

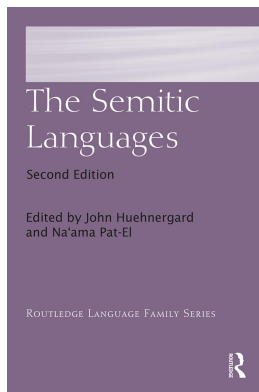
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CHAPTER 7

TIGRE OF GINDAÇ

David L. Elias

1 INTRODUCTION

Tigre is spoken in Eritrea and Eastern Sudan and is the fifth largest Semitic language by number of speakers (1.4 million speakers, www.ethnologue.com/language/tig) after Arabic, Amharic, Tigrinya and Hebrew. It has the largest geographic footprint of the eight languages in Eritrea and is the first language for the majority of the northern half of the country: from the northern border southward to Massawa and environs on the Red Sea coast, westward to areas south of Aqurdāt (except for the Bilin-speaking areas surrounding Keren) and northward throughout most of the Anseba region. Bordering these first-language areas, Tigre is a second (or other) language spoken with most of the other languages in Eritrea (see Map 7.1).



MAP 7.1 THE TIGRE SPEECH AREA

Source: Adapted from Meyer (2016).

Tigre is part of the Ethiopian Semitic (ES) family. Scholars have long asserted or assumed the genetic unity of ES based on geography and shared grammatical features. It is clear that the suffixed conjugation (sc) **k'atvl-* alongside the two prefixed conjugations **yṽ-k'attvl* (pCl) and **yṽ-k'lvl* (pCs) distinguishes ES and Modern South Arabian (MSA) from other Semitic. (For convenience we use the Semitic root consonants *k'-t-l* 'kill'.) However, Hetzron (1972: 17–19, 122) and Faber (1997: 12) posit that there is questionable linguistic evidence that ES differentiated from Modern South Arabian. Weninger (2011: 1115) argues for three innovations shared by ES: (a) the agent noun **k'a:tali(j)* replacing pTCP **k'ātil-*, (b) the verb of existence **h-l-w* and (c) the infinitive in **-ot*.

Although the genetic unity of ES may not be demonstrated conclusively, it is possible that shared morphological *retentions* and *losses* (rather than innovations) also reflect a common ES parent. Regarding retentions, ES shares with Modern South Arabian pCl **yṽ-k'attvl* and the “external” noun PL suffix **-āt*. Among ES losses are dual pronouns such as are found in Mehri (see Chapter 11).

Phonological characteristics of ES include the merger of **i* and **u* to **ə*; the merger of interdental **θ* and **ð* with alveolars **s* and **z*; the realization of ‘emphatics’ as ejectives and the development of labiovelar consonants such as **kʷ* and **gʷ* (see Chapter 6, §3).

Grammatical differences among the ES languages are most clearly demonstrated along geographic lines, namely southern languages (SES: Amharic, Argobba, Harari, Gafat and the approximately six languages associated with the Gurage peoples and region; see Chapter 10) vs. northern languages (NES: Gəʕəz, Tigre and Tigrinya).

The primary morphological difference between SES and NES concerns gemination of the second root consonant (C_2) in the basic verb stem and its causative, as shown in Table 7.1. Almost all SES languages exhibit gemination in the affirmative of sc while NES languages do not. On the other hand, NES languages exhibit gemination in pCl while SES languages do not. Goldenberg (1977: 484–7) most clearly elucidates this point, but gemination in sc and pCl has been the subject of considerable discussion by others (Cohen 1931, Hetzron 1972: 22–9, Voigt 2009, Weninger 2011: 1117–18).

Additional differences include the presence in NES and absence from SES of the F noun marker **(a)t* and “internal” noun pLS, as well as differing forms of quadriconsonantal verbs (e.g., sc 3MSG SES **k'arattal-a* vs. NES **k'arttal-a*). Palatalized consonants *f, ʃ, ʃ'*, *dʒ*, and *n* are found throughout SES and ‘nine’ is *z-t'-n/z-t'-r* (cf. NES *t-f-ʕ*, consistent with common Semitic). “Laryngeals” *ʕ, h, ʔ* and *h* (see §3.1.4) are present in NES but largely absent from SES.

Tigre differs from other NES by its use of the subject prefix *li-* for 3MSG and 3PL in prefixed conjugations (cf. elsewhere **yə-*) and optional use of the prefix for 1, 2MSG and 3 forms of pCl (e.g., *(li-)k'attil*; see Table 7.16). Tigre subject MPL suffixes are in *-o* for prefixed conjugations (e.g., 3MPL pCs *li-k'tal-o* ‘they kill’ (cf. NES **-u*). The future is expressed in Tigre using pCs (*ʔigil* + pCs + some form of COP), while elsewhere in NES

TABLE 7.1 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY IN ETHIO-SEMITIC

| | SES: SODDO (GURAGE) | | NES: Gəʕəz | |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Conjugation | sc 3MSG | pCl 3MSG | sc 3MSG | pCl 3MSG |
| Basic Stem | <i>k'attal-a</i> | <i>yə-k'atəl</i> | <i>k'atal-a</i> | <i>yə-k'attəl</i> |
| Causative Stem | <i>ʔa:-k'attal-a</i> | <i>ya:-k'atəl</i> | <i>ʔa:-k'tal-a</i> | <i>ya:-k'attəl</i> |

PCL is used. Lastly, while Gəṣəz 3MSG forms of SC in the basic stem are **k'atal-a* for some verbs and **k'atl-a* for others (*sabar-a* ‘he broke’, *gabr-a* ‘he worked’), Tigre exhibits only **k'atl-a* for all such verbs (*sæbr-æ*, *gæbr-æ*) and Tigrinya exhibits only **k'atal-a* (*sabar-a*, *gabar-a*).

1.1 Dialects

Saleh has undertaken the most comprehensive analysis of Tigre dialects to date (2015). He identifies 14 primary localities where Tigre is spoken in Eritrea and suggests three “major dialect blocks” based on lexical, phonological and morphological commonalities. The three groups correspond to geographic areas: northwest, centre and southeast. Tigre of Gindaṣ is in the Southeast group along with the dialects of Zəla/Zula, Massawa and Maṣḥalit (ibid.: 6–13, 213–15). This group is characterized by lexemes such as *kəlʔe* ‘two’, *ʔæze* ‘now’, and *bərək ʔəde* ‘elbow’ (ibid.: 54–81); the distinction of *ʔ* vs. *t* and *z* vs. *d* (ibid.: 94–6); and morphemes such as F diminutive nouns in *-it*, 3MSG object suffixes in *-u* and *-o*, and *budibu* ‘to have’ (ibid.: 109–12, 123–6, 128–9).

1.2 Types/genres of texts attested

The development of Tigre literature presented here is largely based on Voigt’s very useful account (2015). Tigre texts were first collected and published in the mid-19th century (Littmann 1897: 188–9, 1899: 133–40). The Swedish Evangelical Mission oversaw publication of the Gospel of St. Mark, the first book published in Tigre, in 1889. These materials were primarily based on the Tigre of Mansaṣ dialect. The most extensive contributions to Tigre literature were made by Enno Littmann, whose Publication of the Princeton Exhibition to Abyssinia (1910–1915) includes Tigre tales, customs, songs and stories.

Late 20th century literary productivity was reignited when the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front gained control of Tigre-speaking regions, leading up to Eritrea’s independence in 1991. Tigre became the language of instruction in these areas, and schoolbooks and pamphlets were published in Tigre. After independence Tigre and eight other languages were recognized as national languages. Tigre literature has since flourished, with particular milestones being the 1997 (but yet to be implemented) Constitution of Eritrea and publication of the *Galad* newspaper (1995–2001), Musā ʔAron’s Tigre–Tigre Dictionary (2005) and Mahammad ṢĀli ʔIbrāhim’s novel, *ʔƏmanini* (*Trust Me*) (2007). Alongside these are works in a number of genres, including poetry, reading books and military/political accounts.

2 WRITING SYSTEM

Tigre is written in the Gəṣəz script, or *fidäl*, an alphabetic syllabary originally borrowed from Old South Arabian monumental writings and attested in the Aksumite kingdom (Northern Ethiopia) ca. 4th century CE (see Chapter 6, §2). Each character represents a consonant-vowel (or consonant-Ø) pair, and characters are written left to right. Diacritics have been added to some letters to reflect Tigre consonants not attested in Gəṣəz, and with 25 consonants and 7 vowels, there are 175 characters, as shown in Table 7.2.

TABLE 7.2 THE TIGRE WRITING SYSTEM

| CONSONANT | WITH VOWEL | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|--------|--------|---------|--------|----------|--------|
| | with æ | with u | with i | with æ: | with e | with i/Ø | with o |
| <i>h</i> | ሀ | ሁ | ሂ | ሃ | ሄ | ህ | ሆ |
| <i>l</i> | ለ | ሉ | ሊ | ላ | ሌ | ል | ሎ |
| <i>ḥ</i> | ሐ | ሑ | ሒ | ሓ | ሔ | ሕ | ሖ |
| <i>m</i> | መ | ሙ | ሚ | ማ | ሜ | ም | ሞ |
| <i>r</i> | ረ | ሩ | ሪ | ራ | ራ | ር | ሮ |
| <i>s</i> | ሰ | ሱ | ሲ | ሳ | ሴ | ስ | ሶ |
| <i>f</i> | ሸ | ሹ | ሺ | ሻ | ሼ | ሽ | ሾ |
| <i>k'</i> | ቀ | ቁ | ቂ | ቃ | ቄ | ቅ | ቆ |
| <i>b</i> | በ | ቡ | ቢ | ባ | ቤ | ብ | ቦ |
| <i>t</i> | ተ | ቱ | ቲ | ታ | ቲ | ት | ቶ |
| <i>ʔ</i> | ቸ | ቹ | ቺ | ቻ | ቼ | ች | ቾ |
| <i>n</i> | ነ | ኑ | ኒ | ና | ኔ | ን | ኖ |
| <i>ʔ</i> | አ | አ | አ | አ | ኡ | እ | አ |
| <i>k</i> | ከ | ከ | ከ | ከ | ከ | ከ | ኮ |
| <i>w</i> | ወ | ወ | ወ | ወ | ወ | ወ | ወ |
| <i>ʕ</i> | ዐ | ዐ | ዐ | ዐ | ዐ | ዐ | ዐ |
| <i>z</i> | ዘ | ዘ | ዘ | ዘ | ዘ | ዘ | ዘ |
| <i>j</i> | የ | የ | የ | የ | የ | የ | የ |
| <i>d</i> | ደ | ደ | ደ | ደ | ደ | ደ | ደ |
| <i>ɗ</i> | ጀ | ጀ | ጀ | ጀ | ጀ | ጀ | ጀ |
| <i>g</i> | ገ | ገ | ገ | ገ | ገ | ገ | ገ |
| <i>t'</i> | ጠ | ጠ | ጠ | ጠ | ጠ | ጠ | ጠ |
| <i>g'</i> | ጠጠ | ጠጠ | ጠጠ | ጠጠ | ጠጠ | ጠጠ | ጠጠ |
| <i>s'</i> | ጸ | ጸ | ጸ | ጸ | ጸ | ጸ | ጸ |
| <i>f</i> | ፈ | ፈ | ፈ | ፈ | ፈ | ፈ | ፈ |

3 PHONOLOGY

3.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Tigre of Gindaʕ are shown in Table 7.3.

