
with both a suffixed genitive pronoun (cf. Table 5, 3.5.4.3, and 5.2) and an
object noun or noun phrase. The suffix agrees in gender and number with the
object noun (cf. 6.1.2.3 above). This construction, here called a suffixed preposi-
tional phrase, is similar to the verbal construction OBJECT + suffixed verb,
which is discussed in 6.4.3. Note the doubling of the final consonant in the
prepositions *ʾət* and *mən: ʾəttā* 'in it-F' and *mənnā* 'from it-F'. In the present
work the suffix is taken as the genitive pronoun 'it-F'; however, Voigt analyzes
these forms as preposition + DEF, with assimilation of *l* to the final consonant
of the preposition.[2]

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2 "Zum Tigre," pp. 182–184.

(443)   *ʾəttā*   *kāl'āyt*   *fəlḥat*
          IN-IT-F   SECOND-F   BOIL
          '***in*** the second boil' (Making Coffee, line 6)

          mənnā   *ʿadāt*   *nay*   *təgra*
          FROM-IT-F   CULTURE   GEN   TIGRE
          '***from*** the Tigre culture' (Trad Decorations, line 1)

          mənnā   *ḥəbru*
          FROM-IT-F   ITS-M-COLOR
          '***from*** its color' (Trad Decorations, line 13)

          ʾəttā   *maḥzan*
          TO-IT-F   STORE
          '***to*** the store'

In a few cases, the object of the preposition is preposed.

(444)   *la-*   *ğamāʿat*   *la-*   *dibu*
          DEF/REL   GATHERING   REL   IN-IT-M
          'in the gathering' (Making Coffee, line 2)

          koskos   *nasʾəlo*   *ʾəbbu*   *koskos*
          ROASTING-EQUIPMENT   QUESTION   ABOUT-IT-M   ROASTING-EQUIPMENT
          'the question is about roasting equipment' (Making Coffee, line 9)
              Note that the object is both preposed and postposed.

6.2.4   *Adverbs in an Adjectival Phrase or Verbal Clause*
An adverb precedes a modified adjective.

          ADVERB + ADJECTIVE

(445)   *marrā* *yābəs* '***very*** dry'
          sab   *ḥawālay*   *ʾəšrin*   *wa-*   *ḥaməs*   *ʾaləf*   *ʾaddām*
          PEOPLE   APPROXIMATELY   20   AND   5   1,000   PEOPLE
          '***approximately*** 25,000 people' (Ginda', line 2)

          ḥarirat   *mən*   *ḥarir*   ***la-gabbiʾ***   *la-*   *čarəḳ*   *bəʾəd*
          HERIRET   FROM   SILK   PERHAPS   DEF   CLOTH   OTHER
          'heriret (is) from silk or ***perhaps*** another fabric' (Trad Decorations, line 17)
              See also 5.1.5 and 6.4.5.1.3 for discussion of this adverb.

An adverb that modifies a sentence, here called a sentence adverb, usually occurs before the sentence.

SENTENCE ADVERB + SENTENCE

(446) *ḥako*   *ʾəsāt kam   falḥat*   *tətkarra*
       AFTERWARDS FIRE AFTER IT-F-OVERFLOWED IT-F-IS-REPEATED
       '*afterwards*, after the fire has fully heated, it is repeated'
       (Making Coffee, line 13)

       ʾətəllā madrasat nay ʿarabi madrasat ta   la- ʿalat   dib
       HERE SCHOOL   GEN ARABIC SCHOOL   COP-3FS REL IT-F-WAS IN
       gəndaʿ
       PL.N.
       'as for school *there*, it was an Arabic school that was in Ginda''
       (Ḥamid and I, line 2)

       ʾənsar   ʾasmarā   maṣʾana
       TO-HERE   PL.N.   WE-CAME
       'we came *here* to Asmara' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

       barədu la- ḥatta sanat la- ʿalat   ʾəglā   ʾatmamna
       ALSO   DEF ONE-F YEAR REL IT-F-WAS IN-IT-F WE-FINISHED
       '*also* in one year we finished' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

       bas   dib sakšan   nətfanātā   ʾəngabbiʾ
       ONLY IN   SECTION WE-ARE-SEPARATED WE-ARE-BECOMING
       '*only* with respect to section are we being separated' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

       ʾabəllā   tāməm
       AT-THIS-F   COMPLETE
       'now *at this point* it is complete' (Making Coffee, line 7)

       ḥako-hā   ʾasək- mā tāsʿāy ʾasək ʿasrāy başḥana
       AFTERWARDS UP-TO OR NINTH UP-TO TENTH WE-REACHED
       'we *later* reached ninth or tenth grade' (Ḥamid and I, line 4)

       ḥako-hā   dib sanat ʾaləf wa- səʿ məʾət   təsʿin wa- səʿ ʾəgəl
       AFTERWARDS IN YEAR 1,000 AND 9 HUNDRED 90   AND 9 TO

ʾəmtəḥān   *nay*   *mātrik*   *gasena*
EXAMINATION   GEN   MATRICULATION   WE-WENT
'***then***, in 1999, we took the matriculation examination' (Ḥamid and I, line 6)

maṣṣəʾ   *ʾaza*   *ʾəgəl*   *fāynāl*   *walā*   *ʾəgəl*   *ʾəmtəḥān*   *nay*
IT-M-COMES NOW FOR FINAL OR   FOR EXAMINATION GEN
sar   *sanat*   *nəddālla hallena*
HALF   YEAR   WE-ARE-PREPARING
'***next*** we are getting ready for (fall semester) finals, that is, for mid-year examinations' (Ḥamid and I, line 15)

doldol   *mən*   *ʾakara*   *dəwal*   *ğəwār*   *naʾastawrəddā*
SOMETIMES FROM FARMERS DISTRICTS PROXIMITY WE-IMPORT-IT-F
'but ***sometimes*** we import it from the farmers of neighboring districts' (Coffee Ceremony, line 12)

Sometimes a sentence adverb or adverbial expression occurs after the verb.

(447)   *məsəl*   *ʾəndarrəs*   **ṭabʿan**
        TOGETHER   WE-STUDY   NATURALLY
        '***naturally*** we study together' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

        mənnu   *lətkawan*   **bahlat**   **tu**
        FROM-IT-M   IT-M-IS-MADE   TO-SAY   COP-3MS
        'it is made from it, ***it suffices to say***' (Trad Decorations, line 13)

        ʾabbu   *təʿalla*   **bahlat**   **tu**
        BY-HIM   IT-F-IS-CONSECRATED   TO-SAY   COP-3MS
        'it is consecrated by him, ***that is***' (Making Coffee, line 20)

The construction *ʾənda ʾatarradaw* (lit., 'while they strengthened') is used adverbially as 'hard (diligently)'. See also 6.5.1.2 for temporal clauses with *ʾənda*.

(448)   *hətom*   *ʾənda*   *ʾatarradaw*   *darsom*   *sabbat*
        THEY-M WHILE THEY-M-STRENGTHENED THEIR-M-LESSON BECAUSE
        hafzaw   *ʾəttā*   *ʾəmtəḥānom*   *ʾəgəl*
        THEY-M-PREPARED IN-IT-F THEIR-M-EXAMINATION —
        laḥalləfo   *ḵadraw*
        THEY-M-PASS   THEY-M-WERE-ABLE

'because they studied their lesson *hard*, they were able to pass their examination'

See also 6.5.2.3 for *sabbat* + PRF 'because'.

6.2.5   *Unmarked Adverbial Expressions and* Casus Pendens

6.2.5.1   Unmarked Adverbial Expressions

In many instances context demands that a noun phrase be rendered adverbially, even though it is not marked by an adverb or preposition.

(449)   **salas   baṭro**
THREE   THEY-M-STOP
'they stop *at three*' (Making Coffee, line 8)

ḥatta   sanat   ʾansaḥabko
ONE-F   YEAR   I-WITHDREW
'I withdrew *for one year*' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)

ʾana   sakšan   ʾəšrin   wa-   sabʿa   ʾana
I   SECTION   20   AND   7   COP-1CS
'I am *in section 27*' (Ḥamid and I, line 12)

kāləʾ   keṯ . . .   kəranəkəs   mən   šabakāt   ləšaḳḳa
SECOND THREAD KIRENIKIS FROM LATTICES ONE-M-MAKES
'in addition . . . one makes kirenikis from lattices . . . *with thread*'
(Trad Decorations, line 20)

ḥaḳo-lā   ʿāsrāy   baṣḥana   dib   gəndaʿ
AFTER   TENTH   WE-REACHED   IN   PL.N.
'after we reach *tenth* (*grade*) in Gindaʿ' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)
Cf. line 4 of this text, where the preposition *ʾasək* is employed: *ʾasək-mā tāsʿāy ʾasək ʿāsrāy baṣḥana* 'we reached the ninth or *tenth* (*grade*)'.

6.2.5.2   *Casus Pendens*

A subject may be preposed for emphasis.

(450)   *fā*   **həta** *dib*   *mənasabāt*   *ʾawra*
SO   IT-F   ON   SPECIAL-OCCASIONS   ONE-KINDLED-FIRE
'so *as for it* (*coffee*), on special occasions one has started a fire'
(Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

bun　　　　*ʾakānā*　　　　*ta*　　　　*ʿabbāy*　　　　*ta*
COFFEE　ITS-F-PLACE　COP-3FS　IMPORTANT-FS　COP-3FS
'*as for coffee* its place is—it's important' (Coffee Ceremony, line 8)

mən　　　**ğabanat**　　　　*māy*　　*gabbiʾ*　　*dibā*
WHEN　COFFEE-BOTTLE　WATER　IT-M-GOES　INTO-IT-F
'when, *as for the coffee bottle*, water goes into it' (Making Coffee, line 12)
　　Cf. 6.2.3 for suffixed prepositional phrases such as *ğabanat . . . dibā*.

ʾəmərna　*la-*　*ʾayyām*　*lahay*　　*walad*　*səs*　*sanat*　*tu*　　　　*la-*
OUR-AGE　DEF　DAYS　　THAT-M　CHILD　SIX　YEAR　COP-3MS　REL
ʿala　　　　*la-*　　　*ʾəmər*　*nayna*
IT-M-WAS　REL/DEF　AGE　　GEN-1CP
'*as for our age*, in those days six years is what our age was'
(Ḥamid and I, line 2)
　　For marked cleft clauses such as *la-ʿala la-ʾəmər nayna* 'what our age was',
　　see 6.6.3.1.2.

6.3　Nominal, Adverbial, and Existential Clauses

6.3.1　*Word Order in a Nominal Clause*
Word order in a nominal clause is usually

　　SUBJECT + PREDICATE + COPULA

(451)　*gəndaʿ*　*mən*　　*kalimat . . .*　*ta*
　　　　PL.N.　　FROM　BUSH　　　COP-3FS
　　　　'"Ginda" is from a bush' (Ginda, line 1)

　　　　bun　　　　*ʾəlli massəl*　　　*ta*
　　　　COFFEE　SUCH-AS-THIS　　COP-3FS
　　　　'coffee is such a thing' (Coffee Ceremony, line 10)
　　　　　　See also (438) for discussion of gender agreement in this clause.

　　　　ʾəlli　　　*bəzuḥ*　　*ləmud*　　*ʾikoni*
　　　　THIS-M　MANY　USUAL　IT-IS-NOT
　　　　'this many (boils) are unusual' (Making Coffee, line 7)

　　　　ʾəlla　　　*ʿənče*　　　*ta*
　　　　THIS-F　MY-C-EYE　COP-3FS
　　　　'this is my eye'

ʾǝnta   mǝn   gǝndaʿ   ʾǝnta
YOU-MS   FROM   PL.N.   COP-2MS
'you are from Ginda'

In some instances a prepositional phrase follows the copula. Similar constructions are attested in adverbial and existential clauses (cf. (456) below) and verbal clauses (cf. 6.4.1.4).

(452)   *tǝgra   la-   bazḥat   ḳawmǝyat   ta   **dib gǝndaʿ***
TIGRE   REL   IT-F-IS-NUMEROUS   ETHNIC-GROUP   COP-3FS   IN   PL.N.
'Tigre is the most common ethnic group ***in Ginda***' (Ginda, line 3)

ʾakānā   ta   ʿabbāy . . . ʾǝt   la-   šaʿab   nay   tǝgra
ITS-F-PLACE   COP-3FS   BIG-FS   AMONG   DEF   PEOPLE   GEN   TIGRE
'its place is important . . . ***among the Tigre people***' (Coffee Ceremony, line 8)
> Note here that both the predicate *ʿabbāy* and the prepositional phrase follow the copula.

In a number of clauses the copula is not present. See also (457) below for the absence of the verb of existence in an existential clause.

(453)   *ʾabǝllā   tāmǝm*
AT-THIS-F   COMPLETE
'at this point ***it is*** complete' (Making Coffee, line 7)

ʾabǝllā   sǝggādat   tāmǝm   la-   sǝggādat
BY-THIS-F   SIGGADET   COMPLETE   DEF   SIGGADET
'by this the siggadet ***is*** a complete siggadet' (Trad Decorations, line 13)

la-   suʾāl   mǝn-   lǝbǝl   ṭabʿan   la-   ǧabanat
DEF   QUESTION   FROM   HE-SAYS   CONCERNING   DEF   COFFEE-BOTTLE
kam   fǝǧān   ṣabbǝṭ
HOW-MANY?   CUP   ONE-M-SERVES
'the question from what he says ***is*** about the coffee bottle: how many cups does one serve?' (Making Coffee, lines 1–2)
> An alternative translation, which still requires a copula, is: 'the question from what he says about the coffee bottle ***is***, "How many cups does one serve?"' See also 6.6.2.1.6 for the unmarked substantival relative *lǝbǝl* 'what he says'.

ṭayəb la- ʾəǧābat ṭabʿan la- ǧabanat ʾaw botəl
RIGHT DEF ANSWER CONCERNING DEF COFFEE-BOTTLE OR BOTTLE

la- ʾənbəlā ʿalal ʾagal samān fəǧān ṣabbəṭ
REL BESIDE-IT-F PLENTY SUCH 8 CUP ONE-M-SERVES

'the right answer about the coffee bottle, or "bottle" besides (lit., which is beside it), *is*: one serves plenty of them—eight cups'

(Making Coffee, lines 3–4)

See also 6.6.2.1.2 for discussion of the marked substantival relative clause *la-ʾənbəlā* 'which is beside it'.

6.3.2 *Word Order in Adverbial and Existential Clauses*
Word order in adverbial clauses is usually

SUBJECT + PREDICATE + VERB OF EXISTENCE

(454) *la- morat bāḳlā ʿarāt hallet*
DEF STICK NEAR BED IT-F-EXISTS
'the stick is near the bed'

kətābu dib borsače halla
HIS-BOOK IN MY-BAG IT-M-EXISTS
'his book is in my bag'

la- suḳāt bāḳlā maṭʿam ya-halla-nni
DEF MARKETS NEAR RESTAURANT IT-M-IS-NOT
'the markets are not near the restaurant'

baʿal ʾəlli kətāb dib loha bet halla
OWNER THIS-M BOOK IN THAT-M ROOM HE-IS
'the owner of this book is in that room'

In existential clauses and adverbial clauses the word order is

PREDICATE + VERB OF EXISTENCE

(455) *kamsal ḥazekahu ḥabbār halla*
JUST-AS YOU-MS-WANT-IT-M DYEING THERE-M-IS
'just as you want it there is dyeing' (Trad Decorations, line 22)

ʾəgəl   bəʾəd-   mā   manaffəʿ   halla
FOR   OTHER   ALSO   USES   IT-M-EXISTS
'it also exists for other uses' (Trad Decorations, line 2)

dib   ʾalḳəsmə ləkodabi   ʾas-sana l-ʾula   halleko
IN   SOCIAL-SCIENCES-DEPARTMENT   FIRST-YEAR   I-AM
'I am in the Social Sciences department as a first-year student'
(Ḥamid and I, line 10)

In some instances a prepositional phrase follows the verb of existence. See also
(452) above and 6.4.1.4 for similar constructions in nominal clauses and verbal
clauses respectively.

(456)   bəʾəd   ʾakfāl   lətbahal   halla   **mən   la-**
        OTHER SEGMENTS IT-M-IS-CALLED   THERE-M-IS   FROM REL
        təfanātā
        IT-F-IS-SEPARATED
        'segments other **than what is separate**' (Trad Decorations, line 12)

        məsəl   hallena   **dib ḥatta   fasəl**
        TOGETHER   WE-EXIST   IN   ONE-F   CLASS
        'we are together in the same class' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)

In one existential clause the verb of existence is not present. See also (453)
above for the absence of the copula in a nominal clause.

(457)   salas   barədu ḥatḥat   zəyād nay məgəb   ḥako-hā—   ʾakfāl
        THREE ALSO   SOME-F MORE GEN MIDDLE AFTERWARDS SEGMENTS
        '(there are) also three more middle segments'
        (Lit., '(there are) also three—some-more-middle-ones-afterwards segments')
        (Trad Decorations, line 7)

6.3.3   *Agreement in Gender, Number, and Person*
Agreement in gender, number, and person in nominal, adverbial, and existen-
tial clauses is discussed in 6.1.2.

6.4   Simple Sentences

In the present work, a simple sentence is defined as a verbal clause in which
there is neither a subordinate clause nor a relative clause.

6.4.1   *Word Order*

Word order in a simple sentence is

    SUBJECT + OBJECT + VERB

(458)   *ḳursi bun   məslā   ləṭḳarrab*
        GIFT-BREAD WITH-IT-F IT-M-IS-SERVED
        'cake is served with it' (Making Coffee, line 18)

        ṭabʿan ʾana ʾab   bun   ʾəgəl ʾəthāga tu
        NOW   I   ABOUT COFFEE I-WILL-TALK
        'now I will talk about coffee' (Coffee Ceremony, line 1)
           Strictly, *ʾəgəl ʾəthāga tu* is a copular clause *tu* 'it is' with a subordinate clause
           ʾəgəl ʾəthāga 'that I might talk'. For subordinate clauses in *ʾəgəl*, see 6.5.4.

        ḥuye   ʾaza maṣṣəʾ halla
        MY-BROTHER   NOW HE-IS-COMING
        'my brother is coming right now'

        ṣaḥay   faggər hallet
        SUN   IT-F-IS-RISING
        'the sun is rising'

Given the subject matter elicited during research, more often than not, there is no explicit subject. Rather, the subject is indicated by a conjugated verb (cf. 4.5). In this case word order is

    COMPLEMENT + VERB

(459)   *ḥatta   sanat ʾansaḥabko*
        ONE-F YEAR I-WITHDREW
        'for one year I withdrew' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

        salas   baṭro
        THREE THEY-M-STOP
        'they stop at three' (Making Coffee, line 8)

        dib māy   ʾatta
        IN   WATER IT-M-IS-PLACED
        'it is placed in water' (Trad Decorations, line 8)

fənga   *kəllan*   *fənga*   *ʾasmarā wa-*   *massawaʿ*
BETWEEN ALL-OF-THEM-F BETWEEN PL.N.   AND PL.N.

tərrakkab
IT-F-IS-FOUND

'It is found between the two of them—between Asmara and Massawa'
(Ginda', line 10)

ʿalal   *ʾagal*   *samān fəǧān ṣabbəṭ*
PLENTY   SUCH   8   CUP   ONE-SERVES

'one serves plenty of such—eight cups' (Making Coffee, line 4)

kāl'āyt   *wəḳat*   *tətakka*
SECOND-F   TIME   IT-F-IS-PUT-OVER-A-FIRE

'a second time it is boiled' (Coffee Ceremony, line 7)

kəmsal   *ʾəlli*   *takka*
LIKE   THIS-M   IT-F-IS-PUT-OVER-A-FIRE

'it is boiled like this' (Coffee Ceremony, line 8)

6.4.1.1   Co-occurrence of a Direct Object with a Complement

In the few instances in which both a direct object and a complement occur in a simple clause, the complement usually comes first.

COMPLEMENT + DIRECT OBJECT

(460)   **mənnā**   *daraǧat rakabna*
       FROM-IT-F   GRADE   WE-FOUND
       '**from it** we found out the grade' (Ḥamid and I, line 7)

       dib gənda' *kəl'o*   *dol*   *zəlām rakkəb*
       IN   PL.N.   TWO-M TIME RAIN   ONE-M-FINDS
       '**In Ginda'**, there are two rainy seasons' (Ginda', line 4)

In the lone instance in which the deictic pronoun *ʾəlli* 'this-M' is the direct object, the complement follows rather than precedes the direct object. See also the discussion of noun phrases in 6.1.1 and 6.1.1.1, wherein the usual word order is NOUN + ADJECTIVE but is PRO-ADJECTIVE + NOUN where the deictic occurs.

(461) **ʾəlli**   mən   takʿala   ʾənšaḳḳa
       THIS-M   FROM   PALM-BRANCH   WE-MAKE
       'we make **this** from a palm branch' (Trad Decorations, line 5)

6.4.1.2   Sentence Adverbs
A sentence adverb usually occurs before a simple sentence. See 6.2.4.

6.4.1.3   Preposed Complements
An unmarked adverbial expression or suspended subject is almost always preposed. See also 6.2.5.

(462) **salas**   baṭro
       THREE   THEY-M-STOP
       'they stop **at three**' (Making Coffee, line 8)

       ḥatta   **sanat**   ʾansaḥabko
       ONE-F   YEAR   I-WITHDREW
       'I withdrew **for one year**' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)

       fā   **həta** dib mənasabāt   ʾawra
       SO   IT-F   ON   SPECIAL-OCCASIONS   ONE-KINDLES-FIRE
       'so **as for it** (**coffee**) on special occasions one starts a fire'
       (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

       bun   ʾakānā   ta   ʿabbāy   ta
       COFFEE   ITS-F-PLACE   COP-3FS   IMPORTANT-FS   COP-3FS
       '**as for coffee** its place is—it's important' (Coffee Ceremony, line 8)

       mən   **ǧabanat**   māy   gabbiʾ   dibā
       WHEN   COFFEE-BOTTLE   WATER   IT-M-GOES   INTO-IT-F
       'when, **as for the coffee bottle**, water goes into it' (Making Coffee, line 12)
           Cf. 6.2.3 for suffixed prepositional phrases such as *ǧabanat . . . dibā*.

       kāləʾ   **keṯ** . . .   kəranəkəs   mən   šabakāt   ləšaḳḳa
       SECOND   THREAD   KIRENIKIS   FROM   LATTICES   ONE-M-MAKES
       'in addition . . . one makes kirenikis from lattices . . . **with thread**'
       (Trad Decorations, line 20)

In a few cases a complement is preposed.

(463)   ***dib gənda‘*** *sab*   *ḥawālay* *ʾəšrin* *wa-* *ḥaməs* *ʾaləf* *ʾaddām*
        IN   PL.N.   PEOPLE APPROX. 20   AND   5   1,000   PEOPLE
        nabbər   *dibā*
        HE-LIVES   IN-IT-F
        'approximately 25,000 people live ***in Ginda°*** (Ginda‘, line 2)

        wa-   ***dib*** *ğām‘at*   *ʾal-məhəm*   *nay* *ḥatta* *sanat* *dawrat* *nay*
        AND AT UNIVERSITY REQUIREMENT GEN ONE-F YEAR COURSE GEN
        ʾənğəlizi   *təhayabattanna*
        ENGLISH   IT-F-WAS-GIVEN-TO-US
        'and ***at university***, a one year required course in English was given to us'
        (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

6.4.1.4   Suffixed Preposition Following the Verb

In many cases a suffixed preposition occurs after the verb. Attestations are limited to *dib* 'in, into, to' and *mən* 'from'. In two such cases, the object of the preposition is found before the verb.[3] Similar constructions are attested in nominal clauses (cf. (452)) and adverbial and existential clauses (cf. (456)).

(464)   *la-*   *karton*   *lə'akkā*   ***dibye***
        DEF   CARTON   SEND-MS-IT-F   TO-ME
        'send the carton ***to me***'

        dib   *gənda‘* *sab*   *ḥawālay* *ʾəšrin* *wa-* *ḥaməs* *ʾaləf* *ʾaddām*
        IN   PL.N.   PEOPLE APPROX. 20   AND 5   1,000   PEOPLE
        nabbər   ***dibā***
        HE-LIVES   IN-IT-F
        'approximately 25,000 people live ***in Ginda°*** (Ginda‘, line 2)

        ʾəttā   *ʾawalāyt* *fəlḥat* *kəlkəl'ot*   *fəğān* *sattu*   ***mənnā***
        IN-IT-F FIRST-F BOIL TWO-M-EACH CUP   THEY-M-DRINK FROM-IT-F
        'In the first boil they each drink two cups ***from it***' (Making Coffee, line 5)

---

3   Leslau ("Sketches," p. 203) indicates that a prepositional phrase very often follows the verb.

salas   *ḳawməyat*   *lərrakkabā*   **dibā**   *sāho*   *təgra*
THREE   ETHNIC-GROUP   THEY-F-ARE-FOUND   IN-IT-F   P.N.   P.N.
təgrənyā
P.N.
'three ethnic groups are found *in it*: Saho, Tigre, and Tigrinya'
(Ginda', line 3)

salas   *dabər*   *lərrakkabo*   **dibā**   *dib* *ḳəblat*
THREE   MOUNTAIN   THEY-M-ARE-FOUND   IN-IT-F   IN   NORTH
dabər   *ḥamalmāl*
MOUNTAIN   PL.N.
'three mountains are found *in it*: in the north—Mt. Ḥamalmāl . . .'
(Ginda', lines 6–7)

6.4.1.5   Elaboration
Elaboration is expressed by addition of a noun phrase or prepositional phrase
after a simple sentence.

(465)   *salas*   *ḳawməyat*   *lərrakkabā*   *dibā*   **sāho**
         THREE   ETHNIC-GROUP   THEY-F-ARE-FOUND   IN-IT-F   P.N.
         təgra   **təgrənyā**
         P.N.   P.N.
         'three ethnic groups are found in it: **Saho, Tigre, and Tigrinya**'
         (Ginda', line 3)

         salas   *dabər*   *lərrakkabo*   *dibā*   **dib** **ḳəblat**
         THREE   MOUNTAIN   THEY-M-ARE-FOUND   IN-IT-F   IN   NORTH
         dabər   **ḥamalmāl** **wa-**   **dib** **məfgār** **ṣaḥay** **gaḥayāt**   **wa-**   **dib**
         MOUNTAIN   PL.N.   AND   IN   RISING   SUN   PL.N.   AND   IN
         gəblat **dabər**   **la-**   **'abā**   **dabər**   **bağan**
         SOUTH   MOUNTAIN   REL   IT-M-IS-BIG   MOUNTAIN   PL.N.
         'three mountains are found in it: *in the north—Mt. Ḥamalmāl, in the east—*
         Gaḥayāt, in the south—a mountain that is the tallest mountain, Beğen'
         (Ginda', lines 6–7)

         'alal   *'agal* *samān* *fəğān* *ṣabbəṭ*   **samān** **fəğān** **səs**   **fəğān**
         PLENTY   SUCH   EIGHT   CUP   ONE-SERVES   EIGHT   CUP   SIX   CUP
         'ala   **ḥasab-**   **la-**   **'ala**   **la-**   **ḥasab**

ACCORDING-TO QUANTITY REL ACCORDING-TO DEF/REL QUANTITY
la-   ğamā'at   la- dibu
DEF/REL GATHERING REL IN-IT-M
'one serves plenty of them—eight cups—*six or eight cups, according to the*
number—which is according to the number that are in the gathering'
(Making Coffee, line 4)

> See 6.6.2.1.5 for the marked substantival relative *la-'ala la-ḥasab* 'which is
> according to the number' and 6.6.1.1.2 for the modifying relative *la-ğamā'at*
> *la-dibu* 'that are in the gathering'.

6.4.1.6 Naming

In the "Traditional Decorations" text, when each of the three decorative items
being discussed is first mentioned, the word for the item occurs both before
and after the verb, which is *lətbahal* 'it is called' or a related verb. It is unclear
whether the second occurrence is part of the *lətbahal* clause or part of the
following clause.

(466) *səggādat   lətbahal   səggādat   mən   tak'ala*
SIGGADET IT-M-IS-CALLED SIGGADET FROM PALM-BRANCH
təšakka
IT-M-WAS-MADE
'it is called *"siggadet"—siggadet* is made from a palm branch'
(Trad Decorations, line 3)

> It is unclear whether the latter *səggādat* is part of the *təšakka* (second)
> clause, as glossed here, because *təšakka* does not require an explicit sub-
> ject. If *səggādat* is part of the *lətbahal* (first) clause, the word can be left
> untranslated and the gloss would be 'it is called "siggadet;" it is made from
> a palm branch.'

la-   kālə'   'aw la-   bə'əd . . . ḥarirat   tətbahal hallet
DEF SECOND OR DEF OTHER HERIRET IT-F-IS-BEING-CALLED
ḥarirat   mən   ḥarir . . . wa-   gala   lətbahal halla
HERIRET FROM SILK AND SUCH IT-M-IS-BEING-CALLED
'the second item—the other item . . . is called "heriret;" heriret (is) from
silk, . . . and what are called such' (Trad Decorations, lines 16–17)

> As it is rendered here, the latter *ḥarirat* is part of the second clause, which
> is absent the copula. Alternatively, if *ḥarirat* is part of the second clause,
> then the clause would still require the copula, which is absent, *ḥarirat* can
> go untranslated, and the gloss would be similar:

'the second item—the other item . . . is called "heriret;" (it is) from silk, . . . and what are called such'

> See 6.6.2.1.7 for unmarked substantival relative clauses such as *gala lətbahal halla* 'what are called such'.

kālə'	*keṭ*	***kəranəkəs***	*la-*	*lətbahal*	*halla*
IN-ADDITION	THREAD	KIRENIKIS	REL	IT-M-IS-CALLED	THERE-M-IS

kəranəkəs	*mən*	*šabakāt*	*ləšaḵḵa*
KIRENIKIS	FROM	LATTICES	IT-M-IS-MADE

'in addition (to siggadet and heriret), there is what is called ***"kirenikis"***—*kire-nikis* is made with thread from lattices' (Trad Decorations, line 20)

> It is unclear whether the latter *kəranəkəs* is part of the *ləšaḵḵa* (second) clause, as glossed here, because *ləšaḵḵa* does not require an explicit sub-ject. If *kəranəkəs* is part of the *lətbahal halla* (first) clause, the word can go untranslated and the gloss would be
>
> > 'in addition, there is what is called "kirenikis;" it is made with thread from lattices'
>
> See 6.6.2.1.1 for the substantival relative clause *kəranəkəs la-lətbahal* 'what is called "kirenikis" '.

This construction is different from *lətbahal* clauses elsewhere in the present corpus, where the named item only occurs before the verb. The use of this construction may be related to the fact that the "Traditional Decorations" text was elicited in the informants' hometown, in the presence of the speaker's family. See also 7.1.2 and 7.1.4 for an Arabic influence on phonetics that occurred exclusively in this text.

6.4.2   *Agreement in Gender, Number, and Person*

Agreement in gender, number, and person in a simple sentence is discussed in 6.1.2.

6.4.3   *Object Constructions in a Simple Sentence*

A direct object is usually unmarked.

(467) | ***'alal*** | ***'agal*** | ***samān*** | *fəğān* | *ṣabbəṭ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PLENTY | SUCH | 8 | CUP | ONE-SERVES |

'one serves ***plenty of such—eight cups***' (Making Coffee, line 4)

mənnā	***darağat***	*rakabna*
FROM-IT-F	GRADE	WE-FOUND

'from it we found out ***the grade***' (Ḥamid and I, line 7)

In a few instances, however, *ʾəgəl* marks a direct object.

(468) *ḥako-lā*   *ʾəglu*   *ʾatmamaw*   *ləššerab*
       AFTER   ACC-3MS   THEY-M-COMPLETED   IT-M-IS-WOVEN
       'after they have completed it, it is woven' (Trad Decorations, line 9)
          For the temporal clause in *ḥako-lā*, see 6.5.1.6. For *ʾəgəl* with the 3MS suffix,
          see 4.3.2 and 5.2.

       moḥammad   *ʾəgəl*   *ḥāməd*   *ʾakbarayo*
       P.N.   ACC   P.N.   HE-INFORMED-HIM
       'Mohammed informed Ḥamid'
          Note that *ʾəgəl* can possibly be translated 'to', if *ʾakbara* is rendered 'he gave
          information'.

       ḥətom   *ʾāməraw*   *mədarrəsna*   *ʾəgəlla*   *kam*   *fatta*
       THEY-M   THEY-M-KNOW   OUR-TEACHER   ACC-1CP   THAT   HE-LIKES
       'they know that their teacher likes them (lit., that our teacher likes us)'
          For *ʾəgəlla* < **ʾəgəlna*, see 5.2.

In a few cases both an explicit object and a verb with an object suffix occur. See
also a related phenomenon with prepositional phrases in 6.2.3.

(469) *kamsal* *ḥazekahu*   *ʾaškāl*   *taʾafaggərro*
       LIKE   YOU-MS-WANT-IT-M   PATTERNS   YOU-MS-STRETCH-IT-M
       'just as you want it you shape the patterns' (Trad Decorations, line 22)
          See 6.6.2.1.6 for the unmarked substantival relative *ḥazekahu* 'what you
          want it'.

       la-   *karton*   *ləʾakkā*   *dibye*
       DEF   CARTON   SEND-MS-IT-F   TO-ME
       'send the carton to me'

       ḳoraʾ   *man*   *təbəllā*   *ʾəb*   *təgrait*
       FROG   WHO?   YOU-MS-SAY-IT-F   IN   TIGRE
       'how do you say "frog" in Tigre?'

       la-   *kətbā*   *lakfayo*
       DEF   HER-BOOKS   HE-THREW-IT-M
       'he threw her books away'

6.4.4 *Conjunction*

Verbal clauses that are logically related are connected by a conjunction of coordination (cf. 5.3.1), which usually occurs between the clauses.

(470)   *ḥaḳo-lā ḳallet   dib   madagdag gabbiʾ   **wa-***
        AFTER IT-F-WAS-ROASTED INTO MORTAR   IT-F-GOES AND
        tədagdag
        IT-F-IS-CRUSHED
        'after it has been roasted, it goes in a mortar ***and*** is crushed'
        (Making Coffee, line 10)
            For the temporal clause in *ḥaḳo-lā*, see 6.5.1.6.

        *ʾəgəl la- ḥatta la- ʾəlli   dib   salas lətkaffal   **wa-***
        FOR DEF ONE-F DEF THIS-M INTO 3   IT-M-IS-DIVIDED AND
        dib   māy   ʾatta
        IN   WATER IT-M-IS-PLACED
        'each segment (lit. for this one) is divided into three parts ***and*** placed in water'
        (Trad Decorations, line 8)

        3) ***wa-**həta ṭabʿan ʾab bəzḥe ʿabbāy tom ləsattəwā la-ʿalaw badir
        ʾaza lākin ʾab naʾāyəš kamān dib təllammad gayəs hallet*
        4) ***fā** həta dib munasabāt ʾawra
        bəzuḥ tom ləsattəwā dib ʾakarā hədāy məsəl kam ʾakarā - ʿid*
            3) ***Now*** formerly only the eldest used to drink it,
            (Lit., Now concerning it (coffee), naturally among the most important were those who used to drink it, formerly,)
            but now among young people it is also becoming increasingly common.
            4) ***So***, as for it, on special occasions one has started the fire.
            Many people (i.e., young and old) drink it—at a festival, such as a wedding—like a celebration—ʿId.
            (Lit., Many are those who drink it . . .)
            (Coffee Ceremony)
                For *ʾaza lākin* 'but now', see (471) below. For morpheme glosses, see Appendix 1. See 6.6.3.1 for the cleft clauses in 3) *ləsattəwā la-ʿalaw* 'those who used to drink it' and 4) *ləsattəwā* 'those who drink it'.

There are a number of examples in which the word order is slightly different from that above.

    In a few instances, a sentence adverb or a subject noun precedes the conjunction. See also 6.2.4 and 6.4.1.2 for discussion of adverbs and word order.

(471) *ʾaza* *lākin* *ʾab*   *naʾāyəš*   *kamān dib*   *təllammad*
NOW   BUT   AMONG YOUNG-CP ALSO   WHILE IT-F-IS-COMMON
gayəs hallet
IT-F-IS-GOING
'*but now* among young people it is also becoming increasingly common'
(Coffee Ceremony, line 3)

bun   *ṭabʿan* *ʾət* *ardəna*   *ta*   *la-* *təzarraʾ*
COFFEE NOW   IN   OUR-COUNTRY COP-3FS REL IT-F-IS-GROWN
la- *ʿalat*
REL   IT-F-WAS
'*now, coffee* had been grown (only) in our country'
(Lit., 'now coffee is what had been grown in our country')
(Coffee Ceremony, line 11)
> For the marked cleft clause *ʾət ʾarədna la-təzarraʾ la-ʿalat* 'what had been
> grown in our country' see 6.6.3.1.1.

In one case, a subordinate clause precedes the conjunction.

(472) *ʾəgəl*   *ləwāslo*   *ya-* *ḥazzu-*   *n*   *lākin* *salas*
SO-THAT THEY-M-CONTINUE NEG THEY-M-WANT NEG BUT   3
baṭro
THEY-M-STOP
'*but if they don't want to continue*, they stop at three'
(Making Coffee, line 8)
> For the conditional clause *ʾəgəl ləwāslo ya-ḥazzu-n*, see (508).

In one example, opposition is expressed by *lākin* between the clauses and *wa-*
prefixed to the verb of the second clause.

(473) *ʾana šahi ʾəgəl*   *ʾəsta*   *ʾaḥazza* *lākin* *ḥače*   *bun*   *wa-*
I   TEA SO-THAT I-DRINK I-WANT BUT   MY-SISTER COFFEE —
təsta   *taḥazza*
SHE-DRINKS   SHE-WANTS
'I want to drink tea *but* my sister wants to drink coffee'

In its only attestation in the present corpus, the conjunction *-mā* 'but also' is
affixed to the noun in the prepositional phrase at the beginning of the second
clause.

(474) *bas*   *ʾikonini*   *ʾəgəl bəʿəd-*   **mā**   *la-*   *ʾənnaffəʿo*   *ʾəbbu*
       ONLY NEG-COP FOR OTHER BUT-ALSO REL WE-USE-IT-M AS-IT-M
       'not only (this), **but** we **also** use it as an article for other things'
       (Lit., not only (this), but also for other (things) (is) what we use it as it (an
       article))
       (Trad Decorations, line 15)
           For the marked cleft clause *la-ʾənnaffəʿo ʾəbbu* 'what we use it as it', see 6.6.3.1.1.

6.4.5   *Subjunctive and Optative Moods*[4]
6.4.5.1   Subjunctive Mood
The subjunctive mood is primarily expressed by forms of the verb *gabʾa* 'it
became, it happened'. There are four such forms in our corpus. See also the
conjunction 'if' PRF + *mən-gabbiʾ* in (410) and (505).

6.4.5.1.1   *mən-gabbiʾ* 'can, could'
mən-gabbiʾ 'can, could' (lit., 'if it happens, when it happens') occurs after the
sentence adverb *ʾaza* 'now' and before the subject *ʾəlli salas fəlḥat* 'these three
boils'.

(475) *ʾaza* **mən-** **gabbiʾ**   *ʾəlli*   *salas* *fəlḥat fallәḥ*   *həta*
       NOW   IF   IT-M-HAPPENS THIS-M 3   BOIL IT-F-BOILS IT-F
       salas   *fəlḥat*
       3   BOIL
       'now, it **can** boil these three times—three boils.' (Making Coffee, line 5)

mən-gabbiʾ also occurs in a sentence fragment in the "Making Coffee" text,
which employs an interview style of discourse. The speaker is restating the
interview question.

(476) *mən-* *mi*   *wa-* **mən-** **gabbiʾ**   *ṭabʿan*   *la-*   *bun*
       FROM WHAT AND WHEN IT-M-HAPPENS CONCERNING DEF COFFEE
       dib   *təḳalla*   *koskos*   *nasʾəlo*
       WHILE IT-F-IS-ROASTED ROASTING-EQUIPMENT QUESTION
       ʾəbbu   *koskos*
       ABOUT-IT-M   ROASTING-EQUIPMENT

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4 "Subjunctive" is here used in contrast to the indicative and imperative moods. It refers to
   expressions of uncertainty, vagueness, or doubt. This is different from the use of "subjunctive"
   in some Semitic grammars (esp. classical Arabic and, to a lesser extent, classical Ethiopic),
   where it indicates a particular verb form, *yaḳtul(a)*, one of the several uses of which is in
   expressions of uncertainty, vagueness, or doubt.

'From what (materials/processes is it) when it happens concerning coffee while it is roasted? Roasting equipment—the question is about roasting equipment.' (Making Coffee, line 9)

6.4.5.1.2   *ləgba' 'possibly'*

ləgba' 'possibly' (Lit., 'it might be'; cf. 4.5.3 and (343)) occurs twice between modified nouns in a noun phrase. In one case the noun phrase (*bāni 'aw ḳəčā* 'bread or kicha') is the object of a preposition. In the other case the noun phrase (*fəyori wa-bə'əd-mā* 'flowers and also other things') is the object of the verb.

(477)   *kam   bāni   **ləgba'**   'aw   ḳəčā*
        LIKE   BREAD   IT-M-MIGHT-BE   OR   KICHA
        'like bread ***possibly*** or kicha' (Making Coffee, line 18)

        *kəmsal   'əgəl   ḥazaw   fəyori   **ləgba'**   wa-   bə'əd-*
        LIKE   ACC   THEY-M-WANT   FLOWER   POSSIBLY   AND   OTHER
        mā   'əgəl   ləsawərrā   ḳadra
        ALSO   —   ONE-M-COVERS-IT-F   ONE-M-IS-ABLE
        'one is able to cover it with what they want, like a flower ***possibly*** and also other things' (Trad Decorations, line 19)

6.4.5.1.3   *la-gabbi' 'perhaps' (Lit., 'that which happens')*

(478)   *ḥarirat   mən   ḥarir   **la-   gabbi'**   la-   čarəḳ   bə'əd*
        HERIRET   FROM   SILK   REL   IT-M-HAPPENS   DEF   CLOTH   OTHER
        'əšām   wa-   ra'aš   wa-   gala   lətbahal halla
        BEADS   AND   SEQUIN   AND   SUCH   IT-M-IS-BEING-CALLED
        'heriret (is) from silk, or ***perhaps*** another fabric, with beads, sequins, and what are called such' (Trad Decorations, line 17)
        See 6.6.2.1.7 for unmarked substantival relative clauses such as *gala lətbahal halla* 'what are called such'.

6.4.5.1.4   *gabbi' 'could'*

(479)   *suḳ   baya   kam   halla   wa-   ḥabbarkanni   **gabbi'***
        MARKET   WHERE?   THAT   IT-M-EXISTS   —   YOU-MS-TELL-ME   COULD
        '***could*** you tell me where the market is?'
        Declarative object clauses such as *suḳ baya kam halla* are discussed in 6.5.3. Note that the main clause, *ḥabbarkanni gabbi'*, is marked with *wa-*, which is not translated.

6.4.5.2   Additional Expressions of Subjunctive Mood

Subjunctive mood is also expressed in the complementary verbal construction *ʾəgəl* + JUSSIVE (purpose clause, cf. 4.6.6).

(480) *ʾəgəl*   ***ləstaw***   *ḳərubām*   *hallaw*
        SO-THAT   ***THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK***   GATHERED-MP   THEY-M-ARE
        'they are gathered in order to drink' (Making Coffee, line 2)

The verbal construction JUSSIVE + NEG JUSSIVE also expresses subjunctive mood.

(481) *hətu* ***ligis***   *ʾi-*   ***ligis***   *dibā*   *ʾəlli*
        HE   ***HE-MIGHT-GO***   NEG   ***HE-MIGHT-GO***   TO-IT-F   THIS-M
        ʾəgəl laṣrayo tu
        HE-WILL-CLEAN-IT-M
        'whether he goes to it (the store) or not, he will clean it (the house)'

6.4.5.3   Optative Mood

The optative mood is expressed by two means in our corpus: the complementary verbal construction *ʾəgəl* + JUSSIVE + *laḥazza / ḥaza* 'want to do' (cf. 4.6.7) and the adverb *ลətgabbaʾanni* 'hoping' (Lit., 'may it come to pass for me', cf. (343)), which occurs once, immediately after *ʾəgəl* + JUSSIVE.

(482) *ʾəwān*   *ʾana* *ʾəgəl*   *ʾəskab*   *ḥazeko*   *hətu* *ʾəgəl*
        WHILE   I   SO-THAT   I-MIGHT-SLEEP   I-WANTED   HE   TO
        raydəyo   *sammə'ʿala*
        RADIO   HE-WAS-LISTENING
        'while ***I wanted to sleep***, he was listening to the radio'

        wa-   *ḥaḳo-hā*   *ʾana* *ʾəgəl*   *ʾəwāsəl*   ***ลətgabbaʾanni***
        AND   AFTERWARDS   I   SO-THAT   I-MIGHT-CONTINUE   HOPING
        yə-   *wāsalko-*   *n*
        NEG   I-CONTINUED   NEG
        'then, ***hoping that I could resume*** (later), I did not continue'
        (Ḥamid and I, line 9)

6.5   Subordinate Clauses

In the present work, a complex sentence is defined as a verbal clause in which there is a subordinate clause or a relative clause. The syntax of relative clauses

is treated in 6.6. The word orders and verb uses attested are not definitive, because subordinate clauses are only attested in limited numbers in our corpus and because grammaticality judgments were not elicited.

6.5.1 *Temporal Clauses* (*cf. 5.3.2.1*)

In a temporal clause the conjunction usually occurs at the beginning of the clause or immediately before the verb of that clause. The main clause is unmarked.

6.5.1.1   *ʾasək* + IPRF 'until'

In *ʾasək* + IPRF 'until', the conjunction occurs at the beginning of the clause. The subordinate clause is attested both before the main clause and after the main clause.

> {*ʾasək* + OBJECT + IMPERFECT }+ MAIN CLAUSE
> or
> MAIN CLAUSE + {*ʾasək* + OBJECT + IMPERFECT }

(483)   **ʾasək**   walat   gərrəm   rakkəb
       UNTIL   GIRL   BEAUTIFUL-FS   YOU-MS-FIND
       ʾəgəl təhāda ʾikon
       YOU-MS-WILL-NOT-GET-MARRIED
       '***until*** you find a beautiful girl you will not get married'
          For the negative future tense expression *ʾəgəl təhāda ʾikon*, see also (142).

       kālʾāyt   *wəḳat tətakka*   *salas wəḳat* **ʾasək**   *salas*
       SECOND-F   TIME   IT-F-IS-PUT-OVER-A-FIRE 3   TIME   UNTIL   3
       wəḳat   təsatta
       TIME   IT-F-IS-DRUNK
       'a second time it is boiled, and a third, ***until*** it is drunk three times.'
       (Coffee Ceremony, line 7)

6.5.1.2   *ʾənda* + PRF 'after'; + IPRF 'while'

In *ʾənda* + PRF 'after'; + IPRF 'while', the conjunction occurs immediately before the verb of the subordinate clause, which always precedes the main clause.

> { SUBJECT/OBJECT + *ʾənda* + PERFECT/IMPERFECT }+ MAIN CLAUSE

(484) *zanğabil* *ʾənda* *gabʾat*   *dib* *ğabanat*   *tətballas*
GINGER   AFTER   IT-F-WENT IN   COFFEE-BOTTLE   IT-F-IS-TURNED
'***after*** ginger ***has gone*** in, it is stirred in the coffee bottle'
(Making Coffee, line 11)

    ʾəllan   *dib* *ḥəd*   *ʾənda*   *laṭṭamayā*   *səs*   *tan*
THESE-F   TOGETHER AFTER THEY-F-WERE-THREADED   6   COP-3FP
dib *ḥəd*   *ləlaṭṭamā*
TOGETHER   THEY-F-ARE-THREADED
'***after*** these (lattices) have been stitched, six of them are bound together'
(Trad Decorations, line 21)

    zəlām *ʾənda*   *ʾi-*   *zzaləm*   *la-* *ʾarəd* *yābəs*   *ʿala*
RAIN   WHILE   NEG   IT-M-RAINS   DEF   LAND   DRY-MS   IT-M-WAS
'***while*** it has not been raining, the land has been dry'
    For the NEG IPRF *ʾi-zzaləm* (rather than expected **ʾi-zalləm), see (310).

6.5.1.3 *ʾəwān* + IPRF 'when'; + PRF 'while'

ʾəwān + IPRF 'when'; + PRF 'while' is attested immediately before the verb and in clause-initial position. The subordinate clause always precedes the main clause.

    { SUBJECT + *ʾəwān* + IMPERFECT }+ MAIN CLAUSE
    or
    {*ʾəwān* + SUBJECT/OBJECT + PERFECT/IMPERFECT }+ MAIN CLAUSE

(485) *la-* *ḥatta* *la-* *ğabanat*   *ʾəwān*   *tətakka*...
DEF   ONE-F   DEF   COFFEE-BOTTLE   WHEN   IT-F-IS-PUT-OVER-A-FIRE
ḥatta   *wəḵat* *ḥatta*   *təsatta*
ONE-F   TIME   ONE-F   IT-F-IS-DRUNK
'first, ***when*** the coffee bottle is brought to a boil . . . it is drunk one time—once' (Coffee Ceremony, line 6)
    For *la-ḥatta* 'first', cf. (130).

    ʾəwān *la-* *kaləbka*   *ṣallim*   *rakkəb*   *ʾagəd*
WHEN   DEF   YOUR-MS-DOG   BLACK-MS   YOU-MS-FIND   IMMEDIATELY
ləʾakko   *dibye*
SEND-MS-HIM   TO-ME
'***when*** you find your black dog, immediately send him to me'

ʾəwān   *ʾana*   *ʾgəl*   *ʾəskab*   *ḥazeko*   *hətu*   *ʾgəl*
WHILE   I   SO-THAT   I-MIGHT-SLEEP   I-WANTED   HE   TO
raydəyo   *sammə‘*   *‘ala*
RADIO   HE-WAS-LISTENING
'**while** I wanted to sleep, he was listening to the radio'

6.5.1.4   *dib* + IPRF 'while'

dib + IPRF 'while' occurs twice in our corpus. In one instance it is in the idiomatic expression *dib* + IPRF + *gayəs halla* 'to become increasingly X'. The original temporal clause, *dib* + IPRF, precedes the original main clause, *gayəs halla* 'it is going'. *dib* also occurs in the "Making Coffee" text, where a question is restated. No main clause is present. In neither case is an explicit subject or object part of the construction.

{*dib* + IMPERFECT} (+ MAIN CLAUSE)

(486)   *ʾaza*   *lākin*   *ʾab*   *na'āyəš*   *kamān*   **dib**   *təllammad*
         NOW   BUT   AMONG   YOUNG-CP   ALSO   **WHILE**   IT-F-IS-COMMON
         gayəs hallet
         IT-F-IS-GOING
         'but now among young people it is also becoming increasingly common'
         (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)

         mən-   *mi*   *wa-*   *mən-*   *gabbiʾ*   *ṭab‘an*   *la-*   *bun*
         FROM   WHAT   AND   WHEN   IT-M-HAPPENS   CONCERNING   DEF   COFFEE
         dib   *təḳalla*   *koskos*   *nas'əlo*
         WHILE   IT-F-IS-ROASTED   ROASTING-EQUIPMENT   QUESTION
         ʾəbbu   *koskos*
         ABOUT-IT-M   ROASTING-EQUIPMENT
         'From what (materials/processes is it) when it happens concerning coffee **while** it is roasted? Roasting equipment—the question is about roasting equipment.' (Making Coffee, line 9)

6.5.1.5   *dib ʾəntu* 'while'

In its only occurrence, *dib ʾəntu* 'while' occurs before the copula. The subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

{ OBJECT + *dib ʾəntu* + COPULA }+ MAIN CLAUSE

(487)   *sakšan*   *ʿasər wa-*   *səs*   ***dib ʾəntu*** *tu*   *ʾana sakšan*   *ʾəšrin*
        SECTION 10   AND SIX WHILE COP-3MS I   SECTION 20
        wa-   *sabʿa*   *ʾana*
        AND   SEVEN   COP-1CS
        '***while*** he is in section 16, I am in section 27' (Ḥamid and I, line 12)

6.5.1.6   *ḥaḳo-lā* + PRF 'after'

In *ḥaḳo-lā* + PRF 'after', the conjunction occurs at the beginning of the clause.
The subordinate clause always precedes the main clause.

> {*ḥaḳo-lā* + SUBJECT/OBJECT + PERFECT }+ MAIN CLAUSE

(488)   ***ḥaḳo-la*** *ʾāsrāy* *başhana*   *dib gənda ʿ* *ʾənsar*   *ʾasmarā*
        AFTER   TENTH WE-REACHED IN   PL.N.   TO-HERE PL.N.
        maṣʾana   *dib*   *ʾasmarā*
        WE-CAME   INTO   PL.N.
        '***after*** we reached tenth (grade) in Ginda ʿ, we came here to Asmara—into
        Asmara' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

        ḥaḳo-lā *māy*   *gaʾa*   *dibā*   *dib ʾəsāt gabbiʾ*
        AFTER   WATER IT-M-WENT   INTO-IT-F   ON   FIRE IT-F-GOES
        '***after*** water has gone into it, it goes on the fire' (Making Coffee, line 13)

In a few instances, a sentence adverb occurs before *ḥaḳo-lā*.

(489)   ***ʾaza*** ***ḥaḳo-lā*** *ʾəgəlu*   *başha*   *mən*   *gabbiʾ*
        NOW AFTER ACC-MS IT-M-REACHED WHEN IT-M-HAPPENS
        ləssabbak̬
        IT-M-IS-DYED
        '***now***, ***after*** it has reached this point, when it happens, it is dyed'
        (Trad Decorations, line 8)

6.5.1.7   *kam* 'after'

In its only occurrence, *kam* 'after' occurs immediately before the perfect. The
subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

> { SUBJECT + *kam* + PERFECT }+ MAIN CLAUSE

(490) *ḥako*   *ʾəsāt* **kam** *falḥat*   *tətkarra*
       AFTERWARDS FIRE AFTER IT-F-OVERFLOWED IT-F-IS-REPEATED
       'afterwards, when (lit., ***after***) the fire has fully heated, it is repeated'
       (Making Coffee, line 13)

6.5.1.8   Verb Usage
The verb forms used in temporal clauses correspond to the aspectual sense of
the conjunction and the contexts attested in the present corpus.
    The perfect, which expresses completed action (cf. 4.5.1), is used with the
following conjunctions, in contexts that indicate completed action: *ḥako-lā*
'after', *ʾənda* 'after', and *kam* 'after'.

(491) **ḥako-lā** *ḳallet*   *dib*   *madagdag* *gabbiʾ*   *wa-*
       AFTER IT-F-WAS-ROASTED INTO MORTAR   IT-F-GOES AND
       tədagdag
       IT-F-IS-CRUSHED
       '***after it has been roasted***, it goes in a mortar and is crushed'
       (Making Coffee, line 10)

       zanğabil **ʾənda** **gabʾat**   *dib* *ğabanat*   *tətballas*
       GINGER   AFTER IT-F-WENT IN   COFFEE-BOTTLE IT-F-IS-TURNED
       '***after*** ginger ***has gone*** in, it is stirred in the coffee bottle'
       (Making Coffee, line 11)

       ḥako   *ʾəsāt* **kam** **falḥat**   *tətkarra*
       AFTERWARDS   FIRE AFTER IT-F-OVERFLOWED IT-F-IS-REPEATED
       'afterwards, after the fire ***has fully heated***, it is repeated'
       (Making Coffee, line 13)

The imperfect is used with conjunctions that indicate continuing or future
action: *ʾasək* 'until', *ʾənda* 'while', *ʾəwān* 'when, while', and *dib* 'while'.

(492) **ʾasək**   *walat* *gərrəm*   **rakkəb**
       UNTIL   GIRL   BEAUTIFUL-FS YOU-MS-FIND
       ʾəgəl təhāda ʾikon
       YOU-MS-WILL-NOT-GET-MARRIED
       '***until you find*** a beautiful girl you will not get married'

ʾənda	*tətk̲arrab*	*məslā*	*la-*	*gabbiʾ*	*našāṭāt*
WHILE	IT-F-IS-SERVED	WITH-IT-F	REL	IT-M-HAPPENS	ACTIVITIES

mən-	*halla*
WHETHER	THERE-M-IS

'whether there are any activities that occur with it, *while* coffee *is served*'
(Making Coffee, line 15)

ʾəwān	*la-*	*kaləbka*	*ṣallim*	*rakkəb*	*ʾagəd*
WHEN	DEF	YOUR-MS-DOG	BLACK-MS	YOU-MS-FIND	IMMEDIATELY

ləʾəkko	*dibye*
SEND-MS-HIM	TO-ME

'*when you find* your black dog, immediately send him to me'

mən-	*mi*	*wa-*	*mən-*	*gabbiʾ*	*ṭabʿan*	*la-*
FROM	WHAT	AND	WHEN	IT-M-HAPPENS	CONCERNING	DEF

bun	*dib*	*tək̲alla*
COFFEE	WHILE	IT-F-IS-ROASTED

'From what (materials/processes is it) when it happens concerning coffee
while it is roasted?' (Making Coffee, line 9)

In one instance *ʾəwān* 'while' occurs with the perfect of *ḥaza* 'want' to express
continuous past action. Note that the perfect of intransitive verbs is not
restricted to completed action (cf. 4.5.1).

(493)	*ʾəwān*	*ʾana*	*ʾəgəl*	*ʾəskab*	*ḥazeko*	*hətu*	*ʾəgəl*
	WHILE	I	SO-THAT	I-MIGHT-SLEEP	I-WANTED	HE	TO

raydəyo	*samməʿ*	*ʿala*
RADIO	HE-WAS-LISTENING

'*while I wanted* to sleep, he was listening to the radio'

The copula is used with *dib ʾəntu* 'while'. Note that the copula is not restricted
with respect to tense (cf. 4.1).