‘Emphatics’ are realized as ejectives. Historical developments from Proto-Semitic (PS) are as follows:

- The PS voiceless bilabial stop spirantized:
*p > f
- The PS interdental merged with the alveolars:
*θ, *f, *s, *l > s; *d, *z > z; *θ', *s', *l' > s'
- The PS velars merged with the pharyngeals:
*χ, *ḥ > ḥ; *γ, *ʕ > ʕ

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TABLE 7.3 CONSONANT PHONEMES

| | BILABIAL | LABIO-DENTAL | DENTO-ALVEOLAR | ALVEO-PALATAL | PALATAL | VELAR | PHARYNGEAL | GLOTTAL |
|--------------|----------|--------------|----------------|---------------|---------|--------|------------|---------|
| Stops | b | | t d t' | | | k g k' | | ʔ |
| Fricatives | | f | s z s' | | ʃ | | ħ ʕ | h |
| Affricates | | | | ɟʒ ʃ' | | | | |
| Nasals | m | | n | | | | | |
| Approximants | w | | | r, l | j | | | |

Raz (1997: 446–7) also lists *f*, *ɟʒ*, *ʃ*, and *ʃ'* as phonemes. The present author is in agreement except for *ʃ*. Historical developments for these phonemes are not included here.

The following general statements can be made about allophones in Tigre of Gindaṣ. Note that the limited corpus does not allow for definitive statements.

3.1.1 Stops

k' has allophones [k] and [k'], which occur almost exclusively in unstressed syllables: *ʔækʃæ:l* 'segments'; *ħak'olæ* 'after'. *ʔ* is lost in three unstressed environments at a word boundary or word-internally.

- 1 *ʔ* is lost in the unstressed sequence *æʔæ*, and the sequence is realized as [æ] or [a]:

gæ: (< **gæʔ-æ*) *dib-æ*
 go.SC-3MSG into-POSS.3FSG
 'it [water] has gone into it [the bottle]'.

- 2 Immediately after *w*, unstressed *æʔæ* is usually realized as [ɛ]:

wɛ=ri'ʃoni (< **wæ=ʔæriʃoni*)
 'or orange'.

- 3 *ʔ* is lost in the unstressed sequence *æʔi*, and the sequence is realized as [æ] or [a]:

ni-tʃæ'natæ *n-gæb'biʔ* (< **ni-tʃænæ:tæ: ʔin-gæbbiʔ*)
 1PL-separate.PASS.PCL 1PL-go.PCL
 'we are being separated'

3.1.2 Fricatives

Almost every occurrence of word-final *ʕ* is realized as *ʔ*: [gin'daʔ] 'Gindaṣ'. [x] is not a phoneme in Tigre of Gindaṣ. It is attested in some Arabic loans in which [x] is present:

xet 'nylon thread' (Arabic *xetʕ*).

3.1.3 Approximants

In most instances where *w*, *j* or *r* is expected to geminate, a single consonant is attested: *ræjim* be.far.PCL.3FSG 'it is far' (< **ræjjim*, see §4.4.2); *ʔin-dæris* 1PL-study.PCL 'we study' (< **ʔin-dærris*). There are a few occurrences of *ʕ* in a position where doubling is expected.

A single consonant is attested: *li-tfæʃal* 3MSG-stitch.PASS.PCL ‘it is stitched’ (< **li-tfæʃæl*, see §4.4.4).

When **rr* straddles a syllable boundary and the latter syllable is stressed, it is almost always realized as the trill *r*.

li-rækkæb *'dib-a* (< **li-rrækkæb dib-æ:*)
 3MSG-find.PASS.PCL in-POSS.3FSG
 ‘it [a mountain] is found in it [the west]’

3.2 Vowels

The vowel phonemes of Tigre of Gindaʃ are found in Table 7.4.

3.2.1 Close vowel *i*

Minimal pairs such as the following establish the phoneme *i*.

zæbbit' ~ *zæbbæt'*
 beat.PCL.3MSG beat.PASS.PCL.3MSG
 ‘he beats’ ‘he receives a beating’

The word-internal sequence stop + *r* is almost always broken by *i*, as in *mædiræ'sæt* (< **mædræset*) ‘school’.

3.2.2 Open vowels *æ* and *æ*

Minimal pairs such as the following establish the phonemes *æ* and *æ:* *hæ:l* ‘maternal aunt’ ~ *hæ:l* ‘maternal uncle’. However, vowel length is not easily discernible in connected speech. *æ* is realized as *a* after *ʃ* and frequently realized as *a* after *h*, *ʔ* and *h*:

ʃalæ *hæsæb* (< **ʃælæ hæsæb*) *ʔasik=ma* (< **ʔæsik-mæ:*)
 according.to quantity up.to=or
 ‘according to the number’ ‘up to [ninth] or [tenth grade]’

æ is realized as rounded backed [o] or [e] after *w*, as in

wə=dib *gin'daʔ* (< **wæ=dib gindæʃ*)
 now=in Gindaʃ
 ‘now, in Gindaʃ’

wəlæd ‘son’ (< **wælæd*)

TABLE 7.4 VOWEL PHONEMES

| | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
|-----------|--------------|----------|----------|
| Close | <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>u</i> |
| Close-mid | <i>e</i> | | <i>o</i> |
| Open-mid | <i>æ, æ:</i> | | |

3.3 Diphthongs

Occurrences of *æ*: in word-final *-æj* do not appear to be lengthened: *ʕasræj* ‘tenth’, *ʕabbæj* ‘big.FSG’. However, as mentioned previously, vowel length is not easily discernible.

3.4 Stress

Stress is not phonemic in Tigre of Gindaş. More text analysis is necessary, but there are two preliminary observations.

Closed syllables (CVC) are stressed considerably more frequently than open syllables (CV).

mi'sil *'hattæ* *t'æb'ʕan*
 ‘together’ ‘one’ ‘naturally’

Open syllables that contain **æ*: are more frequently stressed than other open syllables.

wo=hako'ha *ʔæzæ* *'læ:kin*
 and=then now but
 ‘and then’ ‘but now’

3.5 Morphophonemic alternations

In connected speech, **min-* ‘from, if, when’ > *m-* following a vowel:

hæz-o *m=gæbbiʔ* (< **hæzæ-w min=gæbbiʔ*)
 want.SC-3MPL from=happen.PCL.3MSG
 ‘if they want’

The 1S POSS suffix *-je* causes palatalization in some contexts: suffixed to prepositions ending with *-l*, e.g. *ʔij-je* ‘to me’ (< **ʔil-ye*), and to nouns ending in *-t*, e.g., *ʕintæ:f-e* eyes-POSS.1S ‘my eyes’ (< **ʕintæ:t-ye*).

The 3MPL suffix *æw* in *k'ætl-æw* (see SC §4.4.2) is almost always realized as *o*, e.g. *ʕal-o* exist.SC-3MPL ‘they were’/ ‘they used to’ (< **ʕæl-æw*).

**æjji-* in **gæjji*s go.PCL.3FSG is usually rendered *e*. Note also **jj > j* (§3.1.3).

ges *hælle-t*
 go.PCL.3FSG exist.SC-3FSG
 ‘it is increasingly becoming’

4 MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Pronouns

4.1.1 Personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns (IPP) are found in Table 7.5.

TABLE 7.5 INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS (IPP)

| | SG | PL |
|----|--------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>ʔænæ</i> | <i>hĩnæ</i> |
| 2M | <i>ʔĩntæ</i> | <i>ʔĩntum</i> |
| 2F | <i>ʔĩnti</i> | <i>ʔĩntin</i> |
| 3M | <i>hitu</i> | <i>hitom</i> |
| 3F | <i>hitæ</i> | <i>hitæn</i> |

IPP are used as the subject of a copular clause or as the optional subject of a verbal clause. They are also used to emphasize an antecedent, change the subject or resume the discussion of an antecedent.

4.1.2 Suffixed pronouns

The suffixed possessive and object pronouns are very similar (and in some cases identical) except for 1s. Note that few PL object suffixes occur in the present corpus.

Suffixed POSS pronouns (Table 7.6) represent the possessor of their head noun or the object of a preposition: *kælib-kæ* dog-POSS.2MSG ‘your dog’; *kill-æn* all-POSS.3FPL ‘all of them’; *dib-æ*: into-POSS.3FSG ‘into it’. The 1s pronoun is *-je*, unless the modified noun ends in a vowel, in which case the pronoun is *-j*: *kitæ:b* ‘book’ ~ *kitæ:b-je* ‘my book’; *hæmde* ‘praise’ ~ *hæmde-j* ‘my praise’.