(494)	*sakšan*	*ʿasər*	*wa-*	*səs*	*dib*	*ʾəntu*	*tu*	*ʾana*	*sakšan*	*ʾəšrin*
	SECTION	10	AND	SIX	WHILE	COP-3MS		I	SECTION	20

wa-	*sabʿa*	*ʾana*
AND	SEVEN	COP-1CS

'*while he is* in section 16, I am in section 27' (Ḥamid and I, line 12)

6.5.1.9   Sequential Action

In one instance *ḥaḳo-lā* + PRF 'after' is used where a sequence of actions is expressed. This construction differs from that documented elsewhere in Tigre.[5]

> { *ḥaḳo-lā* + {NOMINAL CLAUSE 1} + {NOMINAL CLAUSE 2} + PERFECT }
> + MAIN CLAUSE

(495)   ***ḥaḳo-lā*** *ʾəglu   šerrābā   tu   la-   ḥabbārna   tu*
         AFTER   ACC-3MS   WEAVING   COP-3MS   DEF   OUR-COLORING   COP-3MS
         ʾasbaḳayo   lətfanātā   tu
         HE-DYED-IT-M   IT-M-IS-SEPARATED   COP-3MS
         '***after*** one has woven, colored, and dyed it, it is separated'
         (Trad Decorations, line 10)
>   For the unmarked cleft clause expression *lətfanātā tu* 'it is separated', see
>   6.6.3.1.3.

The nominal clauses employ the verbal nouns *šerrābā* 'weaving' and *ḥabbār* 'coloring' (cf. 3.12.2.2), each with a copula, and the perfect verb *ʾasbaḳayo* 'he dyed it' expresses the last action of the sequence.

6.5.2   *Cause and Result Clauses* (*cf. 5.3.2.2*)

In a subordinate clause in which cause or result is expressed, the conjunction in one case occurs at the beginning of the clause and in two cases occurs immediately before the verb of that clause. The main clause is unmarked.

6.5.2.1   *ʾəgəl-mi* 'because'

ʾəgəl-mi 'because' is attested once, with a participial construction, and occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause, which follows the main clause.

> MAIN CLAUSE + {*ʾəgəl-mi* + OBJECT + PARTICIPLE }

(496)   *ʾal-məhəm   nay   ḥatta   sanat   dawrat   nay   ʾənǧəlizi*
         REQUIREMENT   GEN   ONE-F   YEAR   COURSE   GEN   ENGLISH
         *təhayabattanna   **ʾəgəl-mi**   ʾab   ʿarabi   dārəsām   ḥəna*
         IT-F-WAS-GIVEN-TO-US   BECAUSE   IN   ARABIC   STUDYING-MP   COP-1CP
         'a one year required course in English was given to us ***because*** we had been
         studying in Arabic' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

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5   Leslau ("Verb," p. 6) documents *ʾəndo* + PRF for the gerundive and for concomitance.

6.5.2.2   *mən* + PRF 'since'

mən + PRF 'since' is attested once, and *mən* occurs immediately before the
verb. The subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

{ SUBJECT + *mən* + PERFECT }+ MAIN CLAUSE

(497)   *hətu*   **mən**   *ʾi-*   *ra'ā*   *la-*   *kətbā*   *lakfayo*
     HE   SINCE   NEG   HE-SAW   DEF   HER-BOOKS   HE-THREW-IT-M
     'without seeing (her), he threw her books away'
     (Lit., '*since* he didn't see her, he threw her books away')

6.5.2.3   *sabbat* + PRF 'because'

sabbat + PRF 'because' is attested twice. In both instances the conjunction
occurs immediately before the verb. In one case the subordinate clause pre-
cedes the main clause, and in the other case it follows the main clause.

{ OBJECT + *sabbat* + PERFECT }+ MAIN CLAUSE
or
MAIN CLAUSE + { OBJECT + *sabbat* + PERFECT }

(498)   *hətom*   *ʾənda*   *ʾatarradaw*   *darsom*   **sabbat**
     THEY-M WHILE THEY-M-STRENGTHENED THEIR-M-LESSON   BECAUSE
     hafzaw   *ʾəttā*   *ʾəmtəḥānom*   *ʾəgəl*
     THEY-M-PREPARED   IN-IT-F   THEIR-M-EXAMINATION   ——
     laḥalləfo   *ḳadraw*
     THEY-M-PASS   THEY-M-WERE-ABLE
     '*because* they studied their lesson hard, they were able to pass their
     examination'

     ʾana *fasəl* *yə-*   *gisko-*   *nni*   *ḥəmum*   **sabbat**   *ʿalko*
     I   CLASS   NEG   I-WENT   NEG   SICK-MS   BECAUSE   I-WAS
     'I didn't go to class *because* I was sick'

6.5.2.4   Verb Usage

Since there are only a few cause and result clauses attested in the present cor-
pus, the full range of verb forms used is likely not represented.

    Both *sabbat* 'because' and *mən* 'since' occur with the perfect.

(499)   *hətom . . . sabbat hafzaw* '*because* they *studied*'
     ḥəmum sabbat ʿalko '*because I was* sick'
     hətu mən ʾi-ra'ā 'without seeing (her)' (lit., '*since* he *did not see* (her)')

ʾəgəl-mi 'because' occurs with a participial construction (cf. 5.3.2.2).

(500)   *ʾəgəl-mi ʾab ʿarabi dārəsām ḥəna*
          '**because we had been studying** in Arabic' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)

6.5.3   *Declarative Object Clauses (cf. 5.3.2.3)*

kam 'that' is the subordinate conjunction of declaration, and there are only two attestations of it in the present corpus. In both instances *kam* occurs immediately before the verb of the subordinate clause. In one case the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, which is marked with *wa-*, and in the other case it follows the main clause, which is unmarked.

> { SUBJECT + *kam* + VERB } + *wa-* + MAIN CLAUSE
> or
> MAIN CLAUSE + { SUBJECT + *kam* + VERB }

(501)   *suḳ   baya   **kam**   halla   wa- ḥabbarkanni   gabbiʾ*
          MARKET   WHERE?   ***THAT***   IT-M-EXISTS —   YOU-MS-TELL-ME   COULD
          'could you tell me where the market is?'

          *ḥətom   ʾāməraw   la-   mədarrəs   **kam**   ḥazzayom*
          THEY-M   THEY-M-KNOW   DEF TEACHER   THAT   HE-LIKES-THEM-M
          'they know ***that*** the teacher wants them'

The limited attestations of declaration clauses likely obscure the range of verb forms used. *kam* occurs with the verb of existence *halla* and with the perfect.

(502)   *suḳ baya **kam halla*** 'where the market **is**'
          *la-mədarrəs **kam** ḥazzayom* '***that*** the teacher **wants** them'

6.5.4   *Purpose Clauses (cf. 5.3.2.4)*

ʾəgəl + JUSSIVE 'so that'; + NEG JUSSIVE 'lest' are used for purpose clauses. *ʾəgəl* always occurs immediately before the jussive, and the purpose clause always occurs immediately before the governing verb.

> { *ʾəgəl* + JUSSIVE } + GOVERNING VERB

In one case, a purpose clause occurs within the relative clause that governs it. The governing verbal form is the participle *gəssuyām* 'sitting', which is used substantivally.

(503) la-   ǧamāʿat   la- dibu   ʾəgəl   ləstaw
       DEF/REL GATHERING REL IN-IT-M SO-THAT THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK
       la- gəssuyām   hallaw
       REL SITTING-MP THERE-M-ARE
       'those who are sitting in the gathering *in order* to drink'
       (Making Coffee, line 2)

> The subordinate clause is *ʾəgəl ləstaw* 'so that they may drink', while the modifying relative clause is *la-ǧamāʿat la-dibu . . . la-gəssuyām hallaw* 'those who are sitting in the gathering' (cf. 6.6.1.1.2).

In two cases, the subordinate clause precedes the governing clause, which consists only of a verb.

(504) kam   fəǧān sattu   mənnā . . .   ʾəgəl
       HOW-MANY? CUP   THEY-M-DRINK FROM-IT-F   SO-THAT
       ləstaw   ḳərubām   hallaw
       THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK GATHERED-MP THERE-M-ARE
       'how many cups do . . . those who are gathered *in order* to drink . . . drink from it?' (Making Coffee, line 2)

> Here the governing clause is the unmarked substantival relative *ḳərubām hallaw* 'those who are gathered' (cf. 6.6.2.1.6).

mankinače ʾəgəl   ʾi-   təzāwər   farhako
MY-CAR   SO-THAT NEG SHE-MIGHT-DRIVE I-AM-AFRAID
'I am afraid lest she drive my car'

> Here the governing clause is *farhako* 'I am afraid'.

6.5.5 *Conditional Clauses* (*cf. 5.3.2.5*)
There are four types of conditional clause.

6.5.5.1   Real Condition with Dependent Consequence—'if'
This is the most frequently attested type of conditional clause in the present corpus. In each case the apodosis is not marked. In the protasis the subordinate conjunction occurs next to the verb.

– PRF + *mən-gabbiʾ* 'if'

   { SUBJECT + OBJECT + PERFECT + *mən-gabbiʾ* } + APODOSIS

(505)   *ʾəgəl   ləwāslo   ḥazaw*
        SO-THAT   THEY-M-MIGHT-CONTINUE   THEY-M-WANT
        mən-gabbiʾ   *wāslo*
        IF   IT-M-HAPPENS   THEY-M-CONTINUE
        '**if** they want to continue, they continue'
        (Making Coffee, line 7)

        *ʿabi   mənnom   halla   **mən-gabbiʾ**   ʿabi*
        BIG-MS   AMONG-THEM-M   THERE-M-IS   IF   IT-M-HAPPENS   BIG-MS
        məslu   ʿəmbobā   gabbiʾ
        WITH-IT-M   POPCORN   IT-M-HAPPENS
        '**if** there is an elder among them, popcorn goes with it'
        (Making Coffee, line 19)

–   *mən* + IPRF 'if'

   APODOSIS + { *mən* + IMPERFECT + OBJECT }

(506)   *ləṭfanātā   tu   **mən-** ləṭbahal   samayāwi*
        IT-M-IS-SEPARATED   COP-3MS   IF   IT-M-IS-CALLED   BLUE
        linat   ḳayyāḥ   wa-   ʾarəyšoni   wa-   ʾaḥdar
        LIGHT   RED-FS   OR   ORANGE   OR   GREEN
        'it is separated **if** it is called light blue, red, orange, or brown'
        (Trad Decorations, line 11)
            Note that the apodosis is the unmarked cleft clause *ləṭfanātā* 'what is sepa-
            rated', for which see 6.6.3.1.3.

–   *ḥaḵo* + PRF 'if'

   { OBJECT + *ḥaḵo* + PERFECT } + APODOSIS

(507)   *may   **ḥaḵo**   ʾalabka   šāhi   kəfo   wadda*
        WATER   IF   YOU-MS-DO-NOT-HAVE   TEA   HOW?   YOU-MS-MAKE
        '**if** you don't have water, how do you make tea?'

–   Unmarked protasis

In one case the protasis is not marked; rather, the coordinating conjunction
lākin 'but' is present. The conditional sense may be provided by PRF + *mən-gabbiʾ* 'if', which occurs in the preceding sentence (cf. (505) above).

(508)   *ʾəgəl*   *ləwāslo*   *ḥazaw*
          SO-THAT   THEY-M-MIGHT-CONTINUE   THEY-M-WANT

          mən-gabbiʾ   *wāslo*   *ʾəgəl*
          IF   IT-M-HAPPENS   THEY-M-CONTINUE   SO-THAT

          ləwāslo   *ya-*   *ḥazzu-*   *n*   ***lākin***   *salas*
          THEY-M-MIGHT CONTINUE   NEG   THEY-M-WANT   NEG   BUT   3

          baṭro
          THEY-M-STOP

          'if they want to continue, they continue; ***but if*** they don't want to continue,
          they stop at three' (Making Coffee, lines 7–8)

6.5.5.2   Real Condition with Independent Consequence—'whether or not'
Two examples of this kind of clause are attested in the present corpus. Both
juxtapose an affirmative with a negative of the jussive (cf. 6.4.5.2) or impera-
tive. The protasis is not marked in either case.

> { SUBJECT/OBJECT + SUBJUNCTIVE/IMPERATIVE (+ *wa-*) + NEG
> SUBJUNCTIVE/IMPERATIVE } + APODOSIS

(509)   *hətu*   ***ligis***   *ʾi-*   ***ligis***   *dibā*   *ʾəlli*
          HE   HE-MIGHT-GO   NEG   HE-MIGHT-GO   TO-IT-F   THIS-M
          ʾəgəl laṣrayo tu
          HE-WILL-CLEAN-IT-M
          '***whether he goes*** to it (the store) ***or not***, he will clean it (the house)'

          ʾasək   *la-*   *maḥzan*   ***gis***   *wa-*   *ʾi-*   ***tigis***   *la-*   *bet*
          UP-TO   DEF   STORE   GO-MS   OR   NEG   YOU-MS-GO   DEF   HOUSE
          ʾəgəl tənḥayyā bəka
          YOU-MS-MUST-CLEAN-IT-F
          '***whether you go*** to the store ***or not***, you must clean the house'

6.5.5.3   Real Condition with no Consequence—'whether'
In the "Making Coffee" text, *mən-halla* 'whether there is' is used to rephrase a
question. In both cases *mən-halla* is clause-final and the protasis, as it were,
stands alone.

> { PREDICATE + *mən-halla* }

(510) *la-* *suʾāl*   *mən-* *ləbəl*   *ṭabʿan*   *la-* *ğabanat*
DEF QUESTION FROM HE-SAYS CONCERNING DEF COFFEE-BOTTLE

ʾənda *tətḳarrab*   *məslā* *la-* *gabbiʾ*   *našāṭāt*
WHILE IT-F-IS-SERVED WITH-IT-F REL IT-M-HAPPENS ACTIVITIES

mən-   **halla**
WHETHER THERE-M-IS

'the question from what he says concerns the coffee bottle: **whether there are**
any activities that occur with it (coffee), while it is served'
(Making Coffee, line 15)
     See 6.6.1.1 for the modifying relative clause *məslā la-gabbiʾ* 'that occur with it'.

məslā   *la-* *gayəs*   **mən-**   **halla**   *la-* *ləbəl*
WITH-IT-F REL IT-M-GOES WHETHER THERE-M-IS REL HE-SAYS

tu   *la-* *suʾāl*
COP-3MS DEF QUESTION

'the question that he asks is **whether there is** something that goes with it'
(Making Coffee, line 16)
     See 6.6.2.1.1 for the marked substantival relative clause *məslā la-gayəs*
     'something that goes with it'.

6.5.5.4   Unreal Condition—'if'

One example of this type of clause was elicited. The perfect is used in both the
protasis, which is not marked, and the apodosis, which is marked by *wa-*.

     { SUBJECT + OBJECT + PERFECT } + *wa-* + PERFECT

(511) *ḥarmāz*   *danābbər* *wa-* *ṣanḥaʾəlu* **wa-** *barra*
ELEPHANT WINGS   AND IT-M-HAD   —   HE-FLEW
'if an elephant had wings, he could fly'

6.6   Relative Clauses

At least two types of relative clause are attested in the present corpus: modi-
fying and substantival. Arguably, the use of *la-* in cleft sentences (cf. 6.6.3
below) marks a relative clause as well. Such a clause is called a cleft clause in
the present work. Markedness, word order within the relative clause, and word
order of elements surrounding the relative clause are discussed for each type.
Throughout this section the relative clause will be indicated by **a font both
bold and italic** and its antecedent by an arrow.

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(512)   *təgra* **la-** **bazḥat**   *ḳawməyat*   *ta*   *dib* *gənda'*
           P.N.   REL   IT-F-IS-NUMEROUS   ETHNIC-GROUP   COP-3FS   IN   PL.N.
           'Tigre is ***the most common*** ethnic group in Ginda'' (Ginda', line 3)

A relative clause within a relative clause (such as below, line 1 of the "Ginda'" text) will be indicated by <u>single</u> <u>underlines</u>.

6.6.1 *Modifying Relative Clauses*

A modifying relative clause modifies a noun, as in (512) above. This is the least frequently encountered type of relative clause in the present corpus. Except for one instance, modifying relative clauses in the present corpus are restrictive, i.e., the relative clause provides indispensable information about the noun that it modifies.

6.6.1.1   Markedness

In most instances, the verb in a modifying relative clause is marked with *la-* (cf. 3.7), as in (512) above *la-bazḥat*.

(513)   **məslā**   **la-** **gabbi'**   *našāṭāt*
           WITH-IT-F   REL   IT-M/F-HAPPENS   ACTIVITIES
           'activities ***that occur with it***' (Making Coffee, line 15)
               For SG number agreement for external plural nouns such as *našāṭāt*, see (436).

       wa-   *dib* *gəblat* *dabər*   **la-** **'abā**   *dabər*   *bağan*
       AND   IN   SOUTH   MOUNTAIN   REL   IT-M-IS-TALL   MOUNTAIN   PL.N.
       'in the south—a mountain ***that is the tallest*** mountain, Beğen' (Ginda', line 7)
               The antecedent is ambiguous between the two occurrences of *dabər*. The first *dabər* is taken as the antecedent here, consistent with the word order NOUN + MODIFIER in 6.1.1. See also (522) below.

       mən   <u>*kalimət* *gənda'a* *lətbahal*</u>   *'əčay*   **mənnu**   **la-**
       FROM   BUSH   P.N.   IT-M-IS-CALLED   WOOD   FROM-IT-M   REL
       maṣ'at
       IT-F-COMES
       'from wood ***that comes from*** <u>what is called the ginda'a bush</u>' (Ginda', line 1)

The modifying relative clause is *mənnu la-maṣʾat* 'that comes from it'. Note also the unmarked substantival relative clause *kalimat gəndaʿa lətbahal* 'what is called the gindaʿa bush', the antecedent of which is the preposition *mənnu*. The substantival relative clause is discussed in 6.6.2 below.

ʾəgəl	*ğām'at*	*la-*	*naḥalləf*	*ʾəbbā*	*ğām'at*
INTO	COLLEGE	REL	WE-PASS	BECAUSE-OF-IT-F	UNIVERSITY

ḥalafna
WE-PASSED

'we had passed to university—into our designated college (lit. into the college ***that we would pass because of it*** (***the examination grade***))'
(Ḥamid and I, line 7)

    The antecedent is ambiguous between the two occurrences of *ğām'at*. The first *ğām'at* is taken as the antecedent here, consistent with the word order NOUN + MODIFIER in 6.1.1. See also (522) below.

bəna	*ʾikon*	_məsəl_	_la-_	*gayəs*	*la-*	*ḥəbur*
WE-HAVE	NOT	TOGETHER	REL	IT-M-GOES	DEF/REL	MIXED-MS

tu	*kəmsal*	*ʾakarā*
COP-3MS	LIKE	CELEBRATION

'we do not have ***what is a combination*** that goes together ***like a*** (***coffee***) ***celebration***' (Coffee Ceremony, line 9)

    The modifying relative clause is *məsəl la-gayəs* 'that goes together'. Its antecedent, *ḥəbur*, is part of the substantival relative clause *la-ḥəbur tu kəmsal ʾakarā* 'what is a combination like a (coffee) celebration', which is discussed below in 6.6.2.

6.6.1.1.1   *Marked Preposition*
Where the relative clause is comprised of a prepositional phrase (translated with the copula 'is'), the preposition is marked with *la-*.

(514) | *ṭab'an* | *la-* | *ğabanat* | *ʾaw* | *botəl* | *la-* | *ʾənbəlā* |
|---------|-------|-----------|-------|---------|-------|----------|
| CONCERNING | DEF | COFFEE-BOTTLE | OR | BOTTLE | REL | BESIDE-IT-F |

'concerning the coffee bottle or "bottle" besides (lit., ***which is beside it***)'
(Making Coffee, line 3)

    Note that the modifying relative clause here is non-restrictive.

6.6.1.1.2   *Marked Preposition and Object*

In one case both elements of the modifying relative clause (the preposition *dib* 'in' and its object *ǧamāʿat* 'gathering') are marked. The modified noun *ḥasab* 'number', which itself is part of a substantival relative clause (cf. 6.6.2 below), is also marked. For the nouns it is ambiguous (and irrelevant) whether *la-* is the definite article or the relative particle. That definite and relative expressions share the form points to the cross-linguistic pattern of a close relationship between the two.

(515)   **la-   ʿala   la-   ḥasab   la-   ǧamāʿat**
         REL   ACCORDING-TO   DEF/REL   QUANTITY   DEF/REL   GATHERING
         la-   dibu
         REL   IN-IT-M
         '*which is according to the number* that are in the gathering'
         (Making Coffee, line 4)

>   The modifying relative clause is *la-ǧamāʿat la-dibu* 'that are in the gathering'. Marked substantive relatives such as *la-ʿala la-ḥasab* 'which is according to the number' are discussed in 6.6.2.1.2.

6.6.1.1.3   *Unmarked*

In the sole instance in which *lətbahal* 'it is called' occurs in a modifying relative clause, the verb is unmarked.

(516)   *wa-   dib   məwdāḳ   ṣaḥay   **kəbət ǧəmʿa lətbahal**   dabər*
         AND   IN   SETTING   SUN   PL.N.   IT-M-IS-CALLED   MOUNTAIN
         lərrakkab   dibā
         IT-M-IS-FOUND   IN-IT-F
         'and a mountain **called Kibit Ǧimʿa** is found in the west' (Gindaʿ, line 7)

6.6.1.2   Word Order within the Modifying Relative Clause

Word order within the modifying relative clause is consistent with that discussed for simple sentences in 6.4.1 and for suffixed prepositions in 6.2.3.

COMPLEMENT + VERB (cf. 6.4.1)

(517)   **məslā   la-   gabbi'   našāṭāt**
         WITH-IT-F   REL   IT-M/F-HAPPENS   ACTIVITIES
         'activities **that occur with it**' (Making Coffee, line 15)

mən	_kalimat_	_gənda'a_	_lətbahal_	_əčay_	**_mənnu_**	_la-_
FROM	BUSH	P.N.	IT-M-IS-CALLED	WOOD	FROM-IT-M	REL

maṣ'at
IT-F-COMES

'from wood **_that comes from_** what is called the ginda'a bush' (Ginda', line 1)

Note the unmarked substantival relative clause _kalimat gənda'a lətbahal_ 'that which is called the ginda'a bush', which is the antecedent of the preposition _mənnu_ and is discussed in 6.6.2.1.7 below.

_wa-_	_dib_	_məwdāḳ_	_ṣaḥay_	**_kəbət ğəm'a_**	_lətbahal_	_dabər_
AND	IN	SETTING	SUN	PL.N.	IT-M-IS-CALLED	MOUNTAIN

lərrakkab	_dibā_
IT-M-IS-FOUND	IN-IT-F

'and a mountain **_called Kibit Ğim'a_** is found in the west' (Ginda', line 7)

– VERB + suffixed PREP (cf. 6.4.1.4)

(518)	_əgəl_	_ğām'at_	**_la-_**	**_naḥalləf_**	_əbbā_	_ğām'at_
	INTO	COLLEGE	REL	WE-PASS	BECAUSE-OF-IT-F	UNIVERSITY

ḥalafna
WE-PASSED

'we had passed to university—into our designated college (lit. into the college **_that we would pass because of it_** (**_the examination grade_**))' (Ḥamid and I, line 7)

– Suffixed PREP with preposed OBJECT (cf. 6.2.3)

(519)	**_la-_**	**_'ala_**	**_la-_**	**_ḥasab_**	_la-_	_ğamā'at_
	REL	ACCORDING-TO	DEF/REL	QUANTITY	DEF/REL	GATHERING

_la-_	_dibu_
REL	IN-IT-M

'**_which is according to the number_** that are in the gathering' (Making Coffee, line 4)

6.6.1.3   Word Order of Elements Surrounding the Modifying Relative
           Clause

There are only two elements to consider here, the modified noun and the
modifying relative clause. Word order is split relatively evenly between NOUN
+ MODIFIER, which is consistent with 6.1.1, and MODIFIER + NOUN, which is
only attested with deictic pro-adjectives (cf. 6.1.1.1) and with the very common
adjectives *bəʿəd* 'other', *bəzuḥ* 'many', and *ṭayəb* 'correct' (cf. (412)).

– NOUN + MODIFIER

(520)   *ṭabʿan*   *la-*   *ǧabanat*   *ʾaw*   *botəl*   *la-*   *ʾənbəlā*
        CONCERNING   DEF   COFFEE-BOTTLE   OR   BOTTLE   REL   BESIDE-IT-F
        'concerning the coffee bottle or "bottle" besides (lit., *which is beside it*)'
        (Making Coffee, line 3)

        la-   *ʿala*   *la-*   *ḥasab*   *la-*   *ǧamāʿat*
        REL   ACCORDING-TO   DEF/REL   QUANTITY   DEF/REL   GATHERING
        la-   *dibu*
        REL   IN-IT-M
        '*which is according to the number* that are in the gathering'
        (Making Coffee, line 4)

– MODIFIER + NOUN

(521)   *təgra*   *la-*   *bazḥat*   *ḳawməyat*   *ta*   *dib*   *gəndaʿ*
        P.N.   REL   IT-F-IS-NUMEROUS   ETHNIC-GROUP   COP-3FS   IN   PL.N.
        'Tigre is *the most common* ethnic group in Ginda' (Ginda', line 3)

        məslā   *la-*   *gabbiʾ*   *našāṭāt*
        WITH-IT-F   REL   IT-M/F-HAPPENS   ACTIVITIES
        'activities *that occur with it*' (Making Coffee, line 15)

*wa- dib məwdāḳ ṣaḥay **kəbət ğəm'a lətbahal**   dabər*
AND IN SETTING SUN PL.N.   IT-M-IS-CALLED MOUNTAIN
lərrakkab   dibā
IT-M-IS-FOUND   IN-IT-F
'and a mountain **called Kibit Ǧim'a** is found in the west' (Ginda', line 7)

In two cases word order is ambiguous between NOUN + MODIFIER and MODIFIER + NOUN.

(522) *wa- dib gəblat dabər   **la- 'abā**   dabər   bağan*
AND IN SOUTH MOUNTAIN REL IT-M-IS-TALL MOUNTAIN   PL.N.
'in the south—a mountain **that is the tallest** mountain, Beğen' (Ginda', line 7)

*ʾəgəl ğāmʿat   **la- naḥalləf ʾəbbā**   ğāmʿat*
INTO COLLEGE REL WE-PASS BECAUSE-OF-IT-F UNIVERSITY
ḥalafna
WE-PASSED
'we had passed to university—into our designated college (lit. into the college **that we would pass because of it** (**the examination grade**))'
(Ḥamid and I, line 7)

In one case the MODIFIER straddles the NOUN.

(523) *mən <u>kalimat gənda'a lətbahal</u>   ʾəčay **mənnu   la-***
FROM BUSH   P.N.   IT-M-IS-CALLED WOOD FROM-IT-M REL
maṣʾat
IT-F-COMES
'from wood **that comes from** <u>what is called the ginda'a bush</u>' (Ginda', line 1)

6.6.2   *Substantival Relative Clauses*
A substantival relative clause is a relative clause that functions as a substantive. This is the most frequently encountered type of relative clause in the present corpus.

6.6.2.1   Markedness
Substantival relative clauses are somewhat evenly split between those that are marked with *la-* and those that are unmarked.

6.6.2.1.1   *Marked Verb*

(524) **kəranəkəs   la-   lətbahal   halla**
       KIRENIKIS   REL   IT-M-IS-CALLED   THERE-M-IS
       'there is *what is called "kirenikis"*' (Trad Decorations, line 20)

       məslā   la-   gayəs   mən-   halla
       WITH-IT-F   REL   IT-M-GOES   WHETHER   THERE-M-IS
       'whether there is *something that goes with it*' (Making Coffee, line 16)

       mənnā   ʿadāt   nay   təgra   la-   halla . . .   halla
       FROM-IT-F   CULTURE   GEN   P.N.   REL   IT-M-EXISTS   THERE-M-IS
       'there is *something* (lit., *that which exists*) from the Tigre culture'
       (Trad Decorations, line 1)

       wa-   bəʿəd   ʾakfāl   lətbahal   halla   mən   la-
       AND   OTHER   SEGMENTS   IT-M-IS-CALLED   THERE-M-IS   THAN   REL
       təfanātā
       IT-M-IS-SEPARATED
       'and there are what are called "segments" other than *what is separated*'
       (Trad Decorations, line 12)
        Note the unmarked substantival relative clause *ʾakfāl lətbahal* 'what are
        called "segments" ', which is discussed below in 6.6.2.1.7.

6.6.2.1.2   *Marked Predicate*

(525) **bəna   ʾikon   məsəl   la-   gayəs   la-   ħəbur**
       WE-HAVE   NOT   TOGETHER   REL   IT-M-GOES   DEF/REL   MIXED-MS
       tu   kəmsal   ʾakarā
       COP-3MS   LIKE   CELEBRATION
       'we do not have *what is a combination* <u>that goes together</u> *like a* (*coffee*)
       celebration' (Coffee Ceremony, line 9)
        Note the modifying relative clause *məsəl la-gayəs* 'that goes together',
        whose antecedent, *ħəbur*, is part of the substantival relative clause in ques-
        tion. *məsəl la-gayəs* is discussed above in 6.6.1.1.

6.6.2.1.3   *A Sequence of Verbs*
In the sole instance of a sequence of relative clauses, two of the three verbs are
marked with *la-* while the middle verb is not marked.

našāṭāt . . . **məslā** **la-** **lətballaʿ** **ləsatta** **wa-**
ACTIVITIES WITH-IT-F REL IT-M-IS-EATEN IT-M-IS-DRUNK OR

la- **lətḵarrab**
REL IT-M-IS-SERVED

'(any) activities . . . foods that are (lit., *that which is*) *eaten, drunk, or served*
with it' (Making Coffee, line 16)

6.6.2.1.4 *Marked Verb and Object*

(526) **la-** **ḥatta** **sanat** **la-** **ʿalat** **ʾəglā** **ʾatmamna**
DEF/REL ONE-F YEAR REL IT-F-WAS IN-IT-F WE-FINISHED
'in one year (lit., in *what was one year*) we finished' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

sattu . . . **la-** **ğamāʿat** **la-** **dibu** **ʾəgəl**
THEY-M-DRINK DEF/REL GATHERING REL IN-IT-M SO-THAT

ləstaw **la-** **gəssuyām** **hallaw**
THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK DEF/REL SITTING-MP THEY-M-ARE

'(how many cups do) *those sitting in the gathering in order to drink* . . . drink?'
(Making Coffee, line 2)

    Note that *la-ğamāʿat la-dibu* 'in the gathering' is taken here as the object of
gəssuyām hallaw 'those sitting'. As such it is considered to be marked because
gəssuyām hallaw is marked. Alternatively, *la-ğamāʿat la-dibu* can be inter-
preted as a separate substantival relative clause, in which case the gloss
would be '(how many cups do) <u>those in the gathering</u>, who are sitting in
order to drink—drink?'

6.6.2.1.5 *Marked Preposition and Object*

(527) **ṣabbəṭ** *samān fəğān səs fəğān . . .* **la-** **ʿala**
ONE-M/F-SERVES EIGHT CUP SIX CUP REL ACCORDING-TO

la- **ḥasab** <u>**la-**</u> **ğamāʿat** <u>**la- dibu**</u>
DEF/REL QUANTITY DEF/REL GATHERING REL IN-IT-M

'one serves . . . six or eight cups . . . *which is according to the number* <u>that are</u>
<u>in the gathering</u>' (Making Coffee, line 4)

6.6.2.1.6 *Unmarked Verb*

(528) *mən-* **ləbəl**
FROM HE-SAYS
'from *what he says*' (Making Coffee, lines 1 and 15)

wa-	kamsal	*ḥazekahu*	*ʾaškāl*	*taʾafaggərro*
AND	LIKE	YOU-MS-WANT-IT-M	PATTERNS	YOU-MS-STRETCH-IT-M

'and just as you want it (lit., like *that which you want it*) you shape the patterns' (Trad Decorations, line 22)

ʾəgəl	*ḥazaw* . . .	*ʾəgəl*	*ləsawərrā*	*ḳadra*
ACC	THEY-M-WANT	—	ONE-M-COVERS-IT-F	ONE-M-IS-ABLE

'one is able to cover it . . . with *what they want*' (Trad Decorations, line 19)

6.6.2.1.7   *Unmarked Verb with an Unmarked Object or Complement*

(529)
sattu . . .	*ʾəgəl*	*ləstaw*	*ḳərubām*
THEY-M-DRINK	SO-THAT	THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK	GATHERED-MP

hallaw
THEY-M-ARE

'(how many cups do) *those who are gathered in order to drink* . . . drink?'
(Making Coffee, line 2)

mən	*kalimat*	*gəndaʿa*	*lətbahal*	*ʾəčay*	*mənnu*	*la-*
FROM	BUSH	P.N.	IT-M-IS-CALLED	WOOD	FROM-IT-M	REL

maṣʾat
IT-F-COMES

'from wood *that comes from* <u>what is called the gindaʿa bush</u>' (Ginda‘, line 1)

  The substantival relative clause is *kalimat gəndaʿa lətbahal* 'what is called
  the ginda‘a bush'. The modifying relative clause *mənnu la-maṣʾat* 'that
  comes from it' is discussed in 6.6.1.1 above.

wa-	*bəʿəd*	*ʾaḵfāl*	*lətbahal*	*halla*	*mən*	*la-*
AND	OTHER	SEGMENTS	IT-M-IS-CALLED	THERE-M-IS	THAN	REL

təfanātā
IT-M-IS-SEPARATED

'and there are *what are called "segments"* other than what is separated'
(Trad Decorations, line 12)

  Note the substantival relative clause *la-təfanātā* 'what is separated', which
  is discussed above in 6.6.2.1.1.

ʾəgəl	*hədāy*	*ləšaḵḵa*	*halla*
FOR	WEDDING	IT-M-IS-MADE	THERE-M-IS

'there is *something that is made for a wedding*' (Trad Decorations, line 1)

ʾəgəl bəʿəd gāritāt lənaffəʿ   halla   kəmsal ʾakarā
FOR   OTHER   EVENTS   IT-M-IS-USED   IT-M-EXISTS   LIKE   FESTIVAL
'it exists as *something that is used for other events like a festival*'
(Trad Decorations, line 2)

la-ʾəwān ʾelā   təḳarrab   məslā   laḳarrəb
NOW   WITH-IT-F   IT-F-IS-SERVED   WITH-IT-F   ONE-M-SERVES
ḳursi   ʾənbəlo   halla
BREAKFAST   BESIDE-IT-M   THERE-M-IS
'there is something beside breakfast that one serves with coffee, *which is served with it at the same time*' (Making Coffee, line 17)

    Note that there are two unmarked substantive relative clauses here, *la-ʾəwān ʾəlā təḳarrab* 'which is served with it at the same time' and *məslā laḳarrəb* 'something that one serves with coffee'.

6.6.2.1.8 *Unmarked Predicate*

(530) <u>*lawāzəm*</u>   <u>*nayā*</u>   <u>*tu*</u>   *məslu*   *ta*   *gayəs*
NECESSITIES   GEN-3FS   COP-3MS   WITH-IT-M   COP-3FS   IT-F-GOES
'it (coffee) is inseparable from these elements'
(lit., 'it is *what goes with it*—namely, *with* <u>what are its essential components</u>')
(Coffee Ceremony, line 10)

    The substantival relative clause is *lawāzəm nayā tu* 'what are its essential components'. The unmarked cleft clause *məslu gayəs* 'what goes with it' is discussed below in 6.6.3.1.4.

6.6.2.2 Word Order within the Substantival Relative Clause
Word order within the substantival relative clause is consistent with that discussed in 6.2–6.5. One example of each word order type is provided.

– PREP + OBJECT (cf. 6.2.1)—*ʿala* + *ḥasab*

(531) *ṣabbəṭ*   *samān fəğān səs fəğān* . . . **la-   ʿala**
ONE-M/F-SERVES   EIGHT   CUP   SIX   CUP   REL   ACCORDING-TO
la-   ḥasab   <u>**la-**   **ğamāʿat**</u>   <u>**la-   dibu**</u>
DEF/REL   QUANTITY   DEF/REL   GATHERING   REL   IN-IT-M
'one serves . . . six or eight cups . . . *which is according to the number* <u>that are in the gathering</u>' (Making Coffee, line 4)

– Suffixed PREP with a preposed OBJECT (cf. 6.2.3)—*ğamā'at + dibu*

(532)   *sattu...*   *la-*   *ğamā'at*   *la-*   *dibu*   *ʾəgəl*
     THEY-M-DRINK   DEF/REL GATHERING REL IN-IT-M SO-THAT

     ləstaw   *la-*   *gəssuyām*   *hallaw*
     THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK   DEF/REL SITTING-MP   THEY-M-ARE

     '(how many cups do) *those sitting in the gathering in order to drink* . . . drink?'
     (Making Coffee, line 2)

– PREDICATE + COP (cf. 6.3.1)—*lawāzəm + tu*

     <u>*lawāzəm*</u>   <u>*naγā*</u>   <u>*tu*</u>   *məslu*   *ta*   *gayəs*
     NECESSITIES GEN-3FS COP-3MS WITH-IT-M COP-3FS IT-F-GOES

     'it (coffee) is inseparable from these elements (lit., *it is what goes with it*—
     namely, *with* <u>what are its essential components</u>)' (Coffee Ceremony, line 10)

– PREDICATE + COP + PREP PHRASE (cf. 6.3.1)—*ḥəbur + tu + kəmsal ʾakarā*

(533)   *bəna*   *ʾikon* *məsəl*   <u>*la-*</u> *gayəs*   *la-*   *ḥəbur*
     WE-HAVE   NOT   TOGETHER   REL IT-M-GOES DEF/REL MIXED-MS

     tu   *kəmsal* *ʾakarā*
     COP-3MS   LIKE   CELEBRATION

     'we do not have *what is a combination* <u>that goes together</u> *like a* (*coffee*)
     celebration*' (Coffee Ceremony, line 9)

– PREDICATE + VERB OF EXISTENCE (cf. 6.3.2)—*ḥatta sanat + 'alat*

(534)   *la-*   *ḥatta*   *sanat* *la-* *'alat*   *ʾəglā*   *ʾatmamna*
     DEF/REL ONE-F   YEAR   REL   IT-F-WAS IN-IT-F WE-FINISHED

     'in one year (lit., in *what was one year*) we finished' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

– COMPLEMENT/OBJECT + VERB (cf. 6.4.1)—*ʾəgəl hədāy + ləšaḳḳa*

(535)   *ʾəgəl* *hədāy*   *ləšaḳḳa*   *halla*
     FOR   WEDDING   IT-M-IS-MADE   THERE-M-IS

     'there is *something that is made for a wedding*' (Trad Decorations, line 1)

– SUBORDINATE CLAUSE + VERB (cf. 6.5.4)—ʾgəl ləstaw + ḳərubām hallaw

(536)   sattu ...   ʾgəl   ləstaw   ḳərubām
         THEY-M-DRINK   SO-THAT THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK   GATHERED-MP
         hallaw
         THEY-M-ARE
         '(how many cups do) *those who are gathered in order to drink* ... drink?'
         (Making Coffee, line 2)

In one case a prepositional phrase follows the verb in a substantival relative clause. This is similar to the construction VERB + suffixed PREP discussed in 6.4.1.4. See also VERB OF EXISTENCE + PREP PHRASE in 6.3.2.

– VERB + PREP PHRASE—*lənaffəʿ* + *kəmsal ʾakarā*

(537)   ʾgəl bəʿəd   gāritāt   lənaffəʿ   halla   kəmsal ʾakarā
         FOR OTHER EVENTS IT-M-IS-USED   IT-M-EXISTS   LIKE   FESTIVAL
         'it exists as *something that is used for other events like a festival*'
         (Trad Decorations, line 2)

6.6.2.3   Word Order of Elements Surrounding the Substantival Relative
           Clause
For the most part, the word order of elements surrounding the substantival relative clause is consistent with that discussed in 6.2–6.4. No examples corresponding to 6.5, subordinate clauses, occurred. One example of each word order type is provided, and exceptions are noted.

– PREP + OBJECT (cf. 6.2.1)—*kamsal* + *ḥazekahu* and
   OBJECT/COMPLEMENT + VERB (cf. 6.4.1)—*ʾaškāl* + *taʾafaggərro*

(538)   wa-   kamsal *ḥazekahu*   ʾaškāl   taʾafaggərro
         AND   LIKE   YOU-MS-WANT-IT-M   PATTERNS   YOU-MS-STRETCH-IT-M
         'and just as you want it (lit., like *that which you want it*) you shape the patterns' (Trad Decorations, line 22)

– Suffixed PREP with a preposed OBJECT (cf. 6.2.3)—*la-ʿalat* + *ʾglā*

(539)   la-   ḥatta   sanat la- ʿalat   ʾglā   ʾatmamna
         DEF/REL ONE-F YEAR REL IT-F-WAS   IN-IT-F   WE-FINISHED
         'in one year (lit., in *what was one year*) we finished' (Ḥamid and I, line 5)

– PREDICATE + VERB OF EXISTENCE (cf. 6.3.2)—*la-lətbahal + halla*

(540)   **kəranəkəs la- lətbahal**   halla
         KIRENIKIS REL IT-M-IS-CALLED   THERE-M-IS
         'there is **what is called "kirenikis"** ' (Trad Decorations, line 20)

– VERB + NOUN PHRASE (cf. Elaboration 6.4.1.5)—*halla + la-lətballaʿ . . .*

(541)   našāṭāt   mən   halla   **məslā   la- lətballaʿ**
         ACTIVITIES WHETHER THERE-M-IS   WITH-IT-F REL IT-M-IS-EATEN
         ləsatta   wa- la- lətḳarrab
         IT-M-IS-DRUNK OR   REL IT-M-IS-SERVED
         'whether there are (any) activities (that go with it)—foods that are (lit., **that
         which is**) **eaten, drunk, or served with it**' (Making Coffee, lines 15–16)

In two cases a prepositional phrase straddles another element of the sentence.
(Cf. PREP + OBJECT in 6.2.1.)

– PREP + VERBAL COMPLEMENT + OBJECT of the PREP—
   kəmsal + ʾəgəl ḥazaw + fəyori ləgbaʾ wa-bəʾəd-mā

(542)   kəmsal ʾəgəl **ḥazaw**   fəyori   ləgbaʾ   wa- bəʾəd-   mā
         LIKE   ACC   THEY-M-WANT FLOWER POSSIBLY AND OTHER ALSO
         ʾəgəl   ləsawərrā   ḳadra
         —   ONE-M-COVERS-IT-F ONE-M-IS-ABLE
         'one is able to cover it with **what they want**, like a flower possibly and also
         other things' (Trad Decorations, line 19)

– PREP1 + OBJECT OF PREP2 + OBJECT OF PREP1 + PREP2—
   mən + kalimat gəndaʿa lətbahal + ʾəčay + mənnu

(543)   mən   <u>kalimat gəndaʿa lətbahal</u>   ʾəčay   **mənnu**   la-
         FROM BUSH   P.N.   IT-M-IS-CALLED WOOD FROM-IT-M REL
         maṣʾat
         IT-F-COMES
         'from wood **that comes from** <u>what is called the gindaʿa bush</u>' (Gindaʿ, line 1)

In one case a predicate straddles the verb of existence. (Cf. PREDICATE + VERB
OF EXISTENCE in 6.3.2.)

‒ PREDICATE + VERB OF EXISTENCE + PREP PHRASE of the PREDICATE—
ʾəgəl bəʿəd gāritāt lənaffəʿ + *halla* + *kəmsal ʾakarā*

(544)   **ʾəgəl   bəʿəd   gāritāt   lənaffəʿ**   halla   **kəmsal   ʾakarā**
        FOR   OTHER   EVENTS   IT-M-IS-USED   IT-M-EXISTS   LIKE   FESTIVAL
        'it exists as *something that is used for other events like a festival*'
        (Trad Decorations, line 2)

> Note that the word order VERB OF EXISTENCE + PREP PHRASE is attested
> (cf. 6.3.2), but only where the prepositional phrase is a complement of the
> verb of existence. In the present example, the prepositional phrase is a
> complement of *lənaffəʿ*, the verb in the substantival relative clause.

6.6.3   *Cleft Sentences*
A cleft sentence is an indicative expression that employs i) a clause, sometimes
marked by *la-* and herein referred to as a "cleft clause," and ii) a copula, which
functions to foreground the subject, object, or complement of the indicative
expression.[6]

(545)   *bun*   *ṭabʿan*   *ʾət   ʾarədna*   *ta*   **la-   təzarraʾ**
        COFFEE   NOW   IN   OUR-COUNTRY   COP-3FS   REL   IT-F-IS-GROWN
        la-   ʿalat
        REL   IT-F-WAS
        'now, coffee had been grown in our country'
        (Lit., 'now coffee is *what had been grown in our country*')
        (Coffee Ceremony, line 11)

> The clause *ʾət ʾarədna la-təzarraʾ la-ʿalat* 'what had been grown in our coun-
> try' and the copula *ta* 'is' are used to foreground the subject, *bun* 'coffee'.

The cleft clause is the subject of the following analysis. In (545) above, the cleft
clause is the predicate, *ʾət ʾarədna . . . la-təzarraʾ la-ʿalat* 'what had been grown
in our country'.

In some cases the cleft clause is the subject of the sentence. In this case, the
particle *la-* must be glossed differently than 'that' or 'which' (cf. (74); e.g., 'how,
how frequently' below).

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6   There are a variety of ways in which clefts have been analyzed by scholars. Palmer ("Relative
    Clauses in Tigre," pp. 30–33) refers to the use of *la-* and the copula for emphasis. Leslau
    ("Sketches," p. 193) calls it the impersonal use of the copula. Raz (*TGT*, pp. 94–95), as the pre-
    sent analysis, uses the term "cleft sentence."

(546)   *salas*   *dolat*   *ta*   *təsatta*
       THREE   TIME   COP-3FS   IT-F-IS-DRUNK
       'it is drunk three times'
       (Lit., 'three times is ***how frequently it is drunk***')
       (Coffee Ceremony, line 6)

In the present corpus, cleft sentences occur both in narrative texts and isolated elicitations.

6.6.3.1   Markedness
Cleft clauses are relatively evenly split between those that are marked with *la-* and those that are unmarked.

6.6.3.1.1   *Marked Verb*

(547)   *gəndaʿ* *ʾab* *ʾadbər*   *la-* *təkallalat*   *ta*
       PL.N.   BY   MOUNTAINS   REL   IT-F-IS-SURROUNDED   COP-3FS
       'Ginda' is (***a place that is***) ***surrounded by mountains***' (Ginda', line 5)

       ʾətəllā *madrasat* *nay* *ʿarabi*   *madrasat* *ta*   *la-* *ʿalat*   *dib*
       HERE   SCHOOL   GEN ARABIC   SCHOOL   COP-3FS   REL IT-F-WAS IN
       gəndaʿ
       PL.N.
       'as for school there, an Arabic school was in Ginda''
       (Lit., 'as for school there, an Arabic school is ***what was in Ginda°***')
       (Ḥamid and I, line 2)

       man   *tu*   *la-* *kabbatakka*   *dib* *šārəʾ*   *male*
       WHO?   COP-3MS   REL   HE-MET-YOU-MS   ON   STREET   YESTERDAY
       'who (is ***the one who***) ***met you in/on the street yesterday***?'

       dib *ḥatta* *ʾəlli*   *ḥəna*   *la-* *hallena*
       IN   ONE-F THIS-M COP-1CP REL WE-ARE
       'we live in the same room' (lit., 'in this one we are ***where we are***')
       (Ḥamid and I, line 13)

       ṭabʿan *ʾəb* *šakəl*   *maǧmuʿāt*   *wa-* *ʾəb* *šakəl*
       NOW   IN   CONFIGURATION   GATHERED-MP   OR   IN   CONFIGURATION
       ḥašəm   *ta*   *la-* *təsatta*
       ENTOURAGE   COP-3FS   REL   IT-F-IS-DRUNK
       'now, it is drunk in a public group or a private group'

(Lit., 'now in a group of gathered ones or in a group of (one's) entourage is *where it is drunk*')

(Coffee Ceremony, line 5)

ʾab	bəẓḥe	ʿabbāy	tom
AMONG	LARGE-QUANTITY	IMPORTANT-FS	COP-3MP

ləsattəwā		*la-*	*ʿalaw*	*badir*
THEY-M-DRINK-IT-F		REL	THEY-M-WERE	FORMERLY

'formerly among the eldest were *those who used to drink it*'

(Coffee Ceremony, line 3)

> Note that the auxiliary verb of this compound verbal construction, *ʿalaw*, is marked, while *ləsattəwā* is not.

bas	ʾikonini	ʾəgəl	bəʿəd-	mā	*la-*	ʾənnaffəʿo
ONLY	NEG-COP	FOR	OTHER	BUT-ALSO	REL	WE-USE-IT-M

ʾəbbu
AS-IT-M

'not only (this), but we also use it as an article for other things'

(Lit., 'not only (this), but also for other (things) (is) *what we use it as it* (an article)')

(Trad Decorations, line 15)

See also the example in (545) above.

6.6.3.1.2   *Marked Verb of Existence and Predicate*

(548)

ʾəmərna	la-	ʾayyām	lahay	walad	səs	sanat	tu	*la-*
OUR-AGE	DEF	DAYS	THAT-M	CHILD	SIX	YEAR	COP-3MS	REL

ʿala	*la-*	*ʾəmər*	*nayna*
IT-M-WAS	DEF/REL	AGE	GEN-1CP

'as for our age at the time, we were six years old'

(Lit., 'as for our age in those days, six years old is *what our age was*')

(Ḥamid and I, line 3)

> For the partial loan translation from Arabic *walad səs sanat* 'six years old', see 7.1.5.1.

6.6.3.1.3 *Unmarked Verb*

(549) *bəzuḥ   tom   ləsattəwā   dib   ʾakarā   hədāy*
       MANY   COP-3MP THEY-M-DRINK-IT-F   AT   FESTIVAL   WEDDING
       massəl   kam   ʾakarā -   ʿid
       IT-SEEMS   LIKE   CELEBRATION   ʿID
       'many people drink it (lit., many are ***those who drink it***)—at a festival, such as
       a wedding—like a celebration—'Id.' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

See also the example above in (546).

6.6.3.1.4 *Unmarked Verb with an Unmarked Object or Complement*

(550) *səs   tan   dib ḥəd   ləlaṭṭamā*
       SIX   COP-3FP   TOGETHER   THEY-F-ARE-THREADED
       'six are (***what are***) ***bound together***' (Trad Decorations, line 21)

       dibā   ʾəlli   ʾəšām   wa-   raʿaš   kam   ʾəčat   ʾaw kam   fəyori
       IN-IT-F   THIS-M   BEADS   AND   SEQUIN   LIKE   VINE   OR   LIKE   FLOWER
       massəl   tu
       IT-M-SEEMS   COP-3MS
       'in it, these beads and sequins look like (lit., are ***what seem like***) ***a vine or a
       flower***' (Trad Decorations, line 18)

       <u>lawāzəm</u>   <u>nayā</u>   <u>tu</u>   məslu   ta   gayəs
       NECESSITIES   GEN-3FS   COP-3MS   WITH-IT-M   COP-3FS   IT-F-GOES
       'it (coffee) is inseparable from these elements'
       (Lit., 'it is ***what goes with it***—namely, ***with*** <u>what are its essential components</u>')
       (Coffee Ceremony, line 10)
           The cleft clause is *məslu gayəs* 'what goes with it'. The substantival relative
           clause *lawāzəm nayā tu* 'what are its essential components' is discussed
           above in 6.6.2.1.8.

6.6.3.2 Word Order within the Cleft Clause
Word order within the cleft clause is generally consistent with that discussed
in 6.3–6.4. No examples corresponding to 6.2, prepositional phrases, or 6.5,
subordinate clauses, are attested. One example of each word order type is pre-
sented, and exceptions are noted.

– VERB OF EXISTENCE + PREP PHRASE (cf. 6.3.2)—ʿalat + dib gəndaʿ

(551) ʾətəllā madrasat nay ʿarabi   madrasat ta   la- ʿalat⸗
       HERE   SCHOOL   GEN ARABIC SCHOOL   COP-3FS REL IT-F-WAS
       dib   gəndaʿ
       IN   PL.N.
       'as for school there, an Arabic school was in Ginda⸗'
       (Lit., 'as for school there, an Arabic school is **what was in Ginda°**)
       (Ḥamid and I, line 2)

– COMPLEMENT + VERB (cf. 6.4.1)—ʾab ʾadbər + la-təkallalat

(552) gəndaʿ ʾab ʾadbər   la- təkallalat   ta
       PL.N.   BY   MOUNTAINS   REL IT-F-IS-SURROUNDED   COP-3FS
       'Ginda⸗ is (**a place that is**) **surrounded by mountains**' (Ginda⸗, line 5)

– VERB + SUFFIXED PREP (cf. 6.4.1.4)—ʾənnaffəʿo + ʾəbbu

(553) bas   ʾikonini   ʾəgəl bəʿəd- mā   la- ʾənnaffəʿo   ʾəbbu
       ONLY   NEG-COP   FOR   OTHER   BUT-ALSO REL WE-USE-IT-M   AS-IT-M
       'not only (this), but we also use it as an article for other things'
       (Lit., not only (this), but also for other (things) (is) **what we use it as it** (an article))
       (Trad Decorations, line 15)

In one case a predicate follows the verb of existence. (Cf. 6.3.2 PREDICATE + VERB OF EXISTENCE.)

– VERB OF EXISTENCE + PREDICATE—ʿala + ʾəmər nayna

(554) ʾəmərna   la- ʾayyām lahay   walad   səs sanat tu   la-
       OUR-AGE   DEF DAYS   THAT-M   CHILD   SIX YEAR   COP-3MS REL
       ʿala   la-   ʾəmər nayna
       IT-M-WAS   DEF/REL   AGE   GEN-1CP
       'as for our age at the time, we were six years old'
       (Lit., 'as for our age in those days, six years old is **what our age was**')
       (Ḥamid and I, line 3)

In one case a prepositional phrase follows the verb. This is similar to 6.4.1.4 VERB + SUFFIXED PREP. See also VERB OF EXISTENCE + PREP PHRASE in 6.3.2 and VERB + PREP PHRASE in 6.6.2.2.

– VERB + PREP PHRASE—*kabbatakka + dib šārəʿ*

(555) *man   tu   la- kabbatakka   dib šārəʾ   māle*
       WHO? COP-3MS REL HE-MET-YOU-MS ON STREET YESTERDAY
       'who (is ***the one who***) ***met you in/on the street yesterday***?'

6.6.3.3   Word Order for Elements Surrounding the Cleft Clause
The predominant word orders for elements surrounding the cleft clause are

SUBJECT + COP + PREDICATE and
PREDICATE + COP + SUBJECT

Compare 6.3.1 SUBJECT + PREDICATE + COP. Elements surrounding the cleft clause pattern much more closely to interrogatives in a nominal clause (cf. 6.7.2):

INTERROGATIVE + COP + SUBJECT / PREDICATE

One example of each word order type is presented. Additional examples can be found in 6.6.3.1 and 6.6.3.2 above.

– SUBJECT + COP + PREDICATE—*səs + tan + dib ḥəd ləlaṭṭamā*

(556) *səs   tan   **dib ḥəd   ləlaṭṭamā***
       SIX   COP-3FP TOGETHER THEY-F-ARE-THREADED
       'six are (***what are***) ***bound together***' (Trad Decorations, line 21)

– PREDICATE + COP + SUBJECT—*dib ḥatta ʾəlli + ḥəna + la-hallena*

(557) *dib   ḥatta   ʾəlli   ḥəna   la- hallena*
       IN   ONE-F   THIS-M   COP-1CP REL WE-ARE
       'we live in the same room' (lit., 'in this one we are ***where we are***')
       (Ḥamid and I, line 13)

In a few instances word order is consistent with 6.3.1.

– SUBJECT + PREDICATE + COP—*gəndaʿ + ʾab ʾadbər la-təkallalat + ta*

(558)   *gənda⁏*   *ʾab*   *ʾadbər*   *la-*   *təkallalat*   *ta*
                PL.N.   BY   MOUNTAINS   REL   IT-F-IS-SURROUNDED   COP-3FS
                'Ginda⁏ is (*a place that*) *is surrounded by mountains*' (Ginda⁏, line 5)

In a few instances a predicate straddles the copula. Compare 6.6.2.3 PREDICATE + VERB OF EXISTENCE + PREP PHRASE of the PREDICATE.

– PREP PHRASE of the PREDICATE + COP + VERB of the PREDICATE— *ʾət ʾarədna + ta + la-təzarra⁏ la-⁏alat*

(559)   *bun*   *ṭab⁏an*   *ʾət*   *ʾardəna*   *ta*   *la-*   *təzarra⁏*
                COFFEE   NOW   IN   OUR-COUNTRY   COP-3FS   REL   IT-F-IS-GROWN
                la-   *⁏alat*
                REL   IT-F-WAS
                'now, coffee had been grown in our country'
                (lit., 'now coffee is *what had been grown in our country*')
                (Coffee Ceremony, line 11)

6.7   Interrogative Clauses

6.7.1   *Position of the Interrogative*

Interrogative pronouns and adverbs always occur immediately before the verb, copula, or verb of existence.

(560)   ***ʾəgəl-mi*** *ʾi-*   *təwadda*   *gārat*   *nay*   *fasilka*
                WHY?   NEG   YOU-MS-DO   ACTIVITY   GEN   YOUR-MS-CLASS
                '*why* aren't you doing your homework?'

                man *ta*   *loha*   *ʾəssit*   *loha*
                WHO?   COP-3FS   THAT-F   WOMAN   THAT-F
                '*who* is that woman?'

                kəfo   *halleka*
                HOW?   YOU-MS-ARE
                '*how* are you doing?'

> *məgəl*   *təsta*   *təḥazza*
> WHAT-SO-THAT   YOU-FS-MIGHT-DRINK   YOU-FS-WANT
> '**what** do you want to drink?'