For a few nouns, the base form is unmarked but the suffixed form incorporates final *t*. This “*-t*-juncture feature” (Raz 1983: 37–8, Palmer 1962: 67–8) is likely related to the F marker *-(æ)t* on nouns: *hæl* ‘maternal aunt’ ~ *hælt-u* ‘his maternal aunt’ ~ *hæltf-e* ‘my maternal aunt’. For three nouns with the 1s POSS suffix, the base form incorporating final *t* is used for 1cs and the unmarked base form is used for 1MSG.

| | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>ʔin</i> | <i>ʔĩnf-e</i> | <i>ʔin-je</i> |
| eye | eye-POSS.1CS | eye-POSS.1MSG |
| ‘eye’ | ‘my-c eye’ | ‘my-m eye’ |
| <i>moræt</i> | <i>morætf-e</i> | <i>moræ:-j</i> |
| stick | stick-POSS.1CS | stick-POSS.1MSG |
| ‘stick’ | ‘my-c stick’ | ‘my-m stick’ |
| <i>ʔid-e</i> | <i>ʔidæ:tiif-e</i> | <i>ʔid-e-je</i> |
| hand-PL | hand.PL-POSS.1CS | hand.PL-POSS.1MSG |
| ‘hands’ | ‘my-c hands’ | ‘my-m hands’ |

The suffixed OBJ pronoun is used as a direct or indirect object of the verb: *mæs ʔ-æ-kkæ* come.SC-3MSG-OBJ.2MSG ‘he came to you’; *lækæf-ko-jæ*: throw.SC-1s-OBJ.3FSG ‘I threw it’. The specific suffix form depends on the morphology of the verb base. Attested Gindaʕ suffixes are consistent with those in the Mansaʕ dialect. For Gindaʕ forms that are not yet available, Mansaʕ dialect forms are presented.

1st and 2nd person suffixes *-ni*, *-kæ*, *-ki*, *-næ*, *-kum* and *-kin* occur on verb bases that end in *-o*, *-æw* and *-æ*, as in *zæbt ʔ-o-ni* beat.SC-3MPL-OBJ.1s ‘they beat me’. This excludes the SC-3MSG verb base *k ʔætl-æ* ‘he killed’. *-nni*, *-kkæ*, *-kki*, *-nnæ*, *-kkum* and *-kkin* occur on

TABLE 7.6 SUFFIXED PRONOUNS

| | SG | | PL | |
|----|---------|------------------------|------|---------------------------|
| | POSS | OBJ | POSS | OBJ |
| 1 | -je, -j | -(n)ni | -næ | -(n)næ |
| 2M | -kæ | -(k)kæ | -kum | -(k)kum |
| 2F | -ki | -(k)ki | -kin | -(k)kin |
| 3M | -u | -o, -jo, -wo, -hu, -ju | -om | -om, -jom, -wom, -hom |
| 3F | -æ: | -æ:, -jæ:, -wæ:, -hæ: | -æ:n | -æ:n, -jæ:n, -wæ:n, -hæ:n |

all other verb bases, as in *læʔæk-æ-nnæ* send.SC-3MSG-OBJ.1P ‘he sent us’. For SC-3FSG the final *t* geminates and the object suffix takes initial *æ*, as in *læʔæk-ætt-ænnæ* send.SC-3FSG-OBJ.1P ‘she sent us’ (cf. *læʔæk-æt* send.SC-3FSG ‘she sent’).

3rd person suffixes *-o*, *-æ:*, *-om* and *-æ:n* occur on verb bases that end in a consonant, which geminates in PCL, PCS, IMP and SC.3FSG forms, as in *liʔækk-om* send.IMP.MSG-OBJ.3MPL ‘send them’ (cf. *liʔæk* send.IMP.MSG ‘send’). *-jo*, *-jæ:*, *-jom* and *-jæ:n* occur on the SC-3MSG and SC-2FSG verb bases, as in *lækf-æ-jæ:* throw.SC-3MSG-OBJ.3FSG ‘he threw it’. Final *-i* in SC-2FSG becomes *-i*, as in *k’atal-ki-jom* kill.SC-2FSG-OBJ.3MPL ‘you killed them’ (cf. *k’atal-ki* kill.SC-2FSG ‘you killed’). *-wo*, *-wæ:*, *-wom*, and *-wæ:n* occur on the SC-1s verb base, where the subject suffix *-o* becomes *-i*, as in *harsæ-ki-wo* plow.SC-1s-OBJ.3MSG ‘I plowed it’ (cf. *harsæ-ko* plow.SC-1s ‘I plowed’). *-hu*, *-hæ:*, *-hom* and *-hæ:n* occur on verb bases that end in *-æ* (other than SC-3MSG), as in *lækf-æ-jæ:* throw.SC-3MSG-OBJ.3FSG ‘he threw it’.

4.1.3 Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns/pro-adjectives are found in Table 7.7.

| | | | | |
|------------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>ʔillæ</i> | <i>ʕinj-e</i> | <i>tæ</i> | <i>lohi</i> | <i>ʔinə:s</i> |
| this.F | eye-POSS.1s | COP.3FSG | that.M | man |
| ‘this is my eye’ | | | ‘that man’ | |

DEMS for objects that are not in sight (“absent”) are attested in other dialects (Saleh 2015: 117–18) but not in Gindaṣ. The DEM is sometimes used before and after the noun: *lohæ ʔæssit lohæ* ‘that woman’.

4.1.4 The relative particle

The relative particle is uninflected *læ-* ‘that, which, who’, which is prefixed, usually to a verb.

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>læ=bæzh-æt</i> | <i>k’æwmijæt</i> |
| REL=be.numerous.SC-3FSG | ethnic.group |
| ‘the most common ethnic group’ | |

TABLE 7.7 DEMONSTRATIVES (DEM)

| | MSG | FSG | MPL | FPL |
|--------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| NEAR | <i>ʔilli</i> | <i>ʔillæ</i> | <i>ʔillom</i> | <i>ʔillæn</i> |
| DIST | <i>lohi, lohæj, læhæj, lehi</i> | <i>lohæ</i> | <i>lohom</i> | <i>lohæn</i> |
| ABSENT | <i>læhæj</i> | <i>læhæ</i> | <i>læhom</i> | <i>læhæn</i> |

TABLE 7.8 INTERROGATIVES

| | | | |
|------------|---------|--------------|-----------------------|
| <i>mæn</i> | ‘who?’ | <i>kæm</i> | ‘how many? how much?’ |
| <i>mi</i> | ‘what?’ | <i>fowæ:</i> | ‘which (place)?’ |

4.1.5 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns and pro-adjectives take the forms found in Table 7.8.

In other Tigre dialects, ‘which (person/thing)?’ is documented as *ʔæj-* (Littmann and Höfner 1962), and ‘which (place)?’ is documented as *ʔij-* (ibid.; Raz 1983: 87; Leslau 1945b: 197).

4.2 Nouns and adjectives

Tigre words – as in all Semitic languages – are in general comprised of a sequence of consonants, sometimes called “root consonants,” attested with vocalic patterns and affixes in a finite number of combinations.

4.2.1 Adjectives

Almost all adjectives are inflected for gender and number. The following two primary patterns are attested in Tigre of Gindaʕ. The root pattern *k'-t-l* (‘kill’) is employed for convenience (Table 7.9).

For single *r* in *gurum*, note **rr* > *r* in §3.1.4. Additional adjective patterns are not yet available in Tigre of Gindaʕ, but in Tigre of Mansaʕ the active participle (see §4.4.4) also functions as an adjective.

4.2.2 Singular nouns and gender markers

For animate beings MSG nouns are generally unmarked while FSG nouns are generally marked by *-t* or *-æt* (Table 7.10).

Note that the base form of many *k'vtl-* nouns is **k'vtl-* with vowel insertion in MSG: **kælb* > *kælib* MSG, *kælb-æt* FSG.

Some FSG nouns (whether animate or inanimate) are not marked: *ʔim* ‘mother’; *ʕin* ‘eye’.

Additional SG noun patterns include those found in Table 7.11.

TABLE 7.9 ADJECTIVE (ADJ) PATTERNS

| | (1) | 'LITTLE' | 'RED' | (2) | 'HANDSOME, BEAUTIFUL' |
|-----|--|-----------------|----------------|---|---|
| MSG | <i>k'vɪvɪ</i> | <i>niʔuf</i> | <i>k'æjɪh</i> | <i>k'uttul</i> | <i>gurum</i> |
| FSG | <i>k'vɪ(t)vɪ</i> | <i>niʔif</i> | <i>k'æjæ:h</i> | <i>k'ittil</i> | <i>girim</i> |
| PL | <i>k'vɪæ:ʒil</i> , <i>k'ætilt</i> and <i>k'æɬæ:li</i> (all CPL) | <i>næ'æ:ʒif</i> | <i>k'æjɪht</i> | MSG + <i>-æ:m</i> (M), MSG + <i>-æ:t</i> (F) | <i>gurum-æ:m</i> (M), <i>gurum-æ:t</i> (F) |

TABLE 7.10 SG NOUNS AND GENDER MARKERS – ANIMATE NOUNS

| PATTERN | NOUN-MSG | NOUN-FSG |
|---------------|---|--|
| <i>k'v</i> | <i>ħu</i> 'brother' | <i>ħi-t</i> 'sister' |
| <i>k'vl</i> | <i>ħæ:l</i> 'maternal uncle' | |
| <i>k'vɪvɪ</i> | <i>kælib</i> 'dog-M' <i>ʔinæ:s</i> 'man' | <i>kælb-æt</i> 'dog-F' <i>ʔiss-it</i> 'woman' (*ns > ss) |
| | <i>fæjib</i> 'gray-haired man' | <i>fæjb-æt</i> 'gray-haired woman' |

TABLE 7.11 ADDITIONAL SG NOUN PATTERNS

| PATTERN | NOUN | PATTERN | NOUN |
|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>k'vɪv</i> | <i>gælə</i> 'something' | <i>k'vɪvɪvɪ</i> | <i>ʒinkir</i> 'puppy' |
| <i>k'vɪlv</i> | <i>dimmu</i> 'cat' | <i>k'vɪvɪlv</i> | <i>ʔindʒææ:</i> 'injera' |
| <i>k'vɪvɪ(v)</i> | <i>ħæbbæ:r</i> 'coloring' | <i>k'vɪvɪlv</i> | <i>ʒimboba</i> 'popcorn' |
| <i>mvk'vɪl</i> | <i>mifqar</i> 'rising' | <i>mvk'vɪk'vɪl</i> | <i>mædægdæg</i> 'mortar' |

4.2.3 Plural nouns

PL noun forms are attested in two general varieties: plural suffix ("external" PL) and pattern replacement ("internal" PL).

Plural suffixes are *-æ:t* and *-otæ:t*: *suk* 'market' ~ *suk'-æ:t* 'markets'; *ħæ:l* 'maternal uncle' ~ *ħæ:l-otæ:t* 'maternal uncles'. In some instances the base form is different for a suffixed noun: *ʔim* 'mother' ~ *ʔimm-æ:t* 'mothers'. The FSG *-æt* suffix is replaced by an external PL suffix: *ʒæmm-æt* 'paternal aunt' ~ *ʒæmm-otæ:t* 'paternal aunts'. The PL forms of *ʔæb* 'father' and *ʔæf* 'mouth' exhibit the endings *-æ:f* / *-æ:jt*:

ʔæb ~ *ʔæb-æ:f* / *ʔæb-æ:jt*
ʔæf ~ *ʔæf-æ:f* / *ʔæf-æ:jt*.

For non-human nouns, the external PL is grammatically SG. The gender of a PL noun is not necessarily the same as the gender of its SG counterpart.

| | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>ʔillæ</i> | <i>ʕin-je</i> | <i>tæ</i> | <i>ʔilli</i> | <i>ʕint-æ:t-kæ</i> | <i>tu</i> |
| this.F | eye-POSS.1s | COP.3FSG | this.M | eye-PL-POSS.2MSG | COP.3MSG |
| 'this is my eye' | | | 'these are your eyes' | | |

Examples of pattern replacement are the following:

- vowel change and/or vowel loss in the noun base, as in *ʔibin* 'stone' ~ *ʔibæn* 'stones', *ʕæskir* 'soldier' ~ *ʕæsa:kir* 'soldiers', *kælib* 'dog' ~ *kilæ:b* 'dogs', and *kitæ:b* 'book' ~ *kitib* 'books'
- vowel change accompanied by consonantal gemination, as in *hærmæ:z* 'elephant' ~ *hærcæmmiz* 'elephants'
- vowel changes accompanied by the prefix *ʔæ-*, as in *giriz* 'infant' ~ *ʔægiruz* 'infants', by the loss of the suffix *-(æ)t*, as in *ʔælg-æt* 'baby' ~ *ʔæ:lug* 'babies', or by addition of a suffix such as *-vt*, as in *dimmu* 'cat' ~ *dæmæmmit* 'cats'

For nouns not referring to human beings, the internal PL is grammatically MSG.

| | |
|------------------|--------------|
| <i>læ=ʔæjæ:m</i> | <i>læhæj</i> |
| DEF=day.PL | that.M |
| 'those days' | |

One suppletive PL is attested: *ʔinæ:s* 'man' ~ *sæb* 'men'.

4.2.4 Collective nouns

Collectives are unmarked, with a corresponding countable SG in *-æt* and an internal PL:

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Unmarked Collective | ~ | Countable SG in <i>-æt</i> | ~ | Internal PL |
| <i>ʔ'igær</i> 'hair' | ~ | <i>ʔ'iggær-æt</i> 'strand of hair' | ~ | <i>ʔæʔ'æggir</i> 'many kinds of hair' |
| <i>k'æt'æf</i> 'leaves' | ~ | <i>k'æt'f-æt</i> 'leaf' | ~ | <i>ʔæk'æt't'if</i> 'pile of leaves' |

4.2.5 Diminutives

Diminutive (DIM) nouns do not appear to be used in Tigre of Gindaʕ. This may be related to the apparent absence of the derived D verbal stem; see §4.4.4. Note, however, that Saleh (2015: 109–12) records DIM nouns in *-æ:j* (M)/-it (F).

4.3 Numerals

The cardinal numbers are found in Table 7.12.

The numbers 11–19 are formed as *ʕæsir wə-* + numeral and use both genders of 'one' and 'two': *ʕæsir wə=ʔoro* 'eleven-M', *ʕæsir wə=hættæ* 'eleven-F', . . . , *ʕæsir wə=sif* 'nineteen'. The numbers 21+ generally use the F of 'one' and 'two': *ʕifrin wə=hættæ* 'twenty-one', *ʕifrin wə=kilʔe* 'twenty-two', etc. A numeral precedes a modified noun: *sæman fidʒan* 'eight cups'.

Ordinal numbers in *-æ:j(t)* were produced in connected texts: *ʔawəlæ:jt* 'first', *kæ:lʔæ:jt* 'second', *tæ:sʕaj* 'ninth', *ʕasraj* 'tenth'. *ʔawəl* is an Arabic borrowing (*ʔawwal* 'first'). It is possible that *-æ:jt* is F and *-aj* is M, consistent with the FSG noun marker *t* (see §4.2.2). In isolated elicitations the following forms in *k'æ:til* were also given (see Table 7.13).

TABLE 7.12 CARDINAL NUMBERS

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>ʔoro/hættæ</i> | ‘one-M’/‘one-F’ | <i>tælətin</i> | ‘thirty’ |
| <i>kilʔot/kilʔe</i> | ‘two-M’/‘two-F’ | <i>ʔærbisʔin</i> | ‘forty’ |
| <i>sæləs</i> | ‘three’ | <i>hæmsin</i> | ‘fifty’ |
| <i>ʔærbæʔ</i> | ‘four’ | <i>sittin</i> | ‘sixty’ |
| <i>hæmis</i> | ‘five’ | <i>sæbʔin</i> | ‘seventy’ |
| <i>sis</i> | ‘six’ | <i>tæmæ:nin</i> | ‘eighty’ |
| <i>sæbiʔ</i> | ‘seven’ | <i>tisʔin</i> | ‘ninety’ |
| <i>sæmæ:n</i> | ‘eight’ | <i>miʔit</i> | ‘hundred’ |
| <i>siʔ</i> | ‘nine’ | <i>kilʔe miʔit</i> | ‘two hundred’ |
| <i>ʔæsir</i> | ‘ten’ | <i>ʔəlif</i> | ‘thousand’ |
| <i>ʔifrin</i> | ‘twenty’ | | |

TABLE 7.13 ORDINAL NUMBERS

| | | | |
|---------------|----------|---------------|-----------|
| <i>ʔawel</i> | ‘first’ | <i>sæ:dis</i> | ‘sixth’ |
| <i>kæ:liʔ</i> | ‘second’ | <i>sæ:biʔ</i> | ‘seventh’ |
| <i>sæ:lis</i> | ‘third’ | <i>sæ:min</i> | ‘eighth’ |
| <i>ræ:biʔ</i> | ‘fourth’ | <i>tæ:siʔ</i> | ‘ninth’ |
| <i>hæ:mis</i> | ‘fifth’ | <i>ʔæ:sir</i> | ‘tenth’ |

4.4 Verbs

4.4.1 Tense/aspect/mood system

There are three verb conjugations in Tigre of Gindaṣ, presented here in 3MSG forms. The suffix conjugation (SC) *k'ætl-æ* is used primarily for perfective aspect in the past tense. One of the two prefixed conjugations (PCL) (*li-*)*k'ættil* is used for imperfective aspect. The other (PCS) *li-k'ætl* expresses mood and in a compound construction indicates future tense. Alongside these conjugations are an inflected COP *tu* and two verbs of existence, *hæll-æ* (present) and *ʔal-æ* (past). The verbs of existence only occur in SC. Compound constructions using COP, *hæll-æ*, *ʔal-æ* and complimentary verbs express tense, aspect and mood and are discussed later.

The three conjugations' 3MSG forms are found in Table 7.14. As with the noun patterns, we use the root *k'-t-l* ‘kill’ for convenience.

SC is used for completed action in the past for transitive verbs:

næsʔ-æ take.SC-3MSG ‘he took’

For INTR and stative verbs, SC can also express the present:

ʔæ:mir-o know.SC-3MPL ‘they know’; *tæmm-æ* be.complete.SC-3MSG ‘it is complete’.

PCL is used to express the present as well as customary or habitual action:

s'æbbit serve.PCL.3MSG ‘he serves’; *li-ʔellih* 3MSG-boil.PCL ‘it boils’.

TABLE 7.14 THE THREE VERBAL CONJUGATIONS – BASIC FORMS AND USES

| TENSE | ASPECT | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | PERFECTIVE | IMPERFECTIVE |
| Past | <i>k'ætl-æ</i> 'he killed' (sc) | |
| Present | | <i>(li-)k'ættil</i> 'he kills' (pcl) |
| | MOOD | |
| Possibility | <i>li-k'ætl</i> 'he might kill' (pcs) | |

pcl+*hæll-æ* expresses present continuous, and pcl+*ʒal-æ* expresses past continuous or past customary or habitual action:

ʒin-fæggir *hælle-næ*
 1PL-leave.pcl exist.sc-1PL
 'we are leaving'

sæmmiʒ *ʒal-æ*
 listen.pcl.3MSG exist.sc-3MSG
 'he was listening'

li-hæris-o *ʒal-o*
 3MPL-plow.pcl-3MPL exist.sc-3MPL
 'they used to plow'.

pcl is frequently rendered without the prefix, as in *s'æbbit* and *sæmmiʒ* from earlier. *ʒigil* + pcl + *k'ædir-æ* is used to express ability:

ʒigil *læ-hællif-o* *kædir-æw*
 with.respect.to 3MPL-pass.pcl-3MPL be.able.sc-3MPL
 'they were able to pass [their examination]'

ʒigil + pcs + *tu* is used to express the future:

ʒigil *li-nsæʔ* *tu*
 with.respect.to 3MSG-take.pcs cop.3MSG
 'he will take'.

Note that 3FSG and 3M forms use inflected cop. Invariable *tu* is documented elsewhere in Tigre.