> *məgəl < *mi ʾəgəl*

An interrogative pro-adjective almost always occurs immediately before the noun that it modifies.

(561) **kam**   *fə̆ğān*   *ṣabbəṭ*
       HOW-MANY?   CUP   ONE-M-SERVES
       '**how many** cups does one serve?' (Making Coffee, line 2)

       kam   *dol*   *təwağ̆ğəhana*
       HOW-MANY?   TIME   WE-HAD-THE-PLEASURE-OF-MEETING
       '**how many** times have we met?'

6.7.2 *Interrogatives in Nominal and Adverbial Clauses*

An interrogative pronoun always occurs at the beginning of a nominal clause.

    INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN + COPULA + SUBJECT / PREDICATE

Compare 6.3.1 SUBJECT + PREDICATE + COPULA.

(562) **man**   *tu*   *la-*   *baʿal*   *la-*   *maḥzan*
       WHO?   COP-3MS   DEF   OWNER   DEF   STORE
       '**who** is the store-owner?'

       man   *ta*   *loha*   *ʾəssit*   *loha*
       WHO?   COP-3FS   THAT-F   WOMAN   THAT-F
       '**who** is that woman?'

       mi   *ta*   *ʾəlla*   *hallet*   *ʾəlla*
       WHAT?   COP-3FS   THIS-F   IT-F-EXISTS   THIS-F
       '**what** is this weather?'
       hallet is the unmarked substantival relative clause 'that which exists' (cf. 6.6.2.1.6).

Note that in the last example, the deictic pro-adjective *ʾəlla* occurs both before and after the substantive that it modifies. See also 6.1.1.1.

An interrogative pronoun or adverb can occur either at the beginning of an adverbial clause or in second position, after the subject.

Compare 6.3.2 SUBJECT + PREDICATE + VERB OF EXISTENCE.

— INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN/ADVERB + VERB OF EXISTENCE + SUBJECT

(563)   ***baya***   *halla*   *la-*   *suḳ*
        WHERE?   IT-M-IS   DEF   MARKET
        '***where*** is the market?'

— SUBJECT + INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN/ADVERB + VERB OF EXISTENCE

(564)   *la-*   *šəḳāḳ*   ***ʾaya***   *halla*
        DEF   BATHROOM   WHERE?   IT-M-IS
        '***where*** is the bathroom?'

        kətābu   *məsəl-*   ***man***   *halla*
        HIS-BOOK   WITH   WHOM   IT-M-IS
        'Where is his book?'

6.7.3   *Interrogatives in Simple Sentences*
In a simple sentence that includes an object, an interrogative pronoun or adverb usually occurs second, after the object, but it is also attested clause-initially. Compare 6.4.1 SUBJECT + OBJECT + VERB.

— OBJECT + INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN/ADVERB + VERB

(565)   *la-*   *ʾəbbənat*   ***man***   *lakfayā*
        DEF   ROCK   WHO?   HE-THREW-IT-F
        '***who*** threw the rock?'

        ḳoraʾ   ***man***   *təbəllā*   *ʾəb*   *təgrait*
        FROG   WHO?   YOU-MS-SAY-IT-F   IN   TIGRE
        '***how*** do you say "frog" in Tigre?'

        šāhi   ***kəfo***   *təwadda*
        TEA   HOW?   YOU-MS-MAKE
        '***how*** do you make tea?'

– INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN/ADVERB + VERB + OBJECT

(566)   **kəfo**   wadda   šāhi
        HOW?   YOU-MS-MAKE   TEA
        '*how* do you make tea?'

        ʾəgəl-mi   ʾi-   təwadda   gārat   nay   fasilka
        WHY?   NEG   YOU-MS-DO   ACTIVITY   GEN   YOUR-MS-CLASS
        '*why* aren't you doing your homework?'

An interrogative pro-adjective always occurs first in a verbal clause.

– INTERROGATIVE PRO-ADJECTIVE + NOUN + VERB

Compare 6.1.1 and 6.1.1.1 NOUN + ADJECTIVE and DEICTIC ADJECTIVE + NOUN.

(567)   **šowā**   madinat gərrəm   təbəl   ʾassāb walā ʾaḳurdat
        WHICH-PLACE? CITY   GOOD-FS YOU-MS-SAY PL.N.   OR   PL.N.
        '*which* city do you like more, Assab or Akurdet?'

        kam   fəğān   ṣabbəṭ
        HOW-MANY?   CUP   ONE-M-SERVES
        '*how many* cups does one serve?' (Making Coffee, line 2)

6.7.4   *Interrogatives in Complex Sentences*

An interrogative adverb *baya* 'where?' is used in a declarative clause. Both *baya* and the declarative conjunction *kam* 'that' are attested immediately before the verb (cf. 6.7.1 above and 6.5.3). In the present sentence the word order is *baya* + *kam* + VERB.

– { SUBJECT + *baya* + *kam* + VERB } + *wa-* + MAIN CLAUSE

(568)   suḳ   baya   **kam**   halla   wa- ḥabbarkanni   gabbiʾ
        MARKET WHERE? *THAT*   IT-M-EXISTS —   YOU-MS-TELL-ME   COULD
        'could you tell me where the market is?'

In the other instance of an interrogative in a complex sentence, the syntax of the interrogative (cf. 6.7.1 above) and the conditional clause (cf. 6.5.5.1) are not affected.

(569) may *ḥaḵo* ʾalabka šāhi *kəfo* wadda
WATER IF YOU-MS-DO-NOT-HAVE TEA HOW? YOU-MS-MAKE
'*if* you don't have water, *how* do you make tea?'

6.7.5 *Naming*

The interrogative pronoun *man* 'who?' is used for naming both human beings and objects.

(570) **man** tu səmetka
WHO? COP-3MS YOUR-MS-NAME
'*what* is your name?'

ḵoraʾ **man** təbəllā ʾəb təgrait
FROG WHO? YOU-MS-SAY-IT-F IN TIGRE
'*how* do you say "frog" in Tigre?'

ʾəb təgrait **man** təbəllo la- šəḵāḵ ʾaya
IN TIGRE WHO? YOU-MS-SAY-IT-M DEF BATHROOM WHERE
halla
THERE-M-IS
'*how* do you say, "where is the bathroom?" in Tigre?'

6.7.6 *Intonation*

In a few nominal and adverbial clauses intonation, rather than an interrogative word, indicates a question. Word order conforms to that discussed in 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.

(571) ʾənta mən baṣəʿ ʾənta
YOU-MS FROM MASSAWA COP-2MS
'are you from Massawa?'

ləššerab tu ləššerab
IT-M-IS-WOVEN COP-3MS IT-M-IS-WOVEN
'Is it "woven"? Yes, "woven".' (Trad Decorations, line 9)

kətāb bəka ʾaywā bəye
BOOK YOU-MS-HAVE YES I-HAVE
'Do you have a book? Yes, I have.'

Lexicography and Language Contact

7.1   Arabic

There is a preponderance of Arabic loans in Tigre. Loans are attested predominantly among nouns and verbs. The numerous loans attested in Tigre of Gindaʿ that are not documented in other dialects of Tigre are presented in this section. In Tigre of Gindaʿ, loans are found in all parts of speech and in several semantic fields.

7.1.1   *Contact with the Arabic Language*

Speakers of Tigre and of the present dialect have contact with Arabic through several means. The primary religion of the Tigre ethnic group is Islam. Arabic is widespread in Eritrea and is one of its national languages. Many Muslims sought refuge in the Sudan during the mid-twentieth century civil strife in Eritrea, which was then part of Ethiopia. The informants of the present study attended Arabic primary and secondary schools (cf. "Ḥamid and I" text, lines 1–5 and 8), where their teachers were from Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. They are fluent in Arabic.

Because international travel in the region is common and mass media in the Arabic language is plentiful, Modern Standard Arabic is a common source of loans. Colloquial Arabic dialects that potentially are additional sources are Sudanese, Egyptian, Saudi Arabian, Yemeni, Libyan, and Syrian Arabic. Unfortunately, no scholarly sources are available for the indigenous Eritrean variety of Arabic.

7.1.2   *The Extent of Arabic Influence and Loans*

There is a considerable number of loans from basic noun vocabulary (e.g., *madina* 'city', *ḳabilat* 'people group', *ʿəšrin* '20') and from verbs; however, no inflexional or derivational affixes have become productive. That Tigre of Gindaʿ has borrowed lexemes and not linguistically productive components is consistent with cross-linguistic evidence of language contact. "[D]etachable elements are the most easily and commonly taken over—that is, elements which are easily detached from the donor language and which will not affect the structure of the borrowing language."[1] There is a higher frequency of adverb, preposition, and conjunction loans in Tigre of Gindaʿ than that

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1   Aitchison, p. 150.

documented elsewhere in Tigre.[2] The breadth of Arabic loans suggests that contact is substantial. It is consistent with the "intensive contact" and "spontaneous borrowing from all lexical categories" observed by Mithun.[3]

Several factors contribute to the extent of Arabic influence: the intensity of language contact, the informants' bilingualism, the prestige of Arabic, and the genetic similarities between Tigre and Arabic.

7.1.2.1   Intensity of Contact

Although it is impossible to predict the exact linguistic outcome when languages are in contact, a few generalizations have been made. The greater the intensity of contact is, the greater the probability of linguistic change will be.[4] Non-basic vocabulary is most easily borrowed, and inflectional morphology is least easily borrowed.[5] Nouns are more easily borrowed than verbs.[6] The evidence in Tigre of Gindaꜥ is consistent with level two of Thomason's four-level borrowing scale, "slightly more intense contact."[7] Thomason's warning about neatly packaged hierarchies of language contact is worth repeating here:

> Trying to sort out the linguistic results of language change plunges us immediately into a region of enormous complexity. . . . [T]he . . . deceptively tidy categories . . . should be viewed as very rough approximations, or abstractions, of a very messy reality. . . . [P]redicting when significant contact-induced change can occur and what kinds will occur is a matter of probabilities, not possibilities.[8]

7.1.2.2   Bilingualism

Although fluency in the source language is not necessary for borrowing to occur, there is clearly more opportunity for borrowing when target language speakers are conversant in the source language.[9] It is important to note, then,

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2 Of the more than 1,000 loans identified by Leslau (in "Arabic Loanwords" and "Additional Arabic Loanwords"), 12 non-noun, non-verb loans are documented (seven adverbs, three interjections, and two prepositions). In the present study approximately 75 new loans are presented, but there are fifteen non-noun, non-verb loans among them (eight adverbs, two prepositions, and five conjunctions). Thus the frequency of non-noun, non-verb loans is close to 1% in Leslau's studies (12/1000) and approximately 20% in the present study (15/75).

3   p. 6.

4   Thomason, pp. 66–71.

5   Ibid., p. 69; Hock, p. 384.

6   Hock, p. 386.

7   p. 70. The other stages are 1. Casual contact, 3. More intense contact, and 4. Intense contact.

8   Ibid., pp. 59–61.

9   Ibid., 69, 72.

that the dialect recorded in the present study might better be called an idio-lect, and it may reflect more borrowing from Arabic than other speakers of Tigre of Ginda', since the informants have attended Arabic primary and se-condary schools.

7.1.2.3   Prestige

Prestige is often cited as a sociological factor that contributes to linguistic bor-rowing.[10] Prestige may contribute to the pharyngealization of the emphatic consonant *ṭ* in the "Traditional Decorations" text (cf. 7.1.4 below). This was the only text recorded in the informants' hometown, Ginda', and the speaker's family was present.

7.1.2.4   Genetic Similarity

Thomason states that the largest class of exceptions to the borrowing scale involves languages that are genetically similar.[11] Borrowing is easier because the source language's forms and structures more closely match those of the tar-get language. The similarity of feminine and plural noun endings and of per-fect verb forms may contribute to the extent of Arabic loans in Tigre of Ginda'.

Feminine nouns in -*at* / -*a*

(572)   *'ammat* 'paternal aunt' ~ MSA *'amma*

Plural nouns in -*āt*

(573)   *maǧmu'āt* 'gathered ones' ~ MSA *majmū'āt*

Perfect verb forms

TABLE 32   *Correspondence of Tigre of Ginda' and Arabic Perfect Verb Forms*

Tigre		MSA	
A	*ḳatla*	I	*fa'ala*
B	*ḳattala*	II	*fa''ala*
C	*ḳātala*	III	*fā'ala*
'a-A	*'aḳtala*	IV	*'af'ala*
tə-A/B	*təḳattala*	V	*tafa''ala*
tə-C	*təḳātala*	VI	*tafā'ala*

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10   Weinreich, pp. 3, 59–60; Thomason, pp. 77–85; Hock, pp. 409–411.

11   p. 71. See also Hock, pp. 388–389.

7.1.3   *The Question of Retention*

It is plausible that some of the words presented in this section as Arabic loans are in fact retentions from a common linguistic ancestor. This could be the case, for example, where Tigre of Ginda' and Arabic forms are consistent with the historical phonological and morphological developments in the respective languages and/or dialects. Necessarily (since this section only presents words not documented elsewhere in Tigre), other dialects of Tigre would have to have borrowed in order to replace the word that Tigre of Ginda' and Arabic have retained. A thorough analysis is beyond the scope of the present study, but one example is offered.

(574)   Tigre of Ginda' *ḳabilat* 'tribe, people group'; Tigre of Mensa' *gabilat*; MSA *qabīla*

It is plausible that both Tigre of Ginda' and MSA have retained this form while Tigre of Mensa' has replaced it with a colloquial Arabic form.

   According to the classification of Semitic offered by Huehnergard, the common linguistic ancestor of Tigre and Arabic is proto-West Semitic (PWS).[12] Aside from the realization of PWS *ḳ* as an ejective in Tigre but as a pharyngeal in Arabic, the reflexes of the PWS consonants *ḳ*, *b*, and *l* are unchanged in Tigre and Arabic.

(575)   Tigre of Ginda' *ḳ-b-l* = MSA *q-b-l* = PWS *ḳ-b-l*

The vowel difference (Tigre -*i*- vs. Arabic -*ī*-) can be explained if a) the PWS noun stem pattern is assumed to be equivalent to Arabic *ḳabīl-* and b) Tigre is assumed to reduce *i* to *ə*, leaving *ī* as the only remaining high front vowel (*i*), as is the case in Gə'əz (classical Ethiopic).[13]

(576)   Tigre of Ginda' *ḳabil-* = MSA *qabīl-* = PWS *ḳabīl-*

The noun ending difference (Tigre -*at* vs. Arabic -*a*) is explained as the regular feminine singular ending in the respective languages.[14] PWS can be reconstructed as -*at* based on "tā' marbūṭa" in MSA orthography, /t/.

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12   Huehnergard, pp. 3–4.
13   Ibid., p. 40.
14   See above 3.9.5.1 and Caspari I, pp. 183–184.

(577)   Tigre of Ginda' *ḳabilat* = MSA *qabīla* = PWS **ḳabīlat*

Based on this analysis both Tigre of Ginda' and MSA could be retentions from
PWS **ḳabīlat*. Mensa' *gabilat* can be explained as a loan from colloquial Arabic,
possibly Egyptian, in which MSA *q* is realized as *g*.[15] Thus, using this argument,
the presence of *ḳabilat* in Tigre of Ginda' and not in Mensa' would not indicate
an Arabic loan but a PWS retention.

7.1.4   *Arabic Influence on Phonetics*
Pharyngealization of *ṭ* is attested twice in the "Traditional Decorations" text.
See also 7.1.2.3 above. *ṭ* is pharyngealized in colloquial Arabic.[16]

(578)   [læ*t*ˤamaˈja] *laṭṭamayā* 'they-F are thread' (Trad Decorations, line 21)
          [miʃaffaˈ*t*ˤa] *ləššaffaṭā* 'they-F are sewn' (Trad Decorations, line 21)

ḳ is realized several times as [q] and [ʔ] in unstressed syllables. See also 2.2.1.
Note that MSA *q* is realized as [ʔ] in some spoken dialects.[17]

(579)   [haqoˈhæːhaqolæ] *ḥaḳo-hā ḥaḳo-lā* 'then, after . . .' (Trad Decorations, line 6)
          [ʔomˈjæt] *ḳawməyat* 'ethnic group' (Ginda', line 3)

Arabic loans in Tigre of Ginda' are listed below in 7.1.5 to 7.1.7 by part of speech
and in Latin alphabetical order. Each form is accompanied by notes on the
possible Arabic source(s).

7.1.5   *Arabic Noun and Adjective Loans*
Nearly twenty percent of the nouns and adjectives in our corpus are Arabic
loans.

7.1.5.1   Arabic SG *-a* borrowed as *-at*
There are several instances in which an Arabic singular in *-a* is borrowed as *-at*.
This is consistent with previous analyses of Arabic loans in Tigre.[18]

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15   E.g., Egy(Gary), p. 119.
16   E.g., Sud(Persson), p. 3; Egy(Gary), p. 120; Yem(Qafisheh Grammar), p. 2.
17   E.g., Syr(Stowasser), p. xix, records urban dialects in which *q* > [ʔ]. Consider also the PL.N.
     variant for Muqattim, a neighborhood in Cairo: Muʾattim.
18   Leslau, "Arabic Loanwords," p. 132; "Additional Arabic Loanwords," p. 176.

(580)   *daraǧat* 'grade' < *Wehr daraja* 'grade'
        dawrat 'course' < *Wehr daura* 'course'
        ǧāmʿat 'university' < Sud(Persson) *jāmʿa* 'university'
        ḳabilat 'tribe, people group' < *Wehr qabīla* 'tribe'
        madinat 'city' < *Wehr madīna* 'city'
        məhəmmat 'important' < *Wehr muhimma* 'important matter';
        muhimm 'important, significant'

In a few cases, an Arabic plural from is borrowed into Tigre of Ginda' as a form
that is singular in meaning or in both form and meaning.

(581)   *ʾal-mawād* 'subject' < Syr(Stowasser) **mawādd** PL of *māde* 'subject' (noun)
        ḳawməyat 'ethnic group' < Egy(Hinds) *qawmiyya* 'nationalism', PL **qawmiyyāt**
                                    '**nationality**'

In one case the loan could be from the Arabic singular or plural.

(582)   *ʾəǧābat* 'answer' < *Wehr ijāba* 'response, compliance'; PL *ijābāt* 'answer'

In one case an Arabic plural form with a singular meaning is borrowed into
Tigre of Ginda' as a plural form with plural meaning.

(583)   *našāṭāt* 'activities' < *Wehr našāṭ* 'briskness, liveliness', PL **našāṭāt**, *anšiṭa*
        '**activity**, action; strength; vigor'

7.1.5.2   Arabic Word-final Consonant Clusters

Word-final consonant clusters are borrowed into Tigre of Ginda' as a single con-
sonant or with an epenthetic *ə*. This is consistent with the morphology of Tigre
of Ginda' (cf. 3.9.3), in which word-final consonant clusters are not present.

(584)   *bas* 'only' < Sud(Persson) *bass* 'only'
        darəs 'lesson' < *Wehr dars* 'study, studies; lesson; class'
        šakəl 'configuration' < Various dialects *šakl*

In a few cases, the epenthetic vowel is *a*.

(585)   *šaʿab* 'people, people group' < *Wehr šaʿb* 'people, nation, tribe, race'
        ʾakarā 'festival, celebration' < Egy(Hinds) *ʾaxra* (only in construct) 'the end of,
        the outcome of'

7.1.5.3   List of Loans

Loans not documented elsewhere in Tigre are listed here. For items occurring in an Appendix I text, a reference is given.

(586)   *ʾaḥdar* 'green' (Trad Decorations, line 11)
          Wehr axḍar 'green'

          ʾakara 'farmers' (Coffee Ceremony, line 11)
          Wehr akara PL of *akkār* 'plowman'

          ʾakarā 'festival, celebration'
          (Coffee Ceremony, lines 4 and 9; Trad Decorations, line 2)
          Egy(Hinds) *ʾaxra* (only in construct) 'the end of, the outcome of';
          Syr(Stowasser) 'end' *ʾāxer* (e.g. 'at the end of the month' *ᵊb-ʾāxer ᵊš-šahᵊr*)
          In Tigre of Ginda', *ʾakarā* is not attested in a construct sequence; it occurs alone.
             dib ʾakarā 'at a festival' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)
             kəmsal ʾakarā 'like a celebration'(Coffee Ceremony, line 9); 'such as a
             festival'
             (Trad Decorations, line 2)
          A semantic shift from 'end' to 'festival, celebration' would account for the
          occurrences in Tigre of Ginda'.[19]
             *ʾakarā hədāy: 'wedding festival' :: *ʾakarā* : X = 'festival'

          ʾal-ḳəsmə l-ʾadabi 'Social Sciences department' (Ḥamid and I, line 10)
          Wehr qism 'division; section; department'; *ʾadabī* 'moral; literary'; *ʾal-qismul-*
          ʾadabī 'humanities division'; Egy(Hinds) *ʾil-qism il-ʾadabi* 'the Arts Depart-
          ment' (of a secondary school)

          ʾal-mawād 'subject' (Ḥamid and I, line 10)
          Syr(Stowasser) *mawādd* (also *mawdūʿ, mawaḍīʿ*) PL of *māde* 'subject' (noun)

          ʾal-məhəm 'requirement' (Ḥamid and I, line 10)
          Wehr muhimma 'important matter'; PL *muhimmāt* 'requirements; equip-
          ment; provisions'; *muhimm* 'important, significant'; Sud(Bergman) *almuhim*
          discourse marker 'the fact, the important thing is'

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19   Reinterpretation such as that discussed here for *ʾakarā* is a common mechanism for
      semantic change (Hock, p. 296). The existence of other, more common words for 'end' in
      Tigre, such as *gərrā* 'back (e.g. rear of a bus)' and *makallasi* 'end, close', may also contri-
      bute to the reinterpretation of *ʾakarā* as 'festival, celebration'.

ʾarbaʿin '40' (Gindaʿ, line 8)
Various dialects *arbaʿīn* '40'

ʾas-sana l-ʾula 'first-year student' (Ḥamid and I, line 10)
Wehr sana 'year'; *ūlā* 'first-F'; Cf. MSA *al-sanatu l-ūlā* 'the first year'

ʾaškāl 'patterns' (Trad Decorations, line 22)
Wehr aškāl PL of *šakl* 'similarity, resemblance; form, shape; type, pattern; sort, kind'

ʾawal, *ʾawalāyt* 'first' (Making Coffee, line 5)
Wehr awwal 'first; foremost'.
 For ordinals in *-āyt*, see 3.16.2 and *TGT*, p. 78.

ʾayyām 'days' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)
Wehr ayyām PL of *yawm* 'day'

ʾəǧābat 'answer' (Making Coffee, line 2)
Wehr ijāba 'response, compliance'; PL *ijābāt* 'answer'

ʾəmtəḥān 'examination' (Ḥamid and I, line 6, 14, and 15)
Wehr imtiḥān 'test, experiment; examination'

ʿəšrin '20' (Ḥamid and I, line 12)
Various dialects *ʿišrīn* '20'

daraǧat 'grade' (Ḥamid and I, line 7)
Wehr daraja 'step; grade; mark; class'; PL *darajāt*

darəs 'lesson'
Wehr dars 'study, studies; lesson; class'
 The borrowing of a word-final consonant cluster into Tigre of Gindaʿ with an epenthetic vowel is consistent with Tigre noun morphology (cf. 3.9.1 to 3.9.4), in which there are no word-final consonant clusters.

dawrat 'course' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)
Wehr daura 'study course, refresher course; study session'

dəʿā 'prayer' (Making Coffee, line 20)
Wehr duʿāʾ 'call; invocation, prayer'

fasəl 'class (students in the same cohort in school)' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)
Wehr faṣl 'parting; separation; division; class, grade; classroom'
>   Note also the unrelated *fasla* 'proclaim, preach' in*Wörterbuch.*

ǧāmʿat 'university' (Ḥamid and I, line 7)
Sud(Persson) *jāmʿa* 'university'
>   Note also that the pronunciation of Tigre *ǧamāʿat* 'gathering' (which is also
>   an Arabic loan) as [ʤæmiʕat] in line 2 of "Making Coffee" is likely bor-
>   rowed from *ǧāmʿat* 'university'.

ǧəwār 'proximity' (Coffee Ceremony, line 12)
Wehr jiwār 'neighborhood, proximity'

ḥabbār 'coloring' (Trad Decorations, line 10)
Egy(Hinds) *ḥabbar* 'ink over, apply ink to'; *ʾitḥabbar* 'be inked'
>   See 3.12.2.2 for the verbal noun from the B stem.

ḥasab 'quantity' (Making Coffee, line 4)
Wehr ḥasab 'quantity'
>   Note the unrelated entry in *Wörterbuch ḥasba* 'think, deliberate'; *ḥasab*
>   'clientship; client; sacrifice of covenant'; *ḥasāb* 'thought, opinion, belief;
>   meaning; (verbal) tradition'.

ḥašəm 'entourage' (Coffee Ceremony, line 5)
Egy(Hinds)*, Wehr ḥašam* 'servants, entourage'
>   Note also *Wörterbuch ḥašəm* 'troop, group (4–10 people)', whose meaning
>   is very close to 'entourage' but which does have not the sense of servitude
>   or kinship in Arabic *ḥašam*.

kəlāb 'dogs'
Wehr kilāb PL of *kalb* 'dog'
>   Note *Wörterbuch ʾaklāb* PL of *kaləb*, F *kalbat* 'dog'. Both *kəlāb* and *ʾaklāb*
>   were provided in the present study in isolated elicitations for 'dogs'.

kəranəkəs 'kirenikis (decorative item comprised of lattices sewn together)'
(Trad Decorations, line 20)
>   Cf. *Wehr karnak* 'brand of Egyptian cotton' (< PL.N. near Luxor)?

kətəb 'books'
Wehr kutub PL of *kitāb* 'book'
>   Note *Wörterbuch ʾakətbat* PL of *kətāb* 'book'. Both *kətəb* and *ʾakətbat* were
>   provided in the present study for 'books'.

keṭ 'thread' (Trad Decorations, lines 20 and 21)
Egy(Hinds) *xēṭ* 'thread'; Yem(Qafisheh) *xayṭ* (less common variant *xēṭ*) 'thread'

ḳabilat 'tribe, people group'
Wehr qabīla 'tribe'
　　Note *Wörterbuch ḳabili* 'men of the tribe (who are not soldiers)'.

ḳawməyat 'ethnic group' (Gindaʿ, line 3)
Egy(Hinds) *qawmiyyāt* 'ethnic group' PL of *qawmiyya* 'nationalism'; *Wehr qawmīyāt* 'nationality' PL of *qawmīya* 'nationalism'

lawāzəm 'necessities' (Coffee Ceremony, line 10)
Wehr lawāzim (PL) 'necessary, inseparable attributes; necessities; fixtures'

linat 'light (in color)' (Trad Decorations, line 11)
Egy(Hinds) *līn* 'softness, gentleness'

madrasa 'school' (Ḥamid and I, line 1)
Wehr madrasa 'primary school'
　　Note *Wörterbuch madrasat* 'school', which is attested in line 2 of the "Ḥamid and I" text.

maǧmuʿāt 'gathered-PL, persons gathered together formally'
(Coffee Ceremony, line 5)
Yem(Qafisheh) *majmūʿ* 'gathered, collected'; Yem(Piamenta) *majmūʿa* 'gathering'; Sud(Persson) *majmūʿāt* PL of *majmūʿa* 'group of people associated formally'; *Wehr maǧmūʿāt* PL of *maǧmūʿa* 'collection; compilation; group; series; group (persons belonging together)'

maḥzan 'store'
Wehr maxzan 'storeroom; depository; stockroom; store, shop'
　　Note also Tigre *makzan* 'store room'.[20]

manaffəʿ 'uses' (Trad Decorations, line 2)
Wehr manāfiʿ PL of *manfaʿa* 'use, benefit; useful service; advantage, profit, gain'
　　Note the singular forms in *Wörterbuch*: *manfaʿat, manfāʿət* 'usefulness, use'.