ʒigil *ti-ms'æʔ* *tæ*
 with.respect.to 3FSG-come.pcs cop.3FSG
 'she will come'.

pcs is also used to express possibility: *li-gbæʔ* 3MSG-happen.pcs 'it might be'.

The full complement of verbal constructions with respect to tense, aspect and mood is presented in Table 7.15. The finite present and mood of permission are not yet available in Tigre of Gindaʒ. The forms presented are from other dialects (Saleh 2015: 133).

TABLE 7.15 VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS – TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD

| TENSE | ASPECT | |
|-------------|--|---|
| | FINITE | NON-FINITE |
| Past | <i>k'ætl-æ</i> 'he killed' (SC) | <i>(li-)k'ættil ʕal-æ</i> 'he used to kill, he was killing' |
| Present | <i>hitæ kæ:tlæ hæll-æ</i> 'he has killed' (PTCP) | <i>(li-)k'ættil</i> 'he kills' (PCL) <i>tæmm-æ</i> 'it is complete' (SC) <i>(li-)k'ættil hæll-æ</i> 'he is killing' |
| Future | <Not attested> | <i>ʔigil li-k'ætl tu</i> 'he will kill' |
| MOOD | | |
| Possibility | <i>li-k'ætl</i> 'he might kill' (PCS) | |
| Ability | <i>ʔigil k'ætl-æ k'ædir-æ</i> 'he can kill' | |

4.4.2 Gender/number/person inflection

Gender, number and person are expressed by subject morphemes affixed to the conjugations. Prefixed conjugations utilize suffixes to distinguish gender in 2FSG, 2PL and 3PL. The PCL prefix is optional for 1, 2MSG and 3 and is least attested for 3MSG (Table 7.16).

The SC base is *k'ætl-* for consonant-initial subject suffixes, with vowel contraction to *k'ætl-* when the gender/number suffix is a vowel or vowel-initial.

The PCL base without a gender suffix is *-k'ættil*; with a gender suffix it is *-k'ætl-*.

The PCS base is *-k'ætl-* for all forms. The affixes are identical to those for PCL, except that the 1PL suffix is *ni-* rather than *ʔin-*. Prefixes are not optional in PCS.

The COP in Tigre of GindaƷ expresses identity and is identical in form to the IPP (see Table 7.5), except for the initial segment *hi-* in 3 (Table 7.17).

Example:

bun ʕabbaj tæ
coffee important.FSG COP.3FSG
'coffee is important'

The verbs of existence (Table 7.18) and locality *hæll-æ* and *ʕal-æ* are only conjugated in SC. However, *hæll-æ* is a "B" stem verb with a III-*w/j/Ø* root, and as such, its base for 1, 2 and 3FSG is *hælle-* and the 3FSG suffix is *-t* not *-æt*. (For "B" stem verbs, see §4.4.4; for "weak" roots such as III-*w/j/Ø*, see §4.4.5) *ʕal-æ*, on the other hand, is an "A" verb (the general type presented in §4.4.1 and §4.4.2, *k'ætl-ko*, etc.) with a I-*w/j/Ø* root, and its base is *ʕal-* for all forms.

Examples:

ʕabi minn-om hæll-æ
big.MSG from-POSS.3MPL exist.SC-3MSG
'there is an elder among them'

ʕal-æt dib gindæʔ
exist.SC-3FSG in GindaƷ
'it [the school] was in GindaƷ'

The imperative (Table 7.19) is *k'itætl-* with the subject suffixes of PCL and PCS.

TABLE 7.16 GENDER, NUMBER AND PERSON MARKERS

| | SC | PCL | PCS |
|----|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| SG | | | |
| 1 | <i>k'ætæɫ-ko</i> | <i>(ʔi-)k'ættil</i> | <i>ʔi-k'æɫ</i> |
| 2M | <i>k'ætæɫ-kæ</i> | <i>(ti-)k'ættil</i> | <i>ti-k'æɫ</i> |
| 2F | <i>k'ætæɫ-ki</i> | <i>ti-k'æɫ-i</i> | <i>ti-k'æɫ-i</i> |
| 3M | <i>k'æɫl-æ</i> | <i>(li-)k'ættil</i> | <i>li-k'æɫ</i> |
| 3F | <i>k'æɫl-æt</i> | <i>(ti-)k'ættil</i> | <i>ti-k'æɫ</i> |
| PL | | | |
| 1 | <i>k'ætæɫ-næ</i> | <i>ʔin-k'ættil</i> | <i>ni-k'æɫ</i> |
| 2M | <i>k'ætæɫ-kum</i> | <i>ti-k'æɫ-o</i> | <i>ti-k'æɫ-o</i> |
| 2F | <i>k'ætæɫ-kin</i> | <i>ti-k'æɫ-æ:</i> | <i>ti-k'æɫ-æ:</i> |
| 3M | <i>k'æɫl-æw/-o</i> | <i>(li-)k'æɫ-o</i> | <i>li-k'æɫ-o</i> |
| 3F | <i>k'æɫl-æjæ:</i> | <i>(li-)k'æɫ-æ:</i> | <i>li-k'æɫ-æ:</i> |

TABLE 7.17 THE COPULA

| | SG | PL |
|----|--------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>ʔæncæ</i> | <i>ʔincæ</i> |
| 2M | <i>ʔintæ</i> | <i>ʔintum</i> |
| 2F | <i>ʔinti</i> | <i>ʔintin</i> |
| 3M | <i>tu</i> | <i>tom</i> |
| 3F | <i>tæ</i> | <i>tæn</i> |

TABLE 7.18 THE VERBS OF EXISTENCE

| | SG | | PL | |
|----|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1 | <i>hælle-ko</i> | <i>ʃal-ko</i> | <i>hælle-næ</i> | <i>ʃal-næ</i> |
| 2M | <i>hælle-kæ</i> | <i>ʃal-kæ</i> | <i>hælle-kum</i> | <i>ʃal-kum</i> |
| 2F | <i>hælle-ki</i> | <i>ʃal-ki</i> | <i>hælle-kin</i> | <i>ʃal-kin</i> |
| 3M | <i>hæll-æ</i> | <i>ʃal-æ</i> | <i>hæll-æw/-o</i> | <i>ʃal-æw/-o</i> |
| 3F | <i>hælle-t</i> | <i>ʃal-æt</i> | <i>hæll-æjæ:</i> | <i>ʃal-æjæ:</i> |

TABLE 7.19 THE IMPERATIVE (IMP)

| | SG | PL |
|---|-----------------------|------------------|
| M | <i>k'itæɫ</i> 'kill!' | <i>k'itæɫ-o</i> |
| F | <i>k'itæɫ-i</i> | <i>k'itæɫ-æ:</i> |

Example: *niscæʔ* take.IMP.MSG 'take!'

4.4.3 Derived stems

Using Leslau and Raz's terminology, the verbal stem described so far (*k'æɫl-æ/(li-)k'ættil/li-k'æɫ*) is the A stem. Two additional stems are lexical – B and C – and as such

TABLE 7.20 DERIVED VERBAL STEMS

| STEM | TYPE | SC | PCL | PCS |
|--------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| A | Lexical | <i>k'ætl-æ</i> | <i>(li-)k'ætil</i> | <i>li-k'æel</i> |
| B | Lexical | <i>k'ættæel-æ</i> | <i>(li-)k'ættel</i> | <i>li-k'ættel</i> |
| C | Lexical | <i>k'æ:tæel-æ</i> | <i>(li-)k'æ:til</i> | <i>li-k'æ:til</i> |
| APASS | Derived: PASS of A | <i>k'ættæel-æ</i> | <i>(li-)k'ættæel</i> | <i>li-k'ættæel</i> |
| tə-A/B | Derived: PASS of A, B | <i>tik'ættæel-æ</i> | <i>li-tk'ættæel</i> | = PCL |
| ʔa-A | Derived: CAUS of A | <i>ʔæ-k'æel-æ</i> | <i>læ-ʔæ-k'ætil</i> | = PCL |

TABLE 7.21 PASS OF A AND B STEMS IN TIGRE OF GINDAƁ AND TIGRE OF MANSAF

| DIALECT | TYPE | SC | PCL | PCS |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Tigre of GindaƁ | PASS of A | <i>k'ættæel-æ</i> | <i>(li-)k'ættæel</i> | <i>li-k'ættæel</i> |
| | PASS of A, B | <i>tik'ættæel-æ</i> | <i>li-tk'ættæel</i> | = PCL |
| Tigre of Mansaf | PASS of A | <i>k'ættæel-æ</i> | <i>li-tk'ættæel</i> | = PCL |
| | PASS of A, B | <i>tik'ættæel-æ</i> | | |

are derived in form but not in meaning. Elsewhere in Tigre only A and B are lexical (Littmann 1899: 159–63). Two derived stems express PASS: APASS and tə-A/B. Lastly, a derived stem expresses the CAUS of A – ʔa-A. Table 7.20 summarizes 3MSG derived forms of the major verbal stems.

The C stem in Tigre of Mansaf is documented as CAUS or RECP (Littmann 1899: 163), as “sociative” or “frequentative” of A or B (Leslau 1945a: 4–5, 1948: 132), and as an increase of force or intensity of A (Raz 1983: 52–3).

PASS stems are marked by -æ- (rather than -i-) as the second vowel of the PCL base: APASS *(li-)k'ættæel*. tə-A/B base forms also incorporate initial *ti-*(SC) or *t-* (PCL, PCS): SC *tik'ættæel-æ*, PCL *li-tk'ættæel*. Expressions of the PASS of A differ from Tigre of Mansaf. In the latter, PCL-2 exhibit *t*. This is not the case in Tigre of GindaƁ, where the PASS of A is a separate derived stem (Table 7.21).

CAUS stem base forms exhibit initial ʔæ-, and consonant gemination does not occur in the PCL base: SC *ʔæk'æel-æ*; PCL *læ-ʔæk'ætil*.

Examples of Lexical ~ Derived correspondences using SC 3MSG:

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Active A <i>hærs-æ</i> ‘he plowed’ | ~ | PASS tə-A/B <i>tihærcæs-æ</i> ‘it was plowed’ |
| Active B <i>fallæb-æ</i> ‘he counted’ | ~ | PASS tə-A/B <i>tæfallæb-æ</i> ‘it was counted’ |
| Active A <i>zæbt'-æ</i> ‘he beat’ | ~ | PASS APASS <i>zæbbæt'-æ</i> ‘he/it was beaten’ |
| Stative/INTR A <i>færh-æ</i> ‘he was afraid’ | ~ | CAUS ʔa-A <i>ʔæfræh-ætt-ænni</i> ‘it frightened me’ (frighten.SC-3FSG-OBJ.1SG) |

There also appears to be a CPASS stem *k'æ:tæel-æ* whose forms are almost identical to C. It expresses the PASS/intensive of C, as in *kæ:fæel-æ* ‘he divided, it was divided into many pieces’ and the RECP of A, as in *rækb-æ* ‘he found’ ~ *ræ:kæb-næ* ‘we met (found each other)’.

4.4.4 Non-finite forms

The lexical form of the A stem is *k'ætil*, which is the prefix-less form of PCL. Where the lexical form is attested in derived stems (see §4.4.3), it is also the prefix-less form of PCL. A few instances of MSG and MPL PTCP are available in Tigre of Gindaṣ. The ACT base is *k'æ:til-*, and the PASS base is *k'ət(t)ul-*: *dæ:ris-æ:m* study.ACT.PTCP-MPL 'studying'; *hibur mix.PASS.PTCP-MSG* 'mixed'. Participles in the Tigre of Mansaṣ A, B, C, *tə*-A/B and *ʔa*-A stems are provided in Table 7.22 (Raz 1983: 27–8).

The gerund is not yet available in Tigre of Gindaṣ. In Tigre of Mansaṣ A stem gerunds take many forms, primarily *k'ætil*, *k'itlæt*, *k'itlo*, *k'itle* and *k'ættil*: *k'irbe* 'being near' (*k'ærb-æ* 'he is near'), *hæris* 'plowing' (*hærs-æ* 'he plows'). For stems other than A, the gerund is formed as the SC base with the suffix *-ot*, as in B stem *ʕællæb-ot* (*ʕællæb-æ* 'he counted').

4.4.5 "Weak" roots

"Weak" verbs in the present corpus are verbs whose root consonants include (a) a laryngeal and/or (b) a glide (*w, j*) or \emptyset . "Weak" verbs exhibit the following particularities.

I–Laryngeal – Ex: *h-l-f* 'pass'

**i* > *æ* in PCL and PCS subject prefixes: *læ-hællif-o* 3MPL-PASS.PCL-3MPL 'they pass'. The 1PL prefix is *næ-* rather than *ʔin-*: *næ-hællif* 1PL-PASS.PCL 'we pass'.

II–Laryngeal – Ex: *l-ʔ-k* 'send'

The SC base is *k'ætæl-* rather than *k'ætl-* for vowel-initial suffixes: *læʔæk-æ* send.SC-3MSG 'he sent', *læʔæk-æjæ:* send.SC-3FPL 'they sent'. The IMP is *k'ætæl* rather than *k'itæl*: *læʔæk* send.IMP.MSG 'send!'.

II–*w/j/∅* – Ex: *g-j-s* 'go'

The SC 1PL base is *k'æle-* rather than *k'ætæl-*: *gæse-næ* go.SC-1PL 'we went'. *j* is not doubled in PCL: *gæjis* go.PCL.3SG 'it-M/F goes'. The PCS prefix and base are in *-i-*: *li-gis* 3MSG-go.PCS 'he might go'.

TABLE 7.22 PARTICIPLES IN TIGRE OF MANSAS

| | MSG | FSG | MPL | FPL |
|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Active | | | | |
| A | <i>k'æ:til</i> | <i>k'æ:tlæt</i> | <i>k'æ:tlæ:m</i> | <i>k'æ:tlæ:t</i> |
| B | <i>mæk'ætlæ:j</i> | <i>mæk'ætlæ:jt</i> | <i>mæk'ætlæt</i> | |
| C | <i>mæk'æ:tlæ:j</i> | <i>mæk'æ:tlæ:jt</i> | <i>mæk'æ:tlæt</i> | |
| <i>tə</i> -A/B | <i>mætk'ættilæ:j</i> | <i>mætk'ættilæ:jt</i> | <i>mætk'ættilæt</i> | |
| <i>ʔa</i> -A | <i>mæk'tilæ:j</i> | <i>mæk'tilæ:jt</i> | <i>mæk'tilæt</i> | |
| Passive | | | | |
| A | <i>k'itul</i> | <i>k'itul/k'itlit</i> | <i>k'itulæ:m</i> | <i>k'itulæ:t</i> |
| B | <i>k'ittul</i> | <i>k'ittul/k'ittilit</i> | <i>k'ittulæ:m</i> | <i>k'ittulæ:t</i> |
| C | <i>k'uttul</i> | <i>k'utlit</i> | <i>k'utulæ:m</i> | <i>k'utulæ:t</i> |

III–Laryngeal – Ex: *f-r-h* ‘fear’

The sc base is *k'ætɫæ-* rather than *k'ætæɫ-* for consonant-initial suffixes: *færhæ-ko* fear.SC-1SG ‘I was afraid’, *bæs'hæ-næ* reach.SC-1PL ‘we reached’. PCL of *g-b-ʔ* ‘happen’ exhibits *-i-* rather than *-e-*: *gæbbiʔ* happen.PCL.3SG ‘it happens’.

III–w/j/Ø – Ex: *h-z-Ø* ‘want’

The sc base is *k'ætɛØ-* rather than *k'ætæɫ-* for consonant-initial suffixes: *hæzɛØ-ko* want.SC-1SG ‘I want’. Note that the verb of existence *hæll-æ* is a B verb of this type: *misil hællɛØ-næ* together exist.SC-1PL ‘we are together’. The PCL base exhibits *-æ-* as in *k'ættæØ* rather than *-i-*: *hæzzæØ* want.PCL.3SG ‘he/she wants’. As such *li-k'ættæØ* can be either an active or passive of A: *li-fæk k'æ* ‘he makes, it is made’. The PCL base with a NOM suffix exhibits doubling of the second consonant: *ti-wæddiØ* 2FSG-make.PCL ‘you make’ vs. *ti-k'ætli* ‘you kill’.

4.5 Prepositions/conjunctions/adverbs

4.5.1 Prepositions

Prepositions occur before the noun or pronoun they govern. They take the suffixed possessive pronoun (Table 7.6). For 1SG the suffix is *-je*, not *-j*. The main prepositions are listed here. Forms that reflect vowel contraction with a vowel-initial suffix are indicated in parentheses. Note that not all changes in form are necessarily described here.

ʔæb /*ʔib* (*ʔæbb-* /*ʔibb-*) ‘in, with, by, as, among, about, concerning, to, because of’.

The form *ʔæb* is not documented elsewhere in Tigre and is likely borrowed from Tigrinya.

ʔigil (*ʔigl-*) ‘for, to, during, in, with respect to’. Note also *ʔigij-je* ‘for me’ (< **ʔagəl-ye*) and *ʔigil-læ* ‘for us’ (< **ʔagəl-na*); see §3.5.

ʔit (*ʔitt-*) ‘with, in, with respect to, among, within’.

diβ ‘in’, but with a broad semantic range, including ‘inside of, to, into, at, on, toward, during, at the time of, as a part of’.

kim ‘like, as’.

min (*minn-*) ‘from’, with a broad semantic range, including ‘derived from, as a result of, made from, from within, from among, away from, from the time of, different from’.

misil (*misl-*) ‘with, along with’.

t'æβʕan ‘about, concerning’; a borrowing from Arabic. *t'æβʕan* is not documented in other dialects of Tigre.

4.5.2 Conjunctions

There are two types of conjunction in Tigre of Gindaṣ: coordinating and subordinating. The main coordinating conjunctions are these:

wo- ‘and, or, now, so, so then’.

t'æβʕan ‘now, so, so then’; a borrowing from Arabic.

ʔæw ‘or’.

læ:kin ‘but, however’; a borrowing from Arabic.

See §5.8 for subordinating conjunctions.

4.5.3 Adverbs

The main adverbs are these:

ʔigil-mi ‘why?’

ʔæzæ ‘now’.

hako ‘afterwards’.

hakohæ: ‘afterwards’.

ʔæjæ, bæjæ ‘where?’.

ʔæjwæ ‘yes’; an Arabic borrowing.

ʔikon(i), ʔikonini ‘not, it is not’.

bæs ‘only’; a borrowing from Arabic.

dib hid ‘together’.

kifo ‘how?’.

læ=gæbbiʔ ‘perhaps’.

liqbæʔ ‘possibly’.

misil ‘together’.

tʔæbʃan ‘naturally’; a borrowing from Arabic.

4.6 Negation

The NEG of the verb is *ʔi-* or *ji-* . . . *-n(ni)*. These forms appear to occur in free variation:

ʔi-ræʔ-æ NEG-see.SC-3MSG ‘he did not see’

ʔi-ti-wæddæ NEG-2MSG-make.PCL ‘you do not make’

ji-wæ:sæl-ko-n NEG-continue.SC-1SG-NEG ‘I did not continue’

Saleh (2015: 122–3) finds that *ʔi-* and *ji-* are used in nearly all dialects and are in complementary distribution, with *ji-* preceding laryngeals and *ʔi-* preceding all other consonants.

The NEG of the verb of existence *hæll-æ* is *jæ-hæll-æ-nni* NEG-exist.SC-3MSG-NEG ‘there is not’, probably by analogy to Tigrinya *j-æll-æ-n* NEG-exist.SC-3MSG-NEG ‘there is not’ (Elias 2014: 249). The NEG of 1 and 2 COP are formed with initial *j-* rather than initial *ʔ-*:

ʔænæ *m=bæs ʔiʃ* *j-ænæ*

1PP.1SG from=Massawa NEG-COP.1SG

‘I am not from Massawa’

Variants in *j(i)-*, particularly *ji-* . . . *-n(ni)*, are at least partially influenced by *jæ-hæll-æ-nni*.