20　　Leslau, "Additional Arabic Loanwords," p. 182.

maṭʿam 'restaurant'
Wehr maṭʿam 'restaurant'

mədarrəs 'teacher'
Wehr mudarris 'teacher, instructor'

madinat 'city'
Wehr madīna 'town, city'

məhəmmat 'important' (Coffee Ceremony, line 2)
Wehr muhimma 'important matter'; *muhimm* 'important, significant'

mənasba, PL *mənasabāt* 'special occasion' (Coffee Ceremony, lines 8 and 4 respectively)
Egy(Hinds) *munasbāt* PL of *munasba* 'occasion'; *fil-munasbāt* 'on special occasions'; Yem(Qafisheh), *Wehr munāsabāt* PL of *munāsaba* 'occasion'

nasʾəlo 'question' (Making Coffee, line 9)
Yem(Piamenta) *masʾal* 'question'; Sud(Persson) *asʾila* 'questions'; *Wehr masʾala* 'question'
> Note also *Wörterbuch masʾəl* 'news, account'. Word-final *o* is also documented in Tigre noun forms.[21]

našāṭāt 'activities' (Making Coffee, line 15)
Wehr našāṭ 'briskness, liveliness', PL *našāṭāt, anšiṭa* 'activity, action; strength; vigor'

raʿaš 'sequin(s?)' (Trad Decorations, line 17)
Cf. Egy(Hinds) *rāyiš* 'metal filings or shavings (esp impurities)'? *Wehr* II *raqqaša* 'adorn, embellish, decorate'?

sabʿa 'seven' (Ḥamid and I, line 12)
Wehr sabʿa 'seven'

suʾāl 'question' (Making Coffee, lines 1, 2, 15, and 16)
Wehr suʾāl 'question; request; inquiry'

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21   "Sketches," pp. 169–170.

suḵ 'market'
Wehr sūq 'bazaar street, market'

ša'ab 'people, people group' (Coffee Ceremony, lines 2 and 8)
Various dialects *ša'b* 'people'

šabakāt 'lattices' (Trad Decorations, line 20)
Wehr šabakāt PL of *šabaka* 'net; grid; netting; fishing net'

šakəl 'configuration' (Coffee Ceremony, line 5)
Various dialects *šakl* 'appearance; configuration; type'

šārə' 'street'
Wehr šāri' 'street'
Note also *Wörterbuch šarə'* 'trench'

walad 'son' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)
Various dialects *walad* 'child'
    This loan is attested once, as part of the Tigrinya loan translation *walad səs
    sanat* 'six years old' (cf. Tigrinya *wäddi šədəste 'amät 'əyye* 'I am six years
    old' and Tigre of Mensa' *'əmərye 'əsrā sanat tu* 'I am 20 years old'[22]).

wəḵat 'time, instance' (Coffee Ceremony, line 7)
Wehr waqt 'time; period of time, time span; moment, instant'
    This form is documented in *Wörterbuch* : *wuḵat*, *wəḵat* 'time; at the time
    when, when'. The influence of Arabic is observed in the pronunciation of
    wəḵat in Tigre of Ginda' as [wɐt]. In urban Syrian Arabic *q* is pronounced
    as [ʔ].

zanǧabil 'ginger' (Making Coffee, line 11)
Wehr zanjabīl 'ginger'
    Note also *Wörterbuch ǧanǧabil* 'ginger'

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22   For Tigrinya see Oriolo, *et. al.*, pp. 4–5. For Mensa' see Yemane, pp. 95–96.

7.1.6   *Arabic Verb Loans*

Nearly ten percent of the verbs in the present corpus are Arabic loans. Loans
follow the inflexional patterns of verbs in Tigre of Ginda'. In some cases there
is not an exact match between the Tigre and Arabic verb stems.[23]

(587)   **ᵃsbaḳa* [24] 'he dyed' (ʾa-A) ~ Syr(Stowasser) *ṣabaǵ* 'dye'
          *ḥafza 'he prepared' (A) ~ *Wehr* V *təḥaffaza* 'prepare oneself'
          *kafəḥa 'he slapped' (A) ~ *Wehr kafaḥa* 'confront'; III *kāfaḥa* 'combat, fight'

Loans not documented elsewhere in Tigre are listed here.

(588)   *ʾakbara* (ʾa-A) 'he informed'
          Wehr xabara 'try, test; experience; know well'; IV *axbara* 'notify, inform,
          apprise'

> Note also Tigre of Ginda' *la'akabbərro halla* 'he is informing', *ʾəgəl la'akbərro
> tu* 'he will inform', and *ʾakbarayo* 'he informed him'. See also 4.16 for ʾa-A verbs.

          ʾansaḥabko (ʾan-) 'I withdrew' (Ḥamid and I, line 9)
          Wehr insaḥaba VII 'drag oneself'

> Note *Wörterbuch saḥba* 'draw, draw after, drag'. *ʾansaḥabko* is the only ʾan-
> verb form attested in the present corpus. While ʾan- verbs with quadri-con-
> sonantal roots are attested in Tigre of Mensaʿ,[25] no tri-consonantal forms
> such as *ʾansaḥabko* are documented. See also 4.17 for ʾan- verbs.

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23   Arabic and Tigre of Ginda' verb stems correspond as follows:

Arabic		Tigre of Ginda'	
I	*faʿala*	A	*ḳatla*
II	*faʿʿala*	B	*ḳattala*
III	*fāʿala*	C	*ḳātala*
IV	*ʾafʿala*	ʾa-A	*ʾaḳtala*
V	*tafaʿʿala*	BPASS	*ḳattala*
V	*tafaʿʿala*	tə-A/B	*təḳattala*
VI	*tafāʿala*	CPASS	*ḳātala*
VI	*tafāʿala*	tə-C	*təḳātala*

24   An asterisk accompanies a perfect verb that is not itself attested in the present corpus.
25   *TGT*, pp. 54–55, 139; "Verb," pp. 14, 23–25; "Verbum I," p. 178; and "Verbum II," pp. 23–24.

ʾasbaḳa (ʾa-A) 'he dyed'

Syr(*Stowasser*) ṣabaǵ 'dye'; Wehr ṣabaǵa 'dye, stain', iṣtabaǵa 'be dyed, stained'
> Note the attested forms ʾasbaḳayo 'he has dyed it' (Trad Decorations, line 10) and ləssabbaḳ 'it is dyed' (Trad Decorations, line 8). See 4.16 for ʾa-A verbs and 4.13 for tə-A/B verbs.

ʾastabda (ʾasta-) 'he started'

Egy(*Hinds*) istabda 'make a start, begin'
> Note also ʾastabdena 'we started' (Ḥamid and I, line 1). *Wörterbuch* has unrelated forms that share the same root consonant sequence, b-d-O : badā 'perish, go astray, set (a star)', ʾabdā 'destroy', təbādā 'perish', ʾatbādā 'make perish'. See also 4.17 for ʾasta- verbs.

*ʾastawrada (ʾasta-) 'he imported'

Wehr istawrada 'have something supplied, buy; import'
> Note the attested form naʾastawrəddā 'we import it' (Coffee Ceremony, line 12). *Wörterbuch* has unrelated forms that share the same root consonant sequence, w-r-d: warda 'descend'; ʾatwarrada 'claim a lawsuit'; təwarrada 'bet, be at law'; təwārada 'be at law, quarrel'. See also 4.17 for ʾasta- verbs.

ʾawra (ʾa-A) 'one starts a fire' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)

Wehr warā, IV ʾawrā 'kindle fire'

*ʿalla (BPASS) 'it was consecrated'

Wehr II ʿallā 'raise'; V təʿallā 'rise, become high'
> Note the attested form təʿalla 'it-M is consecrated' (Making Coffee, line 20).

*ḥafza (A) 'he prepared'

Wehr ḥafaza 'pierce, stab; incite'; V təḥaffaza 'prepare oneself, get ready'
> Note the attested form in Tigre of Gindaʿ: ḥafzaw 'they prepared'.

*kafəḥa (A) 'he slapped'

Wehr kafaḥa 'confront'; kāfaḥa 'combat, fight'
> Note the attested form in Tigre of Gindaʿ: kaffəḥ 'slap'.

*təkarra (tə-A/B) 'it was repeated'

Wehr II karra 'repeat, reiterate'; V təkarrara 'be repeated, reiterated, rectified; be purified, refined'
> Note the attested form tətkarra 'it is repeated' (Making Coffee, line 13).

təkona (tə-A/B) 'it was made'
Wehr V *təkawwana* 'be created; be made up'
> Note the attested form *lətkawan* 'it is made' (Trad Decorations, line 13).

wāsala (C) 'he continued'
Wehr III *wāṣala* 'continue'
> Note the attested forms *yə-wāsalko-n* 'I did not continue' (Ḥamid and I, line 9), *wāslo* 'they continue' (Making Coffee, line 7), *ʾəgəl ləwāslo ya-ḥazzu-n* 'they do not want to continue' (Making Coffee, line 8), and *ʾəgəl ʾəwāsəl lətgabbaʾanni* 'hoping that I could continue' (Ḥamid and I, line 9).

7.1.7 *Arabic Adverb, Preposition, and Conjunction Loans*
Loans not documented elsewhere in Tigre are listed here.

7.1.7.1   Adverbs

(589)   *ʾaywa 'yes'*
Various dialects *ʾaywa* 'yes'

bas 'only' (Ḥamid and I, line 11)
Various dialects *bass* 'only'
> Note also *bas ʾikonini* 'not only' (Trad Decorations, line 15). The borrowing of word-final *ss* into Tigre of Gindaʿ as *s* is consistent with Tigre noun morphology (cf. 3.9.1 to 3.9.4), in which there are no word-final consonant clusters.

ḥawālay 'approximately' (Gindaʿ, line 2)
Wehr ḥawālay 'around; (with a following number) approximately'

kamān 'also' (Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
Various dialects 'also'
> Note *Wörterbuch kamān* (neuArb) 'auch'.

lā, lā lā 'no'
Wehr lāʾ 'not, no!'

marrā (*marra* ?) 'very' (Coffee Ceremony, line 2)
Yem(Qafisheh, Piamenta) *marrah* 'very'
> The final vowel of the form in Tigre of Gindaʿ is uncertain due to the limited number of attestations in the present corpus.

sumuy 'very' (Ḥamid and I, line 11; Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
  Cf. *Wehr sumūw* 'height, exaltedness' ?

ṭabʿan 'naturally' (Ḥamid and I, line 11; Coffee Ceremony, line 3)
Egy(Hinds) *ṭabʿan* 'of course, naturally'; Sud(Persson), Yem(Qafisheh) *ṭabʿan*
'of course, certainly'

7.1.7.2   Prepositions

(590)   *ṭabʿan* 'concerning' (Making Coffee, lines 1, 3, 9, 15, and 17)
Wehr tabaʿan li 'in consequence of'; Egy(Hinds) *tabaʿ* 'belonging to, member
of' (PREP)
  This loan has merged form with *ṭabʿan* 'naturally (ADV); now, so, so then
  (CONJ)'.

ʿala 'according to' (Making Coffee, line 4)
Wehr, Yem(Qafisheh), Egy(Hinds) *ʿala* 'according to'

7.1.7.3   Conjunctions

(591)   *badal* 'instead of'
Various dialects *badal, badal ma* 'instead of' (CONJ)

fā (*fa* ?) 'and so, now' (Coffee Ceremony, line 4)
Wehr fa 'then, and so, therefore, but then'
  The final vowel of the form in Tigre of Gindaʿ is uncertain due to the lim-
  ited number of occurrences in the present corpus.

lākin 'but'
Wehr lākin 'however, yet, but'

ṭabʿan 'now, so, so then'
(Coffee Ceremony, lines 1, 5, and 11; Trad Decorations, line 19)
Various dialects *ṭabʿan* 'of course, naturally, certainly'

walā 'or' (Ḥamid and I, line 15)
Sud(Persson) *walla* 'or', *Wehr wa-illā* 'otherwise, else'

ṭabʿan is not documented as the conjunction 'now' in the colloquial Arabic
sources consulted in the present study. Its presence in Tigre of Gindaʿ may be

explained by grammaticalization. The adverb *ṭabʿan* 'naturally' is reanalyzed as the conjunction 'now, so, so then'. This is consistent with cross-linguistic evidence in which a copula is grammaticalized as a consecutive element.[26]

COPULA > CONSECUTIVE 'and then, thereafter'

(592)   Ex.: Shona
        Emphatic copula *ndi-* + NOUN
        used in a cleft sentence   >   Clitic *ndi-* + INFINITIVE 'and then'
        'it is (indeed) X'

(593)   Tigre of Ginda'
        Adverb *ṭabʿan* + CLAUSE   >   Conjunction *ṭabʿan* + CLAUSE
        'naturally, of course (it is X)'   'now, so, so then'

7.1.8   *Phonetic Treatment of Arabic Loans*
The following table depicts the correspondence of Tigre of Ginda' and Arabic consonants and vowels, as exhibited in the loans discussed above. Examples follow.

TABLE 33   *Correspondence of Tigre of Ginda' and Arabic Consonants and Vowels*

Tigre of Ginda'	Arabic	Tigre of Ginda'	Arabic
d	*d, ḍ*	*i*	*ī*
t	*t*	*a*	*a*
ṭ	*ṭ*	*ā*	*ā*
k	*k, x*	*ə*	*i, u, a?*
ḳ	*q*	*u*	*u, ū*
s	*s, ṣ*		
ʿ	*ʿ*		
ḥ	*x, ḥ*		
ǧ	*j*		

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26   Heine and Kuteva, p. 95. The authors do note, however, that "more data are required to substantiate" this type of grammaticalization.

Arabic	Tigre of Ginda'	Arabic	Tigre of Ginda'
d	*d*	*i*	*ə*
ḍ	*d*	*ī*	*i*
t	*t*	*a*	*a, ə?*
ṭ	*ṭ*	*u*	*ə, u*
k	*k*	*ū*	*u*
q	*ḳ*		
s	*s*		
ṣ	*s*		
x	*k, ḥ*		
ḥ	*ḥ*		
j	*ǧ*		

These correspondences jibe with earlier studies on Arabic loans in Tigre[27] and are consistent with cross-linguistic evidence.[28] Examples that are uncertain or in which other factors appear to play a part, such as Tigre of Ginda' *ṭabʿan* < Arabic *tabaʿ, tabaʿan li; nasʾəlo < masʾal; raʿaš < rāyiš* or *raqqaša; ʾasbaḳa < ṣabaǵa;* and *fā < fa* are excluded.

(594)   *d < d* :   **daras** 'lesson' < *Wehr* **dars**

         d < ḍ :   **ʾaḥdar** 'green' < *Wehr* **axḍar**

         t < t :   **ʾəmtəḥān** 'examination' > *Wehr* **imtiḥān**

         ṭ < ṭ :   **maṭʿam** 'restaurant' < *Wehr* **maṭʿam** 'restaurant'

                     ṭabʿan 'naturally' < Egy(Hinds) **ṭabʿan**

         k < k :   **ʾaškāl** 'patterns' < *Wehr* **aškāl**

                     kamān 'also' < Sud(Persson) **kamān** 'as well'

         k < x :   **keṭ** 'thread' < *Wehr* **xaiṭ**

                     ʾakbara 'he informed' < *Wehr* **axbara**

                     ʾakarā 'festival, celebration' < Egy(Hinds) **ʾaxra** (only in construct)

                     'the end of, the outcome of'

         ḳ < q :   **ḳawmeyat** 'ethnic group' < Egy(Hinds) **qawmiyyāt** 'nationality'

                     ḳabilat 'tribe' < *Wehr* **qabīla**

27   Leslau, "Arabic Loanwords," "Additional Arabic Loanwords," and *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic.*

28   Aitchison, p. 150: "[A]dopted items tend to be changed to fit in with the structure of the borrower's language . . ."

s < s :   *suʾāl* 'question' < *Wehr suʾāl*

             darəs 'lesson' < *Wehr dars*

s < ṣ :   *fasəl* 'class' < *Wehr faṣl*

             *wāsala 'he continued' < *Wehr wāṣala*

ʿ < ʿ :   *šaʿab* 'people, people group' < *Wehr šaʿb*

             ʿəšrin '20' < Sud(Persson), Yem(Qafisheh) *ʿišrīn*

             dəʿā 'prayer' < *Wehr duʿāʾ*

ḥ < x :   *ʾaḥdar* 'green' < *Wehr axḍar*

             maḥzan 'store' < *Wehr maxzan*

ḥ < ḥ :   *ʾəmtəḥān* 'examination' < *Wehr imtiḥān*

ǧ < j :   *ʾəǧābat* 'answer' < *Wehr ijāba, ijābāt*

             ǧāmʿat 'university' < Sud(Persson) *jāmʿa*

                Note that *ǧ* and *j* are simply transliteration conventions used in Tigre and Arabic respectively, for the alveopalatal affricate [dʒ].

i < ī :   *zanǧabil* 'ginger' <*Wehr zanjabīl*

ā < ā :   *kəlāb* 'dogs' < *Wehr kilāb*

a < a :   *as-sana l-ʾula* 'first-year student' < *Wehr sana*

ə < i, u :   *ʾal-məhəm* 'requirement' < Sud(Bergman) *almuhim*

             məhəmmat 'important' < *Wehr muhimma, muhimm*

             ʾəǧābat 'answer' < *Wehr ijāba, ijābāt*

             kətəb 'books' < *Wehr kutub*

ə < a ? :   *ḥašəm* 'entourage' < Egy(Hinds), *Wehr ḥašam*

u < u :   *suʾāl* 'question' < *Wehr suʾāl*

u < ū :   *ʾas-sana l-ʾula* 'first-year student' < *Wehr ūlā*

             suḵ 'market' < *Wehr sūq*

7.1.9   *Arabic Influence on Syntax*

The word order NOUN + ADJECTIVE in noun phrases in Tigre of Gindaʿ (cf. 6.1.1) is likely borrowed from Arabic. Several dialects employ this word order.[29] That Tigre of Gindaʿ has borrowed this syntactic feature is suggested by the inconsistency of noun phrase word order (NOUN + ADJECTIVE) and modifying relative clause word order (MODIFIER + NOUN or NOUN + MODIFIER; cf. 6.6.1.2). Compare Mensaʿ, in which noun phrases and modifying relative clauses exhibit the same word order pattern (ADJECTIVE/MODIFIER + NOUN or NOUN + ADJECTIVE/MODIFIER).[30]

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29   E.g., Sud(Bergman), pp. 50–51, and Egy(Gary), p. 33.

30   *TGT*, pp. 32, 43; "Sketches," pp. 183, 190.

7.2   Tigrinya

There is a limited amount of Tigrinya influence on Tigre of Gindaʿ. This influence is exhibited in a few loanwords and in the negative forms *ya-halla-nni* and *yə-* . . . *-n(i)*.

7.2.1   *Contact with Tigrinya*
Tigrinya is one of the national languages of Eritrea. It is spoken alongside Tigre and Saho in Gindaʿ, where the present study's dialect is spoken (cf. "Gindaʿ" text, line 3). In addition, the present study's informants attended secondary school and university in Asmara (cf. "Ḥamid and I" text, lines 5–15), where Tigrinya is the predominant language.

7.2.2   *Tigrinya Forms*
Several forms and one phrase are borrowed into Tigre of Gindaʿ from Tigrinya.

–   *ʾab* 'in, with, by, as, among, about, concerning, to, because of' (cf. 5.2)

ʾab is not documented elsewhere in Tigre and is likely borrowed from Tigrinya *ʾab* 'in, into, at, on, onto, upon'. In Tigre of Gindaʿ, *ʾab* occurs interchangeably with *ʾəb*, which is attested in Tigre of Mensaʿ as 'in, through, with, by, because of'.[31] The close phonetic relationship of *ʾab* and *ʾəb* probably contributes to the co-occurrence of *kamsal* and *kəmsal* 'like, as' in Tigre of Gindaʿ (cf. (376) and (377)), as over against *Wörterbuch*, in which only *kəmsal* is documented.

–   *ʾənda* + IPRF 'while'; + PRF 'after' (cf. 5.3.2.1)

Leslau documents the use of *ʾənda* + PRF alongside *ʾəndo* + PRF 'after'.[32] In the present study only *ʾənda* is attested. Tigrinya *ʾəndä* + PRF, which expresses concomitance,[33] is likely the source of the form in the present dialect. In Tigre of Gindaʿ the use of *ʾənda* has spread to the imperfect as well, replacing *ʾəndo*. *ʾənda* + IPRF is not documented elsewhere in the literature on Tigre.

–   *ʿəmbobā* 'popcorn' (Coffee Ceremony, line 9; Making Coffee, line 19)
    Tigrinya *ʿəmbaba* 'flower, blossom; popped or parched grain'.

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31   *Wörterbuch*.
32   "Observations," p. 137.
33   TED.

Cf. also Tigre of Ginda‘ *ʾəmbobat* 'flower', PL *ʾəmbobā*, and *Wörterbuch ʾəmbobā, ʾənbobā* 'flower'; *ʾanabbəb, ʾənbobātāt* 'flowers'.

– *bāni* 'bread' (Making Coffee, line 18)
  Tigrinya *bani* 'bread' (from Italian *pane idem*)

– *šəḵāḵ* 'bathroom'
  Tigrinya *šəḵaḵ* 'latrine, toilet, restroom'

– *walad səs sanat* 'six years old' (Ḥamid and I, line 3)
  This is a Tigrinya loan translation (cf. *wäddi* in Tigrinya—*wäddi šədəste ‘amät ʾəyyä* 'I am six years old'—and Tigre of Mensa‘ without *walad*—*ʾəmərye ‘əsrā sanat tu* 'I am 20 years old'). See also 7.1.5.3 for the Arabic loan *walad* 'child'.

7.2.3   *The Negative of the Verb of Existence*

The negative of the verb of existence (cf. 4.2.4) *ya-halla-nni* has probably developed by analogy to the Tigrinya forms.

(595)   Tigrinya *ʾällo* 'there-M is' : *y-ällä-n* 'there-M is not' :: Tigre of Ginda‘ *halla* : X
          X = **ya-halla-n*[34]

The negativizing elements here are prefix *ya-* and suffix *-n*. For *ya-*, note the assimilation of *a* to a following [h] in 2.13.2.4. For *-ni* in *ya-halla-nni*, consider the negative of the 3 COP *ʾikon(i(ni))* (cf. Table 14). Also note that the suffix *-(n)ni* appears to be optional for some forms of the negative verb of existence, perhaps because the biform *ʾi-halla* is not suffixed: 1CS *ya-halleko(-nni)* 'I am not (in a place)' (cf. *ʾi-halleko*).

The negative of the 1 and 2 COP *yənta* 'you-MS are not', etc., which is not suffixed, and the negative morpheme *yə-* . . . *-n(i)* (cf. 4.18), which is a variant of *ʾi-* + verb, are probably taken from *ya-halla-nni*. For deletion of ʾ in *yənta* (cf. affirmative *ʾənta* in 4.1), consider Tigrinya *ʾällo* > *y-ällä-n*. For the absence of a suffix on *yənta*, consider *ʾi-halla*.

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34   For deletion of ʾ in Tigrinya *ʾällo* > *y-ällä-n*, consider *z-ällo* 'that which is (in a place)' = REL *zə-* + *ʾällo*: *ʾäwwəšṭi-zi z-ällo mäṣḥaf* 'the book that is inside here'. For *o* in *ʾällo* vs. *ä* in *y-ällä-n*, consider the alternation of *o* with *ä* in the suffixed forms of the verb of existence: *kämäy ʾälloḵa / ʾälläḵa* 'how are you-MS doing?'

7.3   Other Languages

Several loans into Tigre of Gindaʿ that are not documented elsewhere in Tigre come from languages other than Arabic and Tigrinya—namely from Amharic, English, and Italian.

7.3.1   *Amharic*

Amharic is the national language of Ethiopia, which is Eritrea's neighbor to the south. Until 1993, Eritrea was the northernmost province of Ethiopia, and for many years Amharic was a mandatory subject in primary and secondary schools. The informants of the present study learned Amharic during their years in primary school.

One possible Amharic loan is attested in the present corpus, a variant meaning of the verb *gabʾa* 'become, happen'.

(596)   **gabʾa* 'enter, go into' (Making Coffee, lines 10–13)
        Amharic *gäbba* 'come in, go in, get home, enter'
            Note the forms attested in Tigre of Gindaʿ: *gabbiʾ* 'it-M/F goes' (Making
            Coffee, lines 10, 12, and 13), *gabʾat* 'it-F went' (line 12), and *gaʾa* 'it-M went'
            (line 13). *gaʾa* is documented in *Wörterbuch* as a variant of *gabʾa* 'become,
            happen'.

Elsewhere in Tigre of Gindaʿ and in Tigre, this verb is 'become, happen' or expresses subjunctive mood (cf. 6.4.5.1).

(597)   *məslā*   *la-*   **gabbiʾ**   *našāṭāt*   *mən-*   *halla*
        WITH-IT-F REL ***IT-M/F-HAPPENS*** ACTIVITIES WHETHER THERE-M-IS
        'whether there are any activities that occur with it' (Making Coffee, line 15)

In a number of instances in the "Making Coffee" text, however, 'enter, go into' is the only plausible rendering of *gabʾa*.

(598)   *ḥako-lā ḵallet*   *dib*   *madagdag* **gabbiʾ**   *wa-*
        AFTER IT-F-WAS-ROASTED INTO MORTAR   IT-F-GOES AND
        tədagdag
        IT-F-IS-CRUSHED
        'after it has been roasted, ***it goes*** in a mortar and is crushed'
        (Making Coffee, line 10)

It is also plausible that *gabʾa* 'enter' is retained from a parent source (cf. Gǝʿǝz *gabʾa* 'go back, return') in Tigre of Gindaʿ but lost elsewhere in Tigre.

7.3.2   *English*
English is one of the national languages of Eritrea, alongside Tigrinya and Arabic. English is the language of instruction at the University of Asmara, where the informants of the present study are enrolled. English is also the language of instruction in many secondary schools.

Several nouns in Tigre of Gindaʿ are English loans. Three pertain to education.

(599)   *botǝl* 'bottle' (Making Coffee, line 3)
          Used as a secondary term for *ǧabanat* 'coffee bottle'.

          fāynāl 'final examination' (Ḥamid and I, line 15)

          karton 'carton'

          kilomǝtǝr 'kilometer' (Gindaʿ, lines 8 and 9)

          mātrik 'matriculation' (Ḥamid and I, line 6)
          Used only in the term *ʾǝmtǝḥān nay mātrik* 'matriculation examination (for university entrance)'.

          sakšan 'section' (Ḥamid and I, lines 11 and 12)
          Used in reference to the separation and classification of incoming freshman class students at university.

7.3.3   *Italian*
The Italian government and its military were present in Eritrea and Ethiopia from the late 19th through the mid-20th centuries. The Italian influence on architecture, commerce, and culture in Eritrea and Ethiopia is well documented.[35] Commerce and tourism continue to provide a steady stream of Italian speakers to Eritrea.

Three nouns in the present corpus are Italian loans.

(600)   *ʾarǝšoni* 'orange (color)' (Trad Decorations, line 11)
          Italian *arancione* 'orange'

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35   See, e.g., Marcus, pp. 75–76, 78, 96–99, 140–146; Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians*, pp. 109, 160, 185, 192, 193; and Pankhurst, pp. 10–12, 171–175, 179–94, 219–251, 261–262.

ʾənǧəlizi 'English (language)' (Ḥamid and I, line 8)
Italian *inglese* 'English' (via Arabic?)
    Note also *Wörterbuch ʾəngliz* 'English'.

fəyori 'flower' (Trad Decorations, lines 18 and 19)
Italian *fiore* 'flower'

Appendix I

Texts

See 1.5 for a key to the text presentation. All texts except "Ginda'" were provided by Mohammed Adem. "Ginda'" was provided by Hamid Mahmoud.

Ḥamid and I

1)   ['ʔanæw'ħamid dɨħ'ħættimæg�'ɾæʔ ħinæstɨb'dina]
1)   *ʾana wa- ḥaməd dib ḥatta madrasa ħəna ʾastabdena.*
    I   AND P.N.   IN ONE-F SCHOOL WE WE-STARTED

2)   [ʔɨ'tɨllæmægᵻɾɨ'sæt næj: 'ʕaɾæbi mægᵻɾᵻ'sættal'ʕalæ dɨbgɨn'da]
2)   *ʾətəllā madrasat nay ʾarabi madrasat ta la- ʿalat dib*
    HERE SCHOOL   GEN ARABIC SCHOOL COP-3FS REL IT-F-WAS IN
    gənda'.
    PL.N.

3)   [ʔɨ'mɨrna lijamm'hej wᵉlæd 'sɨssɨnættul'ʕɔlæ lɐ'ʕɔmɨɾ'næjna]
3)   *ʾəmərna la- ʾayyām lahay walad səs sanat tu la-*
    OUR-AGE DEF DAYS   THAT-M CHILD SIX YEAR COP-3MS REL
    ʿala la- ʾəmər nayna.
    IT-F-WAS DEF/REL AGE   GEN-1CS

4)   [haʔo'ha ʔasɨkma tæs'ʕaj ʔasɨk'ʕasɾajbæs''ħana]
4)   *ḥako-hā ʾasək- mā tās'āy ʾasək 'āsrāy baṣhana.*
    AFTERWARDS UP-TO OR NINTH UP-TO TENTH WE-REACHED

5)   [ha'k'olæːtæː ʕas'ɾæjbæs'' ħanædibæː gɨn'dæʔ ʔin'særʔæsmɨɾamɨs'æ'na dɨbʔæsmi'ɾa]
5)   *ḥako-lā 'āsrāy baṣhana dib gənda' ʾənsar ʾasmarā*
    AFTER TENTH WE-ARRIVED IN   PL.N. TO-HERE PL.N.
    maṣʾana dib ʾasmarā
    WE-CAME INTO ASMARA

[bᵘɾᵘduhˈħættæsᵊnᵊtlæˈʕalæt ʔigˈlæː ˈʔætmæmmæ]

barədu la-   ḥatta   sanat la- ʕalat   ʾəglā   ʾatmamna.
ALSO   DEF/REL ONE-F   YEAR   REL IT-WAS IN-IT-F WE-FINISHED

6)   [hæʔoˈhæː dib sænæt ʔɨlif wɵsiˈʕimittsˈɨnwɵˈsiʔ
       ʔiˈgillᵻmtiˈhæːnnematɹiggæsenæ͡]

6)   *ḥako-hā   dib   sanat ʾaləf wa- sə̄ʕ   mə̄ʾət təsʕin   wa-ʕ*
       AFTERWARDS IN   YEAR   1000   AND NINE 100   NINETY   AND

       sə   ʾəgəl ʾəmtəḥān   nay mātrik   gasena.
       NINE   TO   EXAMINATION GEN MATRICULATION WE-WENT

7)   [wⁱnˈnæː dæræˈdʒætɹækæbˈnæːgil dʒamˈʕattinhalif ʔinˈdʒæːmʕat ħalæfˈna]

7)   *wa- mənnā   daraġat rakabna   ʾəgəl ğāmʕat   la- naḥalləf*
       AND FROM-IT-F   GRADE   WE-FOUND   TO   COLLEGE REL WE-PASS

       ʾəbbā   ğāmʕat   ḥalafna.
       BECAUSE-OF-IT-F UNIVERSITY   WE-PASSED

8)   [wɵdibæː dʒamˈʕatælˈmuːm næjˈhattæsænæt dɔwɹæt næj ʔindʒⁱˈɹizi
       tiˈhejbatænnæ͡]

8)   *wa- dib   ğāmʕat   ʾal-məhəm   nay   ḥatta sanat dawrat*
       BUT AT   UNIVERSITY REQUIREMENT GEN   ONE-F YEAR   COURSE

       nay   ʾənğəlizi   təhayabattanna
       GEN   ENGLISH   IT-F-WAS-GIVEN-TO-US

[ɨgilmᵉwɵˈʕawɹæbidærsæfhinædibbælæˈhælfa]

ʾəgəl-mi ʾab ʕarabi dārəsām   ḥəna dibā
BECAUSE IN   ARABIC STUDYING-MP WE   INTO-IT-F

laḥalləffā.
ONE-PASSES-BY-MEANS-OF-IT-F

9)   [oːhaʔoˈhaⁱnaːgiʔⁱwasilliggɵbˈʔænnijiwasælkonˈhattæsænæt ʔinsæˈhabko]

9)   *wa- ḥako-hā   ana ʾəgəl   ʾəwāsəl*
       AND AFTERWARDS I   SO-THAT I-MIGHT-CONTINUE

       lətgabbaʾanni   yə- wāsalko-   n   ḥatta
       MAY-IT-M-COME-TO-PASS-FOR-ME NEG I- CONTINUED NEG ONE-F

       sanat   ʾansaḥabko.
       YEAR   I-WITHDREW

10) [ʔæzejˈmˈʕamæt dibæ: ʔælmˈwɔd dibæʲlkæsmænˈʔædæbi ʔæsænˈʔulæ hælˈleko]

10) *ʾaza   yom ʿāmat   dib   ʾal-mawād   dib*
NOW   THIS-YEAR   WITH-RESPECT-TO   SUBJECT   IN
ʾal-ḳəsmə l-ʾadabi
SOCIAL-SCIENCES-DEPT

ʾas-sana l-ʾula   halleko
FIRST-YEAR   I-AM

11) [biˈsilhillenædibˈhættæfæˈsillowsillinˈdærisˈtæbˈʕan͡]

11) *məsəl   hallena dib ḥatta fasəl   wa-   məsəl   ʾəndarrəs*
TOGETHER WE-ARE IN ONE-F CLASS AND TOGETHER   WE-STUDY
ṭabʿan
NATURALLY

[bæsdibˈsækʃinnitfæˈnatængæbˈbiʔ͡]
bas   dib   sakšan   nətfanātā ʾəngabbiʾ.
ONLY WITH-RESPECT-TO SECTION   WE-ARE-BEING-SEPARATED

12) [sækʃinʔasærˈgisdißʉntuˈtu ʔanæsækʃin ʔiʃrinˢwẽsæbʔana͡]

12) *sakšan   ʿasər wa- səs dib ʾəntu tu   ʾana sakšan   ʾəšrin*
SECTION TEN   AND SIX WHILE COP-3MS I   SECTION 20
wa-   sabʿa   ʾana
AND   SEVEN   COP-1CS

13) [læˈkindibˈhattæ ʔillˈhænalilˈlenæ:]

13) *lākin dib ḥatta ʾəlli   ḥəna   la- hallena.*
BUT   IN   ONE-F THIS-M COP-1CP REL WE-ARE

14) [ʔimtiˈhæ:nnæjⁿbʉʕ sænætwɵdiˈjam:deˈnæ: gᵘˌɾumhilleˈnæ: ʔinˈʃællædibˈbæ]

14) *ʾəmtəḥān   nay rəboʿ sanat wādəyām hallena gərrum*
EXAMINANATION GEN QUARTER YEAR DOING-MP WE-ARE WELL-MS
hallena ʾənšaʾallāh   dibā
WE-ARE GOD-WILLING ON-IT-F

15) [masʾ'iaˈzeʔgɨl ˈfajnælwælæg'il ʔimtiˈhannæj: særsæˈnætnidˈdæ:lhɨlˈlenæ:]

15) *maṣṣəʾ   ʾaza   ʾəgəl fāynāl walā ʾəgəl ʾəmtəḥān   nay*
IT-M-COMES NOW FOR FINAL OR   FOR EXAMINATION GEN
sar   sanat nəddālla   hallena.
HALF YEAR WE-PREPARE WE-ARE

Ḥamid and I

(1) Ḥamid and I started at the same school. (2) As for school there, it was an Arabic school that was in Gindaʿ. (3) As for our age at the time, we were six years old.[1] (4) We later reached ninth or tenth (grade).

(5) After we reached tenth (grade) in Gindaʿ, we came here to Asmara—into Asmara. And in one year we finished.[2] (6) Then, in 1999, we took the matriculation examination, (7) and from it we found out the grade; we had passed to university—into our designated college.[3] (8) But at university, a one-year required course in English was given to us, because we had been studying in Arabic; into university one passes by means of this course. (9) Then, hoping that I could resume (later), I did not continue; for one year I withdrew. (10) Now this year, with respect to subject, I am in the Social Sciences department as a first year student.

(11) We are together in the same class, and naturally we study together. Only with respect to section are we being separated. (12) While he is in section 16, I am in section 27; (13) however, we live in the same room.[4] (14) We had been taking mid-term examinations; God willing we have done well on them. (15) Next we are getting ready for (fall semester) finals, that is, for mid-year examinations.

Gindaʿ

1)   [gɪnˈdaʔ mɨn: kælⁱmæt ʔɔʷ mɨn kælⁱmæt gɪndæˈʕe littɨˈbælʔæˈtʃˀemɨnˈnolæmæˈθˀætta]

1)   *gəndaʿ   mən   kalimat   ʾaw   mən   kalimat   gənda'a   lətbahal*
     PL.N.   FROM   BUSH   OR   FROM   BUSH   P.N.   IT-M-IS-CALLED
     ʿəčay   mənnu   la-   maṣʾat   ta.
     WOOD   FROM-IT-M   REL   IT-F-CAME   COP-3FS

2)   [wodibgɪnˈdaʔ sæbˀ hawaˈleᵏiʃɪrinwoˈħamisʔælif ɨdˈdamnabbɨɾˈdiba]

2)   *wa-   dib gəndaʿ   sab   ḥawālay   ʿəšrin   wa-   ḥaməs*
     NOW   IN   PL.N.   PEOPLE   APPROXIMATELY   20   AND   FIVE
     ʾaləf   ʾaddām   nabbər   dibā.
     1000   PEOPLE   ONE-M-LIVES   IN-IT-F

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1   Lit., (3) As for our age in those days, six years old is what our age was.

2   Lit., (5) . . . Also we finished in it (namely) what was one year.

3   Lit., (7) . . . we passed (to) university—into the college that we would pass because of it (the examination grade).

4   Lit., (13) however, in this one (room) we are where we are.

3)   [ʔoː sælæs k'omⁱˈjæti lærækæbæˈdiba saho tiɡɾe tiɡˈɾinja]
3)   *wa-   salas   ḳawməyat   lərrakkabā   dibā   sāho*
        NOW   THREE   ETHNIC-GROUP   THEY-F-ARE-FOUND   IN-IT-F   P.N.
        təgra   təgrənyā
        P.N.   P.N.

[tiɡɾe læbætˈħæt ʔomˈjætta dibɡinˈdaʔ]
təgra la-   bazḥat   ḳawməyat   ta   dib   gəndaʿ.
P.N.   REL   IT-F   IS-NUMEROUS   ETHNIC-GROUP   COP-3FS   IN   PL.N.

4)   [dib ɡinˈdaʔ kɯlʔᵘdoldɨˈlæːmrækkɨb dibhaˈgaj wodib dibˈkæræm wodibˈʔɵwɨl]
4)   *dib gəndaʿ kəlʼo   dol   zəlām   rakkəb   dib   ḥagāy   wa-*
        IN   PL.N.   TWO-M   TIME   RAIN   ONE-M-FINDS   IN   SUMMER   AND
        dib dib karam   wa-   dib   ʼawəl.
        IN   IN   WINTER   AND   IN   SPRING

5)   [ɡinˈdaʔ ɯbˈʔædbɯr læt kællæˈlættʰæː]
5)   *gəndaʿ ʼab   ʼadbər   la-   təkallalat   ta.*
        PL.N.   BY   MOUNTAINS   REL   IT-F-WAS-SURROUNDED   COP-3FS

6)   [sælæs dæbɯrlærækkæßoˈdiba]
6)   *salas   dabər   lərrakkabo   dibā.*
        THREE   MOUNTAIN   THEY-M-ARE-FOUND   IN-IT-F

7)   [dib k'ɯblat dæbɯrħamælmal wodib mɯfɡaɾθʔⁱˈhaj gaħajat]
7)   *dib   ḳəblat   dabər   ḥamalmāl wa-   dib   məfgār   ṣaḥay   gaḥayāt*
        IN   NORTH   MOUNTAIN   PL.N.   AND   IN   RISING   SUN   PL.N.

[wodib koblæt dæbɯrlaˈʕabadæbɯrˈbedʒin wodib mɯfɡaɾθʔᵃˈhaj kɯbɯʔdʒimˈʕa litiˈbʰæl]
wa-   dib   gəblat   dabər   la-   ʿaba   dabər   bağan   wa-
AND   IN   SOUTH   MOUNTAIN   REL   IT-M-WAS-BIG   MOUNTAIN   PL.N.   AND
dib   məfgār   ṣaḥay   kəbət ğəmʿa   lətbahal
IN   RISING   SUN   PL.N.   IT-M-IS-CALLED

[wodibmoʷdaʔˈʔaj kɯbɯʔdʒimˈʕa ˈtibbʰæl ˈdæbɯliˈrækkæbˈdiba]
wa-   dib   məwdāḳ   ṣaḥay   kəbət ğəmʿa   lətbahal   dabər
AND   IN   SETTING   SUN   PL.N.   IT-M-IS-CALLED   MOUNTAIN
lərrakkab   dibā.
IT-M-IS-FOUND   IN-IT-F

8) [wohiˈta minʔasmæˈɾa ʔaɾbiʕinˈeˈhamiskilomætiɾ ɾejim]

8) *wa-   həta   mən   ʾasmarā   ʾarbaʿin   wa-   ḥaməs   kilomətər*
    AND   IT-F   FROM   PL.N.   40   AND   FIVE   KILOMETER

rayəm,
IT-F-IS-FAR

9) [wominbæˈθʾiʔ sættinwᵉsaˈman kilomætiɾ ɾejim]

9) *wa-   mən   bāṣəʿ   səttin   wa-   samān   kilomətər   rayəm.*
    AND   FROM   PL.N.   60   AND   EIGHT   KILOMETER   IT-F-IS-FAR

10) [fʉngeˈkillin fʉngeʔasmæˈɾawᵉmassawaʕ tiˈɾækkæb]

10) *fənga   kəllan   fənga   ʾasmarā wa-   massawaʿ*
     BETWEEN   ALL-OF-THEM-F   BETWEEN   PL.N.   AND   PL.N.

tərrakkab.
IT-F-IS-FOUND

Ginda‘

(1) "Ginda‘" is from a bush—from wood that comes from what is called the *ginda‘a* bush. (2) Approximately 25,000 people live in Ginda‘. (3) Three ethnic groups are found in it—Saho, Tigre, and Tigrinya. Tigre is the most common ethnic group in Ginda‘. (4) In Ginda‘, there are two rainy seasons—summer and . . . winter and spring.

(5) Ginda‘ is (a town that is) surrounded by mountains. (6) Three mountains are found in it. (7) In the north—Mt. Ḥamalmāl, in the east—Gaḥayāt, in the south—a mountain that is the tallest mountain, Beǧen; and (also) a mountain called Kibit Ǧim‘a is found in the east—no, in the west. (8) It is 45 kilometers from Asmara, (9) and it is 68 kilometers from Massawa. (10) It is found between the two of them—between Asmara and Massawa.

Tigre Culture—Coffee Ceremony

1) [tʾæbˈʕan ʔanæabˈbunˈgⁱlithagetu͡]

1) *ṭabʿan ʾana ʾab   bun   ʾəgəl ʾəthāga tu.*
    NOW   I   ABOUT   COFFEE   I-WILL-TALK

2)   [wɐˈbun ʔæː ˈmæɾamhʉmˈmataː ˈndibæːʃaʔabnajtɨgɾegiˈɾum]

2)   wa-   bun   marrā   məhəmmat   ta   ʾət   šaʿab   nay
      NOW   COFFEE   VERY   IMPORTANT   COP-3FS AMONG   PEOPLE   GEN

      təgra   gərrum.
      P.N.   ——

3)   [woː hətətʾəbˈʕan ʔʉbbəzˈħeʕabˈbajtomːlisætˈwalæʕalobæiꞈ]

3)   wa-   həta   ṭabʿan   ʾab   bəzḥe   ʾabbāy
      NOW   IT-F   NATURALLY   AMONG   LARGE-QUANTITY   IMPORTANT-FS

      tom   ləsattəwā   la-   ʿalaw   badir.
      COP-3MP   THEY-M-DRINK-IT-F   REL   THEY-M-WERE   FORMERLY

[ætilˈʰæːkin ʔabnɨˈʔajʃkamanditilˈlæmædgeshælˈlet]

ʾaza   lākin   ʾab   naʿāyəš   kamān dib   təllammad
NOW   BUT   AMONG   YOUNG-CP   ALSO   WHILE IT-F-IS-COMMON:

gayəs hallet.
IT-F-IS-GOING

4)   [fæːʰatadibˈ mˈnasæˈbat ˈʔɔwɾamːꞈ]

4)   fā   həta   dib   mənasabāt   ʾawra
      SO   IT-F   ON   SPECIAL-OCCASIONS ONE-M-KINDLED-FIRE

[bɨˈzʉħtomː lisættɐˈwaːdɨbʔakʉrahʉˈgaːjmɵsilː kʉmʔakʉˈɾæːmː ʕid]

bəzuḥ   tom   ləsattəwā   dib   ʾakarā   hədāy   massəl
MANY   COP-3MP   THEY-M-DRINK-IT-F   ON   FESTIVAL   WEDDING   IT-M-SEEMS

kam   ʾakarā—   ʿid.
AS   FESTIVAL   FEAST-DAY

5)   [tʾæbˈʕanːʔəmːʃækilː mɵʤmoˈʕatʔoʔoʔoʃækilˈħæʃim tælætæˈsætte]

5)   ṭabʿan ʾəb   šakəl   maǧmuʿāt   wa-   ʾəb   in
      NOW   IN   CONFIGURATION   GATHERED-MP   AND   IN

      šakəl   ḥašəm   ta   la-   təsatta
      CONFIGURATION   ENTOURAGE   COP-3FS   REL   IT-F-IS-DRUNK

6)   [ʔɨˈkaːm sælæsdolaˈte tɨˈsættæsælæsfedɨßiˈßiːl]

6)   həta salas   dolat ta   təsatta   salas   dolat ta
      IT-F THREE   TIME COP-3FS IT-F-IS-DRUNK THREE   TIME   COP-3FS

      dib   ʾəbəl
      WHILE I-SAY

[læħˈhattælædʒæbænættiwæntiˈtækkæsælæsdolættæ͡]

la-   ħatta   la-   ǧabanat   ʾawān   tətakka   salas
DEF   ONE-F   DEF   COFFEE-BOTTLE   WHEN   IT-F-IS-PUT-OVER-A-FIRE   THREE

dolat   ta
TIME   COP-3FS

7)   [ˈhættæwɵt hattinˈsættækajtiwɵtiˈtækkæsæsɵwæsæ]
7)   ħatta   wəḳat   ħatta   təsatta   kāḷāyt   wəḳat
        ONE-F   TIME   ONE-F   IT-F-IS-DRUNK   SECOND   TIME

        tətakka   salas   wəḳat
        IT-F-IS-PUT-OVER-A-FIRE   THREE   TIME

[ʔæsilsælæsɵwɵttˈsættæʉmsælⁿitækkæ͡]

ʾasək   salas   wəḳat   təsatta   8) kəmsal   ʾəlli   takka
UNTIL   THREE   TIME   IT-F-IS-DRUNK   LIKE   THIS-M   IT-F-IS-PUT-OVER-A-FIRE

[ˈbun ʔakanaˈtaʕbajtabɨnisbatiliʃᵃʔabnaj: tiɡɾe]

bun   ʾakānā   ta   ʿabbāy   ta   mənasba
COFFEE   ITS-F-PLACE   COP-3FS   IMPORTANT-FS   COP-3FS   SPECIAL-OCCASION

ʾət   la-   šaʿab   nay   təgra.
AMONG   DEF   PEOPLE   GEN   P.N.

9)   [ʔoːʰatabæˈnekkonbⁱˈsælliˈɡeʃilæˈbuɾtukʉmsælʔakaɾa͡]
9)   wa-   ħata   bəna   ʾikon   məsəl   la-   gayəs   la-
        AND   IT-F   WITH-US NEG-COP-3MS   TOGETHER   REL   IT-M-GOES REL

        ħəbur   tu   kəmsal   ʾakarā
        MIXED   COP-3MS   LIKE   CELEBRATION

[lʉˈbæːn ʕɨmboba mʉslugæjjes]

ləbān   wa-   ʿəmbobā   məslu   gayəs.
INCENSE AND   POPCORN   WITH-IT-M   IT-F-GOES

10)   [ʷoːkˈʉmsælˈlitⁱboⁱˈlipsɨdaːlowæzimˈnajatiᵐⁱsˈlugages]
10)   wa-   kəmsal   ʾəlli   tu   bun   ʾəlli massəl   ta
        AND   LIKE   THIS-M   COP-3MS   COFFEE   SUCH-A-THING   COP-3FS

        lawāzəm   nayā   tu   məslu   ta   gayəs.
        NECESSITIES   GEN-3FS   COP-3MS   WITH-IT-M   COP-3FS   IT-F-GOES

Addendum[5]

11) *bun*   *ṭabʿan* *ʾət* *ʾarədna*   *ta*   *la-* *təzarraʾ*   *la-*
     COFFEE   NOW   IN   OUR-COUNTRY   COP-3FS REL   IT-F-IS-GROWN   REL

     ʿalat   *ʾakara*   *salamunā* *la-*   *lətbahal*   *ʾarəd.*
     IT-F-WAS   FARMERS   PL.N.   REL   IT-M-IS-CALLED   REGION

12) *wa-*   *doldol*   *mən*   *ʾakara*   *dəwal*   *ǧəwār*
     AND   SOMETIMES   FROM   FARMERS   DISTRICTS   PROXIMITY

     naʾastawrəddā.
     WE-IMPORT-IT-F

Tigre Culture—Coffee Ceremony

(1) Now I will talk about coffee. (2) Coffee is very important among the Tigre people. (3) Now formerly only the eldest used to drink it,[6] but now among young people it is also becoming increasingly common. (4) So, as for it (coffee), on special occasions one has started the fire. Many people (i.e., young and old) drink it[7]—at a festival, such as a wedding—like a celebration—ʿId.

(5) Now, it is drunk in a public group or a private group.[8] (6) As for it, it is drunk three times[9]—three times, as I am about to describe: First, when the coffee bottle is brought to a boil—it is (done) three times—(7) it is drunk one time—once. Then a second time it is boiled—three times—until it is drunk three times. (8) It is boiled like this. So then, coffee, its place is—it's important—a special occasion among the Tigre people.

(9) We have no combination that goes together like a (coffee) celebration.[10] Coffee goes with incense and popcorn. (10) And so this is how it is; coffee is served with

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5   This portion was not provided during the recorded session but was provided later in written form.

6   Lit., (3) Now concerning it (coffee), naturally among the most important were those who used to drink it, formerly, . . .

7   Lit., (4) . . . Those (who) drink it are many . . .

8   Lit., (5) Now in a group of gathered ones or in a group of (one's) entourage is where it is drunk.

9   Lit., (6) As for it, three times is how frequently it is drunk . . .

10   Lit., (9) As for coffee, we don't have anything that goes together that is mixed like a celebration.

such things. It is inseparable from these elements.[11] (11) Now, coffee had been grown (only) in our country—by farmers of the region called Selemuna, (12) but sometimes we import it from the farmers of neighboring districts.

Tigre Culture—Making Coffee

1)   [lisˈʔɨl midiˈßil t'ɨbˈʕan liʤibinæt]

1)	*la-*	*suʾāl*	*mən-*	*ləbəl*	*ṭabʿan*	*la-*	*ğabanat.*
	DEF	QUESTION	FROM	HE-SAYS	ABOUT	DEF	COFFEE-BOTTLE

2)   [ˈkɨmfiʤæ:nsˈæbbɨt' ʔawˈkɨmfiʤænˈsættɨmɨna læʤæmiˈʕat]

2)	*kam*	*fəğān*	*ṣabbəṭ*	*ʾaw*	*kam*	*fəğān*
	HOW-MANY?	CUP	ONE-M-SERVES	OR	HOW-MANY?	CUP
	sattu	*mənnā*	*la-*	*ğamāʾat*		
	THEY-M-DRINK	FROM-IT-F	DEF/REL	GATHERING		

[læˈdißulugulldisˈtolæ:gusiʔabˈlogullufsˈt'æwkʾurubæbˈlolubɨlæsˈʔat]

la-	*dibu*	*ʾəgəl*	*ləstaw*		*la-*	*gəssuyām*
REL	IN-IT-M	SO-THAT	THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK		DEF/REL	SITTING-MP
hallaw	*ʾəgəl*	*ləstaw*		*ḳərubām*		
THERE-M-ARE	SO-THAT	THEY-M-MIGHT-DRINK		GATHERED-MP		
hallaw	*ləbəl*	*la-*	*suʾāl.*			
THERE-M-ARE	IT-M-SAYS	DEF	QUESTION			

3)   [tajbʲliʤæßattˈæbˈʕan læ:ʤibæˈnæt ʔaw botillimilˈlæ]

3)	*ṭayəb*	*la-*	*ʾəğābat*	*ṭabʿan*	*la-*	*ğabanat*	*ʾaw*
	CORRECT	DEF	ANSWER	CONCERNING	DEF	COFFEE-BOTTLE	OR
	botəl	*la-*	*ʾənbəlā*				
	"BOTTLE"	REL	BESIDE-IT-F				

4)   [ˈʔanlikˈɨlᵘˈsiman fiˈʤansˈæbbɨt' siman fiˈʤan s:fiˈʤa: ʕaˈlaħsæbˈlæ:]

4)	*ʿalal*	*ʾagal*	*samān*	*fəğān*	*ṣabbəṭ*	*samān*	*fəğān*	*səs*	*fəğān*
	PLENTY	SUCH	EIGHT	CUP	ONE-SERVES	EIGHT	CUP	SIX	CUP
	ʿala		*ḥasab*						
	ACCORDING-TO		NUMBER						

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11   Lit., (10) . . . with such things. It (coffee) is what goes with it—namely, with what are its essential components.

[læˈʕalʔilæː ˈħasɨblædʒɨmˈʕalædʒuːd]

la-	ʿala	la-	ḥasab	la-	ǧamāʿat	la-
REL	ACCORDING-TO	REL/DEF	NUMBER	REL/DEF	GATHERING	REL

dibu.
IN-IT-M

5)   [ʔæˈzɨmgæːmeʔⁱlle ˈsælæsfælˈħatfælˈħæta ˈsælæsfælˈħat]

5)   *ʾaza   mən-gabbiʾ   ʾəlli   salas   fəlḥat   falləḥ   həta*
         NOW   IF   IT-M-HAPPENS   THIS-M   THREE   BOIL   IT-F-BOILS   IT-F

         salas   fəlḥat
         THREE   BOIL

[ʔatˈtawɨletfælˈħatkɨtkɨliffiˈdʒan ˈsɨttɨmɨˈna]

ʾəttā   ʾawalāyt   fəlḥat   kəlkəlʾot   fəǧān   sattu   mənnā.
IN-IT-F   FIRST   BOIL   TWO-EACH   CUP   THEY-M-DRINK   FROM-IT-F

6)   [ʔattaχefitʔæːfæɹˈhatˈhatˈhat ʔoˈʔorofidʒans dⁱmiˈnætdiˈbæːsæːsɨtæʔorʔorofiˈdʒan]

6)   *ʾəttā   kālʾāyt   fəlḥat   ʾorʾoro   fəǧān   sattu*
         IN-IT-F   SECOND-F   BOIL   ONE-M-EACH   CUP   THEY-M-DRINK

         mənnā   dibā   salsat   ʾorʾoro   fəǧān.
         FROM-IT-F   IN-IT-F   THIRD-TIME   ONE-M-EACH   CUP

7)   [wɵbⁱˈlætɨmmˈgulɨwasⁱɹæħaˈzomgæbˈbiʔ ˈwæːsᵒlo͡]

7)   *wa-   ʾabəllā   tāməm.   ʾəgəl   ləwāslo*
         AND   AT-THIS-F   COMPLETE   SO-THAT   THEY-M-MIGHT-CONTINUE

         ḥazaw   mən-gabbiʾ   wāslo
         THEY-M-WANTED   IF   IT-M-HAPPENS   THEY-M-CONTINUE

[laˈkinɨluwɵsħæɹⁱˈmudʔikoniː lɨmudʔiˈkon]

lākin   ʾəlli   bəzuḥ   ləmud   ʾikoni   ləmud   ʾikoni.
BUT   THIS-M   MANY   USUAL   NEG-COP   USUAL   NEG-COP

8)   [gɨlᵘwasloˈbæħɨzɨnækinsælæsˈbætʾɹo]

8)   *ʾəgəl   ləwāslo   ya-   ḥazzu-   n   lākin*
         SO-THAT   THEY-M-MIGHT-CONTINUE   NEG   THEY-M-WANT   NEG   BUT

         salas   baṭro.
         THREE   THEY-M-STOP

9)   [mɨmˈmi wɯmˈgæbbi tæßˈʕan liˈbun dibæ: tikˈalˈle koskosɨsæɾibukoskos]

9)   *mən-   mi   wa-   mən-   gabbiʾ   ṭabʕan   la-*
      FROM   WHAT   AND   WHEN   IT-M-HAPPENS   CONCERNING   DEF

      bun   dib   təḳalla   koskos
      COFFEE   WHILE   IT-F-IS-ROASTED   ROASTING-EQUIPMENT

      nasʾəlo   ʾəbbu   koskos.
      QUESTION   ABOUT-IT-M   ROASTING-EQUIPTMENT

10)   [ʔaˈzesᵢkalˈlaħwəlᵢkiˈletimmɯdɯgdæˈbbiʔ wo:tɯgdɯgˈdɯg]

10)   *ʾaza   təḳalla.   ḥaḳo-lā   ḳallet   dib   madagdag*
      NOW   IT-M-IS-ROASTED   AFTER   IT-F-WAS-ROASTED   INTO   MORTAR

      gabbiʾ   wa-   tədagdag.
      IT-F-GOES   AND   IT-F-IS-CRUSHED

11)   [hakˈolᵃtigˈdæˈgæsᵢʒindʒæˈßinɨndægæˈbæt:dib dʒißæˈnætisbæˈdæs͡]

11)   *ḥaḳo-lā   dagdagat   zanǧabil   ʾənda   gabʿat   dib*
      AFTER   IT-F-WAS-CRUSHED   GINGER   AFTER   IT-F-WENT   IN

      ǧabanat   tətballas
      COFFEE-BOTTLE   IT-F-IS-TURNED

12)   [ondʒᵢßæˈnætˈmajgɯbbidiˈbæ]

12)   *wa-   mən   ǧabanat   māy   gabbiʾ   dibā*
      AND   WHEN   COFFEE-BOTTLE   WATER   IT-M-GOES   INTO-IT-F

13)   [ᴴaqolæˈmajgæ:dibædib saʔatgɯbˈbiʔ haq ʾosatᵘᵐfælˈħæt ʔⁱtiskaˈre]

13)   *ḥaḳo-lā   māy   gaʿa   dibā   dib   ʾəsāt   gabbiʾ.*
      AFTER   WATER   IT-M-WENT   INTO-IT-F   ON   FIRE   IT-F-GOES

      ḥaḳo   ʾəsāt   kam   falḥat   tətkarra.
      AFTERWARDS   FIRE   AFTER   IT-F-OVERFLOWED   IT-F-IS-REPEATED

14)   [haʔoˈha gɯˈsitɨsɨskaˈrab]