The NEG of non-verbal forms and of 3 COP is *ʔikon(i(ni))*: *limud ʔikon* ‘it is not usual’; *sænniy-æ:m ʔikonini* ‘they-M are not nice’. A NEG command is expressed as *ʔi-* + 2 of PCS, as in *ʔi-ti-gis* NEG-2MSG-go.PCS ‘do not go!’.

5 SYNTAX

5.1 Sentential and phrasal word order

Word order in a verbal clause is verb final: SBJ + OBJ + verb.

kursi bun misl-æ: li-tk'æræb
 cake with-POSS.3MSG 3MSG-serve.PASS.PCL
 'cake is served with it'

There are nominal, adverbial and existential predications in Tigre of GindaṢ. Word order in nominal and adverbial predications is SBJ + PRED + COP/verb.

gindæ? min kælímæt tæ
 GindaṢ from bush COP.3MSG
 '“GindaṢ” is from a bush'

kitæ:b-u dib borsæff-e hæll-æ
 book-POSS.3MSG in bag-POSS.1SG exist.SC-3MSG
 'his book is in my bag'

Word order in existential predications is PRED + verb:

ʔigil biʕid-mæ: mænæffi? hæll-æ
 for other.MSG-or thing.PL exist.SC-3MSG
 'it is also used for other things'

Noun phrases are generally head-dependent: *mæ:j birud* 'cold water'. However, numerals precede the noun, and certain very common adjectives appear to do the same: *sis sænæt* 'six years'; *biʕid gæ:ritæ:t* 'other events'. Saleh notes ADJ + NOUN examples in MansaṢ (2015: 130–1). Prepositions precede their objects: *dib ʔisæ:t* 'on the fire'.

5.2 Synthetic/analytic

Tigre is both synthetic and analytic in nature. Examples of synthetic characteristics are provided in Table 7.23.

Analytic characteristics are found in a number of features.

The independent poss particle is *næj*, which takes the poss suffixes in Table 7.6. *næj* is used for possession or qualification.

TABLE 7.23 SYNTHETIC EXAMPLES

| INFLECTIONAL EXAMPLES | AGGLUTINATIVE EXAMPLES |
|---|--|
| MSG ADJ ~ FSG ADJ 'huge' (Table 7.9) | SG noun ~ external PL 'market' (§4.2.3) |
| SG noun ~ internal PL 'dog' (§4.2.3) | Gender/number suffixes on SC (Table 7.16) 'he killed' |
| PCL prefix/suffix combinations (Table 7.16): | POSS suffixes (Table 7.6) 'his book' |
| Number – 2MSG ~ 2MPL (suffix) | OBJ suffixes (Table 7.5) 'I threw it' |
| Gender – 2MPL ~ 2FPL (suffix) | |
| Person – 2FPL ~ 3FPL (prefix) | |

næj-kæ *habb-o*
 POSS.PRO-POSS.2MSG give.IMP.MSG-OBJ.3MSG
 ‘give him yours [your property]’

faʃab *næj* *tigire*
 people POSS.PRO Tigre
 ‘the Tigre people’

Possession and qualification are also expressed by a sequence of two nouns, here called a “construct sequence”: *ʔækæræ sæləmunæ*: ‘farmers of Selemuna’.

The relative particle *læ* is indeclinable (see §4.1.4), and PCL + *hæll-æ* and PCL + *ʃal-æ* express the present continuous and past continuous, respectively (see §4.4.1).

5.3 Noun modification

Two types of relative clause occur in the corpus. The more common type is a substantive, a relative clause without an antecedent. The relative particle *læ-* (see §4.1.4) can mark the verb, the verb and its object, or the predicate in a relative clause. In the following examples the relative clauses will be underlined.

læ=hættæ *sæncæt* *læ=ʃalæ-t* *ʔigil-æ:* *ʔæt-mæm-næ*
 REL=one.F year REL=exist.SC-3FSG in-POSS.3FSG finish.SC-1PL
 ‘in one year we finished’

Note that word order within the relative clause and its position in the main clause are OBJ + verb, consistent with §5.1. Relative clause elements agree with each other and with their referent *ʔigil-æ*: ‘in it-F’ in gender.

In a sequence of verbs or adjectival clauses, only one element might be marked.

kæm *fiʒan* *sætt-u* *ʔigil* *li-stæ-w* *læ=gissuy-am*
 how.many cups drink.PCL-3PL in.order.to 3MPL-drink.PCS-3MPL REL=sitting-MPL

hæll-æw *ʔigil* *li-stæ-w* *Ø-k'irub-am* *hæll-æw*
 exist.SC-3MPL in.order.to 3MPL-drink.PCS-3MPL Ø-gathered-MPL exist.SC-3MPL
 ‘how may cups do those who are sitting in order to drink – those who are gathered in order to drink – drink?’

Word order within the relative clauses is consistent with §5.1, but the relative clauses, which are the subject in this sentence, follow the main verb *sætt-u* ‘they drink’, contrary to §5.1. Relative clause elements agree with each other and with the main verb in gender and number.

The substantive is frequently used in cleft sentences.

sælæs *dolæt* *tæ* *Ø-ti-sættæ*
 three time COP.3FSG Ø-3FSG-drink.PASS.PCL
 ‘it is drunk three times’ (lit., ‘it is three times that it is drunk’)

gindæ? *ʔæb* *ʔædbir* *læ=tikællæ-l-æt* *tæ*
 Gindaʃ by mountain.PL REL=surround.PASS.SC-3FSG COP-3FSG
 ‘Gindaʃ is (a place that is) surrounded by mountains’

The second type of relative clause modifies a noun. The modifier can precede or follow the noun.

kæli? *xet'* *kirænikis* *læ=li-tbæhæl* *hæll-æ* *kirænikis*
 in.addition thread kirenikis REL=3MSG-call.PASS.PCL exist.SC-3MSG kirenikis

min *fæbæk-æ:t* *li-fæk'k'æ*
 from lattice-FPL 3MSG-make.PASS.PCL

‘in addition there is (an item of) thread that is called “kirenikis.” Kirenikis is made from lattices.’

Note that the modifier, *kirænikis læ=li-tbæhæl* ‘called “kirenikis”’, follows the noun *xet'* ‘thread’, consistent with the general noun phrase pattern of head-dependency in §5.1, and that there is gender agreement between the verb of the relative clause, *li-tbæhæl* ‘it-M is called’, and the main verb, *hæll-æ* ‘there is-M’.

wæ=dib *miwda?* *s'æhay* *kibit* *dʒimʒa* *li-tbæhæl* *dæbir*
 in setting sun Kibit Gimʒa 3MSG-call.PASS.PCL mountain

li-rækkæb *dib-a*
 3MSG-find.PASS.PCL in-POSS.3FSG

‘and the mountain called “Kibit Gimʒa” is found in the west’

Note that the modifier *kibit dʒimʒa li-tbæhæl* ‘called Kibit Gimʒa’ precedes the noun *dæbir* ‘mountain’, which is exhibited with numerals and certain very common adjectives (see §5.1).

5.4 The definite article

The definite article *læ=* is prefixed to a noun (see §4.2.6).

lohæj *tu* *læ=suk'*
 DEM.DIST.MSG COP.3MSG DEF=market

‘that is the market’

It is frequently used with a noun that is modified by a POSS suffix or DEM: *læ=kælib-kæ* DEF=dog-POSS.2MSG ‘your dog’. It is identical in form to the relative particle, but because DEF can only be affixed to a noun, it is generally clear whether *læ=* is DEF or REL.

In other dialects of Tigre, a modifying adjective precedes its noun and is marked by DEF, as in: *læ=gindæ:b ʔinæ:s* ‘the old man’ (Raz 1983: 35).

5.5 Agreement

The following observations can be made on the basis of the Gindaṣ corpus. A verb agrees in gender, number and person with its subject: *hu-je mæs'ʔ-æ* brother-POSS.1SG come.SC-3MSG ‘my brother came’. The “internal” PL is grammatically SG (see §4.2.3). An adjective usually agrees in gender and number with a noun: *wælat girim* girl beautiful.FSG ‘a beautiful girl’, *sæb kibud-æ:m* man.PL heavy-MPL ‘heavy men’. See §5.4 for adjective markedness when modifying a definite noun.

5.6 Interrogatives

Interrogatives in Tigre of Gindaɸ are WH-in-situ. Pronouns and adverbs always occur immediately before the verb, copula or verb of existence:

kifo hælle-kæ
how exist.SC-2MSG
'how are you doing?'

mæn tu læ=bæʕal læ=mæhzæn
who COP.3MSG DEF=OWNER DEF=store
'who is the store-owner?'

læ=ʕik ʔæ:k ʔæjæ hæll-æ
DEF=bathroom where exist.SC-3MSG
'where is the bathroom?'

Interrogative pro-adjectives usually occur immediately before the nouns that they modify.

kæm ʕidʒæ:n s'æbbiʔ
how.many cup serve.PCL.3MSG
'how many cups does one serve?'

Intonation alone can also indicate polar questions.

5.7 Subordination

Subordination is expressed by a subordinating conjunction, which precedes the verb, SUBJ or OBJ in the subordinate clause. Note, however, that the conjunction *follows* the verb in a conditional clause. The subordinate clause itself can precede or follow the main clause. The most frequent conjunctions are presented here, with attested constructions and grammatical functions. Tense and aspect appear to conform to §4.4.1.