14)   *ḥaḳo-hā   ʾəgəl   sito   tətḳarrab.*
      AFTERWARDS   ACC   DRINK   IT-F-IS SERVED

15)   [lɯsˈʔalmᵢlⁱßtʾebˈʕan lædʒæˈbanditkæribˈsæ:lgɯbɾⁱʃæˈtʾætⁱnhælˈlæ:]

15)   *la-   suʾāl   mən-   ləbəl   ṭabʕan   la-   ǧabanat*
      DEF QUESTION   FROM   HE-SAYS   CONCERNING   DEF   COFFEE-BOTTLE

      ʾənda   tətḳarrab   məslā   la-   gabbiʾ   našāṭāt
      WHILE   IT-F-IS-SERVED   WITH-IT-F   REL   IT-M-HAPPENS   ACTIVITIES

      mən-   halla
      WHETHER   THERE-M-IS

16)   [biˈruːsiˡˡiˡlætbæˈlaːʔæsˈsætdibsærærætˈkʼæɹæb]

16)   *məslā*   *la-*   *lətballaʕ*   *ləsatta*   *wa-* *la-*
      WITH-IT-F   REL   IT-M-IS-EATEN   IT-M-IS-DRUNK   OR   REL
      lətḵarrab
      IT-M-IS-SERVED

[mislæliˈgejsmihalˈlaː ˈlælißutisuˈʔal]

məslā   *la-*   *gayəs*   *mən-*   *halla*   *la-*   *ləbəl*   *tu*
WITH-IT-F   REL   IT-M-GOES   WHETHER   THERE-M-IS   REL   HE-SAYS   COP-3MS
la-   *suˈāl.*
DEF   QUESTION

17)   [tʼæbˈʕannaˈtawaˈnætkʼaˈdæb misˡˡlælæˈkʼæribˈkʼʉrsiʔinbuhˡˡuˈlæˈlæ]

17)   *ṭabʕan*   *həta*   *la-ʼəwān*   *ʼelā*   *təḵarrab*   *məslā*
      CONCERNING   IT   NOW   WITH-IT-F   IT-F-IS-SERVED   WITH-IT-F
      laḵarrəb   *ḵursi*   *ʼənbəlo*   *halla*
      ONE-M-SERVES   BREAKFAST   BESIDE-IT-M   THERE-M-IS

18)   [ˈkʼʉrsibonʔinboˈlo kʉm ˈbani lupˈæʔ ʔoʔiˈtʃʼaʔ kʼʉrsiˈßumsɪrætkæˈɹæb]

18)   *ḵursi bun*   *ʼənbəlo*   *kam*   *bāni*   *ləgbaʼ*   *ʼaw*   *ḵəčā*
      GIFT-BREAD   BESIDE-IT-M   LIKE   BREAD   POSSIBLY   OR   KICHA
      ḵursi bun   *məslā*   *lətḵarrab.*
      GIFT-BREAD   WITH-IT-F   IT-M-IS-SERVED

19)   [wohakʼoˈha ˈʕammɪnɪnɪnongɪˈbiˀˡˀaˈʕabi]

19)   *wa-*   *ḥaḵo-hā*   *ʕabi*   *mənnom*   *halla*
      AND   AFTER WARDS   IMPORTANT-MS   AMONG-THEM-M   THERE-M-IS
      mən-gabbiʼ   *ʕabi*
      IF   IT-M-HAPPENS   IMPORTANT-MS

[bɪsˈluʔamˈbobagæbˈbiʔ haqˈolˤaˤingoˈba lʉˈbæn kʼʉrsɪˈbun]

məslu   *ʼəmbobā*   *gabbiʼ*   *ḥaḵo-lā*   *ʼəmbobā*   *ləbā*
WITH-IT-M   POPCORN   IT-M-HAPPENS   AFTER   POPCORN   INCENSE
ḵursi bun.
GIFT-BREAD

20) [ħaqˈoˈha ˈʔoræˈʕamminominæmgæbˈbi ˈʔəbdɨʔa ˈfættɨħa ʔæːdɨˈʕabfæt
     nafættɨˈħa]

20) *ḥaḳo-hā*   *ʾoro*   *ʾabi*   *mənnom*   *halla*
     AFTERWARDS ONE-M   IMPORTANT-MS AMONG-THEM-M   THERE-M-IS
     mən- gabbiʾ   *ʾab dəˤā*   *fattəḥa—*   *ʾab dəˤā*
     IF   IT-M-HAPPENS BY PRAYER IT-M-IS-OPENED BY   PRAYER
     fattəḥa.
     IT-M-IS-OPENED

[wo ˈʔabu tˈiʕaˈle maˈlæt^tu]
wa- ʾabbu   təˤalla   *bahlat   tu.*
AND   BY-HIM   IT-M-IS-CONSECRATED   TO-SAY   COP-3MS

Tigre Culture—Making Coffee

(1) The question, from what he says, (is) about the coffee bottle. (2) "How many cups does one serve, or how many cups do they drink from it—those who are sitting in the gathering in order to drink, who are gathered in order to drink?" the question says.

(3) The right answer about the coffee bottle, or "bottle" otherwise, (is): (4) one serves plenty of them—eight cups—six or eight cups, according to the number—according to the number that are in the gathering. (5) Now, it can boil these three times—three boils. In the first boil they each drink two cups from it. (6) In the second boil they each drink one cup from it, and in the third, one cup each. (7) At this point (it is) complete. They can continue if they want to continue, but this many (boils) are unusual; it is unusual. (8) But if they don't want to continue, they stop at three.

(9) From what materials is coffee roasted? The question is about roasting equipment.[12]

(10) First (lit., Now) it is roasted. After it has been roasted, it goes in a mortar and is crushed. (11) After it has been crushed and after ginger has gone in, it is stirred in the coffee bottle, (12) and when water goes into the coffee bottle—(13) after water has gone into it, it goes on the fire. Afterwards, when the fire has fully heated, it is repeated. (14) At that point the drink is served.

(15) The question from what he says concerns the coffee bottle, whether there are any activities that occur with it, while coffee is served—(16) foods that are eaten, drunk, or served with it—whether there is something that goes with it—is the question that he asks.

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12   Lit., (9) From what (materials/processes is it) when it happens concerning coffee while it
        is roasted? Roasting equipment—the question is about roasting equipment.

(17) Now there is something beside breakfast that one serves with coffee, which is served with it at the same time—(18) cake (brought as a gift)—like some kind of bread or kicha—is served beside it (breakfast); cake is served with it (coffee). (19) Afterwards, if there is an elder among them, popcorn goes with it (cake), and after popcorn, incense—cake (goes with coffee). (20) Afterwards, if there happens to be an elder among them, it (the coffee ceremony) is opened by a prayer. It is consecrated by him, that is.

Tigre Culture—Traditional Decorations

1) [mina'ʕadær netigreᵈʰællæ min'ʔadarnæjtig'ɾe ʔigilhɨ'daj liʃæk'æhæl'læ]
1) *mənnā   ʿadāt   nay   təgra la- halla   ʾəgəl hədāy*
    FROM-IT-F CULTURE GEN   P.N.   REL IT-M-EXISTS FOR   WEDDING
    ləšaḳḳa   halla
    IT-M-IS-MADE   THERE-M-IS

2) [woːɪgɪlbˈʕædnɔmɪnæfˈʃællowⁱgʉbˈʕædæg˺ ˈgæːrɪtæt liˈnæfʉhællæ kʉmˈsælʔækˈkæɾi͡]
2) *wa- ʾəgəl bəʿəd- mā   manaffəʿ halla   ʾəgəl bəʿəd gāritāt*
    AND FOR   OTHER ALSO USES   IT-M-EXISTS FOR   OTHER EVENTS
    lənaffəʿ   halla   kəmsal ʾakarā
    IT-M-IS-USED   IT-M-EXISTS LIKE   FESTIVAL

3) [sⁱˈgædæːlikˈˀbaɾæsiˈgadætmɪntʾakˈʕalætiʃækˈkˈe]
3) *səggādat lətbahal   səggādat mən   takʿala*
    SIGGADET IT-M-IS-CALLED SIGGADET FROM PALM-BRANCH
    təšaḳḳa.
    IT-M-WAS-MADE

4) [sɪˈgadætwoˈkˀɔlolʉkˈbaːrelæalˈlæazekɨlˈlɪnliʃækˈkˈe mɪntaʕaˈletu]
4) *səggādat wa-   ḳəlaw lətbahal halla   ʾəl   ʾaza*
    SIGGADET AND KILAW IT-M-IS-BEING-CALLED UP-TO NOW
    kəʾənnā   ləšaḳḳa   mən   takʿala   tu.
    LIKE-THIS IT-M-IS-MADE FROM PALM-BRANCH COP-3MS

5) [ˈmɪntɪbællæ liʃ ˈʃæɾɪbʔɔwːlitfaˈʕaʔ mɪntaʕaˈle ʔælˈlɪmtæʕʕaleʳʃakkˈe͡]
5) (*man   təbəllā?   ləššerab   ʾaw lətfaʿal.*)   *mən*
    WHO? YOU-MS-SAY-IT-F IT-M-IS-WOVEN OR   IT-M-IS-STITCHED FROM
    takʿala   ʾəlli   mən   takʿala   ʾənšaḳḳa.
    PALM-BRANCH THIS-M FROM PALM-BRANCH WE-MAKE

6)   [haqoˈhæːhaqolæˈtæːmæː ʔasˈsɨrwokʉm ʕaˈsɨrwɵsærˈʕæs ʔamˈmatkʉmˈbætˈhæː]

6)   ḥaḳo-hā   ḥaḳo-lā tamma   ʿasər wa- salas
        AFTERWARDS AFTER   IT-M-IS-COMPLETE   10   AND THREE
        ʾammat kam   baṣḥa
        CUBIT   IT-M-REACHED

[sɨˈgaːdættʉmhæˈbælætu]
səggādat   tamma   bahlat   tu.
SIGGADET   IT-M-IS-COMPLETE   TO-SAY   COP-3MS

7)   [ˈwosæʕæsbɵruᵈᵘˈhæthætsiʔadnajmubˈ hæqoˈhæː ᵘkˈfæːl]

7)   wa- salas   barədu haṯhaṯ   zəyād nay məgəb ḥaḳo-hā—
        AND THREE ALSO   SOME-F MORE GEN MIDDLE AFTERWARDS
        ʾaҟfāl.
        SEGMENTS

8)   [ˈʔaze haˈqoˡⁱˡˡⁱᵍⁱˡⁱbæsˈhaːmgæbˈbiʔ leːliʃˈsæbbækˈ lissæbbækˈ liˈfællæ ͡ħ]

8)   ʾaza   ḥaḳo-lā ʾgəlu   baṣḥa   mən   gabbiʾ
        NOW   AFTER   ACC-3MS IT-M-REACHED WHEN   IT-M-HAPPENS
        ləssabbaҟ   ləfalləһ.
        IT-M-IS-DYED   ONE-M-BOILS

[ægɨlˈħættælʕalli dibˈsælæsdibkæffæl ˈwodibmajˈ ʔætte]
ʾgəl la-   ḥatta la- ʾlli   dib salas lətkaffal   wa- dib
FOR DEF ONE-F DEF THIS-M INTO THREE IT-M-IS-DIVIDED AND IN
māy   ʾatta.
WATER IT-M-IS-PLACED

9)   [haqoˈhæːmⁱgæbˈbiʔhaᵍᵒˡᵃᵍᵘˡʔætmɵmo liʃ ˈʃærɨb liʃærɨbtu liˈʃærɨb]

9)   ḥaḳo-hā mən   gabbiʾ   ḥaḳo-lā ʾglu
        THEN   WHEN IT-M-HAPPENS AFTER   ACC-3MS
        atmamaw   ləššerab.   (ləššerab   tu?
        THEY-M-COMPLETED IT-M-IS-WOVEN IT-M-IS-WOVEN COP-3MS
        ləššerab.)
        IT-M-IS-WOVEN

10)   [hæˈqolæqʉliˈʃæræbæːtulæħˈhæbbærnɔːtulɨsbæ�� ʔᵘlætfanaːˈtaːtu]

10)   ḥaḳo-lā ʾglu   šerrābā   tu   la- ḥabbārna   tu
        AFTER   ACC-3MS WEAVING COP-3MS DEF OUR-COLORING COP-3MS
        ʾasbaḳayo   lətfanātā   tu
        HE-DYED-IT-M IT-M-IS-SEPARATED COP-3MS

11)   [mɨlik˺ˈbæ:l ˈsæ:mæjæli:næt˺ ˈkʼajjaħ wɐɾiˈʃoniwɐk˺ˈgær:]

11)   *mən- ɫətbahal   samayāwi linat   ḳayyāḥ wa- ʾarəyšoni wa-*
        IF   IT-M-IS-CALLED   BLUE   LIGHT   RED-FS   OR   ORANGE   OR
        ʾaḥdar
        GREEN

12)   [wobiˈʕidægfælik˺balˈⁱlæmnatfanatasʾaʕaˈdawoˈqajæħoʷ˺ˈgæjæħ]

12)   *wa- bəʕəd   ʾaḳfāl   ɫətbahal   halla   mən   la-*
        OR   OTHER   SEGMENTS   IT-M-IS-CALLED   THERE-M-IS   THAN   REL
        təfanātā   ṣaʕda   wa-   ḳayəḥ.
        IT-M-IS-SEPARATED   WHITE   AND   RED-MS

13)   [mɨnnolæ: likˈkæwɐmbⁱhæltu minˣhæ:bⁱɾu
        ʔaˈbælæsuˈgædæt˺ᵘmumlæsuˈgædæt]

13)   *mənnu   ɫətkawan   bahlat   tu   mənnā   ḥəbru*
        FROM-IT-M   IT-M-IS-MADE   TO-SAY   COP-3MS   FROM-IT-F   ITS-M-COLOR
        ʾabəllā   səggādat   tāməm   la-   səggādat.
        BY-THIS-F   SIGGADET   COMPLETE   DEF   SIGGADET

14)   [w:æːnˈwᵊlætʷᵗᵗftæːdɨħazˈzeʔimˈmæʔ hæmˈsælmɨsⁱtægdæːɾɪgˈɾawⁱgilhⁱˈdaj͡ʕ]

14)   *ʾəwān la-   walat   ʾəgəl   təhāda   ḥazza*
        WHEN   DEF   GIRL   SO-THAT   SHE-MIGHT-GET-MARRIED   SHE-WANTS
        ʾəmmā   kəmsal   ʾəlli massəl   taʾaddāla   ʾəglā
        HER-MOTHER   LIKE   SUCH-AS-THIS   SHE-PREPARES   FOR-HER
        ʾəgəl   hədāy.
        FOR   WEDDING

15)   [vɪsikoniˈniggɨlbⁱʕædnæːle ʔⁱˈnɔfæwᵒbo:]

15)   *bas   ʾikonini   ʾəgəl   bəʕəd-   mā   la-   ʾənnaffəᵒ   ʾəbbu.*
        ONLY   NEG-COP   FOR   OTHER   BUT-ALSO   REL   WE-USE-IT-M   AS-IT-M

16)   [lækæˈliʔ ʔɔwlæbˈʕid mɨmmænajtʔadɨntæːʔadatnajtɪgˈɾe ˈħaɾiɾætⁱtⁱbaːˈlæt͡ʕ]

16)   *la-   kālə   ʾaw la-   bəʕəd   mənnā   nay   ʾadāt   nay   təgra*
        DEF   SECOND   OR   DEF   OTHER   FROM-IT-F   GEN   CULTURE   GEN   P.N.
        ḥarirat   tətbahal hallet.
        HERIRET   IT-F-IS-BEING-CALLED

17) [ħariˈræt minˈħariɾᵻmᵻgʉbˈbiʔlæʔˀᵃˈtʃæræt bæˈʕæd ˀⁱʃæːm
     waraˈʔaʃʃuˈgᵃrælikˈˀᵎbahᵊlhællæ͡]
17) ḥarirat   mən   ḥarir la- gabbiʾ   la- čarək   bəʿəd   ʾəšām
     HERIRET   FROM   SILK   REL IT-M-HAPPENS DEF CLOTH   OTHER   BEADS
     wa- raʿaš   wa- gala lətbahal halla.
     AND SEQUIN   AND SUCH IT-M-IS-BEING-CALLED

18) [ˈdibæliʃæːmːwaraˈʔaʃkæmːʔæʲtʃætʔɔwkʉmfiᵎɔɾᵻmʉsælˈtu]
18) dibā   ʾəlli   ʾəšām   wa- raʿaš   kam   ʾəčat   ʾaw   kam
     IN-IT-F THIS-M   BEADS   AND SEQUIN LIKE VINE   OR   LIKE
     fəyori   massəl   tu.
     FLOWER   IT-M-SEEMS   COP-3MS

19) [tʼabˈʕan kʉmsællægᵻlħazowfᵎoɾiliˈdˤɔwdᵎʕædˈnɔgᵎⁱˡisɔwɔræːrædᵻrækʉmsæʔilˈli]
19) ṭabʿan   kəmsal   ʾəgəl ḥazaw   fəyori   ləgbaʾ   wa- bəʿəd-
     NOW   LIKE   ACC   THEY-M-WANT FLOWER   POSSIBLY   AND OTHER
     mā   ʾəgəl ləsawərrā   ḳadra;   kəmsal   ʾəlli.
     ALS —   ONE-M-COVERS-IT-F   ONE-M-IS-ABLE LIKE   THIS-M

20) [kæliʔ xejt kⁱˈræniksːæʳᵏˈbalæˈlakiɾænikis ˀⁱmː ʃæbaˈkaːt liʃækˈkʼe]
20) kāləʾ   keṭ   kəranəkəs   la- lətbahal   halla
     IN-ADDITION THREAD   KIRENIKIS   REL IT-M-IS-CALLED   THERE-M-IS
     kəranəkəs   mən   šabakāt   ləšaḳḳa.
     KIRENIKIS   FROM   LATTICES   IT-M-IS-MADE

21) [ʔilˈlændælˈħindælætˤamaˈja sʉsˈtæn læˈħillælætˤamawaˈkejt miʃaffaˈtˤa]
21) ʾəllan   dib ḥəd   ʾənda   laṭṭamayā   səs   tan
     THESE-F   TOGETHER   AFTER   THEY-F-WERE-THREADED   SIX   COP-3FP
     dib ḥəd   ləlaṭṭamā   wa- ʾab   keṭ
     TOGETHER   THEY-F-ARE-THREADED   AND WITH THREAD
     ləššaffaṭā.
     THEY-F-ARE-SEWN

22) [kʉmˈsællhazekawˈħæbbærᵎllæːʷkʉmˈsælᵎhazeˈkaw ʔaʃˈkalʉfʉggᵘɾo]
22) kamsal   ḥazekahu   ḥabbār   halla   wa- kamsal
     JUST-AS   YOU-MS-WANT-IT-M DYEING   THERE-M-IS   AND LIKE
     ḥazekahu   ʾaškāl   taʾafaggərro.
     YOU-MS-WANT-IT-M PATTERNS YOU-MS-STRETCH-IT-M

Tigre Culture—Traditional Decorations

(1) There is something from the Tigre culture that is made for a wedding (2) and which one also has for other uses—it is used for other events such as a festival—[13] (3) called "siggadet;" siggadet is made from a palm branch. (4) Siggadet—and it is (also) called, "kilaw"—up to now is made like this: it is from a palm branch. (5) (How do you say it? It is woven or stitched.) From a palm branch—we make this from a palm branch.

(6) Then, after it is complete, after it has reached 13 cubits, one can say that a siggadet is finished. (7) And (there are) also three more lengths that go in the middle.[14] (8) Now, after it has reached this point, when it happens, it is dyed—one boils water. Each (13-cubit segment)[15] is divided into three (parts) and is placed in water. (9) Then, when it happens, after they have finished (dyeing) it, it is woven. (Is it 'woven'? Yes, 'woven'.)

(10) After one has woven, colored, and dyed it, it is separated—[16] (11) if it is light blue, red, orange, or green—(12) or segments[17] other than what is separate: white and red. (13) From this it is made, it suffices to say; from its color, by this (process) the siggadet is a complete siggadet.

(14) When the girl wants to get married, her mother prepares something such as this for her for the wedding. (15) Not only this, but we also use it as an article for other things.[18]

(16) The second item—the other item from it—from the Tigre culture is called "heriret." (17) Heriret (is) from silk, or perhaps another fabric, with beads, sequins, and what are called such. (18) In it, these beads and sequins look like[19] a vine or a flower. (19) Now, one is able to cover it with what they want, like a flower possibly and also other things.[20] (It is) like this.

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13   Lit., (1) From it—the Tigre culture—(is) that which exists—it-is-made-for-a-wedding it exists (2) and-also-for-other-uses it exists: for-other-events-it-is-used it exists such-as-a-festival—

14   Lit., (7) and (there are) also three—some-more-middle-ones-afterwards segments.

15   Lit., (8) . . . For this one (segment) . . .'

16   Lit., (10) After (what) is the weaving of it—(what) is our coloring (it)—one has dyed it, it is separated—

17   Lit., (12) or there are what are called, "segments" . . .

18   Lit., (15) Not only (this), but also for other (things) (is) what we use it as it (an article).

19   Lit., (18) . . . these beads and sequins are what seem like . . .

20   Lit., (19) Now, like, with what they want, a flower possibly and also other things one is able to cover it.

(20) In addition (to siggadet and heriret), there is what is called "kirenikis;" kirenikis is made with thread, from lattices. (21) After these (lattices) have been stitched, six of them are bound together[21] and sewn with thread. (22) Just as you want it there is dyeing (of it), and just as you want it[22] you shape the patterns.

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21   Lit., (21) After these have been threaded together, six are what are threaded together . . .

22   Lit., (22) . . . and like that which you want it . . .

Appendix II

Glossary

These Tigre of Ginda' forms and phrases are not documented elsewhere in Tigre or are documented with a different pronunciation, meaning, or use. They are given in Latin alphabetical order, and sections and texts in which an item appears are noted. The considerable number of loans from Arabic and other languages are discussed in Chapter 7 and are not included here.

ʾabəllā 'by this (process, means); at this point'
(Trad Decorations, line 13; (312), (329), (383), (446), and (453))
> Cf. Leslau ("Sketches," p. 189) *ʾəbbəlli* 'by this'. See also (345) *ʾab* 'in, with, by, as, etc.' and Table 4 *ʾəlla* 'this-ғ'.

ʾarəd 'weather' (424);
'land, country' ((362), (484), (545), (559))
> Cf. *Wörterbuch* 'land, country' elsewhere in Tigre.

ʾənda + ɪᴘʀ ꜰ 'while'
(Making Coffee, line 15, and Trad Decorations, line 21; (397), (484), (492), (510), and 7.2.2)

ʾəšām 'beads'
(Trad Decorations, lines 17 and 18; see also (7), (375), (389), (478), and (550))
> Cf. *Wörterbuch* collective *šom, šomat* 'glass-bead(s)', ᴘʟ *ʾaššām.*

bas ʾikonini 'not only'
(Trad Decorations, line 15; 4.1.7; see also (390), (474), (547), and (553))

baya 'where?'
((323), 6.7.2, 6.7.4; see also (94), (100), (479), (501), (502), (563), and 6.7.4)
> Cf. *ʾəbbaya* 'where?' "Sketches," p. 197. In Tigre of Ginda', *baya* occurs alongside *ʾaya*.

bāḳlā 'near'
((364); see also (100), (106), (436), (437), (439), and (454))
> *bāḳlā* may be related to *bāk* 'near' ("Observations," p. 136) and *Wörterbuch bāk, bākat* 'side, region'.

dāla 'have information, be informed' (C stem)
((155), (217), (222), (231), (233), and (281))

   Cf. *Wörterbuch*: A stem *dalā* 'know exactly; be ready, be watered'

gāritāt 'events'
(Trad Decorations, line 2; (377), (412), (529), (537), and (544))

   This is likely a variant of Tigre *gārāt* PL of *gār, gārat* 'affair, matter, request' (cf.
   Wörterbuch).

ǧamāʿat 'gathering'
(Making Coffee, lines 2 and 4; (39), (363), (438), (444), (503), (515), (519), (520), (526),
(527), (531), and (532))

   The pronunciation in Tigre of Gindaʿ (e.g., line 2 [læʤæmiʕat]) is borrowed from
   the pronunciation of the Arabic loan *ǧāmʿat* 'university' (e.g., Ḥamid and I, line 7
   [ʤæːmʕat]).

ǧaraba 'he tried'
(4.9)

   Cf. *Wörterbuch ǧarraba* 'suffer; try, test'

ḥaḳo + PFT 'if'
(5.3.2.5; see also (507) and (569))

   Cf. Leslau, "Sketches," pp. 199–200, *ḥaḳo* + PFT 'after that, because'. Note also Tigre of
   Gindaʿ and *Wörterbuch ḥaḳo* 'afterwards' (5.1.1).

ḥaḳo-lā + PFT 'after'
(Ḥamid and I, line 5; Making Coffee, lines 10, 11, 13, and 19; Trad Decorations, lines 6, 8,
9, and 10; 5.3.2.1, 6.5.1.6, 6.5.1.8, and 6.5.1.9; see also (2), (4), (7), (366), (449), (468), (470),
and (598))

ḥārasa 'he visited a woman who has borne a child'; *ḥārasat* 'she bore a child'
(4.10 and (224))

   Wörterbuch *ḥarsa 'give birth' is not attested, but there is a derived noun, *ḥarās*
   'woman in childbed'.

kam 'like, as' (PREP)
(Coffee Ceremony, line 4; Making Coffee, line 18; Trad Decorations, line 18; (375); see
also (161), (343), (389), (441), (442), (477), (549), and (550))

kam + PRF 'after' (CONJ)
(Making Coffee, line 13; 5.3.2.1, 6.5.1.7; see also (157), (316), (401), (438), (446), and (491))

kam 'that' (CONJ)

(5.3.2.3, 6.5.3; see also (468), (479), and 6.7.4)

    Cf. elsewhere in Tigre, where *kam* is the pro-adjective and *kəm* is the preposition and the conjunction (*Wörterbuch*; as well as "Sketches," pp. 196, 198, and 200; and *TGT*, pp. 84, 88, and 92).

kamsal 'like, as' (PREP)

(Trad Decoration, line 22; 5.2, (376), (377); see also 5.2 under *ʾab/ʾəb* and *kam*, (455), (469), (528), and (538))

    Cf. *Wörterbuch kəmsal idem*

kāfala 'he divided'

(4.10, (240); see also (257), (262), and (282))

    Cf. Leslau ("Verb," pp. 4–5) *kāfala* 'distribute', *kafla* 'divide', and Massawa dialects *kafla, kāfala* 'distribute'. *Wörterbuch kafla* 'divide'

kəfo 'how?'

(5.1.4, 6.7.1, 6.7.3; see also (147), (154), (160), (408), (507), and (569))

    Cf. *Wörterbuch kəʾəfo* 'how?'

la-ḥatta 'first' (Lit., 'the one-F')

(Ḥamid and I, line 5; Coffee Ceremony, line 6; (130) and (327); see also (92) and (485))

lətgabbaʾanni 'hoping' (Lit., 'may it-M come to pass for me')

(Ḥamid and I, line 9; 5.1.5, (344), 6.4.5.3; see also (37), (42), (72), (161), (255), (272), and (407))

    Cf. *Wörterbuch təgabbəʾa* 'make oneself be something, be made something'; *ləgbaʾanni* 'may I get my due, I appeal'

təwağğəhana 'we had the pleasure of meeting'

(4.13, 4.13.4, 4.13.5; see also (561))

    Cf. *Wörterbuch* tə-A/B *təwağğəha* 'be praised'; tə-C *təwāğəha* 'flatter'

təfarrəhanni 'it-M was frightening to me'

(4.13, 4.13.5)

    Cf. *Wörterbuch farha* 'be frightened, fear'; tə-A/B *təfarrəha* 'be feared'.

təllammad 'it-F is common'

(Coffee Ceremony, line 3; 4.13, 4.13.1; see also (34), (37), (41), (334), (388), (399), (470), (471), and (486))

    Cf. *Wörterbuch lamda* 'get accustomed, learn'; tə-A/B passive of *lamda*.

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Subject Index

DAVID L. ELIAS
Ph.D. (2005), Harvard University,
is an independent scholar of African
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In *The Tigre Language of Ginda', Eritrea*, David L. Elias
documents the dialect of the Tigre language that
is spoken in the town of Ginda' in eastern Eritrea.
While the language of Tigre is spoken by perhaps one
million people in Eritrea and Sudan, the population
of Ginda' is fewer than 50,000 people. Elias describes
basic aspects of phonology, morphology, syntax and
lexicography. In contrast to other dialects of Tigre,
of which approximately a dozen have been identified,
Tigre of Ginda' exhibits the only recorded examples
in Tigre of gender-specific first person possessives,
e.g. '*ǝnye* 'my eye' (masc) vs. '*ǝnče* 'my eye' (masc/
fem), and a new form of the negative of the verb of
existence, *yahallanni* 'there is not'. Contact with Arabic
and Tigrinya has resulted in numerous loanwords and
a few biforms in Tigre of Ginda'.

This book is Volume 75 in the series
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