Temporal

ʔindæ + SC, 'after'; + PCL, 'while'; a borrowing from Tigrinya
zændʒæbil ʔindæ gæbʔ-æt dib dʒæbænæt ti-tballæs
ginger after go.SC-3FSG in coffee.bottle 3FSG-turn.PASS.PCL
'after ginger has gone in, it is stirred in the coffee bottle'

hæk'olæ: + SC, 'after'
ʔæsik + PCL, 'until'

Purpose

ʔigil + PCS, 'so that'; + NEG PCS, 'lest'

Cause and effect

sæbbæt + SC, 'because'
ʔænæ ʕæsil ji-gis-ko-nni himum sæbbæt ʕal-ko
I class NEG-go.SC-1SG-NEG sick because exist.SC-1SG
'I did not go to class because I was sick'

Conditional

SC + *min=gæbbi?*, ‘if’

ʔigil li-wæ:sl-o *hæz-o* *m=gæbbi?*
 that 3MPL-continue.PCL-3MPL want.SC-3MPL from=happen.PCL.3MSG
wæ:sl-o

continue.PCL-3MPL

‘if they want to continue, they continue’

IMP + (*wo=*) NEG IMP, ‘whether or not’

ʔæsik læ=mæhzæn gis *w=i=ti-gis* *læ=bet* *ʔigil*
 to DEF=store go.IMP.MSG or=NEG=2MSG-go.PCS DEF=house that

ti-nhæyy-æ: *bi-kæ*
 2MSG-clean.PCS-OBJ.2FSG in-POSS.2MSG

‘whether you go to the store or not, you must clean the house’ (*w=i < *wæ=ʔi*)

Manner

kim, kimsæl + SC, ‘like, as’

kimsæl hæze-kæ-hu *ʔaʃkal* *tæ-ʔæfæggir-o*
 like want.SC-2MSG-OBJ.3MSG pattern.PL 2MSG-stretch.PCL-OBJ.3MSG

‘you shape the patterns like you want them’

6 LEXICON

There is a preponderance of Arabic borrowings into the Tigre language. More than 80 additional borrowings have been found in the Tigre of GindaƑ corpus. These are not documented in other dialects to the author’s knowledge. These additional loans are predominantly nouns and verbs but are found in all parts of speech and in several semantic fields. The GindaƑ informants are Muslim, attended Arabic schools and are fluent in Arabic.

Perhaps most notable is *t’æbʃan* ‘naturally (ADV); concerning (PREP); now, so, so then (CONJ)’, which is borrowed from Arabic *t’abʃan* ‘naturally, of course (ADV)’ and reanalyzed as a CONJ ‘now, so, so then’ (Elias 2014: 244–5). The PREP may have been borrowed from Arabic *t’abʃan li-* ‘in consequence of’.

There is some influence of Tigrinya, as evidenced by *jæ-hæll-æ-nni* ‘there is not’ (see §4.6) and by a few borrowings such as *ʔæb* ‘in, with, etc.’ and *ʔindæ* ‘while, after’. There are also a handful of English and Italian noun borrowings, a result of English being the language of instruction in many secondary schools and at the University of Asmara and the Italian military presence in Eritrea from the late 19th through the mid-20th centuries.

7 SAMPLE TEXT

The following is an excerpt from a narrative about coffee in Elias (2014: 262–7).

min=mi *wə=m=gæbbi?* *t’æbʃan* *læ=bun* *dib*
 from=what? and=from=happen.PCL.3MSG concerning DEF=coffee while

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ti-k'ællæ</i> | <i>koskos</i> | <i>næs?ilo</i> | <i>?ibb-u</i> | |
| 3FSG-roast.PASS. PCL | roasting.equipment | question | about-POSS.3MSG | |
| <i>koskos.</i> | <i>?azæ</i> | <i>ti-k'ællæ</i> | <i>hak'olæ</i> | <i>k'æll-et</i> |
| roasting.equipment | now | 3FSG-roast.PASS. PCL | after | roast.PASS.SC-3FSG |
| <i>dib</i> | <i>mædægdæg</i> | <i>gæbbi?</i> | <i>wo=ti-dægdæg.</i> | <i>hak'olæ</i> |
| into | mortar | go.PCL.3MSG | and=3FSG-crush.PASS.PCL | after |
| <i>dægdæg-æt</i> | <i>zændzæbil</i> | <i>?indæ</i> | <i>gæb?-æt</i> | <i>dib</i> |
| crush.PASS.SC-3FSG | ginger | after | go.SC-3FSG | in |
| | | | | <i>dzæbænæt</i> |
| | | | | coffee.bottle |
| <i>ti-tbællæ.</i> | <i>wo=m=dzæbænæt</i> | <i>maj</i> | <i>gæbbi?</i> | <i>dib-a.</i> |
| 3FSG-turn.PASS.PCL | and=from=coffee.bottle | water | go.PCL.3MSG | into-POSS.3FSG |
| <i>hak'olæ</i> | <i>maj</i> | <i>gæ:</i> | <i>dib-a</i> | <i>dib</i> |
| after.this | water | go.SC.3MSG | into-POSS.3FSG | on |
| | | | | <i>?isæt</i> |
| | | | | fire |
| | | | | <i>gæbbi?</i> |
| | | | | go.PCL.3MSG |
| <i>hak'o</i> | <i>?isæt</i> | <i>kim</i> | <i>fælh-æt</i> | <i>ti-tkæræ.</i> |
| after | fire | after | overflow.SC-3FSG | 3FSG-repeat.PASS.PCL |
| <i>hak'oha</i> | <i>?igil</i> | <i>sito</i> | <i>ti-tkæræb.</i> | |
| after | as | drink | 3FSG-serve.PASS.PCL | |
| <i>læ=su?æ:l</i> | <i>min=li-bil</i> | <i>t'æbʃan</i> | <i>læ=dzæbænæt</i> | <i>?indæ</i> |
| DEF=question | from=3MSG-say.PCL | concerning | DEF=coffee.bottle | while |
| <i>ti-tkæræb</i> | <i>misl-æ:</i> | <i>læ=gæbbi?</i> | <i>næfæ:t'æ:t</i> | |
| 3FSG-serve.PASS.PCL | with-POSS.3FSG | REL=happen.PCL.3MSG | activity.PL | |
| <i>min=hæll-æ</i> | <i>misl-æ:</i> | <i>læ=li-tbællæʃ</i> | <i>li-sættæ</i> | |
| whether=exist.SC-3MSG | with-POSS.3FSG | REL=3MSG-eat.PASS.PCL | 3MSG-drink.PASS.PCL | |
| <i>we=læ=li-tk'æræb</i> | <i>misl-æ:</i> | <i>læ=gæjis</i> | <i>min=hæll-æ</i> | |
| and=REL=3MSG-serve.PASS.PCL | with-POSS.3FSG | REL=happen.PCL.3MSG | whether=exist.SC-3MSG | |
| <i>læ=li-bil</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>læ=su?æ:l.</i> | | |
| REL=3MSG-say.PCL | COP.3MSG | DEF=question | | |
| <i>t'æbʃan</i> | <i>hitæ</i> | <i>læ?iwan</i> | <i>?il-a</i> | <i>ti-k'æræb</i> |
| concerning | it.F | now | with-POSS.3FSG | 2FSG-serve.PASS.PCL |
| | | | | <i>misl-æ:</i> |
| | | | | with-POSS.3FSG |
| <i>læ=k'ærib</i> | <i>?inbil-o</i> | <i>hæll-æ</i> | <i>k'ursi</i> | <i>bun</i> |
| REL=serve.PCL.3MSG | only-POSS.3MSG | exist.SC-3MSG | cake | coffee |
| | | | | <i>?inbil-o</i> |
| | | | | only-POSS.3MSG |
| <i>kim</i> | <i>bani</i> | <i>li-gbæ?</i> | <i>?æw</i> | <i>kif'a</i> |
| like | bread | 3MSG-happen.PCS | or | kicha |
| | | | | cake |
| <i>bun</i> | <i>misl-æ:</i> | <i>li-tkæræb.</i> | <i>wo=hak'oha</i> | <i>ʃabi</i> |
| coffee | with-POSS.3FSG | 3MSG-serve.PASS.PCL | and=afterwards | important.MSG |
| <i>minn-om</i> | <i>hæll-æ</i> | <i>min=gæbbi?</i> | <i>ʃabi</i> | <i>misl-u</i> |
| among-POSS.3MPL | exist.SC-3MSG | if=happen.PCL.3MSG | important.MSG | with-POSS.3MSG |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>ṣimbobæ:</i> | <i>gæbbi?</i> | <i>hak`ola</i> | <i>ṣimboba</i> | <i>libæ:n</i> | <i>k'ursi</i> | <i>bun.</i> |
| popcorn | happen.PCL.3MSG | after | popcorn | incense | cake | coffee |
| <i>hak`oha</i> | <i>ʔoro</i> | <i>ṣabi</i> | <i>minn-om</i> | <i>hæll-æ</i> | <i>min=</i> | |
| after.this | one.MSG | important.MSG | among-POSS.3MPL | exist.SC-3MSG | if= | |
| <i>gæbbi?</i> | <i>ʔæb</i> | <i>diṣa</i> | <i>fættiḥ-a</i> | <i>ʔæb</i> | <i>diṣa</i> | |
| happen.PCL.3MSG | by | prayer | open.PCL.3MSG-OBJ.3MSG | by | prayer | |
| <i>fættiḥ-a</i> | <i>wo=ʔabb-u</i> | <i>ti-ṣallæ</i> | <i>bælaet tu.</i> | | | |
| open.PCL.3MSG-OBJ.3MSG | and=by-POSS.3MSG | 3FSG-consecrate.PASS.PCL | to.say | COP.3MSG | | |

‘How and from what is coffee roasted? The question is about roasting equipment. First it is roasted. After it has been roasted it goes into a mortar and is crushed. After it has been crushed and after ginger has gone into the coffee bottle, it is stirred. Then water goes into the coffee bottle. After the water has gone into it, it goes on the fire. After the fire – after it overflows – it is repeated. Then it is served as a drink.

The question he asks about the coffee bottle is whether there are activities that occur with it when coffee is served. Whether there are things that occur with it – that are eaten, drunk or served with it – is the question he asks. Concerning this, there is only one thing that one serves with it, that is served with it at the same time – only coffee cake, such as bread, perhaps, or kicha. Coffee cake is served with it. Then, if there is an elder among them – an elder – then popcorn might go with it, and after popcorn, incense. Coffee cake (goes with it). Also, if there is an elder among them, he opens it by prayer. He opens it by prayer; that is, it is consecrated by him.’

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